



WHAT IF? WHAT NEXT?

SPECULATIONS ON HISTORY'S FUTURES

SESSION 4A

THE COUNTERFACTUAL

What If? What Next? So What? Exploring the Historical Consequences of Choices

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BETWEEN ARCHAEOLOGY AND ARCHITECTURE: THE JOMON IN THE WORKS OF FUJIMORI TERUNOBU

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This paper examines the works of Japanese Architect Fujimori Terunobu (1946–) at the intersection of archaeology and architecture. Having worked as an architecture historian before the realisation of his first building in 1991 at the age of 44, Fujimori has gone on to complete a body of work that has been described as avant-garde and unconventional yet also familiar and nostalgic. His work is known for using natural materials often finished by hand with traditional techniques giving them a distinctive vernacular aesthetic yet hard to define from a specific time or region. Fujimori himself acknowledges a wide range of influences, including primitive dwellings dating back to the Neolithic Jomon period (14000–300 BC). These reconstructed “ancient” dwellings, which may be seen throughout Japan, are central to Fujimori’s works including concepts relating to hollow space (cave like space) and his signature green roofs with tracing back to the shiba-mune (planted ridge line on the roof). While Fujimori’s works may be analysed as modern interpretations of ancient Jomon dwellings, the Neolithic forms that exist in Japan are already modern interpretations, as they are contemporary reconstructions of archaeological ruins. This paper is a critical analysis of how Fujimori’s built work draw from reconstructed histories and argues that new readings are created through selective appropriation and reinterpretation of the past. The authors discuss how Fujimori’s strategic reconstructions of past architectural identities have played a part in shaping current perceptions of history which have in turn redefined the vernacular in Japanese Architecture. As Fujimori gains in popularity his works have also increased in scale and complexity. More recent works are public and commercial in nature including larger scale museums and complexes which further questions the process and role of cultural production in new built works as contemporary interpretations of architecture history.

Introduction: Hikusugi-an

On 1 October 2017, Fujimori Terunobu's¹ newest work was opened to the public in Chino City, Nagano Prefecture. Given the name Hikusugi-an (too-low teahouse), Fujimori called it a "pit teahouse" (*tateana-shiki chashitsu*), a play upon on the Japanese word used for prehistoric "pit houses" (*tateana-shiki jyūkyo*). Located on Fujimori's family plot next to Takasugi-an (too-high teahouse), the building appears as a copper shingled pyramid with a small cut-out that may be raised to reveal the entrance (Fig. 1). A trellis attached to the west side of the building has rails that allow the roof of the teahouse to open to the sky. Inside is a single 5.4m² box covered with horizontal stripes of plaster that reveal the untreated cedar planks underneath. In actuality, Hikusugi-an is not a proper pit house. It uses the slope of the terraced fields to cover the building on three sides while leaving the north side open, revealing a chimney and charred cedar plank walls.



Figure 1. Hikusugi-an (21 October 2017).

Fujimori first conceived of Hikusugi-an as a companion to Takasugi-an (Fig. 2).² Opportunity to build it came when Chino city officials asked Fujimori to contribute to the 2017 Jomon Life Festival in Yatsugatake, a major undertaking involving a wide range of Jomon-themed events, exhibitions, performances, and workshops with over 30,000 attendees.³ Hikusugi-an was commissioned by the Chino Cultural Complex and was built between July and September 2017 as a series of public workshops at the museum before being transported to its final site (Fig. 3). This was not his first collaboration with Chino City, as his Flying Mud Boat and Teahouse C (*C-an*) were similarly organized as public events.⁴

Of Fujimori's many works, Hikusugi-an is the most direct reference to the architecture from the Jomon period (14000–300 BC), a Neolithic culture who populated much of the Japanese archipelago. The Jomon people are regarded as "complex" hunter-gatherers due to their intricate pottery, clay figurines, lacquerware, stone artifacts, and accessories. They are unique for living in permanent settlements and their dwellings are identified through remains of pits and postholes. While no original Jomon pit house exists, research from excavations has allowed architects to reconstruct them at some 150 locations since 1949.⁵ Regardless of their prevalence, there continue to be many questions about their above-ground shape and building materials. In fact, it is precisely this lack of certainty about the Jomon people, including the shape of their homes, that has made "the Jomon" a source of creative inspiration for many in Japan today.⁶

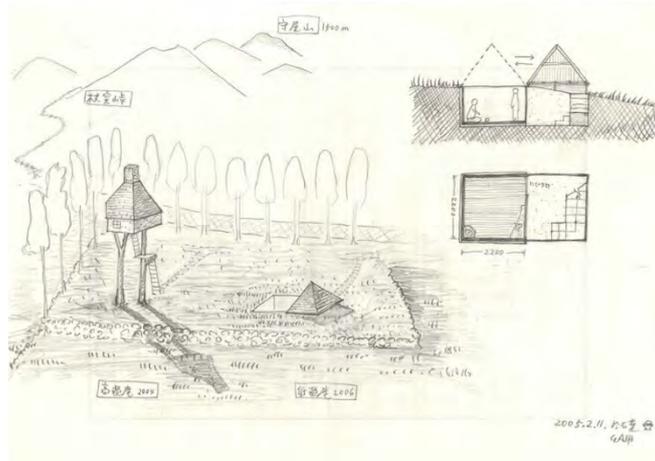


Figure 2. Sketch of Hikusugi-an and Takasugi-an. Terunobu Fujimori 2005. Image reproduced from Chino Cultural Complex. Photograph by author.



Figure 3. Hikusugi-an and Takasugi-an. The stand in the foreground was placed there for the 2017 Jomon Art Festival and holds a reconstructed Jomon pot. (21 October 2017). Photograph by author.

This paper is divided into three sections. The first examines the broader context in which the Jomon has been conceived within the context of Japanese architecture and Fujimori’s personal and academic connections to the Jomon. The second looks directly at Fujimori Terunobu, his principles for architecture and how his approach draws on aspects of the Jomon. Lastly, this article summarizes how Fujimori reinterprets the Jomon amongst other historical references to create new and contemporary works that are on the one hand redefining a new Japanese tradition and on the other contributing to the discourse of an international vernacular.

Fujimori Terunobu and the Jomon Pit House

To write that Fujimori has found inspiration in the Jomon culture would be an understatement. He was exposed to archaeology growing up in Chino City, which is famous for Togariishi, a Jomon period site where the earliest reconstruction of pit dwellings was made in 1949. Fujimori wrote that during high school he participated in excavations led by Fujimori Eiichi (1911–1973), an archaeologist renowned for his “Jomon cultivation” hypothesis. In fact, both are graduates from Suwa Seiryō High School, where there was an active archaeology group that conducted excavations.⁷ Even the land where Fujimori’s teahouses now stand are only a few meters away from a Jomon period site (Takabe site). In the late-1980s, before starting his career in architecture, Fujimori even built his own “Jomon pit house” that was used to camp in with his family.⁸

Despite a clear fascination with the Jomon, Fujimori says he has no desire to reconstruct a Jomon period pit dwelling as it might have stood thousands of years ago.⁹ His interest is less in academic questions about the form of Jomon homes, but is rather pragmatic in how he freely adopts ideas inspired by the Jomon in his work. Fujimori thus chooses not to look at the Jomon as an architectural historian but as an artist, and in this regard, he may be situated alongside a number of artists and architects in the postwar era who have sought out a Japanese cultural essence to bring to their work.¹⁰ This active appropriation of the Jomon by Fujimori mirrors the approach of Japan’s modernist architects, who from the 1930s were re-analyzing and incorporating traditional compositional elements from Shinto shrines, teahouses, and sukiya-style buildings. In this act of “cultural appropriation,” these architects “were able to project architecture from ancient times to the architecture of the present day.”¹¹

The Jomon Pit House in Japanese Architectural History

As is well known, Fujimori was trained and later worked as an architectural historian at the Institute of Industrial Science, University of Tokyo. Notably, this institute has produced a long genealogy of scholars who have investigated the origins of Japanese architecture (Fig. 4). For the first three generations, each of these historians has investigated the origins of Japanese architecture and/or have worked on prehistoric pit house designs. Even though Fujimori’s advisor Muramatsu Teijiro (1924–1997) was a specialist in Meiji period Western-influenced architecture in Japan, the influence of Fujimori’s predecessors on his understanding of architectural origins is apparent.

1st generation	2nd generation	3rd generation	4th generation	5th generation	6th generation
Ito Chuta 1867-1954	Fujishima Gaijiro 1909-2001	Sekino Masaru 1909-2001	Muramatsu Teijiro 1924-1997	Fujimori Terunobu 1946-	Muramatsu Shin 1954-
Sekino Tadashi 1868-1935	Murata Jiro 1895-1985	Ota Hirotarō 1912-2007			

Figure 4. Partial genealogy of architecture history scholars at the Institute of Industrial Science, University of Tokyo as introduced by Muramatsu Shin. <http://10plus1.jp/monthly/2015/05/issue-02.php> (accessed 19 August 2020).

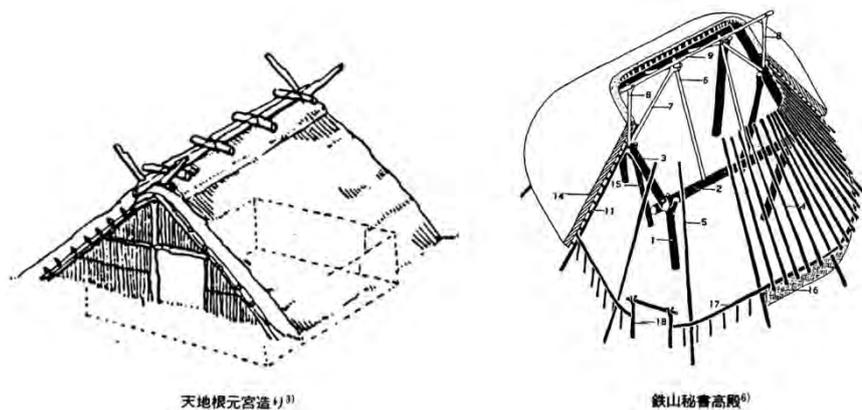


Figure 5. Illustration of the Tenchi kongen zukuri building (left) and the “tatara” iron furnace structure from the eighteenth-century document Tetsuzan-hisho (right). Images reproduced from Masaru Sekino, “Kodai Nihonjin no kenchiku-gijutsu” [Building technology of ancient Japanese]. *Journal of Architecture and Building Science* 1273 (1988): 17–18.

In the prewar period, the first to speculate that ancient people in Japan lived in pit houses was anthropologist Torii Ryuzo (1870–1953), who in 1899 found that the Ainu of the northern Kuril Islands continued to live in pit houses.¹² As archaeologists were beginning to find pit house

remains on the main Honshu Island, Torii argued that they were not from the Ainu but rather from earlier Stone Age inhabitants. Alternately, at this same time in the field of architecture history, Ito Chuta was looking into the development of shrine architecture and argued that the ancestor of the shrine was a structure called *Tenchi kongen zukuri* (Fig. 5).¹³ This was an imagined pit structure derived from origin myths that was recorded in a document on shrine architecture called *Torii no maki* in 1804. Even though there were no archaeological remains to prove its existence, it continued to be reproduced in school textbooks and accepted by architectural historians until the early post-war period.

The congruence of archaeology and architectural history began in 1926, when Yawata Ichiro (1902–1987), a student of Torii Ryuzo, excavated the Jomon period Ubayama Shell Midden in Chiba Prefecture.¹⁴ Ito Chuta and Sekino Tadashi (from the same research institute) were invited to analyze the remains and they found that none of the pit dwellings resembled the mythical two-pillared *Tenchi kongen zukuri* pit structure. Instead, they found circular pits that were supported by four or five, or many posts.¹⁵

According to Fujimori Terunobu, the contemporary image of the Jomon pit house is credited to Sekino Masaru (the eldest son of Sekino Tadashi). In 2013, Fujimori wrote on the pit house reconstruction by Sekino at Toro site, Shizuoka Prefecture.¹⁶ Even though Toro dates to the Yayoi period (300 BC–250 AD), the basic structure of the pit dwelling was envisioned as a continuation from the Jomon period and the design at Toro was directly taken from Sekino's previous research at the Jomon period Togariishi site in Chino, Nagano. With only scant remains at these sites, Sekino drew from two strands of historical research to fill in the gaps. The first was the eighteenth-century document *Tetsuzan-hisho* (1784), which documents the design of the “*tatara*” iron furnace that Sekino found to be structurally similar to the ancient pit dwelling remains (Fig. 5). The second was from research on traditional farmhouse roof designs called “*gasshō zukuri*.”¹⁷

Fujimori concludes by stating that Sekino's Toro pit house “hides a small lie,” as the original inhabitants could not make thatch roofs so clean as they did not have iron tools. Sekino intentionally decided to do this in order to draw public attention to the building. Explaining this, Fujimori cites from an interview with Sekino before his death:

After the war in Japan, it was decided that the nation would be centered around its citizens, not the emperor or the government. To express this through historical buildings, it was necessary to look to the homes of ordinary people, not buildings like palaces, shrines, temples, or castles. That's why it was appropriate to have the pit dwelling on the first pages of Japanese history books. (Fujimori, 2013: 68)

Fujimori's understanding of the Jomon pit house is rooted in Sekino's research. Yet his knowledge of prehistoric Japanese architecture is much broader than this. In 1998, Fujimori was editor of the *Journal of Architecture and Building Science*, where he organized a special issue titled “Reconstruction of Ancient Architecture.” The issue contained over a dozen articles highlighting recent archaeological discoveries and architectural reconstructions. The issue also included interviews with Sekino Masaru and Fujishima Gaijiro about the legacy of the reconstructions they made in the 1950s. With Fujimori as moderator, the issue concluded with a roundtable discussion among several archaeologists and architecture historians.¹⁸ Many of the ideas about Jomon architecture raised in this special issue became foundational in Fujimori's later work, including the use of sod-roofs on pit houses and that Jomon people also lived in raised-floor dwellings.¹⁹

Jomon Inspired Art and Architecture

The shift in architectural history, from readings of mythological texts to analysis of archaeological sites, is reflective of the broader search for a Japanese cultural history in the post-war era. The Imperial education during the war was underpinned by an ideology of emperor worship that was based in the ancient texts *Kojiki* and *Nihon Shoki*.²⁰ In the immediate postwar era, Toro and Togariishi sites became beacons of hope, as they provided a direct means to engage with Japan's history free from the ideology that led them into war.

From the early 1950s, as Togariishi and Toro sites were developed into public parks and museums, the Jomon and Yayoi periods were being refigured as the roots of Japanese traditions. The artist Okamoto Taro (1911–1996) is recognized as the first to pull Jomon pottery and artifacts away from purely historic-academic discourses. In his seminal essay, “On Jomon Ceramics” he described Jomon ceramics as the foundations of Japanese art (Fig. 6). Drawing from his background in France, where he studied under George Bataille and Marcel Mauss, Okamoto engaged with Jomon pottery in the same manner as European surrealists drew inspiration from “primitive” African art.²¹ He placed value on the “crude” and “inharmonious” shapes of this pottery and argued that “Jomon ceramics represent the antithesis of the harmony and refined elegance associated with Japanese tradition.”²² Okamoto was specifically targeting postwar Japanese art circles that had been seeking to find a unity of tradition that extended back to the Yayoi period and, in doing so, he wanted to oppose the “postwar nationalism that looked for national unity.”²³



Figure 6. Monumental reconstruction of the “flame pottery” that became famous after being featured by Okamoto Taro in his writings on the Jomon. Located at Niigata Prefectural History Museum, Nagaoka City. Photograph by author. (9 June 2017).

Also at this time, key figures in Japan’s post-war architecture scene, including Shirai Seiichi (1905 – 1983) and Tange Kenzo (1913-2005), were debating issues of authenticity and tradition in Japanese architecture.²⁴ Known as the “tradition debate” (*Nihon dentō ronsō*) an essay published in 1956 by architectural critic Kawazoe Noboru in *Shinkenchiku* (where he served as editor) formally invited architects to contribute their views to the Jomon/Yayoi dichotomy introduced by Okamoto.²⁵ Shirai warned of seeing Jomon as a trend and did not advocate for ‘Jomon-like’ buildings but to find its inherent potential without being consumed by outward form.²⁶ Shirai’s goal was to recapture the energy and dynamism of the culture, clearly expressed in the vivid swirling patterns of Jomon ceramics, in an effort to go back to a purer and uncontaminated era.²⁷ In contrast, he considered the Yayoi as elitist, as it represented the traditional sophisticated aesthetic of the aristocracy.²⁸ Tange also made a shift in his writings and work from this period in response to the debate and criticism that his recent works at the time were “yayoisque” rather than giving “power to the people.”²⁹

In short, the tradition debate had increased architects' awareness and interest towards the Jomon, and Fujimori himself has actively wrote about the topic as a historian and critic.³⁰ The Jomon continued to gain popularity as archaeology began to contribute to the construction of a new Japanese national identity, one that shifted away from the emperor and towards a new history by and for the common people.

Fujimori's Design Approach

Fujimori explains that he strives to return the act of living to the primitive state before civilisation.³¹ Fujimori's built works have been described as the "new Jomon" and has confessed he cannot get on with "Yayoi style things" as they look too elegant and refined.³² He strives for simplicity through the use of unprocessed materials with rough edges and uneven grains that show the passage of time. Natural finishes are shaped and sculpted by hand using traditional techniques rarely used by contemporary architects today. Nearly 30 years after his first built work, Fujimori outlined his design approach in *Fujimori's 12 points of architecture: Distancing Oneself from Le Corbusier's 5 points*, discussing his views on themes such as form, materials, and nature.³³ In conclusion he explains the common thread connecting the diverse themes is the desire to go back to an age where there were no distinct styles between countries and regions, where "the world shared the same cult, the same religions, and the same architecture."³⁴ In these early universal forms he found inspiration including the use of columns and pillars (e.g. the pillars in the Jomon pit dwellings), the use of natural materials such as earth, and the concept of hollow space (cave like space), and roofs covered in plants (Fig. 7).³⁵ The following sections discuss how Fujimori's works interpret these ancient forms and practices reconstructed from fragments of history to compose a new architectural identity that is at once invariably Japanese but also international with global appeal.

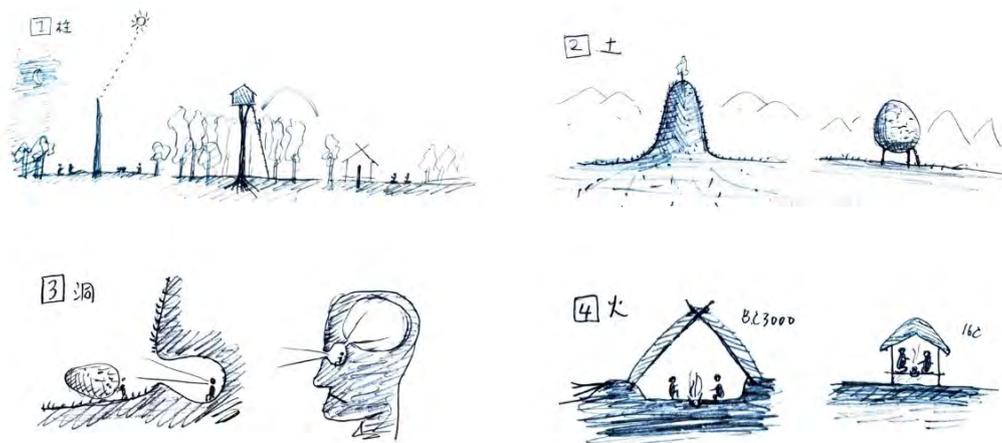


Figure 7. Sketches by Terunobu Fujimori reproduced from "My Architecture" in Terunobu Fujimori Architect, Michael Buhrs and Hannes Rossler eds. (Munich: Hatje Cantz Verlag, 2012), 42–47.

The first of Fujimori's 12 points is to, "never imitate an architectural work, either in Japan or in the rest of the world, past or present." Instead Fujimori selectively references certain elements in architectural history, without much concern for accuracy, and reappropriates them in his work.³⁶ His goal is to produce a new and original architectural language from various rural references though he is very aware of where each fragment originates from and avoids copying directly. An example is the Japanese technique *yakisugi*, a traditional method of hand charring timber boards to prevent rot that Fujimori has used in several projects including Yakisugi House (Fig. 8). While this technique can be seen as a reappropriation of the vernacular, Fujimori emphasizes that he only uses it in places where the technique is not commonly seen (it is found only in some regions in Japan) and thus intends it to be "at once familiar and oddly out of place."³⁷ In this sense, Fujimori also carries on a belief to not imitate but "reinvest old or overlooked things through adaptation to new context or uses."³⁸



Figure 8. Yakisugi House. Image reproduced from Terunobu Fujimori Architect, Michael Buhrs and Hannes Rossler eds. (Munich: Hatje Cantz Verlag, 2012), 154-157.

Another recurring theme in Fujimori's works is the concept of hollow space that abstracts architecture to a simple container to create a cave like space reminiscent of the Stone Age.³⁹ To achieve such abstraction, Fujimori uses the same material for the floor, wall, and ceilings with hidden joints to emphasize the reading of the material itself as one whole space rather than an assemblage of parts (Fig. 8). The concept of the cave is also universal; Fujimori cites the Lascaux Caves in France and Aboriginal Australians who built cavernous houses from tree branches and bark as sources of inspiration.⁴⁰ By referencing an archetype of human dwelling from these early ages, a time before any distinct architectural styles existed, Fujimori again frees himself from resembling any specific style or architect while maintaining a sense of indigenosity, nostalgia and at times the surreal.⁴¹ Projects like the Yaki-sugi House and Hikusugi-an embody the idea of the cave to create a sense of comfort and familiarity, reminiscent of the first pit dwellings from the Jomon period.

At this point it is important to understand the social and intellectual networks Fujimori is stimulated by as he is not operating in isolation but engages with artists and friends around him who also participate in the building of his works.⁴² The drive to create original yet familiar architectural combinations in his work can be traced back to a group that Fujimori was active in called the Street Observation Society (*Rojo Kansatsugaku*, referred to as ROJO). ROJO comprised of a group of friends; avant-garde artist and novelist Genpei Akasegawa, illustrator Shinbo Minami, editor Tetsuo Matsuda, essayist Joji Hayashi, cartoonist Hinako Sugiura and Fujimori himself.⁴³ Founded in 1986, the members would gather to walk the streets of different neighbourhoods in Tokyo to find unusual, odd, or bizarre elements in form of objects, decorations, buildings and any other quirky instances that were overlooked in everyday life. These included photographs of old houses covered completely in ivy, which Fujimori cites as an inspiration for his interest in the relationship between plants and architecture (Fig. 9).⁴⁴ ROJO draws inspiration from Kon Wajiro and Yoshida Kenkichi, whose concept of 'modernology' (*kogengaku*), which combines the Japanese words for 'archaeology' and 'the present,' is likened to a modern day archaeologist as they sketched and documented the ruins of the 1923 great Kanto earthquake.⁴⁵ Daniell (2012) compares the ROJO to the situationists in post-war Paris whose "dissolute strolls were always more of a promising idea than a productive method, whereas the members of ROJO were as fastidious as archaeologists."⁴⁶



Figure 9. Examples of photographs taken by ROJO, titled 'The invasion of plants' and 'The Green Palace,' image reproduced from *Treehouses Towers and Tea Rooms: The Architecture of Terunobu Fujimori*, J.K. Mauro Pierconti ed. (Milan: Mondadori Electa S.p.A, 2019), 61.

The third of Fujimori's 12 points expands on the buildings process involving amateur labourers and volunteers to finish his buildings. This collective building approach not only brings people together but allows Fujimori to achieve the rough handmade finishes he strives for. The primitive building methods goes back to a time where humans made their own buildings with simple tools which led to Fujimori describing his method as doing "works in the Jomon style."⁴⁷ The importance to note here is that style is not an aesthetic but a method and process. In 1997, the commission of Leek House (*Nira hausu*) for artist and ROJO member Genpei Akasegawa lead to the formation of the Jomon Architecture Group (*Jōmon kenchiku-dan*), referred to in English as the Jomon Company. This was more out of necessity as builders often rejected Fujimori's requests for unconventional, imprecise, and sometimes inefficient ways to build. Though the translation is "company," the core group only consisted of five people who overlapped with the core members of ROJO.⁴⁸ The group dissolved shortly after the death of Akasegawa in 2014.⁴⁹

In addition to the Jomon Company, Fujimori works with students, clients, and local volunteers especially at the end of projects to achieve hand finishes (Fig. 10). He values the natural and more random patterns created by unskilled labourers compared to professionals who make things look perfect.⁵⁰ Fujimori also tries to bring out handmade characteristics when using industrial materials such as copper, one of his favourite materials. Copper ages well and is easily shaped by various manual techniques including crimping, rolling, and bending by hand.⁵¹ In addition, the social aspect of involving people in the works, including clients who also sometimes join the Jomon Company to participate in subsequent projects, play a crucial role in encouraging new clients to accept Fujimori's unconventional methods.⁵²

Though Fujimori has said that he has no special interest in Japanese tradition,⁵³ he is among the many contemporary Japanese architects today who seek to re-examine "traditional materials and construction methods to imbue their works with new meanings and cultural resonances."⁵⁴ One of his main motivations is to revive the rough handmade traditions and craft that were lost due to industrial advancement which standardized architecture for efficiency. Fujimori is anti-elitist in this way and does not adhere to strict rules, as seen in his abstraction and reinterpretation of well-known traditional typologies. For example, when he reinterprets the traditional tea house typology by consciously choosing to appropriate some elements while omitting others, "I think they're wonderful things (traditional elements including shoji, tatami mats and tokonoma) but once I use these elements everyone would understand at once that it's Japanese. I'm not making these works to succeed the Japanese traditions."⁵⁵ This represents a conscious break with the past in order to create a new language that draws on aspects of the vernacular but is not bound to a certain place or region.



Figure 10. Volunteers comprising of students, local residents and the public working on Hikusugi-an as part of the 2017 Jomon Life Festival in Yatsugatake in Fujimori's hometown of Chino, Nagano. Image reproduced from Design Studio O. (Accessed October 16 <https://www.designstudioo.com/>)

Towards a New (International) Vernacular

Fujimori's influences are diverse and international: "He drew inspirations from diverse international sources, from Shinto engagement with materials, the tea ceremony and the *sukiya* aesthetics of imperfection (*wabi-sabi*) to global vernacular construction techniques."⁵⁶ Fujimori is interested in this internationalism which he identifies as occurring in two periods in history: "The first time during the Stone Age...using natural materials like soil, stone, wood, grass; the second time...exploiting industrial materials like iron, glass and cement...I believe that my interest in architecture lies in how to recall the former in the present time."⁵⁷ Scholars in vernacular architecture are also emphasizing the importance of viewing tradition as a creative process through which past knowledge is interpreted to inform contemporary designs in addition to the actual buildings themselves.⁵⁸ Fujimori's creative process involves a reconstruction different to archaeologists as he is not interested in recreating accurate representations of history but uses it as a springboard for something new. His preference to draw from the Neolithic period where there are few physical remains allows Fujimori to freely reimagine the past in line with Okamoto's idea of seeing tradition as creation.

Fujimori's design aesthetic combined with a collective building approach utilizing simple tools by hand can be said to be evocative of a global vernacular not limited to Japan. He is a cultural commentator through his writings and built works which spark curiosity and interest gaining popularity with the wider public within Japan and abroad.⁵⁹ By reframing and rediscovering things that were lost or forgotten and then presenting them in a new context, Fujimori is able to connect with a broader audience as he is not creating something completely foreign. There are also very few critiques of Fujimori's works in current literature with mainly positive reviews of his work to date. Fujimori was already a well-respected architecture historian before he started building and is good friends with well-known architects including Toyo Ito, who has praised Fujimori's style as mysterious and original.⁶⁰ Though his work is well received by both architects and the general public, Fujimori says he has no followers who are producing work like him.⁶¹ Fujimori is in a unique position where his architectural works are extensions of his interests and hobbies rather than a business concerned with making profit with staff to pay. His main profession has been a professor and historian, and until recently he completes an average of one project a year but these have increased in scale to include more large scale commercial projects such as La Colina (2016) and Tajima Tile Museum (2016), which have further exposed his architecture to the wider public.

The idea of the Jomon welcomes contemporary interpretations like Fujimori's as Shirai and others had encouraged to draw out something that is primordially Japanese. While people may not see the Jomon immediately in his works, the wider public are now interested in this reconstructed interpretation and engage Fujimori to design buildings related to the Jomon including Hikusugi-an (built as part of a local Jomon revival festival) and Totan House (Zinc House) in Tokyo which houses the owner's private Jomon collection. Fujimori is aware of the debate and discourse on the origins of Japanese cultural identity and is carving up a position for himself in the contemporary architecture scene in Japan and increasingly internationally as well. After the completion of Takasugi-an, the project went viral in the online architecture realm and Fujimori received many invitations for overseas workshops, exhibitions, and projects including the 2006 Venice Biennale, and tea houses constructed at the V&A Museum in London and RMIT University in Australia. Though Fujimori says he is not interested in continuing the Japanese tradition, he is contributing to a new reading of Japan-ness in architecture today.

Endnotes

- ¹ Japanese proper names are written in Japanese order, with family name first. Place names and proper nouns are written in roman script without macrons to indicate long vowels. Other Japanese words are written in italics and use macrons.
- ² Terunobu Fujimori, Hikusugian: sekkei Fujimori Terunobu [Hikusugi-an: Designed by Fujimori Terunobu]. *Shinkenchiku* 93, no. 1 (2018): 102.
- ³ Information on the Yatsugatake Jomon Festival is available at: <https://www.city.chino.lg.jp/uploaded/attachment/6546.pdf> (accessed 21 August 2020).
- ⁴ Information on the building of C-an may be found on Chino City's *Yatsugatake tsushin* (no. 27, pp. 3), available at: <https://www.city.chino.lg.jp/uploaded/attachment/7904.pdf> (accessed 21 August 2020).
- ⁵ John Ertl, "Jōmon jidai no fukugen tatemono no jittai chōsa" [Survey of Jomon Period Reconstructions], in *Goshono iseki kankyō seibi-jigyō hōkokusho III* [Goshono Site Environmental Development Report 3], ed. Ichinohe Town Board of Education (2017), 67–79.
- ⁶ Yasuyuki Yoshida and John Ertl, Archaeological Practice and Social Movements: Ethnography of Jomon Archaeology and the Public. *Journal of the International Center for Cultural Resource Studies* 2 (2016): 47–71.
- ⁷ Terunobu Fujimori, *Tenkamusō no kenchikugaku nyūmon* [An unrivaled introduction to architecture]. (Tokyo: Chikuma Shinsho, 2001). 9.
- ⁸ Terunobu Fujimori, *Tanpopo-hausu no dekirumade* [Up to the completion of Tampopo House] (Tokyo: Asahi Shimbunsha, 1999), 60–63.
- ⁹ Terunobu Fujimori explained this during the question and answer session at a "talk event" for the opening of Hikusugi-an on 20 October 2017. Responding to a question about reconstructions, Fujimori said he has no interest in reconstructing a Jomon period pit house because, as an architect his interest is making new buildings that have never been seen before.
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