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"*TAMASHĪ*" AND "ORIENTALISM IN REVERSE" IN KUROKAWA'S *AGRICULTURAL CITY* (1960)

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ABSTRACT

"*TAMASHĪ*" AND "ORIENTALISM IN REVERSE" IN KUROKAWA'S *AGRICULTURAL CITY* (1960)

By JooWon Chung

This thesis examines Kisho Kurokawa's *Agricultural City* (1960) through the lenses of "*tamashī*" (魂, spirit) and "Orientalism in reverse." Both concepts function in his powerful strategy to appeal to two "clients," the Japanese attendees and the Western attendees at the 1960 World Design Conference in Tokyo. On the one hand, with the concept of "*tamashī*," Kurokawa satisfied Japanese viewers by engaging in the then-active Japanese intellectual trend to construct positive cultural identity through national tradition. On the other hand, with the idea of "Orientalism in reverse," Kurokawa appealed to Western viewers by utilizing Western fascination with Japanese tea culture, a Zen garden and indigenous religion. Kurokawa's specific strategies to employ the two concepts are discovered through my reading of *Agricultural City* as a complete project comprised of architectural plans, elevation drawings and actual models, paired with primary texts. In doing so, this thesis demonstrates that Kurokawa was quick and sensitive to incorporate trends both in Japan and the West into *Agricultural City,* and therefore gained international reputation during the period of the growing demand for the modern revival of Japanese tradition.

Kurokawa's strategy to employ the two concepts of "*tamashī*" and "Orientalism in reverse" in both visual and rhetorical languages of *Agricultural City* was unique among the Metabolist group at the World Design Conference. Kurokawa's strong desire to be recognized both by Japanese and Western audiences as a competitive architect seems to have clearly set Kurokawa apart from other architects in the Metabolist group. In this sense, although Kurokawa has been celebrated as the representative Metabolist architect, *Agricultural City* deserves to be viewed as an independent architectural design worthy of in-depth analysis, not as a partial illustration of Metabolism.

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"Tamashii" and "Orientalism in Reverse" in Kurokawa's *Agricultural City*

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"*Tamashī* (魂)" and "Orientalism in Reverse" in Kurokawa's *Agricultural City* (1960)

The 1960 World Design Conference (*Sekai dezain kaigi* 世界デザイン会議, WoDeCo) in Tokyo was a turning point for postwar Japanese architecture (fig. 1). This first large-scale international conference in postwar Japan was co-sponsored by joint efforts of two branches of government, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*Gaimushō* 外務省) and the Ministry of International Trade and Industry (*Tsūsanshō* 通産省), in collaboration with the World Design Conference organization and the Japan Architects' Association.[1] This conference was part of a diplomatic project that Japan has engaged in since the end of the American occupation in 1952, in an attempt to present a positive cultural image of Japan to the world and to neutralize negative wartime associations. The desire to promote a new image of Japan was reflected in the design proposals of the 143 Japanese architects and industrial designers who presented at the WoDeCo.[2]

One of the most celebrated designs was *Agricultural City* (*Nōson Toshi Keikaku* 農村都市計画, 1960) (fig. 2), the earliest published architectural drawings by Japanese architect Kisho Kurokawa (黒川紀章, 1934-2007). Twenty-six-year-old Kurokawa was one of the ambitious intellectuals who sought to reframe Japanese cultural identity in the 1950s as a leading member of the new Japanese architectural movement called Metabolism. For WoDeCo, Kurokawa published architectural sketches of a future agrarian city, which were collectively named *Agricultural City* in the manifesto-booklet titled "Metabolism 1960: The Proposals for New

[1] The WoDeCo was held from May 11th to May 16th in 1960. World Design Conference Organization, *Sekai dezain kaigi gijiroku* 世界デザイン会議議事録 (World Design Conference 1960 in Tokyo) (Tōkyō: Bijutsu Shuppansha, 1961).

[2] The World Design Conference invited 227 international participants from 26 countries with 84 foreign experts in the fields of graphic, craft, industrial design, architecture and education. The list of the participants and their nationality can be found in Ibid., 253-255, 284-290.

Urbanism (*Metaborizumu 1960: Toshie no teian* メタボリズム 1960: 都市への提案)" (figs. 3, 4),[3] which was distributed to international audiences at the WoDeCo as an exemplary model of his Metabolist concept.[4] *Agricultural City* was highlighted as the epitome of a future Metabolist city in Kurokawa's presentation on Metabolism to the conference attendees.[5] This body of work was outstanding in the sense that its visual and verbal presentations appeal to two "clients," the Japanese viewer and the Western viewer. For Japanese viewers, Kurokawa used the concept of "*tamashī* (魂, spirit)" to emphasize what new Japanese architecture should be.[6] By contrast, for Western viewers, the visual renderings and narratives of *Agricultural City* were laden with recognizable elements that showed Japan in a positive light. In doing so, Kurokawa showed the influence of an approach that can be called "Orientalism in reverse,"[7] the positive presentation

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[3] Kurokawa proposed *Space City* (*Kūkan Toshi* 空間都市, 1960), which included sub-projects including *Agricultural City* with *Mushroom House* (*Kinokokata no Ie* キノコ型の家, 1960)*, A New Plan for Tokyo* (*Shin Tōkyō Keikaku* 新東京計画, 1959), and *A Vertical Wall City* (*Suichokukabe Toshi* 垂直壁都市, 1959). This paper analyzes *Agricultural City* in association with *Mushroom House*, as they were not independent project. *Metabolism 1960: The Proposals for New Urbanism* (Tōkyō: Bijutsu Shuppansha, 1960), 70-89.

[4] *Metabolism, the City of the Future: Dreams and Visions of Reconstruction in Postwar and Present-Day Japan* (Tōkyō: Mori Art Museum, 2011), 42-47; and Rem Koolhaas, *Project Japan: Metabolism Talks* (Köln; London: Taschen GmbH, 2011), 18-19, 206-221.

[5] Kurokawa's presentation was titled "Atarashī shitsu no Universality wa design ni okeru Personality ni yotte kakutokusareru 新しい質の universality は design における personality によって獲得される" which was related to the second day's conference theme of "a new quality of universality" on May 12th. World Design Conference Organization, *Sekai dezain kaigi gijiroku*, 5, 85-86.

[6] In the presentation, Kurokawa emphasized the significance of a designer's "spirit (*tamashī* 魂)" in a design twice. The English translation of Kurokawa's presentation contained in the book *Sekai dezain kaigi gijiroku* fails to capture this Japanese word. Kishō Kurokawa, "Atarashī shitsu no Universality wa design ni okeru Personality ni yotte kakutoku sareru 新しい質の universality は design における personality によって獲得される (Personality in the field of design brings forth a new quality of universality)," in *Sekai dezain kaigi gijiroku* 世界デザイン会議議事録 (World Design Conference 1960 in Tokyo), ed. World Design Conference Organization (Tōkyō: Bijutsu Shuppansha, 1961), 85-87.

[7] The term "Orientalism in reverse" was coined by Sadik al-'Azm in response to Edward Said's canonical book *Orientalism* (1978). Unlike "Orientalism in reverse," Said's "Orientalism" is

of essential characteristics that emphasize the greatness of the East.

This paper examines *Agricultural City* through the lenses of "*tamashī*" and "Orientalism in reverse" because both concepts function in Kurokawa's diplomatic strategy to capture the attention of both Japanese and Western attendees at the WoDeCo, and contribute to his immediate success both inside and outside Japan. Examining Kurokawa's emphasis on "*tamashī*" in association with *Agricultural City* helps to identify his desire to present a unique and peaceful image of Japanese culture for the WoDeCo, as well as his ambition to participate in a contemporary architectural discourse in Japan on what essentially constituted Japanese culture. In addition, I use the concept of "Orientalism in reverse" as the analytical lens to discuss Kurokawa's passion to satisfy Western viewers' expectation of new Japanese architecture and to achieve international recognition as a promising Japanese architect. These two concepts provide a more effective means of analyzing Kurokawa's strategies for *Agricultural City* than nationalism, which many scholars on postwar Japanese art and architecture have stressed. Unlike the broad and ambivalent concept of nationalism, which often obscures a specific strategy set forth by an individual architect or an artist,[8] "*tamashī*" and "Orientalism in reverse" allow one to trace Kurokawa's specific response to two issues current in Japanese discourse at the time: one, the ongoing national debate over cultural identity in the 1950s, and two, contemporary Western reception of Japan's culture.

To discover Kurokawa's underlying concepts of "*tamashī*" and "Orientalism in reverse,"

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defined as negative stereotypes of non-Western countries constituted by Europeans throughout history. Sadik Jalal al-'Azm, "Orientalism and Orientalism in Reverse," *Khamsin* 8 (1981): 5–26; and Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin Books, 2003).

[8] Nationalism, as Bert Winther-Tamaki points out, encompasses different thoughts and conflicting ideas about the nation. Bert Winther-Tamaki, *Art in the Encounter of Nations: Japanese and American Artists in the Early Postwar Years* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001), 5-18.

this paper analyzes *Agricultural City* through accompanying relevant texts and images including architectural plans, elevation drawings, and photographs of model views. The first part of this paper situates *Agricultural City* within the political, economic, and cultural contexts of Japan of the 1950s in order to contextualize Kurokawa's strategies in proposing it. It also involves contemporary discourse on Japanese architecture both in Japan and in the West, which Kurokawa acknowledged during his preparation for his presentation of *Agricultural City* as a member of the Metabolist group. The next part of the paper contains a close reading of *Agricultural City* as heavily laden with traditional Japanese motifs and ideology, all of which point towards the architect's strategies to attract both Japanese and Western attendees at the WoDeCo. I argue that Kurokawa's integration of medieval Japanese tea culture, architecture, and indigenous religion into *Agricultural City* were specific strategies conditioned by the goals of the WoDeCo and the architect's desire to be recognized at both national and international levels. The positive reception of *Agricultural City* allowed Kurokawa to continue projecting the essence of Japanese culture and to condition Western reception of his later architecture and writings. My reading of *Agricultural City* as a complete project comprised of architectural plans, elevation drawings and actual models, paired with primary texts, aims to expand the limited scope of earlier discussions of Kurokawa's *Agricultural City*.

Situating Kurokawa in the Existing Literature

Previous scholarship on *Agricultural City* falls roughly into two categories: either into a schematic history of contemporary architecture or into a general history of the Metabolist group. The bulk of the first category co-opted Kurokawa into serving its aim to establish a schematized

architectural discourse by offering an oversimplified reading of *Agricultural City.* Siegfried Giedon paid attention only to Kurokawa's idea of the artificial land and considered *Agricultural City* as an example of "three-dimensional urban planning," newly emerging architectural trends in the late 1950s and early 1960s to understand the city as a living organism.[9] Manfredo Tafuri and Francesco Dal Co claimed that Kurokawa's *Agricultural City* was part of the typical movement toward utopian conceptual architecture in the 1960s.[10] Similarly, Rayner Banham focused only on the artificial structure in *Agricultural City*, and described Kurokawa as a key Metabolist member who contributed to the rise of architectural movement towards "megastructure" in the 1960s.[11] Charles Jencks associated Kurokawa's works with a discourse on postmodernism by praising Kurokawa as the chief prophet of a postmodern movement in the

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[9] Sigfried Giedon, *Space, Time, and Architecture: The Growth of a New Tradition*, 5th ed. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967), 857-863.

[10] Manfredo Tafuri and Francesco Dal Co, "The International Concept of Utopia," *Modern Architecture*, History of World Architecture (New York: Electa/Rizzoli, 1986), 357-363. Their reading seems invalid in that Kurokawa may have not conceived of the utopian future in their architectural works. As Cherie Wendelken and Hyunjung Cho point out, Kurokawa often explains his traumatic memories of war and the fundamental philosophy that embraces the natural disintegration in life. See Hyunjung Cho, "Chungdol'hanun mire: Metabollisum'kwa osaka mankuk'bakramhwe 충돌하는 미래: 메타볼리즘과 오사카 만국박람회 (Competing Futures: The Metabolism and Expo'70)," *Misulsa'wa sigakmunhwa* (Art History and Visual Culture) 6 (October 2007): 32–65; and Cherie Wendelken, "Putting Metabolism Back in Place: The Making of a Radically Decontexualized Architecture in Japan," in *Anxious Modernisms: Experimentation in Postwar Architectural Culture*, eds. Sarah Williams Goldhagen and Réjean Legault (Montréal; Cambridge, MA: Canadian Centre for Architecture; MIT Press, 2000), 279-299.

[11] Reyner Banham, *Megastructure: Urban Futures of the Recent Past* (New York: Harper and Row, 1976), 45-57, 70-83. The tendency of "megastructure" can be seen in Fumihiko Maki's "group form" or "collective form." Fumihiko Maki, *Investigations in Collective Form* (Saint Louis, MO: School of Architecture, Washington University, A Special Publication, 1964); Unlike Maki, Kurokawa did not use the word "group form" throughout his career, but preferred using "a system (*shikumi* 仕組み)" to explain the role of the artificial land in his architecture. In fact, it is unclear whether Kurokawa advocated Maki's concept of "collective form." See Kurokawa, "Atarashī shitsu no Universality wa design ni okeru Personality ni yotte kakutoku Sareru," 86; and Kishō Kurokawa, *Metaborizumu no hasso* メタボリズムの発想 (Concept of Metabolism, Tōkyō: Hakuba Shuppansha, 1972).

history of contemporary architecture.[12] Rem Koolhaas described Kurokawa as an heir to Kenzō Tange (丹下健三, 1913-2005), and said both Tange and Kurokawa contributed to establishing the progressive history of "a true Japanese architectural miracle" due to their international reputation.[13] The problem with these aforementioned studies lies in the fact that they have hardly located Kurokawa's *Agricultural City* within a specific context of Japan in the postwar period, only to make ahistorical generalizations.

Scholars who fall into the second category place more weight on the rise of Metabolism in Japan than on individual works of the Metabolist group, treating *Agricultural City* as merely a theoretical illustration for the Metabolist manifesto. Cherie Wendelken, who focused on the emergence of the Metabolist group in the late 1950s, gave little attention to individual works, drawing a flawed conclusion that the Metabolist works are completely detached from Japanese vernacular houses.[14] Florian Urban, who examined the Metabolist members' perceptions of the West, provided no analysis of the individual architect's plans, elevation drawings and models.[15]

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[12] Charles Jencks, "Enigma of Kurokawa," *Architectural Review* 159 (March 1976): 142–153; and Charles Jencks, *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture*, 6th ed. (London: Academy Editions, 1991). Similarly, Hajime Yatsuka lionized Kurokawa who prefigured the rise of post-modern architecture by putting an end to the lingering the influence of modernist architecture in Japan. See Hajime Yatsuka, *Metabolism Nexus* メタボリズム・ネクサス (Tōkyō: Ōmusha, 2011); and Ioanna Angelidou and Hajime Yatsuka, "Metabolism and After: A Correspondence With Hajime Yatsuka," *Architecture Criticism*, no. 24 (Winter/Spring 2012): 33–41. However, William Curtis refuted Jenck's support for Kurokawa due to the "tendency towards superficiality which took earlier architectural precedents as a sounding board for references and quotations." William J. R. Curtis, *Modern Architecture since 1900*, 3rd ed. (London: Phaidon, 1996), 602.

[13] Koolhaas, *Project Japan*, 21, 336-355, 372-409. In the same vein, in creating the continuity in the history of Japanese architecture, Nobuo Tsuji asserted that Kurokawa continues the older architects' interest in the revival of Japan's distant traditions in architecture in his works until 1970. See Nobuo Tsuji, *Nihon bijutsu no rekishi* 日本美術史の歴史 (History of Japanese Art, Tōkyō: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 2012), 422-423.

[14] Wendelken, "Putting Metabolism Back in Place," 279-299.

[15] Florian Urban, "Japanese 'Occidentalism' and the Emergence of Postmodern Architecture," *Journal of Architectural Education* 65, no. 2 (March 2012): 89–102, doi:10.1111/j.1531-314X.2011.01195.x.

Hyunjung Cho and Chunghoon Shin, who collaboratively considered Metabolist architecture as a diplomatic weapon during the Cold War, inappropriately associated *Agricultural City* with the writings of Noboru Kawazoe whose understanding of Metabolism was different from Kurokawa's.[16] The problem scholars in this second group share lies in the fact that they offer little description of *Agricultural City*, failing to understand Kurokawa as an individual architect.

The first valid attempt to examine the architectural renderings of Kurokawa's *Agricultural City* as his earliest ambitious Metabolist works was achieved by Zhongjie Lin. Lin's creativity lies in his comparison of the model view of *Agricultural City* with Frank Lloyd Wright's *Broadacre City*, although his basic descriptions of *Agricultural City* were indebted to those written by Günter Nitschke and by Hajime Yatsuka and Hideki Yoshimatsu.[17] Still, Lin's examination of *Agricultural City* would have been more complete if it had not been limited only to the architectural model view of *the project* and if it had represented its meaning and function as Kurokawa's first serious architectural work.

The limitations of the existing literature on Kurokawa's *Agricultural City* suggest the necessity of considering various visual products and relevant texts related to the project as a

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[16] Hyunjung Cho and Chunghoon Shin, "Metabolism and Cold War Architecture," *The Journal of Architecture* 19, no. 5 (September 2014): 623–44, doi:10.1080/13602365.2014.965186. Their association of Kurokawa with Noboru Kawazoe is inappropriate, considering Kurokawa's writing that "each of the members joined the group with a different opinion about what the Metabolist movement was; there was no articulated theory on Metabolism at the very beginning." Kishō Kurokawa, *Kurokawa Kishō nōto: Shisaku to sōzō no kiseki* 黒川紀章ノート: 思索と創造の軌跡 (Kisho Kurokawa's Notebooks: Traces of Thinking and Creation, Tōkyō: Dōbun Shoin, 1994), 24.

[17] Zhongjie Lin, *Kenzo Tange and the Metabolist Movement: Urban Utopias of Modern Japan* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 28-31; Günter Nitschke, "Tokyo 'Olympic Planning' versus 'Dream Planning,'" *Architectural Design* (October 1964): 482–524; and Hajime Yatsuka and Hideki Yoshimatsu, *Metaborizumu: Senkyūhyakurokujūnendai nihon no kenchiki avuangyarudo* メタボリズム: 一九六〇年代ー日本の建築アヴァンギャルド (Metabolism: Japan's Avant-Garde Architecture in the 1960s, Tōkyō: INAX Shuppansha, 1997).

whole. Only through this methodology is it possible to uncover Kurokawa's strategy to improve the image of Japanese culture around in the 1950s by using concepts of "*tamashī*" and "Orientalism in reverse."

Japan in the 1950s

Kurokawa's strategy to incorporate into *Agricultural City* Japanese tradition and cultural symbols favored by foreigners was closely associated with Japan's political, economic and intellectual conditions in the 1950s. There were efforts to reestablish Japan's own democracy and culture after the San Francisco Peace Treaty of 1952 officially declared the end of the U.S. occupation of Japan. Japan was occupied by the U.S.-Allied forces from its surrender in 1945 to 1952. During this period, Japan had no political autonomy and had to reform its former political system, military forces, and aspects of culture that were tainted with the ultra-nationalistic ideology, which Americans argued had led to the outbreak of World War II. Japan outlawed imperialism, prohibited religious worship of the emperor, wrote a new Constitution and adapted American models of industry and political systems. From the international perspective, these changes and reforms in Japan pushed by the United States were necessary to eradicate Japan's past ultra-nationalistic ambition and prevent another global threat. Additionally, within the context of the early Cold War (1945-1952), the United States found it indispensable to spread American ideology and defend Japan against communism through a foreign aid program which supported Japan's urban reconstruction and economic rehabilitation.

However, for the Japanese, these sudden changes brought forth concerns and anxiety about the loss of Japan's traditions, origin, and autonomy. When Japan resumed self-governance

in 1952, then anxieties changed into the hope of gaining a greater degree of political, economic, and cultural freedom. The Japanese government declared political autonomy, fostered democracy, adopted a new educational system, promoted social reforms, and rebuilt homes that had been heavily destroyed by the American bombings before the end of the Second World War.[18]

The Japanese government and the United States invested a large amount of money in large-scale urban rebuilding projects to reconstruct devastated infrastructure and resolve housing shortage problems starting from the end of the Second World War. However, the deep recession in Japan in the late 1940s caused the central government to economize on the construction costs and to adopt the mass-production of functional and affordable houses for urban rehabilitation, following modernist architectural principles. However, the modernized and standardized urban environments led to a sense of uneasiness among some Japanese people who were concerned with the loss of traditional townscape and cultural heritage.[19]

Those who wanted to preserve traditional Japanese culture advocated construction of vernacular housing to stop the standardization and westernization of landscape in Japan. The first impetus for the revival of traditional houses was enacted by the Japanese government's law for "Housing Loan Corporation" of 1950, which supported those who wanted to possess their own private house. This law enabled Japanese architects to design individual houses for Japanese

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[18] Patricia Buckley Ebrey and Anne Walthall, "War and Aftermath in Japan," *East Asia: A Cultural, Social, and Political History* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 2013), 456-471; Doryun Chong et al., *Tokyo, 1955-1970: A New Avant-Garde* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2012); Iwao Hoshii, *Japan's Pseudo-Democracy* (New York: New York University Press, 1993), 218-230; Junghee Lee, Ilbon gunhyeonde misulsa 일본 근현대 미술사 (Modern and Contemporary Japanese Art History, Seoul: Yekyung, 2010), 299-323.

[19] Noboru Kawazoe, *Contemporary Japanese Architecture* (Tokyo: Japan Foundation, 1973), 28, 33-34.

customers who preferred living in a house with traditional architectural elements accustomed to their lifestyle rather than a western model. The demand for new individual houses started to increase with the nation's unexpected recovery of the economy from the depression in the early 1950s. This economic growth was mainly attributed to the Korean War, which took place from 1950 to 1953, as Japan greatly benefitted from increasing industrial production and export to the United States and its Allied forces stationed in Korea. From the mid-1950s, Japan witnessed a rapid economic boom that allowed the Japanese to construct houses with less universal and more individual styles. The increase in the demand for customized houses revealed an opportunity for Japanese architects and preservationists to actively engage in an intellectual discourse as to how to incorporate traditional Japanese elements into new buildings.[20]

On the Origins of Japanese Tradition

The architects' effort to restore traditional Japanese culture was part of the ongoing debate among scholars in various fields on what constituted Japanese cultural identity. The goal of these scholars, since Japan's independence in 1952, was to "fill the breaches in Japan's cultural boundaries caused by military defeat and occupation."[21] For example, professionals in the field of industrial design called for an end to the mass production of cheap Western commodities, which was called "Japonica style," and the invention of a new concept of design that would reflect the tradition of Japan. Isamu Kenmochi (剣持勇, 1912-1971), then acting

[20] Cherie Wendelken, "Aesthetics and Reconstruction: Japanese Architectural Culture in the 1950s," in *Rebuilding Urban Japan After 1945*, eds. Carola Hein, Jeffry M. Diefendorf and Ishida Yorifusa (2003), 188-209; and Kawazoe, *Contemporary Japanese Architecture*, 28, 33-34.
[21] Jonathan Reynolds, "Ise Shrine and a Modernist Construction of Japanese Tradition," *The Art Bulletin* 83, no. 2 (June 2001): 324.

leader of the design department at the Industrial Arts Institute, urged in his 1952 critique of "Japonica" to produce industrial products by modernizing traditional Japanese crafts, which he thought would be superior to the imitation of Western items.[22] Similarly, in the field of art and architecture, then internationally renowned sculptor Isamu Noguchi (野口勇, 1904-1988) advised Japanese artists in the early 1950s to discover a source of inspiration from the rich cultural heritage of Japan. Noguchi explained that his modern sculptures and architectural projects were his own reinterpretation of the Yayoi culture (*yayoi bunka* 弥生文化) that flourished in the Neolithic period in Japan.[23] In his speech on "Art and Community," he also emphasized the importance of picking up "the genuine thing" (*honmono* 本物) from Japan's past, which he believed would be more inventive and powerful than Western art.[24]

Noguchi's emphasis on "the genuine thing" from Japanese tradition in part contributed to heightening the awareness of Japanese artists and architects about their traditional culture.[25] Tarō Okamoto (岡本太郎, 1911-1996) directly responded to Noguchi by starting the so-called "tradition debate" (*dentō ronsō*伝統論争) in 1953, arguing the superiority of the Paleolithic

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[22] Isamu Kenmochi, "Japonizumu modan ka, Japonika sutairu ka: Yushutsu kogei no futatsu no michi ジャポニズムモダンか、ジャポニカスタイルか: 輸出こ芸の二つの道 (Japanese Modern or Japonica Style: Two Ways of Making Industrial Arts for Export)," *Kogei nyusu* 22, no.9 (1954): 2-7.

[23] Gen Adachi, "Cheon'gubek'osip'nyeondae jeonwuiyesul'eseoui jeontong nonjeng: Isamu Noguchi'ui yonghyang'ul jungshim'uro 1950 년대 전위예술에서의 전통 논쟁: 이사무 노구치의 영향을 중심으로 (Tradition Debate among the Japanese Avant-Gardes of the 1950s: Focusing on Influences of Isamu Noguchi)," trans. Sohyun Park, *Misulsa Nondan* (2005): 477–508; and Winther-Tamaki, *Art in the Encounter of Nations: Japanese and American Artists in the Early Postwar Years*, 110-129.

[24] Adachi, "Cheon'gubek'osip'nyeondae jeonwuiyesul'eseoui jeontong nonjeng: Isamu Noguchi'ui yonghyang'ul jungshim'uro," 484.

[25] The effort of Japanese artists to follow Noguchi's advice is epitomized in the revival of the ancient practice of "flower arrangement (生花 *ikebana*)" as a form of fine art led by Sōfu Teshigawara (勅使河原蒼風, 1900-1979), who maintained a close relationship with Noguchi and established the school of "flower arrangement" in art in the early 1950s. Ibid., 489-490.

Jōmon culture (*jōmon bunka*縄文文化) over Yayoi culture in terms of its dynamic potential. He stressed the necessity to revive the "vibrant" and "positive" aesthetics of Jōmon culture and medieval culture including the concepts of Zen Buddhism and tea ceremonies, all of which would positively "motivate force in everyday life."[26] Similarly, Kawazoe Noboru (登川添, 1926-2015) started an architectural debate over tradition by arguing that "architects should learn from traditions."[27] He denigrated "Japonica" architecture, a mere imitation of Western architecture, which was frequently seen in Japan. Instead, he lionized Tange's Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum (*Hiroshima Heiwa Kinen Kōen*広島平和記念公園, 1955) as an ideal architectural form that reinterpreted cultural traditions anew (fig. 5), drawing on the aristocratic architecture (*shinden-zukuri*寝殿造り) of the eighth century and the concept of "the impermanence of Buddhism."[28] This "tradition debate" was further supported by Kenzo Tange, who emphasized the necessity to reestablish the dynamism of Jōmon energies in architecture when he published books about Katsura Imperial Villa (*Katsura Rikyū*桂離宮) and Ise Shrine (*Ise Jingū*伊勢神宮) (figs. 6, 7).[29] Kurokawa's concept of "*tamashī*" in architecture must thus

[26] Tarō Okamoto, "Dentō josetsu 伝統序説 (An Introduction to Tradition) (1955)," *Chūō kōron* (Central Review) 75, no. 12 (December 1955): 58-67, reprinted in Doryun Chong et al., *From Postwar to Postmodern: Art in Japan 1945-1989* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2013), 62-68.

[27] Kawazoe Noboru, "Tange Kenzō no nihonteki deikaku: Kokuni tamen kōzō no hatten o tōshite (The Japanese Character of Tange Kenzō) (1955)," *Shinkenchiku* (New Architecture) 30, no.1 (January 1955): 62-59, reprinted in Doryun Chong et al., *From Postwar to Postmodern: Art in Japan 1945-1989* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2013), 69-73.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Tange argues that Katsura Imperial Palace is the embodiment of a perfect balance of Jomon and Yayoi cultures and Ise Shrine is the embodiment of dynamic Jōmon energies. Kenzo Tange, "Tradition and Creation in Japanese Architecture," in *Katsura: Tradition and Creation in Japanese Architecture*, eds. Kenzo Tange, Walter Gropius, and Yasuhiro Ishimoto (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1960); Kenzo Tange and Noboru Kawazoe, *Ise: Prototype of Japanese Architecture* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1965).

be associated with this ongoing discourse on the genuine essence of Japanese tradition in architecture in the 1950s.

On Western Receptions of Japanese architecture

The impetus for Japanese architects' search for *honmono* from their cultural heritage may have resulted from their interactions with Western architects in the 1950s. With the financial and diplomatic support of the central government,[30] Japanese architects had opportunities to learn new architectural principles and technologies when the government invited Western architects to Japan, such as Walter Gropius (1883-1969) in 1954, Konrad Wachsman (1901-1980) in 1955, and Buckminster Fuller (1895-1983) in 1958.[31] Among them, Walter Gropius found in Katsura Imperial Villa excellent architectural solutions such as prefabricated elements, and "modular coordination" that resulted from the usage of standardized *tatami* mats and flexible

[30] Japanese artists were strongly encouraged to participate in international stages and to exchange ideas with Western intellectuals. Saburō Hasegawa (長谷川三郎, 1906-1957) gained a reputation at the exhibition "Japanese Calligraphy" of 1954 by reintroducing traditional Japanese calligraphy as abstract forms to Western audiences. Shikō Munakata (棟方志功, 1903-1975) received the first prize at the Sãn Paulo Biennale in 1955 then the Grand Prix at the Venice Biennale in 1956 with his woodblock print recalling techniques of *ukiyo-e* (浮世絵) during the Edo period. Adachi, "Cheon'gubek'osip'nyeondae Jeonwuiyesul'eseoui Jeontong Nonjeng: Isamu Noguchi'ui Yonghyang'ul Jungshim'uro," 489-492; and Tsuji, *Nihon Bijutsu No Rekishi*, 417-420; Japanese artists who experimented with art forms received high praise from Michel Tapié (1909-1987), who visited artist studios in Tokyo and Osaka in 1957. Michel Tapié, "A Mental Reckoning of My First Trip to Japan (1957)," *Bijutsu technō* (Art Notebook), no. 134 (December 1957): 98-102, reprinted in Doryun Chong et al., *From Postwar to Postmodern: Art in Japan, 1945-1989* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2013), 99-101.

[31] Tsuji, *Nihon Bijutsu No Rekishi*, 419; Kenzō Tange, "Foreword," in *Katsura: Tradition and Creation in Japanese Architecture*, eds. Kenzō Tange, Walter Gropius, and Yasuhiro Ishimoto (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1960), v-vi; and Wendelken, "Aesthetics and Reconstruction: Japanese Architectural Culture in the 1950s,"

plans, all of which he previously thought Western architects invented in the 20th century.[32] Gropius celebrated the ancient architecture of Kyoto and encouraged other Western architects, including Le Corbusier (1887-1965), to learn from them.[33] It is not accidental that Le Corbusier visited Tokyo to design the Museum of Western Art in Tokyo (*Kokuritsu Seiyō Bijutsukan* 国立西洋美術館, 1959) in collaboration with Japanese architects Kunio Maekawa (前川國男, 1905-1986), Junzō Sakakura (坂倉準三, 1901-1969) and Takamasa Yoshizaka (吉阪隆正, 1917-1980).[34] Similarly, Western architects who attended the 1951 meeting of Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM) supported Tange's architectural design for Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum in favor of his restoration of Japanese tradition in contemporary architecture. When Tange gained an international reputation and became a member of the CIAM, Japanese architects understood that the integration of traditional Japanese architecture appealed to expectations of Western architects.[35]

In the summer of 1954, while Gropius called for the revival of traditional Japanese architecture, Japan actively fostered cultural and intellectual exchanges with Western countries. One culminated in the summer installation of a Japanese garden and building at the Museum of Modern Art in New York (MoMA) under the title "Japanese Exhibition House" in 1954 and 1955 (fig. 8).[36] Starting in 1951, Japan's educational and cultural interactions with America were

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[32] Walter Gropius, "Architecture in Japan," in *Katsura: Tradition and Creation in Japanese Architecture*, eds. Kenzō Tange, Walter Gropius, and Yasuhiro Ishimoto (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1960), 1-11.
[33] Dal Co, "La Princesse est Modeste," 387-388.
[34] Jonathan M. Reynolds, *Maekawa Kunio and the Emergence of Japanese Modernist Architecture* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2001), 177.
[35] Hyunjung Cho, "Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park and the Making of Japanese Postwar Architecture," *Journal of Architectural Education* 66, no. 1 (September 2012): 72–83, doi:10.1080/10464883.2012.720915.
[36] The cultural exchange between Japan and France made it possible to hold the major exhibition on Henri Matisse and Pablo Picasso titled "The Contemporary French Art Exhibition (*Gendai*

facilitated when John D. Rockefeller and U.S. State Department officers agreed with Japanese political and economic leaders to foster the exchange programs to prevent the Japanese from Marxism.[37] With strong support by the Rockefeller family, a series of exhibitions on Japanese art and architecture were sponsored and opened to the public at MoMA from 1951 onwards.[38] Among them, the one entitled "Japanese Exhibition House" played a crucial role in shaping Western receptions of Japanese architecture and spreading the ideas of traditional Japanese architecture to Westerners. It featured an actual model of the late medieval residential style (*shoin-zukuri* 書院造) in Kyoto, which was framed with hinoki cypress 檜 and tatami mats 畳 as flooring, originally built for aristocrats and *samurai* 侍 of the Edo period 江戸時代 in the

furansu bijitsu-ten 現代フランス美術展)" in Tokyo in 1951. In turn, nineteen contemporary Japanese artists exhibited their paintings in the annual Paris exhibition in 1952. See Bert Winther-Tamaki, "Reestablishing the Art World During the Occupation, 1945-1952," in *From Postwar to Postmodern, Art in Japan 1945-1989*, eds. Doryun Chon et al. (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2013), 30-32. Furthermore, Japan joined the United Nations and reestablished diplomatic relations with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) in 1956 to facilitate international communications with other foreign countries in terms of economy, politics, and culture. The Japanese government sponsored the National Museum of Tokyo (*Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan* 東京国立博物館) to organize international traveling exhibitions on ancient Japanese art, which was presented in 1958 in major European cities, such as Paris, London, Hague, and Rome. Chong, "Introduction to 1957-1964: From Postwar to International Reemergence," in *From Postwar to Postmodern, Art in Japan 1945-1989*, eds. Doryun Chong et al. (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2013), 96; and Tsuji, *Nihon bijutsu no rekishi*, 417.

[37] Through this new program, approximately fifty American librarians were invited in 1951 to major institutions throughout Japan, where those librarians were able to conduct field research on Japanese art, culture, and education. Takeshi Matsuda, "Soft Power: The U.S. Cultural Offensive and Japanese Intellectuals," *The Asia-Pacific Journal* 6, no.2 (February 2008): 1-19.

[38] The exhibition "Japanese Household Objects" of 1951 included traditional and contemporary pottery, ceramics and lacquer wares. Moreover, the traveling exhibition "Japanese Calligraphy" of 1954 showcased contemporary Japanese calligraphy whose abstract qualities were often compared with Western abstract paintings. See The Museum of Modern Art, "Press Release: First Showing of Abstract Japanese Calligraphy at Museum of Modern Art," *The Museum of Modern Art Exhibition Archive* (June 23 1954), https://www.moma.org/documents/moma_press-release_325946.pdf; The Museum of Modern Art, "Press Release: Japanese Household Objects to be Exhibited at Museum," *The Museum of Modern Art Exhibition Archive* (April 17, 1951), https://www.moma.org/documents/moma_press-release_325774.pdf.

sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Japan. The exhibition highlighted the residential house itself as well as the entire residential complex, which was equipped with a garden entrance, a large garden with a pool and verandas, two residential rooms, a bridge to the teahouse and bath, and a tea ceremony room (fig. 9).[39]

The impact of this major exhibition on Western viewers was tremendous. Arthur Drexler, then acting Director of Architecture and Design of the Museum of Modern Art in New York, directly associated the legacy of traditional Japanese architecture with Western modernist architecture by arguing that Frank Lloyd Wright, Mies van der Rohe, and Le Corbusier were greatly indebted to Japan's architectural traditions in terms of open plans, cantilevers and roof overhangs. Drexler indicated that young Japanese architects had to continue to investigate these traditional values in their contemporary architectural works.[40] Additionally, Alison and Peter Smithson timely expressed their preoccupation with the traditional architecture of Japan in their writings on Brutalism in architecture in the mid-1950s.[41] These notable Westerners' responses to traditional Japanese architecture were positive and spread favorable Western views of Japanese culture in the West. In this sense, Japan's national efforts to promote Japanese architecture through cultural exchange programs with Western countries were successful.

Japanese architects' recognition of traditional Japanese architecture as an instrument for reshaping the national image worldwide may have urged them to reengage in traditional culture starting in the early 1950s. For instance, according to Kawazoe, after Tange's global success,

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[39] The residential complex was built by Junzō Yoshimura (吉村順三, 1908-1997) under the collaborative guidance of notable Japanese architects such as Kunio Maekawa and Junzō Sakakura. For details of the exhibition, see Arthur Drexler, *The Architecture of Japan* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1955), 262-286.

[40] Drexler, *The Architecture of Japan*, 6, 262-288.

[41] Theo Crosby, "The New Brutalism," *Architectural Design* (1955): 1, reprinted in *October* 135 (Spring 2011): 17-18.

architects such as Kiyoshi Seike and Kiyoshi Ikebe adapted his strategy of restoring *shinden-zukuri* in their urban houses, such as Miyagi House (1953) and Residence No.20 (1954).[42] In Japan in the 1950s, when Kurokawa started his architectural career, some Japanese architects who were sensitive to the Western response to Japanese architecture contributed to the rise of the concept of "Orientalism in reverse" in the field of architecture, which will be explored in a later section.

Japan Returns to the World Stage: WoDeCo

With this climate that facilitated architectural interactions between Japan and the West, the Japanese government succeeded in hosting the World Design Conference (WoDeCo) in Tokyo in 1960 and the Summer Olympics in 1964, both of which would be the first major international events in postwar Japan. The goal of hosting the WoDeCo was not only to develop local design research by sharing intellectual insights and practices among global designers and architects but also to demonstrate to the world the restored cultural power of Japan. When the International Design Community announced that the 1960 WoDeCo would be held in Tokyo, the Japan Institute of Architects along with the Japan Association of Advertising Arts and the Japan Industrial Design Association took a leading role in preparing the upcoming 1960 conference. The World Design Conference Organization in Tokyo was formed in 1958. Its executive committee members included renowned Japanese architects, such as Skakura, Maekawa, and

[42] Noboru Kawazoe, *Contemporary Japanese Architecture* (Tōkyō: Japan Foundation, 1973), 38-40.

Tange.[43]

During the preparation for the conference, the committees decided to present young avant-garde architects at the WoDeCo to enrich the discussion and to create lasting impressions about new Japanese design to foreign attendances. This motivated the preparatory committees to find young Japanese architects and designers who would understand this particular situation and form a new architectural/design group in 1958. Based on the committees' recommendation, six members created a group that would later be called Metabolism. The members included the architectural critic Noboru Kawazoe, the architects Kishō Kurokawa, Kiyonori Kikutake (菊竹清訓, 1928-2011), and Masato Otaka (大高正人, 1923-2010), the industrial designer Kenji Ekuan (榮久庵憲司, 1929-2015), and the graphic designer Kiyoshi Awazu (粟津潔, 1929-2009).[44]

These young architects and designers were aware of the expectations of the committees and of their future international audiences at the WoDeCo from the beginning. Additionally, they may had some insight into how Western architects might evaluate their works from the results of Tange's presentation of Kikutake's seminal works of 1958 at the final CIAM meeting of 1959, a year before the opening of the WoDeCo. They knew that Tange argued for the promotion of traditional Japanese architecture and a newly emerging Japanese architectural movement not

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[43] Toshino Iguchi, "The Era of the World Design Conference," in Doryun Chong et al., *From Postwar to Postmodern: Art in Japan, 1945-1989* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2013), 155-156; Toshino Iguchi, "Reconsideration of the World Design Conference 1960 in Tokyo and the World Industrial Design Conference 1973 in Kyoto: Transformation of Design Theory," *International Association of Societies of Design Research (IASDR)* 5 (August 2013): 24–30; Lin, *Kenzo Tange and the Metabolist Movement*, 19; Jilly Traganou, "Through the Lens of Graphic Design: Nationalism, Internationalism, and Universalism in Tokyo 1964 Design Program," *Designing the Olympics: Representation, Participation, Contestation* (New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2016), 47-106; and World Design Conference Organization, *Sekai dezain kaigi gijiroku*, 8-15, 270-272.

[44] Yatsuka and Yoshimatsu, *Metaborizumu*, 10-15.

only at the CIAM meetings but also at the American university, when he had been appointed visiting professor at Massachusetts Institute of Technology for a year in 1959.[45] The groups chose an English name for itself, Metabolism, which indicates that they had been conscious of their international reputation from their formative years. The members could have used the Japanese name *shinchintaisha* 新陳代謝 for the group to reflect the concept of the city as a living organism that undergoes changes. Yet, instead of employing the Japanese name, a word Metabolism would sound familiar to Western attendees at the WoDeCo.[46]

One of the most visionary members of the Metabolist group was Kurokawa. He had become very familiar with Western expectations about Japanese architecture in two ways: one, through his close relationship with Tange and two, from Kurokawa's foreign experience in the USSR. On the one hand, as a graduate advisee of Tange at the Tokyo University 東京大学, Kurokawa witnessed Tange's effort to incorporate indigenous elements into his modernist architecture. Kurokawa also learned from Tange about Western architectural trends and issues set forth at the CIAM meetings, updating his knowledge of ongoing architectural discourse among international architects.

In the second place, it is likely that Kurokawa raised his cultural awareness when he attended, as chairman of Japanese student architects, both the Fifth International Conference of Architectural Students in Leningrad from the summer of 1958 and the General Assembly of the Union Internationale des Architects in Moscow afterward. During the course of these meetings, Kurokawa discussed urban planning and reconstruction with 129 foreign student architects from

[45] Carola Hein, "Visionary Plans and Planners: Japanese Traditions and Western Influences," in *Japanese Capitals in Historical Perspective: Place, Power and Memory in Kyoto, Edo, and Tokyo*, eds. Nicholas Fieve and Paul Waley (Routledge, 2003), 597-600.
[46] Yatsuka and Yoshimatsu, *Metaborizumu*, 28-30.

26 countries, and was interviewed by Moscow broadcasting station.[47] In the course of presentation, Japanese urban reconstruction of the postwar period and sharing insights on the future Japanese urban construction with foreign audiences, he improved his understanding of how foreigners saw Japan. It is also possible that he comprehended how important cultural identity was to foreigners during his stay in the USSR. Kurokawa recalls how much he was disappointed at the urban landscapes in the USSR devoid of Russian avant-garde urbanism, which he had longed to see since his college years at the Kyoto University 京都大学.[48] This anecdote exemplifies Kurokawa's early engagement with the role of the cultural stereotypes: while it helps to draw foreigners to a certain culture, it disillusions those whose expectations remain unfulfilled.

Kurokawa's obscurity in the group may have pushed him to design an architectural project that would impress Western attendances at the WoDeCo, and help him achieve worldwide success. When Kurokawa was asked to join the fledgling architectural/design group that would make a debut at the WoDeCo, he was merely a Tokyo University graduate student who had been to the USSR. He had no published architectural projects, unlike the group's other recruits, such as Kawazoe, Kikutake, and Otaka, all of whom were already renowned in Japan. Kawazoe was a former editor-in-chief of the architectural journal *Shinkenchiku* (新建築) who started the infamous "tradition debate" in architecture; Kikutake was a notable architect of the young generation, whose *Sky House* (1958) and *Marine City* (海洋都市, 1958) were published in the

[47] Noriaki Kurokawa, "Architectural Education in Japan," in *Fifth International Conference of Architectural Students: Leningrad, July 1958* (Prague, Czechoslovakia: International Union of Students, 1959), 43-46; Koolhaas, *Project Japan*, 376-377; and Kurokawa, *Kurokawa Kishō nōto*, 22-23.
[48] Koolhaas, *Project Japan*, 376-377.

architectural journal "International Architecture" (*Kokusai kenchiku* 国際建築) and with Tange's support had gained worldwide recognition as the creative representations of the futuristic city in 1959 (fig. 10); and Otaka was famous for his essential role in assisting with the design of Harumi Apartment Building (1957-1958) (fig. 11), as a leading architect in the Maekawa's office.[49] Among these rising stars, as Yatsuka and Yoshimatsu point out,[50] Kurokawa had no choice but to put all his efforts into creating a successful architectural project that would satisfy both Japanese and Western viewers. Putting it differently, Kurokawa's architectural projects designed for the WoDeCo was his first serious and ambitious project stemming from his careful strategies to achieve national and international fame and success as a Japanese architect.

Agricultural City

Kurokawa's desire to create an appealing architectural project both for Japanese and Western attendees at the WoDeCo was embodied in *Agricultural City*, which indeed helped him rocket out of obscurity. *Agricultural City* consists of visual and rhetorical works, all of which reflect Kurokawa's two concepts of "*tamashī*" and "Orientalism in reverse" to draw favorable attention from both Japanese and Western viewers.

Agricultural City depicts a future agrarian city for 2,000 residents who are peacefully farming on the natural ground and living as a rural community on an elevated artificial structure (*jinkou jiban* 人工地盤) with mushroom-shaped houses (*kinokokata no ie* キノコ型の家) on the

[49] Tange introduced Kikutake's *Marine City* and *Sky House* at the CIAM meeting in 1959, and explained that these creative architectural projects epitomized a new Japanese architectural group.
[50] Yatsuka and Yoshimatsu, *Metaborizumu*, 20-21.

further upper level.[51] Although it is a conceptual project that was not realized, it encompasses a full set of visual renderings: architectural plans, two section drawings and two sketches, and a miniature model of the future agrarian city. Examining the architectural plan, section drawing and miniature models of *Mushroom House* is necessary because it allows one to fully understand the individual living units of *Agricultural City.* All of these visual renderings date from 1960. However, some of them were originally included in the manifesto-booklet "Metabolism 1960" and introduced by Kurokawa during the WoDeCo presentation, while others were made public later. To comprehend the architect's fundamental strategies, my analysis of *Agricultural City* considers all the drawings, photographs of the models and relevant texts created for *Agricultural City*.

The architectural plan and the photographs of the model view of *Agricultural City* demonstrate a large gridiron layout made up of hundreds of smaller segments, each of which functions as a unit of the city, which is designed to accommodate 2,000 residents and form a self-contained agrarian community (figs. 12-14). It has a well-organized box-shaped structure consisting of 25 sub-blocks, which are arranged in 5 rows and 5 columns in the size of 100 meters by 100 meters.[52] This artificial structure as a basic unit of one city is connected by straight roads with other distant cities. The architectural plan of *Agricultural City* is drawn on flat, abstracted space, although Kurokawa later specified that it was designed for the Amagun region in Aichi Prefecture.[53] Black shadows cast on the flat empty farmlands in the plan indicate

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[51] Mushroom-shaped house is also called "K 邸計画 *K teikei kaku* (K House)." Kishō Kurokawa, "*Kinokokata no ie* キノコ型の家 (Mushroom Shape House)," in *Metabolism 1960: The Proposals for New Urbanism* (Tōkyō: Bijutsu Shuppansha, 1960), 77.
[52] Kishō Kurokawa, "Nōsontoshi keikaku 農村都市計画 (Agricultural City)," in *Metabolism 1960: The Proposals for New Urbanism* (Tōkyō: Bijutsu Shuppansha, 1960), 74.
[53] Kurokawa, *Metabolism in Architecture,* 46.

that the overall gridiron structure floats to leave the natural ground for an agricultural purpose.

The vertical structure of *Agricultural City* is clearly visualized in its two section drawings and two sketches (figs. 15-17). They invariably show that *Agricultural City* has three different levels. As the diagrammatic section drawing shows, the farmlands on the ground are, as a "work level," kept free for cultivation and food production, to guarantee food security for 2,000 city dwellers.[54] The elaborated section drawing and sketches depict the inhabitants dedicating themselves to farming on the ground level against a backdrop of the massive mountain ranges and the blazing sun. Above the natural ground is the artificial structure with the grid arrangement to accommodate communal facilities for the residents, which Kurokawa calls a "contact level."[55] However, according to the diagrammatic section drawing, the community services in *Agricultural City* are limited only to a religious center, a school, and a city hall, which hardly reflect actual life and conditions of residents in a modern society. One may argue that Kurokawa wanted to restore a traditional agrarian village in *Agricultural City*, where the influence of a westernized modern lifestyle has not brought any changes to Japanese people. The other likely later section drawing is the more extreme case, albeit with more details, because in this version the communal space of *Agricultural City* is restricted to only a Shinto shrine (*jinja* 神社) or temple (*otera* お寺), where a banner with a disc (*hinomaru* 日の丸) evokes Japan's national flag with a symbol of the sun lying at the center. Below the banner of the religious center, the city dwellers gather and burn incense as if making a religious offering, as seen in the rising smoke in the sky. The architect's pairing of Shinto religion or Buddhism with the national emblem is easily recognized, while the description of a school or a city hall is eliminated. It seems evident in the

[54] Kurokawa, "Nōsontoshi keikaku," 74-75.
[55] Ibid.

elevation drawings that indigenous religion plays a central role in the communal life of *Agricultural City*, where other political, economic, educational, social, industrial, and leisure facilities and services of the modern city are absent.

Above the communal space are mushroom-shaped houses with one-story or two-story structures for residential living. As seen in the architectural plan and the elevation of *Mushroom House* (fig. 18), every house is accessible by its own staircase, which vertically links the farmland and the communal area to the house. An individual resident would use the staircase to access the home from the bottom, and walk down to the ground level for work, or to the communal area to participate in religious gatherings at the shrine or at the temple. Interestingly, the architectural plan of *Mushroom House* exactly mirrors that of a traditional Japanese teahouse. It adapts the most typical and "original" room type of traditional tea-rooms (fig. 19).[56] According to Arthur Sadler, there are basically eight types of tea-rooms according to the number and arrangement of standard *tatami* mats. The most typical room is characterized by the four and a half *tatami* arrangement in one square room, where one half-sized *tatami* mat is laid out in the center of the room and other four full-sized perpendicular *tatami* mats sit inside the border.[57] Although the architectural plan of *Mushroom House* does not clearly mark outlines of *tatami* mats as flooring, its floor layout in the tiny square room echoes the typical style of the traditional tea room. Instead of the half-sized *tatami* mat, the stairs are drawn in the middle of the room for vertical circulation. It is highly likely that *Mushroom House* was modeled on the traditional tea room, given the fact that Kurokawa highly admired a minimal tea ceremony room.[58]

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[56] A. L. Sadler, *Cha-no-yu: The Japanese Tea Ceremony* (Rutland, VT: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1963), 10-11, 50.
[57] Ibid., 10-15.
[58] Kurokawa, *Kurokawa Kishō nōto*, 108; and Kurokawa, *Metabolism in Architecture,* 36.

Kurokawa's association of traditional tea culture with the *Mushroom House* is more obvious when examining the elevation drawing. Attached to the middle of the vertical equipment shaft is an open space, which Kurokawa identifies as the place for tea ceremony as "a space for socialization" (*shakou no jyō* 社交の場).[59] It is simply suspended underneath the mushroom-shaped hut, not enclosed by surrounding walls. Being open to the landscape, it offers a magnificent view of trees, grasses, crops and the mountain of the rural village, promoting harmony between man and nature. This space for tea ceremony evokes the simplicity of the medieval Zen Buddhist tea cottage, whose interior space is undecorated, humble and minimal, but its connection to a traditional garden enriches a person with the beauty of nature during the tea ceremony. This specific link of a Japanese garden to the tea ceremony can be found in the photograph of the model view of *Mushroom House* (fig. 20). In this photograph, *Mushroom House* sits in the middle of a spacious dry garden surrounded by small trees and shrubs touching the ground. This garden scene provides the architect's deliberate connection of *Mushroom House* to a classical combination of a Japanese garden and an old teahouse, as if to foreground the fact that the fundamental architectural principle of *Mushroom House* lies in traditional Japanese architecture.

Kurokawa's integration of Japanese traditions in his architectural designs becomes more explicit when considering visual details of *Mushroom House* and *Agricultural City* altogether. In the elaborated version of the section drawing of *Agricultural City*, the roof of *Mushroom House* recalls snow-capped Mount Fuji (*Fujisan* 富士山), the iconic Japanese symbol. Electric wires that would provide electricity to the house recall the sides of the ridges of Mount Fuji, sloping down from the snow-capped top on either side to the ground. The image of snow-capped Mount

[59] Kurokawa, "Kinokokata no ie キノコ型の家 (Mushroom Shape House)," 77.

Fuji was already well-known at both national and global levels, due to a renowned *ukiyo-e* (浮世絵) woodblock print series titled *Thirty-Six Views of Mount Fuji* (*Fugaku sanjūroku-kei* 富嶽三十六景, c. 1831) by Katsushika Hokusai (葛飾北斎,1760-1849) (fig. 21).[60]

Ultimately, the visual renderings of *Agricultural City* and *Mushroom House* reflect Kurokawa's direct references to Japanese traditions, such as an old Japanese teahouse in combination with a Japanese garden, Shinto or Zen Buddhism with the flag of Japan and Mount Fuji. The old teahouse with the garden scene serves as a chief architectural principle of each mushroom-shaped house, Shinto or Zen Buddhism functions as a spiritual backbone of the agrarian city, and Mount Fuji and the flag of Japan both add a national sentiment to the entire landscape of *Agricultural City*. The importance of these visual representations of *Agricultural City* can be further stressed in association with the two concepts of "*tamashī*" and "Orientalism in reverse," particularly when the relevant texts are taken into account.

Overcoming Modernist Architecture through "*Tamashī*"

The meaning of the concept of "*tamashī*" that Kurokawa directly associated with *Agricultural City* during his presentation at the WoDeCo remains unexplored. It literally means the human's spirit, but my close reading of the architect's presentation of *Agricultural City* at the WoDeCo and his relevant texts shows that his concept of "*tamashī*" is associated with his attempts to restore Japanese traditions as an alternative to modern architecture and to engage in then ongoing discourse on cultural identity in Japan.

The concept of "*tamashī*" was aimed at Japanese attendees rather than Westerners, given

[60] Tsuji, *Nihon bijutsu no rekishi*, 333.

Kurokawa's text for the presentation at the WoDeCo. The original Japanese text submitted to the WoDeCo is interestingly mixed with a few English words that Kurokawa expected Western attendees who were not able to read Japanese to readily recognize (fig. 22).[61] The list of these English words includes "universality," "personality," "mass production," "mass communication," "Gropius," "International Architecture," "international style," "total image," "nations," "prefabricated houses," "prefabricated office units," "William Morris," "technology," "humanity," "mass," and "designers." With these words and the title of the presentation "新しい質の Universality は Design における Personality によって獲得される," Western attendees may have expected what Kurokawa intended to discuss: Universality in design that resulted from mass production and mass communication, or Gropius's International Architecture, should be improved through a combination of the humanity and the personality of designers. However, Western readers would not have been able to expect Kurokawa's emphasis on "*tamashī*," because the English word for "*tamashī*" is not included in the text. Additionally, the English translation of Kurokawa's text presented at the WoDeCo lack the translation of "*tamashī*," although Kurokawa brought up the concept of "*tamashī*" twice to discuss his architectural projects. Since the Japanese word "*tamashī*" was used in both the introductory section and the closing section of his presentation, Japanese listeners and readers must have recognized the architect's emphasis on "*tamashī*" as a critique of the International Style.

In the introductory part of Kurokawa's presentation, the word "*tamashī*" is followed by his problematizing the spread of the identical International Style of modern architecture. While he describes the same architectural design in modern architecture as "today's universality," he

[61] The full translation of the original text into English can be found in Appendix 1. The English words that Kurokawa used in his original Japanese text are italicized. Kurokawa, "Atarashī shitsu no Universality was design no okeru Personality ni yotte kakutokusareru," 85-86.

suggests the concept of "*tamashī*" in opposition to "today's universality." He explains,

> I'm afraid that today's *universality* does not offer to humans "a sense of happiness of sharing the same thing," but only spreads "a sense of emptiness of having standardized things. This may be attributed to the violent nature of systems of *mass communication* and *mass production*. These systems, which go beyond the hands of designers, force humans to face the standardized universal products devoid of tamashī …[62]

For Kurokawa, "universal" architecture only brings "a sense of emptiness of having standardized things" because it is "devoid of" the spirit of individual designers and only produces the same things by means of mass production and mass communication. "*Tamashī*" is something that only an individual can create in order to overcome the standardized design in modern architecture. The meaning of "*tamashī*" still remains abstract, but is clearer in the last part of his presentation, where Kurokawa emphasizes the importance of "personality" in the future design to overcome standardized architectural design. After he introduces *Agricultural City* along with the Metabolist theory, he says,

> It is *personality* of designers that bring forth a higher quality of *universality*… However, we should not resist or ignore the powerful potentials of *mass production* and *mass communication*… At least theoretically, the ways to imbue technologies and machines with humanity should be considered… This would make it possible to imbue universality with tamashī.…One should not forget that when an individual develops one's *personality* and shines through it, for the first time, the *mass* of people will enjoy a better quality of life. The national traditions, for the first time, will contribute to better *universal* consciousness when they incorporate *personality* of individuals and overcome

[62] Ibid., 85.

nationalism.[63]

Here, "*tamashī*" is something closely related to "personality" or "humanity." Indeed, there seems no clear distinction among the abstract concepts of "*tamashī*," "personality," and "humanity." My assumption is that "*tamashī*" and "personality" are connected to the unique quality of an individual person, while "humanity" as human nature is the broader concept. In any case, Kurokawa argues that "*tamashī*," just like "personality," and "humanity," contributes to creating a higher quality of design.

Interestingly, Kurokawa pairs "national traditions" with "*personality* of individuals" and introduces this combination as a powerful instrument that would lead to the future architecture that overcomes flawed modernist architecture. It seems that Kurokawa urges the individual designer to explore national traditions with their own "personality" or "*tamashī*," as a way to deviate from the same style of modernist architecture.

In fact, Kurokawa's call for the revival of traditions in architecture through "*tamashī*" or "personality" corresponds to what he visually and verbally rendered for *Agricultural City*. In *Agricultural City,* Kurokawa's visual references to traditional architecture, indigenous religion and national symbols may have been intended to show his abilities to interpret national traditions through his own "spiritual" lens and to engage in the contemporary architectural discourse on traditions.

Kurokawa's engagement in national traditions for creating his own architectural designs seems to be motivated by his strong desire to argue against modern architecture, given his texts on *Agricultural City* published in the manifesto-booklet "Metabolism 1960."[64] For example,

[63] Ibid., 86.
[64] Kurokawa, "Nōsontoshi keikaku," 74; and Kurokawa, "Kinokikata no ie," 77.

Kurokawa starts his text on *Mushroom House* with this first sentence before introducing the problems of modernist urban planning: "From the destruction of the long-established concepts emerges architecture of the new generation."[65] Since this sentence is followed by the problems of modernist urbanism, his call for "the destruction of the long-established concepts" is evidence of his desire to destroy the old modernist concepts. For "architecture of the new generation," Kurokawa introduces *Mushroom House.* He writes that this house has a special place for tea ceremonies that help people overcome "social isolation and loneliness" that arise from modernist urban planning, as it is as a place for socialization with neighbors.[66] Instead of blocking humans' views with walls and roofs as modern architects did, the tea ceremony space presents "a sense of a limitless expansion of the self toward the horizontal world."[67] This text indicates that the problems caused by modern urbanism can be solved through an individual's unique understanding of Japanese traditions from his own "spiritual" perspectives.

Kurokawa continues to employ the concept of "*tamashī*" in association with national traditions to challenge old modernist architecture and set his designs as a new architecture for the future generation. In his1964 article titled "The Future of Housing (*Korekara no sumai* これからの住まい)," Kurokawa again argues against modern architecture by writing that "as a result of the spread of modern architecture, people have lost important things that were constructed throughout the history of their actual lives."[68] This sentence problematizes mass construction of identical rectangular houses in Japan, which led to the loss of national traditions. After pointing

[65] Kurokawa, "Kinokikata no ie," 77.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Ibid.
[68] The full translation of the original text into English can be found in Appendix 3. Kishō Kurokawa, "Korekara no sumai これからの住まい (The Future of Housing)" *Metaborizumu no hasso* メタボリズムの発想 (The Concept of Metabolism, Tōkyō: Hakuba Shuppansha, 1972), 270-278.

out problems of modern architecture, Kurokawa introduces the notion of "the soul of a craftsman" (*shokunin seishin* 職人精神),[69] which seems highly comparable to his previous concept of "*tamashī*." Like "*tamashī*," "the soul of a craftsman" helps to avoid constructing "standardized apartment complex with a boring series of box-shaped houses" and facilitates the restoration of Japanese traditions in architecture. In other words, "the soul of a craftsman" is important in that it enables one to produce "the future of housing" imbued with its creator's personality, humanity, and identity.[70]

Kurokawa's rhetorical strategy in his writing demonstrates the fact that his concept of "*tamashī*" was often used in combination with national traditions in order to refute modernist architecture and to champion his references to Japan's traditional elements in *Agricultural City* as positive ones. In doing so, Kurokawa was able to appeal to Japanese attendees and committee members at the WoDeCo by engaging in Japan's intellectual trend to construct positive national identity through traditions.

Western Obsessions with Tea Culture and Zen Garden in Japanese Architecture

Kurokawa's careful incorporation of the Japanese cultural elements, such as the tea ceremony space, the garden views and the indigenous religion into *Agricultural City* is also associated with the concept of "Orientalism in reverse," because they were positively recognized as distinct to Japanese culture among many Westerners in the 1950s. In fact, by the 1950s, many international intellectuals believed that Zen Buddhism, tea culture and gardens were the essence

[69] Ibid., 278.
[70] Ibid., 277-278.

of Japanese culture.

Japan's promotion of Zen Buddhism, tea culture and gardens to Western audiences began when Tenshin Okakura (岡倉天心, 1862-1913) introduced the wooden structures of Japanese Buddhist temples at the 1893 Chicago Exposition. He propagated a highly romanticized version of the tea culture of Japan in his book *The Book of Tea* (1906), the earliest book written for foreign audiences in the early 20th century to educate the West about traditional tea practice. Okakura's book aimed to construct the history of Japanese tea culture that concealed Japanese militarism in the early 20th century. Despite its underlying idea of making a simple East-West dichotomy, it had been widely read as a canonical work throughout the early 20th century in the United States and Europe,[71] causing many Western writers, art historians, and architects to regard tea culture as the epitome of Japanese aesthetics. The list includes Sadler, who constructed the history of Japanese tea culture in his book *Chanoyu, the Japanese Tea Ceremony* (茶の湯, 1934), and Langdon Warner, the first professor who offered courses on Japanese art history at Harvard and who published one of the earliest English publications on Japanese art history, entitled *The Enduring Art of Japan* (1952). Sadler argued that "the essence of the Japanese spirit" lies in "Teaism,"[72] repeating the term coined by Okakura to highlight the tea culture of Japan embedded in the minds of the Japanese in *The Book of Tea*.[73] Sadler's statement that "*Chanoyu* is evidently necessary to an understanding of the development of the nation, its ideas and its taste," summarizes the fact that there was a belief that Japanese tea culture and Zen spirit were the essential characteristics of Japanese culture.[74] Warner also studied Okakura's *Book of*

[71] Kakuzō Okakura, *The Book of Tea* (Boston, MA: Shambhala, 1993).
[72] Sadler, *Cha-no-yu*, i-x.
[73] Okakura, *The Book of Tea*, 12-13.
[74] Sadler, *Cha-no-yu*, xv.

Tea and found the permanent characteristics of Japanese culture in tea culture, teahouses and gardens, all of which he believed were the manifestations of the Zen Buddhist mindset of the Japanese. Warner noted that Westerners' preoccupation with Japanese arts, such as gardens and "teaism," was attributed to its rich "spiritual symbolism" imbued with the philosophy of Zen Buddhism.[75]

D. T. Suzuki (1870-1966) was another celebrated scholar who promoted Zen Buddhism as "the particular Japanese spirituality (*nihon teki reisei* 日本的霊性)."[76] While spreading the philosophy of Zen Buddhism to Europe and the United States with his publications and lectures from the late 1920s to early 1960s, he claimed that tea ceremony and Japanese gardens with the concept of Zen Buddhism were cultural phenomena that best exemplified Japaneseness in his book *Zen and Its Influence on Japanese Culture* of 1938 and in its revised version of 1959.[77] The idea of finding the essential Japanese identity in tea culture, Japanese gardens, and Zen Buddhism became widespread in the United States in the 1950s when Suzuki delivered a series of lectures on Zen Buddhism across the United States in 1951, and was later appointed visiting professor at Columbia University from 1952 to 1957.

Similarly, Western architectural discourse on the Japanese cultural identity centered on Zen gardens and tea houses, particularly since Bruno Taut (1880-1938) visited Katsura Imperial

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[75] Langdon Warner, "Tea, Gardens and Zen," *The Enduring Art of Japan* (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1958), 91-107.

[76] Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki, *Nihon teki reisei* 日本的霊性 (Japanese Spirituality) (Tōkyō: Daitō Shuppansha, 1944), reprinted in Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki, *Selected Works of D.T. Suzuki*, eds. Richard M Jaffe, Jeff Wilson, and Tomoe Moriya (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2016), 106-125.

[77] Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki, "Zen and the Study of Confucianism," *Zen Buddhism and Its Influence on Japanese Culture* (Kyotō: The Eastern Buddhist Society, 1938), 101-121, reprinted in Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki, *Selected Works of D.T. Suzuki*, eds. Richard M Jaffe, Jeff Wilson, and Tomoe Moriya (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2016), 91-101.

Villa and Ise Shrine in May 1933 and praised them as "Japan's architectural wonder of the world."[78] Taut was the first notable Western architect who found aesthetics of traditional Japanese architecture in these ancient buildings. In his writings and drawings (fig. 23), Taut described the gardens and teahouses in *Katsura* and as the embodiment of "refined harmony," "pure Japanese beauty" and "spirituality" imbued with Zen Buddhism.[79] Additionally, he also discussed modern aspects in traditional Japanese architecture by directly connecting "pure form" of Japanese *shoin* (書院) architecture of in Katsura to Dutch De Stijl.[80] Taut's understanding of Katsura and Ise Shrine was, as Speidel rightly points out, molded by his knowledge and theory that he developed as a modernist architect in the late 1910s and early 1920s.[81] He may have wanted to discover a new architectural model that would help to strengthen and crystalize his vision of architecture, thereby fitting Katsura and Ise Shrine into his theory. Nevertheless, Taut's positive appraisal shaped the ways Walter Gropius and other historians and architects saw Katsura and Ise Shrine. For example, Arata Isozaki and Manfred Speidel point out that Japanese architectural historians began to emphasize the importance of Katsura Imperial Villa and Ise Shrine in the history of Japanese architecture after Taut's visit.[82] It was not accidental that Tange brought Gropius to Katsura Imperial Villa, Ise Shrine along with the dry garden (枯山水 *kosensui*) in Ryōanji temple (瀧安寺) when Gropius was invited to Japan by the Japanese

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[78] Bruno Taut, "Das architektonische Weltwunder Japans," quoted in Manfred Speidel, "Bruno Taut and the Katsura Villa," in *Katsura: Imperial Villa*, eds. Arata Isozaki and Virginia Ponciroli (Milan: Electa Architecture, 2005), 320.
[79] Bruno Taut, "Reflections on Katsura," in *Katsura: Imperial Villa*, eds. Arata Isozaki and Virginia Ponciroli (Milan: Electa Architecture, 2005), 330-347.
[80] Ibid., 342.
[81] Manfred Speidel, "Bruno Taut and the Katsura Villa," in *Katsura: Imperial Villa*, eds. Arata Isozaki and Virginia Ponciroli (Milan: Electa Architecture, 2005), 319-329.
[82] Ibid., 319-320; Arata Isozaki and David B. Stewart, *Japan-ness in Architecture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2006).

government in 1954.[83]

Gropius highly extoled how beautifully Japanese teahouses and gardens were saturated with spirituality originating from indigenous religions, such as Zen Buddhism. He claimed that this rich heritage should be integrated into the future architecture in Japan and that Western architects should learn from this "Oriental spirituality" embodied in Japanese traditional architecture.[84] He also sent to Le Corbusier a photograph of the dry garden of Ryōanji temple printed on postcard paper and wrote about his impressive experience at traditional Japanese buildings and gardens in June 1954 (fig. 24).[85] Of course, Gropius's argument is problematic in that he overemphasizes the importance of Zen Buddhism and its influence on Japanese culture, as if every cultural and artistic element in Japan was derived from this philosophy, thereby marginalizing diverse cultures in Japan. However, Gropius's suggestion for young Japanese architects may have been a useful source for Kurokawa, who was conscious of international audiences at the WoDeCo in Tokyo.

Around the same time that Gropius was calling for the revival of traditional Japanese architecture, MoMA opened its "Japanese Exhibition House" and promoted a Japanese teahouse and garden in the summer of 1954 and 1955. Visitors could not ignore the Japanese garden as its overall dimension was bigger than that of the installed residential house in the exhibition. Additionally, photographs of the exhibition published in its catalogue, entitled *The Architecture of Japan*, frequently presented views of the Japanese gardens with a tea house (fig. 25).[86] These images of the Japanese garden and the teahouse at MoMa widely circulated in Western countries

[83] Tange, "Foreword," vi.
[84] Gropius, "Architecture in Japan," 8.
[85] Francesco Dal Co, "La Princesse est Modeste," in *Katsura: Imperial Villa,* eds. Arata Isozaki and Virginia Ponciroli (Milan: Electa Architecture, 2005), 386-389.
[86] Drexler, *The Architecture of Japan*, 262-286.

and were praised as the essential elements of Japanese architecture. The situation described above clearly shows that by the late 1950s, traditional Japanese gardens and tea houses with Zen Buddhism became legitimate symbols of Japanese identity, especially in the West.

Positive Western receptions of Japanese gardens and tea ceremony along with Zen Buddhism led to major commissions to create Japanese gardens in Western countries. Isamu Noguchi, who, as mentioned above, actively engaged in Japanese Neolithic traditions through his sculptures, created a garden for the UNESCO headquarters in Paris with fifty-eight stones shipped directly from Japan from 1956 to 1958. This garden was called "Jardin Japonais (Japanese garden)" rather than "Noguchi's garden," because traditional Japanese gardens were strongly associated with Japan's national identity on the international scene.[87] In other words, Japanese gardens along with tea culture and Zen Buddhism achieved widespread popularity in both Europe and the United States, as powerful markers of Japanese architecture by the time Kurokawa started his career as an architect in the late 1950s.

Within this context, Kurokawa's appropriation of the typical tearoom plan, and his indications of Zen Buddhism or Shinto religion into his *Agricultural City* can be read as his employment of "Orientalism in reverse" to capture Westerners' attention. To achieve success and emerge out of obscurity, Kurokawa may have considered what foreign architects, curators, and intellectuals admired about Japanese culture, and attempted to fit into their expectations through his architectural designs by including symbols of Japan's cultural identity. As we have seen, he was highly conscious of ongoing architectural discourses abroad and knew that Tange's exceptional success was attributed to his incorporation of Japan's wooden architectural tradition into the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum. Kurokawa also acknowledged from his experience

[87] Winther-Tamaki, *Art in the Encounter of Nations,*141-156.

in the USSR that the disillusionment he encountered there was contingent on the fact that he failed to find the essential Russian identity that he expected to see in its architecture. This experience may have led Kurokawa to use Western enthusiasm for traditional Japanese teahouse and gardens by incorporating the elements suggestive of them: a typical *tatami* layout for the interior of *Mushroom House* and a tea room underneath the house, which is open to the natural landscape. These elements function to restore traditional Japanese houses of premodern Japanese aristocrats, who enjoyed the beauty of nature while performing tea ceremony or composed poems.

Of course, Kurokawa's *Agricultural City* and *Mushroom House* are not reserved for any specific class. He may have intended to provide the farmers in *Agricultural City* with a contemporary version of a tea room that farmers in the past were not allowed to possess. Kurokawa, thus, may have wanted farmers to "raise their farm life up to an aesthetic level," by sitting in the open tea room and appreciating the beauty of the landscape as the aristocrats in the old times did.[88] However, within the context of the WoDeCo, Kurokawa's integration of the key characteristics of traditional Japanese architecture that Westerners admired in the 1950s, such as openness to nature, *tatami* mat modular coordination, and "teaism" associated with indigenous religion is equivalent to his strategy to use "Orientalism in reverse" in his *Agricultural City.*

Conclusion

Kurokawa's effective strategy to employ the two concepts of "*tamashī*" and

[88] Tange points out in his writing on Katsura that traditional gardens that existed only for aristocrats in the past should be shared by farmers of present-day Japan. Tange, "Tradition and Creation in Japanese Architecture," 22-23, 30.

"Orientalism in reverse" in *Agricultural City* successfully impressed both Japanese and Western viewers at the WoDeCo. On the one hand, with the concept of "*tamashī*," Kurokawa satisfied Japanese attendees by engaging in the then-active Japanese intellectual trend to construct positive cultural identity through national tradition. On the other hand, with the idea of "Orientalism in reverse," Kurokawa appealed to Western attendees by utilizing Western fascination with Japanese tea culture, a Zen garden and indigenous religion. In other words, Kurokawa was quick and sensitive to incorporate trends both in Japan and the West into *Agricultural City*, and therefore enjoyed the period of the growing demand for the modern revival of Japanese tradition in the late 1950s.

The fact that Kurokawa's strategy successfully appealed to both Japanese and Western attendees at the WoDeCo can be found from their divergent responses to *Agricultural City*. For Western attendees who recently learned about Japanese architectural tradition and vernacular religion in the 1950s, *Agricultural City* was appreciated as a new, contemporary Japanese project. In other words, despite its obvious appropriation of Japanese tradition, it was not perceived as a form of outdated urban planning that was tied to Japan's distant past. For instance, shortly after Kurokawa's presentation at the WoDeCo, Drexler, who attended the WoDeCo, selected the drawings and models of *Agricultural City* with *Mushroom House* and showcased them at the exhibition "Visionary Architecture" at the MoMA from September 26th to December 4th in 1960 (fig. 26) as a "revolutionary" and "radical new [architectural] solution" from Japan.[89]

[89] The Museum of Modern art decided to include two Japanese architectural drawings: Kurokawa's *Agricultural City* and Kikutake's *Marine City* (1958), both of which were presented as key Metabolist proposals at the World Design Conference. Kurokawa's drawing was showcased in the gallery 5, while Kikutake's design was displayed in the gallery 2. The gallery 5 also exhibits Le Corbusier's architectural sketches for Rio de Janeiro (1929) and for Algiers (1930). Arthur Drexler, *Visionary Architecture: An Exhibition* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1960), unpaginated.

Indeed, Drexler's strong belief that *Agricultural City* was essentially associated with Japan prevented him from recognizing the architectural language that Kurokawa adopted from Western precedents, even though Drexler was well versed in Western architecture. Putting it differently, Kurokawa's strategy to utilize "Orientalism in reverse" by referencing famous Japanese cultural elements veiled the project's visual and conceptual similarities with Frank Lloyd Wright's *Broadacre City* (1934) (figs. 27-29), the socialist urban projects in the Soviet Union (fig. 30), and Yona Friedman's *L'Architecture Mobile* (1956) and *La Ville Spatiale* (1959) (figs. 31, 32).

In contrast, many Japanese critics glorified *Agricultural City* because it brought Kurokawa's global success and represented the Japanese architect's triumph on international stages. The critic Ryūichi Hamaguchi (浜口隆一, 1916-1995) wrote in 1964 that Kurokawa was "the brilliant avant-garde prodigy" (*kisai kirameku zenei kenchikuka* 鬼才きらめく前衛建築家) who has successfully achieved an international reputation and who actively developed strong relationships with many Western architects as a newly emerging national architect.[90] A cover page of the *Asahi shimbun* (朝日新聞, Asahi Newspaper) in 1962 described Kurokawa as an architect "with worldwide fame but have not yet constructed an actual building yet" (*sekaitekini yūmēdaga sakuhin wa mada nai* 世界的に有名だが作品はまだない),[91] focusing on his successful promotion of new Japanese architecture, albeit not yet realized, on an international level. These reactions tend to celebrate Kurokawa as a national architect who enhanced the status

[90] Nanjo Fumio, "Metabolism's Current Significance, Contribution to Disaster Recovery, and Future," in *Metabolism, the City of the Future: Dreams and Visions of Reconstruction in Postwar and Present-Day Japan* (Tōkyō: Mori Art Museum, 2011), 6-9.; and Ryūichi Hamaguchi, "Kisai kirameku zenei kenchikuka 鬼才きらめく前衛建築家 (The Brilliant Avant-Garde Prodigy)," *Nikkan Kensetsu Sangyō Shinbun* (February 2, 1964), reprinted in Kishō Kurokawa, *Kurokawa Kishō nōto: Shisaku to sōzō no kiseki* 黒川紀章ノート：思索と創造の軌跡 (Kisho Kurokawa's Notebooks: Traces of Thinking and Creation, Tōkyō: Dōbun Shoin, 1994), 38.

[91] Kurokawa, *Kurokawa Kishō nōto*, 76-77.

of contemporary Japanese architecture and who spread a positive cultural image of Japan.

My analysis of the two concepts of "*tamashī*" and "Orientalism in reverse" in *Agricultural City* provides new ways of understanding Kurokawa's later architectural works and writings in the 1960s and 1970s. After his successful debut at the WoDeCo, Kurokawa promoted his *Agricultural City* not only as an alternative to modern Western architecture, but also as a breakthrough in Japanese architecture. For him, previous Japanese architecture in the twentieth century was contrained by Western models, but *Agricultural City* aligned with essential "*tamashī*" in Japan and was free from Western dependence. Kurokawa wrote that *Agricultural City* was designed to restore traditional Kyoto street systems from the Heian period (平安時代) and to embody "the origin of Japanese culture" (*nihonbunka no genten* 日本文化の原点) in pursuit of showing what truly differentiates Japanese from Western culture.[92] He added that the modern revival of a tea ceremony house in "*sukiya*" (数寄屋) style from the Muromachi period (室町時代, 1573-1603) was his lifelong obsession in his architectural design because "*sukiya*" was considered as "the root of Japanese architecture" (*nihonkenchiku no rūtsu* 日本建築のルーツ) or "authentic Japanese tradition" (*seitō na dentō* 正当な伝統).[93] These Japanese texts demonstrate how Kurokawa continued to appeal to Japanese readers through the concept of "*tamashī*," by connecting *Agricultural City* directly to the ideas of the "origin," or "root" of "authentic" national tradition.

Additionally, in his 1977 manifesto of Metabolism in English, entitled "Metabolism in Architecture" and aimed at Western readers, Kurokawa directly associates the theory of Metabolism with the idea of "*samsara*" in Zen Buddhism, arguing that his first Metabolist

[92] Ibid., 55, 71-72.
[93] Ibid., 108.

architecture was theoretically and visually inspired by indigenous cultural traditions.[94] This revised version of the Metabolist manifesto can be interpreted as Kurokawa's own personal Metabolist theory, given the fact that he did not discuss it with other Metabolist members when he was rewriting the manifesto at that time.[95] These later writings demonstrate the continuity of his use of "Orientalism in reverse" for Western readers, by linking *Agricultural City* to Zen Buddhism.

This continuity in his strategy led Kurokawa to develop and recycle the architectural plans of *Agricultural City* and *Mushroom House* during the 1960s and 1970s. Thus, *Agricultural City* became generative to Kurokawa's later architectural works, including Central Lodge for National Children's Land (*Kodomonokuni Sentoraru Lojji* 子供の国セントラルロッジ, 1965) in Yokohama and Capsule Summer House K (or Karuizawa Capsule House 軽井沢のカプセルの家) in Nagano (1972) (figs. 33, 34). The elevated *Mushroom House* was recycled for that of Central Lodge for National Children's Land, while its architectural plan with *tatami* mats was revived in Capsule Summer House K.[96] Similarly, Kurokawa's famous Nakagin Capsule Tower

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[94] Kishō Kurokawa, *Metabolism in Architecture* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1977), 25-27; and Kishō Kurokawa, "Metabolism in Architecture," in *Theories and Manifestoes of Contemporary Architecture*, eds. Charles Jencks and Karl Kropf (Chichester, West Sussex: Academy Editions, 1997), 68-70; Kurokawa used the word "*rinne*" (輪廻) instead of "*samsara*" in his Japanese text in 1970. Kishō Kurokawa, *Kurokawa Kisho no sakuhin* 黒川紀章の作品 (Kisho Kurokawa's Works, Tōkyō: Bijutsu Shuppansha, 1970), 4.

[95] The original manifesto of Metabolism in general was written by Noboru Kawazoe, as seen in the introductory page of the manifesto-booklet *Metabolism 1960*, but the revised version of the manifesto of Metabolism in 1977 was written by Kurokawa. Kawazoe recalls later in his interview with Rem Koolhaas that "Kurokawa was acting cocky and doing all sorts of stuff on his own without consulting anyone else, so I finally said I'd had it and quit." Koolhaas et al., *Project Japan*, 233-235, 239.

[96] It is possible that Capsule Summer House K was Kurokawa's response to Antonin Raymond's Summer House at Karuizawa (*Karuizawa no Natsu no Ie* 軽井沢の夏の家, 1933) because both houses are similar in terms of their architectural style and location. They include the modern type of *sukiya* style rooms with *tatami* mats, albeit in different ways. Additionally, both houses are

(*Nakagin Capuseru Tawā* 中銀カプセルタワー, 1972) in Tokyo resulted from his consistent attempt to revive a traditional teahouse in contemporary architecture (fig. 35). Like Capsule Summer House K, each "capsule" room of Nakagin Capsule Tower features a circular window (*marumado* 円窓) in a wall,[97] which is a unique to a traditional teahouse in Japan (fig. 36).[98]

In this sense, *Agricultural City* marked a crucial point of departure from the WoDeCo that enabled Kurokawa to pursue his long and fruitful career path as an internationally productive architect and architectural writer. The complete set of architectural plans, elevation drawings, and miniature models of *Agricultural City* served as direct sources of inspiration for Kurokawa to create actual forms and structures in his later architectural projects across the world. Additionally, Kurokawa's underlying strategy for *Agricultural City* lasted until 1977, when Kurokawa alone rewrote the manifesto of Metabolism in English for Western readers.[99] Although others have argued that Kurokawa's writings and architecture can be considered as quintessential Metabolist works, these assertions are questionable, considering the fact that he did not collaborate or discuss with other Metabolist members after his successful debut at the WoDeCo.

In fact, *Agricultural City* was already unique among the Metabolist group at the

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built on the hills of Karuizawa, emphasizing living in harmony with nature. For Kurokawa's Capsule Summer House K, see Kishō Kurokawa et al., *Kisho Kurokawa: Metabolism and Symbiosis = Metabolismus Und Symbiosis* (Berlin: Jovis, 2005), 50-53; and For Raymond's Summer House at Karuizawa, see Ken Tadashi Ōshima, *International Architecture in Interwar Japan: Constructing Kokusai Kenchiku* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2009), 116, 125-130.

[97] Jonathan Reynolds is the first who associates the circular openings in Kurokawa's *Nakagin Capsule Tower* with a teahouse. Jonathan M. Reynolds, *Maekawa Kunio and the Emergence of Japanese Modernist Architecture* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2001), 227.

[98] Mira Locher, *Traditional Japanese Architecture: An Exploration of Elements and Forms* (Tokyo: Tuttle, 2010), 63, 133-134.

[99] Interestingly enough, this 1977 manifesto of Metabolism has become widespread in the West and sometimes accepted as the original Metabolist theory.

WoDeCo, mainly due to Kurokawa's employment of the two concepts of "*tamashī*" and "Orientalism in reverse" in both visual and rhetorical languages. His strong desire to be recognized both by Japanese and Western viewers at the WoDeCo as a competitive architect seems to have clearly set him strategically apart from other architects in the Metabolist group, as seen in *Agricultural City*. Therefore, although Kurokawa has been celebrated as the representative Metabolist architect, *Agricultural City* deserves to be viewed as an independent architectural design worthy of in-depth analysis, not as a partial illustration of Metabolism.

Appendix 1

Personality brings forth a new quality of universal design

Kishō Kurokawa, "Atarashī shitsu no Universality wa design ni okeru Personality ni yotte kakutokusareru 新しい質の Universality は Design における Personality によって獲得される (Personality Brings Forth a New Quality of Universal Design)," in *Sekai dezain kaigi gijiroku* 世界デザイン会議議事録 (World Design Conference 1960 in Tokyo), ed. World Design Conference Organization (Tōkyō: Bijutsu Shuppansha, 1961), 85-86.

Translated by JooWon Chung

Note: This original Japanese text is interspersed with English and German words, which I have denoted in italics.

1. Our social environment needs a new quality of *universality*. Needless to say, our society is characterized by the advancement of technology and the invention of new materials. These newly acquired technologies and materials spread what is called *universal* in a short period through *mass production* and *mass communication*, both of which are the weapons of contemporary society.

This is not a new tendency. Its beginning can be traced back to 1925 when *Gropius* described the following in the name of *International Architecture*: "Architecture of our age built with contemporary materials and structures shares a similar perspective, regardless of the nation or ethnicity, as long as it is built for people who share a similar lifestyle and climate." Today, thirty-five years since then, this *international style* has adapted techniques and expressions that all the nations already have, although it has been attacked by strong national traditions and consciousness.

Upon further consideration, however, beyond the *international* trends that connect *nations* of our age, I find a higher level of tendency towards the *universal*.

In *Europe*, there already exists a movement directed to organize an economic community based on the understanding of each nation's own tradition. Similar movements also exist in socialist countries or in Asian countries, where many nations share their goals beyond the borders

of nationality. I believe these remarkable trends are urged on something *universal* that connects the consciousness of every human being.

However, I'm afraid that today's *universality* does not offer to humans "a sense of happiness of sharing the same thing," but only spreads "a sense of emptiness of having the standardized thing." This may be attributed to the violent nature of the systems of *mass communication* and *mass production*. These systems, which go beyond the hands of designers, force humans to face the standardized, universal products devoid of spirit (魂 *tamashī*). *Universality* in the field of *design* should reflect human's pursuit of peace and their common sense of humanity, which involves common feelings such as happiness, sadness, and anger. An enhanced universal design would help humans overcome their different conditions such as climates, customs, and traditions.

From the past to the present, we have established orders of a social environment and *designed* certain instruments and spaces for the society. In the meantime, our social lifestyle in reality has rapidly changed. We still tend to respond to today's social needs by means of *mass production* and *mass communication*. However, these standardized systems can be as dangerous as a murder because today's social needs would be found obsolete tomorrow.

To create a "form (形)" that remains valid not only from the past to the present, but would also be valid from the present to the future; and to create the "form" that changes through time and responds to a new lifestyle. This, I believe, is a key to the future *design*.

The only way to produce a new quality of *universality* is to create a *total image* that considers what the future social environment would be. What I call the new quality of universality is associated with a future system that enables human beings to share their happiness and well-being.

2. What *image* of a system of lifestyle should we design for the future society?

The collapse of family structure: The "form" so far has been created based on a family structure. A house is built to accompany a single family. Similarly, a car with four to six seats is designed for a family use. Everything, from a chair to a tea cup to a television, has been designed for an *image* of a single family. These days, however, this family structure has disintegrated, which led to the division of living spaces of each generation, even to spaces for a husband and a wife. A space for an individual would become a standard. This means that an individual should be recognized as a basis of a *universal* lifestyle, which will go beyond the frame of nationality. The city of Metabolism: the future city should be equivalent to metabolism where the city embraces movements and changes, while it maintains a larger common system to respond to future changes.

To achieve this purpose, ever-changing parts should be included in a single system. In the vertical wall city, the vertical artificial land as a basis of the structure of the city plays a fundamental role in accommodating *prefabricated houses* or *prefabricated office units*. In other words, the artificial land is equipped with infrastructure facilities such as water supply and sewage system, electricity, gas and traffic system, in balance with residential houses, offices and factories. While this city maintains a *universal* system of life, its peculiarities are always allowed to grow and renew themselves. In this city, as every structure is well integrated ranging from smaller tools and architecture to a larger urban system, there is no gap in the responsibilities among the designers in every field of the city.

Changes in a quality of work and time: Reduction of working hours will bring revolutionary changes in our life. If it is possible to work four days per week, a quality of leisure will change: leisure facilities will be located outside the city, leaving spaces inside the city only

for such necessary elements as residential houses. This means that the structure of the city would become greatly compact. I also imagine that transportation in the future city would become moving corridors or monorails, and individuals would casually own their own cars, as if they wear a pair of geta (traditional Japanese shoes).

3. It is *personality* of designers that bring forth a higher quality of *universality*: now, let's consider how to visualize a total image for the future, and how to acquire a new quality of *universality*. I believe these issues cannot be solved by a single answer. However, we should not resist and ignore the powerful potentials of *mass production* and *mass communication*, unlike *William Morris*. Nor should we adapt a diabolic thinking that would *aufheben* a widening gap between *technology* and *humanity*. At least theoretically, the ways to imbue technologies and machines with humanity should be considered. Human beings should be encouraged and urged to think about machines, and vice versa, machinery should be encouraged and urged to work for humans. This would make it possible to imbue universality with a spirit.

As Dr. Yukawa Hideki puts it, "Science and philosophy are not contradictory, but merge into one field." This statement always impresses me. Similarly, I propose that machinery and human beings complement each other.

Designers like me sometimes simply repeat what a larger organization requires in their *designs*. The output of an organization is sometimes inferior to that of an individual if its members do not put their best efforts. One should not forget that when an individual develops one's *personality* and shines through it, for the first time, the *mass* of people will enjoy a better quality of life. The national traditions, for the first time, will contribute to better *universal* consciousness when they incorporate *personality* of individuals and overcome nationalism.

These days we are threatened by the danger of possible nuclear war. This is the right time to create a “form” imbued with *universality* that involves happiness, sadness, and anger. This goal can be accomplished only by a *total image* created by individual *designers* and their radiant personality, which would contribute to happiness of the future society.

Appendix 2

Agricultural City

Kishō Kurokawa, "Nōsontoshi keikaku 農村都市計画 (Agricultural City)," in *Metabolism 1960: The Proposals for New Urbanism* (Tōkyō: Bijutsu Shuppansha, 1960), 74.

Translated by JooWon Chung

Note: Although *Metabolism 1960* contains the English translation of Kurokawa's essay, it is difficult to follow the original meaning and context, which result from both the literal translation and the omission of many phrases. For these reasons, I have translated here from the original.

The statements such as "the flow of agricultural population into cities" or "the dispersion of urban population" are based on the contradictory concepts of a city and a village. However, I believe that a rural community is equivalent to a form of a city whose means of production is agriculture. Agricultural cities, industrial cities, consumption cities and recreation cities should have their own distinct and compact designs that differ from a general urban system. Agricultural cities will grow and renew as the future city. To promote their future growth and renewal, it is necessary to have a basic plan suitable to their own characteristics.

[*Agricultural City* is] a rural community in Japan that centers around a shrine, an elementary school and a temple within the dimension of a basic unit of a 500 by 500 meters. In my architectural plan, this rural community is constructed on a structural frame elevated four meters above ground (The structural frame is equipped with roads, water-service, electricity, monorails for work and other facilities). The ground is kept free as a work level (*sagyō reberu* 作業レベル) that enables collaborative agricultural works and management.

The artificial structure serves as a contact level (*kontaku no reberu* コンタクトレベル)

for social life. This contact level encompasses a shrine, a school and an administrative office. The basic unit of housing is a mushroom-shaped house (*kinokokata no ie* キノコ型の家), which is a one to three storied wooden house topped with an aluminum roof. The mushroom-shaped houses are vertically organized above the artificial land, like mushrooms in forests, and connect the work level to the contact level through ferro-concrete equipment shaft that includes stairs inside. Through each equipment shaft, water, electricity and gas are provided for each mushroom-shaped house. This equipment shaft plays an essential role in supporting the physical structure of the mushroom house as well as in operating residential facilities (a toilet, a kitchen unit, a washbasin and a bathroom). It associates the living space with the residential facilities and enables their metabolic processes (*shinchintaisha* 新陳代謝). One basic unit for one community consists of twenty-five 100 by 100 meters blocks to accommodate 2000 people.

Mushroom Shape House

Kishō Kurokawa, "Kinokokata no ie キノコ型の家 (Mushroom Shape House)," in *Metabolism 1960: The Proposals for New Urbanism* (Tōkyō: Bijutsu Shuppansha, 1960), 77.

Translated by JooWon Chung

Note: Although *Metabolism 1960* contains the English translation of Kurokawa's essay, it is difficult to follow the original meaning and context, which result from both the literal translation and the omission of many phrases. For these reasons, I have translated here from the original.

From the destruction of the long-established concepts emerges architecture of the new generation. The concepts of a wall, a roof, a floor, or a window have become already prevalent in human consciousness, but have lost their function to respond to changes in lifestyle. One of the main

characteristics of the modern age is the urge to expand toward the universe. Human beings who originally lived in caves in the ancient times, started to eliminate walls to engage in expanding social life. Without walls that hitherto obstructed humans' horizontal views, they were able to build a space for a mass society rather than a single family unit. This marks the separation of a roof and a wall for the first time in history.

The expansion of human society in the modern age was indebted to the advance of technology and science and to the enhancement of human consciousness. These conditions caused modern society to require urban planning, which was unprecedented. In the cities that were horizontally open to the space, people were urged to build walls for more private areas. Yet, the overly expanded community spaces in modern societies paradoxically led to social isolation and loneliness. People have to reconsider the function of a wall in cities and in houses. Only when a wall safely reflects an individual's own expression, a wide space would be lively organized. Again, the meaning of a roof is reconsidered, not just limited to a prevalent image of a horizontal roof, when a community expands vertically, not horizontally, toward the universe.

I would like to introduce a house with a ceiling that is surrounded by walls and open to a nighttime view of stars. In this project, the house separates itself from the earth by expanding toward the universe, while a horizontal or vertical artificial structure functions as a new architectural base. Within this larger system of the artificial land, the individual house is able to respond to the progress of society.

In the mushroom-shaped house (K House), slanting walls that function as a roof, are mounted on pillars, which also function as an equipment shaft and stairs. The huge roof overhangs surround and create a living space within them. Although the inside of the house provides a limited view of the world, the level of a tea ceremony room, or a space for communication, presents a sens

of a limitless expanse of the self toward the horizontal world. In addition, the ceiling with a sky-light allows us to watch the vertical expanse of the universe. The living space within the overhang roofs--cum-walls and the equipment shaft-cum-staircase within the pillars will respond to changes of the space according to metabolism (*shinchintaisha* 新陳代謝).

Appendix 3

An Excerpt from The Future of Housing

Kishō Kurokawa, "Korekara no sumai これからの住まい（The Future of Housing）," in *Sankei shinbun* 産経新聞 (October 11 1964), reprinted in Kishō Kurokawa, *Metaborizumu no hasso* メタボリズムの発想 (The Concept of Metabolism, Tōkyō: Hakuba Shuppansha, 1972), 270-278.

Translated by JooWon Chung

Towards a New Pillar

"The future of architecture will be soft and hairy." This is a statement by Salvador Dalí, one of the greatest artists of the twentieth century.

Since the early 20th century, the movements of modern art and modern architecture have continued to bloom. The famous phrase "a house is a machine for living in" epitomizes the aim of modern architecture, which is to introduce rays of sunlight and greenery spaces to a house. This functionalist aim greatly appealed to Europeans, whose apartments were not properly equipped with a kitchen or a toilet, and spread all over the world.

However, as a result of the spread of modern architecture, people have lost important things that were constructed throughout the history of their actual life. This loss can be found in any standardized apartment complex with a boring series of box-shaped houses. Within ten years, people will need houses that help to restore human dignity. There should no longer be a stereotype of a house with a rectangular shape, which modern architecture perpetuated. The division of rectangular rooms in a rectangular structure of a house is no more than a jigsaw puzzle. This kind of architectural plan belongs to the past.

Free from their rectangular shape, rooms will become a free form. A house will be an expression of a strong personality of each household. These free expressions of the houses will

give life to streets. Hairy architecture corresponds to architecture that restores man's freedom. In other words, architecture is a symbol of people living in the house.

In the past, the unique abrasions and scratches of a big pillar that supports a living space symbolized lifestyle of the family. The future house will create its own new pillar. A symbol of the future house can be structural frameworks like a pillar (as a backbone), or house finishing materials such as wall covering, flooring, lighting, or furniture (as a skin). These house finishing materials will become "hairy" things richly imbued with the soul of a craftsman (*shokunin seishin* 職人精神), in contrast to standardized prefabricated frameworks.

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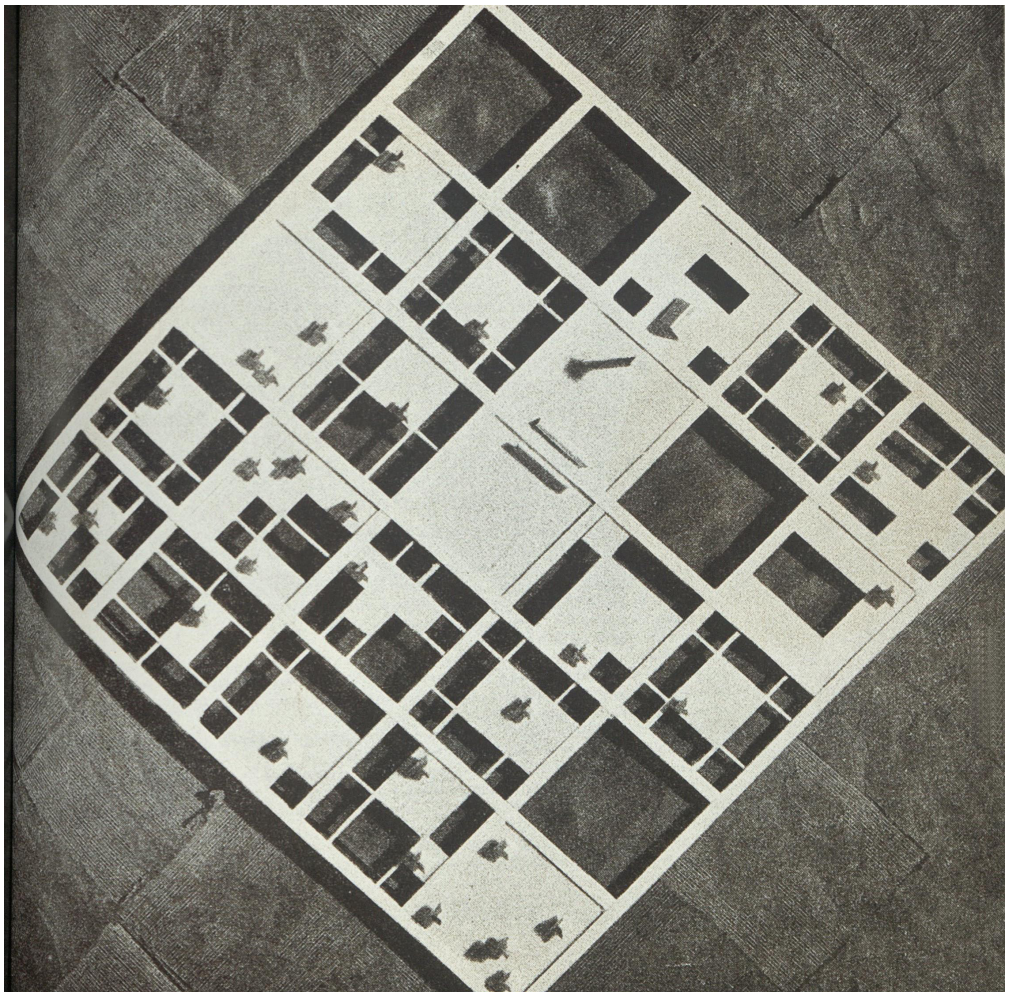
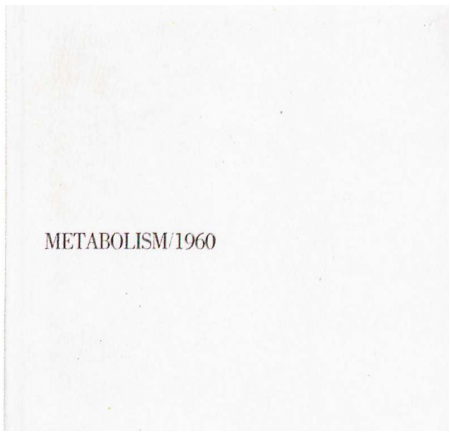
1 Poster for World Design Conference (1960)

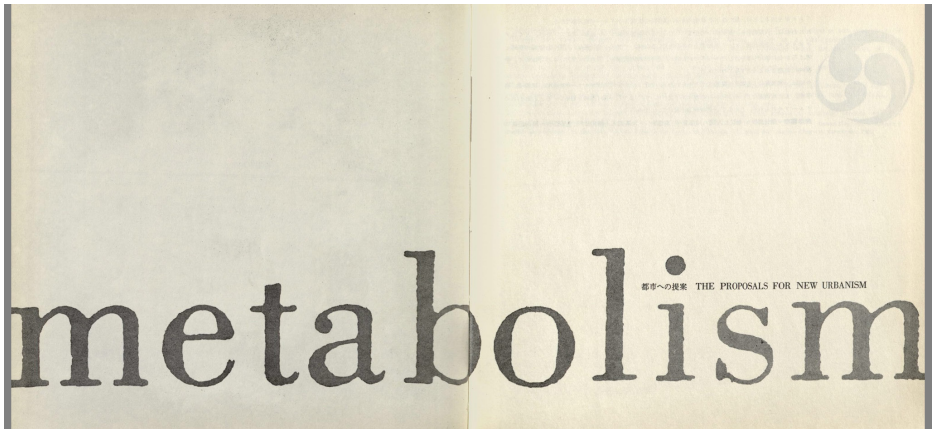
Image from *Metabolism, The City of the Future: Dreams and Visions of Reconstruction in Postwar and Present-Day Japan*. Tokyo: Mori Art Museum, 2011.

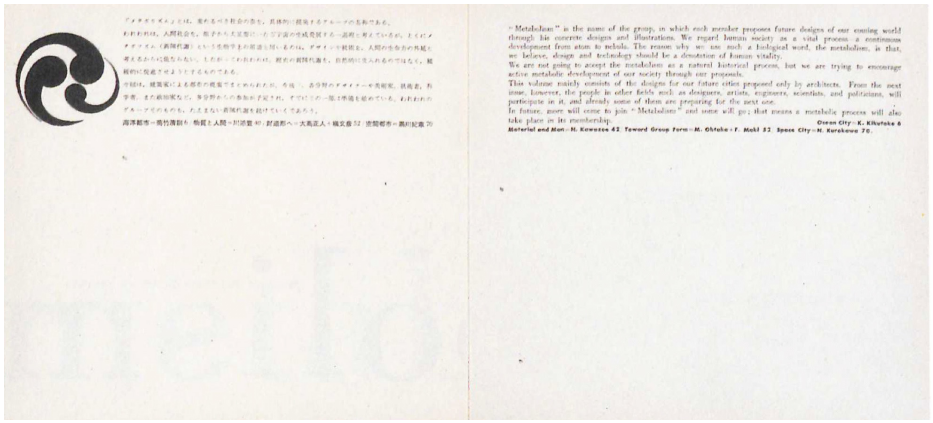


2 **Agricultural City (1960)**
Kisho Kurokawa
model, aerial view

Image from *Metabolism 1960: The Propsals for New Urbanism.* Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppansha, 1960.

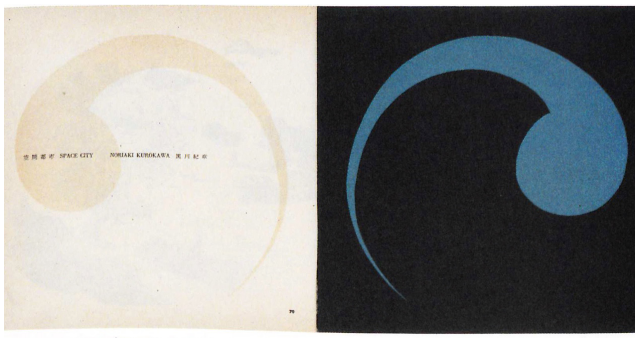


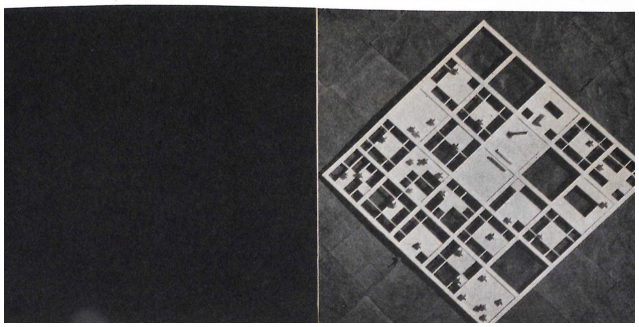


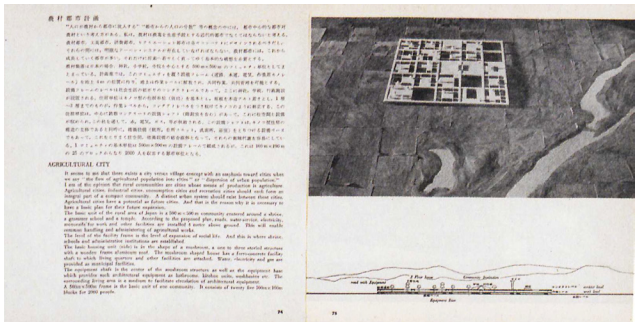


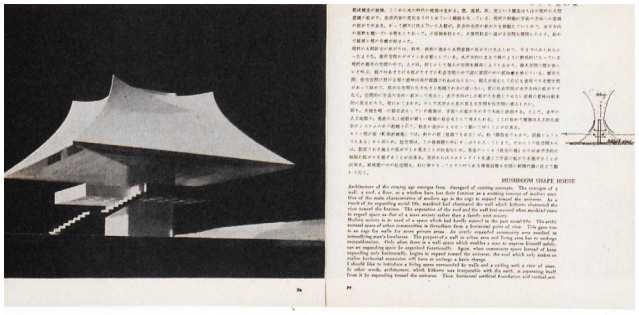
3 **Metabolism 1960, City of the Future: The Proposals for New Urbanism**
Noboru Kawazoe, Kiyonori Kikutake, Masato Otaka, Fumihiko Maki, and Kisho Kurokawa

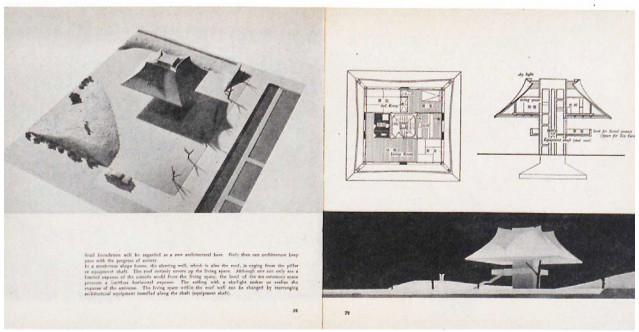
Images from *Metabolism 1960: The Proposals for New Urbanism*. Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppansha, 1960.

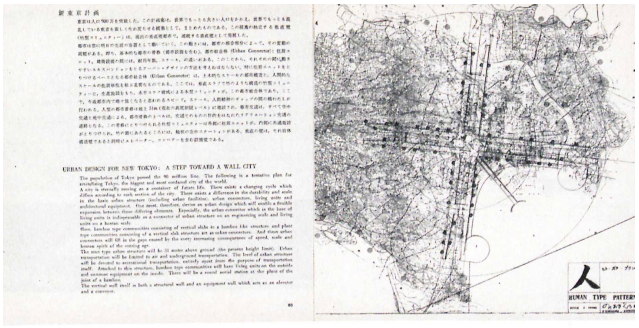


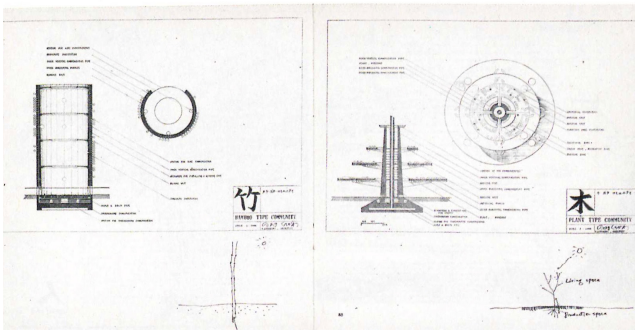


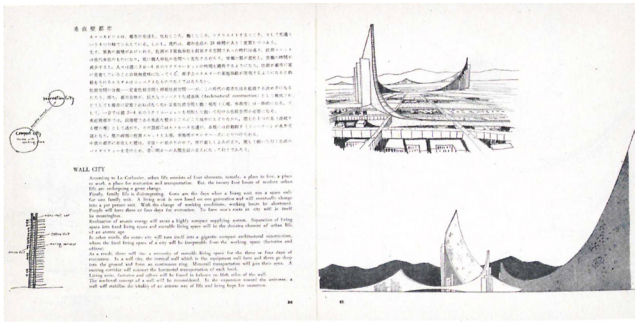


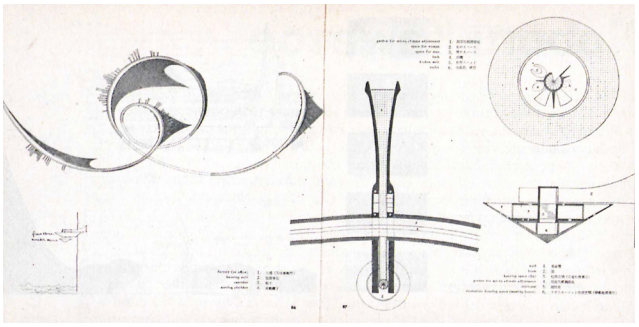








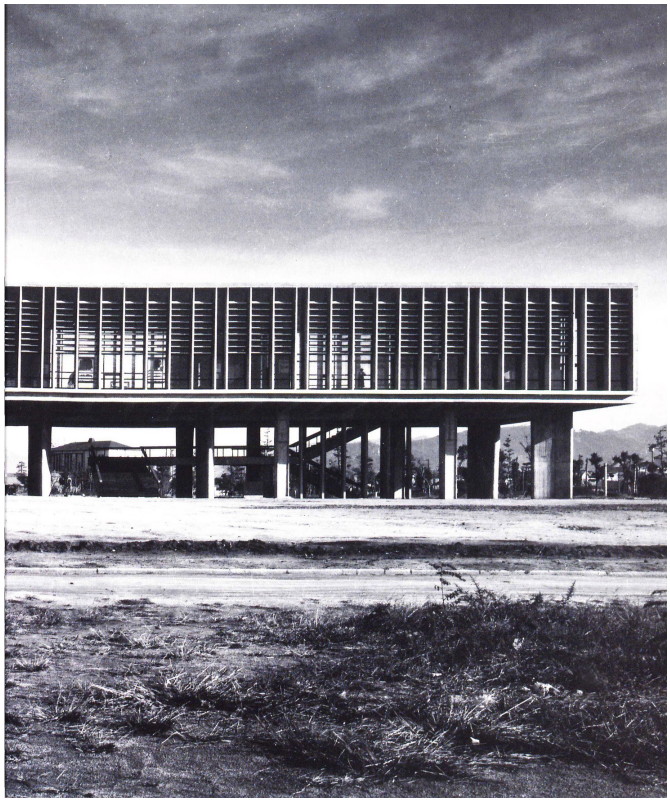




4 **Space City (1960)**
Kisho Kurokawa

Images from *Metabolism 1960: The Propsals for New Urbanism*. Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppansha, 1960.

5



5 **Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum (1955)**
Kenzo Tange

Image from *Metabolism, The City of the Future: Dreams and Visions of Reconstruction in Postwar and Present-Day Japan*. Tokyo: Mori Art Museum, 2011.

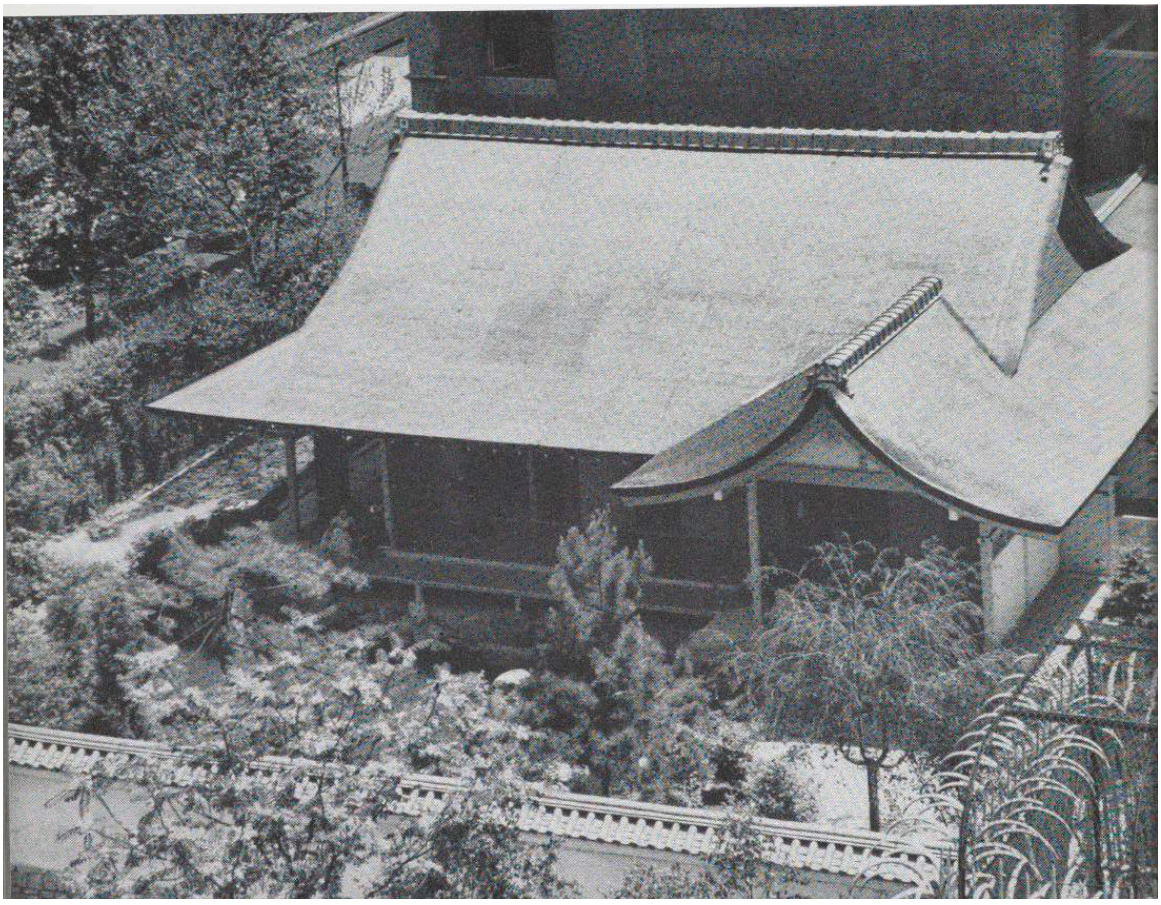
6 **Katsura Imperial Villa**

Image from Isozaki, Arata, and Virginia Ponciroli, eds. *Katsura: Imperial Villa*. Milan: Electa Architecture, 2005.

6

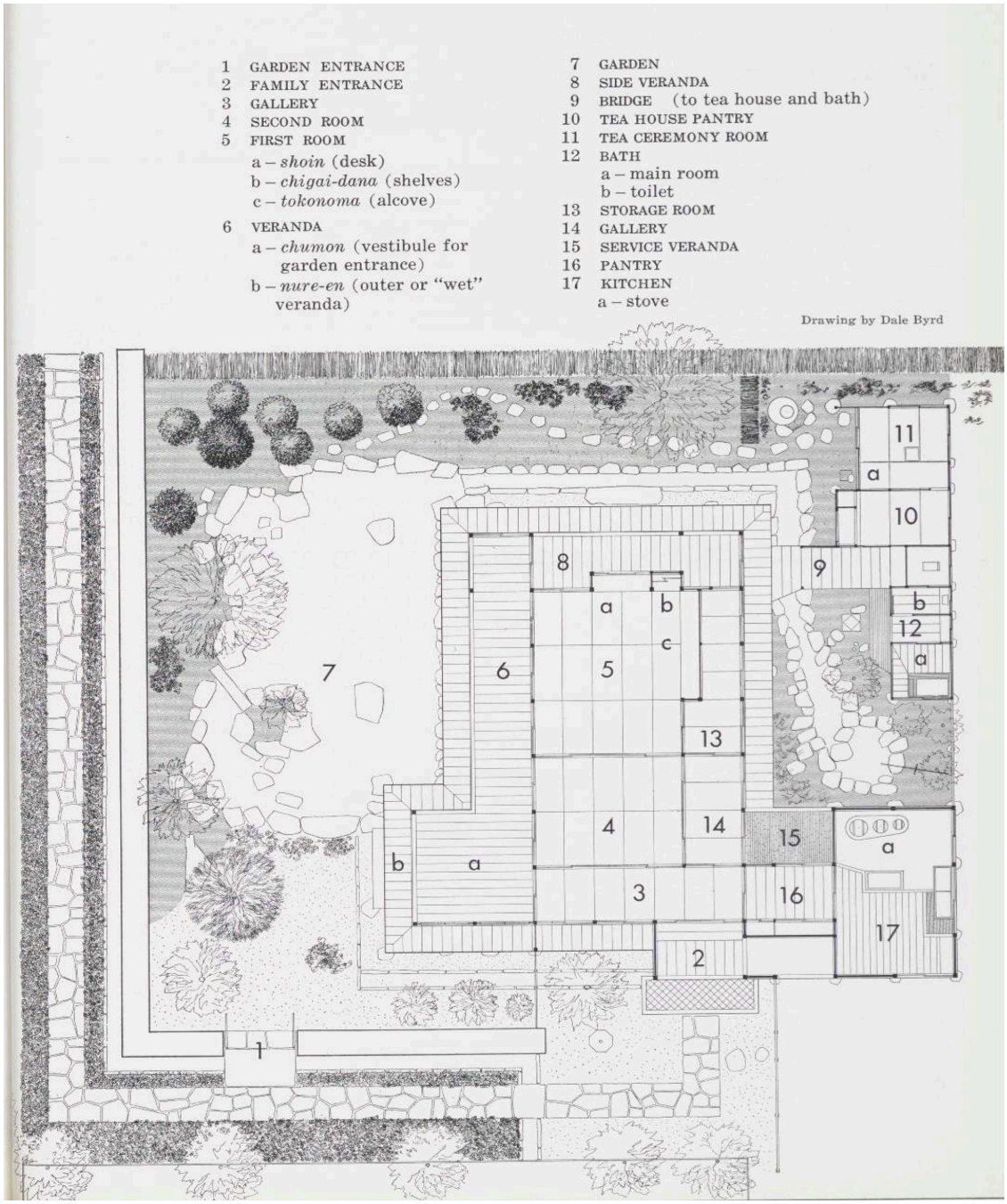
7 Ise Shrine

Image from Drexler, Arthur. *The Architecture of Japan*. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1955.



8 **Installation View of the Exhibition, "The Japanese Exhibition House" (1954/1955)**
The Museum of Modern Art, New York

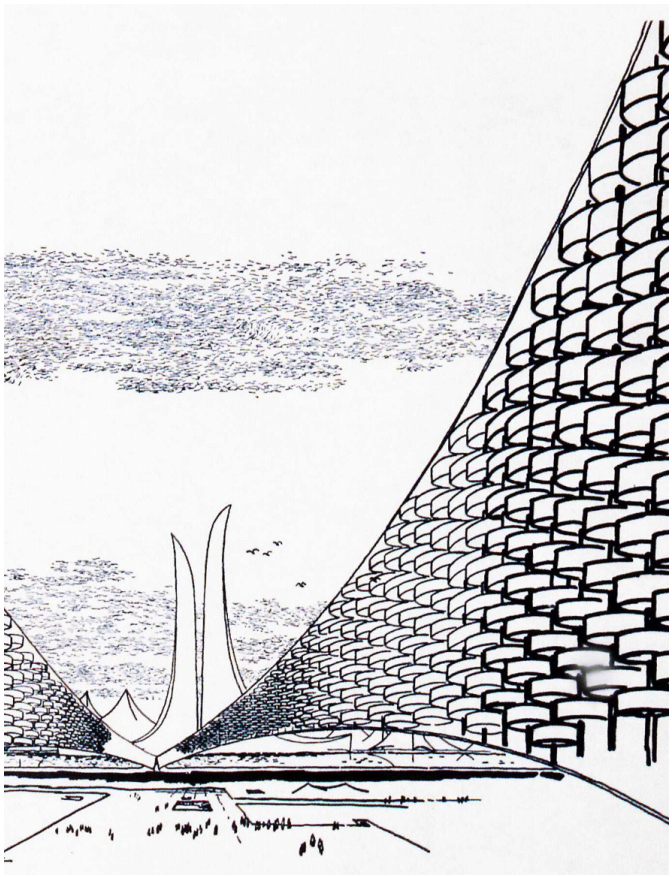
Image from Drexler, Arthur. *The Architecture of Japan*. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1955.



9 **Installation View of the Exhibition, "The Japanese Exhibition House" (1954/1955)**
Dale Byrd
plan

Image from Drexler, Arthur. *The Architecture of Japan*. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1955.

10

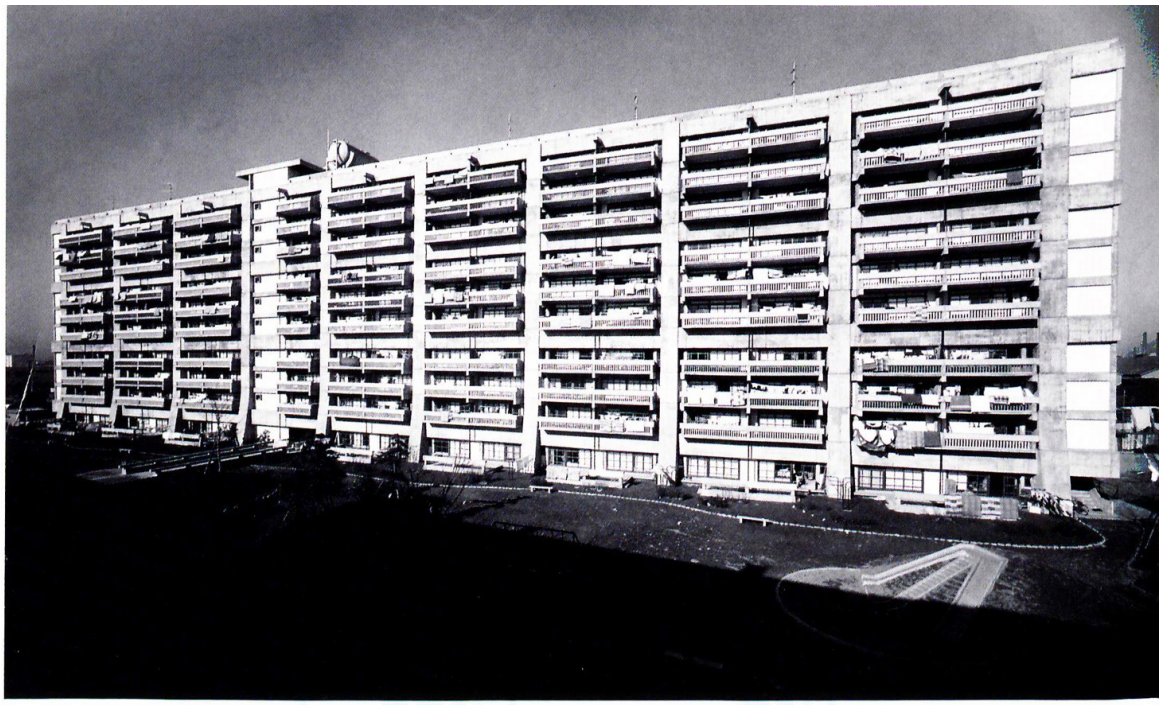


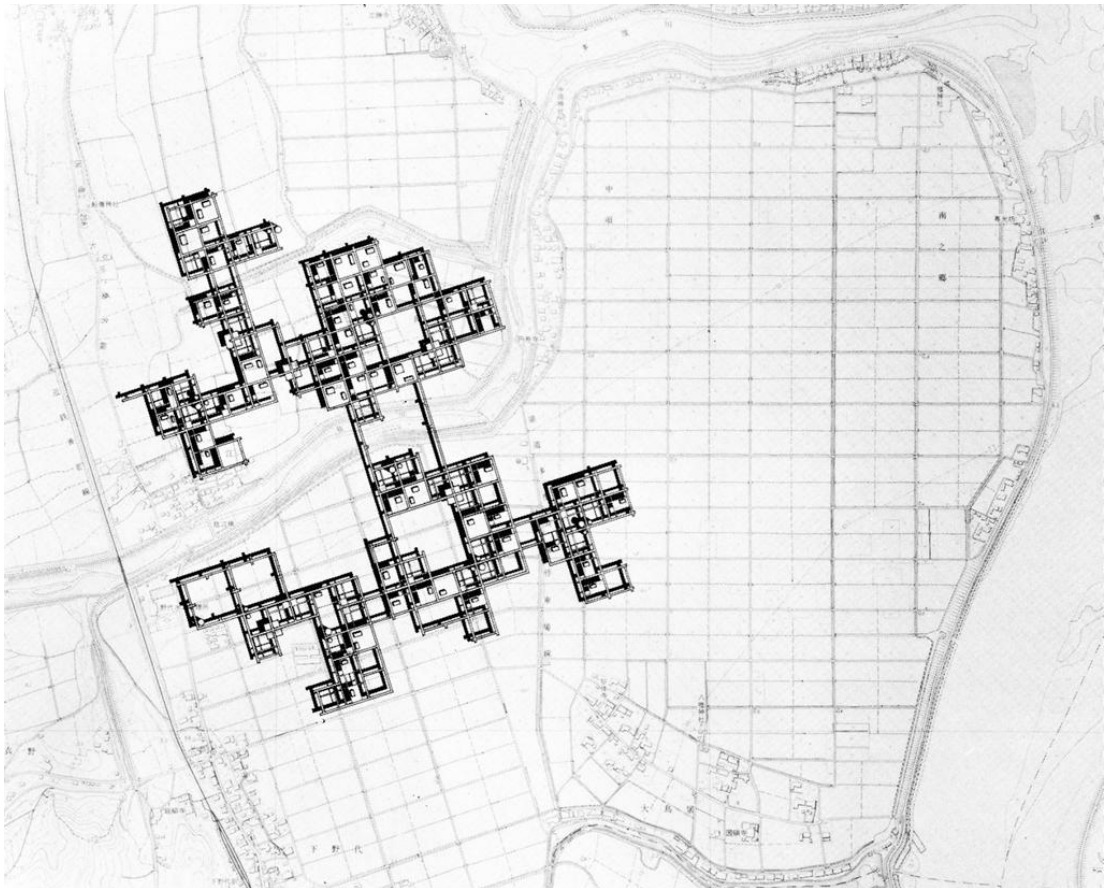
10 **Ocean City (1958)**
Kiyonori Kikytake
sketch

11 **Harumi Apartment Building (1957-1958)**
Kunio Maekawa

Images from *Metabolism, The City of the Future: Dreams and Visions of Reconstruction in Postwar and Present-Day Japan*. Tokyo: Mori Art Museum, 2011.

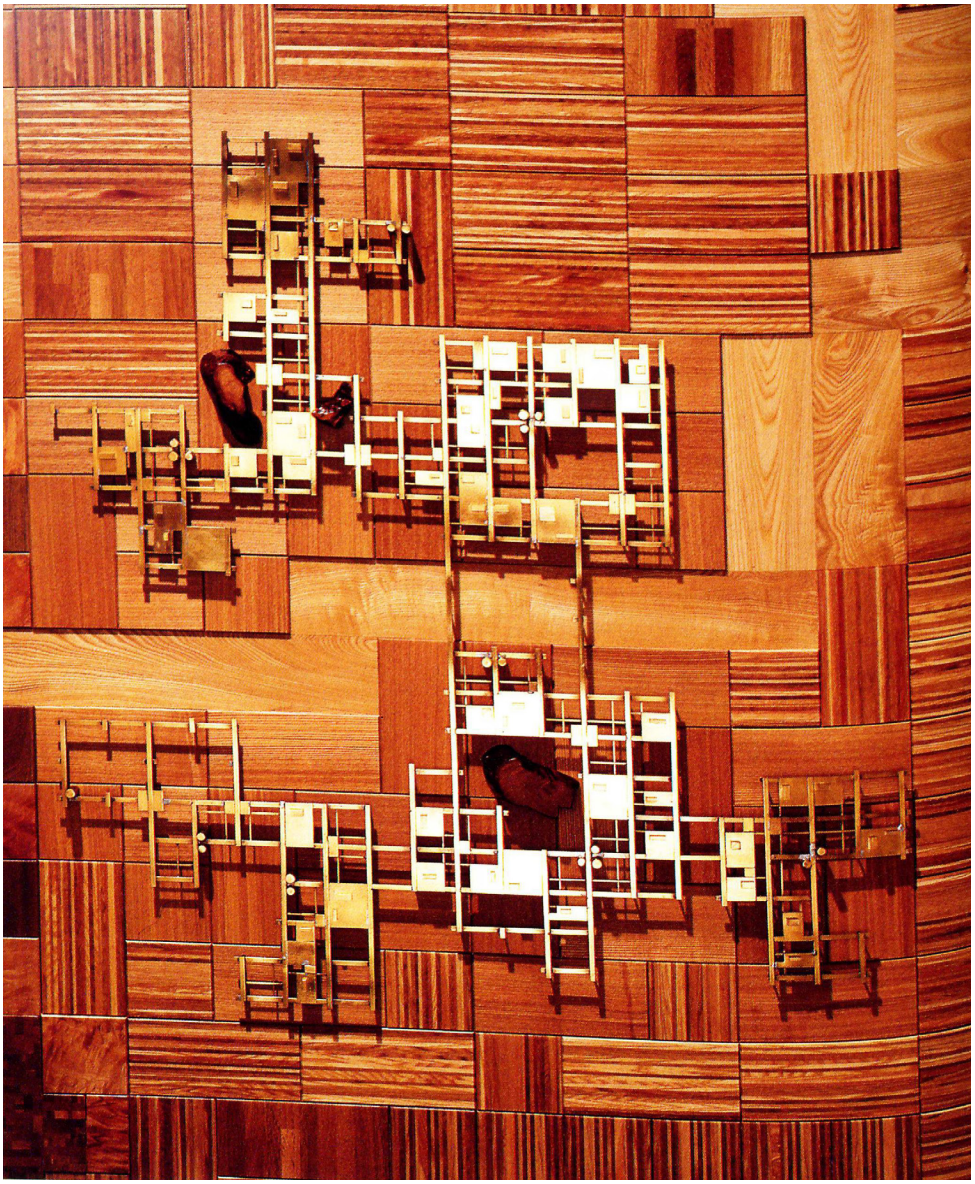
11





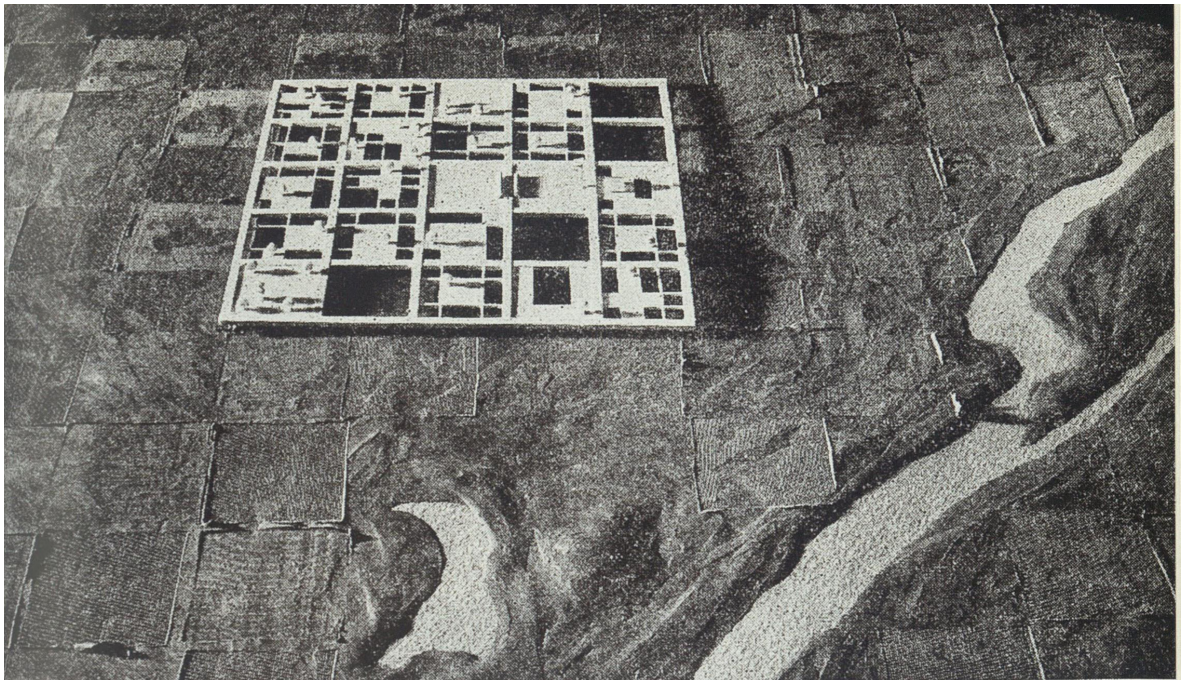
12 **Agricultural City (1960)**
Kisho Kurokawa
overview plan

Image from Kurokawa, Kisho. *Kurokawa Kisho Noto: Shisaku to Sozo No Kiseki*. Tokyo: Dobun Shoin, 1994.



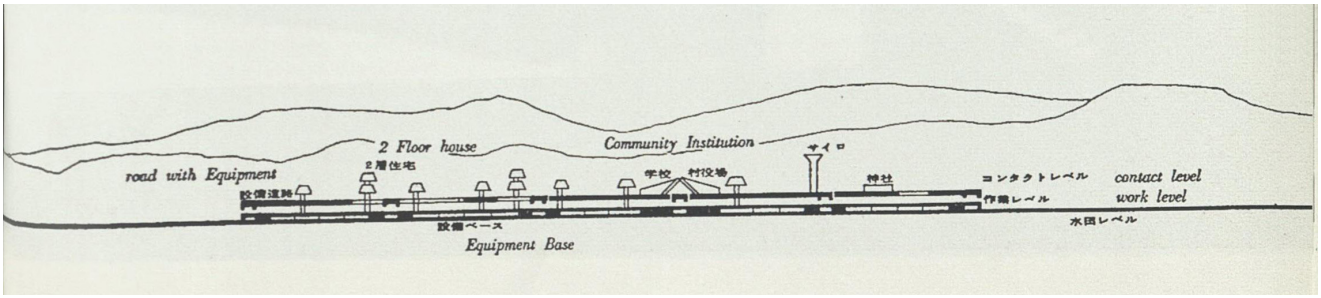
13 **Agricultural City (1958)**
Kisho Kurokawa
model, aerial view

Images from *Metabolism, The City of the Future: Dreams and Visions of Reconstruction in Postwar and Present-Day Japan*. Tokyo: Mori Art Museum, 2011.



14 **Agricultural City (1960)**
Kisho Kurokawa
model view

Image from *Metabolism 1960: The Propsals for New Urbanism.*
Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppansha, 1960.



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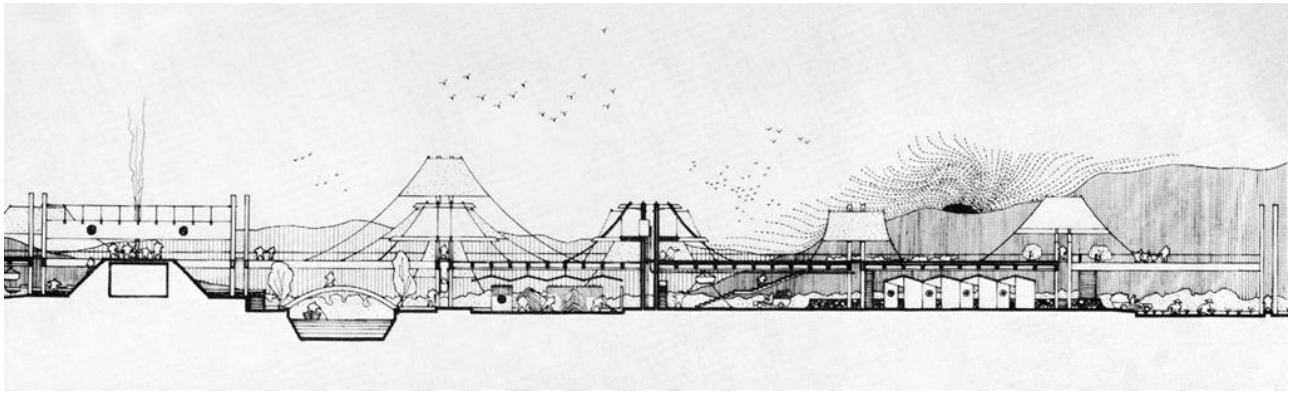
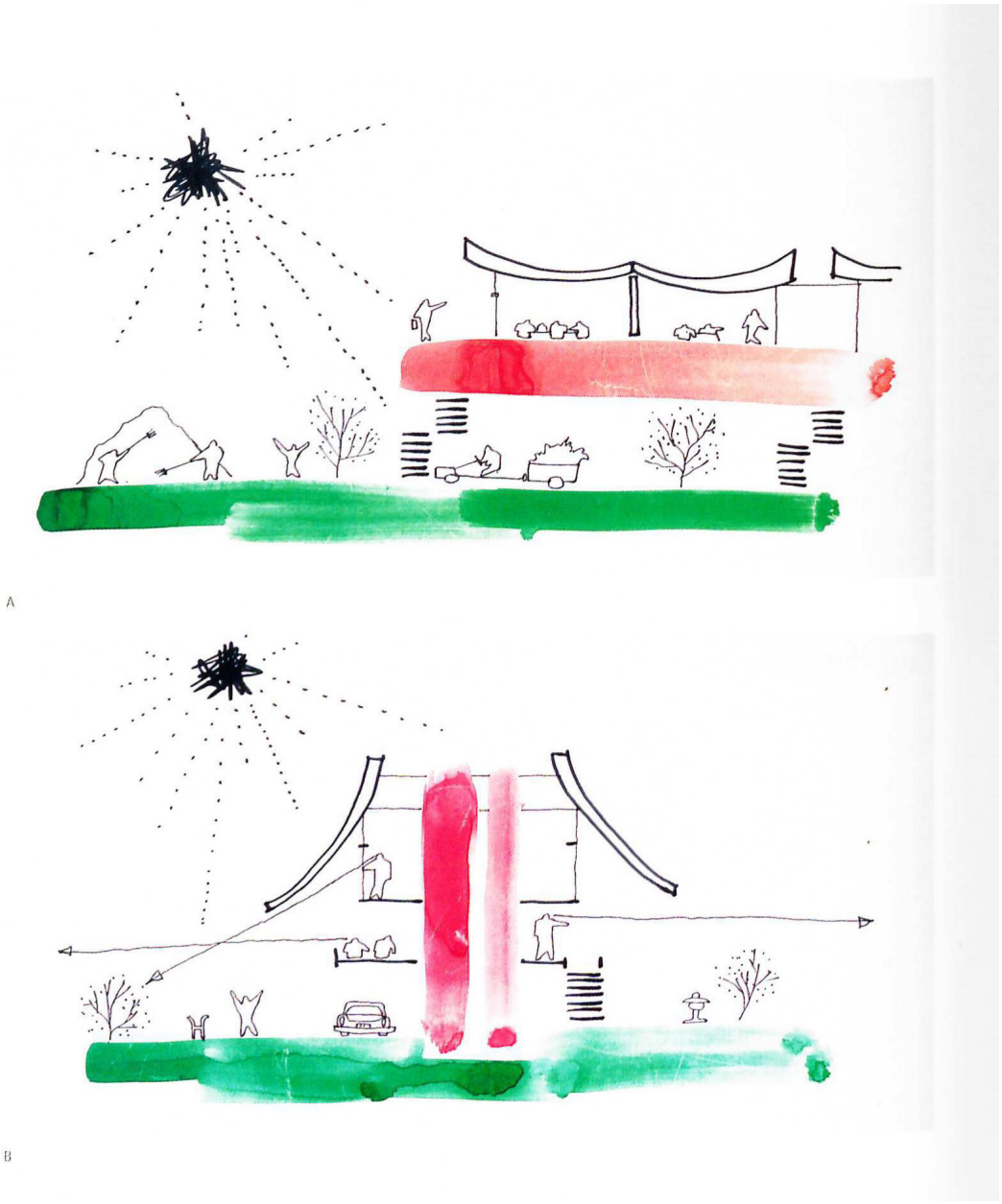


16

Agricultural City (1960)
Kisho Kurokawa

15 **Section**
Image from *Metabolism 1960: The Propsals for New Urbanism.* Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppansha, 1960

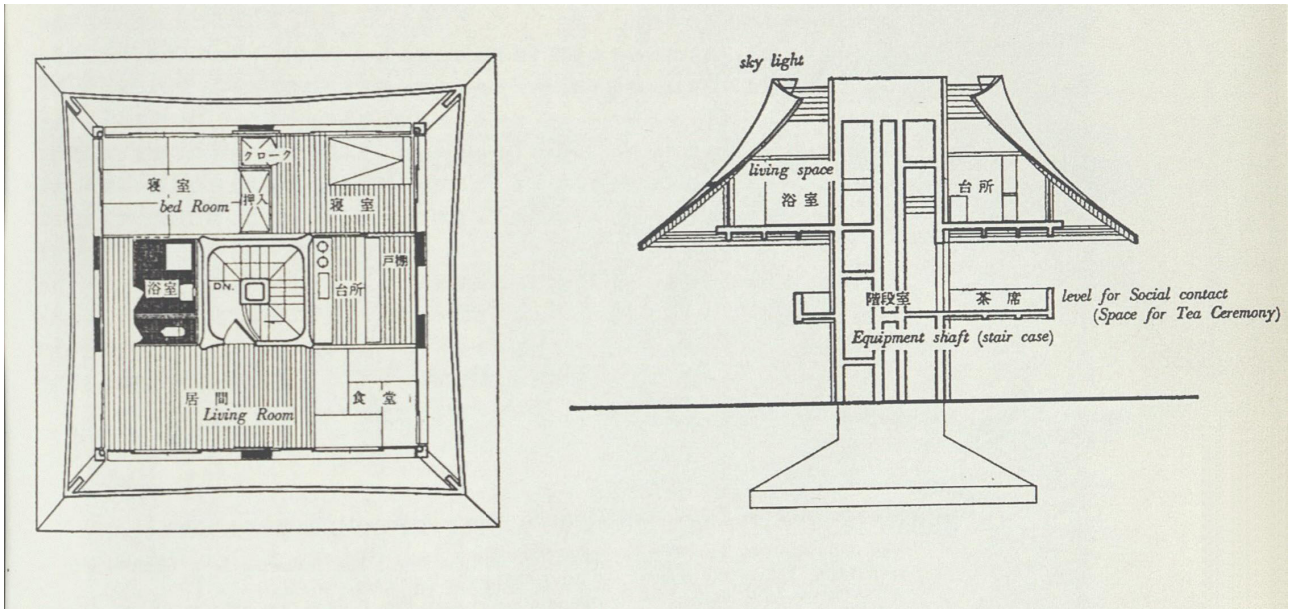
16 **Section**
Image from *Metabolism, The City of the Future:Dreams and Visions of Reconstruction in Postwar and Present-Day Japan*. Tokyo: Mori Art Museum, 2011.



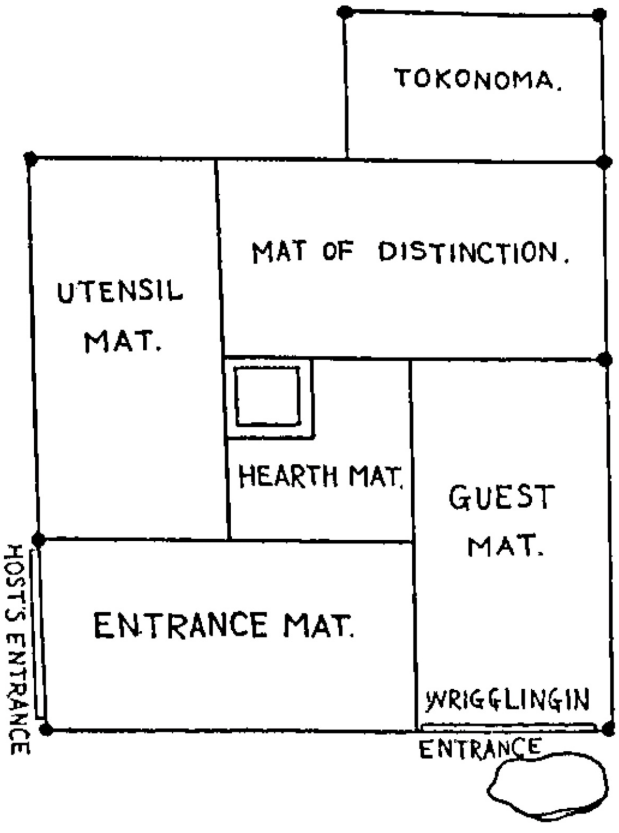
17 **Agricultural City (1960)**
Kisho Kurokawa

(above) Sketch, Section of Habitat Unit
(below) Sketch, Section of Mushroom Shape House

Images from *Metabolism, The City of the Future:Dreams and Visions of Reconstruction in Postwar and Present-Day Japan*. Tokyo: Mori Art Museum, 2011.



18



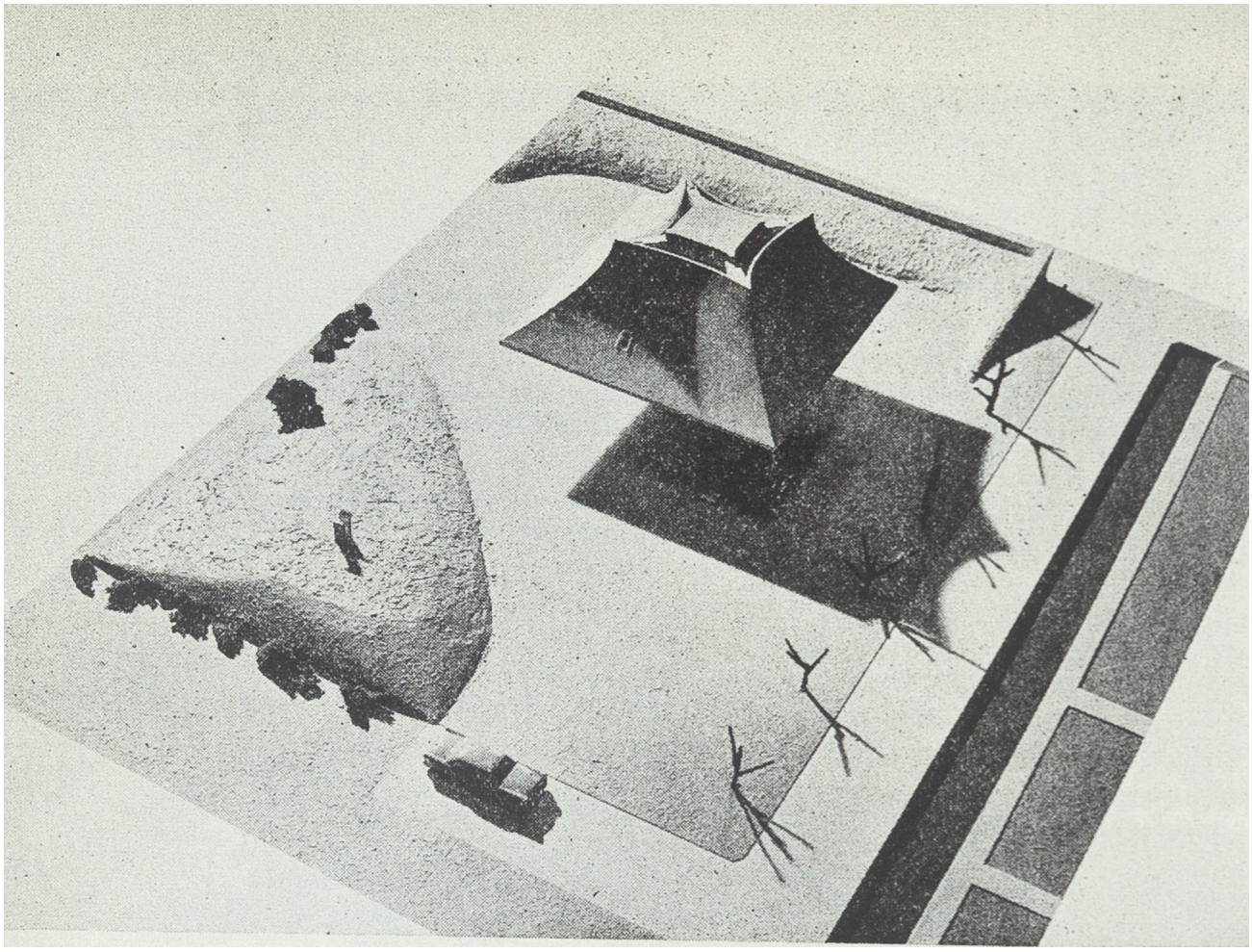
19

18 **Mushroom House (1960)**
Kisho Kurokawa
plan and section

Image from *Metabolism 1960: The Propsals for New Urbanism.* Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppansha, 1960.

19 **Arrangement of Four-and-a-Half Mat Tea Room (1934)**
Arthur L. Sadler

Image from Sadler, A. L. *Chanoyu: The Japanese Tea Ceremony*. Rutland, VT: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1963.



20 **Mushroom House (1960)**
Kisho Kurokawa
model view

Image from *Metabolism 1960: The Propsals for New Urbanism.*
Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppansha, 1960.

21 **Thirty-Six Views of Mountain Fuji (1830-1832)**
Katsushika Hokusai

(above) Great Wave off Kanagawa
(center) Mitsui Store in Suruga District
Images from University of California, San Diego Collection Database. Artstor Online.

(below) Fuji from Katakura Tea Fields in Suruga
Image from the Metropolitan Museum of Art. http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/37320

黒川　紀章

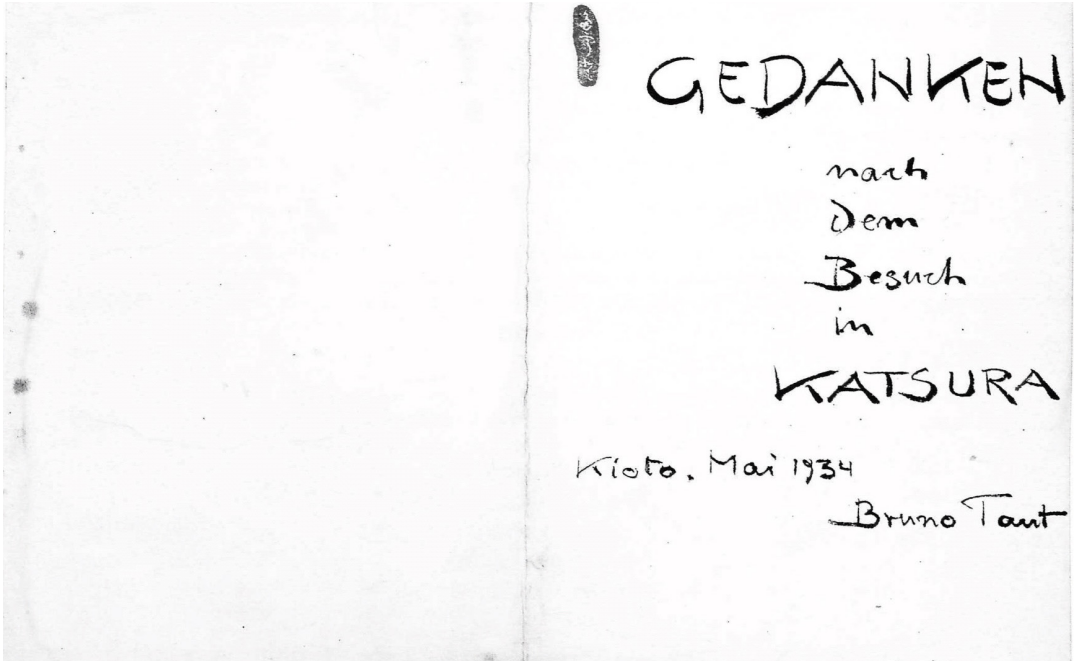
新しい質の universality は design における personality によって獲得される

1 / 我々の社会環境は新しい質の universality を求めている：
現代の著しい特徴に，技術の進歩と，新しい材料の発見があることはいうまでもないが，新しく獲得された技術，材料が，mass production, mass communication という現代の武器を通じて，またたくまに広く universal なものに普遍化していくという事実がある。
この傾向は，今日始まったことでなく，既に 1925 年 Gropius が International Architecture の名のもとに，「現代の材料，構造を同じくする時代の建築は風土気候に大差なき土地に，風俗習慣の生活様式にも大差なき人を対象とする限り，国，民族のわけへだてなく，同一の新時代的観点に立つ」と述べたことから始まっている。その後 35 年を経過した現在，この international style は，強い伝統，民族意識の反撃をうけつつも，とにかく，各国共通の技術と，表現を獲得していることは確かであろう。
しかし，もう一つ深く考えてみると，現在の nation をつなぐ international ということでなく，もう一つ次元の高い universal への傾向が見られる。
Europe では，各国の伝統を飲みこんだままでの Europe 共同体への動きが，既に経済共同体として芽ばえているし，社会主義社会の国々，あるいは Asia というように，それぞれ，目的意識を共通にする国々で，国，民族を越えた動きがあることは無視することができない。
この傾向は，更に，人類意識へとつながっていく，universal なものだと私には感じられる。
しかし，よく反省してみると，現在，我我が既に獲得しつつある universality には，「普遍的であるというむなしさ」はあっても，〈共通のものであるという喜び〉がない。
これは，非常ないきおいで発展した mass communication, mass production のもっている一種の狂暴性が，designer の手をはなれた広がりの中で，人々に魂のない形式的な普遍性を強制しているからだといえよう。
design における universality は，地球上の人々を，気候，風土，伝統の違いをのり越えて，一つに結び，共通の喜びと共通の悲しみ，いかり，を感ずる中で，人類意識と平和への願いを求めることができるものでなくてはならない。
過去から現在に，私達は，ある秩序の社会環境を形成しており，あるかたちの道具，現代の空間を design している。ところが，我々の社会生活の内容は，急激に変化しつつある。しかし，ややもすると，我々は，今日の社会の要求（これは明日には古いものになるのだ）をあるかたちに定着して mass production, mass communication の威力にのせるという，ある場合には殺人行為にもなりかねないことが行なわれている。
過去から今日へでなく，今日から明日への「かたち」，そして，常に動いて，新しい生活の内容に対応できるような「かたち」を創造すること。これが，これからの design の方法論の鍵になるのではないか。
明日の人間の社会環境がどうなるべきかという total image をもつことが，新しい質の universality を獲得する唯一の手だてである。
なぜなら，明日の人類社会の共に幸福を分かち合える生活の仕組みを考えることが，私のいう，新しい質の universality につながるからである。

22 **Kurokawa's Text for the WoDeCo Presentation (1960)**
Kisho Kurokawa

Image from World Design Conference. *Sekai Dezain Kaigi Gijiroku.*Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppansha, 1961.

23

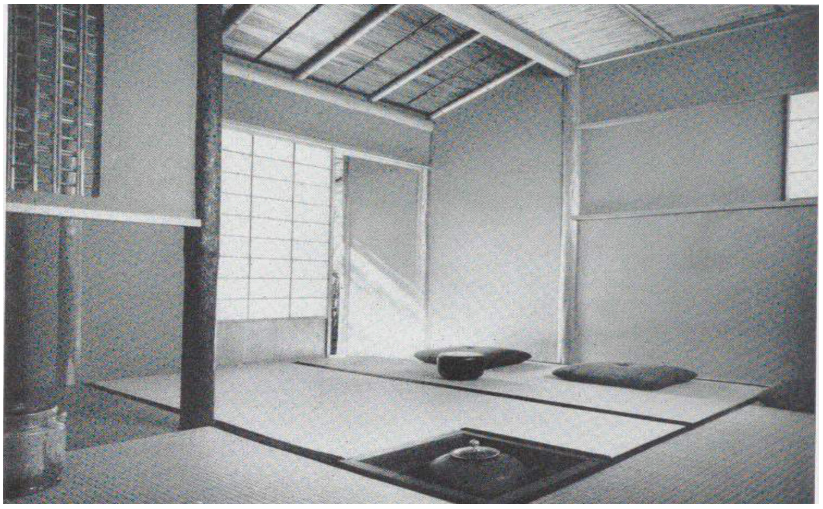


24

23 **Katsura Album Cover (1934)**
Bruno Taut

24 **Postcard Sent to Le Corbusier (1954)**
Walter Gropius

Images from Isozaki, Arata, and Virginia Ponciroli, eds. *Katsura: Imperial Villa*. Milan: Electa Architecture, 2005.



25 **Installation View of the Exhibition, "The Japanese Exhibition House" (1954/1955)**
The Museum of Modern Art, New York

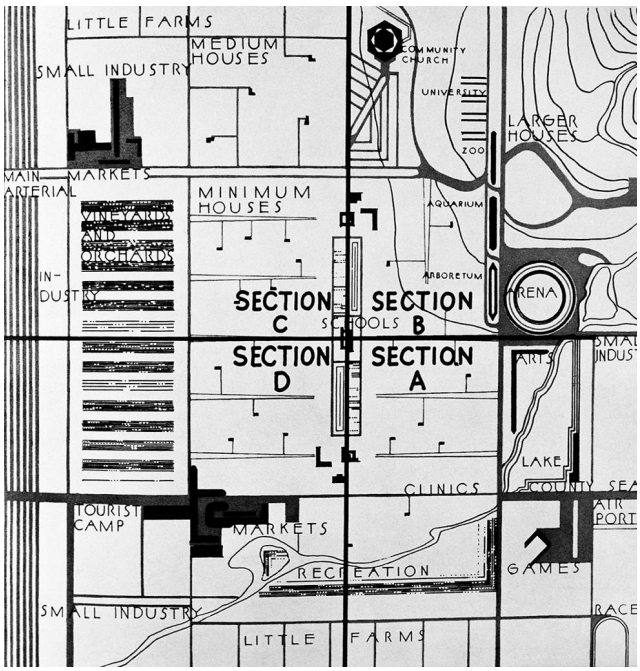
(above) Teahouse
(below) The main garden

Image from Drexler, Arthur. *The Architecture of Japan*. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1955.

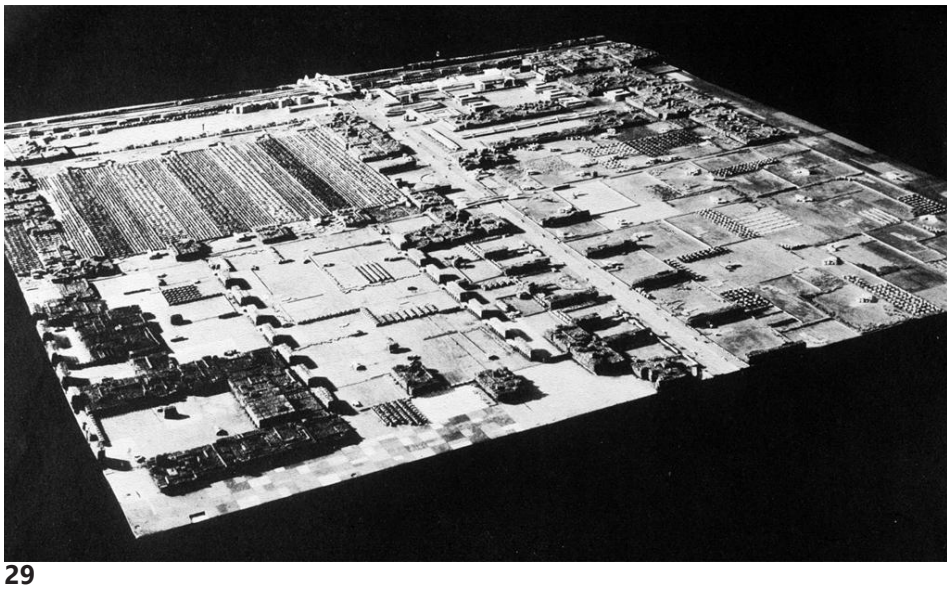
26 **Installation View of the Exhibition, "Visionary Architecture" (1960), With Kurokawa's *Agricultural City* on the left**
The Museum of Modern Art, New York
George Barrows

Image from Photographic Archive. The Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York. IN670.15.

27



28



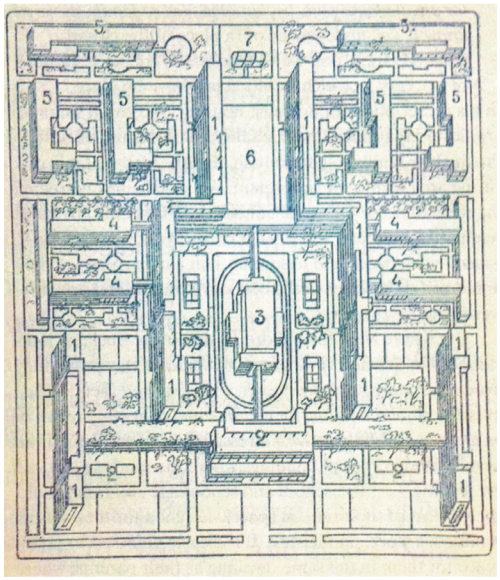
29

Broadacre City (1934)
Frank Lloyd Wright

27 **Model**
28 **Plan**
29 **Model of Little Farms**

Images from Emory University Art History Department Collection Database, Artstor Online.

30



30 **Stalingradstroi Housing Combine (1929)**
Leonid and Alexander Vesnin

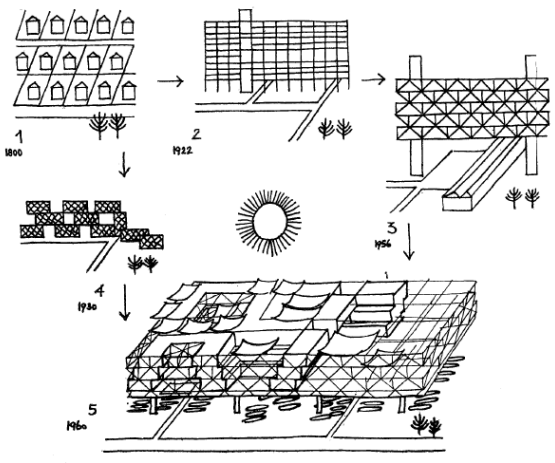
Image from Crawford, Christina E. "From the Old Family-to the New." *Harvard Design Magazine*, no. 41 (Fall/Winter 2015): 38-45.

Yona Friedman
Sketch

30 **Manifesto: L'Architecture Mobile (1956)**
31 **Paris Spatiale (1959)**

Images from Lebesque, Sabine. *Yona Friedman: Structures Serving the Unpredictable*. Rotterdam: Nai Publishers, 1999.

31



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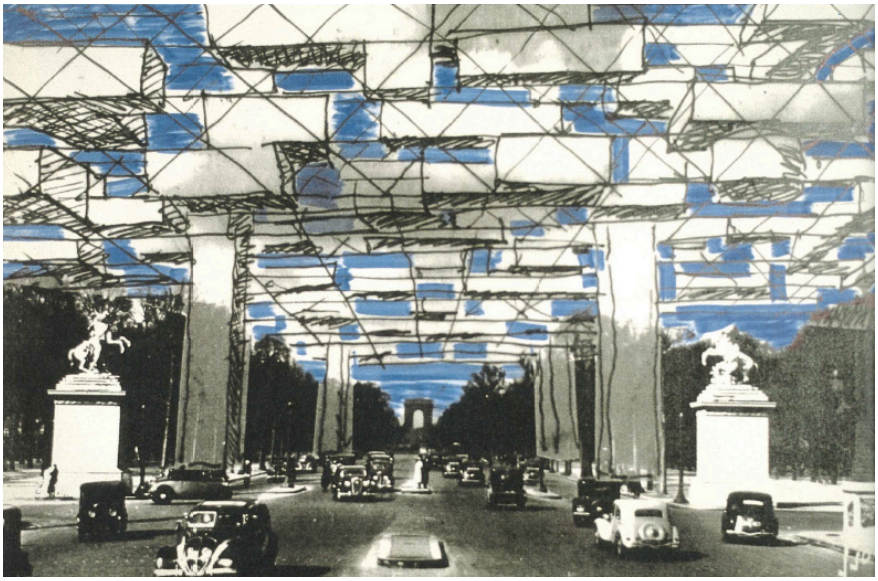
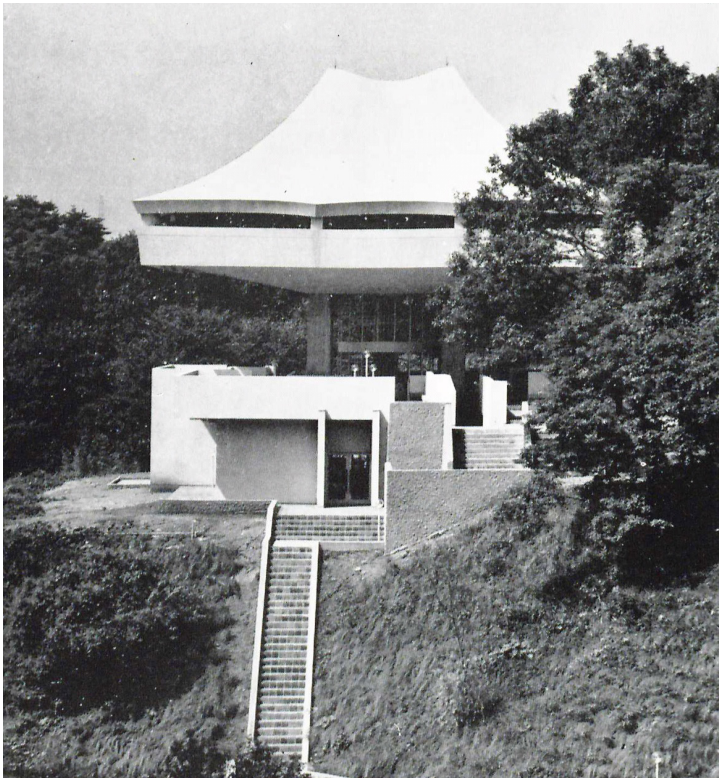


33



Kisho Kurokawa

33 **Central Lodge for National Children's Land (1965)**
Image from Kurokawa, Kisho. *Kodo Kenchikuron: Metaborizumu no Bigaku*. Tokyo: Shokokusha, 1967.

34 **Capsule Summer House K (Karuizawa Capsule House) (1972)**
Image from Kurokawa, Kisho. *Intercultural Architecture: The Philosophy of Symbiosis*. London: Academy Group Ltd, 1991.

34

35

35 **Nakagin Capsule Tower (1972)**
Kisho Kurokawa

Image from *Metabolism, The City of the Future:Dreams and Visions of Reconstruction in Postwar and Present-Day Japan*. Tokyo: Mori Art Museum, 2011.

36 **Round Window in a Japanese Tea Room**
Ben Simmons

Image from Locher, Mira. *Traditional Japanese Architecure: An Exploration of Elements and Forms*.Tokyo: Rutland, VT: Singapore, 2010.

36