

- 95-96; Franz Boll, "Vom Weltbild der griechischen Astrologen," KSSA (1910, 1950), 29-41.
57. Baldwin E. Smith, *Architectural Symbolism of Imperial Rome and the Middle Ages* (1956), 125.
58. Otto Benndorf, "Antike Baumodelle," ÖAI, V (1902), 175-

195; on the magic significance of trophy performances cf. Gilbert Charles Picard, *Les Trophées Romains. Contribution à l'Histoire de la Religion et de l'Art Triomphal de Rome* (1957), 27-33.

The city and inner space

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Layers of space

In sharp contrast with the uptown Yamanote section of Tokyo, the downtown Nihonbashi district where my office is located has been a mercantile center ever since the capital was called Edo. The flat, low-lying area extending from Nihonbashi to the Ningyo-cho and Akashi-cho neighborhoods lies on land that was reclaimed piecemeal from the sea. This part of the city has been razed by fire many times. Because of these circumstances, the neighborhoods are now divided by straight roads into square blocks. The main streets, lined with medium-sized and high-rise buildings, now look much like uptown Tokyo. However, as soon as one leaves the main street one is confronted by low-roofed houses, clustered on both sides of narrow roads tucked in the valleys between the taller buildings.

Narrow lanes separate house from house, and in summer the overhanging balconies of the second story are often screened with reed or bamboo blinds. Though nothing of the dim interiors can be seen from the street, the faintest hint of movement within makes one aware of the "layers of space" peculiar to Japan. Thus even in downtown, less favored than the uptown areas in topographical variety, one can discover an amazing diversity of forms of space even today. This typically Japanese phenomenon has traditionally been expressed in terms of *omote* (front) and *ura* (back).

Placing phenomena pertaining to urban space and living patterns in a hierarchical relationship of dominant and subordinate elements, as in such terms as *omote-dori* (main street) and *uradori* (back street), *omote-mon* (front gate) and *ura-mon* (back gate), has long been considered characteristic of Japan, although of course it is not confined to Japan. But this seems to me insuffi-

cient to explain the essence of space, a phenomenon deeply rooted in the collective unconscious of most local communities.

The concept of *omote* and *ura* cannot fully explain the manifold layers of space. The founding of a city or smaller community always involves the participation of either collective or individual will. Norms molded by the community over a long period of time are at work. Of course such norms may be abolished, to give way to different standards in the face of new external conditions. However, as the history of most cities and other communities the world over shows, norms peculiar to specific areas are not so very numerous. In fact, the basic patterns of community structure are far smaller in number than the varied types of artifacts built thereon. These patterns also change very little in comparison to such external conditions as traffic, social institutions, and life styles, which undergo constant transformation.

The cities in which we dwell today are being forced to undergo greater changes than ever before. Bewildered by this kaleidoscopic world, we often find ourselves trying to cope by piecemeal, symptomatic treatment. Needless to say, we must first understand what is unchangeable or unamenable to change in order to reach a true understanding of what we must or can change.

Having traveled to many cities abroad, I am inclined to believe that the multilayered nature of space is one of the few phenomena observable only in Japan. It seems to me that the Japanese have always postulated what is called *oku* (the innermost area) as lying at the core of this multilayered, dense spatial composition, which may well be likened to the layers of an onion, and, aided by the concept of *oku*, have been able to augment even a limited space by adding depth to it.

In the formation of urban space, certain stable concepts that have been screened and committed to memory by the collective unconscious of the community work automatically. *Oku*, a spatial concept peculiar to Japan, is a good example, and I believe an understanding of this way of perceiving space is important in formulating ideas of what future cities should be like.

I would like to point out that the existence of a centripetal *okusei*, or inwardness, has always been basic to space formation in Japan, from village to metropolis. As I shall discuss later, the qualities of such centripetal inwardness in Japan will become clearer through understanding the concept of the centrifugal center found in other cultures. First, however, I must say a little more about *oku*, or inner space, as seen in our surroundings.

From such Japanese classics as the 8th century *Manyōshū* poetry anthology, the 10th century *Ise monogatari* (Tales of Ise), and the 14th century *Tsurezuregusa* (Essays in Idleness) to the kabuki plays of the Edo period, the work *oku*, expressing a characteristically Japanese sense of place, has been part of the vocabulary of daily life. It is interesting to note that the use of the term invariably involves the concept of *okuyuki*, or spatial depth, signifying relative distance or the sense of distance within a given space.

The Japanese, whose society has long been characterized by a fairly high population density compared with many other societies, must have been impressed with space as something finite and dense, and in consequence early developed a delicate sensibility with which to distinguish relative distance within a limited space. Only thus can the concept of *okuyuki* be satisfactorily explained. Even in a distance of only 100 meters — or 10 meters — an innermost portion, relatively speaking, is recognized, and the route leading to it is specified. In this context alone is it possible to accept the idea of multilayered space, and the Japanese effort to structure space in this way — that is, the Japanese sense of space, or in inflated terms, their sense of cosmos.

Oku also has a number of abstract connotations, including profundity and unfathomability, so that the word is used to describe not only physical but psychological depth. It is interesting to note how often the Japanese use the word in adjectival form. Such usages include *oku-dokoro* (inner place), *oku-guchi* (inner entrance), *oku-sha* (inner shrine), *oku-yama* (mountain recesses), and *oku-zashiki* (inner room), all relevant to the notion of physical space; *oku-gi* (secret or hidden principles) and *oku-den* (secret or hidden mysteries of an art), referring to things invisible but present in hidden form. Evident in the use of all these words is the social character of a people that positively affirms the existence of what is hidden, invisible or secret.

The painter and essayist Eiji Usami's *Meiro no oku* (The Inner Labyrinth) is one of the earliest essays on the discovery of the existence of *oku* in the sense of inwardness in Japanese space. Usami notes this inwardness in the mazelike effect produced by the winding corridors of the Japanese-style inns found in tourist resorts and spas, buildings much more spacious inside than their unpretentious exteriors suggest (fig. 1).

Usami speculates that this complex division of space not only results from the gradual accretion of extra rooms and extensions or from architectural considerations necessitated by topography and landscape but also conforms to and reflects a Japanese propensity for labyrinths. He writes:

What causes the feeling of weariness and isolation — the exaggerated sense of being far from home — that comes over us when we arrive at an inn and are shown to our room by a maid? Is it a sort of animal sense — the complete submission

to the natural continuity of time we feel arising in us as we follow the long corridor, searching with our eyes for landmarks with every twist and turn — that brings our souls to (putting it somewhat pompously) the *état d'âme* of our remote ancestors? Or is it that the changed aspect presented by every turn and the slight irregularity in the rhythm of our footfalls in going up and down stairs gradually lure our minds from reality toward illusion? Does not this sense of distance signify how far we have strayed into the world of fantasy?

Inner space in dwellings

Examining inner space in traditional Japanese dwellings after noting its existence in the recesses of mountains and woods, in Japanese-style gardens as artificial and dwarfed transfigurations of nature, and in the narrow back streets of cities enables us to perceive that *oku* has here been given a still more clearly defined location and status.

Several years back, I had the opportunity to call on an elderly woman at her modest *machiya* (merchant's town house) in Akashi-cho in the Tsukiji district of downtown Tokyo. Stepping into the house through a latticed door somewhat over a meter wide, I found not in front of me but to one side a raised doorsill leading into a small, 4.5-mat (about 7 sq.m) room behind shoji panels. In the center of the room was a *kotatsu*, a sunken firepit over which was placed a quilt-covered table. Light entered from the road, which ran parallel to the vestibule through which I had entered. This section of the house was used for receiving guests. Behind this room was a second 4.5-mat room combining the functions of kitchen and bedroom. I was amazed at the complexity of orientation and density of space manifest in a total floor space of less than 8 *tsubo* (about 26 sq. m). The presence of a household Shinto shrine, a family Buddhist altar, and a *tokonoma* (alcove) further accentuated this complexity and strengthened the feeling of inwardness and depth.

I was struck by how the orientation of space peculiar to the Japanese-style inn as described by Usami, which leads one ever inward (unlike the Western hotel, which seems to stretch outward from the center) still survives today in modest family dwellings as well. Not only does it exist as a spatial concept; it also permeates more abstract social structures by way of the collective unconscious, thus universalizing the concept of inner space.

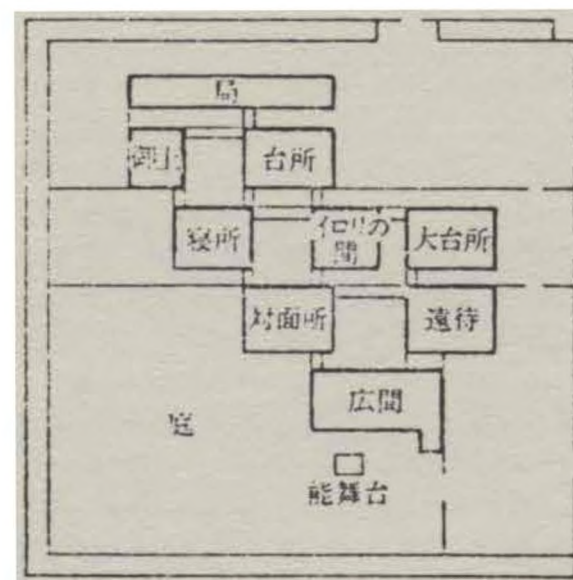


Fig. 1.

Why has what might be called a "philosophy of inner space" been cultivated since ancient times in the Japanese cultural tradition?

The prototype of inner space

The Pacific coast of the Japanese archipelago, especially the area stretching from the Kanto plain of central Honshu down to Kyushu, which has been settled since very early times, is favored with a relatively mild climate and abundant water along with variegated scenery and thick stands of evergreen trees. It is popularly believed that these natural features nurtured the typically Japanese outlook on nature. This, of course, refers only to the Yayoi period (c. 200 BC-c.AD 250) and later, when rice cultivation became widespread. Before that our ancestors, who lived mainly by hunting and gathering, would have had little time for appreciating the beauties of the natural surroundings of their temporary mountain abodes.

However, the spread of rice cultivation and the settling of people in the plains in the Yayoi period gave rise to a noteworthy phenomenon. This was the distinction made between lowland villages, where people lived, and mountains, which became special areas, a realm outside ordinary people's sphere of activity. Thus set apart, the mountains gradually became loftier and more sacred, until eventually they became taboo areas that appear to have been made objects of worship in the naturalistic faith that took shape. This is how Shinto, an amalgam of animism and shamanism, and the prototype of Japan's folk religion, was born.

As Yuichiro Kojiro has pointed out in his studies of the Japanese community, the prototype of the Japanese rural community is the farming village, comprising rice paddies and a cluster of houses against a mountain backdrop. I consider this highly significant for it graphically suggests the presence of inner space. The typical village has an elongated form stretching along a highway skirting the mountains and overlooking the paddy fields, while at a right angle to this axis, linking the village to the village shrine located at the foot of the mountain, and then to the inner shrine (*oku-sha*) in the mountain recesses, is the religious axis. It can be said that here for the first time inner space is given a religious dimension, in the sense of indicating the direction to the seat of deity. This indeed is the prototype for the pattern seen throughout the country, including Tokyo: a shrine building set back a little from the road, with a grove in the rear (fig. 2).

Locating the inner shrine in an unfrequented mountain fastness establishes the existence (or the idea) of important things being in unseen places; and for this reason the only access provided is a winding mountain trail. This is in sharp contrast to the European pattern in which the church, the center and symbol of faith, is deliberately located so as to be visible. Assuming this line of thought to be correct, we must conclude that the concept of *oku* has existed in Japan's local communities from the remotest times. Though this inner space represented a world apart and an object of faith, it was never something aloof from the concerns of everyday life.

With the 7th century people began to regard mountain depths (*oku-yama*) as an object of aesthetic appreciation. Many Japanese mountains present a gentle aspect, espe-

cially when viewed from a distance. Could the idea of incorporating mountains and rivers in gardens have suggested itself in a country other than one with this kind of scenery? One would never think of incorporating within one's own spatial domain miniature reproductions of the rugged, treeless peaks of India and Spain, or the grotesque, blackened form of 4,100-meter Mount Kinabalu, with its flattened top, in the north of Borneo — an island in the monsoon area like Japan but in the tropical zone.

Of course the Japanese idea of *oku* is not associated with mountains alone. The word itself is said to derive from *oki*, meaning offshore waters. Shinobu Origuchi, a scholar of Japanese literature, theorizes that the gods were considered to have come from across the sea. Considering *oku* to imply the seat of deity, it is logical to conclude that both mountains and sea have their own *oku*, their own inner depths. Nonetheless, if deity had been considered monotheistic in nature, the idea of *oku* would not have become so pervasive an aspect of Japanese life.

By discovering the significance of woods and land in the light of Japan's ethnological history we can further extend our awareness of the pervasiveness of the idea of inner space. Many of the mountains revered as divine are covered with beautiful woods or rise in smooth, rounded shapes. Even wooded hills in the plains, regardless of size, receive special treatment from the local villagers. The ancient burial mounds to be seen even now in the vicinity of Tokyo were apparently modeled after natural mountains. And often a small shrine is hidden in the trees that cover a mound. Probably such mounds were among Japan's first artificially contrived symbols. It is interesting to note that these "symbols of power," which the philosopher Takeshi Umehara calls the first monumental structures to be built in Japan, had already assumed a pseudo-natural appearance. As illustrated by the small shrine often erected in a raised portion of a



Fig. 2.

garden to house the god of the harvest and other household deities, elevated land was considered the seat of the god of the land, while the foliage represented the depths of nature fit for the god's seclusion. Such places symbolize the subtle nuances created by nature — slight changes in the lay of the land, the presence of woods, the view, humidity.

Literary critic Takeo Okuno, in his *Bungaku ni okeru gen fukei* (The Primary Landscape in Japanese Literature), refers repeatedly to the fact that until the early Showa era strong traces of folk beliefs remained in the small shrines, stone Buddhist images, and stone monuments to be found here and there in the open fields in Tokyo's uptown Yamanote area where he played as a boy. Okuno writes that after folk beliefs in the god of the field had gradually been absorbed into larger community faiths of guardian and tutelary gods, the open fields still retained certain areas imbued with a historical, commonly shared fantasy that took the form of magical elements. The author's observation illustrates the fact that not only did the Japanese city bear the aspect of an enormous village until quite recently (and probably still does today), but also it has always included an intrinsically rural quality. Okuno concludes that the open fields in the city were sacred taboo areas, not just undeveloped vacant lots. And needless to say, such areas always included a latent quality of inner space.

In contrast with the apparently cheerful aspect of the Pacific coast, Japan's folk history with regard to the land and soil has a dark side. The interest of the Japanese in the subtlest contours of the land is grounded in a strong and sometimes even abnormal attachment to the land. Popular worship of the land, with its myriad stories and legends, eventually took root in the collective unconscious. Though much of the story content has gradually been lost, the attachment to the land remains very much alive within the completely alien socioeconomic institutions of modern times. Thus, any space that functions as a private sanctuary is given a ritualized position as inner space, or *oku*. In no other country have the people historically been so attached to the land while denying the permanence of edifices. In Japan, even urban space is represented by land, not by structures.

Inner space versus center

A visitor to old European towns, especially relatively small ones, will notice that the most important and impressive buildings, such as churches and city halls, tend to be concentrated in the center of the town. Unlike the castles that stood above Japanese castle towns, centrally located buildings do not isolate themselves from the other components of the town but are integrated into the daily life of the citizenry while at the same time firmly asserting their superiority. Many churches have soaring spires that can be seen easily from any part of the town. Nowadays most people regard the church spire as nothing more than a landmark, but in former times it meant a great deal more than this.

In ancient times the city was a domain or cosmos of order set apart from its chaotic surroundings. And church spires, as sacred cosmic pillars that assured communication with heaven, constituted both the center and the symbol of the city. Before cities were built, trees, moun-

tains, and ladders were sometimes used to indicate the cosmic pillar. In the Islamic tradition the Kaaba of Mecca represents the supreme place on earth; its Christian equivalent is the hill of Golgotha, where Christ was crucified. The introduction of cathedrals and spires made the city itself come to be regarded as the center of the world.

What is most important here is that the existence of the center is premised on a uniform space surrounding it. I do not deny the existence of inner space in European urban space. However, the moment the idea of the uniformity of space is introduced, the concept of inner space in the Japanese sense becomes untenable and gives way to the more universal and easily comprehended concept of the center. The center, unlike inner space, must be open and visible, like the hilltop cathedral spire that seems to strive to reach ever closer to heaven. This concept of the center is not limited to the Western half of the world, which was eventually dominated by desert-born religions, but is also seen throughout China and South Asia.

A highly intriguing question in this connection is when and how our ancestors diverged from other peoples, despite their common adoration of mountains and identification of trees with sacred entities, to follow a path essentially different. For one thing, our ancestors did not recognize mountains as absolute entities. They revered the deep mountain recesses from a distance, while also according due status to the nearby mountains and hills in the framework of the mountain-village relationship. They usually built towns and villages in valleys tucked between mountains or sometimes in basins ringed by mountains, probably believing that the surrounding mountains were themselves guardian gods.

This attitude clearly reveals the distinctive nature of the concept of seeking the point of origin in the depths of the mountains, not the summit. In the West, the idea of the center (the mountaintop) was recapitulated in the form of cities, churches, and spires, whereas in Japan mountains were recapitulated, in tumuli and gardens, in such a manner as to reflect inner space, not a central pivot.

It may well be argued that the very nature of the ever-green forest zone in which they lived compelled the Japanese to avoid building settlements in the thickly wooded mountains, or that people naturally chose to inhabit river valleys, where they would have easy access to water. But these historical facts, I believe, should be interpreted not from a utilitarian point of view but as factors augmenting and amplifying the development of a people's basic concept of space.

The center indicates the location of the cosmic pivot, thus emphasizing vertically and directly linking heaven and earth. In the "tower culture" born of such a concept, churches enhanced their dignity and grandeur by proudly displaying their verticality. Standing in front of a Gothic cathedral one feels overwhelmed by the scale of its upward thrust, seeming to defy human measurement. Stepping into the dim interior of the church through the low, heavy door, one finds oneself surrounded by a space that soars upward to form a vault high above: the downward-slanting rays of sunlight filtered through the tall stained-glass windows make one feel an infinite verticality. Here is a drama thoroughly calculated to appeal to body and

soul alike. Renaissance churches, partly due to the Hellenistic influence, are more human in scale. Nonetheless, they too were laid out according to the principles of central and vertical orientation. The dancing angels painted in fresco below the dome in the center of a Renaissance church, with the aid of the dim light, produce the illusion of a spiral ascent.

Last year I visited the ancient city of Urbino in central Italy. As I was approaching the road leading to the heart of the city, the friend who was driving me suddenly pointed and told me to look. On a hilltop across a valley I saw a church directly lit by the rays of the setting sun; its entrance arch was bathed in gold, creating a striking contrast with its white walls, as if even the orientation of the building had been incorporated as an element in the drama of symbolism.

Inner space emphasizes horizontality and seeks its symbolic power in the hidden depths. Therefore the Shinto shrine as the ultimate destination is an object to be seen, not a space to be entered. The ridgepole of the shrine symbolizes the sacred tree, while the open porch running around the building, which is as far as visitors progress, probably indicates the fence surrounding the sacred pillar hidden within the shrine. The shrine itself stands silently, shrouded by trees. Shrines deep in the mountains often disappear in a veil of mist, drawing pilgrims into a world of illusion and impermanence.

Japanese architecture's lack of center-orientation and verticality is especially evident in the way pagodas are treated. The cultures of the world can be divided into two groups: those with towers and those without. Japan probably belongs to the towerless cultural sphere. It was in the mid-6th century that the idea of constructing towers in the form of pagodas, symbols of Buddhist civilization, was introduced to Japan from China.

Umehara reports on a strange tower he saw in Sian (the ancient capital of Ch'ang-an) during a visit to China some years ago. He comments that this red-brick tower, built by the Buddhist priest and traveler Hsuan-tsang (602-64), must have seemed awesomely high to the people of that time as it loomed against the blue sky. As his account indicates, though both China and Japan are in Asia, the Chinese spatial civilization, featuring the concepts of centrality and vertical orientation, is relatively close to those of western Asia and Europe and essentially different from that of Japan.

When the pagoda was introduced to Japan, it lost its upward impulsion and became just one element among many employed to strike a balance in the overall temple layout. At Horyuji temple near Nara, for example, the pagoda, the main hall, and the covered galleries, as well as the surrounding trees, together make up a harmonious whole. Umehara aptly likens the Horyuji pagoda to a standing human being: it is no more than a vertical accent helping to provide a balance in the Japanese sense.

Inner space is the mental touchstone for those who observe or produce it. In this sense inner space can be called the invisible center, or more precisely, a convenience devised to take the place of the center in a spiritual climate that denies any absolute, including the notion of center. The center in this sense can be freely set by anyone concerned and need not be made explicit to others. The characteristic Japanese pattern of a multilayered structuring of space should also be seen as having been

gradually fostered by this kind of perception.

The innermost space as the ultimate destination often lacks a climactic quality. Instead it is in the process of reaching the goal that drama and ritual are sought, because horizontal depth, not height, is involved. The approaches to many temples and shrines turn and twist, with trees and slight undulations in the ground now revealing, now concealing the goal. This is the structuring of a spatial experience that includes the dimension of time. Even the *torii* gate at the entrance to a Shinto shrine is an element in this ritual of attainment.

Nowadays most shrines and temples in big cities have sold their lands and lost every trace of their *sando* — the road leading to the main edifice — and the groves that should stand in the rear; only the buildings themselves remain, nakedly exposed, their inner recesses laid bare. Does inner space inevitably become empty when exposed? Is it scattered and dispersed? Japanese culture has no historical experience of ruins in the true sense of the word. Any edifice, if destroyed, could be restored, sometimes with great ease, and therefore called for no architectural permanence.

The sight of an exposed temple reminds me of something I saw in the American city of Saint Louis many years ago. The city developed as a trading post on the west bank of the Mississippi River around the 18th century. By the mid-20th century the heart of the city had become a slum inhabited mostly by blacks. When I was there an extensive slum clearance project covering dozens of blocks was in progress as part of an ambitious city redevelopment plan. A project of this kind usually entails moving the church buildings, as well as the residents, out of the affected district, though the Catholic churches, unlike Protestant churches, tend to opt to stay on. In that desolation of razed lots a single Catholic church remained standing, completely isolated but in full possession of a dignity that had nothing to do with the building's size or design. I still remember vividly the robustness of that church, which gave an impression so different from that of a naked Japanese shrine.

Envelopment versus demarcation

The difference between inner space and the center will be made still clearer by a comparison of differences in concepts of place and of the formation of territory. The film *Le Grand Jeu*, shown in Japan many years ago, depicts life in an oasis set in the bleak, empty desert beneath the scorching sun. The oasis with its meager greenery and scant water, its fleeting freedom and romance, is a contemporary desert paradise girded by walls and gates of sun-baked brick and stone.

As previously discussed, sanctification of a place, determination of its center as the cosmic pivot, and establishment of a cosmos within chaos provide the basic pattern of cities in much of the world. The deserts in which nomads wandered, and the Aegean Sea where the ancient Greeks sailed, were always filled with uncertainties and dangers. To make the city a haven and a paradise, it was necessary not only to determine its center but also to demarcate clearly its surrounding territory.

The ancient Greeks when founding a city performed a ceremony fixing the city limits; to them the city walls

themselves had a sacred significance. It is important to realize that in a civilization characterized by city formation premised on the existence of a center, the building of encompassing walls was a necessary act. It is also noteworthy that the formation of patterns for subdividing the territory within a city was the product of human will grounded in the spirit of rationality.

We can clearly see the difference in pattern between the grid-type city of Miletus, believed to have been built by Hippodamus in the 5th century BC, and the cluster-type mountain city of medieval Europe. The former reveals itself by its very form to be a city-state inhabited by free citizens, whereas the layout of the latter embodies the hierarchical order of an ecclesiastical, class-oriented society. Nonetheless, each had a clearly fixed center and boundaries, and was established as a finite entity in a limitless expanse of space. Furthermore, the demarcated territory was well organized from an overall viewpoint. Thus the two types of cities, despite differences in sociopolitical background and physical layout, correspond in basic composition.

In contrast, city planning in Japan was based on an entirely different approach. As already mentioned, the Japanese, in undertaking the building of a city, invariably recognized the finite nature of the land. Thus many cities were founded in basins ringed by mountains despite their geographical disadvantages for defense. For the same reason, it was exceedingly rare for a Japanese city to have artificial boundaries like so many cities in other parts of the world. In Japan, instead of a fixed center, the basis of territorial integrity was sought in something indeterminate, and the operational principle of territorial formation was to envelop or enfold this basic "something" (*oku*). In contrast to the active act of demarcation, the process of being enveloped implies passivity, and at the same time a flexibility that allows free adaptation and transformation in accordance with the form of what is to be enveloped.

Several years ago I had the opportunity to see an exhibition of traditional Japanese containers and wrapping materials held in New York under the auspices of the Japan Society. I was struck anew by the profusion of traditional wrapping materials and methods. There were containers of cloth, straw, paper, leaves, and more. I know of no other civilization that has built up a system of wrapping that is both so beautiful and so functional in terms of the nature and shape of the object to be wrapped.

It seems to me that the principle of "inner space-envelopment" in the formation of territory is a major Japanese concept, corresponding to that of "center-demarcation" in other cultures. It is true that a grid pattern was generally used in laying out flatland portions of cities during the Edo period. But the Japanese version lacked the internal consistency of a grid like that of Miletus, which maintained a single system of coordinates even though the city was divided into two parts by an arm of the sea. Japanese cities, on the contrary, were highly susceptible to the influence of topographical changes, so that the geometrical conformity of the grid was easily distorted.

Fujimi-cho, a district so named for its fine view of Mount Fuji, is a case in point. Because the district's roads, forming a grid, are purposely oriented in relation

to Mount Fuji, they are not aligned with the roads of the adjacent districts. In other words, instead of a portion of the theoretically infinite expanse of the grid being encapsulated, a certain area with a common characteristic — in this case, a view of Mount Fuji — is identified as a territory by "wrapping it up" as a separate grid of several blocks.

It goes without saying that in Edo (Tokyo), where city layout fluctuated a great deal even in the flat downtown districts, the formation of territory by enfolding or enveloping it was still more pronounced in the hilly uptown Yamanote districts. Here the roads running along hill-tops and through valleys provided the basic lines of territorial delineation, clearly serving to envelop the area following its natural contours. The narrow lanes leading from these outer "border" roads to the interior of the enclosed territory did not intersect. In this way disturbance of the integrity of the territory as a whole was held to a minimum, and the "inner space" of such areas has remained intact to date (fig. 3).

The winding roads of medieval European castle towns, though seemingly analogous, obey an essentially different set of structural imperatives. The contrasting concepts of "center-demarcation" and "inner space-envelopment" show the basic difference in the way space is organized in the two types of civilizations.

Using the idea of inner space as a clue, we have now finally approached the core of the quality of "place" in two types of civilizations. As shown by the schema for territorial formation that comprises space (desert, wilderness, ocean), the cosmic pivot, the center, the enclosure, and demarcation, people belonging to center-oriented civilizations are imbued with the philosophy that only what is *made* can exist absolutely, space itself being inherently formless and infinite.

I have already pointed out that Japanese cities are like villages in the sense of incorporating rural institutions or scenes. I believe that Japanese cities have grown out of the soil instead of being made by carving a measure of abstract space and architecture out of an infinite expanse of space as is the case with cities in center-oriented civilizations.

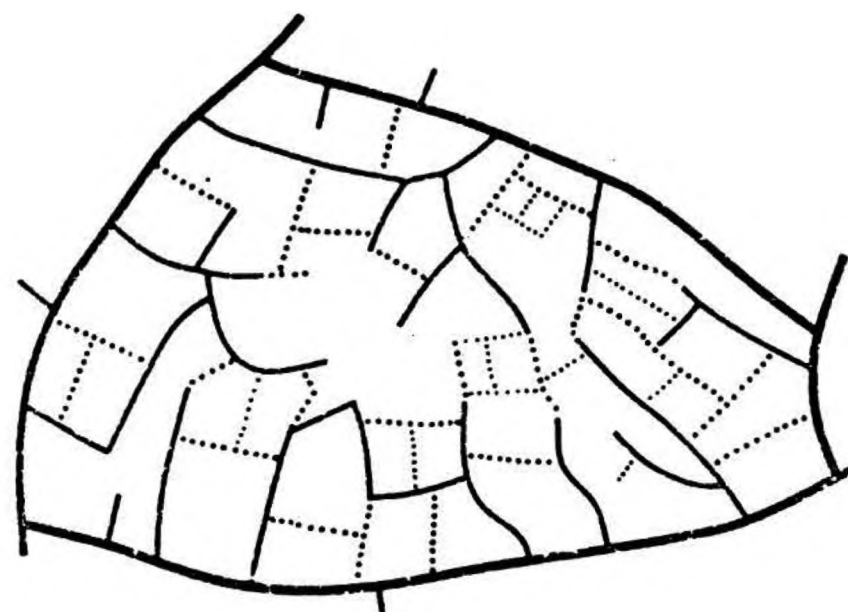


Fig. 3: Pattern of roads of an actual uptown Tokyo district: thick black lines indicate roads enveloping the area, thinner black lines the major roads leading inward from the boundaries, and dotted lines minor roads added later.

For the Japanese, the land is a living entity; this is the basis of their reverence for the land, a feeling deeply rooted in folk beliefs. Surely inner space is not something constructed, like a center, but something bestowed by the land itself. The Japanese show very little resistance to the demolition of their houses, perhaps because a house is, after all, no more than a temporary abode in this transient world. But they feel a strong aversion to the removal of wells or mounds.

Once the concept of inner space had been universalized, inner space (*oku*) in Japanese houses became nothing more than a special, relative location designated within the interior space of the dwelling. Surely this was because the source of existence was sought in the land itself, with inner space serving only as its symbol or proxy. Thus towns and villages generate countless inner spaces. The city can be seen as an aggregation of innumerable public and private territories, each enveloping its own inner space. The Japanese city developed not as a community clustered around an absolute center but as numerous territories, each safeguarding its own inner space — both public or semipublic and private. Japanese cities maintained this composition at least until the early decades of the present century.

Today Japanese cities are subjected to unprecedented modernization and growing population density. The purpose of this essay is not to discuss the past development or predict the future of inner space in Japan. As the French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs has remarked, a

city is a place of collective memory. My aim here is to point out how indispensable a knowledge of the cultural images rooted in the collective unconscious of the community is to an understanding of the nature of the city.

An architect like myself, who plays a limited role in the building of modern cities, is faced with an inescapable question. It may be easy to devise various basic scenarios for cities — including scenarios for hell. The question is how these scenarios interact with reality. According to one scenario, ever-increasing urban population density encourages the further loss of already stunted nature and of the sense of place rooted in the land, resulting in the dispersion of inner space (including the “exposed inner space” discussed earlier). Inner space becomes more and more compartmentalized, being relegated to one portion of an apartment, for instance, and thus ceases to participate in the kind of collective inner space formerly seen in both downtown and uptown sections of Tokyo.

Another scenario depicts efforts to revive urban inner space wherever it seems possible, making full use of all available spatial concepts and techniques both old and new. What form this revived inner space should take is still uncertain. But I am convinced that once the goal is defined, the means to accomplish it will eventually be discovered. The history of Japanese cities teaches us that the qualities desired in space lie not in expansion alone but in the creation of depth as well.

Water and mountain

Sumet Jumsai

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End of glaciation

If we look around the world, we can see that areas that could have supported life during the ice ages were limited, but the position of Austronesia was ideal. Being the largest group of islands in the equatorial Pacific, and extending some 12,600 km latitudinally by some 7,700 km longitudinally, it could harbor a great many people. In Bali and Java (the geographical extension of Austronesia) we find the Java man who existed right at the beginning

of the last glaciation, and the Solo man, an early form of Homo Sapiens who appeared between 30,000 and 10,000 years ago.

In this Austronesian region, so propitious to life, the population increased over the millennia and this led to expansion and migration. Towards the end of glaciation, the direction of growth from the Pacific was mainly westward, following the prevailing winds, currents and the chain of islands that led to mainland Asia. Eastward exploration also took place as far as Peru and Chile.

The glaciers decreased the ocean's water level, and several former islands became part of the Malay Peninsula which then extended down to Bali in one continuous land mass. When the sea level rose at the end of glaciation, the land decreased in size, precipitating further migration. Also, at the same time, the chain of land mass was severed into different islands. However, by that time the Austronesians had permeated what Buckmin-