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**An Analysis of Space Created by Human Presence and Performative Behavior  
in the Streetscapes of the Picture Scroll of Annual Events**

年中行事絵巻に描かれる路上パフォーマンスが創り出す空間の分析

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Preface  
Background of the Research

This research began as a way of exploring space as an experience, not only created by the “concrete” space defined by the physical objects around us, but by the more “fluid” space of atmosphere defined by human activity as well. Especially in an age where so much has already been built, and when, in the developed countries such as Japan, the population is experiencing shrinkage and aging for the first time in its history,<sup>1</sup> there is, perhaps, less of a need for concrete, built space, as there is a need for community.

With the advent of the automobile society and the suburbs creating a “placeless collection of subdivisions, strip centers, and office parks,<sup>2</sup>” this need for community has been strongly articulated in urban design, with the Environmentalist movement of the 1960s and 70s, and through the Critical Regionalism and New Urbanism of the early 1980s. Since then, the cry against placeless places and the call for more walkable communities, for a stronger sense of community and regionality, and for a more sustainable environment have been strong in the architectural and urban planning fields.

What could possibly fill this lack of a sense of community?

Activity space, or *kaiwai*, “the accumulation of individual actions of people, in other words, the accumulation of facilities that bring about such accumulation of action”<sup>3</sup> as described in *Nihon no Toshi Kuukan* (Japanese urban space), was an answer that drew my attention. Human action can define space.

As a way of testing this hypothesis, as of April 2010, the author, along with partner Yuko Taniguchi,<sup>4</sup> began a project – initially a simple social experiment – dealing with the creation of space through performance and human activity. The project was titled “happy unbirthday,<sup>5</sup>” and became an effort to create celebration in the city. The first project involved the two “actors” dressing up in clown outfits and walking through the city as living pieces of installation.

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<sup>1</sup> Fibercity/ Tokyo 2050, Ohno Laboratory, The University of Tokyo, 14 January 2011.  
<<http://www.fibercity2050.net/eng/fibercityENG.html>>

<sup>2</sup> Duany, Andres, et al., *Suburban Nation: The Rise of Sprawl and the Decline of the American Dream* (New York: North Point Press, 2000) xii.

<sup>3</sup> *Toshi Design Kenkyu-tai* (Urban Design Research Group), *Nihon no Toshi Kuukan (Japanese Urban Space)* (Tokyo: Shokokusha, 1969) 44.

(English translation used is by the author. Original reads: “「かいわいは人間の個々の行動の集積、言いかえれば、そうした行動の集積をひきおこす施設の集積から成りたっている。」”)

<sup>4</sup> The University Tokyo Graduate School of Frontier Sciences Department of Socio Cultural Environmental Studies Kanda Laboratory

<sup>5</sup> Happy Unbirthday To You, Namigata, Riyo and Yuko Taniguchi, 2011. <<http://happyunbirthday.wordpress.com/>>



fig.1

happy unbirthday stage two in Ebisu, Tokyo

Since then, the acts have grown to involve newspaper people, as an “original” character, in lieu of the clown.



fig. 2

happy unbirthday stage seven in Aoyama, Tokyo

This research began as an offshoot to study the possibilities of performance in the street as a means of creating such “atmospheric” space – or the space created through the presence and performative behavior of human beings.

While the study began with a survey of *daidoge* (or street performance in Japan), the performative qualities of “atmospheric” space as found ideal in *daidoge* seemed to originate in the picture scrolls of olden day Japan. This research thus analyzes the qualities of performance space in the streetscapes of the Picture Scroll of Annual Events.

### **1-1: “Atmospheric” Space**

“Atmospheric” space was a name coined by the author in contrast to what can be called the “concrete” physical space of the built environment. While the built environment has always been the concern for students of architecture and environmental planning, a good deal of the human experience of space comes from the space of “atmosphere,” or the space of everything else, apart from the physical environment.

As mentioned in the preface, activity space, or *kaiwai*, has been postulated in *Nihon no Toshi Kuukan* (Japanese urban space) as “the accumulation of individual actions of people, in other words, the accumulation of facilities that bring about such accumulation of action.”<sup>1</sup>

For instance, riding on the morning rush hour train in Tokyo, packed like sardines with the next person’s face in yours is a completely different experience of train space as compared to that of riding the same morning train, except on the first train home with barely a soul in sight. Then consider the same train space with people chatting, as opposed to people not speaking a word (and instead, texting on their cell phones, a common phenomenon in Japan). All of these experiences of space are shaped by activity and create an environment.

What are the factors that create interesting “atmospheric” space?

### **1-2: History and Development of Performance on the Street (*Daidoge*)**

Street performance was the initial starting point, as a prime example of human activity creating space. We are generally more prone to feeling that a space is made more comfortable and interesting enough to remain in through the presence of people gathering around a performer.

But looking at the history of street performance, its development has been hemmed by regulations and controls that have created the present day “street performance festivals,” which, through its controlled regulation of stages and performances at set intervals, do not have the same power as street performance, or *daidoge*, in its earlier stages, as will be explored below.

The concept of performance has been around since the birth of mankind. It is said to have evolved from shamanistic rituals mimicking nature. The concept of performance in Japan likewise grew out of religious ritual. The first noted performances in Japan can be found in the oldest books – the *Kojiki* and the *Nihonshoki*.

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<sup>1</sup> *Toshi Design Kenkyu-tai* (Urban Design Research Group), *Nihon no Toshi Kuukan (Japanese Urban Space)* (Tokyo: Shokokusha, 1969) 44.  
(English translation of title by the author)



According to Haruo Mishima, writing on the origins of entertainment in Japan<sup>2</sup>, the early entertainers were those who had no ties with the land, usually travelers called *Ama* (海人, literally translated “ocean-person”) or *Amabe* (海人部). They lived near the sea in places such as *Awaji* (淡路), *Awa* (阿波), *Kibi* (吉備), or *Kii* (紀伊) and were not given set plots of land. As such, they did not adhere to the land, and sustained themselves by trading their talent and skill for food. Takayanagi posits that the status of performers during that time was as equals with farmers, however, with the advent of paper money in the year 708, because the performers began to receive money for their performances, they began to be considered as beggars. Furthermore, in such economies of societies sustained on wetland rice cultivation, those who do not work in a “productive” way as ridiculed and frowned upon as idle and beggarly.

The idea of performance as entertainment begins with *Sangaku*. The concept of *Sangaku* performances—or the more informal performances as compared to traditional performances of the court—arrived from China (with the original concept from the West and Central and Western Asia and Alexandria, reaching China via the Silk Road) around the Nara and Heian periods. Some of these performances came to be protected by the court as court entertainment, while some developed into traveling entertainment. In 782, however, protection by the court for these performances was ended, leading to a clear division between indoor and outdoor theater.



fig. 1-1  
*Sangaku*<sup>3</sup>

Indoor theater, such as *Noh*, which is said to be a descendant of *Sangaku* entertainment, has achieved standing and status as a traditional Japanese art form. However, while outdoor performances are the origins of performance in general, with indoor performances only beginning in the mid-Edo era, those whose livelihoods were dependent on outdoor street performance were always set in the peripheries of society.

<sup>2</sup> As cited by Takayanagi, Kaneyoshi, *乞胸と江戸の大道芸 (Gomune to Edo no Daidogeï <Gomune and Daidogeï in the Edo Era>)*

\* Paraphrased translation by the author

<sup>3</sup> Image from Abe, Yasunori, “大道芸を百倍楽しむ研究 (*Daidogeï wo Hyakubai Tanoshimu Kenkyū <Research on Enjoying Daidogeï a Hundred Fold>*,” *Kanda Zatsugaku Kouza* No. 260, 2005. <[www.kanda-zatsugaku.com/050415/daidogeï.pdf](http://www.kanda-zatsugaku.com/050415/daidogeï.pdf)>

This low but ambiguous and peripheral status of street performers in the Edo period can be seen through their special status as *gomune*, an intermediate class between the *ryomin* (good people) and the lowliest class of *senmin*. *Gomune* were considered a part of the lowliest class of *senmin* only when they were performing on the street. In daily life, their status would be that of the *ryomin*. Entertainment, in its association to begging, was always an ambiguous class. According to De Vos and Wagatsuma,

“Gomune status was not hereditary. In early Tokugawa times, before 1830, they were just lowly *chonin* (merchants), but in the city of Edo their occupations centered around begging, and begging was controlled by the Hinin chiefs. The gomune could marry ordinary people and they were tried for their crimes before ordinary courts, but their occupational activities were sanctioned, controlled, and taxed by the Hinin chiefs. Their begging was usually done in connection with **some kind of entertainment in front of houses, such as singing, dancing, samisen playing, rope tricks, magic, story telling, and imitating bird cries and animal barking.** The gomune themselves had subchiefs, rules of conduct, and exclusive areas (*nawabari*) for operation. A license for begging was required in specific areas of the city of Edo, for which a fee was paid monthly to the gomune chief. In the Tenpo Restoration (1830) the gomune were required to live in the Asakusa district of Edo, a Hinin center, and from that time on they were considered to be Hinin.<sup>4</sup>”

The history of outdoor theater and *daidogei*, or street performance, is a history depicting the struggle between those in the lower ranks of society against those of the higher ranks trying to control, regulate and “clean up” the public space of the street.

Masakazu Nojima, in his dissertation, “A Historical Study on the Formation Process of Social Order over Urban Openspace through Police Offense against Street Entertainers and Junkpeople in Tokyo” explores the various police control and regulations that have shaped the creation of social order in the open spaces of Tokyo since the Meiji Era. According to Nojima, the first control of performance on the streets of Tokyo can be seen in 1878, during the Meiji Era. The various performances were regulated into either theater or park as their function demanded, creating a strict delineation between indoor and outdoor theater. As the concept of *Fukoku Kouhei* (strong economy & military) took hold in Japan during the Meiji era, *daidogei* came to be considered a useless form of play and successively began to decline. In 1891, there was a further order that classified and differentiated between indoor and outdoor theater. By allowing indoor theater in certain places as opposed to allowing outdoor theater only through application for permission, this decree created a hierarchy of indoor theater as higher in status as compared to outdoor theater. Public opinion of street performance was also very low at the time, as can be seen from a newspaper article in 1900 that noted *daidogei* as a “pure form of begging.” Furthermore, in 1901, *daidogei* was banned by decree for clearing the streets and widening them. Through this study of the various orders and regulations set on street performers in Tokyo, Nojima illustrates the mutual influence between regulations and public opinion, concluding that “street entertainers were cleared from any street in Tokyo [during the late Meiji Era] under the pretext that they were dangerous and lazy for civil society.”<sup>5</sup>

While street performance fell into decline, it continued to persist with Western influences and techniques incorporated further after WWII. After the war, street performance experienced another burst of energy, as it became a tool for the revitalization of the cities—beginning with the *Ohsu Daidogei Chonin Matsuri* in Nagoya in 1978. Throughout the 70’s and 80’s to the present, *daidogei* has continued to be used as part of an entertainment event for bringing new vitality to the cities. The following is a list (although not comprehensive) of some of the *daidogei* festivals held in various parts of Japan, with the year commenced in parentheses:

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<sup>4</sup> De Vos, George and Hiroshi Wagatsuma, *Japan’s Invisible Race Caste in Culture and Personality* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966) 25.

\* Bold print added by author.

<sup>5</sup> Nojima 444.

大須大道芸町人祭 (1978)  
*Ohsu Daidogei Chonin Matsuri* (1978)  
 野毛大道芸 (1986)  
*Noge Daidogei* (1986)  
 熱海パフォーマンス・フェスティバル (1986)  
*Atami Performance Festival* (1986)  
 天保山ワールド・パフォーマンス・フェスティバル (1991)  
*Tenpouzan World Performance Festival* (1991)  
 大道芸ワールドカップ・イン・静岡 (1992)  
*Daidogei World Cup in Shizuoka* (1992)  
 大道芸フェスティバル in とおがった (1997)  
*Daidogei Festival in Toogatta* (1997)  
 所沢ミュージーズ芸人王国 (1997)  
*Tokorozawa Muse Geinin Okoku* (1997)  
 三茶 de 大道芸 (1997)  
*Sancha de Daidogei* (1997)  
 伊勢神宮内宮前・夏まちまつり (1997)  
*Ise Jingu Naigu Mae Natsu Machi Matsuri* (1997)  
 九州大道芸まつり in 宗像 (1997)  
*Kyushu Daidogei Matsuri in Munakata* (1997)  
 NAGANO 大道芸フェスティバル (1998)  
*NAGANO Daidogei Festival* (1998)  
 夢フェスタ in いずも (1998)  
*Yume Festa in Izumo* (1998)  
 千住エキゾチックフェア (2000)  
*Senju Exotic Fair* (2000)  
 鈴鹿サーキット大道芸コンテスト (2000)  
*Suzuka Circuit Daidogei Contest* (2000)  
 ODAIBA 大道芸～Tokyo Busker Festival (2004)  
*ODAIBA Daidogei ~ Tokyo Busker Festival* (2004)  
 さいたま新都心大道芸フェスティバル (2004)  
*Saitama Shin-Toshin Daidogei Festival* (2004)  
 晴海トリトン・パフォーマンス・フェスティバル  
*Harumi Triton Performance Festival*  
 ひたち国際大道芸  
*Hitachi Kokusai Daidogei*

The concept of the Heaven Artists System<sup>6</sup> was also developed along these lines: to stimulate the development of cultural arts in the city. This system licenses artists with enough skill as “heaven artists.” These artists have the right to practice and hold shows in reserved locations across the city.

Through this short history of *daidogei*, or street performance in Japan, we can see the influence of social control and regulations on public opinion, which has, in return created more controls.

The following are some photos of the *Noge Daidogei* festival visited by the author:

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<sup>6</sup> Heaven Artists, Tokyo Metropolitan Government, 2010, 21 January 2011.  
 <<http://www.seikatubunka.metro.tokyo.jp/bunka/heavenartist/>>



fig. 1-2

Crowd gathering for a stage at the *Noge Daidogei* festival



fig. 1-3

Crowd in front of a stage at *Noge Daidogei* festival



#### **1-4: Chapter Outline**

### **“Atmospheric” Space Created through Sensory Qualities in Public Space and the Resulting Connection to the Environment**

The following chapters will examine the creation of “atmospheric” space in the streetscapes of the Picture Scroll of Annual Events.

Chapter Two follows as an introduction to the Picture Scroll of Annual Events, establishing the grounds on which the scroll was studied, including a description of the scroll and an explanation of the methodology of the study.

Chapter Three offers an analysis of the qualities that create the “atmospheric” space within the scroll, demonstrating that the presence of people and their activity, making use of the human senses is what creates “atmospheric” space.

Chapter Four is a discussion of human activity, based on historical studies of human movement during the Medieval period of Japan, during which time the scrolls were painted (one may say that the animated effect of the scroll space may be mainly dependent on skill of the painter — but while these movements may have been exaggerated I would like to take the position that they most likely were prevalent, and this is the reason for the painter’s depiction of such movements). A historical analysis of movements in medieval times illustrates the abundance of physical movement and sensory quality in public space during the olden days, as was visible in the streetscapes of the scroll.

Chapter Five makes a comparison to streets today, highlighting the fact that sensory quality as it exists in the picture scroll have become diluted over time due to controls, placed both socially and physically, on human activity. What was once the activities of the daily lives of people are now considered “performative” behavior.

Lastly Chapter Six presents the effects of body movement and sensory quality on our connection to the physical and social environment around us.

In conclusion, interesting “atmospheric” space as represented in the streetscapes of the Picture Scroll of Annual Events is created through human presence and performative behavior. This physical use of the body has become less prevalent in society today, with the application of social and physical controls to our senses. The implications of this research are to depict the sensory qualities composing the street space in the Picture Scroll of Annual Events, highlighting the interesting qualities of “atmospheric” space presented through the varied movements and heightened use of the senses in the perception of space, to contrast this to the qualities of public space (the streets) today, and to establish the need for more “performative” movement and sensory quality on our streets today.

### 2-1: Introduction

As stated in the introduction, the reasons why the Picture Scroll of Annual Events was chosen as the subject of study for this research was because it displayed qualities of an interesting “atmospheric” space defined by human activity – one that was found lacking in the *daidogeï* festivals of today. The creation of the environment through human presence and action, with the surrounding “concrete” environment holding only a secondary place in the creation of the street space can be evidenced in further detail through the analysis in Chapter 3 Section 2.

The Picture Scroll of Annual Events was commissioned by Emperor Go-Shirakawa (1127 – 1192). His reign spanned only a brief three-year period between 1155 and 1158, but was notable for its reinvigoration of the Imperial Court. The original complete series is said to have contained 60 scrolls, but was burnt in the early modern period. What remains are a few replicas, but the most basic of them is this set of 16 scrolls stored by the Sumiyoshi-ke. They were replicated by the father-son Sumiyoshi Jokei (1599 – 1670) and Gukei (1632 – 1705). The original was painted by Tokiwanogenji Mitsunaga, with poetry written by Saishounonyudou Fujiwara Norinaga (1109 – 1180). It is said to have been completed in 1165. The replicas used for this analysis are from the 16 scrolls (7 in color, and the rest in black and white) of the Sumiyoshi replicas, as collected in the book *Zuhan Nenju Gyoji Emaki*.<sup>1</sup> The original picture scroll was 453 – 455 millimeters high, the replica used for the study was shrunk down to 140 millimeters.

### 2-2: Methodology of the Study

#### 2-2-1: Introduction

*“ ... an important source of information on entertainments at aristocrats’ mansions and about the circumstances in which they were performed is the above mentioned Nenju gyoji emaki (Picture Scroll of Annual Events), from the eleventh century.*

*... a most striking aspect is the dignified, stylized and ceremonial manner in which aristocrats behaved and sat during the performances or banquets, in sharp contrast with their retainers and samurai, who sometimes gathered outside the gates, causing disorders and disturbances. The scroll depicting the tori awase (cockfights) enables us to compare common and noble audiences of the same entertainment, albeit in different places and times.*

*In the scroll depicting the plebian cockfight we see that the performance is held in the precincts of a small shrine. The audience forms a circle, in the centre of which two cocks are fighting. Spectators are sitting in various postures, facing various directions. Some of them lie on the ground, others sit, others stand, and yet others*

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<sup>1</sup> Komatsu, Shigemi, ed., “年中行事絵巻 (*Nenju Gyoji Emaki* <The Picture Scroll of Annual Events\*>),” 日本絵巻大成 8 (*Nihon Emaki Taisei Vol. 8* <Complete Book of Japanese Picture Scrolls Vol. 8\*>) (Tokyo: Chuo Korin Sha, 1977).

\*English translation of titles by author

Description of the picture scroll comes from this source as well.

*run in pursuit of cocks. Observing the spectators closely, we perceive a different expression and posture with each one. The atmosphere is gay and free, like a picnic scene.<sup>2</sup>*

As noted above, Raj illustrates the “gay and free” atmosphere of the plebian scenes. Those of the street, especially, seemed to contain an environment defined by human activity, with the presence of both the plebian as well as the aristocrat. The 16 scrolls contained a total of 12 scenes of streetscapes, which were used as the subject for this analysis.

### **2-2-2: The Festivities**

The following are the festivities depicted in the 12 street scenes taken from the Picture Scroll, along with a quick description of each event.

#### **(i) Choukingyoukou (朝觀行幸)**

This is a festival for the emperor’s visit to his mother’s residence, normally taking place on the second day of the new year. The streetscapes thus depict the parade of the emperor on this visit.

#### **(ii) Gosaie (御齋会)**

The *Gosaie* consists of a ritual of prayer for good crops and peace on the land, taking place for a period of 8 days starting the 8<sup>th</sup> day of the new year.

#### **(iii) Gion Goryoue (祇園御霊会)**

The *Gion Goryoue* festival (now the Gion Matsuri) was begun in 970 as an annual event to calm the evil spirits that caused plague – after a nation-wide plague hit the country in 869. The festival is held in June, welcoming the gods on the 7<sup>th</sup> and seeing them off on the 14<sup>th</sup> after the festivities and merrymaking have been completed.

#### **(iv) Daikyou (大饗)**

*Daikyou* is a great feast of merry making that took place in the homes of the *daimyo*.

#### **(v) Inari Matsuri (稻荷祭)**

A festival held at the Inari Fushimi shrine in Kyoto in April.

#### **(vi) Kenbiishi no Kenmon (檢非違使の檢問)**

Depicting a scene of inspection by the *kebiishi*, or officials whose government positions were not specified in the administrative code of the *ritsuryo*.

#### **(vii) Kanpaku Kamo-moude (関白賀茂詣)**

The *Kanpaku Kamo moude* was a parade of the regents to the Kamo shrine

#### **(viii) Gicchou (毬杖)**

*Gicchou* was a sport, much like the modern day hockey, played mostly by children, but accompanied by adults at times.

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<sup>2</sup> Raz, Jacob, *Audience and Actors. A study of their interaction in the Japanese Traditional Theater* (Netherlands: E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1983) 52-53.



## 2-2-3: The Streetscapes<sup>3</sup>

### (i) Streetscape One

from Scroll One: *Choukingyoukou* (朝覲行幸)



This is a scene on the *Omiya Oji* road outside the *Taikenmon* gate. Curious onlookers sneak peeks from behind the gate, and horse carts and onlookers gather for a look at the emperor and his parade.

### (ii) Streetscape Two

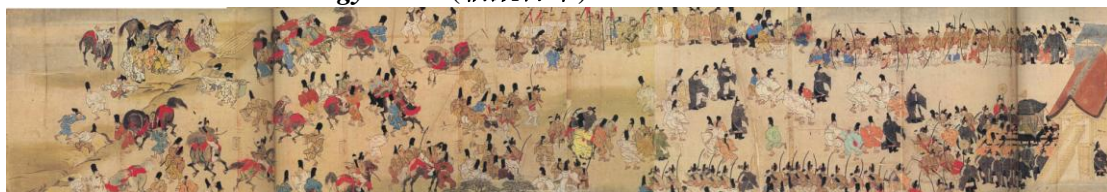
from Scroll One: *Choukingyoukou* (朝覲行幸)



This depicts the cityscape, with onlookers waiting for the parade to pass through, drinking sake and meery-making. The horse car to the right violently breaks out of control.

### (iii) Streetscape Three

from Scroll One: *Choukingyoukou* (朝覲行幸)



The scene shows the crowd in front of the gates of the *Hojudera* temple, with the *Hojin* carrying the emperor entering. Those milling around have *taimatsu* (torches used at night for light) in their hands as well as umbrellas and *gicchou* sticks.

### (iv) Streetscape Four

from Scroll Seven: *Gosaie* (御齋会)



<sup>3</sup> Following streetscapes were scanned and reproduced from the following resource:  
Sumiyoshi, Jokei and Gukei (original by Tokiwanogenji Mitsunaga). *The Picture Scroll of Annual Events*. c. 1165. Sumiyoshi storage. 年中行事絵巻 (*Nenju Gyoji Emaki* <The Picture Scroll of Annual Events>). Edited by Shigemi Komatsu. Tokyo: Chuo Korin Sha, 1977. Print.

Reproductions of streetscape images from:

Komatsu, Shigemi, ed., “年中行事絵巻 (*Nenju Gyoji Emaki* <The Picture Scroll of Annual Events\*>),” 日本絵巻大成 8 (*Nihon Emaki Taisei Vol. 8* <Complete Book of Japanese Picture Scrolls Vol. 8\*>) (Tokyo: Chuo Korin Sha, 1977).

A night scene from the final day of the *Gosaie*, a motley crew of priests, children, youth and elderly appear on the scene carrying *taimatsu* (and even waving it around).

(v) **Streetscape Five**  
**from Scroll Nine: *Gion Goryoue* (祇園御霊会)**



This scene depicts the *Kankou* parade, for the return of the gods. To the right of the streetscape is a performance of *dengaku*, of a style of dancing and music performed at agricultural festivals, which flourished during the Heian period.

(vi) **Streetscape Six**  
**from Scroll Nine: *Gion Goryoue* (祇園御霊会)**



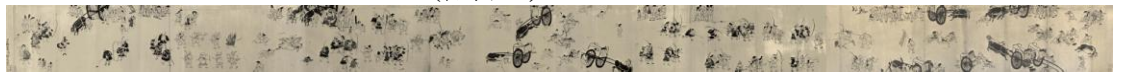
This is a scene of people carrying *mikoshi* (or a portable shrine) on their shoulders and parading throughout the streets.

(vii) **Streetscape Seven**  
**from Scroll Ten: *Daikyou* (大饗)**



This shows the cityscape of Kyoto during a *Daikyou* festival.

(viii) **Streetscape Eight**  
**from Scroll Eleven: *Inari Matsuri* (稻荷祭)**



The street depicted here is the *Nanajo Oji*, with happenings occurring on every corner. A sword-fight breaks out to the right of the scene, some people make a small performance with their swords towards the middle of the scene, and on the left, a horse and cart break out of control, sending onlookers escaping every which way.

(ix) **Streetscape Nine**  
**from Scroll Twelve: *Inari Matsuri* (稻荷祭)**



The parade for the *Inari Matsuri*, showing *mikoshis* and performers with flutes, drums and *shishi* (lion masks for the lion dance). The location for onlookers for this parade was always *Nanajo Oji*, so this is probably where the scene takes place.

(x) **Streetscape Ten**  
from Scroll Thirteen: *Kenbiishi no Kenmon* (検非違使の検問)



The *Kenbiishi* come to inspect, and happenings occur all along the street. A barrow cart spills over to the right and a rock slinging fight occurs, with a few onlookers hurt in the process.

(xi) **Streetscape Eleven**  
from Scroll Fifteen: *Kanpaku Kamo-moude* (関白賀茂詣)



Because this was a long scene, a cut of the scene was taken, from the parade of the *Kampaku*, regents to the *Kamo* shrine.

(xii) **Streetscape Twelve**  
from Scroll Sixteen: *Gicchou* (毬杖)



The children on the street play *gicchou*, a children's game much like the present day hockey.

Chapter Three  
Factors that Create Interesting “Atmospheric” Space  
An analysis of the twelve streetscapes

**3-1: Picture Scrolls: A Drawing Style of Motion**

Japanese picture scrolls are noted for their close relation to animation. Imamura calls the Japanese picture scroll a “distant antecedent of the animated cartoon, the first attempt to tell a story with a time element in the pictures.”<sup>1</sup> While a perspective drawing can be related to a single frame of a motion picture, the scroll is a motion picture in itself. It presents a sequence of time, and further activates this by allowing the viewer to see events simultaneously as in a double exposure of a motion picture. Reality is further distorted through the distortion of perspective in the picture scrolls, and this creates the representation of a film sequence (a motion) on a two-dimensional drawing. In other words, it can depict the element of time.



fig. 3-1

Example of common perspective rendering of a streetscape plan <sup>2</sup>

Compared to a view of the street in perspective, which is how we are most accustomed to viewing the street (fig. 3-1), the drawing style of the picture scroll (fig. 1-5) can be said to create an active, moving environment, using visual perception and the imagination to create the sense of a moving, active space. This drawing style is the first element that creates the interesting “atmosphere” of space within the scroll streetscapes.

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<sup>1</sup> Imamura, Taihei, “Japanese Art and the Animated Cartoon,” *The Quarterly of Film Radio and Television* 7. 3 (1953) 217.

<sup>2</sup> Jacksonville Economic Development Commission (JEDC), drawing, 5 Feb. 2009, Online Image, *Streetscape and Streetcars/What’s Up Jacksonville*. 14 January 2011. < <http://www.whatsupjacksonville.com/wp-content/uploads/2009/02/streetscape.jpg>>

### 3-2: “Concrete” Environment in the Streetscape

In the streetscenes of the Picture Scroll of Annual Events, it is not the surrounding environment, but the people and their activities that create the space of the street.

Deconstructing Street One into three separate layers of (a) surroundings only, (b) people drawn completely, and (c) all people, it is evident that the space of the street depicted in the picture is composed mainly of people, and it further activated by the presence of layers of people.

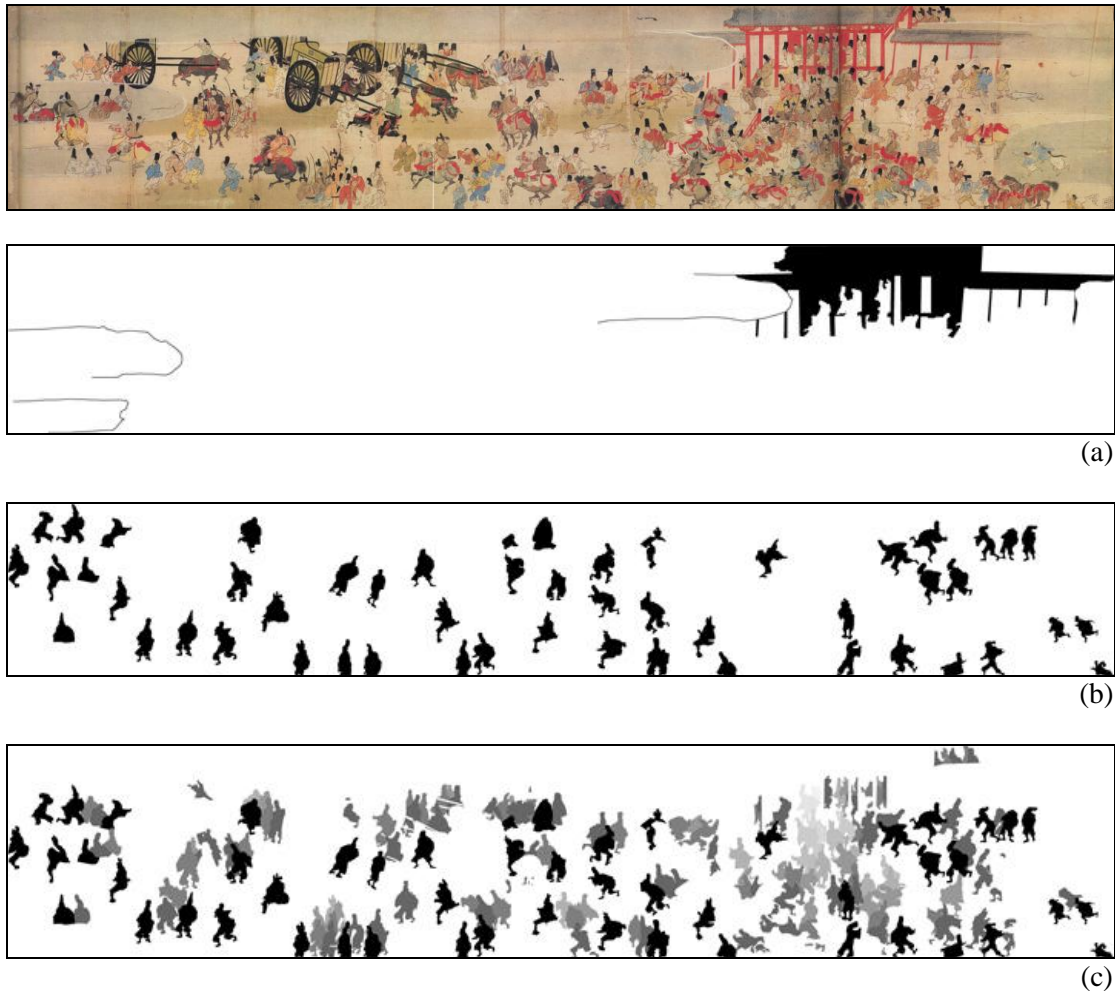


fig. 3-2

Street One – Streetscape from Scroll One: *Choukingyoukou* (朝覲行幸)<sup>3</sup>

- (a) Silhouette of surroundings only
- (b) Silhouette of people shown in full
- © Silhouette of all people in the scroll

Furthermore, the secondary characteristic of the buildings depicted in the street scenes is emphasized by the fact that (a) they always appear on the furthest edges of the streetscape, never taking up much of the total painting space (except for Street 12 – a short streetscape, where the buildings appear both on the top and bottom edges, and Streets 7 and 11, where no built environment is depicted), and (b) never appear completely, drawn only in part or covered over in fog.

<sup>3</sup> *Picture Scroll of Annual Events.*

Komatsu, Shigemi, ed., “年中行事絵巻 (*Nenju Gyoji Emaki* <The Picture Scroll of Annual Events\*>),” *日本絵巻大成 8* (*Nihon Emaki Taisei Vol. 8* <Complete Book of Japanese Picture Scrolls Vol. 8\*>) (Tokyo: Chuo Korin Sha, 1977).

The following figures<sup>4</sup> show (a) the location of the built environment in the streetscape and (b) a detailed image of the building for the 12 streetscapes from the Picture Scroll of Annual Events:

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<sup>4</sup> Figures have been taken from:

Sumiyoshi, Jokei and Gukei (original by Tokiwanogenji Mitsunaga). *The Picture Scroll of Annual Events*. c. 1165. Sumiyoshi storage. *年中行事絵巻 (Nenju Gyoji Emaki <The Picture Scroll of Annual Events>)*. Edited by Shigemi Komatsu. Tokyo: Chuo Korin Sha, 1977. Print.

Reproductions of streetscape images from:

Komatsu, Shigemi, ed., “年中行事絵巻 (*Nenju Gyoji Emaki* <The Picture Scroll of Annual Events\*>),” 日本絵巻大成 8 (*Nihon Emaki Taisei Vol. 8* <Complete Book of Japanese Picture Scrolls Vol. 8\*>). (Tokyo: Chuo Korin Sha, 1977).

**Streetscape One**  
from Scroll One: *Choukingyoukou* (朝覲行幸)



(a)



(b)

fig. 3-3

Streetscape Two  
from Scroll One: *Choukingyoukou* (朝覲行幸)



(a)



(b)

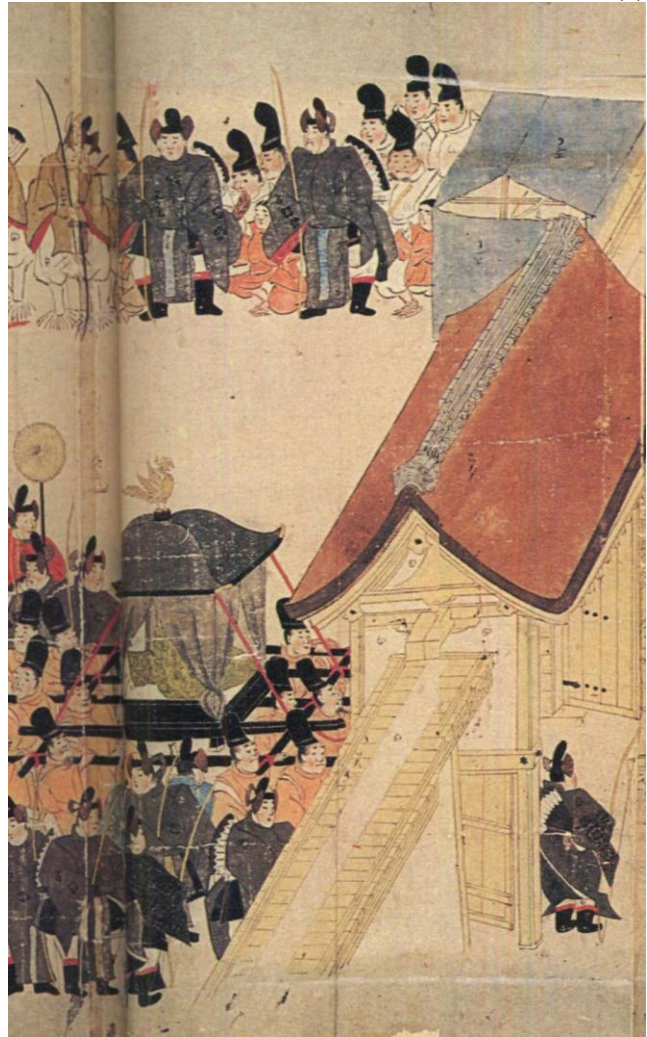
fig. 3-4



Streetscape Three  
from Scroll One: *Choukiyoukou* (朝覲行幸)



(a)



(b)

fig. 3-5

**Streetscape Four**  
from Scroll Seven: *Gosaie* (御齋会)



(a)



(b)

fig. 3-6

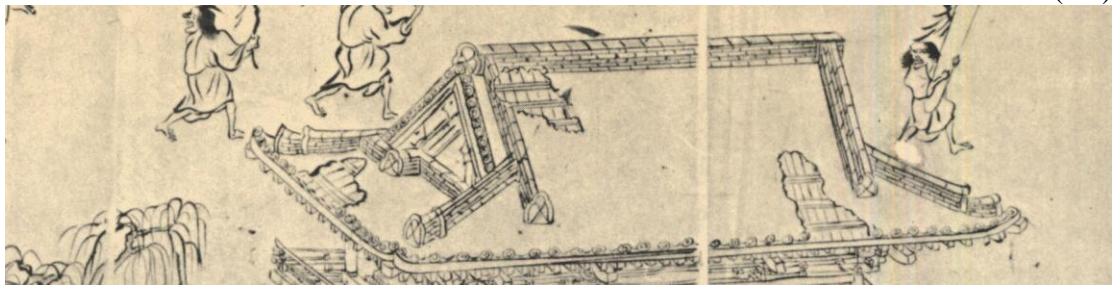
Streetscape Five  
from Scroll Nine: *Gion Goryoue* (祇園御霊会)



(a)



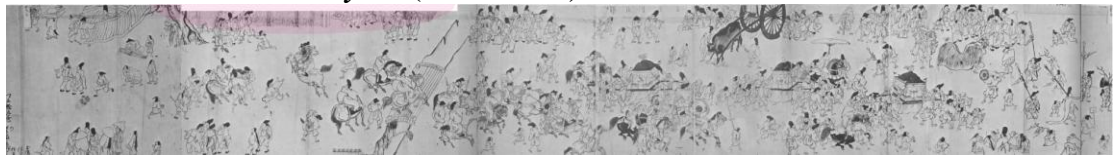
(b-1)



(b-2)

fig. 3-7

**Streetscape Six**  
from Scroll Nine: *Gion Goryoue* (祇園御霊会)



(a)



(b)

fig. 3-8

**Streetscape Seven**  
from Scroll Ten: *Daikyou* (大饗)



(a)

NO SURROUNDING BUILT ENVIRONMENT

Fig. 3-9

**Streetscape Eight**  
from Scroll Eleven: *Inari Matsuri* (稻荷祭)



(a)



(b)

fig. 3-10

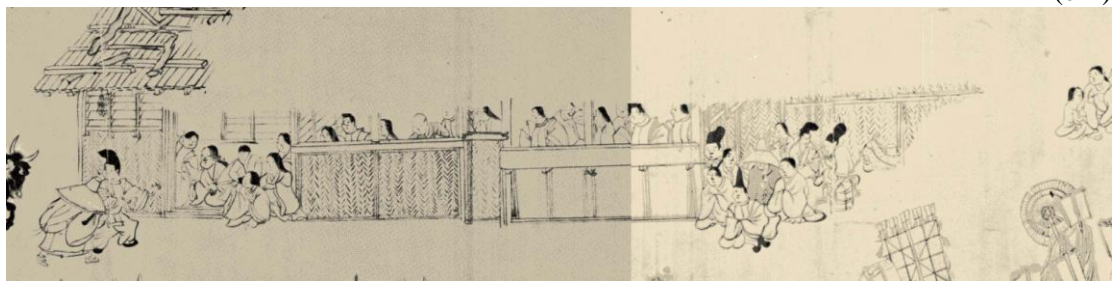
Streetscape Nine  
from Scroll Twelve: *Inari Matsuri* (稻荷祭)



(a)



(b-1)



(b-2)



(b-3)

fig. 3-11

**Streetscape Ten**  
from Scroll Thirteen: *Kenbiishi no Kenmon* (検非違使の検問)



(a)



(b-1)



(b-2)

fig. 3-12



**Streetscape Eleven**  
from Scroll Fifteen: *Kanpaku Kamo-moude* (関白賀茂詣)

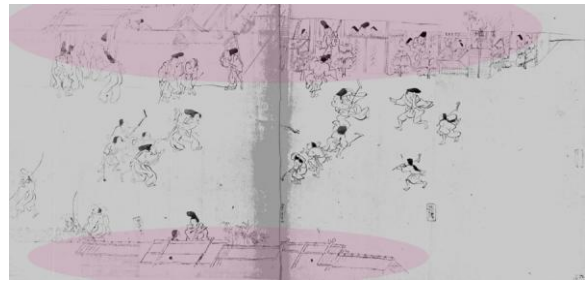


(a)

NO SURROUNDING BUILT ENVIRONMENT

Fig. 3-13

**Streetscape Twelve**  
from Scroll Sixteen: *Gicchou* (毬杖)



(a)



(b-1)



(b-2)

fig. 3-14

### 3-3: An Active Space

The second factor that creates the interesting atmosphere within the picture space is the fact that all of the “actors,” or figures within the scroll, seem as though they are in motion.



fig. 3-15  
Silhouetted figures from Street One

A quick mapping of the figures (placing dots for the head, shoulder blades, hip, knee, and foot, then connecting these dots) shows the low center of gravity and instability of motion found in each of these figures.

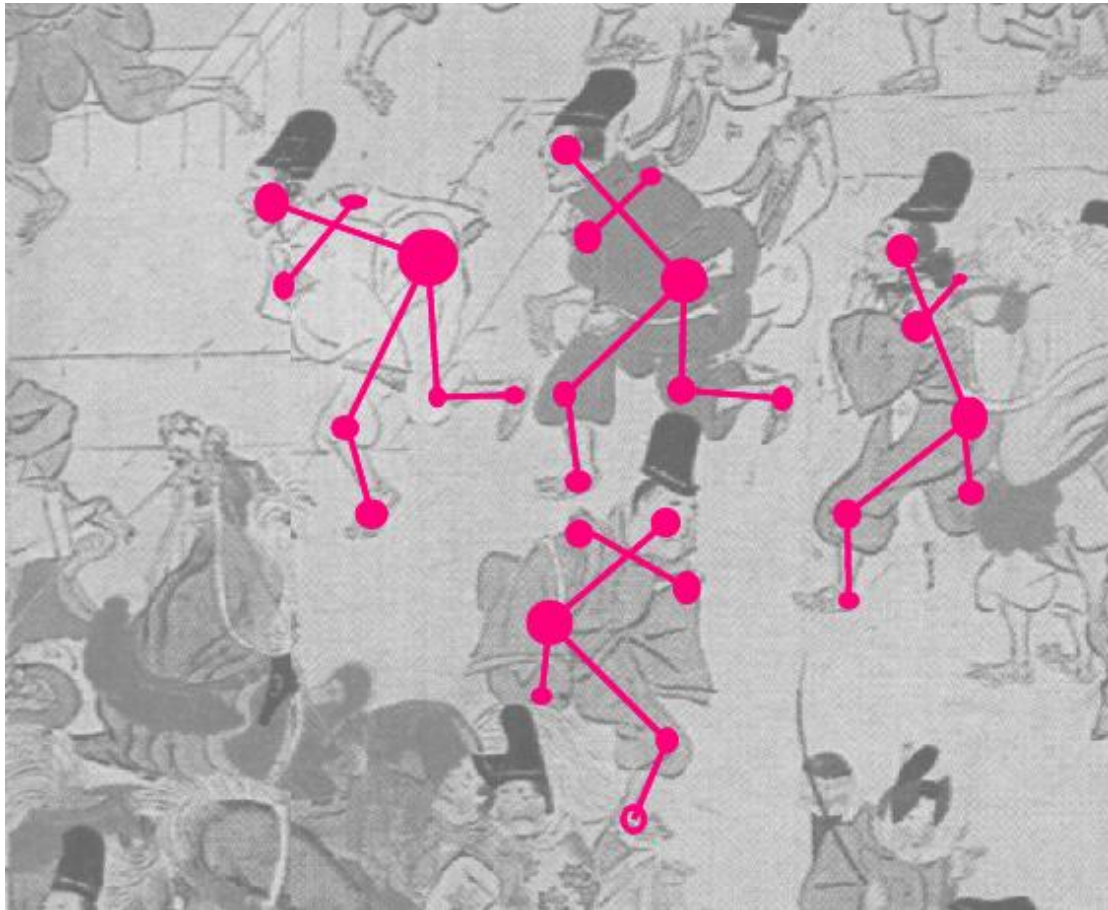


fig. 3-16  
Simple mapping of figures from Streetscape One<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> *Picture Scroll of Annual Events*.  
Komatsu, Shigemi, ed., “年中行事絵巻 (*Nenju Gyoji Emaki* <The Picture Scroll of Annual Events\*>),” *日本絵巻大成 8*  
(*Nihon Emaki Taisei Vol. 8* <Complete Book of Japanese Picture Scrolls Vol. 8\*>). (Tokyo: Chuo Korin Sha, 1977).

All of the people in these streetscapes exhibit this form of motion, as can be seen in an example of Streetscape One below\*:

\*(a larger image of all the streets will follow in the diagrams of Appendix A)



fig. 3-17

Movement mapping of Streetscape One

Even those marching in the procession of Streetscape Eleven exhibit the same unstable balance:

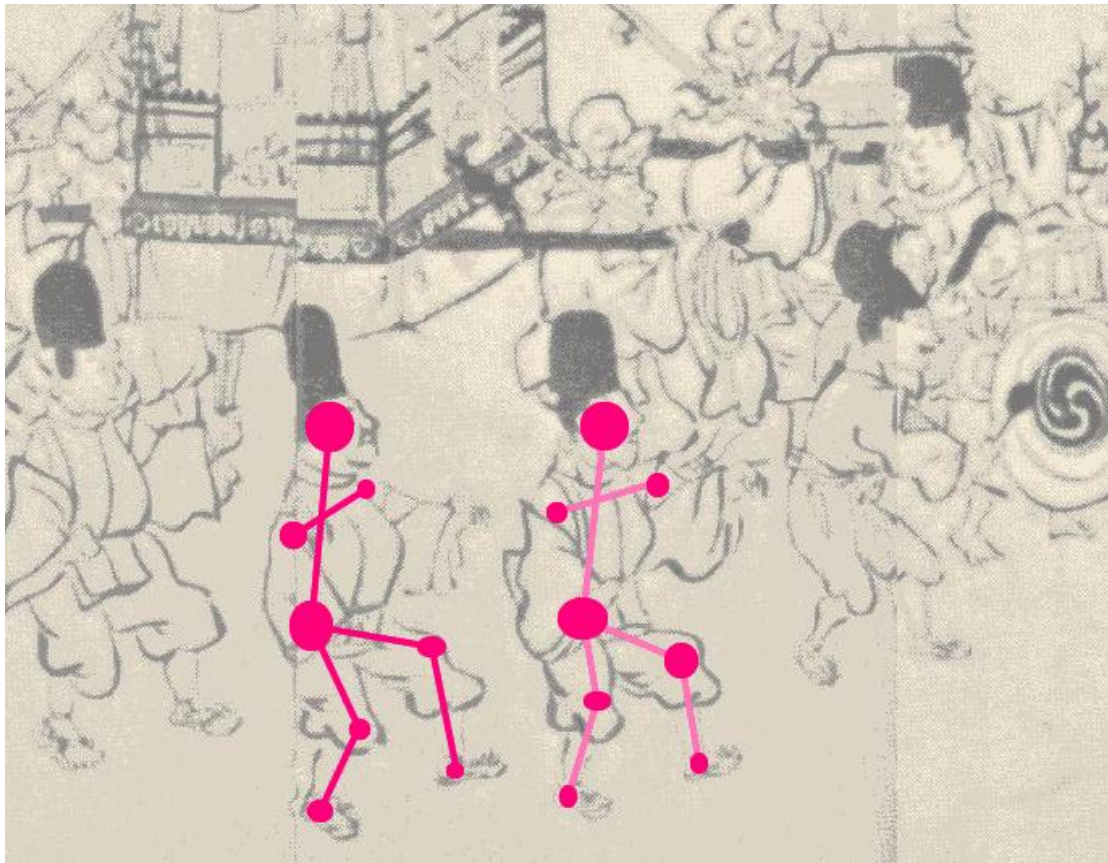


fig. 3-18

Figures marching in the procession of Streetscape Eleven<sup>6</sup>

And those looking on at the streetscape are craning their necks:

<sup>6</sup> *Picture Scroll of Annual Events.*

Komatsu, Shigemi, ed., “年中行事絵巻 (*Nenju Gyoji Emaki* <The Picture Scroll of Annual Events\*>),” *日本絵巻大成 8* (*Nihon Emaki Taisei Vol. 8* <Complete Book of Japanese Picture Scrolls Vol. 8\*>) (Tokyo: Chuo Korin Sha, 1977).

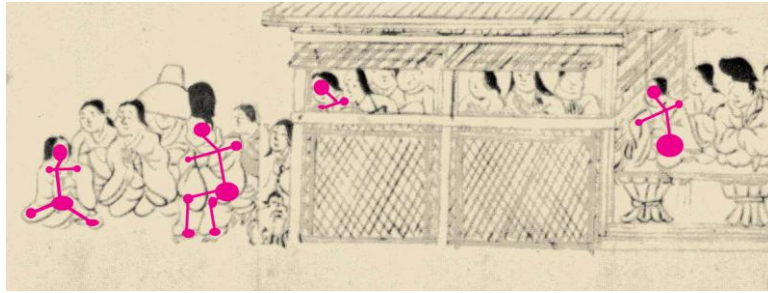


fig. 3-19  
Figures of onlookers from Streetscape Nine<sup>7</sup>

It is difficult to find anyone standing upright in these scenes, as in the streets of today:

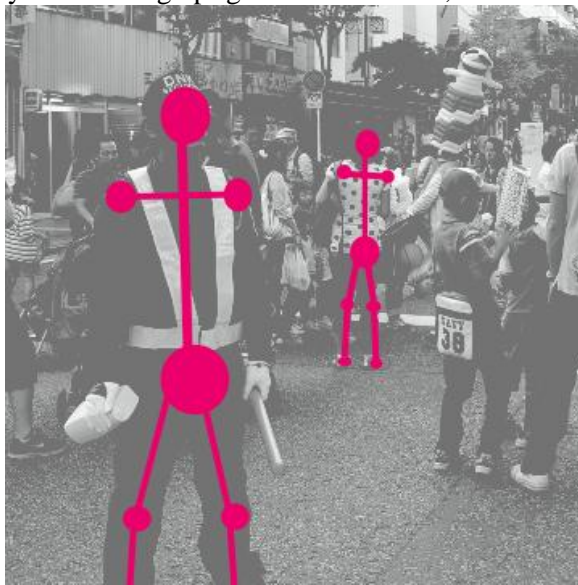


fig. 3-20  
Mapping of human body movements in streetscape today

<sup>7</sup> *Picture Scroll of Annual Events.*  
Komatsu, Shigemi, ed., “年中行事絵巻 (*Nenju Gyoji Emaki* <The Picture Scroll of Annual Events\*>),” 日本絵巻大成 8  
(*Nihon Emaki Taisei Vol. 8* <Complete Book of Japanese Picture Scrolls Vol. 8\*>) (Tokyo: Chuo Korin Sha, 1977).

### 3-4: The Street as a Stage

Onlookers on the street are apparent in each of the streetscapes. All of what is drawn of the built environment depicted in the scrolls contain at least some people looking out onto the street (in other words, when parts of buildings are drawn, there are always people looking out from it, or sitting around it, etc., as can be seen from the analysis of section 3-2).

Sitting can be taken as good index of onlooking. While standing people could be looking at some occurrence on the street or could just be staring out into space, people sitting on the street are there for the purpose of watching the goings-on on the street. Analyzing the twelve streetscapes, there are at least some people sitting on the street in all but two of the streetscapes studied. The two that did not contain sitting people were Streetscapes Seven and Twelve, both of which are shorter in length, which could be the cause.

The following is a mapping of people sitting in Streetscape One \*:

\*(a larger image of all the streets will follow in the diagrams of Appendix A)



fig. 3- 21  
Sitting people in Streetscape One

The number of people found sitting in street in each of the scenes, along with their fraction of the total, is as follows:

Streetscape	No. of people total	No. of people sitting	Fraction of people sitting
1	174	10	0.06
2	192	33	0.17
3	252	21	0.08
4	65	17	0.26
5	158	16	0.10
6	227	18	0.08
7	53	0	0
8	254	12	0.05
9	312	51	0.16
10	103	8	0.08
11	216	23	0.11
12	34	0	0

Chart 3-1

It can be noted that almost 10 to 20 percent of the people depicted on the scrolls are sitting – an interesting phenomenon that we do not see on our streets today.

### 3-5: Interesting Happenings on the Street

A mapping of sightlines on the street shows the decentralized aspect of the street as a stage.

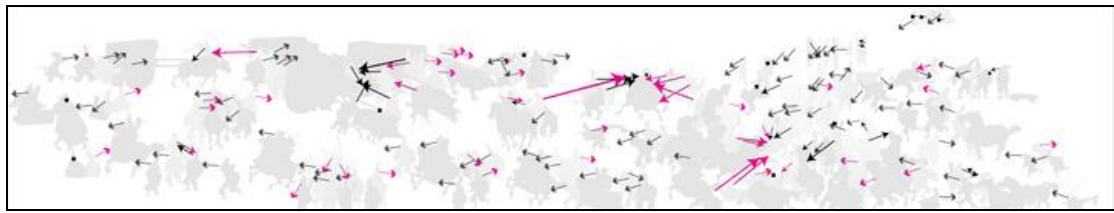


fig. 3- 22

Decentralized views from Streetscape One

The sightlines concentrate on various centers, and can be classified as follows:

1. Looking in the same direction
  - (a) Event: an official event that has been planned
  - (b) Happening: occurrences that have not been pre-planned, but that catch the attention of many people (ie. fights, small performances, as in someone showing off, or a horse out of control)
2. Looking at each other
3. Looking straight ahead
4. *Wakimi*, looking the other way

Figures 3-23 and 3-24 (see Appendix A) show the sightlines mapped for Streets Eight and Nine.

Sightline 1 has been mapped in orange, sightline 2 in pink, sightline 3 in brown, and sightline 4 in blue. While illustrating the same *Inari Matsuri*, Street Eight shows clusters of people walking around with views centered towards four happenings. In Happening One, a swordfight breaks out, in Happening Two we see two people playing around with swords, in Happening Three, a horse jumps out of control, and in Happening Four, someone performs a little show with his sword. In Street Nine, the onlookers are looking at the event of the parade, but within the parade, sightlines go every which way.

*Wakimi*, or looking the other way, was defined as those whose physical directionality and sightline were facing different directions (in other words, the body and sightline are not facing the same direction). What this implies is partly that there are enough interesting events happening on the street that many people turn around to simply to observe them.



fig. 3- 25

Examples of *wakimi* behavior<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> *Picture Scroll of Annual Events.*

Komatsu, Shigemi, ed., “年中行事絵巻 (*Nenju Gyoji Emaki* <The Picture Scroll of Annual Events\*>),” *日本絵巻大成 8* (*Nihon Emaki Taisei Vol. 8* <Complete Book of Japanese Picture Scrolls Vol. 8\*>). (Tokyo: Chuo Korin Sha, 1977).

This characteristic behavior appears in every streetscape, and the fact that so many people, spread across the entire streetscape, exhibit this behavior can be said to be indicative of the interesting happenings on the street.

The following is a mapping of people exhibiting *wakimi* behavior in Streetscape One \*:  
 \*(a larger image of all the streets will follow in the diagrams of Section 3-7)



fig. 3 – 26  
 Mapping of people exhibiting *wakimi* behavior in Streetscape One

The number of people found exhibiting *wakimi* behavior on the street in each of the scenes, along with their fraction of the total, is as follows:

Streetscape	No. of people total	No. of people exhibiting <i>wakimi</i> behavior	Fraction of people exhibiting <i>wakimi</i> behavior
1	174	46	0.26
2	192	38	0.20
3	252	35	0.14
4	65	7	0.11
5	158	22	0.14
6	227	35	0.15
7	53	3	0.06
8	254	36	0.14
9	312	35	0.11
10	103	18	0.17
11	216	53	0.25
12	34	3	0.09

Chart 3-2

Around 10 to 20 percent of the people shown on the scroll are depicted with head and torso facing different directions – a very active pose of trying to take in the environment of the street.



### 3-6: The Street as a Place to Mill Around

Many people are found in identifiable clusters, either simply walking together, or conversing.



fig. 3-27  
sample image of "layered" people

The number of layered people, or people drawn in whose bodies are only half depicted (this was counted using the figures of movement, taking those whose hip dots were unrecognizable to be "layered"), can be taken as a numerical index of the clusters of people found in each of the streetscapes:

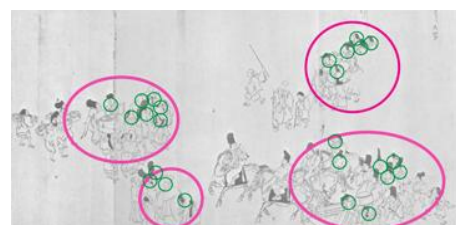
Streetscape	No. of people total	No. of people layered	Fraction of people layered
1	174	51	0.29
2	192	82	0.43
3	252	84	0.33
4	65	12	0.18
5	158	48	0.30
6	227	60	0.26
7	53	25	0.47
8	254	48	0.11
9	312	108	0.35
10	103	19	0.18
11	216	48	0.22
12	34	10	0.29

Chart 3-3

The following is a mapping of identifiable clusters of people in streetscapes seven and two, with the most number of layered people.



(a)



(b)

fig. 3-27  
Mapping of clusters of people  
(a) Street Two (b) Street Seven

People on the street seemed to walk in small, identifiable clusters.

### 3-7: Figures

**3-7-1: Chart of Numerical Indices of Activities on the Street**

Streetscape	No. of people total	No. of sitting ppl.	Fraction of sitting ppl.	No. of <i>wakimi</i> ppl.	Fraction of <i>wakimi</i> ppl.	No. of layered ppl.	Fraction of layered ppl.
1	174	10	0.06	46	0.26	51	0.29
2	192	33	0.17	38	0.20	82	0.43
3	252	21	0.08	35	0.14	84	0.33
4	65	17	0.26	7	0.11	12	0.18
5	158	16	0.10	22	0.14	48	0.30
6	227	18	0.08	35	0.15	60	0.26
7	53	0	0	3	0.06	25	0.47
8	254	12	0.05	36	0.14	48	0.11
9	312	51	0.16	35	0.11	108	0.35
10	103	8	0.08	18	0.17	19	0.18
11	216	23	0.11	53	0.25	48	0.22
12	34	0	0	3	0.09	10	0.29

Chart 3-3

### 3-7-2: Diagrams

Appendix A figures 3-28 to 3-39 contains mappings of (a) movement, (b) sitting, (c) *wakimi*, and (d) “layered” people for each of the twelve streetscapes.

### 3-8: Conclusion

The following are the six factors creating the “atmospheric” space of the streetscapes in the picture scroll:

1. The lack of perspective
2. The secondary characteristic of the scenery/physical environment
3. The low center of gravity, or the instability and movement found in the figures of the scenes
4. The constant presence of onlookers
5. The decentralized sightlines of people on the street
6. The clustering of people into small identifiable groups

These characteristics establish that it is human presence and activity that create the “atmospheric” space of the street. Each of the factors found involves an active use of the body and the senses – movement of the body, sightlines, or feeling the presence of people, walking in clusters. Furthermore, the frequency in occurrence of this “active” behavior can be said to index the fact that all the figures in the street made active use of their senses and physical movement. The following chapter will give a historical account of the varied physical movements and use of the senses in public space, as found in the daily lives of those of Medieval Japan.

## Chapter Four

### The Human Body and Sensory Factors in Public Space:

A discussion of variety in the physical movements of the picture scroll

#### 4-1: Introduction

The following is a list of the six factors found characteristic to the creation of space in the twelve streetscapes of the Picture Scroll of Annual Events (as discussed in Chapter 3):

1. The lack of perspective
2. The secondary characteristic of the scenery/ built environment
3. The low center of gravity and active positions of the figures
4. The constant presence of onlookers on the street
5. The decentralized sightlines heading in every which direction all across the street
6. The clustering of people into groups in the streetscape

What these factors all point to is the sensory quality of the streetscape found in the picture scrolls. Everything is in motion, at least to the present day viewer.

Edward Hall notes that “the art of other cultures, particularly if it is very different from our own, reveals a great deal about the perceptual worlds of both cultures.<sup>1</sup>” In his section on the contrast to contemporary cultures (from Chapter VII: Art as a Clue to Perception), he notes a book by Edmund Carpenter, Frederick Varley, and Robert Flaherty called *Eskimo*, where the authors point to the Eskimo’s use of the senses to orient himself in space. They note that the Eskimo are able to travel across hundreds of miles of “visually undifferentiated waste” through the use of their senses – and thus, the Aivilik have at least twelve different terms for the various winds.

In this chapter, I would like to study the forms of movement in the culture of the picture scroll and highlight how much variety there was in bodily movement during those times, and how such movements were more animated – or exaggerated, much as in the performative actions found in theater.

A great deal of cultural study has been conducted using drawings and paintings (such as picture scrolls) to depict that physical action was different in Japan before the influx of modernization and its regimented control during the Meiji era. (Controlled action was also very different for the lower classes as opposed to those of the upper, as will be demonstrated below.)

For instance, Keizo Shibusawa, in his Pictopedia of Everyday Life in Medieval Japan has compiled images of various activities found in a number of picture scrolls<sup>2</sup> and has arranged

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<sup>1</sup> Hall, Edward T., The Hidden Dimension (New York: Anchor Books A Division of Random House, Inc., 1966) 79.

<sup>2</sup> The following are the scrolls included in the Pictopedia: *Senmen koshakyo*, *Ban Dainagon ekotoba*, *Choju giga*, *Shigisan engi*, *Gaki zoshi*, *Kitano Tenjin engi*

them in the categories of (1) dwellings, (2) clothing, (3) food, (4) furniture, facilities, techniques, (5) earning one's living, livelihood, (6) transportation, (7) trade, (8) appearance, actions, work, (9) life, status, disease, (10) death, burial, (11) life of children, (12) entertainment, play, social life, (13) annual events, and (14) animals, vegetation, nature in order to illustrate life as it was in Medieval Japan.

Koji Asaoka has studied the various forms of sitting as depicted in picture scrolls and old photographic records, depicting the change from the various sitting postures while working to the posture of standing during work, after the arrival of the industrial revolution.<sup>3</sup>

Masaichi Nomura has also written extensively on body language and communication. He posits that body language is like a “common language of implication<sup>4</sup>” that exists as commonalities to a group as opposed to the individual. He noted that in many societies, however, there is a trend that such language is used less within higher ranks of people and for official occasions, treating body language as something to be ashamed of. There is also a trend for body language to be used more in the marginal world, where much depends on the common silent language of the body. These marginal worlds and language of the group, however, has thinned out over the years. (The gradual disappearance of marginality and nonverbal communication, like that found in *daidoge* as well, will be explored in further detail in Chapter Five.)

Granted, the depiction of such actions relies heavily on the style of the painter. However, while the painter may have exaggerated the activities found in the street, paintings do generally reflect the trends of the day. And while this study will draw on the studies of anthropologists studying traditional life and forms of movement in Medieval Japan through folkloric studies of paintings other than the Picture Scroll of Annual Events, I would like to posit that the physical movements found for the same time period are likewise reflected in the world of the picture scroll, and to discuss the “atmospheric” space created through variety of movement and human senses in terms of the streetscenes in the picture scroll.

Section 4-2 will discuss the gaze and the various ways of depicting this in the picture scroll, drawing on examples from Shibusawa's *Ebiki*. Section 4-3 deals with forms of walking and sitting, showing that the posture depicted in the scroll, with a low center of gravity was a common one for walking in the olden days, adopted because of the various types of footwear used. Furthermore, there was a variety of ways for walking, dependent on class as well as occasion.

As the concept of democratization and the equal movement of the body progressed over the years, expressing one's class through the use of the body has disappeared and we have been taught the “proper” way of walking. This one “proper” way of walking was the Western mode, extending right arm/left foot at the same time, with “good” upright posture. While some variety in walking and movement does exist today (as can be seen from the fact that we can recognize others by their way of walking or moving) the variety is smaller, in terms of the scale of movement. Through the historical survey below, I would like to demonstrate that movement was more noticeably varied as well as largely animated in the picture scroll – creating the lively and interesting atmosphere of the street. As will be discussed in Chapter

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<sup>3</sup> As cited by: Koyama, Takahide “「歩み」と「走り」の身体伝承 (“*Ayumi*” to “*Hashiri*” no *Shintai Densho* <the Transmission of Bodily Movements “Walking” and “Running”\*>), 『青森県の民族』 (*Aomori-ken no Minzoku* <Ethnology of Aomori Prefecture\*>) (Aomori ken Minzoku no Kai, July 2007, 14 January 2011) < [http://www.h6.dion.ne.jp/~bokuden/theme\\_15.html](http://www.h6.dion.ne.jp/~bokuden/theme_15.html)>

\* Translation of titles by the author

<sup>4</sup> Nomura, Masaichi, ボディランゲージを読む—身ぶり空間の文化 (*Body Language wo Yomu – Miburi Kuukan no Bunka* <Reading Body Language – the Culture of Gestural Space\*>) (Tokyo: Toyo Printing Company Co., Ltd.) 7.

\* Translations by the author of title and phrase “common language of implication.” Original Japanese reads 「共通の隠語」 (*Kyotsu no Ingo*)

Six, controls and education of the “proper” ways of moving has made such wide gestures socially unacceptable, bringing what were once such varied movements and uses of sensory perceptions into the realms of “performative” behavior.

#### 4-2: The variety of gazes

“Looking” was a highly active and varied behavior back in the days of the scroll. This can be seen from the great number of onlookers in the picture scrolls. Each of them are in animated poses, looking from behind screens, walls, or fans, or looking over their shoulder.

Looking in the daily lives of people in Medieval Japan could be classified in a variety of ways, as can be seen from the index of Shibusawa’s Pictopedia of Everyday Life in Medieval Japan.<sup>5</sup>

Figure 4-1 is a list of all words associated with looking, as found in the index. These words were then further categorized to visualize the different ways of “looking” in Medieval Japan, shown through cutouts from the *Ebiki* in Figures 4-2 to 4-9<sup>6</sup>. It can be noted that all the people found “looking” are in very active postures, as could be seen in the analysis (please refer to Chapter Three) of the Picture Scroll of Annual Events as well.

The categories of “looking” were divided as follows. Firstly, the words listed can be divided into two main categories: those describing the action of looking at something, and those that define the action of looking.

##### 1. Looking at something:

- (a) Object
- (b) Event
- (c) Landscape (looking out)

##### 2. Defining how people look:

- (a) With an action
  - (i) Looking back – 振りむく (*furimuku*)
  - (ii) Peering – 覗く (*nozoku*)
  - (iii) Shading eyes – 手をかざす (*te wo kazasu*)
  - (iv) Other
- (b) With facial emotion (ie. glaring)

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<sup>5</sup> 絵巻物による日本常民生活絵引<全5巻> 総索引 (*Emakimono ni yoru nihon jyoumin seikatsu ebiki* – General Index to the Pictopedia of Everyday Life in Medieval Japan compiled from picture scrolls <all 5 volumes>)

<sup>6</sup> Cutouts are from the 5 volumes of the Pictopedia:

Shibusawa, Keizo, ed. 絵巻物による日本常民生活絵引 1-5 (*Emakimono ni Yoru Nihon Jyomin Seikatsu Ebiki Vol. 1-5* <Pictopedia of Everyday Life in Medieval Japan Vol. 1-5>). Tokyo: Kadokawa Group Publishing Co., Ltd.

池を眺める男	⑤179
<i>a man looking out onto a lake</i>	
後をふりむく	⑤103
<i>looking back</i>	
後を見つつ歩く	④236
<i>looking back while walking</i>	
垣根の外からのぞく女	④235
<i>woman looking from behind fence</i>	
垣のぞき	④233
<i>looking from behind hedge</i>	
勾欄につかまって見る少女	①187
<i>girl clinging to handrails to watch</i>	
戸外を見る女	③6
<i>woman gazing outside</i>	
小手をかざして見る	①73、180、③73、196、④22、152
<i>looking with a hand shading one's eyes</i>	
小鳥をみる僧	⑤139
<i>monk looking at a young bird</i>	
碁を見る子供	①64
<i>child watching a game of go</i>	
作業を見る子供	③100
<i>child watching people working</i>	
猿を見る子供	④228
<i>child watching a monkey</i>	
紫雲を見る人	⑤27
<i>person looking at purple cloud</i>	
田を見る女	①12
<i>woman looking out at rice paddy</i>	
手をかざして見る	③28
<i>looking with hand over one's eyes</i>	
闘鶏を見る子供	①70
<i>child watching a cockfight</i>	
にらむ	①67
<i>glare</i>	
鶏を見る男	①71
<i>man looking at chicken</i>	
念仏踊りをみる子供	⑤197
<i>child watching a prayer dance</i>	
念仏踊りをみる人	⑤197
<i>person watching prayer dance</i>	
覗見する女	④183
<i>woman peering in</i>	
柱にのぼって見物する	②204
<i>climbing a column to look</i>	
蓮茎の運搬を見る子	③113
<i>child watching people carrying lotus roots</i>	
襖のかけからのぞく女	④65
<i>woman peering from behind paper screens</i>	
舞を見る男	⑤79
<i>man watching a dance</i>	
窓からのぞく	①20、②191
<i>peering from window</i>	
	* scroll volume is circled, page number is written to side (following format found in the general index)

Fig. 4-1

Words related to “見る (*miru*) - to look” as found in the index of 絵巻物による日本常民生活絵引<全5巻> 総索引  
(*Emakimono ni yoru nihon jyoumin seikatsu ebiki*) – General Index to Pictopedia of Everyday Life in Medieval Japan compiled  
from picture scrolls <All 5 vol>



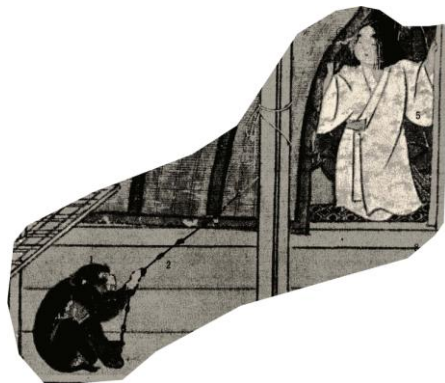
(a) 小鳥をみる僧 (a monk looking at a little bird)



(b) 鶏を見る男 (a man looking at chickens)



(c) 紫雲を見る人 (person looking at purple clouds, “clouds on which Amida Buddha rides to welcome the spirits of the dead”<sup>7</sup>)

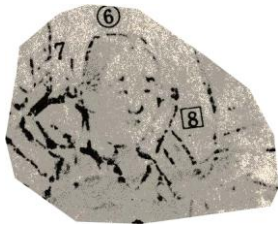


(d) 猿を見る子供 (a child looking at a monkey)

fig. 4-2  
1 – a: Looking at an object

<sup>7</sup> Breen, Jim, “Shiun,” Jim Breen’s WWWJDIC. 2010. 10 January 2011. < <http://www.csse.monash.edu.au/~jwb/cgi-bin/wwwjdic.cgi?1F>>





(a) 碁を見る子供 (a child watching a game of go)



(b) 作業を見る子供 (a child watching people at work)



(c) 念仏踊りをみる人・子供 (a person/ child watching a prayer dance)



(d) 闘鶏を見る子供 (a child watching a cockfight)



(e) 舞を見る男 (a man watching a dance)



(f) 蓮茎の運搬を見る子 (a child watching people carrying lotus roots)

fig. 4-3

1 – b: Looking at an event



(a) 池を眺める男 (a man gazing out to the lake)



(b) 戸外を見る女 (a woman gazing outside)



(c) 田を見る女 (a woman looking out onto a rice paddy)

fig. 4-4

1 - b: Looking out onto the landscape



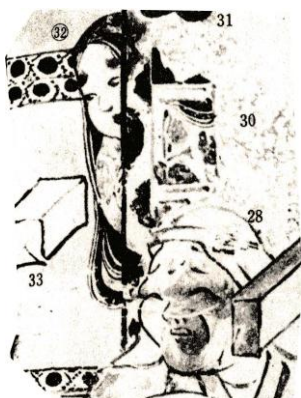
(a) 後をふりむく (looking back)



(b) 後をみつつ歩く (looking back while walking)

fig. 4-5

2-a-i: Looking back – 振りむく (*furimuku*)



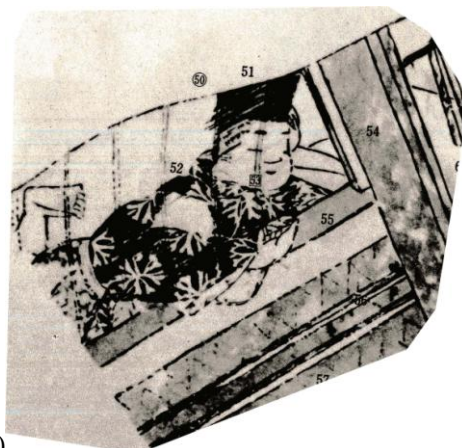
(a) 襖のかけからのぞく女 (a woman peering from behind paper doors)



(b) 覗見する女 (a woman peering in)



(c)



(d)

(c) and (d) 窓からのぞく (peering out from a window)



(e)



(f)

(e) and (f) 垣根からのぞく (looking out from behind the hedges/ fence)

fig. 4-6

2-a-ii: Peering – 覗く (*nozoku*)



(a-g) 手をかざして見る・小手をかざして見る (looking with a hand shading one's eyes)

fig. 4-7  
**2-a-iii: Shading eyes – 手をかざす (*te wo kazasu*)**



(a) 勾欄につかまって見る少女 (a girl clinging on to handrails to watch)



(b) 柱にのぼって見物する (climbing up a column to watch)

fig. 4-8  
2-a-iv: Other





(a) にらむ (glare)

**fig. 4-9**  
2-b: With facial emotion

### 4-3: Body Movement: Standing, Walking, Sitting

Physical body movements were also different and varied in the picture scrolls.

As will be discussed below, posture was different in the old Japanese style, due to the style of clothing and footwear. Walking, based on such footwear as well as style of work in the field differed from the more Western style of walking, with the legs fully extended and the right and left arm and foot extended alternately. Finally, Japan was never a “chair” culture, sitting more on the floor. As will be discussed below, this affected the Japanese concept of sitting – notably different in concept, especially for public spaces.

#### 4-3-1: Japanese-style posture

The traditional Japanese posture is very different from that which has been termed “Western.” It consists of a center of gravity located towards the back (with the hip stuck back a little), with the legs bent (or not consciously stretched out) and the torso straight atop it. According to Yamane, it is not, perhaps the most advanced way of standing upright (not having advanced from the basic standing posture of the homo sapien),<sup>8</sup> however, because of the style of dress (the kimono) it did not affect the visual elegance of the human being.

Whether or not this form of posture was indeed dignified or otherwise, it is still apparent in the body movements found in the martial arts, the *suri-ashi* in tea ceremonies or *noh* theater.

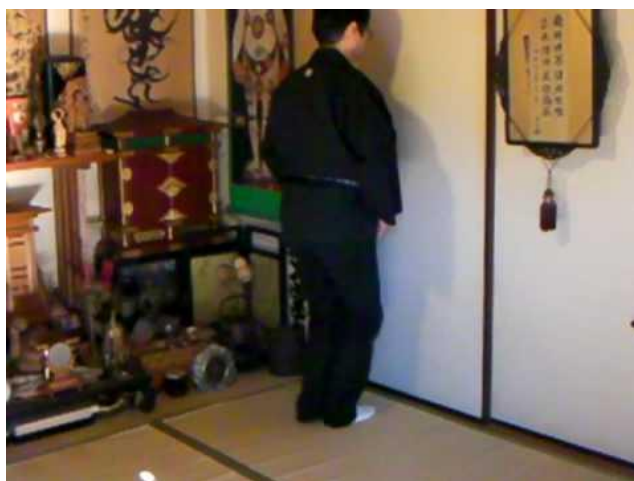


fig. 4-10  
Suri-ashi in tea ceremony<sup>9</sup>

Because of this posture, it was possible to move in the Japanese style, as will be discussed in the following section.

#### 4-3-2: Walking

According to the orthopedist Shotaro Mizuno, the Japanese do not move their feet much when walking – in other words, they drag their feet. This is the type of *suri-ashi* movement still found in the abovementioned ceremonies today.

Where this comes from is in the type of footwear worn. Before the introduction of Western style shoes to Japan, most footwear worn in Japan had no heels. The

<sup>8</sup> Yamane, Ichiro, “腰の作法：武家礼法は腰をどのように扱ってきたか（*Koshi no sahō: Buke-reihō ha koshi wo dono youni atsukatte kita ka* <The manners of the hip: how samurai etiquette has treated the use of the hip\*>）” 1. <[web.sugiyama-u.ac.jp/~yamane/kenkyu/2008/kosi.pdf](http://web.sugiyama-u.ac.jp/~yamane/kenkyu/2008/kosi.pdf)>

\*English translation of title by the author

<sup>9</sup> Image from video:

壺月遠州流禪茶道宗家 (*Kogetu Ensyū's ZEN School of Teaceremony head family*), still capture of video scene, 15 Sept. 2008, Online Youtube Video capture, Online Image, *Youtube*, 14 January 2011. <Youtube video: [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EejJzBsR87c&feature=player\\_embedded/](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EejJzBsR87c&feature=player_embedded/) Official website: <http://www.k3.dion.ne.jp/~kogetu/>>

following is an image of the *Ashi naka* type *zori* (a pair of Japanese sandals), worn by the lower class samurai.

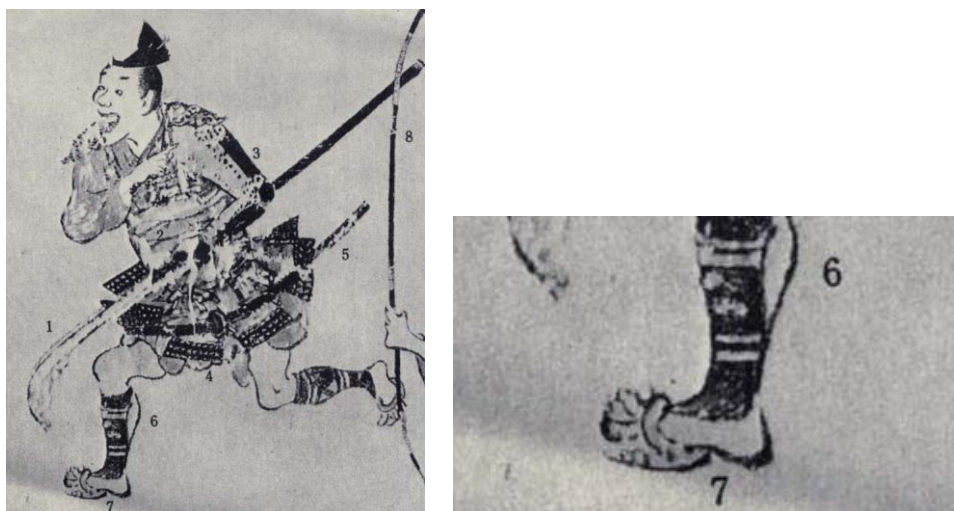


fig. 4-11

*Ashi-naka zori found the Ebiki*<sup>10</sup>

Thus, because the sandals had no heel, walking and movement depended more on putting one's weight on tips of the toes. The traditional Japanese style of walking, then, was on tiptoe, with pressure applied to the toes and kicked out from the back. Nomura states that this movement of not making much use of the heel when walking is what makes the back of the shoes visible when the Japanese walk, with the shoe flopping down and dragging on the ground. In fact, because of this trait, the shoes were the only part of Western dress that the Japanese could not mimic so well. The American natural historian Edward Morse is said to have lamented that the construction of Japanese footwear was still not satisfactory – the ankles were not strong enough and the heel was bent.<sup>11</sup> This would be the case when one walks by applying pressure to the tiptoes, as opposed to kicking with the heel, as in the Western form of walking (considered also the military form of walking). According to Ducroquet, the Western style of walking is divided into four phases, and involves movement being incurred due to the kicking back of the toes, as opposed to the moving forward of them.<sup>12</sup> Because of this, the toes are never dragged, as in the Japanese form of walking.

On top of this trait of dragging ones feet when walking, the Japanese have never been accustomed to walking in military fashion, with a common, set pace and rhythm. Thus the inconsistent walking of the Japanese has been commonly noted. This is perhaps what creates the more animated, haphazard feel of the Shibuya scramble intersection, as opposed to that of the more contained London Oxford Circus intersection, in the photos below:

<sup>10</sup> Shibusawa, Kenzo, 絵巻物による日本常民生活絵引4 (*Emakimono ni yoru nihon jomin seikatsu ebiki* <Pictopedia of Everyday Life in Medieval Japan compiled from picture scrolls Vol. 4\*>) (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1966) 140.

<sup>11</sup> Nomura, Masaichi, 身ぶりとしぐさの人類学 身体がしめす社会の記憶 (*Miburi to shigusa no jinruigaku shintai ga shimesu shakai no kiwoku* <The Anthropology of Body Movements and Gestures The memory of society as can be seen through the body\*>) (Tokyo: Chuokoron-Shinsha Inc., 1996) 11.

\*English translation by the author

<sup>12</sup> Yamane, Ichiro, “日本人の歩き方 (*Nihonjin no arukikata* <The Japanese Way of Walking\*>)” 2.

<web.sugiyama-u.ac.jp/~yamane/kenkyu/2007/aruki07.pdf >

\*English translation of title by the author



fig. 4-12  
Shibuya scramble intersection<sup>13</sup>



fig. 4-13  
London Oxford Circus intersection<sup>14</sup>

#### 4-3-3: *Nanba Aruki*

The lack of a swaying motion in the arms in traditional Japanese forms of walking is evident in the *Nanba* style. Many scholars have noted the Japanese lack of ability to coordinate arm and leg swaying motions, even today.

The *Nanba* style walking, as first noted by Tetsuji Takechi, was the posture of peasants in the field, with a hoe in their hands, translated into a walking movement with the right and left side of the body moving at the same time (in other words, both right arm and right leg moving simultaneously, then left arm and leg).

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<sup>13</sup> Bantosh, *Shibuya Shopping District at Night*, photograph, 2006, Online Image, *Wikipedia*, 20 January 2011.  
<[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Shibuya\\_night.jpg](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Shibuya_night.jpg)>

<sup>14</sup> Roberts, Mike, *Unveiled today, a Tokyo-style X-crossing that allows you to go diagonally across Oxford Circus rather than have to do it in two stages.*, photograph, 2 Nov. 2009, Online Image, *Wikipedia*, 20 January 2011.  
<[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Oxford\\_Circus,\\_November\\_2009.jpg](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Oxford_Circus,_November_2009.jpg)>



fig. 4- 14  
*Hikyakyu*\* displaying *Nanba* style walking  
 \* an express messenger in the olden days<sup>15</sup>

This form of walking is apparent even in the picture scrolls, including the Picture Scroll of Annual Events, and Takechi suggests that it is a traditional Japanese form of movement based on agricultural work.



fig. 4-15  
*Nanba Aruki* from *Street Two* (of studies)<sup>16</sup>

Instead of swaying the arms, the *Nanba* style of walking involves a swaying of the shoulders. This movement can even be seen when turning, and the whole body seems to sway as the turn is made.

<sup>15</sup> Shimizu, Masahiro, photograph (original by different source), Jan. 2005, Online Image, *Sara Santi*, 21 January 2011.  
 <<http://www.npo.co.jp/santi/column/columnTR-05.html>>

<sup>16</sup> *Picture Scroll of Annual Events*.  
 Komatsu, Shigemi, ed., “年中行事絵巻 (*Nenju Gyoji Emaki* <The Picture Scroll of Annual Events\*>),” 日本絵巻大成 8  
 (*Nihon Emaki Taisei Vol. 8* <Complete Book of Japanese Picture Scrolls Vol. 8\*>) (Tokyo: Chuo Korin Sha, 1977).



fig. 4-16  
Person turning *Nanba* style<sup>17</sup>

Nomura notes that this movement is found also in classic Greek vases as well as in Turkish military marches. Another very interesting fact is that Nomura mentions this *nanba* style of walking was taught to horses as well. Generally, horses walk in the same way as do human beings – when the right front limb and left rear limb are extended at the same time. However, because the Japanese did not like the vertical up-down motion this caused to the rider, they trained the horses to walk with the right side of the body moving simultaneously, much like the cow (whose natural movement is the *nanba* motion).

#### 4-3-4: Body Movements of the Working Class

Of course, in the days of the picture scroll, there were differences based on class. While there was inconsistent rhythm to the form of walking, along with swaying of the shoulders and a dragging of the feet, we can deduce that these were mostly on the part of the lower class and the peasants. The *Ashi naka* was used for the lower class samurai for better movement, and the *Nanba* style walking for peasants working the fields. For the more formalized occasions and the higher ranks, there were set forms of movement, covering a variety of forms. For instance, according to Yamane, in the *Ogasawa* manner, walking consisted of moving the waist down, with both hands on the thighs. There were 5 types of stride widths within the samurai class. He lists from the highest form of walking to the lowest: the *Neri* (練り) involved the widest stride and never used for passing ahead of another person (used for formal occasions), the *Hakobi* (運び) used for passing people, the *Ayumi* (歩み) or the normal stride for walking, the *Susumi* (進み) a somewhat quicker paced walk, and the *Hashiri* (走り), or the run. Because the upper class samurai used horses when they wanted to move

<sup>17</sup> *Picture Scroll of Annual Events.*

Komatsu, Shigemi, ed., “年中行事絵巻 (*Nenju Gyoji Emaki* <The Picture Scroll of Annual Events\*>),” *日本絵巻大成 8* (*Nihon Emaki Taisei Vol. 8* <Complete Book of Japanese Picture Scrolls Vol. 8\*>) (Tokyo: Chuo Korin Sha, 1977).

quickly, running was prohibited out of doors, and the quicker paces used indoors involved smaller strides as well as a lower class.<sup>18</sup> The *suri ashi* movement of dragging one's feet was used here still, with a variety of types found in the *suri-ashi* as well.

This more codified form of movement in the upper classes is true of Europe as well as Japan, with the lower classes and workers exhibiting unique and different postures. However, according to Nomura, education had already begun to stress the straight back and walking style as the "proper" form of posture for the upper classes by the Middle Ages. As opposed to dancing among the peasantry, the upper class dances stress the straight posture. (refer to Bruegel and Pepyn's depiction of the peasant and court dances in the figures below)



Fig. 4-17  
The Peasant Dance (1568)<sup>19</sup>  
Bruegel, Pieter



Fig. 4-18  
The Court Ball (1604)

<sup>18</sup> Yamane, Ichiro, “日本人の歩き方 (Nihonjin no arukikata <The Japanese Way of Walking\*>) ” 2. <[web.sugiyama-u.ac.jp/~yamane/kenkyu/2007/aruki07.pdf](http://web.sugiyama-u.ac.jp/~yamane/kenkyu/2007/aruki07.pdf)>

\*English translation of title by the author

<sup>19</sup> Bruegel, Pieter, *The Peasant Dance*, 1568, painting, Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, Vienna, Online, *The Artchive*, 19 January 2011. <<http://www.artchive.com/artchive/B/bruegel/dance.jpg.html>>

In fact, the 17<sup>th</sup> Century Italian physician Bernardino Ramazzini and his book, *De Morbis Artificum Diatriba* (Diseases of Workers), citing the fact that, for instance, bread-makers had legs bent outward, due to the fact that they had to hold a piece of wood with their arms and knees when kneading bread. In the same line, tailors and dressmakers were constantly bent over their work and thus had bad posture, with their head constantly held down.<sup>21</sup>

On top of the actual physical mutation of the body (as we are now accustomed to entrusting more of the harder physical labor to the machine) society has democratized – treating each individual as an equal. Now that we have done away with rigid class separations, it is shameful to exhibit the boorish behavior so common to the peasants. Perhaps this is the kind of mentality that has marginalized deviant physical motion, pushing it to the realm of the clown and that of performance.

Chapter Six will cover how education has riddled us with a sense of shame at displaying such signs of behavior, deeming them as “boorish” in relation to the norm of perfect and upright striding.

#### 4-3-5: Sitting, Squatting, Crouching

Sitting in a chair is not a Japanese quality. The Japanese prefer to sit on the ground. Thus Nomura notes that the Japanese are not very particular with sitting manners, while they care about manners in the realm of the *tatami*.<sup>22</sup>

In fact, the Japanese are so close to the ground that crouching and squatting were common forms of resting back in the days of the picture scroll, as can be seen from the number and character of the people sitting in the Picture Scroll of Annual Events as well.



fig. 4-19

People sitting on the ground in Street Two (from studies)<sup>23</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Pepyn, Maarten, *The Court Ball*, 1604, painting, Online, *Fine Art on Canvas Le Maze Studio*, 20 January 2011. <<http://www.lemaze-studio.com/canvas/351002-1348112.htm>>

<sup>21</sup> Nomura, Masaichi, *身ぶりとしぐさの人類学 身体がしめす社会の記憶 (Miburi to shigusa no jinruigaku shintai ga shimesu shakai no kiwoku* <The Anthropology of Body Movements and Gestures The memory of society as can be seen through the body\*> (Tokyo: Chuokoron-Shinsha Inc., 1996) 26.

\*English translation of title by the author

<sup>22</sup> Nomura, Masaichi, *ボディランゲージを読む—身ぶり空間の文化 (Body Language wo Yomu – Miburi Kuukan no Bunka* <Reading Body Language – the Culture of Gestural Space\*> (Tokyo: Toyo Printing Company Co., Ltd.) 26.

\* Translations by the author of title





fig. 4-20  
Sculpture of Hikokuro Takayama<sup>24</sup>

Noting a curious sculpture of Hikokuro Takayama in Sanjo Ohashi in Kyoto, Nomura notes that, while sculptures should depict a very proud moment in the lives of those honored, Takayama is on the ground kneeling in this sculpture. The correlation between kneeling and being honored seems farfetched from us today, but kneeling, crouching, or simply sitting on the ground was a common day affair back in Medieval Japan (surprising foreigners visiting Japan with their ability to stay in such a crouched position and move for hours on end). The ground was not a “dirty” place, as one would imagine today. As Nomura, citing an observation by the folklorist Tsuneichi Miyamoto, writes, while in places such as the Kamogawa River in Kyoto where people still sit on the ground there are no empty cans or trash lying around, places where there are benches have a noticeable amount of cans and trash lying about – thus, the ground most likely became a “dirty” place once people no longer walked barefoot or sat on the ground. Nomura notes that people squat on the ground with their bottoms hanging in the air, not because the ground is dirty, but because that is a more stable way to sit.

This style of sitting in public space, as was observable in the past, has now become classified as “bad” or embarrassing behavior in society today (crouching is one of the lowliest positions for a human body) – how many people do we see now sitting in the streets?

#### 4-4: Conclusion

It can be observed from the historical survey above that the sensory qualities of physical movements and the gaze were much more varied and frequent in occurrence in public spaces of the past (from which the picture scroll draws its observations). The creation of interesting “atmospheric” space in the picture scroll’s streetscapes may come from the variety found in physical movement and use of the body with its senses – especially through the fact that it was observable in public space.

<sup>23</sup> *Picture Scroll of Annual Events.*

Komatsu, Shigemi, ed., “年中行事絵巻 (*Nenju Gyoji Emaki* <The Picture Scroll of Annual Events\*>),” *日本絵巻大成 8 (Nihon Emaki Taisei Vol. 8 <Complete Book of Japanese Picture Scrolls Vol. 8\*>)* (Tokyo: Chuo Korin Sha, 1977).

<sup>24</sup> Zynga Japan K.K., 三条大橋東側の土下座した高山彦九郎の銅像 (*Sanjo Ohashi Higashi-gawa no Dogeza shita Takayama Hikokuro no Dozo*), photography, Oct. 2008, Online Image, *Photozou.jp*, 20 January 2011. <<http://photozou.jp/photo/show/203517/13885841>>

### 5-1: Introduction

*“Lewis Mumford states that the primary reason for Hammurabi’s code was to combat the lawlessness of the people flocking into the early Mesopotamian cities. Since then a lesson repeatedly brought home about the relationship of man to the city is the need for enforced laws to replace tribal custom... When membership increases at a rate greater than the capacity to turn rural peoples into city dwellers (which is the number that moves out of the enclave), only two choices remain: territorial growth or overcrowding.*

*If the enclave cannot expand and fails to maintain a healthy density (which varies with each ethnic group), a sink develops ... Apart from letting the sink run its course and destroy the city, there is an alternative solution: ‘introduce design features that will counteract the ill effects of the sink but not destroy the enclave in the process\*’ In animal populations, the solution is simple enough and frighteningly like what we see in our urban renewal programs as well as our suburban sprawl. To increase density in a rat population and maintain healthy specimens, put them in boxes so they can’t see each other, clean their cages, and give them enough to eat. You can pile the boxes up as many stories as you wish. Unfortunately, caged animals become stupid, which is a very heavy price to pay for a super filing system! **The question we must ask ourselves is, How far can we afford to travel down the road of sensory deprivation in order to file people away?\*\*\***”<sup>1</sup>*

The previous chapter examined the variety of human body movements and use of the senses that was readily observable in daily life of Medieval Japan. This chapter would like to focus on the controls and limits to human action and use of the senses – in terms of the physical (through the design of our concrete environment), as well as a brief touch upon social control – suggesting the gradual move towards the depravity of sensory factors in public space through history.

### 5-2: Physical Control and Regulation of Public Space Today: a waning sense of community and public life

The control, or stripping of humane factors within modern public spaces can be noted by the varied responses to it by architects and urban planners. With the rise of the automobile society, zoned traffic, and unwalkable communities has grown a critique of sprawled suburban growth. As Duany et al. notes,

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<sup>1</sup> Hall, Edward T., The Hidden Dimension (New York: Anchor Books A Division of Random House, Inc., 1966) 167-168.

\*Single quotes used by the author to replace italics in the original text

\*\*Bold print used by the author to stress a point

“Critical writing in recent years has documented a decline in the civic life of our nation. From Richard Sennett’s landmark text, *The Fall of Public Man*, to Christopher Lasch’s final work, *The Revolt of the Elites and the Betrayal of Democracy*, dozens of books call attention to the same problem: society seems to be evolving in an unhealthy way. Americans are splintering into insular factions, each pursuing an increasingly narrow agenda, with nary a thought for the greater good. Further, more and more citizens seem to be withdrawing from public life into the shelter of their private homes, from which they encounter the world primarily through their television and computer screens. This is hardly a recipe for productive social evolution.

... Just as it is difficult to imagine the concept of *family* independent of the home, it is near-impossible to imagine *community* independent of the town square or the local pub. Christopher Lasch has observed that ‘civic life requires settings in which people meet as equals. Thanks to the decay of civic institutions ranging from political parties to public parks and informal meeting places, conversation has become almost as specialized as the production of knowledge.’ In **the absence of walkable public places** – streets, squares, and parks, the *public realm* – people of diverse ages, races, and beliefs are unlikely to meet and talk. Those who believe that Internet web sites and chat rooms are effective substitutes vastly underestimate the distinction between a computer monitor and the human body.

In the suburbs, time normally spent in the physical public realm is now spent in the automobile, which is a private space as well as a potentially sociopathic device. The average American, when placed behind the wheel of a car, ceases to be a citizen and becomes instead a *motorist*. As a motorist, you cannot get to know your neighbor, because the prevailing relationship is competitive...<sup>2</sup>”

Furthermore, reformers and public planners have done more to reinforce and instead, aggravate, the lack of community. As Jane Jacobs mentions in *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*,

“Reformers have long observed city people loitering on busy corners, hanging around in candy stores and bars and drinking soda pop on stoops, and have passed a judgment, the gist of which is: ‘This is deplorable! If these people had decent homes and a more private or bosky outdoor pace, they wouldn’t be on the street!’

This judgment represents a profound misunderstanding of cities. It makes no more sense than to drop in at a testimonial banquet in a hotel and conclude that if these people had wives who could cook, they would give their parties at home.

The point of both the testimonial banquet and the social life of the city sidewalks is precisely that they are public. They bring together people who do not know each other in an intimate, private social fashion and in most cases do not care to know each other in that fashion.<sup>3</sup>”

Architects and urban planners such as Duany and Plater-Zyberk with their concept of New Regionalism and Jane Jacobs with her influential critique of urban renewal policies have long decried the lack of a sense of community in the strictly zoned, anti-pedestrian cities. For planners, controlling the environment has long been a major concern – perhaps, however, creating cities that lack human interaction, whose public benches are never used except by the homeless to sleep on (and this, when they are not banned from doing so), and that are, simply put, uninteresting.

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<sup>2</sup> Duany, Andres, et al., *Suburban Nation: The Rise of Sprawl and the Decline of the American Dream* (New York: North Point Press, 2000) 59 - 60. (Note: Bold print added by author)

<sup>3</sup> Jacobs, Jane, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Vintage Books Edition, 1992) 55.

### 5-2-1: Controlled Traffic



fig. 5-4

Controlled Traffic – zones for cars going in either direction separated from pedestrians by a zone of trees<sup>4</sup>

One of the factors contributing to the physical control of movement in street space through the design of our physical environment is, perhaps, the birth of zoned traffic. Since the development of the automobile and their mass production in the 1920s with Ford's Model Ts, the need for efficiency and safety has led to the control of traffic and separate zones designated for automobile and pedestrian traffic. We can no longer see horses and horse-drawn carts in the same street space as those with *ashinaka zori* or those that are, even, barefoot.

### 5-2-2: Controlled Views

Controlling the views of the people in terms of the modern opera is said to have begun with Wagner's Festspielhaus.

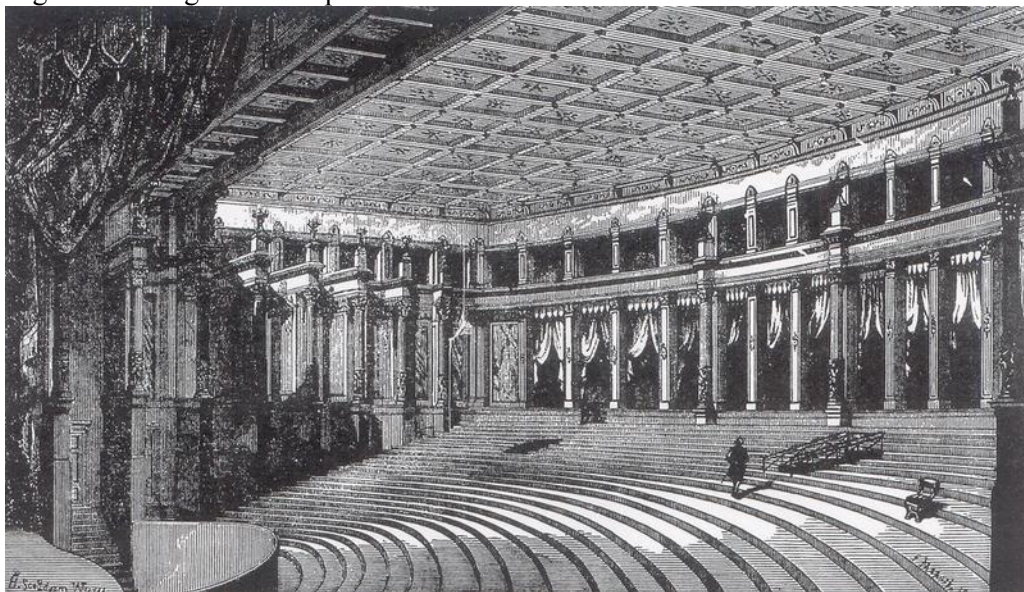


fig. 5-6

Auditorium of Wagner's Bayreuth Festspielhaus<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Photograph by author

Wagner’s Bayreuth Festspielhaus (1876) and the Opera House in Paris (1875) by Charles are known to be antitheses of each other. Opera houses were known for their terrible acoustics and for the fact that only the wealthy few were enabled to enjoy the view of the Opera. Opera-going was a social affair, mostly for the opportunity to look and be seen by one another.



fig. 5-7

Image of the opera house to see and be seen<sup>6</sup>

Built on such social considerations of theater, Garnier’s Paris Opera House was designed to symbolize the power and splendor of the Second Empire – not on any considerations of acoustic equality. On the other hand, Wagner’s Festspielhaus was built with a fan-shaped auditorium, which, unlike the multi-tier auditorium with its inherent distractions, was intended to concentrate all views on the stage. This is said to have been the beginnings of modern opera.

As can be seen from the above examples, modernization has brought about the control of physical body movement into one single direction (with the unidirectional, zoned movement of traffic control and the control of sightlines).

## 5-2: Social History of Control:

### Controlling “performative” body movements

We have often heard of parents, in our generation today, tell their children to “pay attention” or to not stare at somebody in a public space because that is impolite behavior. Or those who tell their children not to run because it is dangerous – playing outside has become a dangerous ordeal in society today.

<sup>5</sup> Schure, Edouard, *1875 engraving of the Bayreuth Festival Theatre*, 1885, *Revue wagnerienne*, vol. V, 8 June 1885, Online, [Wikipedia <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Zuschauerraum\\_des\\_Bayreuther\\_Festspielhauses\\_\(1870s\\_engraving\).png>](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Zuschauerraum_des_Bayreuther_Festspielhauses_(1870s_engraving).png) 14 January 2011.

<sup>6</sup> Performance by the Theatre Italien at the alle Ventadour, Paris. c. 1843, University of Bristol Theater Collection, [Buildings for Music: The Architect, the Musician, and the Listener from the Seventeenth Century to the Present Day](#), by Michael Forsyth (Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1985) 167.

Also, it is interesting to note just how many signs there are prohibiting actions, even in a single train station:



fig. 5-1  
Photo of all cross out “don’t do!” circle signs found at Hongo Sancho Station by author

As was noted in the historical survey in Chapter Four, as the process of modernization progressed and people were socially permitted to (as well as more physically able to, with bodies that were not bent out of shape through hard labor) use their bodies in the controlled, elite manners of the upper class, the whole of the population began to adopt this usage. The lowly use of the body, associated with the peasant, began to be a source of embarrassment.

In Japan, this was even more evident with her self-inflicted modernization during the Meiji Era. In order to avoid colonization and to modernize itself, Japan adopted a wide array of modern styles including even that of walking and movement. Although I will not go into much detail about the history of the evolution of physical education and movement here, studies have been undertaken by Koyama<sup>7</sup> and others that show the motions of the body, such as *Haseashi*, found in military training of the Meiji era to have been unique to the motions people were accustomed to at the time. According to Koga, the first mentions of physical education in the school were incorporated with a “physical arts (*Taijutsu* - 体術)” curriculum introduced with the *Gakusei* (education system) in the Meiji era (1872),<sup>8</sup> involving military training, bringing the military form of movement to the schools.

Any unusual or lowly, unruly, or boorish behavior was stripped out of the daily lives of the people through the use of social control. Orders as well as the resulting sense of

<sup>7</sup> Koyama, Takahide “「歩み」と「走り」の身体伝承 (“Ayumi” to “Hashiri” no Shintai Densho < the Transmission of Bodily Movements “Walking” and “Running”\*)” 『青森県の民族』 (Aomori-ken no Minzoku <Ethnology of Aomori Prefecture\*) (Aomori ken Minzoku no Kai, July 2007, 14 January 2011) < [http://www.h6.dion.ne.jp/~bokuden/theme\\_15.html](http://www.h6.dion.ne.jp/~bokuden/theme_15.html)>

\* Translation of titles by the author

<sup>8</sup> Koga, Toru “「体操」科導入の系譜—明治初期初等教育教科内容における米国の影響・日米比較研究の一環として— (“*Taisou*” ka donnyu no keifu – Meiji shoki shotou kyouiku kyouka naiyou ni okeru beikoku no eikyou/ nichibei hikaku kenkyu no ikkan to shite <Genealogy of the incorporation of “physical education” – the American influence on early Meiji education/ as part of the research on comparative research between Japan and the US\*) (note: 平成7年度文部省科学研究費補助金特別研究員奨励費による研究成果の一部である)

embarrassment at committing actions or movements of the body that deviate from that of the norm are no longer observable.

However, one area that it can still be seen is that of the performing arts. The low center of gravity and distorted depiction of the people in the scroll painting is uncannily similar to representations (as we know them) of clowns:

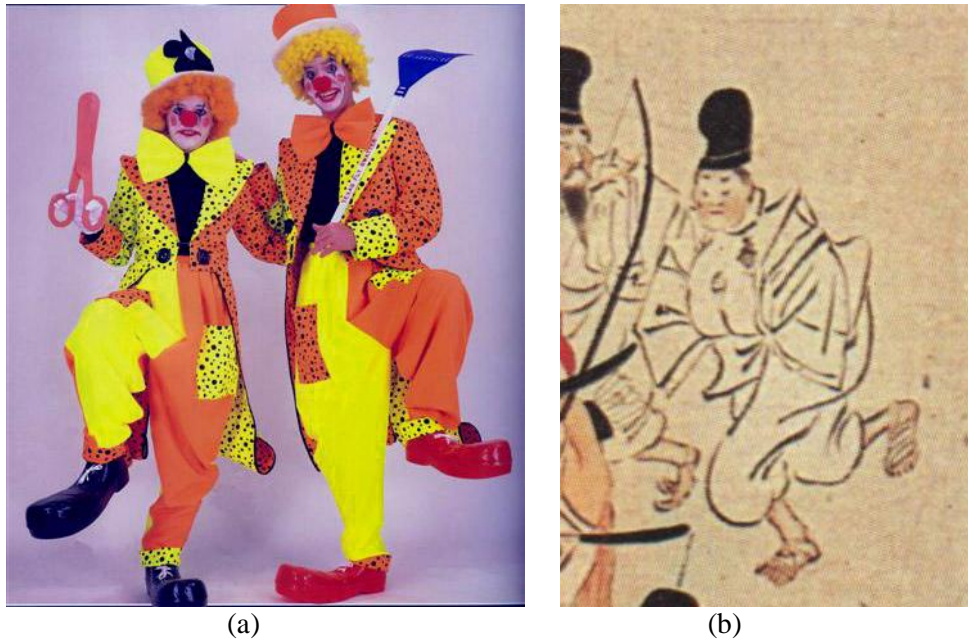


fig. 5-2

Uncanny resemblance of clown and picture scroll people

(a) Clown costume photo<sup>9</sup>

(b) From Street Two as studied (see Chp. 2) in the Picture Scroll of Annual Events<sup>10</sup>



fig. 5-3

Distorted balance of the performer

Bracelli, Giovanni Batista

*Bizzarie di varie figure* (1624)<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Circus Clowns, photograph, Online Image, *Costumes by Margie*, 21 January 2011.  
< [http://www.costumesbymargie.com/storybook-clowns-pirates/orange-yellow\\_clowns.jpg](http://www.costumesbymargie.com/storybook-clowns-pirates/orange-yellow_clowns.jpg)>

<sup>10</sup> *Picture Scroll of Annual Events*.

Komatsu, Shigemi, ed., “年中行事絵巻 (*Nenju Gyoji Emaki* <The Picture Scroll of Annual Events\*>),” *日本絵巻大成 8* (*Nihon Emaki Taisei Vol. 8* <Complete Book of Japanese Picture Scrolls Vol. 8\*>) (Tokyo: Chuo Korin Sha, 1977).

<sup>11</sup> Bracelli, Giovanni Batista, *Bizzarie di varie figure*, 1624, *道化 つまずきの現象学* (*Douke Tsumazuki no Genshougaku* <CLOWN Zur Phanomenologie des Stolperns>), by Constantin von Barloewen (Tokyo: Orion Press, 1981) Plate 65.

In fact, the Online Etymology Dictionary cites the origin of the word “clown” as follows:

**clown**

1560s, origin uncertain. Perhaps from Scand. dial., or akin to N.Fris. klonne "clumsy person," or, less likely, from L. colonus "colonist, farmer," hence, "rustic, boor," which apparently was the earliest Eng. sense.<sup>12</sup>

The clumsy movement of the peasant has become the movement of the “fool,” or the “performer” as the understanding of the word “clown” has changed over time.

Thus, it may be deduced that movements and use of the human body are, in current times, deemed as “performative” behavior, sanctioned to the role of the clown.

**5-4: Comparison**

The following is a comparison of the animated environment of the picture scroll to that of one of the most controlled streetscapes today – the Marunouchi Business District in Tokyo, at 8:00AM.



fig. 5-8

Photo of people at an intersection in the Marunouchi Business District<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> "clown." Online Etymology Dictionary. Douglas Harper, Historian. 21 Jan. 2011. <Dictionary.com <http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/clown>>.

<sup>13</sup> Photo by author taken 21 January 2011.



Here are some people crossing the street in this district, with movement lines drawn on them:

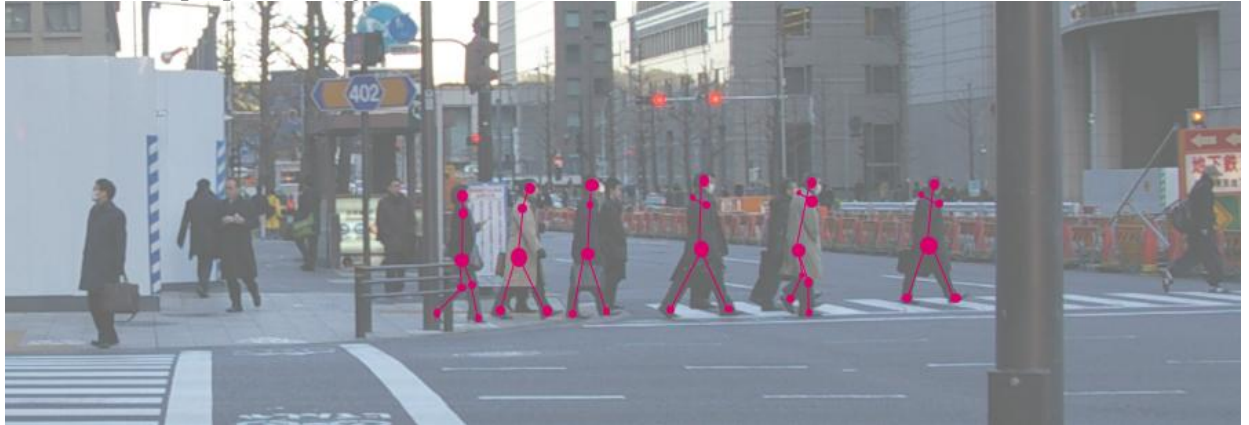


fig. 5-9

Movement mapping for people in Marunouchi Business District<sup>14</sup>

As compared to a similar stretch from the picture scroll:

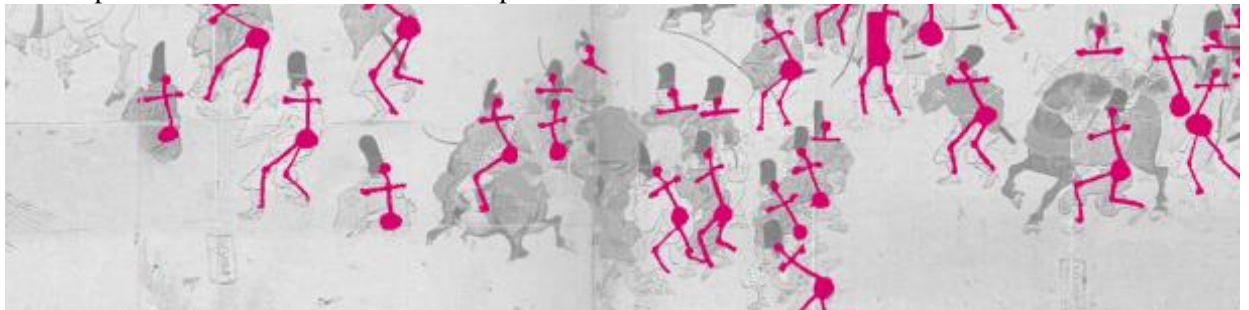


fig. 5-10

Comparison to movement mapping for people in scroll painting<sup>15</sup>

It is easy to notice the balance of each of the figures as well as the notable distance between people. While people walking across the business district exhibit a common distance between each individual, people walking the streets of the scroll are clustered together, closer to those they are associated with. More variety exists in movement, as well as the use of the senses, creating the interesting “atmospheric” space of the scroll as opposed to that of the unanimated business district.

A study of sightlines of people walking through the station shows a downward facing sightline for all people:

<sup>14</sup> Photo by author taken 21 January 2011.

<sup>15</sup> *Picture Scroll of Annual Events*.

Komatsu, Shigemi, ed., “年中行事絵巻 (*Nenju Gyoji Emaki* <The Picture Scroll of Annual Events\*>),” 日本絵巻大成 8 (*Nihon Emaki Taisei Vol. 8* <Complete Book of Japanese Picture Scrolls Vol. 8\*>) (Tokyo: Chuo Korin Sha, 1977).



fig. 5-11

Sightline mapping for people in Marunouchi<sup>16</sup>

In contrast to those of the scroll:

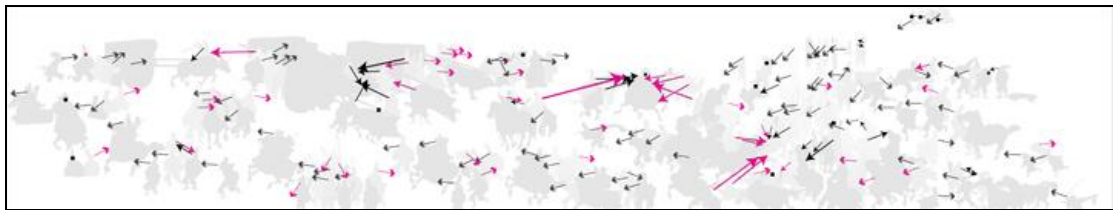


fig. 5-12

Sightline mapping from Streetscape One of analysis

Of course, this is a most notable characteristic of business districts, especially at morning rush hours. But it makes evident the fact that the animated body movements, the connection with others in the scene (on the street), and the varied direction of sightlines creates the “atmospheric” quality of the streetscapes in the scroll.

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<sup>16</sup> Photo by author taken 21 January 2011.

## Chapter Six Movement, Body Language, Communication, and Connection to the Environment

*“We have heard all too many times that the present age is one of images, where we have strayed away from the written word. However, when you walk through a city, what you will see are the signs of words describing businesses or shop names, or traffic signs that read “CAUTION” or “DANGER” or “Please be silent.” If you pull out old photographs from 20 to 30 years ago, you will quickly see that the arrival of such a deluge of signage in every nook and cranny of the city and the fastening of hyosatsu\* on every house is a quite recent phenomenon. In the past, you would go to see someone in another city by relying on the curve of the road or the shape of the buildings along it, the patterns on the noren,\*\* all the while asking the neighbors for directions along the way. Through such dialogue [with the city], one was able to taste the “air” of the city and smell the “smells” of it before arriving to his/her destination...”*

\*hyosatsu (表札) are the nameplates tacked on to the front door or gate of houses in Japan, with the names of the residents written on them.

\*\*noren (暖簾) are shop curtains (hung outside the entrance of shops)

So far, the discussion has been up to the movements of the human body. This chapter will now like to make the connection between the human body and use of its senses into the relationship of the body to the physical environment surrounding it. The term environment is an ambiguous one. I would like to define the environment here as everything surrounding the human body, exploring first the more “fluid” environment created through social contact and human relationships, then depicting how the movement of our bodies and use of our senses is needed to experience the “concrete” environment of the physical world with its nature, architecture, and cities.

As reflected in the quote above, moving the body through space is a form of understanding and forming a connection to it – of making space into place. At the same time, physical movements of the body, or body language, is one of the ways in which we can read the unsaid words of those we are communicating with. Much like phatic language in linguistics, “denoting speech used to express or create an atmosphere of shared feelings, goodwill, or sociability rather than to impart information,” body movements and gestures are used in communication language to create connection.

Nomura posits that the modernization of Japan deprived the human body not only of the movements of the human body, but of the body as a language for communication.<sup>1</sup> He cites the *jingi* as a form of gestural communication that we now only note among the yakuza, but that was once seen among all types of workers. The gestural communication system was further standardized by international standards – when, in 1879, General Grant stopped by

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<sup>1</sup> Nomura, Masaichi, *しぐさの世界 身体表現の民俗学 (Shigusa no Sekai Shintai Hyougen no Minzokugaku <The World of Gestures The Ethnological Study of Bodily Expression\*>)* (Tokyo: Nihon Housou Shuppan Kyokai, 1983) 16.

Japan and shook hands with an awkward feeling emperor.

Gestural communication can only exist within tribes with a common knowledge, as ethnographers and cultural anthropologists have noted. Silent language, or the language of culture, is now seen mostly in marginal occasions – when people cannot speak clearly for fear of being heard (ie. in gangs, etc. to suggest meaning rather than to state it explicitly.) In this way, the use of the body has stimulated social communication between the people within the environment.

In terms of the physical environment, body usage in space can be said to have thinned out due to the overabundance of signage.



fig. 6-1  
the streets of Shibuya<sup>2</sup>

One can say that the inundation of all the information makes us shut this information out as noise, as can be seen from the enormous number of people wearing headphones on the streets of the big city.

Furthermore, these signs make it easy for us to identify what is behind the doors of the store, without smelling the smells, hearing the noise, or peering within. Compare the modern day shotengai (fig. 6-2) with the old photograph of Benten street from the 1880s (fig. 6-3). A much greater use of the senses was required to navigate the street in olden times. By using the senses in "feeling out" space, one is able to establish a connection to the environment. Thus, the fact that a variety of physical movement and use of human senses existed and was exhibited in the public space of the street in the picture scroll can be identified as the factor that not only makes the "atmospheric" space of the streetscapes in the Picture Scroll, but makes them interesting as well.

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<sup>2</sup> Cross-cultural development and mental health- An International Studies Course (at Rutgers University), photograph from course description, Online Image, 20 January 2011. <<http://crab.rutgers.edu/~seduffy/Japan2007/shibuya.JPG>>



fig. 6-2  
Shotengai in Shinsaibashi<sup>3</sup>



fig. 4-3  
Image of Benten Street in Yokohama from the 1880s  
Photo by Kimbei Kusakabe<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Miyake, Toshihisa, *Shotengai*, photograph, 30 Jan. 2009, Online Image, *Flickr*. 21 Jan. 2011. <<http://www.flickr.com/photos/33795462@N04/3327459882/>>

<sup>4</sup> Kusakabe, Kimbei, *Benten Street in Old Yokohama, Japan*, 1880s, photograph, Online, *Flickr* set by Okinawa Soba, 21 Jan. 2011. <<http://www.flickr.com/photos/24443965@N08/3930505722/in/photostream/>>

## Chapter Seven Conclusion

It can be concluded that the factors creating the interesting “atmospheric” space – one intuitively found to have been diluted in the *Daidoge* festivals of today – could be found in the sensory quality of the streetscapes in the Picture Scroll of Annual Events.

In Chapter Three, six characteristics were found to animate the streetscapes, as follows:

1. The lack of perspective  
→ The picture itself makes use of the visual motion of moving one’s eyes across the horizontally extended painting, as well as the body motion of rolling out the scroll in order to see it in chronological order.
2. The secondary characteristic of the scenery/ built environment  
→ It is human activity that animates the picture screen.
3. The low center of gravity and active positions of the figures  
→ The people within the screen all display active body movements
4. The constant presence of onlookers on the street  
→ Sight was an important aspect of the street.
5. The decentralized sightlines heading in every which direction all across the street  
→ Perception and attention headed everywhere – most likely some sound, smell, or something that passed by (all visual traits) made people’s heads turn around.
6. The clustering of people into groups in the streetscape  
→ Instead of forming either one large mass (as in the crossing of intersections today) or the even spacing of individual people, the people on the streets form clusters, showing the fact that they related to one another’s presence.

The variety and animation of people’s movements as well as the frequency of movement in the picture illustrates this very active component of the environment, based on the sensory perceptions of space.

Chapter Four involved a study of movement during the time of the picture scroll (the Medieval times of Japan, as studied by various scholars of cultural anthropology using such pictures) revealing that bodily movements were, indeed, very different in the past. Sitting or squatting in the street was a common ordeal, and standing involved one’s center of gravity positioned towards the back. Walking in the *Ashinaka zouri* involved standing on one’s toes and leaning forward to walk, making movement easier in the kimonos that were worn – in fact, movement was so easy that it was, instead, difficult to stop motion in them.

The variation in movements were most often found in the lower, working classes, whose physical bodies were actually deformed due to the hard labor they endured. Physical movement has been highly connected to class differences – with class determining what kinds

of movements were permissible for any particular class, especially in public space (for instance, the upper class samurai were not allowed to run in public space).

While it is difficult to say that variation in movement has decreased today (as there still are variations in the physical movement of walking, for instance, making us identifiable to one another from a distance) perhaps they have become smaller in scale of movement. For instance, Nomura notes that a movement newly adopted today is that of crossing one's arms when thinking – a movement that is now often seen, but that could not be found from the picture scrolls, upon examination of the *Ebiki*.<sup>1</sup> This, as well as walking traits both utilize less width of space in relation to the human body.

Chapter Five illustrated the history of the growth of controls – social and physical – changing our perception of our physical environment. With the advent of a modernized society and the concept of equality, in terms of class as well as, for instance, wider access to the automobile or the visual and auditory quality of a theater performance (originating in Wagner's Festspielhaus) came the development of conformed movement – it became more acceptable to behave in similar manners, associating movements that were once designated to the peasant to that of the fool. Japan's efforts towards modernization also involved the incorporation of a more Western lifestyle, marginalizing their own culture as that of the fool, and including the adoption of behavior even to the forms of standing and walking.

Especially in those places where the most social control and formal conditioning is applied, it is rare to see anyone performing activities deviant to that of the norm – and most public places today are controlled.

Furthermore, this lack of physical movement is exacerbated by the inundation of information on signs and billboards, simplifying our task for “feeling out” space physically ourselves. The inundation of information – auditory, olfactory, tactile, and perhaps even gustatory, as well as visual – now fills us with a need to disconnect ourselves from our noise-filled environment. People, especially those of the bustling parts of Tokyo, walk with headphones in their ears and eyes pointed in a single direction facing straight ahead. What difference does it make whether they are in a Tokyo business district or anywhere else in the world? Furthermore, just as body movements and gestures are important components of social language and communication, the thinning out of permissible actions in public space wrought by the shift into modern times creates a thinning out of public life and social connection to the street.

**In other words, people's behavior in public space has become limited in physical movement, causing a disconnection to the environment around them as well as to social ties.**

Creating a “dialogue” or connection back with the city's public spaces of the street – the lifeblood of “atmospheric” space – requires physical movement and the recall of the use of sensory organs into the perception of our environment.

While values that have been instilled in us by society today cannot be un-learned, nor would it be practical or advisable to us to return to a feudal and strictly class-separated society (where

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<sup>1</sup> Nomura, Masaichi, 身ぶりとしぐさの人類学 身体がしめす社会の記憶 (*Miburi to shigusa no jinruigaku shintai ga shimesu shakai no kiwoku* <The Anthropology of Body Movements and Gestures The memory of society as can be seen through the body\*> (Tokyo: Chuokoron-Shinsha Inc., 1996) 26.

\*English translation of title by the author

the bulk of us would be free to make peasantry movements), what this thesis would like to do is to demonstrate the interesting atmosphere created by animated movements in space and the use of sensory factors. Environmental design should thus be about design that would somehow be able to recall these sensory factors in space, both through the design of its concrete environment as well as through the design of its “atmospheric” spaces.

### **Further Research**

For further research, I hope to sharpen the field of research (as this was a more general all-encompassing approach to the study of the culture of human movement in relation to performance) and study more performative movements in the field of the theater arts, and their relationship to environmental design. Body movements that once belonged to the peasant class are now more or less obsolete – displayed only either to those who belong to a class of social outcasts (and this class even becoming politically incorrect to speak of without wondering if due fairness and equality is given in the process) or to that of the performing arts.

Studying kinesics, or the “science of the human body motion behavior based on analogical analysis of gesture, posture, grouping, and constellations of groupings, all of which are presumed to contain understandable communications,<sup>2</sup>” in the performing arts, and drawing a connection between body movements used in various theater performances in relation to historic body movements, relating such movements back into the connection to the environment will be the next step in the research on designing “atmospheric” space.

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<sup>2</sup> Schechner, Richard with Cynthia Mintz, “Kinesics and Performance,” The Drama Review: TDR Sept. 1973: 103.



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\*All title translations to English were made by the author.