

Kyoto is Burning—Venice is Sinking: On Disappointment

Michael Lazarin, Ph. D.

Our sense of reality, the meaning of human existence, is based on the way we dwell in the world. The familiarity of our homes, peaceful relations with neighbors and connections between the human world and nature decide whether we live life to the fullest extent (*Offenbarkeit*) or languish in the oblivion of estrangement (*Unheimlichkeit*). But, as Heidegger argues, dwelling implicates building. Our ability to construct environments with historical, cultural and religious focal points distinguishes us from the other animals who build only for shelter. Because we build mainly in time rather than space, our way of dwelling can carry the past over into the future. This way of building constructs a meaningful world and gives our lives purpose, fortitude and joy (*utilitas, firmitas and venustas*).

Nevertheless, that dwelling is connected with building introduces the possibility of loss. Things fall apart—sometimes faster than they are set up—and not always because they have worn out. Progress can devastate our lived environment just as much as natural forces. Even when new buildings are claimed to be improvements, their novelty, by definition, undermines familiarity, disrupts social relations, and all too often destroys the greenery and animal life that were part of the old environment. Furthermore, the problem of loss is not much diminished when the goal is historical preservation because every restoration—no matter how meticulously carried out—introduces some unknowable force that disturbs the existing atmosphere. And it must be added that doing nothing still results in change because time is a grinding stone that wears down



the utility of structures even though their materials may endure.

When things are crashing down on our heads, the persistent concern of life turns from remaining at peace to dealing with disappointments. In order to find solace in this situation, we must ask whether greater disappointment comes from the desire for progress or the desire for conservation? And in the face of inevitable loss, where lies human happiness: in acceptance or in resistance? The ancient cities of Kyoto and Venice are interesting case studies of how humans deal with their built environment. Both cities are UNESCO world heritage sites and both are in danger of losing that status. But what makes these cases especially interesting is that their inhabitants dwell under very different stars: the Asian Buddhist view of reality on the one hand and the Western philosophical view on the other.

1. Japanese Architecture: Place as Transition

The streaming river	ゆく河の流れは絶えずして、
ever flows,	しかも、もとの水にあらず。
and yet, the water	
never is the same.	

Foam floats upon the pools,	よどみに浮かぶうたかたは、
scattering, re-forming,	かつ消え、かつ結びて、
never lingering long.	久しくとどまりたる例なし。

So it is with man	世の中にある人と住みかと、
and all his dwelling places	またかくのごとし。
here on earth. ⁽¹⁾	

So begins the *Hojoki* (1212) of Kamo-no-Chomei (1155-1216). The poem describes Chomei's spiritual journey through the metaphor of his dwelling places, moving from the prestigious position of court poet to a humble monk living in a mountain hut that could be packed into two carts and moved according to the seasons of the year. These lines express the basic Buddhist insight that reality is "transient" and "evanescent."

Transiency is expressed by the Buddhist word "*mujo*" (無常) in the typical phrase "*mujo-muga*" (無常無我) or "no permanent structures-no independent self," but the character for "*mu*" is not a simple "not" to structure and self. Rather, it means "always changing," so *mujo* is not so much an absence of structure or void but rather a structure that is always accommodating itself to what is put into it. With some minor re-arrangements of furniture, folding screens, *fusuma* and *shouji*, a Japanese room can accommodate an intimate conversation or a crowd of revelers. Western room design is not so flexible: the room is too full or too empty and rarely just right.

Evanescence, "*utsuroi*" (移ろい) focuses on the "fading away" aspect of change. If Westerners were to celebrate change, the emphasis would be on "coming-to-be," not "passing-away." This different emphasis

reflects an important difference between the Buddhist and the Christian worldview. Both religions understand the mortal world as a place of suffering. In Buddhism, the way to deal with suffering consists of “non-attachment” and “withdrawal” from mundane affairs. In Christianity, on the other hand, the highest commandment is charity, “good works,” helping the weak, giving to the needy and criticizing the powerful. Shakyamuni was an aristocrat who chose a simple life of meditation; Jesus was a simple man who challenged the authorities in his faith and the might of the Roman Empire.

Viewing reality as transiency and evanescence, practicing non-attachment, is typical of Asian Buddhism. What is special in Japan is that this worldview influences the arts in ways that we do not usually find in China or Thailand. With some exceptions, Japanese literature, music, painting and architecture moves away from “dazzle” and “splendor” toward a more subdued aesthetic expressed by words like *yūgen* (幽玄) and *wabi-sabi*. This aesthetic tradition of appreciation for the brevity of beautiful things was formulated by the 18th century Edo Period literary critic Motoori Norinaga (1730–1801) in the phrase *mono-no-aware*. While Western culture also appreciates fragility and brevity, the Western worldview would never see the finest moment of the cherry blossom season as the moment when the blossoms are falling rather than bursting into full-bloom. Thus, we can say that there is built into the Japanese aesthetic consciousness an expectation of, and even an appreciation for, “loss” that we do not find in other Asian cultures—and certainly not in Western culture.

Despite a certain expectation of the passing of all things, nobody enjoys seeing his house fall down in an earthquake or burn up in a fire. But, Buddhist ideas and the long tradition of Japanese aesthetics produce a kind of “defiant fatalism” if something like this should happen. From 1601 to 1867, Edo was struck by 49 great fires with catastrophic casualties and destruction of buildings. Besides these great fires, there were almost continuous small fires, which counted for even greater destruction. Nevertheless, Japanese faced these losses with something more than

resignation. These fires were called “the flowers of Edo” and *nagaya* (working-class houses) were humorously called *yakiya* (cooked houses). Knowing that their shops were likely “temporary,” it was common for shopkeepers to store a supply of lumber at another location so that they could quickly rebuild after a fire.

This attitude of building for the moment rather than for the long run can be seen in some of the most famous contemporary Japanese architects. Unprotected concrete begins to disintegrate and become shabby in about 50 years. When Ando Tadao was asked about how his museums would look in the future, he answered that he did not care about such things. Isozaki Arata argues that the principle of all Japanese architecture is “ruination.” In his book *Japan-ness in Architecture*, Isozaki argues that Western architecture is all about construction, but architecture is really a process of construction and destruction. He says Japanese architects and city planners need to emphasize the “transiency” of buildings. “Rubble” needs to be incorporated into buildings so that one is not merely waiting for decay but actually moving towards it. He says that “ruination” and “rubble” are merely modern ways of expressing the traditional *wabi-sabi* aesthetic.

“... the experience of Hiroshima had to be accepted as an indelible origin of the reconstruction process. ... Stained upon my eyes was the scene of destruction and extinction that came *first*, before the beginning of everything else. ... Though the architect and urbanist are dedicated to progress, it is nonetheless impossible to escape altogether a recurring premonition of total collapse. The basis of architecture is construction ... [b]ut over against such ideas as had long persisted in Western thought, I intended to pose the example of Japan’s passage through collapse and extinction.”⁽²⁾

Kurokawa Kisho rejects the overly somber interpretations of *wabi-sabi* aesthetics, but even he says that the frequent destruction of buildings and cities has resulted in the Japanese people having “an uncertainty

about existence.” Consequently, Japanese buildings are always “temporary structures.”

To me, the claim that Japanese architecture aims at “ruination” seems extreme, and Isozaki admits that he has been traumatized by the destruction of Japanese cities in the 20th century, especially the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Nevertheless, the idea that buildings are only “temporary” seems to pervade the popular culture. When I came to Japan, I was surprised by the readiness of Japanese homeowners to tear down what appeared to be a perfectly fine house and build a new one from the ground up rather than restore or renovate the old one. I was told that wooden houses only lasted for 25 years. And one cannot help noticing that the most important building in Japan, the *Ise Jingu Naiku*, is purposely deconstructed every twenty years. The difference is that the reconstruction of the *Ise Jingu Naiku* preserves the original design. A modern Japanese house is too often less attractive than the one that it replaces.

2. Western Architecture: Eternal Monuments

The conception of reality in Western culture is the opposite of transiency and evanescence. Reality is continuous presence and ultimate reality is eternal presence. There have been some schools of thought that emphasize change, for example, the Pre-Socratic philosopher Heraclitus (fl. c. 500 BC) echoes the lines of Chomei, when he says, “The flowing waters are ever new on those who step into the same river.” But this has always been a minority position in Western thinking. The mainstream school of ancient thinking was a search for what is “permanent in change.” It is a search for the “measure” to set the clocks, lay out the foundations, and regulate the passions. Plato uses “architecture” as a metaphor for the permanent structures that stand against change, and Descartes, Kant and Hegel follow him in this usage.

The *Bible* begins with *Genesis*, the story of the creation of the world by a Divine architect. About the first man, the Bible says, “And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils

the breath of life” (Genesis 2:7). “Form” translates the Hebrew word “*asah*,” which means “shaping” in the sense of “a potter shaping a pot out of clay.” The first man’s name is Adam and the Hebrew word “*adamah*” means “earth or soil.” Thus, human beings are the earth shaped according to the design of God.

In modern times, Western culture celebrates manufacturing above all else. The British prime minister Benjamin Disraeli (1804–1881) wrote in his 1844 political novel *Coningsby, or The New Generation*:

“A great city, whose image dwells in the memory of man, is the type of some great idea. Rome represents conquest, faith hovers over the towers of Jerusalem, and Athens embodies the preeminent quality of the antique world, art. ... In modern ages, commerce has created London; while manners, in the most comprehensive sense of the word, have long found a supreme capital in the airy and bright-minded city of the Seine. ... What Art was to the ancient world, Science is to the modern: the distinctive faculty. In the minds of men the useful has succeeded the beautiful. Yet rightly understood, Manchester is as great a human exploit as Athens.”⁽³⁾

According to Martin Heidegger, Western thinking has always been a form of “technological thinking.” Disraeli’s Manchester is not something new but rather the fulfillment of the original and guiding intention of Western civilization. For Heidegger, “technological thinking” is not so much about the methods of industrial production but rather how everything is regarded as “always available” for production. At times, it may have seemed that Western culture esteemed the beautiful or the truth or the good for its own sake, but deep down every philosophical idea has always been at the service of producing a “reliable” and “consistent” world order.

The father of Western architecture is Vitruvius (c. 80 BC — c. 15 AD), a Roman architect who laid down the guidelines for both city planning and various kinds of buildings. He gave his book *On Architecture* to

Emperor Augustus (63 BC –14 AD), and this formed the blueprint of Western architecture not only in the Roman Empire but for all Western buildings until the modern period. His three design principles are *utilitas* (function), *firmitas* (strength) and *venustas* (delight). The idea of what produces delight changes from one period to another, but the principles of “function” and “strength” never vary. Buildings should serve human purposes and they should last as long as possible.

More revealing than his design principles is Vitruvius’ myth of the origin of architecture. The setting is a disaster: a wildfire destroys a forest causing every living being to flee. Of all the animals, only humans have a natural curiosity to investigate the ruins of their former habitat. They discover the warmth of the glowing embers to be soothing, and because they have the hands to do it with, they throw another log on the fire. But according to Vitruvius, the inspiration to further improve the site by erecting buildings comes from the ability of humans to look up at the stars and find magnificence, literally “great making,” in the constellations. Building cities is an attempt to replicate the fixed, eternal patterns of the sky on earth.

3. Kyoto is Burning

During WW II, Kyoto was scheduled to receive an atomic bomb, but the American Secretary of War, Henry Stimson, removed it from the list. Having spent his honeymoon in Kyoto before the war, he thought the destruction of Kyoto would be a cultural atrocity. But today, only 15% of the *machiya* townhouses that once defined Kyoto remain. Over 150,000 *machiya* have been demolished in the name of “development.” Even average *machiya* use quality lumber for the kingpost and often have prized ornamental pillars for the *tokunoma* display alcoves, but when a house is torn down, the whole lot feeds the boilers of the few remaining public baths. Figuring 3 to 4 people per house, that means at least a third of the population has been shifted to concrete apartment buildings that leave no room for gardens or alleyways (*roji*) that were once the soul of Japanese social life. In 2010, the World Monuments Fund, an organization that

raises money for UNESCO projects, placed Kyoto *machiya* on the World Monuments Watch List of the 100 most endangered world heritage sites.

This is important because “Kamakura” was recently rejected as a World Heritage site by ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites). Despite the application listing 21 temples, shrines and several geographical landmarks, the UNESCO advisory panel said, “the integrity of the nominated property is extremely variable. It is relatively good for the ensemble of temples and their gardens. Integrity is weaker and more fragile in terms of visual integrity, which is compromised by the omnipresent modern urban environment. ... The Medieval city ... has been overlain by 20th century urban development.”⁽⁴⁾ In other words, for Kyoto to retain its UNESCO World Heritage status, it is not enough to have monumental temples and shrines. The old townscape of traditional Japanese residential architecture is also necessary.

At the beginning of the new millennium, two surveys of residents in central Kyoto were conducted. The results were presented to the 2005 conference of ICOMOS. The first questionnaire was given to people living in Kyoto *machiya*; 52.3% of the residents responded and 74.6% of those said they had problems with mid- to high-rise condominiums ranging from loss of sunlight to loss of privacy. The second survey was given to people in central Kyoto living in mid- to high-rise condominiums, but only 25.6% bothered to answer the questionnaire. Of those who responded, 66% said they preferred condominium-life because of convenience and 44% because their former house had been located in the neighborhood. Most of the condominium dwellers said they liked living in central Kyoto because of the quiet atmosphere of places like the Imperial Palace gardens and the Kamogawa River.⁽⁵⁾

Maybe the convenience and comfort of an apartment are worth the loss of intimacy with the seasons and one's neighbors, but it is difficult to explain why so few lifted a hand to save the garden view at Entsuji. One of the most praised features of Japanese architecture is the attention paid to “borrowed scenery” (*shakkei*). In architecture books, the two most famous examples are the view of Arashiyama from Tenryuji and the

view of Hieizan from Entsuji. What is special about the latter is that a steep slope drops away just beyond the line of hedges at the back of the garden. The result is that the field of vision just beyond the moss and stones of the garden is one of treetops, and the ultimate field of vision is the sacred mountain far in the distance. The effect is telescopic. The viewers seems to fly from moss to treetops to mountaintop.

In the village beneath the temple, a developer wanted to construct a low-grade mansion tall enough to protrude into the view. Never mind that this is one of the most famous views in Japan, but it also happens to be one designed by the Emperor Gomizuno and presumably reserved for the pleasure of the current emperor. The head priest of the temple had to wage a long and difficult campaign to stop the construction project, which was finally cancelled in 2007.

In 1967, as people began to worry about what the post-war development boom was doing to the ancient capitals of Nara, Kyoto and Kamakura, the Japanese government passed The Ancient Capitals Preservation Law. This law protected only small areas of the ancient capitals. In Kyoto, 2,900 hectares were designated as special historical preservation districts. To deal with landowners who wanted to develop their property in different ways, the Kyoto City government was authorized to buy any land at a fair price where a conflict of interest existed. To date, only 190 hectares have been purchased. The Kyoto city government blamed the failure of this law on the “change of values and lifestyle” of the people rather than their own inaction. In 2007, Kyoto “implemented” the New Landscape Policy. The policy has five main elements: (1) building height, (2) building design, (3) scenery and vistas, (4) outdoor advertisements and (5) historical streets.

The New Landscape Policy especially applies to neighborhoods within 500 meters of the 17 World Heritage Sites that earned Kyoto its UNESCO status, for example, Kiyomizudera or Ginkakuji. There are a lot of good ideas in the policy. Roofs should be “traditional oxidized silver tiles.” Walls should be “matted material or natural wood” resembling traditional sand walls, not glossy white ceramic panels. Parking

lots should be “surrounded by walls or hedges to preserve the overall street landscape.” Nevertheless, since 2007, dozens of buildings flouting the protocols of the New Landscape Policy have popped up well within the 500-meter radius of Ginkakuji and marr the local views of Daimonji. Perhaps, the most egregious project is the construction of three ferro-concrete cubes on the grounds of *Hakusasonso*, the garden designed by the master *nihonga* painter Hashimoto Kansetsu (1883–1945). The garden is within the 500-meter radius of Ginkakuji and is itself “designated by the national government as a place of scenic beauty.”⁽⁶⁾ But despite the near unanimous objections of residents surrounding the garden, the Kyoto city government allowed the project to go forward without traditional *kawara* roof tiles, walls or any other architectural feature that would allow the new buildings to blend in with the already existing Taisho-period buildings and teahouses. The only concession imposed by the city government was a scaling back of the height of the buildings. Out of all the restrictions proposed by the New Landscape Policy, the only one that seems to count is the height restriction—because this is quantifiable; the others require aesthetic judgment.

The New Landscape Policy clearly states that the opinions of neighboring residents should be taken into consideration when a large-scale project is undertaken in a historical or scenic district, but everyone knows that the protests of individuals count for nothing against development companies. Knowing that “disappointment” is already built into the expectations of residents allows the government to make grandiose statements about protecting the heritage sites of Kyoto—knowing full well that no action will ever need to be taken. Things are bound to change and if they change for the worse, who can stand against the river of time — “So it is with man and all his dwelling places here on earth.” Meanwhile in Venice, people are standing against the tides of the sea.

4. Venice is Sinking

After the Western Roman Empire collapsed in 476 AD, the Italians living around the Venice lagoon were terrorized by Germanic invasions

and fled to sandbars in the middle of the lagoon at Rialto, Murano and Torcello. Having no land to speak of, Venetians accumulated wealth through maritime trade. For a thousand years, the lagoon and the sea beyond were seen as the “salvation” of the Venetian people, but in modern times, people fear that the sea may be their “ruination.”

Venice was built on an engineering marvel. The main construction problem is that salt from the lagoon water destroys the mortar of brick or stone buildings. Venetians discovered that a special kind of stone from nearby Istria could act as a water barrier between foundation pilings and the buildings. They also understood that maintaining marshlands was essential for controlling the salinity of the lagoon, and thereby, the effectiveness of the stone barriers. On these foundations, they could build large monumental buildings that literally float on water. The sandbars upon which Venice rests are not only sinking but also drifting out to sea.

The foundations of the Basilica di San Marco date from 832 AD. It was built as a repository for the bones of St. Mark after Venetian merchants stole them from Alexandria, Egypt. Besides commercial interests, the Venetian fleet was dedicated to bringing back architectural treasures from the Orient to adorn the basilica. Four bronze horses from the 4th century BC were looted from Constantinople in 1204. During the Napoleonic occupation, the horses were sent to Paris, but returned in 1815. Removing treasures from Venetian churches and palaces was not the worst insult of Napoleon. His Neo-classical architects brought order to the narrow alleyways of Venice.

In order to construct straight streets and rational gardens, Napoleonic modernization demolished 40 palaces and 80 churches. The most outrageous case involved the church of San Geminiano, designed by Jacopo Sansovino (1486–1570), the most important Italian architect of the 16th century. The church, situated opposite the San Marco Basilica on the grand square, provided a subtle counterpoint to the magnificence of the basilica and an interruption to the monotony of the city offices on either side. In 1807 the city offices next to the church were converted

into a palace for Napoleon's Viceroy and the church itself was demolished to make a stairway to the grand ballroom of this palace.

This demolition sparked protests in London, Berlin and even Paris. Romantics such as Byron and Shelley declared that this modernization would cause Venice to sink into the sea. On the other hand, Goethe thought that the lagoon would drain away and Venice would be lost to something like "urban sprawl." The most important voice for the preservation of Venice was John Ruskin (1819-1900). We can say that all modern movements for the "conservation" of heritage buildings are rooted in his campaign to save Venice. He makes an important distinction between "restoration" and "conservation." Even when restoration replaces something with identical materials and forms, the original atmosphere, and thereby the greatness, of the artwork is lost. Tanizaki Junichiro notes that the beauty of jade depends on the patina of age, which in plainer language means "grime." Decay and ruination do not indicate the passing of something but rather its longevity. For Ruskin, it is not only a matter of aesthetics, but also a moral duty to conserve what has lasted so long and help it continue into the indefinite future.

The Venetian Republic was annexed by the Kingdom of Italy in 1866. Rome wanted to develop the lagoon into a modern industrial port, so the Porto Marghera was constructed in 1917. Seven thousand hectares of marshland were drained in the next 60 years to build industrial waste incinerators, electric power stations and a large oil refinery. This required widening the inlets to the lagoon and dredging channels to accommodate large oil tankers. The disruption of tidal flows changed the salinity of the lagoon, and combined with chemical pollution, killed off 20% of the animal species and 50% of the plant species.

Aqua Alta refers to the flooding of the streets of Venice. A century ago, the flooding was infrequent and more of an inconvenience than a threat to the city; now, flooding occurs about 100 times per year. Any flood over 140 cm. causes real damage. In 1966, an "exceptional high tide" of 194 cm. overtopped the Istrian stone foundations. Sea water entered the mortar of 82% of Venetian buildings, and permanent damage

was done because the corrosive effect of the salt continues even after the tide recedes. Since 1966, “exceptional high tides” have happened 16 times, and the problem gets worse each time because the lagoon is becoming more salty due to the continued loss of the marshlands.

After the 1966 event, the government could no longer ignore the problem. In 1973, the Italian State declared Venetian flooding to be a “priority national interest,” and a variety of research teams investigated the problem. UNESCO got involved and money for restoration projects poured into Venice from other European countries and the United States. The studies showed that Venice had been sinking 3 to 4 cm. per century, but in the 50 years of industrial development the city sank 28 cm. The cause of the accelerated subsidence was linked to over 6,000 wells that had been drilled into the aquifer under the lagoon to provide fresh water for the factories. The wells were shut down by the 1980s, and it seems that subsidence has stabilized. But with 700 years of subsidence taking place in half a century, and most of the tourist attractions standing on the lowest ground, the city faces an existential crisis.

The question of what to do has pitted two factions against each other. The industrialist solution, sponsored by the central government in Rome, mainly pushes for the MOSE project (Modulo Sperimentale Elettromeccanico), a system of fixed and movable dams. “Mose” is the Italian word for “Moses,” who, according to the Bible, parted the Red Sea and led the Jews out of Egypt 3,400 years ago. Work on this project got under way in 2003 and should be completed by 2014. Despite having largely won the day, this faction still grumbles that the main obstacle to saving Venice is not nature but the Center-Left governments of the city Venice, which have held power since direct democratic elections were instituted in 1993. These governments represent the environmentalist faction and have strong support from both Venice and the industrial towns.

The environmentalists argue that a huge industrial project like MOSE is just the sort of thing that caused the problem in the first place. It is not clear whether this project will even work, and the dams might make the situation worse by further disrupting the natural balance of the

lagoon. They argue that the 6 billion euros that the MOSE project will cost could be better spent on restoring the marshlands and converting the petro-chemical industry to sustainable industries that could employ factory workers without further damage to the environment. And the cost of maintaining the dams could be used for repairing the buildings already damaged by the salt water. This faction has also made gains. Several chemical factories have shut down and the oil refinery is being converted to the production of biodiesel.

5. Conclusion

Both factions agree that the ultimate goal is the “conservation” of Venice into the indefinite future. They only disagree about what is to become of the industrial towns that have grown up around the lagoon in the last century. The population of the Rialto islands is 60,000, with another 30,000 on the other islands of the lagoon. The population of the industrial towns is 170,000. I lived in Venice for six months in 1997. What amazed me is how easily each faction could mobilize 50,000 supporters for a weekend of demonstrations, speeches, flag-waving, singing and drinking. Whatever happens to Venice, whichever faction the tide of history favors, the people will have expressed themselves openly and vigorously.

By contrast, I once asked a Japanese friend, who lived in a neighborhood of mainly artisan-class Taisho period *machiya* near San-jyo, if he was bothered by the shiny modern houses that had popped up like mushrooms along his street. And what about the 7-11 convenience store that had replaced the soba restaurant just south of Okazaki Koen? True, the 7-11 had a *kawara* tile roof, but the walls were the usual convenience store “glitz.” He answered that he had learned not to notice them because “nothing could be done” about it anyway. Learning to ignore the situation seemed like a strange way to deal with disappointment to me. But as Chomei warns at the end of the *Hojoki*, attachment to simplicity is just as dangerous as attachment to grandeur.

Buddha taught
we must not be
attached.

佛の人を教へ給ふおもむきは、
事にふれて執心なかれとなり。

Yet the way
I love this hut
is itself attachment.

今草の庵を愛するもとがとす、

To be attached
to the quiet and serene
must likewise be a burden.

閑寂に着するもさはりなるべし。

No more time shall I waste いかゞ用なき楽しみを述べて、
speaking of useless pleasures. あたら時を過さん。

Notes

- (1) 1 Kamo no Chomei (1212). *Hojoki*, tr.. by myself based on the tr. of Moriguchi Yasuhiko and David Jenkins. Berkeley: Stonebridge Press, 1996.
- (2) Isozaki, Arata. (2006). *Japan-ness in Architecture*, tr. Kohso Sabu, ed. David B. Stewart. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, p. 86ff.
- (3) Disraeli, Benjamin. (1844). *Coningsby, or The New Generation*, ctd. in *Lapham's Quarterly: Voices in Time*, <http://www.laphamsquarterly.org/voices-in-time/among-the-best.php> (26 February 2014).
- (4) ICOMOS. Kamakura (Japan) No. 1417. www.bunka.go.jp/ima/press.../pdf/sekaiisan_kankoku_130509_3e.pdf (6 March 2013).
- (5) Katagata, Shinya. "Design Proposal on Controlling the Historical City Blocks Influenced by Mid- to High-Rise Condominiums in the Central Districts of Kyoto." *15th ICOMOS General Assembly and International Symposium: 'Monuments and sites in their setting - conserving cultural heritage in changing townscapes and landscapes'*, 17 – 21 Oct 2005, Xi'an, China. <http://openarchive.icomos.org/385/> (6 March 2013).
- (6) Kyoto Prefecture Website. http://www.pref.kyoto.jp/visitkyoto/en/theme/sites/traditional_buil/hakusasonso/ (6 March 2013).

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