[Paper]

Contemporary Island Historiography and Environmental Codifications of Architecture: The Art Museum on Naoshima

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Abstract

This paper puts forward an architectural history of the Benesse art museums on Naoshima within their context of environmental framing, within the theoretical framework of island relationality. By drawing connections to the planetary consciousness and imaginaries that emerged globally in the 1960s growing public environmental consciousness, I utilize Pugh's concept of island relationality to view the architecture and its geometry as *codified* forms signifying the planetary consciousness of the Anthropocene. This is then used to build on well-documented research on the Benesse Art Site project and its neocolonial effects on Naoshima's small communities by linking its built environment to historical developments that are pertinent to today's concerns around climate change and sustainability within architectural, museum, and island studies. This theoretical framework redefines the aesthetic and geometric qualities of the museums through a planetary scale that reveals a multiplicity of local, global, and planetary codifications of neocolonial activity in their architectural forms. Finally, I discuss how revealing these codifications has the potential to ecologically orient local critical discussions around heritage.

Keywords

Island studies, architectural history, heritage, museums, relationality

Introduction

This paper proposes an interdisciplinary approach to island studies from the standpoint of architectural history, and by drawing on discourse across other disciplines in philosophy, Anthropocene, relational geography, tourism studies, and art history, it suggests how an architectural study of island development, particularly of museums, is essential for considering how heritage and contemporary historiographies are established. Lewis and Maslin (2018) define the Anthropocene as a geological epoch in which Homo

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Sapiens are the "superpower" (5–6), forcing the reorganizing of nature to serve human life, noting the extent of damage inflicted on the environment through industrialization, environmental damage, and resource depletion. This topic also challenges conventional approaches to architectural history as it takes the built environment as a starting point for reading networks in which the island is embedded, but importantly centralized and conscious of its local ontologies, beyond the confines of the building and its physical boundaries. The contribution by the built environment is that what is encoded in its material and spatiotemporal forms in everyday life can be read as *codifications* of wider agents and ideologies and offer new ways of positioning island landscapes through their built environments.

The definition of island relationality employed here draws on the work of philosopher Jonathan Pugh, who highlights islands in the context of the Anthropocene as phenomena that embody complex unravelings of spatiotemporality through their multidimensional qualities: at the scale of the celestial plane ("deep time," "non-linear time," "slow decompositional time") (Pugh 2018, 98), at the level of the social and everyday, and at the vast scale of climate change and natural disaster, the slow-releasing impacts of carbon, and the shifting industrial sites that have long operated on many islands in Japan, such as the Mitsubishi copper smelter and refinery on Naoshima (Mitsubishi Materials 2015; *Nikkei Asia* 2017).

Pugh, through his concept of island relationality, draws on the work of Hayward (2012) to highlight that islands are constantly in a state of flux, (Pugh 2018, 95–96), and this flux can also be found in the "trends" (Rendell 2017) of extractive industry, the nimble resourcefulness in the exploitation of global resources. Therefore, the concept of codification here is used in the context of Peg Rawes' planetary aesthetics, referring to a conversion or manifestation of political systems of thinking around profitability and assuring natural resources during the 20th century (Rawes 2019, 799). It includes tangible heritage assets like art and architecture as well as intangible forms of cultural and social heritage. This views the material and scalar qualities of architecture as readable signifiers of organic forms, thereby inferring new interpretations of the island's natural landscape and planetary imaginaries[1] more widely.

In defining this paper's approach to heritage, Hayden White notes the potential role of "narrative historiography as a non-scientific, even ideological representational strategy" (White 1984, 7) that here helps to define historiography as the study of method in establishing historic narratives, particularly within museums as agents in framing history. I use this to understand the process through which the Benesse museums have incorporated and hybridized local histories into their corporate ideology and activity. An architectural study to do this also provides, as Borden and Rendell (2000) highlight, "the opportunity to learn all that architecture is and might be capable of" (226) with respect to interdisciplinary island studies.

It considers the role of the art museum, here Benesse House Museum and Teshima Art Museum, and how corporate-led creative development through these architectural typolo-

gies must be considered critically for how local histories are framed and how heritage is also continued through the production of contemporary artefacts. I consider the island landscape here as a natural resource that is utilised within these developments and employ the Anthropocenic conception of the "planetary" to study the global calibration of these developments with their locale. Through this concept, I indicate that the corporate ideology has roots in the environmental countercultural movements in the 1960s, which has a renewed resonance with the discussions of creative grassroots as models of positive change in Japan's rural island regions with declining populations today such as Naoshima.

Taking Pugh's concept of island relationality and carbonic time, architectural studies are increasingly addressing the interplay of environment, chemical, nature, and effects on fragile ecosystems in a politics of sustainability. This disrupts linear temporal conceptions of history and historiographical writing and views community-oriented writing of history as a dynamic process equally in flux as islands themselves. This paper also addresses a mutual aim in both urban and architectural studies and island studies, which is the need to continuously challenge rural and urban binaries that may shape our approaches towards islands as well as the historic trajectories that influence them, to look beyond physical boundaries and towards an "interconnected"ness (Pugh 2018, 93) in terms of ecology, climate, global influence, and social movement.

While the case study of Benesse Art Site has been generously studied, I have been limited to accessing English-language scholarly work, which contains a wealth of art history and more conventional architectural studies approaches, particularly with a focus on the dominant narratives of individuals such as architects and curators (Favell 2014; Blaser 2001; Nussaume 2009). Barriers accessing community insight, largely language-related, were also a constraint of my research and have led me to develop these alternative research methods. I also build on critical work in tourism studies of the region (Funck, Otsuka, and Chang 2013; Fujita 2018) that study similar developments on Scandinavian islands, for example in Bornholm, Denmark (Prince, Qu, and Zollet 2021), those with prominent architectural merit, like Fogo Island, Canada, or otherwise creative developments in small communities with concerns around sustaining elderly communities and their heritage, such as the hillside Bukjeong Village, South Korea (Chung and Lee 2019).

Other research methods include analysing cartographic materials, such as archival satellite images dating back to 1961 (Geospatial Information Authority of Japan 1961–1969), schema and publications produced by the Benesse Corporation and Setouchi Triennale organising committees, press kits, and reports (Setouchi Triennale Executive Committee 2019). Interview footage studied features Soichiro Fukutake (Benesse Artsite Naoshima 2020a-e), the initial chairman of the Benesse Corporation, whose personal history tends to instigate the Benesse Art Site narrative in public discourse, and architect Tadao Ando, who has designed four museums for the project thus far. This research began as a critical reflection on my own experience traveling to visit the Benesse Art Site on Naoshima and Teshima in 2018 as an architectural designer. The main limitations of this research are that, firstly, it was conducted remotely during the COVID-19 pandemic, and

secondly, it was restricted to utilising English-language secondary resources.

The problem it addresses for the case of Naoshima and Teshima, but also for island studies in general, is the dominance of corporate governance over the multiplicity of onto-logical scales that coexist in island landscapes, allowing their locale to exist meaningfully for its local communities alongside its diversification under national or international revitalisation projects. It also addresses the disconnect between local heritage and historic narratives pre-Benesse (Damian 2015) and those later constructed by the organisation, by proposing the island's environmental landscape itself and its powerful relationality to global contexts and artistic precedents as a starting point for decolonising the dominant narratives put forth by curators, architects, and even artists.

Benesse House Museum and Setouchi Triennale

Sprawling across its Southern region after being purchased by the Fukutake Publishing Company in 1987, the Benesse Art Site project began with an inaugural prototype for cultural creative exchange led by architect Tadao Ando in 1989, called the International Camp (Napack 1998). It then developed into a series of museums and art installations built in the 1990s, including the Benesse House Museum (Benesse Holdings Inc. 2020). The organisation also cyclically extends every three years from Naoshima's base across eleven surrounding islands during the Setouchi Triennale since 2010. The introduction of contemporary art to the island that has come to "define" it produces land art and site-specific installations. Behind these art commissions is a conceptual paradigm that empha-sises a symbiosis of local history, nature, and community (Benesse Art Site Naoshima 2018). The way the island landscape is resourced to do this raises questions of how nature is framed and commodified through the landscape, culminating in heritage resources housed at the modern museum. The Setouchi Triennale elicits mixed responses from its local elderly community and has been described as "essentially a multi-island scavenger hunt," (Qu, McCormick, and Funck 2020, 5), indicating a site-bound resource-hunting via the island landscape. It enhances connectivity between the islands, temporarily boost-ing ferry and road transportation for tourists during the festival every three years (Setou-chi Triennale Executive Committee 2019). Furthermore, it issues festival passes in the form of passports, since this inter-port mode of travel is accommodated through tempo-rary and cyclic infrastructures. Unlike Benesse's permanent museums, the festival is more integrated with inter-island community collaborations, with many of the collabora-tors volunteering to help run it. However, local responses to the Triennale across the twelve islands remain divisive, with members of the small communities in the Seto Inland Sea islands experiencing a disconnect from these artefacts, which intend to celebrate local identities, natural environments, and histories (Qu 2019).

The relationship of the local community to the natural environment, on Naoshima and Teshima, for example, has a historical valence and is formed through close proximity, including negotiations with natural disasters and a honed sensitivity to environmental

fluctuations through their agricultural practices, including rice paddy and olive cultivation (Setouchi Olive Foundation n.d.). To some, this new space for a particular contemporary artistic subjectivity and sensibility orients itself differently if not away from local interests despite its claims, and it is seen to manifest with a disarticulation from the local, as a theme "park" (Qu 2019, 32). These associations voiced by the local elderly community from islands of the Setouchi, including Teshima, express a kind of geophysical disarticulation (Knapp 2016, 1889) from this type of spectacle, capitalist placemaking: that is, a perceived disconnect from local ontologies. Although the new artefacts claim to be one with the landscape, they may manifest more like self-referential objects that undermine the island's relational capacity, instead aimed at attracting new people to the island.

Countercultures

With this in mind, in this section I inquire into the global socio-historical factors contributing to the conception of Naoshima's tourism-oriented development, which can be linked to other similar developments in Japan on islands such as Okinawa and Hokkaido. Art historian Adrian Favell (2014a, 20) marks the year 2011 and its triple-disasters in Japan, the Tōhoku earthquake, tsunami, and Fukushima nuclear disaster, as turning points that affected the trajectory of the region's contemporary art following this year. He notes that Fukutake focused more on reviving the local community by collaborating with local government bodies, more direct community regeneration, and tackling environmental damage with the inauguration of the first two Setouchi Triennales in 2010 and 2013. The shift of interest from the "Cool Japan" urban-centric nation-branding strategy to the proliferating establishment of biennales, triennales, and rural art festivals with a focus on environmentalism and community-building (Favell 2014a, 20) strongly parallels the changing course of the Benesse and Setouchi agendas during this time period.

However, while the project agenda may have developed, Ando's buildings of the 1990s and early 2000s now remain a form of architectural heritage on Naoshima and retain a high-profile valence for contemporary architecture. Thus, they are a strong example of domestic heritage in flux, and the buildings require new interpretations to allow for critical discussion among new members of the local community or creative in-migrants and tourists, which are analysed in tourism and economic studies (Baixinho et al. 2020; Zollet and Qu 2019).

For Fukutake, although the idyll of nature is presented as ever out of reach in the [Tokyo] metropolis, the threat of [natural] disaster is omnipresent: "From a very young age, children are brainwashed and are thrown into an economy-driven competitive society, with no space to interact with nature" (Soichiro Fukutake quoted in Benesse Art Site Naoshima 2015, 3).

The majority of Benesse's museums and artworks were introduced from the early 1990s to the present day. Fukutake's polemic against the Tokyo metropolis led to transforming a landscape in what he calls "an act of resistance" (Benesse ArtSite Naoshima

2020a, 2:13), this time mediated by art and architecture, inspiration for a counterculture on the island away from the city. An opportunity to pursue this arose when inheriting the seeds of a project from his father, with a focus on reinvigorating the declined and ageing "peripheries" left behind by swelling inner-cities (Low 2013, 7). Similar countercultures had been vocally developing in the United States since the 1960s and were documented in Stewart Brand's Whole Earth Catalog (Brand 1968, 41–42). That seminal resource called for localised and community-based "green technologies," placing autonomy and environmental education at the core of positive environmental change. Here, Brand's allusion to the "modern utopian" green movement expressed the growing public consciousness of environmental pollution and how irresponsible governance elicited reactions in the social landscape.

Island Heritage and the Museum

However, museums are traditionally associated with the establishing of knowledge systems and epistemological power in colonial histories. As organisations and as buildings with the power to archive, reframe, and expand heritage, they are seen as reliable and trusted bodies of knowledge (Museums for Climate Action 2020).

The relationality of islands can have an advantage in delineating definitions of locality. This has been identified by the curators on the island, and the ways in which the very idea of locality can be commodified in order to serve as an incentive for traveling to remote regions is well-documented in tourism studies (Baixinho et al. 2020, 12–15; Favell 2014a, 21). This includes local histories and the way heritage is framed by corporate institutions, whilst opening up iterations of community identity forces local communities to view their past and resources in ways that aim to attract a diversity of external visitors. Murray documents that in revitalising the region of Okinawa, local environmental knowledge was renewed after reassessing locality through the eyes of potential tourism opportunities (Murray 2017, 114–120). It is also well documented that revitalising these regions requires sustainable economic activity and entrepreneurship.

In this sense, while contemporary art and creative tourism are seen as opportunities for positive participation and subjective interpretation, they are also a particular form of expression and sensibility. Unlike finding new opportunities for rethinking local identity, such as the shift from wood to pineapple cultivation in Okinawa's Kunigami region (Murray 2017, 120), art production specifically opens up the writing of the island's local historiography to a wide audience in which, by nature, diverse subjectivities or modes of interpretation are celebrated. This is both its strength in terms of creating space for new inhabitants in these declining regions, but also its potential for undermining the local community as agents of change and sustaining meaningful heritage in their own ways. Therefore, the museum is not just a form of tangible heritage but can powerfully affect the expression of local ontologies of place through the epistemologies produced by the corporate museum and its spatial organisation.

Contemporary Island Historiographies

Next, I take the example of the Benesse site and its museum architecture to consider how this might happen. Fukutake's developing vision of museums for Naoshima started as an opportunity to house his private art collection and marked a new hybrid historicization: that is, expressing contemporary insight into heritage through new mediums and non-local perspectives, and inviting contributions from ephemeral actions, such as visitors and artists-in-residence. Essentially, the idea was to commission an art history with no prior roots on the island (Benesse Art Site 2021) and result in a collection of heritage assets with mixed perceived and actual ownership, whereby preservation commences an active writing of archives from the point of their conception. They are introduced as a history until they become one. It is therefore a contemporary historiography in which international artists were invited to co-create this by interpreting the landscape and local history to create site-specific artworks, for new, collective iterations of the local landscape.

This also indicates the role of the museum in housing a new historiography to endorse and mark a globalised recalibration of Naoshima's social landscape led by the Benesse corporation during the 1990s, a recalibration that can be simultaneously seen as an absorption of local histories into wider precedents to forge a local history: for the 21st century.

Fukutake sought collaborators who were vocal in their similar positionalities, such as artist Yukinori Yanagi (2018) and curator Kitagawa Fram. Fram has also been the managing director of the Setouchi Triennale while working closely with Fukutake and was a key driver for art festivals in Japan in remote regions since the Echigo Tsumari Triennale in 2000. He is known for implementing the vision of an "art pilgrimage" (Favell 2014a, 21), in part, by the conquest of distance and by finding an outpost for art and sites whose local environmental histories might serve as creative catalysts.

Visualising the Planetary

To further look at the spatial organisation of the museums in relation to Naoshima's history of agriculture, fishing, and copper smelting and the ecological framing of the museum's new artworks is to understand the architecture as a visualisation of how the island landscape has been approached and resourced in the act of establishing these "monuments." The monumental nature of island architecture established by external corporations echoes the historical role of museums as colonial establishments of power and the curation of histories. This is heightened in the art museum typology, as a "public heritage" is challenged with the elitist associations of art curation and of high and low-brow associations with artistic quality (McClellan 2003, 4). In the context of environmental concerns, which are an important part of island genealogies in many regions of Japan such as the Seto Inland Sea islands, Okinawa, and Hokkaido, these projects intervene with complex relations between local communities and their environment while each carries

particular histories of colonialism, militarisation, or heavy industrialisation (Keiichiro 1994).

In recent museum studies, decolonising the museum, might include "participatory approaches to history and heritage-making, including self-representation and shifts in institutional authority" (Watson, Barnes, and Bunning 2018, 622). This can be accomplished by including communities in decision-making processes and increasing accessibility to a sense of public history, rather than restricting it to instances of outreach activities, interpretive work, and supplementary to corporate activity. If we consider that the architecture and artefacts of the Benesse project were established to increase regional and corporate heritage assets, then it raises future questions of heritage ownership (Watson, Barnes, and Bunning 2018, 623) in small island communities and access to those assets.

The concept of "planetary aesthetic" is put forward by Peg Rawes (2018) and through the work of Spinoza as the role of geometry as a form of ratio or rational design system in which relational reasoning may take place. This planetary aesthetic has been credited in part to the first NASA satellite images of the Earth in the 1960s, which greatly influenced visualisations of our planet in relation to the universe. It can articulate the idea of circular geometries, featuring prominently in the Benesse House Museum and nearby Oval (fig. 1), which help visualise a rationale of natural resource-based design systems: channeling carbonic, solar, and mineral energies embodied in the natural landscape (Bridge 2009). Both Rawes and Pugh refer to geometries in an Anthropocene context as kinds of "powers of life" (Pugh and Chandler 2021, 8), heightened in island landscapes due to their relational sensitivity and allowance for shrewd perceptions of scale.

FIGURE 1. Google Earth, [Benesse House Museum and Oval], 2021, digital image, Google Earth, https://earth.google.com/web/search/Naoshima+Island,+Naoshima,+Kagawa,+Japan/@34.44576033,133.99229652,20.60510072a,763.57590547d,35y,0h,0t,0r/data=CigiJgokCdwm2q2LOUFAEVeN1_4cOUFAGYhmAEOSv2BAIYkoCDh3v2BA.

Elements of the futurism that accompanied the changing planetary imaginations of the 1960s can be seen in Benesse's Teshima Art Museum (fig. 2), designed by architect Ryue Nishizawa. It differs from Naoshima's Museum and Oval in that it does not house museum collections. This is due to the agricultural landscapes surrounding the museums, such as rice paddies and olive groves, which have been cultivated or restored by the corporation, the low environmental impact of the architecture, and accordingly the environmental contexts of the land art installations. However, it differs from the early Benesse orientation towards Ando's "high tech" (Favell 2014a, 20) architecture through the construction of a design rationale in which the island's natural landscape, and by extension, local history, is resourced to form the basis of the Art Site project.

FIGURE 2. Author's own, Teshima Art Museum exterior, photograph, August 5, 2018, Teshima.

This can ultimately bring all these museums together into critical contemporary conversation despite their differences as a collective form of recently established heritage on Naoshima and Teshima. Encoded within them is a shared global heritage of growing environmental consciousness through which ideologies towards ostensibly socially and materially sustainable futures and countercultures are questionably envisioned.

This scale of environmental relations can be seen to fuel Fukutake's desire for conceiving a "counterculture" on Naoshima, and Ando's vision of universal geometries in architecture to serve a new economic order during the 1980s. The overarching context of the Benesse project, what Ando refers to as "a special experiment on a limited area" (Blaser 2001, 11) in a peripheral rural region returns its focus to forms of neo-coloniality that echo imperial narratives, a kind of art colony.

The Benesse House Museum (figs. 3 and 4) was designed by Tadao Ando in 1992 and commissioned by Fukutake after Ando's involvement in co-conceiving a new vision for Naoshima after the 1989 International Camp. The museum site is comprised of a circular building over three floors that mainly operates as an atrium installation space and circulation guide. Embedded and jutting out at the lower two levels is a long finger-like rectangle partly covered in a thin skin of earth; opening up for a segment at the end to create a glass atrium space where visitors lie on giant stones and gaze at the sky (Benesse Art Site Naoshima 2018).
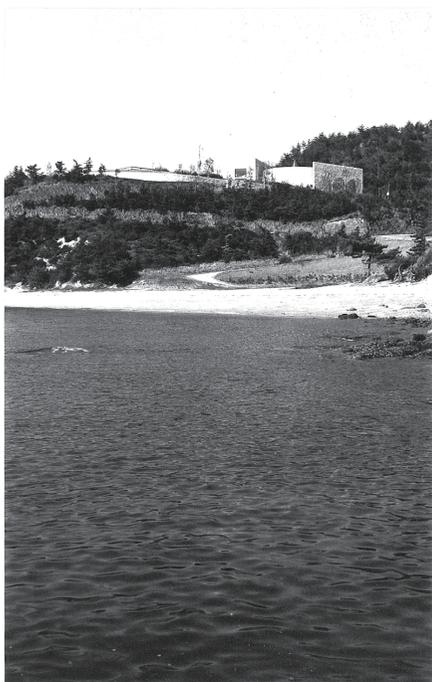
FIGURE 3. General view from the ocean (Furuyama 1996, 161).
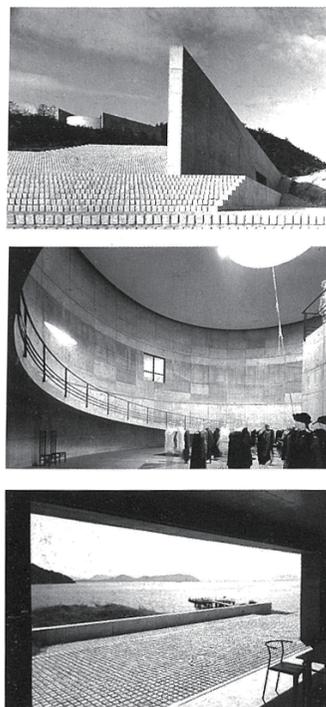
FIGURE 4. Stepped plaza/ Circular gallery (with installation for Issey Miyake exhibition)/View of pier from the gallery under the stepped terrace (Furuyama 1996, 160).

A few years later, in 1995, the Benesse House Oval was added to the complex. This hotel addition is located a short distance away and 40 metres higher than the museum, accessible only by the funicular monorail covering a mere 145 metres. The subterranean hotel wraps only six rooms around an oval-shaped body of water. It is embedded into the landscape to minimise the visible disruption of its surroundings (Benesse House Museum 2020; fig. 5), set into the southern hillside topography while revealing a vast 40 x 20 metre oval aperture surrounded by cultivated landscape. Allusions to the planetary and "whole earth" geometries are examples of how corporate agents have tried to connect island landscapes to notions of universality, globalisation, and modernity (Fuller 1969). Furthermore, a 2016 Setouchi Triennale poster featuring octopus tentacles that connect the thirteen islands covered by the festival (Setouchi Triennale 2019) illustrates how they can also be viewed as aggregations of activity, accumulations of social value, and outposts for creative ideology. The planetary aesthetics that appear to be visualised in the museum architecture further propose island-hopping as a kind of orbit or "micro-utopia," (Favell 2014b, 1–8), reinforcing the archipelagic island terrain as highly relational at multiple regional scales and locales.

FIGURE 5. Author's own, Sketch of Benesse House Museum and Oval in landscape, photograph, August 4, 2018, Naoshima.

These points reveal that the Benesse art site was bound to the overarching context of Japan's growing concern since the 1990s with assuring resources (Johnston 2009), such as the construction of art museums as a form of tangible cultural heritage. Equally, there was the need to develop intangible socio-economic resources to revitalise declining regions like Naoshima in the first place. Diversifying the resident community to make it more populous and sustainable, aimed to attract younger generations of creative class in-migrants who might develop a creative culture of their own. Next, I turn to look at how this philosophy of wellbeing, which Benesse officially coined in 1995, might be similarly challenged by how it manifests through the architectural site and its infrastructure.

Islands with a dominant tourism industry can also be hosts of transient interactions that might lack a long-term benefit to their locale, as its global connectivity orients things away to other places and tertiary industries. Equally, the ephemeral presence of tourists, many of whom do not interact with the locals and do not return to the island (Qu 2019, 31), and the sustained privatisation of Benesse's museum's now "local heritage" retain a disarticulation from the daily lives of the community. The wealth these forms of heritage accumulate do not necessarily directly feed back into the locale on which they rely. As globally celebrated works of art and architecture, what in architectural discourse could be

read as an "elegance of great restraint" (Blaser 2001, 33) helps codify and is closely shadowed by a "delirium of capitalist desire" (Labban 2014, 571).

Rather, it operates through its impact on the local community, an elite arts industry that is incompatible with its claims to community-building, its appropriation of the natural environment, its writing of a local art historiography for the island through establishing four contemporary museums on Naoshima in total. However, its context of art history and return-to-the-land ideals reveals wider ideological shifts in the social landscape, through which he narrates a diatribe against the city, despite Benesse's building on artistic legacies of urban museums and European models of the biennale (Green and Gardner 2016), to establish an elitist art and international tourism industry on the island. Underlying this, too, is the perceived autonomy of island landscapes as well as architecture; an ontology of place is opened up to constitute global industries, transborder movements, and global cultures.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have examined the example of the role of the art museums on Naoshima and Teshima, as established by the Benesse Corporation. I have highlighted how the art and architectural heritage are both maintained in the art sites' core museum structures, and how they reproduce extensions to it through the communal outreach of the Setouchi Triennale, but which is a distinctly different project. The conceptual paradigm of the artworks and commission-based interpretations of local histories and identity by global actors indicates the complex dynamic in which the heritage of these local communities is being framed and carried forward.

Within an architectural history study, I have connected some of the globally aligned and urban-centric roots of the corporate Benesse ideology to the Anthropocenic notion of the "planetary" and Pugh's ontological relationality that is particular to island entities. By using this planetary view to analyse organic geometries and aesthetics in the museum architecture, I have attempted to form critical ecological links to these buildings on Naoshima that suggest a problematic of "whole earth" conceptions when considering the local, but which can become more reconciled through the island's relationality and its multiplicity of spatiotemporal dimensions. This resonates with today's heightened discussions around climate change, sustainability, and decolonising heritage, and furthermore, with the way that the quasi-autonomous island landscapes are viewed as micro-utopias and connected orbits (Bonnett 2020). Ultimately, I linked the museum architectures to the states of flux that islands embody pragmatically. They are not just a form of tangible or static heritage but play an active role in hosting co-written contemporary historiographies, with the power to reframe and adapt existing heritage. However, levels of privatisation that are both ontologically and spatially forged, for example via land ownership and infrastructural access, and that alienate the local community, can provide challenges for local actors to use their voice to sustain elements of their own heritage and maintain a

certain ownership of ongoing historiography in the pertinent environmental climate.

Notes

1. I use the term planetary imaginaries to refer to scalar and aesthetic conceptions of the "planetary" envisioned as a whole entity.

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