NOTE TO USERS

Christophe Thouny

Faculté of Graduate Studies and Research
Department of East Asian Studies
Mc Gill University, Montreal

March 2002

Mapping Tôkyô
Cartography and Modernity in Japan in the Early Meiji Period

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research on partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Masters.

"Marco Polo describes a bridge, stone by stone.

- But which is the stone that supports the bridge ? asks Kublai Khan.

- The bridge is not supported by such or such stone, answers Marco, but by the line of the arc they all form.

Kublai Khan remain silent, he thinks. Then he adds :

- Why are you telling me of the stones ? I am only interested in the arc.

Polo answers :

- Without stones, there is no arc.

Calvino, Italo . 1993 . *Les Villes invisibles* . p.100

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank Pr. Looser for his guidance during the last two years and the inestimable help he gave me in the exploration of this, for me, new field of research opened up by cultural studies and critical theory. This is not to mention the value of his teaching for my personal development. I am also especially grateful to Pr. Takashi Machimura for his help and support during the year I spent at Hitotsubashi as an exchange student. The many discussions we had as well as his bibliographical guidance through Japanese academics greatly enriched my work of research by giving me access to valuable sources and theoretical materials. I owe a great debt of gratitude to Jean-Michel Mollier and his family for their intellectual and emotional support the last few years. And of course all my fellow researchers from France, Rémi Scoccimaro, Dorothée Cible-Pucelle and David Malinas. Finally, I want to thank my parents and my brother who have always supported me since I decided to devote myself to the study of this strange country at the other side of the world populated by samurai and geisha.

ABSTRACT

Mapping Tôkyô . Cartography and Modernity in Japan in the Early Meiji Period

Studies of the Early Meiji Period have until now been mainly articulated around the issue of continuity and discontinuity between the Edo and Meiji eras. Thus Tôkyô has become the central locus of production of multiple discourses on Japanese modernity, urbanity and culture.

This work adopts a discontinuist approach by considering each era as two entirely distinct, although related, historical assemblages. For this, I focus my study on the conditions of production of Tôkyô as a modern urban space. The entry into modernity is the crossing of a threshold. As Edo is marked by the order of the general equivalent and the law of the sumptuary, Tôkyô is produced in abstract space. We shift from an essentially heterogeneous space to a homogeneous, fragmented and hierarchized space. Following Henri Lefebvre, I try to analyze the production of modern abstract space as it is associated with a new mode of control of social space through administrative policies, cartography and urbanism.

Mapping Tôkyô . Cartographie et Modernité au début de l'ère Meiji

Les études portant sur les premières années de l'ère Meiji ont jusqu'à maintenant porté essentiellement sur la question de la continuité ou de la rupture entre les ères Edo et Meiji. Tôkyô est devenu le lieu de production de multiples discours sur la modernité, l'urbanité et la culture japonaise.

Ce travail adopte une approche favorisant la thèse de la rupture. Chaque ére est considérée comme un agencement historique distinct, bien que lié l'une à l'autre. Pour cela, je centre mon étude sur les conditions de production de la ville de Tôkyô considéré comme un espace abstrait. L'entrée dans la modernité est un saut, le franchissement d'un seuil. Edo est marqué par l'ordre de l'équivalent général et la loi du somptuaire, alors que Tôkyô est produite dans l'espace abstrait moderne. Nous passons d'un espace essentiellement hétérogène à un espace homogène, fragmenté et hiérarchisé. Me basant sur les travaux de Henri Lefebvre, j'essaye d'analyser la production de l'espace moderne abstrait, associé avec un nouveau mode de contrôle de l'espace, à travers les pratiques administratives, cartographiques et urbanistiques.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure *Page*

PREFACE

This work comes out of a personal interest in maps, especially old maps, those works of art, antique but still warm, still embedded in the place they have appeared in. Looking at such maps, one has the impression to open a window on a place forever lost but still accessible by means of these temporal portals. Time machines ? In a way, maps have that magical, surreal power. Couldn't we say the same about any human artifact, poetry, or architecture ? Is it only a question of personal, subjective sensibility ? Maybe, but there is more to this. Maps are parts of the physical realm (after all, it is a physical artifact), as well as the social and the mental ones. "Cartography resists the split of the geographical discipline into human and physical geography." [1] This is one of the reasons why recently, in the field of social and cultural theory, 'maps', 'mapping', and related spatial terms like 'place', 'position', 'location', have become ubiquitous metaphors for advocating 'spatial politics'. Yet, cartography is only emerging recently as an academic field of research in North-America[2] ; "Metaphorical treatments and uses of 'space' have evolved quite independently from materialist treatments of space."[3]

An interest in maps, and in a city, Tôkyô, capital of the modern nation-state of Japan. Maps occupy a central place in Tôkyô studies, although there use and production have never been subjected until now to any form of critical analysis. Correctly read, a map would give us a direct access to the social space it depicts by establishing a mimetic relationship with reality. Not surprisingly, modern maps of Tôkyô have been neglected by academic works in favor of Edo maps, *Edo-zu* 江戸図. This unbalance reflects both the epistemologic lack at the heart of cartographic studies and their intimate link with politics. Although there is an old tradition of mapmaking in Japan, Tokugawa cartography cannot be explained according to modern principles of

[1] Bosteels, Bruno (1996), p.115

[2] "Preface," in *The History of Cartography* , ed. J. B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987-), 1:xv-xxi

[3] Neil Smith & Cindi Katz, "Grounding Metaphor . Towards a spatialized politics" in Keith, Mickael & Pile, Steve . ed. *Place and the politics of identity* .(1993), pp.67-83

cartography. Modernity[4] , as in all parts of the world, produces an entirely distinct social space, what Henri Lefebvre has called modern abstract space. Starting from this initial hypothesis, we will try to show how modern cartography in the Early Meiji period plays a central role in the construction of the modern nation-state of Japan and of its capital Tôkyô, and how it produces and reproduces abstract space at all levels of social reality.

Mapping the real

For philosophers who are critical of the notion of representation, this term should be restricted to "things like maps and codes--things for which we can spell out rules of projection which pair objects with other objects, and thus embody criteria of accurate representation. If we extend the notion of representation beyond such things, we shall burden ourselves with a lot of philosophical worries we need not have"[5] . This is a highly questionable argument, but it points out the essential representative nature of maps, "graphic representations that facilitate a spatial understanding of things, concepts, conditions, processes, or events in the human world."[6] Following Henri Lefebvre, planning and mapmaking activities take place at the level of representations of space, the *conçu.* Maps are representations of space, but on what mode of representation do they work ?

[4] The use of the term 'modernity' will be discussed later. We can say now that we speak here of historical modernity, not modernity as an atemporal mode of existence. We will not enter in the discussion of the origins of modernity that should be replaced by the one of its conditions of production and reproduction. While we can date the apparition of modern technologies, and thus explain many processes of modernization in terms of revolutions, others are the result of long process of evolution, more the result of successive, micro-displacemetn, than brutal ruptures. Modernity should rather be understood in terms of a cultural form, a particular historical and geographical assemblage that articulates new and old elements (chronologically) in an specific way. At the end of the XIXth century, in most of the countries of the world, something has changed : Modernity is there.

[5] Richard Rorty, commenting on work by Donald Davidson, states, "I take his point to be that we should restrict the term 'representation' to things like maps and codes--things for which we can spell out rules of projection which pair objects with other objects, and thus embody criteria of accurate representation. If we extend the notion of representation beyond such things, we shall burden ourselves with a lot of philosophical worries we need not have."
Rorty, Richard (1993)

[6] "Preface," in *The History of Cartography* , ed. J. B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987-), 1:xv-xxi, esp. xvi.

Contemporary critical theory, both in the marxist and the poststructuralist approach, stresses the necessity of spatial politics for which the concept of mapping becomes central. Mapping is not limited to mapmaking, that is the production of maps, neither, as we will see later, can it be completely identified with cartography. What is mapping ? It is a process, a way of relating to the *real*, to what is *perceived*, spacially. For Geoff King, "cultures are maps of meaning, through which the world is made intelligible". Mapping gives meaning to the world we live in, to what we experience everyday. It produces and imposes order on our chaotic perceptions, which "presuppose what in higher animals and in man has come to be known as a 'cognitive map', a system of coordinates on which meaningful objects can be plotted."[7] Mapping would be then a universal practice, necessary for human beings to live in the world ; an act of power, both conscious and unconscious. There are of course numerous modalities in the act of mapping, and our modern map is only one of the possible ones. Poetry, dances, songs are other kinds of mapping, based on performance rather than competence ; children drawings. As David Harvey remarks, graphic representations and concepts vary greatly from society to society and also between individuals within a group.[8]

In the field of critical theory, mapping aims at producing global, large scale representations, in the form of a map, a text, a drawing, of a given object. Thus to counter the growing fragmentation of intellectual life, numerous scholars attempt to draw large scale maps or "world pictures" in the form of atlases and dictionaries[9] . The debate over the mappability of totality constitutes one of the main points of opposition between marxism and poststructuralism. As Borges has shown, the paradox of complete and self-reflexive mimesis leads the cartographic ideal to an

---

[7] King, Geoff . *Mapping Reality . An Exploration of Cultural Geographies* (1996), pp.40-41

[8] "For example, the concept of a line--whether signifying a boundary, a pathway, or some connection between two geographic elements in the landscape--is so basic to modern Western cartography that 'we take it for granted, as given in reality. We see it in visible nature, between material points, and we see it between metaphorical points such as days or acts.' Among the people of the Trobriand Islands of Papua New Guinea, however, there is no indication that lines are conceived as connecting point with point during a journey, and hence representing such a relationship as a line would make no sense."
"Introduction," in *The History of Cartography 2.3* , ed. J. B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press,)

[9] One just have to remember the numerous dictionnaries and global national histories recently published in France.

alternative between tautology and infinity[10] . The structural incompleteness of cartography (identified here with mapping) as mimesis and its intricate link with cultural imperialism stresses the necessity for a re-definition of mapping and cartography, based on a different mode of representation. In his now classical essay, "Postmodernism or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism"[11] , Frederic Jameson argues for the necessity of "an aesthetic of cognitive mapping" so as to pursue the socialist project in the postmodern world[12] . This total map presupposes a "global social totality" that, although unrepresentable must somehow be knowable. "The debate has moved from strictly formal and theoretical matters into the political and ideological arena"[13] and is being articulated around the premise of a gap between map and territory. For Jameson, this gap is due to the fact that "content" ultimately resists "form", as the (Lacanian) real "resists symbolization absolutely" . On the other hand, postructuralists explain it by the inevitable excess of the symbolic order of the map over the territory.

The cartographic turn fully happens when the critical-deconstructive interpretation of the "map" as a mimetic and panoptic form of representation leads to a "poiesis", implying an affirmative definition of representation. The map is coextensive with the territory. Actually, it is the very distinction between map and territory that ceases to be relevant. The cartographer both replicates and conceives. This concept of cartography is central to Deleuze and Guatttari's thinking that opposes the "tracing" (*calque*) and the map :

> "What distinguishes the map from the tracing is that it is entirely oriented toward an experimentation in contact with the real. The map does not reproduce an unconscious closed in upon itself ; it constructs the unconscious. It fosters connections between fields, the removal of blockages on bodies without organs, the maximum opening of bodies without organs onto a plane of consistency. It is itself a part of the rhizome. The map is open and connectable in all of its dimensions; it is detachable, reversible, susceptible to constant modification. It can be torn, reversed, adapted to

[10] We refer here to two texts of Jorge Luis Borges, "On Rigor in Science" and "Partial Enchantments of the Quixote", that have become unavoidable in any theoretical discussion on mapping and cartography.
[11] Jameson, Frederic (1984)
[12] This project, very close to the modern ideal of the individual subject, autonomous and responsible, adopts a reactionnary attitude to what it defines as the postmodern world.
[13] Bosteels, Bruno (1996), p.125

all kind of mounting, reworked by an individual, group or social formation. It can be drawn on a wall, conceived of as a work of art, constructed as a political action or as a mediation."[14]

Cartography is then a productive process, a creation, and not an instrument of reproduction. It is a real abstraction, an unformed, pure "Function-Matter" (*une pure Fonction-Matière*), a diagram of forces, maps of trajectories and of becomings, both extensive and intensive, made of relations of movement and rest between molecules and particles, capacities to affect and be affected. Every social formation has its diagram(s) of forces, that constantly intersects and transforms other maps and diagrams. As Deleuze explains, "[A] diagram is a map, or rather several superimposed maps. And from one diagram to the next, new maps are drawn. Thus there is no diagram that does not also include, besides the points which it connects up, certain relatively free or unbound points, points of creativity, change and resistance, and it is perhaps with these that we ought to begin in order to understand the whole picture."[15]

Modernity and Japan

The revolution of Meiji, sometimes called restoration (of the Emperor), or renovation, is traditionally considered as the starting point of the modernization of Japan, a modernization imposed by the West since the coming of Commodore Perry in the Bay of Uraga in 1853, but that does not lead, as in China, to an external form of colonization. The revolution, that started out as a xenophobic conservative movement

[14] quoted in Kaufman, Eleanor and Heller, Kevin Jon (1998), p.4
cf. Deleuze, Gilles and Guattari, Felix (1980), p.20
«Si la carte s'oppose au calque, c'est qu'elle est toute entière tournée vers une expérimentation en prise sur le réel. La carte ne reproduit pas un inconscient fermé sur lui-même, elle le construit. Elle concourt à la connection des champs, au déblocage des corps sans organes, à leur ouverture maximum sur un plan de consistence. Elle fait elle-même partie du rhizome. La carte est ouverte, elle est connectable dans toutes ses dimensions, démontable, renversable, susceptible de recevoir constamment des modifications. Elle peut être déchirée, renversée, s'adapter à des montages de toute nature, être mise en chantier par un individu, un groupe, une formation sociale. On peut la dessiner sur un mur, la concevoir comme un œuvre d'art, la construire comme une action politique ou comme une méditation.»

[15] quoted in Kaufman, Eleanor and Heller, Kevin Jon (1998), p.8
cf. Deleuze, Gilles (1986), p.51
«un diagramme est une carte, ou plutôt une superimposition de cartes. Et d'un diagramme à l'autre, de nouvelles cartes sont tirées. Aussi n'y a-t-il pas de diagramme qui ne comporte, à côté des points qu'il connecte, des points relativement libres ou déliés, points de créativité, de mutation, de résistance ; et c'est d'eux, peut-être, qu'il faudra partir pour comprendre l'ensemble.»

against the 'barbarians' and in favor of a return to the old imperial system corrupted by the *Shôgun* 将軍, '*Sonno Jôi*' 〈尊王攘夷〉, soon adopts a more progressive attitude under the influence of thinkers like Sakuma Shôzan 佐久間 象山 (1811-1864), Takano Chôei 高野 長英 (1804-1850) and Fukuzawa Yukichi 福沢 諭吉 (1835-1901). The new regime defines itself in opposition to the old regime of the Tokugawa. To assure Japan's autonomy in an era of imperialism dominated by Western nations, it launches a whole program of modernization of the country. Modern civilization is associated with a rich country, capitalist and industrialized, and a strong army, soon victorious overseas ; modern techniques of the West, with oriental morality ; an imperial nation-state, imperialist in Asia.

Meiji prepares the entry into universal modernity, and Taishô would be the product of these measures, the time when all levels of Japanese society, or at least urban society, have entered into Modern Times. This reading of Japanese modernization is strongly influenced by Western Marxist theories of modernization. Recently, the role of the Tokugawa era or Early Modern Period has been re-evaluated in the light of new researches. Theories of the *Sakoku* 鎖国, the closure of the country, now try to explain Japan's development by this period of almost complete isolation during which Japan would have been able to prepare by itself its entry into the modern era. In the last two decades, leading scholars attacked this idea by stressing the role of the 'Four Doors', '*Yottsu no mado*' 〈四つの窓〉 (Ezo 蝦夷, Tsushima 津島, Nagasaki 長崎 and the Ryûkyû 琉球) and the continuity between Edo and Tôkyô[16]. It is now accepted that the changes of Meiji were not only the result of Western influences, but also of an evolution, or rather different evolutions linked to different sets of traditions inherited from the Tokugawa era[17]. We shift from a revolutionary Hegelian-Marxist vision to a more progressive evolutionary one. But both are not

[16] Ogi Shinzô (1980). Jinnai Hidenobu (1992)

[17] Tessa Morris Suzuki develops this theory in her book, *Re-inventing Nation . Time, Space, Nation* (1998) . "'Traditions' [...] are bodies of thought and practice which are passed on from one generation to the next and are constantly given new meanings as they are experienced, retold and reworked by each generation. They form part of the store of 'symbolic ressources' - the heritage of language, ideas, images, and physical attributes - out of which individual weave their identity through interaction with others." 38 .
As she remarks, the development of a utilitarian approach to nature, '*Kaibutu*' 〈開物〉, 'the opening up of nature', under the influence of Chinese Taoist and Confucianist traditions as well as Deutch studies 蘭学, laid the ground for capitalist exploitation of nature.

exclusive. If we accept the idea of multiple traditions, multiple becomings, trajectories with their own line(s) of causality, their own variations of intensities ; if we consider how these linear multiplicities combine themselves together to form specific (historically and geographically) planes of assemblage (*plans d'agencement*), without subject or object, only made of "grandeurs", determinations, and dimensions, which cannot change without changing in nature[18] ; then a vision of history that accepts both revolutionary changes and multiple arrhythmic lines of becoming becomes possible to help us analyze this phenomenon we call modernity.

Unlike classical approaches (as in modern history) that emphasize the idea of a continuity in change to explain the evolution from pre-modern to modern societies[19] , we should understand "the idea of modernity as a specific cultural form and a consciousness of lived historical time that differs according to social forms and practices"[20] . Modernity is marked by "the figure of uneven development generated by capitalism as it enters societies at different moments and different rates of intensity."[21] In addition to its "epochal" dimension, modernity is also marked by contemporaneity, performativity. It is the new, newness as a rule, an absolute form of deterritorialization. With modernity, a new, "modern" conception of time and space appear. Both are subjected to a complete process of abstraction[22] , they become the apriori conditions of speculative knowledge. Abstract space progressively replaces the antique absolute space. Under the rule of abstraction, the violent negation of difference, is produced a space that is aiming at complete uniformity, an instrumental and global space. Abstract space imposes its order, reducing perceived reality to the empty 2D of plans and the flat image and pure spectacle of the mirror. As space becomes instrumental, it can be categorized and fragmented. Only the verticality imposed by the order of the state preserves an illusion of unity. Space is

[18] G. Deleuze & F. Guatarri on the rhizome . «Rhizome» . *Mille-Plateaux* (1980)

[19] This is the case in sociology, but also in history, although many historians deliberately avoid the question of modernity behind the veil of "historical common sense" (Harrotunian, Harry (1988), p.5)

[20] Harootunian, Harry (2000), p.62

[21] Harootunian, Harry (2000), p.57

In the original text, Harootunian actally refers to the everyday at the heart of which is present this figure of uneven development of capitalism. Yet as he remarks before, both modernity and the everyday share this experience of capitalism and are ooeval with it.

[22] I use here the word 'abstract' according to Deleuze's definition : the act of cutting in two something that exists as one in my representation.

homogeneous, fragmented and hierarchized[23] , as modernity itself is characterized by a compelling demand of homogeneity and a structural unevenness. This allows for differing inflections of modernity, "not alternative modernities, but coeval or, better yet, peripheral modernities (as long as peripheral is understood only as a relationship to the centers of capitalism before World War II), in which all societies shared a common reference provided by global capital and its requirements." Each society is modern but "not quite the same"[24] . Abstract space allows for a utilitarian, instrumental conception of space which leads to various decoupages, various reterritorializations, centered on the nation-state.

We just used the word 'nation-state' instead of simply 'state'. The XIXth century is the age of nations, imagined political communities - "imagined as both limited [in their historicity, although they are conceived as eternal] and sovereign"[25] . In such communities, time, as space, is both homogeneous and fragmented, "Time is out of joint", "marked by temporal coincidence, and measured by clock and calendar"[26]. Empty space and empty time, which can be measured on the basis of a totalizing classification, allow for the apparition/production of a feeling of community between people who will never meet each other, people enclosed in clearly, scientifically and/or naturally bordered territories (both being cultural constructions). The world has become a jigsaw puzzle of nations that fill the blank empty flat spaces, under the political power of the state. The expression nation-state maintains the dichotomy between nations presented as natural and homogeneous, and states, resulting from a historical evolution of humanity oriented by progress (according to the official ideology). Nation-states are produced by time but find their expression in a-temporal homogeneous space. Empty time is ordered by the idea of the progress of humanity and empty space by modern states, these states that have lost their cosmological central position and found their new legitimacy on modern nations. Thus, space becomes associated with stability, nature, order, and time with change, evolution, progress ; space has become external and time internal, each having a different value depending on the level of experience.

[23] H. Lefebvre (1974), p. 324-335
[24] Harootunian, Harry (2000), pp. 62-63
[25] Benedict Anderson (1991) . p. 6
[26] cf. B. Anderson (1991), G. Deleuze (1993), W. Benjamin (1968)

The rupture after 1868 is officialized with a new name, Tôkyô, capital of the east. One city for both political and imperial powers. Tôkyô must be rebuilt and become the symbol of the new era. Tôkyô becomes a showcase, a mirror of Japan for for the West, but first for Japanese people. This reconstruction could have been done following Chinese principles of urban planning like in Heian-kyô, or take the feudal castle-town (*jôkamachi* 城下町) as a model. But China is not anymore an acceptable reference, neither the *jôkamachi*. There remains Western urban traditions, where Meiji officials find their new models; Paris, London, Berlin. As an urban center and the political capital of Japan, Edo-Tôkyô is then doubly affected by modernization processes. On an horizontal plane, the old Edo is subjected to a complete destructuration ; it is methodically deconstructed by the commodity system that is brought by capitalism. On a vertical one, the state imposes its new order by recoding the urban territory, drawing on ancient (pre-Meiji Japanese/Chinese/Dutch) and modern (Western) references to re-map the imperial capital on its own grounds.

Mapping urban space : cartographies of Tôkyô

The Early Meiji Period is already in modernity. Something has changed, a shift has occurred. Although modernity and its nature is being strongly debated in those years, Japan, and Tôkyô, are now part of an entirely distinct and new assemblage. Abstract space constitutes the plane of immanence of social space, by which the Tokugawa order has been completely deterritorialized and reterritorialized in a new social formation. It is a space maked by molar lines that tend to an ideal homogeneity of space, while at the same time producing a highly fragmented space, molecular lines of deterritorialization.

Abstract space is marked by a form of expression, what Henri Lefebvre defines as representations of space, the "*conçu*"[27] , and a form of content, the spaces of representation, the "*vécu*". There is no relation of the type cause-effect or signified-signifier to articulate both. Both terms although isomorphic are absolutely distinct. The

[27] H. Lefevbre (1974), p.48 . «Les représentations de l'espace, c'est-à-dire celui des savants, des plannificateurs, des urbanistes, des technocrates «découpeurs» et «agenceurs», de certains artistes proches de la scientificité, identifiant le vécu et le perçu au conçu[...].»

relation remains exterior to its terms, in the middle. A pragmatic replaces a semiology. Everything happens, everything is produced at the level of practice, of experience, in the form of a disjunctive synthesis, a non-relation that allows for the unity of space by maintaining the disjunction between its terms[28] . So there is no need for a third term, a space of practice. There is no need for a Hegelian or Marxist form of dialectic. For the pragmatic is already present in the form of content and the form of expression, and in the plane of immanence. Henri Lefebvre identifies the spaces of representation in modernity with the everyday, an everyday that is being colonized by spaces of representation, crushed, thus becoming the location of the unconscious, the sensual and sensorial, without any real effect on the production of space.[29] Yet the everyday is more than the repressed space of representations. As Harry Harootunian remarks, everydayness (modern consciousness of everyday life) as a cultural form marked by historicity is incomplete. The durational present of the everyday is disrupted by the modern, the new, that in Japan is conceived as coming from the West[30] , although the modern as new is at the heart of the very experience of the everyday. It is a space structured and filled by representations of space in the form of countless routines and repetitions but also a space opened to the contingent, the unexpected, the eventful. The everyday is the site where is negotiated modernity, where lines of deterritorialization and reterritorialization intersect with each other and where is produced abstract space.

[28] Alain Badiou . *Deleuze . «La clameur de l'Être»* . (1998) p.36
«This is what Deleuze names «a disjunctive synthesis»: think the non-relation according to the One, that funds it by radically distinguishing its terms. Stay in the disjunctive activity as power of Being. Explain that the «non-relation» is still a relation, even a deeper one»
«C'est ce que Deleuze nomme »une synthèse disjonctive» : penser le non-rapport selon l'Un, qui le fonde en en séparant radicalement les termes. Se tenir dans l'activité de la séparation comme puissance de l'Être. Expliquer que le «non-rapport est encore un rapport, et même un rapport plus profond» (*Foucault*, p.70)».

[29] H. Lefebvre (1974), p.63

[30] Hence the "phantasmagoric" form of the experience of the everyday in Japan. However, it would be interesting to examine the relation between practices and techniques borrowed from the Japanese past and to what extent they identify and-or distinguish themselves from the modern as new.

This work is an attempt at understanding this new social space that is Tôkyô and the conditions of its production in the Early Meiji Period.

The first chapter is concerned with describing the structural organization of Tokugawa society, usually called the *bakuhan-sei* 幕藩制, and determining the position of meaning occupied by Edo. The discussion is organized around the concepts of general equivalent and sumptuarity, as the forms of content and expression that compose the assemblage of Tokugawa Japan. This is a global approach that considers this era as a whole, a diagram, that is nonetheless dynamic, syntagmatic and paradigmatic, opened to multiple lines of becomings. We also address the issue of mapping and cartographic policies, and their role in the urban space of Edo. The question of transition and continuity between the Edo and Meiji eras is thus eluded in favor of a qualitative analysis of the structuration of each diagram, where the shift to modernity is understood as the crossing of a threshold. Tokugawa Japan and Edo make a qualitative leap into modernity when the force of deterritorialization of the general equivalent and of capitalism have been unleashed, thus disrupting the precarious equilibrium between the general equivalent and the sumptuary. Edo has become Tôkyô.

Early Meiji Tôkyô is then studied from three points of view that aim at describing modern abstract space and the particular way it produces and is produced in Tôkyô. This is the description of a political mode of control of urban space. Tôkyô is remapped as the national capital of a modern nation state by the governmental spheres of powers (politic, economic and military) through various policies made possible by the production of an abstract space, homogeneous, fragmented and hierarchized. After an analysis of the main issues raised by the Edo-Tôkyô studies, the second chapter examines the various administrative decoupages of Tôkyô by way of the *gyôseikukaku* 行政区画, in relation to the commodification of land and the institution of the principle of territorial jurisdiction (*zokuchishugi* 属地主義) as the nationwide basis of identity. Chapter three then examines Early Meiji cartography (here equated with official mapmaking) as a discursive formation, and the way it constructs Tôkyô as 'a place of power'. Finally, the last chapter addresses the question of urban planning and

architecture as urban practices that participate in the production of a consciousness of the everyday as the minimum basis of experience.

Those policies and urban practices must never be understood from a simple deterministic position. The process of production always goes both ways as those practices of power are the conditions of and allowed by the production of modern abstract space. If we have achieved our aim, we should, by the end of this work, have been able to roughly draw a diagram of the Early Meiji Period, where we can see the interplay between various forces and strategies of power, a diagram that is not closed on itself but opened to the event, the evernegociation of its existence in the practices of the everyday.

1 . Tokugawa order . Jôkamachi Edo 城下町江戸

The Tokugawa era, also called Edo Era, occupies a central place in Japanese historiography. This long period of officially 264 years[31] that precedes the modernization of Japan starting on a grand scale in the Meiji era plays an important role for the understanding of Japanese modernity, in relation to the West and Asia. First completely rejected as the abhorred old regime by the Meiji government, it$ is subsequently rehabilitated as the *locus* of origin of Modern Japan, or even the depository of an ideal Japanese culture, non-Western and non-Asian. Tokugawa Japan, often symbolized by Edo urban culture, is the other of Modern Japan, an external reality that has become one of the most important references for understanding and evaluating modern Japanese society. This era has been problematized along three lines, first regarding its position in the trilogy pre-modern, modern and post-modern, then vis-à-vis Asia and the West[32] . A third set of representations organizes discourses on the Tokugawa era, four tropes as says Carol Gluck[33] : "First the trope that re"class"ified Edo by fastening on the status hierarchy only to undo it", the Tokugawa "status system" (*mibunseido* 身分制度) ; then the modern visions of, and divisions between, the country and the city ; third the Tokugawa shogunate, "in short, the institutional arrangements of political ancient regime", best represented as a system, the *Bakuhan taisei* 幕藩体制 ; and finally *sakoku* 鎖国 , the closed country, opposed to the modern, open country, *kaikoku* 開国 .

The same question comes back again and again, that of the role the Tokugawa era in Japan's entry into modernity and in the definition of a national identity. The answers privileges today the view of a closed country that evolved by itself, a true Japanese civilization best represented by the culture of the commoner, the *chônin* 町人, ideologically identified with the modern *shomin* 庶民 (a Japanese version of the popular masses). Edo takes a central place to defend a continuity between the so-

[31] In 1603, Tokugawa Ieyasu becomes the *Shôgun* of Japan. The last Tokugawa is deposed by the Meiji Revolution in 1868.
[32] Those two references themselves vary in time, innature (the West being represented first by Holland, and later by various Europen countries, until America takes the first place) and in value.
[33] Carol Gluck . "The Invention of Edo" in Vlastos, Stephen ed (1998), pp.262-284

called pre-modern and modern eras ; a problematic argument that generates a wide variety of images of Edo, closely linked to the evaluation of its modern counterpart, Tôkyô. Carol Gluck identifies three images of Edo. "National Edo", re-inscribed in a national narrative of the national past and even redeeming the at first abhorred Tokugawa regime, is the first one. But Edo can also be a site of resistance, to the remnants of the feudal regime during the Taishô era, or to modernity, associated to Western imperialism in the twenties, and more recently in the postmodern celebrations of premodern Edo[34] . However, the most popular image, always mixed up with the two previous ones, is "commodified Edo", the city of the commoner, reservoir, storehouse of cultural artifacts.

"Edo-as-storehouse of national identity" is then a process, "a field of historical consciousness in which modern Japanese negotiated their passage to the future by way of the past"[35] . This dialectical relation is constantly negotiated in the space of the modern nation-state. Both tradition and modernity, Edo and Tôkyô, have been nationalized. And the various readings of Edo along with the particular images they produce, foster ambiguous relations with what affirms to be objective, scientific historical analysis. Maybe it could be more productive to displace the debate on the question of discontinuity, by analyzing the Tokugawa era as a whole, a particular historical assemblage both linked to and distinct from the successive era. This approach may seem to privilege the classic systematic interpretation of the Tokugawa era, conceived then as "a totality that assumed or attempted to assume control of "all under heaven"."[36] But we also can try to understand the Tokugawa shogunate as a "world order". Its relation to the world of the commoner and the emerging capitalist space, and the position of meaning taken by Edo become then particularly important issues.

[34] As has been analyzed by numerous scholars, the popularity of the Edo studies and more genrally *Nihonjin-ron* 日本人論 is closely related to the period of economic expansion of Japan during the eighties and the return of right-wing nationalist movements.
Some, like Karatani Kôjin, qualify Edo not as pre-modern but as trans-modern.
[35] Gluck, Carol (1998), p.263
[36] Gluck, Carol (1998), p. 281

2.1. A new world order :

Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川 家康 (1542-1616) is one of the three unifiers of the country. After Oda Nobunaga 織田 信長 (1534-1582) and Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣 秀吉 (1536-1598), he succeeds in putting an end to the previous period of civil disorder, the *Sengoku Jidai* 戦国時代 (1467-1568). He re-establishes the institution of the *Bakufu* 幕府 and unifies the country under his rule. The Tokugawa era has also been called "Pax Tokugawa". At first a military regime established by the most powerful of the landlords, it rapidly becomes the guarantee of the peace of the country. The Tokugawa and their advisors understand that they cannot base their power solely on military might, as has been unsuccessfully attempted until then. To assure that the Tokugawa family remains in control of Japan, they must rely on another mode of legitimization. Thus the shift to an economic mode of control. In the first years of the Tokugawa era, many discussions take place around the notion of economy and its relation to the new order. In modern Japanese, economy is translated as *keizai* 経済, a term that comes from the old Chinese *keisei-saimin* 経世済民, defined as the ordering and the controlling of a society good for everyone, on the basis of ethical premises. In that sense, economy is not only concerned with forces and modes of production, with monetary politics, but also with the management of culture as a whole. It is the basis of society, what makes it work, gives it its meaning and assures the stability and unity of all its elements. We can speak here of a particular use of ideology, understood as "a relation of domination ('power', 'exploitation') in an inherently non-transparent way : *the very logic of legitimizing the relation of domination must remain concealed if it is to be effective.*"[37]

[37] We take here ideology in the meaning defined by Slavov Zizek . "An ideology is thus not necessarily 'false' : as to its positive content, it can be 'true', quite accurate, since what really matters is not the asserted content as such but *the way this content is related to the subjective position implied by its own process of enunciation*. We are within idelogical space proper the moment this content - 'true' or 'false' (if true, so much the better for the ideological effect) - is functional with regard to some relation of social domination ('power', 'exploitation') in an inherently non-transparent way : *the very logic of legitimizing the relation of domination must remain concealed if it is to be effective.*" Zizek, Slavov . "Introduction - The Spectre of Ideology" in Zizek, Slavov dir. (1994), p.8
This definition of ideology remains valid as long as the relation of social domination is *consciously* , at one level, maintained in this non-transparent state.

It is not power for itself that assures that the Tokugawa remain in control of Japan. This could not last for long. Ideological legitimization is thus used at various levels. Tokugawa Ieyasu and his successors establish a direct symbolic relation between Edo and the imperial capital of Kyôto 京都. It appears that Edo was first designed according to the principles of cosmological orientation used in Chinese imperial cities and the Japanese imperial capital of Heian-kyô (Kyôto), known as geomancy, *feng shui* 風水. The city must be oriented with the four cardinal directions, each associated with a divinity : the White Tiger, *byakko* 白虎 , governing the west and topographically satisfied by a road ; the Black Warrior, *genbu* 玄武 , associated with the north and a mountain ; the Green Dragon, *seiryû* 青龍 , governing the east and associated with a river ; the Red Bird, *suzaku* 朱雀 , with the south and requiring a body of water such as a pond or a marsh. In Edo, we find the bay to the south, the Tôkaidô 東海道 running south-west, the Hirakawa 平川 to the immediate east of the castle, and the hills of the Yamanote 山の手 with the Kôjimachi 麹町 area in the West. The Imperial palace is situated so as to protect the center of the downtown area from the malevolent forces of the north, and especially the north-east, *kimon* 鬼門 , the 'demon's gate'. The religious centers of Ueno 上野 (Kan'ei-ji 寛永寺 and Tennô-ji 天王寺) , and Asakusa 浅草 (Sensô-ji 浅草寺), surrounded by numerous other buddhist temples reinforce this protection of the north-east axe. At the opposite end of this line, we find, in Shiba 芝 , another important temple, the Zôjô-ji 増上寺 .

Actually the plan of Edo (that can very be posterior to the first works of reconstruction of the city) is not strictly aligned with the geographical north. The topographical complexity of the site would force a westward rotation of 45 degrees of the imperial model. For William Coaldrake, this is not unusual, even in Chinese cities, if we consider that "the directions, therefore, were regarded as geomantic and not geographical cardinal points". Scientific precision is not a crucial issue here, as this is a mode of representation distinct from modern instrumental space. What matters first is the reference to a general cosmological organization. Representations of space and spaces of representation, the "conçu" and the "vécu" are not articulated on the basis of modern abstract space. Space is not ideologically homogeneous but heterogeneous.

Augustin Berque offers another interpretation. He considers that the westward rotation forced on the model (90 degrees for him), as well as the assimilation of famous places of Kyôto with those of Edo[38] without respecting the initial orientation of the model neither its rotation (for example the Kiyomizu-dera 清水寺 in Kyôto and the Kiyomizu-dô 清水堂 in Ueno) reflects a particular spacial logic. This is definitely an original spatial logic, although the geomantic model is actually not "forced". First the symbolic order it structures is analogic and not analytical. Scientific precision is not an issue here. Furthermore, as Augustin Berque remarks, the *mitate* 見立て allows for symbolic displacements that are not errors but reappropriations. The *Bakufu* attempts to capture the symbolic aura of the Emperor with the construction of the temples of Nikkô 日光 that directly compete with the temple of Ise 伊豆 . In the city of Edo itself, numerous replica of famous places of Kyôto, charged with strong symbolic meanings, are constructed using the technique of the *mitate*. However, the *Shôgun* never takes the place of the Emperor, although the latter and his court in Kyôto have no real power. Neither is Nikkô a replica of Ise. All those places take their meaning in an original space, what will be defined later as the space of the general equivalent.

The conception of nature, as immanent, a-historical (in that sense slightly different from the notion of nature as opposed to culture), also plays a central part in the legitimization of the *Bakufu*. As Augustin Berque remarks, "Un lien existe entre la valorisation (subjective) du naturel et l'intensité (objective) de l'emprise humaine sur l'œcoumène, en ce que le travail de l'homme s'inscrit profondément et durablement

[38] In Japanese, this process is called *mitate* 見立て. It is a metaphorical and symbolic association between two particular places where the first one is a model for the second. This technique used in many arts (painting, litterature, poetry, architecture) appeared first in China. However, Berque remarks that it is not a simple processus of mimesis because the new place is in no way subordinated to the second.

"Il ne s'agit en effet pas seulement de détourner des signes de leur sens propre mais d'exprimer un sens propre par le biais d'une référence". A. Berque (1993), p.48

"Tant il est vrai que les mitate ne sont pas fait pour un regard issu du modèle : ils le sont pour qui accomplit la référence, à ses propres fins". A. Berque (1993), p.57

It is both a metaphoric and a symbolic process, both following the rules of mimesis and at the same time creating a sign open to symbolic displacements and creations.

consciously in the first years of the Shogunate. This could correspond to Henri Lefebvre's concept of representations of space, the "conçu", imposed on social reality. History happens from above, from political and military rulers who produce and organize the whole reality. However, as soon as this order is successfully actualized on the "plan d'immanence", the distinction between representations of space and spaces of representations, the "vécu", the level of everyday life, seems to loøse its pertinence. Can we still speak of ideology then, or is it a concept interesting only to analyze and deconstruct this order, therefore forbidding us to understand the way it works ? The definition of ideology proposed by Zizek refers to a conscious practice, which is opposed to the process of naturalization described above. And then what is the value of the military nature of the *Bakufu* ? The *Bakufu* must appear strong and display its power, but is it only a politic of dissuasion ? Before trying to answer those questions in more detail, let's try to understand this particular "plan d'immanence" and the way it articulates social space.

During the Sengoku era, farming group agriculture becomes the basis for military power and religious groups. Tokugawa Ieyasu follows the strategy of his predecessors. He finishes to destroy the last strongholds of religious groups, and removes the *bushi* 武士, *daimyô* and *samurai* 侍, from their land. Domains, *han* 藩, are redistributed among the *daimyô*. After having been deterritorialized they are reterritorialized on other domains and established in a castle-town, one per domain. Edo is the prototype for all other castle-towns. Those cities, inherited for the most from the previous period, constitute the basis of the urban structure of the country. Inside each domain, local production and exchanges are strongly regulated by a system of taxes and quota imposed by the *Bakufu*. The institution of the *mibunseido* or rule by status, divides the population into four categories, in order : *bushi* (which include court nobles and priests), peasants, artisans and merchants (*shinôkôshô* 士農工商), with one additional group of "non-human", *hinin* 非人 or *eta* 穢多 . This system is first enforced to assure the firm distinction between peasants and *bushi*. More generally, the *Bakufu* makes sure that there is no permeability between the different statuses, each made hereditary. This is the classical adage "diviser pour

régner" in one of its most radical expressions. The fragmentation of social space becomes essential for the stability of the regime. The vertical fragmentation of society parallels the horizontal fragmentation of the territory. Each domain, also called *kuni* 国 (literally, land, soil, country), constitutes a world in itself, each *daimyô* acting as a little *Shôgun*. Exchanges of goods and people (marriages) between domains are strongly restricted. However, the *Bakufu* makes sure that the domains cannot live in complete autarchy, which would endanger the unity of the country. Also, each domain is organized on the same model, with the castle-town (modeled on Edo) at its center, and its population divided in four categories. Each category follows the same kind of hierarchical relationship, the *jôgekankei* 上下関係 (High-Low relationship). The relation between the lord and his retainer is reflected by the *honbyakushô* 本百姓 - *mizunomihyakushôt* 水呑百姓 (landlord and tenant) one for the peasants, *oyakata* 親方 - *totei* 徒弟 (master and apprentice) for the artisans and *shujin* 主人 - *bantô* 番頭 (owner and head clerk) for the merchants. All relations inside and between each status are fixed by a set of rules imposed by the *Bakufu* and follow more or less the same basic structure. This system allows for a fragmentation of social space, that becomes completely heterogeneous, with an underlying or rather immanent homogeneous organizational structure that preserves the unity of the country.

This control of space is associated with the one of time. The new order must be eternal, as it is based on the permanence of the castle-towns and the control of flux, flows and exchanges of people and goods by keeping them in permanent cycles. The *sankin-kôtai* 参勤交代 is essential to the control of the *daimyô*. This system of alternate residence forces them to spend most of their resources in the processions, strictly codified, between their domainal residence and Edo, where their wife and children are kept in hostage all year long. This never ending cycle is paralleled by the cycle of rice, the sending of rice from each domain to the capital, then sent back to the *daimyô*. This is the same temporal order of time for everyone, endlessly repeating itself. There is also a conception of familial time that underlies the familial organization of all levels of society. But this genealogical time is not modern homogeneous time, and remains part of the global cyclic time imposed by the state. Edo, the new capital

of the Tokugawa, is the center of this order, a permanent center that becomes a general equivalent. Edo is the model, the place where everything starts and goes (like the five main roads of Japan). What is an economic order based on such a general equivalent, Edo, rice, where exchanges are regulated by a general standard that has a transcendental value, anchors value while remaining tied to the whole system, not external but deeply part of it ? Can we speak of a center of meaning then ?

1.2 The order of the general equivalent :

We can, to address those issues of totality, unity and centrality, make use of the concept of "proper place" developed by Michel de Certeau. What is a "proper place" ? "A place (lieu) is the order (of whatever kind) in accord with which elements are distributed in relationships of coexistence. It thus excludes the possibility of two things being in the same location (place). [...] A place is thus an instantaneous configuration of positions." The rule of the proper establishes fixed locations, it reifies its elements in the form of a structure. It is a paradigmatic order where each elements is precisely identified, defined and fixed, forbidding any hybrid position, any in-between. Thus, "it implies an indication of stability"[40].

Michel de Certeau links the rule of the proper to strategies, "the calculation (or manipulation) of power relationships that becomes possible as soon as a subject with will and power (a business, a city, a scientific institution) can be isolated. Strategies are bound to the establishment of a subject of power, distinct from an environment. These actions called strategies privilege spatial relationships. They attempt to control each particular element by attributing them a proper place and regulating the movements between those places. This takes place in space. Space as opposed to place, has none of the univocity or stability of a proper. But it is not the empty container, this homogeneous underlying apriori characteristic of modern abstract space. Michel de Certeau proposes another definition of space, based on the linguistic distinction between "langue" and "parole" . If place defines meaning in a set of fixed structures, space is "like the word when it is spoken". It is a practical place,

[40] Michel de Certeau (1984), p.117

actualized through practices. Space is produced through a process of actualization by the proper place, and it simultaneously produces by an act of identification the proper place itself. Strategies take place in space. They regulate the movements, the relations, between fixed and identified places. Places, which means that there is not only one single "proper place" but rather a set or a network of "proper places". Michel de Certeau distinguishes three types of places : "a place of power" (the property of a proper), [that] elaborate[s] theoretical places (systems and totalizing discourses) capable of articulating an ensemble of physical places in which forces are distributed"[41] . This "place of power", this place of the all-powerful subject, seems to be the central point of meaning, the "clef de voûte" of the whole system. Does it have to be identified with or embodied in a physical place ?

In the Tokugawa order, such a "place of power" would appear to be Edo, the capital of the *Shôgun.* Tokugawa Ieyasu enters in Edo the first of August 1590 (*Tenshô* 天正 18). The previous month, he had been ordered by the *Taikô* 太閤, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, to move his estates from the province of Mikawa 三河 in the actual Aiwa Prefecture, Aiwa-ken 愛和県, to the Kantô area[42] in the East of Japan. Presented as a reward for having masterminded the successful military campaign against the Hôjô 北条 clan, Hideyoshi's principal rival and former owner of the area, it is also a strategic move to thwart the ambition of the Tokugawa by separating them from their traditional regional base. Ieyasu immediately orders a series of great works in order to renovate the old castle-town built by Ôta Dôkan 太田 道藩 (1432-1486) in 1456. As becomes evident very soon, Tokugawa is not only rebuilding an old castle-town for a local *daimyô*, but already laying the grounds for the future center of a new order, a new political regime dominated by the Tokugawa clan and centered on the city of Edo. The city is located at the most inner part of the Edo bay (today Tôkyô-wan 東京湾)[43] , on major communication routes and on the broad hinterland of the Kantô plain. From this central position, Ieyasu can control the whole area more easily than

[41] Michel de Certeau (1984), p.38

[42] The Eight Provinces of the Kantô, *Kantô Hasshû* 関東八州 : the provinces of Musashi, Kôzuke, Shimotsuke, Sagami, Kazusa, Shimôsa, and Awa ; later is added the district of Hitachi

[43] The toponym Edo 江戸 can be understood as *"Irie no to"* 入り江の戸, which means the entry from the sea to the hinterland.

from the Hôjô capital, Odawara 小田原 . He is also free for building a new political center out of the derelict castle-town surrounded by a scattering of fishing and farming villages in a swamping delta. Although it is not clear whether the plan of Edo was preconceived and arbitrarily applied on the site or produced afterward, from the beginning, Edo distinguishes itself from the other castle-towns.

"The city was created as a monument to Tokugawa power and a key instrument for the imposition and maintenance of *Bakufu* control over the *daimyô*."[44] The city as power is affirmed as the seat of the *Shôgun* (and at the *han* level, of the *daimyô*). In this bureaucratic conception, Edo is "less the capital of a nation than the private castle of the *Shôgun* and the administrative offices that it harbored".[45] The construction of the castle, and in particular the keep, the Tenshukaku, is used as a mechanism to drain *daimyô* resources. The excavation of the moats is a herculean work in itself, and "the provision of stones for the castle walls and the base of the Tenshukaku was a task carefully calculated and distributed among the *daimyô* according to the size of their tax base"[46] . Here, the building of a military fortress is interwoven with the economic management of the country. What must be noted is that the building of Edo castle by all the *daimyô* does not aim at giving a feeling of national unity. It is rather a mean of inscribing on physical space a center of power that unifies the country. This position of centrality is strengthened by the establishment of the cyclic time of the *sankin-kôtai*. Of the three types of places defined by Michel de Certeau, Edo would be the "place of power" that generates, or rather sustains the totalizing system of the *bakuhan-taisei*. But we must not see in Edo the point of origin of this system, the place from where are articulated its distinct elements, the other domains and castle-towns. Neither does it occupy a position of exteriority, of transcendence. Edo is not the absolute center of meaning, as would be the case in a monarchy (where the "place of power" is identified with the body of the monarch and sometimes with a fixed capital). Edo is not the absolute center of Japan. In opposition to modern Tôkyô that is characterized by the concentration and centralization of all national functions, Tokugawa Japan has at least

[44] Coaldrake, William H. (1986), p.240
[45] Smith, Henry D. (1978), p.49
[46] Coaldrake, William H. (1986), p.250

three centers of power, Edo, Kyôto and Ôsaka 大阪, respectively the political, traditional-cultural and economic center. They are so many "proper places". What is the position of Edo then ? What is this "place of power" and how does it organize social space ?

Let's go back to Michel de Certeau's definition of the "proper place". It is "a place that can be delimited as its *own* and serve as the base from which relations with an *exteriority* composed of targets or threats (customers or competitors, enemies, the country surrounding the city, objectives and objects of research, etc.) can be managed."[47] The military nature of the Tokugawa order appears in this strategic control of space. Edo occupies the position of centrality. It has all the characteristics of the "proper place". First, the triumph of place over time. This autonomous place allows for the instauration of a cyclic time that assures the stability of the regime. Historical contingency is reinscribed in this cyclic, eternal time. As social space is made heterogeneous, it becomes an assemblage of places, clearly distinct and identified elements, units. This is close to Bakhtin's concept of epic time. Under the Tokugawa, Japanese move on a map that has been drawn for eternity. An important difference with epic time though, is that the epic is not to be located in an unreachable past. Present and past merge with each other, everyday life being the epic, and vice versa. Thus the importance of cartography in the control of space as we will see later. The mastery of places through sight is also true to Edo, although in a slightly different way than modern panoptic practices. The kind of power corresponding to panoptic practices is both immanent to the whole social space and occupies a position of transcendence, the position of the eye that cannot be seen. Even if there is no guardian in the central tower of Bentham's prison, it is virtually there ; the power of the unseen, of the invisible. Hence the modern relation between everyday life practices of power and the eye of power that cannot be identified. Or more simply said, the dichotomy between the panoramic view of the world and the labyrinth of everyday life. Even if it is possible to identify panoptic practices in the Tokugawa order, they never become predominant. Sight, the spectacular, play an essential role, but they do not institute

[47] Michel de Certeau (1984), p.36

this position of transcendence. As Marius B. Jansen remarks, in Tokugawa Japan, opposed to China, "the principal thrust seems to have been one of greater practicality, of application rather than of ethical introspection, and of separation and investigation of (in terms of the Neo-Confucian synthesis) material forms as well as ideal principles. For all this, the diversity of the Tokugawa scene in which the Tokugawa regime did not represent an ideal principal of government as the Chinese did for Imperial Confucianism, was in part responsible."[48] The Tokugawa order does not rely on a transcendental ethical principle to legitimize its power. Of course, Confucianism and Zen Buddhism have been used as state ideologies. But the *Shôgun* is not the Emperor. The Tokugawa never try to take the place of the Emperor who keeps his symbolic power in Kyôto, even if without any political, temporal power, and reduced at times to poverty. The *Shôgun* never becomes the Emperor. There have even been tendencies to establish a kind of absolute monarchy. But never are they fully realized. The *Shôgun* is one among the *daimyô*, maybe the strongest one, but out of his estates, he is only a *daimyô*, with the office of *Shôgun.*

What does this mean ? "Edo was quintessentially a symbolic city but equally the substance of Tokugawa power"[49] . The "place of power" is in social space, physically inscribed in it. The order of the "proper" produces multiple places, reduces the real to a network of places, strategically related one with another according to the "place of power". But this "place of power" is not necessarily identified with one single place, physical or not. Edo is the center of the realm but never becomes an absolute center. As William Coaldrake remarks, Edo is not "the locus of real policy-making"[50] . He refers here to the first years of the Tokugawa era. In 1605, only two years after the establishment of the new Bakufu, Tokugawa Ieyasu retires to Sunpu 駿府 (today's Shizuoka city, 静岡) where he continues to exercise a long-range control over national affairs, while his son, Hidetada 秀忠 (1579-1632), controls the bureaucratic administration. This may not have always been the case. But it seems that the more we try to identify the locus of power, the more it becomes fragmented. Edo itself is not

[48] Jansen, Marius B. "Changing Japanese Attitudes Toward Modernization" in Jansen, Marius B. Ed. (1965), pp.43-89, p.53
[49] Coaldrake, William H. (1986), p. 250
[50] Coaldrake, William H. (1986), p.251

conceived of as a whole. It has no corporate identity. The city is administered as the rest of the country. It is an assemblage of disparate economic blocks, the *chô* 町. The city is an expansion of the castle. This "place of power" could then be said to be immanent to the whole social space and manifest itself, surface at particular places. It is multiple, fragmented, an articulation of different places, Kyôto, Ôsaka, Edo, and each Jôkamachi, and in Edo, the mount Fuji 富士山, and Tsukuba 筑波山. In such a heterogenous space, each place can be decomposed into so much places, almost endlessly. How is the unity of the whole maintained ? What is the position of Edo in Tokugawa Japan ?

Augustin Berque sees in Edo a "Japanese" space, different from the Chinese abstract imperial model or the homogeneous space of the subject centered city of the European Renaissance. This space is marked by heterogeneity and a strong lococentricism[51] , a space made of juxtaposed fragments without any center organizing the whole. However, he remarks that the streets of Shitamachi 下町 (the low-area) are oriented according to external places (not abstract geographical orientations), the Mount Fuji in the west (fig. 4), Tsukuba in the north, the hills of Kanda 神田. But the question is not about the externality of these points, nor in the centrifugal or centripetal structure of the city. The question of centrality must be displaced to the one of the "proper place", Edo having no single center but multiple ones, multiple "proper places", the keep of Edo Castle, the Tenshukaku, the largest ever built in Japan (58,4 m. in height), being one "place of power" of Edo urban space. The Tenshukaku is the eloquent "architectural statement of temporal and cosmological authority standing at the center of a city designed in accordance with the conceived pattern of the universe."[52] This central position of the castle is best exemplified in the classic book written by Naitô Akira in 1966, *Edo to Edo-jô* (*Edo and the Castle of Edo*). He describes the spatial infrastructure of Edo as a spiral pattern starting at the center with the castle, the moat completed in 1636 establishing immovable boundaries of

[51] Lococentricisism, opposed to logocentrism, is a mode of identity centered on the place. The reference is not a transcendantal (in both classical meanings of the term) global space, but the place, conceived as having an an essential identity. This concept draws on Watsuji Tetsurô and Nishida Kitarô's philosophy of space (as opposed to Heidegger's emphasis on time as an essential basis of identity).

[52] Coaldrake, William H. (1986), p.250

spatial zoning in the city. The highway network, with Nihonbashi as its center, is projected axially like the spokes of a wheel (fig.1). This general cosmological orientation operates a subtle compromise between symbolism and pragmatism. It combines three necessities : expressing the hierarchical order culminating in the person of the *Shôgun* ; ensuring, by the moats, the defense of castle ; according the line of the moats with the physical topography[53] . The *fûdai daimyô* 譜代大名 , hereditary retainers of the *Shôgun*, are located to the immediate north-east of the castle, protecting the Ôtemon 大手門 in the most hostile sector. The *tozama daimyô* 外様大名 , more unstable, are placed in the beneficial sector of the south-west. Finally the merchants and artisans are established around Nihonbashi 日本橋 , in the low lands reclaimed on the sea that give its name to the area, Shitamachi .

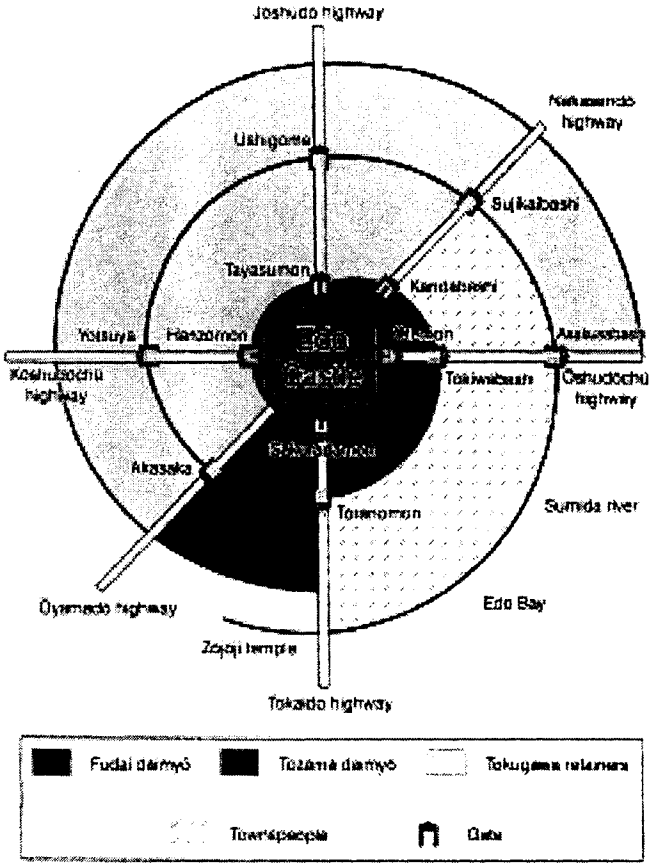

fig.1 . The spiral of Edo according to Naitô Akira.
source : Cibrewski, Roman (1998), p.59

As the castle is the center of the city, Edo is the center of the realm. Nihonbashi is the starting point of the main maritime and land routes. And the position of the residences of the *daimyô*, *daimyô yashiki* 大名屋敷 , corresponds to their geographical situation in the country : the *tozama daimyô* like Satsuma 薩摩 in the periphery and the closer allies of the *Shôgun* close to the center. It is a general equivalent. It polarizes the whole social space, giving a form of homogeneity to its various fragments, a hierarchal structure that is found at all levels (horizontal and vertical) of social space. A parallel can be drawn here with rice economy. The state-

[53] Berque, Augustin (1990), p.236

owned economy, severely regulated by an exhaustive set of rules, is based on rice. This is a general standard that measures the value of money. It has a transcendental value, but is also material. It is not an abstraction but is directly part of reality at all levels, and used. It is immanent to reality, produced by it and structuring it at the same time. One of the names used to designate rice economy is *kokudaka-sei* 石高制. The revenue of each village is evaluated in rice (*koku* is the unit (=180 l) and *taka* the amount). Thus rice is used to measure the wealth of a domain, attribute a recompense or a penalty. The general equivalent is not the center of meaning, but what gives meaning to the whole social space, or rather values. It is the differential element from which come all values and meanings[54] . This is realized not by occupying a position of absolute transcendence, internal or external, but by inscribing itself into the social space. As rice is the equivalent for all economic exchanges (of goods, people), Edo is the equivalent for all castle-towns, for all domainal capitals.

Thus Edo is present in all castle-towns, as all castle-towns are, in a way, Edo. If there are always local particularities, each castle-town reflects the general structure of the country. We find here another parallel with epic time : each part contains the whole of reality. So we should not look to Edo as a model, an ideal-type. This is particular evident when it is linked to rice-economy. Rice is an intermediary, as Edo, as the *Shôgun.* All turns around rice, around Edo. Everything has to pass by the city of the *Shôgun.* As such, Edo is and embodies the "place of power", that is both physically localized and present on the whole social space. If rice, Edo, the Shogunate, are general equivalents, one being identified by the other, then it is not surprising that political power is completely decentered. The Tokugawa never rule as absolute monarchs. They do not directly control each domain, or in Edo, each district. On the contrary, they encourage self-government, that is considered not as a right but a duty. The case of the *fudai daimyô* is famous. Those *daimyô*, direct allies of the Tokugawa, were in charge of inspecting domains and make sure that the law was correctly applied. And then comes the usual question. Did this ever really work ? Isn't it an ideal system, a pure ideology that produced a different reality ?

[54] Deleuze, Gilles (1962), p.1
«L'évaluation se définit comme l'élément différentiel des valeurs correspondantes : élément critique et créateur à la fois.»

1.3 Monumentality and Sumptuarity :

Practically speaking, this system has never worked correctly. We can find multiple examples of decrees of the shogunate never applied. Actually, the multiplication of decrees at certain times are often seen as indicative of a weakness in the power of the *Shôgun.* Although the country is officially closed and international commerce a state monopole only allowed in Nagasaki with China and Holland, it is also tolerated in the Ryûkyû with China, Hokkaidô with the Ainu and Russia, Tsushima with Corea. But does it mean that the Tokugawa order was never practically effective ?

If we examine practices of power in Tokugawa Japan, it first appears that laws must be understood as sumptuary laws. It is a sumptuary society based on essential distinctions between its members. Tokugawa order allows for tactical practices in the strategic space it produces. It actually encourages them by fragmenting space and society. What it is concerned about is to prevent the crossing of social barriers. The question becomes then, when is it considered that a barrier has been crossed ? According to Constantine Nomiko Vaporis[55] a distinction must be drawn between the formal aspect of the law and its content. Although the law has not changed a lot during the whole Tokugawa era, its content has adapted itself to the changes of time. By content, it seems we should understand here the application of law. Many examples show the liberty taken by officials to apply the law. In any case, the law must not be directly, visibly, transgressed. Such transgressions are always severely punished. And even then, the case is more often resolved at the local level, respecting the principle of self-government. For example, the *goningumi* 五人組 in charge of affairs in villages and urban districts (*chô*) is responsible for the acts of its members and decide the appropriate punishment when the law is transgressed. Another famous example is the control of roads. The *Shôgun* directly controls the five great roads of Japan, the Gokaidô 五街道, on which are established "barriers" or "toll-gates", *sekisho* 関所 . Their first function is, as for all other institutions, grounded in the military and directed against the *daimyô*. The first rule for a *sekisho* is to avoid the entry of guns in Edo

[55] Vaporis, Constantine Nomiko (1994)

(defense policy) and the exit of noble woman from the city, thus making sure that the *sankin-kôtai* is respected. This military function appears in the repartition of *sekisho* in the country : they are mainly centered in the Kantô area. But they rapidly evolve away from defense and military function. *Sekisho* are not strongholds. Most of them could be easily taken by armed forces. Nonetheless, they express the power of the *Shôgun.* As Constantine Nomiko Vaporis remarks, the passing of a *sekisho* can be a frightening experience. The gate itself is pretty impressive, with the weapons of the soldiers exposed for all to see.

Those barriers can be compared to the great waygates of Edo (fig.2). More than the castle of the *Shôgun*, they are the main architectural elements of the city. Can we speak of a monumental architecture ? For Henri Lefebvre, monumentality gathers all the moments of spatiality, the "vécu", "conçu" and "perçu" (spatial practices, representations of space and spaces of representation). The monument realizes a consensus by making it practical and concrete :

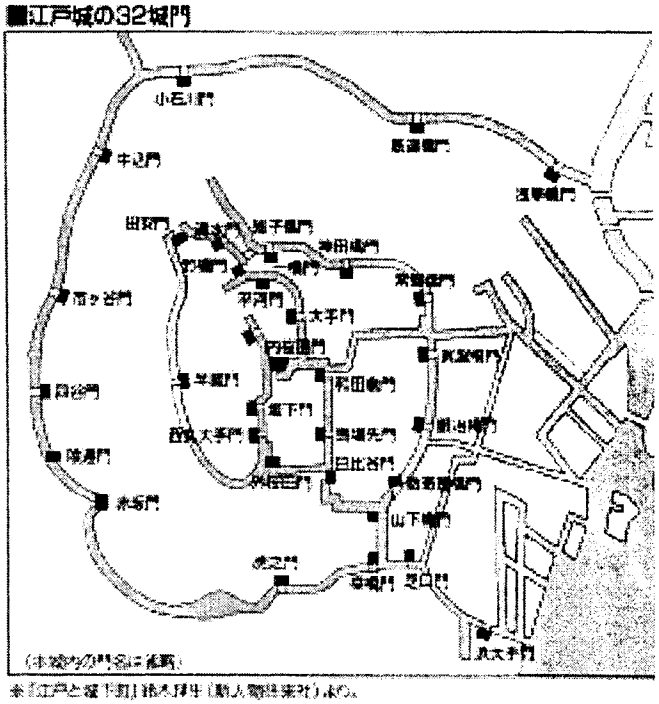

fig.2 . The Great Waygates of Edo.
source : Suzuki, Masao (1999), p.147

> "L'espace monumental offrait à chaque membre d'une société l'image de son appartenance et de son visage social, miroir collectif plus "vrai" qu'un miroir individualisé. L'effet de reconnaissance va autrement loin que «l'effet de miroir» des psychanalistes. De cet espace social, rassemblant tous les moments en donnant à chacun sa place, chacun avait sa part et tous l'avaient entier. Au sein bien entendu d'une puissance et d'une sagesse acceptée. Le monument réalisait un «consensus» : effectivement, le rendant pratique et concret."[56]

[56] Lefbvre, Henri . 2000 (1st ed. 1974), p. 253

The monument realizes a consensus by showing to each his place in the whole social space. It is both for the whole of society and for each of its members. The same function can be found in the waygates. The act of passing through a waygate, clearly shows each individual his position in society, according to his social status and his gender. Gates are not only transital points of arrival and departure but are also "an important indication of group and individual identity [...] and act as physical manifestation of latent power relations."[57] It creates a form of consensus, but the consensus of a sumptuary society, of a heterogeneous social space. The waygate always appears as a part of the whole, but the whole structuration of society can be directly read in the waygate. As such, it is a form of monumentality distinct from the cathedral that refers to another mode of power and social control. The general equivalent being the basis of the system, the *Bakufu* is mainly concerned with regulating flux of people and commodities. As they evolve away from defense functions, "barriers" are used for the control of the population (in particular to make sure that peasants remain in each domain) and the surveillance of human traffic. The regulation of the flow of commodity goods takes place at the level of domain barriers, called *bansho*. People are not forbidden to move, as long as there is no crossover between categories. Passports and travel permits are issued without which it is, officially (=according to the law), not possible to cross a "barrier". Those documents clearly identify each individual, and the purpose of the travel. Travel is associated with pilgrimage, thus creating a particular space where people are not anymore attached to a physical location. But it is for a precisely limited time. Again, we can say that a lot of travelers did not care at all for the pilgrimage, that travel becomes a form of recreation. But as long as they remain inside this particular space, and that the law is formally respected, there is no problem. As we said earlier, the Tokugawa allow for tactical practices, as long as social barriers are not crossed. Could we see there a form of ideology ? Yes, especially if we remember Zizek's words, that an ideology works because people want it to work. This is were the power of ideology appears in its strongest form.

[57] Coaldrake, William (1986), p.263

The Tokugawa assure the stability of the regime by instituting the fragmentation of social space, first at a geographical level, by isolating each domain from each other, and then by the hierarchy of status that structures society. For this is produced what we call a general equivalent and a system of sumptuary laws, which regulate the flux of people and commodities. This is not modern homogeneous space and time, but heterogeneous space and cyclic time. Speaking of a nation is thus completely irrelevant here, although there is definitely a form of unity, an underlying homogeneity that maintains the cohesion of the whole. This is what we tried to show by analyzing the practical use of general equivalents, rice, Edo, and in a way the office of *Shôgun.* The system is at first directed against warriors, the *bushi*, but it produces an entirely different form of resistance. By moving the *daimyô* out of their land and fixing them in cities, the Tokugawa allow the apparition of the merchants and artisans, a category of population ideologically devalorized but that occupies an intermediary position essential for the system to work. Not surprisingly, Edo is the best example. The institution of the *sankin-kôtai* sustains the development of the capital, where the population of merchants and artisans is in constant expansion. They are necessary to satisfy the various needs of the *daimyô*, even if those try to limit their dependence on Edo commoners. We described above how, through the institution of the *sekisho* and the control of the Gokaidô, the Tokugawa regulate the flux of population and goods. But at the same time, they actually create those flux and the possibility for a transversal space, not only intermediary but actually allowing for a form of "group consciousness". The roads of Japan become the roads of the commoners who find there a space of liberty. The same is true with urban centers, all in a way equivalent, and where prospers a population of merchants and artisans. They are more or less free to act as please them as long as they respect sumptuary laws. But being directly part of the general equivalent, they occupy a particular space. We said that the general equivalent is itself fragmented, but it also produces a homogeneous space (the Gokaidô are the best example). And this space is regulated by an entirely different set of rules. Consumption is opposed to the sumptuary as it does not obey fixed rules. Time itself is not cyclical and eternal, but becomes linear and with the development of

capitalism and monetary economy, oriented to the future with the apparition of the notion of profit, surplus, fashion and avant-garde.

It is symptomatic that this "commoner-city" can only be grasped in a fragmented way, not because of a particular ,'Japanese' , spatial sensibility, but of a social order based on a fragmented and heterogeneous space. But being produced by and in the general equivalent, the "commoner-city" and its sites of play and pleasure also constitute a homogeneous space. The pleasure quarters, and in particular Yoshiwara 吉原, located at the north of Asakusa 浅草, are often described as the places where emerges the world of commodities. The seclusion of these places from the rest of the city would have allowed for the development of this world of commoners. But in their structure, they directly reflect the general Tokugawa order. Its population, merchants, geisha, are organized in a very strict hierarchy. The pleasure quarters become a place of "liberation" only for their visitors, people coming from outside, mainly commoners (merchants and artisans) but also *bushi*. The world of commoners, of commodities, opposed to the sumptuary organization of society, is rather internal to and a necessary condition of the general equivalent. Both appear simultaneously, and both are necessary for the other to exist. The main preoccupation of the Tokugawa seems then to have been to keep them closely linked and prevent the emancipation of the latter and its expansion at all levels of society. Then it is not the fragmentation of social space that allows for the apparition of a distinct world of commoners (the pleasure-quarters model) but the order of the general equivalent itself. It could then be possible to understand the Tokugawa order not as pre-modern, pre-capitalist, but as an original order, not ignorant of capitalism but precisely based on it and the control, the resistance, to its absolute power of deterritorialization. Following Deleuze and Guattari, we could say that capitalism is the actual limit of the Tokugawa order, the point to which it converges but which it cannot reach without destroying itself. This is not evolution but what Deleuze and Guattari call "a reversed causality, without finality"[58] , a horizon that have to be conjured.

[58] Deleuze, Gilles & Guattari, Félix (1997), p.537
"une causalité à l'envers, sans finalité"

1.4 Cartographies of Edo :

The order of the general equivalent both relies on stability and flexibility, the best example being the use of monumentality in waygates. Infrastructures become both a strategic mean of control of the country and gives rise to a tactical space where the social elements born out of the general equivalent can express themselves. Using Deleuze and Guattari's terminology, we could say that in the "plan d'immanence" of Tokugawa society, infrastructures, the general equivalent, constitute the form of content, while the sumptuary is the form of expression. One does not merge with the other. On the contrary, the distinction between both is and must be maintained. This is a disjunctive synthesis that gives a form of unity to the whole social space. But what happens when the form of content takes a life of its own, by producing a space that is not only tactical but becomes strategic ? This internal tension of Tokugawa order is particularly apparent in cartography. Because of its contradictory nature, its tentation at grasping and imposing a global order (a 'tracing') as well as the creative and destructive becomings it produces (a 'map'), cartography allows for an easier reading of the dynamic process of production of a particular space, here the urban space of Edo.

In a recent article, Marcia Yonemoto analyzes the emergence of a new spatial language in the Tokugawa period, what she calls a "spatial vernacular", that appears with the development of commercial maps : "This article attempts to understand maps as part of a larger mapping process, one that was imbricated in the growth of urban culture. [...] Only by resituating mapping in this broader field of inquiry can we begin to understand how maps "worked" to form the roots of a new spatial language in the Tokugawa period." [59] This "revolution in the understanding and representation of space" is not the result of a European-type scientific revolution[60] . It is more linked to the development of a particular urban culture in Edo after the Meireki Fire, *Meireki Taika* 明暦大火 , in 1657. The fire starts the 18th of January in the Buddhist temple Honmyô-ji 本妙寺 of the sect of Nichiren, *Nichiren-shû* 日蓮宗 , and rapidly expands to the nearby castle. The Tenshukaku, Hon-maru 本丸 , Ninomaru 二の丸 parts of the

[59] Marcia Yonemoto (2000), p.648
[60] Uno, Kazutaka (1994)

castle are completely burnt down. Hongô 本郷 , Asakusa, Fukagawa 深川 , Kyôbashi 京橋 , Nishonbashi, Tsukudajima 佃島 are entirely destroyed during the three days that follow. Nearly 55 % of the city, mostly in the low area of Shitamachi, is burnt, and more than 100 000 death are reported. This disaster can be explained from various factors, like the constructions in wood, but most importantly the overcrowding of the city in the area of the commoners due to the expansion of the city. With the system of the *Sankin-kôtai* 参勤交代, Edo has become an important center of consumption, first to satisfy the needs of the *daimyô* and then of the various people attracted by this dynamic and expanding urban center.

The immediate consequence of the fire is the promulgation of a series of edicts in order to reorient urban sprawl. Various measures attempt to establish a fire-prevention system (enlargement of roads, interdiction to construct warehouses along the canals, preservation of open spaces...) with more or less efficiency. The area to the west of the Sumida river, *Sumida-gawa* 隅田川 , is incorporated in the city. Kiba 木場 , the wood market, is relocalized in Fukagawa that becomes with Honjo the warehouse area of Edo. The Ryôgoku bridge, *Ryôkoku-bashi* 両国橋 , is built on the Sumida to link both sides of the river. Important *daimyô-yashiki* are relocated out of the castle moats : the three Tokugawa collateral families, the *gosanke* 御三家 [61] , but also other minor *daimyô*. Temples, originally located on the border of the city have been progressively integrated in the urban area and are now displaced in the outer parts of the city, Ushigome 牛込 , Shitaya 下谷 , Asakusa, Honjo, Fukagawa, Shiba, Akasaka 赤坂, where they organize urban development.

This remapping of the city destroys the original social structure of the city. In addition to the relocalization of the *Gosanke* out of the moats, some *daimyô* establish their lower residences, *shitayashiki* 下屋敷 , in the low lands of the commoners, Shitamachi, more attractive than the upper parts of Yamanote. The maintenance of the social segregation between each social order is not possible anymore. Moreover, the urbanization of the external parts of Edo causes an important administrative problem, since the distinction between peasants, merchants and artisans becomes blurred. The

[61] The *Gosanke* are the Owari 尾張, Kii 紀伊 and Mito 水戸 families.

social order of the Tokugawa, *mibunseido* 身分制度 , a "rule by status" as said John W. Hall, does not allow any crossing between the different statuses that compose society without risking to endanger its stability. The expansion of Edo forces the *Shôgun*'s administration to reorganize the attribution of each zone and redraw or rather precisely draw the limits of each jurisdiction. This will be analyzed in detail in the next chapter. For the time being, let's look at the urban culture that appears in maps of the Genroku 元禄 period (1688-1703).

In the aftermath of the Meireki fire, the *Shôgun* orders Hôjô Ujinaga 北条 氏長 (1609-1670), at the time holding the title of *Ômetsuke* 大目付, to survey and map the entire city. Expert in military affairs and already experienced in survey operations, he produces in 1658 a map in five sheets, one for Edo proper (the city's central district referred to as the *gofunai* 御府内) and four others for the outskirts of the city. They are used for the reconstruction works described above. Later, those maps are reproduced and, with special authorization of the *Bakufu*, reprinted and published by one of Hôjô's aides, Fujii Hanchi. Those are the *Kanbun go-mai zu* 寛文五枚図 , (*Five maps from the Kanbun era* [1661-1673]). They become the model for later commercially published maps of Edo[63] . Opposed to this official and administrative mapping concerned in achieving a maximum of scientific precision, the maps of Ishikawa Ryûsen 石川 流宣 (1684-1715) privilege aesthetics over "accuracy". He means for his maps "to be seen, read, and used to navigate the multiple worlds - physical, political and social - in which Edo commoners lived."[64] As remarks Uno Kazutaka, Japanese maps of the Edo period have a practical as well as rhetorical and ornamental character. Very often, mapmakers are ukiyo-e artists, like Ishikawa, without any precise training in mapmaking[65] . However, there is a school for surveying. Surveys have been conducted many times in Japanese history, mostly at the beginning of the Tokugawa era, in 1605 and 1644-1656. In 1689, Ishikawa makes a map of Edo entitled *Edo zukan kômoku, kon* 江戸図鑑綱目　坤 (Outline map of Edo, Part I). This map is a guide to the sites of play and pleasure. His audience is the commoner elite,

[63] M. Yonemoto (2000), p. 650
[64] M. Yonemoto (2000), p. 655
[65] Uno, Kazutaka (1994)

who is interested in locating "discrete places, goods, and services of interest or of potential usefulness"[66] . To help the reader, Ishikawa provides a supplementary text listing, by name and location, hundreds of experts (teachers, craft people, merchants...) while the maps itself displays numerous information about the *daimyô* living in the city. As in his maps of Japan, he links in a visual form power to place, and at the same time offers a critical view of the divided nature of Tokugawa politics. But most of all, it is a guide for navigation in the city as well as in city life, a tactical reappropriation of the strategic space of Edo.

Marcia Yonemoto's argumentation is based on two concepts. First, the 'vernacular', which she defines as "a common spoken, written, and/or visual language particular to a certain social or occupational group, or to a place or culture"[67] . Then 'workability', a term borrowed from David Turnbull that is not based on scientific accuracy, but on "how successful they [maps] are in achieving the aim for which they were drawn" [68] . We find again here the opposition drawn by Deleuze and Guattari between competence and performance, respectively in 'tracings' and 'maps'. But the opposition between official, scientific maps and Ishakawa's maps is not that clear as they are both produced by and in the general equivalent. Historically, Hôjô Ujinaga's maps were produced before Ishikawa's. And despite the difference between the two works, the *Edo zukan kômoku* appears first as a version of the *Kanbun* map. Should we conclude that it was necessary to first chart and map those spaces in order to comprehend and finally enjoy them ? Marcia Yonemoto links map to knowledge and pleasure. Edo period maps "constructed a shared spatial vocabulary, one which allowed for previously unachievable access to physical space, but they also created a more uniform collective vision of space and place. [...] And once a set of meanings had been assigned to certain places (neighborhoods, sightseeing venues) and to abstract spaces (Edo, Japan), those meanings were open to a play."[69] This reading draws on Alain Corbin's work on the development of modern sensibilities in Europe, especially

[66] Yonemoto, Marcia (2000), p. 653
[67] Yonemoto, Marcia (2000), p. 648
[68] David Turnbull, David (1993) . *Maps are Territories, Science is an atlas* . Chicago :University of Chicago Press, p.42
[69] Yonemoto, Marcia (2000), p.662

Le Territoire du vide[70]. In this book, he shows that the lure for the sea and the shore emerges in the Occident in 1750-1755, with the first "cures marines" (cure at the sea). This change in sensibilities is linked to other more general issues : drawing the frontiers of the realm, ecological anxieties, and the development of a medical and anthropological discourse on the seashore. When this new picture, this new landscape has been produced, in close relation to scientific investigations, appears this new site of leisure, the beach.

To be enjoyed, a space, has to be known, mapped. Or more generally, as argues Geoff King, mapping gives meaning to our world, produces social space[71] . Compared to Hôjô Ujinaga's maps, ordered by the *Shôgun* and instrument of strategic control, Ishikawa's maps would be a tactical attempt at playing with this particular space. The everyday space of the Edo commoner, and especially the places of pleasure, is reconstructed and by a subtle displacement produces another strategic space centered on the commoner area, Shitamachi. This corresponds to the structural changes in the Tokugawa society and the rise of the merchant class from the XVIIth century. One could, as Masai Yasuo, argue for the existence of two centers in Edo, what he calls *nikaku kôzô* 二核構造 , a structure with two centers[72] . The first one is the Castle, with the lands of the *daimyô* and the temple districts, and the second starts from Nihonbashi and follows the five main trunks, Tôkaidô 東海道 to the south, Kôshûkaidô 甲州街道 to the west, Nakasendô 中山道 to the north-west, Ôshûkaidô 奥州街道 and Nikkôkaidô 日光街道 to the north, each guarded by a *juku* 宿 , respectively Shinagawa-juku 品川宿 , Naitô-shinjuku 内藤新宿 , Itabashi-juku 板橋宿 , and Senju-juku 千住宿 . While the first space is centered on the highs of Yamanote and expands in concentric circles, the second one starts from the center of Shitamachi and expands radially along the main trunk roads. Both spaces are distributed irregularly and overlap on each other. We have two spaces, maybe cultural rather than simply geographic[73] , that appear in the two types of cartography described above. Both types of mapping

[70] Corbin, Alain, (1990)
[71] King, Geoff (1996)
[72] Masai, Yasuo (1985), pp.69-70
[73] By cultural, we mean here transversal, that is not restricted or dominated by a single category of analysis (class opposition, geomorphology, politics...), neither understood as a totality.

are the two faces of the same coin, two practices of the general equivalent, and if one seems to precede the other, it is not only a matter of space consciousness, but of the apparition of a new social reality and therefore of a new strategic space. That seems to be what means Alain Corbin. Charting or mapping a particular space does not precede but goes along with the attribution of meaning to this space. This is why the emergence of a new subjectivity as described by Alain Corbin is *mirrored* by the development of technical operations of cartography and anthropological classifications. In Edo, this new spatial consciousness is also the emergence of a new assemblage in which official cartography and infrastructures constitute the form of content, while commoner life-style becomes the form of expression. How do those two assemblage coexist in the same social space ?

Marcia Yonemoto briefly remarks that the use commoners make of Ishikawa Ryûsen's maps and of their geographical knowledge is "place specific"[74] . This is reflected in the radial structure of Shitamachi. We should also remember the tradition of the *meisho* 名所. This term is usually translated as "famous places" or "celebrated spots". However, Henry Smith gives another definition, closer to its original meaning, "a place with a name", that is "an essentially literary place with conventionalized poetic attributes. Even though the names of the *meisho* referred to actual places in the topography of Japan, the places were less important than their poetic associations, typically linked with a particular season."[75] The *meisho* is then a particular spatial use of the *mitate*. As we said before, a *mitate* is a symbolic, creative operation that allows for displacements and transformations of the original, as such an integral part of the general equivalent. But what allowed for the territorialization of Tokugawa society can again become a powerful force of deterritorialization. In the popular culture of the commoners, "the word *meisho* took on much more immediate meaning, as sights that could actually be seen [...] places of relaxation and release from the strictures of a

[74] Yonemoto, Marcia (2000), p. 662
[75] Smith, Henry D. (1986), p. 11

highly ordered society."[76] Those places are mainly localized close to the water (rivers, canals, bay) or to major shrines and temples precincts. Ryûsen maps, along with guides of the city like the famous *Edo meisho zue* 江戸名所図絵[77] published in 1834-1836, organize them in a symbolic network, a lived space, and participate in "the construction of an ideal, if not the reality, of a commoner-centered city"[78] (fig. 3-4).

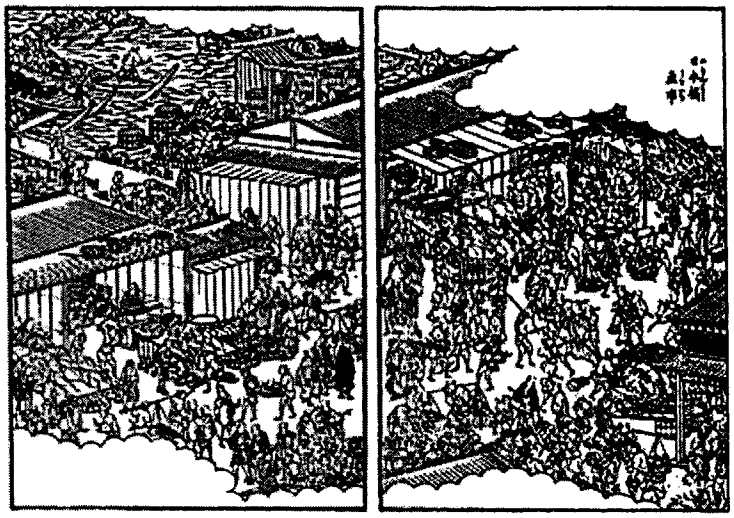

fig.3 . Nihonbashi Fishmarket.
source : Edo Meisho Zue (1975)

These kinds of maps constitute two poles of a whole range of cartographic practices. One can find numerous other examples articulating in other ways practical and aesthetic, official and popular (here commoner-centered) elements. Maps as instruments of control and maps as navigation tools. In the late part of the Edo period, with the expansion of the city and the development of commercial activities, the second use becomes the most obvious one, taking on a more strategic dimension of control as the "commoner-city" culture infiltrates the dominant official tradition[79] . Maps become necessary not only to build a strategic space for the growing

[76] Smith, Henry D. (1986), p.12
Paul Waley shows this shift from an traditional use of the *meisho* to the apparition of *meisho* associated with a particular aspect of the geography of Edo, especially the importance of the water. We should also note the link between the apparition of *meisho* associated with a commoner culture and the development of commerce in Edo, as in the case of Mukôjima 向島 on the west bank of the Sumida. The merchant Sawara Kikû retired in 1804 and, following the advices of artist friends, built there a famous popular garden, the hyakka-en. However, he did not forget his previous activity and opened also a house of tea.
cf. Waley, Paul (1994), pp. 61-66

[77] *Edo meisho zue* : text by Saito Gesshin and drawings by Hasegawa Settan ; the modern edition is published by Kadokawa Shoten in 1973, 3 vol.
It is one of the most voluminous geographical index of *Edo meisho*.

[78] Yonemoto, Marcia (2000), p. 663

[79] One famous example is the ukiyo-e 浮世絵 artist Andô Hiroshige 安藤 広重 (1797-1858), born of a low rank family of samurai, who painted one of the most collection of views of Edo, the *Edo Meisho hyakkei* 江戸名所百景 (*One Hundred Famous Views of Edo*) in the Bakumatsu Period 幕末時代 (1853-1867)

"commoner-city", but pratically to find one's way in the maze of the city streets. In this closed and fragmented city (question of control and defense), travelers to Edo as well as its inhabitants need a way to orient themselves in a space that is not ordered on the basis of a universal homogeneous geographical space. This explains the success of the *kiriezu* 切り絵図 from the second half of the XVIII the century, those series of maps dividing the city in individual parts (around thirty in general). Tokugawa mapping did not only establish a definition of authority but also favored the dissemination of a flexible spatial sensibility. And whatever the possible teleological readings of the history of Tokugawa cartographical practices, they remain incommensurable to Meiji cartography. While it is difficult to affirm that the growing instability and the various changes in the Tokugawa society prepared for the radical transformations of the Meiji era, it is evident that the system was reaching its absolute limit and that the social space of Edo and Japan would have undergone an appreciable transformation one way or another.

fig.4 . Andô Hiroshige . "Surugachô".
source : Edo Meisho Hyakkei (1975)

2. The Edo-Tôkyô transition . 江戸から東京へ

The Early Meiji Period sees the establishment of the capital of a new political order that succeeds to the Tokugawa regime. By its obvious presence, or absence, it remains the *locus* where are firstly articulated the discourses of Tôkyô Studies, the *Tôkyô-ron* 東京論. While it may be presumptuous to hope giving a definitive answer to the multiple questions raised by Tôkyô, we will try to locate ourself in those different discourses and analyze the production of the modern, abstract, urban space that characterizes the capital of the modern nation-state established by the Meiji government. We will focus our analysis on the novelty of this urban space, the effect it has on the general spacial structure of the city, and more globally, on the positioning of Tôkyô in the new, national, discursive formation. Such an approach of urban space is particularly interesting as it can shed a different light on issues of historical continuity, national body and national identity.

The political control of the new capital is directly related to a change in the use of cartography and urban planning, new in its radical and idealistic homogenization of space that allows for multiple mappings and remappings. Before going any further, we should take a pause to precise our use of the concept of abstract space as defined by Henri Lefebvre. His book, *La Production de l'Espace*, a multilayered book that draws on Hegelian dialectic and Marxist critics of politico-economy through the concepts of production and practice, can be read along three lines : first a history of the present that draws the genesis of modern abstract space by looking at its historical or rather genetical antecedants ; the basis for a critical analysis of social space as a social product ; and a critical project for subverting the order of abstract space and recovering a harmonious relation between mental and social space, practice, representations of space and spaces of representation. Henri Lefebvre defines abstract space as a product of violence and war, a political space institutionalized by the modern state and therefore institutional[80] . It is based on an illusion of homogeneity, an instrumental homogeneity sanctioned by empirical "scientific" descriptions of space, in which

[80] Lefebvre, Henri (1974), p. 328

cartography plays an essential role. An illusion, an "appearance" that is all the more real, as it is produced through the telescoping of geometrical space (based on Euclidian geometry), visual space (of images, pictures, but also plans and drawings), and the social space of practice. Visuality is taken for the geometrical, and the optical ("lisibility") transparency of the visual merges with logico-mathematical intelligibility, and vice versa.[81] Of course, the apparition of the visual and the geometrical can be traced back to older times. In Japan, they are present in the Tokugawa era but in a distinct system of value, the order of the general equivalent. The originality and rupture of modernity *appears in the way the visual and the geometrical are abstractly and absolutely, instrumentally, articulated in social space.*

The period considered, the first years of the Meiji era is marked by hybridity. It is a period of transition, as in Europe and America, and it is already modern. We argued about the shift from a heterogeneous space to a homogeneous space. Lefebvre does not oppose homogeneous space to heterogeneous space. And he is speaking of the old continent, where this process takes place in a long period of maturation. Japan is a newcomer. The *bakuhan-seido* 幕藩制度 is not European feudalism, neither the centralized State of France's Louis XIV, even less a mix of both. Does this imply that Meiji Japan and Tôkyô are essentially different from their Western counterparts and models ? The institution of abstract space is a radical revolution of urban space. As Tôkyô has a different history than Paris or London, its entry into modernity is slightly different and respects, obviously, local particularities. But we should not forget that the entry into modernity is also the entry on the international homogeneous space of modern nations, nation-states that are as many fragmented and homogeneous pieces of a gigantic jigsaw-puzzle.

[81] Lefebvre, Henri (1974), p. 344

3.1 Edo-Tôkyô gaku . 江戸東京学 :

The question of the transition from Edo to Tôkyô is directly linked to the one of modernity. Traditionally, in Japanese historiography, modern times, *kindai jidai* 近代時代 , start in 1868 with the establishment of the Meiji government. This change takes place in a global context of Western imperialism, marked in Japan by the arrival of Commodore Perry in the bay of Edo in 1853, and the unequal treaties signed by the *Bakufu* with the main Western nations of the time. The affirmation of a complete rupture with the previous regime has been used to legitimize the new one, its project of modernization along Western lines, the construction of a modern nation-state and the national consciousness that goes with it. But as has been argued by many scholars, a national consciousness and the nation-state it is associated with need, in order to function together, a national memory, a national narrative shared by the whole people of the nation, an internal space[82] in which they can identify themselves, and therefore not conceived as originating from the "outside". Meiji officials first refer to a "Golden Age", before the establishment of the first *Bakufu* of Kamakura (1185-1333), when Japan (identified with the national territory of Meiji) was under the direct rule of the Emperor. Only in a second time do they redeem the *Bakufu* institution and especially the Edo era that is reintegrated in the national narrative as pre-modern (preparing modern times). These changes take place at an ideological level, but have very practical effects, especially in the re-construction of the new political capital, Tôkyô.

Therefore, the question of continuity and discontinuity between the Edo and Meiji eras, Edo and Tôkyô, is internal to the very condition of modernity and the nation-state system as it appears in Japan. It could be possible to argue (and actually many have tried to do so) that Tôkyô, being a particular urban space, do not belong only to the realm of representations. It could then be possible to answer this question on a more factual, empiricist basis. But facts do not and will never speak for themselves. And as Tôkyô is established as the political capital of the Meiji government, it is even more charged with value and meaning. This does not mean that 1868 marks a complete and

[82] Space is used here in its "traditional" use, maked atemporality and synchronicity.

immediate rupture in the history of Tôkyô. Taken distinctly, many characteristics of Tôkyô can be directly traced back to Edo, and even before. What is argued here is that the general assemblage of Edo urban space is completely reorganized, rearticulated after 1868, according to a political project different from the one of the Tokugawa and taking place in a distinct social space. As Edo was designed to be the center of the Tokugawa regime, Tôkyô is established as a new "proper place", the political capital of a modern nation-state, and the apparent continuity marked by the same geographical location must not blind us. But before going any further in this discussion, let's start by drawing a brief sketch of the field of Edo-Tôkyô studies.

To begin with, we can look at the discontinuist approach. Ishizuka Hiromichi 石塚裕通, social and economic historian of Tôkyô, examines the question from two angles : first the social issue, hygiene and conditions of life of the lower classes (case of the cholera and slums, pollution) ; he then completes his analysis by extending his scope to the international dimension of Tôkyô and especially its relation with Yokohama[83] . He defends a global approach so as to understand the city structurally, by degrees and by stratification[84] . This is a global and systematic method that in many ways facilitates a discontinuous approach to the history of Tôkyô, not surprising regarding his marxist basis. Ishizuka opposes the feudal city, *hôken toshi* 〈封建都市〉 , of Edo, to the modern city, *kindai toshi* 〈近代都市〉 , of Tôkyô, each being associated with a distinct economic system, respectively the *kokudakasei* 石高制 (what we described as rice-economy) and capitalism, *shihonsei* 資本制 . In both cases, he is aware of the limitations of the economic approach and associates it with the appropriate political system. For Edo, it is the *bakuhansei* 幕藩制 , the hierarchy of status that structures the Tokugawa society. The couple *kokudakasei* and *bakuhansei*, reflects two acceptations of the term "feudal" in Japanese historiography, that must be kept in mind. As Carol Gluck remarks, the "feudal system", *hôken seido*, was first "the old Chinese term for decentralized government, which referred to the shôgun-domainal Tokugawa polity". It also meant the hereditary status system. "Therefore,

[83] Ishizuka, Hiromichi (1992), p.186

[84] In Japanese, he says p. 192 :
「私の都市研究の方法は、都市をバラバラに分けないで、全体をまとめて見る、構造的に段階的に重層的に、東京に迫りたいというわけです。」

"feudal" was, in the Early Meiji Period, defined less in terms of political structure of land tenure than as a social system that oppressed and constrained the energies of the people"[85] . Later, European and Marxist definitions of feudalism were added and complicated the historical question. For Tôkyô, while giving a dominant place to capitalism, he also defines it as *kokka-toshi* 〈国家都市〉, the capital of a modern nation-state. This is a traditional view of history based on a marxist critic of politico-economy. Without contesting its relevance, especially in Ishizuka's social analysis, we must remark that it tends to reify the opposition between both periods too systematically, and to our opinion, does not take enough in consideration the changes in the symbolic order, the field of representations, that directly affect the social structure of Tôkyô.

Another advocate of the discontinuist thesis is the historian of Edo, Nishimura Matsunosuke 西村 松之助 . He is one of the architects of the "Edo Renaissance", one who developed the cultural image of Edo, which he defines as "City of Men", *danshi-toshi* 〈男子都市〉, "City of disasters", *kasai-toshi* 〈火災都市〉 , "City with a strong impulsion for changes of residence", *kyôsei-iten no machi* 〈強制移転の町〉 . Nishimura is concerned with re-discovering the cultural life of Edo, destroyed and lost after the Meiji revolution, which he does through a work of remarkable erudition. But the image of Edo that appears in his writings is not innocent. His is Edo of resistance, an a-historical place, a kind of "Golden Age". He uses the strong term of *hirenzokusei* 非連続性 , non-continuity, to characterize the radical change of Meiji, and advocate a project of return-to-Edo, by overcoming, *norikoeru* 乗り越える , modernity (in his mind, ignoring this regrettable episode). He focuses his work on Edo culture, more specifically handicraft culture, adopted by both commoners and warriors, and renowned for its remarkably high standards. This is popular culture, that has nothing to envy to High Culture, a culture of craftsmen that reaches a position of hegemony in the XVIIth c., transcending social and geographical differences. Nishiyama gives to Edo a central position as the apex of a way of life that harmoniously balances consumption and production, people and nature, a cultured life

[85] Gluck, Carol (1998), p. 265

with a particular emphasis on leisure pursuits (*yûgei* 遊芸), made possible by two hundred years of peace and isolation. In a time of peace, he says, "there seems to be more reason than ever to review the possible latent in Edo period culture" and "rethink the conditions necessary for leading cultural lives"[86] . Edo becomes an ideal, an absolute past that through its valorization of commoner, popular culture, peace and isolation, presents an idyllic, homogeneous Japanese society. The parallel between the Pax Tokugawa and today's time of peace, if true to a certain extent, ignores a major difference, the globalization of the world. Or is it precisely against this phenomenon that Nishiyama advocates a return to this blessed time of peace and isolation, before the stain brought by Western modernity ?

We can now look at the other approach that emphasizes the continuities between both cities, what is mainly the object of the Edo-Tôkyô Studies[87] . The leading scholar of this current is the social historian Ogi Shinzô 小木 新造 . His first argument is that there is an undeniable continuity from Edo to today's Tôkyô. He bases this affirmation on two points. First, Edo has not been completely reorganized after Meiji ; urban planning has never succeeded in remodeling the city on a grand scale. Tôkyô has more or less conserved the original structure of the feudal city. The second point completes the first one. Tôkyô in itself has no real identity. People come and go, without ever really thinking about staying there for the rest of their live. This is not something original for a metropolis, and one could easily argue that this transitory character is an essential characteristic of modern Tôkyô. But Ogi's argument goes farther. For him, Tôkyô is a city that have been reproduced (*saiseisan* 再生産) without acquiring a proper identity, any proper subjectivity (*shutaisei* 主体性). Tôkyô reproduces Edo but has lost any meaning, has lost its identity[88] . Identity and meaning, then, only survives at the level of everyday life, of popular culture, through the permanence of the basic

[86] Nishiyama, Matsunosuke (1997), p.19

[87] Here, we freely draw on Yoshihara Kenichirô's analysis of Edo-Tôkyô studies.
cf. Ishida Yorifusa, Yoshihara Kenichirô & Ishizuka Hiromichi (1992)

[88] Here, the term "identity" is used in the sense of a fixed, clearly defined and essentialized identity, that is directly associated with the space of everyday life, the lived space. Modern Tôkyô could stand for another mode of identity, based on this transitory character, a mode of identity born in modern times.

urban structure of Edo. Tôkyô having no tradition of monumentality[89] , the basic structure of the city would have remained intact. This position can be related to contemporary post-modern critics of Tôkyô that deny the existence and possibility of any urban planning in the city.

This emphasis on long term continuities is closely related to Ogi Shinzô's more practical field of study, Tôkyô during the Early Meiji Period. His famous argument about the change of name of the capital allows him to identify in that period a continuity at the level of popular culture (the culture of everyday life, the culture of the commoner), where Edo continues to live while the city is being subjected to various projects of modernization. The ideograms chosen, 東 *higashi* or *tô*, east, and 京 *kyô* or *kei* allow for a double reading, "Tôkyô" or "Tôkei". Therefore, he names this period *Tôkei jidai* とうけい時代 , although there is no proof that the second reading was more popular than the first one. For Ogi Shinzô, the "central city" (*chûô toshi* 中央都市), the "consumption city" (*shôhi toshi* 消費都市) and the "information city" (*jôhô toshi* 情報都市) are characteristics of Edo that perdure in Tôkyô. If one looks at the commoners, they continue to live the same life according to the same material needs in the new capital. They are the same people.

This argument can easily be destroyed. Rather than continuity, we should speak of the hybrid character of Early Meiji Tôkyô in relation to its immediate past, Edo, and its new status of national capital. We must not forget that this is a characteristic shared by most of modern metropolises of the modern world, in the West as in the East. The last part of the XIXth century sees the apparition of a new society, a new mode of living and a new being in the world, in all parts of the world. It is an original assemblage, a form of social space that has never been seen before. Modernity fixes newness as a rule, the rule. It is a powerful and violent force of change, of deterritorialization, that breaks all previous codes, and at the same time produces new

[89] This affirmation if based on a comparison with European cities. However, there is a tradition of monumentality in Japan as we saw in ch.2, although different from the European tradition. We must also not confuse monumentality with modern architecture of the building (cf. ch.4).

territorializations, new codes. The modern nation-state is the strongest one.[90] We must understand hybridity not only as a mixture of cultures, Japan and the West, but as the rule of newness. It is a form of consciousness based on the everyday "conceptualized as a minimal unity of temporal experience" and meaning ; a unity that is destroyed as soon as it is realized by the catastrophic interruption of the event, of the new. The everyday is defined by a present that is "empty, vacated of meaning at the moment it arrives". The place becomes the locus where is inscribed the traumatic event, where it becomes legible after having been inscribed in temporality[91] . It is in this perspective that we must approach the new reality of the commoner (new in the two meanings defined above). After the revolution, the composition of the population of Tôkyô is not the same as in the last days of the *Bakufu*. Tôkyô has lost about half of its population, mainly the *daimyô* and their retainers who left the city after the official abolition of the *sankin kôtai* the 15th of October 1868. The commoner of Edo owed its existence to the *daimyô* (and vice-versa). Both were part of a particular social order, and as soon as it explodes, they cease to exist as such. The commoners, the *chônin* 町人 , remain, but their everyday life has been radically transformed, or should we rather say has become modern everyday life as such, the ever negotiated base of experience and meaning. It has become something else that is not an essentialized version of the *chônin* but its absolute abstraction, the modern *shomin* 庶民 .

Tôkyô inherits an already structured urban space and makes use of it, but not by reproducing it identically. This becomes a different space, and the change of name is not an entirely abstract gesture, unless we understand it as the rule of abstraction. As Edo is marked by the order of the general equivalent, Tôkyô is an abstract space, homogenized, fragmented and hierarchized in a radically different way.

[90] Virtuality in the so-called 'post-modern' era would be then complete newness, absolute speed dissoluting all other dimensions of space and time.
cf. works of Paul Virilio and Bryan Massumi . "The Brightness confound"
[91] Harootunian, Harry (2000), pp.18-19

3.2. A new administrative system : 身分別行政から行政区画へ

Tôkyô is established as a new political center. It is the capital of a country that aims at becoming a modern nation-state, which implies the complete reorganization of its social space. Once again, we can use Michel De Certeau's concept of "proper place".

Tôkyô is characterized by an almost complete centralization. It is both a political and economic center, as well as the residence of the Tennô 天皇 , whereas those functions were divided during the Edo period, respectively between Edo, Ôsaka and Kyôto. As explains Fujitani Takashi, Kyôto is still the locus of a strong meaning, as it presents the reverted image of Tôkyô, the national tradition and history, associated with the other, "female", body of the Emperor[92] . It organizes a particular space, essential to the construction of the nation-state, but subjected to Tôkyô. Even more than Edo, the new capital possesses the three attributes of the "proper place" as defined by Michel De Certeau : a triumph of place over time[93] , the mastery of places through sight by way of panoptic practices[94] , and the power of knowledge, especially in the way it tests and defines modernization for the rest of the country. This is a rather classic description of the development of Tôkyô through its new political function, and many scholars have cautioned against the overemphasis on Tôkyô's political character and its limits for explaining the development of the city. But we should not forget that the modern nation-state is one element (though a central one) of a complete transformation of the whole social reality, in particular conceptions of space and time[95] . Benedict Anderson defines homogeneous, empty time as an essential characteristic of modernity and modern nationalism. It allows for a simultaneous, synchronic national consciousness, this feeling of belonging to the same nation, of sharing the same

[92] Fujitani, Takashi (1996)
Fujitani draws on medieval european theories on the body of the monarch to explain the modern Japanese monarchy.

[93] Precise somewhere (before, after ?)

[94] As he links the construction of a ceremonial and panoptical space in the capital, Fujitani is careful to identify an important difference with the model of panopticon described by Michel Foucault in European countries. While the abolition of monarchy led to this new discoursive formation in Europe, in Japan, monarchy is precisely a necessary condition of this panoptic space.

[95] We do not want here to use these two categories as Kantian apriori conditions, but rather as essential (necessary) dimensions of social space that are produced and articulated at the very moment this space appears. So there is no question of anteriority involved here.

identity, no matter which part of the country you are living in. This could be understood as a spatialization of time, and indeed, narratives of progress supported by Spencer's social Darwinism (very popular during the first part of the Meiji period) are not subjecting space to the rule of time, but rather rearticulate both in such a way that space becomes an internal and essential condition of time, the place of the present. Hence the importance of cartography as we will see in the next chapter, and of of places" The national capital, as a "place of power", institutes the 'triumph of space over time'. Also, this national consciousness cannot exist if there is not, at the level of representations of space, a complete homogenization of the national territory, which becomes then one piece in the jigsaw puzzle of the world's nations.

Following Henri Lefebvre's thesis of modern space as abstract space, homogenized, fragmented and hierarchized, we will try to understand how this space appears in Tôkyô, first by examining the re-definition of the city's internal and external borders. This is not an innocent choice, since the definition of frontiers is highly representative of the way a space is perceived, represented and ordered in a given society. In modern times, Eric Hobsbawn has defined the "characteristic modern state" by, among other factors, its aim at imposing "the same institutional and administrative arrangements and laws all over its territory."[96] This allows for a sense of territorial uniformity, an ideal homogeneous space that can be treated globally in the same manner regardless of regional variations[97] . The administration of each district, relies on the same techniques and scales of inquiry, the *gyôseikukaku* 行政区画. In Japan, Maruyama Masao identifies the *han* 藩 as the key element separating pre-modern from modern times[98] . As long as the *han* existed, he says, it was not possible to establish a real modern nation, since it maintained the heterogeneity instituted by the *mibunseido*. In Tôkyô, the historian Suzuki Masao 鈴木 理生 distinguishes Edo's

[96] Hobsbawn, E. J. (1990), p.80
[97] Local places are not denied but exist at another scale, subjected to the global national territory, conceived as homogeneous.
[98] Maruyama, Masao (1974)

NOTE TO USERS

everyday that did not exist as such (in and for itself) in the Edo era. In Tôkyô, this process starts first as a reaction of rejection of the previous regime. In order to legitimate its position and make of Tôkyô the symbol of its power to both Japanese people and Western nations, Meiji officials, most of them newcomers that have never lived for long in the city completely reorganize its symbolic structure, through the production and use of abstract space. In the first years of the Meiji era, Tôkyô becomes a laboratory of experimentation, the place where modernization is being discussed, argued for or against. Modernization, or Westernization[102] , is then "a device as well as a policy"[103] , a tool as well as a political and ideological issue. But underlaying the multiple definitions and re-definitions of modernity lies a common ground, what we call the abstraction of space as exemplified in the *gyôseikukaku.*

Looking back to Edo, we can see that the question of drawing borders and limits is not entirely new. Although Edo never had any "physical" walls assuring the separation between urban space and rural space, the *Bakufu* always tried to maintain the distinction between all four statuses, between *bushi* and commoners, commoners (merchants and artisans) and peasants. The administration of the land in Edo had been divided into three instances. The lands of the *Shôgun* and the *daimyô* are administered by the *Oometsuke* 大目付 , the *Metsuke* 目付 , the *Rôjû* 老中 and the *wakadoshiyori* 若年寄 ; the lands of the shrines and temples by the *jishabugyô* 寺社奉行 ; and the lands of the townspeople, *chônin* 町人 , by the *machibugyô* 町奉行 . As the city expands, along its main roads and around the four *juku*, new administrative problems appear. When rural villages turn into semi-urban areas, the distinction of status becomes blurred, endangering the very stability of the regime. *Bakufu* officials must, many times, redraw the city's limits, and especially the boundaries of each administrative jurisdiction. This is first done by pointing at gateways of the castle, and then bridges, rivers and canals. In 1696, an edict defines 29 posts in the city to

[102] Both terms are used to describe the changes that take place in Japanese society during the Meiji Period, the first one being more neutral and refering to a universal process, while the second one is more critical and pejorative regarding the politics of Meiji officials. There is no doubt that the transformations of Meiji are part of a global process, in both imperialist and colonized countries. If the West is the model, we should not forget that there never happened to be any simple copy of what happened in Europe. Meiji officials had in fact numerous models to choose from, and Meiji Tôkyô is undeniably an original product. This question is still in discussion today regarding the problematic positionning of Japan among Western industrial countries and Asian countries, and the definitions of a Japanese identity.

[103] Jansen, Marius (1965), p.69

delineate the jurisdiction of the *machi-bugyô*. This is not a straight line, as it respects the fragmentation of the urban space. A proposal made in 1818 sets out the limits of Edo until the fall of the *Bakufu*. It distinguishes a first area, where the commoners are placed under the control of the *machi-bugyô*, defined by a black line, the *sumibiki-sen* 墨引線. This is the area often called *Edo barai* 「江戸払い」. Then the *shubiki-sen* 朱引線, often drawn in red, delineates the Go*funai* 御府内. The area between both lines is placed under the jurisdiction of the *jisha-bugyô* and the *kanshô-bugyô*[104] (fig.5). However, those boundaries do not refer to the same conception of social space. Each area, defining an official jurisdiction, is essentially different from the other. The border acts more as a gateway than a border line, as more than once it is a gateway, a bridge or a river, that marks the boundary. There is no underlying homogeneous space such as in the *gyôseikukaku*. As we have seen, the unity of social space is maintained by the general equivalent. What is interesting is that those reforms concern mainly the *chônin*, the space of the commoners centered on Nihonbashi and expanding radially along the main axes of transportation ; a distinct spatial dynamic that the *Shôgun* tries to reintegrate in its space through the institution of those administrative boundaries.

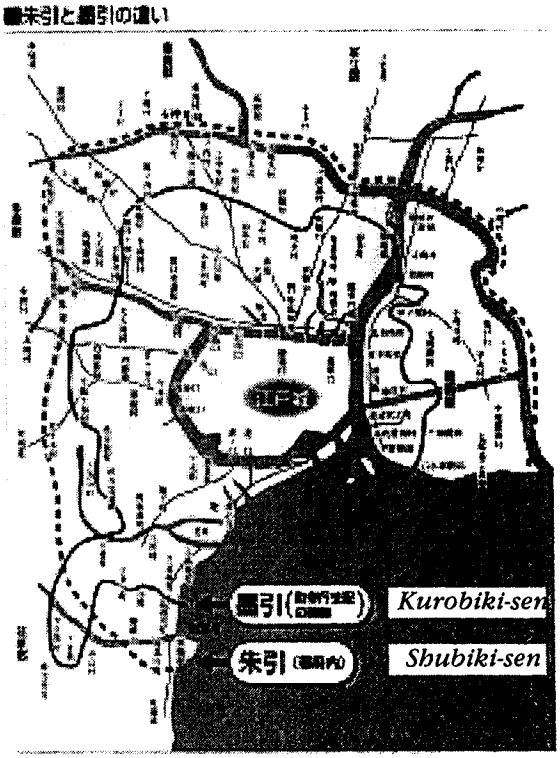

fig. 5 . The Kurobiki line and the Shubiki line.
source : Suzuki, Masao (1999), p.113

[104] The *kanshô-bugyô* is in charge of finances in Edo.
For a detailed analysis of the borders of Edo and the constitution of the *shubiki* line, see Chiba, M. (2001) pp.149-191

What happens after the fall of the Shogunate ? The new government has to deal with two issues : the city has been deserted by half of its population and is faced by an economic and social crisis. On the other hand, a new capital is needed. After numerous discussions, Edo, renamed Tôkyô, is chosen as the residence of the Tennô[105] . However, Meiji officials are first concerned with building the new political center and Tôkyô as a ceremonial center does not appear before the end of the 1880's, when the new imperial palace is built on the grounds of the Tokugawa castle. According to a survey realized in February 1870, the lands of the Bushi represent then 70 % of the total area of the city, the land of the temples and shrines 16 % and those of the commoners 14 %[106] . The previous year, the 928 *chô* 町 of the city had been divided in 50 *ku* 区 of about 10 000 h. each, on the base of the *shubiki* line (redefined to take into account the incorporation of new villages and the relocation of *daimyô* residences). Out of the *shubiki* line, 190 *chô* and 85 *mura* 村 are divided into five other *ku* 区 . The new administrative system is based on the one of the *machibugyô*, while trying to fit with the representative structure of a modern country. The old system, the *nanushi-seido* 名主制度 is replaced by the new *toshiyori-seido* 年寄制度 (fig.6). The *nanushi* is the headman (of a village or urban district), nominated by the feudal lord in charge (in Edo, the *Shôgun*), to assume local responsibilities like the collection of taxes. The *toshiyori* is literally the old man. In Edo, the *machidoshiyori*[107] are the head of the local government in commoner districts (*machi* 町). They designate the *nanushi* who are in charge of up to ten *chô*, while landowners, *jinushi* 地主 , and houseowners, *ienushi* 家主, organize themselves at a micro-level in a self-government, the

〈年寄制〉	〈名主制〉
世話街肝煎	町年寄
|	|
中年寄世話街	世話街名主
| |	|
添年寄 中年寄	名主
(町用街)	|
	主
	|
	家主

fig. 6 . The Toshiyori-sei and the Nanushi-sei.

[105] cf. ch.4
[106] Suzuki, Masao . (2000), p. 104
[107] The Machidoshiyori are the head of three families that kept this office during the whole Edo era.

goningumi 五人組 (five men in charge of an area)[108] . This is a system based on hereditary statuses and offices, and land ownership. The *machi-bugyô* is the basis of the new system, but Meiji officials are careful to abolish the abhorred hereditary system, for them the reason of the decadence of the Tokugawa regime. The primary targets are the *nanushi* : the 10th of March, 227 *nanushi* are forced to resign and the next day, out of the old *nanushi* are chosen the new *nakadoshiyori* 中年寄 and the *tendoshiyori* 添年寄 to administrate each of the 50 *ku*. Then one man in each *ku* is designated to form the *nakadoshiyori-sewagai*「中年寄世話街」, out of which two form the *sewagai-kimoiri*「世話街肝煎」. At the lowest rank, the old *ienushi* is replaced by a *machidoshiyori*. The same system is applied to the external ku (two *Ootoshiyori* 大年寄 and two or three *nakadoshiyori* in each ku). On the lands of the *daimyô* and Temples and Shrines, placed under the control of the government, a representative is chosen out of the nobles and the sect of each religion.

This new system marks the end of the traditional system of local administration. "The new regime consciously aimed at uprooting the entrenched local authorities and replacing them with functionaries designated by the new national administration."[109] But the upward shift in local administration means that neighborhood control is left in the hands of informal or semi-formal structures. Despite a first attack on the *ienushi* (the word itself is legally banned in November 1869, to be replaced by (*chisho*) *sahainin* 地所差配人, "[land] superintendent"), the government seems content to let them take care of administrative matters at the level of *machi*. Should we see there the mark of continuity at the level of local administration where landowners and their agent, the *yamori*, stay in charge ? Or isn't it a new spatial formation where the property of land takes on a radically different meaning ?

[108] In Edo, the *ienushi* 家主, also called less formally *yamoei* 屋守 or simply *ôya* 大家, occupies an ambiguous position between landlord and tenant. He holds no property, but receives housing as a fee for his services. Those men who wore two hats, also came to assume administrative functions of political control, passing on official directives from the *machi-bugyô* and assuming the responsability in the *gonin-gumi* for any offenses their tenants might commit.

[109] Smith, Henry D. (1986), p. 368

3.3. Land reform and gyôseikukaku :

The establishment of the *gyôseikukaku* is part of a complete reorganization of the country to construct a highly centralized government, this center being the Tennô and Tôkyô. In March 1871, the government votes a law on family registers (*kosekihô* 戸籍法) that establishes the principle of territorial jurisdiction (*zokuchishugi* 属地主義). The basis of (administrative) identity is the place one lives in, not his status or office. In each *ku* , a *kochô* 戸長 and a *fukukochô* 副戸長 are in charge of keeping a register of the number of households and people, deaths, comings and goings. The same year, the *han* are abolished as well as the *mibunseido*. The whole country is divided into 3 *fu* 府 , and 302 *ken* 県 . In the new Tôkyô-fu, another administrative system is instituted, the *daikukoku* 「大区小区」. This time, the whole area of the old Edo is administered in the same way. Six *daiku* are created, each divided into 16 *koku* 小区 [110] (fig. 7). A *kochô* is put in charge of each *koku*, and all the *kochô* form the *kochô-sewagai* 「戸長世話街」, replacing the previous *nadashiyori-sewagai*. In 1873, the *kochô-sewagai* is replaced by a *kuchô* 区長[111] that administers the *daiku*. Taking the imperial palace as its center[112] , each *daiku* 大区 is defined in a clockwise order, starting from the central area of Shitamachi

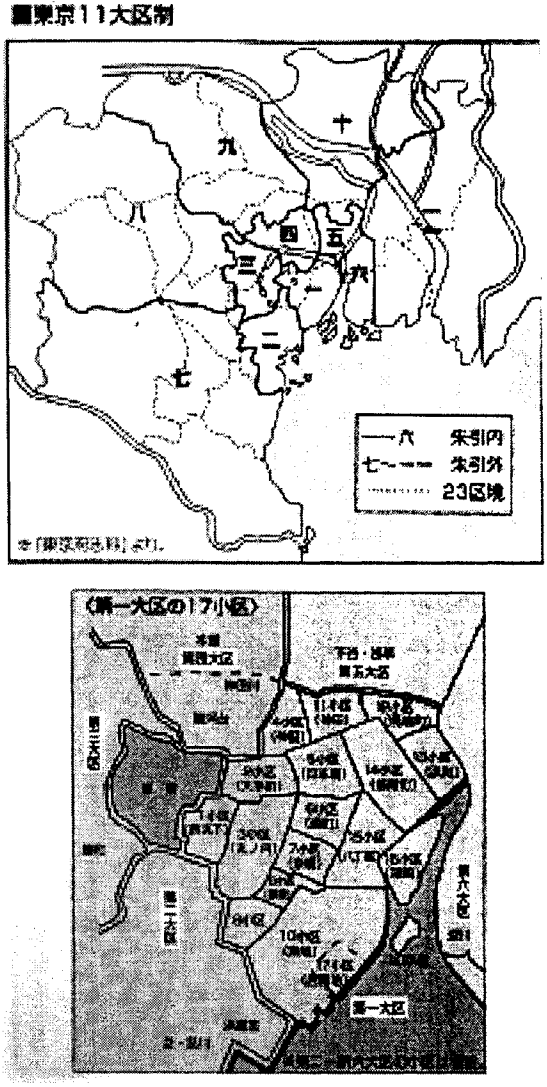

fig. 7 . The Daiku Koku system.
source : Suzuki, Masao (1999), p.145

110 The first daiku has one more koku because of the foreign settlement in Tsukiji.

[111] The *kochô* and the *kuchô* designate offices, that were at first occupied by two or three men, before being reduced to only one man.

[112] Actually at the time, the imperial have been destroyed by a fire in 1972, and the Emperor lives in the Akasaka Detached Palace.

(the actual Chûô-ku). A name is then attributed to each *chô* 町, and new ones created for the areas of the *daimyô*, temples and shrines (they did not have any until that time) and the rural areas newly incorporated into the city. As the city area expands, its administrative divisions are redefined. In 1878, as the suburb of Edo have been absorbed in Tôkyô, we find 11 *daiku* and 103 *koku*.

The main issue in these reforms seems to be the land and its control. Suzuki Hiroyuki describes them as the first step toward a unification of land ("*tochi no ichigenka no daiippo*" 「土地の一元化の第一歩」)[113] that mirrors the unification of society. We can push his analysis a little bit farther by seeing there the first step toward the homogenization of social space, and its inevitable fragmentation. As one's place of residence becomes the basis of administration, land itself, its use and control becomes, again, a crucial issue. Again, since the control of land was at the core of the Tokugawa's concerns, as land was, during the *Sengoku jidai* 戦国時代 (1500-1573), the basis of wealth. During the Tokugawa era, land is the property of the Emperor and is administered by the *Shôgun*. It is attributed to the *daimyô* as a compensation for their services. However, they must live in castle-towns, while peasants work on the land. The distinction between peasants and *bushi* is essential to the stability of the system. But among commoners, land is being bought and sold without any restriction. Landownership constitutes one of the most important basis of wealth and social status. As said above, among the commoners, it is the landowners, *jinushi* 地主, and the houseowner, the *yamori* 家守, who have the right and duty to administer the *machi* or *chô* 町. This dual structure is reflected in urban space by the opposition between the front and the back of urban blocks, best summarized by the expression "*omotechi kari, uradana kari*" 「表地借り、裏店借り」: borrow the front land (on the street) and borrow a shop in the back (in the back street where are the *nagaya* 長家). The *yamori* borrows the land from the landowner and lives on the side of the main street, while he lends houses, shops, in the backstreet[114]. However, this is not instrumental space. Commoner space and its particular use of land remains subjected to the sumptuary and its heterogeneous space.

[113] Suzuki, Horiyuki (1999), p. 144
[114] Suzuki, Hiroyuki (1999), pp. 82-83

In the new administrative system, the landowners do not constitute anymore the basis of local administration, neither can they organize themselves in a self-government. Do they loose all power in the city ? Not at all. One of the first measures of the Meiji government is a land reform that gives the right for everybody to freely sell and buy land. Transactions are confirmed by a certificate, *chiken* 地券 . As the land reform also aims at financing the modernization of the country, a land tax of 3 % (later leveled to 2.5 %) is imposed the next year. It is more or less equivalent to the levying of the *daimyô*. If on the national scale, the reform does not seem to have provoked a strong concentration of land in the hands of a few, it definitely had this effect in urban areas. In Tôkyô, landowners, commoners for the most part, gain more and more power in the first years of the Meiji era and play a significative, not to say decisive, role in urban policies and urban planning. How ? When the new leaders enter in Edo, they act as colonists. Edo has been conquered and is occupied. As 70 % of the urban area is constituted of *daimyô* lands, almost all the city is placed under the direct control of the government. What can they do with those lands ? As becomes rapidly evident, repairs of the *daimyô-yashiki* are very expensive and the new government cannot afford to spend so much money. To cut in expenses, in April 1868, a law is enforced that determines the size of the official's residence according to their rank. At the same time, *daimyô* lands are rented and sold to commoners. This is a blessed time, when one could get a *daimyô-yashiki* of 1000 tsubo (1 tsubo ≈ 3,3 m^2), for only 25 yens[115] . Many new fortunes are established at this time, as some people strongly believe that the old capital of the *Shôgun* will not be abandoned. The government tries to control those transactions, sometimes forbid them, but it is not evident to which extent its measures are effective. A large amount of the old *daimyô* lands are requisitioned for the military, the establishment of the new members of the government and of the imperial family. The rest is at first used for agricultural experiences. The best example is the transformation of *daimyô* lands into mulberry trees (to feed silk worms) and tea fields according to the plan of the Governor of Tôkyô Ôki Takatô大木 橋任 (1832-1899) enforced in September 1869. Although a failure in terms of practical results (the

[115] Suzuki, Hiroyuki (1999), p. 110

policy is stopped in 1871), it durably modifies the face of the city, and especially the distribution of the land.

One direct consequence is the expansion of *chônin*'s rights over the *daimyô* lands. As commoners can answer to the policy and acquire lands for the cultivation of mulberry trees and tea, large amounts of land are bought for a modest price. This encourages land speculation and supports the expansion of the city to the west. As remarks Suzuki Hiroyuki, the trend for highs (*daichishugi* 台地主義) is something new[116] . Of course, Yamanote, the lands of the *bushi*, were initially located on highs, while the commoners were located in the low lands, Shitamachi, thus reflecting the social hierarchy. But soon, *daimyô* establish themselves in Shitamachi or on the more pleasant lands on the west side of the Sumida-gawa. The new leaders, and especially the new aristocrats of Meiji, prefer the western and southern high lands of Tôkyô first for hygienic reasons. Residences located in Shitamachi are too humid which, according to Western scientists, is not good for health. To this new consciousness of health is added a taste for verticality, highs being associated with power and visibility. This is a modern urban space, abstract space, as it appears at the same time in the West. This does not mean that there are no specificities to Japanese, or at least Tôkyô's modernity. The process of homogenization of space is directly linked to an emphasis on place, one's place of birth, of residence. Landownership and the parcelization of urban space are distinct characteristics of Tôkyô's urban development that can be traced back to Edo. But they take a different value in modern abstract space. As space becomes functional, instrumental, homogeneous, it opens up the possibility for a consciousness of place, as the homogenization of society allows for individual consciousness. This is not the consciousness of place we find in Edo, but one produced in and by abstract space, and subjected not to an essentially heterogeneous space but to an idealistic homogeneous space. It becomes the attribute of lived space and the everyday, distinct from and colonized by the representations of space. This importance of place as a basis of identity is reflected in the subsequent changes in the administration of Tôkyô.

[116] Suzuki, Hiroyuki (1999), p. 118

As the government faces a crisis resulting from the radical measures it has taken to modernize the country (land reform, abolition of the *han*, centralization of the power, emergence of the *jiyûminken-undô* 自由民権運動 , war of the south-west, *seinan-sensô* 西南戦争), the *Daikukoku-sei* has to be replaced. Meiji officials realize that they must take into account the public opinion, or at least reach a public consensus. There is already a kind of consensus among the advocates of Enlightment and its ideology of progress based on readings of Samuel Smiles[117] , Rousseau and Herbert Spencer. The *Bunmei Kaika* 〈文明開化〉 and *Fukoku Kyôhei* 〈富国強兵〉 slogans are marked by the collision of notions of self-improvement and advancement through effort with "a note of devotion and service to country" that "kept the national good constantly before the private and public mind"[118] . Individualism is applied to the nation in a powerful way. However, this unconditional commitment to the national interest is not followed by a general agreement on the road to take. There is no one single road to modernity and no single model. As Marius B. Jansen remarks, "the Japanese discovery that the West was not a monolithic cultural unit, and that science and religion were at war in the West, made Japanese aware of the possibility and even necessity of choice and selection."[119] The first two decades of the Meiji era are a period of experimentation, when the government tries to release energies imperfectly controlled and channeled. The government must find his own definition of modernity and take its place in the "concert of nations". At the level of the population, the situation is even more confused. The old Tokugawa order has been abandoned, provoking a distress among Japanese who are uncertain how to behave. Modernity, undissociable from the West, fascinates and frightens.

In Tôkyô, the confusion is even more evident. The population of commoners continue to live in the same material conditions as before the Meiji Revolution, while the whole symbolic structure of the city has been radically altered. Again, what is a commoner without *daimyô* ? It is not surprising that the administrative reorganizations of the city are not particularly well accepted, as they violently unsettle the space of

[117] *Self Help*, first translated in 1870, is constantly refererred to in writings on *Bunmei kaika*.
[118] Jansen, Marius (1986), p. 65-67
Those are actually to distinct historical moments that in the 1880's fuse one with the other.
[119] Jansen, Marius (1986), p. 71

everyday life, therefore producing a consciousness of the everyday that has never existed as such before. Another system is enforced following the law of April 1878 on administrative divisions, *Gunkuchôson-hensei-hô* 「郡区町村編制法」. It divides the city area into 15 *ku*, plus 6 *gun* 郡 (*Higashi-Tama* 東多摩, *Kita-toshima* 北豊島, *Minami-toshima* 南豊島, *Ebara* 荏原, *Minami-adachi* 南足立 and *Minami-Katsushika* 南葛飾) and 389 *chôson* 町村 (towns and villages). Each *ku*, *gun* and *chôson* is respectively put in the charge of a *kuchô* 区長, a *gunchô* 郡長 and a 戸長. The *kuchô* of the old *daiku* were for the most old *nanushi*, but in the new *ku*, they are chosen from the *kazoku* 華族 (new name for the *daimyô* and nobles, *kuge* 公家) and *shizoku* 士族 (new name for the old *bushi*). The 戸長 are elected by the population until 1884, when the government decides to directly nominate them.

This system tries to respect actual local conditions. The previous one had been highly critized precisely for ignoring tradition and local conditions by imposing an abstract, mechanist grid on the urban area. As we said earlier, a nation, and its capital, are a fiction, a construction, but in order to function, they must forget their artificial nature by reinscribing themselves in a national narrative of moments shared and forgotten. The new system is not less abstract than the previous one. It actually marks another step toward modern abstract space. The new *ku* are not designated by numbers but by names that have a meaning for the population, a historical depth. Once more, the imperial castle is the center of the system, and each ku is distributed in a clockwise order. Half of the names make a direct reference to the waygates of the castle, and the others to their position along the main roads . For example, the *Asakusa-ku* 浅草区 and *Ushigome-ku* 牛込区 correspond respectively to the *Asakusa-mon* and *Ushigome-mon*. Those are direct references to the previous regime, but with a marked difference. They refer to a *past* time. This is made even stronger by the fact that people living at this time have known both times. Advocates of Enlightment "used their own experience of the difference - Fukuzawa's "two lives in one"- to redraw Edo in the linear prehistory of the Meiji to come"[120].

[120] Gluck, Carol (1998), p. 265

The names of those districts are not lies, false and ideological constructions. As in France, which served as a model for the administrative reorganization of Japan, those names are consciously chosen in the past so as to create a historical depth to the new administrative system. The Meiji government tried to choose, when possible, in the "Golden Age" of the imperial rule (prior to the establishment of the first *Bakufu*), names for the new governmental structures. In the case of Tôkyô, as there is no such past to refer to, except for geographical names like *musashino* 武蔵野 , the Plain of Musashi, the toponyms of Edo must be used, but without their political reference to the Tokugawa regime. As the Edo commoner becomes the basis of the national people, the *kokumin* 国民 , an a-political Edo becomes the origin of the nation-state (although not claimed as such before the end of the XIXth c.). Of course, these changes must not have been clear for all the new citizens, and not even for the officials, as the trauma of modernity is repressed by being reinscribed in a temporality and spaciality that emphasizes continuity in change[121] . In addition to the fictional (constructed representation) continuity in the administrative personnel, there is a continuity in the geo-political distribution of the population in the city. The new rulers establish themselves in the aristocratic area of Yamanote, and for the most part, the administration is composed by members of the new aristocracy (the *kazoku* and *shizoku*), which means, basically the same old rulers. The essential difference comes from the institution of abstract space, homogeneous, fragmented and hierarchized. The new vertical hierarchy is based of the *kokumin*, abstracted from the feudal *chônin* that has come to exist in and for itself. So there is no strict distinction between Yamanote and Shitamachi, at least not on the base of an essentialist hierarchy of status.

[121] This attitude is a reaction to the absolute power of deterritorialization of modernity as newness and its relation to the durational present of the everyday.
cf. Haroootunian, Harry (2000), p.19
"[...] all collective remembrance, all "voluntarily memory", is made for protecting the self from shock, those projectlike events regularly discharged by modernity."

3. The colonization of Japan :

The production of abstract space is historically linked to the entry into modernity and the construction of a national space. Homogenization and fragmentation of space go hand in hand, as two faces of the same coin. They result from and allow for an instrumentalization of space, the exercise of a destructive and productive power, embodied in the modern nation-state. Violence in its absolute form, abstraction, imposes its order and colonizes reality. The production of abstract space is the never-ending colonization of everyday life by representations of space. Cartography plays here an essential role. As Thongchai Winichakul has shown, the construction of the nation-state of Thailand, what he calls the geo-body of a nation, cannot be separated from the development of modern cartography and surveys, the drawing of lines to delineate the frontiers of the new country, and military operations of imperialism[122] .

In Japan, as in Thailand, the new nation-state is both the subject of and subjected to colonialism, as it is colonizing its territory both to legitimize its power and defend its territory against the West. Japan is colonizing itself in a very complex process where modern cartography plays an essential part.

4.1. Modern Cartography :

Modern maps are particular representations of space. They institute a separation with spaces of representation, the space of everyday life, the "conçu". It is a mental space, a panoptic space, the bird's eye view allowing for an external, critical, positioning of the map's reader who is given a representation of reality that claims to be total and absolute. Producing this critical, 'objective' space, modern maps are thus evaluated in terms of accuracy, scientific objectivity, in their mimetic reproduction of a material real. Studies of cartography, until recently, have remained trapped in this original (modern) claim of maps to have a mimetic relationship with reality and have contented themselves with constructing a teleological narrative of progress toward "true" scientific cartography. Making an abusive use of communication theories, they

[122] Thongchai, Winichakul (1994)

subsume differences under the notions of error or noise, as they define maps as a transparent "medium between spatial reality and human beings, of both cartographer and user, to help human beings perceive such space without the need of direct experience"[123] . Reality could then be directly accessed through this medium by way of an illusion of transparency that at the same time abstracts this reality from the space of everyday life, from the "vécu". This alienation from everyday life experience is a necessary condition of the modern map in its production of a transcendental critical space and its reference to a global plane of reference, the nation, the globe. The map becomes the "indispensable mediator in perceiving and conceptualizing such macrospace [the macrospace of the nation] in its totality"[124] . As the map of a nation implies "a global wholeness of which the spatial unit on the map is only a part", it must itself at another level be part of a spatial wholeness. It is a part of the globe, and as such, the national map "can be connected to form the whole globe through the patchwork of boundary lines"[125]. Homogeneous space is the global plane of reference that allows for the existence of national maps. The structural opposition between universal and particular, homogeneity and fragmentation is an internal condition of modern cartography in its production of abstract space. Homogeneity, associated with universalism, are both an apriori and an ideal, intricately linked to the fragmentation of space. It is a matter of scale (local, national, international) but it also implies a hierarchy of values, as homogeneity, universalism, and (Western) humanism[126] occupy the privileged position of reference.

The space of cartography works in much the same way as the administrative system, the *gyôseikukaku*, analyzed in the previous chapter. The unification of fragmented space in a national homogeneous space, itself located on the globe vis-à-vis other modern nations, as well as the peculiar mode of identity it pre-supposes, the

[123] Thongchai, Winichakul (1994), p. 52
If the construction of the macrospace of the nation is a conceptual process, taking place in representations of space, the colonization of the everyday should be understood as the relation between both levels of reality, a relation external to its terms that cannot be simply explained by the processes happening in representations of space, neither by the opposition between conciously constructed representations of space and an unconscious everyday (although this is a distinction pertinent for distinguishing two modes of experience in modernity, as long as we agree that none exclude the other).
[124] Thongchai, Winichakul (1994), p. 55
[125] Thongchai, Winichakul (1994), p. 52
[126] This refers to the project of the Enlightment and its universalist/imperialist dimension.

individual national subject and human being, is a process materially inscribed in modern urban space through the development and use of modern cartography. This is not saying that cartography is an apriori for the production of abstract space. There is here no claim for the genealogical or geological anteriority or primacy of modern cartography in the production of modern abstract space. It is more trying to analyze the production of a particular "plan d'agencement" through the rearticulation of pre-existing elements in the form of relations of exteriority. It is a dynamic process of interactions, an ongoing process of actualization, an event[127] . Analyzing the production of abstract space as an event forbids us to study it by abstracting, isolating its various components as so much distinct entities, or positions in a structure. We must take the opposite attitude that consists in looking for the articulations that produce and reproduce this abstract space, whatever the object of analysis. The Meiji era is usually presented as the period of construction of the nation-state of Japan. And it is true that Meiji officials, all strong personalities, consciously engaged themselves in this project. Do they actually produce abstract space ? Yes, and no, as the apparition of these individuals on the political scene is made possible by this very abstract space.

Why do Japanese adopt modern, Western, techniques of cartography ? Or rather, what are the relations between the construction of a nation-state and the development of modern cartography ? Modern maps are no more neutral than 'pre-modern' ones. They present a symbolic view of the world, of the real. All the reforms aiming at building a modern nation-state, reform of the land, institution of the *gyôseikukaku*, of the military conscription, of the family registers, urban planning... are closely associated to the development of modern cartography. In the first form of government established after the promulgation of the *Goseimon* 御誓文 in 1868, April the 6th, the Minbushô 民部省 (Ministry of population) is put in charge of the administration of maps. A department of geography, Chirishi 地理司, is established. It has as its objective to gather and compile materials and information to provide a detailed report

[127] As the relation remains external to its terms, the event, while being produced by bodies and being effected in those bodies, cannot be exhausted in its "effectuation". It belongs to another order. As an effect, it differs in nature from its cause. The event acts by itself as a quasi-cause that flies over the bodies, covers and traces a surface.
cf. Gilles Deleuze & Claire Parnet (1977), p.79

on the whole country's geographical family register, its population, the production of rice in each region, shrines and temples, and other commodities[128] . This is a survey of the country mainly concerned with the distribution of its population and resources. Japan has a long honored tradition of geographical descriptions of the provinces (*kuni* 国) or regions (*fudoki* 風土記 and *chishi* 地誌). "The practice of assembling numerous geographical descriptions was investigated upon the order of rulers or merchants, for example, who utilized the information for administrative or commercial purposes." As the geographer Takeuchi Keiichi further remarks, "In modern states this sort of geographical description has been replaced by statistics, maps, cadastres, and other information in the form of documents or reports, and in the modern meaning therefore no longer comprizes a science for practical purposes."[129] The exhaustive and enumerative description of all items within an administrative unit looses its significance for the central government. However, it survives in regional inquiries or local surveys for setting up agrarian disputes. But since they don't serve any administrative or educational purpose in the highly centralized and functionally organized modern state, they may be considered as having another meaning : "They could very well be regarded as endeavors towards self-identity on the part of the local units concerned"[130] .

Takuchi Keiichi is concerned about analyzing the emergence of modern geography in Japan, in particular human geography. The shift from "traditional" geographical descriptions in the form of exhaustive enumerations, to modern statistical, cartographical surveys takes place in the Early Meiji Period. This is not to say that geographical descriptions disappear completely. Geographical descriptions are found in the writings of numerous Enlightment thinkers. This kind of geographical knowledge is used practically for administration as well as for military and diplomatic purposes. However, the main motive here is to stress the need for the modernization of the country, the abolition of the feudal system and the adoption of Western modern civilization. First of all, Enlightment thinkers believe that increased knowledge of the

[128] Nihon Sokuryô Kyôkai Hakkô (1970), p. 33
「地理司は「全国地理戸籍・人員・社寺・物産の事を掌握す」と定められ」
[129] Takeuchi, Keiichi (2000), p. 4
[130] Takeuchi, Keiichi (2000), p. 13

world might encourage the advocacy of the notion of universality of humanity. For that reason, they provide with their descriptions, examples of foreign countries as models or bases for comparison. These descriptions are framed in a narrative of progress where the West occupies the top position. They no more describe a fragmented, heterogeneous space. They are re-inscribed in a general, universal frame of reference, a homogeneous space, of which they describe units, parts of a whole. Thus, provincialism in Japan has "been recognized and expressed in relation to the country as a whole, the latter being represented by the capital, Tôkyô."[131] In the Early Meiji Period, provincialism has not yet appeared, as Meiji officials and thinkers are first concerned with providing a global, total view of the country in order to modernize it[132]. However, its development and positioning in the field of geographical knowledge as described above is already programed in the new abstract space. Descriptions become data that must be treated scientifically, following universal methods of enquiry, and rearranged in a systematic way as a pre-requisite for modern geographical researchers, the administration, or the Army. And as the homogenization of space in representations of space supposes a fragmentation of the spaces of representation, regional description can become a support for local identity[133].

Modern techniques of survey and cartography, as censuses, work on the basis of a totalizing classification. It is a gesture essential to the colonialist attitude. As Benedict Anderson remarks, "Ever since John Harrison's 1761 invention of the chronometer, which made possible the precise calculation of longitudes, the entire planet's curved surface had been subjected to a geometrical grid which squared off empty seas and unexplored regions in measured boxes. The task of, as it were, 'filling in' the boxes was to be accomplished by explorers, surveyors, and military forces."[134] In the case of Japan, we encounter a phenomenon of double-colonization. On the one hand, Japan, and Tôkyô, are placed in a situation of semi-colonization since the ratification of the unequal treaties, the opening of the port of Yokohama as an

[131] Takeuchi, Keiichi (2000), p. 13

[132] For an analysis of the development of regional studies in Meiji Japan, see Wigen, Kären (2000)

[133] It has already be noted in the previous chapter that the unification of land allows for a liberation of the particularities of place, that is in the new administrative system of *zokuminshugi* the bases of identity.

[134] Anderson, Benedict (1991), p. 173

international ports in 1858, and the opening of Tôkyô to international commerce in 1868[135]. On the other hand, Edo is conquered and colonized by the victors of the civil war between the partisans of the *Shôgun* and those of the Emperor. In many ways, the modernization of Japan can be considered as a colonization from the inside, as Meiji officials are playing on both the national and the international-Western scene. Tôkyô as the center of civilization becomes doubly important to show the successful modernization of Japan to Western nations and trace the road to follow for the rest of the country. Tôkyô is in the Early Meiji Period, "a show-case", a window for two distinct scenes. It is established as a new center, marked by a high degree of centralization at all levels. It also occupies an intermediary position as the ambassador of Japanese modernization.

4.2. Establishing a new center :

In this national space, homogenized and fragmented, a position of centrality has to be defined to act as a mediation or rather an articulation between the different levels of reality, the national level occupying the position of reference. The national capital is a "proper place" producing its own particular space, the absolute center of power, knowledge, and meaning. It is also a "surface-limite", as it represents Japan to the outside world. Tôkyô as "a show-case" is a window, a surface, that is both a closed border in its representative function of a nation, and an interface[136] , an intermediary space between two levels of reality, the national and the international one. This dichotomy is mirrored by another one, the Western space and the Asiatic space. Although international space is often identified with Western space, they never absolutely coincidate one with another, which makes even more complicated the definition of a center of power for the new nation-state.

[135] According to the commercial treaty signed with Harris in 1858, Yokohama, Nagasaki, Hakodate, Shizuoka, and Hyôgo (Kobe) become open-ports (*kaikô* 開港), while Ôsaka and Edo are opened to international commerce (*kaishijô* 開市場). In Tôkyô, the foreign settlement is established in Tsukiji, on a reclaimed land bordering the bay, very much like the island of Dejima in Nagasaki.

[136] «Toute surface est une interface entre deux milieux où il règne une activité constante sous forme d'échange entre les deux substances mises en contact»
Virilio, Paul (1984), p.18

To begin with, we can look at the way modern techniques of survey and cartography establish Tôkyô as the center of Japan. At first, Tôkyô and the Kantô area are just one particular region, with no essential difference with the other parts of Japan. Tôkyô becomes a national center when it looses its provincial characteristics. Or rather as the local particularities of Tôkyô, inherited in Edo, are subsumed so as to become a universal reference (in the national space). Isoda Kôichi describes this process from the angle of linguistics, in parallel to the changes in cartographic representations of Tôkyô. To understand the development of Tôkyô, he makes use of two concepts, *hyôjun-go* 「標準語」(the standard language of a country) and *hôgengo* 「方言語」(a regional dialect) . *Tôkyô Hôgen* 東京方言 comes from *Edo-go* 江戸語 , the language of Edo, though not the popular language of the commoners but the language of the *bushi*, the language of Yamanote. *Hyôjun-go* is built on *Tôkyô Hôgen*, but cannot be confused with it[137] . In a somewhat classical way, Isoda identifies the space of *Hyôjun-go* with modern cartographic space, abstract, universal, and imperialist[138] . However, modern cartographic space, abstract space, cannot be opposed so simply with regional space as both belong to the same symbolic reality, the same abstract space. This becomes obvious if we examine in detail the development of cartography.

Meiji government inherits a highly fragmented space. The government itself is fragmented, between the different domainal factions (*hanbatsu* 藩閥), the different ministers, the Army and the Navy... In addition to the Minbushô, the Ministry of engineering (Kôbu-shô 工部省) establishes a Bureau of survey (Sokuryô-shi 測量司) in 1871. It starts a triangular surveying of Tôkyô in March 1872 under the direction of the English engineer Colin Alexander Macvean. The main street of Honjo Aioi-chô 本所相生町 serves as the base line (*kisen* 基線). Thirteen triangulation points are defined, the first one being located at the Fujimi Turret of the imperial castle, Kôkyo-fujimi-yagura 皇居富士見櫓 [139] . After Tôkyô is projected a triangulation of the two other main cities, Ôsaka and Kyôto, and of the two international ports of Yokohama

[137] Isoda, Kôichi (1990), p. 26

[138] Imperialist in its reference to the power of Western advanced nations and the government of the domains of Satsuma and Chôshû (*Sachô-seiken* 薩長 **政権**).

[139] Nihon Sokuryô Kyôkai Hakkô (1970), p. 33

and Kôbe. However, the triangulation of Tôkyô must be postponed as the government orders a survey of the central *koku* 小区 of the capital. With the establishment of the Department of Interior (Naimushô 内務省) that replaces the Minbushô in 1874, survey works are centralized in the Bureau of Survey, Sokuryô-kyoku 測量局 and mapmaking becomes the responsibility of the Chiri-ryô 地理寮 . The following year, a triangulation of the Kantô area (Kanhasshû-sokuryô関八州測量) is started under the direction of the same English engineer. In 1878, the project is extended to the whole country. Ultimately, the objective is, following the land reform instigated by the Ministry of Supreme Affairs (Dajôkan 太政官) in 1873, to establish a general land register of the country (*chiseki-chôsa* 地積調査). Along with this survey, the Chiri-ryô, renamed Chiri-kyoku 地理局 in 1877, publishes the *chiseki-zu* 「地籍図」, also called *chiken-zu* 「地券図」, as they are used to publish the certificates, *chiken* 地券, to confirm transactions of land. Finally, the Sokuryô-kyoku realizes the survey of a base line (*kisen-sokuryô* 基線測量) in Nasunohara 那須野原 following this time American methods of surveying[140].

The Army also launches its own program of survey of the country. In 1871, the Ministry of the Army (Hyôbu-shô 兵部省) sets up the Bureau of Staff Officers (Sanbô-kyoku 参謀局), in which the Espionage Unit (Kanchô-tai 間諜隊) is put in charge of investigating and scouting the country as well as compiling and producing maps in peacetime. After the division of the Hyôbu-shô between the Army (Rikugun 陸軍) and the Navy (Kaigun 海軍) in 1872, the Sanbô-kyoku is transferred to the Army. In 1874, the Kanchô-tai have been divided between the departments five and six, respectively in charge of mapmaking and surveying. At this time, the Army, taking the Imperial French Army as a model, employs the French engineer Jordan for supervising the operations of survey and cartography. French-style cartography remains the reference until the French defeat at Sedan in 1870 and the affirmation of the Prussian superiority. In 1877, a revolt starts in Kyûshû, in the old fief of Satsuma. It gathers *bushi* frustrated by the abolition of the *mibun-sei* and the *han*, led by the hero of the Meiji Revolution Saigo Takamori 西郷 隆盛 (1827-1877). The *Seinan-sensô*

[140] Nihon Sokuryô Kyôkai Hakkô (1970), p. 33
cf. Satô, Kasojirô (1986)

西南戦争 underscores the weaknesses of the Army. The need for modern cartography as well as modern means of transport, mainly the railway, becomes evident. Following the war, the Army launches a new program of production of maps of the country. Along with a reorganization of the Sanbô-kyoku renamed Sanbô-honbu 参謀本部 (General Staff Office), a project of triangulation of the country on the scale of 5000:1 is proposed. The cost of such a project is invoked by the Head of the Sanbô-honbu Yamagata Aritomo 山県 有朋 (1838-1922) to replace it by a rapid survey called *jinsoku-sokuryô* 迅速測量. The *Jinsoku-sokuryôzu* 迅速測量図 are not based on triangulation works (not yet completed). They do not make use of previous survey works but defines its own survey points (*zunetensokuryô* 図根点測量). The scale is also revised to 20 000:1. The area covered is centered on the Kantô area, first the Tôkyô-fu, then the prefecture of Saitama, Chiba and Kanagawa in a clock-wise order[141] . Another set of maps is then produce to cover the Kinki region (area of Kyôto and Ôsaka). As for triangulation works, a new project is devised on the basic scale of 20 000:1, later expanded to 50 000:1. Completed at the end of the Taishô era, the work lasts for 38 years, while the survey of the country on a scale of 5 ooo:1 is only achieved in 1960.

From this rapid overview of the institutional history of Early Meiji modern cartography and surveys (fig. 8), a few observations can be made. First, there is an obvious move toward the unification and centralization of all operations of survey and cartography. In 1884, the Chizu-ka 地図課 and Sokuryô-ka 測量課 fusion in the Sokuryô-kyoku 測量局 that replaces the Chiri-kyoku (Naimushô). The last step is the establishment of the Rikuchisokuryô-bu 陸地測量部 in 1888 as an independent Bureau, not anymore under the control of the Army, in charge of all operations of survey and cartography[142] . However, as the militarization of the country becomes a priority, the Rikuchisokuryô-bu is obviously directly related to the Army. As survey and cartography operations are centralized into one single institution, Tôkyô is established as the center of this new cartographic space. As have been argued before, modern cartography is no more neutral than other 'pre-modern', 'traditional', 'archaic'

[141] Nihon Sokuryô Kyôkai Hakkô (1970), pp.39-40

[142] The Rikuchisokuryôbu is the ancestor of the actual Kokudochiriin 国土地理院 that have the same basic function.

(whatever the way other cartographies are called and evaluated regarding modern cartography) ones. Modern cartography needs tools for measuring the observed reality, tools of relative uncertainty, rather than, as is usually said, of a certain inaccuracy[143] . This uncertainty depends on the tools employed, the referent used for measuring space, and also the contemporary vehicles, dynamic (horse, boat, car...) and static ones (the infrastructures of transport, the straight roads, canals, bridges...). The effect of the Seinan-sensô on the development of cartography and railway construction is particularly important. The relation between the two had already appeared in the construction of the line between Yokohama and Tôkyô-Shinbashi, when one of the first modern survey had been carried out. To measure is to displace, not only to move oneself from one point to another to effectuate the measures, but also to move the territory in its representation, its geometric or cartographic reduction[144] . Any measure produces a "déphasage", in direct relation with the observer, the cartographer, who produces the measure the very moment it provokes the displacement[145] . Cartographic space is abstract space, both geometrical and visual, a panoramic space. From his paradoxal external-critical/internal-subjective position, the cartographer produces a fiction of totality[146] . The cartographer must be located in cartographic space, while keeping an external position. The solution to this

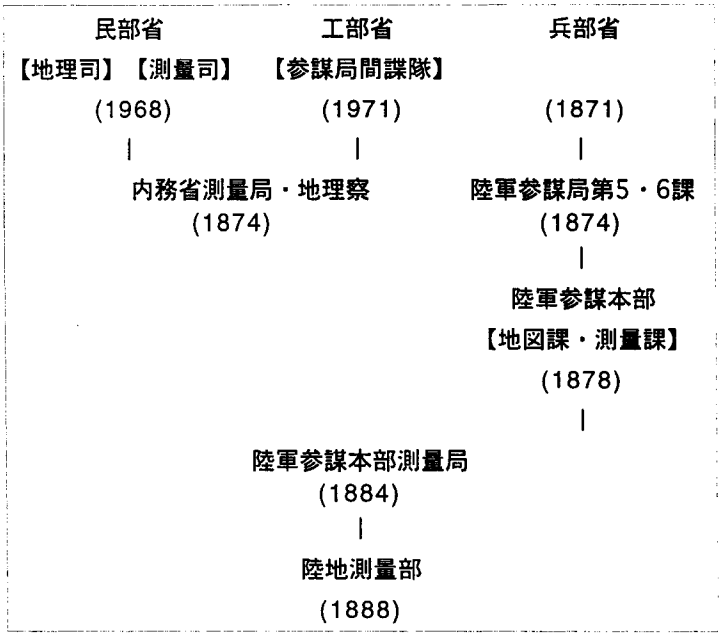

fig. 8 . Survey and Cartography - Institutions.

[143] Virilio, Paul (1984), p.44
«instruments de mesure d'une incertitude relative , et non pas, comme on le prétend, d'une inexactitude certaine.»
[144] At the heart of this operation is also a process of deterritorialization that completely destroys place and space themselves.
[145] Virilio, Paul (1984), pp. 68-69
[146] Fiction here is not opposed to real but indicates the artificiality of this totality as it is a construct and a product.

dilemma is already present in the cartographic process. Abstract space is polarized on a center of meaning, a "place of power", occupied at this time by the national capital. All the institutions described above are materially located in the capital that also becomes the point of origin for measuring latitudes and longitudes. The observatory of the Navy (Kaigun Kanshôdai 海軍観象台), located in Azabu 麻布, is used to measure the datum point for latitudes. In 1876, it is evaluated at 35°39'17"4925 Latitude North , following the method of Talcott. The origins of latitudes for Japan is measured at the same observatory in 1882 (139°44'57".0 Greenwitch W) but established at the observatory of the Imperial castle (Honmaru Tenshudai 本丸天守台), probably in an attempt to strengthen the position of the Imperial Palace. This proved unnecessary as the origin of latitudes is definitely established at the observatory of Azabu in 1885, where it has remained until today only to be regularly remeasured[147] . Finally the standard water level (*suijungenten* 水準原点) is determined in 1884 in relation to the level of water at Reigan-jima 霊岸島 and the datum point is fixed in Kazumigaseki, near the Sanbôhonbu (later the Rikuchisokuryôbu).[148]

We could multiply the examples of the centrality of the capital, both as a center of power and knowledge, a centrality geographically inscribed in this new cartographic space. The importance of the geographical localization should not be overlooked. The *gyôseikukaku* and the particular mode of identity it implies, based on one's place of residency, strongly establishes the right of place and the importance of geographically localizing individuals in national space. Tôkyô is not a free-floating signifier, it has to be localized, strongly anchored in the space of cartography, that is becoming real, material, true space. This symbolic anchoring of the center of power and meaning, the emphasis put upon its visibility and 'lisibility', summed up in the expression coined by Hendy Smith "Tôkyô as a show-case", corresponds to the national "mise-en-scène" of the Emperor in the national pageantry[149] . As the Emperor becomes increasingly visible and 'lisible' as the embodiment of power through the travels organized in the

[147] This observatory is also used to measure the position the Mount Tsukuba 筑波山 and Mount Kanô 鹿野山 , as they are necessary for the triangulation of Tôkyô.

[148] Nihon Sokuryô Kyôkai Hakkô (1970), pp.164-173

[149] As this is the subject of the next chapter, we will just here formulate the main questions raised by this issue of centrality in a panoptic mode of power.

country, the national pageantry plays an essential role in the production of a feeling of national belonging. However, the national pageantry do not allow for a simultaneous feeling of national identity in a homogeneous national space. For this, one needs a fixed, well-anchored center of power and meaning, a central referent, a national capital. As Tôkyô becomes the residence of the Emperor and not simply a temporary residence (*anzai-sho* 行在所)[150] , the Emperor, who has become the embodiment of power and meaning, do not have to circulate anymore in the country. He has become known to his subjects, and his position of centrality must now be inscribed in the new abstract space. A place is needed, that can assure the articulation of the homogeneous national space, of representations of space, to the fragmented space of everyday life. It has to be a precisely localized and defined place so as to ensure the unification of national space[151] , so as to allow for this synchronic feeling of belonging to the same nation. The modern map allows for this imagination of the nation based on a new idea of simultaneity, this temporal coincidence where the moment of national imagination, spatialized and projected on the national map, crystallizes in the national capital.

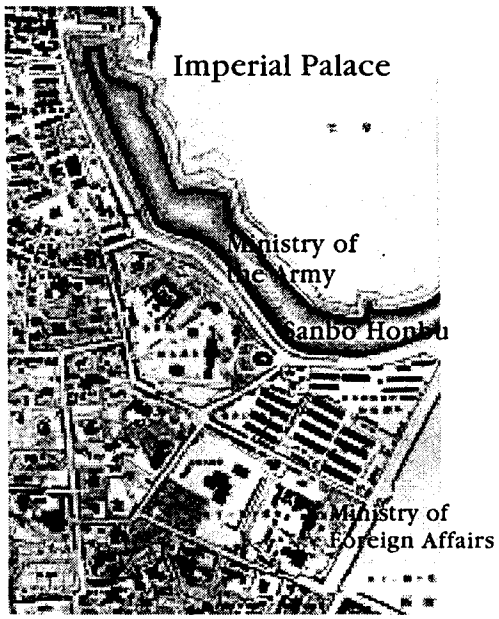

fig. 9 . 5000 : 1 Map of Tôkyô . b&w
Kasumigaseki area.
source : Nihon Chizu Centâ (1984)
Contrary to the edition in color, the area of the Imperial Palace is filled in white.

[150] The re-construction of the Imperial castle in 1888 marks this shift.

[151] This role of the capital in the national space as a unifying factor has been shown many times, in Western as well as post-colonial nations. Is it possible to conceive of a modern nation without a center of power, a national capital ? How would it hold together ?

4.3. 5000 : 1 Maps of Tôkyô . 五千分一東京図測量原図 :

The maps of Tôkyô published in 1886-1887 by the General Staff Office, "*Gosenbun'ichi Tôkyôzu Sokuryôgenzu*" 「五千分一東京図測量原図」, are the concretization of this process of reconstruction of the national symbolic space centered on the capital. The area covered by those maps is a square which angles are distanced from the center, the Imperial Palace, by 1,9 *ri* 里 (7,5 km). The square itself is divided into 9 sections, each further divided into four small parts[152] . Actually, there are two different version of those maps. The original version is a French-style cartography, characterized by the use of colors, but the published one has been revised according to German-style cartography, in black and white. This shift is significative in the production of abstract space and the changes in the symbolic space of the capital and the nation.

For this work, the Sanbô Honbu makes use of the triangulation points already defined by the Kôbu-shô and Naimu-shô[153] . The first one is located at the Fujimi Turret of the imperial castle. The survey starts in 1876 but is stopped the next year for unclear reasons. It starts again in 1881 and the first map is produced two years later (Kôjimachi-ku Ôtemachi 麹町大手町). The last one is published in August 1884. The conditions in which those maps are produced are problematic on many points. First, for what purpose are they made ? The first answer seems to be for military strategic reasons. The first years of the Meiji area are marked by instability. Among the main reasons for which Edo has been chosen as the location for the new capital is the pacification of the East. Various revolts burst in the country, while Edo itself is becoming a dead city, ruled in some areas by roaming bands of rônin. The same could be argued for the re-start of the works in 1881, following the war of the South-East. The military and strategic issue is definitely central here, as those maps have a direct and practical effect in the construction of the capital. Not only can they be used for military actions. They produce a new view of the capital, a center whose stability is

[152] This makes a total of 36 maps, minus one in the south-east corner since it is only water, plus one, the Kôjimachi-ku Yaesu-chô 麹町八重洲町 being published in two different versions.

[153] The Kôbu-shô starts a triangulation of Tôkyô on a scale of 500:1 (model of London) and has defined 13 triangulation points in 1875. The Naimu-shô continues the work and in 1881, has defined a total of 50 points.

enforced by the production of modern cartographic space. As it claims to be a mimetic reproduction of reality, a 'tracing', the space depicted by the map cannot be criticized. It is *already* there in its totality. The space produced by the modern map denies its condition of product the very moment it appears. This process of reversion allows for a fictional historical depth that gives the map its power of truth, and the space it represents, here the capital of Japan, its legitimacy and stability.

Thongchai Winichakul gives an interesting analysis of modern maps. First, a map is a view from above that claims to preserve the structural configuration of spatial objects. The preservation of those three-dimensional objects in a two-dimensional form is realized through a strictly regulated process of transformation : generalization and reduction, scaling, and symbolization by the use of cartographic symbols. The result is an interpretive abstraction of the space of practice, that claims to have a mimetic relationship with reality. Obviously, both the "material space" and the abstract space of the map are produced in the cartographic process. None is pre-existent, but "material space" must exist before for the map to be effective. It is not only the physical topography that becomes "naturalized", but also the particular mode of identity implied by the modern map, an identity based on the nation-state. Then, as a mean of communication, a transparent medium, the map necessarily relies on conventions. Cartographic language must be unified and tought, since it is only through the practice of cartography and modern geography that the map can be guaranteed to be unambiguous. The numerous institutional changes in the Early Meiji Period, each time accompanied by a modification of cartographic techniques and Western references attests the importance of the establishment of this language, later to be diffused in the population. Finally, a map has a powerful predictive capacity. "A modern map can predict that something is certainly "there" at particular co-ordinates ; the facts and knowledge will be "discovered" later by true believers of the modern map". The nation having become the essential, 'natural' basis of identity, "how could a nation resist being found if a XIXth map had predicted it ?"[154] . A map of Japan is the map of a nation. And the nation cannot exist without a map. As Japan is being submitted to a

[154] Thongchai, Winichakul (1994), pp.53-54

process of internal colonization by the new political power that parallels the development of cartography, the capital must take its place in the nation and in the world of nations. This is already done when the maps of Tôkyô are published. In 1882, the Japanese national cartographic space is linked up with the foreign-Western one. The measure of the Japanese zero point of latitude is done in relation to the Greenwitch meridian, following the line Nagasaki-Singapore-Madras.[155] Finally, in October 1885, at the International Conference of Washington, Japan agrees to take the Greenwitch meridian as the original point for the measure of the latitude, instead of Kyôto of Tôkyô, as has been done until this time[156] .

We can now look at the cartographic language as it appears in the maps of Tôkyô. If we compare them with maps of Edo, as does Isoda Kôichi, some obvious differences appear. In modern maps of Tôkyô, the North is located at the top of the map. This Western convention, as have been largely argued, comes from the geopolitical situation of the West in the world and has no scientific justification. In Edo maps, under the influence of foreign maps, the North sometimes appears at the top, but never in a systematic way. The classic orientation corresponds to the Tokugawa view of the world that places the West at the top[157] . Modern cartography follows Western conventions. It places the North at the top, orients the toponyms for a reader looking at a map placed with the south close to him. Multiple viewpoints are not possible. While in Edo maps, the whole cosmological order could be read in one part of it, the modern one presupposes a spatial wholeness that is already known to the reader. It presupposes conventions, a grammar that is known to all, both nationals and foreigners. This importance of conventions is probably what makes a distinction between Tokugawa and Meiji mappings pertinent. Both are not entirely exclusive, though they are obviously incommensurable. Of course, Meiji surveyors and

[155] Nihon Sokuryô Kyôkai Hakkô (1970), p.41
The measure is realized by the American Navy, using an electric line running at the bottom of the ocean.
[156] Oda, Takeo (1999), p.166
[157] Isoda Kôichi explains this orientation by the relation between the two centers of power of Edo and Kyôto. The capital of the Emperor being located in the West, placing the West at the top of the map places the city of the *Shôgun* under its symbolic protection. This may not be the original or unique explanation for this particular orientation. However, it works very well to explain the symbolic organization of Edo. Isoda, Kôichi (1989), p.19

mapmakers draw on the tradition of mapmaking inherited from the Tokugawa era. The maps of Inô Tadataka 伊能 忠敬 (1745-1818) are usually presented as the first modern maps of Japan, as they are based on relatively precise, scientific surveys of the country[158] . And the first maps of Japan drawn in the Meiji era rely heavily on the *Inôzu*. But it is too easy to abstract those maps from their historical space and make of them the ancestors of modern japanese cartography. For if they present characteristics that can be identified as modern, or pre-modern, others, like the orientation of names, the use of colors, belong to a completely different historical assemblage. Taken as a whole, *Inôzu* bear only very small similarities with so-called modern maps. Marcia Yonemoto remarks in the conclusion of her article that the difference between Tokugawa and Meiji forms of mapping "was perhaps one of inflection rather than of language per se, for in early modern Japan, maps and map readers made and remade space and place, but they did not, in Donne's word, "make that, which was nothing, All. In order to do the latter, maps had to be reinvented in ways both mythic and modern."[159] It is true that modernity, and its rupture with previous periods, when studied from an analytical point of view, does not present any important rupture, but rather changes in intensities. This could support Yonemoto's affirmation. However, taken as a whole, not trying to analyze separately elements of a social space but studying it from a transversal point of view, the articulations, the assemblage of modern social space appear radically different from the Tokugawa society. It belongs to another plane of reality. Meiji cartography [160] makes use of a new language, a new grammar that relies on universal conventions that would have no meaning in the Tokugawa era.

[158] When compared with maps drawn using modern techniques of GIS, the *Inôzu* 伊能図 surprise by their precision, regarding the period they were drawn and the techniques available.

[159] Yonemoto, Marcia (2000), p. 664

[160] We refer here only to official mappings. Regarding the "popular use of maps" that is the subject Yonemoto's article, the question becomes more complicated as there is a real mix of Edo maps and modern maps, depending on the reader and what he is using the map for. More than a continuity between Meiji and Tokugawa mappings, the question becomes one of the co-presence of two different kinds of mapping and in which particular context they are used. But this is another issue that we cannot address in such a short work.

The Early Meiji Period is a time of experiment. As the new nation takes its place among the world nations, as it locates itself in modern abstract space, it is faced with the problem of defining conventions. This is what is at stake in the adoption of Western techniques. Modern scientific techniques cannot work without a set of conventions understood by all and accepted on the national as well as the international space. This definition of conventions follows the various institutional changes of the period. In cartography, we already examined how institutions evolved toward the centralization of cartographic works and their collusion with the Army. Thus, cartographic language changes in parallel with institutional and political changes, following the shifts in relations of power. The language used for mapmaking is called in Japanese *chizu-zushiki* 地図図式. *Chizu* means "map", and *zushiki* can be translated by "a diagram, a graph, a schema or a figure". The term designates the signs and symbols used to represent the objects identified by the map, which signification is fixed by precise definitions. Following Pierce, we could say that they act as symbols, signifiers whose relation with the signified is one fixed by a rule, a convention. However, those signs also claim to have a mimetic relation with the real, with the signified (here, the thing). A cartographic sign establishes a relation of similitude with the signified (what for Pierce would be an icon) that parallels its claim of being a mimetic representation of reality. The concept of mimicry can help us to understand how works a cartographic sign. "Resemblance is a beginning masking the advent of whole new vital dimension.[...] An insect that mimics a leaf does so not to meld with the vegetable state of its surrounding milieu, but to reenter the higher realm of predatory animal warfare on a new footing."[161] It is both strategy and tactic. In Japan in particular, we encounter the ambivalence of this use of mimicry. The institution of modern cartography plays a direct role in the legitimization of the new power, both in Japan (the Meiji government has the political power but still faces the possibility of a

[161] Massumi, Bryan . 1987 . "Realer than the Real . The Similacrum according to Deleuze and Guattari" . *Copyright 1*

revolt) and in the world of modern nations[162] . Mimetic resemblance is thus only a mean for another, disguised, purpose. Maps produce symbolic reality, and cartographic signs act as "mots d'ordre". As language, the signs of the map do not convey an information. They work first on the basis of "redondance", repetition, so as to "ensign" what has to be found on the map.[163]

The term *chizuzushiki* is not used before 1891[164] , although cartographic signs are being defined at various times in the Early Meiji Period. The first official document is published in 1873 by the Sanbô Kyoku, and is known under the name of "*Chizu saishiki*" 「地図彩色」, literally "colored maps". As the Army still takes the French Army as its model, following the politic of the *Bakufu*, cartography as well is French-style. This is known as the first western-style "cartographic language" of Japan. This affirmation is highly problematic when it implies that there have been at a time a true Japanese cartography from which comes modern Japanese cartography[165] . It should be enough to see there the first , modern, cartographic language of Japan. It is reviewed and completed in the "*Meiji 13nen shiki*" 「明治１３年図式」(1880). It is based on

[162] There is another question that is posed by the concept of mimicry. As Thomas Lamarre explains, it is particularly useful to understand the mechanism of an ideogram in its particular mode of representation of reality. Regarding Japanese cartorgaphy, it is criticized by Western geographers for its abusive use of iconographic symbols that renders the reading of maps complicated. We could add that the presence of the ideograms contribute to the production of this "noise" as it is not possible to consider them simply as abstract signifiers (mimicry has a powerful power in its appeal to sensations). It is also impossible not to be surprised by the omnipresence of maps in modern Japan, a phenomenon that cannot be explained only by a practical need. Without falling into essential culturalism, it could be interesting to examine more closely the use of cartographic signs and maps in general in Japanese society.
cf. Lamarre, Thomas (1997)

[163] Deleuze & Guattari (1980), p.100
«Le langage n'est ni informatif ni communicatif, il n'est pas communication d'information, mais, ce qui est très différent, transmission de mots d'ordre, soit d'un énoncé à un autre, soit à l'intérieur de chaque énoncé, en tant qu'un énoncé accomplit un acte et que l'acte s'accomplit dans l'énoncé. Le schéma le plus général de l'informatique pose en principe une information maximale idéale et fait de la redondance une simple condition limitative qui diminue ce maximum théorique pour l'empêcher d'être recouvert par le bruit. Nous disons au contraire que ce qui est premier c'est la redondance du mot d'ordre, et que l'information n'est que la condition minimale pour la transmission des mots d'ordre (ce pourquoi il n'y a pas lieu d'opposer le bruit à l'information, mais plutôt toutes les disciplines qui travaillent le langage, au mot d'ordre comme discipline ou «grammaticalité»)»

[164] This year is published the "Meiji 24 nen shotei nimanbun'ichi chikeizu-zushiki" 「明治２４年所定二万分一地形図図式」, where all the official signs used (meaning must be used) in topographic maps are described.

[165] Tokugawa mapping does not seem to have relied on a fix set of rules as does modern cartography. We are not saying that it does not rely on conventions, but rather that there are multiple cartographical languages, applied to describe specific spaces, in a heterogeneous space. This is a qualitative difference that nonetheless is radical in its distinction between both modes of representation and both social spaces.

the "*Sokuryô kiten*" 『測量軌典』[166] , a code that fixes the way modern cartography must be done, especially the use of signs and colors. As it is originally done for military purposes, strategic locations are largely valorized. Roads are classified according to the new *gyôseikukaku* : national roads, prefectural roads, village roads, small roads. The signs employed in the Maps of Tôkyô (5000:1) follow this code in which is inscribed the modernization of the capital and the new abstract space that orders the social reality. Modern elements, although still rare, occupy on the chart the same position than older one, when they are not valorized in the use of colors. For example, residences are divided in two categories, official ones and residences of citizens, further subdivided between wood houses and fire-resistant houses made of concrete, brick, stone (*kankô*), displayed in red. It is actually possible to read there the whole program of modernization of the capital, with its emphasis on fire-proofed buildings, roads and railway (over canals), bridges (from earth-made ones to the modern bridges in iron), modern facilities (hospitals, post offices, schools, banks...). Local particularities, like the presence of Buddhist or Shintô shrines, are subsumed in the abstract space of modern cartography. The shift from French-style to German-style cartography after 1884 is marked by the exclusive use of black and white, a change that reinforces the homogenization of cartographical space. Black and white maps are purely utilitarian, and space instrumental. It is a plan, while the use of colors gived a stronger esthetic value to those maps[167] .

Thus, through the institution of modern cartography, Tôkyô is established as the center of a modern national space, a center both for Japan and for the world of modern nations. This new center is not a general equivalent as in the Tokugawa *Bakufu* but a general referent for the nation, an intermediate point from which one can position itself, like the O on a barometer. It is the national zero, that is used to grade the nation vis-à-vis other nations on a scale of progress, or to locate it spatially on the globe when social-darwinism and its ideology of progress is being replaced, at the turn of the

[166] The ideogram *ki* 軌 means the weel, the road, the orbit and by extension the way of doing things. "*ten*" 典 designates a status, a code, a rule.

[167] A parallel could also be drawn between the uniforms of the German Army and of the French Army.

century, by cultural essentialism[168] . Globalization allows for this new framing or reality, the production of a common, global frame of reference based on abstract space and empty time. We draw here on Jan Aart Scholte's notion of international regimes, an agreed set of rules "which made coordination between different subregimes possible"[169] , first between the different nation-states but also inside each national territory. Tessa Morris Suzuki uses the concept of 'formatting' to explain the creation, production, of an underlying framework of reference between different national and international subregimes whose shape is determined by the nation-state. We have then here two different processes involved. On a global, international level, a first framing takes place that transcends all nation-states. And at the same time, at the national level, all previous subregimes (educational systems, transport networks, scientific research system, urban systems...) are reorganized by the state on the national territory. Social space becomes both homogeneous and fragmented. The establishment of international regimes, through international treaties as well as implicitly acknowledged norms, is then accompanied by an increasing awareness of local differences, difference produced by uneven exposure to the global regimes of the modern systems. Reformatted by being written into the globally standardized regimes[170] and at the same time subjected to the framing of each nation-state, local content re-appears on the international scene through nationalist theories of cultural or racial uniqueness.

[168] The ideology of progress does not completely disappear. As Tessa Morris Suzuki remarks, while a cultural (spatial) mode of identity is privileged on the international scene, the ideology of progress (temporal) remains very strong inside the national space as it distinguishes backward places from more advanced ones.
cf. Suzuki, Tessa Morris (1998)
[169] J.A. Scholte (1993) ; T. M. Suzuki (1998), p.164
[170] Suzuki, Tessa Morris (1998), p.165

4. "Tôkyô as a show-case" :

Japan's entry into modernity is realized under the sign of the spectacular. As each part of the world is being inscribed on the map of nations, international expositions are organized, first in London, in 1851[171] . The opening of Japan allows for the unification of the modern world and the commodification of its parts in the form of the international exhibition. Imperialism, cartography, economics go hand in hand in the production of modern abstract space, the space of the modern nation-state, the space of commodities, the space of the new capital of Japan, Tôkyô. The negotiations with Perry follow the same process. We remember the special presents he brings back for the *Shôgun* in his second trip to Edo, those products of modern Western technology that surprise and delight Japanese officials, in particular the mini-railway.

The transition from Edo to Tôkyô profoundly affects the social and economic structure of the city, especially the abolition of the *sankin-kôtai*. The composition of the population is durably modified, as the Tôkyô of Meiji is characterized by a ruling elite made of newcomers, mainly coming from the old domains of Satsuma and Chôshû, and an increasing flood of rural immigrants. Henry Smith speaks of a "passive entity". We already criticized Ogi Shinzô's analysis of Tôkyô as a city without identity proper, in opposition to commoner Edo. Actually, the re-definition of Edo-Tôkyô is one of the main debates of this period. A new city[172] is being produced, by officials and "commoners", politicians and businessmen, in the national and international space. The government is mainly concerned with the construction of a true political center, a showcase, "on the one hand a sort of two-dimensional back-drop against which the latest fashions and inventions from the West were displayed, and on the other a proving-ground for institutional innovations"[173] .

[171] Suzuki, Hiroyuki (1999), p.43
[172] By city, we mean here the city of human beings.
[173] Smith, Henry D. (1978), p.53

At the heart of the governmental policies is the definition and localization of the center of the capital. Early Meiji urban planning addresses the question of centrality, an issue directly linked to the positioning of Tôkyô on the national and international spaces. The hypothesis used by Isoda Kôichi to analyze the development of Tôkyô, "the Tôkyô-ization of the province" 〈地方の東京〉 and "the provincialization of Tôkyô" 〈東京の地方化〉 , is particularly interesting in that respect to understand the re-mapping of Tôkyô as a homogeneous, fragmented and hierarchized space, video-geometric, a spectacular space.

4.1. Early Meiji Urban Planning :

Japanese urban planning (as Japanese society or culture) is very often analyzed negatively as what it is not. Tôkyô, becoming the embodiment and representative of a national, Japanese, urban culture[174] , is radically opposed to New York, London, Paris, or Berlin, or more generally Western cities[175] . This attitude, shared by both Japanese and non-Japanese scholars, allows for the radical affirmation of a distinct, essential culture, an original, Japanese urban space, distinct from its Western and/or Asian counterparts. Yet it is not possible to discard those works by advocating an 'objective' approach (the scientific, neutral gaze), Tôkyô being taken as an object of study in and for itself. It is not possible to understand the development of Tôkyô without comparing it to New York, Paris, London, Berlin, for the reason that Tôkyô is made of New York, Paris, London and Berlin, and Edo. Tôkyô appears in an age of national capitals and evolves as such, and both national and international levels are intricately mixed in this process. Urban Planning appears in its modern form, because Tôkyô is a modern city. And it becomes a Japanese mode of urban development and urban planning only so far as it is part of the modern world. To understand this phenomenon, we must analyze the place and the form that abstract space takes in modern Japanese urban space and especially in Tôkyô.

[174] When, actually, Tôkyô is not the only one mode of urban development that appears in modern Japan.

[175] As Naoki Sakai remarks, the identity of the East is precisely not to have any positive identity other than the Other of the West. This condition, that frames all discourses on Japanese urban planning, cannot be ignored in the name of scientific objectivity, precisely because they constiture an internal and essential characteristic of this urban planning and mode of identity.
Sakai, Naoki (1997)

Japanese urban planning is often defined as a soft urban planning, opposed to a hard urban planning as practiced in the Paris of Haussman or American cities. Some go so far as to deny the existence of any real urban planning (Ogi Shinzô, but also postmodern architects like Ashihara Yoshinobu) while affirming a historical continuity or even permanence in the basic structure of the city[176] . While these approaches can easily be criticized in their essentialist, nationalist aims, they nonetheless are based on pertinent observations that cannot be left on the side[177]. Besides political institutions and economic concerns, the development of urban planning cannot be understood without addressing the question of land use and land control. The importance of the land issue has been pointed out by numerous scholars as a central concern in Japanese urban planning. We already showed how the land reform and the *gyôseikukaku* system institute the commodification of land, leaving local administration in the hands of landowners and lease-holders, thus giving them an even stronger power than in the previous era. This supports Suzuki Hiroyuki's claim that the history of (Japanese ?) cities is not the history of urban planning but the one of land[178] . Put in another way, this means that instead of speaking of urban planning, we should look at land planning.

The Early Meiji Period is here essential to understand the basic mechanisms at the heart of urban planning in the capital of Japan[179] . It is a period of experimentation, where various approaches to modernity are debated, evaluated and tested, so as to define the road to take for the modernization of Japan. Meiji planners inherit from the

---

[176] In particular in land use and infrastructures, and for some also in the social structure of the city (like the now classic opposition between Yamanote and Shitamachi).

[177] Ashihara's ideas on the hidden order of Tôkyô, the amoebic city, present an essentialist view of Japanese urbanism, easy to attack in its general conclusions, but still powerful enough to remain one of the only models of explanation of modern Tôkyô (and not Meiji Tôkyô, even less Edo). And it keeps its strength precisely because Tôkyô is doubly framed in the modern nation-state capital model (that it is) and the East-West opposition central to the definition of its national identity.
cf. Ashihara, Yoshinobu . 1989 . *The Hidden Order : Tôkyô through the XXth century.*

[178] 「都市の歴史は、計画の歴史ではなく、土地の歴史だ。」
This is the main argument of Suzuki Hiroyuki in his book *Toshi he* published in 1999. Although he is not clear if this statement is only true for Tôkyô, he presents it as a characteristic of the modern capital.

[179] We strictly limit this analysis to the case of Tôkyô, but an analysis of Japanese urban planning, even limited to the case of the capital, should also take into account the interactions with other Japanese cities, especially Ôsaka, and the country side (planning of rural areas, a central issue to understand the urban sprawl of Tôkyô , and the law on urban planning of 1919 ; also development of Hokkaidô, and other peripheric areas where modernity is experimented).

previous era a set of attitudes toward urbanism and city management, often referred to as traditional practices. Fire-prevention, reclaimed lands, maintenance of waterways constitute the main group of urban policies during the Tokugawa period, in direct relation to the effect of natural catastrophes[180] . This is a bureaucratic conception of the city as power, centered on the castle of the *Shôgun*, of which the rest of the city is only an extension. At this administrative level, there is no conception of the city as a whole, no corporate identity[181] . Meiji planners inherit this piece-meal approach, aimed mainly at areas affected by natural catastrophes. David Peter Phillips analyzes another attitude inherited from the Edo era, the top-down and authoritarian attitude of Meiji planners. He sees there a direct influence of neo-confucianism. If there is no ambiguity to the direct influence of Tokugawa urbanism on Early Meiji planners, the meaning those attitudes take in the new historical assemblage is based on a very distinct system of values and representations. Speaking of a piece-meal approach implies a reference to a whole, something Meiji planners are conscious of as shows the concern of precisely delineating areas of urban improvement or renovation. The same concern is revealed in the adoption of the *gyôseikukaku* system. The authoritarianism of Meiji planners may come from neo-confucianism, but it is closer then to the attitude of Haussman in Paris. Those 'pre-modern practices' are integrated into Japanese modern urban planning as an imported foreign force, born outside of the new era, as the techniques of urban planning imported from Europe and America[182] .

[180] Earthquakes, fires, floodings, are perceived as natural because they cannot be predicted. They are pure events, immanent to the social reality and yet conceived as external factors. This attitude distinguishes the event from its social construction, the overcrowding of the commoner area and the use of wood for construction of houses.

[181] Smith, Henry D. (1978), p.50

[182] The constructed dichotomy between "Japanese-style" and "Western-style", *wafû* 和風 and *yôfû* 洋風 , present at all levels of modern Japanese society, identifies two groups of foreign elements each with a value and meaning changing over time. Their place and formal subsumption in the new national space parallels the one of labors in capitalism.
cf. Hardt, Mickael (1998), p.33
"In this arrangement, capital subsumes labor the way it finds it ; capital takes over existing labor processes that were developped in previous modes of production or at any rate outside of capitalist production. This subsumption is formal in so far as the labor process exists within capital, subordinated to its command as an imported foreign force, born outside of capital's domain."

The introduction of techniques of land readjustment becomes here central to the development of Japanese urban planning. Land readjustment is often said to be the "mother of urban planning" (*Toshi-keikaku no haha* 都市計画の母) , but it is also a central element in local municipal administration[183] . As we showed in chapter 2, the *gyôseikukaku* that replaces Edo's *mibunbetsu-gyôsei* extends local municipal administration only as far down as the new *ku* 区, leaving the administration of the district in the hands of informal or semi-formal structures that heavily rely on the old *ienushi*. These two levels of administration, and the particular dual system of landowner and houseowner (*jinushi* and *ienushi*), reflected at the street level by the opposition between the main street and the back-alleys, have a strong influence on land readjustment policies and urban planning. In the Early Meiji period, lands for urban infrastructure such as main roads or major parks are acquired by the 1875 *Kôyô-chi Kaiage Kisoku* 公用地買上規則 (Regulations of purchase procedure of land for public use). When applied, this law profoundly disturbs the local social structure. For example, the widening of a narrow street necessitates the compulsory purchase of the lots facing the main street, usually used for prosperous shops, while the backward lots fortunately become to face the new street. Ishida Yorifusa distinguishes three types of land readjustment : land readjustment for suburban areas (*Kôgaichi kaihatsu gata tochi-kukaku-seiri* 校外地開発型土地区画整理) which has its origin in land readjustment for arable land (*Kôchi-seiri* 耕地整理) ; land readjustment for built-up areas (*Kisei-shigaichi seibi gata kukaku-seibi tochi-kukaku-seiri* 既成市街地型区画整備土地区画整理) which has its origin in land readjustment after big fires ; and land readjustment for constructing public facilities (*kôkyô shisetu seibi gata tochi-kukaku-seiri* 公共施設整備型土地区画整理)[184] . The first type becomes essential only in the second part of the Meiji era. Early Meiji urban planning, mainly concerned with the central area of Tôkyô, smaller than Edo, only makes use of the last two types.

[183] Ishida, Yorifusa (1986), p.74
「区画整理は市街地整備手法の母」
[184] Ishida, Yorifusa (1986)

Brick-town Ginza, *Ginza Renga-gai* 銀座煉瓦街, is a well-known example of Early Meiji urban planning and land readjustment. In 1872, April 3rd , a fire breaks out in the premises of the Ministry of military affairs and quickly spreads toward the bay of Tôkyô to the south-east. The whole area is burnt down, making 20 572 victims. This catastrophe happens at the time the line between Yokohama 横浜 and Tôkyô-Shiodome station 東京汐留駅 (today's Shinbashi station 新橋駅) is completed. It connects the new international harbor of Yokohama to the capital and the foreign settlement of Tsukiji 築地. At this time, Ginza is a poor district of Tôkyô that the government must have planned to renovate rapidly, regarding its proximity to Tsukiji and the station. The fire is a perfect opportunity. Only four days after its end, the Tôkyô-fu, following direct recommendations of the Ministry of Supreme Affairs (Dajôkan 太政官), devises a plan of reconstruction of Ginza using fire-proof materials and following Western designs of streets (*machinami* 町並み). This should be the starting point for a complete renovation of Tôkyô based on the use of fire-proof materials, mainly bricks. This is a radical turn in fire prevention policies, fire-proof constructions replacing the use of vacant lands (*hiyokechi* 火除地) characteristic of the previous period and central to the urban structure of Edo[185] . It is also a ground breaking project in urban policies, as Ginza is the first step for a complete reconstruction of Tôkyô, and not only a local project of urban improvement. The project centers on the broadening of roads, for which a survey is realized by the foreign *yatoi* 雇い[186] of the Ministry of engineering's Bureau of Survey, Colin Alexander Macvean. The original plan is designed by the English *yatoi* of the Ministry of Finance Thomas James Waters. Based on Western models of street design, the height of buildings is fixed in relation to the width of the street. Waters defines three levels of street, faced respectively by two-story houses (about 9 m high), one-story houses and simple houses. The main street (about 27 m large) is divided in two sections, one for the cars (14,5 m) and the other one for the sidewalk (6,3 m). In addition, arcades of 1,8 m large are to be built on the building section. The sidewalk is bordered by trees and gas

[185] Those areas became open-spaces, not public in the modern sense of the term, but popular spaces, where Edo commoners were able to develop a dynamic culture of their own.

[186] The *Yatoi* are foreign specialists employed by the Japanese government to teach foreign (=Western) modern techniques (engineering, as well as military strategy, education, medicine, science...).

lights, with a sewage system built under the main street (not under secondary and back streets)[187].

The work starts in May 1872 and lasts until May 1877. The original plan is not entirely realized, which would make of *Ginza Renga-gai* 銀座煉瓦街 one of Tôkyô's numerous unfinished projects. Only the Ginza Street is realized according to the original project and the area re-constructed is reduced to 0,49 square kilometers. Regarding the land readjustment issue, the first proposal to buy all the land concerned by the project and later resell it at the original price to the original owner cannot be implemented. Instead, only the land necessary for the widening of the main streets is bought, and the remaining parts are given back to their owners in the form of land certificates (*chiken*). Land certificates are thus not a mean for the purchase of the land necessary for the implementation of the project. They are only used following the land reform of 1872 to identify landowners, define their properties, and when necessary redefine them[188]. Actually, beside the widening of the main streets, the land pattern has not really changed after the works. However, the Ginza Brick Town project acknowledges the new administrative system and contributes greatly to the establishment of abstract urban space. Speaking of a permanence of structures and especially of land patterns to defend a continuity between Edo and Tôkyô is a regrettable effect of intellectual myopia. Although the general land pattern is preserved, the social structure of the *machi* is profoundly disturbed by the widening of the main streets. Moreover, what does not appear on a map are the changes in landowners and houseowners in Ginza. Between 1872 and 1878, land is accumulated by a smaller number of owners and it is at the same time divided into smaller lots. This is partly due to the failure of the government to buy the land necessary for the project. Compensations are not always enough and as a result, owners of the project site who cannot get any income from their land during the construction work have no other alternative but to sell their land. The ratio of change for landownership during those five years is of 55 % for the Ginza Street (Shinbashi-Kyôbashi), 39,9 % for the

[187] For a more detailed analysis of the Ginza Brick Street plan, see Ishida (1987), pp.33-44 and Fujimori Terunobu (1990), pp.4-52

[188] This is the conclusion reached by Ishida Yorifusa (1987).

Kyôbashi Street (Kyôbashi-Nihonbashi), and 54,7 % for the Ginza district and 43,3 % for the Kyôbashi district (*koku* 小区)[189].

Then is Ginza a failure, an incomplete project, or one of the rare achievements of modern urban planning in Meiji Tôkyô ? This question is essential to understand the place of Ginza in Tôkyô. From the point of view of a planner, limiting his evaluation to a comparison with the original project, in other words to the adequation between the space of representations in which the project has been built up and spaces of representation, it is a failure. Only a small part of the area burnt down by the fire has been reconstructed in fire-proof materials, following a western-style model of architectural design. And most of all, the use of fire-proof materials has not been extended to the rest of the city. This judgement can be moderated by acknowledging the achievements of the project. 47,8 % of the district of Ginza is rebuilt in bricks, which if we include buildings made of stone and mud/clay (*dozô* 土蔵) amount to a total of 65,8 % of buildings resistant to the fire. On the main streets, especially on Ginza Street, architectural design is unified, as is established a relation between the height of buildings and the width of the street (following Western standards of the time). Another strong critic of the Ginza project is its authoritary character and the strong movement of resistance it provoked. The original population, poor and powerless, have no other choice but to accept the changes and in many cases leave the area. However, numerous examples of resistance are known, some going as far as committing suicide in answer to the project[190] . This authoritarian attitude appears in other projects like the famous reconstruction work of Kanda Hashimoto-chô 神田橋本町. This area, one of the four slums of Edo, is burnt down in 1884 during what has been called the biggest fire of Meiji. While Tôkyô Prefecture promotes relief measures for the residents, it purchases land in the whole neighborhood (only from the absentee landlords) to improve the urban district and carry out slum clearance. The area, until this time composed of long and narrow lots is redivided by two streets (7,2 m w.) into three zones, each subsequently subdivided into smaller parcels by roads of 2,7 m

[189] Noguchi, Kôichi . "Construction of Ginza Brick Street and Conditions of Landowners and House Owners" in Ishizuka, Hiromichi and Ishida, Yorifusa (1988), pp.76-82
[190] Hatsuda, Tôru (1994), p. 61

large. The land is then lent to the residents according to their demands. But people of the lower classes are inevitably ruined and move to other slums, in the peripheric areas of the north and east, in line with direction of the policy of "exile of the poor" discussed in the Tôkyô Prefectural assembly[191] .

Those local projects reflect the piece-meal approach of Meiji planners, inherited from Edo urbanism. However, this attitude take another value in modern abstract space. The urban space of Tôkyô is being entirely re-mapped. Those modern areas symbolize, more to Japanese than Westerners, modern civilization. They are isolated places, islands, and the meaning, the value they take completely modifies the symbolic structure of the city. Those modern places are radically distinguished from the rest of the city, and at the same time, homogenize urban space as they give it a sense of evolution, modernization. We will come back later to the effect of those new landmarks on the city. For the moment, we can just indicate the major structural oppositions that organize its space. It is not incidental that those modern places are rebuilt on the ashes of low-class areas. Civilization is not opposed directly to tradition or Edo urbanism in itself. It is neither as simple as the opposition civilization-rich (associated with the slogans "*Bunmei Kaika*" and *Fukoku* "*Kyôhei*") and savage-poor[192] . The debates on hygiene or rather public health (*kôshû-eisei* 公衆衛生) reflect an emergent consciousness of modern urban space structured along more subtle lines. A hygienic consciousness emerges with the spread of cholera in Japan after the arrival of a contaminated English military ship in Nagasaki in 1877. With the end of the War of the South-West and the return of soldiers to their home, the disease rapidly spreads over the rest of the country. In 1879, the number of deaths amounts to 160 000 persons. In Tôkyô , the cholera strikes five times from 1877 to 1890, causing more than 10 000 deaths in 1888, in particular in the popular districts of Kanda, Nihonbashi, Fukagawa, Honjo and Fukagawa[193] .

[191] Ishida, Yorifusa (1986), pp. 60-61
Also, regarding the new slums of Meiji Tôkyô, see Waley, Paul . 1986 . "Les bas quartiers du Tôkyô de l'ère Meiji" in *CIPANGO Cahier d'études japonaises n.5*, pp.37-50

[192] Although this basic opposition is reflected by the theory of "separation of the rich and poors", *Hinpu sumiwake* 〈貧富住み分け〉 , adopted by the two governors of Tôkyô, Kusumoto Masataka 楠本 正隆 (1838-1902) and Matsuda Michiyuki 松田 道之 (1839-1882).

[193] Katô, Shigeo (1998), p. 159

Actually, infectious diseases are not something new. At the end of the Edo era, cholera, known as *korori*, strikes two times, in 1822 and 1857. What is new is the attitude adopted in reaction to cholera in the Meiji era. Cholera is not seen as a divine punishment, an external element that must be expelled so as to purify the world. It is a human disaster, and to preserve national health, the state and each individual must assume their responsibility. The infectious disease becomes a national issue, and the protection of the health of the nation a responsibility for all. A rich and strong country, is a country whose members are healthy, it is a healthy national space. This is a new consciousness of social space and of the individual. Space, here urban and national, is divided into clean and unclean places (*seiketsu* 清潔 - *fuketsu* 不潔), the first valued over the second one. Infected places and individuals must be identified, marked, and isolated from the rest of the sane, clean space. Disinfection, marking, isolation, those are practices characteristic of modern disciplinary societies as Michel Foucault have described them in Europe[194] . It is a "quadrillage disciplinaire" of urban space, produced through administrative, cartographic, urban practices, and the institutionalization of abstract space. As cholera is identified as a disease germ (*byôdoku* 病毒), space is conceived as, normally, ideally, clean. The concept of *byôdoku* implies the concept of homogeneous space, that is a homogeneous national space populated by essentially identical individuals. Differences between individuals, in the hygienic discourse, result from the structural opposition between clean and unclean, a mode of evaluation that determines or rather objectifies individuals in space. The body is in space, it is produced through a set of spatial practices. The fight against cholera is organized by the police that issues a series of regulations as soon as 1877, which application must be controlled at the local level by the landlords, *kochô* 戸長 and sahaijin 差配人 (ienushi)[195] . Those unclean places from which could spread the disease are identified with the crowded *uranagaya* 裏長家 located in the back-streets

[194] Foucault have shown the shift from one mode of control to another with the now classical opposition between the leprosy and pest, the latter marking the passage to modern disciplinary societies, based on "l'assignation coercitive et la répartition différentielle". Foucault, Michel (1975), pp. 231-233
This objectivation of the individual in space is realized through a complex set of spacial relations that mirrors the institutionalization of abstract space and the emergence of the place. This is what Foucault calls biopolitics, something we should keep in mind, although it is not the direct concern of this work.
[195] Katô, Shigeo (1998), p. 160

and slums of the city. They are not peripheric but present in the built-up areas of the city, center and periphery. They do not fit into the distinction between civilization and savage, but rather blur it. As they are singled out and become the scape-goat of the projects of renovation of the capital, they take a particular value of their own. Narita Ryûichi describes those dark spaces, *"ankoku no kûkan"* 暗黒空間 , as being out of civilization (*"bunmei no gaibu"* 「文明の外部」) , not its opposite as would be wild space[196] . They have a structure of their own, and are produced by and in modern abstract space. They provide a critical space of experimentation that underlies all projects of urban planning. Ultimately, or rather, ideally, those places can be "cleaned", homogenized, although they will never completely disappear.

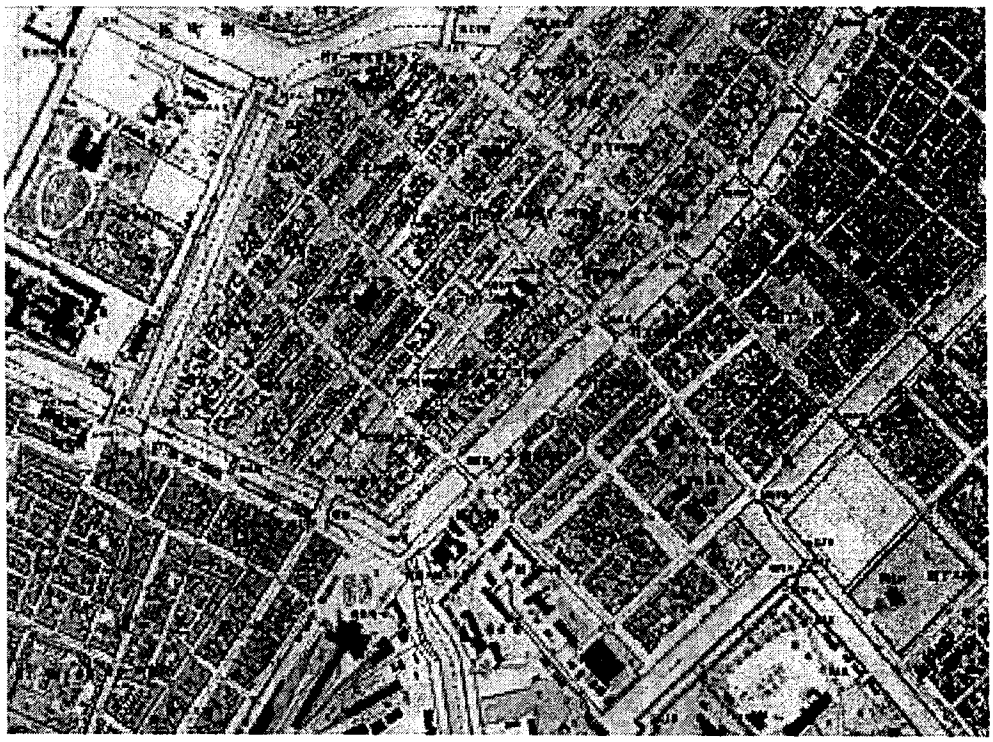

fig. 10 . 5000 : 1 Map of Tôkyô . Ginza area.
source : Nihon Chizu Centâ (1984)

[196] Narita, Ryûichi (1996)

4.2. Modern urban space :

As we have tried to show, abstract space is characterized by an inner contradiction, the idealistic illusion of the homogeneity of space at the level of representations of space and its fragmentation at the level of spaces of representation, that is, for Henri Lefebvre, the space of everyday life, the space where people find and construct meanings, values. To explain the articulation of both spaces, he makes use of the classical distinction between form and content, respectively attributed to the "conçu" and the "vécu", "true space" and "the reality of space". Transposed on a Deleuzian plane of analysis, these become respectively the form of expression and the form of content of abstract space.

The relation between both spaces is not one of equality. Abstract space makes social space instrumental through its reduction to geometric space, the "mise en spectacle" of society and the téléscopage of both. The illusion of transparency hides the inner mechanisms of the production of abstract space, giving rise to an already naturalized power, the power of capitalist state, that simultaneously actualizes and hides itself "sur le terrain" in the transparency of functional and structural legibility[197]. This power of abstraction that produces the dissociation of representations between the "conçu" and the "vécu" institutionalizes the violent colonization of the latter by the former, true space. This illusion is the transparency of power that shows itself in what it holds, but hides itself with it. The act of political power incites the fragmentation of social space in controlling and to control it. Political power is not producing abstract space but re-producing it (hence its often conservative and authoritary attitude). In the space of power, power does not appear as such. It hides itself under the "organization of space", cartographic, administrative, urban[198]. Political power finds its source in the illusion of transparency that allows it to almost never appear as what it is, the violence of abstraction. This is not to say that there is no center of power, no centrality. The national capital plays an essential role in the organization of power, a role that must now be reconsidered.

[197] Lefebvre, Henri (1974), p.366
"L'ordre étatico-bureaucratique, couverture lui-même du capitalisme d'État (quand ce n'est pas du socialisme d'État) se réalise et se dissimule simultanément «sur le terrain». Il brouille son image dans l'air transparent de la lisibilité fonctionnelle et structurale."
[198] Lefebvre, Henri (1974), p.370

In Henri Lefebvre's works, there is an evolution from the problematic of totality to the issue of centrality. What is a center in and of abstract space ? Centrality is the gathering and the encounter of that which coexists in a given, defined, space. It is a form, which implies and results from this simultaneity. It is a point of accumulation that links the local to the global. In abstract space, it takes the form of a totalizing centrality, and presupposes then the concentration of all powers in a single place, the national capital. At the same time, this concentration creates a rarity of space in its surroundings. Then is space fragmented, between the center and the periphery, and in the center itself, according to a hierarchy of value. But again, it is not the capital that produces this fragmentation, although its existence pre-supposes it. Another important characteristic of the center is that it assures the mediation, or rather the articulation, between the mental and the social, representations of space and spaces of representation[199] . This function may be its most important feature in the production of abstract space, a space that is produced and reproduced as reproducible. The question of centrality can be examined from another perspective with Michel de Certeau's concept of "proper place". The rule of the proper establishes fixed locations, it reifies its elements in the form of a structure. It is a paradigmatic order where each elements is precisely identified, defined and fixed, forbidding any hybrid position, any in-between. Thus, "it implies an indication of stability"[200] . The "place of power", this place of the all-powerful subject, is the "clef de voûte" of the whole system. Yet it is not the place of control and production of social space. The center is both full and empty, homogeneous and fragmented, global and local. Tôkyô, the national capital would be this "place of power", the place according to which all other places are evaluated, in Japan, and vis-à-vis Western nations.

This is a theoretical frame of analysis that is not particular to Japan or Europe, but to all modern nations. Starting from this idea, we must try to uncover the local articulations, the practices that actualize such a "place of power" and where Tôkyô is produced as the national capital. This is one of the main concerns of the new Meiji

[199] Henri Lefebvre does not so radically identify mental space with representations of space and social space with spaces of representation. Both the "conçu" and the "vécu" are in social space, though the "conçu" is also in great part mental space.

[200] Michel de Certeau . 1984 . *The Practice of Everyday Life* . Berkeley : University of California Press, p. 117

government. First, where should be localized the new capital ? Three options are possible, the three main cities and centers of the previous era : Edo, the capital of the Shogunate, Ôsaka, the center of commerce, or Kyôto, the center of tradition and city of the *Tennô*. We remember that in the Edo era, there is no absolute center. If we wanted to look for a "place of power", it would be the three cities. This cannot be possible anymore, as the new political power is shaping the country at the image of Western nation-states ; it is already producing abstract space. The new center of power, the national capital, must concentrate all powers. This concentration is reinforced by the radical attitude adopted vis-à-vis the previous regime and its decentralized power. The Tokugawa appeared to have relied too much on the *fudai daimyô*, who did not come to their rescue when came the time. Ôkubo Toshimichi 大久保 利道 (1830-1878) supports the project of transferring the capital to Ôsaka. But Maejima Hisoka 前島 密 (1835-1919) defends the choice of Edo for six reasons. First, the capital should be at the center of the country. As Ezo 蝦夷 (today Hokkaidô 北海道) have been opened up, Edo occupies the geographical center of the national territory. This first argument is already engaged in a logic of colonization, Ezo, but also the rest of the country. And at the time, there are still forces of the Shogunate that resist in the eastern part of the country, against which Edo is a prefect strategic basis. The second and third arguments are in the same line. Edo is the center of the main roads of Japan, and while the port of Ôsaka is only fit for Japanese-type boats (*wasen* 和船), Edo could be a useful and safe port[201] thanks to the batteries of Odaiba お台場 and the proximity of the military port of Yokosuka 横須賀. The fourth and fifth argument point at the lack of place in Ôsaka, while in Edo, the lands of the *Shôgun* and *daimyô* can be used immediately and support the further expansion of the city. Furthermore, *daimyô* residences can be used with a few repairs as administrative buildings. Finally, Maejima remarks that while Ôsaka will continue to prosper whatever the decision, if Edo does not become the new capital, it will soon face a serious economic crisis. Those arguments finally gain the upper hand. A first project of double-capital (Tôkyô

[201] The issue of building an international port is actually more complicated and becomes a important issue in the following years.
cf. Thouny, Christophe (1999)

and Kyôto) is accepted[202] , but when the Emperor goes to Tôkyô for the second time he remains there.

The choice of Edo, renamed Tôkyô (or Tôkei) in 1868, July 17th, is made on the basis of strategic considerations. Infrastructures, and military issues, make of Edo the best location for the establishment of a new "place of power". The question becomes then of the nature of this center. The main line of opposition is drawn between the proponents of a political center and those of an economic one. But this is only one of the many questions that reveal the fragmentation of the political power. If we can speak of a national power in the Early Meiji Period, there is no homogeneous and unified central political power. Actually, Meiji's "central power" is characterized by two facts : a lack of consensus and the importance of political figures. As remarks Pr. Mikuriya, the Meiji government should not be thought of as a single entity : "I don't see a dichotomy between the government and Tôkyô. The main assumption one should make is that there are many elements of the government"[203] . The Police agency, the Department of Engineering, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of the Interior, the Foreign Ministry and the military agencies are all involved in Meiji planning decisions. Among those officials, Fujimori Terunobu identifies three groups of leaders : first the "*kaika shugisha*" 開化主義者 who were advocates of reforms that followed Western models"; then "the new industrialists, who pushed for the establishment of a capitalist-based economy" (proponents included Taguchi Ukichi 田口 卯吉 (1855-1905) and Shibusawa Eiichi 渋沢 栄一 (1840-1931)) ; and finally "the politicians of the Ministry of the Interior who ultimately made all planning policy decisions on the national level"[204] .

Early Meiji planners first adopt a piece-meal approach, less in continuity to previous practices, than to limit the scale of the projects and ensure their realization. They concentrate their efforts on small areas, while always referring to the whole of the city (cf. Ginza). The *Chûô-ron* 中央論 are the projects centered on the re-construction of the center of the city. But what should be the area considered ? Where

[202] Actually, a system of double imperial residence is first instituted between Tôkyô and Kyôto.
[203] Tôkyô Metropolitan University Center for Urban Studies (1983), p.142
[204] Phillips, David P. (1996), p.157

should be located the center and what should be its nature ? All projects take in consideration the revision of the unequal treaties, and thus any plan of improvement of Tôkyô has to take in account the Foreign Settlement of Tsukiji and the nearby station of Shinbashi. In November 1880, Governor Matsuda Michiyuki (1839-1882) presents an urban plan to the Tôkyô-fu assembly. The "*Tôkyô chûô shiku kakutei no mondai*" 〈東京市区画定之問題〉 (Problems Associated with the Planning of the Central Districts of Tôkyô)[205] follows the line drawn by Matsuda's predecessor, Governor Kusumoto Masataka (1838-1902). The planning of the central districts is based the same socio-economical principles : segregation of the population, "*kakoikomi*" 〈囲い込み〉, and separation between rich and poor, "*hinpu sumiwake*" 〈貧富住み分け〉, so as to ensure the economic development of the city. It is also largely centered around the issue of fire-fighting. Matsuda, as Kusumoto, has been greatly influenced by the proposals of Taguchi Ukichi. In his first essay, "*Senkyo kaisetsu no gi*" 〈船渠開設の議〉 (Proposal to Build Docks in the Harbor) published in 1879, the economic theorist and founder of the *Tôkyô Keizai Zasshi* 「東京経済雑誌」 (Tôkyô Economic Journal) outlines the importance of developing the harbor of Tôkyô and transforming it into an international port. Matsuda's plan situates the harbor between Odaiba and the mouth of the Sumida, and emphasizes the necessity to link the roads and the railway to the harbor.

In the City Investigation Council, *Shiku torishirabe Iinkyoku* 市区取調委員局, established November 9th, 1880, we find all the factions of the government[206] . The military power is still heavily represented with officials of the Tokugawa Shogunate like Ôtori Keisuke 大鳥 圭介 (1932-1911) from the Ministry of Public Works (*Kôbushô* 工部省), Arai Ikunosuke 荒井 侑之助 (1835-1909), head of the Home Affairs' Department of Geography, Akamatsu Noriyoshi 赤松 則良 (1841-1920) from the Navy and Hida Heigorô 肥田 浜五郎 (1830-1889) who worked in the shipyards of Ishikawajima 石川島 and Yokosuka. The most active supporters of Matsuda's proposals are new industrials : Shibusawa Eiichi and Hirano Tomiji 平野 富二 (1846-1892), in charge of the shipyard of Ishikawajima. Each has his own idea for the

[205] For more details, see Ishida, Yorifusa (1979)
[206] Shôji, Sumie (1992), p.38

location of the new economic center : Kabuto-chô 兜町 for Shibusawa and the waterfront of Tsukiji and Teppôzu 鉄砲洲 for Hirano. Shôda Eigorô 荘田 平五郎 (1847-1922), the founder of the Mitsubishi company and proponent of the development of the Marunouchi district, is also present. The journalist Fukuchi Genichirô 福地 源一郎 (1841-1906) closes the list. The composition of this Council reflects the main preoccupations of the National government : priority to the military and economic development. The death of Matsuda Michiyuki in July 1882 forces the Council to stop its deliberations.

His successor, Governor Yoshikawa Akimasa 芳川 顯正 (1841-1920), decides to continue the project of renovation of Tôkyô. This is the era of the "*Tôkyô Shiku Kaisei*" 〈東京市区改正〉, "Tôkyô Urban Improvement". The term *Kaisei*, improvement, is interesting. It is not a construction of the capital, but an improvement, in the continuity of the previous urban space, that is Edo, as if the new government was anchoring its power in the aura of the Tokugawa city, though never directly referring to it. In November 14th 1884, Yoshikawa Akimasa submits to the Ministry of Home Affairs a new plan, the "*Shiku Kaisei Ikensho*" 〈市区改正意見書〉. A new Council, the Tôkyô Urban Improvement Investigation Council, *Tôkyô Shiku Kaisei Shinsakai* 〈東京市区改正審査会〉, is convened on February 20th, 1885[207]. Basically, we can distinguish four main attitudes in these discussions. First , we find, with the Secretary of the Ministry of Home Affairs Yamazaki 山崎, the proponents of a political capital taking as its model Haussman's Paris, a Western-style city, following the example of the Deer-Cry Pavilion, Rokumeikan 鹿鳴館[208]. Their attitude is similar to the one of the Minister of Foreign Affairs Inoue Kaoru 井上 馨 (1836-1915). His main preoccupation is then the revision of the unequal treaties, for which he thinks it is necessary to have a proper, modern capital, that can be a vitrine of Japan for the West. He first chooses the English engineer Joseph Condor to design a plan for the government offices. But the Meiji government does not like the design based on Universitary campus. A second project is then submitted by two Germans, Wilhelm Beckman and Hermann Ende in 1886, the Project of Concentration of Government

[207] Shôji, Sumie (1992), p.46

[208] The Rokumeikan is opened in 1883 during a grandiose ceremony.

Offices in Hibiya (Hibiya Kanchô Shûchû Keikaku日比谷官庁集中計画). However, those beautification projects, too expensive and too limited in their aims are abandoned but for a few buildings. Their most open opponents are members of the Genrô-in元老院[209] who stress the necessity of strong military forces, and deny the value of such extravagant projects.

Then we find the business world, who advocate the development of an economic center, for which an international harbor is absolutely necessary[210] .

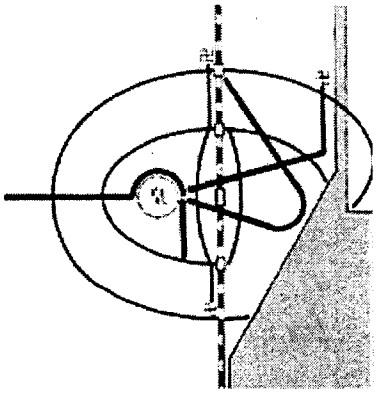

fig.8 . Original Plan of Machikawa . Nov. 1884.
source : Fujimori, Terubonu (1997)
Centered on the Imperial Palace, transportation infrastructures, this plan aims at opening the feudal city by developping the transportation network (mainly roads).

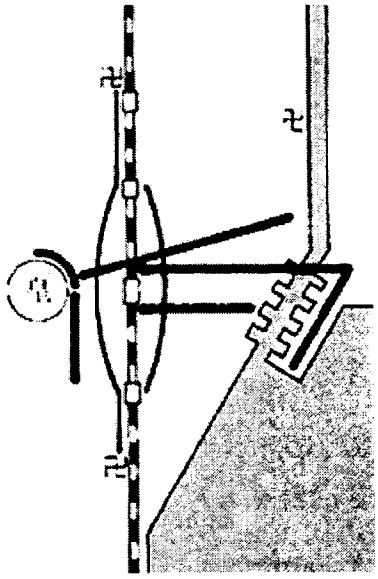

fig.9 . Plan of Oct.ober 1885.
source : Fujimori, Terubonu (1997)
The center is relocalized in the economic district of Kabuto-chô, with the construction of an international harbor at the mouth of the Sumida river.

[209] Elder statesmen who occupy no official function but have a strong power over political decisions.
[210] The debates about the Port of Tôkyô, the Chikkôron 築港論, are omnipresent in Tôkyô urban planning until the Taishô ere. They have been analyzed in another work to which we refer here.
cf. Thouny Christophe (1999)

Finally, we have the Ministry of Home Affairs view-point, represented by Yoshikawa Akimasa, who adopts an attitude radically reversed to the one of Inoue Kaoru. Instead of developing a spectacular city for the exterior, he promotes a re-development on a limited scale, from the inside. Thus he concentrates his efforts on infrastructures : transportations (land and water), hygiene issues (waterworks), and the protection against fires[211] .

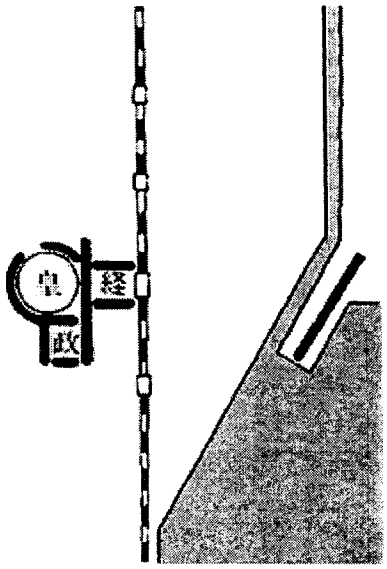

fig.10 . Final Plan of March 1889.
source : Fujimori, Terubonu (1997)
The political and economic center is localized around the Imperial Palace, in Kazumigaseki and Marunouchi.

The first authorized plan for the urban improvement of Tôkyô follows the first urban planning legislation of Japan, the Tôkyô Urban Improvement Ordinance enacted on January 1st, 1889. This is the birth of modern Japanese urban planning, where the priority is given to infrastructures. In contrast to the feudal Edo, closed as a fortress, the development of transports, first roads and railways, opens the capital to the rest of the nation, and to the circulation of goods and people, to the circulation of commodities. After the opening of the waygates built by the *Shôgun* in the first years of the Meiji era, the improvement of the transport network centered around Tôkyô completes the process. Public facilities, parks, markets, crematories, are also included in the plan. Of the German project, only a few buildings are realized, the Ministry of Justice and the Court of Justice of Tôkyô, and later the Park of Hibiya (opened in 1902). Suzuki Hiroyuki sees there an opposition between *"chi"* 「地」(land) and *"zu"* 「図」(drawing, figure, diagram), the first one

[211] A famous passage from Ashikawa Akimasa's "*Tôkyô Shiku Kaisei Ikensho*" seems to affirm the priority of transports over waterworks, which could be understood as the priority of economy over everyday needs :
「意フニ道路橋梁及河川ハ本ナリ水道家屋下水ハ末ナリ」 cf. Ishida, Yorifusa (1996), pp.91-94
Actually, it rather refers to two necessary stages in his project. However, the question of hygien has not been accorded as much importance as would have liked Mori Ôgai. But this is rather the result of a different conception of urban planning and city development. In particular, regarding the issue of land use, he is radically opposed to Taguchi Ukichi when he defends the enforcement of laws regarding the minimum distance between buildings so as to avoid problems of overcrowding.
Ishida, Yorifusa (1992) . "The Historical Development of Intensive Land Utilization Concept In Japanese Urban Planning - Outline of development and Opinon of a Laissez-faire Economist in the Early Meiji Era" . *Comprehensive Urban Studies* 総合都市研究 n. 46, pp. 139-153

belonging to the territory and the second to the realm of representations (like maps). Urban planning would be only concerned with infrastructures and leave the land, the underlying framework untouched, when it is not actually determined by it as would seem to be the case in Ginza, an already dynamic district of Edo. We could also see there an opposition between space and place, or urban planning and architecture. Actually, both work hand in hand, and if there is an opposition, it is not to be found between those two terms. The modernization of Tôkyô, problematized here as the production of a modern abstract urban space, is realized both through the improvement of infrastructures and the construction of modern buildings. Urban planning modifies the strategic organization of urban space, while architecture produces the places, the nodal points on which infrastructures are anchored. This use of architecture, as it appears in the beautification projects is not monumentality, but an architecture of the building.

For Henri Lefebvre, monumentality gathers all the moments of spatiality, the "vécu", "conçu" and "perçu" (spatial practices, representations of space and spaces of representation). The monument realizes a consensus by making it practical and concrete. On the other hand, the building unifies the power's control over the object and the object of the commercial exchange in a brutal condensation of social relations thus actualizing the homogenization of urban space. This can be observed easily in administrative buildings, schools, city halls, ministries... In Tôkyô, those buildings are built in Western-style (gothic, neo-baroque...), in bricks. And they are also found in private buildings, like the Mitsui-gumi Headquarter Buildings, or later the London town in Marunouchi. Those buildings stand out in the middle of Tôkyô as so many islands, a characteristic increased by the tendency to close those places from the rest of the city with fences, in a reappropriation of the *daimyô* ideal to 'establish a residence'. But instead of a dissociation of the (modern) architecture from its surroundings, we should see there a new function of the building as a landmark, a "proper place" that structures urban space. A central element in those works of architecture is the tower, often associated with a clock[212] . The clock-towers in official

[212] cf. Hatsuda, Tôru (1995), pp.50-57

buildings institute a disciplinary system based on fixed empty time, and in private buildings, like clock or meat (beef) shops, they also have a function of advertisement, instituting the commodification of space.

The *Kankôba* 観工場, Exhibition Halls, are a perfect example of the interconnections of both spaces, the political and the economic, in abstract space. In those buildings, on both sides of a central passage, numerous small shops (from 30 to 70) sell products of all sorts. The space is divided into small lots of 1,8 m x 60-75 cm, lent to the shop owners. This is very similar to the use of space we find in the *kukaku-gyôsei* and urban planning. The first *kankôba* is built in 1878, in Eirakuchô 永楽町, where are sold the leftovers of the first National Exhibition for the Encouragement of Industry, *Naikoku Kangyô Hakuran-kai* 内国勧業博覧会, opened in the Park of Ueno the preceding year. The *kankôba* are not a replica of Edo's *misemono* 見世物. They are not only displaying rare articles, modern products coming from the West, but also serve a function of advertisement of those products, to make them known and used by people[213] . As soon as the 1880's, the *kankôba* distinguish themselves from the national policy of development of industry and start to be administered by civilians. They become sites of production of the everyday, spaces of consumption and leisure where people come and go freely. An everyday that is produced in and by abstract space through a process of colonization that institutes the distinction between the "conçu" and the "vécu", and the superiority of the latter over the former. This is also a spectacular space. The tower-clock occupies a central place in the *kankôba*. It is important to note that the tower-clocks of the Early Meiji period are first sightseeing places, *monomi* 物見[214]. They orient the gaze vertically and downward. From those towers, people for the first time can get a panoramic view of the city in the city[215] . The Mitsui-gumi Headquarter building for example is depicted in some wood-block prints with people observing the city from its tower. This function of the tower is most clear in what Hatsuda Tôry calls vernacular architecture. In popular buildings, the tower is

[213] Hatsuda, Tôru (1995), pp.76-80
[214] Hatsuda, Tôru (1995), pp.36-37
[215] The watch-towers of Edo did not have this function, and the famous hills were located on the periphery of the city, giving a more oblique view that is slightly different from modern panorammic sightseeing.

added up to the building, often built in a mix of Western and Japanese (Edo) style. It is only progressively, from the end of the 1880's, that the tower becomes an integral part of the building. At the same period, great towers are built, like in Asakusa the *Gojûtô* 五重塔 (1885), the *Fujisan Yûranba* 富士山遊覧場 (1887), and the famous *Ryôunkaku* 凌雲閣 also known as the *Jûnikai* 十二階, built in 1890. Those *monomi* produce a panoramic space, and its opposite, the labyrinth, respectively associated with the representation of space and the spaces of representations, the everyday.

The production of abstract space is the production of what Michel de Certeau calls the order of the "proper", both a strategic space and the "proper places" that structure it. The control of urban space is realized through the control of movements, of relations, between fixed and identified places. It is also necessary for the central power to control the production of those places that can become sites of resistance and produce their own strategic space. Fujitani Takashi has analyzed the production of a ceremonial space in Tôkyô, turning around and the Military Plazza, the Aoyama military parade field, Yasukuni Jinja and Ueno Park (that is also used for national exhibitions) [216] . This is paralleled by the re-structuration of the symbolic space of Edo, with the apparition of new Meisho, that are closer to modern landmarks than to Edo's famous places, both in their nature of "proper places" and their subordination to the political power. What is important here is to emphasize the relation between these official places and the vernacular. Official buildings and vernacular architecture are not essentially opposed, or rather are only opposed in abstract space, out of which they do not exist as such. They are parts of the same diagram.

The distinction made by Suzuki Hiroyuki between *"chi"* and *"zu"* reflects the nature of abstract space and the inner contradictions it produces and consist of. Functional infrastructures and architecture of the building produce a spectacular space that is a lot more than the "show-case", this empty shell as Henry D. Smith describes it. It also revels the nature of modern cartographic space, as *"chi"* 「地」 and *"zu"* 「図」 are the two ideograms that make the word *"chizu"* 地図, map.

[216] Fujitani, Takashi (1996)

CONCLUSION

The Early Meiji Period has been traditionally defined as a period of transition from the 'feudal' or 'pre-modern' Edo era to the Meiji era, that is the entry of Japan into modernity. The debates have been articulated around the question of continuity or discontinuity from one era to the other, usually favorising the thesis of a transition in continuity. Tôkyô has become the emblematic representative of this question. What has been left of Edo in modern Tôkyô ? To what extent is Tôkyô a modern city, modern being associated with the West ? Those are two of the many questions that are still being discussed today. This work has tried to displace the debate by adopting a discontinuist approach, arguing that each city belongs to two entirely distinct world orders. Each city is emblematic of a particular historical assemblage, a diagram, marked by the order of the general equivalent in Edo and abstract space in Tôkyô. The first years of the Meiji era are undeniably a time of experiment, marked by hybridity. Unaleashed forces of deterritorialization are being reterrtitorialized on a 'plane of consistency', the plane of the modern nation-state. However, modernity as newness is an ever-negociating process of production. The everyday becomes the locus where surfaces the diagram, the 'plane of immanence' of abstract space, in the form of the traumatic event. Abstract space allows for a particular mode of spacial control, that can appear 'tracing' if we forget its essential nature of product, as it is endlessly interrupted by the ever-present now of the new.

This transversal approach supposes a historical practice that "aims at disclosing the conditions of production of specific historical social spaces". This may appear evident to study such a "transitory" period. It actually should be central to any work of history. As Françoise Dosse remarks, to a first movement "which ensures primacy with regard to critique, at the putting of distance, to objectification and to demythologization, follows a second, complementary moment, without which history would be pure exoticism, that of recollection of the sense of meaning [...]"[217] . Since it will never be possible for us to participate in the experience of those spaces, this second moment can only be realized by examining the process of production of meaning by a political and productive historical practice that is not the, 'neutral',

[217] Dosse, Françoise (1998), p.13
quoted in Harrotunian, Harry (2000), p.20

'objective' reconstruction of a past. Historical common sense, by relying on narration as the natural way of doing history, has given us a view of life closed upon itself, where the unfamiliar, the Other, has been denied its differences by being reinscribed in our own abstract social space. Thus theory becomes essential to "enable us to imagine the framing operations involved in the formulation of any analytic program" by making "visible the frames from which our categories of representation derive"[218] . Theory is necessary to build, consciously, the critical space of historical practice, a space that is not objective, external, universal, but on the contrary, specific (historically and geographically), subjective, and internal, participative in the space produced by the historical practice.

This attitude first took the form of a shift to the text and representations. But post-structuralism, with the Foucauldian notion of discourse was already laying the ground for the actual cartographic turn. Concepts of mapping and cartography imply a theory of the event that is not based on linear causality and exceeds the concept of production. It gives us access to the absences, silences present in each effect. An event cannot be exhausted in its effectuation ; a diagram always exceeds its assemblage(s). Only a theory of the event can allow for an internal critic of modern social space. Modernity is marked by incompleteness and multiplicity, a multiplicity of gazes . In Meiji Tôkyô, the Tsukiji Hoteru-kan perfectly symbolizes this multiplicity of the modern. This hotel built for the foreigners in Tsukiji in 1868 has in reality three names : officially the *Gaikokujin Ryokan* 外国人旅館 , it is the Edo Hotel for the foreigners and the Tsukiji Hotel, *Tsukiji Hoterukan* 築地ホテル館 for the local residents of Tôkyô[219] . A modernity that is fragmented in Tôkyô as the architectural symbols of the new age are dispersed in or rather on the old city.

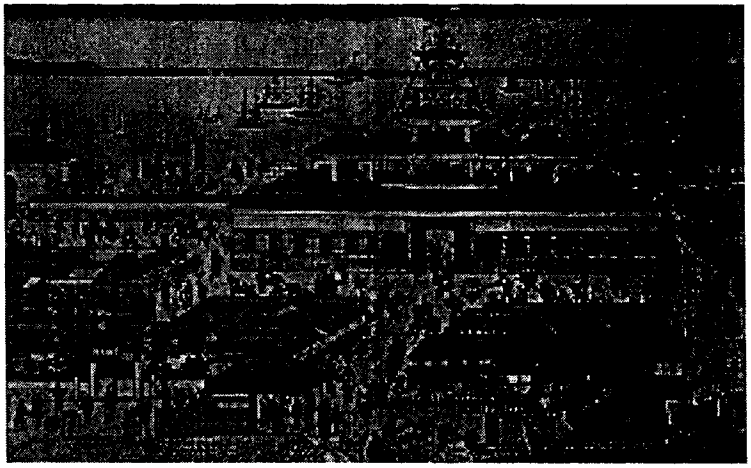

fig. 14 . Tsukiji Foreign Settlement and the Tsukiji Hoterukan.
source : Tôkyôto (1989)

[218] Harootunian, Harry (1988), p.2
[219] Hatsuda, Tôru (1995), pp. 14-20

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Theoretical Sources :

- Anderson, Benedict. 1991 . *Imagined Communities . Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* 2nd ed. London : Verso, 224 p.
- Badiou, Alain . 1998 . *Deleuze . «La clameur de l'Être»* . Paris : Hachette, 184 p.
- Benjamin, Walter . 1968 . *Illuminations . Essays and Reflections* . New York : Schocken Books, 278 p.
- De Certeau, Michel . 1990 . *L'invention du quotidien 1.Arts de faire* . Paris : Gallimard, 360p.
- Deleuze, Gilles (with Claire Parnet) . 1977 . *Dialogues* . Paris : Flammarion, 198 p.
- Deleuze, Gilles & Guatarri, Felix . 1980 . *Mille Plateaux* (A Thousand Plateaux). Paris : Minuit, 648 p.
- Deleuze, Gilles . 1962 . *Nietzsche et la philosophie* . Paris : Presses Universitaires de France, 232 p.

  _____ . 1986 . *Foucault* . Paris : Minuit, 144 p.

  _____ . 1993 . *Critique et Clinique* . Paris : Minuit, 192 p.
- Dosse, Françoise . 1998 . "Entre histoire et mémoire : une histoire sociale de la mémoire" . *Raison Présente 128,* pp.5-24
- Foucault, Michel . 1966 . *Les Mots et les Choses* . Paris : Gallimard, 400 p.

  _____ . 1975 . *Surveiller et punir.* Paris : Gallimard, 362 p.
- Gregory, Derek . 1994 . *Geographical Imaginations* . Cambridge : Blackwell, 442 p.
- Faufman, Eleanor and Heller, Kevin Jon .1998 . *Deleuze and Guattari . New Mappings in Politics, Philosophy and Culture* . Minneapolis : University of Minnesota Press, 310 p., pp.23-39
- Harootunian, Harry . 2000 . *History's Disquiet . Modernity, Cultural Practice, and the Question of Everyday Life* . New York : Columbia University Press, 182 p.
- Hobsbawm, E. J. 1990 . *Nation and Nationalisms since 1870 : Program, Myth and Reality* . Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 192 p.
- Jameson, Frederic . 1984 . "Postmodernism, or The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism", in Hardt, Mickael & Weeks, Kathi . 2000 . *The Jameson Reader* . Oxford-Malden : Blackwell, 408 p., pp.188-232
- Keith, Mickael & Pile, Steve . ed. 1993 . *Place and the politics of identity* . New York : Routledge, 236 p.

- Lefebvre, Henri . 2000 (1st ed. 1974) . *La production de l'espace* . Paris : Anthropos, 490 p.
- Nietzsche, Friedrich . 1972 . *La généalogie de la morale* . Paris : Gallimard, 252 p.
- Sakai, Naoki . 1997 . *Translation & Subjectivity* . Minneapolis-London : University of Minnessota Press, 232 p.
- Scholte, J. A. 1993 . *International relations of social change* . Buckingham : Open University Press
- Soja, Edward W. 1989 . *Postmodern Geographies . The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* . London-New York : Verso, 266 p.
- Virilio, Paul . 1993 . *L'espace critique* . Paris : Christian Bourgeois, 194 p.
- Zizek, Slavov . 1989 . *The Sublime Object of Ideology* . New-York & London : Verso, 240 p.

  _____ . 1992 . *Looking Awry . An Introduction to Jacques Lacan through Popular Culture* . Cambridge : MIT, 188 p.
- Zizek, Slavov dir. 1994 . *Mapping Ideology* . New-York & London : Verso, 340 p.

Japan . Socio-Cultural Cultural Issues

- Barshay, Andrew E. 1992 . "Imagining Democracy in Postwar Japan : Reflections on Maruyama Masao and Modernism" . *Journal of Japanese Studies*, 18 (2) . pp. 365-406
- Alain, Corbin . 1990 . *Le Territoire du vide . L'Occident et le désir du large 1750-1840* . Paris : Flammarion, 408 p.
- Fujitani, Takashi . 1996 . *Splendid Monarchy* . Berkeley & Los Angeles : University of California Press, 306 p.
- Gluck, Carol . 1985 . *Japan's Modern Myths : Ideology in the Late Meiji Period* . Princeton : Princeton University Press, 408 p.
- Hall, John W. "Rule by status in Tokugawa Japan" . *Journal of Japanese Studies* . pp.39-49
- Harootunian, Harry . 1988 . *Things Seen and Unseen . Discourse and Ideology in Tokugawa Nativism* . Chicago & London : University of Chicago Press, 394 p.
- Jansen, Marius B. Ed. 1965 . *Changing Japanese Attitudes Toward Modernization* . Princeton : Princeton University Press, 546 p.
- Jansen, Marius B. & Rozman, Gilbert . 1986 . *Japan in transition . From Tokugawa to Meiji* . Princeton : Princeton University Press, 486 p.

- Karatani, Kôjin . 1993 . *Origins of Modern Japanese Litterature* . Durham and London : Duke University Press, 220 p.
- Lamarre, Thomas . 1997 . "Diagram, Inscription, Sensation" . *Canadian Review of Comparative Litterature Vol. 24.3* . pp. 669-694
- Maruyama, Masao . 1974 . *Studies in the Intellectual History of Tokugawa Japan* . Princeton : Princeton University Press, 383 p.
- Minichiello, Sharon ed. *Japan's Competing Mordernities . Issues in Culture and Democracy 1900-1930*. Honolulu : University of Hawaï Press, 1998, 394 p.
- Nishiyama, Matsunosuke (translated and edited by Gerald Groemer) . 1996 . *Edo Culture . Daily Life and Diversions in Urban Japan, 1600-1868* . Honolulu : University of Hawaï Press, 312 p.
- Hiroshige, Utagawa & commentaries of Smith, Henry D. 1986 (1855 for the original ed. in Japan) . *One hundred famous views of Edo*, New York ;Georges Braziller, 256 p.
- Vaporis, Constantine Nomiko . 1994 . *Breaking Barriers . Travel and the State in Early Modern Japan* . Cambridge & London : Harvard University Press, 372 p.
- Vlastos, Stephen ed. 1998 . *Mirror of Modernity . Invented Traditions of Modern Japan* . Los Angeles : University of California Press, 328 p.
- Wakabayashi, Bob Takashi ed. 1998 . *Modern Japanese Thought* . Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 404 p.

Mapping, Cartography, and Geography :

General

- Bosteels, David . "A Misreading of Maps : The Politics of Cartography in Marxism and Poststructuralism" in Stephen Barked Ed. 1996 . *Signs of Change* . New York : State University of New York Press . 440 p.

  _____ . "From Text to Territory : Felix Guattari's Cartographies of the Unconscious" in Eleanor Kaufman and Kevin Jon Heller Ed. 1998 . *Deleuze and Guattari . New Mappings in Politics, Philosophy, and Culture* . Minneapolis : University of Minessota Press, 310 p, pp. 145-174
- Harley, J. B. & Woodward, David ed . 1987 . *History of Cartography V.1 . Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean* . Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 600 p.

  _____ . 1994 . *History of Cartography V.2 Book 2* .

Cartography in the Traditional East and South-East Asian Societies . Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 970 p.

_____ . 1998 . *History of Cartography V.2 Book 3 . Cartography in the Traditional African, American, Arctic, Australian, and Pacific Societies* . Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 600 p.

- Hodkiss, Alan Geofrrey . 1981 . *Understanding Maps . A systematic history of their use and development* . Folkestone : Dawson, 210 p.
- King, Geoff . 1996 . *Mapping Reality . An Exploration of Cultural Geographies* . New York : St Martin's Press, 216 p.
- Richard Rorty, "An Antirepresentationalist View: Comments on Richard Miller, van Fraassen/Sigman, and Churchland," in Levine, George Lewis ed. 1993 . *Realism and Representation: Essays on the Problem of Realism in relation to Science, Literature, and Culture*, Madison : University of Wisconsin Press, pp. 125-133
- Thongchai, Winichakul . 1994 . *Siam Mapped . The History of the Geo-body of a Nation*. Honolulu : University of Hawaï Press, 230 p.

Japanese Cartography, Survey

- Nihon Chizu Centâ 日本地図センター . 1984 . *Gosenbunichi Tôkyôzu Sokuryô Genzu* 「五千分一東京図測量原図」 . Tôkyô : Nihon Chizu Centâ

_____ . 1994 . *Chizu-kigô no utsurikawari - Chikeizu-zushiki . kigô no hensen*「地図記号のうつりかわり一地形図図式・記号の変遷」 . Tôkyô : Nihon Chizu Centâ, 152 p.

- Nihon Sokuryô Kyôkai Hakkô 日本測量協会発行 . 1970 . *Chizu sokuryô hyakunenshi*「地図・測量百年史」 . Tôkyo : Nihon Sokuryô Kyôkai Hakkô
- Oda 織田, Takeo 武雄 . 1999 (1st ed.1974) . *Chizu no rekishi - Nihon-hen*「地図の歴史 — 日本篇」 . Tôkyô : Kôdansha, 190 p.
- Satô 佐藤, Kasojirô 甚次郎 . 1986 . *Meijiki sakusei no Chisekizu*「明治期作成の地籍図」 . Tôkyô : Kokonshoin, 482 p.
- Takeda 武田, Michiji 通治 . 1979 . *Sokuryô . Kodai kara gendai made*「測量・古代から現代まで」 . Tôkyô : Kokonshoin, 370 p.
- Takeuchi, Keiichi . 2000 . *Modern Japanese Geography* . Tokyo : Kokon Shoin, 250 p.
- Uno, Kazutaka . 1994 . "Cartography in Japan" in Harley, J. B. & Woodward, David ed. 1999 . *History of Cartography V.2 Book 2 . Cartography in the Traditional East and South-East Asian Societies* . Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 970 p., pp. 346-477
- Yonemoto. Marcia . 1999 . "Maps and the Metaphor of the "Small Eastern Sea" in

Tokugawa Japan (1603-1868)" . *The Geographical Review 89(2)*, pp. 169-187
_____ . 2000 . "The "Spatial Vernacular" in Tokugawa Maps" . *The Journal of Asian Studies 59 (3)* . 647-666

- Wigen, Kären . 2000 . "Teaching About Home : Geography at Work in the Prewar Nagano Classroom". *The Journal of Asian Studies 59 (3)*, pp. 550-574

Urbanism, Urban Planning, Architecture :

General

- Berque, Augustin . 1982 . *Vivre l'espace au Japon*, Paris, PUF, 222 p.
_____ . 1986 . *Le sauvage et l'artifice - Les Japonais devant la nature*, Paris, Gallimard, 312 p.
_____ . 1993 . *Du Geste à la cité : formes humaines et lien social au Japon* . Paris : Gallimard
- Bruun, O. and Kalland, A. ed . 1994 . *Asians Perceptions of Nature : A Critical Approach* . London : Curzon Press
- Calvino, Italo . 1993 (or. ed. 1972) . *Les Villes Invisibles* . Paris : Seuil, 194 p.
- City Planning Institute of Japan (The) . 1988 . *Centenary of Modern City Planning and its Perspective*, Tôkyô, 280 p.
- Ishida 石田, Yorifusa 頼房 . 1987 . *Nihon kindai toshi-keikaku no hyakunen*「日本近代都市計画の百年」. Tôkyô : Jijitaikenkyûsha, 372 p.
- Pelletier, Philippe . 1994 . « La structuration socio-spatiales des villes japonaises » in Berque dir *La maîtrise de la ville, urbanité française, urbanité nippone* . Paris : EEHESS, pp. 260-275
- Phillips, David Peter . 1996 . *Intersections of Modernity and Tradition : An Urban Planning History of Tôkyô in the Early Meiji Period (1868-1888)* . PhD Dissertation . Universtiy of Pennsylvania, 242 p.
- Suzuki 鈴木, Hiroyuki 博之 ed . 1999 . *Nihon no kindai 10 Toshi he*「日本の近代 10 都市へ」. Tôkyô : Chûôkôron Shinsha. 428 p.
- Yamamoto, H. 1986 . *Technical Innovation and the Development of Transportation in Japan* . Tôkyô : United Nations University Press, 296 p.

Edo / Tôkyô

- Ashihara, Yoshinobu . 1989 . *The Hidden Order : Tôkyô through the Twentieth Century* . Tôkyô & New York : Kodansha, 160 p.
  _____ . 1998 . *The Aesthetics of Tokyo . Chaos and Order* . Tokyo : Ichigaya Publishing Co. Ltd, 150 p.
- Berque, Augustin . 1990 . « Tôkyô : vers l'auto-référence », *Cités d'Asie . Les cahiers de la recherche architecturale.* n 35 / 36 . Quercy : Parenthèses, pp. 234-244
- Bognar, Botond . 1997 . *Workd Cities . Tokyo* . Chicester : Academy Ed., 368 p.
- Chiba 千葉, Masaki 正樹 . 2001 . *Edo meisho zukai no sekai . Kinse kyôdai toshi no jigazô*「江戸名所図会の世界・近世巨大都市の自画像」. Tôkyô : Yoshikawa Kôbunkan, 342 p.
- Cibla-Pucelle, Dorothée . 1996 . *Images et villes, les figures du style concensuel . L'exemple de Tôkyô* . Université Lumière Lyon2 under the direction of Philippe Pelletier, 84p.
- Cybrewski, Roman . 1997 . *Historical Dictionnary of Tôkyô* . Boston : Scarecrow Press, 212 p.
  _____ . 1998 . *Tôkyô* . New York : Wiley, 260 p.
- Coaldrake, William H. 1986 . "Edo Architecture and Tokugawa Law" *Monumenta Nipponica* 36:3, pp.256-261
- Fukuoka 福岡 , Shinji 峻治 . 1993 . *Comprehensive Urban Studies 総合都市研究* n. 46, pp. 79-91
- Fujimori 藤森, Terunobu 照信 . 1997 (1st ed. 1990) . *Meiji no toshi-keikaku*「明治の都市計画」. Tôkyô : Iwanami Shoten, 363 p.
- Hatsuda 初田, Tôru 亨 . 1994 . *Tôkyô Toshi no Meiji*「東京　都市の明治」. Tôkyô : Chikuma Gakugei Bunkô, 280 p.
  _____ . 1995 . *Modan Toshi no Kûkan Hakubutsugaku - Tôkyô*「モダン都市の空間博物学—東京」. Tôkyô : Shôkokusha, 244 p.
- Ishida Yorifusa, Yoshihara Kenichirô & Ishizuka Hiromichi . 1992 . *"Edo-Tôkyô : sono renzokusei to furenzokusei"*〈江戸—東京：その連続性と不連続性〉. *Comprehensive Urban Studies 総合都市研究* n. 46, pp 175-35
- Ishizuka, Hiromichi & Ishida, Yorifusa dir. 1988 . *Tôkyô : Urban Growth and City Planning . 1868-1988, Tôkyô* . Tôkyô : Center for Urban Studies, Tôkyô Metropolitan University, 128 p.
- Ishida 石田, Yorifusa 頼房 dir. 1992 . *Mikan no Tôkyô keikaku*「未完の東京計画：

実験しなかった計画の計画史」. Tôkyô : Chikuma Shobô, 270 p.

- Ishida 石田, Yorifusa 頼房 . 1979 . "Tôkyô chûô shiku kakutei no mondai ni tsuite" 〈「東京中央市区画定之問題」について〉 . *Comprehensive Urban Studies 総合都市研究* n. 7, pp.15-34

_____ . 1986 . "Nihon ni okeru dochi-kukaku seibi-seido-shi gaisetu 1870-1980" 〈日本における土地区画整備史概説　１８７０～１９８０〉 . *Comprehensive Urban Studies 総合都市研究* n. 28, pp.45-87

_____ . 1987 . *Nihon no kindai toshi-keikaku no hyakunen* 「日本近代都市計画の百年」. 東京 : 自治体研究社, 372 p.

_____ . 1992 . "Achievements and Problems of Japanese Urban Planning" . *Comprehensive Urban Studies 総合都市研究* n. 43, pp. 5-18

_____ . 1992 . "The Historical Development of Intensive Land Utilization Concept In Japanese Urban Planning - Outline of development and Opinon of a Laissez-faire Economist in the Early Meiji Era" . *Comprehensive Urban Studies 総合都市研究* n. 46, pp. 139-153

_____ . 1993 . *"Toshi nôson keikaku no gainen to keikakuteki kenkyû"* 〈都市農村計画の概念と計画論的研究〉 . *Comprehensive Urban Studies 総合都市研究* n. 50, pp 19-35

- Ishida, Yorifusa & Dunin-Woyseth, Halina . 1993 . "Urban Built Form And the Hidden Urban Designers in Japan" . *Comprehensive Urban Studies 総合都市研究* n. 49, pp.139-155

- Ishida (Yorifusa) & Shôji (Sumie) . 1996 . *Water Front Development in Tôkyô : Tôkyô expanded to vanishing Tôkyô-wan bay* . 7th International Conference IPHS, 15 p.

- Isoda 磯田, Kôichi 光一 . 1990 . *Shisô to shite no shisô* 「思想としての東京」. Tôkyô : Kokubunsha, 217 p.

- Jinnai, Hidenobu . 1992 . *Tôkyô - A Spatial Anthropology* . Tôkyô, 237 p.

- Masai 正井, Yasuo 泰夫 . 1985 . *Jôkamachi Tôkyô Castle-Town Tôkyô* 「城下町東京 CASTLE-TOWN Tôkyô」. Tôkyô : 岩井正七, 136 p

- Naitô 内藤, Akira 昌 . 1966 . *Edo to Edojô* 「江戸と江戸城」. Tôkyô : Kojima Shuppankai

- Narita 成田, Ryûichi 龍一 . 1996 . "Bunmei/Yaban/Ankoku" 〈文明／野蛮／暗黒〉 in Yoshim i . *21 seiki no toshi shakaigaku 4 Toshi no kûkan Toshi no shintai* 「２１世紀の都市社会学　４　都市の空間　都市の身体」. Tôkyô :

- Ogi 小木, Shinzô 新造 . 1980 . *Tôkyô-jidai . Edo to Tôkyô no aida de* 「東京時代 - 江戸と東京の間で」. Tôkyô : NHK Books

- Richie, Donald . 1999 . *Tokyo* . London : Reaktion Books . 144 p.
- Seidensticker, Edward . 1961 . *Low City High City - Tôkyô from Edo to the Earthquake : How the Shogun's ancient capital became a great modern city . 1867-1923* . New-York : First Harvard, 362 p.
_____ . 1990 . *Tôkyô Rising - the city since the great earthquake* . New-York, First Harvard, 362 p.
- Katô 加藤, Shigeo 茂生 . 1998 . "An Introduction to Urban Space and Public Health in Modern Japan : Toward the Critical Points of Gotô Shinpei's Hygienical Thought" in *10+1 n.12 Tôkyô Studies* . Tôkyô : INAX, pp. 156-167
- Smith, Henry D. 1978 . "Tôkyô as an Idea : An Exploration of Japanese Urban Thought Until 1945" . *Journal of Japanese Studies*, 4 (1), pp. 45-74
_____ . 1979 . "Tôkyô and London : Comparative Conceptions of the City" in Craig (Albert M.) dir. *Japan : A Comparative View*, Princeton : Princeton University Press, 438 p.
_____ . 1986 . "The Edo-Tokyo Transition . In Search of Common Grounds" in Jansen, (Marius B.) et Rozman (Gilbert) dir. *Japan in transition . From Tokugawa to Meiji* . Princeton : Princeton University Press, 486 p., pp.364-373
- Suzuki 鈴木, Masao 理生 . 1988 . *Edo no Toshi-keikaku*「江戸の都市計画」. Tôkyô : Sanshôdô, 280 p.
_____ . 1989 . *Edo no kawa Tôkyô no kawa*「江戸の川 東京の川」. Tôkyô : Kogakukan, 290 p.
_____ . 1999 . *Tôkyô no chiri ga wakaru jiten*「東京の地理が分かる辞典」. Tôkyô : Nihon Jitsugyô Shuppansha, 280 p.
- Thouny, Christophe . 1999 . *L'Edokko et la mer. Le port de Tôkyô 1853-1941* . Graduation Thesis under the direction of Philippe Pelletier . Université Lyon 2, 198 p.
- Tôkyôto 東京都 . 1994 . *Tôkyô Tosei Gojûnenshi - Tsûshi*「東京都政五十年史 — 通史」. Tôkyô : Tôkyôto, 534 p.
- Waley, Paul . 1984 . *Tôkyô Now and Then - An Explorer's Guide*, Japan : John Weatherhill, 502 p.
_____ . 1994 . "À la périphérie d'Edo : la Grande Rivière et sa rive orientale" in A. Berque . *La maîtrise de la ville* . Paris : EEHESS, pp.55-73