

The writer Ango Sakaguchi provides a helpful lens for re-reading the radical, subversive and destructive obsessions of the architect Arata Isozaki.

Demolition traditions: Isozaki and Sakaguchi

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Rem Koolhaas: *The irony here is that we're trying to look at Metabolism and almost 80 per cent of the discussion is about Japanese tradition.*

Fumihiko Maki: *Oh, really?*¹

If ever an architect bit the hand that fed, it was the young Arata Isozaki, a mercurial and uncompromising architectural talent who would go on to secure establishment respectability with the Pritzker Prize of 2019. But he made his renown with designs and exhibitions exploring themes of death and destruction, not least his 'Fractures' pavilion for the 1996 Venice Biennale, which sought to stage the aftermath of the Kobe earthquake from a year earlier, while also being a leading proponent of a playful, almost saccharine postmodernism, with projects including the Team Disney HQ of 1991. Immersed in the leading currents of Japanese architecture from the 1960s onwards, his tendency to snipe at the motives of his collaborators was legendary. Commentators have tried to account for these professional shifts and antagonisms, his dour and contrarian thematic obsessions, as well as his critiques of architectural traditionalism and technological progressivism. Why did he conduct his professional life and art this way? The conclusion seems to be that he was a nihilistic maverick pushing at the outer limits of architectural culture and even taste.

This article reopens this question by tracing key themes through Isozaki's more extreme theoretical writings and design activities as they developed in response to Japanese culture in the 1960s and 1970s. It is in four sections: the first introduces the provocative tensions in Isozaki's work and how this has been accounted for; the second explores the interweaving of theories of tradition with theories of destruction by Isozaki and his contemporaries; the third focuses on Isozaki's contribution to Expo '70 in Osaka, comparing it with his paradoxical advocacy of *Todai-Ji* as an ideal kind of non-Japanese Japanese architecture. The article draws these threads together in a conclusion that offers a parallel reading of the writer Ango Sakaguchi, who was a major influence on the postwar artistic circles that Isozaki moved in. Sakaguchi's popularity

stemmed from writings that disparaged – quite outrageously and scatalogically – the traditionalist values demanded by the Japanese censorship regime during wartime. In that stance he was something of an outlier in the literary landscape of his time, much like Isozaki who sought strenuously to distance himself from architectural peers who held to the government line on traditional Japanese values and economic progress. And yet both men were perhaps much closer to the ideals, cultural practices, and people that they disparaged than they seem initially to appear.

Anti-architect

Isozaki was asked to join the Metabolist movement for its launch at the World Design Conference in Tokyo in 1960. Kenzo Tange was founder of the movement as well as Isozaki's employer at the Tange Lab of Tokyo University, and given the respect traditionally accorded to bosses and organisations in Japan it might seem unthinkable that Isozaki would refuse. But, refuse he did.²

Isozaki was sceptical of the Metabolists' technoutopian solutions to urban problems as well as their grounding of those solutions – in a seemingly contrary way – on the architectural traditions of Japan. In short, the Metabolists sought to find precedents within traditional architecture that would allow them to keep something of its essence even while modernising it to answer the need for economic growth and infrastructural expansion, both of which – respect for tradition and economic expansion – chimed with government policy at the time. The Metabolists also liked to present this cultural formulation as distinctively Japanese. Isozaki, however, was having none of it. Shortly before setting up his own practice in 1963 he marked his rupture from Tange and the Metabolists with a short story. Published in the September 1962 edition of *Japan Architect*, 'City Demolition Industry, Inc.' was a fantastical autobiographical sketch typical of Japanese tastes in the short story genre.³ The story presented the young architect's encounter with a respected, cultivated, technologically driven and progressive businessman, but one who also happens

to be an assassin. The assassin – a stand-in for Tange – propositions the young architect with a job: to assist him in the business of murdering the city itself.

Four decades later the concluding part of the story emerged. In Isozaki's 'Rumor City' (2001) the assassin and architect meet again in old age to attack the opportunism, venality, and pointlessness of each other's careers as well as their own.⁴ Unlike the ironically sober laying out of a murderous business plan in the first story, here the style veers into what reads like a stream-of-consciousness transcription of a mental breakdown. As the viewpoints of architect-creator and assassin-destroyer collide, their identities flow and eventually merge to the horror – it seems – of both of them.

Isozaki's designs, writings, and exhibitions often focus on dark themes and contrarian about-turns such as these. A good example is the deliriously spiteful composition of his Team Disney Headquarters in Orlando (1991). It begins with an entry porch shaped like Mickey Mouse's ears, which joins a structure reminiscent of Aldo Rossi's ossuary at San Cataldo Cemetery (Modena, 1971) with its internal prison-like walk-ups, and this backs onto another structure quoting the industrial cooling tower that houses the parliament chamber of Le Corbusier's Palace of Assembly (Chandigarh, 1963). Once seen, the cheerful colours can never quite offset this grim conflation of children's entertainment with industry, politics, imprisonment, and cemeteries.⁵ This may raise an ironic smile from an 'architectural connoisseur' like Peter Cook who delighted in architecture's playful uptake of 'multiple coding' in the 1970s and 1980s, and for whom Isozaki qualified as the 'architect's architect'.⁶ But Isozaki had sharp words for the connoisseur too: 'During that time, I fooled around with a nasty bastard called PoMo.'⁷

Commentaries on Isozaki have sought to account for these provocations in similarly extreme ways, resorting to monsters and hauntings. Isozaki is haunted by traumas in Japan's past, such as what Jun Tanaka describes as the 'murdered phantom children' of abortions conducted under family planning advice related to housing-size restrictions in the mid-1950s.⁸ Isozaki's collaboration with Tange in Expo '70, with its celebration of capitalist-driven technological utopianism, caused him to become in Emmanuel Petit's words, '[h]aunted by guilt for collaborating with a paradigm he reproves.'⁹ His love of disturbing architectural combinations was reflected in Hans Hollein's collage, in a 1976

exhibition at the Cooper-Hewitt Museum in New York, of what Frederic Jameson terms 'Isozaki's Body' as a Frankenstein's monster stitched together from bits of other architects.¹⁰ The medieval Buddhist aesthetic of *mujo* or impermanence, as celebrated by the monks Chomei and Saigyō in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries with their temporary and ramshackle dwellings, were also seen as formative for Isozaki. These living spaces celebrated existential impermanence, the natural cycle of seasons and even natural disasters, but rather than appreciating the recurrence of birth and decay positively Isozaki pushed it towards the straightforwardly nihilistic celebration of manmade destruction, for an architecture of what Jin Baek calls 'meaningless ashes and debris', a reflection of 'Japan under disintegration to its root'.¹¹

Isozaki remarked that, 'I have always maintained the position of an anti-architect', and that 'anti-construction [and] the mark of trauma ... [are] the core of what Japan-ness is to me', so it is understandable that commentaries about him emphasise the negatives that he delights in directing our attention to.¹² But this does not locate him quite accurately within the cultural currents of his times.

City demolition industries

Rem Koolhaas directed the 2014 Venice Biennale along thematic lines dear to him. 'Absorbing Modernity: 1914–2014' required the national pavilions, as Amy Frearson explains, 'to show, each in their own way, the process of the erasure of national characteristics in favour of the almost universal adoption of a single modern language in a single repertoire of typologies'.¹³ Most of them complied, including the Japan Pavilion. Designed by architect Keigo Kobayashi and commissioned by Kayoko Ota, a former employee of Koolhaas, the pavilion was crammed with architectural blueprints,



1 Keigo Kobayashi and Kayoko Ota, Japanese Pavilion, Venice Architecture Biennale 2014. Notice the clustering of historical decorative rubble around the floor opening of Takamasa Yoshizaka's 1956 pavilion design.

photographs, models, and books from the previous century, all stacked on, stapled, or taped to trestle tables, filing cabinets, packing crates, pallets, and oil drums. The space gave the impression of a curatorial team busting open their freight in earnest and giving up the installation halfway. Tradition featured as the pavilion's centrepiece in a most curious way. Cordoned off inside orange building site mesh was a heap of masonry and plaster rubble, cornices, scrolls, tiles, rosettes, and other bits of broken decorative trash [1]. The glazed opening in the floor of Takamasa Yoshizaka's 1956 pavilion building lay ready – by visual suggestion – for this mess of tradition to be swept out.

A few years earlier, Koolhaas and Hans Ulrich Obrist had interviewed the surviving Metabolists for *Project Japan* (2011). Anticipating a similarly dramatic trashing of tradition, Koolhaas was soon fed up and his frustration boiled over repeatedly:

It's so hard for us to imagine. You were part of a legendary movement with an incredible visual production that is still very eloquent today, yet you tell us you were looking at palaces and temples [...] this is one of the things we hear again and again but which I find totally tiring and unbelievable [...] What's puzzling for me is the combination of being extremely modern and radical on the one hand, and so completely dependent on or related to tradition on the other. It's a combination that exists only in Japan, as far as I can see. I've never seen anyone in any other culture claim modernity and at the same time claim tradition and history.¹⁴

As mentioned previously, Metabolism was launched at the World Design Conference in Tokyo in 1960, where the main contributors to the movement – Kisho Kurokawa, Masato Otaka, Fumihiko Maki, Kiyonori Kikutake, Kenji Ekuan, and Takashi Asada – were joined by Louis Kahn, Jean Prouvé, Alison and Peter Smithson, Paul Rudolph, and Ralph Erskine.¹⁵ Tange had spoken at the final CIAM (International Congresses of Modern Architecture) meeting in Otterlo in 1959 as the Team 10 splinter group claimed their victory over the old guard.¹⁶ It was here that Tange and Ernesto Rogers clashed with Peter Smithson over the value of tradition, Smithson saying it might be relevant in Japan due to the happy coincidence that the stylistic openness, lightness, and modularity of Japanese *shoin* design matched contemporary European trends, but traditional architecture in any other country was bankrupt.¹⁷ Rogers responded positively to Tange's views on tradition in this meeting, not least because he had recently completed the Torre Velasca in Milan (1958), a combination of residential and commercial skyscraper with the feel of a bristling fortress watchtower.¹⁸

Tradition was used intensively to legitimise Metabolist concepts. In 1962 Tange and Noboru Kawazoe published *Ise: Prototype of Japanese Architecture*, in which the Ise Shrine complex, rebuilt in a process known as *shikinen sengu* every twenty years since the seventh century was presented as a fusion of *Jomon* (referring to the rope-patterned clay pottery, chunky figurines, and heavy-eaved pit dwellings characteristic of Japan c. 10,000–300 BC)

and *Yayoi* (the refined post-and-beam construction techniques developed from 300 BC–300 AD). This was used to infer a prehistoric *Jomon* origin for the sculptural Brutalism of Metabolist architecture, while they also drew heritage from the structural innovation and modularity of *shoin* architecture. Katsura Imperial Villa, which was built in increments on the outskirts of Kyoto from the early seventeenth century, was the touchstone for taking a responsive, incremental approach to design using modularised building elements and dimensions, as dictated for example by the dimensions of *tatami* mats and *shoji* screens. Notwithstanding Tange's Ise-inspired winning design for the Memorial Hall for the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere (GEACPS) at the height of Japan's imperial ambitions in 1942, by the 1960s he was not advocating the literal copying of tradition. His advice had much in common with the concluding challenge of Martin Heidegger's 'Building Dwelling Thinking' (1954), where contemporary architects were tasked to consider how they might learn from tradition while not forgoing the technologies and expectations of the present. The best of tradition, according to Tange, 'will always challenge us anew with the question: "What are the symbols of the present?"'¹⁹

A key design idea that emerged from Metabolism was the megastructure, conceived as a sprawling land mass rather than a building. Megastructures would be raised up over the earth and cities below, delivering essentials such as water and electricity, and plug-in capsules would be used to adapt residential, commercial, industrial, and leisure facilities as required. So vast were many of these schemes, such as the proposals to colonise Tokyo Bay for millions of inhabitants in the late 1950s, that the inheritance of tradition from Ise and Katsura might seem a bit strained. But Ise's *sengu* with its respect for nature's rhythms and Katsura's incremental growth were distilled to a metaphor of cycles of renewal and adaptability, as living cells and tissues accrete and regenerate metabolically around the nerves and circulation systems of the megastructure. This represented a living vernacular for the Metabolists.²⁰

The Metabolists combined this other aspects of tradition inspired by disaster and destruction: the inescapable fact of inhabiting an earthquake and tsunami stricken land; the fires that razed the packed timber houses of Tokyo so often they were aestheticised into the phrase *Edo-no-hana* or 'flowers of Edo'; the firebombing of cities during the Second World War and the atomic destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki at its close. All of these were embraced and folded into an aesthetics of destruction as a kind of Japanese tradition in itself.

Kurokawa witnessed the aerial bombardments of Nagoya in WWII and recalls:

One night, two or three hundred bombers flew over the city and nothing remained. Nagoya's population of 1.5 million and its 230-year history disappeared overnight. I was shocked. Standing amidst the rubble, my father said, 'now we must build the city from scratch'.²¹

What one might take for a straightforward pragmatic resolve to put things right, however, ran

much deeper. Kurokawa continued: 'Everything we see is impermanent. Whole cities can vanish in a day of warfare.' Kurokawa aligned this event with the ancient tradition of destruction and renewal at Ise, baiting his increasingly exasperated interviewer – Koolhaas – with, 'Do you understand?'²² The designer Kenji Ekuon had a similar response to the bombing of Hiroshima, which occurred when he was serving in the navy:

*When I stood in the ruins of the city after losing my father and sister to the bomb, there, in a world where nothing was left at all, I felt the call of all things manmade [...] When the evening came, the setting sun was just so amazingly beautiful, setting the horrific ruins aglow in the crimson light – it was as if the light of the western sun upon the atomic hellscape transformed it into a dazzling vision of paradise.*²³

Originally destined for the Buddhist priesthood, Ekuon changed tack and founded the GK Design Group with iconic design credits from the first *shinkansen* to the Kikkoman soy sauce bottle. He attributed this scene of 'primal significance' at Hiroshima to his Buddhist-derived design philosophy that 'change drives new growth'.²⁴

The Metabolists saw the growth, responsiveness, and adaptability of their megastructures as keying into an aesthetic of what Tange and Kawazoe called 'the impermanence of all things', which combined the architectural prototypes mentioned earlier with the Shinto respect for the rhythms of nature and the Zen Buddhist-inspired aesthetic of *wabi sabi*, where dilapidation and decay are celebrated.²⁵ In the Western cultural consciousness, and indeed in institutional heritage practices, tradition is most obviously linked with preservation rather than destruction, but the Metabolists harboured an aesthetic of tradition that is nourished and refreshed by destruction. Koolhaas swatted this away as a strange manifestation of extreme right-wing sentiment, akin to a modern architect under the Nazis taking up neo-classicism for pleasure rather than under coercion, and he was right to be sceptical of some of the more mystical claims about the spiritual depths of this kind of tradition, as some of it was politics pure and simple. Kikutake, for example, saw the artificial ground of his vast A-frames as an ironic reclamation of the extensive territories across Kyushu that his rich landlord family had been dispossessed of through the US-mandated Land Reform Act of 1947.²⁶

Isozaki sought, in his own words, to 'keep a distance' between himself and the Metabolists, being suspicious of their views on tradition and nationhood and of the way they fed this back into a 'too optimistic' technology-driven progressivism. In summary, he said, 'these architects had no scepticism towards their utopia'.²⁷ He was critical also of what he saw as their lack of cultural curiosity beyond architecture and technology, especially their ignorance of the radical artistic circles that Isozaki himself moved in.²⁸ The short story mentioned earlier, 'City Demolition Industry, Inc.', became a key marker of this standpoint both in its content and in the experimental form it took to deliver an architectural theory.

It begins with the protagonist S., an assassin later revealed to be Sin, presenting the business card of his new company to the architect known as Arata. A connoisseur of 'the beauty of a murder well done', Sin changed career when it turned out 'a monster had emerged that kept hurting his professional pride day and night!'²⁹ The monster was 'the mechanism called the city', which had perfected the automated mass murder of its populace and damaged the pride and earning potential of assassins.³⁰ In order to restore murder to its status as a creative art, into something 'elegant, pleasant and humanistic', these 'inhuman cities' must be destroyed.³¹ The gaudy and rickety heap of Tokyo was the number one city on Sin's hit-list. Sin, a cypher for Tange, offers Arata a job.

Sin's business plan included three types of city destruction. First came the physical, ranging from muscle-power to nuclear bombs; second was the functional, involving the sewing of anarchy by abolishing planning laws, disrupting communication networks and traffic signals, and the poisoning of reservoirs; third was destruction via images, by means of the encouragement of silly, utopian, future-looking planning schemes and architectural theories. The implication is that the encouragement of organised planning and utopian ideals is no less destructive than the more obviously wanton measure outlined in points one and two, which is confirmed with Arata's assertion that when you 'put city planning into practice, and you will find it an excellent means for throwing the city into turmoil and for stultifying its energy'.³² Arata considers Sin's offer before concluding that the city is a 'complicated *feedback mechanism*' and would outfox any attempt to control or destroy it.³³ Sin is implied to be a fool and they part in a flurry of insults before Isozaki's postscript that 'Sin' and 'Arata' are the Chinese and Japanese phonetic readings of the kanji of the author's name. But 'S. is a poet', he teases, 'and so it may be that he is proud that only poets can understand his true intention'.³⁴

The meaning of this text is not so inscrutable, however. It is Isozaki signalling his disenchantment with an architectural movement that is committed to a foolhardy plan to bend cities to its will through a murderous combination of total destruction and utopian planning, which for Isozaki equate to the same thing. It is also Isozaki dramatically raging against an internalised version of Tange that worryingly has become part of his own personality. In the same year, 1962, Isozaki published his 'Clusters in the Air' scheme, a proposal for residential megastructures. The clusters would have risen above the city and flouted Japan's residential height restrictions at the time, but most importantly the design gesture served to underline Isozaki's disdain for the optimistic urbanism of the Metabolists:

*I am no longer going to consider architecture that is below 30 meters in height [...] I am leaving everything below 30 meters to others. If they think they can unravel the mess in this city, let them try.*³⁵

Isozaki's fascination with destruction, which he shared with the Metabolists, was rooted in a keen

sensitivity to Japanese and other Oriental traditions, also shared with the Metabolists. His 1962 clusters were hyper-modern but modelled with knowing irony on the interlocking bracket-system typical of traditional *dougong* style joinery that the Japanese had imported from China. Indeed, one of his most elaborately disruptive designs, the Tsukuba Center (1983), was motivated by a perceived affront to Japanese urban traditions. Isozaki commented that when CIAM sought to rediscover the urban core with their 'Heart of the City' conference in 1951 it could never apply to the Japanese, who had no urban or even linguistic concept of city centre or plaza. He reinforced this point with the Tsukuba Center, a central plaza for Tsukuba Science City, which was built from the early 1960s onwards north of Tokyo as Japan's first postwar new town. For a country that had no concept of plaza, Isozaki designed a broken, sunken version of Michelangelo's Piazza del Campidoglio, and undermined the typical enclosing function of plaza typology with an L-shape of surrounding buildings, which themselves seem broken.³⁶ Isozaki has traced the oval outline but reversed the colouring of Michelangelo's paving: grey on white instead of white on grey. Granite and silver mirror tiles, freestanding columns, and quotations ranging from Francesco Borromini and Claude-Nicolas Ledoux to Michael Graves and Peter Eisenman are brought together into a nervy mess of imported Westernisms, centred on the ruined plaza. Inverting the orderly ascension into Michelangelo's piazza, here the Campidoglio oval is sunk into the ground and smashed at one corner, as if melted by an atom bomb or the ground shaken away, and it is down this crumbling corner that one enters it, accompanied by a waterfall that drains away through the plughole of a feeble fountain in the centre.³⁷ In short, Isozaki's composition combines the imagery of destruction into a prickly and intellectual kind of protest architecture that violates the concept of the urban plaza.

Expo '70 and Todai-Ji

After setting up his own office, Isozaki continued to accept jobs from Tange with agendas he ostensibly despised. These included the progressive Metabolist masterplan for Skopje in 1966 and the Osaka World Expo '70 with its vast public plaza. Given Isozaki's involvement in 'Neo-Dada' protest art in the 1960s after leaving Tange, including his exhibition design of 'From Space to Environment' in Tokyo 1966, which featured many artists who went on to protest the elitism and commercialism of Expo '70 and excoriate its participants as akin to Second World War imperial propogandists, Isozaki's ongoing collaboration with Tange was provocative indeed.³⁸

Expo '70 was designed to showcase Japan's resurgent economy and technologies, and it drew 76 participating countries and 65 million visitors. It was situated in Osaka after local governments in Kansai lobbied to attract the event away from Tokyo, syphoning investment, infrastructural, and planning expertise to their region. The central transport hub – the so-called 'Symbol Zone' complete



2

2 Osaka Expo '70. Right (background): Kenzo Tange's Big Roof. Left (foreground): Kisho Kurokawa's Takara Beautilion. Both structures demonstrate the Metabolist commitment to adaptable, modular structures into which pods could be inserted to serve various uses.

3a, b Taro Okamoto, Tower of the Sun, Osaka Expo '70. The Big Roof has long been dismantled, but the Tower of the Sun was recently refurbished and remains popular with tourists, children, and toy manufacturers. It horrified Isozaki.



3a



3b

with 'Festival Plaza' – was proposed originally by Uzo Nishiyama, a local planner with a commitment to community housing and welfare. Nishiyama was brought onto the master-planning team jointly with Tange and rivalries arose from the clash of what vision of Japan the plaza should represent. For Nishiyama the plaza was intended to stimulate the face-to-face human interactions of traditional Japanese festivals or *matsuri*, while Tange favoured a digital plaza replete with the imagery of technology, cybernetics, and networks. Nishiyama did not share faith in peaceful technological progress that the Expo foregrounded in its motto of 'Harmony and Progress' – citing the technologised Cold War as proof against it – and resigned under pressure from officials who favoured Tange's vision. Tange's team led the final designs but retained Nishiyama's core ideas and terminologies.³⁹

The centrepiece of the exhibition remained the Symbol Zone under Tange's imaginatively titled 'Big Roof', a Konrad Wachsmann-inspired space-frame structure, covering 30,000 square metres of the Festival Plaza below [2]. Isozaki accepted the job of technical lead of the plaza. His 1966 essay 'Invisible City' redeployed Norbert Wiener's research into cybernetics, inspired in part by the electromagnetic feedback systems of Second World War anti-aircraft technologies, as the basis for a cybernetic city, and he tried to realise this in the plaza as an ever-adapting performance space. He designed two robots, named 'Deme' and 'Deku', each fourteen meters tall, which could sense ambient light and sound levels around the plaza and responded by choreographing their own light and sound show through remixing combinations of prerecorded magnetic tapes.⁴⁰ Suspended high up in the lattice of ball-joints, trusses, and girders, and just below the inflatable roof panels, were a scattering of candy-coloured capsules offering visions of future living by Maki and Kurokawa as well as by foreign architects including Moshe Safdie, Yona Friedman, and Hans Hollein. As an optimistic, tech-infused Metabolist metaphor, Isozaki's design could not have been more on-message.

The most striking thing about the Big Roof, however, was the 'Tower of the Sun' by the charismatic sculptor Taro Okamoto [3]. Okamoto had worked with André Breton and Georges Bataille in Paris in the 1930s but made his name after returning to Japan in 1940 and commencing quasi-Surrealist work drawing on Japanese folk traditions including *Jomon* clay figurines. As one of the producers of the Expo, Okamoto was able to demand that a circular hole be designed into the Big Roof to allow his sculpture to emerge up through it. From the front it presented a rough-textured white cone with arms extended and red tiles zig-zagging down the sides of a pinched face. Viewed from underneath the face morphs into a crescent moon passing over the surface of the sun, and on the rear a calmer, less animated face in black tile peered directly forward, green flames radiating out, the moon here in full eclipse of the sun. Topping it off at a height of seventy metres a radar dish bird's face in gold

anodised aluminium craned its neck forwards, two huge arc-lights for eyes scanning out from either side of a parted beak. Within the tower was an installation, the 'Tree of Life', whose trunk and neon-coloured branches snaked up through the space. The story of evolution was enacted around the tree with models designed by Okamoto in collaboration with the special effects company Tsuburaya Productions, who made the heroes and monsters – or *kaiju* – for the Ultraman TV series. Starting at the bottom with protozoa as large and gaudy as space-hoppers the exhibits rose up through sea creatures, smiling dinosaurs and beyond. Visitors entered the installation from ground level and exited through upper level platforms where the tower linked into the chic space-age living pods of the Big Roof, symbolising the pinnacle of the evolution of human life. Okamoto's insistence on having the Tower of Sun erupt through the Big Roof was a playful yet confrontational gesture against the serious-minded Metabolists and his own friend Tange.⁴¹

Isozaki was affronted by Okamoto's disruption of his techno-progressive Festival Plaza with this populist take on *Jomon* sculptural tradition:

*This was a clash of differences – modern versus anti-modern [...] But alas, when at last I saw Okamoto's tower (looking like a giant phallus) penetrating the soft membrane of the roof, I thought to myself that the battle for modernity had finally been lost. The primordial – which Tange had cast as 'primeval darkness and eternal light' – ended up as bombastic kitsch, in all too candid a manner. The smiling mask affixed to the tower felt somewhat eerily like a presiding alien.*⁴²

This was tradition as kitsch, he continued, representing a 'Japan-ness [that] readily descends into sheer vulgarity, to the extent of the horrifying.' Despite his central involvement with Osaka '70 Isozaki soon distanced himself from this as well, mentioning that, 'the name "festival plaza" impressed me as totally uncool, the kind of cheesy term one would even hesitate to pronounce'. It was this experience that turned him against the plaza concept entirely, leading to its provocative inversion in the design of Tsukuba and his criticism of the plaza in Tange's Tokyo Metropolitan Government complex (1991) as 'a pastiche solution based on a defunct Western cliché'.⁴³ And it did not help that the radical artists who Isozaki was associated with protested his cybernetic plaza with its militaristic origins – which indeed Isozaki knew about – and the dangers it posed in paving the way for government surveillance systems.⁴⁴ Isozaki would ultimately conclude, in typically abrasive style, that the Expo was akin to a nuclear meltdown or an oil spill, and his own participation was equivalent to a war crime.⁴⁵

Isozaki sanctioned one work of architecture above all others as an authentic response to Japanese culture and identity. Predictably, perhaps, it was a work that in his view was demonstrably not Japanese; and strangely, it was a vast open latticework structure housing a colossal figurative sculpture. This work was the *Daijutsu-den* (Great Buddha Hall) of *Todai-Ji* in Nara, the colossal housing for a Buddha statue that was rebuilt from 1190 by the Buddhist



4a

4a, b Chogen, *Daibutsu-den* [Great Buddha Hall], *Todai-ji*, Nara, 1705. The rebuild of Chogen's thirteenth-century original, substantially scaled down from eleven to seven bays. The addition of a suspended ceiling concealed the complex inner-roof structure that previously had been exposed, with

the effect of amplifying the presence of the Buddha statue at the expense of the structure. Isozaki objected to this: it was a vulgar historical precedent for the insult later visited upon Tange's Big Roof by Okamoto's Tower of the Sun.

monk Chogen. The eighth-century original had burnt down and Chogen was secured to rebuild it, which he did in the *daibutsu-yo* (Great Buddha style) that he had encountered during travels in China. With assistance from the Chinese structural engineer Chin Nakei, the resulting pavilion dwarfed the bronze Buddha statue inside, its columnar construction being arranged into a grid seven bays across and three deep. Most notable, apart from the colossal scale, was the latticework of structural elements that were exposed within as a defining feature of the composition, receding into the dark depths at the building's height. This building burnt down in its turn in 1567 and a scaled down rebuilding of it in 1705 saw the structural latticework concealed behind a suspended ceiling that served to amplify the massive presence of the statue, approximately fifteen metres tall by thirty across, which since that time has dominated the structure [4]. A sense of how Chogen's open latticework version must have felt can be had, Isozaki observed, from another structure that he built on



4b



5a



5b

5a, b Chogen, *Nandai-mon* [*Southern Gatehouse*], *Todai-ji*, Nara, 1203. The open latticework of the interior structure is faded but intact, providing some sense of how Chogen's original

iteration of the much larger *Daibutsu-den* must have felt. It represented an awe-inspiring and even terrifying 'techno-nihilism' of which Isozaki approved.

the same site in 1203 that survives intact: the *Nandai-mon* [*Southern Gatehouse*] [5].⁴⁶

But what did Isozaki so admire in Chogen's version of the *Daibutsu-den*? He admired its structural massiveness and dynamism and the way it must have unsettled through its uncompromising scale and emptiness. This 'huge empty space', he said, 'articulated by a crisscrossing lattice of structure ... [was] a sweeping tectonic force ... [that] yielded a decisive break with the delicate ministrations of a nationalist culture'. 'Technological innovation', he continued approvingly, mutated here into 'techno-nihilism'.⁴⁷ Isozaki saw parallels for this in the gaping void of Filippo Brunelleschi's dome for Florence Cathedral in the fifteenth century, but more particularly in the ingenious mobile aerial scaffolding hanging precariously from the interior surfaces – with its implied open latticework – that he invented for its construction. Isozaki folds this reference over Chogen and indeed himself, seeing the search for the gigantic, the overwhelming, the disruptive and frightening, as the correct response to moments of intense historical change and challenge. Brunelleschi had been responding to the emerging cultural and financial powerhouse of Florence, Chogen to the transition to Shogunate rule and the ascendancy of the Samurai class, while Isozaki was responding to the burnt out cities of the Second World War, the collapse of Japanese imperialism, and his colleagues' uncritical faith in a technological future. Although positivity, restraint, and genteel architectural taste would always reassert themselves to calm the waters of change, the correct response to such societal upheavals was exemplified perfectly in Chogen's *Todai-ji*: 'his "work" displays the universality of a particular architectonic ideal arising in periods of revolutionary diastrophism', Isozaki said, '[where] the bizarre, unsound, and wondrous are welcomed'.⁴⁸

Heart of Japan

Isozaki's stance on questions of Japanese architectural culture and practice shifts in a way that seems unpredictable. Whether considering architectural tradition, technological futurism, a structural-tectonic, or a surface-scenographic approach to architecture, his stance shifts from disdain to advocacy and back again; and usually in relation to collaborators linked with these approaches, who then come in for scathing recrimination. It is difficult to see much other than a design method and intellectual agenda fuelled by the desire to be disruptive and contrary at every turn. But this churn of values seems to owe something to another controversial figure whose work was lionised in the radical artistic circles that Isozaki moved in: the novelist Ango Sakaguchi. Sakaguchi achieved notoriety with two highly confrontational essays, 'A Personal View of Japanese Culture' (1942) and the two-part 'Discourse on Decadence' (1946), both of which delighted in excoriating traditional Japanese taste and any notion of national identity.⁴⁹

At first the essays read like an over-strenuous attempt to shock at any cost. Sakaguchi derides the priesthood as a bunch of lecherous crooks, dismisses the postwar rediscovery of the traditional values of rural culture as absurd (as the rural has no culture), advocates the demolition of famous temples and palaces and replacing them with carparks, and derides the notion of good Japanese taste and the stereotypes of traditional Japanese culture such as *ikebana*, Sumo, the *bushido* warrior code, Katsura and the rock gardens of Ryoan-ji. He much preferred to be 'enveloped in the stench of piss in the Arashiyama theatre', watching cheap variety-show skits, 'every last one of which was too terrible for words'.⁵⁰ Like Isozaki, he celebrates the excessive and over-scaled over the refined and self-consciously Japanese; much better, then, the bombastic excesses of the architecture of the warlord Hideyoshi Toyotomi, rather than the faux-peasant restraint of the teahouses designed by his tea-master, Sen-no-Rikyū. Indeed, Sakaguchi argued, the very self-consciousness of the Japanese aesthetic of restraint and purity, and the strenuous attempt of Zen Buddhist aesthetics to see beauty in transitory phenomena and the passage of time, was so counter-intuitive to the human spirit and required such huge expenditure of time and effort that it was already a kind of kitsch excess in reverse. 'If both simplicity and ostentation are ultimately vulgar', he reasoned, 'then surely one is better off adopting a magnanimity capable of embracing a vulgarity that revels in its vulgarity rather than clinging to a pettiness that remains vulgar in its attempt to transcend that state.'⁵¹ Why not be honest, then, and throw oneself into those arts and activities that involve 'pushing a worldly vulgarity to its very limits'?⁵² Sakaguchi admired the brutal, honest architectures of Kosuge Prison, a dry ice factory, a battleship. 'More than traditional beauty or intrinsically Japanese forms, we need more convenience in our lives', he argued, concluding

that, 'it is quite conceivable that customs followed in foreign countries and not in Japan are, in fact, better suited to the Japanese.'⁵³

Sakaguchi's advocacy of vulgarity and decadence was not just for shock value, however. In this fall into 'the womb of all truth: decadence' and in the adulteration of their culture the Japanese would rediscover their authentic core-identities for the 'resurrection of our humanity' and 'true human salvation'.⁵⁴ Anything that halted that fall and rediscovery – such as adherence to the 'conventional proprieties' of traditional aesthetics, good taste, well-mannered behaviour or moral codes – must be destroyed.⁵⁵ It is likely for this reason that Sakaguchi's earlier 1942 wartime piece went uncensored, bearing in mind that the imperial censorship regime had been in place since 1925 and was by that time at a pitch when any anti-Japanese sentiment could lead to imprisonment. This is because Sakaguchi fundamentally took a positive view of a Japanese resurgence, rooted on a core national character. Those Westerners who laughed at what he called Japan's 'apish imitation' of Western culture might find that 'the last laugh might not be theirs after all'.⁵⁶ He caused little controversy during his lifetime, which included writing pro-government literature and fundraising propaganda for the war effort, and it was only after his death in 1955 that leftist commentators in the 1960s and 1970s re-invented him as a transgressive and subversive'. What Ango in effect accomplishes in his dismissal of the more transparently contrived discursive constructions of nation', concludes James Dorsey, 'is the production of an alternative, tremendously seductive, and almost invisible nationalism.'⁵⁷

The thematic similarities with Isozaki are striking: the advocacy of architectures of excess; the acceptance of imported styles, tastes and expertise; the revelling in destruction and conflict; the flouting of standards of professional conduct. Sakaguchi indeed pre-empted the more orthodox Metabolists in his reminiscences of the 'mystical intensity' of the aftermath of a Tokyo firebombing raid: 'I loved the colossal destruction [...] The curiosity I felt towards the coming miraculous rebirth in a new world was by far the most striking emotion I've ever experienced.'⁵⁸

With their ostensibly nihilistic and even self-loathing rejection of Japanese tradition tempered with a pride in recovering something fundamental from those traditions, I believe Sakaguchi's writings help shine a light on similar tensions in Isozaki. They suggest a belief in an authentic national culture predicated on vigorous rebirth, but one that only comes after everything suspect – including the well-established clichés of good taste and culture – had been scandalised and forcibly shaken down to their foundations. It seems that the more acid these men could pour on the traditionalist forms and narratives that their peers used to nourish a sense of nationhood, the better they felt their chances of revealing whether there was anything authentic still surviving beneath.

Conclusion

Speaking of his two Demolition stories, Isozaki said 'I can't explain it logically because [...] I'm kind of a schizophrenic, divided.'⁵⁹ The concluding story, 'Rumor City', finds the two older architects bickering about their past careers. Sin – or Tange – has become a 'brain-dead' corporate sell-out, Arata has squandered his life on the 'theological jargon' of the 'hacks' of the East Coast architectural scene of the 1970s and 1980s.⁶⁰ He is lampooned by Sin for his negativity, a career measured out by 'simply attach[ing] negative prefixes one upon another' – 'anti-', 'im-', 'de-', and 'un-' – not least against the prospect of a progressive utopian future.⁶¹ Sin and Arata trade insults paragraph by paragraph, before the voices blend into one another despite the ferocious territoriality of both sides. Isozaki's rage seems weirdly directed against an internalised version of those tendencies that he distrusts, which are personified and professionalised in the presence of Tange over his own career and the architectural landscape of Japan. The twin discourses of traditionalism and utopianism were formative upon even the most radical of architects seeking to

establish a new platform in 1960s Japan. Finally, then, Isozaki seems to concede to a fundamental faith in utopianism leading to national renewal, arguing that his corrosive negativity was always meant as a way of respecting and preserving it in its purest form: 'I tried to drag its carcass out, rip off its sacred cover, restore it, and let it ascend to Heaven.'⁶²

It is perhaps this affinity with the progressive values not only of Metabolism but also its roots in the adaptability of Japanese national traditions that we find in Isozaki's reactions to the Tohoku earthquake and tsunami of 2011, where he called for a 'soft architecture' – adaptable and mobile just like Metabolism – and with it a new 'system of society'.⁶³ And perhaps there are glimpses even of a more straightforward conservatism in his condemnation of Zaha Hadid's competition-winning design for the Tokyo Olympic Stadium, in which he demanded that the runner-up scheme by Kazuyo Sejima also be built. This should be situated near the Imperial Palace and the opening and closing ceremonies would be held there, Isozaki said, 'against a backdrop of scenery that represents the heart of Japan'.⁶⁴

Notes

1. Rem Koolhaas and Hans Ulrich Obrist, *Project Japan, Metabolism Talks*, ed. by Kayoko Ota and James Westcott (Cologne: Taschen GmbH, 2011), p. 307.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 35–6.
3. Arata Isozaki, 'City Demolition Industry, Inc.' (1962), trans. by Hiroshi Watanabe, in *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 106:4 (autumn 2007), 853–8; on Japanese short story conventions, see *The Oxford Book of Japanese Short Stories*, ed. by Theodore Goossen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. xxi–iii.
4. Arata Isozaki, 'Rumor City' (2001), trans. by Hiroshi Watanabe, in *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 106:4 (autumn 2007), 859–69.
5. Arata Isozaki, *Japan-ness in Architecture*, trans. by Sabu Kohso, 2nd edn (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2011), pp. 80–9, 97–100. See also his Electric Labyrinth installation at the Milan Triennale of 1968, which featured Hokusai's ukiyo-e prints on 'The nine stages of the process through which a beautiful woman decays after death', as well as photographs of the afterimages of real bodies incinerated into black silhouettes on the ground by atom bombs, and his 1996 Venice Biennale pavilion 'Fractures', which featured images, debris, and recreations of disaster and emergency scenes from the Kobe earthquake of the previous year.
6. Peter Cook, cited in Koolhaas and Obrist, *Project Japan*, pp. 47, 49.
7. Isozaki, 'Rumor City', p. 863.
8. Jun Tanaka, 'Decaying "Swamp City": The Death of Showa and Tokyo', *Japan Forum*, 23:2 (2011), 273–85 (p. 284).
9. Emmanuel Petit, 'Incubation and Decay: Arata Isozaki's Architectural Poetics – Metabolism's Dialogical "Other"', *Perspecta*, 40 (2008), 152–63 (p. 153).
10. Frederic Jameson, 'Introduction to Isozaki Arata's "City Demolition Industry, Inc." and "Rumor City"', *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 106:4 (autumn 2007), 849–52.
11. Jin Baek, 'MUJO, OR EPHEMERALITY: the Discourse of the Ruins in Post-War Japanese Architecture', *Architectural Theory Review*, 11:2 (2006), 66–76 (pp. 71, 73); see also Marcus Shaffer, 'Incongruity, Bizarreness, and Transcendence: The Cultural/Ritual Machine vs. Technocratic Rationalism at Expo '70', in *Globalizing Architecture: Flows and Disruptions, Proceedings of 102nd Annual Meeting of the Associated Collegiate Schools of Architecture* (April 2014), pp. 42–51.
12. Isozaki, *Japan-ness*, p. 89; see also Arata Isozaki, 'Seeking the Design of System "After the March 11, 2011 Earthquake"', trans. by Yasufumi Nakamori and Suma Pandhi, *Journal of Architectural Education*, 65:2 (April 2012), 104–05.
13. Amy Frearson, 'Rem Koolhaas Reveals Title for Venice Architecture Biennale 2014', *Dezeen*, 25 January 2013 <<https://www.dezeen.com/2013/01/25/rem-koolhaas-reveals-title-for-venice-architecture-biennale-2014/>> [accessed 1 March 2021].
14. Koolhaas and Obrist, *Project Japan*, pp. 485, 383, and 227 (interviews with Kenji Ekuo, Kisho Kurokawa, and Noboru Kawazoe, respectively).
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 35–6, 174–221, 664–5.
16. Alison Smithson, ed., 'Team 10 Primer', *Architectural Design*, 32:12 (1962), 559–602; *Team 10: In Search of a Utopia of the Present, 1953–81*, ed. by Dirk van den Heuvel and Max Risselada (Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, 2005).
17. Koolhaas and Obrist, *Project Japan*, pp. 126, 222.
18. Liane Lefavre and Alexander Tzonis, *Critical Regionalism: Architecture and Identity in a Globalized World* (London: Prestel Verlag, 2003), pp. 42–5; Neil Jackson, 'Tradition and Modernity: Architecture in Japan after Hiroshima', in *The Blitz and Its Legacy: Wartime Destruction to Post-War Reconstruction*, ed. by Mark Crinson and Peter J. Larkham (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 113–21.
19. Kenzo Tange and Noboru Kawazoe, *Ise: Prototype of Japanese Architecture*, trans. by Eric Klestadt and John Bester (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1965), p. 52, more generally see pp. 14–30, 46–7, 51–2, 165–206; Martin Heidegger,

- 'Building Dwelling Thinking', trans. by A. Hofstadter, in *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory*, ed. by Neil Leach (London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 100–09. For the philosophical and heritage debates generated by Ise, see: Simon Richards, 'The Moving Image of Eternity': Idealism, Incompleteness and Ise Jing', *Philosophy East and West*, 68:3 (July 2018), 802–25, and 'Weighing Up Intangible Heritage: A View from Ise', in *A Museum Studies Approach to Heritage*, ed. by Amy Barnes, Katy Bunning, Sheila Watson (London, Routledge: 2019), pp. 113–31.
20. These designs, Kawazoe said, whether classic Japanese or contemporary Metabolist, 'had (their) own metabolism, which allowed (them) to keep pace with the cycle of life in nature and society'. See: Tange and Kawazoe, *Ise: Prototype of Japanese Architecture*, p. 206. Fumihiko Maki studied vernacular architecture in the late 1950s in Europe, the Middle East and Asia, and co-authored *Investigations in Collective Form*, which looked at the ad hoc vernacular elements that would grow upon the support structures. This accretive approach was operationalised in Maki's Hillside Terrace in the Daikanyama district of Tokyo (1969–92). See: Koolhaas and Obrist, *Project Japan*, pp. 301, 307–09, 353; Fumihiko Maki and Masato Otaka, *Investigations in Collective Form* (St Louis: Washington University School of Architecture, 1964), pp. 4, 8, 16.
21. Koolhaas and Obrist, *Project Japan*, p. 383.
22. *Ibid.*, pp. 384–5. See also: Kisho Kurokawa, 'What is the Legacy of Modern Architecture?', in *Back from Utopia: The Challenge of the Modern Movement*, ed. by Hubert-Jan Henket and Hilde Heynen (Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 2002), pp. 252–58.
23. Koolhaas and Obrist, *Project Japan*, p. 481.
24. *Ibid.* For more on the relationship between Japanese architecture and disaster scenarios, see: Cheri Weldenken, 'Putting Metabolism Back in Place: The Making of a Radically Decontextualized Architecture', in *Anxious Modernisms: Experimentation in Postwar Architectural Culture*, ed. by Sarah Williams Goldhagen and Réjean Lejault (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2000), pp. 279–99, and Tomoko Tamari, 'Metabolism: Utopian Urbanism and the Japanese Modern Architecture Movement', *Theory, Culture and Society*, 31:7/8 (September 2014), 201–25.
25. Tange and Kawazoe, *Ise: Prototype of Japanese Architecture*, p. 202.
26. For Koolhaas's recurring stance on what he took to be the tainted politics of Metabolism, see: Koolhaas and Obrist, *Project Japan*, pp. 133–5, 143, 237, 378–91, 647–8, 668–77.
27. *Ibid.*, pp. 37, 49; see also: *Architecture Culture 1943–1968: A Documentary Anthology*, ed. by Joan Ockman (New York: Rizzoli, 1993), p. 402.
28. Koolhaas and Obrist, *Project Japan*, pp. 37, 43.
29. Isozaki, 'City Demolition Industry', p. 854.
30. *Ibid.*
31. *Ibid.*
32. *Ibid.*, p. 856.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 857.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 858.
35. Koolhaas and Obrist, *Project Japan*, p. 40. For an analysis of the complex mix of land price, inheritance tax, and construction cost factors that frustrate comprehensive planning initiatives in Japan, see: Botond Bogner, 'What Goes Up, Must Come Down: Recent Urban Architecture in Japan', *Harvard Design Magazine*, No. 3 (autumn 1997), 1–8.
36. Isozaki, *Japan-ness*, pp. 23–8, 59–80, 147–51.
37. Geoffrey Broadbent, *Emerging Concepts in Urban Space Design* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1990), pp. 290–92; see also: Ken Tadashi Oshima, *Arata Isozaki* (London: Phaidon, 2009), pp. 122–7.
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39. For the organisational details of the Expo including its key players and rivalries, see: Andrea Yuri Flores Urushima, 'The 1970 Osaka Expo: Local Planners, National Planning Processes and Mega Events', *Planning Perspectives*, 26:4 (2011), 635–47, and Urushima, 'Genesis and Culmination of Uzo Nishiyama's Proposal of a "Model Core of a Future City" for the Expo '70 site (1960–73)', *Planning Perspectives*, 22:4 (2007), 391–416. For accounts of the techno-progressivist agenda of the Expo and its coverage in the mass media, see: Hyunjung Cho, 'Expo '70: The Model City of an Information Society', *Review of Japanese Culture and Society*, 23 (December 2011), 57–71, and Angus Lockyer, 'The Logic of Spectacle, c. 1970', *Art History*, 30:4 (September 2007), 571–89.
40. Cho, 'Expo '70', pp. 62–6; see also: Kate Linzey, 'Reflective Interiors: The Pepsi Pavilion and the Tower of the Sun', *Interstices*, 12 (March 2011), 76–83.
41. For details of Okamoto's intervention and the problems it caused with Tange and others, see: Koolhaas and Obrist, *Project Japan*, pp. 20, 31–5, 120–1, 511–19, and Isozaki, *Japan-ness*, pp. 38–9.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 76.
43. For this litany of attacks by Isozaki against Okamoto and against plazas as a form of Western kitsch, see *ibid.*, pp. 56, 71–2, 80. See also: Koolhaas and Obrist, *Project Japan*, pp. 31, 35, for more of Isozaki's scorn for Okamoto, and pp. 45–6 where he decries Metabolism as artistically philistine.
44. Cho, 'Expo '70', p. 66.
45. Arata Isozaki, 'Recalling the Days of Expo Art (?)', trans. by Machida Gen, *Review of Japanese Culture and Society*, 23 (December 2011), 72–80.
46. Isozaki, *Japan-ness*, pp. 179–81, 205–09; see also: Janet R. Goodwin, 'Go-Shirakawa and the Rebuilding of Todai-ji', *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, 17:2/3 (1990), 219–42.
47. Isozaki, *Japan-ness*, pp. 188, 205, 209, 211.
48. *Ibid.*, pp. 215, 239, 243–4.
49. Ango Sakaguchi, 'A Personal View of Japanese Culture' (1942) and Sakaguchi, 'Discourse on Decadence' Parts I and II (1946), trans. by James Dorsey, in *Literary Mischief: Sakaguchi Ango, Culture, and the War*, ed. by James Dorsey and Doug Slaymaker (Lexington Books/ ebook: 2010), n.p.

50. Sakaguchi, 'Personal View', n.p.
 51. Ibid.
 52. Ibid.
 53. Ibid.
 54. Sakaguchi, 'Discourse on Decadence', n.p.
 55. Ibid.
 56. Sakaguchi, 'Personal View', n.p.
 57. James Dorsey, 'Culture, Nationalism, and Sakaguchi Ango', *The Journal of Japanese Studies*, 27:2 (summer 2001), 347–79 (pp. 359–67). James Mark Shields also highlights Sakaguchi's conservatism and nationalism in 'Smashing the Mirror of Yamato: Sakaguchi Ango, Decadence, and a (Post-Metaphysical) Buddhist Critique of Culture', *Japan Review*, 23 (2011), 225–46. For an example of the more established view of Sakaguchi as a transgressive radical, see: Nishikawa Nagao, 'Two Personal Views of Japanese Culture', trans. by Mikiko Murata and Gavan McCormack, in *Multicultural Japan: Paleolithic to Postmodern*, ed. by Donald Denoon and others (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 245–64.
 58. Sakaguchi, 'Discourse on Decadence', n.p.
 59. Koolhaas and Obrist, *Project Japan*, p. 49.
 60. Isozaki, 'Rumor City', pp. 864–5.
 61. Ibid., p. 866.
 62. Ibid., p. 867.
 63. Isozaki, 'Seeking the Design of System', pp. 104–05.
 64. Amy Frearson, 'Zaha Hadid's Tokyo Stadium Will Be "A Disgrace to Future Generations", says Arata Isozaki', *Dezeen*, 10 November 2014 <<http://www.dezeen.com/2014/11/10/zaha-hadid-tokyo-stadium-olympic-disgrace-arata-isozaki/>> [accessed 1 March 2021].

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