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Japanese 'Occidentalism' and the Emergence of Postmodern Architecture

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Japanese 'Occidentalism' and the Emergence of Postmodern Architecture

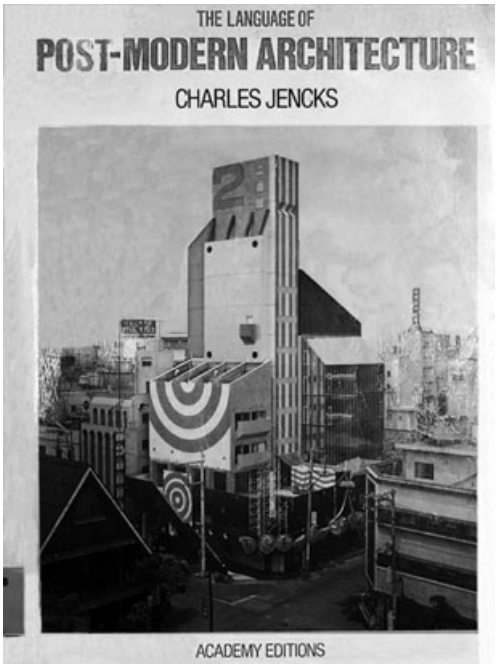
The Japanese architects of the Metabolist group (Kisho Kurokawa, Kiyonori Kikutake, Fumihiko Maki, and others) rose to international fame in the 1960s and 1970s. I argue that certain conceptions of postmodern architecture that emerged at the time were influenced significantly by the Metabolists. In articles and presentations that were directed to a foreign audience, the Metabolists defined ''the Japanese'' as a cultural opposite to ''the Western'' and employed a particular rhetoric that bridged the contradictions between modernity and tradition, development and ecology, complex technology and noble simplicity. My argument is based on texts and presentations that Japanese architects wrote in English for an international audience, as well as analyses and reviews by European and North American critics.

Inventing Postmodernism

The cover of Charles Jencks's *The Language of Postmodern Architecture*, first published in 1977, is emblazoned with Minoru Takeyama's 1970 Ni-Ban-Kan (Number Two) building in Tokyo (Figure 1). It is a candy-colored assemblage of boxy volumes that might have been taken from a toy store window. Towering over a grayish urban fabric comprised of mostly modernist buildings, its outer wall features a sequence of concentric bright red half circles that suggest an exaggerated grin. Flipping the page, the reader encounters another icon of 1970s Japanese architecture. Kisho Kurokawa's Nakagin Capsule Tower (1973) is a residential building consisting of 140 cell-shaped mini-apartments attached to a vertical shaft (Figure 2). The Capsule Tower is the most famous built work connected with the principles of *Metabolism*, a movement, which Kurokawa and a handful of his colleagues under the mentorship of Kenzo Tange launched in 1960, and which led to their instant fame as the most significant young architects outside Europe and North America.[1]

In his book, Jencks celebrates an emerging architecture that he calls postmodern, which, in contrast to modernism, acknowledges local traditions, incorporates popular culture, and heightens meaning through ornament and symbolic reference. Jencks detects such design in various countries, but a key example is the young generation of Japanese architects, many of whom he knew personally. He is full of praise that ''unlike Westerners [they] have been able to be modern *and* traditional without compromising either language,'' and he stressed their humorous and sometimes ironic use of symbols and meaning.[2] For Jencks, their historic achievement was to overcome modernism, re-introduce symbolic meaning, and synthesize the ''disparate and dissectible parts'' of both Japanese and Western cultures.[3] His arguments thus reinforce the message on the cover. On the one side, he presented a new, dynamic, innovative, and witty Japanese architecture. On the other side, he positioned an aging modernism connected with de-industrializing Europe and North America, which, after the 1973 oil crisis and the Vietnam War, suffered from both economic depression and cultural malaise. The book thus expressed in explicitly positive terms what many of Jencks's American compatriots nurtured as a secret fear: the era of Western dominance was over, and the future would be Asian.[4]

1. Charles Jencks, *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture* (1977), cover showing Minoru Takeyama's Ni-Ban-Kan (Number Two) Building in Tokyo, 1970.



Jencks's best-selling book was published in six editions over a fifteen-year period and was translated into eleven languages. While his definition of postmodernism did not go uncontested, Jencks's book was crucial in popularizing the concept, which in the following

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2. Kisho Kurokawa, Nakagin Capsule Tower in Tokyo, 1973. This building is shown in the frontispiece of Charles Jencks, *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture* (1977). (This Wikipedia and Wikimedia Commons image is from the user Chris 73.)

decades would dominate debates in architecture and cultural studies. In 2003, the book was re-written and re-titled *The New Paradigm in Architecture: The Language of Post-Modernism*.[5] In each re-edition, the focus shifted slightly, and the significance of European and North American architects for the development of post-modernism was strengthened. The 1981 edition, for example, no longer showed a Japanese building on its cover, but rather Charles Moore's Piazza d'Italia in New Orleans (1976).[6] The Japanese impulse gradually acquired a more general significance as the exotic buildings from the Far East became part of a reconfigured conception of Western contemporary global architecture.

Jencks's interest in Japanese architecture was shared by many other critics at the time. For Kenneth Frampton, the enthusiasm for the architecture of Kurokawa and his colleagues became a key feature in his work and inspired numerous articles.[7] When Jencks's book was first published, Frampton was working on his by now canonical *Modern Architecture: A Critical History* (first released in 1980). Although he mentions comparably few Japanese buildings in this book, they were his only examples for significant twentieth-century architecture outside Europe, North America, and Brazil.[8] In several re-editions, the presentation of Japanese buildings was expanded.[9] At the same time, Frampton started to theorize the significance of local difference in a modern world. Eventually, he developed the concept of ''Critical Regionalism,'' a form of architectural practice in which local traditions were to be critically investigated and incorporated into contemporary design.[10] The different editions of Frampton's *Modern Architecture* thus registered a conceptual shift in which the multiplicity of modernity was increasingly acknowledged and contemporary architecture began to acknowledge tradition.

Much suggests that Jencks's and Frampton's fascination with Japan was related to questions about the continued relevance of modernism that had been a concern for Western architectural historians and critics since the mid-1950s. Not all of their colleagues were as explicit in establishing a connection between new Japanese buildings and the exhaustion of modernism in the West. But many looked to the Far East in search for inspiration. And many appreciated a culture, which they understood as both modern and rooted in tradition. Curator Arthur Drexler visited Japan in 1953 and subsequently expanded the New York Museum of Modern Art's spectrum to ''modern traditional'' architecture: a wooden tea house, based on centuries-old models and designed by the modern architect Junzo Yoshimura, was exhibited in the MOMA garden in 1954.[11] Walter Gropius visited Japan a year later and was deeply impressed by the country's ''cohesive cultural entity'', imploring his Japanese colleagues ''not to discard the great spirit of their traditional architecture, for . . . [he] felt that it is still full of potentialities for a modern way of life.''[12] Inspired by Gropius, Robin Boyd visited Japan in 1961 and subsequently published a monograph on Kenzo Tange, in which he pointed out that important qualities of modern architecture

''had existed for centuries in many Japanese buildings.''[13] Bernard Rudofsky—Drexler's colleague and a friend of Gropius's—traveled to Japan in 1954, developing his ideas on the value of vernacular architecture in a modern world, which he most prominently expressed in his 1964 exhibit ''Architecture without Architects.''[14] And German author Udo Kultermann in 1960 expressed similar views, stating that Japanese architecture might lead the way out of International-Style modernism into a ''new vitality, which is social in origin, and to a new regionalism.''[15] It was the spirit of these encounters that provoked Reyner Banham to claim that Japanese architects had anticipated postmodernism years before Charles Moore and Robert Venturi, and that world architecture had subsequently undergone a process of ''Japonization.''[16] While the definition of postmodernism continues to be debated a generation after Banham's discussion of 'Japonization,' the idea that postwar Japanese architecture was crucial in developing alternatives to Western modernism has been widely acknowledged, and an enduring interest in the importance of the Metabolists, in particular, continues to give rise to numerous publications and exhibits.[17]

The new Japanese architects had a significant impact on Jencks's conceptualization of the currents that superseded modern architecture, inspiring the formation of a new-ism connected with architectural meaning, linguistic play, pop cultural references, and historic quotations. In Frampton's case, his understanding of contemporary Japanese architecture generated a conceptual approach that acknowledged cultural differences in a globalizing world. These and many other publications evidenced a growing conviction that modernity was now, or might have always been, polycentric, that global modernization engaged more than Euro-American lifestyles, and that a modern world allowed for differences. While still proclaiming leadership in global development, European and North American architects, historians, and critics could no longer deny that modernization had been a complex, asymmetrical process and had produced very different results in different parts of the world.

Kisho Kurokawa and Japanese Occidentalism

''The West'' versus ''the East,'' ''modern'' versus ''traditional,'' ''developed'' versus ''primitive'' – these oppositions are well known from the works of nineteenth and early twentieth-century European scholars. Postcolonial theorists since the 1970s have rightfully criticized them as expressions of ''orientalism.''[18] In the following two sections, I will argue that a similar dichotomy ocurred in a very different context that was distinct from the colonialist ambitions of nineteenth-century Europe. The first section will look at the mechanisms of exotification in the work of Kisho Kurokawa (1934–2007), Arata Isozaki (born 1931), Kiyonori Kikutake (born 1928), and Fumihiko Maki (born 1928), who were Japan's most famous architects in the 1970s. The second will analyze the start of their careers in connection with the ''Metabolist group'' in the early 1960s. In both periods, they presented their design within the conceptual framework of an East-West dichotomy, and their presentation had a lasting impact.

I argue that this conceptual framework operates like an 'occidentalism.' My analysis aims at the mechanisms of presentation and reception at a particular moment in history, when a specific group of Japanese architects introduced their work to a foreign audience. I will therefore focus on texts that that Japanese authors wrote in or had translated into English for international readers, and the reception of those texts in the West. I will not attempt to relate these texts to their Japanese context, which is well explained in a number of recent publications.[19] The intercultural impact of these texts, however, is not. My analysis will thus look at their self-portrayal in the context of Japanese-foreign encounters.

The fact that the Metabolists developed their ideas in close connection with European and North American architects and presented them to a Western audience was crucial and might have been the initial impulse for setting up the dichotomy. The categories familiar to Westerners, however, were reversed. In their publications, ''the West'' appears as static and inflexible, whereas Japan was presented as dynamic and developing. The Metabolists agreed with nineteenth-century European orientalists that Japan, in contrast to Europe, was closely connected to a traditional culture, but they both overturned the conclusions of the orientalists and made their argument more direct. Japan's vital relationship with its traditional culture, rather than being an obstacle for change and progress, was precisely why Japan's new architecture was superior, in their view, to Western modernism.

By the time Jencks applied the postmodernist label to contemporary architecture in the 1970s, these Japanese architects had been active for approximately two decades. Kisho Kurokawa was among the most successful. In the late 1970s, he was at the peak of his career and celebrated as the designer of the National Ethnological Museum in Osaka (inaugurated 1978). He had designed over 35 buildings and written over 17 books. He headed a firm of 100 employees, appeared monthly before a TV audience of 30 million, and was elected third in a competition for ''Japan's most popular person.''[20]

In 1977, the year in which Charles Jencks's *The Language of Postmodern Architecture* was released, Kurokawa presented to a Western audience his own ideas about an architecture that was to replace modernism. His book *Metabolism in Architecture* was a collection of different concepts that he had been developing since the early 1960s. They centered on a call for architectural innovation deriving from Japanese tradition.[21]

A Japanese–Western dichotomy features prominently in this book. Kurokawa called for the construction of ''Japanese spaces.'' He was not referring to the location of specific cultural practices, but rather to an understanding of space

3. Kisho Kurokawa, Plan for Hishino New Town, 1966. (Image courtesy of Kisho Kurokawa Architect & Associates.)

as such that was different from that which formed the basis of European and North American architecture. Kurokawa stressed the importance of undefined ''in-between spaces'' with a flexible meaning, such as verandahs, connecting rooms, or even the central void in his unbuilt 1966 scheme for Hishino New Town in Aichi Prefecture[22] (Figure 3). He referred to these spaces as ''*en*-space'' and ''*ma*-space,'' two concepts taken from Japanese Buddhist thinking. *En* approximately translates into ''chance'' or ''act of fate,'' although not in the sense of destiny or divine intervention, but rather a sudden change in a course of events that is related to a universal flow of matters. *Ma* means an interval of time or space and has various meanings such as ''buffer zone,'' ''boundary zone'' or even ''room in an apartment.'' Kurokawa gives the word a particular Japanese meaning by mentioning that it is also used in the traditional Noh drama for the moment in which an actor's expression of grief changes into one of joy.[23] Through the concept of ''*en*-space'' and ''*ma*-space'', he related his own plazas and verandahs to ancient Buddhist thinking.[24] Kurokawa also pointed to the parallels of his Nakagin Capsule Tower and Japanese spirituality. In the plan of Japanese temples or palaces, every small building or garden was an independent unit—which he called *jiga*, the Buddhist term for ''individual''—and at the same time a part of the whole. The same applied to his replaceable capsules. One of his favorite precedents for such a relation is the most famous of all Japanese buildings, and since Bruno Taut's writings in the 1930s, an icon of Japanese architectural spirit: the seventeenth-century Katsura Palace in Kyoto, which is composed of several, carefully arranged buildings.[25] For Kurokawa, the ''in-between'' *en* and *ma* spaces, as well as the ''flexible'' *jiga* elements, are models for the kind of architecture that contemporary architects should create. While he remained silent about the programmatic consequences of such spaces and how they differed from those found in Europe or North America, he insisted time and again that the underlying concepts were untranslatable and thus impossible to understand for foreigners.[26]

Arata Isozaki, who in 1962 had become famous for his utopian designs of a ''City in the Sky,'' also invoked the importance of a ''genuinely Japanese space.''[27] In 1978, he organized the exhibit ''Ma, Space-Time in Japan,'' which was shown at the

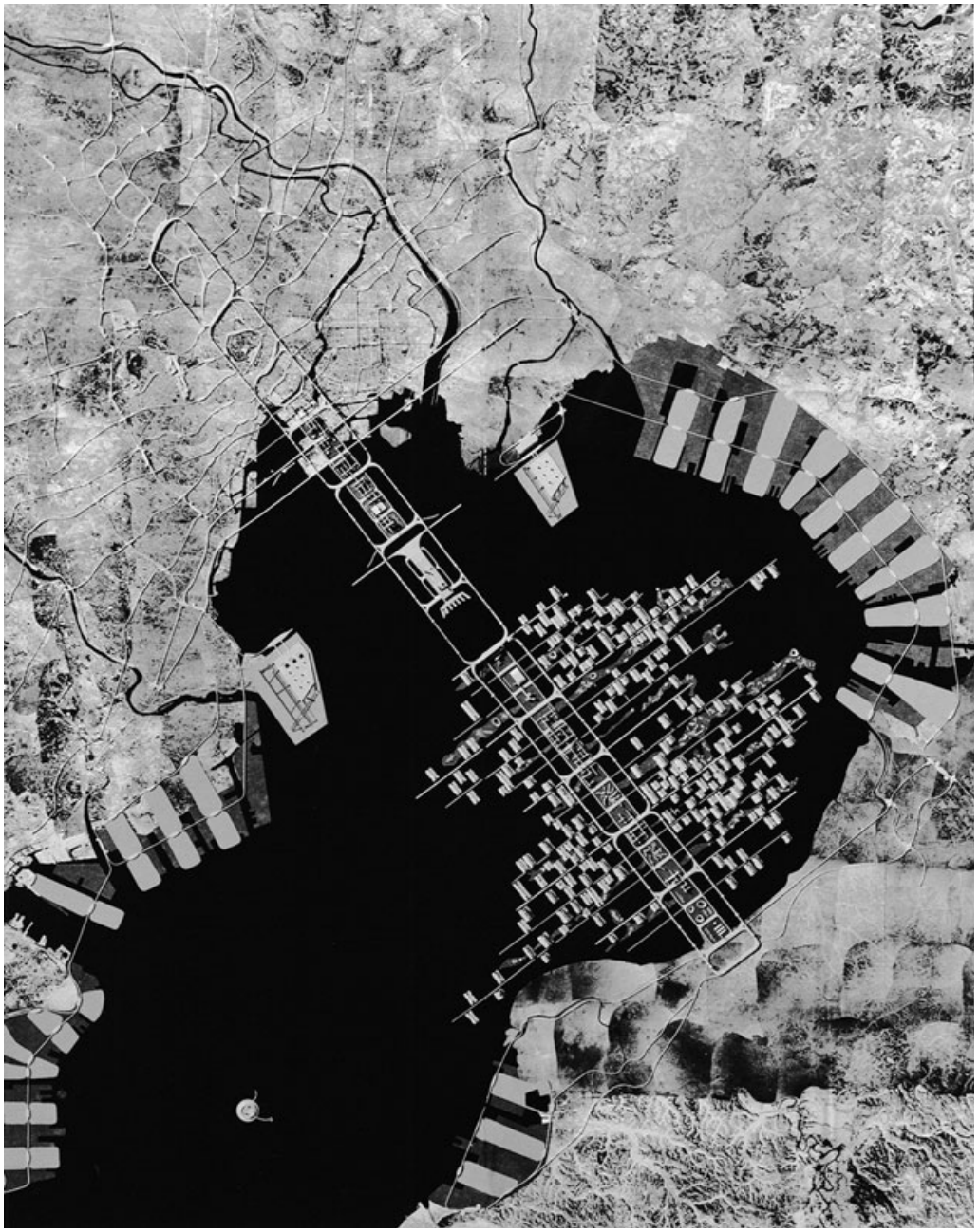
4. Katsura Palace, Kyoto, 1616–62. (Photograph by author.)

Paris Festival d'Automne and the Cooper-Hewitt Museum in New York.[28] Isozaki's understanding of ''*ma*-space'' was slightly different than Kurokawa's. For Isozaki, it entailed the introduction of ''multi-dimensionally oriented spaces'' into a Western modernist architecture ''that found itself, if subconsciously, unable to break from the tradition of assembling flat, floor-space-like areas.''[29] It thus represented a constructive criticism of modernism, which, according to Isozaki, had found itself, if subconsciously, unable to break from the tradition of assembling flat, floor-space-like areas.[29] One might assume that Isozaki developed the idea in reference to his brutalist early buildings. In his Iwata Gakuen Girls' High School (1964), he assembled classrooms on bridge-like elements suspended between tower shafts, thus creating an expandable scheme that is not limited to one building unit. In his Oita Prefectural Library in Oita City (1962) and his Oita Branch of the Fukuoka Mutual Bank (1966), components with diverse heights and shapes are assembled into one building scheme and offer surprising experiences of spatial transitions. In his description of ''Japanese space,'' however, Isozaki makes an argument similar to Kurokawa's. He claims that Japan's rootedness in its traditional culture provides a basis for developing an alternative to Western modernism, which – and in this respect he agreed with many Western critics at the time – had long lost its momentum. At the same time, he also claims that his own design provides an example of an alternative to Western Modernism.[30]

In both Kurokawa's and Isozaki's work, the deliberately complicated arguments and subtle claims, ironically, came with a strategic simplification that divided the world in two. On one side was Japan as Europeans have always imagined it: isolated, homogeneous, and filled with mysticism and grace. On the other side stood ''the West'', equally homogeneous, with the potential of being both an evil colonizer and a beneficial teacher, but in the end incapable of understanding the intricacies of Japanese culture. The implicit message was that Japan would eventually be able to inspire a transcendence of ossified Western modernism. It was in this sense that Kisho Kurokawa called the introductory chapter to a 1988 book ''Beyond Modernism: Farewell to the West.''[31] In this book, Kurokawa advances some of the ideas about ''Japanese space'' that he had already expressed ten years earlier and reiterates his claims about the differences between the Japanese and Western understanding of architectural space.[32]

Kurokawa and Isozaki thus framed their ideas in a mindset that I characterize as ''occidentalist,'' particularly in reference to the notion of orientalism as developed by Edward Said and others.[33] It was as if they were seeing their work through the eyes of the other. They treated ''the West'' as a homogeneous culture directly opposed to Japan, and they characterized it in the same way European scholars had long described ''the Orient:'' static, unchangeable, and incapable of historic development. They presented Japan, on the other hand, as a lively and dynamic culture that could overcome the dead end of Western modernism. While they had to acknowledge that the initial impulse to build modern architecture originated in Europe, they framed the encounter in a narrative of a ''foreign seed'' that came to bloom in Japan at a time when it was already withering in its place of origin. Kurokawa, for example, proposed a summarized historiography of four generations of master-pupil relations. He started out with Frank Lloyd Wright, who taught Antonin Raymond, who taught Kunio Maekawa, who taught Kenzo Tange, who taught the Metabolist group.[34]

Western scholars have long relied upon similar narratives for explaining ''the East.'' Asian cultures were the supposed historic origin of civilization (''*ex oriente lux*''), but later lost their flexibility and capacity of development.[35] Japan was neatly included in this conception. In 1929, German historian Emil Lederer stressed the ''static'' nature of Japanese culture in opposition to ''dynamic'' Europe, where the greater focus on individuality entailed a greater influence of individuals on cultural change.[36] Frank Lloyd Wright, in 1923, wrote of Japanese society as a ''homogeneous mass'' governed by unchanging discipline.[37] And in 1934, Bruno Taut emphasized the ''timeless'' spirit of historic Japanese architecture, such as the seventeenth-century Katsura Palace in Kyoto, which



5. Kenzo Tange and team, A Plan for Tokyo 1960. (Image courtesy of Tange Associates.)

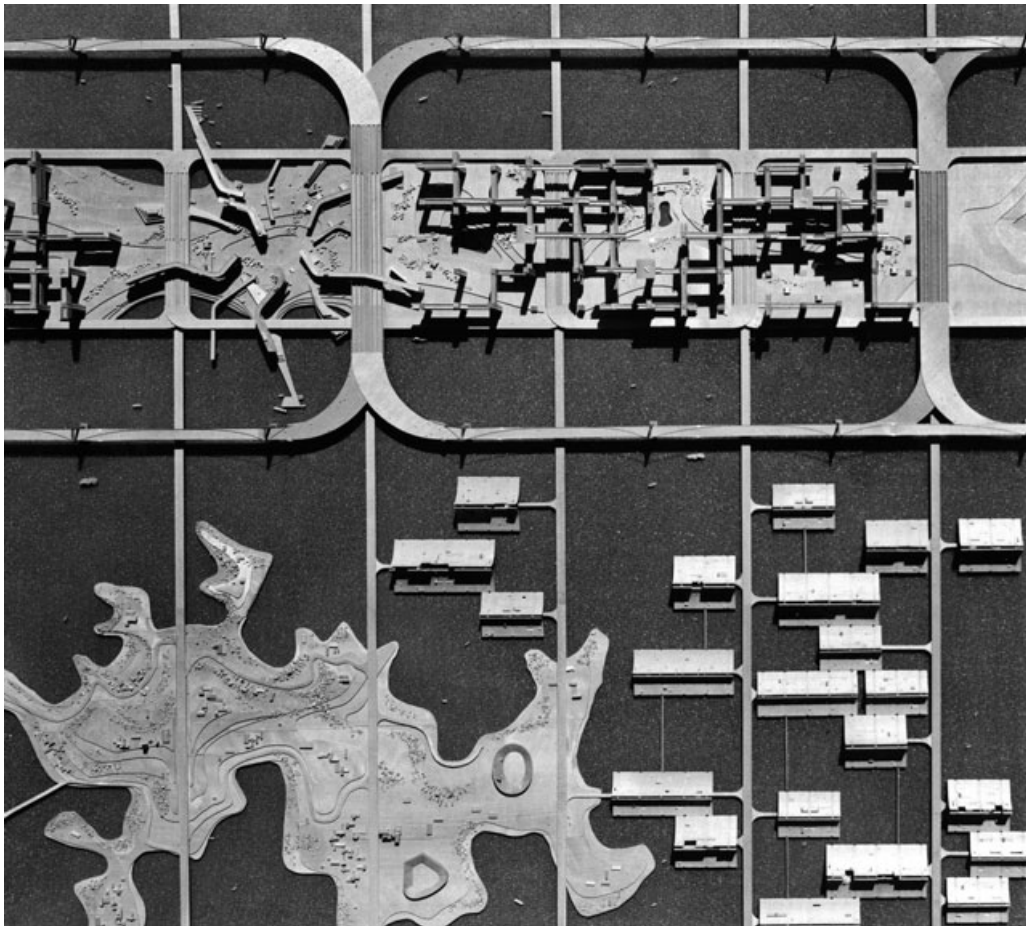
he saw as a predecessor of modernism[38] (Figure 4). In 1960, Walter Gropius took up this argument and joined Kenzo Tange in celebrating the Katsura Palace's unchanging structural clarity.[39]

The idea of Japanese ''traditional modernism'' thus fulfilled century-old expectations in the West. ''Rediscovering'' local traditions and forgotten roots, the Japanese architects claimed to have taken the very remedy that had been suggested by Western scholars. In 1923, Frank Lloyd Wright had prophesied: ''If Japan arises from the abyss or crosses it, it will be because what was true in old Japan finds itself, developing in strength and character, reaching true expression in what is peculiar to the Japanese . . .''[40] And in 1934 Bruno Taut urged his Japanese colleagues to consider historic precedents and local traditions, such as the 1,300-year-old temple architecture at Nara, to ''melt'' modern Western influences into Japanese forms.[41] He thought this was the only path to ''pure expression'' for Japanese architecture – in much the same way that the seventeenth-century architect of the Katsura Palace had resuscitated the purity of the Ise Shrine from the sixth century.[42]

Kurokawa's and Isozaki's non-Japanese audience reacted ambiguously to the elusive analyses of ''*en*-spaces'' or ''*ma*-spaces.'' On the one hand, Western audiences were not in a position to question the architects' often obscure correlations between buildings and philosophy, since they were unfamiliar with Japanese philosophical concepts. On the other hand, critics and historians such as Jencks and Ross celebrated the Metabolists as innovative designers who had found new means of interpreting and extending tradition. The appeal of their ''modern rootedness'' was profound in the eyes of many Western critics because it appeared to simultaneously engage in a cosmopolitan discourse and connect to local culture.[43]

Metabolism as ''The Other Modernism''

A look at the beginnings of the Metabolist's meteoric rise to fame can help explain this 'exotifying' rhetoric. Kenzo Tange (1913–2005), one of Japan's most famous and influential architects, mentored Kurokawa and the other future members of the Metabolist group. They first appeared before an international audience at the World Design Conference, which was co-organized by Tange and celebrated in Tokyo in 1960. Guest speakers included Peter Smithson, Louis Kahn, Herbert Boyer, and Tomas Maldonado.[44] In the 1950s, the Japanese government had imposed restrictions on overseas travel. For many Japanese, the 1960 conference was a rare opportunity to make contact with foreign architects.[45] At the same time, it was one of the first opportunities for foreigners to encounter new Japanese design.[46] It had thus an



6. Kenzo Tange and team, A Plan for Tokyo 1960, detail. (Akio Kawazumi, image courtesy of Tange Associates.)

enormous impact in the international architectural community and resulted in an invitation of several Japanese architects to the exhibit ''Visionary Architecture'' at the New York MOMA in the following year.[47]

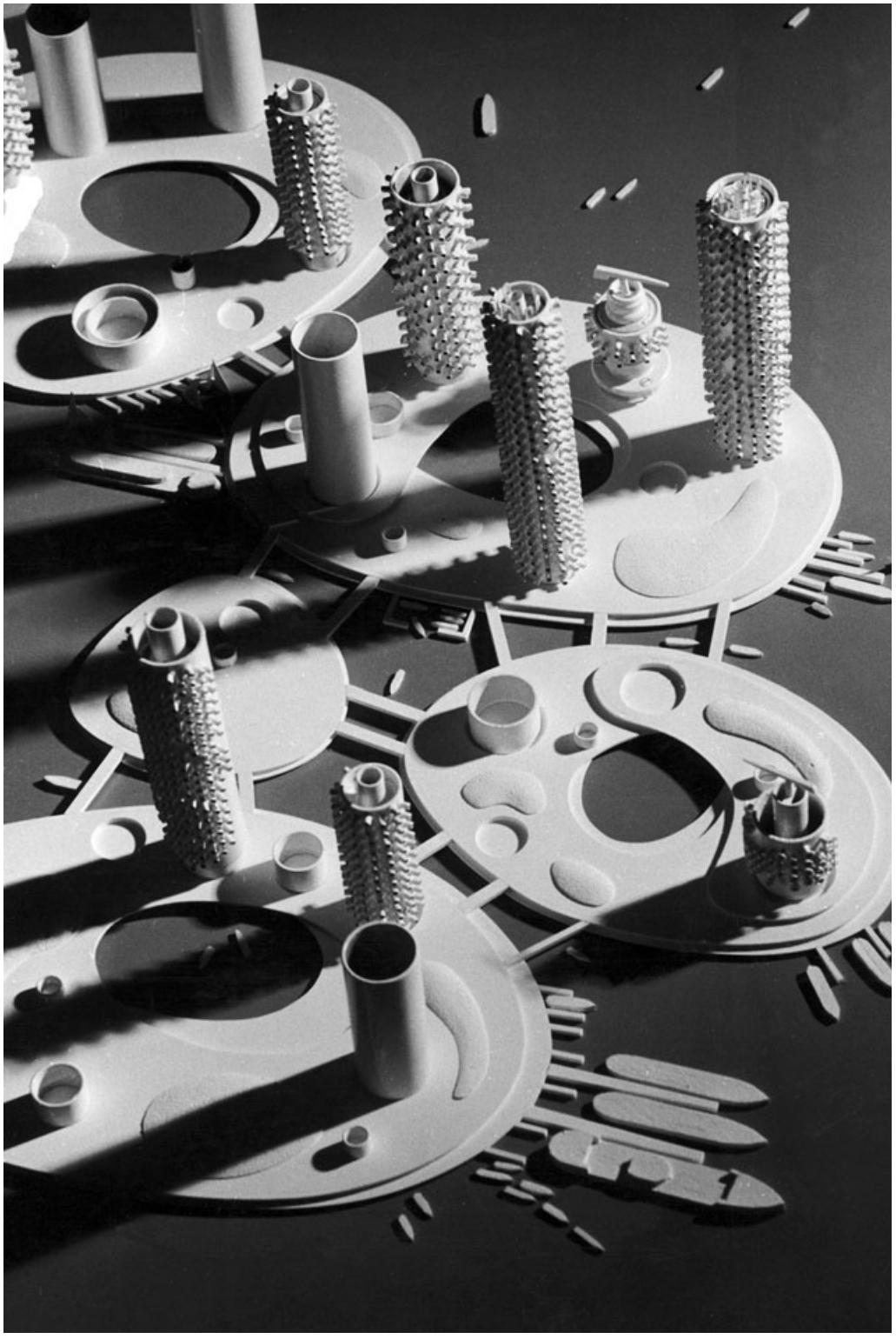
The year 1960 was remembered for two projects that hovered between pragmatism and utopian thinking. One project was Kenzo Tange's visionary *Plan for Tokyo 1960*, which was prepared in his ''laboratory'' at Tokyo University and presented a few months after the World Design Conference[48] (Figures 5 and 6). In this plan, Tange and his team proposed to cover Tokyo Bay with an enormous mega structure on 50 m high stilts that would house several million people as well as provide spaces for offices, traffic, and greenery. The other project was the bilingual English/Japanese pamphlet *Metabolism: The Proposals for New Urbanism*, which was produced for the conference.[49] The authors were Fumihiko Maki, Masato Otaka, Kiyonori Kikutake, and Kisho Kurokawa, who at the time published under the name Noriaki Kurokawa. Takashi Asada, Arata Isozaki, and others would soon be associated with the group. Asada had been Tange's colleague at Tokyo University and secretary general of the conference's preparation committee, and Isozaki had worked on the Tokyo Bay Plan. The plan and the manifesto were connected; the theoretical propositions were comparable, and the authors were closely linked on a professional level.

Metabolism – The Proposals for New Urbanism advocated for an urbanism that was at the same time a high-tech solution for Tokyo's massive demographic growth and an organic addition rooted in the city's local culture. The largest chapter presented Kiyonori Kikutake's ''Ocean City,'' an updated version of his ''Marine City,'' which he had been working on for several years (Figure 7). A city for 500,000 people was to be built on a gigantic artificial island offering residential, agricultural, production, and leisure spaces, thus creating a new lifestyle that was nevertheless connected to Japan's centuries-long history as a nation of fisherman and seafarers. The island was to contain ''movable houses'' and ''expansible'' production spaces with units that could be replaced whenever needed. Kikutake presented his proposal as an emancipatory act of ''liberating'' humanity from the limits of ''continental civilization''—Kenneth Frampton called it the Metabolists movement's ''most poetic vision.''[50] Had it ever been built, it might have been a Kafkaesque nightmare. Kikutake envisioned inversed residential skyscrapers where people would be forced to live up to 200 meters below sea level—deprived of daylight and in constant danger of fatal technological failure. Also the proposed natural life cycle shows little consideration for nature but rather recalls a time when environmental concerns had no place in architectural thinking: once no longer suitable for living, the island was to be left to ''die'' by sinking it to the bottom of the ocean.[51]

In *Metabolism; The Proposals for New Urbanism*, a call for centrally organized big plans was clad in a language of growth and incremental renewal. Metaphors were taken from molecular biology, at the time a new science with an aura of future and innovation. Interdisciplinary intricacies helped to bridge the conceptual gap between the architects' humanist rhetoric and their potentially authoritarian ambition to resettle thousands of people in gigantic high-tech structures. In the words of the architects: ''We regard human society as a vital process—a continuous development from atom to nebula. The reason why we use such a biological word, metabolism, is that we believe design and technology should be a denotation of human society.''[52]

The political stance behind these ideas has been the subject of many debates. Many scholars point out that the Metabolists expressed leftist ideas.[53] The connection between their design proposals and a social vision, however, remains quite abstract. For example, Kisho Kurokawa, who

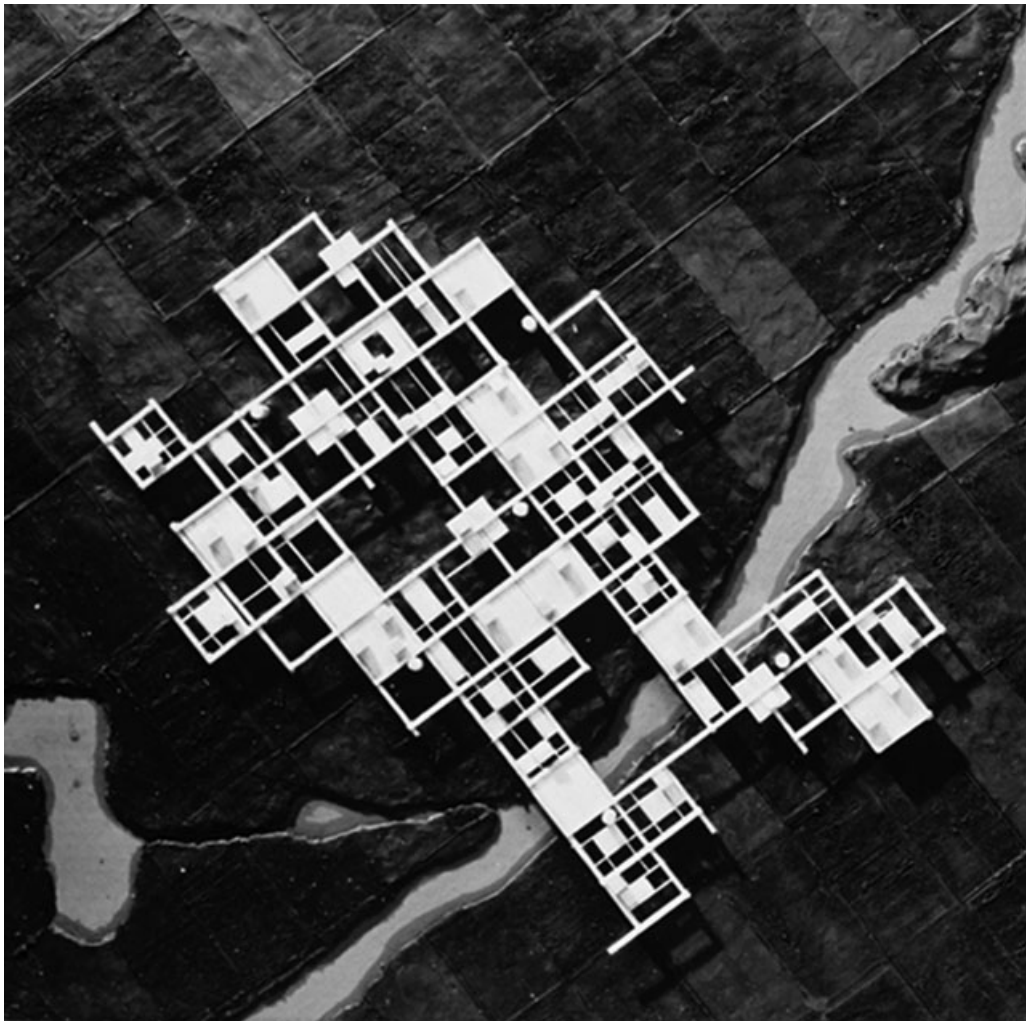
7. Kiyonori Kikutake, Marine City, 1963. (Image courtesy of K. Kikutake Architects.)



throughout his career was involved in many political discussions, at the same time stressed that his work was situated beyond political controversies.[54] The term metabolism, for Kurokawa and his colleagues, connoted peaceful growth and essential processes of life. The reference to life science presented the new design as quasi-natural, while the relation to the regional environment (Japan as an island nation with a particular relation to the sea) implied an essentialist understanding of culture.

Despite their radical proposals, the Metabolists were anything but a gang of young rebels. Following the Japanese tradition of hierarchical master-pupil relations, the group had formed under the mentorship of Kenzo Tange. At the time, Tange was in his late forties and enjoyed international renown as the architect of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park (1945), and as a visiting professor at MIT (1959/60). Along with Kunio Maekawa and Junzo Sakakura, who were both former students of Le Corbusier and among Japan's best-known architects, Tange led the executive committee of the World Design Conference Preparation Bureau and put his junior colleague Takashi Asada in charge of the program. Masato Otaka was a chief architect in Maekawa's firm. Kurokawa, the son of an architect from Nagoya, was Tange's student at the University of Tokyo. Both Kurokawa and Arata Isozaki worked in Tange's office, where they co-authored the Tokyo Bay Plan.[55]

The Metabolists' ability to engage a foreign audience depended upon their international connections and their strong ties with famous Western architects. This contrasted with the vast majority of their colleagues who had never left the country and did not speak any foreign language. Maki had lived in the United States for several years; he also attended the Team X meetings in Bagnols-sur-Cèze (1960), Royeaumont (1962), and Berlin (1965). Kurokawa had traveled to the Soviet



8. Kisho Kurokawa, Agricultural Cluster, 1960. (Hideki Hongo, image courtesy of Kisho Kurokawa Architect & Associates.)

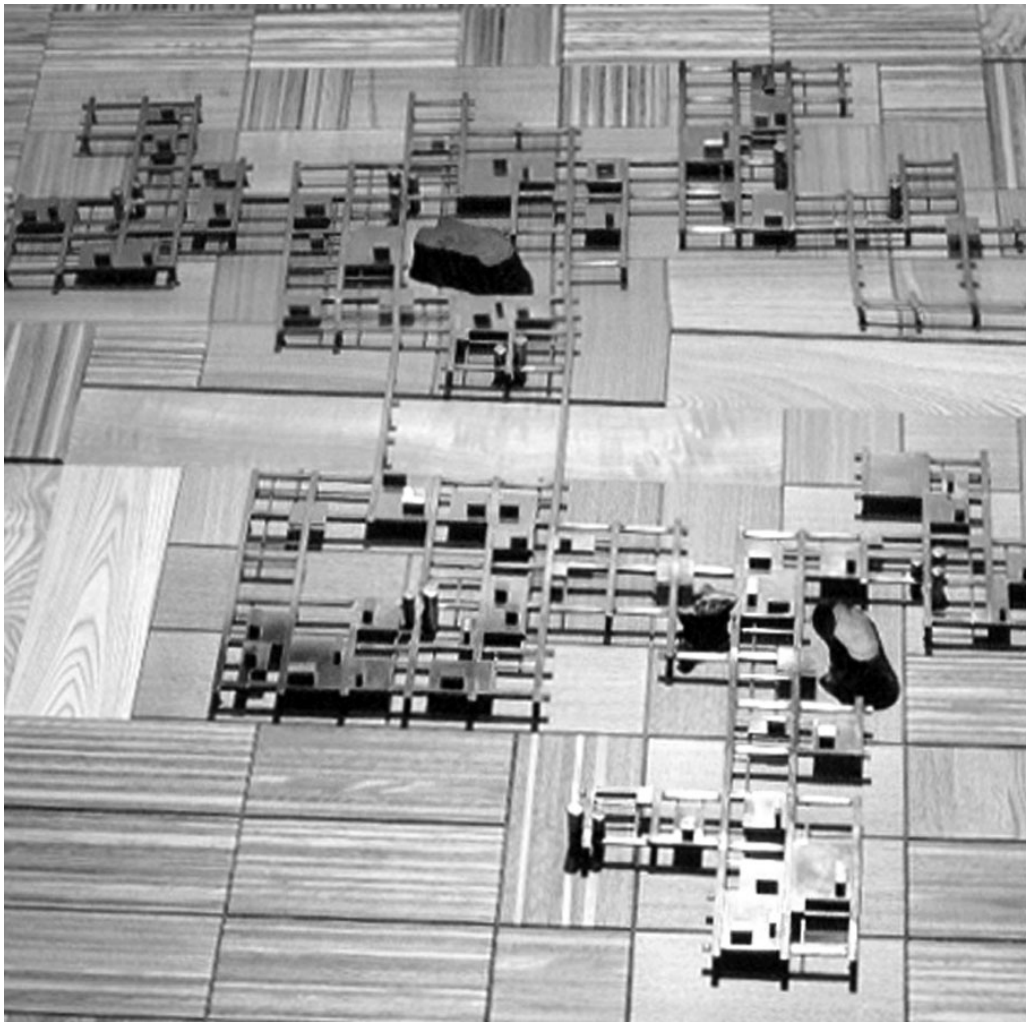
Union in the 1950s and later attended several Team X meetings.

The Metabolists launched their proposals at a particular moment in Japan's emergence from defeat after the Second World War. Japan's economy had recovered after the destruction of the war, and the shock of defeat and subsequent American occupation. By 1960, Japan was increasingly open to foreign influences and at the same time aggressively expanding its industrial production into European and American markets. To mitigate tensions arising from the latter, the Japanese government undertook various efforts to promote the country and its culture abroad. Some of these initiatives included new cultural centers in Paris (1961) and in Rome (1962),[56] as well as international events such as the Olympics in Tokyo (1964) and the World Exposition in Osaka (1970). These efforts were intended to counter the prejudices of many Europeans and North Americans at the time, who regarded Japan as a backward Third World nation ignorant of motorcars, refrigerators, or elevators.[57] In the eyes of the Japanese authorities, promoting Japanese culture was therefore ''a life-and-death matter to the Japanese people,'' because the foreigners' ignorance about their culture hindered the growth of export trade.''[58]

In this context, modern architecture served as a particularly appropriate way to convey an image of modernity, since the vocabulary of steel and glass was a universally acknowledged signifier of development. In the mid-1950s, Japanese publishers released a number of volumes on contemporary Japanese architecture in English.[59] Japan's first English-language periodical on architecture was *Japan Architect*. It was launched in Tokyo in 1956 as an offshoot of the magazine *Shinkenchiku* (''New/Modern Architecture'') and has operated a New York office since 1960. The director was Noboru Kawazoe (born 1926), an architectural critic who next to Takashi Asada became the Metabolist group's most productive theorist. Kawazoe was chief editor of *Shinkenchiku* from 1953 to 1957 and continued to publish his ideas in the journal thereafter.[60] He also co-organized the World Design Conference and collaborated on the Metabolist manifesto.[61]

Japan Architect contained various articles that were specifically designed to explain Japanese architectural culture to foreigners. The tone of this information can seem strangely pedagogical from a contemporary point of view. It is best summarized in the caption of a 1964 picture ad for the publication, which showed a bonsai tree and promised ''the most authoritative and unbiased information on various phases of Japanese culture, old and new.''[62] Articles ranged from ''Architectural Offices in Japan'' to ''The Tea Ceremony'' or ''The Art of Flower Arrangement.'' Aimed at explaining their country to the outside world, *Japan Architect* had no qualms about providing clear definitions of what it considered genuinely Japanese and distinguishing foreign influence from native culture.

The Metabolists' success was tied to *Japan Architect* and its pedagogical approach. *Japan Architect* reported extensively on the Metabolists' work, classifying it within the familiar framework of a Japanese-Western dichotomy. In a 1969 article, Kawazoe asserted the superiority of Japanese architecture, stressing that in contrast to ''the West'' Japanese architects still acknowledged the significance of collective symbols. European and North American modern architecture for him was purely functional and neglected symbolic values.[63] One of his numerous metaphors was the buck deer. According to Kawazoe, the functionalists erred in believing that, since the deer's heavy antlers could not be used as weapons, they threatened the



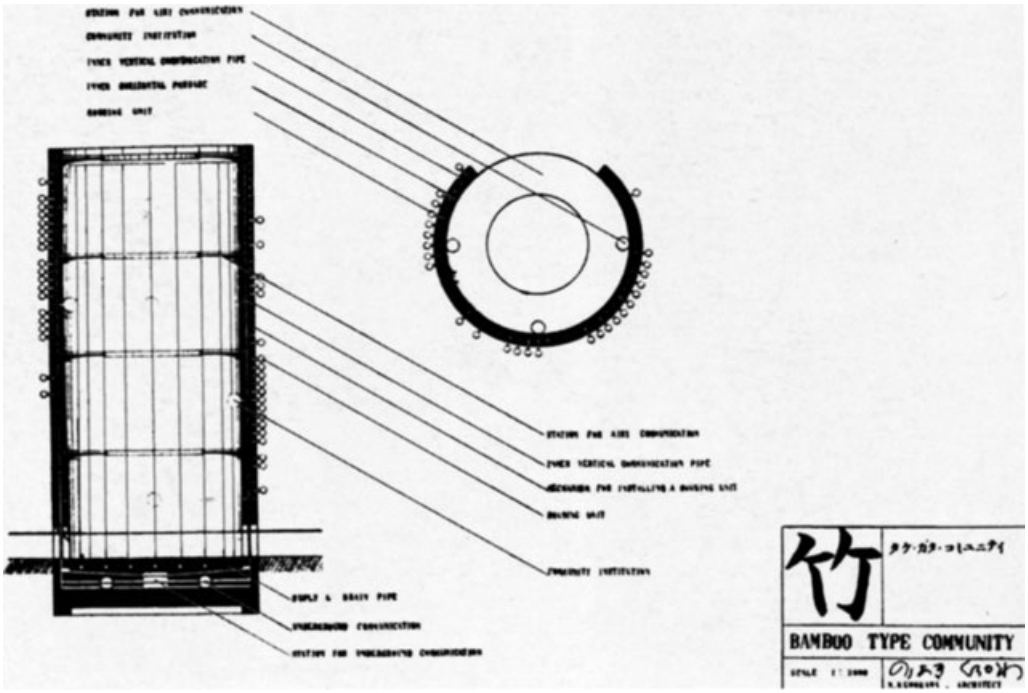
9. Kisho Kurokawa, Agricultural Cluster, 1960, detail. (Hideki Hongo, image courtesy of Kisho Kurokawa Architect & Associates.)

survival of the species. The truth, however, was that the antlers were not only beautiful but were in fact an efficient means of symbolic communication. Since their size transmitted the strength of a particular deer, they prevented actual fights and were thus an evolutionary advantage.[64]

Several articles in *Japan Architect* concerned Kisho Kurokawa's early work. In contrast to his later buildings, a fascination with complex technologies featured prominently in these proposals. While working on the Tokyo Bay Plan, Kurokawa published various proposals for more or less utopian designs, which, like the Tokyo Bay Plan, were to address the unprecedented demographic growth of Japanese cities. Among his proposals were the ''Agricultural Cluster,'' the ''Plant Type Community,'' and the ''Bamboo Type Community'' (all 1960). The ''Agricultural Cluster'' was a plan for a futuristic, orthogonally organized town on elevated decks over several levels, connected with elevators (Figures 8 and 9). It was designed to blur the difference between city and countryside.[65] The word cluster as opposed to ''town'' or ''development'' can be read as a direct reference to the CIAM discourse. Kurokawa nevertheless claimed inspiration in traditional culture. He stressed that his proposal was merely a re-grouping of the traditional Japanese agricultural units, which had the size of 500 times 500 m and comprised an elementary school, a shrine, and a temple.[66] Kurokawa exhibited the plan in the 1961 exhibit ''Visionary Architecture'' at MOMA.

The ''Plant Type'' and ''Bamboo Type Communities'' simultaneously espoused tradition and hypermodernity in a similar way (Figures 10 and 11). They were high-rise structures to be built in Tokyo. The former was a tree-shaped skyscraper whose functional spaces related to its visual appearance. Supply infrastructure looked like roots and caulis, schools and park spaces were arranged on leaf-shaped terraces towering high up in the air. The building was topped by a helicopter airport, recalling the idea of a peaceful meadow where bees fly from blossom to blossom. The Bamboo Type community was a similar building in the form of a bamboo. The reference to this distinctly Asian plant and its centuries-old use in traditional Japanese architecture is obvious. Kurokawa's drawings thus bridged the contradiction between the modernity of a skyscraper and the simplicity of a bamboo hut. At the same time, Kurokawa related the traditional to the natural and biologically necessary. He fashioned his units as industrially produced buildings that nonetheless ''grow and regenerate according to their own rhythm,'' since parts are to be replaced in regular intervals.[67] Key concepts of 1960s architecture such as complex technology, speed, and traffic were thus not only related to biological lifecycles but also to traditional culture. Both formed a trope which had been central to both Japanese self-representation and Western descriptions since the nineteenth century: the idea that the Japanese entertain a special relation with nature and that key aspects of Japanese culture symbolize and celebrate this relation.[68] The bucolic rhetoric of growing trees nevertheless stands in stark contrast to a city of skyscrapers infested by the noise of ceaseless helicopter traffic and continuous construction work for the replacement of parts. It veils the fact that Kurokawa's early proposals, from a contemporary point of view, appear to be much closer to European and American urban renewal than to a Japanese temple and relied upon techno-fetishism, rather than a lifestyle in accordance with the rhythms of nature.

Kurokawa nevertheless insisted on the distinctiveness of Metabolist design from Western architecture. He stressed that their Japanese counterproposals were imbued by a dynamism



10. Kisho Kurokawa, Bamboo Type Community, 1960. (Image courtesy of Kisho Kurokawa Architect & Associates.)

deriving from Buddhist thinking. In a 1964 article, he described the CIAM-style modernism as ''hell'' and his own Buddhist philosophy inspired ''architecture of action'' as a viable alternative. The article was illustrated by a woodcut depicting a man-eating Japanese mythical character.[69]

Kurokawa's colleague Fumihiko Maki, in his English-language publications, followed an analogous rhetoric of diametrical opposition between Japanese and Western culture. In contrast to many of his colleagues, he had extensive exposure to foreign cultures. Following his studies at Tokyo University, he received masters degrees from Cranbrook Academy of Art in Michigan (1953) and Harvard University (1954). He worked at Skidmore, Owings, Merrill in New York, at Josep Lluis Sert's office in Boston, and subsequently taught at Washington University in St Louis. In 1958, he also traveled to Europe and the Middle East on a Graham Foundation Fellowship.

Maki's proposals from the 1960s, such as the unbuilt redevelopment plans for Shinjuku Station Redevelopment in Tokyo (1960) or Dojima neighborhood in Osaka (1962), which he co-authored with Masato Otaka, paralleled those of the other Metabolists.[70] Maki propagated gigantic structures that grew from something he described as a ''collective form.''

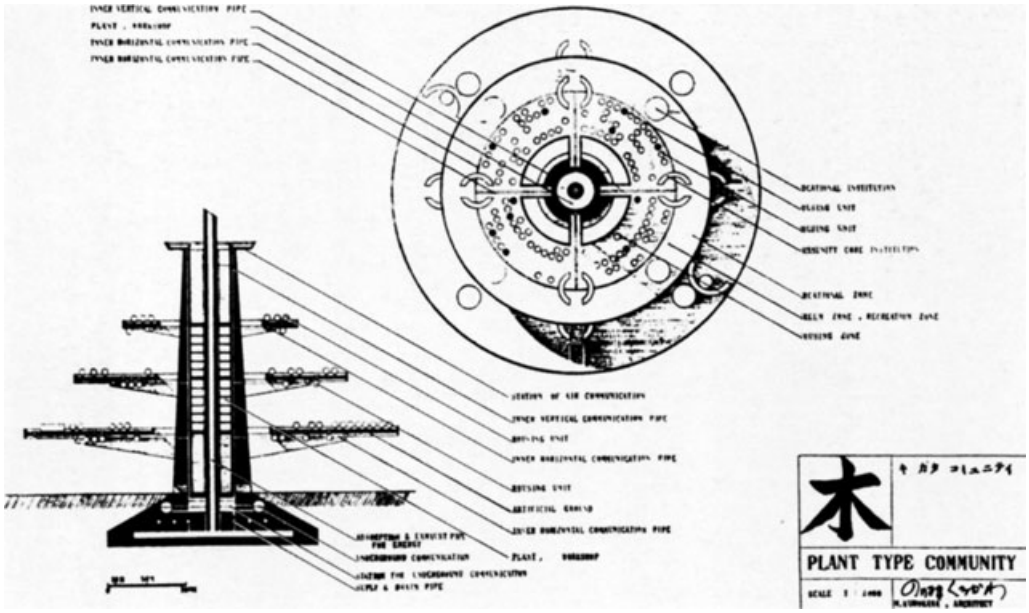
The Shinjuku Station Redevelopment is presented in his 1964 book *Investigations in Collective Form*. He proposed shopping, amusement, and office blocks for one of Tokyo's busiest commuter hubs. His illustration shows a group of futuristic skyscrapers with jagged edges and a silhouette that resembles a forest. The development was to include offices for 50,000 people, 10,000 parking spaces, and multiple levels of railway platforms at the center. Maki pointed out that the huge multi-level shopping center was expandable: ''Floors will be extended freely vertically and horizontally: shop areas, access lanes, and passageways are also freely exchangeable depending upon needs at a given time.''[71] He remained silent about how such adaptations differ conceptually from conventional modifications of buildings, but claimed that his overall design was derived from the spirit of a human collective: ''Elements and systems have been developed through several themes which are generated from human association such as 'gathering', 'milling', and 'vista'.''[72] He thus maintained that its rootedness in human society allowed the structure to ''adapt'' and ''grow'' like a biological organism.

From a contemporary perspective, his ideas of a disposable architecture appear quite similar to the ones formulated by Archigram or Archizoom at the same time. Maki nevertheless pointed out the difference between what he called ''group form'' and a rigid ''megaform'' that was to be found in Western architecture.[73] ''Group form,'' in his eyes, was proper to Japanese society and related to a dynamic process rooted in a Japanese collective spirit – a contrast to Western individualism. References to political and economical circumstances were absent in his explanations. He described ''group form'' as an ''expression of collectivity'' that underlay ''regional qualities''.[74] Maki's argument thus paralleled the position of Kurokawa, who wrote: ''Although Metabolism emphasizes the principle of replaceability and changeability of parts, the reasons for doing so derive from a philosophy entirely different from the use-and-discard approach. . . in mass-consumption societies.''[75] Rather, it was based on a dynamic Japanese spirit.

Kurokawa's, Kikutake's, and Maki's projects paralleled similar utopian proposals in Europe that combined all-encompassing programs with a rhetoric of freedom and flexibility and similarly conjured terms. Examples are Peter Cook's ''Plug-in City'' (1964), whose residents were densely packed into extremely small throw-away structures, or Cedric Price's ''Pottery Think Belt'' university (1961) that envisioned students in windowless subterranean dwellings.[76]

Conclusion

Over the course of the 1970s, Charles Jencks, Kenneth Frampton, and many others began to historicize an architectural current that followed modernism, which was often labeled postmodernism. This new architecture engaged an awareness of ''tradition'' in the sense of local culture and history. At the same time, critics, historians, and architects began to accept that being modern was no longer a privilege of the West. With the emergence of the idea of a postmodernism, modernization began to be understood as pluralistic. Contemporary architecture



11. Kisho Kurokawa, Plant Type Community, 1960. (Image courtesy of Kisho Kurokawa Architect & Associates.)

was no longer defined against a traditional ''other.'' It was now both dispersed and global.

This revised understanding of contemporary architecture in the 1960s and 1970s was significantly influenced by the Japanese Metabolists, who actively presented themselves to an international audience as examples of ''modern Japaneseness.'' I describe this as an 'occidentalist' rhetoric, similar to European orientalism of the nineteenth century, which depicted ''the Orient'' as a homogeneous cultural ''other'' devoid of dynamism, agency, and development. In a similar manner, the Metabolists posited a opposition between a dynamic Japanese culture and a stagnant West. When addressing European and North American audiences, they described their work in an elusive language that was clad with the mystery of an inexplicable and untranslatable culture. Suggesting a deterministic relation that linked culture, social life, and architecture, they legitimated their proposals through an essentializing engagement with a dynamic tradition, rather than economics or politics.

The language that the Metabolists used to present their work to the West was simultaneously reductive and complex. Concepts such as ''group form'' or ''organic growth'' were not clearly explained, which may be an artifact of inaccurate translation. After all, at the time when the first Metabolist texts were published, only a tiny percentage of Japanese had a reasonable command of English, and very few Western architectural critics were proficient in Japanese. I think it is clear, however, that Kurokawa's use of intricate metaphors was a deliberate attempt to produce complex, elusive ideas. This particular use of language enabled Japanese architects to bridge the contradictions between technophilia and an appeal to nature, which effectively expanded the scope of contemporary architectural thinking.

The encounters between Japanese architects and Western critics were likely to have been fraught with misunderstandings on both sides. Clarifying these misunderstandings and misappropriations would require additional research on Japanese identity after the Second World War, and an account of the reception of the Metabolists in Japan. While this would clearly reach beyond the scope of this article, it could be a step toward a transcultural history of postmodern architecture.

In the context of the English-speaking world, however, it is safe to say that the portrayal of the Metabolists coalesced into a consistent image. This image not only secured a significant position in European and North American historiography for the Metabolist movement, but more importantly, established the powerful paradigm of an architecture that was both traditional and modern, both locally based and internationally acclaimed.

Notes

1. The manifesto bears the English title *Metabolism: The Proposals for New Urbanism* (Tokyo: Bijutsu shupansha, 1960)—its clumsiness evidences the linguistic difficulties of Japanese-foreign encounters at the time. The bilingual publication was released with a print run of 500 and sold at the World Design Conference in Tokyo. Despite its significance, only a handful copies made it to libraries outside Japan. It contained essays by Kiyonori Kikutake, Noboru Kawazoe, Masato Otaka, Fumihiko Maki, and Kisho Kurokawa. Maki's and Otaka's essay ''Some thoughts on collective form'' was reprinted in György Kepes, ed., *Structure in Art and in Science* (New York: George Braziller, 1965), pp. 116–27.
2. Charles Jencks, *The Language of Postmodern Architecture* (London: Academy Editions and New York: Rizzoli, 1977) [first edition], p. 87.
3. Charles Jencks, ''Introduction,'' in Kisho Kurokawa, *Metabolism in Architecture* (London: Studio Vista, 1977), pp. 9–10.
4. This sense of anxiety can be found, for example, in Michael Franklin Ross, *Beyond Metabolism: the New Japanese Architecture* (New York: Architectural Record and McGraw-Hill, 1978).
5. Charles Jencks, *The New Paradigm in Architecture: The Language of Post-Modernism* (New Haven, CT Yale University Press, 2002).
6. Charles Jencks, *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture* (London: Academy Editions and New York: Rizzoli, 1981) [third revised and enlarged edition], pp. 81–112.
7. See for example Kenneth Frampton, ed., *A New Wave of Japanese Architecture* (New York: Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies, 1978), or ''The Five Voices of Kisho Kurokawa,'' *Japan Architect* 70 no. 18 (Summer 1995), 14–19. Other contemporaneous presentations of twentieth-century Japanese architecture include Michael Franklin Ross, *Beyond Metabolism: The New Japanese Architecture* (New York: Architectural Record and McGraw-Hill, 1978) Botond Bognar, *Contemporary Japanese Architecture* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1985) Jonathan Reynolds, *Maekawa Kunio and the Emergence of Japanese Modernist Architecture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001) and David Stewart, *The Making of a Modern Japanese Architecture, 1968 to the Present* (Tokyo and New York: Kodansha, 1987, re-edited 2002).
8. In the chapter ''The International Style,'' Frampton presents the generation of Antonin Raymond and Kunio Maekawa (pp. 257–61), and in the chapter ''Place, Production, and Architecture,'' the Metabolists (pp. 282–83). Kenneth Frampton, *Modern Architecture: A Critical History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), first edition.
9. Kenneth Frampton, *Modern Architecture: A Critical History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1992), third edition based on the revised and enlarged edition of 1985, pp. 282–85.
10. The concept of Critical Regionalism was first formulated in Alexander Tzonis and Liane Lefaivre, ''The Grid and The Pathway: An Introduction to the Work of Dimitris and Susana Antonakakis,'' *Architecture in Greece* 15 (Athens, 1981) and expanded by Kenneth Frampton. See Kenneth Frampton, *Modern Architecture: A Critical History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1885), third revised and enlarged edition, pp. 314–27, or Kenneth Frampton, ''Towards a Critical Regionalism: Six Points for an Architecture of Resistance,'' in Hal Foster, *The Anti-Aesthetic* (Port Townsend, WA: Bay Press, 1983), pp. 16–30.

11. Drexler was MOMA's curator for architecture and design. See also Arthur Drexler, *The Architecture of Japan* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1955).
12. Walter Gropius, ''Architecture in Japan,'' *Perspecta* 3 (1955), 9 and 80. Gropius visited the Katsura Palace, among other buildings in Kyoto and the Ise Shrine in southern Japan. See also Walter Gropius and Kenzo Tange, *Katsura: Tradition and Creation in Japanese Architecture* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1960), pp. 1–11.
13. Robin Boyd, *Kenzo Tange* (New York: Braziller, 1962), p. 9. For Boyd's role in shaping Western views of Japan, see Philip Goad, ''Robin Boyd and the Post-War 'Japanization of Western Ideas','' *Architectural Theory Review* 1 no. 2 (1996), pp. 110–20.
14. Rudofsky's trip also inspired his publication *The Kimono Mind: An Informal Guide to Japan and the Japanese* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1965). For the MOMA exhibit catalog, see Bernard Rudofsky, *Architecture without Architects: A Short Introduction to Non-Pedigreed Architecture* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1964).
15. Udo Kultermann, *New Japanese Architecture* (New York: Praeger, 1960), p. 5 [first published in German by Ernst Wasmuth, Tübingen, 1960].
16. One of Banham's examples is Togo Murano's 1958 Shin Kabukiza Theatre in Osaka, featuring a traditional Japanese roof and traditional façade ornaments on a modern building. Reyner Banham, ''The Japonization of World Architecture,'' in Hiroyuki Suzuki, Reyner Banham, Katsuhiro Kobayashi, eds, *Contemporary Architecture of Japan 1958–1984* (New York: Rizzoli 1985).
17. See for example the exhibit ''Metabolism: The City of the Future. Dreams and Visions of Reconstruction in Postwar and Present Japan'' at the Mori Art Museum, Tokyo, 17 September 2011–15, January 2011, or the collection of interviews by Rem Koolhaas and Hans Ulrich Obrist, *Project Japan: Metabolism Talks* (Cologne: Taschen, 2011).
18. Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1979); Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).
19. For recent histories of the Metabolist movement, see: Zhongjie Lin, *Kenzo Tange and the Metabolist Movement* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011); Jennifer Taylor, *The Architecture of Fumihiko Maki* (Basel: Birkhäuser, 2003); or Marco Wolfler, *Archigram/Metabolism: Utopie negli anni Sessanta* (Naples: Calvo Clean, 2008). For a self-assessment of the protagonists in retrospect, see Rem Koolhaas and Hans Ulrich Obrist, *Metabolism Talks* (Cologne: Taschen, 2011) [interviews with Kurokawa, Isozaki and many others] or Noboru Kawazoe, ''Thirty Years of Metabolism,'' *Thesis – Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Bauhaus-Universität Weimar* 44 (1998), pp. 146–51 [translation of a Japanese article published in 1991].
20. Charles Jencks, ''Introduction,'' in Kisho Kurokawa, *Metabolism in Architecture* (London: Studio Vista, 1977), p. 9.
21. In this context, for example, he pointed out that the main flaw of traditional Japanese cities was the lack of public spaces. This trope was repeated frequently, for example Kenzo Tange's Tokyo plan. Kenzo Tange, Koji Kamiya, Arata Isozaki, Sadao Watanabe, Noriaki [=Kisho] Kurokawa, Heiki Koh, *A Plan for Tokyo, 1960: Toward a Structural Reorganization,* transl. by Charles Terry, *Japan Architect* 36 (April 1961), pp.10–11.
22. The scheme is described in Kisho Kurokawa, *Metabolism in Architecture* (London: Studio Vista, 1977), pp. 70–71. For a picture and description, see http://www.kisho.co.jp/page.php/194 (accessed May 15, 2011).
23. See for example Kisho Kurokawa, *Metabolism in Architecture* (London: Studio Vista, 1977), p. 38, or Kisho Kurokawa, ''Rikyu Gray,'' *Japan Architect* 53 (January 1978), pp. 32–35.
24. Kisho Kurokawa, *Metabolism in Architecture* (London: Studio Vista, 1977), p. 13.
25. Ibid., p. 11.
26. Ibid., p. 38, or Kisho Kurokawa, ''Rikyu Gray,'' *Japan Architect* 53 (January 1978), pp. 32–35.
27. Arata Isozaki, *Japanese-ness in Architecture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2006).
28. Arata Isozaki, *Ma: Space-Time in Japan* (New York: Cooper-Hewitt Museum, 1979) [exhibition catalog].
29. Arata Isozaki, *The Island Nation Aesthetic* (London: Academy Group, 1993), p. 40.
30. Ibid., pp. 5–10.
31. Kisho Kurokawa, *Rediscovering Japanese Space* (New York and Tokyo: Weatherhill, 1988), p. 27.
32. Ibid., For the idea of ''en-space'' and ''ma-space'' see particularly pp. 53–55.
33. Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1979); Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).
34. Kisho Kurokawa, *Metabolism in Architecture.* (London: Studio Vista, 1977), p. 25.
35. The most prominent presentation of this idea can be found in Georg Friedrich Wilhelm Hegel, *Grundlinien der Philosophe des Rechts* [1821] (Frankfurt: Ullstein, 1972), § 355, in which Hegel lays out the characteristics of the ''oriental empire'' in history.
36. Emil Lederer, *Japan-Europa* (Frankfurt: Frankfurter Sozietätsdruckerei, 1929), quoted after Bruno Taut, *Ich liebe die japanische Kultur – kleine Schriften über Japan,* ed. Manfred Speidel (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 2003) [1934], p. 77.
37. Frank Lloyd Wright, ''The New Imperial Hotel, Tokyo,'' in *Collected Writings*, ed. Bruce Brooks Pfeiffer, 3 vols., vol. 1 (New York: Rizzoli, 1992) [1923], p. 181.
38. Bruno Taut called the Villa Katsura an architectural miracle that ''contains the pure Japanese expression in timeless perfection'' (author's translation). This spirit had also imbued the sixth- century Ise Shrine but was forgotten for more than eleven hundred years. See Bruno Taut, ''Das architektonische Weltwunder Japans'' in *Ich liebe die japanische Kultur – kleine Schriften über Japan,* ed. Manfred Speidel (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 2003) [1934], p. 96.
39. Walter Gropius and Kenzo Tange, *Katsura: Tradition and Creation in Japanese Architecture* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1960).
40. Frank Lloyd Wright, ''The New Imperial Hotel, Tokyo,'' in *Collected Writings*, ed. Bruce Brooks Pfeiffer, 3 vols., vol. 1 (New York: Rizzoli, 1992) [1923], p. 168.
41. Bruno Taut, ''Nara, das alte Kulturzentrum Japans,'' in *Ich liebe die japanische Kultur – kleine Schriften über Japan,* ed. Manfred Speidel (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 2003) [1934], p. 104.
42. Ibid., p. 96.
43. See for example Charles Jencks, ''Introduction,'' in Kisho Kurokawa, *Metabolism in Architecture* (London: Studio Vista, 1977) or Michael Franklin Ross, *Beyond Metabolism: The New Japanese Architecture* (New York: Architectural Record, McGraw and Hill, 1978).
44. The World Design Conference took place from May 11 to May 16 with the participation of more than 300 designers. See also report in *Japan Architect* 35, June 1960, p. 78.
45. Kurokawa remembers: ''Back in the 1950s, it was almost unheard of for anyone to go abroad, except, perhaps, for university professors attending conferences or government officials on diplomatic missions; overseas vacations were simply out of question.'' Kisho Kurokawa, *Rediscovering Japanese Space* (New York and Tokyo: Weatherhill, 1988), p. 7.
46. Zhongjie Lin, *Kenzo Tange and the Metabolist Movement* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), p. 16.
47. The participants from the Metabolist group were Kikonori Kikutake and Kisho Kurokawa.
48. The Tokyo Bay Plan was presented on Japanese TV on 1 January 1961; in May 1961, the journal *Shinkenchiku* organized a symposium on it. Rem Koolhaas and Hans Ulrich Obrist, *Metabolism Talks* (Cologne: Taschen, 2011), p. 284. In 1961, the plan was presented in English in Kenzo Tange and Team, ''A Plan for Tokyo, 1960: Toward a Structural Reorganization,'' *Japan Architect* 36, no. 4 (April 1961), pp. 7–38, translation by Charles S. Terry, and in Günter Nitschke, ''The Approach of the Kenzo Tange Team in their Plan for Tokyo 1960,'' *Architectural Design* 34 (October 1964), pp. 501–506.
49. Kiyonori Kikutake et al., eds., *Metabolism: The Proposals for New Urbanism* (Tokyo: Bijutsu shupansha, 1960).
50. Kenneth Frampton, *Modern Architecture: A Critical History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), first edition, p. 282.
51. Both aspects were stressed in ''Marine City'' of 1959. Zhongjie Lin, *Kenzo Tange and the Metabolist Movement* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), pp. 25–28. See also Kiyonori Kikutake, ''Ocean City,'' in Kikutake et al., eds., *Metabolism: The Proposals for New Urbanism* (Tokyo: Bijutsu shupansha, 1960).
52. Kiyonori Kikutake et al., eds., *Metabolism: The Proposals for New Urbanism* (Tokyo: Bijutsu shupansha, 1960), p. 3, quoted after Zhongjie Lin, *Kenzo Tange and the Metabolist Movement* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), p. 24.
53. For example, they sympathized with the left-wing Anti-Security Treaty movement of the early 1960s. Zhongjie Lin, *Kenzo Tange and the Metabolist Movement* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), pp. 60–62. Also Koolhaas/Obrist's interviews point to the political background. Rem Koolhaas and Hans-Ulrich Obrist, *Project Japan: Metabolism Talks* (Cologne: Taschen, 2011).
54. Asked by Charles Jencks about the totalitarian potential of his concept of ''social engineering,'' he answered: ''I am not of left side, I am not right side, I am an architect, I attack both sides.'' Kisho Kurokawa, *Metabolism in Architecture* (London: Studio Vista, 1977), p. 20.
55. Zhongjie Lin, *Kenzo Tange and the Metabolist Movement* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), pp. 19–22.
56. Paris Nipponkan opened as a private-public partnership in 1961. The Istituto Giapponese di Cultura in Rome was funded by the Japanese

Foreign Ministry and opened in 1962. ''Japan's Reputation Abroad,'' *Japan Architect* 38 (November 1963), p. 97.
57. At the time, Japanese travelers complained about rampant misconceptions about their country. ''Japan's Reputation Abroad,'' *Japan Architect* 38 (November 1963), p. 95.
58. ''Japan's Reputation Abroad,'' *Japan Architect* 38 (November 1963), p. 95.
59. See for example Shinji Koike, *Contemporary Architecture of Japan* (Tokyo: Shokokusha, 1954) and *Japan's New Architecture* (Tokyo: Shokokusha, 1956) or Norman Carver, *Form and Space in Japanese Architecture* (Tokyo: Shokokusha 1955).
60. For Kawazoe's and Asada's role in the Metabolist movement, see Zhongjie Lin, *Kenzo Tange and the Metabolist Movement* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), pp. 19–22. See also Noboru Kawazoe, *Contemporary Japanese Architecture* (Tokyo: Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai, 1968).
61. Rem Koolhaas and Hans-Ulrich Obrist, *Project Japan: Metabolism Talks* (Cologne: Taschen, 2011), p. 22.
62. The picture advertised books by the Japanese Travel Bureau. *Japan Architect* 39 (May 1964), p. 93.
63. Noboru Kawazoe, ''Metabolism 1,'' *Japan Architect* 44 (December 1969), p. 103.
64. Noboru Kawazoe, ''Metabolism 2,'' *Japan Architect* 45 (January 1970), p. 97.
65. The proximity of such approaches to the proposals of the Russian constructivists is not accidental. Kurokawa had traveled to the Soviet Union in the late 1950s as the Japanese representative of an international student conference. For the Soviet influences in the Metabolists' architecture, see Zhongjie Lin, *Kenzo Tange and the Metabolist Movement* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), pp. 81–90.
66. See review in Günter Nitschke, *Noriaki* [=Kisho] *Kurokawa, Architectural Design* 34, (October 1964), pp. 510–512.
67. Günter Nitschke, ''The approach of Noriaki [=Kisho] Kurokawa,'' *Architectural Design* 34 (October 1964), p. 498.
68. See for example Yukio Futagawa, *The Roots of Japanese Architecture* (New York: Harper and Row, 1963). The book is a translation from a Japanese publication that presents the most famous traditional buildings in Japan, from the Ise Shrine to the Katsura Palace. In the foreword, Isamu Noguchi writes ''The book beautifully demonstrates that the true roots of Japanese architecture lie in the Japanese relationship to nature.'' Ibid., p. 7. See also Kiyoshi Higuchi, ''Restore Man and Nature to Architecture! An Appeal for Organic Architecture,'' *Japan Architect 36* (March 1961), p. 64. The author points out that the often-proclaimed similarity between traditional Japanese architecture as embodied in the Katsura Palace and Western modern architecture as embodied in Le Corbusier's buildings is merely superficial because ''Le Corbusier's floors are the product of a way of life that is separated from Nature. . . . The separation of the floor from the ground by the pilotis symbolizes the gradual loss of humanity in the world of machines.'' Japanese traditional architecture on the other hand, according to the author, still conserves an intimate relation to Nature. Ibid., p. 64.
69. Noriaki [=Kisho] Kurokawa, ''The Architecture of Action,'' *Kenchiku Bunka* (September 1964), summarized in Günter Nitschke, ''The Architecture of Action by Noriaki Kurokawa,'' *Architectural Design* 34, (December 1964), p. 603.
70. Fumihiko Maki, ''Dojima District Plan,'' *Japan Architect* 38, no. 6 (1962), pp. 10–54, and Fumihiko Maki, *Investigations in Collective Form* (St Louis, MO: Washington University Press, 1964), pp. 55–58 (Shinjuku) and pp. 72–79 (Dojima). On Maki's architecture see also Jennifer Taylor, *The Architecture of Fumihiko Maki* (Basel: Birkhäuser, 2003), and ''Fumihiko Maki,'' *Architectural Design* 76, no. 1 (2006).
71. Fumihiko Maki, *Investigations in Collective Form* (St Louis, MO: Washington University Press, 1964), p. 58.
72. Ibid., p. 58.
73. Ibid., particularly pp. 19–22.
74. Ibid, p. 19.
75. Kisho Kurokawa, *Metabolism in Architecture* (London: Studio Vista, 1977), p. 34.
76. See Kenneth Frampton, *Modern Architecture: A Critical History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), first edition, pp. 281–82.