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Performing Environmental Textures –
Intersected Bodies of Gutai and Metabolism
(Japan, 1955–1972)

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Abstract

Tackling the intertwining of art, architecture, and science since the 1960s, the history of Japanese Postwar Avant-Garde (c.1955–1972) offers relevant examples. The U.S. Occupation of Japan ends in 1952. Although the local population still suffers from the shock of the atomic bombings in Hiroshima and Nagasaki at the end of WWII (1945), economic performance has reached a prewar level in 1951. According to the governmental agenda the production shall grow more competitive, fostering a new self-consciousness and a reinvigorated national identity in the following decades. With a view to successful economic and cultural regeneration, the human use of new technologies, socially compatible models, as well as structural reforms and a reorganization of space are being called for. In art and architecture a non-representational visual language and advanced, user-friendly design affecting the human senses are meant to transform the flawed symbols of tradition and national representation, co-opted by the imperialist war-time regime. New models and practices shall enhance the development of a free and individualistic society torn between the Cold War agenda of the former occupiers U.S. and the disdain for new nationalist tendencies.

This challenge is taken up by a group of artists under the mentorship of Jirō Yoshihara (1905–1972), called *Gutai* (1955–1972), in the field of the arts and a loose congregation of architects affiliated to Kenzō Tange (1913–2005), proposing *Metabolism* (1960–1972) as a methodology to adapt urban living and industrial production to the growth of population and economy on occasion of the World Design Conference in Tokyo (1960). Bringing their practice to an international stage by intervening in the debates of creative circles in centers like Paris, New York, or Turin both movements yet respond also to local discourse in Japan. The first World Fair held in Asia, Osaka Expo '70 (1970), brings not only a broad range of protagonists together. Also, it is generally viewed as the pinnacle of Japanese GNP-ism at the eve of a global energy crisis related to the Oil Shock (1973).

Whereas *Gutai* practices of embodiment turn the focus to the interaction of concrete, physical bodies, between man and matter, *Metabolism* operates with the physiological and socially connoted metaphor of life-sustaining chemical transformations within the cells of living organisms, manifesting in a paradox use of new durable materials and vernacular concepts of spatial transience. Large governmental and private investments in the development of communication technology and automation throughout the 1960s raise the question, whether the history of these movements should not be traced against the backdrop of cybernetics with its complex Cold War implications – in a time when the human environment appears increasingly afflicted by invisible, yet not immaterial information infrastructure. Such undertaking can however only be initiated considering *Gutai* specialist Ming Tiampo's charge against previous scholarship as a warning: "Gutai's technological work from [the later] period has long been misunderstood by art historians and critics, who associated it with GNP[Gross National Product]-ism and the war machine without examining the positions articulated by the artists themselves."[1]

An anthropologically inspired, cultural study of the social fields of art and architecture during the pervasive transformation of everyday patterns of metropolitan as well as rural living, this dissertation intersects the bodies of *Gutai* and *Metabolism* by adding complexity to the received narratives of Postwar Avant-Garde history and homogenizing eurocentrist notions. It delineates the conflicts, contradicitions, as well as overlappings in practice and theory of the respective movements with the views of their critics. A set of specific case studies grants a prismatic but decentered view by introducing some of the overlooked positions and protagonists within art and architectural movements, being rediscovered in Japan and abroad since the mid 1990s.

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[1] Tiampo, Ming (ed.): "Please Draw Freely," in: *Gutai. Splendid Playground*, exh. cat. The Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 2013, Alexandra Munroe and Ming Tiampo (eds.), New York: Guggenheim Museum Publications, 2013, pp. 45-79. p.66.

Um die Durchdringungen von bzw. die Konfliktfelder zwischen Kunst, Architektur und den Wissenschaften seit den 1960er-Jahren zu untersuchen, bietet es sich an die Geschichte der japanischen Nachkriegs-Avantgarden (ca. 1955–1972) in den Blick zu nehmen. Die amerikanische Besatzung des ehemaligen Kriegsgegners Japan endet 1952. Während die wirtschaftlichen Erträge Japans bereits seit 1951 auf dem Vorkriegsniveau liegen, erholt sich die Bevölkerung nur nach und nach vom Schock der Atombombenabwürfe über Hiroshima und Nagasaki am Ende des Zweiten Weltkrieges 1945. Tiefgreifende politische, soziale, wirtschaftliche und damit auch raumplanerische Reformen sollen aus dem ehemals totalitären Kaiserreich eine Demokratie nach westlichem Modell formen. Dabei gilt es das Verhältnis von Einzelperson zu Familie und Staat, zwischen Tradition und Identität, sowie von Mensch und Technologie neu zu definieren. Zugleich setzen die politischen Führungskräfte ihre Energie für ein aggressiv expansives Wirtschaftswachstum ein, um Japan als eine der führenden Konsumgesellschaften im internationalen Wettbewerb an der Weltspitze zu positionieren. Im Kalten Krieg gerät die japanische Gesellschaft in einen Interessenkonflikt: Der hegemoniale Anspruch der früheren Besatzungsmacht USA steht einem Autonomie- und gleichzeitigem Öffnungsanspruch seitens der japanischen Bevölkerung gegenüber.

Dieser Herausforderung stellen sich die Künstlergruppe *Gutai* (1955–1972) unter dem Mentorat des Künstlers Jirō Yoshihara (1905–1972) im Feld der Kunst sowie ein loser Verbund von jungen Architekten, bekannt geworden als *Metabolisten* (1960–1972) – ehemalige Studenten des Architekten Kenzō Tange (1913–2005) im Bereich der Stadtplanung. Beide Gruppen bringen ihre Anliegen auf ein internationales Podium. Die Architekten organisieren zu diesem Zweck unter anderem die *World Design Conference* (1960) in Tokio. Die aus der Region um Osaka stammenden Künstler mischen sich in die Diskussionen in Zentren wie New York und Paris oder regional wirksame Dispute wie sie etwa in Turin ausgetragen werden ein. In diesen Kontexten in der westlichen Kunst- und Architekturgeschichte wahrgenommen, bleibt es allerdings für beide Bewegungen virulent sich innerhalb Japans zu verorten, um die lokale Verwurzelung zu betonen, indem sie sich auf ihre eigene Erfahrungswelt, ihr kulturelles Vokabular und lokale Konflikte beziehen. Die erste im asiatischen Raum ausgetragene Weltausstellung, die *Osaka Expo '70* (1970), bringt diese Protagonisten auf einer Bühne spannungsreich zusammen. Die Expo '70 gilt allgemein als Gipfel der japanischen Wirtschaftswachstumspolitik, als eine Inszenierung des wieder erstarkten Nationalstaates am Vorabend einer schwelenden Energie-Krise, die sich im Öl-Schock (1973) manifestieren wird.

Die Praxis der *Gutai*-KünstlerInnen geht vom menschlichen Körper und seinem Empfindungsapparat aus. Sie setzt auf eine konkrete Auseinandersatzung zwischen Mensch und Material. *Gutai* betont und konterkariert damit die individuelle Schöpfungskraft der einzelnen KünstlerInnen bewusst mit Kontingenzerfahrungen, lässt die Naturkräfte oder technologische Apparaturen das planende Genie ausheben, um die in Materialien und menschlichem Körper angelegten Energiepotentiale freizusetzen. Mit diesem konzeptuellen, jedoch unintellektualistischen Zugang loten die Künstler die sich verändernden Räumlichkeiten in Japan aus. Die *Metabolisten* schöpfen dagegen mit der Bezeichnung ihrer Methodik aus dem wissenschaftlich konnotierten Vokabular der Biochemie. Zugleich knüpfen sie an die Stoffwechsel-Terminologie bei Marx an. Theoretisch und insbesondere metaphorisch übertragen sie so paradoxerweise die chemische Veränderung von Zellkörpern auf den Gebrauch von neuen, haltbaren Materialien mit den in Japan verankerten Vorstellungen des konstanten Wandels, der Historie und Zukunft einschliesst. Angesichts der voranschreitenden Automatisierung sowie der staatlichen Investitionen in den Technologie-Sektor, stellt sich die Frage, ob beide Bewegungen nicht stärker vor dem Hintergrund kybernetischen Denkens befragt werden sollten. Da diese Systemtheorie während des Kalten Krieges aber auch ins Schlaglicht eines bürokratisierten, technokratischen Staatsapparates gerät, gilt es kritisch abzuwägen und nuanciert darzustellen zu welchen Teilen sich naiver Technologieoptimismus niederschlug, bzw. wo in ebendiesem Modell Potential für die Selbstorganisation oder für die Kritik bestehender Strukturen ausgemacht wurde. Die Kunsthistorikerin Ming Tiampo warnt deshalb, dass insbesondere die technologiebasierten Werke von Gutai-KünstlerInnen nicht leichtfertig mit dem wirtschaftlichen Wachstumsgebot der politischen Agenda gleichgesetzt werden dürfen.

In einer anthropologisch inspirierten, kultur- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Studie zeigt diese Dissertation *Gutai* und *Metabolismus* ebenso als Übergangsbewegungen sowie zwei Seiten einer

Medaille in einer Phase in der Stadt und Land rasantem, infrastrukturellem Wandel unterworfen sind. Die künstlerischen und architektonischen Bewegungen werden in dieser Gegenüberstellung zwar überlagert, aber nicht als kongruent dargestellt. Es geht darum die hergebrachten Erzählungen der Avantgarde zu komplizieren, auch um von eurozentristischen Modellen der Geschichtsschreibung soweit wie möglich wegzukommen. Eine Auswahl von Fallstudien eröffnet einerseits das breite, nicht homogene Panorama von Haltungen sowie einen Zugang aus unterschiedlichen Perspektiven, deren Geschichten sich netzwerkartig verweben und doch fragmentarisch bleiben müssen.

Contents

Acknowledgements

Challenging Limits – Departures and Ends

Of the many men whom I am, whom we are,

I cannot settle on a single one.

They are lost to me under the cover of clothing

They have departed for another city.

[…]

While I am writing, I am far away;

and when I come back, I have already left.

I should like to see if the same thing happens

to other people as it does to me,

to see if as many people are as I am,

and if they seem the same way to themselves.

When this problem has been thoroughly explored,

I am going to school myself so well in things

that, when I try to explain my problems,

I shall speak, not of self, but of geography.

(Pablo Neruda, *We Are Many*, 1967)

To cover the world, to cross it in every direction, will only ever be to know a few square meters of it, a few acres, tiny incursions into embodied vestiges, small incidental excitements, improbable quests, congealed in a mawkish haze a few details of which remain in our memory […] fat men on the terrace of a café in the outskirts of Naples […], two days before Christmas, around six in the evening […] and with these, the sense of the world's concreteness, irreducible, immediate, tangible, of something clear and closer to us: of the world no longer as a journey having constantly to be remade, not as a race without end, a challenge having constantly to be met, not as the one pretext for a despairing acquisitiveness, nor as the illusion of a conquest, but as the rediscovery of a meaning, the perceiving that the earth is a form of writing, a 'geography' of which we had forgotten that we ourselves are the writing subjects.

(Georges Perec, *Species of Spaces*, 1974)

In simulation of global connectivity it is our responsibility to question seamless flows of communication and collaboration – the very myth of the "feedback"-cycle as dialogue of unified subjects or reachability. The term "relational aesthetics,"[1] debated in the late 1990s,[2] triggered a second wave of social awareness in current artistic practices working through community, e.g. in the work of contemporary artists of my own generation.[3] Their works brought the topic to the agenda again – although in its post-internet, "eco-sophic"[4] iteration. The "Global Village," famously invoked by Marshall McLuhan in the early 1960s,[5] does – and at the same time does not – impose itself as a realized utopia. Its myth however, lingers on with social media, mobility, or nomadic lifestyle in a time, when researchers, critics, writers, and artists have long become "immaterial

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[1] Bourriaud, Nicolas: *Relational Aesthetics*, trans. Simon Pleasance and Fronza Woods with the participation of Mathieu Copeland, Dijon: Les Presses du Réel, 2002, [first: Bourriaud, Nicolas, *L'Esthétique Relationnelle*, Dijon: Les Presses du Réel, 1998].

[2] Hal Foster and more prominently Claire Bishop articulated criticism on Bourriaud's call to communal social practice, embodying the artwork, pointing out that "the institution may overshadow the work that it otherwise highlights: it becomes the spectacle, it collects the cultural capital, and the director-curator becomes the star," excluding beyond that relationships of dissensus or conflict, cf. Bishop, Claire: "Antagonism and Relational Aesthetics," in: *October*, no. 110, 110, (Fall 2004), pp.51-79, pp.54-55.

[3] Schaad, Gabrielle: "Feedback. Tobias Madison, Galerie Karma International," in: *frieze d/e*, no. 5, 2012, pp.132-133.

[4] Guattari, Félix: *The Three Ecologies*, trans. Ian Pindar and Paul Simon, London: Continuum, 2010 [first: idem: *Les Trois Écologies*, Paris: Éditions Galilée,1989].

[5] McLuhan, Marshall: *The Gutenberg Galaxy. The Making of Typographic Man*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962.

laborers."[6] Michael Hardt sees both threat and potential in the "affective labor," making part of the larger complex of immaterial labor: "On one hand, affective labor, the production and reproduction of life has become firmly embedded as a necessary foundation for capitalist accumulation and patriarchal order. On the other hand, however, the production of affects, subjectivities, and forms of life present an enormous potential for autonomous circuits of valorization, and perhaps for liberation."[7]

The particular and immediate have not been totally eradicated by simulation, the floating image of almost everything that is always the sum of what we have intentionally or unintentionally consumed through media, as Jean Baudrillard pessimistically suggested. Geopolitical circumstances and their implication in larger political agendas are just not that easy to pin down and describe. Since creating an opportunity for getting to know them affords time, space, money, trust and to some extent: committed struggle. It demands taking risks, not least since it might unleash the erratic forces of revelation and love. Potentially, the interstice the word "inter-subjectivity" denotes, could be found or activated everywhere. Yet, to become aware of it, or much better – to realize it in a performative, non-representational practice, rather than considering it theoretically only – maybe some of us have to leave the calm of their comfort-zone, the self-repetitive, self-legitimizing cycles of public and private structures, or institutions. Henri Lefebvre calls this "the 'right to difference' […] a formal designation for something that may be achieved through practical action, through effective struggle – namely concrete differences. […Implying] no entitlements that do not have to be bitterly fought for. This is a 'right' whose only justification lies in its content; it is thus diametrically opposed to the right of property […]."[8] Drawing on such a "right to difference," I am neither idealzing the romanticist trope of an experience of solitude, nor would I invoke the outdated 'idea(l)' of an artist (or researcher) as outlaw. Maybe the search for a differential practice allows to get involved with people one would not necessarily have met otherwise, getting to know each other through sharing a task on an everyday basis, yet without the ulterior motive of utilizing or exploiting the built up relationship. But then again, is it possible to realize such practical aims when displacing oneself for research with the concrete goal of submitting a PhD thesis?

There is a chance to realize the right to difference in the zone of a metropolis, bringing together positive and negative aspects of urban density, ambivalence and contradiction, in a city that is, while centered around a void, decentering preconceived notions of modernity, yet still caught in an endless process of modernization – a city I would like to call Tokyo. A place also, that might seem a rather paradoxical choice, since beyond its idealization it brings to mind a plethora of

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6 See: Hardt, Michael: "Affective Labor," in: *boundary*, no. 2, (summer, 1999), pp.89-100.
7 Ibid.
8 Lefebvre, Henri: *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1991, pp.396-397 [first: *La Production de l'Espace*, Paris: Éditions Anthropos, 1974]. A useful and extensive introduction to Lefebvre's thought and writings gives Stanek, Łukasz: *Henri Lefebvre on Space. Architecture, Urban Research, and the Production of Theory*, Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2011.

debatable issues, symptomatic for what one strongly opposes "at home," from un-equality in gender questions to manifestations of latent xenophobia, covered up by a right-wing government gearing up for the Olympic Games 2020 and its curious incursions into freedom of speech, or the recent reinterpretations of article nine of the peace-constitution, eroding the "self-defense-right," by 'adjusting' it to a defense-right.

If the godfather of structural anthropology Claude Lévi-Strauss (1908–2009) stated two fundamental rules about becoming partly involved in a cultural community, I can only agree that such a process is ultimately revealing the social structuring of one's own culture, just as well as the very fact of adapting oneself to the living patterns of the studied societal context,[9] might change or destroy the pre-existing "system," and if only the researcher's presupposition and projection of it as a "system." Lévi-Strauss addresses the limitations of working as an anthropologist. Doing so, he sees potential in being condemned to overlook some of the details a specialist might be too caught up with. When visiting Japan for the first time in 1986 only, he states in a lecture at the Ishizaka Foundation in Tokyo:[10]

> *But it may also be that the inevitably fragmented state of knowledge of someone contemplating a culture from the outside, the gross errors in assessment he is liable to make, have their compensation. Condemned to look at things only from afar, incapable of perceiving their details, it may be owing to the anthropologist's inadequacies that he is rendered sensitive to invariant characteristics that have persisted or become more prominent in several realms of the culture, and which are obscured by the very differences that escape him.*

We might yet agree on the other hand with critic and professor for comparative literary studies Eric Hayot that "[…] the problem with Lévi-Strauss' analysis is not that it is structuralist per se, but that its structuralism remains too well structured: too beholden to a single model of relationality — the mirror image, the symmetrical opposition — and too sanguine about the violence done to specificity when all models of relation begin as a line between two things."[11] For me Lévi-Strauss' self-reflexive thoughts on the process of the researcher, as well as his often conversational writing style proofed even more insightful than the elaboration on his actual object – the underlying universal patterns of thought and kinship in human behavior. Although his approach is dated and has been subject to criticism, to a certain extent Lévi-Strauss' anthropology is still useful, in as much as his seminal work "Tristes Tropiques"[12] can also be understood as a literary mine.

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9 Lévi-Strauss, Claude: *Tristes Tropiques*, trans. John Weightman and Doreen Weightman, London and New York: Penguin Books, 2011, pp.383-393, [first: idem: *Tristes Tropiques* (Terre Humaine), Paris: Plon, 1955].

10 Lévi-Strauss, Claude: *The Other Face of the Moon*, trans. Jane Mary Todd, Junzo Kawada (ed.), Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 2013, p.6 [first: idem: *L'Autre Face de la Lune. Écrits sur le Japon* (La Librairie du XXIe Siècle), Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2011].

11 Hayot, Eric: "Through the Mirror. Claude Lévi-Strauss in Japan," in: *LARB* (Los Angeles Review of Books), online journal, 14.4.2013, (accessed through: <https://www.lareviewofbooks.org/article/through-the-mirror-claude-levi-strauss-in-japan/>, last accessed: 12.1.2016).

12 Lévi-Strauss [1955] 2011.

My dissertation project started out as a fairly naïve quest: The simple interest in the changing perception and concepts of space in 1960s Japan. I was particularly intrigued by "performative" aspects of art and architecture in a time of boosted optimism for technology, when spatial utopias mushroomed – in a space produced by and susceptible to a broad range of paralleled paradoxes. How could such an interest enable and allow a relatively young, heterosexual, white, privileged woman of Christian upbringing to engage in a research project, investigating the contexts of Japanese Postwar art and architectural history without years of previous studies of the "specific" circumstances – not to mention the language? What does the supposedly heavy in meaning, yet also fairly vague expression "context" imply to study in concrete terms? Can such an experimental, anthropologically inspired "desire" itself only be called symptomatic for a present-day empire, operating via state-funded scholarships to grant scientific "exchange," in order to reassure economic channels for future business-opportunities, confirming the reproduction of multinational capital, rather than an intensified effort toward deconstruction and complexity in the first place? Would my perspective and approach itself only prove to be stuck in systems? Or even worse: prove to be stuck in "Orientalism?"[13] And where to locate the drearily haunting order of the day: "Global Art History." Was this not just another iteration of the colonialist project of a universal art history, creating new in- and exclusions?

Art historian Patrick D. Flores observes on occasion of an international symposium concerning the "curatorial turn" in South East Asia in 2009:[14]

In this scenario, 'culture' is appropriated as both critical distance from a hegemonic norm and as instrument of the mystification of the people and their life world. This propensity, or as Michel Foucault would say, the indignity of speaking for others, is not without its peril. Kwame Anthony Apiah [asks, whether] *the 'post' in postmodernism is the 'post' in postcolonial, conjur*[ing] *the specter of intellectuals and artist becoming 'otherness machines', with the manufacture of 'alterity' as their vocation, and so sustaining the orientalist paradigm and what Okwui Enwezor would call the 'anthropology of the far'.* […] *Was the postmodern a rupture of the modern and the origin of the contemporary, a gap crossed by the artist-curator who has declared himself independent? Or did it ensure the continuity of the modern in light of persistence of the political economy underlying the production of art and culture in the present, validated by a biennal system of a primarily Euro-American curatorium? John Clark would warn us to be more circumspect in taking up this debate, suspecting that it might 'involve an acceptance of a type of transfer of cultural capital to Euroamerica almost on the terms that now govern economic exchanges.' Does the postmodern then ratify the notion that the global is the only universal there is?*

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[13]   Said, Edward W.: *Orientalism*, New York: Pantheon Books, 1978.

[14]   Flores, Patrick D.: "Session 1: The Formation, Reception, and Transformation of Asian Art in the Context of Postmodernism. The Curatorial Turn in Southeast Asia and the Afterlife of the Modern," in: Michio Hayashi and Kyoji Maeda (eds.), *Count to 10 Before You Say Asia. Asian Art after Postmodernism,* report of the international symposium 2008, Tokyo: The Japan Foundation, 2009, pp.221-231. See also: Appiah, Kwame Anthony: "Is the 'Post-' in 'Postcolonial' the 'Post-' in 'Postmodern'?," in: Anne McClintock, Aamir Mufti and Ella Shohat (eds.), *Dangerous Liaisons: Gender, Nation, and Postcolonial Perspectives*, Minnesota, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, pp.420–444.

Operating in the binary of modernism v. postmodernism the symposium might have had its own shortcomings, yet some of the participant's voices confirm that "a global vision [enables] to imagine new democratic structures that would be the end of the globalization,"[15] proposing to "act across international borders," while "look[ing] at local struggles."[16]

Art historian Reiko Tomii theorizes the methodology of global art history through the lense of "international contemporaneity" (*kokusaiteki dōjisei*), a term used in 1960s Japan, when the factioned social field of the arts within Japan converged more and more into an artworld centered around "contemporary art" (*gendai bijutsu*). Overarching previous categories of genres, styles, traditions and modernisms, art critic Ichirō Haryū used the word to celebrate the acceptance and success of young and coming artist from Japan, [17] e.g. at the Paris Youth Biennales of the 1960s, identifying them as members of an international artworld – artists from Japan rather than Japanese artists. Tomii sees potential and danger in "international contemporaneity." She invokes it as both, a technical term and as case to argue for the specificity of local narratives, struggles, and discourses.[18] Dissatisfied with recent scholarship situating research topics too light-minded in a global context by comparisons, she agrees with James Elkins, pinning down three practices of writing the history of multiple modernisms, assessing all of them as "not always ideal:"[19]

> (I) A 'sensitive, informed, contextualized account of some non-Western modernist practice […] contribut[ing] to the slow accumulation of mutually intelligible texts that comprise the world practice of art history or criticism;'
> (II) a study of 'socioeconomic contexts' with 'art objects as examples' by 'deconstructing or deleting the apparently transhistorical categories such as value and avant-garde, jettisoning the judgment of lag or belatedness;'
> and (III) an idiosyncratic writing 'in some way' that articulate[s] the particularity of the art,' which may possibly have no 'contact with other people's narrative at all.'

Elkins and Tomii express the advantages, yet giving prominence to the limits of all enumerated approaches. Being aware of such categories, or rather the traps they have in store, does unfortunately not solve the problem of finding one's own voice. I am thus aware that my study consciously risks falling into the idiosyncratic category. Still, since the three approaches invoked do not only have their shortcomings, but also their benefits – one could possibly try to combine them,

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15   Ibid.
16   Tomii, Reiko: "'International Contemporaneity' in the 1960s. Discoursing on Art in Japan and Beyond," in: *Japan Review*, no. 21, (2009), pp.123-147.
17   Idem: "Historicizing 'Contemporary Art': Some Discoursive Practices in Gendai Bijutsu in Japan," in: positions: east asia cultures critique, vol. 12, no. 23 (winter, 2004), pp.611-641, Tomii's article details also on the transition in wording from modern and contemporary, including a paragraph on the translation of Derrida's writing in 1967. Her essay can be considered a compulsive reading.
18   In a recent publication Tomii exemplifies her methodology by looking at 1960s art movements in Japan that were not based in the metropolises Tokyo or Osaka, decentering the history of contemporary art in Japan with a view to international dialogues from within, see: Tomii, Reiko: *Radicalism in the Wilderness. International Contemporaneity and 1960s Art in Japan*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2016.
19   See: Tomii, Reiko: "Contemporary Art, 'Contemporaneity,' and World Art History," in: *Art and Globalization* (The Stone Art Thory Institutes 1), James Elkins, Zhivka Valiavicharska, and Alice Kim (eds.), Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010, pp.171-175, p.171.

extending and commenting one with another in a montage. Nevertheless, literary historian Irmela Hijiya-Kirschnereit justifiably states that "there is an irreducible feeling of unfamiliarity (e.g. with Japanese literature) for the, e.g. German reader, in the experience of this encounter one realizes that there are actual limits – reading boundlessly is impossible."[20]

My PhD thesis is certainly the story of a double loss of language and its re-appropriation through writing. It recounts stations in a process of finding one's own voice, while becoming aware of its condition as a palimpsest, but also of its impact and possible consequences. At the same time this document is a testimony of challenging limits. And I fully acknowledge the double sense of the notion. The text itself challenges disciplinary limits in search of a writing and a text "[…], which goes to the limit of the rules of enunciation (rationality, readability, etc.). [… Yet not] resorted to for some 'heroic' effect: the Text tries to place itself very exactly behind the limit of the doxa (is not general opinion-constitutive of our democratic societies and powerfully aided by mass communications – defined by its limits, its energy of exclusion, its *censorship?*) […]."[21] Or, to put it differently again: It documents a project in search of the agencies in-between Artworld and Academia, from the perspective of a partly implicated border worker between these social spheres. At the same time it is nothing more than a travelogue by a student grown up in 1980s Aarau, a small town in a politically increasingly insular, still central European country in economic prosperity, l would like to call Switzerland.

Trying to single out discursive and material characteristics of what has come to be internationally promoted as "Japanese Postwar Art," if not to say "Japanese Postwar Avant-Garde," I was looking at artworks, learning – or better: grappling with – a language, trying to get a grasp of some of the artists' writings, visiting archives and libraries, selecting sites to narrate, interviewing living artists, shyly getting in touch with students, critics, curators, gallerists, addressing professors. I was making my ways in trains, elevators, and on escalators between maze-like (pedestrian) subways, bedroom suburbs, reflecting smoke glass facades of corporate buildings, libraries located in skyscrapers, telling not only stylistically the story of Japan's second economic miracle in the late 1980s, but also conserving the machinery of what has been cutting-edge. I was reflecting – as well as reflected by – a city within which more than the story takes place, capturing the verbally unutterable, sometimes ineffable aspects of the material world. In this process my attention was recurrently drawn to all articulations of what Dan Graham calls the "just past."

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[20] Translation by the author: Dennoch bleibt die Fremdheit (i.e. hier die Fremdheit der japanischen Literatur für uns bestehen, ja, wir machen in der Begegnung mit ihr die Erfahrung, dass man nicht 'grenzenlos' lesen kann," cf.: Hijiya-Kirschnereit, Irmela: Das Ende der Exotik. Zur japanischen Kultur und Gesellschaft der Gegenwart, Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 1990, p.221.

[21] Barthes, Roland: "From Work to Text," in: *Art After Modernism. Rethinking Representation* (Documentary Sources in Contemporary Art), ed. Brian Wallis, foreword by Marcia Tucker, New York: The New Museum of Contemporary Art, 1984, pp.169-175, p.171.

If my inquiry had started from the questions, how technological optimism in Japan transformed the idea of consciousness, the way the body was perceived and conceptualized in its environment, and how all this affected the way space and time were theorized or materialized in art and architecture of the 1960s, all reflection – sometimes mind-born only, sometimes drawing on physical experience – led me to the conclusion that this text was inevitably exposing future's past.

When rain and wind swept across the island, I was often reminded that this very moment contaminated water keeps on leaking through the porous layers of earth under a wrecked atomic power plant about onehundredfifty miles away from Tokyo, releasing imprecise amounts of radiation into the Pacific Ocean. If the busy everyday in the capital has regained its rhythm, displaced and remaining inhabitants are suffering from loss and an invisible threat. What struck me was not the horrific excitement brought about by a first hand experience of a suppressed technological sublime, but the experience of becoming aware of a rift in time, a collapse containing the universe we call history, with its past and future implications, suggesting reading and writing beyond the historicist, teleological, or (post-)modernist model.

This let me to the conviction that I needed to favor a mode of description carving the text as a texture as much as emphasizing the aspects of matter and surface, while trying to recollect a history in fragments. I was searching for an approach allowing intuition to come into play, getting acquainted with the subject by degrees, rather than tenaciously following a systematic preconception or structural logic imposed by apodictic labels. I aimed at avoiding the same clustered, hyper-organized and threatening authoritative dominance, totally engineered cybernetic models of control ended up imposing in, e.g. the design of Osaka Expo 1970, under the motto of "freedom and harmony." Since I had realized early on that in academic considerations liaised to cybernetic thought, there is a paradoxical remainder of the risk to be caught up in representing subject matter, as if it could be viewed, judged and listed in its totality. Hence in a disengaged, "objective" and abstracted fashion: the imaginary of an ultimate non-biased "truth," a bird's eye view – as a map covering an entirety on the scale of 1:1.

This research was – although somewhat experimental – not always a clearly measurable, or quantifiable procedure. The outcome – a montage of collected fragments – would surely be different everytime someone else undertakes the journey, not least since it is contingent, at least to a certain extent. Nevertheless, this text makes a learning process traceable and transparent as far as possible. Would this mean, my thesis was bound to be insufficient as an academic work, insufficient as peer-reviewable, and 'marketable' academic paper? Should one even aim at such formats? – The question was yet also, how to get over all ingenious structural concept without losing track of telling a story, or ending up in complete confusion. I was in search of a writing that

does not presuppose Nature, but aims to point out and deconstruct processes of both, naturalization and denaturalization. I therefore implemented deconstructive devices, prompting dialectical and critical modes of analysis, commenting the struggle to do so as well.

All the questions invoked in the last few paragraphs turned in cycles during a two-year stay in Japan, where I was doing preliminary research for this PhD thesis. It was an experience, challenging my image of the humanities, just as well as my capacity and self-image as a researcher, captivated in my own unconscious texts. I caught myself musing on Balzac's Frenhofer,[22] who over- and eventually undid his work in the unfounded aim to accomplish an unprecedented masterpiece, whenever I felt haunted by the anxiety of this very text being exposed to ridicule. Fortunately, the longer I stayed in Tokyo, the more I realized, my travel would not *lead* anywhere, rather it unfolded experience from moment to moment, pointing out limits, interdependences, and potential – as well as drawbacks – of self-empowerment. Most importantly, it was a unique opportunity to realize the difficulty to write in nuance on ambivalence and contradiction. Moreover, it offered a chance to explore new avenues by mediating between the reductive notions of East and West, or the binary of universal and specific.

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[22] Balzac, Honoré de: *The Unknown Masterpiece*, trans. Ellen Marriage, London and Philadelphia: J.M. Dent Gebbie, 1896, [first: idem: *Le Chef-d'Ouvre Inconnu* (La Comédie Humaine), Paris: Charles-Béchet, 1831].

Meeting Tsuruko Yamazaki – Linking Reflection and Lived Experience

1.1 Perforating Mirrors – Subject Decentered at Issue

"I am not sure, whether we will be able to meet Miss Yamazaki," says Tokyo based dealer Atsuko Ninagawa, taking a sip of her cold beer. We are sitting at the counter of an Osaka *tempura* restaurant after a two-hour *Shinkansen*-trip from Tokyo, it is about 7 pm. "*Kansai* based people from the generation of this artist are very considerate, thoughtful persons. She might mind, not being fit enough to answer your questions properly... This reminds me of my mother. You must know, I grew up in Osaka." I am staring at a vaguely shaped piece of fried fish, an eel resembling my imagination of the crystallized branch, described in Stendhal's famous considerations on love.[23] Disconcerted about the breaking news that the meeting with mythical *Gutai* Co-Founder Tsuruko Yamazaki (b. 1925), we arranged for May 1, 2014, might eventually not take place, I gaze in abstraction. Thoughts roam from Stendhal's twig to Roland Barthes' description of *tempura* and back. In his notes on "the interstice,"[24] Barthes not only mentions Stendhal, he describes the dish as "cancellation or exemption of time, an instantaneous meditation, paradoxically 'completed, [...] yet perforated."

Is it 'distasteful' to be reminded by Barthes' description of this light, yet deep-fried food of Yamazaki's works? Barthes underscores the fragmented, yet completed state of the fried piece. He also differentiates denotations introduced by respective cultural realms, connected through economic relations, the histories of colonization and Christianization, only to materialize in an autonomos form with its own history – an idiolect of savor, overthrowing the primary implications with a paradox:

Sometimes the piece of tempura is in stages: the fry outlines (better than: envelops) a pepper, itself chambered inside; what matters here is that the foodstuff be constituted as a piece, a fragment (fundamental state of the Japanese cuisine, in which blending – in a sauce, a cream, a crust – is unknown), not only by its preparation but also and especially by its immersion in a substance fluid as water, cohesive as grease, out of which emerges a fragment completed, separated, named and yet entirely perforated; But the contour is so light that it becomes abstract: the foodstuff has for its envelope nothing but time, the time (itself extremely tenuous, moreover), which has solidified it. It is said that 'tempura' is a dish of Christian (Portuguese) origin: it is the food of lent ('tempora'); but refined by the

23   Stendhal mentiones the "Branch of Salzburg" in his description of the crystallization phase in the process of falling in love, i.e. when the beloved person is transformed by an operation of mind: his or her unattractiveness is suppressed by an exaggeration of the adorable characteristics, the beloved is suddenly covered in miraculously shining gems the same way as a twig left over some months in a salt mine. In summer 1818 Stendahl took a recreational trip to the salt mines of Hallein near Salzburg (Austria) with his friend and associate Madame Gherardi. There they discovered the phenomenon of salt "crystallization" and used it as a metaphor for human relationships: "What I call 'crystallization' is the operation of the mind that draws from all that presents itself the discovery that the loved object has some new perfections;" See: Stendhal [Marie-Henri Beyle]: *De l'Amour*, V. Del Litto (ed.), Paris: Gallimard,1980 [first: 1822]. It is noteworthy in this context that Stendhal also described the "Florence Syndrome," a state of hallucinatory confusion triggered by cultural overstimulation while confronted with great monuments or artworks by Giotto, Michelangelo etc. travellers apparently suffered from on their Grand Tour through Italy in the 18th and 19th century.

24   Bathes, Roland: *Empire of Signs*, trans. Richard Howard, New York: Hill and Wang, 1983, pp.25-26 [first: idem: *Empire des Signes*, Geneva: Éditions d'Art Albert Skira, 1970].

Japanese techniques of cancellation and exemption, it is the nutriment of another time: not of a rite of fasting and expiation, but of a kind of meditation, as much spectacular as alimentary (since 'tempura' is prepared before your eyes), around an item we ourselves select, lacking anything better (and perhaps by reason of our thematic ruts), on the side of the light, the aerial, of the instantaneous, the fragile, the transparent, the crisp, the trifling, but whose real name would be 'the interstice' without specific edges, or again: the empty sign.

Art historian and curator Alexandra Munroe makes her point, critcizing that scholarship took Barthes' semiotic (de-)construction of an "'imagined' nation [...] as literal social anthropology, [...which] led to the popular conception of Japan as the paradigm of postmodern culture. [...] Japan's highly-advanced information society and commodity culture came to epitomize the postmodern condition whereby the real, the referent no longer exist and all is simulation and pastiche."[25]

Is it possible to avoid this misinterpretation, while still being interested in the issues texts and textures confront us with? Is it possible to forge counter narratives to the strong tropes of Modernism, without falling into such a trap? Is it required or even possible to do so? Would it be possible to approach a topic strongly tied to the histories of re-formations of national identity, of economism, of the information revolution, of group forms through an analysis of (wo)men renegotiating the organic and inorganic surroundings of their respective bodies in art and architecture by studying everyday patterns of "Japan's long Postwar,"[26] the art and the architecture responding to as well as shaping them?

1.1.1 Making Worlds? – Universalism and Holism in Art (History)

I first met a piece by Tsuruko Yamazaki at Daniel Birnbaum's Venice Biennale "Making Worlds"[27] in 2009. Some of the most iconic artworks by so-called "core-members" of the *Gutai* group were set up in the galleries of the central pavilion. The layout was citing a historical exhibition. The catalogue explained that it gathered the artworks that had been exhibited in the collaborative exhibition *NUL65,* held at the Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam in 1965. It was organized at the time by Dutch, German and Japanese artists, juxtaposing artworks of the European *Zero* movement and *Gutai*

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25 Munroe, Alexandra (ed.): "Scream Against the Sky," in: *Japanese Art after 1945. Scream Against the Sky*, exh. cat. Yokohama Museum of Art, Guggenheim Museum SoHo, San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, 1994-1995, Alexandra Munroe (ed.), New York: Henri N. Abrams, 1994, pp.19-25, p.21.

26 Carol Gluck differentiates "at least" three phases of an extended Postwar era in the case of Japan. Whereas most of the war stricken countries adapted new terms, avoiding the expression postwar, the Japanese word *sengo* had a long-term impact, tied not least to the peace-constitution. However, Gluck determines the 'real' postwar, located in the immediate postwar years of recovery, the second postwar announced since 1956, correlating the "dramatic economic rise," and a third post-high-growth phase starting c. 1970. See: Gluck, Carol: "The Past in the Present," in: *Postwar Japan as History*, Andrew Gordon (ed.), Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993, pp.64-95, p.92.

27 *Making Worlds: 53rd International Art Exhibition. 53. Esposizione Internazionale d'Arte. Fare Mondi*, exh. cat. Biennale di Venezia, Rossella Martignoni (ed.), Venice: Marsilio, 2009.

(Fig.1).[28] The feature was a digest of pieces, dating back to the earliest years of the group, i.e. the second half of the 1950s. Looking back, one could describe the cabinet itself a fragment cut off its historical context, yet reframed. In this 'remake' the artworks looked terribly crisp and 'fresh'. Encountering the secondary re-productions, or replica of the mainly ephemeral pieces, it was easy to overlook that they first materialized in Japan c. 1955. I held in, pondering, whether this impression was to the advantage or the disadvantage of the work, since there is rarely such a thing as the actual context of a work of art, but a discursively (re-)constructed one, including transfers and translations that add tension to any, however expected or unexpected, encounter with it.

In the dense network of associative threads and trajectories within Birnbaum's exhibition, the *Gutai* works 'resounded' not only aesthetically, but also in terms of recurrent motives quite well with the contemporary collaboration of, e.g. Wade Guyton and Kelley Walker. Guyton/Walker's works transfer used signs and digitized images to de- or reconstruct, just as well as question mechanisms of authorship. They could be found in the entrance hall of the international pavilion. Also, after having encountered the *Gutai* works, I developed a new interest in Wolfgang Tilmans' non-representational, color-media-reflective installation (*Silver Installation VI*, 2009), focusing on the exposure process and the development of color on photosensitive material (Fig.2, Fig.3).[29] Reactualization in form of a reframing can have a thought-provoking impact, bring to live, e.g. the performative potential laid out in works of art. Every search for the historical and geopolitical circumstances those works have been first presented in, would be a somewhat unfaithful reconstruction anyway,[30] since a supposed 'origin' is always already lost. – On the other hand: Does not our knowledge of geopolitical contexts, local narratives and artistic discourses above all facilitate to speak of "travelling concepts"[31] beyond the humanities, or allow us even to speak of "cultural mobility?"[32]

If Birnbaum integrated *Gutai* in his overview of holistic approaches in art from the 20th to the 21st century, he picked up on a junction in the art discourse, underlining the fact that non-representational tendencies with different implications and cultural backgrounds emerged in a

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[28] See: Yamamoto, Atsuo: "Zero-Gutai-Zero," in: Zero. Internationale Künstler-Avantgarde der 50er/60er Jahre: Japan, Frankreich, Italien, Deutschland, Niederlande/Belgien, die Welt, exh. cat. Museum Kunst-Palast, Düsseldorf, Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 2006, pp.86-99, pp.93-97.

[29] *Making Worlds: 53rd International Art Exhibition. 53. Esposizione Internazionale d'Arte. Fare Mondi*, exh. cat. Biennale di Venezia, vol. 2, Rossella Martignoni (ed.), Venice: Marsilio, 2009, pp.72-73, pp.154-155.

[30] I agree with Liam Gillick's criticism concerning a recent wave in curatorial practice to reproduce historical exhibitions claiming 'allegiance to the truth' of the actual show without reflecting the consequences of the lapse of time for works and exhibition. Gillick underscores that such practice underestimates that reconstruction itself is an always already biased production of new meanings. I refer to a public discussion held on occasion of a two-day symposium concerning exhibition histories on occasion of the 30th anniversary of Kunsthalle Zurich, "Die Kunsthalle, die 00Jahre und wie schauen wir in die Zukunft?" [Kunsthalle and the 00s – an Outlook], Kunsthalle Zurich, 7.2.2015, (for more details see: <http://kunsthallezurich.ch/de/30-jahre-kunsthalle-z%C3%BCrich>, last access: 9.10.2015).

[31] Bal, Mieke: *Travelling Concepts in the Humanities. A Rough Guide* (Green College Lectures), Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 2002.

[32] Cf.: Tiampo, Ming: *Gutai. Decentering Modernism*, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2011, pp.1-9.

decentered fashion, despite Eurocentric theses, often unconsciously reiterated up to now. At the same time Birnbaum seemed to emphasize a nonetheless idealistic, universal approach to art as a transcultural,[33] even transtemporal dialogue: A narrative equally full of vicissitudes as claims for specificity, as will become evident on recurrent occasions in this research report.

In his foreword to the exhibition catalogue Birnbaum addresses his 'global' approach as opposed to globalization and the ubiquity of emptied, floating signifiers otherwise stylistically termed "postmodernism:" "Internationalization can be an emancipatory power that liberates individuals from the limitations of their local culture, but there is no doubt also a homogenizing tendency that involves a leveling of cultural differences that can turn the world into a place of monotonous sameness."[34] Concerning the question of national representation and identity politics lingering with the Venice Biennale – historically a competition between nations akin to a World Fair[35] – Birnbaum writes: "the artists invited […] do not represent their nations or linguistic communities but are responsible solely for their own visions." In a more extensive comment on his concept he adds concerning the exhibition of *Gutai* works from the 1950s (Fig.4): "To make a large exhibition has, in my experience, little to do with implementing a master plan, […]. Sometimes the greatest incentives come from places and sources […], from things one doesn't quite understand. A case in point: *Gutai*. The protean nature of this Japanese group and its heterogenous output are probably the reasons why it never gained quite the fame it deserved."[36]

Within the *Gutai* section installed by Birnbaum's team a work by Tsuruko Yamazaki was on display. An arrangement of some 52 tin cans, with a diameter of c. 17 cm each, glossed over in pink varnish *Buriki kan* (*Tin Cans*, 1955) (Fig.5). I could not wait to get a chance to see more works by this artist. Even more than the glittering cans, laid out in a possibly changeable, adaptable set of can-towers, I was attracted by a work I discovered, browsing through an older catalogue. Yamazaki's tableau of diagonal stripes in black and white, combined with reflecting mirror pieces, seaming its edges in a loose spread, blinking from a random white space's wall. In February 2011 the time had come: After finding my way through an exhibition parcours laid out in individual

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[33] For an instructive discussion of universality in contemporary art histories see: Susan Buck-Morss, Harry Harootunian, Pedro Erber et al.: "Universality;" and Jones, Caroline A.: "Globalism/Globalization," in: *Art and Globalization* (The Stone Art Theory Institutes 1), James Elkins, Shivka Valavicharska, and Alice Kim (eds.), University Park, PA.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011, pp.109-125; pp. 129-137.

[34] Birnbaum, Daniel: "Making Worlds. Fare Mondi," in: *Making Worlds: 53rd International Art Exhibition. 53. Esposizione Internazionale d'Arte. Fare Mondi*, exh. cat. Biennale di Venezia, vol. 2, Rossella Martignoni (ed.), Venice: Marsilio, 2009, n.p.

[35] Wyss, Beat (ed.): "Die Globalisierung des Peripheren," in: Biennale Venedig. Die Beteiligung der Schweiz, 1920–2013 (outlines 8/1; 8/2), Regula Krähenbühl and Beat Wyss (eds.), Zurich: SIK-ISEA, Scheidegger & Spiess, 2013, pp.XX-XX.

[36] Birnbaum, Daniel: "We are Many," in: *Making Worlds: 53rd International Art Exhibition. 53. Esposizione Internazionale d'Arte. Fare Mondi*, exh. cat. Biennale di Venezia, vol. 2, Rossella Martignoni (ed.), Venice: Marsilio, 2009, 184-199.

rooms one after another within the multistory museum building of the Art Museum of Lugano in southern Switzerland,[37] I was finally facing *Sakuhin* (*Work*, 1955).

Cased in a wooden frame of thin slats, *Sakuhin* (*Work*, 1955) is neither identifiable at first sight as a painting, nor would it immediately disclose its support (Fig.6). One has to wonder, whether it might be a canvas or a wooden panel, whether its alternating black and white stripes are painted at all. Only by approaching the graphic surface, by trying to grasp its materiality beyond the image, the artwork offers insights into its production process. We might call it an "assemblage painting" or a montage. It combines a pattern element of black and white diagonal stripes, ascending from the left lower angle to the upper right edge of the plane – or the other way around – , with iron sheet mirrors. Does it make a difference in this case to ask oneself, whether it has to be 'read' from left to right or starting from the right upper angle? While the white lines are painted on the wooden support, the black lines are made of stitched oil-paper, glued on it, leaving notches for oblong mirrors to be inserted. The textures of fabric and paint contrast the sleek surfaces of the mirror pieces, punching holes to a paradoxically (in)definite space of environmental extension, reflected in the work. Even at a distance a patiently gazing eye, detects sutures on the work's body. The beholder's body is sliced up and incorporated as a virtual projection, reflected by the mirror pieces. Conjoining human reflection and non-human elements via the mirroring surfaces, the work produces a kinetic "hybrid."[38] The eight rectangular mirrors integrate without revealing any detectable rule or system responsible for their respective marginal placings on the sidelines. In this sense the artwork establishes its own laws of proportion, which could probably be computed, but not fruitfully described along a mathematic ratio, or by geometric means. The reflections open up illusionistic, yet concrete holes, perforating the patterned surface.

This fragmented mirror's function as a non-mechanical, analogue and paradoxically static 'space-time-modulator' deserves a closer look. Instead of outnumbering the actual work with possible pieces of comparison in the first stance, stating "dissimilar similarities,"[39] let us stay with the work itself for the moment, or rather extend its description by appropriating descriptions of mirrors, spaces and staging from phenomenological analyses. Writing "spatial architectonics,"[40]

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[37] *Gutai. Painting with Time and Space. Gutai. Dipingere con il Tempo e lo Spazio*, exh. cat. Museo Cantonale D'Arte di Lugano, 2010-2011, Marco Franciolli, Fuyumi Namioka, et al. (eds.), Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana Editoriale, 2010.

[38] Latour, Bruno: *We Have Never Been Modern*, trans. Catherine Porter, New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993 [first: *Nous N'Avons Jamais Été Modernes: Essai d'Anthropologie Symétrique,* Paris: Éditions La Découverte, 1991, pp.46-48.

[39] In order to break with art histories tending to a "who was first?" thread of investigation Tomii makes a most instructive case, denouncing the comparison of Nobuo Sekine's *Phase. Mother Earth* (1968) and Claes Oldenburg's *Hole* (1967) as much less relevant than artistic dialogues, or statements challenging each other within the art scenes in Japan. Tomii therefore introduces comparisons with works by, e.g. the *Kyūshū School* (*Kyūshū-ha*), or Michio Yoshihara, see: Tomii 2009, op. cit., pp.123-147, pp.134-138.

[40] Lefebvre [1974] 1991, pp.182-183.

French Marxist theorist of (social) space as (social) product Henri Lefebvre (1901–1991) adds interesting remarks on the mirror and its qualities:[41]

> *By thus engendering surface, image and mirror, reflection pierces the surface and penetrates the depths of the relationship between repetition and difference. Duplication (symmetry) implies repetition, yet it also gives rise to a difference constitutive of a space. It should not be conceived of on the model of numerical iteration. […] Objects touch one another, feel, smell and hear one another. Then they contemplate one another, with eye and gaze. One truly gets the impression that every shape in space, every spatial plane, constitutes a mirror and produces a mirage effect; that within each body the rest of the world is reflected, and referred back to, in an ever-renewed to-and-fro of reciprocal reflection, an interplay of shifting colors, lights and forms. A mere change of position, or a change in a place's surroundings, is enough to precipitate an object's passage into the light: what was covert becomes overt, what was cryptic becomes limpidly clear. A movement of the body may have a similar goal. Here is the point of intersection of the two sensory fields.*

Also, Yamazaki's *Work* operates as an ambiguous figure: Does it depict a pattern integrating mirrors, or was there a mirror, having been covered up and tarnished by black and white stripes? Could one take this *Work* as an "allegorical image"[42] unfolding reflection, staging processes of identification, a questioning of subjectivity, the respective and critical deconstruction of such processes and their functions, or even as a starting point to meditate on maps and their (in-)adequacy as representations of space? Let us turn to Lefebvre again:

> *Where natural space exists, and even more so where social space exists, the movement from obscurity to enlightenment – the process of decipherment – is perpetual. This incessant deciphering activity is objective as much as subjective – in which respect it indeed transcends the old philosophical distinction between objectivity and subjectivity. […] It is in this sense that it cannot be properly described as either a subjective or an objective, a conscious or unconscious, activity; rather it is an activity which serves to 'generate' consciousness: messages, by virtue of space and of the interplay of reflections and mirages within it, are intrinsic to lived experience itself.*

1.1.2 Form and Embodiment – Overcoming Dichotomy

According to philosopher Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht "lived experience" and "consciousness" are always already implicated in subject/object dichotomies – a dualism underpinning most descriptions of the world according to the metaphysical paradigm: a dualism difficult to overcome. Exactly this was yet one of the main goals for German philosopher and proponent of hermeneutic phenomenology, Martin Heidegger (1889–1976). Three years before publishing his most discussed

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[41] Ibid.
[42] See: Benjamin, Walter [1928]: "Der Ursprung des deutschen Trauerspiels," in: *Gesammelte Schriften*, in collaboration with Theodor W. Adorno and Gershom Scholem, Rolf Tiedemann and Hermann Schweppenhäuser (eds.), vol. I/1, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1991, pp.65-66.

writing "Sein und Zeit,"[43] (Being and Time) he was a guest researcher at Tokyo University (1924–1927). Later on he famously published a fictitious "Dialogue on Language Between a Japanese and an Inquirer"[44] (*Aus einem Gespräch von der Sprache – zwischen einem Japaner und einem Fragenden*), written between 1953 and 1954. Gumbrecht further elaborates, how Heidegger was chasing to grasp the notion of "nothingness," when "his own philosophy and a certain Japanese (or perhaps, generally Asian) conception of thinking the relationship between man and the world was not unfounded – […] and that his initial intuition about an affinity pushed him into an intellectually productive direction."[45] Gumbrecht further argues "that any attempt at (or the mere historical process of) overcoming a subject-centered epistemology (or, with the more Heideggerian concept, of overcoming 'metaphysics') would have to ask, how one could – begin to – avoid sense making."[46] Although this is not the place to elaborate at length on existentialist[47] concepts and their different rewritings throughout the 1950s from Simone de Beauvoir, over Jean-Paul Sartre to Maurice Merleau-Ponty, who picked up on that note, developing their respective thoughts in differing directions, it is informative for this study to follow Gumbrecht's argument a little further. He locates one of the possibilities to avoid sense making – i.e. the attribution of meaning to a signifier or fixed sign – in the "simultaneity of emergence and withdrawal, […] phenomena of epiphany – gesture, grace, hint, poetic language," the very moment, when "form and embodiment […] begin to manifest themselves," allowing for a different epistemology based on nothingness/*Sein*, "instead of belonging to the [metaphysical] distinction between spirituality and materiality:"

> *For it appears that the 'metaphysical' distinction between 'matter' (surface) and 'spirit' (depth) only plays a subordinate (if any) role in traditional Japanese culture. […] In modern Western culture, the material (the 'surface') value of signifiers, for example, tends to vanish once we see them in their function as signifiers and thus manage to identify their 'underlying' meaning. In contrast, the importance of calligraphy is proof that things are different in Japanese culture – and once again, obviously, not only in Japanese culture – where the appreciation of writing is largely independent of the meaning that it carries. […].*

Gumbrecht concludes his analysis of Heidegger's interest in a 'non-essentialist Japanese' mindset – a highly paradoxical starting point – with an observation that might be crucial, which yet also

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[43] Heidegger, Martin: *Sein und Zeit* (Jahrbuch für Philosophie und phänomenologische Forschung VIII), Edmund Husserl (ed.), Halle a.d.S.: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1927.

[44] Heidegger, Martin: "A Dialogue on Language Between a Japanese and an Inquirer," in: *On the Way to Language*, trans. Peter D. Hertz, New York: Harper and Row, 1971, pp.1-54, [first: "Aus einem Gespräch von der Sprache," in: *Unterwegs zur Sprache*, Pfullingen: Neske, 1959, pp.83-155].

[45] Gumbrecht, Hans Ulrich: "Martin Heidegger and his Japanese Interlocutors. About a Limit of Western Metaphysics," in: *Diacritics*, vol. 30, no. 4, pp.83-101.

[46] Ibid., pp.93-96.

[47] For a discussion of existentialist thought in Japanese philosophy see: Kajitani, Shinji: "Phänomenologie," and Müller, Simone: "Begriffsverständnis und Rezeption der Existenzphilosophie in Japan unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des sartreschen Existenzialismus," both in: *Begriff und Bild der Modernen Japanischen Philosophie* (Philosophie Interkulturell 2), Raji C. Steineck, Elena Louisa Lange, and Paulus Kaufmann (eds.), Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 2014, pp.197-214; pp.233-268.

dreadfully oversimplifies both, Heidegger and his Japanese interlocutors with homogenizing and thus problematic notions of cultural identity:[48] Gumbrecht claims that specific aesthetics of staging the liminal and the passage, like the simultaneity of moments such as "emergence" and "vanishing" on the one hand, the practices of giving form in embodiment as found, e.g. in calligraphy, on the other hand create a paradox middle ground between object and subject. This could be a simple observation. It is yet not a simple, but highly problematic statement from both, the perspectives of postcolonial studies and Asian Studies in this context. Gumbrecht's telescoping of aesthetics or philosophical reasoning and geopolitical arena, are prone to criticism. In as much as his argument sounds like a tempting resort to explain aesthetic features at a first glance, it proves symptomatic for a problem one is confronted with, when digging into postwar (art) history in Japan. The imperialist history of the country in the 20th century, as well as the call for new social models in postwar Japan after a dehumanizing war underpin and complicate such ready-made reasoning on a fixed "Other," rather carelessly reiterated by Gumbrecht.[49]

1.1.3 Troubling Essentialism – Bodies that Matter

New Subjectivities: From "Kokutai" (Body Politic) to "Nikutai" (Physical Body)

Introducing the word "subject" or "subjectivity" into this sofar ahistorical, both formalist and phenomenological account, urges us to discuss the term – or rather review the discussion the Japanese word *shutaisei* triggered in the immediate postwar years in Japan. Political historian Victor J. Koschmann situates the debate on subjectivity between 1946 and 1948. The period is generally referred to as era of the "Reverse Course," when the U.S. Occupation government under General MacArthur undertook reforms, undermining its own releases in the peace constitution, to gain ground vis-à-vis communist and non-aligned countries. The idea to strengthen the sense and awareness of the individual ego had been a common goal for the Occupation government and the Marxists in Japan during their earlier "honeymoon"[50] phase. For the time being the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers (SCAP), General Douglas MacArthur had been occupied with a somewhat inconsequent campaign to purge war criminals from their offices. Since the Marxist and Communist voices yet commited themselves to human freedom as advocated in liberal democracy

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[48] Gumbrecht, Hans Ulrich: "Martin Heidegger and his Japanese Interlocutors. About a Limit of Western Metaphysics," in: *Diacritics*, vol. 30, no. 4, pp.93-96; We yet find a way more nuanced and critical approach towards cultural cliché – albeit leaving out the focus on the performing arts – in Gumbrecht's editorial work, see: idem: "Die Postmoderne ist (eher) keine Epoche;" and Pfeiffer, Ludwig K.: "Schwebende Referenzen und Verhaltenskultur: Japan und die Praxis permanenter Postmoderne," both in: *Postmoderne – Globale Differenz*, Robert Weimann and Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht (eds.), with the collaboration of Benno Wagner, Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 1991, 366-369; pp.344-353.

[49] For an elaboration on "hybridity," "intersticiality," and "ambivalence" against the construction of a fixed "Otherness" see Bhabha, Homi K.: "The Other Question: Stereotype, Discrimination and the Discourse of Colonialism," in: *The Location of Culture*, London and New York: Routledge, 1994, pp.94-120; concerning construction and performances of "cultural difference," see: ibid., pp.175-198.

[50] Koschmann, Victor J.: "The Debate on Subjectivity in Postwar Japan. Foundations of Modernism as a Political Critique," in: *Pacific Affairs*, vol. 54, no. 4, (1981–82), pp.609-631, p.610.

in order to eventually overthrow capitalism, the U.S. government was increasingly interested in fostering conservatism in Japanese politics. In 1949 during the "Red Purge" about 40,000 workers, who were members of the Japanese Communist Party or unionists, lost their jobs for being regarded as subversive elements.

Before the Second World War Japan had been a feudal state. This meant in terms of social relations the dominance of the family-system *ie* (house, family) or *kazoku-seido* (family-system). According to this system of bloodline-kinship – later redefined more generally as household structure – all social relations within and between these "households" were patterned after a hierarchical model of parent-child relationship, constituting a "vertical society."[51] Religious sects, companies, criminal organizations, and actual family obeyed concentric patriarchy, tributary to the head of the national family (*kokka*), the emperor. To sacrifice personal pleasures for the sake of the family was not only common, but the condition to gain immortality in the afterlife.[52] "The individual [was] so submerged in community," Koschmann illustrates, "that individual identity and autonomy [were] almost entirely obscured. Concentric ideology provided an indispensable foundation for the value system of the imperial state."[53] This dissolution of the subjective bodies into an ethnic body (*kokutai*) or body politic was the foundation for prewar nationalism, incorporated in the totalitarian imperial regime.

Whether the locus of *shutaisei* was the mind, or physical body (*nikutai*), or both, making up for an individual human being with its own history, opposing, as well as replacing the concept of *kokutai* was a heated debate. Japanese literary history introduces the term "carnal literature"(*nikutai bungaku*) or "literature of the flesh" for writings that focused, e.g. on erotic topics, i.e. the sensual body, lived experience, or neglected spaces in society.[54] Historian Harry Harootunian describes the "clash over identity and subjectivity […] primarily as a battle between

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[51] Ibid.

[52] Although outdated, Ezra Vogel's sociological study offers as a contemporary document still insights into everyday life and its challenges during the period of high economic growth, see: Vogel, Ezra F.: *Japan's New Middle Class. The Salary Man and his Family in a Tokyo Suburb*, 2nd ed., Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1971, p.165 [first: 1963].

[53] Koschmann 1981–82, op.cit., p.618.

[54] Japanese literary history introduces the term "carnal literature"(*nikutai bungaku*) or "literature of the flesh" for writings that focused, e.g. on erotic topics, i.e. the sensual body, lived experience, or neglected spaces in society. An often cited example is Taijrō Tamura: "Nikutai no mon," in: *Gunzō* [Sculptured Group], (March), 1947 [idem: "The Gateway of Flesh," trans. Alan Masaru Suzuki, in: *Preview*, vol. 7, no. 4, 1955]. For a comment on the film version see also: Seidensticker, Edward: *Tokyo Rising. The City since the Great Earthquake*, Cambrigde Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991, pp.187-188. Material historian Vera Wolff brings the literature of the flesh into the field to embed Saburō Murakami's works in the contemporary discourse on the carnal body, referring to one mention of "nikutai no geijutsu" (art of the flesh) in contemporary Japanese art criticism. Combining *Nikawa* (traditionally hand-produced cow skin glue) and vinyl paint in an autodestructive fashion, some of Murakami's paintings peel off their support over time like pieces of shredded skin. Wolff does yet further contextualize this branch of literature in the discussions on *shutaisei* or subjectivity. See: Wolff, Vera: *Die Rache des Materials. Eine andere Geschichte des Japonismus*, Zürich: Diaphanes, 2015, pp.301-337, p.317. For a close reading of Tamura's concept of the "thinking of the flesh" (*nikutai no shisō*), correlating body and mind, and its reactionary consequences for the literary and gendered portray of the female body in many of the narrations in this genre, exclusively authored by men see: Pickardt, Ulrike: "'Nikutai koso, subete da'. Nikutai bungaku und die Entdeckung des Körpers im Japan der frühen Nachkriegszeit," in: *Japanstudien*, vol. 11, (1999), pp.235-264.

mind and body. Proponents of the mind – 'modernists' (*kindaishugisha*) intellectuals and academics from the elite schools – quarreled with those, who grounded subjectivity in the body and who saw 'thought' as the myth that deluded people into disastrous defeat and hid from them the nature of this defeat."[55]

The Civil Code established by the Occupation government (1947) formally ended the previous over-identification of the subject in dissolution with the nation state. It instituted new individuals by breaking up the *ie* structure, privileging the American model of the nuclear family, which had yet parallelly existed in Japan since the 1920 already. The family law instituted gave the same right of property to men and women, as well as it theoretically guarantueed the equality before law of all Japanese.[56] For historian Frank Upham "women were particular beneficiaries of legal reform. […] in employment the Labor Standard Act of 1947 specifically prohibited wage discrimination based on sex and created a wide range of legal protection for women workers."[57] Historian Sandra Buckley interjects though: "Feminists frequently warn against the risk of attributing too much significance to the immediate impact of the constitutional reforms instigated in 1947."[58] Whereas according to Buckley 67 percent of eligible women voted in the 1946 elections, and 39 women won seats in the Lower House, the 1955 election brought only nine women to office.[59] On the other hand the 1948 revision of the constitution set the course to implement an economic and political structure supportive of the U.S. American political agenda, as well as it laid the foundations for Japanese economism in guise of democracy.

Koschmann and more recent scholarship admonish that concepts of the autonomous individual had been proposed by voices of (political) philosophy and artists in the prewar era already.[60] Art historian Namiko Kunimoto states: "[…] we cannot assume that subjectivity before the postwar period was underdeveloped or entirely group-based. This misconception may be fueled by deeper assumptions that individualism is an American trait helpfully introduced to Japan by the occupation forces."[61] Beyond that Kunimoto blames the supporters of such a rhethoric, e.g.

[55] Harootunian, Harry: "Japan's Postwar and After, 1945-1989: An Overview," in: *From Postwar to Postmodern. Art in Japan 1945–1989* (Primary Documents), Doryun Chung, Michio Hayashi, Kenji Kajiya et al. (eds.), trans. Ken Yoshida, New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2012, pp.17-21.

[56] Upham, Frank K.: "Unplaced Persons and Movements for Place," in: *Postwar Japan as History*, Andrew Gordon (ed.), Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993, pp.325-346, p.325.

[57] Ibid., p.326.

[58] Buckley, Sandra: "Altered States. The Body Politics of 'Being-Woman'," in: ibid., pp.347-372, p.366.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Koschmann 1981–82, op.cit., pp.609-631; Kunimoto, Namiko: "Tanaka Atsuko's Electric Dress and the Circuits of Subjectivity," in: *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 95, no. 3 (September, 2013), pp.465-483

[61] Ibid., p.467. In revolt against the domination of thought artists like Ichirō Fukuzawa (1898-1992) advocated artistic subjectivity in prewar Japan, see: Clark, John: "Artistic Subjectivity in the Taisho and Early Showa Avant-Garde," in: *Japanese Art after 1945. Scream Against the Sky*, exh. cat. Yokohama Museum of Art, Guggenheim Museum SoHo, San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, 1994-1995, Alexandra Munroe (ed.), New York: Henri N. Abrams, 1994, pp.41-53.

Samsung senior curator of Asian Art the Guggenheim Museum Alexandra Munroe, to be stuck in Cold War mindsets.[62]

Before, as well as after the release of the new Civil Code, notably Osaka born intellectual historian and later professor for political science at Tokyo University, Masao Maruyama (1914–1996), raised his voice to define and comment the struggle for democracy through *shutaisei* in Japan.[63] He critically questioned the roles of intellectuals and of the middle-class from prewar to postwar time. Maruyama concluded that the modernization of Japan, initiated with the 1868 Meiji state had taken place only partially, since the ideology of the prewar Emperor-system (*tennōsei*) undermined the ongoing process of modernization on a social level. Maruyama thus saw a need to continue the modernist project in order to cultivate fully modern, rationally subjective personalities.[64] He therewith countered the course of a new conservative faction in Japanese politics, the so-called "realists" (*genjitsu shugisha*), who convicted the Communist party to threaten the project of postwar democracy.[65] Maruyama himself supported left wing and socialist positions without party attachment. Drafting a statement for the third "Peace Problems Symposium" (*Heiwa mondai danwakai*), published in the literary magazine *Sekai* (World) in 1950, he underlined that Japan should take a nonaligned position within the United Nations, praising India's Prime Minister Nehru for the latter's commitement to neutrality. Historian John W. Dower suspects on the contrary a lingering pan-Asianism in Maruyama's statement. Against the backdrop of Japanese imperial politics in the Asian region before and especially during WWII, Dower concludes on Maruyama's praise of neutrality: "The statement introduced a subtle appeal to nationalism in arguing that neutrality represented 'the very essence of the Asian people's historic position and mission',[66] and Japan's only way to stay independent."[67]

Contrasting both, Maruyama's recommendations and the Occupation forces' legislation, historian Victor Koschmann presents the case of turned-Marxist philosopher Katsumi Umemoto (1912–1974).[68] Umemoto drew largely on the Kyoto school of philosophy's 'phenomenological'

[62] Kunimoto 2013, op. cit., p.481.
[63] Maruyama, Masao: "Chōkokka shugi no ronri to shinri" (The Logic and Psychology of Ultranationalism), in: *Sekai* (World), 1946.
[64] Ibid.; Barshey, Andrew E.: "Imagining Democracy in Postwar Japan: Reflections on Maruyama Masao and Modernism," in: *The Journal of Japanese Studies*, vol. 18, no. 2, (summer, 1992), pp.365-406.
[65] Müller, Simone: "Von Arishima Takeo zu Jean-Paul Sartre. Rezeption und Assimilation des Intellektuellenbegriffs im modernen Japan," in: *Wort - Bild - Assimilationen. Japan und die Moderne - Japan and Modernity*, Simone Müller, Tōru Itō, Robin Rehm (eds.), Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 2016, pp.190-223.
[66] Cf. Dower, John W.: "Peace and Democracy in Two Systems. External Policy and Internal Conflict," in: *Postwar Japan as History*, Andrew Gordon (ed.), Los Angeles and Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993, pp.3-33.
[67] Ibid., p.10.
[68] See: Koschmann, Victor J.: *Revoution and Subjectivity in Postwar Japan*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994, pp.95-148; Muthy, Viren: "Umemoto Katsumi and the Global Crisis of Humanism," in: *Whither Japanese Philosophy? III Reflections Through Other Eyes* (UTCP Booklet 19) Tokyo: The Tokyo University Center for Philosophy, 2011, pp.25-40; e-text collection (accessed through: <http://utcp.c.u-tokyo.ac.jp/publications/pdf/UTCPBooklet19_02_Murthy.pdf>, last access: 1.2.2016).

concept of "nothingness"[69] (*mu*), established by Kitarō Nishida (1870–1945), challenging some of Heidegger's presuppositions by complicating the dialogue between the philosophical positions.[70] Umemoto was "seeking to synthesize an understanding of the existential moment of commitment with the Marxist conception of history and social whole. […] Nothingness (*mu*) would mediate between determinism and freedom."[71] The philosophical lineage Uemoto drew upon,[72] as much as he criticized it, was yet exactly one of the intellectual groups susceptible to Japanese wartime fascism. – For a larger circle of historians and anthropologists still an unignorable flaw, resounding with the names of Kitarō Nishida, Hajime Tanabe (1885–1962), and Testurō Watsuji (1889–1960).[73] Philosopher and historian John Maraldo specifies:[74]

> *Nishida, for example, frequently invokes the term subjectivity (shutaisei), in the sense of self-aware, self-determining agency, and he also applies it to the ideal of the state. […] Nishida's own problem was to try dialectically to relate the various levels of agency in self, society, nation-state, and ultimately the world (as the universal of experience, not the geopolitical arena). The problem many philosphers today would see in Nishida is not a lack of appreciation for agency, but his ascribing agency and subjectivity to universals, indeed to the world itself.*

If we have seen that the definition and debates around *shutaisei* mark one end of the controversies, digging up Kyoto school philosophy and Nishida's notion of a "place of nothigness,"[75]which he had "posed against the ontology of Being,"[76] we still have to differentiate again. Since this philosophical approach departs from the phenomenological body (*shintai*), which is as philosophical term although approximative to, yet again different from the "flesh," or physical body (*nikutai*), connoting erotic affect,[77] as brought up in contemporary literature.

The debates revolving around *shutaisei* and its impact on society and politics in postwar Japan continue to form a virtual minefield. Even today's scholarly discourse seems sometimes

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69 Nishida, Kitarō [1932]: "Mu no jikakuteki gentei" [Self-Delimitation of Nothingness], in: idem: *Nishida Kitarō zenshū* [Complete Works of Nishida Kitarō], vol. 6, Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1947-1979, pp.120-125.
70 Yuasa, Yasuo: "The Encounter of Modern Japanese Philosophy with Heidegger," in: *Heidegger and Asian Thought*, Graham Parkes (ed.), Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987, pp.155-174.
71 Koschmann 1981–82, op. cit., pp.618-620.
72 Murthy 2011, op. cit., pp.25-40; Arata Isozaki yet stresses that "in postwar art's search for identity, a similar nothingness-centered position has permeated densly, regardless of the intent of individual artists." See: Isozaki, Arata: "As Witness to Postwar Japanese Art," trans. Kosho Sabu, in: *Japanese Art after 1945. Scream Against the Sky*, exh. cat. Yokohama Museum of Art, Guggenheim Museum SoHo, San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, 1994–1995, Alexandra Munroe (ed.), New York: Henri N. Abrams, 1994, pp.27-31, p.27.
73 An excellent introduction into the critical revision of Kyoto school philiosopher's theories, especially their commitment to the imperialist project of a *Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere* offers a book review by Maraldo, John C. "The War Over the Kyoto School," in: *Monumenta Nipponica*, *Monumenta Nipponica*, 61, 3, 2006, pp. 375-406, p.390. For the case of Watsuji see: Idem: "Between Individual and Communal, Subject and Object, Self and Other: Mediating Watsurō Tetsurō's Hermeneutics," in: *Japanese Hermeneutics*, Michael Marra (ed.), Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002, pp. 76–86.
74 Maraldo, John C. "The War Over the Kyoto School," in: *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 61, no. 3, 2006, pp.375-406, p.390.
75 Nishida [1932] 1947–1979, op.cit., pp.120-125.
76 Isozaki 1994, op.cit., pp.27-28.
77 See: McLelland, Mark: *Love, Sex, and Democracy in Japan During the Occupation*, New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012, pp.71-94.

trapped between at least two notions: One that stands for a passive adaptation to an American model of social and political organization, reinforcing the capitalist value system, conflating individualism with mind centered rational subjectivity and modernism; And one that acknowledges a previous existence and use of concepts addressing subjectivity, de-centering Euro-American (political) thought, yet delivering itself up to the highly problematic pitfalls the legacy of Kyoto school philosophy still offered for arguments during the 1950s, since its proponents had eventually been supporting Japan's aggressive expansionist and imperialist project of a *Greater East-Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere* during World War II.[78]

Koschmann notes concerning Uemoto's early revisionism of the Kyoto school: "*Shutaisei* understood as modern 'ethos' often remained locked in a hostile embrace with that very past, which as the 'Japanese ethos' continued to intrude upon the present. Unable to overcome it, *shutaisei* was also incapable of escaping its grasp, an emblem of frustrated hopes and commitments."[79] We should keep in mind though, what historian Frank Upham stresses. The renegotiation of "relationships among individuals and groups, the status of marginal groups within mainstream society […] were the product of particular history and politics of postwar Japan, not the reflection of Western influence or progressive ideals."[80]

How sensitive the topic still is, becomes evident with expressions of a critique of subjectivity and self-identity of the "modern ego." Against the backdrop of the historical discussion on *shutaisei*, later positions drawing on 1980s French deconstructivism attracted harsh criticism. Arguments that foregrounded, or located a "non-Cartesian mindframe" in the geopolitical arena of Japan, proved more often than not to fuel arguments of, and could all too easily be "yoked" by neoconservatism with its "nationalist agendas designed to promote Japan as a model society."[81] As Koschmann points out, the dispute over the epistemological basis or bias of argumentation in the humanities stirred up academia in Japan deep into the 1980s.[82] Historian Harry Harootunian summarizes the criticism "postmodern"[83] discourse was faced with:[84]

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[78] Concerning the "Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere" and Pan-Asianism see: Saaler, Sven, Victor J. Koschmann (eds.): *Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History: Colonialism, Regionalism and Borders* (Asia's Transformations), London: Taylor & Francis, 2007; See also a contemporary report by Grajdanzev, Andrew J.: "Japan's Co-Prosperity Sphere," in: *Pacific Affairs*, vol. 16, no. 3, (September, 1943), pp.311-328; concerning the intertwining of communication technology and expansionist strategies see: Moore, Aaron Stephen: *Constructing East Asia. Technology, Ideology, and Empire in Japan's Wartime Era, 1931-1945*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013.

[79] Koschmann 1981–82, op. cit., p.631.

[80] Upham, Frank K.: "Unplaced Persons and Movements for Place," in: *Postwar Japan as History*, Andrew Gordon (ed.), Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993, pp.325-346, p.325.

[81] Koschmann 1993, op.cit., p.418-423.

[82] Ibid.

[83] See also: Leims, Thomas: "Medien und Postmoderne. Das Beispiel Japan," in: *Asienstudien. Zeitschrift der Schweizerischen Asiengesellschaft* (Referate des 9. deutschsprachigen Japanologentages in Zürich (22. – 24. September 1993)), special issue, vol. 48, no. 1, (1994), pp.513-524.

[84] See also: Miyoshi, Masao, Harry Harootunian (eds.): *Postmodernism and Japan*, Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1989.

This postmodern moment sought to put into question the aporia of representation by calling for replacement of fixity, hierarchy, and planning with play, chance and contingency. But too often promoters of the postmodern based their critique in the binary of Japan – or that which was believed to be essentially Japanese – and the West, a tendency that risked reinforcing a fixed narrative of Japan's difference and exceptionalist endowment.

To complicate the discussion some more from a different angle, let us keep in mind the remarks of social historian Andrew E. Barshey:[85]

It cannot be shown that European categories are ipso facto inapplicable (or applicable) to Japan. To attack them on the grounds of their origin alone, as if legitimate concepts, narratives and tropes could be drawn only from some purely 'Japanese' construction of experience, is no more than self-delusion. And a particularly problematic one at that, since 'Europe' and the 'West' have been indispensable both as positive models for, and as effective and affective Others to, the construction of modern Japanese identity, tradition and social forms.

How could one under these circumstances possibly attempt to approach a work of art that challenges the limits of subject and object like Yamazaki's *Sakuhin* (1955), without performing a thightrope walk? One could reproach here that the above digression covering the term *shutaisei* and its consequences for scholarly discourse, do as well just mix up subject and object of analysis. On the other hand this discussion traces the backdrop against which Yamazaki's *Sakuhin* (1955) has to be distinguished.

Differential Practice – Or, the "Science of Use"

The case of *shutaisei* is an instructive example to raise awareness of terms and terminologies in local history and discourse. Also, it justifies to a certain extent the skeptical recepetion of non-specialist interference, threatening scholarly discourse of Asian and postcolonial Studies. Keeping this sensitivity of the topic in mind, as an art historian, I suggest to develop the examination from the artworks in a first step. In such a description of objective structures, giving rise to subjective effects, triggering desires and drives, it is impossible to leave out one's own cultural background and texts. I will therefore in a first step allow possible associations and theoretical reflections from a wide range of cultural and temporal backgrounds. By comparing actual effects, affects, discourses, and supposed implications, we might come to formulate theses that do not derive from a received narrative, or just confirm labels within which we recast artworks or architectural proposals.

Such an attempt starts with the description of artworks and their phenomenological qualities, keeping in mind the deceptive and distorting potential of phenomenological perception. In a second step, I retrace these impressions against the backdrop of contemporary discussions and circumstances, marking as well as delimiting the historical context of the works in order to (re-

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[85] Barshey 1992, pp.365-406.

)contextualize them in their historical framings.[86] As we will see, such a methodology mediates between notions of universal and particular experience, acknowledging as well as critically commenting on it. I will of course have to work within the inescapable paradox formulated by Barshey,[87] yet neither with the aim of stating conflating transcultural similarities, nor in disregard of the debates, discussions, social, economic, and political circumstances, framing and shaping them. In a first step the naïveté of such proceeding might seem to impose unorthodox theses. In a next step my assumptions shall be tested, taking into account the practices and aims documented in the artists' testimonies and recent scholarship.

Although this might not exactly improve my credibility as a "scholar" here, I refer in this context to (science) fiction writer J.G. Ballard. Six years after Roland Barthes famously theorized "the death of the author,"[88] Ballard detects the task of the writer, given an observed shift in the categories of reality and fiction, in "devis[ing] various hypotheses and test[ing] them against the facts,"[89] stating:

> *In addition, I feel that the balance between fiction and reality has changed significantly in the past decades. Increasingly their roles are reversed. We live in a world ruled by fictions of every kind – mass-merchandizing, advertising, politics conducted as a branch of advertising, the pre-empting of any original response to experience by the television screen. We live inside an enormous novel. […] The fiction is already there. The writer's task is to invent the reality. […] Has the writer still the moral authority to invent a self-sufficient and self-enclosed world, to preside over his characters like an examiner, knowing all the questions in advance? Can he leave out anything he prefers not to understand, including his own motives, prejudices […]? […] I feel myself that the writer's role, his authority and licence to act, have changed radically. I feel that, in a sense, the writer knows nothing any longer. He has no moral stance. He offers the reader the contents of his own head, a set of options and imaginative alternatives. His role is that of the scientist, whether on safari or in his laboratory, faced with an unknown terrain or subject.*

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[86]   For a critical discussion of the notions "context" and "framing" see: Preziosi, Donald (ed.): "Making the Visible Legible;" and Bal, Mieke and Norman Bryson: "Semiotics and Art History. A Discussion of Contexts and Senders," both in: *The Art of Art History: A Critical Anthology* (Oxford History of Art), Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009, pp.7-12; pp.243-255 [first: 1998].

[87]   An interesting contribution to the discussion beyond the case of "Japanese Postwar Art History" offers Jones, Caroline A.: "Is International Modernism National? Is Global Postmodernism Local? Questions for Art History," in: *Visions of a Future. Art and Art History in Changing Contexts* (outlines 1), Hans-Jörg Heusser and Kornelia Imesch (eds.), Zurich: Swiss Institute for Art Research, 2004, pp.117-128; see also: James Elkins, Zhivka Valiavicharska, and Alice Kim (eds.): *Art and Globalization* (The Stone Art Theory Institutes 1), University Park, PA.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010.

[88]   Barthes, Roland: "The Death of the Author," trans. Richard Howard, Brian O'Doherty (ed.), in: *Aspen*, no. 5, (1967), n.p. Answering Barthes, Michel Foucault defended a different view on author and subject, bringing the construction of both in the humanities to the fore, see: Foucault, Michel: "Qu'est-ce qu'un Auteur?," in: *Bulletin de la Société Française de Philosophie*, Armand Collin (ed.), (February, 1969), pp.75-104.

[89]   Cf. the foreword to his 1973 novel "Crash," Ballard, James Graham: *Crash*, London: Jonathan Cape, 1973, n.p.

One might interject that these words are owed to a historically (out)dated view, generating its own "discourse,"[90] often subsumed with the term "poststructuralism."

I would argue instead that they carry weight for art and architectural history, if we see those "disciplines" kindred with literary history, without forgetting of course that their concrete objects are fortunately not entirely dissolvable into texts, but elude language. With this eclectic methodolgy built up in the process of studying the subject(s) of this account, I am indebted to what Henri Lefebvre calls "the science of space."[91] In as much as the writings of this early sympathizer of the Situationist International (1958–1972)[92] raise consciousness of the more often than not sketchy definitions of a broad-brush term like "space," Lefebvre suggests to shift focus, deploring "ethnologists, anthropologists and psychoanalysist" to be "students of […] representational spaces," undererstimating "social practice." Specifying the vague notion of a "science of space" Lefebvre suggests instead:[93]

> The science of space should therefore be viewed as a 'science of use', whereas the specialized sciences known as social sciences (including, for example, political economy, sociology, semiology and computer science) partake of exchange, and aspire to be sciences of exchange – that is, of communication and of the communicable. In this capacity, the science of space would concern itself with the material, sensory and natural realm, though with regard to nature its emphasis would be on what we have been calling a 'second nature': the city, urban life, and social energetics – considerations ignored by the simplistic nature-centered approaches with their ambiguous concepts such as the 'environment'. The tendency of such a science would run counter to the dominant and (dominating) tendency in another respect also: it would accord 'appropriation' a special practical and theoretical status. 'For' appropriation and for use, therefore – and 'against' exchange and domination.

Anthropologist Anna Tsing-Loewenhaupt introduces the term "friction" not only to describe a mode of cultural production useful for an "ethnography of global connection,"[94] but characterizing the locales of "the akward, the uneaqual, unstable, and creative qualities of interconnection across difference." She advocates to "inflect" the trajectories of globalization by researching along them. Tsing-Loewenhaupt hence leaves behind some of the apodictic assumptions of specialized disciplines on the one hand, and of postcolonial studies on the other hand, noticing that both, "the universal and the culturally specific […] have been ploys of colonial knowledge." Therewith she deplores that "in studying colonial discourse, social scientists and historians have limited themselves to the cultural specificity side of the equation." Nevertheless, Tsing-Loewenhaupt's goal,

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90 Foucault, Michel: "The Order of Discourse," trans. Ian McLeod, in: *Untying the Text*, Robert Young (ed.), Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981, pp.48-78, pp.74-75 [first: idem: *L'Ordre du Discours*, Paris: Gallimard, 1971, pp.75-90].
91 Cf.: Lefebvre [1974] 1991, op.cit., p.41, p.368.
92 Lefebvre and Guy Debord, the SI's 'impresario' to say it polemically parted ways on ideological differnces, partly concerning Lefebvre's condemnation of the Communist Party still agreeing with Stalinism.
93 Lefebvre [1974] 1991, op.cit., p.368.
94 Tsing-Loewenhaupt, Anna: *Friction. An Ethnography of Global Connection*, Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2005, pp.13-16.

which I share in this report, is to "become embroiled in specific situations," since "the specificity of global connections is an ever-present reminder that universal claims do not actually make everything everywhere the same. Global connections give *grip* to universal aspirations."[95]

Her investigation into the universal, a notion that "can only be charged and enacted in the sticky materiality of practical encounters,"[96] seems at times akin to what Lefebvre introduced as "science of space." In contrast to Lefebvre, Tsing-Loewenhaupt is performing (her) concrete encounters in print in an at times essayistic fashion, instead of producing space through writing with a paradox tendency to topple over on the side of abstract theory (as Lefebvre does). Nevertheless, it is possible to distill a practical research approach, or let us say "method" from Lefevbre, merging it with Tsing-Loewenhaupt's assumptions, since he recommends: "we […] have to study not only the history of space, but also the history of representations, along with their relationships – with each other, with practice, and with ideology. History would have to take in not only the genesis of these spaces but also, and especially, their interconnections, distorsions, displacments, mutual interactions, and their links with the spatial practice of the particular society or mode of production under consideration."[97] In this sense, I suggest an approach that practically traces spatial practices, the space conceived, perceived and experienced, while mediating between material textures and intertextual practice all along.

Deconstructing the Mirror-Stage

The mirrors integrated in Yamazaki's artwork suggest a complex space, interrupting not only the continuity of the surface as such, but also of the pattern formed by the alternating black and white diagonal stripes by subverting them. The diagonals suggest continuity in an indefinite pattern of an imaginary, geometrically constructed space beyond the frame. Yet if so, being cutouts themselves, the very idea of such abstract continuity is undermined. The play of interferring fragments is complicated in the different immaterial reflections evoked by a person approaching the surface of the work. The reflecting plates cut out body-parts only to embed them again, adding up to the artwork like missing pieces of a jigsaw. We are forced to complete this work in progress, in our own process of perception,[98] a co-presence, reintegrating the abstract visual and dematerializing phenomenon of reflection with lived experience of the physical subjective bodies. Since the partial mirror views reflected in mirroring steel sheets do not allow for a recollection of any coherent self-image, these cutouts of the body, decenter and disperse it on the surface of the work instead.

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[95] Ibid.
[96] Ibid.
[97] Lefebvre [1974] 1991, op.cit. p.42 .
[98] For a definition of "perception" and an overview of philosophical and physiological concepts tied to the term, as well as practical applications in case studies ranging from Josef Albers to Bridget Riley see: Zschocke, Nina: *Der irriterte Blick*, Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2006.

Lefebvre writes: "the mirror […] presents […] the most disjunctive relationship between form and content: forms therein have a powerful reality yet remain unreal."[99] He makes a most suitable point, transcending his argument from mirror to the "theatrical space, with its interplay between fictitious and real counterparts and its interaction between gazes and mirages in which actor, audience, 'characters', text, and author all come together but never become one. By means of such theatrical interplay bodies are able to pass from a 'real', immediately experienced space (the pit, the stage) to a perceived space – a third space which is no longer either scenic or public. At once fictitious and real, […]."[100] Could we hence argue that Yamazaki's *Work* (1955) is a performative work? Performance theorist Erika Fischer-Lichte stretches the notion of the "performative," as defined by Austin from staged acts to artworks that constitute reality, counting in light sculptures or video installations – in other words: artworks that make the one confronting it become a part of it, in as much as he or she is also an actor before the eyes and bodies of, e.g. other visitors in an exhibition venue:[101]

> *Die Körper- bzw. Materialhaftigkeit der Handlung dominiert hier also bei weitem ihre Zeichenhaftigkeit. […] Die körperliche Wirkung, welche die Handlung auslöst, scheint hier Priorität zu haben. Die Materialität des Vorgangs wird nicht in einen Zeichenstatus überführt, verschwindet nicht in ihm, sondern ruft eine eigene, nicht aus dem Zeichenstatus resultierende Wirkung hervor. […] Dabei bedeute[n] die Handlungen der Schauspieler und der Zuschauer zunächst nichts anderes als das, was sie vollz[iehen]. Sie [sind] in diesem Sinne selbstreferentiell. Als selbstreferentiell und wircklichkeitskonstituierend können sie, […] im Sinne Austins 'performativ' genannt werden.*

It might seem odd to call the flat object on the wall "performative." In its theatrical affective aspects it yet nevertheless provokes a mutable, rather than a fixed relationship of reading-writing *Sakuhin* (1955), even if the places, where different bodies confronted with its surface reappear, have been set and defined by Yamazaki. With textual performer and art historian Amelia Jones we could even conclude that Yamazaki's *Work* (1955) is not only "performative," but engages us as a stage prop in a play reminding of body art, since it is "'intersubjective', contingent on the other […]."[102] Somewhere else Jones specifies: "Body Art practices solicit, rather than distance the spectator, drawing her or him into the work […] these practices also elicit pleasures – Seen by Marxians to be inexorably linked to the corrupting influence of commodity culture." Jones sees instead potential in such practices, as far as they "in all […] permutations (performance, photograph, film, video, text) insist upon subjectivities and identities (gendered, raced, classed, sexed, and otherwise) as absolutely central components of any cultural practice."[103] Again in

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[99] Lefebvre 1991, p.186.
[100] Ibid., p.188.
[101] Fischer-Lichte, Erika: *Ästhetik des Performativen*, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2004, p.21.
[102] Jones 1998, p.10-11.
[103] Ibid., p.3.

different context Jones differentiates between what she names the modernist "Pollockian performative" and "the postmodern performative," which might be said to be "characterized by the […] consciousness of 'intersubjectivity'," and on top of it "'perform[s]' rather than 'suppress[es]' the dislocation of the subject, and this indeed, could be said to be what constitutes 'postmodernism:' the awareness of the impossibility of determining meaning or identity in any final way and of the contingency of the subject (here the artist as well as the interpreter) on the particularities of the interpretive exchange."[104] Now, it is clear that in this (dis)integrating painting of course Yamazaki herself is not corporeally present, even the traces of her artist body seem revoked to a minimum. Nevertheless, the piece attacks the integrity of the one confronted with it, dispersing the eye/I through the distortion of its narcissist gaze. By reembedding the eye/I in both the work and one's own body via the surface triggering sensory affect as well as mental reflection, Yamazaki's *Sakuhin* (1955) troubles and ends the visual transcendence over corporeality.

Avoiding issue with historic chronology, and given the *Gutai* group's documented appreciation of their "effective and affective Other"[105] Jackson Pollock, Amelia Jones nevertheless casts works by *Gutai* artists within what she calls the "Pollockian performative." Still differentiating between a masculinist and antimasculinist approaches to painting in the works by *Gutai* members, she concludes: "Both Klein and the Gutai artists constructed themselves performatively in relation to the then dominant Pollockian model of artistic genius – and thus confirmed the centrality of this model on the international scene as well as its relevance to the articulation of a more self-critical and open-ended mode of artistic subjectivity."[106] Eventually fitting Tsuruko Yamazaki into the "Pollockian performative" she writes: "With the Gutai group, the presentation of non-Western (and in case of Atsuko Tanaka and Tsuruko Yamazaki, female) bodies within the Pollockian performative mode served (at least when viewed by Westerners) to dislocate the 'reiteration' of the codes of masculine genius by denaturalizing the bodies which these are conventionally attached."[107] I agree, and yet disagree with Jones, since her argument forfeits vigorous effect, when thinking of a local, Japanese audience instead. On the other hand the *Gutai* group evidentially dispersed documentation of the group member's works strategically to an international audience, as we will see later on. But back to Yamazaki's *Work* (1955) again.

Dan Graham, an artist concerned with the mirror's effects since the late 1960s, observes the phenomenological qualities of the reflecting medium in contrast to the video image as a starting point for manipulations of both types of reflection in his own work. Contrary to, but yet not necessarily contradicting my description of Yamazaki's 'montage' *Work* (1955) as a displaceable

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[104] This and previous citations in this paragraph cf.: Jones, Amelia: *Body Art. Performing the Subject*, Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1998, p.58.
[105] Barshey 1992, op. cit., pp.365-406.
[106] Jones 1998, p.92.
[107] Ibid., p.93.

'space-time modulator', transforming sites as well as the homogenizing notion of a fixed subject, Graham underlines the static aspect of enclosed mirrors instead, as "cancelling the passage of time:"[108]

> *The symmetry of mirrors tends to conceal or cancel the passage of time, so that the overall architectural form appears to transcend time, while the interior area of the architecture, inhabited by human movements, process and gradual change, is emptied of significance. As the image in the mirror is perceived as static instant, place (time and space) becomes illusorily eternal. The world seen on video, by contrast, is in temporal flux and connected to subjectively (because it can be identified with) experienced duration.*

Work (1955) yet operates in a different way on the bodies approaching it. It enhances a partially subjective, partially objective experience of the self in the process of an always only partial identification with the here a priori fragmented mirror image.[109]

Art historian Sigrid Schade investigates art practices fascinated with the fragmentation of the bodily gestalt, concluding that they undo the myth of a selfconstitution of the subject, deconstructing the phantasma of wholeness. She introduces the phantasma of the sliced-up body as a counter image, embodying the frailty of subjective identity. The example Schade tears to develop this thesis are surprisingly the phantasmagoric monstrosities in Hiernonymus Bosch's paintings. If Schade sees quality in their "mannerism" she does not use the term as a stylistic or time-specific expression, but rather to subsume subversive practice, directed against fixed norms, or normalization in general: [110]

> *Mensch- und Tierleiber, Haushaltgeräte, anthropomorphe Formen, Landschaftsteile etc. vermischen sich zu den abenteuerlichsten und bedrohlichsten Gestalten. Ein Strukturmerkmal manieristischer Kunst (im Sinne von Hockes Gegenüberstellung zu klassischen Formen) scheint die Skepsis gegen aufklärerische Versprechen zu sein, die sich in der Negierung des hierarchischen Augensinnes und der ein für allemal festgelegten Bedeutung von Formen zeigt.*

Amelia Jones writes concerning "the simulacral, self-reflexive body:" "Following from Martin Heidegger's observation regarding the technologization of the everyday life in twentieth-century society; wherein the world comes to be 'conceived and grasped as picture', Vivian Sobchack has noted that our bodies 'become increasingly viewed as 'resources' and increasingly

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[108] Graham, Dan: *Two-Way Mirror Power. Selected Writings by Dan Graham on His Art*, Alexander Alberro (ed.), published in association with the Marian Goodman Gallery, New York, Cambridge, MA.: The MIT Press, 1999, pp.54-55.

[109] For an examination of the "mirror stage," theorized by psychologist Jacques Lacan (1949), I refer to Judith Butler's critical and complex deconstruction of Lacan's stance, see: Butler, Judith: *Bodies that Matter. On the Discoursive Limits of 'Sex'*, New York: Routledge, 1993.

[110] Schade, Sigrid: "Der Mythos des 'Ganzen Körpers'. Das Fragmentarische in der Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts als Dekonstruktion bürgerlicher Totalitätskonzepte," in: *Frauen, Bilder, Männer, Mythen*, Ilsebill Barta, Zita Breu, Daniela Hammer-Tugendhat et al. (eds.), Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1987, pp.239–260.

lived as 'things' to be seen, managed, and mastered'."[111] Does not *Sakuhin* (1955) offer us a chance to reflect Michel Foucault's broader observation that "the body is the inscribed surface of events (traced by language and dissolved by ideas), the locus of a disassociated self (adopting the illusion of substantial unity), and a volume in perpetual disintegration"[112]? Since placing himself between essentialism and constructionism, for Foucault the body is at once real and there and "continually subject to sociopolitical determination."[113]

1.1.4 Irritation and Effects – Notes on Liminality

Another feature of *Sakuhin* (*Work,* 1955) is the disintegration of title and material object. As a self-referential piece it obeys classical definitions of "abstract" art. Yet, the groping activity of the searching gaze at work directs the observer's attention to surface qualities, tactility and virtual image, installing a state tantamount to "the cancellation of meaning and exemption of time."[114] If one clings to the groups' program of installing "concrete" art by stretching painting practices, this could lead to several misunderstandings. I claim that "concrete" or "embodiment" (*Gutai*) denotes the reality constituting moment, when a beholder approaches Yamazaki's work, becoming part of it and not, torn from his or her disinterested position. *Sakuhin* could be considered a stage prop in front of which and with which the person faced with it, performs the mutual (dis-)integration of bodies. Other visitors might intervene or gaze at the scenario, confirming and destabilizing the assumed places of subject and object at once. In her notes on the intelligibility of theater stagings historian Erika Fischer-Lichte observes that such aesthetic experience is marked by instability as:[115]

> […] *der Erfahrung sich 'betwixt and between' zwei Ordnungen der Wahrnehmung zu befinden, ohne die permanente Stabilisierung einer von beiden intentional herbeiführen zu können. Der Wahrnehmende vermag diese Erfahrung durch eine Reflexion auf den Zustand der Liminalität zu modifizieren, ehe er erneut von einem im Raum erscheinenden Phänomen leiblich affiziert und in Bann geschlagen wird.* […] *Wenn das Scheitern des Verstehns als frustrierende Basiserfahrung erlebt wird, dann wird die Instablität eher als eine Krise erfahren.*

Curator Atsuo Yamamoto argues on occasion of a first retrospective of Yamazaki's works in 2004 concerning the diagonal stripes for their capacity of irritating and reorienting the gaze: "While both simple and systematic, diagonal lines prevent one's gaze from settling on the canvas, […]."[116] We still have to consider that the conditions of perception are influencing perception itself, just as

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[111] Jones, Amelia: "Survey," in: *The Artist's Body*, Tracy Warr (ed.), London: Phaidon, 2000, p.35.

[112] Foucault, Michel: "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History," in: *The Foucault Reader*, Paul Rabinow (ed.), London: Penguin, 1991, p.83, [first: idem: "Nietzsche, la Généalogie, l'Histoire," in: *Dits et Ecrits*, vol II, Paris: Gallimard, 1971, p.143].

[113] Fuss, Diana: *Essentially Speaking: Feminism, Nature, Difference*, New York: Routledge, 1989, p.5.

[114] Bathes, Roland: *Empire of Signs*, trans. Richard Howard, New York: Hill and Wang, 1983, pp.24-26 [first: *Empire des Signes*, Geneva: Éditions d'Art Albert Skira S.A, 1970].

[115] Fischer-Lichte 2004, op. cit.

[116] Yamamoto, Atsuo (ed.): "Constrast and Repetition," trans. Christopher Stephens, in: *Reflection. Tsuruko Yamazaki*, exh. cat. Ashiya City Museum of Art and History, 2004, p.13, the fact that the work does not materialize in/on canvas is here an unfortunately marginalized detail.

much as different previous experiences might change our attention for specific features of a work of art, so that such a statement cannot lean on a fixed definition of "perception"[117] itself. However, diagonal stripes in different color contrasts will turn out to become a recurrent motive in Yamazaki's body of work over the years, building up to an artistic practice between repetition and differentiation, or difference.[118] What if, what Yamazaki herself discounts, comparing her own practice to *Gutai* fellow Atsuko Tanaka's lucid inventiveness, as her very own "lack of creativity,"[119] should instead be valued, and thus reevaluated in terms of a posture, embodying not only "authorship" as subject to transition, but also the simultaneity of the visual and the textural, i.e. production as a form of writing by determining and tracing differences through repetition, gaining ground. Henri Lefebvre differentiates between iteration and recurrence in mathematics, and art, music, or poetry:[120]

> *In music, or poetry, by contrast difference is what engenders the repetitive aspect that will make that difference effective. […] Art puts its faith in difference: this is what is known as 'inspiration', or as a 'project'; this is the motive of a new work – the thing that makes it new; only subsequently does the poet, musician, or painter seek out means, procedures and techniques – in short, the wherewithal to realize the project by dint of repetition. […] The enigma of the body – its secret at once banal and profound – is its ability, beyond subject and object (and beyond the philosophical distinction between them), to produce differences 'unconcsciously' out of repetitions – out of gestures (linear) or out of rhythms (cyclical). In the misapprehended space of the body, a space that is both close by and distant, this paradoxical junction of repetitive and differential – this most basic form of 'production' – is forever occurring.*

I may turn your attention at last to the fact that *Sakuhin* (1955) perceived as a collage or montage piece shows horizontal fractures. Disciplined by the exhibition space, I cannot get close enough to check, whether the horizontal line, marking the upper third of the rectangular plane consists of a separate wooden support. The neat diagonals depicted might as well just be glued together at about that height of the fissure. At about the same distance from the lower margin of the work, a similar seam is discernable, this time not within the pattern of the white slants though, but aligning through the diagonals materialized in black oil-paper. The entity of the work is de- as well as recomposed. It plays on my unconscious desire to perceive *Sakuhin* as a distanced art object easy to single out, to judge upon or interpret. Affecting me in this "theatrical"[121] way, it yet leads

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[117] Concerning multiple definitions of "perception" as a philosophic concept, as well as a physiological and cognitive function see: Zschocke, Nina: *Der irritierte Blick*, Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2006, pp.77-78, p.82; A nuanced analysis of artworks, practices, and dicourses concerned with the (neurological) study of perception offers *The Expanded Eye. Sehen entgrenzt und verflüssigt*, exh. cat. Kunsthaus Zürich, 2006, Bice Curiger (ed.), Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 2006.

[118] Considering the terms used here, the applicability of Derridian theory should be considered in future in-depth analyses of the works mentioned, since it exceeds the scope of the actual consideration.

[119] Yamazaki, Tsuruko: "Conversation with Tsuruko Yamazaki", Gabrielle Schaad, Andrew Maerkle, Atsuko Ninagawa, and Toyoko Hyohno, Ashiya, 1.5.2014.

[120] Lefebvre, Henri: [1974] 1991, p.395.

[121] U.S. art critic Michael Fried critized "theatricality" in 1960s art discourse as affect and effect of the emerging "minimal art," opposing the sensibility of painting as outlined in the essentialist discourse set up by Clement

beyond the preconceived notions of art, non-art, good or bad art, just the way that the edges and boundaries of the work itself are challenged. Most controversially *Sakuhin* (1955) fragments my body. Now, what shall we do with this observation? Could this have something to do with the technological optimism operating the everyday patterns in postwar Japan by imposing an increasingly fragmented experience of the city, gaining complexity through an acceleration of speed first with the new transportation infrastructures, in a second step with an increase of information technology, implemented? To tear a conclusion is nearly impossible since the fragmented, dispersed picture parceling out the representation of an ideal and coherent body, at the very same time speaks of strategies used to commodify and objectify – especially female body-parts – turning them into coded signs, circulated and distributed in advertisment.

At the same time this disintegration of a coherent image in Yamazaki's *Sakuhin* (1955), reinforces one's own perception as subjective body. I would of course not claim that the shifts in social structure or the impact of new (communication) technologies are the reasons or the motivation for Yamazaki's *Sakuhin* (1955). Still, the work promptes the question, whether the mirror fields, placed on the margins, mediatly articulate and present a variety of incursions on the body. It opens a field of tension around the terms fragmentation, dislocation, and decentering of the self that are both condemned and celebrated in different cultural theories. But as Amelia Jones remarks: "[…] an insistence on the interrelatedness of subject and objects, and our interdependence with our environment asserts the necessary responsibility of the multipli[ed] and dispersed, but fully embodied social and political subject."[122]

"Sakuhin" (Work), 1955 as Spatial Device

This "liminal" experience of Yamazaki's artwork brings to mind Michel Foucault's thoughts on the mirror. His considerations add another layer to the performance of Yamazaki's *Work*, understood as a zero point of this study – or as (time) travelling device in a more figurative sense. In his seminal radio lecture "Of Other Places. Utopias and Heterotopias"[123] (*Des Espaces Autres*), Foucault portrays "spaces" in 1967 as sets of relational configurations. Integrating mental space and concrete experience Foucault notes:

Greenberg. By contrast art historian Amelia Jones sees in "theatricality" – used by Fried pejoratively – the ultimate power to destroy the patronistic ideal of a disengaged, rational modern man/ego. See: Fried, Michael: "Art and Objecthood," in: *Artforum,* no. 5 (June, 1967), pp.12-23; and Jones 1998, op. cit., p.18.
[122] Ibid.
[123] Foucault, Michel: "Of Other Spaces: Utopia and Heterotopia," trans. Jay Miskowiec, in: *Architecture/Mouvement/Continuité*, (October, 1984), [first: idem: "Des Espace Autres," (March, 1967), radio lecture]. See: Dehaene, Michiel and Lieven de Cauter (eds.): *Heterotopia and the City. Public Space in Post-civil Society*, London and New York: Routledge, 2008, in their new translation of Michel Foucault's lecture they replace the word "site" with "emplacement"; see also McLeod, Mary: 'Everyday and "other" spaces', in: *Architecture and Feminism*, D. Coleman, E. Danze, and C. Henderson (eds.), New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1996, pp.1-37.

In other words, we do not live in a kind of void, inside of which we could place individuals and things. We do not live inside a void that could be colored with diverse shades of light, we live inside a set of relations that delineate sites, which are irreducible to one another and absolutely not superimposable on one another.

Foucault differentiates between unrealized ideas and ideals of living together (*utopias*) defined by Thomas Morus in the 16th century, and places "outside of all places" (*heterotopias*), which do actually exist, are locatable, yet generate their own sets of rules. Introducing such categories, even when implying the potentiality of a counter-space with *heterotopia*, Foucault spares us from premature sententious judgements. The examples he uses to breathe live into his concept range from prison over sanatory to places of commemoration or storage of cultural heritage, i.e. museums. With this differentiation, he makes also room for a critique of oppositional binaries, mentioning the mirror *en passant* as a figure of "in-between-ness," further complicating the relation of utopia and heterotopia:[124]

I believe that between utopias and these quite other sites, these heterotopias, there might be a sort of mixed, joint experience, which would be the mirror. The mirror is, after all, a utopia, since it is a placeless place. In the mirror, I see myself there where I am not, in an unreal, virtual space that opens up behind the surface; I am over there, there where I am not, a sort of shadow that gives my own visibility to myself, that enables me to see myself there where I am absent: such is the utopia of the mirror. But it is also a heterotopia in so far as the mirror does exist in reality, where it exerts a sort of counteraction on the position that I occupy. From the standpoint of the mirror I discover my absence from the place where I am since I see myself over there. Starting from this gaze that is, as it were, directed toward me, from the ground of this virtual space that is on the other side of the glass, I come back toward myself; I begin again to direct my eyes toward myself and to reconstitute myself there where I am. […]The mirror functions as a heterotopia in the respect that it renders this place that I occupy at the moment when I look at myself in the looking glass at once absolutely real, connected with all the space that surrounds it, and absolutely unreal, since, in order to be perceived, it has to pass through this virtual point, which is over there.

Since I claimed above that Yamazaki's *Work* (1955) with its integrated mirror pieces operates like a "space-time modulator," defining it more precisely as a verge, I will try to use it as a "vessel" transporting and transposing me to different time frames and settings within this study. Yamazaki's *Work* (1955) is yet no proper mirror, but itself a montage or a collage. It therefore not only grants reflection, yet allows us to juxtapose and question different materials and sites, textural or visual aspects, as well as their spatial relations: to address utopia, dystopia, and in particular to locate heterotpias with their inherent contestations.[125] I have to clarify in this context though that when I

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[124] Foucault, Michel: "Of Other Spaces: Utopia and Heterotopia," trans. Jay Miskowiec, in: *Diacritics*, vol. 16, no. 1, (spring, 1986), pp. 22-27, [first: idem: "Des Espace Autres," (March, 1967), radio lecture].

[125] Picking up and developing Foucault's notion of "heterotopia," my application of the term is inspired by a rather recent collection of essays, since Michiel Dehaene and Lieven de Cauter illuminate that "in this heterotopian universe, there is more between the extremes of honeymoon and graveyard, between Jesuit colony and brothel […]," see: Dehaene, Michiel and Lieven de Cauter (eds.): "The Space of Play: Towards a

will be 'using' *Sakuhin* as a device to visit "other" places, I decidedly do not mean "Japan" – however imagined or real – as the cultural "Other," but a variety of holistic concepts, set-ups, views, and realities not only proposed, but socially produced by particular artists and architects in Japan between c. 1955 and 1972.

Cancellation and Exemption

After a very long silence, lasting either 30 seconds or 3 minutes, I finally reply to Ninagawa: "Well, I am happy, we had the chance to travel to Osaka together. As I have arranged some meetings at the Ashiya City Art Museum, and the Osaka Expo Memorial Park, this excursion has its purpose in any case. For the rest, let us wait and see. Yamazaki-*sensei* might change her mind again – hopefully. Yet, I guess by the age of 89, one is more than allowed to feel indisposed, even if this sensibility might come up on short notice." As if to raise my spirits, Ninagawa changes the subject: "Tokyoites like to call Osaka 'tacky', mocking the kitsch still found in shops or bar interiors here. This place would make up for a perfect example – take a look at the setting, those greasy red leather seats we are sitting on! Even the more approachable attitude, our idiom, or the more casual style of conversation in general is sometimes looked down on from the capital Tokyo, where distanced and remote attitude is considered proof of refined manners." Saying so, a short, but hearty laughter slips out of her mouth, brightening the faces at the counter. Chorusing with them, I cast down my eyes. They trace the outlines of a scarcely perceptible, greasy stain, soaked through the delicate texture of the paper my fried fish had been resting on (Fig.7). After chatting with the chef about his recent adjustments of the *tempura* dough and the different gettable qualities of frying-oil, we call it a day: Appointment at Yamazaki's Osaka gallery at 2pm tomorrow. The owner of LADS Gallery, Mrs. Toyoko Hyohno, will fill in for the artist in order to discuss my catalogue of questions, granting access to the gallery archives.

Getting off *Midōsuji* Line on the way back to an improvised bed and breakfast, I discover a tiny public park next to one of the 24-hour convenience stores (*konbini*) that spread all over Japan since the late 1960s, when increased working hours of office workers raised the demand for less time-consuming, ready-to-eat dishes, and late-night retail businesses.[126] Trudging along the

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General Theory of Heterotopia," in: *Heterotopia and the City. Public Space in a Postcivil Society*, London and New York: Routledge, 2008, pp.87-103, p.91.

[126] David Marutschke determines the introduction stage of convenience stores between 1969 and 1976. The American store concept had been introduced to Japan earlier in the 1960s, but convenience stores become an industry only with the franchising model operated by large retail companies. With rapid economic growth in the 1960s the working hours for both men and women changed. "Long working hours and an increasing number of people having part-time jobs made free time more valuable. […] The Japanese tradition of frequently buying ingredients to prepare them at home became less important." Marutschke thus observes "a shift from a common buying behavior, where housewives frequently purchased large amounts of goods for their families, to individual purchasing behavior […]," see: Marutschke, David: "Historical Overview and the CS System," in: *Continuous Improvement Strategies. Japanese Convenience Store Systems* (The Palgrave Macmillan Asian Business Series), 2012, online publication, pp.25-56, (accessed through <http://www.palgraveconnect.com/pc/doifinder/10.1057/9780230355668.0008>, last accessed 20.05.2015).

lonesome night, I take a seat on one of the abandoned benches, in mediate proximity to a self-forgotten "salaryman"[127] with loosened tie and canned beer. He kisses the cup, checking the display of his smartphone, illuminating his face in an outlandish glow. If he has noticed somebody crossing the sand pit, he carries it off well. I start to hallucinate: A gleaming summer day back in 2006, standing on Hiroshi Hara's *Umeda Sky Building*, my eyes wandered from abandoned rooftop basketball playgrounds to the *Hanshin Expressway* perforating the *Gate Tower Building*[128] in Osaka's *Fukushima* district, feeding a string of cars inexhaustibly through (Fig.8). A tourist under the beating mid-summer sun, beads of sweat in the back of my knees: How little did I reckon from this vantage point that I would be sitting at the grassroots, buried in thought in some somber park a spring night eight years later, anxious, whether 'to meet, or not to meet' the *grande dame* and founding member of the *Gutai* group, Tsuruko Yamazaki the following day.

Who is Tsuruko Yamazaki? What should we understand under the label "Gutai"? Is it possible to differentiate within a multitude of artists by approaching singular works, focusing on individual positions, trying to bring them in a dialogue with each other through time and space, from the vantage point of present to the past? How approached Yamazaki her life in art? Applying the assumptions of a "science of space," concerned with "friction," what sites should be taken into consideration? Moreover, how to deal with an "ambiguous concept such as the environment?" Or rather, what has to be understood by the expression "environment" in Japan between c. 1955 and 1972 in the first place?

Recent scholarship brings to mind that the "manifesto" of the *Gutai* group Yamazaki co-constituted is a strategic construction, answering the demand of contemporary art criticism to vocalize the so far obscure goals of the group. The text issued in the magazine *Geijutsu shinchō* (New Currents in Art) in 1956 authored by Jirō Yoshihara has been invoked ever since in order to 'understand' the artworks. It pins down a practice, shifting boundaries, not only between man and material (or automaton), but by extending the scope of non-representative art as concrete multidimensional painting performance beyond abstraction. In this regard it is indeed a powerful source difficult to overlook. As an approximative declaration ex-post-facto, reprinted in many an exhibition catalogue it yet also glosses over the diversity of opinions, the facets of approaches, and the sometimes contradictory practices adding up to *Gutai's* direction of impact stretching over nearly twenty years:[129]

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[127] For an overview of anthropological research approaches to white-collar wirkers in Japan since 1945, definition and criticism of, e.g. stereotypes like the "salaryman," which came to epitomize the corporate culture of "Japan.Inc," see: Kelly, William W.: "Directions in the Anthropology of Contemporary Japan," in: *Annual Review of Anthropology*, vol. 20, (1991), pp.395-431, p.422.

[128] *Gate Tower Building*, Fukushima-ku, Osaka, architect: Azusa Sekkei, Yamamoto-Nishihara Kenchiku Sekkei Jimushō, 1992.

[129] Yoshihara, Jirō: "Gutai Art Manifesto," trans. Reiko Tomii, in: *Gutai, Splendid Playground*, exh. cat. The Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum New York, 2013, New York: Guggenheim Museum Pulications, 2013,

In Gutai Art, the human spirit and matter shake hands with each other while keeping their distance. Matter never compromises itself with the spirit; the spirit never dominates matter. […] Now, interestingly, we find a comteporary beauty in the art and architecture of the past ravaged by the passage of time or natural disasters. […] Ruins speak to us through their beautiful cracks and rubble – which might be a revenge of matter that has regained its innate life. […] We believe that by merging human qualities and material properties, we can concretely comprehend abstract space. […] Automatism inevitetably transcends the artist's own image. We endeavor to achieve our own method of creating space rather than relying on our own images. […] As a group, however, we impose no rules. Ours is a free site of creation wherein we have actively pursued diverse experimentations, ranging form art to be appreciated with the whole body to tactile art to Gutai music. […] Granted, our works have frequently been mistaken for Dadaist gestures. But unlike Dadaism, Gutai Art is the product that has arisen form the pursuit of possibilities. Gutai aspires to present exhibitions filled with vibrant spirit, exhibitions in which an intense cry accompanies the discovery of the new life of matter.

Keeping these memorable words in mind, it will still be one of my goals to introduce a multiplicity of voices, complicating categorization. I am nevertheless citing the lines above to quash interpretations of *Gutai* art as mere "trauma therapy," supposed to embody destruction in an attempt to depict and overcome war cruelty, right from the beginning. The "ruins speak[ing…] through their beautiful cracks and rubble – which might be a revenge of matter," just as well as the "endeavor to achieve […an] own method of creating space rather than relying on our own images," prompt different questions instead.

What were the technical, social and material circumstances breeding Yamazaki's work? To which extent are the discourses of increasing automation and rationalization in (post-)industrial production, i.e. also the discourse of cybernetics, of art and science, emerging inter-media art, within and beyond Japan during the Cold War phase of high economic growth framing Yamazaki's work? Can this context be traced, without reducing the artworks to it? Or, would I run the risk of reinforcing prejudice, condemning especially "Gutai's technological work from [the later] period, [which] has long been misunderstood by art historians and critics, who associated it with GNP[Gross National Product]-ism and the war machine without examining the positions articulated by the artists themselves,"[130] as *Gutai* specialist Ming Tiampo brings in charge against previous scholarship?

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pp.18-19 [first: idem: "Gutai bijutsu sengen," in: *Geijutsu shinchō* [New Currents in Art], vol. 7, no. 12, (December, 1956), pp.202-204].

[130]   Tiampo, Ming (ed.): "Please Draw Freely," in: *Gutai. Splendid Playground*, exh. cat. The Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 2013, Alexandra Munroe and Ming Tiampo (eds.), New York: Guggenheim Museum Publications, 2013, pp. 45-79. p.66.

1.2 Intermediate Theater: "A Drama of Human Beings and Objects"

1.2.1 The Gutai Art Festival at Osaka Expo 1970 – Swansong and Prelude

Osaka, Monday August 31, 1970: Seated on elevated movable stands at *Festival Plaza* (*Omatsuri hiroba*), spectators from all parts of Japan, and some international guests are filling the rows. *Festival Plaza* is located in the *Symbol Zone* on the grounds of the first world fair held in Asia.[131] It is about 7 pm. The night has just fallen. The Expo statistics not only register cloudy sky and rainy weather, but list the total energy use for this late summer day with 857,900 KWH, the water consumption with 48,468 m^3, and the amount of cooling water with 740,300 Mcal.[132]

For the next one and a half hours the crowd filling the rows will be entertained by an effect seeking production. A cutting-edge LED-billboard announces in Japanese and Roman letters, what is about to take place on the unpopulated field, serving as stage (Fig.9): "The Gutai Art Festival – A Drama of Human Beings and Objects" (*Gutai bijutsu omatsuri: ningen to buttai no dorama*) (Fig. XY). In a succession of 11 performances, episodic mini dramas, or sequences rather than one overarching theatre production following a narrative thread, the *Gutai* group (1955–1972) looks back on its earlier stage performances, re-enacting men and objects.

Sketched out in a storyboard set down by veteran member and graphic designer Toshio Yoshida (1927–1997) the program has been specially developed for this stage (Fig.10, Fig.11). With their first performance program *Gutai Art on the Stage (Butai o shiyō suru Gutai bijutsu)*, touring the Sankei Halls of Osaka (May 29) and Tokyo (July 17) the group became a talking point in 1957. The crux in the aims of the group member's art on stage was, how Saburō Murakami (1925–1996) noted in 1957 that time was not to be depicted anymore, but articulated itself in spatial terms, as synchronicity unfolding in multiple directions, producing a network like constellation of form and non-formal shapes that index the present/absent body of a human being, or a dissolving, ephemeral object in interaction, less of a fixed scenery in the backdrop but the stage props themselves as transforming and interacting material:[133]

> *Painting had never incorporated time as a concrete factor. The Cubists expressed different factors of time on the same*
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> *plane and the Futurists tried to express the movement of time itself. However, such works were persistently paintings*

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[131] For a detailed account and analysis of the historical circumstances, inhibiting the long-cherished idea of holding a world fair, or at least an "Asian" fair in Japan see: "Towards Osaka Expo '70: The Avant-Garde and 'Art and Technology' in Japan," in: *Collection of Papers Dedicated to the 40th Anniversary of the Institute of Art History, Faculty of Philosophy*, Belgrade: University of Belgrade, 2011, n.p.

[132] "Zen 183 jitsu no kiseki. Sūji de miru Ōsaka banpaku" [The Remains of 183 Days. Osaka Expo in Terms of Numbers], editorial, in: *Ōsaka Banpaku. 20-seiki ga yume mita 21-seiki. Expo '70* [Osaka Expo '70: The 21st Century the 20th Century Dreamt of], Akiomi Hirano (ed.), Tokyo: Shōgakukan Creative Visual Book, 2014, pp.338.

[133] Murakami, Saburō: "On Gutai Art," trans. Kikuko Ogawa, in: *Gutai. Facsimile Edition, 12-Volume Boxed Set with Supplement*, no. 7, ed. by Chinatsu Kuma, supervised by Ashiya City Museum of Art & History, Tokyo: Geikashoin, 2010, p.61, [first: idem: "Gutai bijutsu ni tsuite (On Gutai Art), in: *Gutai* (Special Issue: Gutai Art on Stage), no. 7, (July, 1957), last page].

in which the full view was taken in simultaneously. There, time was simply presented as the ideological content or an image of time. […] By abandoning the frame or jumping off the wall, we are trying to experiment with a new painting that shifts from immobile to live time. This is entirely different from the connection between time and space in conventional drama performing literary content. […] A space for such time and time for such space – this is a painting with a new meaning.

A condition, which painting and the *Gutai* painters in Japan faced as new challenge since an acceleration of economic growth and its subsequent transformation of the everyday started to take shape in the late 1950s. The *Gutai* artists met this challenge with their non-representative practice of "embodiment,"[134] using the human body as a tool (*gu* = Jap. for: tool, measure, ingredient, or pigment; *tai* = Jap. for: body, form, substance; *gutai* = Jap. for: concrete, materialization) just as well as attributing new uses to preexisting instruments, and substances beyond artist's or visitor's body. Not enough that the activities of a total of 59 artists, Ming Tiampo counts,[135] are difficult to overlook.

Instead of telescoping GNP-ism and technologically inclined artworks by members of the *Gutai* group, one could possibly place their works between two "crises of representation." Whereas artists of a first generation are often concerned with the frailty of subjectivity, partly provoked by a broader renegotiation of cultural identity, taking place in Japan not only in the aftermath of World War II, but also as a consequence of U.S. Occupation. A second generation of artists constituting *Gutai* shifts the focus – falling somewhat in line with earlier inquiries into manifestations of reality – to the increasing transcoding and control of concrete tools and their funtions in an interconnected world, while being projected in a flood of images.[136] According to such a thesis the artists are concerned with an increasingly invisible, yet neither immaterial nor intangible network of "information" surrounding, translating, and transforming (wo-)men. Testing the boarders between mediate(d), signifying "communication" and immediate, sometimes even ineffable physical sensation, or phenomenological experience and use, they respond with their idiosyncratic works. It will be the task of this the following chapters to weigh, how and why artistic and architectural practices tried to subvert classical modes of representation, whether such initiatives backfired. Did they answer, and if how did they answer to intended, to any however unintended or distorted purpose?

Thirteen years lie in-between Murakami's reflections on the first *Gutai Art on the Stage* event and the group's production for Osaka Expo 1970, taking place from March, 15 through September, 13 1970. Although praising the *Gutai* artists for their innovative exhibition formats in

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[134] I am referring to Yōzō Ukita's definition of the term, see: Ukita, Yōzō: "Documentary on the Second Edition of 'GUTAI'," in: *Gutai*, no. 2, (October, 1955), p.30.
[135] Cf. Tiampo 2011, op. cit., pp.182-183.
[136] Sommer, Markus: *Oberflächen der Weltausstellungen. Das Welt-Bild in Katalogmaterialien ausgewählter Expos im 20 Jahrhundert*, Diss. University of Marburg 2012, Marburg: Tectum, 2015.

the past, in 1968 already former *Japan Times*' art critic and "associate of the Asian Productivity Organization," Martin Cohen sets up a climax community narrative:[137]

> *It is well over ten years since Gutai members occupied a pine grove near the Ashiya River, not far from Osaka, there to drape the ground and trees with a three-hundred-meter roll of white vinyl stamped with outsize footprints, frame a narrow portion of sky and make it and the passing clouds the artist's work, fire paint form a homemade cannon onto a ten metersquare vinyl sheet [...]. Nothing outstanding today – but Gutai was doing it over a decade ago. [...] Membership has been kept stable at about thirty for several years. But just how good is Gutai today?*

In contrast to Cohen I do not want to rush ahead imposing arbitrary judgment. Let us ask instead, what lead Cohen to ask this question? Let us discover first, how and where the *Gutai* group came to stage their "embodiment(s)?"

Playlets: Projecting Back and Forth

The 'painter's-group's "Drama of Human Beings and Objects"[138] (*Ningen to buttai no dorama*) opens with the piece *Jump Lights* (*Tobu hikaru*) (Fig.12)*. From under the impressive roof, consisting of space frames and various, plugged-in space capsules, as well as a speaker-, lighting and climate-system, two bodies dressed in tight blue overalls bob over the square suspended on white captive balloons respectively. Dancing in a seemingly un-choreographed air ballet to a prerecorded music tape aired on the 600 speakers that install an almost "topological" soundscape. The adhered balloons remind of parachutes. Red, blue and yellow spotlights, beaming from different directions colorize the inflatable tools, bouncing over and against the bodies of the two performers (Fig.13). The two human bodies seem uplifted and safe from stranding on the ground permanently, as well as threatened to be carried away by the white balls. The balloons' dimensions, volumes and undisclosed filling cause awe and anxiety at a time, looking as if they could go up in smoke any second. Held back by barely visible ropes and eventually clamped under the roof, the geometric construction sheltering *Festival Plaza* limits the possibility to float adrift, depriving the performers of freedom by setting a boundary. The balloons eventually bounce their suspended human parcels off stage. The coming darkness is torn apart by three egg-shaped light balls, wobbling over the field pushed and stopped by black dressed men on an unforeseeable zigzag course. Reading the performance against the backdrop of the "Space Age," art historian Ming Tiampo poetically interprets the performance as "a kind of modified moon walk," and the "illuminated globes [...] in

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[137] Cohen, Martin: "Japan's Gutai Group," in: *Art in America*, (November/December, 1968), pp.86-89.

[138] The Japanese titel *Ningen to buttai no dorama* is often translated as "Drama of Man and Matter," e.g. in Ming Tiampo's writing, since the words *buttai* (Jap. = object, substance, matter) and *busshitsu* (Jap. = material, matter, substance) were often used synonymously indeed, yet the electric billboard on *Festival Plaza* announced the performance translating *buttai* as "objects." For this reason I will rather stick to "objects" for the 1970 performance instead of using the broader term "matter."

the dark, [as] creating an indeterminate sense of antigravity space."[139] Beyond this perceptive allusion to outer space, is it still necessary to consider the context the stage props shown in manifold states of transition have been torn from?

The opening piece of the *Gutai Art Festival* brings to mind another "Festival" organized by the group in Osaka, ten years earlier: *The Sky Art Festival*, held on the rooftop of the Takashimaya department store in Namba from April 19 to 24, 1960 (Fig.14).[140] The groups prominent mentor figure Jirō Yoshihara (1905–1972) had described the outdoor exhibition situation "as the stage with the huge space of the limitless dome of the blue sky above,"[141] when he introduced *Gutai's* first stage performances in 1957. What was different in this ballet of human beings and objects, presented in 1970? Human bodies replace the suspended paintings. The bodies move the balloons, as well as the balloons shift them from one place to another. The white and colored light spots illuminating the balloons as objects of projection, while the bodies stay in the shade. The egg-shaped light bulbs in the second sequence are clearly pushed by performers, but again – emphasized are the objects, their partly controlled, partly uncontrollable movements on stage, rather than the human beings or bodies, who touch them. The bodies are transformed into mere black silhouettes instead: moving shadows in front of piercing movable light sources.

The second performance *Boxes* (*Hako*) presents a set of eight boxes of different rectangular shape, about the height of a person each. They are positioned in a slightly curved row in the front stage area. Performers in white overalls are breaking out of the paper screened, three dimensional frame constructions that look like solid boxes from afar. A performer shoves a trolley-table directing himself toward a set of pre-set microphones in front of the boxes, other men and women join him, little by little breaking through the screens of their wood and paper frames. Together they perform "concrete music," (*Gutai ongaku*)[142] using improvised instruments like a red plastic sheet,

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[139] Tiampo 2011, p. 164.

[140] Takashimaya's Namba flagship store had been established in 1932. It was damaged during air raids in 1945, and served afterwards as one of the logistic centers during the Allied Occupation. In 1960, however, the building shone in new splendor. Confirming the self-image as "cultural catalysts," many a department store from Mitsukoshi, over Takashimaya to Seibu provided a floor with rental galleries, open for exhibitions of contemporary art – or rather product design, see: Moeran, Brian: "The Birth of the Japanese Department Store," in: *Asian Department Stores* (ConsumAsian Book Series), Kerry L. Macpherson (ed.), Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1998, pp.141-176; Ueno, Chizuko: "Seibu Department Store and Image Marketing. Japanese Consumerism in the Post-war Period," in: *Asian Department Stores* (ConsumAsian Book Series), Kerry L. Macpherson (ed.), Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1998, pp.177-205; Creighton, Millie: "Something More: Japanese Department Store's Marketing of a 'Meaningful Human Life'," in: *Asian Department Stores* (ConsumAsian Book Series), Kerry L. Macpherson (ed.), Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1998, pp.206-232; Ivy, Marilyn: "Formations of Mass Culture," in: *Postwar Japan as History*, Andrew Gordon (ed.), Berkeley, Los Angeles and Oxford: University of California Press, 1993, pp.239-258.

[141] Yoshihara, Jirō: "Gutai Art on the Stage," in: *Gutai*, no. 7, (July, 1957), p.1.

[142] Experimentations of *Gutai* in the field of "concrete" music (gutaii[tekina]*) ongaku*) have been largely neglected so far. Two short sections in different overviews mention them at least. See: *Gutai shiryō-shū. Dokyumento Gutai 1954–1972 / Document Gutai 1954–1972*, Ashiya City Museum of Art and History (ed.), Ashiya: Ashiya City Cultural Foundation, 1993, pp.35-40; and New York 2013. One of the possible reasons for this is surely the strong hold on experimental music of the Tokyo based collective *Experimental Workshop* (*Jikken kōbō*). Although less present in Japanese art press at the time, their sophisticated contributions developed a more striking impact in the international experimental music scene, what might

wavering in front of the microphone or the clacking sound of red shoes reminding of the noise caused by running steps in *Geta*, performed as an un-ambitioned, short tap dance. A two-person band on a movable mini-stage, backs the performers up with an electric "concert," featuring amplified electric guitar and drums. Meanwhile the wheeled paper boxes are rolled off stage. In his remarks on "Frameless Music"[143] (*Waku no nai ongaku*) published on occasion of the first *Gutai Art on Stage* event in 1957, Michio Yoshihara aimed to free music from rules arguing as French experimental composer Pierre Schaeffer could have, before the so-called "Cage-Shock."[144] He was interested in sound effects, as a bottom-up "composition," a bricolage of various elements, material-, man-, or machine-made rather than what was usually subsumed as music with a capital M: "'Expulsion of the frame' – this indeed indicates the direction in which new art should proceed universally. […] It may be more appropriate to call the music by MR. Motonage and I in work numbers, 1, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12 sound effects rather than music."[145] And Shōzō Shimamoto

have raised doubts on the side of art historians concerning the quality and 'seriousness' of *Gutai*'s experiments in the field of sound. In 1956 *Jikken Kōbō* performed a "Musique Concrète/ Electronic Music Audition," at the Yamaha Hall, Tokyo. Composer Tōru Takemitsu joins, Shōzō Kitadai, Yasushi Akutagawa, Toshiro Mayuzumi, Hiroyoshi Suzuki, Minao Shibata, Kuniharu Akiyama, and Katsuhiro Yamaguchi. The latter turned the space into an environment with stretched ropes – a gimmick he might have borrowed from Marcel Duchamp's installation for the *First Papers of Surrealism* exhibition, held in New York's Whitelaw Reid Mansion in 1947. Adapting it for his own needs, the strings were recalling, e.g. an instrument like the Japanese *Koto*. The members would later continue their search into noise music, establishing close ties with Jaon Cage, among others through Japanese composer Toshi Ichiyanagi. The 1960s were yet dominated by the improvisations of the music collective *Group Ongaku* (Music Group), officially founded in 1960. *Group Ongaku* strongly engaged with the international Fluxus artists, and would later trigger the local noise music scene. Among its members were Yasunao Tone, and Toshi Ichiyanagi. cf.: Merewether, Charles: "Disjunctive Modernity. The Practice of Artistic Experimentation in Postwar Japan," in: *Art, Anti-Art, Non-Art. Experimentation in the Public Sphere in Postwar Japan 1950–1970*, exh. cat. Getty Research Institute, 2007, Charles Merewether and Rika Iezumi Hirō (eds.), Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2007, pp.13-18. *Group Ongaku's* first recital *Improvisation and Sound 'Objet'* (1961) integrated a piano, a pedal organ, a cello, and an alto saxophone, along with an electric vacuum cleaner, a radio, an oil drum, a doll, and a set of dishes. It was held at the Sōgetsu Art Center in Tokyo – a progressive Ikebana school founded by Sōfū Teshigahara, and later used as performance venue, or gathering place for the local art scene with strong ties to the former members of *Experimental Workshop*, as Yamaguchi, or other contemporary opinion leaders like architect Arata Isozaki. For the relations of *Experimental Workshop* and *Gutai* and a comparison of their reception history cf. Tezuka, Miwako: "Jikken Kōbō (Experimental Workshop). Avant-Garde Experiments in Japanese Art of the 1950s," Ph. dissertation, New York: Columbia University, 2005; For more information on *Group Ongaku*, *Fluxus* and the beginnings of noise music in Japan cf: Feuillie, Nicolas (Ed.): *Fluxus Dixit. Une Anthologie Vol.I* (L'écart absolu), Dijon: Les presses du réel, 2002. Katsuhiro Yamaguchi implies that Michel Tapié might have reported to the *Gutai* members on *Jikken Kōbō*'s advances in the field of musique concrète, discussing *Jikken Kōbō*'s practice in an article for the magazine *Bijutsu techō* (Art Notebook) in 1961, with Yamaguchi's mentor and friend Shūzō Takiguchi, after having met woman member Hideko Fukushima in 1957. Yamaguchi emphasizes on this occasion that *Jikken Kōbō* (1951–1958) pioneered *Gutai* not only in its span of activity. See: Yamaguchi, Katsuhiro: "Experimental Workshop and the Deterritorialization of Art," trans. Stanley N. Anderson, in: *Jikken Kōbō to Takiguchi Shūzō. Experimental Workshop (Dai 11-kai omāju Takiguchi Shūzō ten. The 11th Exhibition Homage to Shuzo Takiguchi)*, exh. cat. Satani Gallery Tokyo, 1991, supervised by Katsuhiro Yamaguchi and Kuniharu Akiyama, Tokyo: Satani Gallery, 1991, pp.22-29.

[143] Yoshihara, Michio: "Frameless Music," trans Kikuko Ogawa, in: *Gutai. Facsimile Edition, 12-Volume Boxed Set with Supplement*, no. 7, ed. Chinatsu Kuma, supervised by Ashiya City Museum of Art & History, Tokyo: Geikashoin, 2010, p.55, [first: idem: "Waku nai ongaku" (Frameless Music), in: *Gutai*, no. 7, (July, 1957), n.p.].

[144] See: *Art, Anti-Art, Non-Art. Experimentation in the Public Sphere in Postwar Japan 1950–1970*, exh. cat. Getty Research Institute, 2007, Charles Merewether and Rika Iezumi Hirō (eds.), Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2007, pp.13-18.

[145] Yoshihara, Michio: "Frameless Music," trans Kikuko Ogawa, in: *Gutai. Facsimile Edition, 12-Volume Boxed Set with Supplement*, no. 7, ed. Chinatsu Kuma, supervised by Ashiya City Museum of Art & History, Tokyo:

adds concerning his own vision of "Music without Start or End" (*Hajime mo owari mo nai ongaku*):[146]

> The long history in which the structure dominates the sound and music is presented as a story with sounds is about to come to an end. A sound is inevitably accompanied by the time element and it may appear to be necessary to structure the music according to the time element. However, that does not mean that the structural force is allowed to rule over the sound itself. The music I have composed to accompany the Gutai art on the stage are not actual sounds but electric sounds heavily amplified, contracted, strengthened, or weakened.

The performers, who have freed themselves from the paper boxes before, join the guitarist and drum player on the mini stage, the billboard announces a *White Cube* (*Shiroi*).

Again an object on wheels appears on the plaza, against the first assumption it is yet not a cube, but a pyramidal body on a rectangular box shaped base, emitting smoke from its spire, until the growing cloud sphering its outlines blurs its discernable surface in a mirage beyond recognition. The Japanese word *rittai* is more open for interpretation than *cube*, in any case it refers to a three-dimensional, geometric form. In the festival's storyboard, Toshio Yoshida titled this mini-drama *White Cube and Running Water* (*Shiroi rittai to hashiru mizu*), as he mentions aromatic hydrocarbon "*suchirōru*," and water running down on the right and left side of the pyramidal body, we can assume the group worked with dry ice to produce the smoke effect (Fig.15). The water would leak from a stretched plastic strap, suspended to the Festival Plaza's roof construction over a distance of 40 meters, reaching down to four meters over the tip of the moving iceberg. In Yoshida's drawing the construction reminds of Sadamasa Motonaga's work *Water* (*Mizu*), 1956 first presented on occasion of the *Second Outdoor Art Exhibition*, described in *Gutai's* mouthpiece as "Polyethylene bags filled with colored water […] hung between trees 10 meters or so apart. […] aiming at the change of form, colors produced in the light and the brilliance of the water, etc." The white fog around the transforming three-dimensional body cannot be called smoke in the proper sense of the word, not least because it is a product of a physical phase transition process.

In 1957 Motonaga had reasoned his naïve fascination for smoke, as well as his attempts to transfer his amusement and the playfulness of giving such an ephemeral medium in its paradoxical ungraspable materiality a precarious floating shape, just as with "puffing rings when smoking a

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Geikashoin, 2010, p.55, [first: idem: "Waku nai ongaku" (Frameless Music), in: *Gutai*, no. 7, (July, 1957), n.p.].

[146] Shimamoto, Shōzō: "Music without Start or End," trans. Kikuko Ogawa, in: *Gutai. Facsimile Edition, 12-Volume Boxed Set with Supplement*, no. 7, ed. Chinatsu Kuma, supervised by Ashiya City Museum of Art & History, Tokyo: Geikashoin, 2010, p.55, [first: idem: "Hajime mo owari mo nai ongaku" (Music without Start or End), in: *Gutai*, no. 7, (July, 1957), n.p.]. According to George Maciunas, *Gutai* was an immediate predecessor of Fluxus, see: *Diagram of Historical Development of Fluxus and Other 4 Dimensional, Aural, Optic, Olfactory, Epithelial and Tactile Art Forms (Incomplete)*, Åhus: Kalejdoskop, 1978, p.205. See also: Galliano Luciana, "Toshi Ichiyanagi. Japanese Composer and 'Fluxus'," in: *Perspectives of New Music*, vol. 44, no. 2, (2006), pp.250-261, p.254.

cigarette."[147] In the case of the mysterious, farcical rolling object appearing on stage during the *Gutai Art Festival* in Osaka 1970 the smoke cloud seems more a degradation of the object as such, transforming it. In this respect Toshio Yoshida's 1955 fantasy of filling "the sky over, say, Osaka with colored gas,"[148] comes to mind. Asking, whether he was on the edge of suffering from delusions of grandeur, he compares himself at the time with the famous Roman emperor Nero, who was rumored to having committed arson in attempt to create an opportunity to rebuild Rome – the Eternal City.[149] Concerning his own ideas to make an impact on the urban sphere, Yoshida writes:[150]

> For example, it should be no wonder if a huge screen was to be installed on the wall on the outside of a public building. Slides could be projected from several points and works by different artists could be presented every week. What I would like to do is to take such a method one step further and fill ten or so kilometers of the sky over, say Osaka with colored gas. Relying on atomic power, the air current would be adjusted so that the sky above Osaka would become a screen for a certain time. I would give instructions from a control tower to emit strong color lighting like the spotlights on a stage from the roofs of buildings all over the city so that the entire sky would become a visual feast. Nero tried to enjoy the sight of Rome on fire by taking a bird's-eye view from the top of a mountain. Would it be unjust for me as a modern artist to feel some sort of significance in having taken an interest in such an idea and thought about it?

The Spangle Men (*Spankōru ningen*) brings a group of ten people to the scenery. The performers wear spangled dresses wrapping them completely (Fig.16). Reminding of blazing mushrooms they wear a head covering resembling in its conical shape a Japanese straw hat (*Sugegasa*) and a tube garment seamlessly covering up the bodies. Hanging loosely from the cap the dress itself oscillates, multiplying the flickering light effect of the reflecting spangles. Spots form the lighting system developed under the supervision of Arata Isozaki, illuminate the moving hybrid creatures in alternating colors, ranging from White, over Blue, Yellow to Red eventually blending the colors. The *Spangle People* remind of mutant disco balls after having learned to walk. The shining guises gather first in a small circle, only to part ways, realign, and reassemble in two groups, eventually forming a larger circle.

Again the mix of color and reflection as such recalls one of Yoshihara's reviews "On the Second Outdoor Exhibiton of 'Gutai' Art Group:"[151] "Toshio Yoshida's work was a picture in which fragments of mirror were inlaid and this one appeared to be the best among his similar works in

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[147] Motonaga, Sadamasa: "Work No.12 Smoke," trans. Kikuko Ogawa, in: *Gutai. Facsimile Edition, 12-Volume Boxed Set with Supplement*, no. 7, Chinatsu Kuma (ed.), supervised by Ashiya City Museum of Art & History, Tokyo: Geikashoin, 2010, p.58, [first: idem: Shimamoto, Shōzō, "Sakuhin 12 kemuri" (Work No.12 Smoke), in: *Gutai*, no. 7, (July,1957), pp.14-15].

[148] Yoshida, Toshio: "What I Would Like to Try Doing," trans. by Kikuko Ogawa, in: *Gutai. Facsimile Edition, 12-Volume Boxed Set with Supplement*, no. 2, Chinatsu Kuma (ed.), supervised by Ashiya City Museum of Art & History, Tokyo: Geikashoin, 2010, p.14 [first: idem: "Yatte mitai koto" (What I Would Like to Try Doing), in: *Gutai*, no. 2, (October, 1955), p.29].

[149] Ibid.

[150] Ibid.

[151] Yoshihara, Jirō: "On the Second Outdoor Exhibition of 'Gutai' Art Group," trans. Hitoshi Ishiwata, in: *Gutai*, no. 5, (October, 1956), n.p.

the past. As the red mosquito-net by Yamasaki [sic], which was put next to his, moved by the wind, the mirror sparkled fantastically." Concerning the exhibition, he emphasizes the move from the confined indoors of an "art salon" to the outside, allowing for a differential practice: "At an outdoor exhibition we must pay special consideration for [sic] light and weather, but we can act more freely and accomplish what is impossible indoors, resisting against the art of salon."[152]

In *The Woolen Yarn Man* (*Keito ningen*) a person with wanton blond curls enters the stage, the long blond hair suggests, it is a women although the gender stays indiscernible because of the flimsy quality of the documentary shooting preserved at Ashiya City Museum of Art & History (Fig.17). In his script Yoshida determines the second person to enter the scenery, dressed in a blue overall, to be Sadamasa Motonaga. The first performer, however, is knit in a bell-shaped garment colored in different shades of red. The sleeveless woolen tube is imprisoning the performer in his pitter-pattering dance on the stage like a cocoon, broken just right where feet and head are peeping out. The man dressed in the blue overall, reminding of a mechanic run off a pit stop, approaches the doll-like reddish figure at a brisk pace. He takes up a dropped stich, starting to unravel the knitting by bolting with the wool yarn. The performer, who is freed from the woolen wrapper little by little, shows off his white, long sleeved underwear. He spins to the left and to the right by turns like a disoriented pegtop. During this process of being liberated from woolen 'skin' the red imp is captive of the person, who unravels its dress. Keeping mutually in touch through the woolen yarn, the performers stay on the long leash, until there remains nothing else than a red collar of the textile cocoon, adorning a white overall. The outlines of the body merge with the bright light beam. Then, the person fades into the background, swallowed by the darkness of the unlit plaza. A performance picking up on an organic, dyed yarn had not made part of the *Gutai* vocabulary so far. Still, it seems to be harking back to Atsuko Tanaka's garment-performance for the first *Gutai* revue, her *Stage Clothes* presented in 1957 (Fig.18).

Tanaka's critical body shelters performed on this occasion resound in their emphasis on transformation. At the time Tanaka appeared on stage, drawing aside an oversized cut out of pink rayon. The cut out mimicked the pattern of a very simple gown, as a child would outline it (Fig.19). Hung out on a wooden stick as if a summer *Yukata* (Fig.20). Only the pattern was easily to be identified with the basic outlines of a western style women's frock. The overlong sleeves stretching out to the left and right of the central part on the other hand introduced a new, more abstract graphic reading, reminding of a failed diagram or sewing pattern. Tanaka planted herself in front of the flattened gown. Dressed up in a green organza dress, wearing a yellow and a green sock Tanaka then started to strip off parts of the multilayered body sleeves, surrounding her silhouette, and deforming its shape in various ways. The clothes' construction had been prepared with perforations

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[152] Ibid.

that they could be removed, revealing in the constellations of layers and colors an ever changing decollage, veiling as well as extending the body, rather than exposing it.[153]

Gutai specialist and gender studies' scholar Namiko Kunimoto qualifies Tanaka's performance that can be reviewed based on documentary footage, filmed in the Osaka Sankei hall in 1957 as "striptease of anticlimax"[154] (Fig.21). In the second part of her contribution only, men and women wore her electric light bulb dresses, tailored by Tanaka after her first models. The earliest mention of "Stage Costumes" in the Gutai magazine surfaces surprisingly not in the special feature on the Gutai on the Stage events 1957, but in Jirō Yoshihara's foreword for the fifth issue already, introducing Gutai's Second Outdoor Exhibition in Ashiya Park in July, 1956. Obviously fascinated with Tanaka's work, he dedicates it a large section of his text, not without stressing his own impact on her creative process:[155]

[…] Atsuko Tanaka exhibited seven gigantic human figures, which were all quite simple and of the same form. They did not express any human feeling. They were strange and even ominous. They contained strings of colored tube-bulbs in their bodies, which looked like bony frameworks. The bulbs were lit automatically one after another with intervals quite rhythmically, and the streams of light reminded us of blood circulation. […] Tanaka's work – that group of seven figures – was titled "Stage Costume", which I found very difficult to explain. […] Her idea was inspired by my own plan of organizing an art exhibition on the theater stage. According to her idea, she plans to show a number of costumes of her own make by wearing them one after another. […]

Gutai historians Koichi Kawasaki and Shōichi Hirai, both point out that Yoshihara's idea to come up with stage performances could be related to his involvement in the "Tanaka Chiyo Grand Fashion Shows," where he figured as stage designer.[156]

The Red Men (Aka ningen) appearing on stage as the two previous performers fade from the scene draw an obvious reference to Kazuo Shiraga's Ultra-Modern Sanbasō (Chō gendai sanbasō, 1957),[157] the Sanbasō (The third old man) is a theatrical figure and the name of a dance performance (Fig.22, Fig.23). This figure performs the celebratory opening for a cycle of plays in a

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[153] For a comment on the changing importance of paper-patterns for home-sewing and the (self-)image of women in Postwar Japan see: Gordon, Andrew: "Like Bamboo Shoots after the Rain: The Growth of a Nation of Dressmakers and Consumers," in: The Historical Consumer, Penelope Francks and Janet Hunter (eds.), Basingstoke : Palgrave Macmillan, 2012, pp.56-78.

[154] Kunimoto 2013, op. cit., pp.465-483.

[155] Yoshihara, Jirō: "On the Second Outdoor Exhibition of 'Gutai' Art Group," trans. Hitoshi Ishiwata, in: Gutai. Facsimile Edition, 12-Volume Boxed Set with Supplement, in: no. 5, (October, 1956), n.p.

[156] See Kawasaki, Koichi: "The Activity of Gutai," trans. Christopher Stephens, in: Ōtsuji Kiyoji "Gutai 1956–57" o megutte [Concerning Kiyoji Ōtsuji's Portfolio 'Gutai 1956–1957'], Tokyo: Tokyo Publishing House, 2012, p.20; Shōichi Hirai recently pointed out that Yoshihara contributed set designs for the performances of local ballet troupes as well for fashion shows in his pre-Gutai years. He raises also the question, whether Yoshihara might have seen the Amazing Futurist Theater: Conscription Examination, as part of the Kwansei Gakuin University's first cultural festival in 1926, according to Yoshiki Hayashi's account the play featured a dadaist search bride's hunt. See: Hirai, Shōichi: "Prewar Kansai Cosmoplitanism and Postwar Gutai," in: Gutai. Splendid Playground, exh. cat. Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum New York, 2013, curated by Ming Tiampo, New York: The Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation, 2013, pp.243-247.

[157] For an overview and in-depth comments on Shiraga's practice, see: Between Action and the Unknown. The Art of Kazuo Shiraga and Sadamasa Motonaga, exh. cat. Dallas Museum of Art 2015, Gabriel Ritter (ed.), with contributions by Namiko Kunimoto et al., Dallas: Dallas Museum of Art, 2015.

Kyōgen performance – the comic intersection of the symbolic *Nō* performances lasting all throughout the day. Traditionally the *Sanbasō* often wears a black mask and a pointed hat. His gown is long-sleeved. A playful weaving with the sleeves makes part of the choreography of the dance. This figure of an old man can follow an earlier dance performance in the array of intersectional plays, and resume dance moves from its counter characters, two other spirits. The *Sanbasō* has its roots in ritualistic *Shintō* harvest prayer and is said to embody liminal spirits or gods. As a theatrical format the *Bunraku* puppet theater, as well as the *Kabuki* know a tradition of *Sanbasō*.[158]

In Shiraga's 1957 prelude for *Gutai Art on Stage*, the artist picked this figure from the traditional Japanese performance repertoire, exaggerating its features, coloring the mask and the other parts of the costume red (Fig.24). The mask received a grotesque long nose the beak of a yet unidentified animal, the hat Shiraga wore during his stage performance was exaggeratedly pointed, while he inserted bamboo sticks into the costumes' oblong sleeves, transformed them in abstract wings or propeller-blades. In this first sequence a number of bamboo sticks was positioned upright in front of a paper screen. In a domino effect they pushed one another out of balance. When almost the whole order had fallen, the screen opened and gave way for Shiraga's performance. Towards the end of his waving dance, he undressed, jumping out of the costume in a plain black dress. After presenting the floating sleeves dance he staged by moving bamboo sticks within his red textile costume, he turned his back to the seated audience, starting to throw arrows on another screen made of paper. The shadow play of the arrows, and the illuminated, ripped "canvas" resulted in a dynamic painting without paint. Shiraga had declared his interest in the radical juxtaposition of events that resound with each other in terms of materials used and their aesthetics with the following words:[159]

> *To me, the value of a work lies in how hard a person put all his* [sic] *might into producing it. The technique lies within my act of producing. Whether the act of shooting arrows with a bow is art and whether the wall pierced with arrows is art are most exciting issues. I want to see how the suppleness of the bamboo under my red costume gets combined with my action and gives pleasure to everyone else and myself on the stage.*

An interesting point in his statement is the discussion of the "value" of the artwork as such. He discusses the conditions of production and value at another place under the topic of knowledge economy. His statement is on the one hand a plea for emancipation and curiosity in confronting the

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[158] Law, Jane Marie (ed.), "The Puppet as Body Substitute," in: *Religious Reflections on the Human Body*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995, pp.251-288.

[159] Shiraga, Kazuo: "Work No.1 Ultra-Modern Sanbasō," trans. Kikuko Ogawa, in: *Gutai. Facsimile Edition, 12-Volume Boxed Set with Supplement*, no. 7, ed. Chinatsu Kuma, supervised by Ashiya City Museum of Art & History, Tokyo: Geikashoin, 2010, p.56, [first: idem: "Sakuhin 1: Chō gendai sanbasō" (Ultra-Modern Sanbasō), in: *Gutai*, no. 7, (July, 1957), n.p.]..

world, as well as in tackling projects without strategic goals. It calls for a new subjectivity rather than pure individualism, yet both without proclaiming egotism. On the other hand it offers a surprising conclusion on the social aspect of life, e.g. in forming a group. In his statement on social relations the somewhat peculiar business-vocabulary sticks to the eye:[160]

> *You need only think about becoming rich. If you are rich, the world will become rich too. That is in spiritual terms. In my mind, it is a greedy person that is living a truly correct life. If people with enthusiasm were enhanced and broadened by seizing things from all phenomena and others, wouldn't that be of great benefit for the world? The shadow extracted from within yourself should become the capital for creating your next stage. In managing your own life, once you have started out on your own business, rather than giving others, you should grab from them. When you give something, does the person who deserves it really have eyes? People who have eyes can take things for themselves without being given them. That is how people establish relationships with each other and reveal things to* [each] *other to form a society.* […]

Most revealing in terms of *Gutai's* exploration of 'a space between', or the "emptying out of meaning" in order to activate people's own "creativity" is the following passage:[161]

> *Human beings should bravely think of the most uselsess things and do them.* […] *The establishment of the individual is being called for. The human spirit appears to have stepped into a level, which is neither rational nor irrational. It is a zero space like infinite hollow, where there is nothing either organic or inorganic. The inside is warm and comfortable, makingit an ideal place to play in it.* […] *If you step over such human phenomena as reason or emotion and play, you will be able to find the difference in each person's disposition.*

And concerning art in general he notes in 1956 as well: "Despite not being a doctor or a physiologist, my mind has always been occupied by the view that art, which is a representation of the human spirit, boils down to physical conditions."[162] Referring back to Akira Kanayama's use of advertising balloons and his various plays with spheres in different sizes and colors, Shimamoto mentions "the 'balls' alone are not the work (Fig.25). They are presented in correspondence to the exhibiton site

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[160] Shiraga, Kazuo: "The Establishment of the Individual," trans. Kikuko Ogawa, in: *Gutai. Facsimile Edition, 12-Volume Boxed Set with Supplement*, no. 4, Chinatsu Kuma (ed.), supervised by Ashiya City Museum of Art & History, Tokyo: Geikashoin, 2010, p.21-22, [first: idem: "Kotai no kakuritsu [The Establishment of the Individual], in: *Gutai* (Special Issue: 1st Gutai Art Exhibition at Ohara Hall, Tokyo, 19.–28.10.1955), no. 4, (July, 1956), pp.6-7].

[161] Ibid.

[162] Idem: "On Our Disposition," trans. Kikuko Ogawa, in: *Gutai. Facsimile Edition, 12-Volume Boxed Set with Supplement*, no. 5, Chinatsu Kuma (ed.), supervised by Ashiya City Museum of Art & History, Tokyo: Geikashoin, 2010, p.21[first: idem: Shiraga, Kazuo: "Shishitsu nit suite" [On Our Disposition], in: *Gutai,* no. 5, (October, 1956), n.p.].

as a space,"[163] and Shiraga adds a crucial conclusion concerning the performativity of *Gutai* works –
of his own, but probably also referring to the group's activity in the larger general sense:[164]

> *At that point, Kanayama's advertising balloon, which I saw at the Tokyo exhibition, came as a revelation. He placed an*
> *advertising balloon in the room as a symbol. By making a sphere exist in a cuboid, he was performing his final thought*
> *as an expression. (I do not know whether it was his final though, but to me, it appeared so at least in the conventional*
> *sense of composition.) Combined with another work by Kanayama, which was a sun-like sphere shining in a stark red, I*
> *could see a panorama. The two individual works unconsciously affected each other and formed a single plurality. This*
> *recognition was like a light to me. It revealed how much meaning there is in performing several acts at once. […] At a*
> *time when I was thinking that exhibitions could be held in a very different form, Mr. Yoshihara proposed a Gutai*
> *exhibition using the stage. […] When sound, light, materials, human acts, and all functional phenomena are united and*
> *form a whole, what the individual person can gain spiritually would become so strong. […] I hope to be able to carry*
> *out this plan as soon as possible and realize the 1ˢᵗ Gutai exhibition or perhaps should I say The 1ˢᵗ Gutai performance*
> *[kōen].*

In the 1970 Osaka variation of Shiraga's earlier stage performance three *Red Men* appear on the
scene. In triangular disposition they wave their wing like sleeves. Whereas the 1957 *Sanbasō* wore
a pointed hat and a mask, the three red figures appear in bag like disguises this time around. A red
spot dives them in piercing red color, while they perform their differing sleeve dances, and seem to
balance the movements of the blade shaped arm prostheses in the overall view of the three bodies
moving over the stage. Every figure is on its own trajectory. From time to time their arm
movements resemble each other, susceptible to fall into synchronicity or choreography, but then
disband again in individual moves. Every once in while they risk hitting each other with those wings,
yet subtly controlling them, avoiding to hurt one another. As they jump from a small platform, they
disappear in to the off stage darkness. The footage documenting the *Gutai Art Festival* is
unfortunately preserved without soundtrack. Toshio Yoshida's script still hints at sound "tapes"
played and brought into coincidence. The script indicates Michio Yoshihara as responsible for the
composition, Etsuzo Yoshida – no *Gutai* member – is accountable for the sound design (Fig.26).

The following piece *101* (*Piki* [a counter for small items, especially animals – dogs in this
case]) starts at 7:29 pm. According to the festival's storyboard, the whole performance runs about
15 min. early. Deducing from the fact that the same script enlists a mini-drama called *Soil Human*
(*Jibeta ningen*), which is yet undocumented in the film of the performance, it is undodumented.

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[163] Shimamoto, Shōzō: "The Balls by Akira Kanayama," trans. Kikuko Ogawa, in: *Gutai. Facsimile Edition, 12-Volume Boxed Set with Supplement*, no. 4, Chinatsu Kuma (ed.), supervised by Ashiya City Museum of Art & History, Tokyo: Geikashoin, 2010, p.25, [first: idem: "Kanayama Akira-shi no tama" [Mr. Akira Kanayama's 'Balls'], in: *Gutai,* no. 4, (July, 1956), p.15].

[164] Shiraga, Kazuo: "The Establishment of the Individual," trans. Kikuko Ogawa, in: *Gutai. Facsimile Edition, 12-Volume Boxed Set with Supplement*, no. 4, Chinatsu Kuma (ed.), supervised by Ashiya City Museum of Art & History, Tokyo: Geikashoin, 2010, p.21-22, [first: idem: "Kotai no kakuritsu [The Establishment of the Individual], in: *Gutai* (Special Issue: 1st Gutai Art Exhibition at Ohara Hall, Tokyo, 19.–28.10.1955), no. 4, (July, 1956), pp.6-7].

The reasons for skipping the performance, integrating an inflatable piece of cloth cut out from a pattern, mimicking an oversized human figure, would have been laid out on the ground, are unclear so far. The *Red Men* would have circumvented the stretched out figure, measuring 25 meters from head to toe, at the end of this performance, envisioned to start at 7:42pm and fade into *101 Dogs* ["One Hundred and One Dalmatians?"[165]] two minutes later only (Fig.27). Small white toy robot-dogs stream out from the outlet of yet another paper card box, carrying forward to fill the soil of the stage surrounding the box, while they move forward in tiny mechanical steps. The artificial dogs scatter in all directions, bumping into each other, piling up here and there. A white dressed girl and a little boy blend into the scenery. They turn up the toy dogs, toppling over every once in a while, displaying a human caring attitude for the non-human inanimate, yet animated walking toy pets. Going to the pets' rescue, they happen to push the toys over again until 101 dogs are all out of their parcel. Now more children enter the stage, hurrying around between the increasingly uncontrollable mass of robo-dogs. The dogs rouse them playfully, but the children hurry in vain to rearrange the scenery (Fig.28).

In a joint publication director Alexander Kluge and sociologist Oskar Negt would come to analyze the intertwining of "Public Sphere and Experience"[166] in 1972 only:[167]

> One of the most effective ways of exposing the true nature of any public sphere is when it is interrupted, in a kind of alienation effect, by children. Whether one imagines that troops of them storm the foyer of a luxury hotel, occupy public squares and buildings with a view to getting on with their specific activities, whether they shape the profile of public political assemblies, whether owing to a security lapse they enter a television studio in large numbers during a live broadcast – in every case the reified character of each context, its rigidity, and the fact that the public sphere is always that of adults, immediately become apparent.

After this invasion of toy pets and kids however, the stage is cleared immediately. *Parent and Child Robot, Plastic Car* (*Shinko robotto to puraschikku kā*), are announced on the billboard. The engines roll in, highlighted by a white spot. The car is a mobile artwork by Minoru Yoshida. The transparent plexiglass chassis features five spheres. Three of them expose a rotating plant-like assemblage of differently colored shapes. Two spheres cover the cockpit. Two drivers navigate the car over the stage. Their seats are positioned back to back. The orientation of the transparent car stays thus unpredictable. Glowing and blinking lights illuminate different parts of the car's transparent chassis. Driving in circles on Festival Plaza, the *Plastic Car* comes across an immense

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[165] *One Hundred and One Dalmatians,* dir. Clyde Geronimi, Hamilton Luske, and Wolfgang Reitherman, Walt Disney, 1961, 76 min.

[166] Kluge, Alexander, Oskar Negt: *Public Sphere and Experience: Toward an Analysis of the Bourgeois and Proletarian Public Sphere* (Theory and History of Literature, 85), trans. Peter Labanyi, Jamie Owen Daniel, and Assenka Oksiloff, Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1993, [first: idem: *Öffentlichkeit und Erfahrung: Zur Organisationsanalyse von bürgerlicher und proletarischer Öffentlichkeit,* Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 1972].

[167] Ibid., pp.283-288, p.283.

robot and a smaller one, called *Deme* and *Deku* (Fig.29). Designed as kinetic, cybernetic and atmospheric stage props by architect Arata Isozaki, the robots are meant to exercise the coming friendly coexistence of man and automated machines, human and robot.[168] Equipped with lighting devices, each robot could produce its own stroboscopic light show, still navigated by an operator in a control center located in two rotating capsules on top of the construction. Ming Tiampo describes the showing of the two robots in *Gutai's Festival* as "humanizing even the robot […], a robot-mama on a stroll with her baby robot, […]."[169] A performance humanizing robots, after several performances that trans- and deformed, extended, unearthed, peeled, or sheltered not only a variety of surfaces or more or less animate "objects" introduced to the stage, but also the human body.

101 Dogs*, as well as the Car/Robot ballet were new in *Gutai's* methodology in so far as they featured actual machines beyond their traces. One might think back to Akira Kanayama's remote controlled trolley paintings of the late 1950s (Fig.30). This time the painting was totally different though. At first glance, the performances seem to fall in line with a naïve optimism for technology, shared by countercultural self-professed McLuhanites and bureaucratic apologists of an "Information Society"[170] alike. What is striking with the last performance, and brings more complexity to the spectacle performed on Festival Plaza is Minoru Yoshida's role, or better – his use of technology and cutting edge materials like plexi glass. Yoshida had joined the association in 1965. He mediated an aesthetic unprecedented in *Gutai*, close to (furniture) design and interior decoration of the time. Although he seemed ever more committed to make use of such "design" (*dezain*) materials and the range of possible allusions, they might evoke, he strongly opposed the prevailing technocracy in guise of optimism for technology directed toward a naturalization of economic growth.

As art historian KuroDalaiJee (Raiji Kuroda) points out, Minoru Yoshida took part in the anti-Expo movement, joining the "Expo '70 Destruction Joint-Struggle Group." Throughout February and March 1969 he sympathized with the committee, before eventually emigrating to the U.S. even before Osaka Expo opened its doors in March 1970. Yoshida's works were shown in Nagoya's *Theater 36*, as well as at the *Danshaku*, a Kyoto restaurant,[171] "presenting his performance and

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[168] Sadler, Simon: *Architecture without Architects*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2005, p.120.

[169] Tiampo 2011, p.164.

[170] Kuroda, Raiji: "Performance Art and/as Activism: Expo '70 Destruction Joint-Struggle Group," in: *Expo '70 and Japanese Art: Dissonant Voices* (Review of Japanese Culture and Society 23), Midori Yoshimoto (ed.), Tokyo: Jōsai International Center for the Promotion of Art and Science, Jōsai University, 2011, pp.155-173, p.158

[171] Minoru Yoshida contributed to the *8 Generation + Intermedia Show (Expo Destruction Grand Meeting Nagoya),* among the other participants were protagonists such as Yoshiro Katō, Shini'ichi Iwata (*Zero Jigen*), Mizukami Jun (*The Play*) et al., it took place from February 22 through 23, 1969 in Nagoya; Before leaving the country Yoshida also participated in the *Anti-Expo Crazy Exposition*, joining again other members of artist groups like among others *The Play,* and *Zero Jigen.* The event was held from March 29 to 30, 1969, in Kyoto. For further details see: Kuroda 2011, op. cit., p.158.

sculpture with electric sound devices."[172] One year earlier Yoshida had contributed a polemic pamphlet to a special issue of the art bulletin *Bijutsu techō* (Art Notebook), issued on occasion of the exhibition *Electromagica. International Psytech Art* at the Sony building in downtown Tokyo (Fig.31).[173] In the special issue "Men and Technology" (*Ningen to tekunorjī*) we find among other plates images of Minoru Yoshida's *The Yellow Beam Take Effect* (1968), *The Art Machine No.2* (1967) (Fig.32). In the publication summarizing a symposium held on April 30, 1969 at the Sōgetsu Hall in Tokyo a broad range of authors such as Lars Frederikson, Stephan R. von Huene, György Kepes, Billy Klüver, Yūsuke Nakahara, Kōsuke Ōki, Jasia Reichardt, Nicolas Schöffer, Yasuo Shizume, Shigeru Watanabe, Katsuhiro Yamaguchi, artists, curators, and scientists present their philosophical and technical reflections. In the opening essay physicist Yasuo Shizume weighs points of contact and perils of countercultural inclination toward technology (or rather technicity) and natural sciences and technocracy, stating: "The main motivation and purpose of my short essay is criticism concerning the slow but steady drift toward a chain called politics, economy, cultural technocracy, technicism, economism, the so-called rationalism, and efficiency of the contemporary society."[174] Shizume, who had translated Norbert Wieners writings on "Cybernetics" into Japanese in 1956,[175] closes his essay with a thought provoking report of his recent visit to the construction site of Expo '70, alongside a picture of Jean Tinguely's *Study for an End of the World No.2*, taken nearby the atomic testing site of the U.S. in Las Vegas, March, 21 1962 (Fig.33), asking:[176]

> […] *in short, one could say the next Expo is the latest example of Expos parading the machine civilization of the second half of the 19th century. If one would attempt to plot the broad and deep field of the future, smoothly incorporating, e.g. the Seto Inland Sea, one would dare an alienating non-human synthesis of the natural and the artificial. Wouldn't it be apt to propose site construction according to the joint design engineering of the world's universals as well? Standing once alone in the Hiroshima Atomic Bomb Park at dusk, I wondered breaking out in sardonic laughter – Mr. Kenzō Tange's and Mr. Isamu Noguchi's skillfull craftmanship surrounded by neon*[lights]*.*
> *Here adheres nothing else than small tombstones, and isn't it good enough to provide white gravel as far as the eye can reach?*

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[172] Ibid., p.169.

[173] The exhibition took place from April 26 through May 25, 1969. Sony had just inaugurated its new showroom. Not least due to the high expenses for this new and representative building in downtown Tokyo the company abstained from assembling another multimedia pavilion on the grounds of Osaka Expo '70. I am grateful to Toshino Iguchi for pointing out these circumstances.

[174] Shizume, Yasuo: "Gendai shakai to tekunorojī" [Contemporary Society and Technology], in: *Ningen to tekunorojī* [Men and Technology], exh. cat. Psytech Art. Electromagica, Sony Building, Tokyo 1969, *Bijutsu techō* [Art Notebook], special issue, no. 313, (May, 1969), pp.74-78, p.78.

[175] Wiener, Norbert: *Saibaneteikkusu wa ikanshite umaretaka* [How was Cyberentics Born?], trans. Yasuo Shizume, Tokyo: Misuzu Shobō, 1956.

[176] Shizume 1969, op.cit., p.78.

Yoshida's textual contribution invoking "EP3" sticks out as an artist's text still falling in line with the physicist's ambivalent attitude toward "humanist" technology.[177] Minoru Yoshida defines this "Third Earth Power" among others as "the spontaneous, youth and student movements." In his somewhat satirical essay concerning the future of artists of his generation he seems to touch on what Jean Baudrillard would come to term the "simulacralization"[178] of material and men, commodifying – or "canning" art, making the 'alternative' self-styled countercultural generation of 1968 the eventual consumers of "this can,"[179] jeering (Fig.34, Fig.35, Fig.36):[180]

Artists are shifting their task to communication using Third Materials produced by all sorts of industries. That's Third Art. In museums, it becomes more and more impossible to show electronic art, light art, kinetic art, and other technology art. Civilization bums of EP3 lose their place in society and go underground. Architects, please get to building Third Museums that suit our time. […] EP3!! Soon all materials on earth will be plasticized and turned into Third Materials. EP3!! Retards attempt to turn robots into plants. EP3!! Scientists dream of their shoulders being massaged by the cyborg woman they produce […] EP3!! Professors, drunk on themselves, teach the anachronistic idea of humanity, while students look for knowledge outside school […] EP3!! […] Barbarella and the apes of 'Planet of the Apes' become heroes, Electric Man makes love to Marilyn Monroe, and computerized sex needs semen traps. EP3!! Warfare on the earth becomes a party. EP3!! […] Who canned art? Wanted: eaters of this can. EP3!!

But back to the *Gutai Art Festival* on Festival Plaza, which is about to reach its climax: Yoshida's *Plastic Car* drives to a new stage position, as the robots give ground. From the left backstage corner an inflatable flexible tube made of vinyl is blown up, reaching *Festival Plaza's* central area. *Inflate* (*Fukuramu*) is another mini-spectacle reminiscent of an earlier material performance issued on occasion of the *Second Gutai Art on the Stage* event, held at the Asahi Hall in Osaka, 1958 (Fig.37).[181] Sadamasa Motonaga showed at the time the piece *Stretch* (*Nobiru*), as Jirō Yoshihara recalls in his *Gutai* chronology compiled for the last issue of the *Gutai* magazine, number 14, published in 1965: "Sadamasa Motonaga made a transparent tube with a diameter of 1 meter and a length of 30 meters stretched above the audience, then let red smoke burst out from small holes in the sack."[182] Yoshida's drawing of the stage setting implies a comparable procedure. This time the plastic sleeve is not installed overhead though (Fig.38, Fig.39). The *Finale (Fināre)*

[177] Yoshida, Minoru: "EP3: Third Earth Power," trans. Reiko Tomii, in: New York 2013, p.284, [first: idem: "EP3: Dai-3 chikyū seiryoku," in: *Ningen to tekunorojī* [Men and Technology], exh. cat. Psytech Art. Electromagica, Sony Building, Tokyo 1969, *Bijutsu techō* [Art Notebook], special issue, no. 313, (May, 1969), pp.126-127.

[178] Baudrillard, Jean: *Simulacra and Simulation*, trans. Sheila Glaser, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994 [first: idem: *Simulacres et Simulation*, Paris: Éditions Galilée, 1981].

[179] Yoshida [1969] 2013, op. cit., p.284.

[180] Ibid.; Yoshida might refer to countercultural protest gatherings, where members of, e.g. the Computer Technology Group, CTG, joined issuing their notice of intention to use technology for the sake of community and grassroot-organization. See (Fig. XY).

[181] *Gutai shiryō-shū. Dokyumento Gutai 1954–1972 / Document Gutai 1954–1972*, Ashiya City Museum of Art and History (ed.), Ashiya: Ashiya City Cultural Foundation, 1993, pp.126-131.

[182] Yoshihara, Jirō: "Gutai Chronology," trans. Taeko Nanpei, in: in: *Gutai. Facsimile Edition, 12-Volume Boxed Set with Supplement*, no. 14, Chinatsu Kuma (ed.), supervised by Ashiya City Museum of Art & History, Tokyo: Geikashoin, 2010, p.73, [first: idem: "Gutai no ayumi [Gutai Chronology], in: *Gutai*, no. 14, (Ocotber, 1956), pp.12-13].

starts with a foam spout, spurting out of a yellow tube, fuelled by two chemical fire engines. An unsettled, ephemeral plume like foam sculpture encroaches on the plaza, covering up the center stage little by little. As rings of smoke hover through the air, the personnel of the show, disguised performers, or rather transformed humans, reappear on stage from different directions. In a space-consuming half-choreographed, half-improvised ballet, they mingle on the plaza, approaching the foam island. Colored spots bathe the scene once more in yellow, red and bluish light. Smoke fills the air, and the now immobile "mother robot,"[183] *Deme*, guards the scene (Fig.40).

Framing: Symbol Zone and City of the Future

The land developed as Expo grounds occupied a total plane of three-hundred-thirty hectares in Senri Hills, a site in the northern outskirts of Suita City – an Osaka suburb (Fig.41). Opened on March, 14 1970 with an ostentatious ceremony attended by the imperial family, and heads of state (Fig.42, Fig.43), the total number of 64,218,770 visitors made Osaka Expo 1970 under the motto of "Progress and Harmony for Mankind" (*Jinrui no shinpo to chōwa*) over 183 days an unprecedented crowd puller. As highlight of the opening ceremony Crown Prince Akihito pushed the button to activate the electricity network operating the facilities.[184] The total costs of the venture accounted for 87.8 thousand million yen, and the public works accrued 650.2 thousand million yen.[185] Urban historian Pieter van Wesemael concludes: "Although, in legal terms, the government was not responsible for the organization of the Expo, in financial, diplomatic, and political terms this was 'de facto' the case."[186] Thanks to an exhaustive testing of new advertising strategies and their impact, data collected for the organizers inlcuding polls and meticulous statistics persist as extensive data documenting the event.[187] Although more classical performance venues like the *Expo Hall* (*Bankokuhaku hōru*), with its *Floating Stage* (*Suijō stēji*), the *Festival Hall* (*Festibaru hōru*), and the *Outdoor Stage* (*Yagai stēji*), placed in the declared funpark section *Expoland* spread over the terrain, *Festival Plaza* (*Omatsuri hiroba*) within *Symbol Zone* was the least three-dimensionally cased, yet due to its ceremonial use most representatively charged location among them.

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[183] Tiampo 2011, p.164; A short but pointed essay elaborating on *Deme* and *Deku*, yet with some shortcomings in terms of a critical revision of the political context of Expo '70 provides: Shaffer, Marcus: "Incongruity, Bizarness, and Transcendence: The Cultural/Ritual Machine vs. Technocratic Rationalism at Expo '70," in: *Globalizing Architecture. Flows and Disruptions*, John Stuart and Mabel Wilson (eds.), 102 ACSA Annual Meeting paper proceedings, Washington, DC: ACSA Press, 2015, pp.42-51, pp.46-50.

[184] Wesemael, Pieter van: *Architecture of Instruction and Delight. A Sociohistorical Analysis of World Exhibitions as a Didactic Phenomenon (1798-1851-1970)*, Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 2001, p.617.

[185] "Zen 183 jitsu no kiseki. Sūji de miru Ōsaka banpaku" [The Remains of 183 Days. Osaka Expo in Terms of Numbers], in: *Ōsaka Banpaku. 20-seiki ga yume mita 21-seiki. Expo '70* [Osaka Expo '70: The 21st Century the 20th Century Dreamt of], Akiomi Hirano (ed.), Tokyo: Shōgakukan Creative Visual Book, 2014, pp.330-334.

[186] Wesemael 2001, p.584. Member of State Council, Masato Toyota, initiated the project to host a World Exhibition in Japan in February 1964, in April the local government of Osaka asked the Japanese government to hold the Expo in Osaka, Senri Hill was chosen in February 1965, when the "Osaka International Exhibition Preparatory Council was founded. It was renamed "Japan Association for the 1970 World Exposition" in October 1965, see: Ibid., p.572.

[187] Ibid., pp.600-601.

Whereas some of the stage infrastructure was movable,[188] an ensemble of elements dominated the scenery in the backdrop (Fig.44, Fig.45, Fig.46). Architect Kenzō Tange, in charge as chief producer of infrastructure, overviewing the master plan since 1966 writes: "The Tower of the Sun becomes a central communications organ. Each of the faces on the front sides, and back of the Tower of the Sun bears a different expression, and all seem to narate [sic] to the viewer tales of past, present, and future and to preside over the Festival Plaza as a divinity of festivities."[189] In addition a vast space frame roof covered the "theme spaces," housed in Tarō Okamoto's *Tower of the Sun*, the smaller *Towers of Maternity* and of *Youth*. Tange planned the prefabricated modular space frame structure, faintly reminiscent of Joseph Paxton's *Crystal Palace* for the first World Exhibiton in London 1851 (Fig.47), developing the constructive concepts of Konrad Wachsmann. It was realized by Tange's technology firm *URTEC* (Urbanists and Architects).[190] This roof yet not simply covered and shielded *Festival Plaza*, it comprised a cutting edge climate-, lighting-, speaker-, and sound-system developed as performative ability or "Soft-Architecture"[191] of *Festival Plaza* by Tange's disciple and collaborator Arata Isozaki. Moreover, the space frame integrated "airconditioned channels for the moving pedestrian ways," and suspended "spaces [that] seem[ed] built into the space frame, [but] actually suggest[ed] a future aerial city." Concerning the conception of this future aerial city Tange announces in April 1969: "Okamoto and I invited Noboru Kawazoe, Fumihiko Maki, Koji Kamiya and Noriaki Kurokawa and we are expecting some participation from the world."[192]

These future cities in capsules were strongly reminiscent of some of the proposals for new urbanism, introduced by a number of young and coming architects under the label of "Metabolism"[193] in 1960, among which Maki, Kurokawa, Kiyonori Kikutake, and Noboru Kawazoe. Whereas Tange introduces the plaza beneath the exhibition as:[194]

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[188] Kikuchi, Makoto: "Expo '70. Urban Infrastructure in Information Society," trans. Jamie Sanderson, in: *Metabolism. The City of the Future. Dreams and Visions of Reconstruction in Postwar and Present-Day Japan*, exh. cat. Mori Art Museum, Tokyo, 2011–2012, Hajime Yatsuka, Mami Hirose et al. (eds.), Tokyo: Shinkenchiku-sha, 2011, pp.283-287.

[189] Tange, Kenzō: "The Expo '70 Master Plan and Master Design," in: *The Japan Architect. International Edition of Shinkenchiku*, no. 151, (April, 1969), pp.18-34, p.20.

[190] Detailing on the constructive interference with Buckminster Fuller and Konrad Wachsmann, see: Lin, Zhongjie: *Kenzo Tange and the Metabolist Movement. Urban Utopias of Modern Japan*, London and New York: Routledge, 2010, pp.200-232, p.217.

[191] Isozaki, Arata: "Omatsuri hiroba" [Festival Plaza], *Isozaki Arata: Solaris*, exh. doc. ICC Intercommunication Center Tokyo, lecture and talk session, recording, 23.2.2014, (accessed through: <http://hive.ntticc.or.jp/contents/symposia/20140223>, last access: 8.9.2014), see also: idem: "Mienai toshi" [Invisible City], in: *Kūkan e* [Towards Space], Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppan-sha, 1971, pp.380-404 [first: 1966], cit. in: *Welten und Gegenwelten. Gesammelte Schriften*, trans. J. Gleiter, Y. Fukuda et al. (eds.), Bielefeld: transcript, 2011, pp103-131.

[192] Tange 1969, op.cit., p.20.

[193] *Metabolism 1960. The Proposals for New Urbanism*, Yasuko Kawazoe (ed.), with illustrations by Kiyoshi Awazu, Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppan-sha, 1960.

[194] Tange 1969, op.cit., p.20.

[…] 100 by 150 meters in area and hav[ing] *a ceiling height of approximately 30 meters. The seating capacity is alterable to […]: 1500, 5,000, 10,000 and a maximum […] of 30,000 people. […] Movable seats and stages and tower cranes containing stage machinery, the so-called Robots, are capable of placement alterations […]. Pre-programmed scores fed to the memory storage units of computers control the equipment, lights, and sound. […] At night the plaza will reach the climax with the automatic music and environmental musical performaces and visitors' spontaneous participation. Incidentally, events of this kind should also relax the crush caused at closing time by congregations of masses of visitors at the gates.*

1.2.2 After, Before, and Beyond a Crisis of Human Beings and Objects

In a first step I picked up on the last collective performance of *Gutai* on occasion of Osaka Expo 1970, before the artist group disbands in 1972. Art historian Shin'ichiro Osaki terms the *Gutai Festival* a "swansong"[195] for the group's activity, since *Gutai* was bound to disband a few months after their mentor Yoshihara's death in February 1972, and only two years after Osaka Expo. Expo '70 provoked many turf battles in an increasingly deterritorialized artfield, as we shall further see. The iterations of motives that figured not only in different forms as a vocabulary *Gutai* artworks, but surfaced in different media the group presented and dispersed its views and practices with, addressing a domestic as well as an international community of artists and critics alike. They call for a critical discussion of the group's practice, its stagings, and their reception. The title of their last joint public performance raises a range of questions: What are the dramatic aspects of this encounter between transformed living beings and animated inorganic "objects?" In earlier testimonies we read of "matter" (*busshitsu,* or *buttai*), of chemical, temporal, physical processes transforming substances, releasing a sensory outcry. Without entering the depths of linguistic analysis or etymology, the titel of this last joint public performance alone points to a shift in art practice and perceptions offered in the everyday experience of the decade considered.

In 1937 André Breton wrote an essay on "The Crisis of the Object."[196] He issued it on occasion of of the *Exhibition of Surrealist Objects* at the Galerie Charles Ratton in Paris. Surrealist 'objets' and so-called mathematical objects from the Institut Poincaré were aligned next to each other in glass cabinets, like ethnographic or more precisely, scientific specimens. In this attempt to re-enchant the universe, found objects torn from their everyday use were estranged through artistic manipulation, being not themselves anymore but the symptom for something else, a subjective fantasy or desire and fetish. If Breton understood that the object had been in a state of "crisis" from, as he stated, about 1830 when scientific studies, poetic and artistic experimentations began to develop along parallel courses, the *Gutai Art Festival* might seem at first glance related to such observations. Yet, I would argue that performing a drama between men and objects points to

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[195] Osaki, Shin'ichirō (ed.): "Gutai: Action on Painting," in: *Giappone all'Avantguardia: Il Gruppo Gutai negli Anni Cinquanta*, Augusta Moferini, Osaki Shin'ichirō and Marcella Cossu, Milan: Electa, 1990, p.29.
[196] Breton, André: "The Crisis of the Object," cit. in: Lippard, Lucy: *Surrealists on Art* (Spectrum Books), Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1970, pp.51-55, [first: 1936].

a more transgressive shift in the relation of the human being to its living reality in the second half of the 20th century.

In order to shed light on my assumption and answer the set of questions layed out over the last few pages, it will be necessary to quickly characterize some aspects of Expo 1970 as a mechanism of commercialization or rather "globalization," and stage for different modes of representation. Through the promises and first experiences with an ever expanding, wired network of automated telecommunication during the 1960s the material, discernable object still exists as a consumable good. It is yet increasingly theorized and perceived as subordinated to a larger system of codes associated with material welfare, status, style, fashion. Masked by a concentration of images the focus gradually shifts away from actual products as discernable objects to a number of services, of coded, hence transmittable information. If termed a "swansong" for *Gutai's* art practice – for reasons we will discover and discuss in the following chapters – the *Gutai Art Festival*, or rather Expo '70 could as well be described as their ironic prelude to the dawning age of virtualization, and certainly as a performance to critically develop New Media Art practices from.

Japanese art critic Yūsuke Nakahara (1931–2011) refers ten years after Murakami's observations concerning time in and for the emergence of painting to a shift in the perception of time and space in his critical review "A World Tour," adding his comment to a roundtable discussion between architect Noriaki (Kishō) Kurokawa, designer Kenji Ekuan, media art theorist Itsuo Sakane, Kazuto Tanabe, and Shinya Izumi concerning "The World Exposition in the Age of Informational Society. From Expo 1967 in Montreal to Expo 1970 in Osaka:"[197]

> *Many people regard EXPO 67 as the flowering of 'environmental art' on a large scale, but I think that it is the power of images that was dramatized there, because image information contains immediacy and novelty not found in mere tourist information. […] A new pleasure is derived from a sense of 'mobility' in space. In other words, temporal and spatial changes interest us. The development of image information is aimed at pleasures from such changes. Temporal and spatial changes of images can enable us to experience changes temporally and spatially; we need not hop around the world. We should sit still to experience the changes. 'Man and His World' was the theme of EXPO 67 in Montreal. I am inclined to think that the unified theme of 'Man and the World of Images' might have better served the purpose of the Montreal exhibition.*

If the Expo in Montreal, taking place in 1967 was considered as such a "World of Images," what would Osaka Expo '70 then come to epitomize in retrospect?

Humanizing Technology? – Cultural Performance in a World of Images

When Jirō Yoshihara introduced the first *Gutai Art on the Stage* manifestation in the group's mouthpiece *Gutai* in 1957, he underlined not only that this project "will give new problems to art

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[197] Cf. Nakahara, Yūsuke: "A World Tour. Aa sekai isshū!," editorial, trans. n.n., in: *SD. Space Design: Journal of Art and Architecture*, no. 39, (February, 1968), pp.41-42.

for art's sake, and on the stage," since "these [pieces] do not belong to any category of the traditional stage art," but on top of it Yoshihara noted: "So I shall be very happy if this project by [the] Gutai Art Association can contribute to the recovery of the pure human spirit from the promises, the technique, [the] fabrication and [the] heavy pressure of romance piled on the stage."[198] If expanding the artwork to the dramatic space of a theater stage, was a field of action other artist collectives like the Tokyo based *Jikken Kōbō* (*Experimental Workshop*, 1948-1957) had started to explore in the early 1950s already, they took a very different approach.

Whereas *Gutai* performances experimented using stage and props freely to mount processes of transformation, the Tokyo based collective spun threads from consciously chosen points of references in literary, theater, music, or art history adjusting traditional and international prewar avant-garde formats. An art critic by the name of Shūzō Takiguchi (1903–1979) reports in 1956 on sophisticated stage productions like *Jikken Kōbō's Pierrot Lunaire*, (1955) on occasion of an evening program called "Original Plays for a Circular Theater" under the title "Closed and Open Classics" yet remarks (Fig.48):[199]

> Schoenberg's 'Pierrot lunaire' and Yukio Mishima's 'The Damask Drum' both join classical forms, farce in one case and Nō in the other, to modern theater and modern music, in bold productions employing new modes of stage design. Some have criticized this as pastiche, grafting trees with bamboo. In the world of Nō and Kabuki, where ancient traditions are preserved in the flesh, no amount of abstract speculation on tradition versus creativity will get very far. […] The real significance of these productions is that they are essentially different form attempts at compromising modernizations on the order of 'modern Nō' or 'New Japanese whatever.'

One could easily be mistaken to liken the approaches of early *Jikken Kōbō* and *Gutai*. But former *Jikken Kōbō* member Katsuhiro Yamaguchi clarifies: "[…] art activities overlapped with musical and stage performances, so it is difficult to discuss [*Jikken Kōbō*] exclusively in terms of art. […] It mixed a constructivist art style with an interest in media and technology, and also made use of of photography and film."[200] Yet, what was characteristic of *Gutai* performances all at once was their disrespect for classical theater apparel, or stage design as preset scenery. Even though the *Gutai* "mini-dramas" or "playlets," I have called the group's performance pieces earlier in this text, were carefully planned and practiced ahead according to written storyboards, and took place on stages, they engender staged acts from moment to moment, radically producing time and space instead of representing them. Still leaving room for association, the *Gutai* mini-dramas completetly break

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[198] Yoshihara, Jirō: "Gutai Art on the Stage," no. 7, (July, 1957), p.1.
[199] Cit. in: Takiguchi, Shūzō: "Closed and Open Classics," in: *Jikken Kōbō to Takiguchi Shūzō. Experimental Workshop (Dai 11-kai omāju Takiguchi Shūzō ten. The 11th Exhibition Homage to Shuzo Takiguchi)*, exh. cat. Satani Gallery Tokyo, 1991, supervised by Katsuhiro Yamaguchi and Kuniharu Akiyama, Tokyo: Satani Gallery, 1991, p.21 [excerpts from an article first published in: *Bijutsu hihyō* [Art Criticism], (January, 1956)].
[200] Yamaguchi, Katsuhiro: "Experimental Workshop and the Deterritorialization of Art," trans. Stanley N. Anderson, in: ibid., pp.22-29, p.23.

away from any however literary, musical, or theatrical "composition" in terms of a preliminary literary text to build upon or interpret. Also, the testimonies by members of the *Gutai* group provide arguments to determine that their interest in the practice of staging art was not primarily motivated by aims at either dissolving or conjoining segments of genres, in order to create a "Gesamtkunstwerk." An expansive approach to "painting," understood as a social as well as a material practice, embodying time, space, subjective as well as intersubjective practice, while tracing the boundaries between art and (everyday-)life in order to evacuate representational convention, or to play on it, catches the goal of the four stage plays documented in *Gutai's* painting practice of rhoughly twenty years much better.

Ming Tiampo reads the *Gutai* performances at Expo '70 as "humanizations" in several respects. Beside art historian Midori Yoshimoto, Tiampo belongs to the first Anglophone contemporary art historians to draw fresh attention to the "late period" in the *Gutai* group's art historical narrative, a phase Tiampo locates between 1962 and 1972. In reestimating artworks by a new generation of artists that have often been disregarded so far as "Expo-Art" such contribution is most meritorious, especially when digging up rarely published statements and sources. An incorporated citation of second generation member Jōji Kikunami (1926–2008, member 1966–1972) from 1968, illustrates Tiampo's powerful argument:[201]

> Technology's potential to dehumanize was an issue of profound importance for the technologically engaged artists from Gutai's second phase. 'Computer technology has made brisk progress as an automated calculator for warfare,' Kikunami wrote. 'By shifting from analog to digital, it has coldly confronted and repudiated humanity.' In response, Gutai advocated cultural engagement with technology, searching for ways to humanize it. […]

Although it seems only logic to draw the *Gutai* members with their phenomenological performances into a narrative of artists reestablishing humanism, wouldn't an argument freeing the artistic acts of *Gutai* from being ideologically placed either on the side of humanism or dehumanization be more productive? The group apparently mediated at all times between human and non-human agents situating and staging transhuman (tool-)being in a set of contradictions.

Theater theoretician Erika Fischer-Lichte admittedly misses taking different theater traditions into account when describing the "aesthetics of the performative," basing her arguments in the collected fragments of European theater history and theory exlusively. Nevertheless some of Fischer-Lichte's observations are useful for the discussion in the broader context as well. A term she invokes, referring to the dramatic potential of non-artistic events is "cultural performance," coined by Milton Singer in the mid-1950s.[202] With cultural performance Singer defined the staging of self-images and (national) identity in front of the ones living and generating culture, as well as in

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[201] See: Tiampo 2013a), op.cit. p.66.
[202] Fischer-Lichte, Erika: *Ästhetik des Performativen*, Frankfurt a. M.: Suhkamp, 2004, p.351.

front of an audience that does not make part of the same cultural realm. Against the backdrop of this assumption Fischer-Lichte observes that since the 1960s dramatization of, e.g. the Olympic Games on the one hand, and the challenging of the limits of genres in the arts manifested in increased theatricalizations on the other hand, theatrical performance is experienced as liminality. Whereas Fischer-Lichte asks, whether it is still possible to deploy strict categories of art and life under the given conditions, she insists nevertheless on the context as a defining criterium, since even transgressive settings would be more often than not reaffirming the autonomy of art: "[…] allein die Zugehörigkeit zu einer bestimmten Institution, [… erlaubt] eine solche Zuordnung. Eine Aufführung gilt als künstlerisch, wenn sie im Rahmen der Institution Kunst stattfindet; sie ist den nicht-künstlerischen Aufführungen zuzurechnen, wenn sie im Rahmen der Institutionen Politik, Sport, Recht, Religion, etc. veranstaltet wird."[203] The case of the *Gutai Art Festival* performed at Osaka Expo '70 is a particularly problematic one, since the "cultural performance"[204] defined by Singer coincides with an artistic performance, because *Festival Plaza* – a designated zone of the World Exposition's infrastructure – is used as stage for art programs and national representation at a time.

Japan-based art historian Raiji Kuroda introduces a fine-tuned differentiation concerning performance art in 1960s Japan, "outlining five types."[205] He reproaches *Gutai* to "ultimately remain[…] within the realm of art."[206] He writes:[207]

> […] *'performance' signifies performative practices by visual artists outside the established genres of performing arts, (e.g., music, theater, and dance). This distinction is vital because in 1960s Japan, the term 'performance' was not yet introduced – let alone the genre of 'performance art.' Performative works were varyingly called 'happenings,' 'rituals,' 'actions,' and 'events.' Performance art in Japan between 1957 and 1970 is divided into five types, which roughly correspond to five types of performance collectives: (I) public demonstrations of art-making processes, (2) 'objets'- and instruction-based events, (3) intermedia, (4) street actions and urban interventions, and (5) antimodern rituals.*

Kuroda expresses his reservations concerning *Gutai*: "Gutai's public demonstrations must be distinguished form what is usually understood as 'performance art' in the 1960s, which may be defined as the bodily expression as an independent work, rather than the public production of an object-based work (e.g., painting and sculpture). Kuroda dismisses early productions like *Gutai Art*

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[203] Ibid., p.351.
[204] Singer, Milton (ed.): *Traditional India – Structure and Change*, Philadelphia: The American Folklore Society, 1959.
[205] Kuroda, Raiji: "Performance Collectives in 1960s Japan. With a Focus on the 'Ritual School'," in: *Positions. Asia Critique: Collectivism in Twentieth Century Japanese-Art*, special issue, vol. 21, no. 2, (spring, 2013), pp.417-449, p.418.
[206] Ibid.
[207] Ibid.

on Stage (1957) from being a performance, since it "constituted an attempt to show actions as 'art' in a series of individual presentations within the prearranged framework of the stage."[208]

In his categorization he identifies, e.g. Genpei Akasegawa (1937–2014), founding member of the short-lived interventionalist art collective *Hi Red Center* (1960-1963), as a creator of "'objets'-based performanes as […] independent works*,*" who "in one instance, […] made tempura out of 'objets' (e.g. everyday objects) on a television program in 1966." Kuroda locates the emergence of intermedia performance in the second half of the 1960s, "fusing such disparate genres as art, design, music, film, and body-based expression […]," conlcuding that "intermedia experimentation was gradually absorbed into such large-budget projects as 'Electromagica: International Psytech Art Exhibition' […]." Accordingly Kuroda is easy to judge on *Gutai* in a moralist black and white fashion: "A fatal lack of political awareness among intermedia artists led to their massive participation in Expo '70, through which the state and capitalist corporations tried to brainwash the whole nation with the fantasy of internationalization and technological utopia. Among those co-opted were Gutai, led by Yoshihara Jirō, who was an influential business figure in Osaka, where the exposition was held, and a member of its art exhibition committee. The group presented *Gutai Art Festival*, which was no more than an enjoyable attraction for family."[209] The general attitude, Kuroda critizes here, is even more conspiscous in non-artistic imagery issued by, e.g. the Sharp corporation: A naïve, surrealistically inspired illustration, covering the "World's 'Expo Stamps'-Sheet" (*Sekai no 'bankokuhaku kitte' shīto*), (Fig.49).

Kuroda is certainly right to place *Gutai* on the rather conservative side, when comparing the group's appearance in the frame of Osaka Expo '70, e.g. to the provocative nudity stunt of activist Kanji Itoi (b. 1920) by the nickname *Dada Kan.* – Itoi entered and occupied the top of Tarō Okamoto's *Tower of the Sun*[210] in a protest action during the "Golden Week" 1970, catching nationwide media attention.[211] Actions in the public sphere of the city streetscape by the so-called ritualists, or the emerging *Ankoku Butō-ha* (School of Dance of Utter Darkness) dance performances during the 1960s had of course a different, way more radical take on the body and its politcal impact, introducing either the city as stage, or a "revolt of the flesh."[212] Art historian Shin'ichiro

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208 Ibid.

209 Ibid., p.424; see also: Idem: "Performance Art and/as Activism: Expo '70 Destruction Joint Struggle Group," in: *Expo '70 and Japanese Art: Dissonant Voices* (Review of Japanese Culture and Society 23), Midori Yoshimoto (ed.), Tokyo: Jōsai International Center for the Promotion of Art and Science, Jōsai University, 2011, pp.155-173.

210 The Golden Week, lasts from April, 29 through May, 5. The National Holiday Laws, promulgated in July 1948, declared nine official holidays. Since many of them were concentrated in this week spanning the end of April to early May Golden Week is the longest vacation period of the year for many Japanese jobs. Leisure-based industries experience spikes in their revenues during this period.

211 See for example: "Taiyō no tōjō ni suwarikomi. Medama ni sekigunha?" [Squatting the Tower of the Sun. Red Army in the Eye], editorial, in: *Yomiuri Shimbun*, morning edition, 27.4.1970, n.p.

212 Munroe, Alexandra (ed.): "'Revolt of the Flesh': Ankoku Butoh and Obsessional Art," in: *Japanese Art after 1945. Scream Against the Sky*, exh. cat. Yokohama Museum of Art, Guggenheim Museum SoHo, San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, 1994-1995, Alexandra Munroe (ed.), New York: Henri N. Abrams, 1994, pp.189-213, pp.190-193.

Osaki cites writer Yukio Mishima (1925–1970), commenting on a theater poster for a dance performance by choreographer Tatsumi Hijikata (1928–1986): "Die Beziehung zwischen Mensch und Objekt ist voller tragischer Widersprüche. Entweder versucht er vergeblich, sich durch seine Bewegungen vom Boden abzuheben, um das Objekt zu erreichen, oder er wird in seinen Bewegungen ganz vom Objekt kontrolliert."[213] Still, preposterous to any art historical reason Mishima's sentence paradoxically sounds like an announcement for the *Gutai Art Festival* – disregarded as "spectacle."[214] Because the seated audience was not actively interacting with what was shown, and the stage-effects were produced by cybernated machinery, it was excluded from art historical attention – an orphan in art history. Since the 1960s "the activation of the audience in participatory art is positioned against its mythic counterpart, passive consumption […] art must be directed against contemplation, against spectatorship, against the passivity of the masses paralyzed by the spectacle of modern life," summarizes art critic Claire Bishop the "dominant narrative." And she continues commenting on the doctrine: "What counts is to offer ameliorative solutions, however short-term, rather than the exposure of contradictory social truths."[215]

What does this mean for a reconsideration of the appearance of the late *Gutai* group on occasion of the World Exposition in Osaka 1970? Or, how to present and comment the practices of a whole bunch of "mobilized"[216] artists, a number of architects, and their encounters on the road down to Expo '70, often viewed as climax of Japan's postwar economic mircale? Osaka Expo 1970's mention in the palmares of world fairs could be its presentation of apparel, allowing for an ever-increasing virtualization of reality: Taking shape in the immaterial exchange and dispersion of images, as well as materializing in concrete gadgetry to transmit, (en-)code or engulf, and manipulate (wo)men and objects through the dis-/empowering "magic channels"[217] of communication media. Reviewed in retrospect it first and foremost brings the transparency of media to the fore.[218]

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[213] Cit. after Osaki, Shin'ichirō: "Körper und Ort. Japanische Aktionskunst nach 1945," in: *Out of Actions. Zwischen Performance und Objekt 1949-1979*, exh. cat. MAK – Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst, Vienna and Museum of Contemporary Art Los Angeles, 1998, Peter Noever (ed.), Ostfildern: Cantz Verlag, 1998, pp.121-157.

[214] I am referring to Debord's definition of spectacle, see: Debord, Guy: *La Société du Spectacle*, Paris: Éditions Buchet Chastel, 1967.

[215] Bishop, Claire: *Artificial Hells. Participatory Art and the Politics of Spectatorship*, London and New York: Verso, 2012, pp.275-276.

[216] In a thought provoking and controversially received book, Japan based art historian and critic Sawaragi Noi parallels world expositions and world wars, supporting the thesis that the first world fair to be held in Asia, or rather Japan, which had been postponed since 1940, finally taking place in 1970 served to impose national identity and economic power by an all-embracing mobilization of cultural producers akin to the wartime mobilization of people in service of the Japanese empire. See: Sawaragi, Noi: *Sensō to banpaku. World Wars and World Fairs*, Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppan-sha, 2005, p.337.

[217] The first German translation of McLuhan, Marshall: *Understanding Media. The Extensions of Man*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964; critical edition: Corte Madera Gingko Press, 2003, appeared under the title *Die Magischen Kanäle* (Magic Channels), Düsseldorf: Econ, 1968.

[218] Jäger, Ludwig: "Störung und Transparenz. Skizze zur performativen Logik des Medialen," in: *Performativität und Medialität*, Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2004, pp.35-74; Krämer, Sibylle (ed.): "Was haben Performativität und Medialität miteinander zu tun? Plädoyer für eine in der Aisthetisierung gründende Konzeption des Performativen," in: *Performativität und Medialität*, Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2004, pp.13-

Such a thesis somewhat corresponds with Jean Baudrillards general observations concerning the 'life of things.' I am however of course *not* arguing that the *Gutai* artists would have picked up Baudrillard's thesis, illustrating it with their playlets. A reconsideration of their staging appears yet in another light, if one takes Baudrillard's 'universal' observations concerning 20th century consumer societies into account:[219]

> The traditional object-symbol (tools, furniture, even the house), mediator of a real relation or of a lived (vecu) situation, clearly bears the trace, in its substance and in its form, of the conscious and unconscious dynamics of this relation, and is therefore not arbitrary. This object, which is bound, impregnated, and heavy with connotation, yet actualized (vivant) through its relation of interiority and transitivity with the human gesture or fact (collective or individual), is not consumed. In order to become object of consumption, the object must become sign; that is, in some way it must become external to a relation that it now only signifies, a-signed arbitrarily and non-coherently to this concrete relation, yet obtaining its coherence, and consequently its meaning, from an abstract and systematic relation to all other object-signs. It is in this way that it becomes 'personalized,' and enters in the series, etc.: it is never consumed in its materiality, but in its difference.

Thinking of the *Gutai Art Festival*, it is yet not merely fetishized gadgetry being called into action – although operating Festival Plazas stage installations –, but the concrete shapes of blown-up minimal (non-functional) ontological objects like boxes and spheres, of materials and textures, as well as the surfaces of the human body, transforming each other. What if we regard this performance not despite, but all the more because its placing in the context of Osaka Expo '70 as an "exposure of contradictory social truths?"[220] At least it mounts and converts for better or worse what Baudrillard explains as follows: "We can see that what is consumed are not objects but the relation itself – signified and absent, included and excluded at the same time – it is the idea of the relation that is consumed in the series of objects which manifests it. This is no longer a lived relation: it is abstracted and annulled in an object-sign where it is consumed."[221]

And in this sense – closing the circle along a different argumentation – I still strongly agree with Tiampo, when she states: "In the 1960s, with Japan's all-encompassing focus on rapid economic expansion, Gutai's emancipatory spirit took on a different valence, seeking to free society from the shackles of GNP-ism." This would then also mean that the *Gutai Art Festival* bridges the phenomenological approach of the early years and the view that objects mute, mutate and mutilate each other beyond the grasp of human perception. Objects that are at a time present on their own and yet revoked in networks of communication and linguistics. – Or, as media theorist

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32; Mersch, Dieter: "Medialität und Undarstellbarkeit. Einleitung in eine 'negative Medientheorie'," in: Krämer, Sibylle (ed.): *Performativität und Medialität*, Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2004, pp.75-95, pp.78-79.

[219] Baudrillard, Jean: "The System of Objects," in: *Jean Baudrillard. Selected Writings*, Mark Poster (ed.), Stanford, CA.: Stanford Unviersity Press, 1988, pp.10-28, p.22 [first: idem: *Le Système des Objets*, Paris: Gallimard, 1968].

[220] Bishop 2012, op.cit., pp.275-276.

[221] Baudrillard [1968] 1988, op.cit., p.22.

Thomas Y. Levin would interject concerning the supposed dissolution of objects into data: "information data is not disembodied, it is no less material than anything else, it is just materiality […] – it's simply not phenomenal. But there's a difference between phenomenality and materiality. Data is deeply material. It's just not phenomenal."[222]

Art historian Larry Busbea makes a startling remark concerning spatial urbanism in France c. 1960 – a time, when the editors of the Situationist International expressed their disapproval of a sensate tendency to integrate not only the spectator into ambient artworks, but several arts into one another, pointing to ideological Cold War powerplays lingering in the backdrop:

> The fact is that most French architects, artists, and critics associated with spatial urbanism detested the American model of capitalism as much as they did the Soviet model of socialism. This is why their protechnology stance often seems highly ambivalent at best, or simply contradictory at worst. Like Pierre Restany and Yves Klein, they wanted a return to a pre- or postcapitalist 'technological Eden' that had all the lifestyle benefits of postindustrialism, without the physical clutter of capitalism. That is why the exhaustive descriptions of integrated, ambient spaces […] often began with or culminated in an inordinate fixation on what was considered to be integrated environment's opposite: the object. The object, be it a painting on a wall, a refrigerator, or a car, was an environmental element that resisted the concatenate logic of ambient spatiality. It was a stubborn signifier, a stoppage, and as such it had to be either effaced or integrated into the larger milieu or infrastructure.

If Busbea's statement concerns a different place and different protagonists, it nevertheless justifies to ask, whether comparable stances could be found in postwar Japan among artists and architects, concerned with both, ambient factors and apparently "objects." Object and environment seem two poles unfolding a field of tension within which the *Gutai* group places itself, as an intermediary of the contradictory social truths we will be exploring in this paper. Where and around which topics unfolded possible contestations? Can actual points of contact be located, e.g. between art and architecture, or did the disciplines even share common ground? Adding tension to some of the questions formulated over the last few pages, I am picking up a quote by Arata Isozaki, who controversially conjoins *Gutai* and the architectural "methodology" called "Metabolism," stating:[223]

> Despite their difference in generation, the Gutai group and Mono-ha shared a common quality in one aspect, that is a 'lack of structure:' […] Though both tendencies intervene with the process of natural becoming in the temporal and spatial sense, they abandon any reconfiguration through manipulation. This presentation of becoming as a process is, in a sense, similar to the idea of Metabolism, a methodology proposed in 1960 by the architects who were in charge of designing facilites for Expo '70. The idea was to design facilites so that they were always exchangeable, in other words,

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[222] Levin, Thomas Y.: *Presence. A Conversation at Cabaret Voltaire, Zurich*, Jürg Berthold, Philip Ursprung and Mechtild Widrich (eds.), Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2016, p.116.

[223] Isozaki, Arata: "As Witness to Postwar Japanese Art," trans. Kosho Sabu, in: *Japanese Art after 1945. Scream Against the Sky*, exh. cat. Yokohama Museum of Art, Guggenheim Museum SoHo, San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, 1994-1995, Alexandra Munroe (ed.), New York: Henri N. Abrams, 1994, pp.27-31, p.29.

to regard architecture solely as a durable but consumable material, indepted as it was to the notion of the city/architecture as a process of eternal transformation.

Paralleling the stories of art and architectural currents within this research report is not least an attempt to map, where, when, and why the "expanded arts" (*Expansion der Kunst*)[224] – a latecomer-slogan popularized by German artist Jürgen Claus in 1970s Japan – actually hit concrete walls in Japan c. 1970 (Fig.50). Beyond discursive shifts detectable, when comparing the discussions in West-Germany, the U.S., and Japan more recent studies of practices "blurring art and life," which necessarily affected architecture as part of the lived everyday, carefully trace the "Limits to Art,"[225] exposing, rather than cheering the rhetorics of expansion, growth, and progress at the eve of the Oil Crisis in 1973. Nevertheless, it is as symptomatic as interesting that Jürgen Claus presents *Metabolism*,[226] a bundle of architectural strategies and urbanist proposals, introduced by the Japanese architects Kiyonori Kikutake, Fumihiko Maki, Masao Ōtaka, Kishō Kurokawa, and theorized by critic Noboru Kawazoe in his own collection of public art, arguing by citing Kawazoe that the last phase of an "information city" would be the utopian "metapolis:"[227]

Der Name leitet sich von Metabolismus als dem Prozess der Aneignung und Abgabe von Kräften ab. […] Auf Architektur und Urbanismus bezogen heisst materieller Metabolismus, die grundsätzlichen Elemente der Städte zu untersuchen und den Rhythmus, durch den sich die Elemente verändern. Dafür griff man auf die Untersuchungen zurück, die Louis Kahn […] seit 1955 an der University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia anstellen liess. Der energetische Metabolismus war die zweite Stufe. Jetz arbeitet man über Menschen, Objekte, Energie als Information. […] die Metapolis [wird] *leere Räume haben, Öffnungen der Zivilisation oder auch Höhlen in einer ausgestatteten City. […] Das werden Orte sein, die den schöpferischen Geist anregen. […] Solche Orte zu schaffen ist schliesslich der Daseinsgrund der Städte.*

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[224] Whereas the philosophers of the Frankfurt School, among which Theodor W. Adorno saw such an expansion not least in its economic consequences pessimistically as the foundation of "culture industry," Claus propagated "Action, Environment, Cybernetics, Technology, and Urbanism" as contributions to theory and practice of public art, or rather as a manual to make art public by renegotiating the terms and spheres of the individual and the common. The book became surprisingly popular in 1970s Japan, probably reassuring a generation of "mobilized" artists and architects that their aims had not been entirely misrouted, only prone to ambivalent use. See: Claus, Jürgen: *Expansion der Kunst. Beiträge zu Theorie und Praxis öffentlicher Kunst* (Rowohlts Deutsche Enzyklopädie 334/335), Ernesto Grassi (ed.), Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1970, [idem: Tokyo, 1972]; in his chapter "Die Informationsstadt" Claus mentions furthermore Osamu Ishiyama and Akira Shibuya, see: pp.84-85, p.84.

[225] Ursprung, Philip: *Allan Kaprow, Robert Smithson, and The Limits to Art*, trans. Fiona Elliott, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013, [first: idem: *Die Grenzen der Kunst. Allan Kaprow und das Happening. Robert Smithson und die Land Art,* Munich: Verlag Silke Schreiber, 2003].

[226] Kikutake, Kiyonori, Noboru Kawazoe, Fumihiko Maki, Masato Ōtaka, and Noriaki Kurokawa: *Metabolism 1960. The Proposals for New Urbanism*, Yasuko Kawazoe (ed.), with illustrations by Kiyoshi Awazu, Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppan-sha, 1960.

[227] Cf. Claus, Jürgen: *Expansion der Kunst. Beiträge zu Theorie und Praxis öffentlicher Kunst* (Rowohlts Deutsche Enzyklopädie 334/335), Ernesto Grassi (ed.), Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1970, [idem: Tokyo, 1972]; in the chapter "Die Informationsstadt" Claus mentions furthermore Osamu Ishiyama and Akira Shibuya as continuing to develop the notion of metabolism in architecture, see: pp.84-85.

In the Garden of Live Flowers – Looking for an Absentee

Albeit reviewing the film documentation and storyboard of "A Drama of Human Beings and Objects"

extensively we have not come across Tsuruko Yamazaki very often so far. Where is her share in the

staging, authored by the group collectively, yet sequenced in discernable contributions figuring in

the storyboard under certain artists' names? Does such a question even matter, if authorship has

been dissolved in a collaboration of group members?

It is nevertheless noteworthy that for the *Gutai Art Festival* the names of artists listed are

limited to the 1950s core members left within the group by 1970. As I mentioned citing Kuroda

earlier, Yoshihara figured beyond his responsibilities for the groups's performance as a consultant

planner of art related venues and programs for the Expo. He made part of the Expo Museum's

planning committtee, oversaw an installative group exhibition for the entrance hall of the

commercial *Midori-kan* (Midori Pavilion), where he compiled the images for the hemispheric-vision

film "Astrorama," shown within the dome shaped multimedia-theater of the same pavilion under

the general theme "Multidimensional World" (Fig.51, Fig.52).[228] Last but not least, Yoshihara

surveilled the installation of the group's kinetic sculpture *Garden on Garden* (1970) – a collective

work by 14 members – outside the *Expo Art Museum* (Fig.53, Fig.54, Fig.55).

Looking for Yamazaki's contributions on these sites they are conspicuous by their absence.

On the other hand in this collective kinetic sculpture once again authorship is intentionally blurred

and thus the search for her share itself a somewhat wrong premise. Ming Tiampo notes: "The

group show at the entrance of the Midori Pavilion, for example, showed all new works. From the

older generation, Yamazaki Tsuruko made an illuminated cube that updated her more organic 1956

Work {*Red Cube)* for a 1970s interior, and Yoshida Toshio created a glowing study of wave patterns

that resembled a high-tech version of Duchamp's *Three Standard Stoppages* (1913–14)."[229] A

documentary by Michael Blackwood produced in early 1970 presents "five examples from the

contemporary art scene in Japan,"[230] chosen and introduced by the art critics Yoshiaki Tōno (1930–

2005) and Yūsuke Nakahara. The ongoing preparations for the "Tenth Tokyo Biennale: Between

Man and Matter" (*Ningen to busshitsu*),[231] taking place in May 1970, and for Expo '70, opening two

months earlier, gave an opportunity to portray some of the artists and their works in the making

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[228] *Gutai shiryō-shū. Dokyumento Gutai 1954–1972 / Document Gutai 1954–1972*, Ashiya City Museum of Art and History (ed.), Ashiya: Ashiya City Cultural Foundation, 1993, pp.225-228.

[229] Tiampo 2011, pp.160-161.

[230] Cf. *Japan: The New Art*, dir. Christian and Michael Blackwood, comm. Edward F. Fry, perf. Yoshiaki Tōno, Yūsuke Nakahara, the Gutai group, Nobuo Sekine, Lee Ufan, Jirō Takamatsu, Katsuhiko Narita, Blackwood Productions Inc., 1970/2008, DVD, 00:01:57-00:01:58.

[231] The tenth Tokyo Biennale was held at the Tokyo Metropolitan Art Gallery and sponsored by the Mainichi Newspaper and the Japan International Art Promotion Association. It toured from June to mid-August in Kyoto, Nagoya, and Fukuoka. Among the exhibiting international artists were among others Jean-Frédéric Schnyder, Bruce Nauman, Panamarenko, Carl André, Richard Serra, Giuseppe Penone, and Gilberto Zorio. See: *Tokyo Biennale '70. Between Man and Matter. Dai 10-kai nihon kokusai bijutsu ten. Ningen to busshitsu* [Tenth Japanese International Art Exhibition. Man and Matter], cat. exh. Metropolitan Art Gallery Tokyo, 1970, Nakahara Yūsuke (ed.), 2 vols., Tokyo: Mainichi Shimbun-sha, 1970.

(Fig.56). The documentary makes one realize a broad range of notable aspects, e.g. the new importance of the independent curator embodied by Nakahara.[232] To further elaborate on them yet exceeds the scope of our investigation. We should yet note here that the title of the Tokyo Biennnale chosen by Nakahara "Between Man and Matter" is almost identical with the words the *Gutai* performance on *Festival Plaza* had been announced. But as often, when things seem superposable at first glance, they have to be differentiated with increased attention. However, the choice of artists portrayed in the film includes the Gutai group, Nobuo Sekine, Lee Ufan, and Jirō Takamatsu.

While critic Tōno's synchronized voice-over explains that "there is no longer Japanese Art, only Japanese artists,"[233] we see the young members of the Gutai group installing the sculpture *Garden on Garden* on the Expo grounds under the stern gaze of Jirō Yoshihara. The older members Kazuo Shiraga, Toshio Yoshida, and Saburō Murakami are present on the scene as well. And suddenly we are able to catch a glimps on Tsuruko Yamazaki observing the scenery from the second row (Fig.57). Probably this episode documenting the work *Garden on Garden,* as well as the larger consideration of the *Gutai Festival* before, bring to mind the mediation, the fact that ephemeral acts for us to become able to consider them historically are always already mediated, no matter whether the mediation was intended by the artists, a strategic representation broadcast, or an unintended byproduct of a family visit to the Expo grounds.

Besides Yamazaki apparently fulfilled the duty to guide the group's international visitors and invitees through the exhibition grounds.[234] Archival folders stored at the Ashiya City Museum of Art and History hold photographs of Yoshihara accompanying Willem de Kooning through the Expo grounds, as well as a shot of Yoshihara taken, when he held an opening speech in front of the *Midori Pavilion* (Fig.58, Fig.59). Tsuruko Yamazaki at Expo '70 is best documented in her personal archives, held by her Tokyo and Osaka gallerists. A photograph shows her sitting in front of the *Expo Pond*, next to her sister and the latter's children. Another picture from around the same time depicts her in an interior – probably inside Yoshihara residence – sitting on a couch. She is surrounded by a group of young women, flipping through the pages of the magazine *Geijutsu shinchō* (New Currents in Art). Asking the gallerists on which occasion this picture of Yamazaki was taken, and how she estimated the group's engagement in Expo '70 they both shrug their shoulders.

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[232] For a detailed introduction to the Tokyo Biennale 1970 and its link with Expo '70 see: Tomii, Reiko: "Toward Tokyo Biennale 1970: Shapes of the Interantioanl in the Age of 'International Contemporaneity'," in: *Expo '70 and Japanese Art: Dissonant Voices* (Review of Japanese Culture and Society 23), Midori Yoshimoto (ed.), Tokyo: Jōsai International Center for the Promotion of Art and Science, Jōsai University, 2011, pp.191-210.

[233] *Japan: The New Art*, dir. Christian and Michael Blackwood, comm. Edward F. Fry, perf. Yoshiaki Tōno, Yūsuke Nakahara, the Gutai group, Nobuo Sekine, Lee Ufan, Jirō Takamatsu, Katsuhiko Narita, Blackwood Productions Inc., 1970/2008, DVD, 00:02:00-00:02:01.

[234] Yamazaki, Tsuruko: "Conversation with Tsuruko Yamazaki," Gabrielle Schaad, Andrew Maerkle, Atsuko Ninagawa, and Toyoko Hyohno, Ashiya, 1.5.2014.

"This falls into the category of Ms. Yamazaki's privacy," replies Hyohno-san. It seems to be conveyed that this is one of the least questions to concern me during this visit to Osaka and Ashiya.

I cling to Yamazaki's earlier dictum instead. With a sense of discretion she hints at her concern with experiences of ambiguity and (inner) conflict in 1959:[235]

> *I want to live not only in the evening, but also in the twilight and in secrecy. My thoughts and my actions collapse and evaporate every minute. In me remains only the ambiguity, the intangible discomfort, the undignified weakness, as though I was wrapped in a parachute. These unbearable things confront the material in my work and make themselves invisible there.*

Slowly coming back from this virtual trip to Osaka Expo '70, my thoughts recollect again on the previous dip into customs and clichés at the Osaka *tempura* parlor, where I had just spent the last few hours. This brings me back to a more basic question: What fragments of Osaka's city history could be gathered, building up to Yamazaki's supposed sphere of action beyond the Expo grounds?

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[235] Yamazaki, Tsuruko: "Statement," in: *Notizie*, vol. 2, no. 8, (1959), cit. in: Lugano 2011, p.241.

Figures

Fig.1: Gutai, Reconstruction of installation for NUL 65, *Fare Mondi. Making Worlds*, Venice Biennale 2009, installation view, (photo: Gabrielle Schaad, 2009)

Fig.2: Guyton/Walker, Studio view New York, 2009, (in: Venice 2009, vol. I, n.p.)
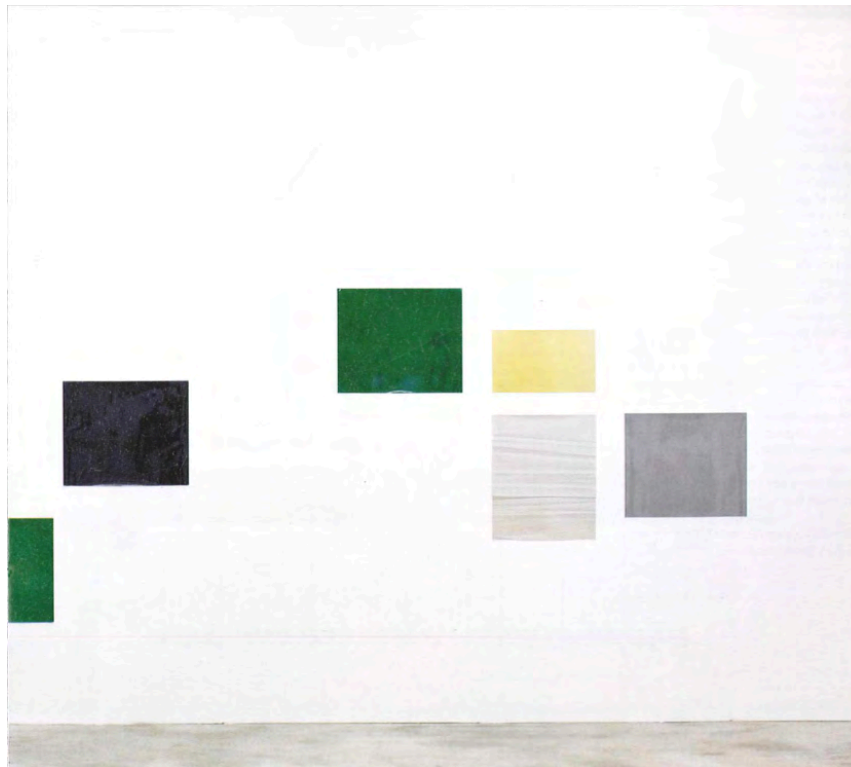
Fig.3: Wolfgang Tilmans, Installation view, *Fare Mondi. Making Worlds*, Venice Biennale 2009, (in: Venice 2009, vol. I, p.155)

Fig.4: Daniel Birnbaum, "We are Many," (in: Venice 2009, vol. I, p.184-185)

Fig.5: Tsuruko Yamazki, *Buriki kan* [Tin Cans], 1955, *Fare Mondi. Making Worlds*, Venice Biennale 2009, installation view, (photo: Gabrielle Schaad)

Fig.6: Tsuruko Yamazaki, *Sakuhin* [Work], 1955/1986, paint, oil-paper, mirror on iron sheets, 228x183x4cm, Private collection, (in: Lugano 2011, p.211)

Fig.7: Eel tempura, (photo: Gabrielle Schaad, 2014)

Fig.8: *Gate Tower Building*, Fukushima-ku, Osaka, architect: Azusa Sekkei, Yamamoto-Nishihara Kenchiku Sekkei Jimushō, 1992, (photo: Gabrielle Schaad, 2006)

Fig.9: Gutai, *Gutai Art Festival (Ningen to buttai no dorama) – A Drama of Human Being and Objects*, LED-billboard announcement, Osaka, 1970, film still, (*Gutai*, documentary footage, Ashiya City Museum of Art and History, Ashiya 1955–1970)
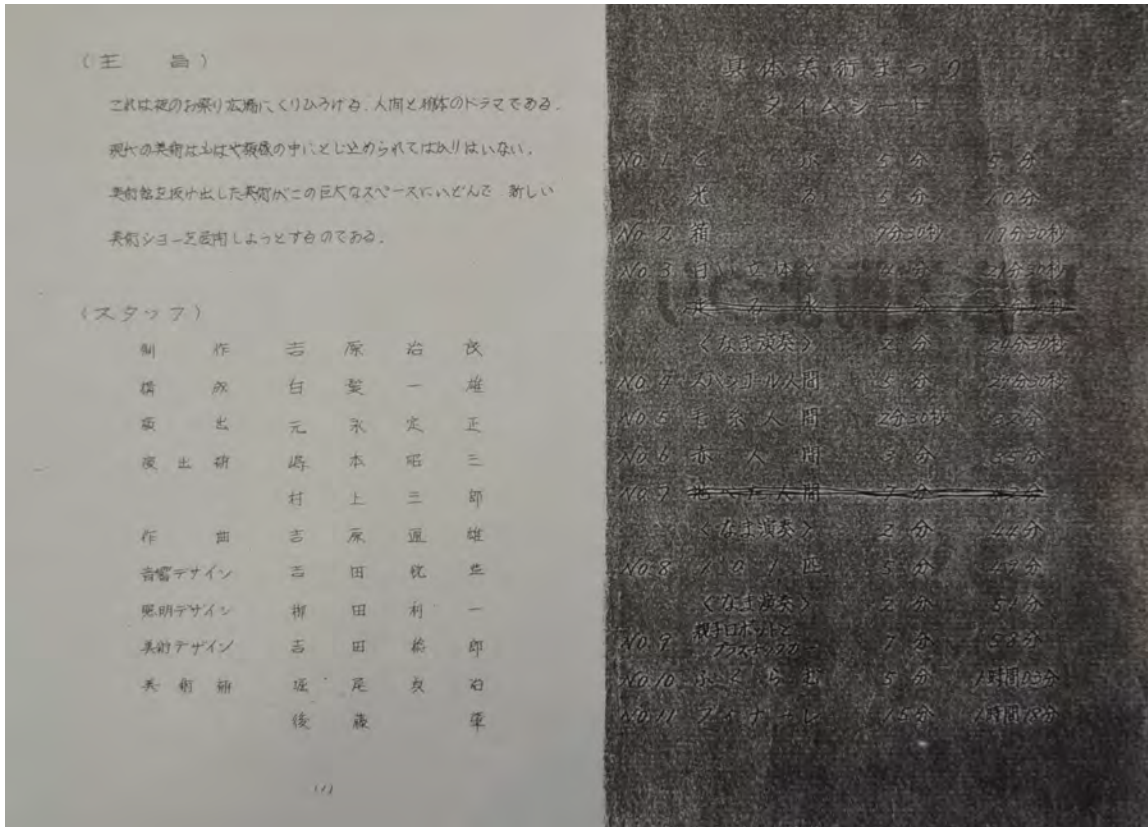

Fig.10: Gutai, Storyboard for Gutai Art Festival 1970, (Gutai Materials, Ashiya City Museum of Art and History, Ashiya)
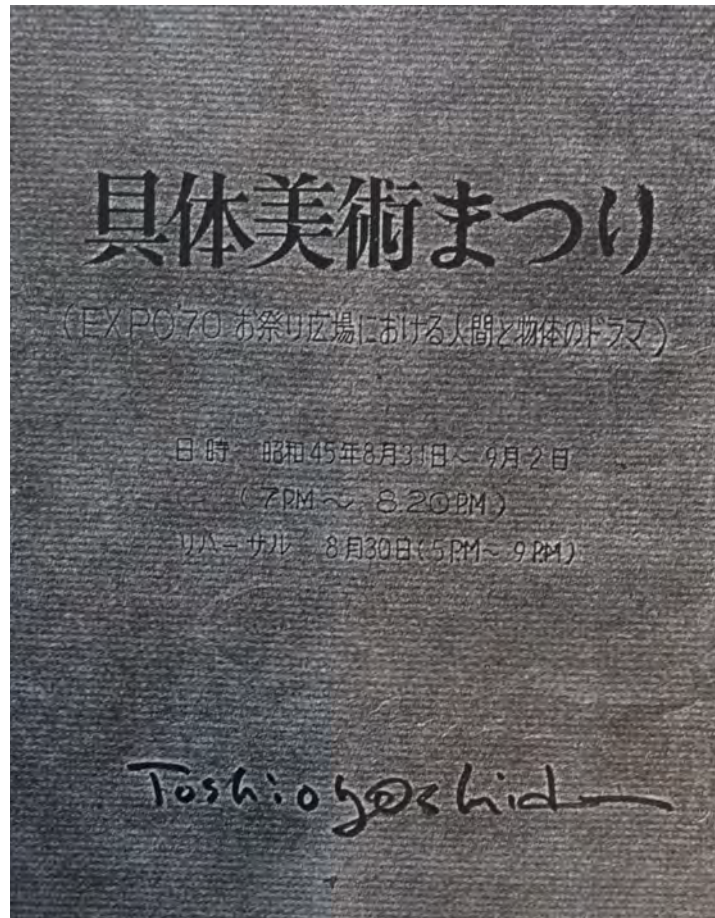
Fig.11: Gutai, Storyboard for Gutai Art Festival 1970, (Gutai Materials, Ashiya City Museum of Art and History, Ashiya)

Fig.12: Gutai, "Tobu hikaru" [Jump Lights], *Gutai Art Festival (Ningen to buttai no dorama) – A Drama of Human Being and Objects*, Osaka, 1970, film still, (*Gutai*, documentary footage, Ashiya City Museum of Art and History, Ashiya 1955–1970)

Fig.13: Gutai, "Tobu hikaru" [Jump Lights], *Gutai Art Festival (Ningen to buttai no dorama) – A Drama of Human Being and Objects*, Osaka, 1970, film still, (*Gutai*, documentary footage, Ashiya City Museum of Art and History, Ashiya 1955–1970)

Fig.14: Gutai, *Gutai Sky Art* Festival, Osaka, 1960, (Gutai Papers, Kandinsky Library, Musée National d'Art Moderne/Centre Pompidou, Paris)

Fig.15: Gutai, "Shiroi rittai" [White Cube], *Gutai Art Festival (Ningen to buttai no dorama) – A Drama of Human Being and Objects*, LED-billboard announcement, Osaka, 1970, film still, (*Gutai*, documentary footage, Ashiya City Museum of Art and History, Ashiya 1955–1970)
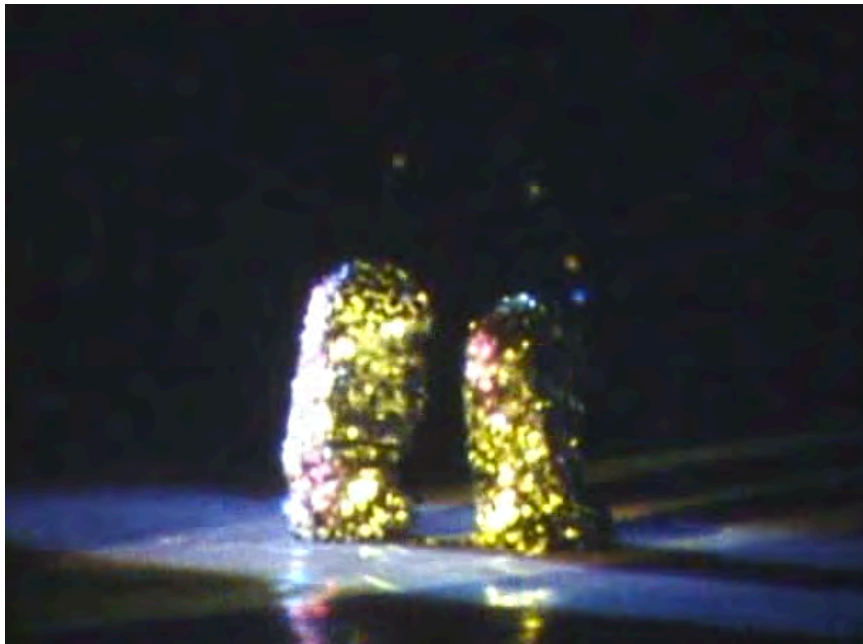

Fig.16: Gutai, "Spankōru ningen" [Spangle Men], *Gutai Art Festival (Ningen to buttai no dorama) – A Drama of Human Being and Objects*, Osaka, 1970, film still, (*Gutai*, documentary footage, Ashiya City Museum of Art and History, Ashiya 1955–1970)

Fig.17: Gutai, "Keito ningen" [Woolen Yarn Man], *Gutai Art Festival (Ningen to buttai no dorama) – A Drama of Human Being and Objects*, Osaka, 1970, film still, (*Gutai*, documentary footage, Ashiya City Museum of Art and History, Ashiya 1955–1970)

Fig.18-19: Atsuko Tanaka, "Gekidai-ten" [Stage Exhibition], *Gutai Art on Stage*, Tokyo, 1957, (in: *Gutai*, no. 7, (July, 1957), p.13)

Fig.20: Bernard Rudofsky, Summer gowns (*yukata*) drying in the sun, (in: *domus*, no. 319, (June, 1956), p.47)
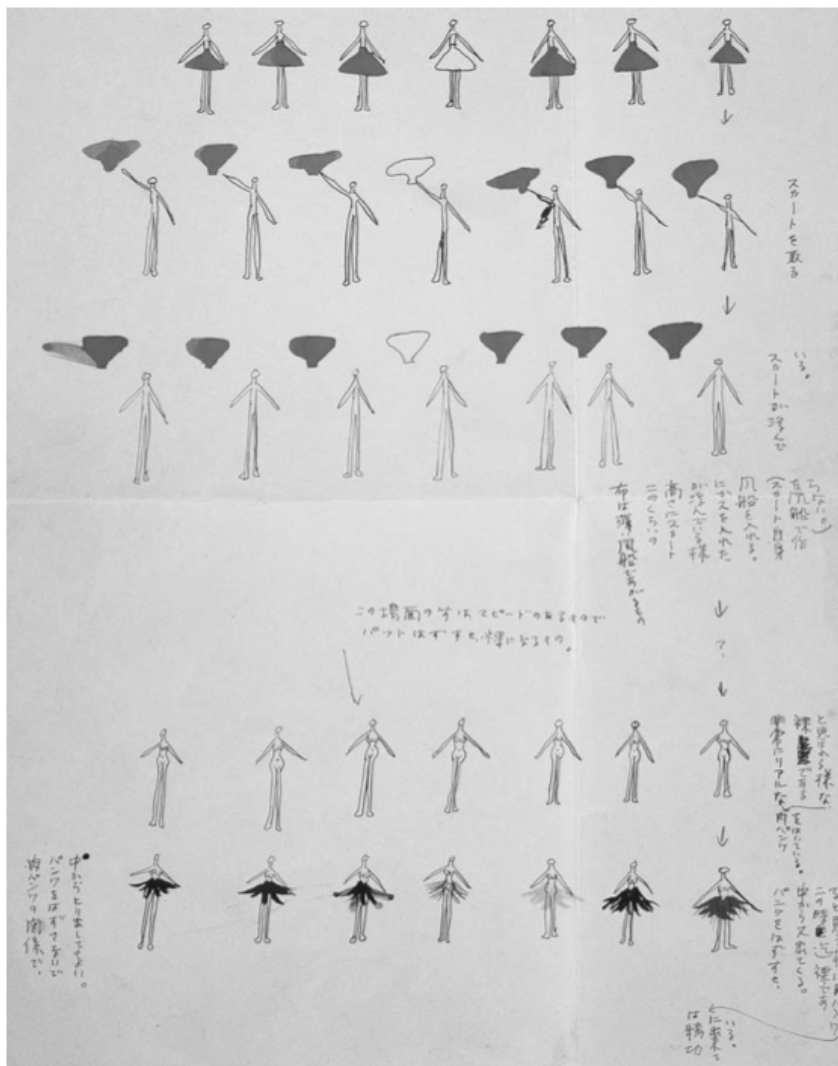

Fig.21: Atsuko Tanaka, Studies for *Stage Clothes*, ca. 1956, ink, watercolor, and pencil on paper, 29.5x22.1cm, Private collection, (in: Kunimoto 2013, p.478)

Fig.22: Gutai, "Akai ningen" [Red Men], *Gutai Art Festival (Ningen to buttai no dorama) – A Drama of Human Being and Objects*, Osaka, 1970, film still, (*Gutai*, documentary footage, Ashiya City Museum of Art and History, Ashiya 1955–1970)

作品　1　超現代三番叟　　　白髪　一　雄

Kazuo Shiraga

私の作品の価値は、人間がどの様に力ーっぱいふりしぼって制
作したかという事にある。
技術は私の制作する行動の中にある。
弓で矢をとばすという事が美術か、矢のつきささった画面が
美術か、それにははげしい楽しみがある。赤い衣裳は竹のしわ
りの面白さと自分の行動とがどの様に結びついて他のあらゆる
人達と自分とを喜ばして呉れるかを舞台でやって見たいのであ
る。

Fig.23: Kazuo Shiraga, "Chō kindai sanbasō" [Ultra-modern Sanbasō], *Gutai Art on Stage*, Tokyo, 1957, (in: *Gutai*, no. 7, (July, 1957), p.4)
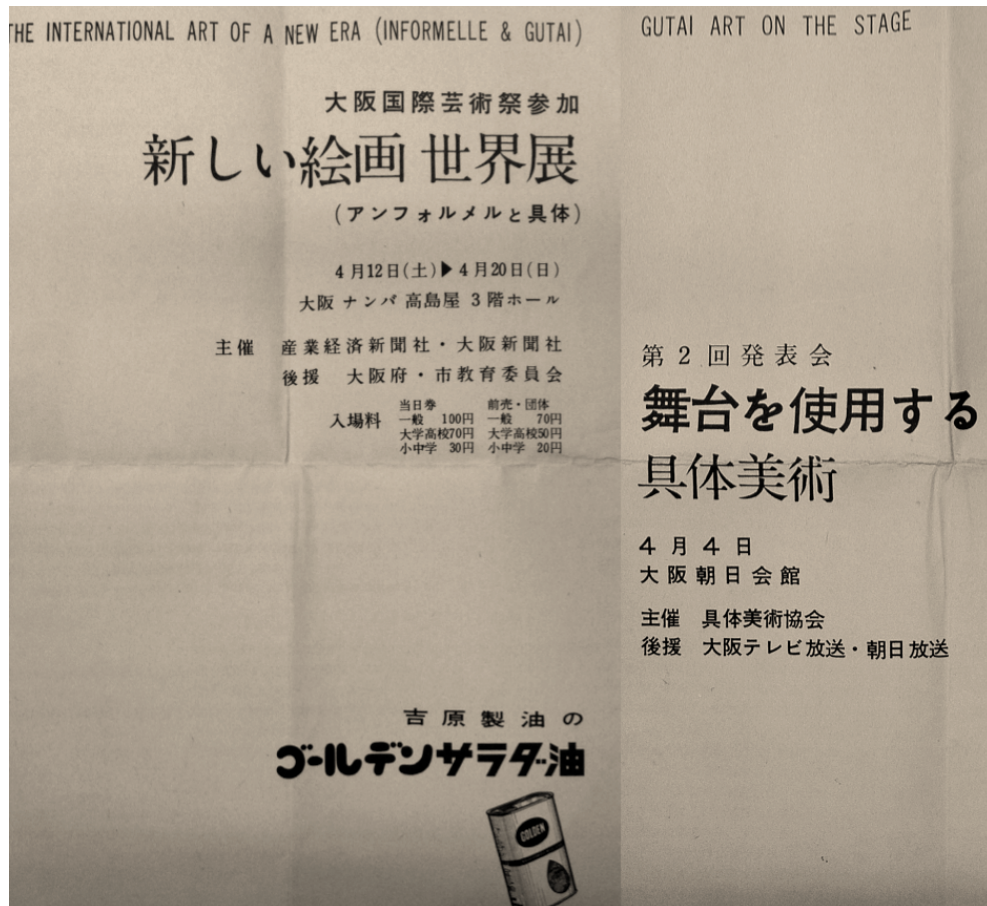
Fig.24: Gutai, Announcement pamphlet, *Gutai Art on Stage: 2nd Issue*, Sankei Hall, Osaka, 1958, (Gutai Papers, Kandinsky Library, Musée National d'Art Moderne/Centre Pompidou, Paris)

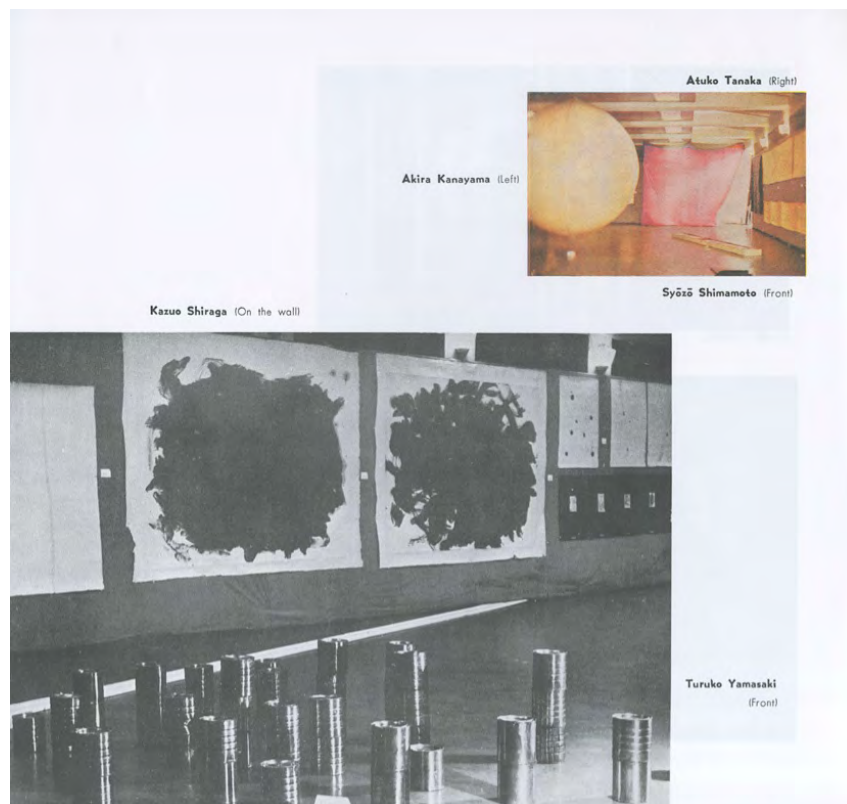Fig.25: Akira Kanayama, "Sakuhin" [Work, (Kanayama's Balls)], upper right angle, (in: *Gutai*, no. 4, (July, 1956), p.15)

Fig.26: Gutai, Storyboard for Gutai Art Festival 1970, (Gutai Materials, Ashiya City Museum of Art and History, Ashiya)

Fig.27: Gutai, "Jibeta ningen" [Soil Human], Storyboard for Gutai Art Festival 1970, p.14 (Gutai Materials, Ashiya City Museum of Art and History, Ashiya)
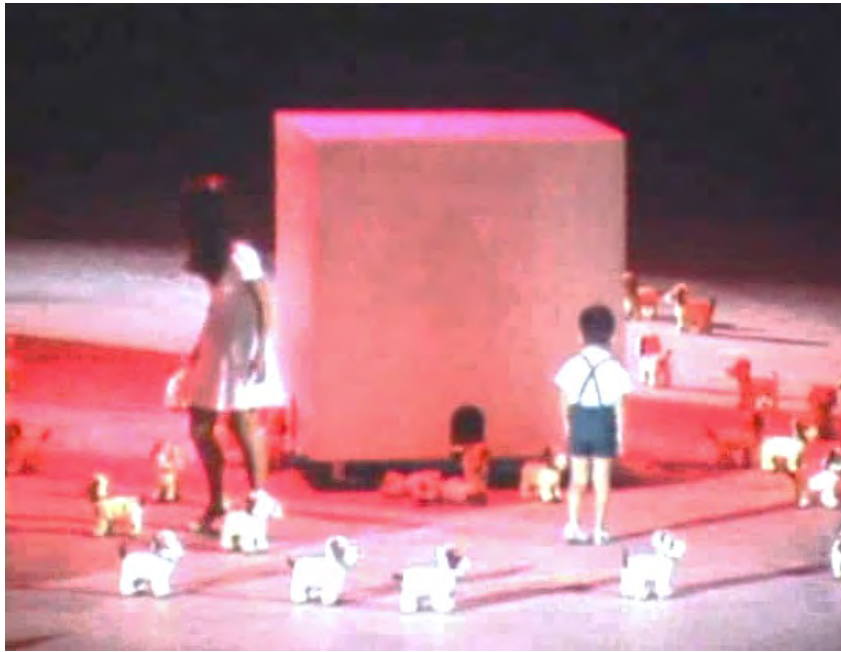
Fig.28: Gutai, "101 piki" [101], *Gutai Art Festival (Ningen to buttai no dorama) – A Drama of Human Being and Objects*, Osaka, 1970, film still, (*Gutai*, documentary footage, Ashiya City Museum of Art and History, Ashiya 1955–1970)

Fig.29: Gutai, "Parent and Child Robot, Plastic Car," *Gutai Art Festival (Ningen to buttai no dorama) – A Drama of Human Being and Objects*, Osaka, 1970, film stills, (*Gutai*, documentary footage, Ashiya City Museum of Art and History, Ashiya 1955–1970)
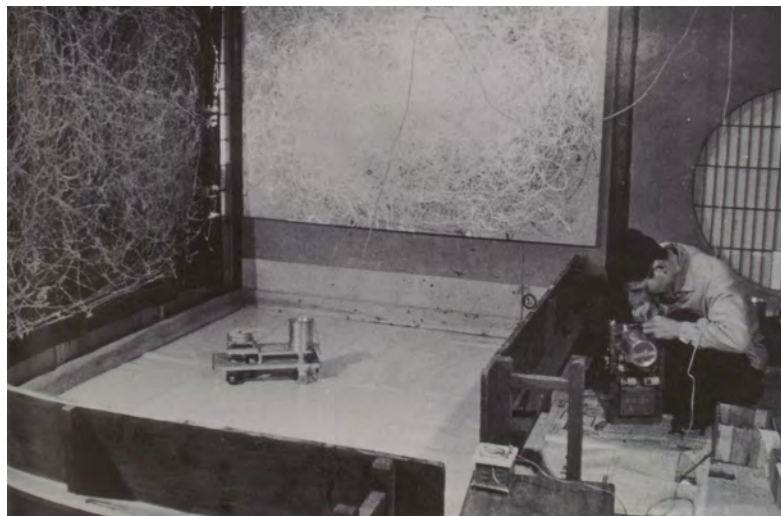

Fig.30: Akira Kanayama, Making a remote-control painting in his studio, c. 1957, (photo: courtesy of the artist)

Fig.31: *Electromagica*. *Psytech Art Exhibition*, pamphlet, Sony show room, Tokyo, 1969, (Masao Kohmura Papers, Nagoya)

Fig.32: Minoru Yoshida, *The Yellow Beam Take Effect: The Art Machine No.2*, 1968, mixed media, *Electromagica*. *Psytech Art Exhibition*, Sony show room, Tokyo, 1969, (in: Tokyo 1969, n.p.)

に思う。芸術家は、大脳生理学者や精神医学者の言説から自主的にヒントを得ることは大いに有益だが、専門科学者の言説に追従・迎合したら無益有害であると言わねばならない。

　最後に、この小論の結びとしてEXPO '70について一言したい。先日私は千里丘陵の会場建設現場をみせてもらったが、要するに今度の万博は、19世紀後半の機械文明誇示的な万博の最後の一例と言うべきだろう。もし未来への広く深い視野をもった企てだったなら、例えば瀬戸内海の自然をうまく取り入れて自然と人工との非人間疎外的な総合を試み、かつ世界の万国の共同設計による会場建設を企てるべきだったのではないか？　私はかつて広島の原爆公園の夕闇に一人立って思った——丹下健三氏やイサム・ノグチ氏の技巧を凝らした小細工を周囲のネオンが嘲笑している。ここには小さな墓碑以外に何もつくらず、一面に白い小石を敷いておくべきではなかったのかと。

（科学評論家）
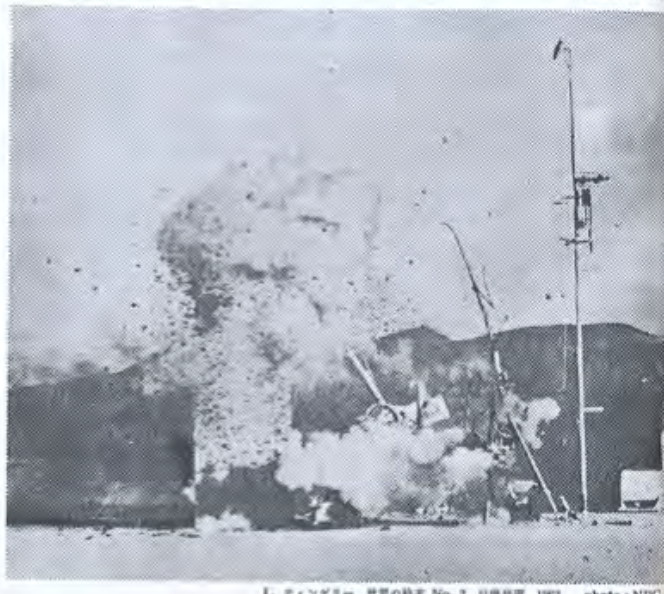
J. ティンゲリー　世界の終末 No. 2　日岸装置　1962　photo：NBC

Fig.33: Yasuo Shizume: "Gendai shakai to tekunorojī" [Contemporary Society and Technology], (in: Tokyo 1969, p.78)

Fig.34: Arata Isozaki: "Tracing of Marilyn Monroe," Arata Isozaki made a curve ruler according to the proportion of Monroe, and incorporated this into architecture and furniture design, 1965, (photo: courtesy Watari Museum Tokyo, 2014)

Fig.35: *Barbarella*, dir. Roger Vadim, perf. Jane Fonda, John Phillip Law, Anita Pallenberg, Dino de Laurentiis Cinematografica, 1968, 98 min, Japanese poster, (photo: Gabrielle Schaad, 2014)

Fig.36: "Dai-3 sekai. Sōgō shinpojiumu" [Third Earth. Synthetic Symposium], poster of countercultural movements, c. 1969, (Masao Kohmura Papers, Nagoya)

Fig.37: Gutai, "Fukuramu" [Inflate], *Gutai Art Festival (Ningen to buttai no dorama) – A Drama of Human Being and Objects*, Osaka, 1970, film still, (*Gutai*, documentary footage, Ashiya City Museum of Art and History, Ashiya 1955–1970)

Fig.38: Sadamasa Motonaga, "Mizu" [Water], *2nd Outdoor Exhibition*, Ashiya, 1956, (in: *Gutai*, no. 5, (October, 1956), p.14)

Fig.39: Gutai, "Fukuramu" [Inflate], Storyboard for Gutai Art Festival 1970, p.18, (Gutai Materials, Ashiya City Museum of Art and History, Ashiya)

Fig.40: Gutai, "Fināre" [Finale], *Gutai Art Festival (Ningen to buttai no dorama) – A Drama of Human Being and Objects*, Osaka, 1970, film still, (*Gutai*, documentary footage, Ashiya City Museum of Art and History, Ashiya 1955–1970)

Fig.41: *Suita graph*, 1970, (Hakurankaishiryō [Expo Materials], Nomura Kōgei-sha (Archives), Osaka)

Fig.42-43: Expo '70, Opening Ceremony, Festival Plaza, Osaka, 1970, (in: Kaya, Seiji, K. Yamada, M. Takahashi: *Expo '70 Hi-lite Album. Jinrui no shimpo to chōwa. Progress and Harmony for Mankind. Progres Humain dans l'Harmonie*, Tokyo: Seizando, 1970)

Fig.44: The Space Frame Roof and Festival Plaza, Osaka Expo '70, plans, (in: *The Japan Architect. International Edition of Shinkenchiku*, no. 151, (April, 1969), pp.34-35)

Symbol Zone. Second level. Scale: 1/200.

EXPO Theater.
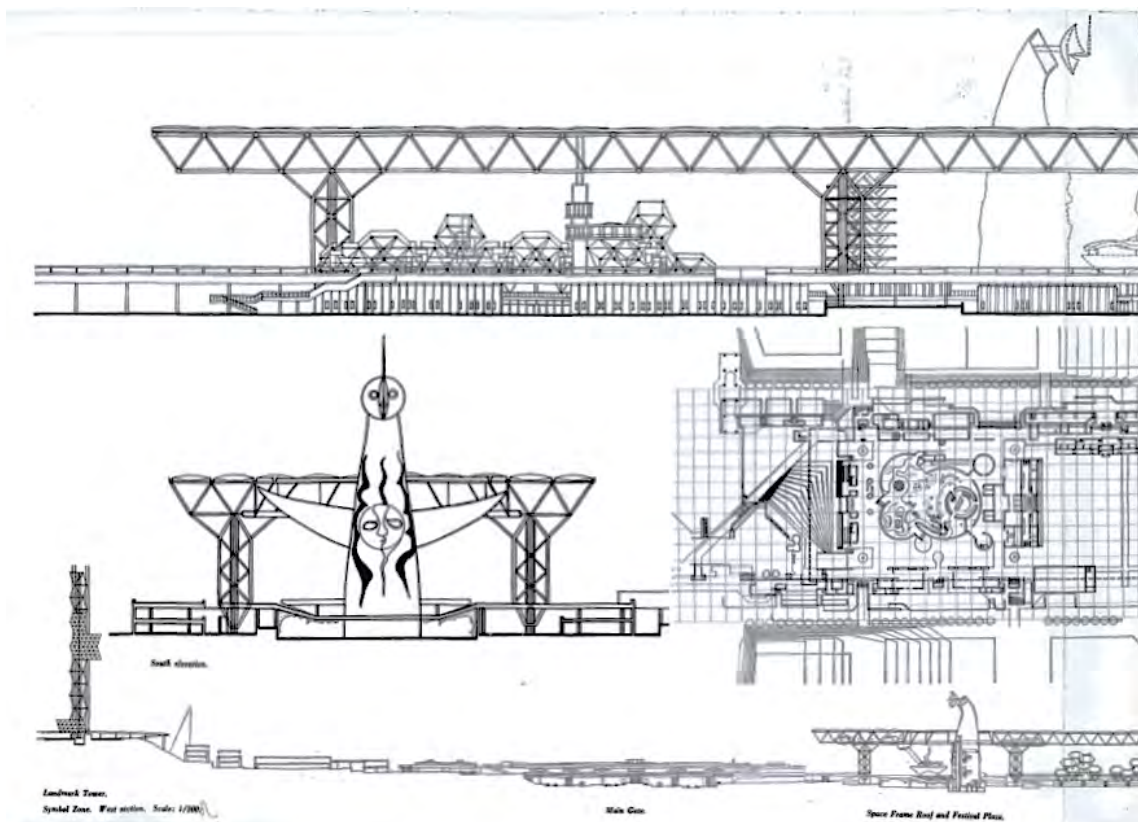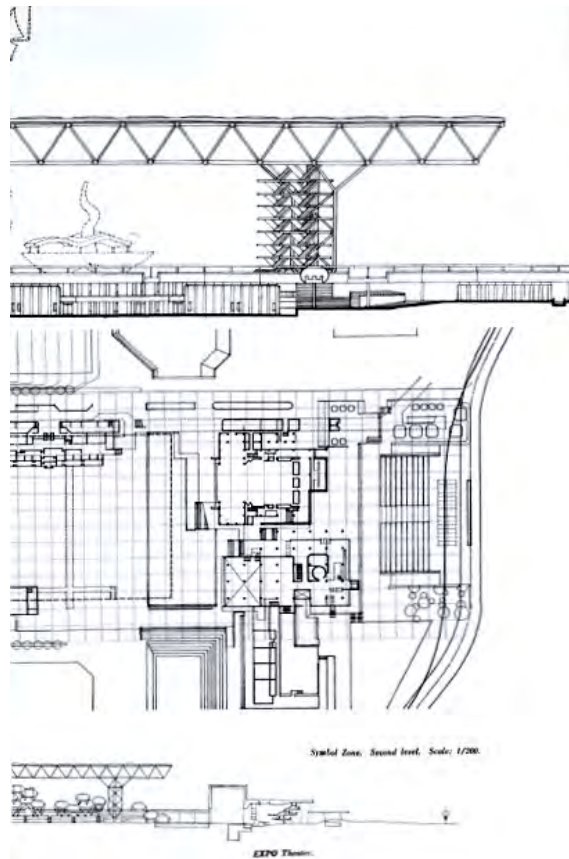
Fig.45: The Space Frame Roof and Festival Plaza, Osaka Expo '70, plans, (in: *The Japan Architect. International Edition of Shinkenchiku*, no. 151, (April, 1969), pp.34-35)

Festival Plaza; The model in the photography sents this page the early design stage.

This page photos: Osamu Murai
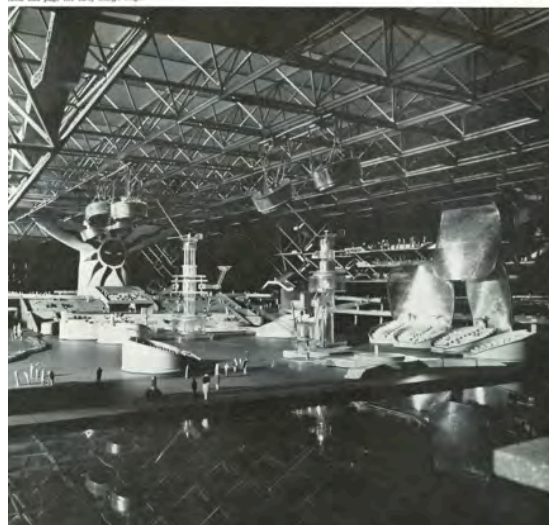
Fig.46: The Space Frame Roof and Festival Plaza, Osaka Expo '70, plans, (in: *The Japan Architect. International Edition of Shinkenchiku*, no. 151, (April, 1969), p.23)
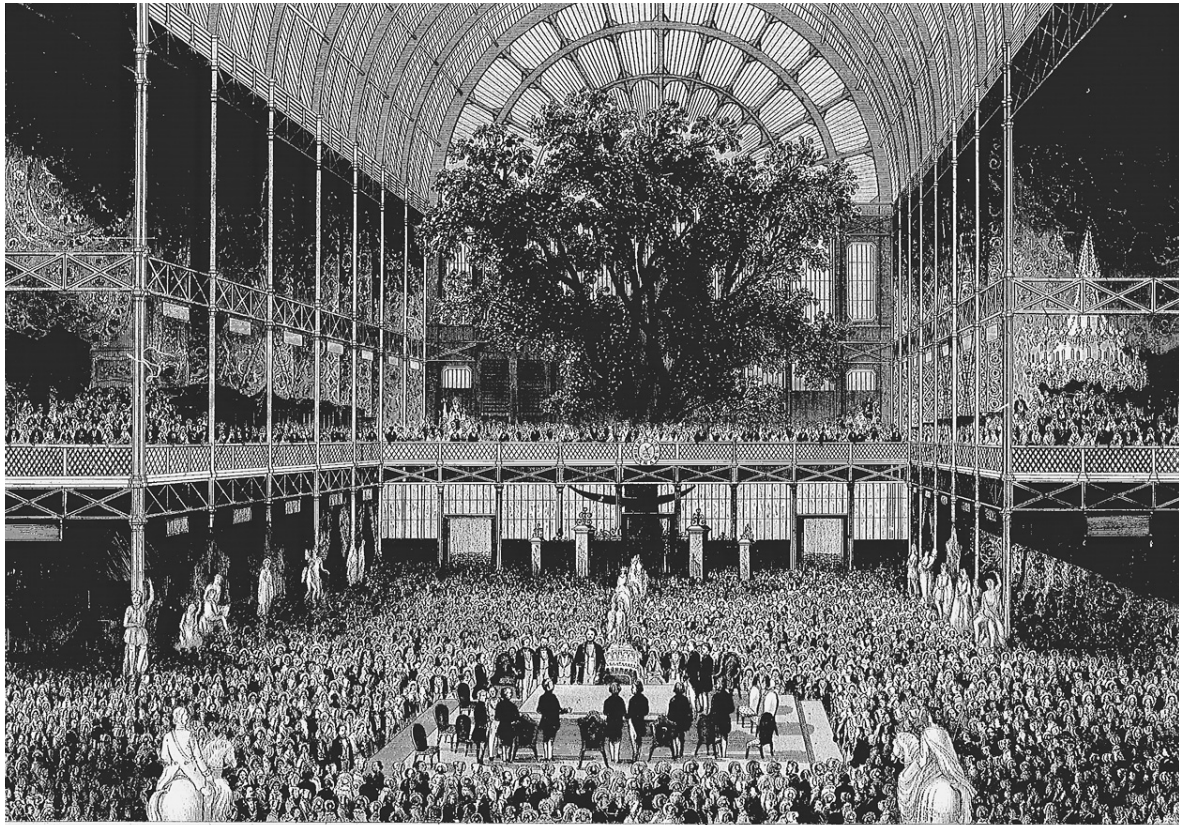
Fig.47: John Tallis, *Closing of the Great Exhibition*, (in: Tallis's History and Description of [Joseph Paxton's] Crystal Palace, and the Exhibition of the World's Industry in 1851, New York and London: J. Tallis, 1952; retrieved through NDL, Tokyo <http://www.ndl.go.jp/exposition/e/data/L/009l.html>, last access 9.12.2005)

Fig.48: Jikken Kōbō: Jikken Kōbō's performance of Arnold Schoenberg's 1912 Pierrot Lunaire, dir. Tetsuji Takechi; script trans. Akiyama Kuniharu; stage design Kitadai Shōzō and Fukushima Hideko. Pierrot Lunaire (*Tsuki ni tsukareta Piero*), Sankei International Conference Hall, Tokyo, 5.12.1955, (photo: Kiyoji Ōtsuji, in: Kamakura 2013, p.131)

Fig.49: Sharp (ed.): *Sekai no 'bankokuhaku kitte' shīto* [The World's 'Expo '70 Stamps' Sheet], 1970 (courtesy of Keiko Yagi)
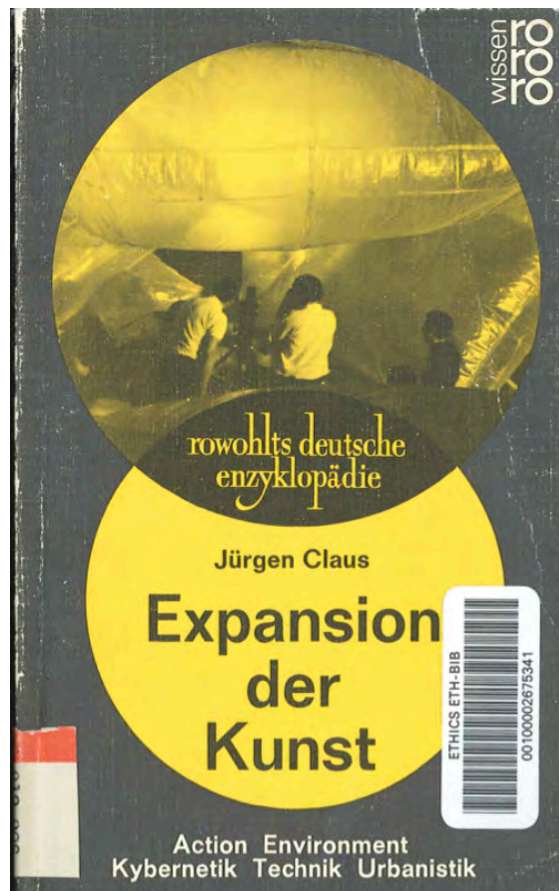
Fig.50: Jürgen Claus, Bookcover, *Expansion der Kunst. Beiträge zu Theorie und Praxis öffentlicher Kunst* (Rowohlts Deutsche Enzyklopädie 334/335), Ernesto Grassi (ed.), Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1970, [idem: Tokyo, 1972].

Fig.51: *Midori Pavilion*, pamphlet, 1970, (Hakurankaishiryō [Expo Materials], Nomura Kōgei-sha (Archives), Osaka)
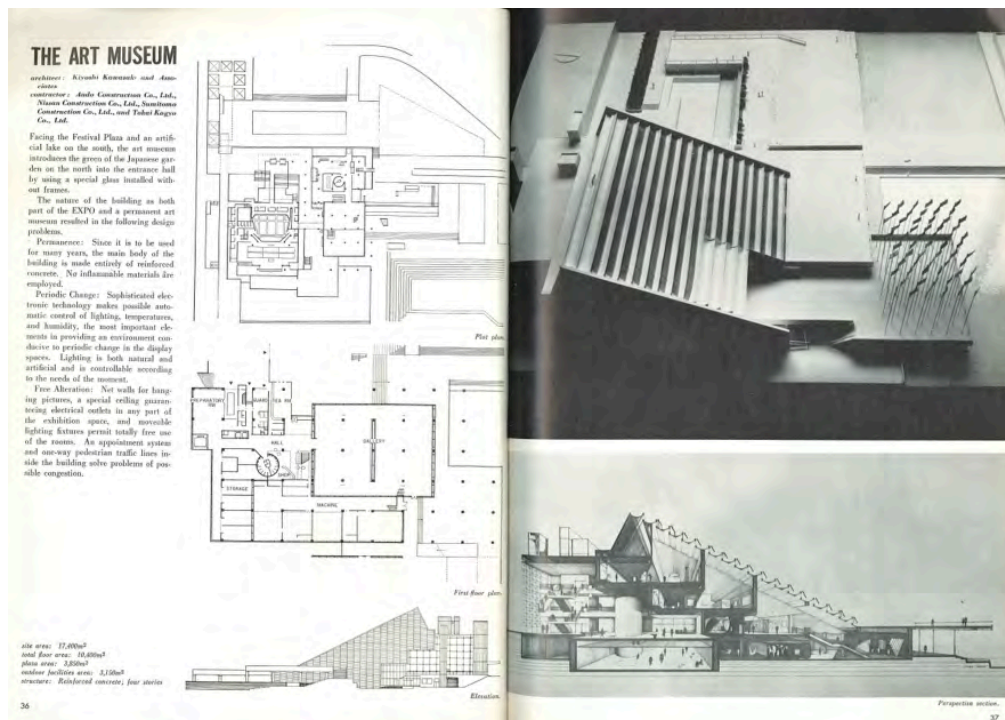
Fig.51-52: The Art Museum, Osaka Expo '70, plans, (in: *The Japan Architect. International Edition of Shinkenchiku*, no. 151, (April, 1969), pp.36-37)

Fig.53: *The Expo Museum of Fine Arts*, pamphlet, 1970, p.11, (Hakurankaishiryō [Expo Materials], Nomura Kōgei-sha (Archives), Osaka)

Fig.54: *The Expo Museum of Fine Arts*, pamphlet, 1970, p.5, (Hakurankaishiryō [Expo Materials], Nomura Kōgei-sha (Archives), Osaka)
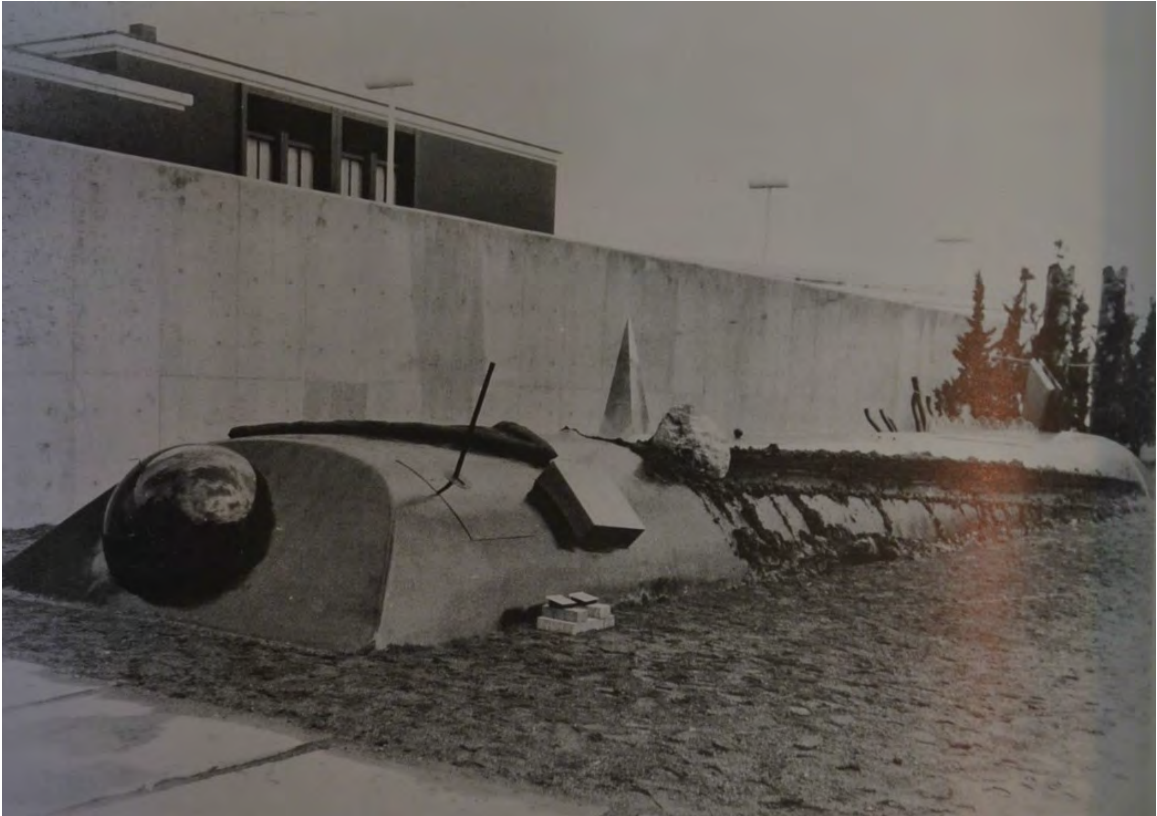
Fig.55-57: Gutai, *Garden on Garden*, kinetic sculpture, mixed media, outside of the Expo Museum of Fine Arts, Expo '70, Osaka, 1970, installation view, (in: *Gutai shiryō-shū. Dokyumento Gutai 1954–1972 / Document Gutai 1954–1972*, Ashiya City Museum of Art and History (ed.), Ashiya: Ashiya City Cultural Foundation, 1993, p.224)

Fig.58: Photograph of Jirō Yoshihara, before holding an opening speech for "Astrorama" in front of the Midori Pavilion, Expo '70, Osaka, (Gutai Materials, Ashiya City Museum of Art and History, Ashiya)

Fig.59: Photograph of Jirō Yoshihara and Willem de Kooning, on the Expo grounds, Expo '70, Osaka, 1970, (Gutai Materials, Ashiya City Museum of Art and History, Ashiya)

Situating Gutai – A Story in Ashiya, a Plot in Osaka

2.1 A "Living City" and its Suburbs – From Prewar City Planning to Postwar Land Reform

From the hanging garden-rooftop of the *Umeda Sky Building*[236]*,* one considers the many bridges, leading in and out of the city, crossing the *Yōdo* river, and testifying Osaka's bloom as a wealthy trade metropolis since proto-industrial time with a leading position in textile business (Fig.60).[237] In the 1950s Osaka was nicknamed "Capital of Smoke,"[238] because of its always hardly discernable skyline, aligning smoking chimneys. As multi-layered and dense Osaka seems today, its residential development should for the period of high economic growth between 1955 and 1972 be described as an exodus to the suburbs. Economic historian Carl Mosk picks the example of Suita, a satellite city of Osaka, tracing its population growth rates from the 1920s up to the late 1960s, comparing them to Osaka and other suburbs, only to conclude: "The push of Osaka's daytime population out to satellite cities, encouraged a growing divergence between the size of Osaka's daytime and nighttime populations,"[239] stating that the spilling over to sleeping towns in proximity was still about to reach its climax after 1965: "[…] following that water-shed year, net in-migration rates for Osaka are actually negative."[240]

2.1.1 Displacement

Ashiya resident, writer and poet Jun'ichiro Tanizaki had observed such a trend in 1933 already. The proceeding modernization of Osaka's surroundings urged him to recollect his thoughts on the shadow, an aesthetic feature, he deemed bound to disappear due to the overall electrification of the country. Lamenting the modernization of Tokyo, Tanizaki had fled to Ashiya, shunning the changing metropolis after the reconstruction it underwent in the wake of the *Kantō* Earthquake (1923). By the mid 1920s, however, the urbanization of Osaka and its outskirts – Tanizaki's so far safe haven – outperformed Tokyo. Tanizaki thus values the "[…] beauty not in the thing itself but in

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[236] *Umeda Sky Building*, Shin-Umeda district, Osaka, architect: Hiroshi Hara, 1993: On occasion of the 14th *International Erchitecture Exhibition – La Biennale di Venezia* Hara states on the outline of the architectural competition for the building: "They wanted something that was not simply an office building but more like a 24-hour city, a place that was attractive in itself. […] That's when I proposed creating a 'hanging garden' supported on four pillars. […] I think it's odd that only dead end towers are being constructed. Other ways of organizing super high-rise buildings must exist. Connecting them horizontally is surely possible." See: Hara, Hiroshi: "Urban Skylines Harvested from Rural Fields," in: *In the Real World*, exh. cat. Japan Pavilion at the Giardini, 14th International Architecture Exhibition – La Biennale di Venezia 2014, Kayoko Ota (ed.), Tokyo: The Japan Foundation, 2014, n.p.

[237] Osaka based architect Tadao Ando emphasizes as one of the positive features of Osakan business-tradition the responsibility private tradesmen and companies took for the infrastructural development (bridges and municipal buildings) of the "mercantile" city as well as for its livability, which he now battels to re-establish, see: Nagaoka, Kenmei: "Tadao Ando and Osaka," in: *d design travel Osaka*, Tokyo; D&Department Project, 2010, pp.42-47. In the late 19th century Osaka was populated by steam-powered cotton and spinning factories, recently achieveing a good market position through fabric production for Western-style clothes, as well as setting quality standards in traditional *Kimono* production. See: Mosk, Carl: *Japanese Industrial History: Technology, Urbanization, and Economic Growth*, Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2001, pp.96-111.

[238] Sorensen, André: *The Making of Urban Japan. Cities and Planning from Edo to the Twenty First Century*, London and New York: Routledge, 2005, p.202.

[239] Mosk 2001, op. cit., p.263.

[240] Ibid.

the patterns of shadows, the light and the darkness, that one thing against another creates."[241] While criticizing the waste of electric energy with an anecdote on Albert Einstein's visit to Kyoto citing the latter:[242] "the truth of matter is that Japan wastes more electric light than any Western country except America,"[243] specifying his own approach in a more literary form compared to Einstein's economist tone:

> *But do not think that old people are the only ones to find fault. The author of the "Vox Populi Vox Dei" column in the Osaka 'Asahi' recently castigated city officials who quite needlessly cut a swath through a forest and leveled a hill in order to build a highway through Mino Park. I was somewhat encouraged, for to snatch away from us even the darkness beneath trees that stand deep in the forest is the most heartless of crimes. At this rate every place of any beauty in Nara or in the suburbs of Kyoto and Osaka, as the price of being turned over to the masses, will be denuded of trees. But again I am grumbling.*

In poetic case studies Tanizaki describes the prewar everyday through the magnifying glass. Concerning the prewar bourgeois suburban modernity – Tanizaki himself made part of, just as Tsuruko Yamazaki's parents being Ashiya residents[244] – music historian Alison Tokita points out: "[…] the modernity of the *Hanshinkan* region, […] the stretch of country between Osaka and Kobe, was a product of suburban expansion opened up by the *Hankyū* railway and associated real estate development, creating a new suburban culture. It was a combination of Osakan money and cosmopolitan émigré culture."[245]

In the 1920s the city of Osaka was remodeled, after modern standards torn from European city planning tradition, e.g. from the Haussmannian Paris. Big boulevards and new public transportation networks like the *Midōsuji* – still a main axis in present-day Osaka – organized the formerly compartmentalized, mazelike streetscape. This modernization, or rather urbanization process not only laid the foundations for the current layout of Osaka, which kept its general organization despite the devastations of WWII. While *Gutai* expert Shōichi Hirai explains the rise of the suburbs around Osaka like Ashiya, – at the time still "Seido Village in Muko County," Hyōgo Prefecture – tearing the case of *Gutai* mentor Jirō Yoshihara: "Families like the Yoshiharas[246] –

[241] Tanizaki, Jun'ichiro; *In Praise of Shadows*, trans. Edward Seidensticker, London: Tuttle 1984, p.30 [first: *In'ei raisan*, Tokyo, 1933-34; first trans.: 1942].

[242] Ibid.

[243] Ibid., pp.35-36, for the following citation cf. pp.41-42.

[244] Yamazaki's mother is referred to as a mediator impersonating the prewar Hanshin modernism, not least by encouraging artists like the photographer Iwata Nakayama to move to Ashiya, when coming back from an extended stay in Paris. See: Yamamoto, Atsuo (ed.): "Color," in: *Reflection. Tsuruko Yamazaki*, exh. cat. Ashiya City Museum of Art and History, 2004, trans. Christopher Stephens, Ashiya City Museum of Art and History, 2004, p.30.

[245] Tokita, Alison, "The Piano as a Symbol of Modernity in Prewar Kansai," in: *Music, Modernity and Locality in Prewar Japan: Osaka and Beyond* (SOAS Musicology Series), Hugh de Ferranti and Alison Tokita (eds.), London: Ashgate, 2013, pp.93-119, p.99.

[246] Incorporated in the year 1934 as Yoshihara Oil Mill Ltd. was formerly known as Yoshihara Seiyu (1855), a part of the J-Oil-Mills conglomerate since 2003, it is still engaged in the manufacture of edible oils and related products from soybeans, cottonseed, linseed and coconuts. In 1959 Shuichiro Kimoto head of

vegetable oil wholesalers with a long business tradition in the *Kansai* region – had "contributed to Osaka's material welfare,"[247] yet shunned the new density of industrial plants and air pollution, emerging from the increase in industrial production within the city. They left the metropolis for Ashiya around 1926. The serious fire damages in Tokyo three years before, caused by the big *Kantō* Earthquake (1923), might have encouraged them to leave the metropolis Osaka above and beyond. If they moved to the green outskirts, the oilmill and storage buildings still occupied the harbor area and parts of Nakanoshima ward. This small stretch of land dividing the old *Yōdo* river into the *Dōjima* river and the *Tosabori* river, had been the nucleus of the modernization of the city in the early years of the 20th century.[248] In the meantime the Yoshihara brands "Golden Salad Oil" and the "*Ebi* Oil" for *tempura* became increasingly popular, catering restaurants in food alleys and home kitchens (Fig.61).[249]

2.1.2 Urban Sprawl and Theater of Consumption – Hajime Seki and Ichizō Kobayashi

If Osaka was gradually transforming into a non-residential workplace in the first half of the 20th century already, Ashiya bloomed as everyday resort not only for the members of an affluent "middle class"[250] (*taishū*), but especially for artistic and intellectual circles. Today a statue of Hajime Seki (1873–1935) thrones in Nakanoshima Park. Progressive Osaka mayor from 1923 to 1935, Seki had initially envisioned outskirts like Ashiya as garden suburbs for the working-class. Eventually the factory workers had to make do with scarce tenant-occupied housing downtown Osaka instead. Their buildings were mostly without light and ventilation, neither sewer pipes, nor running water – not too far away in standard from actual slums. *Midōsuji* avenue and subway, an ambiguous prestige project for Seki,[251] should serve to elaborate the metropolitan transport network, giving it a

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[247] research and development laboratories of Yoshihara Oil Mill Ltd. reported on Rikyu Hachiman Shrine near Yamazaki Station between Osaka and Kyoto to be the treasure of all "certificates, licenses, and scrolls depicting the history of the oil industry," see: "Hobby Department," editorial, in: *Journal of the American Oil Chemists Society*, vol. 36, no. 8, (1959), pp.8-13.

[247] *Gutai' tte nanda? What's GUTAI?*, exh. cat. Hyogo Prefectural Museum Osaka 2004, Shōichi Hirai (ed.), Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppan-Sha, 2004, p.171.

[248] On the east and west side of *Yotsubashi-suji* the Osaka Festival Hall (1958), the Shin-Asahi Building (1958) and the daily newspaper's Asahi Shimbun Building (1968) marked the spot in the period of high economic growth, a redevelopment and construction of two new business twin-towers for the same purposes is reported in: "Osaka Nakanoshima New Building Project," editorial, in: *The Asahi Shimbun*, 7.4.2008 (retrieved through: <http://www.asahi.com/shimbun/honsya/e/e-project.html>, last access: 8.8.2015).

[249] The business turns out to having been very successful during this period not least because of the innovations in the field of cotton and soy seed oils.

[250] Robertson, Jennifer: *Takarazuka. Sexual Politics and Popular Culture in Modern Japan*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998, pp.32-34. See also: Kawazoe, Noboru, Kimindo Kusaka and Michitarō Tada: "Teidan: taishū bunka to nihonjin [A Three-Man Talk: Mass Culture and the Japanese], in: *Jūrisuto sōkan sōgō tokushū* [The Mass Culture of Japan, Special Issue], vol. 20, pp.99-114. And as a standard reading on the topic see: Ivy, Marilyn: "Formation of Mass Culture," in: *Postwar Japan as History*, Andrew Gordon (ed.), Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993, pp.238-258.

[251] Hanes, Jeffrey E.: *The City as Subject: Seki Hajime and the Reinvention of Modern Osaka* (Twentieth Century Japan: The Emergence of a World Power 13), Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2002, pp.50-268.

distinctly political-economic twist by laying the emphasis on cities as "nodes of activity and exchange in the people's national economy."[252] Seki's modernization was though still a public project, whereas the postwar highways are privatized – not only built, but owned by private companies.

The *Shinsaibashisuji*, a narrow backstreet alley packed with shops and foodstalls established on the flipside of the boulevard to the east of *Midōsuji* a symbiosis between generous circulation axis and bustling small-scale consumption arcade. City anthropologist Jinnai Hidenobu sees in such intertwining streets the model "core," characterizing many a Japanese city:[253]

> This narrow arcade has provided the city with its most thriving business and shopping district ever since the Tokugawa period (1603-1868). The two streets run parallel to each other and function together to form the core of the city. Such a phenomenon is not unique to Osaka, but typical of many other modern Japanese cities.

Architect Fumihiko Maki also elaborates on the relationship of back- (*ura dori*) and mainstreet (*omote-dori*) as an important, yet not specifically crucial element in the structural development of Japanese metropolitan spaces. He identifies the innermost area (*oku*) instead to be characteristic of an onionlike, multilayered spatial partition – one of "the few phenomena observable only in Japan:"[254]

> A centripetal 'okusei', or inwardness, has always been basic to space formation in Japan, from village to metropolis. […] The Japanese distinguish an innermost portion even when a space measures only a hundred meters – or for that matter, only ten meters […]. 'Oku' also has a number of abstract connotations, including profundity and unfathomability, so that the word is used to describe not only physical but psychological depth. […] Evident in the use of all these words is a tendency to recognize and steem what is hidden, invisible, or secret. […] The Japanese identified as the point of origin not the summit of a mountain but the depths of mountains. […] The Japanese city developed not as a community clustered around an absolute center but as numerous territories, each safeguarding its own inner space – be it public, semipublic, or private. Japanese cities maintained this form of organization at least until the early decades of the twentiehth century.

As historian Jeffrey E. Hanes points out, beyond Seki's rearrangement of the infrastructural traffic network the mayor often referred to the city as "social body,"[255] coining the term of a "living

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[252] Ibid.

[253] Hidenobu, Jinnai, *Tokyo. A Spatial Anthropology*, trans. Kimiko Nishimura, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995, p.130.

[254] This and the following citation cf. Maki, Fumihiko: "The Japanese City and Inner Space," in: *Nurturing Dreams. Collected Essays on Architecture and the City*, Mark Mulligan (ed.), Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2008, pp.150-168.

[255] Hanes, Jeffrey E.: *The City as Subject: Seki Hajime and the Reinvention of Modern Osaka* (Twentieth Century Japan: The Emergence of a World Power 13), Berkley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2002, pp. 250-268.

city,"[256] while critiquing high-rise apartments for depriving the children outside playgrounds. His metaphor of the city as an "organism" was closely tied to the development of transportation.

The region's railway companies promoted suburban residential development, as Tokita remarks.[257] Hanes thus elaborates on this disposition as blueprint for a successful business model: "Planting department stores at one end of the line and recreational facilities at the other, railway companies such as *Hankyū* discovered that they could corner a lucrative consumer market by placing middle class suburbs between them."[258] The *Hankyū* company was owned by Ichizō Kobayashi (1873–1957)[259], who would later act as first president of the War Damage Recovery Bureau, established in November 1945. However, the *Hankyū* model spread from Osaka to Tokyo and other Japanese cities during the 1930 already, but would shape the landscape with reinforced power in 1960s Japan only, further accelerating urban sprawl.[260] Analyzing consistently readable anthropological patterns within the modern remodeling of Japanese metropolises as Tokyo or Osaka before WWII, urban historian Jinnai Hidenobu's writes:

From the beginning, Japanese and European cities were planned and laid out along entirely different lines. European cities exhibit a centripetal structure by erecting tall structures with symbolic significance, such as towers and domes, in the center of the city and enveloping the whole city in a protective outer wall. In contrast, Japanese cities show a strong centrifugal tendency: they define and locate themselves in relation to their broad natural setting and topography, in particular taking features that loom in the distance as landmarks. This tendency has also promoted diffusive expansion – that is, the phenomenon of urban sprawl.

Kobayashi yet made his model even more rentable, attracting early on a broad audience to his department stores by connecting spectacle and consumption, entertainment and shopping. As a new peer group, he especially targeted (married) women. In the hot spring town of Takarazuka, Kobayashi founded the Takarazuka theater all-female, cross-dressing revue in 1913, whereas his "Women's Exhibition" (*fujin tenrankai*) was well received even before the first stage performance of the revue the year after. Anthropologist Jennifer Robertson summarizes Kobayashi's interest in theatrical forms as a strategic play with gender performance and sexuality as follows:[261]

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[256] Ibid., p.259.
[257] Tokita 2013, p.99.
[258] Hanes 2002, p.259.
[259] Kobayashi is also known as the founder of the *Takarazuka Revue*, a dancing theater troupe consisting of women, who often slip in to the role of men, signifying another gender identity, see: Yamanashi, Mariko: *A History of the Takarazuka Revue Since 1914. Modernity, Girls' Culture, Japan Pop*, Folkestone and Leiden: Global Oriental, 2012; Famous for being an automobile traffic nightmare, the Tokyo Shinjuku station saw a big rise as retail center in 1930: Two big private railway companies settled in at Shinjuku, one of them the Keio Line, establishing "Keio Paradise;" See: Seidenstricker, Edward: *Tokyo Rising. The City Since the Great Earthquake*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1990, pp.50-51.
[260] Boelens, Luuk: *The Urban Connection. An Actor-relational Approach to Urban Planning,* Rotterdam: nai010publishers, 2009, pp.208-209.
[261] Cf. Robertson, Jennifer: *Takarazuka. Sexual Politics and Popular Culture in Modern Japan*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998, pp.153-154.

[…] in 1937, Kobayashi installed a modern beauty salon, beauty school, and women's center in the Nippon Theater, one of the several Tokyo theaters under his banner. Apart form consolidating a female clientele, his motive was to nurture among theatergoing women a bewitching stage presence of their own. Every woman could be a well-coiffed star, so long as she shone on the home stage […]. The revue theater and the theater of capitalism merged in the lobby of the Takarazuka Grand Theater completed in 1924 […]. Lining both sides of the mammoth structure were restaurants and souvenir shops. Not surprisingly, several cultural critics drew analogies between the revue theater, with its juxtaposed images and events, and the miscellaneously stocked department store, where publicity campaigns emphasized the spectacular dramaturgy of shopping […]. Kobayashi demonstrated how a place of production was also a place of consumption.

She therefore concludes that Kobayashi's ultimate goal was to shape women more effectively into consumers, adding: "Kobayashi's profit-oriented, commercial interest in organizing and rationalizing leisure and entertainemtn overlapped with the state's interest in the same."[262] Although it cannot be the aim to portray Takarazuka here at length, Robertson still turns our attention to "popular culture,"[263] and its differing definitions, serving political agendas in prewar years. A not less institutionalized "leisure space" in Japan are leisure parks "beyond the image of mere 'children's entertainment',"[264] as historian Angelika Hamiltan-Oehrl points out. Railway companies like Kobayashi's *Hankyu* Line were again at the forefront, building the "Takarazuka Family Land" in 1923. After WWII oil companies, media groups, and toy manufacturers joined the circle of investors.[265]

If trade accumulated wealth in the seaport of Osaka, stretching the city to blooming satellites via private railways, how was the situation immediately after WWII, when air raids had burnt Osaka down to ashes?

2.1.3 Continuity and Transformation of the Metropolis

Right after the war the demand of houses for homeless citizens and returnees such as war veterans and people that had been based in the former colonies of the Japanese Empire was estimated at 4,200,000 units over the whole country.[266] Architectural historian Jun'ichi Hasegawa compares local initiatives and centralized planning. He describes Osaka in this context as a "microcosm of the

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[262] Idem: "The Politics and Pursuit of Leisure in Wartime Japan," in: *The Culture of Japan as Seen through its Leisure* (SUNY series in Japan in Transition), Sepp Linhart and Sabine Frühstück (eds.), Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998, pp.285-302, p. 292.

[263] The definition of "popular culture" v. "mass culture" just as well as the "middle class" is again a discourse in its own right. For a nuanced analysis of the concepts in postwar Japan see: Ivy 1993, op. cit., pp.238-258; A contemporary source is Kawazoe, Noboru, Kimindo Kusaka and Michitarō Tada: "Teidan: taishū bunka to nihonjin" [A Three-Man Talk: Mass Culture and the Japanese], in: *Jūrisuto sōkan sōgō tokushū* [The Mass Culture of Japan, Special Issue], vol. 20, pp.99-114.

[264] Hamilton-Oehrl, Angelika: "Leisure Parks in Japan," in: *The Culture of Japan as Seen through its Leisure* (SUNY series in Japan in Transition), Sepp Linhart and Sabine Frühstück (eds.), Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998, pp.237-250, p.237.

[265] Ibid., p.238

[266] Hasegawa, Jun'ichi: "The Rebuilding of Osaka: A Reflection of the Structural Weakness in Japanese Planning," in: *Rebuilding Urban Japan After 1945*, Carola Hein, Jeffry M. Diefendorf and Ishida Yorifusa (eds.), London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003, p.73.

politics of reconstruction planning in Japan."[267] After the Second World War: Green space proposals addressed the lack of open space, roads should be widened and the main economic foundation of Osaka, i.e. medium and small-scale industries in the harbor area, should be preserved or reinforced, despite their low locations prone to sinking and flood because of frequent typhoons. Hasegawa yet specifies: "While the authorities in cities such as Tokyo and Nagoya held firmly to their bold planning proposals, and the mayors of Osaka spoke of the importance of war damage reconstruction, the officials of the city were in fact skeptical, whether such proposals would materialize."[268] Elevated sites were not only sparse, but allocated to parks and roads – interspersing greenery being one of the main goals of reconstruction policy – housing on such 'readjusted' sites instead not permitted. Being mere sheds, the dwellings and commercial centers knocked up amid the ruins contrasted with long-term planning. In Osaka, slums had been limited to a few districts before the war, but spread throughout the city by the mid 1950s. Without preventing the owners, the city government tore down illegal structures in 1954, and most large cities in Japan faced the same problem. The housing shortage in 1955 Osaka was estimated to 60,000 units. [269]

The political situation under occupation was unstable in the early years. Leading militarists and imperialists were dismissed from their posts in 1946, only to be reappointed as purged war criminals, bringing technocracy home to the centralized planning offices from c. 1948.[270] Ichizō Kobayashi had been appointed first president of the centralized War Damage Recovery Board, responsible for the reconstruction of the metropolises. He established the Land Bureau (*tochi kyoku*) to investigate the problems of urban land use. Although Ishida values Kobayashi's initatives as innovative, Kobayashi was among the proponents banned from public service by the GHQ in 1946. The same year an *Ad Hoc City Planning Act* (*sensai fukkō tokubetsu toshi keikaku hō*) was released. The act still drew on policies from the reconstruction phase after the Great Kantō Earthquake in 1923. Since the U.S. occupation forces judged, e.g. the expropriations of land to broaden streets without recompensation to the owner unconstitutional the *Ad Hoc City Planning Act* was adjusted in 1948. In 1954 a new *Land Readjustment Act* replaced the older acts. Although the Economic Planning Agency declared the end of postwar recovery in 1956[271] – because general living standard and expenses for consumer goods such as electric appliances had increased – the development of urban dwelling still lagged behind. As urban historian Yorifusa Ishida points out, land readjustment was viewed as the least expensive way to improve infrastructure, over-

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[267] Ibid.

[268] Ibid.

[269] Ishida, Yorifusa: "Planning in the Reconstruction Period," in: *Rebuilding Urban Japan After 1945*, Carola Hein, Jeffry M. Diefendorf and Ishida Yorifusa (eds.), London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003, p.19.

[270] Concerning the ideological exploitation of technology (*gijutsu*), the theory of technology in Japan, as well as its intersection with social theory in wartime Japan see: Moore, Aaron Stephen: *Constructing East Asia. Technology, Ideology, and Empire in Japan's Wartime Era, 1931-1945*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013, pp.21-64.

[271] Dower 1993, pp.11-33.

emphasizing its necessity vis-à-vis building standards and land use planning "according to the well-known Japanese policy of 'catch up and surpass the West'."[272] A 'new' *City Planning Act* (1968) and the *Revised Building Standard Act*, enacted 1970 only, would eventually improve the land use planning system, introducing detailed zoning and building restrictions.[273] Ishida hence underlines: "Japanese city planning in the period of reonstruction and high economic growth could not be based on detailed use patterns."[274]

Being responsible to provide about 20,000 houses for the occupation forces and their families increased not only the pressure on the government to find material and eligible plots, but raised envy among Japanese citizens, who had to spend their lives jammed in wooden shacks. It seemed obvious to – at least temporarily – solve the problem with prefabricated houses.[275] Pushing postwar economy, such dwellings were yet mainly built to accomodate workers in the coal mining industry. In metropolitan regions they were not only few in number, but housed either newly rich, or non-Japanese people only. The government eventually released a Public Housing Act in 1951, after the previous Housing Loan Corporation Act (1950) had laid the responsibility for postwar reconstruction of housing mainly in private hands. 1955 public housing in Japan amounted to 15.6 percent.[276] – A low rate, given the high need for residential construction in the aftermath of WWII, the following leap in population growth during the period of high economic growth, and an increasing drift to the cities from rural regions.

General MacArthur had introduced a number of reforms to reshape the Japanese state as a liberal democracy and economy during the Occupation (1945–1952) – among which the dissolution of *zaibatsu*[277] conglomerates, the establishment of labor laws, and an agricultural land reform *Nōchi kaihō* (emancipation of farming land). The land reform converted the landlord system into a system of independent farm producers. It raised living standards, improved labor efficiency, and increased production. On the other hand, land partition in small, scattered parcels still followed old patterns. Since the General Headquarters (GHQ) did not confiscate and redistribute forests, they stayed the only cohesive properties.[278] The 1947 land reform of anti-communist agricultural

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[272] Ishida 2003, op. cit., pp.17-50.
[273] Ibid.
[274] Ibid., p.33.
[275] Architect Kunio Maekawa and Kaoru Ono had developed a prefabricated wood-frame housing unit (PREMOS), financially and technichally supported by Yoshisuke Ayukawa the president of Nissan Heavy Industries, owning factories for airplane and car production. See: Maekawa Institute of Design/Makoto Tanaka: "PUREMOS 72 gata ni tsuite" [PREMOS Type 72 for Western Lifestyle], in: *Shin kenchiku* [New Architecture], no.3, pp.71-79; also cf. Reynolds, Johnathan N.: *Maekawa Kunio and the Emergence of Japanese Modernist Architecture*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 2001,pp.144-145.
[276] Ishida 2003, pp.17-50.
[277] *Zaibatsu* (financial clique) is a Japanese term referring to industrial and financial business conglomerates as family controlled vertical monopolies whose influence and size allowed control over significant parts of the Japanese economy from the Meiji period until the end of World War II. The first *Zaibatsu* was established by Mitsui. See: Mosk 2001, pp.199-201.
[278] What proved over time to contribute and preserve rural ecology, ibid.

economist Wolf Ladejinski and socialist Hirō Wada, the former Minister of Agriculture, [279] paradoxically backed up sympathies for the conservative alliance (Liberal Democratic Party, LDP) taking power in 1955, prevailing over the long-established socialist or communist political attitudes in rural areas, as historian Eiji Takemae notes.[280] In 1950 the agricultural land cultivated by its owners made still 89 percent of the total farming land.[281] In the 1960s and 1970s the owners would sell off the plots they had acquired in the reform, benefiting from the soaring land value.[282] According to urbanist André Sorensen even the commercial, industrial, and residential zones were affected by the postwar land reforms, since the cases were rarely clear-cut, especially in the suburban areas. If such "patterns of fragmented ownership"[283] extended urban sprawl, they had much less importance for the development within the historical city territories.

In the early 1950s a government commission recommended that city planning should be decentralized, but a chance to place "the sovereign power of citizens in line with local governance"[284] was missed. At the time a municipal government could have, due to relatively low land prices, easily leased a large amount of land for public housing. Yet these possible building sites were rarely used to recover war damaged housing. Historian Ishida eventually expresses his wish for "a co-operative building system (*kyōdo tatekae*) without too many expectations for high land utilization," lamenting that legislations introduced since the 1960s only "promote co-operative building activities, such as the urban redevelopment project (*toshi saikaihatsu jigyō*), the specific block system (*tokutei gaiku seido*), the comprehensive building design system (*sōgō sekkei seido*) and many deregulation-type district plan systems (*kanwa gata chiku keika seido*), […] measures which cannot be expected to create good and safe built form in the cities,"[285] from Ishida's point of view.

2.1.4 Concerning Abstract Space

Despite the reform acts, laws and their revision enumerated above: In immediate postwar city planning neither the Occupation government, nor the later cabinets undertook very far-reaching reforms to implement their political agendas of establishing a new democratic state. In the case of Osaka, the quick postwar reconstruction of the port area, organized by the city government's

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[279] Yatsuka, Hajime: "abolished," "protest," in: Koolhaas, Rem and Hans-Ulrich Obrist: *Project Japan. Metabolism talks...*, Kayoko Ota (ed.), Köln: Taschen, 2011, p.133. Historian Philip Brown points out that early modern Japan established a long tradition of communitarian control over important local resources, i.e. the commons (*irai chi*), and joint landownership (*warichi*) of arable lands, stating that in some cases "joint ownership persisted well into the post-World War II era," see: Brown, Philip C.: *Cultivating Commons. Joint Ownership of Arable Land in Early Modern Japan,* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2011, p.1.

[280] Takemae, Eiji: *The Allied Occupation of Japan*, transl. by Robert Ricketts and Sebastian *Swann,* London and New York: Continuum, 2002, pp.544-545.

[281] Yatsuka 2011, p.133.

[282] Takemae 2002, pp.544-545.

[283] Sorensen, André: *The Making of Urban Japan. Cities and Planning from Edo to the Twenty First Century*, London and New York: Routledge, 2005, p.155.

[284] Ishida 2003, p.34.

[285] Ishida 2003, p.45.

harbor department illustrates a gap between authorities' and inhabitants' concerns.[286] As much as the regulations were geared to revitalize industry and economy they aggravated the housing problem. On the other hand the vitality of the mazelike neighborhoods and small villages within the city fabric are praised up to today for their liveliness, especially in the case of Tokyo. Urban historian Jinnai Hidenobu notes in his analysis of the modern Japanese metropolis that derived living patterns continued to operate modern Tokyo – at least up to the infrastructural remodeling of the city in prospect of the Olympic Games, taking place in 1964:[287]

> *In Tokyo, the grounds of former daimyō mansions were not developed by breaking up their unity as 'lots' but rather by working within the existing framework. […] Tokyo, although advanced in its modernization and the homogenization of its space, has preserved the widely varied images of place that make up the high city, partly because of its richly varied landscape and abundant greenery and partly because of its unique spatial – or better, anthropological – structure, a specific combination of lot, building, and street in a specific urban place.*

Moreover Hidenobu argues that the illogical structure Tokyo's labyrinthine streetscapes are famous for, results from the historical memory preserved "amid many changes in its parts,"[288] emphasizing that "a wholesale reconfiguration of the city […] never occurred in Tokyo." However, this argument seems a little simplistic and abstract since Hidenobu's study is unfortunately not much concerned with the postwar reconstruction of Tokyo. A closer insight grants literature historian Edward Seidensticker. He compares the reconstructions of the smaller metropolis Nagoya and the capital Tokyo. In Nagoya the destruction became an opportunity to broaden the streets, making them suitable to the increase of individual traffic in the bourgeoning age of mobility. A development that is nowadays judged on more critically, whereas such a general remodeling was neither possible, nor whished for at this early stage of reconstruction in Tokyo. Seidensticker reports that the ground for new buildings, going not only about eight stories above but also two below, was mainly gained by filling up the old Edo-time (1603–1868) canal system within the city: "The filling of canals and the disposition of the land that resulted were among the first stirrings as the city began coming to life again."[289]

Locating a second catalyst for a postwar remodeling of Tokyo in black markets that were later turned into *Yokochō*, the small sidestreets and (piss-)alleyways, embodying the innermost pockets in the urban fabric of Tokyo, as grey-zones in-between shared and privatized space. Seidensticker points out that most of these *Yokochō* emerged from tiny sale stalls in the immediate

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[286] Hasegawa 2003, pp.68-86.
[287] Hidenobu, Jinnai and Kimiko Nishimura: *Tokyo. A Spatial Anthropology*, trans. Kimiko Nishimura, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995, p.130.
[288] This and the following citation see: Hidenobu 1995, p.21
[289] Seidensticker, Edward: *Tokyo Rising. The City Since the Great Earthquake*, Cambridge MA.: Harvard University Press, 1991, pp.147-154.

postwar period, when food was still rationed and black markets for all kinds of nutrition blossomed

to an estimated number of six thousand. After those black markets had lost their function, because

rationing was abolished (in 1950 for wholesale, in 1968 for retail), the owners transformed their

small shacks into snack and drinking bars. Ownership was highly diversified in these small patches –

some of them persist in today's Tokyo, e.g. *Omoide Yokochō* (passage of memories) nearby

Shinjuku Station's West Exit, or the *Nombei Yokochō* (drunkard alley), a few meters away form the

busy Shibuya Crossing, to name only a few (Fig.62). In architect Jorge Almazán's reconsideration of

the *Yokochō* spaces as "behavior settings,"[290] – a historical approach borrowed from behavior

psychologist Roger Barker – the specific layouts of those quarters within the quarter are framed by

sociological, economic as well as demographic considerations:[291]

> *Current yokochō have become an urban relic, and some are facing problems. Their wooden structures built in the*
> *1950s are deteriorating, in spite of structural reinforcements and renovations. Due to the lack of successors, families*
> *struggle to continue their business. Regular customers, most of them of the so-called baby boom generation, are close*
> *to retirement, which also often means retirement from the pastime of late night drinking. The narrowness and an*
> *image of dirtiness and danger add to the problem.*

Considering the landscapes of different Japanese metropolises in the postwar period from different

perspectives and on different scales from within is vital, not only to gain an understanding of

"contradictory space,"[292] but also to situate the different approaches in urban planning, as well as

artistic practices concerned with urban space and everyday life during the 1950s and 1960s.

Mental Maps

Art historian Michio Hayashi speaks of the "mental map," having been disrupted not only as an

effect of war destruction, that also set new spots on the imaginary and political map of the

country,[293] but especially because of the tremendous rates of population growth. The raising

pressure on the quarters within the city caused by rural exodus and population growth during the

1950s made the already mazelike streetscapes of metropolises like Tokyo even more clustered.

Nowadays, the small-scaled *yokochōs* are residues, granting a particular feeling of belonging

instead. Located in immediate proximity to the hubs of anonymous detachment and consumption –

the multilayered commuter stations: A pocketed microcosm, channelling then again almost

seamlessly the continuous flows of office workers through underground shopping malls.

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[290] Barker, Roger: *Ecological Psychology. Concepts and Methods for Studying Human Behavior*, California: Stanford University Press, 1968.

[291] Almazán, Jorge: "Hidden Micro-Cities. The Yokochō Bar Districts of Tokyo," in: *small Tokyo. Measuring the non-Measurable*, Darko Radović and Davisi Boontharm (eds.), Tokyo: flick studio, 2012, pp.56-63.

[292] Lefebvre [1974] 1991, pp.292-351.

[293] Hayashi, Michio: "Part I: Keynote Speech," in: *In Search of a New Narrative of Postwar Japanese Art. What becomes Visible through the Exhibitions at the Two Modern Art Museums in New York and Tokyo*, symposium report, 23.12.2012, National Museum of Modern Art Tokyo, The Japan Foundation (ed.), Tokyo: The Japan Foundation, 2014, pp.59-78, pp.63-68.

In the 1950s and 1960s however, the clustering and cluttering of the city gave rise to an increased desire for orientation. Although Hayashi's analysis is far more nuanced, he mainly differentiates two approaches to cartography at stake: One could be termed as the "organizational" approach, the second one he coins as "graphic."[294] There are of course many other expressions to describe the fundamental difference between such mindsets. A comparison of 'top down perspective' and 'bottom-up perspective' would put it in a nutshell, yet miss the sensibility for the transformation of the material surface, resounding in the word "graphic." Since "we may be sure that representations of space have a practical impact, that they intervene in and modify spatial textures which are informed by effective knowledge and ideology. Representations of space must therefore have a substantial role and a specific influence in the production of space."[295]

Or, as urban theorist Jane Jacobs complained regarding the "Great American Cities"[296] in 1961: "It is curious, […] that city planning neither respects spontaneous self-diversification among city populations nor contrives to provide for it."[297] Jacobs extends her criticism of the actual situation to the foundations laid by the model of the "Garden City" by Ebenezer Howard (and partly adapted in Hajime Seki's 1920s vision for Osaka):[298]

It is curious that city designers seem neither to recognize this force of self-diversification nor to be attracted by the aesthetic problems of expressing it. These odd intellectual omissions go back, I think, to the Garden City nonsense, as so many of the unspoken presuppositions of city panning and city design do. Ebenezer Howard's vision of the Garden City would seem almost feudal to us. He seems to have thought that members of the industrial working classes would stay neatly in their class, and even at the same job within their class [...]

With this probably rather unexpected digression to American urban theorist Jacobs, we have come to an issue this study treats in iterations, focusing on different examples, zooming in and out to, in order to present a broad range of perspectives: The problem of representation. Hayashi traces the impetus to find new maps for capital and country in Japan c. 1960 – or rather a shared anxiety of loosing them in return – through the images recorded and projected in the work of different artists and planners. He makes a compelling case by complicating binary narratives of representational and non-representational practitioners, building on Tokyo as an object of inquiry:[299]

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[294] Ibid., p.60.
[295] Cf. Lefebvre [1974] 1991, p.42.
[296] Jacobs' criticism form a U.S. point of view was not least implicitly attacking the assumptions of the earlier *CIAM* (Congrès International de L'Architecture Moderne, 1928–1959) conferences. Rallying against standardized mass housing settlements, she especially criticized the disrespect to the older patterns of corridor streets. Jacobs, Jane: *Life and Death of Great American Cities*, New York: Random House, 1961.
[297] Ibid., p.377.
[298] Ibid.
[299] Hayashi 2014, pp.67-68.

> […], *while the image of the postwar nation gradually came to be clarified through repetitive representational practices, the image of Tokyo became increasingly complicated and labyrinthine. With its rapid and uncontrollable expansion, Tokyo became a sort of black hole of the ordered conceptual mapping. On the one hand the city expanded horizontally towards suburbs and the bay area. And on the other, it expanded vertically to high-rise buildings and to the underground space. […] Contemporary photographers and artists, […] tried to find a way to approach the relationship between an urban dweller and the surrounding environment, which was becoming increasingly unmanageable and beyond cognitive capacity in terms of its informational and material overload.*

Hayashi's astute alert concerns the crucially different ways the mixed creative scene of artists, writers, or architects dealt with "cartography" in different proposals. They range from abstract layouts and plans, over de-tour(n)ed maps, documenting (psycho-)geography of an irritated everyday to tactile studies of the surface (Fig.63).[300]

With these practical insights Hayashi makes of the larger case of urban development in postwar Japan and its artistic reflection a very concrete example of how artists responded to communicational networks, seemingly (phenomenologically) dematerializing concrete objects. This tendency has been described in cultural theory far more vaguely as a "crisis of representation."[301] If the situation c. 1955, or in the early 1960s has not reached its climax yet, nevertheless "the artworks of those periods […] seem to register those tensions existing among separate strata, resisting to dissolve into facile synthesis or unity, in a wide range of ways."[302]

The Spatialization of the Temporal

But let us come back to the example of Osaka and its infrastructural layout in the postwar period: If the *Hankyū* Railway system marks a first step in the modernization of the greater Osaka area, it was the *Hanshin* Expressway – a privately run network of about 240 km highways surrounding and connecting the cities Osaka, Kobe and Kyoto[303] – that marks the infrastructural remodeling of the urban area during the Japanese economic miracle. The 1967 plan to build the Nakanoshima entrance/exit of the *Hanshin Expressway* and a parking lot cleared away not only one of Jirō Yoshihara's private Osaka residences, but also the late exhibition and storage space of the *Gutai* group, their *Gutai Pinacotheca*, inaugurated in 1962.[304] Although Osaka never completely adapted modernist city planning models, a remark by urban theorists Fred Koetter and Coline Rowe from the 1980s hits the nail on the head: "The city in the park becomes the city in the parking lot."[305] Theorist of spatial experience and its reflection materialized through and in society Henri Lefebvre

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[300] E.g. in the works of *Hi Red Center* (1960–1963), and Shūji Terayama's theater troup *Tenjō Sajiki* (1967–1983).

[301] Harvey, David: *The Condition of Postmodernity. An Inquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*, London: Blackwell, 1990 [first: 1989].

[302] Hayashi 2014, p.77.

[303] Lefebvre [1974] 1991, p.359.

[304] Osaka 2004, p.176.

[305] Koetter, Fred and Colin Rowe: "The Crisis of the Object. The Predicament of Texture," in: *Perspecta*, vol. 16, (1980), pp.108-141, p.118.

points out, how space transforms in contradictory processes. His remarks aptly resume the planning history of Osaka and its outskirts from early modernization to postwar reorganization:[306]

> There are two ways in which urban space tends to be sliced up, degraded and eventually destroyed by this contradictory process: the proliferation of fast roads and of places to park and garage cars, and their corollary, a reduction of tree-lined streets, green spaces, and parks and gardens. The contradiction lies, then, in the clash between a consumption of space, which produces surplus value and one, which produces only enjoyment – and is therefore 'unproductive'. It is a clash, in other words, between capitalist 'utilizers' and community 'users'. […]

I will return to the *Gutai Pinacoteca* and its "community users"[307] later on, yet another important observation concerns a shift in wording that Lefebvre observes regarding the constitution of dwelling during the 1960s. As it turns out, the suburbs of Suita and Ashiya will mark two poles of this discussion:[308]

> In this same abstract space, as it is being constituted, a substitution is effected that is no less significant than those mentioned above: the replacement of 'residence' by 'housing', the latter being characterized by its functional abstraction. The ruling classes seize hold of abstract space as it comes into being (their political action occasions the establishment of abstract space, but it is not synonymous with it); and they then use that space as a tool of power, without for all that forgetting its other uses: the organization of production and of the means of production – in a word, the generation of profit.

While the wealthy commune of Ashiya, inhabited by numerous artists and owners of production plants is the place, where we still find the house of poet Jun'ichiro Tanizaki, and the only preserved residence built by Frank Lloyd Wright in Japan, Suita makes a model case for 'housing' or 'real estate development' answering to social issues, but also as an industry. If Carl Mosk refers to Suita as one of the most populated suburbs of Osaka for the pre-war period already, "Senri New Town" would enlarge Suita with a view to Osaka Expo '70. Or, as the city government's website reports in 2015: "The current population is 350,000 residents, making Suita City the seventh largest city in Osaka Prefecture. The city has been growing steadily from the continuous efforts to nurture its original culture and cultural environment for a prosperous future. Such efforts include construction of Senri New Town and hosting of the World Expo '70."[309]

Still, we have to differentiate between governmental and private housing developers. In August 1971 researcher Paul Goldberg submitted a working paper on "Housing Development in Japan" to his professor at the Sloan School of Management in Massachussetts, comparing the approaches and goals of the public Japanese Housing Corporation, and private development

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[306] Lefebvre [1974] 1991, pp.361-362.
[307] Ibid., p.362.
[308] Ibid., pp.361-362, p.362.
[309] Accessed through: <http://www.city.suita.osaka.jp/home/english/1.html>, (last access: 8.8.2015).

companies such as Mitsui, Sumitomo, Mitsubishi, Matsushita, and Tokyu. His paper covers the decade from 1955 to 1970. Tearing the example of Senri New Town, Goldberg reports on a social housing program initiated by the city government of Osaka: "For example, Osaka purchased enormous quantities of land to build Senri Hills and thus provide building sites at costs lower than those that would have been provided by private developers."[310] Giving us an idea with which intensity a public housing company like the Japan Housing Company, founded in 1955, had been involved in affordable housing projects, Goldberg further states:[311]

> The JHC (Japan Housing Corporation) is also heavily involved in the development of building sites, i.e. the land itself, and then allowing private individuals or corporations to build houses according to their own desires. Although the JHC has been involved in the development of both industrial and residential sites, the amount of land being developed for industrial activity has fallen off considerably from a peak reached in 1963, whereas the amount of land developed for residential use has been rising rather steadily from 1958 on.

As general problem planners were confronted with, Goldberg acknowledges the fact that potential Japanese residents would with growing individual wealth buy more Western-style furniture, because it was more fashionable. The more heavy indoor design objects accumulated, the more crammed the personal living spaces became, since in traditional houses one "typically use[s] the same room for daytime activities as well as sleeping."[312] This posed a problem for the previously multifunctional outline of small-scale apartments. Concerning everyday-use of homes Goldberg observes:[313]

> The bedding is rolled up and stored during the day after its daily airing, and many activities can take place in the room before it is converted once again to sleeping quarters. This is possible only when the floor is made out of tatami and the bedding consists of futon. There is, however, a definite trend among the younger Japanese to utilize […] furniture in the form of couches, chairs, and beds. None of these mix very well with the [rice] straw tatami mat floor. For one thing, their heavy weight and sharp legs are very hard on tatami, and for another, they prevent the multi-purpose function of the room from coming into play. […] These small apartments can become extremely crowded with furniture.

A stance much less concerned with the needs of a diverse community about to fit into the newly built mansions or *danchi*[314] is documented in Goldberg's description of a private developer by the name of "Mitsui:"[315]

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[310] Goldberg, Paul M.: *Housing Development in Japan*, working paper, Alfred P. Sloan School of Management, Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1971, p.28.
[311] Ibid.
[312] Ibid.
[313] Ibid.
[314] See: Waswo, Ann: *Housing in Postwar Japan: A Social History*, London: Routledge, 2002.
[315] Goldberg 1971, p.36.

The Mitsui Real Estate Development Company, one of the most diversified and aggressive real estate companies in Japan, dates back to 1941, but has shown large growth only since the late 1950's. Its shares are held by banking organizations and other major corporations, the largest one being the Mitsui Bank Ltd. , which owns 8.88% of the company. The capital of the Mitsui Real Estate Development Company will be 6.6 billion yen in 1970. The company has shown a consistent profit, which has grown every year in the last ten. At the end of the first quarter of 1970, it showed a total profit of 1.2 billion yen on an annual basis. The source of profits has changed considerably over the years. In 1960 about 60% of its profits came from the leasing of buildings. Now only about 23% of its profits come from that source, even though the gross amount of building space owned for rental increased from 120,000 square meters in 1955 to 516,000 square meters in 1970. Most of the increase came about through the construction of the Kasumigaseki Building, Japan's first skyscraper.

However, the concerns raised about the site of everyday-life were not altogether 'new', as can be assumed by historiographer of modern living Jordan Sand's review of shifts between the notions of "House and Home in Modern Japan"[316] for the years between 1890 and 1930. He argues that everyday life (*seikatsu*) and its sites were a turn-of-the-century invention:

*The linguistic and material vocabulary that took shape beginning in the 1890s was taken for granted by the 1920s, when all talk of everyday life reform (*seikatsu kaizen*) and the culture life (*bunka seikatsu*) assumed that the site of* seikatsu *was the single family home.*[…] *The appearance of terms like* katei *(home),* shumi *(taste),* kenchiku *(architecture),* eisei *(hygiene),* nōritsu *(efficiency), and* fū *(style), together with the refinement of terms such as* jutaku *(dwelling-house) and* kagu *(furniture), signified not only the development of codes for modern fields of professional expertise but also a reshaping of the everyday itself, because each of these terms accompanied normative systems that intervened in domains previously configured differently within multiple local traditions. These new structuring principles for dwellings thus built the foundations of modern bourgeois life as much as did the definition of social universals such as labor and leisure.*

Sand's linguistic approach to architectural form and program is not only pointing out that there was a construction industry complying with and building on an emerging market of consumer desires since the beginning of the 20th century, it also shows that the postwar fashion of renting and owning an apartment in a *danchi,* a type he does not single out in this earlier phase, satisfied and shaped a new demand. We will have to turn back to Senri New Town later again.

So far the studies and remarks abridged, illustrate the acute problem of accommodation, the pressure on cities, the expansion of older, just as well as the establishment of new suburbs, merging slowly but surely in an urban sprawl. In a second wave of modernization in the postwar era the fantasized single-family homes would come to fit into larger apartmenthouse complexes, called *danchi* (group land) – the Japanese word for a large cluster of apartments of a particular style and design, typically built as public housing by government authorities like the *Japan Housing*

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[316] Sand, Jordan: *House and Home in Modern Japan. Architecture, Domestic Space and Bourgeois Culture 1890-1930*, Harvard University Asia Center (ed.), Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003, p.353.

Corporation. Considering the micro-scale of a furniture piece, one could yet say that the increasing demand for consumer goods introduced by the U.S. Occupation government between 1945 and 1952, as well as the Occupation force's incursive transformation of everyday-habits, was on the one hand clearly meant to establish a version of the democratic and capitalist living standard as found in the U.S. On the other hand it relyied on a strong welfare state. What is easily overlooked in this rather obvious conclusion is though the question, to which extent the consumerism of design-objects like furniture further increased the already acute shortage of space in Japan during the period of high economic growth between 1955 and 1972, after the state had formally regained its independence from the U.S.

2.2 The Machine and the Studio – Dispersion at Work

2.2.1 The Politics of Disposition

May 1, 2014, 2 pm: I tread the steps of LADS gallery and join dealer Ninagawa, who arrived a little earlier. Welcomed by Mrs. Hyohno and her assistant, we take a look at the artworks on display in the first floor galleries, only to be lead further on into a side cabinet, where Hyohno bids us to sit down at a long glass table. While her assistant is pouring barley tea in earthenware cups as refreshment on this hot early summer day, my palms are soaked in cold sweat. I am quietly staring at a folder in front of me – the translations of my questions into proper polite Japanese, provided by a fellow PhD student from Saitama University. The Tokyo dealer with Osaka roots and her Osaka counterpart exchange courtesies, then I shortly present myself. Finally Mrs. Hyohno answers my questions by referring to the notes she took during a telephone interview with the artist, while Ninagawa translates. I scribble on my papers and try to dig into Yamazaki's biography, by specifying, as the most interesting facts seem frustratingly blotted out by a forgetful "I am afraid, Miss Yamazaki does not remember." The tentative beginnings are interrupted by an incoming call – Yamazaki on the phone! She is expecting us in Ashiya, a twenty-minute car ride from Osaka.

Everyone is atwitter immediately. Barely grabbing our folders and notes, we rush out to the car, where Ms. Yamazaki's nephew is waiting already to take us there. We travel on the Hanshin Expressway to Ashiya, pass the river and suddenly reach a tree-lined alley. Entering a busy bakery café on a shady rise – there she sits: Appearing fragile and tough at a time, her head covered with a New York Yankee's cap it must be her, Tsuruko Yamazaki. My view first meets her peeking blue tainted eyebrows, eventually a pair of piercing eyes, sticking out from under the brim (Fig.64). A drove of waiters buzzes around us like a swarm of bees. Ninagawa starts to chatter about the restaurants in the area. They apparently had dinner at a pizza place recently. I am asking myself, whether we will ever get a chance to start an actual interview, since pieces of cake and glasses filled with lemonades comprising a rainbow keep being placed and rearranged on the table. For

better or worse, my patience reaches its limit: "Miss Yamazaki, where does your apparent fascination for reflecting materials come from, and where would you find the tin plates or cans you worked with?" Whereas I am still trembling with excitement about my impertinence to cut the casual conversation with such a sudden question, Yamazaki blinks at me: "I have found them in a local specialized store, but sometimes also here and there, on the streets, or in Osaka: in the trash cans of a U.S. military base. – Actually, the story is much longer."

Born 1925 in Ashiya,[317] Yamazaki grows up with an older brother and a sister. Her parents work in the textile industry.[318] Early on she shows interest in creative activities, as well as a talent in drawing, shared with her brother, who will then pursue a career as "salary man." Her attempts to go in an artistic direction are apparently supported by the family, although the parents could have imagined a more conventional curriculum for their daughter: getting married first, then to settle down and dedicate oneself to childbearing and rearing, while the husband earns the living. – Expectations apparently met by her sister, who will beyond that prove a steadfast companion to her sibling Tsuruko. Her life, however, takes a different turn. After finishing basic education in Ashiya, she enters the University of the Sacred Heart, Obayashi in Nishinomiya. Because of the need for skilled workforces in the reconstruction phase of the early postwar years under U.S. occupation, the university curriculum has been limited to a two year major. In 1947, one year before graduating from her studies to become a teacher at primary school, she catches a pamphlet promoting a summer school organized by the city of Ashiya. As teacher figures Jirō Yoshihara, a well-known artist, active in Ashiya since the 1920s. If Yamazaki seems to have been motivated by her own curiosity and some fellow girl-students to join his classes, the course would quickly prove to be challenging. The class counting initially up to 30 students is shrinking week by week, until there is just a handful of students left, amongst which Yamazaki. Describing the lessons, she explains the exodus of students at the time:[319]

During drawing practice of a Venus statue, I had to leave the classroom quickly, going to the toilet. When I returned, Yoshihara would ask me to switch from drawing the Venus statue to drawing a record of the things, I had encountered on my way to or within the washing room. Basically we thought such tasks to be a little odd, but eventually did, what we had been asked to.

While others quit the guidance, refraining from Yoshihara's call to embark on themselves, tracing their own perception of the visible and atmospheric aspects of their surroundings, Yamazaki admits

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[317] Several publications offer different birth years, Tiampo aligns with a short resumé in the Gutai bulletin, listing 1929, see: Tiampo 2011, p.181.

[318] Yamazaki, Tsuruko: "Conversation with Tsuruko Yamazaki," Gabrielle Schaad, Andrew Maerkle, Atsuko Ninagawa, and Toyoko Hyohno, Ashiya, 1.5.2014.

[319] Yamazaki, Tsuruko: "Conversation with Tsuruko Yamazaki," Gabrielle Schaad, Andrew Maerkle, Atsuko Ninagawa, and Toyoko Hyohno, Ashiya, 1.5.2014.

to having been puzzled at times by his quests to exploration as well. As her talent in drawing was quickly recognized by family members, Yamazaki's personal goal in joining the summer course with Yoshihara is to go beyond what she masters already: How to paint with oil colors? The course turns yet out to be apparently different from what she had expected. Practice and theory lessons alternate, while Yoshihara is giving an overview of painting practices in Europe and the U.S. since the end of the 19th century. He introduces the paintings of the Impressionists, the aims of movements like the Futurists or Cubists to his equally young as surprised audience. Yamazaki recalls:[320]

> *At the time I knew about art, what I had caught flipping through the sides of my brothers issues of Mizue [Watercolor].*
> *In other words: not too much. In Yoshihara's lessons, I first heard the names of artists like Picasso, Matisse, and*
> *Mondrian. Their works, as well as the subject of perception were fascinating. Yoshihara sensitized us to take our*
> *sensory impressions seriously and record them, however weird, or distorted they might seem to us in the first place. I*
> *started out painting classical still-lives like fruitbowls, slowly but surely shifting from cubist essays to a loose, less*
> *structured play with form and color.*

After the summer course Yamazaki moves to Osaka, but continues studying modern painting on her own, reading books in one of the local libraries.[321] After Yoshihara accepts her as his long-term pupil, she commutes from Osaka to his Ashiya residence to attend private lessons. It is Yoshihara, who supports her in submitting one of her paintings to the *1ˢᵗ Ashiya City Exhibition* at Ashiya City Hall in 1948. The work is accepted. Continuing the participation year after year she makes her third appearance in the third issue with a neo-cubist self-portrait in blue (*Kao* [Face], 1950, 73.0x53.0 cm, oil on canvas) (Fig.65).[322] Continuing the tuition by Yoshihara in private lessons, she becomes a frequent presence at his house in Ashiya, where she gets acquainted with her later *Gutai* fellow Shōzō Shimamoto, whom she remembers having been more radical in his approach to painting. Shimamoto later on engages in the *Group Zero* (*Zero kai*) together with Kazuo Shiraga, Atsuko Tanaka and Akira Kanayama. In the meantime Yoshihara partakes in the "Contemporary Art Discussion Circle" (*Genbi).*[323] He invites Yamazaki to join the sessions.

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[320] Ibid.
[321] Yamazaki, Tsuruko: "Oral History Interview with Tsuruko Yamazaki," conducted by Mizuho Katō and Hiroko Ikegami, 12.6.2011, *Oral History Archives of Japanese Art*, website, (accessed through: <www.oralarthistory.org>, last access 7.12.2015).
[322] She becomes an official member of the organizing committee on occasion of the 7th issue (1954) and a jury member with the 21st return (1968), see: *Reflection. Tsuruko Yamazaki*, Exh. Cat. Ashiya City Museum of Art and History 2004, Takashima, Osamu (ed.), Atsuo Yamamoto et al., trans. Christopher Stephens, Ashiya: Ashiya City Museum of Art & History, 2004, pp.40-41.
[323] Short for *Gendai Bijutsu Kondankai*, see: *Genbi. Gendai bijutsu kondan-kai no kiseki.* [Genbi. Locating the Contemporary Art Discussion Group] *New Era for Creations: 1952-1957*, cat. exh. Ashiya Museum of Art and History, Ashiya, 2013.

2.2.2 Associations and Redefinitions – A Critical Glossary

Genbi (1952–1957): Gendai Bijutsu Kondan-kai (Contemporary Art Discussion Circle)

Genbi, had been launched by Asahi Shimbun's art critic Kan Muramatsu (1912–1988) in 1952 as a discussion group for artists active in century-old art genres developed in Japan like flower arrangement, ceramics or calligraphy as well as artists experimenting in the field of non-figurative art (Fig.66).[324] The circle draws on both, local and introduced, old and modernist art practices, trying to jointly develop interdisciplinary, or multidisciplinary art forms. Previously corrupted by propagandist myths of either Japanese "uniqueness,"[325] or progress of the nation, the group's critique is directed towards essentialist traditionalism, as well as against vanguarde modernism (*kindai hihan*[326]) after the collapse of the totalitarian rule that had lead up to Japan's aggressive imperialist engagement in the Asian Pacific War and its defeat.[327]

Political theorist Masao Maruyama (1914-1996) and art historian Shūichi Katō (1919–2008) theorize the striving towards an autonomous art of the postwar era in Japan with the term "hybridity" (*zasshusei*).[328] They were acknowledging that a mix of different cultural vocabularies was not entirely new afterall. But art historian and Asian Studies scholar Thomas Havens adds: "Most intellectuals [yet] agreed that Japan should shun any fulsome embrace of Western ethics, but still believed it possible to achieve democracy and independence by asserting the subject as an autonomous agent."[329]

Aiming to overcome the painting genres introduced and specified during the Meiji period, such as *yōga* (occidental painting on canvas, with water or oil colors) and *Nihonga* (painting with ink or watercolor and brush on paperscrolls), this generation of (re)emerging artists mediates between the terms *bijutsu* (fine arts, often attributed to painting and sculpture) and *geijutsu* (Art,

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[324] Hashizume, Setsuya (ed.): "Yuruyakadaga, tongatta abangyarudo – senmae no Ōsaka modanizumu no keishō toshiteno" [Slowly, but Pointedly Avantguarde – Emblematic Legacy of Prewar Modernism in Osaka],: "in: Sengo Ōsaka no avangyarudo geijutsu: Yakeato kara banpaku zenya made (Ōsakadaigaku Sōgō Gakujutsu Hakubutsukan Sōsho, 9) [The Avantgarde Art of Postwar Osaka. From Ruins to the Eve of Osaka Expo (Collected Academic Writings of the Historical Museum 9)], exh. cat. Osaka Historical Museum, Setsuya Hashizume and Mizuho Katō (eds.), Osaka: Historical Museum Press, 2013, pp.3-6.

[325] See: Dale, Peter N.: *The Myth of Japanese Uniqueness*, London and Sidney: Croom Helm and Nissan Institute for Japanese Studies, 1986. The so-called *nihonjinron* (writings about 'the Japanese') literature confirming a consistency and stability of Japanese identity homogenizing it by invoking cultural features, philosophical views, drawing on traditions and everyday-habits to underline ethnic identity). Such views have been supported and sponsored by the Meiji government to foster nation-building. They were right at hand during the expansionist imperialist period of the country and revived in postwar time. Exponents of this genre can be found among Western authors as well. The two most significant examples would be Ruth Benedict and Edward Reischauer. For a critical overview of *nihonjinron* as a 'cultural system' see: Befu, Harumi: *Hegemony of Homogenity. An Anthropological Analysis of 'Nihonjinron'*, Melbourne: Trans Pacific Press, 2001.

[326] Tomii 2007, p.35.

[327] Osaka 2004, pp.26-29.

[328] Havens, Thomas R. H.: *Radicals and Realists in the Japanese Non-verbal Arts: The Avant-Garde Rejection of Modernism*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006, p.15.

[329] Ibid., p.15.

similar to notions of gr. *techné* and lat. *ars*).[330] Calligrapher, member of *Genbi* (Contemporary Art Discussion Circle) and figurehead of the experimental calligraphy movement *Bokujin kai* (Ink Human Society) Shiryū Morita, is known for having criticized Yoshihara as to radical in his pursuit and claim of the new.[331] Whereas Morita championed reexamining the classics and merging them with scriptures like Jackson Pollock's drippings,[332] Gutai would later collaborate occasionally with calligraphers beyond the circle of *Genbi* and *Bokujin kai,* such as the Tokyo based head of the flower arrangement school *Sōgetsu*, Sōfū Teshigahara. Regarding the movement of the "ink people," art researcher and curator Alexandra Munroe underscores: "*Bokujin kai* conceived of calligraphy as a metaphysical act which uses the character as 'site' (*basho*) to manifest 'the dynamic movement of life' (*inochi no yakudō*) – the ultimate rhythm of 'absolute nothingness' beyond intellect, emotion, or ego." To find "absolute nothingness,"[333] as a creative meditation-like 'flow' – the moment, when neither pure mind-born consciousness, nor physical movement dominates – was a goal shared in, and critically challenged by several discussions in the larger social reform project of the immediate postwar.

The (Anti-) Art Establishment

Ashiya had proven a fertile ground for communal undertakings in the 1920s already, initiated by the local music scene.[334] Beyond music, avant-garde art associations mushroomed at the time – a model that was revived in postwar Japan.[335] After the war the *Democratic Artists Association* (*Demokurāto Bijutsuka Kyōkai*, 1951–1957) promoting equality among all members and including photography as a new genre,[336] the *Everyday Art Union* (*Seikatsu Bijutsu Renmei*, 1950–1965), the

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[330] For a detailed definition of the technical terms and their history see: Lucken, Michael: "Un travail de définition," in: *L'Art du Japon au Vingtième Siècle*, Paris: Hermann: Éditeurs des Sciences et des Arts, 2001, pp.28-42; and "*geijutsu* as an essentially modern product," see: Tomii 2007, pp.35-36; Mitsuda, Yuri: "Gutai and *Gendai Bijutsu* in Japan – The Critique of Representaitonal Art," trans. Ruth S. McCreery, in: *Gutai. Facsimile Edition, 12-Volume Boxed Set with Supplement*, Chinatsu Kuma (ed.), supervised by Ashiya City Museum of Art & History, Tokyo: Geikashoin, 2010, pp.110-120.

[331] Munroe, Alexandra (ed.): "Circle: Modernism and Tradition," in: *Japanese Art after 1945. Scream Against the Sky*, exh. cat. Yokohama Museum of Art, Guggenheim Museum SoHo, San Francisco Museum of Mdoern Art, 1994–1995, New York: Henri N. Abrams, 1994, pp.127-133.

[332] Yoshihara and other *Genbi* members are supposed to having seen the first exhibition of Jackson Pollock's drip paintings at the Annual Yomiuri Exhibition in Tokyo in 1951. Whether Yamazaki visited the show, stays so far unclear.

[333] Munroe 1994, pp.131.

[334] In Sasameyuki (fine snow) [The Makioka Sisters, 1943-8] Jun'ichiro Tanizaki portrays the way of life of a typical upper-class family from Ashiya, where music plays a big role, and the part of the family living in Ashiya is cultured, hedonistic, as well as interested in Kabuki and other forms of theater. The account is based on the biographies of Tanizaki's wife Matsuko and her sisters: Tanizaki, Jun'ichiro, *The Makioka Sisters*, trans. Edward Seidensticker, Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle, 1958; See also: Ueno, Masāki: "Ōsaka ni okeru zeneiongaku" [Concerning Osaka Avantguarde Music], in: Sengo Ōsaka no avangyarudo geijutsu: Yakeato kara banpaku zenya made (Ōsakadaigaku Sōgō Gakujutsu Hakubutsukan Sōsho, 9) [The Avantgarde Art of Postwar Osaka. From Ruins to the Eve of Osaka Expo (Collected Academic Writings of the Historical Museum 9)], exh. cat. Osaka Historical Museum, Setsuya Hashizume and Mizuho Katō (eds.), Osaka: Historical Museum Press, 2013, pp.58-61.

[335] E.g., *MAVO* (1923–24), and *Sanka* (Third Society, 1924–25), see: Lucken 2001, op. cit., pp.79-94; Mitsuda 2010, pp.110-120.

[336] *Demokurāto 1951-1957: Kaihōsareta sengo bijutsu. Demokurato [1951-1957]: The Liberation of Art in Postwar Japan*, exh. cat. Saitama Prefectural Museum of Modern Art (MOMAS), Miyazaki Prefectural

Panreal Art Association (*Panriaru Bijutsu Kyōkai*, 1948–1952), and the *Activist Art Association* (*Kōdō Bijutsu Kyōkai*, 1945–1950) counted among the most influential artist groups in the field of visual arts in this area of the country. Art historian and Gutai specialist, Shōichi Hirai is not the only commentator to underline that the *Gutai* group gathered in a region with strong prewar artistic tradition, which demonstrates the previous existence and vitality of a locally specific community of artists, but also the continuities, showing not least a relative in-, as well as interdependence from the political center, Tokyo, and art movements in metropolises abroad.[337]

A word on art associations in earlier decades is useful here. Since art historian Reiko Tomii emphasizes in her introduction to the Japanese art system: "The genealogy of art associations virtually constitutes the history of *yōga* and *Nihonga*." Such associations, called *dantai*, or sometimes just marked with the suffix *–kai*, gathered since the turn of the 20th century. One of their purposes was to organize exhibitions for their members on a regular basis. Public art institutions, e.g. the Tokyo Metropolitan Art Museum, rented out galleries as exhibiton spaces to those associations. It is equally notable that two of the most influential associations surviving World War II,[338] the *Nika-kai* (Second Section Association, 1914–1944, 1946–) and *Kyūshitsu-kai* (Ninth Room Association, 1938–1943) – named after the room number in the museum, where the abstract-surrealist painters of the *Nika-kai* salon exhibited their works –, were platforms within which Jirō Yoshihara had not only participated, but took a leading role, also in the postwar era.[339] Resting on the distinction of the fields of Western painting and Japanese brushwork, and indepted to the militarist government in (pre-) wartime of setting up an exclusive structure, those organizations had come to incorporate the art establishment. Still, to some artists, Yoshihara being one of them, the idea of having larger and smaller associations, in order to scout talents from the sponsored exhibitions, or receive sponsorship for other ventures, continued to make sense, with reservations. To a certain extent the new assemblies drew on the tradition of the older *dantai*, altering program and organizational structures.[340] A provocative transformation as we shall further see.

Museum of Art, Museum of Modern Art, Wakayama, 1999, Akihiro Takano (ed.), Democratic Art Exhibtion Organizer's Committee, 1999.

[337] Saying so, we have still to consider that they were not only independent, but also reached out for news from those places. Especially among the residents of Ashiya was a number of artists who had stayed in continental Europe, e.g. in Paris or Germany; Hashizume 2013, pp.3-7; Kumada, Tsukasa: "Kōdō bijutsu kyōkai," "Demokurāto bijutsuka kyōkai," in: *Sengo Osaka no avangyarudo geijutsu: Yakeato kara banpaku zenya made* (Ōsakadaigaku Sōgō Gakujutsu Hakubutsukan Sōsho, 9) [The Avantgarde Art of Postwar Osaka. From Ruins to the Eve of Osaka Expo (Collected Academic Writings of the Historical Museum 9)], exh. cat. Osaka Historical Museum, 2013, Setsuya Hashizume and Mizuho Katō (eds.), Osaka: Historical Museum Press, 2013, pp.10-11; pp.16-17.

[338] Tomii, Reiko: "Art Associations," in: *Japanese Art after 1945. Scream Against the Sky*, exh. cat. Yokohama Museum of Art, Guggenheim Museum SoHo, San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, 1994-1995, Alexandra Munroe (ed.) New York: Henri N. Abrams, 1994, p.393.

[339] Tiampo 2013a), p.46.

[340] Tomii, Reiko: "Introduction: Collectivism in Twentieth-Century Japanese Art with a Focus on Operational Aspects of Dantai," in: *positions: east asia cultures critique*, vol. 21, no. 2, (spring, 2013), pp.225-267.

Another interesting fact about the groups active in the Osaka area enumerated before, is the political implication of their respective names. It is true that the Gutai collective did not follow any political activist agenda explicitly, like e.g. the Tokyo-based *Reportage* (*Ruporutāju)* painters (Fig.67)[341] – a number of painters gathering around Kikuji Yamashita (1890–1973), a former war painter of Yoshihara's generation active in Tokyo c. 1955, who had turned to critize the remnants of "feudalism and false democracy."[342] Art historian Ming Tiampo illustrates the differences in approach and reception history: "[…] Yamashita's scathing *The Tale of Akebono Village* (1953), […] exposed the perpetuation of prewar land-distribution policies and power structures in the rural areas of Japan through a horrific figural narrative. […] In this environment, Gutai members recall being accused of engaging in 'bourgeois play' and creating works in which 'content' [was] lacking."[343] Also, the numerous Tokyo based movements emerging from the 1960s – that have later been summed-up very generally under the labels "Anti-Art"[344] (*han-geijutsu*) and "Non-Art"[345] (*hi-geijutsu*) – were far more outspoken when it came to protest and political activism than the early as well as the later Gutai group.[346]

Confronting the Reverse-Course

The U.S. Occupation ended in 1952. Collaborative agreements known as "Anpo" – short for the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty – were first signed in 1951, establishing the "San Francisco System."[347] the treaty not only set up a tight network of U.S. military bases throughout the country, claiming

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[341] The movement reporting on local incidents by secondary sources was called *Ruporutāju kaiga* (Reportage painting), it owed its aesthetics to Surrealist painting and Social Realism, see Chong, Doryun: "Tokyo 1955-1970. A New Avant-garde," in: *Tokyo 1955-1970. A New Avant-garde*, exh. cat. The Museum of Modern Art New York, New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2012, pp.34-38; In a seminal text writer Kōbō Abe elaborates on the "Meaning of Reportage" as a new form of Realism, citing not only Stalin's definition of dialectical and historical materialism, but also making an important point on the difference of matter and consciousness, addressing the problem of a conflation of reality and consciousness. See: Abe, Kōbō: "For a New Realism: The Meaning of Reportage" [Atarashii riarizumu no tame ni: Ruporutāju no igi], in: *Riron* [Theory], no. 18, (1952), pp.29-36, cit. after: *From Postwar to Postmodern. Art in Japan 1945–1989* (Primary Dcuments), Doryun Chung, Michio Hayashi, Kenji Kajiya et al. (eds.), trans. Ken Yoshida, New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2012, pp.44-48.

[342] Ichirō Haryū cited in: Jesty, Justin: "Casting Light: Community, Visibility, and Historical Presence in Reportage Art of the 1950s," *Quadrante: Areas, Cultures, and Positions,* no. 10, (March, 2008), p.205.

[343] Tiampo 2013a), p.52.

[344] The term appeared first in reference to an installation by Tetsumi Kudō, shown at the Yomiuri Independent Exhibition held in Tokyo, it was introduced by art critic Yoshiaki Tōno, see: Tōno, Yoshiaki, "Garakuta no han-geijutsu" [Junk Anti-Art], in: *Yomiuri Shimbun* [Yomiuri Newspaper], 2.3.1960; For a discussion of the different notions, practices and the polemics unfolding around the term "Anti-Art" see: Tomii, Reiko: "*Geijutsu* on their Minds. Memorable Words on Anti- Art," in: *Art, Anti-Art, Non-Art: Experimentations in the Public Sphere in Postwar Japan, 1950-1970,* exh. cat. Getty Research Institute for the History of Art And the Humanities, Los Angeles, 2007, Charles Merewether, Reiko Tomii, and Rika Hirō (eds.), Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2007, pp.36-41.

[345] Tomii 2007, op. cit.

[346] Art critic Ichirō Haryū gives a closer insight in the political engagement of artist groups in Tokyo c. 1960, pointing out that, e.g. "the Neo Dada Organizers, a group formed in 1960, took part in the protest demonstrations at the diet building against Anpo, (the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty), playing on the slogan, 'Down with Anpo' they also shouted, 'Down with Anfo' (a Japanized abbreviation of *Informel*)." See: Haryū, Ichirō: "Reflections on the Season of Neo Dada," trans. Stanley N. Anderson, in: *Nihon no natsu – 1960–64. Japanese Art 1960s – Japanese Summer 1960-64*, exh. cat. Contemporary Art Gallery, Art Tower Mito (ATM), 1997, curated by Arata Isozaki, Mito: Mito Geijutsukan, 1997, pp.78-79. See also: Havens 2006, op. cit., pp.205-225.

[347] Dower 1993, op. cit.

sovereignty over the island of Okinawa. On top of it, it engaged Japan in the U.S. containment policy against the People's Republic of China spearheaded by Mao Zedong since 1949. In preparation of releasing Japan formally to sovereignty, the treaty still granted the U.S. an operation base for their military actions during the Korean War (1950–53) and beyond.[348] It can thus be assumed that Japan had early on a strategic position for the U.S. in the Cold War resulting from the split between communists and capitalists among the formerly Allied Forces. During the 1950s the mixed feelings by Japanese citizens erupted in grassroot-movment protests in the streets. One of the most famous incidents to be cited is the "Bloody May Day." A clash, where several members of worker-unions protesting against a new "Anti-Subversive Activities Law" were killed in a violent confrontation with Tokyo policemen on May 1, 1952. The negligent radioactive contamination of the Japanese fisherboat "Lucky Dragon No. 5"[349] during U.S. nuclear tests on the Bikini atoll in 1954 accelerated a feeling of being delivered at the mercy of top-down power for the sake of U.S. foreign policy among citizens in Japan. After the conscious reestablishment of the "modern ego" in postwar society, grassroot-movements proposed new forms of action beyond egotism, protesting jointly against the increasing incursions of state power, shaping the everyday.[350] Many of the reforms introduced since the peace constitution, and extended by the first security treaty, were recognized to expose people, rather than protecting them from threats of becoming involved in the next nuclear war theater. This "subordinate independence"[351] created larger conflicts among politicians and citizens. Whereas the conservative "realists" (*genjitsu shugisha*) fleshed out a bipolar system, aligning with U.S. power. Historian John W. Dower emphasizes: "Despite polemics of the most vitriolic sort, postwar Japan never was split into completely unbridgeable ideological camps. The pro-American conservatives nursed resentments against the United States, […] while the liberal and leftist 'internationalists' were susceptible to nationalist appeals. Schism in both camps, as well as accommodation between the camps, were thus persistent subtexts in the debates over peace and democracy."[352]

In this politically heated situation, many an artist or writer in Japan had sought proximity to leftist thought and sometimes the Communist party. Art historian Yuri Mitsuda illustrates the intensity of the political discussion in art with the example of the *Nihon bijutsu-kai* (Japan Art Society), founded in 1946, lead by two Communist Party members. The group's program was explicit in its aim "to spread democratic art and culture, to open art to the people, and to eliminate

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[348] Ibid.
[349] See: Sherif, Ann: "Thermonuclear Weapons and Tuna. Testing, Protest, and Knowledge in Japan," in: *De-centering Cold War History. Local and Global Change*, Jadwiga E.Pieper Mooney and Fabio Lanza (eds.), London and New York: Routledge, 2013, pp.15-30.
[350] Tiampo, Ming: "The Gutai Chain. The Collective Spirit of Individualism," in: *positions. east-asia critique*, vol. 21, no. 2, (spring, 2013), pp.283-415.
[351] Dower 1993, 11-30.
[352] Ibid.

the feudal system with old customs related to art."[353] Such an old custom were the official art exhibitions *Bunten* (Fine Arts Exhibtion), organized by the Ministry of Education since 1907, and revived in 1946 under the name *Nitten*, a short for Japan Fine Arts Exhibition. Characteristic for these salons was their pyramidal, hierarchical structure, fitting in, as well as reminding of the totalitarian (pre-)war social organization in the hierarchical and concentric *kazoku-seido*. The conservative institution of the *Bunten* and later *Nitten* stood for the control of artistic materials used, propagandistic representations of the war, the wartime suppression of avant-garde art, and relatedly the control of art criticism. With established art associations like the *Nika-kai* these salons came to epitomize *the* art establishment, a broad range of artist engaged to overthrow after WWII. In 1946 artist Shunsuke Matsumoto for example distributed a self-made handout, advertising the establishment of a new "Japanese artists' association:"[354]

> [...] *the art world of the past decade has been subject to favoritism and personal considerations. I am not necessarily against such a tendency; rather, I respect the beauty of friendships and master-disciple relationships. And exhibitions based on those close relationships should flourish. However, large exhibitions of artworks selected through open call are public vehicles. Inevitably it becomes necessary to establish principles and standards to meet the expectations of public responsibility. [...] Initially, I was opposed to the revival of groups that are aligned with other already-established groups. I even strongly suggested that we call everything off to start on a clean slate. But now I refrain from taking an overly critical position, because I think these groups can function to prompt the recovery of artists who have lost any sense of security and belonging. I am no longer associated with the Second Section Society* [Nika-kai], [...].

It is in this context that we find a range of opinion leaders in the art scene of the 1950s based in Tokyo, engaged in interdisciplinary art movements, striving since 1947 toward a syncretic culture of distinct genres (*sōgō bunka*).[355] These discussion or research groups promote different discipline's respective qualities, while trying to bring them in a fruitful dialogue, or dialectical tension without aiming at new forms of totalitarianism in the blur. Among the most outspoken proponents we find, e.g. Georges Bataille's friend, the painter Tarō Okamoto[356]. Okamoto is active in *Yoru no kai* (*The Evening Society*) or the writer Kōbō Abe (1924–1993) joining critic Ichirō Haryū, and artist Hiroshi

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[353] Mitsuda 2010, op.cit., p.111.

[354] Matsumoto, Shunsuke: "A Proposal to the Artists of Japan," trans. Meiko Sano, in: *From Postwar to Postmodern. Art in Japan 1945–1989* (Primary Documents), Doryun Chong, Michio Hayashi, Kenji Kajiya et al. (eds.), New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2012, pp.27-31, [first: idem: "Zennippon bijutsuka ni hakaru," printed by hand and distributed by the artists, 1946].

[355] Yoshida, Ken: "Artist Groups and Collectives in Postwar Japan," in: *From Postwar to Postmodern. Art in Japan 1945–1989* (Primary Documents), Doryun Chong, Michio Hayashi, Kenji Kajiya et al. (eds.), New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2012, pp.39-40.

[356] Okamoto spent the years between c. 1930 and 1940 in Paris, leaving the city with the advent of the Nazis. He is known for having forged close ties not only to Georges Bataille, but also Marcel Mauss, whose student he was at the Sorbonne. From 1933 to 1937 Okamoto was a member of the non-figurative painter's Group *Abstraction-Création*. The artists Hans Erni, Sophie Taeuber-Arp, Hans Arp, and Kurt Seligmann belong to his Paris aquaintances. Whether he participated in Bataille's secret society *Acéphale* (1936–1939), and to which extent such possible engagements marked his later practice in Japanese artist groups is rarely discussed in non-monographic publications. See: Lucken, Michael: *L'Art du Japon au Vingtième Siècle. Pensées, Formes, Résistances*, Paris: Hermann, 2001, p.164.

Teshigahara in the group *Seiki kai* (*Group of the Century*). Architect Arata Isozaki recalls the concept of "polarism," (*taikyokushugi*) presented by Okamoto around 1949: "Okamoto's methodology [...] was [...] juxtaposing all possible methodological dichotomies such as rationality/irrationality, figuration/abstraction, realism/surrealism, and reality/fantasy, as they are – torn – instead of unifying them."[357] Okamoto bases his method on the following observation:[358]

> *I declare that the work of art does not exist for the artist, and that the Mona Lisa, the inkpot, and the ashtray are all objects with no distinction to be made among them. The issue is the artist's will, its drama. This drama is, of course dialectic, in which the artwork (object) overcomes the contradiction between reality (object) and artist (subject). The subject, which is always the motive force pushing this dialectic forward, encounters the artwork as a mere object and violently rejects it. [...] The spirit of tomorrow's avant-garde art must contain both a romantic irrational passion and a thoroughly rational design, holding them together in violent antagonism. I do not imagine these heterogeneous elements blending or harmonizing. [...] I try to realize this concretely in painting.*

Okamoto further that all "contradictory layers" should be depicted and exposed in a "painting that generates an extremely intense dissonance," which "must express the revolutionary present."[359]

Indeed, there is another, often ommited issue, adding further complexity to the discussion, whether, or not – and if, to which extent – *Gutai* was a political art movement. Yuri Mitsuda scrapes it out, comparing the Osaka based *Demokurāto* artists, and the *Gutai* group: The *Demokurāto* artists engaged in joint projects against the art establishment, I have introduced before, initiated by emerging critic Yūsuke Nakahara (1931–2011). *Gutai* was yet not among the participating groups from Osaka.[360] Mitsuda thus shows, that promoting "freedom" for *Gutai* was not aligned with the anti-establishment movement c. 1956, while being still opposed to the "unfree organizationalism" in (pre-)war time. Does this mean, *Gutai* was more conservative, right-placed in its disposition, or indepted to, as well as promoting models of "freedom" imported by U.S. cultural diplomacy?

Yes and no. As can easily be understood, the organization of the group around the mentor figure Yoshihara, preserved a certain form of hierarchy when it came to experience based judgement. In other organizational matters there is no strong sense for hierarchy documented in *Gutai*. Moreover, it was an art movement opposing the (pre-)war time ideologies strongly in the individual stances and biographies of every member. Indeed, Yoshihara kept engaged in the *Nika-kai* (1939–1944, 1946–1970), one of those prewar artist groups institutionally and ideologically framed by the criticized art establishment, trying to reform it from within. Also, he presided the

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[357] Isozaki 1994, pp.27-28.
[358] Okamoto, Tarō: "Avant-garde Manifesto: A View of Art," trans. Justin Jesty, in: *From Postwar to Postmodern. Art in Japan 1945–1989* (Primary Documents), Doryun Chong, Michio Hayashi, Kenji Kajiya et al. (eds.), New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2012, pp.34-39, [first: idem: "'Abangyarudo sengen: Geijutsukan," in: *Kaizō* [Reorganize] vol. 30, no. 11, (November, 1949), pp.64-68].
[359] Ibid.
[360] Mitsuda 2010, p.113.

Ashiya City Art Salon, and managed on top of it the Yoshihara Oil Mill Ltd. as president of the company since 1955.

A similar, yet dissimilar stance is documented for Tarō Okamoto, staying a member in establishment exhibition circles too, in order to scout young talents. Okamoto renounced his membership from *Nika-kai* in 1961, the year Yoshihara was elected to the board of directors. Reiko Tomii differentiates the artists' reassembling in groups under different premises, and from artist groups emerging in 1960s Japan: "In contrast, the art world in the 1950s was still dominated by the logic of *dantai*, […]. [Yoshihara] strategically adopted certain *dantai* conventions in the founding and practices of Gutai. Given the conservatism and feudalism that marked *dantai* collectivism in postwar Japan this in […] itself was a radical move, seemingly unthinkable for any avant-gard group that embraced democracy."[361] If leaning to group form, Tokyo based artists, such as the multidisciplinary collective *Jikken Kōbō* (Experimental Workshop, 1951–1957), in contrast rather relied on Shūzō Takiguchi's call for independent, small artist circles (*kogadan*)[362] beside the established big organizations and their salons. Such small, independent groups (*chisana gurūpu*), should create their own audience, relying on independent funding outside of the establishment's structures, he claimed.[363] A text issued by reportage painter Hiroshi Katsuragawa (1924–2011) in 1953 endorses the search for new forms of collaborative practice. Once again his text yet also illustrates to which extent the group practice of *Gutai* conforms, but deviates from his postulations to introduce groups (*shūdan*):[364]

Anyway, the image of the despicable war, defeat, and colonization that has the body of our generation etched onto it and the works produced out of each individual's experience of feudalism and poverty (criticism, documentary tableaux, photography) must be shown, or works that unite and express the traditions of this matrix that has nurtured us and the everyday life of the masses (nihonga, crafts, ikebana, architecture, etc.) or works with new capacities that arise from the everyday life of the masses that make up the new Japan (applied arts, mass production of mural painting, art produced out of daily life, etc.). […] 'A theme that is not a theme', 'noncollective group production', 'critical description and expression': we must make these our aims precisely because they contain contradiction. […] I hope to go beyond

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[361] Cf. Tomii, Reiko: "An Experiment in Collectivism: Gutai's Prewar Origin and Postwar Evolution," in: *Gutai. Splendid Playground*, Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum New York, 2013, Alexandra Munroe and Ming Tiampo (eds.), curated by Ming Tiampo, New York: The Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation, 2013, pp.248-253, p.250.

[362] See: Takiguchi, Shūzō: "The Spirit of Experimentation – An Anthology," trans. Lewis Cook, in: *Jikken Kōbō to Takiguchi Shūzō. Experimental Workshop* (Dai 11-kai omāju Takiguchi Shūzō ten. The 11th Exhibition Homage to Shuzo Takiguchi), exh. cat. Satani Gallery Tokyo, 1991, supervised by Katsuhiro Yamaguchi and Kuniharu Akiyama, Tokyo: Satani Gallery, 1991, pp.7-11 [first: idem: "Jikken to seishin (The Spirit of Experimentation)," in: *Bijutsu hihyō* [Art Criticism], (June, 1952)]; Tomii replaces *kogadan* used by Takiguchi with the more innocious term *shūdan*, a retranslation of the katakana term *gurupu* (group), in order to set Takiguchi's claim clearly apart from terminologies, susceptible to attribution to the art-establishement's vocabulary. See: Tomii 2013a), op.cit., p.250.

[363] Takiguchi [1952] 1991, op.cit., pp.7-11.

[364] Katsuragawa, Hiroshi: "What Must 'Artists as a Group' Do?," trans. Ken Yoshida, in: *From Postwar to Postmodern. Art in Japan 1945–1989* (Primary Documents), Doryun Chong, Michio Hayashi, Kenji Kajiya et al. (eds.), New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2012, pp.32-34 [first: idem: "'Shūdan toshite no bijutsuka' wa nani o nasu beki ka," in: *Konnichi no bijutsu* [Art of Today], no. 1, (April 1953), pp.7-9].

my individual thinking to fully critique society and debate a wide range of issues, and thus move further toward the concrete realization of our aims.

The different attempts to renegotiate the purpose of artists in and as a group went along with the development of new exhibition formats. Two formats of *Nihon Independent Exhibitions* emerged from the late 1940s in Tokyo's Metropolitan Art Museum, one organized by the Japan Art Society (1946), starting in 1947, and one organized by the newspaper company *Yomiuri*, established in 1949 and dropped in 1964.[365] At the venue of a painter's supply shop by the name of Takemiya art critic Shūzō Takiguchi established his program for a new nonprofit gallery space, featuring artists in solo exhibtions, as well as occasionally inviting the artists, ingeneers, and musicians taking part *Experimental Workshop* (1951–1957). These initiatives prompted artworks concerned with or reinstalling an immediate present. Around 1955 the notion of contemporary art (*gendai bijutsu*) became popular, subsuming the expanding network of emerging art critics, new initiatives by interdisciplinary art groups and artists, new exhibition and art publishing formats.

Enumerating the voices and initiatives of male artists and critics, one might ask, where the position of women artists was in those complex pre- and postwar systems of artistic circles and reformed artist associations. In the prewar *dantai* system with its strong hierarchies, men were privileged over women artists, especially in the field of oil painting. Art historian Midori Yoshimoto compares the individual careers of three female artists in the 1930s active in Western-style oil painting *yōga*, to prove how rarely female artists working in this still rather new medium were accepted in official juried exhibtions. Whereas Yukiko [Yuki] Katsura (1913–1991) participated in the *Nika-kai* salon in 1935, she was rather an exception than the rule. Regarded a suitable hobby for wealthy women, an access to traditional arts and crafts or the institutions of *Nihonga* was more presumable. As Yoshimoto reports the woman calligrapher Tōkō Shinoda (b. 1913) for example challenged the gender-based segregation early on with works exhibited in both sections as abstract art and as calligraphy. Yoshimoto turns our attention also to the fact that university curricula were not equally accessible to men and women, who aimed at pursuing a career in the arts.[366] Educational facilities for women focused in the prewar and wartime era on domestic work. Conforming with the fascist eugenics, the female educational policy was to cultivate "good wives and wise mothers" (*ryōsai kenbo*),[367] who would give birth to children and invigorate the national body. The few universities offering an artistic training to women were still exclusive because they were mostly located in Tokyo, or – as private institutions – difficult to afford without financial

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[365] See: Mito 1997.
[366] Yoshimoto, Midori: *Into Performance. Japanese Women Artists in New York*, New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2005, pp.13-16.
[367] For a far more nuanced analysis of this educational policy and its changing impact on society see: Koyama, Shizuko: *The Educational Ideal of 'Good Wife, Wise Mother' in Modern Japan* (The Intimate and the Public in Asian and Global Perspectives 1), trans. Stephen Filler, London: Brill, 2013.

backup by a wealthy family. Seeking art training outside of universities and schools, following the guidance of a mentor had been and persisited to be common, especially for women artists outside of Tokyo.[368]

2.2.3 Tracing Graphic Delineations: Concrete and Collective

It would be misleading to portray the *Hanshin* region and its art movements as cut-off from, or ignorant about the debates in Tokyo, and the political tensions of the time. Neither were the artists living and working there overly naïve about the critical potential of their work. Gutai's engagement with the tangible, material environment, its performative, bodily practices staged in installations or festivals – as we shall further see – can be taken as an evidence of their engaged and engaging practice, at the threshold in-between dualist notions of "abstract" and "realist" art, attributed during Cold War as cultural 'soft powers',[369] to either democratic and capitalist, or communist ideologies. Probably *Gutai's* idiosyncratic mix of political program and apoliticism, Eastern and Western traditions and modernisms promulgated with a call to emancipation as a sensous learning process is rather to be termed non-ideological than apolitical. It reflects a larger Cold War paradox, operating in Japan, complicating binary narratives, just as well as the positions of colonizer and colonized.[370]

A fact still underestimated in the discussion of Gutai is the early or 'proto' inter-media-practice of the *Gutai* group, as I would call it retroactively: To the decision to collaborate in a redefined form of artists' association, they added the practice of collaboration in the reproductive medium of print. "On the Occasion of the Publication of the Bulletin, *GUTAI*"[371] Yoshihara endorses:[372]

This bulletin is issued to present the works by 16 avant-garde-artists residing in the Hanshin district. Each one of us

contributed expenses to rent a printing machine and we printed the bulletin with our own hands. […] *We believe that*

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[368] Yoshimoto enumerates the *Joshi Bijutsu Daigaku* (Women's Art University, formerly *Joshi Bijutsu Gakkō* Women's Art School, established 1900), *Nihon Bijutsu Senmon Gakkō* (Japan Specialized Art School, 1916), Tama Art University (1921), and Bunka Gakuin University (1936). See: Yoshimoto 2005, op.cit., p.14.

[369] Guilbaut, Serge: *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art. Abstract Expressionism, Freedom and the Cold War*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1983, pp.165-206; Cockcroft, Eva: "Abstract Expressionism. Weapon of the Cold War," in: *Artforum*, vol. 15, no. 10, (June, 1974), pp.39-41.

[370] See: Sherif, Ann: *Japan's Cold War. Media, Literature, and the Law*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2009; Concerning the paradox mediator's role Japanese diplomats saw themselves in cf.: Ampiah, Kweku: "Japan at the Bandung Conference. The Cat Goes to the Mice's Convention," in: *Japan Forum*, vol. 7, no. 1, (1995), pp.15-24; An insightful read into the imperial history and goals of colonization in a network of political institutions on a regional and national level grants Esselstrom, Erik: *Crossing Empire's Edge. Foreign Ministry Police and Japanese Expansionism in Northeast Asia*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008.

[371] Yoshihara, Jirō: "Hakkan ni saishite (On occasion of this Publication)," in: *Gutai*, no. 1, (January, 1955), n.p. Tomii and Hirai stress that the magazine as a format to promote the artists' works and entail an international dialogue was pioneered in the bulletin of the modern *yōga* painter's association *Kiyūshitsu*.

[372] Yoshihara, Jirō: "On the Occasion of the Publication of the Bulletin, *Gutai*," trans. Kikuko Ogawa, in: *Gutai. Facsimile Edition, 12-Volume Boxed Set with Supplement*, No. 1, Chinatsu Kuma (ed.), supervised by Ashiya City Museum of Art & History, Tokyo: Geikashoin, 2010, p.14, [first: idem: "Hakkan ni saishite (On Occasion of this Publication), in: *Gutai,* no. 1, (1955), n.p.].

this bulletin will provide a chance for our work to appeal to people all over the world. It is because we know we gained

profound sympathy and friendship through each other's works that we decided to launch this bulletin. I, too, am very

happy to be part of this chain of friendships. […] We look forward to finding friends in all visual arts [orig.: shikaku

geijutsu] *including for example calligraphy, ikebana* [flower arrangement], *craftwork, architecture, and other fields.*

[…] *With the cooperation of many people in different fields, while focusing mainly on new art, we hope to work closely*

with other genres in contemporary art such as children's art and literature, music, dance, cinema, theater and others.

[…]

Art historian Alexandra Munroe on the other hand argues, that: "Yoshihara's efforts to

position *Gutai* as the Japanese manifestation of 'international art of a new era,' his strategy

reflected the progressive idealism of American cultural diplomacy in the 1950s, which promised the

virtues of 'freedom of expression' in an 'open and free society',"[373] – in other words: democracy in

the service of liberal exchange relations, eventually providing access to a global sphere as an

extended marketplace for art among other commodities? We have to consider though that

Munroe's argument is built in opposition to the notion of "freedom" advocated by, e.g. the

Demokurāto artists, but at the same time on a subliminal parallelism of "American Action Painting"

and artworks by members of the *Gutai* group – or rather on the matter of records that *Gutai*

mentor Jirō Yoshihara was an admirer of Jackson Pollock's artworks,[374] which he honored in his

article for the *Bokubi* journal on "The Margins of Abstract Painting."[375] The link between Pollock's

practice and Gutai is moreover justified in as much as Yoshihara was delighted to receive B.H.

Friedman's note that Lee Krasner and himself had spotted the second and third issues of the *Gutai*

bulletin among Pollock's personal papers and magazines, after Pollock's death. The *Gutai* artists

eventually paid Pollock's work respect in an obituary published in the fifth issue of their

mouthpiece *Gutai* on October 1, 1956: "We mourn over the untimely death of the American

painter Mr. Jackson Pollock, whom we hold in esteem, in a car accident this summer."[376] Art

historian Shōichi Hirai further more reports that it was Pollock himself, who ordered the magazines

directly from Shōzō Shimamoto. And Shimamoto provided him with complementary issues to

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[373] Munroe, Alexandra: "To Challenge the Mid-Summer Sun: The Gutai Group," in: *Japanese Art after 1945. Scream Against the Sky*, exh. cat. Yokohama Museum of Art, Guggenheim Museum SoHo, San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, 1994–1995, New York: Henri N. Abrams, 1994, pp.83-123, p.84.

[374] Art historian and Gutai specialist Mizuho Katō points out that Yoshihara mentioned Pollock as early as 1951, deeming the Pollock feature in *Gutai* no. 6 by B.H. Friedman "for an art group with a very slight history and centered on a city outside Tokyo […], [being] exceptional," see: Katō, Mizuho: "A Bridge to the World: *Gutai: 1956-1959,*" in: *Gutai. Facsimile Edition, 12-Volume Boxed Set with Supplement*, Chinatsu Kuma (ed.), supervised by Ashiya City Museum of Art & History, Tokyo: Geikashoin, 2010, pp.100-108, p.101. Ming Tiampo reconstructs Yoshihara's reading of Pollock as inter-poetics affected by the intra-poetics of a local background, replacing the notion of cultural translation, drawing on Yoshihara's notes on the work of Pollock, see: Tiampo 2011, pp.48-49.

[375] Yoshihara, Jirō: "Chūshō kaiga no yohaku" [The Margins of Abstract Painting], in: *Bokubi*, no. 23, (February, 1953).

[376] Yoshihara, Jirō: "Jackson Pollock's Obituary [Jackson Pollock shi no fuhō] in: *Gutai*, no. 5, (October, 1956), p.25.

spread among his friends.[377] Yet such a "chain of friendships"[378] or "the Gutai chain"[379] should not be misinterpreted as a total overlap of artistic and possible 'political' agendas among the collaborating, but autonomos artists. Despite the enchantment Abstract Expressionism enacted on some of the Gutai members and vice versa,[380] the practices of figureheads like *the* icons of stylized alienation Jackson Pollock or Franz Kline, just as well as the definitions of "individual" and "subject," had grown from different discussions and were embedded in discrete sedimentations of everyday experience.

The methods, motivations, and comments to reach a state of intensive "self-complacency," (*hitori yogari to iu koto*)[381] in cancellation and exemption were thus highly divergent. Gutai certainly promoted a form, where such a state is not exlusively mind-born, but related to the sensory body throwing it into what Maurice Merleau-Ponty would have called the "flesh of the world"[382] without ever drawing on, or justifying their practice explicitly with theory. Also, within the group we find different approaches to individualism and subjectivity, a topic lingering since the immediate postwar in artistic discussions. To give an example – Yamazaki's *Gutai* fellow, Kazuo Shiraga writes:[383]

The question of the human spirit and flesh is examined in science and philosophy and is being seriously focused on as a fundamental issue of the human existence. My view of artistic expressions is that an invisible spirit is given form according to physical conditions and changes. […] Placed in the outside world, the baby moves into action based on […] constitution and experiences a variety of things. The baby's disposition is accumulated on top of this constitution like the rings in quoits. […] This choice of likes and dislikes is made as a matter of course by distinguishing one thing from another by touch and smell and forms his disposition. […] Some people might argue that individuality based on a person's disposition is self-centered and lacking in social nature. However, I would like to say, do not be so hasty. Look how closely it is related to social life. […] Moreover, the individual disposition is acquired from the environment

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[377] Hirai, Shōichi: "On Gutai. La Rivista Gutai," in: *Gutai. Painting with Time and Space. Gutai. Dipingere con il Tempo e lo Spazio*, exh. cat. Museo Cantonale D'Arte di Lugano, 2010–2011, Marco Franciolli, Fuyumi Namioka, et al. (eds.), Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana Editoriale, 2010, pp.159.

[378] Yoshihara [1955] 2010, op.cit., p.14.

[379] Ukita, Yōzō: "The Gutai Chain," trans. Kikuko Ogawa, in: *Gutai. Facsimile Edition, 12-Volume Boxed Set with Supplement*, no. 4, Chinatsu Kuma (ed.), supervised by Ashiya City Museum of Art & History, Tokyo: Geikashoin, 2010, p.29 [first: idem: "Gutai kusari," in: *Gutai*, no. 4, (1956), p.30]; also cf.: Tiampo 2013b), pp.283-415.

[380] Idem: *Under Each Other's Spell: Gutai and New York*, New York: Pollock-Krasner House and Study Center, 2009.

[381] A word introduced by Gutai member Sadamasa Motonaga, see: Motonaga, Sadamasa: "Self-Complacency," trans. Kikuko Ogawa, in: *Gutai. Facsimile Edition, 12-Volume Boxed Set with Supplement*, no. 4, ed. Chinatsu Kuma, supervised by Ashiya City Museum of Art & History, Tokyo: Geikashoin, 2010, p.26, [first: idem: "*Hitori yogari to iu koto*" [Claiming Self-Complacency], in: *Gutai*, no. 4, (July, 1956), p.21.

[382] There is however no historical evidence that *Gutai* members were interested in or discussing Merleau-Ponty's theories, the *Phenomenology of Perception* was translated to Japanese in 1967, see: Merleau-Ponty, Maurice: *Chikaku no genshō-gaku 1* [Phenomenology of Perception], trans. Yoshiro Takeuchi, Hajime Kida, Tadao Miyamoto, Tokyo: Misuzushobō, 1967 [first: idem: *Phénoménologie de la Perception*, Paris: Gallimard, 1945].

[383] Shiraga, Kazuo: "On Our Dispositions," trans. Kikuko Ogawa, in: *Gutai. Facsimile Edition, 12-Volume Boxed Set with Supplement*, No. 5, ed. Chinatsu Kuma, supervised by Ashiya City Museum of Art & History, Tokyo: Geikashoin, 2010, pp.39-40; original version cf.: Shiraga, Kazuo: "*Shishitsu ni tsuite*" [On Disposition], in: *Gutai*, No. 5, (October 1,1956), n.p.

[kankyō] *of the society in which that individual lives. [...] Lastly, I would like to mention that what I mean by disposition is not the weak character referred to so far as individuality, which is acquired and does not evolve any further. What I mean is a state in which, based on the body by nature, the flesh and spirit acquired through the process of living are integrated.*

If Shiraga's view of an individual in process does not locate individuality in neither body nor mind, but in the interplay of both with a sensous and social 'environment' affecting them. This slightly different notion of a rather 'decentered' self, constructed and shaped by experience in intersubjective practices becomes also evident by comparing the respective studio practices and their strategic representation. Art historian Caroline A. Jones portrays the studio – especially the photographs staging Pollock in his studio – a substantial part not only of the myth, but also of the 'image' of Abstract Expressionism. In her critical account on the interlocking roles of artist and studio in the creation of the individualist myth in U.S. art history, Jones argues that the self-chosen isolation of the artist was essential to it: "the depoliticization of postwar American art 'was' its politics, tied symbiotically to individualism, figured by the solitude of the studio, and articulated in the abstract brushstroke as the clearest expression of an individual's 'will to form.'"[384] In other words, the "solitude of the studio" was a crucial feature of this "nationalizing program that loaded the brush with ideology as well as paint."[385] In the same context Franz Kline is reported not only by Jones to have declined printmaking as a political practice, while "masking" his own practice as unpolitical instead.[386] Jones cites, what Kline uttered on a gallery visit around 1955, having been asked, whether he could imagine making prints: "Printmaking concerns social attitudes, you know – politics and a public [...] I can't think about it; I'm involved in the private image."[387] She shows to which extent the image of American Expressionist painters and their practice, just like in the case of Jackson Pollock, was encoded – not least through contemporary art criticism, e.g. by Harold Rosenberg or Clement Greenberg – as an act of unique and "existential" loneliness.

Jones' remarks remind us only one of the many points in which the practices of the Gutai group differ significantly from those they have often been paralleled with by local and international critics – and not least since Yoshihara himself instituted and cultivated being linked and likened to them: namely the artists of their generation active in discourse dominating centers like New York and Paris. Whereas Abstract Expressionist painters were seeking separation for the sake of creativity, the call to community, to share space and invite others to take part in producing it, e.g. on a theater stage, making it possible to differentiate among, while allowing for a broader range of

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[384] Jones, Caroline A.: *Machine in the Studio. Constructing the Postwar American Artist,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998, p.24.
[385] Ibid., p.24.
[386] Ibid., p.23.
[387] Cit. in: Jones 1998, p.23; Orig. quoted in: Hess, Thomas: "Prints: Where History, Style and Money Mett," in: *Art News,* 70/9, 1972, p.29, uttered while "visiting galleries around 1955."

individual stances is one of the most prominent features of *Gutai* art as installed for instance in two early open-air-exhibitions 1955 and 1956. Venues, I will examine more closely to situate Yamazaki's early works.

In this respect Gutai's claim of a naïve access to reality, working playfully by descending to the everyday, i.e. with industrial as well as found materials in, organic and inorganic materials, e.g. in a public park, is as programmatic, as apparently advocating a community driven form of postwar individualism – beyond essentialism in respect to both 'Japanese uniqueness' and egocentric forms of originality.[388] Art historian Namiko Kunimoto admonishes in a compelling paper on the work of Atsuko Tanaka: "[…], assuming that all artists shared political ideals and a common sense of selfhood leads us to overlook important divergences in artistic identity and social anxieties of the time. The recourse to individualism as an explanation of artistic practices proves problematic."[389] She urges us instead to take those works and practices into account that foreground the "frailty of subjectivity," as opposed to constructing tales of "individualism emerging from a fixed sense of self."[390]

It holds true that *Gutai* took part in a larger socio-political project to establish postwar democracy, after the fall of a dehumanizing totalitarian regime and the subsequent period of occupation. Their educational call to emancipation and engagement according to ones own abilities and passions is clearly political. Breaking away from oppressive forms of collectivism, it is a protest against conformism, normalization, and fascism, promoting collaborative multitudes instead of alienated individuals. Their works argue for a differentiation between the notions of self, person, role (identity). According to their sensibility for the different concepts the group practically mediates between the confusing notions of collective and individual. Similar to the complexitiy and contradiction introduced by the binary tradition/modernism c. 1955, the 'holism' propagated by and in *Gutai* has to be laid out in a more nuanced analysis. But let us stay for the moment with "the romance of the studio."[391]

To support my argument of a dialogue with Abstract Expressionism, yet in shifting presumptions, I recall Jones again, giving 'the margins of abstract painting' an additional meaning: "The marginal place of women in the Abstract Expressionist studio is literalized in the configuration of the Pollock-Krasner studio, […] literalized in her representation as a footnote to Pollock's studio shrine […],"[392] reminding us here that "the topos of the isolated artist in his studio was [on top of it] a gendered construct excluding women, a continuation of nineteenth-century romantic traditions,

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[388] Concerning pre- and postwar art associations see: Tomii 2013b), pp.225-267.
[389] Cf.: Kunimoto 2013, op.cit.
[390] Ibid.
[391] Jones, Caroline A.: *Machine in the Studio. Constructing the Postwar American Artist,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998, pp.36-40.
[392] Ibid., pp.36-40.

and a partial function of the larger *depoliticization* of Amercian modern art."[393] If we ask about the

position of women artists in the Gutai group, we may discover an imbalance of the number of men

and women participating in the art association for the early years.[394] On the other hand evidence

for a marginalization of women artists within the group is poor.

The traditional modus operandi of art history may have expelled women artists more often

than not to the margins. Regardless by whom the narrative has been produced, it had its impact on

the appreciation on the work and position of women in the group, or even led to marginalization

within the group's disposition. The curator of Yamazaki's first and only retrospective Atsuo

Yamamoto quotes Yamazaki: "That's completely beside the point!"[395] It is her answer to the

question, whether she had ever suffered from male dominance within the group, or if there had

been dynamics of concurrence at play between the slowly but gradually internationally acclaimed

woman artist Atsuko Tanaka and her. It is certainly justified to conclude that the dynamics within

the group corresponded with what the artists promoted in their essays published, e.g. in *Gutai*.

Nevertheless, I would reply to Yamazaki that it may, conforming with their critique of

representation have been "beside the point" for the members active as a group, whether one was a

woman or a man, since they untied the logics of connecting gender and creativity – intentionally or

not – with their particular project of undoing, rather than encoding meaning.[396] In a reevaluation of

Gutai's reception history it is all the same a point that must be taken into account. If not posing any

issue in the group's practice remembered by Yamazaki, still the reiteration of apparently

inextinguishable "master narratives"[397] could be problematized at least.

On the other hand, the relationship between Yoshihara as leading mentor figure with a past

life in Japanese art associations and an interest in the historical avant-gardes, before the younger

group members has certainly encouraged accounts, stressing the roles of particular artists, who

accumulate a boundle of narrative threads in their biography.[398] Even this study is susceptible to

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[393] Ibid., pp.40-41.
[394] See: Tiampo 2011, pp.181-182.
[395] Yamamoto, Atsuo (ed.): "Metallic. Anti-Color/Pan-Color," trans. Christopher Stephens, in: *Reflection. Tsuruko Yamazaki*, exh. cat. Ashiya City Museum of Art and History, 2004, p.27.
[396] Ibid.
[397] The term has been introduced by French philosopher Jean-François Lyotard to critize institutional as well as ideological forms of knowledge production and dispersion. He has thus been critized himself for producing with his critique just another master narrative. I am using the term here conscious of this fact, but also in allusion to the functional mode of addressing the *Gutai* history by emphasizing Jirō Yoshihara's mentor position. As a matter of fact he was looked up to, respected by the group members as experienced and firm but fair judge. Still, recounting *Gutai* history over and over foregrounding the founding initiator's role as a father figure is not only tiresome, it homogenizes the multiple histories of a group, which of course can always be grasped in (interconnected) fragments only. See: Lyotard, Jean-François: *The Postmodern Condition. A Report on Knowledge*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984, [first: 1979].
[398] Hirai yet stresses that especially in the financing of the group, Yoshihara would not conflate his role as an experienced mentor with the hierarchical position of being the group's sponsor. As has been mentioned before, Yoshihara came from a wealthy family of edible oil producers. Business-minded as he was, he had still a sense for organizing funds. He would therefore insist that the group developed its own funding system. See: Hirai, Shōichi: "The Gutai Art Association and the *Gutai* bulletin," trans. Ruth S. McCreery, in: *Gutai. Facsimile Edition, 12-Volume Boxed Set with Supplement*, no. 2, Chinatsu Kuma (ed.), supervised by Ashiya City Museum of Art & History, Tokyo: Geikashoin, 2010, p.90-99, p.95.

topple over on the side of such an account any moment. As another matter of fact those group members, who contributed written testimonies to the *Gutai* magazine, easily attract more attention and will be granted more visibility also in my discussion of *Gutai* art and practice, that in a somewhat paradoxical attempt keeps returning to the particular case of Yamazaki. Taking into account group practice then again exposes the intertwining of both. Tracing and contextualizing the works of the artists engaging in a group, I will draw on the testimonies and documentations by other members.

"Naname" (Slant), 1954

It is neither clear, how frequently Yamazaki attended the evening lectures of *Genbi,* nor how outspokenly she contributed to this platform for cross-genre discussion. However, one of her artworks is shown in the first collective exhibition organized by *Genbi,* 1953, at the Asahi Building in Kobe, and Yamazaki continues to contribute up to the third issue in 1955. In 1954 she shows three works at the 1st Modern Art Fair at the Daimaru Department Store in Osaka:[399] *Chon* ([Bachelor], 1954) a painting, depicting round shapes, traced with the backside of the brush – a technique she adapted in discussions with Shōzō Shimamoto before they became fellow artist in the Gutai Art Association (1955–1972) – is shown in 1954. To the same period dates also *Naname* ([Slant], 1954, collage on wooden panel, 92.0 x 59.8 cm) (Fig.68), a small collage piece depicting imprecisely ripped stripes of greige paper, descending as slants from upper left to lower right, alternating with the leftovers of a background nonchalantly laid out in black pieces. Those stripes are in themselves a fragmented unity of uneven, assembled layers. Merging from a distance in an almost neat pattern of diagonals, the impure avulsions affect the tactile sensibilities of the skin and the scanning gaze. They eventually bring to mind the heterogeneous layering of the work. It consists yet not only in a wooden panel with an allover stripe pattern. Placed at the middle of the left upright Yamazaki applied an oblong piece of paper. It measures about two thirds of the artworks height (c. 55 cm) and one third of its width (20 cm). The proportion in whole or in part adds to the collage's tension. Also, the oblong paper is not identifiable as a geometric rectangle, since its upper right edge has a rounded shape. It is difficult to discern, whether the artist herself radiused it by cropping the angle. All the more I deem it likely that she used a paper 'as found'. By doing so however, Yamazaki increases the contradictions inherent in the piece. In an interview with art historians Hiroko Ikegami and Mizuho Katō Yamazaki stresses: "At the time, I made *Chon* (Bachelor, 1954), I was already making up my mind to stop using the brush."[400]

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[399] The Modern Art Societies Exhibition was first held in 1948.

[400] Yamazaki, Tsuruko: "Oral History Interview with Tsuruko Yamazaki," conducted by Mizuho Katō and Hiroko Ikegami, 12.6.2011, Oral History Archives of Japanese Art, website, (accessed through: <www.oralarthistory.org>, last access 7.12.2015).

Let us quickly check, how Shimamoto, who reportedly convinced her of "executing the brush,"[401] explained his vote for reviving paint as "*matière*," and his reasons for freeing this "*matière*" from an enslaving relationship with the dominating brush in a printed version of his claims:[402]

> [...], *the paintbrush gradually became more flexible and subtle. When it came to the submissive oil paint, the paintbrush showed itself at its best and adapted itself perfectly to the intention of the oil paint. That is to say, what was most humiliating in the history of paint as its real nature was ignored [...]. The reason is that, as I have already repeated over and over again, no color exists without texture, [...]. I believe that the first thing we should do is to set paint free from the paintbrush. Before beginning to work on a picture, the paint can never be set free unless the paintbrush is broken and thrown away. [...] All kinds of tools should be brought in enthusiastically in place of the paintbrush. Think of what members of the Gutai group are using. Beginning with a painting knife and hands, there are endless examples such as watering can, vibrator, abacus, oil-paper, umbrella, roller, toys, bare feet, and a canon. [...] However, by now, they are used not as something that kills the texture of the paint but as a tool that takes advantage of the texture of the paint and gives it a lively feeling.*

Taking a first step away from common painting practices Yamazaki still worked with the brush, yet detoured its function from brushing paint, to striking it off from the backside. In her collage piece, she neither uses canvas nor brush anymore, giving attention to texture by layering ripped and glued paper pieces, oscillating between two- and three-dimensionality, as well as bringing the pattern perceived by the illusive eye in a conflicting dialogue with the paradoxically surface of the work, that yielding distruction and construction at a time, discerned by the sense of touch affected by the materialis tactile qualities. The work is in its own form an anticipation of the discursive mediation between "optic" and "haptic," as introduced by Op Art and the concurrent invocation of "the responsive eye,"[403] about a decade later. Still, if the curator of the (in)famous exhibition under the same title, taking place at New Yorks MoMA 1965, William C. Seitz explains in its press release: "These new kinds of subjective experiences, which result from the simultaneous contrast of colors, after-images, illusions and other optical devices, are entirely real to the eye even though they do not exist physically in the work itself. Each observer sees and responds somewhat differently."[404] Whereas it holds true, that each observer of Yamazaki's artwork *Naname* (*Slant*, 1954) might respond differently to it, in this case the crux of the matter is yet that the phenomena perceived

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[401] Ibid.

[402] Shimamoto, Shōzō: "The Idea of Executing the Paintbrush," trans. Kikuko Ogawa, in: *Gutai. Facsimile Edition, 12-Volume Boxed Set with Supplement*, no. 6, Chinatsu Kuma (ed.), supervised by Ashiya City Museum of Art & History, Tokyo: Geikashoin, 2010, p.48-49 [first: idem: Efude shokei ron," in: *Gutai*, no. 6, (April, 1957), p.22].

[403] *The Responsive Eye* was an exhibition of about 120 artworks by 99 artists from 15 countries playing out this tension. Curated by William C. Seitz, it took place 1965 in the Museum of Modern Art New York.

[404] The Museum of Modern Art New York. *The Responsive Eye*, press release, 23.2.1965, (accessed through: <https://www.moma.org/momaorg/shared/pdfs/docs/press_archives/3439/releases/MOMA_1965_0015_14.pdf?2010>, last access: 1.2.2016).

are beared in the simultaneity of projection onto and emergence from the layering of the materiality of the work via the disposition of elements as patterned gestalt and uneven surface. On top of it, "illusionism" is *not* the work's primary effect and affect. Still, I claim that Yamazaki's *Slant* (1954) could be called "performative," since it affects the pre-reflexive level of sensory affection, overcoming the visual sign language of the pattern by breaking it up and apart, introducing interfering tactile qualities. The very moment one should be identified with the other, they fall apart. *Slant* stages, as well as it undoes slants, in an ongoing tautological process. Those slants are and are not what they seem to be, a paradoxical non-identity. But let us come back to more concrete redefinitions, making up for an artistic vocabulary.

Ming Tiampo observes also a shift from characterizing painting as *kaiga* to using the word *e* in the writings of *Gutai* members, namely in the case of Saburō Murakami.[405] The respective opinions of different members, put down to paper are yet sometimes contradicting in nuances, challenging each other. According to the ideals shared within the group they also reflect a personal "disposition" within community, rather than an overall rule, including every member and overarching almost twenty years of practice. Although Tiampo's argument does not bear the scrutiny of *Gutai* writings in general, it is fruitful to follow the thread she takes up, especially with a view to Yamazaki's works. Whereas the term *kaiga* includes the letter *e* – an ideograph composed of the signs for "thread" and "meeting" – it implies with the second ideograph for *ga* two-dimensional flatness. And Tiampo specifies on the political implications of the word: "Although the word *kaiga* had long existed, […] it only became used as a translation for 'painting' in […] 1882. This change in usage was ushered by the Meiji project of "civilization and enlightenment" (*bunmei kaika*), which in the light of looming Western imperialism, offered resistance by acquiring the scientific and philosophical tools of its adversaries."[406] She illustrates 'a catch-up and supercede' mindframe common in this early modernization phase. If Gutai members are supposed to strategically break away from this 19th century definition of painting on the one hand, what is more crucial on the other hand is the fact that *e* stands not only for colorful textiles, and fundamentally for color itself, but also implies an attention for texture(s) and with it the affection of the bodily surfaces, of a sensous being confronted with the work.

Shōzō Shimamoto offers another redefinition of "painting" opening it up on to the audience. Sticking to the term *kaiga*, he underlines a social, 'participative' aspect instead. He claims the liberation of *kaiga* by opening it to the public, to popular forms of, e.g. dance, tearing the *Mambo* as an example in order to point out its performative potential for the relationship between popular forms and art, he is careful not to confuse his aims with "the expectation of an easygoing heroicism

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[405] Tiampo 2011, pp.50-55.
[406] Tiampo 2013a), op.cit., p.52. Although Tiampo's argument is very convincing, it has to be mentioned that Saburō Murakami switched between the terms and frequently used *kaiga*, see: Murakami, Saburō: "*Gutai bijutsu nit suite*" [On Gutai Art], in: *Gutai*, no.7, (July, 1957), n.p.

creating paintings [*kaiga*] in order to build a better society […]." He adds instead: "I believe that painting can become modern exclusively through the collapse of privileged painters. Whether a fine work can be created that way is up to you to find out by painting a picture while dancing the mambo."[407] He virtually proposes an abandonment of traditional attitudes and skills on the part of the artist, inviting the public to become agents, rather than contemplators of practices and objects they identify with preconceived notions of Art with a capital A. The '*mambo*' stands for a bodily engaging dance, reaching a peak of international popularity in the mid 1950s. Deviating from a high cultural phenomenon, Shimamoto by citing the *mambo* seems to gesture at an art open to everybody, rather than exlusive circles only, drawing on popular trends and fashions, instead of resorting to earlier avant-garde art practices. It comes thus as no surprise, if Alexandra Munroe highlights: "Gutai performance manifested a long enthusiasm in Japan for the hybrid and fringe presented in the form of popular entertainment."[408]

In this regard it is yet particularly interesting that *mambo* denotes a rebellious unconventional dance, invented at the end of the 1940s in Cuba, imported to New York in the 1950s, cut down to a ballroom dance and popularized as cutting edge fashion. The instance shows that the interest for such commercialized hybrids included a broad range of high- and lowbrow culture, neither attributable to forms from overseas, nor Japanese cultural history exclusively. One could also add that a specific dance as a formal pattern collides with unlimited freedom of expression. Transferred to the realm of painting, it negotiates a space in between freedom and restriction. If criticism from artists active namely in the capital of Tokyo accusing Gutai to be a reactualization of Dada, while somewhat contradictorily stating that Gutai were not fitting into and thus misunderstanding the genealogical lineage of modern art history,[409] they understated with the latter that in Gutai's works a "new" selfreferential art emerged, undermining the genealogic understanding of lineages – be it in terms of affiliation or in terms of historical –isms. Indeed, Gutai renounced to locate or justify their practices of mediating and exposing the encounter between man and matter in a reconstructive set of elective affinities torn from art history.

In the very same text, Shimamoto utters his opinion on the approaches to art taken and advocated by Tarō Okamoto quite nonchalantly. Confirming and attacking the relevance of the Tokyo based artist, who could be named a 'godfather' not only for many an art movement

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[407] Shimamoto, Shōzō: "The Mambo and Painting," trans. Kikuko Ogawa, in: *Gutai. Facsimile Edition, 12-Volume Boxed Set with Supplement,* no. 3, Chinatsu Kuma (ed.), supervised by Ashiya City Museum of Art & History, Tokyo: Geikashoin, 2010, p.18-19, [first: idem: "Manbo to kaiga," [Mambo and Painting], in: *Gutai*, no. 3, (October, 1955), p.23].

[408] Munroe, Alexandra (ed.): "To Challenge the Mid-Summer Sun: The Gutai Group," in: New York, 1994, pp.83-123.

[409] Haryū, Ichirō: "Busshitsu to ningen" [Material and Humans], in: *Mizue* [Watercolor], no. 618, (January, 1957), pp.43-47.

concerned with the redefinition of art and its traditions, but also an artist up to nowadays highly popular among the (wo)man in the street in Japan. Shimamoto confronts him though:[410]

> *While proposing to dance the mambo, which would be frowned upon by modest people, […], I then opposed the unlimited liberation of art to the public […]. However, what I am maintaining is not contradictory. Moreover, I have no intention whatsoever* [orig: *mōtō*, 毛頭] *to create conflicts and explain them as opposite extremes or dialectically like Tarō Okamoto. As far as the principle that art should be rigorous is concerned, I would support this stubborn man* [orig.: *ishiatama-shi*, 石頭氏]. *It is because I would support 'Mr. Stubborn'* [Okamoto] *that I hit upon the idea of proposing dancing the mambo. The trick lies in the point that what I mean by the rigor of art is slightly different from what the so-called masters believe it to be.*

Although this might appear like a randomly picked detail, we may turn our attention also to the word play in the text, working with the figurative potential of the words *mōtō* and *ishiatama-shi*, to underline the strong and weak points, he sees in Tarō Okamoto's arguments. Shimamoto further specifies: "What I consider avantgarde is the involvement of ordinary people in the production of the work of art. I believe that painting can become modern exclusively through the collapse of priviledged painters."[411]

Group members recall Yoshihara as rather hostile to discussion. The early 1950s could still be described as an era of discussion, rather than the time of artmaking. Yamazaki recalls: "There was a lot of talking about art. Exhibitions of those many groups happened not too frequently and if artworks were shown, they were still small,"[412] referring to the time, when the members of the former *Zero Kai* [Group Zero] (Atsuko Tanaka, Saburō Murakami, Kazuo Shiraga, and Akira Kanayama) – according to her "a mere discussion circle"[413] – joined Gutai. While discussion among Yoshihara's 16 fellows and pupils at the time, apparently light up during outings and drinking parties in the evening, Yoshihara himself appears not only in Yamazaki's description as a taciturn critic, avoiding theoretical discussion in favor of an increased focus on the artistic experimental practice of every member, judging their works in a sovereign 'thumb up/thumb down' fashion.[414] Given the fact that one of the first vessels established to reach out for local, as well as international contacts was the group's mouthpiece *Gutai*, a magazine, publishing images of the artists' works, alongside short essays describing their respective practices, their doubts and aims, Yoshihara's disinclination to discourse might surprise at first, yet belongs to his agenda of direct physical

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[410] Shimamoto, Shōzō: "The Mambo and Painting," trans. Kikuko Ogawa, in: *Gutai. Facsimile Edition, 12-Volume Boxed Set with Supplement,* no. 3, Chinatsu Kuma (ed.), supervised by Ashiya City Museum of Art & History, Tokyo: Geikashoin, 2010, p.18-19, [first: idem: "Manbo to kaiga," [Mambo and Painting], in: *Gutai*, no. 3, (October, 1955), p.23].
[411] Ibid.
[412] Yamazaki, Tsuruko: "Oral History Interview with Tsuruko Yamazaki," conducted by Mizuho Katō and Hiroko Ikegami, 12.6.2011, *Oral History Archives of Japanese Art*, website, (accessed through: <www.oralarthistory.org>, last access 7.12.2015).
[413] Ibid.
[414] Osaka 2004, pp.23-24.

perceptive confrontation with the surroundings rather than pure mental reflection in the pursuit of "emptiness as content."[415] However, this aspect may have motivated the different artists within, and as a group to keep a decentered attitude, while paradoxically relying on a central mentor figure like Yoshihara, leaving him the role of their ambassador – a position to be questioned by the group members in the late period of the association only.[416]

Reading through the issues of the magazine, it becomes also clear that some Gutai members were much more inclined to philosophical reflection in form of essays or of shorter considerations on group practice. Gutai specialist Shōichi Hirai underlines: "Gutai was formed around August 1954 by Jirō Yoshihara and the young artists who had begun to gather in his atelier, and the first activity they undertook as a group was the publication of *Gutai*."[417] Yōzō Ukita (member 1954-1964), publisher of the children's poetry and painting magazine *Kirin* since 1948, provided an old letterpress, the member's assembly named Shōzō Shimamoto and Toshio Yoshida the editors of their magazine. Yoshida oversaw the graphic design, photographs or texts commissioned, were assigned to other members and reshuffled. The magazine would be mainly sold on occasions of *Gutai* exhibitions for a price of 200 yen per copy. A self-published medium, the magazine was not spread through a publisher's distribution network. As Yamazaki points out, the members themselves took the responsibility to distribute the magazine, dividing the printed issues among each other.[418] Some of the issues included a call card, inviting everybody interested not only to order the magazine, but also to contribute to it.[419]

Between the Lines, Beyond the Frame, and Outside the Box: Gutai No. 1 and No. 2

Trying to locate the group's gatherings, Yamazaki remembers for the early years: "We had at the time no fix meeting place […], after finishing a booklet, we would meet, e.g. at my place to distribute the copies among us. [… A place for consultation] was actually [established] thanks to Shimamoto, taking the initiative. He had installed the disused printing-machine he had received, in his shed. It resembled a factory. There we would come together with Yutaka Funai (b. 1932, member 1954–1955), Sadami Azuma (1927–2006, member in 1954), or e.g. Michio Yoshihara

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[415] Tiampo, Ming: "The Contents of 'Emptiness'. Tsuruko Yamazaki's Gutai Years," in: *Tsuruko Yamazaki – Beyond Gutai 1957–2009*, exh. cat. Almine Rech Gallery, Paris, 2010, pp.21-29.

[416] Yamazaki, Tsuruko: "Oral History Interview with Tsuruko Yamazaki," conducted by Mizuho Katō and Hiroko Ikegami, 12.6.2011, *Oral History Archives of Japanese Art*, website, (accessed through: <www.oralarthistory.org>, last access 7.12.2015).

[417] Hirai, Shōichi: "On Gutai. La Rivista Gutai," in: *Gutai. Painting with Time and Space. Gutai. Dipingere con il Tempo e lo Spazio*, exh. cat. Museo Cantonale D'Arte di Lugano, 2010-2011, Marco Franciolli, Fuyumi Namioka, et al. (eds.), Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana Editoriale, 2010, pp.142-161.

[418] The members paid a share of the production costs depending on the extent of their work covered. For a closer examination of the funding and distribution principles see: Hirai, Shōichi: "The Gutai Art Association and the *Gutai* bulletin," trans. Ruth S. McCreery, in: *Gutai. Facsimile Edition, 12-Volume Boxed Set with Supplement*, Chinatsu Kuma (ed.), supervised by Ashiya City Museum of Art & History, Tokyo: Geikashoin, 2010, p.90-99, p.95.

[419] Tomii notices that such an opening to the public has its prewar roots in Nika-kai's 'populist programs', see: Tomii 2013b), op.cit.

(1933–1996, member 1954–1972)."[420] Because the first printing was a low-cost, do-it-yourself-product, the result dissatisfied many a member, with Yoshihara leading the way of complaints in his foreword to the first issue. Yōzō Ukita reports that the printing bureau of a local Christian church in Osaka's Nishiyodogawa ward manufactured the next issues.[421] It stays yet unclear to which extent the group members continued getting together at Shimamoto's shed, whereas the editorial imprint of the magazine stays his address "104, 1-chome, Koshien-guchi, Nishinomya City,"[422] until they establish their own exhibition space in Osaka in 1962. Another place for the group's assemblage was Yoshihara's house in Ashiya. It is also known for having served as residency for international artists like, e.g. Christo Coetzee (b. 1929) in 1959 (Fig.69).[423]

Since 1954 Yamazaki's everyday consists of teaching art to primary school kids – a job by which she supports herself.[424] Her art practice is far from paying out. A proper studio space is for most members of the Gutai group unaffordable at the time. They work in the living/sleeping rooms of their houses and apartments. A photograph of Toshio Yoshida, shows him squeezed in a crammed studio space. Cornered by the surfaces of his paintings, pots of paint, he holds two cut-outs of paper against the wall. The floor is covered with mounted canvases or wooden panels, complemented by a set of square cardboard and paper formats. The walls of this cell are used to display works that have about the same measures. They thus seem at first glance to have been turned into actual paintings. Yoshida sticks out as another (human) body in this installation (Fig.70).

The layout of the magazine juxtaposes Yoshida's text "What I Would Like to Try Doing,"[425] in which he confesses, after stating his wish of filling the often commercially used, boundless sky of Osaka with his art: "I have begun to take pity on the sight of myself confined to my studio, pondering whether to do something this way or that way. It would be more worthwile to broaden the limits of the motif of a picture or the interpretation of picture and act accordingly."[426] Because *Gutai* artists experiment with space-demanding and -unfolding practices, they gather also outside of buildings, in gardens or in a park, niches in the man-made urban landscape. These open places, where experimental painting devices are not only easier to try out, but the contingency of the weather, or the passage of time, interferes with, counters and challenges the artistic search for an

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[420] Yamazaki, Tsuruko: "Oral History Interview with Tsuruko Yamazaki," conducted by Mizuho Katō and Hiroko Ikegami, 12.6.2011, Oral History Archives of Japanese Art, website, (accessed through: <www.oralarthistory.org>, last access 7.12.2015).

[421] Hirai 2010, op. cit., pp.142-161.

[422] See: Imprints of *Gutai*, no. 1-9, (1955–1958). The offices of Gutai stayed at Shimamoto's residence until 1963. Cf. Osaka 2004, p.174.

[423] See: Tiampo 2011, p.171.

[424] Ming Tiampo underlines that most of the Gutai artists earned their lives as art teachers. See: Tiampo 2011.

[425] Yoshida, Toshio: "What I Would Like to Try Doing," trans. Kikuko Ogawa, in: *Gutai. Facsimile Edition, 12-Volume Boxed Set with Supplement*, no. 2, Chinatsu Kuma (ed.), supervised by Ashiya City Museum of Art & History, Tokyo: Geikashoin, 2010, p.14 [first: idem: "Yatte mitai koto (What I Would Like to Try Doing), in: *Gutai*, no. 2, (1955), p.29].

[426] Ibid.

extension of the limits previously set to art by established boundaries, be it the a canvas or an artist's studio into the margins and possible interstices.

In this same issue number two of the Gutai magazine figure two temporary participants in the *Gutai* group. One is the elementary student Michiko Inui, whose work had been chosen by Jirō Yoshihara, after he learned about it from Ukita's *Kirin* children poetry magazine. In the second *Gutai* issue Ukita and Shōzō Shimamoto introduce and discuss her painting as artwork. The second figure is high-school chemistry teacher Toshiko Kinoshita (member 1955–1958).[427] Two offset color-prints of Kinoshita's contingency-works are attached to the center of pages 16 and 17 of this second issue that promoted a new square formate for the publication. The myriad color spectrum Shimamoto reports on, in his comment of the works is only vaguely perceptible in the earthen tones of these reporductions (Fig.71). Yet, Shimamoto sets an intriguing aspect of the work up for discussion: "the artist has hardly had a hand in it."[428] Kinoshita's works emerge form a chemical reaction of liquids she pours onto moisture absorbing paper. "Most of the liquids are colorless or faintly brown and hardly anything can be seen when such liquids have been poured onto paper. However, in 4 or 5 hours, they turn into vivid works […],"[429] Shimamoto adds.

We can assume from this description a way of materializing time as color and space, by making the work an experimental process, or a work in progress. "A new form as the content" of the work. But let us take the photographic documentation of Kinoshita's artistic act into consideration. It calls into question the romance of the studio, just as much as it transforms the meaning of "individual expression." Five small square black and white photographs, placed at the bottom of the page develop Kinoshita's treatment of substances as a laboratory experiment in a series. Artistic gesture is complemented by a formula: "$NaCl + AgNO_3 = AgCl + NaNO_3$."[430] It would be wrong though, to claim that Gutai seriously engaged in, or promoted "scientific," rationalist or positivist procedures of abstraction. – On the contrary: Their methodology rather proves the ambivalence of almost any procedure.

In the work of Kinoshita the stoichiometric equation illustrates the switch of ions, taking place in an abstract scheme, but the interest lies rather on the materialization in a colored painting, embodying the contingency of the process in color-antagonisms on liquid absorbing paper. Instead of identifying the formula with the artistic result, they fall apart as articulations on separate levels.

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[427] Toshiko Kinoshita (b. 1928, near Kobe, member 1955–58) graduated trom Women's Pharamaceutical College of Kobe, autodidact, studying painting with Shimamoto and Yoshihara from 1953. See: *Gutai. Ōsaka kokusai geijutsu sai. Atarshii kaiga sekai ten. Osaka Festival 1958. The International Art of a New Era: U.S.A., Japan, Europe*, no. 9, (April, 1958), p.21.

[428] Shimamoto, Shōzō: "On Kinoshita's Works," trans. Kikuko Ogawa, in: *Gutai. Facsimile Edition, 12-Volume Boxed Set with Supplement,* no. 2, Chinatsu Kuma (ed.), supervised by Ashiya City Museum of Art & History, Tokyo: Geikashoin, 2010, p.18-19, [first: idem: "Kinoshita-san no sakuhin ni tsuite," [Mambo and Painting], in: *Gutai*, no. 2, (October, 1955), p.11].

[429] Ibid.

[430] Ibid.

It is the somewhat optimist view that even practices torn from one's repetitious everyday might be used for different ends in an experimental setting. The components introduced by Kinoshita are often used for the treatment of food, denoting for example the substance salt. They do not count among substances used to fabricate chemical weapons for instance. Be that as it may, Kinoshita's experiments strip these substances from functionalism as earmarked matter. On the other hand her experiments testify for the group's enthusiastic exploration of a broad range of "production sites," different from a classical studio recluse.

Mizuho Katō speculates on the multi-page features of Inui's and Kinoshita's works: "Their inclusion may indicate that, at this point *Gutai* was conceived more as a place to pose issues to the world outside the group and to actively seek critical attention from outside [...]."[431] The representation of Kinoshita in her lab coat might at the same time provoke skepticism from an ideological or moralist point of view on art, recalling that those images are published in the Cold War era (Fig.72). On the other hand, the photographs display how "art enacted" is dovetailed with – or even – shifts from spiritual "creation" toward industrial "work." Which kind of "industrial work?," is yet another question, the photographs of Kinoshita in this set-up laboratory promt.

For the same second issue, featuring Yoshida's personal point of view, Yamazaki contributes an illustration of dots, bars and circular segments evocative of scientific models in biology, chemistry or physics, yet refusing exactly this interpretation as a formal configuration of repeated, but differing elements (Fig.73), alongside with the documentation of Kinoshita's chemical experiments on page 19. It is rare to find such an "illustration" by Yamazaki for the magazine *Gutai*.[432] The exeption rather than the rule in terms of materizalization, the illustration could nevertheless be called paradigmatic for Yamzaki's course of action: playing with shapes between abstract sign and figurative shape and the respective meanings attributable to them, while evoking, undoing, or undermining the mechanisms of meaning production at the very same time. Exploring the space between the unconscious and the conscious of "perception," generating the liminal experience of a graphic mark that is not yet, or not anymore sign or symbol.

It might be a pure coincidence, but the fact that Yamazaki's printed "illustration" preceedes a spread including an advertisement for pastels "*Sakura kurepas*" (Sakura Cray-Pas) is notable as well (Fig. 74), since the issues' graphic layout is carefully designed. The ad consists of the company's label: a stylized cherry blossom, a white writing of the company's name against a black, ovally shaped background cut-out, which is placed above an unidentifiable black-dotted tail. The black dots on neutral ground exhibit geometrical error, similar to the warped, roughly round shapes in Yamazaki's illustration. The layout strongly suggests that Yoshida intentionally set up a formal play

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[431] Katō 2010, op.cit., p.80.
[432] The caption denotes it with the *katakana* word "*katto*" (cut) as illustration. See: *Gutai*, no. 2, (October, 1955), p.19.

between ads and artworks. This second issue of the *Gutai* bulletin is the only one to include advertisement. Featured were among others the *Umeda Garō* (Gallery), established in Osaka's Umeda district in 1942, the *Dōjima Garō*, a gallery for *Yōga* (Western painting, i.e. oil painting), and *Penteru* easels. Besides, we find also an advertisement for the children's poetry magazine *Kirin*, and not least an insertion for *Gorudan Sarada* (Golden Salad Oil), Yoshihara's own brand of edible salad oil, produced in the Nakanoshima district in Osaka by Yoshihara Oil Mills.

I conclude from this brief excursus on Gutai "artists in studio" as represented in print that Gutai had from its founding phase a slant toward forms of "industrial" painting, dislocating the working place from a solitary, singular studio (that might still have co-existed) to varying sites. The printed magazine inscribes itself not only into the history of production, exhibition and display of works made by group members by documenting and featuring them. The bulletin itself is a collective work, granting individual visibility, but also a different production 'site' in the realm of graphic design. It assembles the artists – at least for the very first issue – technically around a printing-machine in a factory-like shed. Shōichi Hirai is thus certainly right to asses the magazine "despite its value as source material" as a contribution to the histoy of book and graphic design, because of "the superb quality of each issue as an illustrated magazine, and its […] sophisticated design." In the same breath yet he also invalidates his earlier moralistic judgement that only in "the final period [that] stretches form 1965 to 1972 […], in the context of the buoyant mood of Japan's period of economic growth, coldly inhuman, systematic abstract expressionism and technology-driven art making use of stainless steel, plastics, motors, and special lighting became the new face of Gutai."[433]

I argue instead that Gutai's inclination to a "technological sublime"[434] is laid out in their earliest acts of collaboration. In artworks that introduce and also investigate into the often invisible processes scientific or technological practices confront the individual with, alongside with its exposure to uncontrollable natural forces. There have been published quite a few photographs (re)staging the respective artists in the process of producing their artworks within the *Gutai* bulletin. If we find a photograph showing them in the process of art making, the place depicted is rarely a studio interior, but rather the exhibition site, either in-, or outdoors. In this respect the photograph reproducing Toshio Yoshida in his room is rather an exemption than the rule. Coming back to Yoshida, means also to consider that his wish to step outside of the solitary studio may have had much more practical implications than in the cases Caroline A. Jones recounts, tracing the history of industrial and post-studio practices in postwar American art.

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[433] Hirai, Shōichi: "The Gutai Art Association and the *Gutai* bulletin," trans. Ruth S. McCreery, in: *Gutai. Facsimile Edition, 12-Volume Boxed Set with Supplement*, Chinatsu Kuma (ed.), supervised by Ashiya City Museum of Art & History, Tokyo: Geikashoin, 2010, p.90-99.
[434] Jones 1998, op. cit., p.58.

As we have seen, the rates of population growth in Japan during the phase of high economic growth (1955–1972), just as well as the concurrent reshaping the modes of living in new patterns of consumerism, increased the acute shortage of residential space, which became one of the most pressing issues for the citizens. When the Gutai artists left their living spaces cum ateliers in the mid 1950s, they turn our attention to vacant sites, to the green open-spaces left within the urban layouts, or unoccupied factory buildings. It is often unclear, whether those sites will keep their original function, whether they are not redevelopped yet, or not anymore considered 'productive' – bound to disappear.

Let us consider the cover of this issue number two (Fig.75). It is a piece of thicker paper that can be indentified as a red, punched card. Through the perforations of the magazine's cover the letters of the word "Gutai" on the first page, as well as the number of this issue become visible and reframed. Punched cards were largely used in the flourishing Kansai textile industry since 1873. The Jacquard loom had been developed by french ingeneer Joseph Marie Jacquard in 1801. His system automated the weaving of fabrics, via punched cards encoding the pattern processed by the machine. Since the early 1950s this technology was applied in the development of the first computers in Japan and other countries. I am of course not insinuating that Yoshida in charge for the graphic design of the publication was on the current of these latest implications of this technology. Nevertheless, the cover reveals a sensitivity for the mechanisms of communication and coding, especially in the case of a group being concerned with the dissolution of codes and formal abstractions by non-representational art. As a retroactive effect, the cover turns our attention also to a technology in transition. The punched holes at a time separate the individual letters, yet allow us to indentify them as a word. Is such an envelope playing on everyday procedures of encoding and decoding, staging the non-identity of pattern, code, word, and meaning while embodying a multidimensional form of painting through time and space? It certainly conforms with the co-ordinate idea of forming a chain of different individuals, held together as well as separated by the covering program. The carefully crafted graphic designs of the magazine show an awareness for and conceptual understanding of visual communication.[435]

As we have seen and shall see in further case studies, a different strategy of making art public, is *Gutai's* use and appropriation of commercial spaces, as well as their occupation of popular advertising strategies. My attention for these sites is motivated by art historian Philip Ursprung's observation that everyday, topography, and public space, just as well as technical, economic and political infrastructures form the often invisible frame of artistic practices and their reception.[436] One could argue that Gutai artists gave these frameworks visibility by using them for their aims. In

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[435] Hirai underlines that graphic design had a strong tradition with design competitions in the region around Osaka. As president of the Yoshihara Oil Mill Ltd. graphic design counted for Yoshihara among the important features to advertise the companies' products. See: Hirai 2010, op. cit., pp.90-99.
[436] Ursprung 2003, op.cit., p.40.

his English text "Documentary on the Second Edition of 'Gutai'"[437] Yōzō Ukita writes: "It is easily proven by reviewing these works in their chronological order, that every one of them speaks for itself, the conceptions of political, social, biological and ethical motives of everyday life […]," Ukita invites the readers to contribute to one of the next issues by encouraging them: "Once again to all of you who have an interest in this new field of art, please do not hesitate to send us your creation which will be a contribution to our "GUTAI" and also to our new and loving art." Concluding his afterword with the remark: "'GUTAI' might be literary translated as 'Embodiment'."[438]

Disinclinations

This observation brings to mind a text published in June 1956, about eight months after Yoshida's own manifesto for 'thinking outside the box,' and approaching outside reality: It is art critic Yūsuke Nakahara's text for the magazine *Bijutsu hihyō* [Art Criticism] "Locked-Room Painting." In a society that has established the modern thinking ego, detective novels are widely popular. The detective epitomizes rational analysis. Nakahara uses the detective novel as an allegory for painting approaches to representational painting. The human being in surrealist dismembered or distorted representations had become a frequent motive depicted in recent painting. Nakahara likens the cop or the bellhop in a detective novel to surrealist or abstract expressionist artists, focusing on the victim's body in order to decipher an internal psychological condition. The great detective Nakahara envisions instead, does not focus on the harmed body exclusively, but on its surroundings in a social and material sense to understand the mechanisms, causing the crime: "To put it metaphorically, it is not about placing oneself in the perspective of witnesses and cops or mediocre detective fiction writers who only see the corpse. Rather, it is about shifting into the perspective of a detective who incessantly analyzes the materials contained in the locked room, and analyzes the corpse through them in order to expose the bizarre way in which the crime was commited."[439] Nakahara criticizes abstract expressionism, just as well as surrealist tendencies for recasting, depicting, or abstracting the human being (in some cases portraying the artist himself) in a state of "interior," psychological reflection of exterior circumstances, only to conclude:[440]

> *The locked-room murder takes place where humans are objectified as inert matter; or to put it more conretely, the location is the rupture between the endlessly changing and developing exterior world and the conscious interior world – the gap. Analyzing the external drama of human and material resistance by filling in that gap is the method of a great detective, which is the persistent investigation into the equivalence of the human and matter. But the police*

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[437] Ukita, Yōzō: "Documentary on the Second Edition of 'GUTAI'," in: *Gutai*, no. 2, (1955), p.30
[438] Ibid.
[439] Nakahara, Yūsuke: "Locked-Room Painting," excerpt trans. Ken Yoshida, in: *From Postwar to Postmodern. Art in Japan 1945–1989* (Primary Documents), Doryun Chong, Michio Hayashi, Kenji Kajiya et al. (eds.), New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2012, pp.78-83, p.82, [first: "Misshitsu no kaiga," in: *Bijutsu hihyō*, 56, pp.20-30].
[440] Ibid.

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work that tries to fill in the gap with delusions and that fixates on conventional thoughts and feelings inevitably comes up with locked-room painting. Humanism takes over the investigative method that does not bother to measure the slippage between the outside and the inside. […] In order to break through the finite conditions of the locked room and discover a passage leading tot he external world, we must turn away from the fate of the corpse and from our sorrow fort he human, and must face the unfeeling world around us. What is seen there is not just any specter of the human being itself but a strange world in which external matter enters the gaps within human consciousness and emotion, resulting in a strange mixture of this external matter and the human interiority which it surrounds.

Nakahara was neither favoring, nor directly addressing *Gutai* with this text, and certainly he would not have seen their experiments in the outdoors as such an art practice. On the contrary – he was most skeptical of *Gutai's* 'sensationalist' experiments.[441] Overall he pays attention in his wording to be as concrete as possible, yet as abstract as needed to offend actual painters like Jirō Oyamada, or Haruo Yamanaka mediately,[442] all the same refusing ambiguous romanticist or impressionistic language (Fig.).[443] It is still, for the very reason that *Gutai* would not offer a viable alternative for Nakahara an interesting document to take into account regarding my thesis of placing the *Gutai* group with their performative works as critics of both human ratio, and dehumanization. Since for the contemporary art criticsm of, e.g. Nakahara, their activites were apparently not to be identified with the stance of a "detective, which, persistently investigates into the equivalences of the human and matter."[444] Looking back, there is striking evidence in some of the earliest works of *Gutai* members to describe the activities of *Gutai* artists as trans-humanist, defamiliarizing the human trace, rather than analogue to a project of re-humanization in the wake of atrocities, or in the sense of psychological trauma therapy, representing dismembered bodies in postwar surrealist paintings by artists in Japan, critized by Nakahara as "artists' confession of love for humanity using the canvas as medium," that "[shows] the size of their wound, with the painting surface as their medical chart."[445] At a first glance, it seems baffling that for critics of those representational images like Nakahara, *Gutai* art staging process, the liminal stage between emergence and decay in paradox works, was clearly not part of the discussion. This dissent, on how to address ratio and relationship between man and matter points to rifts in the Japanese art scene of the 1950s.

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[441] Nakahara, Yūsuke: "Gutai bijutsu kyōkai [The Gutai Art Association]," in: *Gutai shiryō-shū. Document Gutai 1954-1972*, Ashiya City Museum of Art and History (ed.), Ashiya: Ashiya City Cultural Foundation, 1993, p.119 [first: *Bijutsu techō*, (September 1957)].

[442] The painters he addresses personally are Haruo Yamanaka, Jirō Oyamada, and Masao Tsuruoka, and On Kawara, via the critiques of Shūzō Takiguchi, Kichii Sasaki and Tatsuo Ikeda, see: Nakahara, Yūsuke: "Locked-Room Painting," excerpt trans. Ken Yoshida, in: *From Postwar to Postmodern. Art in Japan 1945-1989. Primary Documents*, Doryun Chong, Michio Hayashi, Kenji Kajiya et al. (eds.), New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2012, pp.78-83, p.79 [first: "Misshitsu no kaiga," in: *Bijutsu hihyō*, no. 56, (June 1956), pp.20-30].

[443] One could yet interject that invoking the figure of puzzle solving detective is in itself a metaphor as well as proof for a strong believe in scientific analysis, and objectivity. Nakahara's text yet has to be understood as a rejection on the mysticist art journalism of the previous generation, see: Hayashi, Michio (ed.): "The Birth of New Art Criticism," in: *From Postwar to Postmodern. Art in Japan 1945–1989* (Primary Documents), Doryun Chong, Michio Hayashi, Kenji Kajiya et al. (eds.), New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2012, pp.83-84.

[444] Nakahara [1956] 2012, pp.78-83, p.82.

[445] Ibid.

At the time Yoshihara was teaching students in the Ashiya summer school the aesthetic premises of Cubism and Surrealism, art critic and painter Shūzō Takiguchi's book "*Kindai geijutsu*," first issued in 1938 – right before the latter was imprisoned by the wartime government for being Communist – had become a standard reading for prospective artists. Both artists Yoshihara and Takiguchi had been engaged in surrealist painting before the war. Whereas Takiguchi faced hardship through imprisonment, Yoshihara was neither drafted nor imprisoned. He retreated to a remote place on the countryside, grappling with his artistic practice, ranging from geometric abstraction to figurative painting. Also, Yoshihara was famous for his prewar affiliation with Tsuguharu Fujita (1886–1968), whom he had consulted in 1929 on his work. Over the course of WWII Fujita increasingly epitomized the propagandist war painter. His monumental panoramatic views of struggling bodies glorify death for the sake of the ethnic body, merging the individual to a barely definable mass incorporated, and dissolving in the earthy tones of its very representation (Fig.77).[446]

Considering their respective past lives, it becomes clear that Takiguchi's and Yoshihara's return to art practice after WWII was motivated and formulated very differently. Even if eventually both addressed the issues of new technologies, experimentation and the confrontation of man and matter issues. The devastating effects of the atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki had surely made inevitable to discuss, or renegotiate, despite the Occupation government's censorship until 1952, even without addressing such a trigger of discussion straight to the point. It is highly improbable that Yoshihara introduced Takiguchi's book in his own teaching. Yuri Mitsuda yet illustrates, how a generation of Tokyo based critics and artists on the other hand developed their understanding of "matter" (*busshitsu*) and materiality from Takiguchi's writings and its reflection in critic Kiyoteru Hanada's celebrated book "Avant-Garde Art," published in 1954.[447] Even if we read writer Kōbō Abe's famous commitment to a new form of realism he singles out in reportage literature, one could be misguided to see his words in accord with statements by *Gutai* artists and their practice:[448]

Matter – this, however, is not matter found in natural science, or something that has an atomic structure. Physics and chemistry are each just one theoretical model of matter that has been abstractly grasped from one designated angle and reflected in consciousness. Matter that is objective reality or concrete matter and that materializes through our

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[446] Considering the fact that the provisional name for the first exhibition of the Tokyo based artist collective *Jikken Kōbō* (Experimental Workshop) was *Atomu* (ATOM), a choice prevented by Takiguchi, who himself proposed *Jikken Kōbō*. See: "Experimental Workshop. A Chronological History," in: Tokyo 1991, pp.96-133, p.102.

[447] Mitsuda 2010, p.117.

[448] Abe, Kōbō: "For a New Realism: The Meaning of Reportage" trans. Ken Yoshida, in: *From Postwar to Postmodern. Art in Japan 1945–1989* (Primary Documents), Doryun Chung, Michio Hayashi, Kenji Kajiya et al. (eds.), New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2012, pp.44-48, p.45, [first: idem: "Atarashii riarizumu no tame ni: Ruporutāju no igi," in: *Riron* [Theory], no. 18, (August, 1952), pp.29-36].

physical acts is meaningless. (Meaninglessness is commonly confused as having no value, but this confusion is due precisely to a mechanistic realism that conflates reality and consciousness. To the extent that meaning cannot exist independently of consciousness, it is just a reflection of reality, and one must consider matter as something outside of it.) Not only is matter meaningless; it is singular, unique, unstable, a spatial experience that defies or completely resists a common-sense understanding of space, and is fragmentary, never capable of totality.

Abe's definition of "matter" is only one of many instances to realize that the quest to expose materiality as such was apparently a shared concern for the postwar generation of artists, writers, and critics, but since Gutai followed a distinct and unconventional path in a paradox attempt to shape a new and autonomous approach to art and life, eliminating as well as introducing layers of historicity: "there was […] no real opportunity for sympathy between them. All they had in common was this new term material."[449]

Taking the *Gutai* magazines into account, one could yet see in the documentary montage of photographs and texts issued by members on other members works, the working conditions, the impact of the works on audiences, renegotiating the field and impact of art as reports, rather than critical assessments. In this documentary character the magazines would not compensate a lack of critcal acclaim by the influential voices of the time, but extend the experienced based approach of the group into the realm of writing. Such generalizations are of course problematic, especially Yamazaki's contributions are yet often reporting on the circumstances of production or reception, rather than a reflection of terminologies or approaches in art, whereas other contributors portray their learning processes in art making through installing the works as exhibitions.

2.3 Painting in the Expanded Field

2.3.1 The Gutai Openair Exhibitions 1955/56

"I am afraid, but Miss Yamazaki feels a little cold and tired now," – the Osaka gallerist intervenes. Hardly 80 minutes passed. After all, I have to admit that many of my questions have been left unanswered. I hide my disappointment, plunging into nagging doubt instead: Were they posed the wrong way, was it a problem of language, or my still inadequate knowledge of Japanese Art History of the 20th century? I am excited and thrilled at the same time, thanking Tsuruko Yamazaki stout-heartedly for coming out exceptionally to this meeting. She insists on taking a group photograph and encourages my further efforts in writing on *Gutai* and her works. "See you again!" – A last blink from pierceing eyes below blue dyed eyebrows – she disappears in the aisle towards the exit of the bakery café, accompanied by a driver picking her up.

A twenty-minute walk later, I find myself in one of the most photographed pine groves of the area. Strolling along the hedges circumscribing it, I spot an unspectacular playground within the

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[449] Mitsuda 2010, p.117.

park. A little rusty, tainted with corroded yellow, pink, and green pastel colors the steel structure sticks out between the boles, as if to mimick a sculpture. Roots stick out from the ground. Rough stones demarcate them in circles and mark out ways. A sea breeze whirls up dust from the gritty soil, shaking the forest canopy that stretches between a small alley of single family-homes and the large deserted main road along the banks of Ashiya river (Fig.78, Fig.79, Fig.80). Changing shadow puppets unfold their play on the wellkept, yet abandoned grounds. I cross the field and am surprised, or even disappointed: the park is comparatively small. Then again it seems still large for the placement in this placid neighborhood. I study the earthquake evacuation plan of the area, placed at the passage out of the park next to a public toilet. The beach used to be visible from the park, writes Shōichi Hirai: "[...] and as events were held in midsummer, many people came to the area to go swimming in the sea. Later the surrounding area changed drastically when the beach became reclaimed land, but the park itself retains the appearance it had close to half a century ago."[450]

In 1955 the Gutai group prepares its first outdoor exhibition in Ashiya Park, the *Experimental Outdoor Exhibition of Modern Art to Challenge the Midsummer Burning Sun* (*Manatsu no taiyō ni idomu modan āto yagai jikken ten*) to be held for 13 days starting from July 25.[451] Partnering with the city's Board of Education, students from surrounding schools are invited to join the experimental exhibition submitting "non-figurative abstract works at least 91 centimeters on a side."[452] Reconstructing an awakening to her actual practice, Yamazaki remembers walking home through the abandoned streets of Ashiya one evening, when a taxi crossed her way: "Facing the colorful lights of the moving car, I suddenly got aware of their reflection on the metal surface of a vacant advertisement panel nearby, placed in front of the local hospital. The blank metal of the empty sign mirrored the mesh of light thrown onto it by the headlights of the passing car. Rather than illustrating a passing moment, my work ought to embody it. How could this ephemeral impression be transferred into art, be embedded in a sort of painting, still exceeding the notion of paint on canvas?"[453] Ukita comments on the overalapping square-shaped metal sheets Yamazaki tied together with seizes "hanging down from a pole 5 meters high. The title of her work is 'Danger,' as it was quite dangerous at times when approached uncautiously resulting in a bad cut by the edge of the triangular point."[454] (Fig.81). Whereas Yamazaki remembers: "At the time it was still possible to find small shops within the town of Ashiya that would sell tin-plates. Nowadays one would have

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[450] Osaka 2004, p.175.
[451] The exhibition took place form July, 25 to August, 6 1955.
[452] Cit. in Katō 2010, op. cit., p.80.
[453] Ukita, Yōzō: "Experimental Outdoor Exhibition of Modern Art to Challenge the Midsummer Burning Sun," in: *Gutai*, no. 3, (October, 1955), p.25.
[454] Ibid.

to order them at some building material supplier in Osaka."[455] According to art historian Mizuho Katō a junkyard in Nishinomya City provided many of Gutai's peers with scrap metal for their respective pieces submitted.[456]

Kazuo Shiraga installes a galvanized iron sheet, measuring 2x2 meters, dyed in fluorescent red paint, vertically, unevenly mounted between two wooden sticks, whereas Atsuko Tanaka stretches a flexible band, made of yellow colored, oblong panels stiched together, from ground to treetops, measuring 0.33x3 meters, undulating as a shadow line on the ground, branches and foliage projected changing shadow patterns on the precarious, wobbly boards (Fig.82). Saburō Murakami's layout was a tattered piece of thick cloth "made by tearing a 21x1 meter roofing while running along both ends." (Fig.83). Often the artworks set artists as well as audience at no distinct perspective in relation to these contingent 'paintings', but animated them to move around the works, testing the changing of aspects over time. The layouts allowed for an experience connecting past, present, and future in the becoming, instantaneously, as an ongoing process from moment to moment, instead of representing time in sequenced depiction. This is even emphasized a clock installed, running backwards.

Gutai member and editor of the children's magazine *Kirin* (Giraffe), Yōzō Ukita reports in an English translation, published in the 3rd issue of *Gutai* bulletin on the exhibition:[457]

The experimental outdoor art exhibition […] covering an area of 3,700 tsubo (133,200 sq.ft.) including works by some 40 artists and the participants from the Gutai Art Group counted over 23. […] To be specific, two months ago, the Ashiya Art Exhibition was held […]. This stimulated us, and the desire to exhibit our works under some measures to be free from limited indoor space developed to listen to the plannings by Mr. Yoshihara, utilizing the spacious pine forest stretching across the [sic!] *Ashiya city. This project required very little discussion in deciding to materialize the program and Ashiya Art Association sponsored the exhibition with Mr. Jiro Yoshihara acting as the chairman of the committee.* […]

The corresponding bulletin, issued on October 20, 1955 documents the works of 19 Gutai members, among which Atsuko Tanaka, Kazuo Shiraga, Nichiei Hori, Fujiko Shiraga, Jirō Yoshihara, Sadamasa Motonaga, Yasuo Sumi, Akira Kanayama, Shōzō Shimamoto, Yōzō Ukita, Tsuruko Yamazaki, Michio Yoshihara, Toshio Yoshida, Itoko Ono, Saburō Murakami, Ken Shibata, Tamiko Ueda, Yoshiko Hashigami, Masatoshi Masanobu.

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[455] Yamazaki, Tsuruko: "Conversation with Tsuruko Yamazaki," Gabrielle Schaad, Andrew Maerkle, Atsuko Ninagawa, and Toyoko Hyohno, Ashiya, 1.5.2014.

[456] See: Katō 2010, p.80.

[457] Ukita, Yōzō: "Experimental Outdoor Exhibition of Modern Art to Challenge the Midsummer Burning Sun," in: *Gutai*, 3, 1955, p.25. *Tsubo* is a measuring unit of two standardized tatami mats (*jō*). Ukita charts the total quantities and dimensions of installations in the park by summing-up: 50 meters of cloth and set-up structures comprising in total about twenty tatami (360 square feet, c. 33.5 square meters).

As evening falls, the park right next to a rather calm residential area, is illuminated with electric lights and lanterns, unfolding another facet of attraction against the dark of the night. Similar to a venue of one of the many festivals, animating the quarters in small towns and neighborhoods of metropolises during the long lasting summers throughout Japan, it can be visited until late at night:[458]

> The period of the exhibition was during midsummer and the space was illuminated with 100 watt electric bulbs, seventy in all for night spectators. The people who visited the exhibition differed at nights. A lot of people came out to the pine forest for a night's stroll in their 'YUKATA' costumes (informal gowns worn in summer) to appreciate the cool breeze from the sea. It was […] noteworthy that quite a few foreign guests were also found among the enjoying crowd. There were Japanese lanterns, which were extremely narrow and long and in colours, yellow, blue and red cellophane, prepared by Jirō Yoshihara especially popular among the visiting children, for every one of them had the fantasy of a fairy tale.

If Ukita describes the 'infrastructural' installation establishing the open-air site as a night-and-day exhibition, electricity was yet not only used to frame the exhibition. Atsuko Tanaka starts around 1955 to make electric circuits an integrative part of her works instead, delivering her own, as well as the bodies of the audience to the attracting or repelling effects of blinking colored light bulbs or shrilling sounds, jeopardizing safety, e.g. with a double-skinned body-shelter she covers herself in, staged with and without human attachments against the backdrop of her conceptual drawings that correlate color and circuit, space and electricity (Fig.84). Namiko Kunimoto reminds us that Tanaka manufactured her works at a time, when the National Railways wired the country with train-lines like the electrified *Tōkaido* express connecting Osaka and Tokyo since 1956[459] – a connection that would become a fast-track with the introduction of the bullet train *shinkansen* on occasion of the Olympic Games in 1964 (Fig.85).

"Sanmen kagami" (Triple Mirror), 1956

This time Yamazaki shows a threefold hanging screen (Fig.86). It is a composite pound together of 36 square tin plates, stiched and mounted to an oblong piece of wood at the top edges. The battered tin plates are dyed in red and purple colors, used in the car-industry, blowing back and forth in the wind like an unfamliar starched curtain: the *Three-sided Mirror,* ([*Sanmen kagami*], 1956).[460] The peculiar installation is neither to be likened to a folding screen nor a tryptich, but negotiates between segments and whole. Each plate has its bumps, exposing the ambient light in multiple refractions. It extends as well as it deformes its surroundings in the reflection, transforming the reflection in an openended process changing from moment to moment. Varnish

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[458] Ibid.
[459] Kunimoto 2013, op.cit., p.469.
[460] "Nogai bijutsu ten kara sakuhin 'Sanmen kagami' Yamazaki Tsuruko" [Work from the Outdoor Gutai Exhibition: 'Triple Mirror'], in: *Yomiuri Shimbun*, 29.7.1956.

and its metal support mutually augment each other's shiny effect, increasing the brilliance of color revealed in the combination of materials. The artificial aniline colors and dyes in Yamazaki's early works on metal surfaces present new intensities and spectres of color. As the triple mirror encloses an area, still leaving crevices between the composed panels, the landscape is in various ways an integrative part of the piece as well as a reflected and distorted image in its intangible interference with the ephemeral piece. A question that concerns Yamazaki while her fellows experiment not only in the use of paint as material, but with set up structures installing a painting experience embodying time and space, building on the perception of the actual site, without being conceptually site-specific.

Akira Kanayama's photograph gathering 12 members in front of it, has become one of the most published early group pictures (Fig.87).[461] Once again, the reflecting planes defamliarize a human silhouette approaching it, setting identification with an incoherent, warped, and dyed alienated mirror image at issue. It is easy to imagine, how the burning summer sun light up the plates, reflecting the heat under the crowns of the pine grove they were placed in, while the shadow play of the branches covers its dented surfaces as passengers' silhouettes, the colors of their clothes blending into the ever changing ephemeral mesh of reflected distortions they see reprojected on themselves. Yamazaki's proximity to Murakami and Shimamoto starts manifesting in their respective works of the era, with one major difference: While her fellows carry the notion of touch to the extreme, to the point where physical force over time is recorded in rifts on the surface. Her engagement with the material surroundings is at the time more distanced, mediated through reflections, shadows, slicing, ramifying and distorting images – introducing a different take on reality with her critique of modes of representation, interrogating surface and selfhood both intendedly and intuitively.

If we question, whether she follows a method or a strategy in her work, in a conversation with curator and art historian Mattijs Visser in 2005 Yamazaki pointed out that she loved working with children throughout her adult life also, because their approach to 'creation' was more explorative.[462] One could even go further an call it 'non-strategic,' or 'aimless' in a sense that they are not striving toward any particular goal and gratification, but looking for self-forgetfulness in playful activity, some authors might call such a self-forgetful state of body and mind during deed just as well "jouissance."[463] Instead, Yamazaki terms it *mu* (無), or as Visser reports: "Vorsichtig

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[461] The Gutai members standing in the foreground include (front row, left to right) Toshio Yoshida, Kyoichi Mizuguchi, Akira Kanayama, Yasuo Sumi, and Ken Shibata; (back row, left to right) Tsuruko Yamazaki, Atsuko Tanaka, Sadamasa Motonaga, Jirō Yoshihara, Kazuo Shiraga, Shōzō Shimamoto, and Seiichi Sato.
[462] Düsseldorf 2006, p.114.
[463] Barthes, Roland: *The Pleasure of the Text*, trans. Richard Howard, New York: Hill and Wang, 1975 [first: idem: Le Plaisir du Texte, Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1973].

frage ich, ob das auch mit ihrem eigenen Werk so sei, was der Ursprung ihrer Arbeiten sei. […] 'Mu-da' ist ihre Antwort – ein Wort, das nichts ist, nichts bedeutet, nichts darstellt, keinen Sinn hat."[464]

According to Ukita's and researchers' accounts the site-selection for the respective installations in the park is not broadly documented, yet Yoshihara's dry comment on Yamazaki's installation in their summer show reveals that they apparently did not follow a precise overall installation plan, Yamazaki recalls on occasion of the second exhibition in the park: "He [Yoshihara] laughed contentedly, while coming towards me. Then he said: 'Well, you've installed your work just in the axis, so that mine is less easy to get sight of.'"[465] In as much as the event drew on traditions to set up outdoor gatherings, e.g. to watch fireworks or hold a festival, the art exhibition installed a new behavior setting, counterrotating ritualized forms of gathering in parks, challenging not only the midsummer sun, but challenging familiar uses, and articulations of agency. Although the term interactivity had not been introduced at the time, visitor participation was clearly welcomed by the group. On the other hand the set-up installations conditioned modes of interaction. To close his account Ukita adds regarding the landscape: "I would like to emphasize […] that we did not aim to overcome the natural atmosphere of the outdoor space because this in itself is not the element of our art but endeavoured to derive intelligence and expectation from the natural surroundings."

Differentiations at Play: Children's Paradise or Amusement Park?

For the groups' second outdoor exhibition in 1956, Yamazaki conceives of another immersive color set-up to be installed on the branches of the pine trees. While the treetops are roofing the open public plaza, still letting rain pour down and alter the aspects of the works exhibited. Yamazaki's work consists of pieces of red vinyl fabric, stretched into a three-dimensional wooden frame-construction in the shape of a large mosquito net whose lower edge is calf-high. If the object as such was torn from an everyday context and remains recognizable as such, to see it stick out as an accessible flashing red projection screen invited the visitors to bathe in colored light. Illuminated by night with electric lamps the installation appeared as a red lampion (Fig.88, Fig.89). "The thereabouts stood out bathed in the red gleam, while the red cube provoked many a visitor to sneak in from below," [466] she remembers. Especially children slipped in, joking and scuffling inside, only to provide the passing audience with an instantaneous, yet inadvertent shadow puppetry. While such contingencies made up for the charm of the exhibition, Yamazaki admits not having

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[464] Düsseldorf 2006, p.114.

[465] Yamazaki, Tsuruko: "Oral History Interview with Tsuruko Yamazaki," conducted by Mizuho Katō and Hiroko Ikegami, 12.6.2011, *Oral History Archives of Japanese Art*, website, (accessed through: <www.oralarthistory.org>, last access 7.12.2015).

[466] Yamazaki, Tsuruko: "Oral History Interview with Tsuruko Yamazaki," conducted by Mizuho Katō and Hiroko Ikegami, 12.6.2011, *Oral History Archives of Japanese Art*, website, (accessed through: <www.oralarthistory.org>, last access 7.12.2015).

envisioned or intended such an effect, but was happy to rediscover her work as a catalyst provoking a playful reaction.[467]

Yamazaki remembers the installation of *Outdoor Gutai Art Exhibition Ashiya Park* as follows: "Everybody worked with affordable materials, since we did not dispose of a huge budget to produce our artworks. The only one, who spent more was Atsuko Tanaka, for her electric light bulb installations." And her short text for the fifth issue of the *Gutai* magazine, published in 1956, apparently takes into account the rentability of such a "Paradise in a Pine Grove:"[468]

> *This is my second experience of an outdoor exhibition, but the show was very well attended this year. We have had altogether 30,000 visitors or so. If we had charged 50 Yen per person, we could have earned 1.5 million. At 100 yen per person the income from admissions would have totaled 3 million. This would have enabled Gutai finances to get out of the red and rise to the status of possessing a brand new passbook at the bank. Viewed that way, how brusque Daikokuten* [god of wealth and fortune] *was on us.*

Yamazaki's statement explains issues of funding Ukita mentions in 1955 already: "Due to the fact that the pine forest was a public estate and in addition, we were faced with financial and technical problems which restricted our ability to express our desires."[469]

Interestingly, Yamazaki comments on another aspect of the outdoor exhibitions in her account entitled "Paradise in the Pine Grove." It reads in some paragraphs like an analysis of what the Situationist International would term "spectacular" as opposed to the playful freedom promoted by and within the group, comparing "children's paradise" and "amusement park:"[470]

> *A graphic magazine published by a certain newspaper featured the exhibition, which had become a children's paradise, and tried unjustly to alter the focus by reporting that it had turned into a children's amusement park and that the grown-ups were looking the other way. I pray that the promising children mentioned above will not become such adults. Moreover, an amusement park and a paradise are different in character. Whereas only a stereotyped slide and swing come to mind regarding the former, I cannot help imagining the richness different in character concerning the latter. Elements such as dreams or adventures, sweetness or anxiety, which stimulate the human instinct and desire directly, seem to be lurking in abundance there.*

The newspaper article Yamazaki mentions, is pointing out a concern that was only to come into discussion from the mid-1960s. Was art engulfing the senses – wavering between creating social situations, connecting men and matter – bound to be corrupted, turning experience into a

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[467] Ibid.
[468] Ibid.
[469] Ukita [1955] 2010, op. cit.
[470] Yamazaki, Tsuruko: "Paradise in a Pine Grove," trans. Kikuko Ogawa, in: *Gutai. Facsimile Edition, 12-Volume Boxed Set with Supplement*, no. 5, ed. Chinatsu Kuma, supervised by Ashiya City Museum of Art & History, Tokyo: Geikashoin, 2010, p.41, [first: idem: "Matsumoto no naka no rakuen" [Paradise in a Pine Grove], in: *Gutai*, no. 5, (October, 1956), p.25].

manipulative, dull spectacle from the very beginning? At least a certain ambivalence unconsciously speaks from Yamazaki's descriptions of how adults and children acted as visitors:[471]

Let me trace for example the behavior of a boy I was aware of in front of Kanayama's ball. After playing catch and roller skating on top of the works to his heart's content, he put something in his back pocket and went home. At one time, he was pretending to play golf and then it hit upon him to play the Corinth game by making tunnels and holes on cardboard and rolling a ball. Having devised as much as he wanted he would put it back in his pocket and tirelessly enjoy the feel with his hands. Having seen this with my own eyes, I cannot but marvel the blessing of a free exhibition. It is astonishing how a child can jump sensitively at such recreation and make full use of it.

While Yamazaki decidedly prefers the children's attitude, she attests a playful "use" of the installations also for adult visitors. Nevertheless, she portrays adults – being mainly focused on photographing the layouts and settings in the park – having an obviously more distanced approach, reproducing images rather than actively involving in aimless play.[472] Yamazaki herself on the other hand stood enthusiastically in for ludic self-empowerment, as her writing for the children's art and poetry magazine *Kirin* prove.[473]

In interviews Atsuko Tanaka and Tsuruko Yamazaki always deny having even wasted a thought on gender questions, or power relations albeit living in a still rather patriarchal society. For both of them, as well as for men artists within the group the members would complement each other, while bringing in their very own take on art with their personal perceptions of reality – not least since they perceived each other as different in physical force, height, preferences and interests, (character). When it comes to the younger generation of women artists within the group like, e.g. Yūko Nasaka (b. 1938, member 1963–1972), Kumiko Imanaka (b. 1939, member 1965–1972), or Seiko Kanno (1933–1988, member 1968–1972), I have not come across their respective answers to such a question yet. It would hence lead too far to tear the following example as a feminist message, at least Yamazaki locates a possibility for self-empowerment in self-forgetfulness evoked by activities challenging head, heart, and hand (Fig.90, Fig.91): [474]

Extremely Interesting

When you wake up Sunday morning, what's the first thing that comes to mind? Do you think, "I want to do something boring today"? Do you think of something scary? I believe that everybody thinks, "I want to do something interesting."

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[471] Ibid.
[472] The exhibition ended with a photosession by the All-Japan Association of Photographic Societies, about fifteen photographs were used in this issue of the magazine. See: Katō 2010, p.82.
[473] Yamazaki, Tsuruko: "An Outstandingly Interesting Thing," excerpt, trans. Reiko Tomii, in: *Gutai. Splendid Playground*, exh. cat. Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum New York, 2013, Alexandra Munroe and Ming Tiampo (eds.), New York: The Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation, 2013, p.277, [first: idem: "Tobikiri omoshiroi koto" [An Outstandingly Interesting Thing], in: *Kirin* [Giraffe], vol. 9, no. 7, (1956), p.1].
[474] Ibid.

That way when you go to bed, you can say to yourself, "Ah, it was interesting today," and close your eyes with satisfaction.

As you can see, you might use the word "interesting" ten or twenty times a day. But can you explain what "interesting" means? Have you thought about what it feels like to be "interesting"?…

When did you feel truly "interested"? And how did you feel then? Please think about with me…

A: When watching a baseball game

B: When playing baseball

A: When playing a game that you've played many times before

B: When making up a new game and playing it

A: When doing something easy and ordinary

B: When doing something difficult or thrilling

A: When coming back early from playing

B: When playing too much, maybe even forgetting dinner, and getting scolded by your mother

I think the Bs are more interesting. Which do you think more interesting, the As or the Bs? I bet your answer is the same as mine. Which is to say, what is really interesting is to do something yourself, to invent something yourself, to try even when something is difficult and you don't know whether you can do it well, to do something to your satisfaction.

2.3.2 De- and Reterritorializing Gutai Exhibitions

An Outing to Tokyo: The First Gutai Exhibition, Ōhara Hall (1955)

Between the two experimental outdoor exhibitions in Ashiya the group had staged a first show in Tokyo from October 19 to 28, 1955. Accepting an invitation by Houn Ōhara, the *Gutai* group could use the rooms of the Ōhara flower arrangement school in Aoyama. Many of the works exhibited were made in Tokyo, even directly at the exhibition venue. Travel and transport between Osaka and Tokyo was still time-consuming and relatively expensive. On occasion of this exhibition Yamazaki first exhibited *Sakuhin* (Work, 1955) the collage-painting of black and white diagonals with inlayed mirror pieces. She coupled it with another composed panel *Sakuhin* (Work, 1955), colored in vibrant green dye and perforated with a band of small circle shaped mirrors, adding up to a wave-like band, crossing the plane horizontally (Fig.92, Fig.93). At mediate distance from the mirror pieces the installation *Buriki kan* (1955) (Fig.1), consisting of food cans, brought in from the junkards next to a U.S. military base and treated in pink varnish were piled up to small towers, varying in stacks from one to four. How did the Gutai group members carry themselves the nights before their exhibition openings in a local park in Ashiya (1955, 1956), or at the Ōhara Hall in Tokyo (1955–1958)? In an account published in the groups' mouthpiece, Yamazaki reports in anecdotal

style on the first group exhibition at Tokyo's Ōhara Hall in 1955, evoking the atmosphere among her fellows during their stay in the capital as follows (Fig.93):[475]

Tokyo makes me hungry. While we were staying at the Ohara Kaikan hall, we had our meals delivered morning and night from local restaurants. We always had to wait at least one hour. Sometimes it even took two hours. As a result, we would eat at odd hours. One day, we ordered sushi. It took three hours and we got so tired of waiting that we decided to sit down and tell jokes. On that occasion, Mr. Yoshihara said, "Don't make me laugh anymore because it's hard on my stomach." The staff at the hall told us that the delivery takes time because they start cooking once they have received the order. The slower the better as it shows that the food is freshly made, delicious, and conscientious. Indeed the food was so exquisite that it seemed to melt on my tongue, but my stomach had been empty for a few hours. The Tokyoites have a vigor different from the Osakanians, who are said to be business-minded.

Small boxes of matchsticks were stocked on a table, and visitors allowed to take them as a give-away, reshaping the layout of the pile decaying over the time of the exhibition. Yamazaki recalls (Fig.94):[476]

Some people were delighted and chose their favorite. Others went through the collection but left unable to chose their favorite. These fantastic matches could be called Gutai matches. Based on Mr. Shimamoto's idea, the members jointly created 1,000 matches, none of which are the same. […] One day, Mr. Tarō Okamoto came to see the exhibition. Having given us criticism and encouragement, on his way home, he turned his eyes to the matches and picked two or three without chosing them. […] Ms. Tanaka later said, 'It was as if Mr. Tarō Okamoto and Mr. Shimamoto were confronting each other.'

Although Tarō Okamoto visited the venue, the show attracted only a few visitors during the first day. Apparently the Tokyo art scene was not among its biggest supporters. Yoshihara still remembers that "noted critics did recognize ours as […] belonging quite to another category than those exhibitons of 'modern art' which nowadays flood Tokyo, and paid tribute to the freshness with which the whole exhibit impressed them."[477] Yet, as art historian Koichi Kawasaki mentions, there were far more critical comments circulating in the newspaper's art sections.[478] On the other

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[475] Yamazaki, Tsuruko: "The *Gutaians* in Tokyo," trans. Kikuko Ogawa, in: *Gutai. Facsimile Edition, 12-Volume Boxed Set with Supplement*, no. 4, ed. Chinatsu Kuma, supervised by Ashiya City Museum of Art & History, Tokyo: Geikashoin, 2010, p.31, [first: idem: "Tokyo no Gutai-jin" [The *Gutaians* in Tokyo], in: *Gutai*, no. 4, (October, 1956), p.32].

[476] Ibid.

[477] Yoshihara, Jirō: "On the first Gutai-ten" (the First Exhibtion of 'Gutai' Art Group), in: *Gutai*, No. 4, (July 1956), p.2; If Tomii and Tiampo explain that Yoshihara carefully timed the exhibition to take place around the fall season opening of the established Tokyo salon exhibtions, the young independent local art scene would shun the Osaka crew. The Gutai artists maintained close ties with Sōfū Teshigahara though – the founder of the Sōgetsu flower arrangement school. Nevertheless the circle of artists gathering with his son, the filmmaker Hiroshi Teshigahara at the Sōgetsu Art Center, forming the Tokyo art and technology movement, are not documented of having shown any particular interest in Gutai's first appearance in Tokyo, except for *Jikken Kōbō*'s Kiyoji Ōtsuji, who had an assignment to document the exhibit.

[478] Ōtsuji covered the events staged before the opening for the magazine *Geijutsu shinchō* [New Currents in Art]. See: Kawasaki, Koichi: "The Activity of Gutai," trans. Christopher Stephens, in: *Ōtsuji Kiyoji 'Gutai*

hand a large number of cameramen caught Kazuo Shiraga's struggle with "matter," *Challenging Mud* (1955), in the frontcourt outside Ōhara hall (Fig.95). Shiraga had been preparing the site next to the entrance of the venue several days in advance with a ton of wall mud, obtained from a plasterer.

It was not the only event, staged on occasion oft he show. A large rift in a screen of mounted, golden painted sheets of pasted kraftpaper in a wooden frame (6x9 meters) made by Saburō Murakami jumping through, opened the entrance to the first gallery of the exhibition space with a deafening noise. In his introduction to the exhibition Yoshihara turns the readers' attention to Shimamoto's work *Kono ue o aruite kudasai* (*Please Walk on Top of This,* 1955) that "had to be appreciated through the whole body, through the motor nerve."[479] Whereas Akira Kanayama comments Atsuko Tanaka's *Beru sakuhin* (Bells, 1955) an installation of wired bells, placed on the floor throughout the exhibition space (Fig.96):[480]

[…] the main component of this work is sound […] indicating a formative element entirely different from music. […] The aspect of elementary physics in which 40 switches automatically turn on and off and the bells sound continously, i.e. intererst in the materials itself, fades away as soon as the switch is turned on and the sound of the bell suddenly transforms into a formative work. From where I am standing to the room 40 meters away, 20 bells ring one after another in succession and come back the same way. […] In the case of this bell work, it is a living sound that moves dozens of meteres within a certain time.

The comment shows that an interest in confrontations between man and matter was as in Tanaka's case not necessarily confined to the technical installation itself, but included the unfolding of non-visual, ephemeral effects, 'stored' in material or apparel, engulfing the senses for a passing moment. Jirō Yoshihara presents Yamazaki's work about one year later in the sixth issue of *Gutai* summarizing Yamazakis contributions to the 2nd Gutai Exhibition held at Ōhara Hall in Tokyo in 1956 (Fig.97):[481]

Tsuruko Yamazaki presents a series of works made of tinplate sheets. There is hardly sign of Yamazaki having done anything on some of them. There are just a few irregularities and some rust. Last year, she used color, but this year, not even color is applied. Yamazaki has a tenacious interest in shiny materials, such as mirrors or tinplate sheets. Whether a single tinplate sheet can be considered a work may be a matter of debate, but I certainly agree with what her choice and presentation based on her disposition have pursued so far. Her persistence towards shiny things puts

1956-1957' o megutte [Concerning Ōtsuji Kiyoji's Gutai (1956-1957)], Tokyo: Tokyo Publishing House TPH, 2012, pp.16-24.

[479] Yoshihara [1955] 2010, op. cit., p.2.

[480] Kanayama, Akira: "On the Bells," trans. Kikuko Ogawa, in: *Gutai. Facsimile Edition, 12-Volume Boxed Set with Supplement*, no. 4, ed. Chinatsu Kuma, supervised by Ashiya City Museum of Art & History, Tokyo: Geikashoin, 2010, p.27, [first: idem: "Beru sakuhin ni tsuite" [On the Bells], in: *Gutai*, no. 4, (October, 1956), p.24].

[481] Yoshihara, Jirō: "The 2nd Gutai Art Exhibition", in: *Gutai,* no. 6, (1957), pp.1-3, cit. in: *Gutai. Facsimile Edition* (12-Volume Boxed Set with Supplement), trans. Kikuko Ogawa, supervised by Ashiya City Museum of Art and History, Tokyo: Geikashoin, 2010, p.45.

her individuality on a firm footing. The moment you feel a single sheet of tinplate has splendor, Tsuruko Yamazaki will stand in front of you and utter loudly, 'That's mine.'

Tapié and the "Informel Whirlwind" (1957–1960) – Structuralism in the Backdrop

Although international journalists had attened the opening in Tokyo, the outreach Yoshihara had opted for was not yet realized. When French art critic and dealer Michel Tapié travelled to Japan in 1957, he approached *Gutai*, visiting Yoshihara's residences and attending a performance of their latest stage program.[482] Holding some of the first issues of the *Gutai* bulletin that had been sent out strategically to Dōmoto Hisao, Pierre Restany, and Yves Klein,[483] Tapié was well aware of *Gutai's* spatial and material experiments. When he visited Japan with Georges Mathieu and Toshimitsu Imai in September 1957, Tapié saw himself as an explorer of Japanese contemporary art, picking artists for an exhibtion he was about to conceive.[484] An outsider to the local art scenes, Tapié would not respect – or maybe not even notice – the invisible boarders and disinclination between the artist gathering in Tokyo and *Gutai*, but collect the works, he deemed to match his conceptual definition of another art,[485] "un art autre,"[486] rejecting representation while centering the work around a topological understanding of space and the cancellation of meaning.

This allowed him to subsume a broad range of paintings from artists working in France, the U.S., Italy, Spain, the Netherlands, Germany – and now also Japan, establishing art as the new universal and reuniting 'language' after WWII. The salient point of his vague labelling of "another art," was his (pseudo?-)structuralist approach.[487] According to Tapié the common feature spotted in those works that were in fact often dramatically different in their artistic techniques or concerning circumstances of production was the undoying of the arbitrary "semiotic code," connecting form and meaning. Since this definition aligned the works presented to the audience, flattening out differences instead of carefully differentiating between them, artists and later commentators alike were outspokenly dissatisfied with Tapiés' reasoning.[488] In their anthology of artworks, escaping the

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[482] The first encounter was arranged through Hisao Dōmoto, a Japanese painter living in Paris at the time, acquainted with Michel Tapié. The artists announced Tapié's interest in Gutai, referring to a letter by Dōmoto in the editorial "News" section of *Gutai,* no. 6, (April, 1957), last page.

[483] Hirai 2010, op. cit., p.96.

[484] Works labeled "Informel" by Tapié were first exhibited in Japan in the "World Art Today Exhibtion" (Exposition International de l'Art Actuel) in Japan, 1956, attracting the interest of a broad range of critics and artist. Tapié's later exhibition "Informel: Genèse d'Une Ère Autre," Bridgestone Museum of Art Tokyo, 1958, included works by Shōzō Shimamoto, Jirō Yoshihara and Kazuo Shiraga.

[485] Tapié, Michel: "A Mental Reckoning on my First Trip to Japan," trans. Sarah Allen, in: *From Postwar to Postmodern. Art in Japan 1945–1989* (Primary Documents), Doryun Chong, Michio Hayashi, Kenji Kajiya et al. (eds.), New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2012, pp.99-101, [first: Idem: "Dai-ikkai Nihon ryokō no seishinteki sōkessan" [A Mental Reckoning on my first Trip to Japan], in: *Bijutsu techō* [Art Notebook], No. 134, (December 1957), pp. 98-102].

[486] Tapié, Michel: *Un Art Autre. Où il s'Agit de Nouveaux Dévidages du Réel*, Paris: Gabriel-Giraud et fils, 1952.

[487] In 1952 Tapié organized an exhibition entitled "Signifiants de l'Informel" at Studio Facchetti in Paris, see: Paulhan, Jean: *L'Art Informel*, Paris: Gallimard, 1962, p.20.

[488] Parish, Nina: *Henri Michaux. Experimentations with Signs*, Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2007, pp.25-103.

principles of form, art historians Yve-Alain Bois and Rosalind Krauss differentiate between what Tapié termed "Informel" and their anthology compiled around "l'informe," drawing on George Bataille's philosophical notion of subversive, unstable non-forms (base materialism) in art and beyond.[489] They admonish Tapié for his art writing: "La littérature de l'époque sur ce que l'on a appelé l'art informel est en générale déplorable: des généralités ampoulées du bran métaphysique, de l'adjectif et de la métaphore à satiété, des flonflons rhétoriques, du vent (et surtout, pas le moindre effort d'analyse historique)."[490] Beyond this critique in retrospect, Tapié had to face contemporanous criticism from within the ranks of designated "Informel" artists as well. Jean Fautrier, Jean Dubuffet, or Henri Michaux already opposed Tapié for his "poorly written classification."[491] Art critic Ichirō Haryū, who was at the time still sceptical about the *Gutai* experiments, equally mentions Tapié's vague "magical" definition of the "Art Informel." In his analysis Haryū specifies instead:[492]

[…] *what I most strongly perceive is a direct interpenetration of objects and living things that is not mediated by a rational self-consciousness.* […] *Most Informel artists have abandoned the established forms of abstraction and figuration and made space and material practically the sole operative elements in their work, not simply out of a consideration for the visual effect of the surface or style, but rather because they see space and materials as intersections of the physical and supranatural worlds. And so it could be said that what supports this dedication to material is a harsh resignation concerning the relationship between reality and the human being* […].

Jirō Yoshihara enthusiastically embraced Tapié's labelling, making him a honoraray member of Gutai.[493] The honeymoon of "Informel" and Gutai contradicted the assessments of a Japanese audience, appreciating the works of artists gathered by Tapié under his "Informel" label, yet hiding a certain disdain towards Gutai. Yoshihara saw in exhibitions co-organized with Tapié in Japan instead a chance to converge with other Japanese artists and critics. He invited Shūzō Takiguchi to contribute an essay for the *Gutai* magazine accompanying the next joint project as an exhibtion catalogue dedicated to the "International Art of a New Era." The exhibition was installed in the Osaka and Tokyo branches of the Takashimaya Department Store in 1958. Although Takiguchi accepted the invitation to contribute an essay, he supposedly intentionally missed the deadline. In

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[489] Bataille, Georges: "L'Informe," in: *Documents*, no. 7, (1929), p. 382.
[490] *L'Informe. Mode d'Emploi*, exh. cat. Centre Pompidou, Paris, 1996, Yve-Alain Bois and Rosalind Krauss (eds.) Paris: Centre Pompidou, 1996, pp.130-131.
[491] Parish 2007, op.cit., p.57.
[492] Haryū, Ichirō: "Busshitsu to Ningen" [Material and Humans], in: *Mizue* [Watercolor], no. 618, (January, 1957), pp.43-47; cit. after: Haryū, Ichirō: "Material and Humans," trans. by Sarah Allen, in: *From Postwar to Postmodern. Art in Japan 1945–1989* (Primary Documents), Doryun Chong, Michio Hayashi, Kenji Kajiya et al. (eds.), New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2012, pp.102-105.
[493] "Monsieur Tapié à Osaka… c'étaient pour nous les jours de fête, en lui montrant toutes nos oeuvres et en discutant avec lui sur le développement future de Gutai et lui, en donnonat [sic] à chacun de nos artistes l'encouragement le plus cordial. Michel Tapié avec nous – nous déclarons avec joie qu'il est maintenant member de notre groupe." See: Yoshihara, Jirō: "Michel Tapié avec nous," in: *Gutai. L'Aventure Informelle*, no. 8, (September, 1957), n.p.

his eventually unpublished manuscript Takiguchi stresses the differences between Gutai and what Tapié termed "Informel," in clear opposition to Yoshihara's and Tapié's claims.[494] Yoshihara thus only more fervently states: "We have been criticized very often, as being 'dada' but we think we are not simply 'dadaists.' I have not been able to understand the attitude of those Japanese critics, who decline even to touch these fresh, unspoiled fruits we have to offer. [...] I wish to make it clear that Mr. Tapié is the first critic in or outside this country, to take the art of Gutai earnest."[495]

Wihtin the group not everybody was equally enthusiastic about Tapié's impact and comments. Yamazaki remebers him having assessed her works at the time with the word "confusion,"[496] leaving open, whether this was a positive or negative judgement. Through his international contacts as an art dealer however, Tapié promotes Gutai painting in New York, Paris and Turin, influencing the respective artists to bring painting from the expanded field, explored in the specific circumstances of postwar Japan during the mid 1950s, back onto the canvas and to an equally international as commercial arena. Instead of staging the qualities of the respective works of Gutai members the exhibitions held, e.g. at Martha Jackson Gallery New York (1958),[497] or Galerie Stadler in Paris (1959–1965), would yet against Yoshihara's hopes not establish Gutai as an autonomous group in contemporary art, but misportray Gutai art practice derivative of currents previously introduced by artists in Paris and New York,[498] now remarketed abroad.[499]

International Sky Festival 1960 – "Art for the Era of Spatialism"

Despite the desillusioning reception of Gutai paintings in Paris and New York, internationalism is reinforced and celebrated once again on occasion of the "International Sky Art Festival," held at the Osaka main store of Takashimaya in Namba. During the festival – lasting from April, 19 through April, 24 1960 – a total of 70 artworks by Italian, Spanish, French, Japanese, U.S., and Argentinan artists are exhibited in the third floor rental gallery of the department store (Fig.98). Supervised by Yoshihara and Tapié, *Gutai* artists reproduce some of the mainly gestural paintings exhibited in larger formats, laying large fabrics out on the floor in a classroom of Toyosaki Junior High School in Osaka (Fig.99).[500] And Tapié remembers: [501]

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[494] Katō, Mizuho: "A Bridge to the World. *Gutai* 1956-1959," trans. Ruth S. McCreery, in: *Gutai. Facsimile Edition, 12-Volume Boxed Set with Supplement*, ed. Chinatsu Kuma, supervised by Ashiya City Museum of Art & History, Tokyo: Geikashoin, 2010, pp.100-107.

[495] Yoshihara, Jirō: "On'The International Art of a New Era' dedicated to 'Osaka Internaitonanl Festival'," trans. Juichi Kuroda, in: *Gutai*, no. 9, (April, 1958), p.7.

[496] Yamazaki, Tsuruko: "Oral History Interview with Tsuruko Yamazaki," conducted by Mizuho Katō and Hiroko Ikegami, 12.6.2011, *Oral History Archives of Japanese Art*, website, (accessed through: <www.oralarthistory.org>, last access 7.12.2015).

[497] Tiampo 2011, pp.105-113.

[498] Tiampo deems the mind-frame of 'cultural mercantilism' in the centers responsible for such judgments, see: Tiampo 2011, pp.105-119.

[499] Ibid., pp.105-113.

[500] Osaka 2004, pp.99-101.

[501] Tapié, Michel: "editorial," *Gutai,* no. 11, (November, 1960), p.5.

Ayant sélectionné avec M. Yoshihara, leader du groupe Gutai*, l'aquarelle la plus signifiante parmi plusieurs projets élaborés par chaque artiste, cette œuvre est agrandie à une échelle autour de dix mètres de hauteur et exposée sur le toit du Takashimaya d'Osaka supportée par un ballon d'hydrogène et un cable de 80 mètres, dans la technique des graphisme publicitaires qui rend si séduisant le ciel des villes japonaises. […]*Gutai présente par ailleurs en même temps 70 peintures à la galerie de Takashimaya. Cet ensemble confirme l'efficacité (unique dans le monde actuel) du group Gutai et en tant que groupe et pour un exceptionnel pourcentage d'individualités de premier plan.

The reproductions are to be mounted as large kites. Assembling on the rooftop, the group attaches the artwork-kites to 12 advertisment balloons that were commonly used at the time to project commercial messages onto the open sky (Fig.100).[502] Toshio Yoshida's dream of evacuating art from the confines of his studio space into the open sky finally comes true.[503] Ad balloons were usually tethered to the rooftops, dotting the skies of Tokyo and Osaka. Coming in use from about 1913, the ad balloon reached a first peak of popularity in 1931. Defended for several years during occupation, ad balloons reappeared on the city sky in a boosted number from about mid 1950: Two balloons announcing a theater performance in 1948 had been defended by the GHQ, because the Occupation forces saw a lingering association of balloons in the sky with the wartime image of bombs. In 1951 the sky over Tokyo counted again about 2,000 commercial balloon dots. Until 1956 the number increased to 10,000.[504] If the paintings were still quite regular paintings, except for Lucio Fontana and Sōfū Teshigahara, whose perforated sheets integrate the blue of the sky as an additional element, extending the painting's surface into the airspace. Yet, most prominently, the mode of presentation as such was unconventional for artworks. Appropriating a commercial tool developed in Japan, to display art and intervene in the urban everyday instantaneously, Tapié rejoices: "Une telle exposition concevable normalement à l'époque du 'spatialisme', ne pouvait être réalisée qu'au Japon. Je crois pouvoir annoncer que le matériel sera par la suite utilisé dans des grands Festivals [sic] européens et américains."[505]

20 reproductions of works by Japanese artists, mainly members of the *Gutai* Art Association, and 18 reproduced versions of works of international artists from Italy, France, Spain, and the U.S. were sent off to the sky. The balloons thus famously "advertised," e.g. a pierced and painted fabric tagged with the name of Lucio Fontana as well as an Italian flag, among the kite-like flying objects

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[502] Over the course of the exhibition a total of 30 changing paintings were shown on the 12 ad balloons. The exhibition included nine artists from Europe, nine artists from the U.S., and twelve artists from Japan (eight Gutai members), see: Katō, Mizuho: "Bibliographical Information on Each Issue (Number 11)," in: *Gutai. Facsimile Edition, 12-Volume Boxed Set with Supplement*, ed. Chinatsu Kuma, supervised by Ashiya City Museum of Art & History, Tokyo: Geikashoin, 2010, p.86.

[503] Yoshida [1955] 2010, op.cit., p.29.

[504] See: Uchikawa, Yoshimi (ed.): "Nihon kōkoku hattatsu-shi" [The Evolution of Japanese Advertising], Tokyo: Dentsu, 1976, republished online: *Nihon dai hyakkazensho no kaisetsu* [comment from the Encyclopedia Nipponica], (accessed through: <https://kotobank.jp/word/アドバルーン- 425939>, last access 18.11.2015); "Miageru shisen o kugidzuke ni! Nihon umare no kōkoku baitai" [Tacking the Line of Sight. An Advertising Medium Developped in Japan], NHK Website, (accessed through <http://www.nhk.or.jp/po/sorenani/2758.html>, last access, 18.11.2015).

[505] Tapié, Michel: "editorial," *Gutai*, no. 11, (November, 1960), p.5.

flapped also the name-flags of, e.g. Claire Falkenstein, or Ruth Francken[506]. If Falkenstein is included in the magazine with a photograph depicting her lying on a drip covered piece of cloth, next to one of her metal sculptures, the photograph of her work positioned to the left suggest an analogy of body and work (Fig.101): As if her physical body seemingly transformed into a painting's surface, transformed in a set of disorganized patterns and dots. On the right upper edge of the same magazine page we find an irritating photograph of a part of Takashimaya's rooftop. Equipped with an antenna and other objects that appear on the black and white photograph like a random encounter of different sets of geometric forms. The most intriguing part of the photograph captioned with "Tsuruko Yamazaki" at the lower margin is a short poem "inscribed in" – or rather printed over – the sky depicted on the photograph (Fig.102). It reads:[507]

Gone

to

eternity

with the wind

in

the second day morning

The publication does not reveal, whether Yamazaki herself contributed picture or short poem – reminding vaguely of a *Haiku* – issued in English only. Yamazaki's portrait and paintings figures on the left upper edge of the following page in a small picture of herself presenting one of her color pourings. In his "Chronicles of the Adventure"[508] a series of anecdotal accounts of the *Gutai* group's history, Kazuo Shiraga recalls the circumstances for Yamazaki's strikingly different contribution in 1967 as follows (Fig.103): "Tsuruko Yamazaki's artwork had been attached to a balloon, yet the wind carried it off course. As the day had almost gone by it was reported to us that her work had plunged in the […] mountains, and could not be returned from there."[509] The layout picked up chance constellations of the participant's kites in the air, as documented in the photographs. Since Yamazaki's kite could apparently not be documented while still in the air, Shiraga tells that she decided to have a photo published of the empty sky with the department store's rooftop, placing the English inscription of a short poem on it.[510]

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[506] Lyotard, Jean-François, Ruth Francken: *L'Histoire de Ruth*, Paris: Le Castor Astral, 1984; Danko, Dagmar: *Zwischen Überhöhung und Kritik. Wie Kulturtheoretiker zeitgenössische Kunst interpretieren*, Bielefeld, transcript, 2011, pp.79-181.

[507] See: *Gutai*, no. 11, (November, 1960), p.18.

[508] Shiraga, Kazuo: "Rensai dai go kai: Bōken no kiroku. Episodo de tsuzuru Gutai grūpu no 12 nen" [Fifth Column: Chronicles of the Adventure. Resuming 12 Years of the Gutai Group], in: *Bijutsu techō*, no. 11, (1967), pp.148-156, p.156.

[509] Ibid., p.156.

[510] Ibid.

If previous issues of the magazine featured a variety of texts authored by the members, often commenting on, and presenting the works of their fellows, or reflecting the conditions of production, this time the magazine featured only two short texts confronting Yoshihara's and Tapié's view. The rest of the booklet reconstructs space in graphic design as a montage of different photographs, juxtaposing and grouping names as graphic signs, introducing wide interstices the pictures are set bled-off. The booklet conveys a sense of the floating art-ad-kites in the open sky, hovering over Osaka. If Mizuho Katō analyses the scarcity of substantial content as an indicative of a point in the 'development' of the group, where they had reached a first climax, or "crossroads," she interprets: "In this issue, which communicates neither *Gutai* members' intentions nor Tapié's or Yoshihara's artistic standards with any particular vigor, the role of *Gutai* seems to have changed. This issue suggests that it had become harder to detect a firm direction in *Gutai* itself."[511] One could argue exactly the other way though, saying that in doing away with the explicative text portions they had realized in this issue one of their common goals – the emptying out of meaning, or falling in line with McLuhan's media theory, they consequently realized the "medium as message." To push the argument even further, one could argue that the event reinforced a trend set in *Gutai's* earlier outdoor exhibitions: Staging relational, partly controllable, partly contingent events by occupying a public space, like earlier on the park in Ashiya, this time it was the air space, or atmosphere. They dispersed art using the media of advertisement.

The advertising balloon found its way into *Gutai's* artistic vocabulary with Akira Kanayama's installation for the *First Gutai Exhibition* at Tokyo's Ōhara Hall, part of the Ōhara flower arrangement school. The exhibition took place between October 19 and October 26, 1955. Fellow artist Shimamoto writes on Kanayama's work in a section entitled "The Balls by Akira Kanayama" (*Kanayama Akira shi no 'tama'*):[512]

Amidst the numerous dynamic works in The '1ˢᵗ Gutai Art Exhibition', the static, geometric, round balls by Akira Kanayama attracted considerable attention. […] They are presented as new attempts on the relationship between the works, which have hitherto been processed with common sense, and the exhibition site. That is to say, in this case the 'balls' alone are not the work. They are presented in correspondence to the exhibition site as a space.

Shimamoto's description of Kanayama's earlier work also further illuminates the rest of the 1970 Expo opening performance, introducing the egg-shaped light balls. When he brings to mind, how

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[511] Katō, Mizuho: "Bibliographical Information on Each Issue (Number 11)," in: *Gutai. Facsimile Edition, 12-Volume Boxed Set with Supplement*, ed. Chinatsu Kuma, supervised by Ashiya City Museum of Art & History, Tokyo: Geikashoin, 2010, p.86.

[512] Shimamoto, Shōzō: "The Balls by Akira Kanayma," trans. Kikuko Ogawa, in: *Gutai. Facsimile Edition, 12-Volume Boxed Set with Supplement*, no. 4, Chinatsu Kuma (ed.), supervised by Ashiya City Museum of Art & History, Tokyo: Geikashoin, 2010, p.25, [first: idem: "Kanayama Akira shi no 'tama'" (The Balls of Mr. Akira Kanayama), in: *Gutai* (Special Issue: 1st Gutai Art Exhibition at Ōhara Hall, Tokyo, 19.-28.10.1955), no. 4, (July,1956), p.15].

ad-balloon and a smaller ball were put in relation and linked with the rest of the installation through a colored light source, on occasion of the *1ˢᵗ Gutai Art Exhibition* at Ohara Hall, Tokyo, in 1955:[513]

> *One is a huge work in the shape of an advertising balloon reaching from the ceiling to the floor and sots in the middle of the gallery. While the shape itself is bizarre, the way it fills the entire gallery with the feeling that it cannot get any larger as it might burst is truly spectacular. The other work is a ball measuring 60 centimeters or so in diameter hung from the ceiling and emitting a red light in the corner of the gallery. The red light is so strong that works around it are colored red.*

If the elements of the vocabulary are still more ore less the same, there are some remarkable changes of how the performers reuse them on the stage of Expo '70. During the *Sky Festival* suspended to the kites were (*Informel*) paintings, addressing painting as a multi-dimensional practice, producing space rather than filling an empty container, it goes definitely beyond a two-dimensional medium condition or "flatness," the gathering breaks with an internationalized multitude of space vehicles in the controlled airspace.

Looking for Gutai Pinacotheca – Combined Museum, Gallery, and Clubhouse

Exhausted after the outing to Ashiya, I join Ninagawa the next day around 3pm in Osaka's Nakanoshima ward. The muggy weather dampens the mood as we seem to search in vain for the spot marked out on the map, where the nowadays torn-down Gutai Pinacotheca had been installed. Hirai writes: "In 1967, a plan to build the Nakanoshima entrance/exit of the Hanshin Expressway unavoidably led to the premature destruction of the Gutai Pinacotheca."[514] Indeed, there is a driveway to be made out at some distance. Still, the street corner marked on the situation plans printed on Gutai pamphlets and invitation cards from 1962 is quite a few meters away (Fig.104, Fig.105, Fig.106), and seems having been reutilized in a different way. The maps from the late 1960s depict the new expressway entrance in mediate proximity, recording the transformation of the area.

We are standing puzzled in front of an elongated run down office building, possibly built around 1970, as I slowly spell out loud: *Ribāsaido birudeingu kabushikigaisha,* "Riverside Buidling Ltd." Our silhouettes are reflected in the large windows of a vacant shop space on the ground floor – the backside of a recent, quite luxury Mitsui Garden Hotel, and parking lots in our backs. Hardly anyone passes this remote, narrow backstreet. Left and right to the entrance of the building a traditional *soba* shop and a café compete for costumers with their dusty food samples stacked in vitrines. A guard seated at the entrance hall counter next to a decrepit elevator seems to get

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[513] Ibid.
[514] Osaka 2004, p.176.

suspicious about our joint inspection of the deserted grounds on the boarder of Tosabori river, situated between the National Museum of Art and a shopping center tower by the name "Festival Plaza." Art critic Martin Cohen reports on the Pinacotheca in 1968, two years before its definite closure:[515]

> In the heart of Osaka and in the shade of of new office buildings, the Pinacotheca is a thoroughly Japanese-appearing building, now out of place amid the frenetic highway and high-rise construction. A rice granary when first built some eighty years ago, the Pinacotheca, if considered to be a museum of modern art, is the only one in Osaka. […] in a city which, in the name of modernization for Expo 70, has sacrificed some good traditions like the 'oyster boats' – fresh-oyster restaurants moored in Osaka's canals – th antiquated Pinacotheca remains, now a tradition in itself, as combined museum, gallery and clubhouse for a remarkable band of madcap artists.

Open to the public from September 1962, the Gutai members inaugurate their proper exhibition space with a party on August 25. An empty storage or production building owned by Yoshihara Oil Mill Ltd. has been made over into a two story art exhibition, studio, and storage space according to plans by Jirō Yoshihara, including proposals for the design of the entrance area by Kazuo Shiraga, Sadamasa Motonaga, and Shōzō Shimamoto (Fig.107, Fig.108). The front yard serves for gatherings and parties, whereas the three spatious ground floor galleries and a lobby offer varying opportunities for the presentation of works, to be hung on white walls or wood siding, as well as for installations on the floor. Entering through an arcade covered in red vinyl, the visitors step into the Gutai Pinacotheca, a name consciously chosen and attached to the outside of the building in big latin letters to underscore Gutai's outreach to international peers. Designated as lobby, the entrance hall is furnished with a low table and chairs to accomodate guests. Sanitary installations make it a fully equipped, liveable place, when working at the second floor studio space.

From October 1962 David Tudor, John Cage, and Pierre Restany appear on the list of visits documented, just as british critic Lawrence Alloway, and Jean Tinguely visiting in July 1963, Sam Francis, Jasper Johns, Merce Cunningham, and Robert Rauschenberg over the course of 1964.[516] During their respective stays in Japan the enumerated artists visit the Gutai Pinacotheca in Osaka, but most of them stage their own programs at the Sōgetsu Art Center (1958–1971) in Tokyo. In 1958 – the same year the Gutai members hold their last annual exhibition at the Ōhara Hall, a

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[515] Cohen 1968, op.cit., p. 89.
[516] Peggy Guggenheim (1962) and Billy Klüver (1969) are also reported on having visited the Gutai Pinacotheca. See: Tiampo 2011, p.127. It is indeed astonishing if Allan Kaprow in his 1966 publication mentions "9 artists from the Japanese Gutai Group" as a belated acquaintance pointed out to him by Alfred Leslie in 1963 only, "prefiguring" his own notion of "happening," with the conclusion of "communication malfunctioning." See: Kaprow, Allan (ed.): *Assemblage, Environments & Happenings. With a Selection of Scenarios by: 9 Japanese of the Gutai Group, Jean-Jacques Lebel, Wolf Vostell, George Brecht, Kenneth Dewey, Milan Knizák, Allan Kaprow*, New York: H.N. Abrams, 1966, p.210. For insightful take on the Gutai Pinacotheca and the polemics around the effects of "globalism" see: Hayashi, Michio et al.: "Gutai Pinacotheca arui wa 60-nen dai no gurobarizumu" [The Gutai Pinacotheca or: The Globalism of the 1960s], in: *The Savage Mind in the Modern Age. Reconsidering Postwar Japanese Art History*, Osaka: The National Museum of Art Osaka 2006, pp.210-268.

school for flower arrangement at the southern end of the Aoyama quarter, and Sōfū Teshigahara's works accompany the Gutai exhibitions in Tokyo and New York (Fig.109), the former members of the Tokyo based artists' collective *Jikken Kōbō* (1951–1957), find new challenges and new collaborative exhibition formats to be realized at the venue of Sōfū Teshigahara's Ikebana-school in Aoyama Tokyo. The new building of the "Sōgetsu Art Center" (SAC) housing an auditorium with 300 seats has been planned by Kenzō Tange (Fig.110),[517] who will come to occasionally collaborate with some of the much younger artists, active at SAC.[518]

Teshigahara's son Hiroshi (1927–2001) takes the responsibility for a new artistic program beyond his father's flower arrangements. Music concrète, jazz, fluxus, animation, and cinema are the keywords for a sophisticated programmation of musical performances, lectures and discussions. The artists interested in an enlightenment concept of art and science, departing from a common point,[519] combining engineering technology and art event, are particularly intrigued by the Black Mountain College teachings. Composer Toshi Ichiyanagi has a prominent voice in the Sōgetsu circle and is respected for having studied with John Cage in the 1950s, fortifying the ties to the international Fluxus scene.[520] Namely the composers Tōru Takemitsu and Ichiyanagi contribute to an ever increasing interest in manifesting electronic music, or rather "sound and noise," whereas artists like Toshio Matsumoto, or Katsuhiro Yamaguchi show a fascination for historical and contemporary techniques of montage, and the moving image (*eizō*). Through their inclination toward electronic appliances and the involvment of trained engineers the vocabulary of a theory, explaining, how machines can be controlled to interact, is adopted in art theory. On the very basic technical level – cybernetics – slowly but surely start to permeate the aesthetic considerations of

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[517] Ashton, Dore: *The Delicate Thread. Teshigahara's Life in Art*, Toyko, New York and London: Kodansha International, 1997, pp.64-65.

[518] He collaborated with Katsuhiro Yamaguchi for the latter's first solo-exhibitions after the dissolution of the experimental art collaboration group had been engaging in during the early fities (*Jikken Kōbō*).

[519] See: Takiguchi, Shūzō: "The Spirit of Experimentation – An Anthology," trans. Lewis Cook, in: *Jikken Kōbō to Takiguchi Shūzō. Experimental Workshop (Dai 11-kai omāju Takiguchi Shūzō ten. The 11th Exhibition Homage to Shuzo Takiguchi)*, exh. cat. Satani Gallery Tokyo 1991, supervised by Katsuhiro Yamaguchi and Kuniharu Akiyama, Tokyo: Satani Gallery, 1991, pp.7-11 [first: idem: "Jikken to seishin (The Spirit of Experimentation)," in: *Bijutsu hihyō* [Art Criticism], (June,1952)].

[520] Reported by Toshi Ichiyanagi, Arata Isozaki and Katsuhiro Yamaguchi on occasion of the discussion panel "From Space to Environment: Contemporaneous Intermedia Activities and the Osaka Expo," in the framework of the exhibiton *Metabolism. The City of the Future*, Mori Art Museum Tokyo, 2011-2012, Tokyo: Mori Art Museum Academy Hills, 18.12.2011; Ashton 1997, op. cit., pp.78-79; also: Haga, Tōru: "Teshigahara Sōfū to anforumeru to watashi" [Sōfū Teshigahara, Informel, and I], in: *Sōgetsu to sono jidai 1945-1970* [Sōgetsu and its Era. 1945-1970], exh. cat. Ashiya City Museum of Art and History and Chiba City Museum of Art, 1998-1999, Atsuo Yamamoto and Mizuho Katō et al. (eds.), Kyoto: Kōrinsha, 1998, pp.84-87; Katō, Mizuho: "Nihon ni okeru anforumeru no juyō" [The Japanese Reception of Informel], in: *Sōgetsu to sono jidai 1945-1970* [Sōgetsu and its Era. 1945-1970], exh. cat. Ashiya City Museum of Art and History and Chiba City Museum of Art, 1998-1999, Atsuo Yamamoto and Mizuho Katō et al. (eds.), Kyoto: Kōrinsha, 1998, pp.88-97; *Sōgetsu to sono jidai 1945-1970* [Sōgetsu and its Era. 1945-1970], exh. cat. Ashiya City Museum of Art and History and Chiba City Museum of Art, 1998-1999, Atsuo Yamamoto and Mizuho Katō et al. (eds.), Kyoto: Kōrinsha, 1998, pp.147-314.

artists,[521] experimenting with technology in commercial cooperation with electronic producers like Sony, or Toshiba.[522]

With the establishment of the *Gutai Pinacotheca*, the format of solo exhibitions complements the two annual group exhibitions, still held at the Osaka branch of the Takashimaya department store. The *Gutai* magazine seems to have been nearly replaced by individual catalogues issued for the one-(wo)man shows in the same B4 format as the earlier bulletin. Ming Tiampo dates the beginning of a "second phase" of *Gutai* to the same year, the group opens its "cultural embassy."[523] Since 1961 a younger generation of artists gradually joins the *Gutai* group, among which Shūji Mukai (b. 1941, member 1961–1972), Tsuyoshi Maekawa (b. 1936, member 1962–1972), Takesada Matsutani (b. 1937, member 1963–1972), and Yūko Nasaka (b. 1938, member 1963–1972). A larger personal metamorphosis of the constellation is yet still pending until 1965, when the artist couple Atsuko Tanaka and Akira Kanayama leave *Gutai*, but 12 artists, among which the significantly younger Norio Imai (b. 1946), and Minoru Yoshida (b. 1935) join Gutai.

Yamazaki spent some years abroad, living in Washington. Her stay in the U.S. was yet not primarily an art-related sojourn.[524] Passing the larger part of her life in Ashiya, where she still resides today, the *Gutai Pinacotheca* allowed Yamazaki and the fellow *Gutai* members to stay local, while engaging in a global dialogue. The travelling international art scene, beyond the circle of international friends and collaborators made courtesy visits, marvelling at and paying respect to the group's achievements. So far, we can only wonder what Jean Tinguely thought of the setting he encountered, when visiting the Gutai Pinacotheca in July 1963.

For her first solo show, held from July 1 to July 10, 1953 Yamazaki prepares middle format paintings to be hung on the walls and one large format laid out on the floor to be considered from above. After experimenting with dye on metal, and installations to explore the phenomenon of reflexion throughout the last years (Fig.111-113), in this exhibition Yamazaki returns to a 'motive', she departed from with the diagonal stripe work in 1955. Using wooden panels, cotton and vinyl paint instead of oil and canvas, Yamazaki still turns her back to classical notions of painting and representation, whereas her exploration of texture and color is ever more strongly tied to appropriated forms. Her colorful arrangements of fringing shapes, permeating one another, merging into each other in semi-transparent subtle layers of paint, just as well as distinguishing

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[521] Yamaguchi, Katsuhiro: "Oral History Interview with Katsuhiro Yamaguchi," conducted by Fumihiko Sumitomo and Toshino Iguchi, 7.3./7.4.2010, Oral History Archives of Japanese Art, website, (accessed through <www.oralarthistory.org>, last access 11.1.2015), trans. Christopher Stephens, (accessed through: <http://post.at.moma.org/content_items/83-interview-with-yamaguchi-katsuhiro>, last access 1.9.2013).

[522] See: Yamaguchi, Katsuhiro (ed.): "Chronology," in: *360°. Katsuhiro Yamaguchi*, with a text by Jasia Reichardt, Tokyo: Rikuyo-sha Publishing, Inc., 1981, pp.24-48.

[523] Tiampo 2011, pp.126-127.

[524] Yamazaki, Tsuruko: "Oral History Interview with Tsuruko Yamazaki," conducted by Mizuho Katō and Hiroko Ikegami, 12.6.2011, Oral History Archives of Japanese Art, website, (accessed through: <www.oralarthistory.org>, last access 7.12.2015).

themselves against patterned backdrops and color contrasts. On these depthless surfaces, form and color converge, contradicting each other in repetitive, changing sets. Triangles and vermiform color fields reminding of speech bubbles in a comic strip, as well as similarly unprecise, repeated geometric motives reminding of organic forms appear like the question marks of a silent dialogue on structrual regulation and derogation (Fig.114). Yamazaki's use of color and the strategically placed evocative shapes, now more than ever play on visual conventions rather than on the physiological conditions of perception, still revealing their interplay without committing herself, or submitting her works explicitly to definitions like 'pop art' (Fig.115).

The *Gutai Pinacotheca* however had to move definitely by 1970 because of construction work planned by the city of Osaka, as mentioned earlier on. Ming Tiampo illuminates, what Yoshihara had in mind to replace the group's exhibition space and clubhouse with: "Yoshihara hired the architect Yamazaki Yasutaka to design another building (Fig.116). One of his designs echoed the technologically inspired Gutai art that emerged through the 1960s, with a 130-meter irregularly shaped tower […]. An imposing structure that would have dwarfed everything around it. […] Unfortunately, the building was never constructed."[525]

2.3.3 Crosspostings

"Replacing Absolute Time with Particular Time" – Jikan-ha (Time School)

The *Gutai Pinacotheca* not only serves as an exhibiton venue for Gutai artist, but as a showcase for works by international artists, the group got in touch with over the last years. A double-feature, combines Lucio Fontana or Giuseppe Capogrossi's works in 1964. Whereas, e.g. Fontana's perforated canvases exhibited stretch and transgress the pictorial plane into a multidimensional, relational space, the presentations at *Gutai Pinacotheca* in general are nowadays less ingressive in the built exhibition space than during the 1950s, when the group had turned Ōhara hall in a parcours of affective sensory experience, moving bodies and minds of the visitors. Meanwhile the time has come for a Tokyo audience that had shunned the early Gutai exhibitions at Ōhara hall to appreciate artistic works, enmeshing the audience into phenomenological experiences of objects that are changing appearance over time and through the movements or the actions of the visitors. In a close dialogue with the art critics Shūzo Takiguchi and Yūsuke Nakahara the artists Ushio Nakazawa, Fuji Tanaka, Mikio Doi and Shōzo Nagano form the short-lived group *Jikan-ha* (Time School) issue their 'manifesto' in form of a text accompanying their first show.

On occasion of their first exhibition at the Satō Gallery in Tokyo in May 1962, *Jikan-ha* transforms the exhibition space with rubber bands stretched from floor to ceiling, or a painting

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[525] Tiampo 2011, p.168.

embedding rearview mirrors. [526] The text opens, calling on the readers "This philosophical appeal is not the work of an individual; together with you, the artists will act, respond and raise doubt." It further stresses to which extent the lessons of natural sciences and its theoreticians are to be implented in art, admitting that "[…] mathematics, science, and art have each attempted to establish a means of perceiving and reacting according to a unique method. None of them, however, has attained an eternal or absolute truth." [527] In this respect, however, *Jikan-ha's* 'manifesto' is much more vocal and explicit, especially concerning the relation of art and science, than the sometimes discourse-avoiding practitioners of the *Gutai* group:[528]

> *Along with the theory of relativity, quantum theory altered the course of this century by negating the absolute concept of time and space that had existed since Newton's mechanics and by doing away with the existence of either. Likewise, by exploring the infinitesimal world through particle physics, we discovered the idea of a non-individuated body containing nuclear force that is generated only by the exchange of states. As metabolism itself is the essence of an organism, the metaphysical superiority of life can be completely rejected. If the conditions of our existence are constantly changing, than what remains consistent is the extent to which we are diversily formed. […] The continual, ceaseless generating of fragments of phenomena and modern conventions to be perceived in the realm of time will be annihilated. 'Time creates me, I create time' (Bonaparte).*

We can see that both groups shared the somewhat "similar, yet dissimilar" goal of approaching 'reality' via phenomenological perception. The *Jikan-ha* text is yet again more straight forward than the nuanced and playful allusions in the writings of Gutai artists, published, e.g. in their bulletin embody. If Gutai brought the shared, yet subjective perception of an interplay of natural, mechanical, and human forces as such to the fore without much critical assessment of the respective elements involved in the process, the *Jikan-ha* text states instead more precisely: "[…] we attempt to measure the sufficiency of perception." Whereas a point in common for both groups is the effect of their work in progress-, bodies in process-like works "replac[ing] absolute time with particular time and, by bringing an unknown dimension to art, […] identifying another reality.

In *Jikan-ha*'s collective exhibitions, "authorship" is attributed to the group and the visitors of the exhibtion venue. [529] As I have explained before, *Gutai* struggled in its early years to be

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[526] On the importance and changing role of art galleries (*garō*) in Tokyo see: Yamazaki, Shōzō: "'Garō' ga atarshii jidai o tsukuru [Galleries will produce a new era]," in: *Geijutsu shinchō* [New Trends in Art], vol. 11, no. 10, (October, 1960), pp.194-201.

[527] Tanaka, Fuji, Junen Doi, Ushio Nakazawa, Shōzo Nagano: "Jikan-ha sengen" [Jikan-ha Manifesto], exhibition handout, May 1962, Satō Gallery, Tokyo, trans. Christopher Stephens, cit. after in: *From Postwar to Postmodern. Art in Japan 1945–1989* (Primary Documents), Doryun Chong, Michio Hayashi, Kenji Kajiya et al. (eds.), New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2012, pp.139-141.

[528] Tanaka, Fuji, Junen Doi, Ushio Nakazawa, Shōzo Nagano: "Jikan-ha sengen" [Jikan-ha Manifesto], exhibition handout, May 1962, Satō Gallery, Tokyo, trans. Christopher Stephens, cit. after *From Postwar to Postmodern. Art in Japan 1945–1989* (Primary Documents), Doryun Chong, Michio Hayashi, Kenji Kajiya et al. (eds.), New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2012, pp. pp.139-141.

[529] Okumura, Yasuhiko: "Jikan-ha (Time School, based in Tokyo)," trans. Stanley N. Anderson, in: *Nihon no natsu – 1960-64. Japanese Art 1960s – Japanese Summer 1960-64*, exh. cat. Contemporary Art Gallery, Art Tower Mito, 1997, curated by Arata Isozaki, Mito: Mito Geijutsukan, 1997, p.87.

accepted as a collective, exhibiting at the first independent art exhibititions that contrasted institutionalized exhibition formats organized by the art establishment, the group still tended to be identified with.[530] Within seven years, a younger generation of artists imposed itself. Collaborating on installative exhibition formats or intervening in public spaces like the street, subway stations, and public transport, one of the goals a broad range of mushrooming artist groups from Kyushu to Hokkaido shared,[531] was to eventually subvert increasing regulation, standardization, and monotony of the clockwork constituting the everyday as an endless loop of business-performance during a phase of high economic growth in the achievement-oriented society of Japan's long postwar. At the time art practices expanding the field of painting to inter-subjective, social practices – which *Gutai* pioneerd – gained in modified, or even radicalized forms acceptance among artists in early 1960s Japan. *Gutai* brings an evergrowing number of artists together, yet with the format of personal showcases increasingly backs away from collaborative or participatory aspects.

"Introduzione al Giappone:" An Introduction to Japan Surfacing in Italy

We could also ask, why of all international artists Yoshihara and his *Gutai* fellows had come in touch with over the years, one of the most prominent exhibitions in the *Gutai Pinacotheca* was dedicated to Lucio Fontana and Giuseppe Capogrossi. It could have been Michel Tapié, turning the attention of *Gutai* members to the works of Capogrossi and Fontana. Both artists – with a broad range of European and American painters, among which Karel Appel – figured in the *International Art of a New Era* exhibition, Tapié had organized in 1958 (Fig.117). Their works also surface in the issues eight and nine of the *Gutai* magazine, documenting the encounter of the French critic and dealer with the *Gutai* group in Japan. On the other hand, Yoshihara himself just as well as his students like Shimamoto or Yamazaki, frequenting Yoshihara's art library, were probably already familiar with the Italian artists' works, if they had actually been considering Yoshihara's issues of the Italian magazine *domus. architettura, arredamento, arte* (Fig.118). Yoshihara subscribed to *domus* from 1955 to 1959. Flipping through the issues of the years in question, Fontana's works are difficult to overlook. The cover of the January issue, 1955 is captioned: "Tessuto d'arredamento della manufattura Isa di Busto Arsizi, disegno di Lucio Fontana 'concetto spaziale',"[532] and in November of the same year Fontana's work is covered more extensively on a double page, introducing also *Concetto Spaziale*, 1953, which will serve as cover of *Gutai* number eight. Celebrating "L'aventure

[530] Mitsuda 2010, op. cit., p.114.
[531] For further reading on the diversity of 1960s artists groups within Japan, aside from the cultural centers Tokyo and Osaka see: "The Map of Avant-garde Art Groups in Japan," in: *Nihon no natsu – 1960-64. Japanese Art 1960s – Japanese Summer 1960-64*, exh. cat. Contemporary Art Gallery, Art Tower Mito, 1997, curated by Arata Isozaki, Mito: Mito Geijutsukan, 1997, pp.84-91; and Tomii, Reiko: *Radicalism in the Wilderness*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2016.
[532] See cover page and imprint of *domus*, no. 302, (1955), n.p.

informelle," [533] this special issue is for once not dedicated to an exhibition, but presents a collection of works on 88 pages – a quite thick catalogue contained in a slipcase (Fig.119, Fig.120).

Although Ming Tiampo's list of Yoshihara's magazine holdings does not comprise information on the exact issues,[534] it is highly probable that he owned the first number with Fontana's fabric design cover, since another double page in the same issue was dedicated to one of the group's closer acquaintances from Tokyo, which supposedly was a reason for subscribing to the magazine in the first place. "Composizioni decorative Giapponesi"[535] (Decorative Compositions from Japan) presented the work of progressive Ikebana artist Sōfū Teshigahara, accompanied by Ken Domon's documentary photos and a short text praising Teshigahara's seemingly fossilized arrangements, consisting of floral and marine elements, as well as bent iron sticks or threads. The underscored the static aspect of an otherwise ephemeral flower arrangement as particularly contemporary in thought (Fig.121).[536]

Giuseppe Capogrossi's *Superficie 139* (c. 1955) on the other hand, figures in an article on the *VII Quadriennale di Roma,* in March 1956 (Fig.122).[537] Obviously, as the feature of Teshigahara's work shows, the information Yoshihara and his students would retrieve from the Italian architecture, interior design and art magazine exceeded Fontana's "spazialismo."[538] Even though the Ashiya crew did most probably not read much Italian, the artists on the other hand gained an insight in different perspectives on Japan – terribly orientalist at times – yet intrigued with architecture, types of fabrics, materials, textures, and patterns.[539] In June 1956, Austrian born expat in the U.S. and later curator of a range of controversial exhibitions at the Museum of Modern Art New York, Bernard Rudofsky, had returned from a short travel to Japan (Fig.123).[540] Working up his

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[533] Cf. *Gutai (Gutaï. L'Aventure Informelle. Numéro Spécial sur L'Art Informel)*, no. 8, (1957).

[534] Cf. Tiampo 2011, Appendix 3, p.183. Yoshihara's estate held by the Ashiya City Museum of Art and History is currently inaccessible, but to be presented in a long-term collection exhibition at the National Museum of Art in Osaka, to be opened in 2017.

[535] "Composizioni decorative giapponesi," editorial, in: *domus*, no. 302, 1955, pp.42-43.

[536] Orig.: "quelle inclinazione per gli aspetti pietrificati della vegetazione che oggi è nel gusto: ghiaia, roccia, tronchi, piante immobili, che non fioriscono e non crescono e non decadono, e che avvicinano gli aspetti di queste composizioni alle sculture." Cf.: "Composizioni decorative giapponesi," editorial, in: *domus*, no. 302, 1955, pp.42-43.

[537] Negri, Mario: "Alla VII Quadriennale di Roma," in: *domus*, no. 316, 1956, p.52.

[538] White, Anthony: *Lucio Fontana: Between Utopia and Kitsch* (An October book), Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2011, pp.125-168.

[539] Walter Ruprechter characterizes Rudofsky's approach as cosmopolite, yet differentiated enough to avoid flattening out nuances in universalist claims: "Und Rudofskys Versuche einer kritischen und selektiven Aneignung von kulturellen Praktiken, die sich rund um das japanische Haus entwickelt habe, entsprechen einer anderen kosmopolitischen Haltung, die Differenzen nicht in einer Einheit aufheben will, sondern in der Heterogenität und Fremdheit der Phänomene gelten lässt," cf. Ruprechter, Walter: "Transformationen eines Topos: Das 'japanische Haus' bei Bruno Taut, Walter Gropius, Josef Frank und Bernard Rudofsky," in: *Übersetzung – Transformation. Umformungsprozess in / von Texten, Medien, Kulturen*, Yamamoto, Hiroshi and Christine Ivanovic (eds.), Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2010, pp.162-172, p.171.

[540] Rudofsky would later move to Japan and live there for about 20 months with his wife from 1958 to 1960. His analysis and frustrations of being immersed in the new living circumstances can be retraced in his diary, cf. Wit, Wim de: "Rudofsky's Discomfort: A Passion For Travel," in: *Lessons from Bernard Rudofsky*, exh. cat. Architekturzentrum Wien, The Getty Research Insitute, Los Angeles, 2007, Basel: Birkhäuser, 2007, pp.98-122.

impressions, he started a column for *domus*, entitled "Introduzione al Giappone." [541] The announcement of the series by Gillo Dorfles reads as follows: [542]

> *Questo è il primo di una "serie di articoli che vorrei chiamare 'note in calce alla architettura giapponese'" – ci dice Rudofsky. Quello che Rudofsky scrive qui, dopo il suo viaggio in Giappone, è "ciò che non si trova nei libri" e che si può scoprire nei viaggi: I costumi, e la loro evidente e segreta identità con la architettura.*

Rudofsky admits that Japan has not only a particular style in clothing and fashion, but also that the country itself was in fashion reasoning the planned series: "In breve, il Giappone è in gran voga." [543] Whereas it is not clear, why the magazine shows such an affinity for architecture, art, or lifestyle in Japan particularly over the years 1955 and 1956, one can only presume it could have something to do with the international attention for Japanese architecture on occasion of the completion of Tange's Hiroshima Peace Center in 1955, which was then again not featured in *domus*.

The magazine might as well have followed Museum of Modern Art's curator Arthur Drexler, setting the tone with his exhibition catalogue "The Architecture of Japan." [544] The topic yet appears to have been less attractive in *domus*' editorial policy of the following years. Even Rudofsky further on published not as frequently as the editorial section had announced in 1955. However, his second article is dedicated to the *shōji*, unfolding from the movable paper screens in a traditional Japanese house a summary of the different treatments of light in the living environment, reflecting performative aspects of Japanese traditional dwellings. Rudofsky introduces aesthetic meditations on the shadow, citing Lafcadio Hearn and summarizing Ashiya based author Jun'ichiro Tanizaki: [545]

> *Per assapporare luce e ombra tra quattro mura si deve andare in Giappone, dove le pareti traslucide erano già comuni quando l'Europa costruiva ancora case massicce come fortificazioni. Come ben sa chi si interessa di architettura, nella casa tradizionale giapponese alle pareti esterne corrispondono degli schermi di carta scorrevoli chiamati shoji. Gli shoji, e la impareggiabile luce che diffondono, sono stati descritti minutamente ed entusiasticamente da molti viaggiatori stranieri, ma soltanto un giapponese sembra in grado di rendere con parole il loro quasi magico incanto. 'I nostri antenati' scrive un grande romanziere contemporaneo, Junichiro Tanizaki 'arrivarono a scoprire la bellezza nelle ombre; e anzi a guidare le ombre a fini di bellezza. Dal variare delle ombre dipende la bellezza di una stanza giapponese. La luce del giardino entra, ma fioca attraverso le pareti a panelli di carta, e la stanza e tenuta in colori neutri perché il triste, fragile, morente raggio possa affondare in assoluto riposo …'. Notate che l'accento è posto sull'ombre, non sull'oscurità.*

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[541] Rudofsky, Bernard: "Introduzione al Giappone," editorial, in: *domus*, no. 319, (1956), pp.45-49

[542] Ibid., p.45.

[543] Rudofsky 1956, op. cit.

[544] Gillo Dorfles reviews the publication with a particular focus on the Ise shrine. In the magazine feature figure photos as a preview of Tange's Katsura publication project: "È in preparazione un nuovo libro, con nuove fotografie, (David, Publishing Co., Ginza, Tokyo) sulla villa imperiale di Katsura, a cura dell'architetto Kenzo Tange (autore del Memorial Center di Hiroshima, in costruzione dal 1951, pubblicato in Domus n. 269); le fotografie sono di Yasuhiro Ishimoto, ex allievo del Chicago Institute of Design. Il libro, che sarà impaginato da Herbert Bayer, è avra testi Gropius e di Max Bill, uscirà nella prossima primavera." cf. Dorfles, Gillo: "Gli Insegnamenti dell Giappone," in: *domus*, no. 314, (1956), pp.7-12.

[545] Rudofsky, Bernard: "Introduzione al Giappone," in: *domus*, no. 320, (1956), p.50.

More interesting is yet Rudofsky's general approach to architecture as another skin-like envelope of the human body. He thus often connects the discussion of man-made space with premises in fashion, fabric designs, and his critical interest in forms of commodification and display, eventually addressing surface and fetish.[546]

Rudofsky travelled Japan during the years of the first few *Gutai* in- and outdoor exhibitions, and stayed for an extended period of 20 months from 1958 to 1960 (Fig.124). Although Rudofsky has no particular connection to the *Gutai* group, his contemporaneous considerations give several hints, on which premises *Gutai's* stage dramas could be reviewed in closer detail, concerning their critique and embrace of the production of "sign exchange value"[547] and their playful subversion of processes of signification. Deploring the alienation from the surfaces that surround the human being in its domestic setting, Rudofsky asserted, as architecture historian Felicity Scott summarizes: "an embodied tactility […] invoked as his weapon against the advent of architecture into art,"[548] arguing with a "horizontal"[549] extensionalism in communication and mass-media,[550] containing overtones of Marshall McLuhan's observations on "Understanding Media. The Extensions of Man."[551] On the other hand Rudofsky underscores anthropological observations of "vernacular architecture" and cultural habits to deconstruct modernist myths of functionality. As architecture historian Scott argues, Rudofsky therewith also denounced "MoMA's role in the cross-Atlantic translation and subsequent commodification of these practices,"[552] as well as the International Style's "failing to address the psychological, erotic, and 'primitive' dimensions present […]."[553]

I mention Rudofsky's articles in this context, because it can be assumed that Yoshihara and his circle at least glanced at them, if not having been intrigued at least by his presentation of Japan, the sights and sites featured in the magazine from the possibly as much revealing as distorting point of view of such a commentator. I do yet of course not imply or suggest in any case that *Gutai* artists picked up on these articles. It can also not be the aim to construct a new comparative genealogy, implying that being aware of other artists' works 'influenced' the group members in turning toward certain practices. The examples cited illustrate though shared points of interest and possible sites of mutual encounter in print media, beyond the dispersion of the *Gutai* magazine. We can at least state that Rudofsky and *Gutai* unintentionally shared a somewhat similar interest in

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[546] *Are Clothes Modern? An Essay on Contemporary Apparel*, exh. cat. Museum of Modern Art, New York 1947, New York: P. Theobald, 1947, p.173.

[547] Baudrillard, Jean: *For a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign*, trans. Charles Levin, St. Louis, MI: Telos Press Ltd., 1981, [first: *Pour une Critique de l'Économie Politique du Signe*, Paris: Gallimard, 1972].

[548] Scott, Felicity: "Underneath Aesthetics and Utility: The Untransposable Fetish of Bernard Rudofsky," in: *Assmblage*, no. 38, (1999), p.81.

[549] Ibid.

[550] Ibid.

[551] McLuhan 1964, op.cit.

[552] Scott 1999, op.cit., p.65.

[553] Ibid.

textures, as well as in the impact of the apparel surrounding the body, the en- or rather uncoding of images and materials.

As though by chance Rudofsky's photos published alongside his column, prove his perceptiveness for the scenic qualities of physical elements and phenomena surfacing, or being reflected in domestic and urban settings, akin to *Gutai*'s art. A good example is Rudofsky's description of the *laterna magica* effect, he spots in the interiors of Japanese houses, which was also a common feature for a number of *Gutai* (performance) works, dealing with shadow, color and light plays (Fig.125). This leads us back to Fontana and his *Spatial Concept* – used as front and back cover for *Gutai* no. 8 *L'aventure informelle* in 1957, and in a different version (a fabric pattern) as front cover of the 1955 January issue of *domus.*

Curator Anthony White furnishes an interesting thesis on Fontana's punctured works, used as light projecting and shadow reflecting surfaces.[554] He not only points out that Fontana intended his works to be "television art,"[555] but claims that they served Fontana to reveal the liveness of television as ideological myth "that masks the very real spatial and temporal heterogeneity of television both as a technology and as an aesthetic experience."[556] Comparing Fontana's *Spatial Concepts* to László Moholy-Nagy *Light-Space Modulator* (1930) – a machine casting shadows on walls of the room it is presented in, yielding perforated metal sheets and screens, moved by an electric motor – White points out that Fontana's static work "has a very different relationship to time," he concludes that "Fontana's projected light display places the explosion of electronic media at a disadvantage against the memories of the arcadian visions of 'mystery and beauty' produced by the magic lantern. […] Through the power of memory, it also illuminates an important lesson of […] history – that the spectacle's marvelous promises of happiness have generally turned out to be false."[557]

Fontana had shown his perforated projection works at the Gianni Prize in Venice in 1952 already.[558] The chemical company Gianni announced the show as a selection of "spatial and nuclear paintings inspired by the atomic bomb."[559] If White argues that Fontana's holes "need to be carefully distinguished from the gestural school of European *Informel* painting with which they are often compared,"[560] this holds as much true for the early, performative *Gutai* pieces, engaging space and time, rather than endorsing a final work as art object and commodity. The confusion,

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[554] White, Anthony: *Lucio Fontana: Between Utopia and Kitsch* (An October book), Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2011, pp.169-206.

[555] Moretti, Luigi: "Arte e televisione," in: Spazio, 7, 1952, p.74; cit. after White, Anthony: *Lucio Fontana: Between Utopia and Kitsch* (An October book), Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2011, pp.190-191; see also Idem: "TV and Not TV: Lucio Fontana's Luminous Images in Movement," in: *Grey Room*, 34, 2000, pp.6-27.

[556] Ibid., p.191.

[557] Ibid., pp.192-193.

[558] Ibid., p.193.

[559] Cf. *Premio Gianni*, exh. cat. Milan: Galleria del Naviglio, 1952; Cit. after: White, Anthony: *Lucio Fontana: Between Utopia and Kitsch* (An October book), Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2011, p.193.

[560] White 2011, op.cit., p.196.

however, lies in the historical amity between the protagonists of the different art scenes that has under the auspices of a unifying humanist internationalism, or universalism in art history often been flattened into an undifferentiated congruence of ideas and ideals.

"Une Architecture Autre" (Another Architecture) – Reyner Banham's Elective Affinities

Another discoursive approximation of things that developed apart from each other and are therefore not 'naturally' linked at all yet offer an interesting point of intersection, can be found in Reyner Banham's article introducing and reflecting "The New Brutalism"[561] in architecture. The article was published in the magazine *Architectureal Review* in December 1955. In this case I remind you of Banham, not because his writings would theoretically have been accessible to the *Gutai* artists in Yoshihara's library or elsewhere. The reason is Banham's mention of "un art autre," promoted by Tapié, as parallelling the ideas that architects like the London based couple Peter and Alison Smithson had been introducing to architectural theory and practice, e.g. the estimation of a "warehouse aesthetic,"[562] stating: "One cannot begin to study the New Brutalism without realizing how deeply the New Art-History has bitten into progressive English architectural thought, into teaching methods, into the commmon language of communication between architects and architectural critics."[563] Acknowledging a slight paradox in his differential parallelism Banahm calls nevertheless for "une architecture autre," claiming "image" and "topology" to be common denominators of recent art and architectural practices:[564]

> A great many things have been called 'an image' – S.M. della Consolazione at Todi, a painting by Jackson Pollock, the Lever Building, the 1954 Cadillac convertible, the roofscape of the Unité at Marseilles, any of the hundred photographs in Parallel of Life and Art. 'Image' seems to be a word that describes anything or nothing. Ultimately, however, it means something, which is visually valuable, but not necessarily by the standards of classical aesthetics. […] Image may be defined as quod visum perturbat – that which seen, affects the emotions, a situation which could subsume the pleasure caused by beauty, but is not normally taken to do so, for the New Brutalists' interests in image are commonly regarded, by many of themselves as well as their critics, as being anti-art, or at any rate anti-beauty in the classical aesthetic sense of the word […]. What moves a New Brutalist is the thing itself, in its totality, and with all its overtones of human association. These ideas of course lie close to the general body of anti-Academic aesthetics currently in circulation, though they are not to be identified exactly with Michel Tapié's concept of un Art Autre, even though that concept covers many continental Brutalists as well as Edouardo Paolozzi.

Banham eventually stresses the aformalism in both, the art and architecture he compares in his essay, to conclude "this [aformalism] is clearly not an 'unconceptual' design, and on examination it can be shown to have a composition, but based not on the elementary rule-and-compass geometry,

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[561] Banham, Reyner: "The New Brutalism," in: *Architectural Review*, (December, 1955), pp.355-361.
[562] Ibid., p.356; See also: Smithson, Alison and Peter: "House in Soho," in: *Architectural Design*, vol. 13, no. 12, (December, 1953), p.342.
[563] Banham 1955, op.cit., p.356.
[564] Ibid.

which underlies most architectural composition, so much as [on] an intuitive topology […] the roles are reversed, topology becomes the dominant and geometry the subordinate discipline." Whereas architecture critic Theo Crosby reports on the "Parallel of Life and Art" exhibition, organized by Peter and Alison Smithon at the Institute of Contemporary Art in London, and mentioned in Banham's article in a short review issued in October 1953:[565]

> *Today the view has widened, and images form every field of art and science have been assembled into a compendium of the visual possibilities of the fifties. Thanks to the micro-photograph, the X-ray and the high-speed camera, we see things never seen before; we accept them carelessly. But these images point to a new and more complex form of order, moving away from the imposed simplicity of the first phase of the Modern Movement. […] In physics and biology we find simple assumptions giving place to the appreciation of more subtle and complex realities. Our engineers have moved from the calculable post and line to the almost intuitive design of vault and dome.*

After this digression on a discoursive thread running parallel to *Gutai* activity without having an actual impact on the artist's practices yet interesting to keep in mind as a broader contemporary context, I will focus on the developments, ideas and challenges a number of young architects in Japan dealt with from c. 1960. Before shifting persepective, let us yet briefly sum up some of the observations concerning the *Gutai* group, portrayed above during the period between c. 1955 and 1963.

When the Tokyo art scene was discussing in the mid 1950s, which "realism" should be put into practice,[566] the *Gutai* artists with their call to materialization and concreteness in the sense of "embodiment" gave their return to the real a different form. Confronting the human and the non-human by means of industrial and organic materials that underwent manipulations, executed by the non-mediated artist's body or – on the contrary – using tools, by increasing contingency, and by minimizing the trace of the artist's actual hand, but catalizing the transformation of matter. Their artworks stressed their interest in transformation and process as such, as well as in the effects, time, just like gravity, wind, or heat acted out to complement the artist's layout in uncontrollable ways. In this sense the larger *Gutai* project, even if advocating the discovery of an individual disposition, was relativizing the position of human ratio and the myth of an artist genius, as much as it was commited to reestablish a humane attitude in the postwar rebuilding of the demilitarized society in Japan. This attitude however did not detain them from calling for subjective or even "spiritual" creativity.

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[565] Cf.: Crosby, Theo: "Parallel of Life and Art," in: *Architectural Design*, vol. 13, no. 10, (October, 1953), p.297.
[566] See: Abe, Kōbō: "Atarashii riarizmu no tame ni: Ruporutāju no igi" [For the Sake of a New Realism. Different Meanings of Reportage], in: *Riron* [Theory], no. 18, (August, 1952), pp.29-36; and the comments of Mitsuda, Yuri: "The Realism Debate, 1946-1950," in: *From Postwar to Postmodern. Art in Japan 1945–1989* (Primary Documents), Doryun Chong, Michio Hayashi, Kenji Kajiya et al. (eds.), New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2012, p.49; a very insightful approach grants Hayashi, Michio: "Tracing the Graphic in Postwar Japanese Art," in: *Tokyo 1955-1970. A New Avant-garde*, exh. cat. The Museum of Modern Art New York 2012-2013, New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2012, pp.94-119.

The notion of body in *Gutai* addresses a locus, where contesting discourses converge and collide, rather than presenting it as a site of shared identification. Turning to a broad range of material substances found in the realm of the everyday, testing their respective atmospheric qualities, *Gutai* artworks aimed at freeing substances from their burden, being engaged as symbols of homogenized cultural identity in service of national representation.

To speak of *Gutai's* approach – conforming with the Modernism trope – in terms of a *tabula rasa* is justified and not at a time. It is justified in the sense of the commitment to experiments in fields yet underexplored, expanding the notions of painting and art in unprecedented ways. On the other hand the group's interest in the landscape, as a site that is shaped by both, human and non-human forces, lets historicity come into the picture. To foreground the *tabula rasa* aspect in *Gutai's* proclaimed quest for the new, has been an art historical strategy to establish the importance and autonomous "originality" of *Gutai*, in the specific context of Japanese Postwar Art History as a specialized discipline. – An argument aimed at purging the artists as a group from suspicions lingering with both Yoshihara's ongoing engagement in *Nika-kai*, and the groups' own organizational structure, transforming a derived model, rather than doing away with it completely. Since the call to orginiality – often invoked by Yoshihara himself indeed – was retroactively overestimated to strategically contradict a contemporary reproach that *Gutai* art only reproduced imported *Informel* or Abstract Expressionist painting, a judgement one can also unmask as prejudice without falling back to an argumentation revolving around the notion of *tabula rasa*.

The group's refusal of symbolic hierarchy enacted by staging and dismantling the arbitrariness of meaning, as well as its engagements against representation manifested in the 1950s add up to a rejection on the meta-level.[567] This rejection puts their practice as a form of "anarchic festivity,"[568] on the side, yet aside from more explicitly countercultural undertakings in 1950s and 1960s Japan. Nevertheless, art historian Mitsuda sees therein *Gutai's* position as "a precursor of Minimalism and Conceptual Art," explaining that "these movements can be compared with Gutai, whose critique of representation was warranted by the intention to isolate art from social reality of defeat and political turmoil. Gutai's radical lack of political qualities, its adopting a strictly apolitical position, was in fact a political stance."[569] The popular or folkloristic elements in *Gutai* artworks were not entirely overlooked by contemporary art critics. Only, they often misjudged them. Looking back on the last decades Pierre Restany remembers his Japanese fellow critic Yoshiaki Tōno in an account issued in 1976:[570]

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[567] Mitsuda 2010, op.cit., pp.110-120.
[568] Hayashi, Michio (ed.): "1945-1957 Postwar Reconstruction – From Occupation to the Cold War. Introduction," in: *From Postwar to Postmodern. Art in Japan 1945–1989.* (Primary Documents), Doryun Chong, Michio Hayashi, Kenji Kajiya et al. (eds.), New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2012, pp24-27, p.27.
[569] Mitsuda 2010, p.115.
[570] Restany, Pierre: "Le Groupe Gutai où le Japon Précurseur," in: *XXème Siècle*, no. 46, (September, 1976), pp.76-103, p.103.

My friend regarded the Gutai phenomenon as an outburst of modern folklore, a straw-fire from Osaka without any significance. It is true that the games nevertheless took place in 1963, and that with Kudo's generation Japan whole-heartedly threw itself into the adventure of the object, exactly parallel to the heraldic semiology of Yukisha Isobe, to the neo-Dadaism from Arakawa and the movement in music initiated by the Japanese and Korean pupils of John Cage: Toshi Ichiyanagi, Nam June Paik and Kazumichi Fujiwara.

At the same time stripping first materials and then forms off meaning offered for some of the artists, e.g. Tsuruko Yamazaki, an opportunity to expose the perceptual mechanisms of semantic systems operating visual forms and symbolic order by countering the arbitrariness of meaning with open-ended performances.

Figures

Fig.60: View over Osaka from *Umeda Sky Building*, Shin-Umeda district, Osaka, architect: Hiroshi Hara, 1993, (photo: Gabrielle Schaad, 2006)

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Fig.63a): Hi Red Center, poster 1965 (Fluxus Edition announced 1965), Fluxus Edition, Shigeko Kubota (ed.), designed and produced by George Maciunas, New York Offset printing on paper, double-sided, 56.2x43.2 cm, recto, (in: New York 2012, n.p.)

Fig.63b): Hi Red Center, poster 1965 (Fluxus Edition announced 1965), Fluxus Edition, Shigeko Kubota (ed.), designed and produced by George Maciunas, New York Offset printing on paper, double-sided, 56.2x43.2 cm, recto, (in: New York 2012, n.p.)

Fig.64: Meeting Tsuruko Yamazaki, Ashiya, 1.5.2014, (photo: Gabrielle Schaad)

Fig.65: Tsuruko Yamazaki, *Kao* [Face], 1950, oil on canvas, 73x53cm,
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Fig.66: Placeholder, Exhibition announcment *Genbi* [Gendai Bijutsu Kondankai]. *New Era for Creations*, Ashiya City Museum of Art and History, 2013
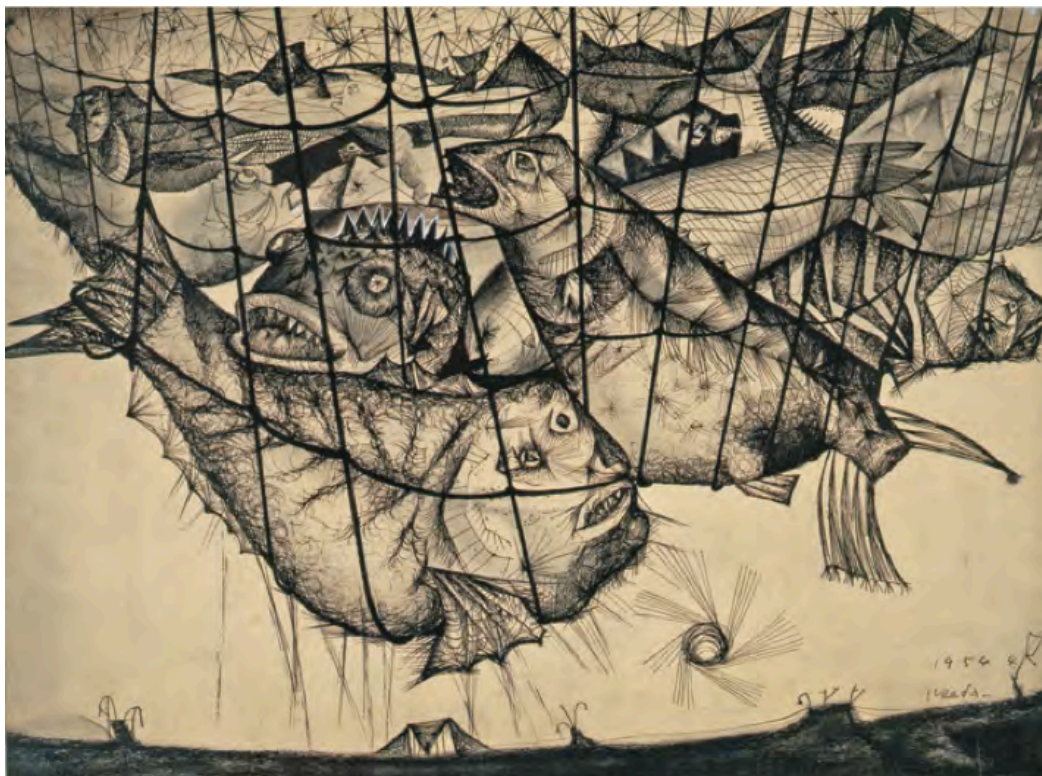
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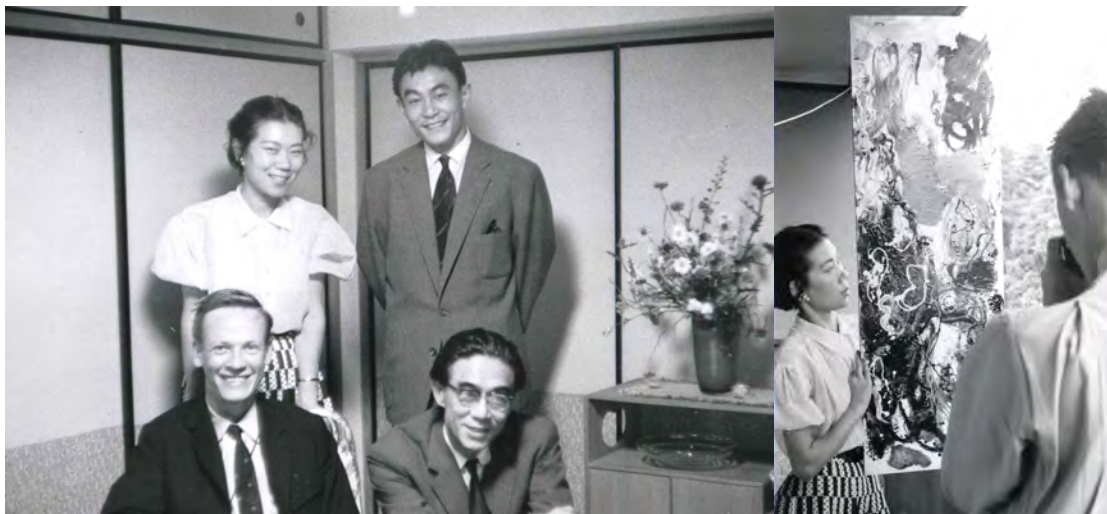
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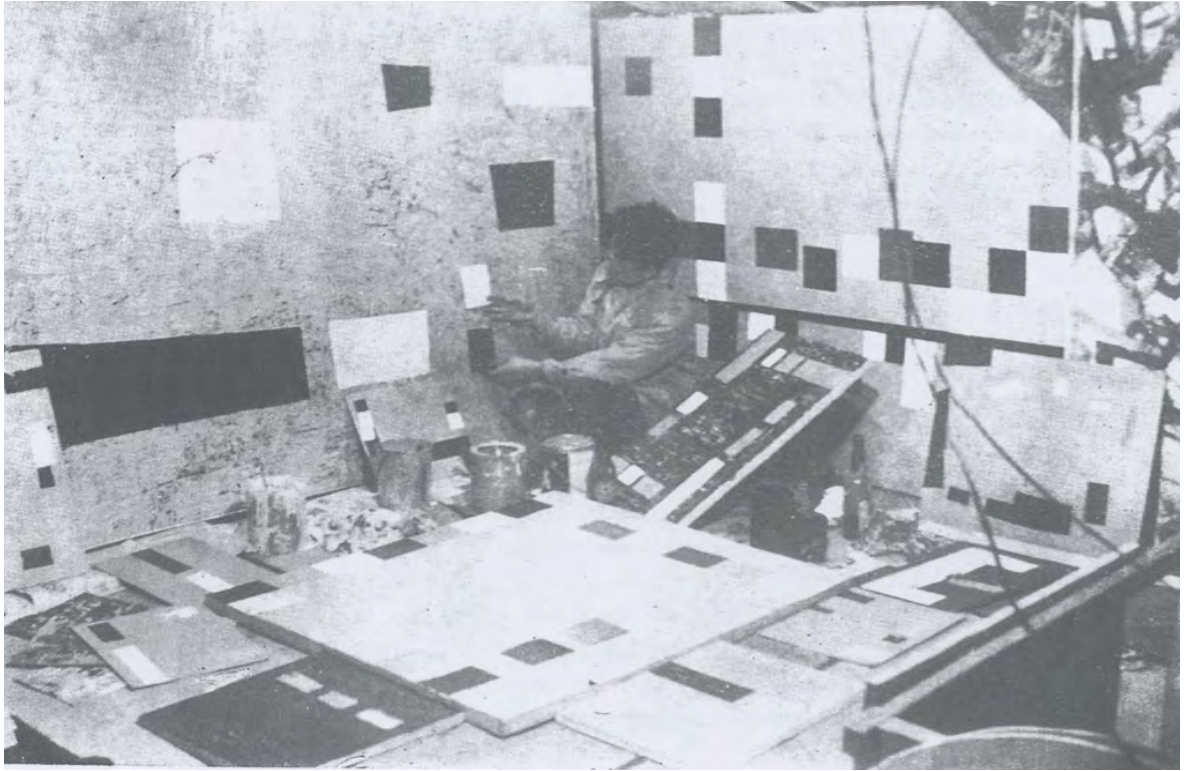
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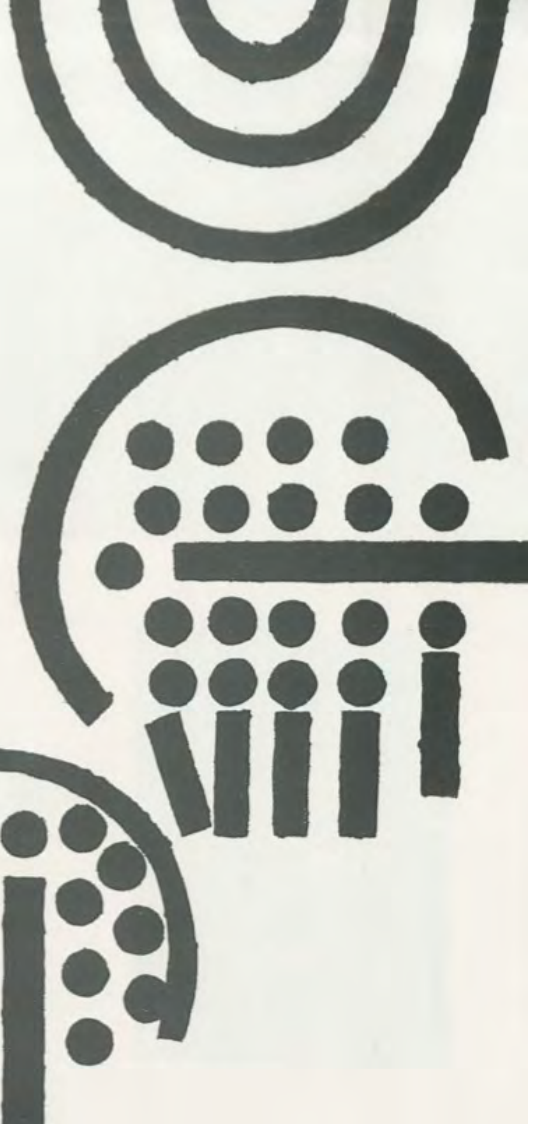
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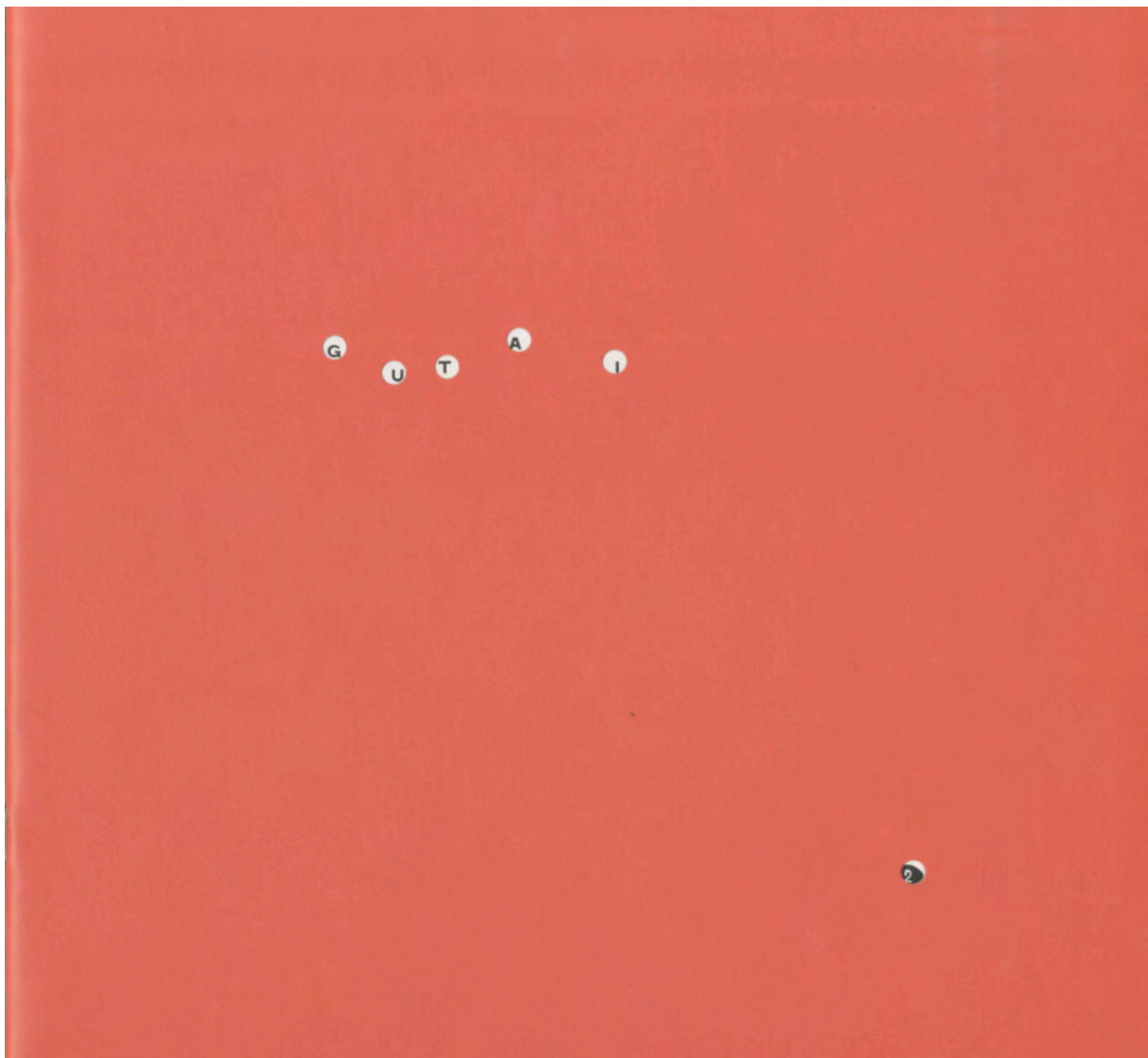
Fig.75a): Cover of *Gutai*, no. 2, (October, 1955)

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Fig.77: Tsuguharu Fujita, La Mort des Soldats Japonais à Attu, 1943, oil on canvas, 193.5x295.5cm, The National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo (image database: Chair for Art History, Sophia University, Tokyo)

Fig.78: Ashiya river, road, and pine grove, Ashiya, (photo: Gabrielle Schaad, 2014)

Fig.79: Pine grove, Ashiya (photo: Gabrielle Schaad, 2014)

Fig.80: Playground and pine grove, Ashiya (photo: Gabrielle Schaad, 2014)

浮田要三　YOZO UKITA　木·黒　2 m×1,30m

山崎つる子　TSURUKO YAMASAKI　ブリキ·紫

ブリキ板の鎖

山崎つる子　TSURUKO YAMSAKI

1 5
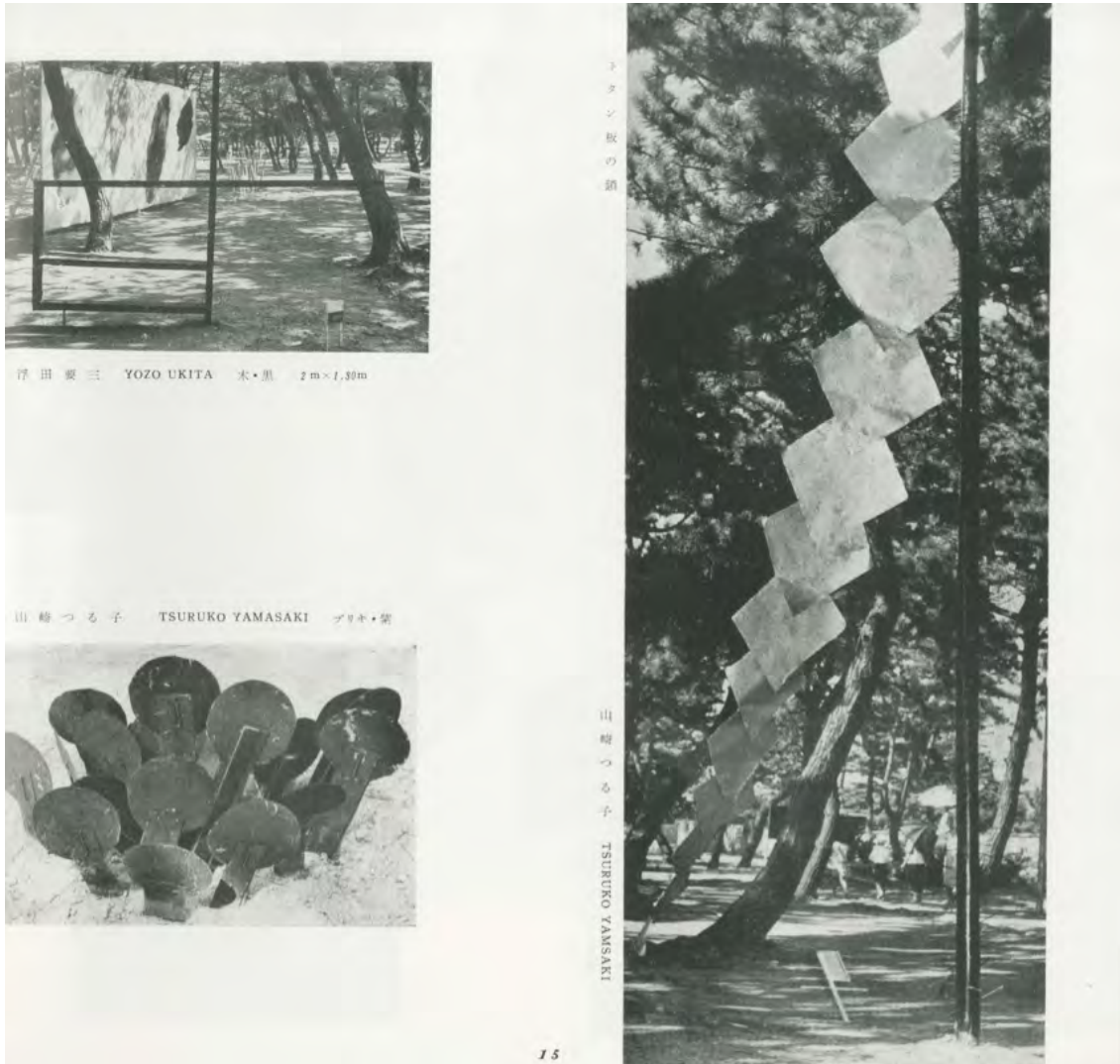
Fig.81a): Tsuruko Yamazaki, *Galvanized Iron Sheet Chain*, 1955, (in: *Gutai*, no. 3, (October, 1955), p.15;
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ATUKO TANAKA

Fig.82: Atsuko Tanaka, *Parallel Yellow Plates*, 1955, 0.33x30m, photo: Kaoru Okumoto (in: *Gutai*, no. 3, (October, 1955), p.5)

村上三郎　SABURO MURAKAMI

6m×7mのルーヒングに塗料を入れたバケツにて描いたもの
部分

21m×1mのルーヒングの両端を走りながらやぶつた作品　部分　PHOT 白髪一雄

19
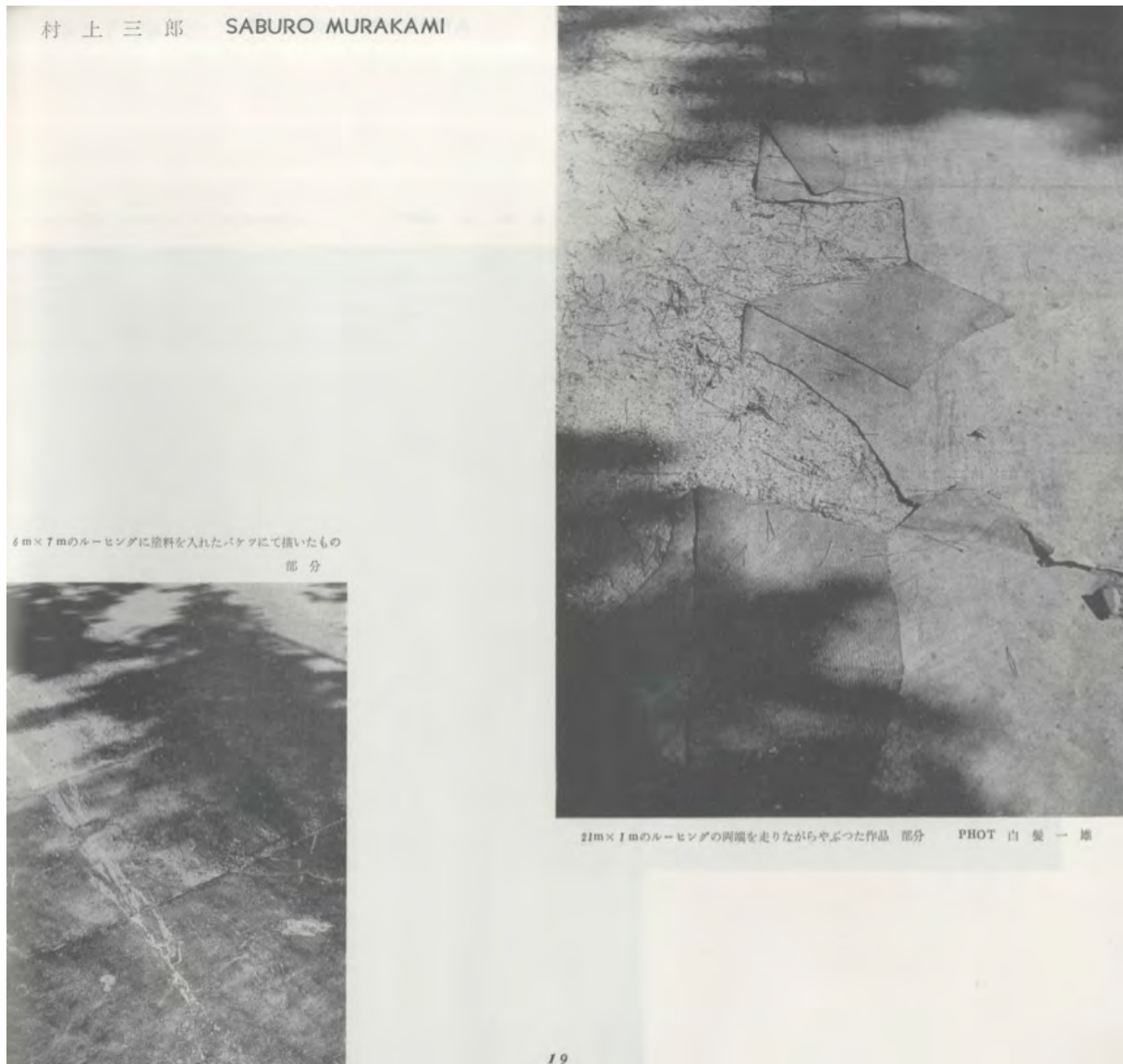
Fig.83: Saburō Murakami, "Detail of a work made by tearing a 21m x 1m roofing while running along both ends," 1955, photo: Kazuo Shiraga, (in: *Gutai*, no. 3, (October, 1955), p.19)
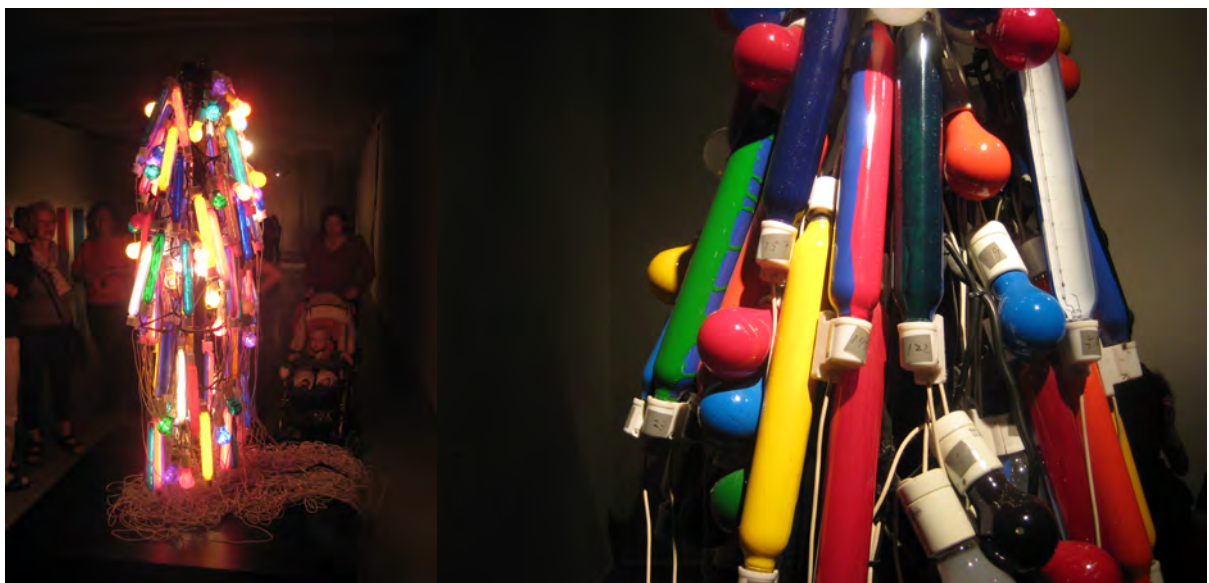
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Fig.85: Tokaido Shinkansen between Tokyo and Osaka, (in: *Japan Times*, 2.10.1964 and retrieved through: <http://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2014/10/04/national/history/mao-tse-tung-seeks-quell-internal-friction-shinkansen-starts-operations-tokyo-olympics-open-americas-1-threat/#.V4ZkwTmLS2x>, last access 4.7.2015)

Fig.86a): Tsuruko Yamazaki, *Sanmen kagami de wa nai* [Not Triple Sided Mirror], 1956/2007, Paint, clear lacquer, vinyl thinner, tinplate, 330x660cm, remake, 21st Century Museum of Contemporary Art, Kanazawa (retrieved through: <https://www.kanazawa21.jp/data_list.php?g=97&d=186>)

赤い硬質ビニールを一辺二間の枠に丁度カヤの様な形に張ったもの。太陽の光と熱
を充分にカヤの中に吸い込ませる意図。　　　　　　　写真 吉田稔郎

山崎つる子　Tsuruko Yamasaki

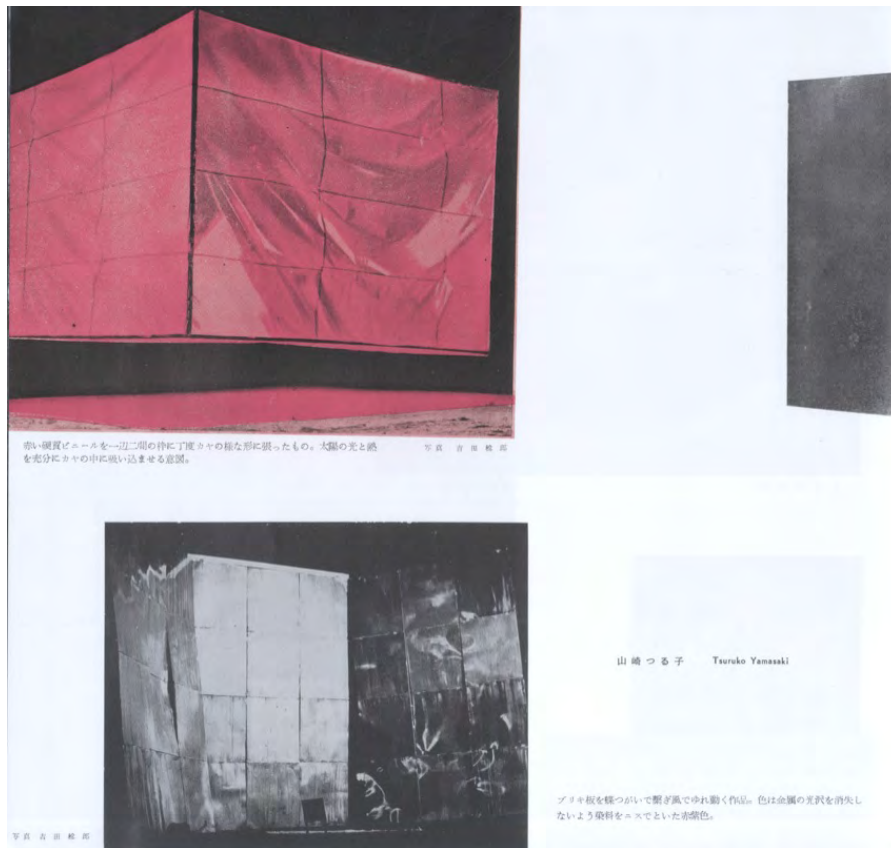ブリキ板を様つないで繋ぎ風で揺れ動く作品。色は金属の光沢を消失し
ないよう塗料を××でといた赤茶色。

写真 吉田稔郎

Fig.86b): Tsuruko Yamazaki, *Red Cube*, and *Triple Mirror*, presented on occasion of the 2nd Gutai Outdoor Exhibition in Ashiya Park, 1956, photos: Toshio Yoshida, (in: *Gutai*, no. 5, (October, 1956, p.10)

Fig.87: Photograph of the Gutai group in front of Yamazaki's *Sanmen kagami* [Triple Mirror], Ashiya, 1956, (in: Lugano 2011)

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Fig.89: Kids playing inside of Yamazaki's *Red*, 1956, documentary photograph, (in: New York 2013)

Fig.90-91: *Kirin*, vol. 9, no. 7; vol. 9., no. 10, cover pages

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Fig.92: Tsuruko Yamazaki, *Sakuhin* [Works], Ōhara Hall, Tokyo, 1955, (in: *Gutai*, no. 4, (July, 1956), p.17)

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Fig.94: Gutai, *Matchboxes*, reception desk, Ōhara Hall, Tokyo, 1955, (in: New York 2013, p.54)

Fig.95: Kazuo Shiraga, *Doro ni idomu* [Challenging Mud], 1955, Ōhara Hall, Tokyo, photo: Kiyoji Ōtsuji (in: *Gutai*, no 4., (July, 1956), p.5)

Fig.96: Atsuko Tanaka, *Beru* [Bells], 1955, Ōhara Hall, Tokyo, (in: *Gutai*, no. 4 (July, 1956), p.24)
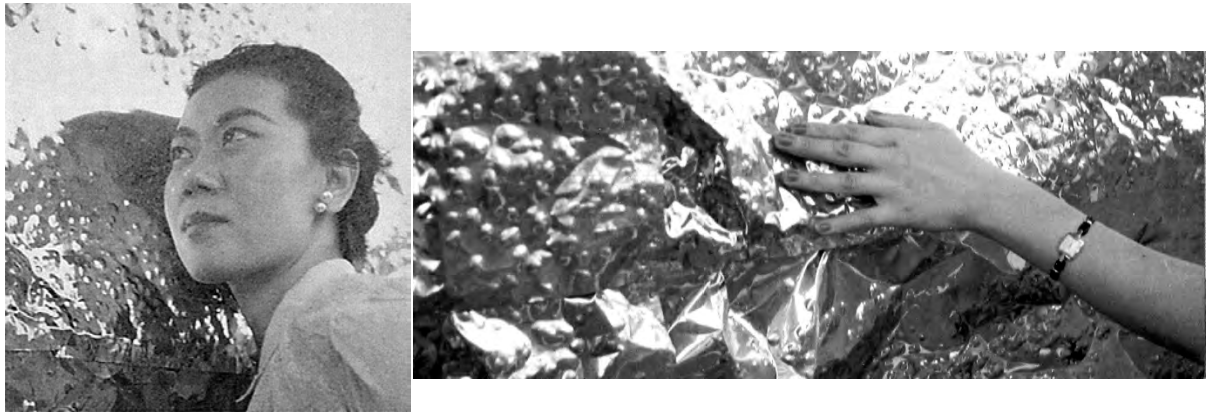
Fig.97: Photograph of Tsuruko Yamazaki caressing textured iron sheets, (Yamazaki Tsuruko Papers, Osaka and Tokyo)

Fig.98: Gutai, *Sky Art Festival*, 1960, Takashimaya 8th floor rental gallery, Osaka, (image database: Chair for Art History, Sophia University, Tokyo)

Fig.99: Photograph of Kazuo Shiraga, Sadamasa Motonaga, Michel Tapié, Jirō Yoshihara, 1960, Classroom Toyosaki Junior High School, Osaka, (in: Osaka 2004, p.99)

Fig.100: Photograph of Ad-Balloons, late 1950s, (retrieved through: <http://www.nhk.or.jp/po/sorenani/2758.html>, last access, 18.11.2015)
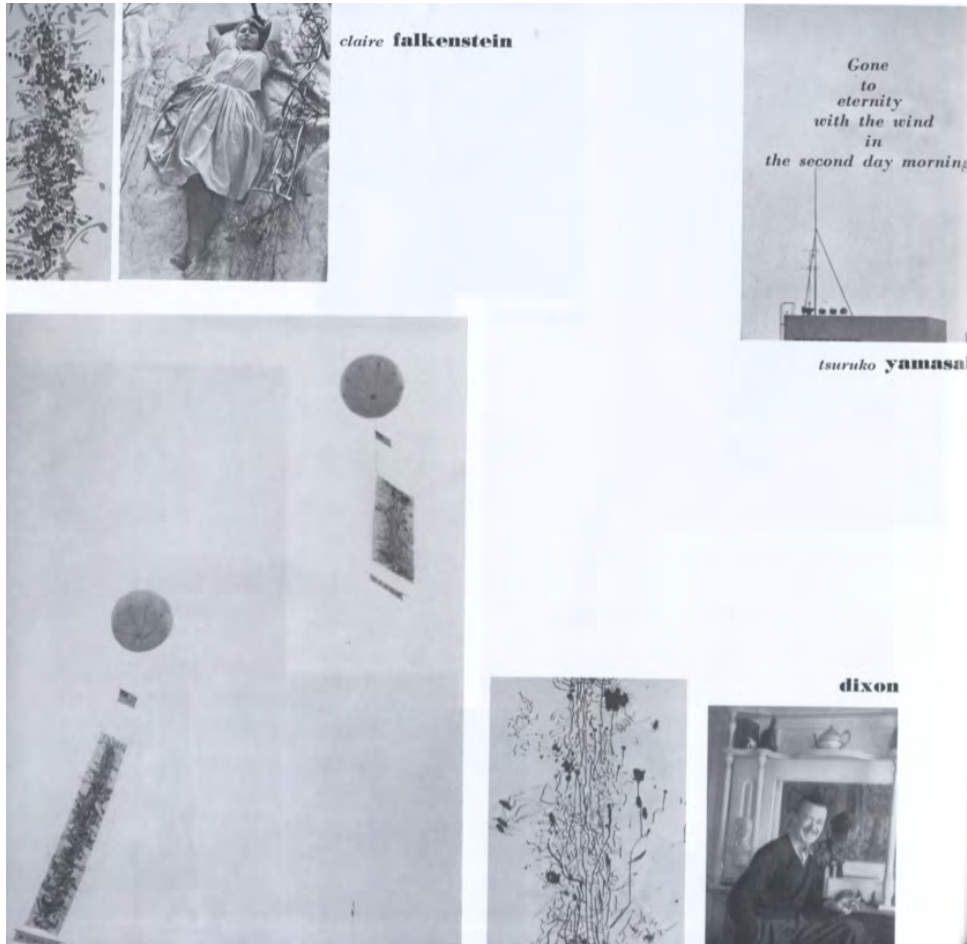
Fig.101-102: Claire Falkenstein and Tsuruko Yamazaki, *Works*, 1960, (in: *Gutai*, no. 11, (November, 1960), p.18)

Fig.103: Kazuo Shiraga, "Shin rensai dai ik-kai: Bōken no kiroku. Episodo de tsuzuru Gutai grūpu no 12 nen" [New Column: Chronicles of the Adventure. Resuming 12 Years of the Gutai Group], in: *Bijutsu techō* [Art Notebook], (July, 1967), pp.136-144, p.136)

Fig.104: Photograph of *Gutai Sky Art Festival*, 1960, Takashimaya department store, rooftop, installation view, (Gutai Papers, Kandinsky Library, Musée National d'Art Moderne/Centre Pompidou, Paris)

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Fig.106a): Searching for Gutai Pinacotheca, Osaka, (photo: Gabrielle Schaad, 2014)

Fig.106b): Searching for Gutai Pinacotheca, Osaka (photo: Gabrielle Schaad, 2014)
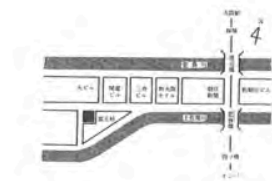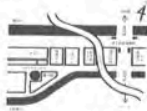
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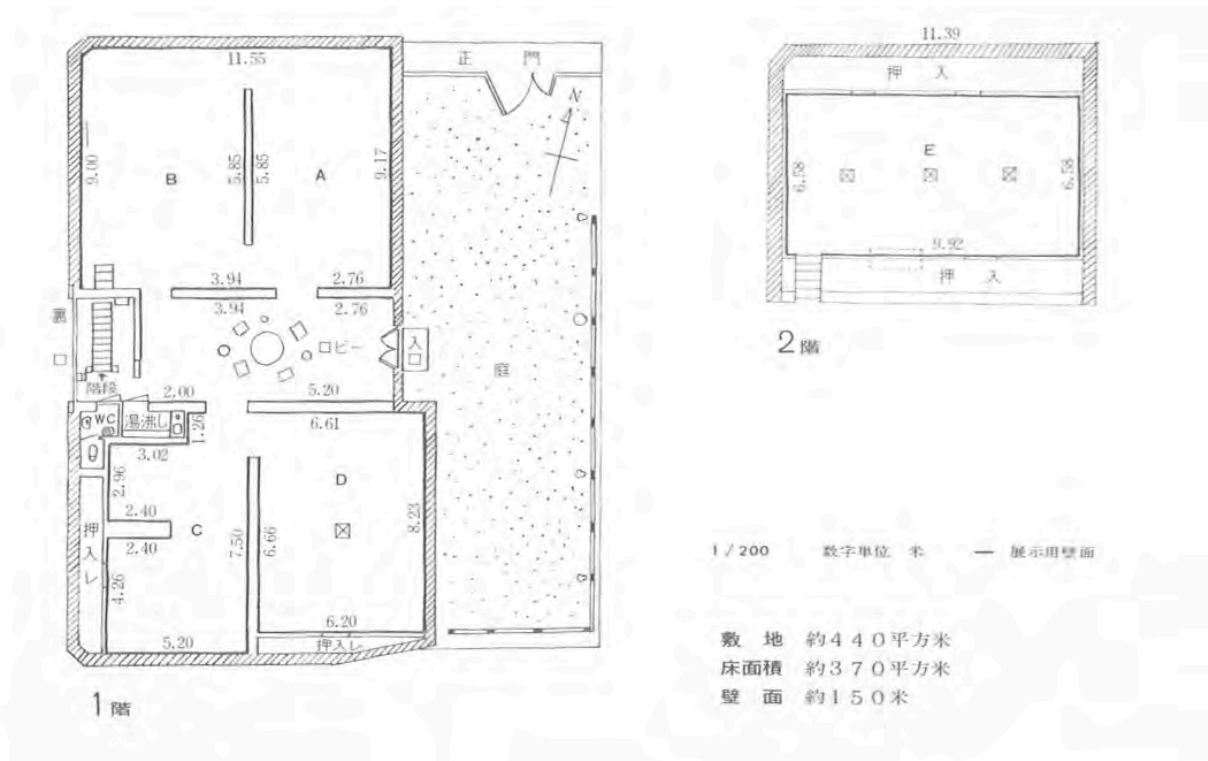
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Fig.110: Robert Rauschenberg, *Gold Standard*, during "Twenty Questions to Bob Rauschenberg,"
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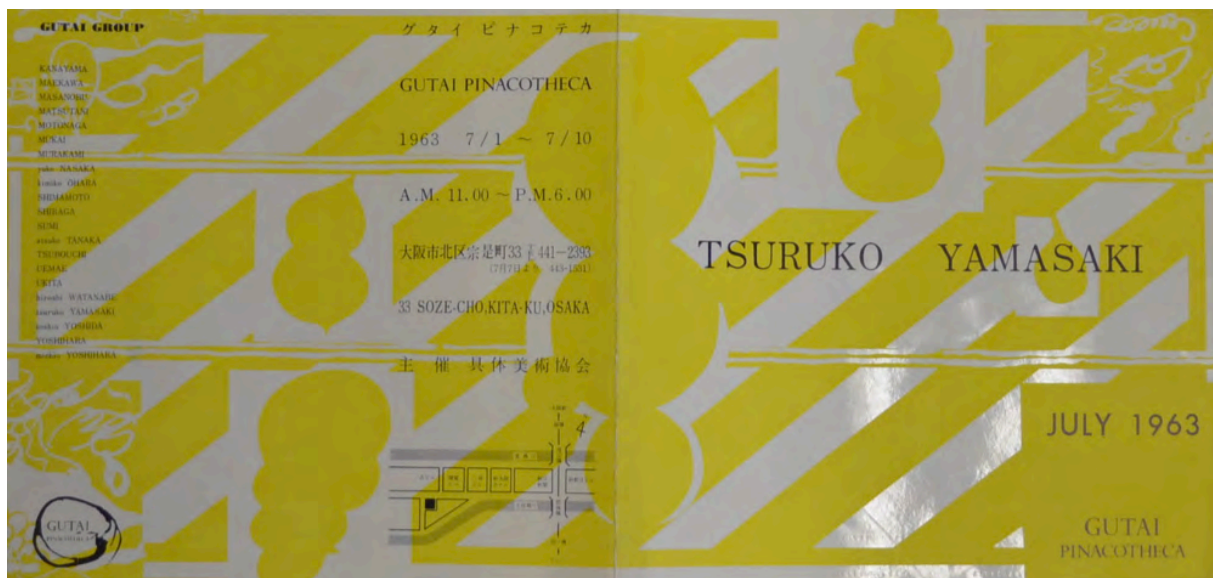
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(Gutai Materials, Ashiya City Museum of Art and History, Ashiya)

Fig.111: Tsuruko Yamazaki, Solo-Exhibition at Gutai Pinacotheca, 1963, front and backside of exh. brochure, (Gutai Materials, Ashiya City Museum of Art and History, Ashiya)

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Fig.114: Tsuruko Yamazaki, *Sakuhin* [Work],1963, vinyl paint, cotton, wooden panel, 183.7x153.1cm, (in: *Gutai shiryō-shū. Dokyumento Gutai 1954–1972 / Document Gutai 1954–1972*, Ashiya City Museum of Art and History (ed.), Ashiya: Ashiya City Cultural Foundation, 1993, p.185)

Fig.115a) Photograph of Gutai members in front of Tsuruko Yamazaki's work, presented on occasion of the *12th Gutai Exhibition*, 29.1.–3.2.1963, Takashimaya department store, Tokyo, (in: *Gutai shiryō-shū. Dokyumento Gutai 1954–1972 / Document Gutai 1954–1972*, Ashiya City Museum of Art and History (ed.), Ashiya: Ashiya City Cultural Foundation, 1993, p.176f)

Fig.115b): Photographs taken on occasion of Tsuruko Yamazaki's solo-exhibition at Gutai Pinacotheca,1963, (Gutai Materials, Ashiya City Museum of Art and History, Ashiya)
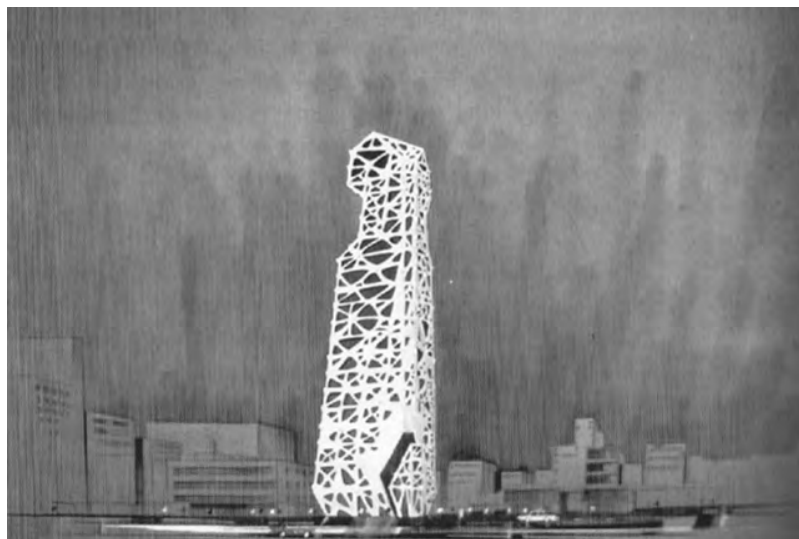
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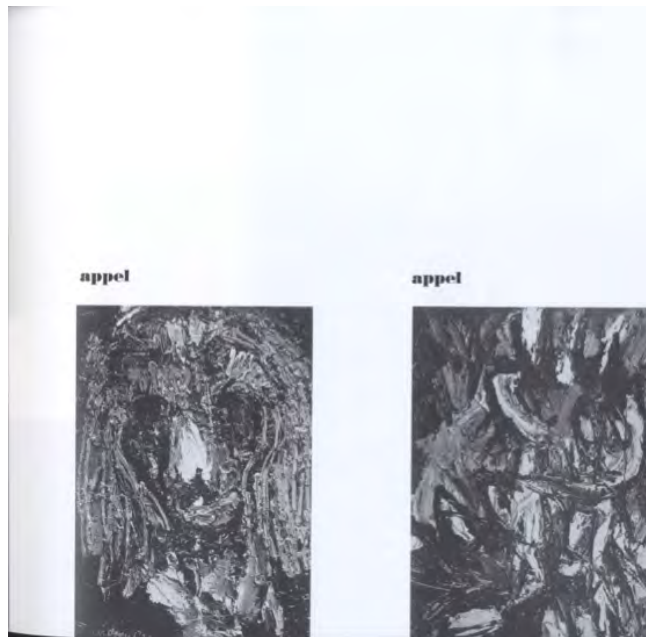
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Fig.118: Photograph of visitors from abroad (David K. Anderson, Clayton Dond?) talking to Jirō Yoshihara at the library of his Ashiya residence, Ashiya, 14.9.1964, (Gutai Materials, Ashiya City Museum of Art and History, Ashiya)
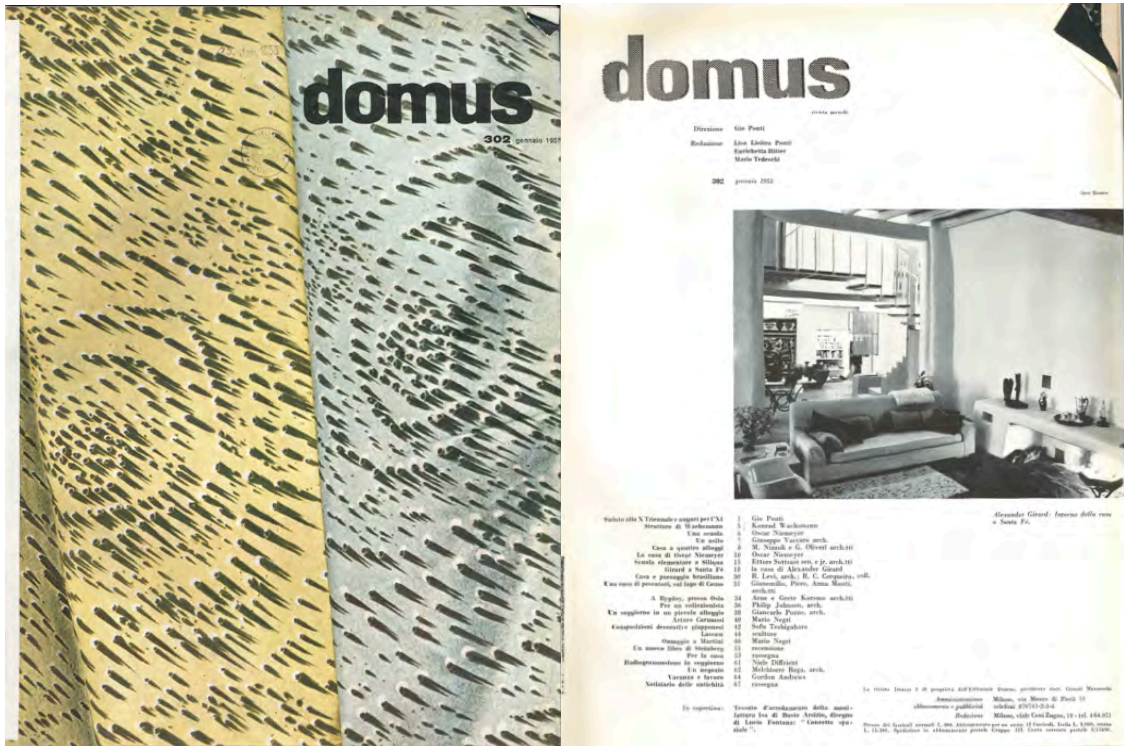
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Fig.125: Bernard Rudofsky, mosquito net in the residence of Kagawa's governor, (in: *domus*, no. 319, (June, 1956), p.48)

Embedding the Metaphor – Metabolism: Microscopes and Scope

In May and June 1960 protest against Cold War power structures introduced by the U.S. through the "Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security" (*Sōgo kyōryoku oyobi anzen hoshō jōyaku,* short *Anpo*) in 1951, and re-ratified by the Japanese governement in 1960 peaked in an unprecedented citizen protest in front of the U.S. Embassy and the National Diet in Tokyo. More than 10 million inhabitants including school kids and housewifes signed a countrywide petition against it.[571] During protest marches the masses formed by women grassroot movements, student organizations *Zengakuren* (*Zen nihon gakusei jichikai sōrengō*, or All Japan League of Self-Governing Student Associations), and striking labor unions *Zenchūrō* (*Zen chūryūgun rōdō kumiai*) rallying on the street, whirled in snake-like joint-formation toward the government building (Fig.126). The crowded face of the usually deserted ramps, just as well as violent confrontations between police and radical factions of *Zengakuren* were filmed, photographed, and widely reported on in the evening news by the Japanese Broadcasting Corporation (*NHK, Nippon hōsō kyōkai*), raising pressure on the responsibles in the chambers. Even the industrial federations of the unions of private railway and bus companies went on strike, proving that unions had slowly regained power after Bloody May Day (May 1, 1952) and the Red Purge (1949).[572]

Although the contract was eventually signed, Prime Minister Nobusuke Kishi (1896–1987) was pushed to resign in July 1960. The reprived class A war criminal had been in office since 1957.[573] Replacing Kishi as Prime Minister, Hayato Ikeda turned his attention to social conflict, mediating and muting, e.g. the strikes at the Miike coal mine A huge pit in Southern Japan run by the Mitsui Mining Company.[574] The confrontation between workers and Mitsui at Miike is still remembered one of the biggest labor conflicts in the Japanese history of the 20th century. In a farreaching attempt to suffocate protest, Ikeda redirected the concerns of the citizens toward the common goal of private material welfare in a new consumer society. He therefore presented his "Income Doubling Plan" (*Shotoku baizō keikaku*), aimed at bringing Japan to the top of world economic power.

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[571] Jesty, Justin: "Tokyo 1960: Days of Rage and Grief. Hamaya Hiroshi's Photos of the Anti-Security Protests," *MIT Visualizing Cultures: Cold-War Japan*, MIT, 2015, website, (accessed through: <http://ocw.mit.edu/ans7870/21f/21f.027/tokyo_1960/anp2_essay01.html>, last access 23.9.2015).

[572] Ōta, Kaoru: "The Labour Conflicts of the Mitsui-Miike Coal Mines, 1959-1960," in: *The Human Face of industrial Conflict in Post-War Japan*, Hirosuke Kawanishi (ed.), London and New York: Kegan Paul International, 1999, pp.202-236; Dower, John W.: "Peace and Democracy in Two Systems. External Policy and Internal Conflict," in: Postwar Japan as History, Andrew Gordon (ed.), Los Angeles and Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993, pp.3-33.

[573] Jesty 2015, op.cit.

[574] The Mitsui Miike labor conflict developed when crude oil imports from Arab countries were challenging the economical efficiency of the more expensive coal industry. During the Miike struggle hundred thousands of workers joined the anti-Anpo demonstrations in Tokyo. Although the Miike union suffered a great defeat, not being able to protect jobs and wages in the declining mining industry, the 1960 struggle is beyond that of historical importance, because it was a starting point for a nationwide campaign to establish a social security system. See: Ōta, Kaoru: "The Labour Conflicts of the Mitsui-Miike Coal Mines, 1959-1960," in: *The Human Face of Industrial Conflict in Post-War Japan*, Hirosuke Kawanishi (ed.), London and New York: Kegan Paul International, 1999, pp.202-236.

The plan fostered economic influence of business conglomerates (*keiretsu*), re-grouping after the model of the prewar industrial conglomerates (*zaibatsu*), that had been dissolved for their prewar monopolies by Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP) General Douglas MacArthur in the aftermath of WWII. *Keiretsu* proved crucial to protectionist measures shielding Japan's economy. The *keiretsu* spurred both horizontal and vertical integration, locking out foreign companies from Japanese industries. These still existing *keiretsu* rely on banks that lend generously, formalizing cross-share holdings in diverse industries. In most cases the networked business organization of the *keiretsu* maintained close relations with officials working for the MITI (Ministry of International Trade and Industry),[575] but also with each other through the cross-placement of shares, providing protection from foreign take-overs. The MITI successively formalized cooperation between the Japanese government and private industry. 83% of Japan's Development Bank's finances went toward strategic industries: shipbuilding, electric power, coal and steel production.

When this political and economic transformation started to take shape, it had already been decided that Toyko would host the Olympic Games in 1964. A welcome opportunity for Ikeda by extension: The infrastructrual development of the country could be pushed with new highways, high-speed trainlines. At the same time the preeminence of the reinvigorated nation-state Japan could be geared accordingly towards international media and their audiences. Progress on the level of what Henri Lefebvre would call "representation of space,"[576] or again "abstract space"[577] becomes visible and palpable around 1962, when the "News and Comment" section of the *Japan Architect*, the international issue of *Shinkenchiku* (New Architecture) reports in September 1962:[578]

A German correspondent, who has lived in Japan for twenty-eight years, recently remarked, 'I don't understand how the Japanese do it – they always seem to fool around until too late, but somehow at the last minute they rise up in mass and get the job done.' […] It has been a rare year indeed when land prices […] have not doubled or trebled, and the cost of acquiring the necessary property for new roads is fantastic […] in comparison […to] 1952. […] The construction costs are also fierce. Example: A two-level underground intersection at Miyake-zaka, just across the moat from the Imperial Palace, is to cost ¥14,000,000,00 (nearly $40,000,000) for a total distance of 7.2 kilometers, […] and a large stadium by Kenzo Tange, [is] *now advancing from the drawing board to the actual construction stage.*

Feminist historian Sandra Buckley turns our attention on the other hand to the consequences of Ikeda's Income-Doubling Plan for social life, stating that "the subtext of these policies was the protection of the family,"[579] since "family and welfare related policies of the middle

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[575] Nowadays Ministry of Economy, Trade, and Industry (METI), or *Keizaisangōshō*.
[576] Lefebvre [1974] 1991, p.34.
[577] Ibid., p.50.
[578] "News and Comment. Olympic Progress Report," editorial, in: *The Japan Architect. International Edition of Shinkenchiku*, (September, 1962), pp.7-8, p.7.
[579] Cf.: Buckley, Sandra: "Altered States. The Body Politics of 'Being-Woman'," in: *Postwar Japan as History*, Andrew Gordon (ed.), Berkely and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993, pp.347-372, p.367.

to late 1960s functioned to create the social context for the achievement of the economic goals of the income-doubling plan, […] premised on further developing domestic consumer demand for manufactured goods and overcoming the threat of an acute labor shortage."[580] Andrew Gordon goes one step further with his analysis, observing the conseqneces of this new focus on women as female consumers: "Although most married women, including the increasing numbers, who worked outside the home, retained the role of household manager, they acted less as the fabricators or processors of that which the family consumed and more as the purchasing agents, who managed acquisition of all manner of goods and services. In the realm of family and daily life, this shift marks the end of an era."[581] Whereas Helen Macnaughtan notes that "the new 'bundle' of time-saving household appliances increasingly owned by the average family,"[582] like rice-cooker, refrigerator, washing machine, enabled women to perform their household duties in less time. Due to increased work efforts to fulfill the goals of Ikeda's Income-Doubling Plan Japanese employers demanded more women to (re-)enter the workforce, especially for part-time (*pāto*) jobs. And "these key home appliances added to the supply side conditions enabling married women to enter paid employment while still fulfilling their key 'housewife' role."[583]

3.1 The Proposals for New Urbanism – Metabolic Performance

3.1.1 Design Conference and Conference Design – *WoDeCo* 1960

The boiling atmosphere of the landslide protests against *Anpo* in 1960 seems yet not have interfered with Kenzō Tange's 1958 longterm-idea to host an international design conference in Tokyo. For the outline of the conference Tange drew on the model of the 1956 Aspen Design Conference (IDCA), as Koolhaas and Obrist report.[584] Four years before the Tokyo Olympic Games, the *World Design Conference* (*WoDeCo, Sekai dezain kaigi*) takes place from May 11 through May 16, 1960 under the topic: "Our Century: The Total Image – What Designers Can Contribute to the Human Environment of the Coming Age." The conference has an impressive international line-up, including a total of 143 Japanese, and 84 designers from 26 other countries, chaired by architect Junzō Sakakura (Fig.127, Fig.128).[585] Outspoken proponents from diverse fields of "modern production," like designer Herbert Bayer, architects Louis I. Kahn, Peter and Alison Smithson, and graphic designer Josef Müller-Brockmann, give lectures or participate as speakers in the panels. Artist Tarō Okamoto, who made part of the planning committee, is also among them, whereas

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[580] Ibid.
[581] Gordon 2012, op.cit., pp.75-76.
[582] Macnaughtan, Helen: "Building up Steam as Consumers: Women, Rice Cookers and the Consumption of Everyday Household Goods in Japan," in: *The Historical Consumer*, Penelope Francks and Janet Hunter (eds.), Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012, pp.79-106, p.95.
[583] Ibid.
[584] See: Koolhaas/Obrist 2011, pp.180-181.
[585] See: *World Design Conference 1960 in Tokyo*, World Design Conference Organization (ed.), Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppan-sha, 1961.

other artists are not listed as panelists.[586] Concerning the climate in architecture faculties within Japan, critic and editor Noboru Kawazoe tosses in that friction among the older generation and the students was common "the only participants [in *WoDeCo*] from the younger generation were those who were most under Tange's sway. I think we were regarded as traitors by the rest of the younger crowd, even by the majority in Tange Lab."[587]

Thinking "design" in a systematic way, the outline of the conference itself reflects an organizational approach. The program is structured in three seminar sessions on personality, practicability, and possibility. Another triad of sub-topics further specifies these thematic sections in 1) individuality, regionality, and universality; 2) environment, production, and communication; and 3) society, technology, and philosophy. A seminar on design education complements the program.[588] As though by chance the logo composed of the roman letters C and D becomes an ambiguous figure depending on the direction of reading, standing as a reversible abbreviation for design conference and conference design.

Looking back, the last 15 years consisted of an incredible effort in rebuilding. After the bombings of WWII cities like Tokyo had presented themselves seemingly as a *tabula rasa* (Fig.129). The cities were flattened indeed, yet as we have already seen, landownership patterns stayed often intact. Rebuilding from scratch – the ideal situation for the assumptions of Modernism as formulated by Le Corbusier: Large scale planning and functional differentiation – was under such circumstances (fortunately) impossible. With a focus on dispositions the Europe based *CIAM* (*Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne*) members had discussed since 1928, how a city should ideally be (re-)built. The fourth meeting in 1933 "The Functional City" is particularly well known for a landmark declaration issued, devising the city as an alignment of functional zones and high-rise apartment blocks – better known as "Charter of Athens."[589] Architectural historian with a

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[586] Acquainted with Tange through the Sōgetsu Art Center, it stays yet unclear to which extent artist from this circle actually took an interest in the lectures given at the conference. It could still be assumed that artists from early art and technology movements such as Katsuhiro Yamaguchi (*Jikken Kōbō*) could have been in the audience, are yet not included in the minute listings of the published conference papers. Yamaguchi was by the late 1950s increasingly attracted to topology and eventually cybernetics, as a universal science, combining the rational tools of social sciences, system theory, communication, and mathematics in an interdisciplinary approach to bring dramatic qualities of a vision in motion back into the physiological and phenomenological environment, strategically re-orienting the physical and psychological 'mechanisms' of perception via material surfaces. Although fashion design was addressed during the conference, 22 year-old Issey Miyake admonished the still neglected role of fashion in a sharp protest note. See: Koolhaas/Obrist 2011, p.133.

[587] Kawazoe, Noboru: "Noboru Kawazoe. WoDeCo and the Absent Parent," interview with Rem Koolhaas and Hans-Ulrich Obrist, Tokyo, September 9, 2005, in: *Project Japan. Metabolism talks...*, Kayoko Ota (ed.), Cologne: Taschen, 2011, pp.222-243, p.233.

[588] Iguchi, Toshino: "Reconsideration of the World Design Conference 1960 in Tokyo and the World Industrial Design Conference 1973 in Kyoto. Transformation of Design Theory," online paper, (accessed through: <http://design-cu.jp/iasdr2013/papers/1183-1b.pdf>, last access: 04.08.2015). For complementary perspectives on "design" as a keyword of the 1960s by protagonists and historians see: Idem (ed.): "Reconsideration: 'World Design Conference in 1960 Tokyo'," in: *Design History. The Journal of the Design History Workshop in Japan,* no. 9, (2011), pp.141-153.

[589] Three functions of the city were discerned and designated to separate zones that would be connected by the circulation system: a place to live; a place to work; a place for recreation. The charter included a note on

focus on Japan David B. Stewart judges that the Athens' Charter was "paralyzing creative research into most aspects of the subjects" for decades.[590] Only with the 1951 conference broaching the topic of the city core, the discussion of drift and exodus tied to urbanization processes, observed in London, New York, or Shanghai found new instigators.

But let us come back to May 1960, when Hayato Ikeda was not yet Japan's Prime Minister, but Minister of International Trade and Industry. Ikeda notes in an opening address to the participants of the *WoDeCo*: "I also hope that the foreign participants will adjust their knowledge on Japan by studying modern industrial Japan as well as the traditional Japan with the keen eyes of a specialist."[591] The conference can be seen as an early peak of efforts to redefine, explain, and market Japanese architecture and product design between traditional quality and shapeliness, and modern function, trying to offer alternatives to the eurocentrist functionalism of earlier decades.[592] On the other hand the conference was a statement against popular "Japonica," exporting and answering exoticism. Despite the rise, and almost inflationary use of the loanword *dezain* (design) throughout the 1960s, some voices within Japan were yet not quite on the same page: "In Japan, for example, while it is perfectly natural to speak of 'industrial design' and 'graphic design, it is difficult to speak of design in connection with the crafts. Somehow the Japanese word for 'craft,' *kogei*, seems to negate the connotation of modernity that 'design' conveys. […] The dilemma that exists, however, is certainly not going to be solved by our sitting down and trying to be what the Westerners think we ought to be."[593] Other than the "Japonica" critic Shin'ichi Seigi here refers to, perfectly shaped, high quality export goods on the other hand were designated with the "G-Mark" since 1957 and presented on occasion of *WoDeCo* (Fig.130).[594] Just as well as the architectural visions introduced, they were most probably nevertheless successfully received by an international

cultural heritage; See: CIAM-France: *La Charte d'Athènes* (Urbanisme), with an introduction by Jean Giraudoux, Paris: Plon, 1943, [first: 1933].

[590] Stewart, David B.: *The Making of a Modern Japanese Architecture: 1868 to the Present*, Tokyo and New York: Kodansha International, 1987, p.173.

[591] Ikeda, Hayato: "Message," in: *World Design Conference 1960 in Tokyo*, World Design Conference Organization (ed.), Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppan-sha, 1961, p.14.

[592] Florian Urban parallels the attempt to redefine and market Japanese architecture at the World Design Conference 1960 with Noboru Kawazoe's activites from 1953 to 1957, when Tange's collaborator and later editor of the *Metabolism* essays worked as editor in chief of the architectural magazine *Shinkenchiku* (New Architecture). Its offspring – the *Japan Architect* (since 1956) – an international and slightly modified edition of *Shinkenchiku*, carefully introduced the specific circumstances and aesthetics rooted in local building tradition making up for Japanese architecture "like a new kitchen appliance that had to come with instructions," cf.: Urban, Florian: "Talking Japan," in: *Architecture and Identity*, Peter Herrle and Erik Wegerhoff (eds.), Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2008, pp.91-102, 93.

[593] Segi, Shin'ichi: "Japanese Design Today," in: *The Japan Architect. International Edition of Shinkenchiku* [New Architecture], (June, 1960), pp.78-85.

[594] Iguchi, Toshino: "The Era of the World Design Conference," in: *From Postwar to Postmodern. Art in Japan 1945–1989.* (Primary Documents), Doryun Chong, Michio Hayashi, Kenji Kajiya et al. (eds.), New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2012, pp.155-156; for indepth case studies see: Kaneko, Yusuke: "Thinking Through the Object = Social Metamorphose. The World of Ekuan Kenji," trans. Julian and Miwa Worrall; Oyobe, Katsuhito: "Awazu Kiyoshi's Involvment in the Metabolist Movement," trans. Norie Lynn Fukuda, both in: *Metabolism. The City of the Future. Dreams and Visions of Reconstruction in Postwar and Present-Day Japan*, exh. cat. Mori Art Museum, Tokyo, 2011-2012, Hajime Yatsuka, Mami Hirose et al. (eds.), Tokyo: Shinkenchiku-sha, 2011, pp.288-291; pp.292-296.

audience because of the audience's projections. Influenced by the earlier traveling accounts of Walter Gropius, Bruno Taut, or Frank Lloyd Wright the international *WoDeCo* audience gratefully confused Japanese traditional shape, rooted in the field of crafts, as "good form" with modernist aesthetic.[595]

Between CIAM, Team X, and WoDeCo – Shifting Functionalist Identities

I have cited the Aspen Design Conference (IDCA) before as a model for the Tokyo convention in 1960. The *WoDeCo* could yet just as well be described as a follow-up meeting to *CIAM*. The gathering in Tokyo was adding another chapter to earlier debates on tradition, identity with a special focus on the urban layout. These topics had been points of concern in *CIAM* debates over the last decades, although the conference centered on questions of urban living and infrastructure might have coined other keywords more strongly. In Japan, however, a discussion of the two terms tradition and identity resufaced with periodic intensity as an undercurrent of discussions revolving around the broader and politicized term "culture" (*bunka*) tied to the search for new identities in Japan's long postwar, as we have seen in regard to the formation of *Genbi* (*Gendai Bijutsu Kondankai*) earlier in this text.[596]

In the frame of the last *CIAM* meeting, organized by the splitting force *Team X* in Otterlo, held in 1959,[597] Kenzō Tange's presentation of his plans for the Tokyo City Hall (1957) as well as a project for the Kagawa Prefectural Office (1958) launched disagreement between Ernesto N. Rogers and Peter Smithson, *CIAM* historian Eric Mumford recounts.[598] Rogers suggested that architects should look into their national history of forms, welcoming Tange's move to connect his project with cultural vocabulary, inscribing traditional forms of Japanese architecture into a proto-modernist canon, by implicitly actualizing Bruno Taut's and Walter Gropius' narrative.[599] Smithson yet disagreed, how the later publication of the conference talks proofs: "It just so happens, by accident of history, that the aesthetic of the old Japanese architecture, which has the openness in construction, corresponds to a feeling we have for an open aesthetics with its possibilities of cycles or fixed things, […]. He [Tange] has however, the possibility of using his language, but no one else of us has […]. As a rule, I can see no point in suggesting that we should look into our stylistic past in

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[595] See: Taut, Bruno: *Ich liebe die japanische Kultur – Kleine Schriften über Japan*, Manfred Speidel (ed.), Berlin: Gebrüder Mann Verlag, 2003 [first: 1934]; Wright, Frank Lloyd: "The Imperial Hotel," in: *Collected Writings*, Bruce Brooks Pfeiffer (ed.), vol. 1, New York: Rizzoli, 1992, pp. 168-181, [first: 1923]; see also: cf. Ruprechter, Walter: "Transformationen eines Topos: Das 'japanische Haus' bei Bruno Taut, Walter Gropius, Josef Frank und Bernard Rudofsky," in: *Übersetzung – Transformation. Umformungsprozess in / von Texten, Medien, Kulturen*, Yamamoto, Hiroshi and Christine Ivanovic (eds.), Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2010, pp.162-172.

[596] See chapter "2.2.2 Associations and Redefinitions – A Critical Glossary,".

[597] Cf.: Newman, Oscar and Jacob B. Bakema: *CIAM'59 in Otterlo* (Dokumente der Modernen Architektur 1), Jürgen Joedicke (ed.), Zürich: Verlag Girsberger, 1961, p.182.

[598] For the following remarks see: Mumford, Eric: *The Discourse on Urbanism, 1928-1960*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2000, pp.258-265.

[599] Newman, Oscar and Jacob B. Bakema: *CIAM'59 in Otterlo* (Dokumente der Modernen Architektur 1), Jürgen Joedicke (ed.), Zürich: Verlag Girsberger, 1961, p.182.

each country."[600] Whereas Tange has already clarified earlier in the talk that for him "so-called regionalism is always nothing more than the decorative use of traditional elements [...]. In my thinking tradition can be developed through challenging its shortcomings and pursuing the meaning of continuum within it. Superficial admiration or blind following is rather dangerous."[601]

In their grid panels presented on occasion of *CIAM 9*[602] in Aix-en-Provence for "Urban Re-identification" London based Alison and Peter Smithson had pondered identity issues of the human being in his or her urban surroundings in 1953, with the remark that residential "streets-in-the-air" would serve social cohesion in a multi-level city, opposing "the arbitrary isolation of the so-called communities of the 'Unité' and the 'neighborhood'."[603] For them the "vitality of working-class street life" should be preserved in or transferred to a new order. Their search was directed toward an architectural equivalent to the intuitive, spatial connections they saw in the way children played.[604] The conference papers later stated: "Habitat (L'Habitat) is not only a human shelter. It is a cell of a socially organized body. [...] It integrates individual and family life in the manifestations of social and collective life."[605]

In their 1957 proposal of a "Cluster City,"[606] Peter and Alison Smithson introduce "the cluster – a close knit, complicated, often moving aggregation, but an aggregation with a distinct structure," adding that the "accepted concept of the city" – one feels tempted to specify 'Western' – "is one of concentric rings, gradually decreasing to the edges in residential density." Their alternative suggestion is the decentered city instead: "The word Cluster gives the spirit of such a structure, and existing planning techniques such as the control of residential desities and floor spaceindices, comprehensive redevelopment, and compulsory purchase, give the power (at least in England)."[607]

Architectural historian Mark Wigley even postulates that Jackson Pollock's work featuring a "random aesthetic" not only paralleled, yet motivated the Smithsons' search for a relational network of "human associations,"[608] replacing previous models of functional hierarchy.[609] The

[600] Ibid., p.182.

[601] Ibid.

[602] The conference resulted in a "solemn manifesto" and "sequel of the Athens Charter," called "Charter of Habitat," bringing the right to dwelling to the fore; See: CIAM-France (ed.): *Contribution à la Charte de l'Habitat. For a Charter of Habitat. CIAM 9, Aix-en-Provence,19-25 Juillet 1953,* Boulogne-sur-Seine: no publisher, 1953.

[603] Mumford, Eric: *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928–1960*, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2000, pp.232-238.

[604] Klemek, Christopher: *The Transatlantic Collapse of Urban Renewal. From New York to Berlin*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2011, pp.97-101.

[605] Cf.: CIAM-France (ed.): *Contribution à la Charte de l'Habitat. For a Charter of Habitat. CIAM 9, Aix-en-Provence,19-25 Juillet 1953,* Boulogne-sur-Seine: no publisher, 1953, n.p.

[606] Smithson, Peter and Alison: "Cluster City. A New Shape for the Community," in: *Architectural Review*, vol. 122, no. 730, (November, 1957), pp.335-336.

[607] Ibid.

[608] See: Smithson, Peter and Alison: *The Charged Void. Urbanism*, Chuihua Judy Chung (ed.), New York: Monacelli Press, 2005.

turning point came with *CIAM 10*, taking place in Dubrovnik in 1956, when *Team X*'s Alison and Peter Smithson with Dutch architect Aldo van Eyck argued against *CIAM*'s functionalist categories: work, dwelling, recreation and transport. They proposed a cellular approach as "aggregation of urban growth" instead. The previously rumored death of the famous conference was officially announced in March 1960. Tange joining Kunio Maekawa and Junzō Sakakura at *CIAM 8: The Heart of the City*,[610] (1951) already, postulated in a personal account on his participation in *CIAM '59* in Otterlo that the congress should be continued, "centered not around Europe, but around other areas."[611]

Whereas the Hoddesdon "Heart of the City" (*CIAM 8*) conference is among others famous for the concluding commitment of the assembly to reserve "le droit royal au piéton" (a superior right for pedestrians) in city cores.[612] And Sigfried Giedion pointed out referring to Jean-Paul Sartre that nowaday's "naked men without envelope" (der nackte, hüllenlose Mensch) in the city needed "signs and symbols to affect the senses immediately" (Zeichen und Sinnbilder, die sich unmittelbar aufdrängen). According to Giedion Aldo van Eyck's playground projects[613] contributed on the other hand to spontaneous uses of fallow land, turning it into an urbanist element.[614] Tange presenting his project for the *Hiroshima Peace Park* (1951-1955) at *CIAM 8* (1953) yet rather emphasizes administrative aspects: "This Hiroshima Peace Project is not that ideal city Core [sic] that we cherish in our minds; but it is a rare and happy case in Japan for the various elements under various governmental jurisdiction to have been willing to organize into a single body so that a civic scheme can in fact be realized."[615] (Fig.131).

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[609] Wigley, Mark (ed.): "The Infrastructure of Play," in: *Constant's New Babylon. The Hyper-Architecture of Desire*, exh. cat. Witte de With Center for Contemporary Art, Rotterdam 1998, Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 1998, pp.28-29.

[610] See: Tange Kenzō: "The Core of a City – Japan: Hiroshima," in: *CIAM 8. The Heart of the City: Towards the Humanisation of Urban Life*, Tyrwhitt, J., Josep Lluís Sert et al. (eds.), London: Lund Humphries, 1952, pp.136-138; Giedion, Sigfried: "Historical Background to the Core," in: ibid., pp.17-25. It was the first time non-European architects were invited to the conference. Still Maekawa and Sakakura had both worked for Le Corbusier between 1928–1930 and 1931–1936, respectively. For more details cf. Mumford, Eric: *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928–1960*, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2000, p.206.

[611] Tange, Kenzō: "Aestheticism and Vitalism – On Participating in the New CIAM Talks of September 1959," in: *The Japan Architect. International Edition of Shinkenchiku* [New Architecture], (October, 1960), pp.8-10; In his earlier address on the future of CIAM in Dubrovnik, Josep Lluís Sert had stated: "Japan and perhaps India and other places in the world will want to have their own CIAM meetings, and the new organization should provide for this."

[612] Tyrwhitt, Jacqueline, Josep Lluís Sert et al. (eds.): "A Short Outline of the Core. Extracts from Statements Prepared During the 8th Congress of CIAM," in: *CIAM 8. The Heart of the City: Towards the Humanisation of Urban Life*, London: Humphries, 1952, pp.164-168.

[613] See: Lefaivre, Liane and Alexander Tzonis: *Aldo van Eyck. Humanist Rebel. Inbetweening in a Postwar World*, Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 1999.

[614] Translation by the author, see: Giedion, Sigfried: "Die Humanisierung der Stadt," in: *Das Werk*, vol. 39, no. 11, (November, 1952), pp.345-354. For a quick overview of some of van Eyck's Architecture for Children see: Aldo van Eyck: "Is Architecture Going to Reconcile Basic Values," in: Newman, Oscar and Jacob Bakema: *CIAM'59 in Otterlo* (Dokumente der Modernen Architektur 1), Jürgen Joedicke (ed.), Zürich: Verlag Girsberger, 1961, pp.26-34. It is noteworthy that Tange's realized, circular shaped, and now torn-down *Children's Library* (1953) in Hiroshima predates these projects significantly.

[615] See: Tange Kenzō: "The Core of a City. Japan: Hiroshima," in: *CIAM 8. The Heart of the City: Towards the Humanisation of Urban Life*, Tyrwhitt, J., Josep Luis Sert et al. (eds.), London: Lund Humphries, 1952, pp.136-137.

On the other hand Tange's design for the *Hiroshima Peace Center and Memorial Park* serves architect and historian Hajime Yatsuka as an example to depict, how Tange's extraordinary postwar career set out picking up on his older projects designed for the nationalist "Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere."[616] Converting the symbolism, while drawing on traditional forms, infused with references to Le Corbusier, Hiroshima is only one example in a row applauded by an international audience. Yatsuka expands his critical examination of Tange's models and plans to the organizational level allowing for such reframing. Detecting the reasons in similarities and continuities of "the warfare state before 1945 and the postwar welfare state in social institutions and infrastructure […]."[617] In Otterlo, however, Tange also presented two proposals by his countryman and student Kiyonori Kikutake, *The Tower-Shaped Community* (1959) and Kikutake's family dwelling *Sky House* (1958),[618] which I will discuss in the next chapter (Fig.132, Fig.133). Albeit the members of *Team X* invited Tange to remain within their circle, he left Otterlo doubting, whether to think of the break-up and end of *CIAM* as a compromise, or an act that jeopardized future dialogue and collaboration in urban planning.[619]

A conference based on European assumptions and definitions of housing and living conditions,[620] *CIAM* had not shown visible impact in Japan immediately, yet the concepts presented were discussed, especially in the postwar rebuilding process, iterated and integrated in an idiosyncratic mix. A publication reaffirms both the departure from, as well as the fidelity to some of the *CIAM* topics ex post facto: In his foreword to the study "Japanese Urban Space"[621] (*Nihon no toshi kūkan*) filed in 1968 only by an assembly of architects focusing on City Design Research (*Toshi dezain kenkyū*) including Arata Isozaki, Tange emphasizes the pioneering role of Japan for urban design (Fig.134). Tange looks back on *CIAM*'s, *Team X*'s, and the *GEAM*'s (*Group d'Études*

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[616] Tange's plans for a monument of this imperialist venture were published in 1942, issued for a contest organized by the Architectural Institute of Japan (AIJ), including a shrine for the war dead at the foot of Mount Fuji. It has been repeadetly stated, that Tange's plans for the Hiroshima Peace Center build upon his 1942 project in service of the then nationalist regime. See: *Metabolism. The City of the Future. Dreams and Visions of Reconstruction in Postwar and Present-Day Japan*, exh. cat. Mori Art Museum, Tokyo, 2011–2012, Hajime Yatsuka, Mami Hirose et al. (eds.), Tokyo: Shinkenchiku-sha, 2011, p.23.

[617] Yatsuka, Hajime (ed.): "The Structure of This Exhibiton. The Metabolism Nexus' Role in Overcoming Modernity," trans. Nathan Elchert, in: *Metabolism. The City of the Future. Dreams and Visions of Reconstruction in Postwar and Present-Day Japan*, exh. cat. Mori Art Museum, Tokyo, 2011-2012, Hajime Yatsuka, Mami Hirose et al. (eds.), Tokyo: Shinkenchiku-sha, 2011, pp.10-15, p.12.

[618] For an in-depth analysis see Seng Kuan's comparative account on Kikutake's and other later *Metabolist* exponent's respective plans for Tokyo Bay in a recent monograph: Kuan, Seng: "Visions of Tokyo Bay," in: *Kiyonori Kikutake. Between Land and Sea*, Ken Tadashi Ōshima (ed.), Zurich: Lars Müller Paublishers, 2016, pp.27-46.

[619] Cf. Tange, Kenzō: "Aestheticism and Vitalism – On Participating in the New CIAM Talks of September 1959," in: *The Japan Architect. International Edition of Shinkenchiku* [New Architecture], (October, 1960), pp.8-10; see also: idem: "Technology and Humanity. From the Stenographic Record of a Speech at the World Design Conference in Tokyo, May, 1960," and "A Building and a Project. On the Kurashiki City Hall and a Project at M.I.T.," in: Ibid., pp.11-12; pp.13-39.

[620] See for example Giedion's introduction of historical core's comparing Roman *forum* and Greek *agora* with a view to Michelangelo's Capitol in Rome (1530), see: Giedion, Sigfried: "Historical Background to the Core," in: *CIAM 8. The Heart of the City: Towards the Humanisation of Urban Life*, Tyrwhitt, J., Josep Lluís Sert et al. (eds.), London: Lund Humphries, 1952, pp.17-25.

[621] Cf. Tange, Kenzō (ed.): *Nihon toshi kūkan. Toshi dezain kenkyū cho* [Japanese Urban Space. Authored by the Urban Design Lab], Tokyo: Shōkoku-sha, 1968.

d'Architecture Mobile) inputs for urban thought only to add:[622] "Also in the U.S., the Universities of Boston and Philadelphia focused on opening up new areas for urban planning. Among these activities, some of the challenges in and proposals for new creative urban design with a leading role in the world have emerged in Japan." The considerations by other groups mentioned eventually prompted this initiative to map out the much older morphology of dwelling culture and use of sacred spaces within Japan over the centuries as a fore-runner of such ideas. Kishō Kurokawa, who became a member of *Team X* in the 1960s,[623] remembers concerning *CIAM, Team* X, and *GEAM* in 1967:[624]

> The 1961 meeting of the TEAM TEN group took place amid these circumstances, which developed after CIAM disbanded. […] At the meeting, group members unified their thinking under the concepts of 'infrastructure' and 'elements'. […] This resembled thinking proposed by other architects around the same time: Kenzo Tange's human – and superhuman-scale designs; the Italian Giancarlo de Carlo's pentagram method, an idea for thinking about space using the relationships between musical notes and the five fixed lines of the staff; and Gruppo T's 'miriorama' objects, works of kinetic art that encourage viewer interactions (introduced by Takiguchi Shuzo).

It is Wigley again to underline that *Team X's* just as well as Peter and Alison Smithson's proposals in particular "explicitly based [urbanism] on the preservation of the house […], insist[ing] on the everyday house as a paradigm […] expand[ing] the logic of the private house to the street to the district to the town."[625]

As side-reading to David B. Stewart's considerations of "postwar urban rhetoric,"[626] the latecomer publication seems to challenge Stewart's assumptions with alternatives, yet also confirms his observation that "[almost] all Japanese settlements, from Tokyo to the smallest hamlet, are laid out in accordance with the classical administrative pattern,"[627] based on the model grid of the ancient Chinese city Ch'ang-an, nearby today's city of Xi'an and most faithfully incorporated in the layout of Kyoto:[628] "Thus the coordinates of any location whatsoever are given in a series of up to three numbers appended tot he name oft he particular district, itself usually part of a larger

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[622] For this information and the following cf. Tange, Kenzō (ed.): "Jobun" [Preface], in: *Nihon toshi kūkan. Toshi dezain kenkyū cho* [Japanese Urban Space. Authored by the Urban Design Lab], Tokyo: Shōkoku-sha, 1968, p.3.

[623] See: Jencks, Charles: "Kurokawa's Double Vision: From Metabolism to Fractals," in: *Kisho Kurokawa. From the Age of the Machine to the Age of Life*, exh. cat. *RIBA Architecture Centre*, London 1998, Dennis Sharp (ed.), London: BookART, 1998, pp.26-37.

[624] Kurokawa, Kishō: "Will the Future Suddenly Arrive?," trans. Nathan Elchert, cit. in: *Metabolism. The City of the Future. Dreams and Visions of Reconstruction in Postwar and Present-Day Japan*, exh. cat. Mori Art Museum, Tokyo, 2011–2012, Hajime Yatsuka, Mami Hirose et al. (eds.), Tokyo: Shinkenchiku-sha, 2011, pp.255-260, p.256 [first, in: *Design Review*, no. 3, (June, 1967)].

[625] Wigley, Mark (ed.): "The Infrastructure of Play," in: *Constant's New Babylon. The Hyper-Architecture of Desire*, exh. cat. Witte de With Center for Contemporary Art, Rotterdam 1998, Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 1998, pp.28-29.

[626] Stewart 1987, op.cit., p.182.

[627] Ibid.

[628] For an in depth introduction to the transfer of city planning models from China see: Berque, Augustin: *Du Geste à la Cité. Formes Urbaines et Lien Social au Japon* (Bibiliothèque des Sciences Humaines), Paris: Gallimard, 1993, pp.49-53.

administrative ward." [629] Stewart therewith emphasizes that the resulting grid "was less a specifically visual order than the product of a social system."[630] This spatial order prefers juxtaposition and superposition to strict hierarchy – a principle to be rediscovered in the designs of variously shaped Chinese and Japanese gardens.[631] Given the early cultural transfer of Chinese city grid-models to Japan, it appears almost ironic that Chinese cities would then come to implement "versions of *CIAM Functional City* [1931] ideas […] on a massive scale after 1950,"[632] as Eric Mumford recounts. Concerning the historic capital *Edo* (1603–1868) Fumihiko Maki clarifies that the Meiji Restoration in 1867 not only renamed the city as "East Capital," i.e. Tokyo, but ended feudal privileges of powerful landowners. The subdivision of their formerly large lots resulted in new grids, uncoordinated with the persisting ones. "At the same time, the old patterns – spiral and radial lines, grids, and free forms adapted to topography – remained imprinted on the urban form."[633] Maki further concludes for this particular case that in the "overlapping of plan systems in Tokyo, the fact that no one system can be read as dominant, gives the city an elusive, seemingly chaotic character."[634]

The *WoDeCo* not only shifted the focus from European ancient history and new concepts emerging in the U.S., but took into consideration – to borrow a more recent term – "agencies"[635] less emphasized so far: For example environmental issues caused by natural forces, a virulent topic in Japan at any time. The *WoDeCo* therewith developed a long-term impact through motivating the reconsideration of local morphologies. Nevertheless the conference pushed the earlier internationalization of architecture to a new level, bringing together old and new interlocutors. Reyner Banham rejoices in his 1976 exposition on "the last dinosaurs of Modernism"[636] that *WoDeCo* was "marking the maturity of Japanese architecture and its independence of other cultures' 'neo-colonialist' views what it ought to be."[637] We will certainly get the chance to examine Banham's statement more closely in the following chapters. I already admit though that I would yet answer more carefully with the pendant "yes and no," similar as to questions raised earlier in this text, concerning the share of modernity in Japanese culture, recalling Barshey's dictum that "'Europe' and the 'West' have been indispensable both as positive models for, and as effective and

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[629] Stewart 1987, p.182.

[630] Ibid.

[631] Berque, Augustin: *Du Geste à la Cité. Formes Urbaines et Lien Social au Japon* (Bibliothèque des Sciences Humaines), Paris: Gallimard, 1993, p.132.

[632] Mumford, Eric: *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928-1960*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2000, pp.268.

[633] Maki, Fumihiko: "The Japanese City and Inner Space," in: *Nurturing Dreams. Collected Essays on Architecture and the City*, Mark Mulligan (ed.), Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2008, pp.150-168, p.151.

[634] Ibid.

[635] I am using Bruno Latour's and Andrew Pickering's extended notion of "agency," attributing decisive power to various processes not only to the human being as an acting subject, yet in a more decentered fashion to, e.g. natural forces, atomic powerplants, computers, etc., see: Pickering, Andrew: *The Cybernetic Brain. Sketches of Another Future*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010.

[636] Banham, Reyner: *Megastructure. Urban Futures of the Recent Past*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1976, p.7.

[637] Ibid., p.45.

affective Others to, the construction of modern Japanese identity, tradition and social forms."[638] On the other hand, I of course strongly agree that the Japanese projects presented at *WoDeCo* put their own mark on the architectural conversation.

Ludic Alternatives c. 1960: From Unitary Urbanism to New Babylon

One can only specualte what the list of attendees at the *WoDeCo* would have looked like, if Tange had privileged the destinations Amsterdam or Munich[639] over Otterlo in 1959. Since the question, what should become of the ever-growing cities was of course not only pondered within the crumbling *CIAM* circle. At the *Third Situationist Conference* a group of people around Dutch painter Constant (Constant Anton Nieuwenhuys, 1920–2005) and Guy Debord (1931–1994), filmmaker and founder of the *Lettrist International* (1952–1957), postulated together with artists Pinot Gallizio (Giuseppe Gallizio, 1902–1964) and Asger Jorn (Asger Oluf Jørgensen, 1914–1973) to form an "Imaginist Bauhaus"[640] (MIBI, 1953–1957).[641] They took the initiative protesting against Max Bill's Ulm Design School (Hochschule für Gestaltung, HfG 1953–1968). Jorn condemned the latter an "academy without painting, without research into the imagination, fantasy, signs, symbols."[642]

During the tenth Milano Triennale in 1954 philosopher and art critic Gillo Dorfles, architects Konrad Wachsmann, Ernesto N. Rogers, Max Bill and his successor as head of Ulm Design School Tomás Maldonado, Bauhaus luminary Walter Gropius, as well as the artists Lucio Fontana had come together for the "Congresso Internazionale dell'Industrial Design" (International Congress of Industrial Design). On this occasion Jorn and Bill fought out a public dispute on the scope of and approach in art and design. And audience member Lucio Fontana questioned, why hardly any artists figured in the list of invitees to this – notabene interdisciplinary – congress.[643] Architecture historian Ruth Baumeister notices: "[Bill] was supported by fellow functionalist such as [...] Wachsmann and Maldonado, who not only called for an all-inclusive concept of design 'from the

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[638] Barshey 1992, op.cit., pp.365-406.

[639] "Rapport Inaugurale de la Conference de Munich, Avril 17–20, 1959," in: *Internationale Situationniste*, no. 3, (December, 1959), pp.25-27.

[640] *Mouvement International pour un Bauhaus Imaginiste*, see: Baumeister, Ruth: *L'Architecture Sauvage. Asger Jorn's Critique and Concept of Architecture,* Rotterdam: nai 010 Publishers, 2014, pp.147-173; See also: Berreby, Gérard: *Textes et Documents Situationnistes: 1957-1960*, Paris: Éditions Allia, 2004, pp.78-79.

[641] The artists were all featured sooner or later in the Turin exhibition space and magazine *Notizie. Associazione Arti Figurative*, see: Gallizio, Giuseppe [Pinot]: "Manifesto della Pittura Industriale," in: *Notizie. Associazione Arti Figurative*, no. 10, (January, 1960), n.p.; Michel Tapié acted around the time, or even before as a go between to place *Gutai* artists within the Turin gallery circle and magazine, see: *Notizie. Associazione Arti Figurative 2*, no. 6, (June, 1958). See also the feature of *Gutai* works in Gillo Dorfles' review of their exhibition in Turin: Dorfles, Gillo: "'Arte Nuova' e 'Gruppo Gutai' a Torino," in: *domus*, no. 358, (September, 1959), pp.20-22. For an insightful introduction to the connection between *Gutai* and yet to become famous Italian artists like Mario Merz, see: Corà, Bruno: "Gutai in Europe Starting from Italy," in: *Gutai. Painting with Time and Space. Gutai. Dipingere con il Tempo e lo Spazio*, exh. cat. Museo Cantonale D'Arte di Lugano, 2010-2011, Marco Franciolli, Fuyumi Namioka, et al. (eds.), Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana Editoriale, 2010, pp.174-187.

[642] Asger Jorn in a letter to Italian artist Enrico Baj (1924-2003). Baj furthermore had his own group "The Nuclearists" (*Arte Nucleare*), Jorn cit. after Baumeister, Ruth: *L'Architecture Sauvage. Asger Jorn's Critique and Concept of Architecture,* Rotterdam: nai 010 Publishers, 2014, pp.147-173, p.153.

[643] Ibid., p.173.

teaspoon to urban planning', but equated industrial production with the production of culture and viewed the whole form-finding process as subject to the dictates of functionality."[644]

Although the antagonists largely agreed on an involvement in science and research their respective interpretations of such a symbiosis could not have differed more. In a booklet provocatively issued on occasion of this Industrial Designer's Congress (1954) "Immagine e Forma"[645] (Image and Form) Jorn criticized functionalist reductionism. Baumeister points out in addition that Jorn introduces "biology as a structural model of art and society and human beings as part of nature rather than nature's rulers […] proceed[ing] to counter [the] notion of ideal form with his own idea of dynamic form based on human perception,"[646] on the last few pages of this polemic pamphlet. He elaborated his functionalism critique further in "Structure et Changement"[647] (1956) drawing attention to children's art.[648]

The Europe-based artists introduced before, who used to be rallying against Swiss designer and proponent of concrete (mathematical) art Max Bill (1908–1994) by the mid 1950s, added in their "Amsterdam Declaration"[649] (1958) the password "Unitary Urbanism" (UU) as a critique of functionalist urbanism to the agenda. Philosopher Anslem Jappe sees one of the crucial points of "UU" in "the creation of ambiances that did not merely allow feelings to find expression, but actually provoked new feelings."[650] Constant came up with a utopian architectural proposal to embody this approach: "New Babylon"[651] made him one of the figureheads of the loose movement forming and fractioned between the former members of the *Lettrist International* (1952–1957), the artist group *CoBrA* (e.g. Jorn and Constant, 1948–1951),[652] the *International Movement for an Imaginist Bauhaus* (MIBI, 1953–1957), in short – the orbit of the *Situationist International* (IS, 1958–1972), who postulated "total participation"[653] as opposed to spectacle. Yet, over the course of the year 1960 Constant and Debord's minds split over the concept of "Unitary Urbanism." Belgian author Raoul Vaneigem, who had only recently joined the *Situationist International* and its "Bureau

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[644] Ibid., pp.172-173.

[645] Jorn, Asger: *Immagine e Forma. Bullettino d'Informazioni del Mouvement International pour un Bauhaus Imaginiste*, no. 1, Enrico Baj (ed.), Milan: Editoriale Periodici Italiani, 1954.

[646] Ibid., p.171

[647] Jorn, Asger: *Structure et Changement. Sur le Rôle de l'Intelligence dans la Création Artistique*, Paris: no publisher, 1956.

[648] See: Fineberg, Jonathan: "Cobra und das Kind in uns," trans. John Ormrod, in: *Mit dem Auge des Kindes – Kinderzeichnung und moderne Kunst*, exh. cat. Lenbachhaus Kunstbau, Munich, Kunstmuseum Bern, 1995, Helmut Friedel and Josef Helfenstein (eds.), Stuttgart: Verlag Gerd Hatje, 1995, pp.188-217.

[649] Constant and Guy Debord: "La Déclaration d'Amsterdam, 10 Novembre, 1958," in: Internationale Situationniste, no. 2, (December, 1958), pp.31-32.

[650] Jappe, Anselm: *Guy Debord*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith, with a foreword by T.J. Clark, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press,1999, p.59.

[651] See: Constant [Anton Nieuwenhuys]: "Une Autre Ville pour une Autre Vie," in: *International Situationniste*, no. 3, (December, 1959), pp.37-40.

[652] Stokvis, Willemijn: *Cobra. The Last Avant-Garde of the Twentieth Century*, Hampshire: Lund Humphries, 2004.

[653] See: Debord, Guy (ed.) et al.: "Situationist Manifesto. May, 17 1960," trans. Fabian Thompsett, in: *Internationale Situationniste*, no. 4, (June, 1960), (accessed through: <http://www.cddc.vt.edu/sionline/si/manifesto.html>, last access: 14.6.2014).

for Unitary Urbanism," eventually dealt the deathblow to Constant's New Babylon project from within the community (Fig.135, Fig.136).[654]

Whereas Jorn and Debord fiercely rejected any connotation of machine, machine-aesthetic, or automation, Constant had placed himself between the functionalist (modernist) paradigm and the "'hatred' of the machine,"[655] as Wigley notes. Constant's utopic city as an ever changing, transient and labyrinthine assembling of "microclimates" apparently seems to owe critical inspiration to Peter and Alison Smithson's proposal of "streets in the air,"[656] presented at *CIAM 9* (1953). "New Babylon" combined spatial modernism critique with cutting edge technology, lending the resulting hybrid to new and playful uses.[657] From 1960 onwards Constant pursued his vision of "New Babylon,"[658] synthesizing Buckminster Fuller's leightweigh structure concepts[659] with Johan Huizinga's (1872–1946) paradigmatic analysis of man the player in "Homo Ludens"[660] (1938) – a book widely read in Europe in the immediate postwar of the late 1940s. Although Huizinga's text is generally considered to present a genuinely "Western" concept of play, Japanese Studies scholar Thomas Leims underlines on the contrary that "Huizinga elaborates on one and half pages on the constrast of the Japanese concepts of *asobu* (to play) and *majime* (sobriety, earnestness), on *bushidō* (code of chivalry) and *bukkyō* (Buddhism), as well as Japanese poetry in order to form his theory of play without falling into arbitrary non-sensical scientific eclectisicm."[661]

Communicating Cybernetics

In his 1960 *WoDeCo*-conference-talk "Designer's Position in Society"[662] former Bauhaus teacher and exhibition designer Herbert Bayer (1900–1985) predicts not only future possibilities of data storage and digital research platforms, but is – as many of his contemporaries – concerned with the

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[654] Wigley 1998, op.cit., p.29.

[655] Ibid.

[656] Ibid.

[657] See: Lefaivre, Liane and Alexander Tzonis: *Aldo van Eyck. Humanist Rebel. Inbetweening in a Postwar World*, Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 1999, pp.61-69.

[658] Andreotti, Libero: "Architecture and Play," in: *Guy Debord and the Situationist International. Texts and Documents* (An October Book), Tom McDonough (ed.), Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2002, pp.213-240.

[659] See: Fuller, Richard B.: *Ideas and integrities. A Spontaneous Autobiographical* Disclosure, Robrt W. Marks (ed.), Englewood-cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1962; Fuller, Richard B. et al.: *Energy, Earth, and Everyone – E3. Une Stratégie Énergétique Globale pour le Vaisseau Spatial Terre?* (Collection Contre-Cultures), Nikola Jankovic (ed.), Paris: Éditions B2, 2012.

[660] Huizinga, Johan: *Homo Ludens. Versuch einer Bestimmung des Spielelements der Kultur*, Basel: Burg Verlag, 1944, [first: 1939]. The first Japanese translation appeared in 1963, based on the German translation of the Dutch original text, see: Bremen, Jan van: "Japan in the World of Johan Huizinga," in: *Japan at Play. The Ludic and the Logic of Power*, Joy Hendry and Massimo Raveri (eds.), London and New York: Routledge, 2005, pp.214-226; Huizinga, Johan: *Homo rūdensu jinrui bunka to yūgi* [Homo Ludens. Human Culture and Play], trans. Hideo Takahashi, Tokyo: Chūōkōron-sha, 1963.

[661] Huizinga [1939] 1944, op.cit., pp.44-45. See also: Leims, Thomas: "Medien und Postmoderne. Das Beispiel Japan," in: *Asienstudien. Zeitschrift der Schweizerischen Asiengesellschaft* (Referate des 9. deutschsprachigen Japanologentages in Zürich (22.–24. September 1993)), special issue, vol. 48, no. 1, (1994), pp.513-524, p.517, p.523; And: Bremen, Jan van: "Japan in the World of Johan Huizinga," in: *Japan at Play. The Ludic and the Logic of Power*, Joy Hendry and Massimo Raveri (eds.), London and New York: Routledge, 2005, pp.214-226.

[662] Herbert Bayer: "Designer's Position in Society," in: *World Design Conference 1960 in Tokyo*, World Design Conference Organization (ed.), Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppan-sha, 1961, p.21.

prognosticated surplus (leisure) time, men would supposedly gain thanks to automation freeing them from labor:

> How much of human energy will be replaced by automation? How will all the acquired leisure affect man and in what direction will the released energies be channeled? What new sensations will be discovered when it will no longer be a treat to fly to the moon for a holiday? […] The exploding quantity of information is already approaching a state of over-communication. […] Computing machines will eventually substitute for printed matter by storing knowledge; they will have any and all desired information available and ready to short call when needed. This will be done quickly and more completely than research teams can, relieving and unburdening our brains from memory ballast.

Aware of the pressing questions a shift in production from second to third sector, and the paralleling information revolution would prompt for the doctrines of city planning, Tange early on intended to invite a proper 'cybernetician' to the panel. Someone, who mixes natural sciences and humanities in aesthetic theory like Ulm Design School's (Hochschule für Gestaltung, HfG) Max Bense (1910–1990) seemed to meet all requirements. But as urban theorist and historian Georg Vrachliotis recounts, Bense declined Tange's personal invitation to the *WoDeCo* for yet unknown reasons.[663]

Together with Abrahm A. Moles (1920–1992), Bense had coined the term "information aesthetics"[664] in his seminars, in the latter half of the 1950s. Referring to cybernetics – models likening man and machine as comparable organizational systems interacting and communicating – he followed the broader assumptions of mathematician Norbert Wiener (1948).[665] Interpreters of cybernetics from all fields, especially from the social sciences, behavior studies, psychology, physiology, but also the emerging "creative industries" were increasingly attracted by a structural system theory promising to map out and objectify complex processes directed toward self-optimization. It is widely known that such process design had found its application and physical forms in the U.S. military-industrial-complex, furthering not only Norbert Wiener's prewar research in this direction. As keyword of the hour c. 1960 "cybernetics" was yet not only a way to observe, objectify, reduce, and abstract subjective judgment into a seemingly non-biased amount of pure data, but the transdisciplinary approach was seen by exponents like Bense as a methodology to reveal "the real" universal criteria, according to which one could not only "invent" and estimate

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[663] Vrachliotis, Georg: *Geregelte Verhältnisse. Architektur und technisches Denken in der Epoche der Kybernetik*, Vienna: Springer, 2012, pp.56-57.

[664] Moles, Abraham A.: *Théorie de l'Information et Perception Esthétique*, Paris: Flammarion, 1958; Bense, Max: *Aesthetica. Einführung in die neue Aesthetik*, Baden-Baden: Agis Verlag, 1956; see also: *20th Century Computer Art: Beginnings and Developments. The Work and Thought of Pioneers and Contemporary Practitioners of Algorithmic Art*, exh. cat. Tama Art University Museum Tokyo, 2006, Hiroshi Kawano (ed.), Tokyo: Tama Art University Press, 2006; Shanken, Edward A.: "Cybernetics and Art: Cultural Convergence in the 1960s," in: *From Energy to Information*, Bruce Clarke and Linda Dalrymple Henderson (eds.), Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2002, pp.155-177.

[665] Wiener, Norbert: *Cybernetics or, Control and Communication in the Animal and the Machine*, Hoboken, NJ: Wiley, 1948.

form, communicating visual and social information, but overcome personal interpretation with positivist empiricism. Departing from Wiener, Bense (con-)fused Claude Shannons mathematical communication theory,[666] information theory, and semiotics.[667] Historian Christoph Klütsch notes that one of Bense's primary goals was "to develop a theory that would allow one to measure the amount and quality of information in aesthetic objects, thus enabling an evaluation of art that goes beyond 'art historian chatter'. Information aesthetics investigated the numerical value of 'the aesthetic object' itself."[668]

"Information aesthetics" as promoted by Bense and Moles would weaken the god-like position of an artist-creator, suggesting non-expressive design as a permutational playground resulting in authentic situations. Weakening the 'biased subject,' their stance was yet completely different from the voices explicitly postulating performances that blur the boundaries between art and life, although eventually oriented toward the shared goal of emptying out derived myths of genius and autorship. It is possible that an approach promoted by Bense was seen affiliated in the larger sense with what graphic designer Yūsaku Kamekura suggests concerning an iterative rational figure denoted by the Japanese word *katachi*. Let us listen to Kamekura elaborating on the Japanese form principle *katachi* as documented in the *WoDeCo* papers for a second (Fig.137):[669]

> *In Japan there is a word called 'katachi.' It is permissible to understand this word 'katachi' as being synonymous with the word 'form,' but it is thought [of as] the mystical meaning. When I say mystical, I do not mean something sentimental like 'Fantastic' or 'Romantic,' but I think it is better to say that it means 'spatial.' It means a rational space with no sentimental connotations, rather something intellectual.*

Extending his exemplary argument Kamekura not least takes the traditional performing arts into account:

> *'Katachi' not only exists in the world of objects, but also in movements. The Nō drama, the oldest of Japanese dramas and dances is simple to the point of boredom. Because of this, it is all more strict. Even more important is that the literary contents of the Nō drama are the calculated, superb 'katachi' obtained by deliberatly trimming all the movements.*

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[666] Shannon, Claude .E.: "Communication in the Presence of Noise," in: *Proceedings of IRE* [Institute of Radio Engineers], vol. 37, (1949), pp.10–21.

[667] Bense, Max: "Kybernetik oder die Metatechnik einer Maschine," in: *Max Bense. Ausgewählte Schriften,* Vol. 2: *Philosophie der Mathematik, Naturwissenschaft und Technik*, Elisabeth Walther (ed.), Stuttgart: Metzler, 1998, pp.429-449.

[668] Klütsch, Christoph: "Information Aesthetics and the Stuttgart School," in: *Mainframe Experimentalism: Early Computing and the Foundation of the Digital Arts*, Hannah Higgins and Douglas Kahn (eds.), Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2012, pp.65-89.

[669] Kamekura, Yūsaku: "Katachi" [Form], in: *World Design Conference 1960 in Tokyo*, World Design Conference Organization (ed.), Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppan-sha, 1961, pp.31-33.

For a better understanding of *katachi* as introduced to the international audience by Kamekura, we might turn to Augustin Berque's demonstrative explanations. Individual and ephemeral formal variations (*katachi*) underly a generative form principle (*kata*), which could be likened to a matrix. This process of differentiation between extremely true to shape formulations, congruent with *kata* and the diversity of individual interpretations can also be described with a three-step-model torn from calligraphy. In calligraphy, and ikebana such a process of "informalisation"[670] is usually described with the triad *shin* (formal), *gyō* (semi-formal) and *sō* (informal) (Fig.138).[671] If Jorn had reproached to the Ulm Design School in the prehistory of *WoDeCo*, mentioned earlier, to be a school without connection to the legacies of the collective unconsiuos surfacing in a societies' signs and symbols, such an accusation would definitely succumb in face of, e.g. Kamekura's talk on *katachi*. Kamekura exemplifies the principle of *katachi* during his speech on the visual level by showing the differentiations Japanese family emblems, based on one and the same symbol, underwent.

As architecture theorist Georg Vrachliotis points out, Bense's "West-German cybernetics"[672] was yet again different from a U.S. model in its scope. If Bense aimed at the reformulation of an aesthetic and pedagogic theory as basic science rooted in interdisciplinarity. Proponents like Nicholas Negroponte, as well as the Architecture Machine Group at MIT, focused in their research on the other hand toward (commercially oriented) user interface design.[673] According to Vrachliotis men were neither machinized, nor machines anthropomorphized, yet both highly abstracted in sums of schemes and processes to be mapped out and harmonized.[674] As Vrachlitotis recounts Bense's most decisive official encounter with art theory and artists was yet to come. In a legendary panel discussion diffused by the West German broadcasting agency in 1970 Bense and Joseph Beuys stood in for two diametrically opposed positions: Whereas Bense argued that an artist or at least the artwork itself should unfold an objectively judgable concept of art, Beuys eventually won over the audience with a fervent closing argument underlining the importance of fantasy and free creativitiy as opposed to technicity and scientificity in the larger socially extended project called art – meaning life.[675] The debate between Bense and Beuys, reiterated to a certain extent the earlier confrontation between Bill and Jorn.

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[670] Berque, Augustin: *Du Geste à la Cité. Formes Urbaines et Lien Social au Japon* (Bibliothèque des Sciences Humaines), Paris: Gallimard, 1993, p.115.

[671] Ibid.

[672] Vrachliotis 2012, p.17.

[673] Ibid.

[674] Ibid., p.32.

[675] Ibid., pp.119-125; Andrew Pickering moreover discerns between U.S. and British cyberneticians, who – in his view – linked cybernetics more decidedly with the performative paradigm and ontology, instead of leaning to an epistemology based on representation. See: Pickering, Andrew: *Kyberentik und Neue Ontologien*, trans. Gustav Rossler, Berlin: Merve Verlag, 2007, p.91 [first: idem: "New Ontologies," paper presented at "Real/Simulacra/Artificial: Ontologie of Post-modernity," the Eighth International Conference on Agendas for the Millenium, Candido Mendes University, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, May 20 – 22 May, 2002].

Instead of Bense, his colleague and head of Ulm's Design School, Argentina born Tomás
Maldonado (b. 1922) eventually participates in the *World Design Conference*, taking place 10 years
before the famous public argument between Bense and Beuys, bespeaking the gulf between such
different approaches to the "expansion of art."[676] Introducing his subject "Visual Communication,"
Maldonado states in Tokyo in 1960 instead:[677]

> *The actual theory of 'non-verbal communication' has a very strange relationship to some of the ideas, which have*
> *been advanced by artistic and literary expressionism for over 50 years. The principal difference between them is that*
> *the theorists of non-verbal communication now prefer another terminology. A terminology which changes from year*
> *to year according to the dictates of fads or influenced by the discoveries of relevant irrelevant scientific areas. Some*
> *years ago non-verbal communication was dominated by terms like 'map,' 'time-binding,' or 'neuro-linguistics' now it is*
> *full of 'noise,' 'feedback,' or 'information.'*

Discrediting the vague terminology found in the field of the arts used by artists and art historians
alike, Maldonado sees potential for design with its more systematic approach instead, since "the
function […] of a good industrial designer will no longer be to design a product, but a system of
which the product is only one member:"[678]

> *In addition to these unconvincing speculations, communication in particular has been the object – above all in America*
> *– of very important and fruitful scientific investigations. To a large extent this has been the contribution of scientific*
> *disciplines, which are still very young and growing: social psychology, applied psychology, semiotics, linguistics,*
> *information theory and cybernetics. […] Many important aspects of communication may now be observed and*
> *analyzed in a precise and objective manner. […] The zones of action or manual control decrease in size and the zones*
> *of visual and acoustic perception increase. […] Everything seems to suggest the task of the industrial designer will*
> *become […] a task of design of information displays, i.e. more and more a problem of communication.*

If Kamekura and Maldonado were particularly focusing on the rising field of "Visual
Communication," i.e. the specialized field of (typo-)graphic design, information and display
rhetorics affected the discussions in art and architecture alike. The editorial section of *The Japan
Architect* hence emphasizes in its conclusion on the conference that "[Saul] Bass added that there
was a great need for communication between the various fields of design."[679] The interdisciplinarity
of cybernetic thinking was bound to accelerate a convergence of art, graphics, and architecture in
the blurry zone of design (*dezain*) between the poles of use and utilization, and within the

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[676] Vrachliotis, Georg: *Geregelte Verhältnisse. Architektur und technisches Denken in der Epoche der
Kybernetik*, Vienna: Springer, 2012, pp.119-125, p.124.
[677] Maldonado, Tomás: "Visual Communication," in: *World Design Conference 1960 in Tokyo*, World Design
Conference Organization (ed.), Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppan-sha, 1961, pp.145-146.
[678] Ibid.
[679] Cf. "World Design Conference," editorial, in: *The Japan Architect. International Edition of Shinkenchiku* [New
Architecture], (June, 1960), p.7.

mechanism of commodification. Considering line-up, votums, and its prehistory *WoDeCo* itself was an event negotiating the middle ground between functionalism and functionalist critique.

3.1.2 Architecture as Live-Cell Therapy: Flexibility, Self-Organization, and Open-ended Process

Material and Man – Again

On occasion of the conference, however, a number of young feasible promising architects had been assembled by architect Takashi Asada (1921–1990),[680] one of Tange's closest collaborators in Tange Lab at Tokyo University and in office as Secretary General of *WoDeCo*, and contemporary critic Noboru Kawazoe (b. 1926). Kawazoe acted as *spiritus rector* behind the publication of a collection of new proposals in urbanism. The propositions were published as a collection of essays and utopic projects with the title "Metabolism." The English translation of the Japanese word *shinchintaisha* suggests a remedy for regulating the 'chaotic condition' of Japanese cities (Fig.139). More than *shinchintaisha* "metabolism" yet not only implies regeneration, but growth, propagation, and metamorphosis.[681] This decisive statement in urban rhetoric brings Japanese architecture on its own international stage, presenting communal bodies with the biological metaphor of a cyclical process between renewal and decay, rather than linear progress. Referring to an organicist metaphor, the approach was way different from the wartime allusions to an "ethnic corpus," whereas the proposals subvert both: elements of traditional and international style.

The authors explain their choice of title in a collective foreword, speaking of society as an emergence governed by a "process of generation and evolution," which underlies "the universe from the infinitesimal atom to the vastest nebula," (Fig.140). Only to further specify: "Our reason for using the word 'metabolism,' taken from biology, is that we believe design and technology should be a forum for human vitality. We do not passively accept metabolism as a natural, historical process – but we are trying to encourage active metabolic development of our society through our proposals." One easily detects Marxist overtones, yet with a somewhat bewildering twist. If Marx analyzed science and technology as social phenomena, his line of argumentation concerning historical processes seems turned inside out. On the other hand the encouragement of an "active metabolic development of society" then again conforms with Marx' view that men and women are fully natural beings, who seek, choose, and remake the natural world, within the

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[680] For a closer examination of Asada's role in the circles promoting *Metabolism*, see: Lin, Zhongjie: *Kenzo Tange and the Metabolist Movement. Urban Utopias of Modern Japan*, London and New York: Routledge, 2010, pp.69-132, p.21ff.

[681] Koolhaas/Obrist 2011, p.243.

necessary limits.[682] Man was understood as child and maker of nature, e.g. of a second nature, which Henri Lefebvre would later identify with "the city, urban life, and social energetics."[683]

Kawazoe experienced as editor in chief of the architectural magazine *Shinkenchiku* (New Architecture) was certainly fit enough to gather the different voices among Tange's students, yet Kikutake and Kawazoe himself both stress in retrospect the importance of Yasuko Kawazoe, Kawazoe's spouse, in the editing process as well as for devising meetings between the agents.[684] Envisioned as a lose congregation instead of an institutionalized organization according to their proper claim for an "active metabolic development" architect Sachio Ōtani, industrial designer Kenji Ekuan, and graphic designer Kiyoshi Awazu made their respective contributions to the orbit of *Metabolism* without issuing an essay in the 1960 booklet.[685]

Marx had been deeply interested in the interactions between the human economy and the natural environment – particularly as regards capitalist agriculture. He started to use the socio-ecological notion of "metabolism" (Stoffwechsel) around 1857–58, citing it again in the first volume of "Capital," to elaborate on the relationship between humans and nature. Detecting various "metabolic rift" and ecological degradations since Capital's social metabolism was in his view increasingly separated from the natural metabolism, threatening to undermine ecosystems:[686]

Labour is, first of all, a process between man and nature, a process by which man, through his own actions, mediates, regulates and controls the metabolism between himself and nature. He confronts the materials of nature as a force of nature. He sets in motion the natural forces, which belong to his own body, his arms, legs, head and hands, in order to appropriate the materials of nature in a form adapted to his own needs. Through this movement he acts upon external nature and changes it, and in this way he simultaneously changes his own nature […] *It* [the labour process] *is the universal condition for the metabolic interaction* [Stoffwechsel] *between man and nature, the everlasting nature-imposed condition of human existence,* […].

Is it thus viable to acknowledge the new proposals for urbanism, published as "Metabolism" referred to Marx, or even introduced alternatives to bridge the mentioned rift? The titles "Ocean City" (Kiyonori Kikutake), "Toward Group Form" (Fumihiko Maki and Masao Ōtaka), and "Space City" with a special focus on the "Agricultural City" (Kishō Kurokawa) arguably suggest it. Kawazoe's contribution, an essay on "Material and Man,"[687] framed the different drafts on how to resolve the

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[682] Fischer-Kowalski, Marina: "'Society's Metabolism: The Intellectual History of Materials Flow Analysis, Part I, 1860–1970'," in: *Journal of Industrial Ecology*, vol. 2, no. 1, pp.61-78.

[683] Lefebvre [1974] 1991, op. cit. 81, p.368.

[684] Kikutake, Kiyonori: "Kiyonori Kikutake. Architecture of Protest," interview with Rem Koolhaas, Kayoko Ota and Hans-Ulrich Obrist, Tokyo, 9.9.2005, in: Project Japan. Metabolism talks..., Kayoko Ota (ed.), Cologne: Taschen, 2011, pp.128-155, p.135f.

[685] Awazu's contribution was in this case the graphic design of the booklet.

[686] Marx, Karl: *Capital. A Critique of Political Economy. Book One: The Process of Production of Capital*, vol.1, New York: Vintage, 1976, p.283, p.290 [first: 1867].

[687] Kawazoe, Noboru: "Material and Man," in: *Metabolism 1960. The Proposals for New Urbanism*, Yasuko Kawazoe (ed.), with illustrations by Kiyoshi Awazu, Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppan-sha, 1960, pp.42-51.

pressing housing issue, tackling as well the infrastructural development of Japanese cities for the impending second phase[688] of high economic growth. And Kawazoe agrees in an interview in 2005: "The catalyst, once again, was Marx. […] Since this was the World Design Conference we were getting ready for, I really thought it needed to be a word that would resonate internationally."[689]

Historian Andrew E. Barshey hence justifiably asks: "When Japanese Marxists looked at Japan's capitalism, what did they see?"[690] Barshey concurrently points out that "following the defeat in 1960 of the Anti-U.S.-Japan Security Treaty movement and the Sino-Soviet split," Marxism as a movement was questioned due to a loss of credibility.[691] Although the views were divergent, many of the proponents saw in the Anpo-protests the realization of "civil society." On the other hand it was reckoned that a "fundamental continuity with Japan's feudal premodernity" resulted "under unprecedented postwar conditions" as a sort of "modernized premodernity" in an "ethos of 'service to enterprise' of both, blue and white collar workers."[692]

The conference proceedings leave open, whether Kawazoe moderating the panel session on "Society" on May 14, 1960 took the opportunity to express his considerations on "Material and Man" (*Ningen to busshitsu*) in a public note. His contribution to the "Metabolism" essay collection yet underlines that architects as proponents of material culture with their "strong confidence towards the immortality of material" should expand their scope: "It is important for them to believe in the existence of physical things, but they must also know that energy too is a form of material existence, since it causes development of material. […] Nebulae are born one after another from a tiny atom to the greatest nebula, every piece of matter is a dynamic body ever chaning and developing. We are all included in process. Life, the highest among the things made from matter, is the one […] most concerned with metabolism." He directs his readers to two aspects virulent in Japanese society, due to geographical and political history, pointing out that "cities should coexist with the dramatic features of Nature with mountains, lakes, rivers, plains, and oceans" and inherent environmental threats like "showers, typhoons, ocean currents, and volcanoes." Nevertheless the cities Kawazoe envisions allow for a multitude of individual dwelling forms without forwarding chaos, while bringing a sense of community to the inhabitants: "If a city

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[688] Cf. Ivy, Marilyn: "Formations of Mass Culutre," in: Andrew Gordon (ed.): Postwar Japan as History, Berkeley, Los Angeles and Oxford: University of California Press, 1993, pp.239-258, p.249.

[689] Koolhaas, Rem and Hans-Ulrich Obrist: "Noboru. Kawazoe. WoDeCo and the Absent Parent," interview with Rem Koolhaas and Hans-Ulrich Obrist, Tokyo, September 9, 2005, in: *Project Japan. Metabolism talks...*, Kayoko Ota (ed.), Cologne: Taschen, 2011, pp.222-243, p.235; for a detailed account on Kawazoe's ideological stances see also: Nakamori, Yasufumi: "Kawazoe Noboru: Architecture Journal Shinkenchiku and dento ronso (the Tradition Discourse): as a Breach to Japanese Tragedy," in: *Metabolism. The City of the Future. Dreams and Visions of Reconstruction in Postwar and Present-Day Japan*, exh. cat. Mori Art Museum, Tokyo, 2011-2012, Hajime Yatsuka, Mami Hirose et al. (eds.), Tokyo: Shinkenchiku-sha, 2011, pp.242-249, p.243.

[690] Barshey, Andrew E.: *The Social Sciences in Modern Japan. The Marxian and Modernist Traditions*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004, p.77.

[691] Ibid.,p.116.

[692] A view elaborated by Yoshihiko Uchida, for him the advent of capitalism in Japan was belated, which exactly "warped"civil society that is then again "incessantly converted" into capitalist society, see: Ibid., pp.185-191.

can be metabolized, it contains various kinds of houses without losing its order. […] When everyone can express his individuality freely, then everyone will lose his individuality. The emancipation of self results in the loss of self-consciousness."[693] With his claim Kawazoe is unintentionally close to what Tsuruko Yamazaki proposes in her call to ludic self-empowerment, discussed earlier in this text.

In his essay Kawazoe not least addresses the Cold War situation, resulting in a growing skepticism toward material culture despite architects' firm belief in the "existence of physical things." He therefore describes the reality in Japan with the following lines:[694]

> *Everything will come to an end if a nuclear war covers all the earth with a shower of radioactivity. No one on earth wishes it, but arguments among the best brains of the world are always based on the possibility of a nuclear war. I deny a nuclear war, at the same time, I deny all arguments which premise it. The powerful countries say that they make nuclear weapons to prevent a world war. This logic has been widely denounced by intelligent people all over the world, but these people use similar logic when they threaten the public by saying that the next war will bring the destruction of mankind, for this approach simply arouses a general feeling of anxiety all over the world. The war-mongers of big countries avail themselves of this atmospher [sic!] to justify their plans for making nuclear weapons. Under such circumstances, people gradually feel uneasy about the gigantic material civilization that surrounds [them] and begin to lose belief in moral civilization, which seems incapable of relieving them.[…] Radioactivity harms people's mind before it affects their bodies.*

I am recalling here that art critic Ichirō Haryū introduced dealer Tapié and his notion of "art of another kind" [*un art autre*] to the Japanese audience on occasion of the exhibition *Art of Today's World* (*Sekai konnichi no bijutsu*), held at the Osaka department store Daimaru in 1957, where among others the works of Karel Appel and Shirley Jaffe were on view, with an essay on "Material and Humans." Haryū – named one of the "Big Three"[695] in contemporary art criticism in Japan because of his nuanced, but outspoken criticism – traced differences, as well as commonalities without glib labeling. In his considerations on "Material and Humans"[696] he elaborates on the "dedication to material," seen in terms of "a harsh resignation concerning the relationship between reality and the human." One might ask, what he understood as "reality" in concrete terms. Let us confront Haryū's consideration of *Art Informel* – rather curatorial label than actual movement, despite the involvement of *Gutai* artists – in the following paragraph with architecture critic Noboru Kawazoe's elaboration on "Material and Man."

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[693] Kawazoe 1960, op.cit., pp.42-51.
[694] Ibid.
[695] Haryū, Ichirō: "Busshitsu to ningen" [Material and Humans], in: *Mizue* [Watercolor], no. 618, (January, 1957), pp.43-47; cit. after: Haryū, Ichirō: "Material and Humans," trans. by Sarah Allen, in: *From Postwar to Postmodern. Art in Japan 1945-1989. Primary Documents*, Doryun Chong, Michio Hayashi, Kenji Kajiya et al. (eds.), New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2012, pp.102-105.
[696] Ibid.

I have already pointed out, how much and why the ideas on what was to be termed "matter" (*busshitsu*) in art, as well as the way one could theorize on it deffered in the Japanese art discourse during the late 1950s. Notably, the art critics Takiguchi and Nakahara have been introduced showing a somewhat kindred affinity for "matter," still most skeptical toward *Gutai's* experimentations between (wo)men and material, or matter. Again, the concerns of Haryū and Kawazoe have to be termed "similar, yet dissimilar."[697] Nevertheless it is worth rereading a digest of Haryū's lines concerning the artists 'under the siege' of *Informel* in the context of the nearly concurrent architectural debates: "While seeking again correspondence between the locus of action and the structure of art and destroying established artistic form, they [the painters labeled *Informel*] are attempting, unlike Dadaists, to grasp the nature of the social mechanisms and the fate of the human."[698]

Turning back to the question to which extent Kawazoe's approach to "Material and Man" was motivated by Marxist thought, architectural historian Zhongjie Lin clarifies: "[Kawazoe] argued that the Marxist understanding of metabolism centered on the exchange of matter between man and nature as represented by production. By contrast, reproduction, with its emphasis on renewal as well as propagation"[699] was more likely to transfer and iterate "a local DNA." According to Lin, Kawazoe preferred the metaphor of coding and evolutionary reproduction process torn from microbiology to the overused biological model constituted in the "Western 'organic-body' urban-analogy," while arguing at the same time that the *Metabolist* vision of the city "demanded a historical and cultural accountability that was particularly distinctive to Japan."[700]

Not only were the rebuilt Japanese cities overcrowded in cramped housing patterns, but the price of land was "skyrocketing," how Kawazoe describes the situation in an article in the magazine *Kindai kenchiku* (Modern Architecture), in April 1960, preluding the *WoDeCo*.[701] The solution to the problem would be "artificial (man-made) ground" (*jinkō tochi*) he writes (Fig. XY):[702]

The image of the ground is always the basis for the image of a house. But today people are being liberated from fixed land towards a global scale. By liberating natural ground as it originally was – be it the pilotis hoisting proposed by Kisho Kurokawa […]. I believe we could acquire a new awareness of the ground. Our prime task is to provide people with land on demand, that is, artificial ground. It could be reinforced concrete slabs, or something like walls [accomodating plug-in capsules], or floating on the ocean. The first has been proposed by Le Corbusier, the latter two by Kiyonori Kikutake in his Tower-Shaped Community and Marine City [kaijō toshi, 1958]. If it wasn't for liberating the ground back to the original natural state, people won't be motivated to live on artificial ground. Though the current

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[697] Ibid.
[698] Ibid., p.104.
[699] Lin, Zhongjie: *Kenzo Tange and the Metabolist Movement. Urban Utopias of Modern Japan*, London and New York: Routledge, 2010, pp.69-132, p.100.
[700] Ibid.
[701] Kawazoe, Noboru: "Teian: Daichi o kaihōshyō" [A Proposal: Let's Liberate the Ground!], in: *Kindai kenchiku* [Modern Architecture], no. 4, (April, 1960), pp.17-18.
[702] Ibid.

malaise of land would inevitably force people to artificial ground to a certain degree, such an awareness is essential to
realize artificial ground in such a way to solve the problem.

Peter Smithson's statement in a seminar session on May 14, attended among others by Tange and
Jean Prouvé, can be read as an answer to Kawazoe's concerns:[703]

[…] *it used to be felt, in the heroic period of modern architecture, that planning or the reconstruction of cities was only*
possible if one could start with the complete ownership of the ground and with a possibility of gigantic programs of
reconstruction, with a tabula rasa. Experience has proved that neither ownership of the land nor the opportunity to
build on a large scale are in themselves sufficient, that there must be a concept of what to do with the land and how
to build on a large scale, before the purely legalistic techniques are useful... However, in the last ten years or so,
certain techniques have emerged which accept this complexity as the source of invention, not as hindrance.

If Smithson terms "complexity as the source of invention" he could and could not have meant the
proposals for a future city introduced as *Metabolism*, since Reyner Banham judges in his at times
highly reductive consideration of "Megastructures"[704] that the claim for "artificial building land in
overcrowded cities" as well as the idea of "different built elements of the city hav[ing] different
natural rates of metabolic exchange" were as a theoretical program of "mind-numbing
simplicity."[705] Banham yet also points out that *Metabolism*-mentor Tange had apparently borrowed
the idea of artificial land from the Japan Housing Corporation (JHC) – or more specifically: from its
president Kyuro Kano. Since Kano had suggested in April 1958 "to fill […] in some eighty thousand
hectares of the northern part of [Tokyo] bay,"[706] as Banham recounts.

Building for the Nuclear Family – Architecture for the Nuclear Age?

Introducing their concrete designs and illustrations to the readers of the bilingual booklet published
in Japanese and English, Kawazoe grouped with the word "metabolism" the divergent positions of
Kiyonori Kikutake, Masato Ōtaka, Fumihiko Maki, and Noriaki (Kishō) Kurokawa under the same
conceptual umbrella.[707] Günther Nitschke's retroactive explanation of the choice of a cultural
historical emblem for the "transmutational" aspect in the *Metabolist* proposals is an instructive
read in this regard (Fig.141). Also, it recalls to some extent the discussion concerning *katachi*,
introduced through Kamekura and cited earlier with regard to the conflicting views of Bill/Bense
and Jorn:[708]

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[703] Smithson, Peter: "Antagonistic Cooperation," in: *World Design Conference 1960 in Tokyo*, World Design
Conference Organization (ed.), Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppan-sha, 1961, pp.164-184.
[704] Banham, Reyner: *Megastructure. Urban Futures of the Recent Past*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1976.
[705] Ibid., p.47.
[706] Ibid., p.52.
[707] *Metabolism 1960. The Proposals for New Urbanism*, editorial, Yasuko Kawazoe (ed.), with illustrations by
Kiyoshi Awazu, Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppan-sha, 1960, p.5.
[708] Cit. after: "The Metabolists," editorial, in: *Architectural Design*, (May, 1967), p.202; See also frontcover of
this same issue. Nitschke also published some of his essays on spatial dispositions and aesthetics in Japan

The traditional Japanese crests of famous families, emperors, shoguns, shrines, were surely dericed from the symbols mentioned before, even though they lost their religious associations and symbolical meaning, and just became pretty designs. […] there is here an unconscious liking for dynamism/flexibility/change, visible already in the arrangement. The Metabolists devised a new version of [one of those] symbol[s] for themselves, in which the two larger commas stand for parents and the smaller one for their child, the succession of generations symbolizing their idea of metbolism. […] It seems to state the old truth, that no one thing in the world can transmute of itself; there must always be two for transmutation to take place. What this symbol seems to forget is to represent […] centrality. Does this in any way symbolize the aspirations of the Group?

What Nitschke observes here – diversity through repetition and difference instead of homogenizing unity – is carried to the extremes in graphic designer Awazu's multi-variant montages of the classical *tomoe* motive chosen for and interspersed throughout the *Metabolism* booklet (Fig.142, Fig.143).

One of the most interesting points in the conepts of *Metabolism* is yet the refusal to understand time as a linear teleological model, arguing rather for the synchronicity of growth and decay, for transformations in simultaneous relations, instead of a diachronic evolutionary process. If the subtitle of the essay collection reads "The Proposals for New Urbanism,"[709] Kikutake specifies in his contribution "Ocean City"[710] (Fig.144):

We do not suggest a proposal of the future city. […] The past problems on [sic] the city should be re-adjusted and prepared for […] tomorrow, but, should not restrict […] tomorrow. […] The new harmful tissue, like cancer, is spreading over the city. The transposition called "Bed Town" has already started.

Not only had the spreading of bed towns "already started" – a first wave of such a "transposition" dates to the pre- and interwar-modernization in the 1920s and 1930s, when everyday life was "invented,"[711] as the example of Osaka showed earlier in this study. Kikutake argues further on that tower shaped mini-cities within a city would allow living, working and relaxation to converge again, yet decentered in form of sub-centers within the large cities:[712]

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in Japanese periodicals of the late 1960s, see, e.g. Nitschke, Günther: "Nise yogen-sha. Nihon no dai ni no eiyū jidai – Yaban no jidai ka" [The False Prophets. Japan's Second Heroic Age – The Age of Barbarism?], trans. Koichi Inoue, in: *SD. Spēsu Dezain. – Space Design. Journal of Art and Architecture*, no. 39, (February, 1968), pp.45-60.

[709] Ibid.

[710] Ibid., pp.6-7.

[711] Sand, Jordan: "Conclusion: Inventing Everyday Life," in: *House and Home in Modern Japan. Architecture, Domestic Space and Burgeois Culture 1880-1930*, Cambridge and London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2003, pp.353-378.

[712] Kikutake, Kiyonori: "Tōjō toshi [The Tower Shaped City]," in: *Kokusai Kenchiku* [International Architecture], vol. 26, no. 1, (1959), pp.12-19; cit. after: Kikutake, Kiyonori: "The Tower Shaped City," trans. Maiko Behr, in: *From Postwar to Postmodern. Art in Japan 1945–1989. Primary Documents*, Doryun Chong, Michio Hayashi, Kenji Kajiya et al. (eds.), New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2012, pp.153-155.

A city can encroach on the farmland at its periphery and concentrate transportation at its center only so much. Satellite town cannot possibly present a valid solution without significant sacrifice on the part of those who 'live' there. However, this vertical development should not follow the example of New York City. […] The abundant vacant lots that will result from turning our efforts in a vertical direction will be greened and preserved as spaces to freshen the air. They will then prove further useful as sites where the vertical towers can be rebuilt every two hundred years or so as they reach the end of their service lives.

For the cellular agglomerations he envision as microcosms within the city, Kikutake describes community building in a bottom up process, based on biological reproduction in the "nuclear family," while regrouping single-family units "on an expanded scale consisting of multiple-family groupings […] moving toward a viable solution to the problem of 'living':"[713]

The new order of the city will grow up from the point that […] all inhabitants become conscious of community. This means that each has a pride on his own city as a unit of his community. […] The fatal relation between road and lot will […] disappear. […] We have to take note that it is incorrect to say that the most certain means to live is to cling to the land.

In an interview with uncrowned architecture pope Rem Koolhaas, focusing on public and communal building practices when architects were "not yet 'enslaved' by Neo-Liberalism," Kikutake admits, "I have some rather unconventional views about democracy."[714]

The new order of the city will grow up from the point that […] all inhabitants become conscious of community. This means that each has a pride on his own city as a unit of his community. […] The fatal relation between road and lot will […] disappear. […] We have to take note that it is incorrect to say that the most certain means to live is to cling to the

In vertical housing models replacing horizontal settling, he saw also potential to overcome the practical difficulties in locating places and people in contemporary Tokyo. A metropolis of clustered small-scale neighborhoods on lot patterns with a disorienting address-system in mazes, proposing that eventually "simple road sign will guide the people correctly."[715] Envisioning the community as a wall – the vertical version of "artificial land" (*jinkō tochi*) – of cellular units that should be replaced in cycles. Whereas an integrated factory-like building would manufacture new units to replace

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[713] Kikutake, Kiyonori: "Ocean City," in: *Metabolism 1960. The Proposals for New Urbanism*, Yasuko Kawazoe (ed.), with illustrations by Kiyoshi Awazu, Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppan-sha, 1960, pp.6-39, p.15.

[714] Idem: "Kiyonori Kikutake. Architecture of Protest," interview with Rem Koolhaas, Kayoko Ota and Hans-Ulrich Obrist, Tokyo, 9.9.2005, in: *Project Japan. Metabolism talks...*, Kayoko Ota (ed.), Cologne: Taschen, 2011, pp.128-155, p.133.

[715] Idem 1960, op. cit., p.15.

older ones, Kikutake specifies concerning the cyclic renewal reflecting a process of biological reproduction in social and material terms:[716]

> *The housing unit will be made of steel, because the durability of steel, that is 50 years, is most suitable to serve man's life. The steel unit, which has done the duty will be remanufactured for the new housing unit for a new family. […] Consequently, the housing unit will be planned at a basis of a couple. […] In this living cylinder, kitchen, toilet, bathroom and water closets will be made of plastic materials in one unit. […]*
> *The main parts of the steel unit will be manufactured at the plant in the Tower, and after the careful inspection, these will be lifted up to the decided level by the ring. As if congratulating the new born of one family, the new unit will go […] up with slow rotation around the outside of the Tower and the people in the vicinity of the Tower will send their sincere and warm […] congratulations for the start of new life of a fresh couple, when they observe the* [replacement] *of a unit.*

Moreover such a living community embodied an association of individual "nuclear families"[717] in renewable cells should not only allow continuous recycling and reproduction, but move from the solid ground to the open sea – another version of "artificial land." Kikutake thus points out that mapped political territories, continents or natural borders had always embodied contradictions, given rise to competition, power conflicts and wars. As a specific model case for "Ocean City" he names his utopia of the industrial city *Unabara*, consisting of two rings: An inner circle for housing and an outer circle for production, interconnected by an administrative block: "The center of this new city is to be inhabited by man. […] Paralyzed transportation system, disintegrated industrial area, inadequate industrial area are becoming a deeply rooted obstacle which is keeping Japan behind western countries."[718] Increased mobility is not only a premise he builds upon to advocate the need for the development of infrastructure – "the central highway […] will run through the back bone of the Japanese archipelago, [it] will function as a recreational highway." Also it will "not be necessary" for the fictional Ocean City of *Unabara* "to be fixed to a spot." Transportation connecting this cruising production plant to other places he envisions as follows:

> *An artificial sun on top of the tower illuminated the entire city. It will also function as a light house. Right by the control tower is a gaping hole which functions as a means of transportation to other cities. This port is used by submarines, which are the safest and fastest way of transportation. […] The outer fringe of a city has a protective zone, which absorbs solar energy as well as the energy of the sea waves.*

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[716] Ibid., p.19; for an analytical comment on the characteristic contradictions of what Lefebvre calls "abstract space," concerning the genitality, or family unit in contrast to the realms of the sensual and sexual see: Lefebvre, Henri: *The Production of Space,* trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1991, pp.49-50, [first: *La Production de l'Espace*, Paris: Éditions Anthropos, 1974].

[717] See the keyword "Families and Family Life" as sub-chapter of Kelly, William W.: "Finding a Place in Metropolitan Japan. Ideologies, Institutions, and Everyday Life," in: *Postwar Japan as History*, Andrew Gordon (ed.), Berkeley, Los Angeles and Oxford: University of California Press, 1993, pp.189-216, p.208f.

[718] This and the following citations cf. Kikutake, Kiyonori: "Ocean City," *Metabolism 1960. The Proposals for New Urbanism*, Yasuko Kawazoe (ed.), with illustrations by Kiyoshi Awazu, Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppan-sha, 1960, pp.6-39, p.27

In his 'pacifist' vision of a coming community cruising the Pacific Ocean, the instruments used, still remind articles of war, while in the "protective zone" on the other hand Kikutake envisages an alternative concept for energy production. The absorbtion of solar and water energy Kikutake envisions differs from the "peaceful use of atomic energy," popularized among others via the Japanese movement for world peace following to a speech delivered by U.S. President Dwight D. Eisenhower to the UN General Assembly in New York City on December 8, 1953, coining the slogan "Atoms for Peace."[719] Historian and director of the Nuclear Studies Institute Peter Kuznick specifies referring to studies issued by the U.S. information services (USIS) that the skepticism of the Japanese people toward atomic energy, associating "nukes" with "harm" had dropped from 70% to 30% by 1958.[720] The increase of trust was the eventual effect of a strategic promotion campaign backed by the Yomiuri Shimbun and the CIA Bureau for Psychological Warfare in the aftermath of the 1954 Lucky Dragon incident.[721] Historian Hirofumi Utsumi makes a direct connection between the Lucky Dragon incident and the release of the Japanese *Godzilla*[722] movie (1954), reflecting the earlier skepticism: "expressing criticism of nuclear tests, fear of radiation, and distrust in domestic and international politics. […] Of [the film's] many ironies, the most easily discernable was that the monster-hero, a victim of nuclear weapons, attacked the Japanese people, who were also victims, and in the end was killed by the Japanese by means of a new technology."[723] From the 1950s to the 1960s "the peaceful use of nuclear power for 'justice' [came to be] embodied by Osamu Tezuka's manga character *Tetsuwan Atomu* (Mighty Atom), or 'Astro Boy,' […] carry[ing] a reactor in his body and whose computer brain was powered by energy from nuclear fusion,"[724] (Fig.145). The alternative energy production and the distribution network Kikutake forsees instead should allow

[719] Weart, Spencer R.: *Atoms For Peace. The Rise of Nuclear Fear*, Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2012, pp.79-109; For the transcript of the speech refer to Eisenhower, Dwight D.: *Address Before the General Assembly of the United Nations on Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy*, New York City: December 8, 1953. Accessed through http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=9774 (last consulted 5. 5. 2014); Orr, James Joseph: *The Victim as Hero. Ideologies of Peace and National Identity in Postwar Japan*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2001.

[720] Kuznick, Peter: "Japan's Nuclear History in Perspective: Eisenhower and Atoms for War and Peace," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, MIT, 2011, website, (accessed through: <http://thebulletin.org/japans-nuclear-history-perspective-eisenhower-and-atoms-war-and-peace-0>, last access 23.2.2016); See also: Shun'ya, Yoshimi: "Radioactive Rain and the American Umbrella," trans. Shin-Lin Loh, in: *The Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 71, no. 2, (May, 2012), pp.319-331, p.323.

[721] Arima, Tetsuo: *Genpatsu, Shōriki, CIA: kimitsu bunsho de yomu Shōwa rimenshi* [Nuclear Power Plants, Shōriki, and the CIA: The Downside of Shōwa History to Be Read in Confidential Documents] (Shinchō shinsho 249), Tokyo: Shinchō-sha, 2008.

[722] *Gojira* [Godzilla], dir. Ishirō Honda, perf. Akira Takarada, Momoko Kōchi, Akihiko Hirata, Takashi Shimura, Toho, 1954, 93 min.

[723] Utsumi also reports that a "Nuclear Budget-Bill" was ratified by the Diet in 1954, without previous discussion, see: Utsumi, Hirofumi: "Nuclear Power Plants in 'The Only A-bombed Country:' Images of Nuclear Power and the Nation's changing Self-portrait in Postwar Japan," in: *The Nuclear Age in Popular Media. A Transnational History, 1945–1965* (Palgrave Studies in the History of Science and Technology), Dick van Lente (ed.), New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012, pp.175-202, p.182f.

[724] See also: Shun'ya, Yoshimi: "Radioactive Rain and the American Umbrella," trans. Shin-Lin Loh, in: *The Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 71, no. 2, (May, 2012), pp.319-331, p.326; See also: Tezuka, Osamu: *Tetsuwan Atomu* [Iron-armed Atom-boy], 21 vols., Tokyo: 1952–1968.

"to install the lighting equipment anyplace inside of the [living] cylinder as the electricity is available at all over the inside surface."[725]

Kikutake eventually connects micro and macro level of his argument by introducing the "Move-Net." A removable, exchangeable plastic module, providing an adaptive structure, e.g. for children, that can be attached to a larger space frame, housing the living areas of the couple (Fig.146). Kikutake concludes that there are three movable entities attributed to different radiuses of social life: "Move-Net" corresponding to "human life," "movable house" corresponding to "family life," and "Mova-Block" corresponding to "urban life." The "Move-Net" as minimal entity of human living space would in itself be subdivided in different areas of use. Coming back to his renewal theory connected to the reproductive cycle in a (patriarchal) family structure, he takes up the cudgels for mass production in architecture, stating: "Move-nets should be the result of a synthetic research by designers from different fields. […] The freedom to move and exchange these move-nets will probably […] further mass production by closely knitting economic circulation between production and consumption. It will, in the meantime, reflect a system which will directly connect engineering progress to family life."[726] In the same breath he admits seeing a chance in connecting "engineering progress" and "family life." As an architect providing this social infrastructure he would thus act as social engineer, emphasizing the reproductive circuits of nuclear familial structure, eventually paralleling the reproduction of capital via mass production fostered by "Move-Nets."

Kikutake describes three scales: The "Move-Net" as base entity on demand for (individual) human life, the movable house as unit for family life, and the "Mova-block" as a cluster structuring urban life.[727] His personal residence *Sky House* (1958), located in Tokyo's Bunkyō-ku (Bunkyo ward) is a built manifestation of the "Move-Net" vision. The durability of the circular shaped "movable house," he envisions for a family of two to eight people should have a "limited durability [of] 25 years."[728] The urban scale "Mova-block," within which "the concrete lower structure contains other functions related to human life, such as shops, schools, recreation jungles etc.," should be "usable for 100 years and […] be rebuilt every 50 years."

Critic Noi Sawaragi, turns our attention to an interview between nuclear physicist Mitsuo Taketani[729] (1911–2000) and Kikutake, issued in the magazine *Shinkenchiku* (New Architecture),

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[725] Kikutake 1960, op. cit., p.19.
[726] Ibid., p.28.
[727] Ibid.
[728] Ibid., p.30.
[729] Taketani developed his "Doctrine of the Three Stages of Scientific Development" (*Sandankairaon*) in 1936, it is a contribution to the philosophy of science. In accord with the Hegelian dialectical model his theory characterizes scientific change as a process involving three stages of development: the phenomenal, the substantial, and the essential stage, harmonizing the previous two stages. According to Taketani such process is cyclic, obeying to a spiral hierarchy. During the 1950s Taketani's research contributed to the

entitled "Nuclear Age and Architecture" (*Genbaku jidai no kenchiku*). Taketani there argues that all future architecture should take nuclear destruction into consideration. Extending his own argument based on this idea Sawaragi emphasizes reconsidering the *Metabolist* movement that for *Metabolism* not the buildings per se were crucial but the realization, how design structures transform and produce space – hence society. In paralleling the history of nuclear physics with the *Metabolist* ideas, Sawaragi explains not only the somewhat mysticist exposition on "nebulae" in the preface of the essay-booklet issued for *WoDeCo*, but presents concrete trajectories among the manifold associative threads between natural science and architecture, which already the term "metabolism" provokes.[730] Kikutake goes even further, interviewed by Koolhaas, Obrist and Kayoko Ota he explains (Fig.147):[731]

Then in the late 1950s, after Hideki Yukawa had received his Nobel Prize for physics, I became interested in his collaborators, the nuclear physicist Shoichi Sakata and Mitsuo Taketani, and at that time Kawazoe told me about a book that described their methodologies. [...] Taketani put forth a three stage methodology looking at the questions of phenomenon, substance, and essence to show the existence of mesons. [...] I developed my own three-stage methodology for design, which I refer to as 'ka, kata, katachi.' [...] kata corresponds to the 'substance' stage, and katachi to the 'phenomenon' stage. [...] To my surprise Louis Kahn as well as Justus Dahinden of Switzerland also had their own three-stage processes.

For Kikutake *katachi* integrates mental reflection and practical experience, is thus not at all a fixed formal logic. As opposed to a thinking in categories of form and function, he proposes to "think in terms of space and changeable function," which means more precisely, "if we think of space and function as two opposing elements, it will be possible for the human environment to attain a metabolic order instead of a static beauty."[732]

Group Forms – Generating Different Communities

Kishō Kurokawa argues in "Space City"[733] (*kūkan toshi*) with somewhat similar operative elements as Kikutake, yet for quite a different city model (Fig.148): He sees the rural settling at the core with a decentralized organization from which a larger, semi-self-sufficient metropolis would eventually develop. "Agricultural cities, industrial cities, consumption cities and recreation cities should each form an integral part of a compact community. A distinct urban system should exist between these

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discussion of the tolerable amount of radiation exposure by introducing regulatory limits in the aftermath of the Lucky Dragon incident (1954).

[730] Sawaragi, Noi: *Sensō to banpaku. World Wars and World Fairs*, Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppan-sha, 2005, pp-25-30.

[731] Kikutake, Kiyonori, Rem Koolhaas and Hans-Ulrich Obrist: "Interview," in: Koolhaas, Rem, Hans-Ulrich Obrist: *Project Japan. Metabolism talks...*, Kayoko Ota (ed.), Köln: Taschen, 2011, pp.128-155, pp.145.

[732] Kikutake, Kiyonori [1965]: "The Great Shrine of Izumo," cit. after: *Kiyonori Kikutake. Between Land and Sea*, Ken Tadashi Ōshima (ed.), Zurich: Lars Müller Publishers, 2016, pp.100-105, p.104.

[733] Kurokawa, Noriaki [Kishō]: "Space City," in: *Metabolism 1960. The Proposals for New Urbanism*, Yasuko Kawazoe (ed.), with illustrations by Kiyoshi Awazu, Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppan-sha, 1960, pp.70-87.

cities."[734] The square-shaped overall structures he proposes, remind at first glance of agricultural development models introduced in the planning of Japan's puppet state Manchukou (1932–1945), e.g. the *Housing Collective Scheme for Agricultural Immigrants* by Yoshikazu Uchida, professor of architecture at the Tokyo Imperial University (Fig.149). Diametrically opposed to the centralized organization of Uchida's plan, Kurokawa decentralizes the internal organization. The layouts bring then again the already mentioned, grid-like organization of Kyoto after Chinese blueprints to mind. And Kurokawa exemplifies the community use of infrastructure and primary commons like water as follows:[735]

> The basic unit of the rural area of Japan is a 500m x 500m community centered around a shrine, a grammar school, a temple. According to the proposed plan, roads, water-service electricity, monorails for work and other facilities are installed 4 meter[s] above the ground. This will enable common handling and administering. The level of the facility frame is the level of extension of social life.

Uchida devised his colonizing architecture to house 200,000 empoverished farmers from northern Japan to be resettled in the extended Japanese "Lebensraum" (*kankyō*) in Manchuria. Kurokawa on the other hand wonders out loud about the increasingly depopulated rural regions of 1960s Japan, roughly 10 years after Wolf Ladejinsky's 1947 Land Reform. Emblematic for such flipside interpretations seem the small entities, adding up to Kurokawa's larger concept of "Space City."

Slightly different in premise from Kikutake's "Move-Nets," adding up to a house, or the "movable house" invoked by Kikutake, Kurokawa introduces in his 1960s essay the "mushroom shaped house" as basic housing unit constituting his overall design (Fig.150, Fig.151). The mushroom-shaped has a range of quite peculiar elements. First its form: thinking of an architecture in the nuclear age, and Cold War situation could seem a little odd, depending on the interpretations. Although images documenting the atomic mushroom and the cruel (longterm) effects of the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by the U.S. in August 1945 were censored until 1952, the mushroom-shaped cloud made certainly part of the people's associative vocabulary by 1960 (Fig.152). But let us listen, how Kurokawa reasons the choice of a mushroom-shaped basic housing unit:[736]

> One of the main characteristics of the modern age is the urge to expand toward the universe. As a result of its expanding social life, mankind had eliminated the wall, which hitherto obstructed the view toward the horizon. […] *In a mushroom shape*[d] *house, the slanting wall, which is also the roof, is* [emerging] *from the pillar or equipment shaft. The roof entirely covers the living space, the level of the tea-ceremony space presents a limitless horizontal expanse.*

[734] Ibid., p.74.
[735] Kikutake, Kiyonori: "Ocean City," in: *Metabolism 1960. The Proposals for New Urbanism*, Yasuko Kawazoe (ed.), with illustrations by Kiyoshi Awazu, Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppan-sha, 1960, pp.6-39, p.28.
[736] Kurokawa, Noriaki [Kishō]: "Space City," in: *Metabolism 1960. The Proposals for New Urbanism*, Yasuko Kawazoe (ed.), with illustrations by Kiyoshi Awazu, Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppan-sha, 1960, pp.70-87, pp.77-79.

Examining Terminology: The Imageries of Megastructure and Milieu

Fumihiko Maki's thoughts have been popularized, as well as rediscovered abroad in periodic cycles thanks to Reyner Banham's retrospective publication "Megastrucutre. Urban Futures of the Recent Past"[737] (Fig.153). Although I will reconstruct some of Banham's arguments, the hype around the word "megastructure,"[738] introduced by Maki himself in a 1964 publication has stirred up much misunderstanding, as any simplyfing label gratefully accepted by an – if specialist – still broader audience. To avoid a top-down approach in studying the *Metabolist* proposals, let us in a first step read again Maki's text co-authored with Masato Ōtaka "Toward Group Form,"[739] and issued on occasion of the *WoDeCo* (Fig.154, Fig.155).

To my surprise the authors start with a comparison of the individualistic and the generalizing approaches found in art and architecture respectively, only to conclude that both domains were "fac[ing] a turning point."[740] If art had somewhat distanced itself too much from society, architecture often operated in stereotypes of social community. Ōtaka and Maki suggest turning to vernacular architecture, "becoming interested in individuality and regional expression in building," as well as "new concepts and methods that will not only strengthen the individuality of [the] visual environment but also endow the physical forms of [the] world with qualities that truly mirror [the] rapidly changing society." In their vision the relation between the "individual" and the "total" both result from an "effort to conceive a form in relationship to an ever-changing whole and its parts."[741] As opposed to the idea of the static "Master plan," Maki and Ōtaka propose "Master form" as an "entity that is elastic and enduring through any change in a society:"[742]

> *The group form after all is the pursuit of a total image. Therefore, it is not necessary to limit composition to inorganic, geometrical, strucutral, or mechanical patterns. Rather group form is an intuitive, visual expression of the energy and sweat of millions of people in our cities, of the breath of life and the poetry of living.*

According to them this, let me say "artistic," approach would be indicated for "shopping town," "business town," and "amusement square." Zhongjie Lin notes that Maki, since he had spent the years between 1955 and 1956 studying architecture in U.S. cities like Boston, New York, and St. Louis, was acquainted with Jane Jacobs' not yet published critique of modernist and contemporary urbanism[743]: "During those years Maki was exposed to the work of the urban theorists Jane Jacobs,

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[737] Banham, Reyner: *Megastructure. Urban Futures of the Recent Past*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1976.
[738] See: Maki, Fumihiko: *Investigations in Collective Form*, St. Louis, IL: Washington University, 1964.
[739] Maki, Fumihiko and Masato Ōtaka: "Toward Group Form," in: *Metabolism 1960. The Proposals for New Urbanism*, Yasuko Kawazoe (ed.), with illustrations by Kiyoshi Awazu, Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppan-sha, 1960, pp.52-69.
[740] Ibid., p.58.
[741] Ibid.
[742] Ibid.
[743] Jacobs, Jane: *Life and Death of Great American Cities*, New York: Random House, 1961.

Kevin Lynch, and Aldo van Eyck."[744] And Maki confirms: "A Harvard classmate, Dolf Schnebli (later a professor of architecture at the ETH-Zürich), informed me that he would soon be returning to his native Switzerland and suggested that I try working at his place at Sert's New York office." When Maki was about to leave Josep Luis Sert's office in 1956, his boss Sert organized an Urban Design Conference at Harvard: "Jane Jacobs, who was then writing 'The Death and Life of Great American Cities', gave an impassioned speech [...]; and Victor Gruen unveiled a bold proposal for turning the central district of Fort Worth into a pedestrian-only zone. We sensed something new was about to be born."[745]

Maki's later elaborations made yet not only the term "megastructure," but also a misreading of his planning approach as top-down strategy popular. Maki rectifies in retrospect: "When I wrote 'Investigations in Collective Form' in 1964, I tried to put Mega Form, Group Form and other forms more or less on an equal terrain to examine the characteristics of each approach."[746] And if Hans-Ulrich Obrist questions him in 2005, whether the new scientific landscapes explored in microbiology and transposed to design practice and camouflage by György Kepes,[747] were of particular interest for him, Maki answers drily: "Well although 'genetic' form is certainly biological terminology, I never intended to make any connection to science such as Kepes sought."[748] Concerning a technologically operated "Megastructure" he differentiates again: "Technology must not dictate choices to us in our cities. We must learn to select modes of action from among the possibilites technology presents in physical planning."[749] He sees both, difficulties and potential in megastructures with their inherent paradox of an environmental control system, installed to grant maximum flexibility – an assumption often mistaken for granting 'freedom'. Maki concretizes:[750]

> *This suggests that the mega structure, which is composed of several independent systems that can expand or contract with the least disturbance to others would be more preferable to the one of a rigid hierarchical system. In other words each system, which makes the whole, maintains its identity and longevity without being affected by others while at the same time engaged in dynamic contact with others. When optimum relationship has been formed, an environmental control system can be made. The system that permits the greates efficiency and flexibility with the smallest organizational structure is ideal.*

[744] Lin, Zhongjie: *Kenzo Tange and the Metabolist Movement. Urban Utopias of Modern Japan*, London and New York: Routledge, 2010, p.116.
[745] Maki, Fumihiko: *Nurturing Dreams. Collected Essays on Architecture and the City*, Mark Mulligan (ed.), Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2008, pp.18-19.
[746] *Maki, Fumihiko: "Fumihiko Maki. The In-Between," interview with* Rem Koolhaas and Hans-Ulrich Obrist, Tokyo 10.9.2005, in: *Project Japan. Metabolism talks...*, Kayoko Ota (ed.), Cologne: Taschen, 2011, pp.301-303.
[747] Kepes, György: *The New Landscape in Art and Science*, Chicago: Paul Theobald, 1956.
[748] Ibid.
[749] Maki, Fumihiko: *Investigations in Collective Form*, St. Louis, IL: Washington University, 1964, p.8.
[750] Ibid., pp.8-13.

Although let alone the word "megastrucutre" seems to epitomize a techno-scientific utopia, Maki repeadetly emphasizes his interest in self-organized architectural (dwelling) forms that developed over time without architects, found, e.g. in the layout of the dry and steep hills of the Greek insular town Hydra (Fig.156):[751] "The idea of the megastrucutre tends to be either a product of absolute power form the past or a by-product of some techno-utopia future expressed by everyone form Le Corbusier to Yona Friedman to Kenzo Tange. Yet, I thought one could also start by establishing ground rules using genetic or quasi genetic form ina completely opposite direction."[752] His vision of adaptable structres in the city starts not from definite shapes, but potential movements and the space between elements, still resulting at times in almost generic structures. – Maki again: "We gradually began to emphasize the need to approach design from the context of the given site or the surrounding urban condition rather than considering buildings to be autonomous objects."[753] The *Hillside Terrace* project (1969–1992), situated in Tokyo's nowadays fashionable living and shopping area Daikanyama, still realizes the performance from architecture to urban fabric Maki's earliest writings were concerned with most comprehensibly (Fig.157).

The 1960s collection of essays and later monographic publications issued under *Metabolist* auspices are persuading in their graphic design, playing with (pseudo-)scientific imagery. Nevertheless, the *Metabolist* architectural strategies focus on building performance rather than representation. The fact that more than one of the contesting proposals summarized as a methodology called *Metabolism* introduce all the same evocative shapes adds a theoretic twist to this often non-formal, if not non-representational approach. Architecutral historian Andri Gerber asks, just what it is that makes metaphors and their linkage to pictures in (post-)modern architecture so different, so appealing. In the same breath Gerber attacks Charles Jencks' assumptions on architecture as language or metaphor to be "caught up in the fashionable theoretical trends of the time,"[754] whereas he sees potential in Roland Barthes' reverse claim to speak "literally of the language of the city."[755] And theoretician of architecture and atmosphere Gernot Böhme specifies that there are two ways of using metaphors in architecture-related practices. In his view one can use metaphors to describe buildings, plans, attitudes in architecture without doing any harm, although risking to acknowledge that "metaphoric expression implicitly

[751] Maki, Fumihiko: *"*Fumihiko Maki. The In-Between," interview with Rem Koolhaas and Hans-Ulrich Obrist, Tokyo 10.9.2005, in: *Project Japan. Metabolism talks...*, Kayoko Ota (ed.), Cologne: Taschen, 2011, p.300.
[751] Maki, Fumihiko: *Nurturing Dreams*, 2008, p.33.
[752] Maki, Fumihiko: *"*Fumihiko Maki. The In-Between," interview with Rem Koolhaas and Hans-Ulrich Obrist, Tokyo 10.9.2005, in: *Project Japan. Metabolism talks...*, Kayoko Ota (ed.), Cologne: Taschen, 2011, p.309.
[753] Maki, Fumihiko: *Nurturing Dreams*, 2008, p.33.
[754] Gerber, Andri (ed.): "Introduction," in: *Metaphors in Architecture and Urbanism. An Introduction* (Architecture 19), Andri Gerber and Brent Pattison (eds.), Bielefeld: Transcript, 2013, pp.13-30.
[755] "Le vrai saut scientifique sera realisé lorsqu'on pourra parler du langage de la ville sans métaphore," see: Barthes, Roland: "Sémiologie et urbanisme," in: *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, no. 153, (December/January, 1970), p.13, cit after: Gerber, Andri (ed.): "Introduction," in: *Metaphors in Architecture and Urbanism. An Introduction* (Architecture 19), Andri Gerber and Brent Pattison (eds.), Bielefeld: Transcript, 2013, p.20.

covers the incapacity, to speak directly about architecture wording its particularities."[756] On the other hand Böhme underlines the risk to "call the elements themselves metaphors," assuming that "then the whole discourse is a metaphor."[757] With the consequence that architecture "sets [commodifiable, ubiquitious] signs and renounces its original task that is to design and construct spaces."[758]

How to qualify hence the broad spectrum of micro-, and neurobiological, time-based processes translated into pseudo-scientific concepts and metaphors for social processes by the respective *Metabolist* proposals? Cultural historian Sigrid Weigel evaluates the turn of the 20th century as "nervous era" pioneering physiology and psychology, whereas she discernes a focus on biology in the 21st century with the peculiar twist that biology uses metaphors torn from information sciences, electronics, e.g. in genetics when speaking of code, information, and program.[759] Considering the *Metabolist* propsals and their reception in 1960s Japan we would have to check back with Weigel, which element in this linguistic synthesis she locates in the 21st century actually triggered such cross-dsiciplinary use and conflation. Doing so, we would certainly argue that Norbert Wiener with his cybernetic model was one of the godfathers of such terminological hybridiziation and disciplinary transgression.

Architectural historian Ken Tadashi Ōshima reports that Kikutake had taken up the study of medicine, before turning to architecture.[760] If this should reason Kikutake's affinity for biological models, most traceable in his proposals for *Marine City* (1958–1963), he could have been familiar with the name Claude Bernard (1813–1878). That Bernard[761] was actually known in 1950s Japan – at least in artistic circles – proves critic Shūzō Takiguchi's 1952 anthology of *Jikken Kōbō's* work, mentioned earlier on. Since Takiguchi opens his essay as follows:[762]

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[756] Böhme, Gernot: "Metaphors in Architecture – A Metaphor?" in: *Metaphors in Architecture and Urbanism. An Introduction* (Architecture 19), Andri Gerber and Brent Pattison (eds.), Bielefeld: Transcript, 2013, pp.47-57, p.56.

[757] Ibid.

[758] Ibid., p.57.

[759] *Während die Mentalität der Jahrhundertwende um 1900, die heute gerne als "nervöses Zeitalter" bezeichnet wird, damit korrespondierte, dass Neurologie beziehungsweise Physio- und Psychologie als führende Wissenschaften verstanden wurden, so scheinen um 2000 Leitwissenschaft und Leitmetapher auseinander getreten. Die Biowissenschaften, denen die erstgenannte Rolle zugesprochen wird, bedient sich heute selbst einer allgegenwärtigen und dominanten Metaphorik aus Informatik und Elektronik, wenn in der Genetik von Code, Information und Programm die Rede ist,* see: Weigel, Sigrid: Zur Lesbarkeit der Genetik, in: *Unimagazin: Die Zeitschrift der Universität Zürich*, no. 2, (June, 2000), pp.19-22, p.19.

[760] Ōshima, Ken Tadashi (ed.): "Introduction," in: *Kiyonori Kikutake. Between Land and Sea*, Zurich: Lars Müller Paublishers, 2016, pp.11-27.

[761] Bernard, Claude: *Jikken igaku ningen* [Experimental Medicine], trans. Taiei Miura, Tokyo: Kyōgakkai Shuppan-bu, 1931 [first: Idem: *Introduction à l'Étude de la Médecine Expérimentale*, Paris: J.B. Baillière et Fils, 1865].

[762] Takiguchi, Shūzō: "The Spirit of Experimentation – An Anthology," trans. Lewis Cook, in: *Jikken Kōbō to Takiguchi Shūzō. Experimental Workshop* (Dai 11-kai omāju Takiguchi Shūzō ten. The 11th Exhibition Homage to Shuzo Takiguchi), exh. cat. Satani Gallery Tokyo, 1991, supervised by Katsuhiro Yamaguchi and Kuniharu Akiyama, Tokyo: Satani Gallery, 1991, pp.7-11, p.7, [first: idem: "Jikken to seishin (The Spirit of Experimentation)," in: *Bijutsu hihyō* [Art Criticism], (June, 1952)].

'Experiment' is a scientific term. The first time it was used in relation to the arts was by Zola, in his concept f the experimental novel. We are told that Zola's usage was inspired by his reading of Claude Bernard's book, 'Introduction à la Médecine Expérimentale' (1865). Bernard was perhaps the first to introduce the notion of experimentation into the science of medicine, which takes human life as its object, but in any case it is clear that experimentation is indispensable to scientific discovery. […] I do not propose here to ask about the relation between art and science, and I will not be assuming a scientific sense of experimentation as a starting point for thinking about the reasons for the existence of certain specialized forms of art. […] Nevertheless, there are many instances in which science and art can be thought from a common position. A frequently given example are Leonardo Da Vinci's paintings, which certainly contain much that is experimental. Impressionist painting presents another case of art unfolding in the wake of new scientific visions, and art scince cubism must be understood in relation to developments in the worldview presented by the physical science.

What Takiguchi mentions here had its impact on Japanese literature, which however exceeds the scope of this study.[763] Although not referred to in this context it is however noteworthy, that Bernard also famous for his theory of the stability of the internal environment of the human body (*milieu intérieur*). Since his second interest lay in the "existence of phenomena common to both plants and animals and absent in the inorganic world."[764]

Since the Meiji Era (1868–1912) the medical sciences in Japan were strongly influenced by German medical practice and theory,[765] "selectively adopting and developing modern medicine" therefrom. It is therefore not obvious to liaise with Bernard, and I admittedly do not have very strong arguments in this regard, which could be elaborated in another research paper. Nevertheless, it is striking that Bernard's following lines:[766]

The fixity of the milieu supposes a perfection of the organism such that the external variations are at each instant compensated for and equilibrated.[…] All of the vital mechanisms, however varied they may be, have always one goal, to maintain the uniformity [homeostasis] of conditions of life in the internal environment. The stability of the internal environment is the condition for the free and independent life.

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[763] Zola's naturalism was received and explained by Japanese writer Mori Ōgai, who translated "naturalism" in literature using the word *shizen*. Japanese *shizen*-ism was yet said to have misunderstood Zola's approach, see: Berque, Augustin: "The Question of Space: From Heidegger to Watsuji," in: *Interpreting Japanese Society: Anthropological Approaches*, Joy Hendry (ed.), 2nd edition, London and New York: Routledge, 1998, pp.57-67; Idem*: Du Geste à la Cité. Formes Urbaines et Lien Social au Japon* (Bibliothèque des Sciences Humaines), Paris: Gallimard, 1993; Stevens, Bernard: *Topologie du Néant. Une Approche de L'École de Kyōto* (Bibliothèque Philosophique de Louvain 51), Paris: Edition Peeters, 2000.

[764] Gross, Charles E.: *A Hole in the Head. More Tales in the History of Neuroscience*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2009, pp.183-200, p.186.

[765] See: Kim, Hoi-eun: *Doctors of Empire. Medical and Cultural Encounters between Imperial Germany and Meiji Japan*, Toronto, Buffalo and London: University of Toronto Press, 2014.

[766] Cit. after: Gross, Charles E.: *A Hole in the Head. More Tales in the History of Neuroscience*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2009, pp.183-200, p.193; See: Bernard, Claude: *Dōshokubutsu ni kyōtsū suru seimei genshō* (*Kagaku no meicho* dai 2-ki 9 (19)) [Lectures on Phenomena Common to Animals and Plants (Masterpieces of Natural Science 2, 9 (19))], trans. Yoshihiko Komatsu et al., Kei Nagano (ed.), 2. vols., Tokyo: Asahishuppan-sha, 1989, [first: Idem: *Leçons sur les Phénomènes de la Vie Communs aux Animaux et aux Végétaux*, Albert Dastre (ed.), 2 vols., Paris: J.B. Baillière et Fils, 1878–79.

resound to a certain extent with the models introduced through *Metabolism*. The self-regulatory aspect, or one could also say the 'performance' of the internal environment was triggered by the perception of external changes, in an act of balancing them out to maintain the stability of the internal (cellular) environment. Bernard hypothesized hence both, the interdependence as well as the relative indepence of internal environment from external conditions. Obviously this hypothesis connects well with Wiener's cybernetic theory. And according to historian Charles E. Gross "today, cybernetics, a formalization of Bernard's constancy hypothesis, is viewed as one of the critical antecedents of contemporary cognitive science."[767] Judging to which extent the genealogy, or "experimental connection" elucidated above is actually relevant for the case of *Metabolism* in Japan c. 1960 is yet questionable and certainly needs to be put up for further critical discussion.[768]

3.2 Metabolism c. 1966 – Continuum and Dissociation

3.2.1 Transforming Texture – Structures, Symbols, and Meanings

When mentioning *Metabolism* two architects are often quite naturally listed in the same breath. The talk is of Kenzō Tange and Arata Isozaki. Let us shed light on and contrast their proposals with what has been filed as *Metabolism*. A consideration of their respective attitudes will give us the chance to trace their plans and buildings under the specific aspects of functional organization, spatial and temporal continuity, as well as against the backdrop of contradictions virulent in urban space during in 1960s Japan. My aim is to further complicate the still widely shared idea of an inclusive, unified architectural movement, within which different proponents proposed mere variations of one and the same approach, simply modifying biologist cellular analogies.

The joint film project *Tanin no kao*[769] (The Face of Another, 1966), directed by Hiroshi Teshigahara will serve as an 'interface' to overlap and question the different takes on Postwar society and the transformation of the urban landscape, since the production brings together more than a few of the most important figures of the Tokyo creative scene like, e.g. Arata Isozaki, who contributed to the project. Whereas neither Kōbō Abe's eponymous existential science fiction novel

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[767] Gross, Charles E.: *A Hole in the Head. More Tales in the History of Neuroscience*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2009, pp.183-200, p.197.

[768] If Augustin Berque elaborates on Kyoto school philosopher Tetsurō Watsuji's *Fūdoron* or "Mesology," he traces Watsuji's approach against the backdrop of Bernard's assumptions of internal environment, and Jacob Uexküll's laboratory findings, while differentiating hypothesis and philosophical theory, he epmphasizes that what Watsuji had in mind was an ontological milieu (*fūdo*), with its mediance (*fūdosei*), rather than the natural environment (*shizen kankyō*). Although this could hint at a reception of Bernard's writings, before they have been translated into Japanese, a consideration of Watsuji's – ideologically problematic – development of the theory and the issues in Berque's own academic work, insisting repeatedly on a certain "Japanese uniqueness" goes yet beyond the scope of this paper; See: Berque, Augustin: "Milieu et Logique du Lieu chez Watsuji," in: *Revue Philosophique de Louvain*, vol. 92, no. 4, (1994), pp.495-507.

[769] *Tanin no kao. The Face of Another*, dir. Hiroshi Teshigahara, graphic design Kiyoshi Awazu, set design Arata Isozaki, music Tōru Takemitsu, perf. Tatsuya Nakadai, Machiko Kyō, Mikijiro Hira, The Criterion Collection, no. 395, 2007, DVD, 124 min., [first: Toho, 1966].

nor Teshigahara's filmic adaptation can be analyzed as extensive as technically necessary,[770] the images, metaphors, settings, as well as the plot cue for my consideration of the architectural, or rather structural transformation of Tokyo envisioned by Tange and Isozaki. 1966 is addressed here as halftime, a stop halfway down the road from 1960 WoDeCo to the Oil Shock (1973) with its eventual consequences for the premises of infrastructural planning, housing, and mobility in and beyond Japan. Nearly 20 years after the zero hour of the devastating bombings in Nagasaki and Hiroshima the country's territorial surface seems regenerated. The Tokyo Olympics in 1964 brought an opportunity to show off and celebrate the country's prosperity and the people's rise to new material welfare. The inauguration of the high-speed trainlines, e.g. between Tokyo and Osaka, helped the country moving closer together. The *Shinkansen* not least created a new sense of distance and time, benefiting domestic tourism. It has become one of the emblems of the phase of high economic growth up to its pinnacle: the multi-color-mediated Expo '70.

The opening credits of the film "Face of Another" (*Tanin no kao*) are accompanied by different images of faces among which graphic designer Kiyoshi Awazu's (1929–2009) depiction of a blank spaced face against a backdrop of (topo-)graphic lines sticks out (Fig.158, Fig.159). The story then opens with images of plastic replicas of body parts (Fig.160). The chopped up pieces act upon me as a faint reminder of Tsuruko Yamazaki's *Sakuhin* (1955), discussed earlier (Fig.6). A voice over characterizes the artificial body parts shown and manipulated not only as prostheses, but as repositories of potential inferiority complexes. In short sequences the X-ray image of a talking head, as well as various graphic visualizations of faces announce an inquiry and reflection of the relationship between inside, outside, and surface considering differing approaches to physical and abstracted bodies in science and society (Fig.161).[771]

(Open) Operating System Tokyo Bay (1960)

A planner inscribing a new face on contemporary metropolises like Tokyo was Kenzō Tange. In his Ph.D dissertation, submitted in the 1950s, he had not only analyzed traffic and mobility patterns between Tokyo and its suburbs, but focused on an impending structural shift in the current mode of production, affecting the placement of different industries. Industrial production plants were gradually moving closer to the ressources, whereas service industries and "information intensive" industries started to dominate the metropolises. Residential and business quarters joggled in the case of Tokyo to such an extent that population growth, peaking with 10 million inhabitants in 1960,

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[770] For an indepth analysis see: Tomoda, Yoshiyuki: *Sengo zenei eiga to bungaku. Abe Kōbō & Teshigahara Hiroshi* [Postwar Avantgarde Cinema and Literature. Kōbō Abe & Hiroshi Teshigahara], Kyoto: Jinbunshoin, 2012, pp.189-243; see also: Isozaki, Arata: "Teshigahara Hiroshi o kataru" [Narrating Hiroshi Teshigahara], in: *Teshigahara Hiroshi-ten: Kagiri naki ekkyō no kiseki* [Hiroshi Teshigahara: The Traces of Boundless Bordercrossing], exh. cat. The Museum of Modern Art Saitama, Urawa, 2007, Saitama: The Museum of Modern Art, 2007, pp.69-70; and Ashton 1997, op. cit., pp.82-100, p.98.

[771] See also: "Tracing the Graphic in Postwar Japanese Art," in: *Tokyo 1955–1970. A New Avant-Garde*, exh. cat. The Museum of Modern Art New York 2012–2013, New York: MoMA, 2012, pp.94-119.

terrified not only the planners to eventually cause the capital's collapse. Developing the Boston Bay housing project for 25,000 people, Tange had fleshed out with students as a guest teacher at MIT (Plan for a Residential Unit),[772] he famously presented his new semi-functionalist concept of a lineary, but open-ended operating system. His *Plan for Tokyo* (1960) developed Tokyo Bay as living and working space, in analogy to a nervous system: a place for information to circulate (Fig.162, Fig.163, Fig.164). Not far from the idea of a punchcard processed in a computersystem with its specific punched code, Tange imagined human inhabitants in an age of communication and commutation as carriers of information.

He accordingly emphasized a multichanneled infrastructure, separating pedestrians and motorcars, living and working yet connected through loops with places of consumption in mixed subcenters reaching straight into the bay on extensions of artificial ground. Tange's linear and decentered development of the city broke with models of radial expansion, redirecting centrifugal and -petal tendencies in contemporary metropolitan planning. Concerning the openness of and the individual users within his masterplan Tange specifies:[773]

Nevertheless, man himself continues to walk in steps of a meter or so, and we are still surrounded by the unchanging human scale. Furthermore, whereas the life cycle of large-scale construction is growing longer, the life cycle of our houses and the articles we use in daily activities is gradually gowing shorter. This fact results from our ever-increasing reliance upon manufactured foods and from our tendency to take up new things and discard them more and moe rapidly. Individuality, freedom, and spontaneity form an ever-strengthening antithesis to the control of technology. Man desires more and more to exercise his own individual choices in matters that concern houses, gardens, streets, and plazas. [...] In the moving flowing cities of our time, pedestrian traffic and automobile traffic intersect, and the direction of both is variable. Movement is not closed and centripetal, but open and fluctuating.

A crux of his urban planning ideas was to leave historic centers intact without leaving the city for a more suburban emplacement, but the use of artificial ground. In 1967 Tange began the planning of Bologna's Fiera District to be completed in 1984 only. For the case of Bologna Tange singled three types of historic structures places (*piazza*), colonnades or arcades (*portici*), and medieval towers (*torri*). In his proposal he recombined and reinterpreted what he had singled out as building up to Bologna's DNA, while adding an administrative subcenter to the historic town (Fig.165). The recurrently addressed new physical dynamic addressed via metaphors surfaces in plans and models mainly in form of infrastructural traffic loops functioning as hinges for potential growth of the operating system in circular nodes and core-structures of his decentralized plan (Fig.166).[774]

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[772] Kultermann 1970, p.106-109.
[773] Tange, Kenzō: "A Plan for Tokyo 1960. Toward a Structural Reorganization," in: *Kenzo Tange 1946–1969. Architecture and Urban Design: Architektur und Städtebau: Architecture et Urbanisme*, Udo Kultermann (ed.), Zurich: Verlag für Architektur Artemis, 1970, pp.114-149, p.130.
[774] Tokyo 2011, p.214-215.

Tange's concern with identity and locales was yet not limited to the urban scale, but departed from a 1950s debate revolving around tradition and modernity, I have briefly introduced earlier. As we will further see the quest for and the shifting of identities in Japan are in 1960s Japan still addressed via the material surface of the (human) environment.

"Dentō ronsō" (The Tradition Debate), 1952–1965

In her trenchant synopsis of different tendencies to criticize, revive or remodel the arts and the art system from immediate postwar scepticism to 1950s Cold War optimism for "traditional culture" Alexandra Munroe summarizes the views of factions from left to right as follows: "In the 1950s the stigma that had been attached to traditional culture in early postwar years lifted. […] The rising menace of the Cold War heightened by the outbreak of the Korean conflict in 1950s led to a 'reverse course' policy that enforced an anti-labor, anti-Communist remilitarization agenda."[775] After the so-called "Red Purge,"[776] concealing social and labor disputes, the opinions were scattered in distorting arguments. The pro-Americanism of Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida's government surfaced in a (still ongoing) revisionism when it came to the pacifist constitution of the country.[777] In a somewhat paradoxical impetus, left-wing politics started to promote Japanese tradition as a remedy against the adoption of American hegemony and (Cold) war policies. But the situation was again more complex.

The dichotomy tradition/modernism illustrates that there was actually no easy way to tackle such terms dialectically in binaries. They often denoted contradictory political constructions themselves, as we shall further see furtheron. As mentioned earlier, "modernism" – if identified with "Western," is a good example to deconstruct light-minded conflations of terms. Since such conflation actually provokes further confusion in describing both the history and criticism of such terms. However, the "Tradition Debate" (*Nihon dentō ronsō*) showed an impact on all fields of creative production, shifting from the arts to a broader discussion about social space and cultural identity in architecture.

Marxist architecture critic and psychologist Noboru Kawazoe carried as editor in chief of the Japanese architecture magazine *Shinkenchiku* (New Architecture) since 1953 a leading voice in the discussion of contemporary architecture and its legacies. He weighed, how to overcome class and other conflicts emerging in the now-democratized state with not only an imperial tradition,[778] but a nationalist past tied to myth and symbols. Since the Meiji era especially the Shintō cult, its

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[775] Munroe, Alexandra (ed.): "Circle: Modernism and Tradition," in: *Japanese Art after 1945. Scream Against the Sky*, exh. cat. Yokohama Museum of Art, Guggenheim Museum SoHo, San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, 1994-1995, New York: Henri N. Abrams, 1994, pp.127-128.

[776] See: Masuda, Hajimu: *Cold War Crucible. The Korean Conflict and the Postwar World*, Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 2015, pp.232-244.

[777] The recently changed article nine, is another chapter in the institutional history developing from a "National Police Reserve" gradually turned into a "Self-Defense-Force."

[778] Nakamori 2011, p.242-244.

spiritual shrine architecture and structural organization had been co-opted and strengthened by the state for the sake of nationbuilding. One of the primary goals had been to overcome once and for all the turf-battles between older landlord-clans with people giving them their allegiance. During the wartime-reign of Shōwa (1926–1989) emperor Hirohito, Japanese style architecture was a tool in the colonization of space and cultural communities.[779] In the 1950s however, surprisingly the symbolic forms, especially the architecture of shrines, stayed at the top for reconsideration upon other terms (Fig.167).

In a dialectical exchange of essays on the state of contemporary architecture in the magazine *Shinkenchiku* Tange and Kawazoe singled out the example of the *Ise Shrine,* dedicated to the sun-goddess *Amaterasu* and one of the most prominent symbols of the ethnic traditional prewar and wartime Emperor system (Fig.168). In an act of inflection, stripping the symbol off old, infusing new meaning Tange and Kawazoe "highly evaluated it as the architecture that reflects the intent of the mass as the symbol of the height of democracy,"[780] architecture historian Yasufumi Nakamori explains. Concerning tradition the architect and the critic laid the emphasis on the continued use value of older (technical) building methods in terms of craftmanship, rather than on the former symbolic cooptation for nationalist canon and agenda.[781] Moreover the wooden structures of *Ise Jingū*, renewed in 20 year periods as well as the area of the *himorogi* (a temporary altar complex) embodied the performative aspects of this ephemeral architecture he and other architects tried to transfer and infuse their own projects with.[782] Arata Isozaki locates one of the more theoretical fascinations, but also potential delusions with *Ise* in the conceptual absence of origin: "Ise is a mechanism whose origin itself must be somehow fabricated, for there is no 'origin' as such,"[783] since its beginning is mythical.

Further complicating the "Japanese Tradition Debate" (*Nihon dentō ronsō*) in the field of architecture it unfolded as a comparison of two types of earthenware from Japanese antiquity, introduced by Sei'ichi Shirai,[784] a collaborator on *Shinkenchiku.* In archeology the different surface patterns and decorations of earthenware stored in the layers of the soil cut through are commonly used to determine and date different epochs and ancient reigns in relation to each other. Kawazoe picked up on Shirai's article, elaborating on the differences between the exuberant primitive decorative patterns of *Jōmon* (11th century to 3rd century BC.) vases and the unruffled, modest

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[779] Lin 2010, p.38-
[780] Ibid., p.244.
[781] See: Tange, Kenzō and Noboru Kawazoe: *Ise. Prototype of Japanese Architecture*, Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1965.
[782] See: Isozaki 2006, pp.119-132, pp.126-129.
[783] Ibid., p.130.
[784] Shirai, Sei'ichi: "Jōmon no narumono" [The Transformation of Jōmon], in: *Shinkenchiku* [New Architecture], (April, 1956), pp.8-9.

surfaces of the later *Yayoi* period (3rd century BC. to 4th century AD.) vases (Fig.169, Fig.170), attributing them to plebeian and aristocratic culture respectively.

Artist Tarō Okamoto had praised the more folkloristic patterns as original source for tradition-conscious, creative innovation in the arts. Okamoto hence put the nativist *Jōmon* aesthetic against the *Yayoi* aesthetic, which he deemed elitist. As we have seen already, Okamoto based his approach in the theory of polarism. Towards the 1960s Tange − a close friend of Okamoto's − started to recast his own use of *béton brut*, a feature widely identified with Corbusiean, i.e. European modernism at the time, within the pre-modern arts and crafts aesthetic of folklorist decorations on Jōmon vases. Arata Isozaki specifies: "It was a matter of course that when this postwar European modernism arrived in Japan via le Corbusier's Indian work, it was welcomed as a tactic to confront and counter American Japonism. Brutalism quickly merged into the recent context of *Jōmon* appreciation." [785] Tange therewith countered Kawazoe's earlier reproach, the designs of Tokyo City Hall (1953–57) and the Kagawa Prefectural Office (1955–58) would be elitist in a *Yayoi*-sense (Fig.171), failing to embody the power of the people. In a clever twist Tange's initial reaction to the criticism had been to argue that both, *Jōmon* and *Yayoi* − although different in chronological development − complemented each other as poles for dialectical synthesis. For Tange the imperial *Villa Katsura* in Kyoto, epitomized such simultaneous presence of antagonistic cultures and aesthetic forces.[786] He traced them as formal principles in creativity on the one hand and technology on the other discussing the layout of the garden as well as the articulation of the building.[787] The strategically cropped photoraphs by Yasuhiro Ishimoto inside the publication were meant to confirm his thesis (Fig.172, Fig.173). Also, they seemed to reiterate what Bruno Taut had addressed in his 1934 writings as proto-modernism in Japanese architecture.[788]

In Tange's *Yamanashi Press and Broadcasting Center* in Kofu, planned and realized between 1964 and 1967, the mentioned debates meet his interest in building for an information society (Fig.174, Fig.175). The bold concrete structure houses three different media companies (a newspaper printing plant, a radio station, and a television studio). The working spaces within the building are yet not separated according to each company, but bringing people whose jobs lay in the same operational field together in shared, yet subdivided working zones. Tange made provisions for a possible expansion of the building as well, leaving space between the lattices of the stacked studio spaces, for more units to fill in. The unoccupied spaces meanwhile serve as terraces.

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[785] Isozaki 2006, pp.43-44.
[786] Lin 2010, p.40; See also: Tange, Kenzō, Walter Gropius and Yasuhiro Ishimoto: *Katsura. Nihon kenchiku ni okeru dentō to sōzō* [Katsura: Tradition and Creation in Japanese Architecture], Tokyo: Zōkei-sha, 1960; Nakamori, Yasufumi (ed): *Katsura. Picturing Modernism in Japanese Architecture*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010.
[787] See: Isozaki 2006, p.33-58.
[788] Taut 2003 [first: 1934].

16 vertical access and circulation cores include service spaces like elevators, stairs, airconditioning plant, and toilets. They strongly remind of the cylindrical core-structures, Tange introduced with the Tsukiji district plan unfolding a business center around the headquarter of the advertising agency Dentsū in 1960 already, reappearing in the *Bologna Fiera District* as well. The building's concrete walls expose a sculpted bas-relief, presenting an image for the bracing of distinct elements. Tange judges that his "multidimensional composition," although "seeming incomplete […] had an organic unity."[789] And Udo Kultermann even concludes in 1970: "The building is a kind of nucleus by which the architect has demonstrated in principle, how a modern city can be designed. It could be the beginning of a universal architecture […] a type of architecture in which there is no longer any distinction between town-planning and architecture."[790] Zhongjie Lin emphasizes that Tange's Yamanashi Broadcasting Center picked up on the Joint-Core-System developed by Tange's younger collaborator Arata Isozaki, while working on Tange's *Plan for Tokyo* (1960) (Fig.176).[791]

3.2.2 Commenting Ambivalence – Ruins in Reverse

Incubation Process: Arata Isozaki's Cities in the Air

Arata Isozaki was from 1954 to 1963 responsible for the architectural design branch at Tange Lab.[792] Working on Tange's *Plan for Tokyo* (1960), he started to modify Tange's decentralized joint-core-concept with his own vision *Shinjuku Project: City in the Air* (1960–61). Emplaced in front of one of Tokyo's main traffic nodes the West Exit area of Shinjuku station was at the time about to be redevloped. The *Yodobashi Water Purification Plant* owned the vast terrain and envisioned it as future business hub with skyscrapers. Isozaki's proposal was thus more alternative comment than actual entry for competition. Although being closely associated with Tange, he had declined to join the circle of architects issuing the *Metabolism* publication on occasion of *WoDeCo*. In his montage, proposing a city in the air, he connected elevated pedestrian walkways, structured through vertical cores joining them with disc-shaped commercial centers on the periphery (Fig.177, Fig.178). Isozaki discerns separate vertical and horizontal circulation channels for pedestrians and cars, functionalist aspects are however much less emphasized than in Tange's Tokyo Bay Plan. This plan was superimposed on a photograph of Greek ruins. The image he selected for his montage shows the *Tempio di Hera Lacinia* in Sicily, a temple built in the 5th century BC. (Fig.179). With this artistic, rather than architectural contribution he filed his own comment on the tradition debate: A city in ruins is at once structural element and pattern to build on. Published in the art magazine *Bijutsu*

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[789] Kultermann 1970, pp.246-255.
[790] Ibid., p.249.
[791] Lin 2010, p.181.
[792] "Tange's DNA Network," editorial, in: *Kenzo Tange's DNA. Tange Kenzō o shitte imasuka?* [Do you know Kenzō Tange?], special issue of *Casa Brutus*, (June, 2009), pp.24-25.

techō (Art Notebook) Isozaki names his proposal "Destruction of a Prototype – 'Incubation Process',"

adding the following poem to it:[793]

> *Incubated cities are destined to self-destruct*
>
> *Ruins are the style of our future cities*
>
> *Future cities are themselves ruins*
>
> *Our contemporary cities, for this reason,*
>
> *are destined to live only a fleeting moment*
>
> *Give up their energy and return to inert material*
>
> *All of our proposals and efforts will be buried*
>
> *And once again the incubation mechanism is reconstituted*
>
> *That will be the future*

It is however striking that the ruins Isozaki reproduced in his proposal for an unbuilt city add a time

layer corresponding to the *Jōmon* era, whereas the cultural layer introduced points to central

Europe. Was Isozaki with this pastiche also commenting the increasing circulation of cultural

symbols in a world moving closer together?

Architecture historian Ken Tadashi Ōshima sums-up: "The fusion of classical Greek and

Japanese ruins in Cities in the Air highlights a wider dialectic between East and West within Isozaki's

work as a means of breaking down borders to draw critically from an international context."[794]

Architecture historian Jörg Gleiter supposes that Japan suffered – especially after WWII – from a

paradox lack of actual ruins. The most significant ruin preserved is certainly the Atomic Dome

(*Genpaku domu*) in Hiroshima. Yet, since the bigger part of prewar buildings had been wooden

structures and historic monuments are cyclically renewed concrete cultural relics provoked a

mesmerizing effect. According to Tange's son Paul Noritaka Tanges his father studied the Greek

Agora for his PhD research, further distilling his assumptions on the future information society

(Fig.180).

Tokyo based architect Naohiko Hino brings Isozaki's later Shibuya proposal into play to

differentiate his different proposals for *Cities in the Air* (Shibuya project, 1962–63) from the

Metabolist visions (Fig.181):[795]

> *Isozaki's City in the Air project hardly exhibits that kind of functional merit, especially in the case of the forest of closely*
>
> *grouped 300m high towers in the version called the Shibuya project that have odd bracket structures reminiscent of*
>
> *the great southern gate of Todai temple.* [...] *Before even starting on questioning how the city to be planned, Isozaki*

[793] Isozaki 2006 [first: 1962], pp.81-100, p.87.
[794] Ōshima, Ken Tadashi: "Paradoxical Processes," in: *Arata Isozaki*, London: Phaidon, 2009, pp.10-18, p13.
[795] Hino, Naohiko: "Ruptures in Concepts of Urbanism," trans. Jamie Sanderson, in: *Metabolism. The City of the Future. Dreams and Visions of Reconstruction in Postwar and Present-Day Japan*, exh. cat. Mori Art Museum, Tokyo, 2011–2012, Hajime Yatsuka, Mami Hirose et al. (eds.), Tokyo: Shinkenchiku-sha, 2011, pp.278-282.

asked whether it was possible for a city to be designed in the first place, and it was precisely this critical problem that gave rise to the ironic oddness of the project.

And Isozaki adds in retrospect: "From my earliest projects, a gaze that entailed anti-construction as pure process was elected and inscribed, […]. I struck out to define the phenomenological moment by overturning the ordinary view that space is exactly localizable while time is mere occasion. In contradistinction, I believe that 'space appears only in the *time* that humans perceive, therefore it is always specific, concrete, flickering, and never fixed […] Architectural space can only be experienced through corporeal sentience.'"[796] Interestingly architect Arata Isozaki refers to Tanizaki to describe the interstice, a liminal space, or gap he aimed to explore in "all its linguistic and nonlinguistic, i.e. performative, aspects by invoking bodily experience through installations […]."[797]

As we have seen Tanizaki fled the modernization of Tokyo in the early 1930s. Isozaki on the contrary was an agent within the Tokyo art and technology movement of the 1960s. Both of them yet criticized and rearranged man-made urban environments. Looking back Isozaki presents his assumptions on the shadow and other spaces of darkness as introduced by Tanizaki as follows:[798]

My main point of reference was the celebrated essay by the fiction writer and essayist Jun'ichiro Tanizaki (in fact, I prefer to say 'In Praise of Darkness'), in which he persuasively analyzed various characteristics of Japanese architectural space. Tanizaki stresses that 'darkness' comprises not only space but also time. That is to say, both are returned for the purposes of argument to a state of undifferentiated being. Though forty years ago I suspected the view could somehow be linked with the new invisible network that an incipient information technology had begun to construct.[…] I believed it necessary to return to an undifferentiated state of time and space. In Japanese, when the concepts of time (jikkan – 時間) and space (kūkan – 空間) were first written down, the Chinese ideogram ma (間) – an interstice – was used as the second character for both. I determined to search for clues in this space between.

Architecture historian and Isozaki-apologist David B. Stewart points out that Tanizaki's precise phenomenological analysis bore particular interest for Isozaki, as a number of his essays dedicated to the topic prove. In a paradox way Tanizaki "evoked *in nucleo* a spatial concept, whose 'non-language' (i.e., phenomenal) orientation was also, so to speak, 'nonspatial'."[799] Stewart further underlines that Isozaki was intrigued by darkness as a phenomenal antidote to the abstract space calculated and controlled by cybernetics. Yet, Stewart admits: "If the space of darkness – because of, yet also in spite of, a certain quotient of 'non-visibility' – admirably resists fragmentation by modern communication processes […]. During the sixties Isozaki's thoughts on urbanism are for better or worse, bathed in the same emphasis on cybernetics and cybernation that has

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[796] Isozaki 2006, p.89.
[797] Ibid., p.96.
[798] Ibid. 2006, p.90; See also: Isozaki, Arata, "Yami no kūkan" [The Space of Darkness], in: *Kūkan e* [Towards Space], Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppan-sha, 1971, p.140, [first: 1964].
[799] Stewart 1987, p.233.

accompanied all Tange's pronouncements on matters touching the city right down to the present day."[800] Stewart argues that the polysemy of metaphors strongly attracted Isozaki throughout his career – a principle, which can be located in the Japanese tradition of *mitat-e*: A means of approximation, regarding either form or likening meanings, which can also denote figurative language, indirect metaphors, or comparisons often found as a sub-genre in Japanese woodblock-prints (*ukiyo-e*). Stewart thus summarizes Isozaki's idiosyncratic theory: "To this elevation of 'metaphor' to the status of a principle [...] were added in good measure phenomenological concerns, derived as we have seen form both, the Modern Movement and Japanese sources."[801]

Although Isozaki would prove to have an affinity for networked systems with an inclination to McLuhan's popular media theory understanding of cybernetics as we will later see, both Hino's as well as Isozaki's own testimony imply a disinclination to scientific objectification and abstraction in environmental planning as well as a scrutiny of the possible essentialist traits in revenant examinations of cultural heritage (Fig.182).

"Tanin no kao" (The Face of Another), 1966 – Value of the Surface

Although the debate concerning the *Jōmon* and *Yayoi* textures indexing different social attitudes ebbed away towards the mid 1960s, a concern with identity questions lingered on, resurfacing e.g. in filmmaker Hiroshi Teshigahara's film *The Face of Another*.[802] The story presents Mr. Okuyama, company employee in an undefined industrial complex. His face has been disfigured in an accident while he inspected a factory admitting that perhaps his "technical background" had made him "overconfident." Ever since he was seriously injured he wears a white bandage wrapped around his head to hide the cicatrization probably caused by an explosion (Fig.183, Fig.184)). Suffering from this loss of face in everyday face to face interaction, Okuyama consults a psychiatrist. The doctor is currently specializing in a new therapy, providing latex prostheses for all kinds of body parts, allowing for regeneration without surgical intervention.

The specialist persuades Okuyama to take part in an experiment aiming at restoring the patient's disturbed relationship to his wife. Since Okuyama's anxiety to take off the bandage and show his disfigurement estranges the partners even more than any actual confrontation with his bodily transformation. The psychiatrist proposes his patient to adopt the face print of a random person, willing to sell his face mold as mask for Okuyama. The mask would then allow Okyuama to reintegrate into society. Dicussing risks and sideeffects of such treatment the doctor prevents Okuyama that acquiring a new persona might attack his self-concept, showing limits and freedom of individuality. Director Teshigahara interweaves a sub-plot to the story in fragments documenting

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[800] Ibid., p.235.
[801] Ibid.
[802] *Tanin no kao. The Face of Another*, dir. Hiroshi Teshigahara, grapic design Kiyoshi Awazu, set design Arata Isozaki, music Tōru Takemitsu, perf. Tatsuya Nakadai, Machiko Kyō, Mikijiro Hira, The Criterion Collection, no. 395, 1966/2007, DVD, 124 min; see also Ashton 1997, op. cit.

the daily life of a young woman. She is apparently a victim of the atomic bombings, whose face is partly disfigured by scar tissue (Fig.185). The unmarried woman is afflicted with discrimination when it comes to prospects of marriage and work. Okuyama however, becoming slowly used to his transplanted face, starts to realize the steps of his carefully prepared plan to seduce his wife again, addressing her as a stranger.

In both paralleled plots the fate of the injured protagonists will eventually break them, either because of the frustrating impossibility to escape it, or because of the very attempt to escape it in the first place. A comprehensive discussion of the multiple layers and allusions the film, as well as the novel it is based on, trans- and exposed for a Japanese audience exceeds the scope of this consideration. Nevertheless, the identity issues caused by a transformation of the bodily surface stick out when considered against the backdrop of the textural transformations, e.g. the urban environment in Japan had undergone in the previous years.

Linking face and identity, the topic of both of them as (socially) produced run like a red thread through the spaces and layers of (sur-)reality depicted. The scenes are often constructed in a parallel way, in order to convey before and after. Many shots focus closely on skin, faces, and surfaces, insistently addressing tactility as well as the (social) value of the surface. Alternating shots of outside situations – e.g. on the street or in a shopping center – and inside shots, e.g. in the psychiatrist's treatment room or in the married couple's apartment(s) allude to the inner conflicts the protagonists suffer because of their appearance. In one of the first shots we see Mr. Okuyama and his wife in their apartment (Fig.186). The interior is carefully arranged with fashionable objects, presenting them as a childless, wealthy middle class couple. The almost forced taste of this home decoration raises questions though. Not only that the combination of furniture, wallpaper, artifacts, and electronic appliances seems dissonant (Fig.187). The interior of their apartment strongly contrasts the module interior of the doctor's treatment room. Presented as a timeless layerd space outside of all places, mirrors as well as shelfs and room dividers made from etched plexiglas expose and map body-parts in skeleton prints. An overdimensional sculpture of an ear including the auditory passage has been placed in this pseudo-scientific cabinet as well (Fig.188). Detail for the informed viewer: It is a sculpture by contemporary artist Tomio Miki, whose artworks would later be shown at the Japanese Pavilion during the Venice Biennale (1968) as well resurface on public plazas of Expo '70 (Fig.189). In the whole movie the psychiatrist's lab is rearranged or remodeled in every shot. The views through transparent, etched screens collaps perspective shrink spatial depth. The constant transformation of this specific, but paradoxically unrooted floating interior space makes it impossible to conceptualize it in a coherent representation. It brings to mind the *Metabolist* proposals, suggesting an integrative continuum from (furniture) design object, building,

and city sketched, e.g. by Kenji Ekuan in his 1964 design for a *Movable Furniture Room* (Fig.190, Fig.191).

Before Okuyama embarks on his transformation process, there is still to single out a person providing a face mold. Doctor and patient eventually invite an apparently unoccupied, homeless person over for a coke in a café at a local shopping mall. After short discussion the trio seals the bargain, offering the stranger 10,000 yen for his face print. Weighing the value of the face's surface, the group is sitting in front of a large window. Their view from the restaurant opens on a construction site in immediate proximity to the Tokyo Shinjuku train station (Fig.192, Fig.193).

Okuyama's coherent transformation story is recurrently interrupted by the subplot, introducing a more dramatic thread of action. Underlaid with a moving soundtrack, the montage adds up to a total experience transporting the fragmented, estranged state of the protagonist's bodies and their environment to the auditorium. *Tanin no kao* (The Face of Another) addresses an inner (psychological) transformation via the surface. The *Metabolist* proposals started from an inverse approach, turning ongoing processes in bodily tissue on a microbiologic or even molecular level beneath the surface into the transforming power of the outside appearance of house, home, and city. The film is however a thought-provoking dialectical reflection of the social and physical production of identity and space.

(Dis-)Appointments or, the Second Metabolism Issue

It comes as no surprise that Marxist architecture critic Kawazoe had insisted to include a series of particular studies of the (urban) surface in the *Metabolism* booklet issued on occasion of *WoDeCo*: Kawazoe wanted to get photographer Shōmei Tōmatsu (1930–2012) on board, interspersing the latter's series *Asufaruto* (Asphalt, 1960) to the essay collection, complementing Kiyoshi Awazu's graphic design. For Tōmatsu asphalt materialized the skin of the city (Fig.194). Extending the peolple's mobility was only one aspect of new urban pavements. In Tōmatsu's photographs the asphalt's surface structure is uneven, containing bits and pieces of unfunctional waste metal – urban debris. The photgraphs were reportedly "highly rated for expressing the metabolic state of Tokyo as it grew and developed with such startling vigor."[803] For whatever reason the images have yet not been published alongside the *Metabolist* proposals.

Koolhaas and Obrist report on plans for a follow-up publication to "Metabolism 1960." A note on the stationary of Kiyonori Kikutake Associates gives a provisional outline: The engineer Takashi Asada, who had assembled and chosen among the proposals of young students affiliated with Tange for *WoDeCo* was supposed to write an introduction for the envisioned "Metabolism 1965" publication, elaborating on the open or non-(hierarchical)-structure of the movement itself. Kurokawa claims the general advocacy of "metamorphosis" the publication would have put forward

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[803] Tokyo 2011, p.170.

to be his contribution. The minds yet split over the details of a metamorphosis of the group. In 1960 the architects involved were confronted with the limited feasibility of their proposals. By the mid 1960s yet "many of them are realized or closer to realization than they could dream of for the first book, which is part of the reason why they have no time to finish the second book,"[804] as Koolhaas and Obrist add. In 1967 Mike Jérome of the British magazine *Architectural Design* asks by contrast: "Whatever Happened to the Metabolists?"[805] He elaborates further relying on *AD* correspondent Günther Nitschke that the movement had grown "static, if not exstinct in terms of significance." Jérome's fervent criticism takes not only issue with the symbolism played on and introduced by the *Metabolists*:

> The Metabolists make a great play with symbolism. One rather suspects this rummaging in the collective unconscious for some magic pattern will 'solve' our problems, in our souls if not in fact. […] Hypocrisy must surely be the greatest known force for disintegrating social morale that history can uncover. We simply must remember. In spite of the Metabolists' vigorous protestations to the contrary, it takes very little structural knowledge to know that their structures do not metabolize. […] City structures are absolutely no use unless they are flexible, self-changeable, self-governing structures and are used as such. […] One fails to see in the Metabolists' work any exploration of these means to this end.[…] Shape is against change, against mobility, against individual participation in city decisions – unless it is a changing shape. […] In this respect symbols of change stand for participation. In the Metabolists' work, symbols become authoritarian demands […].

Even if the "Metabolism 1965" publication project was abandoned, and first issue had eventually not featured Tōmatsu's series *Asphalt*. If Kawazoe's efforts to incorporate Tōmatsu's photographs into "Metabolism 1960" were in vain, a 1966 exhibition in a department store presents them alongside contributions by, e.g. Arata Isozkai, to an interested art audience.

Between Art and Design: "Kūkan kara kankyō e" (From Space to Environment, 1966) and "Shikisai to kūkan" (Color and Space, 1966)

In 1966 two intermedia exhibitions taking place in Tokyo made art history. Although proto-intermedia practices are documented before, the two shows were the most outspoken and deliberate statements to create an own discourse concerning "art per order" (*hacchū geijutsu*), kinetic, and conceptual artworks. But let me unfold one thing after another.

The *Enbairanmento no kai* (Environment Society) – a loose group of artists, designers and musicians around Shūzō Takiguchi and Katsuhiro Yamaguchi – invites from November 11 through November 16, 1966 to the eighth floor of Matsuya department store's Ginza branch (Fig.195). In the same month's issue of *Bijutsu techō* [Art Notebook] the Environment Society publishes a sort of

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[804] Koolhaas/Obrist 2011, pp.330-331.
[805] Jérome, Mike: "Whatever Happened to the Metabolists?," in: *Architectural Design*, (May, 1967), pp.203-216.

manifesto alongside a floor plan of the rental galleries (Fig.196),[806] and Takiguchi sends an introductory comment ahead,[807] stating that to avoid negative connotations of the word *kankyō* – used during WWII synonymously with fascist expansion of "Lebensraum" – the English term "environment" was more neutrally used instead. In a more significant sentence towards the end of his text he states: "our common goal is to move from thing towards environment. One method to achieve such relational connection is to focus on and illuminate the contents of the everyday, otherwise time and space will fall apart into pieces."[808] He thus urges the readers of his address to liken such environmental approach based on simultaneity and coherent experience of one's own surroundings to Frederick Kiesler's plan for an *Endless House* (Fig.197).[809] Kiesler's ideal house – the *Endless House* – is adapted as well as adaptable, thus "open-ended," to the behavior of (wo-)men. It does not impose behavior like a functional and hence compartementalized modernist house does. "It cannot be industry-built. It must be handmade."[810] Takiguchi therewith clearly positions the aims of the Environment Society on side of broader philosophical outlooks than blunt optimism for technology.Historian Laura M. McGuire characterizes Kiesler's theoretic approach as an "outlook that considered the intrinsic interconnections between phenomena in the natural world and in human culture and life – it was anthropological (and ostensibly scientific) as much as it was architectural."[811] Kiesler saw the house as an energy system, speaking of its "metabolism." In his "Metabolism Chart of the House" (1933), he "illustrat[ed] the operation of the Two-Way-Principle regarding sensory properties, mobile space enclosures, and the individual as qualified by it."[812]

In the same special issue of *Bijutsu techō* [Art Notebook], with its publisher Bijutsu Shuppan-sha co-organizing the exhibtion, we find a conversation betweeen Arata Isozaki and critic Yoshiaki Tōno.[813] Both of them also contribute pieces to the actual "From Space to Environment" exhibition (*Kūkan kara kankyō e*), just as well as Shōmei Tōmatsu participating with *Asphalt* (1960) (Fig.198).[814] In their conversation they consider again the word "environment," with Tōno admitting

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[806] "Kūkan kara kankyō e-ten" [The Aim of the Exhibition From Space to Environment], Enbairanmento no kai (Environment Society) (ed.), in: *Bijutsu techō* [Art Notebook], no. 275, special issue, (November, 1966), pp.115-118.

[807] Takiguchi, Shūzō: "Kankyō ni tsuite. Aru jōkyō kara no hasshin" [Concerning the Environment. A Note on the Current Situation], in: *Bijutsu techō* [Art Notebook], no. 275, special issue, (November, 1966), pp.1-4.

[808] Ibid., p.4.

[809] Yamaguchi, Katsuhiro: *Kankyō geijutuska Furederikku Kīsurā* [Environmental Artist Frederick Kiesler], Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppan-sha, 1978.

[810] Cf. Meissner, Jill: "Designing Tomorrow. Frederick Kiesler Architect?!," in: *Endless Kiesler*, Klaus Bollinger, Florian Medicus, and the Austrian Frederick and Lillian Kiesler Private Foundation (eds.), Basel: Birkhäuser, 2015, pp.20-59.

[811] McGuire, Laura M.: "Energy, Correalism, and the 'Endless House'," in: ibid., pp.60-88, p.61.

[812] Ibid.

[813] Isozaki, Arata and Yoshiaki Tōno: "Kankyō ni tsuite. Bijutsu, kenchiku, toshi, 'kyō'. Taidan Isozaki Arata, Tōno Yoshiaki" [Concerning the Environment. Art, Architecture, City, and the 'Void'. A Conversation between Arata Isozaki and Yoshiaki Tōno], in: *Bijutsu techō* [Art Notebook], no. 275, special issue, (November, 1966), pp.91-105.

[814] For an extensive scholarly reconstruction of the exhibition history of *Kūkan kara kankyō e* see: Yoshimoto, Midori: "From Space to Environment: The Origins of Kankyō and the Emergence of Intermedia Art in Japan", in: Art Journal, vol. 67, no. 3, (fall, 2008), pp.24-45.

that he grew aware of it in relation to American Action Painting, whereas Isozaki explains that the Japanese word *kankyō* was since about ten years quite common in architectural planning, with its environmental technology studies (*kankyō kōgaku*).[815]

Introducing their conversation Tōno yet refers to another exhibtion, which had taken place, earlier in 1966. The talk is of "*Shikisai to kūkan*" (Color and Space), organized by Tōno himself at the Minami Garō (Minami Gallery) in Tokyo, open from September 26 to Ocotber 13, 1966 (Fig.199). At least four of its contributors (Arata Isozaki, Katsuhiro Yamaguchi, Tomio Miki, and Shintaro Tanaka) participate now again in the Environment Society's November exhibition. Not only due to the obvious temporal proximity the "Color and Space" exhibition is often referred to as a precursor of "From Space to Environment." Tōno explains that it was an opportunity to test, how material color and phenomenal light create dematerialized spatial atmospheres. On the other hand the show allowed its contributors to experiment with new materials, beyond bronze, stone, or wood.[816]

The same year the Museum of Modern Art had opened the survey-show "The New Japanese Painting and Sculpture," lasting from January through June and exhibiting a broad range of Japanese artists including members of *Gutai* (Fig.200).[817] The MoMA exhibition was certainly an occassion to travel abroad, attend or criticize the presentation of recent art by artists from Japan protagonists in the Japanese art scene.[818]

The New York exhibition "Primary Structures," held at the Jewish Museum in New York from April 27 to June 12, 1966,[819] – in historical accounts usually referred to as introduction of Minimal Art – stirred up debate among the quite numerous Japanese visitors. In the press release curator Kynaston McShine characterizes the sculptures introduced at the Jewish Museum as follows:

> *The sculptors represented in this exhibition are not consciously allied in a school or in a specific movement, but they do share a stylistic tendency by reason of their interest in "primary" artistic structure. The sculpture is often architectonic, if not architectural. Most of the work does not use base or pedestal, some are oriented to the walls, and some even to the ceiling. The artist feels free to utilize and activate the space of a room or the outdoors according to the internal necessities of the work. The generally large scale of the work and its architectural proportions allow the sculpture to dominate the environment. At times the sculpture intrudes aggressively on the spectator's space, or the spectator is drawn into sculptural space. Often the structure acts ambiguously, creating a spatial dislocation for the spectator with*

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[815] Isozaki/Tōno 1966, op.cit., p.93.

[816] Ibid., p.91.

[817] *The New Japanese Painting and Sculpture*, cat. exh. The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1966.

[818] Kataoka notes that both Isozaki and Yamaguchi visted *Primary Structures* during a stay in New York, coming back from Montreal, where the two – as members of the Expo '70 planning committee – had payed a research visit to Expo '67, see: Kataoka, Mami: "'Environment' as Relationship: Color, Space and Environment," trans. Pamela Miki Associates, in: *Metabolism. The City of the Future. Dreams and Visions of Reconstruction in Postwar and Present-Day Japan*, exh. cat. Mori Art Museum, Tokyo, 2011–2012, Hajime Yatsuka, Mami Hirose et al. (eds.), Tokyo: Shinkenchiku-sha, 2011, pp.297-301, p.300.

[819] McShine, Kynaston: "Primary Structures," exh. document The Jewish Museum, New York, 1966, press release, (accessed through: <http://ops.thejewishmuseum.org/1966/about>, last access: 27.11.2014).

complex meanings. These structures are also conceived as "objects," abstract, directly experienced, highly simplified and self-contained. There is no overt surrealistic content and the anthropomorphic is rejected. Shape, color and material have a physical concreteness and unity. Generally, bright and vibrant color is in evidence, and when color is not applied, the intrinsic color of the sculptural material asserts itself. The new sculpture rejects patina and embellishment; color acts like a skin on a surface which is always smooth and never worked by hand or textured.

If often strongly textured early works by *Gutai* members had been on show at MoMA, the mechanically produced, traceless and sleek surfaces presented in the Primary Structures exhibition marked a stark contrast. It is however not conveyed, whether a work like Yamazaki's *Sakuhin* (1955) was considered from such an angle (Fig.6). That the exhibition "Primary Structures" was an actual point of departure for Tōno proves one of his numerous articles, this time issued in the art magazine *Mizue* [Watercolor] under the intriguing title "When Women Hit Sculpture. The New Wave of Color Sculpture."[820]

In "Color and Space" however, the mechanical production of artworks on demand was one of the aspects intriguing artists and critics concerned with new concepts of authorship, who therefore coined the term *hatchū geijutsu* (Art per Order) (Fig.201).[821] Discussing the phenomenal aspects of recent "architectonic, yet not architectural" sculpture or environmental emplacements, Isozaki mentions his collaboration with Tomio Miki for the filmset of *Tanin no kao* (The Face of Another), premiering in 1966.[822] In his last vote Isozaki reflects the "'void' of the environment" in terms of information circulating, like signs (*kigō*) in their many implementations in Japanese urban space. He yet admits that calculating data by inserting all different signs related to a city into a computer (*keisanki*) often results in concepts without any productive relationship to the actual places.[823] It becomes yet clear that the emphasis of correalism issued on occasion of the "From Space to Environment" was a clarification of the 'Art per Order' approach in "Color and Space."

If the artwork or environment could be made on demand, it was yet individually customized, what the open-sourced blueprints published alongside the documentation of the exhibition already implied. Closing their conversation on occasion of the "From Space to Environment" exhibition investigating the "dynamic relationship between human and its surroundings," both ciritic and architect confirm that they are looking forward to Osaka Expo '70 as a large scale experiment of the aspects discussed in their conversation and introduced by the *Environment Society.* Appointed responsible for the *Omatsuri hiroba* (Festival Plaza), one of the

[820] Tōno, Yoshiaki: "Onna ga chōkoku o hataku toki – Shikisaichōkoku no atarashii nami" [When Women Hit Sculpture – The New Wave of Color Sculpture], in: *Mizue* [Watercolor], no. 738, (August, 1966).

[821] Idem: "Garō kara: 'Shikisai to kūkan' ten. Setsukeizu ni motozuki kōjō de seisakusareru atarshii hyōgen hōhō 'hatchū geijutsu' to wa?" [From the Gallery: The Exhibition 'Color and Space'. What about new mode of expression 'Art per Order' industrially produced from blueprints], in: *Bijutsu techō* [Art Notebook], no. 276, (December, 1966), pp.108-114; See: Kataoka, Mami: "'Environment' as Relationship: Color, Space and Environment," trans. Pamela Miki Associates, in: Tokyo 2011, pp.297-301.

[822] Isozaki/Tōno 1966, op.cit., p.96.

[823] Ibid., p.104.

Expo's main stages for social encounter, Isozaki admits that he does not yet know, how this place for festivities will materialize and be programmed yet welcomes the possibility to experiment with and test environmentalization.[824] And Ming Tiampo notes concerning *Gutai*: "A message that was not lost on Nasaka and Michio [Yoshihara] when they collaborated on the Midori Pavilion sound/architectural installation. Imai Norio proposed *Floating Room,* an environment with monochromatic spherical sculptures suspended from the ceiling like an antigravity moons pockmarked with large craters."[825] She further concludes that "inserting time and space into painting was no longer an ultimate goal for this younger generation of Gutai artists,"[826] albeit there is no actual dissonance with what she singles out as their actual aim "enga[ging] with architecture, music, technology, design, and urban planning to enable a more creative lived environment."[827]

Arata Isozaki contributes to both exhibitions his *Fukuoka Mutual Bank Oita Branch* (1966), a model of the ceiling commissioned by the bank he was about to design (Fig.202, Fig.203, Fig.204). For Isozaki the contact with artists was not a new experience. At least since he had designed the *White House* in Tokyo as a studio space used by the Neo-Dadaism Organizers (Ushio Shinohara, Genpei Akasegawa, et al.) Isozaki was an active member of the capital's internationalizing art community (Fig.205). On occasion of the "Color and Space" exhibition the construction plans (concepts) of the work exhibited made part of presentation and documentation. In the later "From Space to Environment" installation Isozaki introduced a collage alluding to his *Fukuoka Mutual Bank Oita Branch* ceiling model instead, opening spatial relations up by folding back and flattening out multiple perspectives at once, conflating them into a complicated arrangement reminding of an accordion.[828]

Around 1966 a new awareness for the complexity of space surfaces in art installations and in environmental considerations of architecture alike. Mediating a middle ground between the genres the relationship between art, architecture, and design is renegotiated. Whereas the decorative styles of *Jōmon* and *Yayoi* culture were judged to transport social forms or ideologies in their textured gestalt since the mid 1950s, the discussion of all tangible, phenomenal, as well as non-phenomenal yet informational factors adding up to the human environment attracts increasing attention by the mid 1960s. Will space-capsules, added up to megastructures as living units for the information or leisure society of the 21st century, predicted by Tange and Kurokawa respectively, be meeting the actual requirements of such a society? Or, allows only a reclusion in a mediated capsule, providing internal stability in the face of outside complexities via feedback-mechanism to confront an increasingly chaotic urban landscape?

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[824] Ibid., p.105.
[825] Tiampo 2011, p.162.
[826] Ibid.
[827] Ibid.
[828] Tokyo 2011, pp.167-171.

Responsible as chief producer for the masterplan of Osaka Expo '70 Kenzō Tange presents the infrastructural outline in a form – almost ironically – reminiscent of Isozaki's distroing perspective collage based on the *Fukuoka Mutual Bank Oita Branch's* ceiling relief to house environmental infrastructure. The core structure of his tree-shaped hierarchized outline of a line up of plazas and sub-plazas, connected via moving walkways and circumventable with the Expo monorail, bans the car from Expo model city. The provisions for electricity, water, and other electric communication channels integrate into the concrete tree-infrastructure, whereas the commercial and national pavilions are grouped around the subplazas "like flowers on a tree-branch."[829] If Isozaki mocked the functionalist principle "form follows function" in as much as its complementary "form follows finance" with an evocative yet deconstructive antiform, Tange takes his own tree-trunk metaphor all too serious, practicing functional hierarchization, while preaching the relationality of an information network.[830] Yet, system theoretic Christopher Alexander visualizes masterfully that not every entangled looking sketch is an actual (decentered) network, but that there too many structural hierarchies in guise of networks. Moreover Alexander underlines – as the title of his 1965 critical essay already suggests – that "A City is not a Tree." [831] In classical garden cities and other layouts, e.g. bundling different towns infrastructurally Alexander discovers a hidden tree-structure. As fifth example he lists Tange's *Plan for Tokyo* (1960):[832]

> *This is a beautiful example. The plan consists of a series of loops stretched across Tokyo Bay. There are four major loops, each of which contains three medium loops. In the second major loop, one medium loop is the railway station and another is the port. Otherwise, each medium loop contains three minor loops which are residential neighbourhoods, except in the third major loop where one contains government offices and another industrial offices.*

Passing on to play, he denounces the idea of fenced in playgrounds in the asphalt desert of the city as "pictorial acknowledgement of the fact that 'play' exists as an isolated concept in our minds," adding that "the play that children practice goes on somewhere different every day."[833] Being reminded of the *Gutai* activities in Osaka, Tokyo, in and around Ashiya one might take particular interest in Alexanders following diagnosis:[834]

> *One day it may be indoors, another day in a friendly gas station, another day down by the river, another day in a derelict building, another day on a construction site which has been abandoned for the weekend. Each of these play*

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[829] Tange 1970a), n.p.

[830] For a genealogy of the tendency to intersect informational and infrastructural networks, and the proximity between CIAM's Jacqueline Thyrwitt, Marshall McLuhan and Richard Buckminster Fuller see: Wigley, Mark: "Network Fever," in: *Grey Room*, no. 4, (summer, 2001), pp.82-122.

[831] Alexander, Christopher: "A City is not a Tree," in: *Architectural Forum*, vol. 122, no. 1, (April/May 1965), pp.58-62.

[832] Ibid., p.59.

[833] Ibid., p.60.

[834] Ibid., p.61.

activities, and the objects it requires, forms a system. […] The different systems overlap one another, and they overlap many other systems besides. The units, the physical places recognized as play places, must do the same. In a natural city this is what happens. Play takes place in a thousand places it fills the interstices of adult life. As they play, children become full of their surroundings. How can children become filled with their surroundings in a fenced enclosure! They cannot.

The topological complex he detects instead comes closer to a tissue, or texture interlacing old and new parts. This organic interweaving prevents any the city's users or inhabitant from a rejection reaction to the new face applied on their city – to reference back to Teshigahara's film. Alexander's criticism is an admonition to designers, and one could probably insert "writers" as well, not to try to gain 'a bird's eye' view of their system, because the human mental mechanism has a tendency to abstract and simplify patterns of complex relationality, omitting the overlapings in favor of clear-cut separation.

Adopting the metaphor of metabolism torn from biology, microscopically recorded images served as a model to envision the city, understood as an ongoing process of growth and decay. In comparison to the earlier mentioned tradition debate it is noteworthy, that the adaptation of the biological model, since it was a metaphor, was not used in a formally representational sense, except for the cell structures particularly emphasized in Kishō (Noriaki) Kuroakawa's further proliferation of the capsule idea, he would come to rearrange space with for the age of mobility.[835] *Metabolism* was basically intended to provide architecture for a rhizomatic time-space-structure, yet the structural layout actually proved more and more a linear process and dead-end road.

3.3 Excavating the Nakagin Tower (1970–1972) – Capsule Business

3.3.1 Building Processes

Amidst a wave of numbing summer heat and doldrums in the doctoral students' room at ETH Hönggerberg in September 2015 a feature published in the Japanese Yahoo online news attracts my attention while browsing (Fig.206). "'The Nakagin Capsule Tower's' Swaying Fate: Tear it Down or Save it?"[836] Nakagin denotes the heart of Ginza, one of Tokyo's oldest commercial and business districts oriented toward the harbor area and the Tsukiji fishmarket. Shortlisted for architecture tourists the tower of stacked minimal housing units erected between 1970 and 1972, serves today a broad range of functions. The cell-like minimal living spaces are available as temporary accommodation rented out on the online platform Airbnb, others are in use as artists' studios. At least one of the DIY-restored units still serves as sample capsule. In the news feature however,

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[835] Kurokawa, Kishō. "Capsule Declaration," in: *Metabolism in Architecture*, London: Studio Vista, 1977, pp.75-85, [first: idem: "Kapuseru sengen. Oh! Saibōgu no okite," in: *SD. Space Design*, no. 3, (1969), pp.50-54].
[836] "'Nakagin kapuserutawā' yureru meiun tatekae ka hozon ka" [The Nakagin Capsule Tower's Swaying Fate: Tear it Down or Save it?], *Yahoo Japan*, news online, 7.9.2015 (accessed through: <http://news.yahoo.co.jp/feature/20>, last access 7.12.2015).

owners and fans alike complain about the desolate condition of the building. Fresh water supply had to be cut, the water pipes are rotten and asbestos hides everywhere beneath the inside cover panels (Fig.207).

A photograph taken at the construction site c. 1971 shows two construction workers with helmets, taking the delivery of a threedimensional rectangularly shaped capsule with a centrally placed porthole hoisted by a crane (Fig.208). The workers are standing on top of one of the many individual capsules stacked according to a paralleled and mirrored pattern along two vertical infrastructural and stabilizing core structures to be plugged in to. The building has achieved the double height of the elevated highway cutting the view. Kishō Kurokawa's *Nakagin Capsule* Tower, a welded steel frame structure inside an insulated jacket of concrete, consists of a total of 140 individual capsules to be fixed on the two core towers with four high-tension bolts only (Fig.209, Fig.210). An arcade of pilotis frames the entrance hall in the basement. I cannot help but seeing in the gestalt of the decentralized tower with its red, flag-like top coverings the image of an aircraft rammed into the ground (Fig.211). However, the capsules are devised as modular entities, integrating the basic functions of urban living: Each capsule measures about 10 square meters (approx. 107 square feet), containing various amenities, including: a bed, a desk, a refrigerator, a TV, storage spaces, a toilet and a shower. Depending on their individual wearout, they should be replaced in intervals of 25 years at a maximum. Kurokawa computed a 200 years minimum lifetime for his building and its supplier industry. A view inside the standardized wet room unit, reminds me of my bathroom at the student dorm on the campus of Saitama University, and stays at random business hotels throughout Japan. At the turn of the decade Kurokawa's *Nakagin Tower* incorporates his vision of a capsule architecture for the mobile leisure society, taking shape throughout the 1960s.

Kurokawa's modular capsule embodies his biodynamic social utopia and eventually a business model. But let us turn first to the historical background. Born in 1934 in Nagoya and deceased in Tokyo in 2007, a student of 24 years he participates in an international architecture congress in Leningrad. Upon his return he joins the architects Kiyonori Kikutake, Fumihiko Maki, Masato Otaka, critic Noboru Kawazoe und graphic designer Kiyoshi Awazu for the publication of "Metabolism 1960. The Proposals for New Urbanism." The programmatic essay collection was among other things a reaction to the increasing drift to the cities and an acute housing crisis. Motivated by Tange's *Plan for Tokyo* (1960), his pupil Kurokawa proposes *Helix City* (1961). According to architecture historian Dennis Sharp his plan was "inspired by Watson and Crick's discovery of the DNA."[837]

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[837] Sharp, Dennis (ed.): "Introduction," in: *Kisho Kurokawa. From the Age of the Machine to the Age of Life*, exh. cat. RIBA Architecture Center, London 1998, London: BookArt, 1998, pp.13-19, p.15.

As we have seen earlier the time between 1955 and 1972 is usually termed the era of high economic growth. Economic agreements with the U.S. benefited Japanese economy through an underrated yen course. Deep into the 1950s the U.S. government was convinced, e.g. the Japanese car industry would not manage to become able to compete internationally. The Korean War (1950–1952) as well as the later war the U.S. waged against Vietnam brought against all odds an economic upswing in Japan. Supply for the stationed U.S. military on their remaining air bases on Japanese territory primed the Japanese steel, car and chemical industry. Meanwhile Japan opened up new markets in the Asian region. Prime minister Shigeru Yoshida's Income Doubling Plan (1960) demanded a further increase of efforts to double the average income within five years. Governmental investments into the development of new technologies especially the early endeavors towards automatization and computer technologies vaulted Japan to the second place in world economic rankings. Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) member Eisaku Satō former Minister of Financial Affairs (1958–1961), appointed to office as Japan's 39th Prime Minister in 1964 served until 1972. He was one of the state ministers in charge to organize the 1964 Tokyo Olympics, then in his function as Minister of International Trade and Industry (1961–1964). His period of office was marked by his support of the impending renewal of the 1960 Anpo Treaty with the U.S. Protest among the student organizations sparked again resulting in massive riots, forcing Satō to close Tokyo University for a year in 1969 (Fig.212).[838]

To make a long story short – the actual state policy was dominated by a rhetoric of growth. Shaping the (female) consumer in nuclear families further enhanced economic growth expanding the domestic market. Against this backdrop it appeared obvious for Kurokawa to devise the basic housing unit of a living capsule beyond the idea of a functional roof over the head as consumable good for a growing middle class. Culture critic Ichirō Haryū takes in a 1970 lampoon issue with Kurokawa's attitude estimating "architecture […] not unmovable real estate but a durable consumer good."[839] He detects in Kurokawa's idea "of endless transformation and renovation of the city […] no[thing] different than made-to-order architecture, resembling customized cars." He goes on deploring:[840]

Kurokawa's vision is based on the premise that in an information society the alienation of industrial society will vanish and that harmony between technology and humanity will naturally prevail. […] But Kurokawa deliberately disregards

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[838] Koschmann 1993, op. cit., pp.414-418; see also: "22 – Zenkyōtō Nichidai tōsō tōdaitōsō 1968" [22 – Struggle of the Japanese Zenkyoto Student Movement at Tokyo University], Mainichi Shimbun, documentary clip, *YouTube*, 13.5.2010, (accessed through: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aaBNI9Hs_xI>, last access: 15.2.2015).

[839] Haryū, Ichirō: "Expo'70 as the Ruins of Culture", trans. Ignacio Adriasola, in: *Expo '70 and Japanese Art: Dissonant Voices* (Review of Japanese Culture and Society 23), Midori Yoshimoto (ed.), Tokyo: Jōsai International Center for the Promotion of Art and Science, Jōsai University, 2011, pp.44-56, p.51, [first: idem: "Bunka no haikyo toshite no banpaku," in: *KEN*, no. 1, (July, 1970), pp.110-117].

[840] Ibid.

how this stunning process of transformation and renewal is born not out of human desire, but provoked by the entreaties of capital. […] Computers will be capable of turning people's desires into numbers to be calculated, and in doing so, strengthen the manipulation and domination of the masses. […] the information society that Kurokawa paints with rosy colors is transformed into a tightly controlled society based on a 'techno-structure'.

Let us consider Kurokawa's plans attracting Haryū's condemnation more closely in a next step.

3.3.2 Building Science Fiction – Space Exploration

After his proposal of a housing complex modeled after a double-helixed DNA, Kurokawa gets a chance to realize an actual building in 1963: The *Nitto Food Cannery* in Saga (Fig.213). Prefabricated spatial units docked as steel tube latticed structures on structural nodes at the upper end of X-sectioned beams, adding up to an extensible, clustered factory building. In 1964 Kurokawa and Kawazoe publish "The Prefabricated House,"[841] an essay pointing already to Kurokawa's later elaboration of the capsule idea. He compares the different steps in a working process, with the structural arrangement of a traditional wooden house, where the joints are carefully crafted from within, concluding that work should be structured accordingly in a bottom-up instead of a top-down approach. Beyond that he coined the keyword "metamorphosis," replacing the 1960 notion of "metabolism. Up to his death in 2007 he further modifies his assumptions, documenting his search for a "symbiosis of time,"[842] integrating past, present, and future in his plans and theoretic writings.

Saikaku Toyokawa, professor at the Oyama National College of Technology determines the Japanese contribution to an international scientific research project as stem cell of the later capsule architecture. Close collaborator in Tange's office engineer Takashi Asada was sent out by Japan's Antarctic Architecture Commission in 1955 to oversee the design of Syowa Station in Antarctica (Fig. XY). Drawing on a colonist climate housing project in Manchuria dating to the early 1940s, he studied the older plans of circular-shaped houses with elevated floors, allowing access even after heavy snowfall. Asada and his team eventually chose cypress wood frames, hardened bakelit panels and precious German insulation material. The panels had to fit seamlessly, since the smallest fissure would destroy the climatic environment under the severe conditions in Antarctica. The system was prefabricated with high precision allowing to be assembled by hand on site in minimum time (Fig.214). And Toyokawa concludes "the original Syowa Station building can be thought of as Japan's first serious attempt to create industrialized housing and initiated a trend toward prefabrication."[843]

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[841] Kurokawa, Kishō [Noriaki] and Noboru Kawazoe: *The Prefabricated House*, Tokyo: Chunichi Newspaper Publishing, 1964.
[842] Idem: *From Metabolism to Symbiosis*, London: Academy Editions, 1992.
[843] Toyokawa, Saikaku: "Cold Climate Housing Research and the Syowa Station Building in Antarctica: Asada Takashi and the Beginnings of Capsule Architecture," in: Metabolism. The City of the Future. Dreams and

3.3.3. Building the Mobile Leisure Society

Consumption of Time and Space – A Critical Comment by the Situationist International

Parallel to the social transformation of the country, the social sciences established in Japan in the late 19th century saw an upswing.[844] Social historian Christiane Müller-Wichmann observes in the 1980s that the myth of leisure society was neither banned nor dead. The shortage of holidays per week and year, as well as early retirement were often carelessly interpreted as an increase in leisure time.[845] More than a few left wing oriented artists, critics, and architects saw in the impending automatization of labor, prospects of freedom for the wage-workers. The circle of intellectuals around Guy Debord, better known as Situationist International, put their opposition against the leisure myth to protocol, calling for an increase in free time instead of leisure. Leisure as well as its counterpart normatized work shrinking the everyday to numbing repetitive patterns, had to be challenged instead by complex activities. Such agency was according to them threatening derived forms of art, yet benefitting a performative attitude allowing to embody art on an everyday level in engaged activism or experimental practice:[846]

There is no revolutionary problem of leisure — of an emptiness to be filled — but a problem of free time. As we have already said: "There can be no freely spent time until we possess the modern tools for the construction of everyday life. The use of such tools will mark the leap from a utopian revolutionary art to an experimental revolutionary art. The supersession of leisure through the development of an activity of free creation-consumption can only be understood in relation with the dissolution of the traditional arts — with their transformation into superior modes of action, which do not reject or abolish art, but fulfill it. That is how art will be superseded, conserved and surmounted within a more complex activity. Its traditional elements may still be partially present, but transformed, integrated and modified by the totality.

Henri Lefebvre would later not only critize leisure time as giving way to passive consumption, but as being itself a product remarketed – time as consumable good:[847]

The situation has consequences that seem paradoxical at first. Certain deviant or diverted spaces, though initially subordinate, show distinct evidence of a true productive capacity. Among these are spaces devoted to leisure activity. Such spaces appear on first inspection to have escaped the control of the established order, and thus, in as much as

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Visions of Reconstruction in Postwar and Present-Day Japan, exh. cat. Mori Art Museum, Tokyo, 2011–2012, Hajime Yatsuka, Mami Hirose et al. (eds.), Tokyo: Shinkenchiku-sha, 2011, pp.234-241.

[844] Tominaga, Ken'ichi: "Sociology in Postwar Japan and its Problems," in: Development of Sociology in Japan (Jahrbuch für Soziologiegeschichte), Ilja Srubar and Shingo Shimada (eds.), Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2005, pp.39-76.

[845] Müller-Wichmann, Christiane: "Die Legende von der 'Freizeitgesellschaft'," in: *23. Westdeutscher Soziologentag 1986*, conference papers, Opladen: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 1987, pp.620-624.

[846] Debord, Guy: "The Use of Free Time," trans. Ken Knabb, Bureau of Public Secrets, online, (accessed through: http://www.bopsecrets.org/SI/4.freetime.htm>, last access 8.9.2015), [first: idem: "Sur l'Emploi du Temps Libre," in: *Internationale Situationniste,* no. 4, (July, 1960).

[847] Lefebvre [1974] 1991, op.cit.

they are spaces of play, to constitute a vast 'counter-space'. This is a complete illusion. The case against leisure is quite simply closed – and the verdict is irreversible: leisure is as alienated and alienating as labor; as much an agent of co-optation as it is itself co-opted; and both an assimilative and an assimilated part of the 'system' (mode of production). Once a conquest of the working class, in the shape of paid days off, holidays, weekends, and so on, leisure has been transformed into an industry, into a victory of neocapitalism and an extension of bourgeois hegemony to the whole of space.

And Asger Jorn observed in a 1958 essay already:[848]

The new leisure time appears as an empty space that present-day society can imagine filling only by multiplying the pseudoplay of pathetic hobbies. But this leisure time is also the basis on which could be built the most magnificent cultural construction that has ever been imagined. […] Maldonado, who currently directs the Hochschule für Gestaltung in Ulm, explains that the development of automation is in jeopardy because young people show little enthusiasm for going into advanced engineering, except for those specializing in automation itself, who lack any general cultural perspective.

The rise of the social sciences was beyond Japan tied to new forms of mapping processes and an accumulation of objective data from a broad range of scientific branches.[849] Registered and processed with new computational technologies in an increasingly electrified everyday, the social sciences were affected by the heyday of communication and information. After Norbert Wiener had prepared the ground with his cybernetic communication theory for the military industrial complex, his organizational model was transferred, translated, and adapted right up to the social sciences. Starting with military logistics, over aeronautics, economic theory, urbanism, right through to the structuring of corporate life, decentralizing at the time both spatially and in terms of administration with its "unstable human-machine assemblages."[850] The comprehensive mapping of all processes for a self-adjustment of the controlled system was often described with another metaphor as nervous system. Especially for *Metabolism* it seemed somewhat obvious to connect to a theory likening living being to machine, and machine to living being.

One of the figureheads was the Canadian popular media theorist and professor Marshall McLuhan, who discussed and grappled with cybernetics and the perceptual, as well as physiological effects of new technologies on human behavior and physiology. His anthropologically inspired project was imbued with ambivalence, he often deliberately praised new technology, only

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[848] Jorn, Asger: "The Situationists and Automation," in: *Fraterinté Avant Tout. Asger Jorn's Writings on Art and Architecture, 1938-1958*, trans. Paul Larkin, ed. Ruth Baumeister, Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 2011, pp.299-303, [first: idem: "Les Situationnistes et l'Automation," in: *Internationale Situationniste,* no.1, 1958, pp.22-24].

[849] Bröckling, Ulrich: "Über Feedback. Anatomie einer kommunikativen Schlüsseltechnologie," in: *Die Transformation des Humanen. Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte der Kybernetik*, Michael Hagner and Erich Hörl (eds.), Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 2008, pp.326-347.

[850] For illuminating in-depth case studies, analyzing the generative aspects of organizational structure in humanizing corporate life and architecture see: Martin, Reinhold: *The Organizational Complex. Architecture, Media, and Corporate Space*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2005.

to admonish the next moment. As a media theorist he embodied theory in practice by means of addressing his audience through a broad range of channels from written word to radio and television interviews or recordings. Emphasizing the medium specific condition, he adapted his vocal or linguistic performance accordingly. McLuhan was often harshly attacked for his sometimes wolly and speculative way of addressing actuality and history beyond the canon of scientific methods. Despite the calls of the naysayers, his international fan community grew steadily throughout the 1960s. In Japan his writings were first translated and popularized in 1967 only.[851] It is easy tp imagine though that cosmopolites like Tange, Isozaki, or Kurokawa had heard of him much earlier. Architecture historian Mark Wigley explores the relationship between Richard Buckminster Fuller and Marshall McLuhan, pointing out that McLuhan had close ties to the CIAM circle.[852] However, a view to McLuhan's "Understanding [of] Media"[853] is instructive here, even if we cannot assume that his 1964 book was received as early in Japan:[854]

Anybody who begins to examine the patterns of automation finds that perfecting the individual machine by making it automatic involves "feedback." That means introducing an information loop or circuit, where before there had been merely a one-way flow or mechanical sequence. Feedback is the end of the linearity that came into the Western world with the alphabet and the continuous forms of Euclidean space. Feedback or dialogue between the mechanisms and its environment brings a further weaving of individual machines into a galaxy of such machines throughout the entire plant. There follows a still further weaving of individual plants and factories into the entire industrial matrix of materials and services of a culture. Naturally, this last stage encounters the entire world of policy, since to deal with the whole industrial complex as an organic system affects employment, security, education, and politics, demanding full understanding in advance of coming structural change. There is no room for witless assumptions and subliminal factors in such electrical and instant organizations.

Despite the control aspect of such organic or rather organizational layouts in either industry or society, the relationality aspect manifesting as topology was anattractive topic for artists at the time. The expansion of consciousness was in the center of attention. Every means available to reach this goal came in handy – be it sensually affecting textures, light effects, sounds, or even drugs like LSD. Theories of phenomenological perception and communication seemed to blend easily, while "participants" in such "responsive" environments found themselves not only managed, but monitored. Such techno-optimistic installations, often described as "free" environments, inscribed themselves into the concept of leisure society, as another scheduled distraction. Of course, such attitudes in art and architecture sparked backleash. Since the mid 1960s it became apparent who would and would definitely not contribute to Expo '70. The climate in the art and

[851] McLuhan, Herbert Marshall: *Ningen kakuchō no genri* [The Principle of Human Extension], trans. Kazuhiko Goto and Susumu Takagi, Tokyo: Takeuchi Shoten, 1967.
[852] See: Wigley 2001.
[853] McLuhan, Marshall: *Understanding Media. The Extensions of Man*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964.
[854] Ibid., p.391.

architectural scene grew tense. Landscape as well as natural environment had apparently suffered damage during the unbridled boom years, expanding industry and technology on land and sea.

Kurokawa's Capsule Declaration (1969) – From Homo Ludens to Homo Movens

But let us turn back to Kurokawa. In his "Capsule Declaration,"[855] issued in the Japanese Architecture and Culture magazine *SD Space Design* (Fig.215). In eight paragraphs Kurokawa analyzes the increasing mobility and its effect on society, the possibilities of prefabrication and customizable sets of elements for architecture, likening building production to fordist car production. He ventually addresses his philosophic understanding oft he capsule as a body shelter, granting the inhabitant safety, peace, and freedom in a cybernetically regulated climate and information space. If the *Metabolist* essays recurrently invoked natural powers like earthquakes, wind, or tsunami as an impending threat in metropolitan Japan, for Kurokawa beyond these uncontrollable forces the stream of people and the information flood had become an actual threat to urban living. The urban dweller was in his eyes not necessarily tied to a family, but an independent, individual explorer, forming a time-based community with his peers rather than a genealogical one with his family.

A promotional pamphlet advertised the separated cells of Kurokawa's *Nakagin Tower* (1970–72) as "business capsules" for sale. Although I have no hard facts to prove my assumption, it seems obvious though that the peers of his capsule lifestyle were middle-aged (salary-)men. Married or not, considering the increased working hours at the business hubs in, e.g. Tokyo the idea to dispose of one's own space capsule was seducing. Was the space capsule actually a Bachelor Machine?

Caravans: Comparing Futuro and Cyborg

Similar to Kurokawa his Finnish contemporary took an interest in mobile home trailers as object of study, supposing them to meet the requirements of individuality and flexibility in a future leisure society (Fig.216). Suuronen built his prototype "Futuro" in 1968.[856] It was commissioned by his former classmate Kaakko Hiidenkari desiring a lounge to enjoy après-ski in 1965. It had to be quickly heatable and adapted to pathless terrain. Suuronen's caravan had an ellipsoid plan, a diameter of eight meters and a height of four meters. It was made of polyester. With a furnished wight of four tons, a helicopter could still move the space-capsule-caravan. Futuro integrating a wet room and kitchen resembled a lounge like space for encounter, similar to Kurokawa's descriptions of the at the time tremendously fashionable upperdecks of the new Boeing 747. Kurokowa's plans for a space capsule were on the other hand much closer to a monk's cell. Measuring 2,3 x 3,8 x 2,1m it reduced the living environment to the bare necessities. Integrated elements of this second

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[855] Kurokawa 1969, op. cit.
[856] Home, Marko (ed.): *Futuro: Tomorrow's House from Yesterday*, Helsinki: Desura, 2003.

expandable body skin were a bed, storage space and a tiny bath (Fig.217). In his "Capsule Declaration" Kurokawa hence specifies concerning the cyborg lifestyle he envisions: "Just as an astronaut is protected by a perfect shelter from solar winds and cosmic rays, individuals should be sheltered from information they do not want, thereby allowing an individual to recover his subjectivity and independence."[857] Although it is quite unlikely that Kurokawa had read their article, the Austrian-American duo Manfred E. Clynes and Nathan S. Kline elaborate in 1960 with comparable vocabulary on "Cyborgs and Space:"[858]"Altering man's bodily functions to meet the requirements of extraterrestrial environments would be more logical than providing an earthly environment for him in space... Artifact-organism systems, which would extend man's unconscious, self-regulatory controls are one possibility."

3.3.4 The Dismantling of Architecture

"A Home is Not A House"

The design of Kurokawa's capsule is – be it intentionally or not – reminiscent of the set, or rather "interface" design in Stanley Kubrick's science fiction opus *2001 A Space Odyssee*[859] (Fig.218). The film features a spaceship, and stars among others the computer HAL. The steering computersystem balances and optimizes the astronaut's environment within the space capsule, until HAL turns himself against his dependent crew, taking power – seemingly in an act of artificial intelligence – manipulated from Earth. It is not the place to elaborate at length on Kubrick's film. However, the social reclusion in private space Kurokawa describes, is comparable to the situation in the spaceship on screen – even if Kurokawa's Nakagin Tower is not controlled by a computer, but as turns out rather a low-tech building. Influence or interference with the external environment is controlled and regulated inside the space capsule, reducing interaction with the outside world to the interface of a television screen and a porthole. In Kurokawa's vision an individual owns several space capsules at different locations, guarantueeing maximum mobility and flexibility for the world citizen of the 20st century, biding farewell to the space-consuming single-family home.

Theoretically, Kurokawa's capsules were therefore an antithesis to what architecture critic Reyner Banham deems the disease of suburban single-family homes in the U.S. In his 1965 essay Banham critizes the poorly insulated homes, stuffed with energy consuming electronic apparel and airconditioning. If Dionne Warwick sings in 1964 "A House is not a Home," Banham's 1965 title "A Home is Not a House"[860] seems like a pun (Fig.219). However, Banham collaborates on the essay

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[857] Kurokawa 1969, p.80.
[858] For this and the following citation see: Clynes, Manfred E. and Nathan S. Kline: "Cyborgs and Space," in: *Aeronautics*, (September, 1960), pp.26-27, pp.74-76.
[859] *2001. A Space Odyssee*, dir. Stanley Kubrick, perf. Keir Dullea, Gary Lockwood, William Sylvester, Metro-Goldwyn-Meyer (MGM), 1968, 149 min.
[860] Banham, Reyner and François Dallegret: "A Home is Not a House," in: *Art in America*, no. 2, (April, 1965), pp.70-79.

with graphic designer François Dallegret. And Banham adds to Dallegret's *Anatomy of a Dwelling*: "This baroque ensemble of domestic gadgetry epitomizes the intestinal complexity of gracious living, in other words, this is the junk that keeps the pad swinging."[861] Why not then, do away with the house completely? The alternative they pose against the waste of energy of such environmental machinery is an inflatable bubble, a second skin habitable stripped off cloths, more "un-house" than anarchitecture (Fig.220). In Kurokawa's *Nakagin Tower* however, the electronic provision and airconditioning in privatized capsules were not kept in good condition over the years, since none of the owner realized Kurokawa's vision to commission a new capsule after 20 years' time, and nowadays the supply industry for such prefabricated capsules has long disappeared.[862]

Being consistent with his own theory Kurokawa yet designed his holiday lodge *House K* (1972), in Karuizawa as capsule architecture (Fig.221), which Charles Jencks likens ironically to a "washing machine."[863]

Encapsulation: Three Examples

Let me pick up three cases, exemplifying different aspects of Kurokowa's provisions for capsule lifestyle. I will touch on two projects he designed for Osaka Expo '70 and the nightclub, the *Discotic Space Capsule* (1968) in Tokyo. On occasion of Expo '70 in Osaka Kurokawa was not only appointed to design the *Toshiba IHI Group Pavilion* (1970), but also the *Takara Beautilion Pavilion* (1970), and a *Theme Pavilion* (1970) to be suspended from the space frame roofing *Festival Plaza.* The *Takara Beautilion Pavilion* was commissioned by the Takara Group, a diversified producer of furniture, cosmetics and haircare products (Fig.222, Fig.223). The space frame was built of two different prefabricated elements: bent steel pipes and steel panels. The exhibition spaces housed in prefabricated stainless steel capsules, as well as colorful image panels were inserted into the interstices in this modifiable grid of interchangeable units. The frame structure could be rearranged in different configurations allowing for different spatial layouts and size of floor space. Similar to the *Nakagin Tower* (1970–71) the prefabricated elements were installed on site, joined with high-tension bolts.

The ephemeral structure for six months' exhibition time embodied both adaptability and the impermanence of an ongoing process, postulated in the earlier *Metabolist* proposals. The pavilion was so quick and easy to assemble and dismantle – six days sufficed. Kurokawa on the one hand further developed the construction methods of his *Nitto Food Cannery* (1963), on the other hand he exposed his capsule idea, first outlined in his *Mass Produced Apartments Project* (1962). For the interior design he collaborated with industrial designer Kenji Ekuan and graphic designer

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[861] Ibid.

[862] See: Crowley, David and Jane Pavitt (eds.): "The Hi-Tech Cold War," in: *Cold War Modern Design*, exh. cat. Victoria and Albert Museum, London 2008, London: V&A Publishing, 2008, pp.163-191.

[863] Kurokawa, Kishō: *Metabolism in Architecture*, London: Studio Vista, 1977, p.17.

Yokoo Tadanori contributing thematic illustrations. Ishii Motoko came up with a specific lighting system and Toshi Ichiyanagi composed a sound background (Fig.224). Being a total environment the emphasis lay in this case less on electronic mediation per se, but on structural flexibility and mobility. In the fifth paragraph of his "Capsule Declaration" Kurokawa analysed multifunctional architecture, integrating different programs like hotels, universities or shoppingmalls seeing them as the new centers of the encapsulated metapolis he envisioned. Classic public spaces like town halls, market places or parks were not anymore places for encounter, but a "spiritual heaven" – an airspace inbetween. In Kurokawa's eyes such a scattered yet connective metapolis would allow to differentiate spaces without introducing clearcut functional separation.[864]

In contrast to the business capsules constituting the *Nakagin Tower* as envelopes for salaryman or astronaut-cyborg, the capsules of the Takara Beautilion provided mini spa-zones for the female consumer. Although the beauty capsule was a gadget presented by another exhibitor (Fig.225), in this respect Kurokawa's concept recalls Ichizō Kobayashi's women revues with their infrastructure for consumption in the hot spring town of Takarazuka.

A sample of capsule living, the *Theme Pavilion* was suspended from the space frame covering *Festival Plaza*. We remember that Tange had announced a contribution by Kurokawa in his 1969 presentation of the Expo infrastructure: "Okamoto and I invited Noboru Kawazoe, Fumihiko Maki, Koji Kamiya and Noriaki Kurokawa and we are expecting some participation from the world."[865] Kurokawa 's capsule house assembled differently shaped, colored capsules around a central core living room. It seems indeed as though Kurokawa had updated Asada's research station for Antarctica. He collaborated with Koji Kamiya, who arranged the room in contrast to the smooth surfaces in Kurokawa's Nakagin Tower with fluffy, fury, textures and colored textiles (Fig.226). In its non-hierarchical organization of bed- and bathroom capsules around a centrally placed, but co-ordinate area for encounter Kurokawa's *Theme Pavilion* differd from Kikutake's earlier proposal, attaching the children's room as a suspended Move-Net from the concrete structure of his *Sky House* (1958), accessible via the parents' bedroom (Fig.227). In an interview with Rem Koolhaas Kikutake admits in 2007: "The idea of providing children with such a small space proved to be too simplistic, they needed larger space even just to be able to sleep properly. They are just too active to fit in a minimal room."[866] Although different in layout, Kurokawa's capsules had probably the same shortcoming.

Kurokawa's ideal capsule lifestyle project updated the postwar idea of post-feudal communal living in nuclear families for the Space Age. If Japan had because of its pacifist

[864] Kurokawa 1969, op.cit.
[865] Tange 1969, op.cit., p.20.
[866] Kikutake, Kiyonori: "Kiyonori Kikutake. Architecture of Protest," interview with Rem Koolhaas, Kayoko Ota and Hans-Ulrich Obrist, Tokyo, 9.9.2005, in: Project Japan. Metabolism talks..., Kayoko Ota (ed.), Cologne: Taschen, 2011, pp.128-155.

constitution no justification to participate in the Cold War Space Race with manned spaceflight, the National Space Activities Council nevertheless engaged in space research, subsidizing e.g. the Institute of Space and Aeronautical Science at Tokyo University since 1964 (Fig.228, Fig. 229). "The Defense Agency has no plan to participate positively in space research projects in Japan,"[867] declares a brochure, illuminating the goals of space research in Japan in 1964. The text framing this survey of aeronautic activities instead emphasizes the efforts for "promoting early development of meteorological sounding rockets and satellites for communications, navigation, and geodetic survey."[868]

Kurokawa's now demolished *Discotic Space Capsule* (1968) was located in Tokyo's Akasaka district nearby the famous club *Mugen* (Fig.230, Fig.231). It was built as a single room capsule inside an office building. Different from the American model of clubs in open space warehouses it created an intimate zone for encounter.[869] The room was enterily coated with stainless steel panels, reflecting the light of lightbulbs aligning in multiple rows attached to the tube-shaped interior Tokyo. Film projections and sound made the *Discotic Space Capsule* an immersive environment. Kurokawa remembers the space in 2005 as a meeting point for architects and intellectuals, appreciating the informal, non-academic atmosphere of his discotheque. The concept of the *Discotic Space Capsule* falls in line with the sixth paragraph of Kurokawa's later "Capsule Declaration,"[870] since it produced a space for the exchange of creative thought, i.e. according to the contemporary logic – information. Being again consistent in his actions, Kurokawa not only analyzed and theorized the spread of information, but strategically utilized the channels of media communication for his own ends. In the eighth paragraph of his "Capsule Declaration" he observes: "The capsule mentality is opposed to uniformity and systematic thinking. […] Thought disintegrates, is dissolved into separate, powerful words, and is capsulized. A single word, or a single name, can spread, transform, permeate, stimulate an entire society and help to mould the thinking of that age."[871] From the mid 1960s onwards Kurokawa misses no opportunity to stage himself in popular media like fashion magazines and later also on TV.[872]

Antagonism: Isozaki and Kurokawa

Intellectual mavericks emerging from Tange's training ground Kurokawa und Isozaki stood for seemingly similar, yet actually opposed approaches in architecture. As we have seen Isozaki counted among the artists, engineers, and intellectuals gathering at Sōgetsu Art Center. He often collaborated with members of the Tokyo art and technology movement on experimental projects

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[867] *Space in Japan*, Science and Technology Agency (ed.), Tokyo: Federation of Economic Organizations, 1964, pp.5-6.
[868] Ibid.
[869] Tokyo 2011, pp.178-179.
[870] Kurokawa 1969, op.cit.
[871] Ibid., p.84.
[872] See: Koolhaas/Obrist 2011, pp.450-473.

beyond architecture. Tackling the questions raised by the diagnosed information age in the dawning field of intermedia art, Isozaki's approach was if often ambivalent rather de(con-)structive, mediating between architecture and revolution. Kurokawa on the other hand studied, how to encapsulate and popularize space as well as information as consumable goods. Peter Cook mentions Isozaki in the January issue *Architectural Design* in 1977 as "the architect's architect," as opposed to Kurokawa, who "grew more and more into a popstar." And Isozaki specifies: "From around 1968, I was non-political. I didn't trust the Communists or any other parties. […] But Kurokawa was the closest to politics. He appeared in the media with politicians and was always very close to top government figures; he was a kind of star. Kurokawa and I lived in different domains of culture."[873] Questioned about his relationship to Marxism, Kurokawa replies in 2005: "Well, I myself was an activist student at Kyoto University, but after 1958 I was completely disappointed with Communism. I changed my mind,"[874] stressing that there was no Marxist component in *Metabolism* at all.

Between 1969 and 1971 Isozaki oversaw a series of essays published in the influential art magazine *Bijutsu techō* [Art Notebook]. He invited international architects of his generation to contribute their projects and plans. Presenting the ideas of Archigram, Archizoom, Superstudio, Cedric Price or Hans Hollein to a broader audience in Japan, his goal was a critical assessment of *Metabolism* through a comparison of the nuances in their respective proposals of flexible, self-organizing buildings, countering Kurokawa's capsules for a technotronic society (Fig.232).[875] In 1975 Isozaki would look back on the different approaches, summarizing them in his publication "Kenchiku no kaitai"[876] (Dismantling Architecture).

Promoting plug-in structures for a future city in the air Kurokawa curates the roof structure quadrant, where his Theme Pavilion is located, eventually invited the British architecture group Archigram and French architect Yona Friedman to attach exhibitions in capsules to the space frame above *Festival Plaza*.[877] The British collective Archigram (Peter Cook, Dennis Crompton and Ron Herron) reflected in their printed poster series "Osakagram"[878] the dissolution of the city predicted by Kurokawa as metapolis or tektopia (Fig.233).[879] Their rather ironic, dystopian approach yet

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[873] Isozaki, Arata: "Isozaki Editor," interview with Rem Koolhaas, Tokyo, 8.9.2005, in: *Project Japan. Metabolism talks...,* Kayoko Ota (ed.), Cologne: Taschen, 2011,pp.24-51, p.47.

[874] Kurokawa, Kishō: "Prefab," interview with Rem Koolhaas, Kayoko Ota and Hans-Ulrich Obrist, Tokyo, 9.9.2005, in: *Project Japan. Metabolism talks...*, Kayoko Ota (ed.), Cologne: Taschen, 2011, pp.372-406, p. 377.

[875] Isozaki, Arata: "Erasing Architecture into the System," in: Price, Cedric: *Re: CP*, Hans-Ulrich Obrist (ed.), Basel: Birkhäuser, 2003, pp.25-52.

[876] Idem: *Kenchiku no kaitai* [Dismantling Architecture], Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppan-sha, 1975.

[877] Idem: "Isozaki Editor," interview with Rem Koolhaas, Tokyo, 8.9.2005, in: Koolhaas/Obrist 2011,pp.24-51, p.45.

[878] See: Koolhaas/Obrist 2011, pp.521-522.

[879] The expression "Tektopia"was first surfaces in an anthropologically inspired study by Frederick Cottrell, see: Cottrell, Frederick W.: Energy and Society. The Relation Between Energy, Social Change, and Economic Development, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1955.

"grappled with the simultaneous and apparently contradictory forces increasing isolation (in capsules) and increasing connectivity (through technology)."[880] Superficially similar to the persuasive graphic language of Archigram's pamphlets, the poster *The Work of Kisho Kurokawa* (1970), designed by Kiyoshi Awazu publicized Kurokawa as media architect in his own Kurokawagram (Fig.234).

Instant Contradiction – Communication Malfunctioning?

In 1967 Kurokawa files an explicit reply to Archigram in his essay "Will the Future Suddenly Arrive?,"published in *Design Review*:[881]

> Archigram's designs include floating buildings and cities. Though these designs could probably be realized using satellite technologies, they have absolutely nothing to do with designs by others, who propose floating cities as ideal images of future urban lifestyles. Archigram isn't proposing ideal space cities, they're proposing images of entities that will someday be launched and will materialize with a bang – entities that have nothing to do with the city structures that the Metabolist Group is considering. […] whereas Archigram creates images that necessitate the exploration or discovery of the future as it is realized, the Metabolist Group advocates systems that "futurize" reality […]. Thinking of infrastructure dictates that types will become forms only through struggles with reality. The members of Archigram disagree with this thinking: they think that forms are images that will someday suddenly appear, without undergoing change. This calls to mind "happenings" [in art]. Happenings aren't things that direct chance, they are what happens: they are forms, not types. Variations on happenings are therefore valueless. The Metabolist Group and TEAM TEN, on the other hand, believe that methodologies are pragmatic systems that incorporate indeterminate elements; this calls to mind the music of John Cage. I don't know, whether the seeds we're sewing will grow, but we'll continue the unglamorous labor of sewing them. One might say that this is our image.

Peter Cook, Michael Webb, Dennis Crompton und Ron Herron meanwhile published their *Instant City* (1967–1969) in the seventh issue of *Architectural Design*. And indeed, their proposal was much closer to artistic takes on the electronic environment than to Kurokawa's business model: A nonetheless electrified assemblage of technologically mediated situations and events, as much instanteneous as mobile, this ad-hoc architecture was a kit of parts meant to pop-up at different places, manifesting a dislocated community, rather than materializing it.[882] Since the early 1960s the group had attracted critical attention with their proposal of a Plug-in City or David Greenes Living Pod.[883] It is certainly a methodological stretch to recall *Gutai*'s "International Sky Festival" in this context.

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[880] Koolhaas/Obrist 2011, p.516.
[881] Kurokawa, Kishō: "Will the Future Suddenly Arrive?," trans. Nathan Elchert, in: Metabolism. The City of the Future. Dreams and Visions of Reconstruction in Postwar and Present-Day Japan, exh. cat. Mori Art Museum, Tokyo, 2011-2012, Hajime Yatsuka, Mami Hirose et al. (eds.), Tokyo: Shinkenchiku-sha, 2011, pp.255-260, p.256 [first, in: *Design Review*, no. 3, (June, 1967)].
[882] Sadler, Simon: Architecture Without Architecture, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2005, pp.52-89.
[883] Ibid.

If Kurokawa's capsule lifestyle incorporated a business model Archigram's proposals were propelled by the DIY attitude of the countercultural movements of the 1960s. In his later career Kurokawa would eventually found the New Symbiosis Party and run for governor of Tokyo.

Heritage and Heterotopia

Kurokawa's utopic housing ideal has run aground. The capsules have not been replaced since 40 years, not least because of the privatization or "atomization" of the 140 capsules, leaving responsibility for maintenance up to individual owners. In a vote in 2005 the inhabitants agreed to tear the building down and replace it with a new building. Still, the *Nakagin Tower* stays against all odds a model case, worth to consider and learn from. One of the few buildings actually remaining from the *Metabolist* proposals it embodies heritage and heterotpia. Too young a building to be listed a "National Treasure," State Office for the Preservation of Historical Monuments provides no laws and regulations for buildings younger than 50 years in the still rapidly changing landscape of Japanese metropolises. Zhongjie Lin yet points out: "Since 1996, Nakagin Capsule tower has been listed as an architectural heritage by the DoCoMoMo, international organization devoted to the documentation and preservation of modern architecture."[884] Architect Toyō Itō endorses destruction, arguing that dysfunctional architecture provides no living space – its basic purpose (Fig.235).[885]

Reconsidering Kurokawa's idea of a "metapolis" constituted by the *homo movens*, as sketched out in his "Capsule Manifesto," raises the question, whether his vision has not actually come true to – at least to a certain extent. I am asking myself this question everytime I encounter an urban café, seats occupied by creative workers logged in on their social media profiles.

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[884] Lin 2010, op. cit., p.233.
[885] See: *Nakagin Capsule Tower. Japanese Metabolist Landmark on the Edge of Destruction*, dir. Rima Yamazaki, perf. Arata Isozaki, Toyō Itō et al., Blackwood Productions Inc., 2010, DVD, 58 min.

Figures
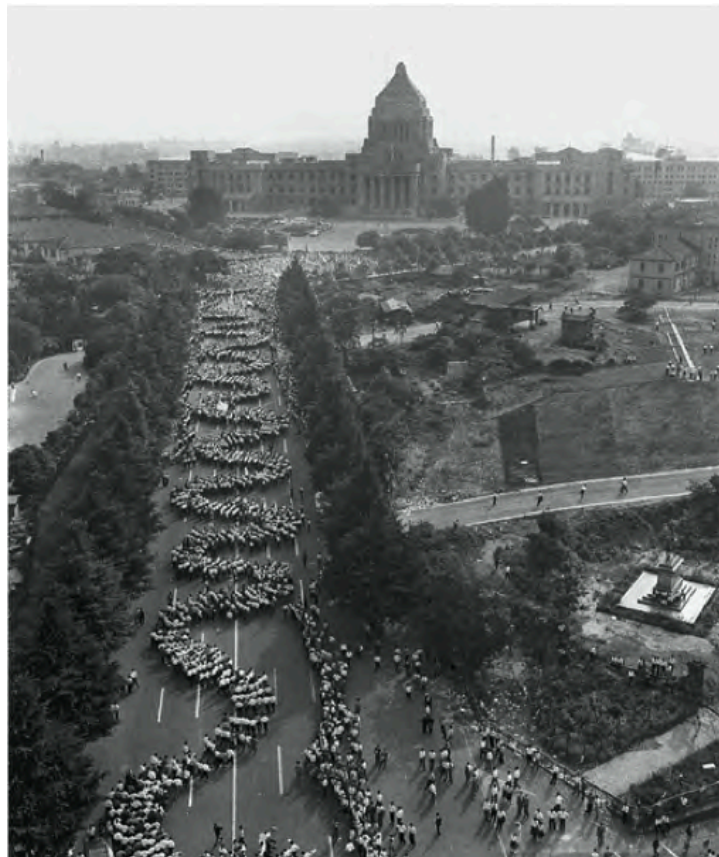
Fig.126: Demonstrators protesting the U.S.–Japan Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security (Anpo) and surrounding Tokyo's National Diet Building, 18.6.1960, (in: New York 2012, p.30)

Fig.127: Flyers and program for the World Design Conference (*WoDeCo*), Tokyo, 11.5.–16.5.1960, (in: Koolhaas/Obrist 2011, pp.193-199)

Fig.128: Gan Hosoya, Schedule and guestlist of *WoDeCo*,
(in: *WoDeCo Bulletin*, no. 6, (1960))

Fig.129: Bombed Tokyo after WWII, 1945, (retrieved through:
<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/japan/11459027/Bombing-of-
Tokyo-The-mass-graves-under-the-cherry-blossom.html>, last access, 13.3.2016)

Fig.130: Six years after an atomic bomb was detonated above this spot in Hiroshima, a souvenir shop stands in the street near the shattered dome of the Industry Hall. The shop is operated by Kiyoshi Kikkawa, who was injured in the blast, 3.8.1951, (photo retrieved through: <http://www.theatlantic.com/photo/2014/03/japan-in-the-1950s/100697/>, last access 9.11.2014)
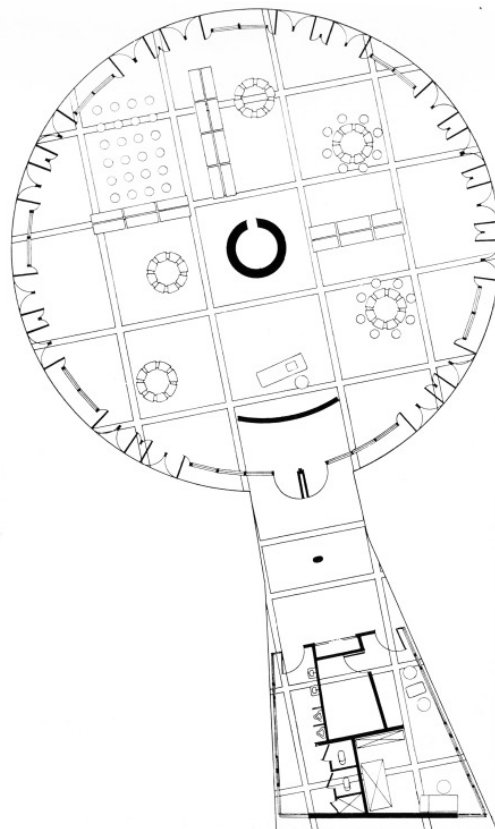
Fig.131: Kenzō Tange, *Hiroshima Children's Library*, floorplan, 1951–1953 (photo retrieved through: <http://archiveofaffinities.tumblr.com/post/88377599426/kenzo-tange-childrens-library-floor-plan>, last access, 2.1.2016)

MOBILITY BRINGS COMFORT TO PRESENT LIFE.
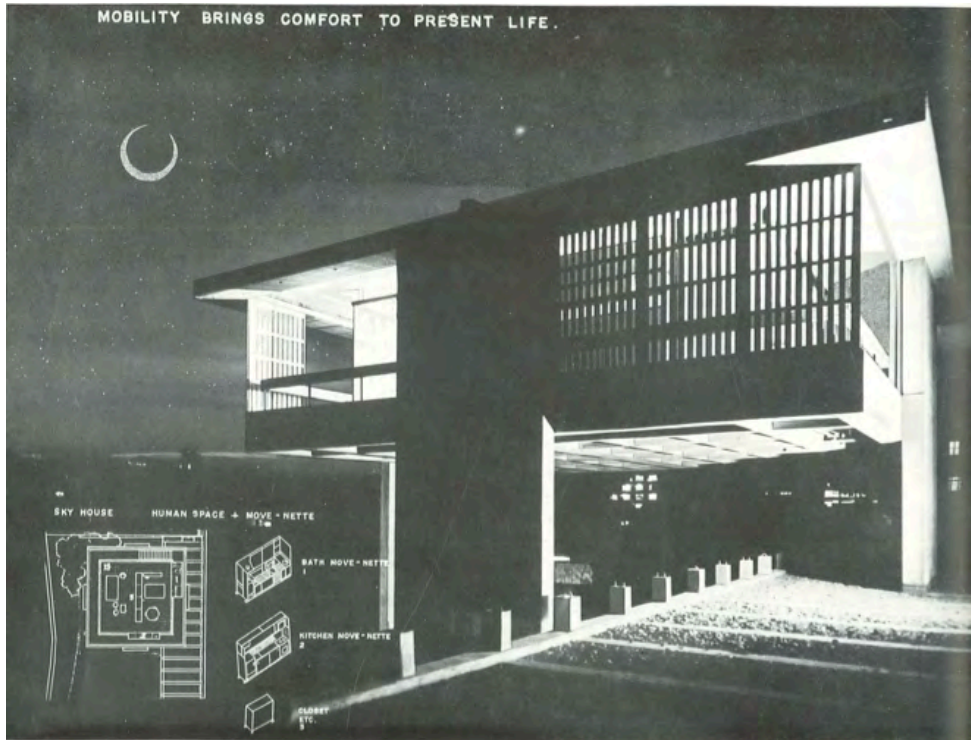
Fig.132: Kiyonori Kikutake, *Sky House*, 1958, Tokyo (in: Newman, Oscar and Jacob B. Bakema: *CIAM'59 in Otterlo* (Dokumente der Modernen Architektur 1), Jürgen Joedicke (ed.), Zürich: Verlag Girsberger, 1961, p.184)

LAND FOR MAN TO LIVE, SEA FOR MACHINE TO FUNCTION.
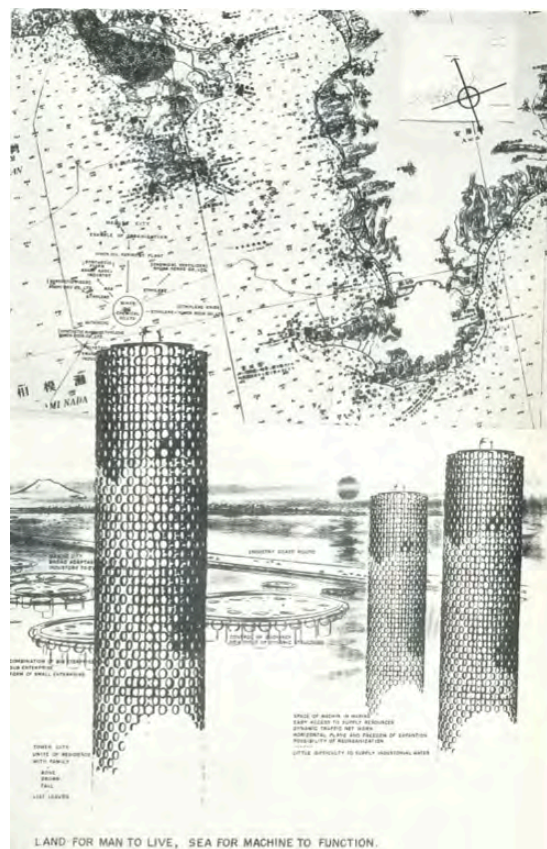
Kiyonori Kikutake*, Tower Shaped Community*, proposal, 1959, introduced by Kenzō Tange, (in: Newman, Oscar and Jacob B. Bakema: *CIAM'59 in Otterlo* (Dokumente der Modernen Architektur 1), Jürgen Joedicke (ed.), Zürich: Verlag Girsberger, 1961, p.185)
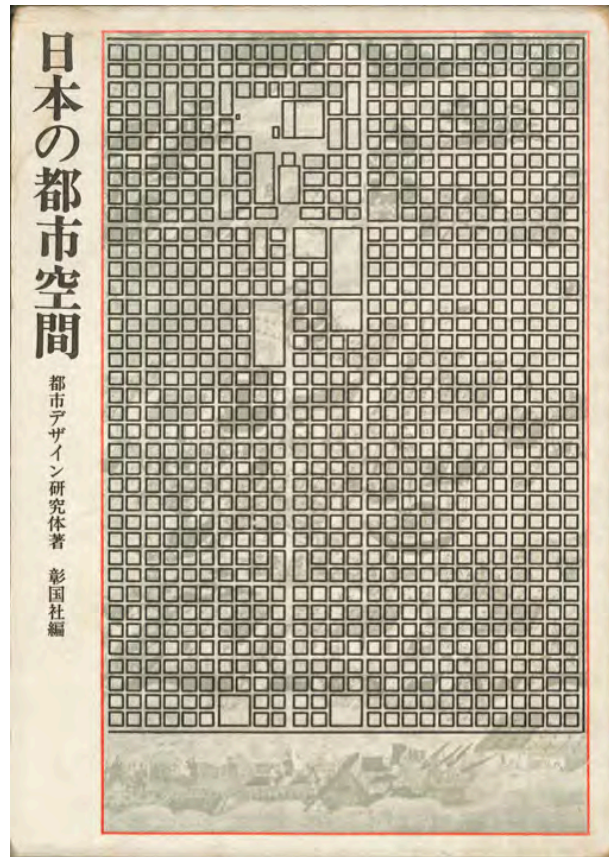
Fig.134: Slipcase cover of *Nihon toshi kūkan. Toshi dezain kenkyūjo* [Japanese City Space. Authored by the Urban Design Lab], Tokyo: Shōkoku-sha, 1968.

Fig.135-136: Constant, *New Babylon*, 1959, sector construction model, metal, 280x160x60cm (in: Rotterdam 1998, p.110)

ったからです。
ご静聴を感謝します。

Yusaku Kamekura
KATACHI

In Japan there is a word called "Katachi". It is permissible to understand this word "Katachi" as being synonymous with the word "form", but it is thought that the word "Katachi" has a broader, mystical meaning.

When I say mystical, I do not mean something sentimental like "Fantastic" or "Romantic", but I think it is better to say that it means "Spatial". It means a rational space with no sentimental connotations, rather something intellectual.

In the period when I was born, our family life was ruled by strong formalities. Perhaps such a situation did not exist in the west. Or perhaps it did. At any rate, I doubt whether there is any country outside of Japan where such rationally contrived Forms, where Forms which have discarded all useless decorativeness, have held such absolute sway.

We lived in houses constructed by the piling up of definite scales and among tableware and furnishings of extreme forms which could not possibly be reduced tog reater simplicity. These forms extended also to clothing, which was completely under the rule of form—in cutting, of course, as well as even in color combinations. For this reason, it is supposed that the middle of the Edo period (from the middle of the 17th through the 18th century) was the single period in Japanese history

Yusaku Kamekura

Fig.137: Yusaku Kamekura on *katachi*, (in: *World Design Conference 1960 in Tokyo*, World Design Conference Organization (ed.), Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppan-sha, 1961, p.31)

真行草 *Formal–Informal*

Fig.138: "Formal–Informal," (in: *Toshi dezain kenkyūjo* [Japanese City Space. Authored by the Urban Design Lab], Tokyo: Shōkoku-sha, 196, pp.38-39)
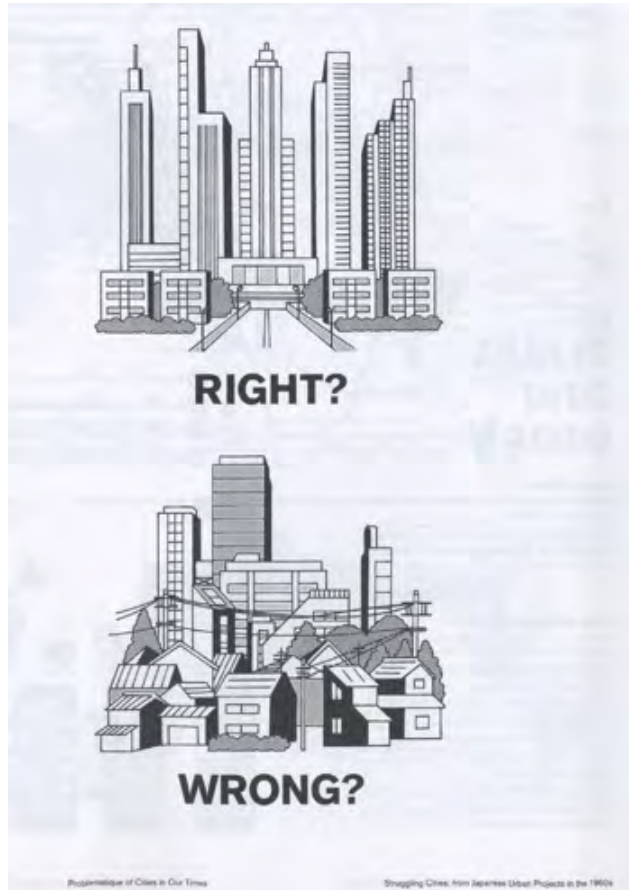
Fig.139: *Struggling Cities. From Japanese Urban Projects in the 1960s,* exh. cat. Japanisches Kulturinstitut Köln 2011, Naohiko Hino, Ayumu Saito, Yusuke Matsuoka, Reiko Nariyama (eds.), trans. Haruki Makio, Rie Nakano, Tokyo: Japan Foundation, 2011

Fig.140: Photograph of nebulae, (in: Kikutake, Kiyonori, Noboru Kawazoe, Fumihiko Maki, Masato Ōtaka, and Noriaki Kurokawa: *Metabolism 1960. The Proposals for New Urbanism*, Yasuko Kawazoe (ed.), with illustrations by Kiyoshi Awazu, Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppan-sha, 1960)

Fig.141: Diversity and iterability of Japanese *mon*, cover of
Architectural Design, (May, 1967)

Fig.142-143: Kiyoshi Awazu, graphic design inserts, (in: *Metabolism 1960*, p.7;
p.53)

Fig.144: Kiyonori Kikutake, *Ocean City*, proposal, 1960, (in: *Metabolism 1960*, pp.24-25)

Fig.145: Osamu Tezuka, *Tetsuwan Atomu* [Astro Boy], announcement of TV-anime series, 1960s, (photo: Gabrielle Schaad, 2015)

ムーバブルハウス

この都市が円周を基準単位としているように、この住居も円周の長さで大きさを示すのである。円周はモジュールで決められており、ムーブネットは円周にそって取付けられ、取付けられる部分の弧の長さもまたモジュールできめられればよい。モジュールは、この都市では、人間の一定時間に歩く距離で表わし、72ｍ がその基準単位となっている。

この円形の住居は、2人から8人までの家族を収容する7種類の型がまず決められたが、さらに生活水準とか、年令差・職種などで微妙な仕上・色彩の組合せの変化が考えられてよい。ムーバブルハウスは、また中心軸で廻転し、望む部屋を望む方向にむけることができるように考えられるであろう。

この円形のムーバブルハウスの収納ムーブネットは S字型・バス・キチン・子供のそれは家族数に応じて一つになったものから分離されたものまで準備されよう。子供のムーブネットは子供数が増えてもよいように、互にかみあう形で連続できる様に考えられる。これらの生活の道具は量産によって隔年毎にとりかえられ、耐用年数は10年で設計される。ムーバブルハウスは世代交代のリズムから25年とおさえられるが、実際には5年毎位にとりかえられるかもしれない。ムーバブルハウスは、ムーブブロックの垂直ステンレスパイプ（構造と設備を一体とした）に分割のように取付けられ、全体は色鮮やかな、まるで魚の鱗のような構成となって、この都市単位を美しい色調で性格づけるに違いない。

movable house

Circumference is the measuring unit of both the size of a city and its living units. Circumference is decided by a module. A move-net is attached to the circumference and the arc of each segment is measured by a module. In case of this city, the module is expressed by the distance covered by a human being within a limited time. 72 meters is the standard unit.

The round house is for a family of 2 to 8 people. There are seven defferent types differing according to the standard of living, age, kind of work etc. A subtle combination of colors as well as finish is taken into consideration. A movable house will have a central axis which will enable its rooms to face whichever direction it is desirable.

The container move-net of a round movable house is in the form of the letters. The move-net of the bathroom, kitchen and the children's room varies from one single room to a number of separate rooms according to the size of the family. The move-net of the children's room is interrelated in order to make it possible to connect them when necessary. All the household equipment which is designed for a ten-year-durability is changed every other year.

In considering the shifting rhythm of a generation, the durability of a movable house is limited to 25 years. But in reality, it is likely to be used for the duration of five years. A movable house is attached like a balance weight to a vertical stainless pipe which contains both the structure and equipment. Its bright coloring which resembles that of the scales of a fish enhances the beauty of a city as a unit.

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Fig.146: Kiyonori Kikutake, *Move*-Net, principles for urban living from micro- to macrocosm, (in: *Metabolism 1960*, p.30)

human life

人間生活

katachi
3「かたち」
functional approach

ka
1「か」
visional approach

機能
function

空間
space

kata
2「かた」
technological approach

Fig.147: Kiyonori Kikutake: "*Ka, kata, katachi*," design methodology, (in: Koolhaas/Obrist 2011, p.144)

Fig.148: Kishō Kurokawa, *Agricultural City*, proposal for rural living, model and section, (in: *Metabolism 1960*, p.75)

Fig.149: Yoshikazu Uchida, Kasahara Toshiro, et al.: *Plan for the Emigration Village in Manchuria. Proposal of Habitation Area for Agricultural Immigration in Manchuria*, 1933, unbuilt, (in: Tokyo 2011, p.19)
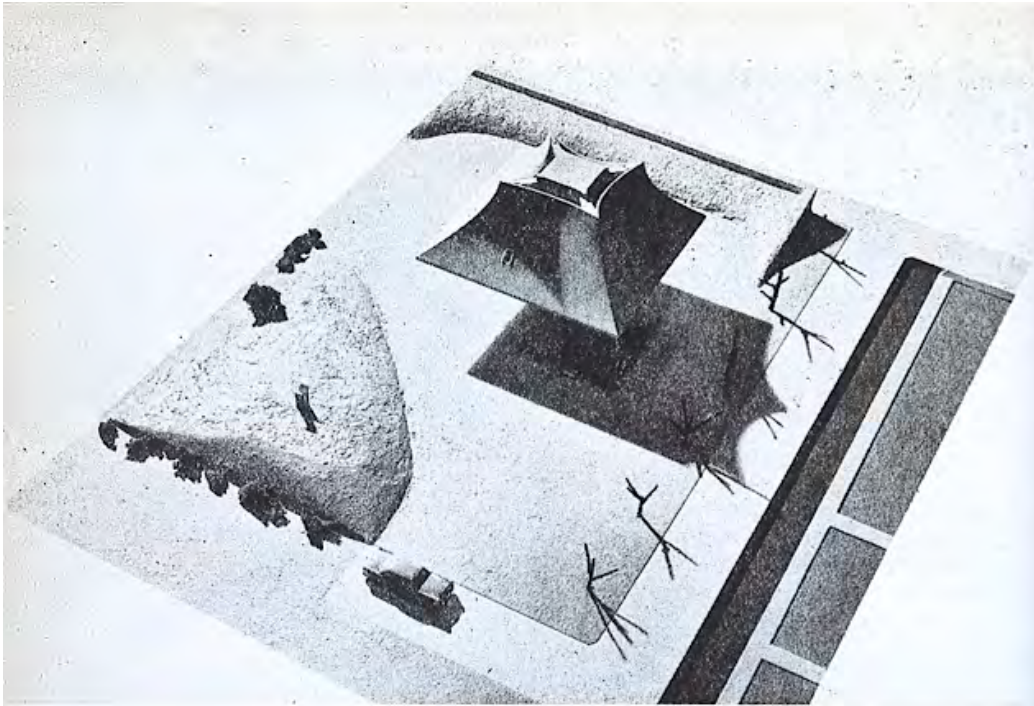
ficial foundation will be ragarded as a new architectural base. Only then can architecture keep pace with the progress of society.

In a mushroom shape house, the slanting wall, which is also the roof, is urging from the pillar or equipment shaft. The roof entirely covers up the living space. Although one can only see a limited expanse of the outside world from the living space, the level of the tea ceremony space presents a limitless horizontal expanse. The ceiling with a sky-light makes us realize the expanse of the universe. The living space within the roof wall can be changed by rearranging architectural equipment installed along the shaft (equipment shaft).

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Fig.150: Kishō Kurokawa, *Mushroom-shaped House*, proposal for rural living, model, (in: *Metabolism 1960*, p.78)
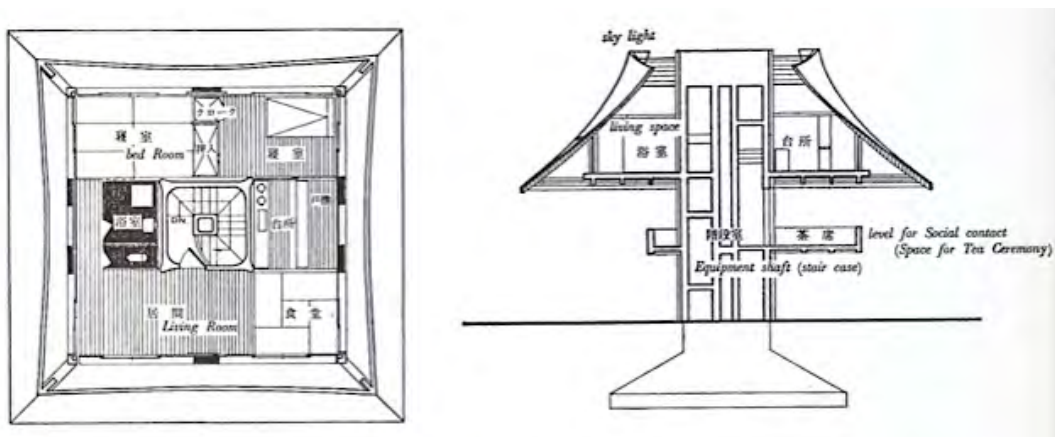
Fig.151: Kishō Kurokawa, *Mushroom-shaped House*, proposal for rural living, floor plan and section, (in: *Metabolism 1960*, p.79)
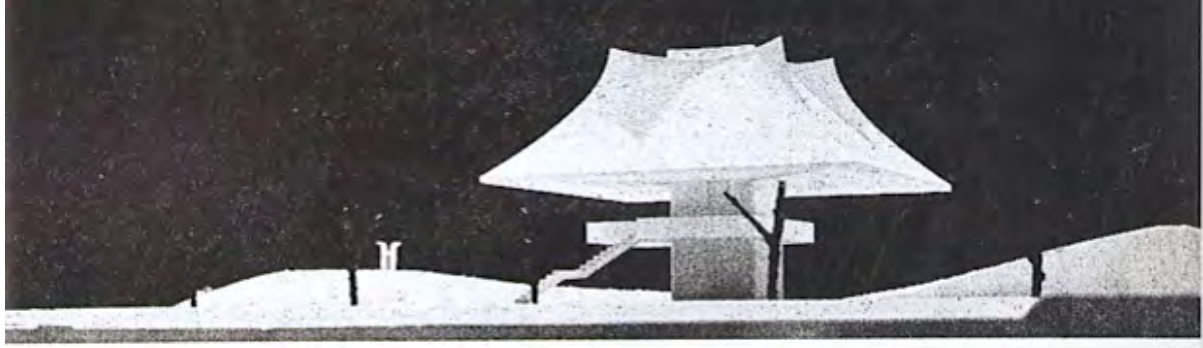
Fig.152: Kishō Kurokawa, *Mushroom-shaped House*, proposal for rural living, floor plan and section, (in: *Metabolism 1960*, p.79)
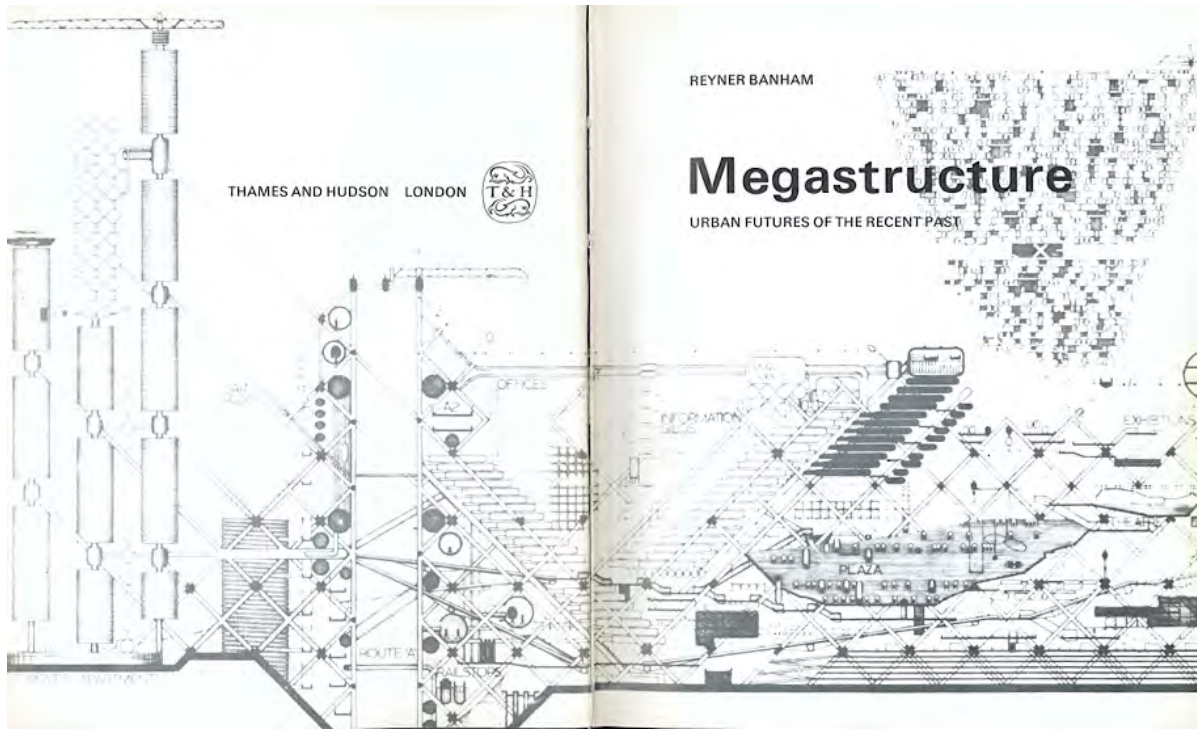
Fig.153: Reyner Banham, frontispice of *Megastructure. Urban Futures of the Recent Past*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1976
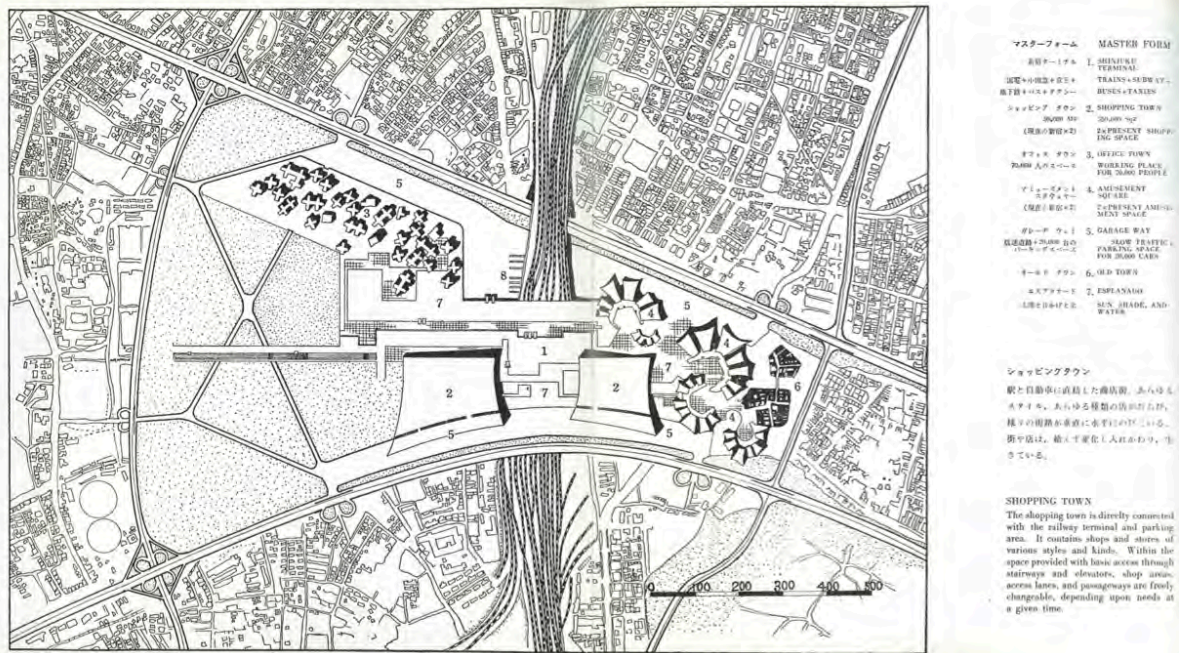
Fig.154: Fumihiko Maki, Masato Ohtaka, *Toward Group Form: Master Form and Shopping Town*, proposal, (in: *Metabolism 1960*, p.67)
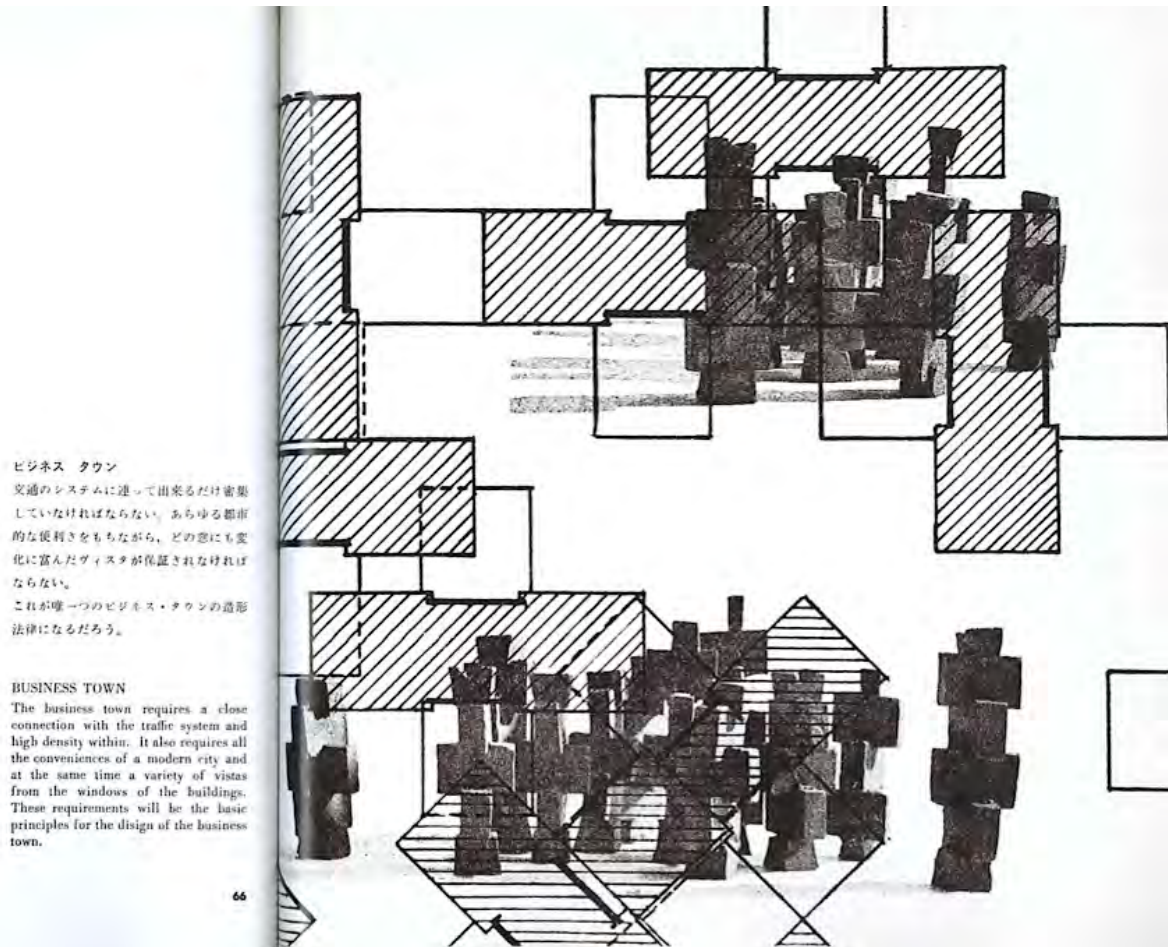
Fig.155: Fumihiko Maki, Masato Ohtaka, *Toward Group Form: Business Town*, proposal, (in: *Metabolism 1960*, p.66)

Fig.156: Vernacular architecture seaming the cove of the Greek island Hydra, c.1950s

Fig.157a): Fumihiko Maki, *Hillside Terrace Complex*, 1969–1992, Daikanyama, Tokyo, (in: Tokyo 2011, p.140)
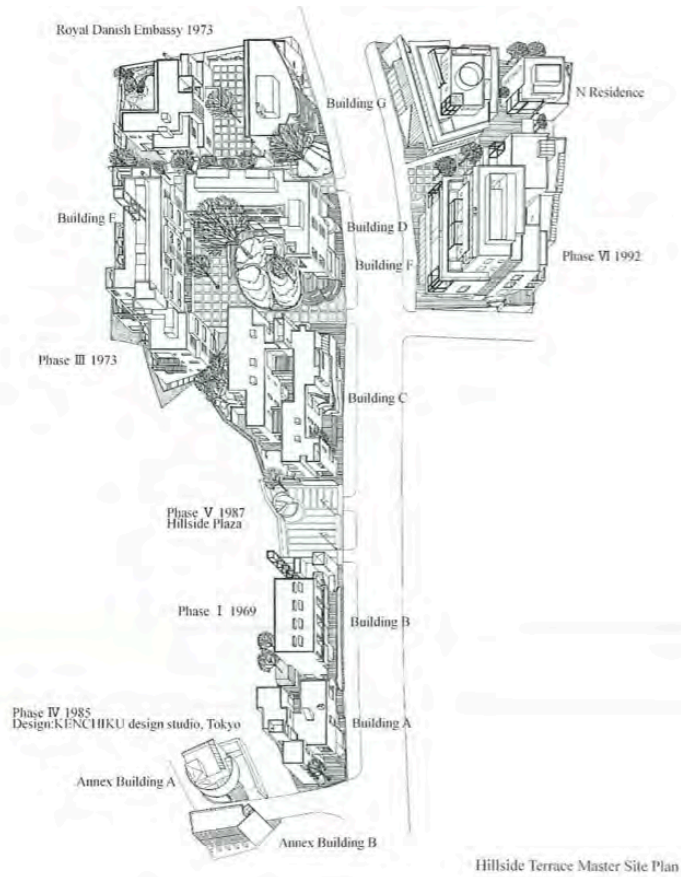
Fig.157b): Fumihiko Maki, *Hillside Terrace Complex*, 1969–1992, Daikanyama, Tokyo, plan, (in: Tokyo 2011, p.140)

Fig.158: Kiyoshi Awazu, poster for *Tanin no kao* [The Face of Another], dir. Hiroshi Teshigahara, based on a novel by Kōbō Abe, (photo in: Saitama 2007)
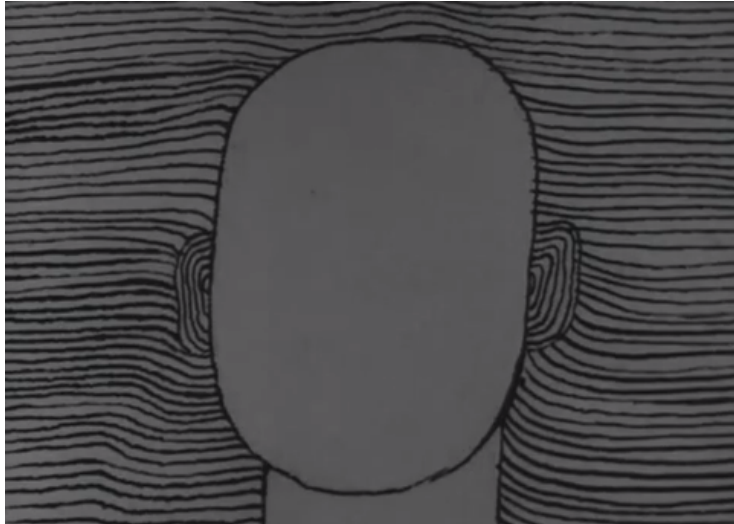
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Fig.160: Floating prostheses/replica of body parts, film still, (in: *Tanin no kao. The Face of Another*, 1966)
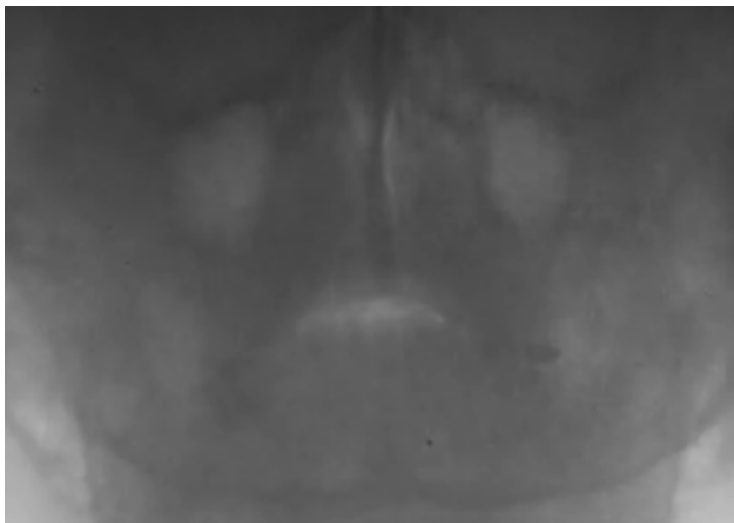
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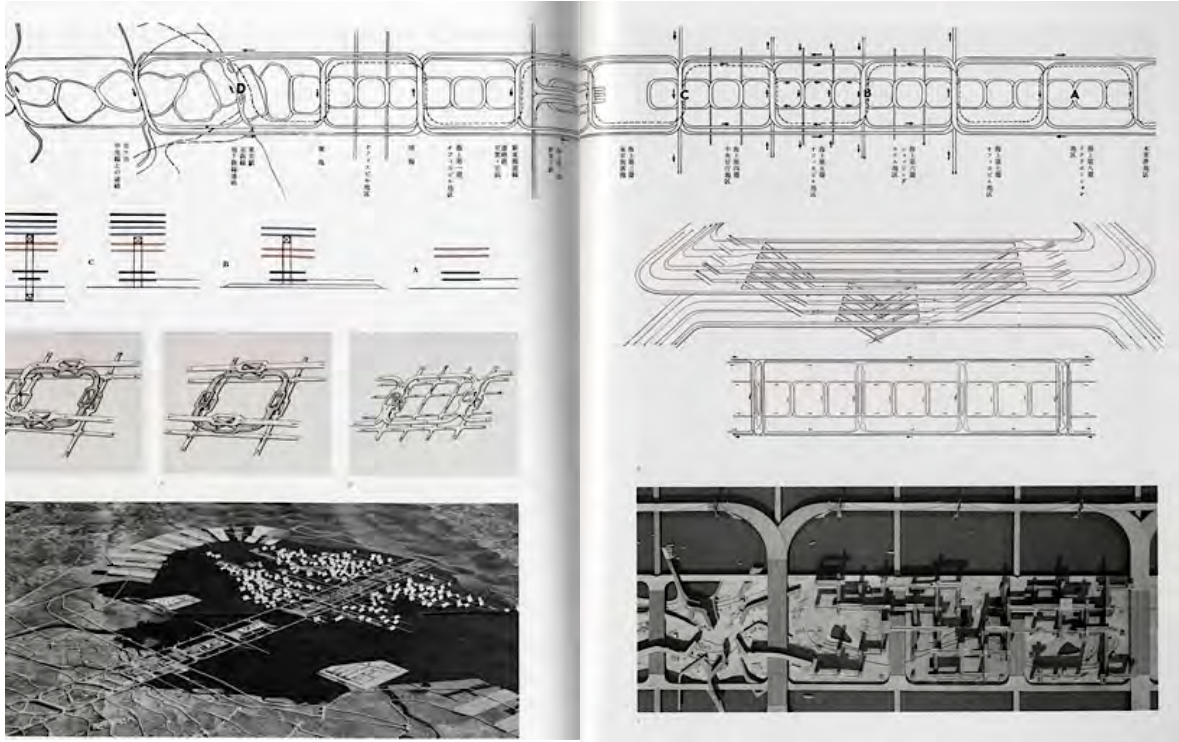
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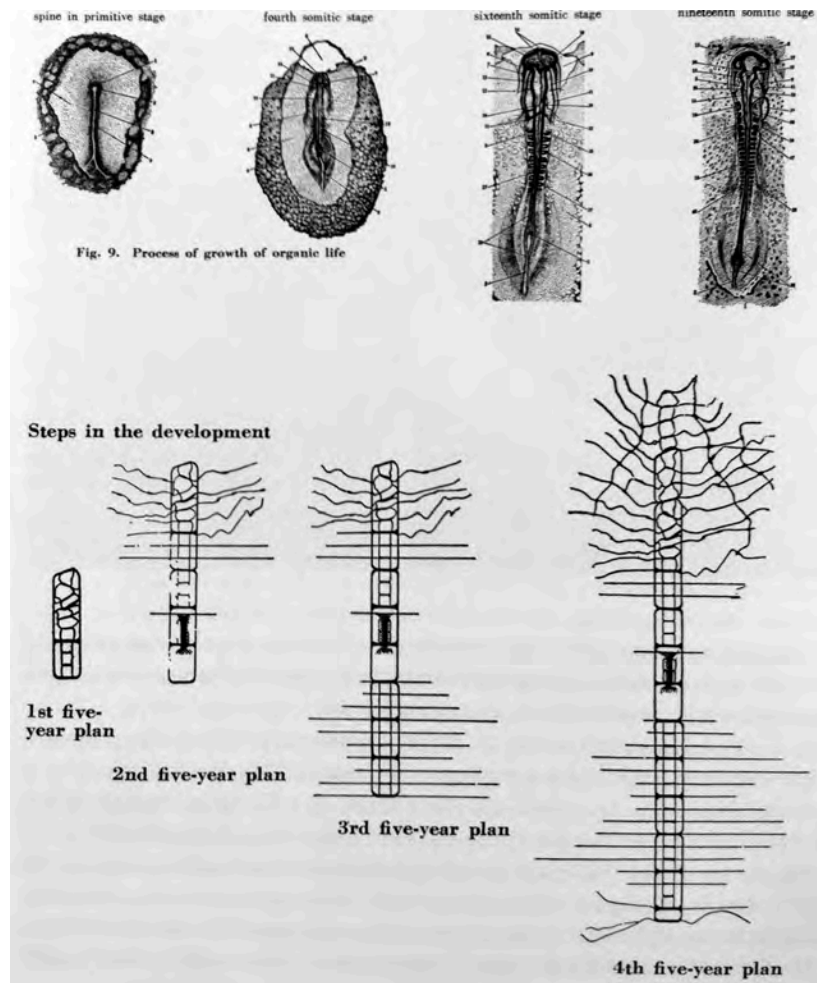
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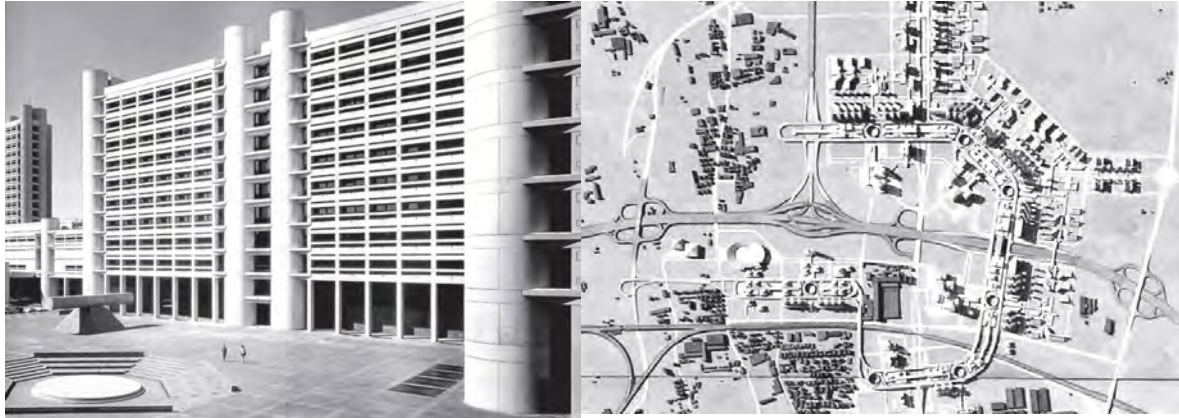
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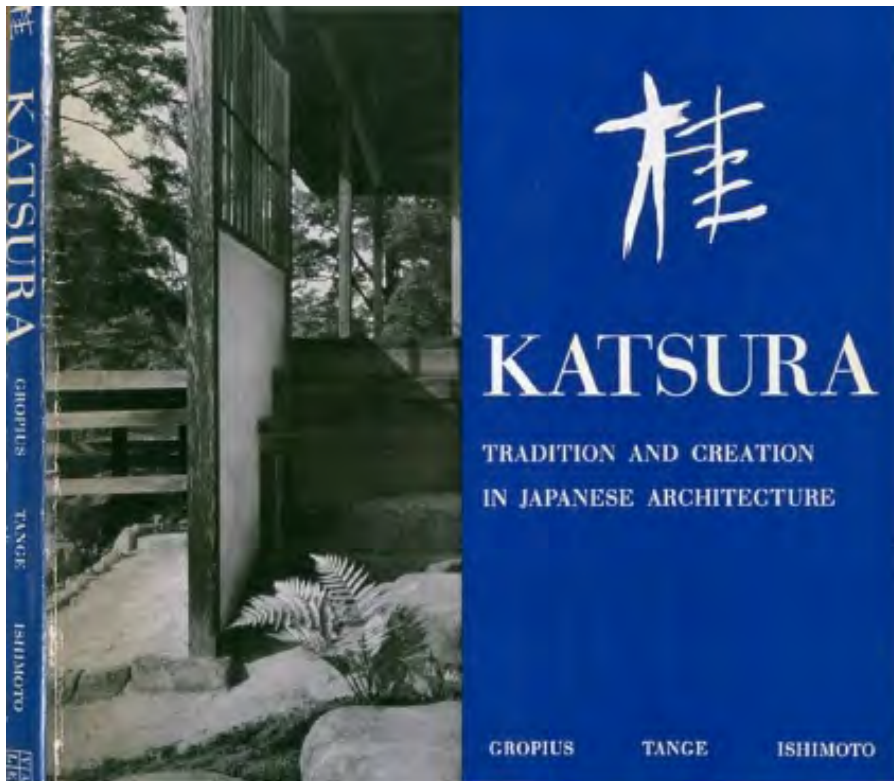
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Il fronte est della Villa imperiale di Katsura, presso Kyoto, (1636).

un nuovo libro sulla Villa Imperiale di Katsura

E' in preparazione un nuovo libro, con nuove fotografie, (David Publishing Co., Ginza, Tokyo) sulla Villa imperiale Katsura, a cura dell'architetto Kenzo Tange (autore del Memorial Center di Hiroshima, in costruzione dal 1951, pubblicato i Domus n. 269); le fotografie son di Yasuhiro Ishimoto, ex alliev del Chicago Institute of Design Il libro, che sarà impaginato d Herbert Bayer, e avrà testi Gropius e di Max Bill, uscir nella prossima primavera.

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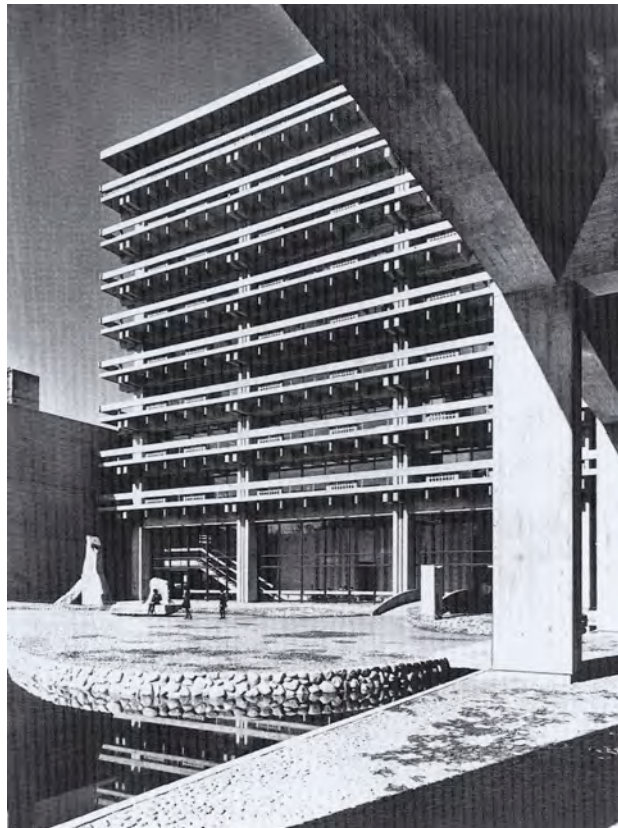
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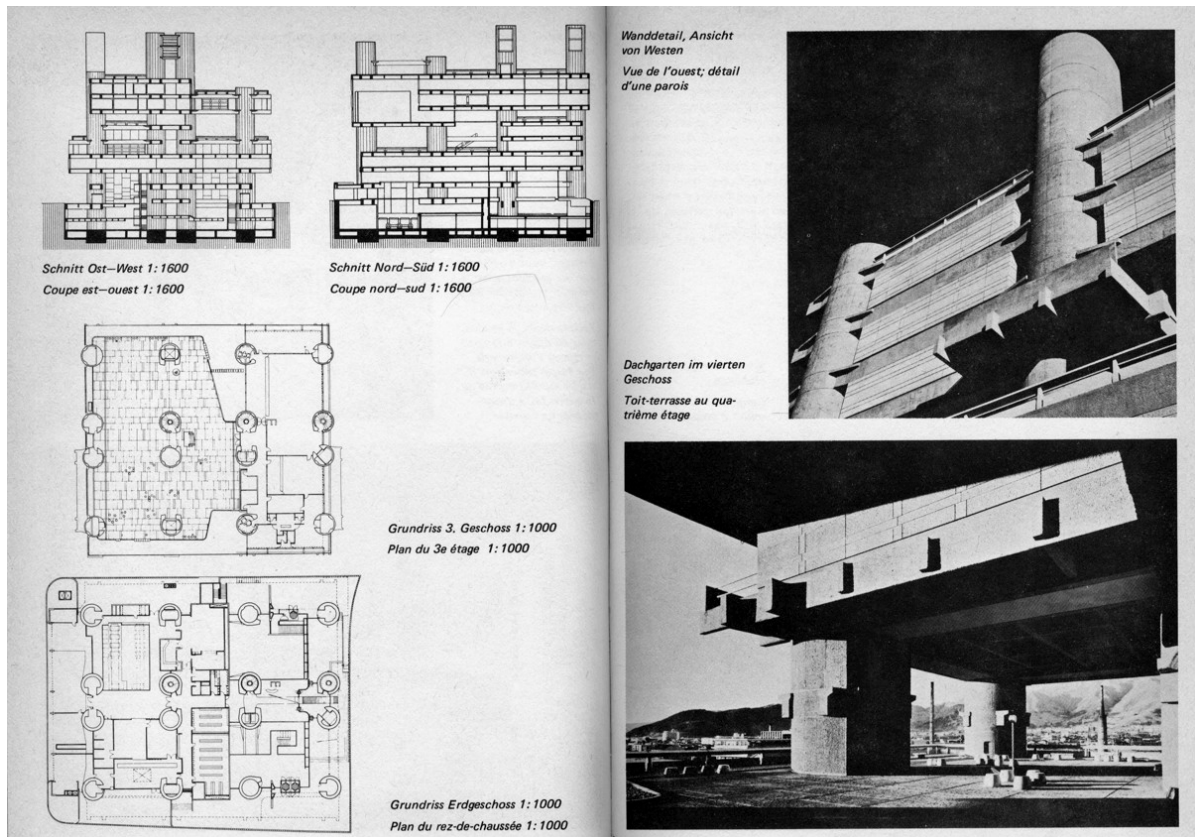
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Fig.174-175: Kenzō Tange, *Yamanashi Press and Broadcasting Center*, 1964, (in: Tokyo 2011; *Casa Brutus* (June, 2009), n.p.)
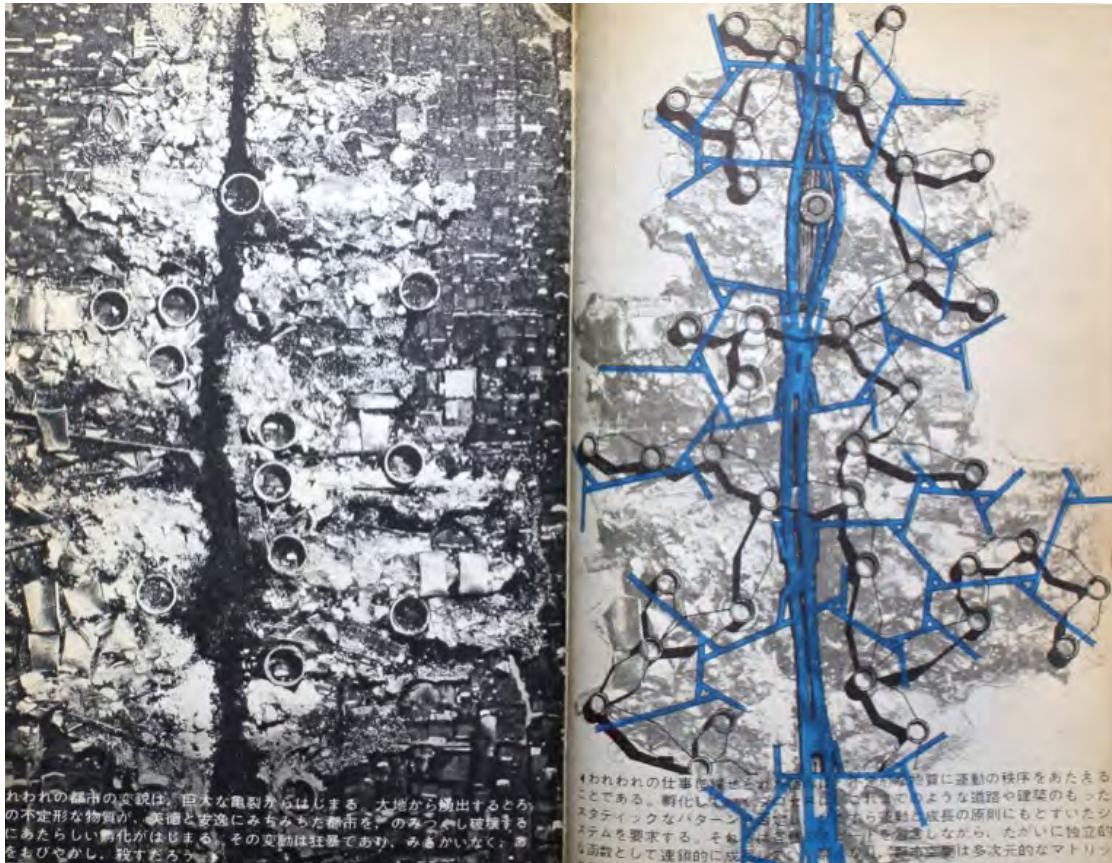
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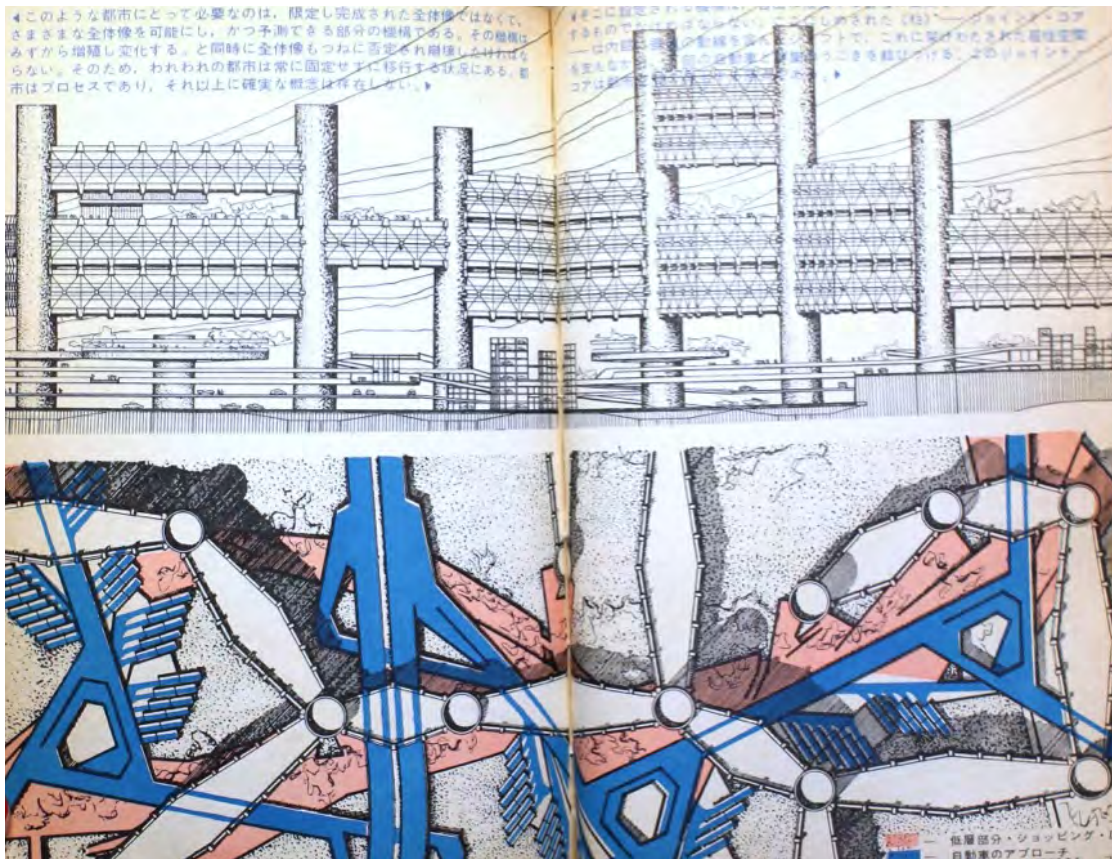
Fig.177: Arata Isozaki, *Joint-Core System*, 1960, conceptual drawing, elevation, (in: *Bijutsu techō* [Art Notebook], (April, 1962), pp.45-50)

の未来の姿であり、未来都市は廃墟そのものである。われわれの現代都市は、
それ故にわずかな〈時間〉を生き、エネルギーを発散させ、再び物質と化すで
あろう。われわれのあらゆる提案と努力はそこに埋め込まれて、そしてふたた
び孵化培養器が建設される。それが未来だ。
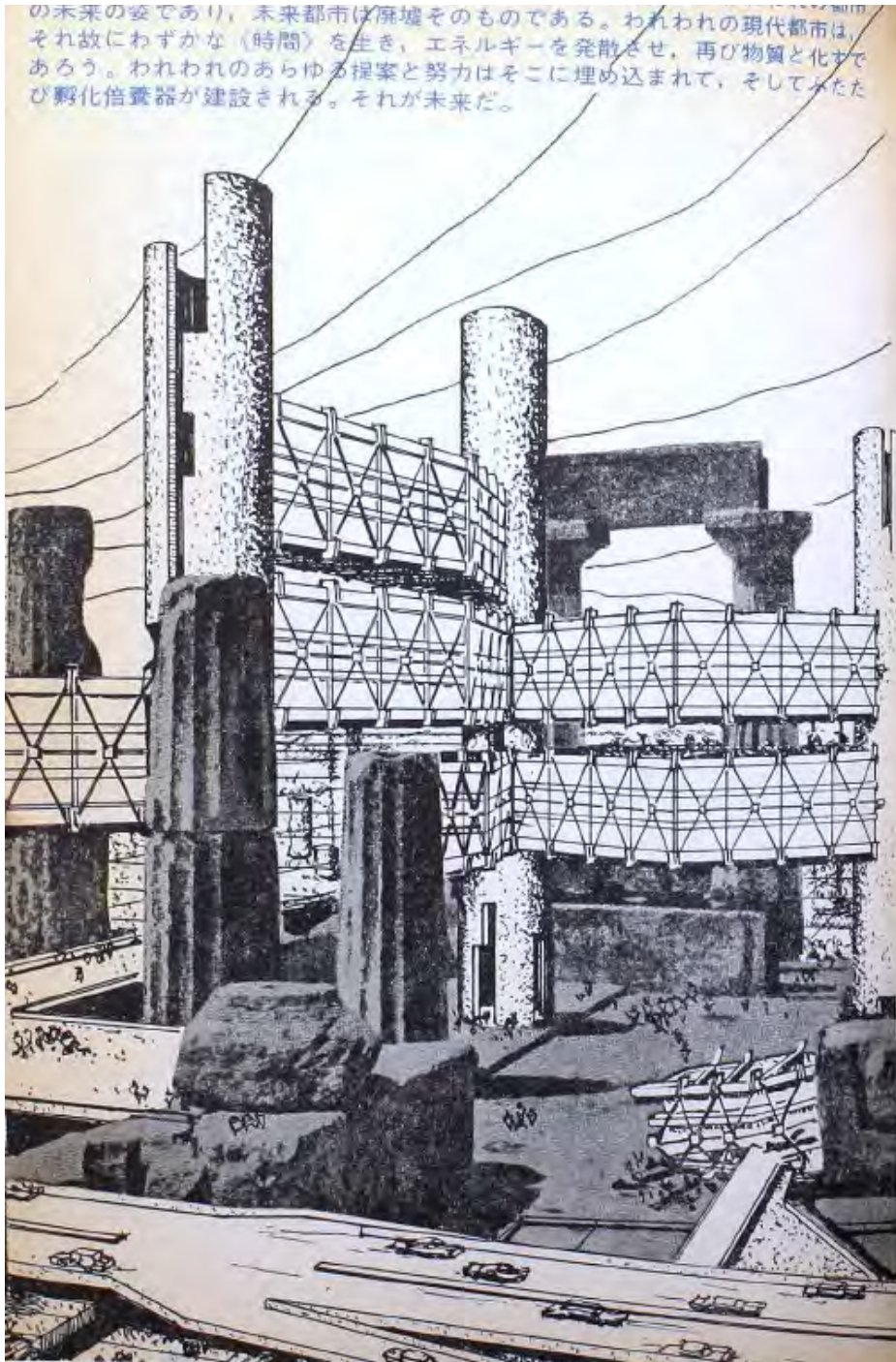
Fig.178: Arata Isozaki, *Joint-Core System*, 1960, conceptual drawing, elevation, (in: *Bijutsu techō* [Art Notebook], (April, 1962), pp.45-50)

Fig.179: *Valley of the Temples, Temple of Juno* [Hera] *Lacinia*, c. 400 BC–450 BC, Sicily, Italy, greek temple, (photo: Gabrielle Schaad, 2007)

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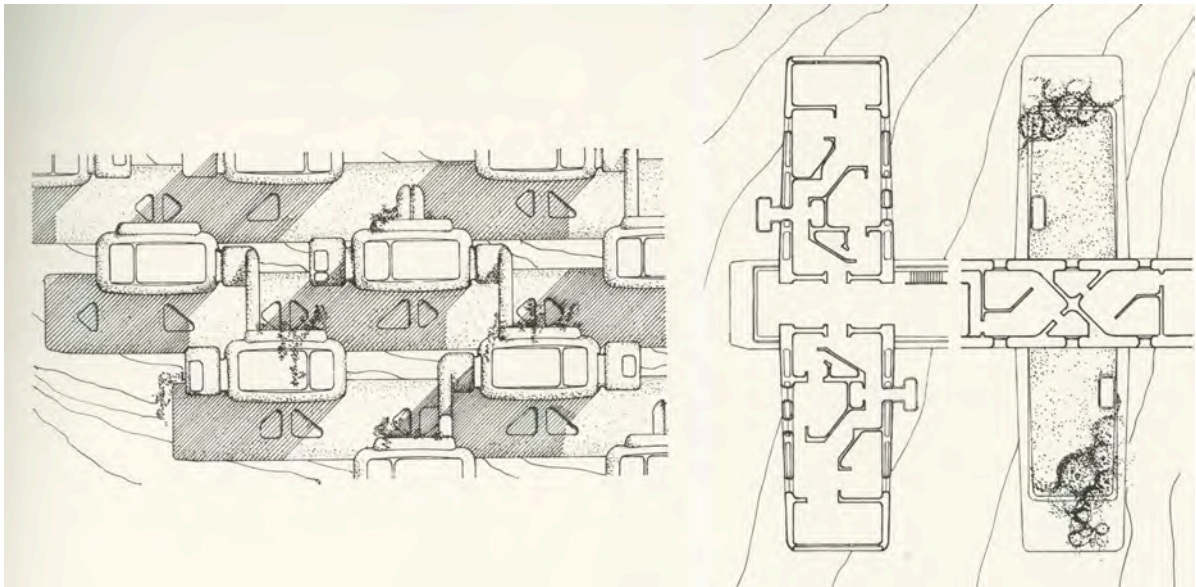
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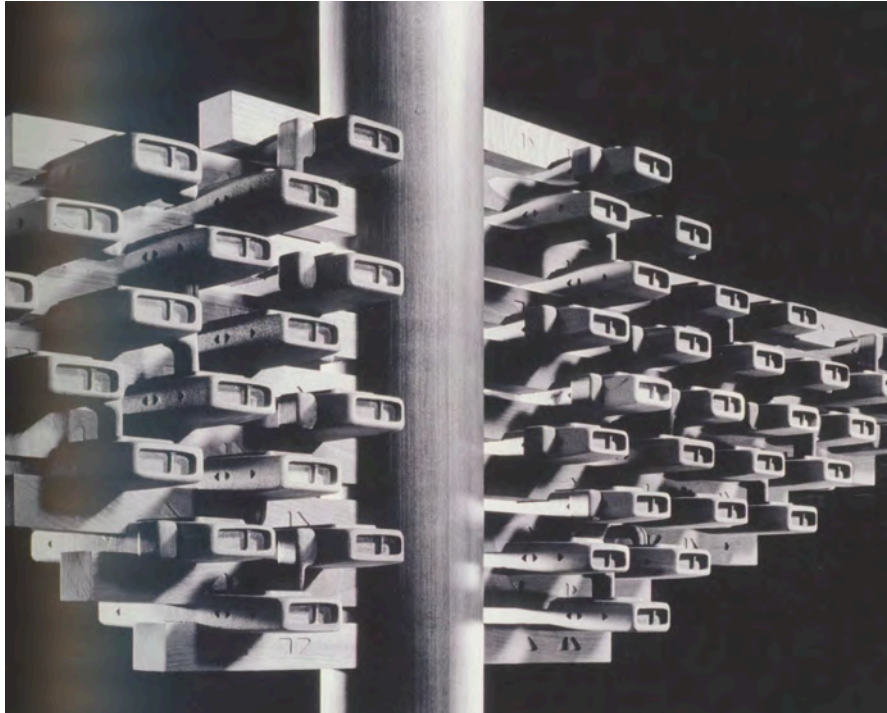
Fig.182a): Arata Isozaki, *Clusters in the Air* (*The Shibuya Project*), proposal, 1962, model, detail, (image database Chair for Art History, Sophia University, Tokyo)
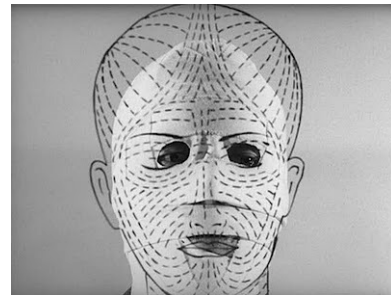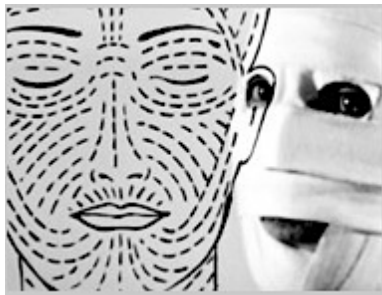
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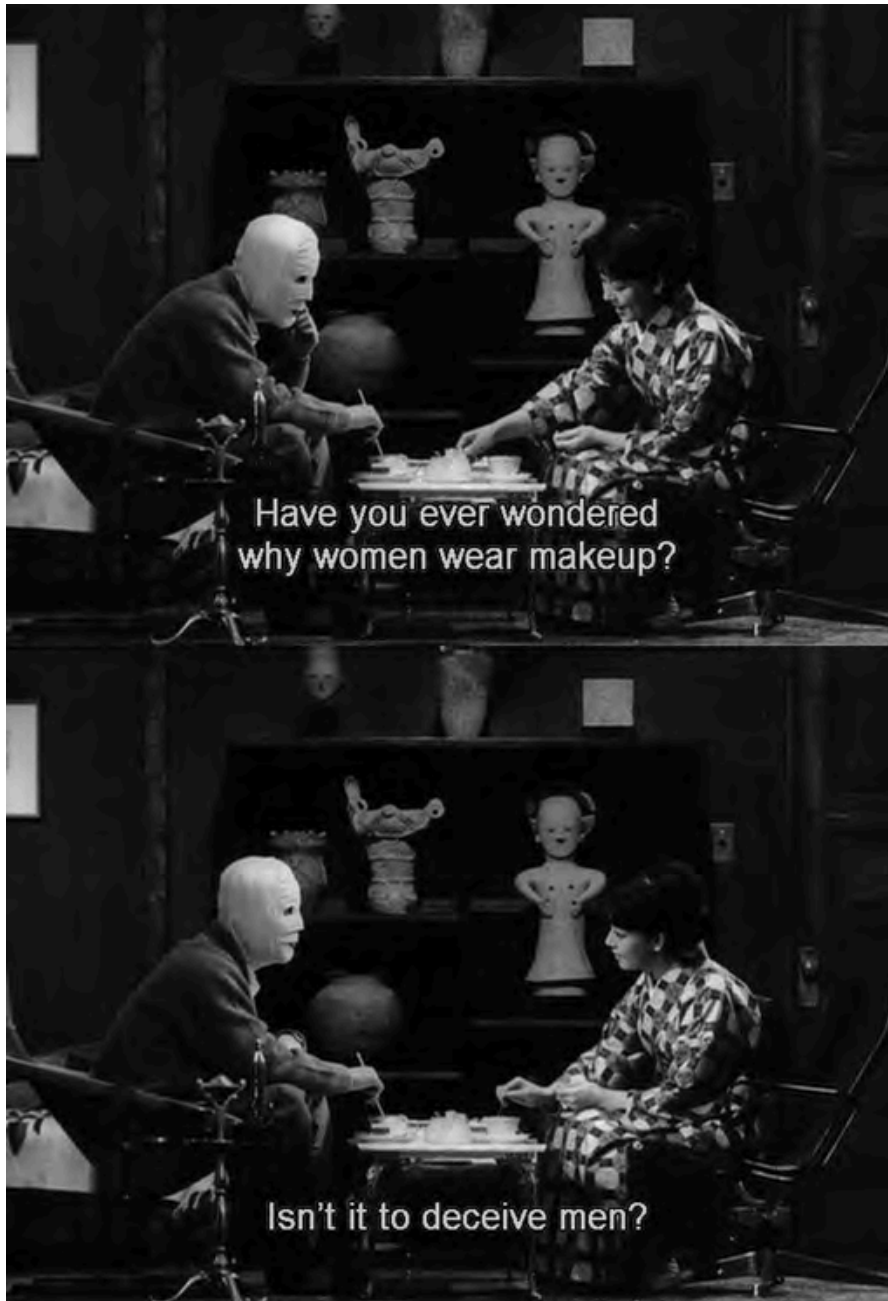
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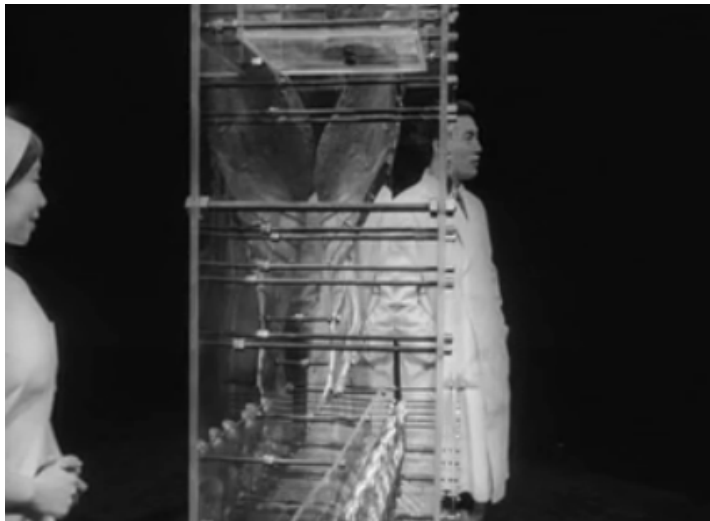
Fig.190: Doctor's consultation room, set design by Arata Isozaki, film still,
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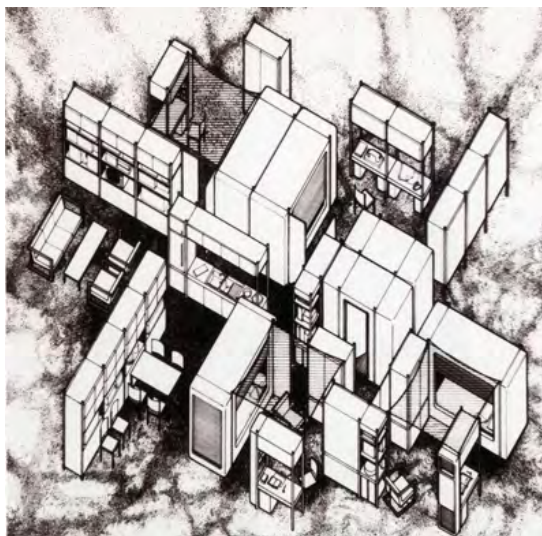
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<http://archeyes.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/ekuan-07.jpg>, last access,
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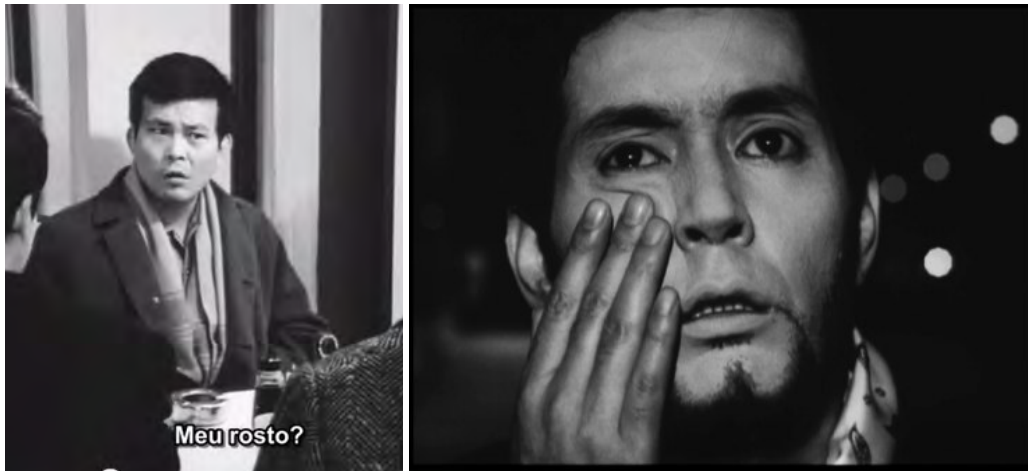
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デザイン＋写真＋建築＋絵画＋彫刻＋音楽

空間から
環境へ
展

environment

1966年11月11日〜16日
東京銀座一松屋8階

主催　エンバイラメントの会
後援　美術出版社

空間から環境へ●ハプニングス
11月14日　pm 6:30　草月会館ホール
　　　　　pm 8:00

(株)新光美術

郵便はがき

銀座 ⑪ 松屋　東京都中央区銀座3−1
Tel. 567-1211 大代表
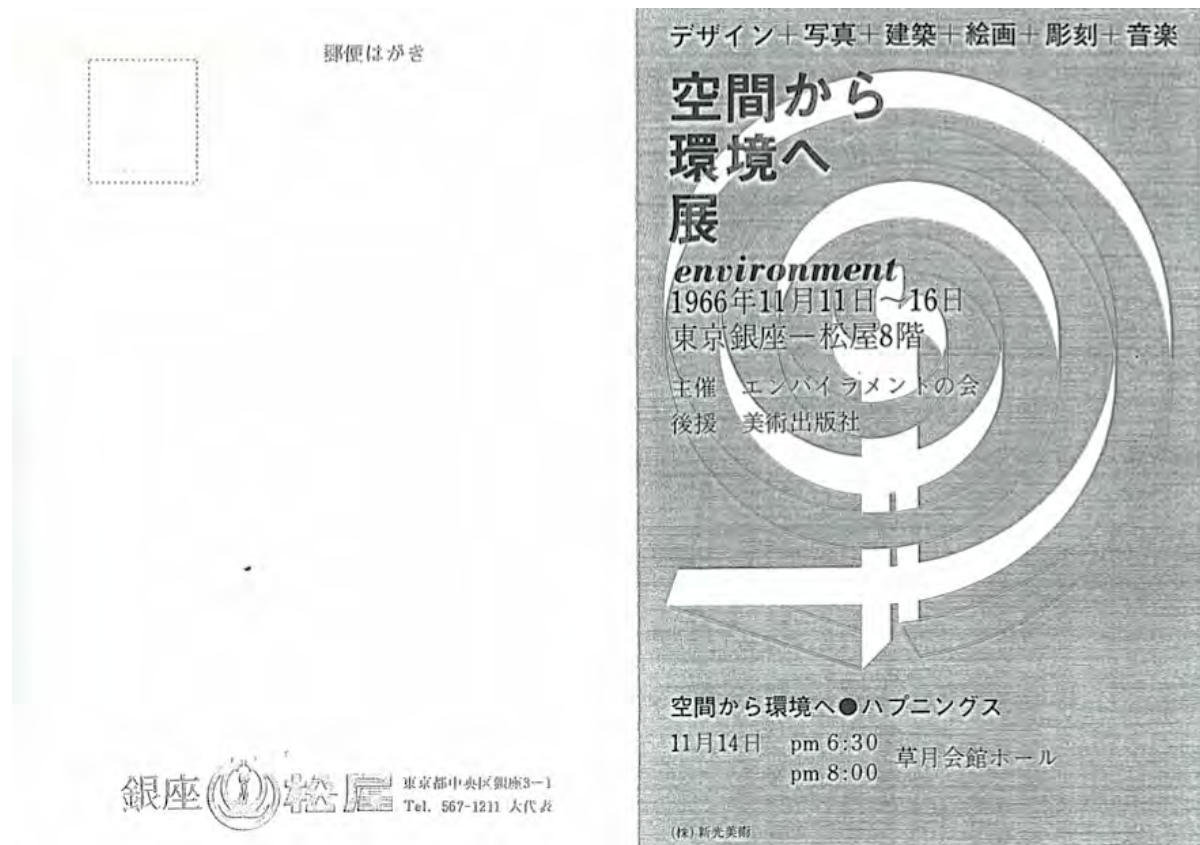
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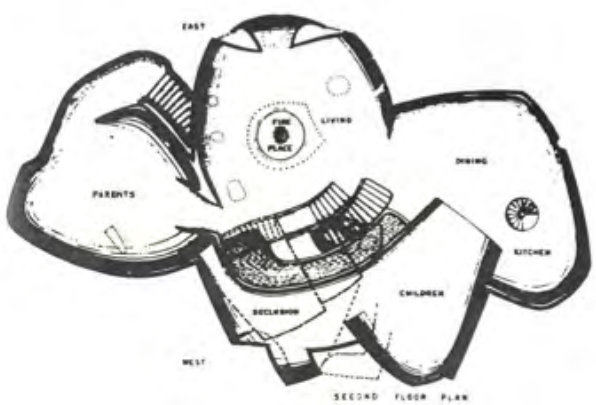
キースラー frederick J. KIESLER
エンドレス・ハウス 1949-60
床，天井，壁，各部屋が曲面の連続によって
できる建築．キースラー流の有機的形態の家
である．（前ペー・ジも）

Fig.197: Frederick Kiesler, *Endless House*, 1950, model view and floor plan (in: "Anata no seikatsu kūkan ni nagare o" [The Flow Through Your Everyday Space], in: *Futeikei bijutsuron. Free Forms and Concepts in Art* [Irregular Art Theory. Free Forms and Concepts in Art], Tokyo: Gakugei Shorin, 1967, p.195)

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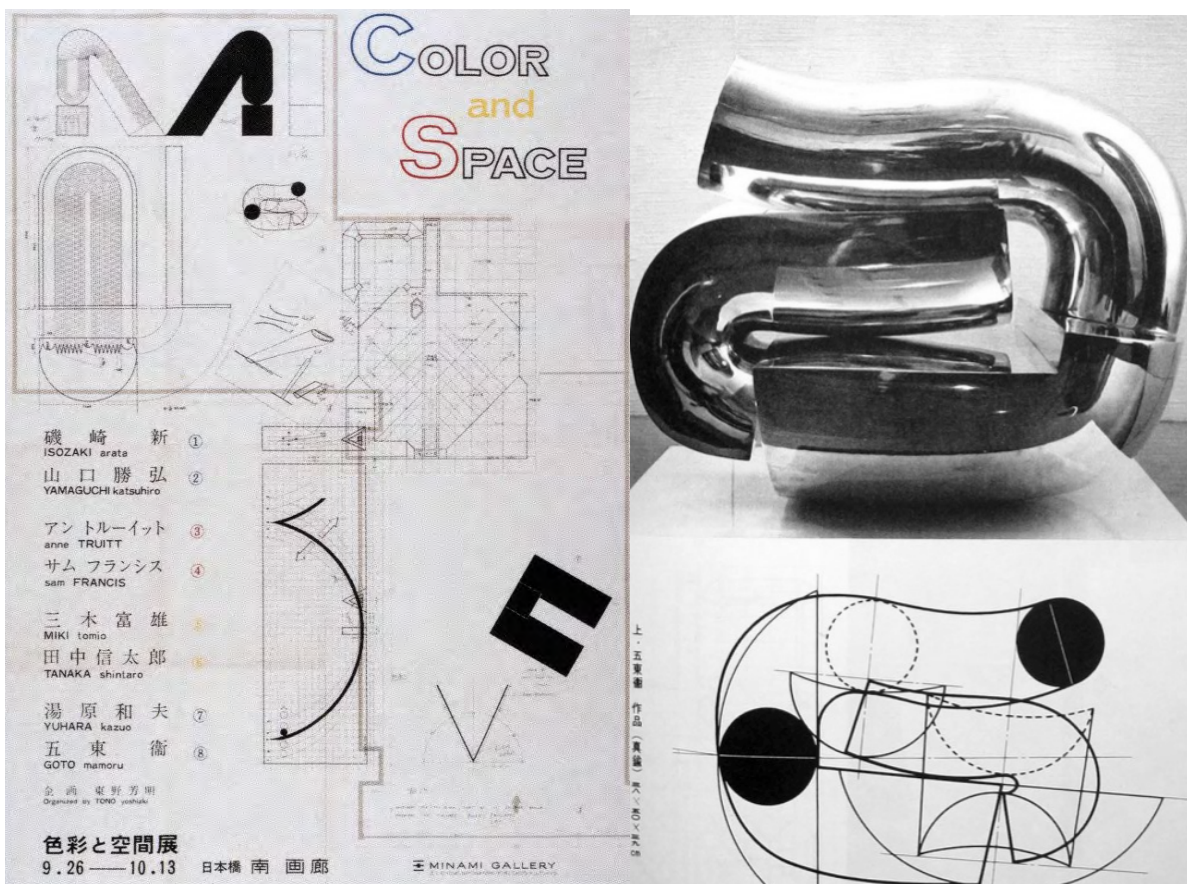
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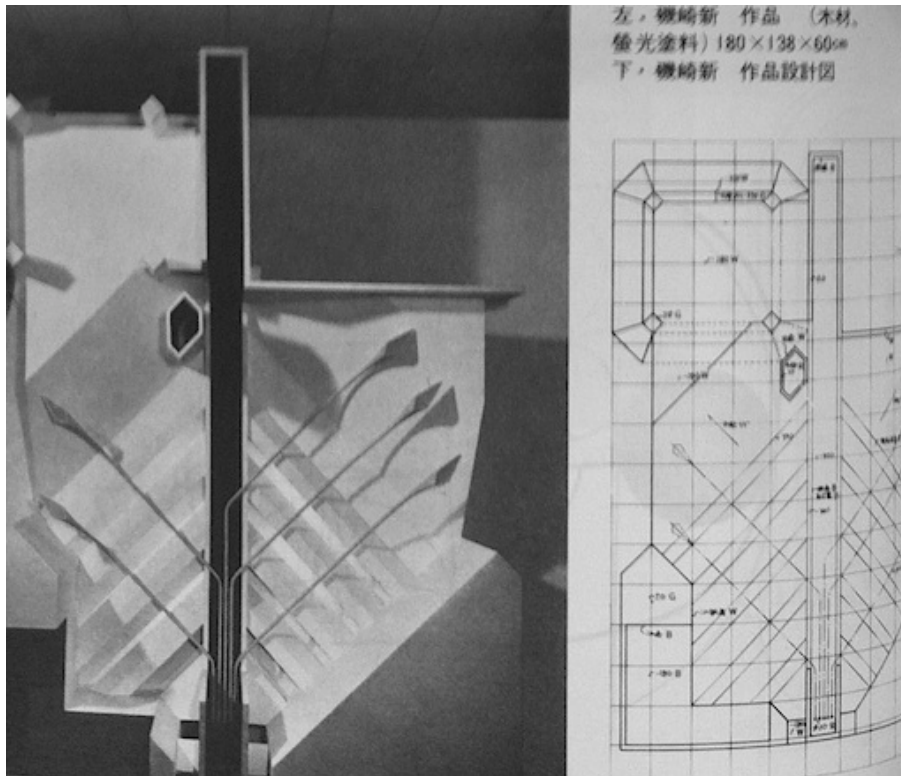
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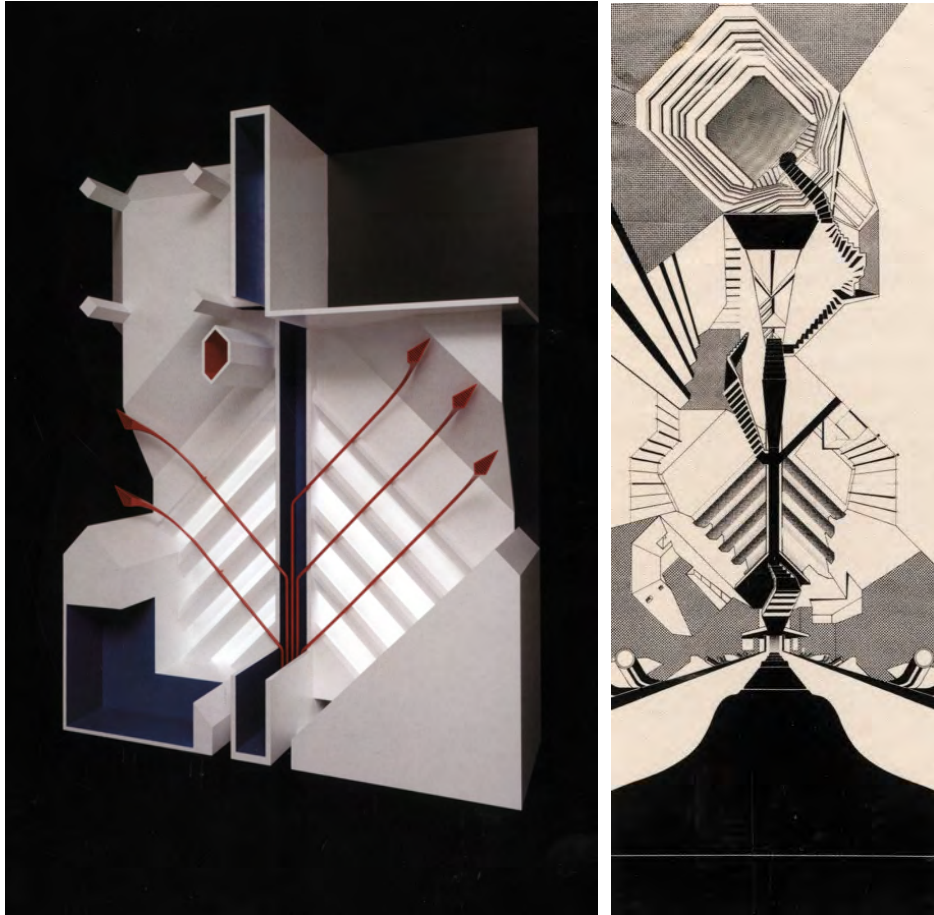
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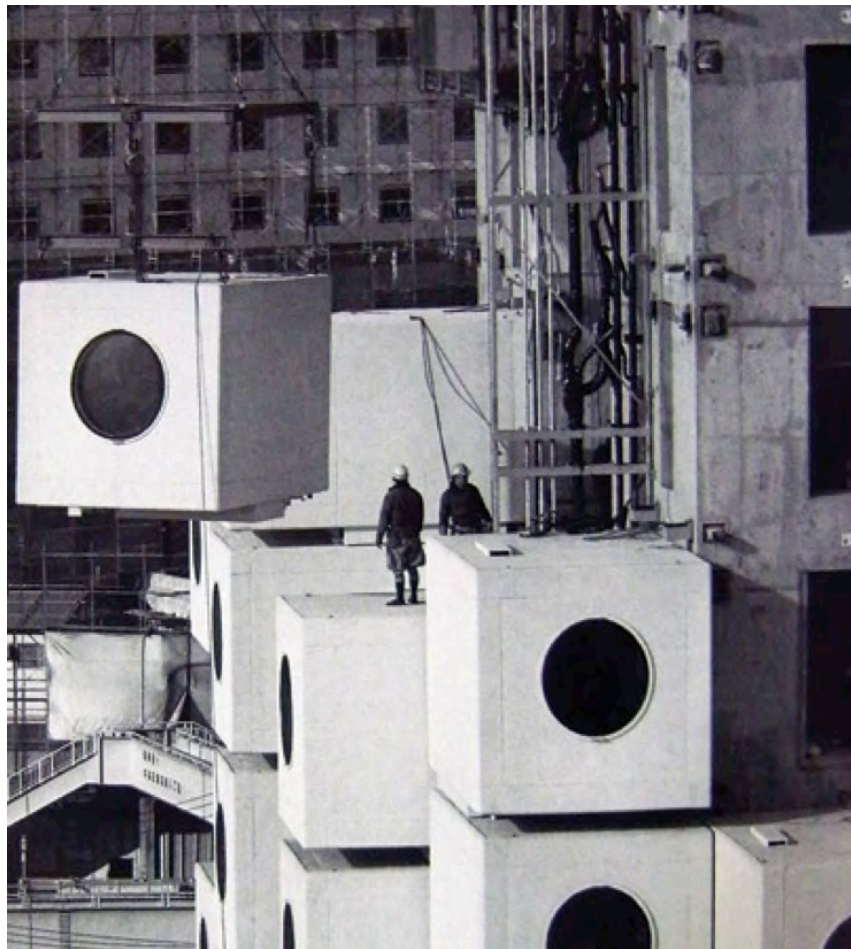
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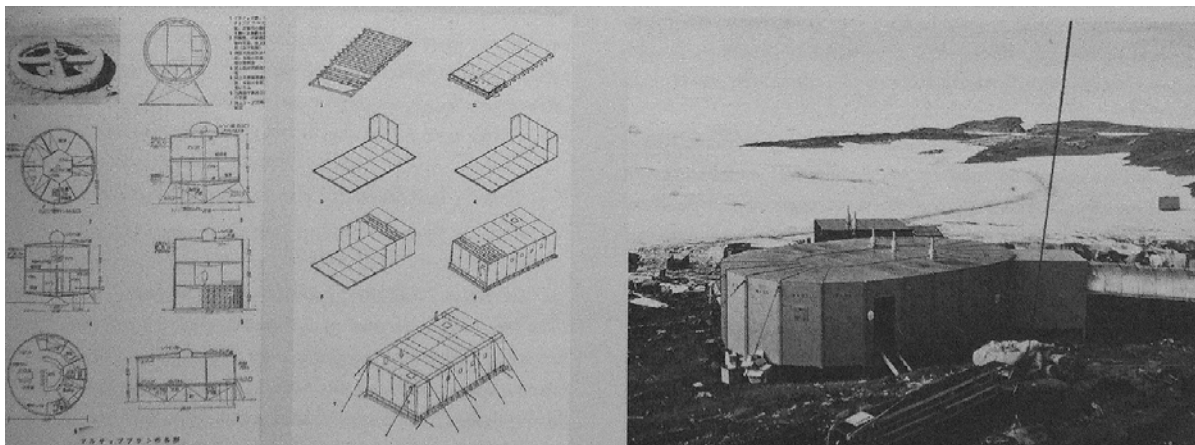
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<http://www.boijmans.nl/en/10/press/pressitem/230#7MfCLywgfXDPru9F.97>, last access, 23.4.2012)

Fig.217: Kishō Kurokawa, *Nakagin Capsule Tower*, 1970–1972, capsule interior, (in: Tokyo 2011)

We've got the transmission
from your parents coming in

Thank you, Hal.
A bit flatter, please.

Happy birthday.
Many happy returns.

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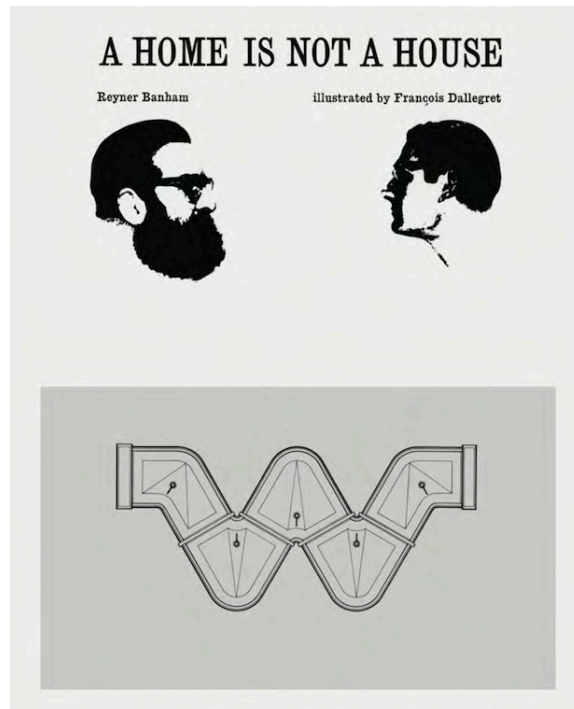
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Fig.220: Reyner Banham and François Dallegret, "A Home is Not a House," in: *Art in America*, no. 2, (April, 1965), pp.70-79, (retrieved through: <http://www.artinamericamagazine.com/news-features/magazine/unveiling-the-unhouse/#slideshow-3>, last access 26.2.2016)
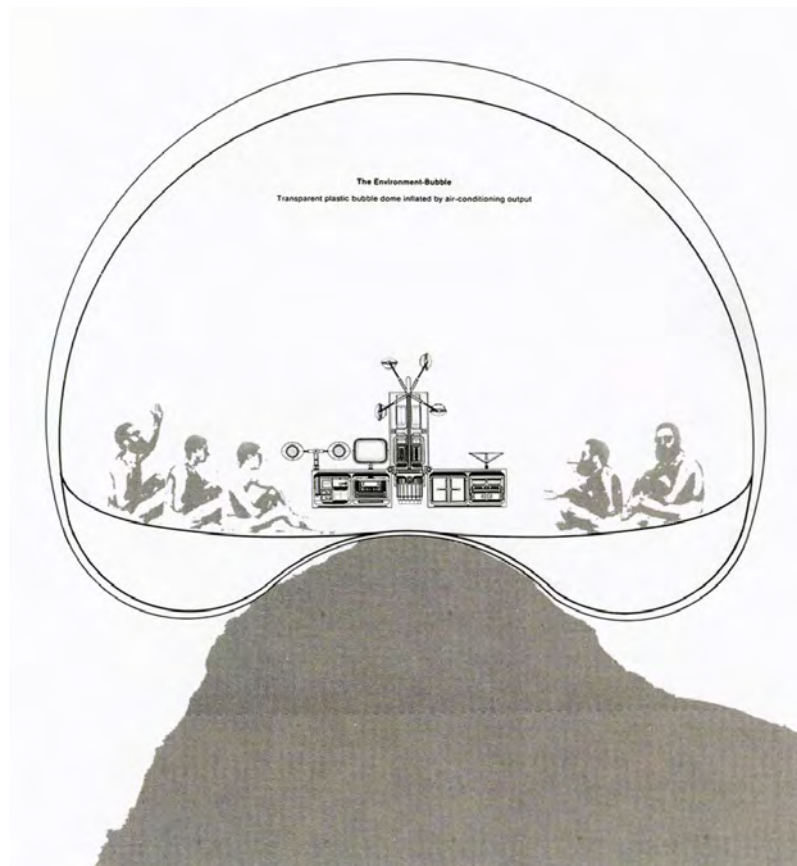
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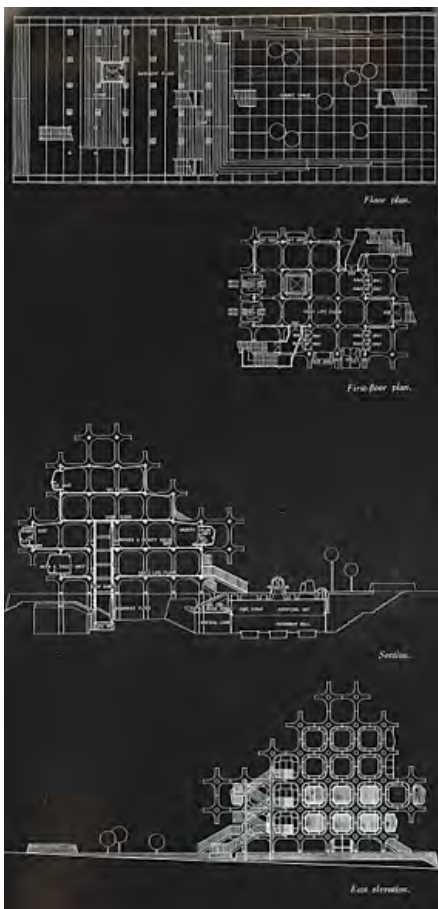

Fig.222: Kishō Kurokawa, *Takara Beautilion Pavilion*, 1970, exposition architecture for the Takara Group, plans and mock-up on picture postcard, issued by the Expo Association, (in: Tange 1969; and courtesy Keiko Yagi)

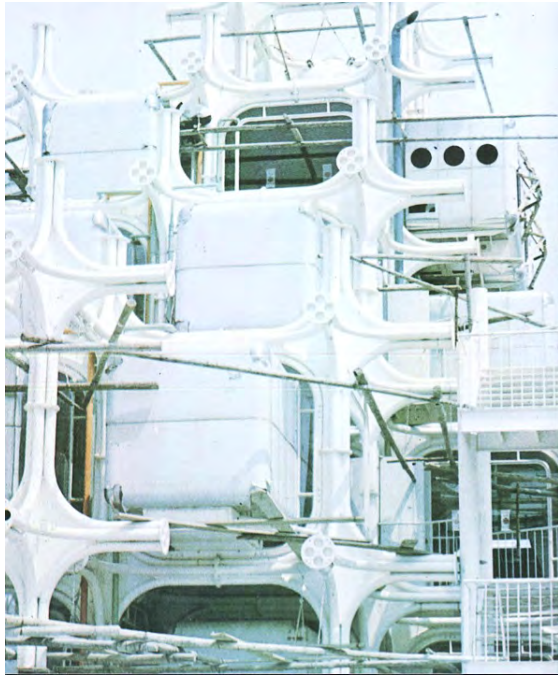Fig.223: Kishō Kurokawa, *Takara Beautilion Pavilion*, 1970, exposition architecture for the Takara Group, installation process and after the opening, Osaka Expo'70, photos, (Hakurankaishiryō [Expo Materials], Nomura Kōgei-sha (Archives), Osaka)

Fig.224: Fig.223: Kishō Kurokawa, *Takara Beautilion Pavilion*, 1970, exposition architecture for the Takara Group, outside and capsule interior, Osaka Expo'70, (in: Tokyo 2011)

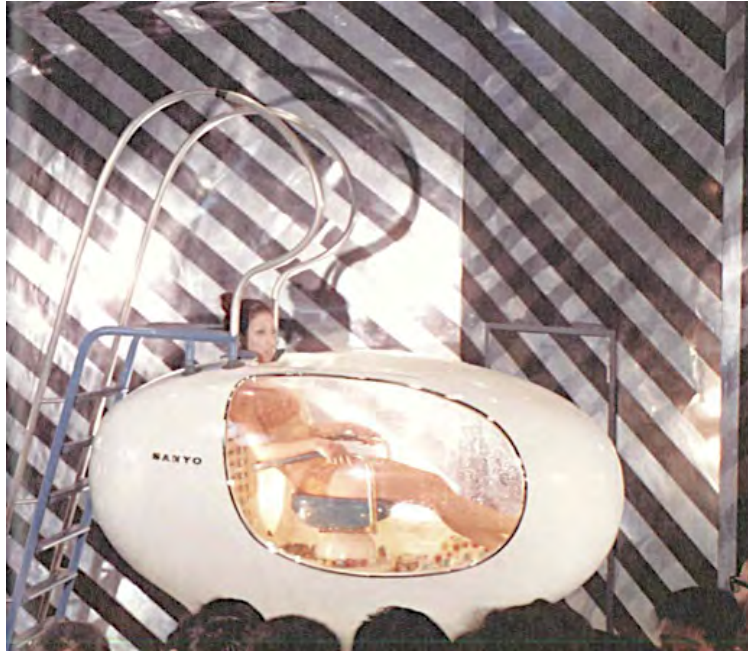Fig. 225: Sanyō Beauty treatment and massage capsule, exhibition inside Sanyō Pavilion, Osaka Expo '70, photo, (*Sanyō-kan,* pamphlet, Hakurankaishiryō [Expo Materials], Nomura Kōgei-sha (Archives), Osaka)

Fig.226a): "Living in the Future," in: exh. guide for theme pavilions, capsules in the space frame over *Festival Plaza*, (Hakurankaishiryō [Expo Materials], Nomura Kōgei-sha (Archives), Osaka)

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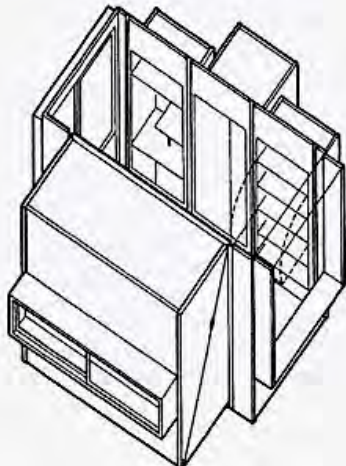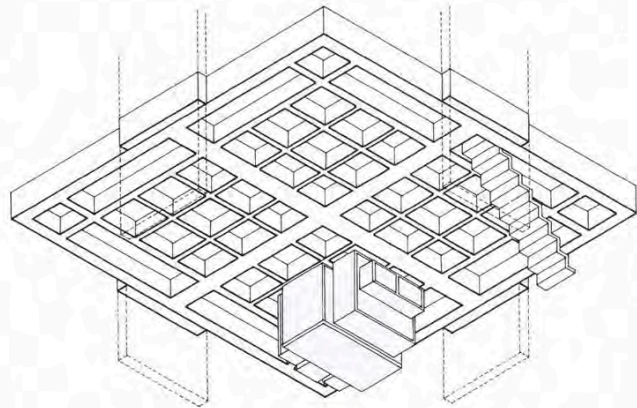
"Movenett" of children's room are hanging under house, children descend from upper floor by ladder.
子ども部屋のムーブネットはスカイハウスの下階に吊り下げられ、周囲の廊下から降りる。

Fig.227: Kiyonori Kikutake, "Move-Net for Kikutakte's Son," c. 1958, *Sky House*, Tokyo, (retrieved through: <http://3.bp.blogspot.com/-Jc4fCvZAXlg/VTOh4cos-YI/AAAAAAAABew/VeUsUdG-6Fw/s1600/skyhouse_006.jpg>, last access 14.3.2012)

The Japan Steel Works, Ltd.
Yuraku-cho No. 1-12, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo

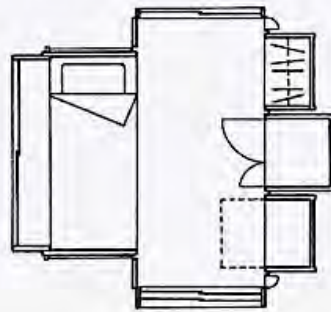Japan Steel Works has established a distinctive position in Japan as maker of products ranging from quality steel materials to complete industrial machines such as castings and forgings; chemical machines and equipment; paper-making machines; heavy steel plates such as, for ships, nuclear reactors and boilers; and various kinds of clad steel plates, etc.

Motivation which led to the pursuance of space research

Since the successful development in 1956 of heat-treated weldable high tensile steel plate, "Wel-con 2H", Japan Steel has been continuing trial manufacture of steel plates of even higher tensile strength by the same manufacturing process. Since 1959, when they were requested by the Institute of Industrial Science, University of Tokyo, to extend to them cooperation in the manufacture of materials for rocket motor cases in connection with the program to enlarge the sounding rocket to Kappa type, Japan Steel has undertaken the research and manufacture of super high strength steel for Kappa type and Lambda type rockets under the guidance of the above Institute.

Clients

Every year since 1959, Japan Steel has been receiving orders and delivering steel plates for the rocket motor cases for the Institute, through Kobe Shipyard, Mitsubishi Heavy Industries who is the fabricator.

Bird's-eye view of Muroran Plant

Wide Steel Plate rolled by a 30,000 HP Rolling Mill

Research subjects and results

In connection with the manufacture of super high-strength steel plates for the rocket motor cases, the following development was conducted.

1. Quality of materials

The heat-treated weldable high strength steel plates (Wel-con 2H) which Japan Steel developed during the past years are manufactured by their special method of heat-treatment (direct water quenching is performed after rolling) and have very high weldability. Based on this method of manufacture, they have developed steel plates of superior notch toughness and moreover of high weldability with tensile strength of 85 kg/mm² (121,000 psi), and 100 Kg/mm² (142,000 psi), which are being used for Kappa type and Lambda type rockets. Subsequently, they have developed thin steel plates of 150 Kg/mm² (213,000 psi) tensile strength and ascertained their performance capabilities by water pressure testing of cylindrically shaped materials. They have also completed performance tests on the materials of the same strength for coupling bolts.

2. Manufacturing techniques

The demand for super high strength steel for rockets being small and greater width in proportion to the thickness being required, various difficult problems arise in facilities and in prices. By adopting a special rolling method, Japan Steel has developed a technique to manufacture steel plates which are thin and wide and possess high tensile strength, for example, thickness 4 mm, (0.15 inch) surface area 4,000 x 4,500 mm (13 ft. 2 in. x 14 ft. 10 in.) for rocket motor cases of dia. 1,400 mm (4.59 ft.).

Manufacturing facilities

Their Muroran Plant is at present capable of manufacturing forged products from steel ingots of original weight up to 220 tons, (485,000 lbs.) cast products of up to 300 tons (661,000 lbs.) and heavy steel plates from flat ingots up to 50 tons (110,000 lbs.).

Therefore they are capable of manufacturing steel plates for various kinds of rockets (including especially large-sized rockets), with the exception of steel plates manufactured by cold strip mills.

In order to keep abreast with advancement in the space research program of Japan, Japan Steel has been making efforts in research and development of steel plates. In particular, they are ready to meet any requirements for heavy and wide steel plates. They will continue their efforts in research and development of more advanced materials in order to keep up with the times.

The above activities are carried on at the Muroran Plant, which is the mainstay of Japan Steel Works. Besides the Muroran Plant, they have also plants in Hiroshima, Yokohama and Tokyo where industrial machines of various kinds are manufactured. Particularly, at their Hiroshima Plant, rocket launchers are manufactured, while at the Yokohama Plant, high precision hydraulic control equipment (including pumps and motors) for controlling space antenna and rocket launchers are manufactured.

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Fig.228-229: *Space in Japan*, bulletin, Science and Technology Agency (ed.), Prime Minister's Office, Japan, 1964
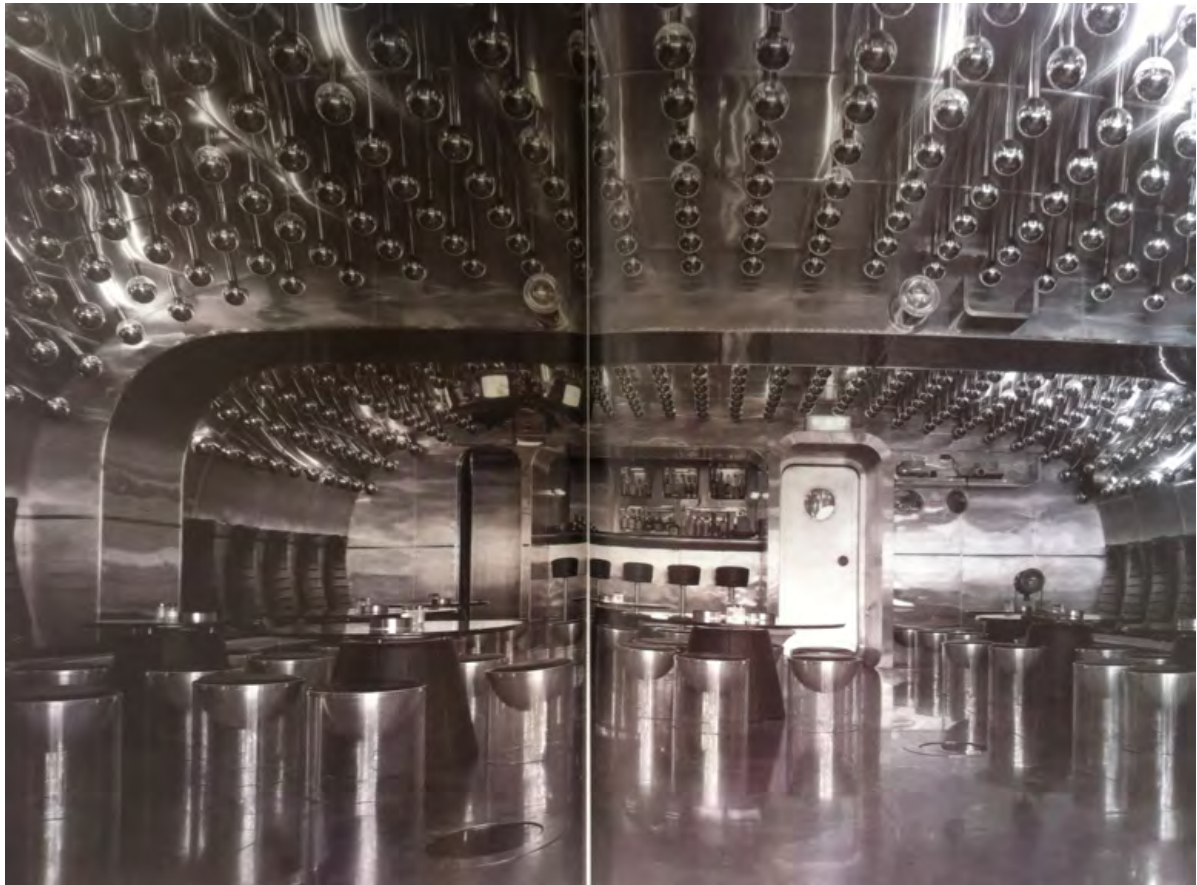
Fig.230: Kishō Kurokawa, *Discotic Space Capsule,* 1968, Akasaka, Tokyo, interior (in: Tokyo 2011)
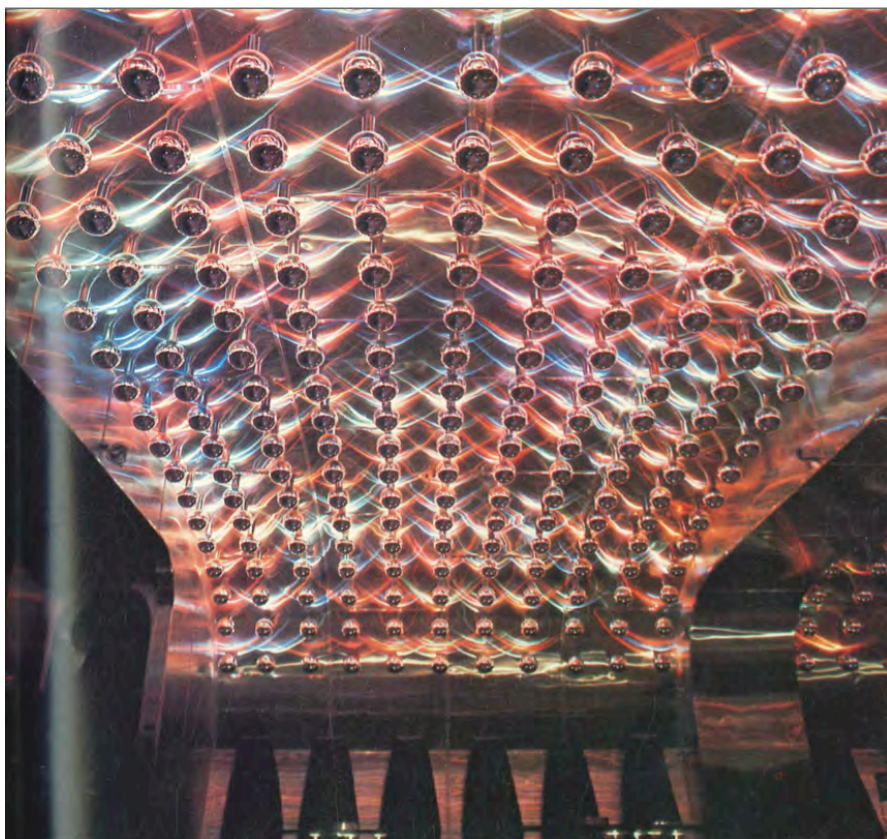
Fig.231: Kishō Kurokawa, *Discotic Space Capsule,* 1968, Akasaka, Tokyo, lightshow,
(in: Tokyo 1969)

Fig.232: Arata Isozaki, presenting *Archigram* to a Japanese audience, (in: *Bijutsu techō* [Art Notebook], 1969)

Fig.233: Archigram, *Osakagram*, 1970, Osaka Expo '70, (retrieved through: <http://41.media.tumblr.com/49040f468619decdf880c62f361131c0/tumblr_mwunlwBK2c1qmgwjao1_1280.jpg>, last access, 15.4.2012)

Fig.234: Kiyoshi Awazu and Kishō Kurokawa, *The Work of Kishō Kurokawa*, 1970, poster (in: Saitama 2012)

Fig.235: Toyō Itō and Arata Isozkai, discussing the future of *Nakagin Capsule Tower*, film stills, (in: *Nakagin Capsule Tower. Japanese Metabolist Landmark on the Edge of Destruction*, dir. Rima Yamazaki, perf. Arata Isozaki, Toyō Itō et al., Blackwood Productions Inc., 2010)

Encountering an Area of Tension – Ramifications of Expo '70

4.1 Revisiting Festival Plaza – The Invisible City

Expo '70 was a meeting place for an audience of over 64 million, mainly domestic visitors over the course of six months. Open everyday form 9 am to 10.30 pm the opening hours extended into nighttime. Allowing for light shows and a spectacular illumination of the terrain. Digging into the archives one encounters an overflow of images, an excess of color, a myriad of geometric crystallized forms, a flood of peculiar graphic icons. The national broadcast agency (*NHK*) documented the first world fair in Asia extensively, with the support of the Dentsū advertisement agency. Peter Wesemael certifies Expo '70's notable impact on the PR branch in Japan: "Where it involved the introduction of a new product, periodic opinion polling was instigated to check the popularity of the program and planning of the Expo."[886] Corporations and countries backed the spread of images with leaflets, programs, plans, photos, and postcards vying with each other for consumer attention on an international stage. An abstracted bird's eye view might map the rational organization of the grounds in the outskirts of Osaka's satellite city of Suita. Yet, it not only conceals the overwhelming physical experience of a multi-media spectacle outmatching previous staging, but glosses over latent and open conflicts (Fig.236).

Embedding 76 national and 34 commercial pavilions, Expo 70 was described by contemporary critics less as global, but as "dystopian"[887] village – a place, where visible and invisible relations matched to homogenize and fragment space at once. Henri Lefebvre would interject:[888]

To present the homogenous/fractured character of space as a binary relationship (as a simple contrast or confrontation) is to betray its truly dual nature. […] *Under its homogenous aspect, space abolishes distinctions and differences, among them that between inside and outside, which tends to be reduced to the undifferentiated state of the visible-readable realm.* […] *The ways in which space is thus carved up are reminiscent of the ways in which the body is cut into pieces in images (especially the female body, which is not only cut up but also deemed to be 'without organs'!). It is not, therefore, as though one had global or conceived space to one side and fragmented (or directly experienced space) to the other – rather as one might have an intact glass here and a broken glass or mirror over there. For space 'is' whole and broken, global and fractured, at one and the same time. Just as it is at once conceived, perceived, and directly lived.*

The planners drew on information theories ranging from Norbert Wiener to Marshall McLuhan to advocate seamless flows of communication, free exchange of goods, ideas and people. A highly energy-consuming electronic infrastructure, as well as the overspill town Senri Hills, made

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[886] Wesemael 2001, p.601.
[887] Sasaki, Takafumi: "Ruporutāju: Disutopia toshite no bankokuhakurankai o torinukete [Reportage: A Walk Through Expo '70 as Dystopia]", in: *Shinkenchiku* [New Architecture], no. 5, (May, 1970), pp.256-262.
[888] Cf. Lefebvre [1974] 1991, pp.355-356.

Japan's first commercial atomic reactor part of the invisible,[889] yet not immaterial structures and/or agents in the production of this space. The site hence pioneered a deeper structural shift from the public to the private sector. Under the motto "Progress and Harmony for Mankind,"[890] politics and economy celebrated their marriage, invoking the humanization of technology. Under the auspices of harmony and festival, the planners reintroduced Buddhist and Shintō terminology, purged from nationalist implications lingering since WWII, only to co-opt them again for the official representation of a re-invigorated state at the pinnacle of economic performance. Aimed at naturalizing an experimental laboratory for (economic) globalization instituted on a cutdown natural reserve with the capitalist metaphor of growth, Expo '70 bred complexity and contradiction.

4.1.1 "Beyond Computopia"[891]

Economic Maturity

WWII had ended 25 years ago when Japan reached another peak of economic prosperity in 1970. The San Francisco Treaty of Peace (1951) formally suspending the U.S. occupation in 1952 left agreements on the end of state war with the Soviet Union, or the Republic of Korea pending. On the other hand Article 9 of the 1947 constitution prescribed to "forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as a means of settling international disputes."[892] The general policy to incorporate Japan in the U.S. Cold War (nuclear) gear up was well prepared. It established Okinawa as a semi-colonial territory, providing air bases projecting U.S. power in Asia, rather than protecting Japan directly. Economic protectionism by the U.S., e.g. an undervalued Yen exchange rate, benefited Japanese export industries. It facilitated the economic miracle (1955–1972), implemented with the "San Francisco System,"[893] and propelled by the Liberal Democratic Party's longterm control of the government, often referred to as "1955-System."[894] Meanwhile U.S. politicians saw no potential threat by Japanese producers to intrude their market. Japan's full membership in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and an "advanced country" status accorded by the International Money Fund (IMF) in 1964 marked its entry into economic "maturity," as historian Thomas Havens concludes.[895]

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[889] Reactor no. 1 at the Tsugura power plant, built by the U.S. company General Electric (GE) provided the energy, see: Shun'ya, Yoshimi: "Radioactive Rain and the American Umbrella," trans. Shin-Lin Loh, in: *The Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 71, no. 2, (May, 2012), pp.319-331, pp.328-329.

[890] Kaya, Seiji, K. Yamada, M. Takahashi: *Expo '70 Hi-lite Album. Jinrui no shimpo to chōwa. Progress and Harmony for Mankind. Progres Humain dans l'Harmonie*, Tokyo: Seizando, 1970.

[891] Morris-Suzuki, Tessa: *Beyond Computopia: Information, Automation and Democracy in Japan*, London and New York: Paul Kegan International, 1988.

[892] Cited after: Pyle, Kenneth B.: *The Japanese Question. Power and Purpose in a New Era*, Washington: The AEI Press, 1996, p.10.

[893] Dower 1993, pp.14-22.

[894] Ibid.

[895] Havens, Thomas R. H.: *Fire Across the Sea: The Vietnam War and Japan*, *1965–1975*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987, p.96.

The Cold War Paradox

Japanese industries supplying the U.S. with petrochemicals, textiles, electronics, and automotive parts expanded rapidly, profiting from the Vietnam War. Between 1966 and 1971 their proximity to the war zone brought an estimated 1 billion dollars per year to Japanese firms. On the other hand, the commodity production for civilian consumption broke into new markets in Southeast Asia, as well as South Korea and Taiwan. Japan's cold war paradox of being a formally pacifist country, indicting the use of nuclear weapons due to the suffering caused by the U.S. hydrogen bombs tested on Hiroshima and Nagasaki had been established by the "Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between the United States and Japan" (*Anpo*) in 1960. Its ratification caused a memorable citizen protest in front of the National Diet Building in Tokyo, mobilizing among others left wing forces such as the *Zengakuren*, a countrywide student grassroot movement. Former "Class A" war crimes suspect, liberal democratic prime minister and driving force behind *Anpo*, Nobusuke Kishi, had to tend his resignation. His successor Hayato Ikeda however proclaimed an "Income Doubling Plan" (1960), reinforcing heavy industrial growth and efforts to push the economy toward greater international openness. In 1970, during Eisaku Satō's term of office the renewal of the *Anpo* treaty fell due.[896]

When the U.S. Student Mobilization Committee called for international support in their protest against the war in Vietnam, student circles from 72 Japanese universities joined in. The protest created a new opportunity to tackle a broad range of issues, from overly bureaucratic organization and hierarchies in universities, over environmental pollution, expropriations of farmland to the impending re-ratification of the 1960 Anpo agreement. A coordinated nationwide rally on October 21, 1968 – the international Antiwar Day – united once again diverse factions from unionists, over youth groups to university faculty. It took place in about 50 cities, spreading to over 500 different places. The West Exit of Shinjuku Station served however as one of the main stages for confrontation. The violence topped the 1960 protest wave against Anpo significantly. Different from the earlier protest, this time the demonstrators were tracked down, arrested, and charged with civil disobedience afterwards. Photography historian Riyūchi Kaneko sums up: "The event became a turning point that in part marked a shift in the relationship between citizens and their nation."[897]

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[896] Schaller, Michael: "Japan and the Cold War 1960-1991," in: *The Cambridge History of the Cold War. Volume III. Endings*, Melvin P. Lefler and Odd Arne Westad (eds.), New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010, pp.156-180.

[897] Kaneko, Riyūichi, Ivan Vartanian et al.: *Japanese Photobooks of the 1960s and '70s*, New York: Aperture, 2009, p.144.

From Hard to Soft Society

"Informatization," [898] a term popularized in 1969 by the Industrial Structure Council's Policy Outlines, meant computerization. The belief, an information network would not only expand leisure time by automating monotonous manual labor, but become the basis for human creativity and eventually change society, was lingering since 1960 as we have seen before. It was now widely shared by politicians, scientists and architects alike. Yūjiro Hayashi, professor at the Tokyo Institute of Technology and advisor to the Economic Planning Agency declared in his bestseller "The Information Society: From Hard to Soft Society" [899] (1969) that in prosperous societies the importance of psychological and emotional needs exceeded the human physical needs. As a result the emphasis on fashion, style and quality in consumer behavior would increase, which equaled an increased importance of knowledge intensive industries. New business models would thus shift production from primary and secondary industries to the tertiary sector (service, information, retail). A transition, Tange had envisioned in his *Plan for Tokyo* in 1960 already.[900]

On the Expo grounds electronics maker *Furukawa*'s pavilion showcased the so-called "Computopia." Modeled after the seven-storied pagoda of *Tōdai-ji*, the replica-pavilion housed an exhibition of computer programs for shopping, music-composition, and dress-design (Fig.237).[901] The pavilion marketed the idea that cutting edge technology actualized in refinement and precision traditional craftsmanship. Also, it implied that any historical utopia had not only become reproducible, but customizable (Fig.238). In the amusement park installed by Expo '70 the designs of the corporate pavilions stood for informal business groups with interlocking business relationships and shareholding like the *Mitsui* Group. They shifted visitor attention from actual product to "image(s)" as an agglomeration of appropriated signs – from concrete objects to surfaces and projections.

Plans, equipment and programs were all conceived to test and systematically improve communication, but neither visitor guidance nor pavilion-hostesses provided sufficient information about schedules or routes from A to B. To facilitate orientation the sub-plazes had been named after weekdays, literally spatializing time (Fig.239). Disorientation was not the only effect of the imposing structures. The lack of relaxing zones and greenery left exhausted visitors in overcrowded places. Family-visits caused tremendous expenses for overnight accommodation and exotic meals. "Leisure" was immediately subverted by stress. *Aramco World Magazine* mocks moreover: "Expo

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[898] Morris-Suzuki, Tessa: *Beyond Computopia: Information, Automation and Democracy in Japan*, London and New York: Paul Kegan International, 1988, p.7.

[899] Hayashi, Yūjiro, *Jōhoka Shakai: Hado na Shakai Kara Sofuto na Shakai e* [The Information Society: From Hard to Soft Society], Tokyo: Kodansha, 1969.

[900] Kultermann Udo (ed.): *Kenzo Tange 1946-1969. Architecture and Urban Design: Architektur und Städtebau: Architecture et Urbanisme*, Zurich: Verlag für Architektur Artemis, 1970.

[901] Waldo, Myra: *Japan Expo '70 Guide*, London: Collier Books, 1970.

'70 is a frolic. They've mixed Disney with Darwin, Wright with Hiroshige, MIT with Coney Island."[902] If informatization paved the way for the multiplication of floating images, art historian Michio Hayashi concludes with Baudrillard that c. 1970 the "hyperreality" or "simulacralization" of the Japanese society became obvious in its consumption of signs.[903]

The increasing number of cases of environmental damage as well as the rising inflation around 1968 raised public critique of Hayato Ikeda's aggressive economism of the last decade. According to historian Tessa Morris-Suzuki the first laws against pollution thus already announced an economic crisis manifesting with the Oil Shock in 1973. In the larger sense she locates the concept of information society as a – although "naïvely technocrat"[904] – tentative proposal to overcome the impending "limits to growth."[905] Environmentalism historian Simon Avnell speaks in this regard of a "green Leviathan" forming in "Japan's long environmental sixties."[906] The latter part of his dictum could be transferred to the arts, where the minds split over the different nuances of the term "environment" (*kankyō*). But let us take a glance at the disputes that arose within the Japan based art scene on occasion of Expo '70.

4.1.2 Appropriating the Plaza – "The Che Guevara of Architecture"[907]?

In 1969 Kenzo Tange advertised his layout for the Expo grounds as a "tree trunk structure." The Tokyo based urbanist appointed to design the masterplan in 1965, had long outdone his counterpart, leftist city planner Uzō Nishiyama (1911–1994), a professor at Kyoto University. Tange's plan providing moving walkways and escalators on the main axes was branching out to different sub-plazas, named after the seven days of the week. The walkways depriving the visitors from aimless strolling, should nevertheless grant a leisurely sightseeing trip on the Expo grounds, while the visitor influx would be directed toward the attractions (Fig.240). The sub-plazas provided so-called "expo-services," e.g. information booths and provisions for shopping. Circumvented by a monorail, they were subordinated to the Symbol Zone – entrance and technologically equipped stage at once, conceived as "Invisible City"[908] by Arata Isozaki.[909]

[902] "Expo East. Fun, Fantasy and Futurism", editorial, in: *Aramco World Magazine*, no. 4, (1970), (accessed through: <http://www.saudiaramcoworld.com/issue/197004/expo.east-fun.fantasy.and.futurism.htm>, last accessed 30.10.2013).

[903] Hayashi, Michio: "Cultural Rebellion: Japan from the 1960s to the 1980s," in: *Cultural Rebellion in Asia 1960-1989* (International Seminar Documents 2014: Art Studies 1), Tokyo: The Japan Foundation Asia Center, 2015, pp.40-45.

[904] Morris-Suzuki, Tessa: *Beyond Computopia: Information, Automation and Democracy in Japan*, London and New York: Paul Kegan International, 1988, pp.64-65.

[905] Ibid.

[906] Avnell, Simon: "Japan's Long Environmental Sixties and the Birth of a Green Leviathan," in: *Japanese Studies* (Special Issue: Japanese Lingusitics and Language Education), vol. 32, no. 3, (2012), pp.423-444

[907] Tomioka, Takeo: "Kenchiku no Gebara Isozaki Arata" [Isozaki Arata: Che Guevara of Architecture], in: *Bijutsu techō* [Art Notebook], no. 4, (1966), pp.137-145.

[909] Isozaki, Arata: "Mienai toshi" [Invisible City], in: *Kukan e* [Toward Space], Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppan-sha, 1971, pp.380-404 [first: 1966]; See also: Idem: *Japan-ness in Architecture*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2006, pp.71-72.

Isozaki built on Nishiyama's earlier concept suggesting a public plaza as communication area. Nishiyama by contrast had based his approach on physical "face to face encounter."[910] Since the immediate postwar he had published on housing issues. Planning ahead, he envisioned *Symbol Zone* not only as main-entrance and stage of Expo '70 but as "model core of a future city"[911] within the "Kinki Regional Plan" to build upon after the closing of the world fair.[912] Traditional Japanese festivals, taking place throughout the country during the hot summer months, served as conceptual background to draw on.[913] Architecture historian Hyunjung Cho explains: "For Nishiyama, the traditional *matsuri* (festival) in which, he believed, everyone would become an active part of the various events, provided the antidote to the cultural spectacle under capitalism in which people are merely reduced to passive consumers."[914] Under such premises he faced dissent with the Expo '70 planning committee and resigned from collaborating with Tange in 1966,[915] leaving the field to Isozaki.

In his (self-)critical revisionism of the points of departure of Expo '70 and the inherited project of a "Festival Plaza," Isozaki pulls his predecessor Nishiyama to pieces: "From the first, the name 'festival plaza' (*Omatsuri hiroba*) impressed me as totally uncool, the kind of cheesy term one would even hesitate to pronounce."[916] Different from Hyunjung Cho, Isozaki introduces Nishiyama furthermore as a neorationalist hardliner of sorts, when discussing the latter's earlier housing propsals: "According to Nishiyama, as a correlate to the modernization process the Japanese living space must be split up, articulated, and functionally reorganized in a manner consistent with Western rationalism. [... He] sought to merge two quite separate cultural orientations, if necessary by force."[917] With 40 years distance from project and event Isozaki analyzes further more: "[...], according to Japanese etymology, the word for festival – *matsurigoto* – originally means politics. Public arenas in Nuremberg as well as Tiananmen Square were all places for the declaration and exhibition of new state apparatus, where politics and festival were conterminous. [...] And the strange ambivalence of the term – the *temporary* festival and the *enduring* plaza – retains the contingency of the festival, its ephemerality."[918] Less biased, performance historian Peter Eckersall considers that "Nishiyama [...] wanted to explore, how new technologies and multi-user clusters of buildings could improve the living conditions of the workers. He envisaged Expo '70 as a

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[910] Nishiyama, Uzō: "Bankokuhaku kaijō keikaku: chōsa kara kikaku e" [Expo '70. From Research to Planning], in: *Kenchiku zasshi* [Architecture magazine], (March, 1970), pp.197-198.
[911] Ibid.
[912] See: Wesemael 2001, pp. 569-572.
[913] Nishiyama 1970, op. cit., p.197.
[914] Hyunjung, Cho: "Expo '70: The Model City of an Information Society," in: *Expo '70 and Japanese Art: Dissonant Voices* (Review of Japanese Culture and Society 23), Midori Yoshimoto (ed.), Tokyo: Jōsai International Center for the Promotion of Art and Science, Jōsai University, 2011, pp.57-71, p.60.
[915] Wesemael 2001, op. cit., p.582.
[916] Isozaki 2006, op. cit., pp.71-72.
[917] Ibid.
[918] Ibid.

revolutionary concept for the future socialist city. His idea of the Festival Plaza drew on a proletarian reading of a traditional *matsuri* reimagined as a gathering place for communication and the free exchange of ideas."[919] Making his disdain for the performative impact of the word *matsurigoto* explicit retrospectively, Isozaki however came to terms with his task. He morphed Nishiyama's initial layout into his own concept of an "Invisible City."[920]

The morphological study of Japanese cities filed by Tange's Urban Design Lab in 1968 had confirmed,[921] an open public gathering place modeled after, e.g. a Greek agora as "heart," or city core was (of course) absent from domestic planning tradition (Fig.241). The study revealed that many of the characteristics Isozaki locates in the ephemeral structures of *himorogi*, set up to invite the spiritiual presence of spirits (*kami*), were according to his view distinctive feature in the allocation of Japanese towns "on the move." In Isozaki's view they created a type of ephemeral space assembling people and an invisible presence for a particular moment in time. *Ma* instead, denoting 'particular time' manifesting as (relational) space, embodied e.g. in performative (stage) elements of Japanese theater tradition, but also in performances like music or dance, denoted such transient moments as Japanese "sense of place."[922] In the 1970s Isozaki would put together a touring exhibition around the notion of *ma* (Fig.242). With stopping in New York and Paris it resulted in a wave of (Western) neo-Japanism.[923] Ken Tadashi Ōshima points out that the translateability of the term *ma* that Isozaki would promote to an international audience interested in Japanese aesthetics from 1978 to 1980 had its limits: "For Isozaki, the English translation of *ma* as 'blank,' 'void' or 'vacuum' was too conceptual, while 'in-between', 'distance' or 'pause' were too descriptive."[924] However, the transient aspect Isozaki described, as well as the constant flows of invisible energies or spiritual presences *hi* inspired his concept for *Festival Plaza*: "In the early 1960s I linked the *kehai* of *hi*, or the manifestation of spirit, with the new invisible electronic media. […] My aim was to pinpoint a method of describing the city hazily flickering like fog […], and called my vision 'virtual city'."[925] A semiotic take on urbanism allowed Isozaki to marry – at least theoretically – the ephemeral and the static as a mesh of semantic layers stored in invisible cultural ruins giving their coordinates in a network knotted from, e.g. the earlier partition of land according to fiefdom, or contemporary street signs – a coded matrix. A cybernetic analysis of differing codes would allow

[919] Eckersall 2013, p.118.
[920] "Mienai toshi" [Invisible City], in: *Kūkan e* [Towards Space], Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppan-sha, 1971, pp.380-404 [first: 1966].
[921] Tange, Kenzō (ed.): *Nihon toshi kūkan. Toshi dezain kenkyūjo* [Japanese Urban Space. Authored by the Urban Design Lab], Tokyo: Shōkoku-sha, 1968.
[922] Günther Nitschke had singeld out "ma" as one of the distinctive features of Japanese topology in his 1960s writings, see: Nitschke, Günther: "Ma – The Japanese Sense of Place," in: *Architectural Design*, vol. 36, (March 1966), pp.116-156; also: idem: "Das traditionelle japanische Raum-Bewusstsein," in: *Baumeister*, no. 8, (August, 1967), pp.1006-1008.
[923] See: *Ma – Space Time in Japan*, exh. cat. The Cooper Hewitt Museum New York, Arata Isozaki (ed.), New York 1980.
[924] Ōshima, Ken Tadashi: "Paradoxical Processes," in: *Arata Isozaki*, London: Phaidon, 2009, pp.10-18, p.14.
[925] Isozaki 2006, pp.68-69.

a person to overcome the purely visual perception of the surroundings. Matching phenomenological multi-sensuous experience (sounds, textures, atmospheres) of the city with data was theoretically meant to enable conscious agency or interference in its numbing everyday rhythms on the basis of events. Intellectual maverick among Tange's students, Isozaki was drawn to McLuhan's extensionalist media theory and the critical projects of Archigram. Whether he had followed the earlier conflict between Constant Nieuwenhuys and the Situationist International's ideological advocate Guy Debord sparked by Constant's increasingly technologized *New Babylon* project (1959–1974), remains yet unclear.

Forming a research group for "Performing Space" Isozaki partnered up with Tōno, Akiyama Kuniharu, and Katsuhiro Yamaguchi. Drawing on their experiences from the *Crosstalk-Intermedia Festival* held in 1969 Tokyo, or the ealier exhibitions *From Space to Environment* (1966) or *Color and Space* (1966). Together with sound and media artists, the actual Sōgetsu Art Center crew theorized soft- and hardware of the Festival Plaza as environment between art and design – an "invisible monument." Curator Yasuyuki Nakai points out: "Isozaki was [yet] limited to overseeing the hardware, and the development of content was commissioned by board members of the Takarazuka theater because it was a mulit-purpose space that had to be meticulously prepared for both domestic and international performances over a 183-day period involving 153 projects and 533 performances"[926] (Fig.243). More specifically, the Expo '70 Association had appointed Kunisuke Ito to oversee the entertainment program.[927] This quite obviously raises the question: If the planners would not actually participate in the programming, how whould then an audience be able to get involved actively? – After all, the "active" relation between men and environment had been one of the premises of the Kiesler-influenced Environment Society. The infrastructure for speaker- and lighting-system Isozaki eventually designed, promoted the coexistence of friendly robots and men – leaving pleasure to the person and labor to the machine, embedding an invisible but again not immaterial cybernated mechanism to control and stabilize a dynamic ambient equilibrium via information exchange (Fig.244, Fig.245, Fig.246).

Agora, Angura, and Public Sphere

In 1967 pioneering media artist and friend of Isozaki's at the time, Katsuhiro Yamaguchi (b. 1928) praised the West Exit of Shinjuku Station for its scenic qualities (Fig.247).[928] – The underground pedestrian passageway connects Tokyo Metro, the Japan Railways station and a concrete spiraled loop access course for cars, built by Junzō Sakakuras's office in 1966. The concrete spiral reminded

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926 Nakai, Yasuyuki: "Japan World Exposition – Reconsidering Expo Art," trans. Mika Yoshitake, in: : *Expo '70 and Japanese Art: Dissonant Voices* (Review of Japanese Culture and Society 23), Midori Yoshimoto (ed.), Tokyo: Jōsai International Center for the Promotion of Art and Science, Jōsai University, 2011, pp.13-25, p.23.

927 Wesemael 2001, p.592.

928 Yamaguchi, Katsuhiro: "Anata no seikatsu kūkan ni nagare o" [The Flow Through Your Everyday Space], in: *Futeiteki bijutsuron* [Irregular Art Theory], Tokyo: Gakugei Shorin, 1967, pp.207-208.

Yamaguchi of Frederick Kiesler's proposals for an "Endless Theater,"[929] granting – while channeling commuters, bus, and cardrivers separately – subjective experience of a topological or "dramatic" space in the repetitive everyday. Spatial qualities Yamazaki attested Isozaki's plans for "Festival Plaza," referring to Isozaki in the same essay.[930] Brooding over his plans in the offices of the Environmental Planning Company (*Kankyō keikaku*) in Tokyo near Akasaka Mitsuke station until late at night,[931] news about the violent clashes at Shinjuku Station West Exit Underground Plaza hit Isozaki on October 21, 1968 – the World Peace Day (Fig.248).

The sit-in had started with spontaneous anti-war concerts held by musicians associated with Beheiren, the civic activism campaigning against the Vietnam War, supporting American deserters. The musicians were also called "folk guerrillas," since their concerts turned little by little into weekly rallies and demonstrations in the streets of Shinjuku.[932] Only two years ago the influential art magazine *Bijutsu techō* (Art Notebook) had named Isozaki the "Che Guevara of architecture"[933] (Fig.249). While sympathizing with the protest, he overviewed the construction site in the outskirts of Osaka. Despite or rather because Isozaki's semiotic approach "Festival Plaza" would yet prove doomed a symbol of state power, incorporating invisibly controlled interfaces instead of embodying citizen democracy. Looking back, Isozaki famously recalls suffering an identity crisis: "I felt as though I had participated in executing a war."[934] Isozaki's existential anxiety caught in the middle between bureaucrates and grassroot activism is better understood reading Henri Lefebvre's later remarks on the tension between "domination" and "appropriation," set up by the "contradiction between technology and technicity:"[935]

Implicit in the great Logos-Eros dialectic, as well as in the conflict between 'domination' and 'appropriation', is a contradiction between technology and technicity on the one hand, and poetry and music on the other. A dialectical contradiction, as it is surely needless to recall, presupposes unity as well as confrontation. There is thus no such thing as technology or technicity in a pure or absolute state, bearing no trace whatsoever of appropriation. The fact remains, though, that technology and technicity in a pure absolute state tend to acquire a distinct autonomy, and to reinforce domination far more than they do appropriation, the quantitative far more than they do qualitative. Similarly, although all music or poetry or drama has a technical – even technological – aspect, this tends to be incorporated, by means of appropriation, into the qualitative realm. The effect in space is the development of multifarious distortions and discrepancies – which should not, however, be mistaken for 'differences'.

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[929] Ibid.
[930] Ibid.
[931] Yamaguchi, Katsuhiro: "Conversation with Katsuhiro Yamaguchi," Gabrielle Schaad, Yuriko Yamaguchi, and Toshino Iguchi, Tama-Plaza, 17.10.2013.
[932] Peter Eckersall, *Performativity and Event in 1960s Japan: City, Body, Memory*, London: Palgrave 2013, pp.81-105.
[933] Tomioka, Takeo: "Kenchiku no Gebara Isozaki Arata" [Isozaki Arata: Che Guevara of Architecture], in: *Bijutsu Techō* [Art Notebook], no. 4, 1966, pp.137-145.
[934] Isozaki 2001, p.73.
[935] Cf. Lefebvre [1974] 1991, p.392.

Yoshiaki Tōno, art critic and curator who had been coining the term "Anti-Art" in the early 1960s, and Isozaki agreed 1966 that such labeling, as much as thinking in oppositional binaries made not much sense.[936] Himself a member of the plaza's planning committee, it comes as no surprise, Tōno defended the artists taking part in the world fair: [937]

[…] *Criticizing artists for becoming the pawns of companies and the establishment would be a bit mean-spirited. The anti-Expo movement has branded the event a conspiracy organized by state power in order to divert the fight against the US-Japan security treaty, and denounced it as boisterous revelry carried out to improve 'national prestige.' […] But criticizing artists for participating in the event as if one were indicting a war criminal is feebleminded. This is because the contradictions inherent in the political reality of Japan and revealed in the Expo will remain in our everyday lives regardless of the event. […] Rather than just criticizing the Expo, there are artists who sense a huge contradiction in the continuity of everyday life and think that the only way to continue creating and living meaningfully is within the contradiction itself.*

Mediating Relations

Katsuhiro Yamaguchi, co-founder of the Environment Society (*Enbairamento no kai*), had popularized the term "environment" since the mid 1960s in articles,[938] or as co-organizer of exhibitions. Joining art and technology in intermedia projects and design objects, he drew on theories of relational perception. An increased interest in the public sphere and rhythms of everyday life, changed by rapid urbanization, gave rise to a broad range of interpretations. Using the buzzword, artist and architects referred to the relation between city and buildings, grids and cells, human and technology, man and matter, visible and invisible, and even to the search for interstices in the urban fabric.

Meanwhile Anti-*Anpo* and an Anti-Expo movement joined forces with several artist groups, peace activists as the *Beheiren* and student circles. Stripped down to the naked body the Expo 70 Distruction Joint Struggle Group protested against the use of technology.[939] Official invitations to participate in Expo '70 to a large number of artists from different generations, known for their subversive actions in and outside institutions as for example Jirō Takamatsu (*Hi Red Center*), Nobuo Sekine (*Mono-Ha*), Tomio Miki (*Neo-Dada-Organizers*), Katsuhiro Yamaguchi (*Jikken Kōbō*), or

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[936] Yoshiaki Tōno, "Between Art and Design," trans. Christopher Stevens, in: *From Postwar to Postmodern. Art in Japan 1945-1989. Primary Documents*, Doryun Chong, Michio Hayashi, Kenji Kajiya et al. (eds.), New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2012, pp.191-193, [first: 1966].

[937] Idem: "Artists Participating in the World Expo, Speak Out!," trans. Christopher Stevens, in: Ibid., p.251, [first: 1970].

[938] See Yamaguchi, Katsuhiro, e.g. his 1967 series of articles for *Bijutsu techō* under the general title "Living Avant-garde" (*Ikite iru zen'ei*), in: *Bijutsu techō*, nos. 278-289, (1967).

[939] Eckersall, Peter: *Performativity and Event in 1960s Japan. City, Body, Memory*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013, pp.15-36.

Tadanori Yokoo (*Tenjō Sajiki*) stirred up heated debates. Very different in approach, they had tested the limits to art over the last decade.[940]

Appointed pavilion 'producers' like Katsuhiro Yamaguchi (*Mitsui* Group) or Fujiko Nakaya (Pepsi Pavilion) weighed in their lectures,[941] psychedelic shows and expanded cinema projects potential and problems of their praxis,[942] undeniably looking forward to realizing large-scale intermedia environments. Looking for answers to political implications from right to left the Tokyo art scene gathering since 1958 in the Ikebana school, (music-)performance and experimental cinema venue Sōgetsu Art Center organized the symposium *Ex・pose '68. Nanika itte kure, ima sagasu* (Expose '68. Say Something Now, I Am Searching for Something to Say) (Fig.250).[943] Over the course of the 1960s the events held at Sōgetsu Art Center had not only given opportunity for a dialogue with artists like John Cage, David Tudor, Jasper Johns, Robert Rauschenberg and the New York Fluxus scene. They also brought architect Isozaki, filmmaker Hiroshi Teshigahara, and artist Tomio Miki to collaborate on the movie "The Face of Another" (*Tanin no kao*, 1966), based on a novel by Kōbō Abe. As if the trio anticipated its own conflicting engagement in the fair, the film picks up the drama of a man suffering a dissociative crisis: After having been defaced in an accident at the industrial plant he works for, he adopts a mask. Gradually taking control over his mind and behavior, the mask engenders various conflicts, while the cityscape around him is captured in a state of flux.

Collaborations within the Japanese art and technology movements had started from experiments with slide-projectors, stereo radio, and porta-pak video, and were slowly moving toward computer-based art.[944] They can be traced to the alternative art school Black Mountain College – an intersection in the biographies of protagonists like Robert Rauschenberg and

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[940] See: Idem: *Theorizing the Angura Space. Avant-garde Performance and Politics in Japan 1960–2000* (Brill's Japanese Studies Library 23), Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006.

[941] For a detailed account on E.A.T member Fujiko Nakaya's involvment in the Pepsi Pavilion at Expo '70, see: Ikegami, Hiroko: "'World Without Boundaries'? E.A.T. and the Pepsi Pavilion at Expo '70, Osaka," in: *Expo '70 and Japanese Art: Dissonant Voices* (Review of Japanese Culture and Society 23), Midori Yoshimoto (ed.), Tokyo: Jōsai International Center for the Promotion of Art and Science, Jōsai University, 2011, pp.174-190, p.185; see also: Sumitomo Fumihiko (ed): "Heading Towards the Unimaginable," in: *Possible Futures. Japanese Postwar Art and Technology. Āto to tekunoroji no kakō to mirai* [Art and Technology's Past and Future], exh. cat. ICC Intercommunication Center, Tokyo Opera City, 2005, Tokyo: NTT Publishing Co.,Ltd. 2005, pp.15-21.

[942] For an as nuanced as informative cross-media consideration of the discourse on moving images, reflection and reality in Japan c.1960–1972, see: Furuhata, Yuriko: *Cinema of Actuality: Japanese Avant-Garde Filmmaking in the Season of Image Politics* (Asia-Pacific: Culture, Politics, and Society Series), Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2013.

[943] Ōki, Katsuni: "Expose 1968 nanika itte kure, ima sagasu, hihyō" [Expose '68. Say Something Now, I Am Searching for Something to Say, Criticism], in: *Dezain hihyō* [Design Critique], no. 6 (July, 1968), pp.112-116-

[944] For a very informative summary see: Sas, Myriam: "Intermedia, 1955-1970," in: *Tokyo 1955-1970. A New Avant-Garde*, exh. cat. The Museum of Modern Art New York, 2012-2013, Doryun Chong (ed.), New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2012, pp.138-157; for an extended analysis in case studies see also: idem: *Experimental Arts in Postwar Japan: Moments of Encounter, Engagement, and Imagined Return* (Harvard East Asian Monographs 329), Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2011.

Buckminster Fuller, as well as Japanese composer Toshi Ichiyanagi. Fluxus artist Yasunao Tone thus hit the nail stating in 1967 already: [945]

And there is also no question that the synthetic universe of the age of electronic technology has made unification possible for the first time. Everything that cannot be comprehended by an individualistic artistic perspective, such as miniskirts, LSD, the sound of the electric guitar, hippies, orgism, and oral contraceptives, has been unified into a technocratic, synthetic universe. […] We have the light, sound and motion shows that Group USCO frequently stages at discotheques. […], the electric-guitar band the Velvet Underground performs. […] This technocratic civilization was bred in the underground. […] this kind of image seems to be the reason that many artists [start to] resist being called 'underground.'

In his analysis of the interweaving of military-industrial complex, counterculture, and corporation architecture historian Fred Turner telescopes the mechanism of the world fair and the commercial Pepsi pavilion.[946] Many a Japanese company followed the collaborative example set between PepsiCo Inc. and Billy Klüver's joint artist-engineer project E.A.T. (Experiments in Art and Technology), inviting well-known artists, among which important voices in the postwar discussion on the blurring of art and life to collaborate with technicians (Fig.251). Among them were some of the artists, who had infiltrated the public sphere of city streets with their actions against control and uniformity in progressing urbanization, but who of them helmed the coding of corporate images by staging them as "performances,"[947] has again to be carefully differentiated. Nevertheless the artistic engagement or "mobilization," as Noi Sawaragi would term it, eventually reflects a process of mutual adaptation and appropriation between art, culture, and corporations. If a peculiar blending of phenomenological approach and cybernetics gave rise to ambiguous figures, Turner makes a compelling case for what Fredric Jameson termed the "the cultural logic of late capitalism."[948]

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[945] Yasunao Tone, "A Tectonic Shift in Art: From the Expo to the Hippie Movement," trans. Christopher Stevens, in: *From Postwar to Postmodern. Art in Japan 1945-1989. Primary Documents*, Doryun Chong, Michio Hayashi, Kenji Kajiya et al. (eds.), New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2012, erp.243, [first: 1967].

[946] Turner, Fred: "The Corporation and the Coutnerculture. Revisiting the Pepsi Pavilion and the Politics of Cold War Multimedia," in: *The Velvet Light Trap*, no. 73, (Spring, 2014), pp. 66-78.

[947] Roche, Maurice: Mega-Events and Modernity: Olympics and Expos and the Growth of Global Culture, 2000, p.9f; Eckersall speaks of the "performance complex" defined as mix of different performance genres: ritual, ceremony, drama, theatre, festival, carnival, celebration, spectacle, see: Eckersall, Peter: *Performativity and Event in 1960s Japan: City, Body, Memory*, London: Palgrave, 2013, p.109.

[948] Jameson, Fredric: *Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Capitalism*, Durham: Duke University Press, 1991.

4.2. Evacuation: "On this Land we Have no Country – Public Nuisances Campaign"

4.2.1 The Bird's Eye View – Out of Focus

Visiting the exhibition *1968 – Japanese Photography. Photographs that stirred up debate, 1966 – 1974* at the Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography in summer 2013 offers a complementary introduction to Expo '70,[949] and the larger topic of the somewhat inlaftionary use of the term "environment" with its broad implications:[950] Through a first encounter with two reproduced photographs by Japanese photographer Shōmei Tōmatsu's (1930–2012) bright blue series entitled "The Sea Around Us"[951] (*Warera o meguru umi*) issued in 1966 right at the entry, my attention is drawn to a series of sparse black and white photographs exhibited in one of the last corners of the exhibition space, not least due to their intriguing caption: "1970, August, 29 Fisherman's Meeting Against 'Gakunan' Sewage, Fuji, 33.7 × 43.2 cm." The little, white card further tells, the the is attributed to the All Japan Students Photo Association and has been circulated as part of a photo series published as *On this Land we Have no Country*, realized by the so-called "Pollution Campaign Committee." Gaining distance to the relatively small photgraphs by removing a few steps from the wall, I remark the Students Photo Association's photographs are actually quite numerous in this presentation. Each of the anonymous photographs is taken at specific places or regions on the political territory of Japan. Also, the shots often index specific moments in time, events marked by a date, or vice versa: Historical events, more or less known to the visitor as a function of his or her knowledge of the social and political history of the country. A moment ago, I had glimpsed at the shortguide, while looking at a series of photographs entitled "Hiroshima," provided by the same group (Fig.252). Now, I am asking myself, how a multitude of local university photo clubs organized itself on a very practical level. Curator Ryūichi Kaneko explains: "It was not […] until postwar, in 1952, that a nationwide organization […] was founded. According to Tōmatsu Shōmei, […] there were already photography associations in the Kansai and Chubu. […] By 1959, the organization had grown to include 234 universities, 931 high schools, and 34,347 student photographers."[952]

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[949] See: *Nihon shashin no 1968. 1968 – Japanese Photography. Photographs that Stirred up Debate, 1966–1974*, exh. cat. Tokyo Metropolitan Government and Metropolitan Museum of Photography, 2013, Ryuichi Kaneko (ed.), Tokyo: Metropolitan Museum of Photography, 2013.

[950] Ibid.

[951] Tōmatsu, Shōmei: "The Sea Around Us. Looking for Point P.," in: *Camera Mainichi* [Camera Daily], (December, 1966). For an insightful analysis of Tōmatsu's cause to visit Okinawa in accordance with his earlier documentation of U.S. military bases as liminal spaces, or e.g. the plague of red algae, he discovered in the deep blue sea, see: Matsumoto, Tōru: "On the Okinawa Photographs by Shōmei Tōmatsu," in: *Interface: Tōmatsu Shōmei*, no. 21, 1996, n.p.; See also: Philips, Sandra S. (ed.): "Currents in Photography in Postwar Japan," in: *Shōmei Tōmatsu. Skin of the Nation*, exh. cat. San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, 2004, San Francisco and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004, pp, 42-57.

[952] Kaneko, Riyuichi (ed.): "Photography as Deed. The Founding and First Transformation of the All Japan Students Photo Association," in: *Nihon shashin no 1968. 1968 – Japanese Photography. Photographs that Stirred up Debate, 1966–1974*, exh. cat. Tokyo Metropolitan Government and Metropolitan Museum of Photography, 2013, pp.XLIII-XLVII.

Shifting perspective and focus, I hence dedicate this chapter to the independent photo-publication *Kono chijō ni ware ware no kuni wa nai*[953] and its production context (Fig.253). By considering not only formal aspects of the photographs circulated in the small numbered zine, but also its editorial strategy. This will enable us to confront the widely spread official images of Expo '70 with a sensibility for perspective, as well as for the paradoxical coining of the word "environment" (*kankyō*) in this context. I will eventually sum-up some of the problems addressed, with a view to Shōmei Tōmatsu's conceptual and thoroughly independent publication of the magazine *Ken* – an ardent Anti-Expo statement (Fig.254, Fig.255).[954]

But first, let us come back again to the incident, mentioned on occasion of a first encounter with the photographs by the *All Japan Students Photo Association*. On August 28, 1970 fishermen held a demonstration to protest against the Daishowa Paper Manufacturing Company. On of its paper factories had released a huge amount of toxic industrial sludge into the sea. About 4,200 fishermen of 18 unions gathered in the Tagonoura harbor of Fuji City in Shizuoka prefecture to hold speeches and block Suruga Bay with 144 boats and ships.[955] Toward 1970 the protest woud lead to new fundamental legislations against environmental pollution.[956] The newspapers Asahi Shimbun and Mainichi Shimbun, both covered the incident, the pollution, and the protest in 1970.[957]

The photographs published alongside their reports could yet not have differed more (Fig.256, Fig.257). Whereas one photo depicts the extent of the catastrophe in a bird's eye view over the sea's marbeled mirror, the second example depicts some people sitting on a bench, has yet been developed using contamined water. Since the polluted water interfered with the chemical process at work, attacking the materiality of the photograph what is *on* the photograph is barely recognizable, while the photo embodies the substantial transformation of the surface. The poisonous effects of the sewage incident on land and sea are hence graspable in the very texture of the print.

In *On this Land we Have no Country* the *All Japan Students Photo Association* on the other hand issued a broad range of photographs, collecting various incidents caused by, e.g. chemical industry polluting air, sea, and land – i.e. people's "common ground." Although the images

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[953] *Kono chijō ni ware ware no kuni wa nai* [No Country on this Land for Us], All Japan Students Photo Association Pollution Campaign Committee (ed.), 1972; (Booklet, 22 x c. 14 cm).

[954] In this regard the reading of Yasufumi Nakamori's paper is most insightful, see: "Criticism of Expo '70 in Print: Journals *Ken, Bijutsu techō,* and *Dezain hihyō*," in: *Expo '70 and Japanese Art: Dissonant Voices* (Review of Japanese Culture and Society), Midori Yoshimoto (ed.), Sakado City: Josai International Center for the Promotion of Art and Science, Josai University, 2011, pp.132-144.

[955] See: "Ōhara kuronika: Shakai rōdō undō dai nenpyō, kaisetsu-hen" [Ōhara Chronicles: Comment on the Large Chronology of Social and Labor Movements], *The Ohara Institute for Social Research, Hosei University*, online dictionary, (accessed through: <http://oohara.mt.tama.hosei.ac.jp/khronika/1970/1970_33.html>, last access: 10.7.2013).

[956] Upham 1993, p.338-344.

[957] Okuhira, Yasuhiro: "Shashin hyōgen no jiyū to kisei no sengo-shi", in: *Japanese Contemporary Photography History 1945-1970*, vol. II/II, Japan Photographers Association (ed.), Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1977, pp.82-83, pp.499-502.

assembled are featuring different places all over Japan, addressing health issues and latent diseases caused by pollution,[958] including photographs of suffering persons, as well as desolate housing conditions, a relatively large number of images of the actual production sites, for example petrochemical plants, catches my eye when flipping through the booklet some weeks later at the National Diet Library. The small publication is issued to read like a western book, from left to right. Black and white photographs provide consistency by means of differing formats and orientation lining up as a fragmented whole. The booklet – a plain low cost product – appears as an object to be touched, reversed and flipped, rather than gazed at. Soil, air, and water are addressed indirectly by choosing most often a bird's eye view on the industrial plants, and their placement in the environment (Fig.258, Fig.259). The images underline either the urban pattern factories are imposing themselves in or convey a picture of smoke and smog emitting structures, comparable to ocean ships run aground. The so-called nature surrounding them is revealed as man-made landscape, that bears the imprint or scars of industrialization.

Let us take a closer look at two of these images. Although the reproductions shown here may exaggerate the contrast as compositional element due to the rather bad quality of my slides, nevertheless the roughness of the pictures, their intimidating darkness is intentionally set, and can be perceived as well while looking at the actual publication. White billow hanging in the air enveloping high pointing steel constructions draws our attention to the immaterial atmosphere, the existential environment of a bird, where he catches this view flying across the sky. They eventually bring to mind: it is the air we breathe. To further analyze formal aspects of these photographs let me shortly elaborate on the *All Japan Students Photo Association* (*Zen nihon gakusei shashin renmei*).

4.2.2 The Aesthetics of Protest

All Japan Student Photo Association (Zen Nihon gakusei shashin renmei)

The *Zen Nihon gakusei shashin renmei* emerged in 1952 under chairman Tokujiro Kanamori as the joint league of Metropolitan university photo clubs, i.e. *Rokudaigaku shashin renmei* all Kyoto-Osaka university clubs, the *Kansai gakusei shashin renmei*, sponsored by Asahi Shimbun and Fuji Film. According to a booklet released by the association in 1957, over the course of five years the league included now nearly 30'000 students of 1020 universities and high schools from Hokkaido to Kyushu.

Photographers and critics as Hiroshi Hamaya, Ken Domon, Hideo Haga, and Tsutomu Watanabe were appointed instructors of workshops and organizers of events in the early years. In the mid 1960s the association left its sponsors and became independent. Tatsuo Fukushima, who

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[958] Artists started documenting the effects summarized as "Minamata-Disease."

had organized exhibitions for the famous photography agency *VIVO* and its members in late 1950s,[959] was invited to preside the selection of photographs. Also, he helped editing the students' works in order to get them published in form of an independent magazine by the title of *Jōkyō* (Situation).

Jōkyō (Situation), 1965–1972

The confirmed issues of the magazine date to 1965 (actually published in February 1966), 1966 (actually published in August 1968). Additional issues, addressing specific themes in 1969, 1970, 1972 were co-published by a publisher named K.K. 491 – an ex-member's own publishing house – and edited by the association's "Campaign Committee" (Fig.260). Special issues by other committees encompass e.g. the 10.21 Day committee, the *Kogai* campaign committee, and the Hiroshima Day committee. The *Jōkyō* magazines started to show an apparent resemblance to *Provoke* photography after 1968.[960]

Let us shortly contrast the grassroot movement to the *Provoke* circle of photograhpers making part of the intertwined network of left wing forces. Had the *Provoke* aesthetics been a point of orientation for the students? When we think of the term "*are-bure-boke*" (grainy, blurry, out-of-focus) coined by Takuma Nakahira and Daidō Moriyama, which of course has become a sort of cliché when addressing *Provoke*, I would argue that the student photos reveal neverthelss an independent, specific interpretation of the features invoked. Dealing with a rather static image, they introduce blur and uncertainty not as decidedly in terms of movement or double exposure, but stage billow instead as a recurrent motive. The grainy texture of the prints draws attention to the physicality of the photograph and its irreversible materiality. Also, we have to differentiate the student organization from the actors engaged in the publication of *Provoke* first and foremost because of the anonymity of the student circles, putting forward the multitude without featuring names nor spotlighting authors, despite the inclusion of actual texts. As proven amateur photography, the photos by the *All Japan Students Photo Association* convey perspectives of a rising generation, dealing with the vexed issue of subjectivity in a different way. They present another take on the realism debate introduced earlier, negotiating between photojournalism and contemporary artistic production. Photo historian Riyūchi Kaneko clears the bewildering aesthetic similarities up:[961]

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[959] In 1957 the critic Tatsuo Fukushima formed the seminal group *Junin no me* (Eyes of Ten) bringing together ten of the most exciting young photographers of the time, including Hosoe Eikoh and Tōmatsu Shōmei. Although short-lived, this group encompassed a wide variety of photographic styles, but all memebers shared a fascination with the growing Western influence in Japan and an increasing affirmation of a new approach to documentary photography. With the subsequent creation of the photographic agency VIVO, a new movement of personal or subjective documentary was crystallizing.

[960] Some facts mentioned by the related persons: Fukushima, Tatsuo, in: KEN, no. 1, (1970), pp.134-145, in: *Ken*, no. 3, (1971) pp.90-96; Iwakata, Koji 's report from Hiroshima in: *KEN*, no. 2, pp.95-96.

[961] Kaneko, Riyūichi (ed.): "Photography as Deed. The Founding and First Transformation of the All Japan Students Photo Association," in: *Nihon shashin no 1968. 1968 – Japanese Photography. Photographs that*

> *By definition the photographers were amateurs and did not have professional equipment, such as the appropriate lenses, lighting equipment, or even film. […] the students used the least expensive film available, which was ill-suited to the conditions. The blurry and out-of-focus images were not a matter of artistic choice but of unavoidable technical shortcomings. In a way these students accidentally achieved the same effects that Takuma Nakahira and Daidō Moriyama deliberatly pursued with there 'are-bure-boke' photography.*

Inverting Perspectives

While the anti-pollution campaign, documented in the publication *On this Land we have no Country* (*Kono chijō ni ware ware no kuni wa nai*) took place, in Osaka Expo '70 was held. Expo '70 was regarded a celebration of utopian visions, which had turned out to be a reactionary spectacle, a set up of moving and projecting 'flexible' infrastructures understood as an all encompassing informational environment, yet fixing hierarchy and structure, while fostering privatization by introducing a new emphasis of commercial pavilions on the exhibition grounds. Before deepening this of course far too quick and oversimplifying introduction of Expo '70, let us move on and have a look at some of the images of the Expo '70 site, circulating at the time in mass media and magazines of official character. In this first aerial view the site of Expo '70 stretches out as tree with a trunk structure (Fig.261). The perspective emphasizes regulation and order while the structures seem to mimick a fun park. The crisp quality of the photograph traces the lines of Kenzō Tange's masterplan on a two dimensional level, although the term network resonates in all rhethoric produced to embed those images. Compared to the approach of the *All Japan Students Photo Association* it embodies of course a completely different notion of the terms network and environment. This becomes even clearer when we consider a random issue of the *Expo Magazine*, published form 1967 to 1970 to promote the Expo (Fig.262). On the first pages of the 1967 issue we find some colorful photographs taken on the site selected for putting up Expo '70. Seemingly picturing a natural reserve the photos harmonize the project of Expo '70 corresponding to its motto "Harmony and Progress for Mankind." In these images, which are yet not taken from an aerial perspective but from below, hierarchy is implied by a different angle. We are supposed to look up to something to come, to be built as the wooden post implies. A picture of the 'natural environment' serves in this case to naturalize not only the project of Expo '70, but also the process of economic and industrial growth, aligning to a certain extent with biological terminologies manifested by *Metabolism* in 1960 (Fig.263, Fig.264).

  If the *All Japan Student Photo Association* adopted the bird's eye view, defamiliarizing the image of industrial production through rough and grainy textures gesturing at pollution, whereas the promoters of Expo '70 chose naturalizing imagery a bottom-up perspectives, reaffirming the

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Stirred up Debate, 1966–1974, exh. cat. Tokyo Metropolitan Governement and Metropolitan Museum of Photography, 2013, pp.XLIII-XLVII.

rhethorics of growth. The black and white photoprints might have been less expensive in production, yet Shōmatsu Tōmei points with his visual Expo criticism in the self-published magazine *Ken* out that his series of black and white photographs with their grainy textures, and out-of-focus views of Expo '70 intentionally countered the crisp and colorful images dispersed by the national broadcasting agency *NHK* and the advertising agency Dentsū. Art and architecture historian Yasufumi Nakamori concludes: "The quarterly journal *Ken*, independently published by shaken, a publisher founded by Tōmatsu (Fig.265), had a brief life span, from 1970 to 1971. Even though only three issues of the journal were published, they are the best examples of the print-based anti-Expo '70 discourse in Japan, which constituted a network of small independent publications with a strong emphasis on photography." One of those small independent publications was *Kono chijō ni wa wareware no kuni wa nai* (No Country on This Land for Us). It evacuated the attention from Expo '70 to the landscapes industrial conglomerates produced countering their image, staged and advertised in the multi-mediated pavilions on the Expo grounds.

4.3 Everting the Machine? – The Mitsui Group Pavilion as Total Theater

Yamaguchi Katsuhiro called his environmental design for the Mitsui Group Pavilion at Osaka Expo '70 a "cybernetic staging."[962] The building, representing the corporate conglomerate, was itself made as a device encompassing the visitor in a media shell. Yet his ephemeral "Total Theater" is fairly discussed.[963] In their recent illuminating analyses, art historians Midori Yoshimoto and Myriam Sas,[964] characterize the Japanese Environmental Art movement of the 1960's as a prologue of New Media Art. If what has been labeled "Expo-Art"[965] reflects the reception of cybernetics, it should be considered within architectural discourse. This case study investigates the pavilion's design in terms of material development, social relations, and the visitor participation. I will argue in the following that in this network of agents, the remix of ideas in Yamaguchi's design offers a theoretical twist. But let me shortly recall some of the circumstances introduced earlier.

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[962] Yamaguchi, K. (1970): " EXPO'70 = Hassō kara kansei made – Totaru shiatā no kokoromi (Mitsui-kan)" [EXPO'70 = From Idea to Completion. Try for Total Theater (Mitsui Hall)], in: *Bijutsu techō*, no. 326, (April, 1970), pp.18: "Kyukei-shitsudearu omoide no kukan wa, jibun ni kaeru tame no fidobakku o kangaeta saibanetikkusuna enshutsu ni natte iru." [The space of memory is a room to take a break in order to find back to oneself and reflect the experience, therefore it becomes a cybernetic staging].

[963] Ibid.

[964] See Sas, Myriam: "Intermedia 1955–1970", *Tokyo 1955-1970. A New Avant-garde*, exh. cat. Museum of Modern Art New York, 2012-2013, New York: MoMA, 2012, pp.138-157; Idem: *Experimental Arts in Postwar Japan: Moments of Encounter, Engagement, and Imagined Return* (Harvard East Asian Monographs 329), Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2011; Yoshimoto, Midori: "From Space to Environment: The Origins of Kankyo and the Emergence of Intermedia Art in Japan", in: *Art Journal*, vol. 67, no. 3, (fall, 2008), pp.24-45; Idem: "Expo '70 and Japanese Art: Dissonant Voices. An Introduction and Commentary", *Expo '70 and Japanese Art: Dissonant Voices*, Tokyo: Josai University Press, 2011, pp.1-12.

[965] See Isozaki, Arata: "Banpaku ato (?) no koro o omoidashite mita", in: *Hankaiso*, Tokyo: A.D.A. Edita, pp.204-216, 2001, cit. after: Idem: "Recalling the Days of Expo Art", trans. Machida Gen, in: *Expo '70 and Japanese Art: Dissonant Voices* (Josai University Review of Japanese Culture and Society 23), Midori Yoshimoto (ed.), Tokyo: Josai University Press, 2011, pp.72-79.

4.3.1 Producing Dramatic Space for Mitsui

Emphasizing organization Kenzō Tange, still referencing the metaphorically named *Metabolism*[966] (1960) movement, implemented his master plan – the "tree trunk structure" – as a software-like supply environment connected to rationalized space frames such as the Festival Plaza's rooftop.[967] Meanwhile Arata Isozaki developed the plaza from his manifesto "Invisible City"[968] (1966), in which he drew on Norbert Wiener's cybernetic theory[969] (1948) as a tool to structure the planning process,[970] and introduced Marshall McLuhan's media theory[971] (1964). Crucial to Isozaki's interpretation of the environment as a communication system were the invisible layers of semiotic information.[972] Despite airy notions of the invisible, however, Expo '70 operated an energy consuming infrastructure including the overspill town of Senri Hills – all powered by Japan's first commercial atomic reactor.[973] A myriad of encapsulated spaces the Expo theme park was a labyrinth of consumption (Fig.266). *Fuji, Hitachi, Sumitomo, Midori*[974] – were just a few among the

[966] Kikutake, K. et al. (eds., 1960): *Metabolism 1960. The Proposals for New Urbanism*, Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppan-sha.

[967] Tange, K. (1969): "Trunk Facility", *Japan Architect* (Special Edition: Expo '70 Projects), no 147, 6/1970, n. pag.

[968] Isozaki, Arata: "Mienai toshi" [Invisible City], *Kukan e* [Toward Space], no. xy, (1966), pp. 380-404; See Isozaki, Arata: *Welten und Gegenwelten. Gesammelte Schriften*, trans. J. Gleiter, Y. Fukuda et al. (eds.), Bielefeld: transcript, 2011, pp.103-130.

[969] Wiener, N. (1948): Cybernetics: Or Control and Communication in the Animal and the Machine, Paris: Herman. Wiener, N. (1957): Saibanetikkusu: Dōbutsu to kikai ni okeru seigyo to tsūshin [Cybernetics: Or Control in the Animal and Machine], trans. Ikehara, S. et al., Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten; Regarding the lecture series see: "Chronology," website, (accessed through: <http://libraries.mit.edu/archives/research/collections/collections-mc/mc22.html>, last consulted 27.10.2013), and resonating in Hayashi, Y. (1969): Johoka Shakai: Hado No Shakai Kara Sofuto no Shakai e (Kodansha Gendaishinsho, 187) [The Information Society. From Hard Society to Soft Society], Tokyo: Kodansha; See Hyunjung, C. (2011): "Expo '70: The Model City of an Information Society", Expo '70 and Japanese Art: Dissonant Voices, Yoshimoto, M. (ed., 2011), Tokyo: Josai University Press, pp.57-71; Georg Vrachliotis recently highlighted Kenzo Tange's unsuccessful attempts to invite German cybernetician Max Bense, teacher at the Hochschule für Gestaltung Ulm from 1953 to 1958, as a guest speaker to the World Design Conference in 1960, see Vrachliotis, G. (2012): Geregelte Verhältnisse. Architektur und technisches Denken in der Epoche der Kybernetik, pp. 56-58.

[970] Hyunjung, C. (2011): "Expo '70: The Model City of an Information Society", *Expo '70 and Japanese Art: Dissonant Voices*, Yoshimoto, M. (ed., 2011), Tokyo: Josai University Press, pp.57-71.

[971] McLuhan, Marshall: *Understanding Media: The Extension of Man*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964. The Japanese translation (trans. Goto Kazuhiko and Takagi Susumu; Takeuchi Shoten) was issued in 1967, soon to be followed by translations of his *The Mechanical Bride: Folklore of Industrial Man* (trans. Isaka Manabu; Takeuchi Shoten) and *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man* (trans. Takagi Susumu; Takeuchi Shoten) in 1968, see also: Hayashi, M. (2012): "Tracing the Graphic in Postwar Japanese Art", *Tokyo 1955-1970. A New Avant-garde*, exh. cat. The Museum of Modern Art New York 2012-2013, New York: MoMA, 2012, pp.94-119.

[972] E.g., Japanese family emblems (*mon*) that assigned property and structured the city in Edo-time maps of Tokyo, see: Isozaki, Arata: "Mienai toshi" [Invisible City], *Kukan-e*, 1966, pp. 380-404; cit. after Isozaki, Arata: "Invisible City," in: *Welten und Gegenwelten. Gesammelte Schriften*, trans J. Gleiter, Y. Fukuda et al. (eds.), Bielefeld: transcript, 2011, p.120.

[973] See Yoshimoto, Midori (ed.): "An Introduction and Commentary," in: *Expo '70 and Japanese Art: Dissonant Voices* (Josai University Review of Japanese Culture and Society 23), Tokyo: Josai University Press, 2011, p.9; Tsuruga Nuclear Power Plant reactor no. 1, built by General Electric, owned and run by the privat Japan Atmoic Power Company started operation on March 14, 1970 – the day of Osaka Expo's opening ceremony. Recent findings prove the reactor was built on an active fault, see: Kyodo: "NRA backs Tsuruga active fault findings," in: *Japan Times*, online issue, 23.5.2013, (accessed through: <http://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2013/05/23/national/nra-backs-tsuruga-active-fault-finding/#.UnSHz5RVSm9>, last access16.8.2013).

[974] These companies were called *keiretsu*, which means, "system" and "row," used more and more generally to mean an alliance of companies and individuals working together for mutual benefit, originally limited to nine major economic groupings like Mitsui, and assembled after WWII. Each had its own bank and trading house,

34 installed corporate pavilions, along with 76 national ones[975] – reiterating the same concept in different guises, these often dome shaped, prefabricated geodetic structures referenced Buckminster Fuller's Montreal biosphere.[976] They competed for visitor attention by offering not only light and sound shows, but multi-image films combinig elements of theater, cinema, and panorama.

Bringing different agents together, the Mitsui Group Pavilion was a spatial device, and Yamaguchi the point, where all threads ran together (Fig.267). The Mitsui Group, had it's Edo-period roots as a family of successful merchants within feudal Japan's warrior class. Before WWII, it was one of Japan's four leading financial cliques, [977] but dissolved due to postwar economic reform, only to reassemble in 1950. In 1970, the group of 32 listed companies held over one thousand enterprises. The conglomorate's investment in welfare and education, e.g., the donation of the Mitsui Memorial Hospital (1970), a computerized medical analysis facility,[978] and a professorship to the MIT, dressed business activities – such as that of a petrochemical project, a joint venture with the Iranian government (1971).[979]

The Mitsui Group directly appointed Katsuhiro Yamaguchi as chief designer for its pavilion in 1967 (Fig.268).[980] Yamaguchi's work focused on kinetics, simultaneity, i.e., the transitory states in the perception of surface, color, light and object (Fig.269).[981] Marked by both old and new Bauhaus, especially László Moholy-Nagy, he had developed a particular interest in the architecture and

often also its own shipping corporation. Only one company from each industry sector could be a group member, while the members agreed on which among them was to invest in a certain product sector, See Mosk, Carl: *Japanese Industrial History. Technology, Urbanization and Economic Growth*, Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 2001, pp.199-201.

[975] See Gardner, William O.: "The 1970 Osaka Expo and/as Science Fiction," in: *Expo '70 and Japanese Art: Dissonant Voices* (Josai University Review of Japanese Culture and Society 23), Midori Yoshimoto (ed.); Tokyo: Josai University Press, 2011, p.30.

[976] In the U.S. countercultural movements widely adopted Fuller's geodetic domes, as DYI housing strucutres for their alternative communal lifestyle in the outback. For an indepth analysis, see: Scott, Felicity D.: *Architecture or Techno-utopia: Politics after Modernism*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2010, pp.151-208.

[977] *Zaibatsu* (literally: financial clique) is a Japanese term referring to industrial and financial business conglomerates as family controlled vertical monopolies whose influence and size allowed control over significant parts of the Japanese economy from the Meiji period until the end of World War II. The first *Zaibatsu* was established by Mitsui; See: Mosk, Carl: *Japanese Industrial History. Technology, Urbanization and Economic Growth*, Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 2001, pp.199-201.

[978] For Tokyo's St. Luke's Hospital, see: Tanaka, Y.: *Mitsui Group. Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow*, Tokyo: Mainichi Shimbun-sha, 1978, pp.44-45.

[979] Ibid., p.40-41.

[980] Without any open call. It is though noteworthy that Yamaguchi's sister was married at the time to one of Mitsui Group's executives, as confirmed in personal interview with Yamaguchi, Katsuhiro, Tama-Plaza, 17.10.2013. The details of the commissioning are still unclear, although Yamaguchi points at some dissent between commissioner and design team about the message(s) to convey, see: Yamaguchi, Katsuhiro: " EXPO'70 = Hassō kara kansei made – Totaru shatā no kokoromi (Mitsui-kan)" [EXPO'70 = From Idea to Completion. Try for Total Theater (Mitsui Hall)], in: *Bijutsu techō*, no. 326, (April, 1970), p.12.

[981] Charles, Christophe: "Yamaguchi Katsuhiro: De l'Atelier Expérimental au Centre des Média et Arts Environnementaux," Ph.D. diss., Tsukuba University, Tokyo, 1996, French online version of the Japanese manuscript, (accessed through: <http://www.olats.org/pionniers/pp/yamaguchi/yamaguchi.php>, last access, 11.12.2015).

correlation theories of Frederick Kiesler.[982] After visiting Kiesler in New York in the late 1950s, Yamaguchi made a series of topological wire-mesh sculptures (Fig.270). Describing the experience of the everyday living space in Tokyo as a flow, Yamaguchi stressed his interest in temporality and the organization of time, proposing to map activity patterns and store them in different layers according to the time frame within which they took place (Fig.271).[983] As a founding member of the artist collective *Jikken Kōbō* (Experimental Workshop, 1951–57) in the 1950s, he had experimented implementing apparatus like *Sony's* first slide projector (Fig.272). Before joining Tokyo's interdisciplinary experimental film and music venue Sōgetsu Art Center,[984] he convinced Tange in 1958 to do a display design for him (Fig.273).[985] With his friend Isozaki, Yamaguchi joined the new Environment Society (*Enbairanmento no kai*), an interdisciplinary group for research in relational space in 1966.[986] As a member of the Expo Research Committee since 1967,[987] Yamaguchi presided from 1969 also the Isozaki-established event production company *Kankyō keikaku* (Environmental Planning Inc.) that realized "Festival Plaza."[988]

4.3.2 Paradise of Creation – Turning the Clock Upside Down

Inside-Out: A Walk Through the Bubble Tunnel

Introducing the topics of communication and expanded experience based upon an a flood of images and sensually perceivable surfaces, rather than distanced products, the *Mitsui* Pavilion was a circular pile of red and blue tubes suspended in a frame of 32 yellow steel pillars symbolizing the same number of sub-companies. While reminiscent of an oversized vacuum cleaner with tentacles, it was surrounded by a giant blue shark-tooth balloon-totem and yellow-white striped, inflatable

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[982] Iguchi, Toshino: "Towards Osaka Expo '70: The Avant-Garde and 'Art and Technology' in Japan", in: *Collection of Papers Dedicated to the 40th Anniversary of the Institute of Art History, Faculty of Philosophy*, Belgrade: University of Belgrade, 2011, n.p.

[983] Yamaguchi, Katsuhiro: "Anata no seikatsu kūkan ni nagere o" [The Flow Through Your Everyday Living Space], in: *Futeikei bijutsuron. Free Forms and Concepts in Art* [Irregular Art Theory. Free Forms and Concepts in Art], Tokyo: Gakugeishorin, 1967, pp.89-91.

[984] Established by Sōfū Teshigahara as Ikebana school, built by Tange and used by a younger generation as performance and happening venue. See: Los Angeles 2007.

[985] Yamaguchi, Katsuhiro: "Oral History Interview with Katsuhiro Yamaguchi," conducted by Fumihiko Sumitomo and Toshino Iguchi, 7.3./7.4.2010, *Oral History Archives of Japanese Art*, website, (accessed through <www.oralarthistory.org>, last access 11.1.2015), trans. Christopher Stephens, (accessed through: <http://post.at.moma.org/content_items/83-interview-with-yamaguchi-katsuhiro>, last access 1.9.2013); Yamaguchi, Katsuhiro: *360°. Katsuhiro Yamaguchi*, with an essay by Jasia Reichardt, Tokyo: Rikuyo-sha Publishing Inc., 1981, p.85.

[986] In his note on the current state of affairs concerning the term environment art critic Shūzō Takiguchi quotes a large section translated from Kiesler's manifesto: "Correalism II," (1965), he includes the following: "The traditional art object, be it a painting, a sculpture, a piece of architecture, is no longer seen as an isolated entity but must be considered within the context of this expanding environment," see: Takiguchi 1966, p.4, cit. after: Yoshimoto 2008, pp.24-45; Kiesler, Frederick: "Second Manifesto of Correalism," in: *Art International*, vol. 9, no. 2, (1965), pp.16-17 [first: idem: Manifeste du Corréalisme," in: *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, no. 2, (1949)].

[987] See: Wesemael 2001, p.600.

[988] Yamaguchi, Katsuhiro: "Conversation with Katsuhiro Yamaguchi," Gabrielle Schaad, Yuriko Yamaguchi, and Toshino Iguchi, Tama-Plaza, 17.10.2013. In 1969 Yamaguchi published an essay on "Art and Cybernetics," The same year the exhibition *Cybernetic Serendipity* organized by Jasia Reichardt took place in London. Yamaguchi exhibited also in the Sony Building in Ginza with Nicolas Schöffer, Heinz Mack and the Japanese Computer Technique Group (CTG) on occasion of *Electromagica. Psytech-Art Exhibition* (1969).

round cushions that increased its *Plug-in- or Living City* character (Fig.274, Fig.275). Moving walkways absorbed the visitors on mirrored slopes, through a multicolored tunnel of foam nests, realized by *Gutai's* Toshio Yoshida,[989] before they emerged in the dome shaped main room (Fig.276, Fig.277). Entering one of the three circular, rotating platforms, of 80 person capacity and a diameter of 6 m, the audience was pushed up and down, while a second oversized turntable rotated the construction from the bottom. The steel frames in the 150ft air filled tower reminded of an aeronautic center. Drawing on Frederick Kiesler's *Endless Theater* (1926),[990] referencing at the same time his earlier *Space Stage* (1924) design (Fig.278), Yamaguchi was about to make the audience the performer. He let it experience time in sequences of physical destabilization, confronting it with a sound installation of recorded and artificial noise composed by Toshi Ichiyanagi and Kejiro Sato. The two of them consulted the entertainment company *Akatsuki kōgei*[991] also on the 1726 speakers to install,[992] while engineer Yoshio Tsukiyo developed a computer-system to distribute the sounds on three speaker panels. The computer was housed in a closed off control room (Fig.279).[993] It "worked in sequences, built as a matrix of 10 different in- and 58 different output-channels, and this matrix would switch every 0.5 seconds."[994] Drawing on Claude E. Shannon's theory of "Communication in the Presence of Noise"[995] (1949), Tsukiyo describes the connection of man and machine as a "mental interface." [996]

The interior design of the pavilion, however, surprised by combining minimalist aesthetic with a spread of white weightless acryl plastic cocoons hovering in the dome as a parasitic nest (Fig.280). Four looped 16mm films projected simultaneously onto three screens, resulted in a

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[989] Yamaguchi, Katsuhiro: "EXPO'70 = Hassō kara kansei made – Totaru shiatā no kokoromi (Mitsui-kan)" [EXPO'70 = From Idea to Completion. Try for Total Theater (Mitsui Hall)], in: *Bijutsu techō*, no. 326, (April, 1970), pp.1-19, p.13.

[990] Iguchi, Toshino: "Towards Osaka Expo '70: The Avant-Garde and 'Art and Technology' in Japan", in: *Collection of Papers Dedicated to the 40th Anniversary of the Institute of Art History, Faculty of Philosophy*, Belgrade: University of Belgrade, 2011, n.p.

[991] *Akatsuki kōgei* is today maintaining the facilities of the Expo Museum in Osaka, (see: <http://www1.odn.ne.jp/~aaj82480/menu.html>, last access 31.10.2013).

[992] Total planner: Katsuhiro Yamaguchi, architect: Takamitsu Azuma, Arch. and Associates, construction: *Kōzō keikaku kenkyūjo*, equipment works: *Nippon kankyō gijutsu, toshi setsubi kenkyūjo*, display equipment: *Akatsuki kōgei*, modelling & interior design: Michio Ihara, Kenchiku zokei kenkyūjo, Kuramata Design Office, sound effect: Toshi Ichiyanagi, Kejiro Sato, Shigenosuke Okuyama, lighting effect: Masaharu Sakamoto, production: Mitsui Construction Co., Ltd. Kajima Corporation J.V., stage effect: Tokyo Electronics Art, cf. Yamaguchi 1981, p.120; Also collaborating were photographer Takayuki Ogawa, poet Hiroshi Kawasaki, Mono-ha sculptor Nobuo Sekine, and Shiro Takahashi, as well as Hakudo Kobayashi. Yoshiaki Tōno figures as design advisor, Junosuke Okuyama was the sound technician from Tokyo Electronics Arts, as well as Mikio Katayama, see: Yamaguchi 1970, p.13.

[993] For an insightful analysis of not only the aesthetics, but governing aspects the imagery of control rooms evoked from military-industrial-complex to Expo '70, see: Furuhata, Yuriko: "Multimedia Environments and Security Operations: Expo '70 as a Laboratory of Governance," in: *Grey Room*, no. 54, (winter, 2014), pp.56-79.

[994] Yamaguchi 1981, p.124; While the word "computer" designated at the time devices from IBM mainframes to individually improvised analogue machines, see: Fernández, María: "Detached from History: Jasia Reichardt and Cybernetic Serendipity", in: *Art Journal*, vol. 67, no. 3, (fall, 2008), pp.6-23. No further details of the Mitsui-system have been conveyed.

[995] Shannon, Claude E.:"Communication in the Presence of Noise," *Proceedings of IRE* [Institute of Radio Engineers], vol. 37, (1949), pp.10-21.

[996] See: Tsukio, Yoshio: "Expo '70 Enshutsu no gijutsu: Seigyo kiko" [Expo '70 Production Technology: Control Mechanisms], in: *Bijutsu techō*, no. 326, (April, 1970), pp.121-125.

montage realizing according to Yamaguchi Sergei Eisenstein's "Montage of Attractions"[997] (1923), "building a 'construction that has impact' (the performance as a whole), instead of static 'reflection' of a given event necessary for the theme,"[998] a "Space Revue" showed films documenting depopulated wastelands and broken airplanes at the shoreline of the *Tōhoku* area, but also human bodies, a clock-work, architecture, colored images of microbiologic organisms. It created a tension between modernist development and postindustrial landscape.[999] Yamaguchi indeed saw his contribution as a reverse-interpretation of Eisenstein, who had been inspired by elements of Kabuki theater.[1000] On the other hand, revolving stages have a long tradition in the classical *Kabuki* stage setting. Theater historian Toshio Kawataka dedicates "The Revolving Stage and the Trap Door" an article in his series on forms, formats, and traditions in *Kabuki* for the international issue of *Shikenchiku* (New Architecture) – the *Japan Architect* in 1962, stating: "At the Kabuki theater in Tokyo today the revolving stage has a diameter of 18.18 meters. It is supported by means of a shaft resting in a deep pit underneath the stage and turned by an electric motor. [...] The most obvious purpose of the revolving stage is to permit a smooth change from one set to another. [...] The revolving stage is used even more often to show a transfer from one set to another closely related than it is to emphasize contrast [...] The effect is to add a new dimension to the stage."[1001]

In an S-shaped "dialogue"-tunnel leading out of the building, the "pheonomenological"[1002] and conceptual images of human shadows,[1003] printed on metallic grey iridescent, grooved ground – an artwork by artist Jirō Takamatsu (1936–1998) – should according to Yamaguchi create a realm for discussion and self-reflection (Fig.281). Adjacent to this course a bright staircase, designed by Shiro Kuramata, served as lounge, while a small room furnished with seats was situated along the passage as "space of memories" (*omoide no kūkan*) (Fig.282). Despite all circularity in the pavilion the "feedback-mechanism" (*fidobakku*) invoked, was not only a mainly metaphorical one, moreover it turned out to be a one-way street leading toward the exit. The experience was possibly effective on the human being, as far as one regards a person or human being as a psychological and

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[997] Eisenstein, Sergei: "Montazh atraktsionov" [Montage of Attractions], *LEF* (Left Front of the Arts), no. 3, (1923), pp.70-75, adapting strategies from Kabuki.

[998] Cf.: Eisenstein, Sergei: "Montage of Attractions. For 'Enough Stupidity in Every Wiseman," trans. Daniel Gerould, in: *The Drama Review: TDR*, vol. 18, no. 1, special issue: Popular Entertainments, (March, 1974), pp.77-85, p.79.

[999] As concluded from slightly differing accounts in interview with Yamaguchi, K., Tama-Plaza, 17.10.2013 and Ichirō Haryū's review, see: Haryū, Ichirō: "Expo'70 as the Ruins of Culture", trans. Ignacio Adriasola, in: *Expo '70 and Japanese Art: Dissonant Voices*, Midori Yoshimoto (ed.), Tokyo: Josai University, 2011, p.53 ["No hai haze toshite no banpaku", in: *KEN*, no. 1, 1970, pp.111-117].

[1000] See: Yamaguchi, Katsuhiro: "Sōgōtekina enshutsu kūkan no sōzō" [The Creation of a Synthetic Mise-en-Scène], in: *Machinami*, no. 9, (September, 2000), n.p.

[1001] Kawatake, Toshio: "The Kabuki Theater – 3. The Revolving Stage and the Trap Door," in: *The Japan Architect. International Issue of Shinkenchiku*, (November, 1962), pp.94-96.

[1002] Mitsuda, Yuri: *Words and Things. Jiro Takamatsu and Japanese Art, 1961–72*, Tokyo: Yumiko Chiba Associates, and New York: Fergus McCaffrey Fine Art, 2012.

[1003] See also: Hayashi, Michio: "In Focus: The Shadow Debate," in: *From Postwar to Postmodern. Art in Japan 1945–1989* (Primary Documents), Doryun Chung, Michio Hayashi, Kenji Kajiya et al. (eds.), New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2012, pp.209-210.

functionalist, self-adjusting machine. The pavilion stayed yet an influencing machine without effective interactive potential. Although physically challenged by color, image, movement and sound as perception triggers, the audience was at no point granted a chance to adjust the system directing its behavior.

From Cave System to Discotheque

We can observe the passive position aatributed to the visitors at an earlier planning stage. The first papier-maché-model by Michio Ihara integrated cranes, a watch put upside down – referring to leisure (Fig.283).[1004] It collaged pop-art fragments like fashion photography with organic shapes (Fig.284). Rooting the concept in constructivist avant-garde theater theory, Yamaguchi as chief designer referred to this "Try For Total Theater"[1005] also as an "endless happening system."[1006] The visitor would use space carriers like a bumper car, mixing media and collected fragments in a reproductive way (Fig.285): The model was published with a diagram, showing the supposed flow of spectators through the cluster of an abstract cave system.[1007] It maps free, as well as directed movement in the guise of a behavioral diagram. Advertised as "Pandora's Box" in which "chaos enables creation,"[1008] the visual communication seems to be borrowed from Heinz Edelman's *Yellow Submarine* Beatles movie (1968), promising hallucinogenic experience to the common man by means of electronic equipment and 'turntables' in an oversized discotheque (Fig.286).

4.3.3 The Paradox of Freedom and Control: "Deus ex Machina"

Critics like Yoshiaki Tōno, who had resigned from *Mitsui* Pavilion's design team,[1009] urged his fellows to reflect their role in the spectacle: "Artists Participating in the World Expo, Speak Out!",[1010] while Ichirō Haryū named designers of a Gesamtkunstwerk for "shrine maidens of this festival, merely satisfying their own individual desires under the public aims of the future city and the information revolution […],"[1011] addressing Katsuhiro Yamaguchi indirectly. Nevertheless, I would argue that at least two of Yamaguchi's decisions stand out (Fig. XY, Fig. XY)

[1004] Yamaguchi, Katsuhiro: "Conversation with Katsuhiro Yamaguchi," Gabrielle Schaad, Yuriko Yamaguchi, and Toshino Iguchi, Tama-Plaza, 17.10.2013. Yamaguchi, Katsuhiro: "Taezaru undō o kuri kaesu kyōdaina engisha" [Endless Performance], *Interia. Japan Interior Design*, no. 5, (1968), pp.11-17.

[1005] Yamaguchi, Katsuhiro: "EXPO'70 = Hassō kara kansei made – Totaru shiatā no kokoromi (Mitsui-kan)" [EXPO'70 = From Idea to Completion. Try for Total Theater (Mitsui Hall)], in: *Bijutsu techō* [Art Notebook], no. 326, (April, 1970), pp.1-19.

[1006] "Mitsui Gurūpu-kan" [Mitsui Pavilion], *Bijutsu techō* [Art Notebook], no. 326, (April, 1970), n.p.

[1007] Yamaguchi 1968, op. cit., pp.11-17.

[1008] Cf.: Advertisment pamphlet and brochure, Mitsui Group Ltd. (ed.), Tokyo: no publisher, 1969.

[1009] Yamaguchi, Katsuhiro: "EXPO'70 = Hassō kara kansei made – Totaru shiatā no kokoromi (Mitsui-kan)" [EXPO'70 = From Idea to Completion. Try for Total Theater (Mitsui Hall)], in: *Bijutsu techō*, no. 326, (April, 1970), p.13.

[1010] "Artists Participating in the World Expo, Speak Out!," trans. Christopher Stevens, in: *From Postwar to Postmodern. Art in Japan 1945–1989* (Primary Documents), Doryun Chong, Michio Hayashi, Kenji Kajiya et al. (eds.), New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2012, pp.247-253, [first: idem: "Hanron seyo! 'Banpaku sanka' no geijutsukatachi," in: *Ushio* [Tide], no. 124, (April, 1970), pp.182-190].

[1011] Tonō, Yoshiaki: "Expo'70 as the Ruins of Culture", trans. Ignacio Adriasola, in: *Expo '70 and Japanese Art: Dissonant Voices* (Review of Japanese Culture and Society 23), Midori Yoshimoto (ed.), Tokyo: Jōsai

First: The choice of Takamitsu Azuma as architect to give his theoretical pastiche form. Azuma, who had been involved in the planning of Shinjuku Station's West Exit ramp as a young collaborator in Junzō Sakakura's office,[1012] was famous for his own concrete family-dwelling *Tower House* (1966–67), built on a narrow triangle patch in Tokyo as an alternative to the space capsule lifestyle promoted by, e.g. Kurokawa (Fig.287, Fig.288).[1013] Azuma gave the Mitsui Pavilion a shape that for western eyes might seem to merge Archigram's *Walking City* and *Living City*, on the other hand Azuma's own dwelling was a manifesto against megastructure. Takashi Hasegawa would summarize in 1971 concerning Azuma's 1960s *Tower House*:

In a way the architectural shell encloses this internal space, which is like a body cavity, and always safeguards the space from the invasion of natural and societal forces. For that reason, we would base its fundamental appearance on that special feature of medieval towns in which they are closed to the outside and open to the inside (outwardly closed and inwardly open). [...] Given this matter of the shell, we can no longer assume the vocabulary surrounding the celebrated technique of pilotis and other methods that demonstrate modern architecture's peculiar emphasis on clear volumetric form. In fact, here, phenomenologically, rather than suspending a structure in the air, architecturally lowering roots into the ground and even extending them underground appears to be a strong trend.

Second: The white cocoons hanging from the ceiling.[1014] Yamaguchi calls them the "deus ex machina"[1015] of the pavilion. In his article "Controlled Living Environment for [a] "Freer" Environment" he refers to the Beatles and Archigram, criticizing them for producing hollow myths, Yamaguchi declares instead:[1016]

Freedom is a close friend of irrationality. When the balance of coexistence between man and machine – as seen in spaces turned into a device and the Living Pod – becomes static and stable, human beings will desire a revival of myth.

International Center for the Promotion of Art and Science, Jōsai University, 2011, pp.44-56, [first: idem: "Bunka no haikyo toshite no banpaku," in: *KEN*, no. 1, (July, 1970), pp.110-117]; See also: Ikegami 2011, op. cit., p.185: *Isozaki wanted to involve E.A.T. in software creation for the Festival Plaza, and E.A.T. planned to work with Japanese artists on this task. [...] The difficulty of collaborating with Japanese artists was already evident in April 1969, when Nakaya wrote to Peter Pearce, one of the participating artists, stating that artist Katsuhiro Yamaguchi declined to work with E.A.T. Although Yamaguchi explained his reason as a previous commitment to Sony, Nakaya suspected that the real reason was the objection of Japanese artists to E.A.T.'s intervention in the programs to be held at the Festival Plaza because of the renewal of the Japan-US Security Treaty* [Anpo].

[1012] Yamaguchi, Katsuhiro: "Anata no seikatsu kūkan ni nagere o" [The Flow Through Your Everyday Living Space], *Futeikei bijutsuron. Free Forms and Concepts in Art* [Irregular Art Theory. Free Forms and Concepts in Art], Tokyo: Gakugeishorin, 1967, pp.89-91.

[1013] Hasegawa, Takashi: "Tempel or Prison?," trans. Maiko Behr, in: *From Postwar to Postmodern. Art in Japan. 1945–1970* (Primary Documents), [first: Idem: "Shinden ka gokusha ka" [Temple or Prison?], *Design*, nos.151/152/155, pp.71-88].

[1014] See: Marcel Duchamp, installation for the exhibition *Exposition Internationale du Surréalisme*, Galérie des Beaux Arts, Paris 1938.

[1015] Yamaguchi, Katsuhiro: "Jiyūna ningen kankyō no tame ni. Sōchikūkan e no futatsu no hassō – seibutsukinō no kaifuku to gekitekina kūkan no sōzō" [For a Free Human Environment. Two Ideas for a Spatial Device – Recovery of Biofunction and the Creation of Dramatic Space], in: *Interia. Japan Interior Design*, no. 2, (February, 1970) pp.20-30. I am thanking Yuriko Yamaguchi for her generous and emphatic support in the preparation of this chapter, not least with granting a full English translation of the article mentioned above.

[1016] Ibid., p.22.

The only thing capable of making the man-machine-balance dynamic is dramatic space. It is here that man will wait in irrationality for the recovery of freedom.

Therefore I conclude that Yamaguchi's utopia was less to invent or conceive of a new machine, but to evert or subvert the existing machine. He assumed that a preexisting system would not have to be destroyed, but could be reconfigured in a spatial device, staging the drama of man and machine. And Yasuto Ota concludes: "The Expo '70 became a turning point in the career of Yamaguchi. Facing the claims of student power and counter culture, he began to reconsider the conditions of the relationship of art and technology. With the notion of audience engagement, he began to use portable video camera and electric images as social communication tool, [...]."[1017]

After exploring the "user interfaces" in Katsuhiro Yamaguchi's constuctivist machine, let us turn once again to the *Gutai* artists with their testing of materials, performing environmental textures.

[1017] Ota, Yasuto: "Yamaguchi Katsuhiro in the 1950s and 1960s. From Experimental Workshop to Environmental Art," in: *Pioneer of Media Art: Katsuhiro Yamaguchi. From 'Experimenetal Workshop' to Teatrine*, exh. cat. The Museum of Modern Art, Kamakura, The Museum of Modern Art, Ibaraki, 2006, pp.288-289.

Figures

Fig.236a): Osaka Expo'70 TV-Guide, issued by the National Broadcasting Agency (NHK), 1970, Telecommunication Pavilion and Expo hostesses, (courtesy Toshino Iguchi)
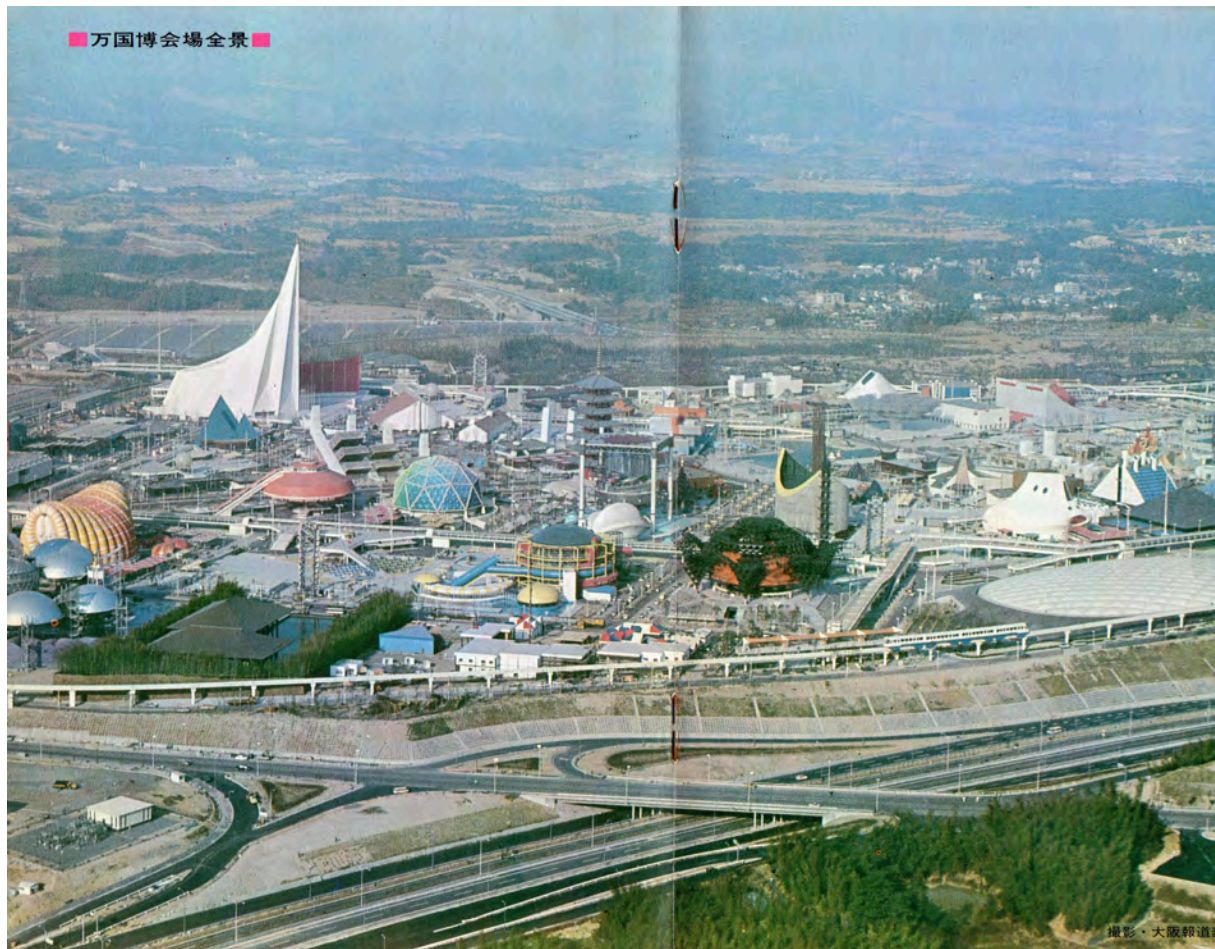

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Fig.141: "Ma" and imaginary space, (in: *Nihon toshi kūkan. Toshi dezain kenkyūjo* [Japanese City Space. Authored by the Urban Design Lab], Tokyo: Shōkoku-sha, 1968, pp.42-43)

HIMOROGI
Conceptually, himorogi is an altar. The altar, set in a specific place, roofed and surrounded by fences, became a shrine. Originally, however, the altar was a temporary structure, set in place wherever and whenever ceremonies were performed and dismantled when they were over. The prototype has been preserved even in such a movable, simple himorogi as this. To sanctify the rope (shimenawa) that marked the himorogi's boundaries, white paper strips cut in a pattern representing the brilliance of the sun (gohei) were suspended from it. This enclosure, the sacred zone, was called (kekkai). Branches of sakaki were most often used for the yorishiro column at the center. The kami descended through the yorishiro to the himorogi, and left after a certain time.

Kekkai: The enclosure marking the sacred precinct.

Sakaki: a type of evergreen tree believed to have been sacred to the gods since ancient times.

Shimenawa: Straw cords surrounding the sacred precinct.

Gohei: talisman against evil.

Fig.242: Arata Isozaki, explaining the temporary altar-structures *himorogi*, (in: *Ma – Space Time in Japan*, exh. cat. The Cooper Hewitt Museum New York, Arata Isozaki (ed.), New York 1980, p.21)

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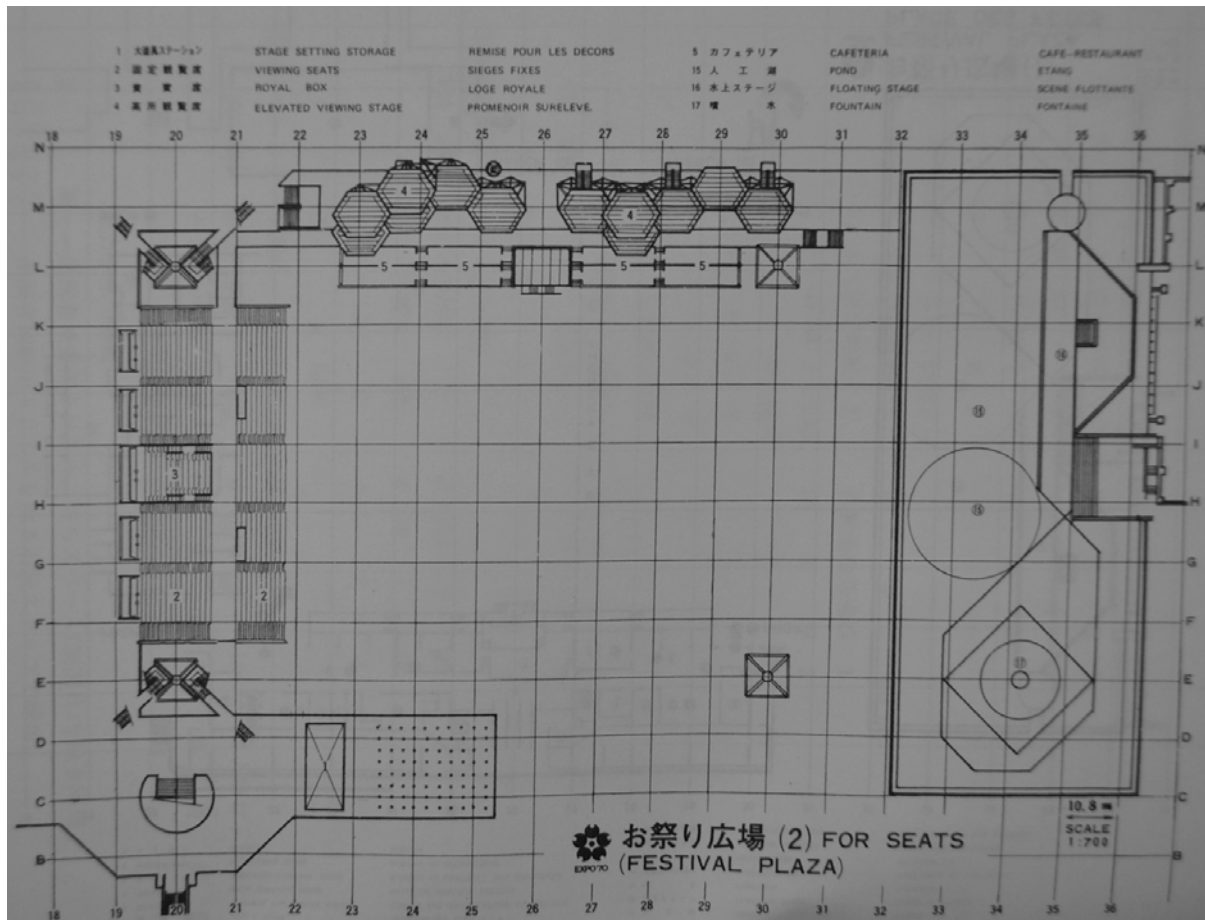
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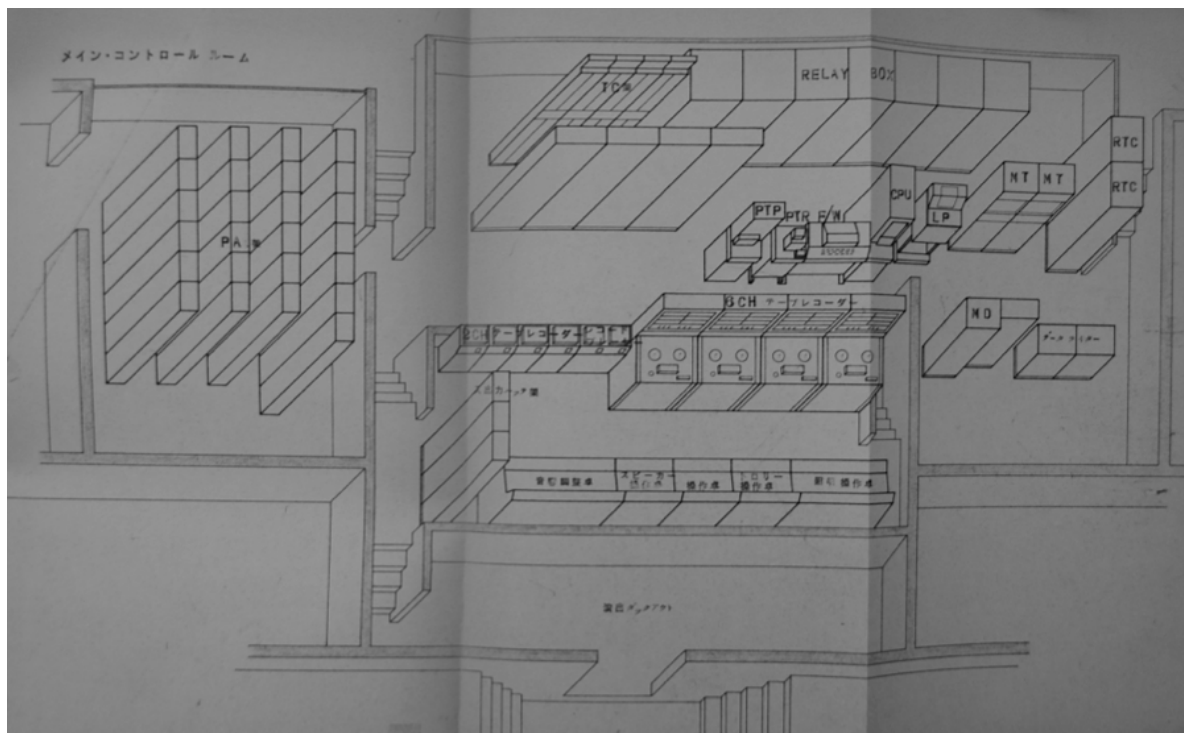
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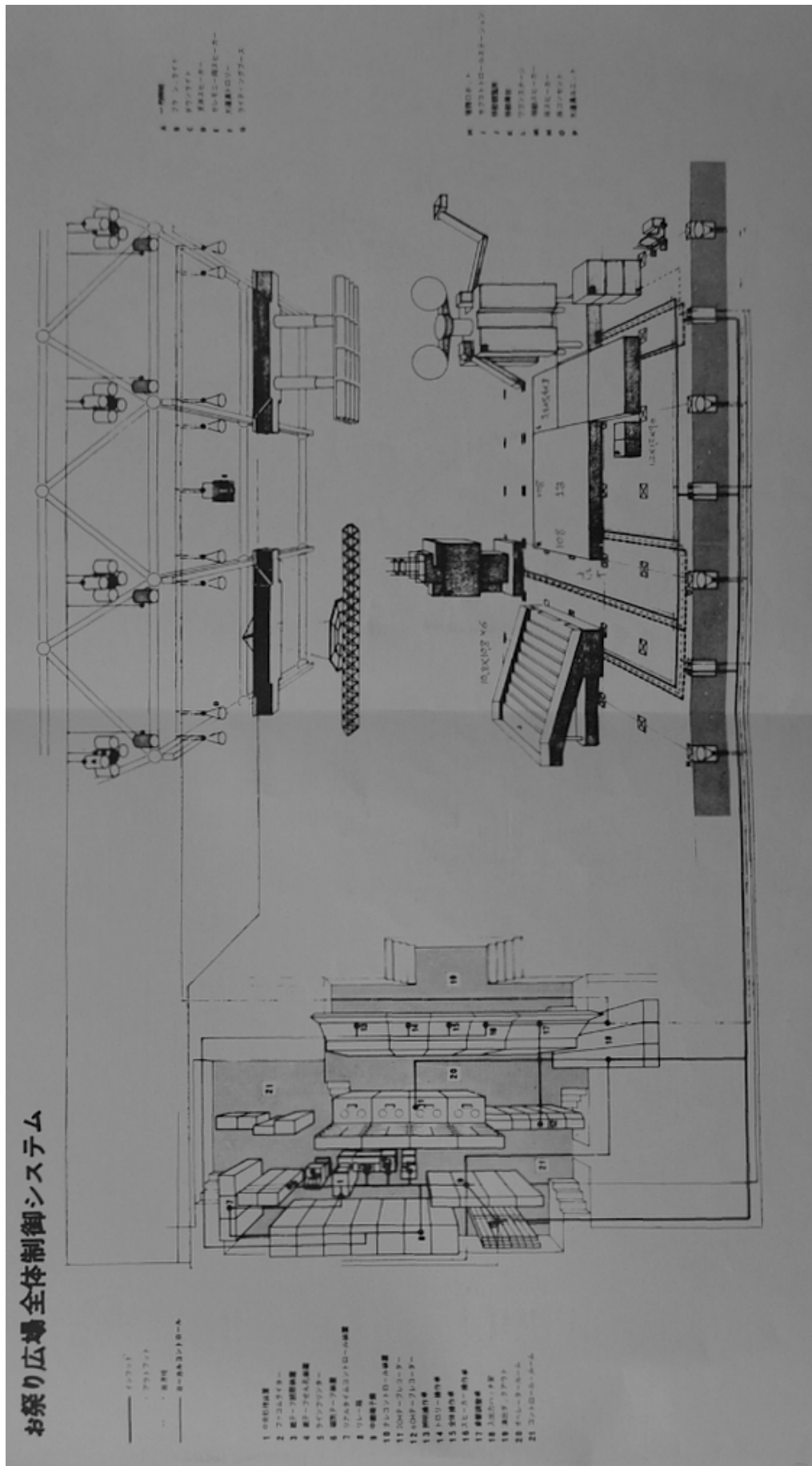
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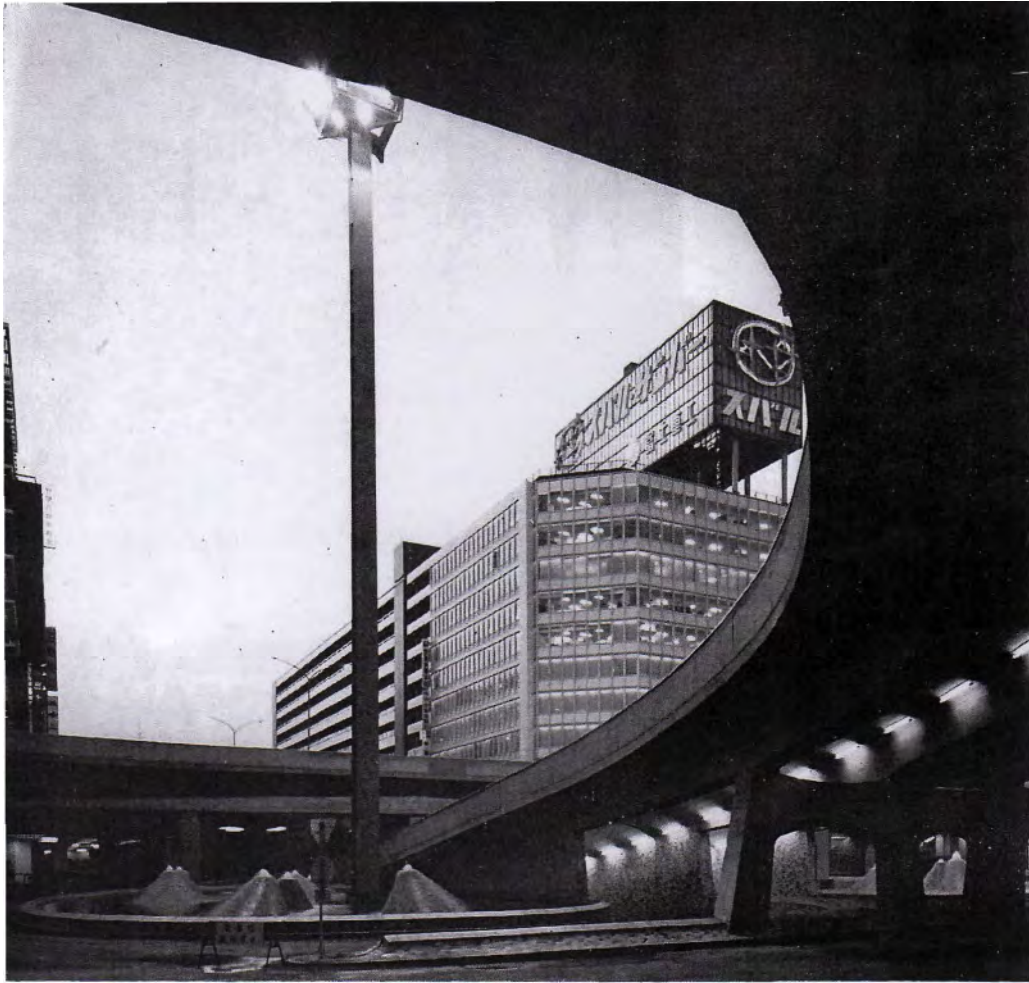
坂倉準三建築研究所　谷内田二郎　吉村健治
東孝光　田中一昭　吉村篤一　北川稔
design SAKAKURA junzo Architect
& Engineers　新宿駅西口広場　1966
《有機的な複合体》現代都市の中心に突然に
地下と地上を結びつける開孔部が出現した．
この広場の空間は，一種のドラマに近い動的
芸術である．

Fig.247: Shinjuku West Exit Plaza, Tokyo, 1966, architect: Junzō Sakakura office, (in: Katsuhiro Yamaguchi: "Anata no seikatsu kūkan ni nagare o" [The Flow Through Your Everyday Space], in: *Futeikei bijutsuron. Free Forms and Concepts in Art* [Irregular Art Theory. Free Forms and Concepts in Art], Tokyo: Gakugei Shorin, 1967, n.p.)

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Fig.250: Poster announcing *Ex・pose '68. Nanika itte kure, ima sagasu* [Expose '68. Say Something Now, I Am Searching for Something to Say], symposium and performances at the Sōgetsu Art center, Tokyo, 1968, (in: Saitama 2012)

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Fig.252: *Hiroshima*, All Japan Student Photo Association (ed.), published on occasion of Hiroshima Day, 1972, hardcover, 17.5x24.2cm, 74 p.

Fig.253: *Kono chijō ni ware ware no kuni wa nai* [No Country on this Land for Us]*,* All Japan Students Photo Association, Pollution Campaign Committee (ed.)*,* 1972; photos taken in 1970, Booklet, 22x c.14cm

Fig.254-255: Shōmei Tōmatsu, covers of *Ken*, no. 1, no. 2, (1970)
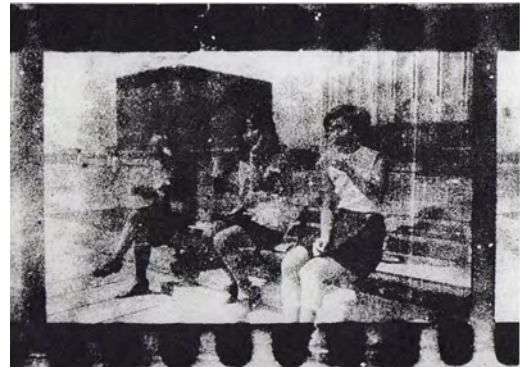
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Fig.258: *Kono chijō ni ware ware no kuni wa nai* [No Country on this Land for Us]*, All Japan Students Photo Association, Pollution Campaign Committee (ed.)*, 1972; photos taken in 1970, Booklet, 22x c.14cm, foreword: "These photoe were not taken to be 'looked at', but to change reality […]"
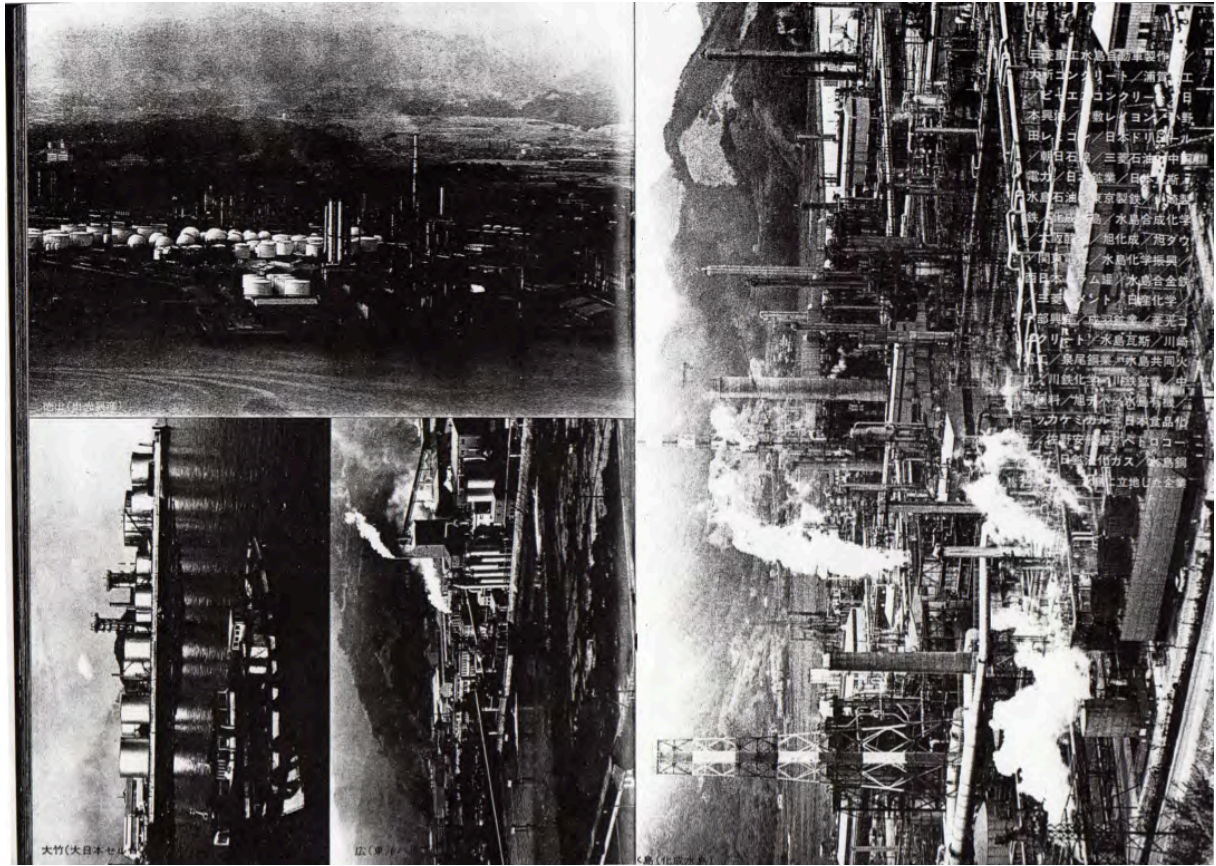
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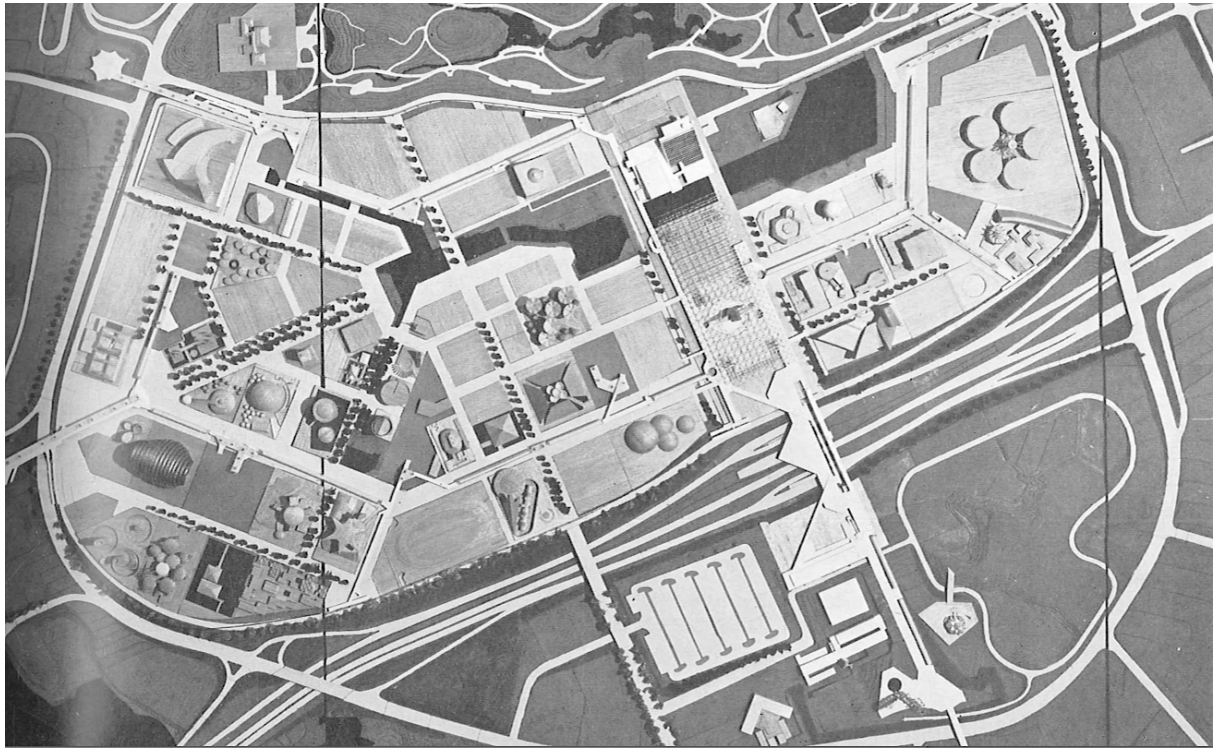
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竹林が美しい

千里丘陵は竹林が美しい。なだらかな丘の
あちこちにきざまれた細道は、行けども行け
ども、右も左も竹林である。
　ランド・マークが建設されるという、会場
の中でいちばん高い丘に登ると、すでに竹林
の一部が切り開かれており、全体が見渡せる。
会場の中央にあたる土地は少し低くなってい
て、その向うに、また竹林の小高い丘がつづ
いている。東側には白い帯のような名神高速
道路が、西側には千里ニュータウンの建物の
群が、小さく見える。日射しをあびて、点在
する池が、時折、銀色に光る。
　千里丘陵を訪ねて、まず第一に驚ろかされ
るのは、その広大さである。大阪の都心から
わずか10〜20分のところに、よくこれだけの
土地が、自然のままで残されていたものだと
思う。
　1970年、この地に築かれるであろうものへ
の強い期待が、やがて失なわれてゆくであろ
う自然に対する感傷を消した。

ランド・マークの建設予定地

Fig.264: Bamboo forest on the future Expo '70 grounds, site designated for Kiyonori Kikutake's landmark tower, (in: *Nihon Bankokuhaku* [Japan World Expo], vol. 3, (1967), n.p.)

Fig.265: Shōmei Tōmei, *Japan World Exposition, Osaka,* 1970/2007, digital print, 26.2x39.5cm, Fotomuseum Winterthur, (retrieved through: <http://www.fotomuseum.ch/de/explore/collection/19405>, last access 15.4.2016)

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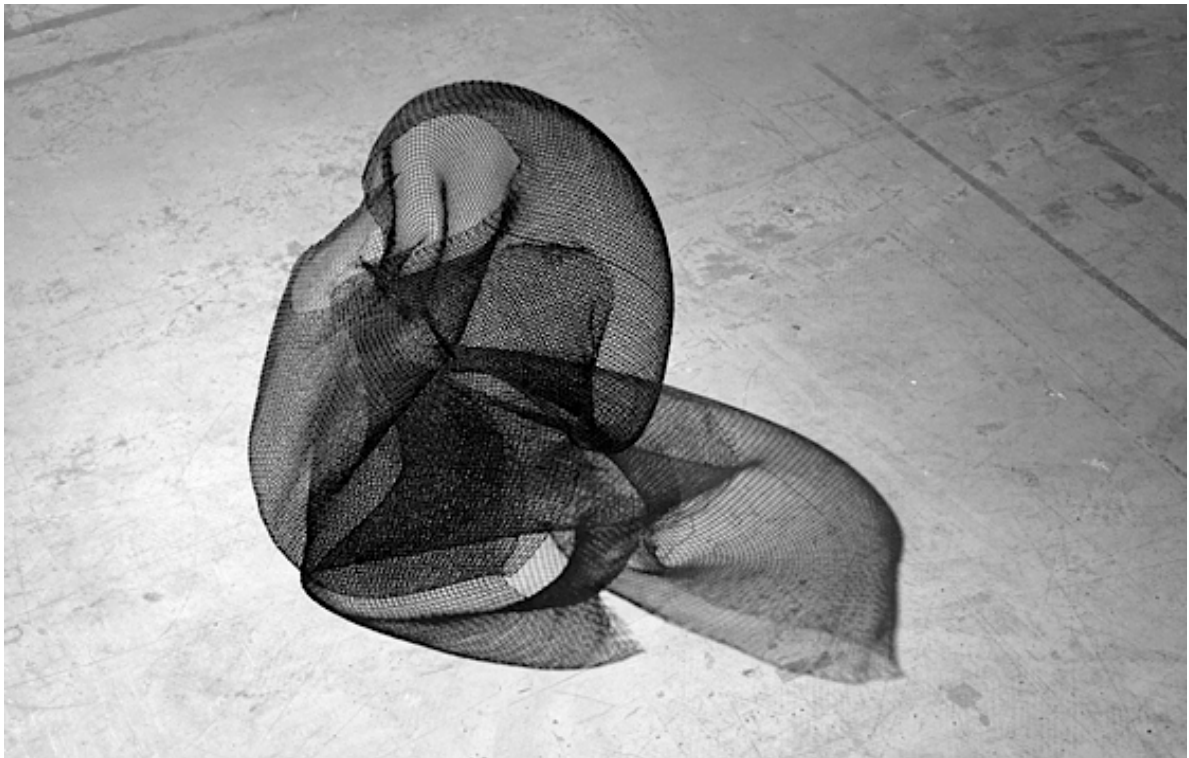
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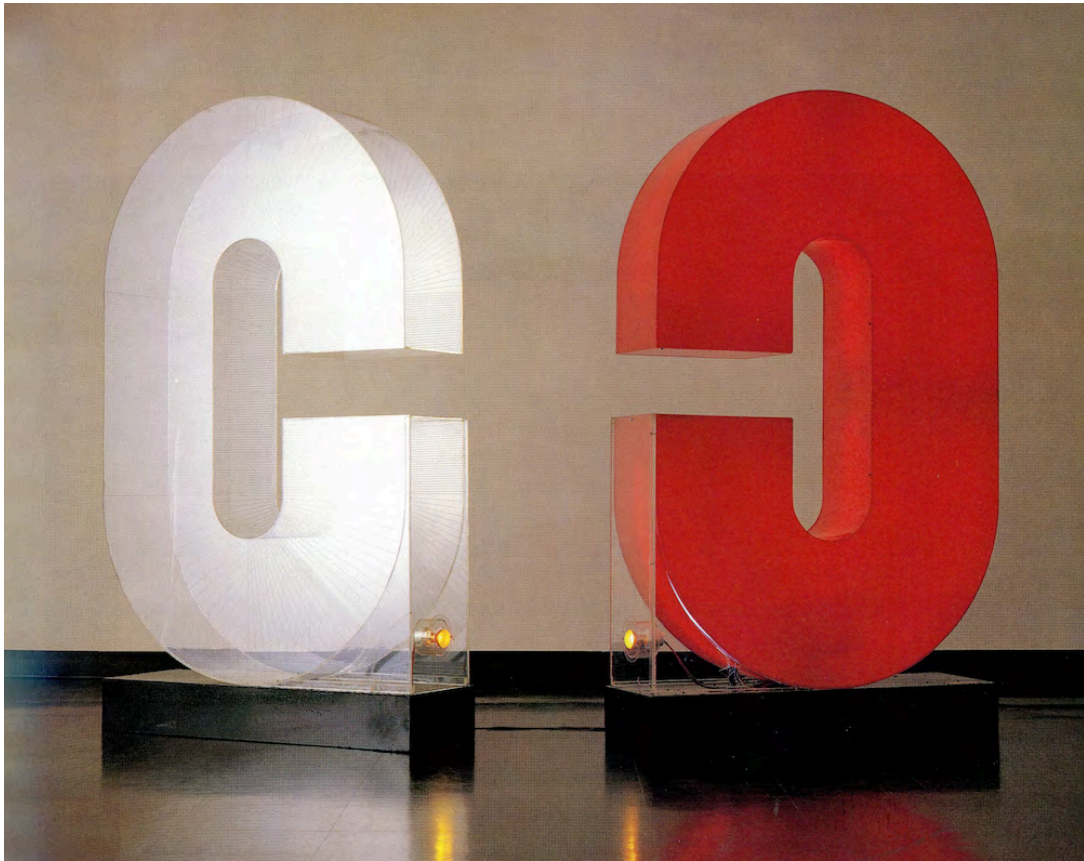
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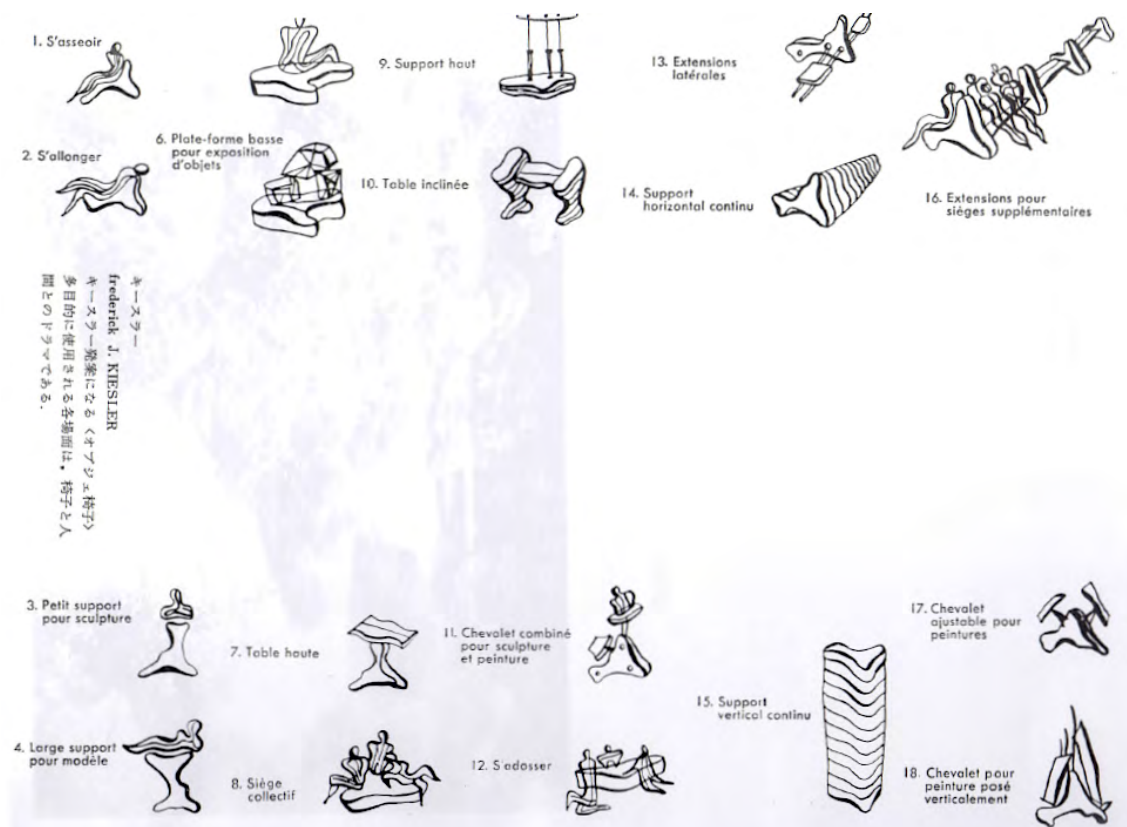
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Fig.272: Kiyoji Ōtsuji and Katsuhiro Yamaguchi, *APN no tame no kōsei,* [Composition for APN (Asahi Picture News)] 1953, gelatin silver print, 18.7x13.1cm, (in: New York 2012, p.54)
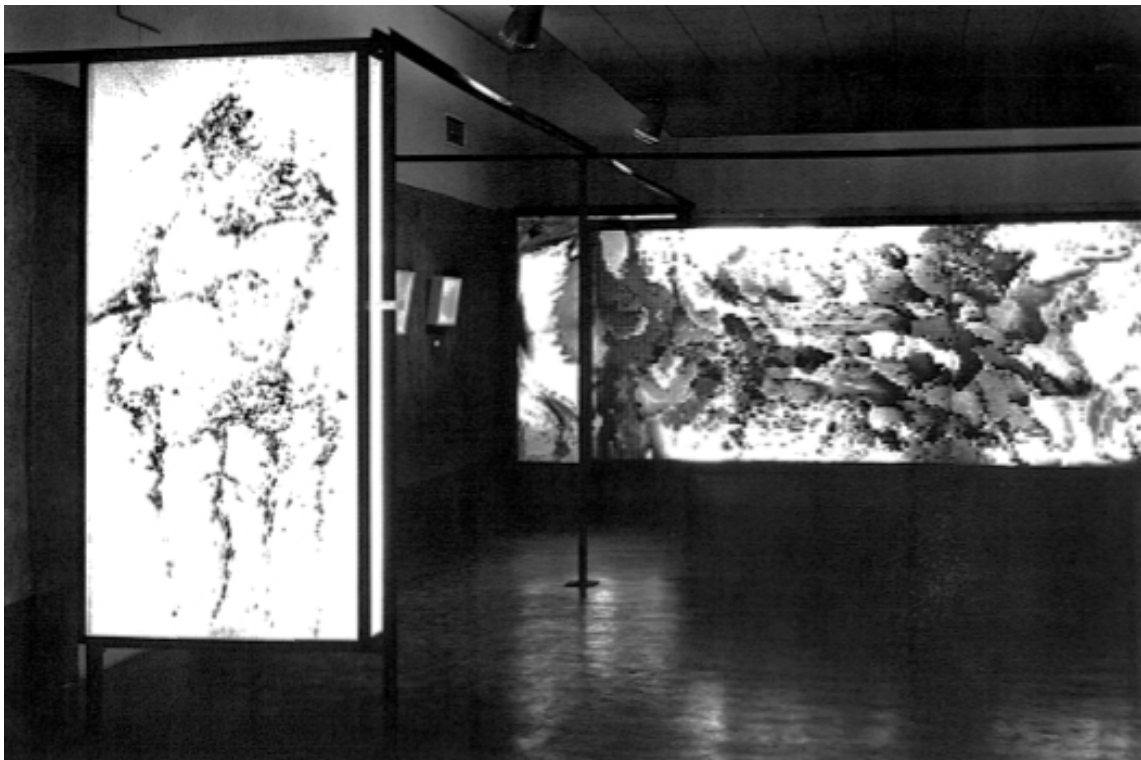
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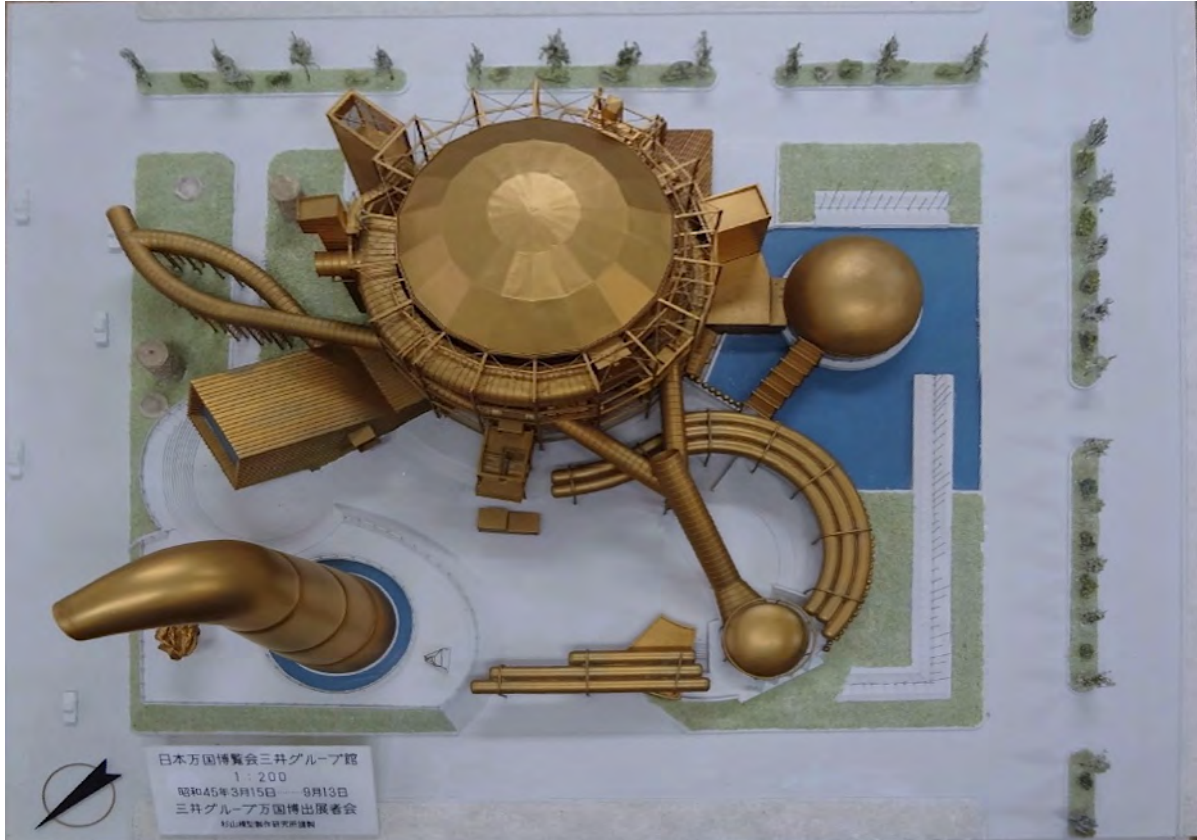
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Fig.277: Katsuhiro Yamaguchi et al., *Space Theater*, *Mitsui Group Pavilion*, Osaka Expo '70, 1970, weight test on three rotating platforms in the dome shaped main room, center, to the left and right: speaker system, photo, (in: Mitsui Pavilion Papers, Mitsui Bunko (Archives), Tokyo)

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Fig.279: Control room of Mitsui Group Pavilion and explanations of the system in pamphlet, (in: Mitsui Pavilion Papers, Mitsui Bunko (Archives), Tokyo)
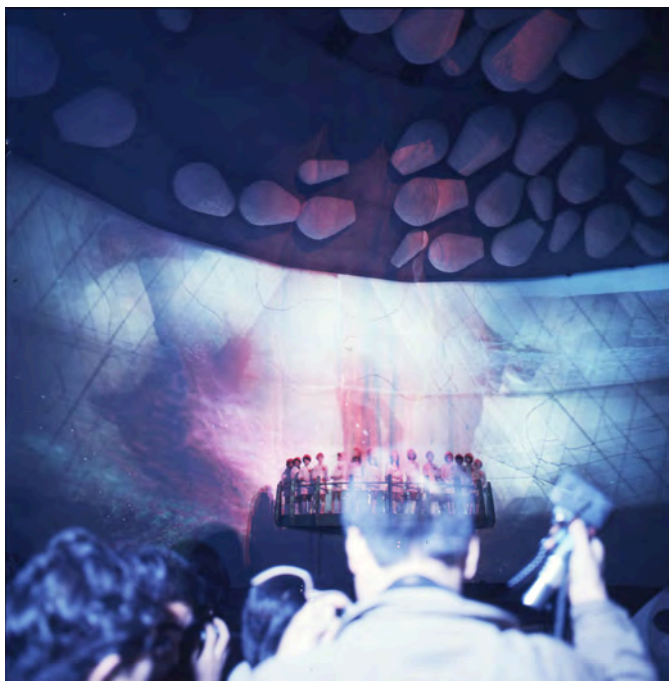
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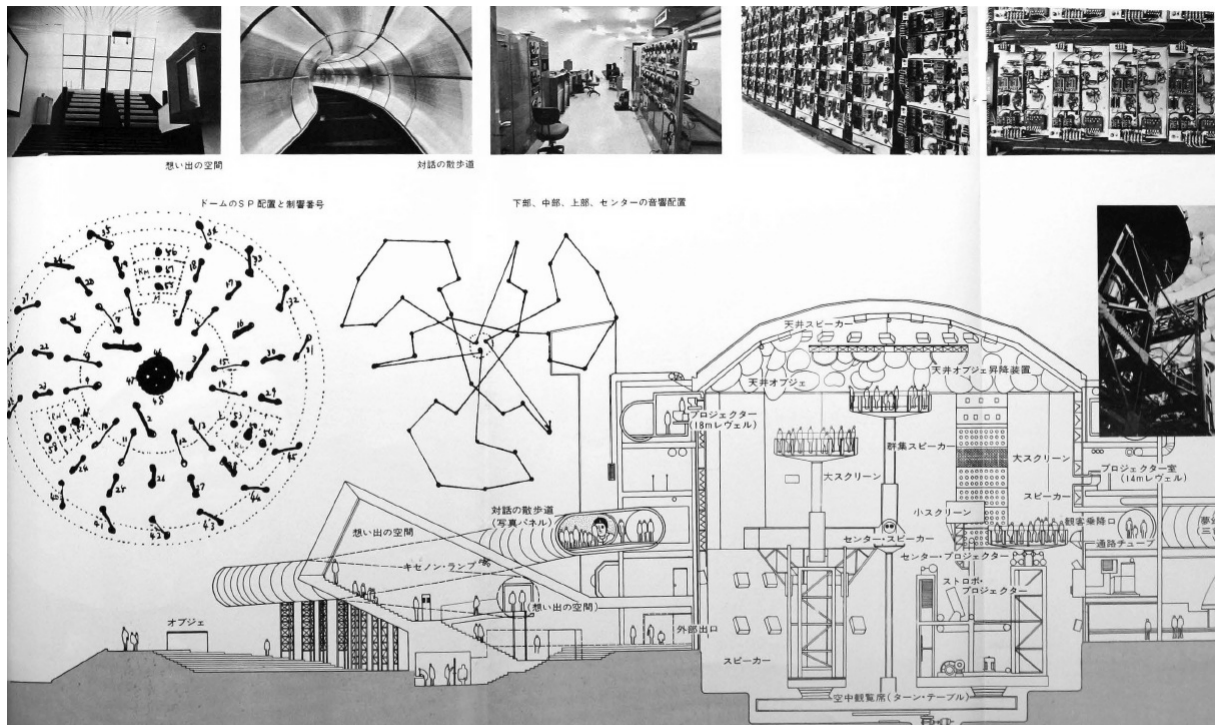
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Fig.282: Shiro Kuramata, *Lounge*, *Mitsui Group Pavilion*, Osaka Expo '70, 1970, (in: Mitsui Pavilion Papers, Mitsui Bunko (Archives), Tokyo)
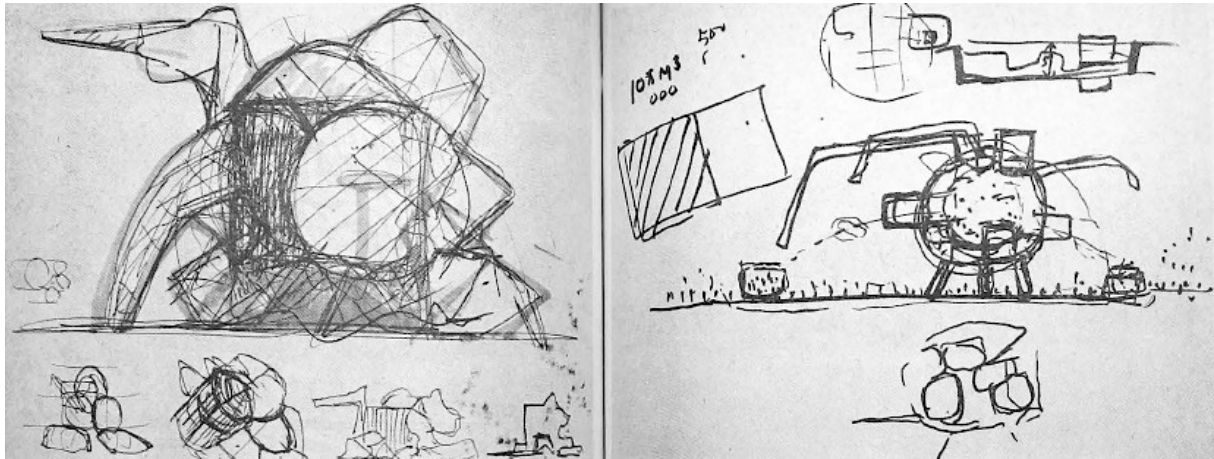
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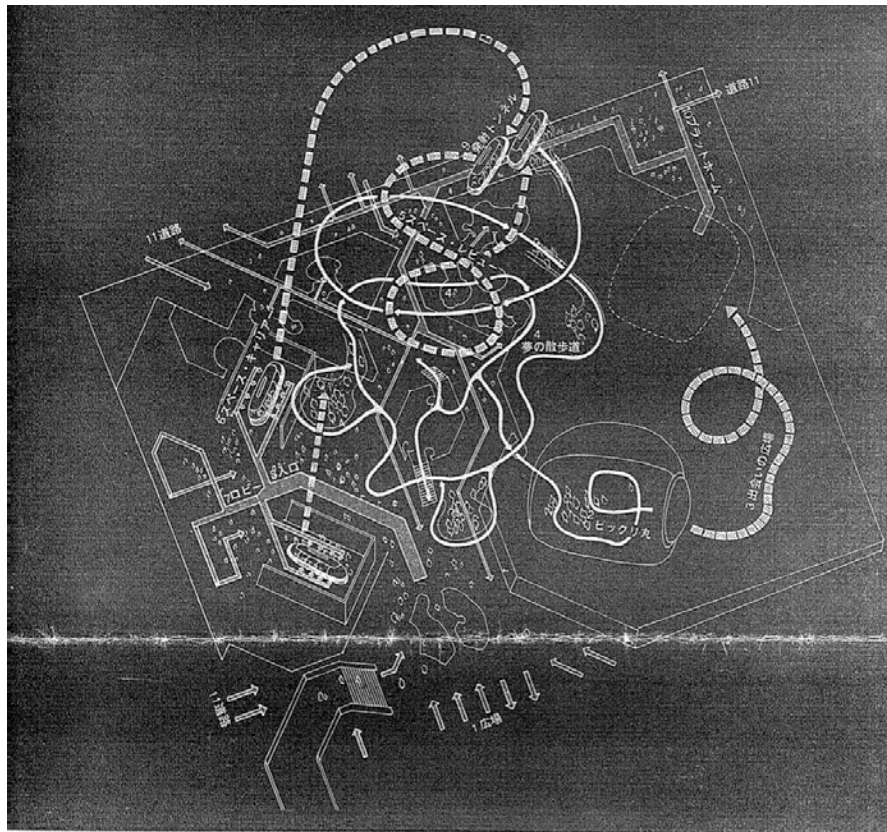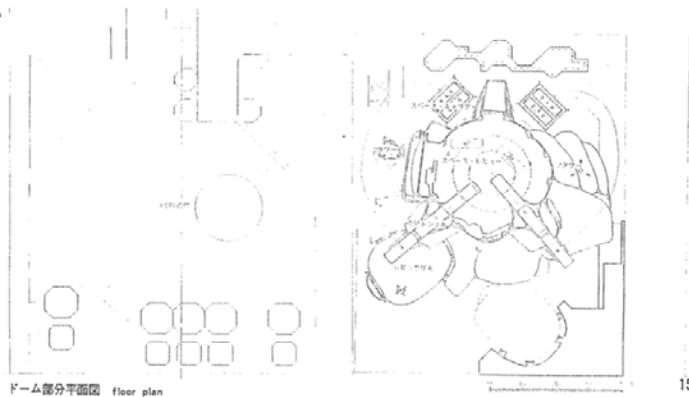
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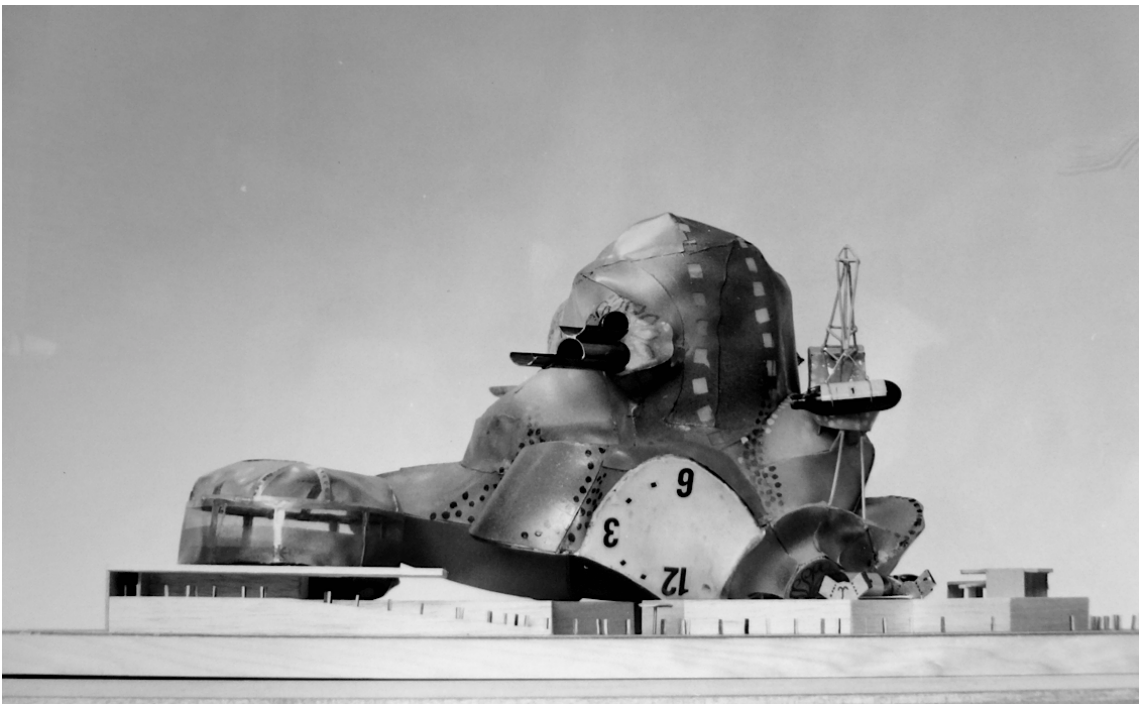
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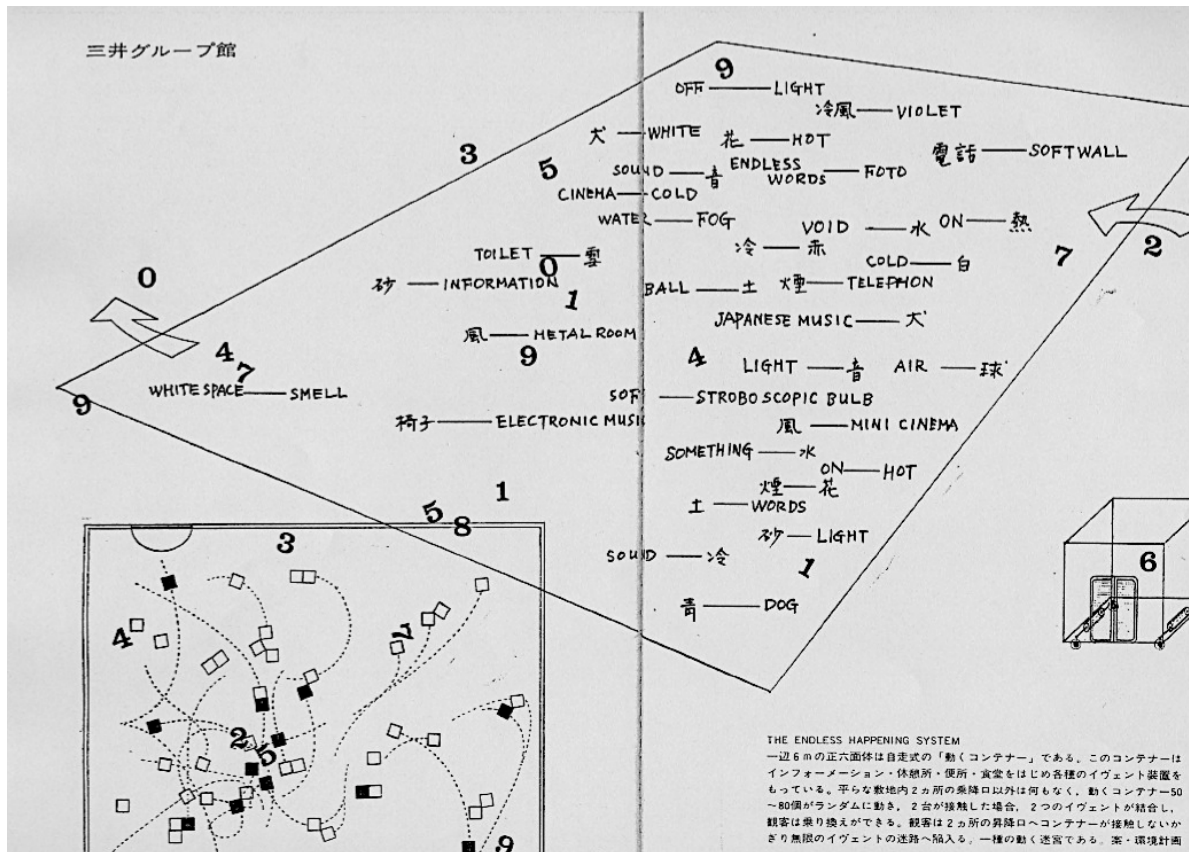
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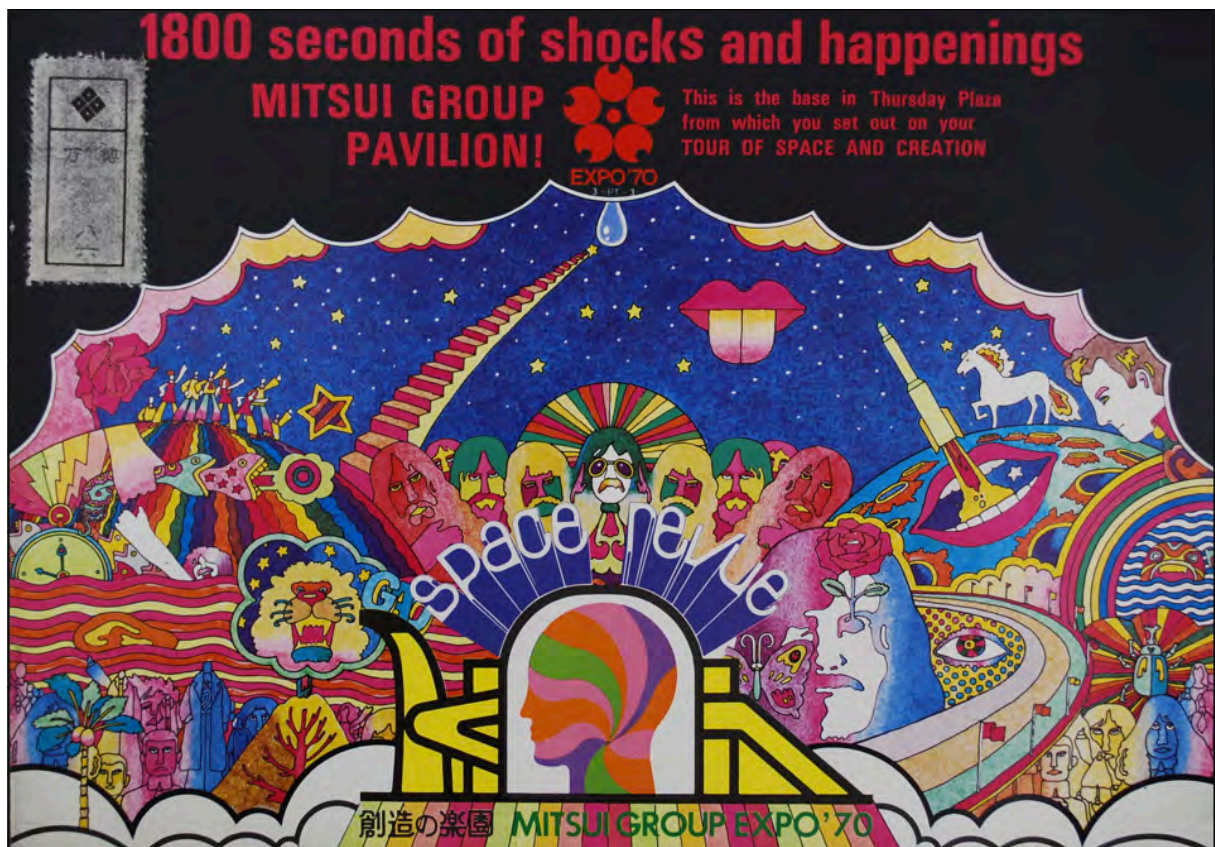
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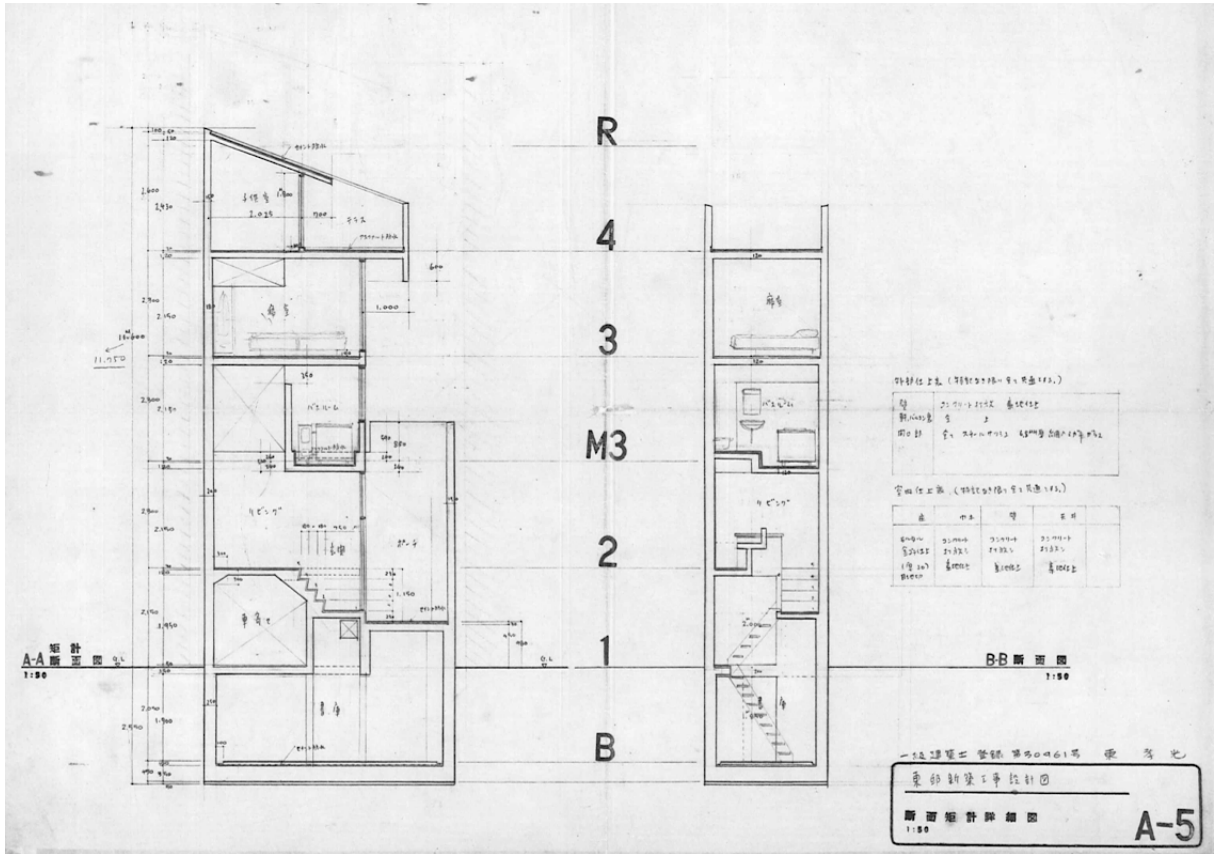
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Fig.288a): Takamitsu Azuma, *Tower House*, 1966–1967, Tokyo, outside view, photo, (in: Saitama 2014)
Fig.288b): Takamitsu Azuma, *Tower House*, 1966–1967, Tokyo, inside view, (photo: Gabrielle Schaad, 2014)

Epilogue – Embodying Semiotic Transformations

Tackling the Interface

On November 6, 1962 the *Gutai* group had mounted the production *Don't Worry, The Moon Won't Fall Down: Gutai Art and Morita Modern Dance Company* at the Sankei Hall in Osaka.[1018] The event took place two months after the opening of *Gutai's* own headquarters: The *Gutai Pinacotheca*, an artist-run space serving as a studio, storage, display venue and cultural embassy. It is striking that the 1962 theatrical staging of *Gutai*'s practice is retraceable in original footage, invitation and program pamphlets, yet has not been covered in a special issue of the *Gutai* magazine (Fig.289, Fig.290, Fig.291). *Gutai* historian Mizuho Katō observes a gradual shift in the editorial policy of the magazine already in the eleventh issue, covering the *International Sky Festival* in 1960. As for the their *International Sky Festival* the group accommodated its exhibition in the upper rental showrooms of the Takashimaya department store's Osaka main branch in Namba, in April 1961, relocating it to the department store's Tokyo Nihonbashi branch for a few days in May 1961.[1019] But with the following number of the *Gutai* bulletin, published in May 1961 Katō deems the transition consummated. What particularly symbolizes that qualitative change in the publication according to Katō, is the treatment of Shūji Mukai's *Room of Signs*. Mukai had joined the group on occasion of the *10th Gutai Art Exhibition*, featured in this issue no. 12 (Fig.292): "Here we see no detailed coverage of particular Gutai activities, no thorough exploration of their significance."[1020]

Digging into sources and latest *Gutai* research, I realized the stage performances organized by *Gutai* still lack closer examination.[1021] I see two possible thought patterns responsible for putting *Gutai*'s stage performances in second place so far. Even if they have been documented, as Peggy Phelan would argue, the "uniqueness of the live event"[1022] cannot be revived via documentation. The ephemeral act is thus forever lost, what constitutes its impact for the practice. Another way of justifying the poor and at best summarizing attention for *Gutai's* performance programs may be the sheer difficulty to gather and examine the dispersed documentation.[1023] In this case the researcher follows rather the theories of performance studies scholar Erika Fischer-Lichte, who agrees with Phelan on the importance of the staging, yet sees possibilities to analyze it under the condition that the terms production, reception, and work of art have been redefined.[1024] Or, one might consider a more recent take on performance history and its influence on public art by art historian Mechtild

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[1018] *Gutai Performances 1954–1970*, Ashiya Museum of Art and History, DVD, 60 min. (accessed through: <http://www.ubu.com/film/gutai_comp.html>, last access: 3.5.2016).

[1019] *Gutai shiryō-shū. Dokyumento Gutai 1954–1972 / Document Gutai 1954–1972*, Ashiya City Museum of Art and History (ed.), Ashiya: Ashiya City Cultural Foundation, 1993, pp.155-159.

[1020] Katō 2010, op. cit., p.87.

[1021] The so far most comprehensive discussion is Timapo 2013b), op. cit.

[1022] See: Phelan, Peggy: *Unmarked: The Politics of Performance*, London: Routledge, 1993.

[1023] The so far most comprehensive and informative survey of *Gutai* performances comes from Ming Tiamp. See: Tiampo, Ming: "The Gutai Chain. The Collective Spirit of Individualism," in: *positions. east-asia critique*, vol. 21, no. 2, (spring, 2013), pp.283-415.

[1024] Fischer-Lichte 2004, op.cit..

Widrich.[1025] According to Widrich performances live on as layered monuments in a convolute not only of different documents, media, and places, but build social bonds, both personal and political. Another argument is introduced by *Gutai* scholar and curator Ming Tiampo, seriously doubting, whether the stage events were actual performances, interpreting the writings of Saburō Murakami: "What Murakami's text underscores is that even the most seemingly 'theatrical' works in *Gutai Art on the Stage* were conceived of as extensions of painting – that is 'picturing.'"[1026]

Of course we cannot be sure, whether this vague statement implies that we should treat and see them as pictures only, suppressing the fact that they embody intersub- and objective processes, and by means of being "theatrical" affect and engage audience as well as performers differently. Building a case study around a work by Shūji Mukai, performed at the Sankei Hall in Osaka in 1962, I will shed a light on so far marginalized aspects in *Gutai's* artistic practices, and the treatment of material: To which extent are the contemporary discourses of information theory, cybernetics, and the rising issue of semiotics embodied in the mini-dramas conceived by the group? On the other hand we might ask, whether invoking the aforementioned theoretical discourses is justifiable and fruitful for considering Gutai artworks. It is true that *Gutai* documented, commented, and spread their art in print, making strategic use of non-commercial media like a self-published bulletin, shaping an own visual language. Yet, by underlining physical and phenomenal experience in their writings, one could just as well argue that the Gutai members rejected theorization and anatomizing analysis, in favor of evoking situation. Using the word "situation," we yet have to be aware that the *Gutai* artists did so without confirming or conforming with the extensive claims of the Situationist International, active in central Europe. Since *Gutai* practice was yet forging an international network, but then again an agency in its own right, responding to as well as provoking critical attention in Japan.

A founding member of the *Gendai Bijutsu Kondankai* (*Genbi*), the Contemporary Art Discussion Panel, the mentor of the group Jirō Yoshihara was certainly not opposed to dialogue in general. Being recalled as a firm but fair judge, he is yet often portrayed as disinclined to theoretical quarrels on the other hand.[1027] If the *Gutai* manifesto is on the one hand an ex-post-facto construction of an umbrella to cover the diverse practices within *Gutai*, on the other hand it can of course not be teared to explain every artistic act. Nevertheless, the manifesto published in *Geijutsu shinchō* [New Trends in Art] in December 1956 stays a main point of reference and might also hint at the distensibility of formulations opening up changing avenues for members and group, although it has been formulated ex post facto and cannot cover the whole *Gutai* activities, the manifesto declares formal transformations, reviving and sustaining truth to material through time

[1025] Widrich, Mechtild: *Performative Monuments. The Rematerialisation of Public Art* (Rethinking Art Histories MUP), Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014.
[1026] Tiampo 2013a), op.cit.
[1027] Osaka 2004, p.23.

and space by stripping off the layers of former pictorial, representational (or ideological) occupation of matter (*busshitsu*) the salient point. As this last case study shows, the range of materials examined, just as much as the notion of matter or material itself was in a state of flux during the nearly 20 years of *Gutai's* activity.

On Tuesday, November 6, 1962, at 6:30pm the Gutai group – counting 19 artists, among which 3 women and 16 men at the time – invite a mainly local audience to their stage performance in collaboration with the Morita Modern Dance Company at the Sankei Hall in Osaka, entitled *Don't Worry, the Moon Won't Fall Down*. According to the program flyer, the stage event was structured in three parts. The first section brought seven episodes by Gutai artists to the stage lasting through 46 minutes in total. It was followed by a short intermezzo performed by the Morita Dance Company, and a third collaborative part, entitled "Objects and Men." The Sankei Hall was a commercial venue, where the *Gutai* members had performed an earlier program of mini-dramas in May 1957 already (Fig.293).[1028] Explicitly referring to a theatrical setting: *Gutai Art Using the Stage*, had also travelled to the Tokyo Sankei Hall in July 1957. It was further developed in a new production for the Asahi Hall in Osaka taking place in April 1958.[1029]

Let me send ahead some limitations: Regrettably, I have no detailed information so far concerning the organizational circumstances of *Don't Worry, the Moon Won't Fall Down*. It will thus remain unrevealed, who invited Jirō Yoshihara and the circle of talented artists he had gathered throughout the second half of the 1950s in Osaka's arts-related suburb of Ashiya. The funding of Gutai's stage events would mark an important point in closer examination. Also, I neither discuss the roots of the *Morita Modern Dance Company*, nor elaborate on the details of collaboration between troupe and artists in the third part of the event.

The opening made Kazuo Shiraga with his "Red Sanbasō," followed by Saburō Murakami's "Passage (*Tsūka*)," and Atsuko Tanaka's "In Front of the Pink Curtain."(*Pinku no maku no mae de*) (Fig.294, Fig.295). As fourth intervention Shūji Mukai entered the stage of the Sankei Hall via a ladder suspended from the ceiling. The storyboard indicates that his episode for the performance-program, produced by Jirō and his son Michio Yoshihara, took place after 18 minutes and lasted through about 5 minutes (Fig.296). In an article issued in 1967, reviewing their group practice in the art magazine *Bijutsu techō* [Art Notebook], core member Shiraga remembers concerning Mukai's "Faces and Signs" (Fig.297):[1030]

[1028] *Gutai shiryō-shū. Dokyumento Gutai 1954–1972 / Document Gutai 1954–1972*, Ashiya City Museum of Art and History (ed.), Ashiya: Ashiya City Cultural Foundation, 1993, pp.112-119.

[1029] Ibid., pp.126-131, pp.166-173.

[1030] Shiraga, Kazuo: "Rensai dai go-kai: Bōken no kiroku. Episodo de tsuzuru Gutai grūpu no 12 nen" (Fifth Column: Chronicles of the Adventure. Resuming 12 Years of the Gutai Group), in: *Bijutsu techō* [Art Notebook], no. 11, (1967), pp.148-156, p.156.

Mukai climbed down a ladder, while the spotlight followed him. He took position in front of a white panel mounted on stage, framing 12 apertures. One after another, twelve persons sticked their capped, white-faced heads out of the holes. All of a sudden Mukai made use of an over-dimensional brush, sticking it into a pot filled with black paint, placed in front of the screen.

Let us zoom in on the actual performance: Dressed in a white suit, patterned allover with a set of small geometric forms, Mukai starts painting empty graphic shapes, such as Xs, squares, triangles, and circles, radicals of familiar ideograms, or forms reminding of *katakana* on the uneven surface, combining man and material. Every once in a while, his brushstroke would hit and stain a face, sticking out of the pierced screen (Fig.298). As he deems his painting act finished for the moment, he goes on singling out a voluntary from the audience, preferably someone dressed in the most ordinary fashion: i.e. an unremarkable beige raincoat, and dark business suit. The chosen man climbs up stage and is bidden to stand in front of the painted "interface", stretching out his body and limbs. Mukai continues his perplexing encodings, now on the textile body-sleeve (Fig.298). To end the performance, the artist poses next to his human guinea pigs, facing the seated audience while the chosen performer shows his backside to the spectators. If Mukai and the voluntary are perceivable in their entire posture, the bodies of the pale-faced performers behind the screen remain invisible. Taking a sharp angle though, the rest of the undisguised bodies was still visible behind the billboard-like structure (Fig.300). Documentation and storyboard do not clarify, whether the heads belonged to men or women. In front of the clobbered screen, reminding at a time of an unknown gamble, or a chart, the patterned bodies of Mukai and his designated assistant are exhibited in an ambiguous freeze – oscillating between blending into and sticking out against the backdrop.

Keeping this view in mind for a later reconsideration of the performance, I would like to turn your attention to the multiple separations the performers are faced within this reframing of their bodies. Mukai organizes them on stage under his cryptic system. With the panel featuring a matrix of twelve heads, he creates distinct groups of viewers in front of as well as weaved into the separating wall, while occupying the space in-between with his assistant. The performers on stage share the sensual experience of immediate touch by Mukai's brush and the black paint on their respective faces or clothes that a seated audience retraces responding at times with laughter or muted howl of surprise.

This peculiar on-screen presence was superseded by Tsuruko Yamazaki's *Mawaru shirogane no kabe* (Rotating white wall, 1962) (Fig.301). After Michio Yoshihara's intervention called "Rock around the Clock," and an eight-minute closing act under the title "White Space," (*Shiroi kūkan*) conceived collaboratively by Shōzō Shimamoto, Akira Kanayama, Michio Yoshihara, and Sadamasa Motonaga, the first part of the evening program ended with a ten minutes break.

Screens materialized in paper, wood, fabric, or metal were a recurrent motive in this first part of the program. Although John Cage, who happened to be touring Japan at the time, assisted the performance, let us stay with Mukai.

Born in Kobe, in 1940, Mukai studied at Osaka College of Art. In 1959, he met Motonaga Sadamasa at the Nishinomiya City Art Association, and his work was included in the 8th Gutai Art Exhibition. He became a member of the Gutai Art Association in 1961.[1031] In the 10th Gutai Art Exhibition, held in the same year, he created *Room of Signs*. In this work, he painted geometric symbols all over the walls, ceiling and floor of an exhibition room, and placed himself there, wearing a costume covered in similar symbols. In this way, he made himself part of the work. Mukai's first solo exhibition took place in 1963 at the group's own exhibition venue, the Gutai Pinacotheca established in Osaka's Nakanoshima district in 1962 (Fig.302, Fig.303).[1032]

From Substance to Semiotics and Back

The affinity for geometric symbols or empty signifiers mocking interpretation and meaning, while playing with allusions to cultural codes incorporated in materials and symbols trough tradition and ideology is characteristic for Mukai's performance, introducing complexity and contradiction, yet the geometric symbols also defy from Michel Tapié's labeling of *Gutai* as another variation on *Art Informel.* To clarify this assertion, let me recall two passages from *Gutai's* 1956 manifesto:[1033]

> *Today, it is only primitive art and various art movements after Impressionism that manage to convey to us a feeling of life, however inert. These movements extensively used matter – that is, paint – without distorting or killing it, even when using it for the purpose of naturalism, as in Pointilism and Fauvism. In any case, these styles no longer move us; they are things of the past.*

It seems as though Mukai explored the margins of abstraction and concretion pointed to in the manifesto with ambiguous figures, susceptible to the iteration of meaning. A rarely cited passage from the *Gutai* manifesto hints at the possibility of paradox plays with evocative shapes and signs, as found in Mukai's work:[1034]

> *In recent years,* [critic] *Tominaga Sōichi and* [artist] *Dōmoto Hisao introduced the activities of Art Infomel by Mathieu and* [Michel] *Tapié.* […] *we feel sympathetic to their ideas as have so far been introduced.* […] *We do not know how they understood their colors, lines, and forms – namely the units of abstract art – in relation to the characteristics of*

[1031] *Gutai shiryō-shū. Dokyumento Gutai 1954–1972 / Document Gutai 1954–1972*, Ashiya City Museum of Art and History (ed.), Ashiya: Ashiya City Cultural Foundation, 1993, pp.155-159.

[1032] Ibid., pp.35-40.

[1033] Yoshihara, Jirō: "Gutai Art Manifesto," trans. Reiko Tomii, in: *Gutai, Splendid Playground*, exh. cat. The Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum New York, 2013, New York: Guggenheim Museum Pulications, 2013, pp.18-19 [first: idem: "Gutai bijutsu sengen," in *Geijutsu shinchō* [New Currents in Art], vol. 7, no. 12, (1956), pp.202-204].

[1034] Ibid.

matter. We do not understand the reason behind their rejection of abstraction. We have certainly lost interest in
clichéd abstract art, however.

How would Mukai's staging conform with the commitment to freeing matter from incursions of naturalism and illusionism at once? Does the panel mounted on stage reveal in its holes any characteristic of matter? Unfortunately I do not know, whether this panel was a wooden structure, a stretched fabric, or a paper screen. Yet, in my reenactment, I repeatedly termed this screen integrating human faces and their sensorium an "inter-face". What if this stage prop – by "merging of human qualities and material properties" – alluded to the transhuman/transmaterial texture of a new age? Treating the interface between human, object and coding, Mukai's work recalls Yamazaki's *Sakuhin* (1955), discussed earlier in this text.

As Shiraga chronicles the group's history in his column for *Bijutsu techō* he remembers, how their younger fellow Mukai breathed new life into *Gutai's* stage appearance:[1035]

Following Gutai's earlier stage performances at the Asahi Hall in Osaka, we staged 'Don't Worry, The Moon Won't Fall Down' together with the Morita Modern Dance Company. About that time up and coming freshman Mukai Shūji – a painter-semiotician, made an important step staging a work with his seniors. Therefore he used a large white panel pierced with 12 holes. People with whitewashed faces stuck their heads out of the holes one after another. Then Mukai appeared on stage carrying color and a huge paintbrush. He started painting relentlessly the signs X O Δ over their faces. The venue echoed in laughter. A tall guy was chosen from the seated audience eventually, and lifted in front of the panel, presenting his back and stretched out arms to the seat rows. Mukai kept a straight face while painting signs on his body, slowly transforming the man into an artwork.

During the stage event in collaboration with the *Morita Modern Dance Company*, Mukai picked someone from the audience. So far it was the first explicit audience participation, although the man seems to have been forced on stage rather than actively participating in a spontaneous way. Over the course of the performance Mukai is encoding surfaces: be it with his performative sign inscription on the panel, his markings on the whitened faces sticking out from the interface, or his painting over the coat's fabric of the human guinea pig's body. His dynamic inscriptions of signs flow over the surfaces. Once accomplished those patterned surfaces seem to mimick and mock continuous streams of data, invisibly encoding the human surroundings in the impending information and communication society. The transcoding of reality into a flow of signs crystallized in an eventually static, abstract image. In his paintings, even more so in his installation for the *10th Gutai Art Exhibition* Mukai paid attention that the sign patterns alternated, introducing arrows and the graphic contrast of black and white stripes as a backdrop, covering the modest and geometrically shaped furniture of his "room in disguise" often in diagonal stripes. Mukai made part

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[1035] Shiraga 1967, op. cit., p.146.

of the living installation. During the opening hours he inhabited the all-over painted room. Physically present in a self-designed outfit, consisting of ordinary articles of clothing he had patterned in his own fashion.

Art historian Mizuho Katō is convinced that, "the concept of the sign, […] was not, until then, something *Gutai* artists were conscious of."[1036] Still, taking a look at the second issue of the *Gutai* magazine published in 1955, I would argue in a different direction. Alongside the work of chemistry teacher Toshiko Kinoshita's experiments in painting as a crystallization process of color, Tsuruko Yamazaki issued an illustration. The graphic contribution in black and white depicts three hemicycles, one filled with curved concentrically placed lines, the other two with dots arranged around vertically horizontally or diagonally placed bars (Fig.304). The illustration gestures already to *Gutai's* interest in the works of Giuseppe Capogrossi and his later invitation to exhibit at the Gutai Pinacotheca in 1964, who was featured in an exhibition together with Lucio Fontana (Fig.305).

On Screen

Let me bring to mind again some historic facts about Japan's political, economic and social transformation since the mid 1950s. During the Postwar Occupation of Japan by the US lasting from 1945 to 1952 Japanese economy had seen a steadfast growth. The influx of working forces and the restructuring of Japanese households after the model of a Western nuclear family had raised pressure on the housing situation in metropolises calling into question modernist urban models of separated zoning. Beyond that, cultural anthropologist Marilyn Ivy characterizes "the cultivation of high-level consumer desires via innovations in production and marketing, […] accelerated through technical innovations [during] Japan's high-growth period" as an expansion of the publishing industry, concluding (Fig.306):[1037]

The introduction of the television in 1953 radically changed the nature of advertising and consumption, partly because televisions themselves became one of the most desired objects to consume. The national telecast of the crown prince's wedding in 1959 feverishly spurred television sales (royal wedding seem to operate as universal consumer stimulants). When television broadcast began in 1953, few people could afford a television at fifteen thousand yen a set; yet from 1956 to 1960 the percentage of Japanese families owning televisions rose form less than 1 percent to almost 50 percent. […] depictions of 'typical' American families surrounded by consumer luxuries and electric appliances such as refrigerators, vacuum cleaners, and washing machines – and with the family car parked in the driveway – had a powerful impact on the Japanese psyche. And television quickly became the primary means for the codification and dissemination of this conception of the middle class as a consumption category.

[1036] Katō, Mizuho: "Abstract Space in Concrete Terms: Reconsidering Gutai Painting," in: New York 2013, pp.254-258.
[1037] Ivy 1993, op. cit., p.248f.

When the protests against the passage of a revised security treaty between Japan and the United States *Anpo* erupted in demonstrations of the radical *Zengakuren* (*Zen Nihon gakusei jichikai sōrengō*, or, All Japan League of Self-Governing Student Associations) in front of the National Diet Building in Tokyo 1960, it was still broadcast on TV.[1038] Ivy reminds us though that the images diffused were subsequently replaced by new formats of entertainment shows, while the Ikeda cabinet's income doubling plan, issued in 1960, catalyzed the privatized micro-utopia of "my home," equipped with standardized electric appliances: "The 1960s witnessed the incorporation and assimilation of the viewer into television. No longer content to broadcast news, ads and entertainment, television featured hypothetical viewers through their representatives, the studio audience or participants in game shows."[1039] If Ivy deems 1960 "a critical take-off point for high economic growth,"[1040] architect Kenzō Tange's "Plan for Tokyo" (1960) published in *Shinkenchiku'*s March issue in 1961 proposed a "structural reorganization" for the increasingly automated age of mass-consumption:[1041]

> *Technical systems involving huge energy, such as that produced from the atom, and advanced informational systems, such as electronic computer and communication technology, are rapidly improving the industrial structure and furthering its organization.*

By consequence service industries would grow, which would justify abandoning centripetal development in suburbs, favoring a decentered organization extending the city from within. On the other hand, he put an emphasis on communication systems:[1042]

> *Above all communication is of the essence, for all the basic physical foundation for the functional operation of the city. The population of Tokyo is said to be composed of organization men.* […]*This organization is tied together by invisible cords of a communication system which has been produced by modern technology.*[…]

The terms communication and information deserve a closer look. Since the late 1940s mathematicians Norbert Weiner, Claude E. Shannon, and linguist Roman Jakobson corresponded to theorize, how a man-machine hybrid would allow an exchange of data through electric cycles, granting mutual adaptation between human being and its technologically controlled living

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[1038] Concerning the first *Anpo*-protest movement historian Victor Koschmann points out that even though Communist and left-wing Socialist elements minted a revolutionary rhetoric, the 1960s *Anpo* movement was eventually almost conservative in its aiming at "individualism and rationalism, consumerism, and the domestic happiness associated with *mai-hōmu* (my home). See: Koschmann 1993, op. cit., p.406.

[1039] Ivy 1993, op. cit., p.250.

[1040] Ibid., p.249.

[1041] cit. in.: Tange, Kenzō: "A Plan for Tokyo 1960. Toward a Structural Reorganization," in: *Kenzo Tange 1946–1969. Architecture and Urban Design: Architektur und Städtebau: Architecture et Urbanisme*, Udo Kultermann (ed.), Zurich: Verlag für Architektur Artemis, 1970, pp.114-149, p.118.

[1042] Ibid.

environment. The "feedback-loop"[1043] was popularized as a keyword for this organizational understanding of information exchange, adjustment, and control – implemented among others in astronautics. Wiener had developed his foundational cybernetic theory during the Second World War at the MIT, after supervising his Japanese PhD student Ikehara Shikao, who later became a teacher at the Osaka University. In 1956 Wiener went on a lecture tour in Japan.[1044]

Through experiments in sound art during the 1950s in Japan, electronic engineer and cryptographer Claude E. Shannon's system of a binary code to compute information exchange spread in artistic circles. Working for the Bell Telephone Laboratories Shannon had written a landmark paper in 1949:[1045]He defined in mathematical terms what information is, and how it can be transmitted in the face of noise. What had been viewed as distinct modes of communication – the telegraph, telephone, radio and television – were unified in a single framework. Shannon also defined the quantity of information produced by a source – for example, the quantity in a message – by a formula similar to the equation that defines thermodynamic entropy in physics. In its most basic terms, Shannon's informational entropy is the number of binary digits required to encode a message. Theorists like the Russian linguist Roman Jakobson tried to overlap this mathematical theory adapted to machine-communication with human psychosocial communication, merging the originally separate categories of information and meaning.[1046] Jakobson understood communication and linguistic theory as parts of semiotics – the study of sign processes and meaningful communication, stressing the palpability of signs.[1047]

Let me return from this short digression with the conclusion that throughout the 1950s and 1960s the blurring of information theory, cybernetics, and linguistics fostered via the field of semiotics a conceptualization of art as probabilistic universe that could now be theorized through statistically analyzed linguistic phenomena. A view promoted, e.g. by German philosopher and teacher at the Ulm School of Design (1953–1958) Max Bense, who combined natural sciences, art, and philosophy to define reality as "existential rationalism."[1048] Tange invited Bense to the first World Design Conference held in Tokyo in May 1960. Although Bense declined the invitation,[1049]

[1043]Wiener, Norbert: *Cybernetics or, Control and Communication in the Animal and the Machine*, Hoboken, NJ: Wiley, 1948 [*Saibanetikkusu: Dōbutsu to kikai ni okeru seigyo to tsūshin* [Cybernetics: Or Control in the Animal and Machine], trans. Ikehara, S. et al., Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1957].

[1044]See: "Norbert Wiener Chronology," website, (accessed through: <http://libraries.mit.edu/archives/research/collections/collections-mc/mc22.html>, last access: 27.10.2013).

[1045]Shannon, Claude .E.: "Communication in the Presence of Noise," in: *Proceedings of IRE* [Institute of Radio Engineers], vol. 37, (1949), pp.10-21.

[1046]Gerovitch, Slava: "Roman Jakobson und die Kybernetisierung der Linguistik in der Sowjetunion," in: *Die Transformation des Humanen. Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte der Kybernetik*, Michael Hagner and Erich Hörl (eds.), Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 2008, pp.229-274.

[1047]Lock, Charles: "Roman Jakobson," in: *Encyclopedia of Semiotics*, ed. Paul Bouissac, New York: Oxford University Press, 1998, pp. 327-30; and Lidov, David: "Jakobson's Model of Communication," Ibid., pp.330-32.

[1048]Walther, Elisabeth (ed.): *Max Bense. Ausgewählte Schriften, vol. 2: Philosophie der Mathematik, Naturwissenschaft und Technik*, Stuttgart: Metzler, 1998.

[1049]Cf. Vrachliotis 2012, op.cit.

the WoDeCo pushed the burgeoning discussion of the term "environment" beyond architecture. Not only thanks to absent Bense's "programmed aesthetics" artists in the field of art and technology took the paradox, non-phenomenal "materiality of information"[1050] as a point of departure for their work. The complex mathematic theories found their translator in Canadian media-analyst and university professor Marshall McLuhan.[1051]

McLuhan observed the consequences of electrification for men and women in a strategic feuilleton style, making use of different media to expose their features. His bestseller "Understanding Media. The Extensions of Man" was translated into Japanese in 1967 only. However, McLuhan argued that the gadgets humans used as extensions of their sensorium, i.e. media, had a broader anthropological impact on societies. His not always optimistic writings about advertisement, car, telephone, clothing, or television contributed to popularize cybernetic aspects beyond national borders in crisp aphorisms like (Fig.307) "The Medium is the Message" (later changed into the "Medium is the Massage").

Dawn of the Cyborg – Mocking Cold War Power Plays

Having roughed out a historical background with a view to cybernetics,[1052] let me come back to *Gutai*. Of course McLuhan's writings did not concern the *Gutai* artists in 1962. Still, McLuhan's considerations open an interesting point of departure for the consideration of Mukai's performance *Faces and Signs*. One of McLuhan's punchlines in addressing the progressing transformation of the human sensorium he argues for, was the shift from a literate culture, based on linear, printed text to the contemporary electric culture unfolding bodily perception and consciousness in a complex multidimensional relationality, i.e. tactility. Keeping in mind Tange's assumptions from 1960, a passage from McLuhan's "Understanding Media. The Extensions of Man" is of particular interest:[1053]

> *Most scientists are quite aware that since we have acquired some knowledge of electricity it is not possible to speak of atoms as pieces of matter. Again, as more is known about electrical "discharges" and energy, there is less and less tendency to speak of electricity as a thing that "flows" like water through a wire, or is "contained" in a battery. Rather, the tendency is to speak of electricity as painters speak of space; namely that is a variable condition that involves the special position of two or more bodies.* […]

[1050] See: Sakane, Itsuo: *Media āto sōsei-ki. Kagaku to geijutsu no deai. The Origins of Media Arts*, Tokyo: Kousakusha, 2010, pp.29-63, see also: idem: "Recovering the Wholeness of Art: Information versus Material," in: *Leonardo*, vol. 24, no.3 (1991), pp.259-261, p.259.

[1051] McLuhan 1964, op.cit.

[1052] Shanken, Edward A.: "Cybernetics and Art. Cultural Convergence in the 1960s," in: *From Energy to Information*, Bruce Clarke and Linda Dalrymple Henderson (eds.), Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2002, pp.155-177.

[1053] McLuhan 1964, p.384.

McLuhan's remarks about space as a subject matter of artistic inquiry recall the so far undiscussed title of *Gutai's* stage program *Don't Worry, the Moon Won't Fall Down.* At the dawn of the 1960s it could point to the virulent Space Race between the US and the Soviet Union – an emblem of Cold War Politics (Fig.308, Fig.309). The Institute of Space and Aeronautical Science of Tokyo University was established in 1964 only.[1054] Nevertheless special research promotion funds of the Japanese National Science and Technology Agency benefitted related research institutions such as the Radio Research Laboratory since 1960 with considerable sums for the development of "high-performance tracking devices."[1055] Could one go as far as to see in Gutai's title an ironic comment on this dislocated battlefield of an ideological war? That the broadcast of the moon landing by US astronauts in 1969 would become one of *the* world wide media events of the century could of course not be foreseen in 1962 (Fig.310).

A third generation of artists joining *Gutai* from the mid 1960s pushed Gutai's attention towards the 1970s successively to an idiosyncratic interpretation of environmental art, confronting the beholders with sensually irritating, kinetic installations. After the term had been promoted in the arts among others by Katsuhiro Yamaguchi and his *Enbairamento no Kai* in 1966 on occasion of the exhibition *From Space to Environment* at the Matsuya Department Store, Tokyo.[1056] Mukai's stage performance seems to bespeak this later exhibition as publicized in a special issue of *Bijutsu techō* in 1966: "the viewers, 'in the face of unavoidable self-dissolution are either boldly or passively whirled into, or swallowed by, and cannot but participate in the 'place' created by the work of art."[1057] Yet in the case of Mukai's staging the viewers concerned are not necessarily the seated attendees, but rather the faces sticking out of the panel.

Mosaic Views

In my view Mukai early on parodies the trend of telescoping humanities and natural sciences in the cybernetic merge of codes, blurring communication and information theory with linguistics, and eventually semiotics. As McLuhan would later write:[1058]

> *In this electric age we see ourselves being translated more and more into the form of information, moving toward the technological extension of consciousness. That's what is meant when we say we daily know more and more of ourselves into other forms of expression that exceed ourselves* […]

[1054] See: *Space in Japan* 1964, op.cit.
[1055] Ibid.
[1056] See: chapter 3.2.2, "Between Art and Design: "Kūkan kara kankyō e" (From Space to Environment, 1966) and "Shikisai to kūkan" (Color and Space, 1966)," in this text.
[1057] "Kūkan kara kankyō e-ten" [The Aim of the Exhibition From Space to Environment], Enbairanmento no kai (Environment Society) (ed.), in: *Bijutsu techō* [Art Notebook], no. 275, special issue, (November, 1966), pp.115-118, cit. in: Sas, Myriam: "Intermedia, 1955–1970," in: *Tokyo 1955–1970. A New Avant-Garde*, exh. cat. The Museum of Modern Art New York, 2012–2013, Doryun Chong (ed.), New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2012, p.153.p.153.
[1058] McLuhan 1964, p.69.

If so, in his performance Mukai made nonsense of such operations (Fig.311). Having elaborated on cybernetics and the acknowledged shift toward the tertiary sector in production, I should remind you that Mukai's performative encoding of bodies was not automated at all. He painted with paint and brush over panel and co-performers. By embodying this anachronism in his work, he seems not only at odds with the translatability of matter into information or content. Also, he differentiates the layers of painterly texture and sensual tactility as performed through the medium of electric TV affecting the viewer, McLuhan later speculated on. One might even say Mukai dramatizes the televisual age by restaging the sense of touch that is according to McLuhan affected by "mosaic form:"[1059]

> The mosaic can be seen as dancing can, but is not structured visually; nor is it an extension of the visual power. For the mosaic is [...] discontinuous, skew, and nonlineal, like the tactual TV image. To the sense of touch, all things are sudden, counter, original, spare, strange. The "Pied Beauty" of G. M. Hopkins is a catalogue of the notes of the sense of touch. The poem is a manifesto of the nonvisual, and like Cézanne or Seurat, [...] it provides an indispensable approach to understanding TV. The nonvisual mosaic structures of modern art, like those of modern physics and electric information patterns, permit little detachment. The mosaic form of the TV image demands participation and involvement in depth of the whole being, as does the sense of touch.

Using his own absurd ideographic script, Mukai brings in allusions to the Japanese writing system. An aspect McLuhan never touched upon, neither in his western focused "Gutenberg Galaxy,"[1060] nor in the later "Understanding Media." To support my thesis that Mukai's performance *Faces and Signs* embodies the technology of interface, confronting textuality and textures, one could turn to an observation by McLuhan again: "It is [...] feasible to 'present' TV as a complex 'gestalt' of data gathered almost at random."[1061]

Intersecting the Bodies of Gutai and Metabolism

Contextualizing *Gutai* – one of the beacon's in Japanese Postwar Art History – by intersecting the histories of *Gutai* and *Metabolism* shed's light on the "environment," or rather the concrete alternative space the artists produced, being aware, enthusiastic, yet also critical about the recent transformations of their (sub-)urban surroundings. Not aimed at offering a synthesis of art and architectural history, but rather a synopsis, this study has allowed us to trace similarities and differences of the respective movements, concepts and actions through encounters with protagonists and sites. The study testifies a shift in theory and practice, illustrating, how the body and life itself – once organic matter – slowly become a semiotic function, a conceptual body

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[1059] Ibid., p.369.
[1060] McLuhan, Herbert Marshall: *The Gutenberg Galaxy. The Making of Typographic Man*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962 [*Gūtenberugu no gingakei* [Gutenberg Galaxy], trans. Takagi Susumu, Tokyo: Takeuchi Shoten, 1968].
[1061] Idem 1964, p. 350.

animating them. This new image of neither the inside, nor the outside of a body, neither living, nor dead describes two sides of the same coin: relational network and mechanism of control. Whereas mechanisms of control operate via relational networks, not every relational network is necessarily a mechanism of control. On the other hand the "social" aspect in both, the art and the architecture of the movements presented in this study prove susceptible to coincide with the state bureaucracy and the economic agendas they tried to fight. Or, as design historian David Crowley would put it: "[…] the capacity of capitalism to neutralize critique by reworking it as fashion also, as many commentators noted at the time, absorbed counterculture. For the most part, the counterculture may have imagined instances of "expanded consciousness" through multimedia, performance, and happenings, but rarey could these events be enacted beyond the bounds of an advanced capitalist system."[1062]

If I have described *Gutai* and *Metabolism* above as two sides of the same coin, we still have to differentiate that the *Gutai* artists, and with them Tsuruko Yamazaki, stood in for alternatives to a managed society, in search for a zero space, allowing for diversity, intersubjective re-creation by introducing multiple uses to existing spaces, deconstructing the notions of nature and culture against functionalism, or the arbitrariness of meaning.

One might of course interject that picking up on the two already most famous movements in Japanese Postwar Art and Architectural History reinforces – to a certain extent – a derived narrative, set up by international or eurocentrist reception history. If it is true that this study introduced multiple and dissonant voices, this possible critique cannot be entirely dismissed, as my first encounter with Yamazaki's artwork in the context of the Venice Biennale in 2009 proves. It is also justified, since the diversity of the Japanese artworld beyond the metropolises Osaka and Tokyo could not be treated extensively here. If the study mapped out some of the transformations in 1960s urban Japan in fragments, it had to stay at the surface.

Also, one of my initial aims, i.e. to describe the late *Gutai* movement c. 1966 to 1972 more closely, could not be realized. So the artworks of and discussions among the *Gutai* members during this period of time remain to be traced in detail. I am looking forward though – if possible – to further elaborate on and clarify the theses fleshed out over the last chapters with more in-depth comparisons and case studies in my future work. Despite admitted shortcomings, I would like to conclude this thesis for now, reminding of Tsuruko Yamazaki, addressing children in the magazine *Kirin* in 1956: "Which is to say, what is really interesting is to do something yourself, to invent something yourself, to try even when something is difficult and you don't know whether you can do it well, to do something to your satisfaction."[1063]

[1062]Crowley 2008, op. cit., p.89.
[1063]Yamazaki 1956, op. cit.

Figures

Fig.289: Gutai, *Daijōbu tsuki wa ochanai* [Don't Worry the Moon Won't Fall Down], flyer for Gutai stage event, Sankei Hall, Osaka, 1962
Fig.290: Gutai, *Butai o shiyōsuru Gutai bijutsu* [Gutai Art for the Stage], announcement flyer, Tokyo and Osaka Sankei Halls, 1957,
(both in: *Gutai shiryō-shū. Dokyumento Gutai 1954–1972 / Document Gutai 1954–1972*, Ashiya City Museum of Art and History (ed.),
Ashiya: Ashiya City Cultural Foundation, 1993, p.166; p.114)
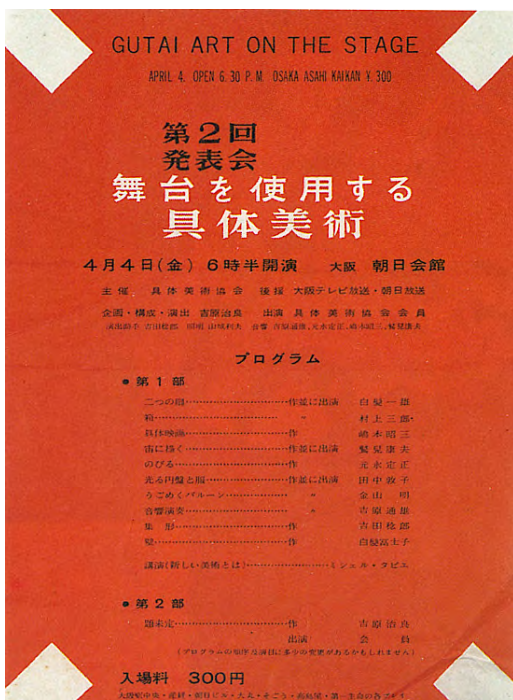
Fig.291: Gutai, *Gutai Art on the Stage*, Tokyo and Osaka, 1958, program of the second Gutai stage event,
(in: *Gutai shiryō-shū*, 1993, p.128)

Fig.292: Shūji Mukai, *Room of Signs*, 1961, mixed media, installation view with Mukai, *10th Gutai Art Exhibition*, Takashimaya department store, Osaka, 1961, photo, (in: Tiampo 2011, p.154)

Fig.293: Rehearsing with Jirō Yoshihara for the first Gutai stage event, 1957, Tokyo and Osaka Sankei Halls, photo, (in: *Gutai shiryō-shū*, 1993, p.114)
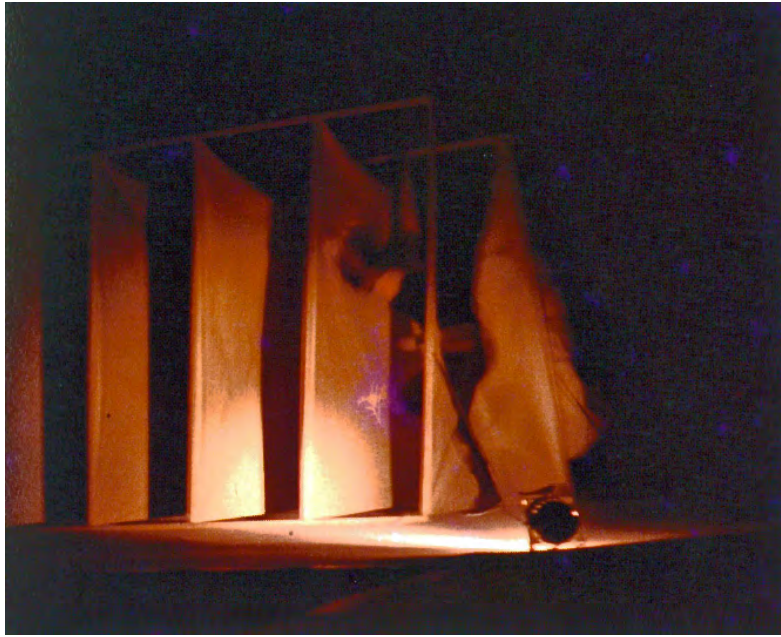
Fig.294: Saburō Murakami, *Tsūka*, performance on occasion of the stage program *Don't Worry the Moon Won't Fall Down*, Sankei Hall Osaka, photo, (in: *Gutai shiryō-shū*, 1993, p.167)

Fig.295: Atsuko Tanaka, *Pinku no maku no mae de* [In Front of a Pink Curtain], 1962, performance on occasion of the stage program *Don't Worry the Moon Won't Fall Down*, Sankei Hall Osaka, photo, (in: *Gutai shiryō-shū*, 1993, p.167)

だいじょうぶ月はおちない

11月6日 (火)　午后6時30分　開演　サンケイホール

STAFF

　構成・演出　　吉原治良，　森田真弘

　照明　　　　熊沢　章

　音楽　　　一柳慈，　吉原通雄

　出演　　　森田真弘，造形現代舞踊団，具体美術協会

　舞台監督　　吉田稔郎

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PROGRAM

■第1部　　構成・演出　吉原治良　　音楽　吉原通雄

　3分　作品1　赤い三世度　　作　白髪一雄　出演　森田真弘
　　幕間　2分

　2分　作品2　通過　　作並に出演　村上三郎
　　幕間　3分

　3分　作品3　ピンクの幕の前で　作　田中敦子　出演　森田現代舞踊団
　　幕間　3分

　3分　作品4　須と記号　　作　向井修二　出演　向井修二　他
　　幕間　4分

　5分　作品5　よわる眼の壁　作　山崎つる子　出演　山崎つる子　他
　　幕間　3分

　2分　作品6　ロック　アラウンド　ザ　クロック　作　吉原通雄，出演　吉原通雄他
　　幕間　3分

　8分　作品7　白い空間　合作　嶋本昭三，金山明，吉田稔郎，元永定正

　　　10分　休

■第2部　　構成・演出　森田真弘　　音楽　一柳慈

　14分　作品8　分数記号B　作　森田真弘　出演　森田現代舞踊団

　　　10分　休

■第3部　　構成・演出　吉原治良，森田真弘　　音楽　吉原通雄

　22分　作品9　ものと人間　共同作品　森田真弘，菊畑茂久夫，大原名美子，前川強
　　　　　　　　　　出演　具体美術協会，森田真弘，造形現代舞踊団

(1)

Fig.296a): Gutai (Toshio Yoshida), *Daijōbu tsuki wa ochanai* [Don't Worry the Moon Won't Fall Down], storyboard for 6.11.1962, Sankei Hall, Osaka, Mukai Shūji, "*Sakuhin* 4" [Work no. 4]: *Kao to kigō* [Faces and Signs], (in: Gutai Materials, Ashiya City Museum of Art and History, Ashiya)
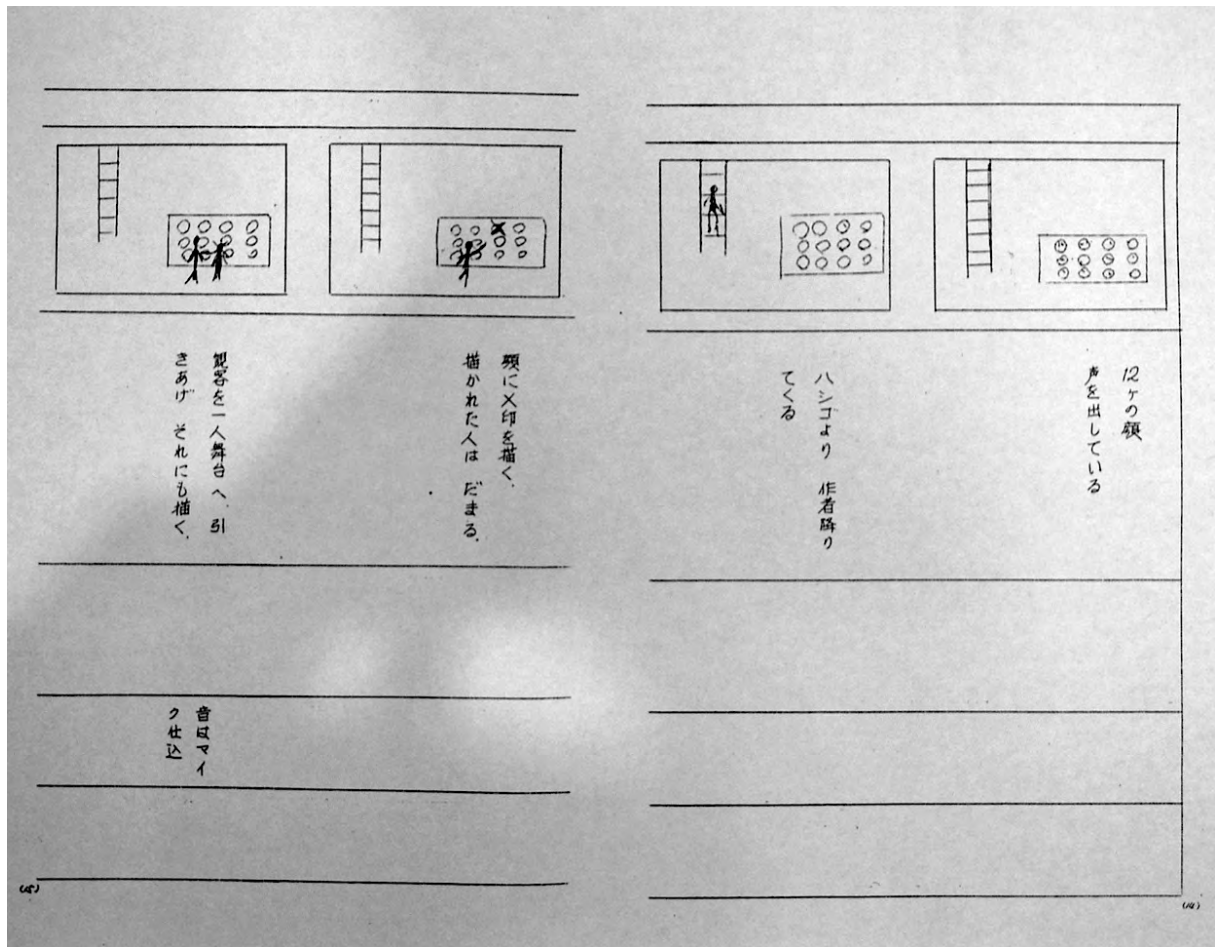
Fig.296a): Gutai (Toshio Yoshida), *Daijōbu tsuki wa ochanai* [Don't Worry the Moon Won't Fall Down], storyboard for 6.11.1962, Sankei Hall, Osaka, Mukai Shūji, "*Sakuhin* 4" [Work no. 4]: *Kao to kigō* [Faces and Signs], (in: Gutai Materials, Ashiya City Museum of Art and History, Ashiya)

Fig.297: Caricature of Shūji Mukai's "Faces and Signs," 1962 [predated to 1958], (in: Kazuo Shiraga, "Rensai dai go-kai: Bōken no kiroku. Episodo de tsuzuru Gutai grūpu no 12 nen" (Fifth Column: Chronicles of the Adventure. Resuming 12 Years of the Gutai Group), in: *Bijutsu techō* [Art Notebook], (November, 1967), pp.148-156)

Fig.298: Shūji Mukai, *Faces and Signs*, 1962, performance on occasion of the stage program *Don't Worry the Moon Won't Fall Down*, Sankei Hall Osaka, photo, (in: *Gutai shiryō-shū*, 1993, p.169)
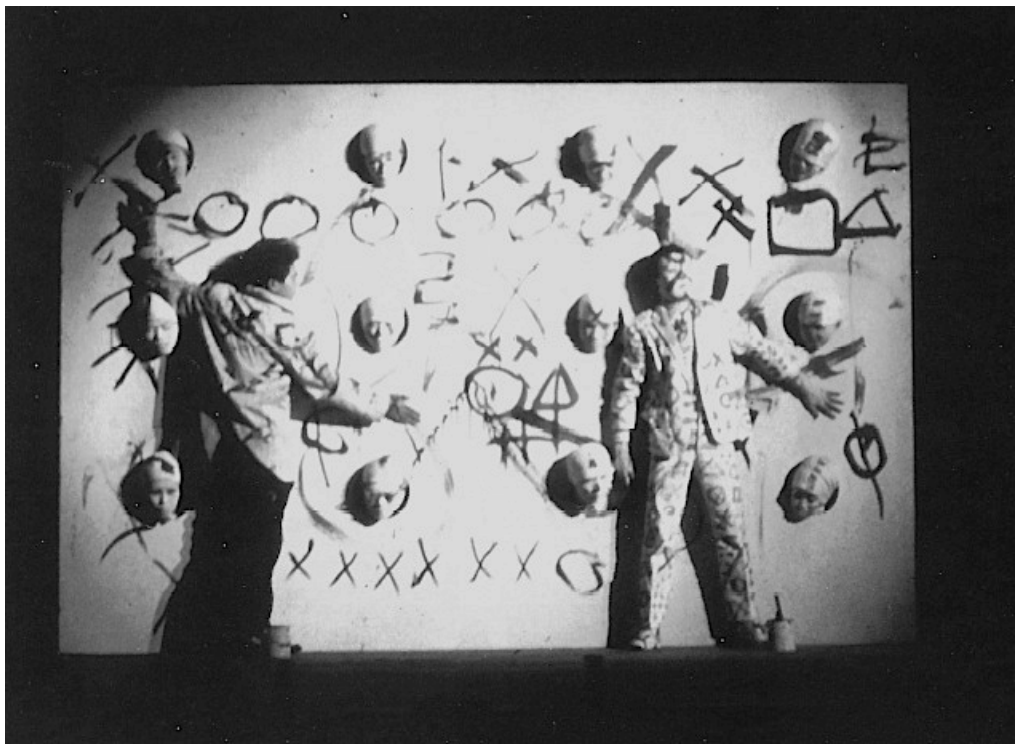
Fig.299: Shūji Mukai, *Faces and Signs*, 1962, performance on occasion of the stage program *Don't Worry the Moon Won't Fall Down*, Sankei Hall Osaka, photo, (in: *Gutai shiryō-shū*, 1993, p.169)
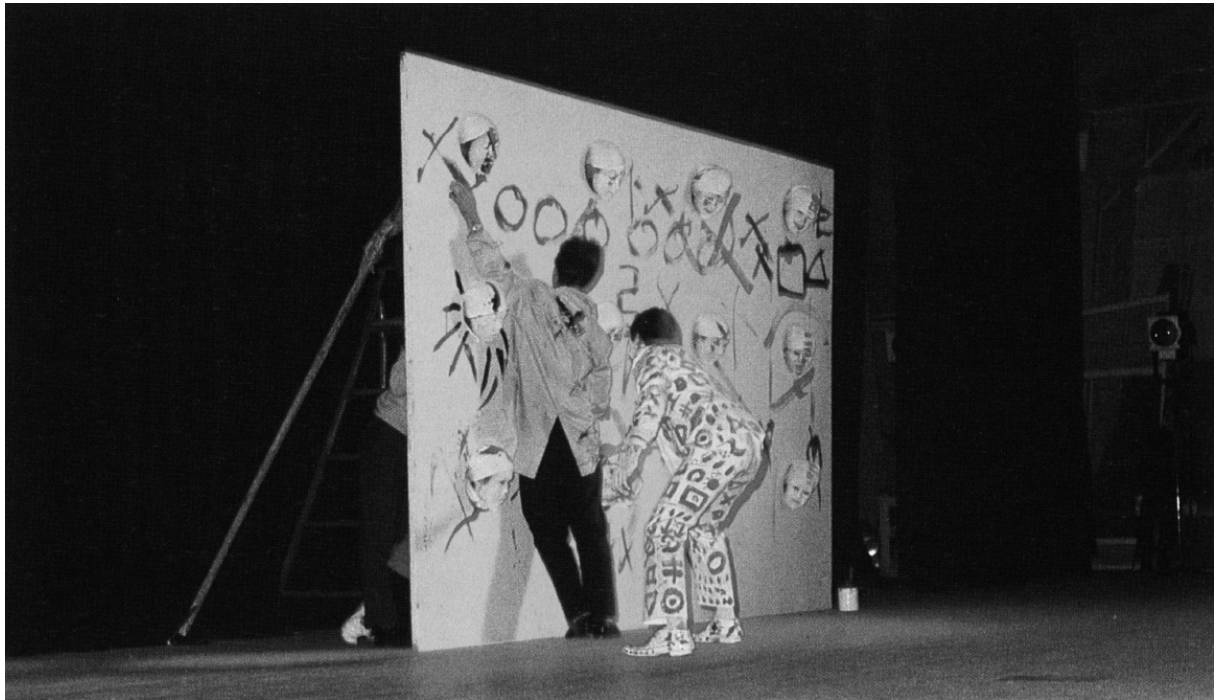
Fig.300: Shūji Mukai, *Faces and Signs*, 1962, performance on occasion of the stage program *Don't Worry the Moon Won't Fall Down*, Sankei Hall Osaka, photo, (in: *Gutai shiryō-shū*, 1993, p.170)

Fig.301: Tsuruko Yamazaki, *Mawaru gin iro no kabe* [Rotating Silver Wall], performance on occasion of the stage program *Don't Worry the Moon Won't Fall Down*, Sankei Hall Osaka, photo, (in: *Gutai shiryō-shū*, 1993, p.170)

Fig.302: Photograph of Mukai pouring beer to his mentor Jirō Yoshihara in front of Mukais's own works, May 1965, on occasion of his solo exhibition at Gutai Pinacotheca, Osaka, (in: Gutai Materials, Ashiya City Museum of Art and History, Ashiya)
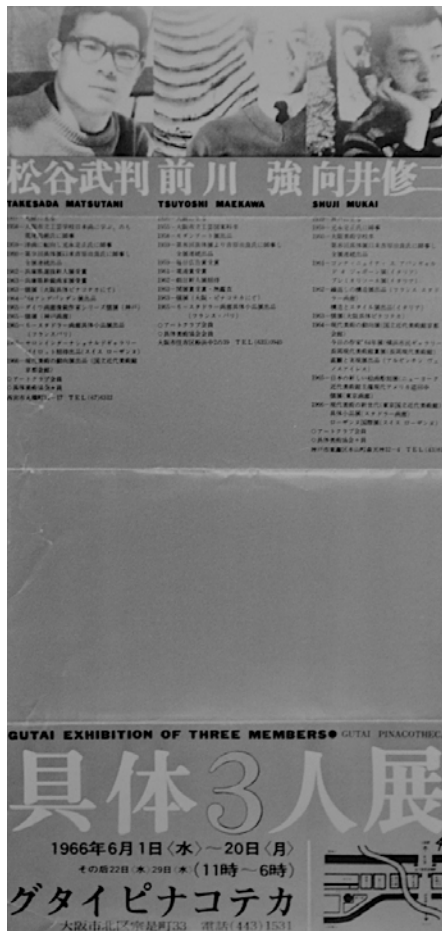
Fig.303: Three men exhibition at Gutai Pinacotheca, Osaka, 1966, announcement flyer, (in: Gutai Materials, Ashiya City Museum of Art and History, Ashiya)

Fig.304: Tsuruko Yamazaki, *Peace*, 1968, (retrieved through:
<https://www.pinterest.com/pin/28288303887432034/>, last access 23.10.2015)

Fig.305: *Fontana.Capogrossi Exhibition*, announcement flyer, Gutai Pinacotheca, Osaka,
1964, (in: Gutai Materials, Ashiya City Museum of Art and History, Ashiya)

Fig.306: Advertisement for Sharp TV with integrated watch, c.1965,
(photo: Gabrielle Schaad, 2014)

Fig.307: Marshall Herbert McLuhan and Quentin Fiore, *The Medium is the Massage. An Inventory of Effects*, London: Penguin Books, 1967, book cover

Fig.308: Photograph taken on occasion of an exhibition at a departmentstore in Tokyo, 1958, (retrieved through: < http://www.theatlantic.com/photo/2014/03/japan-in-the-1950s/100697/>, last access, 22.10.2015)

Fig.309: *Life Magazine*, Asian issue, cover, (August, 1962)

Fig.310: Advertisment for Hitachi color TV, (in: Hakurankaishiryō [Expo Materials], Nomura Kōgei-sha (Archives), Osaka)
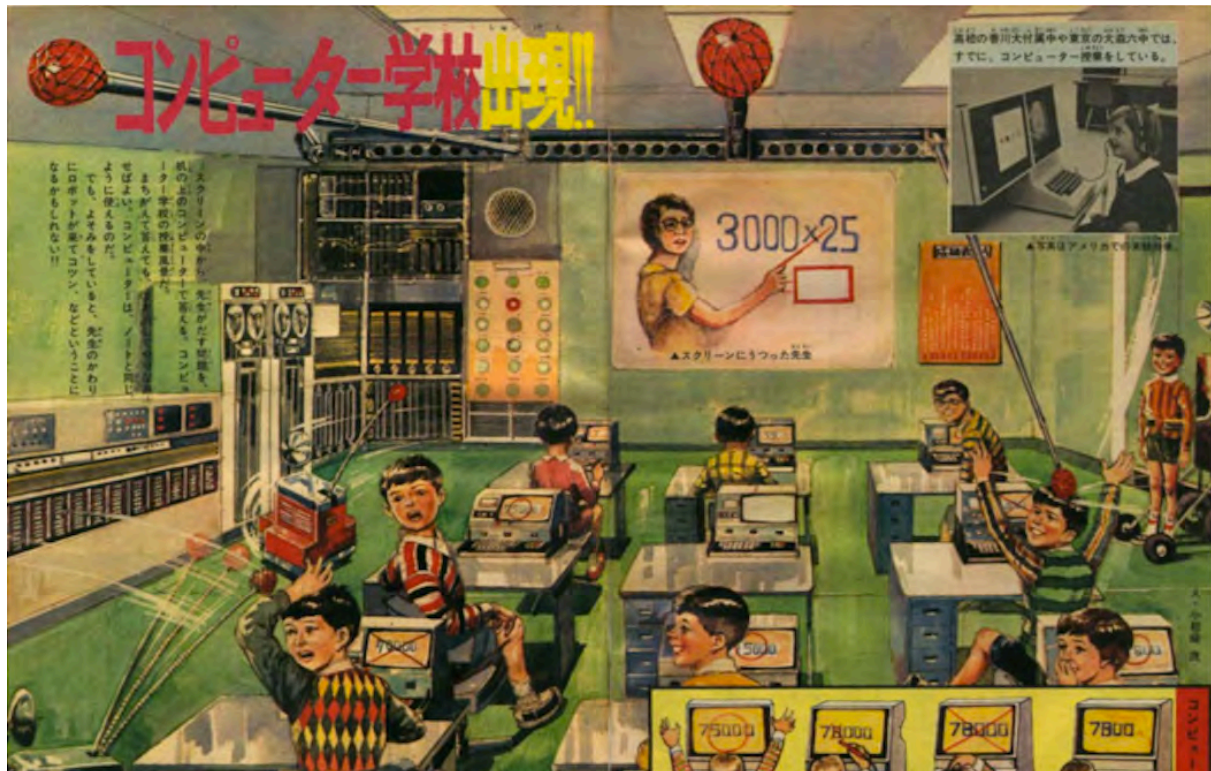
Fig.311: "Konpyūtā gakkō shutsugen!!" [The Arrival of Computer School], in: *Shōnen Magazine*, c.1969, cover, (photo: Gabrielle Schaad, 2014)

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Curriculum Vitae

Gabrielle Schaad (b. 1982, Aarau, Switzerland) graduated from the Faculty of Liberal Arts, University of Zürich in Art History, East Asian Art History, and Medieval Archeology in 2010 (lic. phil.) with an Erasmus-exchange semester at the Chair of Art History, Prof. Sabine Frommel PhD, École Pratique des Hautes Études (EPHE) Paris (2007).

As doctoral fellow in the doctoral program Pro*Doc Art & Science (SNSF) she worked at the Chair for the History and Theory of Art and Architecture, Prof. Philip Ursprung PhD, Institute gta, D-ARCH, ETH Zürich (2011–2013, 2015–2016). She was a research-exchange student at the Chair for Art History, Prof. Toshino Iguchi PhD, Graduate School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Saitama University Japan (2013–2014). Gabrielle Schaad worked as a teaching assistant at the Chair of Art History and Visual Culture, Prof. Michio Hayashi PhD, Faculty of Liberal Arts, Sophia University Tokyo (2014). She absolved internships at the Shigeru Yokota Gallery Tokyo and at the Japan Cultural Research Institute (NPO) Tokyo (2014).

Gabrielle Schaad was awarded scholarships by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, Japan (MEXT) (2013–2014), Akademie Schloss Solitude Stuttgart (2016), and ETH Zürich (2016).

From 2003 to 2010 she worked in several temporary appointments as an auxiliary assistant at the Institute of Art History and the Institute of East Asian Art History, as well as at the Library for Medieval Latin Literature (MLS), University of Zürich, and as an auxiliary assistant at the Institute of Behavioral Science (IFV), ETH Zürich. From 2007 to 2010 she was a research assistant at the Swiss Art Archives, Swiss Institute for Art Research (SIK–ISEA) Zürich. Between 2010 and 2012 Gabrielle Schaad was a curatorial assistant at the Museum of Art Lucerne and at Kunsthaus Zürich. In 2011 she initiated and co-curated (with Gioia Dal Molin) the art discussion platform and blog *Le Foyer* Zürich. Since 2010 she contributes as freelance critic to the magazines, *Frieze d/e*, *domus*, *Flash-Art*, *Artforum*, *Archithese*, *PIN-UP Magazine for Architectural Entertainment*, and to various publications in the field of contemporary art and architecture.