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Oriental Orientalism:
Japanese formulations of East Asian and Taiwanese
architectural history

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PhD

The University of Edinburgh

2012

ABSTRACT

In the West architectural historiography, or writing on architectural history, can be considered as a modern practice. Its emergence accompanied with the development of modern nation states. Architecture's reflection on its historical texts came to find particular expression in the search for the origins of architecture. The formation of oriental architectural history tended to follow this pattern. Oriental architectural historiography was initiated by a Japanese scholar, Chūta Itō. In his formulation, the origins of Japanese architecture were linked not only with Chinese and Indian architecture, but also with Classical Greek architecture. In addition, Itō's theoretical formulation of architectural history was also followed by other Japanese scholars, and it informed those later scholars who studied Taiwanese architectural history. That is, the formulations and classification systems that Itō set out for Japanese architecture framed subsequent scholarship on the architecture of other parts of East Asia, including Taiwan.

The system that Itō established has been widely regarded as being based on modern and scientific academic research. This thesis investigates Itō's system, its significance for architectural scholarship in other parts of East, as well as its claimed scientific basis. The thesis pays particular attention to the architectural history of Taiwan in the Japanese colonial period. The thesis hypothesises that the historiographical tradition that Itō's work established was based on an unbalanced colonial relationship of power and uneven structure of authority. It explores how authenticity in East Asian architecture was authorised, and how hidden ideologies and methodologies lie behind these historiographical practices. This is the first ambition of the thesis.

The examination of Japanese construction of oriental and Taiwanese architectural history in this thesis pays particular attention to the context of Japanese colonialism. In doing so it draws on a range of contemporary postcolonial theoretical perspectives. In addition, the particular kind of oriental colonialism, as a materialised colonial medium, Japanese writing on oriental and Taiwanese architectural history provides an additional perspective on that current and recent postcolonial criticism expressed through such concepts as Edward Said's orientalism, Homi Bhabha's hybridity and Gayatri Spivak's strategic essentialism. At a theoretical level, the thesis argues that since these concepts emerged from the colonial/anti-colonial operation and negotiation between the west and its colonies, a refined analysis is required for thinking through Japanese colonialism. To this end, the thesis supplements postcolonial theory with the idea of oriental orientalism as developed by Yuko Kikuchi. In so doing, the thesis aims to contribute to an enriched discussion of contemporary postcolonial criticism in general, and as it applies to East Asian in particular.

The exploration of architectural history as the subject of a wider colonial operation and the revision of the core conceptual tools of postcolonial criticism in the context of Japanese colonialism in East Asian, and Taiwan, provides further possibilities for the the construction of identity in those formerly colonised subject in places such as Taiwan. A postcolonial reading of Japanese writing on architectural history shows both the limitation of postcolonial criticism, and to question the framework of architectural discourse in the discipline. This project has to be based on an inquiry into the way in which the other's architecture has been formulated and constructed in the discipline of architecture in the light of postcolonial criticism. Without such an inquiry, we are unable to open the metaphorical 'space' to negotiate the self-writing of Taiwanese subjects on their own architecture and architectural history.

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The author

Liang-Ping Yen

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	iii
COPYRIGHT DECLARATION	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vii
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	xi
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	xiii
<u>CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION</u>	<u>1</u>
1-1 INTRODUCTION	1
1-2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND HYPOTHESIS	3
1-3 CHAPTER STRUCTURE	6
1-3-1 PART ONE: MAPPING THEORIES	7
1-3-2 PART TWO: LOCATING HISTORY	9
1-3-3 PART THREE: DISCUSSION – TOWARD POSTCOLONIAL OPENING	10
<u>CHAPTER 2 CONTEXT AND RESEARCH METHODS</u>	<u>13</u>
2-1 POSTCOLONIAL ARCHITECTURE	13
2-2 ORIENTAL ORIENTALISM	24
2-3 THE COMPLEX HISTORY OF TAIWAN	26
2-4 TAIWANESE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORIOGRAPHY	29
2-5 RESEARCH METHODS	37
<u>CHAPTER 3 THE ORIENTALISING OF ORIENTALISM: JAPAN AS THE HINGE BETWEEN EAST AND WEST</u>	<u>43</u>
3-1 EDWARD SAID: FROM ORIENTALISM TO CULTURAL AND IMPERIALISM	48
3-2 HYBRIDITY AND CULTURE AS A VARIED FIELD OF NEGOTIATION	57
3-3 YUKO KIKUCHI'S FORMULATION OF ORIENTAL ORIENTALISM	67
3-4 ORIENTAL ORIENTALISM AND POSTCOLONIAL THEORY	76
<u>CHAPTER 4 MINGEI THEORY AND THE MATERIAL CULTURE OF ORIENTAL ORIENTALISM</u>	<u>81</u>
4-1 <i>MINGEI</i> THEORY	84
4-2 <i>MINGEI</i> AS A CRITERION OF BEAUTY	88
4-2-1 SETTING A NEW STANDARD	88
4-2-2 <i>MINGEI</i> THEORY AS HYBRIDIZED ORIENTALISM AND OCCIDENTALISM	93
4-3 <i>MINGEI</i> THEORY AS A MATERIALIZED JAPANESE CULTURAL AND NATIONAL	

REPRESENTATION	100
4-3-1 MINGEI AS MATERIALIZED JAPANESE IDENTITY AND <i>GETEMONO</i> AS THE REPRESENTATIVE OF INNATE JAPANESENESS	101
4-3-2 MINGEI AS MATERIALIZED JAPAN'S ORIENT AND ORIENTAL ORIENTALISM	106
4-3-2.1 KOREA	117
4-3-2.2 OKINAWA	110
4-3-2.3 AINU	114
4-3-2.4 TAIWAN AND CHINA/MANCHURIA	116
4-3-3 MATERIALIZED ORIENTAL ORIENTALISM	118
<u>CHAPTER 5 THE PRIMITIVE OTHER IN THE ARCHITECTURAL DISCIPLINE</u>	127
5-1 THE ARCHITECTURE OF OTHERNESS AS PRIMITIVE HUT	130
5-1-1 MARCUS VITRUVIUS POLLIO	133
5-1-2 ANTONIO DI PIETRO AVERLINO (FILARETE)	134
5-1-3 MARC-ANTOINE LAUGIER	135
5-1-4 GOTTFRIED SEMPER	139
5-1-5 RECONSIDERING THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE OTHER IN THE PRIMITIVE HUT	144
5-2 THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE OTHER FILLS IN THE BLANK IN WORLD	
ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY	146
5-2-1 JAMES FERGUSSON'S <i>HISTORY OF ARCHITECTURE</i>	149
5-2-2 SIR BANISTER FLETCHER'S <i>A HISTORY OF ARCHITECTURE UPON THE COMPARATIVE METHOD</i>	155
5-2-3 RECONSIDERING THE OTHER'S ARCHITECTURE IN ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY	159
5-3 VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURAL STUDIES AS AN ALTERNATIVE APPROACH TO THE DISCIPLINE	160
<u>CHAPTER 6 THE FORMATION OF JAPANESE ARCHITECTURE AND THE ORIENTAL ARCHITECTURAL SYSTEM</u>	167
6-1 THE BACKGROUND OF CHŪTA ITŌ'S ARCHITECTURAL KNOWLEDGE	169
6-1-1 CHŪTA ITŌ'S WESTERN DISCIPLINARY ARCHITECTURAL KNOWLEDGE	169
6-1-1.1 JOSIAH CONDER'S INFLUENCE	169
6-1-1.2 KINGO (金吾) TATSUNO'S (辰野) ENCOURAGEMENT	175
6-1-2 CHŪTA ITŌ'S JAPANESE ARCHITECTURAL KNOWLEDGE, KIYOYOSHI (清敬) KIGO'S (木子) LECTURE	176
6-1-3 CHŪTA ITŌ'S ARCHITECTURAL EDUCATION	177
6-2 CHŪTA ITŌ'S <i>KENCHIKU TETSUGAKU</i> (ARCHITECTURAL PHILOSOPHY, 建築哲学) AS A THEORETICAL GROUND OF THE FORMATION OF JAPANESE ARCHITECTURE	179
6-3 CHŪTA ITŌ'S FORMATION OF THE <i>HŌRYŪJI</i> AS A SEARCH FOR A NATIONAL ORIGIN OF JAPANESE ARCHITECTURE	184
6-4 CHŪTA ITŌ'S DISCOVERY OF THE <i>YUNGANG</i> GROTTOS AS A HINGE BETWEEN THE WEST AND THE EAST	189
6-5 CHŪTA ITŌ'S ORIENT	199
6-5-1 CHŪTA ITŌ'S FORMATION OF ORIENTAL ARCHITECTURAL SYSTEMS	199
6-5-2 CHŪTA ITŌ'S FORMATION OF CHINESE ARCHITECTURE	205

CHAPTER 7 JAPANESE CONCEPTUALIZATION OF TAIWANESE ARCHITECTURE

213

7-1 MASANAO YASUE'S 'TAIWAN KENCHIKU SHI (TAIWANESE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY, 臺灣建築史)' UNDER THE ACTIVITY OF THE 'KYŪKAN CHŌSA' (AN INVESTIGATION OF TAIWANESE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS, 舊慣調査) BY THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF TAIWAN BETWEEN 1901 AND 1919 216

7-1-1 THE 'KYŪKAN CHŌSA' AS A COLONIAL ENTERPRISE 217

7-1-2 MASANAO (正直) YASUE'S (安江) 'TAIWAN KENCHIKU SHI (TAIWANESE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY, 臺灣の建築)' 224

7-2 DAISAKU (大作) TANAKA'S (田中) 'TAIWAN KENCHIKU NO SHI TEKI KENKYŪ (HISTORICAL RESEARCH ON TAIWANESE ARCHITECTURE, 台灣建築の史的研究)' AND TAIWAN SHIMA KENCHIKU NO KENKYŪ (A RESEARCH ON TAIWANESE ARCHITECTURE, 台灣島建築の研究) 232

7-3 GAIZIRŌ (亥治郎) HUZISIMA (藤島) AND TAIWAN NO KENCHIKU (TAIWANESE ARCHITECTURE, 臺灣の建築) 243

7-3-1 BACKGROUND 243

7-3-2 THE CONTENT OF *TAIWAN NO KENCHIKU* 246

CHAPTER 8 DISCUSSION: TOWARDS A POSTCOLONIAL OPENING 253

8-1 JAPAN'S CONSTRUCTION OF ORIENTAL ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY AS A PROCESS OF ORIENTAL ORIENTALISM 256

8-1-1 JAPAN'S HYBRID CONSTRUCTION OF ORIENTAL ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY 259

8-1-2 JAPAN'S CONSTRUCTION OF AN ORIENTALIST ORIENTAL ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY 263

8-2 RECONSIDERING POSTCOLONIAL THEORY 269

8-3 POSTCOLONIAL CRITICISM OF DISCIPLINARY ARCHITECTURAL KNOWLEDGE: THE PRIMITIVE HUT, ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY AND VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE 276

8-4 TOWARDS A POSTCOLONIAL OPENING 283

BIBLIOGRAPHY 287

!

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

<i>4-1 Mokujikibutsu by Mokuji Shōnin.</i>	86
<i>4-2 Yanagi's classification of crafts.</i>	90
<i>4-3 Chinese pottery, Bowl. Sung Dynasty.</i>	104
<i>4-4 Chinese pottery. Sung Dynasty.</i>	104
<i>4-5 The map of Eastern Asia.</i>	107
<i>4-6 Bottle, blue and white porcelain, Li Dynasty.</i>	109
<i>4-7 Bottle, Semi-porcelain, pattern in iron black, Li dynasty.</i>	109
<i>4-8 Soup Bowl, Hakeme (White slip brushed), Li Dynasty.</i>	110
<i>4-9 Rice Bowl, Hakeme (White slip brushed), Early Li Dynasty.</i>	110
<i>4-10 Shīsā.</i>	112
<i>4-11 Okinawa Kimono: in banana plant fibre, polychrome Kaisuri.</i>	113
<i>4-12 Okinawa Kimono: in cotton, indigo Kaisuri pattern with stripes.</i>	113
<i>4-13 Okinawa Kimono, Tonbyan Kasuri (Fabric in orchid fibre with woven in pattern).</i>	113
<i>4-14 Okinawa Kimono, Watajin (Silk robe) polychrome Kasuri.</i>	113
<i>4-15 Ainu oripera.</i>	115
<i>4-16 Ainu Coat, in kiribuse (applique).</i>	116
<i>4-17 Ainu Coat, in attushi (elm fibre).</i>	116
<i>4-18 Paiwan textile.</i>	118
<i>4-19 Formosa Fabric, detail of Poncho style mantle.</i>	118
<i>4-20 Formosa Fabric, hand-woven by Paiwan tribe.</i>	118
<i>5-1 Filarete's sketch of Adam's first encounter with rain.</i>	135
<i>5-2 Filarete's sketch of making a shelter.</i>	135
<i>5-3 Filarete's sketch of making a shelter.</i>	135
<i>5-4 The frontispiece of the second edition of Laugier's An Essay on Architecture.</i>	137
<i>5-5 Lafitau's drawings of Northern American Indian's activities and buildings.</i>	138
<i>5-6 Semper's Drawing of the Caribbean hut.</i>	141
<i>5-7 The house of a Chinese merchant at Canton.</i>	144
<i>5-8 Fergusson's diagram.</i>	152
<i>5-9 The tree of architecture.</i>	158
<i>6-1 Itō's formation of the inconstant factor of style.</i>	182
<i>6-2 Itō's analysis of the proportions of the chūmon (middle gate).</i>	187
<i>6-3 Itō's comparison between an Etruscan temple and the Hōryūji.</i>	187
<i>6-4 Fig 573 drawn by Itō Chūta.</i>	190
<i>6-5 The original drawing of Fig. 573.</i>	190
<i>6-6 Fig. 574 drawn by Itō Chūta.</i>	191

Acknowledgements

I am extremely grateful to my main supervisor, Professor Stephen Cairns, for his continuous encouragement and insightful criticisms. His enthusiasm for academic research, and his comprehensive knowledge has been inspiring me through all these years. Also I want to particularly thank Dr. Jim Lawson who kindly gives me a hand in my last period. I should like to record my special gratitude to Ms Catherine Carmichael for assisting all complicated administrative works.

I am indebted to Taiwanese scholars who contribute their academic knowledge and who assist my archive works. I want to express special thanks to Associate Professor Chun-Ming Huang who guides me to the academic circle of oriental architectural history and generously shares his insight. I also owe a great deal to Assistant Professor Shih-Chuan Huang, Mr. Chao-Min Cheng, Mr. Jiung-Ling Yeh, and Mr. Kuo-Hsuan Lee who assist me for my archive works in Taiwan and Japan. Particularly, I want to acknowledge Mr. Sun Yue who kindly proof reads Japanese translation in the thesis. Without them, the thesis could not be finished.

In addition, I want particularly to thank Dr. Felipe Hernández, Professor Richard Coyne and Professor John Lee. Their inspiring examination of and discussions on my thesis did enrich it and around topic very much.

I also owe the greatest debt of gratitude to my families, who have been supporting me for years, and my wife Nanwei for her encouragement for both academics and life.

Chapter 1 Introduction

1-1 Introduction

In 1936, the Japanese scholar Gaizirō (亥治郎) Huzisima (藤島) went to Taiwan, then a Japanese colony, to carry out fieldwork on Taiwanese architecture. At that time, Taiwan was a blank spot on his map of the history of oriental architectural construction. He spent twenty-one days in Taiwan and visited twenty-two places. Based on that fieldwork, he published his book *Taiwan No Kenchiku* (Taiwanese Architecture, 臺灣の建築) in 1947. It was one of the earliest comprehensive monographs on Taiwanese architecture.

Huzisima's achievement was significant, but he was not the only or first Japanese scholar who studied and documented Taiwanese architecture. Unlike the early document and descriptions of architecture of Taiwan made by Chinese people, the historiography of Taiwanese architecture that Japanese officers and scholars at the beginning of Japanese colonial period provides overall investigations. The systematic quality of their analyses has given their work the status of modern, scientific scholarship. The research undertaken by the Japanese and the records which they made on Taiwanese architecture have nowadays become the primary first-hand reference materials for historians of Taiwanese architecture. The scientific, modern and systematic quality of their scholarship was appreciated by the Taiwanese scholars who followed, and this reinforced the academic authority and sense of authenticity of that early work. However, if we take the insights of postcolonial criticism into account, the very processes and circumstances by which this knowledge was produced come into view as a significant topic of analysis. From the postcolonial perspective, the production of knowledge in the context of

Japanese imperialism is revealed as a vigorously contested issue. This thesis therefore hypothesizes that those Taiwanese architectural historical resources cannot be considered as pure, objective and scientific forms of knowledge. We have to be aware of the ideology of Japanese authority over Taiwanese architectural history. Becoming aware of these ideological underpinnings is important as it is the first step towards opening up opportunities for other, more localised, Taiwanese historical narratives. Therefore, the thesis will go on to argue, the colonial and imperial dominant power behind the production of the knowledge of Taiwanese architecture and architectural history needs to be unpacked and examined carefully.

To examine Taiwanese architectural historiography in this way has become an extremely complicated task. Not only does this historiographical work now refer to the fact of Japanese colonisation, but also to the ideologies and methodologies that emerge from broader considerations of Japanese formations of oriental and Japanese architecture and architectural history. This situation is complicated further by Japan's own encounter with western modernity and orientalism in the late nineteenth century. Japan's search for architectural identity and origins in the context of its emerging nationalism was a project that was refracted through Japan's engagement with the West following the Meiji Restoration. The idea of Japan's 'orient' and its modernity emerged through its contact with the West, and this, in turn, had a profound impact on the way Taiwanese architecture was understood and studied. Therefore, in light of postcolonial criticism, Taiwanese architectural historiography and Japan's formation of oriental architectural history are bound together. This thesis will examine this historical connection and the idea which the orientalist scholar Yuko Kikuchi has described as 'oriental orientalism' through an analysis of oriental imperialism.

Meanwhile, Japanese writing on oriental architectural history specifically responded to western orientalism in the discipline of architecture in works such as James Fergusson's and Sir Banister Fletcher's formations of oriental architecture. Knowledge of architecture as a discipline has therefore become relevant to a postcolonial inquiry into the circumstances and processes of a national or cultural identity formation. As a consequence, the thesis attempts to reveal the political/academic and ideological/practical practices that were at work in complicating the western orientalism behind Japan's formation of Taiwanese architectural history, and its related oriental architectural history.

To formulate the inquiry that I have introduced above, I shall present general overall questions to open up the motivations for the thesis in Section 1-2 that immediately follows, and also describe the structure of the thesis in order to set out the way in which I have responded to and approached these general overall questions.

1-2 Research questions and hypothesis

My aim is to question the Japanese role in the formation of received Taiwanese architectural history in the light of postcolonial criticism. However, because of its focus on a form of oriental imperialism, this inquiry stands at the intersection of wider orientalist vectors. To question the authority and authenticity of the Japanese formation of Taiwanese architectural history is also to question the role of western architectural discourse in the formation of Japanese architectural knowledge. Therefore, the research questions that orient this thesis can be divided into three areas: 1) can we understand the ideological aspects of Japanese writings on Taiwanese architecture and architectural history in terms of current postcolonial theory? 2) What are the limitations and

possibilities inherent in postcolonial theory when specifically Japanese forms of colonialism are considered? 3) How does non-western writing on oriental architecture contribute to and complicate established analytical categories and hierarchies of knowledge within the architectural discipline more generally?

From the perspective of postcolonial criticism, the Japanese formation of Taiwanese architectural history cannot be considered as pure and impartial academic achievements. We therefore have to ask a series of supplementary questions: How was Taiwanese architectural history written and constructed? Was there any specific framework and ideology behind the construction? Was there any ideological and methodological predisposition in Japan's construction of oriental architectural history?

From the examination of postcolonial criticism, discussions on self-formations of oriental architectural history in the light of postcolonial criticism seem to provide another inroad into examining the applicability of postcolonial criticism in the Eastern Asian context. Will postcolonial criticism encounter some dilemma when the colonial fact was in oriental-style colonialism? What is the dilemma? Or will this oriental exemplification open up further considerations of postcolonial criticism?

From the position of postcolonial criticism, I propose to consider Japan's formation of oriental and Taiwanese architectural history as significant to an examination of Taiwanese self-formation of architectural history. An investigation of Japan's formation of architectural history through the lens of postcolonial criticism draws out questions of the authority and authenticity in architectural discourse, and comes to find its sharpest expression in vernacular architecture, the figure of the primitive hut and the ideal construction of world architectural history. Within such disciplinary-discriminated topics,

what has been the other's architecture's role in western architectural discipline? How has the other's architecture been framed into the discipline ideologically and methodologically? Through those inquiries, we are able to reveal the ideological and methodological authority of a kind of knowledge of architecture that, ultimately, had its origins in the West.

The thesis will be underpinned by an idea of architecture as materialized cultural performance, as an axis penetrating through the three inquiries that I introduced above. This is to position architecture within a wider field of material practice as a way of considering architecture as a media and framework of colonial and imperial dominance. Firstly, through the idea of Taiwanese architecture representing racial, cultural and environmental conditions, architecture of Taiwan was essentialized, classified and unified into an ideal concept. Secondly, in the sense of culture as expression of identity and culture as a vigorous sphere in the postcolonial criticism, the consideration of architecture as cultural performance doubtlessly indicates that architecture become a medium examining postcolonial criticism. Thirdly, although some disciplinary practices, such as the serious analysis of vernacular architecture, try to avoid the automatic, and potentially inappropriate, application of categories such as 'building' or 'architecture' in non-western contexts such as Japan and Taiwan, postcolonial criticism offers a critical support to this issue, and is particularly relevant to cases of Japanese conceptualization of Eastern architectural history. Hence, I emphasize the way in which Japanese scholars studied, documented, and so helped 'construct' the idea of architecture as cultural performance in order to respond and resist orientalism. This is to consider architecture as a more fluid and negotiated condition rather than a fixed materialized cultural artefact as it is under a cultural essentialism.

The inquiries outlined above carry the central arguments of this thesis. I want to suggest that the formation of Taiwanese architecture had been constructed under a Japanese formulation of oriental architectural history. In addition, Japanese formation of oriental architectural history can be considered as a resistance to western orientalism. It was based on the transplantation of western disciplinary knowledge of architecture into Japan, which was itself a hybrid practice. This process also depended on an oriental statement of architectural history to resist orientalism. Within the practice, considering architecture as cultural performance, Taiwanese architecture as the other's architecture was framed into Japanese construction of oriental architectural history. Noticing Japanese politically strategic use of architectural history in terms of its authority and authenticity forces us to question the formation of Taiwanese architectural history, otherwise how we can entitle any regional and racial architectures. Without such inquiries, we are unable to reconsider the location of architecture.

1-3 Chapter structure

The outline of the chapter structure of this thesis is a response to the inquiries that I have raised in Section 1-2 above. Basically, the thesis can mainly be divided into three parts: 1) a review of the theoretical literature; 2) discussion of Japanese and Taiwanese architectural historiography; and 3) discussion and conclusion. These three main parts of the thesis are preceded by Chapter 2 on the historical background of Taiwan. This chapter will provide more specific delimitation of the thesis by setting out the main sphere, topic and materials which I shall examine in the later chapters.

Part 1, which I entitle 'mapping theories', comprises three chapters and seeks to assemble and review the relevant theoretical literature for the thesis. I believe that the

use of theories always comes with some intentions, and these ‘mapping theories’ tries to set out my own intentions. Part 2 concerns the discussion on Japanese and Taiwanese historiography, and I have entitled this ‘locating history’. The chapters in this part are coloured by the difficulty, or the impossibility, of writing a wholly impartial history. It comprises Chapters 6 and 7. The final part of the thesis presents discussions and the conclusion by returning to the theoretical aspects of the thesis through the historical material presented in Part 2. The discussions and the conclusion will examine the theories and the history in Chapter 8.

1-3-1 Part one: Mapping theories

Chapter 3 deals with basic postcolonial theory. Edward Said’s orientalism plays a vital role as the starting point in this sub-discipline. Debates on orientalism open more complicated consideration of relationships between the occident (coloniser) and the orient (colonised), and in *Culture and Imperialism* Said also admitted interrelations between culture and imperialism. Subsequently, literary critic Homi Bhabha developed a series of important concepts, such as ‘hybridity’, ‘the Third Space’ and ‘cultural difference’, that helped develop the earlier insights that Said developed into the way in which culture and imperialism operated together. Bhabha attempted to complicate the basic occident/orient dichotomy that had been central to Said’s work, and to highlight its incompatibility with more critical approaches to contemporary cultural politics. More recently, Japanese scholar, Yuko Kikuchi following Said’s orientalism and Bhabha’s hybridity, formulated the term oriental orientalism to refer to a particular oriental-style of orientalism. From Said and Bhabha to Kikuchi, postcolonial debates have been fixed into the context of Japanese imperialism. These postcolonial debates provide a base from which to reconsider the possibility of hidden colonial power and knowledge relationships

in the formation of oriental and Taiwanese architectural historiography under Japanese ideology. This ideology projects both Japan's resistance to western imperialism and Japan's own oriental-style imperialism.

Kikuchi's formulation of oriental orientalism also provides another important development of postcolonial criticism by taking material culture and its representations as materials in the colonial context. Chapter 4 considers the way in which Kikuchi developed a focus on material form, as cultural and national representation, and how this related to the formation of an oriental orientalism. She does so by looking closely at Sōetsu Yanagi's formation of *mingei* theory. This review in Chapter 4 also provides a bridge connecting cultural representation and architecture, within which Japanese constructions of architecture and architectural history are part of a broader sense of material culture. This position helps overcome the more conventional distinctions that the disciplines of architecture and art history tend to impose. Noticing the formulation of architecture as cultural performance by Japanese intellectuals, architecture becomes a colonial/anti-colonial medium, and writing architectural history becomes a colonial/anti-colonial practice.

Chapter 5 examines the theoretical areas where cultural difference and otherness is framed in western architectural discourse. This chapter contains three broad topics: the primitive hut; architectural history; and vernacular architecture. Although in the western tradition these belong to different topics, and the other's architecture plays different roles and serves different purposes within them, the other's architecture is always considered as data underpinning architectural theory and history. In the light of postcolonial criticism, I aim to contribute to the project of discerning the hidden orientalisms in the

conventional architectural discourse, on the one hand, and, on the other, to reveal the limitation of vernacular architecture because the former is the target that Japanese architects wanted to challenge. The latter is the sphere in which the other's self-writing on their architecture exists.

Chapter 3 provides a theoretical ground from which to reconsider the complicated colonial power/knowledge relationships in architectural texts. Chapter 4, by focussing on *mingei* theory, provides an opportunity to examine Japanese regard of architecture not as the representation of architectural design, but as materialized cultural representation. Chapter 5 attempts to highlight the orientalism in the attitudes toward the other's architecture in the discipline. These three theoretical chapters contribute towards a reconsideration of the relationship of occident to orient, a shift from non-material (postcolonial) to material (material culture), and also from literature to architecture as primary frames of reference.

1-3-2 Part two: Locating history

Part two of this thesis mainly focuses on the architectural historiography of oriental and Taiwanese architecture. Chapter 6 is an historical examination of Japanese architecture and of oriental architectural systems. The focus here is on the early surveys of Chūta Itō, the first Japanese scholar and architect who was both educated within a western architectural education and paid particular attention to Japanese and oriental architectural history. His research started from the discovery of the origin of Japanese architecture and then traced it through research on oriental architecture. In so doing, he established a special position for Japanese architecture in an alternative oriental architectural canon. This chapter pays particular attention to the methodologies Itō used in his study and

documentation of Japanese and oriental architectural history.

Chapter 7 addresses the formation of Taiwanese architecture and architectural history during the Japanese colonial period. It mainly focuses on the works of Masanao (正直) Yasue (安江), Daisaku (大作) Tanaka (田中) and Gaizirō (亥治郎) Huzisima (藤島). Each of these figures provided distinctive and foundational accounts of Taiwanese architectural history. Through these accounts, Taiwanese architectural history was bounded to a concept of vernacular architecture. Their scholarship also revealed various degrees of influence from Itō's construction of Chinese architecture. Thus this chapter attempts to reveal what those scholars and officers had recorded and how they formulated and characterized Taiwanese architecture under oriental orientalism.

From oriental to Taiwanese architectural history, these two chapters seek to reveal a process of searching for architectural identity and nationality under western orientalism, on the one hand, and under another process of projecting oriental orientalism onto Taiwanese architecture, a Japanese vision of architecture over her colony, on the other. They combine a set of historical understandings of Japanese-style and oriental colonial power/knowledge relationships over her colony.

1-3-3 Part three: Discussion – towards a postcolonial opening

The final part of the thesis comprises the discussion and the conclusion. Putting Parts 1 and 2 together, the discussion tries to respond to the three main questions which I raised at the beginning of this thesis, as outlined in section 1-2 above. Thus the discussion responds to oriental architectural history, postcolonial criticism and also architectural discipline. Through this, I hope to reveal the limitations of, and also to open up the

possibilities of the other's self-writing on its own architectural history. In this way, Taiwanese architectural historiography could tell another story.

This first introductory chapter has provided the overall inquiries and arguments for the whole thesis. The next chapter will outline more details of the ways in which the thesis approaches these overall arguments in terms of its location, background knowledge and research method.

Chapter 2 Context and research methods

This chapter provides a more detailed outline of the intellectual and historical context of the thesis and the research methods used. By examining current postcolonial architectural debates, I can delimit and locate the theme of the thesis in the disciplines of both postcolonial criticism and architecture. This situates the thesis within the area of representation of architectural history and historiography in the oriental colonial context rather than in practical architectural design. It also locates it in orientalist postcolonial criticism, oriental orientalism. This chapter also provides the necessary background on the history of Taiwan since development of Taiwanese architectural history has been deeply linked with the history of the island and its peoples. A brief outline of Taiwanese architectural historiography will also be made in order to address the issue which has determined most scholars' attitude toward surveys of Taiwanese architectural history. The final section of this chapter is an explanation of my research methods, which sets out the ways in which I have selected and collected the necessary historical reference materials that support the discussion that follows. I shall examine them all in turn.

2-1 Postcolonial architecture

The term 'postcolonial architecture' refers to postcolonial analyses of architecture. Examining current discussions on this subject serves to narrow down the possible extent of the topic and to locate the thesis in the current discussions. The term 'postcolonial' is disputed, and the scope and focus that the term describes remains a matter of dispute. This disputation has been caused not only by opposing scholars¹ who have emphasised

¹ Ella Shohat, "Notes on the 'Post-Colonial'," *Social Text*, no. 31/32, Third World and Post-Colonial Issues (1992); Arif Dirlik, "The Postcolonial Aura: Third World Criticism in the Age of Global

contradictions within the term, but also by postcolonial theorists' conflicting definitions. The related topics, themes and subjects which postcolonial theorists have been concerned with are diverse and complex. Spatially speaking, it contains areas influenced by imperialism without practical governance and countries dominated directly by colonialism. It also contains colonial mother countries themselves. As regards time, the term postcolonial refers to not only the 'colonial past' but also the 'postcolonial present'. These periods concern, as Robert Young stated, 'the extent that that history has determined the configurations and power structures of the present, to the extent that much of the world still lives in the violent disruptions of its wake, and to the extent that the anti-colonial liberation movements remain the source and inspiration of its politics'.² For Young, the postcolonial describes the consequences of colonialism's 'wake' in the period after colonialism proper. In respect to scope, the comprehensiveness of the research reveals constant cultural and political ramifications of colonialism in general culture, and also in academic disciplines such as history, geography, archaeology, anthropology and even architecture. In terms of subjectivity, the postcolonial critical approach seeks to elaborate and articulate the identity not of the coloniser but the colonised: 'it too is dedicated to changing those who were formerly the objects of history into history's new subjects'.³ Postcolonial criticism involves searching for new theoretical perspectives in order to face the contemporary ideological and social transformation caused by the political and cultural hegemony of the colonial past. As Young puts it:

It is not in any sense simply a western or even metropolitan phenomenon, but the hybrid product of the violent historical interactions of the west with the three continents in historical, political, cultural and conceptual terms.

Capitalism," *Critical Inquiry* 20, no. 2 (1994).

² Robert Jun Young, *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), p.4.

³ *ibid.*, p.10.

Postcolonialism is neither western nor non-western, but a dialectical product of interaction between the two, articulating new counterpoints of insurgency from the long-running power struggles that predate and post-date colonialism.⁴

Although postcolonial criticism emerges from the academic field of English Literature, it has been extended into various disciplines such as anthropology, history, geography, archaeology, all of which examine material artefacts, patterns of settlement, forms of practice and dwelling have involved colonial subject matter. In architecture the idea of the postcolonial has come to refer to architectural activities in the colonial metropolitan centre and the colonial peripheries both textually and materially. Related themes in architecture concern vigorous, dominant and resistant interactions between western and non-western architecture, and a focus on representations of the other's architecture in architectural history, and also the other's self-representations in world fairs, for example. Architectural postcolonial criticism also deals with interrelations between architecture and culture, tradition and region during and following the colonial rule.

The development of an architectural approach to postcolonial criticism started with the appropriations and examination of Edward Said's book, *Orientalism*. Said famously suggested in that book that the orient had been represented as the west's inferior and silent 'imagined geography'. Unlike written texts, which tend to be the primary media for postcolonial debates in English Literature, postcolonial criticism in architecture must necessarily be examined through the material media of buildings themselves as well as the texts that describe them. Architecture, its form, ornaments and materials (brick, stone, glass, timber), is, in this perspective, a medium for representing colonial authority or regional and racial identity. At the same time, as architecture is not only a material artefact, but is present and supported by images and texts too, a postcolonial architectural

⁴ *ibid.*, p.68.

criticism must also take printed textual and visual material into account. These two ways of representing architecture diverge from the logic of orientalism as Said formulated it. For Said, spectators of orientalism usually belonged to a colonial empire, and architectural textual representations operate in a similar way. However, architectural material representations can be practiced (occupied, used, inhabited) in looser ways so that both the coloniser and the colonised can be implicated in multiple ways depending on the location, configuration and form of a building.

The meaning of architectural material representation is also more open and diverse in character: architecture could represent colonial power, as Thomas Metcalf has shown; but architecture, as examined by Mark Crinson, can also be considered to be a result of negotiations between a colonial power and local realities. Architecture according to Zeynep Çelik represents the colonised's self-representation. In architectural textual representations, the colonised is usually speechless. The colonised is framed and projected into the western production of architectural knowledge. Therefore, in relationships between colonial authority and architectural representations, according to its ways (material or textual) and its locations (mother country or colony), architecture as a medium of representing/resisting colonial authority has become more complex.

By considering architecture as a medium for representing colonial power, Thomas Metcalf dealt with interrelationships between politics and architecture. In *An Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and Britain's Raj*, he concentrated on how political power shapes architecture, and how architecture assists colonial power. He suggested that British architecture in India 'did not simply transplant into colonial India their parent

forms, but rather transformed them to fit the colonial environment'.⁵ For Metcalf, 'architecture actively informs and gives meaning to the nature of Britain's Raj'.⁶

In contrast to Metcalf's adaptation of the concept of orientalism for architecture, Mark Crinson and Zeynep Çelik emphasized the idea of the silent other in the relationship of orientalism. Crinson, in *Empire Building: Orientalism and Victorian Architecture*, considered that British architecture in the Middle East and surveys of Byzantine and Islamic architecture were part of British imperial culture, and that the intersection between them activates a broader theme. Different from the view of the orient as an inferior and silent other in *Orientalism*, Crinson paid attention to the built environment and suggested that a colonial project actually encounters local interests and influences. For him, the 'British attitude and local realities shaped the history of British architecture'.⁷ In fact, the orient participates in western colonial enterprises.

Çelik, adopting a related albeit slightly different approach to Crinson's concentration on western colonial enterprise in the Middle East, examined representations of Islamic architecture in various world fairs in *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs*. In this book, she argued that although Islam had been regarded 'to mean the binary opposite of Europe',⁸ Islam's search for 'cultural self-definition' resulted in more complex exchanges within which Islam was not a silent and frozen other. In contrast, 'examining the exchanges between Islam and the West

⁵ Thomas R. Metcalf, *An Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and Britain's Raj* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989), p.xi.

⁶ *ibid.*, p.xii.

⁷ Mark Crinson, *Empire Building: Orientalism and Victorian Architecture* (London: Routledge, 1996), p.7.

⁸ Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs*, *Comparative studies on Muslim societies*; 12 (Berkeley ; Oxford: University of California Press, 1992), p.3.

acknowledges the existence of communication, discussion, and mutual recognition among these unequal partners'.⁹ She criticised the authenticity of a fixed cultural boundary and believed that cross-cultural topics could interrupt the west-east binary framework created by orientalism.

In considering cooperation between orientalism and imperialism and focusing on the colonial metropolis, in *Orientalism: History, Theory, and the Arts*, John MacKenzie argued that although Said had represented orientalism as a dominant colonial/imperial weapon of power, regarding historically different cultural forms in visual representations of the East, orientalism did not parallel imperialism. By challenging orientalism as 'the literary means of creating a stereotypical and mythic East',¹⁰ MacKenzie focused specifically on art, architecture, design, music and theatre. These cultural forms of expression, he suggested, 'offer further evidence that Orientalism represents the epitome of occidental power'.¹¹ But these forms were not the pure effects of western cultural expression, but usually resulted from hybridization and transformation in and through relationships with oriental forms of art and culture. This hybridization, MacKenzie suggested, was a far more complex, diverse and positive process than Said's formulation allowed.

The scholarship of Metcalf, Crinson, Çelik and MacKenzie all consider material architecture as a colonial/anti-colonial medium: it can be a co-operator with the colonial authority (Metcalf), but also needs to consider local realities (Crinson). It is not entirely part of imperialism in the west (MacKenzie), but it is a representation of identity for the

⁹ *ibid.*, p.3.

¹⁰ John M. MacKenzie, *Orientalism: History, Theory, and the Arts* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), p.xii.

¹¹ *ibid.*, p.xiii.

non-westerner. However, rather than material architecture, my interest is in how those colonial/anti-colonial and dominant/resistant activities and ideologies operate when the medium is architectural texts. Furthermore, how does this operate in the specific context of an oriental-style colonialism?

In contrast to Metcalf's appropriations of orientalism, and Crinson's, Çelik's and MacKenzie's responses to critiques of *Orientalism*, Stephen Cairns attempted to provide a more theoretical consideration of the links between orientalism and architecture in a 'large system of cultural production'. In 'The Stone Books of Orientalism', he examined orientalism in architectural representation from the perspective of materiality. For him, architectural representations include 'the materiality of its privileged object, the building', and 'the projective, speculative and propositional modes of representation necessary for its conception'.¹² By examining William Jones's and William Chambers's writings on Indian architecture, Cairns on the one hand admitted that 'architectural "text," so self-evidently wrought in stone, was deployed as ballast in the space of representation'.¹³ Architecture tends to be understood in postcolonial literature as either representing a mute medium channelling colonialist power, based on its uncertain relationship with the material world, or it reifies historical and empirical data to underpin orientalism according to its self-evident materiality. However, on the other hand, Cairns also viewed the materiality of architectural representation as 'abstract and concrete form',¹⁴ as diagrammatic conditions that cannot be reduced into any specific use. They are unstable or fluid. Hence, representations of architectural materiality do not quite

¹² Stephen Cairns, "The Stone Books of Orientalism," in *Colonial Modernities: Building, Dwelling and Architecture in British India and Ceylon*, eds Peter Scriver and Vikramaditya Prakash (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), p.54.

¹³ *ibid.*, p.63.

¹⁴ *ibid.*, p.65.

march in parallel with orientalism, and require a 'large system of cultural production'.¹⁵

As Cairns pointed out, this 'large system of cultural production' reading of postcolonial architecture and architectural history links with culture. It contains both the historical, history, and the ahistorical, culture and its related term, tradition, as the essence of a particular group of people. It examines colonial power and colonised identity not only by means of western cultural and geographical representation and discrimination of the East, but also by means of revealing the incommensurability of the other to question the authenticity and authority of cultural production. Within this field, architecture is a medium of cultural production, through both material and text, representing, either by the colonizer or by the colonised, essentialised tradition and culture.

The articles of both Peter Scriver and Gülsüm Baydar Nalbantoğlu examine orientalist's writings on oriental architecture. Scriver examined the historiography of Indian architecture in his essay 'Stones and Texts: The Architectural Historiography of Colonial India and Its Colonial-Modern Contexts'. He revealed a particular frame of thinking and 'theory-building' as self-evident to architectural scholars within colonial rule, continuously to be 'shaped by similarly firm and particular ideas about the material and symbolic status of architecture'.¹⁶

More theoretically, Nalbantoğlu's essay 'Toward Postcolonial Openings: Reading Sir Banister Fletcher's History of Architecture' focuses on Fletcher's presumed categorisation of 'non-historical' architecture in his *History of Architecture*. She argued

¹⁵ *ibid.*, p.65.

¹⁶ Peter Scriver, "Stones and Texts: The Architectural Historiography of Colonial India and its Colonial-Modern Contexts," in *Colonial Modernities: Building, Dwelling and Architecture in British India and Ceylon*, eds Peter Scriver and Vikramaditya Prakash (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), p.13.

that this categorisation is not only an inside/outside binary but also an architecture/non-architecture one. However, as she argued, Fletcher's attitude toward non-history was complicated, including both colonial arrogance and desire based on a multiculturalist perspective. By questioning 'architecture's intolerance to difference, to the unthought, to its inside'¹⁷ through an awareness of Fletcher's textuality, position and category, Nalbantoğlu invalidated western frameworks of world architectural history under cultural diversity. Borrowing from Jennifer Bloomer's comment, she believed that 'when the other speaks, it is in other terms'.¹⁸

Since the Orient is not a silent other, as Crinson and Çelik have demonstrated, my inquiry, raised by Nalbantoğlu's examination, is: how did the orient respond to the West's writings on oriental architectural history? How did oriental empire project its own orient on the formation of oriental architectural history? What role does the other's architecture play in the formation of architectural history?

Another way of approaching this is to focus on the issue of non-westerners' self-architectural-identification, which Colquhoun, Nalbantoğlu and Cairns have addressed. Colquhoun further suggested in 'The Concept of Regionalism' that claims of regionalism can be regarded as the process of searching for an authentic cultural and architectural essence. These are usually voiced 'precisely at the moment when the phenomena that it described seemed to be threatened and about to disappear'.¹⁹ The meaning of regionality in pre-industrial societies – a correlated set of 'cultural codes with geographical regions', which 'is based on traditional systems of communication in

¹⁷ Gülsüm Baydar Nalbantoğlu, "Toward Postcolonial Openings: Reading Sir Banister Fletcher's *History of Architecture*," *Assemblage* 35(1998), p.15.

¹⁸ *ibid.*, p.15.

¹⁹ Alan Colquhoun, "The Concept of Regionalism," in *Postcolonial Space(s)*, eds Gülsüm Baydar Nalbantoğlu and Chong Thai Wong (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1997), p.17.

which climate, geography, craft traditions, and religion are absolutely determining'²⁰ – differs from that in post-industrial societies, with 'a flexibility that comes from the nature of modern techniques of communication, making it possible to move rapidly between codes and to vary messages to an unprecedented extent'.²¹ For Colquhoun, such post-industrial regionalism in post-modern societies reflects a complex ideology, simultaneously containing rationalism and romanticism. It is unstable, and also private. Consequently, it is necessary to ask: '[h]ow should we define the kinds of architecture that are taking its place?'²²

By examining the Turkish carved dwelling in western architectural discourse, Nalbantoğlu revealed three scenarios in the discipline. In the scenario of naming, the Turkish carved dwelling is expressed and excluded outside architectural discourse. In the scenario of assimilation, it can be 'recaptured' and 'reappropriated' to inspire modern design. However, in the final scenario of interruption, for her, the carved dwelling "spoke back" not only to architecture but also to the city and its disciplinary mechanisms by actively resisting their appropriate practices',²³ and 'may provide openings to liberate the discipline of architecture from its binary closure'.²⁴ Thus the idea of tradition and culture is not as fixed and unified in architectural discipline as it has been considered to be.

Contradictions in orientalist's construction of non-western architecture can also be seen through a two-way dialogue between orientalism and self-identification. In

²⁰ *ibid.*, p.22.

²¹ *ibid.*, p.22.

²² *ibid.*, p.23.

²³ Gülsüm Baydar Nalbantoğlu, "Limits of (in)Tolerance: The Carved Dwelling in the Architectural and Urban Discourse of Modern Turkey," in *Postcolonial Space(s)*, eds Gülsüm Baydar Nalbantoğlu and Chong Thai Wong (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1997), p.100.

²⁴ *ibid.*, p.100

‘Re-Surfacing: Architecture, Wayang, and the “Javanese House”’, Cairns argued that by exposing *wayang* as a repressed and excluded architectural feature in the “Javanese House” formulated by western architectural discipline, the space of *wayang* has been eliminated from both colonial and traditional architectural agendas. As Cairns commented, ‘[i]n the drive to produce the functional, structural, and formal appropriateness of the *pendapa*, the flat, ornamental, and insubstantial nature of *wayang* is repressed’,²⁵ the “Javanese House” is filtered by such architectural discourse and *wayang* is positioned ‘outside the representational structure of dichotomy between subject “position” and object world’.²⁶ Hence, exposing the difference between architectural discourse and its other “may lead to a re-surfacing of an architectural threat hitherto kept in check”.²⁷

Gülsüm Baydar’s²⁸ essay criticises ‘unproblematic, ahistorical and prior links between culture and architecture’,²⁹ within which architecture and culture share the same unified essence. By examining two separate writings on Ottoman architecture, one written by a western scholar – Sir Banister Fletcher, the other published by the Ottoman government – *Usul-u Mimari-i Osmani* (The Ottoman Architectural Order, 1873), Baydar discovered a split between architecture and culture. In the former case, the cultural consideration, in Fletcher’s term non-historical, is added within the architecture category to supply a sort of universality; in the latter, the Ottoman government’s narratives of Ottoman architectural history, which is based on cultural and national motivations, and

²⁵ Stephen Cairns, "Re-Surfacing: Architecture, *Wayang*, and the "Javanese House"," in *Postcolonial Space(s)*, eds Gülsüm Baydar Nalbantoğlu and Chong Thai Wong (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1997), p.88.

²⁶ *ibid.*, p.88.

²⁷ *ibid.*, p.88.

²⁸ Actually, Gülsüm Baydar Nalbantoğlu and Gülsüm Baydar are the same person, referenced differently by some authors.

²⁹ Gülsüm Baydar, "The Cultural Burden of Architecture," *Journal of Architectural Education* 57, no. 4 (2004), p.19.

of Ottoman architectural order, which is validated by western architectural discourse, cause a contradiction of subjectivities between them. This examination, for Baydar, challenges ‘the boundaries of the discipline’ and ‘may enable the recognition of the impossibility of the fullness of architecture and the historicity of its canonical premises’.³⁰

Colquhoun, Nalbantoğlu and Cairns have offered attempts to question the authenticity and authority of the discourse of the other’s architecture in the western architectural discipline. As far as the extent of the oriental imperial context is concerned, my inquiry into Japanese writings on Taiwanese architecture and architectural history refers not only to Japanese discourse on oriental and Taiwanese architecture, but also to western disciplinary discourse on the other’s architecture, since Baydar has shown that the Ottoman Empire’s statements on Ottoman architecture were validated by western architectural discourse. Therefore, it is necessary to question the role of the other’s architecture in the western architectural discipline, and I shall return to this in Chapter 5.

The reviews of postcolonial architecture discussed above stimulated my inquiry into the Japanese formation of Taiwanese architecture and architectural history, and furthermore into oriental and Japanese architectural history. I have formulated those inquiries in Section 1-2, and I shall now briefly introduce issues of postcolonial criticism in the oriental context, that is, oriental orientalism.

2-2 Oriental orientalism

Most postcolonial theorists have focused on imperial/colonial interactions between

³⁰ *ibid.*, p.26.

western empires and their colonies, for instance Said's Middle East, and Homi Bhabha's and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's India. But if we consider Japan as an oriental empire, what do postcolonial discussions on oriental colonialism provide for postcolonial criticism?

From the 'postcolonial' perspective, the position of Japan represents dual meanings. Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Chris Tiffin considered 'postcolonial' as covering 'all the culture affected by the imperial process from the moment of colonization to the present day' because 'there is a continuity of preoccupations throughout the historical process initiated by European imperial aggression'.³¹ In contrast to this, Young abandoned that 'anachronistic argument' and argued that 'postcolonial critique (and the historical basis of its theoretical formulations) is the product of resistance to colonialism and imperialism'.³² The arguments raised by these commentators underline a dispute: is it strictly the case that only ex-colonised countries, based on historical fact, can be included in the scope of postcolonial debates? Or can any country, or race, which faces any forms of colonial or imperial dominance be included? This debate raises the issue of whether Japan can be regarded as a postcolonial subject since she has never been colonised by any western colonial power. Japan was, however, forced to 'open port' in 1854,³³ and this initiated deliberate and serious actions of westernisation in Japan in order to enable the country to resist western imperialism. Based on that, Japan must be considered to be a colonised nation subject.

On the other hand, after the first Sino-Japanese war in 1895, Japan acquired her own first

³¹ Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Chris Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back*, 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 2002), p.2.

³² Young, *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction*, p.15.

³³ Gary D. Allinson, *The Columbia Guide to Modern Japanese History*, The Columbia Guides to Asian History (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), p.10.

overseas colony, Taiwan, and later became herself an oriental empire. In the light of this historical fact, she was a colonial nation subject. This double identity of Japan, both colonised and colonial, was formulated in Yuko Kikuchi's appropriation of orientalism into the oriental context. She named this doubled coloniser/colonised identity 'oriental orientalism'. I shall elaborate her account of oriental orientalism in Chapter 3, and its materialized cultural representation in Chapter 4. Here, I want to introduce the hypothesis that Japanese formations and writings on Taiwanese architecture and architectural history were underpinned by oriental orientalism, under which Taiwanese architecture was formulated and categorised. Hence, to unpack and examine the ideologies behind the Japanese formations of Taiwanese architecture and architectural history, we need to uncover both indirect western and direct Japanese colonialism.

2-3 The complex history of Taiwan

As I noted at the beginning of this chapter, Japan's description and formulation of Taiwanese architectural history were deeply linked with the history of Taiwan. It is therefore necessary to provide an outline of the history of Taiwan as background knowledge for later discussions. Moreover, revealing the complexity of Taiwan's history also allows us to reconsider the idea of Taiwan as a whole in the construction of Taiwanese architectural history. This will be examined in the discussions later in this thesis. Here, I want to briefly introduce the history of Taiwan and to provide a general idea of the peoples who have resided in Taiwan as a background for further discussions.

Taiwan Island lies to the east of South China and is separated from the Eurasian mainland by the Taiwan Strait. According to archaeological linguistic data, the earliest

inhabitants, Austronesian communities, can be dated to between 4500 and 4000 BC.³⁴ From 2500 BC onwards, more and more migrants moved into Taiwan. During the Japanese colonial period, Japanese scholars divided those who they categorised as indigenous Taiwanese into ten groups living on the plain and nine groups residing in the mountains.³⁵ These are recognized as early residents of Taiwan.

Taiwan has been documented in Chinese historiography since the period of the Three Kingdoms³⁶ between 220 and 280 AD. In the twelfth century, some Chinese had been claiming land in the Penghu Islands (澎湖), and this led to the Penghu Islands being territorialized within the realm of the Sung Dynasty. In contrast to the Penghu Islands, Taiwan Island, until the mid fifteenth century, had been a homeland for its indigenous population and a base for pirates.

Before large numbers of Chinese moved into Taiwan, various European imperial powers had occupied parts of Taiwan for the purposes of overseas trade. The Portuguese occupied Malacca in 1510, and went to Macau in 1537 in order to trade with China and Japan. For the same reason, the Dutch searched for a base for trade in Eastern Asia and landed on the Penghu Islands in 1603, but were immediately expelled by Ming troops. In 1622, however, the Dutch succeeded in occupying the main island of the Penghu Islands and built a fort there. However, two years later, the Chinese and the Dutch fought for the governance of the Penghu Islands, and this led to the signing of a treaty. Under this treaty, the Dutch had to give up their claim to the Penghu Islands and move to Taiwan in order to gain rights of trade with the Ming. So the Dutch moved their base to Taiwan in the

³⁴ Josiane Cauquelin, *The Aborigines of Taiwan: the Puyuma: from Headhunting to the Modern World* (London; New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004), p.1.

³⁵ *ibid.*, p.15.

³⁶ Taiwan was recorded as *Yizhou* (夷洲) in *Sanguozhi* (Records of Three Kingdoms, 三國志).

same year.

The Dutch landed in southern Taiwan in 1624 and built Fort Zeelandia in Anping and Fort Providentia in Tainan as trading bases. Until the departure of the Dutch in 1662, the areas around Tainan were under their control. The Dutch were, however, not the only western power that was interested in Taiwan. Due to competition with the Dutch over trade with China and Japan, the Spanish, challenging the Dutch authority over southern Taiwan, landed in northern Taiwan in 1626 and built Fort San Salvador in Keelung. Two years later, the Spanish occupied Tamsui and built Fort San Domingo. However, trade with China and Japan was not as successful as they had expected, so the Spanish left Tamsui in 1638, and were forced by the Dutch to leave Keelung in 1642. From then until 1662, the Dutch were the only European power in Taiwan.

While the Dutch managed their colony in Taiwan, China underwent a dramatic political change from the Ming to the Qing Empire. The Qing Empire was founded in the North-East of China in 1636, and defeated the Ming to take over most of China in 1661. The end of Ming power forced Chenggong Zheng (鄭成功), a loyal commander of Ming troops, to search for a new land from which to pursue his enterprise of overthrowing the Qing and restoring the Ming. Zheng decided to turn to Penghu and Taiwan. He defeated the Dutch in 1661 with the result that the Dutch evacuated to Batavia leaving Zheng in control of southern Taiwan. This was the first period in which large numbers of Chinese moved into Taiwan.

The Zheng government surrendered to the Qing Empire in 1683 and Taiwan became part of the Qing Empire, although the Qing government restricted Chinese immigration to Taiwan. This situation continued until the First Opium War (1839-42). The Qing Empire

noticed western countries' interests in Taiwan through a series of western activities, for instance the British ships which traded through Taiwan (1841), the Americans who berthed their fleets at Keelung and surveyed for coal mines (1854), Taiwan being forced to open her ports, including Tamsui (1862), Keelung (1863), Anping (1864) and Takao (1864) (now Kaohsiung) under the Treaty of Tien-tsin (1858), and the Taiwan Expedition (牡丹社事件) of 1874, and started to reconsider the importance of the location of Taiwan, which led to the upgrading of Taiwan's status from a prefecture of Fujian to a province in its own right in 1885. Eventually, the Qing Empire lost the First Sino-Japanese War (1895) and, under the treaty of Maguan, Taiwan and Penghu were both ceded to Japan.

This victory in the First Sino-Japanese War promoted Japan as an oriental empire and enabled her to gain her first overseas colony, Taiwan. From 1895, Taiwan was governed by the Governor-General of Taiwan until the end of the Second World War and the defeat of the Japanese Empire. After this, Taiwan was placed under the control of Republic of China (R.O.C.). However, when the Kuomintang (KMT) party, the main political party in the R.O.C., lost the Chinese Civil War in 1949, the R.O.C. moved to Taiwan, and China was governed by the People's Republic of China.

2-4 Taiwanese architectural historiography

As noted above, my intention in reviewing Taiwanese architectural historiography is to uncover some unquestioned assumptions behind contemporary academic surveys of Taiwanese architecture. To achieve this, I shall first briefly and chronologically introduce Taiwanese architectural historiography.

Although there had been some records of Taiwanese architecture in the Qing empire,³⁷ it has been widely believed that the first professional and systematic surveys of Taiwanese architecture were initiated by Japanese scholars – as I suggested in Chapter 1.³⁸ The earliest records of Taiwanese architecture during the Japanese colonial period were made either by military officers or anthropologists. This was due to the fact that during that period the colonial government had not entirely achieved control of the whole island. Anthropological work was undertaken by Lieutenant Yoshitora (義虎) Nagano (長野), for example, who walked across the central mountains and wrote ‘Seiban Chi Tanken Dan (A Talk on Exploration in Barbarian Territory, 生蕃地探險談)’. Anthropologists, for example Ryūzo (龍藏) Torii (鳥居), undertook investigations of the indigenous cultures of Taiwan and published related articles in geographical and anthropological journals.

Some surveys of the conventions and historical heritages of Taiwan were undertaken during the first two decades of the twentieth century. A comprehensive series of official investigations began under the activities of the *kyūkan chōsa* (舊慣調査) (An Investigation into Taiwanese Manners and Customs) between 1901 and 1919. This project, directed by the colonial government in order to achieve the effective domination of Taiwan,³⁹ set out to comprehensively investigate and document Taiwanese cultural

³⁷ For example, Shu-Jing (叔璈) Huang's (黃) *Fan Su Liu Ko* (Six Surveys of Indigenous Customs, 番俗六考) and Liushiqi's (六十七) *Fan She Cai Feng Tu Kao* (Graphical Records of Indigenous Habits and Customs, 番社采風圖考); See Hui-Ch'eng (會承) Lin (林), "Tai Wan Jian Zhu Shi Zhi Jian Gou: Qi Ge Wen Hua Qi Yu Wu Ge Mian Xiang (The Formation of Taiwanese Architectural History: Seven cultural Periods and Five Directions, 臺灣建築史之建構：七個文化期與五個面向)," *Taiwan Historica* (臺灣文獻) 52, no. 3 (2001), p.231.

³⁸ *ibid.*, p.231; Yi-Hung (一宏) Lin (林), "Ri Zhi Yi Lai Wen Hua Zi Chan Bao Cun Yu Tai Wan Jian Zhu Shi Yan Jiu De Hui Gu (A Review of the Cultural Properties and Conservation and the Historical Researches of Architecture of Taiwan since Japanese Dominance, 日治以來文化資產保存與臺灣建築史研究的回顧)," *Journal of Taiwan Museum of Art* (臺灣美術) 60(2005), 14.

³⁹ More related background and history of *kyūkan chōsa* (舊慣調査) (An Investigation into Taiwanese Manners and Customs) will be given in Section 6-1-1.

forms and parts of the material culture of the island. Different from the *kyūkan chōsa*, another perspective of records of Taiwanese architecture was undertaken in the 1910s, approaching the subject from considerations of heritage. For this project, Yasunori (靖憲) Sugiyama (杉山) was commanded to survey the notable sights (名勝) and heritages (舊蹟) of Taiwan, and the result was the publication of *Taiwan Meishō Kyūsekishi* (A Record of Taiwanese Notable Sights and Heritages, 臺灣名勝舊蹟誌)⁴⁰ in 1916. Although this approach seems to have been intended to provide a framework of Taiwanese architecture in terms of conservation, it actually only provided records of Taiwanese historical buildings.

The most academic architectural activity during the Japanese colonial period was the establishment of the Architectural Institute of Taiwan (臺灣建築會) in 1929, and its publication, *Taiwan Kenchiku Kaishi* (*The Journal of the Architectural Institute of Taiwan*, 臺灣建築會誌). Founders and members of the institute included officials from the government, specialists from private construction companies, scholars from educational establishments, and even military personnel.⁴¹ The administration of the Institute usually came from the Architecture Division in the Office of the Governor-General of Taiwan, so it was also coloured by colonial government. The purpose of the Institute was to establish a platform for the exchange and publishing of research into Taiwanese architecture, and to disseminate architectural knowledge.⁴² The journal became the most important publication for architectural specialists until 1945.

⁴⁰ Yasunori (靖憲) Sugiyama (杉山), *Taiwan Meishō Kyūsekishi* (*A Record of Taiwanese Notable Sights and Heritages*, 臺灣名勝舊蹟誌) (Taipei: *Taiwan Sōtokufu* (臺灣總督府), 1916).

⁴¹ The names of members of the Architectural Institute of Taiwan can be seen in the Members' section in the final section of *Taiwan Kenchiku Kaishi*.

⁴² Kaoru (薰) Ide (井手), "Hakkai No Ji (Inaugural speech, 發會の辭)," *Taiwan Kenchiku Kaishi* (*The Journal of the Architectural Institute of Taiwan*, 臺灣建築會誌) 1, no. 1 (1929).

Many articles about Taiwanese architecture were published in it over the years.⁴³ During

⁴³ Shun'ichi (俊一) Kuriyama's (栗山) discussed conservation issues. See Shun'ichi (俊一) Kuriyama (栗山), "Taiwan Sōtokufu Kyū Chōsha No Hozon (The Preservation of the Old Government-General Building, 臺灣總督府舊廳舎の保存)," *Taiwan Kenchiku Kaishi (The Journal of the Architectural Institute of Taiwan, 臺灣建築會誌)* 2, no. 5 (1930). He also investigated Dutch's fort in Taiwan. See Shun'ichi (俊一) Kuriyama (栗山), "Chikujō Gō Sambyaku Nen Wo Hetta Ze-Ranjiya Jō No Konjaku (Zeelandia Fort's Past and Today, 築城後 300 年を経たゼ-ランヂヤ城の今昔)," *Taiwan Kenchiku Kaishi (The Journal of the Architectural Institute of Taiwan, 臺灣建築會誌)* 2, no. 2 (1930); ———, "Anpei Jōshi To Sekikanrō Nitsuite (An-ping Fort and Chihkanlou (The Chamber of Red Hill), 安平城址と赤崁樓に就て)," *Taiwan Kenchiku Kaishi (The Journal of the Architectural Institute of Taiwan, 臺灣建築會誌)* 3, no. 2 (1931). Suketaro (助太郎) Chijiwa (千千岩) published serious investigations of the indigenous architecture. See Suketaro (助太郎) Chijiwa (千千岩), "Taiwan Takasagozoku Sumika No Kenkyū (Dai Ni Hō) (Research on Taiwanese Indigenous People's residences - The Second Report, 臺灣高砂族住家の研究(第 2 報))," *Taiwan Kenchiku Kaishi (The Journal of the Architectural Institute of Taiwan, 臺灣建築會誌)* 10, no. 3 (1938); ———, "Taiwan Takasagozoku Sumika No Kenkyū (Dai ni Hō No Zoku) (Research on Taiwanese Indigenous People's residences - The Continuous Second Report, 臺灣高砂族住家の研究(第 2 報の續))," *Taiwan Kenchiku Kaishi (The Journal of the Architectural Institute of Taiwan, 臺灣建築會誌)* 11, no. 1 (1939); ———, "Taiwan Takasagozoku Sumika No Kenkyū (Dai Yon Hō No Zoku) (Research on Taiwanese Indigenous People's residences - The Continous Fourth Report, 臺灣高砂族住家の研究(第 4 報の續))," *Taiwan Kenchiku Kaishi (The Journal of the Architectural Institute of Taiwan, 臺灣建築會誌)* 13, no. 6 (1941); ———, "Taiwan Takasagozoku Sumika No Kenkyū (Dai Yon Hō) (Research on Taiwanese Indigenous People's residences - The Fourth Report, 臺灣高砂族住家の研究(第 4 報))," *Taiwan Kenchiku Kaishi (The Journal of the Architectural Institute of Taiwan, 臺灣建築會誌)* 13, no. 5 (1941); ———, "Taiwan Takasagozoku Sumika No Kenkyū (Dai San Hō) (Research on Taiwanese Indigenous People's residences - The Third Report, 臺灣高砂族住家の研究(第 3 報))," *Taiwan Kenchiku Kaishi (The Journal of the Architectural Institute of Taiwan, 臺灣建築會誌)* 13, no. 1 (1941); ———, "Taiwan Takasagozoku Sumika No Kenkyū (Dai Go Hō) (Research on Taiwanese Indigenous People's residences - The Fifth Report, 臺灣高砂族住家の研究(第 5 報))," *Taiwan Kenchiku Kaishi (The Journal of the Architectural Institute of Taiwan, 臺灣建築會誌)* 14, no. 5 (1942); ———, "Kō Tō Sho (2) (Hongtō Island (2), 紅頭嶼(2))," *Taiwan Kenchiku Kaishi (The Journal of the Architectural Institute of Taiwan, 臺灣建築會誌)* 15, no. 3 (1943); ———, "Kō Tō Sho (1) (Hongtō Island (1), 紅頭嶼(1))," *Taiwan Kenchiku Kaishi (The Journal of the Architectural Institute of Taiwan, 臺灣建築會誌)* 15, no. 2 (1943). Tsuneotoko (彝男) Takahashi (高橋), Kikori (樵) Yamanaka (山中), Suketaro (助太郎) Chijiwa (千千岩), Naoichi (直一) Kokubu (國分), and Yuriko (百合子) Fukuda (福田) published articles on traditional Taiwanese architecture. See Tsuneotoko (彝男) Takahashi (高橋), "Rin Hon Gen Yashiki Nitsuite (Lin Peng-Yuan's Residence, 林本源邸に就て)," *Taiwan Kenchiku Kaishi (The Journal of the Architectural Institute of Taiwan, 臺灣建築會誌)* 4, no. 1 (1932); ———, "Tōgan No A Ru Ie (House with Embrasures, 統眼のある家)," *Taiwan Kenchiku Kaishi (The Journal of the Architectural Institute of Taiwan, 臺灣建築會誌)* 7, no. 2 (1935); Kikori (樵) Yamanaka (山中), "Taiwan Kenchiku Sawa (Discussions of Taiwanese Architecture, 臺灣建築瑣話)," *Taiwan Kenchiku Kaishi (The Journal of the Architectural Institute of Taiwan, 臺灣建築會誌)* 9, no. 4 (1937); ———, "Shinchou Jidai No Taiwan (Taiwan in Qing Dynasty, 清朝時代の臺灣)," *Taiwan Kenchiku Kaishi (The Journal of the Architectural Institute of Taiwan, 臺灣建築會誌)* 12, no. 3 (1940). Suketaro (助太郎) Chijiwa (千千岩), "Taiwan No Jibyo Kenchiku (Taiwanese Temples, 臺灣の寺廟建築)," *Taiwan Kenchiku Kaishi (The Journal of the Architectural Institute of Taiwan, 臺灣建築會誌)* 15, no. 5, 6 (1943); Yuriko (百合子) Fukuda (福田), "Ji Dō (Temple, 寺堂)," *Taiwan Kenchiku Kaishi (The Journal of the Architectural Institute of Taiwan, 臺灣建築會誌)* 15, no. 5, 6 (1943); Naoichi (直一) Kokubu (國分), "Mado To Kōshi No Bigaku (Watanabe Tsuyoshi Shi No Gu Ra Fu Nitsuite) (The Beauty of Windows and Grids, 窓と格

this period, it can be said that research on Taiwanese architecture dominated the *Journal of the Architectural Institute of Taiwan*.

After 1945, several books were written and published in Japan by those who had been to Taiwan such as Gaizirō (亥治郎) Huzisima's (藤島) *Taiwan No Kenchiku* (Taiwanese Architecture, 臺灣の建築)⁴⁴, Suketaro (助太郎) Chijiiwa's (千千岩) *Taiwan Takasagozoku No Sumika* (Taiwanese Indigenous People's Residences, 臺灣高砂族の住家)⁴⁵ and Daisaku (大作) Tanaka's (田中) *Taiwan Shima Kenchiku No Kenkyū* (Research on Taiwanese Architecture, 台灣島建築之研究)⁴⁶. Although these publications came to light after the Japanese colonial period, their investigations had been initiated earlier, and the academic research which they report still represents academic achievements at that time.

After the end of Japanese colonisation in 1945, the political change resulted in Taiwanese architecture being considered as a local manifestation or a sub-culture of a more grand Chinese architecture. Interest in the historical architecture of Taiwan either relies on its cultural relationships with Chinese culture⁴⁷ by folk historians,⁴⁸

子の美學 (渡邊 毅氏のグラフに就いて)," *Taiwan Kenchiku Kaishi (The Journal of the Architectural Institute of Taiwan, 臺灣建築會誌)* 15, no. 5, 6 (1943); ———, "Gunkō Jō No Iseki Nitsuite (The Ruin of Jun Gong Factory (Weapon Factory), 軍功廠の遺跡について)," *Taiwan Kenchiku Kaishi (The Journal of the Architectural Institute of Taiwan, 臺灣建築會誌)* 15, no. 5, 6 (1943); Naoichi (直一) Kokubu (國分), Tsuyoshi (毅) Watanabe (渡邊), and Yuriko (百合子) Fukuda (福田), "San Sankokuō Byō (The Temple of SanShan GuoWang, 三山國王廟)," *Taiwan Kenchiku Kaishi (The Journal of the Architectural Institute of Taiwan, 臺灣建築會誌)* 15, no. 5, 6 (1943).

⁴⁴ Gaizirō (亥治郎) Huzisima (藤島), *Taiwan No Kenchiku (Taiwanese Architecture, 臺灣の建築)* (Tokyo (東京都): Shokokusha (彰國社), 1948).

⁴⁵ Suketaro (助太郎) Chijiiwa (千千岩), *Taiwan Takasagozoku No Sumika (Taiwanese Indigenous People's Residences, 臺灣高砂族の住家)* (Tokyo: Maruzen (丸善), 1960).

⁴⁶ Daisaku (大作) Tanaka (田中), *Taiwan Shima Kenchiku No Kenkyū (Research on Taiwanese Architecture, 台灣島建築之研究)* (Taipei: National Taipei University of Technology, 2005).

⁴⁷ Traditional Taiwanese architecture usually refers to architecture built by Chinese immigrants in Taiwan.

anthropologists and ethnologists⁴⁹ or focuses on aesthetic and nostalgic considerations by artists⁵⁰ until the late 1960s. Later on, studies of the historical architecture of Taiwan came with the native movement, and were eventually linked with the cultural heritage movement⁵¹ in the 1970s. This started with Reed Dillingham and Chang-Lin Dillingham's *A Survey of Traditional Architecture of Taiwan*,⁵² and Pao-Teh (寶德) Han's (漢) series on the conservational investigation of traditional Taiwanese architecture.⁵³

Qianlang (乾朗) Li's (李) *Tai Wan Jian Zhu Shi* (Taiwanese Architectural History, 臺灣建築史) was published in 1979 and was the first comprehensive survey of the traditional⁵⁴ architecture of Taiwan.⁵⁵ He located Taiwan's traditional architecture in Chinese architectural history and, through consideration of the natural environment and

⁴⁸ For example, Heng-Tao (衡道) Lin (林). See Lin (林), "Ri Zhi Yi Lai Wen Hua Zi Chan Bao Cun yu Tai Wan Jian Zhu Shi Yan Jiu De Hui Gu (A Review of the Cultural Properties, Conservation and the Historical Researches of Architecture of Taiwan since Japanese Dominance, 日治以來文化資產保存與臺灣建築史研究的回顧)".

⁴⁹ They included Chi-Lu (奇祿) Chen (陳), Yih-Yuan (亦園) Li (李), Sung-Hsing (崧興) Wang (王), Heng-Tao (衡道) Lin (林), Max Chiwai (其偉) Liu (劉), and De-Jin (德進) Hsi (席). See Lin (林), "Tai Wan Jian Zhu Shi Zhi Jian Gou: Qi Ge Wen Hua Qi Yu Wu Ge Mian Xiang (The Formation of Taiwanese Architectural History: Seven Cultural Periods and Five Directions, 臺灣建築史之建構：七個文化期與五個面向)", p.232.

⁵⁰ For example, De-Jin (德進) Hsi (席). See Lin (林), "Ri Zhi Yi Lai Wen Hua Zi Chan Bao Cun Yu Tai Wan Jian Zhu Shi Yan Jiu De Hui Gu (A Review of the Cultural Properties, Conservation and the Historical Researches of Architecture of Taiwan since Japanese Dominance, 日治以來文化資產保存與臺灣建築史研究的回顧)".

⁵¹ *ibid.*, p.

⁵² Reed Dillingham and Chang-Lin Dillingham, *A Survey of Traditional Architecture of Taiwan* (Ming Wen Book, 1971).

⁵³ For example, Zhang Hua Kong Miao De Yan Jiu Yu Xiu Fu Ji Hua (*A Survey and Preservation Proposal for the Confucius Temple of Zhang Hua, 彰化孔廟的研究與修復計劃*) (1976) and Lu Kang Gu Feng Mao Zhi Yan Jiu (*A Survey of the Traditional Features of Lukang, 鹿港古風貌之研究*) (1978). See Lin (林), "Ri Zhi Yi Lai Wen Hua Zi Chan Bao Cun yu Tai Wan Jian Zhu Shi Yan Jiu De Hui Gu (A Review of the Cultural Properties, Conservation and the Historical Researches of Architecture of Taiwan since Japanese Dominance, 日治以來文化資產保存與臺灣建築史研究的回顧)", p.26.

⁵⁴ Here 'traditional' architecture refers to buildings built by Chinese migrants in the past.

⁵⁵ Qianlang (乾朗) Li (李), *Tai Wan Jian Zhu Shi* (Taiwanese Architectural History, 臺灣建築史) (Taipei: Lionart (雄獅美術), 2007 (1979)).

historical development, depicted the usages and constructions of materials. Finally, he divided them into five periods.

From the end of the period of Japanese colonisation to the late 1970s, surveys of Taiwanese architectural history stood on a perspective of the traditional architecture of Taiwan as part of Chinese culture, and this view was derived from a consideration of conservation. It mainly focused on buildings constructed during Chinese immigrations before the Japanese colonial period.

Just as with traditional Taiwanese architecture, surveys of the modernised architecture of Taiwan were also initiated in the late 1970s. Japanese scholars Teijiro (貞次郎) Muramatsu (村松), Terunobu (照信) Fujimori (藤森) and Shin (伸) Muramatsu (村松) initiated a census of Eastern modern architecture, which included China, Hong Kong, Japan, Korea and Taiwan. Li's *Tai Wan Jin Dai Jian Zhu: Qi Yuan Yu Zao Qi Zhi Fa Zhan* (Taiwanese Modern Architecture: Beginning and Early Development, 1860-1945, *臺灣近代建築：起源與早期發展, 1860-1945*)⁵⁶ is the earliest monograph on the topic, and surveys of the architecture of Taiwan under Japanese colonisation proliferated in the 1990s. The themes of 'modern Taiwanese architecture' are diverse: they include urban and architectural law during the Japanese period, official architects and construction organisations, material and construction, architectural type and so on.⁵⁷ The sphere of Taiwanese architectural history has become broader and research into it has become deeper.

⁵⁶ ———, *Tai Wan Jin Dai Jian Zhu: Qi Yuan Yu Zao Qi zhi Fa Zhan (Taiwanese Modern Architecture: beginning and early development, 1860-1945, 臺灣近代建築：起源與早期發展, 1860-1945)* (Taipei: Lionart (雄獅美術), 1998 (1980)).

⁵⁷ Lin (林), "Ri Zhi Yi Lai Wen Hua Zi Chan Bao Cun yu Tai Wan Jian Zhu Shi Yan Jiu De Hui Gu (A Review of the Cultural Properties, Conservation and the Historical Researches of Architecture of Taiwan since Japanese Dominance, 日治以來文化資產保存與臺灣建築史研究的回顧)."

Among the surveys which have been reviewed in order to reveal any unquestioned ideas, there was a wide-spread belief which is worthy of notice, which is the notion of architecture as materialized cultural performance. From the Japanese colonial period onwards, the study of the architecture of Taiwan derived from anthropological, ethnological and historical surveys, within which Taiwan's architecture was regarded as either the other's material culture or cultural heritage. After the end of the Japanese colonial period, surveys of Taiwanese architecture were initiated by considerations of cultural conservation. Although the sphere of the topic has changed from time to time, the idea of architecture as materialized cultural performance has always remained.⁵⁸

Surveys of Taiwanese architectural history after the Japanese colonisation can almost be regarded as a process of creating and recreating the boundaries of the topic, from the traditional to the modern, and from Chinese architecture to Japanese and the indigenous architecture. However, within those deeper and broader research parameters, there have hardly been any attempts to question the authenticity and authority of Japanese surveys of Taiwanese architecture as documents or as historiography. My inquiry is whether there had been an imperial ideology and oriental-styled orientalism – oriental

⁵⁸ Hui-Ch'eng (會承) Lin (林) adopted a concept of cultural period as a method to divide Taiwanese architectural history into seven cultural periods: prehistorical architecture (史前建築), the architecture of the Austronesian linguistic tribes (南島語系民族的建築), the architecture of the Spanish and Dutch colonies (荷西殖民建築), the architecture of the Han style (漢式建築), the architecture of the late Qing western style (清末洋式建築), the architecture of the Japanese style (日式建築), and modern architecture (現代建築). See Lin (林), "Tai Wan Jian Zhu Shi Zhi Jian Gou: Qi Ge Wen Hua Qi Yu Wu Ge Mian Xiang (The Formation of Taiwanese Architectural History: Seven Cultural Periods and Five Directions, 臺灣建築史之建構：七個文化期與五個面向)". Chao-Ching (朝卿) Fu (傅) also divided the architecture of Taiwan during the Japanese colonial period into four categories: the western-style architectural flavour (西洋建築風情), the oriental/ Japanese style architectural flavour (東洋建築風情), the modern architectural flavour (現代建築風情) and the Taiwanese architectural flavour (臺灣建築風情). For Fu, the term 'flavour' (風情) referred to the 'reified performance of interactions between architecture and culture'. See Chao-Ching (朝卿) Fu (傅), *Tu Shuo Tai Wan Jian Zhu Wen Hua Yi Chan - Ri Zhi Shi Qi Pian (Architectural Heritage in Taiwan - Japanese Period 1895-1945, 圖說台灣建築文化遺產－日治時期篇 1895-1945)* (Tainan (臺南): Taiwan Architecture & Cultural Property Press (台灣建築與文化資產出版社), 2009), p.10.

orientalism – behind those surveys or not. If there had been, what was it and how did it differ from western orientalism, and how does it respond to postcolonial criticism? If there had not been, what contribution does this provide for postcolonial criticism? These inquiries have been formulated in Section 1-2 of this thesis, and from these historiographies I shall return in particular to the earliest constructions of Taiwanese architectural history. Only by tracing the origins of the formulation of Taiwanese architectural history can its ideology and methodology be unpacked and examined. I shall describe what reference materials were selected and collected for this study in the next section.

2-5 Research methods

From the Taiwanese architectural historiography which I outlined in the previous section, some key issues arise. First, architectural texts written by Japanese scholars seem still to be considered as pure, scientific and impartial academic achievements which have been useful for contemporary research. Second, architecture seems to have a self-evidently coherent or continuous relationship with culture. Third, based on the architectural documentation as scientific activities and explorations of an architecture/culture relationship, writing on Taiwanese architectural history continues to reproduce this activity, but in a broader and deeper way.

From the postcolonial position, those records by Japanese scholars which have been considered as pure and scientific surveys of Taiwanese architectural history need to be questioned. As I mentioned at the beginning of Chapter 1, to question Japanese formations of Taiwanese architectural history is also to question her formations of oriental and Japanese architectural history since Taiwanese architectural history is a

component part of the framework of oriental architectural history. Furthermore, Japanese knowledge of architectural history has been validated by western architectural discourse. Therefore, to unpack and deconstruct the idea of Taiwanese architectural history that we embrace today, it is inevitable that we must question western architectural discourse on the discipline. Consequently, I want to consider texts on architectural history in Eastern Asia as a medium of examination.

The historical data of the Japanese formation of Eastern Asian architectural history can be divided into two parts: the Japanese formation of Eastern Asian architectural history, and that of Taiwanese architectural history. For the former, Chūta Itō is the key architectural scholar who I want to examine in this dissertation. Itō's importance stems from his status as the first person to be trained under the western-style architectural educational system, and as a scholar who started to trace the origins of Japanese architecture. He also was the first person to study Eastern Asian architecture by means of a large quantity of fieldwork, to establish the system of oriental architecture, and to try to find an equal basis for both oriental and Western architecture. All other Japanese architectural scholars, even a famous Chinese architectural scholar such as Si-Cheng (思成) Liang (梁), could not ignore Itō's approach⁵⁹. He was the initiator who set the foundations for the wider sphere of Eastern Asian architectural history that was to follow, and was also as a bridge connecting traditional craftsman and modern architectural

⁵⁹ Da-Hui (大慧) Cheng (鄭) has described Si-cheng (思成) Liang's (梁) thoughts on the research results of Chinese architecture by Japanese scholars. See Da-Hui (大慧) Cheng (鄭), "*Ri Ben Jian Zhu Jia Yi Dong Zhong Tai Yu Zhong Guo Jian Zhu Jia Liang Si Cheng Zhi Jian Zhu Si Xiang Yu Zuo Pin Bi Jiao Yan Jiu* (A Comparative Study on Architectural Thoughts and Works of Ito Chuta, a Japanese Architect, and Liang Si-Cheng, a Chinese Architect, 日本建築家伊東忠太與中國建築家梁思成之建築思想與作品比較研究)" (Chung Yuan Christian University (中原大學), 2006), pp.2-25. But Liang claimed that Itō's book was not comprehensive and not deep enough. See Si-Cheng (思成) Liang (梁), *Zhong Guo Jian Zhu Shi (Chinese Architectural History, 中國建築史)* (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing, 2000), p.315.

knowledge.

To review Itō's formation of Japanese and oriental architecture and architectural systems, it is necessary to trace his educational background, architectural interests, fieldworks on Japanese and oriental architecture, and theoretical formulations. These need to be extracted from Itō's diaries, dissertations and journal articles, and also from discussions of Itō by subsequent scholars in secondary sources. Itō's sketches, diaries and some research materials are held in the Architectural Museum of the Architectural Institute of Japan (日本建築学会); Itō's bachelor's thesis is held by the Department of Architecture in the University of Tokyo; his articles were published in various journals on architecture, archaeology and oriental art, among which *Kenchiku Zasshi* (the Journal of Architecture and Building Science, 建築雑誌) contains the majority of Itō's articles.

As I noted briefly in the section on Taiwanese architectural historiography, Japanese scholars had published various articles on Taiwanese architecture. Within these Taiwanese architectural texts, my concern is the Japanese theoretical or historical framework of the architecture of Taiwan, usually referred to as Taiwanese architectural history or Taiwanese architecture. These provide a comprehensive architectural discourse on Taiwanese architecture and were written within the Japanese framework of oriental architectural systems. Therefore, Masanao Yasue's, Daisaku Tanaka's and Gaizirō Huzisima's formations of Taiwanese architectural history are also subjects of my examination.

Yasue's report, made in 1909, was the first broad record of Taiwanese architecture. He published the first part of the report under the title 'Taiwan Kenchiku Shi (Taiwanese

Architectural History, 臺灣建築史)⁶⁰ in *Kenchiku Zasshi*. The significance of the document is worthy of sustained attention here because it was explicitly understood as part of the colonial enterprise of *kyūkan chōsa* (An Investigation into Taiwanese Manners and Customs, 舊慣調査), which is a comprehensive investigation and documentation of Taiwanese cultural forms and material culture between 1901 and 1919. It is clear that Yasue's report was linked directly to colonial governance.

Different from Yasue's report, Tanaka and Huzisima provided academic surveys of the architecture of Taiwan. Tanaka's formation of Taiwanese architectural history first emerged in *Taiwan Kenchiku Kaishi* in 1937. There he briefly provided his framework of and reference for Taiwanese architectural history. His entire monograph was not published until 2005.⁶¹ In contrast, Huzisima's *Taiwan No Kenchiku*⁶² was published in 1948, and has had a greater influence on subsequent Taiwanese scholars. Both of these writers provided significant comprehensive examinations and frameworks of Taiwanese architectural history.

I consider these architectural texts to be media for informing and resisting colonial and imperial power. By examining these architectural texts, I am able to examine Japanese responses to western orientalism in architecture and the transformation of oriental orientalism within the Japanese imperial context.

⁶⁰ Masanao (正直) Yasue (安江), "Taiwan Kenchiku Shi (Ichi) (Taiwanese Architectural History (1), 臺灣建築史(一))," *Kenchiku Zasshi (Journal of Architecture and Building Science, 建築雜誌)* 23, no. 265 (1909); ———, "Taiwan Kenchiku Shi (Ni) (Taiwanese Architectural History (2), 臺灣建築史(二))," *Kenchiku Zasshi (Journal of Architecture and Building Science, 建築雜誌)* 23, no. 266 (1909).

⁶¹ Tanaka (田中), *Taiwan Shima Kenchiku No Kenkyū (Research on Taiwanese Architecture, 台灣島建築之研究)*.

⁶² Huzisima (藤島), *Taiwan No Kenchiku (Taiwanese Architecture, 臺灣の建築)*.

Through a postcolonial architectural framework, I have delimited the theme and sphere of the thesis: it will be examined under the concept of orientalised postcolonial criticism, oriental orientalism. I have provided a brief description of the history of Taiwan as background knowledge for further understanding the Japanese formation of Taiwanese architectural history. I have also examined Taiwanese architectural historiography and described my research methodology in order to explain the selection and collection of reference materials in the thesis. These comprise a more detailed location later in the thesis. Now let us enter part one and review the theories.

Chapter 3 The Orientalising of orientalism: Japan as the Hinge between East and West

This chapter will review a number of theoretical approaches that are useful for assessing the power/knowledge consequences of Japanese domination over other parts of East Asia. These include Edward Said's concept of orientalism, Homi Bhabha's concept of hybridity, Stuart Hall's and Seyla Benhabib's discussions of cultural identity, Gayatri Spivak's strategic use of essentialism. Finally, I will consider Yuko Kikuchi's idea of oriental orientalism as a way of locating the more general theoretical insights of postcolonial criticism within the more narrowly defined context of an East Asian experience of colonialism. The aim of this review is to identify and discuss those theoretical aspects of postcolonial theory that will enable a discussion of Japanese scholarship on Taiwanese architecture and its effects on the subsequent formation of Taiwanese architectural history. This project continues to underpin and inform the values of Taiwanese architecture that are privileged today, and, more broadly, the sense of identity in Taiwanese culture.

Before Said's *Orientalism*, occidental texts about the Orient were considered as pure knowledge. They were assumed to be based on scientific data-collection, classification and research. However, *Orientalism* shifted many scholars' impressions, causing them to consider the representational, projective and ideological aspects of this so-called pure research. This critical observation opened up a new sphere for the discussion of issues of cultural and political domination and hegemony between the Occident and the Orient. Some of his adherents have extended Said's concept of orientalism into different academic spheres, such as anthropology, history, the arts and others; some of them have

replied and responded to Said's theory of orientalism and formed postcolonial theory; and some of them have applied Said's analysis of orientalism to discussing colonial domination within different historical and geographical contexts. The importance of *Orientalism* is that all these discussions co-sustain a postcolonial sphere or discussion by trying to identify, reveal and to resist the colonial dominant relationships between the colonizer and the colonized. Furthermore and, most importantly, this project seeks to offer a new way to secure viable identity positions for once marginalized others in the contemporary world.

Bhabha's concept of hybridity was one of the responses to Said's concepts of orientalism. In *Orientalism*, the Orient is considered as the other that can be understood, grasped and collected through 'synchronic essentialism'. Using the base of 'synchronic essentialism', the Occident is able to frame, fix and domesticate the exotic world beyond the west. This is the framework within which the Occident categorizes different cultural entities by the concept of essentialism, which Bhabha set out to challenge. Hybridity is one of the key concepts that Bhabha developed to this end. For Bhabha, hybridity derived from cultural 'transnation' and 'translation'. Transnational interactions and cultural translation provided a ground for the colonized to absorb and appropriate occidental knowledge, and reconstruct their new statements. These new statements could challenge or unmask the occidental framework within which each cultural entity had its own fixed space. Hybridity opens what Bhabha called 'the Third Space', which is neither the Occident nor the Orient, but something else besides, 'in-between'.¹ Hybridity offers a possibility for the Orient (the other and the colonized) to get rid of and to challenge the occidental

¹ The original sentence is: 'difference is neither One nor the Other but *something else besides, in-between*' formulated in Bhabha's 'How Newness Enters the World' in *The Location of Culture*. Here I transform Bhabha's sentence to emphasis the struggle against the Occident/the Orient dichotomy. Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 2004), p.313.

framework of world order, or knowledge, and, moreover, to declare its own.

Since oriental culture is represented by the Occident in the colonial context, and through the process of hybridisation the Orient could announce its own culture, can culture still be thought of as the self-evident self-presentation of a specific cultural entity? For Hall, the announcement of identity or culture² cannot avoid intervention from power, so it has to select a position from a particular situation and for a particular purpose. Cultural identity is not only a statement, but also a practice, a process of both exclusion, identifying the other, and inclusion, suturing the self. It creates a boundary. However, for Benhabib, it should be considered as a creation, recreation and negotiation of 'imaginary boundaries'. The other actually is within the self. Identity is actually produced within dialogues and negotiations between self and other. Unlike this sort of concept of cultural anti-essentialism, Spivak proposed the strategic use of essentialism as a kind of 'self-utterance' of the colonized. For her, the strategic use of essentialism was a 'mobilizing slogan or masterword' which helped 'other' to find a strategic position in order to relax orthodox and stable essentialism. Both Hall's and Benhabib's anti-essential concepts and Spivak's strategic use of essentialism allow us to inspect relationships between the subjective positions of cultural announcement and cultural representations, and, as far as this dissertation is concerned, to examine that relationship within the Japanese context.

Although Said's orientalism and most of discussions and investigations of postcolonial theories focus mainly on the interactive relationships of dominance and resistance within a context, how do we discuss cultural knowledge and how it is represented in East Asia

² Nowadays, discussions of identity usually relate to discussions of culture. See Seyla Benhabib, *The Claims of Culture: Equality and Diversity in the Global Era* (Princeton, N.J.; Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2002), p.1.

under Japanese occupation? That is, are there particular characteristics of Japanese colonialism in East Asia that make it distinctive to the colonial experience that Said and other postcolonial scholars describe?

Japan became an empire after its victory in the Sino-Japanese War in 1895. Between then and 1945, Japan successively governed Taiwan, Korea, North-East China/Manchuria and south-east Asia, which established its oriental domination over these areas in terms of politics, economics, military control, culture and academic knowledge. Historian of East Asia, Yuko Kikuchi believed that the relationship between Japan and other Asian countries was structured in a way that was similar to, and distinctive from the way the Occident represented the Orient as described by Said in *Orientalism*. Kikuchi named the particular kind of colonial power/knowledge relationship in East Asia as ‘oriental orientalism’.

Oriental orientalism, Kikuchi argues, allows the discussion of issues pertaining to the domination of Japan over other Asian countries and colonies within the particular oriental historical and geographical context. One of the important sources of empirical material for her analysis is the Japanese craft based, *mingei*³ movement, the material artefacts that it inspired and how they were studied and represented academically. Kikuchi believed that the search for Japanese crafts, as embodied in the *mingei* movement, was based on a form of orientalism and a domestication of Japan’s own other in places such as Taiwan. It was through the representation of the Orient by the Occident, no matter whether it is based on so-called scientific methodologies or the so-called objective viewpoint, that orientalism sustained Japan’s need to identify its Japaneseness

³ *Mingei* refers to arts of the people.

and to identify and claim its Asian other, on the one hand, and to label this other to serve the development of Japanese nationalism on the other. For Kikuchi, the sense of Japaneseness that was constructed through the *mingei* movement is not simply, or even factually, derived from Japan's origin, but was a hybrid process merging the occidental concept with the oriental context. In brief, the bases of oriental orientalism were orientalism and Japan's representations as the statements of its Asian other; its characteristics were hybrid and modern; its purpose was to serve the development and confirmation of Japan's national sense of self and its wider imperialist project.⁴

As the above discussion suggests, this chapter mainly concentrates on four key theories: orientalism, hybridity, cultural identity and oriental orientalism. The chapter focuses on the key concepts that underpin these theories, suggests why these concepts important and useful for the research, and then draws out how they relate to a discussion of Japan's representations of its other through the medium of architecture.

⁴ Said made a brief distinction between imperialism and colonialism in *Cultural and Imperialism*. He suggest that "imperialism" means the practice, the theory, and the attitudes of a dominating metropolitan centre ruling a distant territory' and "colonialism", which is almost always a consequence of imperialism, is the implanting of settlements on distant territory'. For him, direct colonialism has ended, but imperialism continuously remains through the sphere of cultural, political, ideological, economic and social practice. Young, based on his elaborate discussions on historical facts, believes that imperialism and colonialism are 'nothing if not heterogeneous, often contradictory, practices'. Young makes detailed distinctions between these two terms: imperialism refers to a structure underpinning an empire by central government based on ideological and financial reasons; colonialism refers a structure of settlements developed by individual communities or companies; colonialism thus functions as an practice. For Young, 'imperialism is susceptible to analysis as a concept', and 'colonialism needs to be analysed primarily as a practice'. Here we can find that a fundamental difference between Said's and Young's distinctions between imperialism and colonialism. Said, based on his analysis of imperial literary texts, suggests that imperialism itself contains the 'practice'; by contrast Young believes that the imperial 'practice' relies on colonialism, a direct domination. The main difference between them, I would argue, derived from their different examinations of subjects: the former is literature, and the latter is history. Imperial domination of literature is not necessary through colonialism, but that of historical fact does emerge from colonial fact. Here, I would consider imperialism as an empire's practices, theories, and the attitudes toward its colonies or influenced countries, and colonialism only as domination toward its colonies. For more discussion, see Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994), p.8, and Robert Jun Young, *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), pp.14-43.

3-1 Edward Said: from *Orientalism* to *Cultural and Imperialism*

Although Edward Said's *Orientalism* was not the first book to criticise western colonialism and imperialism, it was the first publication to theorize the way in which power and knowledge, including academic scholarship and wider cultural forms of knowledge embodied in paintings and literature, were linked through occidental representations of the Orient as a means of dominating the Orient. Said argued that the unbalanced relationship between the Occident and Orient existed not only in politics, economics and military affairs, but also in academic and cultural circles. Occidental academic knowledge of the Orient was produced according to western epistemology and ontology on the one hand, and returned to reinforce itself in occidental societies on the other. This helped strengthened the occidental political, economic and military domination over the Orient. This accompanied a wider condition that Said called 'colonial discourse' within the power/knowledge relationship to the Orient. Said's analysis of power/knowledge in the colonial context influenced academic discourse deeply and widely not only in English Literature but also in anthropology, history, geography and other humanities disciplines. Discussions of his works under the title of postcolonial criticism or theory, such as works written by Leela Gandhi,⁵ Ania Loomba,⁶ Bart Moore-Gilbert⁷ and Robert Young,⁸ clearly show his vital role in the postcolonial debates.

In the Introduction to *Orientalism*, Said offered three definitions of orientalism. First, he defined orientalism as an academic issue. Anyone 'who teaches, writes about, or

⁵ Leela Gandhi, *Postcolonial Theory: A Critical Introduction* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998).

⁶ Ania Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism, The New Critical Idiom* (London: Routledge, 1998).

⁷ Bart J. Moore-Gilbert, *Postcolonial Theory: Contexts, Practices, Politics* (London: Verso, 1997).

⁸ Robert Jun Young, *White Mythologies: Writing History and the West* (London: Routledge, 1990). and ———, *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001).

researches the Orient⁹ is an orientalist, and what he or she has done is orientalism. In other words, any forms of representation of the Orient are parts of orientalism. Second, he claimed that ‘orientalism is a style of thought’.¹⁰ Before people started to realize and study all the available knowledge about the Orient, such as culture, history, religion and geography, there had already been an ontological and epistemological distinction within the creation of knowledge. This tradition of the occidental ‘style of thought’ formed a so-called ‘social force’ that anyone within the society could not escape from. The Orient is the ‘created body of theory and practice’¹¹ based on western historical, conceptual, imaged and rhetorical traditions, although the real Orient does exist both geographically and historically. This is an interactive relationship, in Gandhi’s words, a ‘corporate institution’, an ‘enormous system or inter-textual network’,¹² within which the Occident could effectively construct and dominate the Orient. The system, or inter-textual network, connected with oriental politics, sociology, military matters, ideology, science and even an image, within which ‘all scholars (and artists) are subject to particular historical, cultural and institutional affiliations which are governed in the last instance by the dominant ideology and political imperatives of the society in question’.¹³ Orientalism is such a colonial discourse in that it influences both academic and far more general spheres.

Said set out a further three qualifications of orientalism: the first, the Orient, within orientalism, is not just a concept of imaged geography, but a true entity. The second, it is necessary to analyse the influences of the configuration of power by studying oriental

⁹ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), p.2.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, p.2.

¹¹ *ibid.*, p.6.

¹² Gandhi, *Postcolonial Theory: A Critical Introduction*, p.76.

¹³ Moore-Gilbert, *Postcolonial Theory: Contexts, Practices, Politics*, p.36.

ideas, cultures and histories. The third, the Orient is a creation of occidental theories and practices. The purpose of these three qualifications is to stress that oriental knowledge and ideas should not just be considered as a product of occidental pure, scientific and impartial investigation. On the contrary, it needs to be exemplified through a social and, cultural and political contextualization, and should be considered as a product of a disciplinary system. However, Said also tried to avoid the misunderstanding that suggested that the Orient was merely a distorted and incorrect representation of an actual and authentic Orient. What he wanted to stress was an unbalanced relationship of exchanged power within the representation of the Orient, which was influenced by occidental social forces, and the way in which representations, for all their seeming unreality, came to have real effects in the formation of colonial identities and the practice of power.

My whole point about this system is not that it is a misrepresentation of some Oriental essence – in which I do not for a moment believe – but that it operates as representations usually do, for a purpose, according to a tendency, in a specific historical, intellectual, and even economic setting. In other words, representations have purposes, they are effective much of the time, they accomplish one or many tasks.¹⁴

To formulate his theory, Said articulated the relationships between disciplinary systems and occidental dominations over the Orient, and argued that there is a fundamental relationship between the production of oriental knowledge and the occidental social inter-textual network: it has been through a dichotomized logic based on occidental epistemology and ontology, within which the Orient is orientalisised and conceptualized as a whole, as an opposite representation to the Occident.

The two aspects of the Orient that see it off from the West in this pair of plays will remain essential motifs of European imaginative geography. A line is drawn between

¹⁴ Said, *Orientalism*, p.273.

two continents. Europe is powerful and articulate; Asia is defeated and distant.¹⁵

Such “images” of the Orient as this are images in that they represent or stand for a very large entity, otherwise impossibly diffuse, which they enable one to grasp or see.¹⁶

Images of the Orient serve different purposes in different contexts, Said argues. In the general social context, the Orient has been represented as ‘a place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscapes’;¹⁷ in the academic sphere, it has been regarded as ‘the source of civilizations and languages’;¹⁸ and it has also been politically considered as comprising ‘European’s greatest and richest and oldest colonies’, and ‘its cultural constant, and one of its deepest and most recurring images of the Other’¹⁹ as a real dominant form. Those images of the Orient, for Said, were almost always projections by the Occident upon the Orient.

The concept, methodology and topic of writings on the Orient are themselves problematic *per se*. In terms of the concept of the Orient, the Orient is the orientalised Orient through occidental continuous investments:

On the contrary, the written statement is a presence to the reader by virtue of its having excluded, displaced, made supererogatory any such real thing as “the Orient.” Thus all of Orientalism stands forth and away from the Orient.²⁰

In terms of methodology, the orientalists collected oriental data as widely as possible, and saw this collective knowledge through western eyes and framed it by western academic systems. Thus what came to be known as stable knowledge about the Orient, was based on Western knowledge systems and served Western political ends. As Said

¹⁵ *ibid.*, p.57.

¹⁶ *ibid.*, p.66.

¹⁷ *ibid.*, p.1.

¹⁸ *ibid.*, p.1.

¹⁹ *ibid.*, p.1.

²⁰ *ibid.*, pp.21-22.

puts it:

Orientalism acquired the Orient as literally and as widely as possible; on the other, it domesticated this knowledge to the West, filtering it through regulatory codes, classifications, specimen cases, periodical reviews, dictionaries, grammars, commentaries, editions, translations, all of which together formed a simulacrum of the Orient and reproduced it materially in the West, for the West.²¹

The Orient's topics, images, structures of statements, and ways of narrative were put through acceptable filters by orientalists, which formed a simulacrum of the Orient for the Occident and for preservation. This further forms a general perceivable image of the Orient. Within the process, the Orient was not a reality, but 'a *topos*, a set of reference, a congeries of characteristics, that seems to have its origin in a quotation, or a fragment of a text, or a citation from someone's work on the Orient, or some bit of previous imagining, or an amalgam of all these'.²² The Orient was therefore a continued quotable text in academic discourse, a dominated other deployed to express imperial authorities in politics, and a romantic fantasy in social images.

This process of conversion is a disciplined one: it is taught, it has its own societies, periodicals, traditions, vocabulary, rhetoric, all in basic ways connected to and supplied by the prevailing cultural and political norms of the West.²³

[...] everywhere remind the reader that henceforth in order to get at the Orient he must pass through the learned grids and codes provided by the Orientalist.²⁴

Nonetheless, in order to easily record, analyse, grasp and eventually represent the Orient, Said argued that the entire Orient has been simplified and reduced into a 'synchronic essentialism'. Represented within such a 'synchronic essentialism', the Orient was considered to be a condition without history, and unchanging and fixed set of traits that

²¹ *ibid.*, p.166.

²² *ibid.*, p.177.

²³ *ibid.*, pp.67-68.

²⁴ *ibid.*, p.67.

could be read, studied and understood at one time. This fixing of the Orient was achieved especially through the associated idea of cultural essentialism, in which an occidental ‘vision’²⁵ played a significant role. Within this vision, the Orient is cast as the negative and inferior condition to the Occident. That is, an ‘irrational, depraved (fallen), childlike, “different”’ Orient was consistently represented as opposed to the ‘rational, virtuous, mature, “normal”’²⁶ Occident. The projection of the Orient in this negative light, for the Occident, was as a means to connect with the ancient Occident in order to offer an ancient root of civilization on the one hand, and to serve as a foil to a progressive occidental civilization on the other. Consequently, the process of representing the Orient, for Said, was a powerful and disciplinary transformation, which excluded any participation by the Orient, a process which orientalised the Orient for occidental readers, and finally connected with imperial activities.

The Orientalist stage, as I have been calling it, becomes a system of moral and epistemological rigor. As a discipline representing institutionalized Western knowledge of the Orient, Orientalism thus comes to exert a three-way force, on the Orient, on the Orientalist, and on the Western "consumer" of Orientalism.²⁷

Orientalism can thus be regarded as a manner of regularized (or Orientalized) writing, vision, and study, dominated by imperatives, perspectives, and ideological biases ostensibly suited to the Orient. The Orient is taught, researched, administered, and pronounced upon in certain discrete ways.²⁸

If it is possible to analyse representations of the Orient in terms of disciplinary system, a question emerges: how does the Occident dominate the Orient through representation? First of all, the Orient is textualized. The real Orient becomes a *topos*, a theme, or a text in academic papers, such as dictionaries, grammars, or commentaries, or in travel novels. The Orient is usually excluded from any participation in the production of the text, or is

²⁵ *ibid.*, p.240.

²⁶ *ibid.*, p.40.

²⁷ *ibid.*, p.67.

²⁸ *ibid.*, p.202.

described as having an inferior role. However, textualization could not provide a forceful power to dominate the Orient. It needs to connect with 'corporate institution'. By connecting with 'corporate institution', those texts about the Orient gain forceful authorities in academic circles, and have a great influence on ordinary people's viewpoints of the Orient, and even on political decisions.

However, Said's theoretical formation of orientalism encountered various critiques and encouraged many discussions. For instance, regarding postcolonial research, Russell Jacoby has implied that Said's moving around literature and political economy, sociology, history and anthropology served to 'pepper their writings with references to Gramsci and hegemony'²⁹; John MacKenzie criticised Said's inter-disciplinary struggle for its lack of fundamental understanding of imperial history and historiography, in that 'nothing better represents the naïveté and lack of sophistication of the left-wing literary critics'.³⁰ In summarizing these critiques briefly, we can identify several common themes that Said's critics articulate. First, Dennis Porter, James Clifford and Robert Young have argued that orientalism showed a radical methodological contradiction deriving from 'Said's incompatible epistemological positions and methodological procedures.'³¹ Second, Moore-Gilbert believed that the contradiction derived from the fact that 'colonial discourse is in fact fractured in its operations, aims and affective economy'³² which is something that Said recognized but, as Lisa Lowe has proved in

²⁹ Russell Jacoby, "Marginal Returns: The Trouble with Post-Colonial Theory," *Lingua Franca* September/October 1995, p.32.

³⁰ John M. MacKenzie, *Orientalism: History, Theory and the Arts* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), p.36.

³¹ Moore-Gilbert, *Postcolonial Theory: Contexts, Practices, Politics*, pp.43-44. Also see James Clifford, "On Orientalism," in *The Predicament of Culture* (1988), pp.255-76, Dennis Porter, "Orientalism and its Problems," in *Colonial Discourse and Post-colonial Theory: A Reader*, eds Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman (Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1994), and Young, *White Mythologies: Writing History and the West*.

³² Moore-Gilbert, *Postcolonial Theory: Contexts, Practices, Politics*, p.44.

Critical Terrains: French and British Orientalisms,³³ is also something in which the difference between French and British orientalism was more than Said had recognised. As Moore-Gilbert observed: 'Said commutes uncertainly between a recognition of the heterogeneity of colonial discourse on the one hand and a conviction of its essential consistency on the other'.³⁴ Third, as Porter commented in 'Orientalism and its Problems', orientalism ignored 'counter-hegemonic thought'³⁵ in western societies. Moore-Gilbert further argued that '*Orientalism* seems to reinscribe the very forms of cultural essentialism for which Said condemns orientalist discourse'.³⁶ Fourth, orientalism also ignores colonial resistance from the colonized. Zakia Pathak and her co-authors' 'The Prison House of Orientalism' and Aijaz Ahmad's *In Theory: Classes, Nations, Literatures* both argue that orientalism only concentrates on the discourses of the colonizers and excludes oppositional voices.³⁷

Said responded to some of these critiques in 'Orientalism Reconsidered' and defended the necessity of questioning 'who writes or studies the Orient, in what institutional or discursive setting, for what audience, and with what ends in mind' and then how the knowledge is 'inscribed with the politics, the considerations, the positions, and the strategies of power'³⁸ in orientalism. However, he did revise the simplified oriental/occidental and dominant/dominated dichotomy and reconsidered the more complex relationships within cultural representations in *Culture and Imperialism*. Said, argues, in this later book, that 'a general worldwide pattern of imperial culture' and 'a

³³ Lisa Lowe, *Critical Terrains: French and British Orientalisms* (Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press, 1991).

³⁴ Moore-Gilbert, *Postcolonial Theory: Contexts, Practices, Politics*, p.45.

³⁵ Porter, "Orientalism and its Problems.", p.152.

³⁶ Moore-Gilbert, *Postcolonial Theory: Contexts, Practices, Politics*, p.50.

³⁷ Zakia Pathak, Saswati Sengupta and Sharmila Purkayastha, "The Prison House of Orientalism," *Textual Practice* 5, no. 2 (1991), p.215 and Aijaz Ahmad, *In Theory: Classes, Nations, Literatures* (Verso Books, 1992).

³⁸ Edward W. Said, "Orientalism Reconsidered," *Cultural Critique* 1 (1985), p.91.

historical experience of resistance against empire'³⁹ determined the formation of *Culture and Imperialism*. This was not only a sequel to *Orientalism*, but also an attempt to broaden his argument in 'cultural terms':

It is my (perhaps illusory) hope that a history of the imperial adventure rendered in cultural terms might therefore serve some illustrative and even deterrent purpose.⁴⁰

In doing so, he emphasized the consistent approach he held in both *Orientalism* and *Culture and Imperialism*, to a general view of 'culture'. Culture, he argued, was a set of 'practices, like the arts of description, communication, and representation'⁴¹ and a 'sort of theatre where various political and ideological causes engage one another'.⁴² To consider the connection between these two things, Said saw culture as 'an extraordinarily varied field of endeavour',⁴³ and believed that 'all cultures are involved in one another. None, he insisted, is single and pure, and all are hybrid, heterogeneous, extraordinarily differentiated, and unmonolithic'.⁴⁴

In spite of the fact that Said tried to articulate a more complex relationship between culture and imperialism, what he left out of the book was the non-westerners' colonial resistance, something that a number of Said's critics have consistently pointed out. The next section moves on to review one such theoretical attempt to overcome this difficulty in Said, namely Bhabha's discussion of hybridity and debates on cultural identity. These formulations help shift Said's concentration on the western canon to the third world's colonial resistance.

³⁹ ———, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994), p.xii.

⁴⁰ *ibid.*, p.xxvi.

⁴¹ *ibid.*, p.xii.

⁴² *ibid.*, p.xiv.

⁴³ *ibid.*, p.xv.

⁴⁴ *ibid.*, p.xxix.

3-2 Hybridity and culture as a varied field of negotiation

Said's orientalism revealed a 'synchronic essentialism' within orientalists' academic researches and literary texts, through which the cultures, histories and languages of the Orient, and even their varieties, were represented and understood. If people can grasp the essence of oriental culture, they can totally understand oriental culture. This kind of understanding of culture is what Stuart Hall described as the first way to think about culture: a 'shared culture, a sort of collective "one true self", hiding inside the many other, more superficial or artificially imposed "selves", which people with a shared history and ancestry hold in common'.⁴⁵ Benhabib described 'as the totality of social systems and practices of signification, representation, and symbolism that have an autonomous logic of their own'.⁴⁶ This is the understanding of culture, based on cultural essentialism, for Said, with epistemology and ontology, to realize and represent the Orient in order to put the Orient within the occidental framework of the world. This also connects with imperialism and forms an unbalanced relationship of knowledge between the Occident and the Orient.

Although Said's orientalism criticized this cultural essentialism, and offered a way to resist the associated 'synchronic essentialism', what Said focused on, in terms of Benhabib's concept, was 'the standpoint of [the] social observer'⁴⁷ – an occidental imperialism, and set out to criticize the observers' cultural narrative of the 'social agent' – the Orient. But what are the Orient's cultural self-narratives? How do they oppose the occidental cultural narrative by their cultural statements? Some postcolonial theorists have responded to this issue, which is relatively absent from *Orientalism*.

⁴⁵ Stuart Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," in *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*, ed. Jonathan Rutherford (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1990), p.223.

⁴⁶ Benhabib, *The Claims of Culture: Equality and Diversity in the Global Era*, p.3.

⁴⁷ *ibid.*, p.5.

Bhabha's concept of hybridity, Hall and Benhabib's discussions on cultural identity, and Spivak's strategic use of essentialism all pay attention to the possibilities of the colonized's self-narrative, which is helpful for discussions based on claims of culture as a varied field.

Bhabha's hybridity is the first concept outlined here. Although hybridity derives from biology and linguistics, Bhabha considered hybridity as a theory with which to extend and complicate the Occident/Orient dichotomy that Said articulated in *Orientalism*. Hybridity, Bhabha argues, is a concept of neither the west nor the east, and through this ambivalence and incommensurability comes to be a form of resisting colonial domination. Bhabha transformed Bakhtin's intentional hybridity 'into an active moment of challenge and resistance against a dominant cultural power.'⁴⁸ For Bhabha, colonial authorities created colonial relationships by discriminating between coloniser/colonized, civilized/wild and self/other, and positioning them within western categories. Furthermore, by disavowing others' culture, western authorities obtain the legality of colonial authority. However, for Bhabha, there were two prior facts behind this colonial discourse: first, this discrimination, in terms of Said's orientalism, was based on the western traditional conception of dichotomy, which is the idea that Bhabha wanted to challenge. Second, colonial authorities denied indigenous cultures so that the 'part' represented the 'whole'.⁴⁹ For Bhabha, hybridity offered the possibility of disputing colonial discourse and power.

Hybridity does not mean to 'start with two or more cultures, more or less pure, and then

⁴⁸ Robert Jun Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture, and Race* (London: Routledge, 1995), p.23 and M. M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays* (University of Texas Press, 1981).

⁴⁹ Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, p.158.

trace their historical movements of hybridization',⁵⁰ but to deconstruct colonial discourses. Hybridity creates an ambivalent situation which is opposite to the precise categorization and discrimination between civilization and wildness, and between self and the other, which is created by the west. Hybridity also deconstructs the specific roles of both colonizer and colonized in colonial discourse, and, by reversing the effects of colonialist disavowal, denied knowledge entered dominant discourse and 'estranged the basis of its authority'.⁵¹

Hybridity, for Bhabha, does not refer to a merged entity, but instead 'emphasize[s] the incommensurable elements – the stubborn chunks – as the basis of cultural identifications'.⁵² Different cultures maintain their separations without hierarchy and negotiate their boundary with each other within one hybrid culture. As Japanese cultural historian, Rumi Sakamoto has written, hybridity 'is a new identity but a new form of identity, open to the Other and internally split'.⁵³

Bhabha has pointed out that hybridity derived from cultural translation and cultural transnation. He appropriated Walter Benjamin's observations on the task of translation and on the task of the translator to indicate that 'all forms of culture are related to each other, because culture is a signifying or symbolic activity'.⁵⁴ By discriminating, separating and contrasting other cultures, self-culture will be able to emerge. However, the process of discriminating, separating and contrasting itself is a process of cultural translation. Through objectifying others' cultural meaning, self-culture identifies its own

⁵⁰ David Huddart, *Homi K. Bhabha*, Routledge Critical Thinkers (London: Routledge, 2006), p.125.

⁵¹ Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, p.162.

⁵² *ibid.*, p.313.

⁵³ Rumi Sakamoto, "Japan, Hybridity and the Creation of Colonialist Discourse," *Theory, Culture & Society* 13, no. 3 (1996), p.116.

⁵⁴ Homi K. Bhabha, "The Third Space," in *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*, ed. Jonathan Rutherford (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1990), pp.209-211.

meaning, which is the process of ‘alienation and of secondariness *in relation to itself*’.⁵⁵ Translating other culture also refers to making a new statement of other culture. New statement results in ‘the difference of the same’,⁵⁶ as Bakhtin’s double-voiced language, which ‘ironizes and unmasks itself’. This cultural ‘double-voiced’ signifier undermines western discrimination and leads to its hybridity and ambivalence: ‘*neither the one [...] nor the other [...] but something else besides*’.⁵⁷

[T]he act of cultural translation (both as representation and as reproduction) denies the essentialism of a prior given original or originary culture, then we see that all forms of culture are continually in a process of hybridity.⁵⁸

Cultural transnation is another factor that causes cultural hybridity. Under specific histories of cultural displacement, world migrations, whether of slaves, voyagers, travellers or refugees, has blurred boundaries and national identities between different nations, races and cultures. This leads to a hybrid situation. Bhabha wrote:

I want to take my stand on the shifting margins of cultural displacement – that confounds any profound or ‘authentic’ sense of a ‘national’ culture or an ‘organic’ intellectual – and ask what the function of a committed theoretical perspective might be, once the cultural and historical hybridity of the postcolonial world is taken as the paradigmatic place of departure.⁵⁹

Furthermore, Bhabha argues, hybridity opens up ‘the Third Space’, which is ‘neither the one nor the other but something else besides’.⁶⁰ It is the contradictory and ambivalent space where ‘cultural identity always emerges’. For Bhabha, ‘the Third Space’ intervenes and contradicts the structural relationship between meaning and reference, and destroys the ‘primitive unity or fixity’ of cultural meanings and symbols, allowing the same signs

⁵⁵ *ibid.*, p.210.

⁵⁶ _____, *The Location of Culture*, p.33.

⁵⁷ *ibid.*, p.41. Bhabha’s emphasis.

⁵⁸ _____, "The Third Space", p.211.

⁵⁹ _____, *The Location of Culture*, p.31.

⁶⁰ *ibid.*, p.41.

to be ‘appropriated, translated, rehistoricized, and read anew’.⁶¹

[H]ybridity to me is the ‘third space’ which enables other positions to emerge. This third space displaces the histories that constitute it, and sets up new structures of authority, new political initiatives, which are inadequately understood through received wisdom.⁶²

Bhabha also extended his concept of hybridity to strengthen his concept of cultural difference. For him, the notion of cultural difference was to discriminate from cultural diversity. Usually, the idea of cultural diversity is a positive notion and should be encouraged, and it seems that every culture can be respected. In Bhabha’s concept, cultural diversity actually is a frame of category established by western epistemology, ‘a norm given by the host society or dominant culture’.⁶³ Although ‘those other cultures are fine’, ‘we must be able to locate them within our own grid’.⁶⁴ That is what Bhabha meant by ‘a creation of cultural diversity’. Similarly, cultural diversity also encourages racism in various ways because universalism paradoxically ‘permits diversity [and] masks ethnocentric norms, values and interests’.⁶⁵ On the contrary, it is very difficult to put all different cultures into the same framework, and ‘even impossible and counterproductive, to try and fit together different forms of culture and pretend that they can easily coexist’.⁶⁶ Instead, Bhabha used the notion of cultural difference to place himself ‘in that position of liminality, in that productive space of the construction of culture as difference, in the spirit of alterity or otherness’.⁶⁷ He compared two notions:

Cultural diversity is an epistemological object – culture as an object of empirical knowledge – whereas cultural difference is the process of the *enunciation* of culture as ‘knowledgeable’, authoritative, adequate to the construction of systems of cultural

⁶¹ *ibid.*, p.55.

⁶² _____, "The Third Space", p.211.

⁶³ *ibid.*, p.208.

⁶⁴ *ibid.*, p.208.

⁶⁵ *ibid.*, p.208.

⁶⁶ *ibid.*, p.209.

⁶⁷ *ibid.*, p.209.

identification. If cultural diversity is a category of comparative ethics, aesthetics or ethnology, cultural difference is a process of signification through which statements *of* culture or *on* culture differentiate, discriminate and authorize the production of fields of force, reference, applicability and capacity.⁶⁸

Generally speaking, Bhabha's hybridity examined the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized by psychoanalyzing colonial identification. The relationship is not simply controlled by colonial authorities, but formed by the two-way interaction between the colonizer and the colonized. This hybrid and ambivalent relationship disintegrates colonial discourse, the stereotype within Europe-centricism, which makes the colonizer ambivalent and nervous, and perpetuates the framework of Western categorisation. However, for many postcolonialists, such as Loomba, it is not necessary to resist colonial authorities through hybridity, but, instead, through a more direct mode: 'anti-colonial movements and individuals often drew upon Western ideas and vocabularies to challenge colonial rule'.⁶⁹ Gandhi's notion of a non-violent movement is a good illustration of that. In addition, although Bhabha offered hybridity as something which could disintegrate the binary polarization that was so evident in Said's earlier work, his hybridity still produced another new polarization, which is polarization and hybridity. Consequently, Ella Shohat suggested that we need to 'discriminate between the diverse modalities of hybridity.'⁷⁰ Arif Dirlik suggested that to understand conditions of in-betweenness and hybridity, we need to consider the ideological and institutional structures.⁷¹ In spite of that, Bhabha's hybridity still excited people to reconstruct the colonial relationship between the colonizers and the colonized.

⁶⁸ ———, *The Location of Culture*, pp.49-50.

⁶⁹ Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*, 174.

⁷⁰ Ella Shohat, "Notes on the 'Post-Colonial'," *Social Text*, no. 31/32, Third World and Post-Colonial Issues (1992), p.110.

⁷¹ Arif Dirlik, "The Postcolonial Aura: Third World Criticism in the Age of Global Capitalism," *Critical Inquiry* 20, no. 2 (1994), p.342.

Compared with Bhabha's hybridity as a theorized response to the occidental cultural framework, Hall's discussions on cultural identity are closer to how the colonized identifies himself or herself. Said's orientalism believed that the Orient is categorized within occidental epistemological and the occidental ontological framework of knowledge. Hall, furthermore, considered that 'the Occident has a power to make [the Orient] see and experience [themselves] as "Other"',⁷² which is a form of domesticating the Orient by academic canons. It seems that Hall still concentrated on the occidental canons and their innate domesticating authority. However, Hall moved his attention to the issue of identity in terms of the subjectivity of the colonized.

Hall viewed culture as 'the position of *enunciation*', which is different from colonial anthropologists' viewpoints of culture as a neutral expression of an innate coherence. Because culture, as a statement in Hall's elaboration, 'is always "in context", *positioned*', standing 'from a particular place and time, from a history and a culture which is specific',⁷³ discussions of culture therefore shift from concentration on issues such as, 'what is the Oriental or Islamic culture' to: What does the Orient represent? How does the Orient produce its various cultural identities? What is the relationship between 'what he says' and his position? What position does he stand on and for?

Culture, in Hall's formulation, as a statement of position can be realized through where and how the identity of individual subjects emerges. The issue of where the identity emerges, Hall claimed that identity is an important issue within politics and agency. In the former, identities signify 'modern forms of political movement', whose relations with

⁷² Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora", p.225.

⁷³ *ibid.*, p.222.

political location and unstable factors influence contemporary politics.⁷⁴ In the latter, the subject is not an automatic articulation with the essence or origin of culture, rather, if it is analyzed by Foucault's work on the theory of discursive practice, it is a product articulating discursive practice. As a result, identities are purposefully produced within the search for subjective position within a political movement. The process of identification, for Hall, takes place in two ways, the first of which is 'subjectification to discursive practices',⁷⁵ an intended connection with the past and history. This is achieved through 'memory, fantasy, narrative and myth',⁷⁶ and picking out history, language and cultural sources, to make people become someone. The second is a process of boundary-making and exclusion. By excluding the other, the subject identifies his sameness within a group. To sum up, for Hall identification is a discursive process of linking an imagined self with a real one by practice, and of excluding the imagined other from the self, within which both self and other are categorized within a cultural framework. The statements of identities are situated in discursive formations and practices.

For Hall, identification, which cannot avoid influences from discursive practice, is 'strategic and positional'.⁷⁷ The statements of cultural identities are not as natural, unified, stabilized, fixed or guaranteed as the essentialists claim, but are 'never unified and, in late modern times, increasingly fragmented and fractured; never singular but multiply constructed across different, often intersecting and antagonistic, discourses, practices and positions'⁷⁸ within a varied field of power and will. Hall elaborates this by

⁷⁴ ———, "Introduction: Who Needs 'Identity'?", in *Questions of Cultural Identity*, eds Stuart Hall and Paul Du Gay (London: SAGE Publications, 1996), p.2.

⁷⁵ *ibid.*, p.2.

⁷⁶ ———, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora", p.226.

⁷⁷ ———, "Introduction: Who Needs 'Identity'?", p.3.

⁷⁸ *ibid.*, p.4.

referring to identity as a ‘meeting point’.

the point of *suture*, between on the one hand the discourses and practices which attempt to ‘interpellate’, speak to us or hail us into place as the social subjects of particular discourses, and on the other hand, the processes which produce subjectivities, which construct us as subjects which can be ‘spoken’.⁷⁹

However, it is a process of identification that considers self as insider and other as outsider. Cultures throughout the world occupy their own space within the framework. This is what Benhabib described as, and would like to deny, *mosaic multiculturalism*, in that ‘human groups and cultures are clearly delineated and identifiable entities that coexist, while maintaining firm boundaries, as would pieces of a mosaic’.⁸⁰ In contrast, she believed that ‘[we] should view human cultures as constant creations, recreations, and negotiations of imaginary boundaries between “we” and the “other(s).” The “other” is always also within us and is one of us. A self is a self only because it distinguishes itself from a real, or more often than not imagined, “other.”’⁸¹ Cultural identities are such products of dialogues and negotiations between self and other.

No matter whether the approach follows Hall’s concepts of the suturing of identity, or Benhabib’s idea of an imagined boundary in which a dialogue and negotiation between the self and the other, this group of critics all attempt to discuss identities from the direction of insiders. Their positions are structured around an anti-essentialism in which cultural identities can be made, unmade and remade. They are fluid and negotiated conditions which require careful analysis through time.

Within this critical postcolonial context, Spivak offered a further perspective that

⁷⁹ *ibid.*, pp.5-6.

⁸⁰ Benhabib, *The Claims of Culture: Equality and Diversity in the Global Era*, p.8.

⁸¹ *ibid.*, p.8.

complicates the solidly anti-essentialism of Hall, Bhabha and Benhabib. Her ‘strategic’ use of essentialism to analyse statements of culture, seems to contradict those other critical positions. She believed that the ‘strategic use of an essence as a mobilizing slogan or masterword like *woman* or *worker* or the name of a nation is, ideally, self-conscious for all mobilized’.⁸² The strategic use of essentialism is for a specific purpose and position, such as nation building or securing women’s rights. The difficulty is that these positions, though deployed strategically, often eventually become hardened as essentialized positions after the original political purpose has been achieved. ‘A strategy suits a situation’ and the strategic use of essentialism can disintegrate stable, unified and canonical academic essentialism. So, while Spivak reminds us not to be too quick to abandon essentialisms of various kinds, and to keep potential political advantages that can follow from them, the strategic use of essentialism cannot provide ‘a long-term political solution’,⁸³ and can only be a kind of positioned statement.

To sum up, in the discursive landscape of postcolonial criticism we can identify a similarity between Bhabha’s concept of hybridity, Hall and Benhabib’s anti-essential discussions of cultural identity. Spivak’s strategic use of essentialism is an important additional reminder about the care we need to take in negotiating cultural identities and their political effects at particular moments in history. On the one hand, these critics try to controvert conventional anthropological discussions of culture as a coherent totality. On the other hand, they seek to provide a theoretical ground for ‘the other’ to get overturn a reliance on the occidental framework of culture. If Said’s orientalism can be considered as a discursive practice of representations of oriental culture by the Occident,

⁸² Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *Outside in the Teaching Machine* (New York ; London: Routledge, 1993), p.3.

⁸³ Stephen Morton, *Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak*, Routledge critical thinkers (London: Routledge, 2003), p.75.

the discussions in this chapter could provide positions and methods by which to analyse oriental self-representation, which responds to the orientalized Orient. The oriental cultural self-narrative, which responds to occidental 'synchronic essentialism', is similar to Hall's positioned identity and Benhabib's process of negotiating the self and other; its position is strategic; its methods are through hybridization.

The next section will discuss in more detail how Japan might be figured in this more theoretical context, and how it represented itself and eventually presented its own imperial other.

3-3 Yuko Kikuchi's formulation of oriental orientalism

Although Said's *Orientalism* stressed the relationships between representations of the Orient, occidental epistemology and ontology, and occidental imperialism, his concept still did not convincingly explain the relationships between oriental imperialism and its representations of its other. Compared with original occidental colonialism, Japanese colonialism, for Mark R. Peattie⁸⁴ and Lewis H. Gann,⁸⁵ was more complex and inconsistent in terms of analyses of Japan's historical situation, geographical location, racial issues and colonial purposes. Japan, on the one hand, was seriously affected by occidental colonialism. In Said's words, Japan was the Occident's other. On the other hand, after Japanese modernization and westernization, Japan invaded and occupied several nations in Asia. Japan, through this belated colonialism, created its own Asian other. This double-situation in the context of East Asia is clearly a complexity that is

⁸⁴ Ramon Hawley Myers and Mark R. Peattie, *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895-1945* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984).

⁸⁵ Lewis H. Gann, "Western and Japanese Colonialism: Some Preliminary Comparisons," in *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895-1945*, eds Ramon Hawley Myers and Mark R. Peattie (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984).

beyond the scope of Said's model of power/knowledge as articulated in *Orientalism*.

Stefan Tanaka clearly shows how this East Asian form of colonialism operated, and how it related to the orientalism that Said disussed. Tanaka describes how Japan escaped its own othering by the West and became a representative of western modernity in eastern Asia by writing Japanese self-history and its relationships with Asia. This helped Japan to recast its own sense of originality, to fill in the void of historical writing of the Orient from the Occident, and to reject 'the objectification of Japan in enlightenment history'.⁸⁶ Japan, furthermore, created its own national identity narrative to redefine, reorder and re-circumscribe its position in world history. This new-invented narrative enabled Japan, on the one hand, to represent itself, and to be the equal of the West on the other. This newly inscribed historical narrative also rescripted Japan's relationships with other countries and eventually created another hierarchic relationship within Asia, just as the West had done in the world. This was a process that shifted occidental colonialism into the Japanese context and eventually created, represented and dominated its own other. Yuko Kikuchi called this process oriental orientalism.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ Stefan Tanaka, *Japan's Orient: Rendering Pasts into History* (Berkeley; London: University of California Press, 1995), p.17.

⁸⁷ Yuko Kikuchi is not the only commentator to put forward the concept of oriental orientalism. Allen Chun also expressed the concept of oriental orientalism in his article *An Oriental Orientalism: The Paradox of Tradition and Modernity in Nationalist Taiwan*. Chun believed that Said's model of orientalism cannot explain the representation of China because the Chinese have their own concept of the self-representation of Chinese culture. Furthermore, this representation does not depend on the self/other dichotomy. He wrote: 'According to such a definition, an Oriental orientalism is not conceivable partly because it is not predicated upon an Other, which is the epistemological point of department for its imagination, hence exoticism. An (Oriental) Orientalism devoid of this self/other dichotomy is simply the society itself as the people themselves view it, which is certainly part of what Said assumed to be the Orient as itself' (Chun 1995, 28) Allen Chun, "An Oriental Orientalism: The Paradox of Tradition and Modernity in Nationalist Taiwan," *History and Anthropology* 9, no. 1 (1995). It seems that, for Chun, orientalism is a form of representation of the Orient, and oriental orientalism is a form of representation of China. Although Kikuchi and Chun have different concepts of orient orientalism, in the thesis, the author adopts Kikuchi's idea because Kikuchi's concept is more relevant to the discussion of Japanese imperialism and its representation of its other, and Chun's concept is more likely to discuss Chinese self-representation. See Chun, Allen. 1995. *An Oriental Orientalism: The Paradox of Tradition and Modernity in nationalist Taiwan*. *History and Anthropology* Vol.9, No.

For Kikuchi, oriental orientalism is a kind of Japanese transformation of orientalism. Oriental orientalism is not a phenomenon original to Japan, but is a hybrid product. While Kikuchi does not theorize the idea of oriental orientalism in great detail in her book, it offers an important and useful extension and development of Said's original idea in the context of East Asian colonial history. What follows is an examination of the two key issues that emerge from an assessment of Kikuchi's work in this context, namely: what is oriental orientalism and what is its intellectual grounds.

The intellectual grounds of oriental orientalism are set out in Kikuchi's book *Japanese Modernisation and Mingei Theory: Cultural Nationalism and Oriental Orientalism*.⁸⁸ In this book she argues that Japanese self-identification and self-statements are influenced in two ways: one is the occidental orientalist's concept of Japan and the other is occidental methodology. Within the conceptual influence, when Japanese intellectuals state their identity or Japaneseness, their claims sometime relate to orientalist's images or statements about Japan or the Orient, which follow occidental epistemological and ontological frameworks. Nonetheless, Japanese intellectuals do not entirely accept occidental concepts of Japan. What is accepted, for Japanese intellectuals, is usually understood as a wider modern ideology and the actual products of modernization. It is these things that connect Japanese culture with Western modernization. However, the criterion for estimating Japanese culture is also based on modernist thought, which is a 'Modernists' selective projection'.⁸⁹ When orientalist were observing the Orient, they usually connected their modern principles with characteristics of the Orient valued by those principles. These projections of Western modern principles offered Japanese

1:pp.27-56.

⁸⁸ Yuko Kikuchi, *Japanese Modernisation and Mingei Theory: Cultural Nationalism and Oriental Orientalism* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004).

⁸⁹ *ibid.*, p.100.

intellectuals a methodology by which to re-evaluate Japanese culture within its own social context. This leads them to eventually select specific orientalist images of Japan and to incorporate them into claims for an enhanced set of quintessential Japanese values. The selective method of appropriation of western values and orientalism projections in Japan formed a base for identifying a new and modern Japanese essence.

However, Japan not only identified itself through this new kind of orientalism. Occidentalism, in the form of technological modernity, also played a central role in Japanese self-identification. For historian James Carrier, occidentalism referred to images of the Occident, which exist both in orientalists' descriptions of the Orient and in the oriental image of the Occident. For the former, although the Orient is essentialized and represented as an inferior other within texts, there are occidental self-images within the division between the Orient and the Occident.⁹⁰ This occidental self-imagination of the Occident is a form of occidentalism. For the latter, there is a 'stylized image' of the Occident for oriental people and it functions for different purposes. For example, Xiaomei Chen believed that this stylized image, by constructing its Western other, '[allows] the Orient to participate actively and with indigenous creativity in the process of self-appropriation, even after being appropriated and constructed by Western Others'.⁹¹ In addition, Carrier also stressed that both orientalism and occidentalism are activities of essentialization, through which 'societies shape the construction and interpretation of the essential attributes of those society'.⁹²

Besides, relating to the past also provides a stable ground to position a subject 'as a

⁹⁰ James G. Carrier, *Occidentalism: Images of the West* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), pp.2-6

⁹¹ Xiaomei Chen, *Occidentalism: A Theory of Counter-Discourse in Post-Mao China* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp.4-5.

⁹² Carrier, *Occidentalism: Images of the West*, p.8.

legitimater of action and cement of group cohesion'.⁹³ Tradition, as Eric Hobsbawm notes in his famous book *The Invention of Tradition*, is 'invented, constructed, and formally instituted'.⁹⁴ Compared with a mobilized, selective and identical 'custom' which offers the possibility of change, dynamism and development, the invented tradition is characterised by invariance and fixity. Relating tradition refers to invented tradition; understanding tradition also means understanding the essence of culture. That is why, in many forms, tradition relates to identity. By connecting with Japanese tradition, and also orientalism and occidentalism, Japanese intellectuals identify their cultural essence as opposed to occidental culture.

However, as Said noted in *Orientalism*, narrative provides a way to resist the orientalist framework. How did Japanese intellectuals combine orientalism, occidentalism and Japanese history to establish their own narrative in order to get resist the occidental other? Tanaka provided a good example of this. For him, historical writing, or narrative, "discovered" the beginnings of Japan's historical narrative in *tōyō*,⁹⁵ thereby locating its origins and its relation to *shina*.⁹⁶ By re-writing histories of *tōyō*, Japanese intellectuals were able to unify Japan's relationships with China, Asia and the Occident. The concept of *tōyō* differs from occidental 'Orient', which only refers to cultural differences, not an inferior backwardness. The Japanese narrative of *tōyō* establishes Japan's others: occidental countries, to which Japan desired to be equal, and *Shina*, 'an object, an idealized space and time from which Japan developed'. Narratives of *tōyō* also form a Japanese conception of world history. For example, Kurakichi Shiratori's North-South

⁹³ Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," in *The Invention of Tradition*, eds E. J. Hobsbawm and T. O. Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p.12.

⁹⁴ *ibid.*, p.1.

⁹⁵ *Tōyō* refers to the Orient.

⁹⁶ *Shina* refers to China. Because China means 'a central country', Japanese intellectuals use *Shina* instead of China in order to not to see China as positioned in the centre of the world. See Tanaka, *Japan's Orient: Rendering Pasts into History*, p.7.

dualism offers a possibility of challenging the western concept of historical linear development based on the binary of the civilized West and the uncivilized East. The North and the South, in North-South dualism, refers to two different cultural characteristics: the former is militaristic (*bu*) and the latter is cultural (*bū*).⁹⁷ For Japan, the development of civilization, or world history, should not derive from the barbarian East toward the modern West, but from the militaristic North toward the cultural South. Through the redefinition of world history, North-South dualism offers Japan a position between the North and South, and Japan could benefit from or even inherit advantageous military and cultural characteristics from both of them.

North-South dualism also offered Japan an in-between position to connect the Occident and the Orient in the western concept of the development of world history. In Shiratori's framework, the Orient/the Occident is only a geographical distinction, without any prior/inferior concept based on 'innate racial superiority, unique geoclimatic conditions, or mere historical priority'.⁹⁸ The West and the East are equal, which was based on the fact that the Japanese believe that all European, Asian and Japan's civilizations consider the spirit as the final goal to achieve.⁹⁹ This is also a timeless division, a concept of the essentials of culture and spirit, and disintegrates a concept of unilinear cultural development. Civilization becomes universal, and cannot be judged by how civilized the societies are but by how people achieve their spiritual individuality. Within this framework of world history, Japan is not the inferior Orient of the Occident, but stands in the same position as the Occident.

Through a similar process, firstly, western categorisation was also considered to be

⁹⁷ *ibid.*, p.94.

⁹⁸ *ibid.*, p.95.

⁹⁹ *ibid.*, p.65.

inappropriate for the Japanese social condition by Japanese intellectuals so they tried to compare western categorisation with the Japanese social context in order to search for Japan's 'modern frame work'.¹⁰⁰ This process of reclassification and re-standardisation identified 'the most innate and original Japan',¹⁰¹ in other words, the essence of Japanese culture. Secondly, the process also accompanied self-identification and self-narration, which claimed Japanese authority and authenticity for expressing Japanese culture on its own rather than by occidental terms. Finally, therefore, this provided Japan with a ground of authority and authenticity to symbolize its civilization, to represent oriental culture. This was a significant development for the formation of an East Asian kind of oriental orientalism, and eventually came to authorize Japan's own imperialism/colonialism.

The process which I have described above provides a way to inspect the invented traditions and the cultural essentialisms that are also present in Japan's orientalism. By understanding orientalism and occidentalism, and by inventing Japanese and Asian tradition, Japanese intellectuals constructed a Japanese conception of world history. On the one hand, Japan overcame its role as other to the west, and on the other hand, it also positioned and framed other Asian countries as its own other. The Occident, for Japan, was a stylized image of occidentalism, a representation of modernization; Japan's Orient, such as China and its own colonies, was the object of representation, although they might both share a similar cultural root. This, for Kikuchi, is an oriental style of orientalism. This is what she called oriental orientalism.

In Orientalism, the Orient including Japan was an epistemological object which had

¹⁰⁰ Kikuchi, *Japanese Modernisation and Mingei Theory: Cultural Nationalism and Oriental Orientalism*, pp.89-90.

¹⁰¹ *ibid.*, p.50.

to be observed, studied, collected, taxonomised and preserved. Japan also repeated this cultural politicisation within the Orient, by projecting Japanese-style Orientalism translated and appropriated from Orientalism. I have called this Oriental Orientalism.¹⁰²

For Kikuchi, the representation of Japan's Orient was based on Japanese epistemology and ontology, which was a transformation of orientalism by absorbing occidental knowledge. Oriental orientalism is the 'Japanocentric universal temporal and spatial framework of *tōyō*'.¹⁰³ Within *tōyō*, other Asian countries were categorized, ordered and mapped under Japan's own order.

Oriental orientalism is also 'the way to strengthen the self-identity of Japanese culture by making an oriental cultural map centred on Japan with fine contours of cultural difference radiating out to the rest of Asia'.¹⁰⁴ Japan 'created another Other in Asia by articulating cultural differences between Japan as "Self" and Asia as "Other"'. Even within Japan, finer cultural differentiation is articulated between the centre and the peripheries'.¹⁰⁵ This was a process of essentializing and racializing culture. Oriental countries were simplified, essentialized and symbolized within the Japanese framework of oriental culture and, furthermore, because they were considered as sharing the same root of culture, were mapped and ordered into Japan's 'culture archive'. Within this 'culture archive', other Asian countries, no matter who they were, shared their cultural essence with Japan or maintained Japaneseness, offered Japan sources to identify and state so-called orientalism or Japaneseness, and finally to stand against western culture. Within the 'culture archive', they are not classified neutrally, but within the very strong Japanese hierarchy, a Japanocentrism in which Japan stood at the centre of modern Asian

¹⁰² *ibid.*, p.123.

¹⁰³ *ibid.*, p.123.

¹⁰⁴ *ibid.*, p.123.

¹⁰⁵ *ibid.*, p.123.

culture and others stood on the periphery to support central Japan. This created a temporal and spatial framework by which Japan could not only invent its modern national and cultural identity between the West and the East, but also to represent itself as the Asian representative opposing occidental power.

Oriental orientalism, as Kikuchi puts it, 'not only has exclusiveness but also inclusiveness toward the "other" Asia'.¹⁰⁶ On the one hand, ancient Asia, just like the ancient Occident, had been civilized so they had the same base of ancient civilization. Japan also shared this civilized root with other Asian countries, which supported its Japaneseness and identity. On the other hand, Japan absorbed western modern civilization so that Japan was no longer part of the west's past but, instead, became the symbol of eastern modern civilization, which combined the West's modernisation and the East's cultural roots and could be considered as an example to other Asian countries. However, this status had to depend on a situation that no other country could represent Asian culture in the Western world, especially China.

This Japanocentric multiculturalism is typically expressed in the notion of the greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere propagated under Japanese imperialism in Asia in the years up until 1945. Oguma Eiji astutely analysed this complexity and ambivalence of Japanese Identity constructed in between the Occident and the Orient.¹⁰⁷

Oriental orientalism represents precisely this kind of 'recurring and transferable nature of the system of orientalism'.¹⁰⁸ The process of oriental orientalism ordered and mapped Japan's other within its own framework of nationalism. By selecting what interested the colonizer and prohibiting what was not related to the colonizer's cultural policy, Japan could 'strengthen the power of the nation by preserving the "quintessentially

¹⁰⁶ *ibid.*, p.124.

¹⁰⁷ *ibid.*, p.124.

¹⁰⁸ *ibid.*, p.xvii.

Japanese”¹⁰⁹ Through these cultural archives, Japan’s other sustained Japaneseness and Japan’s nationalism, and freed Japan from the western framework of orientalism. In short, the mapping of oriental orientalism was Western rhetoric under Japanese frameworks; its objects were Asian other countries; its purpose was to serve Japanese imperialism.

3-4 Oriental orientalism and postcolonial theory

Said has discussed dominated representations of the Orient by the Occident. Subsequently, Bhabha’s concept of hybridity tried to challenge the cultural boundary built by occidental cultural essentialism, and diagnosed the Third Space, within which the Orient could identify itself in a more ambivalent and fluid way. Hall proposed cultural identity as a claim of position, which was a varied field and opened up the possibility that subjects of the Orient had their own voice for specific identity positions and purposes, such as Spivak’s strategic use of essentialism. As a result, these concepts allow us to view occidental representations of the Orient as positioned claims of culture and, by contrast, to view oriental self-representation as another claim of culture responding to occidental viewpoints. Kikuchi’s oriental orientalism further opened up a discussion of the oriental transformation of an empire representing its other. In the discussion above, I have separately reviewed the various theories which relate to oriental orientalism, and what follows is a discussion of their relationships with oriental orientalism.

In Bhabha’s concept, hybridity challenges the occidental framework of culture, which is based on academic essentialism, in order to offer a possibility of the other reconstructing the cultural framework and negotiating with the Occident (the self). However, in the case

¹⁰⁹ *ibid.*, p.183.

of Japan, hybridity offered another direction. In Kikuchi's discussion, *mingei* theory is a hybrid theory negotiating 'two discursive cultural entities'.¹¹⁰ Negotiation, or hybridization, was a process of cultural translation, not just a process of copying, through which Japan absorbed and appropriated western theory. Oriental orientalism was a product of this cultural translation process. This resulted in not only building a resistance to Western power, but also creating a Japanese power within Asia by making a new statement of history, setting a new category of *tōyō*, and eventually creating a new boundary. In oriental orientalism, Japan did create a space which is neither the West nor the East, but something 'in-between' to challenge Western discrimination. However, this hybridity did not stress 'the incommensurable elements'¹¹¹ in order to disintegrate Western categories because Japan's 'elements', its history, origin and culture, were new statements, new inventions based on orientalism. On the contrary, hybridity provided a new, modern Japanese boundary to resist, or negotiate, occidental categorization, which offered 'the third space' between Western and Western-announced Eastern, or hybrid Eastern. Furthermore, although Bhabha's hybridity would like to disintegrate Western categories, the hybrid theory in orient orientalism supported Japanese nationalism and considered the West as Japan's other. This strengthened the binary between the West and the East, and considered the West as other and Japan as self.

The hybrid theory of oriental orientalism, if we take Sakamoto's critical examinations of 'hybridity' within Japanese context into account, results in a more complicated critical position that aims to recuperate viable subject positions for colonised subjects. As Sakamoto noted, 'the ambiguous hybrid identity was re-sutured back into a stable representation in the civilization/non-civilization framework' and 'the construction of a

¹¹⁰ *ibid.*, p.xvii.

¹¹¹ Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, p.313.

hybrid discourse' 'lead to the exclusion of *another Other*'.¹¹² Therefore, oriental orientalism, as a hybrid theory through 'translation' and 'transnation', does not propose and open new identity positions as Bhabha's notion of hybridity and the Third Space tried to do. On the contrary, it produced another enclosure and created another 'other', another dominant power within a new hierarchical system. This system depended on the formation of new and Japanese forms of essentialism, which discriminated each essence of different oriental entities. On the one hand, this essentialism helped Japan to separate itself from Asia, an occidental other, and Japan was capable of sharing a common Asian essence in order to create so-called orientalism and, furthermore, its Japaneseness on the other. Although, for Bhabha, the distinction between self and other was making a new statement of other culture, and this resulted in 'the difference of the same',¹¹³ forming a cultural double-voice which could unmask Western statements, this kind of statement on oriental orientalism not only produced 'the difference of the same' but also 'the same of the difference', which was the process of establishing Japaneseness by connecting it with orientalism. This is also the status of Kikuchi's inclusion and exclusion of Japan's other. The claims of orientalism, for Japan, were strategic uses of essentialism, and positioned Japan in between ancient oriental essence and modern occidental civilization, and allowed Japaneseness to swing between them.

Oriental orientalism, for Kikuchi, was a transformation and translation of orientalism that was specific to Japan. In oriental orientalism, Japan also created its own others in East Asia. There are several differences between orientalism and oriental orientalism. The first difference turns on the issue of 'other'. In orientalism, the Orient is the Occident's opposite and inferior other. Through representing the Orient, the Occident could

¹¹² Sakamoto, "Japan, Hybridity and the Creation of Colonialist Discourse", p.126.

¹¹³ *ibid.*, p.33.

dominate the Orient; the Occident could identify its identity. In oriental orientalism, the Orient, on the one hand, is also Japan's other. Japan also can dominate its other and identify itself in the same way. Nonetheless, the Orient is also the source of orientalism and Japaneseness. The Orient, as Japan's other, in oriental orientalism is identified both as other and as self. Kikuchi thought that this was a double aspect of 'inclusion and exclusion'.¹¹⁴ Japan embraced the essentials of other Asian countries on the one hand, and got rid of western concepts of an inferior and barbarian Orient on the other. Oriental orientalism, which is not the same ontological and epistemological dichotomy between the Occident and Orient as orientalism, connects self and other by their essentials and distinguishes between them through Social Darwinism¹¹⁵.

The second main difference between orientalism and oriental orientalism is that, the other in oriental orientalism includes not only other Asian countries, but also indigenous peoples within Japan itself, such as the Okinawa and the Ainu. However, discussions about the Okinawa and Ainu are different from those about Taiwan, Korea and North-East China/Manchuria. The Okinawa and Ainu play only roles as other that sustain and maintain Japaneseness. This reflects flexibility or a contradiction with the roles of Japan's other in oriental orientalism.

And the third difference is that besides Japan's oriental other, there was a western other behind oriental orientalism. In Japanese modernisation and westernisation, Japan sought to be independent of the western framework of orientalism, to exclude itself from the inferior Orient. As a result, the West always played a role as a goal facing Japan. The West was another other that Japan could identify for itself, and also a hidden other in

¹¹⁴ Kikuchi, *Japanese Modernisation and Mingei Theory: Cultural Nationalism and Oriental Orientalism*, p.124.

¹¹⁵ *ibid.*, p.195.

oriental orientalism. Japan's oriental orientalism, within this double other, the West and other Asian countries, established its identity and its nationalism.

In this chapter I have outline different analyses, from Said to Kikuchi, of culture and its place within the varied field of power/knowledge between the Occident and the Orient. All of these positions, including Spivak's strategic essentialism, share an anti-essentialist commitment. This enables them all, in slightly different way, to explore the ways in which culture underpins and authorises the practices of domination and power. In the more explicitly postcolonial work of Spivak and Bhabha, this exploration also allows them to propose various strategies of resistance on behalf of the colonised subject. Within this vigorous competing field of cultural self- and other-narrative, Japan viewed itself as holding an in-between position. This is an important variation on the more conventional understandings of postcolonial theory, and helps to underpin the particular concerns of this thesis. The next chapter focuses on relationships between Japan's claims of culture and material culture. It explores how Japanese intellectuals projected their imagined culture into material cultural forms. It does so through the wider framework that Kikuchi offers in the idea of oriental orientalism.

Chapter 4 *Mingei* theory and the material culture of oriental orientalism

In Chapter 3, I reviewed a cluster of concepts that stemmed from the idea of orientalism as articulating an unbalanced power/knowledge relationship between East and West. These included hybridity as a form of resistance against orientalism, culture as a field in which issues of inclusion and exclusion, and identity are negotiated, strategic essentialism as a situated application of essentialist categories, and oriental orientalism as a variation of orientalism that is specific to East Asia and Japan's own history of imperialism. The critical and resistant threads in this cluster of concepts considered the idea of culture as a 'statement' – drawing on Foucault's language metaphor – that was negotiated rather than representing a fixed essence of a group of people. The theoretical approaches discussed in Chapter 3 were generally inspired by literary studies, and drew upon a wider language metaphor. While effective and powerful in the critique of the production of knowledge, this literary background limits these terms in the context of material culture. They are not so effective when considering debates on materialized culture and national identity, and the flux between immaterial and material forms of expression, which is one of the central themes of this thesis. Debates on cultural and material forms in the context of national identity require a reconsideration of the forms of knowledge by which oriental architecture was made, and by which that architecture comes to stand for or represent a cultural/national group of people in non-essentialist ways. Under this consideration, this chapter will shift focus from the literary-inspired theory discussed in Chapter 3 to issues of materialized culture and its relationships to postcolonial debates.

By activating the field of material culture in this way, the discussion moves from general theoretical principles to more materially oriented culture. It is in this material culture context that we find the richest treatment of architecture, building and construction practices in East Asia. Generally speaking, architecture as a discipline for eastern countries such as China and Japan is a modern notion. Historically, architecture was more usually regarded as part of the work of craftsmen. Hence, oriental architecture in its own tradition should be reconsidered as part of a broader branch of material culture rather than a fixed category within a generalized architectural discipline. In addition, research into oriental architecture has usually occurred within other disciplines such as history, anthropology and archaeology. This would not be a surprise if we note that archaeology played an essential role in the formation of architectural history in Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As a consequence, material culture, instead of architecture, will be the main framework for discussion of the materialization of cultural forms in the context of national identity in this chapter. The chapter will mainly focus on how culture and nationality were materialized within the oriental context through the assembly of a vast cultural ‘archive’ from far-flung regions around Japan, and how this process helped to underpin the formation of a modern and ‘essential’ Japanese identity and then to project that identity geographically in the form of a Japanese oriental orientalism.

As I have suggested, Yuko Kikuchi’s discussion on Sōetsu (宗悦) Yanagi’s (柳) *mingei* theory and on oriental orientalism offers a functional bridge connecting postcolonial theory, more specifically to the context of Japanese colonialism and nationalism, and material culture. I have reviewed her fundamental theoretical concept of oriental orientalism in the previous chapter, and I now want to extend the discussion about

oriental orientalism through the theme of what Kikuchi called ‘*mingei* theory’. As we shall see in more detail later in this chapter, *mingei* as claimed by Yanagi – the figure usually acknowledged as the ‘father of the Japanese craft movement’ – as a form of traditional Japanese arts and crafts. The *mingei* craft form was characterized by material objects that were made anonymously, by hand, inexpensively, that were intended for mass use, and were functional. As such artefacts responded closely to everyday use, they were came to be representative of the various regional cultures in which they were produced. Kikuchi’s discussion of *mingei* craft shows a popular phenomenon that considers ‘things’ as a cultural representation.

It is vital to review Kikuchi’s discussions on *mingei* as well in terms of showing a general atmosphere in Japan in the beginning of the twentieth century, even though *mingei* was not directly related to architectural scholarship. Although Said did not stress anti-colonial resistances in *Orientalism*, there were various forms of responding to and resisting Western imperialism and colonialism in Japan and also many non-western countries. In Kikuchi’s view, *mingei* practice and theory was actually a serious process of identity construction under orientalism, occidentalism and oriental orientalism, within which Japan continuously sought to organize itself between the Occident, Japan’s supposed superior other, and the Orient, its supposed inferior other. Those were processes of materialized cultural construction facing those others within the Japanese context. Kikuchi’s debates provide good illustrations to help us to understand the materialized cultural representations under postcolonial debates on oriental colonialism and nationalism.

To formulate the linkage that Kikuchi created, this chapter is neither an historical review

of Yanagi's *mingei* theory nor a theoretical review of Kikuchi's discussions, but an intertwined historical and theoretical comparison between Yanagi's *mingei* theory and Kikuchi's postcolonial material cultural discussion on materialized oriental orientalism. By doing this, I hope to explore the process by which Kikuchi analysed *mingei* theory. This chapter will therefore be divided into three main sections. The first sets out an historical description of Yanagi's formation of *mingei* theory; the second begins with Yanagi's concept of *mingei* theory, and then Kikuchi's theoretical analysis of Yanagi's concepts; and finally, the third section will focus its attention on Yanagi's concept of materialized cultural representations and Kikuchi's postcolonial critiques of Yanagi's concepts.

4-1 *Mingei* theory

It is inevitable that we must discuss Yanagi (1889-1961) if we want to discuss *mingei* theory. Bernard Leach believed that Yanagi was 'the father of the Japanese craft movement'.¹ Kikuchi suggested that 'Yanagi established himself as a creator of *mingei* theory and a leader of the *mingei* movement'.² It can, as a consequence, almost be said that the whole development of the *mingei* theory was directly related to Yanagi's thoughts and his promotions in the Japanese modern craft movement.

The term '*mingei*' first arose in 1925 when Sōetsu Yanagi, Shōji (庄司) Hamada (濱田) (1894-1978) and Kanjirō (寛次郎) Kawai (河井) (1890-1966) were on a research trip on *mokujikibutsu* (木喰佛) (Fig. 4-1), the wooden Buddhist statues which had been widely believed to have been made by Mokujiki Shōnin (木喰上人) (1718-1810) in Wakayama

¹ Sōetsu Yanagi and Bernard Leach, *The Unknown Craftsman: A Japanese Insight into Beauty* (Tokyo: Kodansha International Ltd., 1972), p.87.

² Yuko Kikuchi, *Japanese Modernisation and Mingei Theory: Cultural Nationalism and Oriental Orientalism* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004), xv.

Prefecture. On this trip, Yanagi, Hamada and Kawai tried to find an appropriate term to represent Japanese craft. The term *mingei*, an abbreviation of *minshuteki kōgei* (民衆的工芸), which meant ‘folk craft’ or ‘the people’s craft’, was eventually coined. Another term, *minshu geijutsu* (民衆芸術), ‘the people’s art’, was also the subject under the discussion, but the implicit meaning of the term ‘art’, implying ‘expensiveness’ and ‘individual’³ was opposite to their fundamental concepts of ordinary Japanese crafts. In the January of the following year, they went on another research trip on Mokujiiki Shōnin in Wakayama Prefecture. They had a considerable discussion on *mingei* and defined *mingei* as the people’s craft, demonstrating a very particular meaning in that ‘people’ was opposed to ‘aristocracy’ and ‘craft’ was opposed to the usual meaning of ‘art’, so that their new term signified common objects for everyday life.⁴ *Mingei* thus became the core terminology in their concept, and eventually played a vital role in the modern Japanese craft movement.

³ Teiko (禎子) Utsumi (内海), "Mingei and the Life of Sōetsu Yanagi," in *Mingei: Two Centuries of Japanese Folk Art*, ed. The Japan Folk Crafts Museum International Programs Department (Tokyo: International Programs Department, The Japan Folk Crafts Museum, 1995), p.21, and Martin Collcutt, "Yanagi Sōetsu (Yanagi Sōetsu, 柳宗悦)," in *Yanagi Sōetsu To Mingei Undou (Sōetsu Yanagi and Mingei Movement, 柳宗悦と民藝運動)*, eds Isao (功夫) Kumakura (熊倉) and Kenji (憲司) Yoshida (吉田) (Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 2005), pp.104-105.

⁴ Sōetsu (宗悦) Yanagi (柳), "Yonjuunen No Kaisō (Recollecting Back over Forty Years, 四十年の回想)," in *Mingei Yonjuunen (Looking Back over Forty Years, 民芸四十年)*, ed. Sōetsu (宗悦) Yanagi (柳) (2003), p.347. However, although Yanagi, Hamada and Kawai tried to avoid the hidden meaning of expensiveness and individual in art, Bernard Leach also translated *mingei* as the ‘art of the people’. Although Leach’s translation seems different from the original concept, it could be explained that Leach’s concept and definition of art was based on *mingei*’s key concept of the criterion of beauty.

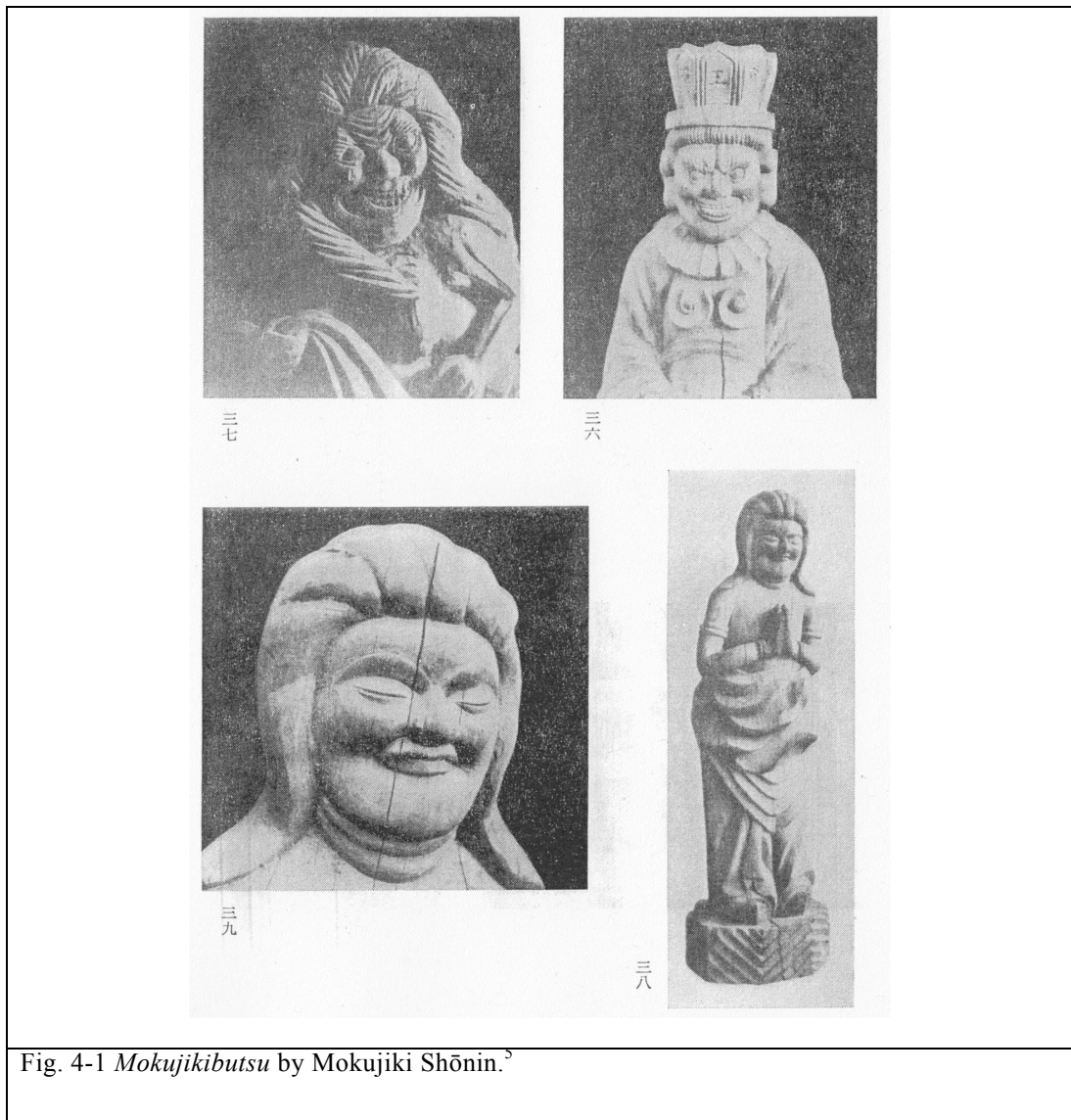


Fig. 4-1 *Mokujikibutsu* by Mokujiki Shōnin.⁵

In later years, Yanagi published several key articles such as ‘Zakki No Bi (The Beauty of Ordinary Objects, 雑器の美),’⁶ ‘Kōgei No Michi (The Way of Crafts, 工藝の道),’⁷ ‘Bi To Kōgei (The Beauty and Crafts, 美と工藝)’⁸ and ‘Bi No Hyōjun (The Criterion of

⁵ ———, "Hanrei Kaisetsu "Mokujiki Shōnin Saku Kiboributsu"(Legend and Commentary: Mokujiki Shōnin's mokujikibutsu, 凡例・解説[『木喰上人作 木彫佛』)," in *Yanagi Sōetsu Zenshū (Collected Works of Yanagi Sōetsu, 柳宗悦全集)* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō (筑摩書房), 1981), p.184.

⁶ It was original published in 1926, and then edited in ———, "Zakki No Bi (The Beauty of Ordinary Objects, 雑器の美)," in *Yanagi Sōetsu Zenshū (Collected Works of Yanagi Sōetsu, 柳宗悦全集)* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō (筑摩書房), 1981).

⁷ It was original published in 1927, and then edited in ———, "Kōgei No Michi (The Way of Crafts, 工藝の道)," in *Yanagi Sōetsu Zenshū (Collected Works of Yanagi Sōetsu, 柳宗悦全集)* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō (筑摩書房), 1981).

⁸ It was original published in 1928, and then edited in ———, "Bi To Kōgei (The Beauty and Crafts,

Beauty, 美の標準)⁹ to elaborate his strong faith in *mingei*. In those articles, Yanagi continually advocated a sort of beauty of craft. He believed that true beauty exists not only in fine art, but also in applied art.¹⁰ Craft in particular, under his division of the latter, can represent the ‘true beauty’ in terms of its closeness to everyday life and as representations of local culture.¹¹ Based on such moral criteria, Yanagi established a new standard of beauty. Furthermore, through its links with wider forms of cultural representation, the criterion of beauty, Yanagi argued, could represent an innate sense of Japanese beauty in craft.

On the trip to the Mokujiki Shounin in Wakayama Prefecture in 1926, Yanagi, Hamada and Kawai also made another vital decision to establish a museum for the people’s craft. After the trip, Yanagi wrote ‘Nihon Mingei Bijutsukan Setsuritsu Shuisho (A Prospectus on the Founding of a Japanese *Mingei* Art Museum, 日本民芸美術館設立趣意書)¹² and proposed it as a clear statement of his concept of the establishment of the museum. The museum was to collect and display people’s craft such as ceramics, woodwork, lacquer ware, metal works, textiles, pictures and sculptures from the country and also from other Asian and European countries.¹³ Collections need not necessarily be antique but, no matter by whom they were made or when, they should reflect ‘the beauty of *mingei*’, ‘the beauty of natural liveliness’,¹⁴ reflecting the people’s lives. Yanagi wrote:

美と工藝)."

⁹ It was originally published in 1931, and then edited in ———, "Bi No Hyōjun (The Criterion of Beauty, 美の標準)."

¹⁰ ———, "Kingdom of Beauty and Folk-Crafts," in *Mingei: Two Centuries of Japanese Folk Art*, ed. The Japan Folk Crafts Museum (Tokyo: The Japan Folk Crafts Museum, 1995), p.127.

¹¹ ———, "Kōgei No Michi (The Way of Crafts, 工藝の道)", pp.117-118.

¹² ———, "Nihon Mingei Bijutsukan Setsuritsu Shuisho (A Prospectus on the Founding of a Japanese Mingei Art Museum, 日本民芸美術館設立趣意書)," in *Yanagi Sōetsu Zenshū (Collected Works of Yanagi Sōetsu, 柳宗悦全集)* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō (筑摩書房), 1981).

¹³ Utsumi (内海), "Mingei and the Life of Sōetsu Yanagi", p.21.

¹⁴ Yanagi (柳), "Nihon Mingei Bijutsukan Setsuritsu Shuisho (A Prospectus on the Founding of a

The acquired collection will be researched and exhibited, but all items will be based on beauty so that the museum as a whole will be exemplary of the criterion of beauty.¹⁵

The Japanese Folk Crafts Museum was eventually completed in 1936, and collections were gathered mainly from Japan, but also from Korea, China and elsewhere. Collections in the Japanese Folk Crafts Museum also became Yanagi's cultural archive that helped shape and support his *mingei* theory. This archive served as Yanagi's exemplary store of the materialized criterion of beauty.

4-2 *Mingei* as a criterion of beauty

4-2-1 Setting a new standard

Although *mingei* can also be considered as an abbreviation of *minshu geijutsu* (the people's art, 民衆芸術), Yanagi, Hamada and Kawai made a clear distinction between *minshuteki kougei* (the people's craft, 民衆の工芸) and *minshu geijutsu* (the people's art, 民衆芸術).¹⁶ What they were searching for was a Japanese phrase which could represent Japanese folk craft and its characteristics – local, common and useful. The Japanese word *geijutsu* (芸術), for them, contained a meaning of 'art', which under the western classical sense, usually refers to fine art with exquisite beauty and thus expensiveness and individual characteristics. By contrast, *minshuteki kōgei* links directly to Japanese folk craft. *Minshuteki kōgei* did not mean that it had no element of art within it, but indicated their emphasis on craft with a new standard of beauty, but not the classical one. Under this consideration, they preferred the meaning of *mingei* as *minshuteki kōgei*, the people's craft. However, when Yanagi's articles were translated and published in *The Unknown Craftsman*, Leach – who was sponsor, translator and

Japanese Mingei Art Museum, 日本民芸美術館設立趣意書)", p.6.

¹⁵ *ibid.*, p.7.

¹⁶ Utsumi (内海), "Mingei and the Life of Sōetsu Yanagi", p.21.

editor of this text – considered *mingei* as the ‘art of the people’.¹⁷ The reasonable explanation why Leach adopted this translation was that the ‘art of the people’ was based on Yanagi’s setting of the criterion of beauty instead of western concept of fine art. Those debates showed the significant role which ‘the concept of the people’s crafts’ played in *mingei* theory.

Yanagi also believed that there is a truth, in other words, real beauty, in what he called the kingdom of beauty. To formulate his idea, Yanagi abandoned classical concepts of beauty that were believed to reside only in fine arts, and suggested that practical arts, especially folk-crafts, play an essential role in the understanding of real beauty. Fine arts, for Yanagi, were an aristocratic thing, which was analogous to flowers cultivated in a glasshouse, or something which needs exquisitely carving, but under this carefully cultivation there is no nature and no health.¹⁸ Folk-crafts, by contrast, are like wild flowers without human carefully cultivation, which contain a simple and healthy beauty.¹⁹ This metaphorical comparison between fine arts and applied arts showed that Yanagi’s ‘truth’ and ‘real beauty’ relied on a sort of simplicity, naturalness and healthiness, by which ‘the aristocratic quality is not necessarily treated as the standard of beauty’,²⁰ and applied art is equally as important as fine art.

To further examine his standard of beauty, Yanagi re-classified types of craft. His classification is clearly shown in Figure 4-2. Basically, he divided craft into two main categories: folkcrafts (*mingei*) and artistic crafts (*bigei*). He further divided folkcrafts into guild crafts and industrial crafts, and artist crafts into aristocratic and individual

¹⁷ Yanagi and Leach, *The Unknown Craftsman: A Japanese Insight into Beauty*, p.94.

¹⁸ Yanagi (柳), "Kingdom of Beauty and Folk-Crafts", p.128.

¹⁹ *ibid.*, p.128

²⁰ *ibid.*, p.128.

crafts. Each category, for him, has its special characteristic:

- FOLK CRAFTS - unself-consciously handmade and unsigned for the people by the people, cheaply and in quantity, as for example, the Gothic crafts, the best work being done under the Medieval guild system.
- INDIVIDUAL OR ARTIST CRAFTS - made by a few, for a few, at a high price. Consciously made and signed. Examples, Mokubei or Staite Murray.
- INDUSTRIAL CRAFTS - such as aluminium saucepans, etc., made under the industrial system by mechanical means.
- ARISTOCRATIC CRAFTS - examples, Nabeshima ware in Japan under the patronage of a feudal lord, or Stanley Gibbons in England.²¹

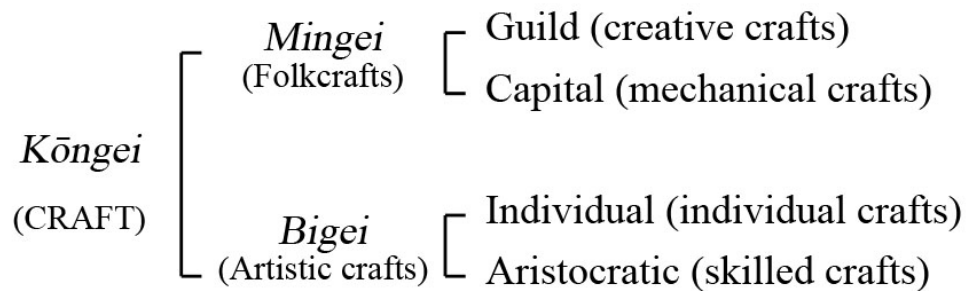


Fig. 4-2 Yanagi's classification of crafts.²²

Yanagi's re-classification of crafts showed that each category had its own specific characteristics: guild crafts were creative but cheap; industrial/capital crafts were mechanical; individual crafts were personalized and expensive; and aristocratic crafts were skilled. Within this framework, he believed that folkcrafts had 'the purest form' of craft because folkcrafts were based on utility and 'the laws of craftsmanship',²³ and by contrast artistic crafts 'separate themselves from the real nature of crafts and approach the fine arts'.²⁴ He also suggested that folkcrafts contained 'greater beauty'²⁵ than artistic crafts. Artistic crafts, he claimed, depending upon 'the personality of the artist

²¹ Yanagi and Leach, *The Unknown Craftsman: A Japanese Insight into Beauty*, p.198. There are some slight differences in Leach's translation: he used guild crafts instead of guild (creative crafts), industrial crafts instead of capital (mechanical crafts), individual crafts instead of individual (individual crafts) and aristocratic crafts instead of aristocratic (skilled crafts.)

²² Yanagi (柳), "Kōngēi No Michi (The Way of Crafts, 工藝の道)", p.198.

²³ Yanagi and Leach, *The Unknown Craftsman: A Japanese Insight into Beauty*, pp.198-199.

²⁴ *ibid.*, p.199.

²⁵ *ibid.*, p.199.

rather than the character of the craft',²⁶ contained lesser power than folkcrafts supported by 'the Other Power'²⁷ – '[n]atural material, natural process, and an accepting heart'.²⁸ It is clear that, by reclassifying and characterizing different types of craft, Yanagi set up a new standard by which to reevaluate craft, within which folkcrafts were eventually promoted to a higher status than before.

Yanagi's definition of *mingei* and his classifications of craft were based on a new standard of beauty, in his words – the criterion of beauty. Although he wrote an article entitled 'Bi no Hyojun (The Criterion of Beauty, 美の標準)'²⁹ to set up serious issues³⁰ and explained the basic characteristics³¹ of *mingei* in 'Shin Taisei To Kougeibi No Mondai (Issues of a New System and the Beauty of Crafts, 新體制と工藝美の問題)',³² he did not state precisely what the exact criterion of beauty is. Kikuchi summarised Yanagi's concepts of the criterion of beauty under twelve headings:

- 1 'beauty of handicrafts' (*Shukōgei no Bi*)
- 2 'beauty of intimacy' (*Shitashisa no Bi*)
- 3 'beauty of use/function' (*Yō/Kinō no Bi*)
- 4 'beauty of health' (*Kenkō no Bi*)
- 5 'beauty of naturalness' (*Shizen no Bi*)

²⁶ *ibid.*, p.199.

²⁷ *ibid.*, p.200.

²⁸ *ibid.*, p.200.

²⁹ Yanagi (柳), "Bi No Hyōjun (The Criterion of Beauty, 美の標準)", pp.482-508.

³⁰ In 'Bi No Hyojun (The Criterion of Beauty, 美の標準)', Yanagi set up twelve issues in order to explain his concepts of the criterion of beauty: painters' paintings and potters' paintings, delightful tea bowls and ordinary tea bowls, over decoration and simplicity, words of tradition and words of individuality, beauty of nature and beauty of non-nature, aristocratic crafts and popular crafts, skilled paintings and painting crafts, beauty and the times, beauty and skills, natural stuff and the imitation of nature, goods without signature and goods with signature, and affectation and non-affectation. However, he tried to clarify his concept of the criterion of beauty by a way of setting up kind of binary comparison within each issue. *ibid.*, pp.482-508.

³¹ In 'Shin Taisei To Kougeibi No Mondai (Issues of a New System and the Beauty of Crafts, 新體制と工藝美の問題)', Yanagi considered the characteristics of *mingei* which were that it should be popular, national, practical, healthy, simple, inexpensive, massive, joint and traditional. ———, "Shin Taisei To Kōgeibi No Mondai (Issues of a New System and the Beauty of Crafts, 新體制と工藝美の問題)," in *Yanagi Sōetsu Zenshū (Collected Works of Yanagi Sōetsu, 柳宗悦全集)* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō (筑摩書房), 1981), pp.243-244.

³² *ibid.*

- 6 'beauty of simplicity' (*TanJun no Bi*)
- 7 'beauty of tradition' (*Dentō no Bi*)
- 8 'beauty of irregularity' (*Kisū no Bi*)
- 9 'beauty of inexpensiveness' (*Ren no Bi*)
- 10 'beauty of plurality' (*Ta no Bi*)
- 11 'beauty of sincerity and honest toil' (*Seijitsu na Rōdō no Bi*)
- 12 'beauty of selflessness and anonymity' (*Mushin/Mumei no Bi*)³³

Yanagi's 'criterion of beauty' showed that there is a strong link between morality and art, reflecting his search for a 'spiritual' standard of beauty from the whole society. The use of the terms *Shukōgei no Bi* (beauty of handcrafts), *Shitashisa no Bi* (beauty of intimacy), *Yō/Kinō no Bi* (beauty of use/function), *Kenkō no Bi* (beauty of health), *Shizen no Bi* (beauty of naturalness), *TanJun no Bi* (beauty of simplicity), *Dentō no Bi* (beauty of tradition), *Kisū no Bi* (beauty of irregularity), *Ren no Bi* (beauty of inexpensiveness), *Ta no Bi* (beauty of plurality), *Seijitsu na Rōdō no Bi* (beauty of sincerity and honest toil), *Mushin/Mumei no Bi* (beauty of selflessness and anonymity) also reflected Yanagi's consideration of moral values, or human virtue, as a setting of the criterion of beauty, within which the true beauty does not belong to aristocratic or rich people, but to common people – it is a common human virtue. Folk-art, as a representation of the concept of 'art of people', represents those values.

Spontaneity, modesty, and simplicity are the fundamental elements which nature beauty, just as in the case of human virtue. And thus the questions why there are many beautiful things in rather simple folk-crafts and why there are few admirable things in most sophisticated aristocratic arts may, in a sense, be answered. We can study the standard of beauty of more fully and richly in folk-crafts. This truth is really significant and suggestive of something important about the question of beauty.³⁴

We can find, therefore, that human virtue and simple folk-crafts are strongly linked.

Yanagi further summarized the most important spiritual values:

³³ Kikuchi, *Japanese Modernisation and Mingei Theory: Cultural Nationalism and Oriental Orientalism*, p.53.

³⁴ Yanagi (柳), "Kingdom of Beauty and Folk-Crafts", p.129.

Without question, the intention of morality, philosophy, and religious belief is to bring hope, joy, peace, and freedom of mankind.³⁵

The question of handicrafts is not simply technological or economic, but, basically, a spiritual question.³⁶

Morality, philosophy and religious belief were what he highlighted as spiritual values. *Mingei* theory, by raising the criterion of beauty, relied not on technology or economy but on those spiritual qualities.

By giving a definition to *mingei*, and setting types of craft based on moral, religious and spiritual criteria of beauty, Yanagi was able to set up an authentic narrative that was attached to *mingei*. Eventually, the *mingei* movement, the ‘Japanese’ arts and crafts movement, was enormously influential.

4-2-2 *Mingei* theory as hybridized orientalism and occidentalism

In the previous chapter, Said’s orientalism positioned the orient as a western representation integrating with colonial/imperial power; occidentalism also revealed images of the occident within the orient. Although those two theories seem to be incompatible, they usually coexisted within the process of the oriental self-identification. *Mingei* theory used to be claimed to derive from Japanese ideas by Yanagi and his successors, but more recently researchers have tended to consider *mingei* theory as an occidental-oriental hybrid product rather than something entirely of Japanese origin. Brian Moeran, by comparing the Japanese *mingei* movement with the British arts and crafts movement, believed that Leach ‘helped a group of Japanese rediscover their “Oriental” cultural origins’.³⁷ Chiaki Ajioka also claimed that there were many ‘Eastern

³⁵ Yanagi and Leach, *The Unknown Craftsman: A Japanese Insight into Beauty*, p.104.

³⁶ *ibid.*, p.108.

³⁷ Brian Moeran, "Bernard Leach and the Japanese Folk craft Movement: The Formative Years,"

and Western ideas that certainly influenced Yanagi'.³⁸ Maki Tuchida considered *mingei* theory to be taking the direction of "anti-Modernism" and [to be] "anti-western".³⁹ Kikuchi's articles developed further critical assessment of Yanagi's formation of *mingei* theory by elaborating his biographical and educational background.⁴⁰ These discussions treated *mingei* theory as a product of interactions between the West and the East.

In Kikuchi's discussions of the hybridized characteristics of *mingei* theory,⁴¹ primarily from the viewpoint of religion and philosophy, she suggested that Yanagi's interests in the tradition of Buddhism and western philosophy played an essential role in his formation of *mingei* theory. By tracing his school life, Kikuchi found that Yanagi was particularly interested in 'questions about body and soul, life and death, and psychic phenomena'.⁴² His interests led him to emphasise the human spirit and to search for a 'spiritual alternative to "dry" science'.⁴³ Yanagi's interests, Kikuchi believed, cannot be ignored when he linked the concepts of '*chokkan* (direct insight), *soku* (the relationship in which the particular implies and equates with Unity), *funi* (non duality), *bishū mibun* (liberated from the duality of beauty and ugliness), *jirikidō* (the 'Way of Self Power'):

Journal of Design History 2, no. 2/3 (1989), p.139.

³⁸ Chiaki Ajioka, "A Reevaluation of William Morris's Influence in Japan," *The Journal of William Morris Society* 12, no. 4 (1998), p.23.

³⁹ Maki (真紀) Tuchida (土田), *Samayoeru Kōgei: Yanagi Sōetsu To Kindai (Wandering Crafts: Sōetsu Yanagi and Modern, さまよえる工藝: 柳宗悦と近代)* (Urayasu (浦安): Soufuukan (草風館), 2007), p.159.

⁴⁰ Yuko Kikuchi, "The Myth of Yanagi's Originality: The Formation of 'Mingei' Theory in Its Social and Historical Context," *Journal of Design History* 7, no. 4 (1994); ———, "A Japanese William Morris: Yanagi Sōetsu and *Mingei* Theory," *The Journal of William Morris Society* 12, no. 2 (1997); ———, "Tomimoto Kenkichi," *Crafts* 148 (1997); ———, *Japanese Modernisation and Mingei theory: Cultural Nationalism and Oriental Orientalism*; ———, "Hybridity and the Oriental Orientalism of 'Mingei' Theory," *Journal of Design History* 10, no. 4 (1997).

⁴¹ ———, "The Myth of Yanagi's Originality: The Formation of 'Mingei' Theory in Its Social and Historical Context"; ———, "A Japanese William Morris: Yanagi Sōetsu and *Mingei* Theory"; ———, "Tomimoto Kenkichi."; ———, *Japanese Modernisation and Mingei Theory: Cultural Nationalism and Oriental Orientalism*; ———, "Hybridity and the Oriental Orientalism of 'Mingei' Theory."

⁴² ———, *Japanese Modernisation and Mingei Theory: Cultural Nationalism and Oriental Orientalism*, p.4.

⁴³ *ibid.*, p.5.

self-reliance) and *tarikidō* (the ‘Way of other Power’: reliance on an external power of grace’)⁴⁴ in Buddhism with Henri Bergson’s anti-rational concepts of “duration”, “intuition”, “nothingness”, and William James ideas of ‘novelty’⁴⁵ in western philosophy. It is the way by which Yanagi adopted ‘contemporary occidental philosophers and mystics from the past to validate and modernise oriental ideas’.⁴⁶

Another point of cultural hybridity which Kikuchi diagnosed in Yanagi’s work was the impact of western art theory. She showed that Yanagi’s thorough studies of the Post-Impressionists and the English Arts and Crafts movement, led to him to be influenced by occidental theories of modern art. Both schools offered a way in which traditional Japan could be validated by western modern art theories: the Post-Impressionists’ emphasis on primitivism was the case of a modern movement reevaluating the value of the primitive in the western world, within which ‘primitiveness’ and ‘childlike purity’ were considered as ‘beauty united with nature’;⁴⁷ and the English Arts and Crafts movement which combined the ‘necessary making of a living and the pursuit of art’⁴⁸ and which searched for a conjunction of ‘modern and “rational” living’ and ‘new artist-craftsmen’⁴⁹ gave Yanagi the basic idea to promote moral and social values in Japanese craft.

We might dwell on the extremely important role that the English Arts and Crafts movement played in *mingei* theory. According to Leach’s recollection, the concept of *mingei* itself cannot be free from the influences of the English arts and crafts movement,

⁴⁴ *ibid.*, p.7.

⁴⁵ *ibid.*, p.7.

⁴⁶ *ibid.*, p.8.

⁴⁷ *ibid.*, p.11.

⁴⁸ *ibid.*, p.15.

⁴⁹ *ibid.*, p.15.

and can almost be considered as a Japanese-style arts and crafts movement:

Living beside a kiln deepened this attraction and caused him (Yanagi) to consider the issues of craftsmanship in our time, especially the transitions attendant upon the change from local folkcrafts to individual, or artist craftsmanship. Naturally the English movement under William Morris was the subject of much discussion, and I clearly recollect how he questioned me about an equivalent term for peasant or folk art, in Japanese. No word existed, and he finally composed the word *mingei*, which means “art of people” and has now become part of Japanese language.⁵⁰

Here we can see that both the concepts and meanings of *mingei*, according to Leach, in fact were Japanese-styled transformations of the English Arts and Crafts movement. In the English Arts and Crafts movement, John Ruskin devoted a chapter, ‘The Nature of Gothic’, in *The Stones of Venice* to elaborate moral values within medieval art and crafts. Ruskin stressed the moral elements of Gothic, consisting of savageness, changefulness, naturalism, grotesqueness, rigidity and redundancy,⁵¹ which was named ‘Gothicness’, ‘the soul of Gothic’,⁵² by himself. The moral value within ‘Gothicness’ for Ruskin was to resist the perfect and precise craftsmen’s works in architecture which had prevailed since the Renaissance. He believed that perfect and precise craftsmen’s works could not be considered as art, but were mechanical products. By contrast, art only exists in the ‘imperfect’.

[...]: that great art, whether expressing itself in words, colours, or stones, does *not* say the same thing over and over again; that the merit of architectural, as of every other art, consists in its saying new and different things;⁵³

Nothing is a great work of art, for the production of which either rules or models can be given. Exactly so far as architecture works on known rules, and from given models, it is not an art, but manufacture;⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Yanagi and Leach, *The Unknown Craftsman: A Japanese Insight into Beauty*, p. 94.

⁵¹ John Ruskin, "The Stones of Venice," *The Works of John Ruskin* 10, no. 9-11 (1903), p. 184.

⁵² Hanno-Walter Kruft, *A History of Architectural Theory : From Vitruvius to the Present* (London: Zwemmer, 1994), p.333.

⁵³ Ruskin, "The Stones of Venice", p.206.

⁵⁴ *ibid.*, p.207

Ruskin's comments clearly show his dissent towards the perfect 'rules' and 'models' which had prevailed since the Renaissance, and highlight 'new and different things'. This is a new criterion of art and beauty established from workmen's minds, creations and eventually pleasure.

It is not that men are ill fed, but that they have no pleasure in the work by which they make their bread, and therefore look to wealth as the only means of pleasure.⁵⁵

The consideration of having pleasure in one's work shows a turning of the criterion of beauty from the renaissance material form, proportion and works toward Ruskin's emphasis on spiritual, immaterial, social and moral values. Ruskin's theories offered Yanagi a ground on which to reconstruct Japanese folkcrafts theory, *mingei* theory. Not only its etymology but also its theoretical concept was borrowed from Ruskin's ideas and then transformed and translated into the Japanese social context to set a new criterion of beauty. *Mingei* theory thus, as Kikuchi suggested, was 'not a "traditional", "authentically" "Oriental" theory as it has been deemed in Japan and Euramerica, but is a hybrid and modern product created in the complex cultural politics of Orientalism'.⁵⁶

Yanagi's adaption of descriptions of Japan by the West, as additional evidence suggested by Kikuchi, also shows validated foundations of *mingei* theory by religious and modern art terminology. Although it was based on occidental rhetoric, it was achieved through 'Modernists' selective projection'.⁵⁷ Terms such as 'children-like', 'mystical' and 'spiritual' used by Leach and 'simplicity', 'clarity of line', 'faithfulness to the material', 'beauty of proportion' and 'full of functionalism' of Japanese architecture used by Bruno Taut reveal a concept reconsidering Japan as spiritual or mystical. Besides, what he

⁵⁵ *ibid.*, p.194.

⁵⁶ Kikuchi, *Japanese Modernisation and Mingei Theory: Cultural Nationalism and Oriental Orientalism*, p.xvii.

⁵⁷ *ibid.*, p.100.

accepted in the description of Japanese characteristics was usually related to modern ideology or was itself the product of modernization. Leach's 'English views of "Orientalism" and "primitivism"' such as 'children-like', 'mystical' and 'spiritual',⁵⁸ for instance, affected by Lafcadio Hearn's fantasy of old Japan, were kinds of 'romantic primitivism' thoughts related to the Post-Impressionists. Bruno Taut's descriptions of Japanese architecture, as Kikuchi suggested, clearly derived from ideas of Modern architecture.

As an architect by training, he (Taut) is most well-known as a person who 'discovered' the Japanese essential beauty in architecture, in particular, the Katsura Detached Palace (Katsura Rikyū) and the Ise Shrine (Ise Jingū). He championed them as 'the supreme architectural creation by the Japanese spirit' which holds the highest Japanese quintessential value while at the same time being of universal value. The elements he regards as demonstrating the 'quintessentially Japanese quality' in this architecture are 'simplicity', 'clarity of line', 'faithfulness to the material', 'beauty of proportion' and the fact that they are 'full of functionalism'. He argues that these qualities fully accord with the principle of Modernism.⁵⁹

The most notable thing is the similarity of their use of language. As noted above, Yanagi's language is clearly the reminiscence of the English Arts and Crafts and Modernist and Taut's language is, of course, Modernist language. A few years before Taut's arrival Yanagi had already created a 'hybrid' theory on *mingei* explained through Modernist language but Taut's approval validated it with an authoritative voice.⁶⁰

Here Kikuchi drew out the importance of Taut's view of the quintessential value of Japanese architecture for the reception of it in Europe that validated Yanagi's *mingei* theory with authority. Terms such as 'the Japanese essential beauty', 'the highest Japanese quintessential value', 'the "quintessentially Japanese quality" clearly show the praise bestowed by the Japanese on Taut's insight into essential Japaneseness, which was eventually admired by Yanagi. However, on the other hand, Kikuchi further believed that this praise simultaneously revealed the dominant authority of 'the principle of

⁵⁸ *ibid.*, p.14.

⁵⁹ *ibid.*, p.96.

⁶⁰ *ibid.*, p.100.

modernism': in her words, a 'Modernists' selective projection'.⁶¹

The roles played by orientalism and orientalist thinking in the foundation of *mingei* theory are clear: on the one hand, the western religious, philosophical and modern art theories that Yanagi was interested in were themselves part of orientalism. The Post-Impressionist' interests in the primitive and Ruskin's praise of medieval art are good illustrations. On the other hand, more directly, orientalists and their projection of modern theory on Japanese art validated quintessential Japanese values. Leach and Taut's terminology of Japan are examples. Kikuchi's analysis reveals the importance of orientalism for the establishment of *mingei* theory in a non-western country, Japan.

Kikuchi highlighted orientalism as a basis of *mingei* theory, but she also identified occidentalism as another theoretical concept. She believed that Yanagi's selected rhetoric simultaneously reflected a dualism between the Orient and the Occident: the industrialized and civilized occident opposed to the symbol and spiritual orient. She also argued that this dualism helped Japanese intellectuals to form a national identity, and *mingei* was the case in point. On the one hand, the concept of *mingei* itself was regarded as a searching for traditional Japanese crafts used by ordinary people, which reflects innate Japanese culture; on the other hand, *mingei* maintained the natural, medieval and spiritual society which opposed the civilized and industrial occident, and was even, as a human virtue, better than the occidental society. The 'stylized image' of the occident, as part of occidentalism suggested by Carrier, was something that just could not be neglected.

As I noted at the beginning of this section, research by Moeran, Ajioka and Kikuchi has

⁶¹ *ibid.*, p.100.

disagreed with and critiqued the idea of Japanese purity as embodied in *mingei* theory, and has claimed an influence from orientalists and orientalism. Tsuchida's 'anti-Modernism' and 'anti-western' comment also shows a 'stylized image' of the Occident within *mingei* theory. Although Yanagi himself continuously searched for the origin and innate Japaneseness for his authoritative narratives of *mingei* theory, those critical discussions clearly show a hybrid condition of *mingei* theory containing both orientalism and occidentalism, a hybridized orientalism and occidentalism. These critiques allow us to see that the boundary between orientalism and occidentalism is actually quite obscure, and further resonates with Bhabha's account of hybridity and the third space, a theme to which I will return in later chapters. I shall focus on the materialization of *mingei* theory in the following section.

4-3 *Mingei* theory as a materialized Japanese cultural and national representation

As I described in the previous section, Yanagi divided art into four types of art in order to set up a new standard of beauty, within which *mingei* as a Japanese craft represented his idea of the 'criterion of beauty'. In order to clearly exemplify his concept, Yanagi argued that 'things' were crucial to objectify his idea:

Beauty cannot be discussed without concrete things. Beauty which is only imagined without concrete examples is merely a weak shadow of conception.⁶²

Mingei as people's craft, or more specifically the Japanese craft, is exactly what he meant by 'concrete things'. In this section, I am going to focus on a consideration of *mingei* as a materialized representation of Japanese cultural and national identity.

⁶² Yanagi (柳), "Kingdom of Beauty and Folk-Crafts", p.128.

The discussion will be divided into two subsections. First, I shall address Yanagi's theoretical concept of *mingei* as related to culture and nation, and *getemono* (下手物) as ordinary Japanese crafts, or the innate Japaneseness⁶³ in his word, will be highlighted. From its relationships with tradition, quantity, everyday life and nationality, Yanagi endowed *mingei* with universal Japanese identity, and *getemono* was the representation of it. In other words, there is a coherent relationship between the material and culture/nation so that *getemono* can be regarded as a Japanese cultural and national representation.

After that, I shall discuss the issue of *mingei* as materialized oriental orientalism. Under Yanagi's formation of *mingei* theory, Japan was the centre of the nation, and crafts from its peripheral areas such as Ainu and Okinawa and from its colonies such as Korea, Taiwan and Manchuria became Yanagi's cultural archive and eventually supported his search for Orientalness and Japaneseness. This was a process of representing the Japanese other by materials, and thus this subsection will shift to considering how *mingei* theory, as materialized cultural and national representation, was eventually employed to signify Japanese other, which, in my consideration, was a process of materialized oriental orientalism.

4-3-1 *Mingei* as materialized Japanese identity and *getemono* as the representative of innate Japaneseness

It seems clear that Yanagi believed that there was a coherent relationship between the characteristics of the material and its producers' culture. As he stated:

[...] through the beauty of the pot you can understand the mind of the people, the culture of the period, its natural background and the relationship between the people

⁶³ ———, "Getemono No Bi (The Beauty of *Getemono*, 下手ものゝ美)", p.13.

and beauty.⁶⁴ (my translation)

In his comment, the people's taste, skills and usage of materials can be read through the object, the pot. In other words, the pot, or more broadly the crafts, is a materialized cultural representation.

Based on this concept, Yanagi considered *getemono* (下手物) to be the most representative point of Japanese culture. He explained its meaning in *The Unknown Craftsman*:

Ge means 'ordinary' or 'common', and *te* means 'by nature'. That is to say, *nami no mono*, 'something of a quite practical nature'.⁶⁵

According to this statement, the beauty of *getemono* referred to the beauty of 'ordinary', 'common' and 'nature', which was the most crucial expression of the beauty of crafts.⁶⁶ Its meaning usually represented the opposite of *jōtemono*, which referred to artistic and refined objects with a higher nature, and it was usually regarded as inferior to *jōtemono* (上手物); however, for Yanagi, there was no meaning of 'lesser' in *getemono* at all and it should be translated as 'the common-place thing'⁶⁷ instead. *Getemono* referred to 'direct necessary objects of clothing, eating and living for everyday life'.⁶⁸ He used the word *min* to refer the usage of objects by ordinary people. For instance, he considered objects used by ordinary people for everyday life as *minki* (民器), which was the representation of *getemono*, paintings by ordinary painters as *minga* (民画), and housing for ordinary

⁶⁴ ———, "Tōjiki No Bi (Beauty of Ceramics, 陶磁器の美)," in *Yanagi Sōetsu Zenshū (Collected Works of Yanagi Sōetsu, 柳宗悦全集)* (Tokyo (東京): Chikuma Shobō (筑摩書房), 1981), p.4.

⁶⁵ Yanagi and Leach, *The Unknown Craftsman: A Japanese Insight into Beauty*, p.210.

⁶⁶ Yanagi (柳), "Kōgei No Michi (The Way of Crafts, 工藝の道)", p.118.

⁶⁷ *ibid.*, p.119.

⁶⁸ ———, "Bi To Kōngei (The Beauty and Crafts, 美と工藝)", p.290.

people as *minka* (民家). The overall appellation of all these is *mingei*.⁶⁹

Getemono contains several characteristics which were crucial to *mingei* theory and which led to Yanagi's stress on *getemono* and its relationships with culture and nation. The first important issue is tradition. In Kikuchi's summarized twelve headings of the criterion of beauty, Yanagi devoted a section to elaborating the influence of tradition. He believed first that aristocratic crafts which relied on personal ability could not be as great as folkcrafts which relied on Other Power.⁷⁰ What he called 'Other Power' referred to '[n]atural material, natural process, and an accepting heart' through which 'whatever is made is lovely'.⁷¹ The 'Other Power' also meant 'following tradition, traditional methods, traditional natural materials and traditional forms and designs',⁷² which can also be seen in his glorification of Sung⁷³ potteries (Figs 4-3 and 4-4):

Sung potters had relied entirely upon grace given by Heaven. This grace was tradition, surroundings and their materials. Each beyond the power of the individual. The beauty of their goods is gained and assured by accepting these blessings. Most ordinary artisans, and poor men and women without any education, or sometimes even old people and young children, produced wonderful works merely because they readily accepted these blessings obediently.⁷⁴

⁶⁹ *ibid.*, p.290.

⁷⁰ Yanagi and Leach, *The Unknown Craftsman: A Japanese Insight into Beauty*, p.200.

⁷¹ *ibid.*, p.200.

⁷² Kikuchi, *Japanese Modernisation and Mingei Theory: Cultural Nationalism and Oriental Orientalism*, p.60.

⁷³ Sung refers to the Sung (Song) Dynasty in China between 960 and 1279.

⁷⁴ Sōetsu (宗悦) Yanagi (柳), "The Japanese Approach to the Crafts," in *The Report of the International Conference of Craftsmen in Pottery & Textiles at Dartington Hall, July 17-27 1952* (Dartington: The Arts Centre, Dartington Hall, 1952), p.22.

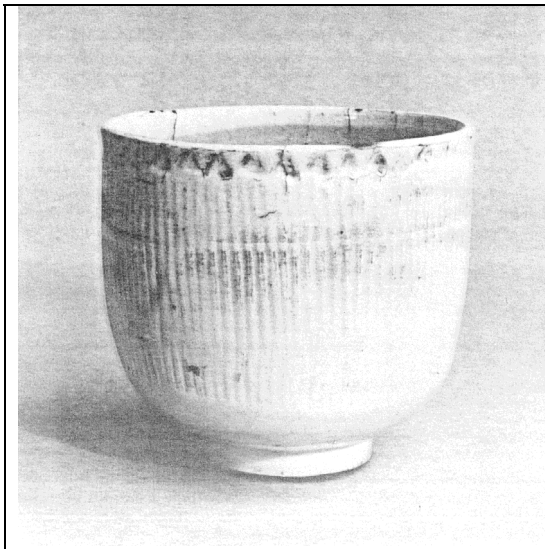


Fig. 4-3 Chinese pottery, Bowl. Sung Dynasty.⁷⁵



Fig. 4-4 Chinese pottery. Sung Dynasty.⁷⁶

Quantity was the second characteristic which Yanagi stressed in *mingei* theory. He wrote:

It is my belief that while the high level of culture of any country can be found in its fine arts, it is also vital that we should be able to examine and enjoy the proofs of the culture of the great mass of the people, which we call folk art. The former are made by a few for a few, but the latter, made by the many for many, are a truer test. The quality of the life of the people of that country as a whole can best be judged by the folkcrafts.⁷⁷

Yanagi's statement reveals a special relationship between quantity and culture. While he believed that both fine art and applied art could represent the culture of any country, folkcrafts, more importantly, presented the 'truer' culture of the great mass of people more than fine art does in terms of quantity. Folkcrafts, with mass quantity, played a more important role than fine art did in cultural representation.

Yanagi also stressed the importance of everyday life and its relations to culture:

⁷⁵ Nihon Mingei Kyōkai (日本民藝協会), ed. *Mingei Zukan Dai 3kan (Harvest of folk-crafts from the collection of the Folk-craft Museum, 民芸図鑑 第3巻)*, 3 vols, Vol. 3 (Tokyo: Hōbunkan (宝文館), 1963), fig. 27.

⁷⁶ *ibid.*, p.150

⁷⁷ Yanagi and Leach, *The Unknown Craftsman: A Japanese Insight into Beauty*, p.103.

Thus what is an object? [...] This refers to works produced for ordinary people's lives. These things are the reason which brings important meanings to a nation, and these things most clearly express a nation's life. They are a tangible representation of being Japanese. As a consequence, that these things for everyday life signify a nation's culture is the most obvious landmark.⁷⁸ (my translation)

It is the life of culture, the true face of culture.⁷⁹ (my translation)

Yanagi's promotion of everyday life and its relationships with culture actually revealed his strong linkage with the criterion of beauty, its characteristics of 'common', 'ordinary' and 'nature'. However, Yanagi's concept of culture strongly links with nation, national characteristics, its lands and identity. This concept is clearer in his 'Mono To Bunka (Objects and Culture, 物と文化)',⁸⁰:

Hence local culture must contain nationality.⁸¹ (my translation)

After all a culture should be a culture with national characteristics.⁸² (my translation)

That is an 'object'. That is also a form of works. The object comes from Japanese lands and identity; it has no untruthful Japanese form. Let us talk about the most concrete uniqueness of Japaneseness.⁸³ (my translation)

For Yanagi, object is a representation of culture and national characteristics. It is a materialized form from its land and identity. Because craft closely links with its tradition, quantity, everyday life and culture, its forms, as a consequence, are rooted in its nation.

For him, *getemomo* was a representation of Japanese identity. He wrote:

Getemomo clearly reveals the identity of our race with its beauty arising from nature and the blood of our homeland, not following foreign techniques or imitating foreign countries. Probably these works show the most remarkable originality of Japan.⁸⁴

⁷⁸ Yanagi (柳), "Mono To Bunka (Objects and Culture, 物と文化)", p.317.

⁷⁹ *ibid.*, pp.317-318.

⁸⁰ *ibid.*

⁸¹ *ibid.*, p.316.

⁸² *ibid.*, p.316.

⁸³ *ibid.*, p.317.

⁸⁴ ———, "Nihon Mingei Bijutsukan Setsuritsu Shuisho (A Prospectus on the Founding of a Japanese Mingei Art Museum, 日本民芸美術館設立趣意書)", p.6.

(my translation)

Yanagi's adaption of *getemono* as a representation of innate Japaneseness, and his several basic concepts of *mingei* theory relating to culture, clearly show Yanagi's logic about perceiving culture and nationality through things. This logic was extended to Yanagi's descriptions of crafts in Japanese peripheries such as Ainu, Okinawa, Korea, Taiwan and Manchuria, and these will be discussed in the following section.

4-3-2 *Mingei* as materialized Japan's Orient and oriental orientalism

As we have seen in the sections above, various debates surrounded *mingei* theory: *mingei* theory was not only a hybridized orientalism and occidentalism, but also a materialized Japanese cultural and national representation. However, there was another vital issue which needed to be clarified in Japanese self-identification, which was, in Kikuchi's concept, oriental orientalism. The construction of Japanese cultural and national identity faced its relationships with not only occidental countries, but also oriental countries. On the one hand, Yanagi's classification and definition of *mingei* was a Japanese statement to revise the definition and framework of 'Japanese art' created by the Occident; on the other hand, Japan, under orientalism, had to get overcome the (cultural, political and technological) dominance of 'the Orient' by the occident. Therefore, Japanese intellectuals created a new sphere, *tōyō* (the Orient) by writings and researches on other Asian countries in order to separate Japan from the Occident's inferior orient. It was the process of oriental orientalism, in Kikuchi's term, a 'Japanese-style Orientalism',⁸⁵ and *tōyō* was Japan's oriental other.

In the forming of *mingei* theory, Yanagi created his own oriental other – crafts in Korea,

⁸⁵ Kikuchi, *Japanese Modernisation and Mingei Theory: Cultural Nationalism and Oriental Orientalism*, p.123.

Okinawa, Ainu, Taiwan and Manchuria⁸⁶ (Fig. 4-5) – by means of cultural materialization. In *mingei* theory, crafts in each area in Japan and its colonies each had their specific characteristics consisting of their unique totality of history, natural environment and culture. The characteristics of craft were materialized cultural representations supporting Yanagi’s *mingei* theory, and, more important, Japanese identity.

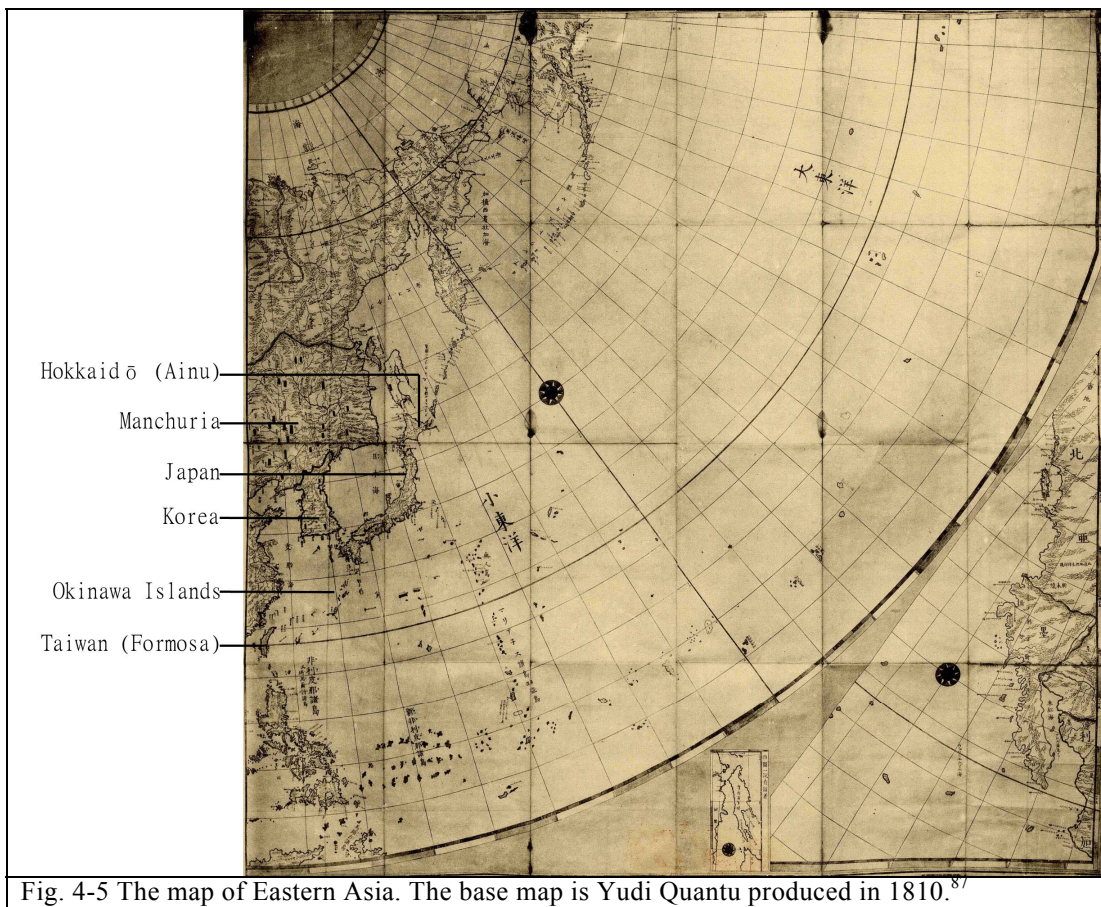


Fig. 4-5 The map of Eastern Asia. The base map is Yudi Quantu produced in 1810.⁸⁷

4-3-2.1 Korea

Korea is located on the Korean Peninsula, which lies to the west of the Japan and borders North-East China. After the First Sino-Japanese War in 1895, the Koreans founded the

⁸⁶ North-East China.

⁸⁷ Mototsugu (元次) Kurita (栗田), ed. *Nippon Kohan Chizu Shūsei (Collections of Historical Maps of Japan, 日本古版地圖集成)* (Hakata Seishoudou (博多成象堂), 1932), fig.10.

Korean Empire. In 1910, a Japan-Korea Annexation treaty was signed and Korea entered a period of Japanese rule which continued until the end of World War II.

Yanagi's interests in Korean craft appeared before his formation of *mingei* theory. He published several articles discussing Korean art in the early 1920s, and summarized Korean art in the term the 'beauty of sadness'.⁸⁸ The 'beauty of sadness' can be seen in the line of Korean craft. He wrote in 'Chōsenjin O Omou (Sympathy toward the Koreans, 朝鮮人を想ふ)':

[T]he beauty of line, which is characteristic of Korean art, and also symbolizes the heart starving for love of the Koreans. [...] That beautiful, long Korean line expresses precisely their longing hearts. Their grudges, their prayers, their wishes, their tears, all are felt in the flowing line. [...] The Koreans have expressed their 'sad feeling' (*sabishii kimochi*) and their longing for something in this beautiful, appealing, long and curved line.⁸⁹ (my translation)

In 'Chōsen No Tomo Ni Okuro Sho (A Letter to My Korean Friends, 朝鮮の友に贈る書)', he clearly showed that the expression of Korean art was directly related to Korea's painful history:

The long, harsh and painful history of Korea is expressed in the hidden loneliness and sadness of their art. It always has a sad beauty and loneliness that brings you to tears. When I look at it, I cannot control the emotion that fills my heart. Where else can I find such *hiai no bi*?⁹⁰ (my translation)

And in 'Chōsen No Bijutsu (The Art of Korea, 朝鮮の美術)', he also expressed the sad image of Korea which is reflected in Korean bottles and bowls:

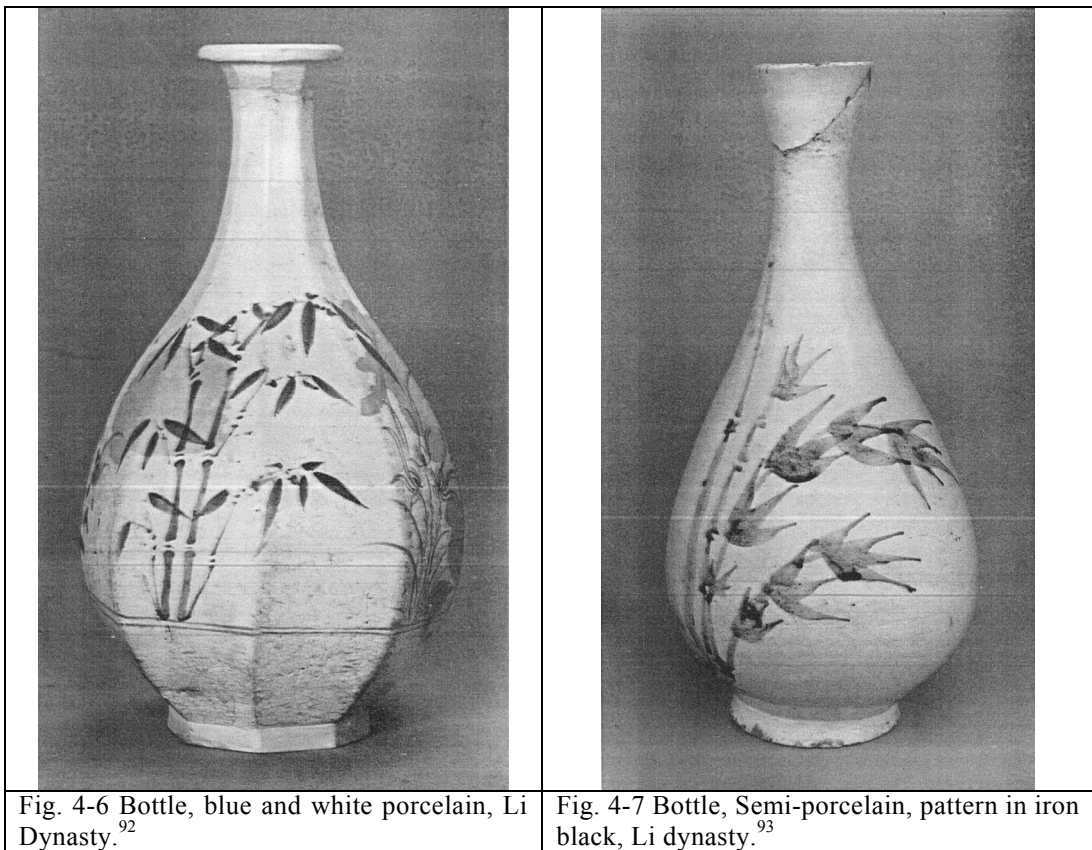
⁸⁸ Kikuchi, *Japanese Modernisation and Mingei Theory: Cultural Nationalism and Oriental Orientalism*, p.131.

⁸⁹ Sōetsu (宗悦) Yanagi (柳), "Chōsenjin O Omou (Sympathy toward the Koreans, 朝鮮人を想ふ)" in *Yanagi Sōetsu Zenshū (Collected Works of Yanagi Sōetsu, 柳宗悦全集)* (Tokyo (東京): Chikuma Shobō (筑摩書房), 1981), p.27.

⁹⁰ ———, "Chōsen No Tomo Ni Okuro Sho (A Letter to My Korean Friends, 朝鮮の友に贈る書)," in *Yanagi Sōetsu Zenshū (Collected Works of Yanagi Sōetsu, 柳宗悦全集)* (Tokyo (東京): Chikuma Shobō (筑摩書房), 1981), pp.42-43.

[A liquor bottle] (Figs 4-6 and 4-7) has a long and narrow shape and is not secure in balance, but the desire to express the line is fully satisfied. [...] [Bowls] (Figs 3-8 and 3-9) have small feet and a serene line forms the side. [...] Sometime the small foot is cut so that its balance is even less secure. They do not have the shape to sit firmly on the earth. This is the image of Korea, [...] reminding us of their suffering and sad experiences.⁹¹ (my translation)

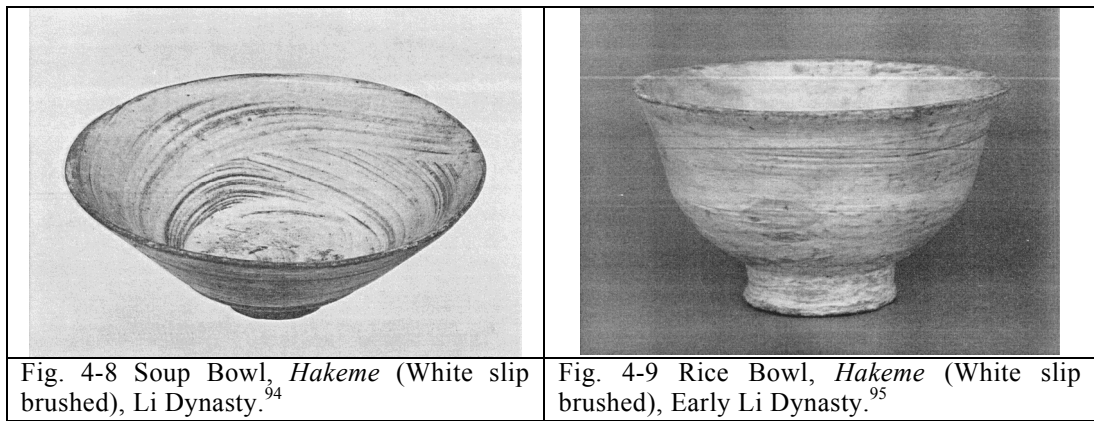
Yanagi's statements clearly show that Korean craft reflected the social, historical, geographical and even racial context in Korea, within which Korean art was materialized and essentialised by its historical and emotional context. It was the materialized cultural representation of Korean art.



⁹¹ ———, "Chōsen No Bijutsu (The Art of Korea, 朝鮮の美術)", p.102.

⁹² Nihon Mingei Kyōkai (日本民藝協会), ed. *Mingei Zukan Dai 2kan (Harvest of folk-crafts from the collection of the Folk-craft Museum, 民芸図鑑 第2巻)*, 3 vols, Vol. 2 (Tokyo: Hōbunkan (宝文館), 1961), fig.21.

⁹³ *ibid.*, fig.28.



Yanagi's descriptions of Korean art shifted later on, and emphasized more specifically *Chosōn* Ceramics rather than Korean craft as a whole. For him, the emphasis of characteristics of *Chosōn* ceramics had also changed from "beauty of delicacy" (*sensai na yūbi*) to "beauty of will" (*ishi no bi*) and from sensitive forms and lines to simple, strong and big shapes'.⁹⁶ *Chosōn* ceramics were described as 'unquestioning trust' (*mushin na shinrai*) in nature, 'the truth hidden between the mind of the craftsman and nature',⁹⁷ and 'naturalness without "intention" (*sakui*)'.⁹⁸ Those descriptions were eventually summarized as 'naturalness' (*shizensa*) and 'freedom' (*jiyūsa*), and became parts of his criterion of beauty.

4-3-2.2 Okinawa

Okinawa, Japan's southernmost prefecture, consists of a chain of islands located between Japan and Taiwan. Historically, Okinawa used to be the *Ryūkyū* Kingdom before the

⁹⁴ *ibid.*, fig.14.

⁹⁵ *ibid.*, fig.17.

⁹⁶ Kikuchi, *Japanese Modernisation and Mingei Theory: Cultural Nationalism and Oriental Orientalism*, p.135; Yanagi (柳), "Richō Tōjkii No Tokushitsu (Characteristics of Chosōn Ceramics, 李朝陶磁器の特質)", p.158.

⁹⁷ Kikuchi, *Japanese Modernisation and Mingei Theory: Cultural Nationalism and Oriental Orientalism*, p.136; Yanagi (柳), "Richō Tōjkii No Tokushitsu (Characteristics of Chosōn Ceramics, 李朝陶磁器の特質)", p.165.

⁹⁸ Kikuchi, *Japanese Modernisation and Mingei Theory: Cultural Nationalism and Oriental Orientalism*, p.136; Yanagi (柳), "Richō Yōmanroku (Essay on Chosōn ceramics, 李朝窯漫録)", p.187.

nineteenth century. From the sixteenth century, the *Ryūkyū* Kingdom became a vassal state of China and Japan. In 1879, however, the *Ryūkyū* Kingdom was merged into the Japanese Empire and became Okinawa Prefecture.

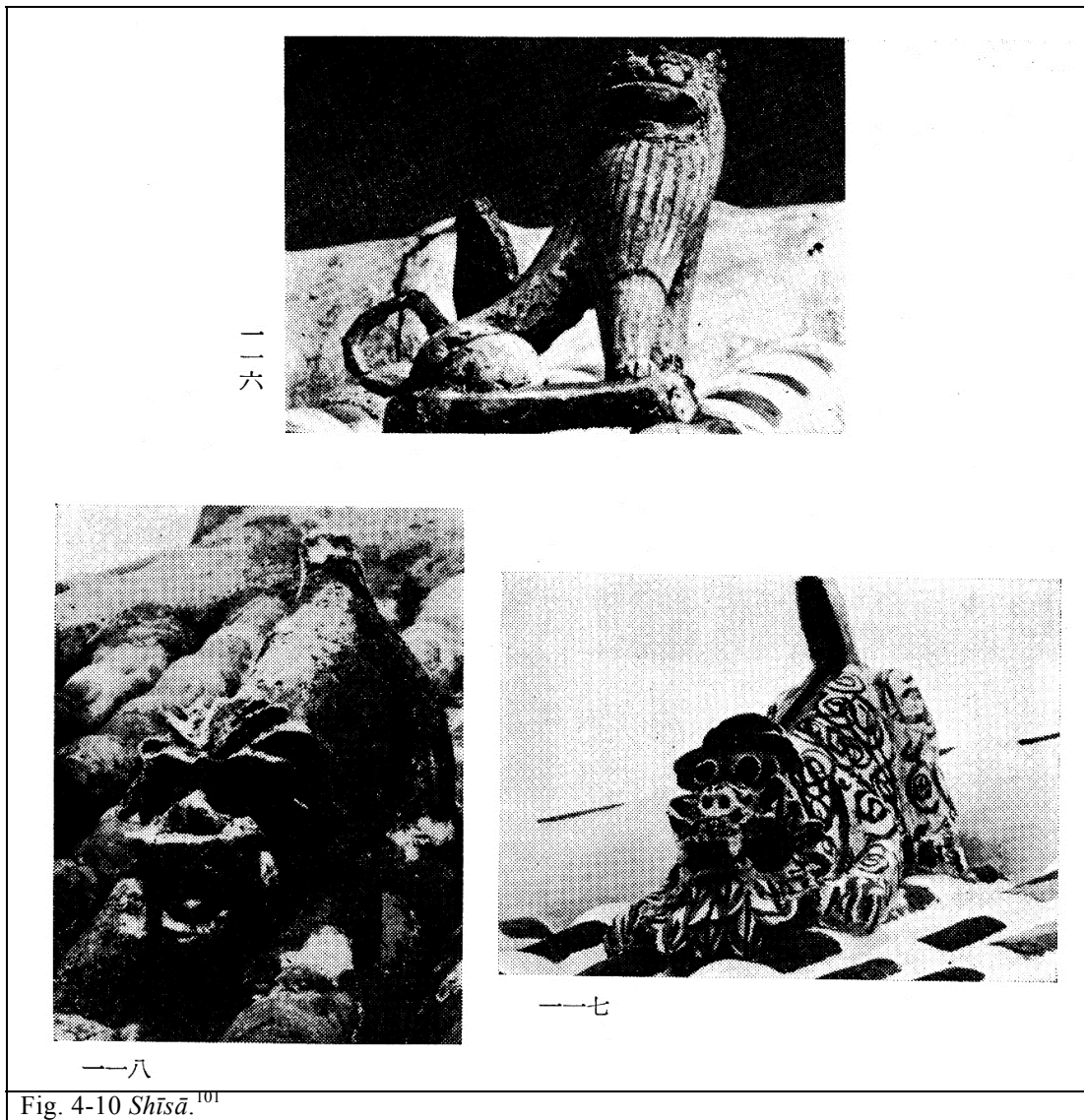
Yanagi believed that Okinawa retained a powerful grotesque element that Japanese culture had lost. The importance of the grotesque lay in its direct relationship with spiritual realms which, for Yanagi, contained real beauty. In his descriptions of sculptures in Okinawa, he wrote:

Expression of true beauty inherently contains an element of the grotesque. [...] In history only the periods which were able to produce the beauty of the grotesque had real power. The periods of the Han and the Six dynasties in China revealed their great power through such sculpture. Numerous sculptural works were produced, from Romanesque to the Gothic period, in the Occident. Notre Dame is widely known for its gargoyles. When we look at contemporary Japan, we only see that the power of expression is weak and poor, particularly in sculpture. However it is extremely fortunate that we can see that power still retained in the isolated islands of Okinawa. [...] We also marvel that these [*shīsā: plaster sculpture of lions on the roof*] (Fig. 4-10) were not made by famous artists but by unknown ordinary plaster artisans.⁹⁹ (Kikuchi's translation)

The gargoyles in Notre Dame are well known throughout the world but the [three sculptures of] monsters on *Tamaudoun* are no less excellent than that. They are the product of direct communication with the spirit.¹⁰⁰ (Kikuchi's translation)

⁹⁹ ———, "Ryūkyū No Tomi (Treasures of Ryūkyū, 琉球の富)," in *Yanagi Sōetsu Zenshū* (Collected Works of Yanagi Sōetsu, 柳宗悦全集) (Tokyo (東京): Chikuma Shobō (筑摩書房), 1981), pp.80-81; ———, "Okinawa No Bunka (The Culture of Okinawa, 沖縄の文化)," in *Yanagi Sōetsu Zenshū* (Collected Works of Yanagi Sōetsu, 柳宗悦全集) (Tokyo (東京): Chikuma Shobō (筑摩書房), 1981), p.589; Kikuchi, *Japanese Modernisation and Mingei Theory: Cultural Nationalism and Oriental Orientalism*, p.144.

¹⁰⁰ Yanagi (柳), "Shuri To Naha (Shuri and Naha, 首里と那覇)," pp.237-238; Kikuchi, *Japanese Modernisation and Mingei Theory: Cultural Nationalism and Oriental Orientalism*, p.144.



Yanagi's praise of Okinawan Noh and kimono (Figs 4-11 and 4-12) further showed his ideal belief that Okinawa still preserved the 'pure', 'innate' and 'original' Japaneseness.

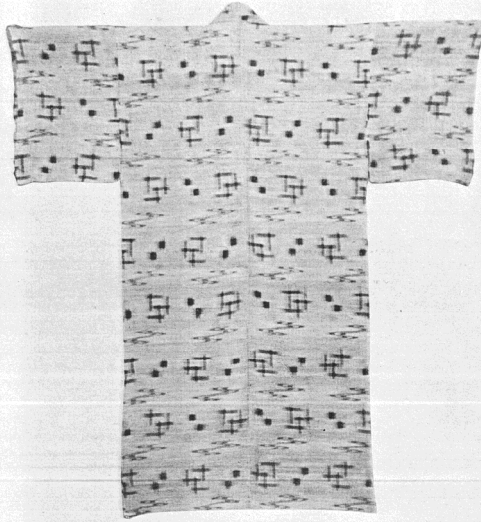
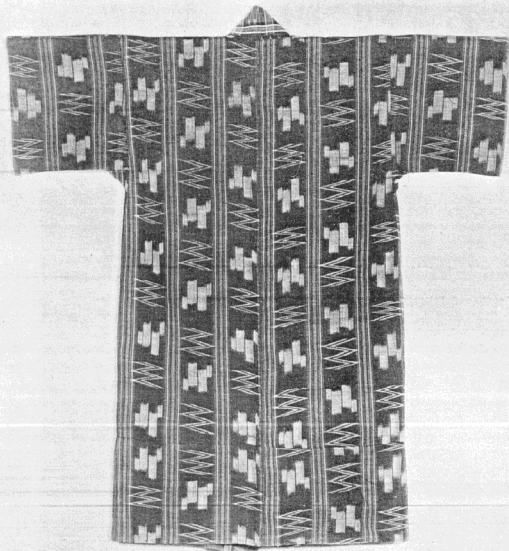
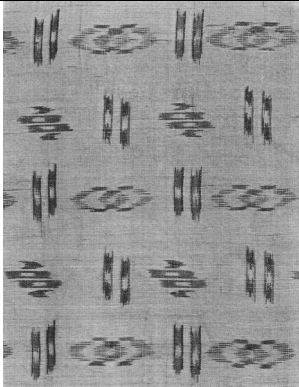
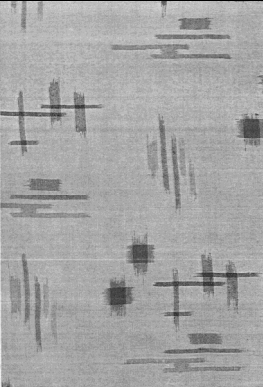
He wrote:

More purely Japanese things were preserved in these isolated islands than anywhere else. [...] Pure Japan remains best in the North end and in Okinawa in the south end of Japan.¹⁰² (Kikuchi's translation)

¹⁰¹ Yanagi (柳), "Shuri To Naha (Sashie Shouchuu) (Shuri and Naha (Notes of Illustrations), 首里と那覇(挿繪小註))", p.318.

¹⁰² ———, "Naze Ryūkyū Ni Dōjin Ichidō De Dekakeruka (The Reason Why All of Us in the *Mingei* Group Go to Ryūkyū Together, なぜ琉球に同人一同で出かけるか)", p.23; Kikuchi, *Japanese Modernisation and Mingei Theory: Cultural Nationalism and Oriental Orientalism*, p.148.

We can find no place other than Okinawa where the innate and original Japaneseness is well preserved. We can see the best archaic quality not only in the language and the custom but also in many things. [...] It is a precious element to construct innate and original Japaneseness. [...] Provinciality preserves the pure national character.¹⁰³ (Kikuchi's translation)

	
<p>Fig. 4-11 Okinawa Kimono: in banana plant fibre, polychrome Kaisuri.¹⁰⁴</p>	<p>Fig. 4-12 Okinawa Kimono: in cotton, indigo Kaisuri pattern with stripes.¹⁰⁵</p>
	
<p>Fig. 4-13 Okinawa Kimono, Tonbyan Kasuri (Fabric in orchid fibre with woven in pattern).¹⁰⁶</p>	<p>Fig. 4-14 Okinawa Kimono, Watajin (Silk robe) polychrome Kasuri.¹⁰⁷</p>

Okinawa, for him, not only preserved the 'innate' and 'pure' Japaneseness, but also

¹⁰³ Yanagi (柳), "Ryūkyū Deno Shigoto (The Work at Ryūkyū, 琉球での仕事)", p.138; Kikuchi, *Japanese Modernisation and Mingei Theory: Cultural Nationalism and Oriental Orientalism*, p.148.

¹⁰⁴ Nihon Mingei Kyōkai (日本民藝協会), *Mingei Zukan Dai 2kan (Harvest of folk-crafts from the collection of the Folk-craft Museum, 民芸図鑑 第2巻)*, fig.89.

¹⁰⁵ *ibid.*, fig.91.

¹⁰⁶ *ibid.*, fig.83.

¹⁰⁷ *ibid.*, fig.84.

represented orientalism.

Kasuri (Figs 4-13 and 4-14) is a technique which has not been developed at all in the Occident, therefore the time will doubtless come when the fame of *kasuri* will echo through the world as an innate and original textile of the orient.¹⁰⁸ (Kikuchi's translation)

We would like to impress the world at least with the beauty of *kasuri*, our national pride. [...] We have to be proud of the innate and original Japan in the world of beauty.¹⁰⁹ (Kikuchi's translation)

Okinawan *kasuri*, in Yanagi's concept, had become a source representing innate and original Japan and orientalism.

4-3-2.3 Ainu

The Ainu are the indigenous people in Japan and Russia. They used to live in northern Mainland Japan, in Hokkaidō, a northern island, and in Sakhalin. During the Tokugawa period (1600-1868), trading and wars between the Ainu and the Yamato increased. At the beginning of the Meiji Restoration in 1868, when the new Japanese Meiji government was founded, Hokkaidō was territorialized within the Japanese empire without any negotiation.

Yanagi saw the 'innate and original' patterns of the Ainu crafts in *oripera* (Fig. 4-15) with 'religious and spiritual and the beauty of the "grotesque"'.¹¹⁰ In addition, he also suggested that Ainu craft retained Japanese antiquities, and therefore represented not only the spiritual power of the criterion of beauty but also the original and innate

¹⁰⁸ Yanagi (柳), "Okinawa No Bunka (The Culture of Okinawa, 沖縄の文化)", p.76; Kikuchi, *Japanese Modernisation and Mingei Theory: Cultural Nationalism and Oriental Orientalism*, p.153.

¹⁰⁹ Yanagi (柳), "Bashōfu Monogatari (The Story of Banana Fibre Textiles, 芭蕉布物語)", p.390; Kikuchi, *Japanese Modernisation and Mingei Theory: Cultural Nationalism and Oriental Orientalism*, p.153.

¹¹⁰ ———, *Japanese Modernisation and Mingei Theory: Cultural Nationalism and Oriental Orientalism*, p.157.

Japaneseness. He wrote:

Since the Ainu had a long trade relation with the mainland Japan, they have kept our crafts. [...] Researches on the Ainu will surely contribute to the research on Japanese antiquities.¹¹¹ (Kikuchi's translation)

Among Karafuto *atsushi* (a type of the Ainu kimono made of Ainu textiles woven with elm bark) (Figs 4-16 and 4-17), there are some which obviously appear to have been influenced by clothings in Russia.¹¹² (Kikuchi's translation)

Ainu craft, here, played a double role in Yanagi's concept: on the one hand, it was included in the sphere of Japanese antiquities; on the other hand, it was also excluded from Japanese craft although Ainu was part of Japan. As Kikuchi observed: '[t]he Ainu are seen as having kept old Japanese things but not as part of their culture'.¹¹³

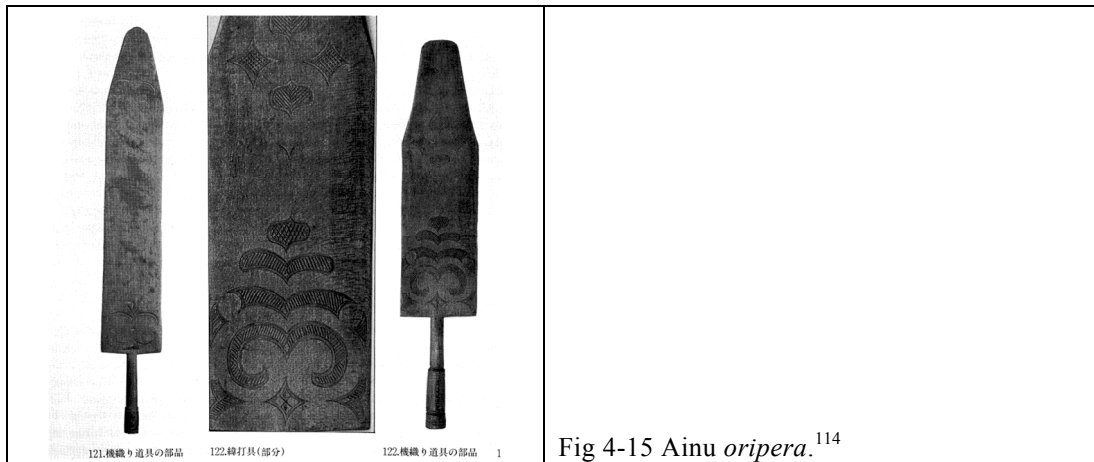


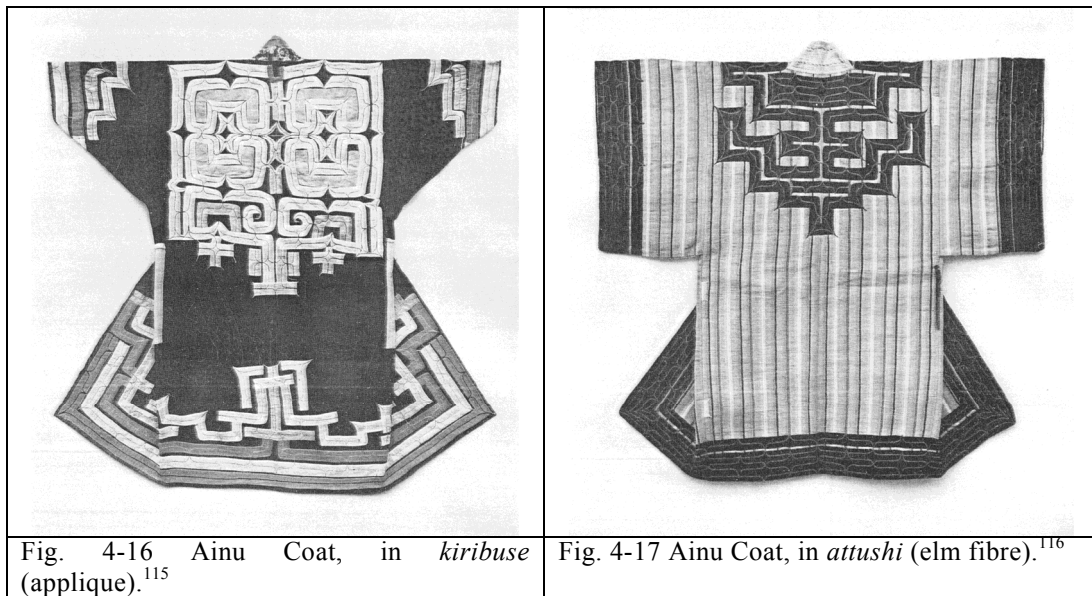
Fig 4-15 Ainu *oripera*.¹¹⁴

¹¹¹ Yanagi (柳), "Henshū Gōki Kōgei Dai Hyaku Roku Gō (Editor's notes for *Kōgei* no. 106, 編輯後記 (『工藝』第百六號))", p.526; Kikuchi, *Japanese Modernisation and Mingei Theory: Cultural Nationalism and Oriental Orientalism*, p.159.

¹¹² Yanagi (柳), "Sashie Shōchū Kōgei Dai Hyaku Roku Gō (A Brief Explanation of Illustrations in *Kōgei* no. 106, 挿絵小註(『工藝』第百六號))", p.514; Kikuchi, *Japanese Modernisation and Mingei Theory: Cultural Nationalism and Oriental Orientalism*, p.159.

¹¹³ ———, *Japanese Modernisation and Mingei Theory: Cultural Nationalism and Oriental Orientalism*, p.159.

¹¹⁴ *ibid.*, p.158.



4-3-2.4 Taiwan and China/Manchuria

Taiwan is an island situated in the Western Pacific Ocean, to the southeast of the China and the south of Japan. It was a Chinese settlement since the seventeenth century and became a province of the Qing Empire in 1885. However, after the Qing Empire was defeated in the First Sino-Japanese War in 1895, Taiwan was ceded to the Japanese Empire, becoming Japan's first colony.

In his research on Taiwanese craft, Yanagi highly prized the 'savage textiles' (*bampu*) (Figs 4-18, 4-19 and 4-20) made by the Paiwan tribe, one of the high mountain peoples in Taiwan, and described them as the people who 'have not yet lost the primitive nature of making beautiful things'.¹¹⁷ He described pottery made by the Chinese Taiwanese with the 'oriental shape'¹¹⁸ and *akae*, enamel overglazed pottery, with the "authenticity" of

¹¹⁵ Nihon Mingei Kyōkai (日本民藝協会), *Mingei Zukan Dai 3kan (Harvest of folk-crafts from the collection of the Folk-craft Museum, 民芸図鑑 第3卷)*, fig.69.

¹¹⁶ *ibid.*, fig.70.

¹¹⁷ Yanagi (柳), "Taiwan No Mingei Nitsuite (On Taiwanese Folkcrafts, 臺灣の民藝に就いて)", p.613; Kikuchi, *Japanese Modernisation and Mingei Theory: Cultural Nationalism and Orientalism*, p.168.

¹¹⁸ Yanagi (柳), "Taiwan No Mingei Nitsuite (On Taiwanese Folkcrafts, 臺灣の民藝に就いて)",

oriental tradition'.¹¹⁹ On the one hand, his rhetoric on the Paiwan textiles – primitive – showed his ideal criterion of beauty evaluated by the Occidental modern art theories, and on the other hand, words such as 'oriental shape' and 'authenticity' revealed his idea that Chinese Taiwanese pottery was a case which explained the orientalism. Thus, both the Chinese Taiwanese pottery and the Paiwan textiles could exemplify the criteria of beauty and orientalism.

In his few studies on Chinese/Manchurian craft, his talk 'Hokushi no Mingei (Folkcrafts in Northern China, 北支の民藝)' suggested the 'strong, sharp, big, sturdy'¹²⁰ characteristics of its Chineseness reflecting its 'dynamic and severe natural climate' and 'vastly long history'.¹²¹ However, although these were characteristics formed by nature and history, his promotion of the Chinese innate beauty eventually served the Oriental innate beauty.

It is the Japanese rather than Chinese people who can recognize the value of Chinese crafts [...] [and it is] Japanese duty and an act of friendship to promote Chinese innate beauty [...] and thereby we can develop the innate beauty of the Orient.¹²² (Kikuchi's translation)

p.610; Kikuchi, *Japanese Modernisation and Mingei Theory: Cultural Nationalism and Oriental Orientalism*, p.168.

¹¹⁹ "Sekai Ni Hokoru Takesaiku Seihin - Hozonseyo Taiwan Mingei (Bamboo Crafts, the Pride of the World - A Call for the Preservation of Taiwanese Folkcrafts, 世界に誇る竹細工製品—保存せよ台湾民芸)," *Taiwan Nichi Nichi Shinpō (Taiwan Daily Newspaper, 臺灣日日新報)* 16 April 1943.; ———, *Japanese Modernisation and Mingei Theory: Cultural Nationalism and Oriental Orientalism*, p.168.

¹²⁰ Yanagi (柳), "Hokushi No Mingei (Folkcrafts in Northern China, 北支の民藝)", p.570.

¹²¹ *ibid.*, p.569.

¹²² *ibid.*, p.574; Kikuchi, *Japanese Modernisation and Mingei Theory: Cultural Nationalism and Oriental Orientalism*, p.192.

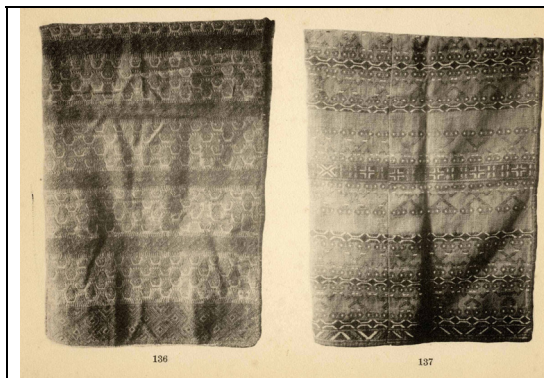


Fig. 4-18 Paiwan textile.¹²³

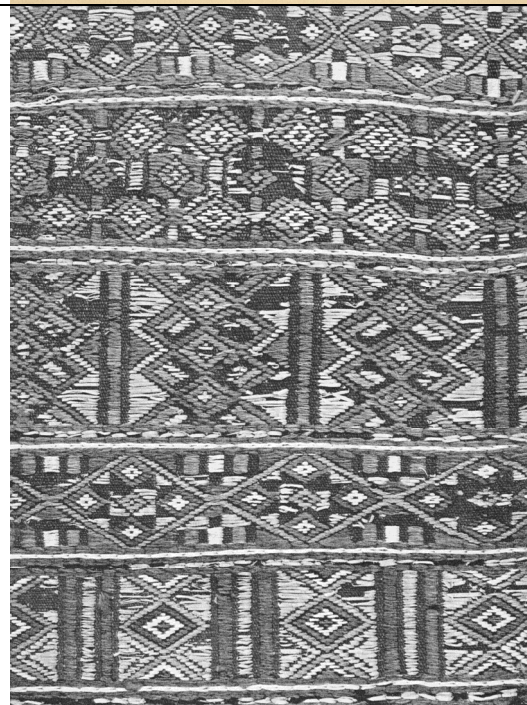


Fig. 4-19 Formosa Fabric, detail of *Poncho* style mantle.¹²⁴

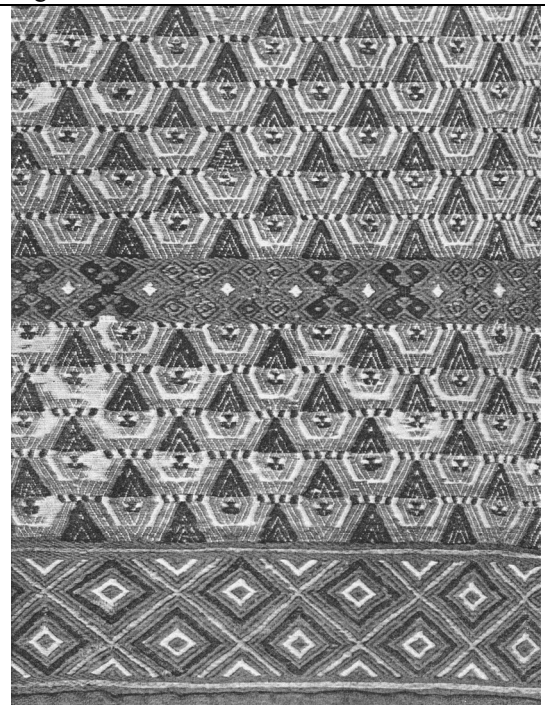


Fig. 4-20 Formosa Fabric, hand-woven by Paiwan tribe.¹²⁵

4-3-3 Materialized oriental orientalism

As I have mentioned in the previous chapter, oriental orientalism is a Japanese-style Orientalism. Within oriental orientalism, Japan created its own other, *tōyō*, within the orient on the one hand, and considered its other as a Japanese oriental source to construct a coherent orient in order to sustain Japanese nationalism on the other. It can be said that

¹²³ Jirō (次郎) Miyagawa (宮川), *Taiwan No Genshi Geijutsu (Primitive Art of Taiwan, 臺灣の原始藝術)* (Taipei (臺北): Taiwan Jitsugyōkai Sha (臺灣實業界社), 1930), p.42.

¹²⁴ Nihon Mingei Kyōkai (日本民藝協会), *Mingei Zukan Dai 3kan (Harvest of folk-crafts from the collection of the Folk-craft Museum, 民芸図鑑 第3卷)*, fig.82.

¹²⁵ *ibid.*, fig.83.

oriental orientalism was an oriental-style representation of the orient under Japanese imperialism.

Yanagi's *mingei* theory as a representation of oriental craft is a form of oriental orientalism, and, more important in this dissertation, a form developed through material culture. Yanagi's research on Korean, Okinawan, Ainu, Taiwanese and Manchurian crafts clearly show that he connected craft with a specific social, historical, geographical and even racial context, and by so doing the characteristics of art in the peripheral areas of Japan and in Japan's colonies were materialized and essentialised. Kikuchi described this as a process 'to essentialise culture through objects'.¹²⁶

The phrase 'to essentialise culture through objects' shows that Kikuchi perceived an idea of essentialism within Yanagi's *mingei* theory. Essentialists believe that there is a fixed, unchanged, stable truth within each cultural category, a so-called essence. From the beginning of setting up *mingei* as the 'art of people', considering *getemono* as 'the innate Japaneseness' in terms of its quantity and purposes, promoting 'tradition' and 'Other Power', and eventually regarding *mingei* as 'a truer test', Yanagi set up a speculation that *mingei* can represent Japanese national character in terms of its meaning. To put this concept more broadly, reading other countries' *mingei*, craft, makes it possible to understand their national characters. This is the projection of how Yanagi viewed crafts in Korea, Okinawa, Ainu, Taiwan and Manchuria: Korean art as the 'beauty of sadness'; Okinawan art as 'innate and original Japaneseness', 'the pure national character', and 'an innate and original textile of the orient'; Ainu art as 'Japanese antiquities'; Taiwanese art as 'oriental shape' and "'authenticity" of oriental tradition'; and Chinese art as 'strong,

¹²⁶ Kikuchi, *Japanese Modernisation and Mingei Theory: Cultural Nationalism and Oriental Orientalism*, p.193.

sharp, big, sturdy’. Descriptions of each national craft became Yanagi’s ‘truth’, or essence, of each nation. It was not established through understandings of culture, but from the coherence between culture and the material.

The essentialization within *mingei* formed a base for Japan’s collectable ‘cultural archive’, offering Japan sources from which to identify and state its Orientalness or Japaneseness. Although Okinawa and Ainu had been dominated for a period, and it was considered that they maintained ‘innate, original and pure’¹²⁷ Japaneseness, paradoxically, Ainu’s folkcrafts were not considered as part of Japanese folkcrafts. Taiwan, Korea and North-East China/Manchuria, which had not been colonized for a long time, still shared their root of culture – that is, ancient orientalness – with Japan, although actually they had different characteristics. The cultural archive, for Yanagi, provided selectable data which allowed him to exemplify the criterion of beauty.

Through this archiving of the material of national identity in the Japanese Folk Crafts Museum, *mingei* sustained the formation of Japanese nationalism. Both Orientalness, extracted from Taiwan and North-East China/Manchuria, and innate and original Japaneseness, extracted from Okinawa and Ainu, were connected with Japanese national characteristics, which could be independent of and opposite to western culture and politics in terms of Japanese modernisation and westernisation. Kikuchi suggested that Yanagi believed that Japan still maintained its traditional cultural characteristic that is different from the evils of Western modern civilization, such as ‘industrialisation, urbanization, its complexity and pollution’.¹²⁸ Kikuchi also claimed that, through Western concepts and rhetoric, especially from the English Arts and Crafts movement,

¹²⁷ *ibid.*, 151.

¹²⁸ *ibid.*, p.145.

Yanagi could highlight the fact that Japan still maintained the spirit of the medieval times, which the West had already lost.¹²⁹ This demonstrates how Yanagi connected local characteristic with western concepts and rhetoric to sustain Japanese nationalism.

The ‘culture archive’ also reflected the Japanese-biased classification of oriental art and Japanocentrism. Kikuchi stated that Yanagi considered himself to have the status of a culture centre and ‘as an elite intellectual who preaches the importance of Okinawan culture and history to the Okinawans’.¹³⁰ He stands on a higher lever to evaluate Okinawa’s crafts. Similarly, Although Yanagi considered that the Taiwanese crafts maintained what he called ‘orientalness’ such as “soft”, “magnificent”, “straight”, “pure”, “faithful” and “moralistic”,¹³¹ he contradictorily thought that Chinese craftsman could not appreciate Chinese folkcrafts and that they needed Japanese help to be able to do so.¹³²

[On the beauty of cobalt-glazed plate] The maker is a Chinese person who does not appreciate sophisticated beauty. [...] It is made by none other than a rather uncouth Chinese person. [...] But the Japanese recognise its beauty. They need the eyes of the Japanese to appreciate its beauty.¹³³ (my translation)

At this time when the real outcome of the ‘Co-Existence and Co-Prosperity’ (kyōzon kyōei) of Japan and China is expected, I have keenly felt that there are many things that we should co-operate on in the field of folkcrafts ... It is the Japanese rather than Chinese people who can recognise the value of Chinese crafts [...] [and it is] Japanese duty and an act of friendship to promote Chinese innate beauty [...] and thereby we can develop the innate beauty of the Orient.¹³⁴ (my translation)

Kikuchi also showed that the unequal relationships between Japan and its own regional others simultaneously existed not only in the Japanocentric concept but also in academic

¹²⁹ *ibid.*, p.146.

¹³⁰ *ibid.*, p.152.

¹³¹ *ibid.*, p.168.

¹³² *ibid.*, p.192.

¹³³ Yanagi (柳), "Sometsuke No Kozala (A Small Cobalt-Glazed Plate)", pp.169-170.

¹³⁴ ———, "Hokushi No Mingei (Folkcrafts in Northern China, 北支の民藝)", p.574.

investigations. Scholars from Japan held dominant positions over native researchers. For instance, Yanagi was usually supported by native researchers while he was carrying out his fieldwork, such as the Asakawa brothers in Korea,¹³⁵ Hamada Shōji and Kawai Kanjirō in Okinawa,¹³⁶ Kanaseki Takeo, local officials and intellectuals, and the officials of the Culture and Education department in the colonial government in Taiwan.¹³⁷ He benefited from this first-hand knowledge and experience, which enriched and reinforced his *mingei* theory and the wider project of oriental orientalism as well. Yanagi also believed that he had a duty to teach native people how to appreciate their arts¹³⁸ so he held several exhibitions, gave lectures, produced magazines and articles, and established associations to this end. These events also strengthened the power of Yanagi's *mingei* theory and, furthermore, the concepts of oriental orientalism. In addition, discussions of how local folkcrafts contributed to Japanese folkcrafts also reflected his Japanocentric attitudes.¹³⁹ All these different initiatives and academic investigations were affected by the Japanocentric attitudes at the centre of Japan which affected and dominated local academic investigations.

The evaluation of oriental art by the criteria he set up was not free from political influence. Research into Taiwanese craft was highly connected with politics. Investigations of Taiwanese folkcrafts were conducted under the framework of *kōminka*. It seems that the Japanese colonizer would like to promote local vernacularism and protect local culture, but, on the one hand, Taiwanese investigations were regional investigations within the Japanese empire, and the so-called Taiwanese orientalism

¹³⁵ Kikuchi, *Japanese Modernisation and Mingei Theory: Cultural Nationalism and Oriental Orientalism*, p.126.

¹³⁶ *ibid.*, p.142.

¹³⁷ *ibid.*, p.168.

¹³⁸ *ibid.*, pp.126-129.

¹³⁹ *ibid.*, p.183.

served to support Japaneseness. Kikuchi wrote:

[...], Taiwan Bijutsu Hōkō Kai (Association of Art in the Service of the Nation) was established in 1943 to become ‘the leading soldiers of the imperial service movement in the cultural division’ in order to ‘promote and establish Taiwanese culture as part of Japanese culture’ with a belief that ‘national power is none other than the nation’s life and cultural power which support national politics, economy and defence’.¹⁴⁰ (my translation)

On the other hand, the research objects which were selected had to conform with Japan’s interests or its cultural policy:

Bamboo addressed the Japanese interest in substitute products, whereas Taiwanese crafts which did not meet with Japanese interest and the aim of Japanisation promoted by the *kōminka* policy, such as the creation of dolls for the traditional puppet theatre and crafts related to indigenous religious, were suppressed and left to become extinct.¹⁴¹ (my translation)

This showed that Yanagi’s *mingei* theory ordered and mapped the colonized’s folkcrafts into the Japanese framework of oriental art, and selected what suited the colonizer’s interests and prohibited what was not related to the colonizer’s cultural policy: Japan could ‘strengthen the power of the nation by preserving the “quintessentially Japanese”’¹⁴². Here *mingei* theory, as the essentialization of nations’ folkcrafts, was the key issue and provided examples examining how the material world which narrates national Japaneseness cooperates with Japanese colonialism and oriental orientalism, together.

¹⁴⁰ *ibid.*, p.181, and "Yūkon No Saikan O Furui Kessen Ni Ichi Yoku Ninau: Taiwan Bijutsu Hōkō Kai Hassoku (The Contribution to the Final Battle by Dynamic Brush: The Establishment of the Association of Art in the Service of the Nation, 雄渾の再刊お振るい決戦に一翼担う：台湾美術方向会発足)," *Taiwan Nichi Nichi Shinpō* (*Taiwan Daily Newspaper*, 臺灣日日新報) 6 May 1943.

¹⁴¹ Shao-Ying Chiang, "Tai Wan Gong Yi De Fa Zhan Yu Bian Qian Shang (The Development and the History of Taiwanese Folkcrafts, part 1)," *Taiwan Meishu* (*Journal of Taiwan Museum of Art*) 14 (1991), pp.30-31; Po-Ho Chuang, "Tai Wan Min Jian Yi Shu De Fa Zhan (The Development of Taiwanese Folkcrafts)," *Taipei shili meishuguan Meishu Luncong* (*Journal of Taipei City Art Museum*) 25(1990), p.121; ———, *Tai Wan Min Yi Zao Xing* (*Taiwanese Folkcrafts Forms*) (Taipei: Yishujia Chubanshe, 1994), p.86.

¹⁴² Kikuchi, *Japanese Modernisation and Mingei Theory: Cultural Nationalism and Oriental Orientalism*, p.183

Debates on materialized oriental orientalism are crucial for discussions of the formation of oriental architectural history. In *Orientalism*, Said expressed his belief that the Occident viewed the Orient as an unchanged spatiotemporal entirety, named 'vision'. In oriental orientalism, Japan also created its own 'vision', *tōyō*. By comparing orientalism and oriental orientalism, we can discover that they both saw culture through what Said referred to as 'synchronic essentialism'. However, as Kikuchi has shown, on the one hand, Japan actually had two others, or we may say two 'visions': the West as a dominant other and *tōyō* as a dominated other; on the other hand, the origin of oriental orientalism, or Japan's 'vision', actually derives from orientalism, the West's 'vision'. This comparison clearly shows that oriental orientalism was itself a hybrid product hybridizing orientalism and occidentalism although it stressed its authenticity of orientalism. It seems that Japan's usage of 'vision', 'synchronic essentialism', was changeable and moveable. In oriental orientalism, *tōyō* was Japan's other when Japan was trying to represent Asia to other countries; *tōyō* was also the origin of Japan when it needed a conceptual orient to face the occident. However, although Japan's usage of essentialism was quite strategic, its result is not quite the same as Spivak's idea of 'the strategic use of essentialism' because oriental orientalism eventually did not cause stable, unified and canonical academic essentialism to disintegrate but created another stable and fixed essentialism.

From the perspective of *mingei* theory as materialized oriental orientalism, the postcolonial discussions that I have explored above can be seen through debates on Yanagi's *mingei* theory. By searching Japaneseness in order to create modern Japanese craft, *mingei* as object was integrated with culture and nation. *Mingei* then became the materialized representation of culture, in Kikuchi's sentence, 'to essentialise culture

through objects'. Yanagi's statement of *mingei* theory actually reflects a projection of materialized oriental orientalism.

Analysing Yanagi's *mingei* theory provides a reference to reconsider the formation of oriental architectural history and Taiwanese architectural history. Researches on the architectural history of Eastern Asia are usually combined with national statements in terms of discussions on their relationships with race, culture and nation. The concepts of 'materialized oriental orientalism' and 'to essentialise culture through object' thus offer a postcolonial opening through which to reconsider the cultural and architectural coherence within architectural history.

However, before I start to consider the historical data of the formation of oriental and Taiwanese architectural history, it is necessary first to examine related concepts in the field of architecture, and in particular, concepts of the 'primitive hut' as an embodiment of the search for origin, and of 'vernacular architecture' as cultural and racial concerns within the discipline of architecture. This examination supports a discussion on how architects thought of the origin of architecture and its relationship with race and culture. These questions will be the main topic in the following chapter.

Chapter 5 The primitive other in the architectural discipline

In the preceding chapters, I reviewed a number of postcolonial theories and approaches to materialized cultural representations through the artefacts and practices associated with the *mingei* arts and crafts movement. Chapter 3 examined more general postcolonial critiques of the production of knowledge in cross-cultural contexts in the context of material culture. This activated a more complex play between material and immaterial forms of expression in the context of the emergent national cultural identity of Japan. As I suggested, debates on cultural and material forms in the context of national identity require a reconsideration of the forms of knowledge by which oriental architecture was made, and by which that architecture comes to stand for or represent a cultural/national group of people in non-essentialist ways. This chapter extends the discussion on material culture from the previous chapter to the field of architecture more explicitly. The chapter turns to architectural discourse, and will explore how the idea of a primitive otherness in architecture is managed. As I suggested in Chapter 1, the importance of the idea of the primitive otherness in Japan derives from two fundamental and historical factors: Japan's importation of western knowledge of architecture; and its resistance to the orientalism (and the privileging of western cultural values and technological progress) that was inherent in western formulations of world architectural history.

This chapter extends this hypothesis by examining the idea of the primitive other in more detail, and in particular its manifestation in the context of architectural history and theory. It does so by focussing on the figure of the primitive hut in western architectural history. The concept of the primitive, as Adrian Forty has suggested, activates a constellation of words, such as 'savage', 'barbarian', 'exotic', 'aboriginal', 'backward', 'uncivilized',

‘naïve’, ‘instinctive’, ‘authentic’, ‘archaic’, ‘native’, ‘tribal’, ‘tradition’ and ‘outsider’. In architecture the term also activates a set of more specific usages such as, ‘origin’, ‘vernacular’, ‘anonymous’, ‘non-pedigree’, ‘spontaneous’ and ‘indigenous’.¹ I propose to consider these various themes and associated debates in western architecture under three main headings: primitive hut²; an architectural historical search for origins; and vernacular architecture studies. These three headings represent key places where otherness is encountered and managed in the discipline of architecture.

As Forty suggested, until the late eighteenth century, the meaning of ‘primitive’ in architectural discipline signified nothing more than the ‘origin’.³ Searching for the origin has a long history in the discipline reaching back to Vitruvius, and informs the western understanding of architecture. At core, the concept suggests that by discovering the origin of architecture, guidelines or rules for making a good architectural design can also be found. The search for origins is usually expressed through discussion on primitive huts, basic shelters, and is often based on quasi-ethnographic examples as in Semper’s ‘Caribbean hut’.

Another kind of search for the origin of architecture was articulated in writing architectural history. Looking to the past in the eighteenth century is not only for ‘standards’⁴, but also, in such a case of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe⁵, for the origin. It was Gothic architecture in countries such as Germany and England being regarded as the

¹ Adrian Forty, "Primitive: The Word and Concept," in *Primitive: Original Matters in Architecture*, eds Jo Odgers, Flora Samuel and Adam Sharr (London: Routledge, 2006), pp.4-5.

² The discussions on primitive hut are quite diverse. They usually refer to the idea of the search for the origin of architecture. While writings on architectural history in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries can be considered as practices of searching for the origin of national architecture, here, in order to avoid making discussions more complex, I use ‘primitive hut’ more narrowly to refer to theoretical formulations of the origin of architecture in western architectural history.

³ Forty, "Primitive: The Word and Concept", p.5.

⁴ David Watkin, *The Rise of Architectural History* (London: Architectural Press, 1980), p.1.

⁵ Watkin, *The Rise of Architectural History*, p.4.

origin of their national architectures. Therefore, the beginning of writing architectural history itself combines national and cultural statements. Although at the beginning of architectural history, the question of a geographical otherness was not always explicit, by the nineteenth century architectural historians began to organise exemplary and typical architectures of distant regions – Asia and America -- into a general conception of architecture. The architecture of these geographical others was inserted into a framework of world architectural history. The architecture of the other came to inform and serve as a basis for European architectural theory and history.

The circumstances by which vernacular architecture entered mainstream architectural scholarship are slightly different. Although closely related to the older primitive hut and search for origins tradition, a formal vernacular architectural study begins in the mid-twentieth century. Generally speaking, studies on vernacular architecture came to distinguish themselves from those on the primitive hut through the challenge that they posed to mainstream architectural values, whereas the primitive hut tradition usually sought to authorise the mainstream. In addition, study of vernacular architecture promotes the category of ‘building’ which had been considered inferior to architecture. For those who studied vernacular architecture, the category of building activated issues of culture, skill, material and environment in a more powerful way than was possible through the idea of architecture, and promoted their importance in the architectural discipline. If the first two headings – primitive hut and architectural historical search for origins – can be considered as emerging from a western project of power and knowledge that, consciously or not, co-opted the cultures of non-European others, the third approach to otherness through vernacular studies of architecture could be regarded as a resistance to that co-opting process. Putting them together here is useful as a means to reveal

interactions between the West and other architectures and building traditions, and to prepare for the oriental context as a site of colonial resistance that I will discuss in the following chapters.

The role of other, non-European traditions in the architectural discipline can be analysed from several different perspectives. For the primitive hut and architectural history, historically, it is necessary to understand how the west represents its other within the architectural discipline. This understanding could also be considered as a foundation of understanding the way in which those other traditions do themselves resist incorporation into the western framework, and how they come to be articulated in the context of, and help support wider identity struggles. Following Said, we know that such other traditions are rarely the result of objective description and representation, but are the outcome of complex ideological and political projections. This latent orientalism in architecture's engagement with otherness through vernacular architecture is an important topic that needs to be explored. For vernacular architectural studies, the postcolonial reading also examines their strategic considerations as a resistance to modernism. They become comparable debates for the formation of oriental architectural history.

The following sections will explore in more detail the way in which the primitive hut tradition in architecture has supported this wider practice of othering and cultural imperialism.

5-1 The architecture of otherness as primitive hut

Debates on the primitive, and primitiveness exist in several disciplines such as art history, anthropology, material culture and architecture, and the scope of these debates reflect the

shifting historical context in which they took place. The debate took distinctive character across these disciplines in the classical, Enlightenment⁶ and modern periods⁷, for example.⁸ More recently, the primitive, more generally as one aspect of the primitive hut idea in architecture, has also been analysed as an ideological category,⁹ as generating a kind of temporal distance between west and non-west,¹⁰ and as othering, or framing 'them' and 'us' according to the economic, cultural, political and ideological needs¹¹ of the west.¹² These theoretical analyses reconstructed the primitive under contextual and cross-discipline perspectives, such that the category came to represent timeless, unchanging, traditional, irrational, savage, barbarian principles as opposed and inferior to the developed, rational, civilized modern, or pure, uncontaminated principles of the west.

These critical perspectives are also perceived through recent debates in the architectural discipline. Different from the early historical elaborations, such as Joseph Rykwert's comprehensive historical review of the primitive hut¹³ or biographies and theory reviews of architects who theorised ideas of 'hut' in architectural history,¹⁴ a conference held at

⁶ Frances S. Connelly, *The Sleep of Reason: Primitivism in Modern European Art and Aesthetic, 1725-1907* (The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995).

⁷ Stanley Diamond, "Introduction: the Uses of the Primitive," in *Primitive Views of the World*, ed. Stanley Diamond (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969).

⁸ Arthur O. Lovejoy and George Boas, *Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity* (Baltimore; London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1935 (1997 [printing]), 1935), and E. H. Gombrich, *The Preference for the Primitive: Episodes in the History of Western Taste and Art* (London: Phaidon, 2002).

⁹ Fred Myers, "'Primitivism', Anthropology, and the Category of 'Primitive Art'," in *Handbook of Material Culture*, ed. Christopher Tilley *et al.* (London: Sage, 2006).

¹⁰ Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983).

¹¹ Sally Price, *Primitive Art in Civilized Places* (Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 2001).

¹² Jack D. Flam and Miriam Deutch, *Primitivism and Twentieth-Century Art: A Documentary History*, Documents of twentieth century art (Berkeley, Calif.; London: University of California Press, 2003).

¹³ Joseph Rykwert, *On Adam's House in Paradise: The Idea of the Primitive Hut in Architectural History*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge, Mass.; London: MIT Press, 1981).

¹⁴ In the history of architectural discipline until the nineteenth century, words such as the hut, primitive hut, and Caribbean hut were adopted by Vitruvius, Filarete, Laugier and Semper. Researches which contain those architects and their theories in the late twentieth century include Wolfgang Herrmann, *Laugier and Eighteenth Century French Theory*, Studies in architecture (London: A.

the Welsh School of Architecture, Cardiff University, in 2004 sought the relevance of the 'primitive' in architecture. As the introduction to book that came from the conference puts it: some challenged the authority of the word 'primitive'; others 'retain[ed] the term's previous connotations'; while others sought to 'contextualize current challenges to "primitive" in a broader historical sweep'.¹⁵ The primitive, as Forty suggested, is an 'imaged ideal' to 'create a theoretical model of society'¹⁶ and a 'mirror'¹⁷ to bring us back to ourselves. The primitive is a form of emancipation.¹⁸ The primitive is the other's resistance¹⁹ and its 'institutional position' was a way in which internal tensions were solved in architectural discipline.²⁰ My aim, following Said's concept of orientalism and other related postcolonial critical approaches, is to illuminate the roles which the primitive hut plays in architecture as a mechanism for the management of primitive otherness in architecture.

Following the arguments outlined above, this section will review historically the concepts of the primitive hut in the works of Marcus Vitruvius Pollio, Antonio di Pietro Averlino (Filarete) and Marc-Antoine Laugier, and then Gottfried Semper.

Zwemmer, 1962); ———, *Gottfried Semper: In Search of Architecture* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: MIT Press, 1984); Gottfried Semper, *The Four Elements of Architecture and Other Writings*, trans. H. F. Mallgrave and W. Herrmann (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988, 1989); Anthony Vidler, *The Writing of the Walls: Architectural Theory in the Late Enlightenment* (London: Butterworth Architecture, 1989); Harry Francis Mallgrave, *Gottfried Semper: Architect of the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven ; London: Yale University Press, 1996); Mari Hvattum, *Gottfried Semper and the Problem of Historicism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

¹⁵ Jo Odgers, Flora Samuel and Adam Sharr, *Primitive: Original Matters in Architecture* (London: Routledge, 2006), p.xviii.

¹⁶ Forty, "Primitive: The Word and Concept", p.8.

¹⁷ *ibid.*, p.11.

¹⁸ Dalibor Vesely, "The Primitive as Modern Problem: Invention and Crisis," in *Primitive: Original Matters in Architecture*, eds Jo Odgers, Flora Samuel and Adam Sharr (London: Routledge, 2006).

¹⁹ Felip Hernández and Lea Knudsen Allen, "Post-colonizing the Primitive," in *Primitive: Original Matters in Architecture*, eds Jo Odgers, Flora Samuel and Adam Sharr (London: Routledge, 2006).

²⁰ Stephen Cairns, "Notes for an Alternative History of the Primitive Hut," in *Primitive: Original Matters in Architecture*, eds Jo Odgers, Flora Samuel and Adam Sharr (London: Routledge, 2006), p.91.

5-1-1 Marcus Vitruvius Pollio

Architecture as a discipline in the West is usually traced to its traditional theoretical foundations as found outlined in Vitruvius's *The Ten Books on Architecture*. Although this might not have been the first treatise on architecture in western history, it is the only surviving ancient text on architecture. As Hanno-Walter Kruft has commented, this text 'has been enhanced in the light of history in that the whole literature on architectural theory from the Renaissance onwards has been based on Vitruvius or on a dialogue with his ideas'.²¹

At the beginning of Book II of *The Ten Books on Architecture*, which mainly focuses on 'the practical merits of the materials', Vitruvius devotes a chapter to depicting the origin of the dwelling house. For him, the origin of architecture refers to 'the motives which originally gave rise to buildings and the development of inventions in this field'.²² Step by step, he described primitive men in the early stage of being 'born like the wild beasts, in woods, caves, and groves, and lived on savage fare',²³ of setting fire by gathering branches of trees, of gathering people together to become a society, and then of constructing shelters. It was, for Vitruvius, 'an imitative and teachable nature'²⁴ that saw man imitate 'the nests of swallows and the way they built',²⁵ improved his skills and eventually constructed better and better. Within his description, buildings constructed in the barbarian areas of the Roman world, or by foreign tribes such as those in Gaul, Spain, Portugal and Aquitaine, were good illustrations. Vitruvius also stressed 'the power of

²¹ Hanno-Walter Kruft, *A History of Architectural Theory: from Vitruvius to the Present* (London: Zwemmer, 1994), p.21.

²² Pollio Vitruvius and Morris Hicky Morgan, *Vitruvius: The Ten Books on Architecture*, New Dover edn (New York: Dover Publications, 1960), p.37.

²³ *ibid.*, p.38.

²⁴ *ibid.*, p.39.

²⁵ *ibid.*, p.38.

thought and understanding²⁶ by which the construction of buildings was advanced and became ‘arts and science’, and by which a ‘barbarous mode of life’ became ‘civilization’.²⁷ For Vitruvius, this primitive architecture, born of imitating natural ‘architectures’, has a central place in refining man’s mind and skills, in civilization itself. The origin of the art of building, for Vitruvius, progressed step by step and eventually reached its perfection in this manner.

5-1-2 Antonio di Pietro Averlino (Filarete)

Differing from Vitruvius’s view of architectural development, Filarete’s concept of the origin of the building was based on ‘[t]he first need and necessity of man’.²⁸ Filarete, writing some 1400 years after Vitruvius, responded to his idea of the hut invented by the first men, but believed that Adam was the one who actually achieved it, according to his need. He explained that when Adam was driven out of Paradise, he encountered rain. It was according to instinct and necessity that he ‘put his hands over his head to protect himself from the rain’²⁹ (Fig. 5-1). It was also according to necessity that he made a shelter to protect himself from bad weather. He broke ‘branches and in the same way cut them in pieces bit by bit and then [learned to] stick them into the earth and make a shelter’³⁰ (Figs 5-2 and 5-3). ‘[H]is own act’ of constructing a shelter was based on his instinct, just like his act of putting his hands over his head. Thus Filarete summarized the first invention of the hut as ‘derived from the necessity for survival.’³¹

²⁶ *ibid.*, p.40

²⁷ *ibid.*, p.40.

²⁸ Antonio Averlino Filarete, *Treatise on Architecture*, trans. John R. Spencer, 2 vols, Vol. 1 (Yale U.P, 1965), p.6.

²⁹ *ibid.*, p.6.

³⁰ *ibid.*, p.10.

³¹ *ibid.*, p.10.



Fig. 5-1 Filarete's sketch of Adam's first encounter with rain.³³



Fig. 5-2 Filarete's sketch of making a shelter.³²



Fig. 5-3 Filarete's sketch of making a shelter.³⁴

5-1-3 Marc-Antoine Laugier

Marc-Antoine Laugier, a Jesuit priest, offers an eighteenth-century account of the ancient primitive hut idea. He published his *An Essay on Architecture* in 1753 and the second edition appeared in 1755. He tried to re-discover what he called the principles of architecture when confronted by the excesses of the baroque. In order to approach this aim, he believed that 'its principles are founded on simple nature, and nature's process clearly indicates its rules'³⁵ and he tried to return to the origin and primitive state of architecture. In the beginning of *An Essay on Architecture*, he depicted how man started to build his hut in the primitive state:

Let us look at man in his primitive state without any aid or guidance other than his natural instincts. He is in need of a place to rest. On the banks of a quietly flowing

³² *ibid.*, 2, p.5r.

³³ *ibid.*, p.4v.

³⁴ *ibid.*, p.5v.

³⁵ Marc-Antoine Laugier, *An Essay on Architecture* (Los Angeles: Hennessey & Ingalls, 1977), p. 11.

brook he notices a stretch of grass; its fresh greenness is pleasing to his eyes, its tender down invites him; he is drawn there, and stretched out at leisure on this sparkling carpet, he thinks of nothing else but enjoying the gift of nature; he lacks nothing, he does not wish for anything. But soon the scorching heat of the sun forces him to look for shelter. A nearby forest draws him to its cooling shade; he runs to find a refuge in its depth, and there he is content. But suddenly mists are rising, swirling round and growing denser, until thick clouds cover the skies; soon, torrential rain pours down on this delightful forest. The savage, in his leafy shelter, does not know how to protect himself from the uncomfortable damp that penetrates everywhere; he creeps into a nearby cave and, finding it dry, he praises himself for his discovery. But soon the darkness and foul air surrounding him make his stay unbearable again. He leaves and is resolved to make good by his ingenuity the careless neglect of nature. He wants to make himself a dwelling that protects but not bury him. Some fallen branches in the forest are the right material for his purpose; he chooses four of the strongest, raises them upright and arranges them in a square; across their top he lays four other branches; on these he hoists from two sides yet another row of branches which, inclining towards each other, meet at their highest point. He then covers this kind of roof with leaves so closely packed that neither sun nor rain can penetrate. Thus, man is housed.³⁶

The importance of the simple nature was Laugier's belief that 'by imitating the natural process, art was born'.³⁷ By returning to the origin and primitive state of architecture, the 'rustic hut' indicates the essential compositions of architecture. As he depicted it, four of the strongest trunks serving as columns, horizontal branches crossing the tops of trunks as the entablature, and branches hoisted from two sides and meeting at the highest point as the pediment formed the fundamental elements of architecture (Fig. 5-4). They are compositions of architecture and 'nothing else need be added to make the work perfect'.³⁸ He reiterated the advice 'never lose sight of our little rustic hut',³⁹ since by following his rustic hut, 'fundamental mistakes are avoided and true perfection is achieved'.⁴⁰

³⁶ *ibid.*, pp.11-12.

³⁷ *ibid.*, p. 12.

³⁸ *ibid.*, p.13.

³⁹ *ibid.*, p. 12.

⁴⁰ *ibid.*, p.12.



Fig. 5-4 The frontispiece of the second edition of Laugier's *An Essay on Architecture*.⁴¹

However, there is a question that is central to my argument, which is what was Laugier's source for his account of the primitive hut. As Wolfgang Herrmann commented:

Knowledge of primitive man's way of life was mainly based on information to be gathered from ancient authors such as Diodorus Siculus, Pliny, Vitruvius, Tacitus and others, and was, at the time Laugier wrote his book, enlarged by accounts given by missionaries and travellers about the life of modern savages in North America and elsewhere.⁴²

Different from Vitruvius's consideration of Gaul, Spain, Portugal and Aquitaine as the source, and from Filarete's biblical ideal of Adam as the first man, Laugier's source derived from ancient texts and from contemporary anthropology in North America. Monographs such as that by Joseph-François Lafitau, an influential missionary and ethnologist, *Customs of the American Indians Compared With the Customs of Primitive*

⁴¹ *ibid.*, p.xxiv.

⁴² Herrmann, *Laugier and Eighteenth Century French Theory*, p.46.

*Times*⁴³ provided first-hand descriptions and drawings (Fig. 5-5) for Laugier. This was the process, in Stephen Cairns's elaboration, of institutional exchange.⁴⁴

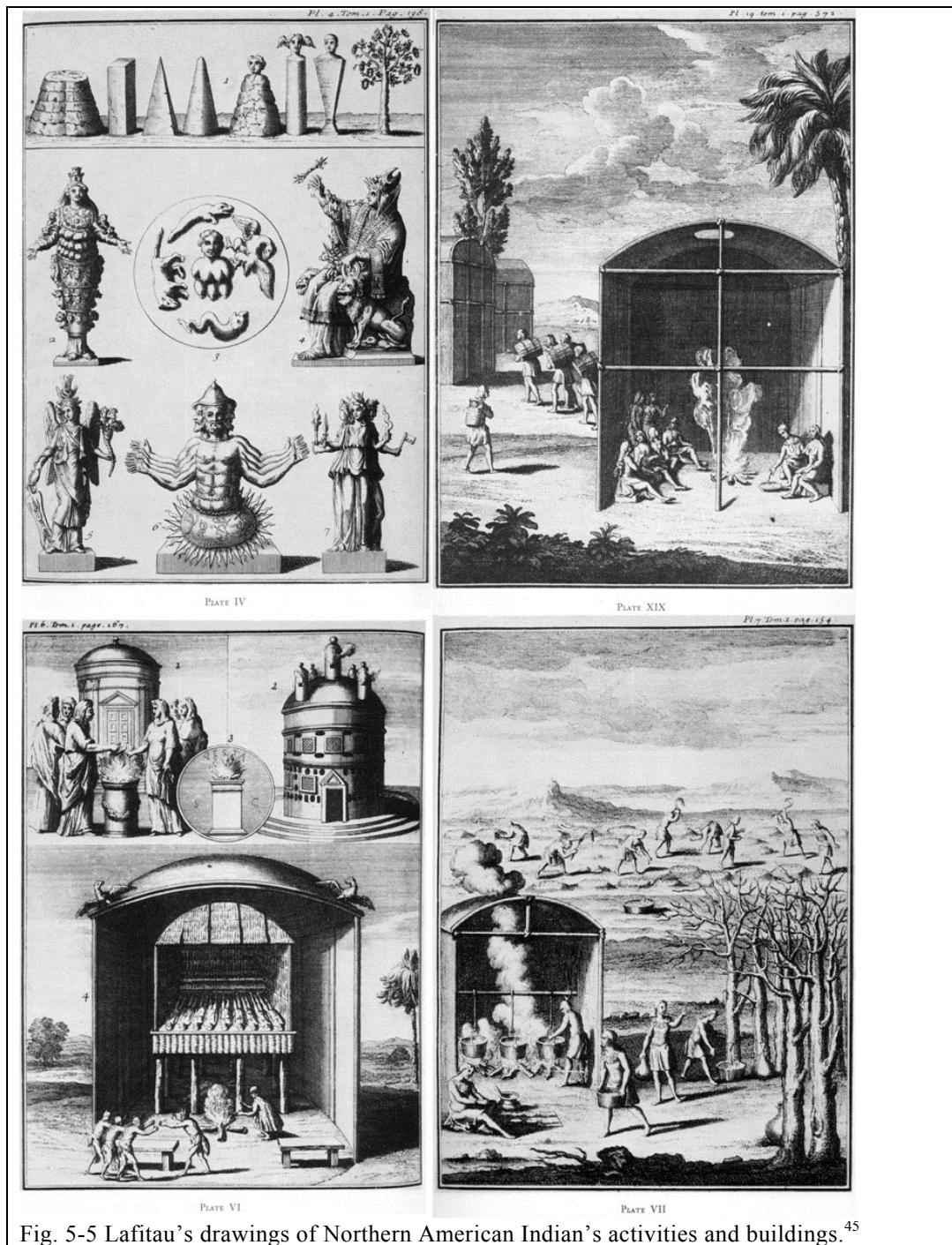


Fig. 5-5 Lafitau's drawings of Northern American Indian's activities and buildings.⁴⁵

⁴³ Joseph-François Lafitau *et al.*, *Customs of the American Indians Compared with the Customs of Primitive Times*, 2 vols, The Publications of the Champlain Society (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1974).

⁴⁴ Cairns, "Notes for an Alternative History of the Primitive Hut", p.93.

⁴⁵ Lafitau *et al.*, *Customs of the American Indians Compared with the Customs of Primitive Times*,

5-1-4 Gottfried Semper

The ‘Caribbean cottage’ was Gottfried Semper’s perfect illustration of the primitive hut. Writing in the mid-nineteenth-century, Semper postulated that this empirical example offered a basis for a revised view of the primitive hut idea. However, if we want to realize how he established his concept of the primitive hut, it is necessary to review his elaborations of the four elements of architecture. It can be said that the Caribbean cottage/hut actually is Semper’s materialized representation of the four elements.

Semper’s concepts of the four elements of architecture include the hearth or altar, the roof, the enclosure and the mounds.⁴⁶ For him, the hearth was ‘the first and most important, the *moral* element’⁴⁷ of the four. It appeared even before the foundation of social institutions or communities. It begins as a fireplace, then gathers people together, and eventually forms communities. It is the most important kernel of families, tribes, and nations. As Semper describes it:

Before men thought of erecting tents, fences, or huts, they gathered around the open flame, which kept them warm and dry and where they prepared their simple meals. The hearth is the germ, the embryo, of all social institutions. The first sign of gathering, of settlements and rest after long wanderings and the hardship of the chase, is still the set of the fire and the lighting of the crackling flame. From early times on,

plates iv, vi, vii and xix.

⁴⁶ Semper’s terminology of the four elements is replaceable. In *The Four Elements of Architecture*, they are the hearth, the roof, the enclosure and the mound (p.102); in *The Basic Elements of Architecture*, they are also considered as hearth, roof, mound and fence (p.119); in *London Lecture of November 11, 1853*, they are concluded as ‘the fire place as the Center’, ‘the protecting Roof’, ‘the Enclosure’ and ‘the Substruction’ (p.20); in *London Lecture of December 1853: ‘On the Origin of Some Architectural Styles’* they are fireplace, roof, wall and terrace (p.53); in *Style* they are hearth, terrace, roof and enclosure (p.666). See Gottfried Semper, "The Four Elements of Architecture," in *The Four Elements of Architecture and Other Writings, RES monographs on anthropology and aesthetics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p.102; ———, "The Basic Elements of Architecture," in *Gottfried Semper : In Search of Architecture*, ed. Wolfgang Herrmann (Cambridge, Mass.; London: MIT Press, 1984), p.119; ———, "London Lecture of November 11, 1853," *RES: Journal of Anthropology and Aesthetics* 6, no. Fall (1983), p.20; ———, "London Lecture of December, 1853: 'On the Origin of Some Architectural Styles'," *RES: Journal of Anthropology and Aesthetics* 9, no. Spring (1985), p.53; ———, *Style : Style in the Technical and Tectonic Arts, or, Practical Aesthetics*, Texts & documents (Los Angeles, Calif.: Getty Research Institute, 2004), p.666.

⁴⁷ ———, "The Four Elements of Architecture.", p.102.

the hearth became a place of worship; very old and long-lasting religious ideas and forms were associated with it. It was a moral symbol: it joined men together into families, tribes, and nations, and it contributed to the rise of social institutions at least as much as want and simple need. The house altar was the first object to be singled out for adornment; throughout all periods of human society it formed the sacred focus around which the other separate elements were crystallized into a whole.⁴⁸

The hearth, for Semper, played a central role in the origin of architecture, according to which human society could be established. In contrast to this social position of the hearth, the other elements of the building, the roof, the enclosure and the mound, are more like a protection of the former. It is according to changing circumstances that the other three elements each have their own functions: the roof could protect the hearth from the weather; the mound could protect the hearth against inundation; and the enclosure could protect the hearth from wild animals and enemies. These are the considerations of the original foundation of the four elements of architecture from the viewpoint of the formation of primitive social institutions.

Thus, four elements of primitive building arose out of the most immediate needs: the roof, the mound, the enclosure and, as spiritual center of the whole, the social hearth.⁴⁹

Semper further believed that these elements could be combined and organized together according to the technical skills that they implied: ‘ceramics and afterwards metal works around the hearth, water and masonry works around the mound, carpentry around the roof and its accessories’, and ‘the weaver of mats and carpet’⁵⁰ around the enclosure. His proposition is based on detailed examinations of Egyptian, Persian, Assyrian, Greek and Roman architectures, those exist in different societies influenced by climate, natural surroundings, social relations and racial dispositions. Surprisingly the most illustrative

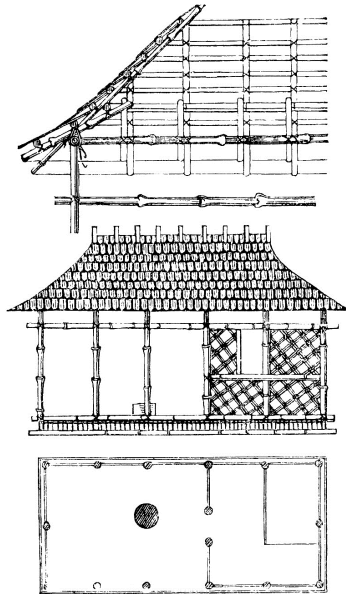
⁴⁸ _____, "The Basic Elements of Architecture.", p.198.

⁴⁹ *ibid.*, p.199.

⁵⁰ _____, "The Four Elements of Architecture", p.103.

representation of the four elements of architecture for him was the Caribbean hut (Fig. 5-6) displayed in the Great Exhibition in London in 1851. As he commented:

An illustrative illustration of this system is to be seen on this sketch, which has been made after a model of a Caraib Cottage, exhibited in the Colonial Division at the Great Exhibition of 52. We see here all the elements of construction in their simplest expressions and combinations. Every element of construction is speaking for itself alone and has no connection with the others.⁵¹



Caribbean hut

Fig. 5-6 Semper's Drawing of the Caribbean hut.⁵²

Because of the conditions of 'all the elements of construction', the 'simplest expressions and combinations', and the most important 'speaking for itself alone', the characteristics of the four elements could be clearly read from the Caribbean hut.

In his discussion of various primitive hut building traditions, Semper also referred to a nation which he regarded as having a relatively advanced industrial art system and

⁵¹ ———, "London Lecture of November 18, 1853: 'The Development of the Wall and Wall Construction in Antiquity'," *RES: Journal of Anthropology and Aesthetics* 11, no. Spring (1986), p.33. 33. According to Mallgrave's footnote in the paper, 'Caraib Cottage' refers to Caribbean hut and the date of 1852 is Semper's error.

⁵² ———, *Style: Style in the Technical and Tectonic Arts, or, Practical Aesthetics*, p.666.

civilization, but whose 'architecture stands still in the same state of development'⁵³ as the Caribbean hut. He was referring to China. For him, the Chinese 'imperial palaces and temples show in principle no difference from this Caraib Cottage'.⁵⁴ He characterized Chinese architecture in terms of the material and the construction:

Every part works for itself in the most primitive and material sense. The columns are simple poles sustaining the roof, without capitals or bases, and without entasis. The terraces on which these constructions stand are sometimes made out of freestones and ornamented with mouldings and rusticated work, not very much different from those usual in Greek and Roman architecture, and employed after the same principles. On these terraces only and on the parapets and staircases belonging to them, the naked stone and the art of the stonemason shows itself.⁵⁵

To better understand Chinese architecture, Semper proceeds by outlining a history of China. He begins with an account of the 'emperor' Yao,⁵⁶ and his successors, Shun and Yu. Yu successfully dealt with floods in China and established the first dynasty of China, Hsia. This period, in Semper's concept, was the golden age of China combining greatness with happiness, and was the age that the Chinese always look to and imitate. Because '[e]very revolution in that country is made under the pretext of reviving the old institutions of the emperor Yao', 'that land', Semper claimed, 'remained in the same state of culture since the deluge to our times'.⁵⁷ Hence, the status of the Chinese, for Semper, remained as primitive as the ancient countries.

Based on the same logic, Semper further claimed that 'the palace of the emperor Yao

⁵³ ———, "London Lecture of November 18, 1853: 'The Development of the Wall and Wall Construction in Antiquity'", p. 33.

⁵⁴ *ibid.*, p. 34.

⁵⁵ ———, "London Lecture of November 29, 1854: 'On the Relation of Architectural Systems with the General Cultural Conditions'" *RES: Journal of Anthropology and Aesthetics* 11, no. Spring (1986), pp.47-48.

⁵⁶ Although Semper regarded Yao as an emperor, according to the Chinese history, the first emperor in China was Chin Shin Huang Ti, the first emperor of the Qin Dynasty, which was almost two thousands years after Yao.

⁵⁷ Semper, "London Lecture of November 29, 1854: 'On the Relation of Architectural Systems with the General Cultural Conditions'", p.45.

[has] become the fundamental motif of Chinese architecture, in construction as well as in the general disposition'.⁵⁸ The palace of the emperor Yao was an original model, as primitive hut, imitated not only from ancient times to the present but also by every class of the nation.

So for instance we are told that the curved form of the old roof of the imperial palace of Yao, a consequence of its antiquity, had become hereafter the motif for that singular curved form, which is particular to the roofs in China. And the green colour of the old shingle roof of Yao's hall was the reason why the imperial palaces are always covered with green tiles.⁵⁹

There is no organic development, no growing up of an individual out of a more incomplete state of childhood into that of adulthood; and contrary, the simpler specimens of architecture are only reductions of the imperial palaces. The houses of the lower classes are like the palaces are, only in a smaller scale with reduced pavilions, reduced courts, reduced terraces, and so on.⁶⁰

It seems quite clear that Semper was looking for some forms of origin for Chinese architecture. Based on his reading of the history of China, he believed that this origin was to found in the period and the palace of the emperor Yao. Following from this logic, all Chinese architecture was an imitation of the palace of the emperor Yao.

Semper's empirical evidence for his history and analysis of Chinese architecture relied on secondary published sources such as texts, drawings and photographs. For instance, Sir William Chamber's first-hand descriptions and illustrations (Fig. 5-7) of the house of a Chinese merchant at Canton in *Designs of Chinese Buildings, Furniture, Dresses, Machines, and Utensils*⁶¹ was a source for Semper. The Great Exhibition of 1851 in London also provided primitive models such as the Caribbean hut as evidence for his theory. Chinese architecture and the Caribbean cottage, which were located on two

⁵⁸ *ibid.*, p.45.

⁵⁹ *ibid.*, p.45.

⁶⁰ *ibid.*, p.47.

⁶¹ William Sir Chambers, *Designs of Chinese Buildings: [Furniture, Dresses, Machines, and Utensils]* ([Farnborough]: Gregg, 1969 (1757)).

different sides of the Earth, for Semper, both exemplified his construction of architectural theory.

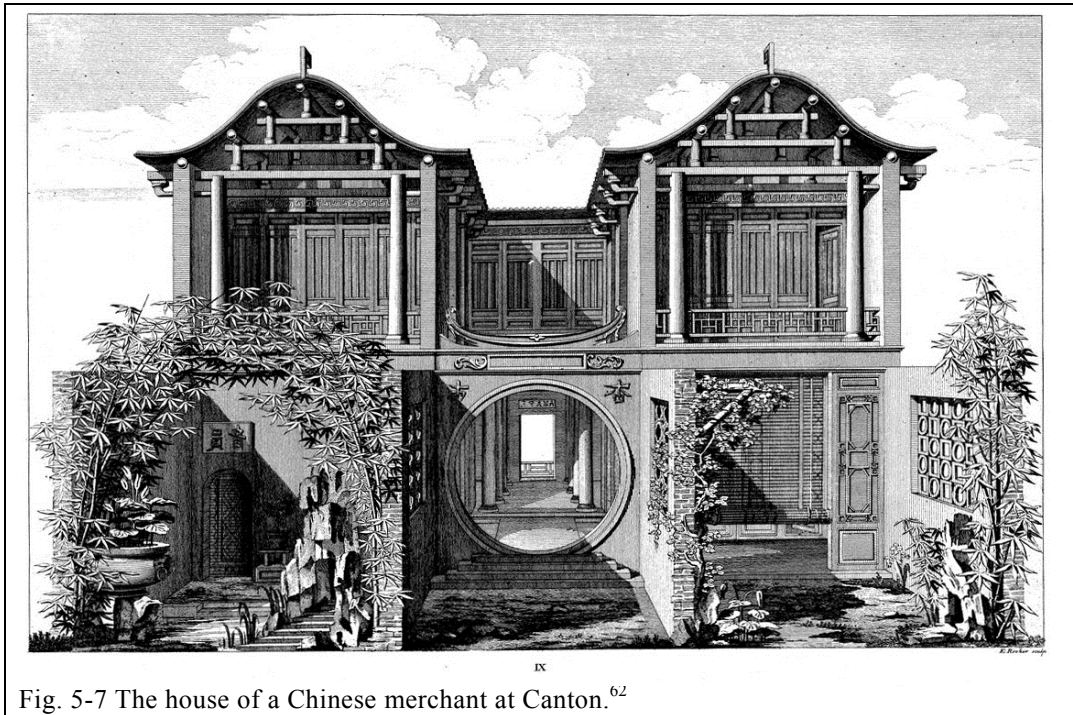


Fig. 5-7 The house of a Chinese merchant at Canton.⁶²

5-1-5 Reconsidering the architecture of the other in the primitive hut

Although in the disciplines of anthropology and the history of art, the concept of the primitive is considered as a modern issue reflecting the complex history associated with ideas of primitivism and noble savage, in the discipline of architecture it remains relatively straight-forward and uncontroversial. As Joseph Rykwert commented, ‘the relevance of the primitive hut ... has provided ... a point of reference for all speculation on the essentials of building’.⁶³ Within the tradition, the primitive hut has been a source for architectural theory, a source of aesthetic inspiration, and authorisation of the proper values of architecture, be they utility, economy, shelter or classicism.

⁶² *ibid.*, plate IX.

⁶³ Rykwert, *On Adam's House in Paradise: The Idea of the Primitive Hut in Architectural History*, p.183.

However, architecture cannot remain insulated for the critical debates that go on in related disciplines. Marianna Torgovnick, writing in art history, explored the complicated roles of the primitive as both an exotic and a familiar world. She suggests that it has a special location as a point where the West locates the primitive, which was structured to 'sli[p] from their original metaphoric status'.⁶⁴ The special location is to serve the West because, in Torgovnick's words: 'to study the primitive brings us always back to ourselves, which we reveal in the act of defining the Other'.⁶⁵

However, this other is not always present merely to serve the western self. If we look at what the primitive as it was activated in the theory of the primitive hut in architectural history, we have seen that it is quite changeable in form. From Vitruvius's Gaul, Spain, Portugal and Aquitaine, Filarete's first biblical man, Adam, Laugier's antique texts and his recourse to the Northern Indians of Jesuit ethnographer, Lafitau, to Semper's Caribbean natives and the Chinese, the object of the primitive hut has changed as time has gone by. The primitive is not a fixed other outside the western self, but is defined as other and endowed with values of primitivism within the mind of western commentators.

The primitive contains not only the other as imagined through western eyes, but also real subjects, communities and identities. Gaul, Spain, Portugal and Aquitaine in the first century, Northern America in the eighteenth-century, the Caribbean and China in the nineteenth-century, those areas, countries, peoples and their buildings became collective information, adaptable data, reference and evidence to underpin what was regarded as a universal architectural theory. In addition, under architectural theory, those others' architecture is reduced as evidences of architectural principles, and is extracted from

⁶⁴ Marianna Torgovnick, *Gone Primitive: Savage Intellectuals, Modern Lives* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), p.8.

⁶⁵ *ibid.*, p.11.

their social, cultural and environmental context. This phenomenon also exists in another activity of searching for the origin – the writing of architectural history, and this will be considered in the next section.

5-2 The architecture of the other fills in the blank in world architectural history

A number of scholars point out that architectural history is a modern practice, in part because this practice involved a conscious use of history as a model for contemporary practice. David Watkin, for example, suggests that:

From the ancient world up to the time of Vasari in the sixteenth century, critics wrote about contemporary artists, but in the eighteenth century both the German Neo-Classicalists like Winckelmann and English Gothicists like Essex and Walpole, looked to the past for standards.⁶⁶

The importance of my emphasis on architectural history being a modern practice is to highlight its possible relationships with imperialism and orientalism. The aim of this section is to reconsider the framework of the writing of world architectural history in the mid- and late-nineteenth century from this perspective. To explain the location of the approach, I want to begin by briefly reviewing studies of architectural historiography.

The study of architectural historiography is a recent discipline dating only from the middle twentieth century. Watkin has historically elaborated architectural historiography in his book⁶⁷, and so has Nikolaus Pevsner,⁶⁸ Demetri Porphyrios⁶⁹ and Marvin Trachtenberg.⁷⁰ Theoretical considerations were also revealed in terms of ‘the

⁶⁶ Watkin, *The Rise of Architectural History*, p.1.

⁶⁷ Watkin, *The Rise of Architectural History*.

⁶⁸ Nikolaus Pevsner, *Some Architectural Writers of the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972).

⁶⁹ Demetri Porphyrios, ed. *On the Methodology of Architectural History* (Academy Editions, 1981).

⁷⁰ Marvin Trachtenberg, "Some Observations on Recent Architectural History," *The Art Bulletin* 70,

methodologies, techniques, and internal mechanisms and institutional contexts of the discipline'⁷¹ such as *Intersections: Architectural Histories and Critical Theories*,⁷² searching for interdisciplinary openings between theory and history, *Reading Architectural History*,⁷³ focusing on the rereading of architectural history texts through social and cultural theory, and *Rethinking Architectural Historiography*,⁷⁴ trying to open the boundary between art history, history, archaeology and architecture. Despite discussions on various subjects, themes, methods and even frameworks which have been expanded through the lenses of more theoretical interdisciplinary concerns, my concern is a postcolonial reading of the beginning of world architectural history, mainly the nineteenth century: how did western architects formulate the framework of world architectural history, and the evaluations of the other's architecture? This concern derived from two different bases: first, those monographs of architectural history in the nineteenth century became the challenged framework when Japanese architects tried to establish the system of oriental architecture. Their judgements of the other's architecture and their frame of world architectural history became a hidden entity within Japanese self-formulations of oriental and Japanese architecture. In addition, although Eurocentrism within those monographs has been aware of, and subjects, themes, methods and frameworks of architectural historiography have become more diverse in, the Western discipline, the influence of the original framework as an opposite other in the non-western discipline is still powerful. Ideas such as searching for a racial and national architectural identity still remain, and within them the West is always an existing other.

no. 2 (1988).

⁷¹ Elvan Altan Ergut and Belgin Turan Özkaya, "Introduction: Mapping Architectural Historiography," in *Rethinking Architectural Historiography* (Routledge, 2006), p.3.

⁷² Iain Borden and Jane Rendell, *Intersections: Architectural Histories and Critical Theories* (London; New York: Routledge, 2000).

⁷³ Dana Arnold, ed. *Reading Architectural History* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002).

⁷⁴ Dana Arnold, Elvan Altan Ergut and Belgin Turan Özkaya, *Rethinking Architectural Historiography* (London: Routledge, 2006).

These two reasons form an inevitable inquiry into the formation of world architectural history in the nineteenth century if I would like to reveal the struggle behind the formation of oriental and Japanese architecture.

Architectural historical approaches that do attempt to address the issue of primitive otherness, and so are of importance to this thesis, can be seen in Gülsüm Baydar Nalbantoğlu's and John McKean's essays,⁷⁵ which I reviewed in Chapter 2. The former essay sought to identify the way in which architectural discourse articulates the 'cultural/geographical binary of West/non-West' as a kind of 'inner/outer binary'⁷⁶ through the 'textuality' of representations of non-western architectures, through their 'categorization' and how they 'position' the subjects of those architectures in subordinate ways. The latter essay dealt with 'the possibility for a "world history of architecture"'⁷⁷ and two issues concerning the topic: a narrative within cultural intersection and articulation, and an archive under the consideration of the existence of the viewer/reader. My concern is to build on these approaches, in order to reveal the framework by which the idea of otherness was structured into the way in which Japanese and Taiwanese architecture was represented, documented, studied and understood. And the understanding of Japanese formulations of its primitive otherness must return to western frameworks of world architectural history, mainly through James Fergusson's and Sir Banister Fletcher's monographs. The section is to reveal their latent orientalism and the principally negative judgments they made on Eastern architecture, Chinese and Japanese architecture, in particular.

⁷⁵ Gülsüm Baydar Nalbantoğlu, "Toward Postcolonial Openings: Reading Sir Banister Fletcher's *History of Architecture*," *Assemblage* No.35 (1998), and John McKean, "Sir Banister Fletcher: Pillar to Post-Colonial Readings," *Journal of Architecture* 11, no. 2 (2006).

⁷⁶ Nalbantoğlu, "Toward Postcolonial Openings: Reading Sir Banister Fletcher's *History of Architecture*", p.9.

⁷⁷ McKean, "Sir Banister Fletcher: Pillar to Post-Colonial Readings", p.187.

Pevsner's argument becomes the best exemplification of a way in which those negative judgements were made. As he has argued:

A bicycle shed is a building; Lincoln Cathedral is a piece of architecture. Nearly everything that encloses space on a scale sufficient for a human being to move in is a building; the term architecture applies only to buildings designed with a view to aesthetic appeal.⁷⁸

Fergusson also drew a line between architecture and building, and he used this distinction to evaluate Eastern architecture. Fletcher, on the other hand, distinguished between historic and non-historic architecture to frame his ideal world architectural history. As we will see, the other architectures of the Chinese and the Japanese, was framed and evaluated by what the orientalists saw, within which they functioned as data that helped to fill in the blanks in the universal framework of architectural history.

5-2-1 James Fergusson's *History of Architecture*

In 1855, James Fergusson published two volumes of *The Illustrated Handbook of Architecture: Being a Concise and Popular Account of the Different Styles of Architecture Prevailing in All Ages & Countries*. He attempted to discover 'the principles that guided architects in the production of their splendid works in former days'.⁷⁹ The book was not organized in chronological order but structured by a 'Christian' and 'non-Christian' dichotomy. The former division included Romanesque, Lombard and Rhenish, Byzantine and, most importantly, Gothic architecture. He detailed Gothic architecture in France, Belgium, Germany, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Britain and Northern Europe. In the non-Christian section of the book, he introduced Buddhist, Jain, Hindu,

⁷⁸ Nikolaus Pevsner, *An Outline of European Architecture*, [7th edn (Baltimore, Md.: Penguin, 1974), p.7.

⁷⁹ James Fergusson, *The Illustrated Handbook of Architecture: Being a Concise and Popular Account of the Different Styles of Architecture Prevailing in All Ages and Countries*, 2 vols, Vol. 1 (London: J. Murray, 1855), p.v.

Chinese, American, Western Asian, Egyptian, Roman, Sassanian and Saracenic architecture. Fergusson published another book, *History of Modern Styles of Architecture*, in 1862 as the third volume of the *Handbook* which, as he stated in the preface, sought to elaborate architecture in Europe since the Renaissance in terms of what he saw as ‘the Copying or the Imitative Styles of Architectural Art’.⁸⁰ He extended the writing of this architectural history into the scope of ‘modern’ architecture. The first two volumes of the *Handbook* then were revised into chronological order and published as two volumes of *A History in All Countries, from the Earliest Time to Present Day* in 1865 and 1867. These two volumes can primarily be divided into three parts: ancient, Christian and pagan architecture. Although the first and second parts were organized chronologically, the third part, on pagan architecture including Persia, India, Hindu, Indian Saracenic, Naga, China Mexico and Peru, was incompatible with the two previous sections. A second, revised edition of *A History in All Countries* was published in 1874. In this new edition, the section on pagan architecture was extracted as an independent book, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, and published in 1876. Together with the new edition of *History of Modern Styles of Architecture* in 1873, they, for Fergusson, were considered as four volumes of the *History of Architecture*. From that moment, the chronological and geographical writing of the history of world architecture was established.

In *History of Architecture*, Fergusson tried to make a definition of architecture by distinguishing buildings from architecture: the former, although suitable and convenient for the purpose, cannot ‘remain[s] a permanent object of admiration and of study for all

⁸⁰ ———, *History of the Modern Styles of Architecture* (London: John Murray, 1873), p.1.

future ages’;⁸¹ and the latter was precisely the opposite. For Fergusson, fashion and style could become antiquated and out of date so that ‘we must go deeper below the surface to enable us to obtain a true definition of the art or of its purposes’.⁸² The deeper meaning of architecture, in his words, ‘is nothing more or less than the art of *ornamental and ornamented construction*’.⁸³

Ornamental construction, for him, did not need to be ornamented by decoration, but expressed its beauty by proportions of length to breadth, and height to both these, and the dispositions of the construction and its parts. By contrast, ornamented construction could still be an architectural object, even without ornamental construction. However, it is far more difficult. Both of these methods could construct permanent beauty, which is essential to architecture:

His object is to arrange the materials of the engineer, not so much with regard to economical as to artistic effects, and by light and shade, and outline, to produce a form that in itself shall be permanently beautiful. He then adds ornament, which by its meaning doubles the effect of the disposition he has just made, and by its elegance throws a charm over the whole composition.⁸⁴

Fergusson’s discrimination between building and architecture is clearly shown in his diagram (Fig. 5-8) to identify the process of becoming architecture from building step by step. In the diagram, the divisions A, B and C can only be considered as building. Division A is ‘the most prosaic form of building’ and has no attempt ‘to strengthen the parts requiring it’;⁸⁵ and division B belongs to works of civil engineering and disposes

⁸¹ ———, *The Illustrated Handbook of Architecture: Being a Concise and Popular Account of the Different Styles of Architecture Prevailing in All Ages and Countries*, 1, p.xxvi.

⁸² ———, *A History of Architecture in All Countries, from the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, 2 vols. (1874), p.11.

⁸³ *ibid.*, p.14.

⁸⁴ ———, *The Illustrated Handbook of Architecture: Being a Concise and Popular Account of the Different Styles of Architecture Prevailing in All Ages and Countries*, 1, p.xxix.

⁸⁵ ———, *A History of Architecture in All Countries, from the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, p.13.

‘the most suitable materials in the most economical but scientific manner’.⁸⁶ Division C, because its ornaments still represent utilitarianism, is ‘a better example of engineering’.⁸⁷ However, unlike the previous three divisions, division D applies a greater amount of ornament, with ‘all other things remaining the same’,⁸⁸ and division E applies ‘a great amount of ornament’, and produces ‘a more agreeable effect’ so that ‘a better class of architecture’⁸⁹ is produced, which is better than the mere application of ornament.

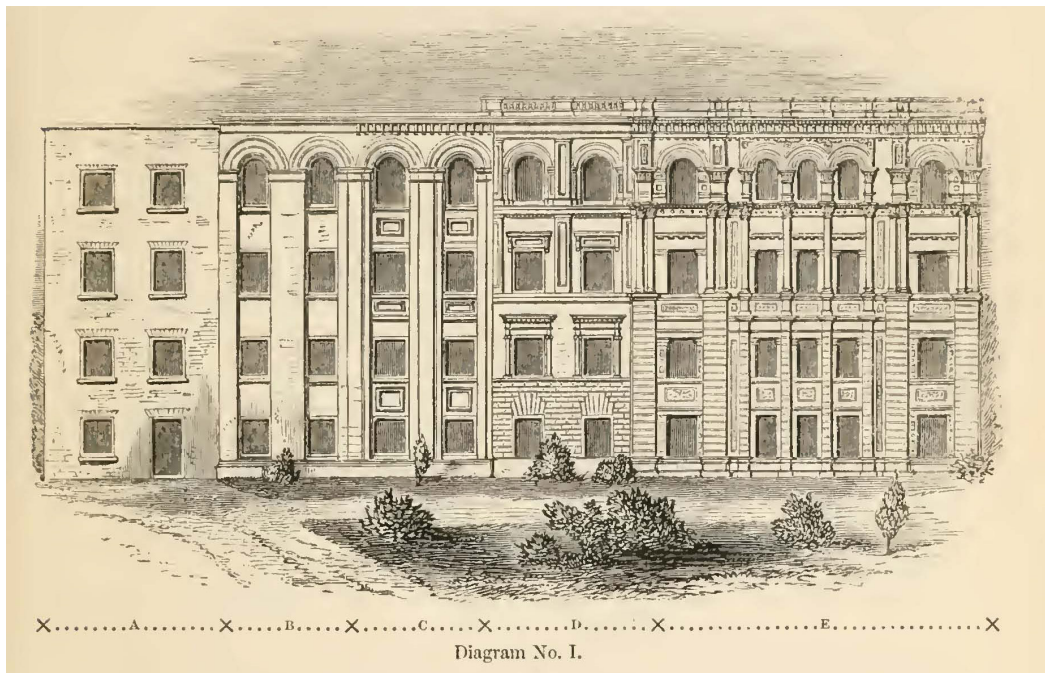


Fig. 5-8 Fergusson’s diagram.⁹⁰

In order to explain in detail the principles of architecture for his readers, Fergusson systematically elaborated several factors by which to evaluate good architecture, namely: mass, stability, materials, construction, forms, proportion, carved ornament, decorative colour, sculpture and painting, uniformity, imitation of nature, association, new style,

⁸⁶ *ibid.*, p.13

⁸⁷ *ibid.*, p.13

⁸⁸ *ibid.*, p.13

⁸⁹ *ibid.*, p.14

⁹⁰ ———, *The Illustrated Handbook of Architecture: Being a Concise and Popular Account of the Different Styles of Architecture Prevailing in All Ages and Countries*, 1, p.xxvii.

and prospects.⁹¹ These factors comprised Fergusson's criterion of architecture.

Fergusson's outlining of this criterion was reflected in his descriptions and judgments of world architecture. In his *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* published in 1876 as the third volume of *History of Architecture*, his evaluation of eastern Asian architecture is clearly shown. He devoted a section containing 25 pages to Chinese architecture, and less than one page to Japanese architecture. At the beginning of a general introduction, he praised the long history and civilization of the Chinese as similar to that of Egypt, but criticized Chinese architecture:

In these and fifty other particulars, the manners and customs of the two peoples seem identical, and the perfect parallelism only breaks down when we come to speak of their buildings. There are no tombs in China to be compared with the Pyramids, and no temples that approach those of Thebes in dimensions or in splendour.⁹²

Fergusson believed that the Chinese did not have any monumental architecture to equal the Pyramids in Egypt, and from this point of view he concluded that 'the Chinese never had either a dominant priesthood or a hereditary nobility'.⁹³ Without what Fergusson called 'priesthood' and 'nobility', the Chinese could not think of any of those 'higher modes of expression' and only 'employment' remained.⁹⁴ Hence, 'Chinese architecture is not worthy of much attention'.⁹⁵

The simple fact is, that China possesses scarcely anything worthy of the name of architecture. This is of importance as enabling us to understand how, in other countries, as in ancient India, a high degree of civilization may have been attained

⁹¹ These factors were originally stated in the *Handbook* without sculpture and painting, and accessories, but included ethnography. Yet in the *History of Architecture*, the ethnography was extracted as an independent part.

⁹² James Architect Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture ... Forming the Third Volume of the New Edition of the 'History of Architecture.'* (pp. xviii. 756. John Murray: London, 1876), p.686.

⁹³ *ibid.*, pp. 686-687.

⁹⁴ *ibid.*, p.688.

⁹⁵ *ibid.*, p.688.

without producing any coeval monuments of durable character.⁹⁶

Fergusson further described in detail some Chinese architecture or artifice that could be included in the category of religious architecture or could contain hereditary nobility such as pagodas, Buddhist temples, taas, tombs, pailoos and domestic architecture.

Before the conclusion, he briefly mentioned Japanese architecture:

The same remarks apply to Japan. So far as our knowledge at present extends, there is not a single permanent building in the island of so monumental a character as to deserve being dignified by being classed among the true architectural examples of other countries.⁹⁷

It may be, however, that the Japanese do not belong to one of the building races of mankind, and have no taste for this mode of magnificence.⁹⁸

Without an identifiable root of architecture, according to Fergusson, the Japanese even had no taste and, furthermore, no architecture which could be recorded in the history.

[...] it is to be feared that, though quaint and curious in itself, and so far worthy of attention, it is of little interest beyond the shores of the islands themselves. On the other hand, it is to be feared that the extent of our knowledge is sufficient to make it only too clear that the art, as practised in Japan, has no title to rank with that already described in the preceding pages, and consequently no claim to a place in a general history of architectural art.⁹⁹

To summarize the section the Chinese architecture, Fergusson, as he did in the descriptions of Japanese architecture, twinned architecture with the race of its builder, and put them at the same level.

They have no poetry, properly so called, and no literature worthy of the name. Their painting never rose much above the scale of decoration, their sculpture is more carving than anything we know by the higher name, and their architecture stands on the same low level as their other arts. It is rich, ornamental, and appropriate for

⁹⁶ Fergusson, *The Illustrated Handbook of Architecture: Being a Concise and Popular Account of the Different Styles of Architecture Prevailing in All Ages and Countries*, 1, p.133.

⁹⁷ Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture ... Forming the Third Volume of the New Edition of the 'History of Architecture'*, pp.709-10.

⁹⁸ *ibid.*, p.710.

⁹⁹ *ibid.*, p.710.

domestic purposes, but ephemeral and totally wanting in dignity and grandeur of conception. Still it is pleasing, because truthful; but, after all, its great merit in the eyes of the student of architecture will probably turn out to rest on the light it throws on the earlier styles, and on the ethnographic relations of China to the surrounding nations of Eastern Asia.¹⁰⁰

5-2-2 Sir Banister Fletcher's *A History of Architecture upon the Comparative Method*

The first edition of Sir Banister Fletcher's *A History of Architecture Upon the Comparative Method* was published in 1896. Fletcher, in the preface, stated that '[a]rchitecture has often been too much isolated from its surroundings'¹⁰¹ so that 'the main points of the physical geography, social progress, and historical development of each country require to be understood'.¹⁰² '[A] comparative and analytical method', in Fletcher's sense, had to contrast 'the essential parts which every building possesses' in each architectural style, by which the real characters of each architectural style can be understood.

'[T]he essential parts which every building possesses', in Fletcher's concept, should be analysed as 'the influences', which included geographical, geological, climatic, religious, social and political, and historical. These analytical factors formed not only Fletcher's first comparative section but also the basis of the second section on architectural character, 'its special quality, and the general effect produced by the building as a whole'.¹⁰³ Section 3 contained examples; section 4 was a comparative analysis; and section 5 a list of reference books.

The first edition of Fletcher's *A History of Architecture Upon the Comparative Method*

¹⁰⁰ *ibid.*, p.710.

¹⁰¹ Banister Sir Fletcher, *A History of Architecture Upon the Comparative Method*, 1st edn. (London 1896), p.v.

¹⁰² *ibid.*, p.v.

¹⁰³ *ibid.*, p.vi.

focused mainly on western architecture history from Egyptian architecture to the nineteenth century. When it was revised into the fourth edition, the whole book was expanded and divided into two parts, part 1 of which referred to historical style, and included a series of architectural developments influenced by Western civilisation. As he stated in the book:

In introducing this comparative treatment of Historical Architecture, we propose to give a general outline sketch of the course which the art has taken up to the present time in Europe, also in those countries, such as Egypt and Assyria, which have influenced that *development*.¹⁰⁴

Part 2 dealt with what Fletcher called non-historical styles, which included Indian, Chinese, Japanese and Central American architecture. In terms of their ‘little direct influence’, they ‘need not interrupt the story of the evolution of European historical Architecture’.¹⁰⁵

This affords a comparative treatment of what are known as the non-historical styles, *viz.*, the Indian, Chinese, Japanese and Saracenic. They have been kept **apart** from the Historical styles, with which they are but little connected, as they cannot be said to form part of the **evolution** of Western Architecture. Nevertheless, a history of architecture, as **a whole**, is bound to take account of these Eastern styles, whose interrelations and individual characteristics are of no little interest.¹⁰⁶

In the name of ‘development’ and ‘evolution’, western architecture can be regarded as being ‘a whole’, in contrast to non-historical, which is apart from history, and also ‘apart’ from the ‘whole’ of architecture. He described these as being ‘decorative schemes’, ‘ugly or *bizarre*’,¹⁰⁷ standing apart from western canon. In other words, non-historical styles cannot be regarded as being architecture due to their inherent disqualification.

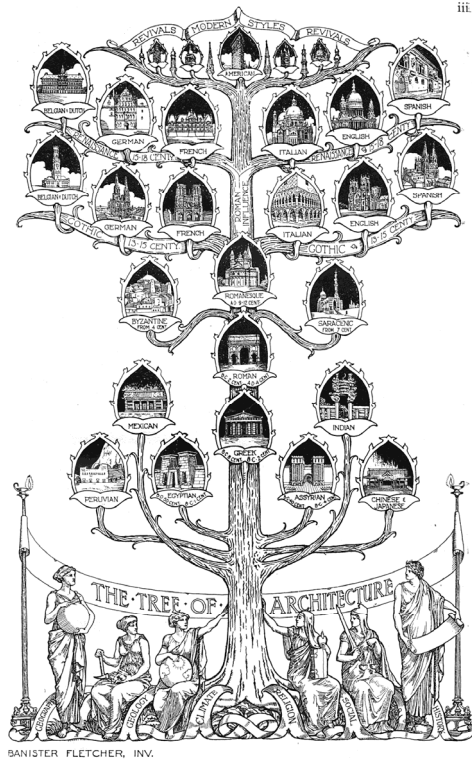
¹⁰⁴ ———, *A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method*, 4 edn (pp. li. 738. B. T. Batsford: London, 1901), p.1, (my stress).

¹⁰⁵ *ibid.*, p. 437.

¹⁰⁶ *ibid.*, p. vi, (my stress).

¹⁰⁷ *ibid.*, p. 438.

It is clear to see the location of non-historical styles in his drawing of the Tree of Architecture (Fig. 5-9), which is a map of world architectural history, in the frontispiece of the book. According to the drawing, the tree is cultivated by six leading influences: Geographical, Geological, Climate, Religion, Social and History. The main trunk of the tree consists of Greek, Roman and Romanesque, and the tree-crown, from the bottom to the top, is composed of Gothic (13th-15th century), Renaissance (15th-18th century), and Revivalist and Modern styles. It is clear that the growth of the tree depends on time, from the bottom of the antique to the top of the modern. It is also clear that the most important part of the tree consists principally of main-stream western architectural history. Following this main-stream, which he called the historical style, western architecture was not only alive and well, but also had a sunny outlook. In contrast, Indian, Chinese, Japanese and Central American, which he labelled as being non-historical styles, began their architectural techniques almost as early as Egypt did, and shared the same trunk as historical styles. Yet, without history, they remained as small branches. This distinction can also be seen in the captions beginning from the sentence, 'This Tree of Architecture shows the main growth or evolution of the various styles...'. Fletchers's idea of growth and evolution refers to the trunk, the main-stream of western architectural history; in contrast, non-historical styles had no growth and no evolution.



BANISTER FLETCHER, INV.

This Tree of Architecture shows the main growth or evolution of the various styles, but must be taken as suggestive only, for minor influences cannot be indicated on a diagram of this kind.

Fig. 5-9 The tree of architecture.¹⁰⁸

In the section on Chinese and Japanese architecture, Fletcher described objective natural environmental conditions in China and Japan such as geographical, geological and climate, and religion, social and political conditions. These conditions were the main factors forming Chinese and Japanese architectural character. Fletcher believed that Chinese architecture had ‘been stationary from the earliest times’,¹⁰⁹ had ‘been subject to little process,’ and ‘has exerted but little influence on other styles’.¹¹⁰ He further suggested Japanese architecture to be buildings that have ‘a special character of minuteness’,¹¹¹ which contrasted with Egyptian and Roman architecture ‘in which the great idea was vastness of size and grandeur of proportion’.¹¹²

¹⁰⁸ *ibid.*, frontispiece.

¹⁰⁹ *ibid.*, p.461.

¹¹⁰ *ibid.*, p.461.

¹¹¹ *ibid.*, p.462.

¹¹² *ibid.*, p.462.

5-2-3 Reconsidering the other's architecture in architectural history

Fergusson defined architecture as the art of *ornamental and ornamented construction*, and he further projected this definition onto Chinese and Japanese architecture. Under his judgments, they were buildings instead of architecture. In a similar vein, Fletcher also distinguished between historical and non-historical architecture. For him, architecture was like a tree: with roots, a trunk and branches, this tree could grow up and architecture could develop continuously; by contrast, a tree with only roots, or only branches, could not survive, and non-historical architecture was such a case. All that remained for the other's architecture in Fergusson's and Fletcher's constructions of world architecture was to fill in the geographic and historic blank in their framework.

Both Fergusson and Fletcher, although in different ways, considered eastern architecture as that of an inferior, undeveloped other, which was very similar to Said's construction of orientalism in *Orientalism*. This postcolonial reading of architectural history has been shown in Nalbantoğlu's and McKean's articles: the former revealing the articulation between 'the inner/outer binary of architectural discourse' and the 'cultural/geographical binary of West/Non-West', and to the disciplinary boundary; and the latter reconsidering the possibility of rewriting the history of architecture in the light of postcolonial consideration.

However, to reveal Fergusson's and Fletcher's Eurocentric ideology and orientalism through the light of postcolonial criticism is not to reconsider the broader theoretical debates, as Nalbantoğlu did, or the possibility of writing a new history of architecture, but, as is my purpose, to provide the basis for an opposition to Japanese self-formation of Oriental and Japanese architectural history. Before we start to outline how Japanese

architects stated oriental and Japanese architectural systems and history, it is necessary to review the final section of the other's architecture's role in western architectural discipline, which is vernacular architecture as a challenge to western institutionalized architecture.

5-3 Vernacular architectural studies as an alternative approach to the discipline

The study of vernacular architecture is the third heading under which architecture and otherness are brought together explicitly. The term 'vernacular', in architecture, mainly refers to those buildings which are constructed according to traditional patterns, and are built mainly by non-elite craftsman using hand tools employing materials which are sourced relatively locally. Typically, such vernacular buildings are considered to sensitively and directly reflect environmental, cultural, social and political conditions of the context in which they are located. The term could include everyday domiciles, work structures and ceremonial cultural sites. Vernacular buildings – those of the west and non-west – were excluded from the western canonical architectural discipline for a long period. When vernacular buildings emerged as a theme for formal research after the mid-twentieth century issues of materials, construction methods, socio-cultural concerns, and the utilitarian needs of the people who used the buildings were the dominant concerns. More recently an interest in vernacular architectures has also involved concern for preservation.¹¹³ The key critical concern is the phenomenon whereby other -- geographically distant, culturally distinctive, often 'primitive' – architectural traditions come to serve as examples and collective data that support the rejuvenation of the discipline of architecture.

¹¹³ Suzanne Preston Blier, "Vernacular Architecture," in *Handbook of Material Culture*, ed. Christopher Y. Tilley (London: Sage, 2006), p.230.

This phenomenon could also be seen when vernacular architecture was considered as offering a new approach to architectural design in order to update or reform an institutionalized architectural discipline. However, through the lens of postcolonial theory, examples or collective data of other architectures were still assessed on the basis of western conceptions of the world and how it was divided and categorized. The focus on vernacular architecture and how it functioned in a more generalised western architectural discipline, offers a template for how the vernacular architectures of Taiwan were placed in the context of Japanese cultural imperialism.

Different from discussions of the primitive hut and architectural history, vernacular architecture has basically been marginalized from the western architecture discipline. This phenomenon changed with the advent of the exhibition *Architecture without Architects* at the Museum of Modern Art in 1964. That exhibition initiated a breaking down of the orthodox western architectural history by ‘introducing the unfamiliar world of nonpedigreed architecture’.¹¹⁴ The curator of the exhibition, Bernard Rudofsky, sought to challenge the geographical, evolutionary and hierarchical discrimination of the narrative of architecture in the West in order, as he put it, to ‘free ourselves from our narrow world of official and commercial architecture’, and to serve as a ‘departure for the exploration of our architectural prejudices’.¹¹⁵ Vernacular architecture, for Rudofsky, was not only something to challenge the western architectural canon, but also to be regarded as a ‘source of architectural inspiration for industrial man’.¹¹⁶ Vernacular architecture reveals ancient wisdoms, in Rudofsky’s mind, which could solve problems of the then (1960s) contemporary industrial life.

¹¹⁴ Bernard Rudofsky, *Architecture Without Architects: A Short Introduction to Non-Pedigreed Architecture* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1965), p.1.

¹¹⁵ *ibid.*, p.3.

¹¹⁶ *ibid.*, p.7.

Studies in vernacular architecture question the problems of ideal classification and its effects created by the tradition of the western architectural discipline. Amos Rapoport was another significant figure in the early formation of the field, best known for his book *House, Form and Culture* (1969). He argued that the discipline of architecture was overly focused on monuments, but that most everyday buildings have been largely ignored in architectural history and theory.¹¹⁷ This monumental architecture, in Yasemin Asyan and Necdet Teymur's words, is a 'selective constitution of the objects of the architectural domain'.¹¹⁸ Keith Diaz Moore, in his reflections on Rappoport's earlier work, believed that, historically, architectural theory aimed to discern the universal truths of the discipline, and that this project necessarily discounted an interest in culture.¹¹⁹ As a consequence architectural discourse has tended to isolate itself from the society in which it is physically located.¹²⁰ Suha Özkan, Mete Turan and Okan Üstünkök, in their reflection on studies in vernacular architecture in education, challenged the dichotomy between architecture and building in architectural history, education and conservation,¹²¹ and 'the theoretical implications of such a differentiation and its consequences in the final environmental analysis become critical enough to compel us to look for the difference'.¹²² Furthermore, there has also been an absence or a lack of a proper treatment of vernacular architecture in the curricula of the schools of architecture.¹²³ As

¹¹⁷ Amos Rapoport, *House Form and Culture* (Englewood Cliffs, 1969), p.1.

¹¹⁸ Yasemin Asyan and Necdet Teymur, "'Vernacularism' in Architectural Education," in *Vernacular Architecture: Paradigms of Environmental Response*, ed. Mete Turan (Aldershot England; Brookfield, USA: Avebury, 1990), p.305.

¹¹⁹ Keith Diaz Moore, ed. *Culture - Meaning - Architecture: Critical Reflections on the Work of Amos Rapoport* (Ashgate, 2000), p.1.

¹²⁰ *ibid.*, p.2.

¹²¹ Suha Özkan, Mete Turan and Okan Üstünkök, "Institutionalised Architecture, Vernacular Architecture and Vernacularism in Historical Perspective," *M. E. T. U. Journal of the Faculty of Architecture* 5, no. 2 (1979), p.130.

¹²² Mete Turan, "Vernacular Design and Environmental Wisdom " in *Vernacular Architecture: Paradigms of Environmental Response*, ed. Mete Turan (Aldershot England; Brookfield, USA: Avebury, 1990), p.7.

¹²³ Mete Turan, *Vernacular Architecture: Paradigms of Environmental Response*, Ethnoscapes v. 4 (Aldershot England; Brookfield, USA: Avebury, 1990), p.viii.

Paul Oliver notes, the majority of world architecture, constructions built by ‘their owners, communities that pool resources, or by local specialized builders and craftsmen’.¹²⁴ For Oliver, perhaps the best known contemporary scholar in this field, vernacular architecture has been systematically omitted from western mainstream scholarship on architecture.

The diversity and environmental and cultural specificity of vernacular architecture is important for a postcolonial consideration of non-European architectures and building traditions, and for the wider themes of this thesis. Generally speaking, vernacular architecture could refer to ‘indigenous’, ‘tribal’, ‘folk’, ‘peasant’, ‘traditional’, ‘anonymous’, ‘native’, ‘domestic’, ‘subaltern’¹²⁵ buildings. However, none of these terms taken individually could completely represent the meaning of vernacular architecture. For instance, the term ‘indigenous’ neglects immigrants and colonists; ‘anonymous’ is a reflection of the observer’s bias as the opposite to named architects; ‘folk’ also implies class distinction; and ‘tradition’ sometimes includes monumental and architect-designed constructions.¹²⁶ In terms of the difficulty of defining vernacular architecture, Oliver concluded:

Sometimes tribal and localized, sometime of peasant origin, sometimes unified by resources or religion, vernacular traditions are extremely diverse.¹²⁷

The irreducible diversity of the characteristics of vernacular architecture also provides diverse considerations and perceptions of architecture. The awareness of culture is the first. ‘Cultural traits and attributes’ are a classification adopted to identify various types

¹²⁴ Paul Oliver, "Introduction," in *Encyclopedia of Vernacular Architecture of the World*, ed. Paul Oliver (Cambridge university Press, 1997), p.xxi.

¹²⁵ Oliver, "Introduction", p.xxi and Blier, "Vernacular Architecture", p.230.

¹²⁶ Oliver, "Introduction", p.xxi.

¹²⁷ *ibid.*, p,xxii.

of vernacular architecture within which related issues such as social relations and construction, economic activity, religious beliefs, tradition and values are considered. The environmental condition comes second. The conditions of climate, location and natural hazard affect the siting of communities, the movement of populations and the pattern of settlement. They also influence the materials and resources which can be used within a specific community. Vernacular architecture is considered as a process of production: it is determined by 'technological principles', such as 'structural types, assembly, spatial organization and functions of buildings in different cultural contexts'¹²⁸ or 'the dialectical relationship between people and their environment within the limits of the prevailing social relations'.¹²⁹ Vernacular architecture is also regarded as a knowledge system. Related issues such as services, symbolism, typologies, functions, education and conservation have also been discussed.

The diversity of topics and researches on vernacular architecture shows an ambition to challenge the tradition of the western architectural discipline within which the dichotomy between architecture and building has been defined, and the methods and judgments of architectural history and theory have been systematically and ideally formulated. If vernacular architecture can be considered as a reversing of architectural history and theory, as I mentioned in the previous two sections, in the tradition of western discipline, what role has the other's architecture, as part of vernacular architecture, played in the activity? If we look at what has been written by vernacular architecture scholars, the answer is quite clear:

This has led to what I call the four-fold expansion of that **evidence**, and which is another way to organize the bibliography. This involved including (i) all types of

¹²⁸ *ibid.*, p.xxiv.

¹²⁹ Turan, "Vernacular Design and Environmental Wisdom ", pp.13-14.

environments (including vernacular, popular, spontaneous settlements, etc.), (ii) the whole environment (cultural landscape, system of settings and also semi-fixed and non-fixed features), (iii) all of history (possibly via hominids to animals origins of both built environments and culture) and (iv) all cultures.¹³⁰

I emphasize the role of cultural variables and use **examples** from diverse cultures and periods, as well as a variety of environments and sources, to allow for more valid generalizations than are possible if one considers only the high-style tradition, only the recent past, only the Western cultural tradition, and only the formal research literature.¹³¹

Regardless of the type of interest and the agent, vernacular architecture as a **reference** has existed as a separate entity, perhaps since its split from institutionalized architecture.¹³²

‘Evidence’, ‘examples’ and ‘reference’ clearly show the consideration that vernacular architecture as data exemplified the theories and strategies of reversing dominant architectural history and theory underpinned by institutionalized architecture.

In discussing the primitive hut and of the search-for-origins tradition in architectural history in the western architectural discipline in the first and second sections of this chapter, I hope that it is clear that the other to the architecture of the west has been adapted as ideal and material data supporting architectural theory and history in the discipline. By contrast, vernacular architecture seems to offer an alternative to these historical approaches in challenging the norms of institutionalized architectural theory and design from the outside. However, within vernacular architecture studies, the architecture of the other, as I have shown above, has also been regarded as a form of ‘evidence’, as ‘examples’ or as a point of ‘reference’ for a western architectural norm. It seems that there is a common tendency in each of those three headings in that the architecture or building traditions of the non-European other inevitably comes to be

¹³⁰ Amos Rapoport, "On the Importance of Theory," in *Culture - Meaning - Architecture: Critical Reflections on the Work of Amos Rapoport*, ed. Keith Diaz Moore (2000), p.28. (My emphasis.)

¹³¹ ———, *The Meaning of the Built Environment* (The University of Arizona Press, 1990), p.9. (My emphasis.)

¹³² Turan, "Vernacular Design and Environmental Wisdom ", p.3. (My emphasis.)

co-opted into the architectural norms of the west. Despite that, vernacular studies of architecture offer, as I have suggested, the most plausible opening to a critical consideration on non-European architectures and the wider issue of identity formation in and through the medium of building and architecture.

The thesis now turns to a more geographically and historically more situated discussion of Japanese and Taiwanese architecture in the next two chapters respectively. These chapters explore the complex process by which the Japanese established an oriental architectural system that both drew upon and resisted the western, orientalist framework of world architecture history, that developed a national identity for Japan, and that located Taiwanese architecture – as a kind of primitive other to Japan – within it.

Chapter 6 The Formation of Japanese architecture and the oriental architectural system

The first part of this thesis (chapters 3-5) focussed on three primary theoretical topics: postcolonial theory; material culture and *mingei* theory; and the architecture of non-European others in western architectural discourse. As we saw, Said's orientalism demonstrated the way in which western imperial dominance over the east was exercised not only in politics, but also in the sphere of academic knowledge. We also saw how scholars such as Bhabha and Spivak sought to extend insights and overcome particular difficulties with Said's dichotomizing of West and East through concepts such as hybridity and ambivalence, and through the strategic use of essentialism. Said, Bhabha and Spivak help to open a window for scholars to reconsider the history under imperialism and colonialism. In the light of this opening, culture has been reconsidered as a field of domination, resistance and negotiation. As Hall and Benhabib have shown, culture is not merely a representation of a group of people, a race or a nation, but a positioned series of contested 'statements'.

Yuko Kikuchi's subsequent formulation of oriental orientalism attempted to articulate postcolonial theories within an Eastern Asian context. Kikuchi's formulation opened up a dual and complicated elaboration of the concept of orientalism. Under her elaboration, oriental orientalism, being based on both orientalism and occidentalism through which Japan created its own orient, was a further hybridized.

Kikuchi showed not only a response to postcolonial theories but also offered a new focus of materialized forms of cultural representation. The *mingei* movement, under her

elaboration, represented not only the epitome of skill and handling of material, but also the way in which Japaneseness was formulated in and through materials. By reconsidering material culture in the context of the formation of Japanese national identity in the light of postcolonial criticism, Kikuchi offers a framework for considering architecture and building traditions too. This approach necessarily implies an understanding of the way in which western approaches to architectural history were assumed to be universal in application.

However, if we locate these wider themes more precisely in the historical context of Japan we can examine the tensions, resistances and hybridizations in more detail. As we have seen, western architectural theory typically acknowledges non-western architectures and building traditions as a means to affirm the superiority of the west, such that non-western traditions serve as either a silent data supporting architectural discourse or an inferior other in a universal (western) architectural history. I now turn to consider Japanese responses to this orientalist project. Since formal Japanese architectural education derived from the west, and Japanese scholars of oriental architectural history directly responded to descriptions of oriental architecture in western architectural histories, this is a doubly entangled discursive history. So what needs to be explored in the chapters is why and how Japanese intellectuals responded to architectural orientalism in the discipline, and sought to establish an oriental architectural history. This current chapter, Chapter 6, will deal with the Japanese formation of oriental architectural history, mainly through discussion of Chūta Itō's work; while Chapter 7 will focus on that of Taiwanese architectural history and its role in the wider Japanese project of oriental orientalism.

Itō was the first scholar who was both educated according to the western system and who systematically surveyed traditional Japanese architecture. He was also the first Japanese scholar to provide a comprehensive account on the history of oriental architecture. It is therefore almost certain that the subsequent development of Japanese oriental architectural history derived from Itō's foundational work. This chapter, therefore, examines Itō's educational background, his research interests and his research in order to further elucidate the development of a Japanese framework of oriental architectural history.

6-1 The background of Chūta Itō's architectural knowledge

By reviewing the background of Itō's architectural education, it is possible to suggest that Itō's knowledge of architecture was heavily based on the knowledge of architecture of the West that he was taught. However, he also received some knowledge of Japanese architecture from his teacher, Kiyoyoshi (清敬) Kigo (木子). I will elaborate Itō's background in architectural education in the sections which follow, looking at a range of sources from the foundation of the *miyatsukoka* (architectural department, 造家學科) where he trained, to the work of his lecturers such as Josiah Conder.

6-1-1 Chūta Itō's western disciplinary architectural knowledge

6-1-1.1 Josiah Conder's influence

Josiah Conder (1852-1920) was the professor in the *miyatsukoka* (architectural department, 造家學科) in *Kōbu Daigakkō* (the Imperial College of Engineering, 工部大学校).¹ The purpose of the foundation of the *miyatsukoka* was to cultivate modern

¹ *Kōbu Daigakkō* (the Imperial College of Engineering, 工部大学校) was founded in 1877, the same year that Conder went to Japan, and its predecessor was *Kōgakuryō* (the School of Engineering, 工學

Japanese architects, and it was not regarded as being particularly successful until Conder took over the organization. Such was his success that he has subsequently been widely believed to be ‘the father of Western architecture in Japan’.² He achieved his mission of transmitting the European architectural style and technology to Japan, and also introducing systematic architectural education there.³ Conder’s influences on Itō can be seen through two different points of view. As the first professor in the *miyatsukoka*, Conder had had a great impact on the transmission of western architectural knowledge and education in the department. On the other hand, his studies on Japanese architecture also reveal some similarity with Itō’s research on oriental architecture although this similarity has been rarely discussed in detail.⁴ Conder’s significant and foundational role

寮), which had been founded in 1871. *Kōbu Daigakkō* was united with *Teikoku Daigaku* (Tokyo Imperial University) in 1886, and in 1947 *Teikoku Daigaku* (Tokyo Imperial University) was renamed the University of Tokyo. See *Nippon Kenchiku Gakkai* (Architectural Institute of Japan, 日本建築学会), ed. *Kindai Nippon Kenchiku Gaku Hattatsu Shi (Shita) (History of Architectural Development in Modern Japan (2), 近代日本建築学発達史(下))* (Tokyo (東京): *Bunsei Shoin* (文生書院), 2001), pp.1801-12.

² Terunobu (照信) Fujimori (藤森), "Josiah Conder and Japan," in *Josiah Conder*, ed. East Japan Railway Culture Foundation (Tokyo: East Japan Railway Culture Foundation, 1997), p.17.

³ Shigekatsu (重勝) Onogi (小野木), *Yōshiki No Ishizue (The Basis of Style, 様式の礎)*, 10 vols, Vol. 2, *Nippon No Kenchiku Meiji Taishō Shōwa* (Japanese Architecture- Meiji, Taishō and Shōwa, 日本の建築明治大正昭和) (Tokyo: Sanseido (三省堂), 1979), p.95.

⁴ The lack of discussions on Conder’s influence on Itō’s research on oriental architectural history can be examined from three perspectives: Japanese modern architectural historiography, studies on Josiah Conder, and studies on Chūta Itō. From the first perspective, Shinziru (真次郎) Kirishiki (桐敷), Teijirou (貞次郎) Muramatsu (村松), and Terunobu Fujimori formulated Conder’s roles and activities in the development of Japanese modern architectural history. However, they all paid attention to either Conder’s role as the educator or his practical architectural projects. See Shinziru (真次郎) Kirishiki (桐敷), *Meiji No Kenchiku (Meiji Architecture, 明治の建築)* (Hon-no-tomosha Publishers(本の友社), 2001 (1965)); Teijirou (貞次郎) Muramatsu (村松), *Nihon Kindai Kenchiku No Shi (The History of Japanese modern Architecture, 日本近代建築の歴史)* (Nihon Housou Shuppan Kyokai (日本放送出版協会), 1977) and Terunobu (照信) Fujimori (藤森), *Ri Ben Jin Dai Jian Zhu (Japanese Modern Architecture, 日本近代建築)*, trans. Chun-Ming (俊銘) Huang (黃) (Taipei (臺北市): *Wunan* (五南), 2008). For the studies on Conder, Fujimori briefly outlined Conder’s life and his activities in Japan; Crook J. Mordaunt focused on Conder’s education background in England; Hiroyuki (博之) Suzuki (鈴木) dealt with Conder’s architectural practice. For those studies, Conder could be considered as one of earliest foreigners who were interested in Japanese art, but rarely as a pioneer and illuminator of studies on Japanese and oriental architecture. See Fujimori (藤森), "Josiah Conder and Japan", J. Mordaunt Crook, "Josiah Conder in England: education, training and background," in *Josiah Conder*, ed. East Japan Railway Culture Foundation (Tokyo: East Japan Railway Culture Foundation, 1997) and Hiroyuki (博之) Suzuki (鈴木), "The Business Practices of the Architect Josiah Conder - Focussing on the Takanawa Residence of Iwasaki Yanosuke," in *Josiah Conder*, ed. East Japan

in this context can be understood by reviewing his background, his ideas on architecture and his studies of Japanese architecture.

Conder graduated from the South Kensington School of Art and London University. He joined Roger Smith and William Burges's architect's office in 1869. His experience of two different architectural educational systems, from the school and the office, endowed him with 'both the theory and the practice of his profession'.⁵ In addition to this theoretical and practical basis in the profession, J. Mordaunt Crook has also shown that Conder was deeply influenced by Smith and Burges' enthusiasm for Eastern art.⁶ It seems that, as David Stewart has commented, Conder could have also been under Gottfried Semper's influence because the South Kensington art school had been founded under Semper's advice.⁷

When Conder organized the *miyatsukoka* in Japan, he transplanted his western-disciplinary architectural education. This can be seen from the arrangement of architectural courses consisting of both technical and theoretical subjects. The former included 'Surveying', 'Strength of Materials', 'Geology', 'Architecture and Building Construction', 'The Drawing Office', and 'Freehand Drawing',⁸ and the latter can be

Railway Culture Foundation (Tokyo: East Japan Railway Culture Foundation, 1997). Studies on Itō's works, although revealed the influence of western architectural knowledge, rarely paid attention to Conder's role in Itō's formation of Japanese and oriental architectural history. For those studies, Conder seemed to be only considered as a role delivering western architectural knowledge, and Itō developed his theories on his own. For example, Shigeru (茂) Maruyama(丸山), *Nippon No Kenchiku To Shisō: Itō Chūta Shō Ron (Japanese Architecture and Thought: On Itō Chūta, 日本の建築と思想: 伊東忠太小論)* (Tokyo (東京): Doubunshoin (同文書院), 1996).

⁵ Crook, "Josiah Conder in England: education, training and background", p.26.

⁶ *ibid.*, pp.26-27

⁷ David B. Stewart, *The Making of a Modern Japanese Architecture: 1868 to the Present* (Kodansha International, 1987), p.36.

⁸ *Kōbu Daigakkō* (The Imperial College of Engineering, 工部大学校), "Kōbu Daigakko Gakka Narabi Sho Kisoku (Regulations and Syllabus of Studies for the Imperial College of Engineering, 工部大学校学課並諸規則)," in *Meiji Bunka Zenshū. Hōkan San Noukō Hen (The Complete Collection of Meiji Culture. Additional Volume 3: Agriculture and Engineering, 明治文化全集. 補*

divided into ‘The History and Art of Architecture’ and ‘The Qualities of Materials and Principles of Building Construction’.⁹ The influence of western disciplinary architectural knowledge can also be seen in Conder’s emphasis on the relationship between art and architecture. Conder always wanted young Japanese students to understand that the essence of architecture was beauty.¹⁰ In a speech entitled *A Few Remarks upon Architecture* in 1878, he claimed that education for an architect consists of both scientific and artistic education.

I am laying great stress upon the Artistic Education of an Architect; for, it is this part of his acquirements for which there are no formulae, and which can not be defined by distinct laws, and rules. A man who creates a work of Art, will have certain feelings, and considerations, or passions, which guide him in his labour; but he can give you no mechanical rules by which you can do likewise; nor give you the power of appreciating his work, unless your taste be cultured. It is necessary that you should have a soul capable of entering into his feelings, and an imagination to perceive his ideas.¹¹

Conder’s emphasis on the artistic aspect of architecture is directly reflected in the topic of Itō’s thesis written at *Teikoku Daigaku* (Tokyo Imperial University) and I shall pursue this in more detail later.

Conder’s work is also significant for his studies of Japanese architecture. He published ‘Notes on Japanese Architecture’,¹² ‘Further Notes on Japanese Architecture’,¹³ and

巻 3 農工篇), ed. *Meiji Bunka Kenkyūkai* (明治文化研究会) (Tokyo (東京): *Meiji Bunka Kenkyūkai* (明治文化研究会), 1974), p.114

⁹ *ibid.*, p.130

¹⁰ Fujimori (藤森), "Josiah Conder and Japan", p.17.

¹¹ Josiah Conder, "A Few Remarks Upon Architecture" (Tokyo: Kobu-Dai-Gakko, 1878), p.9. Cited in Keiichi (慶一) Shimizu (清水), "Kōgaku Ryō . Kōbu Daigakkō Ni Oke Ru Kenchiku Kyōiku Nitsuite (An Historical Study on the Architectural Education of Imperial College of Engineering, 工学寮・工部大学校に於ける建築教育について)," *Bulletin of the National Science Museum. Series E, Physical Sciences & Engineering* 8 (1985), p.31.

¹² Josiah Conder, "Note on Japanese Architecture," *Transaction of the R. I. B. A.* (1878, March).

¹³ ———, "Further Note on Japanese Architecture," *Transaction of the R. I. B. A.* II, no. New Series XXI (1886, May).

‘Domestic Architecture in Japan’¹⁴ in *Transactions of Royal Institute of British Architects* between 1878 and 1886. These articles became pioneering surveys of Japanese architecture. As Conder’s student, Itō could not have been unaware of those surveys. Although Itō did not explicitly discuss the impact of Conder on his own work, there are clear similarities between Conder’s brief introduction of Japanese architecture and Itō’s own study on oriental architecture. Conder’s concepts of the transmission of architectural style, comparative methods and rhetoric can also be seen in Itō’s study. For instance, in ‘Notes on Japanese Architecture’, Conder pointed out relationships between Japanese and Chinese architecture.

The introduction of Buddhism into Japan from Korea dates from 552 A.D., but it remains to be seen how far the religious architecture is a pure imitation, and how far it is a modification of that of China: – how far it has been simply copied, and how far grafted on to an original style, or afterwards modified by the inventions of native artists or by religious reformers.¹⁵

The Shintō Temples, [...] it seems from this that the heavy curved and hipped roof, which now abounds so in Japan, was an introduction from Korea or China and came with the religion of Buddha.¹⁶

In these quotations, Conder’s concept of the transmission of architectural style is shown. He admitted that Japanese Buddhism had been introduced from Korea, but the process of transmission was unclear. It could have been through a process of ‘a pure imitation’, but it could also have been through modification.

The method Conder provided to prove the transmission of architectural style was a comparative method.

There is much to be done at some future time in comparing the forms of Buddhist

¹⁴ ———, "Domestic Architecture in Japan," *Transaction of the R. I. B. A.* III, no. New Series XXXI (1886, April).

¹⁵ ———, "Note on Japanese Architecture.", p.178.

¹⁶ *ibid.*, p.181.

Architecture here with that of India and China.¹⁷

Not only is oriental architecture such as Chinese and Indian architecture a profitable way to identify Japanese architecture, but also western architecture could play a comparative role, according to Conder's descriptions.

There is in some of these low mass of buildings, marking the approach to a Daimo's dwelling, a simple grandeur of line of proportion and balance of parts, reminding one as much of the repose and beauty of Greek architecture, as the Japanese decorative ornament in many of its forms, and in the beauty of its execution, reminds one of Grecian art.¹⁸

The wooden posts or columns of this porch are curved inwards towards the bottom and shod with engraved bronze, placed upon a flat moulded stone base, somewhat similar to that of an Egyptian column.¹⁹

Although Itō never articulated a link with Conder's idea when he formulated the comparative concept of the transmission of architectural style in his thesis *Kenchiku Tetsugaku* (Architectural Philosophy, 建築哲学), in 1892, its similarity in form and style to Conder's work cannot have been merely coincidental.

On the other hand, Conder used western turns of phrase that demonstrate conceptual biases in his analysis of Japanese architecture:

The dwellings of the higher classes, which are called "Yashiki" or "Miya," are considerably larger and more architectural.²⁰

[...] it appears that the dwellings were arranged in a somewhat uniform manner, [...]²¹

[...] some of which are the rational results of climate, many of which are closely associated with a romantic tradition, [...]²²

¹⁷ *ibid.*, p.178.

¹⁸ *ibid.*, p.182.

¹⁹ *ibid.*, p.188.

²⁰ *ibid.*, p.181.

²¹ *ibid.*, p.184.

²² ———, "Domestic Architecture in Japan.", p.103.

The idea of being ‘more architectural’ suggests varying degrees of an architectural state: some are more architectural, and others are not. This reflects the western discrimination between architecture and building, within which Japanese architecture was classified according to the western architectural canon. Other phrases such as ‘uniform manner’ and ‘romantic tradition’ also clearly shows Conder’s projection of western architectural criteria onto Japanese architecture.

Conder’s role is key to transmitting western architectural knowledge into Japanese architectural discipline. Although at that particular time research on Japanese architecture was not the main purpose for Conder’s students, who have been widely accepted as the first generation of Japanese architects, his influences remained until the new generation.

6-1-1.2 Kingo (金吾) Tatsuno’s (辰野) encouragement

Kingo Tatsuno (1854-1919) was one of Conder’s students from 1877-79 in *Kōbu Daigakkō*, and then took over Conder’s position in 1886.²³ After Tatsuno’s graduation from *Kōbu Daigakkō* in 1879, he went to study at the University of London. He was of the first generation of Japanese architects, whose mission was to study western architecture and design what was regarded as ‘proper’ western-style architecture for the Japanese government. Tatsuno’s significant role in the foundation of surveys of Japanese architecture derives from an unanswerable question addressed to him while he was staying in London. According to Itō’s recollection, Tatsuno’s supervisor, William Burges (1828-1881), asked him: “Japan is a country with antique culture. There must be some

²³ Seigo (省吾) Shirotori (白鳥), *Kōgaku Hakase Tatsuno Kingo Den (The Bibliography of Doctor of Engineering Kingo Tatsuno, 工学博士辰野金吾伝)* (Tokyo: Tatsuno Kasai Jimusho (辰野葛西事務所), 1926), p.33.

significant buildings. What is the characteristic of Japanese architecture?"²⁴ This simple, but at that moment difficult-to-answer, question forced Tatsuno later to consider the importance of Japanese architecture in architectural education. He went back to Japan in 1883, and, after becoming the professor in the *miyatsukoka* department in 1886, added a new course of Japanese architecture.²⁵ He also played a key role in encouraging Itō to survey Japanese architecture.²⁶

6-1-2 Chūta Itō's Japanese architectural knowledge, Kiyoyoshi (清敬) Kigo's (木子) lecture

Unlike Conder, who founded architectural education in the *miyatsukoka* department, and Tatsuno who considered the importance of Japanese architecture through a consideration of national architecture under western architectural education, Kiyoyoshi Kigo (1845-1907), by contrast, taught Itō the traditional knowledge of Japanese architecture. Kigo was a traditional craftsman of Japanese palaces, and was employed by the *miyatsukoka* department in 1889.²⁷ His lectures in the college mainly focused on the styles and forms of the Japanese shrine, Buddhist temple, and traditional palace. He also introduced students to the analysis of wood division (木割法).²⁸ Kigo's lectures on

²⁴ Chūta (忠太) Itō (伊東), "Hōryūji Kenkyū No Donki (The Motive for Research on the Hōryūji, 法隆寺研究の動機)," *Kenchikushi (Architectural History, 建築史)* 2, no. 2 (1940); *Nippon Kenchiku Gakkai* (Architectural Institute of Japan, 日本建築学会), *Kindai Nippon Kenchiku Gaku Hattatsu Shi (Shita) (History of Architectural Development in Modern Japan (2), 近代日本建築学発達史 (下))*, pp.1688-1689.

²⁵ Itō (伊東), "Hōryūji Kenkyū No Donki (The Motive for Research on the Hōryūji, 法隆寺研究の動機)," p.69.

²⁶ *ibid.*, pp.69-70.

²⁷ Nobuko (信子) Inaba (稲葉), "Kigo Kiyoyoshi No Teikoku Daigaku (Tōkyō Teikoku Daigaku) Niokeru Nippon Kenchiku Gaku Jugyō Nitsuite (A Study of Kigo Kiyoyoshi's Lectures on Japanese Architecture at the Imperial University, 木子清敬の帝国大学(東京帝国大学)における日本建築学授業について)," *Journal of Architecture, Planning and Environmental engineering. Transactions of AIJ* Vol. 374(1987), p.111.

²⁸ Itō (伊東), "Hōryūji Kenkyū No Donki (The Motive for Research on the Hōryūji, 法隆寺研究の動機)," p.69.

Japanese architecture had nothing to do with Japanese architectural history, but focused instead on the practical skills required in building Japanese traditional architecture.²⁹

6-1-3 Chūta Itō's architectural education

Although Conder had published several articles in *Transactions of Royal Institute of British Architects* between 1878 and 1886, and there were some articles³⁰ on Japanese

²⁹ Da-Hui (大慧) Cheng (鄭), "Ri Ben Jian Zhu Jia Yi Dong Zhong Tai Yu Zhong Guo Jian Zhu Jia Liang Si Cheng Zhi Jian Zhu Si Xiang Yu Zuo Pin Bi Jiao Yan Jiu (A Comparative Study on Architectural Thoughts and Works of Ito Chuta, a Japanese Architect, and Liang Si-Cheng, a Chinese Architect, 日本建築家伊東忠太與中國建築家梁思成之建築思想與作品比較研究)" (Chung Yuan Christian University (中原大學), 2006), p.2-9.

³⁰ Those articles include Kiyoyoshi (清敬) Kigo (木子), "Nippon Kyūden Kenchiku No Enkaku (The Development of Japanese Palaces, 日本宮殿建築ノ沿革)," *Kenchiku Zasshi (Journal of Architecture and Building Science, 建築雑誌)* 4, no. 48 (1890); Keikichi (敬吉) Ishii (石井), "Nippon Butuji Kenchiku Enkaku Ryaku (A Summary History of the Japanese Buddhist Temple, 日本佛寺建築沿革略)," *Kenchiku Zasshi (Journal of Architecture and Building Science, 建築雑誌)* 6, no. 61 (1892); ———, "Nippon Butuji Kenchiku Enkaku Ryaku (Shōzen) (A Summary History of the Japanese Buddhist Temple (following the former), 日本佛寺建築沿革略(承前))," *Kenchiku Zasshi (Journal of Architecture and Building Science, 建築雑誌)* 6, no. 62 (1892); ———, "Nippon Butuji Kenchiku Enkaku Ryaku (Shōzen) (A Summary History of the Japanese Buddhist Temple (following the former), 日本佛寺建築沿革略(承前))," *Kenchiku Zasshi (Journal of Architecture and Building Science, 建築雑誌)* 6, no.63 (1892); ———, "Nippon Butuji Kenchiku Enkaku Ryaku (Shōzen) (A Summary History of the Japanese Buddhist Temple (following the former), 日本佛寺建築沿革略(承前))," *Kenchiku Zasshi (Journal of Architecture and Building Science, 建築雑誌)* 6, no.64 (1892); ———, "Nippon Butuji Kenchiku Enkaku Ryaku (Shōzen) (A Summary History of the Japanese Buddhist Temple (following the former), 日本佛寺建築沿革略(承前))," *Kenchiku Zasshi (Journal of Architecture and Building Science, 建築雑誌)* 6, no.65 (1892); ———, "Nippon Butuji Kenchiku Enkaku Ryaku (Dai Roku Jū Go Gō No Zoku) (A Summary History of the Japanese Buddhist Temple (following No.65), 日本佛寺建築沿革略(第六十五號ノ續))," *Kenchiku Zasshi (Journal of Architecture and Building Science, 建築雑誌)* 6, no. 67 (1892); ———, "Nippon Butuji Kenchiku Enkaku Ryaku (Dai Roku Jū Nana Gō No Tsuduki) (A Summary History of the Japanese Buddhist Temple (following No.67), 日本佛寺建築沿革略(第六十七號ノ續)),," *Kenchiku Zasshi (Journal of Architecture and Building Science, 建築雑誌)* 7, no. 74 (1893); ———, "Nippon Butuji Kenchiku Enkaku Ryaku (Dai Nana Jū Yon Gō No Tsuduki) (A Summary History of the Japanese Buddhist Temple (following No.74), 日本佛寺建築沿革略(第七十四號ノ續)),," *Kenchiku Zasshi (Journal of Architecture and Building Science, 建築雑誌)* 7, no. 75 (1893); ———, "Nippon Butuji Kenchiku Enkaku Ryaku (Dai Nana Jū Go Gō No Tsuduki) (A Summary History of the Japanese Buddhist Temple (following No.75), 日本佛寺建築沿革略(第七十五號ノ續)),," *Kenchiku Zasshi (Journal of Architecture and Building Science, 建築雑誌)* 8, no. 87 (1894); ———, "Nippon Butuji Kenchiku Enkaku Ryaku (Shōzen) (A Summary History of the Japanese Buddhist Temple (following the former), 日本佛寺建築沿革略(承前))," *Kenchiku Zasshi (Journal of Architecture and Building Science, 建築雑誌)* 8, no. 94 (1894); ———, "Nippon Butuji Kenchiku Enkaku Ryaku (Dai Kyū Jū Yon Gō No Tsuduki) (A Summary History of the Japanese Buddhist Temple (following No.94), 日本佛寺建築沿革略(第九十四號ノ續)),," *Kenchiku Zasshi (Journal of Architecture and Building Science, 建築雑誌)* 8, no. 95 (1894).

architecture in *Kenchiku Zasshi* (Journal of Architecture and Building Science, 建築雑誌) before or around the time when Itō constructed his idea of Japanese architecture, most of their researches represented general descriptions or detailed records of Japanese wood structure technology and historical taxonomy, none of which could systematically formulate the development and values of Japanese architecture. This was not achieved until Itō's works. He was the key person who started to trace the origin of Japanese architecture, and later investigated Oriental Architecture.

Itō attended the *miyatsukoka* department in 1889, and graduated after three years of training. During his studies, he became very interested in the history of art and architecture. The lecture course on architectural history at that time was given by Kingo Tatsuno, Noriyuki (憲之) Kojima (小島) (1857-1918) and Tatsutarou (達太郎) Nakamura (中村) (1860-1942). Their teaching materials included James Fergusson's *The Illustrated Handbook of Architecture* and John Henry Parker's *An Introduction to the Study of Gothic Architecture*³¹. Several other key texts on western art and architecture interested Itō, such as Wilhelm Lübke's *Outlines of the History of Art* (1877), Eugène Véron's *Aesthetics*³² and John Ruskin's *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*.³³ Furthermore, Conder's lectures on ornament mainly focused on the history of ornament, for which he drew upon Owen Jones's (1809-1874) *The Grammar of Ornament* (1856).³⁴

³¹ *Nippon Kenchiku Gakkai* (Architectural Institute of Japan, 日本建築学会), *Kindai Nippon Kenchiku Gaku Hattatsu Shi (Shita)* (*History of Architectural Development in Modern Japan (2)*, 近代日本建築学発達史(下)), p.1688.

³² Eugène Véron's *Aesthetics* was translated by Nakae (中江), Tokusuke (篤助) in 1883-4, and titled *Iyui Shi Bigaku* (Véron's *Aesthetics*, 維氏美学).

³³ *Nippon Kenchiku Gakkai* (Architectural Institute of Japan, 日本建築学会), *Kindai Nippon Kenchiku Gaku Hattatsu Shi (Shita)* (*History of Architectural Development in Modern Japan (2)*, 近代日本建築学発達史(下)), p.1689.

³⁴ Shunsuke (俊輔) Kurakata (倉方), "Nōto No Rakugaki - Kondoru, Tatsuno Kingo, Itō Chūta (Handwriting in Notes - Conder, Katsuno Kingo, Itō Chūta, ノートの落書き—コンドル、辰野金吾、伊東忠太)," in *Itō Chūta O Shitte I Masu Ka* (*Do you Know Itō Chūta, 伊東忠太を知っていますか*), ed. Hiroyuki (博之) Suzuki (鈴木) (Matsudo (松戸): Ohkokusha (王国社), 2003), p.220

From Itō's handwritten class notes, we can discern that Conder's lectures focused more on Gothic and Islamic ornament than on other types³⁵. Those class references show that, at that time, the course on architectural history was heavily based on western architectural history and theory.

6-2 Chūta Itō's *Kenchiku Tetsugaku* (Architectural Philosophy, 建築哲学) as a theoretical ground of the formation of Japanese architecture

From the development of the *miyatsukoka* and Itō's background of architectural education, we can see a hybrid fabrication of architectural knowledge, which derived from western architectural discipline and Japanese traditional craftsmanship. This hybridity also emerged from his thesis *Kenchiku Tetsugaku* (Architectural Philosophy, 建築哲学),³⁶ a theoretical ground for his subsequent research.

Different from the first generation of Japanese architects who had emphasised architectural practice, Itō's generation paid more attention to theoretical debates and started to think about the meaning of architecture.³⁷ Itō's interest in the history of architecture and art was directly reflected in *Kenchiku Tetsugaku*. This consisted of four sections: 'Introduction', 'Architecture and Aesthetics', 'On Style' and 'On architectural style'.³⁸ Itō's intention was to emphasise the relationships between architecture and aesthetics by an academic means, a scientific method. As he stated:

Regarding the first method of surveying artistic architecture, it is located in the essential explanation of architectural philosophy. Mostly studying and desiring

³⁵ *ibid.*, p.220-222.

³⁶ Chūta (忠太) Itō (伊東), "*Kenchiku Tetsugaku* (Architectural Philosophy, 建築哲学)" (*Kōbu Daigakkō* (The Imperial College of Engineering, 工部大学校), 1892).

³⁷ Fujimori (藤森), *Ri Ben Jin Dai Jian Zhu* (*Japanese Modern Architecture*, 日本近代建築), pp.221-224.

³⁸ Maruyama(丸山), *Nippon No Kenchiku To Shisō: Itō Chūta Shō Ron* (*Japanese Architecture and Thought: On Itō Chūta*, 日本の建築と思想: 伊東忠太小論), p.17.

artistic architecture needs first to clarify the relationship between architecture and art, the character of architectural style and its historical change. [Without this] there cannot be an aesthetic analysis. If art is the method of demonstrating the element of beauty, discussions on the nature of beauty cannot be located outside aesthetics.³⁹ (my translation)

Itō referred to aesthetics-oriented architecture as artistic architecture, and further explained the idea:

The principle of aesthetic architecture is the quest for ‘proportion’ and ‘harmony’. The insight of the truth of beauty emerges from lines and colour. What is generally known as natural ‘unconscious’ and ‘spirit’ is penetrated. Through the inorganic materials, an organic spirit can develop.⁴⁰ (my translation)

Itō’s emphasis on the aesthetic values of architecture pointed to an aesthetics-oriented definition of architecture. But it was not groundless. He reviewed Fergusson’s discrimination between constructive and decorative ornament,⁴¹ Thomas Mitchell’s combination of ‘strength, utility and beauty’⁴² and Viollet-le-Duc’s considerations of architecture in terms of architectural principles, man’s taste and habits, exigencies of climate, the nature of materials, and the means of execution.⁴³ However, Itō did not entirely accept those western scholars’ disciplinary concepts. First, he concluded three fundamental values of architecture: technical, aesthetic and poetic,⁴⁴ and, for example, re-evaluated Fergusson’s distinction that ignored poetic values as over-simplified.⁴⁵ He then summarized architecture as ‘the practice embodying the beauty of aesthetics on

³⁹ Itō (伊東), "Kenchiku Tetsugaku (Architectural Philosophy, 建築哲学)", pp.13-14.

⁴⁰ *ibid.*, p.10.

⁴¹ *ibid.*, pp.84-86. About Fergusson’s idea, see James Fergusson, *A History of Architecture in All Countries, from the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, 2 vols. (1874), pp. 31-35.

⁴² Itō (伊東), "Kenchiku Tetsugaku (Architectural Philosophy, 建築哲学)", pp.86-87. About Mitchell’s idea, see Thomas Mitchell, *A Rudimentary Manual of Architecture: Being a History and Explanation of the Principal Styles of European Architecture* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1870), p.1

⁴³ Itō (伊東), "Kenchiku Tetsugaku (Architectural Philosophy, 建築哲学)", pp.87-89.

⁴⁴ *ibid.*, pp.90-92.

⁴⁵ *ibid.*, p.93.

buildings'.⁴⁶ Itō's claim of an aesthetics-oriented definition of architecture also emerged in his appeal to rename *miyatsukoka* as architecture later on.

On the other hand, discussions on architectural style, occupying half of the thesis, played an essential role as another theoretical ground of his idea of the transmission of architectural style, which was the keystone of his subsequent formations of Japanese and oriental architectural history. Itō's basic idea was that beauty was determined by 'taste',⁴⁷ and national taste consisted of the common taste of a region or a people. Artistic architecture was also determined by artistic taste,⁴⁸ and style was formed by artistic form and expression developed from the taste of the nation.⁴⁹ Hence, each architectural style has been determined by national taste. For Itō, architectural style would change when national taste changed. This concept can be explained in his formations of the factors of architectural style. He divided the factors of architectural style into two groups: permanent factors and inconstant factors. The former referred to aesthetic beauty, and the latter referred to the influences of people, times and place. The inconstant factor, he argued, was the key to allowing architectural style to be disseminated. As can be seen in Fig. 6-1, which shows the whole construction of architectural style, Itō believed that architectural style was affected by nature (material, climate, topography and terrestrial phenomena) and human society, from both inside (domestic) and outside (international). When factors changed, architectural style modified as well, and *vice versa*. Therefore, social change and international influence could force architectural style to be disseminated from one country to another. Based on the notion of the inconstant factor in architectural style, Itō could construct his theories of the transmission of architectural

⁴⁶ *ibid.*, p.94.

⁴⁷ *ibid.*, p.263.

⁴⁸ *ibid.*, pp.269-270.

⁴⁹ *ibid.*, p.272.

style which permeated his search for the origin of Japanese architecture and his formation of oriental architectural systems, and I shall discuss this in more detail later.

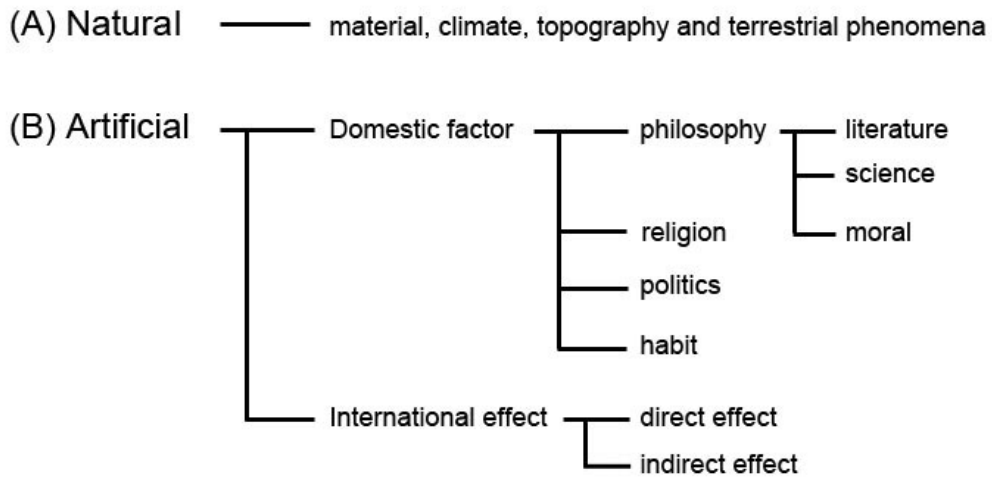


Fig. 6-1 Itō's formation of the inconstant factor of style.⁵⁰

Itō's theoretical formation of *Kenchiku Tetsugaku* is also significant for my dissertation if we consider the way in which he established his theories. Generally speaking, he relied heavily on western theories and investigations of art and architecture. This feature indicates that Itō's foundations for a Japanese and oriental architectural history themselves were hybrid. We can see the influence of western architectural sources in a number of ways. In the bibliography of his study, for example, Itō noted 41 references, among 33 of which were by western scholars, including Violet-le-Duc, James Fergusson, Albert Rosengarten, Roger Smith, Sir William Chambers, Owen Jones, Wilhelm Lübke, John Ruskin and others.⁵¹ The section on 'Oriental Architectural Style', where Itō's describes each architectural style basically depends on the works of Lübke, Rosengarten

⁵⁰ Maruyama(丸山), *Nippon No Kenchiku To Shisō: Itō Chūta Shō Ron (Japanese Architecture and Thought: On Itō Chūta, 日本の建築と思想: 伊東忠太小論)*, p.111.

⁵¹ Itō (伊東), "*Kenchiku Tetsugaku (Architectural Philosophy, 建築哲学)*", pp.18-20.

and Fergusson.⁵² Furthermore, Itō chose to locate Chinese and Japanese architecture under the sub-category of Indian architecture, which suggests that this division was based on Fergusson's categorisation.

Even after Itō's graduation from *miyatsukoka* in 1892, his appeals for an aesthetics-oriented definition of architecture can still be seen in his speech 'Kenchiku Jutsu To Bijutsu To No Kankei (The Relationships between Architecture and Art, 建築術と美術との関係)',⁵³ published in *Kenchiku Zasshi* in 1893, and in his article "'Aakitekuchūru" No Hongi O Ron Shi Te Sono Yaku Ji O Senjō Shi Waga Ka Zōkei Gakkai No Kaimei O Nozomu (Discussions on the original meanings of 'Architecture' to select a translated word and to rename the Institute, 「アーキテクチュール」の本義を論じて其譯字を撰定し我か造家学会の改名を望む),⁵⁴ in *Kenchiku Zasshi* in 1894. In the latter, he compared the literal meaning of *miyatsukoka* with that of *Kenchiku* (architecture, 建築). The meaning of *miyatsukoka*, for him, only referred to building or constructing housing,⁵⁵ which cannot express the essence of beauty in architecture, so that was not a proper translation of 'architecture'. On the other hand, *Kenchiku*, although the translation also referred to the process of construction, which was very similar to civil engineering, can be explained as how a building was erected and, simultaneously, what style the architects adopted.⁵⁶ Consequently *kenchiku*, for Itō, was a more satisfactory term than *miyatsukoka*. The Institute of *Miyatsukoka* (the Institute of building or construction, 造

⁵² *ibid.*, p.379.

⁵³ ———, "Kenchiku Jutsu To Bijutsu To No Kankei (The Relationships between Architecture and Art, 建築術と美術との関係)," *Kenchiku Zasshi (Journal of Architecture and Building Science, 建築雑誌)* 7, no. 75 (1893).

⁵⁴ Chūta (忠太) Itō (伊東), "'Aakitekuchūru' No Hongi O Ron Shi Te Sono Yaku Ji O Senjō Shi Waga Ka Zōkei Gakkai No Kaimei O Nozomu (Discussions on the original meanings of 'Architecture' to select a translated word and to rename the Institute, 「アーキテクチュール」の本義を論じて其譯字を撰定し我か造家学会の改名を望む)," *Kenchiku Zasshi (Journal of Architecture and Building Science, 建築雑誌)* 8, no. 90 (1894).

⁵⁵ *ibid.*, pp.195-196.

⁵⁶ *ibid.*, pp.195-196.

家学会) was then renamed the Architectural Institute in 1897.⁵⁷

From Itō's thesis to his articles, it is clear that he was attempting to stress the connection between art and architecture. The idea had been situated in western architectural discipline for a long time, but was not known in Japan. He absorbed western disciplinary knowledge in order to shape his theory for a Japanese architecture. On the other hand, his emphasis on an aesthetics-oriented definition of architecture, and its underpinning idea of architectural style, especially the concomitant idea of architectural transmission, had become significant theoretical grounds for his later discussions on Japanese and oriental architectural history, which I shall examine in the next section.

6-3 Chūta Itō's formation of the *Hōryūji* as a search for a national origin of Japanese architecture

In 1892, Itō chose a survey of Japanese architecture as his dissertation topic to apply for a place in the *daigakuin*,⁵⁸ which was the famous *Hōryūji*⁵⁹ *Kenchiku Ron* (On the Architecture of the *Hōryūji*, 法隆寺建築論). Surveys of the *Hōryūji* derived from a search for a national origin of Japanese architecture. According to his memory later, his reasons for investigating Japanese architecture derived not only from his interest in and desire for understanding the artistic essence in Japanese architecture, but also from the encouragement of his teacher, Kingo Tatsuno, and his uncle, Tosuke (東助) Hirata(平田).⁶⁰ Hirata believed that, as a nation, Japan's architecture needed to be understood.⁶¹

⁵⁷ *Nippon Kenchiku Gakkai* (Architectural Institute of Japan, 日本建築学会), *Nippon Kenchiku Gakkai Hachijū Nen Ryaku Shi* (A Brief History of the Eighty Years of the Architectural Institute of Japan, 日本建築学会 80 年略史) (Nippon Kenchiku Gakkai (Architectural Institute of Japan, 日本建築学会), 1966), p.3.

⁵⁸ *Daigakuin* was similar to a PhD class: after graduating, a student could be titled as Doctor.

⁵⁹ *Hōryūji* refers to the temple of *Hōryū*.

⁶⁰ Itō (伊東), "Hōryūji Kenkyū No Donki (The Motive for Research on the *Hōryūji*, 法隆寺研究の動機)", p.69-70.

⁶¹ *ibid.*, p.70.

Itō's *Hōryūji Kenchiku Ron* was, therefore, deeply influenced by their national ideology.

At that time, the *Hōryūji* had not been proved to be the earliest wooden temple in Japan, but its unusual style caught Itō's eye,⁶² and it eventually played a significant role in Itō's search for the origin and essence of Japanese architecture. In his first draft of 'Hōryūji Kenchiku Ron',⁶³ published in *Kenchiku Zasshi* in 1893, he formulated his considerations:

The quintessence of Japanese architecture reached its peak in the *Neiraku* period. Architecture in the *Neiraku* period can be considered as of antique origin. And I believe that the *Hōryūji* is the quintessence of this antique architecture. As a result, it is appropriate to say that the *Hōryūji* is the origin of Japanese architecture. Besides, its scale and skills successfully gathered the complete quintessence of Oriental art.⁶⁴ (my translation)

Considering the *Hōryūji* as the representation of the origin and essence of Japanese architecture, Itō also started to endow it with a special position in world architectural history. This was based on his theory of the transmission of architectural style. To prove this, he dug into history. He believed that because of Alexander the Great's expansionist conquests towards India and because of the dissemination of Buddhism to Japan, Greek and Indian art spread into the country,⁶⁵ and he claimed that the *Hōryūji* derived from Greek, Indian and Chinese architecture. He wrote:

And its form appears in the scale of the Chinese style, with the remains of a few vestiges of the Indian style, and, furthermore, the Greek style, which is very interesting.⁶⁶ (my translation)

A proportional analysis of *chūmon* (the middle gate, 中門) of the *Hōryūji* provided a

⁶² *ibid.*, pp.70-71.

⁶³ ———, "Hōryūji Kenchiku Ron (On the Architecture of the *Hōryūji*, 法隆寺建築論)," *Kenchiku Zasshi (Journal of Architecture and Building Science, 建築雑誌)* 7, no. 83 (1893).

⁶⁴ *ibid.*, p.318.

⁶⁵ *ibid.*, p.320-321.

⁶⁶ *ibid.*, p.321.

material exemplification of a similarity with Etruscan architecture which he found after his measurements. For him, there was a similarity of architectural proportion between them.

First, he analysed the proportions of the *chūmon*. Fig. 6-2 shows Itō's analysis of the *chūmon* in the *Hōryūji*. Based on his measurements, the width of the *chūmon* was nine *ken*⁶⁷ (間), approximately 16.3 metres, and its height was eight *ken*, approximately 14.5 metres. *I* (イ) and *ro* (ロ) show the two edges of the *dodan* (the platform, 土壇); *ha* (ハ) was right at the middle of its ridge; *he* (ヘ) was at the middle of the width of the *dodan*. The distance between *i* (イ) and *ro* (ロ) showed the length of the *dodan*, and the distance between *ha* (ハ) and *he* (ヘ) showed the height of the *chūmon* above the *dodan*. *Ha* (ハ), *i* (イ) and *ro* (ロ) formed an equilateral triangle. Within this equilateral triangle, the right-most column was located on *chi* (チ), and next one located on *ho* (ホ) on the *dodan*. The *daito*⁶⁸ (大斗) of the column on *chi* (チ) intersected with the line *i* (イ)- *ha* (ハ) at *ni* (ニ). By putting the same proportion as the *Ha* (ハ)- *i* (イ)- *ro* (ロ) equilateral triangle into the same scale as the distance between *i* (イ) and *ni* (ニ), the location of the second column, *ho* (ホ), can be identified. Itō believed that Fig. 6-2 showed the adoption of geometry by the Japanese craftsmen.

⁶⁷ A *ken* (間) was more or less equal to 1.8182 metres.

⁶⁸ *Daido* (大斗) is an element in Japanese wooden construction.

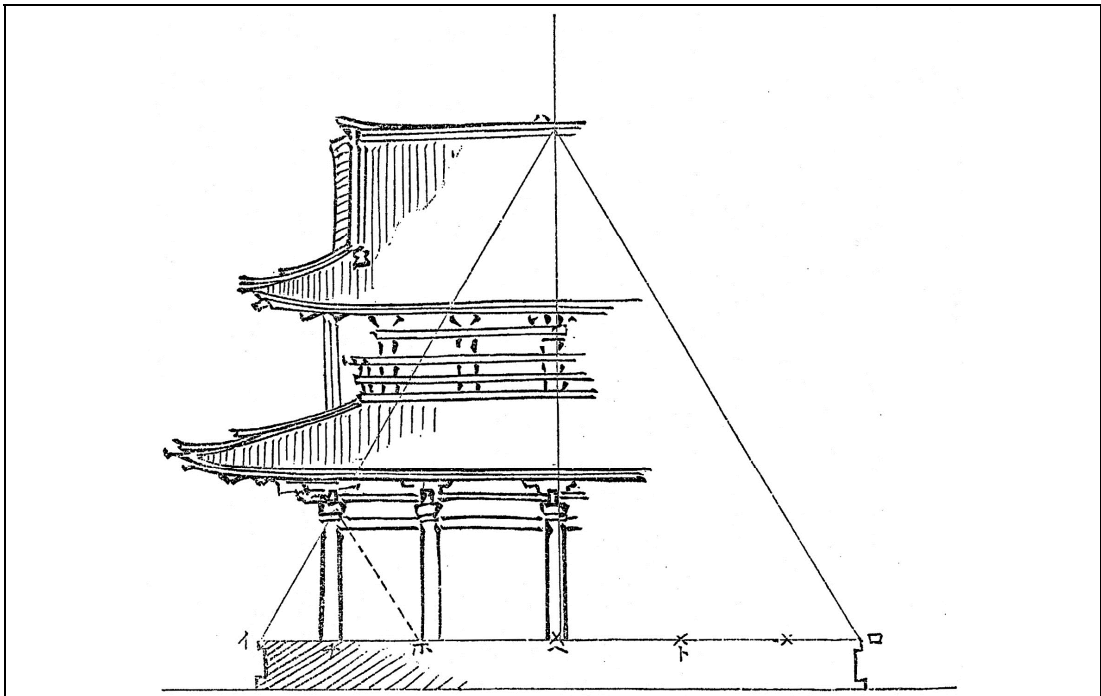


Fig. 6-2 Itō's analysis of the proportions of the *chūmon* (middle gate).⁶⁹

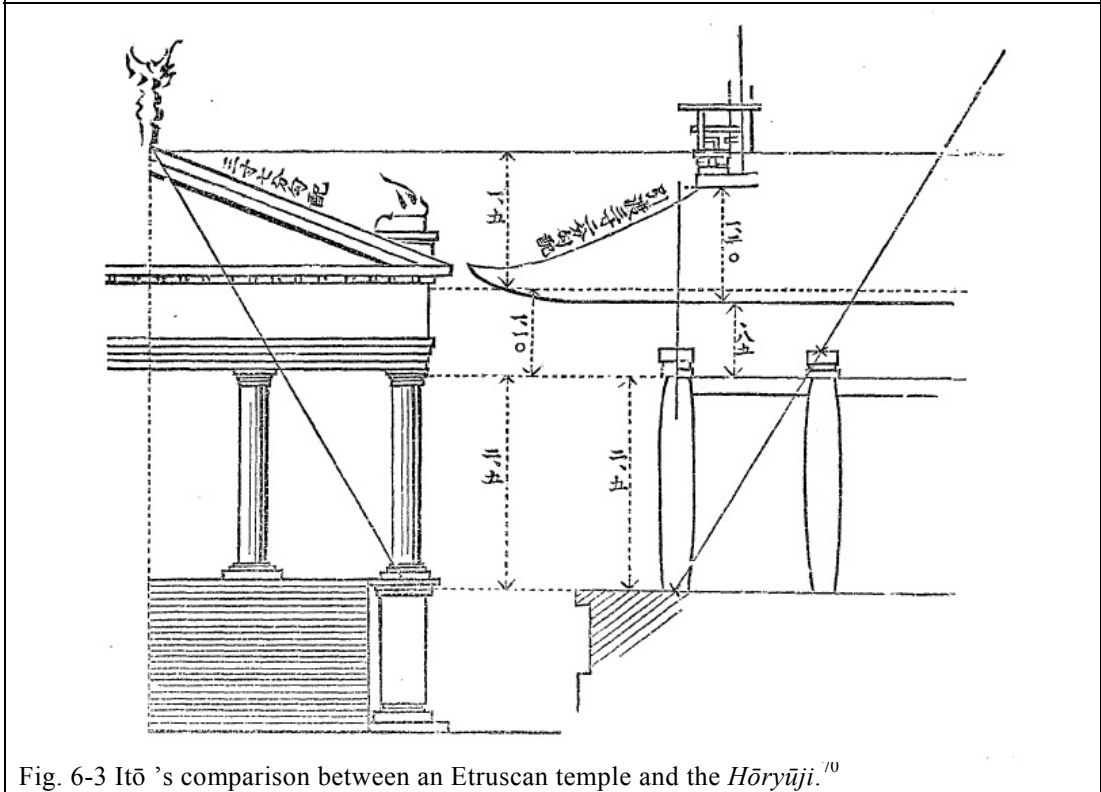


Fig. 6-3 Itō's comparison between an Etruscan temple and the *Hōryūji*.⁷⁰

Itō made another drawing to compare the *chūmon* of the *Hōryūji* with an Etruscan temple (Fig. 6-3). Although he did not explain his comparison, the drawing does seem to show

⁶⁹ Itō (伊東), "Hōryūji Kenchiku Ron (On the Architecture of the *Hōryūji*, 法隆寺建築論)", p.327.

⁷⁰ *ibid.*, p.328.

some similarity between these two different forms of architecture. On the left-hand side of the drawing, there is an Etruscan temple, and on the right-hand side there is a part of the *chūmon* of the *Hōryūji*. The height of columns was 2.5,⁷¹ both the distances between the top of the columns and the bottom of the eaves were 1.1, and both the heights of the eaves were 1.5. The words above the eaves show their pitches: that of the roof of the Etruscan temple was thirty-seven in one hundred and that of the *Hōryūji* was thirty-two in one hundred. There is an inclined line in each building, which connected the bottom of the outside column and the top of the second column, and extended to the ridge. Itō offered no explanation about these two inclined lines. However, by showing similar slopes, he could show a similarity of proportion between the two structures.

These two figures show Itō's ambition to endow the *Hōryūji* with values equivalent to those in western architecture. What he initiated were ideas of an aesthetics-oriented consideration of architecture and of the transmission of architectural style, which were established in *Kenchiku Tetsugaku*. 'Hōryūji Kenchiku Ron' was the first embodiment of Itō's theories. Although in the final dissertation in 1897 he abandoned the comparison of architectural proportions between the Etruscan temple and the *Hōryūji*, he still continued to claim that perfect proportion was a common value of beauty existing not only in the West but also in the East. Notwithstanding the result, the proportions still played a vital role within his analysis of the *Hōryūji*, and the idea of the transmission of architectural style played an increasingly significant role in his subsequent researches on oriental architectural history, especially Chinese architectural history and oriental architectural systems. Those revealed that Itō's formation of oriental architectural history was heavily influenced by western architectural knowledge, and that he tried to analyse Japanese

⁷¹ Itō did not identify what unit he adopted in the drawing.

architecture by reference to western architectural knowledge.

6-4 Chūta Itō's discovery of the *Yungang* grottoes as a hinge between the West and the East

The first draft of 'Hōryūji Kenchiku Ron' in 1893 showed Itō's determination to try to discover the origin of Japanese architecture in order to offer it values and a position in the world architectural history, in which the similarity of architectural proportions was the key point. However, this hypothesis was not stated again in his final dissertation. His beliefs that the origin of the *Hōryūji* derived from Baekje (百濟) and that Baekje architecture derived from China needed investigations of Chinese architecture in order to connect Japanese architecture with its supposed origin. The comparison between them was initially suggested by Conder in 'Notes on Japanese Architecture' in 1878, but was not activated until the idea reappeared in Itō's works.

In 1902, Itō set out on an oriental architectural trip in order to trace the origin of the *Hōryūji*. It took three years for him to travel from China to India, to Greece and then back to Japan *via* Turkey. He started from Beijing (北京), went through Hisan (西安), Chengdu (成都) and Guiyang (貴陽), and then travelled to Burma and India. He stayed in India for about a year to investigate Buddhist architecture there and then took a ship to the Mediterranean to visit Turkey, Greece, Egypt and Jerusalem. Finally, he returned to Japan from Turkey in 1905.⁷²

The most important thing for Itō during this trip was the discovery of the *Yungang* (雲岡) grottoes near Datong (大同). In his investigation, he discovered similarities of style existing in the Buddhist statuary and related decorations and architectural decorations in

⁷² Fujimori (藤森), *Ri Ben Jin Dai Jian Zhu (Japanese Modern Architecture, 日本近代建築)*, p.225.

both the *Yungang* grottoes and the *Hōryūji*. This became the evidence for his hypothesis on the position of Japanese Buddhist architecture. He described his discoveries on the similarities between the Buddha images and related decorations in the *Nyorai* (如来) hall:

There are many Buddhas and they look unusual and antique, which is very similar to the Buddha on the mural in the *kondō*⁷³ (金堂) of the *Hōryūji* in our country. The patterns on their clothes resemble Tori Busshi's⁷⁴ productions. These patterns are entirely the same as what I called the *Suiko*⁷⁵ style, which is the *Hōryūji* style. In Fig. 573 [Figs 6-4 and 6-5], the covering of the upper-level Buddha, whose fish-scale-style decorations, the hanging bells at the bottom and the vertical curtain below them, are the same as those in the *kondou* of the *Hōryūji*. In Fig. 574 [Figs 6-6 and 6-7], parts of the circles behind the Buddhas, whose forms are like flying, and their shapes and colours belong to the pure *Hōryūji* style.⁷⁶ (my translation)

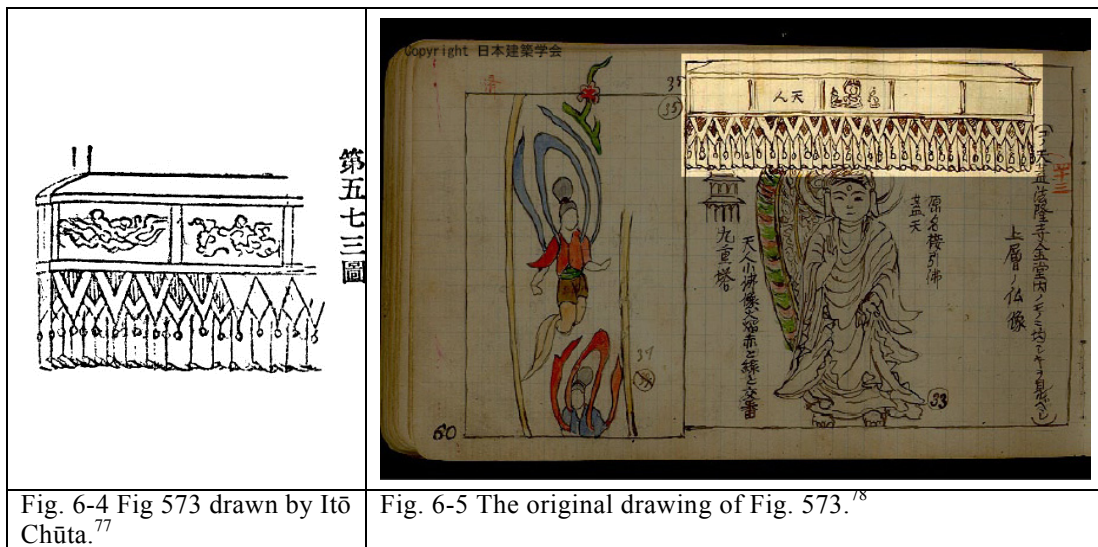


Fig. 6-4 Fig 573 drawn by Itō Chūta.⁷⁷

Fig. 6-5 The original drawing of Fig. 573.⁷⁸

⁷³ *Kondō* is a place similar to the main temple and there are many Buddhas in it.

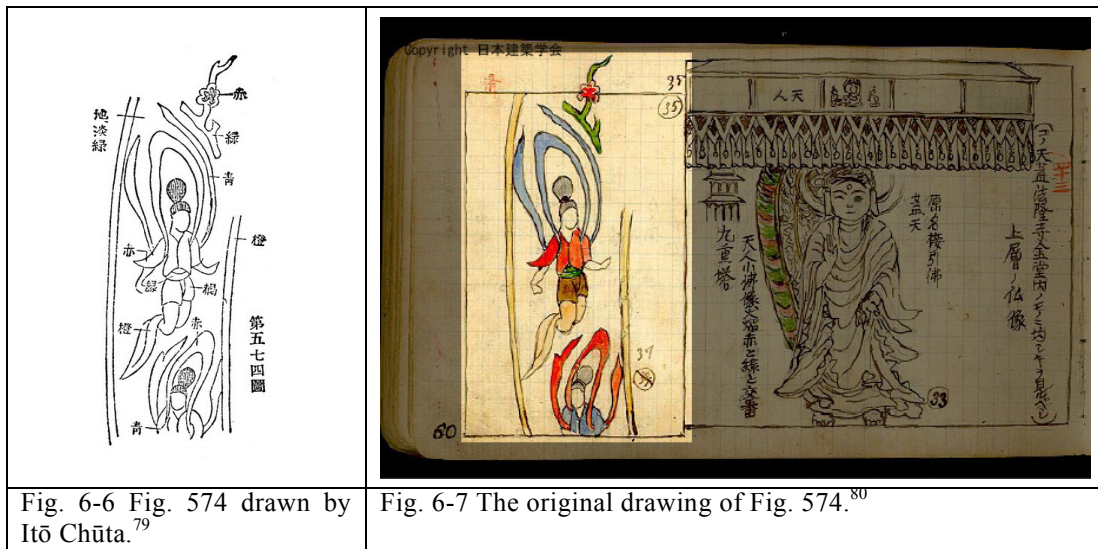
⁷⁴ Busshi refers to the man who sculpts wooden Buddhas.

⁷⁵ *Suiko* is a period from 592 AD to 628 AD.

⁷⁶ Chūta (忠太) Itō (伊東), "Hokusei Kenchiku Chousa Hōkoku (A Research Report on Northern Chinese Architecture, 北清建築調査報告)," in *Itō Chūta Chosaku Shū Dai San Kan Tōyō Kenchiku no Kenkyū. ue* (Chūta Itō's Collected Writings - Volume 3 - Researches on Oriental Architecture (1), 伊東忠太著作集 第三卷 東洋建築の研究・上) (Tokyo (東京): Hara Shobō (原書房), 1982), p.329.

⁷⁷ *ibid.*, p.329.

⁷⁸ ———. "Itō Chūta Shiryō: Nochō (Data of Chūta Itō: Fieldnotes, 伊東忠太資料:野帳)." AIJ Architectural Museum (日本建築学会建築博物館),2 (1902), http://news-sv.ajj.or.jp/da2/yachou/gallery_3_chuta2.htm. accessed on 2009, p. 60.



Itō's statement shows his idea that it was possible to trace a 'blood' relationship between Chinese architecture and the *Hōryūji* by a comparative resemblance of form, which formed a transmission of architectural style. To approach this demonstration, Itō, first of all, identified the 'antique' age and the 'unusual' characteristics of the *Yungang* grottoes. Then he compared various characteristics of the carvings between them, such as 'the patterns on their clothes', 'fish-scale-style decorations', 'the hanging bells', 'the vertical curtain' and 'the circles behind the Buddhas'. All these methods, colours and characteristics of carving became comparative items. Furthermore, by the comparison, the origin and consanguinity of the *Hōryūji* could be identified. This was the method by which Itō connected the origin of the *Hōryūji* with Chinese, or even further with Indian and Greek architecture, and then the theory of the transmission of architectural style was proved. Hence, Itō claimed, Japanese architecture was able to be legitimately located in world architectural history.

The similarities which he identified in his comparative work were also evident in his

⁷⁹ ———, "Hokusei Kenchiku Chōsa Hōkoku (A Research Report on Northern Chinese Architecture, 北清建築調査報告)", p.329.

⁸⁰ ———, "Itō Chūta Shiryō: Nochō (Data of Chūta Itō: Fieldnotes, 伊東忠太資料:野帳)", p. 60.

descriptions of the third and the fifth caves in the *Yungang* grottoes:

[The Third Cave]...There are innumerable Buddhas outside the cave. Their faces, clothes patterns, and the circles behind the Buddhas belong to the *Hōryūji* style, which is the *Tori-Busshi* style. Fig.589 [Figs 6-8 and 6-9] shows one example [...].⁸¹ (my translation)

[The Fifth Cave]...The cover in Fig. 590 [Figs 6-10 and 6-11] is the illustration. We are very surprised at the similarity between it and the one in the *kondou* of the *Hōryūji*.⁸² (my translation)

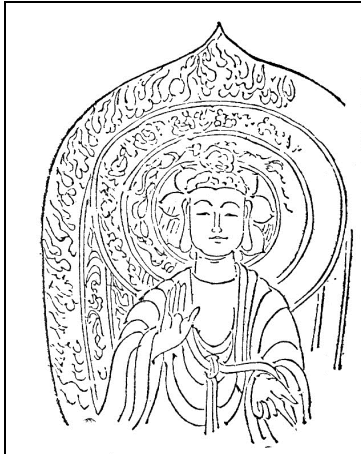


Fig. 6-8 Fig. 589 drawn by Itō Chūta.⁸³



Fig. 6-9 The original drawing of Fig. 589 drawn by Itō Chūta.⁸⁴

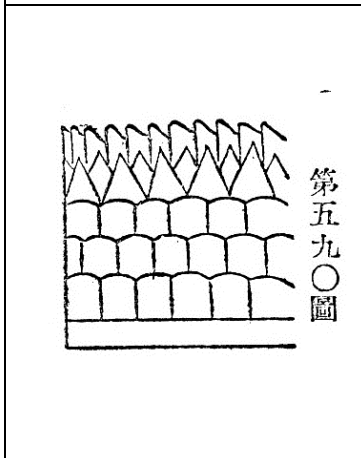


Fig. 6-10 Fig. 590 drawn by Itō Chūta.⁸⁵

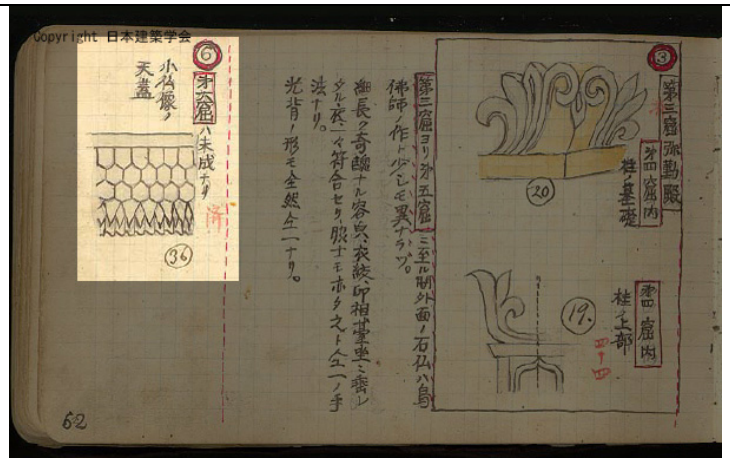


Fig. 6-11 The original drawing of Fig. 590 drawn by Itō Chūta.⁸⁶

⁸¹ ———, "Hokusei Kenchiku Chōsa Hōkoku (A Research Report on Northern Chinese Architecture, 北清建築調査報告)", p.333.

⁸² *ibid.*, p.333.

⁸³ *ibid.*, p.332.

⁸⁴ ———, "Itō Chūta Shiryō: Nochō (Data of Chūta Itō: Fieldnotes, 伊東忠太資料:野帳)", p.67.

⁸⁵ ———, "Hokusei Kenchiku Chōsa Hōkoku (A Research Report on Northern Chinese Architecture, 北清建築調査報告)", p.332.

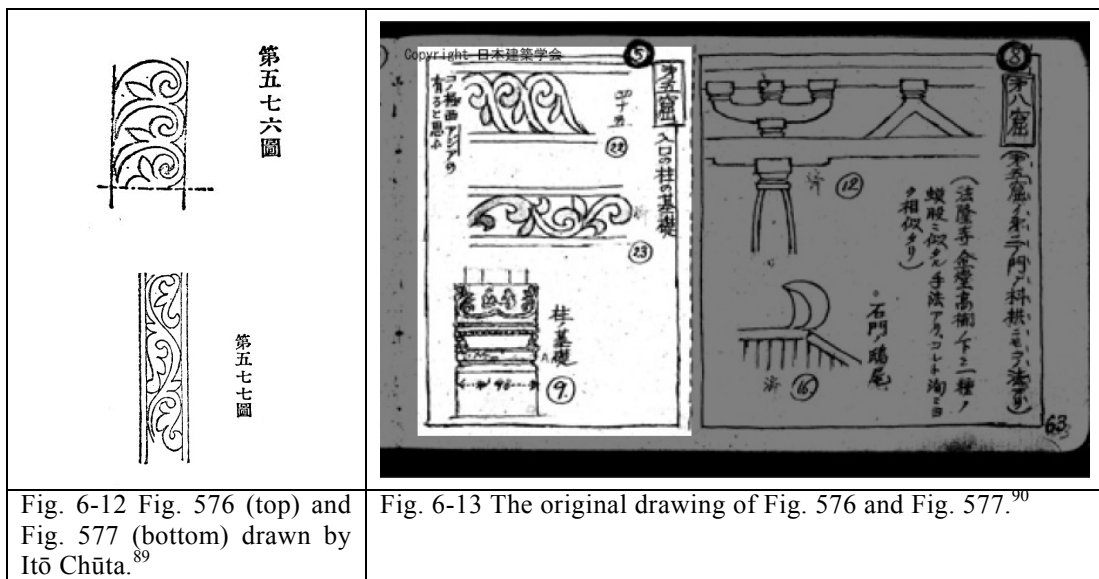
⁸⁶ ———, "Itō Chūta Shiryō: Nochō (Data of Chūta Itō: Fieldnotes, 伊東忠太資料:野帳)", p.62.

Again, the face of the Buddha, the pattern of the clothes, the shape and form of the circles and the cover still formed comparative items, which allowed Itō to demonstrate the origin and the consanguinity of the *Hōryūji* by their similarities.

Besides the Buddhas and their decorations, architectural decorations seemed to offer more direct and effective evidence. He described the similarities between the carvings in the *Miroku* (彌勒) hall, the First Cave, the Third Cave and the Fifth Cave with those in the *Hōryūji*:

[*Miroku* (彌勒) hall][...] We can perceive that the patterns on the wall, in Fig. 576 [Figs 6-12 and 6-13] and Fig. 577 [Figs 6-12 and 6-13], are entirely the same as those in the *Hōryūji*.⁸⁷ (my translation)

[The First Cave] [...] The balustrade on the pillar in Fig. 580 [Figs 6-14 and 6-15] is similar to that in the *kondou* of the *Hōryūji*. [...] On the 'tokyou' (科栱) of the second gate in Fig.582 [Figs 6-16 and 6-17], the *hito*-form (人字形) 'kaeru mata' (臺股) between two *santos* (三斗) has the same form as that in the *kondou* of the *Hōryūji*.⁸⁸ (my translation)



⁸⁷ ———, "Hokusei Kenchiku Chōsa Hōkoku (A Research Report on Northern Chinese Architecture, 北清建築調査報告)", p.330.

⁸⁸ *ibid.*, p.331.

⁸⁹ *ibid.*, p.329.

⁹⁰ ———, "Itō Chūta Shiryō: Nochō (Data of Chūta Itō: Fieldnotes, 伊東忠太資料:野帳)", p.63.

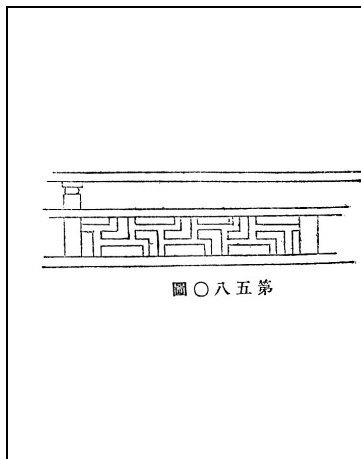


Fig. 6-14 Fig. 580 drawn by Itō Chūta.⁹¹

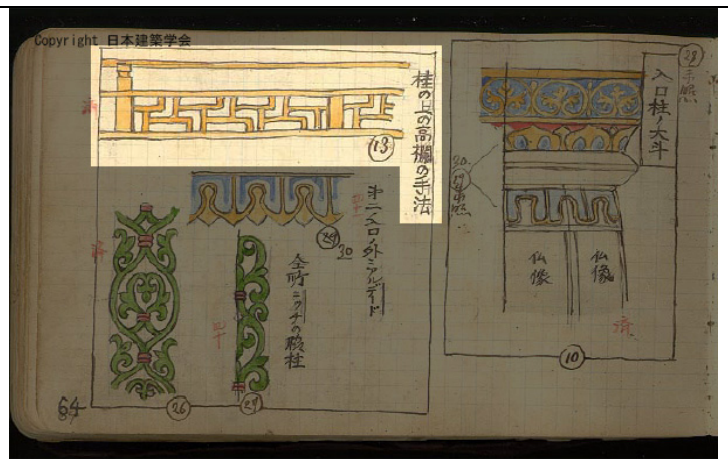


Fig. 6-15 The original drawing of Fig. 580.⁹²

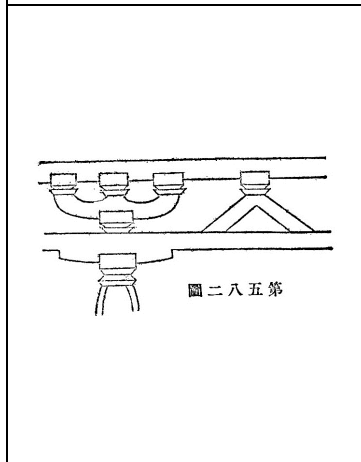


Fig. 6-16 Fig. 582 drawn by Itō Chūta.⁹³

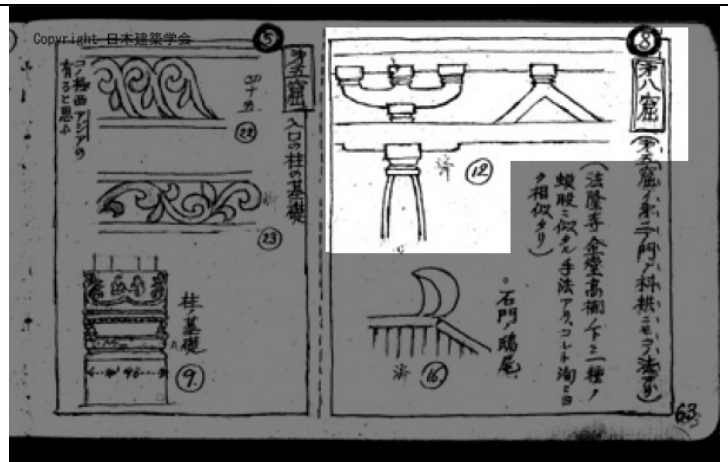


Fig. 6-17 The original drawing of Fig. 582.⁹⁴

⁹¹ ———, "Hokusei Kenchiku Chōsa Hōkoku (A Research Report on Northern Chinese Architecture, 北清建築調査報告)", p.331.

⁹² ———, "Itō Chūta Shiryō: Nochō (Data of Chūta Itō: Fieldnotes, 伊東忠太資料:野帳)", p.64.

⁹³ ———, "Hokusei Kenchiku Chōsa Hōkoku (A Research Report on Northern Chinese Architecture, 北清建築調査報告)", p.331.

⁹⁴ ———, "Itō Chūta Shiryō: Nochō (Data of Chūta Itō: Fieldnotes, 伊東忠太資料:野帳)", p.63.

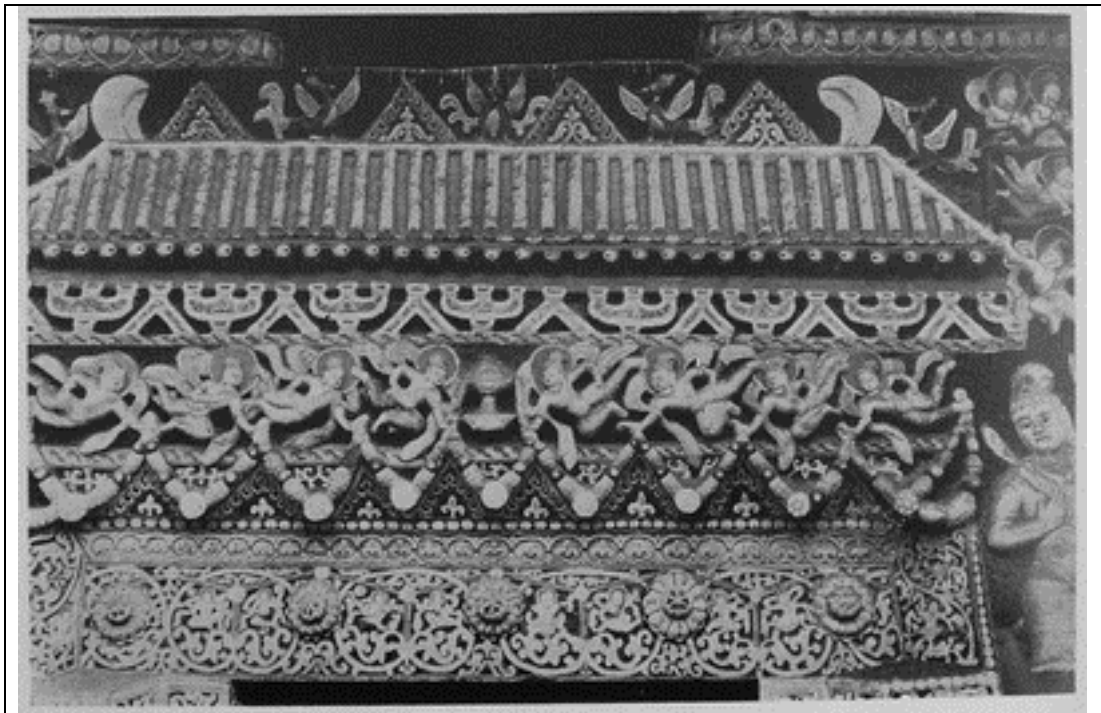


Fig. 6-18 The photo of *hito*-form ‘*kaeru mata*’ and ‘*santo*’ in the sixth cave.⁹⁵

Here, the architectural decoration, such as the honeysuckle ornament, and the form of architectural elements and structure, such as the balustrade, ‘*tokyou*’, the *hito*-form ‘*kaeru mata*’, and ‘*santo*’, became immediate illustrations.

Finally, he outlined the transmission and the origin of the Japanese Buddhist temple and concluded:

To sum up, there is no doubt that most parts of the *Ishibotoke*⁹⁶ temple derived from ruins in the *Tuoba Wei*⁹⁷ (拓拔魏) period. And they are ruins derived from 1450 years before, and 150 years earlier than the *Hōryūji*. There is no doubt that *Suiko*-style art derived from *Samhan*⁹⁸ (三韓), but where *Samhan* obtained it is the question we would like to know but have not been answered. Today we can see the *Suiko*-style ruins near Datong. Because of this, it is possible to imagine that it derived from the Western Regions⁹⁹ (西域), and was disseminated through Inner

⁹⁵ ———, *Itō Chūta Chosaku Shū Dai San Kan Tōyō Kenchiku No Kenkyū. Ue (Chūta Itō's Collected Writings - Volume 3 - Researches on Oriental Architecture (1), 伊東忠太著作集 第三卷 東洋建築の研究・上)*, 6 vols, Vol. 3 (Tokyo (東京): Hara Shobō (原書房), 1982), Figures, p. 29.

⁹⁶ Itō also referred to the *Hōryūji* as an *Ishibotoke* temple, which means cave temple.

⁹⁷ *Tuoba Wei* (拓拔魏) was a dynasty in China between 386-543 AD.

⁹⁸ From 57 BC to 668 AD, Korea was divided into three kingdoms, and this period was called *Samhan*.

⁹⁹ The Western Regions was the old Chinese name for central Asia.

Mongolia (内蒙古), Northern China and to *Choson* (朝鮮)¹⁰⁰. The stone Buddhas are very detailed and sophisticated, and we should discover their present situations and origins. Because of this, we can explain the question on Oriental art history.¹⁰¹ (my translation)

As well as his detailed descriptions of the transmission of architectural style from the *Yungang* grottoes to the *Hōryūji*, he further claimed the similarity of orders and ornaments between those in the *Yungang* grottoes and those in Persian and Greek architecture. He described the orders in the first cave:

On the top of the pillar in Fig.579 [Figs 6-19 and 6-20], the central surface pattern of its '*daito*' (大斗) is similar to that in Greek and Assyria. There is a lotus pattern on the '*tomisao*' (斗操), and the '*sarato*' (皿斗) is beneath it. The pillar is octagonal, with rough entasis, and there is a Buddha on the surface.¹⁰² (my translation)

And in the second cave:

On the pillar in the front yard in Fig.585 [Figs 6-21~6-24], the usage of the Ionic order is very unusual. In Fig. 586 [Figs 6-21,6-22 and 6-25], there is more or less the significance of the Corinthian order, and the skill of the carving of the pillar probably derives from Indian conception.¹⁰³ (my translation)

¹⁰⁰ *Choson* was the old name for Korea.

¹⁰¹ Itō (伊東), "Hokusei Kenchiku Chōsa Hōkoku (A Research Report on Northern Chinese Architecture, 北清建築調査報告)", p.333-334.

¹⁰² *ibid.*, pp.330-1.

¹⁰³ *ibid.*, p.332.

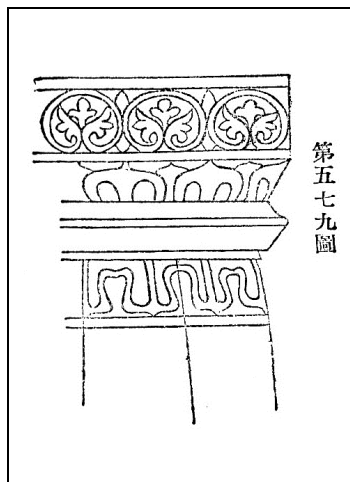


Fig. 6-19 Fig. 579 drawn by Itō Chūta.¹⁰⁴

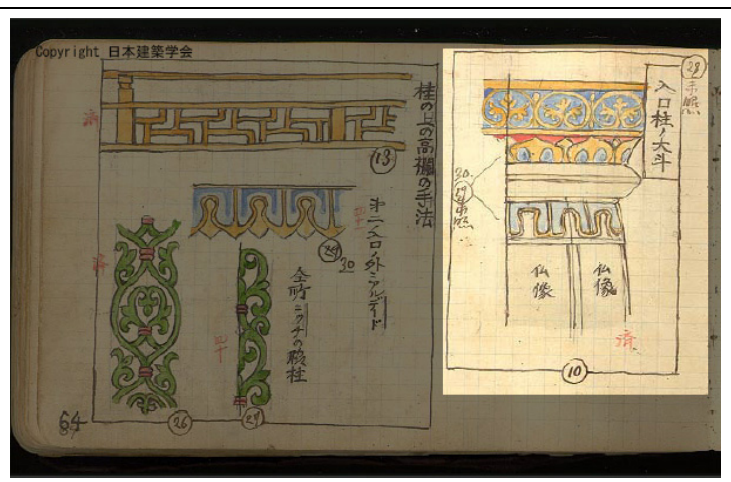


Fig. 6-20 The original drawing of Fig. 579.¹⁰⁵

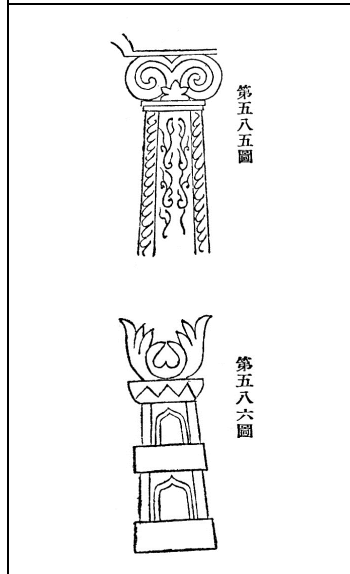
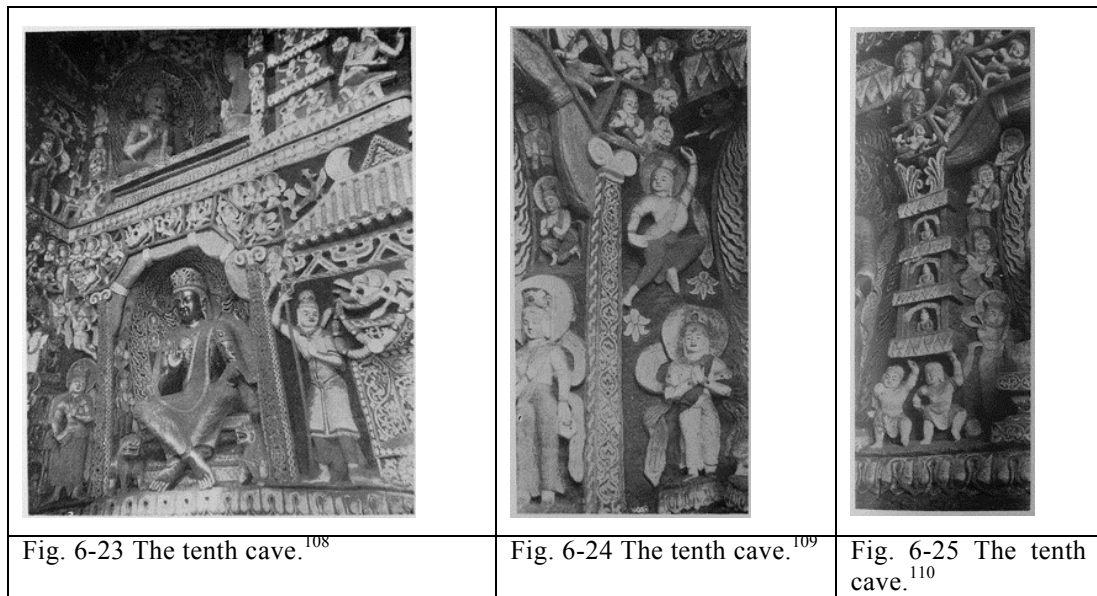


Fig. 6-21 Fig. 585 (top) and Fig. 586 (bottom) drawn by Itō Chūta.¹⁰⁶



Fig. 6-22 The original drawing of Fig. 585 and Fig. 586.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ *ibid.*, p.331.
¹⁰⁵ ———, "Itō Chūta Shiryō: Nochō (Data of Chūta Itō: Fieldnotes, 伊東忠太資料:野帳)", p.64.
¹⁰⁶ ———, "Hokusei Kenchiku Chōsa Hōkoku (A Research Report on Northern Chinese Architecture, 北清建築調査報告)", p.332.
¹⁰⁷ ———, "Itō Chūta Shiryō: Nochō (Data of Chūta Itō: Fieldnotes, 伊東忠太資料:野帳)", p.61.



For Itō, the pattern on the capital in Fig. 6-18, which resembled those of Greek and Assyrian architecture, and the form of the capital in Fig. 6-20, which showed a similarity to the Ionic and Corinthian orders, once again provided illustrations allowing him to connect the styles of the *Yuangang* grottoes with those of Greek and Assyrian architecture, which were considered as the origin of Western architecture. As a consequence, the position of Japanese architecture, which Itō now argued shared the same origin with western architecture, was established.

The *Yungang* grottoes provided key evidence for Itō to trace the origin of Japanese architecture on the one hand, and to connect it with world architectural history on the other. Furthermore, in terms of its origin and the similarities, Japanese architecture for Itō had the same bases as western architecture has, that is, Greek and Anatolian architecture.

¹⁰⁸ ———, *Itō Chūta Chosaku Shū Dai San Kan Tōyō Kenchiku No Kenkyū. Ue (Chūta Itō's Collected Writings - Volume 3 - Researches on Oriental Architecture (1), 伊東忠太著作集 第三卷 東洋建築の研究・上)*, 3. Figures, p.26.

¹⁰⁹ *ibid.*, Figures, p.26.

¹¹⁰ *ibid.*, Figures, p.26.

6-5 Chūta Itō's Orient

The discovery of the *Yungang* grottoes played a significant role as a hinge between the *Hōryūji* and Greek architecture. On the one hand they were claimed as the origin of the *Hōryūji*; on the other hand they were examined as the route of transmission of the Greek architectural style. From Greek architecture, through the *Yungang* grottoes to the *Hōryūji*, Itō had outlined a linear transmission as evidence for his theory within which the origin of Japanese architecture was connected to world architectural history. Itō's disseminated relationships between the West and the East were more clearly exemplified in his construction of oriental architectural systems within which Asian architecture was framed. On the other hand, to examine Chinese architecture as the origin of the *Hōryūji*, Itō also constructed developments of Chinese architecture in order to value the origin of Japanese architecture. Therefore, Chinese architectural history was also specifically examined. Both oriental architectural systems and Chinese architectural history, if we borrow Tanaka's idea of Japan's Orient which I reviewed in Chapter 3, were Itō's Orient that underpinned his theories of the transmission of architectural style and the formation of an oriental architectural history.

6-5-1 Chūta Itō's formation of oriental architectural systems

After Itō's grand tour crossing the Euro-Asian continent in 1905 he published an article 'Tōyō Kenchiku No Keitō kyū Biteki Kachi (Oriental Architectural Systems and the Values of Their Beauty, 東洋建築の系統及其美的価値)'¹¹¹ (in 1906, only one year after his return). The purpose of Itō's research on oriental architectural systems was clear:

¹¹¹ ———, "Tōyō Kenchiku No Keitō kyū Biteki Kachi (Oriental Architectural Systems and the Values of Their Beauty, 東洋建築の系統及其美的価値)," *Nihon Bijutsukyōkai Hōkoku* (日本美術協会報告) 185(1906).

his studies were to respond to Western architectural scholars' consideration of oriental architecture as 'non-historical', as Fletcher put it. The architectural characteristic of 'non-historical', for Itō, revealed a viewpoint under which oriental architecture stood outside world history.¹¹²

Recent scholars consider oriental architecture as 'non-historical', which refers to a development outside history. It has been explained that the development of architecture has been unrelated to world history.¹¹³ (my translation)

Furthermore, since oriental architecture could not be classified within any 'historical' scope under Fletcher's construction, oriental architecture, including Japanese architecture, could not be improved and become advanced, or civilized. As a consequence, Itō's construction of oriental architectural systems provided an historical framework which established a trajectory of transmission and development, of oriental architecture, which, on the one hand, showed the concept that the Orient and the Occident shared the same architectural root, and on the other hand that oriental architecture had its own history and therefore could be improved and become civilized.

In his article, Itō drew a diagram to explain his concept of oriental architectural systems, and this is shown in Fig. 6-26. In Fig. 6-26, the dotted lines show system binaries; lines with arrows show the architectural dissemination, or influence; three circles seem to show three powerful or influential kingdoms or countries; there is a chronological relationship from the left-hand side of the diagram to the right; there is a geographical distinction showing locations in the real world; Japanese architecture, showing seven periods at the top of the diagram, is part of the Chinese architectural system.

¹¹² *ibid.*, p.24.

¹¹³ *ibid.*, p.24.

In the diagram, it can be seen that those ancient countries or races based on western Asia and North Africa, such as Egypt, Judea, Lydia, Phrygia, the Hittite kingdom, Babylon, Assyria and Persia, consisted of what Itō called an ancient system. This ancient-system architecture had a great influence on Greek architecture, and Greek architecture had an influence on Roman architecture, and both of them had been considered as the origin of western architecture. Roman architecture was right on the edge of the diagram, which showed Itō's consideration of it as part of Western architecture, but sharing the same root as oriental architecture, which was an ancient system. Architecture in western Asia was influenced by two paths in this account. From Greece to the Seleucid Empire, Parthia, the Greco-Bactrian kingdom and Sassanid empire, it showed an influence on architecture which can be traced from the ancient empires in the west and in central Asia in the earliest times. From Rome to the eastern Roman Empire and the Coptic lands, it showed the influence of the Christian tradition on western Asia. However, when they met in Arabia, architecture from those two paths fused with the Islamic system.

The Indian system was based on the Indian subcontinent. The origins of this architectural system were Buddhist and Brahmanist architecture. According to the diagram, the former had much more influence than the latter. Buddhism influenced countries around the Indian subcontinent such as Da Rouzhi, Kashmir, Nepal and Tibet, and also countries in South-East Asia, such as Cambodia, Siam, Burma and Java.

The Chinese system derived from the Zhou (周) and Han (漢) dynasties in China. In the third century, the Wu hu¹¹⁴ (五胡) invaded China and one of these Wu hu, Touba, founded a country, called Northern Wei, with the result that Buddhism became widely

¹¹⁴ Wu hu (五胡) refers to five peoples living in North and Central Asia; the Huns (匈奴), the Xianbei (鮮卑), the Di (氐), the Qiang (羌) and the Jie (羯).

spread throughout China, and was eventually disseminated to Japan in the Suiko period. The Sui (隋) dynasty unified the whole country, and the dynasty which followed, the Tang, absorbed Buddhism from India, traded with Arabia, and became an influential empire in Eastern Asia. Japan was also strongly affected by the Tang dynasty.

Although Itō divided the origins of Oriental architecture into five different systems, the most important concept in the diagram was not the classification of architectural systems, but the transmission of architectural style between each system. Persian architecture affected Buddhist architecture through the expansionist conquests of Alexander the Great; Buddhist architecture was disseminated from Da Rouzhi (大月氏) and Khotan (于闐) into Northern Wei (後魏), a Chinese dynasty resulting from the invasion of the Wu hu. Those links, for Itō, established bridges connecting different architectural systems, and also connecting Japanese architecture with Greek architecture, the origin of western culture. The understanding and construction of the oriental architectural systems allowed Itō to respond to judgements on oriental architecture, mainly Chinese and Japanese architecture, by the West.

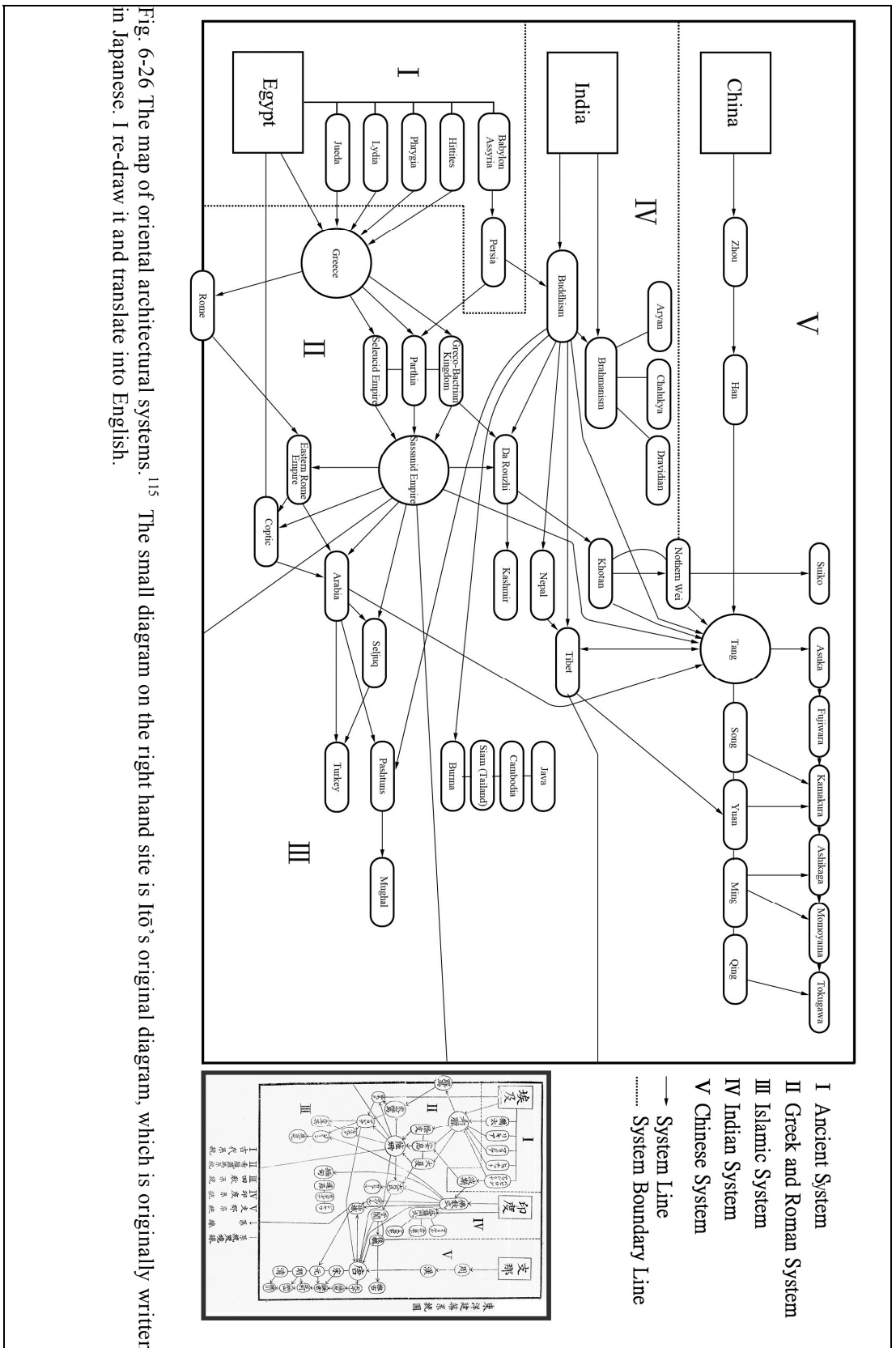
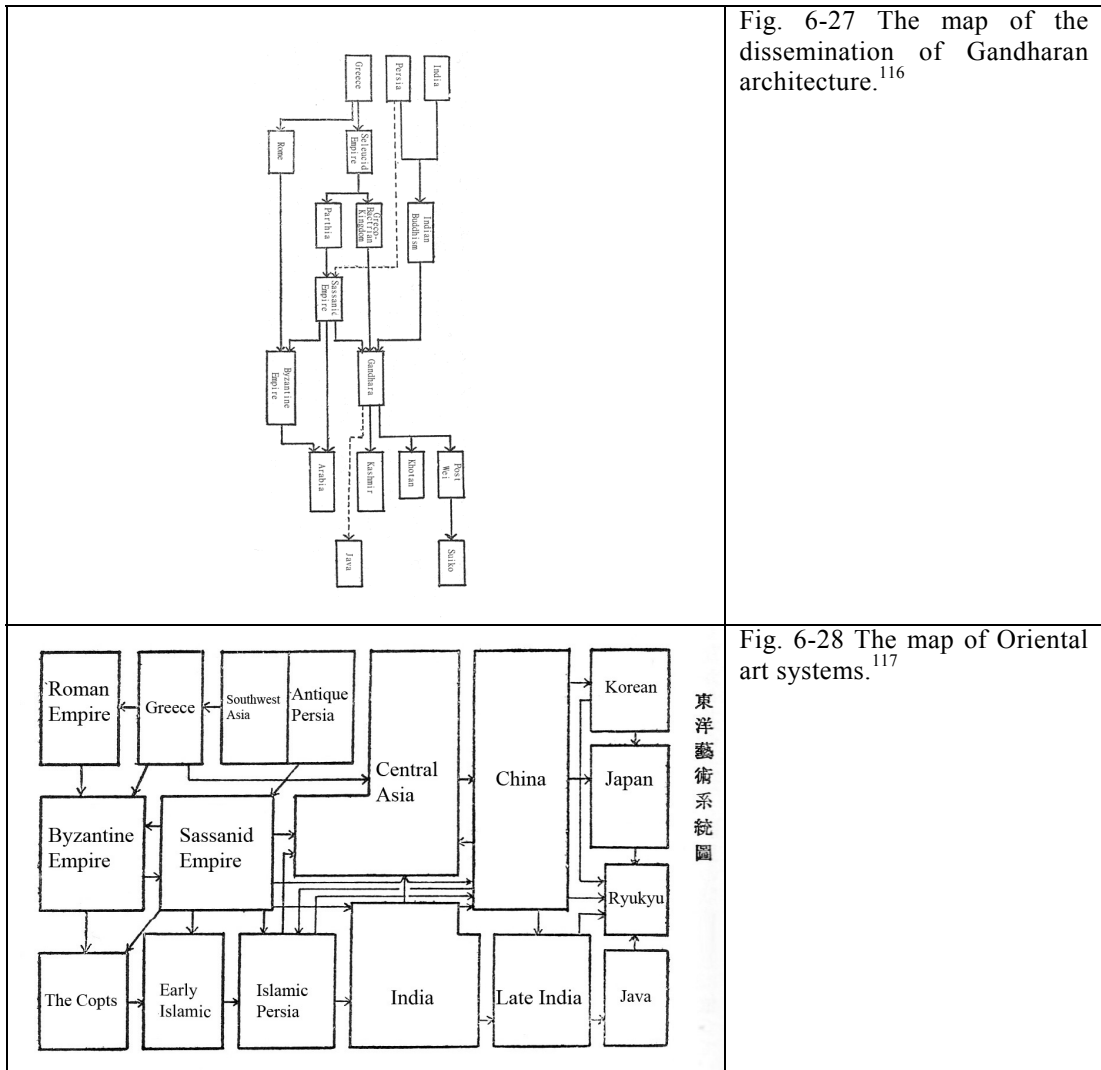


Fig. 6-26 The map of oriental architectural systems. ¹¹⁵ The small diagram on the right hand side is Itō's original diagram, which is originally written in Japanese. I re-draw it and translate into English.

¹¹⁵ Itō (伊東), "Tōyō Kenchiku No Keitō kyū Biteki Kachi (Oriental Architectural Systems and the Values of Their Beauty, 東洋建築の系統及其美的価値).", p.41.

Itō's concepts of oriental architectural systems also can be found in his subsequent articles, and his drawings also presented them in a different form. Itō's another two diagrams (Figs 6-27 and 6-28) show similar paths of transmission of architecture or art. Both diagrams show his geographical and historical dissemination theory.



¹¹⁶ ———, "Kendara Chihō No Kenchiku (Architecture of Gandhara, 健馱羅地方の建築)," in *Itō Chūta Chosaku Shū Dai Yon Kan Tōyō Kenchiku No Kenkyū. Shita (Chūta Itō's Collected Writings - Volume 4 - Researches on Oriental Architecture (2), 伊東忠太著作集 第四卷 東洋建築の研究・下)* (Tokyo (東京): Hara Shobō (原書房), 1982), p.356. (My translation)

¹¹⁷ ———, "Tōyō Geijutsu No Keitō (The System of Oriental Art, 東洋藝術の系統)," in *Itō Chūta Chosaku Shū Dai Yon Kan Tōyō Kenchiku no Kenkyū. shita (Chūta Itō's Collected Writings - Volume 4 - Researches on Oriental Architecture (2), 伊東忠太著作集 第四卷 東洋建築の研究・下)* (Tokyo (東京): Hara Shobō (原書房), 1982), p.5. (My translation)

6-5-2 Chūta Itō's formation of Chinese architecture

Another result of Itō's fieldwork was his influence on the framing of a distinctively Chinese architecture and architectural history. Itō's achievements in this regard were followed by Japanese scholars who surveyed Taiwanese architecture and architectural history, which I shall explore in more detail in the next Chapter.

One year before his grand tour, Itō had the opportunity to document the Zijincheng (紫禁城), the Imperial Palaces of the Ming and Qing Dynasties in Beijing, while the Eight-Nation Alliance occupied the capital. This was Itō's first fieldwork on Chinese architecture and the result was his article 'Pekin Shikin Jou Kenchiku Dan (Architecture Stories of Zijincheng in Beijing, 北京紫禁城建築談)'¹¹⁸ in 1901 and a report 'Seikoku Pekin Shikin Jō Den Mon No Kenchiku (The Gate and the Palace of Beijing Zijincheng in China, 清国北京紫禁城殿門の建築)'¹¹⁹ for the University in 1903. They were Itō's earliest surveys of Chinese palaces, and the starting point of his later researches.

From the first fieldwork at Zijincheng, Itō continued his fieldwork in China. By the end of his life, he had completed around ten more fieldwork expeditions in China.¹²⁰ He had visited various places in China and published many articles. Among them, 'Shina

¹¹⁸ ———, "Pekin Shikin Jō Kenchiku Dan (Architecture Stories of *Zijinchéng* in Beijing, 北京紫禁城建築談)," *Kenchiku Zasshi (Journal of Architecture and Building Science, 建築雜誌)* 15, no. 178 (1901).

¹¹⁹ ———, "Seikoku Pekin Shikin Jō Den Mon No Kenchiku (The Gate and Palace of Beijing *Zijincheng* in China, 清国北京紫禁城殿門の建築)," in *Tōdai Kōka Daigaku Gakujutsu Hōkoku (東大工科大学学術報告)* (1903).

¹²⁰ Cheng has tabled Itō's trips in China as ten, but in Shin (伸) Muramatsu's (村松) article, he accounted for only nine. See Cheng (鄭), "*Ri Ben Jian Zhu Jia Yi Dong Zhong Tai Yu Zhong Guo Jian Zhu Jia Liang Si Cheng Zhi Jian Zhu Si Xiang Yu Zuo Pin Bi Jiao Yan Jiu (A Comparative Study on Architectural Thoughts and Works of Ito Chuta, a Japanese Architect, and Liang Si-Cheng, a Chinese Architect, 日本建築家伊東忠太與中國建築家梁思成之建築思想與作品比較研究)*", p.2-36 and Shin (伸) Muramatsu (村松), "Chūta No Dai Bōken Ichi (Chūta Itō's Grand Adventures, one, 忠太の大冒険 一)" *Tōhō (東方)* Vol. 154 (1994), p.15.

Kenchiku (Chinese Architecture, 支那建築)¹²¹ published in 1908 could be Itō's earliest comprehensive article on Chinese architecture. He then published *Shina Kenchiku Shi* (Chinese Architectural History, 支那建築史)¹²² in 1926.

Basically, Itō distinguished Chinese architecture geographically into northern and southern Qing architecture in 'Shina Kenchiku',¹²³ but this division was modified into the northern, the middle and southern Chinese architecture in *Shina Kenchiku Shi*.¹²⁴ Within these three divisions, it has been widely believed that the Chinese architecture of Taiwan derived from the southern Chinese architecture.

Itō's geographic divisions were determined by the environmental parameters he observed in availability of natural materials for building and by climatic conditions. These varying environmental parameters resulted in the different uses of materials, construction techniques and a range of resultant architectural expressions. As regards materials, for example:

In northern China, because of the lack of wood, architectural materials mainly rely on clay and bricks. This is because raw materials of clay and bricks are very plentiful.¹²⁵ (my translation)

In respect of architectural expressions, Itō's considerations of the characteristics of architecture were strongly linked to the characteristics of people and to natural conditions. As he wrote:

¹²¹ Chūta (忠太) Itō (伊東), "Shina Kenchiku (Chinese Architecture, 支那建築)," *Kenchiku Zasshi* (*Journal of Architecture and Building Science*, 建築雜誌) 22, no. 256 (1908), pp.144-145.

¹²² ———, *Shina Kenchiku Shi* (*Chinese Architectural History*, 支那建築史), Tōyōshi Kōza (Lecturers on the History of the Eastern Asian, 東洋史講座) (1930).

¹²³ ———, "Shina Kenchiku (Chinese Architecture, 支那建築)", pp.144-145.

¹²⁴ ———, *Zhong Guo Jian Zhu Shi* (*Chinese Architectural History*, 中國建築史), trans. Qingquan (清泉) Chen (陳) (Taipei (臺北): Taiwan Shangwu Yinshuguan(臺灣商務印書館), 1994), p.19.

¹²⁵ *ibid.*, p.20.

The characteristics of the northern Chinese architecture reflect heaviness. This is because people and goods in northern China reflect heaviness. As I have seen, although they are all Chinese, northern Chinese people's bodies and faces reflect plumpness. They move slowly. The characteristics of their architecture are very similar to this phenomenon. Palaces and temples have leisurely postures. Details reflect neither grotesque nor fineness. At first glance there seems to be a lack of resplendence but without naivete.¹²⁶ (my translation)

Architecture in middle China reflects a sense of lightness. In terms of the curvature of the roof, the architecture of northern China is flatter, and that of middle China is sharper. Their decorations are extremely complicated.¹²⁷

Because of the topography, the characteristics of the residents [of southern China], compared with the people in the middle China, are livelier and more active, but sometimes too drastic. Therefore, their architecture, like tropical architecture, is full of grotesque spirits.¹²⁸ (my translation)

Although it seems that Itō stopped short of adopting the term 'culture' to connect with the characteristics of architecture, his ideas regarding coherent architectural and human characteristics directly reflected an idea similar to architectural culture. This connection between architecture and culture can be seen in Gaizirō (亥治郎) Huzisima's (藤島) researches on Taiwanese architecture.

Historically, Itō divided the developments of Chinese architecture into four periods. In 'Shina Kenchiku', they were 'the period of traditional architecture of Han (2200 BC- 68 AD)', 'the period of the initiation of Buddhist architecture (68 AD-618 AD)', 'the period of the peak of Buddhist architecture (618 AD-1260 AD)' and 'the period of imported Lamaism (1260 AD-the present)'.¹²⁹ However, these divisions were also changed in *Shina Kenchiku Shi* to 'the period of absorbing the art of Western Regions (from the three kingdoms to the Sui Dynasty)', 'the period of the greatness (the Tang Dynasty)', 'the period of decline (the Song and Yuan Dynasties)' and 'the period of revival (the

¹²⁶ *ibid.*, p.22.

¹²⁷ *ibid.*, p.22-23.

¹²⁸ *ibid.*, p.23.

¹²⁹ ———, "Shina Kenchiku (Chinese Architecture, 支那建築).", p.146.

Ming and Qing Dynasties)'.¹³⁰ Generally speaking, Itō saw Chinese architecture under the lens of a life cycle. It had reached a peak in the Tang Dynasty but declined after the Sung Dynasty.¹³¹

Itō's geographic and historical frameworks were widely adopted by other Japanese scholars, and those who surveyed Taiwanese architecture. I shall particularly examine their activities and concepts in the next chapter.

6-6 Chūta Itō's location of Japanese architecture

By creating his own orient – the oriental architectural system and Chinese architecture, Itō created a story of oriental architecture with a western architectural history. This formulation allowed Itō to endow Japanese architecture with a special position. This can be clearly seen in a diagram (Fig. 6-29) drawn in 'Kenchiku Shinka No Gensoku Yori Mi Taru Waga Kuni Kenchiku No Zento (The Prospects of Japanese Architecture Seen from The Principles of Architectural Evolution, 建築進化の原則より見たる我邦建築の前途)' in *Kenchiku Zasshi* in 1909. Interestingly, the purpose of this paper was to provide a personal opinion of the future of Japanese architecture, and this special position allowed Japanese architecture to get rid of the western inferior orient.

In the diagram, he divided world architecture clearly into three systems, which he showed as three big circles: the Ancient system, the Western system and the Eastern system. Each system was sub-classified into several groups, which were shown as smaller circles within the main circles. The relationships between each circle seem to represent relationships between architectural systems: two overlapping circles seem to

¹³⁰ ———, *Zhong Guo Jian Zhu Shi (Chinese Architectural History, 中國建築史)*, p.38.

¹³¹ ———, "Shina Kenchiku (Chinese Architecture, 支那建築).", p.147.

show a strong influence on architecture, which can be affected by political or geographical domination, such as Egypt and Persia, or Persia and India, or which can just be a cultural influence, such as Japan and China. Tangential and untouching circles showed distant or indirect relationships. Lines with arrows also show architectural dissemination.

This diagram, which was different from others, basically showed timeless geographical relationships between different architectural systems, and a more clear classification of world architecture, each part of which had its own significance: the Chinese system with roofs and eaves, the Islamic system with thin and towering minarets, and the Indian system with pagoda-style palaces.¹³² Japanese architecture occupied a special position, inheriting some elements from the Chinese system but not being entirely included in it, or even in the Oriental architectural system.

¹³² ———, "Kenchiku Shinka No Gensoku Yori Mi Taru Waga Kuni Kenchiku No Zento (The Prospects of Japanese Architecture Seen from The Principles of Architectural Evolution, 建築進化の原則より見たる我邦建築の前途)," *Kenchiku Zasshi (Journal of Architecture and Building Science, 建築雑誌)* 23, no. 265 (1909), p.21

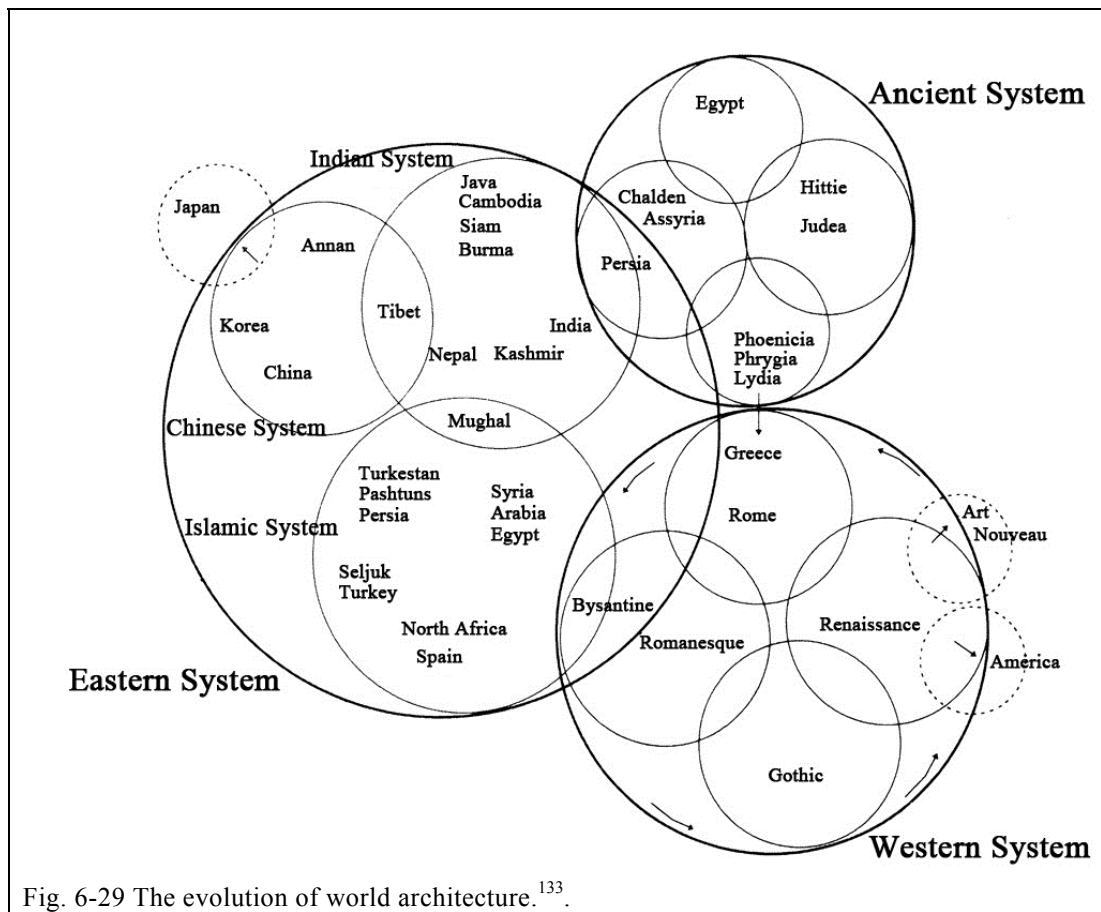


Fig. 6-29 The evolution of world architecture.¹³³

Itō tried to connect oriental architecture with ancient architecture. By so doing, based on western research into the relationships between ancient and western architecture, he was able to establish the oriental architectural systems and fill in the blank within world architecture. What he called oriental architectural systems enabled oriental architecture to be considered as historical, in Fletcher's word, and to locate its position.

As we have seen in this chapter, Itō's framing of a Japanese architectural history began with his search of the origin of Japanese architecture, and also with search for national architectural identity of Japan. Itō's formations were heavily based on an acknowledgment of cultural, aesthetic and stylistic hybridity as we have seen through his research on the connections of Japanese architecture to Chinese architecture, and through

¹³³ *ibid.*, p.20.

his proposition for a wider oriental architectural system. His account is further hybridized through the influence that Western architectural knowledge had on the conceptual framework and general approach to research he adopted. In this respect, the hybridity of Itō's work is also a wider hybridity between orientalism and occidentalism. In addition, within his constructions, the roles that western disciplinary architectural knowledge played were complicated and dual. On the one hand, they did play an incomparable role in Itō's shaping of his theories; on the other hand, there was their orientalism, such as Fergusson's consideration of the Chinese as a race without architecture and Fletcher's classification of non-historical issues, that Itō wanted to reject. To reveal western orientalism, Itō's search for the national origin of Japanese architecture eventually went along with his construction of oriental architectural systems and Chinese architectural history. By so doing, Itō connected Japanese architecture with world architectural history, and eventually endowed it with a special position. I will leave more detailed theoretical and ideological discussions on Itō's formations of Japanese and oriental architectural history in Chapter 8.

Being a professor in Tokyo Imperial University and a pioneer in the sphere of oriental architectural history, Itō's research played a crucial role that no one can ignore. Subsequent scholars have more or less followed his framework, or tried to revise his concepts. Therefore, in the next chapter I shall specifically examine research on Taiwanese architecture by the Japanese, and consider how they could have been influenced by Itō's ideas.

Chapter 7 Japanese conceptualization of Taiwanese architecture

The previous chapter examined the way in which pioneer Japanese architectural scholar Chūta Itō laid the foundations for a distinctively Japanese and oriental architectural history. We saw that his conceptualisation of Japanese architectural history relied upon a wider concept of oriental architecture. This chapter now turns to one of the sites that was important to this wider conceptualisation of oriental architecture, namely Taiwan. Again the role of Japanese scholars in research on Taiwan was significant for the way in which they recorded and framed Taiwanese architecture and architectural history and wrote it into an oriental architectural history in which Japan held a pre-eminent position. The chapter explores this process by examining the research of the key Japanese scholars, Masanao (正直) Yasue (安江), Daisaku (大作) Tanaka (田中) and Gaizirō (亥治郎) Huzisima (藤島).

My interest in examining what Japanese scholars did and how they initiated research in Taiwan is motivated by a range of theoretical principles that have informed this thesis. That Japanese architectural research and documentation of Taiwanese materials is both scholarly and also representative of a colonial point of view. This point of view is underpinned by the particularity of an oriental-styled orientalism and its context, which, following Kikuchi's formulation, we can regard to be a kind of oriental orientalism. The Japanese scholarly project in their architectural investigations can, therefore, be regarded as an exercise in colonial power/knowledge.

On the other hand, this Japanese research was undertaken in the light of a concept of

searching for originality. It was also a process of searching for identity, through which various architectural forms in Taiwan were identified and classified. This suggests two issues: on the one hand, the process could be deeply influenced by Itō's construction of oriental and Chinese architectural history; on the other hand, Taiwanese architecture and history, as a part of the other's architecture in the world architectural history which I discussed in Chapter 5, has already been framed as part of oriental architecture. This research became a structure of reference supporting Japanese frameworks of oriental architectural systems.

Finally, the way in which Taiwanese architecture was presented was always combined with the idea of culture. This combination of the two – architecture and culture – resulted in coherence between architecture and culture. In other words, architecture was considered as materialized cultural performance. For this to be so, Taiwanese architecture, the same as its culture, was essentialized and characterized in order to be observed and then written about in the text. The combination of architecture and culture also reveals another combination of architectural history and vernacular architecture. Japanese commentators' vernacular-styled writing on Taiwanese architecture and architectural history blurred the boundary between those two topics in the discipline. This can be seen from the titles of their articles or books. It seems that Taiwanese architecture and Taiwanese architectural history were two exchangeable sets of a single topic. Therefore, writing Taiwanese architecture and architectural history became a cultural issue, as I discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, instead of being purely an architectural one.

The concepts which I have mentioned above, such as oriental orientalism, the roles of the

others' architecture and material cultural representation, have been explored thoroughly in part one, and dialogues between them will be discussed in Chapter 8. Here, I shall focus particularly on the history of the conceptualization of Taiwanese architecture and architectural history.

The chapter will examine in greater detail of the works of Masanao (正直) Yasue (安江), Daisaku (大作) Tanaka (田中) and Gaizirō (亥治郎) Huzisima (藤島). These were all significant scholars of Taiwanese architecture in the colonial period not only because they initiated documentary work on the architecture, but also because they provided overall conceptual frameworks for the categorisations they used. Their research was not merely a documentary record of various types of Taiwanese architecture, but also established an academic framework that was to have a significant influence on subsequent scholarship in the field. Although Daisaku Tanaka's and Gaizirō Huzisima's books were published after the Japanese colonial period, they both represented academic perspectives at that time. On the other hand, their research work represented a kind of cooperation between colonial government and academic activity in which the latter relied on the former in the production of knowledge. Uncovering and describing this relationship is a central aim of this chapter. Consequently, I am going to describe Masanao Yasue's, Daisaku Tanaka's and Gaizirō Huzisima's framing of Taiwanese architecture and architectural history, and their relationships with colonial governance and with Itō's construction of Chinese architectural history.

7-1 Masanao Yasue's 'Taiwan Kenchiku Shi (Taiwanese Architectural History, 臺灣建築史)' under the activity of the 'kyūkan chōsa' (An Investigation of Taiwanese Manners and Customs, 舊慣調查) by the Governor-General of Taiwan between 1901 and 1919

Masanao Yasue was an employee of the office of the Governor-General of Taiwan. He was assigned to carry out fieldwork on Taiwanese architecture and he reported to the Governor-General with his findings in 1908. His report was the first article directly focusing on Taiwanese architecture. Although it was entitled Taiwanese Architectural History, it was more like a general documentation of historic architecture in Taiwan. The first section of the article was later published in journals such as *Kenchiku Zasshi* (The Journal of Architecture and Building Science, 建築雜誌) (1909)¹ in Japan, *Taiwan Jihō* (Taiwan Times, 臺灣時報) (1910),² and *Taiwan Kenchiku Kaishi* (The Journal of the Taiwan Architecture Association, 臺灣建築會誌) (1939)³ in Taiwan.

Yasue's fieldwork can be considered in part as a result of the Japanese colonial enterprise. His activity was directly involved with the *kyūkan chōsa* (An Investigation of the Old Taiwanese Manners and Customs, 舊慣調查), a systematic investigation of old Taiwanese manners and customs commissioned by the Governor-General of Taiwan, and

¹ Masanao (正直) Yasue (安江), "Taiwan Kenchiku Shi (Ichi) (Taiwanese Architectural History (1), 臺灣建築史(一))," *Kenchiku Zasshi (Journal of Architecture and Building Science, 建築雜誌)* 23, no. 265 (1909); ———, "Taiwan Kenchiku Shi (Ni) (Taiwanese Architectural History (2), 臺灣建築史(二))," *Kenchiku Zasshi (Journal of Architecture and Building Science, 建築雜誌)* 23, no. 266 (1909).

² ———, "Taiwan Kenchiku Shi (Ichi) (Taiwanese Architectural History (1), 臺灣建築史(一))," *Taiwan Jihō (Taiwan Times, 臺灣時報)* 8 (1910); ———, "Taiwan Kenchiku Shi (Ni) (Taiwanese Architectural History (2), 臺灣建築史(二))," *Taiwan Jihō (Taiwan Times, 臺灣時報)* 9 (1910); ———, "Taiwan Kenchiku Shi (Sani) (Taiwanese Architectural History (3), 臺灣建築史(三))," *Taiwan Jihō (Taiwan Times, 臺灣時報)* 10 (1910); ———, "Taiwan Kenchiku Shi (Yon) (Taiwanese Architectural History (4), 臺灣建築史(四))," *Taiwan Jihō (Taiwan Times, 臺灣時報)* 11 (1910).

³ ———, "Taiwan Kenchiku Shi (Taiwanese Architectural History, 臺灣建築史)," *Taiwan Kenchiku Kaishi (The Journal of the Architectural Institute of Taiwan, 臺灣建築會誌)* 11, no. 2 (1939).

his article was based on his official reports to the Governor-General. In addition, although the *kyūkan chōsa* mainly paid attention to Chinese law and traditional behaviour, its comprehensive investigations of the indigenous peoples of Taiwan, including their material culture, relationships, social rules and other issues, played vital roles as references for Daisaku Tanaka's and Gaizirō Huzisima's constructions of Taiwanese architecture and architectural history, and also for Suketaro (助太郎) Chijiiwa's (千千岩) construction of the indigenous houses later on.

Considering the *kyūkan chōsa* as the background to Yasue's investigation of Taiwanese architectural history, and also as a reference for other later architectural scholars, I want to introduce the *kyūkan chōsa* first and then come back to Yasue's 'Taiwan Kenchiku Shi (Taiwanese Architectural History, 臺灣建築史)' later in this chapter.

7-1-1 The 'kyūkan chōsa' as a colonial enterprise

Since Yasue's 'Taiwan Kenchiku Shi' was part of the *kyūkan chōsa* project, revealing the colonial dominant power/knowledge relationships in the *kyūkan chōsa* is equal to uncovering those in 'Taiwan Kenchiku Shi'. To do this, it is necessary to examine its background, content, method, participants and publications.

The project of the *kyūkan chōsa* derived from the difficulties facing the governance of Taiwan at the beginning of the colonial period. Issues such as continuing military conflicts caused by the Taiwanese, an uncertainty over whether to adopt the legal structure from the Qing or from the Japanese Empire, and difficulties of economy in Taiwan, all made it even harder for the office of the Governor-General of Taiwan to set up proper colonial principles. These difficulties also caused huge expenditure, with the

result that a proposal was raised that Taiwan should be sold to France or to the Qing Empire for a hundred million Japanese yen.

When Shinpei (新平) Gotō (後藤) was appointed as the head of the Taiwan Public Welfare department (民政長官) by the fourth Governor-General of Taiwan, Gentarō (元太郎) Kodama (兒玉) in 1898, the colonial government initiated a systematic survey of Taiwanese manners and customs, the *kyūkan chōsa*, and the situation seemed to change. Gotō's background was medical. He had attended Sukagawa medical school when he was seventeen, and practised as a doctor after graduating. He later served as a government medic, and was president of the Nagoya Medical School. He was sent to Germany for further studies in 1890, and became the head of the Department of Health (衛生局) in the Home Ministry (內務省) on his return in 1892. This medical background significantly coloured Gotō's attitude to and philosophy of colonial governance, particularly his leadership of the *kyūkan chōsa*.

The most obvious influences from Gotō's medical background was his emphasis on 'biological principles' (生物学原則) in the functioning of colonial policy: 'colonial policy must be based on biology so that it is necessary to know local customs and manners very well in order to propose proper policies'.⁴ Under this consideration, investigations of Taiwanese behaviour and psychology, and, based on the outcome of his investigations, making a proper legal system, or principles of governance for the colony, in Gotō's theory, became the first step of colonial governance. Gotō's emphasis on 'biological principles' can be considered as a process of achieving the goal of colonial

⁴ Yukio (幸夫) Yamane (山根), "Lin Shi Tai Wan Jiu Guan Diao Cha Hui Di Cheng Guo (Achievements of the interim survey society of the old Taiwanese manners and customs, 臨時台灣舊慣調查會的成果)," *The Taiwan Folkways* 32, no. 1 (1982), p.23.

governance by means of investigating the colonized.

To achieve his idea of investigating Taiwanese customs and manners, Gotō emphasized the importance of cooperation between academics and colonial governance as a systematic and effective way of approaching his aim. For him, systematic analyses by academics were crucial for the colonial government:

In order to archive goals mentioned above – making laws and improving the economy – it is necessary to establish a special agency although one could believe that the investigations of the old habits and customs do not need any special agencies, and local officers who have been there for a period could understand them. Although some officers have the abilities to do this, there are not many of them. As a result, it is impossible to really understand the old habits and customs in Taiwan for officers who only have been in Taiwan for a few years. People usually believe that they must be very familiar with those behaviours, but this causes serious mistakes. If the investigated data of old habits and customs are necessarily provided by those officers, they are, most often, just ordinary investigations, which lack any systems, any academic comprehensive analytical knowledge. In order to perfect this investigation, it is necessary to employ specialists and to have enough time. In the advanced Western countries, because there are many scholars, they competitively research their lands. Although there is no special agency, their academic achievements are able to enable their governments to understand their new lands. Our country is different. There are not many scholars carrying out research on new lands, and, generally speaking, the Japanese usually act without patience, finesse and adequate preparation, so that I am afraid that important investigations of old habits and customs would be carried out with a lack of deep investigation and roughly made law because investigators do not have sufficient appropriate knowledge. It would be a great disappointment to dominate new lands in that way. The government should try to avoid this mistake not only nowadays but also in the future. Thus it is necessary to establish this agency for the investigations. Japan has already occupied Taiwan for six years. Academic researches on Taiwanese old habits and customs are quite rare. Although sometimes there are some political critiques regarding one or two old habits or customs, they usually are not based on systematic analyses and comprehensive researches, which is what we are looking for.⁵ (my translation)

This lengthy quotation shows the basis of Gotō's argument for a specialised agency focused on the documentation and analysis of Taiwanese cultural material and manners.

It is important to note that Gotō emphasized the lack of existing material, the importance

⁵ Cheng-chen (政誠) Cheng (鄭), *Tai Wan Da Diao Cha (Investigations of Taiwan: Researches on the Rinji Taiwan Kyuukan Chousakai, 臺灣大調查：臨時臺灣舊慣調查會之研究)* (Taipei County: BoyYoung (博揚文化), 2005), pp.89-90.

of specializing, and the importance of this work for the colonial government. Gotō's comments show his concept of how academic investigation and systematic analysis should support the Japanese colonial enterprise in Taiwan.

In practical terms, there were a series of research projects commissioned by the Governor-General of Taiwan, such as a land survey (土地調査, 1898-1904), a population survey (人口調査, 1905) and a forest survey (林野調査, 1910-1925). These surveys helped the office of the Governor-General to effectively control the population and natural resources in Taiwan. The most important and long-term investigation, which was considered the final result of Gotō's concept of biological principles, was the *kyūkan chōsa*, was referred to as 'the basis for engineering of the domination of the new land'.⁶ To start this enterprise, the *Rinji Taiwan Kyūkan Chōsakai* (An interim survey society of the old Taiwanese manners and customs, 臨時臺灣舊慣調查會) was established by the office of the Governor-General of Taiwan in 1902, and was subsidized by the government every year until its end in 1919.

The purposes of establishing *the Rinji Taiwan Kyūkan Chōsakai* can be summarized under four headings: understanding the old Taiwanese manners and customs; the systematic investigation and arrangement of records of the old Taiwanese manners and customs; making economic policies; and coordinating the executive branch, legislature, and Judiciary.⁷ Therefore, the office of the Governor-General of Taiwan set up four basic principles of the *kyūkan chōsa*, and Cheng-chen (政誠) Cheng (鄭), based on *Taiwan Kyūkan Chōsa Jigyō Hōkoku* (Report on the Enterprise of Investigations of Taiwan Old Habits and Customs, 臺灣舊慣調查事業報告), summarized these four basic

⁶ *ibid.*, p.13.

⁷ *ibid.*, p.87

principles as follows:

1. To focus on the old manners and customs within different places and races, and to conduct researches on them as a whole and individually.⁸
2. To establish the *Rinji Taiwan Kyūkan Chōsakai* as a special agency in order to execute the investigations properly.⁹
3. To investigate the old Taiwanese manners and customs within public law and private law in order to establish a base for making Taiwanese law, and to investigate old manners within the agricultural, industrial and commercial economy in order to increase permanent welfare in Taiwan.¹⁰
4. To investigate real situations in foreign colonies, to evaluate their systems, and to translate foreign books related to colonial policies in order to make the enterprise successful.¹¹

The entire activities of the *kyūkan chōsa*, which included the investigation, the establishment of the *Rinji Taiwan Kyūkan Chōsakai*, law making and book translation which had been shown in the four principles, were intended solely to serve the purpose of colonial governance.

Unlike the point of view revealed in the principles, the cooperation between academics and colonial governance can also be examined from the perspective of the participants.

⁸ *ibid.*, p.124

⁹ *ibid.*, p.124

¹⁰ *ibid.*, p.124

¹¹ *ibid.*, p.124

Gotō employed Santarō (参太郎) Okamatsu (岡松) as the head of the first office (第一部) organizing the investigation of the old Taiwanese manners and customs, and Naoya (直哉) Aihisasawa (愛久澤) as the head of the second office (第二部) organizing investigations of the economy in the *Rinji Taiwan Kyūkan Chōsakai*. Okamatsu was a professor in the Law School in Kyoto Imperial University. Before becoming the head of the *Rinji Taiwan Kyūkan Chōsakai*, he was employed in the *Rinji Taiwan Tochichousa Tsubone* (Bureau of Temporary Taiwan Lands Survey, 臨時臺灣土地調查局) to investigate the traditional manners of the land system in Taiwan, and then he published *Taiwan Kyūkan Seido Chōsa Ichi Mura* (A Provisional Report on the Investigations of Law and Customs in the Island of Formosa, 臺灣舊慣制度調查一斑). Okamatsu was proficient in Chinese and law so he was the ideal person to organize the first office. Aihisasawa graduated from the Politics School in Tokyo Imperial University in 1894 and was employed by the office of the General-Governor of Taiwan in 1899. In 1900, he worked for the Bureau of Monopoly. After the foundation of the *Rinji Taiwan Kyūkan Chōsakai*, he was designated as the head of the second office (第二部). Both Okamatsu and Aihisasawa were Japanese scholars based in the centre of Japan, and had significant influence on the operation of the *kyūkan chōsa*. Their proficiency in Chinese predominated the directions and methods of the *kyūkan chōsa*, and also endowed the achievements of the *kyūkan chōsa* with academic authenticity and colonial authority.

The *Rinji Taiwan Kyūkan Chōsakai* was closed in 1919, and during the period of its operation, the achievements of the *kyūkan chōsa* were fruitful. Thirteen volumes of *Taiwan Shisō* (Private Law in Taiwan, 臺灣私法) (1909-1911)¹² were edited by the first division of the first office; six volumes of *Shinkoku Gyōsei Hō* (Administrative Law

¹² *The Rinji Taiwan Kyūkan Chōsakai* (臨時臺灣舊慣調查會), *Taiwan Shisō* (Private Law in Taiwan, 臺灣私法), 13 vols. (*The Rinji Taiwan Kyūkan Chōsakai* (臨時臺灣舊慣調查會), 1909-1911).

under the Qing, 清國行政法) (1910-1915)¹³ were edited by the second division of the first office; eight volumes of *Banzoku Chōsa Hōkokusho* (Reports on Investigations of the Indigenous Peoples, 蕃族調查報告書) (1913-1921),¹⁴ five volumes of *Banzoku Kanshū Chōsa Hōkokusho* (Reports on Investigations of the Indigenous Peoples' Habits and Customs, 蕃族慣習調查報告書) (1915-1921)¹⁵ and eight volumes of *Taiwan Banzoku Kanshū Kenkyū* (Researches on the Taiwanese Indigenous Peoples' Habits and Customs, 臺灣蕃族慣習研究) (1921)¹⁶ were edited by the indigenous division (蕃族科) under the first office; *Taiwan Banzoku Shi* (A Record of the Taiwanese Indigenous Peoples, 臺灣蕃族志) (1917)¹⁷ and two volumes of *Taiwan Banzoku Zufu* (A Collection of Illustrative Plates of the Taiwanese Indigenous Races, 臺灣蕃族圖譜) (1915)¹⁸ were written by Ushinosuke (丑之助) Mori (森); two volumes of *Chōsa Keizai Shiryō Hōkoku* (Reports on Investigations of the Economy, 調查經濟資料報告)¹⁹ were published by the second office. In addition, there were nine civil and commercial laws proposed by the third office.

Although the main purpose of the *kyūkan chōsa* project, making specific colonial law in

¹³ ———, *Shinkoku Gyōsei Hō* (*Administrative Law under the Qing*, 清國行政法), 6 vols. (*The Rinji Taiwan Kyūkan Chōsakai* (臨時臺灣舊慣調查會), 1910-1915).

¹⁴ ———, *Banzoku Chōsa Hōkokusho* (*Reports on Investigations of the Indigenous Peoples*, 蕃族調查報告書), 8 vols. (*The Rinji Taiwan Kyūkan Chōsakai* (臨時臺灣舊慣調查會), 1913-1921).

¹⁵ ———, *Banzoku Kanshū Chōsa Hōkokusho* (*Reports on Investigations of the Indigenous Peoples' Habits and Customs*, 蕃族慣習調查報告書), 5 vols. (*The Rinji Taiwan Kyūkan Chōsakai* (臨時臺灣舊慣調查會), 1915-1921).

¹⁶ *Taiwan Sōtoshitokufu Banzoku Chōsakai* (臺灣總督府蕃族調查會), *Taiwan Banzoku Kanshū Kenkyū* (*Researches on the Taiwanese Indigenous Peoples' Habits and Customs*, 臺灣蕃族慣習研究) (*Taiwan Sōtoshitokufu Banzoku Chōsakai* (臺灣總督府蕃族調查會), 1921).

¹⁷ Ushinosuke (丑之助) Mori (森), *Taiwan Banzoku Shi* (*A Record of the Taiwanese Indigenous Peoples*, 臺灣蕃族志) (*The Rinji Taiwan Kyūkan Chōsakai* (臨時臺灣舊慣調查會), 1917).

¹⁸ ———, *Taiwan Banzoku Zufu* (*A Collection of Illustrative Plates of the Taiwanese Indigenous Races*, 臺灣蕃族圖譜) (*The Rinji Taiwan Kyūkan Chōsakai* (臨時臺灣舊慣調查會), 1915).

¹⁹ *The Rinji Taiwan Kyūkan Chōsakai* (臨時臺灣舊慣調查會), *Chōsa Keizai Shiryō Hōkoku* (*Reports on Investigations of the Economy*, 調查經濟資料報告), 2 vols. (*The Rinji Taiwan Kyūkan Chōsakai* (臨時臺灣舊慣調查會), 1905).

Taiwan, was eventually ended by the inland extension policy (内地延長主義), which considered Taiwan as an extension of Japan instead of as a special colony requiring its own legal system, to uncover the cooperation between those publications and colonial governance is crucial for my arguments because the first article concerning Taiwanese architectural history, Yasue's 'Taiwan Kenchiku Shi', was part of the *kyūkan chōsa*, and those publications became important references for subsequent researchers. Therefore, understanding the *kyūkan chōsa*, its background, principles, participants and achievements, provides a basis from which to reconsider Japanese research on Taiwanese architecture and architectural history in broader colonial governing relationships.

7-1-2 Masanao (正直) Yasue's (安江) 'Taiwan Kenchiku Shi (Taiwanese Architectural History, 臺灣建築史)'

Masanao Yasue's 'Taiwan Kenchiku Shi' derived from his reports investigating and editing the history of Taiwanese architecture to the Governor-General of Taiwan in 1907 and 1908. The former was 'Kenchikushi Hensan Shiryō Shūshū No Tame Tainan Chō Gai Yon Chō He Shucchō Fukumei No Ken (A Report on the Mission to Collect Data for Editing Architectural History in Four Local Agencies, 建築史編纂資料蒐集ノ為臺南廳外四廳へ出張復命ノ件)' (Fig. 7-1), which mainly focused on Taiwanese architectural history; the latter was 'Kenchikushi Hensan Shiryō Shūshū No Tame Me Shucchō Fukumei Sho (A Report on the Mission to Collect Data for Editing Architectural History, 建築史編纂資料蒐集ノ為メ出張復命書)' (Fig. 7-2), which mainly related to the old manners and customs of the administration of civil engineering (土木行政) in Taiwan, and was eventually edited within *Kiyoshi Kuni Gyōsei Hō* (Administrative Law under the Qing, 清國行政法) as achievement of the *kyūkan chōsa*. As Chun-Ming (俊銘) Huang (黃) commented: 'the investigation can be considered as official activity by the office of

the Governor-General of Taiwan, and it was part of the enterprise of the *kyūkan chōsa* whose purpose was to make colonial dominating principles of Taiwan'.²⁰

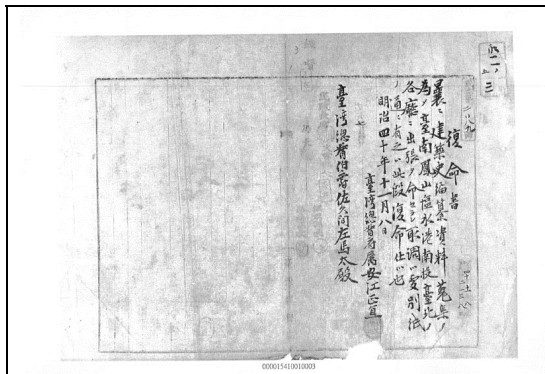


Fig. 7-1 'Kenchikushi Hensan Shiryō Shūshū No Tame Tainan Chō Gai Yon Chō He Shucchō Fukumei No Ken (A Report on the Mission to Collect Data for Editing Architectural History in Four Local Agencies, 建築史編纂資料蒐集ノ為臺南廳外四廳へ出張復命ノ件)'.²¹

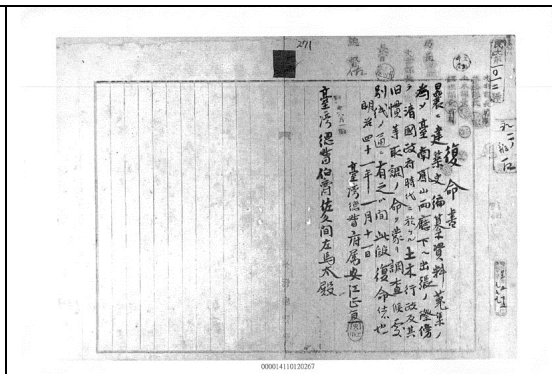


Fig. 7-2 'Kenchikushi Hensan Shiryō Shūshū No Tame Me Shucchō Fukumei Sho (A Report on the Mission to Collect Data for Editing Architectural History, 建築史編纂資料蒐集ノ為メ出張復命書)'.²²

The first part of 'Kenchikushi Hensan Shiryō Shūshū No Tame Tainan Chō Gai Yon Chō He Shucchō Fukumei No Ken', containing the overall arguments, was later published in *Kenchiku Zasshi* (The Journal of Architecture and Building Science, 建築雜誌) (1909)²³ and, entitled 'Taiwan Kenchiku Shi (Taiwanese Architectural History, 臺灣建築史)' in Japan, reprinted in *Taiwan Jihō* (Taiwan Times, 臺灣時報) (1910),²⁴ and in *Taiwan*

²⁰ Chun-Ming (俊銘) Huang (黃), "Ri Ju Shi Qi Tai Wan Jian Zhu Shi San Shu (Three Books on the History of Taiwanese Architecture in the Japanese Colonial Period, 日據時期臺灣建築史三書)," *Zhong Hua Min Guo Jian Zhu Xue Hui Yan Jiu Cheng Guo Fa Biao Hui Lun Wen Ji* (中華民國建築學會建築研究成果發表會論文集) 9 (1996), p.238.

²¹ Masanao (正直) Yasue (安江), "Kenchikushi Hensan Shiryō Shūshū No Tame Tainan Chō Gai Yon Chō He Shucchō Fukumei No Ken (A Report on the Mission to Collect Data for Editing Architectural History in Four Local Agencies, 建築史編纂資料蒐集ノ為臺南廳外四廳へ出張復命ノ件)," (*Taiwan Sōtokufu Kōbun Ruisan* (Archives of the Office of the Governor-General of Taiwan, 臺灣總督府公文類纂): Taiwan Historica (國史館臺灣文獻館), 1907).

²² ———, "Kenchikushi Hensan Shiryō Shūshū No Tame Me Shucchō Fukumei Sho (A Report on the Mission to Collect Data for Editing Architectural History, 建築史編纂資料蒐集ノ為メ出張復命書)," (*Taiwan Sōtokufu Kōbun Ruisan* (Archives of the Office of the Governor-General of Taiwan, 臺灣總督府公文類纂): Taiwan Historica (國史館臺灣文獻館), 1908).

²³ Yasue (安江), "Taiwan Kenchiku Shi (Ichi) (Taiwanese Architectural History (1), 臺灣建築史(一))."; ———, "Taiwan Kenchiku Shi (Ni) (Taiwanese Architectural History (2), 臺灣建築史(二))."

²⁴ ———, "Taiwan Kenchiku Shi (Ichi) (Taiwanese Architectural History (1), 臺灣建築史

Kenchiku Kaishi (The Journal of the Taiwan Architecture Association, 臺灣建築會誌) (1939)²⁵ in Taiwan. As a result, although Yasue's report might not be considered as the first record of architecture in Taiwan, it is almost certain that it was the first record concerning editing Taiwanese architectural history.

Before we examine Yasue's idea of *Taiwan Kenchiku Shi* more closely, I want to briefly outline Yasue's background. Masanao (正直) Yasue (安江) was born in 1866. He studied poetry at the age of sixteen, and studied sinology with Rokumon (鹿門) Oka (岡), a famous sinologist. Yasue worked for the general affairs bureau (總務局) in the Ministry of Communications and Transportation (遞信省) in 1886. From 1890, he spent two years working for the Imperial Household Department (宮内省) and editing *Kōkyō Go Zōei Shi* (A Record of the Construction of the Royal Palace, 皇居御造營誌) with Sankyo (三橋) Oka (岡) and Baiha (梅坡) Tanabe (田辺). Before he went to Taiwan, he worked as a clerk for the Japanese army.²⁶ In 1897, Yasue was employed by the office of the Governor-General of Taiwan in the Taiwan Public Welfare department (民政局), and by the governor of Tainan County. Between 1900 and 1908, he worked for the Temporary Taiwan Keelung Port Construction Bureau (臨時臺灣基隆築港局). During that period, he also took another job in the Civil Engineering Division (土木局) in the Civilian Department (民生部) in 1903. From 1908 to 1909, he worked for the Temporary

(一)."; ———, "Taiwan Kenchiku Shi (Ni) (Taiwanese Architectural History (2), 臺灣建築史 (二))."; ———, "Taiwan Kenchiku Shi (Sani) (Taiwanese Architectural History (3), 臺灣建築史 (三))."; ———, "Taiwan Kenchiku Shi (Yon) (Taiwanese Architectural History (4), 臺灣建築史 (四))."

²⁵ ———, "Taiwan Kenchiku Shi (Taiwanese Architectural History, 臺灣建築史)."

²⁶ Takashi (崇) Adachi (足立), "Nippon Tōchi Jidai Niokeru Taiwan Kenchiku Shi Kenkyū No Kenkyū 2: Yasue Masanao Nitsuite (A Study on the Research of Taiwan Architectural History in Japanese Rule Age, Part 2: Yasue Masanao, 日本統治時代における台湾建築史研究の研究 2: 安江正直について)," *Summaries of technical papers of Annual Meeting Architectural Institute of Japan. F-2, History and theory of architecture* (學術講演梗概集. F-2, 建築歴史・意匠) 2008 (2008), p.181.

Taiwan Construction Department (臨時臺灣工事部).²⁷ It seems that Yasue's background was not as an architect, but he did have experience in editing architectural history before his work in Taiwan.

'Kenchikushi Hensan Shiryō Shūshū No Tame Tainan Chō Gai Yon Chō He Shucchō Fukumei No Ken'²⁸ was originally a report to the Governor-General of Taiwan in 1907, and it primarily comprised two sections: overall arguments and examples. The former provided overall considerations of the origin of Taiwanese architecture and evaluations of it; the latter recorded contemporary historical architecture in Taiwan. Yasue's consideration of Taiwanese architecture can be seen in his construction of the first section of the report, which was titled 'Taiwan Kenchiku Shi (Taiwanese Architectural History, 臺灣建築史)' later on; he laid out his contents as follows:

- Overall Arguments:
1. History of Chinese Architecture
 2. History of Ming (明) and Qing (清) Architecture in Taiwan
 3. The relationships between Ming and Qing architecture in Taiwan and Chinese architecture.
 4. Features of Ming and Qing architecture in Taiwan.
 5. Advantages and Disadvantages of Ming and Qing architecture in Taiwan.

Examples: (*the examples which followed are omitted*)²⁹ (my translation)

Through these contents, it is clear that Yasue saw Taiwanese architecture as a branch of Chinese architecture. Therefore, he outlined the development of Chinese architecture in order to locate Taiwanese architectural history within it. He divided Chinese architecture into five steps: the ancient (上古式), the civilized (禮教式), the splendid (豪華式), the

²⁷ *ibid.*, p.182.

²⁸ In the following discussions, I use 'the report' instead of the whole report title of 'Kenchikushi Hensan Shiryō Shūshū No Tame Tainan Chō Gai Yon Chō He Shucchō Fukumei No Ken', and 'Taiwanese Architectural History' instead of the first section of 'Kenchikushi Hensan Shiryō Shūshū No Tame Tainan Chō Gai Yon Chō He Shucchō Fukumei No Ken'.

²⁹ Yasue (安江), "Kenchikushi Hensan Shiryō Shūshū No Tame Tainan Chō Gai Yon Chō He Shucchō Fukumei No Ken (A Report on the Mission to Collect Data for Editing Architectural History in Four Local Agencies, 建築史編纂資料蒐集ノ為臺南廳外四廳へ出張復命ノ件).", p4.

infiltration by western regions (西域參化式) and the blended civilized (和合禮教式) (Fig. 7-3).

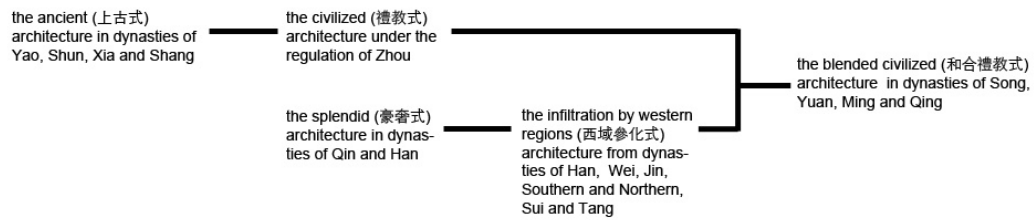


Fig. 7-3 The history of Chinese architecture.³⁰

Fig. 7-3 shows a chronological development from the left to the right. The ‘Ancient’ refers to the period in which the basic type of Chinese architecture was founded,³¹ the ‘Civilized’ (禮教式) refers to architecture which was regulated under the basic principle of Chinese ceremony made by the Duke of Zhou (周公);³² the ‘Splendid’ (豪華式) was based on the Qin (秦) and Han (漢) Dynasties, the first two empires of China, during which the power of the emperor was unprecedented and formidable, and the construction of the luxurious and giant Epang Palace (阿房宮) showed its characteristics;³³ the ‘Infiltration by western regions’ (西域參化式) was regarded as a period in which architectural forms were mixed – original Chinese architecture with disseminated Indian and Persian architectural forms, and this form reached its peak in the Tang (唐) dynasty;³⁴ and the ‘blended civilized’ (和合禮教式) refers to architecture under a revival of Confucianism and Chinese civilization after disasters in the late Tang dynasty, and includes the Yuan (元), Ming (明) and Qing (清) dynasties.³⁵

³⁰ *ibid.*, p.17.

³¹ *ibid.*, pp.10-11.

³² *ibid.*, p.11.

³³ *ibid.*, pp.11-12.

³⁴ *ibid.*, pp.12-15.

³⁵ *ibid.*, pp.15-17.

For Yasue, Chinese architecture was not always progressive. It reached a peak in the Tang dynasty and then declined and only concentrated on mouldings because of its adherence to the established Confucian rules.

According to these descriptions, Chinese architecture has been developed and altered for thousands of years over several dynasties, and it had been affected both by national philosophy and foreign art. These were expressed by diverse means, including figures and forms. Very few of them did not present the luxurious styles of western regions. This kind of mighty architecture resulted in the glory of Chinese art that could shed light on their successors. However, after the Sui and Tang Dynasties, the societies experienced unstable government and many wars and turmoil. Because of this, the deliberateness of architecture had been decreased or reduced, but some details have still been conserved. Nonetheless, the general regulations of the ancient manner were strictly followed for over three thousand years. Confucianism and other relative philosophies have continued to be the essence of their politics and religions and the diverse conventional rules of all earlier emperors. Since these conventional systems of architecture had become so solid, they could not be abandoned or left. As a result, influences and changes affecting the styles from the outside were excluded and could not be known in the systems of Chinese architecture.³⁶ (my translation)

However, when considering Taiwanese architecture, Yasue directly regarded the Taiwanese indigenous residences as nests of birds and mice³⁷ and jumped straight to Chinese architecture in Taiwan. Although he did not refer to any historiography, he believed that, according to history, the origin of Chinese architecture in Taiwan should derive from Ming and Qing Chinese architecture. He described the history of the immigration of the Han races from China and briefly introduced twenty-four historical buildings in terms of their construction period, location and current circumstances.³⁸ The historical background clearly shows his consideration of the vital role of Chinese architecture in his *Taiwan Kenchiku Shi*.

There is one issue that is particularly worth noting for my dissertation, which is the way in which he proved his idea that the origin of the Chinese architecture in Taiwan derived

³⁶ *ibid.*, p.17.

³⁷ *ibid.*, p.18.

³⁸ *ibid.*, pp.18-21.

from China. According to his background, he was not trained as an architect, and there is no evidence to show that he had been to China. What he relied on was Chūta Itō's comparison between northern and southern Chinese architecture. By comparing seventeen characteristics³⁹ of southern Chinese architecture with Chinese architecture in Taiwan, he concluded:

It is necessary to study the origin of architecture built in the Ming and Qing dynasties in Taiwan and the connection between them and Chinese northern and southern architecture, if someone would like to understand the truth of the architecture in Taiwan. The comparative research of the Chinese northern and southern architecture could provide some similarities and differences in details to contrast with architecture in Taiwan. The majority of the Taiwanese were emigrants from southern China during the Qing dynasty, so that it was not difficult to assume that their architecture presented the architectural style that was similar to architecture built in the southern region of the Qing dynasty. However, the special characteristics of architecture built in southern region of the Qing dynasty have not been clearly judged in other researches. Nonetheless, according to Dr Itō, his travel records of his visits of China, India and Turkey offered some characteristics and comparison of the Chinese northern and southern architecture. Based on his research, the connection between architecture built during the Ming and Qing dynasties in Taiwan and architecture built in southern region of the Qing dynasty could be asserted.⁴⁰ (my translation)

Borrowing from Itō's framework, Yasue believed that Taiwanese architecture was very close to southern Chinese architecture so that the origin of Taiwanese architecture could be traced to China.

Finally, he summarized the advantages and disadvantages of Taiwanese architecture. The former included 'clear and correct scale (規模の厳正)',⁴¹ 'proper manner (手法の妥)',⁴²

³⁹ Seventeen characters include the plan of house and garden, shop (店), common wall (界壁), material (材料), bed-stove (炕), window (窓), dougong (斗栱), moulding (モールヂシグ, 線脚), eaves (軒), shirin (支輪), taruki (垂木), a flying rafter support (木負), eave support (茅負), ridge (棟), pagoda (佛塔), the pagoda of Feng Shui (風水塔), Shi-kan-tang (石敢當), and jian (A (雨/漸/耳)).
ibid., pp.27-31.

⁴⁰ *ibid.*, pp.26-27.

⁴¹ *ibid.*, p.37.

⁴² *ibid.*, pp.37-38.

‘splendid colour (色彩の華美),’⁴³ ‘varied roof (屋蓋の變化),’⁴⁴ and ‘the shape of plan (プランの形状);’⁴⁵ the latter included ‘monotonous manner (手法の貧少),’⁴⁶ ‘weak construction (構造の脆弱)’⁴⁷ and ‘coarse work (技工の粗漫).’⁴⁸

The second part of the ‘Kenchikushi Hensan Shiryō Shūshū No Tame Tainan Chō Gai Yon Chō He Shucchō Fukumei No Ken (A Report on the Mission to Collect Data for Editing Architectural History in Four Local Agencies, 建築史編纂資料蒐集ノ為臺南廳外四廳へ出張復命ノ件)’ was mainly the result of Yasue’s fieldwork in Tainan (臺南), Taipei (臺北), Fengshan (鳳山) and Nantou (南投). Overall, Yasue visited and recorded four city walls, eleven government offices, twelve academies, seventy-seven temples, and eight residences. He further divided them into five types: city walls (城), government offices (官衙), academies (學宮書院), various kinds of temple (宮廟寺巖) and residences (邸宅). Yasue mainly recorded the history, plan, location, owner, manager and basic properties of each architectural case and wrote his records under these categories. He provided the first-hand results of his fieldworks for the *kyūkan chōsa*, and, as I mentioned earlier, some of them were edited within *Kiyoshi Kuni Gyōsei Hō*.

It is clear that Yasue’s activity of researching on and writing Taiwanese architectural history actually belongs to a colonial project initiated by the office of the Governor-General of Taiwan. His search for the origin of Taiwanese architecture relied on both Chinese architectural history and Taiwanese history. He also relied on Chūta Itō’s achievement of a comparison between northern and southern Chinese architecture.

⁴³ *ibid.*, pp.38-39.

⁴⁴ *ibid.*, p.39.

⁴⁵ *ibid.*, p.40.

⁴⁶ *ibid.*, p.40.

⁴⁷ *ibid.*, pp.40-42.

⁴⁸ *ibid.*, pp.42-43.

His achievement was fruitful, but, consequently, the role of the colonial government in his scholarly activity also needs to be examined.

7-2 Daisaku (大作) Tanaka's (田中) 'Taiwan Kenchiku No Shi Teki Kenkyū (Historical Research on Taiwanese Architecture, 台灣建築の史的研究)' and Taiwan Shima Kenchiku No Kenkyū (A Research on Taiwanese Architecture, 台湾島建築の研究)

Although Daisaku Tanaka's and Gaizirō Huzisima's research on Taiwanese architecture was undertaken within five years of the end of the Japanese colonization, their investigations still represented the perspectives of Japanese academics. Huzisima's *Taiwan No Kenchiku* was soon published in 1948, whereas Tanaka's *Taiwan Shima Kenchiku No Kenkyū* was not published until 2005. Despite that, his conceptualization of Taiwanese architecture is very similar to that represented in 'Taiwan Kenchiku No Shi Teki Kenkyū' published in the *Taiwan Kenchiku Kaishi* (The Journal of the Architectural Institute of Taiwan, 臺灣建築會誌) in 1937. It is almost certain that *Taiwan Shima Kenchiku No Kenkyū* was based on 'Taiwan Kenchiku No Shi Teki Kenkyū' published in the *Taiwan Kenchiku Kaishi*.

Daisaku (大作) Tanaka (田中) graduated from the Architecture School in Tokyo Imperial University in 1915. During his studies in Tokyo Imperial University, Itō was teaching architectural history⁴⁹ so Tanaka must have had an academic training in architectural history. Tanaka went to Taiwan in 1931 and was employed in the Architecture Division (營繕課) in the office of the Governor-General of Taiwan. According to the members' lists (會員名簿) and society information in the *Taiwan Kenchiku Kaishi* (The Journal of

⁴⁹ *Nippon Kenchiku Gakkai* (Architectural Institute of Japan, 日本建築学会), ed. *Kindai Nippon Kenchiku Gaku Hattatsu Shi (Shita)* (History of Architectural Development in Modern Japan (2), 近代日本建築学発達史(下)) (Tokyo (東京): Bunsei Shoin (文生書院), 2001), p.1820.

the Architectural Institute of Taiwan, 臺灣建築會誌) from 1931 to 1945, he also worked for the Taiwan Electric Power Cooperation in 1936. In 1938, he had already been employed by the Taipei County Technical School (臺北州立工業學校), where he continued to work until his return to Japan in 1947.

There is also an issue worth noting related to the background of his research on Taiwanese architecture: there might have been some influence on Tanaka from Huzisima. Tanaka's specialism was structural mechanics. He not only designed the structure of Taipei Public Hall (臺北公會堂), but also published several articles on structural mechanics in the *Taiwan Kenchiku Kaishi*.⁵⁰ When Huzisima went to Taiwan for his investigation of Taiwanese architecture in 1936, on his trip Tanaka was one of Huzisima's guides. After Huzisima's return to Japan, Tanaka immediately published two articles of historical research on Taiwanese architecture in 1937. He later also introduced Yasue's 'Taiwan Kenchiku Shi' in *Taiwan Kenchiku Kaishi*. Although he mentioned his interest in Taiwanese architecture in 'Taiwan Kenchiku No Shi Teki Kenkyū (Historical Research on Taiwanese Architecture, 台灣建築の史的研究)', in terms of timing we cannot ignore the possible influence from Huzisima.

According to "Taiwan Kenchiku No Shi Teki Kenkyū" Nitsuite', Tanaka's intention was

⁵⁰ Tanaka's publications on structural mechanics include 'Kōshi Barito Kōshi Bashira To Nitsuite (About the Grid Beam and Grid Pillar, 格子梁と格子柱とに就いて)', 'Koutyu No Kyōdo Keisan (Sono-Ichi) (Calculating of the Strength of a Steel Beam (Part 1), 鋼柱の強度計算 (其一))', and 'Mokuryō No Kyōdo Keisan (Calculating the Strength of a Timber Beam, 木梁の強度計算)'. Daisaku (大作) Tanaka (田中), "Kōshi Barito Kōshi Bashira To Nitsuite (About the Grid Beam and Grid Pillar, 格子梁と格子柱とに就いて)," *Taiwan Kenchiku Kaishi (The Journal of the Architectural Institute of Taiwan, 臺灣建築會誌)* 3, no. 3 (1931)., ———, "Koutyu No Kyōdo Keisan (Sono-Ichi) (Calculating the Strength of a Steel Beam (Part 1), 鋼柱の強度計算 (其一))," *Taiwan Kenchiku Kaishi (The Journal of the Architectural Institute of Taiwan, 臺灣建築會誌)* 4, no. 1 (1933)., and ———, "Mokuryō No Kyōdo Keisan (Calculating the Strength of a Timber Beam, 木梁の強度計算)," *Taiwan Kenchiku Kaishi (The Journal of the Architectural Institute of Taiwan, 臺灣建築會誌)* 8, no. 2 (1936).

to establish a systematic survey of Taiwanese architecture.⁵¹ His survey aimed to document Taiwanese architecture systematically by dividing it into four groups according to racial differences. These four groups comprised: the architecture of the indigenous peoples; the architecture of the West; the architecture of the Taiwanese; and the architecture of the Japanese. To formulate his classification, Tanaka initiated a general introduction of the background of Taiwan under the headings: (1) Geography; (2) Climate; (3) Earthquakes; (4) History; (5) Inhabitants and their architecture; (6) Architectural material; (7) Bibliography; and (8) Contrast between the eastern and western calendars. These formed not only a background of knowledge of Taiwan but also environmental and historical data underpinning Tanaka's formulations of architecture and its relations to materials, climate and culture in the chapters which followed.

It is very clear to see Tanaka's conceptualizing of Taiwanese architecture in terms of race in the way he framed his table of contents. He listed his framework of historical research on Taiwanese architecture in "Taiwan Kenchiku No Shi Teki Kenkyū" Nitsuite':

(A) Introduction

(1) Geography, (2) Climate, (3) Earthquakes, (4) History, (5) Inhabitants and their architecture, (6) Bibliography.

(B) The architecture of the indigenous peoples

(1) Abstract: a. races and populations, b. residences

(2) Text of the architecture of the indigenous peoples written before Japanese domination: a. records made by the Chinese, b. records made by the West, c. records made by the Japanese.

(3) Pepo's⁵² (civilized indigenous people) architecture: a. brief introduction, b.

⁵¹ ———, "'Taiwan Kenchiku No Shi Teki Kenkyū" Nitsuite (About "Historical Research on Taiwanese Architecture", 「台湾建築の史的研究」に就いて)," *Taiwan Kenchiku Kaishi (The Journal of the Architectural Institute of Taiwan, 臺灣建築會誌)* 9, no. 2 (1937), p.55.

⁵² The Japanese distinguished Taiwanese native peoples into two groups, Han and the indigenous peoples. Han refers to Chinese immigrants, which included the Minnan (閩南) group and the Hakka (客家) group. The indigenous peoples were divided into the *Pepo* (平埔, Pingpu) and the *Ge Sen* (高砂). *Pepo* (平埔, Pingpu) refers to more civilized indigenous people living on the plains, and *Ge Sen* (高砂) refers to wilder people living in the mountains. However, this discrimination was not

An-li and Da-she (岸裡大社)⁵³, c. the tribe of Tou-she (頭社)⁵⁴.

(4) Ge Sen's (wild indigenous people) architecture: a. a brief introduction, b. Atayal's (泰雅) architecture, c. Saisiat's (賽夏) architecture, d. Bunun's (布農) architecture, e. Tsou's (曹) architecture, f. Rukai's (魯凱) architecture, g. Paiwan's (排灣) architecture, h. Puyuma's (卑南) architecture, i. Amis's (阿美) architecture, j. Yami's (雅美) architecture⁵⁵.

(5) The contrast of the neighbouring indigenous peoples' architecture: a. pit dwelling, b. indoor grave and outdoor grave,⁵⁶ c. architectural ritual of granaries, d. independent cooking area.

(C) The architecture of the West

(1) A period under Dutch rule: a. brief introduction, b. forts, c. ruins of other buildings.

(2) After ports had been opened: a. brief introduction, b. religious architecture, c. trading companies and other buildings.

(D) The architecture of the Taiwanese

(1) Abstract: a. the Taiwanese and their architecture, b. material and construction, c. forts, d. history of the architecture of the Taiwanese.

(2) Temples, institutions and graves: a. religions of the Taiwanese, b. temples of Confucianism, c. temples of Buddhism, d. temples of Taoism and folk belief, e. institutions, f. graves.

(3) The capital, forts and government offices: a. the capital, b. forts, c. government offices.

(4) Residences and courtyards: a. brief introduction, b. farmhouses, c. shops, d. residences, e. courtyards.

(5) Stone Paifong, steles and other buildings: a. stone paifong, b. steles, c. other buildings.

(6) Contrast with mainland Chinese architecture: a. brief introduction, b. contrast between temples in China and Taiwan, c. contrast between residences in China and Taiwan.

(E) The architecture of the Japanese

(1) Abstract: a. history of the architecture of the Japanese, b. researches into resisting termites, heat and humidity.

really reasonable. For instance, the Amis's (阿美族) residences were located on the Huadong (花東) plain and near the Pacific Ocean, and the Tao (達悟) live on Orchid Island (蘭嶼, Lanyu; 紅頭嶼, Hongtouyu, Red-headed Island).

Furthermore, the divisions of different races in the *Pepo* (平埔, Pingpu) and in the *Ge Sen* (高砂) changed several times during the Japanese colonial period, depending on scholars' personal opinions in terms of linguistics or biological anthropology. For instance, in *Taiwan Banshō Shi* (Records of Taiwanese Indigenous Peoples' Policies) in 1904, *Pepo* (平埔, Pingpu) was divided into ten races: Ketagalan (凱達格蘭), Kavarawan (噶瑪蘭), Taokas (道卡斯), Pazzohe (拍宰海), Vupuran (拍暴拉), Poavosa (巴布薩), Arikun (阿立昆), Lloa (羅亞), Siraiya (西拉雅) and Makattao (馬卡道). Yet, in *Nihon Chiri Taikei Taiwan Hen* (An Outline of Japanese Geography - Taiwan Volume) in 1930, the *Pepo* (平埔, Pingpu) was divided into another ten races: Ketagalan (凱達格蘭), Kavarawan (噶瑪蘭), Taokas (道卡斯), Pazehe (拍宰海), Vupuran (拍暴拉), Babuza (巴布薩), Hoanya (洪雅), Siraiya (西拉雅), Sao (邵) and Tao (道). See <http://www.sinica.edu.tw/~pingpu/museum/introduction/title.htm>.

⁵³ An-li and Da-she (岸裡大社) were two important tribes of Lahodobo, an important *Pepo* (平埔, Pingpu) people in the middle area of Taiwan until the beginning of the nineteenth century.

⁵⁴ Tou-she (頭社) was a tribe of Siraiya (西拉雅) in the Tainan area.

⁵⁵ They are nine different races of *Ge Sen* (高砂).

⁵⁶ Blue words refer to uncertain English words.

- (2) *Jinja*:⁵⁷ a. brief introduction, b. Taiwan *Jinja*, c. Tainan *Jinja*, d. Kenkō *Jinja* (建功神社).
- (3) Government offices and institute buildings: a. brief introduction, b. examples: Taiwan Government-General Building, Taipei imperial university, Taipei district court and high court.
- (4) Commercial and industrial buildings: a. brief introduction, b. shops, c. banks and office buildings, d. factories.
- (5) Residences: a. brief introduction, b. examples.
- (6) Other buildings: a. temples or churches, b. city hall, c. railway stations, d. pavilions, e. others.
- (F) Summaries: values and positions of Taiwanese architecture in the cultural history of eastern architecture.⁵⁸ (my translation)

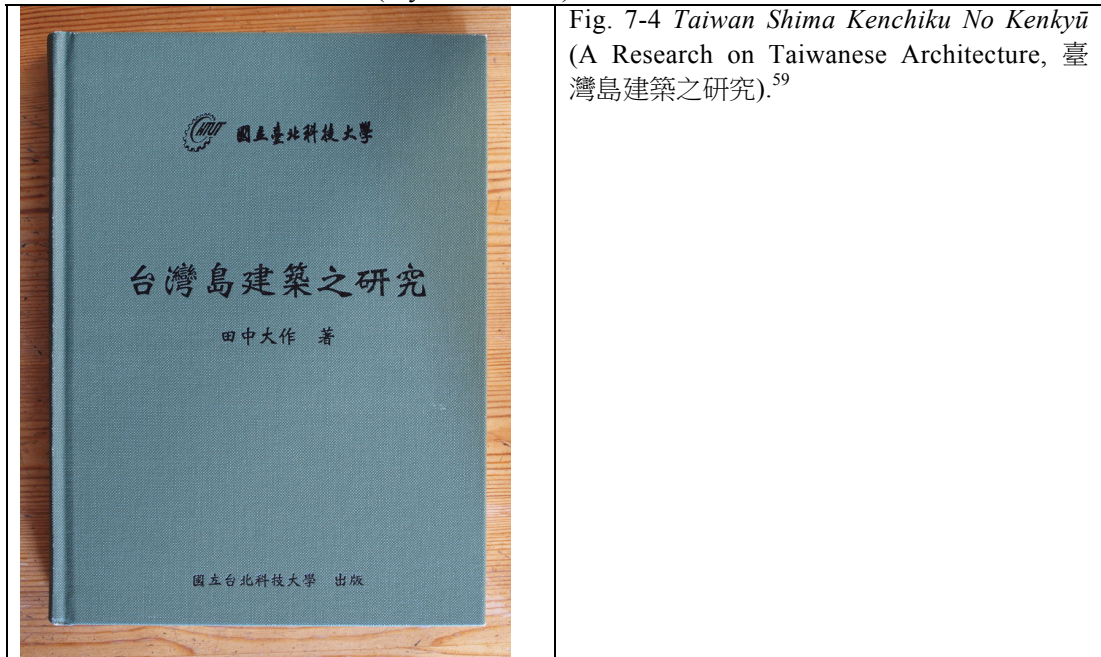


Fig. 7-4 *Taiwan Shima Kenchiku No Kenkyū* (A Research on Taiwanese Architecture, 臺灣島建築之研究).⁵⁹

Taiwan Shima Kenchiku No Kenkyū (A Research on Taiwanese Architecture, 臺灣島建築之研究) (fig. 7-4), written between 1947 and 1950 and published in 2005, is a complete performance of Tanaka's construction of Taiwanese architecture. However, since during the intervening period Taiwan was not Japan's colony, the contents of the book were slightly changed. He added a chapter to discuss the features of Taiwanese architecture between the general introduction and detailed descriptions of racial

⁵⁷ *Jinja* refers to a Japanese shrine.

⁵⁸ Tanaka (田中), "'Taiwan Kenchiku no Shi no Kenkyū' ni tsui te (About "Historical Research on Taiwanese Architecture", 「台灣建築の史的研究」に就いて)", pp.55-57.

⁵⁹ ———, *Taiwan Shima Kenchiku no Kenkyū* (Research on Taiwanese Architecture, 臺灣島建築之研究) (Taipei: National Taipei University of Technology, 2005).

architecture, and two discussions on Taiwanese cities and architecture. But he decreased the contents on Japanese architecture in Taiwan. The final table of contents was as follows:

- Chapter 1 Natural Environment and inhabitants of Taiwan
 - 1-1 Natural environment
 - 1-2 History of inhabitants
- Chapter 2 Taiwanese Architecture and its Features
 - 2-1 Aspects of architectural culture
 - 2-2 Architectural types showing natural and customary characteristics
 - 2-3 Architectural materials and construction showing ethnic features
- Chapter 3 *Ge Sen's* (高砂) Traditional Architecture
 - 3-1 Abstract
 - 3-2 Atayal (泰雅), Saisiat (賽夏) and their architecture
 - 3-3 Bunun (布農), Tsou (曹) and their architecture
 - 3-4 Paiwan (排灣), Rukai (魯凱), Banabanaya (?) and their architecture
 - 3-5 Bantsua⁶⁰ (阿美), Yami (雅美) and their architecture
 - 3-6 *Pepo* (平埔) and their architecture
- Chapter 4 Traditional Architecture of the Taiwanese
 - 4-1 Abstract
 - 4-2 Temples
 - 4-3 Institutes
 - 4-4 Residences and courtyards
 - 4-5 Government offices, the capital and forts
 - 4-6 Stone Paifong, steles and Buddhist bells
 - 4-7 Graves
- Chapter 5 The Architecture of the West
 - 5-1 A period under Dutch rule (1624-1668)
 - 5-2 After a port had been opened (1826-)
- Chapter 6 The Architecture of the Japanese
 - 6-1 Establishments of various architecture
 - 6-2 Miscellaneous notes on main buildings
- Excursus Other Discussions of Taiwanese Architecture
 - 1 Concerning Taiwanese cities and their architecture
 - 2 Concerning Granaries on South-eastern Asian islands
 - 3 Concerning *shigandang* (石敢當) (my translation)

From these contents, it is quite clear that Tanaka viewed Taiwanese architecture as a vernacular architectural study. He believed that Taiwanese architecture consisted of the natural environment, including location, topography, climate and earthquakes, and the

⁶⁰ According to the text, Bantsua referred to the Amis (阿美).

inhabitants, the indigenous peoples, the Han, westerners and the Japanese.⁶¹ In his objective descriptions of the environment, and of the origin of the inhabitants and history of their immigrations in the first chapter, this knowledge established a database for Tanaka's elaborations on the characteristics of Taiwanese architecture in Chapter 2.

Tanaka believed that basic characteristics of Taiwanese architecture derived from three perspectives: the appearance of architectural culture (建築文化の様相);⁶² the vernacular characteristics appearing on architectural forms (建築形態に現れたる風土的性格);⁶³ and the racial characteristics of architectural materials and structures (建築の材料及び構造より見たる民族的特徴).⁶⁴ In the first of these perspectives, he claimed that because different races in Taiwan retained their own traditional life styles, Taiwanese architecture appeared as a diverse architectural culture.

In the previous chapter, I have described that the inhabitants in Taiwan island were composed of several ethnic races. However, their life styles and habits were fused from collective diversity into a specific unique way because of the ethnic mix of inhabitation. (my translation)

The political unity of the island did not happen until now, and this lack of common purpose was also true for the architectural culture. In other words, the different systems of diverse architectural culture were a pluralistic survival in Taiwan with individual regional spheres of influence co-existing in the society as a whole.⁶⁵ (my translation)

What he called systems of architectural culture mainly comprised three different systems: the Indonesian system; the Chinese system; and the western and Japanese systems. He explained nothing about his idea of systems of architectural culture. But it is possible to understand that Tanaka considered that architecture was a product of culture, within

⁶¹ Tanaka (田中), *Taiwan Shima Kenchiku No Kenkyū (Research on Taiwanese Architecture, 台灣島建築之研究)*, pp.1-22.

⁶² *ibid.*, pp.23-27.

⁶³ *ibid.*, pp.27-30.

⁶⁴ *ibid.*, pp.30-42.

⁶⁵ *ibid.*, p.23.

which architectural style, usage and material usage would be disseminated and continue if the culture was disseminated and continued. This idea can be examined in his description of the origin of the indigenous peoples in Taiwan:

Thus, to elucidate the origin of Taiwanese indigenous peoples' inherent culture, we must consider the study of their archetype ancestor, i.e. Indonesian tribes, and their culture.⁶⁶

And of Chinese architecture:

Taiwanese traditional architecture belongs to the previously mentioned system of the southern region of Chinese architecture, and it particularly follows the style of architecture built during the Ming and Qing dynasties. Moreover, it was not far way from the architecture in Fu-Jian and Guan-Dong provinces. However, Taiwanese vernacular has been influenced by social thinking and considerations to some extent.⁶⁷ (my translation)

The second consideration of the characteristics of Taiwanese architecture, for Tanaka, can be examined from the perspective of the relationships between architectural forms and the vernacular characteristics. What he called the vernacular characteristics refers to natural environment, climate condition and earthquakes,⁶⁸ and those aspects which were restricted by vernacular characteristics were architectural forms such as the appearance, construction and plan of architecture. Tanaka believed that if the vernacular characteristics change, architectural forms would change.

The vernacular condition here refers to the local natural environment, i.e. climate factors, earthquakes and so on. These natural phenomena seriously affected architecture and how it could be built. [...] In addition, architectural culture would be further developed due to the regional natural conditions. Even if people migrated to other places, they might bring their architectural culture to the other places, which had different natural and vernacular conditions.⁶⁹ (my translation)

⁶⁶ *ibid.*, p.24.

⁶⁷ *ibid.*, p.25.

⁶⁸ *ibid.*, p.27.

⁶⁹ *ibid.*, p.27.

To prove his idea, Tanaka considered the veranda (亭仔腳), an open part of a wall, and the wall cover (壁掩) and slope of the roof (屋檐勾配) as examples. For instance, a veranda is a continuous roof-covered pavement running alongside the street in a city, and its formation is to resist heavy rain and hot sunshine, so it can be seen as an architectural characteristic designed to cope with tropical weather. The veranda can also be seen in Xiamen (廈門), Shantou (汕頭), Fuzhou (福州) and Guangzhou (廣州) in China.⁷⁰

However, he also considered influences from culture. For example, he was aware that the open part of the wall needs to provide an appropriate ventilation for the house and that the roof eave was of enough depth in order to create shade to resist hot sunshine. He also perceived that the open parts of the walls in much of the Chinese architecture in Taiwan were very small, which reflected a common characteristic of Chinese architecture but which did not suit climatic conditions in Taiwan. Consequently, this feature was used more flexibly rather than as a strict restriction.

For Tanaka, it was possible to examine the characteristics of Taiwanese architecture through its architectural material and construction. Although the same materials might be used by many different races, the ways in which they constructed architecture are different.

Many ethnic people had their own means of selecting construction materials and their traditional customs of construction. However, this might change when they confront the new options of architectural materials available in the new immigrant regions. As a result, the ethnic characteristics would also be tinged with the new construction.⁷¹ (my translation)

He explained that the ancestors of the indigenous peoples in Taiwan had come from a

⁷⁰ *ibid.*, p.28.

⁷¹ *ibid.*, p.30.

place with large amounts of wood and bamboo, and that at the time their habitations were in the mountains, they had access to a great deal of slate, so that wood, bamboo and slates were three main architectural materials which they adopted.⁷² The Han, however, used to adopt adobe and brick. There was plenty of wood and bamboo in Taiwan, so adobe, brick, wood and bamboo became common architectural materials for the Chinese who lived in Taiwan.⁷³ The westerners and the Japanese normally used brick and concrete as architectural materials.⁷⁴ He went further and elaborated common materials and their usages by each race. For instance, the indigenous peoples usually used camphor wood, cypress wood and Taiwan zelkova (欂櫨木)⁷⁵ as the materials of timber or for roofing, and slates as flooring, walls and roofing; the Chinese used camphor wood, Taiwan zelkova (欂櫨木), Taiwania (台灣杉)⁷⁶, Luanta-fir (巒大杉)⁷⁷ and Fuzhou-fir (福州杉)⁷⁸ for roof trusses, ma bamboo (麻竹)⁷⁹, thorny bamboo (刺竹)⁸⁰, makino bamboo (桂竹)⁸¹ and moso bamboo (孟宗竹)⁸² as architectural structural materials, and local stones, brick and adobe; the Japanese preferred to use Taiwan Red Cypress (紅檜)⁸³ and Taiwan Yellow Cedar (扁柏)⁸⁴.

In the subsequent chapters, Tanaka particularly examined the indigenous peoples', the Chinese, the Westerner's and the Japanese architecture in Taiwan: descriptions of the

⁷² *ibid.*, p.30.

⁷³ *ibid.*, pp.30-31.

⁷⁴ *ibid.*, pp.31.

⁷⁵ The scientific name of Taiwan zelkova (欂櫨木) is *Zelkova serrata*.

⁷⁶ The scientific name of Taiwania (台灣杉) is *Taiwania cryptomerioides*.

⁷⁷ The scientific name of Luanta-fir (巒大杉) is *Cunninghamia konishii* Hayata.

⁷⁸ The scientific name of Fuzhou-fir (福州杉) is *Cunninghamia lanceolata*.

⁷⁹ The scientific name of ma bamboo (麻竹) is *Dendrocalamus latiflorus* Munro.

⁸⁰ The scientific name of thorny bamboo (刺竹) is *Bambusa stenostachya*.

⁸¹ The scientific name of makino bamboo (桂竹) is *Phyllostachys makinoi* Hayata.

⁸² The scientific name of moso bamboo (孟宗竹) is *Phyllostachys pubescens* Mazel.

⁸³ The scientific name of Taiwan Red Cypress (紅檜) is *Chamaecyparis formosensis*.

⁸⁴ The scientific name of Taiwan Yellow Cedar (扁柏) is *Chamaecyparis obtusa* var. *formosana* (Hayata) Rehder.

indigenous architecture including the constitution of their tribes, architectural forms, affiliated buildings, public buildings, carvings and, particularly, the relationships between the indigenous and other racial architecture in each race⁸⁵ in Chapter 3, the Chinese architecture relating to the development and the construction of architecture in Taiwan, architectural types, architectural characteristics, details, common craftsmen's rules, Guangdong architectural forms and cases, and a comparison with the continental architectural style in Japan in Chapter 4, and brief depictions of westerners' and Japanese architecture in Chapters 5 and 6.

However, as he admitted in 'Taiwan Kenchiku No Shi Teki Kenkyū', Tanaka could only visit a limited number of Taiwanese Temples due to his heavy workload.⁸⁶ His data was drawn from a variety of secondary sources relating to Taiwanese architecture. For instance, his survey of the indigenous architecture relied heavily on existing research carried out by the office of the Governor-General of Taiwan and by the Taipei Imperial University, such as *Taiwan Takasago Zoku Keitō Shozoku No Kenkyū* (Researches on the Indigenous System in Taiwan, 臺灣高砂族系統所屬の研究)⁸⁷ edited by Nenzou (子之藏) Utsushigawa (移川), Tōichi (東一) Mabuchi (馬淵) and Nobuto (延人) Miyamoto (宮本), to explain the history of the indigenous immigrations, and such as *Banzoku Chōsa Hōkokusho* (Reports on Investigations of the Indigenous Peoples, 蕃族調查報告書) edited by the *Rinji Taiwan Kyūkan Chōsakai* (臨時臺灣舊慣調査會) to explain the social

⁸⁵ The indigenous peoples included in Tanaka's examination include Atayal (泰雅), Saisiat (賽夏), Bunun (布農), Tsou (曹), Paiwan (排灣), Rukai (魯凱), Banabanaya (?), Bantsua (阿美), Yami (雅美) and Pepo (平埔).

⁸⁶ Daisaku (大作) Tanaka (田中), "Taiwan Kenchiku No Shi Teki Kenkyū (Historical Research on Taiwanese Architecture, 台灣建築の史的的研究)," *Taiwan Kenchiku Kaishi (The Journal of the Architectural Institute of Taiwan, 臺灣建築會誌)* 9, no. 1 (1937), p.17.

⁸⁷ Nenzou (子之藏) Utsushigawa (移川), Tōichi (東一) Mabuchi (馬淵), and Nobuto (延人) Miyamoto (宮本), eds, *Taiwan Takasago Zoku Keitō Shozoku No Kenkyū (Researches on the Indigenous System in Taiwan, 臺灣高砂族系統所屬の研究)* (Tokyo: 刀江書院, 1935).

systems of the indigenous peoples. His descriptions of Chinese temples also referred to temple records (寺廟臺帳) held by the office of the Governor-General of Taiwan. It is certain that Tanaka's formation of Taiwanese architecture was based on those Japanese imperial surveys.

Generally speaking, Itō's influence on Tanaka is not clear. What is certain is that Tanaka used to be Itō's student. Given this circumstance, Tanaka must have been very familiar with Itō's research. On the other hand, Huzisima's impacts on Tanaka's sudden interests in Taiwanese architecture should not be ignored, although this was not obvious. According to his stated references, Tanaka's systematic formation of Taiwanese architectural history depended heavily on contemporary researches on Taiwan, including historical, and anthropological studies, government records, and so on. Thus, Tanaka's achievement came through a process of 'institution exchange'. Besides, although Tanaka tried to establish a systematic survey of Taiwanese architectural history, the way he formulated his work was quite vernacular. This vernacular-styled writing of Taiwanese architectural history can also be seen in Huzisima's surveys, but within a different framework, which I shall examine in the next section.

7-3 Gaizirō (亥治郎) Huzisima (藤島) and *Taiwan No Kenchiku* (Taiwanese Architecture, 臺灣の建築)

7-3-1 Background

Gaizirō Huzisima's *Taiwan no Kenchiku* (Taiwanese Architecture, 臺灣の建築) was the third book about framing Taiwanese architecture. Huzisima graduated from the Architecture School in Tokyo Imperial University in 1923, and he was a student of both Chūta Itō and Tadashi (貞) Sekino (関野). In the same year, he went to Keijo Higher

Technical School (京城高等工業学校) in Korea as an assistant professor. From 1926 to 1928, he studied and travelled in Germany, France and America. In 1928, Itō and Sekino retired, so he was employed by Tokyo Imperial University in 1929 after his return. In 1933, he became a professor in the University where he remained until his retirement in 1960. Basically, his specialties were architectural history, especial Korean architectural history, and conservation.

Huzisima's survey of Taiwanese architecture was to fill in a blank in architectural history. In his speech, 'Taiwan Kenchiku Dangi (An Exchange of Opinions on Taiwanese Architecture; 臺灣建築談議)', he summarised several reasons for his interest: first of all, many research studies on Japanese architectural history had already been carried out and even Chinese, Korean and Indian architecture had been investigated. Second, he had been instructed by his supervisor, Chūta Itō, to investigate colonized Korean architectural history. When he had tried to establish a systematic framework of Oriental architectural history, he found that there were no academic publications on Taiwanese architectural history.⁸⁸ So he started to investigate Taiwanese architecture himself.

Huzisima's fieldwork in Taiwan was compressed. He stayed in Taiwan only for 21 days, between 4 April and 24 April in 1936. During this period, he visited 22 places in Taiwan. According to his travel diaries,⁸⁹ he arrived in Taiwan on 5 April, and stayed in Taipei

⁸⁸ Gaizirō (亥治郎) Huzisima (藤島), "Taiwan Kenchiku Dangi (An Exchange of Opinions on Taiwanese Architecture, 臺灣建築談議)," *Taiwan Kenchiku Kaishi (The Journal of the Architectural Institute of Taiwan, 臺灣建築會誌)* 9, no. 3 (1937), pp.169-170.

⁸⁹ ———, "Taiwan Kikō (1) (The Travel in Taiwan (1), 台灣紀行(1))," *Tōyō Kenchiku (東洋建築)* 1, no. 3 (1937); ———, "Taiwan Kikō (2) (The Travel in Taiwan (2), 台灣紀行(2))," *Tōyō Kenchiku (東洋建築)* 1, no. 4 (1937); ———, "Taiwan Kikō (3) (The Travel in Taiwan (3), 台灣紀行(3))," *Tōyō Kenchiku (東洋建築)* 1, no. 5 (1937); ———, "Taiwan Kikō (4) (The Travel in Taiwan (4), 台灣紀行(4))," *Tōyō Kenchiku (東洋建築)* 1, no. 8 (1937); ———, "Taiwan Kikō (5) (The Travel in Taiwan (5), 台灣紀行(5))," *Tōyō Kenchiku (東洋建築)* 1, no. 9 (1937); ———, "Taiwan Kikō (6) (The Travel in Taiwan (6), 台灣紀行(6))," *Tōyō Kenchiku (東洋建築)* 2, no. 1 (1937); ———,

for four days, during which time he visited various buildings such as Taiwanese temples, old Taipei City wall, forts and traditional Taiwanese residences. He took the night train to Tainan on the evening of the 8th, and stayed in Tainan until the 11th and then went on to Penghu (澎湖) through Kaohsiung (高雄). He was back in Kaohsiung (高雄) on the 14th and then went to Pingtung (屏東), Chiuchuw (潮州), Chishan (赤山), Kabiyan (卡比雅干), Hengchun (恆春) and Eluanbi (鵝鑾鼻) before returning to Tainan on the 17th. He visited several temples in Tainan and on the same day took a train to Chiayi (嘉義) in the evening. On the 18th, he visited Chiayi (嘉義) and Beigang (北港) and stayed in Changhua (彰化). Huzisima did not continue his diary beyond this point, but as he mentioned in the introduction of *Taiwan no Kenchiku*, he also visited Lukang (彰化鹿港), Taichung (台中), Hsinchu (新竹), Jiaobanshan (角板山) and Wulai (烏來社).

The buildings that Huzisima surveyed were selected for him by local intellectuals. He was guided by Kaoru (薰) Ide (井手), who was the head of the Architecture Division in the office of the Governor-General of Taiwan, and also assisted by Shun'ichi (俊一) Kuriyama (栗山), Saijirō (犀次郎) Kamiya (神谷), Suketaro (助太郎) Chijiwa (千千岩) and Daisaku Tanaka, who were either employees of the Architecture Division in the Governor-General's office or architectural academics. After returning to Japan, Huzisima published *Taiwan No Kenchiku* (Taiwanese Architecture) in 1947. In spite of the fact that it was published after the end of the Second World War, it was based on Huzisima's travels in Taiwan in 1936. For him, the form of his original report was too professional to be published so he simplified his academic report on *Taiwan No Kenchiku* (Taiwanese Architecture) in order to introduce Taiwanese architecture to the non-professional public.

"Taiwan Kikō (7) (The Travel in Taiwan (7), 台湾紀行(7))," *Tōyō Kenchiku* (東洋建築) 2, no. 2 (1938); ———, "Taiwan Kikō (8) (The Travel in Taiwan (8), 台湾紀行(8))," *Tōyō Kenchiku* (東洋建築) 2, no. 3 (1938).

7-3-2 The content of *Taiwan No Kenchiku*

The table of contents of *Taiwan No Kenchiku* shows Huzisima's framework of Taiwanese architecture:

Chapter 1	Taiwanese Architecture
	1-1 Values of Taiwanese architecture
	1-2 Reasons for formulating Taiwanese architecture
Chapter 2	Architecture from the Nanyang ⁹⁰ System
	2-1 Abstract
	2-2 Yami's architecture
	2-3 Amis's architecture
	2-4 Paiwan's architecture
	2-5 Bunun's architecture
	2-6 Tsou's architecture
	2-7 Atayal's and Saisiat's architecture
	2-8 Summary
Chapter 3	Architecture from the Chinese System
	3-1 Abstract
	3-2 Cities and villages
	3-3 Residences and courtyards
	3-4 Forts
	3-5 Assembly hall
	3-6 Confucian architecture
	3-7 Taoist temples and Buddhist architecture
	3-8 Paifong, steles and other features
Chapter 4	Architecture from the Western System
	4-1 Abstract
	4-2 Forts
	4-3 Christian architecture
	4-4 Summary

(my translation)

As the contents listed above show, *Taiwan No Kenchiku* consists of four chapters. Chapter 1 outlines an overall introduction of Taiwanese architecture and Chapters 2, 3 and 4 provide specific discussions of architecture within each cultural system.

In the introduction, Huzisima's endowing of Taiwanese architecture with three values clearly showed his categorisation based on what he called cultural systems: first, 'from

⁹⁰ An old name for the Malay Peninsula and Indonesia.

the purely academic viewpoint, it can be considered as a local system in world architecture'.⁹¹ He further divided Taiwanese architecture into three different groups – *Nanyang*, Chinese and western systems. For him, the significance of Taiwanese architecture existed not only in the characteristics of built form but also in history and anthropology. The second value of Taiwanese architecture was to stimulate and to enrich a wider human concept of architecture. Huzisima believed that architectural form and colour, of its historical, geographical or national context, could perfect architects' ideas, and Taiwanese architecture provides opportunities for this to happen.⁹² The third value of Taiwanese architecture was to allow Japanese people to understand the Chinese and other cultures. Because the decorations and structures of housing reflect human behaviours, selections and dispositions, it was possible to understand Taiwanese life and the Taiwanese people by understanding their architecture.⁹³

The architectural characteristics of Taiwan, for Huzisima, reflected contextual considerations, such as geography, materials and a more general principle of humanity as reflected in local culture. In terms of geography, Taiwanese architecture represented characteristics of the island on the one hand, and distributions of those varied architectural forms affected by its builders' origins on the other.⁹⁴ In respect of climate, bearing in mind the strong sunshine, the direction of Taiwanese architecture usually faced towards the south, with eaves around a building.⁹⁵ In regards to materials, the usage of materials depended on accessible materials, which included wood, bamboo,

⁹¹ Gaizirō (亥治郎) Huzisima (藤島), *Tai Wan Di Jian Zhu (Taiwanese Architecture, 台灣的建築)*, trans. Hui-Ling (詹慧玲) Zhan (Taipei (台北): Taiuan Publishing Co (臺原出版社), 1993), p.17.

⁹² *ibid.*, p.17.

⁹³ *ibid.*, p.18.

⁹⁴ *ibid.*, pp.20-25.

⁹⁵ *ibid.*, p.23.

rattan, thatch, earth, brick, tiles, stone, lime and cement.⁹⁶ As far as humanity was concerned, architecture was the representation of the human spirit, so it also represented the racial characteristics of local inhabitants.⁹⁷

Huzisima's analysis of geography, materials and humanity comprised his framework of cultural systems. And his detailed descriptions of architecture in each cultural system in his Chapters 2, 3 and 4 clearly show a consideration of architecture as a preference of culture and nature. For instance, he mentioned that the usage of colour in Chinese-system architecture reflected climate condition:

General speaking, the colour of a wall is red or white; the roof of *Fujian*-system (福建系) architecture is red, and that of *Guangdong*-system (廣東系) architecture is dark green. Moreover, by using varied colours for roof sculptures, there is forceful stimulation of visual perception. It is normal to utilize strong primary colours in Chinese-system architecture, and this is consonant with fertile and tropical colours because, within such climate conditions, mild and delicate colour is bland.⁹⁸ (my translation)

And he also believed that architectural characteristics reflected physical geographical conditions:

Houses in Taiwan appear light, natural and unrestrained, and especially bright and clear within a plentiful natural environment. Compared with heavy and dull northern Chinese architecture, they have the opposite expression.⁹⁹ (my translation)

Not only does architecture present natural characteristics, but also characteristics of humanity. He believed that particular people have their own ways of expressing emotions. Therefore, architecture also represents the characteristics of a particular group, race or nation of people.

⁹⁶ *ibid.*, pp.25-30.

⁹⁷ *ibid.*, p.30.

⁹⁸ *ibid.*, p.107.

⁹⁹ *ibid.*, p.120.

These extraordinary expressions of emotions [...] in southern Taiwan are even more surprising. Especially in many temples in Tainan, because of over-decoration, the roof is covered by decorations. This phenomenon is a characteristic of southern Chinese architecture, which can be found in some places such as *Xiamen* (廈門) and *Shantou* (汕頭). In fact, this over-decoration is the outlet for the pretentious and testy emotions of southern countries. [...] In terms of the essence of architectural usage, this phenomenon is normal.¹⁰⁰ (my translation)

Huzisima did not further explain his proposition for the concept of cultural systems in *Taiwan No Kenchiku*. However, his conceptualizing of architecture/culture relationships was clearly evident in his *Kenchiku To Bunka* (Architecture and Culture, 建築と文化). For him, ‘architecture is the reflection of culture’.¹⁰¹ He argued that, as Fig. 7-5 shows, culture consisted of natural factors, including location, topography, climate, geology, minerals, animals and plants,¹⁰² and human factors, including life-style, character and behaviour.¹⁰³ Nature and culture, for Huzisima, were not two opposite settings, but on the contrary, nature is one important factor inside culture.

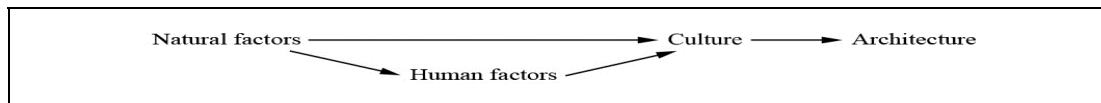


Fig. 7-5 Huzisima’s diagram of the influential factors of culture and architecture.¹⁰⁴

As Fig. 7-5 shows, for Huzisima, natural factors, human factors and culture formed a coherent triangular relationship, and architecture performed it. Architecture is affected by the environment (natural factors) and people (human factors), and also represents them.

Huzisima’s three architectural components signify the links between people, physical

¹⁰⁰ *ibid.*, p.105.

¹⁰¹ Gaizirou (亥治郎) Huzisima (藤島), *Kenchiku To Bunka* (Architecture and Culture, 建築と文化) (Tokyo (東京): Seibundo Shinkōsha(誠文堂新光社), 1941), p.30.

¹⁰² *ibid.*, pp.32-49

¹⁰³ *ibid.*, pp.49-58.

¹⁰⁴ *ibid.*, p.31.

geography and architecture.

In the conclusion, Huzisima offered a further discussion of the possible future of the three architectural systems: *Nanyang*-system architecture, which is primitive and built by the indigenous peoples, could only be considered as heritage;¹⁰⁵ Chinese-system architecture would flourish after the Chinese have taken over Taiwan;¹⁰⁶ Western-system architecture, which was the most progressive in terms of technique, would be applied the most frequently.¹⁰⁷ In the end, he expected that Taiwanese architects could find a balance between traditional and modern, and between vernacular and function.

The author expects that the architects who follow should not be restricted by traditional notions and not be blind to search for the new, but should consider their professional aspiration which is to build the architecture adapted to climate conditions in Taiwan, keeping their national traditions and considering functions in the new age. Those are my primary aspirations.¹⁰⁸ (my translation)

Huzisima's *Taiwan No Kenchiku* can be considered as the work of a scholar standing in the centre of Japan viewing Taiwanese architecture as the outcome of local contexts. His ambition was clear: to fill in a blank in an outline oriental architectural history. His data relied heavily on the guidance of local intellectuals, and he spent very little time on fieldwork. As an architectural historian with a focus on vernacular building, he put Taiwanese architecture into a cultural system that he conceptualised. Thus, Taiwanese architecture was eventually fitted into his framing of oriental architectural history.

I have explored three main surveys of Taiwanese architecture and architectural history. They each represented three different factors of surveys of Taiwanese architecture and

¹⁰⁵ Huzisima (藤島), *Tai Wan Di Jian Zhu (Taiwanese architecture, 台灣的建築)*, p.216.

¹⁰⁶ *ibid.*, p.216.

¹⁰⁷ *ibid.*, p.216.

¹⁰⁸ *ibid.*, p.219.

architectural history. Yasue's surveys and achievements, 'Taiwan Kenchiku Shi', were directly involved in the *kyūkan chōsa*, a colonial enterprise for the Governor-General of Taiwan. The record itself was a product of colonisation. By contrast, Tanaka's and Huzisima's surveys are more academic, but they both provided a more comprehensive framework of Taiwanese architecture. However, the way in which they framed Taiwanese architecture was through institution exchange, and was underpinned by colonial investigations. Yasue's, Tanaka's and Huzisima's surveys more or less showed various degrees of influence from Itō. Through Itō's works, Taiwanese architecture could be connected with Chinese architecture, and, furthermore, could be located.

The formation of Taiwanese architecture was not merely an academic achievement, but was supported by, and so was implicated in, colonial dominance and ideology. It also represented a linking of architectural history to vernacular building as a form of identity making. As I discussed in the previous chapter, the formation of Japanese and oriental architectural history was not merely the consequence of disinterested architectural knowledge, but represented the strategy of reversing western orientalism.

Chapter 6 and 7 have shown that writings on oriental architectural history were not only academic issues, but also political ones. In the next chapter, I shall examine both postcolonial theories in oriental contexts and the way this architectural discourse is implicated in it.

Chapter 8 Discussion: towards a postcolonial opening

The discussion of relevant theoretical materials in part one of this thesis – including examination of recent and historical examples of postcolonial criticism, more materialized forms of cultural representation in *mingei* and arts and crafts traditions, and the framing of non-European built traditions in western architectural discourse – have provided a critical framework for my analysis of Japan's formation of a distinctively oriental architectural history in part two (chapters 6 and 7). The historical discussion set out in part two, in which Japan's oriental architectural history included significant engagement with its own oriental other in Taiwan, has supplied an empirical lens through which to reconsider aspects of postcolonial criticism and western architectural discourse more generally.

This chapter attempts to put theory and history together in order to respond to the three inquiries which I proposed at the outset of this thesis (in the second section of Chapter 1): to discern the colonial ideology operating within the formation of Taiwanese architectural history and in the broader context of eastern Asian architectural history; to consider the practice of writing oriental architectural history as a medium to examine the applicability of postcolonial criticism within oriental imperial context; and to examine the disciplinary knowledge of architecture, mainly primitive hut, architectural history and vernacular architecture, in the light of postcolonial criticism. In addition, this chapter considers the construction of oriental architectural history in the light of postcolonial criticism.

The significance of these inquiries, which I proposed in Chapter 1, lies in the fact that

until nowadays, the Japanese role in the formation of Taiwanese architectural history has not been extensively or seriously examined. Therefore, this question has become a vital issue for Taiwanese scholars and the wider national identity.

Therefore, this thesis has examined the grounds for Japan's construction of Japanese architectural history as part of a project for a national architectural identity. This project, in turn, is grounded in the construction of an oriental orientalism in which other cultures and nations in the East Asian region came to be implicated. The formation of Japan's national architectural identity, furthermore, sought to secure a proper place for Japan within a world architectural history. To achieve this goal, significant scholars such as Itō created an other, oriental architectural system. To secure this primary thread of the thesis, the idea of nationalism in Itō's construction of Japanese architectural history will be examined in Section 8-1-1 of this chapter, while his construction of oriental architectural history as oriental orientalism will be discussed in Section 8-1-2. Yasue's, Tanaka's and Huzisima's constructions of Taiwanese architectural history influenced by Itō's practice will also be examined in the same section.

Japanese imperialism also offers an important historical context for further consideration of postcolonial criticism. It is the second inquiry positions Japanese imperialism/colonialism as a special case as Japan was the only non-western imperial power in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century.¹ Although postcolonial criticism, has been transformed in an oriental context to examine oriental imperialism/colonialism – here Kikuchi's oriental orientalism formulation is the most important source – I want to view writing a text on architecture by taking the materiality

¹ Although I have been aware that at that time China was still an empire in Eastern Asia, the empire that I want to emphasise is the empire who still expand overseas under imperialism/colonialism.

of the medium of architecture seriously, as a medium through which agency is practiced and identity expressed in colonial and postcolonial contexts. This focus on the medium of architecture represents an extension of the oriental orientalism formulation developed by Kikuchi. How orientalist orientalism, nationalism and imperialism, and also the textualized representation and material embodiment of architecture can be further examined and help to enrich the sphere of postcolonial criticism becomes my focus in Section 8-2 of this chapter.

By investigating architecture through the lens of oriental orientalism, we are reminded that the establishment of the knowledge of oriental and Taiwanese architectural history heavily relied on western disciplinary knowledge of architecture. This demonstrates that it is not enough to only discern the hidden ideology of Japanese orientalism within the formation of Taiwanese architectural history, but to also attend to western disciplinary knowledge of architecture and the dominant role it plays within oriental orientalism. Consequently, western disciplinary knowledge of architecture should be considered as another important power that we should be aware of in the academic context of the formation of architectural knowledges.

Chapter 5 outlined the way in which orientalism informed western architecture and how notions of the non-European other played an important role in the securing of western ideas of superiority. I also examined the persistent and resistant ideology in Itō's construction of Japanese and oriental architecture. My inquiry is whether Itō's practice, and also those of Yasue, Tanaka and Huzisima, can provide a useful way to consider the framework established in the discipline. Or by looking at their scholarship, do we ignore more fundamental discussions in the discipline relating to the colonized's architectural

self-identification? Debates on these issues and the disciplinary knowledge of architecture in the light of postcolonial criticism, through the case of Itō's practice will be discussed in Section 8-3 of this chapter.

According to the previous introduction, it is necessary to return to the construction of Taiwanese architectural history as one of the various off-shore sites where Japanese architectural identity was secured. By unpacking the varied ideologies in Japan's construction of oriental architectural history, including Taiwan, by delimiting and appropriating orientalist postcolonial criticism, and also by deconstructing the authority and authenticity of the disciplinary knowledge of architecture, I want to stress the ideologically motivated methodology used by Japanese scholars in their documentation of Taiwanese architecture and conceptualisation of its place in oriental architectural history. This ideological motivation for the production of knowledge, I want to further stress, should be a significant aspect of contemporary accounts of Taiwanese architectural history.

8-1 Japan's construction of oriental architectural history as a process of oriental orientalism

The nationalist ideological aspects of Itō's research can be discerned in his recollection of surveys of the *Hōryūji*, and in his resistance to Fletcher's 'architectural history' as has also been documented by Japanese scholars.² A postcolonial critical framework allows

² For example, Akihito (哲人) Aoi (青井) has discussed connections between Itō's 'Hōryūji Kenchiku Ron' and western scholars' construction of 'Architectural History of the World', mainly James Fergusson and Sir Banister Fletcher's works. However, he ignored Itō's inner hybridisation of western and Japanese architectural knowledge and also ignored the possible oriental orientalism within Itō's construction of oriental architectural history. See Akihito (哲人) Aoi (青井), "Itō Chūta Saikō - Futatsu No 'Sekai Kenchiku Shi' Omegutte (The Reconsideration of Chūta Itō - Encircling two 'Architectural Histories of the World', 伊藤忠太再考-二つの「世界建築史」をめぐる-)," in *Kenchiku Shisō 03 Ajia Mugen (The Trend of Thought in Architecture (03) - The Asian Architectural World, 建築思潮 03 アジア夢幻)* (Gakugei (学芸), 1995), and ———, "Hōryūji Sekai To Sekai

us to extend this observation on the ideological meaning of the construction of oriental and Japanese architectural history to understand its hybridity. The role of the western architectural discipline is implicated in this process, and Japan's oriental orientalism should be understood in this context. Therefore, my argument is that Japan's constructions of Japanese and oriental architectural history should be understood in two linked ways: on the one hand, we should be aware of Japan's formation of her own architectural history as a search for national identity, and on the other hand, Japan's construction of oriental architectural history should be understood as a form of oriental orientalism. Itō's oriental orientalism served as his search for the national architectural identity of Japan.

In *Orientalism*, Said revealed an unbalanced relationship of exchanged power within the occidental representation of the Orient. He believed that orientalism 'operates as representations usually do, for a purpose, according to a tendency, in a specific historical, intellectual, and even economic setting'.³ For him, through the inter-textual analysis, academic achievements of the orient have never been as pure and scientific as orientalists believed.

Kikuchi appropriated Said's idea of orientalism into the oriental context, and proposed an idea of oriental orientalism. She suggested that 'Japan also repeated this cultural politicisation within the Orient, by projecting Japanese-style orientalism translated and

Kenchiku Shi - Itō Chūta "Hōryūji Kenchiku Ron" No Nijūsei To So No Kisū (The World of *Hōryūji* and World Architectural History - The Duality and the Tendency of Chūta Itō's "*Hōryūji Kenchiku Ron*", 法隆寺世界と世界建築史-伊東忠太「法隆寺建築論」の二重性とその帰趨), in *Nippon niokeru Bijutsushigaku No Seiritsu To Tenkai (The Emergence and Evolution of Japanese Art History, 日本における美術史学の成立と展開)*, ed. Takeyoshi (武良) Tsurata (鶴田) and Michio (迪夫) Yonekura (米倉) (National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, Tokyo (東京国立文化財研究所), 2001).

³ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), p.273.

appropriated from orientalism'.⁴ If, in Said's argument of orientalism, the Occident created an orientalised other that was both imagined and dominated, Kikuchi's idea of oriental orientalism (see Chapter 3) suggested that Japan's imperialism created two others: on the one hand, the Occident as a styled image of occidentalism represented a modernized other; on the other hand, *tōyō* as Japan's constructed other underpinned Japan's framework of nationalism, within which Japan's orient was ordered and mapped into selective 'cultural archive[s]'. Oriental orientalism, under Kikuchi's formulation, served Japan's nationalism and imperialism.

From the point of view of oriental orientalism, Itō's surveys of Japanese and oriental architectural history appear quite consistent. As a consequence, it is important to recognize the political idea of a national architectural identity behind Itō's academic construction of Japanese architectural history. Although his idea, the search for a national architectural identity, has been stated as a simple indigenous project, we can consider the basis of his scholarship as a transplantation of western disciplinary knowledge of architecture into the oriental context, where it comes to be a hybrid product. By doing so, this examination needs to be put into a broader context, namely Itō's *tōyō*. Then I want to examine how Itō's *tōyō* was constructed, ordered and mapped in his oriental architectural history for his national identity (Section 8-1-2). Itō's construction of oriental architectural history was the basis of Yasue's, Tanaka's and Huzusuma's constructions of Taiwanese architectural history. Returning to Itō's practices, it will then be possible to unpack and understand the hidden framework by which Taiwanese architectural history was mapped.

⁴ Yuko Kikuchi, *Japanese Modernisation and Mingei Theory: Cultural Nationalism and Oriental Orientalism* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004), p.123.

8-1-1 Japan's hybrid construction of oriental architectural history

It has been widely believed that writings on Japanese architectural history derived from Itō's surveys of the *Hōryūji*. Itō suggested that the *Hōryūji* could represent the artistic essence of Japanese architecture, and the artistic essence had existed in both western and eastern architecture. The argument contains apparent national ideology, which can be revealed from the ambitions behind Itō's surveys of the *Hōryūji*. As I discussed in Chapter 6, it is clear that the motivation for Itō's surveys of the *Hōryūji* was not simply based on his interest in Japanese temples, but on an awareness of his national mission. This awareness of Japanese nationality derived from two influential people, Kingo Tatsuno and Tosuke Hirata. Tatsuno's awareness of the need for surveys of Japanese architecture was caused by a question put to him by his supervisor, William Burges, in London, about what Japanese architecture is. Hirata also exhorted Itō to contribute his achievements to his nation. From these starting points, it is not surprising that Itō's motivation for his surveys of the *Hōryūji* had been truly and deeply based on his national ideology which drove his search for the essence of national architecture.

Itō's consideration of the architecture of Japan as a national representation can also be examined from his understanding of 'architectural style'. Under his formulation, one of the factors forming 'architectural style' was national taste. The coherent connection between 'architectural style' and 'taste' had been formulated in his *Kenchiku Tetsugaku* (Architectural Philosophy). He suggested that the 'architectural style' determined by beauty and based on the idea of coherent relationships between beauty and taste had pre-formed the 'taste' of a nation or people. In other words, the discovery of the artistic essence of Japanese architecture can be considered a process of discovering the national taste of Japanese architecture, the national architectural identity of Japan.

Putting Itō's construction of Japanese architectural history within the broader context of western and, so-called, world architectural history, Itō's practice could be understood to be a response to the locating of Japanese architecture in James Fergusson's and Sir Banister Fletcher's architectural history of the world.⁵ In Fergusson's various monographs,⁶ he claimed that 'China possesses scarcely anything worthy of the name of architecture',⁷ and that the Japanese 'have no taste for this mode of magnificence'.⁸ Fletcher also categorised the architecture of China and Japan as 'non-historical', which had been 'kept apart from the Historical styles' and 'the evolution of Western architecture'.⁹ Itō had been clearly aware of their orientalism so he searched for the origin of Japanese architecture to prove that traditional Japanese architecture could be regarded as architecture, and that it had a history. Itō's motivation for resisting orientalism and for endowing Japanese architecture with a valuable and historical position thus was very clear.

Although Itō's motivation for the search of a national architectural identity of Japan was distinct, the way in which he demonstrated his hypothesis actually relied on an

⁵ Aoi has mentioned Itō's works as a response to James Fergusson's and Sir Banister Fletcher's works. But he hardly made use of Edward Said's idea of orientalism. See Aoi (青井), "Hōryūji Sekai To Sekai Kenchiku Shi - Itō Chūta "Hōryūji Kenchiku Ron" No Nijūsei To So No Kisū (The World of Hōryūji and World Architectural History - The Duality and the Tendency of Chūta Itō's "Hōryūji Kenchiku Ron", 法隆寺世界と世界建築史-伊東忠太「法隆寺建築論」の二重性とその帰趨)."; ———, "Itō Chūta Saikō - Futatsu No 'Sekai Kenchiku Shi' Omegutte (The Reconsideration of Chūta Itō - Encircling two 'Architectural Histories of the World', 伊藤忠太再考-二つの「世界建築史」をめぐる-)".

⁶ James Fergusson mentioned the architecture of China and Japan in many books, such as *The Illustrated Handbook of Architecture: Being a Concise and Popular Account of the Different Styles of Architecture Prevailing in All Ages and Countries, A History in All Countries, from the Earliest Time to Present Day*, and *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*.

⁷ James Fergusson, *The Illustrated Handbook of Architecture: Being a Concise and Popular Account of the Different Styles of Architecture Prevailing in All Ages and Countries*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (London: J. Murray, 1855), p.133.

⁸ James Architect Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture ... Forming the Third Volume of the New Edition of the 'History of Architecture.'* (pp. xviii. 756. John Murray: London, 1876), p.710.

⁹ Banister, Sir Fletcher, *A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method*, 4th edn. (pp. li. 738. B. T. Batsford: London, 1901), p.vi.

appropriation of western disciplinary knowledge of architecture within the oriental context. It could be considered that Japanese architecture was valued through the lens of western knowledge of architecture. In the light of this, we can further suggest that Itō's establishment of Japanese architectural history, and the subsequent surveys of oriental architectural history, was a hybrid practice which involved an appropriation of western disciplinary knowledge of architecture. As discussed in the historical review of Joseph Conder's significant role in the establishment of *miyatsukoka* in Chapter 6, Conder transplanted his architectural knowledge into Japan. Conder's background derived from both architectural practice and university, from which he gained practical and theoretical knowledge of architecture. The most important concept that he transferred to young Japanese students was beauty as an essence of architecture. The consideration of aesthetics as the core of architecture eventually became a theoretical ground for Itō to construct his thesis *Kenchiku Tetsugaku* (Architectural Philosophy), and was further represented in his well-known 'Hōryūji Kenchiku Ron (On the Architecture of the Hōryūji)', and in his appeal to rename *Miyatsukoka Gakkai* as *Kenchiku Gakkai* (Institute of Architecture).¹⁰ It was based on the western disciplinary definition of architecture, Itō was able to validate and value traditional Japanese architecture.

Similar to Itō's architectural theory, the hybrid factors can also be inspected from his ideology. As Kikuchi has formulated in her idea of oriental orientalism, both orientalism and occidentalism helped Japan to identify herself. Within Itō's construction of Japanese and oriental architectural history, the western disciplinary definition of architecture and

¹⁰ Chūta (忠太) Itō (伊東), "Aakitekuchūru' No Hongi O Ron Shi Te Sono Yaku Ji O Senjō Shi Waga Ka Zōkei Gakkai No Kaimei O Nozomu (Discussions on the original meanings of 'Architecture' to select a translated word and to rename the Institute, 「アーキテクチュール」の本義を論じて其譯字を撰定し我が造家学会の改名を望む)," *Kenchiku Zasshi* (*Journal of Architecture and Building Science*, 建築雑誌) 8, no. 90 (1894).

Fergusson's and Fletcher's surveys of Japanese architecture played a vital role. On the one hand, the western terminology and definition of architecture helped Japan to validate and value Japanese architecture; on the other hand, western surveys of oriental architecture retained their role as a resisted other. If, by following Said's orientalism, Fergusson's and Fletcher's outlines of Chinese and Japanese architecture can be considered as a kind of orientalism, then their orientalism had become the 'styled image' of the West hidden inside Japan's formation of architectural history. The hidden 'styled image' reflected the idea of occidentalism, as Carrier has demonstrated, which is a legitimization of the western ideology of architecture. That is established by a clear definition of architecture, and a distinction between architecture and building. Itō's occidentalism was clearly represented in his proposal to rename *Miyatsukoka Gakkai* as *Kenchiku Gakkai*. Therefore, Itō's practice of searching for the national architectural identity of Japan was a hybrid practice: it contained both orientalism and occidentalism, within which the West also presented a contradictory relationship with the East, both as insider and outsider.

By revealing Itō's nationalism, and the hybrid factors of his architectural theory and ideology, we are able to reconsider under what circumstance and what ideology his hypothesis of Japanese architectural history was achieved. By doing so, we realise that his practices were not merely pure and impartial academic works, and based on this, we now have some validities with which to view his construction of oriental architectural history, and also his successors' construction of Taiwanese architecture, since Itō's works were so influential, in the light of postcolonial criticism by borrowing Kikichi's term, as oriental orientalism.

8-1-2 Japan's construction of an orientalist oriental architectural history

As discussed above, Itō's Japanese architectural history embodied both his nationalist ideology, and his occidentalism. However, Itō's theory was not substantiated until his surveys of oriental and, the most importantly, Chinese buildings. In this section, I want to suggest that Itō's construction of oriental and Chinese architectural history was a practice of his searching for a national architectural identity of Japan. Also the framework created by Itō had further impacts on Japan's surveys of Taiwanese architectural history.

As we have seen (Section 6-4), Itō's discovery of the *Yungang* (雲岡) grottoes played a key role in his construction of Japanese and oriental architectural history. In the *Yungang* grottoes, his discovery of the similarities of architectural construction, Buddha and decorations between the *Hōryūji* and the *Yungang* grottoes allowed him to consider the *Yungang* grottoes as the key evidence for a theory of the origin of the *Hōryūji*. Meanwhile, he also believed that his discovery of pillars that were very similar to the Ionic order in style in the *Yungang* grottoes provided the main evidence for him to trace its origin to Greek architecture. In his formulation of oriental architectural systems (see Figure 6-26) the whole historical development of oriental architecture was established, and the origin of Japanese architecture was eventually linked with Greek architecture and the origin of Greek architecture.

The way in which Itō constructed the origin of Japanese architecture was based on his theory of the transmission of architecture. Through the theory of the transmission of architecture, if we apply Tanaka's term, Itō created his own *tōyō*, the oriental architectural systems and Chinese architectural history. Within his formulation, the

transmission of architectural style from Egypt, Greece, India, and China to Japan had been carefully outlined, within which Chinese, Indian and other Asian architectures became Itō's selective data to underpin his oriental architectural systems, and oriental architectural systems directly served his search for the origin of Japanese architecture, his national architectural identity of Japan.

It is worth noticing that although Itō's theory of the transmission of architectural style was inevitably based on the framework of architectural categorisation, in other words, making boundaries, he strongly emphasised the connections between Japanese, Chinese, Indian and Greek architectural styles. It was through the emphasis on these connections instead of rigorous discrimination that he was able to formulate the equal basis of the origin of both Japanese and western architecture.

On the other hand, the construction of oriental architectural systems had also allowed him to posit Japanese architectural history in a proper position. As Figure 6-29 demonstrated, it occupied an in-between position: part of Asia, but not wholly. This special position allowed Japan to get rid of 'the other' in orientalism, and also to claim its superiority in the orient. Through Itō's mapping, other Asian countries had become Japan's inferior and uncivilized other, but with the same root. Japan had become the representative of Asia, and established her oriental orientalism.

As discussed above, another vital issue related to Itō's *tōyō* was his construction of Chinese architectural history, which directly relates to my consideration of Japan's construction of Taiwanese architectural history.

Itō's construction of Chinese architectural history was both historical and vernacular.

Based on the history of China, he divided the development of Chinese architecture into four stages: ‘the period of absorbing art of Western Regions (from three kingdoms to Sui Dynasty)’, ‘the period of the greatness (Tang Dynasty)’, ‘the period of declining (Song and Yuan Dynasties)’ and ‘the period of revival (Ming and Qing Dynasties)’.¹¹ On a geographical basis, he divided Chinese architecture into three areas: northern, middle and southern Chinese architecture.¹² Each stage and area of architecture had its own particular characteristics relating to history, natural geography and ‘culture’. For Itō, Chinese architectural history seemed to have a biological cycle of growth and death. Chinese architecture of the Tang Dynasty reached a peak, which seemed to be like the period of maturity of a human being, and then aged in the subsequent dynasties. Contemporary Chinese architecture, for him, remained only as lifeless, rigid and static expressions.

On the other hand, Itō’s geographical division of Chinese architecture represented coherence between architecture and natural environment and culture, within which architecture was considered as a performance of nature and culture. For example, when he described the main feature of northern Chinese architecture as its heaviness, he examined his idea by discussing the human body and behaviour of the inhabitants of northern China. A similar examination also emerged from his description of the characteristic of middle Chinese architecture as lightness, and of the southern one as grotesque. Itō endowed each division of regional architecture, under his categorisation, with a specific characteristic, and reasoned his concept by tying architectural character with the people and the environment. Therefore, Chinese architecture was essentialised

¹¹ ———, *Zhong Guo Jian Zhu Shi (Chinese Architectural History, 中國建築史)*, trans. Qingquan(清泉) Chen (陳) (Taipei(臺北): Taiwan Shangwu Yinshuguan(臺灣商務印書館), 1994), p.38.

¹² *ibid.*, p.19.

by its people and environment and framed into his framework.

If orientalist scholarship involved ‘othering’ non-European subjects, to create an inferior other, Itō similarly positioned his *tōyō*, oriental architectural systems and Chinese architecture, as his, oriental other. But, as Kikuchi suggests, Japan had two others: the West and other Asian countries. The former provided the validation of a universal modernity to Japan, and the latter provided necessary cultural roots. Itō’s construction of oriental architectural systems and Chinese architecture, as a sustained other, also played a double role in oriental orientalism. On the one hand, oriental architectural systems were Itō’s cultural and historical source underpinning his search for a national architectural identity of Japan. Without the discovery of the *Yungang* grottoes, Itō’s ambition could not have been achieved. But the discovery meant that the oriental architectural systems were frameworks that evaluated and located Japanese architecture in world architectural history, in which Japanese architecture was rooted. On the other hand, although the importance of Chinese architectural history was so obvious in his oriental architectural history, it served perfectly Itō’s national ideology within his construction of oriental architectural systems. Thus Chinese architectural history was a fixed and framed other. Furthermore, Itō’s construction of Chinese architectural history has also shown his viewpoint of contemporary Chinese architecture as an aging and dying architectural culture with no evolutionary future. Chinese architecture had become Itō’s inferior other. The oriental architectural systems and Chinese architectural history were then both included in and excluded from Itō’s search for a national architectural identity of Japan. In my analysis, they represent an architectural form of oriental orientalism.

Itō’s oriental orientalism, especially his constructions of Chinese architectural history,

directly influenced Japanese scholars' framing of Taiwanese architectural history. As we saw in Chapter 7, Yasue directly implied Itō's geographical division of Chinese architecture in 'Taiwan Kenchiku Shi', and claimed that Taiwanese architecture can be considered as a branch of southern Chinese architecture. Under Tanaka's racial or Huzisima's cultural classifications, they had both emphasized the strong blood connections between southern Chinese architecture and the Chinese architecture of Taiwan. Yasue's, Tanaka's and Huzisima's considerations located the Chinese architecture of Taiwan within Itō's framework of Chinese architectural history. Although their surveys had rarely examined any direct links to Japanese nationalism, their practices certainly came under Itō's national ideology.

Not only did Itō's division of Chinese architecture have a great impact on Tanaka's and Huzisima's framing of Taiwanese architectural history, but also his vernacular architecture styled descriptions of architectural history. In Itō's *Shina Kenchiku Shi* (Chinese Architectural History), he firstly examined the history and natural conditions of China, and then described the characteristics of Chinese architectural history. After this general introduction of Chinese architecture, or maybe we can consider this as a practice of the valuation and validation of Chinese architecture, he then formulated the history of Chinese architecture. Thus Itō's framed Chinese architectural history in both history and geography, as both historical and timeless vernacular. Tanaka and Huzisima had a similar construction of Taiwanese architectural history although they did adopt a different framework to classify the architecture of Taiwan. They started with an introduction to describe the natural environment, history, materials, races and so on, and then discussed particular racial or cultural architecture separately. It is clear that the way in which they formulated Taiwanese architectural history had followed Itō's practices.

Unlike Tanaka's and Huzisima's more academic practices, which had been influenced by Itō, Yasue's works directly reflected cooperation with colonial government. Yasue's activity was a direct part of colonial enterprise, the *kyūkan chōsa* (An Investigation of Old Taiwanese Manners and Customs), and the two earliest records were reports for the Governor-General of Taiwan. His later publication, *Taiwan Kenchiku Shi* (Taiwanese Architectural History), was directly extracted from his reports. As a consequence, Yasue's achievement was heavily coloured by the colonial context, and its purpose was to find a way to govern Taiwan through the investigation. In addition, Yasue's practice of Taiwanese architectural history mainly focused on the Chinese architecture of Taiwan. He saw the habitations of the indigenous peoples as 'nests of birds and mice'. This directly revealed Yasue's regard of the indigenous peoples of Taiwan as an inferior other in his oriental orientalism.

In contrast to Yasue's work, Tanaka's and Huzisima's achievements were more academic, even though their researches could not entirely escape contamination by colonial government. This is because many data which they relied on actually were recorded by the governor-general of Taiwan as part of colonial policy, especially surveys of the indigenous peoples of Taiwan in the *kyūkan chōsa* (An Investigation of Old Taiwanese Manners and Customs). They ignored the fact that *kyūkan chōsa* represented colonial policy and regarded the achievements of *kyūkan chōsa* as a pure and scientific record. This resulted in their formations of Taiwanese architecture being more or less coloured by the colonialist context.

Although oriental orientalism served Japanese nationalism, Taiwanese architecture, as part of Japan's *tōyō*, unlike the role of Chinese architecture, had little to do with Japan's

search for national identity. It primarily filled in the geographical blank in oriental architectural history, which can be clearly examined in Huzisima's ambition in conducting surveys of Taiwanese architecture in his speech, as I showed in Section 7-3. Paradoxically, claims of Taiwanese architecture's strong link with Chinese architecture, and the classifications of Taiwanese architecture, have also shown a departure from Taiwan's colonial mother country, Japan. Taiwan seems never to have been part of Japan's Empire. This departure could be explained by the fact that Tanaka's and Huzisima's works had been finished after Japan's colonial governance had ended, but if we examine Yasue's works, and Tanaka's outline of Taiwanese architectural history published in 1937, it is clear that the racial classification of Taiwanese architecture forced the departure. Therefore, Taiwan had always remained an observed other.

In the light of postcolonial criticism, I have examined Japan's construction of Japanese and oriental architectural history as a search for a national architectural identity of Japan, and also Taiwanese architectural history as a construction under Japan's oriental orientalism. In the following section, I want to consider Japan's colonialism in the construction of architectural history as a medium through which to reconsider the validity and applicability of postcolonial criticism.

8-2 Reconsidering postcolonial theory

Kikuchi's formulation of oriental orientalism provides a way in which we could unpack and formulate oriental imperialism/colonialism, and also a way in which we could shift literary discussions into material culture, and especially architecture in my case. In this section, I will consider architecture as a medium, and writing architectural history as a practice of dominating, resisting, and negotiating sphere of oriental orientalism. Since

oriental orientalism is an orientalised hybrid practice, it inevitably refers to and differentiates from orientalism and cultural hybridity – as we saw in Chapter 3. What does oriental postcolonial criticism provide us in reconsidering current postcolonial criticism? And how does architecture as a medium of oriental orientalism inform this issue?

First, how did writing architectural history become the agent of colonialism? As discussed above, certain kinds of writing architectural history in the orient could be conceived as a resistance to (western) architectural orientalism. This is the case particularly in and through a specification and rebuttal of such crude caricature figures as the primitive in western architectural history. In the theory of the primitive hut, the supposed dwelling of the non-European other had been considered as foundational data and myth for architectural theory. In the sphere of architectural history, western architectural historians such as Fergusson and Fletcher saw oriental architecture as either exotic or primitive ('non-historical' in Fletcher's term). This could explain why Itō's practice of searching for a national architectural identity of Japan mainly emphasized the origin and history of Japanese architecture, and then oriental architecture. With the discovery of the roots of Japanese architecture, Itō was able to stress Japan's oriental architectural foundations.

Writing architectural history as a colonial agent was based on a series of complicated processes of both materialisation and textualisation. As I examined in the previous section, Itō's practices of architectural history, and also those of his successors, Yasue, Tanaka and Huzisima, were both historical and vernacular. They considered architecture as materialised cultural performance, in the light of which different racial, historical and

regional architectures could be classified and identified by architectural style, decoration, colour, materials, usages and so on. Then, following Ito's example, those racial, historical and regional taxonomies were constructed and described in the text of architectural history. The process implies that writing architectural history refers to a reified practice of historical and cultural enunciation through a way of materialisation and textualisation. Therefore, through the transformation from materials to text, and also through the idea of architecture as identifiable racial, cultural, historical and regional taxonomy, writing architectural history became the agent of colonial/anticolonial domination, resistance and negotiation, and also became the medium of orientalism and oriental orientalism.

Second, we can further note the difference between Itō's construction of architectural history and *mingei* theory as a medium in oriental orientalism. As we saw in Chapter 3, culture has been considered as a field of negotiation in postcolonial criticism, and in Chapter 4, *mingei* theory, as a materialised representation of culture, embodied a certain quality of Japaneseness. As Kikuchi demonstrated, Yanagi's formation of *mingei* theory essentialised oriental cultures and endowed them with a role of selective and collective data to support the development of Japanese nationalism. In the discussion in the previous sections we saw that, although Japan's construction of Chinese and Taiwanese architecture was based on the idea that architecture was regarded as materialised cultural performance, the way in which Japan resisted western orientalism in the discipline of architecture was not quite the same as *mingei* theory. In *mingei* theory, Yanagi's essentialisation of the craft cultures of Korea, Ainu, Northeast China, Okinawa and Taiwan underpinned Japaneseness and orientalness. They were formulated as timeless essential representations of historical and racial artefacts. By contrast, in Japan's

formation of oriental architecture and architectural history, the essentialised Chinese and Taiwanese architecture were regarded not as material and cultural forms of expression in their own right, but as inferior others to Japan, filling in the blanks of an oriental architectural system that had Japan at its centre.

It was the framework, in which Itō's played such an important role in constructing, and not the essence of oriental architectural systems or history sustained Japanese nationalism. Although Chinese architecture was considered as an historical bridge connecting Japan and the west, Itō's search for a national architectural identity of Japan actually relied on the construction of a wider oriental architectural system. This allowed Itō to claim Japanese architecture as historical in order to resist western orientalism and to locate Japanese architecture in world architectural history. Through his scholarship, Chinese and Taiwanese architecture were incorporated into Japan's framework of oriental architectural systems as essentialised forms of cultural expression, and so functioned to fill in the map of oriental architectural history. In the light of oriental orientalism, my examination of Itō's construction of Japanese and oriental architectural history as theory that underpinned his national ideology clearly shows a departure from Kikuchi's examination of Yanagi's cultural archive in *mingei* theory. Although they adopted different methods, their construction of the *tōyō* actually represented the same destination.

Let us return to the discussion of postcolonial criticism, the theoretical comparison between orientalism and oriental orientalism, and also the hybrid character that was identified in the final section of Chapter 3. What does Japan's conceptualization of an oriental architectural history, through its split colonial/anti-colonial orientation, offer in

this context? And what can oriental postcolonial criticism provide for us in terms of current postcolonial criticism?

In Sakamoto's argument, oriental hybridity although reached through a process of cultural translation, does not open 'the Third Space', but creates another 'other', that is another marginalised position within a hierarchical system. In the case of the writing of oriental architectural history, it could be regarded as the process of transnational translation. Western disciplinary knowledge of architecture had been disseminated into Japan by Conder and, subsequently, Tatsuno. The aesthetic discussions and definition of architecture had been absorbed by Itō, and can be examined in his *Kenchiku Tetsugaku* (Architectural Philosophy) and subsequent articles, and had then been transformed into a valuation of Japanese architecture and the establishment of oriental architectural systems. Itō's construction of Japanese and oriental architectural history was based on a practice of translations of architectural knowledge from the western concept and context to the oriental hybrid concept and context. However, through Itō's scholarship, Chinese architecture was framed, categorised and classified into fixed and essentialised positions. Then Yasue, Tanaka, and Huzisima again classified Taiwanese architecture into racial or cultural sub-categories in the same way. By examining the processes by which oriental architectural history was conceptualized, as I have tried to do, another possible practice of cultural translation and transnation can be discerned. This possible practice enables a colonial subject to create further subordinated classes, another other, instead of opening 'the Third Space'.

Although it seems that my examination of Itō's construction of Japanese and oriental architectural history as a practice of translation and transnation, which created further

boundaries, challenges Bhabha's critical view of hybridity, my intention is to empirically ground, test and extend this concept. This thesis has done this by taking into account how Itō translated western architectural knowledge into the oriental context. As I examined in Chapter 6, Conder disseminated the aesthetic definition of architecture as the essence of architecture into Japan, and later on it was applied by Itō in his *Kenchiku Tetsugaku*. Although under Itō's formulation aesthetics relied on national taste, which showed that Japan had her own aesthetic definition, basically Itō still followed the western idea of aesthetics as the essence of architecture. Itō's attitude of appropriation can also be observed from his construction of oriental architectural systems. Basically, he accepted Fergusson's and Fletcher's frameworks of western architectural history. What he was dissatisfied with was their orientalism in regard to Chinese and Japanese architecture. The way that Itō had responded to western orientalism was to accept their theoretical analysis of architecture on the one hand, and then use the same methods to restate oriental architectural history on the other. For instance, Fletcher classified Chinese and Japanese architecture as 'non-historical', so Itō wanted to claim that Chinese and Japanese architecture did have a history. The way and the language that Itō adopted were based on western terms. Furthermore, Itō's essentialistic analysis of Chinese architecture, and later Yasue's, Tanaka's and Huzisima's formations of Taiwanese architecture, also stressed the subordinated categorisation. Therefore, Itō himself did not question Fergusson's and Fletcher's essentialised frameworks of architectural history. Although Itō's practice was hybrid, translational and transnational, his resistant practice could not be fixed into Bhabha's postcolonial concept of hybridity because one of the most important ambitions of hybridity, for Bhabha, was to challenge the fixed categorisation created by cultural essentialism. That is the reason why he emphasized cultural difference instead of cultural diversity. The departure of my examination of Itō's works

as cultural translation and transnation from Bhabha's concept of hybridity has raised further considerations. To examine the concept of hybridity as an effective criticism, we need to examine how cultural translation and transnation operated, and how and where hybridisation occurred. Therefore, in my case, if we want to open the third space, we need to exclude the idea of essentialism, and to further question western knowledge of architecture. I shall discuss this inquiry in Section 8-3.

As I have discussed in previous sections, Itō's construction of Japanese and oriental architectural history was a practice of searching for a national architectural identity. Also as I mentioned above, his practice was based on an appropriation of the western essentialised framework of architectural history. Writing architectural history as a medium of oriental orientalism, Itō created his other, oriental architectural history, to resist orientalism, within which Chinese and Taiwanese architecture was essentialised and mapped. If we take Spivak's idea of 'the strategic use of essentialism' into account, we can discover that Japan's oriental orientalism partly resonates with 'the strategic use of essentialism'. In Spivak's formulation, the strategic use of essentialism, as a kind of positioned statement, can mobilize stable, unified and canonical essentialism. Oriental orientalism claims to locate Japan's architecture in world architectural history. Japan's position, as othered in (western) orientalism, seems to have provided an essentialized identity – however inferior it may have been in the eyes of western scholars – upon which an oriental architectural history was constructed. Oriental orientalism did mobilize a pre-existing, pre-stabilized and, already unified and essentialized form of orientalism. However, meanwhile, the regional scholarship of Japan's academics created another stable, unified (and inferior) other for oriental architectural history. We saw this in Itō's three geographical divisions of Chinese architecture, and Tanaka's racial and Huzisima's

cultural divisions, all of which endowed Chinese and Taiwanese architecture with architectural characteristics of natural and cultural performance. Thus, Chinese and Taiwanese architecture, as Japan's other, were essentialised as materialised cultural artefacts. Therefore, oriental orientalism worked through the creation of a fixed and essentialised categorisation of a local regional other, and through the strategic use of a western essentialism that gave identity to Japan's built heritage. This represents a complex variation on Spivak's original 'strategic use' of essentialism as a way of resisting the dominance of a colonial authority by marginalized other. It is variation because the deployment of essentialism is inverted whereby the colonial authority itself – Japan in this case – strategically deploys an essentialized identity of its own. Furthermore, if we examine it carefully, we can find that in Spivak's formulation, 'the strategic use of essentialism' is temporal, but oriental orientalism attempted to provide a long-term solution, and then, like orientalism, created another fixed boundary stabilising existing essentialism. As a consequence, the case of oriental orientalism informs us that we need to be aware of the possibility of creating another other while we attempt to claim the authenticity and authority of self-statement through the 'strategic use of essentialism'. Otherwise we are copying the very colonial power that we want to resist.

Examination of postcolonial criticism of oriental orientalism provides further detailed considerations that we would encounter in postcolonial resistance. Let us enter a detailed discussion of the discipline of architecture.

8-3 Postcolonial criticism of disciplinary architectural knowledge: the primitive hut, architectural history and vernacular architecture

The discussion above explored Itō's ideology and nationalism behind his construction of

oriental architectural history, and then Taiwanese architectural history in the light of postcolonial criticism and my response to postcolonial criticism according to the particular oriental context that has framed this thesis. The postcolonial project that results focusses on the issue of how to build a viable alternative framework for writing history and for architectural practice that both acknowledges the legacy of colonialist scholarship and registers the ideological limitations and biases that are embodied within it.

In Chapter 5, I revealed the role of the other's architectures in the architectural discipline. In the primitive hut, they supplemented architectural theory. In architectural history, they filled in the blank on the map of architectural history. In vernacular architecture, they were the subjects of reversing universalism in the discipline. Although I revealed orientalism in those academic topics, and Itō's construction of oriental architectural history seems to provide a possible resistant practice, they cannot provide a useful example of secondary subordinate areas and countries such as Taiwan. This is because Itō's practice recreated subordinate other and oriental boundaries instead of opening the 'Third Space', and so did Yasue, Tanaka and Huzisima. As a consequence, my suggestion is that we need to return to examine the basic and fundamental formation of architectural theory and history of the West in the light of postcolonial criticism for the other's writing of architectural history. By doing so, we are able to speculate hidden frameworks upon writings of Taiwanese architectural history.

As I discussed in Chapter 5, the idea of the primitive hut in western architectural discipline is selective and changeable. From Vitruvius's Gaul, Spain, Portugal, and Aquitaine, Filarete's first man, Adam, Laugier's antique text and Northern Indians to

Semper's Caribbean natives and the Chinese, architecture as the evidence for the primitive had changed over time. Selections of primitive architecture clearly indicate a character of artificial classifications and boundary-making in the concept.

The other's architecture as the primitive hut underpins western architectural discourse. It was based on the practice of searching for the origin. The primitive hut as evidence provided architectural theorists with a primordial model from which to abstract and construct universal rules for architectural design, which is the architectural principle. Laugier's idea of the essential composition of architecture, and Semper's four elements of architecture are good illustrations of this. The Caribbean hut and Chinese architecture as representing Semper's four elements of architecture were the best examples. The primitive hut, seen through the lens of western architectural theorists under architectural universalism, became a selective upholder.

However, it is also clear that in the discussions of the primitive hut, the other's architectures were reduced to the role of evidence. They have been fragmentally extracted from their social and natural context. The complex social and natural context of the primitive hut had been reduced and simplified into a universal rule. Architectural theory had become a theoretical and universal framework dominating the idea of architecture. The experience of western architecture constructed the frame, the other's architecture helped to fill in the body.

A similar role of the other's architecture had also accrued in Fergusson's and Fletcher's constructions of world architectural history. As I discussed in Chapter 5, the other's architecture filled in the blanks in geography and pre-history in architectural history, in the role of supplement. Their constructions of architectural history provided a 'scientific'

and ‘universal’ framework to evaluate and analyse various historical architectures of the world by one comparative method. Under their formulations, without a history, oriental architecture cannot have any further evolution. It was based on the idea of evolutionism. Thus, oriental architecture was framed and essentialised in western writings on world architectural history.

Another worthy noted issue within writing architectural history, as Itō had done, was a consideration of writing architectural history as a practice of searching for a national architectural identity. As Watkin has demonstrated, the development of architectural history in Germany, England and France was indeed in the field of Gothic rather than classical studies in the eighteen and early nineteenth centuries.¹³ One factor of the importance of Gothic architecture, for example the view of Wolfgang von Goethe, was a belief that it was his national origin and character.¹⁴ It was, in Watkin’s words, ‘the rise of nationalism’.¹⁵ The importance of this aspect is the awareness that this practice, from its beginning, combined with national ideology.

It was through the process of searching for the origin, which is also the theoretical concept of the primitive hut had done, to write and construct architectural history. Itō did search for the origin of Japanese architecture by constructing oriental architectural history. The interesting issue here is that Itō’s activities actually relied on his inferior other, oriental architectural systems, instead of on Japan herself. In other words, he created a *tōyō*, discoursed it, and then depended on it. It was based on his architectural principle, the transmission of architectural style, through which the origin was created and fixed. Also, through the process of theorising and historicising the origin of Japanese

¹³ David Watkin, *The Rise of Architectural History* (London: Architectural Press, 1980), p.4.

¹⁴ *ibid.*, p.4.

¹⁵ *ibid.*, p.ix.

architecture, he was able to validate and value Japanese architecture. Therefore, in Itō's practice of the search for the national architectural identity of Japan, the idea of the primitive hut was achieved by the practice of writing architectural history.

As I aimed to show in Chapter 5, western writings on non-western architectural history hide an orientalism. This orientalism eventually became the subject that oriental architectural historians wanted to question. However, the way which oriental architectural historians such as Itō approached this question was through the same comparative methods, and on architectural disciplinary knowledge that were established in the west. It could be the reason why Itō, Yasue, Tanaka and Huzisima also further elaborated an oriental orientalism when they revised western orientalism for positioning their national architecture. The term, ideology, and methodology remain; orientalism also remains. Without noticing this, western disciplinary architectural knowledge remains primary position. Consequently, to disintegrate this continuing classification of the other's architecture, we have to return to the question: can we understand various national, racial and regional architectures by the same scientific and universal method?

Vernacular architectural historians, in my examination in Chapter 5, tried to challenge traditional classifications of architecture and building, and to controvert the search for a universal truth of architectural theory and history. They questioned the emphasis on monumental architecture in architectural discipline. They started to concentrate on those who used to be classified outside the objects of the architectural domain, both inside and outside the western region. Through their studies on vernacular architecture, they were searching for some proposals to solve problems created by architectural specialists. They tried to introduce a proper treatment of vernacular architecture into the discipline. Under

their formations, issues such as culture, natural environment, production and knowledge systems have become discussion topics.

Although these vernacular architectural studies were trying to propose a useful knowledgeable framework of architecture, based on what used to be denigrated as everyday buildings, to resist the dominant disciplinary knowledge of architecture in education, as my examination of Japan's construction of oriental and Taiwanese architectural history or architecture has shown, whether the proponents of vernacular architecture can achieve their original purpose is under question. This is because, on the one hand, although factors such as culture and natural environment and materials had been considered in the construction of oriental architectural history, the terms and definition of architecture that they adopted had relied heavily on the western disciplinary knowledge of architecture. This revealed a hidden dominant architectural knowledge of the West. However, although vernacular architectural studies have been aware of this dominant architectural knowledge of the West and have tried to challenge this dominant relationship, the constituents of architecture that vernacular architectural studies tried to promote, such as cultural and natural factors, actually had also been considered in efforts such as Fergusson's and Fletcher's constructions of world architectural history. Also, they provide another 'universal truth' of considering architecture in terms of vernacular characteristics.

On the other hand, based on the case of Japan's construction of oriental architectural history and architecture, vernacular architectural studies also create further boundaries and otherness. That project was based on historical, geographical, cultural or racial categorisation. However, no matter how many categories and sub-categories have been

made, they have all followed the primary framework of categorisation, and also the process copied and projected this dominant principle of categorisation onto their object.

In addition, the idea of vernacular architecture stands on the brink of cultural essentialism. Architecture was considered as materialized cultural performance and, therefore, connected with its cultural and natural factors. Architecture then can be put into its proper position within the category in terms of its factors. This is the cultural diversity which scholars of vernacular architecture had been looking for, and which Bhabha has been opposed to. Cultural diversity seems to search for equality for all cultures, but under the basic created frameworks or categories. As I have discussed above, more and more sub-categories have been created, and more and more boundaries have been created, but the dominant relationships within the construction of the framework still remain. Also, cultural diversity, based on cultural essentialism, reduces and summarises various cultures into one core. That is the reason why Bhabha stresses cultural difference instead of cultural diversity. As I aimed to show in Tanaka's and Huzisima's formations of Taiwanese architectural history and architecture, the practice of categorising those incommensurable cultures and architectures under the title of Taiwanese architecture itself is paradoxical. Taiwanese architecture includes all those architectures, but none of each could represent Taiwanese architecture as a whole.

As I suggest in the beginning of this section, the examination of traditional disciplinary knowledge of architecture allows us to consider hidden frameworks for structuring the discipline. The framework, without being subject to critique, remains powerful and influential. Although it is impossible to abandon the whole systematic knowledge of architecture created by the West, by questioning its authority and authenticity and by

considering it as an imposed framework instead of a purely academic achievement, we can start to think otherwise and to find an alternative way of writing architectural history from an other point of view.

8-4 Towards a postcolonial opening

Through the theoretical and historical discussions in previous sections, I want to return to the beginning of the thesis to the issue with which I began: opening up opportunities for other, more localised, Taiwanese historical narratives.

My examination showed that Japan's conceptualization of Taiwanese architectural history took place through Itō's scholarship on oriental and Chinese architectural histories. Itō's dominant position in the discourse is appears clear. But the idea that the practice of writing Taiwanese architectural history was more or less, directly and in-directly, coloured by colonial governance and constructed by colonial power is now also clear. Therefore, the authenticity and authority of Japan's construction of Taiwanese architectural history needs to be questioned.

Itō's formulation of Japanese and oriental architectural history provides an opportunity for us to examine a way in which the colonized other announced his/her own architectural history, and, by contrast, a new coloniser's construction of the one of its other. He created his orient in order to resist orientalism, but also created oriental orientalism. It is important to be aware of this problematic practice in the light of postcolonial criticism, and it is necessary to notice that self-writing Taiwan's own architectural history in the light of current architectural historical reference and in the light of vernacular architectural sense could not stop the continuous creation of the other.

Itō's boundary can be examined through two points of view: his searching for national architectural identity, and academic background. For the former, as the other's self-announcement, western and Asian other countries' architecture inevitably became Itō's others. The former derived from orientalism, and the latter from oriental orientalism. It had to be based on the identification, inclusion and exclusion, then national architectural identity could be discovered.

The structure of Itō's scholarship is reflected in his disciplinary knowledge. The figure of the primitive hut, architectural history and vernacular architecture functioned as theoretical backgrounds that informed Itō's formulation of Japanese and oriental architectural history. This background, in turn, was based on a broader essentialism that understood that the origin and the core of Japanese architecture could be discovered, in and through regional building traditions in China and Taiwan. Each architectural period, he argued, can be defined, and different racial, national and even geographical architecture could be categorised. Then historical developments can be traced.

To consider Itō's disciplinary knowledge more carefully, by question disciplinary knowledge (primitive hut, world architectural history and vernacular architecture) in the light of postcolonial criticism, we are able to discover the structuring, othering logic within the discipline itself. The other has been considered as a supporting data and myth for the discipline; the built traditions of non-European others have been historically, geographically, culturally, and even racially discriminated and located within concrete categorisation. Therefore, the idea of a world architecture, of the world architectural history with includes Japan and Taiwan, can no longer be merely assumed.

Under these circumstances, writing Taiwanese architectural history is problematic. For

example, considering the complex history of Taiwan and the diverse components of the Taiwanese culture, the categories of Taiwanese architectural history remain a contradiction. While it might be convenient to use vernacular approaches to essentialize Taiwanese architecture and discover its core and its essence as representing its inhabitants' culture and environment. However, although Taiwanese architecture can be divided into three racial or cultural categories, none of them can represent 'Taiwan' as a whole. Putting them into one building cannot represent Taiwanese architecture either. So 'Taiwan' becomes merely a geographical and political conglomeration.

Similarly, I believe that those who have been categorised in the topic of vernacular architecture, and those who have played a role as the other in western architectural discipline, have also faced a similar dilemma in their own architectural identification. Although we cannot return to and discover or create pure Taiwanese-style writings on Taiwanese architectural history, since according to my examination Itō's architectural knowledge was hybrid, and although we cannot entirely abandon western disciplinary knowledge of architecture, at least we have to be aware that our construction could be problematic. Without sensing those potential issues, we could follow the same road, which Itō, Yasue, Tanaka and Huzisima have passed. By noticing this, we are able to conjecture an alternative architectural history.

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