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The Urban evolution of the city of Heiankyō: A Study of the Iconographic Sources — 1

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The Urban Evolution of the City of *Heiankyō*

A Study of the Iconographic Sources – 1

NICOLAS FIÉVÉ

‘Two loves thus made two cities;
the love of self and scorn of God, the terrestrial City;
the love of God and scorn of self, the celestial City.’

Augustine of Hippo (354–450)

In the first part of this paper, a catalogue of maps of the city of *Heiankyō* is presented which illustrates the urban evolution of the city from its foundation to the beginning of the early modern period in the seventeenth century, when the structure of the present city evolved. In the second part of the paper, a rich variety of painted screens is presented which depicts bird’s-eye views of the capital and its surroundings in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The interpretation of these distinct iconographic forms highlights not only various features of the city as it was constituted materially in roads and buildings, but also the changing perceptions of the city.

1. The Capital in the Ancient Period: An Absence of Comprehensive Views of the Imperial City and the First Representations of the Urban Expansion

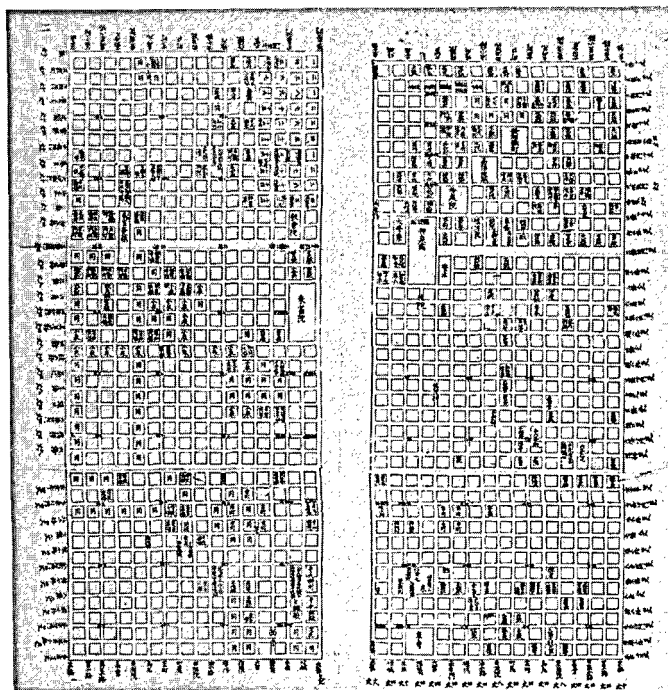
1.1. The First Maps

Every plan, every map exists as a construction of language and of communication. Iconographic representations of a city are the physical manifestation of a certain way of looking at the urban expanse, inextricable from the mental concepts of the society of the day. They are just as much images of the way we perceive a given urban space as representations of a physical reality structured by buildings.

When we come to examine the ancient capital of *Heiankyō*, however, there are no extant cartographical representations dating from the Heian Period to help us. The first complete reconstitution¹ of the plan of the capital in the Heian period is found in the ‘Compendium of Fragments’ (*Shūgaishō*)² the work of a highly-ranked official

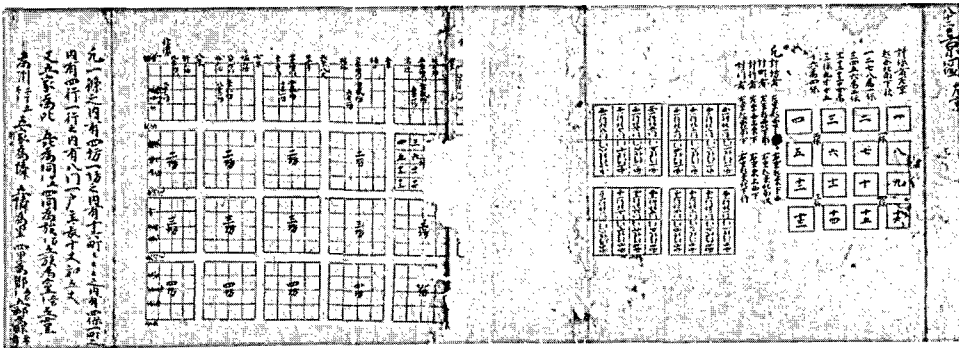
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Tōin Kinkata (1291–1360),³ who devoted several chapters of this encyclopedic work to the capital.⁴ The ‘Map of the East Part of the Capital’ (*tōkyōzu*) and the ‘Map of the West Part of the Capital’ (*saikyōzu*) illustrate the two halves of the city on either side of the central Suzaku avenue. (See Map 1). These maps⁵ show the grid of main roads, the names of the roads, as well as the names and location of palaces, gardens, temples, and administrative buildings within the city walls. The ‘Map of Precincts and Sub-precincts’ (*bōhōzu*) gives the system of division of the ‘quarters’ inside each district. (Map 2). The ‘Map of the Four Alignments and Eight Gates’ (*shigyō hachimon zu*) indicates the way quarters were divided into plots of land.⁶ All of these graphic documents were reconstituted on the basis of ancient texts.

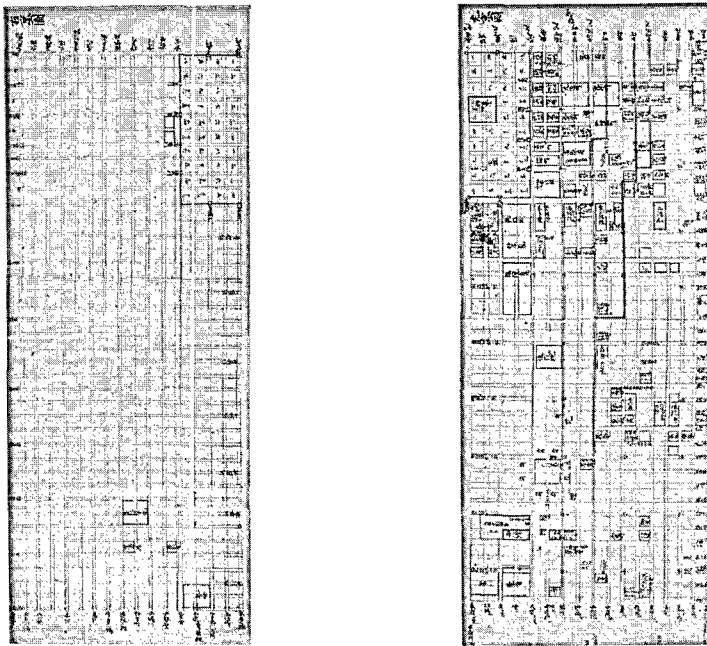


Map 1. ‘Map of the East Part of the Capital’ *tōkyōzu* (right) ‘Map of the West Part of the Capital’ (*saikyōzu*) (left), found in a copy of the ‘Compendium of Fragments’ (*Shūgaishō*) from the Kan-ei era (1624–1643).

The other reconstitutions of the plan of the ancient capital date from the beginning of the early modern period. These later maps tend to follow those of the *Shūgaishō*. Among them are the maps that appear in the comprehensive ‘Studies on Plans of the Palace’ (*Daidairizu kōshō*) executed by the erudite Uramatsu Mitsuyo (1736–1804).⁷ The same is true of the ‘Map of the Flower Capital in Ancient Times’ (*Karaku ōko zu*), part of the *Kyō no Mizu*,⁸ a work on the famous sites of Kyoto compiled by Akizato Ritō in 1790 (*Kansei 2*). (Map 5). In his ‘Miscellaneous Writings’⁹ of 1820,

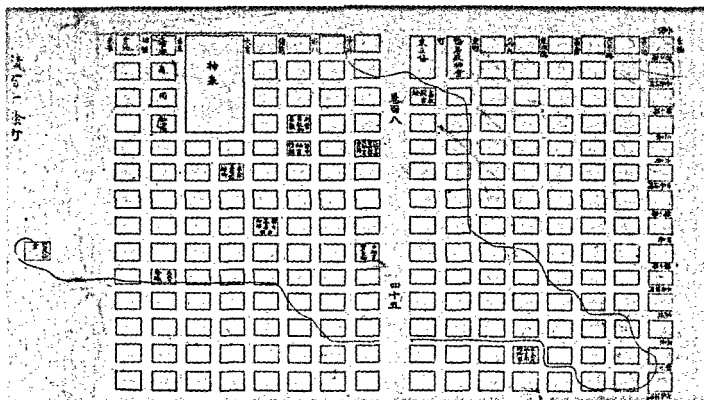


Map 2. 'Map of Precincts and Sub-precincts' (*bōhōzu*) and 'Map of the Four Alignments and Eight Gates' (*shigyō hachimon zu*) found in a copy of the 'Compendium of Fragments' (*Shūgaishō*), from the Kan-ei era (1624–1643).



Map 3. 'Map of the Left Capital' (right) 'Map of the Right Capital' (left), found in a copy of the 'Procedure of the Engi Era' (*Engi shiki*), which could be later than 1218 (*Kempō 6*).

Kurihara Nobumitsu provides a certain number of maps of the quarters of the ancient capital. According to the text, it appears that the author consulted a map of the Ō'ei era (1399–1428), which had been stored in an attic in the Shōkokuji, but which today is regrettably no longer extant.¹⁰



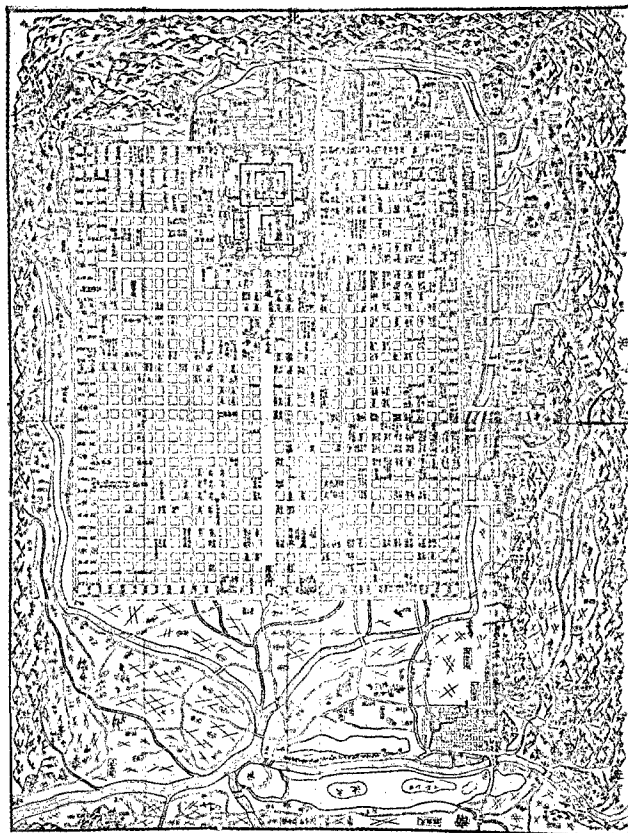
Map 4. Fire of 1177 (*Angen 3*). 'Map of the Conflagration in the Centre of the Capital' (*Kyōchū shōbu zu*) found in the *Seikaiganshō*, contained in the section on 'Calamities' (*kyōji*).

1.2 The Absence of Representations of the Sacred City

It was toward the end of the eighth century, after a series of ill-fated events, that the decision was made to abandon the capital Nagaokakyō, which was still under construction at the time, and erect a new imperial capital at Uda, in the region of Kadono. The site was chosen by specialists in the laws of divination and consecrated so as to be in harmony with cosmogonic space. It was oriented and ordered according to geomantic prescriptions, describing an area protected by celestial divinities. The Kadono plain as a whole took on a new value and became part of a larger cosmogonic whole.

The space thus defined spiritually was arranged physically in the form of a draughtboard.¹¹ The focal point of this composition was probably located on the summit of Funaoka, a hill in the north of the city, that had been regarded as sacred since prehistoric times.¹² Funaoka was the designated abode of the god Gembu, 'warrior of darkness',¹³ who guarded the inauspicious north. The axis of Suzaku avenue¹⁴ passed by the hill, whose distance from its summit to the north wall of the city was equal to the length of the palace walls. This geometric order effected a transfer of what we call a primitive totemic point (the summit of the hill) toward the emperor's palace. In the new capital, 'his "august abode" (*miya*) is therefore the spiritual (and even magic) home from which the vital energies emanate'.¹⁵

The absence of representations of the ancient capital is noteworthy on several counts. A correspondence can clearly be drawn in the Heian period between conceptions of a macrocosm (the world) and those of microcosms (the city, the home). Nevertheless, despite the existence of an important output of cosmographies like the *mandara* of esoteric Buddhism and the images of the Pure Land paradise, *Jōdo mandara zu*, no attempts were made in the Heian period to portray in composite views the microcosms represented by *Heiankyō*, the imperial palace, or the residences of court nobles. A painting such as the 'Amida's Pure Land Paradise'¹⁶ in the Chion-in



Map 5. 'Map of the Flower Capital in Ancient Times' (*Karaku ōko zu*), part of the *Kyō no mizu*, by Akizato Ritō in 1790 (*Kansei 2*).

temple in Kyoto does, however, display a control of the techniques of representation (symmetry oriented toward a vanishing point) making feasible the drafting of maps or of bird's-eye views, bringing together the urban expanse. Nevertheless, in the case of *Heiankyō*, no document of a cartographical nature exists that attests to the city's relationship to its site, to the symbolism of the layout of the city. In contrast to portrayals of the city in the sixteenth century, the bustle of street life does not seem to have been a theme valued by artists who worked for a court nobility which evolved essentially in the rarified world of the palaces and their gardens.¹⁷

The draughtboard plan of the capital in the ancient period was based on the *jōbōsei*, a system of demarcation of roads and precincts which was the basis of town buildings. The maps in the *Shūgaishō* portray this system, and locate plots of land in the city through this system of division into districts (*bō*), quarters (*chō*), alignments (*gyō*), and gates (*mon*). We know that the quarters were surrounded by walls some four metres high, which gave the roads an impression of enclosed space that contrasted with the open architectural space of the *shinden zukuri* style residences. In these early

maps, no indication is given of the nature of the urban site, no images of urban life, nor even the names of famous places to visit.

2. Maps of the Mediaeval Period

In all the long period from the eleventh to the end of the sixteenth century, there are unfortunately no extant contemporary maps to shed light on the state of urban evolution. During the course of this, the 'mediaeval period', the ancient *Heiankyō* was almost totally destroyed and in its place appeared the outline of the early modern city, an outline that has structured the plan of Kyoto until today. However, two later documents survive, maps drawn up in the mid-eighteenth century by Mori Kōan, the 'Map of the Old Capital and its Surroundings' (*kochū kyōshi naigai chizu*), depicting the city in the Ō'ei era (1394–1428)¹⁸ and the 'Map of the Ancient Capital' (*Chūshaku kyōshi chizu*), which depicts the city after its destruction in the Ōnin era (1467–1469).¹⁹ (Plates I and IV).

Clearly shown in the first of the two is the abandonment of quarters to the west of the Suzaku avenue²⁰ and the northward and eastward progression of the city. At the level of the Ichijō and Nijō avenues, we notice the construction of a temple on land known as Ōtō no chi²¹ (on the west bank of the Kamo river). This is the Hōseiji, which is the size of four quarters. On Shirakawa land east of the Kamo, we see temples (Hōsshōji, Rokushōji) and palaces (Shirakawa kita dono and Minami dono) which were built²² by the Shirakawa Emperor (1053–1129) after his entry into the religious life in 1096 (*Eichō 1*). The outline used to demarcate the plots of land follows the ancient *jōbōsei* system. The urbanisation of the area to the south-east of the Kamo dates from the time of the Heike, who, on assuming power in the middle of the twelfth century, installed themselves at Rokuhara. After the great fire of 1177 (*Angen 3*),²³ they decided to transfer the capital to Fukuhara. From then on a dark chapter in the history of the capital commenced, marked by the progressive effacing of the ancient urban structures.

In a similar way, the 'Map of the Ancient Capital' (Plate IV) indicates the location of lordly residences, shrines, and temples in a city in the process of reconstruction, where the outline of the arteries of the ancient capital has almost disappeared. The new city is reduced to two agglomerations grouped around the axis of the Muromachi avenue, with the Ichijō avenue to the north and the Shijō avenue to the south. These two agglomerations were referred to as the 'upper city' (*hamigyō*) and the 'lower city' (*shimogyō*). Maps of later periods indicate that this organisation continued to form the basic structure of the city.

These maps reveal the extent of change in the spatial configuration of the city. With the abandonment in the Heian period of the construction of walls around each quarter, the structure of the quarters, once closed in upon themselves, had undergone a change. They now opened out on to the road, which became more and more in the mediaeval period the focus of daily activity. After the upheavals of the Ōnin era, the outline of the old quarters still survived in the lower city, but it had vanished from the upper city.



Plate I. 'Map of the Old Capital and its Surroundings' (*Kochū kyōshi naigai chizu*) depicting the City in the Ō'ei era (1394–1428) by Mori Kōan, 1750.



Plate II. 'Great Illustrated Map of the Capital, revised and enlarged edition (*Zōho saiban miyako ōezu*), ed. Hayashi Yoshinaga. 'From Kitayama to the South of the Sanjō Street' (*Kitayama yori minamisanjō made*), 120 × 86 cm., 1741 (*Kampō 1*). Kyoto University, Dept. of Geography.

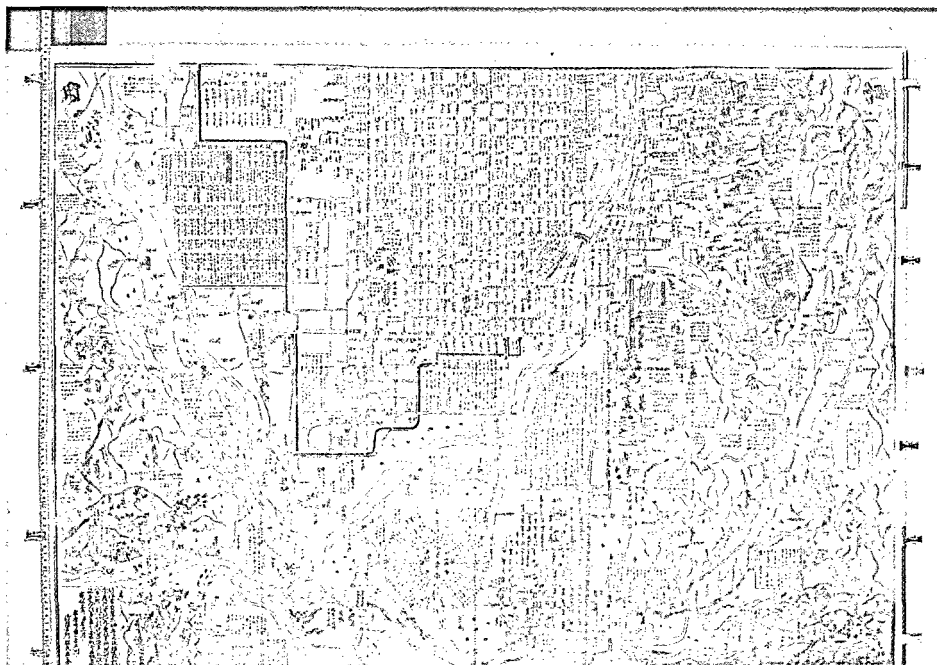


Plate III. 'Great Illustrated Map of the Capital, revised and enlarged edition (*Zōho saiban miyako ōezu*), ed. Hayashi Yoshinaga, 'From the North of Sanjō Street to the South of Fushimi' (*Kita sanjō yori minami fushimi made*), 117.5 × 87 cm. 1741 (*Kampō* 1). Kyoto University, Dept. of Geography.

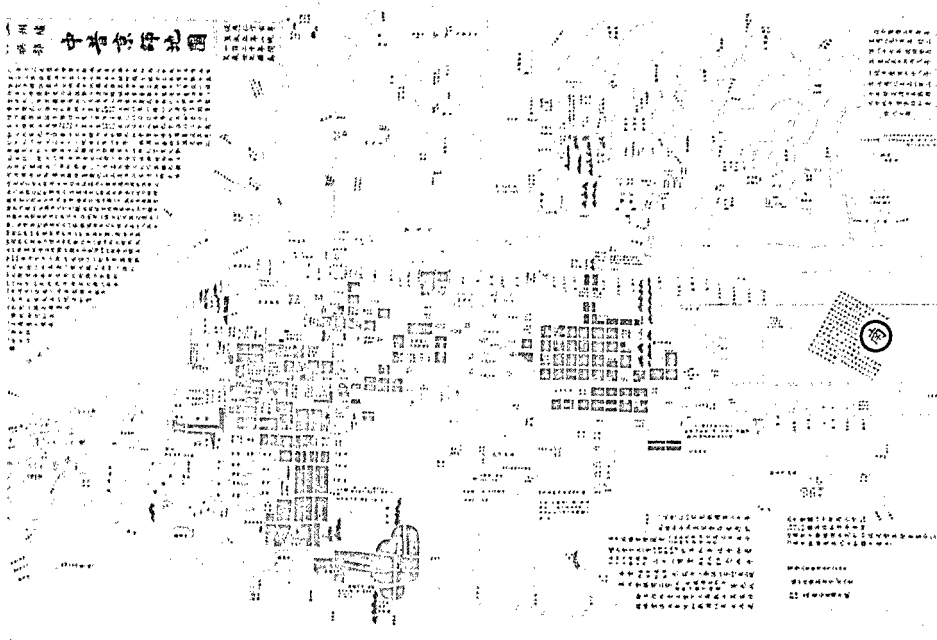
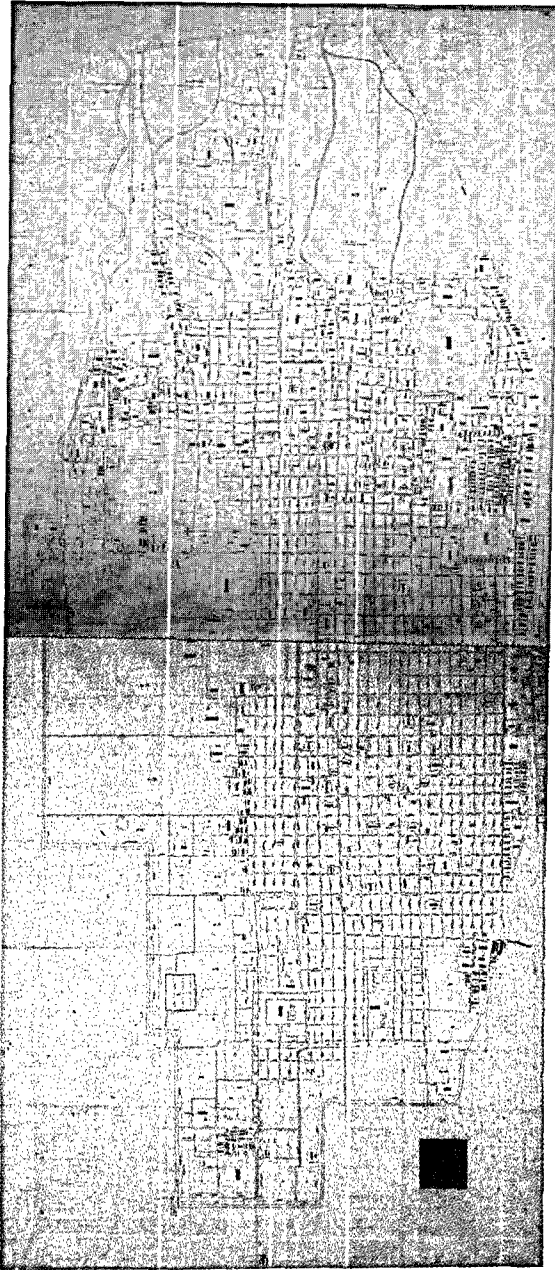
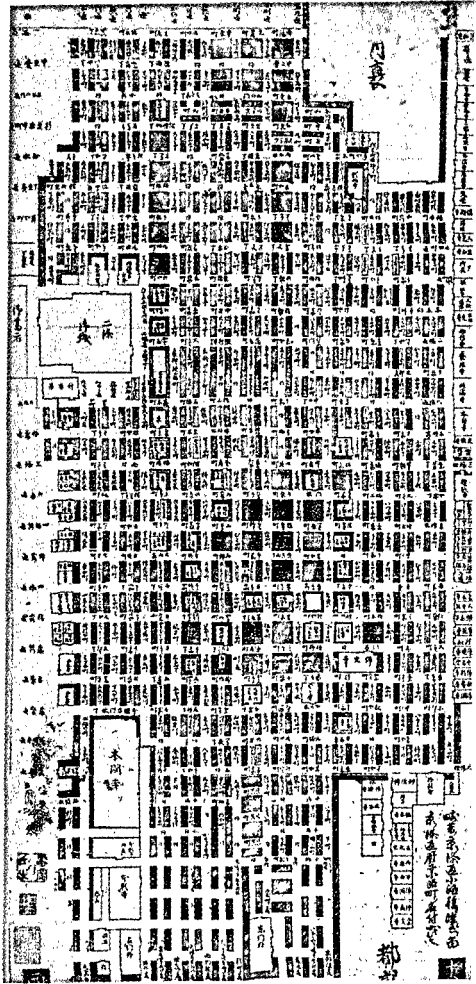


Plate IV. 'Map of the Ancient Capital' (*Chūshaku kyōshi chizu*) which depicts the city after its destruction in the Ōnin era (1467–1669) by Mori Kōan, 1750.



Map 6. 'Illustrated Map of the Capital' (*Raku chū ezū*), 1637 (*Kan-ei 14*); 5.05 × 2.36 m. Sketch drawn to scale by the Nakai family; the shogunate's official carpenters in the Kinai region.



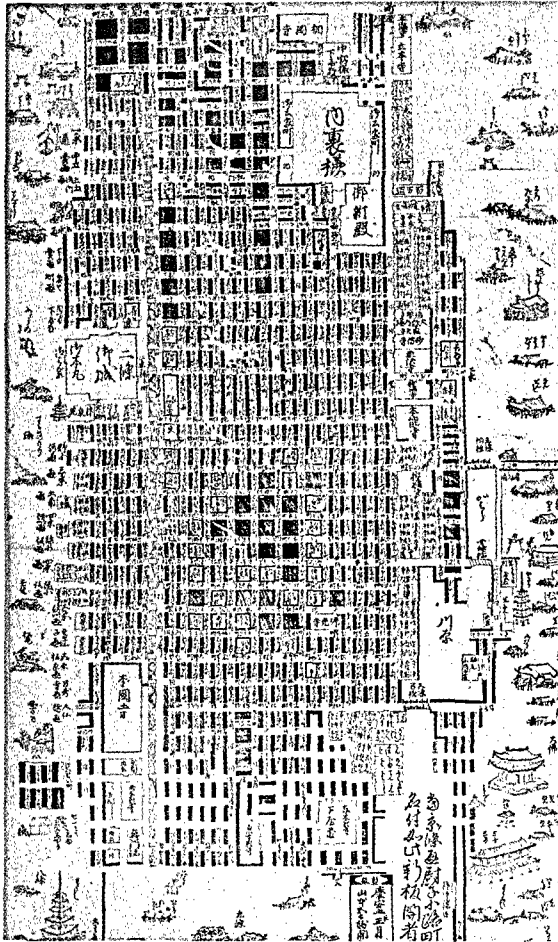
Map 7. 'Map of the Streetscape of the Capital's Quarters' (*Heianjō machinami zu*), before 1641 (*Kan-ei 18*).

The maps of the ancient and mediaeval capital that we have been looking at were all reconstructions on the basis of various texts and other historical material.

3. The Early Modern Period

3.1 The First Maps Drawn to Scale

It was not until the seventeenth century that the city was the subject of a detailed survey with a cartographical aim, the first maps drawn to scale being the 'Illustrated Map of the Capital' (*Rakuchū ezu*) of 1637 (*Kan-ei 14*)²⁴ and the 'Complete Map of Kyōto from the Kan-ei [1624–1643] to the Manji [1658–1660] Eras' (*Kan-ei manji zen Kyōto zenzu*). (See Map 6.) These two maps, of an impressive size (5.05 m × 2.36 m and 6.27 m × 3.05 m respectively), are sketches executed by the

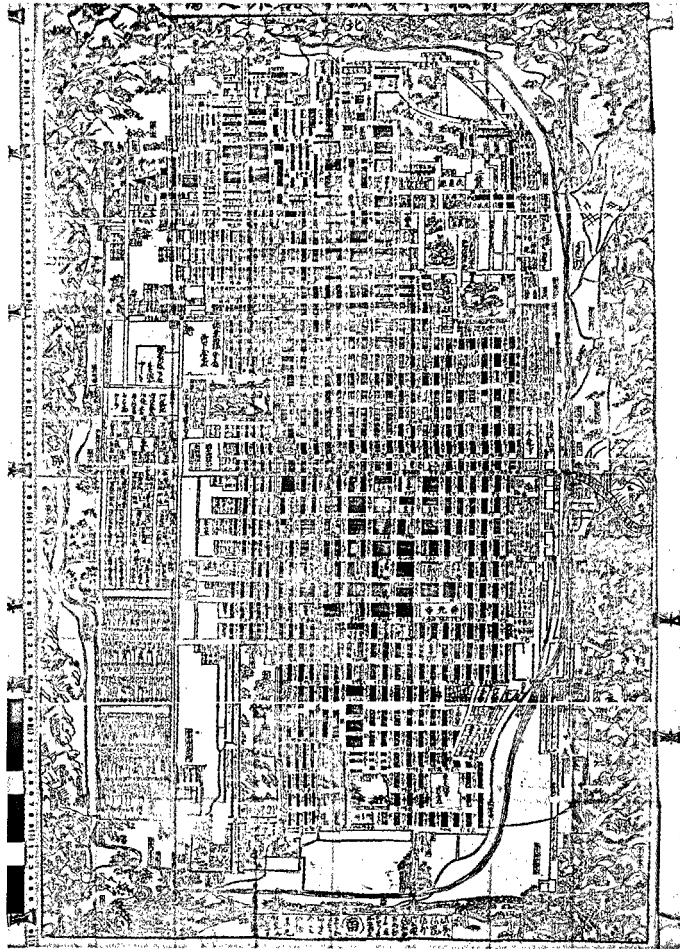


Map 8. 'Map of the Streetscape of the East-West and South-North Capital's Quarters' (*Heianjō tōzai nanboku machinami no zu*), edited by Yamamoto Gobei in 1652 (*Kei-an 5*).

Nakai family, the shogunate's official carpenters in the Kinai region. We know that a survey had been made for these maps at a scale of 1:750.²⁵ Drawn up more than twenty years before the first scale cartographical representations of Edo, these maps, compiled to help carpenters in their work, include extremely precise descriptions of the buildings for which the Nakai were responsible. The residences of court nobles are shown in yellow (169 buildings); those of the *daimyō* in blue (136 buildings); those of stonecutters, of engravers,²⁶ of the Hon'ami families²⁷ and of the officials in charge of Buddhist temples in pale pink (951 buildings); and Buddhist temples in orange (457 buildings).

3.2 Printed Maps

It was at this time that a period of feverish activity began in the publication of maps. In the mediaeval period Kyoto had been a centre of production for urban-based



Map 9. 'New Edition of the Map of the Streetscape of the Capital and its Surroundings' (*Shinpan heianjō narabini rakugai no zu*), 88.5 × 56 cm., 1667 (*Kanbun 7*). Kyoto University, Dept. of Geography.

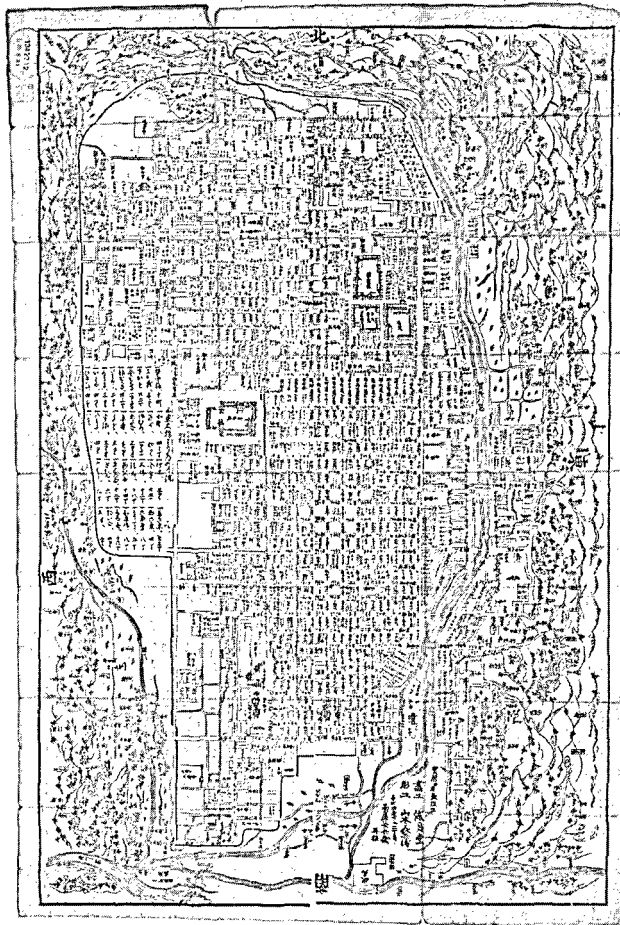
artisans in many domains, including that of printing. Working originally under the auspices of Buddhist temples, whose sacred texts they printed, the artisans had become progressively more autonomous and more diverse in their production. When demand for cartographical representations of the capital arose at the beginning of the seventeenth century, these artisan printers took the task upon themselves, using the same techniques as before: printed impressions from woodblock engravings. The dynamism of these printers was one of the main reasons for the richness of the output in Kyoto, before even the appearance of the first maps of Edo. In examining the underlying causes of this sudden demand, one point needs emphasising: in the urban evolution of Kyoto, the start of the seventeenth century represents the culmination of a century of relative peace during which the structure of the new, post-Ōnin city developed rapidly, driven by its flourishing commercial



Map 10. 'Illustrated Guide of the Famous Places of the Capital' (*Meisho tebiki miyako zukan kōmoku*), 79.6 × 65.9 cm., ed. Kikuya Chōbee. *Recto* (description of the famous places), 1754 (*Hōreki 4*). Kyoto University, Dept. of Architecture.

and artisanal communities. In addition to this economic activity, there was also a certain degree of freedom of movement for people and goods. We can well imagine that in a city undergoing physical expansion, this mobility stimulated a demand for cartographical representations which the print shops distributed among a much wider public than the privileged classes for whom the sumptuous screen paintings of the 'capital and its surroundings' had been executed. However, we shall soon see that these latter representations, whether on paper or screens, dating from the sixteenth century onwards, must be considered in a wider perspective that can take into account the symptoms of a profound modification in the perception of the city.

The first examples of these printed maps date from the Kan'ei era. The 'Map of the Streetscape of the Capital's Quarters' (*Heianjō machinami no zu*), dated to before



Map 11. 'Illustrated Guide of the Famous Places of the Capital' (*Meisho tebiki miyako zukan kōmoku*), 79.6 × 65.9 cm., ed. Kikuya Chōbee. Verso. 1754 (*Hōreki 4*). Kyoto University, Dept. of Architecture.

1641, is a valuable document showing the layout and names of the roads, the names of the quarters, and the locations of temples and lordly residences as well as of the famous sites on the surrounding hills. (Map 7). Beginning with this map, new highly detailed editions appeared regularly throughout the Edo period that revealing the various developments in the evolution of the city. (See Maps 8, 9, 10 and 11, and Plates II and III).

These maps indicate clearly the speed of reconstruction of the city at the beginning of the early modern period, reconstruction at the hands not only of the court nobles or members of the military class, but of the townspeople (merchants and artisans) who resettled the land between the two nuclei formed by the upper and lower cities. (Map 10). Although this development of the city in the early modern period was *organic* by

nature, it is to be noted that a network of avenues running north-south and east-west remained, although it did not necessarily correspond to the network of Heian times. The inclusion in nearly all these maps of the names of the roads and the quarters testifies to the new system of location in the city (according to the name of the nearest crossroads and of the quarter) and of the new significance of the quarter as a sign of social identification. In addition, the rivers, the mountains and the names of the famous places situated round the city are precisely illustrated, unlike in maps such as that in the *Shūgaishō*. The references to waterways remind us of the importance of river links with Osaka (these two maps reach as far as the Yodo river) and of the incessant traffic of men and goods. The references to famous places (*meisho*) and the mountains indicate a more generous vision of the urban expanse and of the city as experiential space.

Glossary of Japanese Names

| | | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------|-------------------------------|-------|
| <i>Akizato Ritō</i> | 秋里離島 | <i>Kyūjōbu</i> | 宮城部 |
| <i>Amida jōdō mandara zu</i> | 阿弥陀淨土曼荼羅圖 | <i>Meisho</i> | 名所 |
| <i>Bōhōzu</i> | 坊保圖 | <i>Mori Kōan</i> | 森幸安 |
| <i>Chitei-kei</i> | 地亭記 | <i>Mon</i> | 門 |
| <i>Chō</i> | 町 | <i>Nakai</i> | 中井 |
| <i>Chūshaku kyōshi chizu</i> | 中昔京師地圖 | <i>Rakuchū ezu</i> | 洛中繪圖 |
| <i>Daidairizu kōshō</i> | 大内裡圖考證 | <i>Ryūan zuihitsu</i> | 柳庵隨筆 |
| <i>Gyō</i> | 行 | <i>Saikyōzu</i> | 西京圖 |
| <i>Heianjō machinami no zu</i> | 平安城町並圖 | <i>Seikaiganshō</i> | 清儼眼抄 |
| <i>Kamigyō</i> | 上京 | <i>Sento</i> | 選都 |
| <i>Kamo</i> | 加茂 | <i>Shigyō hachimō zu</i> | 四京八門圖 |
| <i>Karaku ōko zu</i> | 花洛往古圖 | <i>Shimogyō</i> | 下京 |
| <i>Kito</i> | 粟都 | <i>Shūgaishō</i> | 拾芥抄 |
| <i>Kochū kyōshi</i> | | <i>Tōin Kinkata</i> | 洞院公賢 |
| <i>naigai chizu</i> | 古中京師内外地圖 | <i>Tōin Sanehiro</i> | 洞院実熙 |
| <i>Kurihara Nobumitsu</i> | 栗原信充 | <i>Tōkyōzu</i> | 東京圖 |
| <i>Kyōji</i> | 凶事 | <i>Uramatsu Mitsuyo</i> | 裏松光世 |
| <i>Kyō no mizu</i> | 京之水 | <i>Yoshishige no Yasutane</i> | 慶滋保胤 |
| <i>Kyūchū shōbu zu</i> | 京中燒亡圖 | | |

Notes

1. Mention should be made here of the 'Map of the Conflagration in the Centre of the Capital' (*Kyōchū shōbōzu*) in the *Seikai ganshō* which contained in the section on 'Calamities' (*kyōji*, *Gunsho ruishō*), a work on codes of practice, early Kamakura period. This map shows the quarters destroyed by the fire of 1177 (*Angen 3*), from Nijō avenue to Rokujōbōmon avenue in a north-south direction, and from Suzaku avenue to Kyōgoku avenue in an east-west direction. Within these perimeters, the names of some lordly residences and the extent of the fire are shown. These points of information are, however, relatively sparse. Also a sketch is included in a copy of 'Procedure of the Engi Era' *Engi shiki*, which could be later than 1218 (*Kempō 6*). See *Kyōto shi shi*, Vol. 4, *Chizuhen*, *Kyōto Shiyakusho*, *Kyōto*, 1947. See Maps 3 and 4.
2. The compendium was completed by Kinkata's descendant Tōin Sanehiro (1400-?) in the fifteenth century. It was very much valued in the Muromachi period. Its three volumes comprise ninety-nine

sections dealing with various subjects such as arts and letters (Chinese and Japanese poetry, prose writings, music, religious incantations), natural phenomena, emperors, government bodies, customs, clothes, meals, animals, the annual cycle of festivals, the capital, temples, and famous places.

3. Kinkata was third minister (*naidaijin*), minister of the right (*udaijin*), minister of the left (*sadaijin*), and eventually attained in 1348 the rank of Chief Minister of State (*daijōdaijin*).
4. Section 19 of the second book, *kyūjōbu*, covers the capital. After an introduction of the establishment of the new capital (drawn from the 'Regulations of the Engi Era'), there follows a list of the names of the city gates, palaces, administrative buildings, and the names of the gates of some of these palaces and government offices, etc. In Section 20, *shomeishobu*, eighty-four famous places are listed, including temples, palaces, and gardens, followed by their location. Section 22, *kyōteibu*, gives the dimensions of the capital, its configurations, and the names of the roads.
5. The oldest surviving edition was published in the Keichō (1596–1614) and Kan-ei (1624–1643) eras. There exists also a sketch from the beginning of the Muromachi period, included in a copy of *Shūgaishō*, Tokyo University Library. See *Kyōto shi shi op. cit.*, pp. 20–24.
6. Six maps are included in the second volume, including a 'Map of Kyūjō', a map of the *daidairi* palace, (no title), a map of the interior of the palace, and a 'Map of the Hasshōin'.
7. This work consists of thirty-two sections, plus a table of contents. In 1,860 pages that include numerous illustrations, Uramatsu Mitsuyo compiled an anthology of ancient texts, quoting those passages that describe the capital, official buildings, and the Imperial palace.
In celebration of the millennial anniversary of the founding of *Heiankyō*, the Kyoto municipal office published in 1896 the *Heian tsūshi*, an important compilation of documents on the history of the city from its beginnings until the Meiji era. Nothing new is to be found there on old maps of the city. *Heian tsūshi*, 20 vols. Kyōtoshi Sanjikai, Hakuseidō, Kyoto, 1896.
8. In two volumes, with two maps: *Karaku ōko zu* and *Daidairi ozu*, (Map of the Imperial Palace).
9. *Ryūan zuihitsu* (Miscellaneous Writings by Ryūan: Ryūan was Nobumitsu's sobriquet). The work is in ten sections covering various subjects: famous people, court nobles, clothes, weapons, the art of mounting scrolls, tea pavilions, utensils for the tea ceremony, etc. *Ryūan zuihitsu*, *Nihon Zuihitsu Taikai*, Vol. 17.
10. See Fujita Motoharu, *Heiankyō hensenshi* [The Vicissitudes of *Heiankyō*]. Kyoto, Suzukake, 1930.
11. This symmetrical geometric form used as an expression of sanctity is found in many ancient imperial capitals, in Egypt, for example, or Rome, as well as in colonial settlements like Naples and Paestum, established in Italy by the Greeks or in the Roman colonies.
12. Excavations brought to light traces of religious cults preceding the founding of the capital, which suggests the existence of a site that was probably thought sacred since prehistoric times. 'The notion of sacred space involved the idea of repetition of the primordial [*hiérophanie*]' (Héliade, 1949, p. 311); the sanctified space of the new capital was laid on an ancient primitive cult site.
13. The inauspicious north the northwest directions were protected respectively by Funaoka and the towering Hieizan.
14. Suzaku avenue was about 83 m wide, while the main avenues, *ōji*, were either 35.6 m or 23.7 m wide, and the small avenues, *kōji*, that separated the quarters, 11.8 m. Compare that with the Hellenistic cities of the Mediterranean world, where the roads were 6 m wide and Canopic Street in Alexandria reached a width of 32 m.
15. J. Pigeot, *Michiyuki-bun, poétique de l'itinéraire dans la littérature du Japon ancien*. Paris, G.P. Maisonneuve et Larose, 1982, p. 73.
16. *Amida jōdo mandara zu*, Kamakura period (reproduced in Kyoto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan eds., *Jōdokyō kaiga*. Tokyo, Heibonsha, 1975).
17. On the lordly residences of the ancient period, see N. Fiévé, 'Espace Architectural dans le Japon des époques classique et médiévale: l'exemple des résidences de l'aristocratie et de la caste des militaires,' *Architecture & Behavior*, Vol. 7, No. 3, 1991, Lausanne.
18. According to an inscription on the map, it is a copy by Minamoto Shigenori in 1836 (*Tempo 7*), but it

is stated in an appendix that the map was drawn working from a copy by Mori Kōan in 1750 (*Kan-en* 3).

19. These maps are appended to the *Shintei zōho kojitsu sōsho, ōshūshoyosenbu*. Tokyo, Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1951.
20. The decline of the quarters in the west of the city began at the end of the tenth century. The damp nature of the terrain was one of the reasons for this. The *Shūgaishō* map lists thirty-five quarters with damp soil. See also the account by Yoshishige no Yasutane (932/4?–997) in the celebrated ‘Pond Pavilion Chronicle’ (*Chitei-ki*), written in 982.
21. Built by Fujiwara no Michinaga in 1019 (*Kannin* 3).
22. Beginning of the Retired Emperor Period, *Insei Jidai*.
23. See note 1 above.
24. The original is in the storeroom of the central library of Kyoto University. There is an excellent reproduction of the ‘Illustrated Map of the Capital’ printed section by section in A2 format in *Rakuchū ezu* [Illustrated Map of the Capital]. Kyoto, Rinsen Shōten, 1979.
25. Yamori Kazuhiko, *Toshizu no rekishi, Nihon hen*. [The History of Urban Maps, Volume on Japan]. Tokyo, Kodansha, 1974.
26. *Gotō shū*. The Gotō family found fame in the fifteenth century when Gotō Yūjō (1440–1512?) fashioned some sword ornaments for the eighth shogun Ashikaga Yoshimasa. The family’s renown as goldsmiths grew over more than ten generations. Gotō Tokujū (1550–1631) minted gold coins (*koban* and *ōban*) at the behest of Toyotomi Hideyoshi and of Tokugawa Ieyasu. One branch of the family, responsible from one generation to the next for the running of the Obanza guild, retained the privilege of minting *ōban*, staying in Kyoto until the Genroku era (1688–1704), when it moved to Edo.
27. Sword specialists initially, the Hon’ami family turned at the end of the Muromachi period to the applied arts such as painting, ceramics, and also the tea ceremony, garden design, and calligraphy. Hon’ami Kōetsu (1558–1637) is the most famous member of the family.