Registering the Real:

Photography and the Emergence of New Historic Sites in Meiji Japan

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the way photography engaged in the emergence of new 'historic sites (*shiseki*)' during the early Meiji period (1868-1882). My contention is that photography, as a distinctive and integral medium of geographical image making, occasioned a new form of visibility of space imbued with national historicity and materiality. Particular attention is paid to the four distinct sites-as history: the 'national space' in the geo-encyclopedia, architectural topographies, ancient sites, and imperial famous places.

Historic sites may be understood as the Japanese counterparts to what Pierre Nora called "les lieux de mémoire," the system of topoi through which the modern nation recognizes itself through historical unity. Takashi Fujitani indicates that historic sites were constructed in Japan as part of the larger imperial culture through the process of the reorganization of public space for political rituals in the Meiji period. What distinguishes my approach from these studies is the emphasis on the agency of photography as a privileged medium in the geo-political investment of the modern nation. Photographic indexicality radically transformed the literary vision of 'famous places (*meisho*),' a set of places conceived and represented as names and toponyms, by undermining the inherent power of naming to produce the meanings traditionally associated with a place, while regrounding the conceptual understanding of place in a new order of temporality based on history. Such a photographic understanding separate from 'meishoness,' ironically, helped to reinforce meisho's archaic association, especially with the old

imperial practice of viewing and naming places. This is precisely the context where photographic indexicality is to be restaged with its political register, operating within a constellation of discourses, powers and institutions that conspired to construct the modern and imperial nation-state in Japan.

It is important to note that photography, albeit its central role in the emergence of historic sites, was penetrated by myriad layers of meaning and discourse, and therefore the universal notion of 'photography' was often inactive in the early Meiji period. Even in the documentation project initiated by the state agency, photography was conceived as a hybrid and polyvalent idea. It was in particular engulfed in the realistic tradition of *shashin*, which literally means "registering the real essence of the object" yet covers a variety of representational ideas from visual resemblance to ontological truth. Photography is a hybrid historic formation, crossing and dovetailing the different fields of rationality that emerged together in the earlier moment of the Meiji era.

By setting up photography as a locus of multivalency, this dissertation aims to retrace and readdress the prevailing narratives of modernity in Japan as a singular and giant rupture from the West. Geo-historical framework of the nation-state was not formulated in one piece; nor was the conception of Meiji modernization a top-down, unidirectional, teleological process predetermined by the modern West. It instead emerged through complex and open-ended series of interactions among diverse media and ideas, just as the plural forms of 'photographies' were interlaced together in the discursive and material ground of historic sites. The Meiji national topography could only emerge out of these

contingent and multiple encounters between landscape and the camera, either
imported or indigenous.

ABSTRACT

Cette dissertation examine l'implication de la photographie dans
l'émergence de nouveaux *sites historiques* (*shiseki*) à l'aube de la période Meiji
(1868-1882). J'avance que la photographie, en tant que forme distincte et
intégrale de création d'imagerie géographique, introduit une nouvelle forme de
visibilité de l'espace imbue d'historicité et matérialité. Une attention particulière
est portée aux quatre 'sites-histoires' distincts issus de la réalité spatiale de leurs
sites historiques : *l'espace national* au sein de la géo-encyclopédie, la topographie
architecturale, les sites anciens et les sites impériaux célèbre.

Les sites historiques peuvent être expliqués comme la contre-partie
japonaise de ce que Pierre Nora décrit comme 'les lieux de mémoires', le système
de *topoi* où la nation moderne peut se reconnaître au travers d'une unité historique.
Takashi Fujitani mentionne que les sites historiques du Japon furent construits
comme un fragment de la culture impériale et conçue par une réorganisation des
espaces public servant à mettre en scène les rites politiques det la période Meiji.
Mon étude se distingue par l'emphase de la photographie en tant que medium
privilégié dans les investissements géopolitiques d'une nation moderne.
L'indexicalité de la photographie occasionna une rupture radicale dans la vision
littéraire de les sites célèbre (*meisho*), un groupe d'endroits conceptualisés et

représentés comme des noms et toponymes, en sapant le pouvoir inhérent de nommer pour produire la signification traditionnellement associé à un endroit tout en regroupant la compréhension conceptuelle d'un endroit dans un nouvel ordre de temporalité basé sur l'histoire. Cette compréhension photographique distincte du *meishoness*, aida ironiquement à renforcer l'association archaïque du *meisho*, tout particulièrement avec la vielle pratique impériale de concevoir et nommer les endroits. Cet précisément le contexte où l'indexicalité photographique est redéfini avec ses aspects politiques, opérant au sein d'un regroupement de discours, pouvoirs et institutions de l'État-nation moderne.

Une problématique se pose, du fait que la photographie elle-même est infiltrée par une myriade de couches d'interprétations en tant que média visuel et il s'ensuit que la notion universelle de *photographie* était couramment inexistante au début de la période Meiji. Même dans le projet de documentation initié par l'état, la photographie était conçue comme une idée hybride et polyvalente. Elle était particulièrement submergé dans la tradition réaliste *shashin*, se traduisant littéralement par "consigner l'essence authentique d'un objet" et englobant un large éventail de représentations, allant de visuels à ontologiques. La photographie est un formation historique hybridée, croisant et assemblant les différents champs de rationalités qui émergèrent à l'aube de l'ère Meiji.

En situant la photographie comme point de plurivalence, cette dissertation vise retracer et ré-adresser le discours prévalant sur la modernité japonaise étant conçu comme une grande rupture singulière face à l'Occident. Le cadre géo-historique de l'État-nation ne fut pas conceptualisé en un morceau; ni fut une

approche du haut dans la conception de la modernisation Meiji prédéterminé par l'Occident. Il émergea plutôt au travers d'une série d'interactions complexes non déterministes entre divers médias et idées, tout comme les multiples formes de *photographies* étaient entrelacés dans la fondation discursive et matérielle des *sites historiques*. La topographie nationale de Meiji pouvait uniquement émerger en dehors de ces rencontres multiples et contigües entre paysage et camera, soit importée ou soit indigène.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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INTRODUCTION

The Two Loci: Photography and Space

> All photographs are basically landscape photography.
> Karatani Kōjin

Karatani Kōjin, a renowned critic of Japanese modern literature, asserts

that all photographs cannot but be 'landscape photography.'[1] For him 'landscape

(*fūkei*)' is more than a landscape image or a landscape conceived as a physical

place where cultural meanings and values are encoded.[2] Landscape is an

epistemological system in which the interiority of the subject can be discovered by

separating itself from the world it is looking at. One key problem in landscape is

that its operative system is immediately naturalized as the subject looks at it and

talks about it, thereby appearing in its actuality – as it actually looks here and now.

Conversely, this signals the moment of the emergence of the inner-subject, who

appears as an articulator of the meaning of the landscape unfolded before him.[3]

Landscape needs a specific apparatus in order to be apprehended by the subject

and Karatani found it in the principle of coordinating written language into

phonetic language, namely, through *genbun icchi*. As construed from his use of

such terms as separation, subject-object distance, inversion, naturalization,

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[1] Karatani Kōjin, *In'yū toshiteno kenchiku* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1994 (1989)): 154.

[2] There are a large number of studies on landscape as a mode of viewing, a represented image, and a system of representation. See, for example, Edward Casey, *Representing Place: Landscape Painting and Maps* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002); Denis E. Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* (London and Sydney: Croom Helm, 1984); Renzo Dubbini, *Geography of the Gaze: Urban and Rural Vision in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002); and W.J.T. Mitchell (ed.), *Landscape and Power* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994)

[3] Karatani Kōjin, *Nihon kindai bungaku no kigen* (Tokyo: Kōdansha Bungei Bunko, 1995 (1988)): 77.

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Karatani's idea of landscape invokes the principle of the linear perspective as a guiding mode of vision and perception of the world. For him, photography mechanically embodies the logic of linear perspective that separated the subject from the object being viewed; and so the term 'landscape photography' itself cannot but be tautological.[4]

Karatani explains the birth of Japanese modern literature in terms of the transition from the non-landscape to the landscape model of literary form that occurred in the late nineteenth century. Based on this idea, Japanese modernity can, in a larger sense, be explained as the shift from non-representational to representational schemas. What had come before the modern is something to be discovered through the very structure of modernity, that is, the process dubbed 'historical inversions' of landscape. In other words, tradition is discovered, redefined and reconfigured by modernity, just as the category of classical landscape painting (*sansuiga*) was formulated only after the emergence of modern landscape painting.[5]

Apparently, the focus of Karatani's analysis is on landscape as it had newly appeared in a number of literary texts published in the 1890s. But what if we were to consider these changes as they actually occurred in a physical space that had existed before the advent of modern landscape? How can we attempt to understand the continual involvement of the pre-existing idea of landscape in the production of new space and place? How can we address the collusion or negotiation of the old and new forms, upon which the very notion of 'modern

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[4] Karatani, *In'yū toshiteno kenchiku*, 155.
[5] Karatani, *Nihon kindai bungaku no kigen*, 22-23.

landscape' rested? More significantly, how were new media such as photography implicated in the shift in the perception and representation of the spatial realities they ostensibly recorded?

Karatani's landscape theory appeared to bracket the shift in actual physical space as a 'representational form,' whose meanings and values were newly constituted in the late nineteenth century by the 'system of landscape' in which he was immersed. In other words, Karatani leaves little room to consider how such a transition had occurred within the different levels of landscape simultaneously; and how the new form of landscape was complexly interlaced with, and engulfed by, the precedent ideas and practices of space. Accordingly, his landscape theory could not but endorse a singular and universal model of landscape, ascribed to the linear perspectival separation and its consequent objectification of the world.

To look at 'landscape' as a site of modernity, I thus claim to show a more expanded model of landscape, that which includes and entails a new style of landscape picture, the physical landscape as a new representational form, and 'landscape' as an epistemological structure emerged to make additional categories of landscape appear. Given these multiple levels of landscape, the term 'landscape photography' is charged with additional layers of complexity, and rather than being reductively tautological, it directs us to look at the *relations* between landscape and photography, representation and the media, as well as the cultural production of space and its material practice. To illuminate such relations is the prime concern of the following study.

My dissertation addresses the complex relations between space and

photography in the formative period of modernity in Japan. I will seek to elucidate how the visual representation of space and space as a material practice were inextricably tied together in late nineteenth century Japan. I will specifically attempt to trace the history of a radical shift – mediated by photography – in spatial perception and representation during the early Meiji period (1868-1882).[6] My argument is that photography, as a distinctive and integral form of geographical image making, occasioned a new form of visibility of space focused on the 'historic site (*shiseki*).' And it transformed the pre-existing idea of viewing and perceiving a given place, which had hitherto been conceived as a 'famous place (*meisho*).' Particular attention will be paid to the organization of four distinct sites of history that emerged through the mediation of photography: the 'national space' in the geo-encyclopedia, architectural topography, ancient sites, and imperial famous places.

Although the main object of this study will comprise various sets of landscape photographs, I have deliberately sought to take a different approach than that encapsulated by Karatani's 'landscape photography' for my main point of reference. These images were produced and circulated during the first two decades of the Meiji revolution (1868), which was itself conceived as a rapid era of transition to the fully-fledged emergence of 'Japanese modernity,' as initially

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[6] Although this study focuses on the first fifteen years of the Meiji period, it also covers before and after this time span in order to look at the shifting notion of space in its relation to the previous period's legacy and implications in the later period. 1868 is an entry point as it is when the new imperial regime set out its political and cultural domination. There are many reasons why 1882 was chosen as the end of this study: it was before the age of Rokumeikan, which means the time before an intense movement toward Westernization; it was also before the modern institutions of art, architecture, museum, and display were fully developed; it was before the Imperial Constitution; and in regards to photography, it was before the use of dry plating, which allowed speedier exposure time and a less massive and cumbersome camera.

marked by a decisive rupture with the old military regime (1603-1868). In exploring these landscape photographs during this transitional period, I will focus on two different conceptions of space, namely, famous places and historic sites, presented as a paradigm for looking at how the social change registered in actual spatial realties enabled, and was enabled, by a new mode of representation.

My reasons for addressing these two concepts are manifold. First of all, most of the landscape photographs in the early Meiji period are clearly indicated as 'famous places,' where the pre-existing idea of a place refers to touristic sites, beautiful scenic vistas, famous shrines and temples, popular commercial centers, etc. Framed by the camera, however, these famous places appear in a sharply different format and style than those that were presented during the previous period. To address these differences and contrasts, it is necessary to take up two distinctive notions of space. More importantly, this change is, beyond a mere question of style, embedded in a larger transition in the discourse of space – from the space of naming to the space of history, imbued with historical values and the collective memory of the nation, which I call the point of emergence of 'historic sites.' Given this transition, the landscape photographs that I look at here are more than just faithful reflections of the changing landscape. They function as a cultural catalyst, mediating the very transformation of the landscape as an image and as a representational form.

Such a shift, however, did not present a uniform progression, nor did it have a noticeable teleological dimension. Very generally, what happened to the determination of space and place in late nineteenth century Japan can be

understood as part of the process of modernization; space is made commensurate with, or at least adaptable to, a new constellation of events, forces, and institutions that, taken together, came to be defined as 'modernity' and progressivism. Photography was conceived as the ideal tool for the reorganization of space for its lending the mechanical eye to the exact documentation of pre-existing spatial entities, which, in turn, gave birth to an accumulated history of spatial realties. And yet, the photographic apparatus was not simply neutral vehicle with which to realize successfully the modern and national projects of Japan. It instead operated in contingent and multiple ways wherein the technical and material conditions of photography shaped the emergent and still fragile historical consciousness of the Meiji state. More significantly, photography itself had multiple meanings and implications during the early Meiji period, which could hardly be categorized according to a universal idea of 'photography.' Given its multivalent implications, photography, at least according to Karatani's idea of landscape photography, could not but repeat the logic of a certain theory of modernization whereby one single conception of Modernity exists and spreads elsewhere, just as there is one unified idea of photography that embodies the scopic regime of linear perspectives.

In exploring the emergence of new historic sites, I attempt to show how these variegated conceptions of photography were made compatible with, or at least came to terms with, the new arrangements of space and place. I continue to address the way the interplay between different photographic regimes often celebrated the traditional notion of photography with its claim to 'register the real essence (*shashin*)' of a new national space and identity. In so doing, I hope to

explain how the organization of new spatial realities was only made possible through the plural discourses and practices of photography. With this concern in mind, I will now seek to explain what is meant by 'famous places' in the present study.

Famous Places: Places of Naming, Naming of Places

A famous place, or *meisho*, literally means a place with a name (*na no aru tokoro*), and the trope arose early during the classical period to designate sites brought to public awareness by the poet's recognition of them.[7] Most were natural landmarks, associated with beautiful seasonal landscapes. Additionally, the trope would mark sites of enduring historical memory, evoking illustrious ancestral deeds connected with a particular place and time. Many of these sanctuaries had become famous because of their association with the imperial nobility and the aristocracy. Famous places also figured as a Japanese counterpart of the landscape in Western culture, thereby providing a central framework for understanding the external world. But the major concern of these famous places was not the land or the earth itself. Rather, they became known in response to the rhetorical obligation to perceive space both as a place of naming and the naming of a place. This does not mean that there was no rationalizing impulse or organizing principle in the representation of famous places, such as the linear perspective in the Western landscape tradition. The name ordered and represented places by means of its

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[7] Mary Elizabeth Berry, *Japan in Print: Information and Nation in the Early Modern Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006): 147.

powers of figural allusion, infinite categorization, and its free movement and scope, as well as by its seasonal associations and ability to evoke the historical imagination. In short, famous places provided a means of addressing space in all its intensity and figurality, with their meaning determined by their names.

While landscape in the Western tradition relies much on the faculty of sight as the medium through which the truth of the world can be attained, famous places were from the outset rooted in the literary conventions of poem and song.[8] These evocative names, or *meisho*, appeared for the first time in the tenth century handbooks of *utamakura*, which literally means poem pillow and refers to poems about famous places. This association derived from an interesting analogy between the poem and the pillow: just as the pillow is indispensible to our bodies as a means of support when we fall asleep, the poem supports us when we dream about and imagine a specific place.[9] Once cited in an *utamakura*, a place came to be recognized through its poetic names. The more names it had, the more famous it became.[10]

The seventeenth and eighteenth century witnessed a radical change in the

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[8] Denis Cosgrove indicates that the particular sensibility manifested in the representation of the visible world was closely connected with a growing dependency on the faculty of sight as the medium through which truth could be attained. This is precisely the context that had framed the idea of landscape within the boundaries of Western ocular-centrism. See Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*, 9.

[9] Edward Kamens explains the main idea behind *utamakura* by quoting from the work of the seventeenth century philologist Keichū: "whenever there is a place-name (*meisho*) in a Japanese poem, it can do for that poem what the pillow does for us in our sleep." Kemens points out that just as pillows support the body in our sleep and give us the comfort needed to nurture our dreams, likewise, certain place-names serve as a means of support and enrichment to make fine poems. Both the pillow and the place-name are facilitating agents, or the poetic loci through which we achieve contact with their rich potentialities, in order that they may be more precisely realized. See Edward Kamens, *Utamakura, Allusion, and Intertextuality in Traditional Japanese Poetry* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997): 1-2.

[10] If it had been implicated in imperial history or in Shinto beliefs, a place would automatically become a famous place, while its names became identified with its former historical heritage as a depository of cultural meaning. Suzuki Hiroyuki, *Nihon no bijutsu: Meisho fūzokuzu* (Tokyo: Shibundō, 2007): 26.

nature of the representation of famous places. The advent of print technology

brought about an abundant growth in the production and reproduction of

illustrated gazetteers, geographical texts, maps, and tour guides. A great number of

pictures depicting famous places were produced and circulated among

commoners.[11] Along with this increasing process of secularization, the tight

connection between the name, the place and the poem was more or less relativized

in response to these changes in media; yet literary representation persisted as a key

element in looking at and appreciating famous places, in spite of the growing

attention to sight and sight-seeing prevalent in the depiction of famous places. In

the preface of Saitō Gession's *Edo meisho zue* (1834), Matsudaira Kanzan put it

this way: "the idea of famous places originally came from *yamato uta* (yamato

poem). A landscape (*keishoku*), even if it is beautiful and scenic, cannot be a

famous place unless it is recited in classical poems (*furu waka*).[12]" Even in the

nineteenth century, the representation of famous places centered around certain

conventional literary genres, ranging from poetry to various kinds of traveling

accounts, tourist guidebooks, geographical primers, and personal diaries.

It is not my purpose here to map out the long history of famous places in

Japan. These discourses and practices also vary considerably over time. What I

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[11] A number of conditions gave birth to this new tradition of famous places: the emergence of urban commoners as an economically and culturally powerful class; the spread of mass education; and most of all, the advent of printing technology. Along with these changes, the newly literate populace transformed the very idea of famous places, which had been confined to the appreciation of a distinctly limited range of social groups, into an enormously popular form of commemoration. See Haruo Shirane, *Traces of Dreams: Landscape, Cultural Memory and the Poetry of Bashō* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998): 3-5. For the collective origin of the new famous places, see Nicholas Fièvè, "Kyoto's Famous Places: Collective Memories and 'Monuments' in the Tokugawa Period," in *Japanese Capitals in Historical Perspective: Place, Power, and Memory in Kyoto, Edo, and Tokyo* (London; New York: Routledge, 2003): 153-171. As for the relation between Mandala landscape and the panoramic view of famous places, see *Panorama chizu no sekai: Betsatsu Taiyō* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2003): 14-18.
[12] Suzuki, *Nihon no bijutsu: Meisho fūzokuzu*, 26.

want to highlight in this study is the underlying principle of 'meishoness,' which

reappears throughout history, whereby place is recognized as a 'concept' whose

meaning largely resides in its multiple names and toponyms. More importantly,

this linkage to the poetic and literary conventions of famous places occasioned a

specific mode of vision, operating at a highly conceptual and imaginary level. Of

course, in any consideration of eighteenth century *meisho ukiyo e*, we encounter

clusters of splendid and spectacular images of famous places, as illustrated, say,

by Hiroshige and Hokusai's woodblock prints. But the pictorial representation of

meisho itself began within the literary tradition of composing poems in the context

of ancient imperial court culture. In the tenth century, both the imperial nobility

and the aristocracy made and installed special kinds of folding screens (*yamato

byōbu*) composed of sets of *utamakura* (poems) and pictures of famous places.

Here pictures were not so much prized for their explanatory qualities as much as

for their powers of association. Painters would seek to express the image of

famous places through a specific method of visual allusion called *mitate* (見立て),

which meant picturing what the *utamakura* had 'alluded' to. Because they relied

on the figural association between the name, the place, and the picture, the

representation of famous places was not necessarily bound up with the actual

visuality of the landscape. Rather, the picture aimed to *suggest* what the names of

places alluded to in a more vivid and concrete manner than was possible within

the poem itself.[13] Indeed, nothing other than the name and its association with a

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[13] Both Chino Kaori and Yamori Kazuhiro have suggested that the noble tradition of *mitate* and the recitation of poems had gradually lost their centrality, and the picture began to achieve its independent role in perceiving and representing space from the beginning of the eleventh century. See Chino Kaori, "Meisho e no seiritsu to tenkai," and Yamori Kazuhiro, "Meisho e o megutte," in

specific seasonal or historic landscape would supply the organizing principle by which to picture places.

The free association of *mitate* was gradually replaced by more realistic image-making in the course of the eighteenth century. In the age of *meisho zue* (the collection of illustrated famous places), pictures of famous places generally demonstrated a degree of visuality that conformed to the prescribed pictorial models and tropes. By way of subject matter, temples and shrines were still prominently featured, but commoners' interests were also reflected. As the eighteenth century gave way to the nineteenth century a great number of *meisho* texts came to include landscapes of urban centers, commercial spots, and tourist sites. The main media available also underwent transition from folding screens to prints and books, which entailed an abrupt increase in the production and consumption of famous places. Nonetheless, the conceptual way of envisioning the landscape was still persistent and less threatened by the early modern visual turn.[14] This new way of looking at space was given a certain epistemological direction and emphasis through its celebration of a more conventional way of viewing, that is, from a bird's eye perspective, or by means of the transcendent

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Nihon byōbu e shūsei 10: Keibutsuga – Meisho keibutsu (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1982): 115-121, and 136-143.

[14] It is said that the literary convention came to lose its power to organize and configure space since the sixteenth century. Instead, visuality stepped in to fill up this lost ground as a main principle to perceive and represent place. This visual turn is well revealed in the newly emerging genre of landscape called *rakuchu rakugai zu*, which describes the center and greater Kyoto area from a bird-eye perspective. However, as both Chino Kaori and Yamori Kazuhiro argue, such a visual turn does not necessarily indicate a radical shift from the literary convention of famous places. Rather, it implies a different way of envisioning landscape, in which poem, narrative and the textual matrix continue to involve in a different level with a different register. In the meantime, Ido Misato argues that the new way of representing famous places was closely related to, and occasioned by, the shifting political circumstances. The newly emerging local lords called *sengoku daimyo* struggled to obtain their symbolic power and authority by possessing actual pictures of the capitalscapes of Kyoto. See Ido Misato, "Illuminating the Outskirts: The Landscape of Rakugai," *Association of Asian Studies Annual Meeting Working Paper*. Philadelphia (2010)

vision afforded by a lofty view from the heavens, that which had been employed in the Buddhist paintings of sacred places such as Mandala landscape.[15]

In analyzing Japanese early modern cartographic culture, Edward Casey points out three overarching tendencies found in the *ukiyo e* maps: encompassability, partial exaggeration, and density of compression.[16] Just as maps and landscapes were both technically and discursively bound up with each other in early modern Japan, these cartographic traits resonated in the accompanying pictures of famous places. In light of a more holistic vision, famous places are presented as spaces of wholeness, offering a comprehensive taxonomic range. Also, any conformity to an actual scale would not matter in the picture of famous places; rather, it would express a deliberately exaggerated stature within space that could aid the viewer in determining what was most readily identifiable and recognizable, that is, most crucial, in the powers of evocation conjured by these names. Lastly, the landscape of famous places is often packed with things, people and crowds, which generate a sense that there is much to do and much to see in a given place. All these dimensions are reflective of the specific nature of famous places, and matter less in providing an accurate and readable account of a specific territory than the intensive qualities of toponyms and their accompanying narratives. As Aoki Shigeru indicates, *meisho e* (a picture of famous places) is a 'conceptual landscape,' suggesting a transcendent vision of the landscape rather than the depiction of the actual visuality of the landscape.[17] Within this tradition,

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[15] Yamori Kazuhiro, "Meisho e o megutte," 138.

[16] Edward Casey, *Representing Place: Landscape Painting and Maps*, 209-211.

[17] Aoki Shigeru, *Shizen o utsusu* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1996): 17-36; Suzuki Hiroyuki, *Nihon no bijutsu: Meisho fūzokuzu* 26-47.

space is visualized *through* narratives that make a given place recognizable by dint of its associated names and concepts, while yet being capable of representation in visual media.

The bird's eye view of famous places thus differs markedly from the Renaissance tradition of ichnography, a cartographic landscape drawn from the perspective of heaven, which Jonathan Crary regards as a pre-Copernican, synoptic and totalizing apprehension of space, considered as a unified entity.[18] Unlike ichnography, the commanding gaze in famous places does not represent space through a geometrical projection; nor does it depend on a mathematical abstraction of a given space. It is a high-level mode of viewing that embraces the idea of the 'infinitude of the world.' In this sense, the operating vision of famous places might resonate with the Western tradition of the panoramic view developed in eighteenth and nineteenth century Europe. However, it also differs from the panoramic view since the ascending field of vision in famous places rests on neither a technique of verisimilitude nor of simulating reality to a greater degree.[19] It is panoramic in a conceptual way, characterized by a seemingly self-evident wholeness, but it does not provide, nor does it assert, an imaginary unity and coherence, as projected onto an external world. Rather, the bird's eye view of famous places reflects a holistic and synoptic vision, embedded in the idea of famous places itself, which defines the whole by enumerating, lining up, dividing,

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[18] Jonathan Crary thus distinguishes ichnography from scenography, as the former reflects a transcendent vision of God, whereas the latter resonates with the perspectival vision. See Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990): 51-55.

[19] Angela Miller indicates that panorama is a nineteenth century technology, which appealed to audiences thirsting for greater verisimilitude in representations of landscapes and history, and tantalized those with an eye to profits. See Angela Miller, **"**The Panorama**,** the Cinema and the Emergence of the Spectacular," in *Wide Angle* Vol. 18, No. 2 (April 1996): 44-48.

classifying, arranging and displaying all the different objects, places and names in

their *infinitude* of relations. This holistic and taxonomic coverage was an

epistemological technique rather than a practical skill, and it guided its

practitioners to understand the overarching and immense concept of space, as with

Nihon, Yamato and Hokkaido, through locating and interrelating an infinity or

multitude of names as they appeared in the light of the whole.[20] To deal with, or

encompass, the whole means to break it down into infinitely small and

manageable components, and to show them *at once* from a transcendent position,

and from multiple points of view. The bird's eye view of famous places was

discovered to be part of a specific epistemology of spatial knowledge, especially

as it had developed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and it became a

conventional means of representing landscape in the illustrated books of famous

places. Within this mode of viewing, space is imagined as less an integral unit

than a well-made patchwork of small and plural names, fragments and dominions,

incorporating an infinite number of things and people. This is the reason why

space is always presented as a set of plural spaces, just as the notion of the

'famous place' is always defined by an entire set, consisting of multiple numbers

of famous places: no single famous place exists independently as a concept, nor as

an image of space. Places are named and envisioned in their limitless relations,

while their specific locations are viewed from the conceptual viewpoint of the

heavens. This holistic idea of space and vision influenced various forms of social

geography, from mapping and surveying to touristic guides and illustrated

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[20] For more about the holistic vision of social geography in the Edo period, see Elizabeth Berry, *Japan in Print*, 18-27.

gazetteers, in early modern Japan.

The Emergence of Historic Sites

I also wish to argue that this conceptual framework of naming is reflective of the spatially inflected political thought of the Tokugawa period (1603-1868). Julia Adeney Thomas points out how the Tokugawa mentality was shaped by the idea of mapping the world, of locating things in their right places using proper names, during the early modern period. [21] The nature of landscape greatly conditioned the mental 'lay of the land,' and vice versa. This mental mapping charted out physical as well as political landscapes. Geography was imbued with political meanings and values, while political actions were spatially explained. In this spatial regime, the order of the world was based upon the idea of political rectification, of locating people and things in their proper positions by 'naming' them, which was in fact a crucial means of maintaining its political authority. Thomas conceived this politics of naming and location as the 'topographical imagination' peculiar to the Tokugawa period (1603-1868). And yet, such a spatially oriented political idea was later displaced in favor of historical considerations during the Meiji period (1868-1912). Time was the most pivotal element in Meiji efforts to establish a new system of knowledge and instrumentality. Nature could not therefore be fixed, located with precision, and spatialized within a proper place; rather, it was constantly changing, subject to the

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[21] Julia Adeney Thomas, *Reconfiguring Modernity: Concepts of Nature in Japanese Political Ideology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001): 32-40 and 56-59.

vicissitudes of time, and thus transmuted into a form of history.

Stefan Tanaka also points out that establishing the notion of 'new time' was one of the key themes of the Meiji period, whereby Japan would be able to synchronize its development within the capitalistic world order. The different orders of temporality also played a part in this process of transformation whereby a historical consciousness could emerge that would transmute the heterogeneous communities of the archipelago into a unified nation-state.[22] Reasonably enough, Tanaka included 'history' itself as part of this process of transformation, although its externally derived, implicitly Western, historicity was successfully naturalized in Japanese history.

This new reckoning of time gave a new dimension of meaning to famous places. The pre-existing sites of fame began to be reorganized into various categories of space, defined by their social function rather than by their individual names – for example, by means of religious places, commercial quarters, archaic sites, scenic spots, etc. New places were also added to the pre-existing domain of famous places, such as newly constructed western-style buildings, new urban centers, monumental architecture, etc. But the most crucial change is that many of the old famous places came to enter the stage of history for the first time – not a chronicled history, but a history narrativized in response to the newly awakened consciousness for modern historicism to play a role in reconstituting, or even, inaugurating the field of national historiography. Accordingly, temples and shrines, comprising by far the greater number of these famous places, were reorganized and re-conceptualized; and given a place in history, a spatial reference through

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[22] Stefan Tanaka, *New Times in Modern Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004): 2-3.

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which the construct of a national past and identity in Japan could be enabled and maintained.

Of course, the emergence of the site-as-history and its connection to national identity is not a phenomenon unique to Japan. As Pierre Nora indicates, it is a general phenomenon throughout modern Europe, and especially pervasive in France during the eighteenth and nineteenth century. For Nora, historic sites indicate how the nation came to fill up the vacated ground of memory with new constructions of sites that would validate and authenticate consensual notions of the past. He called the ways in which memory is spatially constructed the making of "sites of memory (lieux de mémoire)."[23] Following up on Nora's notion of sites of memory, Takashi Fujitani investigates how mnemonic sites were constructed as the material vehicles of an emperor-centered national past in Meiji Japan. He especially attends to the creation of the ritual and material signs of the physical landscape, both of which were newly constructed during the 1890s, and onwards.[24]

My idea of 'historic sites' builds upon Nora and Fujitani's notion of 'memoryscape,' that is, a place conceived as a symbolic topos where the collective past could be assimilated and rooted in order to create a vast topology for the nation. But while they emphasized the way memory recodified the authentic history of the quintessential elements of the nation, my focus is more on the way such a historical consciousness had itself begun to emerge before the

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[23] Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History," in *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*, Vol. 1 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996): 1-3.
[24] Takashi Fujitani, *Splendid Monarchy: Power and Pageantry in Modern Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988): 11-17.

establishment of these memory-sites.[25] And it was the first decade of the Meiji

period when the awareness of 'new time' or 'modern time' entailed the recognition

of history than memory as the main parameter through which to look at the world.

This study will thus focus on the earlier moment of Meiji Japan, about two

decades earlier than the formation of what Fujitani designated as 'mnemonic sites'

began to be built and rebuilt in the nationalistic landscape of the late 1890s. In so

doing, I will seek to illuminate how the discovery of 'history' occurred first and

foremost in capturing the old spatial realities of famous places by means of

photography.

Surely the idea of historic sites had existed before, in the pre-Meiji period,

especially as the confluence of memory, place and power was not a new

phenomenon in the new imperial regime. The eighteenth century witnessed a

boom in the demand for the restoration of old battlefields (*kosenjō*), relics of

ancient castles (*kojōseki*), and the mausoleums of the ancestors of influential local

lords. These sites were avidly rediscovered, marked with stone monuments

(*kinenhi*), and commemorated anew by both the local powers and the samurai

class.[26] Informed by the larger movement of revivalism during the late eighteenth

century, earlier forms of these historic sites came to be established in many local

areas, and were soon staked out as local famous places. As with modern and

contemporary historic sites, devotional practices were performed around these

sites, facilitated by the building of stone monuments and the performance of ritual

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[25] From Nora's perspective, memory and history are different yet not opposed notions: memory
over-determines history in its quest to be universal and to create a patriotic synthesis. They *at once*
co-operate and are consubstantial in forming a locus of conceptualization of the national past. See
Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History," 3-4.
[26] Haga Shōji, *Shisekiron* (Nagoya: The University of Nagoya Press, 1998): 2-4.

ceremonies. But the sites were not yet categorized into 'historic sites,' nor were they collectively commemorated and restored in light of national history. Rather, the earlier forms of the historic sites were a product of the local powers' interest in searching for, and reasserting, their novel identities under the banner of Confucian 'righteousness (*gi*).' This led them to mark the sites of commemoration and to perform a symbolic ritual to affect a vicarious return to their origins.[27] Put briefly, the earlier mnemonic sites were remarkable for their local genealogy, but not for contributing to an overarching sense of the history of the nation.

In this old paradigm of 'historic sites,' different notions of monumentality were operative, and they did not necessarily celebrate or commemorate the spheres of architecture, ancient monuments, the priceless treasures kept in the sanctuaries, the historical heritage, and so on. More importantly, the earlier historic sites were rarely represented in a visual form, despite their importance within a complex configuration of local famous places. Minimally portrayed in the illustrated gazetteers and traveling accounts via indirect signs and symbols, for example, they were presented not by a landscape image, but by people indicating the location of a historic site. By contrast, historic sites in the modern era are almost always represented by a graphic image, usually depicting a spectacular visual landscape with archaic buildings, monuments, old art works and treasures, and a vivid sense of their context within the surrounding environment. Not only the old historic sites, but also famous places in general, appeared to be fully visualized in actuality, rather than visualized through narratives, as in the early modern mode of representation. This change was affected as part of the larger

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[27] Haga Shōji, ibid., 15-16.

paradigm of modernity and reflected its impulse to 'visualize' the world in order to manage and acquire it. But a more specific problem in nineteenth century Japan was posed by the new manner of representing place, which was intricately bound up with a new mode of reckoning time and history; and more importantly, photography was deeply implicated as a mode of viewing, perceiving and documenting landscape in this process of reconfiguring both time and space. Given this, the emergence of new historic sites entailed far more than just an account of the shifts in representational practice. I cannot but see this as both the historical product as well as the site of certain practices, techniques and institutions, which facilitated a fundamental shift from the place of naming to the place of historicizing. As such, the meaning of 'historic sites' in my study goes beyond the general definition of a site of historical interests and meanings; in addition to this, it indicates a specific kind of spatial reality and representation that emerged during the early Meiji period, especially through the mediation of a new kind of vision, that is, photography.

How, then, was photography implicated in creating a new regime of visibility and recognizability in the representation of famous places? More fundamentally, how did it engage with, or facilitate, the shifting principles that organize space in the transition from naming to historicizing? On the one hand, these questions were addressed for the first time by the state agency from the perspective of photographic indexicality, and from within the discourse of modernity itself. In constructing Japan's own version of world geography, initiated by the state, the new term 'photography' referred to the discursive grounds of

national subjectivity that enabled the nation to participate in the larger picture of modernity. This began with the recognition of the newness of indexical images in the production of knowledge, which government officials understood as a mimetic trope wherein the 'image traced its shadow.' They recognized, moreover, that indexicality could shape the discursive grounds for creating the visual 'type' of the nation, especially were it to produce a specific iconography of national landscape corresponding to that in Western modernized countries. In other words, photography is a crucial technology and presents a coherent discourse to situate the nation not only on the stage of world geography, but also within a particular narrative of world history. And in the case of Japan, the first and foremost spaces to be historicized were the old architecture and famous places, of which photographic documentation had been available even before the establishment of national geography.

On the other hand, we should pay attention to the way photographic indexicality implied a certain mechanical or technical dimension, that which determines the camera angle and frame, the photographic plate, and the exposure time, especially in disclosing the physical surface of a specific space as it appears in its 'actual' reality. The broader implications of indexicality are thus more narrowly defined, posing the question of how the indexical aspects of photography invite a new configuration of experience through the representation of space in its 'actuality.' Photographic indexicality, as Benjamin indicates, can be understood as that which "made it possible for the first time to preserve permanent and

unmistakable traces" of the world.[28] But, more specifically, in the Japanese

context, it has an indexical aspect – that is, a photograph conceived as a trace of

an actual or pre-existing reality – and it brought about compelling changes in the

pre-existing representational practices to envision and commemorate famous

places.

First and foremost, the camera accomplished the alignment of the

imaginary and holistic perspective of famous places by situating them at the level

of the human eye. The encompassing vision afforded by a bird's eye view that

looks out over famous places in their entirety gave place to a more focused and

fragmented vision of the camera, in turn revealing a more limited view of the

landscape. Place began to be depicted not in a transcendent dimension from above,

but from a more concrete perspective in its actual extensity. And this change was

not intentional, but occurred inadvertently because of the camera's limited scope

and angle in respect to framing – it is as if "you point the camera, and the

landscape just comes down from the heavens." This seemingly natural change

signaled the emergence of a new awareness of famous places with quite different

connotations, one that could be associated more readily with visuality than with

conceptuality, and it could be recognized through the concrete signs and

manifestations of architecture, monuments and the landscape. Famous places, then,

began to indicate an actual landscape that existed in all its concrete spatiality, and

that depended on the newly discovered domain of vision and visuality.

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[28] Walter Benjamin, *Charles Baudelaire: A Lyric Poet in the Era of High Capitalism* (London: NLB, 1983): 48. Quoted in Tom Gunning, "Tracing the Individual Body: Photography, Detectives, and Early Cinema," in Leo Charney and Vanessa Schwartz (eds.) *Cinema and the Invention of Modern Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press): 21.

However, we should note that the emphasis on the visual had been already apparent throughout the spatial representation of the Tokugawa period. As mentioned above, the woodblock prints had portrayed the actual landscapes of famous places in all their rich visual splendour of signs and forms. Yet they followed the traditional way of representing space by observing the conventional association with specific seasons, and a particular time of the year, in which temporality was evoked in its natural rhythms, through repetition and circularity, rather than the linear progressive time of modern historicism.[29] That is, the traditional framework for looking at space persists in these works in a different form and in a different register, partly embracing the visuality of space.

There also existed a tradition or 'art of describing' in Japan, which Svetlana Alpers took to be characteristic of Dutch realist painting, and which rendered space into a pure surface of visuality, as in realistic paintings.[30] Informed by the very same Dutch pictures and prints that Alpers describes, a new genre of true-view landscape (*shinkeizu*) was invented as a form of true-view landscape in eighteenth century Japan. But this was created for the specific purposes of military defense and national security rather than being reflective of the popular conception of space and place.[31] The Albertian 'vanishing point' was also celebrated among commoners during the Edo period, as illustrated in the vogue

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[29] See Henry Smith, *Hiroshige: One Hundred Famous Views of Edo* (New York: The Brooklyn Museum, 1986): 11.

[30] Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983): xix.

[31] The Chinese character is 真景図, which literally means a picture of a 'true-view' landscape. As for the notion of *shinkei*, see Tsuji Nobuo, "Shinkei no keifu: Chūkoku to Nihon 1," in *Bijutsushi rongyō* 1 (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Bungakubu Bijutsushi Kenkyūshitsu, 1987): 113-136, and "Shinkei no keifu: Chūkoku to Nihon 2," in *Bijutsushi rongyō* 3 (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Bungakubu Bijutsushi Kenkyūshitsu, 1987): 39-63.

for floating pictures (*uki e*). These floating pictures emphasized the distance between the foreground and background by making the main object appear to tip off from the center of the picture.[32] The resulting image, seen from a particular angle, appeared to be made of glass, which increased the realistic effect of verisimilitude. Nonetheless, these earlier depictions of 'surface' or 'depth' were not implicated in the symbolic formation of 'landscape,' and they did not adhere to its major principle of abstracting space, nor did they express a strong desire to regulate space by homogenizing it.[33] The nineteenth century realistic landscape displayed little interest in reorganizing the field of vision and the perception of space, but it also showed how the dominant ideas and practices of space neither resisted nor deflected the different practices of representation.

However, photography occasioned a fundamental break in the perception and representation of famous places. Indeed, photography's concrete rendering of actuality led to the radical repositioning of the previous mode of representation based on a rhythmic, circular and seasonal notion of time. It did not allow for a hypothetical or imaginary landscape, nor did it encourage the exaggeration of scale and volume. Nor did it acknowledge a poetic discursiveness in picturemaking, created out of the free play of inspired allusions to a given place. In other words, photography identified and solicited a space of extensity, which led to a new recognition for famous places based on their actual size, location,

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[32] For more on the cultural practices of *uki e*, see Timon Screech, *The Lens within the Heart: The Western Scientific Gaze and Popular Imaginary in Later Edo Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002): 94-132.

[33] In this sense, Takanori Li points out that the Western-style painting (*yofūga*) in the Edo period, despite its mimicry of the linear perspective, did not embody the Western principle of perspective, which homogenizes space on the basis of a geometrical principle. See Takanori Li, *Hyōshō kūkan no kindai: Meiji Nihon no media hensei* (Tokyo: Shinyōsha, 1996): 37-66.

topography and, perhaps most important of all, their linear progression in time.

The distinctive nature of famous places changed at this point. Photography captured each moment of space otherwise doomed to vanish over the passage of time. Framed and recalled by the camera, famous places were duly unfolded over time, subject to their own temporal density, not of the here and now, but belonging essentially to what had already transpired. Photographic testimony, as Barthes points out, bears "not on the object but on time.[34]" The presence of the past in the documentation of place is most clearly illustrated through capturing the physicality or materiality of spatial components. And it was the camera that incorporated them into the irrevocable flows of modern historical time – an irreversible, yet also progressive and theological time. In short, photographic indexicality, given its actual mode of representation, made it possible to keep track of, and index, the history of famous spaces.

When considering *meisho*, by contrast, space and its constituent elements, including architecture, monuments, relics and ruins, were conceived through an ahistorical notion of time, represented as a certain set of visual types and patterns, and not by means of their material forms or shapes, which change according to a progressive and developmental notion of time. Intrinsic to the idea of *meisho*, the spatial components were perceived as being part of a distinct conception of place, that is, the locus of ideas and naming. What photography undermined was the rigidity of these conceptions, thereby relocating them as integral aspects of place that people could perceive, represent, and identify in their actual spatial realities.

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[34] Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981): 88-89.

But as a number of critiques of photography have indicated, the indexicality of photography does not entail the reproduction of the world, at least as it existed.[35] Indeed, a new reckoning of space as a physical entity in Meiji Japan came to be foregrounded in, and circumscribed by, the history of the nation state. What now replaces the intensity of meishoness is the extensity of space, whose values can be calibrated in the universal language of history and then recalibrated through the distinct vocabulary of national history. The loss of meishoness was grounded by a homogeneous continuum of historical time, which, in turn, was regrounded by the very intensity of *meisho* and its original connection to the imperial culture. Meishoness was then called upon to reconstitute famous places into a reservoir of national and imperial history. I will examine this returning of imperial meishoness by looking at the specific use of photography as developed for the imperial tours during the early Meiji period. Photography here was employed as an embodiment of the emperor's eye, and it not only captured but also came to validate the historic value bestowed upon famous places. Once historicized, these famous places could provide the material grounds for creating the nation as a place-identity, and become the unit of analysis for an abstract historical narrative of the nation. It might be said that what mattered was less the discovery of the new spatial reality itself, but the problem of how to endow it with

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[35] There are a number of studies on the historical formations of meanings and implications of photographic indexicality. See, for example, John Tagg, *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988); Allen Sekula, "The Body and the Archive," in *The Contest of Meaning: Critical Histories of Photography* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1989): 348-389; Tom Gunning, "Tracing the Individual Body: Photography, Detectives, Early Cinema and the Body of Modernity," in *Cinema and the Invention of Modern Life* ed. Vanessa R. Schwartz and Leo Charney (University of California Press, 1995): 15-45.

an authentic history corresponding to the broader needs, and larger history, of the nation state.

In this sense, photographic indexicality is a much more complex matter than might otherwise appear when it is simply construed as a simple trace of the actual presence of the past. A photograph of a famous place, beyond being a mere emanation of what was once there, is a tangible product of the material apparatus, and can be set to work in specific contexts, by specific forces, for more or less definite purposes.[36] Photographic indexicality most of all requires a history, especially one which offers to explain *how* the photograph might come to provide evidence of a time that has now definitively passed, thereby articulating a new historiography of modern Japan. This is precisely the context that prompted me to look at the role of photography in the emergence of new 'historic sites,' providing a collective name for sites of imperial historicity, as well as affording a legal term for their preservation. The term *shiseki* (historic sites) is significant here: rather than connoting space, it literally refers to the 'traces of history.' My study specifically asks how these 'traces of history' were first discovered and articulated through the 'pencil of history,' namely, photography, and what this mediatic discovery might imply with respect to the establishment of a contemporary reckoning of a new space and time for Japan.[37] And these particular concerns are the principal focus of the following chapters.

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[36] John Tagg, *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988): 3.
[37] I borrowed this expression from Roland Barthes. He writes: "The same century invented History and Photography," in *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photograph*, 93.

The Question of Modernity

The reconstruction of historic sites was part of the larger framework of the nineteenth century fever for the 'museumification' of the world, whereby everything became collectable simply because it was soon to disappear. This mentality of preservation and its accompanying sense of antiquarianism led to, on the one hand, the construction of the museum as "an optical instrument that presents the past as something the present needs to legitimize, naturalize and sustain itself."[38] On the other hand, the city itself was also turned into a curatorial space to showcase monuments and artifacts. As Walter Benjamin insightfully comments, the loss of memory transformed the city into an antiquarian display of an already aestheticized past.[39] Benjamin considered photography as a kind of fracturing vision that went against the grain of universal history and its curatorial sentiments.[40] Despite these expectations, however, photography was the perfect companion for the historic preservation of space. It followed rather than betrayed the pre-existing conventions of instrumental realism by not only capturing all the quickly vanishing vestiges of the past but also by collecting them within the order of the archive. Photography even accelerated the conservation sentiment, adding a new dimension of mechanical objectivity and reproducibility, both of which were

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[38] Paul Eggert, *Securing the Past: Conservation in Art, Architecture, and Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009): 13.

[39] Burkhardt Lindner, "*The Passagen-Werk, the Berliner Kindheit, and the Archaeology of the "Recent Past,""* in *New German Critique*, Vol. 39 (1986): 33-34.

[40] Walter Benjamin believes that photography could break through the linear continuum of time and the false sense of historicism. He writes: "a new calendar functioning as a historical time-lapse camera, where flashes of memory are supposed momentarily to arrest the flow of time, leaving behind blank spaces as days of remembrance or handles on memory." See his "Thesis on the Philosophy of History," in *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections* (New York: Schocken Books, 1968): 269.

at the heart of the pictorial conventions of the nineteenth century restoration movement.

What is striking in the case of Japan is that the notion of the historic site and its preservation emerged through the process of photographic documentation, rather than preceding it.[41] More strikingly still, many historic sites were defined and designated by the camera, which embodied the presence of the emperor during his tours to local areas in the late nineteenth century. This reversed order has been largely interpreted according to a heuristic or 'trial and error' motif in the nascent development of Japanese modernity. In this scenario, we attach to the West-Japan conjunction a *unified* category that is presupposed as being the necessary condition for comparative studies.[42] Underlying this comparativism is the universality of the category itself, presented as a single homogeneous concept, including photography, architecture, fine art, etc. These categories operate as emblems of Modernity, standing for a uniquely modern means of representation. But as suggested above, such a unified category tends to homogenize the different experiences of modernity, suggesting that there is only one way and one path to true Modernity.

My study does not necessarily set up any unitary conceptions of the historic site and photography, nor does it conceive their reversed order as being a

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[41] For the relation between photography and architectural preservation in Japan, see Shimizu Shigeatsu, "Shunkan toshite no hozon = shashin," in *10 +1* No. 23 (2001): 141-144.

[42] Thus we have: photography in Japan vs. photography in the West, architecture in Japan vs. architecture in the West, painting in Japan vs. painting in the West. In this scheme, the latter is the necessary point of reference for the former, evaluated as a unitary particularity, albeit defined by the latter. This basically repeats modernity's own structure of the particular vs. the universal, by which the West is always situated as the universal sovereign of history. Still more problematic here, is the fact that this contrast itself comes to appear as a universal schema by which to seek an understanding of true modernity. See Sakai Naoki, *Translation and Subjectivity: On "Japan" and Cultural Nationalism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997): 154-155.

'problem' of modernity. Rather, I have sought to find a new approach to the problem of modernity by examining the horizontal alliances between different socio-cultural categories that emerged, and were subsequently linked together, in late nineteenth century Japan. I am particularly concerned in the following chapters with the coincidental emergence of photography and such notions as national geography, old architecture, ancient sites, and imperial famous places. All these themes trace parallel trajectories, co-emerging and co-informing one another in the visual domain of the early Meiji period. In their interconnectedness, one given element discovers, articulates, and qualifies another, and vice versa. Thus, the new notion of architecture surfaced through being photographed, while photography could be newly defined and practiced by picturing architecture. I attempt to situate these horizontal alliances across multiple fields, and while identifying a network of linkages in the formations of modernity, I also hope to show how the ground of rationality itself was contingently built on by small ruptures and minute breaks in the elaboration of the modern project. The Meiji national topography could only emerge out of the contingent encounter between landscape and the camera, in which neither side completely overshadowed the other.

Problematic here is the fact that photography itself is penetrated by myriad layers of meaning as a visual medium, and therefore the universal notion of 'photography' is often simply redundant, or merely inactive. Instead, we encounter the plural modes of different 'photographies' playing against each other, thereby crossing and dovetailing with the different fields of rationality that

emerged during the early Meiji period. To a great extent, photography was the locus of a number of discursive concatenations, providing a connecting link for continual negotiations and hybridizations of related cultural components. In this study, I will attempt to set up photography as a domain that signifies multivalently, and to show how and why it became the locus where the question of modernity arose most compellingly. When I refer to "photography," I thus conceive it as a broad array of different ideas and practices; for instance, photography may include illustrations or prints, and although these images are not photomechanically produced they are nonetheless termed "photography." Likewise, photography was often mixed with other media, some of which more properly belonging to the realm of spirituality, in which photography is taken to embody the emperor's corporeal eye.

It is nonetheless true that photographic indexicality reveals the material dimensions of a given space, wherein the gaze is re-orientated from naming to history. But considered in a different perspective, we might also argue that it was only through these multiple layers of photography that the idea of 'history' came to be discovered. In exploring the multivalency of photography, my aim is to show how the larger scheme of development, from naming to historicizing, cannot be conceived as a smooth, uniform and teleological movement. Even within this period of transition photography was subject to continual negotiations with other media, and other elements within 'modernism' that were incongruous with, irrelevant to, or outside of, the scheme itself.

The most striking point to note is that photography in the early Meiji

period referred not only to photography from the West, but to the old, proto-historical notion of photography that had been present at the very beginning of the long tradition of visual representation in Japan, called *shashin*. Composed of the two Chinese letters, featuring the verb 'project' and the noun 'truth,' the literal meaning of *shashin* is "registering the real essence of the object (*shin o utsusu*)." Yet *shashin* had a variety of meanings in the larger context of East Asian visual conventions: conveying the spirit by reproducing the appearance, evoking an individual aura, rendering the idea of the imitation of nature, striving for verisimilitude, reproducing the living model, etc.[43] This new idea of photography was accommodated and hybridized within the domain of the preexisting idea and consequently '*shashin*' was established as the translated term for Western photography in the late 1870s.[44]

Given these multiple definitions and meanings within the field of photography, Maki Fukuoka critically poses the problem of a single and unified notion of photography. To trace the notion of *shashin* before the arrival of Western photography in Japan, she analyzed the way *shashin* was used in the scholarly works of the natural historians during the mid-nineteenth century and onwards. She attempted to expand the established trajectory of the history of photography in Japan, and to rethink the assumed relationship in dominant historiography, by

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[43] Doris Croissant mapped out the various meanings of *shashin* in China and Japan. See Doris Croissant, "In Quest of the Real: Portrayal and Photography in Japanese Painting Theory," in *Challenging Past and Present: The Metamorphosis of 19th Century Japanese Art* (Honolulu, 2006): 153-176. See also Satō Dōshin, "Shajitsu, shashin, shasei," in *Meiji kokka to kindai bijutsu: Bi no seijigaku* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1999): 209-232.
[44] Of course this phenomenon was not unique to Japan. China and Korea also went through a similar process of conceptual dubbing in translating terms relating to the Western technologies of photography. As for the early history of photography in China, see Yi Gu, *Scientizing Vision in China: Photography, Outdoor Sketching, and the Reinvention of Landscape Perception, 1912-1949* (Brown University, Doctoral Dissertation, 2009): 58-101.

shedding light on the 'conceptual history' of photography.[45] At another level,

Kinoshita Naoyuki highlighted the mediatic hybridity of photography in the 1860s

and 1870s, focusing on the distinctive form of photo painting, which he

considered as a "marriage between photography and painting.[46]" He attempted to

look at the interplay between heterogeneous cultural practices that had surfaced

both contingently and accidentally in turn of the century Japan. From photography

to doll displays, this emphasis on heterogeneity played out simultaneously, while

shaping and reshaping the specific cultural practice called *misemono* (public

displays). *Misemono* comprised not only a simple mixture of the old and the new,

but also embraced fresh alignments between the old and the new, as in the new

role played by screen roll oil painting in photography. In elucidating the multiple,

heterogeneous, and hybrid formations of early Meiji culture, his work illuminates

a new possibility of recuperating what had once been ignored, excluded, and

forgotten in the name of Art History with its logical basis in modern historicism.[47]

In examining early Meiji photographic conventions, I argue that what was

once considered as distinctively 'new' in photography was in fact propped onto

certain culturally powerful iconographic codes that preceded the modern forms,

and these codes served as a seedbed for the new in a process of self-

transformation, while yet being successively dismantled by the ongoing dynamic

of cultural change. By looking at what might be termed the grounding of the old, I

do not mean to merely highlight its seminal contribution to affecting a transition

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[45] Maki Fukuoka, *Between Seeing and Knowing: Shifting Standards of Accuracy and the Concept of Shashin in Japan, 1830-1872* (Chicago: Chicago University, Doctoral Dissertation, 2006): 2.
[46] Kinoshita Naoyuki, *Shasingaron: Shasin to kaiga no gekkon* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1996): 1-22.
[47] Kinoshita Naoyuki, *Bijutsu to iu misemono* (Tokyo: Chikuma Gakugei Bunko, 1999): 14-17.

between the new and modern; rather, I attempt to overcome the simplistic and reductive view of modernization theory, in which the old, despite its performative role, is doomed to remain resolved and integrated into the new. What I am concerned with instead is the way it participated in the formation of modernity as a form of 'evolution-by-hybridization,' creating the distinctive set of problems by means of which the teleological logic of modernization theory may be traced.[48]

In effect, the overlaps between the new and the old pertain not only to Japan, but also to other cultural contexts, as illustrated in Walter Benjamin's insightful contemplation of visual culture in turn of the century Paris. Of particular interest in non-Western contexts, as in Japan, is that temporal hybridity appears invisible or hides itself behind its spatial relation to the West, which in turn creates a seemingly greater distance between different periods – the old and the new, or Edo and Meiji. Nonetheless, such an enormous temporal gap was imaginary, that is, constituted through an imagined proximity between Japan and the West. In the name of Meiji modernity, the temporal distance from the Edo period could be disavowed, or otherwise overcome. The figures, agents, and technologies that I deal with in my study explicitly reflect this dilemma of double-edged divergence from the early Meiji period. For then, the principal tactic of the 'modern' was to embrace, mobilize and co-opt the old to overcome the very residues of oldness, thereby creating a mimetic autonomy with which to envision a new cultural order

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[48] I borrowed this term from Thomas Lamarre's analysis of Tanizaki Jun'ichirō's work in the Taishō period (1912-1926). According to Lamarre, Tanizaki's film narratives, such as "Mermaid's Lament," show how he associated the ability of Japanese literature to assimilate or incorporate Chinese characters with the might of the Japanese empire. Lamarre dubbed this strategy 'evolution-by-hybridization.' See Thomas Lamarre, "Ideography and Cinematography," in *Shadows on the Screen: Tanizaki Jun'ichirō' on Cinema and "Oriental Aesthetics"* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005): 29-33.

of Meiji. They ultimately attempted to construct a new site of history to reinstate Meiji's radical novelty, as distinct from the vestiges of the old regime on the ground of this notional oldness.

This tautological strategy is rooted in a somewhat common inheritance shared by the leading group of *bakushin*, that is, the influential intellectuals as well as the government officials who lived through the transitional period, having experienced the two different regimes of Edo and Meiji in their lifetimes. In particular, the *bakushin* from the Tenpō period (1830-1844) participated in a common conception of political tactics in confronting Western newness – that is, by challenging the old regime in the very process of invoking it. They co-opted Edoness as the presiding methodology to achieve the modern, since it was especially predominant during the first fifteen years of the Meiji period (1868-1882) when the influence of the Tenpō ethos could not be ignored in the process of building the new modern nation state. Maruyama Masao once dubbed them "Tenpō's old men (*Tenpō no rōjin*)," with the explicit purpose of situating Fukuzawa Yukichi's works within a particular spectrum of Meiji intellectuals, who were imbued with a collective mindset, and celebrated a 'consciously achieved modernity.'[49] Maruyama's logic is that this kind of modernity differs from that of Western modernity, which had been achieved as a 'natural consequence of historical development.' By contrast, Japanese modernity was not a natural creation but a construct, which depended on a purpose-centered, and selective

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[49] According to Maruyama Masao, Fukuzawa Yukichi is a typical adherent of the Tenpō movement whose worldview was sharply distinct from that of Tokutomi Sōhō, who belonged to a later generation of Fukuzawa, and who hadn't lived through the old Tokugawa regime. Interestingly enough, both Uchida Masao and Ninagawa Noritane, and all the other figures dealt with in this chapter, were born during the Tempo period. See Maruyama Masao, *"Bunmeiron no gairyaku" o yomu* 1 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shinsho: 1997): 33-36.

sense of modernity, as is usual in underdeveloped countries.[50]

Moving beyond Maruyama's essentialist stance, who conceived a more adequate sense of modernity is seen to emerge and is resulted from a natural sense of development, I seek to readdress the cultural strategies of the old generation as an essential problem pertaining to the formations of modernity in general. It is precisely this ambivalence of the Tenpō generation that illuminates the non-West's ironic position in both receiving and responding to the authority of the West through a form of cultural nationalism; more importantly, it shows how the Modern itself, either imported or indigenous, is a fundamentally fragile and incomplete concept, whose seemingly closed-completeness is a product of an almost obsessive dependence on, and appropriation of, what is defined as non-modern.[51] To conceive the 'Edo nature of Meiji' as both a possibility and a problem of modernity is to doubt the authority accorded to the universal and self-closed reference of Modernity, and especially the abstract opposition it sets up between different geopolitical locations.

In fact, photography was deeply implicated in the reminiscences of, and reactions to, the old period, especially when taking into account its reception by people from the old Tokugawa regime.[52] The fact that it was an unstable

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[50] Maruyama, ibid: 43-56.

[51] In his provocative manifesto for modernity, Bruno Latour points out that the thesis of 'universal modern' is made only possible by a continual process of purification and hybridization of its otherness. See Bruno Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1993)

[52] In the field of Art History, Kitazawa Noriaki once discussed the remnants of the Edo inheritance in Meiji, focusing on the implications of Takahashi Yuichi's plan for designing a museum, shaped as a spiral staircase. As a Tenpō affiliate Takahashi identified with samurai painters (*eshi*) who had to struggle with the old regime of the visual based on the resources of the imaginary. Interestingly enough, the Chinese character of the samurai painter *eshi* is "画士," whose phonetic sound is exactly congruent with a term referring to the painter as a vocational category, namely, "*eshi* (画

technology was also a serious matter, at once determining the limits and possibilities of representation. Doing photography was a matter of understanding or misunderstanding its international usage, visual grammar, and typological expression. The idea of the nation as a place-identity originated in this multiple groundedness of photography, and its diverse manifestations and potentialities could clearly accommodate many new applications, techniques and perspectives for organizing and assimilating new conceptions of vision and space.

Hence the images that I examine in each chapter are inseparable from the many manifestations and metamorphoses of photography. In so doing, I wish to historicize and de-idealize them, and perhaps return them to the complexity that characterized the historical moment when the actual rupture and discontinuity was made, and then sustained and reaffirmed through the distinctive hybridizations that characterize early Meiji photographs. My strategy is therefore to take the early Meiji as my main locus of research, and to rediscover and recuperate 'trial and error' or heuristic approaches, however out of synch they were with the narratives of universal Modernity. In so doing I hope to look into the formations of modernity through examining the open-ended series of minute ruptures, discordances and paradoxical events within a field that has often been considered, however incisively, within the exclusive domain of rational discourse. Each of the following chapters will embrace a compelling twist, gap, fissure, or ambiguity

師).” For Takahashi the achievement of the real within Western perspectivalism afforded him a crucial weapon to fight against the old visual regime, yet this could only be realized through the samurai's solemn attitude toward picturing the real (*shinsha* 真写). Given these dual strategies, Takahashi's painting and his ideas about museums and institutions necessarily embroiled him in conflicts and contradictions over the multifaceted and ambivalent creation of different visions, all of which, ironically enough, made him an agent, or representative of productive hybridity. See Kitazawa Noriaki, *Me no shinden: 'Bijutsushi jyūyōshi note* (Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppansha, 1989): 39-51.

found in the histories of media and space. As Dilip Gaonkar suggests, this will entail thinking through, as much as thinking against, the universalistic norms of the modern – conceiving it with regard to the play of differences through which it is commonly perceived, and to open up a path to the otherness within, or occasionally even working against, its conceptual framework.[53] My research will thus interrogate, analyze, and resist the Modern, dissecting it from within, and scrutinizing its claims to logic and rationality.

Finally, I feel the need to point out that the purpose of this study is not to resituate plural photographic forms and experiences within the realm of cultural particularity, assimilating them to what is unique and essential within Japanese modernity. This would simply be to reproduce and reinforce national identity, which is also a product of Western universalism. To deflect the risk of cultural nationalism, in each chapter I attempt to look at the process by which these variations and manifold ways of pursuing 'photography' were incorporated and synchronized within the logic of unitary modernity in the period of late Meiji Japan. And yet this is not intended to show the successful trajectory of a progressive and developmental history of photography; rather, I want to pose questions that will enable me to interrogate what might be the principal legacy of this plural and multivalent photographic discourse in addressing and readdressing the totalizing power of Modernity in all of its geopolitical embeddedness.

Chapter Summaries

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[53] Dilip Parameshwar Gaonkar, *On Alternative Modernities* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001): 14.

Following the introductory chapter, Chapter One starts with the question of how the early Meiji leaders perceived the national space called 'Japan,' and how they attempted to situate it within the system of world geography through their own distinctive vision and ideas. I focus on *Yochi shiryaku* (1870-1880), the concrete geographical project launched by Uchida Masao to compile a Japanese version of world geography by means of a vast number of documentary images, which he called "photography." But to anticipate my conclusion, he somehow failed to identify and present the contours of the nation among many nations, leaving a visual blank in the section on Japan. I address this visual absence from within the discursive space termed world geography, wherein all countries must posit their own appropriate, internal space called the "nation," which is always vertically staged in relation to the West. To trace his own contours of the nation, Uchida needed to inscribe this strategic logic of world geography, wherein Japan had been depicted as a country of savages in the Far East. One of the most useful tactics available was to create a set of images of national space, including famous spots composed of urban and rural landscapes, and to trace and present the architectural heritage in a manner resembling the corresponding sections that usually appear in similar chapters devoted to European countries. Uchida, like other early Meiji intellectuals, did not possess a coherent set of notations, or a typological grammar to enable him not only to represent, but also to particularize the national space in a manner distinct from both Western and Edo geographical references. Accordingly, to preserve a tactical silence about Japan seemed to offer the best solution, although this absence necessarily resulted in disturbing the

visual balance of the entire structure of the encyclopedia. The visual absence of

Japan thus posed critical questions as to how to create the idea of Japan as a place-

identity and achieve a means of creating an archetypal image to stand for and re-

present the nation and, in turn, national geography.

Chapter Two focuses on the intellectual project conceived to fill up the gap

of representing 'Japan' on the stage of world geography. If Uchida's encyclopedia

highlighted the dilemma of turning national geography into world geography,

Ninagawa Noritane struggled to counter this unacknowledged gap with a strategy

based on surveyance and its consequent documentation of the old through the

support and agency of the state. As a famous antiquarian, Ninagawa's tactic was,

unlike Uchida's, to embrace, mobilize, and co-opt the old to overcome the very

residues of oldness, thereby creating the new cultural order of Meiji. His main

project was to document the Old Edo Castle before its destruction in 1871, while

trying to preserve the reminiscences of the symbolic monument in the old regime.

For the survey, Ninagawa adopted photography as a main tool of documentation;

and yet, in order to make a catalogue of Edo Castle, a mixed assembly of graphic

images was produced, situated somewhere between painting and photography.

Why were these hybrid images produced, and regarded as photographic? To

address this question, this chapter traces the trajectory of the preexisting idea of

photography found in the practices catalogued by antiquarians in the eighteenth

century, and tries to connect it to Ninagawa's idea of photography. It goes on to

ask how the new vision of photography was grafted onto the old notion of

photography, and how this collusion resonated with the ambivalent position of the

agencies from the old political regime. Ironically enough, it was at this moment that a new discourse of space and place began to emerge from the distinctive vision of hybrid photography. In the course of the survey, a measure of photographic contingency and arbitrariness led to the production of an architectural landscape, which yet marked a difference from the pre-existing mode of representation of famous places, based on naming, toponyms and figural associations. This change signaled a shift in the representation of landscape as a concept into a new and tangible form of topography, wherein architecture became the crucial element in perceiving and representing a given space. Through the creation of new architectural topographies, the castle was reinstituted as sites of imperial authenticity that historicized Japan in accordance with the imperatives of the universal narrative of world history.

Chapter Three continues to ask the locus of photography in the shifting notion of famous places to the sites of history. It particularly looks at the way photography was implicated in the nation's discovery and creation of its 'site of origin,' imbedded in a specific meaning of imperial culture. While Ninagawa's survey contributed to resituating the place of the near past within its present history, Jinshin survey, a main focus of this chapter, was more site-specific, entailing the creation of the Kyoto-Nara region, in its association with the Buddhist temples and the old religious crafts and icons. Initiated by the state government in 1872, the Jinshin survey is of particular importance as it was the first attempt to record, index and investigate the imperial treasure house called Shōsōin and the seminal religious sites in the Kansai area using the new

technology of photography. Framed by camera, the sacred things sealed by the emperor's sacred name came to reveal their materiality and historicity, which in turn facilitated the development of a connoisseurial appreciation of the objects. More importantly, the survey located the architecture and landscape of the old famous places within the new domain of national folklore, that is, as something to be preserved as the material evidence of the ancient culture. In this process, photography ensured a new visibility and recognizability for famous places residing in their capacity to function as a symbolic museum of national history. And yet, this transition to *meisho*-as-museum underwent a complex process of cultural negotiation and translation, given the problems that arose in framing landscape: most of the photographic records in the Jinshin survey were framed by the stereoscopic camera, an ideologically charged vision developed itself in the expansion of Western imperialism. As such, these stereoscopic images elucidate how the new identity of famous places was defined through its mimetic response to the West, especially at a moment when the national reinterpretation of architectural landscapes was the order of the day; and how it occasioned the mimetic differences that open onto a set of questions about modernity and its specific configuration within a non-Western context.

In pursuing the question of the reorganization of space by photography, Chapter Four examines how both the previous famous places and anonymous local landscapes were reconfigured into historical sites and commemorative landscapes for the Meiji emperor. Particular attention is paid to the photographic records of the emperor's tours of the countryside (1868-1884), and their

posthumous documentation in the early twentieth century. In a series of stately progressions through the countryside, the emperor visited and observed the famous places, shrines, imperial mausoleums and archaic sites of the provinces. During these tours, the emperor was implicated in a visible display of power, both by seeing his people and by being seen by them. Photography played a decisive role in capturing what the emperor himself was looking at, rather than merely recording the formal procedures of the tour. After the emperor's death (1912), the sites of the imperial tours were revisited by the local inhabitants, and reproduced by their own cameras. Through reading and writing local history in the 1920s, the people eagerly participated in the collective movement for preserving the traces of the previous emperors by encapsulating their movements via photography. A variety of signs and material objects were recovered in light of this new interpretation of local places; and as a result of the continuing surveys and collections, the history of the imperial progresses came to be rewritten from the bottom up with richer and more diverse clues to their interpretation that the local people discovered for themselves. More importantly, the activity of tracing the emperor brought about a profound change in the physical landscape, transforming anonymous ordinary places into new historic sites annexed to the imperial nation state. If the imperial progresses provided the necessary momentum for reconstituting the preexisting way of viewing and representing famous places by means of the historic/mnemonic sites of the nation, the posthumous project of chasing the emperor's traces filled these places with signs and objects to be worshipped and commemorated in the establishment of an emperor-centered

national past. Photography played a central role in the creation of the imperial

famous places by lending itself to shaping innovative norms of viewing and

appreciating new spatial and political imaginaries in Japan.

CHAPTER 1

Images Tracing Shadows: The Claims of Photography in Early Meiji Geo-Encyclopedias

> Their industries are successful and their trade prosperous; their armies are strong and well armed. They enjoy a peace of which they are proud. If we seek the source of all this prosperity, we find that it is the blossom on the branches of a tree, whose trunk is learning. Never envy the flowers which blossom on branches without a solid trunk. Devotion to learning may look like a diversion, but it is the only way to arrive at progress. Let us take this path so that we might see the western flower blossom in our own country.
> Fukuzawa Yukichi, *Sekai kunizukushi*, 1869

The World as a Mosaic of Nations

When Fukuzawa Yukichi wrote about world geography in his geographical work, *Sekai kunizukushi* (Countries of the World, 1869), his idea of the 'world' was an entity to be divided into the many fragments composed of various nations.[1] There was no longer room for the infinite enumeration of myriad of countries, consisting of famous places and renowned things, prevalent in Edo geographical texts. For Fukuzawa the world could be defined according to a grid system, which could then be partitioned and further classified according to the universal category of 'nations.' While the nation is the smallest unit to categorize the entire world, it is in turn integrated into the concept of the world itself, which can be shaped like a pyramid with the most barbarian countries located at the

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1 Sekai kunizukushi (世界国尽) is an elementary geography text, written to educate and inform women and children during the Meiji era. It was also used as a school textbook and became a bestseller. Altogether there are six volumes: Vol. 1: Asia; Vol. 2: Africa; Vol. 3: Europe; Vol. 4: North America; Vol. 5: South America and Oceania; Vol. 6: the Appendix. Based on British and American geology and history books, it proposed to "widen people's knowledge of world affairs and to establish the basis of people's welfare." For Fukuzawa's world geography, see Minamoto Shōkyū, "Fukuzawa Yukichi cho "Sekai kunizukushi" ni kansuru kenkyū," in *Space, Society and Geographical Thought*, No. 2 (1997): 2-18.

bottom level, while the most enlightened countries can be found at the top. For
Fukuzawa, Africa and Oceania are located at the bottom of this pyramid; China
and Turkey were accorded semi-barbarian status; and American and European
countries had already been granted an enlightened status. Interestingly enough,
Fukuzawa did not categorize his mother country within the pyramid structure, yet
not without implicitly mentioning its endeavor to catch up with the civilized
nations of the world.

 Although *Sekai kunizukushi* is the translation of a Western geographical
text, it has retained a strong resemblance to *ōraimono*, the pre-existing form of
geographical primers, especially given its prolific use of words like *zukushi*, an
organizational device used in the geographical writings of the Edo period (1603-
1868) in order to categorize all of the various countries in their infinite relations.[2]
Fukuzawa also freely adopted the term *bankoku*, referring to the method of
depicting myriad countries to reflect a parallel universe of comparative
observation and reflection, and this form had been widely used since the middle of
the seventeenth century.[3] In the imaginative journeys celebrated in the *bankoku*,

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[2] *Ōraimono* are school primers, which outline the basic nomenclature, cultural landmarks, and
economic features of both national and foreign socio-economic entities. These primers originated
in the 10th-11th centuries as a mode of epistolary writing developed by the nobility, and they
gradually became popular among the common people during the 15th century. For a brief history of
ōraimono, see Ishikawa Matsutarō, "Introduction," in *Ōraimono jiten* (Tokyo: Ōzorasha, 2001): I-
III.
[3] Since the middle of the seventeenth century, *bankoku* (myriad realms) had gradually displaced
the previous model of *sangoku* (three realms), which had reflected the Buddhist cosmology – that
is, the world was apparently comprised of the three parts of *wagachō* (our country, which means
Japan), *kara* (China and Korea), and *tenjiku* (India), where India was seen to be located at the
center of the universe, and Japan was placed at the far margins of the world. With the Iberian
protestant affect, the *sangoku* model gave way to the *bankoku* model in which the world, at least
beyond the bounds of the Asian continent, was apparently comprised of myriad lands, including
both actual and imaginary places situated all over the world. See Ronald P. Toby, "Three
Realms/Myriad Countries: An "Ethnography" of the Other and the Re-bounding of Japan, 1550-
1750," in *Constructing Nationhood in Modern East Asia* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan
Press, 2004): 15-45.

both the beginning and end points referred to Japan, but Japan itself was not necessarily the absolute point of reference in the world. Rather, it was only one country among many other countries, and its particularities were only definable through its *relative* position to other countries.[4]

As in his other works, *Sekai kunizukushi* expresses Fukuzawa's strong belief in a universal humanity and in its progressive nature. What is especially noticeable here is Fukuzawa's attention to geography, which is directly associated with human civilization as it has progressed from the ancient period to the modern era. His thought was deeply influenced by then popular notions of Darwinistic geography, which spatialized the world by means of temporal narratives. In effect, most of the early Meiji ideologues, including the *meirokusha* group, fully embraced a similar logic of world geography, a Darwinist worldview and an evolutionary paradigm. For them the first and foremost task of modernization was to form an impermeable boundary for the nation by means of the universal spirit of civilization and enlightenment.[5]

This chapter will not attempt to follow the historical trajectory of Meiji intellectual thought. Nor will it present a historical analysis of Meiji political leaders and their activities. Likewise, it will not offer an in-depth study of Meiji catchwords, such as *bunmei kaika* (civilization and enlightenment), or *fukoku*

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[4] Tanaka Yūko points out that the practice of arranging (*narabe*) and drawing up an extensive repertoire (*zukushi*) of a great number of things, as well as the depiction of the poetic journey (*michiyuki*) in the Edo geographical texts, aimed at relativizing oneself by juxtaposing one's self with many other selves. These were prime strategies to generate meaningful narratives of space and place in early modern Japan. See Tanaka Yūko, *Edo no sōzōryoku* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1990): 231-247.

[5] For more about geographical determinism in the Meiji period, see Ōji Toshiaki, "Bunkaken to seitaiken no hakken," in Yamamuro Shinichi (ed.), '*Teikoku' Nihon no gakuchi 8: Kūkan keisei to sekai ninshiki* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2006): 312-351.

kyōhei (a rich country and a strong army). Rather, it will only deal secondarily with these issues as they bear on the main questions elicited by the early manifestations of the Meiji geographical imagination, wherein the world and the nation were envisioned in their part-whole relations. It might be then illuminating to consider how far this inquiry can be pushed within the discourse of world geography, geo-encyclopaedic knowledge and the underlying problems of nineteenth century global modernity. How can a specific conception of modern geography construct an imaginary unity of the world composed of many nations? And how does a geo-encyclopedia serve to manipulate the wholeness of the world, while simultaneously claiming to constitute a new system of knowledge of national geography? More particularly, what is entailed by the historical specificity of Japan? What did it signify in regard to the problems of space and place in late nineteenth century Japan? How and why was photography enmeshed with issues of national space, and with the early formation of the ethos of modernity?

To answer these questions, this chapter will focus on *Yochi shiryaku* (輿地誌略, 1870-1880), a world geo-encyclopedia compiled by Uchida Masao (内田正雄, 1838-1876) in the 1870s. It will thus look at the way Japan tried to situate itself within world geography with its own distinct vision and ideas, in the process of which photography came to be a crucial element. As a 'universal language' of human science, photography has served to fulfill the dream of a geo-encyclopedia to collect and organize all aspects of knowledge concerning the world within a coherent whole.[6] At the same time, it has contributed to the partitioning of space,

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[6] August Sander, a photographer who made comprehensive sociological portraits of the German

wherein a vast collection of images has been classified into different regions, nations and continents. In Foucault's sense, this has also generated a space wherein new strategies of the power/knowledge equation can be traced, in which power operates, not through a series of prohibitions, but through productions based on a particular foundation of knowledge, and in the case of the geo-encyclopedia, we might call this emerging field a 'national geography.'

But to conclude, Uchida somehow failed to find and present real images of Japanese geography through photography. In fact, he opened up a visual blank in the section on Japan in *Yochi shiryaku*. This gap in representation is my point of departure to examine the problem of space and place in the early Meiji era. I will consider how the desire to represent Japan was explicitly *represented* through a veiled or muted form of absence rather than by being literally absent in the Japanese encyclopedias. In extending this question to the field of vision and visuality, I will address what kind of visual regime was imposed regarding the configuration of the nation as a place-identity; and why and in what matter Japan could not but be left as a visual blank, despite the strong desire to represent itself; and finally, I will consider how the idea of the 'photographic,' if not photography per se, may or may not be able to provide a visual vocabulary capable of articulating the notion of national space in the early Meiji period. Before addressing these questions, I will first need to examine Uchida's geo-encyclopedia from within the specific field of geography, with its own connotations, in late nineteenth century Japan.

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people, delivered a radio talk in 1931 entitled "Photography as a Universal Language," especially by virtue of the verisimilitude, or 'truth effects,' of the human physiognomy. For Sander's talk, refer to Sekula, "Traffic in Photographs," in *Photography Against the Grain: Essays and Photo Works, 1973–1983* (Halifax: Press of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, 1984): 80-96.

Meishoness, or the Apotheosis of Geography

> History is first of all geography.
> Jules Michelet, 1885
>
> If you wish to discuss human affairs,
> you must first examine geography.
> Yoshida Shōin, 1850

During the late Tokugawa period, the shogunate dispatched young Japanese students to various Western countries. Their purpose sharply contrasted with that of Western tourists on their world travels. The main objective of Japanese students was to learn about the culture and technology of the West, rather than to indulge in recreation or escape from their ordinary life, like their Western counterparts. After the arrival of the Black American Perry Ship with its offer of 'free trade' between the two countries, the Tokugawa government abruptly recognized the importance of sending men abroad to study. It was this recognition of the need for national independence under the threat posed by Western imperial forces that catalyzed the shogun government to dispatch students to Holland, mostly for the purposes of learning about military technology, and especially in regard to naval studies.[7]

Uchida Masao (内田正雄, 1838-1876) was one of fifteen students to be sent to Holland in 1862 in order to learn about European technology: his mission

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[7] In addition to the students from the Nagasaki Naval School, two members of the *Bansho shirabesho* (The Institution of Barbarian Learning), Nishi Amane and Tsuda Mamichi, joined the 1862 mission to Holland. For more about Japanese students overseas in the late Tokugawa period, see W. G. Beasley, "The First Japanese Students Overseas, 1862-1868," in *Japan Encounters the Barbarians: Japanese Travelers in America and Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995): 119-138.

was to make Western warships, as well as to gain knowledge about navigation, engineering, medicine and ship building. Born in Edo into an upper class samurai family, Uchida began to immerse himself in the Dutch language (*rangaku*) in 1856, and entered the naval school in Nagasaki (*kaigun denshūsho*) in the following year. After the Meiji Restoration in 1868, the new government employed Uchida as an advisor on Western culture and history. He published *Oranda gakusei* (和蘭学制) in 1869, the first in-depth study on the academic disciplines in Holland, while compiling comprehensive information, and even chronicling, the military resources of the Japanese navy in the same year.[8] Uchida then published *Seiyō shiryaku* (西洋史略) in 1872, the first textbook on the history of Europe and America for training government officials, which was used throughout the Meiji period. Compared to other Meiji intellectuals, however, Uchida Masao's place in the history of Japanese thought and education has not been well established, perhaps due to the relatively scant amount of primary sources regarding his life, work and achievement. And the fact that Uchida had such a short life also makes it difficult for scholars to arrive at a critical overview of his career in the context of the rapid social and cultural changes that came to characterize the entire Meiji era (fig. 1-1).

As the most senior graduate student of the naval school, Uchida assumed responsibility for training in executive duties throughout his stay in Holland. After five years of study abroad, he came back to Japan with various kinds of Western cultural products, including reference works on Western natural history, animals

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[8] For details concerning the biography of Uchida, I consulted Akimoto Nobuhide, "Uchida Masao no rireki to shiryō," in *The Bulletin of Kokugakuin Junior College*, Vol. 21 (2004): 3-109; Nakajima Masuo, "Uchida Masao cho 'Yochi shiryaku' no kenkyū," in *Chiri*, Vol. 13, No. 11 (1968): 29-33.

and plant specimens, oil paintings, and photographic albums.[9] Of interest here is

that Uchida had learned in Holland not only about military technology, but also

about the human sciences, and western prints and oil paintings, and these

experiences led him to work as a natural historian and literary advisor for the

Ministry of Education (*monbushō*) in 1867. With the support of *monbushō* and

Daigaku nankō, a precursor of the Imperial University of Tokyo, Uchida launched,

with a view to publication, a comprehensive encyclopedia of world geography

entitled *Yochi shiryaku* (輿地誌略, 1870-1880), which literally claimed to offer an

outline of world geography, or a short description of the world. As a bestseller

during the Meiji period (1868-1912), *Yochi shiryaku* came into being out of

Uchida's ambition to complete the first Japanese-published world geography (fig.

1-2).

     Yochi shiryaku comprises a total of thirteen books, and each volume

presents the different geographies and folklores of various nations. It is largely

broken down into four sub-sections: the first part contains an introduction and a

description of Japan (Vol. 1), followed by China, Siberia, India and other Asian

countries (Vol. 2-3); and the second part presents various European countries and

Russia (Vol. 4-7); the third part introduces Africa (Vol. 8-9); and the last part

presents North and South America (Vol. 10, 11-1, 11-2), and Oceania (Vol. 12).

Uchida completed the first part in 1870, and continued to work on the third part

until 1876. After the sudden death of Uchida in 1876, Nishimura Shigeki, a

renowned intellectual of the *meirokusha* group, which strove to create a spirit of

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[9] As for the comparison between photographic albums and Uchida's illustrations, see Ikeda
Atsufumi, "'Yochi shiryaku' to 'Bankoku shashinchō,'" in *Museum* No. 501 (Tokyo: Tokyo
Hakubutsukan Bijutsushi, 1992): 26-38.

civilization and enlightened thought, continued to publish the two later parts in conformity with his friend's wishes.[10] Finally, the entire project was completed by 1880, which was exactly one decade after the Meiji Government passed Uchida's proposal.[11]

Of compelling interest is that *Yochi shiryaku* had a huge readership of over one hundred thousand readers.[12] This might be due to the fact that the government used it as a formal geographical textbook for the purposes of junior high school education. But most of all, it appealed to people who loved to see and learn about the world outside of Japan in a manner distinct from that presented by the pre-existing references on world geography. How, then, did *Yochi shiryaku* mark a break with the previous geographical accounts, maps, pictures and performances in regard to foreign countries? How did this mark a rupture from the pre-existing mode of spatial knowledge and representation reflected in 'meishoness,' that is, the discourse and practice of famous places?

First of all, 'geography (*chiri*)' itself provided a new register of knowledge of civilization and enlightenment (*bumei kaika*) in *Yochi shiryaku*. Up until the late nineteenth century, geography had been considered as a form of common sense that ordinary people could derive from the accumulated knowledge about, and cultivation of, famous places. Due to its mundane nature, geography had been

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[10] Nakamura compiled the last three volumes, whereas Uchida had already published the first volumes. Meanwhile, it is interesting to note that the *meirokusha* group was often compared to the eighteenth century French encyclopedists, led by Diderot and D'Alembert. See Fukukama Tatsuo, *Meiji shoki ni okeru hyakka jiten no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Kazama Shobō, 1968): 19.

[11] *Daigaku nankō*, a predecessor at the Imperial University of Tokyo, published the first part, whereas the Ministry of Education published the latter parts.

[12] According to statistics compiled by the Ministry of Education in 1870, parts one and two of *shiryaku* had a circulation of over one hundred and twenty thousand. For more detailed information on questions of readership, refer to Mashino Keiko, "'Yochi shiryaku' no image ni tsuite," in *Kindai gasetsu*, No. 16 (Tokyo: Meiji Bijutsu Gakkai, 2007): 113-114.

excluded from academic disciplines, especially for training higher-ranking

samurais and the imperial nobility; rather, geography connoted "*shomin no gaku*

(knowledge of the common people)" throughout the Edo period (1603-1868).[13]

By contrast, geography in the early Meiji period implied an advanced form of

knowledge, and civilization and enlightenment, originating in the West. It

epitomized what people must obtain to attain a proper understanding of the

'condition of the country (*kokusei*),' by means of which they could then stage an

alignment of Japan with the West. Hence geography was at the center of education

in the early Meiji period, and it is even reported that English geographical texts

were adopted not only for geographical lessons, but also for English lessons in

school education.[14] This was precisely the social context in which Uchida's *Yochi*

shiraku could come out, attain a wide circulation, and even a measure of renown.

  Yochi shiryaku also provided actual facts and data based on Western

empirical geography – a system of knowledge achieved by means of mathematical

measurement, direct observation, experiment and quantification. Of course social

geography in the Edo period, as with the illustrated guides to famous places

(*meisho zue*), could also be validated on the basis of eyewitness accounts and by

empirical fact gathering. Because of this emphasis on the empirical method, the

geographical texts produced during the Edo period produced a different kind of

meisho identity, marking a break with the traditional modes of spatial perception

in which place is envisioned by reciting a poem based on visual allusion (*mitate*)

to a famous locale (*na no aru tokoro*).[15] In the depictions of the 'myriad country

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[13] Ishiyama Hiroshi, "Nihon no chiri kyōkasho no hensen," in *Chiri*, Vol. 20, No. 5 (1975): 16.
[14] Ishiyama Hiroshi, ibid., 18-19.
[15] For the convention of *mitate*, see Introduction, Footnote No. 13. Although it persisted in the

(*bankoku*),' however, such a new kind of meishoness did not foreclose the

possibilities of imaginative geography, as portrayed in the many traveling

accounts, encyclopedias, picture maps (*ezu*) and public displays (*misemono*)

focused on foreign countries. For instance, we repeatedly encounter a specific

mode of representation of foreigners' places, conceived in the shape of famous

places – the Land of the Long Legs, the Land of the Giants, and the Land of

Chest-Holes – in representative eighteenth century geographical texts, including

Nishikawa Jōken's *Kai tsūshō kō* (Thoughts on Trade and Communication with

the Civilized and the Barbaric, 1695-1709), Terajima Ryōan's *Wakan sansei zue*

(The Illustrated Japanese-Chinese Encyclopedia of the Three Elements, 1712),

and Hiraga Gennai's *Fūryū shidōken den* (The Tales of Dashing Shidōken, 1763)

(fig. 1-3).[16] Interestingly enough, these purely imaginary countries were thought

to co-exist with actual geographies, as we can see from the juxtaposition of the

European and Asian continents in these texts, and this is also manifest when we

look at the convoluted yet flexible maps of famous places, as envisioned in Edo

social geography. Even at a point close in time to the Meiji period, public displays

of the Land of the Long Legs and the Land of the Giants enjoyed extreme

popularity in urban centers, as clearly illustrated in Matsumoto Kisaburō's living

dolls show of foreign people (*ikiningyō*) in Osaka and Edo during the 1850s (fig.

later period, social geography in the Edo period relied more upon the production of mundane and
practical information about space, based on actual seeing and eyewitness accounts. In the
meantime, in Marcia Yonemoto and Mary Elizabeth Berry's view, the realistic tradition had
already begun in the traveling accounts of Kaiabara Ekiken during the late seventeenth century.
See Marcia Yonemoto, *Mapping Early Modern Japan: Space, Place, and Culture in the Tokugawa
Period (1603-1868)* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003): 44-62; Mary Elizabeth Berry,
Japan in Print: Information and Nation in the Early Modern Period (Berkeley: University of
California Press, 2006): 185-196.

[16] For more about the acquisition of foreign knowledge, picture maps of the world, encyclopedic
writings, and traveling accounts of the world in the Eighteenth Century, see Tanaka Yūko, ibid.
185-247; Marcia Yonemoto, ibid., 101-128.

1-4).[17] Unlike these geographical configurations, based on famous locales in the world, *Yochi shiryaku* deals only with specific configurations of 'nations' as they actually exist on the map, and whose positive existence as been proven by the modern technologies of cartography. And more importantly, the boundaries between countries are marked by a new notion of 'territorial sovereignty,' one that has been legitimated and sanctioned by international convention.

Consequently, *Yochi shiryaku* differs from the previous geographical works in the way that it disregards the basic methodology of perceiving and representing space. In contrast to travel presented as a circuit around the various different famous places (*ōrai*) in the former geographical primers, *Yochi shiryaku* does not rely upon the conventions of a return journey to the original place. It starts with Japan, departs far away from it, and ends up in a place that is at the furthest possible remove from Japan, that is, Oceania. The journey in *Yochi shiryaku* is organized in a linear unidirectional fashion, following up with a phylogenic classification that divides the world through both similarities and differences in respect to geo-ethnicity. As a result, *Yochi shiryaku* ushers in a radical break with the practice of *narabe* or *zukushi*, the prime logic of ordering famous places and things, by placing them side by side almost to a point of infinity, thus marking a rupture with what had once been prevalent in the system of knowledge during the Edo period (fig. 1-5).[18] According to Mary Elizabeth Berry, this specific spatial practice derived from a holistic and taxonomic

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[17] For a short history of visual representations of foreign people before the Meiji era, see Kinoshita Naoyuki, *Bijutsu to iu misemono*: *Aburajyaya no jidai* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1993): 54-76.
[18] Tanaka argues that *narabe* is a specific idea prevalent in the partitioning practices of Edo geographical writings, distinct from Aristotle's taxonomy. By placing itself beside others, it seeks to radically relativize the power dynamics pertaining between different places. See Tanaka Yūko, ibid., 230-234.

coverage of big subjects, such as Nihon (Japan), Dai Nihon (Great Japan),

Honchō (Our Realm), etc. People envisioned this entire singular space by giving

details of small spaces through the delineation of various topics – political

administration, social geography, religious organization, work, food, festival life,

transportation, famous places and products – all of which were parsed within a

unified spatial frame.[19] In the practice of *narabe* and *zukushi*, there is neither an

absolute center nor an absolute position of the subject through which to guarantee

the truth or falsity of their respective knowledge claims. Nor are things and places

reduced to the order of tables through which they can then be rendered into the

universal signs of representation.[20] Unlike the Foucauldian notion of the classical

episteme, things are *not* the image of things in the logic of meishoness. Rather,

they comprise discrete and incompatible components, and only through their

'linkage,' can the enormous and imaginary whole be adequately understood. The

act of listing and lining up artifacts, things and locales in a comparative grid thus

became integral to the production and circulation of knowledge. By contrast,

Uchida's *Yochi shiryaku* articulates the finitude of the world, whose universality is

guaranteed by the structure of the modern discipline itself – a tautological

structure wherein the subject of knowledge is positioned as the object of

knowledge.[21] In this structure the whole cannot be explained through the

infinitude of its parts; rather, the whole is always organically composed, as with

the relation between functions and organs in human biology; as if the nation, the

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[19] Mary Elizabeth Berry, ibid., 22-23.
[20] According to Foucault, this pertains to the episteme in the Classical Age. See Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things* (New York: Vintage Book: 1994 (1970): 50-63.
[21]   Hubert L. Dreyfus, "The Archaeology of the Human Sciences," in Hubert L. Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow (eds.), *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982): 26-32.

smallest unit through which to categorize the world, could be ultimately integrated into a seamless, unified conception of the world, as in *Yochi shiryaku*.

Lastly, *Yochi shiryaku* solicits a different mode of readership, raising important issues of reception and interpretation, and enlisting a different kind of participation from people than that expected from mere voyagers to famous places. According to Marcia Yonemoto, the traveling accounts during the Edo period offer multiple and paradoxical definitions of the foreign. In so doing, these writers opened up new worlds, wherein they could invite their readers to "wander, imagine, explore, and possibly, to 'poach' places – to actively gather, rather than passively absorb, meanings and messages of space."[22] One interesting tactic with respect to poaching is to relativize and even reverse the positions of self and others throughout the journey, as explicitly illustrated in Hiraga Gennai's *Fūryū shidōken den* (1763). In this work, Japan and China are often depicted in an unexpected reversal of their customary range of meanings, while travelers and foreigners are depicted in paradoxical positions, with the self and the other changing places, and replacing each other unceasingly, while nonetheless displaying, reflecting and mirroring one another. There is no ultimate winner in this circular, and even recursive, movement over different places and positions. What is mostly evident in this technique is a distinct form of satire, thus drawing on a genre that assumes multiple attitudes and forms of reception on the part of the audience, who are accordingly invited to take appropriate actions, stake out

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[22] According to Yonemoto, the term "poaching" is a translation of Michel de Certeau's term "braconnage." In using this term, she tries to address the reading practices of the Edo travel writings as not simply a form of submission to textual machinery; rather, they implicate the reader in a creative process, where the reader can invent singular meanings and significations that are not strictly reducible to the intentions of the authors of these texts. See Marcia Yonemoto, ibid., 109.

connections, and construct their own meanings.[23] *Yochi shiryaku* however leaves

satire out of its account, and is little inclined to adopt the relativizing strategies

prevalent in the Edo traveling accounts. Instead it employs the neutral and

descriptive narrative of modern geography in which the audience must be

identified with the invisible, universalized articulator – that is, both the subject

and the object of the discipline – in order to obtain exact information about the

world.

In sum, what *Yochi shiryaku* principally introduced is the idea of

geography as a new field of rationality – a new way of ordering, perceiving, and

representing space based on a new kind of positivity, of which truth is guaranteed

by modern disciplines, institutions, and power in a Foucauldian sense. And yet,

this does not mean that a new age of 'modern disciplinary power' had entirely

opened up in Japan. What geography brought in late nineteenth century Japan is

the possibility of building up a different field of rationality distinct from the

previous meishoness, especially in recognizing its geopolitical conditions in

confronting power from the outside. Not only in respect to international affairs,

but concurrently, in respect to domestic social reforms, Japanese geography

provided a symbolic and practical tool: it is conceived as a total technique for

undoing and redoing the old spatial regimes, thus allowing the state to launch

various kinds of projects, including geographical surveys, topographical

measurements, military surveillance, territorial reformation, local reclamation,

taxation, and folklore research, all of which were located at the very heart of the

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[23] Yonemoto regards satire as a spatial discourse embedded in the specific spatial experiences
portrayed in *Fūryū shidōken den*. See Marcia Yonemoto, ibid. 101-128.

early Meiji state project.[24] Geography as a modern discipline was one of the

results of these ongoing processes to reorganize national space. More than an

academic discipline, geography in Japan was seen to be both a product of, and at

the same time constitutive of, modernity itself.[25] And it was Uchida Masao who

recognized the place of photography in building and rebuilding a discursive

foundation to explore the possibilities of the new rationality.

Staking out the 'Photographic'

> No other medium can emulate 'photography (フヲトグラ
> ヒー)' in presenting highly faithful images, and therefore,
> photography is the best tool to reveal the people, folklore,
> architecture and natural landscape of other countries to our
> people.
> Uchida Masao, 1870
>
> People will form collections of all kinds.
> Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre, 1839

In grounding a new field of rationality, Uchida was not the only person to

write about world geography. Many intellectuals, such as Fukuzawa Yukichi and

Nakamura Masanao, also published seminal geographical works in their mission

to bring about a renewed spirit of civilization and enlightenment in Japan.[26]

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[24] For geographical projects launched by the Meiji government and early imperial universities, see Isao Imai (et. al.) "Seiyō chigaku no dōnyū (1)," in *Journal of Geography* Vol. 101, No. 2 (1992): 133-150; "Seiyō chigaku no dōnyū (3)," in Vol. 103, No. 2 (1994): 166-185.

[25] Yamamuro Shinichi analyzes the way geography played an integral role in Japanese imperial expansion by looking at the oversea expeditions by the Geography Bureau in the Meiji period. He explicitly suggests that the formations of modernity were in accordance with the formations of empire. See Yamamuro Shinichi, "Kokumin teikoku Nihon no keisei to kūkan chi," in Yamamuro Shinichi (ed.) *'Teikoku' Nihon no gakuchi 8: Kūkan keisei to sekai ninshiki* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2006): 28-33.

[26] Interestingly enough, all three Meiji bestsellers were geographical works: Fukuzawa Yukichi's *Seiōjijō* (Conditions of the West, 1866-1870), Nakamura Masanao's *Seikoku risshihen* (Success Stories in the West, 1870-1871), and Uchida Masao's *Yochi shiryaku* (Outlines of World

Unlike these works, Uchida's *Yochi shiryaku* contains more than four hundred illustrations. That is, Uchida made space for one illustration for every four to five pages of text in each volume, which was quite an exceptional practice in contemporaneous Japanese publications. Many commentators have pointed out that the considerable number of pictures may explain the huge success of *Yochi shiryaku* as both a work of popular literature and a geographical textbook during the early Meiji period.

Uchida himself used to emphasize the importance of visual references in propagating enlightened knowledge. He wrote in his introductory note in *Yochi shiryaku* that the graphic image is the best tool for conveying the various characteristics of each country.[27] This conviction reflects the idea of the picture in the tradition of *Yōfūga* (Western-style painting); and it was catalyzed by *Rangaku* (Dutch Studies), as well as a Japanese intellectual orientation to learn more about Western modes of knowledge, developed in the seventeenth century. Informed by Western scientific atlases and illustrations, the painters involved in the *Yōfūga* school developed a specific discourse and practice of pictorial realism on the basis of their experiences of Western illustrations, which both displayed and emphasized the effects of linear perspective and chiaroscuro.[28] Shiba Kōkan, one of the most influential painters of *Yōfūga*, specifically understood the picture as a truth-making instrument to convey the meaning of the world, and he accordingly made claims for pictures as being beyond the mere enjoyment of the literati

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Geography, 1870-1880).

[27] Uchida, Explanatory Note in *Yochi shiryaku* Vol. 1 (Tokyo: Daigaku Nankō, 1870): 2-3.

[28] For the development of *Yōfūga*, see *Shajitsu no keifu: Yōfū hyōgen no dōnyū* (Tokyo: National Museum of Fine Art in Tokyo, 1985): 11-15.

class.[29] Interestingly enough, he used the term *shashin* in elaboration of his idea of pictorial realism, which literally means, "registering the real," and yet it came to be established as the Japanese (translated) term for Western photography in the 1880s.[30]

As one of the last generation of *Rangaku* in the Tokugawa regime, Uchida had already retained the idea of the picture as presented in the *Yōfūga* school, that is, the picture as a representational form of the object, which soon led him to believe in the instrumental realism of photography, especially as he was directly exposed to European photographic culture. Consequently, Uchida eagerly learned about Western sketching skills and oil painting in Holland, in addition to military techniques. He was able to draw most of the illustrations in *Yochi shiryaku* himself, and even to supervise the painters and woodblock artists employed on this project, such as Kawakami Tōgai and Kamei Shi'ichi, the pioneers of the modern Western-style painting developed in the mid-Meiji period. Overall, Uchida's background of Western Learning provided a springboard to introduce the instrumental realism of photography, thereby contributing to the elaboration of a new field of rationality in geographical knowledge and representation in Japan.

Uchida's outstanding geo-encyclopedia however owed its conception to many other texts published in the West. In the introductory remarks in *Yochi shiryaku* Uchida refers his readers to several other geographical textbooks and encyclopedias, such as Alexander Mackay's *Elements of Modern Geography for the Use of Junior Classes* (Edinburgh and London, W. Blackwood & Sons), Y.

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[29] Shiba Kōkan, "A Discussion of Western Painting," (trans. by Tom Looser) in *Readings in Tokugawa Thoughts* (Center for East Asian Studies, University of Chicago, Volume 9): 172-182.
[30] Shiba Kōkan, ibid., 175-176

Goldsmith's *A Grammar of General Geography* (London, Longmans, Green

Leader & Dryer), and Jacob Krammers'*Geographisch-Statistisch-Historisch*

Handbook (Gouda, G. B. van Goor).[31]

As for illustrated works of reference, Uchida specifically mentions

Bankoku shashinchō (万国写真帖, The Photographic Album of Myriad

Countries), the photographic collection he brought back from Holland.[32] Its

original title is *Photographisch Wereld Album*, which contains a total of 3,867

photographs, and was presumably compiled in Holland during the early 1860s.

According to Ikeda Atsufumi, Uchida directly copied 32 photographs from this

album, and transcribed them into woodblock prints, copperplates and lithographic

images (fig. 1-6).[33] Uchida also mentions *Tour du Monde* (Paris, E. Hachette) as

another reference source for his encyclopedia. Mashino Keiko however

discovered that Uchida copied 184 illustrations from *Tour du Monde*, which

covers over half the illustrations in *Yochi shiryaku*, and this finding further

undermines Ikeda's contention that the main source of reference for *Yochi*

shiryaku was *Bankoku shashinchō* (fig. 1-7).[34]

Without wishing to engage in a debate over the original sources for *Yochi*

shiryaku, I would like to focus on the way Uchida viewed photography in a

decidedly concrete manner. Uchida used the term "*sokueiga* (捉影画)" which

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[31] Uchida, Explanatory Note in *Yochi shiryaku* Vol. 1 (Tokyo: Daigaku Nankō, 1870): 2-3.
[32] Uchida, ibid., 3.
[33] There is evidence that Uchida was eager to collect photographs in Holland as well as in Paris and in London, and he initially hoped to feature ten times as many illustrations in *Yochi shiryaku*. See Ikeda Atsufumi, "'Yochi shiryaku' to 'Bankoku shasinchō,'" 26-38.
[34] Mashino, 2007; 115-116: She also indicates the other image sources for Uchida's project, including S. Augustus Mitchelle, *A System of Modern Geography, Physical, Political, and Descriptive* (Philadelphia: E. H. Butler & Co, 1872), and S. S. Cornell, *High School Geography* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1864).

literally means an image for tracing the shadow, thus making it a Japanese

equivalent for Western photography. He then noted beside it a phonetic sound

called "houtogurahi'i (フヲトグラヒー)." As indicated in his translation, Uchida's

conception of photography was seemingly grounded in its indexical nature. But at

the same time, he pushed the discursive boundaries of photographic indexicality

to create a more flexible notion of pictorial realism, even to the extent of

including illustrations in *Yochi shiryaku*. To support this idea, Uchida highlighted

the power of photography by remarking that: "No other medium can emulate

photography in presenting highly faithful images, and therefore photography is

the best tool to reveal the people, folklore, architecture and natural landscape of

other countries to our people.[35]" As such, the lithographic images in *Tour de

Monde*, the original source book for *Yochi shiryaku*, could be possibly considered

as photography since they were directly transcribed from actual photographic

images.[36] He went on to argue that the illustrations in *Yochi shiryaku* should also

be regarded as photography as these were direct copies of the photo-based images

in *Tour de Monde*.

Certainly Uchida was acutely aware of the possibilities and limits of

photography, as instanced by his passion for collecting over three thousand

traveling photographs and stereoscopic images in Europe over a period of several

years. He also arranged for Akamatsu Daizaburō, who was studying in Europe at

the time, to send him the representations of 'Western paintings' featured in the

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[35] Uchida, *Yochi shiryaku*, Explanatory Note in Vol. 1, 2-3. Uchida himself emphasized
'photography.' For more on the print techniques used in Uchida's photographs, see Sugano Yō,
"'Beiō kairan jikki' to 'Yochi shiryaku' no sashi e dōhanga," in Arisaka Takamichi (ed.), *Nihon
Yōgakushi no kenkyū* (Osaka: Sōgensha, 1989): 177-220.
[36] Uchida, ibid, 2-3.

Illustrated London News.[37] Uchida nonetheless sought to embrace different kinds

of images, such as hand-drawings, illustrations and woodblock prints, all refracted

through the light of photography, whether they were made through the actual

photomechanical process or not. What, then, was at stake in his broader

conception of photography?

Before addressing this question, we will need to consider how mediatic

boundaries and definitions had been proposed for photography in late nineteenth

century Japan. Kinoshita Naoyuki points out that there were various kinds of

'marriages' between photography and painting during the late Tokugawa period,

and unlike Western pictorial conventions, Japanese photo-paintings were not

devalued as a result of their hybridity. Both painting and photography had

expanded their subject matters, techniques of expression, and the traditional

boundaries of the audience itself, through their progressive alignment. A media-

centric notion of photography did not therefore play out in the late Tokugawa

period.[38] Both painting and photography depended on a more or less similar

attitude toward representation, centering on a specific notion of visual

resemblance to the object. Even after the Meiji era people used the term

photography to refer to the broader implications of pictorial realism, highlighting

the ability of photography to depict and convey the true essence of the object. The

indexical relation to the actual object was thus conceived as a less important

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[37] For more about Uchida's endeavor to collect Western paintings, see Akamatsu Daizaburō,
"Uchida Masao shōden," in *Kyū bakufu* 3-1, 1897. In the meantime, Charles Wirgman, a
photographer who owned his own studio in Yokohama from the 1860s onward, worked for the
Illustrated London News at that time. Thus, we can see there were already two international
circuits of photography, with different purposes, modes of representation, and agencies.
[38] Kinoshita Naoyuki, *Shashingaron: Shashin to kaiga no gettkon* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1996):
1-22 and 84-88.

matter than the attitude or tendency displayed toward the picture itself – that is, the ideal invoked in registering the real essence of the image. Given this wide spectrum of photography, isn't it only to be expected that Uchida meant to inhabit and buy out the old notion of photography to pull down the new media of photography? Didn't his "houtogurahui" carry within its representational models and forms the intimation or essence of the pre-existing idea of photography? Indeed, for Uchida the illustrations in *Yochi shiryaku* penetrated into the 'true essence' of the object, although without necessarily being subjected to the physical and chemical processes intrinsic to the photographic image. Perhaps unconsciously, and even explicitly, Uchida's specific understanding of photography reached back to the pictorial trajectories and projections, formulated as expressions of seventeenth and eighteenth century problems and needs, in 'registering the real.'

The readily expansive definition of photography in *Yochi shiryaku* was, however, dependent on something more than the mere material configuration and development of photography, nor was it simply a matter of a certain hybridity between the old and the new, which remained an omnipresent formulation in the very idea of modernity. Even more crucial here is the notion of hybridization, which, ironically enough, could readily embrace new representational forms and techniques that could possibly shape and reshape the previous models of vision and visuality. Previous commentaries on *Yochi shiryaku* have elucidated the relation between the images in *Yochi shiryaku* and those found in the original sources, yet most of these investigations have centered on factual information – where do the images come from, and how many images did Uchida transcribe?

Although these questions suggest a suitable foundation for understanding the images in *Yochi shiryaku*, they do not encourage us to contemplate photography's *discursive* possibilities, that is, the set of conditions for framing the status and meaning of photographic images.[39] I will particularly focus on the 'photographic' in *Yochi shiryaku*, especially as it is situated within the discourse occasioned by contemporaneous traveling photography, and simultaneously executed and circulated in the global market place. Beyond a mere image source, I argue that, both *Bankoku shashinchō* and *Tour du Monde* conferred a specific visual modality on *Yochi shiryaku*. What was at stake in Uchida's 'photography' was more than a mere technical adaptation. The pre-texts framed the discursive space for *Yochi shiryaku*, whose forms and structures necessarily followed the rules for the formation of statements about modernity, considered as a single temporal development in the West.

Traveling Photography: The Temporal Convening of Space

> But twenty years ago, how little was known about Japan! How well we remember the vague sort of wonder with which the accounts reached England of the Sterling and Perry expeditions, and the comparative indifference that was felt by the majority of those who read of them in the papers.
> *The Far East*, 1870

Bankoku shashinchō, one of the major source books that Uchida referred to, would be a good starting point to account for the discursive space of

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[39] Rosalind Krauss, "Photography's Discursive Spaces," in *The Originality of the Avant-Garde and Other Modernist Myths* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1986): 150.

photography in *Yochi shiryaku*.[40] As a compelling symbol of a full-fledged

Western traveling culture in the development of photography, this album

comprises 21 sections, and each section has generated a set of stereoscopic images

(fig. 1-8). The first section is allocated to England, and the next, to Spain, France

and Switzerland, respectively; it then moves on to the American continent and

Africa via India; and it subsequently addresses colonial countries under the

domination of various European empires, before concluding with China, Siam,

Anan and Japan. This order is directly proportional to the square allocated to each

nation in the nineteenth century World Fair, which also envisioned the world as a

flat globe partitioned by nations, and which was, in turn, recomposed as a

hierarchical pyramid.[41]

The imagination of the world as a divided whole, something already

separated into and bound up with the notion of the nation, is a specifically modern

invention. It was based on the technologies of modern territoriality, which created

nationhood spatially by distinguishing what could be homogenized as a nation

from what might be excluded as different. In contrast to Benedict Anderson's idea

of the nation, imagined from within the heart of the community, Thongchai

Winichakul emphasizes that a nation cannot be imagined solely from within, since

it is constituted precisely in identifying those characteristics that do not belong to

it, that is, implicated in their relation to Others.[42] According to Winichakul, the

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[40] *Bankoku shashinchō* literally means the "photographic album of myriad different countries," and the entire series of this album has been housed in the National Museum of Tokyo since the middle of the Meiji period.

[41] As for the imperial order staged in the World Fair, see Robert Rydell, "Colonial Moderne," in *All the World's Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985): 61-91.

[42] Thongchai Winichakul, *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-body of a Nation* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997): 16. For more on Benedict Anderson's nationhood and its

territoriality of a nation is very arbitrarily and artificially determined by a geographical discourse whose prime technology is the map; and the 'nation-on-the-map' appears during the process of European imperial expansion, being defined as a certain quantifiable portion of the earth's surface. In other words, the nation became an objectively and positively identifiable space by dint of imperial geography and colonial expeditions. The world as a national mosaic is an imperial consequence of the continuous structural adjustments necessitated by Western empires as the 'nation' itself is a very useful rubric for imperial corporations.[43]

World geography is a discursive space to shape the whole-part relations between the world and the nation on the grounds of neutral and positive knowledge. And this positive cognizance contributed to the naturalization of its own imperial origins. Accordingly, there were two systems of naturalization: the surface of the world could be articulated in the homogenous and systematic language of geo-science, while the nation could be particularized through its unique cultural and historical character. The geo-encyclopedia is one of the most compelling examples, as well as one of the most powerful agencies, of the naturalization process: it represents all the different nations in their synchronicity, and inserts them into the unbroken continuum of the world. Africa and Europe are ontologically related in the same encyclopedia, whose differences are more

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spatiality, see Benedict Anderson, "Map, Census and Museum," in *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London; Verso, 1983): 163-185.

[43] John D. Kelly and Martha Kaplan rightly point out that the nation-state as a hegemonic, naturalized institution is less than a century old, and its actuality ironically derives from legal fictions. 'Fictions' here do not refer to a mere delusion of the nation-state, but imply the legal *effects* that render institutions functional, and constitute real law and legal 'truth,' despite their ineradicably fictional origins. See John D. Kelly and Martha Kaplan, "Legal Fictions after Empire," in Douglas Howland and Luise White (eds), *The State of Sovereignty: Territories, Laws, Populations* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009): 167-195.

specifically elaborated within the universal categories of natural science –

topology, geology, climate and ecology, biology, zoology and botany, etc. At the

same time, Africa and Europe are differently perceived as they have a particular

culture, race and ethnicity that can be elucidated through the universal categories

of human science. All in all, geographic empiricism homogenizes the spatial

realities of the world into the quantifiable language of science, while its

culturalism highlights geo-ethnic differences between the countries.

Traveling photography played a crucial role not only in gathering and

recording geographical information on the different nations of the world, but also

in offering a nationalistic reinterpretation of landscape and folklore. Most of all, it

enabled the creation of a vast and coherent archive of the 'National Geographic,'

and its mechanical reproducibility made possible a rapid dissemination of

specifically national images in a global circuit of representation. In the process, a

great many photographers emerged as prominent figures, and even came to be

associated with particular nations.[44] For instance, by 1870, every region had its

favorite European photographers: Maxime Du Camp for Egypt, John Thompson

for China, and Felix Beato for Japan. At the same time, most Western countries

had their representative photographers: Nadar in France, Roger Fenton in Britain,

and Carleton E. Watkins in America. Hence, a double-edged process of

nationalization was at work in highlighting the presence of photography in the

domain of world geography. Western photographers discovered the landscapes of

non-Western countries; and these landscapes, in turn, served to propel Western

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[44] Strangely enough, there is no research on the relations of the nation to its national photography, although their formation was co-constitutive. Most of the history of photography has been written from the nationalistic perspective, thereby accepting the category of the nation as offering a universal and transcendent idea of historiography.

photographers into national figures. A peculiar power dynamic is at stake in the global economy of traveling photography: a given nation is neither perceivable nor representable by itself, but imaginable only by its positioning vis-à-vis the West.

Interestingly enough, the traveling circuits of John Thompson and Roger Fenton were not radically different, although they photographed quite different locales. Both of them staged the West in an enunciative position as the world: the former, a British photographer who re-presented the Far East, articulated its particular geographies on behalf of Far Eastern countries; while the latter, a representative British photographer, created a grammar of the picturesque landscape in Britain. The putative unity of the West and the non-West was coincidently affirmed and sustained through their traveling circuits, physical and discursive narratives, and subsequent forms of representation – geographical textbooks, an encyclopedia and travelogues – wherein the world could be neatly ordered into the West and the rest. What is reassured is the geopolitical relation between the West and the rest, which was soon to be translated into the temporal relation between the modern and the non-modern. Traveling photography participated in this process by announcing a seemingly indelible division between the West and the rest, while perpetually conflating modernization and Westernization.[45] It has affirmed and reaffirmed the West as an agent of photography, while collecting and representing the image of the rest as a resource of Western modernity.

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[45] Thomas Lamarre, "Introduction: Impact of Modernities," in *Traces* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1994): 3.

Bankoku shashinchō is enmeshed in the politics of traveling photography

and its uneven topographies. As a huge compilation of traveling and monumental

photographs, it divides the world into different nations. Assuming the structure of

a geo-encyclopedia, the album allocates a given space of representation to each

nation, and is partitioned by sub-categories, such as human figures, landscapes,

architecture, animal and plant species, and historical events. For example, all of

the human figures in Britain are formally dressed and neatly adorned. The

photographs of British people follow the pictorial codes of the bourgeois portrait,

which makes these figures substantially more honorable and honorific. By

contrast, all of the figures in the Japanese section are represented in the guise of

the ethnographic portrait. In front of the camera, they were rendered into exotic

objects such as samurai with strange robes and swords, semi-naked geisha women,

and weak and elderly people, strangely posed and lacking in dignity (fig. 1-9).[46]

The figures from Africa are even more seriously deprived of their social and

cultural background, portrayed as an extension of nature itself, with no distinction

between animal and plant species– people as part of a continuum of nature outside

the register of human civilization and development (fig. 1-10).

There are categorical problems too in this overarching and comprehensive

project, which attempted to stage the world in its totality. The Western categories

of classification had already been universalized, and imposed different meanings

and rules on non-Western countries. The term 'architecture,' for example, has a

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[46] Not only in travel magazines, but also in the modern form of the encyclopedia, 'Japan' had been represented through this predictable set of imagery. One of the most popular and representative encyclopedias in nineteenth century Britain, *Chambers' Encyclopedia*, employed images from *Tour du Monde* and *Bankoku shashinchō* in the section on Japan. See *Hyakka jiten no rekishi* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1964): 6-18.

very specific register within Western culture, and doesn't fit into the spatial reality of non-Western cultures. The powerful stories of Western modernity had already enframed and emplotted social space in the non-West as an archaic spectacle opened up to the purview of the West: Chinese pavilions, Japanese temples, and Egyptian pyramids are the mere backdrops used to reinforce the authority of Western civilization, rather than serving as the material condition for representing and imagining each nation (fig. 1-11).

The size of the allocated space varies substantially according to the implicit claims made for each nation at both the quantitative and qualitative levels. For instance, Britain takes up a total of four volumes in the whole album and is represented by over 700 photographs. America, a then emerging empire, takes up one volume and is illustrated by 44 photographs. The section on Japan, the last country in sequential order, is mixed in with Siam and China within one volume. At stake here are more than mere sequential and numeric differences of display among different nations. Rather, different modes of representation were in play, which poses the question as to why and in what manner Britain could be given such an immense space, and was granted multiple modes of national representation that Japan was not deemed to possess.

Within the structure of world geography, spatial order comes to have a historical value, implying a specific order of temporality wherein the more modernized nations are featured first, and the less modernized are positioned last of all. Overall, what is enclosed in this photographic album is a particular set of *temporal* relations and historical values based on the myth of human progress. The evolutionary paradigm of world geography is projected onto the entire

structure of *Bankoku shashinchō* – first in Europe, then elsewhere.[47] It re-

presented the world seen through the lens of historicism, which made modernity

look not simply global, but as something that became global *over time*, by

originating in one place (Europe) and then spreading outside it.[48] *Bankoku*

shashinchō mediates this global progression by constructing a similar structure of

modernity, thereby translating spatial differences into a temporal sequence. Here

the parameters of the 'modern' enable world geography to be transformed into

world history– the interlinked stories of unilinear progress and the predictable

developmental sequences within which all nations could be included.[49]

Accordingly, *Bankoku shashinchō* reaffirms a universal narrative of modernity

that transposes geographical differences into historical distances; not only does

this result from modernity's own project, but it is itself active in *performing* it,

constructing geo-historical pairings of the Western modern and the non-Western

Other.

The Invisibility of Japan in the Japanese Geo-Encyclopedia

> Japan is escaping from other Asian countries, and
> evolving toward its own progressive civilization. It is
> said that even the West pays attention to the
> incredible speed of Japan's development.
> Uchida Masao, 1870

In the annals of nineteenth century world geography, Japan was situated in

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[47] Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*
(Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000): 7.
[48] Chakrabarty, ibid, 7
[49] Doreen Massey, *For Space* (London: Sage Publications, 2005): 68.

the last chapter of modernity. Likewise, it was featured in the last section of the

geo-encyclopedia. Thus, Japan existed elsewhere exactly opposite to and in a

temporally and geographically distanced place from the West. *Tour du Monde*, for

example, proposed Japan as the first choice destination for an exotic voyage,

putting the travelogue about Japan alongside those of Egypt, Africa and China in

its first issue.[50] Within the space of a few years, Japan was featured seven times

in this magazine, brought to life with vivid stories and graphic images. Each issue

contained different stories narrated by different authors. Yet the pictorial subjects

were predictably repetitive – a Buddhist ceremony and temple, a Samurai's

disembowelment, a torture scene (involving Western people), and women bathing

(fig. 1-12a, 12b). At the time when Uchida began to compile his geo-encyclopedia,

an international circuit to produce and consume 'Japan' had already been shaped

in a highly concrete manner. In short, Japan was uniquely located within the

discursive space of world geography, even before it was able to re-present itself

vis-à-vis the world.

Uchida Masao, in his mission to compile a comprehensive encyclopedia of

world geography, sought to diverge from the geopolitical order of modernity,

which conferred a peripheral position on Japan. Undoubtedly, he knew about the

temporal and spatial Otherness of Japan in world geography, as portrayed in the

contemporaneous Western geo-encyclopedia.[51] Uchida's predicament was, then,

how to conceive world geography as a form of modern enlightened knowledge,

while reshaping its ideological structure to relocate his country at the margins of

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[50] Edouard Charton (ed.) *Tour du Monde: Nouveau Journal Des Voyages* Vol. 1 (1869): 161-176.
[51] As *Tour du Monde* was one of Uchida's main references for image making, he was presumably aware of how 'Japan' figured in world geography. According to Uchida's photographic appropriation, this refers to Mashino Keiko, "'Yochi Shiryaku' no image ni tsuite."

the world. How was he able to overcome the historicism of modernity, and its temporal convening of space in world geography? And how did he re-territorialize Japan and depart from the set parameters of world geography while yet remaining within the same discursive space?

Faced with these questions, Uchida contrived specific strategies for resituating Japan, at least at the center of 'learning and articulating' world geography. First, his *Yochi shiryaku* had slightly transformed the structure of the Western geo-encyclopedia, which had situated Japan as 'elsewhere,' or at least, as distanced from the West. Uchida however changed the sequential order used to accommodate each nation. In Alex Mackay's *Elements of Geography*, one of the main source books Uchida referred to, Japan is placed last in the order of all the Asia countries, and it is allocated only two pages in the entire book. Likewise, this information is presented in a very abridged format, briefly stating the relevant facts about geographical boundaries, populations, surface areas, and political divisions.[52]

In *Yochi shiryaku,* however, Japan stands out as the first nation in the world, and is completely separated from the other Asian countries that appear in the later volumes. Uchida also incorporates realms of knowledge that had been excluded from the Western geo-encyclopedia, such as local geographies and regional products to be found within the Japanese archipelago. Imperial genealogy also plays a crucial role in this. Uchida even describes the specific characteristics of ethnic minorities, such as those of the Ainu and Ryūkyū people, whom he

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[52] Alex Mackay, *Elements of Geography* (Edinburgh and London, W. Blackwood & Sons, 1868): 195.

called *dojin*, a pejorative term for non-Western indigenous people used during the Edo period.[53] By contrast, Uchida emphasized contemporary urban developments in Japan, which were sharply divergent from other Asian countries, and could easily justify the highest status he grants to Japan in Asia.[54]

Although *Yochi shiryaku* proclaimed its strong involvement with civilization, cultural enlightenment, and technological knowledge, concretized in the West, it didn't completely discard indigenous geographical knowledge and its strategies of representation. Uchida tried, rather, to present a hybrid form of knowledge, dividing the universe into the three parts of *tenmon* (heaven), *chiri* (earth) and *jinmon* (human), which had been the main organizational categories of Chinese geography.[55] He also carefully co-opted the landscape conventions of the Edo period to show the different scales of mountains, despite his strong interest in learning about the techniques of Western oil painting. Indeed, this is quite striking considering Uchida's keen interest in Western visual culture:[56] Uchida displayed his oil painting collections at a number of exhibitions, which deeply influenced the younger painters, who avidly pursued Western-style painting, including

[53] Here we can find an interesting contrast between Mackay's ethno-geographic assertions and Uchida's. Mackay briefly mentions that Japanese people have traces of Mongolian ethnicity with an admixture of Malay blood, yet they remain ambiguous in terms of their ethnographical origin. Uchida, however, clearly indicates that the ethnic provenance of the Japanese people can be traced to their Yamato ancestors, ultimately deriving from the Jinmu emperor. See Alex Mackay, *Elements of Geography* 195; Uchida, Vol. 1, 66.

[54] Uchida, *Yochi shiryaku*, Vol. 1, 67.

[55] The traditional term of "Chiri" was initially avoided in the so-called civilized and enlightened knowledge of the time, as it resonated with common spatial knowledge in the Edo period. Instead, both amateur and professional geographers preferred the notion of "Chimon," which referred to physical geography. Likewise, Fukuwawa Yukichi divided geography into Tenmon (Heaven), Shizen (Nature) and Ningen (Human), thereby following Edo geography in *Sekai kunizukushi*, his work on world geography.

[56] For more on Uchida's interest in Western painting and activities regarding exhibitions, see Kinoshita, *Bijutsu to iu misemono*: *Aburajaya no jidai*, 45-58, and 156-163, "Daigaku nankō bussankai ni tsuite," in *The Archaeology of Science: University of Tokyo* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1997): 850-851.

Koyama Shōtarō;[57] he also organized *Daigaku nankō buttsankai*, the first domestic exhibition in Japan, which took place in the Imperial University of Tokyo in 1871; in the following year, Uchida, in association with Takahashi Yuichi, organized a second exhibition called *Yushima seidō hakurankai*. He used to display animal and plant specimens together in his oil painting collections. Despite his propensity for Western painting, Uchida intended to blend in *Yochi shiryaku* the traditions of Japanese brush painting with Western industrial illustrations, using grids and scales to produce accurate measurements (fig. 1-13). This hybrid visual form was adopted presumably to assert that Japan's own traditions of knowledge and representation had not been overwhelmed, but were present in the new discourses and practices, and effectively laid under contribution.

But the problem of Japan's positionality still remains to be addressed. Uchida knew that he would have to readdress, at a fundamental level, the question of how to deal with the visual images he termed 'photography' – the realistic images in the Western geo-encyclopedia, which rendered Japan into a spatial and temporal Other vis-à-vis the West. Strikingly enough, Uchida's solution was to make Japan invisible within his encyclopedia. As a matter of fact, no image is shown in the section on Japan with the exception of a single territorial map. This absence is quite unusual considering the huge number of images contained in *Yochi shiryaku*: China, the second nation in the world order, has more than ten images devoted to it, including the Great Wall of China, male and female ethnographic portraits (*fūzoku jinbutsuzu*), and even imaginative scenes, such as

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[57] *Nihon bijutsu kan* (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1997): 850.

the Mongolian defeat of Europe in the thirteenth century. Oceania and the Atlantic, the last countries in *Yochi shiryaku*, have also been allotted a number of ethnographic portraits and natural historical images. Needless to say, this was also the case with the European and American Continent.

In effect, the visual absence of Japan was a common phenomenon in contemporaneous geographical textbooks, including Fukuzawa Yukichi's world geography.[58] One exceptional case is *Sashie chiri ōrai* (The Illustrated Primers of Geography, 1872), a school textbook devoted to Japanese geography. This text contains an impressive image depicting a Japanese geography lesson, composed of a Japanese teacher pointing out a globe, and two Japanese students learning about world geography (fig. 1-14). This image unwittingly implies the subordinate position of Japan in learning and the simultaneous need to come to grips with the new realities of modern geography, yet the rest of the images regarding Japanese geography are derived from an Edo period folkloristic text, which I will discuss later.

According to Kinoshita Naoyuki, the pictorial gap in Japan's representation in *Yochi shiryaku* may have been due to its intended audience: Japanese people were already thoroughly immersed in Japanese folklore and geography, and so there was no need to employ pedagogic images. Due to the visual absence of Japan, he goes on to argue, *Yochi shiryaku* came to inscribe the

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[58] *Bankoku chishiryaku*, one the most popular world geography textbooks translated from *Michelle's School Geography*, and *Nihon chishiryaku*, a textbook on Japanese geography, have no visual references depicting "Japan." For geographical textbooks published during the early Meiji period, see The Library of Shiga University (ed.), *Kyōkasho no ayumi* (Hikone: Sunrise Publications, 2006): 186-215, Shinada Tsuyoshi, "Waga kunini okeru Meiji ikō no chiri kyōkasho oyobi chiri kyōiku ni kansuru kenkyū 1," in the *Bulletin of the School Education Center of Tsukuba University*, Vol. 11 (1988): 143-155.

Othering gaze of the West, whether Uchida himself intended it or not.[59] Mashino

Keiko goes even further, arguing that the discrepancy between the two perceived

Japans in Uchida's project – Japan as the active subject, learning about world

geography, and Japan as a not yet civilized, yet keenly aspiring nation, marking its

emergence in the world – may have prompted Uchida to dispense with visual cues

in his comprehensive encyclopedic project of presenting world geography.

Although these commentaries give some important indications as to why Japan is

invisible in Uchida's text, I would like to point out another important, and more

decisive factor; namely, Uchida's problems in articulating national archetypes

squared with the discursive realities of modern encyclopedic knowledge. My

argument is that Uchida, like other early Meiji intellectuals, did not possess a

coherent set of visual notations to not only represent, but also, to particularize

'Japan' in a manner distinct from Edo geographical references, yet within Western

typological grammar.[60]

Of course, there were various photographic conventions that Uchida could

presumably have referred to for his illustrations during the 1870s and 1880s

within the Japanese archipelago. First of all, Western photographers such as Felice

Beato and Charles Wirgman were working in Japan with great journalistic zeal.

They also made a record of what they had observed in the archipelago by means

of both photography and painting. Most of these Western traveler-photographers

were implicated in the global market place to produce and consume the

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[59] Kinoshita, *Shashingaron*, 84-88.
[60] Felice Beato, in his publication, the "Face of the Japanese People," created a kind of typology of Japanese people and landscapes during the 1870s. Yet this album strongly reflects the way Japan had been hitherto consumed in the global photographic marketplace as a charming, exotic country in the Far East. For a discussion of Beato's work, see Yokohama Kaikō Shiryōkan, *Gaikokujin ga totta bakumatsu Nihon: Beato shasinshū* (Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 2006).

stereotypical images of the Far East, which were circulated under the rubric of world geography. Secondly, a couple of Japanese indigenous photographers, namely, Ueno Hikoma and Simo'oka Renjō, ran their own studios after having learned about photographic techniques from Western photographers. Renjō, for instance, opened up a studio in Yokohama, and produced a number of folkloric photographic studies, that were later categorized as a form of 'Yokohama photography.'[61] Lastly, there were many other kinds of photographic agencies including, most notably, the Meiji government. A number of photographers were commissioned for nation-building projects to document this process of change and development. The Hokkaidō expedition of photography (1868-1888), for instance, is one of the most representative examples of the state-centered photographic enterprises. Tamoto Kenzō was one of the leaders of this project, and his photographs began to be shown and publicized in both national and international exhibitions after 1871.

If Uchida had been concerned about, or had wished to harness photography's descriptive power, he would surely have taken photographs as visual references to depict what Japan looked like at that time. Yet he did not produce any images derived from contemporaneous Japanese photographic conventions, nor did he transcribe any illustrations taken from Western geographical sources. Uchida was certainly aware of the inappropriateness of these images as forms of national representation: the Western photographers' images were obviously complicit with the demands of the Western market, which

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[61] The first decade of the Meiji era was characterized as a period of "Japanese competition with Western photographers," and the second decade was known as a period of the relative "domination of Japanese photography" by early photographers like Renjō. See Terry Bennett, *Photography in Japan: 1853-1912* (Singapore and Tokyo: Tuttle Publishing, 2006): Chapters 3 and 4.

wished to produce and consume 'Japan' in its Otherness (fig. 1-15); the Japanese

indigenous photographers who sold their images to Westerners followed many of

the pictorial conventions of Western photographers (fig. 1-16); and the

documentary photographs produced for state projects, such as Hokkaidō

photography, show all too explicitly the ongoing process of development in Japan,

rather than pointing the way to a mature visual typology (fig. 1-17). In short, they

did not offer a 'true type,' or new visual paradigm, by which Japan might seek to

recognize her place in the structure of modern geo-encyclopedic knowledge.

While some of these images transparently reflect Western imperial concerns,

others were all too contingent, arbitrary and spontaneous to represent Japan as a

single unified nation in the world. For Uchida it was a matter of achieving a

national archetype through what he called 'photography,' to determine whether he

could re-orient Japan toward world geography, whether realizable within

impermeable boundaries or not.

     The lack of a national archetype was of course only possible within the

system of Western typology, where Japan had been designated as a temporal and

spatial Other. It then became inevitable for Uchida to be subjected to this very

system, in order to resist it, and therefore, his 'photography' had to re-inscribe the

Western representational system that had already become universal; otherwise he

could find no way to represent Japan;[62] moreover, it was impossible for him to

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[62] Karatani Kōjin once discussed a similar dilemma concerning Natsume Sōseki, in terms of the structure of Western modernity and its invisibility. While Sōseki intentionally retained and cultivated what had been left out of the narrative of Western universality – as illustrated in his writing diary in *Kanbun* (Chinese-style writing), albeit with a very modern style of writing, Uchida, belonging to a still older generation than Soseki, did not seem to recognize the Western system of representation as a universalizing force. Rather, it was one of the vectors in a vast cultural repertoire that were made use of to achieve a higher standard of civilization and enlightenment. For Soseki, see Karatani, "Discovery of Landscape," in the *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*

fall back on geographical references associated with the Edo period, such as

ōraimono, as they clearly existed outside the sphere of Western universality. There

could be no 'Japan' in *ōraimono*, conceived as a collective geographical entity,

that is, within the legal and political contours of a nation-state. What Uchida saw

as being represented in *ōraimono* were tonal pulses, or registers, of varying

intensity – seasonal tropes, poetic expressions and toponyms. He developed a

thoroughgoing holistic vision in examining famous places, and the related verbal

activities of listing and lining up different toponyms in an almost infinite

progression (*narabi* and *zukushi*), utilizing the rhetorical devices of the poetic

journey (*michiyuki*), and engaging in a circular, or labyrinthine play with the

particularities of different places (*sugoroku*).[63] (fig. 1-18)

Of critical interest here is that certain contemporaneous geographical texts,

such as *Nihon chiri ōrai* (The Geographical Primers of Japan, 1872), employed

visual images from the previous geographical texts, although they advocated, like

Uchida's encyclopedia, the position of Japan as the subject of knowledge about

world geography. Most of them necessarily, if unknowingly, embraced the

contradictions between the text and the image, as illustrated in the mixed accounts

of Western geographical data and the visuality of the traditional *ōraimono*, in

which 'Japan' was portrayed as a compendium of famous places and things, in

keeping with the conventional associations specific to certain seasons, natural

rhythms, and the ongoing activity of reciting poems (fig. 1-19). But Uchida did

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(Durham: Duke University Press, 1993): 11-44.

[63] For the images in *ōraimono*, see The Library of Shiga University (ed.), *The Trace of Textbooks in Modern Japan: From Meiji to Contemporary* (Hikone: Sunrise Publications, 2006): 171-185; Ishikawa Matsutarō, *Ōraimono no seiritsu to tenkai* (Tokyo: Yūshodō Shuppan, 1988); and *Nihon kyōkasho kaikei: Kindai hen* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1961-1967).

not take up these works, especially as he noted that the visual system of *ōraimono* was incompatible with what he meant by 'photography,' and more particularly, its typologizing 'di-vision' of the world into different geo-ethnic fragments. It was, then, only within the internal structure and logic of the 'photographic' that Uchida could complete the Japanese version of world geography. To return to the pictorial manner of the Edo-style *ōraimono* would be to distort the temporal sequence of modernity itself, that is, the epistemological ground of world geography.

Given this predicament, to preserve a tactical silence about Japan seemed to offer the best solution, although this absence necessarily resulted in disturbing the visual balance of the entire structure of *Yochi shiryaku*. This silence, however, did not mean the absolute negation of the self-image represented by Others; rather, it was a clever way by which Uchida could express, rather than merely foreclose, the desire for self-representation, albeit in a paradoxical manner. It is in this context that Uchida could resume Western photography, and through the very form of the 'photographic' he searched for a way to constitute the Japanese version of world geography as a new and commanding field of rationality.

Archetypes also afford a crucial key as to why Uchida transformed, rather than transcribed the original image sources, especially on the part of the semi-barbarian and half-civilized countries he defined, such as India, Africa, South America and Oceania. Uchida even added or deleted certain elements of the original images, and thereby made a totally different economy of photographic images: by magnifying some of the group portraits in India, he explicitly created a representative type of Indian people (fig. 1-20); likewise, by mixing up different Siamese figures within a single image, he presented a comprehensive portrait to

demonstrate a representative type of Siamese people (fig. 1-21); and he also

juxtaposed different portraits and landscapes to define Egyptian folklore and

geography more effectively (fig. 1-22).[64] Uchida's talents for painting also led

him to highlight the logic of Western typology wherein a 'true type' would fulfill

the goal of modern knowledge by manifesting the universal in the particular.[65]

My point here is not to indicate whether Uchida distorted the original

sources or not, but to highlight his endeavor to introduce the economy of

photographic typology, developed within the nineteenth-century European social

sciences as a crucial technique for classifying and identifying Others. In so doing,

Uchida also brought into play the Western discourse of the instrumental archive,

which engineered a regularized flow of symbolic and material power between

fully-human subjects and less-than-fully-human objects, along vectors of race, sex

and class.[66] In this vein, the new term, 'photography,' in *Yochi shiryaku* doesn't

simply refer to the technical know-how of pictorial depiction. Rather, what

distinguishes Uchida's photography is the aspiration to appropriate subjective

technology to construct a visual language of national archetypes. The vital

element in Uchida's encyclopedia is founded upon the technology of subjectivity

whereby the Japanese nation could be granted the status of a subject that

constitutes itself by representing itself.[67]

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[64] For Uchida's transformation of images, refer to Ikeda Atsufumi, "'Yochi shiryaku' to 'Bankoku shashinchō.'"

[65] Peter Button, "(Para-)humanity, Yellow Peril and the postcolonial (arche-)type," in *Postcolonial Studies* Vol. 9, No. 4 (December 2006): 422.

[66] Allan Sekula, "The Traffic in Photographs," in P*hotography Against the Grain: Essays and Photo Works 1973-1983* (Nova Scotia College of Art and Design: Halifax, 1984): 79.

[67] Sakai Naoki, "The Problem of "Japanese Thought:" The formation of "Japan" and the Schema of configuration," in *Translation and Subjectivity: On "Japan" and Cultural Nationalism* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1997): 63-68.

Geo-Encyclopedia as a Mixed Regime

> What is striking in the entire Encyclopaedia (and especially
> in its images) is that it proposes a world without fear.
> Roland Barthes, 1980

Uchida's problem with national archetypes is much more complex than
achieving the technology of subjectivity itself. Because the archetype came into
being as part of the enterprise of encyclopedic knowledge, typologizing its various
forms of knowledge could only be framed by the rules of the entire unified
archive. More importantly, a close examination tells us that the underlying logic
of the archetype in *Yochi shiryaku* could only be explained in terms of both
modern typology and classical taxonomy – especially as Uchida's classificatory
system commonly implies the relations of super/sub species among different
nations, races and ethnicities. How, then, do the overlaps of the taxonomic and the
typological, or in a Foucauldian sense, the classical and the modern, work within
Uchida's encyclopedia? How does the encyclopedic enterprise both elevate and
regularize the creation of the particular subjectivity of the nation?

In describing a work that aims to reveal the system of knowledge for its
time, the 'Encyclopedia' is necessarily implicated in the basic epistemological
question of how we know that we know.[68] The encyclopaedia is, in Foucauldian
archaeology, a form of classical epistemology manifesting its presence as an
organic whole, yet consisting of small sections that are in turn to be incorporated

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[68] James Creech, "'Chasing after Advance:'" Diderot's Article 'Encyclopedia,'" in *Yale French Studies* Vol. 63 (1982): 185.

into the whole; all components are arranged, classified, serialized, and categorized side by side according to their distinct identity and differences; and a pure tableau lies at its heart as a principle of organization. Within this encyclopaedic structure, knowledge exists as a whole; all parts are of a piece, existing simultaneously in one totalizing system. Like Noah's ark, the encyclopedia provides the key to the great book of the universe.[69]

Classical encyclopedic knowledge, however, gave way to the modern episteme deriving from the late eighteenth century. According to Foucault, modern knowledge threw out the classical table wherein things are represented in their wholeness and infinitude. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the unified order of things was fractured – doubly fractured into the empirical mode of being, object, and transcendental subject.[70] Representation, therefore, could no longer be a matter of establishing unquestionable principles of order, but had to be grounded on something else. In other words, representation as a distinctively human capacity was declared to be an object of study in itself. What is represented are the functions of representation. By contrast, what is not represented is a unified and unifying subject, which both posits these representations and makes them an object for itself.[71] This shift announced the emergence of the human sciences wherein man becomes a special kind of total subject, or the total object of his own knowledge. It announced, too, the emergence of a new operation of power that occasioned the endless procedures of individuation, isolation and particularization in association with the new horizon

[69] Paula Findlen, *Possessing Nature: Museums, Collecting and Scientific Culture in Early Italy* (California: University of California Press, 1994): 90.
[70] Foucault, *The Order of Things*, 243-248.
[71] Hubert L. Dreyfus, "The Archaeology of the Human Sciences," 25.

of the human sciences and their empirical contents.

Foucault looks at geographical ideas and concepts – positions, displacements, sites, fields, territories, geopolitics, etc. – as metaphors rather than as the actual field of operation of the human sciences.[72] Yet I would argue that his account of modern power is not unrelated to the discourses of modern geography, since geography builds the ground in which human beings imagine themselves as national subjects who are territorially rooted – that is, the science of human beings rooted in the specific territorial boundaries of the nation. While modern geography operated within the technology of physical territoriality that created nationhood spatially, it also constituted a symbolic discourse of ties to the nation through its links to ethnology, which is, as Foucault suggested, the science that corresponds at the social level to psychoanalysis at the individual level – the science of a privileged position, which produces the historical a priori of all the sciences of man, that is, that which makes the universal knowledge of ethnicity possible.[73] The geo-encyclopedia is a site where the discourses of modern geography and anthropology overlap, and the idea of the 'earth-bound *national community*' can be formulated through a comparative analytic study of races, ethnicities, and natural geographical conditions.

The organization of knowledge in the geo-encyclopedia also echoes the themes of the modern episteme. Unlike the classical order of the encyclopedia –

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[72] For more on this, see Foucault, "Questions on Geography," in *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings: 1972–1977* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980): 63-77.

[73] By the term 'ethnology,' Foucault meant to indicate Lévi-Strauss' structural methodology. For more on the shared episteme of psychoanalysis and ethnography, see Foucault, *The Order of Things*, 373-387. Robert Young discusses the illuminating manner in which Foucault's archaeology sought to address themes of colonial power and imperialism. See Young, "Foucault on Race and Colonialism," *New Formations* Vol. 25 (1995): 57-65.

entailing an absence of nothingness, the presence of representation, the general

representability of beings through universal language, and the endless semiotic

concatenations of each part[74]– the geo-encyclopaedia sought to reveal the

impossibility of such transparent relations among things. Instead, it shows how

each component posits its own appropriate space, and how it defines for itself an

internal space called the 'nation.' If the classical encyclopaedia organized and

classified things by an arbitrary order of the alphabet, or a taxonomic order

ranging from the simple to the abstract, the physical to the conceptual, and the

particular to the universal, in the modern geo-encyclopaedia each part does not

necessary reflect the other, nor is it necessarily affiliated to the parent tree. Rather,

the various parts manifest their irreducible specificities, which invoke the

universal character of the nation. In short, the geo-encyclopaedia individuates

human beings by letting them envision the particular geo-cultural identities of a

given nation, in the form of geologic, climatologic and environmental differences.

Given its particularizing impulse, the geo-encyclopedia employs the

strategies of typification, comparability, and equivalency, all of which constitute

the main components of the modern episteme. Human science created a typology

that distinguishes it from the claims of classical encyclopedic posterity and its

endless deferral of meanings, yet it is nonetheless linked to the a priori presence

of the true essential type of things. The type referred to here is neither the

universal within the individual, nor the unity of the individual and the universal;

but as a corollary of the image/figure, 'type' is something to be conceived in terms

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[74] Foucault, *The Order of Things*, 50-67.

of the individual who reveals the universal.[75] What is crucial in typology is a particular set of signs, codes and vocabulary, through which power is exercised and effectuated as a technology of individuation. Photography was from its nascent stage assigned a distinctive role within the imperatives of typology by reproducing distinctive individual features in conformity with the general type.[76] More particularly, in the field of anthropology, photography placed species and races within a regularized and measurable grid of different geographies, whereas the geo-encyclopedia fully employs ethnographic photographs that neatly classify space into given spaces where national subjects are bounded, albeit in the synaptic space of the camera's purview.

In *Yochi shiryaku*, however, photographic typology works at a number of different levels, employing different registers. Taxonomic formats continue to exist in different forms, and are transposed into, and imposed on the economy of typology. Interestingly, Uchida's classification strongly evokes subtype-supertype relations between different geo-ethnicities: first, the savage type, for people living in countries such as Oceania, South America and Africa, who live like animal species within, and barely overcome nature; second, the semi-barbarians, such as the Caspian, Arabian, Siberian and South Asian peoples, who do not have a written language, and live a half-nomadic and half-agricultural life; third, half-civilized countries such as the Turkish, Chinese and Persian peoples, who have their own written languages, their own products and governments, but maintain a myopic and ethnocentric cast of mind toward other countries in regard to

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[75] Peter Button, ibid,. 436.
[76] Allen Sekula, "The Body and the Archive," in *The Contest of Meaning: Critical Histories of Photography* (Cambridge, Mass.; MIT Press, 1989): 347.

international treaties and exchanges; and lastly, enlightened countries, which Euro-American peoples inhabit, with their own chosen forms of government and democratic systems. These countries have achieved a substantial measure of freedom and independence, and yet their freedom to behave as they please is kept in check by the many laws they have in common.

Uchida's scheme follows the logic of taxonomy by which the entire world was vertically viewed and arranged from the top. And this way of ordering reality was originally derived from the Western source book that he referred to as a symbol of 'modernity.'[77] Uchida ironically created a true type of all the countries he presented, including Japan, albeit within the classical system of taxonomy. The hierarchical structure was to be mixed with, and interposed within the horizontal line of typology, while national hierarchies were blended with geo-ethnic differences. And yet this uneasy mixture led him to mark the presence of different nations with different degrees of *visibility* – Japan is absent, Europe appears invisible, and the other countries are fairly conspicuous for their physicality in Uchida's photographs.

Japan, as discussed above, couldn't be categorized into any particular niche, since it was caught up within a classificatory contradiction – the contradiction between Japan as the subject of knowledge (enlightened and aware), and Japan as the object of knowledge (half-civilized and yet not fully emergent as a world power). This inconsistency finally resulted in the visual blank of Japan in *Yochi shiryaku*. In contrast to Japan's absence, Europe remains invisible in

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[77] Uchida referred to Mitchell's elementary geographical textbook, which Fukuzawa Yukichi also consulted. See the appendix in Augustus Mitchell, *A System of Modern Geography* (Philadelphia: Caxton Press of Sherman & Co, 1875).

Uchida's project, as it does not warrant images that reveal recognizably human features.[78]

My reading of Uchida's text, however, conceives this 'invisible Europe' as a much more complex and delicate entity than would appear to be the case. I contend that although Europe is not as invisible as it would first seem, it *appears* to be invisible seen through different visual filters, and in view of different modes of spatial representation. In the section on Europe, people are represented as being emplaced within a specific space, such as an urban street, a dance hall, an historic site and building, scenic landscapes, etc. That is, the illustrations depict Europeans as being rooted in acultural and historic landscape, presented as social figures who can manage, govern, and appreciate social spaces from natural landscapes to urban streets (fig. 1-23a, 23b).[79] The subject and its representation often bear a metonymic relation. What truly represent Europe are cultural products such as guns, ships, trains, and cannons, while people are depicted in the guise of their production and consumption behaviour (fig. 1-24). Rather than being represented by a fully transparent physical appearance, such as ethnic racial Others, as depicted in *Yochi shiryaku*, Europeans appear to hide their physicality, which had long been recognized as a stable criterion of human beings in modern ethnology. Put simply, Europeans appear to be invisible, at least as they are universalized in the domain of the human sciences.

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[78] Mashino Keiko, "Mieru minzoku, mienai minzoku: Yochi Shiryaku no sekaikan," in *Hanga to shashin: Jyūkyūseiki kōhan dekikoto to imeji no sōshutsu* (Kanagawa: Kanagawa University, 2006): 9-11.

[79] Uchida often enacted, and even emphasized this strategy: he inserted a small ship in a European landscape, while superimposing different profile portraits of women onto the Egyptian landscape. He also embeds them within the performance of specific spatial activities, such as parties, dancing and walking through urban streets. See Uchida, *Yochi shiryaku*, Vol. 8, 15.

Meanwhile, for both savage and semi-barbarian countries a specific format of photography, including the mug shot and profile photography, is employed for a ready identification of their physical characteristics. These representational technologies were developed from the conventions of natural history, and elaborated within a new institutional order – the instrumental archive – to ensure the rapid identification of, and control over, criminals, the insane, prisoners, and ethnic and racial others. The pictorial code of this 'ignoble archive' was co-opted by Uchida for all other parts of the world except Europe and North America, establishing and delimiting the terrain of the non-West by defining it as the most visible mode of existence vis-à-vis the West, which ironically becomes the most invisible region, although it is positioned in front of the rest (fig. 1-25).

What then do the different degrees of visibility imply? Power in the modern age, Foucault argues, is what displays itself most and hides itself best. The relations of power are among the best-hidden things within the social body, as they are transmitted and exercised through knowledge, generating a specific regime of truth, through which the body and space are individualized and particularized.[80] 'Europe,' in *Yochi shiryaku*, operates according to this dynamic of modern power, imposing different degrees of visibility on different locales by hiding the very manifestation of its power: it is a source of regulation, the presiding order in the creation of typology, and a historical ground of knowledge and representation, both for itself as well for the rest of the world.

But Uchida's case poses a more complex question simply because he was

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[80] Michel Foucault, "Power and Sex: An Interview with Michel Foucault," in *Telos* Vol. 32 (Summer 1977): 157, cited by John Tagg, "Evidence, Truth and Order: A Means of Surveillance," in Vanessa R. Schwartz and Jeannene M. Przyblyski (eds.), *The Nineteenth-Century Visual Culture Reader* (London: Routledge, 2004): 248.

not working within the European metropole, that is, the invisible universality

governing the rule of the geo-encyclopedia; nevertheless, he shared much with it,

and even inscribed, not only the sanctioned place of Europe, but also the way the

rest of the world was constituted by relations of contradiction and opposition, as

determined by the global predominance of Europe. As such, Europe is not only

the source of modernization, but also an agent by proxy, whose success could be

measured by the degree of power it exercised over others.

Yochi shiryaku, a national and racial project to construct Japan's own

encyclopedia, was developed as a form of contestation that was nonetheless

intimately connected to, and even contributed to reinforce, the enunciative

position of the West. Such a self-constructive power was also harnessed in another

direction, with yet another target in mind. Because *Yochi shiryaku* presented a

geo-encyclopedic scheme, the 'internal articulation' of the nation could only be

realized through the projection of negative Others. The super/sub relations were

therefore transferred into a typology of Others, as into vessels. This is clearly

expressed in the representation of half-civilized countries, where Japan is

excluded by Uchida's definition, but included in the original Western source's

definition. Uchida, in particular, emphasized that people in China and India were

entrapped within their ancient cultures, harshly critiquing the rigid social

hierarchies created by the Indian caste system and Chinese Confucianism. By

contrast, people in the so-called enlightened countries, despite preserving their

own culture, maintained a strong sense of 'universal brotherhood,' which enabled

them to exchange their cultural endowments and technologies with other

countries.[81]

Thus it is not surprising that Uchida, in order to show the cultural stagnation of half-civilized countries, highlighted the female foot-binding conventions of China, employing the very typological images developed by Western ethnographic photography (fig. 1-26).[82] Uchida also classified Korean territory as being part of China, and accordingly, Korean people were viewed as being inherently dirty and lazy,[83] confirming the observations made in the many geographical texts on China and Korea written by Western travelers and explorers. It is striking that he thought to include a detailed account of the plantations in the Dutch colonies of South Asia, based on his direct observations made on his way to Holland.[84]

Within this structure of knowledge, Europe is not invisible in *Yochi shiryaku*, but appears as the active agent, the agent of order and change, which transforms Japan from being, not a passive, but an active figure in manifesting its own subjectivity. This became even more visible when its Others came to share and internalize this ideological framework. It is surely possible to argue, then, that Europe is the sovereign power of geo-encyclopedic knowledge, reconstituted as pure reflection, and capable of providing a foundation, or at the very least, capable of revealing the continuity and cohesion of its 'historical sovereignty' in the world?

As mentioned above, the geo-encyclopedia itself structurally embodies both classical and modern discourses in the way that it evolves out of the classical fantasy of total-knowledge about the world, yet in the mode of particularization.

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[81] Uchida, *Yochi shiryaku*, Vol. 1, 37-39.
[82] Uchida, *Yochi shiryaku*, Vol. 2, 5-7.
[83] Uchida, ibid., 21.
[84] Uchida, ibid., 21.

But more importantly, the way geo-encyclopedic knowledge is constructed hinges on the actual process of imperial domination.[85] Encyclopedic romanticism is inversely projected onto the dynamic of imperial subjugation, by which 'Europe' assumed its position of historical *and* political sovereignty over the rest of the world. It should be noted again that Uchida went to Holland in order to consolidate a knowledge base that would help to protect Japan's political sovereignty against the absolute power of the Western Empire. If power in the modern age is most manifest when most hidden, the enunciation of this paradox can also run the risk of misconstruing what this regime of power was all about, especially when oriented toward, and operating beyond the European-bound frame.

But my aim is not to highlight the dominating power at work in the periphery. Rather, I wish to focus on the way it is inversely directed onto the 'interior frontiers' of the periphery, prompting encyclopedic violence of a radically different kind.[86] It is thus most significant that Uchida became immersed in Western visual culture rather than military technologies in Holland. What he learned was a way to secure the cultural boundaries of Japan, rather than exercising political sovereignty over its territory, which would then be easily transferable to the Western empire. Given this, Uchida's encyclopedia represents both a renewal of the discursive formations of Japan already shaped in the field of world geography; and the re-inscription of this power, and by extension, the

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[85] Thomas Richards, *The Imperial Archive: Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire* (London: Verso, 1993): 7.

[86] Jacques Derrida discusses the force and violence of encyclopedic organization. See Jacques Derrida, *Enccylopedié, ou Dictionnaire Raisonné des Sciences, des Arts, et des Métiers, 1751-1765*, Vol. X, 463. Cited in Philip Armstrong, "G. Caillebotte's The Floor-Scrapers and Art History's Encyclopedic Memory," in *Boundary 2* Vol. 16, No. 2/3 (1989): 199.

question of how power transformed these formations. The synchronicity of the absence of Japan and the excessive visibility of the non-West in *Yochi shiryaku* are the results of this re-inscription. Uchida's dual strategy in effect anticipated Japan's expansionist policy toward other Asian countries, which determined the delicate position of Japan, precariously situated in-between the logic of Leaving Asia (*datsu a*) and Rising Asia (*kō a*). What, then, Foucault misses is not only the bracketed histories of the conventions of modern disciplinary power, but also a more *circuitous* imperial route that led to the redeployment of the historical sovereignty of the West by the emerging powers, pursued with the same epistemic force, yet using different methods and procedures. In this sense, the main challenge posed by the Japanese archetype is that it was always ready to refer back to an (in)visible Europe, since it was not in a position to assume its own sovereignty, despite its greater degree of participation at the periphery, and yet its independence was untenable without continuing to subscribe to the very same logic of Western imperialism. Uchida's *Yochi shiryaku* assumed a transient position within the overlapping space of nation and empire, seeking to discover the geographical unit of Japan within a larger global ecumene.

Towards New Sites of History

> It is the duty of photography to preserve faithful pictures of those "English Shrines" made holy ground to us by the sacred memories that cling to their crumbling walls.
> Robert Hunt, *Art-Union Journal*, 1848

> Space is fundamental in any exercise of power, and a whole history remains to be written of spaces.
> Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge*, 1980

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Part of the argument I wish to develop here is that the problem of national archetypes in *Yochi shiryaku* is implicated in the desire for a unified and monumental space standing for the nation. This would allow us to interpret the visual absence of Japan in the early Meiji texts from a sharply different perspective. My contention is that the sanctioned place of Europe in *Yochi shiryaku* was enabled by its restless formation and reformation of national landscape wherein human beings could be actively positioned in space and time by an explicitly historical and geographic contextualization. Most of all, the nineteenth-century longing for a totally unified national space required architectural embellishments, including the social reform of national space within urban and rural areas, where actual geography became part of the symbolic landscape. In this process of the reformation of national space, history came to be a central vector, used to order and unify the different urban regimes into a new totality.[87]

The constitution of national space was first undertaken through the creation of an urban panorama infiltrated by historic meanings, and simultaneously consisting of new public spheres and a significant historic structure: this gave, not only a visual but also a peculiar historic unity and order to the city. Monumental buildings, either old or new, were a particular instrument for

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[87] Following up on Foucault's observations, Edward Soja views the temporalization of space as part of the acceleration of history in the modern age. He argues that space has been considered as a passive container of time, and this is precisely what postmodern geographies should overcome. See "History: Geography: Modernity," in *Postmodern Geographies* (London and New York: Verso, 1989): 11.

this dual process of historic evocation and public admiration.[88] One of the results

of this alignment, as Pierre Nora puts it, was the emergence of 'sites of memory

(lieux de mémoire),' a process entailing the embodiment of memory in certain

sites, where a sense of historical continuity persists after the actual living memory

that has been eroded by the break with the 'past' constituted by the destructive

forces of modern historicism.[89] That is, memory became attached to concrete

spaces and places as a way of recalling the past of both individuals and groups.

The sites of memory comprise physical sites – actual burial places, cathedrals,

battlefields, prisons, monumental buildings, and museums – while including non-

material events attached to the sites as well, such as festive celebrations,

spectacles, rituals, historic figures, public displays and other forms of

commemoration. All of these memory-sites, then, function to evoke, validate, and

authenticate a particular aura of the past in association with the official history of

the nation. The sites of memory then became fertile grounds for both inviting and

inventing national historiography.

Second, the nineteenth century zeal for national spaces was also realized in

the domain of rural landscape, where a sense of beauty and sacredness came to be

attached to concrete spaces and places. In analyzing the rise of British landscape

in the nineteenth century, Jens Jäger discusses the aesthetic discourse of the

'picturesque' celebrated by a number of middle-class amateur photographers. The

picturesque is not an ahistorical concept; it encapsulates and conveys not only a

sense of rustic rural beauty, yet a simultaneously romantic and antiquarian attitude

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[88] See Christine Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory: Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1996): 31-70.
[89] Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History," in *Realms of Memory: The Construction of French Past*, Vol. 1 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996): 1-4.

toward the past. Thus, small groups of British amateur photographers found new ways of viewing old cathedrals, abbeys and ruins, as well as national monuments, through the aesthetic lens of the picturesque. Their unions, exhibitions and publications ensured a place for national history as part of the collective memory. Furthermore, it was the development of the railway system that enabled amateur photographers to discover the language of the picturesque and incorporate it into the national discourse in the middle of the nineteenth century.[90] The British picturesque landscape is indeed a complex spatial entity, created through the various processes of spatial configuration – exhibition spaces, transportation, communication and circulation – and, more importantly, it is a site of performance, ongoing and pervasive, that permits the exercise of every day practices otherwise submerged within the realm of the unspoken and unrepresented.

The historicization of urban and rural landscapes is precisely what led Europe to crystallize and incarnate itself as the universal signifier of world history in *Yochi shiryaku*. It is also the discursive and material ground that prompted early Meiji Japan to reconfigure its own space in this manner, while allowing it to exist within a different discursive structure. And yet, the absence of a national landscape did not just prompt the reconfiguration of space and place. It also elicited new concerns over problems of knowledge and agency whereby space could be historicized, and a new awareness of the need to address the seminal

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[90] Jäger identifies one condition to be fulfilled in the construction of a national landscape: a connection between the national movement, a receptive public, and an intellectual framework wherein photographic landscapes could be read and interpreted to generate architectural meaning. See Jens Jäger, "Picturing Nations: Landscape Photography and National Identity in Britain and Germany in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," in Joan M. Schwartz and James R. Ryan (eds.), *Picturing Place: Photography and the Geographical Imagination* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2003): 123-131.

questions pertaining to this historical reconstruction. Who, then, could produce

the requisite knowledge to fulfill the nineteenth-century desire to build a unified

and monumental city in early Meiji Japan? Who could provide a new discourse to

reconstruct and memorialize the rural vistas so evocative of Japanese beauty? And

who could reconstitute the pre-existing forms of famous places, based on naming

and association, into a historically inflected landscape?

In reality, however, the material base of the city, especially Edo, was

shattered and left in ruins after the Meiji restoration in 1868. As Fujimori

Terunobu points out, two out of every three people had already left the capital of

Edo after the collapse of the Tokugawa regime. It took almost two decades to

reactivate its political function under the name of Tokyo, before it could assume

its commanding position as the capital of the new imperial regime.[91] The material

ground of everyday life had been broken down, while important architectural

matrices of the city had been demolished. What filled this material vacuum of

urban space was an eclectic style of architectural buildings that yet preserved the

memorializing impulses and reminiscences of the previous period, despite a

strong inclination toward the geographic knowledge and architectural institutions

of the West. Even the ambitious plan of constructing the Ginza district in red brick

covertly celebrated the temporal blending of the old Edo and the new Tokyo,

illustrated in an assortment of buildings in both the Edo commoner style and in

the mode of Meiji's leading industrial associations.[92] These hybrid-style

buildings were emphatically the monuments of civilization and enlightenment, but

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[91] Fujimori Terunobu, *Meiji no Tokyo keikaku* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shinsho, 2004): 3-4.
[92] Henry Smith, "The Edo-Tokyo Transition: In Search of Common Ground," in Marius B. Jansen and Gilbert Rozman (eds.), *Japan in Transition: From Tokugawa to Meiji* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1986): 370-374.

it was only after the 1890s that the Edo-Tokyo transition had been completed, and Tokyo was reborn as the very 'type' of the modern Imperial capital with its own specific vision and visuality.

This transformation of urban landscape was not radically different from the case of rural vistas and scenic spots. It was not until the late Meiji period that Japan was to somehow complete its own construction of cultural identity in the staging of the 'Japanese nation' through its own autonomous powers of vision and imagination. Shiga Shigetaka's *On Japanese Landscape* (*Nihon fūkeiron*, 1894) emerged during the mid-1890s as part of an ongoing search to discover and identify Japan's geographical uniqueness, albeit with continuous references to Western geographical works. Shiga successfully blended modern geology with ethnology to create a 'true type' of Japanese landscape, which Uchida had not succeeded in creating for his own encyclopedia.[93]

At the same time, many religious sites, such as shrines and temples, began to appear before the camera's gaze in the creation of meaningful sites for the nation. Both new and old architecture came to be represented by photography and woodblock prints, and were also perceived as national icons retaining much of the Japanese past and present. A new notion of 'historic sites (*shiseki*)' surfaced at this time, too, accompanying the transformation of the physical landscape into a site of

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[93] Shiga Shigetaka, *Nihon fūkeiron* (Tokyo: Seikyōsha, 1894), and *Chirigaku kōgi* (Tokyo: Seikyōsha, 1894). Indeed the most important element in Shiga's landscape theory largely hinges on the previous works undertaken by Western travelers and explorers. For more on this, see Arayama Masahiro, "Kindai nihon ni okeru fūkeiron no keifū," in Matsubara Rūichirō (ed), *Keikan o saikōsuru* (Tokyo: Seikyūsha, 2004): 82-120. For more on the imperialistic tones in Shiga's Japanese Landscape theory, see Maeda Ai, "Meiji kokuge shisō to nashonarizumu: Shiga Shigetaka to Nichiro sensō," in *Dentō to gendai* 20 (March 1973): 71-85. For its connection to a specific discourse of *Chimongaku* (physical geography), see Kamei Hideo, "Chimongaku no keifu," in *Meiji bungakushi* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2003): 81-101.

collective memories. Perhaps the last and most compelling example of the construction of national sites duringthe early twentieth century was *Dai Nippon Chishi* (The Geography of Great Japan, 1903-1915), a huge project launched by *Hakubunkan*, one of the nation's leading institutions engaged in the publication of journalistic works, and which aimed to compile a comprehensive, even all-encompassing, body of knowledge and images regarding Japanese cultural geography.[94] Comprised of nine volumes, *Dai Nippon Chishi* covers all of the chief images of the Japanese regional landscape, including its geology and geography, memorials and architecture, temples and shrines, national heritage, and famous vistas, in both mainland Japan and in its colonies. Most of the photographic illustrations are of landscape images, except the ethnographic portraits of the Ainu and Sakhalin people. However, this could be said to be the end of the beginning, rather than the beginning of the end, of the legacy of Uchida Masao's *Yochi shiryaku*, especially as its multiple layers of typology hinge around the ongoing Japanese obsession to refigure the past through space and place.

In the following chapter, I will investigate how meishoness, namely, the old spatial idea and reality, could be reconstituted through the new order of architectural topography, and how architecture itself came to possess a new mode of monumentality distinct from that which had prevailed during the previous period. Particular attention will be paid to the first official documentation of Old

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[94] The main editors were Yamasaki Naomasa and Satō Denzō, and Tayama Katai. Yamazaki was a professor at the Imperial University of Tokyo, while Satō taught geography at several universities, including Gakushūin. Tayama Katai was a pioneer of the Japanese realist novel, and was famous for a series of travel writings published in *Taiyō*, one of the most popular magazines during the late Meiji and Taisho period. He also worked as a special photo-editor for the same magazine during the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905). As for *Dai Nippon Chishi*, see Okada Toshihiro, "Yamazaki Naomasa/Satō Denzō hen "Dai Nippon Chishi" no chirigakushiteki igi," in *Bulletin of the Faculty of Education at Kōchi University*, No. 68 (2008): 179-188.

Edo Castle and its ensuing cataloguing project to itemize and commemorate old things. I will discuss how photography provided the basis for a new idea of architecture, thereby shifting the parameters for conceiving and representing space and place distinct from the former concept of famous places. Particularly problematic here is that photography did not exist as we know it in the more or less unified conception of 'photography' imported from the West. As was the case for Uchida Masao, photography in the survey on the castle was grafted onto, and foregrounded by means of, the pre-existing idea of photography, that is, *shashin*. In this mixture of the old and new media the castle was reformulated, or reconstituted, as the focal point of historic interests so that it could be duly preserved and commemorated in Japan. With this new problematic in mind, let us now turn to the next chapter, and look at how the visual gap in Uchida's *Yochi shiryaku* began to be filled by the newly emerging sites of history and their photographic representations.

CHAPTER 2

Capturing the Vanishing: Photography and the Emergence of Architectural Topographies

> Monuments are good for nothing.
> North Carolina Congressman, 1800

> Nagoya Castle, like London Tower, should
> be transformed into a museum for weapons.
> Machida Hisanari, 1871

The time span called the "age of the castle" roughly covers the period

from 1600 to 1850 in Japanese history. This time can be characterized by the

authority of the warring powers that attempted to unify Japan by redistributing or

levelling the heterogeneous regional powers: Influential military leaders such as

Oda Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi began to construct their own castles in

accordance with the necessities of fortification in the late sixteenth century; and

yet from a certain point of view, especially after the unification of the country by

Tokugawa Ieyasu, castle construction came to assume a different purpose than

that of simple fortification. It became a symbol of the authority of regional rulers

(*daimyō*), corresponding to a wider institutionalization of the power of the

Tokugawa shogunate on a nationwide level.[1] In short, the age of the castle could

be epitomized by the slogan, "one castle in one province," and each of the

regional powers would thus be ultimately incorporated into the unifying authority

of the city of Edo. The castle was also a monument that imposed social and

cultural restraints on local towns, which were physically and discursively

structured in accordance with the centrifugal forces created by local lords. From

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[1] William Coaldrake, *Architecture and Authority in Japan* (London and New York: Routledge,
1996): 104.

northeast Hokkaidō to southwest Kagoshima, castles continued to be built and rebuilt within the Japanese archipelago up until the mid-nineteenth century. Each castle formed a network of power, vision, and authority tightly linked to the center, yet spread out over the entire Japanese archipelago.[2]

What is peculiarly striking about the age of the castle is that it so seldom appeared, at least in the social or geographical texts from *meisho zue* to *ōraimono*, to give the impression of a vivid or graphic concentration of power. The age of the castle is approximately coterminous with the age of social geography. The rapid development of print technology led to the widespread production and consumption of popular literature concerned with geographical knowledge and representation. A huge body of travelling accounts and illustrated gazetteers were circulated among the common people, shaping the 'public library' of space and place.[3] During this process of the popularization of spatial knowledge, there was little room left for the representation of the castle. For sure, the castle had continued to be a place of fame and authority right up until the end of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It was a key representational form of shogunate power and authority; nevertheless, it was not the object of representation in the body of social geography. Ironically enough, it was only after the emperor's replacement of the shogun's power that the castle began to appear

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[2] Although the construction of castle was strictly regulated by the Tokugawa regime since 1615, it didn't lose its symbolic meaning throughout the Tokugawa period, that is, the manifestation of the power of authority. This is revealed in the last castle constructed in this period, which was Matsumae Castle (1855). It was built in Hokkaidō, in the northeast district of the Japanese archipelago, to showcase the strong political power of Japan vis-à-vis the encroaching forces of Russia.

[3] I borrow the term 'public library' from Mary Elizabeth Berry, who investigates the flood of spatial knowledge and the formation of new audiences from the late seventeenth to nineteenth century Japan. See Berry, *Japan in Print*, 13-53.

in various mediascapes, including illustrations, oil-paintings, photographs, and postcards. Especially during the earlier phases of the Meiji period, the castle had become one of the most beloved subjects of painters and photographers. Uchida Kuichi, Takahashi Yuichi, Yokoyama Matsusaburō, all renowned pioneers of Japanese Modern Art, pictured Edo castle in different ways and for different reasons. Local castles were also depicted during the emperor's tours as important sites for the documentation of famous places that the emperor had visited. The castle became one of the most popular subjects in the photographic representation of famous places throughout the Meiji period and beyond. Nonetheless, the age of the representation of the castle does not necessarily coincide with the actual 'age of the castle,' which is the starting point of my inquiry, to be addressed in this chapter.

In fact, we need to recognize that the age of the representation of the castle began precisely at the same time as its physical demolition. Immediately upon the restoration of the emperor's power in 1868, a specific rhetoric was employed to re-envision the castle that now loomed so large in the governmental landscape: the castle was summarily viewed as a white elephant (*muyō no chōbutsu*).[4] The fish-shaped gold gargoyle, the symbol of the illustrious powers of the shogunate, became nothing but a useless bauble to be promptly eclipsed during the new age of the emperor. Hence the act of detaching the gargoyle from the main keep of Nagoya castle was in itself a symbolic gesture, announcing the end of the old

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[4] This expression specifically targeted a big golden gargoyle called *Sachihoko* attached to Nagoya Castle. But it would be possible to expand this rhetoric to the castle in general during the early Meiji period. See Kinoshita Naoyuki, *Watashi no jōkamachi: Tenshūgaku kara mieru sengō no Nihon* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shōbo, 2007): 181-198.

military regime. But the gargoyle itself was too huge to be stored elsewhere, and it was finally put on display in domestic and international exhibitions, beginning in the early 1870s. This same process was enacted in respect to the sacred shrines of the Tokugawa family in Edo castle. It was the first site to be removed right after the Meiji emperor began to inhabit the castle palace. Along with the abolition of the local province system in1871 (*haihan chiken*) the legal rights over all of these castles were simultaneously transferred to the central government. Many momentous castles were abruptly destroyed during the earlier stages of the Meiji period. The monumental geography of the castle in the Tokugawa period was about to be shattered, and even to disappear from the physical landscape of the new Meiji period. And yet, a number of castles owe their continuing survival to the radical transformations of Japanese modern history, and this for various reasons.[5]

How and why the castle survived through this latter period of history is not the central theme of this chapter however. My question is rather geared to the way the castle began to emerge as a representational form in a unique space or place through the mediation of photography. To address this issue, I particularly focus on the implications of the photographic documentation of the castle during the initial stages of a particular path, designed to address the contrasting poles of the question implicated in the history *of*, or, more particularly, *for* the nation. As the point of entry for examining the national constitution of a given culture, the early Meiji period solicits many complex questions regarding the creation of a new

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[5] As for a history of the castles in the post-war period, Kinoshita's *Watashi no jōkamachi* is one of the most useful and comprehensive texts.

national space, albeit secured through the power and agency of the state. The history of this era is fraught with implications regarding the origins and development of the cultural constitution of the nation, wherein a number of questions are posed about the nation, conceived as a universal category, despite the accompanying naturalization process. Ironically enough, the castle, the symbol of the old regime, gave a renewed impetus to the development of the historical preservation of old architecture, as well as occasioning the production of an additional form of architectural monumentality during the new imperial age. Enclosed, framed and transformed by the camera, the old castle was a testament to the physical solidity of the past, and these new photographic representations paradoxically permitted it to re-establish its connections within the entire continuum of Japanese history, notably in its recent manifestations. In other words, photography could at once reaffirm the transience and death of the castle, while yet successfully resituating it within the well-organized and historically preserved monuments of the national past. The age of the representation of the castle then anticipated the age of its restoration, which in fact is a never-ending process but continues into the contemporary Japanese cultural landscape in various forms, notwithstanding copies, imitations, replicas, fakes, miniatures, etc.

Yet, this process was neither smooth nor simple; not all of the castles could be so conceived as to enter into the new architectural topography of Japan. Furthermore, the tradition of the castle was not yet old enough to be rediscovered as part of the legacy of the past that the new regime would be seriously obliged to reckon with; rather, it continued to be situated in the *present* of the new Meiji

period. How then could the idea of the castle be recast so as to reconceptualise and reformulate its monumentality? I will attempt to situate this inquiry within a specific mode of representation, that which necessarily accompanies questions of vision and media, especially in respect to seeing, recording, and reformulating space and place by means of the camera. I will particularly interrogate how the reinstitution of the castle paralleled the new discovery of the photographic vision through the mediation of the pre-existing idea of the 'photographic,' namely *shashin*.

Methodologically, I will pay attention to the photographic records kept to survey the old architecture (*kokenchiku*) during the earlier phase of the Meiji period. I will particularly look at the seminal work of Ninagawa Noritane (蜷川武胤, 1835-1882), who struggled to straddle the divide between the old and new regimes with a strategy based on surveyance and its consequent documentation of the vanishing object through the support of the state. Ninagawa's principal tactic was to embrace, mobilize and co-opt the old to overcome these very residues of oldness, thereby creating the new cultural order of Meiji. Interestingly enough, Ninagawa's dual positionality resonates in his idea of visual media, especially as it became manifest in the brand new technology of photography, which was avidly embraced in the survey that I will examine in this chapter: a survey of Old Edo Castle (*Kyū Edojō*) in 1871. What I am concerned with here is how photography as a new modern vision colluded with, at least in the realm of surveys, a pre-existing idea of *shashin*, which literally means the pictorial activity of "registering the real" by means of images, at least during the 1870s, as well as referring to a

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borrowed notion of Western photography taken from a later period.[6] I continue to address how the new vision of photography discovered in his survey was created to reinforce the old notion of *shashin* and vice versa, and how their collusion resonated with the ambivalent position of Ninagawa as an agency conducting the survey.

From this distinctive vision of mediatic hybridity a new discourse of space and place began to emerge. In the course of the survey, a measure of photographic contingency and arbitrariness led to the production of architectural topographies, which yet marked a difference from the pre-existing mode of representation of *meisho* (famous places) based on naming, poems and the figural associations. This change signalled the emergence of a new form of topography wherein architecture became the crucial element in perceiving and representing a given place. To unravel these intertwined histories between media and spaces/places, let me briefly explain the historical background that the photographic survey necessarily took into account.

The Vanishing Castle, the Emerging Temple

> *Edojō wa hiroi na* (Edo Castle is huge!)
> The Meiji Emperor (Quoted from Kinoshita
> Naoyuki, "Kindai Nihon jō ni tsuite," 2010)

> Tōji still preserves its beautiful appearance,
> standing aloof against the strong wave of

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[6] *Shashin* has been translated in various ways. Thomas Looser translated *shashin* in Shiba Kōkan's *Seiyō gaden* (Discussion on Western Painting, 1799) to "imaging the real." Perhaps this may reflect the specific context of the Western painting school (*Ranga*) in which Kōkan was involved. But *shashin* was used in the broader context of Edo visual culture, and therefore, I try to translate it as literally as possible – as registering the real. As mentioned in Chapter 1, *shashin* entails an activity of projecting the real essence of the object onto the material base of the pictorial image, predominant in the practice of painting (*gagyō*) since the eighteenth century in Japan.

civilization and enlightenment from the West.
Ninagawa Noritane, 1872

When Ninagawa Noritane investigated the site and architecture of old Edo

Castle in 1871, the castle itself was in fact on the verge of being demolished. As a

symbol of the power of the old Tokugawa regime, Edo Castle was one of the main

targets for demolition soon after the Meiji restoration in 1868. Ninagawa, a

Kyoto-born intellectual as well as a then government official working for the

Bureau of Institutions (*seidokyoku*), urgently requested permission from the Great

Council of State (*dajōkan*) to allow him to survey and document the castle before

its destruction.[7] He put in his request document that:

> Everything under heaven (*tenka*) has taken on a new aspect, which
> is totally different from that of the past. The turret and the moat
> surrounding the castle no longer bear any relation to its defense.
> Even the idea of its restitution will gradually become futile. I'm
> therefore earnestly eager to seal the original shape of the castle by
> *shashin* before its demolition. In so doing, it can be handed down to
> posterity, while also being available for display in exhibitions.[8]

From February 1871, Ninagawa started to record the surroundings of the

castle and its architectural structure, while making a map to indicate the actual

sites of the castle, as pictured by a camera (fig. 2-1a, 1b). He proceeded in a

counter-clockwise rotation from the east side of *honmaru*, a residential palace of

the Tokugawa shogunate, as it is the best site for viewing the remaining traces of

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[7] Ninagawa was born in a family of officials who were appointed for the imperial family to
manage Tōji temple in Kyoto. He began to work for the Meiji government from the following year
of the Meiji restoration. In the meantime, the Bureau of Institutions was part of the Great Council
of State, in which Ninagawa had been working to complete a project for the reformation of
military costumes, where he remained until September 1871.
[8] Ninagawa Noritane, "Preface," in *Kyū Edojō shashinchō* (1871). This was re-published for
personal reasons by Ninagawa himself, and entitled *Kankozusetsu: Jōkaku no bu* (1878), and a
replica was published by his descendants in 1990.

honmaru tenshū, that is, the main keep of the castle, which had already

disappeared during the great fire of Meireki in 1658. He then completed the full

extent of the survey, featuring a total of sixty-four spots. The last photographic

site was the *Akasaka mitsuke*, a major gateway for guarding and securing the main

public approaches to the castle.[9] The order of documentation was exactly squared

with the order of demolition. In this way, Ninagawa could keep a visual record of

what was about to be demolished. The camera documented what had once been

there, while at the same time anticipating what was about to be destroyed.

He employed Yokoyama Matsusaburō (1838-1884), a leading

photographer working for the ministry of military inspections and education

during the early Meiji period, to preserve photographic records of the castle.

Ninagawa also employed Takahashi Yuichi (1828-1884), a pioneer of Western-

style painting who had worked for the Foreign Studies Center (*kaiseijo*) of the

Tokugawa regime, to color the surface of the photographic records. Throughout

their collaboration, hybrid forms of landscape images were created, and

accordingly, a photographic index of the castle was produced, subsequently

imbued by painting, and configured under the broader concept of *shashin* (fig. 2-

2a, 2b).

Upon the completion of the survey in March 1871, Ninagawa submitted a

research report to the Great Council of State. It took the form of a photographic

album entitled *Kyū Edojō shashinchō* (旧江戸城写真帖, The Photographic

Album of Old Edo Castle, 1871), containing a total of 64 hand-colored

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[9] Ninagawa Noritane, *Kankozusetsu: Jōkaku no bu* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron, 1990): 13.

photographs, maps and guides of the various photographic sites.[10] All of the

images were enlarged to a scale of 11X14 inches, which is considered large

compared to contemporary photographic practices. Ninagawa numbered each

image to correspond with the order of documentation. Thus a photograph of the

east side of *honmaru*, the starting point for his survey, was numbered first, while

the photograph of *Akasaka mitsuke*, the last item to be documented, was

numbered sixty-four. He also indicated the direction of the shots and the camera

angles, all of which provide comprehensive and fully informed supportive

material to enhance the documentary authenticity of the images.

In 1878, Ninagawa self-published a photographic album of Edo Castle as

part of a larger project used for compiling illustrated catalogues of Japanese

antiques. Entitled *Kankozusetsu* (観古図説, Illustrated Catalogue of

Archaeological Objects, 1876-1879), the entire set of this catalogue was widely

read by contemporary Western antiquarians who had developed a strong interest

in collecting Oriental objects, especially Japanese pottery.[11] Ninagawa inserted

the section on the castle within his catalogue project with the title *Kankozusetsu:*

Jōkaku no bu (観古図説·城郭之部, Illustrated Catalogue of Archaeological

Objects: The Section on the Castle, 1878). It exhibited a total of 73 black and

white photographs of Edo Castle in 2X3 size, all of which were produced during

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[10] This album is now housed in the National Museum of Tokyo in Japan, and it is designated as an important cultural property (*jūyō bunkazai*). The size is approximately 20X27 cm. For more details, see Harada Minoru, "Tokyo kokuritsu hakubutsukan hōkan *Kyū Edojō shashinchō*," *Museum* Vol. 334 (1979): 26-34; Yurugi Yasuhiro, "Kyū Edojō no zu to Yokoyama Matsusaburō," in *Museum* Vol. 349 (1980): 21-31; Ikeda Atsushi, "Kyū Edojō no zu no sakka ni tsuite," in *Museum* Vol. 470 (1990): 29-34.

[11] Ninagawa started to compile the series of *Kakozusetsu* in 1876, and completed the entire project in 1879. It comprises a total of eight volumes of the illustrated catalogue, and it is said that the last volume was not published for financial reasons, however the draft was finally passed on to Edward Morse, an American marine biologist working in Japan.

the process of the 1871 survey. Each page of *Kankozusetsu* consists of a total of 12 photographs arranged in the same numeric order as the photographic album submitted to the government (fig. 2-3).

One year after the Edo Castle survey, Ninagawa left for the Kansai area, together with two other government officials, Machida Hisanari and Uchida Masao. Entitled *Jinshin kensa* (the survey undertaken in the year of Jinshin), this was a research trip designed by the state to investigate the old things preserved in temples and shrines. As illustrated in the Jinshin survey, the government began to recognize the importance of preserving old things in the light of making a new historiography. In effect, the value of old things and cultural properties had been seriously undermined from the very first year of the Meiji period due to the governmental policy of separating Buddhism from Shintoism: many of the treasures within the temples were sold to foreigners, while old temples were fired and demolished here and there. *Bunmei kaika*, an early Meiji watchword for the forces of civilization and enlightenment, had reinforced this process of destruction by emphasizing the value of the new over the old. Faced with this situation, the government issued an edict on the preservation of old things in May 1871 by proclaiming that:

> We derive a number of benefits from the study of rare artifacts and old things in our investigation of the transformation from the old to the new, as well as in tracing the history (*enkaku*) of our present systems and customs. Although it is natural to hate the old, given our struggle on behalf of the new, we should rather lament the gradual loss and destruction of the old customs.[12]

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[12] The National Museum of Nara, *Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan hyakunen no ayumi* (Nara: Nara Hakubutsukan, 1996): 6. This edict, entitled *Kohin kyūbutsu*, was proclaimed on May 23, 1871, and has been perceived as a cornerstone of the contemporary law of cultural property in Japan. It

Considerable attention had been paid to old things before the advent of the Meiji period. Yet, the principal difference to be noted here was the radical transformation undergone by the nation-state, which had always been the main agency for maintaining and preserving the old. In Stefan Tanaka's acute assessment of the new situation, this edict represents the first 'official' recognition of the importance of the old, or what might be called the "first discovery of past eras" in Meiji Japan.[13] More importantly, the edict continued to proclaim the necessity of preserving a collective space for old things (*shūkokan*), not only to prevent their haphazard seizure and destruction, but also to investigate the history of institutions and civilizations as they once existed in the past and continued to exist in the present.[14]

It was in this nationalization process that the temple and shrine became one of the most useful referents for filling the national vacuum. With the replacement of the old regime, the emperor soon became the objective referent for configuring the national past. Temples in the Kansai area were especially significant in this respect due to their tight connections with the imperial family throughout the long history of Japan.[15] The old things kept in the sanctuaries also came to assume a rather different guise, understood as repositories of the imperial

especially commends all prefectures to compile a comprehensive list of the treasures to be found in local temples, shrines, and noble families; and it instructed the museum to conduct research on the monuments, places and artifacts that might be regarded as national treasures. For more on this, see Suzuki Hiroyuki, *Kōkokatachi no jūkyūseiki* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2003): 7-33.

[13] Stefan Tanaka, *New Times in Modern Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004): 31.

[14] Suzuki Hiroyuki, ibid, 50-51.

[15] For the reinvention of *meisho* in conjunction with the imperial family, see Maruyama Hiroshi, "Kindai Kyoto to sakura no meisho," in Iyori Tsutomu and Takagi Hiroshi (eds.) *Kindai Kyoto kenkyū* (Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 2008): 141-173.

past, by dint of manifesting its unbroken history.

By contrast, the castle, unlike the temple, was neither rescued nor historicized as a cultural embodiment of the national past. As mentioned above, the castle was one of the most enduring images of Tokugawa Japan from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries: its forbidding stone fortresses with their high ramparts and soaring towers served as a regional nerve center where the local rulers once built their headquarters and stationed their armies; it was also the main residency of the shogunal family and its regional lords. The castle was not merely a backdrop to events but indeed a key component in the reshaping of its history.[16] Edo Castle, in particular, conveyed the prestige and the authority of the Tokugawa regime, whose symbolic status was expressed in its imposing architectural structure – it had a higher *tenshū* (the main keep) and a bigger circumference in its outer moat than any of the regional castles, which had been constructed via the mandatory participation of the regional rulers.[17]

However, along with the emergence of the new imperial regime, the castle immediately began to be overshadowed historically by its dark and murky past in Japanese national history. In 1872 the Great Council of State eventually decided to demolish one hundred and forty-four castles throughout the archipelago, while retaining forty-four castles for military purposes.[18] Redefined as the antithesis of

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[16] Takahashi Yasuo and Matthew Stavros, "Castles in Kyoto at the Close of the Age of Warring States," in Nicolas Fiévé and Paul Waley (eds.) *Japanese Capitals in Historical Perspective: Place, Power and Memory in Kyoto, Tokyo and Edo* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006): 41.
[17] William H. Coaldrake, "Edo Architecture and Tokugawa Law," in *Monumenta Nipponica* Vol. 36, No. 3 (Autumn 1981), 249-250.
[18] Kinoshita Naoyuki, "Kindai Nihon jō ni tsuite," in *Kindai gasetsu* Vol. 9 (2000): 82. All the legal rights and responsibilities of the castle were transferred from the local lords and the shogunate to the imperial regime in 1868. From 1871 onwards the Ministry of the Military started exercising jurisdiction over all the remaining castles, most of which were used as barracks for the

the new revolutionary age, the twenty gates of old Edo Castle began to be

demolished one by one, beginning in February 1872, and the castle was thereafter

converted into a residence fit for the Meiji emperor.[19] Ninagawa worked amidst

these dramatic changes, witnessing the imminent disappearance of the old castle

and the reemergence of the old temple on the stage of Japanese national history.

Japaneseness before 'Japaneseness': Ninagawa Noritane's *Kankozusetsu*

> All of the Western-leaning scholars today used to be young
> Confucian students in the past, or Buddhists, or Shintoists.
> This situation implies, as it were, living two lives through
> one body, and reemerging with two bodies.
> Fukuzawa Yukichi, *Outline of a Theory of Civilization*, 1870

In facing up to the social dynamic that had already reoriented attention

from the castle to the temple, Ninagawa shifted in and out between these two

different domains to record and preserve their original appearances on camera. He

consistently expressed his anxiety concerning the fragile and ephemeral nature of

the old architecture. A certain kind of antiquarianism had evolved in Ninagawa's

thoughts even in advance of the state's recognition of the worth of old things in

the construction of national identity. Despite the negative connotations of Edo

Castle, he advocated preserving its architectural patrimony because gazing upon

all these objects ultimately entailed an unconscious grounding in the material and

cultural elements of 'Japaneseness (*wafū*).' In fact, 'Japaneseness' is a key term in

characterizing Ninagawa's activities.[20] He even suggested that the Great Council

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imperial military.
[19] It was in 1888 that Edo Castle began to be called an official palace of the emperor (*kyūjō*).
[20] See Ninagawa Chikamasa, "Review: Yonezaki Kiyomi cho Ninagawa Noritane no *Nara no*

of the State should create a Japanese military uniform after the ancient Japanese style (*honchōfū*), which literally means "a style of the imperial court," embodying the spirit of Nara and Heian culture, while not entirely discarding the models of the West.[21]

Ninagawa was trained as a descendant of the school of Ancient Learning (*kokugaku*) during the late Edo period. His first name was modeled after Hirata Atsutane, a representative scholar of the *kokugaku* School. As his father managed an official temple of the imperial family in Kyoto, Ninagawa had many opportunities to cultivate knowledge of the old objects kept in temples, such as Buddhist statues, religious treasures, and other artifacts reflecting the imperial patrimony. What interested him most was Japanese pottery. Given his specialized background, Ninagawa soon came to lead a group of antiquarians belonging to the late Edo period, whose knowledge was to have a great impact on the formation of the Western market for Oriental objects (fig. 2-4).[22]

His connoisseurship concerning authentic Japanese objects was often utilized in proffering advice to foreigners, and was largely given through the intermediary of a small group of Western antiquarians who traveled widely in Japan. Ninagawa's friendship with Edward Morse is particularly well known. Morse was an American marine biologist who discovered by accident a shell

suzimichi," in *The Journal of Kokugakuin University* Vol. 107, No. 9 (September 2006): 51-56.
[21] Yoneda Yūsuke, "Ninagawa Noritane no jiseki," in *Kodai bunka* Vol. 51, No. 8 (August 1999): 59-63.
[22] I use the term 'antiquarian' instead of collector, following Edward Morse's diary, *Japan Day by Day*, whose research on Japanese pottery was based on Ninagawa's expertise. Morse refers to a group of Japanese *kōkoga* (those who love old things), including Ninagawa, as "antiquarian." Its Chinese character is 好古家.

mound at Ōmori in 1877 and was also a collector of Japanese pottery.[23] Morse

happened to see Ninagawa's illustrated catalogue, entitled *Kankozusetsu*,

somewhere in Europe, and was deeply impressed with its pictorial qualities.[24] In

fact, he enthused over the illustrated images, inserting in his diary that "the

lithographic illustrations in *Kankozusetsu* are extremely delicate. They are hand

colored, yet even superior to the catalogues made in France and England. They

show the character of ceramics much better than a perfect lithographic illustration

does."[25]

As illustrated in Morse's commentaries, the value of the Japanese style

that Ninagawa attempted to elaborate was first confirmed and authorized by

Western people. *Kankozusetsu* contributed much to shaping the commercial

market for Japanese antiques as a visual surrogate for Japanese pottery. It also

played an integral role as a guidebook for establishing Oriental collections in

European museums.[26] Given these demands from the West, the entire series of

Kankozusetsu was published in French and Dutch versions, and selling was

entrusted to the H. Ahrens Company, one of the most successful German

businesses for exporting Japanese handicrafts to Europe and America. Ninagawa's

interest in old artifacts ultimately bore ironic fruit in helping to transfer the cachet

attached to Japanese antiques to commercial or artistic commodities sought by

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[23] For more about the relationship between Ninagawa and Morse, see Ninagawa Chikamasa, "Morse no kohin shūshū to Ninagawa," in Moriya Takeshi (ed.) *Morse to Nihon* (Tokyo: Shogakukan, 1988): 381-425.

[24] Morse claimed that: "*Kankozusetsu* includes epochal knowledge about Japanese ceramics." E. S. Morse, "Preface," in *Catalogue of the Morse Collection of Japanese Pottery* (Cambridge: Printed at the Riverside Press, 1901): 34-36.

[25] Ninagawa Chikamasa, ibid., 387.

[26] For this, see Imai Yuko, "Seiyō ni okeru nihon tōhin boshū to Ninagawa Noritane cho *Kankozusetsu*," in *Japonism kenkyū*, Japonism Gakkai Vol. 22 (2002): 21-36.

Western bourgeois consumers.

We can see how vulnerable the attribution of 'Japaneseness' was during the early Meiji period, and how much it hinged on the Western definition of Japan. For sure, Ninagawa proposed 'Japaneseness' as a new alternative model drawn from the ancient model for social reformation that had already profited from the slogans of 'Western' civilization and enlightenment. But the problem is that this new designation, albeit backed up by the ancient cultural heritage, didn't clearly indicate the cultural and political sovereignty of 'Japan' as a nation among many other nations in Ninagawa's time. It was not until the mid-1890s that 'Japaneseness' came to be associated with an independent sovereign power, while manifesting a particular cultural identity, increasingly to be aligned with the Western imperial powers. The ambiguity of Ninagawa's Japaneseness resides in its premature nature – that is, it celebrated a certain kind of Japaneseness even before the 'official' assertion of Japaneseness. Because of its ambiguous nature, Ninagawa's Japaneseness wasn't openly contradictory or hostile to the West. Rather, it had an impossibly exhaustive quality, to the extent of wishing to reconcile the various heterogeneous elements from ancient Asia to the modern Western model in search of a new ideal of Japaneseness.

Thus it is not surprising that Ninagawa positioned himself in between the ancient world and the West. Unlike the early Meiji ideologues who avidly yearned for a Western model of civilization, his stance toward the West was somewhat more ambiguous: while he presupposed the West as the best model to adopt, Japaneseness, especially the model furnished by ancient Japan, continued to

provide a fixed point of reference for his ideas about the new. Yet, the new for him

did not necessarily imply the West. Rather, it may have indicated something

different from, or rather, alternative to the West, a tradition grounded in a pure and

ancient conception of Japanese culture, where the new imperial regime had itself

originated. At the same time, however, the new was not to be divorced from the

Western model of representation; it had to remain recognizable and ascertainable

within the cultural compass of the West.

Crucial here was Ninagawa's strategy of incorporating all of the

heterogeneous visions, technologies and media pertaining to *Kankozusetsu* in the

pursuit of 'Japaneseness,' although this was not an attempt to belie the notion of

Western modernity. Ninagawa drew upon the techniques of hand-colorings

developed in the Edo period, as well as employing new lithographic techniques

developed in the West. This co-option of Edoness was not unique to Ninagawa. It

was a general phenomenon that we encounter in the wider visual field of new

Meiji – the graphic woodblock paintings conceived as newspaper, the

reminiscences of the street shows and public displays, eclectic architectural styles,

the continuation of the illustrated gazetteers of famous places, all of these were

still at the heart of popular consumption and imagination in the early Meiji era.

Although the emperor-centered system was seemingly born from the negation of

the old regime, Edoness was not considered as the antithesis of New Meiji. It was

to great extent the material and discursive ground used to construct the new social

and cultural structure.[27] Likewise, Ninagawa made a set of highly elaborate

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[27] With similar concerns, Robert Campbell edited a special issue on the literature produced during
the second decade of the Meiji era. He highlights the various strands of Edo literary practice in

illustrations that were believed to embody authentic Japaneseness, reflecting the

legacy of the Edo period. Ninagawa had committed himself to printing

Kankozusetsu since his retirement as a government official in 1876. Kamei

Shi'ichi, a painter working for *Gengendō*, the lithographic illustrations of

Kankozusetsu, and Kawagami Takejirō, a leading Western-style painter and later a

professor at Tokyo Fine Art School, colored the illustrations.[28] Ninagawa even

had his own private printing company, *Rakukōsha*, and equipped it with the most

cutting-edge lithographic printing machines based on the art of

chromolithography.[29] Nevertheless, he preferred to use a less advanced form of

lithography to chromolithography, especially for *Kankozusetsu*. This was due to

the fact that the lower version of lithography allowed him to co-opt hand

colorings more readily and openly, thereby producing exquisite images of a

startling verisimilitude that he had retained in his repertoire by dint of the

illustrated catalogues.[30] Ultimately, the all but impossibly magnificent colors

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early Meiji, attending to its performative role in creating a multilayered space. This multiply overlapped space does not signal a mere decline of the old, nor does it indicate a tendency to remain bound up in the old traditions. See "Meiji jūnendai no Edo no bungaku," in *Edo bungaku* Vol. 21 (1999): 1-4.

[28] Kamei Shi'ichi worked on the lithographic illustrations used in Uchida Masao's *Yochi shiryaku*. He was a painter from the Gengendō corporation, one of the most famous printing companies in Japan since the end of the eighteenth century. Since the late eighteenth century Gengendō had produced a great number of etching prints of famous places, which had enjoyed great popularity among the common people. During the early Meiji period Gengendō even assumed responsibility for printing the first paper money in Japan. For a history of Gengendō, see Aoki Shigeru, "Matsuda Rokuzan to ichidai no hana," in *Gengendō to sono ippa ten* (Kanagawa: The Museum of Modern Art, Kamakura, 1998): 7-11. Coincidentally, both Shi'ich and Kamejirō were disciples of Yokoyama Matsusaburō, who had taken photographs for Ninagawa's survey of the castle and went on to conduct the Jinshin survey in the following year.

[29] *Kankozusetsu* was printed in *Rakukōsha* (楽工舎), and distributed by Ahrens & Company in Yokohama. *Rakukōsha* fulfilled the multiple functions of a printing company, research institute and private museum, although public access was permitted. Kiyotsune, Shiebold and Morse had all visited it to see how hand-colored lithographic images were produced in *Rakukōsha*. See Noritane Chikateru, "Review on Nara no suzimichi," in *The Journal of Kokugaku University*, Vol. 107, No. 9 (2006): 56.

[30] See Suzuki Hiroyuki, *Kōkokatachi no jūkyūseiki*, 181.

produced by hand-coloring techniques would astonish Westerners, just as the Japanese 'woodblock prints' had done, and these were the representative visual forms in the Edo period, before their importation to mid-nineteenth century Europe (fig. 2-5).

On the other hand, the 'Japanese style' that Ningawa advocated had always been intertwined with a Western mode of viewing and knowing. *Kankozusetsu* follows a method of framing used in Western catalogues of natural history or archaeology to facilitate Western accessibility. The consistent manner of displaying pottery in both profile and bottom views, and of giving detailed explanations of the size, height, weight, condition and color of each ceramic exhibit, clearly reveals how the manner of framing Japanese antiques was radically transformed under the impact of Western models of representing things (fig. 2-6). It was also the Western classification system that occasioned the great success of *Kankozusetsu* in the West. By adopting a Western method of categorization, Ninagawa increased the accessibility and understanding of Western collectors, thereby granting them easy access to Japanese pottery.

Most of all, Ninagawa separated Japanese pottery from its familiar context of tea culture (*chadō*), which had been the main parameter of classification in the traditional practice of pottery: what replaced it was a new category of 'production,' that is, the time and original place of pottery was stressed, including its particular history, creation and purpose, all of which accorded with the modern Western manner of classifying things.[31] The taste of the samurai literati and monks that

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[31] For example, Ningawa collected a number of illustrations of specific items of pottery made by famous artisans in the fourth volume of *Kankozusetsu, Tōki no bu*, while the second volume

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had been traditionally associated with Japanese tea culture and pottery was mainly

discarded in the *Kankozusetsu*, and was either treated as a secondary source, or as

a subject matter that had already been largely eclipsed. What emerged instead was

a parallel vision afforded to the Western collector, which, as presented by the

connoisseur Morse, was perceived to possess the most systematic and scientific

eye for pottery.[32] Indeed, the great reputation of *Kankozusetsu* owed much to the

successful hybridization and reconciliation of heterogeneous elements in the

pursuit of an authentic image of Japan: these ranged from the Japanese techniques

of coloring, to the Western manner of framing, and from the traditional style of

handicraft images to the new lithographic techniques of reproduction.

Ninagawa's eclectic and ambivalent stance often appears in the survey on

Edo castle, especially in his manner of simultaneously co-opting painting and

photography to produce historical records of the castle. Yokoyama and Takahashi

worked together to produce a mixed layer of graphic images, situated somewhere

in between painting and photography. In undergoing this process the photographic

surface inevitably lost some of its verisimilitude, derived from the 'real trace' of

the presence, while yet lending itself to the provision of a material base for

painting (fig. 2-7). This kind of mediatic hybridity can be rarely found in the

pictorial conventions of Western surveys, where the respective roles of the

illustrator and photographer were always conceived separately.[33] In Western

survey conventions, to color the surface of a photograph would be to undermine

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primarily deals with the pottery that came from China and Korea.

[32] Edward Morse, *Catalogue of the Morse Collection of Japanese Pottery*, 38.

[33] Most of the geographical surveys conducted in the American West allotted different roles to the photographer and illustrator, whereas pictorial admixtures were usually not allowed. See Robin Kelsey, "Viewing the Archive: Timothy O'Sullivan's Photographs from the Wheeler Survey, 1871-1874," in *Art Bulletin* Vol. 85 (December 2003): 702-723.

the reality effect of photography, whose mediatic character can only be perceived by dint of its mechanical objectivity.[34] In this regard the Jinshin survey of 1872 seemed to follow the graphic strategy of the Western survey, according to the different roles imposed on the two artists: Yokoyama Matsusaburō took more than 500 stereoscopic photographs of old things, temples, natural landscapes, and folkloric scenes without relying on any process of painting to complement his work, while Takahashi Yuichi focused on rough sketches for his oil paintings, which were to be displayed at the Vienna World Fair.

How, then, can we understand the contradictory photographic practices conducted by similarly situated practitioners almost simultaneously? Why was the hybrid image regarded as the very encapsulation of the 'photographic'? Perhaps one answer may lie in the different nature of the agencies and their different purposes: while the survey on the castle was designed by Ninagawa himself, the Jinshin survey was launched as part of a series of state projects to preserve old things in light of calls to safeguard the national heritage. This may have lead to two distinctly different outcomes for the two surveys, that is, an illustrated catalogue of Edo Castle (*zuroku*) and a visual index of the national treasures sealed in the sanctuaries (*mokuroku*), respectively. Accordingly, the particular style of photo painting at issue should be examined in light of Ninagawa's own purpose, which was to set up a program of research, specify the form it would take and produce detailed plans of his graphic strategies. Ninagawa specified his intended goal of surveying the castle "to seal the original shape of the castle by *shashin*, thereby handing it down to posterity and displaying it at an exhibition."

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[34] See Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, *Objectivity* (New York: Zone Books, 2007): 115-130.

What, then, does it mean to seal the castle by *shashin*, and not by photography?[35] And how was this made possible by photography?

At stake here is that dimension of Edoness, which reasserts itself here, providing the discursive grounds for vision and visuality deployed in the antiquarian's catalogues of old. My argument is that Ninagawa's idea of *shashin* and the illustrated catalogue resonates with historical research on things (*kōshōgaku*), as conducted by the revivalists during the late Edo period.[36] Highlighting the symbolic role of old things in strengthening national power, the purveyors of revivalism (*fukko shugi*) during the late eighteenth century made a comprehensive set of illustrated catalogues of ancient things. These catalogues assembled copies of the originals, going beyond the requirements of mere picture books, and 'copy' indicates what might reenact or even replace the ontological particularity of the original, by naming, defining, and designating it through the mediation of pictures. It is at this moment that *shashin* came into play as a true mode of representation, as well as forming an essential attitude towards it. In this sense, Ninagawa's new Japaneseness was not merely absorptive; it was rather superimposed onto powerfully iconographic codes that had pre-existed in the Edo period. As such, Ninagawa co-opted Edoness as the presiding methodology to help him to achieve the new and modern yet distinctive forms of the West, thereby participating in the formation of modernity, as in the process of evolution-by-

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[35] During the 1870s, photography and *shashin* had a number of different meanings and registers in Japan. Photography, written in Katakana (ホットグラフィ), usually entailed a form of photographic technology imported from the West, while *shashin* implied a broader notion of pictorial realism. It was during the 1880s that *shashin* came to be the accepted term for western photography. See Kinoshita Naoyuki, *Shasingaron: Shashin to kaiga no gekkon* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1996): 1-22 and 84-88.

[36] The Chinese character for *kōshōgaku* is 考証学, which literally signifies a theory to investigate, prove and substantiate the historical truth of things.

hybridization. To elaborate on the genealogy of old things and their representation,

I will now turn back to the Edo revival movement, and try to address how it

provides Ninagawa with a useful framework for recuperating the past through a

renewed collaboration between *shashin* and photography.

Shashin and the Logic of Naming

> The creative potential of the new is for the most part slowly revealed through old forms, old instruments and areas of design which in their essence have already been superseded by the new, but which under pressure from the new as it takes shape are driven to a euphoric efflorescence.
> Moholy-Nagy, *Fotographie Film* in Walter Benjamin, *Little History of Photography*, 1926
>
> Only when names and things are no longer in discord can the Way of the Sages be declared with certainty.
> Ogyū Sorai, *Benmei*, 1789

As well as standing between ancient Japan and modern West, Ninagawa

also straddled the divide between Edo and Meiji. He sought to revalidate the

authenticity of the new classifying system he had embraced in *Kankozusetsu* by

reviving the methodology of historical research on cultural artifacts developed

during the Edo period. In particular, Ninagawa attempted to link his work to the

scholarly achievements of Matsudaira Sadanobu (松平定信, 1758-1829), a well-

known politician working for the shogunate during the late eighteenth century. In

the fifth volume of *Kankozusetsu*, he mentioned Sadanobu as a direct predecessor

of his project in terms of Sadanobu's method of investigation, based on concrete

facts, as well as his emphasis on collecting and recording, and more importantly,

his particular concern with the place of pictorial representation within his

comprehensive research project on old objects.[37] Nonetheless, his presupposed

lineage is more than merely a methodological one. It also encompasses a mode of

perception and representation of old things through the pictorial mode of *shashin*,

which both Sadanobu and Ninagawa have highlighted throughout the entire

cataloguing process. To elaborate more on this, it will be necessary to turn back to

the era in which Sadanobu lived.

Sadanobu was the shogun's chief councilor during the late eighteenth

century when a recognizable terrain of 'Japanese culture' had emerged and was

subsequently marked out by the Ancient Learning School (*kokugaku*). While

kokugaku scholars emphasized the importance of the Japanese vernacular religion

and the ancient imperial culture, Sadanobu espoused an austere moral elitism

based on Chinese Neo-Confucianism (*shushigaku*), which had sustained samurai

ideals from the early period of the shogunate regime. Despite their distinctive

philosophical concerns, there was a certain commonality between the two schools

– that is, a revivalist orientation to construct a privileged territory for the country

by consolidating the loose strands of diverse cultures into a shared or common

'Japanese culture.'[38] Apparently, for Sadanobu, this revival meant the restoration

of the shogun's power and authority at the core of Japanese culture by adopting

strict regulating systems to avoid waste and warfare in society at large. Not unlike

the *kokugaku* scholars' interests in the ancient traditions, however, Sadanobu also

recognized the significance of the old as a connecting point through which to

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[37] Ninagawa, "Preface," in *Kankozusetsu: Tōki no bu* Vol. 5. 1887.
[38] For more precise details on Sadanobu's project of reconsolidating Japan, and his efforts to forge a unified ground for visual material culture, see Timon Screech, *The Shogun's Painted Culture: Fear and Creativity in the Japanese States, 1760-1829* (London: Reaktion Books, 2000): 17-55.

homogenize and channel all the uneven or unmanageable social and cultural

elements into an entity known as 'Japan,' an object-defined space materialized

through concrete cultural artifacts and things. Hence, collecting and investigating

old things was extensively practiced in his form of revivalism, and with it the past

was condensed and rendered relatively unproblematic and appealing.[39] This

endeavor constituted the kernel of the Kansei Reforms, formalized by Sadanobu

around 1789, since his aim was the revival of shogunal power and the

repositioning of Tokugawa at the center of Japanese culture. *Shūko jūshu* (集古十

種, Collected Antiquities in Ten Categories) was one of the most compelling

examples of Sadanobu's cultural and political activities.[40] Based on his thorough

research into old things in the 1790s, *Shūko jūshū* comprised a total of 85

illustrated catalogues, with a great number of illustrations and textual explanations

of the old things buried within the Japanese archipelago. Propelled by his belief in

the power of the picture to provide a record, Sadabonu collaborated with leading

contemporary painters such as Tani Bunchō and Haku'un (fig. 2-8a, 8b).[41]

Interestingly enough, Sadanobu frequently used the expression,

"registering the real (*shin o utsusu koto*)," namely *shashin*, in proclaiming his

perspective on pictures (*zu*) in regard to his studies on historical research. For him

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[39] As for Sadanobu's investigation of antique objects scattered along the Japanese coast, see Fujita Satoru, *Matsudaira Sadanobu: Seiji kaikaku ni idonda rōjū* (Tokyo: Chūō Shinsho, 1993): 203-210.

[40] As a representative antiquarian in the late Edo period, Sadanobu classified old things into ten categories in *Shūko jūshu*: epigraphs, inscriptions on Buddhist temple bells, weaponry, bronze items, musical instruments, stationary, seal stamps, hanging scrolls, portraits, calligraphy, and painting.

[41] In the preface of *Shūko jūshu*, Sadanobu mentioned the prime purpose of this project, which precisely squared with Ninagawa's writing for his *Kankozusetsu*, a catalogue of old things and castles published circa 1880. Matsudaira Sadanobu, "Preface," in *Shūko jūshu* (c.1800). Quoted in *Sadanobu to Bunchō: Matsudaira Sadanobu to shūhen no gajindachi* (Fukushima: The Museum of Fukushima Prefecture, 1992): 74-84.

the core of *shashin* resided in its actual mode of representation. It was thus natural for him that Japanese painting (*waga kuni no e*) should be superior to Chinese painting (*kara kuni no e*) since the former, especially Japanese hand scroll painting (*yamato emaki*), drew on what had actually occurred in reality, whereas the latter, especially landscape painting originally coming from China (*sansuiga*), was the mere outcome of the literati's playfulness (*mote asobi*), faced with a more natural scenic view.[42] Through recording what had once been there, the picture could eventually provide a material base through which the essential truth of the object could be projected. As such, Japanese hand scroll painting can be seen as an embodiment of *shashin* since it illustrates a real or actual moment that had occurred in ancient Japan. For Sadanobu, moreover, Japanese hand scroll painting was not a mere picture of what had once been there, but a historical record of the 'perfect past,' the utopian space to which Tokugawa Japan should ultimately return. Sadanobu specifically points to the implications of collecting and copying old paintings:

> Should the respectable bliss of (old) paintings be transmitted to the present time through painting, it would be possible to describe what is captured in each part of the hand scroll paintings, to distinguish their types, and thereby convey the appearance of ancient man (*kōko no hito*).[43] Hence, I went here and there to record and collect old paintings over the years as best as I could; however, I am only presenting a few here, which I call *Koga ruijū* (古画類聚, The Collected Types of Old Paintings).[44]

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[42] Matsudaira Sadanobu, "Preface," in *Koga ruijū* (The Section on Old Painting in *Shūko jūshū*, c.1800-1807) in *Koga ruijū honbunhen: Chōsa kenkyū hōkokusho* (Tokyo: National Museum of Tokyo): 70-71.

[43] *Kōko no hito* (好古の人) has a dual meaning; namely, the man who loves the old, and the ancient man. In these specific instances, the latter meaning is more evident.

[44] Matsudaira Sadanobu, "Preface," ibid., 70.

Here two levels of pictures are brought together: first, Japanese hand scroll painting, which was a vital historical reference that had 'captured ancient man's appearances' (*kōko no hito no sugata o todomeru*); and second, its pictorial copy, used as a medium to convey the real essence of the original painting for posterity. These two levels of pictures bore fruit in Sadanobu's *Shūko jūshu* and in his revival movement, which to a great extent dovetails with Ninagawa's *Kankozusetsu* during the early Meiji period. Moreover, in considering the question of the picture within the broader epistemology prevalent in the Edo period, it is possible to identify a specific kind of picture, and even to examine its performative role within the system of naming.

According to Suzuki Hiroyuki, the picture (*zu*) had gained an epistemological significance within *meibutsugaku*, an imported study from China on the naming of things. In *meibutsugaku*, the name has the power to classify things and their relations.[45] This theory is derived from the Chinese ancient philosophy of 'proper naming' developed by Xun Zi, by means of which, to know the name of something ultimately means to know the proper use for it. Put briefly, names locate and specify things, and give them a legitimate space, thereby enabling them to play a designated role in maintaining the order of the universe. The name does not therefore exist merely to designate things; rather, it has a social and political function to order and position things within the web of the universe by affirming their ontological relations, which, in turn, carries certain moral, ethical, and epistemological implications.[46] It is not therefore a mere

[45] Suzuki Hiroyuki, *Kōkokatachi no jūkyūseiki*, 153-159.
[46] As for Xun Zi's naming, refer to A. C. Graham, "Hsün-tzu's Confucianism: Morality as Man's

coincidence that one of Sadanobu's projects for creating 'Japanese culture' was the compilation of a book to standardize political terms, entitled *A Correction of Names* (*Seimeiron*, 1791), which deals with the nomenclature for the apportionment of authority between the shogun, daimyo and emperor, and in this respect, he was also interested in foreign political labels. The theory of naming was not therefore limited to Confucianism; it expanded its boundaries to incorporate studies focused on things, such as the epistemology of wide-ranging things (*hakubutsugaku*) and a theory of products (*bussangaku*), both of which were developed during the eighteenth century.[47] In these studies, naming is, first and foremost, a means to perceive, define, and verify things. It is a primary organizing principle of knowledge about the world.

How, then, do names actually serve to order things? In what sense do they clarify and realize their relation to things? According to Nagaoka Yumiko, pictures once served to clarify the relation between names and things in a broad field of studies on things, beginning in the early medieval period in China. Pictures were specifically introduced into the field of *hakubutsugaku* and *bussangaku* to serve as mediators between names and things, and they served an additional role as the *material* base through which the 'truth' of things could be projected, registered and inscribed.[48] To theorize the names of things is to picture

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Invention to Control His Nature," in *Disputers of the Tao: Philosophical Argument in Ancient China* (La Salle, Ill: Open Court, 1989): 235-267.

[47] Here I follow Maki Fukuoka's translation. During the course of the eighteenth century, Japanese *hakubutsugaku* incorporated ideas and approaches to natural history conveyed through imported European texts and illustrations, while differing from natural history proper in a number of significant ways. See Maki Fukuoka, *Between Seeing and Knowing: Shifting Standards of Accuracy and the Concept of Shashin in Japan, 1830-1872* (Chicago: Chicago University, Doctoral Dissertation, 2006): 14-15.

[48] Nagaoka Yumiko, "Edo jidai no hakubutsu zu," in *Nihon no hakubutsu zufu* (Tokyo: National

and catalogue them, and it is this very dynamic through which the idea of *shashin*

serves to foreground the picture as a mode of projection of the real onto the

material base of the image. More specifically, Maki Fukuoka indicates that the

idea of *shashin* was celebrated in Japanese *hakubutsugaku* as a new mode of

address with regard to pictorial accuracy, vision and knowledge guided by direct

observation.[49]

It is essential to note here that the real essence of the object is not on a par

with its physical appearance. *Shashin*, as well as displaying an attitude towards

pictorial realism informed by Western visual culture, is much less implicated in

the claims of referentiality; rather, it is linked to the demand to seal and reanimate

the 'authenticity' of things, which means that it is both axiomatic and elusive at

the same time.[50] Whether or not it is realistically rendered matters less with

respect to the notion of *shashin*, although it may bear an iconic and indexical

relation to the objects it depicts. Briefly, *shashin* cannot be seen as original per se,

but serves to close in upon (*hakushinsei* 迫真性) and retain as much truth of the

object as can be observed in the original. It is a pictorial act for capturing and

preserving the intensity of beings, thereby presenting the ontological particularity

of beings in the form of the visual.[51]

However, *shashin* is not a mythic concept or an irrational way of viewing

objects. It is, rather, enacted as an actual mode of address, especially given the

Museum of Science, 2001): 40-41.
[49] Fukuoka, ibid., 14-36
[50] Fukuoka, ibid., 36-46
[51] As for a short history of the connotations of *shashin*, see Satō Dōshin, "Shajitsu, shashin, shasei," in *Meiji kokka to kindai bijutsu: Bi no seijigaku* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1999): 209-232. Doris Croissant, "In Quest of the Real: Portrayal and Photography in Japanese Painting Theory," in Ellen P. Conant (ed.), *Challenging Past and Present: The Metamorphosis of 19th Century Japanese Art* (Honolulu, 2006): 153-176.

necessity of its concrete mode of picturing and recording specific objects. This specific register of *shashin* imbues Sadanobu's *Shūko jūshu*, especially as it pertains to the idea of the picture, which is conceived as something surpassing words with respect to its actual mode of representation in re-enacting the ontological truth of the ancients.[52] Simply put, he thought that the picture is a better and more useful medium since it shows actual things (*jitsubutsu*) more clearly than writing. *Shūko jūshu* is a 'collective' form of *shashin*, which could ultimately help him to realize his dream of living in a perfect past within the present, especially by renaming and relocating ancient Japan within Tokugawa Japan in a tangible, and thus material, pictorial form.

The pursuit of the real through *shashin* and the prestige of the picture over writing is not a purely pictorial matter; it also accompanies the specific strategy of situating Japan at the center of the universe by showcasing its absorbency, since it covers the Sinocentric order of the world. Sadanobu's revivalism was not radically different from that of the *kokugaku* scholars, providing the orientation necessary to give Japan a new proper name and place in relation to its imperial past, which would lead to the reorganization of the China-centered universe.[53] To de-Sinify the universe, the Tokugawa nativists adopted the strategy of highlighting the existence of the Japanese mode of intensity, including the prelapsarian language used in the archipelago. For them the Japanese language evoked the purely

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[52] Matsudaira Sadanobu, ibid., 70.

[53] But Sadanobu's purpose was not to emulate or surpass China. He rather tried to emphasize how Chinese culture was successfully incorporated into Japanese culture. Screech also explains the difference between the *kokugaku* scholars and Sadanobu by indicating that, unlike *kokugaku*, which refers to the 'study of states,' Sadanobu used the term *wagaku*, or 'study of *wa*,' where *wa* meant the '*tenka* (all under heaven),' thus referring to an entity that includes predigested portions of Chinese, Korean and even Indian cultures. See Screech, 39. The absorbency of *wa* resonates with Ninagawa's Japaneseness, which I emphasized in the previous part of this chapter.

untouchable status of Japan prior to the Chinese impact. While the nativists

focused on the authenticity of phonetics (voice, music, sound) in the Japanese

language, Sadanobu looked at what is perceived and transmitted in the realm of

visuality, namely, color (*iro*), in reanimating specifically Japanese modes of

intensity rooted in old things.[54]

 According to Satō Dōshin, Japanese scroll painting, unlike Chinese

painting, has a tendency to highlight colors as one of the most important pictorial

elements. This is also reflected in the etymology of *e* (絵), the term most used to

refer to painting in Japan, which connoted the assemblage of five different-

colored threads. By contrast, painting from China and literati painting was called

by a different term but had the same phonetic sound as Japanese painting, that is,

e (画), whose etymology comes from 'writing and recording the world.[55]'

Admittedly, Chinese painting originated in writing (*sho* 書), which generally uses

a monochrome ink as its main medium, rather than highlighting a distinct register

of colors. As opposed to Chinese monochrome painting, Sadanobu emphasized

the importance of colors, especially as this was the best means of revitalizing a

perfect past, rooted in ancient Japan. 'Japaneseness' is, for him, encapsulated in a

particular set of colors intrinsic to Japanese painting (fig. 2-9). Sadanobu thus

indicated in the preface of *Koga ruijū* (The Section of Old Painting in *Shūko jūshu*)

that "pictures with no color should be complemented and revised on the basis of

the original copy, and in so doing the picture could thereby overcome the limits of

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[54] For nativism's attention to the phonetic, see Harry Harootunian, *Things Seen and Unseen: Discourse and Ideology in Tokugawa Nativism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988): 50-56.
[55] Satō Dōshin '*Nihon bijutsu' no tanjō* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2000): 44-46.

spoken (*kotoba*) and written (*sho*) languages, which were unable to convey the *color* of the object."[56] In this sense Sadanobu implicitly suggests that Japanese color paintings should be differentiated from writing, and even compensate for it and overcome it, since this was the most prestigious and privileged genre among all the artistic practices in China.

As with the national learning school's maneuvers, Sadanobu also attempted to elucidate the different ways of evaluating *shashin* by making clear-cut distinctions between Japanese ancient hand scroll painting and Chinese landscape painting. And this difference was in turn transposed onto the different levels of national identity with respect to the varying levels of recognition reserved for ancient imperial traditions. The priority of writing over painting in the Chinese literati tradition had been undermined at this point. Only pictures could compensate for and overcome the limits of writing, just as they could reestablish the original color of the object.[57] As such, the picture became an imperative element in Sadanobu's Japanizing project, since, if *colored*, it would afford a screen by which the true essence of the Japanese acknowledgement of the ancient traditions could be projected, thereby renaming and resituating Japan at the center of the world; the illustrated catalogue would not only serve as a repository of the truth of old things, but also offer a vital material base through which to affirm and reaffirm the newly acquired name and repute of Japan, especially by designating the name of ancient things in the spirit of *shashin*.

Sadanobu's concerns about color anticipated Ninagawa's cataloguing work,

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[56] Matsudaira Sadanobu, ibid., 71.
[57] Sadanobu, ibid., 70.

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as reflected in the photo-paintings in the Edo Castle survey, as well as in the

ensuing project for the series of *Kankozusetsu*.[58] Ninagawa hybridized

photography with painting, while employing a less advanced technique of

lithography in order to revive the colors intrinsic to the object. As a consequence,

not only in the section on the castle, but also throughout the whole series of

Kankozusetsu, the illustrations of the old artefacts display a splendid sense of

colors, hues and effects of saturation. The exquisite colors in the section on old

ceramics even seem to re-present the glaze applied to pottery as closely as the

original object. It has been said that Ninagawa specifically ordered his painters to

apply high-quality lacquer (*sukiurushi*) or egg whites on the surface of each

picture in order to maximize the sense of transparency embedded in the colors of

the original object.[59] Ninagawa's obsession with colors added to the prestige or

authenticity of hand coloring, while contributing to the reproducibility of

lithography. Likewise, the colors used to depict the castle in *Kankozusetsu* were in

fact achieved at the price of photographic indexicality and reproducibility, thereby

retaining the ontological truth of things (fig. 2-10).

Yet we should also consider that from where Ninagawa stood, the social

background could be sharply differentiated from the early nineteenth century's

gospel of revivalism. The new cultural influences from the West served as the

main vector to define what might now be considered as old or passé in the logic of

modern historicism. The authenticity that once sanctioned the old order began to

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[58] To trace the implication of colors in Edo historical research and in its ensuing cataloguing project, see Suzuki Hiroyuki, ibid: 171-197. Note how he links Ninagawa's catalogue with Sadanobu's in regard to their common interest in representing the original colors of old things.
[59] Aoki shigeru, "Ninagawa Noritane ni tsunite," in *Kankozusetsu: Jōkaku no bu* (1990): 59.

be questioned, or simply gave way to the new. The specific 'name' attached to the old had broken down, only to be rescued in the name of the nation's 'past.' Naming, the very principle invoked to organize the system of Sadanobu's historical research, also began to be shaken to its very roots. As Julia Adeney Thomas points out, things were no longer arranged according to a topographical logic, nor were they positioned and located within the matrix of the timeless universe;[60] rather, things began to be reassembled according to a new order of time, accompanying a modern notion of temporality based on a linear or progressive model, with a distinct teleological import, and distinguished by its capitalistic mode of repetition.[61] The failed matrix of naming was about to be broken down and reconstructed via the new temporal logic of modern historicism. It was in this shift from naming to historicism that Ninagawa sought to recuperate the negative position of the old vis-à-vis the new.

And yet the new impulse toward historicization was only one form of modernity to emerge from the West. It basically attempted to make a history of everything in the world through its teleological narrative – ever advancing, always in transition – its newness marked out by contrast with the old. But modernity tells us too that if newness was all, it was also something to be grasped in *juxtaposition* with the old. Ninagawa was aware of this strange logic of Western

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[60] For the logic of spatialization in the Tokugawa period, see Julia Adeney Thomas, *Reconfiguring Modernity: Concepts of Nature in Japanese Political Ideology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001): 32-59.

[61] Regarding this change, Harry Harootunian acutely observes that: "their ultimate solution was to lay the foundation for the subsequent dismissal of nature in favor of history that was crucial to later Meiji efforts to establish a system of useful and instrumental knowledge." See Harry Harootunian, "Late Tokugawa Culture and Thought," in Marius B. Jansen (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Japan* Vol. 5 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989). Quoted in Julia Thomas, ibid., 58.

modernity. In fact he wisely devised a way to overcome the contradictions characterizing the new and the old by relativizing the value of the new, yet from within the same temporal logic occasioned by its very newness. Ninagawa notes in the preface of *Kankozusetsu* that:

> What is new (*shin*) today will be what is old (*kyū*) tomorrow; what is fresh in the present will be banal in the future…It is natural to seek out the new and the fresh, but we should also take care how we regard the old and the banal…In observing civilized countries, we can usefully figure out how far we are behind them. Yet, we are also behind them regarding the treatment of the old, especially considering the way they think of the past (*ko*) as the main basis of reflection on the present (*kin*).[62]

Following the temporal logic of Western modernity, Ninagawa attempted to replace the former hierarchical relation between the new and the old (*shin kyū*) by a *diametrical* relation between the past and the present (*ko kin*). The old is neither to be demolished nor oppressed, but is crucial to the way we choose to reflect on the present, as instanced in the case of Western civilized countries. Crucial here is that Ninagawa, unlike Sadanobu, granted a *proper* place to Japan's Other, namely the West, rather than relativizing it, as a parameter not only of modernity, but also of antiquity in terms of its respectful treatment of the old. Ninagawa also differs from Sadanobu in the way that he conceived yet another function of the old, that is, as a mirroring device for the present and future. Thus the ontological status of the old, if treated properly, could be radically transformed as a philosophical tool to serve and reevaluate the new, thereby contributing to the massive task of governing the contemporary world (*chisei no gimu*). Informed by Western historicism, Ninagawa successfully resituated the old within the temporal

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[62] Ninagawa, "Preface," in *Kankozusetsu: Jōkaku no bu*, 1878.

matrix of modernity by simply transferring it to the 'historical' category required for a new historiography of Japan.

Ninagawa nonetheless co-opted, rather than discarded, a visual tactic of naming prevalent in the historical research in the previous period: the old was simply renamed and relocated as a useful strategy for overcoming its very oldness in Ninagawa's cataloguing practices. Most of all, Ninagawa shared Sadanobu's views on the picture with respect to not only its referentiality, but also to its ability to re-present the authenticity of things. Following Sadanobu, creating pictures for Ninagawa was a means of naming, ordering and governing the world, which was, first and foremost, the purpose of Sadanobu's historical research on things. Ninagawa put it thus: "the reflection of the present was realized by looking at an actual thing (*jitsubutsu* 実物) rather than its historical reference (*shiseki* 史籍).[63]" Underlying this contrast is the different ontology between actual things and their historical references, between the visual and the textual, and finally, between pictures and language. In short, Ninagawa, like Sadanobu, shed a new light on the value of the picture, not as a secondary copy of things, but as a form of mediation through which the ontology of old things could be named, designated, and located within the matrix of the newly organized world.

It is only natural that colors should come to the surface, occupying a central position in Ninagawa's project. Following Sadanobu, he made his illustrations as large as he could.[64] In this way, pictures came to perfectly

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[63] Ninagawa, "Preface," ibid.

[64] The size of *Shūko jūshu*, the catalogue of old things by Sadanobu, is approximately 30X45 cm, which is considerably larger than most other printed books published during the early nineteenth century. The size of the catalogue mattered in nineteenth century antiquarians' cataloguing

represent the full tone of colors without losing the original ontology governing old things. But unlike Sadanobu, Ninagawa lived during the age of photography, a media standing at the frontier of mechanical representation and reproduction. He then selectively took the mediatic trait of photography in demand by *shashin* and celebrated its prime component, namely, colors. Accordingly, Ninagawa mobilized the instantaneity and actuality of the photographic eye during his survey on Edo Castle while relativizing its photographic indexicality, thus dubbing it with the iconicity of painting. This is not to disregard the indexical nature of photographic media, but to take up another layer of the 'photographic' achievable through the mediation of painting: its retouching and coloring could be used to intensify the level of *shashin*, a mode of 'registering ontological truth in the image.' Considering the technological limits of contemporary photography, only its hybridization with painting would enable it to realize the ideal of *shashin*, which was ultimately envisioned as a peculiar mode of iconography in-between photography and painting.

Moreover, Ninagawa reserved yet another possibility for photography, namely, its mechanical reproducibility, which might otherwise harm, rather than enhance, the degree of *shashin* obtainable, since its prime concern was to revitalize the authenticity of the object rather than to reproduce it.[65] Given this

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practices, simply because a larger plate would allow them to achieve sharply detailed reproductions, almost as precise as the image achieved from rubbing (*takuhon*). The idea of rubbing was continued by later generations during the early Meiji period, including Ninagawa Noritane.

[65] This was not so very different from his stance on lithography. Ninagawa preferred lithography to advanced techniques of chromolithography, although both techniques were available in his printing company at that time. This was due to the fact that the lower version of lithography enabled him to employ hand-made coloring more easily and openly, thereby producing the desired effect of verisimilitude that he had always had in mind. See Suzuki Hiroyuki, *Kōkoka tachi no*

requirement, it was imperative for Ninagawa to reemploy the old technique of

hand coloring in addition to the new technology of photography to conduct his

survey of Edo Castle. Painting does not harm the reality effect of photography, but

rather, makes it appear more 'photographic (*shashinteki*)' Likewise, photographic

indexicality doesn't surpass the iconicity of painting, but is in accordance with it

in the light of *shashin*, whose imperatives *persisted* rather than disappeared under

the new regime of photographic referentiality. It was at this moment that *shashin*

and photography became more diametrical, as if the past and the present could co-

articulate one another in the survey on Edo Castle. Put differently, Ninagawa had

discovered the entry point of modern historicity through actualizing the

developing scenario of evolution-by-hybridization in the field of visual media.

From Famous Places to Architectural Topographies

> Summer grasses
> Warrior after warrior
> Just relics in dreams
> Matuso Bashō, *Oku no hosomichi*, c. 1689
>
> We should conserve the castle as it announced the
> unique beauty of Japanese architecture to the world,
> and provided an object lesson in the spirit of the
> samurai, as well as being a material resource through
> which to cultivate the Japanese national psyche.
> Itō Chūta, *On Preservation of Edo Castle*, 1926

Ninagawa's exploration of this new relation to the past necessarily

accompanies the myth of historical progress, in which the old deployed the new as

an objective referent of history. In this sense, his survey on the castle was not a

unique phenomenon pertaining exclusively to Japan, but part of the manifestations

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jūkyūseiki, 181.

of modernity and its historicization of space. The survey of old things and architectures occurred elsewhere, as in *La Mission Héliographique*, a French photographic inspection of Gothic architectural sites in 1851. This inspection tour clearly showed how architectural ruins could be transferred from the site itself to national memory, while instancing how photography could play an integral role in the establishment of the collective memory and in the development of visual archives, as well as in the creation of imaginary geographies apropos of the nation.[66]

Nevertheless, a more complex issue arose in Ninagawa's case, as it elicits a question about representing space in a non-Western context, albeit introduced according to the particular twists and turns of Western modernity. As Svetlana Alpers points out, there had been realistic traditions of representing landscape and architecture since the Renaissance period based on geometrical renderings of distance (Italian Art) and optical descriptions of visual surfaces (Dutch Art).[67] These representational schemes operate within the pictorial conventions of the scientific atlas, military cartography, garden design and landscape painting, aiming at a perfect imitation of nature through optical simulation, through description and through referential illusion. Photography contributed a new layer of actuality to this long tradition of pictorial realism, as well as providing another dimension of the real, a sense of 'what had once been there,' on top of its visual

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[66] For more on this, see M. Christine Boyer, "La Mission Héliographique: Architectural Photography, Collective Memory and the Patrimony of France in 1851," in *Picturing Place: Photography and the Geographical Imagination* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2003): 21-54.
[67] Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983): xix.

resemblance and illusionism.[68] On the other side, photography opened up a new possibility of mechanical objectivity, which led it to replace human's eyes and hands with the mechanical apparatus of the camera in making geographical atlases and landscape images.[69] It was this renovation that meant that many seminal documentation projects could be launched in nineteenth century Europe in an attempt not only to grasp and record, but also to preserve, the exterior world. *La Mission Héliographique* is just one example among the huge body of nineteenth century documentary photographs.

Photographic actuality and mechanicity, however, brought about unexpected results in Japan. Essential to note here is the impact of the new realistic effects of photography, which pose the question of the intelligibility and representability of space. Photographic actuality, most of all, celebrates the physicality of architecture as a crucial component of space. Framed by the camera, and seen and recorded at the human-eye level, the castle came to be foregrounded within a picture, manifesting its material dimension as if it could actually be seen. Ninagawa's camera, albeit fused with the old art of *shashin*, revealed the

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[68] Many are the critical discussions of photography that argue whether it continued or broke with the previous way of representing the world. For example, Jonathan Crary regards photography separately from its linear perspective and its camera obscura effects due to its different relation to the formation of the body and its subjectivity. But 'photography' in Crary's work focuses more on the technologies of subjectification, especially during the nineteenth century, rather than actual photographic conventions, albeit including a great number of documentation projects, such as *La Mission Héliographique*. See Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1999).

[69] Lorrain Daston and Peter Gailson point out the rupture made by photography in the pictorial conventions of the atlas and in scientific plates, especially in respect to its brand-new discourse of objectivity. They argue that the idea of 'mechanical objectivity' was developed in the nineteenth century, at the very birth of photography, and they look at how it rhetorically functioned in the formation of the scientist as a neutral or detached observer. Although their focus is on the scientific atlas, especially in the fields of natural history and anatomy, the discourse of 'mechanical objectivity' is equally at work in the state projects to document the social and cultural landscapes of nineteenth century Europe. See Lorrain Daston and Peter Galison, "Image of Objectivity," in *Representations* No. 40 (Autumn, 1992): 81-128.

tangibility and materiality of Edo Castle within a given landscape, which, I argue,

caused a crucial shift in the representation of the space and place of architecture

during the previous period: by elucidating the cultivation of a positive mentality

toward architecture and its historic preservation, Ninagawa's survey could

ultimately relocate the castle within the present moment of history. The castle then

becomes a physical assurance of the past in the living moment of the present, to

be thus refigured and rescued from its mortality. It was within this new orientation

of spatial perception that the pre-existing notion of famous places could be

incorporated into a fresh basis for architectural topography through its self-

cultivation and self-transformation. In particular, architectural photography paved

the way toward a new discourse of place, and this bore fruit in the ongoing project

of creating a specifically Japanese national geography, as initiated by the state. To

elaborate more on these dynamics, let us now turn to the section on the castle in

Ninagawa's *Kankozusetsu* project.

Indeed the section on the castle within the entire series of *Kankozusetsu* is

oddly positioned. Only this section adheres to architectural landscape as its main

subject, while the other sections deal with old things, ranging from Japanese

pottery to traditional roof tiles, through the specific technique of hand-coloring on

lithographic images. Most of the objects depicted in *Kankozusetsu* formed part of

Ninagawa's personal collection, or they were borrowed from his acquaintances,

whereas the section on the castle contains something in the public sphere beyond

the realm of private collections of connoisseurs, and this exceeds the scope of

foreigners' Oriental collections. Moreover, it was not a castle per se, but its

remnants, that is, a castle that had undergone demolition at that time. Nor was it bound up with the ancient Japanese traditions directly. The site of Old Edo Castle was yet to be included within the 'past' that Ninagawa had attempted to juxtapose with the present. It was still the *present* of Meiji. As such, the ambiguous position of the section on the castle arises from its temporal contradictions with other parts of *Kankozusetsu*, which, in turn, awakens our interest in the categorical problem of old things.

In the meantime, we find that Sadanobu did not include architecture within his ten categories of old things. Although he assembled a number of pictures depicting the architectural ornaments of the imperial palace (*kyūshitsu*), they do not reveal an entire structure of architecture but give a merely partial view of it (fig. 2-11). Neither the catalogues of Sadanobu, nor the other genres of geographical works foreground a physical form of architecture throughout the Edo period: architecture before Ninagawa's time was neither included in the category of old things, nor of places. No overarching term for 'architecture' even existed before then; instead, architectural buildings were designated function-by-function, and served as temples, shrines, residential palaces, etc. There was no synthetic category, such as the contemporary term for 'architecture (*kenchiku*),' before its emergence within the history of architecture during the mid-Meiji period.[70]

The absence of architectural depictions is a recurrent phenomenon that can also be encountered in the traveling accounts and geographical primers of the Edo period: for example, *meishoki* (the record of famous places) or *meishozue*

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[70] For the emergence of architecture and its historiography in Japan, see Yatsuka Hajime, "Kenchiku to kenchikushi no tanjō," in *Shisō toshite no Nihon kindai kenchiku* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2005): 29-70.

(collections of illustrations of famous places) attended to the narrative qualities of a cultural landscape, rather than being based on a totalizing system of measurable observations and descriptions.[71] Most of the *meisho* texts served as traveling guides to famous places, helping the audience to associate places through poems, names, allegories, and narratives. The contents were also flexibly adapted to different locales and times, as they spontaneously reflected the commoners' interests, since these were the main readers of the *meisho* texts.

Perhaps the most striking change was the gradual absence of Edo Castle in the nineteenth century traveling guides and pictorial maps (*ezu*). For example, Edo Castle can rarely be seen in *Edo meisho zue*, one of the most popular illustrated guidebooks to the famous places of Edo during the nineteenth century, nor was it a focal point for the text. Nor did it serve as a gateway for a voyage of discovery within the city of Edo. The introductory section of *Edo meisho zue* (1834) by Saito Gesshin narrates the story of Edo castle in terms of a general history of Japan, beginning with Yamato Takeru in the ancient period and leading up to the unification of the Tokugawa regime in the seventeenth century. Strictly speaking, Gesshin and other *meisho zue* texts dealt with Edo Castle as part of the chronicles (*enkaku*) of the city of Edo, rather than drawing on its contemporary value as famous places. The present of Edo instead lies in *Nihonbashi*, a center of commoners' gatherings, economies and pleasures, held in the New Year, with a mix of visual forms, vivid narratives and representations.[72]

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[71] Jilly Traganou, "Representing Mobility in Tokugawa and Meiji Japan," in Nicolas Fiévé and Paul Waley (eds.) *Japanese Capitals in Historical Perspective: Place. Power and Memory in Kyoto, Tokyo and Edo* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006): 181.
[72] Saito Gesshin, *Edo meisho zue* in *Nihon meisho fūzoku zue 4: Edo no ken II* (Tokyo: Kadokawa

But Edo Castle had regularly appeared as a significant landmark of Edo right up to the beginning of the eighteenth century despite its non-realistic depiction; its main keep had been continuously marked out in various *meisho* texts in the seventeenth century. It was even portrayed at a time when its physical form did not actually exist during the Meireki Great Fire in 1657, while marked out on a pictorial map during the early eighteenth-century, before eventually disappearing after a couple of decades (fig. 2-12a, 12b).[73] The way Edo Castle is portrayed in the *meisho* texts was transformed at the turn of the nineteenth century, even to the extent that its actual form and shape were progressively deleted. Its presence could now be traced as a small background detail, or as an abstract sign, in most of the geographical texts (fig. 2-13a, 13b). Chiba Masaki interestingly points out that this was due to security reasons, since the Tokugawa regime banned all records of the architectural structures in the environment of the castle, as this was one of their principal residences as well as being a fortress. More importantly, this absence also reflects social and political changes in the cityscape of Edo, where the sprawling citizenry now lived and which then constituted the city's main agency of production and consumption. The more meaningful the space was to the common people, the more important its position in pictorial composition; for example, the landscape of *Nihonbashi* assumed a privileged position, replacing Edo Castle with crowded urban streets in *Edo meisho zue* (fig. 2-14).[74]

Shoten, 1979-1988): 7-11

[73] See, for example, Asai Ryōi, *Edo meishoki* (Chronicle of the Famous Places of Edo, 1662) in *Nihon meisho fūzoku zue 3: Edo no ken I* (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1979-1988): 8-10.

[74] According to Chiba, there were two reasons for the disappearance of Edo castle from *Edo*

But we should notice that not only the castle, but also the architectural

buildings in general, had not been highlighted as its main pictorial subject despite

a long tradition of Japanese famous places. It is particularly striking to observe the

absence of architectural descriptions with regard to temples and shrines, although

they had been a primary topic in *meisho zue*, a collection of illustrations of

famous places, as well as *fūdoki*, regional gazetteers that started out as the official

compilations of local records.[75] In both contexts, the sanctuaries were largely

depicted in three visual formats: a bird's-eye view of its wholeness (fig. 2-15);

human activities surrounding a shrine, such as the artistic gathering of monks

(*shogakai*), and local exhibitions (*bussankai*) (fig. 2-16); while a profile picture of

the treasures kept in the temple often featured temples and shrines in a metonymic

way. The discourse of famous places during the Edo period was less concerned

with the architectural qualities of these sanctuaries than with the events or items

associated with them, simply because there was no need to focus on architecture

itself. Rather, architecture was perceived as *part* of a given place, or incorporated

into a place without being conceptually separated from it.

Thus the absence of Edo Castle is not exclusively to be explained with

respect to its changing monumentality throughout history. It was also involved in

the larger question of the vision and perception of 'architecture' in the history of

representing famous places; and therefore, the visual gap of Edo Castle is not

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meisho zue: the orientation toward abstract expression in cartography, and for security purposes.
See Chiba Masaki, *Edojō ga kiete iku* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2007)

[75] I particularly refer to *Shinpen musashi fudo kikō*, one of the overarching projects launched in 1810 by the Tokugawa government for the control and surveillance of the population. This was not published during the Tokugawa regime, however. In 1884 the Bureau of Geography in the Domestic Ministry (Naimushō Chirikyoku) published an entire series on it in order to compile a methodological history of geographical knowledge during the Edo period.

exclusively due to the privilege of orality over visuality in the tradition of representing famous places. The act of seeing had already been placed at the center of perceiving and understanding famous places in the thirteenth century, and the castle had often appeared as a popular subject in the folding screens of famous places (*meisho byōbu*) even before the Edo period. Since the late seventeenth century, the emphasis on vision became duly secularized and many traveling accounts were based on sightseeing or travel-oriented stories. As mentioned in Chapter 1, Kaibara Ekiken's works fully expressed the advantages of a direct mode of viewing and an accurate observation of space. *Meisho*, in the Edo period, had been separated from its original context of *nadokoro*, a place of fame conceived through visual allusion and reciting poems, prevalent in the ancient period.[76] Nevertheless, architecture was neither the main object of sight-seeing, nor the subject of visual representation; unlike the Western tradition of architectural representation, which foregrounded huge monuments, architectural buildings and sites as the most important representational forms, the social geography of the pre-Meiji period bypassed the actual presentation of architecture, otherwise narrativizing it with phonetic and poetic descriptions.[77]

Since the early Meiji period, however, the relation between place and architecture had been radically changed. First of all, this shift was a consequence of the new conceptualization of time, and its new mode of relating to the past. The articulation of different conceptions of time requires the rearticulation of space,

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[76] Chino Kaori, "Meisho e no seiritsu to tenkai," and Yamori Kazuhiro, "Meisho e o megutte," in *Nihon byōbu e shūsei 10: Keibutsuga – Meisho keibutsu* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1982): 115-121.
[77] As for the historic constructions of a unified and monumental city in nineteenth century Paris, see Nicolas Green, "Monuments, Memorials and the Framing of Individualism in Third Republic France," in *New Formations II* (Summer 1990): 127-143.

that is, the way in which persons interact with their human and natural

environments.[78] Just as the new discovery of the past was mediated through

modern Western historicism, the reconfiguration of space was formulated at

places directly linked to the West – treaty ports, residential areas for Western

people, foreign embassies, etc. In these new spots, certain kinds of monumental

geography emerged, wherein place began to be perceived *by means of* the

architecture built upon it. 'Architecture as place' in the *meisho* tradition gave way

to a new conception of 'place as architecture.' This change is reflected in the

landscape images of Meiji *ukiyo e* (woodblock painting), wherein architecture is

perceived as an integral monument in conveying its main theme, namely

civilization and enlightenment. It especially emphasizes the monumentality of

Western-style architecture (*yofū kenchiku*), whose designs and materials reflected

Japan's capacity to negotiate Western civilized cultures and modern

technologies.[79] Yokohama, the main treaty port serving Tokyo, frequently

appeared in *ukiyo e* painting since its unique cityscape encompassed Western-style

streets, shops and buildings (fig. 2-17).[80] In contrast to the *meisho* tradition of the

Edo period, Meiji *ukiyo e*, conceived as a principal means of public

communication, created a certain kind of physical topography, identified and

memorialized through its architectural monuments, thereby constituting a new

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[78] Stefan Tanaka, "Discoveries of the Hōryūji," in *Constructing Nationhood in Modern East Asia* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001): 118.

[79] This Western-style architecture is discussed in Watanabe Yoshio, "Josiah Conder's Rokumeikan: Architecture and National Representation in Meiji Japan," in *Art Journal* Vol. 55 (Fall 1996): 21-27; Dallas Finn, "Reassessing the Rokumeikan," in Ellen P. Conant (ed.), *Challenging Past and Present: The Metamorphosis of Nineteenth-Century Japanese Art* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006): 227-239.

[80] For more on this, see The Museum of Kanazawa Prefecture, *Yokohama ukiyo e: Shūdaisei* (Yokohama: Yurindō, 1979); Sakamoto Mitsuru and Toeda Toshirō, *Yokohama hanga to kaiga e* (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1993).

type of *meisho* closely bound up with the idea of civilization and enlightenment. In so doing, Meiji *ukiyo e* successfully provided a link between architecture, monumentality and the discourse of modernity, which, in effect, Uchida Masao had sought to typologize through his understanding of 'photography' in *Yochi shiryaku*.

This new perception of architecture soon came to probe the surface of old architecture, especially since it cast a new light on the epochal interest in collecting and preserving old things. But 'old architecture' here generally refers to ancient temples and shrines, rather than to the castle or *daimyō yashiki*, the Edo-city palaces belonging to the regional rulers. Edo Castle was not figured as a past to be recovered, yet as part of the present of Meiji, as its demolition entailed an ongoing process in the reorganization of space, prompted by the rearticulation of time. Why, then, did Ninagawa investigate, map out and document Meiji's present, which was neither old nor sufficiently new, yet somehow situated in-between? What are the consequences of his inclusion of Edo Castle within the categories of the old? And what effect does this have on the new experience of space and place?

I argue that these seminal questions are intimately linked with a new mode of reckoning time, if only to counter the undesirable effects of monumentality. Ninagawa, early on, found the means and the mission to document not only the past but also, grammatically speaking, the 'present perfect tense' of Meiji, by highlighting the *changing* moment in time – the temporal trajectory – of Edo Castle. The immediate subject of his enquiry was the materiality of the castle, which was said to be vanishing, but which in turn led him to leave behind a

substantial photographic record of the architectural structure of Edo Castle. That is, Ninawawa's project was initiated out of the modern anxiety to permanently capture a fleeting moment, or to record the duration of an ephemeral instance of the world, which could thus be considered as a grand archive of time represented by its architectural materiality. In so doing, he attempted to transform the castle into the locus of history where the old and the new, the past and the present, can be genealogically said to co-exist. As Siegfried Kracauer accurately points out, historicist thinking emerged simultaneously with the advent of modern photographic technology. Historicism is concerned with the photography of time, and while history has become photographically present, the photographed present has also been appropriately eternalized.[81]

This new pole of temporality also brought about a new mode of monumentality, set apart from the representation of Edo Castle in the *meisho* related texts, which had become a part of the chronicles of the city of Edo, and was linked with its purely nominal value. By contrast, Edo Castle for Ninagawa meant, if only it could be tangibly preserved, both a material and symbolic site that could present the density of the present and propose a long and somehow more present future, a satisfying continuity of time. It is in this context that the monumentality of the castle may be legitimately addressed in public, thereby revamping the foundations of historical memory without any ruptures in the passage from the ancient to the medieval, and from the medieval to the modern and contemporary. It is also in this context that the castle, like the temple, could

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[81] Siegfried Kracauer, "Photography," trans. Thomas Y. Levin, *The Mass Ornament: Weimar Essays* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1995): 49-57.

enter into the realm of historic preservation. Once photography uncovers the mortality of old architecture, its immortality is paradoxically assured, and it can ultimately refer to something other than itself – that is, as an architectural monument. For one thing, the world changed around the castle, and for another, it became not only a physical object, yet a concurrently symbolic monument embodying the various national pasts.

Consequently and necessarily, the resulting images of the castle in Ninagawa's survey look radically different from those found in the previous texts on famous places. Ninagawa's starting point is to dissect the entire site of the castle section by section. Looking at Yokoyama's photographic records, we find that the entire area of Edo Castle was partitioned on a name-by-name basis, and thus labeled according to its size, location, physical structure, and architectural ornaments (fig. 2-18). The eye of the camera thoroughly scanned over every aspect of the architectural components, sites and landscapes, rather like the gaze of a surgeon in skimming over the surface of the patient's body.[82] Beyond technical devices for image-making, photography was a site where a discursive formation of space could be said to be reorganized: from a space of toponyms, poems and narratives to a space of actuality, from a space of transcendence to a space of physicality, and from a space of different possibilities, associations and figurality to a space to be used for the exact calibration of time. Put simply, photography involved a more inclusive reformulation of the space of intensity into

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[82] I borrow this idea from Walter Benjamin's analysis of photography. His discussion focuses on a photographic de-auratization, and he even compares the photographer to the surgeon, and the painter to the magician. See Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections* (New York: Schocken Books, 1968): 233.

the space of extensity, even entailing the externality of time and history.

It was at this moment that Ninagawa's survey came to evince its roots in the genealogy of Edo historical studies, where the notion of *shashin* became integral to naming. Through the contingent vision of photography, the totality encapsulated in the name of Edo Castle was shaken apart, just as the system of naming itself would be broken down by the temporalizing impulses of modernity. Once recorded by the camera, each site of the castle came to have its own particular identity, thereby becoming individuated within an entire system of indexing. That is, Edo Castle did not exist anymore in its entirety, where each part could be integrated into the whole, and the whole would remain the sum of each part; rather, each part was separated from the other, existing in an individuated entity via the demands of indexation.

Ninagawa even intended to register the phenomenon of architectural ruin and destruction within a photographic frame to highlight the castle's unique temporality (fig. 2-19). Photography, in tracing the present perfect through its immediate gaze, relativized the notion of *shashin* and its claim to reenact the essential and timeless ontology of the object. It was not its fame, nor even its name, but a specific kind of architectural topography that would give a purely visual significance to the castle. Its physical shapes, materials, architectural designs and compartments, as well as its topographical features, size and direction, and even its order of demolition, could now be visually affirmed and calculated. Through its photographic reconstitution, the castle came to enter the realm of extensity, which in turn reveals its symbolic function to provide physical

assurance of the past. Given this disjunction, the catalogue of Edo Castle draws a

distinct and disruptive line under the illustrated catalogue of old things initiated by

Matsudaira Sadanobu: it functions as an index of time, while calling upon the

traditional modes of illustrated catalogues with their conventional naming

principles. Ninagawa's survey on Edo Castle was the place where the two modes

of ordering things overlapped – retaining the old form of *shashin* while operating

within the formal system of naming and spatial identification, and co-opting a

new photographic vision to capture the present perfect actualities bound up with

its architectural topographies.

Toward a Monumental Geography of Castles

> Osaka, what a fantastic city with its castle *and* temple!
> NIPPON, 1935
>
> The main keep of the castle was employed for the
> construction of local nerve centers. In so doing, a
> number of local cities initiated the movement of regional
> revitalization, which could be said to embody the notion
> of the 'creation of a hometown (*furusato sōsei*).' It seems
> that we are now enjoying a renaissance since this is the
> age of the restoration of the castle. The heyday of the
> restoration was of course right after the atomic bomb
> attacks in the aftermath of the Showa 30s.
> Asahi Shinbun, January 9, 1989

Despite Ninagawa's wish, the castle was not to enter smoothly into the

realm of national treasures, although its 'copy' was widely circulated in a

strangely transformed guise – the *shachihiko* (a fish-shaped golden gargoyle) was

exposed at the Nagoya Castle exhibit in the Vienna World Fair, whereas the quasi

tenshū (the main keep) was displayed in the Saint Louis World Fair, the Fifth

Domestic Exhibition, etc. (fig. 2-20).[83] For several decades after Ninagawa's time,

the castle was labeled as a white elephant, and was conserved solely for

extraneous purposes, distinct from those that might otherwise enlist it as an

historical site. In fact, it served as a military camp, the site of an exhibition, a zoo,

a theater, etc. It was not until 1929 that the law for the preservation of national

treasures came to cover architecture other than old temples and shrines. The castle

barely entered into the category of old architecture together with the commoner's

house.[84] It was Itō Chūta, a representative nationalist architect, who argued for

the preservation of Edo Castle, since it announced the unique beauty of Japanese

architecture to the world, and provided an object lesson in the spirit of the samurai,

as well as being a material resource through which to cultivate the Japanese

national psyche, and finally, it encouraged a renewed form of national

consciousness.[85] Itō developed his ideas about preservation and renewal by

quoting from Western travelers' tales in respect to their pronounced appreciation

of Nagoya Castle, "a symbolic monument indispensable in the topographies of

Tokaidō road.[86]" Although the mythic guard of the castle, the *sachihoko*, had been

abandoned and labeled as a "useless big thing" during the earlier period, Nagoya

Castle began to be reconfigured within national Japanese topographies, albeit

through drawing on the aid of Western travelers, whose positive reception of it

proved to be critical to its topographic rehabilitation.

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[83] Kinoshita, 2000: 86-87.
[84] It was only *Kokusijtsu hozonhō* (The Law to Preserve National Treasures) that included the castle for the first time as an object of cultural preservation.
[85] Itō Chūta, "On the Preservation of Edo Castle," in *Shiseki meisho tennen kinenbutsu* Vol. 1, No. 2 (Tokyo: The Bulletin of the Japanese Society for Preserving Beautiful Scenery, and Historic and Natural Monuments, 1926): 4-18.
[86] Itō, ibid., 15.

Perhaps the only context where the temple and castle could be juxtaposed together was via an Orientalist mode of tourism. Entirely new associations began to be attached to both sites during the early Meiji period, since it acquired new connotations as a traveling destination for successive waves of globetrotters: both the temple and the castle came to function as a gateway to enable foreign travelers to come to know what Japan had become, regardless of its quite different historicity. Either way, the Japanese old architecture came to be transformed into a specific repository of 'Japaneseness' vis-à-vis the West, affording a new way to construct the imperial *meisho* during the mid-Meiji period.

From the 1930s onwards, the castle, not unlike the temple, came to be represented by Japanese modernist photographers. Accordingly, both the temple and the castle appeared side by side in NIPPON, the graphic magazine, whose main audience consisted of Euro-American travelers (fig. 2-21). The castle was even to be described as the "best specimen of *ancient* Japanese architecture," regardless of its actual origin in the medieval period.[87] In these early modernist works, both the castle and the temple were equally incorporated into the panorama of the pan-Asian utopia, and provided an alternative model to Western modernity, with all of its perceived negativity.

It would even be the first and final destination that the surveys undertaken in the early Meiji period would seek to document, appealing to an urgent demand to preserve the cultural constitution of the nation, and simultaneously, the national constitution of culture. It was Ninagawa Noritane who prematurely discovered the

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[87] The photographers, Koishi Kiyoshi and Natori Yōnosuke, edited a special article on Osaka in NIPPON Vol. 3 (1935); in so doing, they co-opted the honorific image of Osaka Castle and the Buddhist Statue in Mino Park.

integral role of the old architecture in these dual processes, and accordingly transposed it to a memorable position in that past. Ninagawa's strategy was to co-opt old things as the primary basis of his national historiography. In so doing, he opened up a path for the emergence of modern historicism, albeit corresponding to Western notions in its specific form of architectural antiquarianism. The new organization and perception of time required a new configuration of space, wherein Ninagawa found photography eminently useful: it could revivify the real essence of the old through its hybridization within the pre-existing idea of *shashin*. Accordingly, this photographic hybridity would open up hitherto unperceived modes of perception and representation within the field of spatiality, at once separated from and encompassing the traditional idea of *meisho*, that is, a new notion of topography perceived through its materiality, temporality, and monumentality. Architecture became a crucial element upon which the new time and space, and their corresponding media, were coincidently shaped and reshaped. Interestingly enough, *shashin*, despite its groundedness, came to be dismantled with the emergence of new architectural topographies, since its autonomous powers of transformation would in turn give rise to new and unprecedented mediatic claims.

But transition always invites a complex manner of negotiations and translations. In the following chapter, I will examine how photography, separated from *shashin*, could hardly elicit a new appeal as the merely 'photographic,' as illustrated by the problem that arose in framing landscape in the survey on the temples and the shrine. Unlike the castle, the temple did not undergo much an

awkward period after its separation from famous places: it appeared as a sacred

place containing ancient folklore and national essence during the Meiji period and

onwards. Nevertheless, the photographic records of the old sanctuaries elucidate

the ironic process of the formations of modernity, providing an alternative history

of evolution-by-hybridization, as opposed to evolution-by-purification, in which

the once accepted dichotomies – new/old, past/present and Japan/the West –

would be interfused and continually reevaluated, in a contradictory manner. The

ceaseless mimicry and echoing of their complicit relations could never be

rendered distinct or set apart, except for the purposes of analysis, and, more

particularly, in the prevaricating fantasies of Modernity and its totalizing power.

CHAPTER 3

The Past Is Coming Alive: The Discovery of Ancient Sites through Photography

> I felt paralyzed, faced with the old temple in Nara,
> as if I were alone in the "forest of the spirit."
> Watsuji Tetsurō, *Koji junrei,* 1919

Every nation has its distinctive historic sites. They are material vehicles, or repositories of meaning, with a vital role to play in the construction of the official history of the nation-state. They are also part of the physical landscape in which people live and situate themselves in relation to individual and collective notions of memory and identity. From the imperial mausoleum to scenic landscapes, historic sites are experienced as both a national embodiment of identity and as a feature of everyday life. Replete with national significance, they form pivotal points or central landmarks on what might be otherwise termed a symbolic national topography. Japan is no exception in this regard. Rather, its appetite for national-cultural constitution is insatiable.[1] From school excursions to religious pilgrimages, people travel around myriad historic sites, shrines, temples, castles, palaces, and ancient capitals. Influential intellectuals have left a significant body of travel writings about historic sites. Watsuji Tetsurō, a representative philosopher in modern Japan, even confessed that he felt paralyzed, faced with

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[1] As for the establishment of the historic site in Japan, see "Shiseki meishō no seiritsu," in *Nihonshi kenkyū*, Vol. 351 (November, 1991): 63-89, Suzuki Ryō, "Kindai Nihon Bunkazai mondai kenkyū no kadai," in Suzuki Ryō and Takaki Hiroshi (eds.), *Bunkazai to kindai Nihon* (Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppan, 2002); 3-28; Maruyama Hiroshi, "*Shiseki meishō tennen kinenbutsu no chōryū,*" in *Shiseki meishō tennen kinenbutsu: kaisetsu, sōmokuji, sakuin, 1914.9~1923.5* (Tokyo: Fuji Shuppan, 2003): 5-37; Maruyama Hiroshi, "Kindai ni okeru Kyoto no shiseki meshō hozon," in *Kindai Kyoto kenkyū* (Kyoto: Shibunkaku, 2008): 174-198. As for the early awareness of the notion of the historic site in the Edo period, see Haga Shōji, "Shiseki o meguru rekishi isiki," in *Nihonshi kenkū* 351 (November, 1991): 33-62.

Hōryūji in Nara, as if he were alone in the forest of the spirit.[2]

In this chapter, I will examine how photography was implicated in the nation's discovery and creation of its 'site(s) of origin,' comprising an array of material objects, imbued with a particular imperial culture, and reaching back to the ancient period. While the survey on Edo castle contributed to resituating the place of the near past within its present history, the Jinshin survey that I deal with in this chapter was site-specific, entailing the creation of the Kyoto-Nara site, and associated with the investigation and preservation of the old treasures kept in the Buddhist temples. By providing a springboard for the succeeding exhibitions and public displays, the Jinshin survey built on the mythological foundations of an 'unbroken genealogy (*bansei ikkei*),' thereby situating the origins of imperial culture in the distant past, that is, in the ancient Nara period, or the Tempyō era.

This search for ancient origins is not of course unique to Japan. The excavation and investigation of ancient cultures was a general phenomenon that can be traced, at least in nineteenth century Europe, to the search for the collective memory of 'archaic Europe' as its point of origin. Through the strenuous scrutiny of the relics and antiquities of ancient Greece and Rome, the classic culture sprung into life once more, saturated as it was in the myths and renowned acts of a people that belonged emphatically to the ancient past, yet were connected to the collective identity of an ancient, or ur-Europe.

During this process, however, the archaic sites were fenced off, stately and moribund in their calm, in order to remain as emphatic icons of the past. They were maintained, and restored in their original order and perfection, only to

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[2] Watsuji Tetsurō, *Koshaji jūnrei* (Tokyo: Iwanami Bunko, 2002 (1979)): 225-226.

become progressively barred from human contact and use.[3] At the same time, everything around the archaic sites, and all things associated with them, suddenly began to appear as collectible objects: treasures were transferred to the museums of culture, reprints and copies of precious artefacts were relocated as souvenirs in domestic interiors, and city views and architectural monuments were reconstructed and preserved as part of the landscape of European heritage.[4] Thus, the European cult of classical sites necessitated the techniques of cataloguing and classifying that properly belong to a museum of culture. And in both a symbolic and a practical sense, things were collected and reconstituted in places of commemoration in order to be preserved as cultural icons, that is, to be looked at and studied, but never to be used. Paintings and illustrations were first to enter the arena of historic preservation, thereby placing the ancient sites within the romantic frame of the picturesque landscape. Photography came next and shared in the popularization of romantic images through their mass-production and circulation in the ampler context of world geography.[5]

Japan provided a specific context for the utilization of the techniques of the modern museum, which were first brought to bear on religious sites – mostly in Buddhist temples – the sites where the pre-existing forms of cultural exhibitions, such as unveilings (*kaichō*) and airings (*mushiboshi*), took place

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[3] This is one of the contradictions embodied by the guardians of classical culture, who proclaim "the continual life of the culture they profess to a world which they have progressively excluded from the places and sites of this culture, and which concomitantly bears witness to its separation, its location in the past." See Gerald Fitzgerald, "The Cult and Culture of Classical Sites: The Parthenon Fiasco," in *Public Culture* Vol. 8 (1995): 177-185.

[4] Christine Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory*, 130.

[5] For the role of amateur photography in the construction of 'romantic Rome,' see Maria Antonella Pelizzari, "Retracing the Outlines of Rome: Intertextuality and Imaginative Geographies in Nineteenth-Century Photographs," in *Picturing the Place*, 55-73.

during the Edo period. These exhibitions were held for a limited period of time, but religious crafts, imperial treasures, and Buddhist icons were opened up to the gaze of the public. These events also gave believers a chance to form 'propitious bonds (*kechi'en*)' with the unveiled deity.[6] The famous temple usually provided a display area. But the venue of the display would itself become a famous place through securing greater popularity for the exhibition. These pre-Meiji traditions of cultural exhibition and display continued until well into the first decade of the Meiji period. The first domestic exhibition took place at Nishi Honganji in Kyoto, which displayed invaluable collections of old things and imperial treasures before the public. One difference to note here is that there was no notion of commemoration centered on the 'ancients,' nor did the imperial treasures exist as a form of embodiment of the 'national essence (*kokutai*)' in these early modern cultural exhibitions; instead, they were recognized in a broader sense as being auspicious things. The compelling trope of the 'unbroken genealogy' is a fairly modern invention created by the confluence of antiquarianism, a new modality of investigation, and the inauguration of the museum and its provision of new techniques for collection and display.

In this chapter, I will investigate the question of the emergence of these 'ancient sites' as repositories of imperial culture. I will especially examine how a new notion of the 'ancient (*kodai*)' was developed and elaborated through state-initiated surveys of the old things kept in famous places. In so doing I will focus on the Jinshin survey of 1872, as this provides a convenient point of entry for

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[6] Alice E. Tseng, *The Imperial Museum of Meiji Japan: Architecture and the Art of the Nation* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2008): 141.

identifying the nation's 'first, or original, time' when it was most truly 'itself.' In his seminal research on the Japanese monarchy and on modern visual culture, Takagi Hiroshi indicates the importance of two specific sacred sites, which provided a new unified cultural landscape within ancient Japan: the imperial treasure house called Shōsōin and the imperial mausoleum in the Nara area.[7] The Jinshin survey is of particular importance as it was the first attempt to record, index and investigate both sites using the new technology of photography. Framed by the camera, the imperial treasures and religious crafts came to reveal their materiality and historicity, which in turn facilitated the development of a connoisseurial appreciation of these objects. More importantly, the survey located the architecture and landscape of the old sites within the new domain of national folklore, that is, as something to be preserved as the material evidence of the ancient. Indeed, the main investigators of the Jinshin survey conceived the old famous places as a museum of national folklore where the luminosity, aura and authenticity of the ancient culture would be embodied in these objects and would ensure their preservation. The role of photography would thus be essential in tracing their historical trajectories, thereby presenting them in the present moment of the nation. Photography did not merely present the traces of the past, but was conceived as a technology for embalming it, for turning the historical past into something inherently passé. It thus presided over a shift in the conception of famous places, wherein photography was to re-conceive *meisho*-as-a-museum.

Of central concern in this chapter is the way photography catalyzed the

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[7] Takagi Hiroshi, "Kindai Tennōsei to kodai bunka," in Amino Yoshihiko (ed.) *Tennō to ōken o kangaeru* Vol. 5 (Tokyo: Iwanami Kōza, 2002): 245-272.

discovery and inception of a newly recognizable national time. I will also ask how it ensured a new visibility and recognizability for famous places, and show how it engaged with the shifting notion of place as a repository of national folklore. And yet, it will be also imperative to ask how such a transition underwent a complex process of cultural negotiation and translation, by looking at the new problems that arose in framing landscape: most of the photographic records in the Jinshin survey were framed by the stereoscopic camera, an ideologically charged vision that developed itself in the expansion of Western imperialism. As such, these stereoscopic images elucidate how the new identity of famous places was defined through its mimetic response to the West, especially at a moment when the national reinterpretation of architectural landscapes was the order of the day; and how it occasioned the mimetic differences that open onto a set of questions about modernity and its specific configuration within a non-Western context.

Methodologically, I will pay more attention to the survey conducted by the agency of photography rather than focusing on the specific iconographical aspects of each photographic image. Interestingly enough, each of the members that participated in the early Meiji surveys were born during the Tenpō period (1830-1844), thus sharing a common background within the old regime as well as a variety of familiar social contexts. They shaped and reshaped the specific modalities of investigation, ensuring that the common values of public display during the old period would be retained, even as the new ideals of utilitarianism and practicality in respect to exhibitions would gain precedence. This paradoxically led to the reinforcement of the visibility of the old famous places

and treasures, revealing and unveiling them in their unique material reality. Given these treads of history, let me start with the meaning and implications of the Jinshin survey.

Jinshin Survey: Breaking the Sacred Seal of the Emperor

> According to traditional practice, the spoils are carried along in the procession. They are called cultural treasures, and a historical materialist views them with cautious detachment. For without exception, the cultural treasures he surveys have an origin which he cannot contemplate without horror. Walter Benjamin, *Thesis on the Philosophy of History*

Takamura Kōun, a master artisan of Buddhist statues during the late nineteenth century, writes in his autobiography about his sense of shock on witnessing the sudden disappearance of the Buddhist statues of the Goddess of Mercy that had assumed a preeminent place in his work, and were kept in the temple called Rakanji. More strikingly still, his beloved Buddhists statues were sold at giveaway prices for their mere material value, with no regard for their religious significance. Kōun poignantly remarks how daily observing the broken, decapitated Buddhist statues sold in the illegal market induced a state of panic.[8] This is not hyperbole. Since the late Edo period, Buddhist statues had been sold and beheaded due to constant political upheavals. Foreign looting also played a part in this. The sacred icon of the Buddha came to lose its symbolic meaning, and its religious value came to be replaced by its gold value. It is even said that temple bells and statues were brought to the local castles for smelting, and for conversion

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[8] Takamura Kōun, *Bakumatsu ishin kaikodan* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1995): 155-165.

into weapons. Not only the castle but also the temple and its artefacts were caught up in this vortex of iconoclasm during the new Meiji era.

In 1868, the new Meiji administration had called for the complete separation of Shinto from Buddhism, calling for a policy of *shinbutsu bunri*. This was ostensibly in an attempt to elevate Shinto to the status of a state religion. Previously, the great majority of Shinto shrines had existed as a minor component of the greater temple-shrine complex, where the Buddhist clergy usually served as administrative leaders.[9] The Meiji government declared the abrupt separation and disentanglement of Shinto from Buddhism, which was principally carried out through the elimination of the Buddhist influence in the shrines, and the elevation of Shinto to its new position of ascendancy as the national creed, and this entailed the disestablishment of Buddhism and the confiscation of temple lands and property.[10]

And yet it only took a few years for Buddhism to recover quickly from the oppressive policy of the Meiji government. When Christianity became a sudden target of state oppression, Buddhism was once again paired with Shinto, as being yet another indigenous force confronted by an alien Western religion.[11] Moreover, temple affiliations and benefices could survive in the new Dark Age through the provision of funeral services, family burial sites, and ancestral memorial rites. Shinto was simply not capable of filling the vacuum left by its enforced separation from Buddhism. Ultimately, state support of Shinto would gradually decline after

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[9] Alice Tseng, ibid., 146-147.
[10] Martin Collcutt, "Buddhism: The Heart of Eradication," in Marius B. Jensen (ed.) *Japan in Transition: From Tokugawa to Meiji* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000): 158.
[11] Murakami Shigeyoshi, *Japanese Religion in the Modern Century* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1980): 33.

1880, and the Shinto-Buddhist symbiosis would be revived under the banner of regaining the lost national essence, hitherto put at risk in the attempt to jettison indigenous religious traditions.

More importantly, there was a new concern to preserve the antiques kept in the Buddhist temples on the part of government officials. As mentioned in Chapter 2, the Great Council announced an edict concerning the preservation of old things (*kohin kyūbutsu*) in 1871, lamenting the gradual loss and destruction of the old. To reiterate the key point of the edict: it would immediately rescue the old things left in the sanctuaries, as this would be in keeping with the ongoing concern with social reformation, while yet respecting the long trajectory of history.[12] Although the Council used the term *enkaku*, literally referring to the old chronicles rather than history per se, this was surely one of the first signs of the rediscovery of the past from within the framework of modern historicism, and the Council's concern was clearly to reorganize and reconstitute Japan within the deep, momentous, and indeed, continuing history of the land. The idea of a newly historic Japan, that is, at once new and very old, which would be able to rediscover its true nature by retracing its origins to a distant and primordial past, would be at the heart of social and political renovation during the Meiji period. The first and foremost target of reformation was to be the preservation and commemoration of the great antiquities to be found in the old sites.

In May 1872, Machida Hisanari (町田久成, 1838-1897), from the Bureau of Expositions (*hakubutsukyoku*), left for the Kansai area together with two

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[12] See Chapter 2, Footnote No. 12.

government officials, Uchida Masao and Ninagawa Noritane.[13] Entitled *Jinshin*

kensa (the survey undertaken in the year of Jinshin), this trip was part of a full-

scale research project on the old things preserved in temples, shrines and the

estates of the nobility in Kyoto, Osaka, Kanagawa, Shizuoka, Aichi, Watarai,

Sakai, Ashigara, Shiga and Nara (fig. 3-1). As in the survey on Edo Castle

conducted in the previous year, Yokoyama Matsusaburō and Takahashi Yuichi

accompanied the research team to produce visual records for this investigation.

Unlike the previous survey, however, they worked separately this time, the former

with a camera, the latter with oil painting, the implications of which will be

discussed later in this chapter.

Lasting for five months, the Jinshin survey required 41 days to visit the

estates of the nobility, 61 days for the itinerant survey, and 20 overnight stays.

Upon its completion, Machida, a leader of the research team, submitted an index

of treasures as well as an accompanying photographic album to the Ministry of

Education, all of which were commissioned in advance for the following year's

World Fair in Vienna.[14] According to Machida's report, there were five rules for

the research team to keep in mind:

> First, to elucidate the whereabouts of old things kept in the sanctuaries to
> protect them from unwarranted removal, and to ask the local office
> concerned to permit access to the antiquities; second, to preserve the
> precious objects in their original places in a principled manner; third, to
> obtain permission from the individuals concerned if the antiquities
> belonged to another agency; fourth, to open the site of investigation up to

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[13] Since December 1871, Ninagawa had been working for the Bureau of Exhibitions in the
Ministry of Education, after a two-month stint in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

[14] The titles are *Jinshin kensa kohinbutsu mokuroku* (index) and *Jinshin kensa kohinbutsu
mokuroku shashinchō* (photographic album), respectively. Both are currently housed in the
National Museum of Tokyo in Japan.

the public if the survey were to take a long time, as at Shōsōin; and fifth, to provide a fundamental base for the location of museums in Tokyo and Osaka, and within the museum of antiquities in Nara.[15]

As stated in Machida's remarks, the Jinshin survey was initiated out of the necessity for a triad of cultural institutions to investigate, display and preserve the old things for public exhibition. Interestingly enough, Machida indicated that, in addition to the official rules, all the visual records made during the process of the survey would help to constitute the: 'chronicles of the museum (*hakubutsukan no enkaku*).' However, no official institution or museum had been built at the time of the survey.[16] In this sense, the Jinshin survey signals a significant moment in the constitution of its national pasts, by providing both a written and visual index of the old treasures, and an ongoing display before the public, which would henceforth be preserved in the National Museum. After all, research on the ancient sanctuaries would forestall the imprudent distribution of old things to the outside world, and thereby establish the means to hand them down to posterity.[17]

All of these struggles to identify the many forms and expressions of the nation's past were part of the modernization process by which newness could be defined through making explicit references to the past. The nation could only hope to fill the gaps in the successive strata of history through fixed objective referents in the past. Ironically enough, these referents were themselves the products of modernity, notably affording instances of each utterance, that is,

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[15] Machida Hisanari, Preface in *Jinshin kensa kohinbutsu mokuroku* (Ministry of Education, 1872) in *Tokyo kokuritsu hakubutsukan hyakunenshi* (Tokyo National Museum, 1973): 75.
[16] Machida Hisanari, ibid., 3
[17] These are indicated in the official guide of the Jinshin survey written by the Ministry of Education in May 1, 1871. See Ninagawa, *Nara no suzimichi* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 2005 (1872)): 2-8.

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recorded acts of historical self-definition through differentiation, identification and projection, which would "transcend the order of chronology in the construction of a meaningful present."[18] The first task of the Jinshin survey was thus to recognize and deal with this paradox of modern historicism through providing clear referents for the project of national historiography. It was in this very nationalization process that the sanctuaries in Nara and Kyoto were to become one of the most useful referents for filling the national vacuum.

Shōsōin was the central locus in the discovery of a new meaning for the ancient sites, and it ensured their historical continuity within the modern imperial regime. It was notably a treasure house located within the temple called Tōdaiji in the Nara area. The modern image of Shōsōin centers on a critical imperial collection belonging to Emperor Shōmu (701-756), as well as a museum of sacred crafts that represented the authentic, brilliant culture of the Tempyō period (天平, 710-794). It has long been recognized as a repository of the national essence, as transmitted from the distant past; and due to its 'divine' nature, Shōsōin was sealed off and unveiled in strict separation from the ordinary world.

The treasure house of Shōsōin was opened up to the public only once in 1940 as one of the cultural events of the '2600 Years' Memorial Exhibition of the Birth of the Nation,' at a time remembered as the apex of Japanese imperialism when Japan entered into a total war against the West.[19] Shōsōin could only have been opened up at the climax of Japanese expansionism for the patently

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[18] Peter Osborne, *The Politics of Time: Modernity and the Avant-Garde* (London: Verso, 1995): 14. Quoted in Stefan Tanaka, ibid. 32.

[19] The title of the exhibition is *Kigen nisenrokunen kinen Nihon bankoku hakurankai* (紀元 2600 年記念日本万国博覧会), and this was designed to commemorate the 2600 year period from the time of the accession of the emperor Jinmu during the Tempyō period.

ideological purpose of boosting military morale, and to confirm the people in the

spirit of the national essence, which had been seemingly unbroken since ancient

times.[20] But even at that time the exhibited artifacts comprised a mere fraction of

the total collection.[21] We may say that Shōsōin, at a fundamental level, had been

closed off at a certain point under the protective banner of the 'sacred emperor's

seal (*chokufū* 勅封).' However, a dramatic change occurred during the

occupational period under the auspices of the American General Head Quarters in

1945, which ordered the Japanese government to display a certain part of

Shōsōin's treasures once a year at the Nara National Museum.

Of course, Tōdaiji was one of the famous places worth visiting during the

seventeenth century and onwards. The traveling accounts, as well as the

geographical gazetteers, during the Edo period commonly depicted the Great

Buddha Hall (*daibutsu den*) within the temple-complex in order to relate its

unique origins to the Emperor Shōmu and the precious religious works kept

within its precincts (fig. 3-2). However, there were no antiquarian images of the

'Tempyō period' in these texts, nor were there any images relating to the

primordial past of Nara, or, in fact, any images more distantly projected into the

past than Kyoto and its imperial tradition. We find that Shōsōin was not described

as being integral to the Tōdaiji complex: it was just one of many sites belonging

to the temple area in the early modern *meisho* texts. The 'emperor's seal' was also

broken off a couple of times in-between the eighteenth and the nineteenth

centuries by the shogunate council to permit a more direct observation of

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[20] Furukawa Takahisa, *Kōki, banpaku, orimupiku* (Tokyo: Chūō Shinsho, 1998): 1-13.
[21] *Kigen nisenrokunen kinen Shōsōin gyobutsu tokubetsuten mokuroku* (Nara Teisitsu Hakubtsukan, 1940)

antiquity.[22] During the period of the 1833 survey, which was the last investigation

conducted in the pre-Meiji period, the most important treasures in Shōsōin were in

fact exhibited before the local people. Perhaps this was due to the fact that the

shogunate had a different concern with the 'emperor's seal,' and attached a

different meaning to sealing and unsealing than those prevalent in the modern area.

Takagi Hiroshi indicates that such an image of Nara-as-origin was one the

necessary fictions of the Meiji period in its obligation to present the most pristine

past of the nation, as well as the golden age of Japanese religion, thus supplying a

narrative that would not need to take account of the provenance of Buddhism

from India and China.[23]

If we look at the Jinshin survey, however, there was a degree of measured

allusion to the Edo period. As mentioned above, the Ministry of Education

ordered the research team to open Shōsōin during the Jinshin survey, especially if

the schedule was to be prolonged. Although the public did not see the treasures of

Shōsōin during the period of the survey, they began to be displayed during the

following year at the venues presenting the seminal domestic exhibitions. It was

in the 1875 Exposition at Nara that the treasures were for the first time exhibited

and displayed in a specifically designed showcase in the Great Buddha Hall. It is

said that a total of 172,000 people visited the site of the Exposition during a

period of eighty days, and scrutinized these treasures alongside other exhibited

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[22] Yoshimizu Tsuneo, "The Shōsōin: An Open and Shut Case," in *Asian Cultural Studies* Vol. 17
(March 1989): 38-38; Yoshimizu Tsuneo, *Tennō no monosashi* (Chiba: Reitaku University Press,
2006): 32-42.
[23] Takagi, ibid., 262-263.

things.[24] Strikingly enough, the treasures repeatedly showed up in a number of

domestic exhibitions until the end of the first decade of the Meiji period (1868-

1877). The underlying impetus of these exhibitions was fairly commercial, namely,

'promoting industry (*shokusan kōgyō*).' And yet this not only implied economic

progress and capitalistic accumulation, but also connoted a more pragmatic

version of civilization and enlightenment, which could augment the nation's status

upon the stage of the world. It was precisely in this context that the imperial

treasures (*kyōbutsu*) began to be displayed in the public sphere as an embodiment

of the newly emerging commercial and exhibitionary values that were beginning

to prevail.

However, this desacralization of imperial culture was doomed to disappear

along with the inauguration of the modern imperial monarchy, which resacralized

the cultural heritage through a new emphasis on museums and displays. After

1887, the treasures were locked up in Shōsōin again, and did not appear on public

display until the advent of the postwar period. The authenticity of Tempyō culture

was created through the ongoing dynamic between visibility and invisibility in the

orchestration of the imperial treasures. In other words, the image of Nara as an

unchanging symbol of ancient Japan emerged as a result of the shifting legibility

and value of its sacred places and objects, ranging from the liturgical and

auspicious to the aesthetic and imperial spheres. And yet the old temple and shrine

provided compelling physical evidence of Tempyō culture, accounting for Nara's

unique appeal as an ancient site, or famous imperial residence.

Given this unprecedented degree of cultural mobility during a period of

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[24] Takagi, ibid., 257.

abrupt transition, it was only for a few short-lived years during the early Meiji

period that the treasures and the interiors of the old temples were seen in the

public sphere, albeit assuming a hidden value, to be authentically sealed by the

emperor's sacred name. The first decade of the Meiji period was indeed a strange

time span when utilitarian ideals pushing for the 'promotion of industry'

temporarily overcame the acute ideological divide. It was the period that came

directly before the Meiji government had stepped up its commitment to the

foundation of a militaristic and bureaucratic nation-state; the old was inextricably

bound up with the new in most Meiji cultural and social institutions, and a variety

of social values and ideologies were blended together under the banner of

'civilization and enlightenment;' from ideal forms of constitutionalism to radical

egalitarianism, from capitalistic commercialism to socialist reformation, there was

a relatively wide and flexible political spectrum; and there were different Western

models to follow from the example set by Holland, to America.

Most of all, different ideas of 'publicity' coexisted with the communal

values of the old period: further layers of complexity arose from a mixture of the

popular cultural practices of unveiling (*kaichō*) and the popular airings

(*mushiboshi*) of auspicious Buddhist icons kept in the temple for public viewing

over a limited time period (fig. 2-16);[25] and thus a new idea of public display

came into being, informed by Western traditions and technologies. It was

precisely owing to their intricate complexity that the treasures in Shōsōin were

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[25] For the practice of unveiling in the temple, see P. F. Kornicki, "Public Display and Changing
Values: Early Meiji Exhibitions and Their Precursors," in *Monumenta Nipponica* Vol. 499, No. 2
(Summer 1994): 167-196. For the various practices of airing, see Gregory Levine, *Daitokuji: The
Visual Cultures of a Zen Monastery* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005): Chapters 3
and 4.

carefully unsealed, investigated and indexed for public display in domestic and international exhibitions, especially during the preliminary surveys of these displays. Perhaps, then, between the mythic treasures sealed within the temple and the modern institution of the museum, we can locate a transitional stage of development in figures such as Ninagawa, Uchida, Machida, Yokoyama and Takahashi – the members of the Jinshin survey who had so clearly proposed to validate a material connection to the hitherto lost, displaced, and forgotten glories of ancient imperial culture.

Critical here is that the emperor's seal was broken by the camera's eye, which recorded, documented and indexed the artefacts that appeared before it during the Jinshin survey. More crucially, it pictured not only the antiquarian objects in the temple but also the architecture and landscapes of the pre-existing famous places around the Kyoto-Nara region. What, then, does this photographic documentation imply regarding the recreation of ancient sites? How was photography involved in the process of deauratization and reauratizaion of these old artefacts? And how did the problems and possibilities posed by photography come together to trace and frame the ancient?

Photography as the Trace of the Ancient

> By picturing *goten* (the old palace of the emperor) through *shashin*, I wish to offer a guide for our contemporaries. If someone would like to know about the palace in the future, I will be more than happy to provide him with these *shashin*. In creating these *shashin*, I made people dress in their ancient traditional costume and stand within the ancient *goten*.
> Ninagawa Noritane, *Nara no suzimichi*, 1872

> I had not been previously interested in these traditions.
> But I felt as if the Buddhist statues in Murōji had
> suddenly opened up my eyes to them in a flash.
> Domon Ken, *Nihon no butsuzō*, 1971

One of the most important tasks of the Jinshin survey was to investigate the antiquities in Shōsōin, thereby completing the entire index of imperial treasures, and providing a cultural foundation for the nation. Given this national mission, the research team employed photography as a prime means of recording and indexing the old treasures. Ninagawa, Uchida and Machida, the three main investigators, each considered photography ideally suited to their research. Both Uchida and Ninagawa believed that photography's seeming transparency, clarity and precision made it the obvious medium for investigating the unchanging values embedded in the object.[26] Machida, in his research report, also emphasized the importance of keeping and maintaining visual records of the old treasures and architecture for the purposes of establishing a museum.[27] Interestingly enough, they perceived the limits of photography in its supposed inability to idealize the object; photography, then, would show the object in all its actuality. Indeed, contemporary photographic technology was far from perfect in its ability to attain an ideal depiction of the object, replete with vivid details, contrasts, and colors. This critically qualified recognition of its possibilities led them to employ three different people for handling the three distinctive media: Yokoyama Matsusaburō for photography, Takahashi Yuichi for oil painting, and Kashiwagi Masanori for instant sketches (*shasei*). The three investigators even spent their own money in

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[26] I elaborate Uchida and Ninagawa's perspectives on photography in Chapters 1 and 2, respectively.

[27] Machida Hisanari, ibid., 3

employing Kashiwagi to provide a perfect picture potentiality for preserving the visual records, which they conceived to be a fundamental part of the foundation of the museum.[28] More importantly, they clearly recognized the importance of 'visual representations,' not only in collecting antiquarian images but also in transporting or translating them from one period and context to a radically discrete time and place, which once again squared with the idea of the museum. How exactly did they expect photography to fulfill these all but impossible research aims? And why did they think photography would be able to reveal and record a correct, ideal, and historically true version of the old ideal?

To look at how photography worked in the actual procedures of the survey, I have deliberately made use of another reference source in addition to the official report already submitted to the government – a private diary written by Ninagawa Noritane entitled *Nara no suzimichi* (奈良の筋道, The Way to Nara).[29] As a personal record of Ninagawa, *Nara no suzimichi* contains a number of photographs taken by Yokoyama Matsusaburō. Ninagawa also glued photographic images to the pages of his manuscripts, providing textual explanations of each image, thereby detailing the process as it unfolded during the survey (fig. 3-3).

According to Ninagawa's record, Yokoyama Matsusaburō was initially employed by the Bureau of Exhibitions only to document the ancient treasures to be prepared for the following year's World Fair at Vienna. Nonetheless, he took over 400 photographs using both a cabinet-size camera, as well as a stereoscopic

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[28] Ninagawa, *Nara no suzimichi*, 10.
[29] Yonezaki Masami published this diary in 2005 by reading and transcribing the original hand-written manuscripts. The original diary consists of three parts: the first section from February 1869 to June 1872, the second from July 1872 to August 1872, and the third from August 1872 to January 1873.

camera for good measure (fig. 3-4a, 4b).[30] And yet, his subject matter ranges

from ancient treasures to religious artifacts, from architecture to the natural

landscape, from folkloric images to memorial photographs; and by contrast,

includes only a small number of Buddhist icons. The resulting images were

displayed at the Japanese section of the Vienna World Fair in 1873, while being

bound together under the title of the *Photographic Index of the Jinshin Survey* for

the government office.

Interestingly enough, Yokoyama used abstracted frames, monotonous

backgrounds and regularized settings when working on the spot. He, for instance,

removed the small figurines kept in Horyūji from the inside of the temple, instead

choosing to put them on the stairs spread with black carpet located at the entrance

of the sanctuary building (fig. 3-5). In so doing, he followed a kind of

anthropological way of looking at and recording the object, presented standing

flat against a neutral or homogenous backdrop. Each object was then aligned with

the same profile or side-profile view, and measured against a section of grid. This

documentation technique had itself evolved, and was subsequently embodied, in

the institutional practices of modern archaeology to abstract things from their

original context before resituating them in the environs of a modern museum or

public display.[31] Through this anthropological gaze, the religious sculptures were

transferred from the traditional temple altars to the glass vitrines of modern

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[30] With regard to the actual number of photographs: there were 322 stereoscopic images and 97 cabinet photos, whose size was 21.9cm x 28.5cm.

[31] For more on the development of anthropological documentation, see Christopher Pinney, "The Parallel Histories of Anthropology and Photography," and Frank Spencer, "Some Notes on the Attempt to Apply Photography to Anthropometry during the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century," in Elizabeth Edwards (ed.), *Anthropology and Photography, 1860-1920* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992): 74-96 and 99-107.

museums, whose values reflected the shift from the religious to the aesthetic.

But Yokoyama's photographs are much more ambiguous, especially in comparison with another group of photographs that he took. As well as photographing ancient treasures, Yokoyama left behind a great number of landscape and folkloric images, including architectural representations picturing the sanctuary, people placed in the old architectural sites and monuments, and beautiful scenic landscapes (fig. 3-6a, 6b).[32] Regarding the reason for these extra works, Ninagawa observed in his diary: "to make the chronicles for the museum (*hakubutsukan no enkaku*), I, Machida and Uchida all agreed to spend our private money so as to ask Yokohama to take pictures of the old architecture and landscapes in addition to the old treasures.[33]" With this aim in mind, the main investigators assumed the exhaustive photographic records of architecture and landscape would be closely linked with the establishment of the museum. The number of landscape photographs and architectural documents even exceeds the quantity of imperial treasures and Buddhist statues, which marks a sharp contrast with the succeeding surveys. For example, we can hardly find a single image of a non-Buddhist icon in the documentation for the survey conducted by Okakura Tenshin and Ernest Fenellosa in 1884. What, then, did the wide range of photographic records imply? What does the variety of photographic subjects indicate with regard to the making of the chronicles for the museum? Looking closely at Yokoyama's photographs and Ninagawa's interpretations of them, we

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[32] As we know, Ninagawa also wrote about his own understanding of each photograph in his diary, which includes not only records of treasures, but also representations of architectural landscapes. See Ninagawa, *Nara no suzimichi*, 36-37, 67-79, 109-111, 123-130, 154-165, and 258-263.

[33] Ninagawa Noritane, *Nara no suzimichi*, 14.

can see there was a certain underlying consistency at play in all of their

documentary productions for these surveys.

First of all, the photographic records follow the pictorial code of

architectural photography produced in the survey on Edo Castle during the

previous year: architecture itself came to appear at the center of the image, and

was given a graphic and tangible emphasis. Perhaps this was what Yokoyama had

intended, especially as he was the photographer employed for both surveys, but

such a mode of treatment might also be the consequence of photographic framing,

which entirely hinges on the limits of the human viewpoint. As in the case of Edo

Castle, the camera angle embodies a corporeal vision since it cannot produce the

imaginary views or celestial visions predominant in the *meisho zue* and *fudoki*

traditions. In comparing Yokoyama's photographs of Tōdaiji with the illustrations

found in *Nara meisho zue*, it is easy to figure out how the photographic frame was

responsible for putting architecture into the foreground of the picture, comprising

as it does a frontal or eye level view (cf. fig. 3-2, 3-7). This is owing to the

camera's incapacity to frame an encompassing view from above; the buildings of

the sanctuaries were necessarily fitted into a photographic frame, and were merely

presented as an individual component located within an entire site. In other words,

the camera's eye could quickly skim over the architectural façade from a frontal

perspective, revealing its physical forms and shapes in sufficient yet not

overwhelming detail, while not requiring arduous techniques of reproduction.[34]

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[34] Jonathan Reynolds examined the visual transformation of Ise Shrine by modernist photography in post-war Japan. In tracing its long history of representation, however, he did not consider the pictorial and discursive rupture between *meisho zue* and early Meiji photography. See Jonathan Reynolds, "The Ise Shrine and a Modernist Construction of Japanese Tradition," in *Art Bulletin*

But we need to think of the implications to be drawn from the ancient

sanctuaries visualized in their physical actuality. Indeed 'actuality' is what was

precisely lacking in Uchida Masao's creation of a set of national archetypes in his

geo-encyclopedia, as illustrated in the striking absence of the self-image of Japan,

at least based on the photographic record. In the Jinshin survey, however,

photography was to set the stage for filling this gap in national representation, by

producing visual records of the ancient sites, conceived as the 'present perfect' of

Japanese national topographies, including natural landscapes, people's ways of

living, old architecture, etc. For example, the present and the past of the Ise Shrine

are juxtaposed together in the form of diptych photography, indicating the passage

of time between the "landscape here and now in this dense forest, and the

architecture of the shrine that does not efface the old landscape (*kokei*).[35]"

Likewise, the architecture of Shōsōin warrants attention, not only for its old

treasures but also for its unchanging atmosphere, which is perceived as an

emanation from the past. It is in this context that photography engages with a

finely adjusted equilibrium of the temporalities of the nation, thereby constituting

a visual narrative of Japanese national history.

As such, the photographic records of the Jinshin survey gave rise to a

collective visual record of national folklore wherein the ancient is seen as the

most integral strand. If the Jinshin survey had been prompted by a conviction to

merely preserve old things, its ultimate mission would have been to capture the

present perfect of the architecture and landscape as the material object of national

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Vol. 83, No. 2 (June 2001): 316-341.
[35] Ninagawa Noritane, *Nara no suzimichi*, 35-36

folklore (*fūzoku*), where the impact of modernity would be registered by being imposed on, and exposed to, the object itself. Thus, recording the remnants of the ancient (*kofū*) was to be the primary task for Yokoyama, whereby he could frame the human figure through the aid of ancient architecture.[36] In fact, the research team moved even further away from the original purpose of the documentation – indexing the old treasures – and instead directed their attention to the recording of architectural landscapes in the Nara-Kyoto region, including the old imperial palace in Kyoto (*kosho*), the Kasuga Shrine, Ise Shrine, Tōji, Tōdaiji, etc. According to Ninagawa, this meant: "to capture and preserve the eternal *trace* of contemporary folklore that would disappear in the future."[37] Given this mission, the Jinshin survey signals a new recognition of architecture and landscape as an integral part of national folklore, thereby facilitating the construction of a new national historiography built on the photographic traces of the ancient sites. Ninagawa and Uchida were especially concerned with documenting the people who had steadily maintained the ancient customs, practices and manners in face of the unprecedented pressure exerted by the forces of modern enlightenment (fig. 3-8). They even requested people to stand within the old imperial palace in Kyoto, dressing them up in ancient Japanese costumes, which would "encapsulate the essential, unchangeable and fundamental nature of Japaneseness (fig. 3-9)."[38] The image of the geisha was also to be preserved through a historical study of

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[36] Ninagawa Noritane, ibid., 137.

[37] Ninagawa Noritane, ibid., 142. The Chinese character of 'trace' is 影, which literally means shadow. Interestingly enough, this character had been used to refer to the authenticity of the people composed in a portrait image. It was later used for translating Western photographic terminology, such as Daguerreotype for *ineikyō* (印影鏡). See Kinoshita Naoyuki, *Shashingaron: Shashin to kaiga no gekkon*, 4-10.

[38] Ninagawa Noritane, ibid., 72-77.

Japanese folklore, albeit projected into the future, since her external appearance, as recorded in her clothing and hair style, would serve as an index to reveal, in an exemplary fashion, how to retain the ancient in the present (fig. 3-10).[39]

In this sense, what made photography serve the purposes of the survey was not in fact photography's indexicality; rather, it was a sense of loss, against which the photographic images were attributed with the capacity to capture the trace of the present while yet realizing the resurrection of the past in the light of national history. Given this fresh impetus, Jinshin's survey singled out not only the inclusion of architecture and landscape as worthy subjects of the picture, but also their historicization through drawing on narratives of both the ancient past and the present within the synthetic framework of national folklore. Photographic indexicality stepped in here with new meanings and implications for a vision of picturing the past and the present *simultaneously* without conflict and contradiction. In so doing, photography came to constitute its own mediatic sphere, without needing to call upon the pre-existing idea of *shashin*, and thereby operating through the guise of mechanical objectivity, transparency, and instantaneity.[40] It is at this moment that the meaning of *shashin* began to be subdivided into photography and *shashin*, and the latter gradually came to serve as a metaphor for realistic painting rather than an actual mode of picturing. Quite apart from this the pre-existing notion of the 'photographic,' and despite

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[39] Ninagawa Noritane, ibid., 79.
[40] It is precisely in this context that Takahashi Yuichi conceptually distinguished *shinsha* from shashin. He wrote about his work for the Jinshin survey in his diary. Interestingly enough, he dubbed his activities in the Jinshin survey as *shinsha* by shifting the order of the letters of *shashin*, that is, photography. Takahashi may have intended to differentiate his oil painting work from photography, in so doing, seeking to prioritize the former. See Aoki Shigeru (ed.) *Takahashi Yuichi abura e shiryō* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 1984): 296.

germinating a fresh new perspective through its subsequent self-cultivation, *shashin* began to be eclipsed and in fact altogether disappeared from the representations of the new media during the second decade of the Meiji era.

But we also need to consider another dimension where photographic meaning is commonly constituted and determined. As John Tagg acutely points out, picturing the 'present perfect' would achieve greater cultural significance in fulfilling a double desire of history: on the one hand, for the careful shifting and assembling of detailed and objective records; and, on the other hand, for the restoration of history as a 'lived reality.' He goes on to argue that in each direction, the power of the image falls flat until it is inserted into another system: on the one side, into the cross-referenced series of the file and the archive; on the other, into a system of narration.[41] Neither the narrative nor the archive are purely technical devices for labeling and storage, as many scholars have indicated, and because of this, we need to look at how photographic meanings are discursively determined in the field of institutional and political articulation. That is, the meaning of the survey photographs cannot be reduced to a merely iconographical or phenomenological level.

It is in this context that we need to rethink what the research team implied by a 'museum' and how they conceived its chronicles (*enkaku*) to operate, since they believed their ends could be achieved through photography. For them, the museum was not only a physical space to preserve the old; it was also a means to give ample embodiment to the broader idea of a site in accordance with their

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[41] John Tagg, "The Pencil of History," in Patrice Petro (ed.) *Fugitive Images: From Photography to Video* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press): 290.

dreams, one that could collect, visualize, and publicize an entire archive

containing the 'ancient folklore of the country (*waga kuni no kono fūzoku*).' And

this dream was reflective of the utilitarian ideal of 'promoting industry,' in which

national folklore should be collected and protected for both its symbolic *and*

practical value. For them, the ancient culture was not something to be hidden,

veiled and auratized; rather, it was to be opened up, unveiled and deauratized for

the purposes of public education and free enterprise. Thus it was not a mere

coincidence that the research team employed another researcher, whose duty was

to collect plant and animal specimens, like a natural historian on the spot, working

on the survey to prepare the proper objects for display in the exhibitions.[42] Given

this utilitarian view of the museum, the famous place itself, especially the temple

and shrine, could also be conceived as a perfect venue for the exhibition, albeit

opened up and publicized like a modern museum. Machida even suggested that

the great council should transform the castle into a museum for weapons, along

the lines of the Tower of London. This being so, old architecture would not be

conceivable as a simple *meisho*, but rather, a *meisho*-as-museum, whose

invulnerability against the forces of modernity would inversely manifest the

capacity of the state to identify, manage, and preserve a broader mission and

mandate concerning national folklore. Photography was the perfect medium to

reconstitute famous places and thereby preserve the ancient folklore, providing a

thorough means of measuring, capturing and indexing the historicity and

materiality of architecture and landscape. Indeed, given the impetus provided by

the Meiji national project, with its invention of multiple pasts, picturing the old

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[42] Ninagawa, ibid., 10

architecture and landscape would come to assume a much greater significance. Framed by the camera, these photographs could serve as a visible manifestation of the ancient, which, in turn, would reconstitute, or reauthorize, the newly acquired monumentality of famous places in the glorious present perfect of the nation-state.

The Question of Framing

> Thus I intended to picture in all their delight such beautiful landscapes of Tōshōgū that they would not be in any respect inferior to the magnificent beauty of Western architecture, and I consequently sought to introduce them widely in various foreign countries.
> Yokoyama Matsusaburō, *The Resume of Yokoyama Matsusaburō,* 1884

> Stereoscopes, in fact, anticipate travel. The peculiar genius of the Egyptians, as manifested in their rock-hewn temples and colossal monuments, can be appreciated and understood in beautiful little stereoscopes without quitting an armchair.
> *The London Times*, 3 May 1860

Although the new type of folkloric landscape emerged within the mediatic and technological space afforded by photography, it also reorganized the field of vision implemented by the state, notably for the purposes of reconfiguring the architectural monuments of the nation. It might well have been Uchida Masao who first discovered the necessity for producing architectural landscapes representing Japan among the participants of the Jinshin survey. As discussed in Chapter 1, Uchida had been widely known for his grand project of compiling a Japanese encyclopedia of world geography on the basis of the Western geographical texts and images that he had gathered in Holland. For him

architecture was one of the essential tools of civilization and enlightenment.[43]

But unlike Western civilized countries contemporary Japan was not capable of

mobilizing monumental architecture to celebrate and honor its national history.

Given his great concern for architecture, Uchida collected in Europe a

huge number of photographs portraying the monumental architecture and urban

landscapes he had discovered in these Western countries (fig. 3-11).[44] All of these

were subsequently displayed in the public exhibitions that took place in early

Meiji, such as *Daigaku nankō bussankai* at Yushima seidō (1871). Takahashi

Yuichi was one of the people moved by Uchida's collections, which presumably

led him to feature streets and architecture rather than portraits in his oil-painting

works.[45] Other members of the Jinshin survey, such as Ninagawa and Machida,

were already familiar with Uchida's collections, based on their collaboration in

organizing several exhibitions during the first decade of the Meiji era. It seems

likely that all of the members of the Jinshin survey shared a common idea of

architecture and its symbolic association with nation-building; and this led to the

production of a great number of photographic records of old architecture, in

addition to the records of the treasures kept in the sanctuaries. Possibly, Uchida's

collection provided a crucial reference to show the way architecture is

photographically framed, especially in its quest for architectural monuments

symbolizing the Japanese nation.

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[43] Uchida Masao, *Yochi shiryaku*, Vol. 4 (1871): 15.
[44] See *Bankoku shashinchō*, a photographic album of Uchida Masao, collected around 1868 in Holland. This album is now housed in the National Museum of Tokyo.
[45] Most of the pictorial subjects of Takahashi's painting were still lives and landscapes, as opposed to portraits, which he conceived as old subjects for painting. For more on this, see Kinoshita Naoyuki, *Bijutsu to iu misemo: Aburaejaya no jidai* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1993): 149-172; Satō Dōshin, "Shudai no sentaku," in *Kyōsai* Vol. 78 (The 8th Symposium on Kanōha to Kawanabe Kyōsai, 2003)

Interestingly enough, most of the photographs in Uchida's collection take the form of a stereoscopic frame, which was also employed during the production of the Jinshin survey (fig. 3-12).[46] Invented in mid-nineteenth century Europe, the stereoscope became a popular medium due to its ability to conjure up the specific effect of the illusion of depth. It is based on the principles of human vision, wherein each eye transmits a slightly different image to the brain, ultimately combining them in one perceived image. Based, then, on binocular vision, the stereoscopic camera produces two different pictures using two lenses, which were in turn supposed to be viewed through specific eyepieces. The illusion of depth only appears through the additional use of a binocular viewing device.

Owing to its simulation effect the spectator, stereoscope in hand, is cut off from the world in a silent little theater of her own, appearing before a stage that aims to reconstitute the dimensions of the real world.[47] The stereoscope thus served as a guide for armchair travelers, covering every possible subject in the world, while relaying its discoveries in the form of pictures, thereby enabling Western people to experience the rest of the world vicariously: it enjoyed great popularity as a means of taking a 'survey' of all kinds of societies from the 1850s to the end of the century. Consequently, the commercial market for the stereoscope expanded in conjunction with the increase in global travelers during the late nineteenth century, who could also vicariously discover unknown worlds using stereoscopic cameras. Uchida would have collected many of the

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[46] The selected images in the Jinshin survey amount to a total of 400. Among them, 320 were produced using a stereoscopic camera. See Kanai Morio, "Ninagawa to kobijutsu shashinka Yokoyama Matsusaburō no gyōsei," in *The Kyoto National Museum Bulletin*, Vol. 11 (March 1989): 99-112.

[47] Michel Frizot (ed.), *A New History of Photography* (Köln: Könemann, 1998): 175.

stereoscopic images that had already become popular in the European

photographic market during the late nineteenth century, especially as a substitute

for domestic and international travel.

What purpose could stereoscopy be supposed to attain in the Jinshin

survey? Admittedly, a number of problems could occur in framing Japanese

architecture through stereoscopic cameras. Japanese sanctuaries could hardly be

expected to work out well in producing the stereoscopic illusion of depth: unlike

Western architecture, the architectural structure of both the temple and the castle

did not owe much to the geometrical principles governing linear perspectives, nor

were the treasures preserved there proper subjects for stereoscopic framing.

Neither could the temple provide the sensational subject that stereoscopy had once

hailed. More problematically, Yokoyama's photographs, as presented in the

Jinshin survey, were not displayed through a binocular viewing device at the

Vienna World Fair. Indeed, they were ultimately used to provide a visual index of

the treasures and sanctuaries, and were assembled for the purposes of compiling a

photographic album. The paired photographs could however be separated from

each other, pasted one by one onto each page of the album; in some cases they

were glued together at the base to form a pair, which made the covert intentions

behind stereoscopy even more ambiguous (fig. 3-13).

Strikingly enough, Yokoyama even seemed to use stereoscopic cameras in

an improper way – holding the camera *vertically* so that the images were paired

up and down rather than right and left. This meant that a three-dimensional effect

could not be obtained other than through obfuscation (fig. 3-14). Given these

observations, it may well be asked whether Yokoyama, Ninagawa and the other participants truly knew about the potential of stereoscopic cameras other than as simple mechanical apparatuses.

Stereoscopic images were in fact unusual in contemporary photographic conventions in Japan. It is not clear when Yonkoyama obtained a stereoscopic camera; but he certainly did make use of one to take landscape photographs in Nikkō two years before the Jinshin survey.[48] He and his teacher, Shimo'oka Renjō, visited Nikkō in 1870 to create images of "the beautiful landscape of Tōshōgū, which is not inferior to the magnificent beauty of Western architecture in terms of the pleasure it affords; we therefore disseminated it widely within foreign countries."[49] There is no record to indicate the agency of the commission, its intended purpose, nor the final use for which the photographs were proposed. It is thought that the Nikkō photographs were ultimately donated to the Tokugawa family,[50] but this was not the original purpose conceived for these photographic activities. Perhaps what attracted Yokoyama and Renjō was a new mode of representation prompted by photography, which enabled them to discover the beauty of architectural landscape in Japan. That is, the photographers' aesthetic interest in famous places was quite out of tune with the ideological purpose of the state in managing and preserving them (fig. 3-15).

Interestingly, a close examination of the Nikkō photographs suggests that

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[48] Nikkō is the place where a shrine complex for the Tokugawa family was located. For the symbolic and political function of Nikkō during the Edo period, see Thomas Looser, *Visioning Eternity: Aesthetics, Politics and History in the Early Modern Noh Theater* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 2008): 43-73.

[49] Kataoka Koremitsu, "Shashin henshoku no riyū," Quoted in Ikeda Atsushi, "Yokoyama Matsusaburō to Nikkōsan shashin," in *Museum* Vol. 535 (1995): 25.

[50] Yamaguchi Sai'ichirō, *Shashin rireki* (The Resume of Simooka Renjō's Photographic Activities, 1894). Quoted in Ikeda Atsushi, ibid., 25.

Yokoyama may have tried to take snapshots of the actual photographic locations, ostensibly to take still photographs to record the process of filmmaking (fig. 3-16). Other images than those used in the stereoscopic photographs were produced with a quarter-sized camera, and came to be displayed in the Vienna World Fair under the name of 'Nikkō photographs.'[51] As such Yokoyama may have wished to test his stereoscopic camera by experimenting with it at Nikkō – especially since its surprising mechanical proficiency enabled him to make two images simultaneously during only one shooting. Having simultaneously paired images may have also looked practical to Yokoyama, as it would have enabled him to save time and effort in duplicating images. All of these unusual dimensions of stereoscopy may have sparked off Yokoyama's curiosity, especially as he was well known for conducting a variety of photographic experiments, entailing the use of cyanotype, photo-oil painting, and carbon printing.[52]

Other than Uchida's collection of Western architectural photographs, Yokoyama's experiences in Nikkō may have led the survey team to employ a stereoscopic camera as their main device for recording the old. Given the tight linkage of stereoscopic vision with Western imperialism, however, it is especially striking that Yokoyama had sought to employ the stereoscopic camera for recording, indexing, and categorizing Japan's *own* cultural heritage, thereby reinstating a pure authentic Japaneseness with regard to civilized Western countries. The illusory vision attained by stereoscopy depends on the masterful

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[51] Ikeda, ibid: 15.
[52] For Yokoyama's photographic activities, see Iizawa Kōtarō, *Nihon shashinshi o aruku* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1997): 10-25; Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography, *Bakumatsu Meiji no Tokyo: Yokoyama Matsusaburō o chūshin ni* (Tokyo: Tokyo Bunka Shikōkai, 1991)

gaze it projects onto Others – a gaze looking at objects so lifelike that it was as if they were actually there before the viewer to be manipulated, possessed and subjugated. No wonder this gaze was inversely projected onto the viewing subject.

One of the more paradoxical consequences of this proliferation of stereoscopic images is that they were published without benefit of the three-dimensional effect of depth. During the survey the simulacra effect of stereoscopy probably mattered less than the evidential paradigm supplied by photography, and because of this, the paired images could smoothly enter the visual field without thereby disrupting it: they remained within the realm of survey photography, whose first and foremost principle was to produce seemingly neutral records and to supply objective data. Put differently, the way architecture is framed matters less than the way the framed image appears to make sense. As such, the stereoscopic images produced in the Jinshin survey paradoxically show the way universal media are not only untenable, but the medium specificity of stereoscopy cannot be naturally given and applicable to all situations. Rather, it was always a local outcome, the effect of a particular course of action in the discursive field, or a function of a specific apparatus or machine, constituted and defined in multiple ways.[53] More particularly, the stereoscopic photographs elucidate the way a specific medium in the non-West is defined through its mimetic relation to the West, especially at a moment when the national reinterpretation of architectural topographies and landscapes was the order of the day. The claim to be historicizing national culture, and creating a cohesive community termed 'Japan,'

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[53] John Tagg, *The Disciplinary Frame: Photographic Truths and the Capture of Meaning* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2009): XXVII.

called for a mimetic response that could yet generate *differences* in the discursive structure of the photographic media.

Nonetheless, mimetic differences do not necessarily imply subversion. Homi Bhabha once emphasized the power of mimicry on the part of the colonized toward the colonizer, thereby elaborating its specific form of difference: its ambivalence was partially due to its existence on almost the same plane, but not quite, as the colonizer.[54] This ambivalent position in relation to the colonized gives rise to a categorical problem that poses a threat to colonial authority, producing an anomalous representation of the colonized, which in turn conceals a fixative presence or identity behind the mask. But mimicry doesn't absolutely lead to a displacement of the dominant discourse. Mimetic representation in the Japanese context is rather more complex than what Bhabha suggests, not only because Japan was not formally colonized by the forces of Western imperialism, but because this mimicry arises from the demand of Japan's westernization and particularization. Once conceived as mimicking the West, the next target of mimetic ambition would return to Japan itself in the form of mimetic autonomy, and this paradoxical dynamic would be universalized by the very motive forces of mimicry: that is, the modernization of Japanese culture. But, as seen in light of these stereoscopic images, such a universalizing process is neither smooth nor transparent, but requires a continuous mode of adaptation, negotiation, and even contradiction, between the old and the new.

At the Vienna World Fair in 1873, the stereoscopic images produced in the

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[54] Homi Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man," in *The Location of Culture* (London and New York: Routledge): 85-92.

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Jinshin survey were displayed with various copies of the old architecture mobilized for the purpose of decorating the Japanese pavilion and garden built in the fairground. The World Fair was a prime locus for representing Japaneseness to the West, as well as for learning about Western culture and technology in the interests of Japanese modernization. The Jinshin survey was initially designed with the former purpose in view, and thus assumed responsibility for unearthing a coherent vision of the nation through its representations of antiques and old architecture. However, the impressions produced by Japanese architecture at the Vienna Fair were not those that had been initially intended: the materials exhibited presented a sharp contrast with the historical monuments that Ninagawa, Uchida and Machida had attempted to highlight in their surveys, nor was the impression of architectural beauty one that Yokoyama had sought to convey and introduce to the world. Instead, the architectural patrimony was separated from its original contexts, and pseudo models and spuriously presented artifacts came to be shipped to Vienna.

Consequently, rather unlikely representations of the architectural patrimony were displayed in the Japanese pavilion, including *sachihoko*, a symbol of the shogunate regime originally associated with Nagoya Castle,[55] a big traditional paper lamp, a mock representation of the pagoda at the Tennōji temple in Tokyo, an immense Buddha statue in the Kamakura temple made out of paper,

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[55] *Sachihoko* is a paired goldfish ornament, an imaginary animal that had once sought to guard people from evils during the ancient period. After the Meiji emperor had completed his ascension, *sachihoko* was said to have left the castle, thus losing its mythic power as a national guardian, and eventually it was dedicated to the emperor. Once entered into the new imperial palace, it soon became a 'useless big thing,' relegated to the warehouse of the Imperial Household Agency (*kunaishō*). In 1872 one of the pairs came to be exhibited and was finally shipped to the Vienna World Fair in the following year. See *Nagoyashi sha* (Nagoya: Nagoyashi Yakusho, 1915): 822-828.

a big drum, a replica of the Ise shrine, etc, all grouped under the categorization of 'big things (*kyōdaibutsu*).[56]' All of these big things were displayed in different places, and mingled with antiques, ceramics, animal and plant species, paintings, and Japanese silks. Inappropriately, the Buddhist icon was displayed in a bizarre form without its body, since it had been destroyed during the long voyage from Japan to Austria. It was mixed in with small ceramic items and antiques, which had been classified as 'fine art (*bijutsu*),' a term employed in Japanese visual culture for the very first time. That is, big things (*kyōdaibutsu*) and fine art (*bijutsu*) came to be mixed together under the broader designation of 'Japanese objects.'

As illustrated above, the copies of the temple and shrine fell into the category of 'big things,' while the originals came to be designated as national folklore through the agency of the state survey. Rather than serving as a reflection of state power and national unity, the Japanese 'famous places' at the fairground evoked notions of infinity, exteriority, and excessive grandeur, and their peculiar form of giganticism was an unwitting affront to the Western cultural system.[57] The stereotypic connotations accruing to 'giganticism' came to be associated with the Oriental, transposing Japan into a spatial and temporal Other vis-à-vis the West. But because of its Otherness, the Japanese pavilion attracted considerable attention from the media. The paper ramp hanging up in the building of the quasi shrine, which had been built in the fairground, the big fish from Nagoya Castle,

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[56] Tanaka Shigeo and Hirayama Nobuo, *ōkoku hakurankai sandō kiyō* Vol. 1 (Tokyo:Fujimi Shobō, 1998 (1897)), ibid. Vol. 1: 16
[57] Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993): 70-73.

the immense head of the paper-filled Buddha, and all the other gigantic objects,

were sensational enough to draw the attention of Westerners. Fairgoers were

insistent that the wondrous big things were the true centerpiece of the exhibition,

albeit the first objects to stimulate their initial impressions of Japan.[58]

A yet more complex element, superadded to the affect of Japanese

mimicry, resides in the ambivalence of the West's reaction to it – both the

endorsement of Japan's mimetic representation *and* the encouragement of the

development of a 'genuine Japan,' untouched and uncontaminated by its

essentially mimetic relationship to the West. 'Japaneseness' as a form of cultural

nationalism grew out of this ambivalent position on the part of the West, which

supported Japan in creating a discursive structure of nationalism and imperialism,

albeit in the name of modernization.[59] If the architecture and landscape framed by

stereoscopy reveals the irony of Japan's mimetic representation to the West, the

old architecture displayed in the World Fair reveals how far this irony could be

repeated, and thereby qualified, from the opposite side, that is, the West.

From National Folklore to National Essence

> The place of fine art in cultivating our country's ancient
> culture is unparalleled. It could even rival national
> historiography.
> Kubota Kanae*, On the Construction of Nara Museum*, 1897

The nineteenth-century roots of this interest in national treasures (*bunkazai*)

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[58] "The Vienna Exhibition," in *The Illustrated London News* (December 8, 1873): 431.
[59] Sakai Naoki, "The Problem of "Japanese Thought": The Formation of "Japan" and the Schema of Configuration," in Sakai Naoki, *Translation and Subjectivity: On "Japan" and Cultural Nationalism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997): 63-71.

can be traced to the confluence of antiquarianism, a new modality of surveyance, and photography conceived as a new technique of documentation. The Jinshin survey marks the beginning of the discovery of the value of old treasures, architecture and landscape, albeit associated with the previous famous places in Nara and Kyoto. It also signals the first moment in the construction of the ancient imperial culture, rooted in the temples and shrines of the Tempyō period. Informed by the utilitarian and pragmatic ideal of encouraging industry, the Jinshin survey celebrated an overarching idea of ancient culture, ranging from the old imperial treasures to the architecture and landscapes of the temples and shrines. The ancient artifacts were investigated for their commercial and didactic value, and not for their intrinsic or supposed artistic value. In contrast to the previous form of exhibitions, such as unveiling and airing in the Edo period, the Jinshin survey announced for the first time the historic values of famous places, to be duly narrativized through a thorough documentation of the national folklore. The site-specificity of famous places resided in their capacity to function as a symbolic museum of national folklore. As such, the ability to document them by photography implied an equal commitment to the construction of the institution of the museum, which would not only secure their future, but would attain this end by inscribing them within the ideological needs of the present.

However, the synthetic and utilitarian view of famous places was soon to disappear. In 1879, most of the imperial treasures were sold by the temple to the Imperial Household Agency (*kunaishō*), and came under the protection of the state government. Many of the objects displayed in the 1878 Nara domestic

exhibition at Tōdaiji were transferred from their original context, namely, Hōryūji, to the state authorities through a series of so-called 'donations.'[60] This transfer from the temple to the Imperial Household was no doubt intended to reveal the transition from *meisho*-as-museum to a modern national museum governed by state and imperial institutions. At the same time, the old treasures and Buddhist icons entered the domain of invisibility, veiled by the emperor's sacred seal, yet in a different manner and in a different register than that characteristic of the Edo period – that is, Japanese fine art as an embodiment of the 'national essence.'

This radical difference in emphasis paralleled the process of reevaluation of Buddhist art instigated by the well-known collaboration between Okakura Tenshin and Ernest Fenellosa. Both men are widely credited with promoting the appreciation of Buddhist art in Japan and the West, and their zeal ultimately paid off with the photographic survey of Buddhist art in the Kinki Region in 1888, supported by three government councils – the Imperial Household, the Ministry of Home Affairs and the Ministry of Education. This was a large-scale research project, prolonged over a period of three months, to index and categorize the complex system of religious crafts and Buddhist icons. As a result, a total of 47,254 pieces of old treasures were investigated, among which 1,386 pieces were defined as 'superior goods.'[61] Ogawa Kazumasa, a renowned photographer for his achievements in collotype printing technology – permitting a high-quality yet barely reproducible photographic image – accompanied the survey, and composed

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[60] Stefan Tanaka, "Discoveries of the Hōryūji," in *Constructing Nationhood in Modern East Asia* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001): 125-126.
[61] Okatsuka Akiko, "Ogawa Kazumasa no 'Kinki takaramono shashin' ni tsuite," in *The Bulletin of The Art Museum of Photography in Tokyo* No. 2 (2000): 39.

a splendid and spectacular set of images of Buddhist statues (fig. 3-17).

Like the Jinshin survey, the 1888 Kinki survey helped to confer legitimacy on the new imperial regime by both surveying the history of material objects and indexing them, and by successfully elucidating the cultural origins of the nation in its close affiliations with ancient religious art. But one of the most striking differences in approach is that there was no evident concern with the temple and its surrounding landscape. The resulting photographs were, as always, beautiful images of the Buddhist statues, albeit excluding what was not regarded as being within the boundaries of fine art. This reflected Okakura and Fenollosa's interests in the deliberate creation of 'Buddhist art,' embodying its original meaning tied to the temple, but simultaneously separated from it so that it could be narrativized in the universal language of fine art. They believed that art should be separated from religion, even in the instance of religious art.[62] Likewise, the synthetic idea of *meisho*-as-museum that the Jinshin survey had imagined disappeared in the third decade of the Meiji period; or at least evolved into more specific and deliberated institutional forms wherein the overarching quality of *meishoness* was anatomized, and accordingly divided into art, science, and sociological rubrics according to the modern categories of fine art, architecture, scenic landscape, geography and ecology, folklore studies, etc.

It was only one decade after the Kinki survey that the reconfiguration of architectural topographies began to be seriously reevaluated. Many of the surveys on historic and religious buildings were conducted by the newly emerging body of

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[62] Ernest Fenollosa's memorandum was entitled "Report on examination of Nara temples," quoted in Alice Tseng, *The Imperial Museums of Meiji Japan*, 148.

professional architects: likewise, ancient religious monuments began to be viewed

as popular photographic objects in the genre of the *meisho* photograph, produced

and distributed in the reproducible form of the postcard, one of the most popular

and powerful media in late nineteenth century Japan.[63] Following this revisiting

and return to the question of antiquity, national legislation was issued in 1897

(*koshaji hozon hō*) to proclaim the preservation of architectural buildings, such as

the old temple, shrine, etc. Architecture officially became the object of

nationalistic reinterpretations of landscape, playing a significant role as a

structural metaphor for the Japanese, as well as the Asian past.[64] It was at this

moment, too, that Japanese traditional architecture came to be revived as a 'style,'

legitimating and authenticating the Meiji regime by presenting it as the inevitable

culmination of Japan's past.[65]

However it was not until the 1920s that the notion of the ancient site itself

began to be recognized as an independent category for the purposes of historic

preservation. The new category of 'historic sites and scenic spots' (*shiseki meishō*),

suggested by a private research association, came to the fore in the wake of the

movement for the preservation of nature. This joint emphasis on nature *and*

history perhaps indicates the nature of the institutional transition from *meisho* to

historic sites; and more significantly, such a linkage was provided by the emperor

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[63] Even Kusakabe Kimbei, one of the early Japanese studio photographers (*eigyō shashinga*), well known for portraits of Japanese woman, took many photographs of the Ise shrine in the late 1880s, which was also one of the essential objects of Yokoyama's photographs in the Jinshin survey.
[64] The leading Meiji architect, Itō Chūta, notably wrote about the architectural design of Hōryūji in 1893, giving it the benefit of his cosmopolitan perspectives, and providing evidence of the trans-Asian connection between the temples of Japan and those of ancient Greece. See Itō Chūta, "Hōryuji kenchikuron," *Kenchiku zasshi* Vol. 83 (1893): 317-350.
[65] Cherie Wendelken, "The Tectonics of Japanese Style: Architect and Carpenter in the Late Meiji Period," in *Art Journal* Vol. 55 (Fall 1996): 3.

and his sacred gaze during the process of his provincial tours, which I will discuss in following chapter. But before this point in time we can see its antecedent, or precursor, form in the Jinshin survey, we should note the its more complex nature, arising from the juxtaposition of the new idea of the museum within the existing spatial fabric, and its collection of treasures was registered and represented quite differently in the previous survey of famous places.

CHAPTER 4

Tracing the Emperor: Photography, the Imperial Progresses and the Reconstitution of Famous Places

> The old woman danced in front of me as if she didn't even know who I was.
> The Meiji Emperor during the Imperial Progress, 1872
>
> Now, even in foreign countries, sovereigns, accompanied by a few followers, walk through the countryside while comforting and nurturing the people. This is certainly in accord with the Way of the Sovereign.
> Ōkubo Toshimichi, 1868

The Imperial Progress: Theoretical Perspectives

At the same time that Ninagawa, Uchida and Machida began investigating the treasures kept in Shōsōin, the Meiji emperor embarked on a long journey to the eastern side of the Japanese archipelago. They found it necessary to cease working in order to observe the imperial procession passing by Shōsōin, paying "all due honor and respect to his Majesty."[1] Even the road the emperor stepped on was sanctified by his unbounded divinity, and while the people hardly dared approach him, they could barely withdraw their gaze from the spectacle. This was just one instance of the grand imperial progress (*gojunkō*) conducted by the emperor: it entailed a style of imperial ritual in which the emperor traveled around the countryside to watch and be watched by the people who thereby appeared to assume a more fully authenticated Japanese identity.

Beginning in 1868, the Meiji Emperor went on grand tours of local areas in Japan from Kyushu to Hokkaido. The main purpose of these tours was to

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[1] Ninagawa Noritane, *Nara no suzimichi* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 2005): 23.

increase the visibility of the emperor among the locals, thereby impressing them with a clear and commanding image of the emperor as the new nation's foremost symbol. Although it is true that faint glimmerings of a sense of national identity emerged during the late seventeenth century, especially in Kyoto, the city where the imperial court had been located, the image of the emperor before the Meiji era had dawned remained at the folk level and was bound up with representations that were less political in import; the emperor was often associated with the folk belief in the *marebito*, namely, sacred beings who were thought to conduct vigils in the village to ward off future evils and calamities.[2] Even after the emperor had usurped the power of the shogun, his image remained obscure and ambiguous. The villagers did not even know what kind of person the emperor was.

From the Meiji leaders' perspective, the major reason for the instability of the government was the inadequacy of the existing popular image of the emperor. To visualize and create a new monarchical image, it was thought that the emperor should set off on carefully staged dramatic tours outside the imperial city, and thus become a visible presence throughout the Japanese archipelago. In effect, the emperor had been an invisible presence in the past, someone who had been "kept behind jeweled curtains (*gyokuren*)."[3] His power was something to be passively acknowledged, or merely reflected in the shogun's active power.[4] As a means of transforming this inert, fixed, virtually captive image of the monarchy, the governing elites sought to cut the emperor loose from his traditional associations

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[2] Miyata Noburō, *Ikigami shinkō* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1977): 42.
[3] This expression appears in Ōkubo Toshimichi's letter to Iwakura Tomoni, written on January 23, 1868. See *Ōkubo Toshimichi monjo* Vol. 3 (Shūnan: Atsuno Shoten, 2005): 192-193.
[4] Taki Kōji, *Tennō no shōzō* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2002): 2; Fujita Shōzō, *Tennōsei kokka no shihai genri I* (Tokyo: Misuzu Shobō, 1998): 6.

bound up with Kyoto-as-Miyako, the place where he had lived throughout the long history of Japan. This meant adopting two key strategies: transferring the capital to Tokyo (*sento*), whose name literally means 'Eastern Capital,' and showing the emperor before the people by making him conduct tours in the provinces (*miyuki*).[5]

From the first year of his ascendance in 1868 to his demise in 1912, the Meiji emperor set out on imperial tours for a total of nearly one hundred visits. When he roamed the land while attending to the desires of the Japanese people to witness his presence, Tokyo was envisioned as a temporary court (*anzaisho*), which covertly implied that the capital did not require a permanent location, and could even inhabit multiple locations.[6] It was around the time of the proclamation of the Imperial Constitution (1889) that the idea of the court as an impermanent location, or moveable feast, came to be mooted and then finally abandoned. At the same time, the official imperial portrait (*goshin'ei*) was distributed throughout the country, and the emperor remained in the Eastern Capital, now associated with a new set of signs and symbols, signifying the power of the Japanese nation. The idea of transferring the capital, and the emphasis on a transient or moveable court, was rooted in the same set of concerns of 'visualizing the emperor,' in setting the stage for a new type of power, exercised through specific ocular relations between the emperor and people.

Takashi Fujitani investigates the formation of this new Imperial Capital by

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[5] *Miyuki* (行幸) merely refers to the emperor's going out on tour, while *junkō* (巡幸) refers to the emperor's traditional imperial progress with a systematic itinerary and schedule. See Hara Takeshi, *Kasikasareta teikoku* (Tokyo: Misuzu, 2001): 6.

[6] Indeed, Kido Takayoshi advocated a plan based on three capitals (Osaka, Kyoto and Tokyo), whereby the emperor could travel freely to all the shores of the land, going back and forth between the three capitals. See *The Diary of Kido Takayoshi* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1983) I: II.

closely examining how imperial pageants replaced imperial progresses during the third decade of the Meiji era. He showed how imperial pageants, such as the Constitution's promulgation ceremonies and the imperial family's wedding ceremonies, were held on a national scale, based on a shared sense of spatiality and temporality. In confirmation of some of Benedict Anderson's observations, Fujitani highlights the significance of the communal perception of time in the construction of the imagined community of Japan. The time practiced and experienced through the imperial pageants was 'a homogenous empty time' that could cut transversely across vast geographical spaces, while allowing people in the provinces to be incorporated as members of the national community.[7] By contrast, the imperial progress could not guarantee such temporal coincidences precisely because of the court's ceaseless movement, which necessitated temporal gaps between different locales. Rather, the imperial progress operated according to the logic of spatial integration wherein different locales in the archipelago were incorporated into a spatial continuum over time – albeit not in the same time frame – by the movement of the emperor's body.[8] This is the explanation Fujitani offers as to why the imperial progress eventually declined in the middle of the Meiji period. To stage the emperor as *the* national focal point through the communally recognized ordering of time, the Meiji leaders enshrined him in Tokyo, the symbolic vantage point of power in the construction of the new and cosmopolitan style of public state ceremonies.

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[7] For a discussion of this coincidental notion of time, see Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London and New York: Verso, 2003 (1983)): 22-36.
[8] Takashi Fujitani, *Splendid Monarchy: Power and Pageantry in Modern Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988): 201.

Taki Kōji makes a similar point about the decline of the imperial progress in relation to the new cultural policy, especially regarding the distribution of the imperial portrait during the mid-Meiji period. Like Fujitani, Taki indicates that the power of the court after the 1890s differed from that of the court-as-a-moveable-feast conception introduced in the early Meiji period. Owing to the ability of the photographic portrait to be everywhere at once, it was no longer required for the emperor to move around the country to show himself to the people. His portrait could much more readily reach every nook and cranny of the country and obviate the need for a massive and cumbersome progression. More importantly, the official imperial portrait changed the visual relationship between the emperor and the people. People became the subject of the Japanese nation not only by recognizing the emperor's appearance, but also by treating his portrait *properly* and *respectfully* as a sacred embodiment of the emperor. Taki views the imperial progress as a precedent, or even antecedent, ritual for the not-yet developed form of the imperial portrait, which had appeared before the establishment of the official icon of the emperor; and yet he also acknowledges the political implications of the imperial progress, noting its contribution to spatial unification – it helped to contain the conflicts resulting from the breakdown of the previous spatial order based on feudal territorial boundaries. Wherever the emperor visited, there emerged the sense of the geographically bounded community of the nation. The emperor's movements consequently contributed to the integration and homogenization of the archipelago into 'Japan,' a national territory unified under the centrifugal power of the emperor's presence.[9]

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[9] Taki, ibid., 76.

At stake in Fujitani and Taki's arguments are the close ties linking subjectivity to visibility, which Michel Foucault elaborated in the context of modern disciplinary power, resulting from the radical break with the sovereign power occurring in nineteenth century Western Europe. Both scholars embrace a Foucauldian scheme as a useful conceptual framework to explain how disciplinary power in Japan began to operate from the late 1880s onwards through the mediation of the imperial pageant (Fujitani) and the imperial portrait (Taki). Power in the modern age is, according to Foucault, mediated through the Panoptic structure wherein the subject is always visible to the anonymous gaze of an Overseer whose power is, in turn, exercised to shape the subject who interiorizes the very principles of power. This mechanism is clearly revealed in the cultural practice of the imperial pageant and the imperial portrait, respectively: the former made people visible to the emperor, while shaping a visual domain of the ritual centered on the presence of the emperor; and the latter disciplined people to assume a subject status through the consecration and worship of the emperor's portrait when it was placed in schools, military establishments, and offices in the public sphere.

More significantly, both scholars went on to argue that a certain kind of unexpected twist, or sleight of hand, had been exploited in Japan, owing to the visual mechanisms of disciplinary power – that is, the modern Japanese monarchy manifested its power through the *inversion* of the Panoptic visibility. This power has an evident capacity to visualize and manifest itself, and operates not through hiding, but by mobilizing existing cultural apparatuses such as imperial pageants

and the emperor's portraits. Fujitani specifically points out that in Japan what Foucault termed "monarchical power" and "disciplinary power" came together during the same historical moment. The construction of the emperor as the principal Overseer, and the unprecedented visibility of the people to the proponents of power, coincided precisely with the new visibility of the modern monarchy.[10]

Fuijitani strictly pursued the Foucauldian model of power in respect to its visibility/invisibility dynamics, yet appeared to relegate or bracket the question of individuation to the dustbin of history, even though it constituted the core of Foucault's work. How did this 'inverted panoptic regime' exploit the knowledge/power equation to train, discipline, and cultivate individual bodies? What kind of political economy did this new regime produce, and how were people transformed into specific types of the imperial subject, ready to inscribe the power of the emperor within their own bodies? How, after all, did this power operate in a *productive* way, raising individuals from below the threshold of visibility, and not through manifest prohibitions, but by dint of institutional practices? Taki Kōji, by contrast, appears to address, at least to some extent, the question of power and its effect on individuation. His emphasis is not primarily on the ideological function of the imperial portrait. Rather, he attends to the way in which the new discourse of the imperial portrait created certain norms and modalities associated with the formation of the subject, who engaged in a specific devotional practices centered on the portrait of the emperor. But the question still remains as to whether or not, or perhaps to what extent, Japanese monarchical

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[10] Fujitani, ibid., 145.

power engendered a new system of knowledge and representation, which, in turn, brought a new kind of subjectivity to the fore. The emphasis on power in Taki's work indicates that it primarily operates by virtue of its oppressive nature, that is, through laws and edicts alone. This leaves no room for individuality in his analysis of the rituals tied to the imperial portrait, nor does he appear to allow for the positive effects of power.

But I do not intend to engage in a debate with these scholars, nor do I wish to clarify whether or not the imperial pageant and portrait were genuinely able to discipline the body of the subject. Likewise, I do not intend to gauge whether people were actually predisposed to interiorize the imperial power within their bodies. Distinct from the questions of power and disciplinarity, I doubt whether the notion of 'interiority' can even be presupposed when assuming a Foucauldian power/knowledge equation within a non-Western context. Put differently, I wish to ask how, and at what level, 'interiority' can be qualified as an a priori condition in the emergence of a new type of power. In fact Foucault argued that 'interiority' could be constituted through economies of incitement, manifestation, evaluation, and confession, all linked to the body, and this entire discourse was embodied in the disciplinary realm of psychology.[11] Its constitutive nature aside, I wonder whether notions of interiority as such had even existed in the late 1880s, at least at the level of the individual subject, as forms of conduct, attitudes, possibilities, or orientations that might be said to articulate the body of the subject. As Karatani Kōjin puts it, interiority as a discourse was "not in fact to be found among the Japanese people during the third decade of the Meiji era, but rather they were

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[11] See Michel Foucault, *History of Sexuality I* (New York: Vintage Books, 1990): 17-35.

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incorporated within it."[12] Accordingly, we need to re-orientate the question to ask how such incorporation was made possible, and how it transformed the pre-existing modes of vision in cultural contexts outside the disciplinary frameworks of the West.

In addressing these questions of vision and interiority, I have found a convenient entry point in examining the very areas that were overlooked, or minimally treated, in Fujitani and Taki's work, with respect to the imperial progress, namely, the emperor's inspecting gaze (*tenran*) and its photographic embodiment. Despite their different foci, both Fujitani and Taki consider the imperial progress as an antecedent, or anticipatory, form of the imperial pageant and the imperial portrait, respectively. The imperial progress was neither entirely modern nor national in scope, yet given the full-blown power of the modern Japanese monarchial system it was arguably only a matter of time before it would decline. In arguing this, both scholars consider the production of a sense of shared temporality in the late 1880s as a significant factor in constituting a new type of vision and power, which was one of the pressing claims of Western modernity. While I agree with their arguments, I nonetheless wonder whether the imperial progress had actually petered out as a useful concept, or whether it had been revitalized in another form through the transformation of another element, namely, the revisiting of the emperor in local geography during the 1930s through his proxy, the common people, who mutely traced the absent presence of the emperor across the entire archipelago. It is in these repetitive events, which transformed

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[12] Karatani Kōjin, *Nihon kindai bungaku no kigen* (Tokyo: Kōdansha Bungei Bunko, 1995 (1988)): 91-92.

the transnational vision of local geographies, where we can speak of the emergence of interiority. And it is also here that we need to look closely at the reconstitution of famous places into new historic sites.

Another reason to illuminate the imperial progress is that it served as not only the first marker for the reorganization of famous places, but also operated as a kind of summons on them to assume the guise of famous imperial places. Just as the Japanese modern monarchy recalled and rediscovered the body politics of the ancient imperial system, thereby legitimating its power on the basis of an unbroken tradition, the visual practice of the imperial progress resonated strongly with the practice of commemorating famous places in ancient times. Akiyama Terukazu explains that the pictorial depiction of famous places was officially established during the process of the coronation of the ancient emperor (*daijōe*) around the time of the 9th century. Whenever a new emperor was crowned, two sets of folding screens (*yamato byōbu, meisho byōbu*) were made and installed in order to stage him on a particular site partitioned from the outside. The screens were decorated with a series of poems and pictures depicting specific famous places (*na no aru tokoro*) associated with the emperors and gods in the Japanese Shinto religion.[13] By placing *yamato byōbu* at each side of the ritual stage, and performing a ceremony in reciting a poem about famous places, the emperor was empowered to govern the imaginary terrain, registered and evoked in the folding screens. Put differently, it was mainly through the mediation of the poems and pictures of famous places that the emperor could be granted the status of a

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[13] Akiyama Terukazu, *Heian jidai seizokuga no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Furugawa Kōbunkan, 1964): 67-68

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sovereign who could thus exercise power over an actual territory under his command.

Given this connection between power and famous places, it is possible to envisage the Meiji emperor's tour to local places as a modern revival of the *yamato byōbu* ceremonial for ancient coronation purposes. In a series of stately progressions through the countryside, the emperor visited and observed the very limits of his terrain, and wherever his power reached he staked out his presence – in the famous provincial places, shrines, imperial mausoleums and archaic sites, in modern buildings and institutions, and in famous scenic spots and monuments, and so on. Crucial here is the notion of the emperor watching over his people and the peculiar vision of the landscape at the center of a panoptic structure. In other words, he could become a visible display of power itself, by simultaneously seeing his people and by being seen by them. Photography, then, was supposed to capture what the emperor took it on himself to look at, rather than merely recording the actual procedures of the tour. The ancient poems and pictures of famous places were however replaced by the camera's eye, which in turn, facilitated the circulation and reproduction of images of famous places as seen by the emperor. Moreover, the camera's synchronization with the emperor's body led to the reformulation of the meanings of famous places, which were now constituted as sites of imperial history and collective memory.

By deepening this form of comparison, I set out to consider the specific modes of vision and perception of famous places practiced during the imperial progresses. My contention is that the imperial progress provided the necessary

momentum for reconstituting the preexisting way of viewing and representing

famous places as the historic/mnemonic sites of the nation (*shiseki*), filled with

signs and objects to be worshipped and commemorated in the establishment of an

emperor-centered national past. More importantly, it was through the new

monarchy's ability to enlist and summon up an appropriately commemorative

response to these sites, resonating with the ancient practice of invoking famous

places, which made the construction of new historic sites possible. In this manner,

the famous places in the modern era were made to appear none other than famous

imperial places. The new sites of history had emerged by encompassing the pre-

existing discourse and practice of famous places rather than by excluding it.

The new historic sites were the spatial ground where interiority could be

seen to emerge in its close ties with the famous places associated with the emperor,

which eventually paved the way for the construction of spatial imaginaries

envisaging the much greater national entity of Japan. Photography played a

central role in the reconstitution of famous places by lending itself to shaping new

norms of viewing and appreciating them. In order to illuminate this photographic

reconstitution of famous places, I have taken a cue from the specific notion of

'landscape' elaborated by Karatani Kōjin to describe what might be discovered

through the revision, and even reversal, of the transcendent vision of space, which

itself entails the extreme interiorization of the subject.[14] In so doing, I attempt to

elucidate the political implications of what can be determined through the

photographic reconfiguration of space and place.

With this problematic in mind, in this chapter I will investigate two

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[14] Karatani, ibid., 34.

distinctive photographic events: photography's role in the imperial progresses (*gojunkō*) from 1872 to 1886; and the part photography played in the commemoration of the emperor's sacred trace (*seisekika*), which surfaced after his death in 1912. Central here is the presence of the emperor, whose power was exercised through his 'sacred gaze,' an absolute and incorporeal eye to be traced and materialized by the camera. If the imperial progress was the locus where the power of the emperor as Overseer could be staged, the posthumous project of chasing the emperor's traces was cultivated by the subject/community who participated in the very exercise of this belated or revisionary power by photographing the absent presence of the emperor. Let me now begin to piece together the specific threads of history relating to the imperial progress.

Tenran, the Sacred Gaze of the Emperor

> A gloomy soul comes across his Majesty, whose grace even blooms under a tree buried under the earth.
> *Umoregi no hana*: A Poet's Contribution to the Meiji Emperor's Tōhoku Tour of 1876

> One day, Sir, Okakura, the President of the Tokyo Fine Art School, received an order to bring the Nankō statue in the school campus to the imperial palace. Upon hearing this request, we promptly began preparing to move the unwieldy mass of the statue without causing any accidents or disruptions within the palace…. It was at noon on March 21, in the Meiji Emperor's 16th year (1883), that the statue was offered up for *tenran*, the emperor's honorable gaze. During the emperor's inspection, I was extremely worried about the heavy burden of responsibility I bore for it. I felt as if all my bones were tingling with anxiety, and I still feel dizzy and faint when I recall that moment. When the ornament attached to the statue swayed in the wind, I felt my heartbeat suddenly quicken.
> Takamura Kōun, *Reminiscences of Bakumatsu Meiji*, 1995

Beginning with a tour of Osaka in 1868, the Meiji emperor set out on a

series of lengthy and full-scale provincial progresses, collectively known as the "Six Great Imperial Tours (*rokudai junkō*).[15]" Although the imperial progress gradually disappeared after the mid-Meiji period, it marked a radical turning point in the image of the emperor, simply because no emperor had ever before ventured out to the furthest reaches of the four main Japanese islands, Honshū, Kyushū, Shikoku and Hokkaidō (fig. 4-1).

Considered one of the most important national ceremonial events in the early Meiji period, the imperial progress was extensively recorded with woodblock prints (*nishiki e*), a traditional way of creating images for pictorial reports before the advent of journalistic photography (*hōdō shashin*) around the time of the Sino-Japanese War in 1895.[16] In the age of the imperial tour, however, photography assumed a role distinct from woodblock printing – that of capturing what the emperor was looking at, and the places he visited. Unlike woodblock prints, photography was not conceived as an instrument for depicting the emperor's appearance, nor for recording the procedural details of the tours. This was perhaps due to the technological limits of contemporary photography: the camera was unable to capture a moving object in any detailed and transparent manner due to the darker hue of the lens employed at that time, and the rudimentary sensitivity of the photographic plates. Before the arrival of the eminently practical and rapid dry plate in Japan, photographers employed a wet

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[15] The Six Great Imperial Tours comprise: the Chūgoku-Saikoku Tour of 1872 (June 28-August 15), the Tōhoku Tour of 1876 (June 2-July 21), the Hokuriku-Tōkaido Tour of 1878 (August 30-November 9), the Yamanashi-Mie-Kyoto Tour of 1880 (June 16-July 23), the Yamagata-Akita Hokkaido Tour of 1881 (July 30-October 11), and the Yamaguchi-Hiroshima-Okayama Tour of 1885 (July 26-August 12)
[16] As for *nishiki e* and its role in facilitating social reports, see Nihon Shinbun Hakubutsukan (ed.), *Meiji no mediashitachi: Nishiki shinbun no sekai* (Yokohama: News Park, 2001).

plate requiring more than several minutes of exposure time.[17] Despite these earlier

technological insufficiencies, though, photography was mobilized on behalf of the

state project in the early Meiji period due to its direct relation to the actual world,

as illustrated in the vital role it played in the colonization of Hokkaidō (1868-1878)

and in the Jinshin survey on old things and architecture (1872).

It was also photography's direct relation to the world that enabled its

specifically targeted use of the camera in the actual locations chosen for the

imperial tours. On one level, photographic indexicality creates the illusion of

certainty, tied to the referentiality of the sign, and because of this it is closely

aligned with realism at both the stylistic and ideological levels. But on another

level, regardless of whether it can lay claim to offer a true depiction of the real,

photography produces a reality that is always framed arbitrarily and contingently.

The new government leaders were fully aware of how photography would

inevitably pose problems in the creation of new imperial images.[18] They thought

that photographic instantaneity and contingency would not facilitate the

presentation of a proper and dignified image of the emperor. An ideal type of

modern monarchy must be carefully managed and manipulated before being

circulated among the people. The government's recognition of the importance of

making a proper image of the emperor soon led to an outright ban not only of

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[17] The dry plate began to be used in 1883, and would soon replace the wet collodion plate in the late 1880s. See Nihon shashin kyōkai (ed.), *Nihon shashinshi nenpyō 1778-1975* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1976): 96-103.
[18] Uchida Kuichi composed the first official imperial portrait in August 1872 upon the request of a diplomatic agency representing a foreign country. But this was not as popular as the one taken in 1885, which was dignified by the term *goshin'ei*, an honorable expression for the imperial portrait, and was widely distributed and presented within schools and public buildings during the late 1880s as part of a deliberate national and imperial policy initiative. For *goshin'ei*, see Taki Kōji, ibid., 98-135.

photography, but also of other kinds of media, including the woodblock prints

used to depict the emperor in an overly direct manner. Consequently, the emperor

appears only with a hidden face and a veiled body in a number of images framed

within the palanquin (fig. 4-2).[19]

Woodblock prints were one of the most crucial sources on which the

people relied to determine how the imperial progress was proceeding, and to form

a better idea as to how the emperor conducted his inspections during his

prolonged tours of the countryside (fig. 4-3). And yet these images were made

from suppositions, and they were often composed even before the emperor's tours

had begun. Interestingly enough, this fictitious image-making did not seriously

undermine the veracity of social reporting; in fact, it was regarded as a uniquely

realistic means of expression built on the claims of "conveying the truth (*shinjitsu*

o tsutaeru)" through visual images.[20] The real did not necessarily entail the actual

or the indexical, while the verb "convey" meant a great deal more than the way

reality is constituted by the media. Given this specifically constructed notion of

the real in early Meiji Japan, what was meant by photographic reality at that time?

Why did the camera document the objects and landscapes under the emperor's

gaze, rather than merely recording his appearance, or marking the progression of

his tours? What was the emperor actually looking at, and where did he conduct his

visits, and for what purposes?

We should note that the idea of the imperial progress was first broached in

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[19] The first woodblock print portraying the face of the emperor came out in 1877. It depicts the emperor touring the first domestic industrial exhibition (*naikoku hakurankai*). See Yokoda Yōichi, "Hanga chū no Meiji tennō" in *Hangashi kenkyū* Vol. 1 (1991): 39.
[20] Yokoda, ibid., 27-29.

1871 by the Ministry of Military Affairs, which suggested that the emperor might wish to conduct a lengthy tour of inspection of the interior and coastal regions of Japan with his very own eyes.[21] Originally the tour had a dual purpose: to increase the visibility of the emperor before the people; and concurrently to provide an opportunity for the emperor to scrutinize his people. The first goal was achieved by showing the successive transformations of the image of the emperor throughout the Six Great Tours: these marked a curious progression from the traditional image of the son of a god (*tenko*) to that of a European-style sovereign or military leader, projecting the image of a modern monarch, conducted according to the prerogatives of constitutional law and conforming with the prevailing conception of Japan's national essence (*kokutai*), which conceived of the emperor as someone who could enlighten and illuminate (*shirasu*) his people (fig. 4-4a, 4b).[22] These illuminating historical transformations enable us to identify the changing focus of the emperor's inspecting gaze, according to the constraints posed by changing contemporary social and political circumstances. For instance, during the progress of 1879, the emperor appeared to take a special interest in the wounded from the Seinan War, which had occurred during the previous year, while in the progress of 1881 he went out of his way to praise and applaud the local people who lived up to the tenets of Confucian morality, displaying loyalty to their sovereign and filial piety towards their ancestors (fig. 4-5). By emphasizing their Confucian duties, the emperor intended to prevent the local people from being caught up in the recent Movement for Rights and

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[21] *Rokumeikan hizō shashinchō* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1997): 197.
[22] Sasaki Suguru, "Meiji tennō no junkō to 'kyomin' no keisei," in *Shisō* No. 845 (1994): 97-99.

Freedoms (*Jiyū minken undō*), an anti-state force that had expanded its power base at the time when the imperial tour was conducted. It was thus not a mere coincidence that the Six Great Imperial Progresses were undertaken at a time of acute political conflict, with the specific goal of inspecting and controlling the local people, thereby weaving a body of heterogeneous ideas and ideologies into a new patriotic and idealistic conception of Japan under the imperial regime.

Although a diverse spectrum of political issues were mooted over different periods of time, there was a certain consistency with regard to which places would be subject to the emperor's scrutiny – local famous places included temples and shrines, municipal buildings, Western style hospitals and schools, local exhibitions (*hakurankai*), military base camps, castles, imperial mausoleums, and the residences of well known people in the provinces. Interestingly enough, wherever the emperor was due to go, or had in fact been, a certain ceremony was conducted to honour his inspecting gaze called *tenran* (天覧), literally meaning a 'gaze from heaven,' which also referred to the auspicious moment when his subjects were gazed upon, or seen, by the emperor. It is even possible to characterize the imperial progress itself as a succession of sacred gazes issuing from the emperor (fig. 4-6a, 6b, 6c).[23]

But the symbolic power of the emperor's gaze was not a new phenomenon in Meiji Japan. There had been an ancient conception of the emperor's gaze, invariably fixed upon his realm, called *kunimi*, which dates back to the fourth century or even before, and was expressed in short poems and songs reaching back to ancient times. The songs associated with *kunimi* were usually sung in an

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[23] Hara Ikeda, ibid., 39.

elevated position from which the emperor could scrutinize his territory, and thus look beyond the horizon from a distinctly inclusive and overarching perspective. The songs embodied a strong sense of the emperor's sovereign power over the country, as well as depicting the imaginary geographies over which his power could possibly extend in the future. Such songs were also made to endow and authorize the emperor's power, and depended on his ability to name the places under his dominion.[24]

In the age of the imperial tours, however, the emperor became more than a symbol of the all-encompassing-eye; indeed, a unique sign of his authority was vested in his ability to look back at his people. From one point of view, the imperial tours made the emperor and his spectacles visible to the people of the nation; on the other hand, people were forced to become the objects of the emperor's gaze. In this ocular relationship, the emphasis must be placed on the people who became visible to him as the emperor traveled throughout the country, since seeing the emperor meant presenting themselves to him in the form of an exhibit, continually placed on display for the emperor's scrutiny. In this sense *tenran* is not a bodily vision pertaining to the emperor's corporeality; rather, it is a vision enacted symbolically, prior to and distinct from the physical form it assumed on the actual tours. In so doing, it delivers the world up to an ordered and endless exhibition (*tenran*), designed and prepared to receive the emperor's inspecting gaze.[25]

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[24] For examples of this, see Kawazoe Fusae, *Genji monogatari hyōgenshi: Tatoe to ōken no isō* (Tokyo: Kanrin Shobō, 1998): 287-291.
[25] In Japanese, both terms have the same phonetic sound, while their written inscriptions are quite different. The former is written 天覧 (the gaze of the emperor), while the latter is inscribed 展覧

Throughout the imperial tour, the whole archipelago was transformed into a world-as-exhibition where the artificial order of the model, or plan, was employed to generate an unprecedented effect of order and stability.[26] During the imperial tour of 1883, for example, the central and local administrators were obliged to make timely investigations in *advance* of the emperor's inspecting eye. Requests were made on behalf of the local people concerning the imperial army and the fallen soldiers in the Boshin War (1868), the war bereaved, filial and loyal subjects, wives remaining true to their husbands, the location of their tombs, and the identification of elderly people over eighty. These requests even extended to the number of schools and the amount of the donations they made, the security provided by the local police and patrol men during the tours, the methods used to promote industry, the sites of stock-farming and their number, the amount of waste land under reclamation, special indigenous productions, maps and charts within the local jurisdiction, and the affairs of the local government. Likewise, in the event of the emperor's visit, it was also required to count the lists of students and teachers at the schools, of the patients and doctors at the hospitals, and of the laborers and bosses at the local factories.[27] Upon completion of this mandatory pre-examination, detailed sets of information were sent out to the central government, which, in turn, ordered the local government to compile extensive reports about the areas under their jurisdiction, and to "offer them up for the

(public display or exhibition)

[26] I borrowed the expression, "world-as-exhibition," from Timothy Mitchell's work on the Orientalists' representation of the world and modern techniques of exhibition. See his "Orientalism and the Exhibitionary Order," in Donald Preziosi and Claire Farago (eds.), *Grasping the World: The Idea of the Museum* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004): 442-461.
[27] See *Meiji tennō gojunkō gojūnen kinen tenrankai shashinchō* (Yamagata: Yamagata Kyōikukai, 1932): 5-6.

emperor's inspection (*tenranni kyōsubeshi*)."[28] The people, their work and their

landscapes were thus exhaustively classified and displayed before receiving the

emperor's sacred gaze, whose power, in turn, legitimated the hierarchy between

the different objects on display. It could even be said that the local people were

forced to turn the various elements of their lives into small exhibitions, including

their own bodies, which were ultimately to be inspected by the emperor's sacred

gaze. All in all, *tenran*, in its double valence as imperial gaze and public

exhibition, helped not only to fashion the image of the monarchy as the

preeminent Overseer, but also to transform the world into an exhibition to be

appreciated by the power of the emperor.

There was also a peculiar logic underlying the imperial progress and the

contemporaneous domestic exhibitions (*naikoku hakurankai*); both rendered their

objects as exhibitions to the emperor and his nation under the slogan of

"promoting industry (*shokusan kōgyō*).[29]" Just as the products in the exhibition

were hierarchically displayed in terms of their worth as products – the better

products were positioned in better places, and awarded better prizes – the morality

of the local people was also inspected and evaluated at the very site of the

imperial progress. It can even be said that it was the emperor's gaze that

determined the different degrees of Japaneseness registered by different people in

different areas. In this sense, *tenran* is the imperial power itself, the mechanism to

structure and organize people into objects of power. It was precisely in its

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[28] This term was first introduced in the written instructions for the imperial progress of 1876. See *Meiji tennnōki* Vol. 5 (Tokyo: Kunaichō, 1968-1977): 595.
[29] Yoshimi Sunya, "Relocation of the Capital and Imperial Tours: The Mechanics of Power in Representations of the Emperor's Body during the Period of State Building," in The *Bulletin of the Institute of Socio-Information and Communication Studies* No. 66 (Tokyo: The University of Tokyo Press, 2004): 14-16.

oppressive guise that resistance against *tenran* arose among those who were most critical of the government failing to appreciate the 'original' goals and meanings of *tenran*, that is, knowing about and hearkening to the voice of the people. The editorial board of a contemporary newspaper, in writing about the negative effects of the imperial tours, stated that: "the imperial progress always proceeds through the purlieus of rich and powerful people. It is ill acquainted with the hard labors and sacrifices of the farmer. The progress is not even necessary. If local officials were to remain frankly informed about local circumstances through newspaper reports, the governor would come to understand what is happening in the country just by reading them."[30]

Tenran nonetheless provided considerable momentum for the emergence of new technologies of power, conferring a subject status on the people rather than merely objectifying them. In particular, once the practice of *tenran* was established in various social institutions, people were eager to qualify themselves as ever more suitable objects of the emperor's gaze. In domestic exhibitions, for instance, a specific system of awards (*hōshō seido*) was adopted to bequeath the emperor's prizes to people who had the appropriate moral, cultural, and social accomplishments to display. There was an onerous competitive struggle among the people to gain greater recognition and rewards from the emperor, since his gaze would guarantee their promotion to higher social positions. Likewise, once the imperial journey was about to be embarked upon, the locals competed with each other to host the emperor within their own residences. They repaired their houses and improved their land and properties without any support from the local

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[30] *Tokyo Yokohama Mainichi Shinbun* (April 4, 1880)

government. All of these tasks were undertaken voluntarily with their own money and through their own initiative.[31]

Given these multivalent aspects of *tenran* it is doubtful whether it can be neatly categorized into one or another type of power, either disciplinary or monarchical, as conceived within a Foucauldian framework of power. It can even be said that *tenran* is a mechanism of pastorate power that the later Foucault articulated with reference to the problem of security and the formation of population or race – the power operating across all possible events and effecting their governmentality, or determining how a multiplicity of individuals are essentially bound biologically and materially to the place where they live.[32] The multivalence of *tenran* can also be interpreted as a particular aspect of the Japanese body politic, built on an alliance of court and state. As the political ethos in the 1880s conceived it, the Japanese modern monarchy assumed the form of 'medieval constitutionalism,' with a clear basis in Confucian morality, rooted in the traditional social context of a family-constituted state.[33] And yet, the underlying focus here is the perceived need to open up a space to evaluate Japanese modernity as a yet unfinished project, existing alongside the more clearly delineated 'universal' aspects of modernity in the West. In contrast to this essentialist logic of a true or 'objective' modernity, my starting point must be the poly-functionality of the modern Japanese monarchy. And within this perspective,

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[31] Sasaki Suguru, ibid., 107.
[32] Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population* (Hampshire: MacMillan, 2007): 21. Foucault distinguished thee different modes of power, arguing that sovereignty is exercised within the borders of a territory, discipline is exercised on the bodies of individuals, and security is exercised over an entire population. See pages 11-23.
[33] Carol Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myths: Ideology in the Late Meiji Period* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985): 77.

it will be necessary to rethink the later Foucault's frameworks of multiple

formations of powers to explain the specific dynamics of power and vision in

Japan. To situate this question within a more precise history, I will look at the way

tenran straddled two different discourses with regard to its famous places and

landscapes, and how photography served as a catalyzing agent in incorporating

these two different spatial realities into a new 'Japanese' cultural-national

geography.

Capturing the Gaze of the Emperor: *Gojunkō Shashin*

> I almost shivered in anticipation when I clicked the camera shutter before the emperor. I took photographs of his Majesty with trembling hands and legs.
> "*Shashin o itowase tamaishi sentei heika* (The previous emperor who disliked photography)"*Asahi Newspaper*, September 10, 1912

> If we call this interior essence or this unity of the State "capture," we must say that the words "magic capture" describe the situation well because it always appears as pre-accomplished and self-presupposing; but how is this capture to be explained then, if it leads back to no distinct assignable cause? This is why theses on the origin of the State are always tautological.
> Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*

What is really at stake in *tenran* is that the emperor's gaze did not remain

as an abstraction, that is, as an immaterial or incorporeal element of inspection. It

was materialized, reproduced, and circulated through the medium of photography.

In effect, western-style painting (*yōga*) also recorded the people and landscapes,

as seen by the emperor through a new technology of geographical image making.

Goseda Yoshimatsu, the representative Western-style painter, who studied oil

painting in France in the 1880s, was ordered to accompany the third imperial tour

in 1879 to record in oil painting and water color painting the various landscapes

of the territories in the Tōhoku area (fig. 4-7). Goseda left about fifty paintings of

the imperial tour, all of which look like outdoor sketches (*shaseiga*), or instant

snap-shots. This is due to the fact that Goseda aimed to show the emperor the

landscapes of the famous places and archaic sites (*meisho kyūseki*) instantly on

the very sites of the tour.[34] Because Goseda's paintings were produced for private

purposes – exclusively for the emperor' sake – they have been neither used nor

exhibited before the public until fairly recently.[35] By contrast, the photographic

records of the imperial tours were widely sold and circulated as a visual

component of landscape photography during both the Meiji period and beyond.

Why, then, were different levels of representation anticipated and acknowledged

in oil painting and photography? Why was photography specifically required to

capture the emperor's gaze, and to reproduce it in a material form of image

making?

Unfortunately, few references to the photographic records of the imperial

progress tour now exist, nor have many documentary sources been made available

to the public, or have yet to be discovered. In *Meiji tennōki*, the chronologically

presented records of the Meiji emperor's affairs and most of the documents

relating to photography have not yet appeared, nor have they been very regularly

or consistently documented. Neither are there many references to the

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[34] Yokohama Museum of Art (ed.), *Akarui mado: Fūkei hyōgen no kindai* (Tokyo: Taishūkan, 2003): 155.

[35] Goseda Yoshimatsu's oil paintings of the imperial tour disappeared from view almost immediately after their completion in 1878, and reappeared in a 1989 exhibition of the Imperial collection. See Laura W. Allen, "Yōga Landscape and Early Meiji Ideology," in CAA Conference Paper, 2009.

photographers ordered to accompany the imperial tours. Nonetheless, I will present a brief summary of the previous research on the photographs. The first photographer to participate in the imperial tour was Uchida Kuichi (1844-1875), who became the 'official photographer' of the imperial palace. He was also commissioned to take the first imperial portrait after completing his official duties during the first imperial progress of 1872. He had initially worked for the Tokugawa shogunate in the Osaka area. After the last shogun, Tokugawa Yoshinobu, had transferred power to the Meiji emperor in 1867 (*taisei hōkan*), Uchida accompanied Yoshinobu on his way to Tokyo as one of his retainers. Uchida then came to serve in the Ministry of the Navy for the new government, which commissioned him to take photographic records of the first imperial progress. After the emperor had returned from his tour, Uchida submitted a photographic album to the Imperial Household with the permission of the Ministry of the Navy (fig. 4-8a, 8b, 8c).

During the second imperial progress, Hasegawa Kichijirō, a disciple of Uchida Kuichi, was appointed as an official photographer and continued in this position during the third tour as well. Then, after the fourth tour of 1881, the state chose not to employ private photographers anymore; instead, the Bureau of Printing in the Ministry of Finance (*ōkurashō*) began to assume responsibility for the photographic documentation of the progress. Interestingly enough, local photographers were allowed to take photographs on a commission basis for the local authorities, should the emperor plan to visit their native regions. The photographs they took were selected by the head of each prefecture to be

honorably offered up to the emperor's sacred inspection.[36]

What, then, were the specific realities emerging from photography as a practice and a discourse? I will first seek to address this question with regard to the way photography reorganized the knowledge and representation of a given space. First of all, the camera could capture a variety of hidden places that had never been opened to the public before, such as the old imperial palace, the daimyo's castle, and the interior of important temples, and it did this by appealing to the emperor's gaze (fig. 4-9). This signalled the decisive moment when places of imperial authority and sacred dwelling places began to be visualized and appropriated by photography. That is, people were now able to see, remember and imagine these secret places through the distinctive form of geographically precise photographic documentation. More importantly, photography, by providing a more direct documentation of the places and landscapes of national significance, paved the way for the cultural conventions of the modern pilgrimage to ancient historical sites. In the course of the early twentieth century, photography more directly influenced the behaviour of the tourists who used to go around (*meguri*) important historical heritage sites following a fairly fixed itinerary with a repetitive form and rhythm, observing circular routes and conventionally canonized bypaths. They not only followed the itineraries signalled by the camera on the imperial tour, but also took photographs, as if to reproduce the photographs

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[36] I referred to several documentary sources to determine the historical authenticity of the photographic record: Okada Shigehiro, "Toshokanzō no Meiji tennō junkō nado shashin ni tsuite," in *Bulletin of the Gakushūin University Archives Museum* No. 13 (2005): 1-82; Nakamura Kazunori, "Introduction," *Meiji no kioku: Gakushūin daigaku shozō shashin* (Tokyo: Furugawa Kōbunkan, 2000): I-IV; Iwakabe Yoshinobu, "Meiji gonen Shikoku-Kyūshū junkō to junkō shashin," in *Rokumeikan hizō shashinchō* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1997): 197-199; Kaneko Ryūichi, "Uchida Kuichi no Shikoku-Kyūshū junkō shashin' no ichi," in *Hanga to shashin: Jūkyūseiki kōhan dekikoto to imeji no sōshutsu* (Kanagawa: Kanagawa University, 2006): 61-72.

they had already seen. In short, photography produced a space of new and sanctioned visibility, where people began to perceive, appreciate and even revisit the hallowed secret spaces, as if faithfully treading in the footsteps of the emperor.

Of particular interest here is the fact that photography, the embodiment of the gaze of the emperor, also disembodied the emperor at certain moments during the imperial tours. Looking closely at the photographic records, we can see that the camera, ever since the first imperial progress of 1872, went further than the emperor himself, thereby capturing historical places that he did not in fact visit due to conflicts in his schedule or other unforeseen circumstances (fig. 4-10). The same photographic strategy was repeatedly adopted, developed, and institutionalized in the later tours. During the sixth tour of the Hiroshima area of 1886, the state even ordered the local authorities to take pictures of the local famous places in advance of the emperor's arrival.[37] Local photographers competed with each other to take better shots, thereby securing greater opportunities to present their photographs to the emperor. Their activities took them far in advance of the itinerary of the emperor in order to produce a higher quality of photographic image.[38] Given this reversed order of viewing – the camera first, the emperor next – photography not only functioned as a tool to record the emperor's gaze, but concurrently embodied his preauthorized, or anticipatory, vision and power; that is, in being separated from the emperor's body, the camera paradoxically became the symbolic embodiment of the emperor's gaze. Photography then began to exercise its magic power to transform people and

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[37] Nakamura Kazunori, ibid., I-III.
[38] Kinoshita Naoyuki, *Tamoto Kenzō to Meiji no shashinka tachi* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1999): 61. Okada, ibid., 77.

landscapes into places-as-exhibitions, thereby bequeathing fame upon them, and as with the revival of *yamato byōbu* in the ancient period, it exhibited the emperor in his imaginary sovereignty in the form of modern 'poems' and pictures of famous places.

This specific photographic strategy also signals a crucial moment in the formation of *meisho shashin*, a newly emerging photographic genre dating from the late 1870s. *Meisho shashin* literally means "photographs of famous places," comprising a set of landscape photographs of local places of interest, scenic landscapes, and the major sites of the historic/archaic heritage.[39] It became popular in the global market place during the late nineteenth century as a visual symbol representing 'Japan' and its authentic landscapes. *Meisho shashin* differed greatly from 'Yokohama Photography,' wherein various sets of colored photographs featured Japanese folklore, landscapes and beautiful women, and they were widely sold as precious souvenirs of the Far East in the international arena in the 1880s and beyond.[40] In contrast to Yokohama Photography, *meisho shashin* represented a broader range of domestic audiences and agencies, and was reproduced by the advanced technology of photo-printing called calotype, while Yokohama Photography relied on well-made hand crafted images with fine coloring, more specifically targeting a Western audience. More importantly, *meisho shashin* was the outcome of the development of an entirely indigenous

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[39] The Ministry of Finance compiled one of the first photographic albums of famous places (*meisho shashinchō*) in 1879. During the 1890s this kind of photographic album was at the center of the photo printing business, and was continuously published by professional photographers (*eigyō shasinga*) via high-quality collotype printing.

[40] As for Yokohama Photography in the global market place, see Mio Wakita, "Selling Japan: Kusakabe Kimbei's Image of Japanese Women," in *History of Photography*, Vo. 33, No. 2 (2009): 209-223.

photographic culture, which was initially created and refined to solicit and attract the emperor's inspecting gaze. These locally produced photographic practices were later incorporated into the culture industry by means of the picture postcard (*ehagaki*), a distinctive form of geographical image-making that reached its climax in the late 1890s when the imperial tour came to an end.

Moreover, the camera's embodied view of the emperor marked a significant point of departure from the state photographic records. The resulting photographs were collected by the Imperial Household, the agency in exclusive possession of copyright protection for the original plates and subsequent images. But it was the photographers who first became aware of the benefits of keeping photographic records. Interestingly enough, it turned out that both Uchida Kuichi and Hasegawa Kichijirō had participated in these tours at their own expense, and they only submitted their more readily produced photographic albums to the state, and not the original plates.[41] Uchida reprinted the photographic records he had originally made for the government, and sold them at the Vienna World Fair as "*meisho shashin*," which took place in the year following the first imperial progress in 1872.[42] After the first official photographic regulation was proclaimed in 1895, the state confiscated the original photographic plates of the individual photographers who had participated in the successive imperial progresses. Thenceforth, the entire body of photographic records came under the control and supervision of the Imperial Household.

Given the popularity of *meisho shashin* and the establishment of state

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[41] As for the information compiled by the photographers, see Okada, ibid., 75-77.
[42] This album is now housed in the National Museum of Tokyo in Japan as a display item at the Vienna World Fair. See Okada, ibid., 25.

photography, it was the camera's very embodiment of the emperor that not only

reinforced the aura of the image, but also affirmed and reaffirmed the position of

the emperor, here conceived as the absolute origin of seeing and representing

famous places. Thus the effect of these photographic records was often spiritual

rather than practical. They were viewed as symbols of the imperishability of the

emperor's soul, albeit in the service of a geographical education: different locales

could achieve different identities, just as they retained different histories with

regard to the emperor's tours; and their differences were to be visually

demonstrated by *meisho shashin*. This specific register of photography, then,

resonates with the idea of *kotodama*, an ancient belief in the spirit embedded in

the word. In particular, *kunitama* is the specific activity of enumerating the names

of the places found within the imperial regime, and it was performed at the site of

the imperial coronation in ancient Japan.[43] If *yamato byōbu* was the symbolic

practice of incorporating the imaginary sovereignty of the emperor, *kunitama*

worked by particularizing each locale and by baptizing each site with different

words, signifying different souls – just as photography in the age of the imperial

progress particularized the local places via their different modes of visuality,

symbolically suggesting their different relations to, and memories of, the emperor.

    In looking at the overlaps between the ancient and the modern monarchies

in respect to famous places, I do not wish to argue that the photographs of the

imperial progresses originated in, or somehow remain immanent within, the long

past of Japanese ancient culture. Rather, I seek to address why and how the

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[43] Toyoda Kunio, *Nihonjin no kotodama shisō* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1980): 133. As for modern ethnologist's struggles to recollect *kotodama*, believed to be embedded in native places, see Kawamura Minato, *Kotodama to takai* (Tokyo: Kōdansha): 307-337.

spiritual power of the medium was recalled and re-enlisted in the modern context of famous places. If *kunitama* derived from the belief in a seamless unity between word and thing, photography, by its very nature, could not but close the gap between thing and image, or the thing and its representation. While the former celebrated the image *as* an image, the latter showed the image to be derived from an image of something else. Interestingly enough, the eclipse of the former by the latter in the modern age paradoxically assured the reoccurrence of the latter, which, according to Marilyn Ivy, is posited in the claims of modernity itself. Thus, spirituality derives from the ghostly reappearance of the lost object of modernity, that which could only be legitimated within the very structure of modernity, a structure in which authority seeks legitimation by recontextualizing it within specific institutional regimes and their respective powers of operation.[44] As Taki Kōji clearly indicates, the spiritual value of the photographs does not derive from the image itself. Indeed, it is given a renewed aura through the way the image is diffused and perpetuated across a broad spectrum of legal and municipal institutions. The specific register of what came to be viewed as a magical aura was embedded in the imperial portrait only by passing through the entire gamut of institutional practices, comprising a wide range of techniques and procedures adopted by local institutions for consecrating and commemorating the emperor's immortal body and soul.[45]

Photographic Reconstitution of Famous Places

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[44] Marilyn Ivy, *Discourses of the Vanishing: Modernity Phantasm Japan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press): 66-69.
[45] Taki Kōji, ibid., 188-201.

Taking up a notebook and pencil, let's draw the landscape of the 'here and now.'
Monbushō shitei shunkashūtō sanpō shōka 1901 (Songs for School Children made by the Ministry of Education in 1901)

What should be preserved at this moment are historical monuments, famous places, scenic spots, and natural heritage sites. Landscape vistas and notable vantage points should be included too.
A Draft for the Outline of Preservation Goals, *Survey on Historical Sites, Scenic Spots, and Natural Treasures*, 1919

I would like to highlight the materiality of photography rather than its specifically spiritual and religious registers. I argue that photographic materiality was a crucial factor in catalyzing a radical change in the perception and representation of *meisho*, variously translated as 'famous places' or 'celebrated spots.' The representation of *meisho* originated in the practice of singing about or giving a name to places in ancient times, especially through reference to imperial court culture and Shinto beliefs. During ancient times and beyond, the meaning of 'a place with a name (*na no aru tokoro*)' was identified with the oldest and most traditional sense of *meisho* as being essentially a place sanctified by literary associations and imbued with conventionalized poetic attributes.[46] Not all of the poems, but a specific kind of poem called *waka* or *yamato uta* (Japanese poem), were recited in delineating a given topos.[47] Not only was there a specific perception of space based on the poems, but also an interesting convention of poetry already existed, which rests on and refers to the names of famous places or

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[46] Henry Smith, *Hiroshige: One Hundred Famous Views of Edo* (New York: The Brooklyn Museum, 1986): 10.
[47] Waka is a classical form of poetry, employing the 31-syllable classical form. It is considered as a distinct genre in respect to other poetic forms found within the Chinese language.

utamakura (poem-pillows). [48] To a great extent, these poem-making proclivities

are identified with naming, imagining, and representing places in the pre-Meiji

period. Even though *meisho* used to refer to actual places located near the ancient

imperial capitals of Nara and Kyoto, the places themselves were considered less

important than their poetic associations, which were typically linked to a

particular season. [49]

During the 17th century, along with the burgeoning development of

popular culture in the big cities, including Edo and Osaka, a collective pictorial

form of famous places called *meisho zue* began to emerge. With the emergence of

these new pictorial representations, the word *meisho* came to take on a much more

immediate and tangible significance, and became associated with sights that could

actually be seen and appreciated. *Meisho*, as a distinctive complex of meanings,

was about to become assimilated to the domain of sightseeing, although it was

given a different form, style and emphasis than that pertaining to famous Western

sights, typically identified with rich and powerful patrons, who would erect

monuments and civic buildings in perpetuation of their own memory. By contrast,

meisho sites came to be known as places offering enjoyment, relaxation and

release from the strains of everyday urban life. The preexisting famous spots,

including Buddhist temples and Shinto shrines, were consequently imbued with

additional layers of meaning – as the places of sights, and sights of places. This, in

turn, warranted yet another level of representation, and *meisho zue* was just one

response to the new claims made on behalf of the formal representation of famous

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[48] See Introduction, Footnote No. 9.
[49] Smith, ibid., 10.

places, since it pictorially depicted the specificities of space, while keeping textual narratives to one side.

Apparently, an acute sense of sight became increasingly important in the representation of famous places during the Edo period, as illustrated in Hiroshige or Hokusai's woodblock prints. But these were, for the most part, dependent on the visual patterns, types or models commonly adopted for mass-produced texts. Moreover, the increasing emphasis on the sense of vision did not necessarily imply the decline of the element of the poem in the commemoration of famous places. It is perhaps helpful to reiterate here the importance of the textual representation of famous places: "the idea of famous places originally derived from *yamato uta*. A landscape (*keishoku*), even if it is beautiful and scenic, cannot be a famous place unless it is chanted over and celebrated in song through the medium of classical poems (*furu waka*)."[50] As such, *meisho zue* retained tradition of places-names without losing their connection with poetic associations and figural allusions. The representation of famous places conformed more to an overarching pattern in the age of *meisho zue*, which may have been a consequence of the renewed emphasis on visuality, beginning in the seventeenth century. Apart from the splendid images of famous places celebrated in woodblock prints, we readily encounter in *meisho zue* a number of patterned landscapes portrayed from the elevated perspective of the heavens. Indeed, the image of an overarching yet multiply enfolded vision transforms a given site into a space richly charged with symbolic ideas and concepts (fig. 4-11).

During the imperial tours, however, traditional ways of representing

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[50] Suzuki Hiroyuki, *Nihon no bijutu: Meisho fūzokuzu* (Tokyo: Shibundō, 2007): 26.

famous places went through a remarkable process of transformation. Due to its

mechanical means of image making, photography can no more preempt spatial

physicality than the elusive concept that informs it, thereby precluding the

incorporation of poetic associations and figural allusions typical of the traditional

meisho zue. As seen in the previous chapters, this was first and foremost due to

the angle of the camera lens, which flattened the bird's-eye view in *meisho zue* to

the level of the human eye. *Meisho* then began to be viewed and portrayed

through its fragmented elements and its actual physicality, which hastened the

break with its connection to the places-names and literary compositions of space

practiced throughout the long history of Japan (fig. 4-12). In this sense, the

seemingly natural term of *meisho shashin* implies more than a collective pictorial

record of local famous places; rather, it indicates a grounded mode of

photography by which the vision and perception of space was radically

transformed.

What, then, transpired through this photographic reconfiguration of space?

It is interesting to observe the convergence of photography and the emerging

mentality concerning the preservation of spaces, which reinforced the prevailing

interpretive paradigms of old famous places during the first and second decades of

the Meiji period.[51] My contention is that photographic materiality undermined the

inherent power of naming to produce and reproduce the meanings traditionally

associated with a place, while re-grounding the conceptual understanding of place

in a new order of temporality based on history. By using photography, the state

agency was concerned with historicizing places in the abstract and homogeneous

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[51] Shimizu Shigeatsu, "Shunkan toshite no hozon = shashin," in *10 +1*, No. 23 (2001): 141-144.

language of chronological time, while rendering them into a symbolic reservoir regarding the mythic and religious origins of the nation state.[52] The materiality of famous places was to be kept distinct from a theological ordering of space based on the irrevocable flow of time. Famous places, then, as pictured by photography, came to be located in a decidedly different cultural context as the spatial containers of the historical topographies of the nation, which were to be protected and preserved systematically. Not only the place itself, but also its spatial components, such as its architecture, historical monuments and heritage sites, as well as its beautiful scenic spots, thus acquired a spatial form through which to narrativize a new history of Japan.

On the other hand, photography provided a new basis for shaping a specific kind of subject, and one that could see and appreciate famous places as actual sites of viewing and image making, using new visual techniques. Beyond a mere visual record of space, photography served as a visual surrogate for the intellectual and artistic tours of middle class people during the early twentieth century. The more handy and reliable dry plate enabled increasing numbers of amateur artists to go out on outdoor sketching or photographic tours of the local famous places in pursuit of fashionable forms of cultural activity.[53] During these trips, they sought to look at the landscape they were facing in its material actuality,

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[52] During the first and second decades of the Meiji period, many state surveys of Imperial Geography were launched to historicize national spaces, wherein the old famous places played an integral role. One of the most compelling examples is *Kōkoku chishi*, compiled by the Bureau of Geography in the Ministry of Domestic Affairs for a period of three years from 1875 onwards.
[53] For example, Miyakke Kokki and Ōshita Tōjirō, the leading watercolor artists, often went out on outdoor sketching expeditions, and took photographs of the natural landscape. Outdoor sketching and landscape photography were some of the main activities of Shirabakai, the artists' group, which primarily worked on watercolors and Western-style painting, and was established in 1896. The notion of 'landscape' as a genre of painting also emerged in the Japanese art scene at the turn of the century. See Aoki Shigeru, *Shizen o utsusu* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1996): 57-68.

just as the emperor used to do in his all-around tours. They also took photographs that portrayed what they were looking at during their outdoor sketching trips. A sense of 'being there' and 'seeing everything' became the decisive logic behind the artistic trip, as if they were participating vicariously in the strategic vision informing the emperor's imperial progresses (cf. fig. 4-13a, 13b).

Karatani Kōjin shows how it is possible to link the photographic records of the imperial tours to the emergence of' landscape (*fūkei*),' a landscape conceived as objects, or something perceived as 'objectively' existing, as if it were actually out there. This notion of landscape initiates a break with the discursive space of traditional landscape paintings (*sansuiga*), where place is considered as a concept, and the idea is embodied in its actuality.[54] Karatani's idea of 'landscape,' however, implies more than a mere theory about landscape painting. It alludes to a certain perceptual paradigm that enabled, and was enabled by, a specific historical and epistemological process that he characterizes chiefly by means of'inversions (*tentō*).' Karatani argues that his notion of landscape cannot be related to the breakdown of traditional landscape paintings; rather, the latter rapidly emerged by being identified, structured and historicized by its relation to the former complex of meanings. He dubs this diametrically inverted relationship as 'the discovery of landscape,' and he takes it to be a key factor in illuminating the specific historicity of Japanese modernity. Furthermore, it was suddenly and almost unconsciously determined by the twisted temporality of modernity, which differs profoundly from the 'progressive' model of modernity

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[54] Karatani Kōjin, *Nihon kindai bungaku no kigen*, 22-23.

found in Western historicism.[55]

On the other hand, this inversion occurred at the level of subjectivity. Karatani particularly highlights the literary trend of realism that emerged in the 1890s since it offers a convincing example of the landscape of anonymity and indifference. According to him, a number of novelists depicted landscape as if they were actually looking at it, without first rendering it as a universal idea or concept. It was at this moment that 'modern subjectivity' emerged together with the notion of an inner self, inner voice, or interiority, which was invoked to explain and interpret the unmediated landscape portrayed. Interiority is not simply given or pre-existent; rather, it is something to be discovered at the moment of signification, and it is invoked to talk about the landscape of anonymity and indifference, located from the standpoint of the subject of expression. As such, the subject's interiority is not expressed in a given landscape. By contrast, it is suddenly posited and disclosed as the origin of meanings and expressions, in being abruptly faced with landscape as such.[56] The effect of 'inversion' is to efface its political structure by repressing its point of origin and, along with it, the temporal depth of the centered subject.

To Karatani, interiority and self-expression were not self-evident, but produced through a specific technique of language, namely, the equation of the new system of writing with speech (*genbun icchi*). In this writing system, the narrator is fused with the protagonist of the novel, and thereby transformed into a

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[55] Karatani, ibid., 21-24.
[56] Karatani compared the 'naked face' of the Mona Lisa in Da Vinci's famous painting to his notion of landscape, albeit making comparative references to its anonymity and insouciance. See Karatani, ibid., 77.

neutral figure, existing on the meta-level of the text. It was in the 1890s, according to Karatani, that the anonymous landscape surfaced in the field of literature with the emergence of the third-person 'objective narration,' yet the principle behind it had been already activated in respect to famous places over two decades earlier. In the field of the visual, the eye of the camera and that of the viewer merged together, and produced a sense of the seamless reality of the world. How then can we explain this notion of landscape that stands prior to the actual perception of 'landscape?' How does Karatani envisage 'landscape' outside of the strict confines of the literary field?

As mentioned earlier in this dissertation, photography for Karatani embodies the principle of landscape itself due to its intrinsically optical mode of operation, premised on a metaphysic of interiority – the aperture of the camera corresponds to a single mathematical point from which the subject can project its interiority onto the world. Thus for him "landscape photography is tautological."[57] However, the photographic records of the imperial tours, and the popularized version of *meisho shashin*, explicitly reveal that 'landscape' could be conjured up before the camera even when 'interiority' in Karatani's sense of the word had not yet come to express the meaning of the landscape. In other words, the mechanical eye of the camera guaranteed the actuality of 'landscape' even when the epistemological inversion implicated in reversing the traditional mode of vision had not yet occurred (fig. 4-14). Or, seen in a rather different light, only the emperor could exercise this inversion since it was only his authority that could endow the actual landscape with a new meaning so that it appeared all of a sudden

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[57] Karatani Kōjin, *In'yū toshite no kenchiku* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1999 (1989)): 154.

before the camera – a historic site imbued with the emperor-centered memory across the entire spectrum of national/imperial historiography.

What should be highlighted here, however, is the complex relation pertaining between the famous places and the 'landscape' in the imperial progress. On one level, the emperor watched and inspected traditional famous places, hitherto imbued with numerous layers of historical meaning and significance, from the meta-level position of 'landscape,' and it was the camera that embodied what his eye saw, thereby making the previous places of naming appear as sites of physical reality. On the other hand, the principle of 'landscape' needed a material ground on which to be exercised and practiced, and this could be none other than actual location of the previous famous places that had accrued various meanings elsewhere. Simply put, famous places and 'landscapes' were not set in opposite onto reality; rather, they qualified each other in the specific claims made for the recreation of the nation, since a concrete 'place-identity' had to be sanctioned by the emperor. The imperial progress produced a space delineated by historical palimpsests in which the older model of famous places remained legible beneath the inscriptions of a new vision of landscape, specifically on the level of state explanations and expectations concerning famous places.

Karatani makes a clear-cut distinction between landscape and traditional landscape painting, yet this binary opposition cannot accommodate the complex relation between the old and new, Japan and the West. Any given famous place, despite its shared ground with traditional painting – that is, the place understood as a concept, or as a transcendent idea – differs from the traditional landscape

precisely because of its tangible nature, or its positivity. It has its own names and concepts, and yet it also inhabits an actual space, existing somewhere else in the Japanese archipelago – and this location is neither imaginary nor fictitious but inhabits an actual spatial reality. In Karatani's framework, however, there is no consideration of positivity as a key vector in addressing the notion of 'landscape.' And it is precisely in his lack of concern for positivity that he so neatly divides landscapes and famous places by means of their oppositional relations.[58] But if we were to slightly alter our perspective, the question would arise as to how actual places could go through historical and epistemological inversions in the wake of Karatani's notion of 'landscape.' At this point I wish to rethink Karatani's idea of 'landscape,' notably by posing the question as to why the principle of landscape could not but be exercised and activated in the domain of famous places for the very first time.

Turning back to the imperial progress, we find that the emperor's tour provided a crucial turning point in reorganizing and reclassifying traditional famous places. In particular, most of the shrines, imperial mausoleums, and local historic sites were stratified by concrete criteria, namely, their connection to the history of the previous emperors. This explains why the imperial progress paved the way for preservation policies aimed at protecting local historic and cultural sites. As noted above, once the itinerary of the imperial tours was announced, one of the pressing tasks for the local government was to reconfigure, rebuild, and repair the old famous places and historic/archaic sites, in order to offer them up for scrutiny by the emperor's inspecting gaze. Given this authentication by

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[58] Karatani, ibid., 82-83.

scrutiny, 'landscape' is objectively reconstituted rather than objectively recorded by the camera. The imperial tour was the defining locus wherein famous places could be identified and reorganized to become thoroughly assimilated into the new nation's spatial and historical basis.

In fact, the emperor's all-encompassing eye had an enormous centrifugal thrust, since it was able to incorporate the former political regime, as well as its symbolic signs, objects, monuments, and histories. Interestingly enough, the castle, the symbol of the Tokugawa shogunate, was the principal site of the emperor's tours, while its images were pictured and represented during the progression of the imperial tours.[59] We can even say that the emperor moved in-between different castles during his trips, after the pattern of the old shogunate in patrolling local areas, in order to manifest his power. This ironically shows how critical and compelling it was for the new Meiji government to redraw and redefine the contours of the nation through mobilizing the famous places of the old regime, despite their formerly oppositional relation to the current imperial regime. In this sense, it can be said that the famous places during the Meiji era were none other than 'imperial famous places,' reconstituted through the new vision and perspective of 'landscape.' Photographic groundedness is imperial groundedness wherein the old and new places could be incorporated into the larger domain of emperor-centered history.

Karatani helps us to grasp how the genealogy of modern interiority and landscape emerged simultaneously through the linguistic strategies of realism. He

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[59] For the close relationship between the imperial progress and the imperial mausoleum, see Takeuchi Masaaki, "Tennō junkō to 'ryōbo' no kakutei," in *Bunkazai to kindai Nihon* (Tokyo: 2002): 83-109.

also shows how this original trace was immediately effaced by the emergence of the modern subject, existing on the meta-level of landscape. Nevertheless, he does not address this problem in such a way as to ask whether there was a continual process of negotiation between the old and the new. For him the modern notion of subjectivity was not something to be shaped in relation to its traditional contours. Instead he bracketed the latter as what to be discovered in terms of the former. Thus, his scheme does not leave room to contemplate the countervailing scenario – the new as a constituent form of the historical process, forged through its hybridization with the old.

Like Karatani, Fujitani leaves little room to contemplate how the new regime owed much to, and was firmly grounded in, the old regime, especially in its manner of co-opting the principle of famous places through the imperial progressions. Ostensibly true to the main thrust of Fujitani's work is his unwillingness to situate the Japanese monarchy within the space of linear progress. For him, such a viewpoint cannot but reinforce the myth of Japanese imperial power by maintaining the tight separation of imperialist ideology from the actual expansion of worldwide imperialism during the late nineteenth century. By embracing a Foucauldian methodology, Fujitani wielded a sufficiently critical set of tools to examine the cultural and political discontinuities of the Japanese modern monarchy. He thus tries to explain how the imperial progress could not yet point the way to how modern disciplinary power was to be executed in Japan. In so doing, however, he refrains from pointing out the way the archaic mode of power could be brought into alignment with the modern disciplinary mode of

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power through the mediation of the-not-yet-modern techniques of power inscribed in the imperial progress.

From a slightly different perspective, Fujita Shōzō argues that the archaic mode of enforcing its reign was an essential part of the constitution of the modern Japanese monarchy, which employed modern technologies of governance to the utmost level of its ability to legitimize its traditional imperatives, provenance and power.[60] One of the most significant results of co-opting the traditional governing principle was that the state could build its raison d'être on the basis of morality, which, in turn, established the absolute basis of power of the emperor, albeit beyond the realm of rationality, while also reshaping the imperial power structure within the everyday practices of the moral community.[61] To elaborate more on this specific mode of power, in the next section I will examine the way the emperor's gaze revisited local geographies through the eyes of the common people. Critical here is the tight knot forged between photography and the local inhabitants, who simultaneously became individual *and* communal subjects through vicariously picturing the traces of the emperor.

Tracing the Traces of the Emperor: *Seiseki Shashin*

> The Meiji emperor passed away during the mid summer
> months. At that time I felt that the Meiji spirit had begun and
> ended with the emperor himself. I was struck by the idea that
> those most affected by the Meiji emperor are still alive even
> after the demise of the emperor, and this may mean that
> they're living a posthumous existence.
> Natsume Soseki, *Kokoro*

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[60] Fujita Shōzō, *Tennosei kokka no shihai genri*, 7.
[61] Fujita, ibid., 39.

We share one big life, which hinges on the Imperial
household. We need to dedicate our small individual lives to
the larger life of the Emperor.
Tokugawa Yoshichika, *The Survey on Historical Sites, Scenic
Spots, and Natural Treasures*

If photography had helped to reconstitute the famous places of the imperial
progress in their pure visibility and actuality, this process underwent a reversal
during the subsequent half-century. Ordinary casual spaces with no fame and no
name began to be transformed into famous historical sites to be commemorated
and consecrated by the local people. Photography engaged once again in this
spatial formulation, yet with different registers and implications than those
marking the imperial progress.

After the death of the Meiji emperor in 1912, the sites that he visited and
stayed in during the tours were celebrated as essentially national places and they
were filled with signs, objects and monuments to mark the absent presence of the
emperor. Less well known than the imperial tours was the 'movement to
investigate and collect the sacred traces of the emperor (*seisekika*),' which
surfaced in the late 1910s, and reached its peak during the mid-1930s. The central
agency of the movement was the 'Committee for the Preservation of the Sacred
Traces of the Meiji Emperor (*Meiji tennō seiseki hozonkai*),' organized under the
Ministry of Education.[62] The main task of the committee was to survey the index
of the emperor's buried presence in the localities he had visited, and this was
conducted as part of a much larger project for the establishment of important
national heritage sites.

[62] The Japanese title is 明治天皇聖跡保存会. This committee was launched in 1930 as a state-
affiliated organ, and the first president was the Marquess Saigo Jūtoku (西郷従徳) who
accompanied the Meiji emperor's progressions in 1872 and 1876.

But before the emergence of this state-affiliated organ, the emperor's

sacred traces had been investigated thoroughly by a private research group. The

Japanese Society for Preserving Landscapes and Historic and Natural Monuments

(*Shiseki meishō tennen kinenbutsu kyōkai*) was launched in 1911, and its ultimate

goal was to establish a legal system for the preservation of important historical

sites, scenic spots, as well as animal and plant species, under the banner of

'critical national assets.' The *Shiseki meishō kyōkai* was one of the largest

intellectual networks during the late Meiji and Taisho period, and many influential

scholars, politicians, and bureaucrats were active participants. It was comprised of

intellectuals in various fields from history and archeology to geology and botany,

from art history and architecture, to law and religion.[63] The members held regular

meetings, published the organ's scholarly bulletins, and submitted a legal request

entitled 'Preservation Law for Historical Sites, Scenic Spots, and Natural

Treasures' to the Japanese Diet in 1912.[64] The Tokugawa family was deeply

involved in this association: the president was Tokugawa Yorimichi, a famous

aristocratic politician, as well as the fifth head of the Tokugawa lineage, while his

brother, Tokugawa Satotaka, was vice president. Most of the staff and its

secretaries were also vassals of the late Tokugawa family.[65]

Interestingly enough, one of the most important missions of the

association was to investigate and preserve the historical remains of the Meiji

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[63] The Japanese title is 史跡名勝天然記念物協会. This association evolved from the Research Association for the Imperial Historical Remains (*Teikoku koseki torishirabe kai* 帝国古跡取調会), founded in 1897.

[64] The official title of the law is *Shiseki meishō tennen kinenbutsu hozonvhō* (史跡名勝天然記念物保存法)

[65] For more on the members of the association, see Maruyama Hiroshi, "Shiseki meishō tennen kinenbutsu no chōryū," in *Shiseki meishō tennen kinenbutsu: kaisetsu, sōmokuji, sakuin, 1914.9~1923.5* (Tokyo: Fuji Shuppan, 2003): 20-21.

emperor, the symbol of the new imperial regime that assumed the power of

Tokugawa family. According to Tokugawa Satotaka, the emperor's documented

legacy was a critically important element in the national heritage of Japan,[66] and

one that reflected the very core of the national essence, that is, the 'Japanese Spirit

(*yamato tamashi*).'[67] Tokugawa Yorimichi went on to request that local state

organs should gather all of the historical references and photographs of the

emperor's traces that remained among the local people in order to publicize them

in the *Shiseki meishō kyōkai* bulletin. As a consequence of its collaboration with

local government institutions, the society sought to secure a regular section in the

bulletin to report on the emperor's traces under excavation since 1914.[68] Based on

this series, during the late 1920s the society continued to publish sets of

photographic albums entitled "The Sacred Traces of the Meiji Emperor (*Meiji*

tennō seiseki)."

It was however the local people who played a decisive role in this

investigation of the traces of the emperor. Since the 1920s, small study groups had

begun to be set up to acquire knowledge concerning the folklore of native places

(*kyōdo kenkyūkai*). As members of these small study groups, local intellectuals

began to investigate the history of Japanese native places, especially those

believed to retain the essential spirit of human beings, untainted by the impact of

modernity. They went on research trips (*kenkyū ryokō*) to survey and document

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[66] Tokugawa Satotaka, "Sentei goiseki shirabe," *Shiseki meishō tennen kinenbutsu* Vol. 1, Part 1 (1914, 9): 2.
[67] Sakatani Yōrō, "Kokumin seishin no yadoreru kichūhin," *Shiseki meishō tennen kinenbutsu* Vo. 1, Part 4 (1915, 3): 25.
[68] Togawa Yasuie, "Meiji tennō goiseki," *Shiseki meishō tennen kinenbutsu* Vo. 1, Part 5 (1915, 5): 33.

what they had observed in the countryside.[69] These groups were mainly

comprised of school teachers, amateur writers, painters, and photographers, as

well as local journalists and intellectuals.

Furthermore, 'local histories (*chihōshi*)' came to the fore in the

overarching field of history, especially in the wake of the newly flourishing

studies in folklore. Each prefecture organized a study group called *shidankai*,

which aimed to survey its own local histories.[70] It circulated and distributed what

it had come up within the local historiography groups, which were divided into

small units in each region.[71] Under the guidance of the *shidankai* members of the

regional study groups, they sought to collect the material sources required for

writing the history of their own native places, yet in conjunction with, and as part

of, the larger project of writing the history of imperial Japan. They began to

identify the material signs of the past emperors, buried and obscured in their own

native places. In particular, the sites visited by the Meiji emperor during the late

nineteenth century were highlighted the most, as these were the places that kept

and preserved untarnished the emperor's unbounded aura of virtue and divinity. A

variety of signs and material objects were recovered during this new investigation

into local places, such as the water the emperor drank, the clothes the emperor

wore during his tours, and the resting spots where the emperor had taken short

breaks (fig. 4-15). And as a result of these continuing surveys and collections, the

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[69] Kuroiwa Yasuhiro examines the way in which the folkloric knowledge of native places was compiled during research trips. See "Tanaka Ryokko no dozokugaku: "Kishū to dozoku" to hutatsu no ryokō," in Maruyama Hiroshi (ed.) *Kindai Kyoto kenkyū* (Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 2008): 505-528.

[70] The Japanese title is 史談会.

[71] For *Shidankai*, see Meno Yuki, "Meiji 'shidan' to sono dokusha," in *Nihon kenkyū*, No. 37 (2008): 315-327.

history of the imperial progresses came to be rewritten from the bottom up with richer and more diverse clues as to their interpretation, which the local people had discovered for themselves. The publication of local historical texts proliferated in number and magnitude throughout the 1920s, and reached a climax during the first half of the 1930s. These books contain unbelievably detailed information and references to the imperial tours, including the changing itineraries of the emperor, compiled by the people themselves in minute detail, and they were apparently superior to the original official documents written by state officials at the time of the imperial progressions (fig. 4-16).[72]

These movements to preserve the traces of the emperor, however, did not end up in the historical surveys conducted on Japanese localities. Nonetheless, there was a profound change in the physical landscape, transforming the merely anonymous places of ordinary people into new historic sites annexed to the imperial nation state. The local people even established stone monuments with their own money to signal the 'monumentality' of the newly emerging famous places, which were to be carefully managed and sanctified to commemorate the past emperor (fig. 4-17). Consequently, in 1930, over one thousand monuments were erected in the places designated as 'sites of sacred traces (*seisekichi*)' and most of them were located within the residential communities of the common people, whose locales had been offered up for the emperor's inspecting gaze.[73]

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[72] There are numerous examples. One of the most striking instances is the book entitled *Meiji tennō gojūnkō goiseki*, which was published to mark the commemoration of the imperial progress of 1883 at Hachinohe in Aomori ken. The local people almost entirely rewrote the way the tour progressed, providing exceptionally detailed routes of the movements of the emperor within a given space.

[73] The Japanese title is 聖跡地. According to the survey of the Ministry of Education, the number of sites of sacred traces reached 1,375 in 1933. See Furuya Kiyo, "Meiji tennō seiseki no shitei ni

The monuments dominating the local landscapes vary greatly in their

embellishments, designs and inscriptions, since they reflect the individual

interests of the people who built them. Yet these stylistic inconsistencies explicitly

reveal how individuals from markedly different social backgrounds variously

participated in this commemorative project, making an effort not only to construct

material markers to preserve the emperor's traces, but also to ennoble their

environment to make it more fitting as a potential repository of imperial

historiography (fig. 4-18). Sites of the sacred traces were even transformed into

public parks where people could gather together to perform ritual ceremonies to

mark every important anniversary associated with the emperor.[74] Indeed, the

commemorative sites of the emperor began to enter the domain of everyday life,

reinforcing a sense of national community through its shared sense of spatiality

and temporality.

    Critical here is the local people's involvement in writing the histories of

the emperor. They even held exhibitions, supported by the networks of *shidankai*,

and thus commemorating these sacred objects as a sign of the emperor's royal

virtues, which they then kept and preserved.[75] Documents, manuscripts and

photographic records of the imperial progresses were collected, archived, and

tsuite," in *Shiseki meishō tennen kinenbutsu* Vol. 8, No. 12 (1933, 12): 993.

[74] For example, the local commissioners in the Niigata and Nagano prefectures made efforts to transform the resting spots of the emperor into small parks to retain the traces of the emperor in perpetuity. See Park Jinwoo, "Meiji tennō no 'seiseki' hozon ni tsuite," in *Rekishi hyōron* No. 478 (February 1990): 47.

[75] I have come across a couple of photographic albums housed in the National Diet Library in Tokyo, including *Meiji tennō gojūnkō Suwa gotsūren gojūnen kinen shashinchō* (Suwa: Suwa Shidankai, 1930), *Meiji tenno hokuriku tōkai gojunkō gojūnen kinen shashinchō* (Ueda: Ueda Shidankai, 1928), *Meiji tennō gojūnkō* (Yamagata: Yamagata Kyōdo Kenkyūkai, 1931), *Meiji tennō goiseki* (Shimonotsuke: Shimonotsuke Shidankai, 1930). Yet these publications comprise only a small part of the immense number of documents detailing the movement that surfaced in the early 1930s to research and write local histories in concert with the emperor's visits to local places.

displayed under the title of 'Memorial Exhibition of the Imperial Progress Tours in Meiji (fig. 4-19)."[76] In 1933 the government proclaimed a legal ordinance for the preservation of the sacred traces of the emperor, admitting them to the highest rank of important Japanese national heritage sites. The local people eagerly participated in the sacralization project, marking out the sites of the sacred traces, building commemorative monuments, and even physically retracing the itineraries of the Meiji emperor. They did not work for the state, but for themselves, thereby constituting themselves as the subjects of the new imperial history by marking the emperor's traces.

Of particular interest here is that the local historical agencies employed photography as a prime tool to mark the physical signs of the emperor embedded in, and grafted onto, the native sites. In the 1920s, the camera was no longer a rare and expensive instrument in Japan. During the period of 'Taisho Democracy,' middle class people could afford to buy cameras, produce high-quality photo prints by themselves, and even design photographic exhibitions.[77] A number of associations for amateur photographers were founded in major cities and prefectures. Even department stores, such as Mitsukoshi, supported the activities of amateur photographers by providing free gallery space, and by holding photographic contests.[78] Photography thus became a symbol of middle class

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[76] See, for example, the graphically produced exhibition catalogue entitled *Meiji tennō gojūnkō gojūnen kinen tenrankai shashinchō* (Yamagata: Yamagata Kyōikukai, 1932).

[77] Iizawa Kōtarō, *'Geijutsu shashin' to sono jidai* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1986): 43-50, Kaneko Ryūichi, "The Origins and Development Of Japanese Art Photography," in *History of Japanese Photography* (New Haven: Yale University Press in association with the Museum of Fine Arts, 2003): 106-109.

[78] It was in 1907 that the Mitsukoshi department store at Nihonbashi launched a photographic contest with a huge number of awards. The major popular magazine, *Taiyō*, also announced a photographic contest in 1906, and published selected photographs in subsequent issues of the

'taste (*shumi*),' a Taisho watchword referring to the pursuits and attainments of cultural life, as well as a cultured style of living, in distinct contrast with the Meiji slogans of 'civilization and enlightenment,' or 'a strong nation is built on the foundation of industry.'[79]

It should be noted that most of the images produced by these amateur photographers were of landscapes, rather than representing other genres, such as portraits or still lives. Amateur photographers employed the aesthetics of pictorialism to produce a better 'picture' than that obtainable by a mere snapshot. They thus experimented with various kinds of artistic techniques that could relativize the indexical traits of photographic images, especially by means of a soft focus, or by blurring the image during the process of printing.[80] In contrast to the bourgeois taste for pictorialism, the vast possibilities of the camera were soon to be explored in the academic fields of history and the social sciences. Since the 1920s, the camera's many advantages had come to the fore in the research trips of social scientists and historians, thus lending a neutral eye to record any and all sources of documentary evidence.[81] It has even been said that five out of seven people brought their cameras with them on research trips to native places.[82] Rather than catering to the pictorialists' aesthetic, these scholarly investigators

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magazine.

[79] As for the connotations of 'taste' in regard to Taisho commercialism and department store culture, see Jinno Yuki, *Shumi no tanjō: Hyakkaten ga tsukutta teisuto* (Tokyo: Keisō Shobō, 1994)

[80] The standards that the pictorialists struggled to attain were not restricted to Western-style painting (Yōga). They also sought to duplicate the visual practices of Japanese-style painting (Nihonga) by creating: "the literati-painting-like landscape image, evoking the realistic beauty of Ensan Shijō School, the decorative beauty of the Kōrin School, and the great folkloric expression of Tosa School." See Iizawa Kōtarō, ibid., 47.

[81] Ishikawa Kiyoshi, Sato Kenji, and Yamada Kazunari, *Mienai mono o miru chikara* (Tokyo:Yachiyo Shuppan, 1998): 20-22.

[82] Kuroiwa Yasuhiro, ibid., 505-509.

explored the enticing possibilities presented by the mechanical eye of the camera. Photography was used as the technical guarantor of the authority of their ethnographic fieldwork, which could provide both the mode and techniques of neutral, objective documentation. Yamazaki Naomasa, a pioneer of Japanese academic geography and a contributor to *Dai Nippon Chishi*, a huge geo-encyclopedia published by *Hakubunkan* during the Taisho period (1912-1926), regarded his interest in photography as a means to preserve historical sites, changing landscapes and invaluable national assets, regardless of their size and form.[83] Shiga Shigetaka, a theorist of 'Japanese Landscape,' advocated the power of photography in recording both natural and social landscapes.[84] Tsuboi Shōgorō, an anthropologist, planned to construct racial displays in the Japanese domestic exhibition at Osaka in 1905, and praised photography for its ability to register the truth of history. Photography, for Tsuboi, was itself a methodology for the preservation and conservation of important national heritage sites.[85] For them, photographic contingency, indexicality, and instantaneity could guarantee an intrinsically neutral and objective method of image-making, to present and recover the historic heritages of the Japanese monarchy.

It was this new discourse of photography that structured the methods and techniques used in the local studies on imperial sacred traces. In retracing the trajectories of the imperial tours, people were particularly keen to take photographs of objects that could visually reveal the passage of time. A fountain where the emperor had drunk water or had even taken a rest became a priceless

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[83] Yamasaki Naomasa, *Shiseki meishō tennen kinenbutsu kyōkai hōkoku* I (1911, 11): 33-34.
[84] Shiga Shigetaka, *Shiseki meishō tennen kinenbutsu kyōkai hōkoku* I (1911, 11): 63.
[85] Tsuboi Shōgorō, *Shiseki meishō tennen kinenbutsu kyōkai hōkoku* I (1911, 11): 67.

photographic object. Its continuously overflowing water seemed to connote the imperishability of the emperor, whose body and spirit would always be present in every corner of the Japanese archipelago (fig. 4-20). Pine trees were often regarded as important photographic subjects since they connoted the emperor and his everlasting spirit, which was thought to imbue the very landscape. The spirit of the emperor was seen to be as imperishable as the pine tree, and thus all the circumstances associated with its presence had to be preserved from change.[86] Even if the emperor's resting spot had been ruined by fire or earthquake, the camera would faithfully record the destroyed terrain, ironically revealing the untold pains people took to preserve the emperor's sacred traces (fig. 4-21).

At the same time, the central government mobilized the newly discovered photographic possibilities for inscribing official state history. In 1928 the Committee for the Preservation of Sacred Traces under the Ministry of Education had issued legal orders to local governments to send as many photographs of the imperial tours as possible to the state authorities.[87] Local people were ordered to produce photographic evidence of the absent emperor, and to send back the requested images to the central state authorities via local institutions. Interestingly enough, this formed a distinct contrast with the way the imperial portrait (*goshinei*) had been traditionally distributed from the central state authorities to the people through the medium of the local governments; yet whether the image was distributed in a top-down, or bottom-up manner, or through two-way forms of

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[86] The pine tree was also a representative symbol of the Showa emperor, who ruled at the very time when the movement for the preservation of the sacred traces of the Meiji emperor had reached its apex.

[87] Takaki Hiroshi, "Shiseki·meisho no seiritsu," in *Nihonshi kenkyū* No. 351 (November 1991): 70.

circulation, the nation state was able to successfully inaugurate the rituals and commemorative practices that would serve to sacralise the emperor's presence within local geographies. A prime target of power was the body of the subject, which could retrace the physical signs of the emperor via the camera, thus consecrating his imperishable sprit as expressed in the photographic portrait. As such, photography was a subjective technology that conferred its subject status upon the people – coercing the subject to participate in writing imperial history by picturing and preserving the traces of the emperor through photography.[88]

From *Tenran* to *Tenran*

> Today is September 7th, the 2nd year of Showa (1927). Fifty years have now passed since that time. We, the people of Ueda city, invited Sir Honda to the Imperial Household to listen to him talking on the great affairs of the Meiji emperor. At the same time we opened *tenrankai* with our reminiscences, a commemorative exhibition for the emperor to assemble the documents and precious objects associated with his memory.
> *Ueda Shidankai*, 1928

What does subjectivity mean with respect to the reconstitution of famous places? And how does this specific form of subjectivity relate to the imperial mode of viewing and perceiving national spaces? In bringing this chapter to a close, I want to briefly recall the creation of "*Nihon hyakkei*," a collection of a hundred representative landscapes in Japan, announced and launched in public in 1927. Supported by the Ministry of Railways and the Tokyo Daily Newspaper (*Tokyo*

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[88] I took the notion of 'photography as a subjective technology' from Thomas Lamarre, "Cine-Photography as Racial Technology: Tanizaki Jun'ichirō's Close-up on the New/Oriental Woman's Face," in Rosalind C. Morris (ed.), *Photographies East: The Camera and Its Histories in East and Southeast Asia* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009): 262.

nichinichi shinbun), *Nihon hyakkei* were chosen by the common people, who enlisted, voted for, and effectively commissioned candidates to create selected landscapes. The hundred Japanese landscapes garnered further political significance by being partially represented by famous artists, including Tayama Katai or Yokohama Taikan; but the common people also drew up and pictured the final list of landscapes.[89] Underlying the logic of *Nihon hakkei* was the notion that the physical environment formed the character of its inhabitants, and therefore landscapes and landscape images were frequently seen as representing the essence of the local characters. Ultimately, the images of *Nihon hakkei* were exhibited and circulated nationwide, serving to imbue the people's minds with local patriotism, which would reach out to include the larger national culture. The local people produced representative Japanese landscapes by themselves, viewing and appreciating them as the emperor once saw them during his trips. But if the all-encompassing eye looked out over the world outside, secure within the imperial panoptic regime, then, in the process of producing and exhibiting these landscape images, it was possible for his people to go even further, that is, to reassemble the world as seen from their own perspective, which had become that of the emperor. It was at this moment that *tenran* would signal its pervasive power, operating within the smallest duties and gestures of the mundane life of the people.

On the other hand, photography constituted people as subjects *for* the community, wherein their subjectivity was easily assimilated to the larger units of the village, the province, the nation, and the empire. Thus, the subject worked for

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[89] Miki Haruko, "Fūkei no shūshū: Ogasawara miyuki to Nihon hakkei," in *Kioi shigaku* No. 22 (2003)

the 'microcosmos of the modern monarchy,' wherein communal politics based on Confucian morality operated by means of tactical coercion. In this society, according to Fujita Shōzō, there was no space for the atomized individual, since the notion of the community only existed as an operating imperative to enforce social regimentation.[90] There thus emerged innumerable 'small emperors' in the local areas, controlling small village communities through the operative governing principles characteristic of the actual emperor, who controlled and legitimated their world through the same state-enforced prerogatives of legality and morality that the people's subject status – both authorized and sanctioned by the panoptic gaze of his imperial Majesty – made them only too liable to ratify and re-enforce in their turn.

Along with *Nihon hyakkei*, we can usefully highlight another type of exhibition that also helped to create and circulate the essential imaginary of the Japanese landscape. During the late 1920s, the anniversary exhibition of the imperial progress took place in each prefecture, wherein the photographic image played a role in charting out the local histories associated with the life of the Meiji emperor. There would always be a section devoted to local landscape photographs in the exhibition to display the various paths of development of the local places. While the principal object would once have been to offer up landscapes and sites for the emperor's inspection, it was now a question of using this material to point to the important role they played in the development of the local economy and its politics.[91] Apparently, local people were the agents of the production and

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[90] Fujita, ibid., 45-48.
[91] Preface in *Meiji tenno hokuriku tōkai gojunkō gojūnen kinen shashinchō* (Ueda: Ueda Shidankai,

exhibition of landscape images. In some sense, they brought *tenran*, the sacred

gaze of the emperor, into their own point of view in reorganizing the world in

concert with the life, death and lasting glory of the emperor.

However, the displayed image rarely reveals anything beyond the place

itself. Its significance is only registered when information is given to highlight the

regions where the emperor visited, and which his people subsequently revisited to

picture them. Beyond this, there were only the names of the people who devoted

their photographic works to the local government. The identity of the local people

was thus absorbed into the 'name of the place.' Within this structure, the people

did not exist as individual subjects, nor were they granted a distinctive subjectivity.

Instead, they were only left with the name of the community as an agency for

viewing and producing the spatial imaginaries of Japan. Put differently, the

subject was produced, trained, and positioned only in terms of the names of the

locales he belonged to, which were initially shaped and reshaped, whether by dint

of the claims made on behalf of the capitalist division of labor, or of Confucian

hierarchies regulating the orderly conduct of social and economic life.

The smaller life of the individual was doomed to be invisible within the

larger life of the community. By the late 1930s the community had already come

to replace the name of the individual, and it eventually operated as a conceptual

force and operating principle for the organization of Japanese Fascism, a little

later on.[92] But before the age of Fascism had ultimately dawned, there was a

period of interregnum wherein the different legacies of *tenran* intersected in the

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1928).

[92] Fujita, ibid., 46.

photographic discourses and practices that embodied it. Photography, the symbolic embodiment of *tenran* (天覧), was the locus for generating a new kind of knowledge and representation of the imperial famous places, which, in turn, brought about a new mode of vision and subjectivity constituted in the domain of a different kind of *tenran* (展覧), the public display.[93]

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[93] In Japanese, both terms have the same phonetic properties, yet their written inscriptions are different. The former is transcribed 天覧 (the gaze of the emperor), while the latter is written 展覧 (public display).

FIGURES

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Uchida Masao, *Yochi shiryaku* Vol. 1 (Daigaku Nankō, 1870)
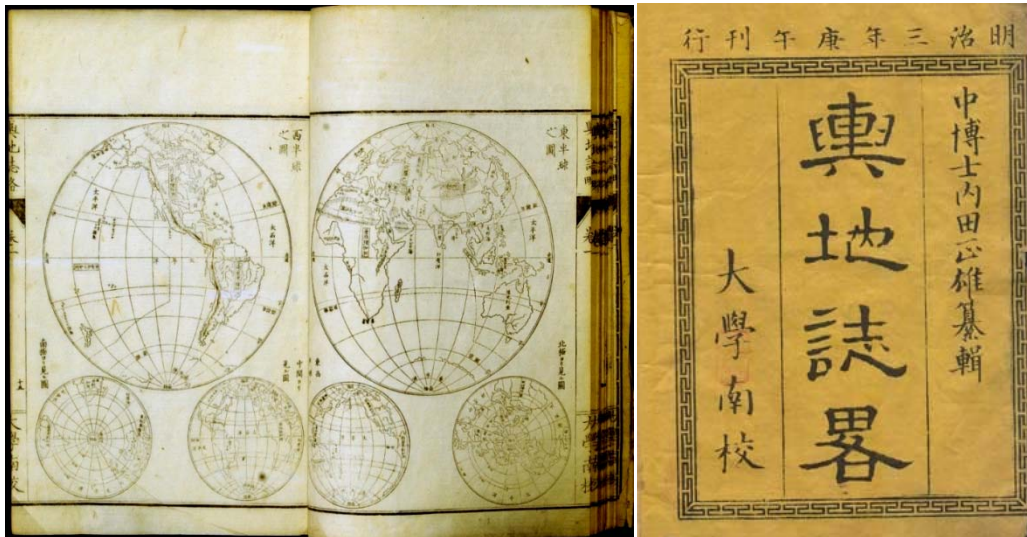
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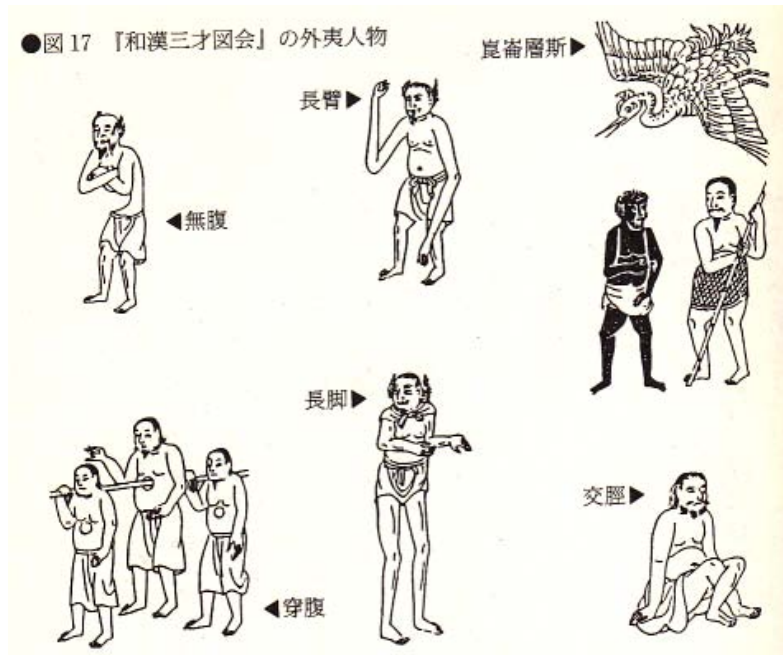
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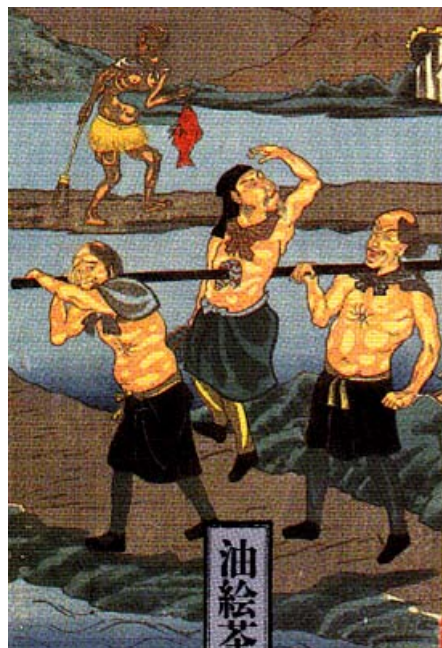
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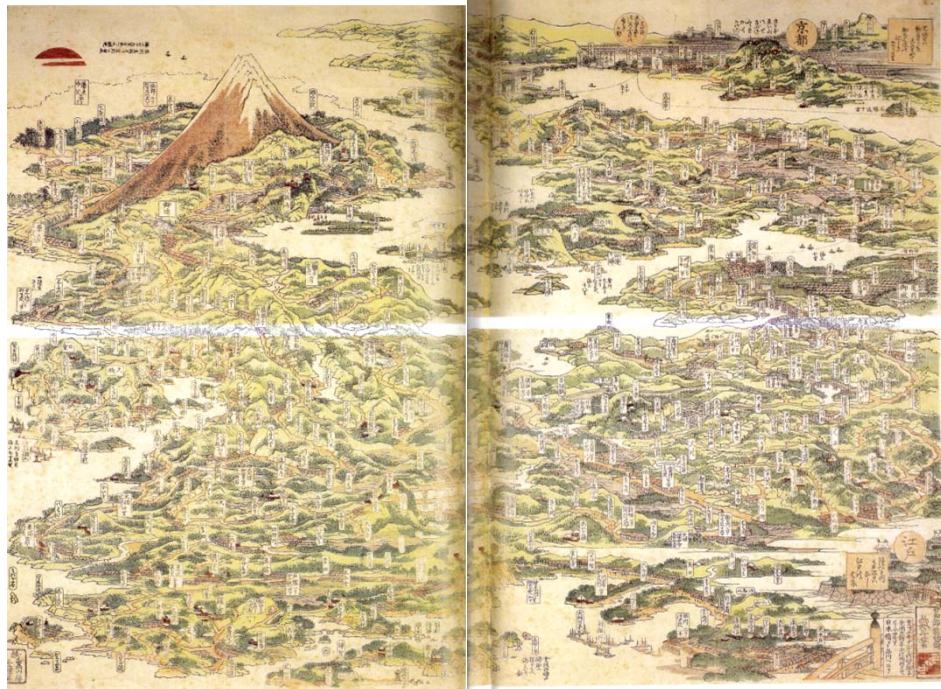
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Indian Woman in *Bankoku shashinchō* (left) and *Yochi shiryaku*
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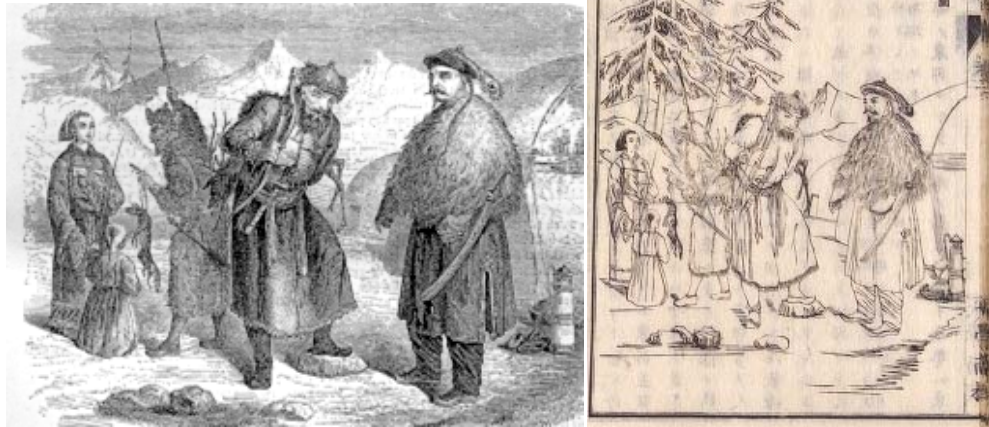
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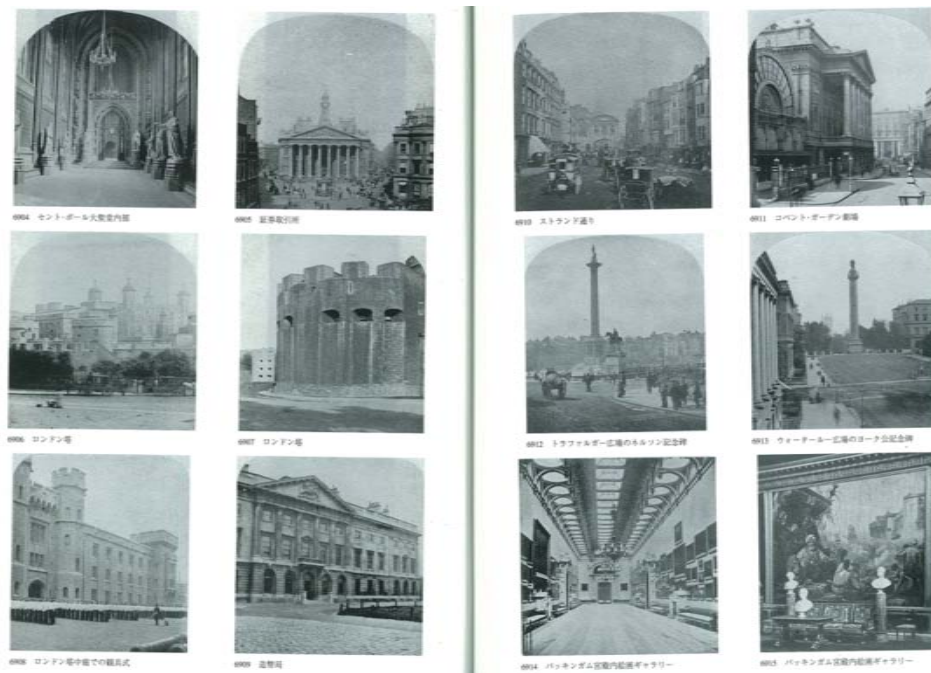
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9136　広東　大商人ホ・アウア邸の庭　　　　9133　肖像画の前に坐る高級中国婦人

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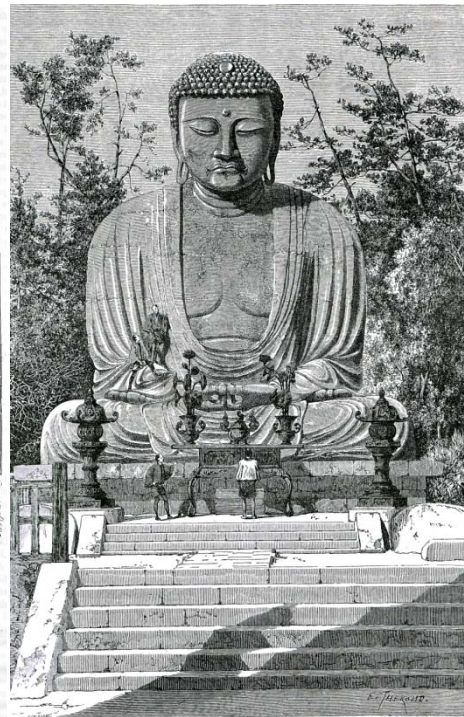
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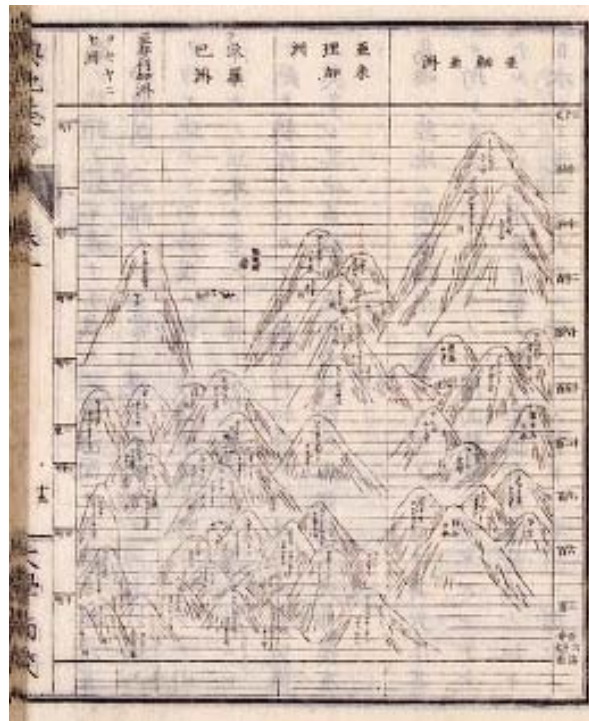
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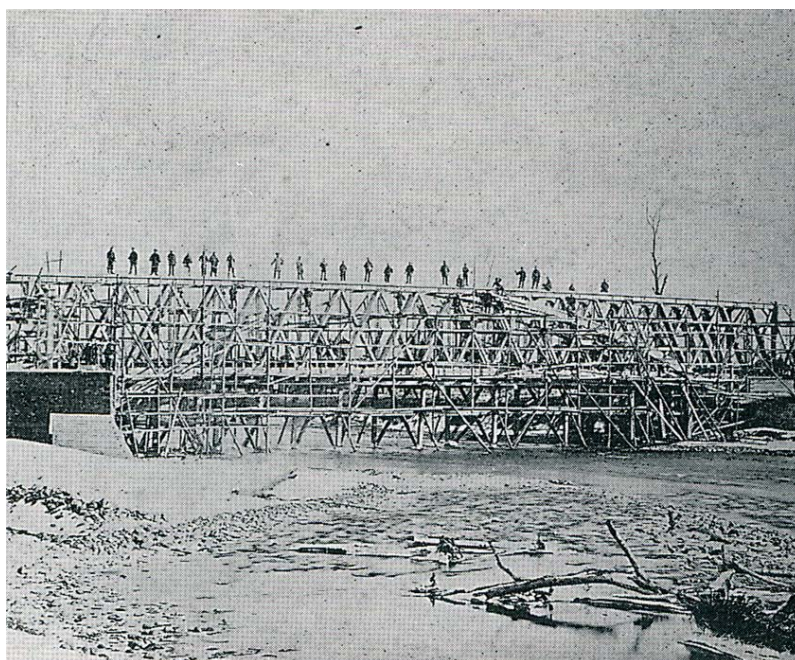
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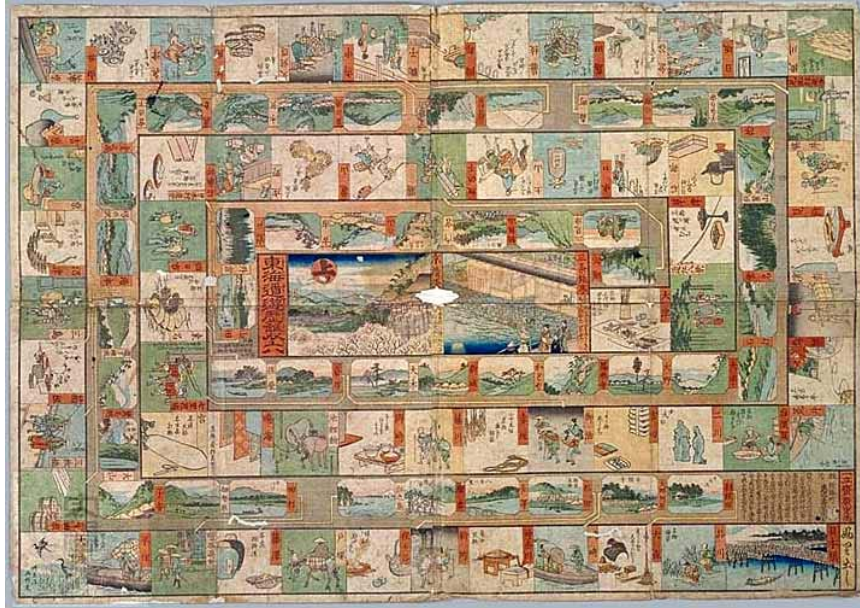
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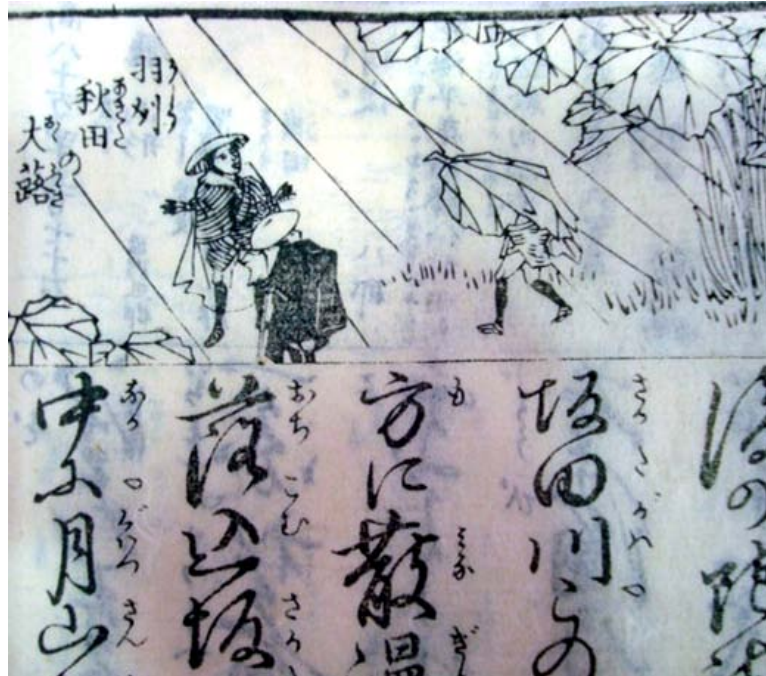
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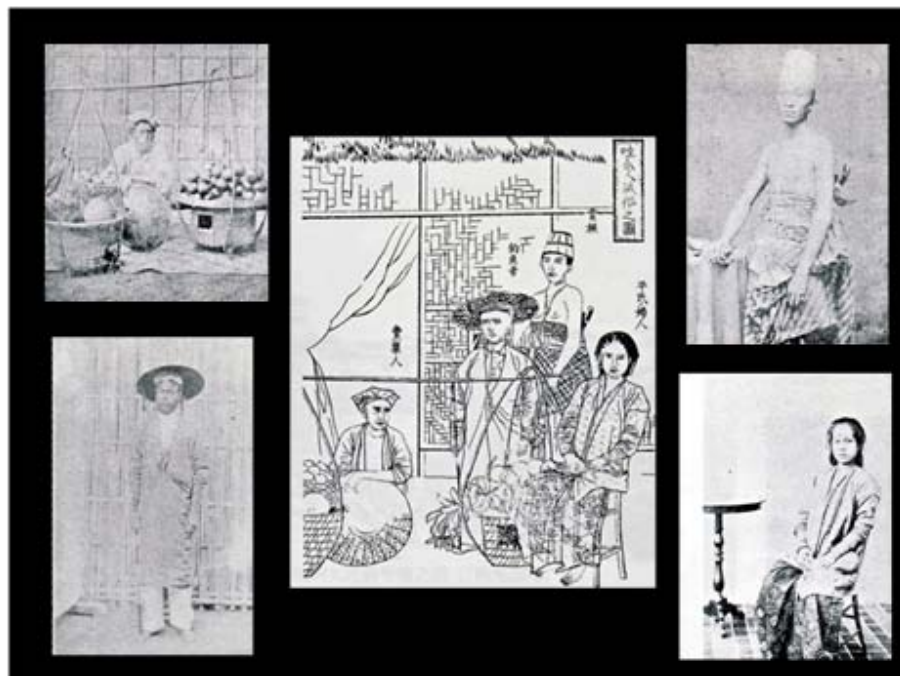
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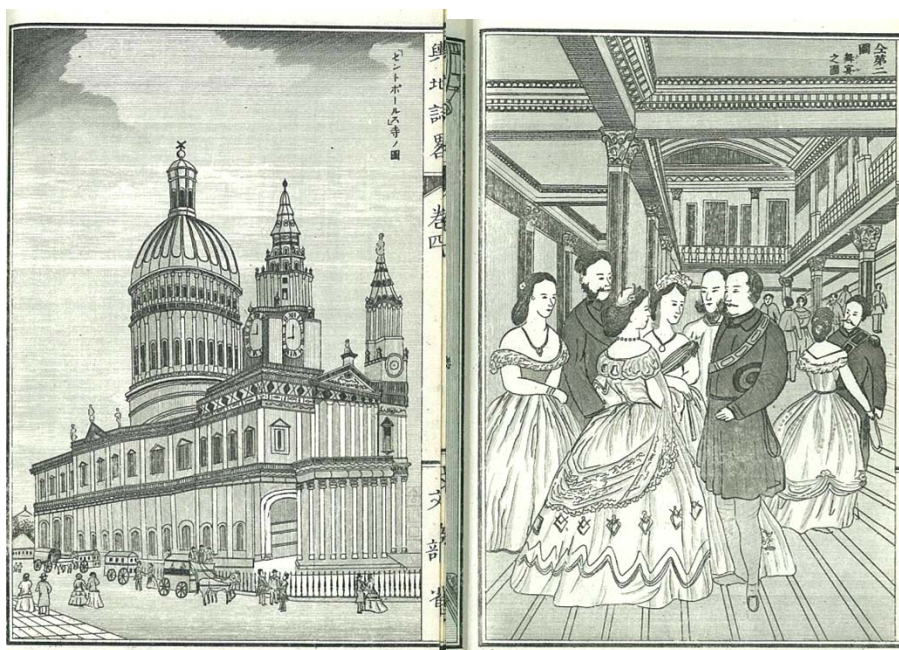
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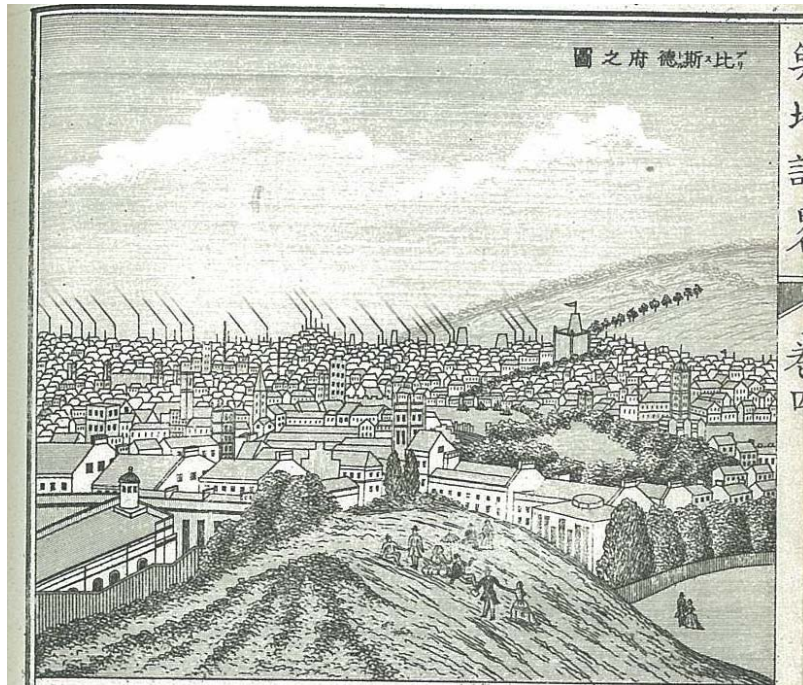
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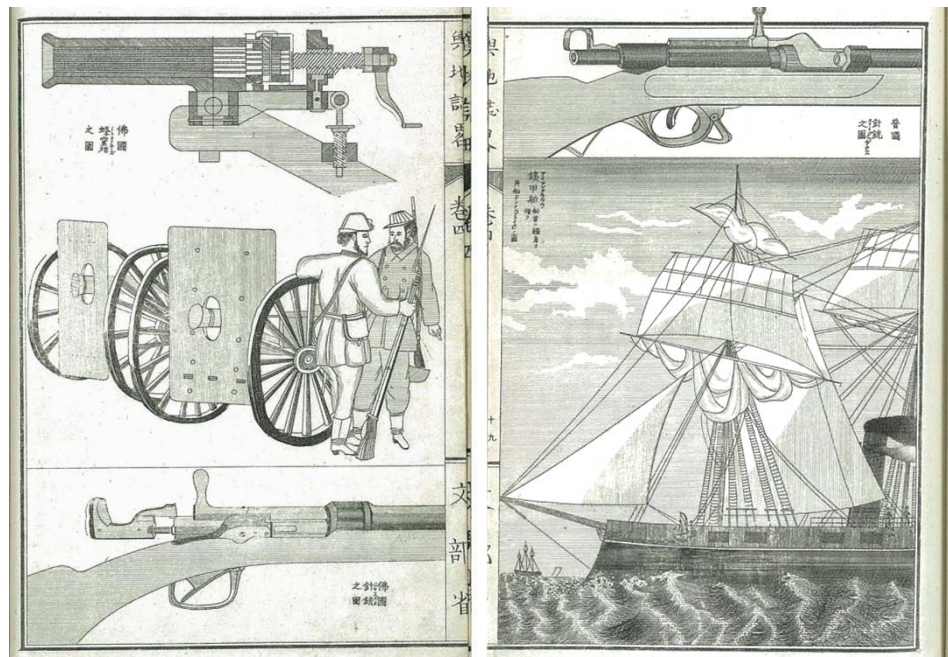
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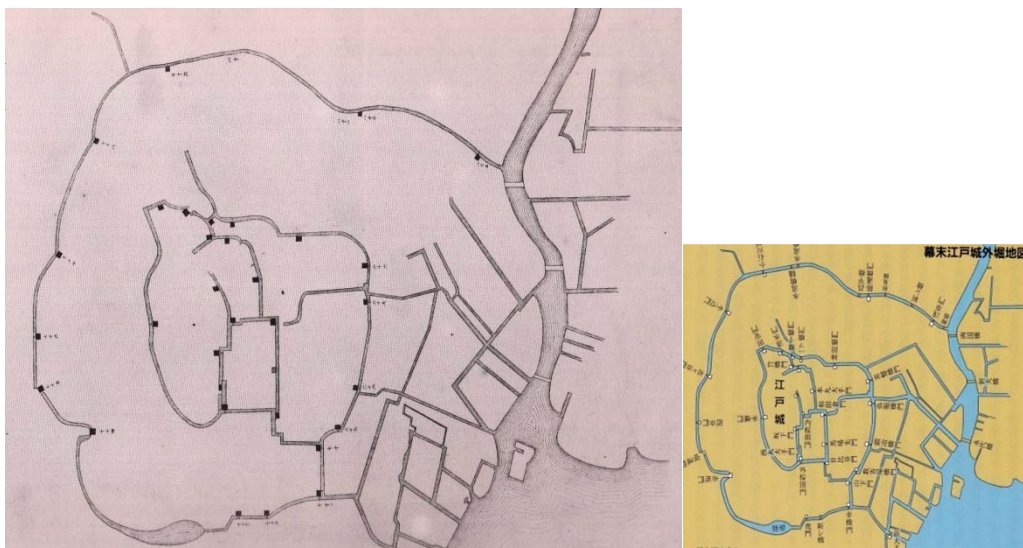
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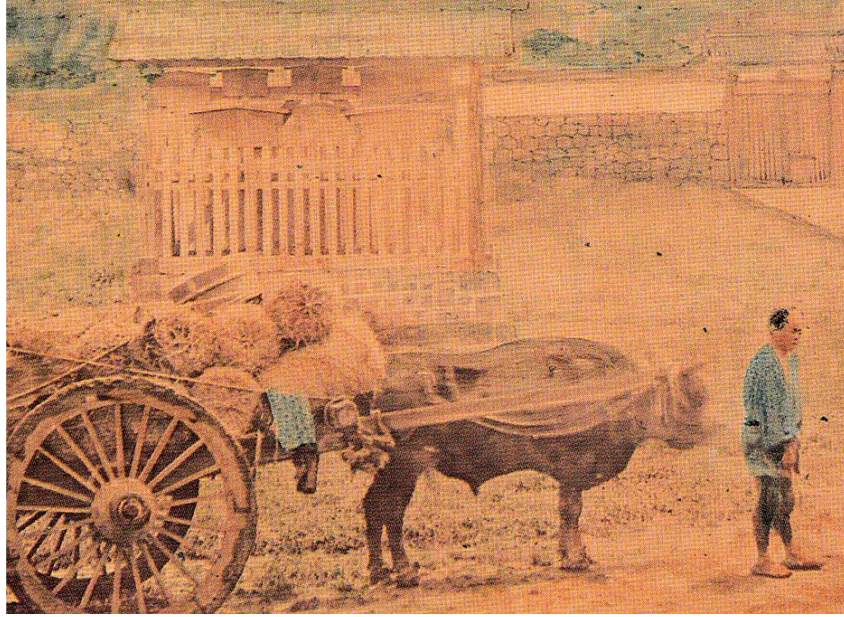
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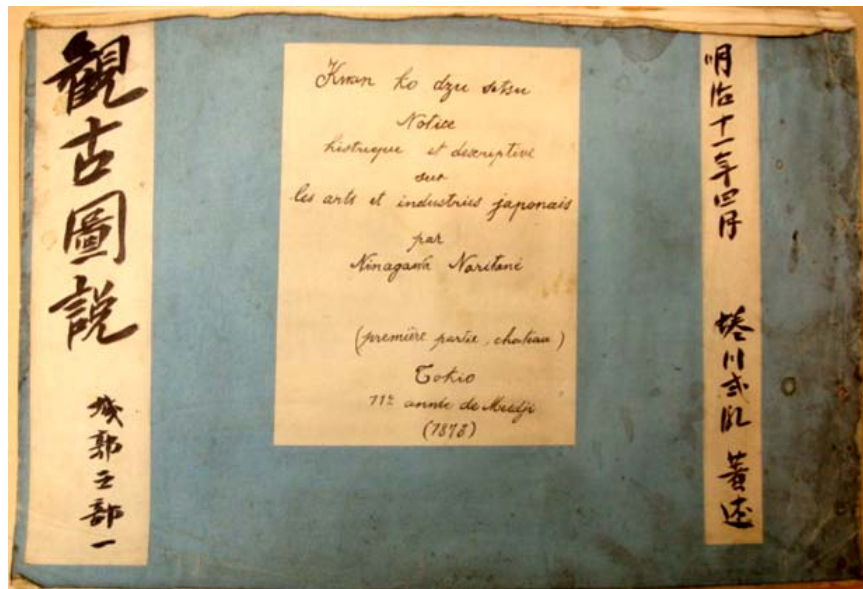
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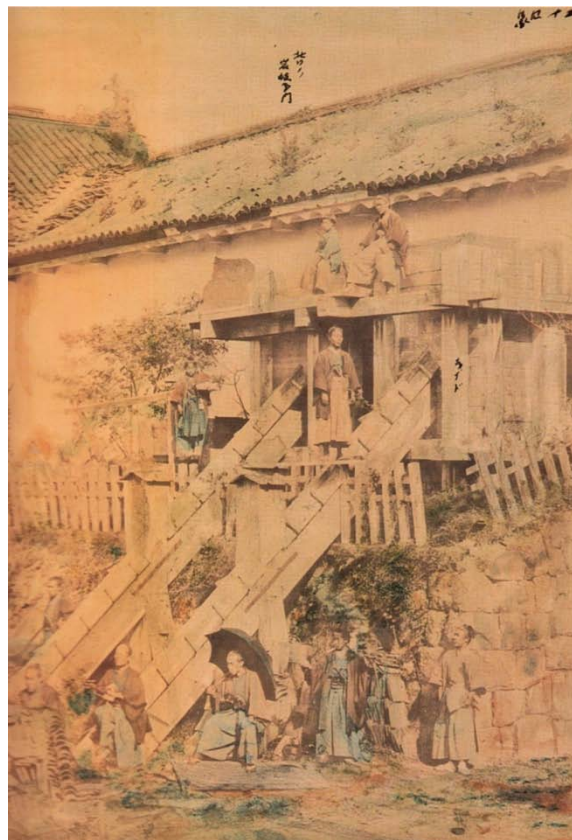
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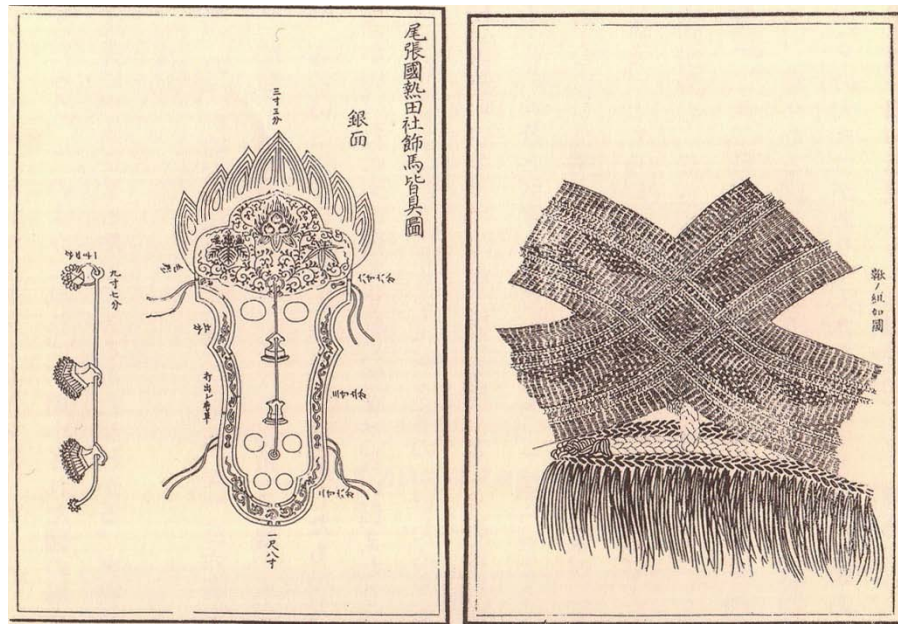
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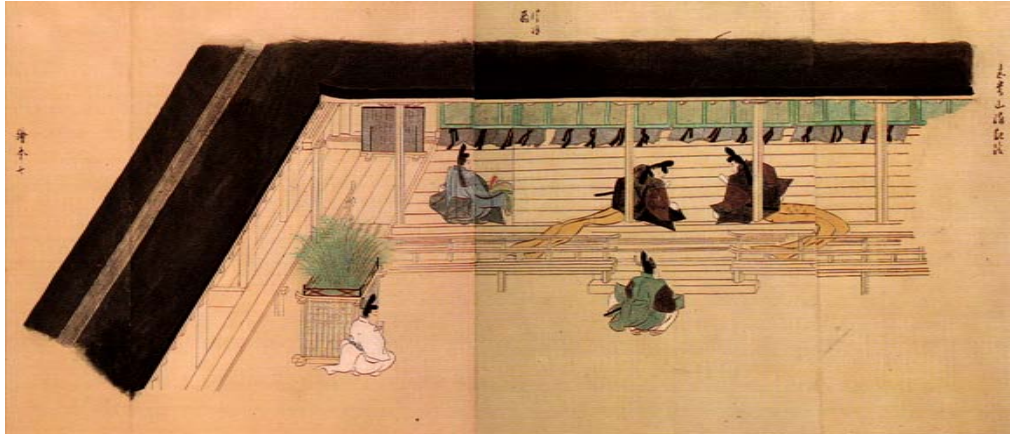
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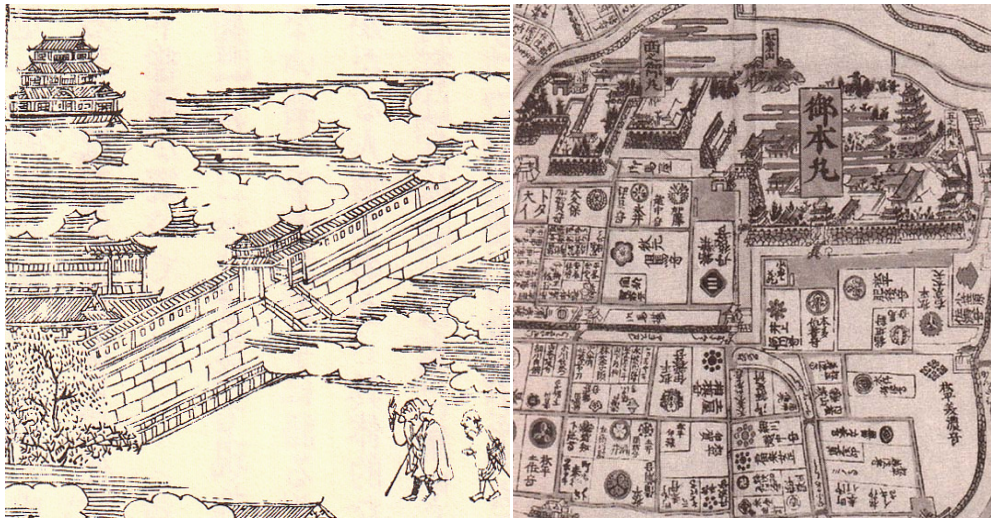
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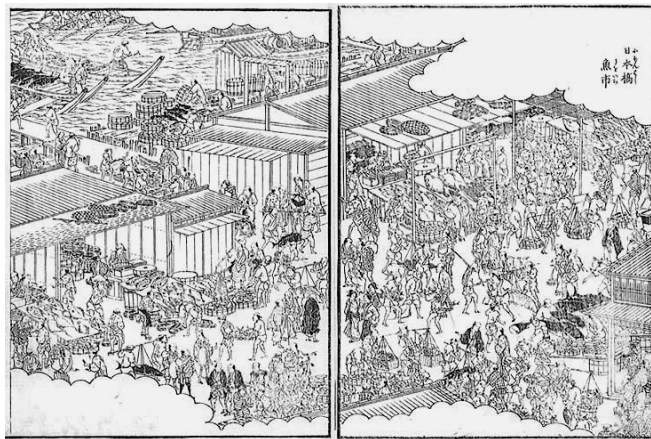
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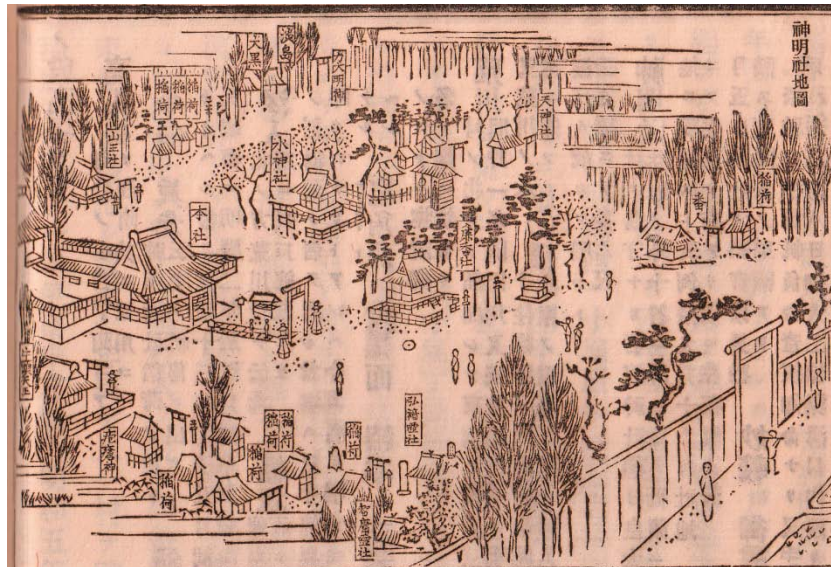
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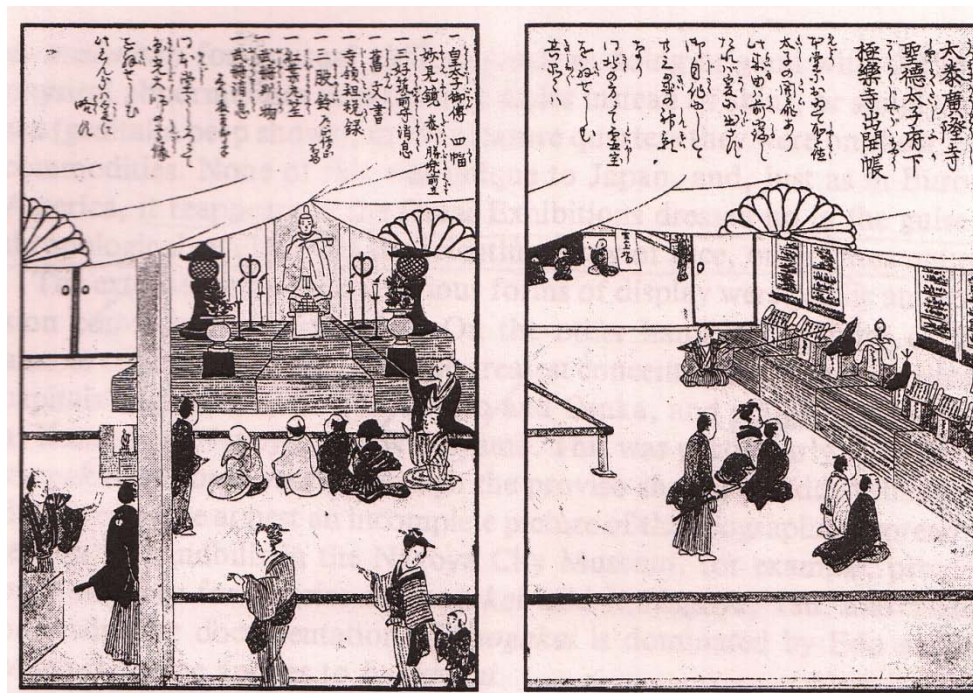
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Figure 2-17
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53③　横山松三郎　旧江戸城写真　第九図　台紙に鶏卵紙
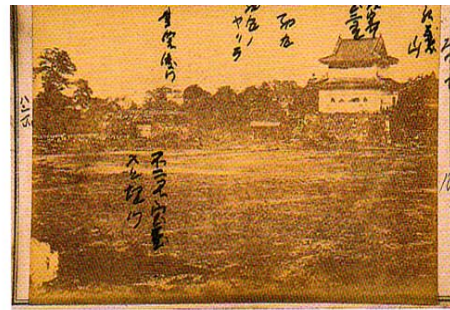
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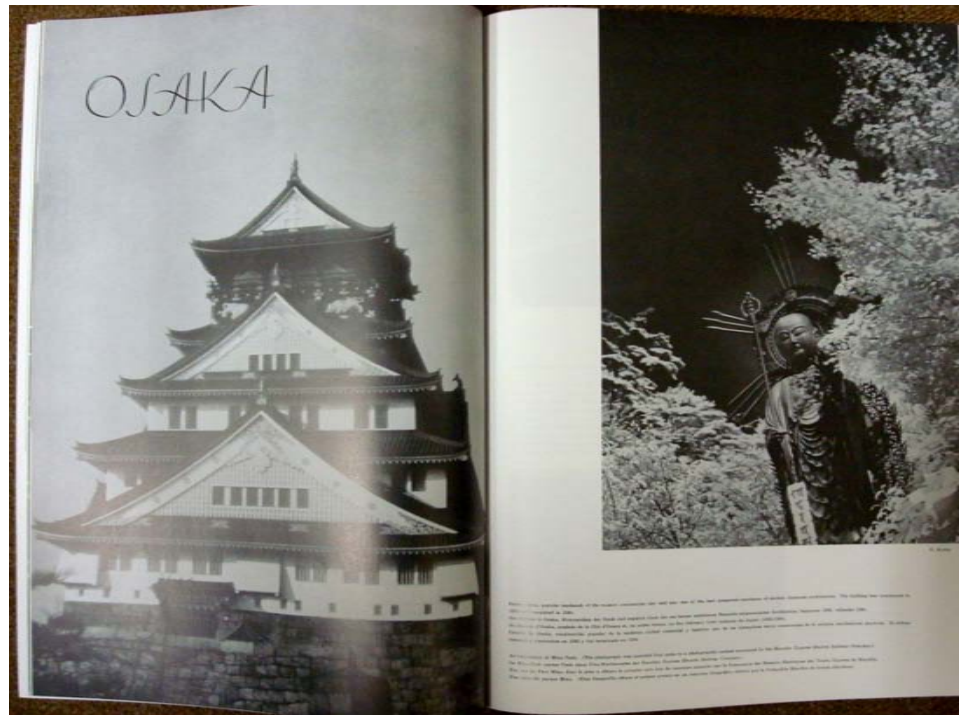(Tokyo: Chikuma Shōbo, 2007)

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From the second left: Ninagawa Noritane, Uchida Masao, and Machida Hisanari
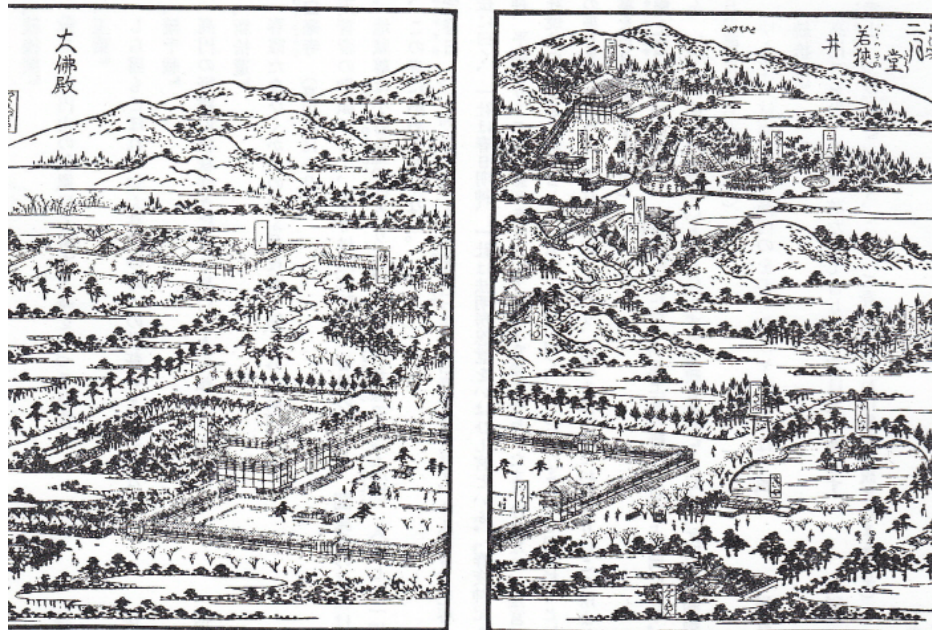at the Yoshima Seidō exhibition, 1872

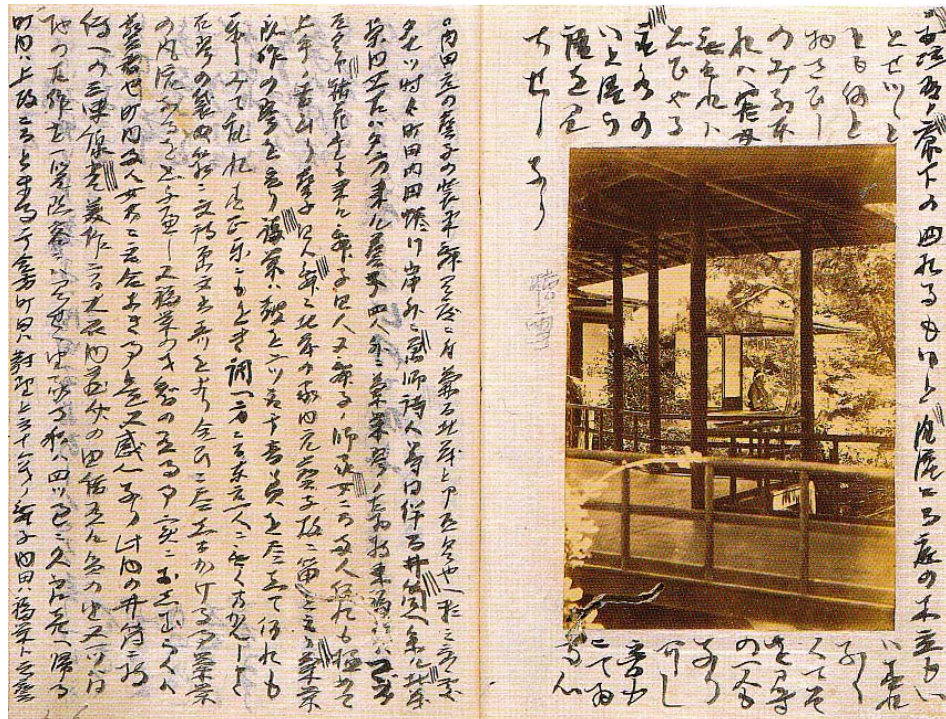Figure 3-2
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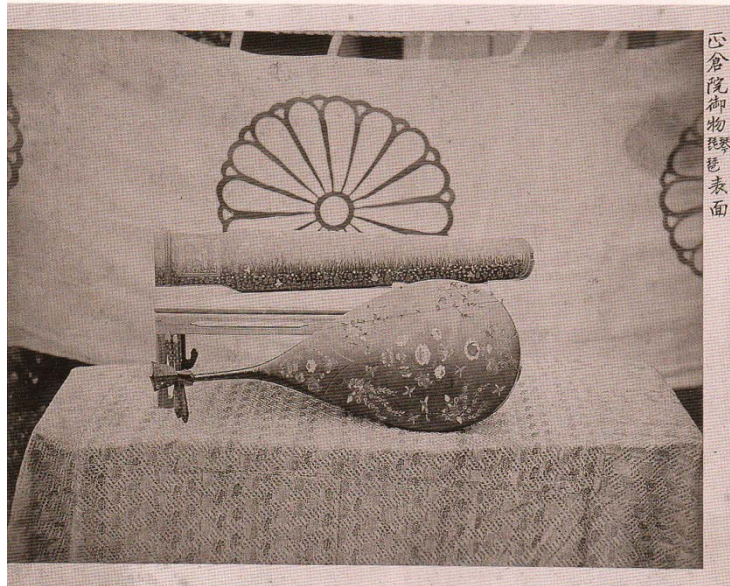(Tokyo: Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography, 2000)

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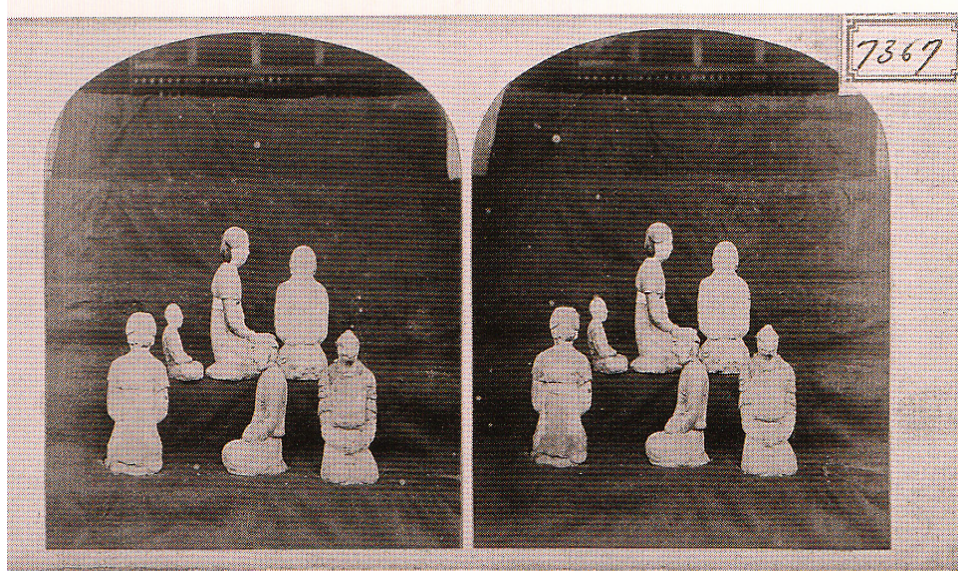(Tokyo: Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography, 2000)

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Yokoyama Matsusaburō, The Geisha Mie. In *Nara no suzimichi*
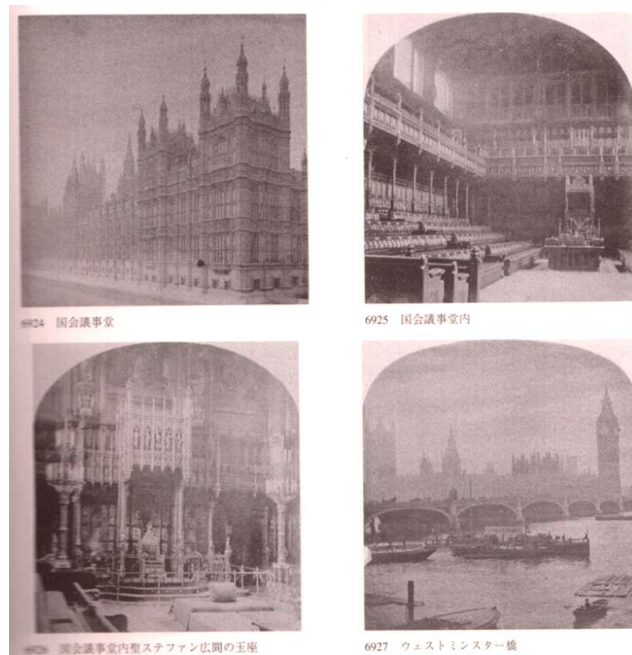(Tokyo: Chūōkōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 2005 (1872))

Figure 3-11
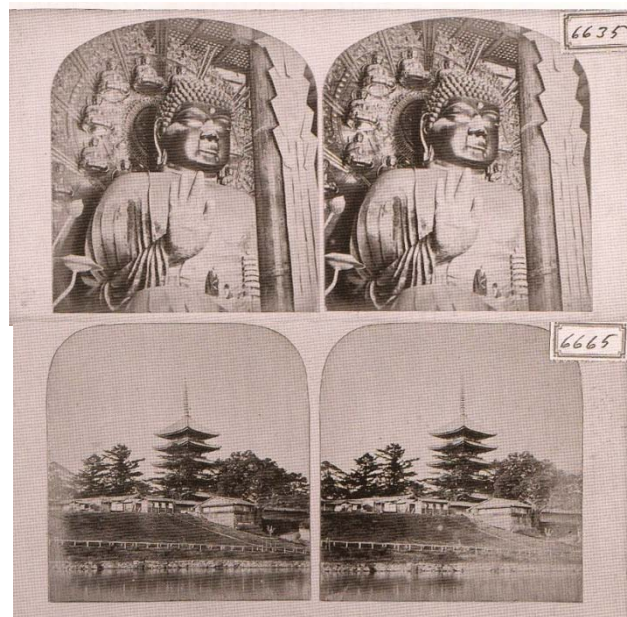*Bankoku shashinchō: Germany*

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○川勝像　太子ノ時ノ人、此五十有余二見
へ、色茶色、冠上平ニシテ、ヒタヒニ丸
ノ文有リ、襷二本後ニたれ、袍黒ク袴白
ク、少し作新シク見ラル、然れ共、一千
年ノ物ニ思ふ、衣服ノ考ヘニ成る可形な
り、我国木像中ノ古物ナリ

○東寺の不開門前なり
塔を見の圖　此門ハ昔の門二面、塔ハ
寛永年中の再建ニし而、高三十六間五
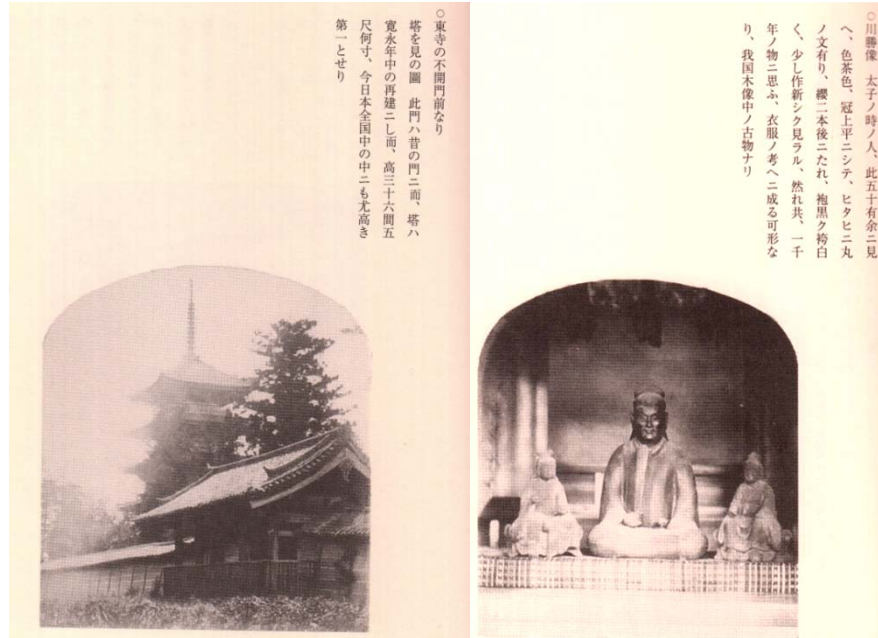尺何寸、今日本全国中の中二も尤高き
第一とせり

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Yokoyama Matsusaburō, Tōji and Katsura Palace. In *Nara no suzimichi* (Tokyo:
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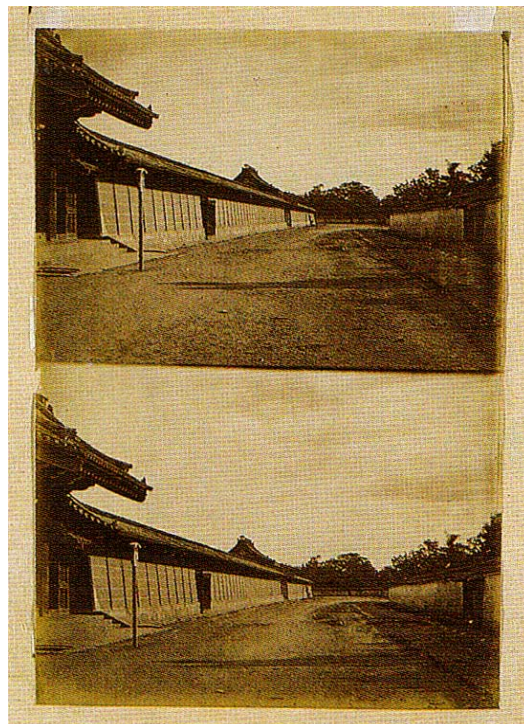Yokoyama Matsusaburō, The Old Imperial Palace in Kyoto.
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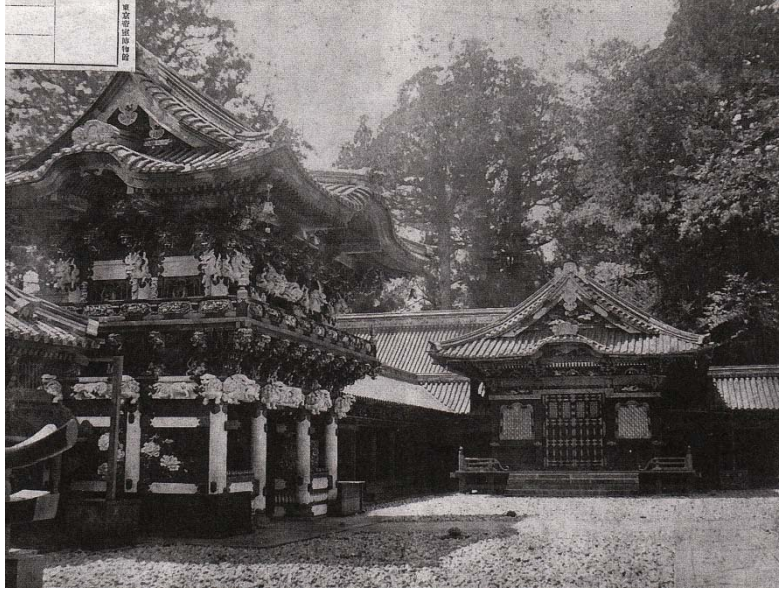Matsusaburō to Nikkōsan shashin." In *Museum* Vol. 535 (1995)
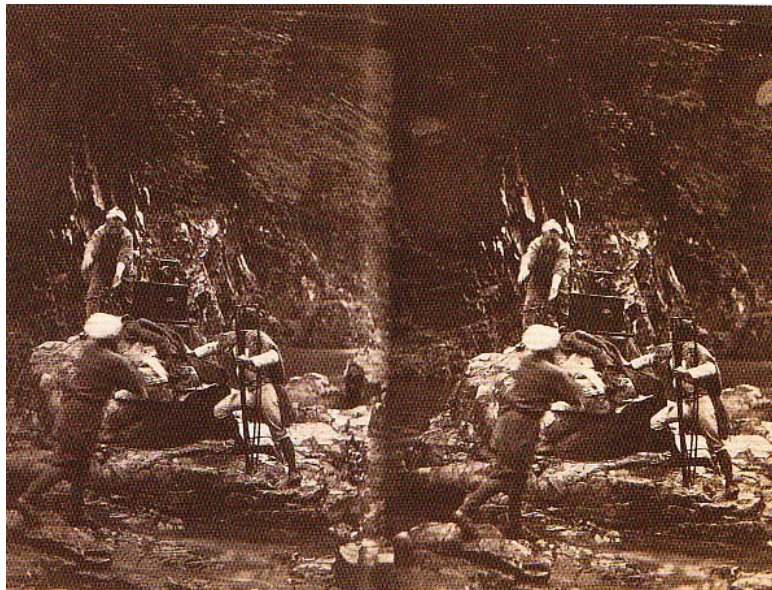
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明治天皇の六大巡幸

近畿・中国・九州巡幸（明治5年）
奥羽巡幸（明治9年）
北陸・東海巡幸（明治11年）
山梨・三重・京都巡幸（明治13年）
山形・秋田・北海道巡幸（明治14年）
山陽道巡幸（明治18年）
主要な行在所
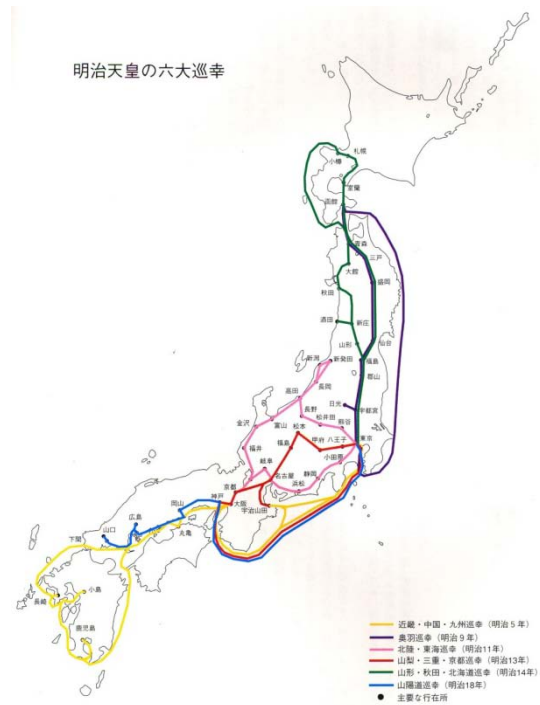
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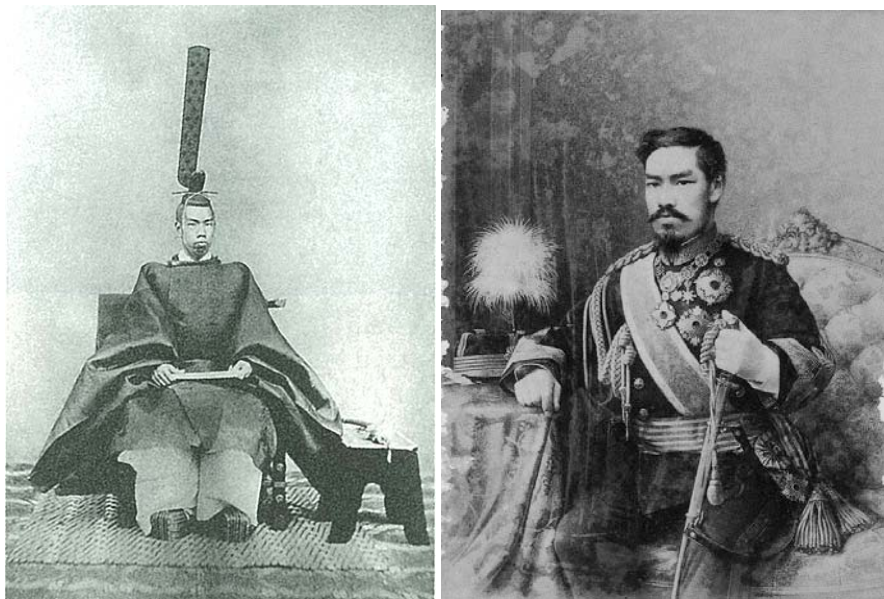
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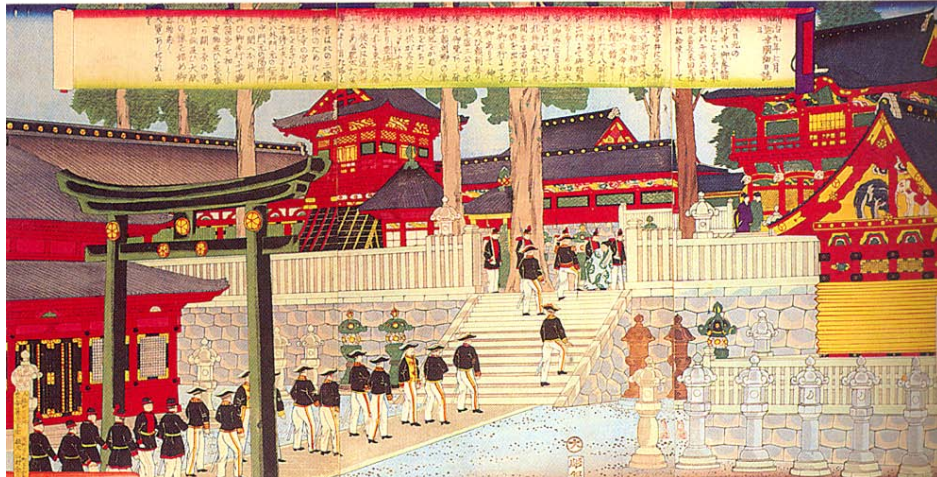(Tochigi: Tochigi Kenritsu Hakubutsukan, 1997)

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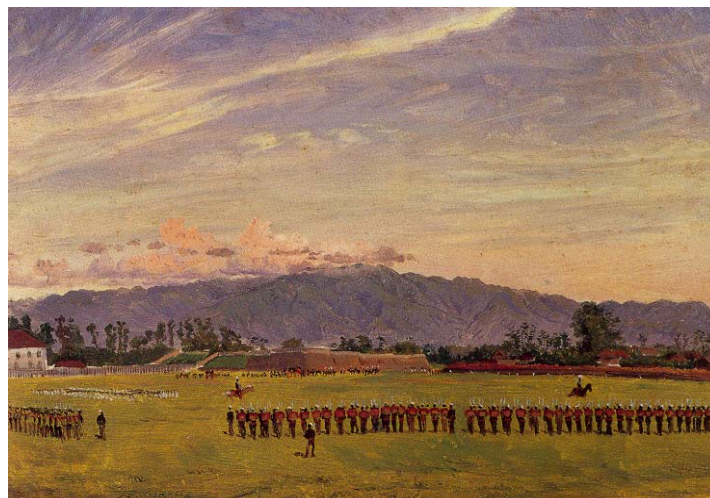
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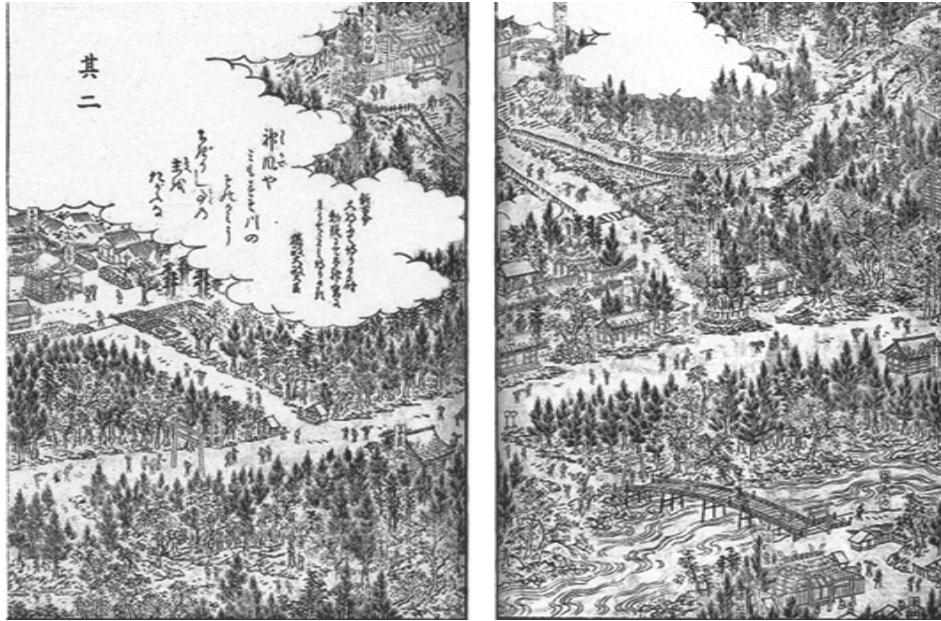
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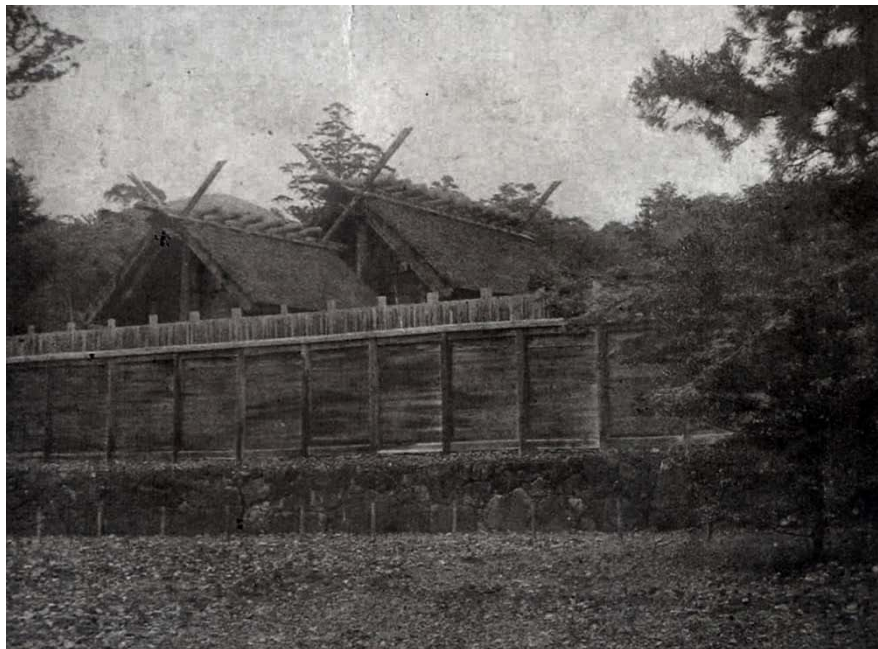
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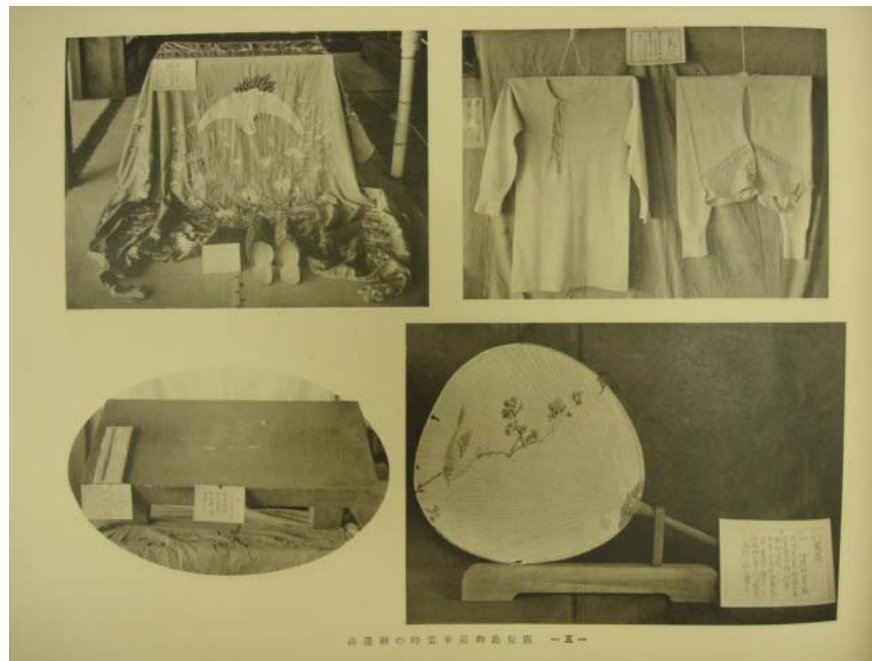
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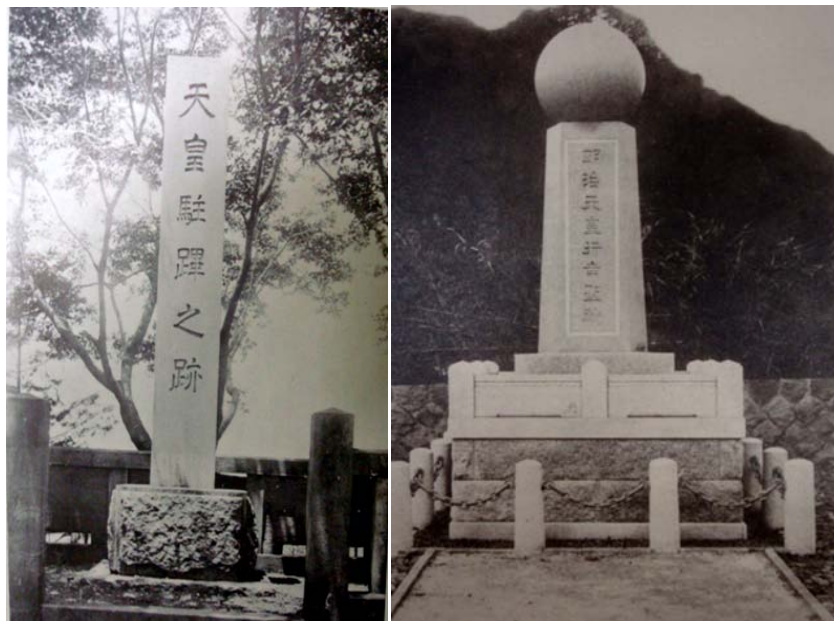
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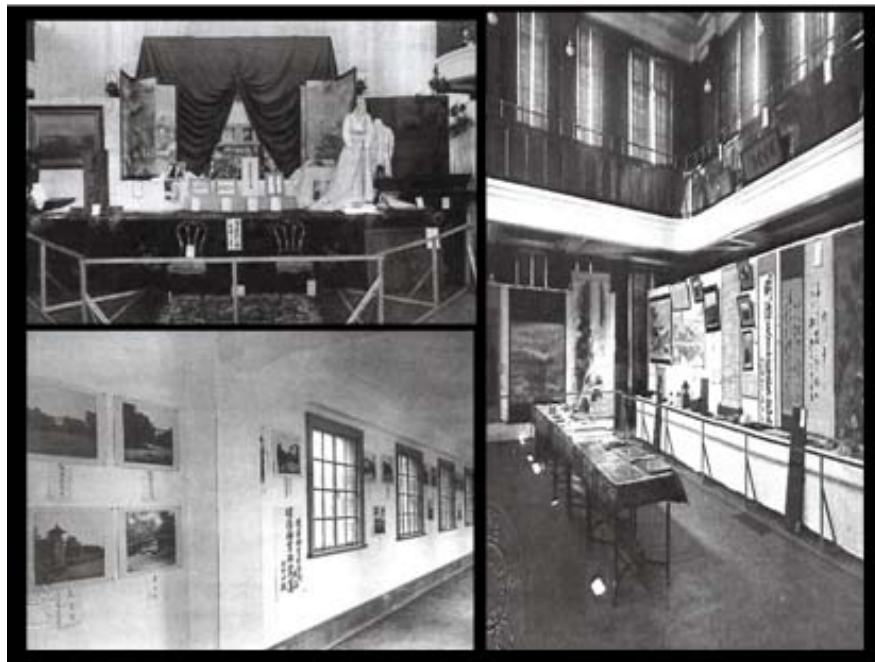
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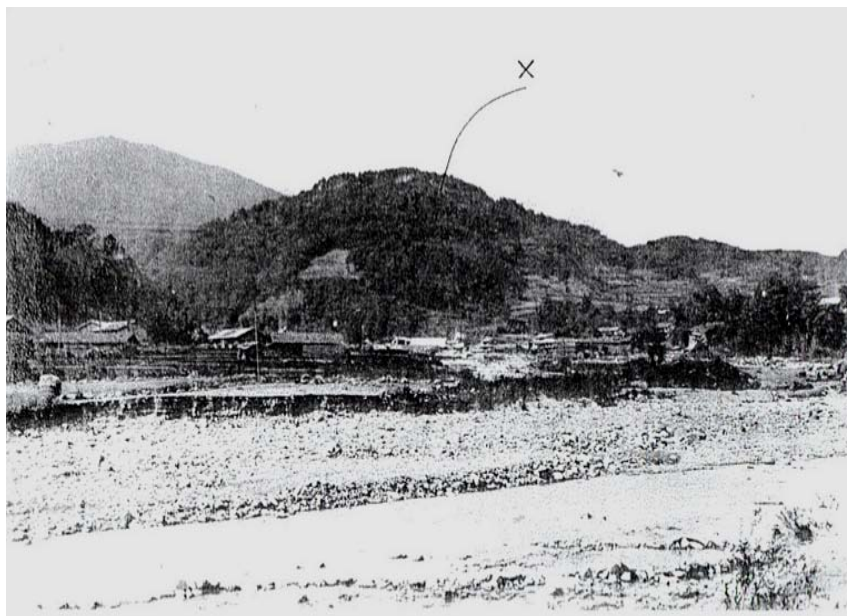
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GLOSSARY

INTRODUCTION

bakushin　幕臣
Edo　江戸
Edo meisho zue　江戸名所図会
fūkei　風景
furu waka　古和歌
genbun icchi　言文一致
keishoku　景色
kinenhi　記念碑
Meiji　明治
meisho　名所
meisho byōbu　名所屏風
meisho e　名所絵
meisho ukiyo e　名所浮世絵
misemono　見世物
mitate　見立て
na no aru tokoro　名のある所
shashin　写真
shinkeizu　真景図
shin o utsusu　真を写す
shiseki　史跡
Tenpō　天保
Tokugawa　徳川
utamakura　歌枕
uki e　浮絵

CHAPTER 1

bankoku　万国
Bankoku shashinchō　万国写真帖
bunmei kaia　文明開化
chiri　地理
Daigaku nankō　大学南郊
Daigaku nankō bussankai　大学南郊物産会
Dai Nippon Chishi　大日本地誌
datsu a　脱亜
ezu　絵図

fukoku kyōhei　富国強兵

Fukuzawa Yukichi　福沢諭吉

Fūryū shidōken den　風流志道軒伝

fūzoku jinbutsuzu　風俗人物図

Hakubunkan　博文館

ho'utogurahi'i　フヲトグラヒ一

kaigun denshūsho　海軍伝習所

Kai tsūshō kō　華夷通商考

kō a　興亜

kokusei　国勢

meirokusha　明六社

michiyuki　道行

monbushō　文部省

Nakamura Masanao　中井正直

narabe　並べ

Nihon chiri ōrai　日本地理往来

Nihon fūkeiron　日本風景論

ōraimono　往来物

Oranda gakusei　和蘭学制

Rangaku　蘭学

San cai tu hui　三才圖會

Sashi e chiri ōrai　挿絵地理往来

Seikoku isshin　西国立志

Seiyō shiryaku　西洋史略

Sekai kunizukushi　世界国尽

Shanhai jing　三海経

shomin no gaku　庶民の学

sokueizu　捉影図

sugoroku　双六

Uchida Masao　内田正雄

Yochi shiryaku　與地誌略

Wakan sansei zue　和漢三才図会

Yōfūga　洋風画

Yushima seidō hakurankai　湯島聖堂博覧会

zukushi　尽くし

CHAPTER 2

bussangaku　物産学

daimyō　大名

daijōkan　太政官

damon　大門
chado　茶道
e　絵
e　画
enkaku　沿革
fudoki　風土記
fukko shugi　復古主義
haihan chiken　廃藩置県
hakubutsugaku　博物学
hakushinsei　迫真性
honchōfū　本朝風
honmaru　本丸
iro　色
jitsubutsu　実物
kaiseijo　開成所
Kankozusetsu 観古図説
Kankozusetsu: Jōkaku no bu 観古図説: 城郭之部
kara kuni no e　唐国の画
kenchiku　建築
Koga ruijū　古画類聚
kohin kyūbutsu　古今旧物
kokenchiku　古建築
ko kin　古今
kōkoga　好古家
kōko no hito　好古の人
kokugaku　国学
kōshōgaku　考証学
kotoba　言葉
kyūbutsu 旧物
Kyū Edojō 旧江戸城
Kyū Edojō shashinchō　旧江戸城写真帖
Matsudaira Sadanobu　松平定信
meibutsugaku　名物学
meishoki　名所記
mokuroku　目録
mote asobi　玩び
muyō no chōbutsu　無用の長物
nihonbashi　日本橋
Ninagawa Noritane 蜷川武胤
Rakukōsha　楽工舎
sansuiga　山水画

seidokyoku　制度局
Seimeiron　正名論
shachihoko　鯱
shin kyū　新旧
shiseki　史籍
sho　書
Shūko jūshu　集古十種
shūkokan　集古館
shushigaku　朱子学
Takahashi Yuichi 高橋由一
tenshū　天守
yamato emaki　大和絵巻
yōfū kenchiku　洋風建築
Yokoyama Matsusaburō 横山松三郎
ukiyo e　浮世絵
wafū　和風
waga kuni no e　わが国の画
zu　図
zuroku　図録

CHAPTER 3

bansei ikkei 万世一系
bijutsu　美術
bunkazai　文化財
chokufū　勅封
daibutsu den　大仏殿
fūzoku　風俗
hakubutsukyoku 博物局
Jinshin kensa 壬申検査
kaichō　開帳
kechi'en　結縁
kodai　古代
kofū　古風
kohin kyūbutsu hozonhō　古品旧物保存法
kokei　古景
kokutai　国体
koshaji hozon hō　古社寺保存法
kosho　御所
kunaishō　宮内省
kyōbutsu　御物

kyōdaibutsu　巨大物
Machida Hisanari　町田久成
mushiboshi　虫干し
shasei　写生
Shimo'oka Renjō　下岡蓮杖
shinbutsu bunri　神仏分離
shiseki meishō　史跡名勝
shokusan kōgyō　殖産興業
Shōsōin　正倉院
shūkokan　集古館
Tempyō　天平
Tenpō　天保
Tōdaiji　東大寺
Tōshōgū　東照宮
waga kuni no kono fūzoku　わが国の古の風俗

CHAPTER 4

anzaisho　行在所
chihōshi　地方史
daijōe　大嘗会
ehagaki　絵葉書
gojunkō　御巡幸
gojunkō shashin　御巡幸写真
Goseda Yoshimatsu　五世田義松
goshin'ei　御真影
gyokuren　玉連
hōshō seido　報償制度
Jiyū minken undō　自由民権運動
kunitama　国霊
kunimi　国見
kyōdo kenkyūkai　郷土研究会
marebito　稀人
meguri　巡り
Meiji tennō seiseki　明治天皇聖跡
Meiji tennō seiseki hozonkai　明治天皇聖跡保存会
meisho byōbu　名所屏風
meisho kyūseki　名所旧跡
meishō shiseki　名勝史跡
miyuki　御幸
naikoku hakurankai　内国博覧会

Nihon hyakkei　日本百景

nishiki e　錦絵

ōkurashō　大蔵省

seiseki　聖跡

seisekichi　聖跡地

seisekika　聖跡化

seiseki shashin　聖跡写真

sento　遷都

shaseiga　写生画

shidankai　史談会

shirasu　知らす

Shiseki meishō tennen kinenbutsu kyōkai　名勝史跡天然記念物協会

shumi　趣味

taisei hōkan　大政奉還

Taisho　大正

Teikoku koseki torishirabe kai　帝国古跡取調会

tenko　天子

tenran　天覧

tenran　展覧

tenranni kyōsubeshi　天覧に供すべし

tentō　転倒

Uchida Kuichi　内田九一

yamato byōbu　大和屏風

yamato tamashi　大和魂

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