

Twentieth-Century Japan: The Emergence of a World Power  
*Irwin Scheiner, Editor*

1. *Labor and Imperial Democracy in Prewar Japan*, by Andrew Gordon
2. *Complicit Fictions: The Subject in the Modern Japanese Prose Narrative*, by James A. Fujii
3. *The Making of a Japanese Periphery, 1750-1920*, by Kären Wigen
4. *The Abacus and the Sword: The Japanese Penetration of Korea, 1895-1910*, by Peter Duus
5. *Authenticating Culture in Imperial Japan*, by Leslie Pincus
6. *Splendid Monarchy: Power and Pageantry in Modern Japan*, by T. Fujitani
7. *Marketing the Menacing Fetus in Japan*, by Helen Hardacre
8. *Japan's Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism*, by Louise Young
9. *Mirror of Modernity: Invented Traditions of Modern Japan*, edited by Stephen Vlastos
10. *Hiroshima Traces: Time, Space, and the Dialectics of Memory*, by Lisa Yoneyama
11. *Constructive Criticism: Mayo and the Politics of Aesthetics in Interwar Japan*, by Gennifer Weisenfeld

# Splendid Monarchy

---

Power and Pageantry in  
Modern Japan

T. Fujitani

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS

*Berkeley / Los Angeles / London*

University of California Press  
Berkeley and Los Angeles, California

University of California Press, Ltd.  
London, England

First Paperback Printing 1998

© 1996 by  
The Regents of the University of California

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Fujitani, Takashi  
Splendid monarchy : power and pageantry in modern Japan /  
T. Fujitani.

p. cm.—(Twentieth-century Japan : 6)

Includes bibliographic references and index

ISBN 978-0-520-21371-5 (pbk : alk. paper)

1. Japan—History—1868—. 2. Emperor worship—Japan.  
3. Monarchy—Japan. 4. Emperors—Japan. 5. Japan—Kings  
and rulers.

I. Title. II. Series.

DS881.9.J847 1996

952.03—dc20

95-38543

Printed in the United States of America

08 07 06

9 8 7 6 5 4

The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of  
ANSI/NISO Z39.48-1992 (R 1997) (*Permanence of Paper*). ©

## Contents

---

LIST OF FIGURES AND MAPS	vii
PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	ix
I	
Introduction: Inventing, Forgetting, Remembering	I
Nationalism and the Emperor in Tokugawa Japan	4
Mnemonic Sites	9
Toward a Historical Ethnography of the Nation-State	18
Visual Domination	24
PART I: NATIONAL MISE-EN-SCÈNE	29
2	
From Court in Motion to Imperial Capitals	31
Tokyo as Temporary Court ( <i>anzaisho</i> )	34
Out from behind Jeweled Curtains	42
The Weight of the Imperial Past	55
From Temporary Court to Imperial Capital ( <i>teito</i> )	66
National Landscape and National Narrative	83
PART 2: MODERN IMPERIAL PAGEANTRY	93
Overview	95

3		
	Fabricating Imperial Ceremonies	105
	Civilization, Prosperity, and Power	105
	Spectacles of Antiques	145
4		
	The Monarchy in Japan's Modernity	155
	The Emperor's Two Bodies	155
	The Politics of Gendering and the Gendering of Politics	171
	PART 3: THE PEOPLE	195
5		
	Crowds and Imperial Pageantry	197
	Imperial Pageants as National Communion	197
	Mobilizing the Masses	214
	Popular Folklore and the Folklore of the Regime	220
6		
	Epilogue: Toward a History of the Present	230
	The Monarchy and Tradition	232
	The Imperial Gaze	241
	NOTES	247
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	283
	INDEX	297

## Figures and Maps

---

### Figures

1.	Woodblock print, Edo images of the emperor, 1868.	8
2.	Woodblock print, promulgation of the Meiji Constitution, 1889.	78
3.	Woodblock print, imperial procession, by Inoue Tankei, 1889.	112
4.	Glass photographic plate, bronze gateway, Yasukuni Shrine.	122
5.	Postcard, bronze statue, Yasukuni Shrine.	125
6.	Postcard, arch at Shinbashi.	128
7.	Postcard, arch at Sakuradamon.	129
8.	Postcard, arch at Babasaki.	134
9.	Postcard, weapons display on the Palace Plaza.	135
10.	Lithograph, Meiji emperor on parade, 1906.	139
11.	Photograph, military review, 1906.	141
12.	Commemorative postcard, naval review, 1905.	142
13.	Postcard, Meiji emperor's hearse.	150
14.	Postcard, funeral pavilion for Meiji emperor's death rites.	151
15.	Photograph, Meiji emperor's hearse on display.	153
16.	Woodblock print, Meiji emperor's procession, 1868.	167
17.	Woodblock print, Meiji emperor entering Tokyo, by Ichiyokusai Kuniteru, 1868.	169
18.	Woodblock print, emperor and empress at Aoyama parade field, by Inoue Tankei, 1889.	170
19.	Uchida Kuichi's 1872 portrait of the Meiji emperor.	175
20.	Uchida Kuichi's 1873 portrait of the Meiji emperor.	176
21.	Edoardo Chiossone's 1888 portrait of the Meiji emperor.	178
22.	Woodblock print, Meiji emperor leaving Tokyo, by Yōshū Chikanobu, 1881.	179
23.	Woodblock print, Meiji emperor returning to Tokyo, by Baidō Kokunimasa, 1895.	181

24. Lithograph, Meiji emperor's funeral, by Shibata Ryōun, 1912. 193  
 25. Print, Miyatake Gaikotsu lampooning the Meiji Constitution's promulgation, by Adachi Ginkō, 1889. 199

### Maps

1. Imperial Palace, Palace Plaza, and environs in 1883. 80  
 2. Imperial Palace, Palace Plaza, and environs ca. 1909. 133

## Preface and Acknowledgments

---

When I began this book well over a decade ago, I had only a general sense of the variety and complexity of issues that would be opened up by the evidently limited topic of state ritual in modern Japan. Initially, I had been inspired by the work of historians and anthropologists working on political symbolism and ceremonials in other contexts, primarily in Europe and the United States, who were arguing that public pageantry or ritual events, far from becoming obsolete with modernity, had in fact experienced an incredible efflorescence during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These included coronations, processions of heads of state, funerals and festivals to honor national heroes, celebrations of royal or national jubilees, and so many other new ceremonial events, including exhibitions. Although I do believe that it had some important precursors, the book edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), which placed the invention of modern national cultures squarely within the period of the formation of mass nationalism and the heyday of imperialism, has by now made such a perspective on national cultural production quite well known. I also knew that the capital cities of these nations had undergone massive transformations in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as they became prepared to serve as enormous public theaters for the performance of such rites. One had only to think of the rebuilding of Washington, D.C., into a ceremonial city with such landmarks as the Washington Monument and the Pennsylvania Avenue processional route, or the reconstruction of Paris under the direction of Baron Haussmann in the mid-nineteenth century.

I began my research with a suspicion that the political elite in Japan might also have seen the utility of similar types of public pageantry, ceremonial spaces, and monuments, mainly because I had already become convinced that they, like their counterparts in the Euro-American world, had begun in Meiji to fashion various and powerful new mechanisms to reconstitute the common people into active subject-citizens who would participate in the realization of the new nation-state's objectives. It therefore seemed highly unlikely that the Japanese elite would have ignored the potential of public ritual or the symbolic power of capital cities and monuments to naturalize official ideologies and to create a sense of national community. Moreover, I suspected that the Japanese government's leaders, assiduous in their attention to adapting new technologies of rule in the late nineteenth century, must have been impressed by the political possibilities of the ceremonial activity and the more general invention of tradition then taking place in the United States, and in Europe and its dominions.

I found my expectations fully confirmed in the first few months of research as I skimmed general chronologies of historical events, pored over Meiji popular magazines and newspapers, and explored Tokyo's archives and libraries. While that phase of research took some two years, it became evident early on that during the Meiji era (1868-1912) powerful individuals in the Japanese political elite, as well as a vast supporting network of bureaucrats and advisers, had indeed constructed an enormous variety of national and imperial symbols and rituals. These included public pageants and ceremonial sites fully comparable to those I had been reading about in the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Euro-American scene.

I first published the results of my research in 1985 in an article entitled "Kindai Nihon ni okeru kokka-teki ibento no tanjō—1889-1912 no Tōkyō" (*Yasō* 14 [February]: 126-40), or "Tokyo and the Rise of National Ceremonies in Modern Japan, 1889-1912." I placed the emergence of what I then called "national events" within the global context of the "invention of tradition," but I also argued that the year 1889 in fact marked an important shift in the dominant style of state pageantry in Japan. Previously, its main form had been the imperial progress, a ritual style that had been recuperated from archaic models for quite modern purposes; but from the time of the Meiji Constitution's promulgation, a host of entirely new pageants, including celebrations of war victories and imperial funerals, weddings, and wedding anniversaries, came to form the core of a more cosmopolitanized system

of state ceremonials. I made the additional point that the shift in public ceremonial form was inextricably tied to the reconstruction of Tokyo into a ceremonial center.

Yet over the years I have found it necessary to refine, revise, and branch out my analyses, to grapple if sometimes only in a cursory and suggestive way with issues central to Japanese experiences of modernity that I did not have clearly in mind when at first I naively imagined that there must have been a Japanese version of the "invention of tradition" that took place around a century ago. The topics this book now covers range widely (and admittedly sometimes only briefly) over the many and intricately imbricating dimensions of culture and power that center on the larger topics of modern nationalism, images of the emperor's "body" and imperial family, the system of domination that is known as the emperor system, the gendering of "politics," the emergence of visual and disciplinary technologies that are often associated with modern regimes of power, city planning, the media, modern memory and forgetfulness, and the production of national time. Some of these concerns emerged immediately out of the materials that I discovered and my engagement with them, but many others have been sparked by encounters with the work of other scholars, or by the criticisms, encouragement and suggestions that colleagues and friends have offered.

It is of course impossible to give a full accounting of the numerous people and institutions that have participated (often unwittingly) in the production of this book. Yet I want to acknowledge the major debts I owe, and at least to suggest the work's historicity. Irwin Scheiner was my dissertation adviser at the University of California, Berkeley. His encouragement, criticisms, and good humor have consistently helped me to think through my analyses and in the end to complete the task of writing. In Japan I had the great pleasure of working with Yasumaru Yoshio of Hitotsubashi University. To those who are familiar with his writings, it will be obvious that his views of modern Japanese history have influenced me deeply. As my endnotes indicate, I am especially indebted to him for his sweeping insights into radical changes in elite assumptions of rule that occurred in the late Tokugawa and Meiji eras, and into equally convulsive transformations in the subjectivities of the common folk that took place during that same period. Thomas C. Smith aided me with his knowledge of source materials and his uncommon good sense. Although I would now look critically at the ideological character of what Robert N. Bellah has called the "religious dimension" of national communities such as the United States, I want to acknowledge that many of the

interests reflected here were first sparked when I worked with him as a graduate student in history learning classical sociology. Lisa Yoneyama has been my most unfailing supporter, critic, and colleague over nearly the entire life of this project, and in one way or another almost every section of this book bears her imprint.

I spent the academic year 1987–88 as a postdoctoral fellow at the Reischauer Institute of Japanese Studies, Harvard University. At that time I began to read extensively in poststructuralist theory and to consider more seriously how my work might benefit from a more Foucauldian analysis. Also in the summer of 1988 I had the good fortune of meeting Yoshimi Shun'ya, who pointed out that in my 1986 dissertation I had not adequately dealt with the question of the emperor's gaze. In addition, he introduced me to the pioneering book on visibility and power by Taki Kōji, *Tennō no shōzō* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1988). These encounters prompted me to think more about the relations among the monarchy, nationalism, and the disciplining of national subject-citizens. The immediate result was an article skillfully translated by Professor Yoshimi, "Kindai Nihon ni okeru gunshū to tennō no pējento: shikakuteki shihai ni kansuru jakkan no kōsatsu" (*Shisō*, no. 797 [November 1990]:148–64), or "Crowds and Imperial Pageantry: Some Thoughts on Visual Domination in Modern Japan." The arguments and most of the text have been incorporated into this book.

My work on the Meiji era slowed considerably when the Shōwa emperor fell gravely ill toward the end of 1988, for I was compelled to think more directly about the present and to consider how the monarchy of the postwar and post-high economic growth era might still be important in the politics and nationalism of Japan today. It quickly became apparent that no simple lines could be drawn between the period of the invention of the Japanese monarchy in the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries and the present. Most important, I found it necessary to place the monarchy within the context of late capitalism and the "televisualization" of contemporary culture. Yet I was also reminded, especially by the oppositional discourses of feminists and minoritized groups in Japan, of the ongoing relevance of the issues dealt with in this book—in particular the importance of fashioning a historically informed critique of nationalism and the monarchy in Japan. Moreover, it was also at this time, when political struggles over memories of Imperial Japan and the Second World War in the Asia-Pacific region began to intensify, and under much influence from Lisa Yoneyama's work on Hiroshima memories, that I began to feel that the concept

of memory was central to much of what I had been doing up to that point. While the full results of this diversion into the present are published elsewhere ("Electronic Pageantry and Japan's 'Symbolic Emperor,'" *Journal of Asian Studies* 51 [November 1992]: 824–50), that research is reflected in some important ways in parts of my epilogue.

Over the years I have tried to develop a method for engaging in a historicized analysis of culture, particularly the culture that was produced during the formation of the modern nation-state. Though still not entirely satisfactory, the introduction to this book is an attempt to discuss such a method and to place my project within a historical framework that posits a major historical break in the relationships among culture, memory, the state, and the individual that begins around the time of the Meiji Restoration. Harumi Befu gave me an opportunity to present a substantial portion of this introduction in a conference on cultural nationalism in 1990. The paper was published in a slightly different form as "Inventing, Forgetting, Remembering: Toward a Historical Ethnography of the Nation-State," in Harumi Befu, ed., *Cultural Nationalism in East Asia* (Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, 1993), 77–106, and it is republished here, with some revisions and expansion, courtesy of the Regents of the University of California.

In addition to those already mentioned, Herbert Bix, Hirota Masaki, Irokawa Daikichi, Mellie Ivy, Jung Young-hae, Maeda Ai, Masao Miyoshi, Miyata Noboru, Murakami Shigeyoshi, Nakamura Akira, Ohama Tetsuya, Shimazono Susumu, Stefan Tanaka, Yoneyama Toshiko, Yoneyama Toshinao, Yoneda Kenji, Yoneda Mari, Eiji Yutani, and many others all assisted me in either locating sources or thinking through my analyses. Harry Harootunian has shown by example and through personal communication how cultural theory can be fruitfully applied to questions of culture and power in Japan. He also read through the entire penultimate draft and offered many constructive criticisms. An anonymous reader for the Press pushed me toward greater clarity. A shortened version of this book appeared in Japanese as *Tennō no pējento*, trans. Lisa Yoneyama (Tokyo: Nihon Hōsō Shuppan Kyōkai, 1994), and during its production the editor for the NHK Books series, Michikawa Fumio, provided many helpful suggestions. I also want finally to let my friends in the East Bay and my parents know just how valuable and sustaining their patience, love, and emotional support have been over so many years.

I have received generous financial assistance from the Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Abroad Program, the Japan Foundation,

the Social Science Research Council, the Mabelle McLeod Lewis Memorial Fund, the Reischauer Institute of Japanese Studies at Harvard University, and the Santa Cruz and San Diego campuses of the University of California. Sheila Levine and Erika Büky at the Press and my copy-editor Alice Falk were skillful enough to both improve the manuscript and accommodate most of my idiosyncrasies. I thank them all.

Here and throughout this book the personal names of those who reside or have resided primarily in China, Japan, or Korea are written with the surname preceding the given name while the reverse order is followed for all others.

## CHAPTER ONE

# Introduction

## *Inventing, Forgetting, Remembering*

---

Today it is not unusual for historians and other historically minded analysts of culture to speak of the relatively recent “invention” of some of our most taken-for-granted customs, practices, symbols, ceremonials, and institutions. “Traditional” folk songs, national anthems, flags and costumes, monarchies, and many conventionally accepted practices have come under a new and critical scrutiny. The pomp of British royalty, “splendid, public, and popular,” is now understood to be a construct of the years between the late 1870s and 1914 and not a venerable tradition at all. Bastille Day, it turns out, was not a spontaneous festival originating immediately after the French Revolution; rather, it was invented in 1880. In the United States as well, daily worship of the national flag apparently became a regular school practice only in the 1880s, during the great drive to make recent immigrants into Americans. This current focusing on the invented quality of many uncritically accepted traditions, this historicizing of the details of everyday culture, has contributed to a new kind of skepticism about some of our most deeply held notions. Not least of these has been the naturalness or timelessness of the nation and of national identity.<sup>1</sup>

Interestingly, Basil Hall Chamberlain, the learned pioneer in English-language studies of Japanese history and literature, had already made the same sorts of points about invented traditions more than three-quarters of a century ago. In 1912 he published a short, brilliant, but for the most part now long-forgotten essay titled *The Invention of a New Religion*. Chamberlain argued that while Japan’s governing elites had begun to convince the Japanese people and the rest of the world

## Overview

---

The closing of the era of the great imperial progresses did not lead to the Meiji emperor's return to a world hidden "above the clouds." Even as those spectacular imperial treks through the countryside ground to a halt, the Japanese governing elite and their bureaucracies were busily fabricating a new assortment of imperial pageants. Just as in the period's first two decades, the government's leaders in the second half of Meiji continued to utilize public ritual as a means of effecting or exercising power, not simply reflecting it. Yet the models for the regime's new ceremonials were no longer only those out of a reclaimed native past. Even more important were contemporary blueprints provided by the rival courts and governments of the Western powers, so that the pomp and pageantry that was such an important component of the Meiji state began to take on a new and cosmopolitan style.

Before proceeding with my analyses of these newly fabricated state rituals, however, I want to clarify where I stand with regard to some recent theoretical, comparative, and historical approaches to the study of political ritual. Above all, it is *not* my objective to construct universally valid generalizations about political rituals—to argue, for example, that all polities need them at all times, or that rituals always have certain identifiable effects, such as the ability to induce a sense of political solidarity. Nothing could be further from my objective than the humanistic goal of an anthropologist who recently wrote that he had searched throughout the world, "from mountain tribesmen in New Guinea to construction workers in Ohio, from the rites of chiefs in



precolonial Chad to the rites of modern presidents and prime ministers,” in order to “make out the common threads that unite us,” meaning all of humanity.<sup>1</sup>

Instead, my purpose is to historicize the political rituals which are the subject of this study, using the insights of others who have studied ritual, but not with the assumption that rituals are everywhere and always basically the same because we are all human. I have no particular stake in establishing a privileged place for ritual in the analysis of political power, and I find it refreshing to learn from another author, in a more historically oriented collection of essays on ritual and power, that sometimes rulers seem to have cared very little about ritual making, that they expressed “their power in the crudest and ultimate manifestation of individual power: in personal acts of violence.” In making this statement, Teofilo F. Ruiz is maintaining that while the Castilian kings of the late Middle Ages did not dismiss ritual altogether, power was more often than not tied to sheer physical force.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, I would argue that in our current historical moment television has so altered the nature of ritual that for many of its viewers electronic pageantry succeeds at least as often in collapsing as in constructing meaningful frameworks for politics.<sup>3</sup>

These reservations about the study of political rituals notwithstanding, it is possible to demonstrate that pomp and pageantry were important to the ruling elites’ perception of governance in Japan during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, just as they seem to have been for governments in many other places at that time. The need to create a ceremonial style of governance, even for a modern bureaucratic state under a constitutional monarchy, was well understood by many political figures familiar with constitutional monarchies in Europe. Yano Fumio, for example, wrote in a petition presented in March 1891 to Imperial Household Minister Hijikata Hisamoto that the establishment of various court forms (*shiki*)—by which he meant a variety of rules, regulations, and guidelines for the imperial household, especially prescriptions for the performance of the court’s most important ceremonies—was the “key to success” (*yōketsu*) for a regime under a constitutional monarchy. Such a political system required the cultivation of the majesty (*songen*) of the imperial household and this “majesty” could “only be made real before the eyes of the people through *shiki*.”<sup>4</sup>

Yano was no stranger to the workings of constitutional monarchies in the West. He had studied in England as a young man, had been one

of the leading intellectuals in the movement to establish a constitutional form of government during the 1880s, and had journeyed again to Europe in the middle of that decade.<sup>5</sup> Yet his familiarity with European politics led him to the conclusion not that ceremony had become obsolete for modern governments, but that it was an integral part of governance. Far from suggesting that the symbolic or ceremonial dimension of the state be abandoned, he argued that the government’s leaders should compile a modern equivalent of the *Engishiki*, the tenth-century state’s compilation of rules, forms, and practices that included guidelines for state ceremonies. In creating a Western-influenced constitutional monarchy, then, the Japanese governing elites understood that in addition to adopting institutional frameworks, they would have to fashion a ceremonial style appropriate to the form of government predominant in Europe.

Yet few scholars—whether historians, anthropologists, ethnographers, or anyone else—have taken these new Japanese ceremonials very seriously. For most, the ceremonial and festivities accompanying the promulgation of a constitution, an emperor’s wedding anniversary, a crown prince’s wedding, and victory parades through a city filled with triumphal arches and captured weapons have apparently seemed like just so much fluff. Imagine, for example, the imperial carriage used in the most majestic of state ceremonies: a modern English coach, but one curiously topped with a golden and very ancient-looking phoenix—“with its wings spread out, looking as if about to take off in flight.”<sup>6</sup> Think again of court ritualists in archaic-looking robes solemnizing before the Sun Goddess an event of clearly Western inspiration: a silver wedding anniversary for a Japanese monarch who was not even monogamous. Try to envision Tokyo, with its skyline much closer to the ground than it is today, festooned with a dazzling array of monumental triumphal arches, mostly Western in inspiration. Through this city the emperor paraded in triumph, rejoicing over victories that he had neither planned nor commanded, but that official propaganda as well as newspapers and magazines attributed to him. Furthermore, what significance could there be to national pageants which the masses greeted with seemingly nonsensical popular revelry, complete with *sumō* wrestlers, festive displays, giant floats, wild dancing, festival clothes, gluttonous eating, and masqueraders in transvestite dress, accompanied by the sort of frenetic music which sounded to at least one European observer like “the most heathenish clamour.”<sup>7</sup> All of this ceremony and festivity has generally been passed off as of little historical importance. These

ritual events have been ignored, dismissed as “only ceremonial,” or retold in the form of colorful and exotic anecdotes.<sup>8</sup> There has been little awareness that they may be connected with the real workings of power.

These ceremonial occasions were not trivial to the powerful men in government who created them, most notably Itō Hirobumi. They ordered surveys to determine how such ceremonies were conducted by Western royalty, and they formed commissions to work out the details of the Japanese rites. They invited as many as two thousand Japanese and foreign dignitaries to the new Imperial Palace in Tokyo to observe the ceremonies. They spent enormous amounts of money to ensure sufficient pomp, magnificence, and authenticity in detail. And they flooded the world with visual and written accounts of the occasions. Moreover, hundreds of thousands of the nation’s local elites, also moved by the gravity of the events, often mobilized whole communities to take part in local celebrations that mimicked the rites at the ritual centers. But why should such men have been so obsessed with ceremony? And why did a contemporary like the journalist Ubukata Toshiro count several of these ceremonial occasions among what he called, using the English expression, the “epoch-making” events of the late Meiji to Taishō period?<sup>9</sup>

In our continuing examination of the ties of power to visibility, it is possible to identify at least three dimensions to the relationship between these new pageants and political power. First we must consider a viewing audience normally forgotten in the study of political ritual, namely the world community. While military might and national wealth were the most obvious means by which nations jostled for position in the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century world order, international politics also had a significant symbolic or ceremonial aspect that should not be minimized. The new imperial pageants were performed at least as much for a global as a domestic audience, and they helped construct an internationally comprehensible framework for understanding and carrying out diplomacy. In an age of imperialism Japanese political elites hoped to carve out a privileged position in the world order equal to those of the great Western powers through the performance of impressive national pageants.

David Cannadine has argued that the period from about 1870 to 1914 was marked by an efflorescence of national rituals in the Western world, especially of ceremonies centering on royalty and other heads of state. He also maintains, even while recognizing that the new ceremonies served a domestic need, that the state rituals did not emerge in-

dependently of one another but developed within the context of an international ceremonial rivalry. Thus the Austrians held grand celebrations for the six hundredth anniversary of the Habsburg monarchy, for the millennium of the Kingdom of Hungary, and for Francis Joseph’s Golden and Diamond Jubilees, as well as for his eightieth birthday. The Italians observed a funeral for Victor Emmanuel II and the unveiling of a monument dedicated to him which coincided with the jubilee celebrating Italian Unification. The Russians witnessed a funeral for Alexander III and the tercentenary celebration of the Romanov dynasty. The Germans solemnized Kaiser Wilhelm I’s funeral and the Silver Jubilee of his grandson. The French invented Bastille Day in 1880 and observed the funeral of Victor Hugo and the centennial of the revolution.

Americans joined in the making of rituals as well. They held tremendous celebrations commemorating the centennial of their Revolution and the four hundredth anniversary of Columbus’s “discovery” of their country. The British, the focus of Cannadine’s study, took part in Queen Victoria’s Golden and Diamond Jubilees and her funeral, Edward VII’s coronation and funeral, George V’s coronation, and a number of other events.<sup>10</sup>

As the Japanese state and people became increasingly drawn into the world order during the late nineteenth century, the government’s leaders became enmeshed in this ritualistic rivalry, and many of them came to believe that state ceremonials could be a genuine force in international politics. The dozens of surveys of Western courts, mostly dating from the 1880s and now deposited in the archives of the imperial household, the letters of important figures in Japanese ritual making, and the modern Japanese pageants themselves, some obviously direct copies of Western national ceremonies and every one filled with borrowed ritual forms—these all reveal the Japanese ritual makers’ concern that their state ceremonies equal those of their Western counterparts. And we have already seen the impassioned and influential testimony of such men as Shishido Tamaki and Fukuzawa Yukichi, who maintained that a great empire such as that of Japan required a magnificent setting for its state rites—that the imperial palace and, for Fukuzawa, the capital itself should be able to impress not only the Japanese people but foreign dignitaries as well.

Cannadine has argued that the tense international situation in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries contributed to these developments because in such an era, “national rivalry was both expressed and sublimated in ceremonial competition.”<sup>11</sup> This statement is

suggestive in pointing out that international relations have had something to do with the invention and performance of modern national ceremonies, but it is too vague. While I cannot attempt to improve upon Cannadine's analysis of ceremonial rivalry among Western powers, a bit more can be said about Japan's entrance into this international ceremonial contest.

The purpose of Japan's active engagement in ritualistic rivalry among nations contrasted sharply with that of another form of international rite being performed in other countries of the non-Western world during the same period, namely, colonial ritual. As Bernard Cohn has argued, the British in India, especially after the Great Rebellion of 1857-58, fashioned a "ritual idiom" in order "to express, make manifest and compelling" their colonial authority.<sup>12</sup> Focusing especially on the *darbar*, Cohn showed how ceremonies could be a means by which Western rulers articulated and constructed their domination. The Japanese political elite, on the other hand, seized upon the international visibility of their national ceremonies to demonstrate the regime's modernity, its power, the loyalty of its population, and the depth and majesty of its "Tradition" to the aggressive imperialist powers of the West. The Japanese rulers developed an internationally comprehensible ceremonial idiom through which they expressed their nation's sovereignty. Moreover, beginning in the late 1890s the Japanese ceremonies dramatized Japan's political, cultural, and military superiority over Korea and China and thereby helped construct Japan's prerogatives as a colonial power in its own right.

The Meiji government's leaders, however, also put pageantry to domestic uses as they transformed these ceremonies into the most spectacular ideological performances that the masses who were becoming the nation's new citizens would ever see. Thus while Japan's modern national pageants were constructed within the context of the invention of a transnational ceremonial language, the particulars of the rites evolved with an eye turned toward the special requirements of the Japanese political order. While the details of these performances will become clearer in the ethnographic descriptions that follow, the objects, images, gestures, values, and meanings discernible in these ritual events were not random and disparate, but rather formed a system of interconnected and mutually referential signs and meanings.

In the dominant symbolic order constructed by the ruling elite, the imperial pageantry diagrammed, objectified, and attempted to make real and unproblematic two sets of homologies that were particularly con-

genial to the maintenance of the emperor and nation-centered order of meaning. On the one hand, there was a chain of analogies that centers on the place of Kyoto as I have described it in Part 1—the site of history-myth and Tradition. It includes the idea of emperor as divine and above politics, or of the emperorship, as opposed to the mortal emperor. And it contains the category of sexual ambiguity: the flowing robes of court dress, the smooth face of the youthful emperor, and the invisible body of the emperor, one and the same as all other descendants of Amaterasu, the Sun Goddess. On the other hand, a contrasting set of homologies converges on the physical location of Tokyo—the place of progress, prosperity, and Civilization. It includes the idea of emperor as mortal and head of government, military uniforms, the bearded visage of the monarch, the ruler and the domain of government and public politics as unambiguously masculine, and the visible emperor as a ruler unique in history—the Meiji emperor, for example, rather than his father, Kōmei, or his son the Taishō emperor, and so on.<sup>13</sup>

These two series are in fact connected to each other in an oppositional relationship. Thus we find in the pageants analyzed below the following homologous oppositions:

Kyoto	Tokyo
past	present
history	future
Tradition	Civilization
gendered ambiguity	masculinity
emperor as god (emperorship)	emperor as mortal
emperor as above politics	emperor as head of state
spirituality	mundane prosperity
court robes	military uniform
beardless face	bearded face
invisibility	visibility

While every imperial pageant took elements from both sets of homologies, some drew more heavily from the former, others from the latter.

The ceremonies described and analyzed in the segment "Civilization, Prosperity, and Power" tended more emphatically to repeat elements in the series that included Tokyo, masculinity (except for women in the imperial family in opposition to whom the meaning of the masculine was constructed), Civilization, the military, mundane prosperity, and so on. The other set of homologies became much more prominent

during moments of crisis in this dominant symbolic order, most especially in the period between the monarch's physical death and the accession of his successor. While I will not take up the grand public accession of Emperor Taishō in 1915, the section "Spectacles of Antiques" examines the death rites of both Empress Dowager Eishō and Emperor Meiji. Physical death posed the most serious threat to the fiction of imperial and national permanence and transcendence because such immutabilities were represented by the imperial body. It was thus in this liminal phase between the demise of the old emperor and the accession of the new that the Meiji leaders constructed spectacles out of the chain of associations linked to Kyoto.

This is not an exercise in decoding ritual that looks for the deep structures in Japanese kingship that transcend history;<sup>14</sup> it is rather an interrogation of the processes by which power has worked through the historical construction of binaries in culture, the monarchy, and the national landscape since the late nineteenth century. The success or failure of the imperial regime in creating modern subjects who would willfully participate in the national political community, *despite benefiting differentially from it*, rested in large part on producing the believability of key and frequently conflicting ideas, many of which commoners in the Tokugawa era would have found odd or nonsensical. Such beliefs as the permanence of the nation and the imperial line, the unity of the Japanese people despite their diversity, the ability of the emperor to be both divine and mortal, the position of the emperor as above politics and yet intimately immersed in it, and the naturalness of excluding women from government and political activities—these were hardly self-evident ideas.

Following Pierre Bourdieu, I find it unlikely that the "sheer power of discourse" could ever have produced beliefs about the national community that had not previously been held.<sup>15</sup> There is no inherent reason why those peasants in the provinces who saw notices in early Meiji explaining that "in this land called Japan there is one called the emperor [*tenshisama*] who is descended from the Sun Deity [*tenshō kōtai jingūsama*]"<sup>16</sup> should have felt anything but bewilderment. No simple and straightforward explanation would have been convincing. Yet I cannot agree with Bourdieu that you have to be born into it, that is, into the conditions of existence that reproduce the same sets of mental dispositions, the *habitus*, and the objective structures that seem always to have existed. Another process must have been at work that allowed for the acceptance of recently minted beliefs; and we must ask how it is

that people can adopt beliefs that are imposed from the outside or, to put it differently, are a historical intervention.

If we again take a suggestion from Bourdieu,<sup>17</sup> but open up a wider space for the possibility of acquiring belief in cultural fabrications, it seems possible that believability can be engineered by dominant groups, though not necessarily always consciously, through the strategic manipulation of oppositional series of analogies that dissuade us from recognizing the arbitrariness of any particular element. More specifically, by producing the two mutually and multiply referential chains of homologies noted above, the ruling elite constructed a system of representations that was difficult to critique. Belief, then, depended less upon explanation than upon the production and dissemination of a mystifying swirl of analogous signs, meanings, and values, as well as their opposites. To make the claim of imperial divinity convincing, for example, required not simply explanation through official texts, but the making visible of an appropriate mode of dress, supplying references to Kyoto, Ise, and many other physical places in the nation's symbolic topography, as well as cultivating the ambiguously gendered monarch. Similarly, the strategy for inducing the belief that government should be the domain of men repeatedly invoked the set of homologies that centered on Tokyo and the masculine. There is a system in this mode of thought which was not precisely logical, but not entirely illogical either. An example of this sort of reasoning can be seen in a French survey of 1975 cited by Bourdieu, in which 29 percent of the people being polled associated Giscard d'Estaing with the ant rather than with any of five other animals, and 31 percent linked him to the oak tree rather than five other types of trees.<sup>18</sup>

Unlike Bourdieu, whose contribution is to elucidate the question of believability from the point of view of the actor's "logic of practice," here I am reasoning more from the point of view of the orchestrators of state pageantry in order to expose the strategies they used in their attempts to impose believability. I do not assume that they always succeeded, a point that I shall discuss in Part 3 and my conclusion. Yet it seems worthwhile to investigate the logic of their efforts to create belief, since history makes clear that they were not wholly unsuccessful either.

We come now to the third way in which imperial pageantry helped to produce a relationship of power. While these new imperial pageants occupied an important place within a system of representations that was made visible to international and domestic audiences, they were also

occasions that made the people visible to the emperor. Like the earlier imperial progresses, these new public ceremonials helped fashion an image of the monarch as Overseer. Though he no longer rambled across the countryside directly subjecting the people and the land to his inspection, he regularly emerged from the palace in full pomp demonstrating that he could discipline with his gaze all those who gathered around him. And in the end, this new and internationalized style of public pageantry was even more effective than the progresses in creating the suspicion that the people might be the constant targets of the emperor's sight. While this ocular dimension of the monarch can be located in nearly all the pageants described below, I will especially focus on the imperial military reviews because they most clearly diagrammed for the people then, and for the historian today, this relationship of visual domination.

Part 2 is divided into two chapters. What follows immediately, "Fabricating Imperial Ceremonies," is a fairly straightforward description of the imperial pageants that especially emphasizes their newness and the logic of their constructions. The interplay of the two sets of homologues, the one centering on Tokyo and the other on Kyoto and other important sites in western Japan, should be fairly obvious. So also should the construction of the visionary monarch. The second chapter, "The Monarchy in Japan's Modernity," places the pageants and the imagery found there within a more rigorous and comprehensive analysis of Japan's modern monarchy.

## CHAPTER THREE

# Fabricating Imperial Ceremonies

---

## Civilization, Prosperity, and Power

---

*Although they remain impoverished, the poor greet the New Year with a fresh sense of hope. Similarly, as the twentieth century approached, it really did seem as though Japan was somehow advancing toward Civilization and that we [as individuals] were becoming, to some degree, more important. In fact, it was an age in which we did grow richer in all things, day by day, month by month. Japan, too, moved ever forward, month by month, year by year. In the twentieth century, we definitely became greater.*

*We moved into the twentieth century, first one year and then another, filled with great hopes of a dawning age. In 1900, that is, the thirty-third year of Meiji, the wedding ceremony of our present emperor, then the crown prince, took place. The date was the Tenth of May. . . .*

*We got ourselves ready in the morning and made arrangements among our friends. About ten of the most intimate of us departed from the boardinghouse, entered [the Palace Plaza] through Sakuradamon, and stood just in front of the wooden barricade at Nijubashi. We waited in order to see the carriages of the crown prince and princess pass by. A considerable crowd had already gathered by the time we got there and it grew as people with the same objective as us came in unending succession. Mounted policemen went here and there, while regular policemen*

*controlled the crowd which moved recklessly forward. There were people who climbed up to sit on the wooden barricade; and even some who scrambled up the willow trees in front. When one climbed up a tree, several others climbed up in imitation. Policemen came around and brought the people down from the barricade. Those in the trees were pulled down by their feet. Yet, no sooner had the policemen gone than the people once again scurried up the trees or seated themselves on the barricade. I was reminded of the Bible wherein it is written that Zacchaeus, a man of short stature, climbed up a sycamore tree in order to see Jesus' procession. I looked over the crowd that day. They also seemed to share the feelings of the multitudes of Jerusalem who saying, "Hosanna, oh Hosanna. Blessed is He who comes in the name of the Lord," laid their garments down on the road and welcomed the King who had come as the Son of Man.*

Ubukata Toshirō, *Meiji Taishō kenbunshi* (1926)

Aside from imperial funerals the most spectacular pageants of the Meiji era demonstrated the imperial regime's ability to ensure national prosperity or well-being. They took place primarily in Tokyo, the city representing the nation's modernity, progress, wealth, military power, and ability to join in world civilization; and through them the governing elites legitimated their rule, both to foreigners and the Japanese people, by demonstrating their ability to produce prosperity in a world of intense international rivalries.

All these ceremonial events certainly included ancient-looking rites performed within the innermost sanctuary of the Imperial Palace; and imperial messengers reported on the occasions to the imperial ancestors and the supposed primordial gods at sites sacred to the national memory throughout the nation, especially in western Japan. However, the archaic-looking elements of ceremony were shed as the pageantry moved out into public view. In public the central actor, Emperor Meiji, rode in carriages modeled on those used by European monarchs, always wearing his modern, Western-style military garb. Civil and military officials, dressed in the latest European fashions, packed the emperor's processions. And huge numbers of soldiers, sailors, and weapons displayed the scale of the nation's military might. Through these public displays the emperor's regime asserted that its government brought national well-being, that it was at the forefront of the modern world, and that it was thus justified in its rule. In short, these ceremonies gave

the impression, as Ubukata put it, of Japan "advancing toward Civilization" and of becoming "richer in all things, day by day, month by month."

#### THE CONSTITUTION'S PROMULGATION

It would be difficult to overemphasize the significance of the Meiji Constitution's promulgation on 11 February 1889. The Constitution not only established the legal basis for Japan's constitutional monarchy; the ceremonies and festive activities held in conjunction with the promulgation inaugurated a new style of imperial ceremonial event. Furthermore, this event set the standards for all future national pageants held to celebrate auspicious occasions of the imperial household. With the recently reconstructed palace and imperial city used as the nation's central ceremonial complex, the flooding of people into and information out of the city, and innumerable local observances timed to coincide with activities in the ritual center, this was Japan's first modern national ceremony.

Itō Hirobumi, then president of the Privy Council, initiated the planning of the promulgation ceremonies. While the particulars of the planning are not clear, the Board of Ceremonies' (*shikibushoku*) official record of the event notes that on 8 November 1888, the president presented his suggestions on the order of the ceremonies to the emperor. On that day the cabinet and the Imperial Household Ministry appointed a committee to work out the details. Ten days later, the official plan, endorsed by Prime Minister Kuroda Kiyotaka, Itō, and Imperial Household Minister Hijikata Hisamoto, was presented to the emperor for approval.<sup>1</sup>

The rites began by emphasizing the divine aspect of the emperor and rendering sacred the political act of establishing the Constitution. The ceremonies took place in sacred and national time, on *kigensetsu*, the holiday created in 1873 to commemorate the accession of the first emperor, Jimmu, and hence the founding of the nation. The core rites were held in the most sacred space of the palace, the Palace Sanctuary, a space unseen by any but the rites' performers. There, as the print media reported in minute detail based upon official schedules, the emperor, dressed in the ceremonial vestments of his ancestors, first offered a sacred sprig at the *kashikodokoro*, literally, "the place of awe," and made a solemn vow to the first ancestress of the imperial line. He pledged both to preserve the ancient form of monarchical government

and to uphold the new laws, that is, the Imperial House Law and the Constitution. The emperor repeated this oath before the imperial ancestors in the *kōreiden* and then worshipped the myriad deities of the *shinden*. Imperial messengers had been dispatched to report the accomplishment to the nation's gods at Ise Shrine, the mausoleums of Emperors Jimmu and Kōmei (Meiji's father), and Yasukuni Shrine. Other messengers informed the dead heroes of the Restoration—men such as Iwakura Tomomi, Ōkubo Toshimichi, and Kido Takayoshi. Prefectural governors also delivered news of the Constitution and the Imperial House Law to the gods enshrined in all of the central government shrines (*kankokuheisha*) throughout the land.<sup>2</sup>

Having thus sacralized the establishment of the Constitution and the Imperial House Law and given these laws a suprahistorical foundation, the emperor stepped out of his priestly robes and donned his military uniform for the formal and visible granting of the Constitution in the new Throne Room. The emperor's reading of the "Imperial Speech on the Promulgation of the Constitution" and his handing of the Constitution to Prime Minister Kuroda highlighted this ceremony. The emperor declared that he promulgated the Constitution "in virtue of the supreme power" that the imperial ancestors had invested in him; and he urged the cooperation of the nation's subjects in "making manifest the glory of Our country, both at home and abroad, and of securing forever the stability of the work bequeathed to Us by Our Imperial Ancestors."<sup>3</sup> The actual passing of the Constitution to Kuroda was the physical enactment of the idea that the Constitution was a gift of the emperor and his one line of ancestors to the Japanese people.

Princes and princesses, the state ministers, members of the peerage, prefectural governors, presidents of prefectural assemblies, other high-ranking civil and military officials, the foreign diplomatic corps and other foreign guests—these dignitaries, representing the people of Japan and of the Western world, had all witnessed the "dignified and brilliant" ceremony.<sup>4</sup> But even more important, the event had been opened to the editors of ten Tokyo newspapers, five provincial newspapers, and three English language papers.<sup>5</sup>

In fact, the advertising of the ceremony had begun days before, with the newspapers describing the schedule of ceremonies and even printing a plan showing how the various personages would be ranged around the Throne Room.<sup>6</sup> This plan showed the emperor's throne—marked by a circle and the characters for *gyokuza* (imperial seat) in the largest print—on a dais at the head of the room. To his right and left were the

Sacred Jewel and the Sacred Sword. The high officials of the imperial household could be seen surrounding the dais. Just off to the right in front of the dais was the empress's seat, dignified in print almost as large as the emperor's. She was surrounded by princesses of the blood and important members of her entourage. Just in front of the empress as well as across the open space in front of the throne were the princes of the blood. All of the people positioned toward the front of the room were part of the imperial household. They would in theory be governed by their own body of law, the Imperial House Law—not by the Constitution. Members of the foreign diplomatic corps stood close to the front of the room, but far off to the left. Although distinguished spectators, they were not participants in the ceremony. The recipients of the Constitution, the ministers of state and other high officials, stood facing the emperor. As Ikeda Terusuke, president of the Chiba Prefectural Assembly, put it in his eyewitness description of the ceremony, since the presidents of the prefectural assemblies represented the people of their prefectures, the attendance of all the presidents was tantamount to the attendance of the people of the nation.<sup>7</sup>

The formal morning ceremonies were reserved for the eyes of the notables and reporters arrayed within the palace, but the governing elites felt it necessary to push the emperor and his entourage out of the palace and before the people. In the afternoon the ceremonial flowed out of the palace in the form of a stately procession that crossed the newly renovated Nijūbashi and the recently cleared Palace Plaza and moved through the capital's avenues, finally stopping at the Aoyama Military Parade Field.

The pageantry outside the palace was nearly as carefully orchestrated as the ceremonies within. Around five thousand students from schools under the direct control of the Ministry of Education—schools such as the Imperial University, the Upper Middle School, the Upper Normal School, the Upper Commercial School, the Upper Girls' School, the Industrial School, and the Fine Arts School—waited for the imperial procession in the area of the Palace Plaza between Nijūbashi and the south entrance to the Plaza, Sakuradamon. They had received their instructions from the Ministry of Education. Primary school children from the fifteen wards and six districts of Tokyo Prefecture were stretched out along the entire route from Sakuradamon to the Aoyama Military Parade Field. Their roles had been arranged through the Education Section of the Tokyo Metropolitan Government.<sup>8</sup> When the imperial procession appeared, all the students performed their tasks

perfectly, the students of the Imperial University shouting *banzai*, the girls of the Upper Girls' School singing the recently composed *ki-gensetsu* song, and the primary school children singing an endless chorus of *kimi ga yo*, the de facto national anthem, as the imperial procession passed before them.

The imperial procession, newly devised and called the state ceremonial cortege (*kokugishiki robo*), represented the structure of the new constitutional monarchy. Authority was heavily weighted toward the procession's center, for the imperial cluster was to be found here; authority diminished with distance from the core. The princes and princesses of the blood immediately preceded the imperial coach. They were in turn led by the high officials of the Imperial Household Ministry, beginning with the highest, Minister Hijikata Hisamoto and Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal Sanjō Sanetomi. Prime Minister Kuroda and Privy Council President Itō rode together in the carriage immediately behind the imperial center. They were followed by the other cabinet ministers. This arrangement, with the highest members and officials of the imperial household preceding the emperor and the highest officials in the government following, duplicated the legal separation of the court and the new government.

The imperial coach, "its gold-tasseled draping glittering in the sunlight,"<sup>9</sup> was a stunning if curious centerpiece for the procession, which signified the modernity and international prestige of the Japanese monarch: an English carriage driven by six perfectly matched bays and attended by grooms in full livery. The architects of the modern imperial image claimed it and its associations for the emperor by its decorations: chrysanthemum crests and a crown of the same gilded phoenix that had formerly adorned the ancient imperial palanquins. Clearly visible within rode the emperor and the empress. The innovation of the imperial couple riding together, widely publicized as never having been seen in all of Japanese history, signaled the empress's new prominence in the process of manufacturing a public image for the imperial family.

After about a two-hour ride through the immense crowd that had gathered on the Palace Plaza and along the route, the cortege arrived at the parade field. Officials of the *chokunin* (second highest) and *sōnin* (third highest) ranks, chairmen of prefectural assemblies, members of the foreign diplomatic corps, and other invited guests sat in grandstands underneath tents pitched in the northern part of the field. These dignitaries first greeted the emperor and empress and then watched as the imperial couple inspected over 11,000 soldiers and sailors lined up on

the field. The emperor, as usual, rode on horseback. In the second part of the ceremony the soldiers and sailors, led by the Imperial Guards and the Tokyo Garrison, marched past the imperial couple as they stood in front of the tents. The imperial procession then returned to the palace, again through cheering crowds, to await a state banquet that would be held in the evening for the Japanese and foreign dignitaries.

For the people of Tokyo, the celebrating continued into the next day as the emperor, responding to the request of Tokyo's governor, agreed to parade through the city a second time. On 12 February the imperial procession, less formal than that of the previous day, again exited through Sakuradamon but then proceeded to Shinbashi. From there the emperor, empress, and their entourage of princes, princesses, high officials, and escorts of various types paraded up the nearly straight eight-kilometer boulevard that stretched from Shinbashi to Ueno Park (see Figure 3). At key locations along the route, private companies or local associations had built enormous arches. From these hung lanterns, electric lights, streamers, and national flags. The gigantic *torii* (shrine gateway) built by the Tokyo Tramway Company at Shinbashi featured a covering of green leaves and was decorated with numerous flags and lanterns. A pair of crossed national flags topped the highest beam of the *torii*, and below them was a plaque that read, "The Imperial Throne Is Eternal" (*hōsō mukyū*). The great arch at Kyōbashi, built by the Tokyo Kōronsha, a newspaper company, reached a height perhaps twice that of the surrounding two-story buildings and was remarkable for the use of mandarin oranges to form the imperial chrysanthemum emblem. Electric lights illuminated the arch in the evening. But perhaps the most stunning of the monumental creations for the festival was a huge greenery-covered facsimile of a suspension bridge built on Nihonbashi by the Japan Railway Company. Huge characters made of sacred bamboo stated, "Long Live the Throne" (*hōsō banzai*). As during the previous day, great crowds, schoolchildren singing *kimi ga yo*, and floats of all sorts filled the city, especially along the procession's route.<sup>10</sup>

#### THE GREAT IMPERIAL WEDDING ANNIVERSARY

Those who fashioned Japan's modern monarchy borrowed the idea of celebrating the twenty-fifth wedding anniversary of the emperor and empress directly from the practice of Western royalty. As early as 1882, Yanagihara Sakimitsu, then envoy extraordinary and



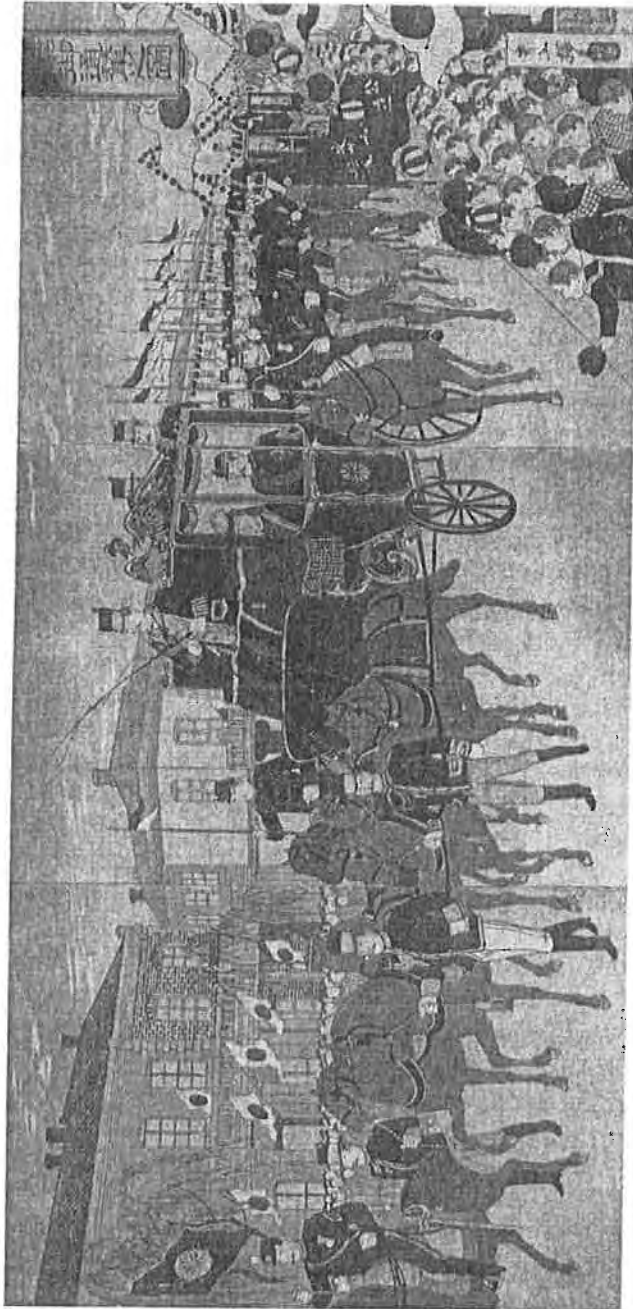


Figure 3. Woodblock print of the 12 February 1889 imperial procession along the boulevard from Shinbashi to Ueno. Inoue Tankei, "Kenpō happu gotsūren no zu," 1889. Courtesy of Kanagawa Prefectural Museum of Cultural History.

minister plenipotentiary in Russia, sent a report on the silver wedding anniversary of the Swedish monarch to Foreign Minister Inoue Kaoru. Inoue in turn forwarded this report to Nabeshima Naohiro, grand master of ceremonies (*shikibuchō*) within the Imperial Household Ministry.<sup>11</sup>

In 1893 the Foreign Ministry conducted a more systematic survey of silver and golden anniversaries in Western courts through Japanese ministers residing in Europe. One of them, Nakashima Nobuyuki, wrote on imperial wedding anniversaries in Italy. He indicated that the celebrations in Italy for the silver anniversary of Emperor Humbert I and Empress Margherita Teresa Giovanna had been held over thirteen days, from late April to early May 1893, in the three cities of Rome, Naples, and La Spezia. He described the visit to Italy of the German emperor and empress, William II and Augusta Victoria, the Italian imperial couple's greeting of Italian and foreign dignitaries, the banqueting, the theater, the music within the palace, and the imperial military review held on 24 April. Nakashima indicated that both the Italian and German emperors had worn the uniforms of military commanders and had ridden on horseback as they reviewed about 20,000 troops. The empresses had accompanied the emperors, but by carriage. Most important, the Japanese minister in Italy indicated that the celebration had been significant politically. It had not been simply a private affair of the imperial family. With the German emperor and empress journeying to Italy, the event had served as an opportunity to "strengthen ever more the Triple Alliance of Italy, Germany, and Austria."<sup>12</sup>

The Japanese government's leaders, intent on mastering the ceremonial style of the Western monarchies and cognizant of the political importance of such national celebrations, began to make concrete plans for Emperor Meiji's twenty-fifth wedding anniversary celebration. On 17 January 1894, Emperor Meiji, at the urging of Prime Minister Itō, ordered the formation of a committee within the Imperial Household Ministry that would conduct yet another survey of the silver wedding anniversary celebrations of foreign monarchies. On 26 January the decision to have the ceremony on 9 March was made public, and the foreign diplomats in Japan were duly informed. The official gazette (*Kanpō*) reported the full schedule of events on 15 February.<sup>13</sup>

The core ceremonies followed closely the pattern established at the Constitution's promulgation. They began within the sacred and invisible confines of the Palace Sanctuary, continued into the public rooms of the palace where Japanese and foreign dignitaries observed them, and

culminated with an imperial military review at the Aoyama Military Parade Field. At the palace, the most sacred rites took place within the mysterious confines of the inner sanctuary. These rites, hidden from the general public, were so mysterious that newspapers and magazines reported them incorrectly. While according to the official history of the Meiji emperor's reign the chief ritualist (*shōtenchō*), Kujō Michitaka, worshipped as proxy for the emperor and the empress did not worship at all, the media reported that the imperial couple, dressed in their ancient ceremonial robes, had personally worshipped before the three shrines of the palace's inner sanctuary. Be that as it may, clearly what mattered to those addressing the people of the nation was the fabrication of an image of the emperor and empress worshipping the national gods rather than accuracy about what had "really" happened.<sup>14</sup>

A proxy for the empress dowager, the crown prince, seven princes of the blood, Prime Minister Itō Hirobumi, and other high officials followed the example of Emperor Meiji's proxy. Later, in the afternoon, dignitaries below the level of count also went before the national gods in the Palace Sanctuary. In the meantime, as in the previous national ceremony, rites were held at Ise Shrine, all of the central government shrines, and the mausoleums of Emperors Jimmu and Kōmei.

Before noon, the emperor, dressed in his formal military uniform (*seisō*), and the empress, dressed in a white Western gown, received the felicitations of Japanese and foreign dignitaries. These included over two hundred Japanese princes, peers, and high officials, both civil and military. In most cases they were accompanied by their wives. Next, the imperial couple granted audiences to the foreign ministers. First, French Minister Sienkiewicz, doyen of the foreign diplomatic corps, read a letter of congratulations from the French president. The message seemed to indicate that the government had succeeded in impressing the foreign powers of Japan's civilized stature and progress: "Because the president of France has the most cordial and sincere feelings for His Majesty, he is honored to be given the opportunity to declare that the past twenty-five years providing this opportunity to celebrate the Silver Anniversary Ceremony today has been a period of extraordinary progress for Japan." The president also expressed his best wishes to the empress and the people of Japan. Ministers of other foreign powers—England, Germany, Russia, the United States, Belgium, Korea, and Austria—all followed with similar messages from the monarchs or presidents of their countries.<sup>15</sup>

Following the pattern established at the time of the Constitution's promulgation, the emperor and empress rode together out of the palace in a state ceremonial carriage and proceeded through the city for an imperial military review at Aoyama. Again led by students of the Imperial University, a huge crowd of people filled the Palace Plaza and greeted the imperial couple with cheers of *banzai*. While the newspapers reported that due to the inclement weather the crowds in the city as a whole were not nearly as large as during the Constitution's promulgation, spectators thoroughly packed the processional route from the palace, past Toranomon, along the moat, and up Aoyama Avenue to the Parade Field.<sup>16</sup> After arriving at the Parade Field, the emperor and empress entered a specially constructed Imperial Pavilion where they granted audiences to their most important guests: primarily members of the imperial clan (*kōzoku*), high officials, and foreign diplomats. The imperial review commenced with the couple riding together in an open carriage, accompanied by a train of princes and princesses of the blood. After the review the emperor and empress watched the march-past ceremony from their carriage in front of the Imperial Pavilion. The ceremony at the Parade Field lasted about two hours.

The celebration continued into the night at the palace with a banquet and performance of *bugaku*, the ancient court music and dancing. Many of the guests, echoing the matrimonial theme, came as couples, starting with Itō Hirobumi and his wife, and the foreign representatives accompanied by their wives. The emperor and empress entered both the banquet hall and the Throne Room for the *bugaku* arm in arm, further demonstrating their modern and civilized conjugal relationship. At the conclusion of the banquet they shook hands with their guests and conversed with the most important of them, including the foreign representatives and their wives. For the *bugaku* performance the emperor and empress sat side by side on their thrones upon a dais that had been specially erected for the occasion.

The government used the opportunity provided by the Great Imperial Wedding Anniversary to inaugurate what would become an extremely popular visual medium through which to circulate some of the key symbols and images of the modern regime: it issued Japan's first commemorative postage stamps. Such stamps have become such a common everyday object that surely most people today give them little thought. But it is important to recall that they did not exist in Japan until the end of nineteenth century, and their production, as well as the

custom of collecting them, must be understood in the context of modern nationalism. For the imperial wedding anniversary the Ministry of Communications printed over fourteen million two-sen stamps and a million five-sen stamps. Of the five commemorative postal stamps issued during the Meiji period, three were designed for ceremonial events I discuss in this section: namely, the imperial wedding anniversary, the wedding of the crown prince, and the Triumphal Military Review of April 1906. Moreover, stamps honoring the imperial family's and the nation's auspicious events have continued to be produced throughout the twentieth century.<sup>17</sup> As tiny as they are and as insignificant as they might seem, stamps were and continue to be widely disseminated repositories of national meaning and memory.

#### JAPAN'S FIRST IMPERIAL WEDDING

Early on the morning of 10 May 1900 Crown Prince Yoshihito, the future Taishō emperor, departed with his entourage from his residence in Aoyama. He was bound for the Imperial Palace. Just a little earlier Kujō Sadako, the daughter of Kujō Michitaka, who was the patriarch of one of the "five regent families" (*gosekke*), also set out for the palace with her attendants from the Kujō estate at Akasaka.<sup>18</sup> Their ultimate destination was the Palace Sanctuary, where they were to be married.

The formal rites had actually begun some three months previously. On National Foundation Day (*kigensetsu*) imperial messengers announced the couple's engagement to the imperial ancestors at Ise Shrine, the mausoleum of Emperor Jimmu, and the mausoleums of Emperor Kōmei and his recently deceased consort, Empress Dowager Eishō. Court ritualists also performed rites within the Palace Sanctuary and announced the engagement to the national gods. On the same day the Imperial Household Ministry informed the nation's citizens of the engagement through a public notice (*kokuji*).

For the wedding, court ritualists prepared all three shrines of the Palace Sanctuary with decorations, offerings of food, and sacred music, and Chief Ritualist (*shōtenchō*) Iwakura read a Shinto prayer. When the crown prince and future princess arrived at the *kashikodokoro*—both dressed in ancient court robes—they first purified themselves with water (*temizu*) and then offered the sacred sprig. The crown prince personally reported the marriage to the Sun Goddess. He and the princess then received sacred wine. This concluded the Shinto-style wedding cere-

mony. The crown prince and princess moved on to worship at the two other shrines within the Palace Sanctuary.

The rites making up this Shinto-style wedding in front of the *kashikodokoro*, though ancient-looking, were yet another conscious invention of the Meiji regime's leaders. Throughout all of Japanese history no religious ceremonies, let alone ceremonies before the Sun Goddess, had ever accompanied the marriage of any member of the imperial household. The ceremony most closely approximating the marriage was the *judai*, the formal entry into court of the principal imperial consort (*nyōgo*) before her installation as empress (*kōgo*). This ceremony, which had dated at least from the reign of Emperor Daigo (885–930), declined after the fourteenth century but was revived during the early Tokugawa period and lasted until the *judai* of Emperor Meiji's principal consort.<sup>19</sup> Thus Ichijō Haruko, later known as Empress Dowager Shōken, entered Emperor Meiji's court on 9 February 1869 with no invocation of the gods at any stage.<sup>20</sup>

The notion of a formal religious marriage ceremony, like the celebration of wedding anniversaries, was inspired by Western courts. Sometime in the 1880s, Fujinami Kototada, an influential bureaucrat within the Imperial Household Ministry and in 1900 a consultant for the wedding of Crown Prince Yoshihito (*tōgu gokongi goyōgakari*), wrote a report entitled "A Survey of the English Monarchy's Practices" ("Eikoku teishitsu shorei torishirabesho"). In one section of this commentary, included among the papers that Itō Hirobumi collected during the drafting of the Meiji Constitution, Fujinami noted the following:

In Europe, marriage is a religious matter. Thus marriage ceremonies are conducted in churches. They are performed by priests. Civil marriage ceremonies are modern and there are not many who have these. Even in France, a country that requires civil marriage ceremonies, there are still many who have religious marriage ceremonies. Therefore, it should be realized that the marriage ceremonies of the royal houses and families are also usually religious marriages. The most prominent features of the religious marriage ceremony are the following. The priest who performs the ceremony stands in front of the altar, accompanied by his assisting priests. Facing the two newlyweds, he asks the ceremonial questions. The newlyweds reply to this; and when they answer in the affirmative, the attending priest announces the conclusion of the marriage and prays, facing God. With regard to this part [of the ceremony], there is no difference between the high and the low, among ceremonies generally. However, in the case of the marriages of the royal houses and families it is desirable to have a stately escort (*gijō*). Therefore, a number of dignitaries (*kōki no hitobito*) are

summoned for a grand procession to the place of the marriage. . . . Of course, much concern is given to the monarch's marriage ceremony and it is carried out with pomp. The crown prince's wedding ceremony is next in importance. Such things are clear.<sup>21</sup>

In this period, with the Meiji government's leaders still striving to create a modern monarchy that they believed would represent a level of civility equal to that of the West, such reports as Fujinami's appear to have had a great impact. Itō Hirobumi was again the key figure in adapting the Western ceremony to the Japanese monarchy. On 24 August 1899—only three days after Grand Chamberlain Tokudaiji Sannenori formally notified Kujō Michitaka that his daughter had been designated as the crown prince's future bride—Itō assumed presidency of a new Imperial Institutions Investigatory Bureau (*teishitsu seido chōsa kyoku*). The drafting of a law pertaining to marriages of the imperial household was one of the first concrete tasks that fell to this bureau. Itō personally wrote a draft of the law and designed the marriage ceremony for the crown prince and Princess Sadako in December 1899. The Imperial Household Ministry announced the law on 25 April 1900. The most outstanding feature of the twenty-six articles making up the “Imperial Household Marriages Law” was the stipulation that marriages of the imperial household would take place before the *kashikodokoro*,<sup>22</sup> a “tradition” that continues to this day.

An interesting document in the Imperial Household Agency's archives testifies to the great confusion that the invention of this ritual could produce even for those it most directly involved. The document is collected among typed copies of Itō's “miscellaneous writings” of 1907, when deliberations on supplements to the Imperial House Law of 1889 were taking place. From its labeling as “Drafts Responding to Imperial Questions” (“Gokamon hōtōan”), it is clear that Itō had written these various explanations about the imperial household's organization, practices, and regulations as answers to the emperor's questions. It reveals even the emperor's confusion about the meaning of the imperial wedding ceremony and suggests an uncertainty about the new attempt to construct the imperial family as a nuclear family bound together by a singular and lifelong marriage tie. In one explanation Itō wrote, “The crown prince does not have a marriage ceremony after the enthronement because he is already married.” And he elaborated:

I respectfully offer that since the princess as a matter of course becomes the empress upon the imperial accession of [her husband]—the crown prince or

the eldest grandson in the direct imperial line—it is unnecessary to have another imperial marriage ceremony. Article 11 of the Regulations Governing Accession to the Throne states that “prior to the enthronement ceremony's appointed day the emperor bearing the imperial regalia and accompanied by the empress moves to the imperial palace in Kyoto.” Article 16 states that “after the conclusion of the enthronement ceremony and the *daijōsai* the emperor worships with the empress at Ise Shrine, Atsuta Shrine, Jimmu Tenno's mausoleum, as well as at the mausoleums of the four previous emperors,” and it is said in Article 17 that “when the emperor and the empress return to the palace in Tokyo following the enthronement ceremony and *daijōsai* they worship at the *kōreiden* [enshrining the imperial ancestors] and the *shinden* [enshrining the innumerable deities of heaven and earth].” Thus it goes without saying that this empress is the same empress that was formerly crown princess or princess of the eldest grandson in the direct imperial line. (emphasis on the word “empress” in original)<sup>23</sup>

Apparently the idea of a marriage ceremony for imperial family members and perhaps the notion of one monogamous marriage bond was so unfamiliar that even the Meiji emperor himself did not understand that a single marriage ceremony should suffice for an heir to the throne, or that the wife of the heir would automatically become the empress.

Itō could be extremely candid about the Meiji leaders' rather ruthless manipulation of the crown prince in nearly every way, as on the occasion of his marriage. The German doctor Erwin Baelz, who not only taught at the Imperial University but also served as a court physician, participated in making arrangements for the crown prince's wedding. He noted Itō's attitude toward the royal heir: “Yesterday (8 May 1900) we had another meeting at Prince Arisugawa's about the crown prince's wedding. Itō made a remark which struck me by its extraordinary frankness. Addressing himself to Prince Arisugawa, he said: ‘It is really very hard luck to be born a crown prince. Directly he comes into the world he is swaddled in etiquette, and when he gets a little bigger he has to dance to the fiddling of his tutors and advisers.’ Thereupon Itō made a movement with his fingers as if he were pulling the strings of a marionette.”<sup>24</sup>

Many elements of this ceremonial event followed precedents set by the previous two imperial ceremonies, with the obvious exception that the crown prince played the central role. Like the emperor, the crown prince suggested both the human and the divine aspects of the monarchy by the clothes he wore. Whenever he appeared outside the Palace Sanctuary he dressed in the uniform of an army major, while within that most sacred place he assumed the ancient vestments. Even commercial

advertisements of the period associated particular clothes with such images. "And the crown prince's formal clothes," says one party to a conversation within the advertisement, "these are called his *sokutai*. He is certainly splendid (*rippa*) in his Western clothes, but clothes from ancient times such as these sure are noble. It makes one naturally clap one's hands together in worship." "Of course," replies an acquaintance, "he's a living god who's directly descended through generations from the Sun Goddess. I tell ya, somehow tears of gratitude overflow. *Banzai, banzai.*"<sup>25</sup>

After the rites in the Palace Sanctuary, the emperor and empress greeted the crown prince, dressed now in his army major's uniform, and Princess Sadako, who wore a *manteau de cour*. The senior imperial couple offered their felicitations and cups of congratulatory wine. The morning ceremonies thus concluded, the new imperial couple boarded a state ceremonial carriage, "a glittering structure of rich lacquer, glowing gold and bright glass," for the procession that would take them to the crown prince's palace at Aoyama. The coach had been designed by Fujinami Kototada, the court official who had earlier written a report on the English monarchy.<sup>26</sup>

The scene outside the palace, with tens of thousands of people gathered on the Palace Plaza, was a result of both official planning and unanticipated enthusiasm. Viewing areas had been reserved for people with special affiliations. The most important of them were members of the Association for the Celebration of the Crown Prince's Wedding (*tōgū denka gokeiji hōshukukai*); students from the Peers' School, the Imperial University, and other schools under the direct jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education; and various officials. Again, as in the previous national events, schoolchildren lined up along the route of the imperial procession. However, onlookers began spilling into the specially reserved areas, disrupting the arrangements before the departure of the new couple from the palace. The confusion out on the plaza delayed the departure of the procession by about twenty minutes. Nevertheless, the crown prince and Princess Sadako finally managed to exit from the palace and to return to Aoyama through huge crowds of *banzai*-shouting onlookers. All along the way, the imperial couple waved through the carriage windows in acknowledgment to the crowds.<sup>27</sup>

In the afternoon, the couple again proceeded to the palace for a grand reception and banquet. The emperor, empress, crown prince, and Princess Sadako received the congratulations of the highest dignitaries, both Japanese and foreign, and their wives in the Phoenix Room (*hōōno*

*ma*). Next came a grand banquet that utilized three sprawling rooms of the palace in order to accommodate the two thousand guests.<sup>28</sup>

The banquet concluded the events of the tenth. The crown prince and Princess Sadako departed from Tokyo on 23 May for Ise Shrine, the mausoleum of Emperor Jimmu in Nara, and the mausoleums of Emperor Kōmei and Empress Dowager Eishō, in Kyoto. The pilgrimage to these sites of national and imperial memory dramatized the frequently stressed legitimating idea that the imperial family stood at the end of a "line unbroken since time immemorial" (*bansei ikkei*). Students, officials, Red Cross members, military reservists, religious leaders, and other spectators came out all along the lengths of the Tōkaidō Line and the routes to these mnemonic sites to greet the imperial couple. In Okazaki, citizens echoed the theme of continuity with the sublime past. They put out two huge signs which together read, "Oh! How Great, the Power and Virtue of the Imperial Ancestors" (*Ah, dai naru ka na—kōso itoku*), and between them was placed a painting depicting a scene from the "age of the gods" (*kamiyo*). On 2 June, having dutifully reported their marriage to the imperial ancestors in western Japan, the future emperor and empress began their return journey from Kyoto to Tokyo.<sup>29</sup>

#### WAR RITES AND VISUAL DOMINATION

Around the turn of the twentieth century Tokyo became the center of the Japanese people's celebrations of war. These large-scale ceremonial events began during the Sino-Japanese War, proliferated in number and magnitude through the Russo-Japanese War, and reached their Meiji period climax in the week or so around the Meiji era's greatest military spectacle, the Triumphal Military Review of 30 April 1906. With these celebrations the governing elites displayed the enormous military might of the regime, placed the emperor and his city at the center of that power, and also constructed the image of the monarch as the Overseer to a greater possible degree than in any other form of public ritual. Moreover, in large part because of the great pathos of a nation in which nearly every village and town produced war dead,<sup>30</sup> the rites that followed the Russo-Japanese war drew the Japanese people together as no other previous event had done.

The regime's military character had, of course, affected the appearance of the city prior to the Sino-Japanese War. The Yasukuni Shrine complex, Japan's central and most visible war commemorative site, had

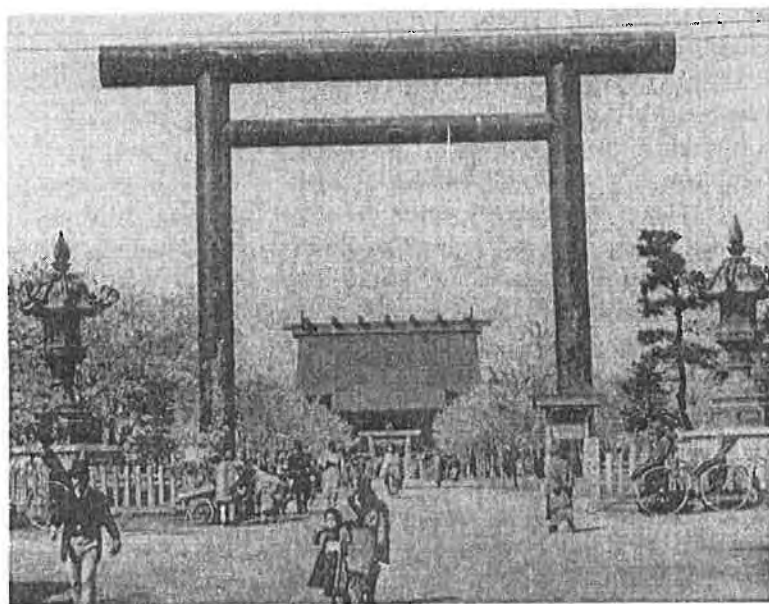


Figure 4. Glass photographic plate of the bronze gateway at Yasukuni Shrine. "Yasukuni jinja." Courtesy of Yokohama Archives of History.

already acquired its most famous embellishments of the modern era, and the War Museum had opened in 1882. Then in 1887 the army erected one of modern Japan's most famous new shrine gateways (*torii*), unprecedented in its scale and in its construction of bronze instead of wood. As they explained it, the planners of the enterprise, a group of high army officials headed by Army Minister Ōyama Iwao, decided to build the *torii* on such a "grand scale and of such a construction that it would be imperishable for all time," so that the nation would venerate eternally the shrine dedicated to the "divine souls of those who had assisted in the restoration of imperial rule and established the great peace of today." The imperishability of the gateway "represented (*daihyō suru*) the intention of never allowing the meritorious service of the divine souls at the Shrine to be forgotten"<sup>31</sup> (see Figure 4).

For many of us today who are less appreciative of human-made heights, it may be hard to imagine the impressiveness of this *torii* still standing on the shrine grounds at just over fifteen meters. However, for the Japanese of the Meiji period the *torii* was unlike anything that had

ever existed, and Tayama Katai would later remember having been struck by the "fabulously enormous" (*bakagete ōkiku*) size of what he called the "iron *torii*."<sup>32</sup>

What we might call a monumentalism in *torii* building is, on the whole, a phenomenon of the modern era. According to a survey conducted in 1974, of the ten tallest *torii* in Japan at that time, nine were built after 1875. The tallest, at twenty-five meters, was the new Yasukuni *torii*, built in 1974, which now towers over the Kudan Hill. There are also several other well-known *torii* nearly equal in size to the older of the two Yasukuni *torii*, and a few that dwarf this mid-Meiji relic. The gateway to Heian Shrine built in 1929, for example, measures twenty-four meters; that to Izumo Taisha built in 1915, twenty-two meters; and across the city at Meiji Shrine, there is a *torii* erected in 1920 that, at twelve meters, is almost as large as the older Yasukuni *torii*. Moreover, the one *torii* among the ten that predates Meiji—that at Yasaka Shrine in Kyoto—is only the ninth tallest. Thus those massive and soaring shrine gateways that often dominate the landscape in some of Japan's most famous "traditional" tourist spots were built in relatively recent times, and it does not seem far-fetched to conjecture that the growing size of such stunning examples of public architecture has corresponded in a general way with the rise of nationalism.<sup>33</sup>

"Political power," the historian and ethnographer Maurice Agulhon has written, "expresses itself with the historical characters it chooses to honor." Therefore, "the old French monarchy erected statues of kings and saints almost exclusively. The idea of bestowing this honor on other 'great men'—on servants of the state or on national heroes—came only with the Enlightenment."<sup>34</sup> In pre-Restoration Japan public statuary depicting rulers must have been rare, if it existed at all. Indeed, a 1908 article in the architectural journal *Kenchiku zasshi* noted that the only bronzes prior to the Meiji era were Buddhist images. In Japan, it explained, the casting and display of bronzes to honor "historical persons of merit" (*rekishijō no kōsekisha*) began with a statue of Yamato Takeru, the heroic imperial prince, that was put up in Kanazawa's famous Kenroku Park in 1877.<sup>35</sup>

Ishii Kendō, the great chronicler of *The Origins of Meiji Things* (*Meiji jibutsu kigen*), not only noted the newness of the phenomenon of bronze statuary in Japan in a section titled, "The Beginnings of Commemorative Bronze Statuary"; he also identified the erection of public statuary in general and stone monuments as "Western customs" (*seiyō fūzoku*) that were tied to the question of memory and the danger of

forgetfulness. He found first mention in print of these customs in the *Kenbunroku*, a work published in 1869. There it was said that “benevolent lords and meritorious retainers build roadside images or stone monuments and record the virtues of their governance on them. In praising their loyalty and merits and making these widely known, they see to it that the [loyalty and merits] are recollected and not forgotten by later peoples.” Moreover, quoting from an 1881 article in an art newspaper, *Geijutsu shinbun*, Ishii noted that in Japan the custom of putting up bronze statues was “a form of commemoration that was learned from the West” and was unheard of in Japan until recent times.<sup>36</sup> Nonetheless, much as happened in modern France, public representations of national heroes proliferated with the rise of the modern Japanese nation-state. Later, around the turn of the century the journalist Ubukata Toshiro was so impressed by what might be called the “statumania” of that period that he noted, with no small bit of sarcasm, that “bronze statues became so fashionable that even cats and ladles (*neko demo shakushi demo*) had bronze statues erected for them.”<sup>37</sup>

Most of the bronze statues ornamenting Tokyo’s public spaces celebrated national military heroes. The first, built in Yasukuni Shrine in 1893 with the aid of an imperial grant, was that of Ōmura Masujirō, a hero of the Meiji Restoration and one of the primary architects of the modern Japanese military system (see Figure 5).<sup>38</sup> Two of Japan’s most famous modern public statues appeared between the two major foreign wars of the Meiji era. The unveiling ceremony for the statue of Saigō Takamori took place in Ueno Park in 1898.<sup>39</sup> As part of the state’s hegemonic movements to incorporate potentially oppositional signs into the dominant system of representations, the statue helped mute the memory of Saigo as the leader of the 1877 rebellion against the new Meiji state as it reconstituted him into a military hero of the imperial forces. His statue, as I have noted earlier, faces the former Edo Castle whose capture from the anti-imperial forces he had led. Then in 1900 artists of the Tokyo Art School, headed by the renowned Okakura Tenshin and funded by the Sumitomo family, completed an enormous figure of Kusunoki Masashige on the Palace Plaza. Kusunoki, of course, was the famous fourteenth-century loyal imperial retainer who had fought to defend the Emperor Godaigo, and who became in modern Japan the paragon of loyalty to the imperial line.<sup>40</sup> Many more public statues depicting national heroes went up in Tokyo in the prewar and wartime years, but as proof of their entanglement in the symbol system



Figure 5. Postcard of the first bronze statue in Tokyo: Ōmura Masujirō's at Yasukuni Shrine. The shrine is labeled as one of Tokyo's "scenic sites."

of the pre-1945 regime, many of those that survived the war were taken down on orders of the Occupation authorities.<sup>41</sup>

The war celebrations held in Tokyo were of several types. The wealthy class of Tokyo's citizens organized some of them. The first civic victory celebration took place on 9 December 1894,<sup>42</sup> and it was planned by prominent men in Tokyo's business community—men like Sonoda Kokichi, Ōkura Kihachirō, and Umeura Seiichi. The First Tokyo City Victory Celebration (*daiichi Tōkyō-shi shukushō taikai*) began with a parade of citizens which assembled across from the Palace Plaza on Hibiya Field. After regrouping in front of Nijūbashi, the procession exited the plaza through Wadakurabashi, crossed over Gofukubashi, and went on to Nihonbashi before turning up the main boulevard to Ueno Park. A number of ritualized events took place at the park. These included the viewing of spoils of war by Tokyo's citizens and the crown prince, victory rites performed by Shinto priests, Buddhist memorial services for the war dead, and war theater performed in Kawakami Otojirō's new theater style.<sup>43</sup>

As a result of the explosive increase in the numbers of war dead from non-samurai backgrounds, Yasukuni Shrine's annual festivals and enshrinement rites also came to have a widespread significance for the nation's citizens. In the entire twenty-six year period between the

establishment of Yasukuni Shrine (or Shōkon Shrine, as it was called then) in 1869 and the first enshrinement ceremony for those who had died in the Sino-Japanese War, only 14,520 souls of the war dead had been enshrined. While no precise figures can be given, a great number of these must have come from the samurai class, since about half of the total number of deceased had died fighting in the predominantly samurai armies active around the time of the Restoration. In the two major enshrinement festivals following the Sino-Japanese War, 12,877 souls were deified, or nearly as many as had been enshrined in all the years until then. However, this figure pales in comparison to the 85,500 national heroes laid to rest at Yasukuni in the three major enshrinement festivals that followed the Russo-Japanese War. Moreover, as a result of universal manhood conscription, deification as well as death involved a more representative cross-section of Japanese society after the wars with China and Russia.<sup>44</sup>

When Emperor Meiji wrote in a poem following the Russo-Japanese War, “The souls of heroes whose bones lie bleaching, / On foreign strands, / Have even now returned to the capital,”<sup>45</sup> he might also have written that the living would also journey to the city en masse. People generally, but especially survivors of the war dead, came in great numbers to worship at Yasukuni Shrine after the Sino-Japanese War. The highly resourceful and imaginative historian Ōhama Tetsuya has pointed out that it is possible to get a rough sense of the tremendous increase in numbers of worshippers to the Yasukuni Shrine complex by examining the increase in money offerings (*saisen*) collected and in numbers of people admitted to the war museum. Following his lead we may note that while money offerings increased steadily in the first half of the 1890s, they skyrocketed in the years of and immediately following the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese Wars.<sup>46</sup> Collections, which had been just under 232,000 yen in 1893, grew to about 342,000 yen in 1894, and over 526,000 yen in 1895: an increase of more than 220 percent in two years. The increases were even more significant in the years around the Russo-Japanese War. In 1904, money offerings almost doubled the previous year’s total of about 678,000 yen to about 1.24 million yen. In 1905 the collections nearly doubled again to about 2.18 million yen and then in the next two years stabilized at over 2 million yen. Similarly phenomenal increases can be seen in the number of visitors admitted to the Yūshūkan. In 1894, the year in which war broke out against China, attendance at the war museum exceeded the previous year’s total almost sevenfold, from just over 1 million to over 7 million

visitors. Attendance rose again in the years of the Russo-Japanese War and immediately after, reaching a peak in 1905 when over 11 million people trekked through Japan’s central war museum.

Tokyo also became the center of national celebrations for the triumphal returns of military commanders at the head of their armies and naval forces. The triumphal entries followed a pattern: the commanders returned to the ritual center of the nation via Shinbashi Station, and then paraded through the city *en fête* before reporting on their military victories to the emperor. The peak of such victory celebrations came after the war with Russia, from late 1905 to early 1906. Among these, the greatest of such occasions were the triumphal returns of Admiral Tōgō Heihachirō, commander of the Combined Fleet, and of the army commanders beginning with that of Field Marshal Ōyama Iwao, commander of the Manchurian Army, on 7 December 1905.

Admiral Tōgō began his triumphal pilgrimage across Japan’s modern ritual landscape by worshipping at Ise Shrine on 18 October 1905. There, invoking the sacred and mythical past, he thanked the imperial ancestors for victory in war and prayed for future military successes. Tōgō’s ultimate destination was Tokyo; and he arrived at Shinbashi Station in the capital on the twenty-second. He then paraded through a city filled with triumphal arches, troops; and huge crowds of school-children and other spectators—before finally entering the Palace Plaza through the triumphal arch set up at Sakuradamon (see Figures 6 and 7). Then crossing over Nijūbashi he reported on the war victory to the emperor within the palace. Tōgō emphasized in his report that the victories in battle as well as the opportunity for the “emperor’s servants to return triumphantly to the capital were solely due to the illustrious virtues of His Majesty, the Generalissimo of the Army and Navy.” In welcoming the commander of the Combined Fleet, the emperor, for the first time in his reign, wore a naval uniform.<sup>47</sup>

Like the commander of the Combined Fleet, the commanders of the armies returned to the nation’s center through Shinbashi Station and then paraded through the city before crossing over the Palace Plaza and reporting on their troops’ victories to the emperor. And like Tōgō, they usually attributed their successes to the emperor. As General Kuroki Tamemoto, commander of the First Army, put it in his report to the emperor on 9 December 1905, “it is owing to the Imperial Virtues and to the guardianship of the Sacred Ancestors, that we have now the honour and the unspeakable happiness of returning victorious to bow before the Throne.”<sup>48</sup>





Figure 6. This postcard carries the title, “The Welcoming Arch at Shinbashi,” and shows one of the well-known triumphal arches of the post-Russo-Japanese War period. The emperor left for Ise Shrine on 14 November 1905 and worshipped there on the seventeenth to report the restoration of peace. The collector of this postcard has written, “The scene on the day prior to the emperor’s departure to worship at the Great Ise Shrine,” and he has signed it with the character *kokorozashi*.

Yet the most spectacular and well-remembered war pageants of the age were those in which the emperor himself paraded through the imperial city in triumph, demonstrating the enormity of national and imperial military might while also representing himself as the monarch who subjected all to his disciplinary gaze. These military rites were magnificent displays of national power, prosperity, and modernity that were meant to impress both the nation’s people and the representatives of the foreign powers. The imperial regime deserved to rule, it could be seen, because it ensured national prosperity in an age of intense international rivalries. At the same time these were “disciplinary ceremonials,” fantastic spectacles in which previously unheard of numbers of soldiers, sailors, weapons, ships, and crowds were brought together in the nation’s capital and made visible to the emperor’s disciplinary examination. The first of such imperial triumphals took place on 30 May 1895, about six weeks after the signing of the Shimonoseki Treaty



Figure 7. This postcard is titled, “The Triumphal Arch at Sakuradamon.” The inscription, handwritten by the previous postcard’s (Figure 6) collector, carries multiple honorifics and reads, “The Triumphal Arch first passed through by the Father of the Sea [Admiral Tōgō].”

formally ended the war against China. On that day “His Majesty the Emperor, so long absent from his Imperial city, returned to the metropolis, crowned with the laurels of a victorious war.”<sup>49</sup> Shortly after the outbreak of hostilities the Japanese Supreme Command (*daihon’ei*), headed by the emperor, had been moved to Hiroshima in order to be closer to the battle front. Thus the conclusion of war afforded a grand opportunity for the war leader’s triumphal entry into the capital.<sup>50</sup>

He arrived at Shinbashi Station on the thirtieth, in military dress as usual, and paraded through a garishly decorated city that was packed with huge throngs of people. Tokyo's citizens put out national flags and decorative lanterns in front of their houses and filled the streets with banners, streamers, and arches of many kinds. The most striking temporary monument for the city was a huge "triumphal arcade," widely touted as having no equal in any country, which was constructed at Hibiya between the official residences of the presidents of the two Diet houses. So large was this arcade—110 meters long and 18 meters in height, with a main tower over 30 meters high and 8 meters wide—that the city government reportedly put one thousand laborers to work to widen Saiwaichō Avenue on which it was constructed. The Tokyo City Assembly also built two other great triumphal arches, one each at Shinbashi and Sakuradamon, both of which were thirty-three meters high and over three meters thick.<sup>51</sup>

Not only was national power expressed in the colossal triumphal arches, but the war leader was displayed in plain view at the center of a huge procession of the nation's highest civil and military officials. "Learning from the triumphal ceremonies of the Western countries,"<sup>52</sup> the fashioners of this celebration had the top of the state ceremonial carriage taken down so that the emperor could acknowledge his subjects. The people reacted enthusiastically, for as he moved out of Shinbashi Station "the whole great concourse was rending the air with cheer upon cheer, the stirring cries of Tennō Heika Banzai! [Long Live His Majesty the Emperor] Teikoku Banzai! [Long Live the Empire] coming from tens of thousands of patriotic throats with a thunderous roar such as Tokyo has never heard before."<sup>53</sup> His course took him through the triumphal arcade at Hibiya, across the Palace Plaza, and finally into the palace, where once again he disappeared from public view.

The most spectacular imperial military pageants, however, came with the conclusion of the war against Russia. On 23 October 1905, the day after Admiral Tōgō's triumphal entry into the capital, the emperor conducted a personal review of the nearly two hundred warships making up almost the entire Japanese navy. The event began with the emperor's procession from the palace to Shinbashi Station, a train ride to Yokohama, the emperor's boarding of the battleship *Asama*, and then his examination of the entire fleet anchored in Tokyo Bay. The review itself, which took the emperor past such renowned battleships as the *Asahi*, *Fuji*, and Tōgō's flagship, the *Shikishima*, lasted for nearly four hours. Also among the ships were several which had been captured from

Japan's enemies. These were ships such as the *Chinyen*, taken from the Chinese at Weihaiwei ten years previously, and newly seized spoils of war such as the battleships *Nicolai* and *Poltava*. After concluding the ceremony by inspecting the maneuvers of five submarines (submarines having been introduced into the Japanese navy during the war), the Emperor Meiji returned to Tokyo through Shinbashi and once again proceeded through enormous crowds of onlookers to the palace.<sup>54</sup>

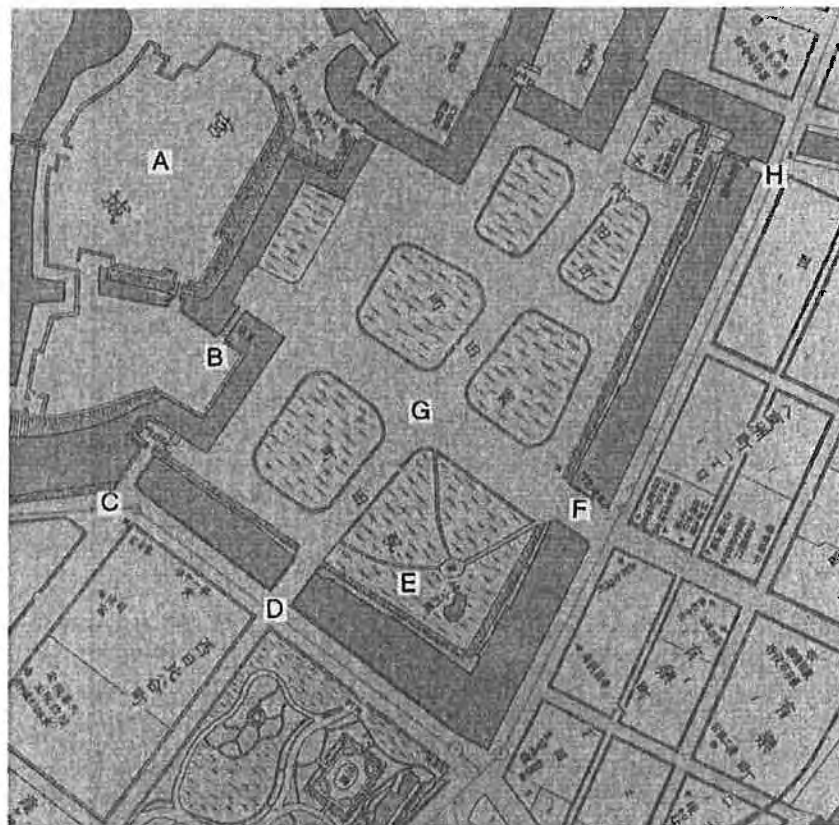
The media described the celebration centering on the triumphal return of the Combined Fleet to Tokyo Bay, and the emperor's Naval Review, as an event quite without precedent. A writer for the *Fūzoku gabō*, for example, commented on the "tremendous size and magnificence" of the fleet (*yūdai sōgon naru koto*), adding that in it he had seen the "glory of the Empire, unmatched from remote antiquity." The crowds too had far surpassed any within recent memory, for he estimated that several tens of thousands of spectators had watched the Naval Review from boats and that the number of those viewing from shore "must have reached a million." Tokyo's appearance had also impressed the writer, for triumphal arches, each unique, had been put up all along the main avenue stretching from Shinbashi to Ueno. Finally, he observed that not even Tokyo's two most splendid events of the past—the celebration of the Meiji Constitution's promulgation and the thirtieth anniversary of the capital's transfer to Tokyo—could compare to the present celebration, for lavish electrical illumination, previously not possible, had been used to light up both the city and the naval fleet, creating a scene of "hitherto unparalleled beauty."<sup>55</sup> But we must keep in mind that the effect of such a review was not so much to enable the people to see the emperor (how could they see his tiny body on board the *Asama*?) but rather to display the enormous spectacle of men and ships, an incredible mass of volatile military power, transformed into completely docile objects of the emperor's gaze.

The string of national victory celebrations reached a grand climax with the Triumphal Military Review of 30 April 1906. Preparations for this event began considerably in advance of the appointed day with a major renovation project on the Palace Plaza that the Tokyo city government, under the direction of the central government and assisted by a large imperial grant, completed just before the thirtieth. The construction consisted of the building or renovation of entranceways and the creation of triumphal avenues. The Tokyo government built a new entrance on the south side of the plaza opposite Hibiya Park, while laborers removed the old Babasaki Gate and replaced it with an

unobstructed 72-meter- (*40-ken*-) wide entry on the plaza's eastern side. Both the new passageways were created by partially filling in the plaza's surrounding moat. At the same time, the Tokyo government laid down two broad triumphal avenues (*gaisen dōro*) that intersected near the center of the plaza. The wider of the two began at Nijūbashi and extended to the newly renovated Babasaki entrance. The other stretched from the new Hibiya entrance to the northern extremity of the plaza (see Map 2).<sup>56</sup>

While the city government timed the completion of this construction project on 26 April to coincide with and to commemorate a specific event, the Triumphal Military Review, this undertaking was just one part of Tokyo's transformation into a massive state theater during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Examined from a long-term historical perspective on urban planning, the structure of Edo clearly had been ill-suited to public pageants at the city's core and to allow enormous number of spectators easy access to the city center to witness them. In fact, Edo's architects had hoped to obstruct movements into the middle of the city. With a spiraling moat system complemented by the strategic placing of thirty-six large enclosure-type (*masugata*) gates, wooden gates (*kido*) separating every neighborhood from its adjoining neighborhoods, and narrow, convoluted streets, an intricate set of obstructions protected the city core from outside intrusion as effectively as any European or Chinese walled city. To be sure, the removal of barriers to free traffic within Edo had begun very shortly after the Restoration. The new government ordered removal of the neighborhood wooden gates, construction of streets and bridges, and destruction of the *masugata* gates.<sup>57</sup> However, until just prior to the Triumphal Military Review, the obstructive *masugata* gates at the entrances to the Palace Plaza still had not been removed; and there were only three public entranceways through these gates to the plaza.

The problem of crowd control during state ceremonials highlighted the inadequacy of this urban structure. During festivities for the Meiji Constitution's promulgation a surging crowd at the Sakurada Gate had caused the injury of a number of spectators. A similar mishap occurred at the Babasaki Gate during a victory parade held in May 1905, this time with loss of life.<sup>58</sup> A logical solution was to enhance the openness of the plaza so that the immense numbers of citizen-subjects who gathered in front of the palace on any national occasion could move easily to and from the city's ceremonial center. At the same time, the increased accessibility of the plaza with its new triumphal avenues and



Map 2. Imperial Palace, Palace Plaza, and environs in about 1909. From Kimura Ryōichi, *Saishin banchiri Tōkyō-shi jūgo kubun chizu* (Tokyo: Heirinkan, 1909). Courtesy of East Asian Library, University of California, Berkeley. A: Imperial Palace. B: Nijūbashi. C: Sakurada Entrance. D: Hibiya Entrance. E: Kusunoki Bronze Statue. F: Babasaki Entrance. G: Intersection of two triumphal avenues. H: Wakadura Entrance.

its entrances would facilitate the movements of the state's public ceremonies, for these generally started in front of the palace and then spilled out of the plaza and into the city's boulevards, or culminated with a procession that moved from the city streets onto the plaza, or began and ended on the plaza after a procession through the city.

In addition to making these permanent improvements, those involved in the planning of the Triumphal Military Review staged an



Figure 8. Postcard of the triumphal arch at Babasaki. The postcard bears a seal commemorating the May 1906 enshrinement rites at Yasukuni Shrine and postage stamps in the “Chrysanthemum” series.

incredible show of national power on the plaza. The Tokyo City Welcoming Committee built two monumental arches wrapped in evergreen branches, one at each of the two newly constructed entrances at Hibiya and Babasaki. The larger of the two, towering over the triumphal avenue at Babasaki, rose to a height of some 18.5 meters and had three separate corridors, each topped with pinnacles (see Figure 8). Though smaller, about 15 meters tall, the triumphal arch at Hibiya was still impressive. Both arches were illuminated for six nights starting on the evening of the review.<sup>59</sup>

Even more striking was the enormous and mind-boggling display of captured weapons that the Army Ministry, by arrangement with the Imperial Household Ministry, placed in front of the palace. In March, the preparations committee (*junbi iin*) within the Army Ministry ordered its artillery department to bring all captured weapons stored in the arsenals at Moji, Hiroshima, Kokura, and Osaka to Tokyo. As a result, weapons that had been seized from Yalu to Mukden, and at Nanshan and Port Arthur, came pouring into the capital. When completed on 26 April, the spectacle filling the open spaces of the plaza included 281 pieces of field artillery, 178 pieces of garrison artillery, 1,235 swords and lances, 70,000 rifles, over 2,000 wagons, and a huge hoard of ammu-



Figure 9. Postcard showing weapons display on the Palace Plaza.

munition.<sup>60</sup> One impressed British correspondent surmised that the show was “unquestionably a spectacle altogether without precedent in the history of the world . . . nor is anything of equal magnitude and interest likely to be ever seen again.” He described the arrangement of weapons on the plaza: “Roughly speaking, it may be said that as many weapon [*sic*] are massed in this space between the inner and the outer moats as the wide area can accommodate without such crowding as would impede vision. The guns and waggons are ranged along the margins of every section of the enclosure, and in many instances the spaces within these formidable borders are filled with thousands of piled small arms, stacks of ammunition and phalanxes of swords and lances”<sup>61</sup> (see Figure 9). The review itself began in the morning with the emperor’s procession from Nijūbashi to Aoyama Military Parade Field. Wearing the generalissimo’s new khaki uniform, he paraded in an open carriage down the triumphal avenue leading from Nijūbashi to Babasaki past the sea of captured weapons. At Babasaki the procession passed under the triumphal arch in full state (*dai ichi kōshiki*) before proceeding to Aoyama past huge throngs of students, soldiers, families of the war dead, and other spectators. At the parade field an unprecedented 31,203 troops, mostly soldiers and officers representing the seventeen divisions that had fought in the war, had been assembled for the emperor’s inspection.

They stood facing north in three long and motionless rows while the emperor, riding in his scarlet and gold coach, moved slowly down the lines, taking about an hour for his inspection. The total length of the rows of troops was some 15.7 kilometers.

During the tour of inspection, Emperor Meiji's carriage was followed by those of the crown prince, the Korean Prince Ūihwa riding with Prince Fushimi no miya Sadanaru, and the other princes and princesses of the blood. Senior staff officers on horseback also followed the emperor, the most conspicuous being Colonel Hume, British military attaché.<sup>62</sup> The inclusion of foreigners into the ceremonial event allowed Japan's political elite to dramatize the nation's position within the new world order—both to the Japanese people and the world—thereby rendering these international relations of power more real. The Japanese government had just recently, in 1905, formally made Korea a protectorate, with Itō Hirobumi as resident general, and during the ceremonial the media described Prince Ūihwa as the representative of Japan's "intimate neighboring Protectorate (*shinrin hogokoku*)." Moreover, the new Anglo-Japanese alliance of 1902 found its expression in the fact that, as an official record put it, Hume "alone was treated as equal to our officers, attending upon (*baijū*) the emperor and given a place in the inspection and review of troops."<sup>63</sup>

Immediately following this inspection the emperor took up a stationary position in front of the troops and for an hour watched them as they marched past. At the review's conclusion the emperor handed Field Marshal Ōyama an Imperial Rescript in which he praised the "martial spirit" of the troops and expressed his desire that Ōyama and the army "work enthusiastically for the development and progress of the Imperial Army." The monarch also reminded Ōyama that the troops had been gathered together in Tokyo to present their disciplined bodies for his visual examination. "I have assembled my triumphal troops here and reviewed them personally," the rescript began, "I have seen the fine display of martial discipline and the good order of the formations; and I am greatly pleased."<sup>64</sup> Almost 40,000 people who had been given tickets to sit in the grandstands set up around the field watched these proceedings, as did approximately 10,000 students. Included among those in the stands were the members of the foreign diplomatic corps and several hundred other foreigners.<sup>65</sup> The emperor returned to the palace via the new passageway at Hibiya and on the new triumphal avenue that started there. Inside the plaza the emperor inspected the hoard of weapons before crossing over Nijūbashi.

The display of Japanese military might did not end with the emperor's withdrawal into the palace, for at 1 P.M. the troops that had taken part in the review started marching out of the field at Aoyama and began a parade that would have them loop around the entire palace before entering the Palace Plaza through Wadakura. On the plaza the troops marched down the triumphal avenue before exiting at the Hibiya entrance and disbanding. The tail end of the procession, however, did not even leave Aoyama until 6 P.M., meaning that the whole line took five hours to pass any one point. The last section did not reach Hibiya until past 7 P.M.<sup>66</sup> After this unprecedented military march through the city, the war display on the Palace Plaza was opened to public viewing. The festivities spilled over to the next few days as Yasukuni Shrine held a series of rites for the war dead, including an enshrinement ceremony for 29,960 souls the day after the review.<sup>67</sup>

Among the pageants that helped construct an image of the monarch as one who could dominate with his vision, such military reviews as the triumphal review of April 1906 most clearly diagrammed for the people then, and for the historian today, this particular relationship of sight. Imperial military reviews actually predate Tokyo's physical transformation into a new ceremonial theater in the 1880s, to the period when the dominant style of imperial pageantry was still the progress. In 1872 the emperor conducted his first review of soldiers. On 8 January, the day of the annual Army Commencement ceremony, he inspected some 10,000 troops on the Hibiya Field just east of the Imperial Palace. The Naval Review also began in the early Meiji years, the first taking place just offshore from where the Tempōzan Park in Osaka is today.<sup>68</sup> Nevertheless, it is most likely that the military review only became a highly visible and widely recognized event in late Meiji after the tremendous development of the national communications and transportation network.

In the twenty-three years following his move into the new Meiji Palace in 1889, Emperor Meiji conducted twenty-two military reviews at Aoyama Military Parade Field on either Army Commencement Day (*rikugun hajime*, usually 8 January) or *tenchōsetsu* (3 November), the national holiday in honor of the emperor's birthday. Bad weather, the emperor's ill health, or difficulties in assembling the troops because of war or demobilization sometimes forced the cancellation of these reviews, but whenever possible the monarch came out of the palace dressed as supreme commander. Riding by carriage to the Aoyama Military Parade Field, he then mounted his horse (until 1907, when age

forced him to stay in his carriage), first to inspect the troops and then to watch them march past. The dramatics for these annual reviews peaked on the emperor's birthday in 1904, when, with Japan at war with Russia, the emperor came out in full battle dress.<sup>69</sup>

As we have already seen, however, these annual reviews were not the only occasions on which the emperor inspected the military. The ceremonial for the Meiji Constitution's Promulgation in 1889 and the public fete for the emperor's Silver Wedding Anniversary in 1894 also included grand imperial reviews. And even more spectacular were the triumphal imperial reviews that followed Japan's victory in the Russo-Japanese War.

To develop this argument about the emperor as the all-seeing, disciplinary monarch, I want now to adopt a slightly different strategy—that of analyzing in some detail three pictorial representations of these “ceremonials of discipline.” The first is a lithograph that appeared in the illustrated magazine *Fūzoku gabō* shortly after the Triumphal Review of 1906. The others are commemorative postcards issued by the Japanese Ministry of Communications around the same time.

The lithograph (Figure 10) is found near the front of a special commemorative edition of *Fūzoku gabō*, the fifth and final volume in a series of “illustrated triumphal editions” (*gaisen zue*).<sup>70</sup> Titled “Scene of the Emperor's Procession to the Great Military Review” (“Daikanpeishiki gyōkō no kōkei”), it shows the emperor's coach passing through a crowd of onlookers on the Imperial Plaza. The emperor's seat is toward the right of the whole scene, and the procession is moving to the left. The imperial carriage, marked in several places with the gold chrysanthemum crest, is drawn by two perfectly matched horses and preceded by an escort of uniformed men on horseback who carry banners. Far in front—that is, to the left—we can see the scarlet and gold imperial flag. In the right foreground three elderly people are crouched on the ground, and two of them have their hands together (perhaps indicating an enduring folk belief in magical deities, *ikigami*) as they face toward the imperial coach and away from us. They appear to be from the provinces, since they are wearing traveling coats and two small cloth-wrapped bundles (*furoshiki*) lie next to them on the ground. That these are what the newspapers would have called *inakamono* (country bumpkins) or *akagetto* (“red blankets,” after what many of these travelers supposedly wore as shawls) is also suggested by the straw sandals of two of the travelers and by the top end of a rolled-up umbrella (the sky shows that it is a bright, clear day) sticking out from under one of the

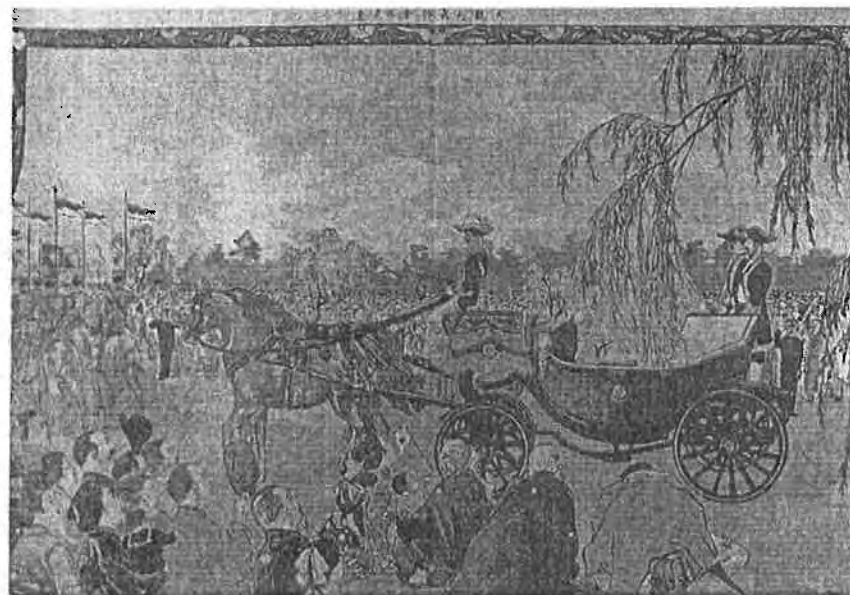


Figure 10. Lithograph showing the Meiji emperor parading toward Aoyama for the Triumphal Military Review of 30 April 1906. “Daikanpeishiki gyōkō no kōkei.” From *Gaisen zue—daigoben*, a special issue of *Fūzoku gabō*, no. 340 (May 1906).

overcoats. In the center foreground is a young mother kneeling on the ground with her two young children; one is waving a small *hinomaru* flag, and she carries the other on her back. The people in the left foreground are standing, and several of them are dressed in black. Perhaps the mother wearing black and holding the small child in a sailor's uniform is one of the many war widows who made the journey to Tokyo. Beyond the imperial cortege, in the background, a sizable crowd of onlookers stands several rows deep. Two policemen salute in the emperor's direction. Several people are taking off their hats. All of the spectators, save for one old woman, are cheering and looking to our right, in the direction of the emperor. Sitting in a fully open carriage, the emperor appears to be completely visible to the crowd.

But he is not visible to us. The extended branch of a willow tree hangs over the emperor's location so that we can only see his silhouette. We can discern the back of his head and the outline of his uniform, but we do not see his face or his eyes. On the other hand, Grand Chamberlain Tokudaiji Sanenori, who rides opposite the emperor, is in full

view. He marks the site of power by bowing his head down toward the seat of the invisible emperor. The representation diagrams a power whose presence is verified by the crowd and the imperial entourage, but it also prohibits us from knowing where the emperor looks and thereby prevents us from imagining the finitude of the monarch's gaze.

The commemorative postcards that the Communications Ministry issued a few days after the Triumphal Military Review of 30 April 1906 are part of a three-postcard set, the Communications Ministry's final set of commemoratives following the war with Russia. The two discussed here feature photographs of the Triumphal Military Review and the 23 October 1905 Naval Review. The third carries photographs of Ise and Yasukuni Shrines.<sup>71</sup> Altogether, the Communications Ministry issued some 100,000 of these commemorative sets, and newspapers and magazines described them in meticulous detail. Incidentally, it was the Russo-Japanese War that inaugurated the large-scale official use in Japan of pictorial postcards as a means for circulating images of heroes, places, and events of national significance. The Communications Ministry issued its first set of commemorative postcards in 1902; included among these was a postcard showing the palace and the new bronze of Kusunoki. However, with the outbreak of war, official commemorative postcards as well as privately printed cards began flooding into the visual world. Battle scenes, battleships, weaponry, war leaders (such as Ōyama, Tōgō, Nogi Maresuke, and Kodama Gentarō), and sacred places on the nation's symbolic landscape (like Nijūbashi, Yasukuni, and Ise)—all became more familiar throughout the country.<sup>72</sup>

The postcard commemorating the Triumphal Military Review centers on a shot of the review at Aoyama and is framed by a chrysanthemum floral design. The photograph used in the postcard (Figure 11) shows a side view of the imperial carriage just after it has passed one line of troops and turned the corner in a southerly direction. But the camera is at quite a distance from the carriage, and we can just barely make out the diminutive figures of Tokudaiji and the emperor sitting across from him. The emperor's cortege follows, most of it still facing west. Beyond the imperial carriage is the object of the review, a sea of soldiers that appears to be perfectly immobile. The formation extends to the borders of the photograph, and toward the upper left and right corners they are no more than tiny dots. At first glance, one might be struck by the almost ridiculous smallness of the emperor's form and puzzled by the apparent disjunction between the monarch's enormous claims to power and the unimpressiveness, the near-anonymity, of his tiny body seated

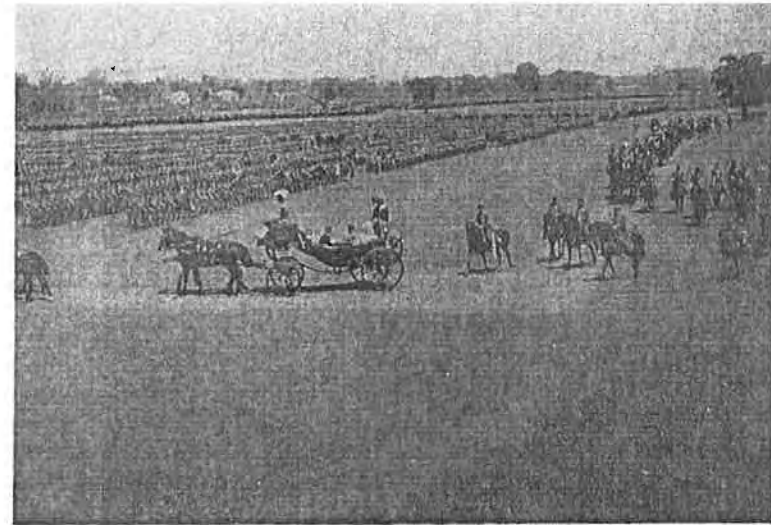


Figure 11. Photograph used in the postcard issued by the Communications Ministry to commemorate the Triumphal Military Review of 30 April 1906. "Sanjūshichi hachinen sen'eki gaisen kanpeishiki." Courtesy of Tokyo Metropolitan Central Library.

in the carriage. But the point of this photograph is not to impress the viewer with the brilliance of the sovereign's body. Rather, it is to make his absolute power known through its effects. Though we can barely see the emperor, we can imagine his power in the presence of his gaze, which has become inscribed and objectified in the perfect order of the soldiers' bodies.

The photograph on the postcard (Figure 12) commemorating the Grand Naval Review is likewise an idealized figure of the emperor's visual domination. The place of power is marked only by the Imperial Flag (*tennōki*) flying high above the ship that has been placed closest to the viewer, in the left foreground. This ship, the *Asama*, is turned toward the Combined Fleet, and the ships, apparently in perfect formation, become smaller and smaller before they disappear into the horizon. The body of the monarch on board the *Asama* cannot be seen. His presence has been reduced to an almost anonymous gaze as we see it in its compelling effects upon the spectacle of orderly ships.

Although my framework for understanding this relationship between visibility and power owes a great deal to Michel Foucault, there are some considerable differences between his description of the formation of

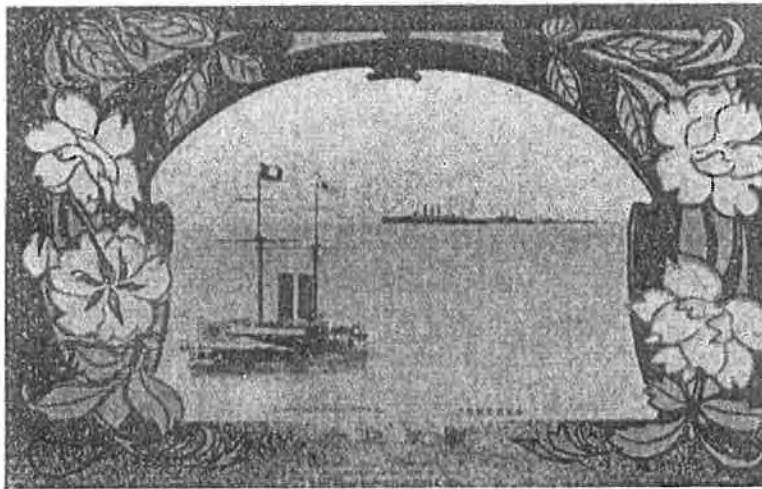


Figure 12. Postcard issued by the Communications Ministry on 6 May 1906 to commemorate the Grand Naval Review of 23 October 1905. “Kaigun gaisen kankanshiki.” From Hibata Sekko, *Nihon ebagaki shichō* (Tokyo: Nihon Yūken Kurabu, 1936).

what he calls the “disciplinary society” or the “society of surveillance” in Europe and the emergence of what might be called Japan’s emperor-centered society of surveillance as I have charted it here. Most important, while his analysis is predicated upon the Western historical narrative that sees the rise of modernity as coincident with the decline of the monarchy, such an understanding is completely inappropriate to Japan. In general, Foucault has treated disciplinary power as the polar opposite of monarchical power: he even refers to the former as “non-sovereign power.”<sup>73</sup> The question of visibility is central to his understanding of the difference between the mechanisms employed by monarchical and disciplinary power.

According to Foucault, under the old regime it was the king, the source of power and justice, who was made visible to the people. He was the luminous center of power whose magnificence became apparent to the people during various and irregular public spectacles, including royal ceremonies. This was a system of what Foucault calls “‘ascending’ individualization,” in which those in the higher reaches of power were most striking in their individuality. In his words, “the more one possesses power or privilege the more one is marked as an individual, by rituals, written accounts or visual reproductions.”<sup>74</sup> Thus the sovereign

was most distinct, and the objects of his rule were an invisible, anonymous mass. The power of the monarch was also made visible through architecture. Therefore, prior to the late eighteenth century, “the art of building corresponded to the need to make power, divinity and might manifest. The palace and the church were the great architectural forms, along with the stronghold. Architecture manifested might, the Sovereign, God.”<sup>75</sup>

In the disciplinary regime of power, visibility is completely reversed. Power becomes invisible and anonymous, impossible to locate, while those who are the objects of power become completely illuminated. This is a system where “‘individualization’ is descending,” where those furthest from power become in fact the most conspicuously individualized. Thus, “in a system of discipline, the child is more individualized than the adult, the patient more than the healthy man, the madman and the delinquent more than the normal and the non-delinquent.”<sup>76</sup>

While monarchical power sought to display itself through architecture, disciplinary power aspires to render power invisible while ensuring the complete and constant visibility of those upon whom power is exercised. Thus Foucault claims that Jeremy Bentham’s Panopticon, more than being simply a design for a penitentiary, is “a diagram of a mechanism of power reduced to its ideal form. . . . [I]t is in fact a figure of political technology that may and must be detached from any specific use.”<sup>77</sup> The design of the Panopticon impressed upon its inmates the belief that they might always be visible to the Overseer in a central observational tower. Two cell windows ensured the visibility of the prisoners. One window facing the outside of the building allowed light to travel through the cell. The other, facing the center of the building and the tower, allowed the inspector to look in. The cells were thus like “so many small theatres, in which each actor is alone, perfectly individualized and constantly visible.” But the prisoner can never know whether or not he is actually being observed because the inmates are prevented from seeing into the tower. This leaves the prisoners unable ever to relax because they can never know whether or not they are being observed. In the end, this arrangement forces those upon whom power is exercised to interiorize their own surveillance.<sup>78</sup>

On the whole then, Foucault has argued that the disciplinary regime’s power is exercised through the anonymous gaze of the unidentifiable, invisible overseer—not the spectacle or the gaze of the king. And the decline of monarchical power coincides exactly with the rise of its opposite, disciplinary power. However, he does note two historical



moments in which the monarchical and the disciplinary modes of power came together: first with the military reviews of Louis XIV and second in the figure of Napoleon.

The military review, according to Foucault, was quite different from such royal spectacles as the coronation, the return from victory, and the funeral. In these conventional ceremonials, power worked through the spectacular display of itself; but Foucault observes that in Louis XIV's military review, and in the commemorative medal which depicted the first review of 1666, the king himself was becoming less visible. As in Japan's modern imperial reviews, the focus of the ceremonial had shifted from the monarch's body to the objects of his gaze, that is, the men making up the parade. This was a new type of ceremony, one suited to the disciplinary society; for those upon whom power is exercised have become perfectly visible to the disciplinary gaze. As Foucault says of the commemorative medal, "The scarcely sustainable visibility of the monarch is turned into the unavoidable visibility of the subjects. And it is this inversion of visibility in the functioning of the disciplines that was to assure the exercise of power even in its lowest manifestations."<sup>79</sup>

However, the closest historical parallel to the rise of Japan's emperor-centered society of surveillance is to be found in the instant of Napoleon's ascendancy, as described by Foucault. According to Foucault, the Napoleonic character was

at the point of junction of the monarchical, ritual exercise of sovereignty and the hierarchical, permanent exercise of indefinite discipline. He is the individual who looms over everything with a single gaze which no detail, however minute, can escape: "You may consider that no part of the Empire is without surveillance, no crime, no offence, no contravention that remains unpunished, and that the eye of the genius who can enlighten all embraces the whole of this vast machine, without, however, the slightest detail escaping his attention" (Treillard, 14). At the moment of its full blossoming, the disciplinary society still assumes with the Emperor the old aspect of the power of spectacle. As a monarch who is at one and the same time a usurper of the ancient throne and the organizer of the new state, he combined into a single symbolic, ultimate figure the whole of the long process by which the pomp of sovereignty, the necessarily spectacular manifestations of power, were extinguished one by one in the daily exercise of surveillance, in a panopticism in which the vigilance of intersecting gazes was soon to render useless both the eagle and the sun.<sup>80</sup>

The reinvention and dominance of the monarchy in Japan's political and cultural history from the late nineteenth century onward coincided

precisely with the production of Japan's disciplinary society. In other words, in Japan what Foucault called "monarchical power" and "disciplinary power" came together in the same historical moment. Power was not anonymous but centered on the figure of the Meiji emperor. The construction of the emperor as the Observer and the unprecedented visibility of the people to power coincided exactly with the new visibility of the modern monarch.

### Spectacles of Antiques

---

In national pageantry of the sorts described above, the regime displayed its military power, modernity, progress, and its "civilized" character as a demonstration of the national collectivity's prosperity and mundane well-being in the modern world. To be sure, there were many ritual gestures made toward western Japan and the memories of past imperial and national greatness that found their expression there. These included dispatches of imperial messengers to these memory sites as well as pilgrimages of imperial family members and national heroes. We can also note the performance of archaic-looking rites within the palace's innermost sanctuary that invoked memories of a time ages before the capital had been moved to Tokyo. Yet all of the late Meiji national pageants discussed thus far—whether through their use of such locations as Tokyo, the throne room inspired by European models, the modernity and "civilized" character of the emperor and his family, the splendid new processions centering on English coaches, or the celebrations of military glory—resounded with affirmations of the reality of present accomplishments and the possibilities of the future. Only in the severest crises of the regime's symbolic order—that is, between the death of an emperor (or to a much lesser extent other members of the imperial family) and the public accession of a new one—would the public aspect of national pageantry evoke the past over progress and the modern. Only in imperial funerals did the imagery of the archaic connected to Kyoto and western Japan overwhelm.

In July 1912 the state's symbol of the well-being and immutability of the national community fell ill; and the makers of the modern imperial image commenced the protracted ritual separation of the now feeble and dying emperor from the immortal emperorship. Only by clearly disjoining the two aspects or "bodies" of the Meiji emperor

could the newly fabricated political center be given a sense of permanency beyond his lifetime. This process began on the twentieth with the Imperial Household Ministry's announcement in *Kanpō*, the official gazette, that the emperor was gravely ill. From the twentieth until his death on the thirtieth, the Imperial Household Ministry released several medical bulletins each day describing in pathetically graphic detail the emperor's physical condition. These reports, available for all to read in the newspapers and at public bulletin boards, expressed the emperor's corporeality as never before. Thus the people learned of fluctuations in the emperor's temperature, respirations, and his pulse. They became acquainted with the history of his gastrointestinal problems, his diabetes, his chronic nephritis, and his uremia. They could even know how many grams of urine the emperor produced, the quality and weight of his stool, and whether or not he released gas. As he lay near death on the twenty-ninth it was reported that the tips of his arms and legs began to turn a dark purple. Finally, on the following day, his heart failed and he succumbed.<sup>81</sup>

The dramatization of Emperor Meiji's gradual approach toward death did not conclude with his physical demise. Nearly a month and a half of ritual activity, both hidden within the palace's confines and public, preceded his interment in the Fushimi Momoyama Mausoleum in southeastern Kyoto. From 31 July to 13 August, the emperor remained mysteriously alive even after the public announcement of his death. It was reported that his "godly countenance remained in every respect unchanged from when he was alive";<sup>82</sup> and inside a palace hall, temporarily called the *shinden*, high-ranking court ladies continued to treat him as if he were still living, serving him his customary three meals a day. From 13 August until his funeral and his interment the corpse remained in the Throne Room, now temporarily called the *hinkyū* (or *mogarinomiya*). There court ritualists made ritual offerings of imperial meals.<sup>83</sup> Thus during this period the emperor was neither completely dead nor wholly alive; he passed through an ambiguous stage.

Most people probably understood little of this elaborate fiction, even as they read about it. Yet many were clearly shaken by the same crisis of the national imaginary that the court rites attempted to control—namely, the fear that the national collectivity might be as impermanent as the imperial body that represented it. Some people at first refused to believe that the emperor's natural end was approaching. Some thought that the press's extra editions reporting on the emperor's illness were no more than "bogus extras."<sup>84</sup> The stock market crashed, but a writer for

the *Chūgai shōgyō shinbun* advised his readers that they must be calm, not only for the sake of nation and the economy but also because "the emperor's recovery cannot be precluded."<sup>85</sup> When the announcement of his death finally came, many people of the nation appear to have been affected by what has been called "a sense of ending."<sup>86</sup> The malaise and the general feeling of personal displacement among intellectuals that followed the emperor's death and lasted at least until his funeral has been so often described that it is hardly necessary to belabor the point. Suffice it to note the response of writers like Natsume Sōseki, who had the protagonist of his novel express it as a feeling of "being left behind to live as anachronisms," or Tokutomi Sohō, who wrote of how he felt that his "life had been broken off."<sup>87</sup>

It is impossible to determine the feelings of people less famous since they did not leave written accounts of the event. Yet not everyone seems to have been affected in the same way. On 23 July a writer for the *Tōkyō asahi shinbun* wrote in disgust that while many people had assembled in front of Nijūbashi to pray for the emperor's recovery, someone accompanied by a geisha had been riding around the Palace Plaza in a car, apparently practicing his new driving skills.<sup>88</sup> If the wearing of mourning badges can be taken as a rough indication of individuals' sense of loss over the emperor's death, a limited survey of those who wore them on 9 August suggests that individual reactions differed by social background. Apparently, those who appeared to be bureaucrats, company employees, and students almost all wore badges, while craftsmen and small shopowners were less likely to do so. Indeed, almost none of the people the surveyor identified as small shopowners were badge-wearers. And older people were much less apt to wear badges than youth, which again indicates that the emperor-centered national community was in fact a new idea and not one dating back to pre-Meiji times.<sup>89</sup> Nevertheless, the outpouring of emotion was widespread. Tens of thousands of people ranging from schoolchildren to *yamabushi* (mountain ascetics)<sup>90</sup> came to Nijūbashi daily in hopes of aiding in the emperor's recovery. And millions of people throughout the nation prayed at shrines, temples, schools, and other public places.<sup>91</sup>

As the mortality of the emperor became ever more obvious, the highest men in the government and in the Imperial Household Ministry prepared for the spectacular funeral that would be necessary to overcome the regime's greatest symbolic crisis. All of the national pageants that I have previously described centered on the living emperor, a visibly strong and virile man who was also a god. But now the emperor, the

embodiment of national well-being, was dead and a celebration of his accomplishments alone could not sustain the idea of the nation's immutability. Instead, the governing elites believed that an imperial funeral required the public demonstration of the greatness and depth of the imperial and hence the Japanese past. Eventually, this belief necessitated taking the ceremonies back to Kyoto, the point on the national landscape that best represented the current regime's link to remote antiquity and ultimately to an invisible place before time.

Those involved in the fashioning of Japan's modern imperial pageants understood that it was of utmost importance to show the great antiquity of the imperial line and the nation through ceremony. They had wanted to create a progressive-looking monarchy, to be sure; but their surveys of the royal rituals of European states had confirmed their view that part of modern ritualmaking required the preservation or even invention of archaic ceremonial forms. Such was the position of Yanagihara Sakimitsu, perhaps the most politically influential observer of European courts and royal ceremonies during the 1880s. "In now establishing the Imperial Household's ceremonies," he had emphatically argued in a lengthy memorial written from Russia and dated May 1882, "old precedents ought to be preserved, insofar as is possible, in order to express the age of the Imperial Household. This is the most important principle."<sup>92</sup> He admitted that certain exceptions would have to be made: it would sometimes be necessary to follow Western examples in such matters as formal court dress. But he used his knowledge of European ceremonies to argue that prestigious European countries under strong monarchies maintained their own archaic-looking ceremonies and that the Japanese should do the same.

The Austrians "in keeping with the ancient origins of their Imperial Household," he noted, "even now adhere to old practices (*kosei*)." He wrote of the purposeful archaism they retained in their pageants, illuminating them with bonfires in addition to gas and electric street lighting. They also performed archaic accession rites involving the nobility and the clergy. Yanagihara also made the argument that we have already encountered in our discussions of Kyoto's selection as the site of the accession rites—namely, that the Russians held their coronations in the ancient capital. Additionally, the Russians continued to celebrate their traditional river festival at the beginning of the year. Finally, in Prussia, Chancellor Bismarck himself sometimes took the role of torchbearer in important ceremonies. Yanagihara concluded of these examples: "In this way, these three great nations all follow ancient precedents closely.

Any assessment that would disparage this as clinging to the hackneyed and outmoded (*chinpu no koto*) is shallow. Therefore, in order to express the over two-thousand-year age of our Imperial Household, an effort should be made to preserve those rites for which there are ancient forms. . . . It is my humble opinion that this is an essential means for expressing the majesty and glory of the Imperial Household." While Yanagihara acknowledged that it would be necessary to borrow many ritual styles from Western courts, he "desired to nurture within the public mind the sense of the Imperial Household's solemnity" through the use of ancient Japanese forms.

The death rites of 13 September began in the morning with the installation of Meiji's spirit in the palace's Kiri Hall, now renamed the Karitono. There his spirit would rest until a year later, when it would finally be enshrined along with the other imperial ancestors within the Kōreiden of the Palace Sanctuary.<sup>93</sup> The public ceremony commenced at eight in the evening when the massive funeral train, composed of over 20,000 persons, began to roll slowly out of the palace, across Nijūbashi, and through Babasaki Gate en route to its destination at the Funeral Pavilion on the Aoyama Military Parade Field. The overwhelming atmosphere created by both the funeral procession and the funeral pavilion at Aoyama was of the regime's tie to the sacred and weighty past.<sup>94</sup>

The funeral procession, like those of other national pageants, contained the usual honor guards, princes, and high military and civil officials. The extraordinary number of honor guards within the procession, 10,000 of them, as well as the nearly 24,000 soldiers lined up along the processional route, certainly gave visible testimony to the regime's continuing power. But the funeral cortege was most distinguished from the imperial processions during other national pageants by the large number of men in courtly robes, both high-ranking and lowly, who dramatized the great age of the imperial household, both by their dress and the ancient objects that they carried. Thus the court attendants designated as *tsukōdo*, *udoneri*, and *toneri* carried torches, ancient court drums and gongs, white or yellow banners, quivers, bows, shields, halberds, moon or sun banners, cuttings of the sacred *sakaki* plant, and chests for arrows, bows, and offerings. Few people, of course, could have been familiar with most of the names of these men and objects, and still fewer with what these may have signified in remote times; but the age that they represented was certainly obvious. The funeral commission's assistants, ritualists, musicians, and even the Imperial Household

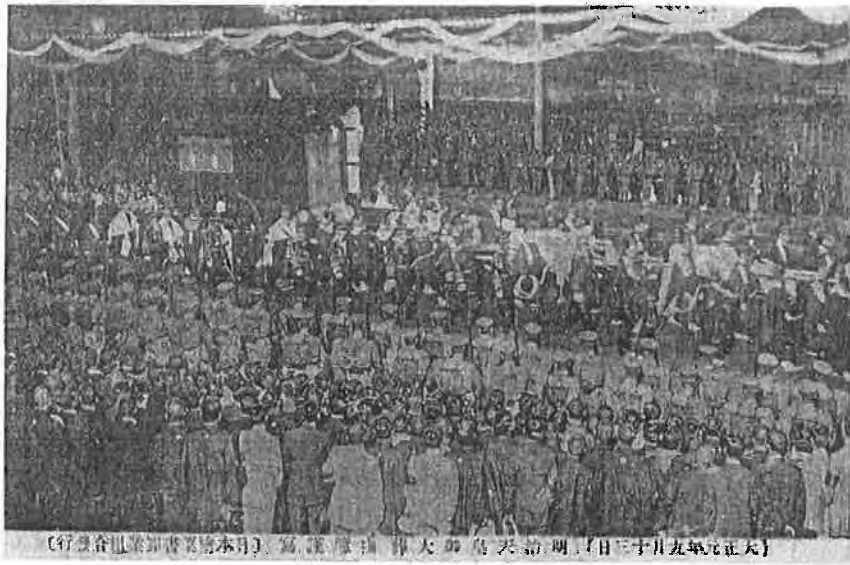


Figure 13. Postcard of ox-drawn hearse in the Meiji emperor's funeral procession.

Minister also came out in ancient court dress. Authority, as in all previous imperial processions, was located at the center of the cortege. Previously, however, the imperial conveyances had been shiny Western carriages, representing the monarchy's modernity and equality with Western royalty. Now the funeral hearse at the center was an ancient ox-driven cart built by a Kyoto craftsman. Finally, musicians playing the solemn funeral dirge on classical reed mouth organs (*hichiriki*), gongs, and drums enveloped the entire spectacle with their ancient strains (see Figure 13).

The main funeral rites took place at the *sōjōden*, a specially constructed funeral pavilion built in a stark wooden Shinto style with fronting shrine gateways (see Figure 14). The rites too took Shinto forms and began with the reading of a *norito* prayer by the chief ritualist, Takatsukasa Hiromichi, followed by offerings of sacred *tamagushi* sprigs. Though apparently reflecting traditions reaching back to remote origins, the obsequies owed a great deal to modern cultural artifice. According to experts on the history of imperial funeral rites, since at least the seventh century Buddhist priests had dominated the performance of

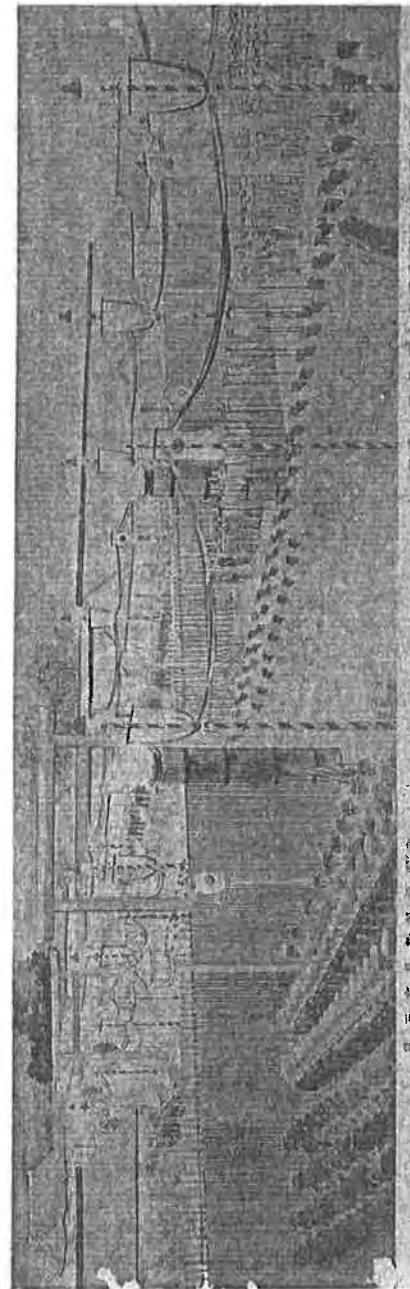


Figure 14. Postcard of funeral pavilion used for the Meiji emperor's death rites, with fronting gateways.

imperial death rites—even those of Emperor Kōmei, Meiji's father, who died only about a year before the Restoration. At that time priests from Sennyūji, a temple with strong historical ties to the imperial household, performed Buddhist rites centering on the chanting of sutras within the Kyoto Palace. They then conducted the interment rites at the mausoleum located adjacent to the Sennyūji.<sup>95</sup> However, as part of the radical post-Restoration elimination of anything that smacked of Buddhism from the imperial household and the modern propensity to construct sharply distinct religious traditions, death rites also took on renovated Shinto forms.<sup>96</sup>

The modern regime's first public imperial funeral was actually not that held for Emperor Meiji but rather for Emperor Kōmei's chief consort, Empress Dowager Eishō, in 1897. In those rites court ritualists had taken the place of Buddhist priests and the obsequies themselves had been Shinto in style, complete with offerings of sacred *tamagushi* sprigs and the reading of Shinto *norito* prayers. The only Buddhist trace was the location, the Sennyūji.<sup>97</sup> The rites for Emperor Meiji followed the precedents set by Empress Dowager Eishō's funeral, with the exception that a complete break with the Buddhist past had been made in building the *sōjōden*. Thus, the modern imperial funeral rites, gradually stripped of their Buddhist elements and providing an aura of an age even before Buddhism, were modern creations that ignored conventions which had been followed for almost all of recorded Japanese history.

Following the ceremony at Aoyama—which had included eulogies praising Meiji's accomplishments by the new emperor, Prime Minister Saionji, and Imperial Household Minister Watanabe—the imperial casket was put on the funeral train and sent to Kyoto. From 2 A.M. on the fourteenth the funeral train steamed down the Tōkaidō Line, drawing worshippers to the stations all along the way.<sup>98</sup> It arrived at the Momoyama railway station in the ancient capital just past 5 P.M. the same day and was placed in an archaic palanquin, known as the *sōkaren*, which, according to custom, was carried on the shoulders of fifty-two men from Yase village at the foot of Mt. Hiei. The procession from the train station to the mausoleum site was smaller than the earlier procession in Tokyo, but similar in its adherence to ancient forms. Again, court servants in antique robes carried drums, gongs, quivers, bows, shields, halberds, chests for arrows, bows, and offerings, and the same banners that had been displayed earlier. Finally, the procession arrived at Fushimi-Momoyama for the interment rites that were completed early on the

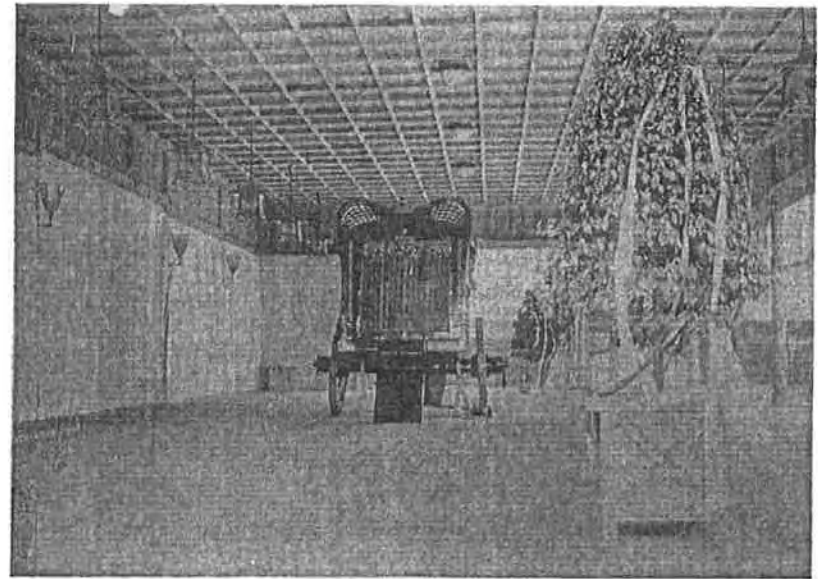


Figure 15. Photograph of ox-drawn hearse on public display in the Meiji emperor's funeral pavilion. From *Meiji tennō gotaisōgi*, 1912. Courtesy of Tokyo Metropolitan Central Library.

morning of the fifteenth. It was a place described by one journalist as “rich in history but poor in material things.”<sup>99</sup>

The spectacle of antiques did not end with the interment. The funeral commissioners placed the ox-cart funeral hearse in the *sōjōden* at Aoyama, and opened the pavilion up for public viewing between 18 September and 6 November (see Figure 15). In pavilions to the left and right of the main funeral site they set out the ancient ritual paraphernalia that had been carried in the funeral cortege—halberds, shields, banners, bells, drums, and boxes. Similarly, the commissioners allowed mass viewing of the interment site at Momoyama from 18 September to 3 November. There the main attraction was the *sōkaren* palanquin.<sup>100</sup> From the official point of view, in this age of mass nationalism, when all the nation's citizens should identify with the imperial and national tradition, it was imperative that the material objects of that tradition be seen by as many people as possible.

In fact millions of Japanese subjects journeyed to Kyoto or Tokyo to see the funeral processions as well as to take in the displays at Aoyama

and Momoyama, and in so doing they could imagine the greatness and central significance of the imperial past. The emperor's funerary rites and all of its associated objects had been above all mnemonic sites that were meant to recall, or more aptly to construct a memory of, a past that was only recently becoming known in some way to most commoners. The symbolic crisis brought on by the emperor's death had produced a display thoroughly modern in its immense scale and its openness to public view, but just as purposefully antiquarian looking in its forms. For this ceremony some of the most powerful men in the government at that time—the *genrō*, or state elders, Yamagata Aritomo, Inoue Kaoru, Ōyama Iwao, Matsukata Masayoshi, and Saionji Kinmochi—as well as high officials within the imperial household<sup>101</sup> understood that it was necessary to invoke the weight of the imperial past. And thus at enormous added expense to the government, they agreed to send the body of the emperor back to Kyoto, drawing the attention of the nation's people to the center of the glorious imperial tradition.

## CHAPTER FOUR

# The Monarchy in Japan's Modernity

---

## The Emperor's Two Bodies

---

In early 1881 a young man named Suematsu Kenchō, then studying at Cambridge University, began sending a series of reports on the English monarchy to the imperial household minister, Tokudaiji Sanenori. Suematsu had been taken under Itō Hirobumi's wing in 1875 and had been serving on the staff of the Japanese Legation in England since 1878. Suematsu became an influential member of the ruling circles in the 1880s, becoming not only Itō's son-in-law in 1889 but also a prominent politician who sat in the Diet for many years and who also served in different capacities in several of Itō's cabinets; eventually, he became a member of the Privy Council in 1906.<sup>1</sup> In the first of these reports, Suematsu arrived at some observations that are striking both in articulating the idea of a dualism in the official British idea of kingship and in suggesting the relevance of this dualism for understanding the Japanese monarchy.

In England, as with ancient practices in Japan, the new monarch's great ceremonial of enthronement does not take place on the same day as the accession. . . . To begin with, according to the spirit of the royal line's transmission, the king is said to be one who never dies. In the legal idiom this is the so-called immortal king. This does not mean that the life of the king is in reality undying but that when the sovereign dies his power and majesty as king are immediately conveyed to the royal heir. Because it is deemed that not a moment intervenes, it is said that while there is a

Routledge, 1990), especially Bhabha's "Dissemination: Time, Narrative, and the Margins of the Modern Nation," 291-322.

140. The discussion concerning the incommensurability of Kyoto and Tokyo and the seam holding them together has been stimulated by Harry Harootunian's comments on an earlier draft of this book. Harootunian suggests that especially during the interwar years intellectuals such as Abe Jirō, Watsuji Tetsurō, Tanizaki Jun'ichirō, Izumi Kyōka, Nagai Kafu, and others turned to Edo or "Edo viewing" as a way of supplying an alternative past.

141. Though I would emphasize much more than he the importance of the nation-state and the state's agency in the process of disciplining memory, Richard Terdman has argued that during Europe's "long nineteenth century," "history increasingly became the discipline of memory." He considers modern history to be a response to what he calls the "memory crisis" in Europe, a crisis inextricably related to the domination of the socioeconomy by commodities. While apparently preserving the past, this history in fact occluded "individual dispossession of the past" (*Present Past: Modernity and the Memory Crisis* [Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993], 31, emphasis in original).

## Part 2 Overview

1. David I. Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics, and Power* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), x.

2. Teofilo F. Ruiz in "Unsacred Monarchy: The Kings of Castile in the Late Middle Ages," in *Rites of Power*, ed. Sean Wilentz (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 109-45.

3. See my "Electronic Pageantry and Japan's 'Symbolic Emperor,'" *Journal of Asian Studies* 51 (November 1992): 824-50.

4. Yano Fumio, "Kyūtei no shoshiki o seitei shite cisei no teishiki to kōji ainaritaki gi," March 1891, handwritten copy in Rinji Teishitsu Seido Torishirabekyoku shorui, Shoryōbu, Imperial Household Agency, Tokyo.

5. *Daijinnmei jiten* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1953); Takayanagi Mitsutoshi and Takeuchi Yoshizō, eds., *Nihonshi jiten*, 2nd ed. (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1974).

6. *Jiji shinpō*, 10 February 1889.

7. Erwin Baelz, *Awakening Japan: The Diary of a German Doctor*, ed. Toku Baelz (1932; Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1974), 82.

8. In *Japan's Modern Myths: Ideology in the Late Meiji Period* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 42-48, 213-27, Carol Gluck describes two ceremonial events analyzed in this book—namely, the Meiji Constitution's promulgation ceremony and the Meiji emperor's funeral. The reader will thus find some overlap in our respective descriptions. Our treatments, however, differ significantly. While Gluck's book is a masterful overview of the complex production, diffusion, and transformation of modern Japanese ideology, as well as of what she considers to be that ideology's often discordant relation to social reality, she seems to be using these two events more for rhetorical flourish, to set off the beginning and end of her discussion with colorful events, rather than

because she sees such intermittent ceremonial occasions as intrinsically important. My point is that the pageantry was important in and of itself and that its significances need to be further examined.

9. Ubukata Toshiro, *Meiji Taishō kenbunshi* (1926; Tokyo: Chūō Kōron-sha, 1978); for the phrase "epoch-making" event, 7; the three events described are the Constitution's promulgation, the crown prince's wedding, and Emperor Meiji's funeral: 23-25, 118-21.

10. David Cannadine, "The Context, Performance, and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the 'Invention of Tradition,' c. 1820-1977," in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 120-38; for the domestic and international contexts which contributed to this effusion of ritual activity see esp. 120-32, 160-62.

11. *Ibid.*, 133.

12. Bernard Cohn, "Representing Authority in Victorian India," in Hobsbawm and Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition*, esp. 178-209; for the quote, 208.

13. One might think of this symbolic ordering on the physical landscape, the imperial body, and through pageantry as a working out, narrowing, and officializing of the worlds of the "seen" and the "unseen" that H. D. Harootunian has so powerfully described in his reading of late Tokugawa nativist discourse (*Things Seen and Unseen: Discourse and Ideology in Tokugawa Nativism* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988]).

14. This approach was pioneered by the Japanese anthropologist Yamaguchi Masao in such works as "Kingship, Theatricality, and Marginal Reality in Japan," in *Text and Context: The Social Anthropology of Tradition*, ed. Ravindra K. Jain (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1977); and "Tennōsei no shinsō kōzō" and "Tennōsei no shōchō kūkan," in *Chi no enkinhō* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1978), 333-98.

15. Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, England: Polity Press, 1990), 68.

16. See Chapter 1.

17. Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977), esp. 87-158.

18. Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), 548.

## Chapter 3. Fabricating Imperial Ceremonies

1. "Kenpō happushiki roku," 1889, Shoryōbu, Imperial Household Agency, Tokyo.

2. Unless noted otherwise, this description of the ceremonies held in Tokyo is based on the following: Erwin Baelz, *Awakening Japan: The Diary of a German Doctor*, ed. Toku Baelz (1932; Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1974), 81-83; Ikeda Terusuke, *Kenpō happushiki haikan gaikyō* (Chiba-ken: Shūeisha, 1889), 18-25; "Kenpō happushiki goshidai," *Fūzoku gabō*, no.

2 (March 1889): 1-7; *Japan Weekly Mail*, 16 February 1889; *Jiji shinpō*, 12 February 1889; *Yūbin hōchi shinbun*, 12 February 1889, morning edition; and *MTK*, 7:204-11.

3. The official translation of the "Imperial Speech on the Promulgation of the Constitution" is collected in *Japanese Government Documents*, ed. W. W. McLaren (1914; Washington, D.C.: University Publications of America, 1979), 1:133-34.

4. Baelz, *Diary of a German Doctor*, 82.

5. On 3 February the Imperial Household Ministry ordered the Tokyo Metropolitan Police to inform the newspapers of Tokyo to elect ten representatives from among themselves to attend the promulgation ceremony. On 6 February the representatives of the fifty-eight registered newspapers and magazines reported the names and newspaper affiliations of the ten representatives to the police. For this information, the names and affiliations of the five representatives of provincial papers, and the editors of the three foreign language papers, see Naikaku Kirokukyoku, ed., *Hōki bunrui taizen*, 2nd ed. (Tokyo: Naikaku Kirokukyoku, 1892), 1:16-19.

6. For example, see *Yūbin hōchi shinbun*, 4 February 1889, evening edition.

7. Ikeda, *Kenpō happushiki haikan gaikyō*, 1.

8. *Yūbin hōchi shinbun*, 8 February 1889, morning edition.

9. *Japan Weekly Mail*, 16 February 1889.

10. *Jiji shinpō*, 13 February 1889; *Yūbin hōchi shinbun*, 12 February 1889, evening edition; *MTK*, 7:218-19.

11. Yanagihara Sakimitsu, "Sueden koku kōtei heika ginkonshiki," 1882, Shoryōbu, Imperial Household Agency, Tokyo. The cover letter, written by Inoue and addressed to Nabeshima, is dated 22 December 1882.

12. "Kakkoku kinginkonshiki torishiraberoku," 1893, Shoryōbu, Imperial Household Agency, Tokyo.

13. *MTK*, 8:370-71, 375.

14. For the print media accounts see, for example: *Daikon nijūgonen shukuten kiji*, a special issue of *Fūzoku gabō*, no. 71 (April 1894): 6-8; *Japan Weekly Mail*, 17 March 1894; *Jiji shinpō*, 10 March 1894; *Tōkyō asahi shinbun*, 11 March 1894. For the official history see *MTK*, 8:384-86.

15. *MTK*, 8:385.

16. *Japan Weekly Mail*, 10 March 1894, 297; *Jiji shinpō*, 10 March 1894; *Kokumin shinbun*, 11 March 1894. The description from the imperial procession to the final events within the palace is based primarily on *MTK*, 8:386-88, and *Japan Weekly Mail*, 17 March 1894, 325-26.

17. Yamamoto Yokichi, *Japanese Postage Stamps* (Tokyo: Japan Travel Bureau, 1950), 98-159; Nihon Yūbin Kirtesho Kyōdō Kumiai Katarogu Henshū inkai, ed., 1984 *Nihon kitte katarogu* (Tokyo: Nihon Yūbin Kirtesho Kyōdō Kumiai, 1984), 10-63.

18. The description of this imperial ceremony, unless otherwise noted, is based upon the following: *Kōtaishi denka gokeiji—chiyo no iwai*, a special issue of *Fūzoku gabō*, no. 211 (June 1900): 8-13; Kōno Kōzaburō, *Tōgū gokeijiroku* (Hiroshima: Kōno Kōzaburō, 1900), 17-21; and *MTK* 9:761-62, 813.

19. Kodama Kōta, ed., *Tennō* (Tokyo: Kondō Shuppansha, 1978), 57; Murakami Shigeyoshi, *Kōshitsu jiten* (Tokyo: Tōkyōdō Shuppan, 1980), 194.

20. For a description of the *judai* ceremony which preceded Haruko's installation as empress, see *MTK*, 1:941-42.

21. Fujinami Kototada, "Eikoku teishitsu shorei torishirabesho" (ca. 1880s), collected in *Hisho ruisan kenpō shiryō*, ed. Itō Hirobumi (1935; Tokyo: Hara Shobō, 1970), 3:38.

22. *MTK*, 9:694-95, 793. Itō's leadership in drafting the law and designing Crown Prince Yoshihito's wedding was no secret. For example, Hijikata Hisamoto, vice-president of the Imperial Household Investigations Bureau, noted this fact in an interview for the *Chūō shinbun* on 18 May 1900. Even a writer for the English language weekly, *The Japan Weekly Mail*, noted on 19 May 1900 that Itō was responsible for creating the religious marriage ceremony.

23. Itō Hirobumi, "Gokamon hōtōan," collected in "Itōkō zassan," vol. 2.1, ed. Rinji Teishitsu Henshūkyoku, 1916, Shoryōbu, Imperial Household Agency, Tokyo.

24. Baelz, *Diary of a German Doctor*, 124.

25. *Miyako shinbun*, 10 May 1900. This was an advertisement for, of all things, a medicine for safe childbirth. It will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4, in "The Politics of Gendering and the Gendering of Politics."

26. Fujinami's role in designing the carriage is noted in *Kōtaishi denka gokeiji—chiyo no iwai*, 13; for the quote, *Japan Weekly Mail*, 19 May 1900.

27. *Chūō shinbun*, 11 May 1900; *Kōtaishi denka gokeiji—chiyo no iwai*, 52-3; *Miyako shinbun*, 10 and 11 May 1900; *MTK*, 9:813. According to its official report, the Association for the Celebration of the Crown Prince's Wedding was a group founded by the wealthy businessman Shibusawa Eiichi, Tokyo Governor Senge Takatomi, and Tokyo Mayor Matsuda Hideo (Tōgū Gokeiji Hōshukukai zannu jimusho, ed., "Tōgū gokeiji hōshukukai hōkoku" [1909], excerpted in *Shibusawa Eiichi denki shiryō*, ed. Ryūmonsha [Shibusawa Eiichi Denki Shiryō Kankōkai, 1959], 28:692).

28. *MTK*, 9:814.

29. *Kōtaishi denka gokeiji—chiyo no iwai*, 14-23, 53-56; for Okazaki, 54.

30. Tokyo Hyakunenshi Henshū Inkai, ed., *Tōkyō hyakunenshi* (Tokyo: Tokyo-to, 1972), 3:932.

31. The quote is from the official record of the construction project, "Yasukuni Jinja seido torii no ki," in *Shiryōhen*, vol. 1. of *Yasukuni jinja hyakunenshi*, ed. Yasukuni Jinja (Tokyo: Yasukuni Jinja, 1983), 525-26.

32. Tayama Katai, *Tōkyō no sanjūnen* (1917; Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1981), 29.

33. The 1974 survey, "Zenkoku torii no takasa besuto ten," is collected in Yasukuni Jinja, ed., *Shiryōhen*, 560.

34. Maurice Agulhon, "Politics, Images, and Symbols in Post-Revolutionary France," in *Rites of Power*, ed. Sean Wilentz (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 185.

35. The *Kenchiku zasshi* article, "Dōzō" (no. 253 [January 1908]: 35-36), also carries a list of Tokyo's fifteen most prominent public bronze statues as of that time.



36. Ishii Kendō, *Meiji jibutsu kigen*, reprinted as *Meiji bunka zenshū*, supplement vol., ed. Meiji Bunka Kenkyūkai (Tokyo: Hyōronsha, 1969), 63. This book's title is somewhat ambiguous and could alternatively be translated *The Origins of Things in Meiji*. Ishii also notes that the first bronze of a woman was that of Uryū Iwako, an important Meiji social worker.
37. Ubukata Toshirō, *Meiji Taishō kenbunshi* (1926; Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1978), 107.
38. Yasukuni Jinja, ed., *Yasukuni jinjashi* (Tokyo: Yasukuni Jinja, 1911), 195.
39. Kobayashi Yasushige, *Ueno kōen* (Tokyo: Kyōgakusha, 1980), 112.
40. Maejima Yasuhiko, *Kōkyō gaien* (Tokyo: Kyōgakusha, 1981), 112-14.
41. The dismantling of public statuary is mentioned in Maejima, *Kōkyō gaien*, 114-15.
42. Identifying a "first" event is a risky affair. Aside from a broad reading in the newspapers, magazines, diaries, memoirs, and general histories listed in my bibliography, I have also consulted the following chronologies: Yamaguchi Osamu, ed., *Zusetsu nenpyō*, vol. 17 of *Meiji Taishō zushi*, ed. Asukai Masamichi et al. (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1978); Iwanami Shoten Henshūbu, ed., *Kindai Nihon sōgō nenpyō* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1968); Fujii Sadafumi, ed., *Meiji tennō gonennpu* (Tokyo: Meiji Jingū Shamusho, 1963); Kuwata Tadachika, ed., *Nihonshi bunrui nenpyō* (Tokyo: Tokyo Shoseki Kabushikigaisha, 1984); Tokyo Hyakunenshi Henshū Iinkai, ed., *Tōkyō hyakunenshi—bekkan* (Tokyo: Gyosei, 1980).
43. *Jiji shinpō*, 11 December 1894; and the official record of the celebration, Tsuchida Seijirō, ed., *Tōkyō-shi shukushō taikai* (Tokyo: Tsuchida Seijirō, 1895).
44. These figures were taken or calculated from Yasukuni Shrine's most recent official list of enshrinements in Yasukuni Jinja, ed., *Shiryōhen*, 317-29.
45. Very slightly altered from a translation by D. C. Holtom in his *Modern Japan and Shinto Nationalism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943), 50.
46. I have relied upon the charts compiled by Ōhama Tetsuya, "Eirei sūhai to tennōsei," in *Kindai to no kaikō*, vol. 3, of *Nihonjin no shūkyō*, ed. Tamura Yoshio et al. (Tokyo: Kōsei Shuppansha, 1973), 174-75. Ōhama's data are derived from the late Meiji official history of Yasukuni, Yasukuni Jinja, ed., *Yasukuni jinjashi*.
47. The description of Tōgō's return is based on *Gaisen zue—daiippen*, a special issue of *Fūzoku gabō*, no. 328 (November 1905): 10-19; Tōgō's speech is reproduced in full on p. 18, as well as in *MTK*, 11:359-61; my translation is a slightly modified version of one in the *Japan Times*, 23 October 1905.
48. This translation is taken from the *Japan Weekly Mail*, 16 December 1905. The original report was carried widely in the media: for example, *Gaisen zue—daisanben*, a special issue of *Fūzoku gabō*, no. 331 (January 1906): 24-25; it may also be found in *MTK*, 11:426-27.
49. *Japan Weekly Mail*, 1 June 1895.
50. Before returning to Tokyo, however, the emperor took his Supreme

Command to Kyoto. There, in the capital of his ancestors, he visited the Fourth National Industrial Exhibition, a place in the city of the national past where the Japanese people could celebrate their progress and power. Then two days prior to his departure he worshipped at the mausoleums of several imperial ancestors, most notably that of his father, Emperor Kōmei. Having thus associated himself with national glories of both the past and the present, he left for Tokyo on 29 May. See *MTK*, 8:785-86, 821, 824-25.

51. The information on the decorating of the city and the actual triumphal return is based on *Japan Weekly Mail*, 25 May and 1 June 1895; *Kokumin shinbun*, 31 May 1895; *Miyako shinbun*, 21 May 1895; *Tōkyō asahi shinbun*, 31 May 1895.

52. *Kokumin shinbun*, 31 May 1895.

53. *Japan Weekly Mail*, 1 June 1895.

54. *Gaisen zue—daiippen*, 20-35; *Japan Times*, 24 October 1905.

55. *Gaisen zue—daiippen*, 1.

56. For this description of the plaza construction project I have synthesized the partial accounts given in *Gaisen zue—daigohen*, a special issue of *Fūzoku gabō*, no. 340 (May 1906): 17-18; *Kokumin shinbun*, 14 April 1906; and Maejima, *Kōkyō gaien*, 50-54. The moat was also filled in on the northern side of the plaza at Ōtemachi, but this entrance could not be made immediately available for public use.

57. Fujimori Terunobu gives a very concise and evocative account of Edo's closed nature and some early measures to open up the city in the early Meiji years in *Meiji no Tōkyō keikaku* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1982), 125-31; he does not, however, discuss the relation between the city's structure and public ritual.

58. The *Kokumin shinbun's* history of the undertaking (14 April 1906) cites these two tragedies as the immediate reasons for the construction project.

59. *Gaisen zue—daigohen*, 18.

60. "Rikugun gaisen kanpeishiki shorui," collected in *Meiji gunjishi*, ed. Rikugunshō (Tokyo: Hara Shobō, 1965), 2:1572-73.

61. *Japan Weekly Mail*, 5 May 1906.

62. This description of the review is based upon *Gaisen zue—daigohen*, 7-15; *Kokumin shinbun*, 1 May 1906; *MTK*, 11:538-41; *Japan Times*, 30 April and 1 May 1906; *Japan Weekly Mail*, 5 May 1906. The number of troops in the review has been corroborated with "Rikugun gaisen kanpeishiki shorui," 1570-71.

63. "Rikugun gaisen kanpeishiki shorui," 1574.

64. *MTK*, 11:540; *Kokumin shinbun*, 1 May 1906.

65. "Rikugun gaisen kanpeishiki shorui," 1573-75.

66. These times are recorded in the *Japan Times*, 1 May 1900.

67. Yasukuni Jinja, ed., *Shiryōhen*, 320.

68. Murakami, *Kōshitsu jiten*, 41, 39-40.

69. This description of the military reviews is taken from the annual *rikugun hajime* and *tenchōsetsu* entrees in Kunaichō, *Meiji tennōki* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1968-77), vols. 7-12. There is no entry for *rikugun hajime* for 1898, so I have assumed that the ceremony was not conducted.

70. *Gaisen zue—daigohen*.
71. These postcards can be consulted in Hibata Sekko, *Nihon ebagaki shichō* (Tokyo: Nihon Yūken Kurabu, 1936), no page; for a written description, see 91-97. An original print of the photograph used for the Triumphant Military Review's commemorative postcard can be found in the Tokyo Metropolitan Central Library's "Tōkyō-shitsu" and is labeled "Sanjūshichi-hachinen sen'eki gaisen kanpeishiki."
72. Nihon Yūbin Kittesho Kyōdō Kumiai Katarogu Henshū Inkaï, ed., 1984 *Nihon kitte katarogu*, 152; *Gaisen zue—daigohen*, 41-44; *Kokumin shinbun*, 25 April 1906.
73. Michel Foucault, "Two Lectures," in *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings*, ed. Colin Gordon (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), 105. The concept of the "gaze" and the related notion of "visibility" are central to much of Foucault's work. The following characterization of Foucault's comparison of the disciplinary society that emerged in the eighteenth century with the monarchical society that preceded it is based primarily on his *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (trans. Alan Sheridan [New York: Random House, 1977]), and "The Eye of Power" (in *Power/Knowledge*, 146-65). Martin Jay's "In the Empire of the Gaze: Foucault and the Denigration of Vision in Twentieth-Century French Thought" (in *Foucault: A Critical Reader*, ed. David Couzens Hoy [London: Basil Blackwell, 1986], 175-204) is a learned and evocative consideration of Foucault's use of the terms "gaze" and "visibility." It puts Foucault's critique of vision within the context of the emergence of a general denigration of sight, an "anti-ocular discourse," in twentieth-century French thought. See also Jay's *Downcast Eyes: The Denigration of Vision in Twentieth-Century French Thought* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 381-434.
74. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 192.
75. Foucault, "The Eye of Power," 148.
76. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 193.
77. *Ibid.*, 205.
78. *Ibid.*, 200, 201.
79. *Ibid.*, 187-89.
80. *Ibid.*, 217. Foucault quotes J. B. Treilhard, *Motifs du code d'instruction criminelle* (1808).
81. All of the medical bulletins are collected in *Meiji tennō gotaisōgō*, a special issue of *Fūzoku gabō*, no. 438 (October 1912): 7-14.
82. *Ibid.*, 37.
83. These details of the rites within the palace are based on *Meiji tennō gotaisōgō*, 36-43. For a concise explanation of these rites, see Ihara Yoriaki, *Kōshitsu jiten*, enlarged ed. (1942; Kyoto: Toyamabō, 1959), 247-49.
84. Tokyo Hyakunenshi Henshū Inkaï, ed., *Tōkyō hyakunenshi*, 2:1207-8.
85. Quoted in *ibid.*, 1211.
86. Harry D. Harootunian, "Introduction: A Sense of Ending and the Problem of Taisho," in *Japan in Crisis: Essays on Taisho Democracy*, ed. Bernard S. Silberman and H. D. Harootunian (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), 3-28.

87. Natsume Sōseki, *Kokoro*, trans. from the Japanese and with a foreword by Edwin McClellan (Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1957), 245; Tokutomi Sohō, quoted in Carol Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myths: Ideology in the Late Meiji Period* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 220.

88. *Tōkyō asahi shinbun*, 23 July 1912.

89. *Tōkyō asahi shinbun*, 10 August 1912.

90. See, for example, *Tōkyō asahi shinbun*, 30 July 1912.

91. See, for example, *Meiji tennō gotaisōgō*, 14-25.

92. Petition of Yanagihara Sakimitsu to Iwakura Tomomi and Sanjō Sanetomi, "Teishitsu gishiki no gi," May 1882, handwritten copy in Teishitsu gokihon shorui, Shoryōbu, Tokyo.

93. *Meiji tennō gotaisōgō*, 81-82; Ihara Yoriaki, *Kōshitsu jiten*, 250.

94. The description of the ceremonies on the thirteenth is based on the *Japan Times*, 14 September 1912; *Tōkyō asahi shinbun*, 14 September 1912; *Meiji tennō gotaisōgō*.

95. Yamaori Tetsuo, "Tennō no sōsō girei to sokui girei," *Rekishi kōron*, no. 62 (January 1981): 148-52.

96. Sakamoto Ken'ichi, "Kōshitsu ni okeru shinbutsu bunri," in *Meiji ishin shintō hyakunenshi*, ed. Matsuyama Yoshio (Tokyo: Shinto Bunkakai, 1968), 4:191-254. James Edward Ketelaar's *Of Heretics and Martyrs in Meiji Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990) is excellent on the anti-Buddhist movement of the early Meiji years and the later reconstitution of Buddhism as a quintessential part of "Japanese culture."

97. *Gotaisō zue*, vols. 1 and 2, special issues of *Fūzoku gabō*, nos. 135 and 136 (February and March 1897).

98. The description of the ceremonies on the fourteenth and fifteenth are based on the *Japan Times*, 15 September 1912; *Tōkyō asahi shinbun*, 15 September 1912; *Meiji tennō gotaisōgō*.

99. *Tōkyō asahi shinbun*, 13 September 1912.

100. *Meiji tennō gotaisōgō*, 89, 97.

101. Tanaka Mitsuaki, a powerful official within the Imperial Household Ministry, gave the names of the people involved in the decision to build Emperor Meiji's mausoleum in Kyoto to his biographer, Tomita Kōjirō; see *Tanaka Seizanbaku* (Tokyo: Aoyama Shoin, 1917), 388-89.

## Chapter 4. The Monarchy in Japan's Modernity

1. A man of many talents, Suematsu was the first to translate a significant portion of the *Tale of Genji* into English and also translated several works of English literature into Japanese. See *Daijinnmei jiten* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1953), 3:426-27; Asahi Shinbunsha, ed., *Nihon rekishi jinbutsu jiten* (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1994).

2. This is the *hō* of *hōgyō*, a term reserved for members of the imperial family.

3. Suematsu Kenchō, "Eikoku teishitsu shorei kansatsu hōkoku," no. 1, 1881, Shoryōbu, Imperial Household Agency, Tokyo.