

〈論文〉

Towards a Cultural Japan **Tange Kenzō, Kawazoe Noboru, and the Ise Shrine in Postwar Japan**

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概要

本稿では、丹下健三と渡辺が1951年に執筆した『伊勢・日本建築の原型』を一次資料として用い、日本人の国家アイデンティティに対する認識や、丹下の新陳代謝運動や文化的文書としての建築に対する禁欲的な批判に影響された、天皇制から文化的日本への移行について考察する。本文では、日本で最も人気のある巡礼地の一つである伊勢神宮を取り上げています。伊勢神宮は、参拝者が中に入ることはできず、境内を囲む2つの柵から見なければなりません。渡辺氏の写真は、これまでに見たことのないような社殿の内部を見ることができますが、社殿自体の内部の写真はありません。丹下とパートナーである川添は、これらの写真を構造物の視覚的な分析のための道具として使い、伊勢神宮を文化的な日本の象徴として普及させるマルクス主義的な言説につなげているのである。本論では、テキストとイメージの関係、日本語版と英語版のデザインを詳細に検討し、伊勢神宮のアニミズム的な力と日本の国家的簡潔さの中での位置についての丹下氏の発言に疑問を投げかける。しかし、この論文は、丹下氏が伊勢神宮に対して行ったスピリチュアルでアニミズム的な解釈を取り上げ、テキストとイメージの両方がどのように使用され、文化的な意味や、日本の歴史の弥生時代や縄文時代につながる精神性の感覚を伊勢神宮に吹き込もうとしたかを説明することで、自らを定義している。

*Ise is a mechanism whose origin itself must be somehow fabricated, for there is no **origin** as such. Insinuation that an origin exists has sustained the seduction. What is seen deep in the cedar forest is a swindle—or veiling—of sorts.¹*

— Arata Isozaki, 2006

1. Introduction

1.1 Ise: Prototype of Japanese Architecture

Ise: Prototype of Japanese Architecture was first published in 1961, 11 years after Tange Kenzō 丹下健三 and Watanabe Yoshio 渡辺義雄 were invited to observe the rebuilding of the Ise Shrine. The publication features 166 photographs by Watanabe and includes two essays: “Ise: Prototype of Japanese Architecture” by Tange, and “The Ise Shrine and Its Cultural Context” by Kawazoe Noboru 川添登. The photographs provide a look inside of the Ise Shrine compound,

1 Isozaki Arata. *Japan-ness in Architecture*. (Cambridge, MIT Press: 2006), 130.

which is not accessible to visitors, but they do not provide a glimpse into the shrine buildings. Paired with Tange and Kawazoe's essays, *Ise: Prototype of Japanese Architecture* positions the traditional Japanese architecture as the backbone of Tange's architecture—joining the spiritual connotations of the shrine with the modern ascetic of Tange's works.

1.2 Three Views of Ise

Ise: Prototype of Japanese Architecture was translated into English and published by the M.I.T. Press in 1965. John Burchard, Dean of the School of Humanities and Social Sciences at M.I.T., approached Kenzō Tange to translate the project into English. In the introduction of *Ise* Burchard establishes a hierarchy of Japanese culture as well as privileges specific, cultured, viewers who understand the beauty of Ise. Burchard describes the surroundings and approach to Ise, he focuses first on the aspect of travel and how to get to Ise. Burchard then creates a dialectic between physical travel to the shrine and the spiritual journey: “The Ise Shrines are not hard to reach physically. The spiritual journey is longer. It is longer, at least for most Westerners.”²

Tange helped to shape modern Japanese architecture through historical scholarship and architectural design. Tange's first project, the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum Park (1952), established him as a defining figure of postwar architecture.³ A plan for the project was published in English in the October 1950 issue of *International Architecture*, first introducing Tange's work to an international audience.⁴ Indeed, the prevalence of photography, architectural journals, and other publications helped greatly to promote Tange's works both before and after his publication of *Ise* in Japanese and English.⁵ Two later projects, the Yoyogi National Indoor Stadiums (1964) and the Festival Plaza of Osaka Expo (1970), further connected Tange's architecture to key cultural events in postwar Japan.⁶ *Ise* was not his first publication on traditional architecture, having released *Katsura: Tradition and Creation in Japanese Architecture* in 1960. In this work, Tange establishes the Katsura Imperial Villa as a fusion of *Yayoi* culture “a definite, formal aesthetic, quiet, well-balanced, and dominated by a subjective, lyrical frame of mind.” and the *Jomon* principle “the primitive life force of the Japanese race, an irrepressible vitality that invariably threatens to destroy formal aesthetics.”⁷ These refer to the Jomon (14,000–300 BCE) and Yayoi periods (300 BCE–250 CE) of Japanese history, with the Yayoi period being defined by the introduction of rice cultivation and metallurgy. These arguments are continued in *Ise* by Tange and will be discussed in the next

2 Jonathan Burchard, “Introduction.” in *Ise: Prototype of Japanese Architecture*. (Cambridge, MIT Press: 1965) Original printing, 1961, 8.

3 Yukio Lippit and Seng Kuan, “Tange Kenzō and Postwar Japanese Architecture: An Expanded View.” in *Kenzō Tange: Architecture for the World*. Ed. Seng Kuan and Yukio Lippit. Cambridge, Harvard University Press: 2012, 9.

4 Nango Yoshikazu 南後 由和, “The Architecture and Celebrity of Kenzo Tange” 丹下健三の建築と有名性, *Annual Review of Sociology* 年報社会学論集, 2007卷, 20号, 147.

5 Nango, 147.

6 Lippit & Kuan, 9.

7 Tange Kenzo, *Katsura: Tradition and Creation in Japanese Architecture* (New Haven: Yale University Press), 8.

section.

Kawazoe Noboru was an architectural critic and historian. Kawazoe was linked to Tange through Metabolism, a Japanese post-war architectural movement. Respected as a prolific scholar and critic, Kawazoe's work has always focused on a mixture of traditional and contemporary architecture. In *Ise* he connects the rebuilding of the Ise Shrine with the effect that is produced when replacing the *tatami* of a room: "It produces a clean smell of rice straw. By such means, the Japanese house was able to create an air of freshness however old the building itself was."⁸

2 Photographing the Essence of Japanese Traditional Architecture

Tange describes the Ise Shrine as a place of cultural importance, moving the shrine away from its connection to the Imperial line by connecting it to *Jomon* and *Yayoi* culture.⁹ For Tange, the Ise Shrine marks the unification of the Japanese people, roots the Japanese aesthetic deeply in nature, and establishes the Ise Shrine as the prototype of Japanese architecture. The photography in the book serves two purposes: it is used to provide a formal analysis of the Ise Shrine while Watanabe's dramatic shots are meant to give the viewer a foil for Tange's descriptions.

Tange characterizes *Jomon* and *Yayoi* culture as the vital and the aesthetic with the two threads being interwoven in the Ise Shrine. Tange's discourse on the *Jomon* and the *Yayoi* was adopted from Kawazoe Noboru's earlier arguments.¹⁰ They represent at once the animistic spirit of the Japanese people and the rational force that unified the Japanese nation. The spiritual character of Tange's arguments in *Katsura* and *Ise* have been previously ignored by scholars.

2.1 Power Objects: Stones and Wooden Posts

Tange's article, "*Religious Symbols, Space, and Architecture*," is divided into three subsections: Early Religious Symbols, The Toro Site–Pit Dwellings and Storehouses, and Religion and Treatment of Space in Japanese Architecture. Tange begins by discussing the *iwakura*, sacred rocks in which the deities are thought to inhabit, and the sacred space that the Ise Shrine occupies:

They arouse a sense of pulsation of some living presence, with a memory of past history and a promise of growth in the future; in these stones and rocks the ancient Japanese saw something of the mystery of dwelling within nature and natural phenomena.¹¹

Tange goes on to establish the importance of sacred space and the connection to architecture:

8 Kawazoe, Noboru. "The Ise Shrine and Its Cultural Context." in *Ise: Prototype of Japanese Architecture*. (Cambridge, MIT Press: 1965), 206.

9 Isozaki, 127.

10 Zhongjie Lin, *Kenzō Tange and the Metabolist Movement: Urban Utopias of Modern Japan* (Oxford: Routledge, 2010), 37-39.

11 Tange, *Ise*, 25.

Instead of the personification of the gods, man came to conceive and worship them in terms of the space area which they were believed to be and live. This idea of symbolizing the supernatural through spatial forms was bound to develop hand in hand with space in architecture.¹²

Tange's analysis of the *iwakura* at the Ise Shrine is illustrated with a photograph on the adjacent page of a rock in the Takimatsuri-no-kami, a subsidiary shrine of the Naiku. The photograph is a high contrast, low aperture shot from the vantage point of the ground. The rock is triangular, worn by water, with moss growing on the side. On the page before and after are two photographs of well known sites, the stone circle at Oyu in Akita Prefecture, and the rock garden of the Ryōanji in Kyoto. The *iwakura* are the original dwelling places of deities. As certain deities were elevated as tutelary or clan deities they became associated with architectural spaces, or influenced by the *Yayoi*.¹³ The placement of the photograph of the *iwakura* at the Takimatsuri-no-kami across from Tange's analysis hoped to create a resonance with the audience.

Tange's descriptions of the Ise Shrine not only associated the site with the welding together of the Japanese people into one nation but imbued Japanese architecture with animistic power.

When the helicopter approached closer, one was led to imagine the brute strength of some primeval animal crouching on the ground, or the presence of some living, breathing earth spirit, the image of the deity enshrined in the Geku.¹⁴

Tange does not separate the autochthonous, primeval deity, from the architecture of Ise but links the spirit to the construction of the Japanese nation.

When the Japanese people try to glimpse the divine, this form becomes its symbol. Or perhaps we should say that the Japanese see in this form the divine. The energy that sustained the creation of this form was also the energy that welded the Japanese into one people; it reflects their primordial essence. This also becomes the prototype of Japanese architecture.¹⁵

An aerial photograph of the Geku is presented across from Tange's analysis of the structure. Like other photographs in *Ise* the designer enlarged and cropped a photograph of the Geku that was placed earlier in the book. The image is centered on the page, with a large white margin around all sides. The photograph is cropped so that the supporting member of the roof touches the top of

12 Tange, *Ise*, 26.

13 Tange, *Ise*, 25-26.

14 Tange, *Ise*, 51.

15 Tange, *Ise*, 51.

the photograph. The entire frame is filled with the image of the Geku and its shadow. Again, the photograph is presented with the text as an illustration of Tange's analysis. The enlarged, blurry photograph of the Geku taken by Watanabe from a helicopter does not convey Tange's sense of a divine presence in the Geku yet it is still presented as an illustration to the text.

The scholar Yasufumi Nakamori cites Tange's teacher at Tokyo Imperial University, Kishida Hideto, as teaching Tange how photography can be used in the analysis of architecture.¹⁶ Tange's own photography showed a continued interest in premodern architecture and as a tool for visual analysis that helped to solidify opinions on traditional architecture.¹⁷ Tange is able to analyze the structure, ornamentation, and composition of the grounds in the Naiku and the Geku with the aid of Watanabe's photographs, focusing on such details in his essay such as the ten steps of the Naiku and the nine steps of the Geku.

Kawazoe's essay focuses on comparisons between the Ise Shrine and other Japanese historical sites. These comparisons are illustrated with Watanabe's photographs of sites such as Mount Miwa, the Kofun of Emperor Nintoku, and Ryōanji. The photographs serve as a tool for the visual analysis of the architectural sites, at times utilizing architectural drawings of the buildings in place of Watanabe's photographs.

The second chapter of Kawazoe's essay, "*Iwasaka and Iwakura*" focuses on Mount Miwa. Kawazoe systematically divides and classifies the *iwakura* into three categories based on their location: the foot of the mountain, the middle reaches, and the summit.¹⁸ The section is illustrated by a landscape photograph of Mount Miwa showing the Kofun of Momoso-hime. The vantage point is from the side as opposed to the top; from this position the keyhole shape of the kofun is indistinguishable. This treatment is markedly different from the illustration of Tange's essay. Instead of focusing directly on the *iwakura* the photograph gives an abstracted view of the Kōfun of Momoso-hime. The Japanese landscape becomes synonymous with the *iwakura*. It is likely that Watanabe would not be given access to the kofun. The Imperial Household Agency restricted access to tombs of the imperial family during the postwar period. It was not until 1978 that the agency allowed scholars to inspect only a few of the sites¹⁹.

Kawazoe's essay uses romanticism of the past as a tool for constructing national identity in postwar Japan. Kawazoe connects Zen philosophy of the medieval period to the *shin-no-mihashira* of the Ise Shrine:

16 Yasufumi Nakamori, "Tange Kenzō's Early Photographs and the Tradition Debate" in *Kenzō Tange: Architecture for the World*. Ed. Seng Kuan and Yukio Lippit, 143.

17 Nakamori, 144. Nakamori's article includes a detailed description of the tradition debate and the role that Kawazoe, Tange's collaborator on the Ise publication, had played in criticism of Tange's work.

18 Kawazoe, 172.

19 Walter Edwards, "Contested Access: 'The Imperial Tombs in the Postwar Period.'" in *Journal of Japanese Studies*, vol. 26:2, 371.

To the Japanese mind existence and nonexistence are basically identical.... The ease with which the Japanese of later ages could take over the monistic philosophy of *Zen*... is probably explained by the familiarity of this idea from ancient times. As if to testify to the identity of existence and nonexistence, there stand, roughly in the center of the otherwise empty alternative site, small roofed and fenced enclosures. In each of these enclosures... is a single post.... These posts are the holiest and most mysterious objects in the Ise Shrine. It is over them that the main sanctuaries will be erected at the next reconstruction. While even now, hidden under the floors... there are two *shin-no-mihashira*.²⁰

Kawazoe's description of the *shin-no-mihashira* establishes the Japanese mind as innately compatible with Zen philosophy through the concept of existence and nonexistence as illustrated by the Ise Shrine. Kawazoe also uses the example of the Japanese rice paddy as an illustration of the monistic Zen philosophy, offering another connection between the Japanese landscape and the construction of national identity.

Watanabe's photographs make up the majority of the project. They provide a detailed view of the Ise Shrine, its surroundings, and the construction of the buildings. One example of Watanabe's photographs illustrates how photography is not a neutral medium, only given agency by Tange and Kawazoe's writing, but can represent Watanabe's view of the Ise Shrine. Towards the end of the collection is a photograph of the main sanctuary of the Geku. The photograph is taken from the foyer of the main sanctuary. Watanabe stands to the left of the door, which is opened. Although the contents of the main shrine are not visible, the open door masks the interior. Watanabe is never able to photograph the interior of the Ise Shrine buildings. Although Watanabe, Tange, and Kawazoe were allowed unprecedented access to the Ise Shrine, the interior of the buildings remain a mystery. Kawazoe comments on the photography, deciding: "The two main sanctuaries have an overwhelming grandeur that no photographs can adequately convey; everything is on a superhuman scale perfectly suggesting abodes of deities."²¹

2.2 Vital and Aesthetic

Tange Kenzō and Kawazoe Noboru established the Ise Shrine as the prototype of Japanese architecture. Tange, an architect, and Kawazoe, an architectural critic and historian, argued that the Ise Shrine represented two distinct threads, the *Yayoi* and the *Jomon*. Both characterized these two threads as the vital and the aesthetic. Although photography was the main vehicle used in their arguments both found fault with how photography can capture the essence of the Ise Shrine, because it is an essence that they were hoping to convey.

Both authors look back to the distant past of the Ise Shrine and its origins as a model for postwar Japanese architecture. Tange and Kawazoe, like many historians in the postwar period,

20 Kawazoe, 167.

21 Kawazoe, 168.

are revisiting the *Jomon* and the *Yayoi* period. Both Tange and Kawazoe's writing on the a *Jomon* and *Yayoi* style of architecture were influenced by the works of Shirai Seiichi 白井晟一 (1905-1983) who published "The Jomon Style" 縄文的なるもの in 1956.²² They are searching for a cultural Japan that is not bound to the imperial family but the Japanese people. They both compared the Ise Shrine with the recent archeological discovery of Toro, a Yayoi period village site, that was excavated in 1947. The excavation of Toro, directly after World War II, was at a time when Japanese history, and identity, was in question.²³ Before Japan's defeat in the war, the divine origin of the imperial family, and its unbroken line of succession, was sanctioned as history.²⁴ Harada Yoshito, the lead archeologist of the Toro excavation, believed that Toro would become an acid test for a *cultural* Japan.²⁵ Belief in the emperor system was gradually replaced with a history of the Japanese people. It is in this cultural climate that Tange and Kawazoe, over ten years later, are evoking the Toro site as a precursor to the Ise Shrine.²⁶ Early in the 1950s, Kawazoe critiqued Tange's first project, the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum, as a hybrid of the Ise Shrine and as a symbol of the "Emperor System".²⁷ By the end of the decade Tange adopted Kawazoe's principles of the vital and the aesthetic. Kawazoe's analysis of the *Jomon*, the vital, was marxist in nature. The *Jomon* represented a plebeian culture while the *Yayoi*, the aesthetic, represented the aristocracy. By establishing these two threads of culture in the Ise Shrine, Tange and Kawazoe are trying to establish a connection to the autochthonous beliefs of *Jomon* culture with the logical culture of the *Yayoi*.

Tange reduced Kawazoe's concept of the vital and the aesthetic to "primeval darkness and eternal light."²⁸ Tange ends his essay with "But one sensed that even today countless deities live down there. The feeling overcame me that I was gazing into the innermost recesses of the soul of the Japanese people."²⁹ But, Tange's interest in the form of the Ise Shrine is a more complicated matter. Tange views history as an architect. When looking at the Ise Shrine he concludes that :

It is for us, the present generation, to produce the answers. Whatever they will be, the form of Ise will always challenge us anew with the question: "What are the symbols of the present?"³⁰

22 Hato Kosuke 羽藤, 広輔, "The Theory of Tradition in the Written Works of Architect Seiichi Shirai" 白井晟一の著作にみる伝統論, *Journal of the Architectural Institute of Japan* 日本建築学会計画系論文集 第80巻 第712号 1411-1418.

23 Edwards, Walter, "Buried Discourse: The Toro Archaeological Site and Japanese National Identity in the Early Postwar Period" in *Journal of Japanese Studies*, vol. 17:1, 1991, 1-3.

24 Edwards, 2.

25 Edwards, 3.

26 Edwards, 15-22.

27 Kawazoe Noboru, "Tange Kenzō no Nihon-teki seikaku-tokuni rāmen kōzō no hatten wo tōshite,": 63-63, as quoted in Yasufumi Nakamori, "Tange Kenzō's Early Photographs and the Tradition Debate" in *Kenzō Tange: Architecture for the World*. Ed. Seng Kuan and Yukio Lippit, 150.

28 Tange, *Ise*, 52.

29 Tange, *Ise*, 52.

30 Tange, *Ise*, 52.

Tange views the Ise Shrine as a source of inspiration; it represents the soul of the Japanese people. Tange's focus on the people illustrates the shift from the Ise Shrine as a representation of the emperor system to a representation of a cultural Japan. Tange's argument holds on to the duality of the shrine's imperial lineage, the *Yayoi*, and the animistic spiritualism of the *Jomon* culture.

3. Conclusion

Ise: Prototype of Japanese Architecture provided Japanese and American audiences with an intimate view of the shrine and one of Japan's most popular pilgrimage sites. In his article on *Ise: Prototype of Japanese Architecture* Jonathan Reynolds concludes that few visitors to Ise experience the shrine without seeing Watanabe's widely circulated photographs of the shrine. For Reynolds the photographs in *Ise* served two purposes: first, they stripped away the mystery of the shrine; second, the photographs allowed the space to be seen as an aesthetic that was not burdened by recent events.³¹ Reynold's article provides an unparalleled analysis of *Ise*. However, Reynolds focuses on how Tange and Kawazoe were able to appropriate the Ise Shrine as the prototype of Japanese architecture and by doing so removed all spiritual meaning from their discourse. In the case of Kawazoe this is absolutely true. Still, there is a romantic thread that is entwined in Kawazoe's essay.

Tange argued that the Ise Shrine represented the Japanese soul; a place where the deities still live. As a representation of the Japanese soul the shrine is a representation of the Japanese people. In their writing, Tange and Kawazoe tried to change the symbolism of the Ise Shrine. The holiest symbol of the Japanese imperial family, the home of Amaterasu, is incorporated into a cultural Japan.

The photographs by Watanabe give viewers an unprecedented look at the Ise Shrine yet the interior space is not photographed. They are the tool that allowed for detailed visual analysis of the structures by Tange and Kawazoe. Watanabe's photographs exhibit the space with dramatic contrast, aggressive cropping, and sometimes with a flair of mystery. Watanabe's photograph of the Geku's main sanctuary with the door left open, masking the inside, at once makes the inner shrine of Ise available yet distant. This concludes the book with a sense of mystery. Just what is waiting inside of Ise? With artists, and perhaps architects, it is not always necessary for historians to interpret their works through their own writings. Tange's analysis of the Ise shrine, the primary concern of this paper, should not be discarded completely as it stood to be one of the first introductions to an English speaking audience on Japanese shrine architecture.

31 Reynolds, 339.

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