A Comparison between Japanese Exterior Space and Western Common Place

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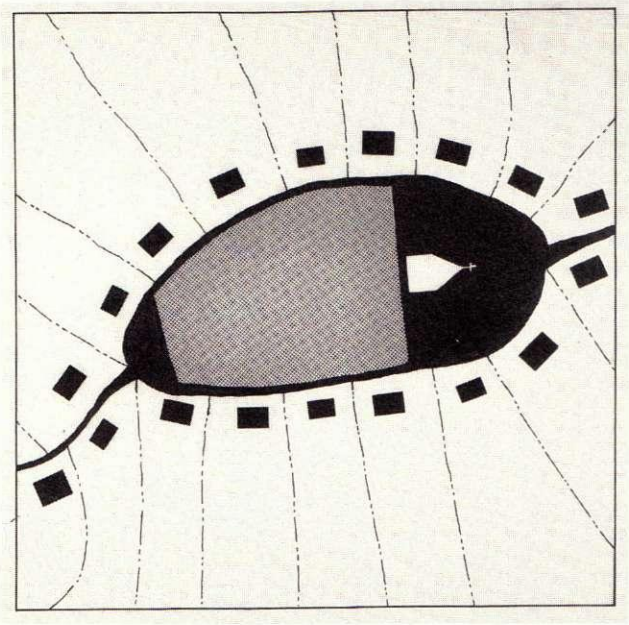
To us a "commonplace" is something ordinary, something mundane, something taken for granted. But in Japanese culture the ordinary is not so easily separable from the extraordinary: in fact, in a marvellous and magical way, the ordinary and extraordinary can on occasion become one and the same! There is no roadmap, no established direction we can take that will lead us to this surprising discovery. Like Alice in Wonderland, we must leap "from metamorphoris to metamorphoris"[1] in order to understand something about the nature of ritual space in that strange and wonderful country.

My interest in the structuring of exterior space in Japanese towns was inspired by the writing of Kojiro Yuichiro, who stated that

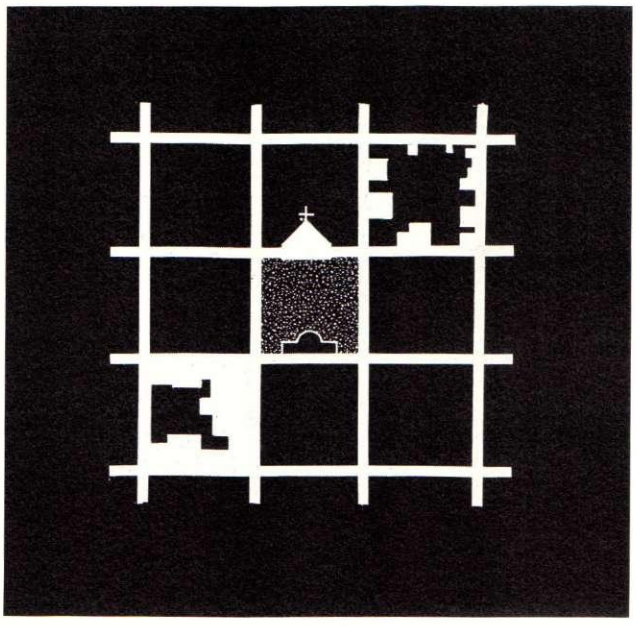
> the core of the Japanese community is not a special fixed space in the center of the village like the pasture or open space ('commons') of the West but was linear, and, moreover, seasonally and temporarily mobile.[2]

Kojiro had gone to America after the Second World War to study the architectural manifestations of a 'democratic' society. What he discovered and subsequently wrote about was the planned organization of civic buildings surrounding the public squares of American towns. When he returned to Japan to make design surveys of Japanese villages, he began to reflect upon the communal space of the Japanese villages and to compare them to the 'commons' in the New England towns he had visited. Kojiro noticed that the spaces he was looking at and recording in drawings (in both cases) were merely covering the physical form of the spaces. But, in Japan, a further dimension was evident in the people's involvement at the time of festival through spaces which appeared to be 'enlivened' by the passage of a temporary portable shrine *mikoshi* through the streets of the village.

Before I started my own study in Japan (which I also hoped would tie in with my interest in the Japanese concept of space *ma*, Kojiro advised me that studying a planned town might lead to different conclusions about the structuring of exterior spaces than those to which he had come through the study of villages based on indigenous growth. In retrospect, an irony has presented itself. Kojiro saw and measured the commons of New England towns; by considering these findings along with his knowledge of Japanese spaces, he concluded that the multi-sensual effect



A village "Commons"

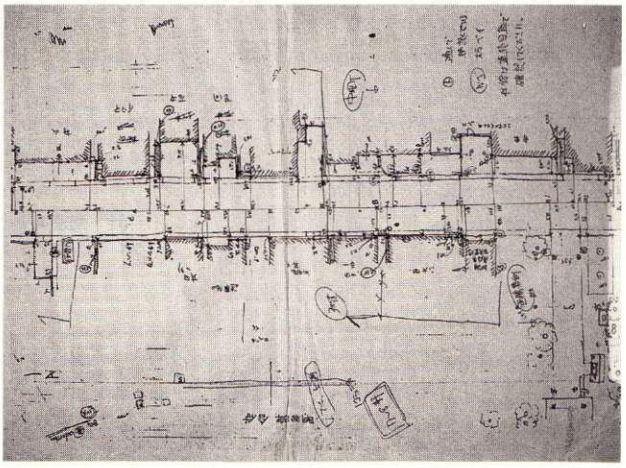


A town "Square"

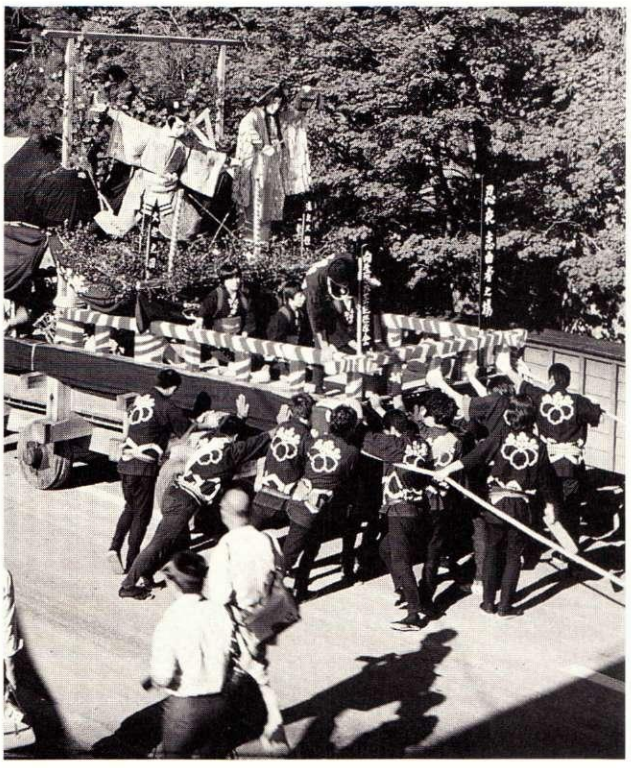
of the Japanese festival revealed a series of communal spaces which were committed to the collective memory of the Japanese by their involvement in ritual acts which passed through these spaces. I, on the other hand, set out to study Kojiro's communal spaces in Japan only to become acutely aware of the effects of media, such as the effect of rhetoric, on Western monumental spaces.

Kojiro kindly introduced me to the civic authorities of the town of Kakunodate in Akita Prefecture so that I might carry out my own design survey at the scale of a 'town' instead of a 'village' as he had done. My admission to the local community, which was through a *wakamono* (literally, "young people's organization"), began with a revel. It was in a nondescript barrack of a building which stood on the hillside above a local neighbourhood in the town of Kakunodate, close to the local community shrine. This small shrine was that of the neighbourhood deity.

My introduction was anything but orderly. I was offered drink after drink and various odd types of food. As the party got louder, people began to ask me for a speech. I must admit that my Japanese, although fluent enough at a railway station or restaurant, or in an architectural office, was no match for the local jargon nor the dialect spoken in the north of Japan known as *zuzu ben*. My sponsor, however, insisted I speak. What happened was typical of what was to come. He placed his hand on my shoulder and gave me cues as to what to say. If I stalled, he helped me out. I felt as though I could laugh too. Maybe it was a way of initiating me into 'the way of the gods' (Shinto) which, because of its communal nature, allows nobody to lose face. It was 'the way of the gods' which was to be celebrated, and one's participation in this celebration meant that one had to be so totally involved in the celebration that through exhaustion the gods would know the participants had given them the best they could. I call this commonplace or ordinary for the Japanese for it is analogous to the experimental way in which people of pre-literate cultures in the West participated in the way of the gods before the world of Platonic organization conceived of a separation of man and nature, a world in which to *see* was to accept. With the heightening of the visual sense came the diminishment of the other senses and the eye separated the ordinary into *loci* or common places for private revitalization.[3] In the Japanese festival, the ordinary street or passageway in a house is made extra-



Measurements of a typical street



A Festival Wagon in the town of Kakunodate – photo by Chiba

ordinary by the presence of the gods for public satisfaction. I came to realize that what was commonplace for the Japanese was a communal spirit, epitomized by the festival, which overrode any sense of the individual and his 'rights' to a private point of view. What the eye (I) had put asunder only the deities could join together.

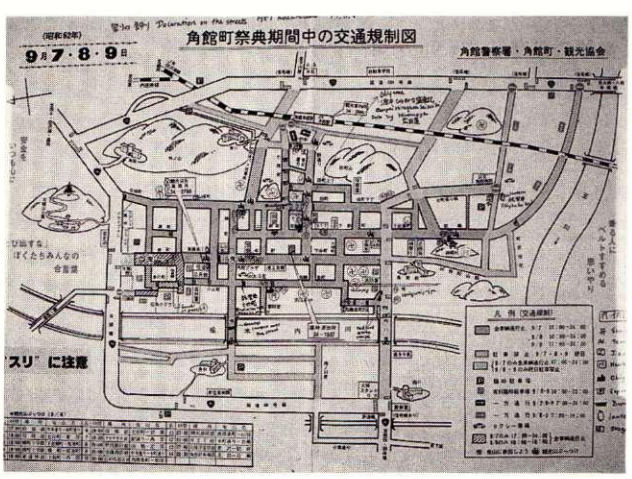
The days leading up to the festival in Kakunodate were filled with preparations. Streets, houses and shrine compounds were cleaned and then the implements and symbols for the celebrations assembled. The dancers and the musicians were previewed and all were assured of the success of the festival. On the night before it began, all of the *wakamono* met in front of the festival wagon to have a feast for the children of the neighbourhood. After all, it is considered that the deities see the festival through the eyes of children. The symbols which would become the god-seat or resting place for the *kami* or the spirits of welcome were mounted on the wagon: pine trees (symbols of longevity) and a model mountain (symbol of the inner space which is the habitat of the deities) and a paper waterfall (symbol of motion and purity). In front of the sacred symbols were a pair of Kabuki dolls whose eyes, when painted in by the doll maker, are considered to give the dolls life, a life which, like the painted faces of the Kabuki actor, invites participation. Paper lanterns and music accompanied the wagons as they made their way through the streets to receive the deities from the shrine for the town of Kakunodate.

Towing the five-ton wagon with its fixed axles through the streets, along with twenty or thirty men, my body responded to the irregularity of the street, for every time the direction of the wagon had to be adjusted, eight or ten of us were called upon to put our shoulder under the front beam of the wagon and to heave it inch by inch to the left or to the right. The week before the festival, faithful to my upbringing as a Westerner and an architect, I had measured the apparently straight streets as accurately as I could (much to the amusement of the Japanese). I thus knew intellectually and visually that the street was not exactly straight, but my having to heave the wagon every ten yards or so was an impression of a different order. My recollection of the street as the sum of a series of visual segments was replaced by a total experience of the senses. The physical involvement in discovering the order of the street left a deeper impression

upon my memory than the abstracted sum of my previous impressions. The street became part of a living memory encycled through me rather than merely categorized by me. The space, like the social organization of the community before it, became a part of me and I became a part of it.

The music which accompanied the wagons added yet another dimension to the festival. The music from the musicians on the wagon retained one type of consistency until after we had received the *kami* at the shrine for the town of Kakunodate; then it changed to a more exciting tempo, and the dancers on the front platform of the wagon began to perform at various houses and temporary neighbourhood shrines constructed along the way. I was told, and felt, that our wagon was now 'alive'. The sound of the music and the emotional involvement of the *wakamono* added to this impression. Music had the additional advantage of relaying to us through an audible medium the status of other neighbourhood wagons in the procession, one kind of music being used to approach a neighbourhood shrine and a change of music when departing from it.

The three-day festival concluded with several wagons challenging each other in the narrow streets for the right to pass. These challenges occasionally led to disputes resulting in head-on collisions between wagons. Wagons would be raised up on their rear wheels and each wagon would be advanced so as to try to crash down on the front of the opposing wagon in order to topple the name of the neighbourhood located on a sign at the front of the wagon. These confrontations, in fact, were a form of ritualized conflict between neighbourhoods.



Programmed Collisions

During the prelude to one of these crashes, we waited for the appropriate moment at some time in the early morning before taking action, and when we did, the action was one of total anarchy, in every sense of the word: socially, physically and mentally. All of our energy went into pulling our wagon against the other wagon, and even though we held a position of deadlock for a full forty-five minutes, it never entered anybody's mind that one could let up the fight for a split second. It was total, unquestioning involvement and emotional commitment, like an act of faith. There was no room for rational disputation concerning the existence or non-existence of the *kami* who were being celebrated through the streets. There was only room for negotiation as to how best celebrate the *kami's* presence through the expenditure of human energies on their behalf.

This experience made me reflect (after it was all over) on the etymology of the word *matsuri*, which means "festival". The root of *matsuri* is "*matsu*", "to wait". The waiting was as important as the fighting. Some Western tourists who had remained to see the third night of the festival went home to bed at 1 a.m. because to them nothing was happening. What they failed to realize is that it was happening all the time – for the waiting is the very essence of the festival. Shinto is the way of anticipation based on past experiences which is different from our way of waiting for something to happen in the future based on theoretical speculation. It is not a believer's look into the future but the physical act of anticipation which constitutes belief in the *kami*. I also thought of the etymology of one of the English equivalents to *matsuri*, namely "carnival", which is part of the act of expectation before Easter.[4] The carnivals of the West were no doubt similar to the festivals of Japan, before they were turned into a tourist spectacle such as the famous Rio de Janeiro carnival.

The townspeople of Kakunodate are aware that their festival is a tourist attraction too, and that it provides income. The way they cope with the situation is to stage programmed collisions of the festival wagons at prescribed places from 6 p.m. until 9 p.m., at half-hour intervals on the second night of the festival. By the third night, the tourists are usually satisfied with their picture-taking and have

Map of Japan locating the town of Kakunodate

moved on to the next town or city on their itinerary. It is on the third night that the real strategy and confrontations come into play. On this night the sense of timing (waiting for the appropriate moment) is not dissimilar to that of the samurai swordsmen whose patience was a sign of strength.

This sense of timing is parallel to the way in which people perceive public spaces. The people of the town, through their collective memory of previous festivals, wait in anticipation for the return of the gods. After the Buddhist celebration of the dead "known as '*obon*' (or "all hallows" in the Christian world)" the people of the town have filled this obligation to their ancestors and it is then appropriate for a small group of priests from the Shinmeisha shrine at the foot of the town, to move through the town purifying the street and collecting the first rice of the season from the various households. The households which had been separated by the hierarchical order of worship for the ancestors were now free to mingle together in preparation for the Shinto festival of the natural deities. In this way spaces were co-ordinated through a sense of timing.

The Japanese perception of space is related to time in an historical sense. We can also look at space as a record of time. The Etruscans and the Romans saw space as something contained which could be described by its perimeter and its content. For the Greeks, spaces were more likely to be perceived as solids vibrating in a void of infinitude. The Japanese, do not appear to conceive of private space as enclosed as much as they consider the household to be an enclosed unit. They will allow the visitor into the house, but do not allow him to become a part of the household. In a similar way, the Japanese do not conceive of public space as being enclosed; their word *kaiwai* or "activity space", denotes exterior spaces in which people carry on their daily and festive lives. Though commonplace for the Japanese, the ambiguity of this street space confuses Westerners, who find it lacking in order and hard to remember. The systematic numbering of street addresses allows us to remember a house's placement on the street, whereas Japanese houses are numbered according to when they were built: number nine, therefore, might be next to number one. Their numbering is historical, but not sequential, and is therefore hard for the Westerner's abstract memory to grapple with.

In Japan, memory (whether it be a house location or the nature of public spaces) has a relationship to physical activities involving all the senses. The Westerner is more comfortable memorizing something he can give the right answer for; Ong calls it memorizing through spatial diagrams.[5] But Japanese physical activity takes place in what they call *kaiwai,* which, unlike the visually defined space of the West, is an amorphous space which changes with the activities of its users and their intentions. *Kaiwai* refers to the empty space which surrounds the footprints of physical structure. The *kaiwai* which takes on one form during the day might take on another form at night, one form during workday activities and another at festival. Form is therefore a recognition of patterns of processes. The change in pattern is most highly noticeable when the recovery of Shinto myths and rituals which are embodied in the form of the portable shrines move through the streets of towns and villages at the time of festival. I believe there is a correlation between the physical environs of the people of Japan and the oral-aural mode of memory which the people use to awaken their collective consciousness. I also think that there is a correlation between the organization of physical space in the West and the art of rhetoric as it placed its demands on the memory of the individual.

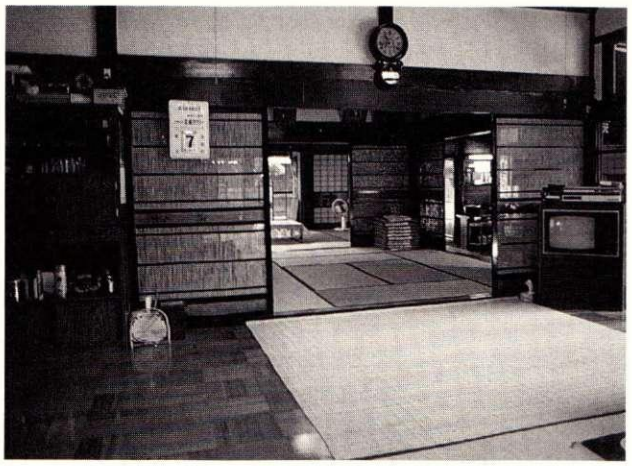
In the Graeco-Roman world there were a series of innovations which led to planning principles for towns and cities starting with the division of cities and classes by

Hippodamus of Miletus in the 5th century B.C. Although grid plan symmetry appeared to creep into planning as a matter of organization, it was never forced into monumental axiality. Later Greek developments such as Rhodes began to take advantage of the visual axis offered by a varied terrain. With advances in geometry the relationship between built objects and nature becomes increasingly abstract such as can be seen on the Acropolis in Athens.

In Japan, built form and nature tended towards harmony rather than abstraction and separation. Instead of geometry which would see a straight line and a curved line as separate entities, the Japanese consider the curved line to be a straight line upon which the forces of nature have acted. For example, the curve of a temple roof would be derived from a sagging rope. If the rope were thinner at one end and thicker at the other, the result would be similar to a catenary curve. This type of curvature can also be seen in the stone wall of a castle as it descends into the moat. The visual dialogue between the object and nature was subservient to the action of nature on the object. The object was not free from nature, it was at one with nature; the curve of a samurai sword was said to be related to the weight of snow on a piece of bamboo. This coherence of all the senses was used as a means of connecting the things man made with the visible forms of nature. That is to say; the Japanese, relied on the forces of nature to dictate a feeling for the form. One cannot see snow on bamboo and measure it so that it would coincide with the curve of a sword, but we can easily grasp the curve of a sword when we think of the force of snow landing on a piece of bamboo. While Greek geometry conceived of an abstract relationship between man made objects nature, the Japanese relationship was more emotional than rational, more poetic than descriptive. Poetry relies on the interval while descriptions try to contain things. Japanese space lacks a firm commitment to contain things as we can see from the example of sliding walls and screens in the Japanese house while Greek architecture tried to describe a sense of place in a landscape and Roman architecture attempted to circumscribe the space in which a building was contained. In the latter case, visible order was a primary means of describing man's intentions so we could say that Greek and Roman architecture represent visible order in high definition. Japanese order, while visible, puts equal weight on acoustic order, tactile order such as the wooden floor or matted floor, as well as the order resulting from the other senses. Thus we would say that Japanese architecture represents visible order in low definition. Seeing is only part of believing.

At this point it is appropriate to consider in more detail the Japanese concept of spacing known as *ma*.[6] I have elsewhere developed the argument that the Japanese perception of spaces described by the word *ma* was not a noun, but rather a gerund (verb-noun) which could be better described by the word "spacing".[7] I will use here the word "space" to denote a space as generally perceived by Westerners, and "spaces" to denote a Japanese sense of space, which is conceived of as having several potentialities at once. The Japanese *ma* describes a continuum over space and time, or as Lao Tse suggests, the emptiness contained by the walls rather than the space as a repository. In the West, spaces tend to be broken down into fragments which are visibly comprehensible and often labelled as to general use, such as living room, bedroom or dining room. Japanese *ma* on the other hand, is not fragmented into small bits of containment but is rather an empty place which gains its meaningful form as it relates to an idea of unseen boundaries through the activities performed in it. A friend of mine suggested that to describe Japanese *ma* is to describe what is lacking – what is *not* there rather than what is. While Aristotle abhorred the void, the Japanese have always thrived on it. Itoh Teiji says that *ma* "cannot be seen since it is void, vacuous, blank and of nothingness in character; but it can be symbolized",[8] namely by the ideogram *ma*. But *ma* also refers to other things such as the timing used by dancers and musicians in their performances. To Takehiko Kenmochi music has a sense of *ma* and that *ma* may lie in those tensive characteristics which have no sound, what the literary Westerners might call "reading between the lines".[9] We can therefore think of the *ma* referred to by architects as a sort of spatial flow, a combination of spacing and timing as a constant flow of possibilities. A Japanese room, the size of eight *tatami* mats (each mat being approx. 3' x 6'), is used simultaneously for living, sleeping and eating, and is called an eight mat *ma*".

We might consider *ma* as a kind of spatial current in which the tension between things sets up a pattern for interpretation. For instance, the context of a space may be changed from a study to one for a tea ceremony by the addi-



A japanese sense of space; open to a variety of functions

tion of a flower arrangement. These symbols, or to use the etymological root of the word symbol, this "bringing together" of the space with the utensil, manages to give the spatial current its temporary form. Like the form of a stream, the form of spaces in a house is the result of process patterns. In fact, Kikutake Kiyonori has said that form is not merely the visible delineation of a space but is rather the total consideration of space plus function.[10] *Ma* is constantly awaiting or undergoing transformation by the availability of physical components and potential uses. Kikutake, like Itoh Teiji, is recognizing process patterns rather than objects. Thus an eight-mat room, temporarily attired with a flower arrangement and a pot of boiling water to make tea for a tea ceremony becomes a guest *ma* (*Kyaku ma*), but only for the interval before it accommodates another use, possibly as a room to sleep in.

The Japanese perception of *ma*, or interval, is bound up with their 'way of life' which is in harmony with Shinto, 'the way of the gods'. *Shinto* is not a religion with a creed made up of formalized statements of belief, but is rather a recognition of the rhythmical order predominant in nature: Shinto is constantly being transformed by context. Shinto is a pantheistic cult which has never been codified but has been rather passed on from generation to generation in an aural form in association with the myths found in the *Kojiki* and made tangible through the repetition of rituals. Shinto attributes personal welfare to the recognition of harmony in and with nature. The interval of Shinto is therefore closely bound to the intervals of nature which cause fields to yield the harvest and then to lie in fallow. The Shinto deities (*kami*) are invited for the season of fertility, production and harvest to an impermanent resting place in the fields (or, in a fishing community, onto the boats of fishermen). This temporary resting place for the deities might be symbolized by a straw rope hung between four bamboo saplings set up in a rice field. While the deities are invisible, the way of formalizing and experiencing their presence is postulated by the temporary preparation of a space for the *kami* to visit. The void in the rice field created by these four saplings (or symbols) is then filled with the spiritual form of the deities called *ki*. The presence of this spiritual force spreads out and transforms the fields, temporarily, from a profane place for growing rice to a sacred place for the deities to rest. The sense of *ma* here, too, is therefore indefinite and temporary, like that of the eight-mat room which can be transformed by sliding doors and the addition of various accoutrements to take on one form after another. This lack of fixed spaces with fixed walls is even more indirect in the exterior spaces of Japanese towns and villages, where the spatial current of *kaiwai* appears to fluctuate between the day of usual activity called *ke-no-hi* and the day of festival called *hare-no-hi*. The public spaces for everyday life might run along a socio-economic axis of the town while the festive activities would run along an axis from the house of the gods in the mountain, through the town, to the field or fishing harbour which is in waiting for this life-giving energy of the gods.

In Japan, until the Meiji Restoration (1868) and the postwar boom of Western architectural influences, there appeared to have been a distinct lack of public squares or plazas and of monuments or monumental buildings made of permanent materials such as stone or brick. To a certain extent the lack of rigid load-bearing walls may be explained by the fear of earthquake. More difficult to understand, however, is the lack of civic spaces with a monumental character typical of the West. Japan does have great temples and shrines which are, in many ways, equal in scale and grandeur to Western architectural expressions. There are also great open spaces in front of and around buildings; yet, as Itoh Teiji points out, these spaces were to be experienced by moving through them rather than by viewing them from a fixed vantage point:

> Sequential spaces may be understood as a distribution of memories of the experience, noting that the content of memory includes not only the beauty of physical space, but also the story, or legend concerning the elements along the path.[11]

The sequence Itoh is talking about is not an abstracted sequence of houses in logical, numerical order but rather a sequence of histories which are experienced and an understanding that results from the use of spaces and the symbolic value of the houses along the way.

It is of interest to note that there might be similarities between this sequential experience of spaces observable in Japan today and that revealed in the architecture of medieval Europe. If we could imagine the medieval cathedral of Spain in the way Itoh Teiji describes spaces, we might come closer to medieval man's experience of a series of spaces through which he progressed in order to gain knowledge through a "distribution of memories". If my hypothesis is correct, it can be demonstrated that spatial concepts for the Japanese are not three-dimensional and static but rather linear and mobile through time. This sense of space, although not unique to Japan, does have its own means of interpretation. For example, I believe the Spanish cathedrals differ from French cathedrals in their means of modulating space. While a cathedral like Chartres or Notre Dame de Pairs is enclosed by a volume which can readily be perceived as one great space or narrative form, the Spanish cathedrals are often made up of separate spaces which are more like a series of episodes, to be experienced one at a time as the eye makes adjustments to each individual space. Dr. Cummings has pointed out the parallels between the narrative form of Sophocles and the French cathedrals as compared to the episodic form of Don Quixote with the Spanish medieval churches. The Japanese tea garden like the *Tale of the Genji* is a series of episodes.

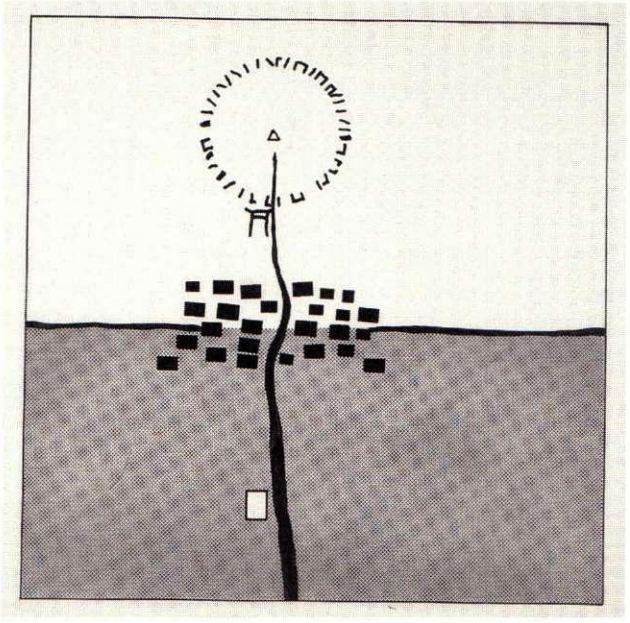
The Japanese sense of space, while not contained like the European cathedral, bears some similarity to the episodic experience of the Spanish cathedral. In Japan the linear, episodic quality of the street is the place where the Japanese sense of community is strengthened through its communal actions at the time of festival. In fact, in Japan there seems to be a stronger sense of community or neighbourhood involvement in the festive use of streets and religious compounds (in the *kaiwai*) than that which we find in most of the monumental civic squares in our Western towns and villages today.[12] To the Japanese, exterior spaces are communal. In the West, the individual views the monumental space from a personal point of view; the town square, the statue, or the shape of the square. He notices that the town is gathered around the square and he organizes this notion spatially with reference to visual limits, but it was often the intention of the architect that he does this as an individual spectator, and that he does so in his mind. If the plaza or square is full of people celebrating something, he has to abandon his private stance for a public one in order to join in the celebration. In doing this, he makes a mental transition from the monumentality of the things he has been looking at to one of communal involvement, usually through music and dance.

Although Japanese and Western festival spaces may occasionally appear similar, the key difference lies in the fact that the Japanese does not need to make the transition from the individual to the public man because his is not impressed with what McLuhan has called the "illusion of uniform connected spaces".[13] McLuhan has said that

> the man who lives in an aural world lives at the center of a communications sphere, and he is surrounded with sensory data from all sides simultaneously.

The Westerner may enjoy many of the same festivals the Japanese do, but he celebrates them in a different way and hence his notion of the structuring of exterior spaces is different. Because the notion of space and its physical presence is tangible to the Japanese, their spaces are less structured around visual criteria. Though it may be possible for the Westerner to make rational sense out of any space, he cannot do it in a way that would reveal the Japanese experience. Nevertheless, if we use the criteria of visual connectedness we may be able to create a rational, Western picture of a Japanese festival without the need to become involved in it. In this way, we will have our private point of view without being at the center of the activity.

Kojiro, in his writings about Japanese communities, points out that the route used on the day of the festival was often at right angles to the routes used by people for their daily chores and socio-economic existence. The everyday route usually lay along the road connecting villages (dia-



Schematic description of village activities
a) horizontal axis: the everyday axis from village to village
b) vertical axis: the festive axis from mountain to village shrine to field shrine and back to the mountains

gram 1). The path of the festival procession however, led from the mountain habitat of the Shinto deities, through the village (at right angles to the thoroughfare) to the fields where the presence of the *kami* was temporarily brought to encourage the growth of the rice seedlings. The route which the procession took complemented the route of everyday activities, and this was done by enlivening the otherwise dormant places with the presence of the deities. In addition, the procession enlivened the hearts and memories of the people by temporarily recovering the past through an interruption in the natural progression of time.[14] The purpose of the procession-ritual was to propitiate the deities, to purify the social and physical order of the village, and to recover the life energy necessary for the coming season. What was monumental to the Japanese therefore, was *monere* – to be "reminded" of the myths surrounding the *kami* by engaging oneself in a process of physical activity, not by viewing the physical things and making mental constructs of history.

Many of the differences I have been discussing are rather more implicit than overt, since modern Japan appears Western in many ways; for example, the Japanese have adopted many of our outward expressions in some of their more popular festivals. In the West, we are familiar with the takeover of our festivals by politicians and businessmen who are involved in showing off their accomplishments and current status. These revised celebrations in civic places tend to be orchestrated for visual effect at a particular moment, thereby avoiding altogether any sense of the mythical or timeless. In Japan in some cases, the long tradition of festive procession has now been transformed into a Western mode of presentation. This making over of a festival for the gods to a festival for the tourists for visual effect can be seen in the great Gion Festival of Kyoto where much of the sponsorship for the festival now comes from beer companies rather than from the local neighbourhoods. Yet we could say that the beer companies as merchants of a larger order have come to the aid of the local merchants. We might think of this third level of participation as a perversion of the original festival but that might merely be a mental construct while for the Japanese, it is not perverse as long as it is for the k*ami*, the way of the gods. Hiroshi Soeda admits that even though the beer companies appear to have taken over the festival "for many, the space has been recovered".[15] Nonetheless, the tendency to Westernize the festival by heightening its visual aspect for outsiders may have diminished its sense of community involvement and has led to performances which are paraded in front of groups of spectators in grandstands. In addition, the televising of the festival has changed the participation in the festival from one of neighbourhood involvement in a physical space to one of national involvement through televised space. Even if the circumstances surrounding the festival have changed, the desired effect remains the same. The festival is an open invitation to anyone willing to celebrate the presence of the gods.

Through their preparations for the festival the Japanese cleanse themselves of the immediate past in order to be ready for the next day. To do this, the everyday sense of time is temporarily suspended for the duration of the festival. In the same way the spaces of the town might be said to be suspended in time so that they too can recover meaning for the community which uses them. The festival, to Hiroshi Soeda, (speaking of the Gion Festival),

> is not an integration of human interaction with its physical setting, but the negation, the divestment of the setting of its everyday function and meaning so that new functions can be invented, other meanings recovered.

This recovery, he says, is possibly

> the festival's most important aspect.[16]

(The annual festival at Gion celebrates the Japanese myth in which light is restored to the world by retrieving the Sun Goddess Amaterasu from the cave in a rollicking festival of music and dance.)[17] The memorial organization of spaces, through the physical participation in these timeless myth-related annual festivals, is quite different form the Westerner's memorial organization of space to overcome time by monumentalizing a space, a person, an event, or an idea in permanent materials. The Japanese spaces which were purified and organized by the experience of the festival were the physical spaces which involved all of the senses simultaneously.

Through my study of *ma* in architectural terms and the study of the same phenomena as it relates to festivals, I began to discover how the Japanese might think of physical spaces as the way of everyday activity, and the way of the festival as a fluctuation of spaces defined by their activities rather than the spaces visual semblance of order alone. *Kaiwai* or activity space, as Itoh Teiji calls it,

> is space resulting from activities . . . not a district or zone . . . not necessarily established by buildings or walls.[18]

What was commmonplace for the Japanese was a communal ordering of physical spaces through a variety of rituals, non-festive and festive, rather than the conceptual formation of permanent monuments and civic spaces. Underlying this physical organization is the inherent quality of *ma* which implies that by themselves the spaces are void, but through the activity taking place within them they take on forms which are filled with meaning for the participant.[19]

Activity of course takes place in *kaiwai* whether on the ordinary day (*ke-no-hi)* or the day of the festival (*hare-no-hi*). The spaces of a Japanese town therefore often appear to be chaotic to most Westerners; however, this is, as I have been maintaining, a result of a visual bias. To a Westerner, seeing is believing; therefore, a perceived chaos is often an "acoustic space" which is not intended to fit harmoniously into some visual form of reference. But the reference in aural space is to process rather that to object. "Acoustic space" was familiar to Western medieval man and is still familiar to pre-literate people such as the Eskimo: it is a space in the perceptions of all the major senses participate. Japanese spaces would not be perceived as chaotic by the memory system of the Japanese person whose use of ideograms, both visual and acoustic, keeps him constantly in touch with his surroundings. Although the festival would appear to accelerate the sense of chaos for both Westerner and Japanese alike, the sense of total involvement implied by the festival reinforces Ono's observation that Shinto is *matsuri*, or festival. It cannot be explained in rational terms but can be experienced as a fluctuation of chaos and order. McLuhan suggests that

> C.S. Lewis in *The Discarded Image* makes a similar observation when contrasting Western medieval and modern man. He explains that the model of space gradually created by medieval man gave him a feeling of *looking in.* In contrast, he points out that modern man feels that he is *looking out.*[20]

Modern man has been taught to observe while medieval man was led through experience.

In the Graeco-Roman world, in contrast to Japan, the rational mind ordered space in direct relation to a visual bias. This visual sense of spatial organization had its roots in the idea of a Common Place from which a public speaker could get his cues for his speech. This Common Place (or "place to keep track of one topic at a time") became the ordinary or "commonplace" way of constituting an argument. The word "commonplace" today means "ordinary"; previous to that it meant "a collection of aphorisms, verse or ideas" (1560). The meaning previous to that was "topics which could be memorized"; it is this meaning which refers to Common Places in architectural terms, and which is of interest in this present investigation: it involves the effect of visually connected thinking complemented by visually connected spaces supported by an alpha-bet.

The idea of a Common Place began as a reference point in physical surroundings and represented the first attempt to separate a mental space from a physical space. This formulation of a mental space based on the "artificial" memory was a change from the memory of an experience, be it poetic, musical or physical, to a memory established with a purpose 'in mind'.

The rules of speech from Frances Yates

Yates points out in *The Art of Memory* that the common places of the orator were those things he wanted to remember and they were associated with different pieces of architecture. The orator was no longer reciting a play or epic in traditional poetic form, but an argument which was a new and private invention. Since early classical orators did not have their speeches written on a piece of paper, they used different details of a building to remind them of the topics of their speeches (the Renaissance started writing things down for 'public' consumption – print). Havelock in his *Preface to Plato* says that

> The act of organization which carries beyond the plot of a story in order to impose a rough logic of topics (Latin: *loci*) is an art performed by the eye, not by the ear. It reveals the architectural capacity made available by written signs, as opposed to the acoustic patterns and response characteristics of a purely oral poem.[21]

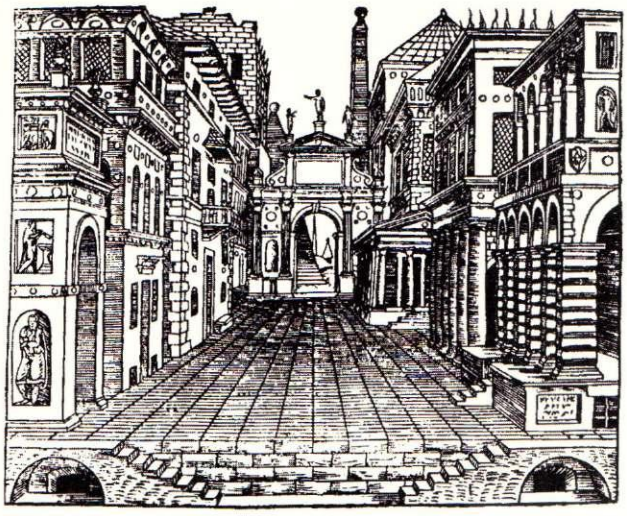
Thus, although literacy did not precede buildings, it did give buildings a new significance.

Yates says further that these architectural *loci* or places were like wax tablets upon which the image could be erased once it was used, and replaced with another image for use in a different argument. In addition, because the images are artificial and sequential, one could go "backwards and forwards" over the argument since an argument is linear in its arrangement.[22] Although the poet Homer was also committed to a linear arrangement in his recounting of the sequence of events in the great myths, he hadn't the need for the argumentative freedom available to the later rhetoricians. But visual abstraction allowed the rhetorician to put his best voice forward and that voice was the sound of his thoughts. Literacy also gave buildings additional significance with respect to rhetoric. Their sequential arrangements became a visual aid to logical thought, and as such were eventually abstracted from the oral-aural culture which surrounded them. The effect of the visual bias was such as to relate the physical environment to the context of the new medium of the phonetic alphabet. "Common Places" have therefore their roots in "the Commonplace" of the orator's aid in speech memorization.

We can see how the linear mode of Western logical thought was first codified in spatial forms, beholden to the eye, through the development of the notion of the sepulchre as a physical form for remembering. Memory was thus embodied in a physical form that arrested time and eternalized it. Subsequently, print technology made justice into an absolute accumulation of previous judgments which in turn were made permanent. All these concretizing acts pre-condition our future. They monumentalize the past, freezing it in time.

We can therefore see the logical evolution in the West of the word "monument" from its beginnings in the Common Places of the rhetorician (where the visual mode of perception was heightened, yet supported by the orator's voice), to the monument as a physical object to be perceived by the eye, and finally, through the effect of the printed word, to the silent pages of the "Commonplace-book" in the Renaissance. As noted by Lechner:

> Perhaps the most important distinction between the classical commonplace mentality and that of the Renaissance was in the way each conceived knowledge. While the ancient orators conceived of the topics and their seats of arguments as located in mental areas of the mind [Common Places] in which thought processes developed and were expressed in the oral tradition of the spoken word, the Renaissance teacher and schoolboy tended more to locate his topics and their accumulated wisdom outside the mind on the pages of his commonplace book where thoughts were manipulated like objects.[23]



57 Sebastiano Serlio. *Tragic Scene.* Woodcut from *Libro primo . . . d'architettura,* Venice, 1551, fol. 29 v.

In the West, then, monuments imply memory; the way that memories have been codified is often through the use of permanent materials and well-defined senses of public space surrounded by buildings or walls, making them the most visible and durable parts of cities, towns, and villages.

The insights provided by Yates, Lechner and Havelock regarding the roots of Western memorial organization in the movement away from the oral memory may thus be fruitfully applied to our prime concern here: how the organization of memory affects the organization of physical space. My hypothesis was that since the physical spaces of the West and of Japan differed, the memorial organization of the two cultures did too. After two years of taking part in the festival of Kakunodate, and making a design survey of the town, and after several years of observing festivals in other towns and villages, I began to reflect upon how people took part in the festival and how I remembered the sequence of spaces. I came to realize that the ritual of the festival was more a result of the emotional involvement of people in a physical space than of an intellectual detachment in an idealized type of space. I found, through my own experience of the festival, that my numerous questions about space were better answered by participation than by conceptualization. To the Japanese, the ideal seemed to be 'involvement' rather than 'detachment'; I was frustrated in trying to find an ideal type of space which could be defined and categorized for the sake of the intellect alone. The details of the festival which were most vivid for me, then, were the acts of purification, the total involvement in carrying out the festival, and a strong sense of community solidarity. I could not recall the explanations or the rationale for doing things as much as the negotiations which led to my commitment to the festivities. My mental energies were not put to the test the way they might have been had I been external to the celebrations.

In contrast to total involvement in a celebration where one's physical and emotional being is engaged, I am reminded of the story told by Bartholemew of Pisa concerning the first provincial of the Franciscans Agnellus of Pisa, a true follower of St. Francis, who was fathering the institution of the friars into Oxford in the early thirteenth century:

> One day when he wished to see what proficiency they were making, he entered the schools whilst a disputation was going on, and hearing them wrangling and questioning, *Utrum sit Deus*, he cried, "Woe is me, woe is me! Simple brothers enter barefoot into Heaven, and learned brothers dispute whether there is a God at all![24]

Agnellus' heart must have been so involved in the act of reaching heaven that (I wonder) if he might have thought that the others would go to Hell with their shoes on, for, to a medieval friar, faith began in the attitude of prayer, not disputation: his faith, like the *kami* faith, was "caught, not taught", to use Professor Ono's phrase.[25] The friars in question were carrying on the Graeco-Roman tradition of disputation described in the *Ad C. Herennium* (c. 86–82 B.C.):

> The entire hope of victory and the entire method of persuasion rest on proof and refutation, for when we have submitted our arguments and destroyed those of the opposition, we have, of course, completely filled the speaker's function (*Ad C. Herennium*, p. 33 1 xi.18).[26]

The way of carrying on this disputation had five elements: inventio (invention), dispositio (disposition), amplificatio (elocution), memoria (memory), and pronunciato (action). The art of memory in the classical art of rhetoric used architecture as a support for its techniques. Recall Yates' Roman orator which mentally placed the image of that which he

wished to remember upon a column or a fountain in a building, and who would then be able to memorize his speech by going form a pillar to pillar, reading off the 'artificial' image which he had placed on them.

> The art of memory is an invisible art; it reflects real places but it is not about the places themselves, but the reflection of these, within the imagination.[27]

In this way the order of the orator's argument was supported by the visible order of the architectural elements and the artificial image which he applied to them.This does not mean that the architecture contained the images which aided the technique but rather that the technique of memorization affected the way building was perceived, which was in the form of a mental procession, rather than a physical one. Although the orator might have practiced his oration by walking amongst the columns, his procession was that of a solitary man, memorizing a solitary argument. These *loci communis* or general topics were the first form of Common Place and were used by the orator to memorize an argument which separated him from his fellow citizens, in order to persuade them of his "point of view". Thus, in the West, architecture can be seen to have originally aided the memory; and furthermore, the aid was visual and made up of spatial fragments as a device for memorization. The memory therefore separates the speaker from the architecture, sets him on a mental or ethical plane above it, beyond it. It is not the visual-audio-tactile perception of architecture in which the Japanese would find themselves, but rather a sense of space based mainly on visual interpretation and intellectual abstraction. Pseudo-Ciceronians, in fact claimed that the technique of memory depended on visual impressions and that these, in the right order, showed that "the sense of sight is the strongest of all senses".[28] In some branches of medieval learning the chanting of scripture meant the internalizing of the word which St. Bernard says reveals the bias of an aural culture whose strength lies in communal values over private points of view. "...in matters of faith and in order to know the truth, the hearing is superior to vision..."[29] Thus, the abstraction of sight from the other senses helped the orator to structure his private mental space with the purpose of affecting and convincing his listeners, of causing them to re-structure their own mental space.

In Japan, as became evident in my consideration of the festival, space is organized without intent to influence one's mental space but rather one's emotional space. The festival, by demanding involvement in a physical space, does not create a mental space (if anything, it confuses the mental ordering of space), but rather orders physical space through communal participation. We can therefore say that in the Japanese culture, space is recognized and defined through physical involvement, whereas the Graeco-Roman culture of the Western post Socratic times used space to support mental imagery.

The Western evolution of space was changed by the fall of Rome and we see the evolution of a different type of space in the Middle Ages. The commonplace of medieval man was related to his manuscript culture which lay between the oral culture of the pre-Socratics, the alphabetic culture of the Graeco-Roman world, and the print culture of the Renaissance. Medieval Common Places were no longer the "wax tablets"[30] upon which an artificial image would be place and then removed for the sake of sustaining an argument, but were statues and symbols to which "virtues" were applied and which sustained the memory of a higher order kept within the heart.

While the Graeco-Roman orator tried, through the abstraction of a particular situation, to construct a probable solution by arranging his mental space in a hypothetical situation, the Western medieval mind had a respect for tradition and ritual and the striking images became mortalized and ranged in an order not chosen for their uniqueness, as in classical art, but rather for the way in which they harmonized with traditional sacred history. Thomas Aquinas for instance, as Yates points out, gives the rules for memory, not as a part of rhetoric, but with the virtue of Prudence.

> Memory, as a part of Prudence, means remembering past sins, avoiding sins in the present, and looking forward to future punishment of sins in Hell and the reward of Virtues in Heaven.[31]

The architectural manifestations of this respect for the divine office, the sacraments, the purification and return of its members to the community, were the cathedrals of Europe and Britain. They were spaces through which one moved both physically and spiritually, and knowledge was gained

through a memory of these experiences. In Japan, the memory aged through the emotional experience of celebrating the gods in the exterior spaces of the town as well as at the shrines and altars within the house. While coming from different roots than Japanese architecture, the Medieval architecture of Europe may have had many similarities in the way it was perceived as a memory system built up within the individual through his participation both physically and spiritually in the spaces that surrounded him.

The invention of the printing press changed the way Westerners memorized things. It was no longer necessary to use the Common Places or *loci* of a building to support the memory of the Graeco-Roman orator. The encyclopedic[32] quality of the medieval cathedral had been a part of man's all embracing complete education, an education which was gained by means of processing through spaces encircling them, often to the accompaniment of music. The printing press eventually changed the encyclopedia of the physical circle of learning into the alphabetic index found in most libraries. Man could search amongst the printed pages. He no longer needed to commit his memorization to heart. In a sense, the architecture which had been filled with sound and ritual was silenced. This silence was but one more abstraction of the physical reality of the building from the emotional reality of man's life. The building had gone from a structure able to be manipulated by people for their individual use to one which structured their communal life, and finally to one with aesthetic qualities based on "the archival accuracies of eclecticism"[33] of purely visual modes of thought. The Japanese encyclopedia, on the other hand, is an "environmental"[34] commonplace in which involvement on a two-dimensional plane leads to knowledge.[35] The encyclopedia of the printing press has helped us to perceive of things as being separate from their process patterns. This manner of perception is evident when we view each individual building as a private declaration of architectural intention. The Westerner's, heightened use of the visual mode of orientation looks for the character of a particular part of town to give him his sense of place.

The Westerner's conceptual ordering of space which was first affected by its use in aiding rhetoric and later in the Renaissance by its construction to fit the eye of the beholder through the medium of perspective, is now beginning to affect Japan through the media of the printed magazine with its international affiliations. Yet there remains an apparent lack of visual order amongst buildings which is most disconcerting to Westerners brought up on Renaissance principles of visual order and the rational order of Western education in general, and Western town planning in particular. At the level of fashion, many Japanese buildings appear Western, and, as with many buildings in our own culture, they advertise themselves. But while the overall appearance is chaotic, to the Westerner, the Japanese see visual order as only one aspect of the overall order of the environment, especially to those who are still in touch with this environment with all their senses on a day-to-day basis.

The Japanese sense of order, moreover, is a matter of knowing one's place within the family, the company and the biggest company "Japan". Yet, also peculiar to the Japanese, is the usage to throw this order into disarray under the license of the gods. That is why it is ordinary or acceptable to allow the extraordinary, the presence of the gods, to create a temporary sense of chaos, both in time and space, so as to renew the energy of people and to create a new sense of order in which the order of everyday life gives way to chaos in terms of street uses, loyalties to work, and loyalties to the contemporary political system. In its place people re-establish their sense of communal loyalty for the purpose of carrying a portable shrine through the streets to purify both the people and their ground, to revive their life energy and to ensure the fertility of the fields. All this is celebrated by a wild, rollicking feast in which drunken ecstasy, and in some cases hypnotic submission, displace any thoughts of cool, "detached", rational behaviour. Emotion overtakes reason, and the memory of the past serves as a guide for the present. The participants organize their emotional space around the festival rather than adjusting their feelings to their thoughts.

The Western spaces which Yates describes are of another order and she provides a warning for architects in her address to the Architectural Association of Britain:

> I emphasize the thought that memory architecture was invisible [observe the author's visual bias!]: it used buildings for its purposes, but we can never *see* [italics mine] into the actual memories in which these buildings were reflected. It raises the rather interesting thought, that a building lives, not only by its actual visible existence but by its invisible reflections in the memories of generations of men.[36]

Here we see that there may be some limitations to the visual interpretation given to objects, for, although we cannot "*see* into the actual memories", we do know that they were used by people in both a ceremonial and an everyday way. So that "a building lives, not only by its actual visible existence but by its invisible reflection in the memories of generations of men" because these generations have experienced, both mentally and physically, and with all the senses, the spaces between the buildings as well as the buildings themselves. They recover some of the existence of those buildings through the myths told about them: collective memory applies to Western architecture too, if we could only see the buildings as inseparable from their context. Our language, as applied to Western architecture, doesn't help us. The word "reflection" implies a visible imprint, a bounded image in high definition, in contrast to the word "Recovery" as Soeda uses the term in relation to Japanese architecture, by which he implies the simultaneous use of all the senses in a space whose center is nowhere and whose circumference is everywhere; the building is in low definition. The collective memory does feast on Western space in spite of our efforts to rationalize and categorize it. Every building has a cultural context: the construction and life of every building can be understood in relation to contemporaneous paintings, music, dance, and other arts which stimulated the people in question. Unfortunately, however, we often look at the forms as divorced form their contextual significance.

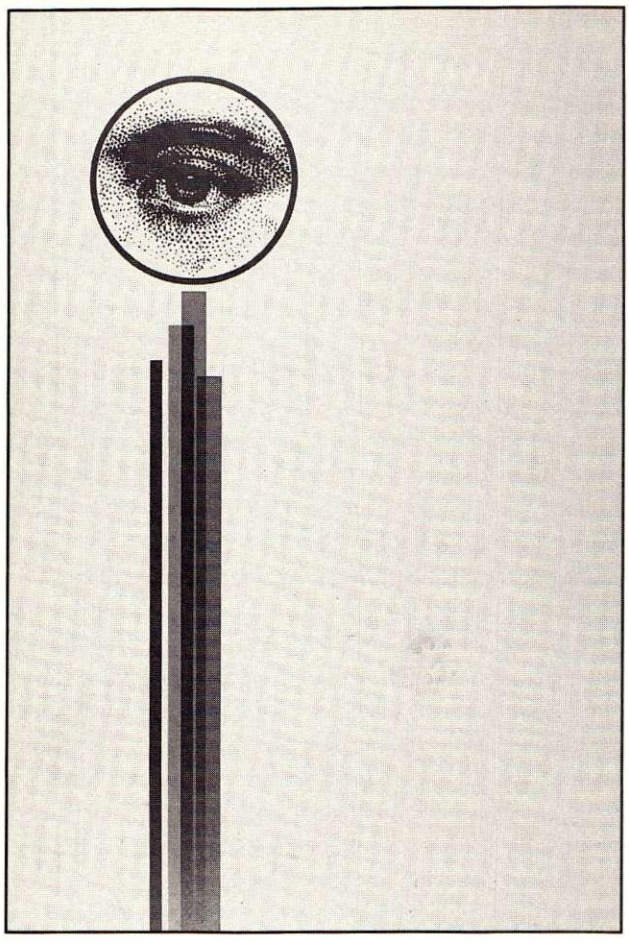
Westerners have the variety of physical and imaginary spaces which Yates speaks of, while the Japanese have physical spaces which they remember through physical and emotional participation in them and an understanding of the symbols which surround them. The physical participation of the Japanese at the time of festival prepares the whole man both physically and mentally – in terms of ritual, emotion, tradition and community – for the recovery of a sense of place in the Shinto belief of the way of the gods. This involvement in the festival is combined with the subsequent restoration of people to their everyday life and activity in the same spaces. There is nothing imaginary about it. It is both real and encyclopedic.

Owen Barfield has said that

> The concept of space as an unlimited or three-dimensional void – a kind of extrapolated 'perspective' – which came in with the disappearance of participation, is still, of course, the ordinary man's concept.[37]

The three-dimensional void which Barfield refers to is the great encyclopedia of the Western mind which the perspective of the private point of view is brought to focus. The focus is made of individual *loci* or *topica*, the assembly of which leads to knowledge. This ordering or commonplace concept had its beginnings in the Common Place or *loci* of the Graeco-Roman orator's imagination. Thus, artificial imagery used architecture as a means of support until the printed word (15th century) changed the need for learning things by heart to a need for learning how to look up references (19th century) which were filed in alphabetical order. The three-dimensional void was changed by man's willful placing of himself at the center of a point of view which demanded set limits in order to define his position. The perspective becomes the extension of the eye which could fix the position of things and hence the *loci* or places could eventually be fixed into mental constructs called concepts. This way of ordering things in pictorial compositions was eventually developed for literary purposes into charts and diagrams which could be memorized for the purpose of examination. The examination denied the rhythm of the oral-aural culture and heightened the visual image of the thing to be memorized from paper so that it could be put back on paper. To put it in Chaytor's words, "in printers' ink auditory memory has been drowned and visual memory has been encouraged and strengthened." In order to strengthen the visual memory on the page we have to contain our argument as I am doing here. An argument tells you about something, it gives you my point of view and it tries to refute any contradictions so that you will be convinced I am right. To do that I have to contain all my thoughts about my topic on this page. So, if you can't hear the tone of my voice or follow my emotional commitment in the form of non-verbal gesticulations you will have to make your private translations of the words on this page and I'll never know the difference.

Indeed, the fact of our own literacy makes us open to propaganda in ways to which the illiterate man is not susceptible. Let me give you an example: the Cree Indians were given a syllabic alphabet by Christian missionaries so that they could learn the truth in their own language. Before this, they lived in the context of their total environ-



The private eye ("I")

ment with all their senses at bay. So their culture was changed by the coming of literacy by which the message is presented (and the truth or falsity of its contents understood) visually.[38] This heightening of the visual mode of perception created the unconscious context of Western cultures. Chaytor adds, "If the thinker is illiterate, his mind will be auditory; if his is literate, he will be visual."[39] In Japan the aural-oral transmission of myths and ritual supports a memorial and material organization of spaces which is hard for the eye (or the private "I") alone to detect while in the West the point of view of the eye (and "I") has been accentuated as part of the historical development of culture. Ong has said that "ideologically, the world of sound has yielded, unwittingly but quite effectively, to the world of space"[40] (space is something we visualize – spacing is something we feel by means of the interval).

> The printing form itself appears in this setting as a kind of *locus* or "common" place from which can be pulled an unlimited number of pages, each blanketed with arguments ...In the initial stage of printing, individual bits of discourse are frozen into space ... as sources from which meaning can be dispensed.[41]

Thus, the predominant media through which we perceive our environment has an effect on our view of physical space. What Barfield refers to as commonplace is changing in Japan and elsewhere, through the heightened participation in the electric media which surrounds us "environ-mentally". In both Japan and the West we are being kept in touch with ever larger environments through the medium of television and radio, and yet we continue to perceive events with a visual bias epitomized by the dialectic method based on arguing, on logical dexterity, and on debating. The television anticipates the viewer by involving him as a spectator without his saying a word, imaging (and imagining) his point of view without giving him an ear to hear, without inviting him to join in a dialectic. Until this new organization of space being thrust upon us is perceived and understood we may be blind to the environmental processes surrounding us. What is presently commonplace is a greater activity space than we have ever perceived before. Just as the use of television affects the way space is used, so too the logical thought sequence, supported by the phonetic alphabet, affected the concept of space conceived by the classical Graeco-Roman orator, until the after-effect of the "Common Place" became commonplace.

The argument presented here is only an outline of an experience which went form head to gut to head again. The center is nowhere to be found outside me. The irony of writing this paper lies in the attempt to establish an argument by rational organization of topics when what I wish I could do is to suggest rather than to define. I think that the disjuncture which Chaytor and Ong have identified will continue from the world of print to the world of electronic media if we merely concern ourselves with the content and not the context. The context is environ-mental; hence my initial question:

What is there about the Western system of memorizing things which is different from the Japanese, and how does it affect the outcome of physical space?

We stand to benefit from both content and context if we realize that content is context. In this way the present can be empowered by the past, the past can be revisited, and the ordinary can be extraordinary.

Fred Thompson,
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(Revised for chapter in forthcoming book.)

Note

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Notes

1. Marshall McLuhan and Harley Parker, *Through the Vanishing Point* (New York, 1969), p. 163.
2. Yuichiro Kojiro, "Japanese Communities", a special edition of *Space Design* (VII, 1975), p. 9.
3. The O.E.D. definition of a topic refers to a "place, local or concerning commonplaces", referring to the place upon which the orator focused his attention in order to remember his argument. The common places were then to become the headings under which a subject or argument could be located. What started out as a part of a building became an aid to forming a mental space or a concept. "Topic" is the standard English translation of the Greek *topos* (the Aristotelian counterpart of *locus*) which means, literally, a place or area. Eleanore Stump, *Boethius's De topicis differentiis* (Ithaca and London, 1978), p. 16.
4. Carnival has its origin in the word *carne* meaning "flesh". In Roman Catholic countries the week (originally the day) before Lent was devoted to revelry and riotous amusement. The beginning of Lent meant the beginning of the fast before Easter. It was a time of purification, a time for putting away the use of flesh for food. The word "carnival" therefore meant a time of anticipation to the users of the word. It is interesting

that the Chinese ideogram for *matsuri* is made up of three parts, which alone mean "flesh", "in the hands", and "offer to the gods".

5. See Walter J. Ong, *Ramus, Method and the Decay of Dialogue*, chapter iv, (Cambridge, 1958).
6. Much has recently been published on the Japanese concept of *ma* and in particular I would bring to your attention to Arata Isozaki's exhibition on *ma* which toured Paris, New York and Helsinki. The catalogue from the Musee des Arts Decoratifs (Paris, Oct.-Dec. 1978) is entitled *Ma Espace-Temps du Japon.*
7. *ARKKITEHTI Finnish Architectural Review*, "Unity of Time and Space." 2, 1981, pp 68-70.
8. Teiji Itoh, *Nihon No Toshikukan* (Tokyo, 1973), p. 42.
9. *Ma Nihon No Bunka*, Kenmochi, Takehiko.
10. Kiyonori Kikutake, *The Kentiku.* Tokyo: 1965, p. 28.
11. Itoh Teiji, *Nihon No Toshikukan*, p. 108.
12. See Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities.* (New York, 1963).
13. McLuhan and Parker, *Through the Vanishing Point*, p. 6.
14. Cox comments: "In festivity, paradoxically, we both heighten our awareness of history and at the same time we take a brief vacation from history making." *The Feast of Fools*, p. 56.
15. Hiroshi Soeda, "Festivity and the City: Mobile Stages of the Gion Festival" in *Concerned Theatre Japan*, (II, 3, 4, 1973), p. 207.
16. ibid p. 207
17. *The Kojiki*, trans. Donald L. Philippi (Tokio, 1968), pp. 81-86
18. Itoh, *Nihon No Toshikukan*, p. 44.
19. Activity in the Buddhist sense takes place on a two-dimensional plane as represented by the Mandala; I quote from Teiji Itoh: "the first philosophical and methodological impetus to formal design in Japan came from esoteric Buddhism, in which the design elements were considered as symbols of the esoteric world and their arrangement of a model of this world. It should be noted that originally the Mandala was merely a temporary terrace made of packed earth upon which the Buddhist ritual was performed, and that it was destroyed at the end of the ritual." Itoh, *Nihon No Toshikukan*, p. 110.
20. McLuhan and Parker, *Through the Vanishing Point*, p. 24.
21. Eric A. Havelock, *Preface to Plato* (Cambridge, 1963), p. 296.
22. Frances A Yates, *The Art of Memory*, (Harmondsworth, 1966), p. 22.
23. Joan Marie Lechner, *Renaissance Concepts of the Commonplace* (Westport, 1962), p. 236.
24. I am grateful to Laurence Cummings for this reference.
25. Sokyo One, *Shinto: The Kami Way* (Rutland and Tokyo, 1962), p. 94.
26. I am grateful to Laurence Cummings for this reference.
27. Yates, "Architecture and the Art of Memory" in *Architectural Association Quarterly* (X, 4, 1980), p. 5.
28. Yates, *The Art of Memory*, p. 19
29. Robert Lawlor, "Geometry at the Service of Prayer, Reflections on Cistercian Mystic Architecture" in *Parabola* (III, 1), p. 17.
30. "The art of memory is like an inner writing. Those who know the letters of the alphabet can write down what is dictated to them and read out what they have written. Likewise those who have learned mnemonics can set in places what they have heard and deliver it form memory. For the places are very much like wax tablets or papyrus, the images like the letters, the arrangement and disposition of the images like the script, and the delivery is like the reading." Yates, *The Art of Memory*, p. 22.
31. Yates, "Architecture and the Art of Memory", p. 5.
32. O. E. D. "encyclopedia: a) circular or complete; 1. The circle of learning; a general course of learning 2. A work containing information on all branches of knowledge, usually arranged alphabetically, 1664."
33. Joseph Rykwert, "The Purpose of Ceremonies" in *Lotus International* (XVIV, Dec. 1977), p. 57.
34. O. E. D. "environ: "To form a ring round, surround, encircle..."
35. Ong, *Ramus, Method and the Decay of Dialogue*, p. 310.
36. Yates, "Architecture and the Art of Memory", p. 12.
37. Owen Barfield, *Saving the Appearances* (New York: n.d.), p. 152.
38. Father Ong makes the following comment: "Ramus had insisted that analysis opened ideas like boxes, and it is certainly significant that the post-Ramist age produced so much more than its share of books identified by their titles as "keys" to one thing or another. In this same age (the age of the philosopher Peter Ramus) the notion of 'content' as applied to books is extended, so that statements, the words of which statements consist, and concepts or ideas themselves are habitually considered as 'containing' truth. An epistomology based on the notion of truth as 'content' begins to appear." Later he says "Pre-Gutenburg man does not readily think of truth as 'content'." For Pre-Gutenburg man the truth lay in his memorizing such phrases as "In the beginning was the Word" and the word was with God and the word was God" - and the word - the truth- "the way the truth and the life" became flesh. Medieval or Pre-Gutenberg man contained that truth. The book was only an aural aid to the man who was the container, in fact he had to hear the word, even if he was literate. Ong, *Ramus, Method and Decay of Dialogue*, pp. 316, 316.
39. H. J. Chaytor, *From Script to Print* (Cambridge, 1950), p. 8. By "illiterate" I take Chaytor to mean illiterate in terms of Western alphabet. The Japanese have both a phonetic script as we do and Chinese ideograms which are morphemic. To be literate in Japan means to be acquainted with Chinese ideograms and the phonetic scripts of *hiragana* (for Japanese words) and *katakana* (for foreign words). Fenallosa gives us some

indication of the effects of this kind of literacy on its users: "perhaps we do not always sufficiently consider that thought is successive, not through some accident or weakness of our subjective operations but because the operations of nature are successive. The transferences of force from agent to subject, which constitute natural phenomena occupy time. Therefore, a reproduction of them in imagination requires some temporal order. Fenallosa, *The Chinese Written Character as a Medium for Poetry*, p. 7.

40. Ong, *Ramus, Method and the Decay of Dialogue*, p. 290.

41. The space which Ong is referring to is the space limited by its definition to but a fragment of the whole. This is quite different from the concept of *ma* which refers to the reverberation between the parts of the whole. Standing on the bow of a ship I discover space; it is not simply "me plus seagull": it is the *ma* which gives it meaning, the gap (spacing) between the seagull and I. Space refers to a topic which contains its own justification: it contains things, contents, the connections. *Ma* is the space between, or the interval.

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