

## Japonica in Architecture

### Origin and Semantic Pluralism

Hiroshi EMOTO

#### INTRODUCTION

“Japonica (ジャポニカ)” is a derogatory term referring to the imitation of a certain school of traditional Japanese design which emerged around the early 1950s. In Japan, the term first appeared in print in April 1954, when Takamasa Yoshizaka published “Good and Evil in Japonica,”<sup>1</sup> and the dispute over this style of design has been termed “the Japonica controversy (ジャポニカ論争).” The central issue of the controversy revolves around how the resumption of international cultural exchanges after World War II influenced contemporary design practices. This was the root of the original debate in which a Japan-oriented theory of architecture and design became the target of criticism after the war.

It has been the subject of historical research since the late 1980s,<sup>2</sup> and the records and resources relied upon in previous studies were extremely limited; thus, there are still many uncertainties and inaccuracies surrounding the controversy, even in the definition of the term itself. Furthermore, although the controversy involved Japonism outside Japan as a target of much criticism, previous research has been made without any examination of the historical materials that are available overseas. This study attempts to be as resourceful as possible in the gathering and collecting of references to Japonica from Japanese, English, German, French, and Italian books, newspapers, and magazine articles from the 20<sup>th</sup> century, focusing primarily on the 1950s and 1960s. The first mention to “Japonica” by a non-Japanese speaker was in 1962<sup>3</sup> in the context of an introduction for English readers on the postwar controversy surrounding Japanese traditions.

Chapter 1 of this study examines the emergence of postwar Japonism in the United States, its introduction to Japan, and the origin of the term. Chapters 2, 3, and 4 respectively explore the history of each of the three subsets of the term and trace the discussions of the period relevant to each of the particular usages of the term.

Although the meaning of the term “Japonica” as it is used here conveys the same general significance, this paper further clarifies the term into three more precise definitions that have not been done in any previous study. In the process of reorganizing the concept of Japonica, differing domestic

---

<sup>1</sup> Takamasa Yoshizaka, “Good and Evil in Japonica (ジャポニカ是非論),” *Asahi Shimbun*, 1954. 4. 25.

<sup>2</sup> The following studies were conducted in Japanese: Ei’ichi Izuhara, *History of the Design Movements in Japan* (日本のデザイン運動), Tokyo: Perikansha, 1989; The Kogei Foundation (ed.), *Modern Design Movement in Japan: 1940s-1980s* (日本の近代デザイン運動：1940年代～1980年代), Tokyo: Perikansha, 1990; etc. In the field of architecture, see Takashi Hasegawa, *The Story of the Japan Hotel* (日本ホテル館物語), Tokyo: Presidentsha, pp. 120–126, 1994 (Japanese). Arata Isozaki’s “Japan-ness” in *Architecture* (建築における「日本的なもの, Tokyo: Shinchosha, 2003) was translated in 2011 (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press).

<sup>3</sup> Robin Boyd, *Kenzo Tange*, London: Prentice-Hall International, New York: George Braziller, pp. 20–22, 1962. An earlier mention in English by the Japanese author is found in Noboru Kawazoe, “Modern Japanese Architecture Confronts Functionalism: New Buildings of Japan,” *Zodiac*, No. 3, p. 126, 1958.

and foreign concepts of “Japan-ness,” as experienced by Japanese architects and designers exposed to a postwar international exchange of cultural ideas, are highlighted. The purpose of this paper is to clarify the process of transformation of Japanese architects and designer’s consciousness to their own tradition.

## 1. BACKGROUND: POSTWAR JAPONISM IN AMERICA

### 1.1. Interest in Chinese Motifs: Late 1940s

The end of World War II and the subsequent occupation of mainland Japan by the Allied forces did not immediately generate much attention in—nor the incorporation of—Japanese artifacts in American art and architecture. The influence of the Orient on the American architectural community after the war was at first manifested as interest in China (**Figure 1**)<sup>4</sup> rather than Japan. In 1949, however, there were indications that American interest in traditional East Asian architectural motifs was beginning to focus more on Japan. American architect Clarence W. W. Mayhew (1906–1994) discussed the “Japanese Influence”<sup>5</sup> on the architecture of the U.S. West Coast in an exhibition catalog titled *Domestic Architecture of the San Francisco Bay Region*, explaining the advantages of combining elements of Japanese architecture, such as axial structure, floor plans, modular systems, and *shoji* paper screens, with the use of natural materials in contemporary Californian house designs.

In late 1951, *LIFE* magazine published a special issue on Asian culture. According to the magazine, architectural interest in Japan was already apparent in Western countries: “Now, the medieval world, the first modern nation in Asia, is exerting a new influence on Western thought.”<sup>6</sup> At the end of 1952, a master’s thesis titled “Contemporary Interior Design Reflecting Influence of Japan”<sup>7</sup> was submitted to the University of California. It detailed the contemporaneous history of the rise of Japonism from the late 1940s, based on historical documents and bibliographic information. It is itself a historical document of this trend.

The most authoritative book on the Japanese architecture in the United States at the time was *The Lessons of Japanese Architecture* (1936) by Jiro Harada (1878–1963).<sup>8</sup> Harada was a promoter of Japanese art, first active in Britain beginning around 1910, and later in the United States. He played a leading role in an exhibition of Japanese antiques held at the De Young Museum in San

<sup>4</sup> “Houses,” *The Architectural Forum*, Vol. 88, No. 2, p. 91, 1948. 2; “Far East Influence in Contemporary Decoration,” *House & Garden*, Vol. 95, No. 4, pp. 88–121, 1949. 4. See also Sarah Handler, *Austere Luminosity of Chinese Classical Furniture*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, pp. 39–40, 2001.

<sup>5</sup> Clarence W. W. Mayhew, “The Japanese Influence,” *Domestic Architecture of the San Francisco Bay Region: A Catalog of an Exhibition Held at the San Francisco Museum of Art, Sept. 16, Oct. 30, 1949*, San Francisco: San Francisco Museum of Art, n.p., 1949.

<sup>6</sup> “The Example of Japan: The medieval land that became Asia’s most modern nation is exerting a new influence today on the ways of the West,” *LIFE*, Vol. 31, No. 27, p. 58, 1951. 12. 31.

<sup>7</sup> Ruth Lois Dibble, “Contemporary Interior Design Reflecting Influence of Japan,” Master’s thesis, University of California, 1952. 10.

<sup>8</sup> Jiro Harada, *The Lesson of Japanese Architecture*, London, New York: The Studio, 1936; Wallace W. Baldinger, [Book Review], *College Art Journal*, Vol. 16, No. 2, p. 116, Winter 1957.



Figure 1. A House in Oahu, Hawaii (Albert Ives: built date unknown)  
 Source: *Architectural Forum* (February 1948)



Figure 2. Exhibits of “Pacifica Designed Interiors” at De Young Museum in San Francisco  
 Source: *Arts & Architecture* (June 1952)

Francisco in 1951.<sup>9</sup> In late March 1952, the museum hosted another exhibition titled “Pacifica Designed Interiors” (**Figure 2**). The exhibition proved very successful in popularizing throughout the United States the concept of Pacific-inspired modern design proposed in 1951 by Harry Jackson, a third-generation owner of Jackson’s, a chain of furniture stores on the West Coast.

The architectural critic Ryuichi Hamaguchi (1916–1995) traveled to the United States at the invitation of the Rockefeller Foundation and *Architectural Forum* in 1952. As a result of the trip, an article, “Japanese Architecture and the West,”<sup>10</sup> was published in the January 1953 issue of the magazine. It was the first time since the end of World War II that the influence of Japanese architecture on modern Euro-American architecture was widely discussed.

### 1.2. Hawaiian House Design as a Reference for Pacifica

In 1952, the “Pacifica Designed Interiors” exhibition attracted a lot of attention and was featured in many American design and architecture magazines.<sup>11</sup> As *LIFE* described it, Pacifica style showed the American public “how pleasantly California modifies and uses Japanese and Pacific island influences.”<sup>12</sup>

Although “Pacifica” was coined to mean “Pacific,” the actual source of reference was, in fact, Hawaiian. The term “Pacific” seemingly indicates a much more limited and specific Hawaiian influence. It was a new California trend inspired by Hawaiian house designs, which, in turn, had been inspired by Japanese culture and architecture. It is noteworthy that Japanese art historian Yukio Yashiro (1890—1975) gave a lecture on Japanese art at the exhibition, which was billed as one of its main events.<sup>13</sup>

It is reasonable that it should have been only *House & Garden* that could introduce Pacifica by mentioning its Hawaiian roots (**Figure 3**), simply because the exhibition was for works by Californian firms and designers, not Hawaiian. The reference to the Hawaiian inspiration made by that magazine was Jackson’s doing, as he not only organized the exhibition but also helped edit the issue, while others had not been informed of the presence of Hawaiian influence. This particular feature issue of *House & Garden* doubled as a quasi-official catalog for the exhibition, as it were. The concept of the issue was to introduce how Japanese architecture and lifestyle culture had been adapted to the Hawaiian environment and thereafter into Californian modern architectural design, while advertising goods sold in Jackson’s furniture stores.

### 1.3. The Influx of American Information into Japan

Japanese architects and design critics in the United States contributed to the increase in knowledge and appreciation of Japanese architecture among the local American architectural

<sup>9</sup> Miyuki Katahira, *Constructing the Image of Japanese Gardens* (日本庭園像の形成), Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, pp. 80–81, 2014. (Japanese)

<sup>10</sup> Ryuichi Hamaguchi, “Japanese Architecture and the West,” *Architectural Forum*, Vol. 98, No. 1, pp. 138–148, 1953. 1.

<sup>11</sup> Wendy Kaplan, ed., *California Design 1930-1965: “Living in a Modern Way,”* Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, p. 316 n. 38., 2011

<sup>12</sup> “Eastward Ho: California Home Styles Invade Rest of U. S.,” *LIFE*, Vol. 32, No. 11, p. 131, 1952. 3. 17.

<sup>13</sup> *Architect and Engineer*, Vol. 189, No. 1, p. 10, 1952. 4.

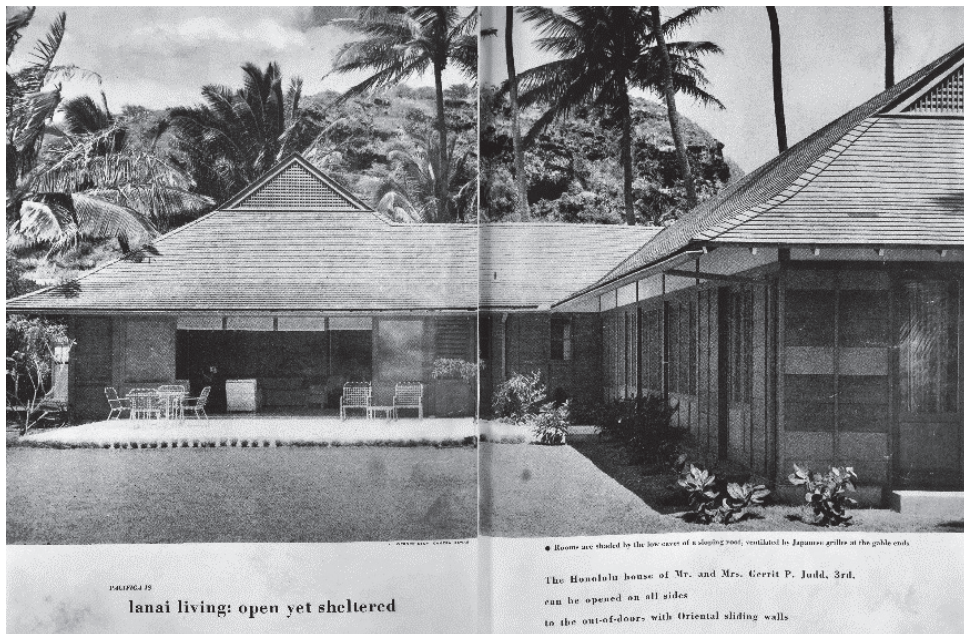


Figure 3. Judd House (Albert Ives: Honolulu, built date unknown)  
Source: *House & Garden* (April 1952)



Figure 4. Cover of *Form Today* (1953) and a page from Kenmochi's article  
The upper photo (right) is cited from the Pacifica issue of *House & Garden* (April 1952)

community. They were also responsible for relaying news of the “Japan craze” in the United States back to their home country. Hamaguchi’s stay in the U.S. had not only resulted in his article for *Architectural Forum*, but this article would further be translated into Japanese in *Kenchiku Bunka* (Architectural Culture) four months later to convey the details of the American architectural community’s heightened interest in Japanese architecture.<sup>14</sup>

Around the same time as Hamaguchi’s visit, industrial designer Isamu Kenmochi (1912–1971) also visited the U.S. (May 13 to November 13, 1952). During the trip, Kenmochi wrote a series titled “Correspondence from America” in his magazine, *Kogei News=Industrial Art News*. In its conclusion, he expressed his surprise, stating, “I had no idea that Japanese style was so popular in America.”<sup>15</sup> His visit culminated in a separate section in the early summer 1953 publication of *Form Today* on the Japanese influence on modern design in America.<sup>16</sup> Several illustrations of West Coast Pacifica furniture from *House & Garden* were used in the article, and Kenmochi described how Harry Jackson—whom Kenmochi knew personally—and Jackson’s school were “trying to popularize the Japanese character on a large scale” (Figure 4).<sup>17</sup>

## 2. FOREIGN JAPONICA

### 2.1. The Three Derivatives of Japonica

The postwar movement of people between countries, which had become visible in Japan beginning around 1950,<sup>18</sup> was accompanied by a simultaneous exchange of information, and foreign journals were becoming widely available in Japan. Then, Takeshi Nishikawa’s 1952 “Contemporary Architecture and Modern Art”<sup>19</sup> appeared as one of the earliest articles to highlight the Japanese influence on contemporary architecture outside of Japan. These earliest articles, however, seemed not to convey the significance of this among their Japanese readers. As Hiroshi Sasaki (1931–2019) recalled in the early 1960s, it was not until 1954 that the followers of architectural trends in Japan started to realize that “rumors of a Japonica boom abroad”<sup>20</sup> were to be taken seriously.

The Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in New York held an exhibition titled “The Architecture of Japan” that ran from 1954 through to the following year. This exhibition, along with the Shoin building designed by Junzo Yoshimura (1908–1997), was featured extensively in the *Shinkenichiku* at the end of 1954. In the same year, Walter Gropius (1883–1969), at the suggestion of Hamaguchi

<sup>14</sup> Ryuichi Hamaguchi, “Japanese Architecture and the West (日本建築と西洋),” *Kenchiku Bunka*, Vol. 8, No. 5, p. 31, 1953. 5. Then, in 1955, Hamaguchi also published a memoir of his stay in the U.S. in *Shinkenichiku* (New Architecture) magazine. Idem, “Sukiya Architecture: Confessions of an Architectural Critic (数寄屋建築：ある建築評論家の告白),” *Shinkenichiku*, Vol. 30, No. 6, pp. 4–5, 1955. 6.

<sup>15</sup> Isamu Kenmochi, “Postscript of ‘Correspondence from America’ (「アメリカ通信」をむすぶ),” *Kogei News=Industrial Art News*, Vol. 21, No. 2, p. 35, 1953. 2.

<sup>16</sup> *Form Today: Mizue suppl. 1* (今日のフォルム：別冊みづゑ 1), Tokyo: Bijyutsu Shuppansha, 1953. 5.

<sup>17</sup> Idem, “Living Space,” *ibid.*, p. 70.

<sup>18</sup> “International Exchange of Architecture (建築の国際交流),” *Shinkenichiku*, Vol. 30, No. 8, p. 72, 1955. 8.

<sup>19</sup> Takeshi Nishikawa, “Modern Architecture and Modern Art (現代建築とモダン・アート),” *Kenchiku Bunka*, Vol. 7, No. 1, p. 32, 1952. Nishikawa then wrote a series of articles on “Japanese Buildings Contributing to Contemporary Architecture (現代建築に寄与する日本の建物)” in the same magazine.

<sup>20</sup> Hiroshi Sasaki, *Condition of Contemporary Architecture* (現代建築の条件), Tokyo: Shokokusha, p. 17, 1973.

Ryuichi, came to Japan and lavished high praise on Japanese architecture, especially the Katsura Detached Villa.<sup>21</sup>

Japan began receiving much more substantive information on Japonism from abroad, not limited only to the United States. At the same time there was a growing domestic dispute concerning the architectural traditions of Japan (伝統論争).<sup>22</sup>

The timely introduction of both domestic and international Japonism into the Japanese architectural debate culminated in disparate meanings of the term “Japonica”: (1) Japan-inspired design *by* foreigners (specifically referred to as “foreign Japonica”; discussed further in Chapter 2); (2) Japan-inspired design *for export* by Japan (“outbound Japonica”; Chapter 3); and (3) Japan-inspired design *for domestic use* in Japan (“domestic Japonica”; Chapter 4). The use of the generic term, Japonica, can be understood to be an imprecise combination of the three definitions, not limited to any specific group, either local or abroad.

## 2.2. “Good and Evil in Japonica” (1954 and later)

Takamasa Yoshizaka (1917–1980), who initiated the Japonica controversy, introduced the international affirmation of Japanese architecture in early 1954. His “Good and Evil in Japonica,” written for the 400<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the city government of São Paulo, Brazil (Figure 5),<sup>23</sup> reported on the Japan fervor in “countries around the world.” At this event, traditional Japanese designs such as *kimono*, Japanese dolls, portable shrines, and ancient architecture (photographs and models) were the main attractions. Nevertheless, Norio Taoka criticized the exhibition as a “national disgrace.”<sup>24</sup>

The “Japonica” that Yoshizaka pointed out at the beginning of his essay refers to foreign mimics that “directly imitated” Japanese artifacts. Yoshizaka does not give any specific examples in his essay, but in September of the same year, Isamu Kenmochi published an article entitled “Japanese Modern or Japonica Style?” with visuals to provide examples.<sup>25</sup> In his article, “examples of Japonica that have been disregarded” were listed: interior decorations with a folding screen with lighted *shoji* screens and lantern-like pendant lights, and a modern house in the style of a *minka* (traditional Japanese folk house) with a “Hawaiian breeze and Japonica style” (Figure 6).

An article by Heinrich Wechter (1907–1981), a disciple of Bruno Taut based in Oregon at the end of 1954, did not use the term “Japonica.”<sup>26</sup> Instead, it included a photograph of the interior of

<sup>21</sup> Shigeharu Matsumoto, *A Testimony to Showa History* (昭和史への一証言), Tokyo: Mainichi Shimbun, pp. 250–253, 1986. *Gropius and Japanese Culture* (グロピウスと日本文化) (Gropius Society, ed., Tokyo: Shokokusha, 1956) is a detailed record of Gropius’s stay in Japan. See also Walter Gropius, “Architecture in Japan,” *Perspecta* 3, 1955. 1, pp. 9–21, 79–80.

<sup>22</sup> Note that the Japonica controversy began in the period between the translation of Józef Levi’s “Architectural Tradition and Modernism (建築の伝統と近代主義)” (*Bijyutsu Hiho*, October 1953) and Kenzo Tange’s “How to Understand Modern Architecture (近代建築をいかに理解するか)” (*Shinken-chiku*, January 1955).

<sup>23</sup> The *Asahi Shimbun* published an article titled “Japanese Arts and Crafts to be Exhibited at Sao Paulo’s 400th Anniversary (サンパウロ四百年祭に出品の日本美術工芸品)” on the same page as Yoshizaka’s article.

<sup>24</sup> Norio Taoka, “Japan’s National Disgrace Exhibition in Sao Paulo (サンパウロの「日本国辱展」),” *Asahi Shimbun*, 1954. 12. 29.

<sup>25</sup> Isamu Kenmochi, “Japanese Modern or Japonica Style: Two Ways of Exporting Crafts” (“ジャパニーズ・モダンか、ジャポニカ・スタイルか：輸出工芸の二つの道”), *Kogei News=Industrial Art News*, Vol. 22, No. 9, pp. 2–7, 1954. 9.

<sup>26</sup> Heinrich H. Wechter, “The Influence of Japanese Architecture on America (アメリカに及ぼした日本建築

Paul Thiry's office showing lighted *shoji* screens and a Japanese-style garden (**Figure 7**), and introduced his own Temple Beth Israel (Eugene, Oregon, 1952), "for which I [Wechter] decided to create a checkerboard pattern on the walls impressed by the wallpaper of the *Shokin-tei* at Katsura Detached Villa."

In *Japan-ness in the Expressions of Contemporary Architecture I* by Takeshi Nishikawa, published in 1957<sup>27</sup>, Japonica was portrayed negatively by way of illustrations; in the chapter on folding screens, Nishikawa displays photographs of interior furnishings from abroad that "show a conspicuous Japonica-like formation," and he further condemns the "Oriental taste of screens that misunderstands their function and decoration"<sup>28</sup> (**Figure 8**). In the illustrated chronology, he introduced the houses of Vladimir Ossipof in Hawaii and Walter Costa in California as "so-called Japonica style, an imitation that has been misunderstood."

In 1962, Masaki Naka (a pseudonym of Hiroshi Sasaki) published "Japonica: A Case of Reimportation into Japan."<sup>29</sup> Since the word "*shibui*"—a Japanese term broadly understood to mean "astringent beauty"<sup>30</sup>—had become very popular outside of Japan, particularly in the U.S., since 1960 (**Figure 9**), "Japonica" and "*shibui*" were used interchangeably in Naka's article. This would be the last use of the term "Japonica" in its original sense.

### 2.3. A Hawaii-Centric History of Japonica

As previously discussed, on the occasion of the 1952 exhibition "Pacifica Designed Interiors," a special issue of *House & Garden* referred to contemporary Hawaiian housing. It is mainly for this reason that the Japonica controversy in Japan was conscious of Hawaiian Japonism.

In the early stages of the controversy, Isamu Kenmochi consistently argued against the Hawaiian trend, repeatedly stating that Hawaii was the "home of the Japonica style in America," that "Hawaii was the gateway to the absorption of the Japanese style," and that "these are not things that we Japanese can admire."<sup>31</sup>

However, there was a fundamental error in Kenmochi's observations. He promoted the perception that the Pacifica exhibition was "an exhibition of interior design on the theme of local customs, mainly in Hawaii."<sup>32</sup> He mistakenly said this because he had learned the details of Pacifica through the special issue of *House & Garden*; however, as we have noted, the exhibition was not Hawaiian themed.

Kenmochi's mistaken reference to Hawaii was now the starting point for this historical bias or perspective (in Japan at least). The acknowledgment of the Japanese influence on contemporary

---

の影響)," *Shinken-chiku*, Vol. 29, No. 11, p. 5, 1954. 11.

<sup>27</sup> Takeshi Nishikawa, *Japan-ness in the Expression of Contemporary Architecture I* (現代建築の日本的表現 1), Tokyo: Shokokusha, p. 140, 1957.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 116.

<sup>29</sup> Masaki Naka, "Japonica: A case of reimportation to Japan (ジャポニカ: 日本に逆輸入された場合)," *Kokusai Kenchiku=The International Review of Architecture*, Vol. 29, No. 10, pp. 76–80, 1962. 11.

<sup>30</sup> Hiroshi Emoto, "The Development of 'Shibui' into a Global Term of Architecture," *Journal of Architecture and Planning (Transactions of AIA)*, Vol. 85, No. 769, pp. 753–759, n. 27, 2020. 3. (Japanese).

<sup>31</sup> Kenmochi: 1954. 9, p. 3.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*





Figure 5. Japanese pavilion for the Quadriennale in São Paulo, Brazil (Sutemi Horiguchi: São Paulo, 1954)  
Source: *Kenchiku Bunka* (January 1956)

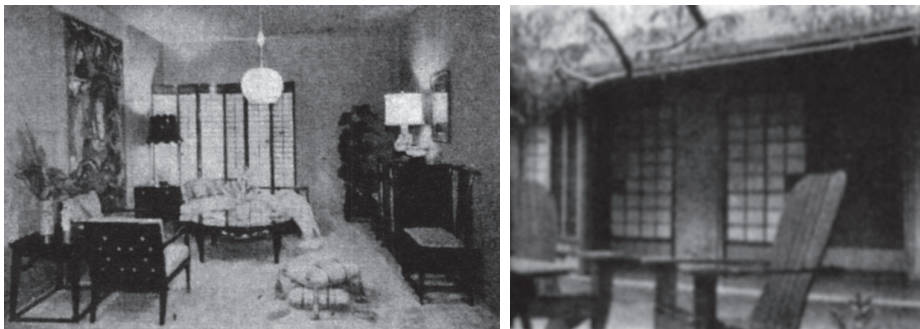


Figure 6. Japonica as exemplified in Kenmochi's "Japanese Modern or Japonica Style"  
Source: *Kogei News=Industrial Art News* (September 1954)

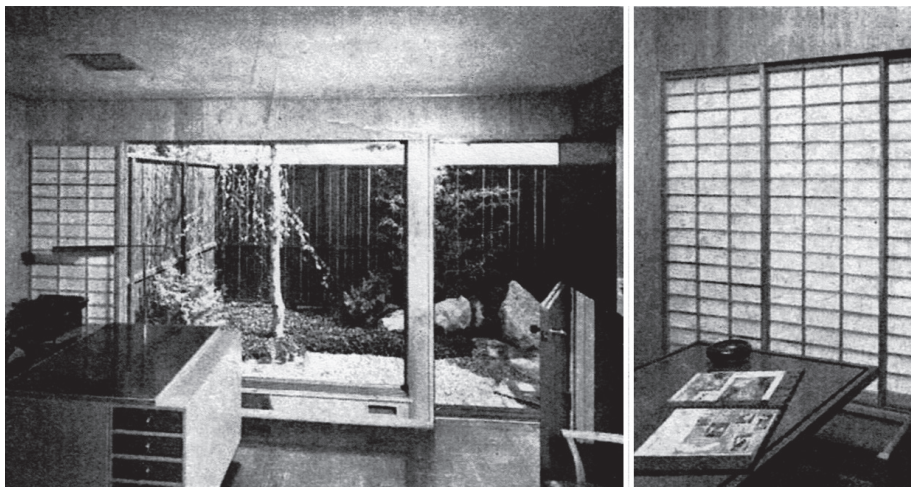


Figure 7. Interior of Paul Thiry's office (Paul Thiry: Seattle, 1949)  
Source: *Shinkenichiku* (November 1954)

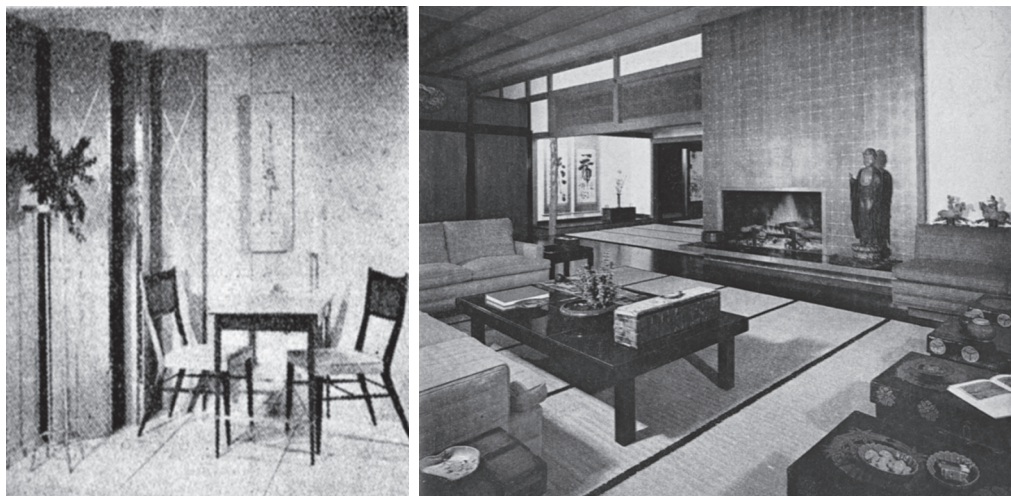


Figure 8 (Left). Example of a Japonica interior by a foreign decorator,  
due to the misuse of the folding screen  
Source: *Japan-ness in the Expressions of Contemporary Architecture 1* (1957)

Figure 9 (Right). Interior of a house in California  
Source: *House Beautiful* (September 1960)

housing in Hawaii was further supplemented by Heinrich Engel's report.<sup>33</sup> Nishikawa noted in 1957 that "the great sin of the misunderstood imitation of a part of the so-called Japonica style... in America is not the direct connection between Japan and America, but the island of Hawaii in the middle zone."<sup>34</sup> This remark clearly reflected the prevailing perception in Japan at this juncture that Japonica had its origins in Hawaii.

#### 2.4. Japanese-Americans' Non-Japonica

The Works of Japanese-Americans, such as Isamu Noguchi (1904–1988), George Nakashima (1905–1990), and Minoru Yamasaki (1912–1986), have sometimes been referred to as Japonica. Their designs were more attuned to the domestic controversy centered on tradition, and Arata Isozaki recalls their names in his memoirs wherein he discusses Japonica.<sup>35</sup>

From about the time of Kenmochi's "Japanese Modern or Japonica Style," their works were introduced as modern designs that were clearly distinct from Japonica. While Noguchi's work, predominantly his "Akari" light sculptures, has been widely referenced in discussions concerning

<sup>33</sup> Heinrich Engel, "The Influence of Japanese Architecture on Hawaii (日本建築のハワイへの影響)," *Kenchiku Zasshi=Journal of Architecture and Building Science*, No. 841, pp. 54–55, 1956. 12; idem, "International Architecture and Housing in Hawaii (国際建築とハワイの住宅)," *Kokusai Kenchiku=The International Review of Architecture*, Vol. 24, No. 3, pp. 51–54, 1957. 3.

<sup>34</sup> Nishikawa: 1957, p. 140.

<sup>35</sup> Isozaki: 2003, p. 39.

traditional Japanese art and architecture—including, of course, the Japonica controversy—there have been no instances where Noguchi or his work itself has been labeled as Japonica. They were mainly referred to as “Japanese style.”<sup>36</sup>

Ryuichi Hamaguchi’s article on “Orientalism in Architecture and Design”<sup>37</sup> in the March 1956 special issue on the Orientalism of *Geijutsu Shincho* took a neutral stance but still exposed the Japonica-like characteristics in George Nakashima’s work (**Figure 10**). According to Hamaguchi, Nakashima’s “use of the technical details of [Japanese] housing and other designs as the ‘motif’ of his designs” was a good means for creating a more ‘human’ environment amidst America’s advancing mechanically orientated civilization. However, this countermeasure was poisonous as well, as Hamaguchi wrote that Nakashima “became the guru of Orientalism, or more specifically, of the fashionable Japonica.”<sup>38</sup> On the other hand, Minoru Yamasaki, who designed the U.S. Consulate General in Kobe (1954), escaped similar criticism, even though he favored a more modern mechanical design style (**Figure 11**). Yamasaki’s design style appeared to have been filled with mediocre references to Japanese architecture to become “a clear indication of the flirtation with Japanese style among Americans caught up in the Japonica boom” at first glance; but it is also “a world created by senses refined by machines and wealth built by machines.”<sup>39</sup>

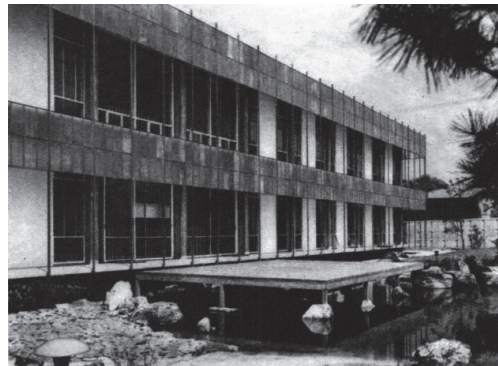


Figure 10 (Left). Interior of a house (George Nakashima)  
Source: *Geijutsu Shincho* (March 1956)

Figure 11 (Right). U.S. Consulate General in Kobe (Minoru Yamasaki: Hyogo, 1954)  
Source: *Shinkenchiku* (July 1957)

<sup>36</sup> See for example: “Japanese-Style Design (日本調デザイン),” *Kenchiku Bunka*, Vol. 12, No. 1, n.p., 1957. 1. See also Gen Adachi, “The ‘Controversies on Tradition’ in the Avant-garde Art of the 1950s: With Primary Regard to the Influence of Isamu Noguchi,” *Journal of the Faculty of Fine Arts, Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music*, No. 1, pp. 1–26, 2005. 4 (Japanese; synopsis in English).

<sup>37</sup> Ryuichi Hamaguchi, “Orientalism in Architecture and Design (建築・デザインにおけるオリエンタリズム),” *Geijutsu Shincho*, Vol. 7, No. 3, pp. 200–202, 1956. 3.

<sup>38</sup> Idem, “Modern Orientalist (現代のオリエンタリスト),” *ibid.*, p. 196.

<sup>39</sup> See for example: “Development of American Space with Japanese Style as a Theme (日本調を主題とするアメリカ的空間の展開),” *Shinkenchiku*, Vol. 32, No. 7, p. 26, 1957. 7.

### 3. OUTBOUND JAPONICA

#### 3.1. Japanization of Japanese Modernity

Although the term “Japonica” was originally coined to refer to imitative Japanese-inspired designs by non-Japanese people, there have been many cases in which the term was used to refer to Japanese-inspired designs by Japanese designers. This is because, at the time of its introduction by Yoshizaka Takamasa, there were concerns about the “re-importation” of foreign Japonism into Japan.

Isamu Kenmochi was the central figure in conveying the American version of Japonism back to Japan. Even before the Japonica controversy, Kenmochi was criticized by the Japanese architectural community for his intention to promote the export of modern domestic Japanese design. A correspondence debate over the “Design and Technology” exhibition (held at Mitsukoshi Department Store in Nihonbashi) that began in March 1954, just prior to the publication of Yoshizaka’s “Good and Evil in Japonica” the following month, brought to light the friction between the policies of the Industrial Arts Institute (産業工芸試験所, hereafter IAI) and the architectural world. In the June issue of *Shinkenchiku*, an article titled “Model Rooms—for Whom?”<sup>40</sup> was published in response to the exhibition, which displayed miscellaneous goods and model rooms with a “modern Japanese style.” The contributor, SHOW—presumably the pseudonym of Shoji Hayashi (1928–2011)—questioned the fact that the IAI, an agency of the Ministry of International Trade and Industry, was promoting the design of luxury goods reminiscent of “orders from wealthy Americans” for export. The criticism was also directed at the “artificial neo-Japonism” of the exhibits, to which the IAI responded by stating that it was not “indulging in the facile Japanese expressions that are now prevalent in America.”<sup>41</sup> Contrary to this defense, the IAI’s external design efforts came to be regarded as typical of “Japonica.” Kenmochi’s “Japanese Modern or Japonica Style?” was a further defense of his viewpoint in the ongoing dissension. On this point, Kenmochi stated, “First of all, the translation of the term ‘modern Japanese style’ is wrong” and “unfortunately, the term has been taken in a very shallow sense.” He was highlighting the flaws in the IAI’s standpoint, even though he was the head of the institute. He emphasized the difference between Japanese Modern and Japonica, saying, “there is a separate word ‘Japonica’ for the *Fujiyama-Geisha* sort of fashion.”

However, contrary to Kenmochi’s intentions, his use of the term “Japonica” to refer to both foreign and Japanese-based designs further blurred the meaning of the word, as it was originally intended to refer specifically to foreign-based design. Moreover, his remarks triggered the equating of his own “Japanese modern” with “Japonica,” resulting in the architectural world becoming even more strident in their criticism of Kenmochi in later years.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>40</sup> SHOW, “Model Room — for Whom? (誰のためのモデルルーム),” *Shinkenchiku*, Vol. 24, No. 6, p. 54, 1954. 6.

<sup>41</sup> An institute member of IAI, “Answer to Mr. Show’s ‘Model Room for Whom’ (Show氏の「誰がためのモデルルーム」に答う),” *Shinkenchiku*, Vol. 29, No. 7, p. 10, 1954. 7.

<sup>42</sup> YM [Yoshihisa Miyauchi], “The Pitfalls of the Japonica Boom (ジャポニカ・ブームの陥し穴),” *Kenchiku Bunka*, Vol. 10, No. 9, p. 61, 1955. 9; Kiyoshi Seike, “The Comedy of Japonica (ジャポニカの喜劇),” *Geijutsu Shincho*, Vol. 7, No. 3, pp. 103–104, 1956. 3; Ryuichi Hamaguchi, “Ethnic Nationalism and Internationalism in Contemporary Design (現代デザインにおける民族主義と国際主義),” *Kogei News=Industrial Art News*, Vol. 25, No. 1, p. 36, 1957. 1.

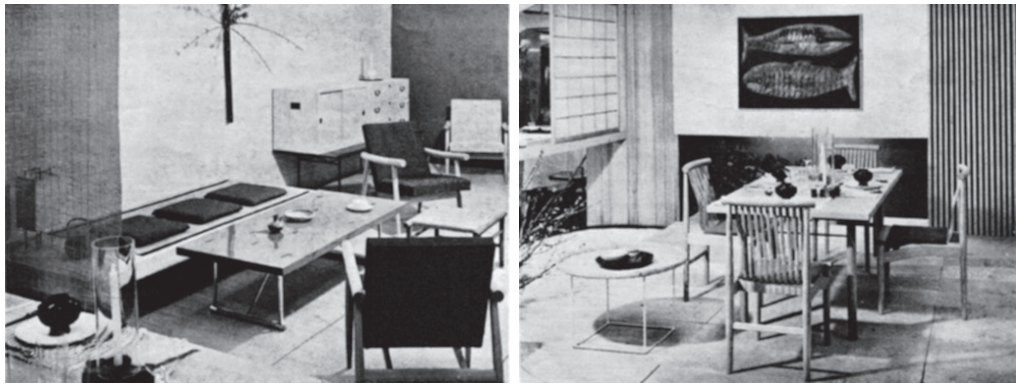


Figure 12. Model Room A at “Design and Technology” Exhibition (IAI: Tokyo, 1954)  
Source: *Shinkenchiku* (May 1954)

### 3.2. From the Venice Biennale to the Triennale di Milano

Japanese commentators, architects, and architecture critics began to use the term “Japonica” to overtly negatively describe the quest of the Japanese for “Japan-ness.” At the time, there was controversy over the appropriateness of Japanese-style pavilion architecture outside of Japan, as pioneered by Sutemi Horiguchi (1895–1984) and Junzo Yoshimura. Under these circumstances, the term “Japonica” began to be interpreted in the context of designs by Japanese architects meant for export.<sup>43</sup> The first example of the use of “Japonica” in this particular sense is found in “Expressions of Japanese Modern Architecture” by Yuichiro Kojiro (1922–2000) published in April 1955.<sup>44</sup> In this article, Kojiro discusses the history of Japanese modern architecture. Japonica is defined by Kojiro as the “export type” of Japanese ethnic design.

The 28<sup>th</sup> Venice Biennale in 1956 was the first occasion that Japonica—by Japanese architects—was utilized at a foreign event. The two design proposals considered by the preparatory committee tasked with the construction of the Japanese pavilion both followed the “Japonica demands”<sup>45</sup> as stressed by the committee (**Figure 13**). The final chosen design was published in *Shinkenchiku* magazine in May, just before the completion of the building in which the designer, Yoshizaka’s Laboratory, expressed its intention to “resist the recent fever of things Japanese in a style like *Fujiyama-Geisha* one.”<sup>46</sup> The stance of the Laboratory was also reflected in the criticisms at the time; the completed Japan Pavilion (**Figure 14**) was highly praised as it “did not end up as so-called

<sup>43</sup> Curiously, however, “Japonica” was not used by the critics of the works of Horiguchi, Yoshimura, and other Japanese masters, even in the essays that were clearly intended to criticize them. See for example: Kiyoshi Ikebe, “Japanese-style Architecture and Contemporary Design (和風建築と現代のデザイン),” *Shinken-chiku*, Vol. 30, No. 6, pp. 66–69, 1955. 6.

<sup>44</sup> Yuichiro Kojiro, “Expression of Japanese Modern Architecture (日本近代建築の表現),” *Kenchiku Bunka*, Vol. 10, No. 4, pp. 2–3, 1955. 4.

<sup>45</sup> *Compendium of Architecture Revised (新訂建築学大系)* 39, Tokyo: Shokokusha, p. 20, 1971. The similar old edition was published in 1959.

<sup>46</sup> “Proposal for the Japanese Pavilion at the Venice Biennale (ヴェニス・ビエンナーレ日本館計画案),” *Shinkenchiku*, Vol. 31, No. 5, p. 73, 1956. 5.

Japonica, but brought out a powerful sense of tradition and modernity.”<sup>47</sup>

In October 1956, close on the heels of the closing of the Venice Biennale, a Japan Fair was held at the Rinascente department store in Milan, which was organized with the cooperation of Yoshizaka, who was on assignment in Italy at the time. It featured large lanterns with inscriptions such as 「慶賀」 (celebration), 「御神燈」 (sacred lantern), 「松竹梅」 (pine, bamboo, and plum—together forming an auspicious grouping), hanging above the storefronts and from the ceiling of the exhibition space (Figure 14). These interior decorations were, however, all slated as being risible. Kiyoshi Seike (1918–2005), who reviewed the fair in the December 1956 issue of *Shinkenchiku*, criticized it in his subsequent article on another exhibition: “if you export the *Fujiyama-Gaisya* style of prostitution culture, thinking that the popularity of Japanese taste and the exoticism of admiring imported goods are causing a Japan boom in Europe and the United States, you will be in for a bad time.”<sup>48</sup> The crafts exhibited at the fair would soon be regarded as typical examples of “outbound” Japonica.<sup>49</sup>

The 11<sup>th</sup> Triennale di Milano in 1957, in which Japan participated for the first time (Figure 16), put an end to the debate on what constituted outbound Japonica, as demonstrated by the following statement by Junzo Sakakura (1901–1969): “in the past, there were manifestations of Japonica that could be seen as an expression of the Japanese inferiority complex in this field of art exhibited overseas.”<sup>50</sup> Kenzo Tange (1913–2005), one of Sakakura’s collaborators for the exhibition, explained that he had been seeking a middle ground between the “Japonica-like tendencies” that had emerged in international exchanges and the “opposite tendency to demean all domestic products as Japonica.” He expressed his satisfaction with the exhibits that showcased the history of ceramics (from *haniwa* to insulators) that had “something of the industrial level and form of Japan.”<sup>51</sup>

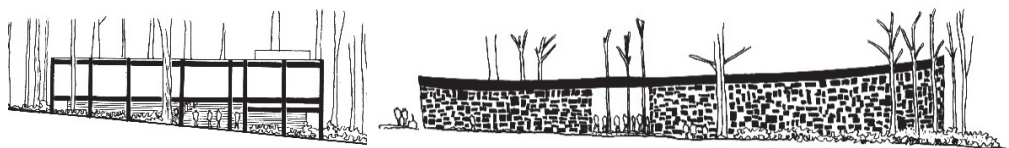


Figure 13 (Left). Studies for the Japan Pavilion of the 28<sup>th</sup> Venice Biennale according to “Japonica demands” (Yoshizaka Lab.: unexecuted, 1955)  
Source: *New Compendium of Architectural Science* 39 (新訂建築学大系39) (1972)

<sup>47</sup> K. H., “Japanese Pavilion at the Venice Biennale (ヴェニス・ビエンナーレ日本館),” *Kenchiku Bunka*, Vol. 11, No. 8, p. 4, 1956. 8.

<sup>48</sup> Kiyoshi Seike, “Japan Modern Craft Exhibition (日本近代工芸展),” *Shinkenchiku*, Vol. 31, No. 12, p. 61, 1956. 12.

<sup>49</sup> Nishikawa: 1957, p. 67; Sori Yanagi, “Japonica Style Popular in the World (世界に流行するジャポニカ調),” *Kokusai Kenchiku*, Vol. 23, No. 12, pp. 46–47, 1956. 12.

<sup>50</sup> Junzo Sakakura, “Participation Plan for the 11th Milan Triennale Exhibition (第11回ミラノ・トリエンナーレ展示参加計画),” *Kenchiku Bunka*, Vol. 12, No. 4, p. 6, 1957. 5.

<sup>51</sup> Kenzo Tange, “Participating in the Triennale (トリエンナーレに参加して),” *ibid.*

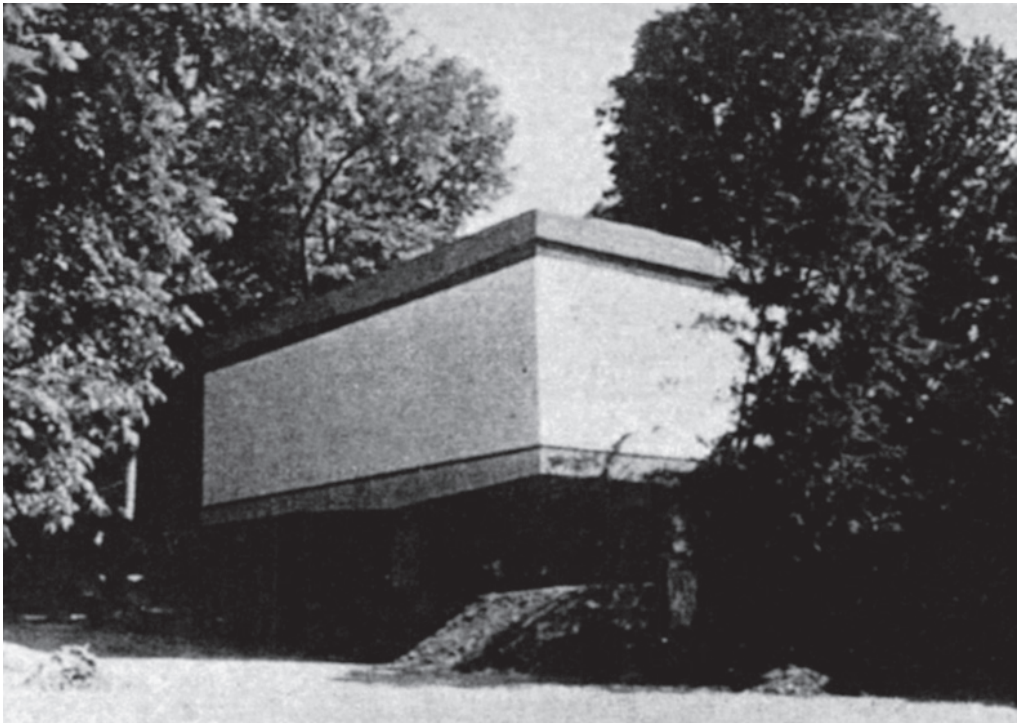


Figure 14. Japanese Pavilion for the 28<sup>th</sup> Venice Biennale (Yoshizaka Lab.: Venezia, 1956)  
Source: *Kenchiku Bunka* (August 1956)

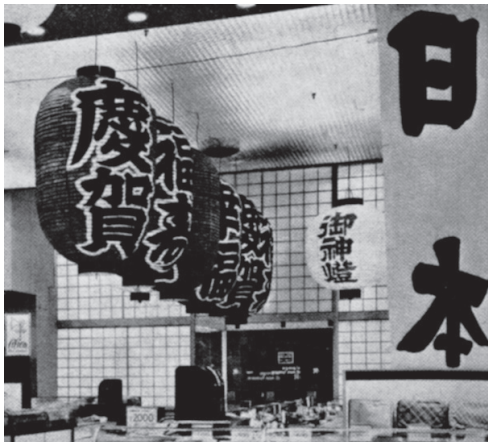


Figure 15 (Left). Rinascente Japan Fair (Milan, 1956)  
Source: *Shinkenichiku* (December 1956)

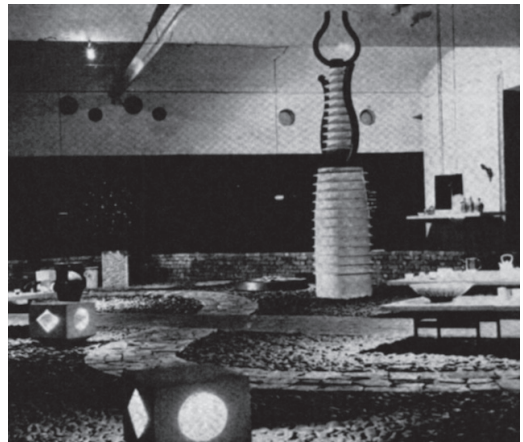


Figure 16 (Right). Japan section of the 11th Triennale di Milano (Milan, 1957)  
Source: *Kenchiku Bunka* (May 1957)

## 4. DOMESTIC JAPONICA

### 4.1. (New) Japanese-Style: Japonica

From 1954 to 1955, a number of new terms were added to the architectural discourse, which had up to this point simply used the term “Japanese (日本的)” to describe all Japanese-inspired design. The term “artificial neo-Japonism style (作為的なネオ・ジャポニズム調),” used to criticize the “Design and Technology” exhibition, was intended to ridicule the “modern Japanese style (近代日本調)” of the IAI. The terms “New Japanese Style (新日本調)” and “Japanese Style (日本調),” introduced after 1955, attempted to obscure the pejorative meaning of “Japonica” and are confused with its value-neutral usage<sup>52</sup>; this is also the case when referring to the works of Isamu Noguchi and other Japanese-American designers.

The “New Japanese Style” and “Japanese Style” were incorporated into the architectural designs of residences designed by Kiyoshi Seike by the early 1950s. *Contemporary Housing in the World Volume 6 (Japan)*, published in April 1955, listed the Mori Residence (1951) at the beginning of the article and positioned it as the pioneer of the “New Japanese Style Residence” (Figure 17).<sup>53</sup> The August issue of the same year’s *Shinkenchiku* also introduced this work “as the forerunner of the so-called New Japanese Style.” The article featured the residence as an example of the “Revival of the Japanese Style,” which implied “Nostalgia floating in a pacifiable mood (調和気分に浮び上る懐古趣味),” as proclaimed in the subtitle. The latter part of the article proved highly critical of the “Japanese style as something to lean on.”



Figure 17. Mori Residence (Kiyoshi Seike: Tokyo, 1951)  
Source: *Contemporary Housing in the World 6: Japan* (1955)

<sup>52</sup> Hajime Shimizu, “On Contemporary Housing (現代の住宅について),” *Kenchiku Bunka*, Vol. 9, No. 1, pp. 34–35, 1954. 1.

<sup>53</sup> Shinji Koike, Ryuichi Hamaguchi, and Kimimasa Abe (eds.), *World’s Contemporary Houses 6: Japan* (世界の現代住宅 6 日本編), Tokyo: Shokokusha, 1955. There is no negative connotation to 新日本調 here, which is probably because the book was a bilingual edition intended for English readers as well.





Figure 18. Competition Design for the National Diet Library (Tange Lab.: unexecuted, 1954)  
Source: *Reality and Creation: 1946-1958* (現実と創造：1946-1958) (1966)

#### 4.2. Japonica in the National Diet Library Design Competition

As discussed above, the original meaning of Japonica was “Japan-inspired design by non-Japanese” (so-called “foreign Japonica”), but this was expanded soon thereafter to additionally refer to “design for export by Japanese” (differentiated as “outbound Japonica”), although this was predated by the other meaning attached to Japonica, namely “domestic Japonica” (design by and for Japanese people in Japan). According to the contemporary perception, the term was immediately accepted in Japan, particularly “in relation to the problem of tradition,”<sup>54</sup> which was at the root of the discourse on domestic design.

The competition for the design of the National Diet Library (**Figure 18**) in 1954 was also included at the start of the Japonica controversy. Kenzo Tange’s proposal for the competition was recognized as the representative “Japanese”<sup>55</sup> design of the year, along with the pavilions that Sutemi Horiguchi and Junzo Yoshimura had built abroad.

In “The Japanese Character of Kenzo Tange,”<sup>56</sup> Tomoo Iwata (the pseudonym of Noboru Kawazoe, the editor of *Shinken-chiku*), stated that Tange was not a comrade of theirs anymore, but rather a “spectator” of his own people, and that he had begun to view them condescendingly. Iwata criticized Tange’s design proposal’s “Omikoshi-like roof criticized as Japonica” and noted the excessive slenderness of the proportions of his concrete columns, which “do not remind one of

<sup>54</sup> Kei Haiji [Yoshihisa Miyauchi], “1954 Architectural Review: Criticism + Journalism (1954年建築界回顧：建築評論＋ジャーナリズム),” *Kenchiku Zasshi=Journal of Architecture and Building Science*, No. 820, p. 29, 1955. 3.

<sup>55</sup> Kiyoshi Ikebe, “Discussion on ‘Japanesque Design’ (「日本的デザイン」といかに取りくむか),” *Shinken-chiku*, Vol. 30, No. 2, p. 41, 1955. 2. The English title is the original, although the Japanese title that appealed to the general reader can be translated as that in the text.

<sup>56</sup> Tomoo Iwata [Noboru Kawazoe], “Tange Kenzo’s Japanese Character: Particularly with Special Reference to the Development of Rahmen Structure (丹下健三の日本的性格：とくにラーメン構造の発展をとうして),” *Shinken-chiku*, Vol. 30, No. 1, pp. 62–69, 1955. 1.

Kiyomizu Temple, but rather remind many people of the Kyoto Imperial Palace.” Tange’s competition design was seen as an attempt to recover from the compromising copyright movement<sup>57</sup> “in a fit of pique, expecting applause for the current trend in playing Japonica.”

Members of the Tange Laboratory were, of course, aware of the criticism and their design was quickly defended in a response to a paper on “Japanesque design” by Kiyoshi Ikebe (1920–1979),<sup>58</sup> which appeared a month after Iwata’s essay. In their rebuttal, it was stressed that the roof was different from “the expression of the National Museum [Jin Watanabe, 1937] or the Military Association Hall [Ryoichi Kawamoto, 1934]” and was not “a compliant design represented by the Japonica style.”<sup>59</sup>

### 4.3. “Japanesque” and the “Greatest Postwar Japonica”

The English title of Ikebe’s essay that inspired this defense translated 「日本的」 into “Japanesque (ジャパネスク)” to refer to a Japanese design that is unique to the Japanese. Three of the five articles responding to Ikebe (Tange Laboratory, MIDO, UHON, RIA, and Seike Laboratory) used the word “Japonica,” a term that Ikebe seems to have purposefully avoided, to challenge Ikebe’s raising of the question itself. They further regarded Ikebe’s approach as too nationalistic and that it presupposed the Japan-ness of the design. Ikebe’s attitude appeared to them as an abuse of tradition, or “Japonica” as best expressed in the language of the time. According to Masahiro Miwa of the RIA, “the postwar Japanese fad of Japonica is a sentiment of escape from the pressures of the mechanisms of American capitalist society,” and the Seike Laboratory utilized the term as a place of “architectural escape.”

In July of the same year, immediately after the completion of the International House of Japan (by Kunio Maekawa, Junzo Sakakura, and Junzo Yoshimura) (**Figure 18**), Ryuichi Hamaguchi defined it as the “greatest Japonica of the postwar era” based on the “bullishness,” or “so-what attitude” in the safety of numbers that occurs as a consequence of collaborative design.<sup>60</sup> Hamaguchi evaluated the House’s use of materials as being “both ‘Japanese’ and ‘modern,’” he responded to Isoya Yoshida’s antipathy toward the “false construction of the International House of Japan imitating the method of Japanese half-timber [木造真壁] with concrete,” saying that “it may be ‘imitation’ but it is not ‘false,’” Seike Kiyoshi also differed from Hamaguchi in his opinion on the correctness of the House’s construction. Seike’s “The Comedy of Japonica,”<sup>61</sup> published the following year, attacked the “Japonica of the International House of Japan.” Seike noted that the House “has been called the greatest Japonica of the postwar period” precisely because of the “very bad” way that they had

<sup>57</sup> A movement for the design copyright of architects and its public enlightenment that followed the question for the ignorance of it in the competition outline of the National Diet Library.

<sup>58</sup> Kiyoshi Ikebe, “Discussion on ‘Japanesque Design’ (「日本的デザイン」といかに取り組むか),” *Shinken-chiku*, Vol. 30, No. 2, pp. 41–43, 1955. 2.

<sup>59</sup> Tange Laboratory Group, “What Matters is Whether It is Modern Architecture or Not ( “近代建築かどうか” が問題なのだ),” *ibid.* p. 44.

<sup>60</sup> Ryuichi Hamaguchi, “Group Practice in Question: A Case of International House of Japan: Expression of Modern Architecture and Japanese Architectural Tradition (戦後最大の日本調と共同設計功罪),” *Shinken-chiku*, Vol. 10, No. 7, pp. 13–14, 1955. 7. The Japanese title can be translated literally as “The Greatest Postwar Japanese Style and the Merits and Demerits of Collaborative Design.”

<sup>61</sup> Kiyoshi Seike, “The Comedy of Japonica (ジャポニカの喜劇),” *Geijutsu Shincho*, Vol. 7, No. 3, pp. 103–104, 1956. 3.



Figure 17. International House of Japan (Sakakura, Maekawa, and Yoshimura: Tokyo, 1955)  
Source: *Shinchenchiku* (July 1955)



Figure 18. Old Egawa Residence in Nirayama (Shizuoka, c. 1600)  
Source: *Shinchenchiku* (August 1956)

replaced the wooden structures with reinforced concrete while persisting in its slender dimensions.<sup>62</sup>

#### 4.4. The Jomon-Yayoi Controversy and the Confusion of Japonica

What would mark the beginning of the end of the Japonica controversy was “On the *Jomon*”<sup>63</sup> by Seiichi Shirai (1905–1983), which was published in *Shinken-chiku* in August 1956. As Shirai puts it, the “fatal antagonism between the *Jomon* and the *Yayoi* similar to the Dionysian and Apollonian opposition in Greek culture” is not only an antagonism between emotion and reason; it also represented a contraposition of the compliant *Yayoi* that imitated the Katsura Detached Palace in accordance with the demands of Westerners and the open-minded *Jomon* exemplified by the 350-year-old Egawa samurai residence that “shall not be a model of Japonica” (Figure 19). Shirai’s article constituted a proclamation to discard the foreign-conscious Japonica value system in order to reach a state of mind where “there is naturally no vanity or decadence... no sign of money-laundering or oppressive complexes.”

Shirai’s article attempted to shift the existing postwar contraposition of Japan versus foreign countries into a domestic confrontation of *Jomon* versus *Yayoi*. Taro Okamoto’s “The Problem of Tradition in Contemporary Art”<sup>64</sup> steadfastly refused to “indulge in the peculiarities of Japonica,” saying, “from now on, Japan must decide on issues that are *for us* rather than *against* foreign countries.” On the occasion of the 11<sup>th</sup> Triennale di Milano, Junzo Sakakura and Kenzo Tange declared that postwar Japan would overcome its external inferiority complex (see §3. 2). This was the last use of the term “Japonica” to allude to the “for export” derivation. Discussion of the term in the context of the domestic dispute surrounding tradition, with a concerted effort to break away from the inferiority complex, also rapidly fell into disuse.

## CONCLUSION

The popular usage of “Japonica” as a proxy for “Pacifica” was limited to Japan, where it also retained its reference in meaning to “Pacifica” in the United States. But due to its redundancy to allude to the contemporary Japonism in the broadest sense including that of Japan. Thus the term was soon digressing from its original meaning and reinterpreted to refer to the misuse and abuse of traditions by the Japanese in line with prevailing general controversies over traditions in Japan.

This pejorative term, with its varied meanings, was destined to be utilized only by the Japanese, and then only within the framework of domestic discourse. When it referred to trends outside of Japan, it was a blunt discriminatory term to be expressed in no language other than Japanese. As a sign of the shame at the supposed backwardness of contemporary architecture in Japan, its usage was not actively promoted outside of Japan. This is probably the reason why the term, when referring to both its outbound and domestic forms, only began to be reintroduced outside of Japan so late as to be

<sup>62</sup> Idem, “On Design (意匠について),” *Kenchiku Zasshi*, No. 839, pp. 30–31, 1956. 10.

<sup>63</sup> Shirai Seiichi, “On the Jomon: About the Old Egawa Residence in Nirayama (縄文的なるもの: 江川氏旧葦山館について),” *Shinken-chiku*, Vol. 31, No. 8, pp. 4–8, 1956. 8.

<sup>64</sup> Taro Okamoto, “The Problem of Tradition in Contemporary Art (現代造形における伝統の問題),” *Kenchiku Bunka*, Vol. 12, No. 1, pp. 6–8, 1957. 1.

after the recognizable end of the Japonica controversy.<sup>65</sup> This would coincide with the launch of a period wherein the Japanese narrative has started to notice the eradication of the sense of inferiority inherent to Japanese design.

It is not clear whether Japanese commentators on the controversy endorsed the custom that “Japonica” was a word only to be used in Japanese. At the World Design Conference in 1960, Isamu Kenmochi said, “We Japanese designers have given the nickname ‘Japonica Style’ to frivolous Japanese-style designs from abroad.”<sup>66</sup>

Japonica, an enigmatic concept known only to the Japanese, which was born because Japan was receptive to foreign information and was receiving global appreciation, was nurtured in closed-off domestic discourse.

## References

- Yuko Kikuchi, *Japanese Modernisation and Mingei Theory: Cultural Nationalism and Oriental Orientalism*, New York: Routledge Curzon, 2004
- Yayoi Motohashi, “‘Pacifica’ and ‘Japanese Modern’: Japanese-style Modern Design in California and Japan in the 1950s (「パシフィカ」と「ジャパニーズ・モダン」—1950年代カリフォルニアと日本における日本調のモダン・デザイン),” *California Design 1930–1965: “Living in a Modern Way”* (カリフォルニア・デザイン 1930-1965 : モダン・リビングの起源), Tokyo: Shinkenchiku-sha, 2013, pp. 321–328 (Japanese)
- Yasutaka Tsuji, *Postwar Japan as Dullness: A History of Art Movements and Exhibition Installations* (鈍色の戦後：芸術運動と展示空間の歴史), Tokyo: Suiseisha, 2021 (Japanese)

## Acknowledgments

This research was supported by JSPS Grants-in-Aid for Scientific Research (JP18J00665) and the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS) Grant-in-Aid for Young Scientists in Switzerland (FY 2008).

<sup>65</sup> See note 3. See also: Takeshi Nishikawa, *Formation of Japanese Farm-houses* (民家の造形), Tokyo: Shokokusha, p. 31, 1958; Yuichiro Kojiro, “Building for Olympics,” *The Japan Quarterly*, Vol. 11, No. 1, p. 444, 1964. 1–3, etc.

<sup>66</sup> Isamu Kenmochi, “When Two Different Cultures Interact (二つの異なる文化が交流する時),” *World Design Conference 1960 In Tokyo* (世界デザイン会議議事録), Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppansha, p. 88, 1961.