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ART ANTI-ART NON-ART
EXPERIMENTATIONS IN THE PUBLIC SPHERE IN
POSTWAR JAPAN 1950—1970

EDITED BY CHARLES MEREWETHER WITH RIKI IZUMI HIRO

GETTY RESEARCH INSTITUTE

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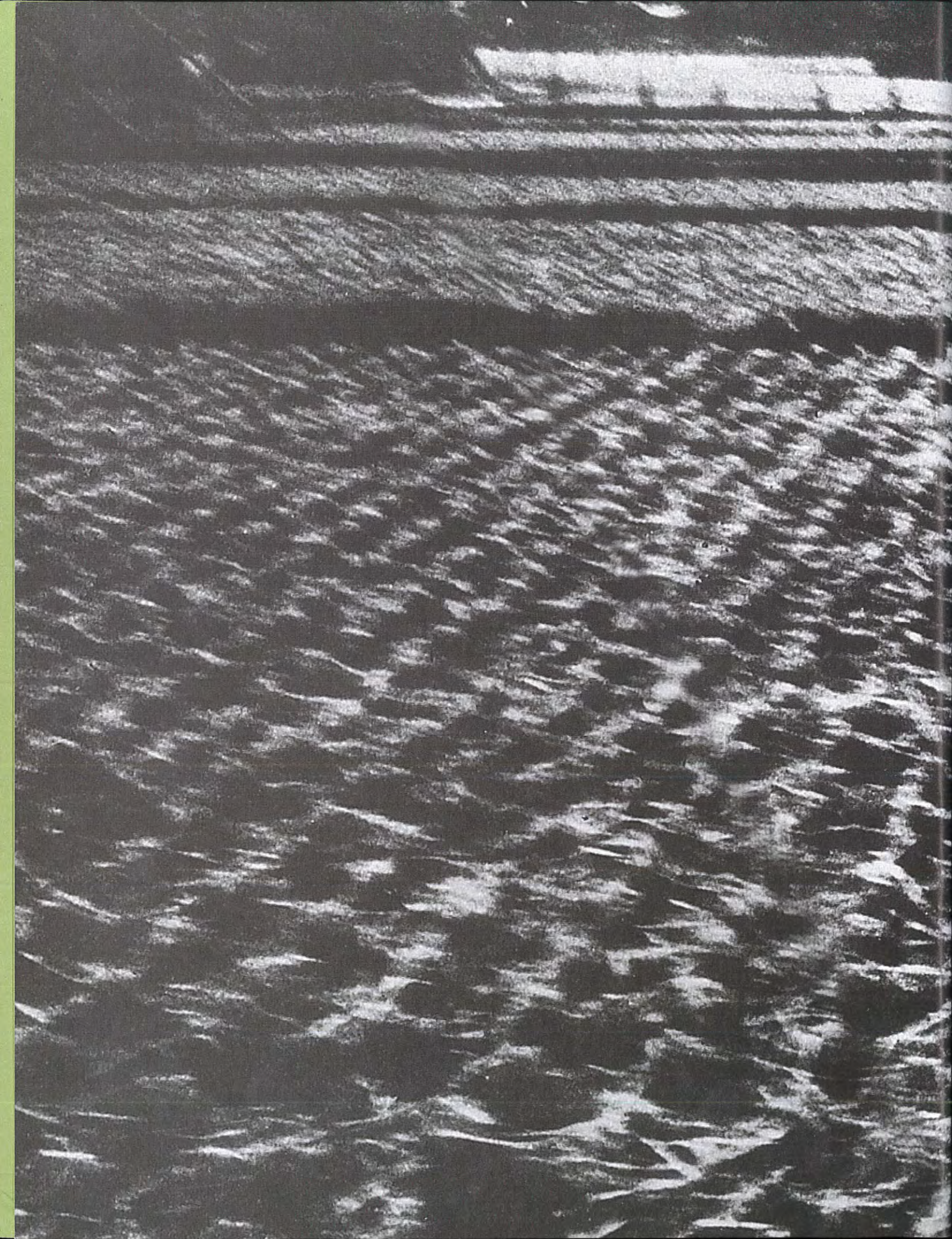
Art, anti-art, non-art :



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EDITED BY CHARLES MEREWETHER WITH RIKA IEZUMI HIRO
WITH ESSAYS BY CHARLES MEREWETHER AND REIKO TOMII

PUBLISHED BY THE GETTY RESEARCH INSTITUTE

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1950–1970

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Frontispieces: Details of a performance of Tanaka Atsuko's *Electric Dress*, 1957 (see pl. 8), Hosoe Eikoh's photograph of Hijikata Tatsumi in a rice field, 1965 (see pl. 26), and a photograph of summer 1968 by Nakahira Takuma, 1968 (see pl. 29)

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FOREWORD

For this exhibition on an extraordinary period in avant-garde art in post-war Japan, Charles Merewether has assembled a remarkable selection of original and documentary works from the collections of the Research Library at the Getty Research Institute. These works were produced during a charged moment following World War II, when a progressive group of Japanese artists refocused their energies, using new forms of media and intermedia collaboration as a conceptual foundation for experimentation. They made the most of opportunities to generate interaction between the creator, the audience, and the site, and, in the process, projected themselves onto the world stage.

In the aftermath of the war, Japan began to transform itself into a modern metropolitan society, seeking to reestablish itself in the world community with international events such as the Tokyo Olympic Games in 1964 and the Japan World Exposition '70 in Osaka. At the same time, an art of intense self-reflection arose, created by artists who were acutely aware of the legacy of the atomic bomb and the experience of foreign occupation. Throughout this volatile period, artistic groups coalesced quickly, engaging in political, social, and artistic debates and protests, and, just as quickly, dissolved and were replaced by new collaborations. The Getty Research Institute's exhibition focuses on works by some of the most prominent of these groups: Experimental Workshop/Jikken Kōbō, Gutai, Group Ongaku, Neo Dada, Tokyo Fluxus, Hi Red Center, Vivo, Provoke, and Bikyōtō. The artists who formed these groups brought their wartime experiences and their material sensibilities—particularly those based on the traditional skills of designing and fabricating works on paper—to such innovative projects as the photographic essay and “mail art,” in addition to the posters, brochures, flyers, and ephemeral documentation that they created for their events. Although their work was founded on continuing Japanese traditions of art and design, it shows a strong affinity and correlation with the international world of postwar artistic practice.

This exhibition draws materials from the Research Library's archival collections on Fluxus, conceptual and minimalist art, performance art,

installations, and happenings. These collections contain numerous exhibition catalogs, multiples, artists' books, posters, and photographs. Some works were acquired in the 1970s and 1980s by Jean Brown, an important American supporter of Fluxus. Other items are part of the project files of the artist Allan Kaprow and the composer David Tudor. These archives include experimental musical scores, instructions for happenings and performances, and photographs that document installations and events. These same collections and the records of EAT (Experiments in Art and Technology) contain information on the projects and performances that resulted from the interaction of artists such as Ay-O, Shiomie Miki (Chieko), and Yoko Ono with George Maciunas, Merce Cunningham, and Allan Kaprow in Asia, North America, and Europe. The range of these materials is evidence of the global nexus that developed as the artists engaged and worked together, bridging distinctive cultures. A number of the Japanese works in this exhibition are part of collections that not only were formed in America but also were focused on other artistic movements, a fact that emphasizes the important international role that these artists had in postwar artistic production.

With the exception of David Elliot and Kazuo Kaido's *Reconstructions: Avant-Garde Art in Japan, 1945–1965* (1985), *Japon des avant gardes, 1910–1970* (1986), and Alexandra Munroe's exhibition and catalog *Japanese Art after 1945: Scream against the Sky* (1994), Japanese art of the postwar period has received little of the scholarly research and public attention that it warrants, especially given its power and eloquence and the level of international engagement that it prompted. The Research Institute's selection of signal materials from the period from 1950 to 1970 shows the art of Japan in transition. It seeks to convey a more coherent impression of these artists and to describe the interconnections of groups such as Gutai and Fluxus. The objects in the exhibition—archival documents, working notes and drafts, ephemeral printed works, plus multiples and photobooks—emphasize the artistic process, and they elucidate the role played by the artistic collectives. Seen in a broader historical context, the exhibition describes the ongoing relations of exchange and interaction between the arts in America and Europe and in Japan. With this volume, Charles Merewether and Reiko Tomii, assisted by Rika Iezumi Hiro, better acquaint us with these artists and their works, thereby allowing them to take a more prominent place in the larger conversations about art in this period.

— Gail Feigenbaum
Associate Director, Getty Research Institute

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The concept for this exhibition arose out of a recognition that hidden in the midst of the predominantly European and American collections at the Getty Research Institute was a small but outstanding body of both original artworks and extensive documentation representing postwar art in Japan. I would like to acknowledge my indebtedness to Rika Iezumi Hiro, my assistant on this project, whose steadfast commitment and diligence were instrumental in the realization of this publication and exhibition. I would also like to extend my thanks to Reiko Tomii, whose scholarship has been an inspiration; I greatly appreciate her willingness to support the project not only with a marvelous accompanying essay to this publication but also, and equally, by her contributions to editorial issues of translation and style and her donation of research materials to the Getty Research Institute.

At the same time, I am most grateful to the Japan Foundation, who offered me a research fellowship in 2003. Its financial support, while relatively short in duration, gave me the opportunity to travel far and wide across Japan. In this time, I was able to conduct a series of interviews with artists who had played a role in postwar art and cultural life, visit museum collections, and talk with curators and critics as well as conduct research in personal and public archives. In this regard too, I would like to express my thanks to the support given by the staff of the Getty Research Institute, including senior management, my colleagues in Collection Development, Conservation, Special Collections, Visual Media Services, and, in particular, Barbara Anderson, Head of the Exhibitions, and Julia Bloomfield, Head of Publications. Both Barbara and Julia championed the project and were its stalwart supporters over a long stretch of time. The comments of Bert Winther-Tamaki, Associate Professor of Art History, University of California, Irvine, on the essays in this catalog were invaluable in bringing into focus key issues concerning the period under discussion.

Over the last five years or so, I have met and corresponded with many of the artists who were active during this period. In all cases, their willingness to share with me both memories and detailed accounts of this history has been inspiring as well as enormously rewarding in providing an

accurate account of the complex intertwining of art and cultural life in postwar Japan. These artists include Akasegawa Genpei, Shūsaku Arakawa, Ay-O, Hikosaka Naoyoshi, Hori Kōsai, Horikawa Michio, Hosoe Eikoh, Ichiyanagi Toshi, Iimura Takahiko, Ina Ken'ichirō, Ishimatsu Takeo, Isozaki Arata and Arata Isozaki and Associates, Kosugi Takehisa, Koshimizu Susumu, Shigeo Kubota, Lee Ufan, Matsuzawa Yutaka, Moriyama Daidō, Nakanishi Natsuyuki, Nakaya Fujiko, Narahara Ikkō, Nomura Hitoshi, Yoko Ono, Takako Saitō, Sekine Nobuo, Shimamoto Shōzō, Ushio Shinohara, Shiomi Mieko, Suga Kishio, Taki Kōji, Tanaka Atsuko, Tōmatsu Shōmei, Yasunao Tone, Yoshimasa Wada, and Yamaguchi Katsuhiko.

I would also like to thank the following curators and critics for their generosity in providing information through interviews and correspondence. These include Chiba Shigeo, professor at Chūbu University; David Elliot, director of the Mori Art Museum; Emily Harvey of the Emily Harvey Gallery; Jon Hendricks; Ikeda Akira of the Akira Ikeda Gallery; Ishii Takayuki of the Taka Ishii Gallery; Itō Shun'ichi of the Gyoza-dō Bookstore; Katō Mizuho, curator at the Ashiya City Museum of Art & History; Kawasaki Kōichi of the Hyōgo Prefectural Museum of Art; Maki Kitamura at Gallery Gan USA/Press Kit Co.; Kubota Maho, director of SCAI the Bathhouse Gallery/Shiraishi Contemporary Art Inc.; Kurata Mika, curator at the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo; Lee Mina, curator at the Museum of Modern Art, Kamakura and Hayama; Nakahara Yūsuke, curator and critic; Nanjō Fumio, associate director at the Mori Art Museum; Okazaki Tamako of the Tamako Okazaki Gallery; Satani Shūgo of the Shugo Art Gallery; Sawada Yōko of Osiris Co., Ltd.; Hirai Shōichi of the National Art Center, Tokyo; Suga Akira, curator at the Oita City Museum; Ming Tiampo, assistant professor at Carleton University in Ottawa, Ontario; and Yamada Satoshi, curator at the Nagoya City Art Museum. I extend my particular thanks to Tabata Yukihiro, director of the Tokyo Gallery; Muramatsu Hiroko of Tokyo Gallery; Yokota Shigeru of the Shigeru Yokota Gallery, Inc., and Tokyo Publishing House; Okamoto Takako at HEAR Sound Art Library, Osaka; Andrew Roth and Jeewong Song of Andrew Roth Inc., New York; Yamamoto Atsuo, assistant curator at the Museum of Modern Art, Shiga; Takamatsu Yasuko and Chiba Yumiko of Yumiko Chiba Associates, agent for the estate of Takamatsu Jirō; and John Clark, Power Institute, Sydney. Each dedicated considerable time over a number of years to provide information and assistance during my research and extended hospitality on the occasion of my visits to Japan.

Finally, I extend my heartfelt thanks to Julia Bloomfield and her publications team: Rebecca Frazier, Michelle Bonnice, Michele Ciaccio, Jonlin Wung, Jennifer Ott, Mika Yoshitake, and Ann Isalde. Since the inception of this project in 2002, they have dedicated enormous energy, assistance, and time to bring the publication to fruition. It may never have happened without their generous support.

— Charles Merewether

NOTE TO THE READER

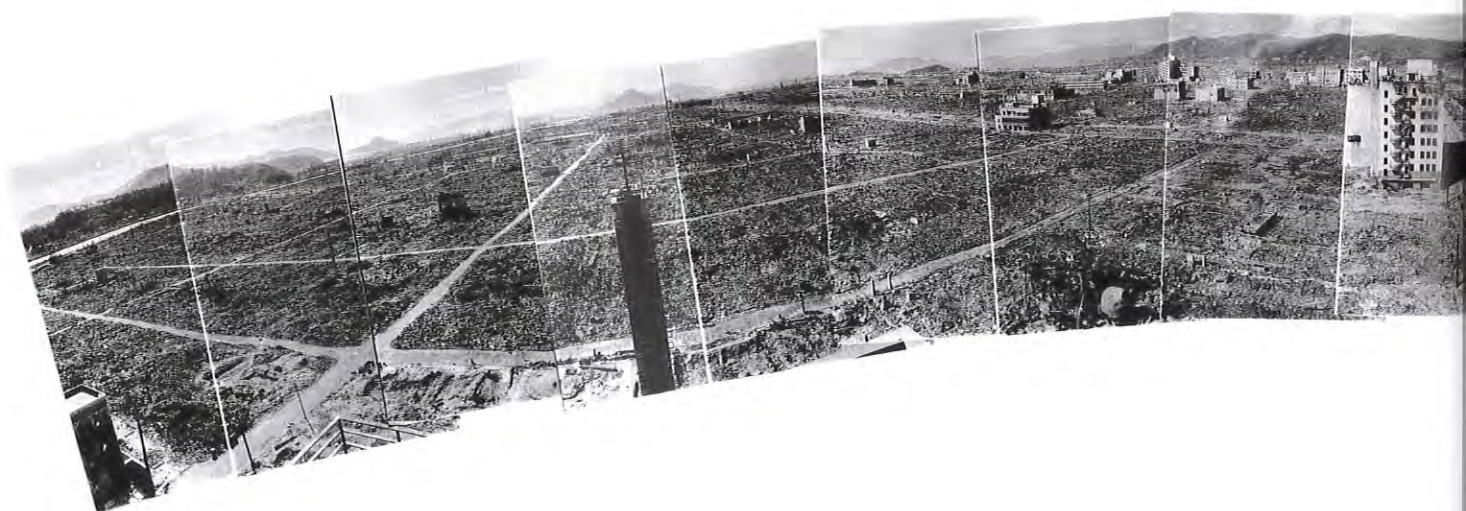
Japanese words have been transliterated according to the modified Hepburn Romanization system. Its sole but notable deviation from the original Hepburn is the use of *n* before *b*, *m*, and *p* (for example, Genbi, Anpo). Macrons are employed to indicate long vowels in Japanese names and words such as Shūzō, except in commonly known place names and words adopted into English, such as Tokyo and Osaka, which appear without macrons.

Japanese (and other East Asian) personal names are given in the traditional Japanese order, surname first, unless the individual is Japanese American or was born in Japan but resides primarily abroad *and* adopts the Western order of surname last. In the latter group are Shūsaku Arakawa, On Kawara, Shigeko Kubota, Yoko Ono, Nam June Paik, Ushio Shinohara, and Yasunao Tone, among others.

Postwar artists' groups employed diverse naming strategies, frequently combining Japanese and English or other foreign words—for example, Group Ongaku, which is a hybrid of the English *group* and the Japanese *ongaku* (music)—or creating easily remembered abbreviations—for example, Bikyōtō, from Bijutsuka Kyōtō Kaigi (literally, “Artists Joint-Struggle Council”). In this volume, each group's name is rendered in the form generally established or preferred in studies of post-1945 Japanese art published in English. In many cases, the whole or parts of the Japanese names are retained. For example, Mono-ha (literally, “Things School”) and Bikyōtō are gaining wide currency outside Japan, and their Japanese names are retained. Some names that are made up of common nouns may be translated into English with little problem, as is the case for Psychophysiology Research Institute (Seishin Seirigaku Kenkyūjo). Names consisting of import words translated into Japanese—that is, rendered in *katakana* syllabary—likewise readily lend themselves to English: examples include Neo Dada and Hi Red Center. The group Jikken Kōbō adopted bilingualism with its official English name, Experimental Workshop, and the latter is consistently used in this volume. Since it is not always easy to annotate these proper names without breaking the flow of text, minimum

information has been given upon first appearance in each essay. Additional information appears in the “Glossary of Artists’ Groups and Individual Artists” at the end of this volume. For details on the group names and their rendering in English, see the “Notes to the Reader” in “1960s Japan: Art Outside the Box,” special issue edited by Reiko Tomii, *Review of Japanese Culture and Society* 17 (2006): vi–x.

As a rule, titles of artworks, performances, and exhibitions are given in English translation only. The titles of films are given in English translation, followed by the original Japanese title enclosed in parentheses. The titles of published texts, books, and journals are given in their original language, in italics, followed by translation in roman in parentheses. If a publication cited has a title listed in more than one language on the title page (or sometimes on the cover, spine, or copyright page), all of them are listed, with Japanese first, followed by the other language (or languages) separated by an equals sign: *Jikken kōbō to Takiguchi Shūzō: Dai 11-kai omāju Takiguchi Shūzō-ten* = *Experimental Workshop: The 11th Exhibition Homage to Shuzo Takiguchi*. Although bilingual titles do not always indicate that the content is entirely or in part bilingual—Hosoe Eikoh’s *Otoko to onna* = *Man and Woman* is, for instance, entirely in Japanese—it is important to present all the titles in all the languages printed in a publication, so that readers can identify the publication correctly. This system also helps differentiate officially given English titles from translations provided by the authors.



DISJUNCTIVE MODERNITY

The Practice of Artistic Experimentation in Postwar Japan

Charles Merewether

It was amidst this desert of ashes that the Japanese people made a new departure for new experiences. In compensation for everything that they had lost, they had the liberty of imagining a new, ideal and at times utopian society.

—Nishikawa Nagao¹

No single moment marks the beginning of postwar culture in Japan. It appeared in the wake of the human and material destruction caused by the bombing of its cities (fig. 1), Emperor Hirohito's surrender and subsequent renunciation of his divinity, and the occupation of Japan by the United States and other Allied forces. Each of these events had a profound and lasting effect, shaping every aspect of Japanese life.

The years immediately after the end of World War II were filled with the inauguration of new museums and the formation of new arts organizations and performing groups. And while this growth was in part the result of a new generation of artists coming to prominence, it was also propelled by an attempt to recover the momentum that had characterized Japanese culture in the first forty years of the twentieth century. The prewar era had given rise to a succession of modernist and avant-garde

▽

Fig. 1. Hayashi Shigeo (Japanese, 1918–2002)

Looking out over the city of Hiroshima in ruins, October 1945
Collage of eighteen black-and-white photographs, each negative,
6 × 6 cm (2⅜ × 2⅜ in.)

Hiroshima, Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum



artistic groups, but their viability had been compromised as much by their imbrication with fascism as by their isolation from the West during the war. In the postwar period, the regeneration of Japanese culture was sparked by a robust economy, which owed its revitalization largely to the U.S. occupation. This economic spark largely provided the conditions for a regeneration of a cultural economy, a development that was shaped and tempered by the latent, and occasionally explicit, discord within Japan over its heritage, its immediate military past, and the values associated with Western modernity and, in particular, American culture. The conflict created a "disjunctive modernity" that was defined by the juxtaposition of a persistent imperial order and elite culture with an expanding, industrially driven, mass culture.²

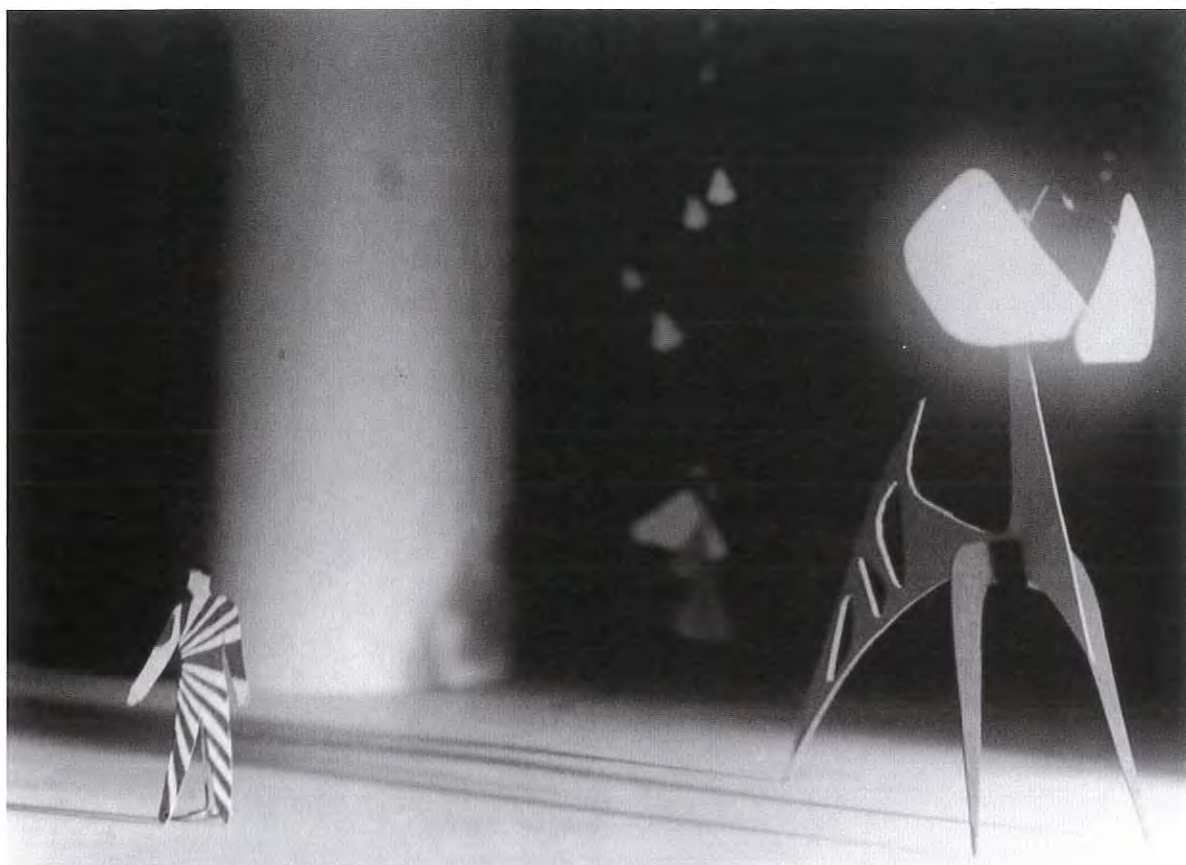
In response to these two forces, a small but culturally and intellectually progressive movement emerged in the arts. The women and men that embraced it were committed to experimentation and, equally, to collaboration and interaction with both the audience and the site of artistic practice. Over the two decades that followed the war, this group of artists, musicians, photographers, filmmakers, dancers, actors, writers, and critics created a compelling challenge to the dominant histories and conventions of modern art in Japan and in the West.

Reengaging the Modern

Between 1947 and 1952, an institutional infrastructure for the practice and reception of modern and contemporary visual and performing arts was created in Japan. Museums and cultural centers were built, international exhibitions were reinstated and intellectual exchange was reinvigorated, new materials and technology became available for publishing and the production of media-based work, and contemporary artistic practices gained public as well as critical attention. Particularly important to the reinvigoration of Japanese art was the establishing of two unjuried annual exhibitions: the Nippon Independent Exhibition, in 1947; and in 1949, the Nihon Independent Exhibition,³ which was hosted by the Tokyo Metropolitan Art Museum and sponsored by the Yomiuri Newspaper Company.

In 1951, the Nihon Independent showed the works of Jackson Pollock, Mark Rothko, Mark Tobey, Jean Dubuffet, and René Magritte, and the Yomiuri Newspaper Company presented the work of Henri Matisse, Georges Braque, and Pablo Picasso in solo exhibitions. That same year, Japanese artists participated in the newly created São Paulo Biennale, and Takemiya Gallery in Tokyo opened with a program of exhibitions selected by the well-respected poet and critic Takiguchi Shūzō.⁴ The Demokrato Artists Association (Demokurāto Bijutsuka Kyōkai) was formed, and the monthly magazine *Bijutsu hihyō* (Art criticism) was launched.⁵

Also in 1951, the Mainichi Newspaper Company—which would establish the Japan International Art Exhibition (also known as the Tokyo Biennale) in 1952—sponsored an exhibition in Tokyo of works from the Salon de mai, an annual exhibition in Paris. Reflecting on this moment five



△

Fig. 2. Kitadai Shōzō (Japanese, 1921–2001)

Model of stage set for *Joie de vivre*, Experimental Workshop's 1st Presentation, 1951

Black-and-white photograph, 6.1 × 9.5 cm (2⅜ × 3¾ in.)

Kawasaki, Taro Okamoto Museum of Art, Kitadai Shōzō Archive

years later, art critic Haryū Ichirō noted, “When the Salon de mai came to Japan in 1951, we were spellbound by works of the middle generation of French artists who had experienced the Second World War. After the initial shock had passed, many of us felt that the work in the salon was coloured by moralistic and eclectic attitudes and we could also see how much we had been starved of modern art by the fact that we had been so impressed by such works.”⁶ Two additional innovative groups—Contemporary Art Discussion Group (Gendai Bijutsu Kondankai), popularly known as Genbi, and Zero Society (Zero-kai)—were founded in 1952; in 1955, members from these two groups joined the Gutai Art Association (Gutai Bijutsu Kyōkai), or Gutai.⁷

In 1951, the Yomiuri Newspaper Company, sponsor of the Picasso exhibition, asked Takiguchi to organize the production of a modern ballet (fig. 2) based on Picasso’s painted mythological daydream *La joie de vivre* (1946; Antibes, Musée Picasso). The ballet opened at Hibiya Kōkaidō hall in Tokyo on 16 November, the eve of the exhibition. A collaborative effort that incorporated the visual arts, music, and poetry as well as dance, the event officially marked the formation of Experimental Workshop/Jikken Kōbō.⁸

Collaboration was the focal point of Experimental Workshop. Kitadai Shōzō, in drafting a proposal for the group’s first exhibition in 1951, wrote, “This exhibition proposes to explore the organic, reciprocal union of art forms, which has not been found in established exhibition formats before, and to develop new art forms with social relevance closely related to real

life.”⁹ Particular emphasis was given to synthesizing the plastic arts and music. Takemitsu Tōru and Suzuki Hiroyoshi, two composers associated with the group, shared an interest in exploring natural harmony and the perpetual motion of the elements, which could be shown through the interplay of music with the mobiles, stables, and lighting effects created by their colleagues.

The name Experimental Workshop was Takiguchi's idea. After the group's inauguration, he wrote in *Bijutsu hihyō* that “if art for the masses, a new art which appeals to a mass audience, is to be created, experimentation on a grand scale is called for.”¹⁰ Takiguchi believed that the art establishment had stultified the renewal of art, hence the need for independent unjuried exhibitions such as the Yomiuri Independent Exhibition (formerly the Nihon Independent Exhibition), but he also believed, equally, that the artists of his generation had to define a role for artistic experimentation within the increasingly dominant context of modernization and mass culture. The Experimental Workshop's 5th Exhibition and Presentation, held at Daiichi Seimei Hall in September 1953, integrated slide projections and tape-recorded sound with the presentation of music (fig. 3; see pl. 1).¹¹ Takiguchi's attempt to open up contemporary art in Japan to international influence and exchange suggests an acute interest in fostering experimentation that drew upon European modernism of the 1920s and 1930s, especially the movements of Bauhaus, Dada, and surrealism, as well as the contemporary avant-garde.

In contrast, the first Nippon Exhibition, held in 1953, was titled *Art Witness Japan*. This theme, which reflected the social realist aesthetic of the organizers, was chosen to respond and appeal to the postwar experiences of a mass audience. The paintings chosen were characterized as what would become known as “reportage painting” (*ruporutāju kaiga*), which emphasized the effects of the atomic bomb and the growing social instability and economic inequality in the countryside and cities. One vivid example, Yamashita Kikuji's surreal *The Tale of Akebono Village* (fig. 4), illustrates with grim humor the aftermath of an uprising of villagers against the injustices inflicted on them by a local landowner.

The philosophical inspiration for Experimental Workshop was the fusion of art and technology championed by Germany's Staatliches Bauhaus. In each of their productions, Experimental Workshop sought to bring new technologies and materials into the domain of art and, conversely, to take art into the domain of industry and everyday life. Films such as *Silver Wheels* (*Ginrin*) (fig. 5), produced for the Association for Promoting the Bicycle Industry, and *Mobiles and Vitrines* (1953) advanced this aesthetic in experimental forms that drew on the diverse interests of the group. This aesthetic is also seen in the series of photographs produced by Kitadai, Yamaguchi Katsuhiro, and Ōtsuji Kiyoji for “Asahi Picture News” (APN), a feature that appeared regularly in the magazine *Asahigurafu* (Asahigraph) (see pls. 2, 3).

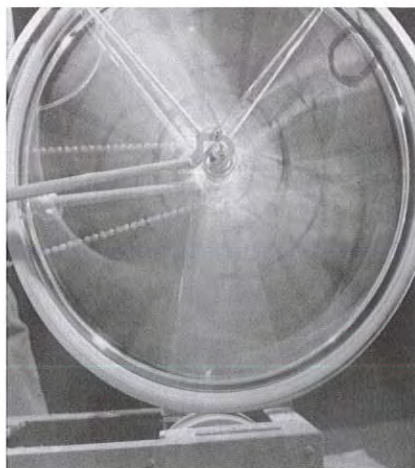
The impact of the Bauhaus school on Japanese art in this period can also be measured in the work of the young photographer Ishimoto



△
Fig. 3. Kitadai Shōzō (Japanese, 1921–2001), photographer
Stage for Experimental Workshop's 5th Presentation,
Daiichi Seimei Hall, Tokyo, 30 September 1953
Black-and-white photograph, 12.1 × 16.7 cm (4¾ × 6⅞ in.)
Kawasaki, Taro Okamoto Museum of Art, Kitadai Shōzō Archive

▷△
Fig. 4. Yamashita Kikuji (Japanese, 1919–86)
The Tale of Akebono Village (*Akebono-mura monodotari*), 1953
Oil on jute, 137 × 214 cm (54 × 84¼ in.)
Tokyo, Gallery Nippon

▷▷
Fig. 5. Ōtsuji Kiyoji (Japanese, 1923–2001), photographer
Production stills for *Silver Wheels* (*Ginrin*), written and directed by
Kitadai Shōzō, Matsumoto Toshio, and Yamaguchi Katsuhiro, 1955
Woman on bicycle: 6.5 × 6.1 cm (2½ × 2⅜ in.)
Wheel: 5.7 × 5.7 cm (2¼ × 2¼ in.)
Kawasaki, Taro Okamoto Museum of Art, Kitadai Shōzō Archive





Yasuhiro. After studying at the Institute of Design in Chicago, founded by Bauhaus artist and teacher László Moholy-Nagy,¹² Ishimoto returned to Japan. In 1953, shortly after his arrival, he began photographing the Katsura Imperial Villa, which was built in Kyoto in the early 1600s. His photographs not only emphasized the qualities of geometric design and abstraction that defined the modern “international style” of architecture but also revealed the harmony that could be created with natural materials and human craftsmanship (see pl. 4).

Ishimoto’s photographs of Katsura appeared in 1960 in a book that was designed by Bauhaus artist Herbert Bayer and included texts by architects Tange Kenzō—who had designed the Memorial Monument for Hiroshima, City of Peace (fig. 6), as well as other buildings in Hiroshima’s Peace Memorial Park—and Walter Gropius.¹³ Tange remarked that the villa represented the meeting of “the cultural formalism of the upper class and the vital energy of the lower class,” and therefore manifests a dialectic of tradition and innovation.¹⁴ He called for a new “tradition” that would combine the functional—an engagement with new technologies and materials—and expressive elements of Western modernism while nonetheless retaining a sense of craftsmanship and faithfulness to materials that characterize traditional Japanese architecture and design.¹⁵

△

Fig. 6. Ishimoto Yasuhiro (Japanese, b. 1921), photographer
Tange Kenzō’s Memorial Monument for Hiroshima, City of Peace;
Community Center Building (left); and Hiroshima Peace Memorial
Museum (rear), Peace Memorial Park, Hiroshima, 1952
Modern black-and-white transparency, 10 × 12.5 cm (4 × 5 in.)
Tokyo, Kenzo Tange Associates

Gropius, however, wrote that “the Western mind, in its restless desire to seek new horizons in the physical world, would do well to learn a lesson in spiritual intensification from the Oriental mind.”¹⁶

This distinction between East and West was also explored in somewhat different terms by two prominent artists, Ei-Kyū and Okamoto Tarō. Ei-Kyū, who had been instrumental in founding the Demokrato Artists Association, argued for breaking the ruling dualism between tradition and innovation and replacing it with a dialectical framework in which creation stands for a liberating negation of the past.¹⁷ Likewise, Okamoto redefined “tradition and creation” in the starkest terms when he wrote in *Konnichi no geijutsu* (Art of today, 1954) that “postwar Japan must peel off the heavy shell of the past and forge a new young culture as if being reborn, and venture out into the world.”¹⁸ Okamoto, with his European background and critical recognition, was, like Takiguchi, an influential figure among artists in postwar Japan.¹⁹

An Aesthetics of Freedom

In 1954, the Sogo Department Store in Osaka, a city some three hundred miles west of Tokyo, invited a small group of artists called Zero Society to display their work in its windows. This was the first group show for the members of Zero Society—Kanayama Akira, Shiraga Kazuo, and Murakami Saburō, who had banded together in 1952, and Tanaka Atsuko, who joined the group some months later.²⁰ The word *zero* signified their desire to begin from the beginning, which allowed them to rethink the practice of art making. Shiraga summed up this impulse by noting that “every work of art begins from nothing.”²¹

Also in 1954, in the city of Ashiya, which neighbors Osaka, Yoshihara Jirō, already a well-established avant-garde artist in the prewar period, founded Gutai.²² The name, chosen by the young artist Shimamoto Shōzō, the group’s secretary, was composed of two ideograms: *gu* (tool, or means) and *tai* (substance, or body); the word could be understood as either *concrete* or *concreteness*. The group inaugurated the new year with its first public event, the publication of the first issue of their journal, *Gutai*, on 1 January 1955. This and subsequent issues provided a means of documenting and presenting to an international audience the activities and work of Gutai’s seventeen members. The introduction to most of the issues was published in English as well as Japanese, evidence of Gutai’s concern with international recognition.²³

Yoshihara recognized that to reach the widest audience possible, Gutai’s exhibitions would have to be in public areas rather than traditional art spaces. This focus on publicity was evident in the group’s decision to launch Gutai onto the Japanese exhibition scene with a collaborative work in the 7th Yomiuri Independent Exhibition, held in March 1955. Shortly after this exhibition, about half of the group’s seventeen founding artists left, and members of the Zero Society and Genbi were invited to join. In July 1955, a renewed Gutai held its inaugural show, *Experimental Outdoor*



◁
 Fig. 7. Shiraga Kazuo's *Please Come In* at Gutai's *Experimental Outdoor Exhibition of Modern Art to Challenge the Mid-Summer Sun*, Ashiya Park, Ashiya, 25 July–6 August 1955
 Digital print from 35mm black-and-white negative
 Ashiya, Ashiya City Museum of Art & History

Exhibition of Modern Art to Challenge the Mid-Summer Sun, in a pine grove in Ashiya Park. Lasting for two weeks, the exhibition featured site-specific works whose effects were dependent on nature or interaction with the viewer. Among the pieces were Shiraga's *Please Come In*, a conical arrangement of ten red-painted poles that the artist had slashed with an ax on the opening day (fig. 7); Murakami's *Sky*, a one-person tent whose tall, rocketlike shape compelled those who entered to look up, to see the sky through a hole in the roof; and five works by Tanaka, including a ten-meter square of pink rayon (roughly the size of twenty tatami mats) that had a blue border five centimeters wide and floated some thirty centimeters above the ground.

Three months later, on 19 October, Gutai presented itself to Tokyo audiences with its 1st Gutai Art Exhibition, held at Ohara Kaikan hall. This exhibition included action-based pieces such as Shiraga's *Challenging Mud*, in which the artist, half naked, immersed himself in a pile of mud and grappled with it (see pl. 5); and Murakami's *At One Moment Opening Six Holes*, for which the artist flung himself through an upright stack of three large kraft-paper screens, creating six ragged holes. Among the objects on view were several cloth pieces by Tanaka as well as her *Work (Bell)*, a series of electric bells connected by a long cord that, when triggered by the viewer, made sound an element for exhibition. As Kanayama noted, the artwork was nothing but the bells and the sensation of hearing its movement and shifting dimensionality over time and across the spaces of the galleries.²⁴

By 1957, Gutai had received broad international attention, especially in Milan, New York, and Paris, for the events they had staged in Osaka and Tokyo. In 1956, at the 2nd Gutai Art Exhibition, Gutai had again arranged a series of artist demonstrations, including Tanaka's appearance in her startling *Electric Dress* (1956)—a wired-together mass of blinking incandescent lights covered with red, blue, yellow, and green enamel paint (see pl. 8)—and in 1957 the group extrapolated such action events into Gutai Art on Stage (see pls. 6, 7). Gutai's stage art focused on the theatrical execution or presentation of a work, often tapping into the long-standing Japanese enthusiasm for comic and hybrid forms of popular entertainment. Kanayama's *Giant Balloon* involved the slow inflation of a huge balloon to the accompaniment of monotonous, breathlike sounds and then its slow deflation as the accompaniment turned ever more shrill.

On 5 September 1957, Michel Tapié arrived in Japan, where he would pay tribute to Gutai for its striking innovations—and for what he saw as its affinities with Art Informel (Anforumeru), of which the French art critic and entrepreneur was already the recognized champion.²⁵ The year before, Takiguchi had published a translation of Tapié's *Un art autre où il s'agit de nouveaux dévidages du réel* (Another art, in which there is a new emptying out of the real, 1952) in *Mizue* (Watercolor).²⁶ Sponsored by the Asahi Newspaper Company and drawn largely from Tapié's collection, the *Exposition internationale de l'art actuel/Sekai konnichi no bijutsu ten* (Arts of today's world) had opened in November 1956 and featured works by

Jean Dubuffet, Jean Fautrier, Lucio Fontana, Sam Francis, Hans Hartung, Georges Mathieu, Jean-Paul Riopelle, and Frans Wols as well as by abstract expressionists and painters working in the vivid style associated with the collective Cobra. For many Japanese artists, this show became a point of reference that led them to rethink their artistic practices. It greatly influenced the work shown at the 9th Yomiuri Independent Exhibition, held in February 1957. As the critic Tōno Yoshiaki would note, "some Japanese have internalized something similar to Informel's distrust of the image, its exposing ruptures in the imaginary world, and its brutal expression of inner feeling through a direct clash with material—in other words, the desire to venture into an uncharted sea by starting with a *tabula rasa*."²⁷

Clear evidence of this new direction was displayed in the works exhibited at the 10th Yomiuri Independent, which opened in March 1958. The artists had not so much rethought the act of painting as acted against the confines of painting. The institutional spaces of the exhibition hall were filled with everyday objects, discarded junk, and refuse. Both the Experimental Workshop and Gutai, in quite distinct ways, had pushed art into the postindustrial age, but the dramatic entry of mass-produced commodities and its detritus dethroned in one violent gesture the forms of experimentation that had characterized the postwar movements in Japan. These new artworks were useless, without value, signifying not simply contemporary everyday life but a commodity culture and an economy of excess and planned obsolescence. The exhibition of 1958 was more than a subversive move against the refinement and lingering modernist aesthetic of art—it signaled a transformation of Japanese culture.

The Cinders of Modernity

Japan had experienced unprecedented economic growth by the end of the 1950s, leading to a transformation of a country that, at the beginning of the decade, had been predominantly rural, with much of its population engaged in fishing and agriculture. By the decade's end, Japan's cities were expanding rapidly and the Japanese way of life was increasingly based on commodity and consumption. This refashioned Japanese society produced a form of modernity in which space and matter conflicted with identity and place. The change was the basis for both eruptive social tension and groundbreaking creative endeavor.

In July 1959, the cooperative photo agency Vivo was founded in Tokyo's East Ginza area. The group comprised six photographers: Hosoe Eikoh, Kawada Kikuji, Satō Akira, Tanno Akira, Narahara Ikkō, and Tōmatsu Shōmei.²⁸ Even though the impetus for forming Vivo was economic, the group's exhibitions also promoted a collaborative approach. Each of the photographers espoused a subjective and antinaturalist approach to photography, albeit to different degrees, emphasizing the physical properties of the object or body and, hence, heightening the sense of the materiality of both the medium and subject. Kawada's image of the Japanese flag (fig. 8), for example, put a patriotic symbol back into



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Fig. 8. Kawada Kikuji (Japanese, b. 1933)

The Japanese National Flag, 1960

From Kawada Kikuji, *Chizu = The Map* (Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppan-sha, 1965), n.p.

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Fig. 9. Ôtsuji Kiyoji (Japanese, 1923–2001), photographer

Rehearsal for *Forbidden Colors (Kinjiki)*, performed by Hijikata

Tatsumi and Ôno Yoshito, Tsuda Butô-juku, Tokyo, 1959

Black-and-white photograph, 12 × 16.5 cm (4¾ × 6½ in.)

Tokyo, collection of Ôtsuji Seiko

circulation but as an icon that has lost its patina: crumpled as if vanquished, flattened rather than flying high, a memento of destruction and remembrance.²⁹

Two months after *Vivo* was established, Hosoe went to see Hijikata Tatsumi perform in the dance recital *650 Experiences*, which was held for six avant-garde artists at Daiichi Seimei Hall in Tokyo. Hijikata was presenting a revised version of *Forbidden Colors (Kinjiki)* (fig. 9), the piece with which, only four months earlier, on 24 May 1959, he had launched his Ankoku Butoh Group (Ankoku Butô-ha, or School of Utter Darkness

Dance) movement.³⁰ Based on the novel *Kinjiki* by Mishima Yukio, the work's subject and manner of presentation—including an orgasmic gasping sound effect, the exchange of a live white chicken between two men as a symbol of love, and the (feigned) asphyxiation of the chicken between the thighs of one of the lovers—sent a shockwave through the audience.³¹ The performance heralded the transformation of modernist dance experimentation into underground avant-garde theater with a specifically Japanese character.³²

Seeing *Forbidden Colors* proved decisive for Hosoe. Shortly after, he invited Hijikata and his dancers to pose naked on the Harumi wharves along Tokyo Bay. The photographs he took became the basis for a series of deeply textured black-and-white works that he showed the following year in two solo exhibitions. The first, *Photography of Eikoh Hosoe, Dedicated to Tatsumi Hijikata*, was held at the Gekkō Gallery in Tokyo in June 1960. The second, *Man and Woman*, at Konishiroku Photo Gallery in Tokyo, featured images that were composed of interwoven and juxtaposed faces, torsos, breasts, buttocks, and arms (see pl. 24).³³ Hosoe noted later that in these photographs he “sought to create a drama or dance of my own, using Hijikata’s body.” *Man and Woman* was, he said, his “photographic theater.”³⁴

On the eve of a new decade, Hijikata’s explosive work presaged a profound change in contemporary culture in Japan. By early 1960, events were unfolding that would have an immediate impact on artistic practice and lasting repercussions in Japanese society. In April, the U.S.–Japan Security Treaty, known in Japan as Anpo, was due to be revised or renewed. Against tremendous opposition, Prime Minister Kishi Nobusuke was pressing Japan’s legislature for renewal, an act that was seen as an endorsement of both Japanese militarism and the government’s alliance with the strategic military interests of the United States. Anti-American and antiwar sentiment exploded, and daily demonstrations increased tensions between the government and those who did not support the treaty. On 19 April, as these events played out, Gutai launched its International Sky Festival (see pl. 9), in which advertising balloons held enlarged copies of paintings by thirty artists selected by Yoshihara and Tapié suspended in the air above the rooftop of Takashimaya Department Store in Osaka. This symbolic letting go of painting was the harbinger of a new generation of artists for whom experiments extending the materiality of painting (implicitly referring to Gutai and Art Informel work) had become orthodoxy.

Throughout late May and into June tensions continued between the government and protestors. On 4 June, a nationwide general strike was held in which some five million people participated. Protests in Tokyo led to bloody confrontations with the police, and on 15 June a twenty-year-old female student named Kanba Michiko was trampled to death. Four days later, through what was viewed by many observers as an undemocratic maneuver, the treaty was renewed. The events of these days marked a turning point in the history of postwar Japan, one characterized by a reawakening to the events of World War II and the war’s legacy as much as

a sense of subordination to the interests of the United States. As a consequence, many Japanese were left with a sense of angry impotence; others responded by either radically critiquing or reengaging with Japan's legacy of militarism; still others discovered a resurgent nationalism.³⁵

In the midst of this upheaval, a group of young artists who had attracted attention at the 12th Yomiuri Independent in 1960 decided to stage an exhibition at Tokyo's Ginza Art Gallery as the Neo Dadaism Organizers (Neo Dadaizumu Oruganaizāzu; later known as Neo Dada).³⁶ Core members were Ushio Shinohara, Shūsaku Arakawa, Yoshimura Masunobu, Kazakura Shō, and Akasegawa Genpei, with Isozaki Arata, Kudō Tetsumi, and Miki Tomio as loosely affiliated participants. They filled the gallery space with junk and debris, then broke furniture while jazz played on a tape recorder. Akasegawa pronounced that "having appeared on this seething, red-hot earth of the twentieth century that tramples sincere works of art, the only way we can avoid being massacred is to become butchers ourselves."³⁷ The artists moved to the street to continue their performance, joining an anti-Anpo demonstration and shouting the phrase "Down with anfo," a play on the terms *Anpo* and *Art Informel*.³⁸

During this period, the Japan Council against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs (Gensuikyō) asked Vivo photographer Tōmatsu to document the effects of the bomb on the city and people of Nagasaki (see pl. 22). Tōmatsu understood that what was needed was a contemporary account, something no other photographer had attempted. The idea of a more direct engagement with everyday life characterized Tōmatsu's outlook as well as the activities of Vivo.³⁹ Tōmatsu's photographs appeared in 1961 in *Hiroshima-Nagasaki, Document 1961*, a collection that also contained photographs from Domon Ken's *Hiroshima* (fig. 10), published in 1958, and reproductions of paintings by Maruki Iri and Maruki Toshi that were chosen from their series on the destruction of the war, *Hiroshima Panels* (fifteen works, 1950–82). Although Tōmatsu and Domon both focused on the lives and experiences of the *hibakusha* (survivors), their respective approaches could not have been more distinct. Domon's photographs were a product of the photographic realist movement that had emerged as an immediate response to the devastation of Japan. By contrast, Tōmatsu's work was a reaction to the silence invoked by state-imposed censorship during the war as well as to Japan's unwillingness to look back afterward. His photographs show a denial of the past and its legacy and, equally, an uncritical view of the present.⁴⁰

Sound and the Socialization of Space

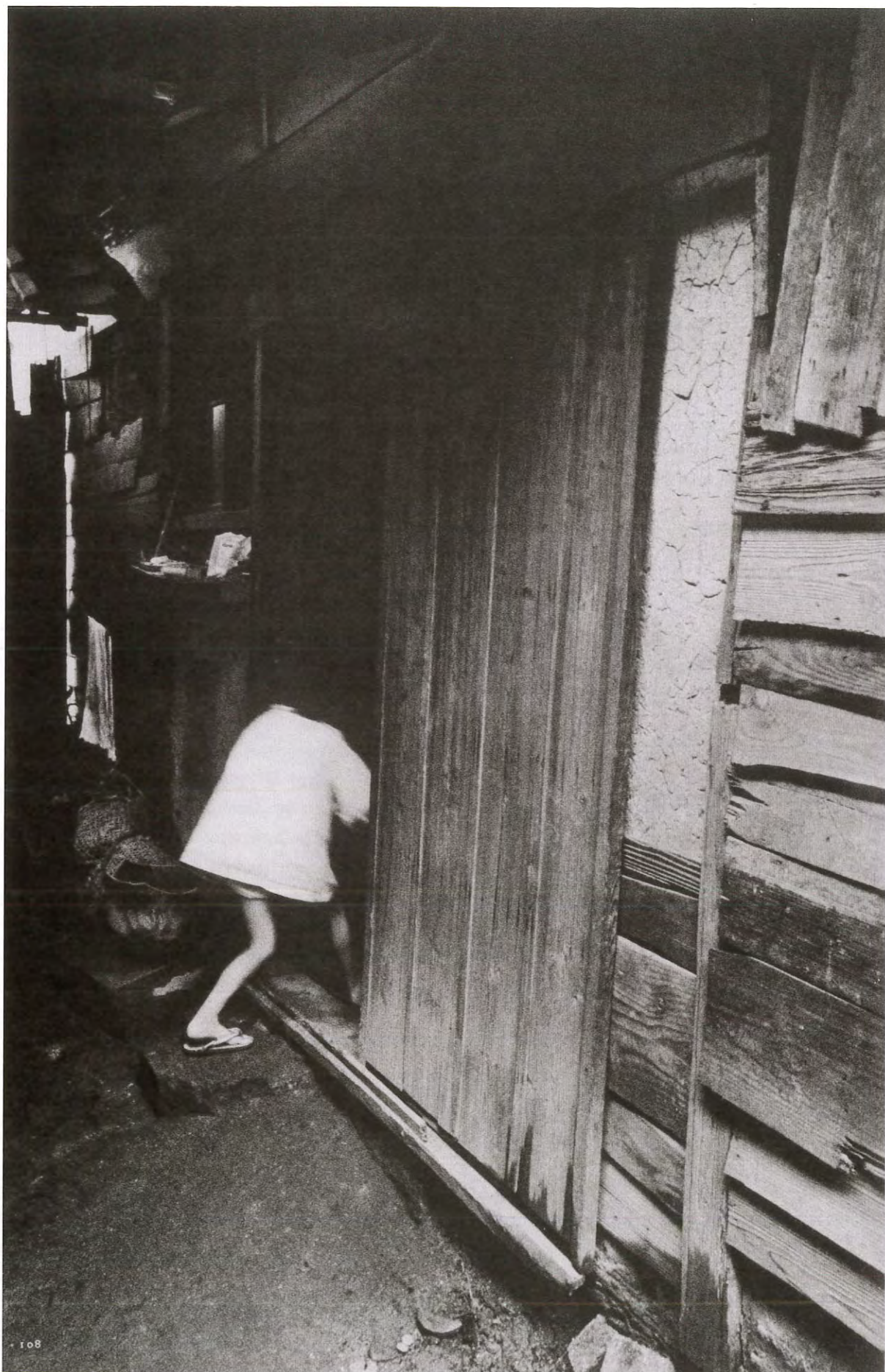
Throughout the early 1960s, collaborative experiments across the arts intensified. On 8 May 1960, six young musicians—Kosugi Takehisa, Shiomi Chieko (later Shiomi Mieko), Tanno Yumiko, Tojima Mikio, Yasunao Tone, and Mizuno Shūkō—formed Group Ongaku (Group Music).⁴¹ They gathered at the house of Mizuno to tape-record two improvisational concerts, *Automatism* and *Objet*. They produced sounds

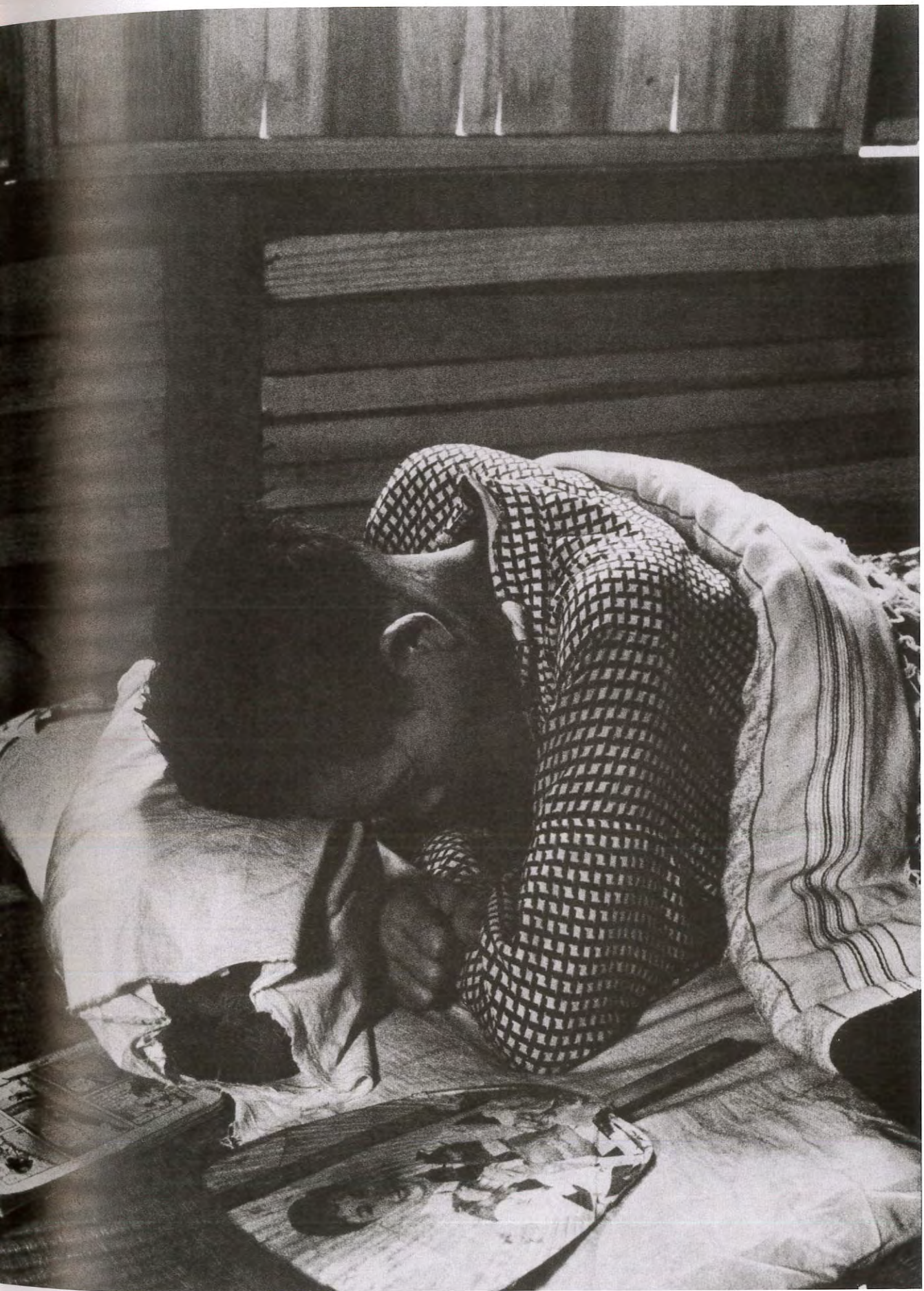
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Fig. 10. Domon Ken (Japanese, 1909–90)

Bedridden for Thirteen Years, 1957

From Domon Ken, *Hiroshima* (Tokyo: Kenkō-sha, 1958), 108–9





with 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, and one performer manipulated the recorder reel to vary the speed of the recording. With their emphasis on autonomy and concreteness as well as the use of the spatial dimension in creating acoustic sound, the recordings were a landmark event in the history of experimental music.

The following year, shortly after Group Ongaku made their debut at the Sōgetsu Art Center in Tokyo (fig. 11), members of the group were invited by the young composer Ichiyanagi Toshi, who had recently returned from New York, to join him in performing his music in the Sōgetsu Contemporary Series.⁴² The first concert of live electronic music in Japan, it included Ichiyanagi's *Kaiki* [Recurrence] for *Koto* for John Cage (see pl. 10) and *IBM: Happening and Music Concrete* (1960); for the latter the performers were given a set of IBM punch cards, which they interpreted at will.⁴³ This use of indeterminacy and nontraditional musical notation shows the influence of Ichiyanagi's teacher, John Cage, but his compositions during this period also incorporated an openness toward improvisation that Cage did not share.⁴⁴ One example is Ichiyanagi's *Music for Electric Metronome* (see pl. 11), the score for which consists of lines and intersecting numbers. The lines indicate the actions and sounds to be produced by the improvising performers, and the numbers indicate settings for the metronome, which guides the speed of the actions and sounds. Another interest shared by the composer and Group Ongaku was the social and spatial dimension of music. Just as the group used spatial distance as an organizing principle in the composing of their pieces, focusing on the simultaneous creation and performance of sounds across time, so Ichiyanagi explored differences between where a sound originated and where it was heard. One such work was *Distance* (1962), for which the instruments were to be placed at least nine feet away from the performers, both inhibiting the players' control over their instruments and creating a disjunction between the audience's visual and aural perception of the players' actions.⁴⁵

These experiments in sound began to redefine the role of the audience, reshaping the way it experienced a musical performance. This trend was paralleled in the early 1960s by conceptual works created by artists associated with the Fluxus movement.⁴⁶ Yoko Ono, who had been a key figure in Fluxus events held in New York, presented a multimedia program at Sōgetsu Art Center on 24 May 1962, two months after her return to Tokyo.⁴⁷ Some weeks prior to the event, Takiguchi had made this observation about Ono in *Yomiuri Newspaper*: "What a strange artist has come. What she is doing, however, is natural and logical. I consider it as a 'natural action' against contemporary art, which has been corrupted and has been standardized and confused."⁴⁸

Ono's program at Sōgetsu Art Center was titled *Music, Events, Poems and Instructions for Paintings*. The performance part, *Music, Events*, was a collaborative event that involved some thirty prominent artists, art critics, musicians, composers, and dancers, whose various actions were illumi-



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Fig. 11. Kanda Akio (Japanese, 1935–2003), designer
Program for Group Ongaku's *Concert of Improvisational Music and Acoustic Object*, Sōgetsu Art Center, Tokyo, 15 September 1961
Printed work, 25.8 × 18.2 cm (10 1/8 × 7 1/8 in.)
Sydney, collection of Dr. Charles Merewether

▷

Fig. 12. Yoko Ono (Japanese, b. 1933)
Portrait of Mary 6 (A Piece to See the Sky), 1962
Ink on paper, 25.4 × 38.1 cm (10 × 15 in.)
From Yoko Ono's *Instructions for Paintings* series, calligraphy by Ichiyanagi Toshi, Sōgetsu Art Center, Tokyo, 24 May 1962
Detroit, Gilbert and Lila Silverman Collection

メリーの肖像六
点を見るための絵
任意の二点に穴をあける。
空に見える処にかける。

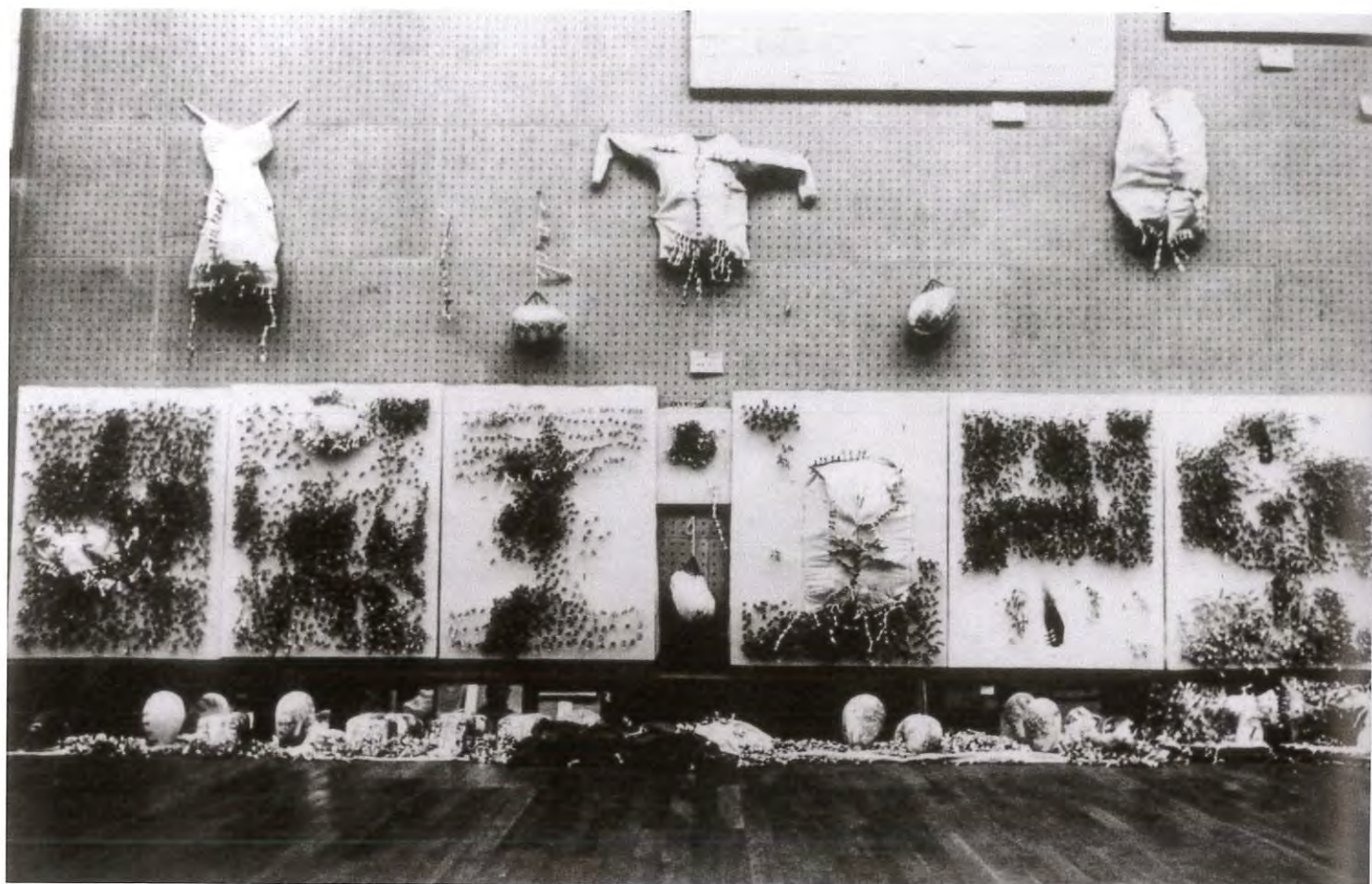
nated only by flashlights, spotlights, or even a match. The sounds were often disparate and subtle, forcing the audience to take an active role, to complete the performance by filling in the invisible or inaudible parts for themselves.⁴⁹ For the exhibition part, the thirty-eight sheets of white paper of Ono's *Instructions for Paintings* were taped to a wall in the center's lobby. Each sheet presented an instruction, neatly inscribed in Japanese by Ichiyanagi, for a "painting to be constructed in your head." The sheet titled *Portrait of Mary 6 (A Piece to See the Sky)* (fig. 12) directs:

Drill two holes into a canvas.

Hang it where you can see the sky.⁵⁰

Because the performance or the painting occurred in the audience's minds, anyone could become an artist, and interpretation was neither spatially fixed nor temporally static—it was completely spontaneous. A few months later, Ono participated in a series of concerts with John Cage and David Tudor, who were visiting the country at the invitation of Ichiyanagi. The first concert, presented on 9 October 1962 at Tokyo Bunka Kaikan hall, included Cage's *Music Walk* (see pl. 13).

Whereas Ono's Sōgetsu Art Center presentation tapped into the



potential of the audience's imagination for realizing a musical work, Group Ongaku members Tone and Kosugi continued to refine the concept of seeing sound as an object. As Kosugi noted in an interview, "seeing and hearing are the same thing": "Opening a door became a part of music, as a function of performance. While you listen you can see the sky."⁵¹ This description is, in fact, an iteration of an instruction in Kosugi's *Ear Drum Event* of 1962: "The performer opens and closes a door (a shutter, a window, a sliding door, etc.)" (see fig. 16). This visualization of sound was also central to Tone's *Geodesy for Piano*, which was presented at a happening organized by Akasegawa and critic Yoshida Yoshie on 15 August 1962. The performer, following an instruction sheet, threw objects onto a piano from an elevation dictated by a topographic map, which comprised the score for the piece.⁵²

On 2 March 1963, the 15th Yomiuri Independent Exhibition opened. The museum had attempted to limit the kind of works that could be shown by issuing "Standards for the Exhibits at the Tokyo Metropolitan Art Museum": "Prohibited are works that involve loud, unpleasant sounds, that smell bad, that decompose, that are dangerous or potentially toxic, that are installed either directly on the floor or hung from the ceiling."⁵³ Faced with these official restrictions on what constituted art, artists submitted works that directly challenged the museum's guidelines. Nakanishi



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Fig. 13. Sawatari Hajime (Japanese, b. 1940), photographer Nakanishi Natsuyuki's *Clothespins Assert Churning Action*, 15th Yomiuri Independent Exhibition, Tokyo Metropolitan Art Museum, 2–15 March 1963
Black-and-white photograph, modern print, installation view:
20.3 × 25.3 cm (8 × 10 in.)
Tokyo, collection of Nakanishi Natsuyuki

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Fig. 14. Sawatari Hajime (Japanese, b. 1940), photographer Nakanishi Natsuyuki's *Clothespins Assert Churning Action*, 15th Yomiuri Independent Exhibition, Tokyo Metropolitan Art Museum, 2–15 March 1963
Black-and-white photograph, modern print, performance view:
17.8 × 12.6 cm (7 × 5 in.)
Tokyo, collection of Nakanishi Natsuyuki

△▷

Fig. 15. Hirata Minoru (Japanese, b. 1938), photographer Nakanishi Natsuyuki's *Clothespins Assert Churning Action*, Hi Red Center's 6th Mixer Plan event, Tokyo, 28 May 1963
Black-and-white photograph, modern print: 25.4 × 20.3 cm (10 × 8 in.)
Tokyo, collection of Hirata Minoru



Natsuyuki's *Clothespins Assert Churning Action* (figs. 13, 14; see also fig. 15), made of hundreds of tin clothespins attached to pieces of burned canvas and underwear that were both hung on the wall and piled on the floor, was one such piece. A confrontation that pitted the artists against the exhibition's organizer and the police ensued. A few months later, in January 1964, the museum decided to discontinue the Yomiuri Independent.

Shortly after the exhibition, in May 1963, Nakanishi Natsuyuki, along with Akasegawa and Takamatsu Jirō, formed Hi Red Center.⁵⁴ Over the next eighteen months, the group performed a series of events in public spaces. One, *Shelter Plan*, was conducted at the Imperial Hotel in Hibiya on 26 and 27 January 1964.⁵⁵ Those who responded to the invitation to participate were measured for a custom-made fallout shelter. For each of these "clients," the members of Hi Red Center recorded height and chest circumference, volume (determined by immersing the client in a bathtub), and the amount of water a client could hold in his or her mouth. As Takamatsu observed, they used "society as a material, as a canvas," so that the action would be viewed not as a "work of art" but as a disruptive element within the fabric of everyday life.⁵⁶

In October 1964, Hi Red Center presented *Cleaning Event (Campaign to Promote Cleanliness and Order in the Metropolitan Area)* (see fig. 28, pl. 15), six days after the Olympic Games opened in Tokyo. The games were

promoted by the Japanese government as a celebration of a new nation of healthy athletic bodies and, hence, as a symbol of the country's modernity. *Cleaning Event* was a response to the government's campaign to clean up the cities and modernize the urban infrastructure to prepare for the international attention that would be focused on Japan during the games. The country's parks and roads were improved, and the bullet train, or *Shinkansen*, was introduced.⁵⁷ *Cleaning Event* was the last event for Hi Red Center, which disbanded shortly afterward.

Departures and Discontinuities

By late 1964, the art world in Japan was undergoing a transformation, splitting internally and expanding internationally. Groups disbanded and the radical energy and momentum of the early 1960s dissipated. The end of the Yomiuri Independent Exhibition left Japan's avant-garde artists without a large public venue for their work.

In November, William Lieberman, from the Museum of Modern Art in New York, arrived in Japan accompanied by artists Robert Rauschenberg and Jasper Johns. It was the first time an American curator of modern art had visited Japan with the intent of selecting a show of contemporary Japanese art that would travel to the United States.⁵⁸ The exhibition that Lieberman put together for the museum was scheduled to open in 1966. As Shinohara recounts, "In one stroke, it would propel the Japanese art world onto an international stage, and the hotly debated issue of the international-ness of Japanese art would be wagered on the success or failure of this show."⁵⁹

During this time, a number of artists who had played an important role in the development of the avant-garde began to leave Japan, some for Europe and others for New York. They were attracted to New York, especially, by the concept and activities of Fluxus.⁶⁰ In summer 1963, Kosugi introduced Shiomi and Shigeko Kubota to the Korean artist Nam June Paik at Sōgetsu Art Center.⁶¹ Paik had just participated in early Fluxus concerts in West Germany, and he encouraged the artists to send examples of their work to George Maciunas, the organizer of Fluxus.⁶² Many of the Japanese artists saw in Fluxus an art movement that seemed to bear some relation to their own critiques of traditional forms of art practice and established relations between art and society. The Fluxus *Manifesto* composed by George Maciunas in 1963 declared the need to "Purge the world of bourgeois sickness, 'intellectual,' professional and commercialized culture, PURGE the world of dead art, imitation, artificial art, abstract art, illusionistic art, mathematical art,—PURGE THE WORLD OF 'EUROPANISM'!" and to "Promote living art, anti-art, promote *NON ART REALITY* to be grasped by all peoples, not only critics, dilettantes and professionals."⁶³ More than that, they saw in Maciunas's idea of producing cheap editions for large audiences—multiples rather than traditional artworks—the prospect of their work being distributed widely and the possibility of some form of income.

In late 1964, Maciunas began to assemble *Fluxus 1* (see pl. 16), a wooden box containing a set of bolted-together manila envelopes holding materials sent by artists from different parts of the world, primarily North America, Japan, and Germany. Most of the materials in *Fluxus 1*—predominantly printed images, scores, and text-based pieces—were produced for other projects at various times between 1963 and 1965, and many continued to be altered over the life of the publication. Each copy of *Fluxus 1* is thus slightly different in content, reflecting shifts in the activities of individual artists and the aims of Fluxus. Among the Japanese artists who participated were Ay-O, Kubota, Ono, Takako Saitō, and Shiomi, all of whom were living in New York, and Kosugi, who was still in Japan.

Kosugi's contribution to *Fluxus 1* was a graphic realization of *Theatre Music* (1963), in the form of a rectangle of cardstock bearing a spiral of moving feet (by other accounts, the imprint of a shoe) together with the instruction "Keep walking intently." It is one in a series of event scores created by Kosugi, including *Organic Music* (1962), which focuses on the performer's breathing (instruments are optional) and emphasizes duration and the recognition of how sound is heard within and through the body, and *Events*, a Fluxus box containing a set of eighteen instructions (fig. 16). Kosugi's scores redefined the notion of music, directing performers and audience toward a phenomenological reengagement with the physicality of the world and themselves. Like Ichiyanagi's *Music for Piano No. 4* (1960), with its instruction to "Use sustained sound(s) and silence(s) only,"⁶⁴ Kosugi's pieces involve the body as an instrument, and listening becomes a form of perception.

The simplicity of the Fluxus idea about what constitutes art and the Fluxus concept of collaboration appealed to Saitō.⁶⁵ Her *Fluxus 1* object was *Magic Boat*, an origami figure, made of folded paper.⁶⁶ Soon after, Saitō began making chess sets, including one composed of marbles and another, *Grinder Chess*, or *Tool Chess* (see pl. 19), of tool bits.⁶⁷ Both whimsically evoke the notion of a culture industry and capture the spirit of Fluxus in the artist's transformation of ready-made industrial objects into objects of play. In two other chess sets, *Spice Chess* (see pl. 20) and *Sound Chess* (1965), Saitō emphasized a sensory and performative dimension that relied on interactivity between the viewer and the artistic object.

For *Fluxus 1*, Kubota submitted a two-sided sheet she had edited for Hi Red Center's *Bundle of Events* (1965). On one side was a map; on the other, a listing of events by Hi Red Center (see pls. 15, 16). She also contributed *Napkin for Next Supper* (also known as *Flux Napkins*) (1964/1965), which was composed of several napkins with small photographs of eyes, nostrils, and mouths cut from glossy magazines. The following year, perhaps as part of the *Fluxclinic* event at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City, Kubota would begin producing the mock first-aid kits known as *Flux Medicine* (see pl. 18).

Ono's contribution to the collection was *Self-Portrait* (1965), a small mirror enclosed in an envelope on which the title of the work and Ono's name was printed. It was a simple but clear illustration of how an audience



<▽

Fig. 16. Kosugi Takehisa (Japanese, b. 1938)

Events, 1964 (Fluxus edition, New York)

Eighteen instruction cards in a black plastic container: cards, 2.6–10.6 × 8.1–11.8 cm (1–4 1/8 × 3 1/4–4 5/8 in.); container, 12 × 10 × 1.6 cm (4 3/4 × 4 × 5/8 in.)

Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute

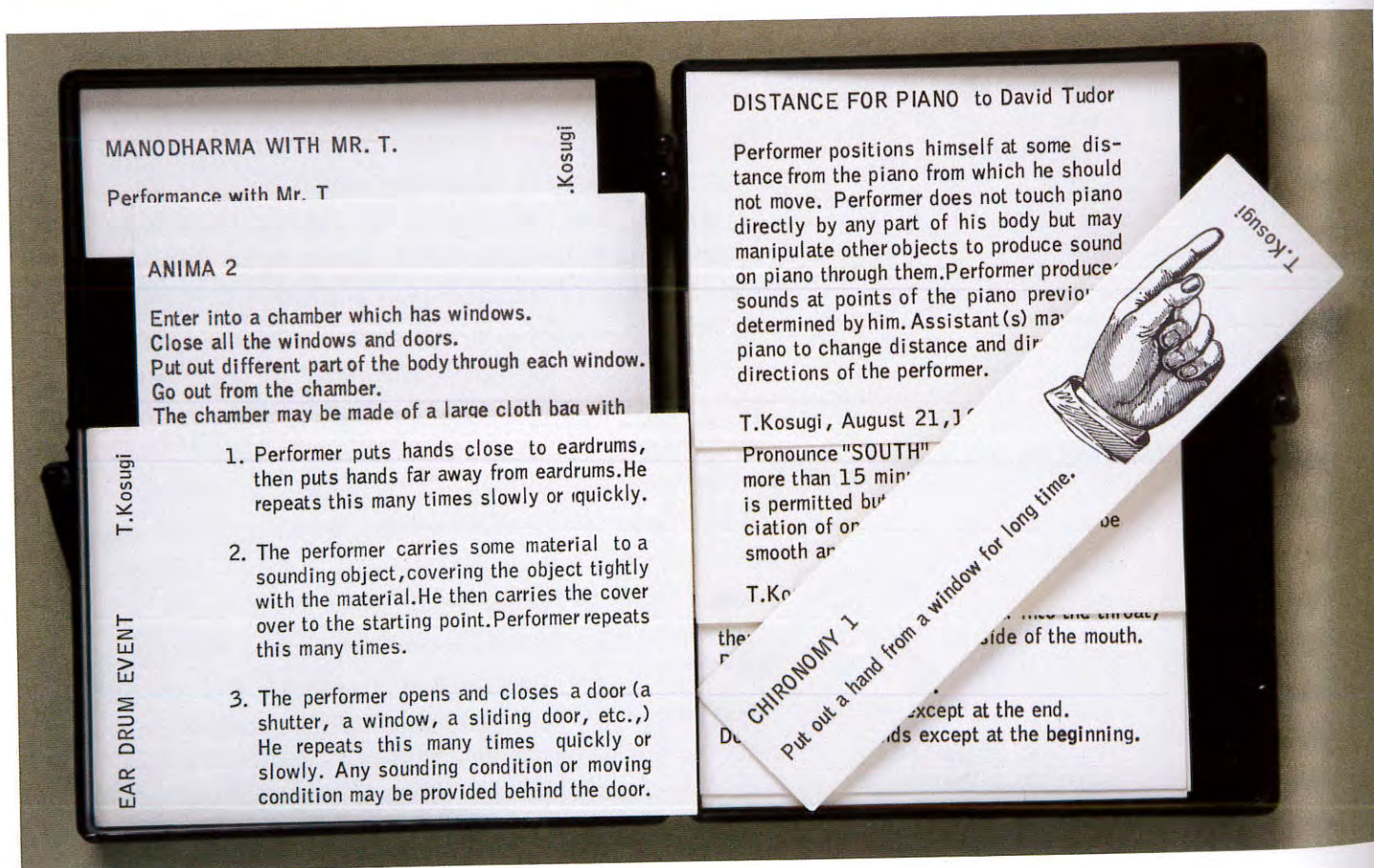
▷

Fig. 17. Shiomi Mieko (Chieko) (Japanese, b. 1938)

Events and Games: Portrait Piece, 1964 (Fluxus edition, New York)

Paper and instruction card in a plastic container: portrait, 11 × 14.3 cm (4 3/8 × 5 5/8 in.); plastic container, 18.1 × 13.3 × 3 cm (7 1/8 × 5 1/4 × 1 1/8 in.); instruction card lacking

Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute

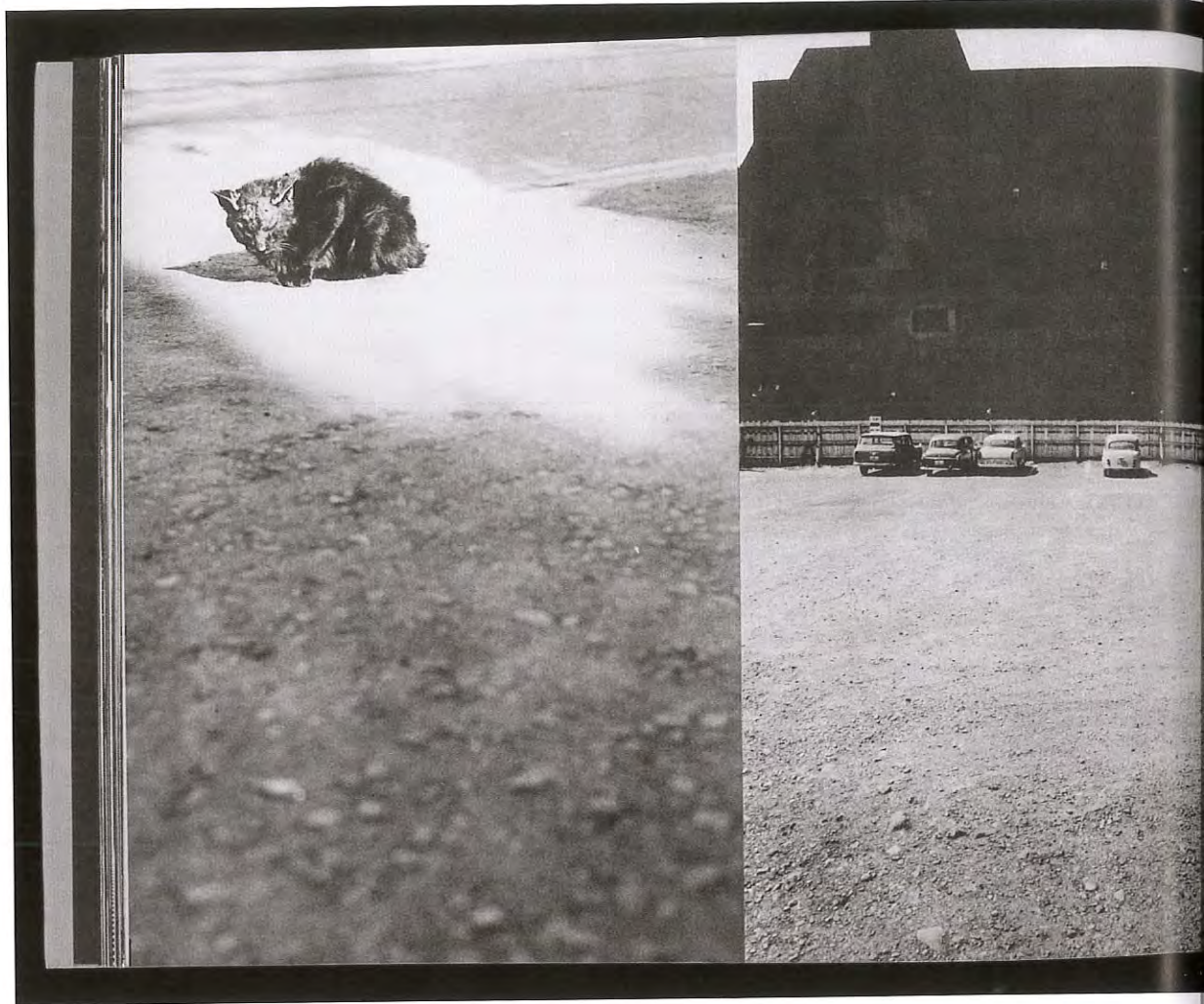




might participate in the making of a work of art. In this case, by looking at the mirror, one sees oneself, and by naming the viewer as the mirror's subject, the subject becomes the author. This work is reminiscent of another Fluxus object, Shoji's *Portrait Piece* (fig. 17), whose instruction card asks the audience to

Do this piece with a portrait of yourself or your dearest one.
Crumple up the portrait without tearing it.
Smooth it.
Look at the face in the portrait, crumpling and smoothing it.
Look at the face through a magnifying glass.

Shoji's *Fluxus 1* contribution was the card *Disappearing Music for Face* (1964)—a performance score that was later recorded as Fluxfilm No. 4: *Disappearing Music for Face* (1966), a ten-minute silent film in black and white of a mouth that slowly stops smiling. Soon after, in early 1965, Shoji began to make a series of lithographic prints that occupied her over the next ten years. Each contained the words *Spatial Poem* in its title. The first of these works, *Spatial Poem No. 1: Word Event* (see pl. 21), incorporated the words of artists from around the world who had followed these



instructions from Shiomi: "Write a word or words on the enclosed card and place it somewhere. Please tell me the word and the space, which will be edited on the world map."⁶⁸ Each response was printed on a small flag that was then pinned to a map of the world at the participant's location. Commenting on this series, Shiomi noted, "I found a new method for events—I saw the earth as a stage and used the post to put on the same event with people in many countries, everyone with his or her own realization of the piece."⁶⁹

Against the Technocratic Imagination

Radical changes took place within Japanese society and art during the late 1960s. Japan's cities were experiencing astonishing growth, and Japan's avant-garde reacted to the result—an increasingly socialized conception of space—by engaging it directly, creating works that either rejected or embraced the impinging urbanism.

In 1968, the young photographer Moriyama Daidō published his first book, *Nippon gekijō shashinchō* (Japan theater photo album) (see pl. 28).⁷⁰ This publication marked a new era for photography in Japan as well as Moriyama's stylistic departure from his peers Tōmatsu and Hosoe.⁷¹



△

Fig. 18. Tōmatsu Shōmei (Japanese, b. 1930)

Untitled (Images of Shinjuku), ca. 1969

From Tōmatsu Shōmei, *Oo! Shinjuku* (Oh! Shinjuku)
(Tokyo: Shaken, 1969), n.p.

Moriyama photographed the Tokyo areas of Shibuya and, especially, Shinjuku. The train lines from Tokyo's outlying districts converged in Shinjuku, which is located in the heart of the city. Here the old working-class neighborhoods accommodated a growing youth culture associated with the nearby universities. In Shinjuku's narrow alleys, small, dimly lit bars and strip joints, and cheap Kabuki theater houses, the traditional mingled with the avant-garde.

On 21 October 1968, following the commemoration of Antiwar Day, riots broke out in Shinjuku. This time it was not simply the specter of Anpo ratification that prompted the antiwar rallies. The protesters saw the United States's involvement in Vietnam as confirmation of its imperialist ambitions and believed that Anpo was incontrovertible evidence of the Japanese government's compliance with U.S. interests. Tōmatsu, who was living in Shinjuku at the time, documented what was taking place around him. The photographs appeared in *Oo! Shinjuku* (Oh! Shinjuku), published the following year (fig. 18). The book, without text, dramatized not only daily life in Shinjuku, both on and off the street, but also the suppression of the antiwar protesters by the police. Tōmatsu's photographs capture a violent split between the social and the political, whereby the gathering of citizens in protest of Anpo—the activation of architectural space into a

public sphere—was brutally quelled by the anonymous political sphere of the state.⁷²

Both Moriyama and Tōmatsu pictured the bars, cabarets, strip joints, and love hotels of the inner city and recorded the transformation produced by U.S. occupation and Japan's expanding economy. There is a difference, however. Moriyama captured the neon glow of Japan's commodity culture, which, by promising economic growth, drove people both to conformity and to retreat into the hidden recesses of the city. Tōmatsu showed Tokyo's interior locations as refuges from the increasing surveillance and brutality that characterized the city, which is symbolized by concrete and asphalt, the glare of streetlights, and blocks of corporate offices. Together the two photographers exposed a phantasmagoric space within the solid shapes and forms of the city, hinting at the disjunctions that constitute modernity.

At the time of the student rebellion in October 1968, Hijikata presented *Hijikata Tatsumi and the Japanese: Revolt of the Flesh*, in which he was carried on stage on a palanquin, wearing a kimono over his otherwise naked body and holding a golden phallus. The golden phallus shows the influence of Antonin Artaud—whose *Le théâtre et son double* (The theatre and its double, 1938) appeared in Japanese in 1965, rousing the avant-garde with its call for theater of mythic spectacle with no barriers between performers and audiences—but the title of the dance suggests that Hijikata was bending “Western” means to an intense examination of his own body, specifically, a male body that grew up in Akita Prefecture, in northern Japan.⁷³ Soon after, in 1969, Hosoe published *Kamaitachi: Hosoe Eikoh shashinshū* (Sickle-toothed weasel: Photobook by Hosoe Eikoh), a book that documented another collaboration with Hijikata.⁷⁴ During this project, which spanned four years, Hosoe and Hijikata attempted to create a record of their memories of childhood and wartime Japan. In Hosoe's photographs, taken in Akita Prefecture, Hijikata is transformed, a spirit that momentarily appears among the villagers, in the landscape, or fleeing across the fields (see pl. 26).

Shortly after the Anpo riots, a group of young photographers and writers banded together as Provoke to produce a photo magazine with the same name. *Provoke: Shisō no tame no chōhatsuteki siryō* (Provoke: Provocative materials for thought) was edited by photographers Taki Kōji and Nakahira Takuma, with poet and critic Okada Takahiko and photographer Takanashi Yutaka serving as coeditors.⁷⁵ The first issue opened with a manifesto written by Taki and Nakahira and signed by all four, in which they proposed that photography's uniqueness lies in an irreversible materiality that is yet discontinuous with the real. The manifesto was followed by black-and-white photo spreads by Taki, Takanashi, and Nakahira, all under the title “1968 Natsu” (Summer 1968) (see pl. 29), and two essays. The photographs in *Provoke* were uneventful and often out of focus, grainy, or cropped disturbingly (see pl. 30).⁷⁶ The critic Iizawa Kōtarō referred to them as “pathetic images, as if capturing the sight of a world struggling out of the darkness.”⁷⁷ Through this approach, Provoke mounted a critique not only of traditional photography but also, and equally, of



△

Fig. 19. Aerial view of Festival Plaza and Okamoto Tarō's *Tower of the Sun*, Japan World Exposition '70 (Expo '70), Osaka, 1970

Color photograph

Tokyo, Taro Okamoto Memorial Foundation for the Promotion of Contemporary Art

contemporary Japan. Their commentary was aimed most especially at events such as the Japan World Exposition '70, known as Expo '70 (fig. 19), which was, as Reiko Tomii has noted, symptomatic of a situation in which art and culture were co-opted into "a network of power that operated invisibly."⁷⁸

The narrative of progress that was being championed by government and corporations alike, and that had underpinned the promotion of the Tokyo Olympics, was evident in the theme chosen for Expo '70: "Progress and Harmony of Mankind." Six artists and critics, including Tōno and Nakahara Yūsuke, responded to the official announcement of the theme in 1968 by organizing a five-day symposium, "Expose 1968: Nanika ittekure, ima, sagasu" (Expose 1968: Say something now, I am looking for something to say). Many of the artists and groups that had been active throughout the previous two decades accepted the invitation to participate in "Expose 1968," whose proceedings included lectures, performances, exhibitions, films, poetry readings, and psychedelic shows. Expo '70 would likewise afford artists a stage on which to try out their avant-garde ideas. The activities of the Gutai group, for example, included an outdoor sculptural

environment, an indoor exhibition, and the Gutai Art Festival, a spectacular three-night theatrical event at the Festival Plaza (see pl. 35).⁷⁹ One of the younger participants in "Expose 1968," Nakaya Fujiko, became a key figure in planning for the Pepsi Pavilion at Expo '70, which contained a collaborative exhibition of works from Japanese artists and the American group Experiments in Art and Technology (EAT). She also presented the first of her signature fog pieces, *Fog Sculpture*, at Expo '70, swathing the seventy-five-foot-high dome in fog on calm days and embellishing it with an ever-changing cloud on windy days (see pl. 34).⁸⁰

But many artists and critics saw Expo '70 as an ending, not a beginning.⁸¹ To them, the show was a final turn toward the commercialization of art and a celebration of technology's domination of Japanese culture. Provoke published an explicit critique in *Mazu tashikarashisa no sekai o suture* (First abandon the world of verisimilitude) in 1970, but the show's critics were outspoken as early as 1968, as evidenced by remarks not only by Taki in *Provoke* but also by Hijikata, who, in an interview with the art critic Shibusawa Tatsuhiko, spoke of Expo '70 as the enemy: its abstractionism versus the underground art movement. Hijikata vividly remarked on how disgusted he was by "those idiotic producers" of Expo '70, "who all look like real estate brokers."⁸² Equally striking was the fact that many artists and groups—including Bikyōtō, Mono-ha, and Provoke—implicitly united in their criticism of Expo '70 despite their ongoing differences and debates.

Originated by artist Sekine Nobuo and artist and theorist Lee Ufan, Mono-ha was an influential movement rooted in postminimalist anti-formalism that occurred in Japan between fall 1967 and the 1970s. Skeptical of the act of "making" painting and sculpture, Mono-ha advocated artistic gestures and ways of engaging with inanimate materials to reveal "the world as it is." This might be achieved through digging, moving, or arranging natural materials such as stone, wood, and earth. In fact, as Lee noted, the name *Mono-ha*, made up of the Japanese words *mono* (thing) and *ha* (school), was originally a dismissive label applied to artists who used raw physical materials without doing much of anything to them.⁸³ By the early 1970s, Mono-ha had come under attack from the more politicized Bikyōtō group,⁸⁴ who criticized Lee's theories as a "mystification of art." Bikyōtō had emerged from the protests staged by radical art students in 1969, and included artists Hikosaka Naoyoshi and Hori Kōsai. Like Mono-ha, the group opposed traditional ideas of "art making," giving priority to process rather than the physical production of art objects. However, they believed that art existed only as an integral part of society and aimed to expose its institutional workings. Hikosaka's *Floor Event* (1970–71) was among the exemplary pieces of the first Bikyōtō Revolution Committee, whose mission was to highlight the practice of art by performing and showing art outside of traditional settings—in this case, a latex-pouring event at the artist's own apartment (see pl. 39).

The 10th Tokyo Biennale, which opened in 1970, featured some forty artists from Japan, the United States, and Europe, who were brought

together by its commissioner, critic Nakahara Yūsuke.⁸⁵ In choosing “Between Man and Matter” as the exhibition’s theme, Nakahara tacitly acknowledged the significance of Mono-ha, especially in his assertion of the equality between the two terms *man* and *matter*. In his introduction to the exhibition catalog, Nakahara noted, “The totality of the mutual relations of matter and its relations with man must be what we call the work of art.”⁸⁶ Nevertheless, he chose for the catalog cover a photograph of an industrial landscape taken at twilight by Nakahira Takuma (see pl. 36) that rearticulated, if ambiguously, the relationship between the use of organic materials by Mono-ha and Arte Povera artists and the brute industrialism of minimalism.⁸⁷ Sekine Nobuo, a biennale participant and one of the foremost exponents of Mono-ha, observed that the photograph symbolized “a horizon where it all ended.”⁸⁸

Sekine’s words proved to be prophetic.⁸⁹ The end of the 1960s marked the end of an era for those who had grown up in the shadow of the war and U.S. occupation. Japan’s tremendous economic growth and the emergence of an industrial and mass culture had, by the end of the 1960s, transformed everyday life and the urban landscape of Japan. Within a few years, many of the artists who had played a leading role in the postwar period changed course or increasingly moved away from collaborative projects and toward individual production. A new generation, with a different point of view and forms of practice, emerged.

Notes

1. Nishikawa Nagao, *Le roman japonais depuis 1945* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1988), 17.
2. For an elaboration of this subject in prewar Japan, see Harry Harootunian, *History's Disquiet: Modernity, Cultural Practice, and the Question of Everyday Life* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 2000).
3. In 1957, after the eighth exhibition, the name of the Nihon Independent Exhibition was changed to the Yomiuri Independent Exhibition.
4. Takiguchi's career had led him to form close ties with European artists and writers, especially André Breton and other French surrealists.
5. Members of the Demokrato Artists Association ("Demokrato" is Esperanto for *democratic*) included Takiguchi, artists Ay-O and On Kawara, photographer Hosoe Eikoh, and actor and playwright Katō Tadashi. Another major monthly art magazine, *Bijutsu techō* (Art notebook), was launched in 1948.
6. Haryū Ichirō, "Modan āto 1956" (Modern art 1956), *Geijutsu shinchō* 7, no. 5 (May 1956): n.p.; cited in Kazu Kaido, "Reconstruction: The Role of the Avant-Garde in Post-War Japan," in David Elliott and Kazu Kaido, eds., *Reconstructions: Avant-Garde Art in Japan 1945–1965*, exh. cat. (Oxford: Museum of Modern Art, 1985), 20.
7. The most significant survey exhibitions of the period are *Japon des avant gardes, 1910–1970*, exh. cat. (Paris: Éditions de Center Pompidou, 1986); David Elliott and Kazu Kaido, eds., *Reconstructions: Avant-Garde Art in Japan, 1945–1965*, exh. cat. (Oxford: Museum of Modern Art, 1985); and Alexandra Munroe, *Japanese Art after 1945: Scream against the Sky*, exh. cat. (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1994).
8. The ballet's creation brought together poet and musicologist Akiyama Kuniharu, composers Takemitsu Torū and Suzuki Hiroyoshi, and artists Imai Naoji, Yamaguchi Katsuhiko, Fukushima Hideko, and Kitadai Shōzō. This description is based on Akiyama Kuniharu, "Innovation and Expansion of Music in Experimental Workshop," trans. Stanley N. Anderson, in Akiyama Kuniharu and Yamaguchi Katsuhiko, eds., *Jikken kōbō to Takiguchi Shūzō: Dai 11-kai omāju Takiguchi Shūzō-ten = Experimental Workshop: The 11th Exhibition Homage to Shuzo Takiguchi*, exh. cat. (Tokyo: Satani Gallery, 1991), 31–32.
9. Kitadai Shōzō, "Atomu" (Atom), draft of the proposal as published in "Experimental Workshop: A Chronological History," trans. Tom Spilliaert, in Akiyama Kuniharu and Yamaguchi Katsuhiko, eds., *Jikken kōbō to Takiguchi Shūzō: Dai 11-kai omāju Takiguchi Shūzō-ten = Experimental Workshop: The 11th Exhibition Homage to Shuzo Takiguchi*, exh. cat. (Tokyo: Satani Gallery, 1991), 102; quoted as translated in Nakajima Masatoshi and Reiko Tomii, ed., "Readings in Japanese Art after 1945," trans. Reiko Tomii, in *Japanese Art after 1945: Scream against the Sky*, exh. cat. (New York: Abrams, 1994), 375.
10. Takiguchi Shūzō, "Jikken no seishin: Sairoku," *Bijutsu hihiyō*, no. 5 (May 1952): 5–7; reprinted, and translated into English by Lewis Cook as "Art and Experimentation," in Akiyama Kuniharu and Yamaguchi Katsuhiko, eds., *Jikken kōbō to Takiguchi Shūzō: Dai 11-kai omāju Takiguchi Shūzō-ten = Experimental Workshop: The 11th Exhibition Homage to Shuzo Takiguchi*, exh. cat. (Tokyo: Satani Gallery, 1991), 11.
11. Akiyama Kuniharu composed two poems for the exhibition, "Work A" and "Work B," both subtitled "Poem for Magnetic Tape-Recorder."
12. László Moholy-Nagy's *Vision in Motion* (Chicago: P. Theobald, 1947) was especially influential. In Takiguchi's reviews of Experimental Workshop, Moholy-Nagy is cited on a number of occasions. Takiguchi refers to Moholy-Nagy's kinetic work, specifically *Space Modulator* (1922–30). For more on Ishimoto, see Yasuhiro Ishimoto: *Chicago and Tokyo*, exh. cat. (Tokyo: Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography, 1998). Takiguchi organized a one-man exhibition for Ishimoto at the Takemiya Gallery in 1954.
13. See Ishimoto Yasuhiro, Walter Gropius, and Tange Kenzō, *Katsura: Tradition and Creation in Japanese Architecture* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1960). Tange met Walter Gropius and Le Corbusier at the CIAM (Congrès internationaux d'architecture moderne) conference in London in 1951. The invitation to CIAM came after Tange was awarded the commission to design the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park. Following their meeting, Tange invited Gropius to Tokyo, during which time he visited Katsura in 1954.
14. Tange Kenzō, "Tradition and Creation in Japanese Architecture," in Ishimoto Yasuhiro, Walter Gropius, and Tange Kenzō, *Katsura: Tradition and Creation in Japanese Architecture* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1960), 34–36.
15. Tange, "Tradition and Creation" (note 14), 14–36.
16. Walter Gropius, "Architecture in Japan," in Ishimoto Yasuhiro, Walter Gropius, and Tange Kenzō, *Katsura: Tradition and Creation in Japanese Architecture* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1960), 1.
17. Ei-Kyū, *Demokurāto*, no. 3 (fall 1953).
18. Quoted and translated in Bert Winther, "Isamu Noguchi: Conflicts of Japanese Culture in the Early Postwar Years" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1992), 116–17. Cited in Munroe, *Japanese Art after 1945* (note 7), 154.
19. Between 1929 and 1940, Okamoto lived and worked in Europe, becoming a member of the Abstraction-Création Group and exhibiting at the Exposition internationale du surréalisme in 1938. His paintings, especially *The Law of the Jungle* (1950), had an extraordinary impact on the painters around him. For discussion of Okamoto and this painting, see Elliott and Kaido, *Reconstructions* (note 7), 33. In 1953, Haryū Ichirō joined the group Night Society (Yoru no Kai), founded by Okamoto and Hanada Kiyoteru in 1948.
20. Kanayama, Shiraga, and Murakami had shown at exhibitions held by Genbi but were also members of the young avant-garde group New Production Association (Shinseisaku Kyōkai).
21. Shiraga Kazuo, "(Rensai) Bōken no kiroku 1: Episōdo de tsuzuru Gutai gurūpu no jūni-nen" ([Serialized essay] The document of adventure, no. 1: Twelve years of Gutai group), *Bijutsu techō*, no. 285 (July 1967): 141; as translated in Alexandra Munroe, "To Challenge the Mid-Summer Sun: The Gutai Group," in idem, *Japanese Art after 1945: Scream against the Sky*, exh. cat. (New York: Abrams, 1994), 89. For a discussion of Zero Society, see Tatehata Akira, "The Eve of Gutai," in 1953: *Shedding Light on Art in Japan*, trans. Reiko Tomii, exh. cat. (Tokyo: Tama Art Univ., 1997), 67–74.
22. The Gutai Art Association was formed by participants in the Ashiya City Art Exhibition, founded in 1948. The group was officially dissolved in March 1972, seven weeks after the death of Yoshihara Jirō. There is considerable literature on the history of Gutai, including Françoise Bonnefoy, Sarah Clément, and Isabelle Sauvage, *Gutai*, exh. cat. (Paris: Éditions du Jeu de Paume/Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1999); Munroe, "To Challenge the Mid-Summer Sun" (note 21), 83–100; Tatehata, "The Eve of Gutai" (note 21); *Gutai shiryō-shū = Document Gutai, 1954–1972*, trans. Simon Scanes, Matsuoka Kazuko, and Shiraha Keiko (Ashiya: Ashiya City Culture Foundation, 1993); *Gutai-ten I, II, III = Gutai I, II, III*, trans. Simon Scanes and Shiraha Keiko (Ashiya: Ashiya City Culture Foundation, [1994]); and *Gutai: Moments de destruction, moments de Beauté = Gutai: Moments of Destruction, Moments of Beauty* (Paris: Blusson, 2002), with texts by Yamamoto Atsuo, Ming Tiampo, and Florence de Mèredieu.

23. The issues of *Gutai* are numbered one through fourteen, but issues ten and thirteen were never published.
24. Munroe, "To Challenge the Mid-Summer Sun" (note 21), 90, 91, pls. 21–23; Ming Tiampo, "Electrifying Painting," in *Electrifying Art: Atsuko Tanaka, 1954–1968*, exh. cat. (Vancouver: Morris & Helen Belkin Art Gallery, 2004); and Akira Kanayama, "Beru sakuhin ni tsuite" (On the bell work), *Gutai* 4 (July 1956): 24.
25. Tapié was accompanied by Parisian artists Georges Mathieu and Imai Toshimitsu; soon after, Californian artist Sam Francis joined them. Imai was from the Kansai area but had lived in Paris since the early 1950s. All three artists were proponents of Art Informel, an art movement that coalesced in the early 1950s and emphasized gesture and lyrical abstraction over representation and geometric abstraction. Art Informel—and its Tachist wing, which included Mathieu and Frans Wols—was inspired by the instinctive, personal approach of contemporary American abstract expressionists, of which the action painters such as Jackson Pollock and Willem de Kooning were one aspect. Like Gutai, Art Informel was regarded as an attempt to break with prewar artistic tradition and prewar political authoritarianism.
26. Michel Tapié, "D'un esthétique autre/Betsu no bigaku ni tsuite," trans. Takiguchi Shūzō, *Mizue*, no. 617 (December 1956): 23–28.
27. Tōno Yoshiaki, "Shinjin hanjō ki" (A note on the prosperity of new artists), *Mizue* (January 1958); cited in Chiba Shigeo, *Gendai bijutsu itsudatsushi, 1945–1985* (A history of deviations in contemporary art, 1945–1985) (Tokyo: Shōbunsha, 1986), 30.
28. The group originated from their participation in 1957 in an exhibition titled *Eyes of Ten*, which was organized by the Demokrato Artists Association and held at Konishiroku Photo Gallery in Tokyo. *Eyes of Ten* also included works by Ishimoto Yasuhiro. After their third exhibition, they formed Vivo, which would dissolve in 1961. For a discussion of Vivo, see Iizawa Kōtarō, "The Evolution of Postwar Photography," in Anne Wilkes Tucker, Dana Friis-Hansen, Kaneko Ryūichi, and Takeba Joe, *The History of Japanese Photography*, exh. cat. (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2003), 217–20.
29. Charles Merewether, "A Language to Come: Japanese Photography after the Event," in Beatrice von Bismarck et al., *Interarchive: Archivarisches Praktiken und Handlungsräume im zeitgenössischen Kunstfeld = Archival Practices and Sites in the Contemporary Art Field* (Cologne: König, 2002), 171–72.
30. Hijikata was from Tōhoku in northeastern Japan; he arrived in Tokyo in 1952, when he was twenty-three. For a chronology of Hijikata's life and work, see Kurihara Nanako, comp., "Hijikata Tatsumi Chronology," *TDR: The Drama Review* 44, no. 1 (2000): 29–33.
31. Mishima's *Kinjiki* (Forbidden colors) (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, Shōwa 26–28 [1951–53]) was first serialized in the literary journal *Gunzō* (Image of a group) in 1951.
32. Theater groups that subsequently emerged included Kara Jūrō's Situation Theater (Jōkyō Gekijō) in 1963, Terayama Shūji's Gallery Tier (Tenjō Sajiki) in 1967, and Satō Shin's Underground Theater in 1966. See Takahashi Yasunari, "Alternative Japanese Drama: A Brief Overview," in Robert T. Rolf and John K. Gillespie, eds., *Alternative Japanese Drama: Ten Plays* (Honolulu: Univ. of Hawai'i Press, 1992); and David G. Goodman, *Japanese Drama and Culture in the 1960's: The Return of the Gods* (Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 1988).
33. It was accompanied by a book of the same name: Hosoe Eikoh, *Otoko to onna = Man and Woman* (Tokyo: CamerArt, 1961), with poems by Yamamoto Tarō and essays by Ed van der Eysken and Fukushima Tatsuo. Konishiroku Photo Gallery is now Konica Photo Gallery.
34. Hosoe Eikoh, *Eikoh Hosoe: Meta*, exh. cat. (New York: International Center of Photography, 1991), 17.
35. See John W. Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1999), for an account of the complex conditions of postwar Japan under U.S. occupation and the context in which Anpo was established.
36. The art critic Tōno Yoshiaki, recently returned from a trip to Europe and North America, immediately recognized an affinity with the Japanese Neo Dada artists. *Neo-Dada* was coined to describe the iconoclastic work of North American artists Allan Kaprow, Robert Rauschenberg, Jasper Johns, and Cy Twombly.
37. Cited in Haryū Ichirō's excellent review of the art movements of this period, "Sengo bijutsu ni okeru neo-dada no isō = The Phases of Neo-Dada in Postwar Art," trans. Yumiko Yamazaki, in *Neo-Dada Japan, 1958–1998: Isozaki Arata to Howaito Hausu no menmen = Neo-Dada Japan, 1958–1998: Arata Isozaki and the Artists of "White House,"* exh. cat. (Oita: Oita City Board of Education, 1998), 277.
38. See Haryū, "Sengo bijutsu" (note 37), 277. Later, Akasegawa recalled how by 1960 the experiments in extending the materiality of painting (implicitly referring to Gutai and Art Informel) had become orthodoxy. Akasegawa Genpei, "The 1960s: The Art which Destroyed Itself: An Intimate Account," trans. John Clark, in David Elliott and Kazu Kaido, eds., *Reconstructions: Avant-Garde Art in Japan 1945–1965*, exh. cat. (Oxford: Museum of Modern Art, 1985), 86. One highly symbolic instance of the consecration of Art Informel was the awarding of first prize to Jean Fautrier and Hans Hartung at the Venice Biennale in 1960.
39. Tōmatsu's photos of Nagasaki were shown at the Fuji Photo Salon in Tokyo in 1962.
40. For a further discussion of the concept of the archival in postwar Japanese photography, see Merewether, "A Language to Come" (note 29), 168–76.
41. Trained as musicologists at Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music (although Tone was, in fact, auditing classes), they first performed improvisational music together in 1958 at various locations, including a lumberyard and a construction site.
42. Ichianagi studied musical composition in New York, first at the Juilliard School and then under John Cage at the New School for Social Research.
43. The performers included Takahashi Yūji, Mayuzumi Toshirō, and Takemitsu, as well as Tone, who slowly broke a grinding bowl with a hammer; Shiomi, who blew soap bubbles; and Kosugi, who sawed and drilled a wooden board.
44. In this regard, Ichianagi's work reveals an affinity to that of his contemporaries, notably Christian Wolff, La Monte Young, and George Brecht, all of whom had been students of Cage. For a discussion of this group, especially the work of George Brecht, see Liz Kotz, "Post-Cagean Aesthetics and the 'Event' Score," *October*, no. 95 (2001): 54–89.
45. The spatial and social dimension of improvisational music is explored in Michael Nyman, *Experimental Music: Cage and Beyond* (London: Studio Vista, 1974).
46. For a discussion of Fluxus, see Ken Friedman, ed., *The Fluxus Reader* (Chichester, England: Academy Editions, 1998); and Jon Hendricks, comp., *Fluxus Codex* (New York: Abrams, 1988).
47. See *Sōgetsu to sono jidai 1945–1970* (Sōgetsu and its era, 1945–1970), exh. cat. (Ashiya and Chiba: Exhibition Committee of Sōgetsu to Sono Jidai, 1998), 218–19. Ichianagi and Ono were married at the time.

48. Takiguchi Shūzō, "Konnichi no kao: Ono Yoko, kisei geijutsu eno teikō" (Today's face: Yoko Ono resists conventional art), *Yomiuri Newspaper*, 6 April 1962. Ono returned to Tokyo on 3 March 1962, after living in North America for ten years.
49. These included artists Akasegawa Genpei and Yoshimura Masunobu, art critic Nakahara Yūsuke, dancer Hijikata Tatsumi, composer Ichianagi Toshi, poet Akiyama Kuniharu, and musicians Kobayashi Kenji, Takahashi Yūji, Kosugi Takehisa, and Yasunao Tone. This description is drawn from Midori Yoshimoto, "Works of Yoko Ono, 1962," in Alexandra Munroe, with Jon Hendricks, *YES Yoko Ono*, exh. cat. (New York: Japan Society & Abrams, 2000), 150–52; and Midori Yoshimoto, *Into Performance: Japanese Women Artists in New York* (New Brunswick: Rutgers Univ. Press, 2005), 93.
50. Ono's first "instruction pieces" were shown in 1961 in New York, initially as part of the exhibition *Paintings and Drawings by Yoko Ono* held at George Maciunas's AG Gallery. The pieces were compiled and published in early July as *Yoko Ono, Grapefruit* (Tokyo: Wunternbaum, 1964), which is unpaginated. Later editions, with different covers, appeared in 1970 and 1971.

The original English for *Portrait of Mary 6 (A Piece to See the Sky)* quoted here appears in *Grapefruit*, where it is titled *A Painting to See the Skies* and dated "1961 summer."
51. Kosugi, New York City, 10 November 1992; comment about his *Music for a Revolution* (1964), cited in David T. Doris, "Zen Vaudeville," in Ken Friedman, ed., *The Fluxus Reader* (Chichester, England: Academy Editions, 1998), 111.
52. Tone gave the evening the name *Kunitachi bansankai*—*geijutsu minus geijutsu*—*haisen o kinenshite* (Kunitachi memorial banquet—art minus art—for defeat in war). It was held at Kunitachi Public Hall in Tokyo and included performances by Akasegawa, Kosugi, Hijikata, and Kazakura, according to a letter from Yasunao Tone to Charles Merewether, 13 March 2004. Details of the event are recorded by Akasegawa Genpei, "Kunitachi no namatsuba" (Saliva at Kunitachi), in idem, *Tokyo mikisā keikaku: Hai Reddo Sentā chokusei kōdō no kiroku* (Tokyo mixer plans: Documents of Hi Red Center's direct actions) (Tokyo: Parco Picture Backs, 1984), 19–28.
53. Summarized and translated by Rika Hiro. These are the standards as cited in Nakahara Yūsuke, "Yomiuri andependan ten" (Yomiuri Independent Exhibition), *Bijutsu techō*, no. 436 (July, extra edition, 1978): 171–72.
54. The name Hi Red Center is an acronym composed of the names of the three artists: Taka(matsu) (*Hi*), Aka(segawa) (*Red*), and Naka(nishi) (*Center*).
55. Yasunao Tone, Nam June Paik, Yoko Ono, Kazakura Shō, and the graphic artist Yokoo Tadanori were among the participants. The Imperial Hotel was famously redesigned between 1913 and 1923 by Frank Lloyd Wright.
56. Takamatsu Jirō, from a discussion held in 1966; cited in Takaaki Miyama, "Nakanishi Natsuyuki: E to, e no sugata = Nakanishi: Painting and the Form of Painting," trans. Stanley N. Anderson, in Miyama Takaaki and Kamiyama Yōko, eds., *Nakanishi Natsuyuki ten: Hiroso to chikasa: E no sugata katachi = Nakanishi Natsuyuki: Width and Closeness: Form of Painting*, exh. cat. (Nagoya: Aichi Prefectural Museum of Art, 2002), 163. For a further elaboration of this line of argument, see Okabe Aomi, "Action et avant-garde," in *Japon des avant gardes 1910–1970*, exh. cat. (Paris: Éditions du Centre Pompidou, 1986), 358.
57. Another response to the clean-up campaign was Ichikawa Kon's film, *Tokyo Olympiad* (1965), which begins with the rising sun, the symbol of Japan. Juxtaposed with the destruction of old buildings, the sun becomes an emblem of the new light of day casting out the darkness of the night and the past. See Morris Low, "Japan, Modernity and the Tokyo Olympics," *Humanities Research* (Canberra), 2 (1999): 33–51. For a study of this campaign, see Yoshikuni Igarashi, *Bodies of Memory* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 2000).
58. The exhibition *The New Japanese Painting and Sculpture* was curated by Dorothy C. Miller and William Lieberman and arrived in New York City in 1966. It was praised by Tōno Yoshiaki in his brief review, "New Talent in Tokyo," *Art in America* 54, no. 1 (1966): 97.
59. Ushio Shinohara, "Zenei no michi" (The avant-garde road) (photo-copy of an unpublished manuscript), 70.
60. Takako Saitō left for New York in 1963, Kubota and Shiomi left together for New York on 2 July 1964, and Ono was back in New York in September 1964, within a month of her farewell concert at Sōgetsu Art Center, which had occurred on 11 August. The Japanese artist Ay-O had been in New York since 1958 and was a contributor to Fluxus events. Kosugi left for New York in August 1965 and returned to Japan in October 1967.
61. Kubota's aunt was the dancer Kuni Chiya, and it was in her studio that Kubota met Tone and Kosugi as well as Hijikata and the experimental filmmaker Takahiko Iimura, who had made a film with Ono that was based on the Yomiuri Independent Exhibition of 1962.
62. The complex history of relations, exchange, and influence is carefully explored in Midori Yoshimoto's groundbreaking "Into Performance: Japanese Women Artists in New York" (Ph.D. diss., Rutgers University, 2002).
63. The Fluxus *Manifesto* is reproduced at <http://www.artnotart.com/fluxus/gmaciunas-manifesto.html> (accessed 13 April 2006).
64. Nyman, *Experimental Music* (note 45), 94.
65. Admiring Saitō's craftsmanship, Maciunas asked her to help in the making of the Fluxus multiples. Saitō also trained Shiomi and Kubota when they arrived in New York; see Yoshimoto, "Into Performance" (note 62), 184–85.
66. As a young woman in the mid-1950s, Saitō had been an art teacher and been involved in the Creative Art Education Movement (Sōzō Biiku Undō), where she met Ay-O, who, soon after Saitō arrived in New York, introduced her to Fluxus. By 1968, Saitō had left New York for Europe.
67. Marcel Duchamp devoted much of the latter part of his life to chess and produced *Pocket Chess Set* in 1942. He was an important influence on Fluxus, especially in his concept of the readymade, the critique of authorship, and the role of spectator in the creation of a work of art. For an excellent discussion see Benjamin H. D. Buchloh, "Robert Watts: Animate Objects—Inanimate Subjects," in Benjamin H. D. Buchloh and Judith F. Rodenbeck, eds., *Experiments in the Everyday: Allan Kaprow and Robert Watts* (New York: Miriam & Ira D. Wallach Art Gallery, Columbia University, 1999), 7–26.
68. Ken Friedman, Owen Smith, and Lauren Sawchyn, eds., *The Fluxus Performance Workbook*, Performance Research e-Publication, 2002. Available at <http://performance-research.net/pages/e-publications.html>.
69. Shiomi Mieko to Dieter Daniels, [before September 1994]; as quoted in Dieter Daniels, "The Art of Communication: From Mail Art to the E-mail," <http://www.medienkunstnetz.de/source-text/73/> (accessed 13 April 2006). Originally published as Dieter Daniels, "Von der Mail art zur E-mail: Kunst der Kommunikation im Rückblick," *Neue*

- bildende Kunst: Zeitschrift für Kunst und Kritik* (Berlin), no. 5 (1994): 14–18.
70. For further discussion of Moriyama's book, see Charles Merewether, "Roaming the Thresholds of Modernity: Exposure and Secrecy in Moriyama," in *Daidō Moriyama: Zen sakuhinshū = Daidō Moriyama: The Complete Works*, vol. 3, 1993–1999, ed. Kiyokazu Tanno (Tokyo: Daiwa Radiator Factory, 2004), 562–84.
 71. Moriyama arrived in Tokyo from Ikeda City near Osaka in mid-1961, hoping to join Vivo. It was on the verge of dissolving, however, so Hosoe offered him a job as an assistant.
 72. See Tōmatsu Shōmei, *Oo! Shinjuku* (Oh! Shinjuku) (Tokyo: Shaken, 1969). For a discussion of this period, see Reiko Tomii, "Tokyo: 1967–1973," in Iwona Blazwick, ed., *Century City: Art and Culture in the Modern Metropolis*, exh. cat. (London: Tate, 2001), 198–223.
 73. Kurihara Nanako, "Hijikata Tatsumi: The Words of Butoh," *TDR: The Drama Review* 44, no. 1 (2000): 20.
 74. Hosoe Eikoh and Hijikata Tatsumi, *Kamaitachi: Hosoe Eikoh shashin-shū* (Sickle-toothed weasel: Photobook by Hosoe Eikoh) (Tokyo: Gendai Shichōsha, 1969), was a collaborative effort consisting of photographs by Hosoe Eikoh, *butō* by Hijikata Tatsumi, preface by Takiguchi Shūzō, poems by Miyoshi Toyochirō, and book design by Tanaka Ikkō. *Kamaitachi* means "sickle-toothed weasel," a legendary animal invisible to humans; the title also refers to a small cyclone that quickly appears and disappears. According to Kurihara, "Hijikata Tatsumi" (note 73), 26n.15, "*Kamaitachi* is a phenomenon in which skin rips spontaneously. People used to think that an invisible weasel was responsible for splitting the skin, thus the name." The photographs were first shown in 1968, at the Nikon Salon in Tokyo and Osaka.
 75. Nakahira was the editor of the magazine *Gendai no me* (Contemporary eye). Taki (who became an art critic) and Nakahira had worked as assistants on the exhibition *One Hundred Years of Photography*, curated by Tōmatsu Shōmei for the Japan Professional Photographers Society and held at the Seibu Department Store in 1968.
 76. The Japanese terms used by these photographers to describe this approach were *are*, *bure*, *boke*.
 77. Iizawa Kōtarō, "Provoke no shissō" (Provoke sprints) (1969); cited in Tomii, "Tokyo" (note 72), 206.
 78. Iizawa, "Provoke no shissō" (note 77); cited in Tomii, "Tokyo" (note 72), 203.
 79. Munroe, "To Challenge the Mid-Summer Sun" (note 21), 99 n. 38; a photograph of the final scene of "Drama of the Human and the Material at the Festival Plaza," which was part of the Gutai Art Festival, appears on p. 96 of Munroe's essay.
 80. The EAT archive at the Getty Research Institute contains Nakaya's correspondence with EAT members and reproductions of her work at that time; see *Experiments in Art and Technology Records, 1966–1997*, acc. no. 940003, Research Library, Getty Research Institute.
 81. On 25 November 1970, after staging an unsuccessful military coup d'état at the Tokyo headquarters of the Eastern Command of Japan's Self-Defense Forces, Mishima committed suicide.
 82. Amano Michie et al., *Mazu tashikarashisa no sekai o sutero* (First abandon the world of verisimilitude), ed. Taki Kōji and Nakahira Takuma (Tokyo: Tabata Shoten, 1970); Taki Kōji, "Oboegaki 1: Chi no haitai" (Adversaria 1: Degeneration of intellect), 63–68; and Nanako Kurihara, "Hijikata Tatsumi: Plucking off the Darkness of the Flesh, an Interview by Shibusawa Tatsuhiko," *Drama Review* 44, no. 1 (2000): 52. The interview was originally published as "Nikutai no yami o mushiru: Intabyū Hijikata Tatsumi, Shibusawa Tatsuhiko," *Tenbō* (The perspective), no. 115 (July 1968): 104–7.
 83. Lee Ufan, "The Mono-ha: Foreshadowings and Premonitions," in idem, *The Art of Encounter*, trans. Stanley N. Anderson (London: Lisson Gallery, 2004), 146.
 84. Bikyōtō is an acronym derived from Bijutsuka Kyōtō Kaigi (Artists Joint-Struggle Council); for more on this group, see Reiko Tomii's essay (pp. 57–58) and the entry in the glossary (p. 120) in this volume.
 85. The 10th Tokyo Biennale showed work by artists associated with Mono-ha, along with works by American minimalists, the Italian Arte Povera movement, Lucio Fontana, conceptual artists such as Matsuzawa Yutaka, and others, as well as a special experimental video section with works by key figures such as Nakaya Fujiko, Yamaguchi Katsuhiro, Shigeko Kubota, and Matsumoto Toshio. However, Nakahara did not include Lee Ufan, one of the leading exponents of Mono-ha.
 86. Nakahara Yūsuke, "Ningen to busshitsu = Between Man and Matter," in idem, ed., *Dai jukkai Nihon kokusai bijutsu ten: Ningen to busshitsu = Tokyo Biennale '70: Between Man and Matter*, English trans. Joseph Love, exh. cat. (Tokyo: Mainichi Shinbun-sha, 1970), n.p.
 87. The photograph is included in Nakahira's own book, with its prescient title, *Kitarubeki kotoba no tameni* (For a language to come) (Tokyo: Fūdo-sha, 1970). Active in the late 1960s and the 1970s, Arte Povera (literally, "Impoverished Art") was a group of Italian artists who challenged the idea of the dichotomy of art and life, mainly through the creation of happenings from live plants and animals as well as sculptures made from everyday materials.
 88. Remark by Sekine Nobuo, also one of the founding artists of Mono-ha, in a panel discussion transcribed as "'Mono' ga hiraku atarashii sekai" (A world revealed by "Mono"), *Bijutsu techō*, no. 324 (February 1970): 35–36; cited in Tomii, "Tokyo" (note 72), 211. For a discussion of Nakahira's work, see Merewether, "A Language to Come" (note 29), 174–75.
 89. Expo '70 proved to be a major turning point for many who had been directly involved in its conception. This included Arata Isozaki, who, in his series of ten articles titled "Kenchiku no kaitai" (Dismantling architecture), recognized the dehumanizing effect of an environment dominated by technocrats, technological positivism, and a commodified culture. See Arata Isozaki, "Kenchiku no kaitai," *Bijutsu techō*, no. 320 (December 1969): 98–104, 117–19; no. 324 (February 1970): 152–56, 173–77; no. 326 (April 1970): 166–72, 185–87; no. 328 (June 1970): 94–96, 113–19; no. 335 (December 1970): 110–20, 129–31; no. 339 (February 1971): 110–12, 121–29; no. 347 (October 1971): 148–89; no. 370 (August 1973): 160–80; no. 371 (September 1973): 169–91; no. 373 (November 1973): 176–99. These pieces were compiled and published as a book, *Kenchiku no kaitai* (Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppan-sha, 1975).



GEIJUTSU ON THEIR MINDS Memorable Words on Anti-Art

Reiko Tomii

Only in the courtroom does it become possible—and necessary—to “declare” a work as *geijutsu* [art]. Most of us don’t carry a statement from a doctor certifying us as normal. Not that we’re not normal, but we don’t require the doctor’s note saying that. The same may apply to *geijutsu*. This “thing” that may be called *geijutsu* at one time or another does not require the name of *geijutsu* all the time. . . . By the way, what is Anti-Art [*Han-geijutsu*]? . . . Nothing is more conscious of *geijutsu* than [Anti-Art]. . . . Anti-Art is nothing but a supplementary word.

— Akasegawa Genpei, 1967¹

During the 1960s, art was transformed worldwide as artists dealt brutal blows to age-old conventions. In Japan, this assault was codified as Anti-Art (*Han-geijutsu*) in the years around 1960 and Non-Art (*Hi-geijutsu*) toward 1970 and beyond.² While these rich and compelling practices against *geijutsu* have recently received a considerable amount of attention, the critical writings and other discursive practices by the artists and critics who played central roles in these movements are less well known outside Japan.³

A copious number of words on vanguard art appeared during this period in a variety of print formats and media, ranging from ephemera (postcards, flyers, posters, and so on), to articles in newspapers, popular magazines, and art periodicals, to books and exhibition-related publications. Taken together, they point to what may be called the “public sphere of art”—a community of diverse discourse on art, thriving as much on ideas and thoughts as on art itself. No one was more aware of the legacy of *geijutsu* than those who supported Anti-Art, which called *geijutsu*—an essentially modern construct—into question. If words on *geijutsu* did not directly address the issue of modern times (*kindai*), they were integral to the critique of modernity (*kindai hihan*) that characterized the left-leaning cultural atmosphere in Japan during this era. In this sense, the idea of Anti-Art, whether written or spoken in words or integrated into artists’ works, vividly illustrates the spirit of the time. Simply put, the discourse

on *geijutsu* constitutes more than what may now seem mere riddles of language.

A brief note is necessary to clarify the meaning of *geijutsu* and its sister term, *bijutsu*. Borrowed from ancient Chinese, *geijutsu* is the etymological equivalent of the Greek *technē* and the Latin *ars*, initially signifying the diverse “arts and learning.” In modern Japanese, *geijutsu* is similar to *art* in English. It performs triple duties by signifying art in a narrow sense of fine art, as in “contemporary art” and “art students”; art in a broader sense, as in “the arts” and “dramatic art”; and Art with a capital A, charged with metaphysical or modernist import. In contrast, *bijutsu*—coined in the late nineteenth century as a translation of Western “fine art”—is a more specific term conventionally used to encompass painting and sculpture. With its threefold meaning, *geijutsu* is frequently employed in lieu of *bijutsu*, as in *gendai geijutsu*, which, in the context of (fine) art discourse, more often than not means simply *gendai bijutsu* (contemporary art). Probably because *geijutsu*, not *bijutsu*, is imbued with the aura of Art, it was *geijutsu* that claimed the prefixes of *han-* (anti-) and *hi-* (non-) to form the indispensable art historical terms *Han-geijutsu* and *Hi-geijutsu*. Since neither *Art* nor *Art/art* can adequately convey the linguistic complexity that the term *geijutsu* possesses, this text will use *geijutsu* and *bijutsu* when the two words are employed individually, but the compound forms, including *Anti-Art*, will be given in English.

The Origin of Anti-Art

Somebody told me that the term *Anti-Art* was in vogue lately. Is that so?

I responded, only to be told that I was the one who had started it—with my comment on Kudō Tetsumi's work at the Yomiuri Independent Exhibition in a newspaper review. In it, I called his work “junk anti-art.”

—Tōno Yoshiaki, 1960⁴

Of all the words uttered on *geijutsu* during the 1960s, the most important was *Anti-Art* (*Han-geijutsu*). It was inserted into the artistic consciousness by the young critic Tōno Yoshiaki, who used the term in reference to Kudō Tetsumi's *Proliferating Chain Reaction* (1960). Although Tōno obviously did not have an inkling of the term's significance, as evidenced by his remark (quoted above), the term went on to become the definitive label attached to vanguard practices in Japan during this period. Today it demarks the art that sprang from the rebellious tendency of young artists from the late 1950s to the early 1960s to defy conventional notions of painting and sculpture.

The initial signs of Anti-Art were spotted in 1958 at the Yomiuri Independent Exhibition, an annual exhibition sponsored by the Yomiuri Newspaper Company and held each March at the Tokyo Metropolitan Art Museum in Ueno Park.⁵ For example, the assemblage by Kyūshū-ha (literally, “Kyūshū School”), the infamous *Straw Mat–Straw Mat*, consisted of garbage wrapped in straw mats.⁶ This work, which was rejected by exhibi-

tion officials, is saliently described by the rubric "junk," even though the term *Anti-Art* was not introduced until 1960, when this kind of junk-based art could no longer be overlooked. Certainly, as the elder critic Takiguchi Shūzō pointed out in the April 1960 issue of *Geijutsu Shinchō* (New trends in art), the word *Anti-Art* was "ready-made terminology," historically derived from Dada.⁷ Tōno's use of the word did have merit, however: Takiguchi conceded that the word aptly captured the surge of "intense energy," so insistent that it could not be ignored, that "a host of younger artists exuded...in their expressions and thoughts" at the Yomiuri Independent in 1960.

A member of the new generation of critics who had emerged in the 1950s, Tōno was a staunch champion of the younger artists notorious for their outrageous rule breaking at the Yomiuri Independent. The review in question, "Garakuta no han-geijutsu" (Junk anti-art), was published in *Yomiuri Newspaper* on the second day of the exhibition. Tōno's review offered an enthusiastic appraisal of these artists and their work:

If you are weary of dutifully paying your respects to the *geijutsu* presented by prominent masters at the Nitten salon and the major art organizations' exhibitions, I recommend that you visit the Yomiuri Independent Exhibition, currently on view in Ueno Park. There you will find neither masterpieces encased in weighty frames nor torsos executed in the academic style. On the contrary! You will find a nude photo attached to a straw bed enshrined in a shed made of shutter doors (by Itoi Kanji) and a "thunder sculpture" consisting of hundreds of tattered, violently bent bamboo sticks, among which toilet fixtures, sandals, and balloons are inserted (by Ushio Shinohara). You may wonder whether they are *geijutsu*. Never mind. They are not *Geijutsu*, but *Han-geijutsu*, so to speak. Still, I dare ask you this question: Won't they touch your heart more immediately than those *objets d'art* [*geijutsu-hin*] that primly inhabit the display cases at the museum, completely dissociated from your everyday life?⁸

Tōno no doubt became familiar with junk art during his trip to Europe and America in 1958 and 1959, where he was most impressed by the work of Yves Klein, Jean Tinguely, Robert Rauschenberg, and Jasper Johns.⁹ Still, credit must be given to the young critic who recast the idea of "anti-art" into something comprehensible for his readers, making reference to two kinds of *geijutsu*. First, with a hint of sarcasm, he gave the name *geijutsu* to the "masterpieces" by career artists who dominated the art establishment that comprised the semi-official salon Nitten (the postwar reincarnation of the annual salon instituted by the state in 1907) and the major art organizations. Whereas Yomiuri's independent format (that is, no jury and no awards) allowed anybody willing to pay the fee to show his or her works, both the salon and the annual exhibitions sponsored by the art organizations admitted nonmembers only on a juried basis. The "prominent masters" in Tōno's review were the full-fledged members who presided at the top of the establishment hierarchy and had earned the right to exhibit

without being juried. In the eyes of the general public, their works constituted the *geijutsu* of the present. Second, in a more conventional manner, Tōno contrasted the younger artists' works with the *geijutsu* of the past, which could be found in the Tokyo National Museum, also at Ueno Park, whose stated mission was to collect and exhibit Asian art and artifacts from prehistory through 1906.¹⁰

The term *Anti-Art* quickly caught on, and variants—*Anti-Painting* (*Han-kaiga*) and *Anti-Sculpture* (*Han-chōkoku*)—were promptly coined.¹¹ In its 3 April 1960 issue, in an article titled "A Debate on 'Anti-Art,'" the weekly *Asahi Journal* reported on the "Anti-Painting and Anti-Sculpture tendency" that had emerged at the Yomiuri Independent.¹² The anonymous author had surveyed newspaper reviews about Anti-Art and taken the critical temperature among the progressive critics: one full support (Tōno), one qualified support (Nakahara Yūsuke), one reservation (Taki-guchi), and two rejections (Haryū Ichirō and Segi Shin'ichi). The columnist himself was negative, writing that the younger artists merely produced novelty, without social or philosophical substance, in the safe and established confines of an exhibition hall.

Artists against Anti-Art

And we are assigned such labels as "Anti-Painting." Not only is this label thrown at us, but we ourselves actually entertain the idea to some extent. That is why, like just now, we *do* discourse on *geijutsu*. You know, we will eventually be sucked into a gaping maw: whatever we do will be absorbed into the category of *geijutsu*. It's so frustrating.

—Nakanishi Natsuyuki, 1961¹³

With the label of Anti-Art forced upon them, several of these artists were displeased by the pronouncements of the critics. Five of the young Anti-Art "adventurers"¹⁴ were given the opportunity to express their thoughts at a roundtable discussion that was held for the July 1961 issue of *Bijutsu techō* (Art notebook). Kudō was particularly hostile. (He was then an associate of the collective Neo Dada—also "Neo Dada" in *katakana* rendering—which was initially known as Neo Dadaism Organizers, or Neo Dadaizumu Oruganaizāzu). It was his *Proliferating Chain Reaction* (consisting of Japanese *tawashi*-brushes attached to a treelike armature) that had inspired Tōno's utterance about Anti-Art the year before. When the moderator, critic Ebara Jun, introduced the term *Anti-Art*, Kudō declared, without missing a beat, that it was "very inaccurate, indeed."¹⁵ Nakanishi Natsuyuki—a future member of Hi Red Center (Hai Reddo Sentā)—followed up with "That's *the* issue" and lamented that "somehow, critics' writings are bound to be half-cooked."¹⁶ The critics may have largely failed to thoroughly investigate the ramifications of Anti-Art, but its practitioners were quite aware of the conundrum it presented. The frustration expressed by Nakanishi pointed to the exasperating nature of Anti-Art: it was impossible to escape *geijutsu*.

Nakanishi was one of the Anti-Art practitioners who had emerged outside the annual Yomiuri exhibition. His dissatisfaction with conventional art harked back to his student years at the Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music. Nakanishi's understated rebellion against painting following his graduation in 1958 led him to the exhibition *Experiments in Contemporary Art*, organized by the National Museum of Modern Art in Tokyo in April 1961. His participation in this exhibition—in which he shared the spotlight with Kudō as well as Matsuzawa Yutaka in his proto-conceptualist phase and the members of Kyūshū-ha and Gutai Art Association (Gutai Bijutsu Kyōkai), or Gutai, among others—led to his invitation to the *Bijutsu techō* roundtable. Nakanishi took part in the Yomiuri Independent only in 1963, when he presented his renowned *Clothespins Assert Churning Action* (see figs. 13–15).

Not all the roundtable discussants thought alike. Always keeping his detached manner, Shūsaku Arakawa, another Neo Dada member, was unmoved by Nakanishi's pained statement. He simply recommended that his fellow panelist should “quit being a *geijutsuka*” (an artist—literally, “a person of *geijutsu*”). Nakanishi then matter-of-factly confessed, “I certainly give serious consideration to quitting, as one viable option.” The discussion concluded with Arakawa's bold assertion, “I am a *geijutsuka*. So I will create a great *geijutsu*.”¹⁷ Later that year, Arakawa departed for New York to pursue a bigger stage for his dream of *geijutsu*.

The Theory of Anti-Art

The descent to the everyday [*nichijō-sei*] nullifies the last border between *geijutsu* and Non-Art. *Geijutsu* can be anything, and anything can be *geijutsu*. . . . However, . . . although *geijutsu* can be anything and anything can be *geijutsu*, it does not follow that *geijutsu* is everything and everything is *geijutsu*. . . . Anti-Art is not Non-Art. This statement cannot be a futile retrogression to the question “What is *geijutsu*?” since the standard that made *geijutsu geijutsu* is no longer viable; but it must bring forth an impossible question, . . . “How can *geijutsu* that is no more exist?”

—Miyakawa Atsushi, 1964¹⁸

Had it not been for the abolishing of the Yomiuri Independent after the fifteenth exhibition in 1963, there would have been no theory of Anti-Art, and the term *Anti-Art* might have disappeared into the thin air of history. Granted, the termination of the annual exhibition was not wholly unexpected: the organizers had repeatedly removed what they deemed “unacceptable works.” Although there was some screening done at the registration desk, removal after the fact was practically the only recourse the officials had, because the Yomiuri was an “independent” exhibition and, in principle, all fee-paying participants were allowed to show whatever they wanted. After the 1962 exhibition, the Tokyo Metropolitan Art Museum instituted “exhibition regulations” that expressly banned the kinds of works that had been and could well be shown by Anti-Art practitioners.¹⁹

Still, when it *did* happen, the newspaper company's decision stunned the Yomiuri regulars who had enjoyed what Akasegawa Genpei called "two weeks that were the best time of the year."²⁰

The cancellation of the exhibition was announced on 12 January 1964. In this fraught atmosphere, a symposium titled "Anti-Art: Yes or No?" (Han-geijutsu, ze ka hi ka?) was held, on 30 January 1964, in conjunction with the exhibition *Young Seven*, which was curated by Tōno for Minami Gallery in Tokyo, one of the two primary commercial galleries of contemporary art founded in the 1950s.²¹ The exhibition showcased seven Anti-Art practitioners, including Arakawa, Kudō, and Nakanishi. The symposium featured artist Miki Tomio (whose work also was exhibited), critic Haryū, avant-garde musician Ichihyanagi Toshi (an associate of John Cage), architect Isozaki Arata (who was close to Neo Dada), progressive designer Sugiyura Kōhei, and social-realist painter Ikeda Tatsuo. Tōno was the moderator. Miyakawa Atsushi, a rising star in art criticism, reported on the symposium for *Bijutsu techō*, and his article, "Han-geijutsu: Sono nichijō-sei e no kakō" (Anti-Art: The descent to the everyday), appeared in the April 1964 issue.

Although the auditorium at the Bridgestone Art Museum in Tokyo overflowed with an excited audience, reflecting the interest in the topic, the symposium was inconclusive. Onstage, the lone defendant of Anti-Art was Miki. He was supported from the audience by artists Ushio Shinohara and Tateishi Kōichi; Tateishi's work was included in *Young Seven*. Haryū and others accused them of having an "infantile attitude of *anchi*," wherein *anchi*, or "anti," signified "opposition."²² Miyakawa concluded that these artists had revealed their unmistakable "faith in *geijutsu*" despite their Anti-Art arguments.²³

Miyakawa narrowly defined Anti-Art in his article, describing it in its most elementary stylistic form:

We thus end up at the irreducible issue of *geijutsu*. If Anti-Art is not Non-Art [*Hi-geijutsu*], is it too obvious? Certainly, we could say *geijutsu* has always existed as Anti-Art. Then, nothing would be left for us to discuss about Anti-Art. It would be completely irrelevant... In order to avoid such a Zeno-like paradox, we must bring Anti-Art back to its stylistic concreteness as practiced today. That is to say, Anti-Art may be defined as a descent to the everyday through its use of *objets* [ready-made objects and junk] or [two-dimensional] images.²⁴

Thus was born the phrase "the descent to the everyday" (*nichijō-sei eno kakō*). As memorable as Tōno's "Anti-Art," Miyakawa's formulation not only entered the art historical vocabulary but also irrevocably shaped the understanding of Anti-Art in Japan. In his oft-quoted paragraph about the everyday (excerpted at the beginning of this section), Miyakawa illuminated its relationship to *geijutsu*, Anti-Art, and Non-Art. He accordingly updated the common question "What is *geijutsu*?" into a more difficult, or "crazy," one: "How can *geijutsu* that is no more exist?"²⁵

Miyakawa's article incited a response from Tōno, which was published in *Bijutsu techō* the following month; it was immediately followed by another round of exchange.²⁶ This debate ended as inconclusively as the Anti-Art symposium, largely because Tōno did not comprehend Miyakawa's thesis on the paradigm shift from *kindai* (modernity, or the modern) to *gendai* (the contemporary), prompting Miyakawa to call Tōno "Valérian"—that is, "modernist."²⁷

The ideas of *kindai* and *gendai* had preoccupied Miyakawa since his debut piece in 1963, "After *Informel*," which had won the fourth criticism competition sponsored by Bijutsu Shuppan-sha, the publisher of *Bijutsu techō* and *Mizue* (Watercolor).²⁸ In this seminal text, Miyakawa made a critical reference to Anti-Art: "Anti-Art cannot postulate itself without the existence of *geijutsu* at the opposite extreme. As long as this should remain true, Anti-Art is destined to exist within the context of *kindai*, if only on its margins. Anti-Art therefore cannot positively postulate *gendai*. It may be an act of *tabula rasa*, yet never a drama of the paradigm shift."²⁹

Making it his lifelong mission to "positively postulate *gendai*," Miyakawa subsequently reiterated the importance of Anti-Art as "the most authentic experience of *gendai*," although he admitted that the descent to the everyday made by Anti-Art had "ended an era in which the act of *geijutsu* was heroic. What is left is an endless expanse of the everyday, which is as tasteless as sand."³⁰ In other words, *geijutsu* no longer constituted "a state of non-everyday"; it merely represented the "everyday facts" of the "everyday objects and bizarre acts" that artists deployed in their works: "Nothing less, nothing more."³¹

The grave implications of Anti-Art forced Miyakawa to recognize the insidious nature of *geijutsu*. His first explication appeared in 1966, in "Fukanō-sei no bigaku" (Aesthetics of impossibility).

Then, does *geijutsu* no longer exist? If so, it would be simple. Yet, the state of today's *bijutsu* after Anti-Art is such that *geijutsu* nonetheless never disappears. . . . The more repeatedly we repudiate *geijutsu*, the more clearly it reveals itself. . . . To put it differently, *geijutsu* exists today not as a possibility that it exists, but as an impossibility that it does not exist. Neither the end, nor the possibility, but the shadowy presence of impossibility itself: *geijutsu* is perhaps turning into something like that today.³²

Miyakawa's insight, which succinctly explained Nakanishi's frustration, was subsequently popularized as the "impossibility of the nonexistence (or vanishing) of *geijutsu*." This phrase permeated the consciousness of vanguard circles and further cemented Miyakawa's place in postwar art criticism.³³

Artists Can Vanish Geijutsu

Art [*geijutsu*] is not a special thing. Anyone can do it. Making art does not have to be so unusual. What I mean is that middle-aged men and housewives, your neighbors, can also do it. Being an artist [*geijutsuka*] is not so

unusual. If everybody were to become an artist, what we call "Art" would disappear. I think it would be fine if this were to happen and [what I have envisioned] becomes a reality.

—Yoko Ono, 1964³⁴

If Miyakawa had to indict *geijutsu* within the gloomy reality that lay between *kindai* and *gendai*, two pioneers in Japanese conceptualism, Yoko Ono and Matsuzawa, circumvented the dreaded impossibility of *geijutsu* by imaginatively purging it from their works. They began to use language, affording themselves an infinite freedom to transcend material-based conventions.

Yoko Ono added her singular dimension to Anti-Art after she returned to Tokyo from New York in 1962. That year she not only presented several of her language-based instruction works at a solo recital-exhibition at the Sôgetsu Art Center in Tokyo but also published her literary and provocative "Words of a Fabricator" in *SAC Journal*. The serious tone runs throughout the text: "We, 'the betrayer,' are so invaded by the falsehood of consciousness we cannot even become chance operational by using such loose methods as leaving it to chance operation. . . . I want the truth. I want to feel the truth by any possible means."³⁵

Ono had shifted to a more egalitarian and lighthearted mode by 1964, when she discussed *geijutsu* in Nagano Chiaki's documentary film, *Some Young People* (*Aru wakamono tachi*) (quoted above). Unlike the agonizing Nakanishi and the grandiose Arakawa, Ono revealed an optimism and

▽

Fig. 20. Hirata Minoru (Japanese, b. 1938), photographer
Yoko Ono's *Bottle Piece*, Shōnan Beach, 1964
Black-and-white photograph, modern print, 25.4 × 20.3 cm
(10 × 8 in.)
Tokyo, collection of Hirata Minoru

▷

Fig. 21. Matsuzawa Yutaka (Japanese, b. 1922)
Ju (Blessings), 1966
Printed work, 10 × 35.4 cm (4 × 14 in.)
New York, collection of Jeff Rothstein and Reiko Tomii



授

宥

37	火粉は消滅する	46	超光速は消滅する	55	ブラは消滅する
38	万粉は消滅する	47	血管は消滅する	56	価値は消滅する
39	十分は消滅する	48	爆発は消滅する	57	反陽子は消滅する
40	百分は消滅する	49	法律は消滅する	58	貫通は消滅する
41	個人は消滅する	50	南無は消滅する	59	魂は消滅する
42	頂上は消滅する	51	財産は消滅する	60	灰は消滅する
43	戴付は消滅する	52	共産は消滅する	61	護摩は消滅する
44	医学は消滅する	53	学習は消滅する	62	水道は消滅する
45	色色は消滅する	54	屋根は消滅する	63	食器は消滅する
28	戦争は消滅する	1	政府は消滅する	64	電気は消滅する
29	赤子は消滅する	2	性交は消滅する	65	自由は消滅する
30	天子は消滅する	3	工場は消滅する	66	乳頭は消滅する
31	妻子は消滅する	4	生薬は消滅する	67	法則は消滅する
32	列車は消滅する	5	害虫は消滅する	68	理想は消滅する
33	線路は消滅する	6	害虫は消滅する	69	世界は消滅する
34	線香は消滅する	7	女人は消滅する	70	運命は消滅する
35	脳は消滅する	8	黄味は消滅する	71	骸骨は消滅する
36	耳鳴は消滅する	9	音楽は消滅する	72	未来は消滅する
19	銀行は消滅する	10	打鉢は消滅する	73	宇宙は消滅する
20	流行は消滅する	11	胃液は消滅する	74	人類は消滅する
21	重力は消滅する	12	雨戸は消滅する	75	南夕は消滅する
22	血は消滅する	13	学問は消滅する	76	芸術は消滅する
23	死は消滅する	14	手足は消滅する	77	美術は消滅する
24	寸法は消滅する	15	脚指は消滅する	78	絵画は消滅する
25	入手は消滅する	16	宗教は消滅する	79	反文明は消滅する
26	脳水は消滅する	17	地球は消滅する	80	汝は消滅する
27	神呪は消滅する	18	風船は消滅する	81	は消滅する

hope that lent poignancy to the simple instructions—Cut, Sweep, Promise, Whisper, Breathe, Fly, Question, Touch³⁶—and seemingly trivial acts—such as throwing a bottle into the sea (fig. 20), which she privately performed in 1964—that many of her pieces comprised. Far from being “tasteless,” which Miyakawa would have abhorred, Ono’s works are empowering, as she noted in 1990: “All my work is a form of wishing.”³⁷ The high-minded critic Haryū, who had been immersed in socially concerned avant-garde movements since the 1950s, found her upbeat vanguardism incomprehensible and famously declared, “I become weary of avant-garde art.”³⁸

In contrast, Matsuzawa’s meditative conceptualism was informed by an apocalyptic cosmic view. In 1946, he wrote in his graduation thesis, “That which humans make will eventually perish, humans will eventually perish,” and he declared at the graduation reception, “I don’t believe in the solidness of iron and concrete. I want to create an architecture of the soul, formless architecture, invisible architecture.”³⁹ He searched widely for a means to realize this idea, studying art and poetry and exploring alternate realities in parapsychology and quantum physics.⁴⁰ In 1964, he concluded that he should “vanish the objects,” a revelation that compelled him to abandon materiality in favor of language.⁴¹ From this time onward, this idea of vanishing (*shōmetsu*) permeated his work. One early example is *Ju* (Blessings) (fig. 21), which mimics the form of a Shintoist paper talisman. Instead of a “good luck” wish, it bears eighty-one mantras of “vanishing” in the three-by-three grid format of a Buddhist mandala. Naturally, neither *geijutsu* nor *bijutsu* is exempt.

1. Governments will vanish.
2. Sex will vanish.
3. Factories will vanish.
4. Production will vanish.
5. Capital will vanish.
6. Amateurs will vanish.
7. Professionals will vanish.
8. Egg yolks will vanish.
9. Music will vanish.
-
73. The universe will vanish.
74. Humanity will vanish.
75. Ferns will vanish.
76. *Geijutsu* will vanish.
77. *Bijutsu* will vanish.
78. Painting will vanish.
79. Anti-civilization will vanish.
80. You will vanish.
81. will vanish.

Significantly, by employing language these two pioneers of Japanese conceptualism not only created an art that is ephemeral, if not completely dematerialized, but also envisioned the vanishing of *geijutsu*. If Matsuzawa vanished *geijutsu* by the sheer power of words, Ono imagined its disappearance as she vacated the idea that artists (*geijutsuka*) do something special, claiming "Anyone can do it." Their works and ideas added a uniquely cerebral dimension to Anti-Art, which was often associated with junk objects and boisterous actions.

Great Battles of Geijutsu

Although the critical theory of Anti-Art revolved around the Yomiuri Independent Exhibition, the annual show was not the sole site of Anti-Art. "Nihon geijutsu dai-gekisen: Sōretsu emaki" (Great battles of the world of *geijutsu* in Japan: A heroic pictorial album), an illustrated album published in the May 1972 issue of *Bijutsu techō*, provides a crash course on art in the 1960s in a mere twenty pages.⁴² This informative and amusing document was published as a kind of companion piece to the landmark compilation "Nenpyō: Gendai bijutsu no 50-nen, 1916–1968, ge" (Chronology: Five decades of contemporary art, 1916–1968), by musician-theorist Yasunao Tone and artist Hikosaka Naoyoshi of Bikyōto (abbreviated from Bijutsuka Kyōtō Kaigi, or Artists Joint-Struggle Council).⁴³ Exploiting an expressive mode of *manga* (Japanese comic-book art), which was ostensibly antithetical to the high concept of *geijutsu*, Akasegawa created a comic-style narrative in collaboration with editor Matsuda Masao and future *manga* artist Minami Nobuhiro (known as Shinbō), who were Akasegawa's students at the alternative art school Bigakkō, founded in Tokyo in 1969.

"Great Battles" comprises eight scenes, each accompanied by a tongue-in-cheek caption (scene numbers, not in the original, are provided for reference).

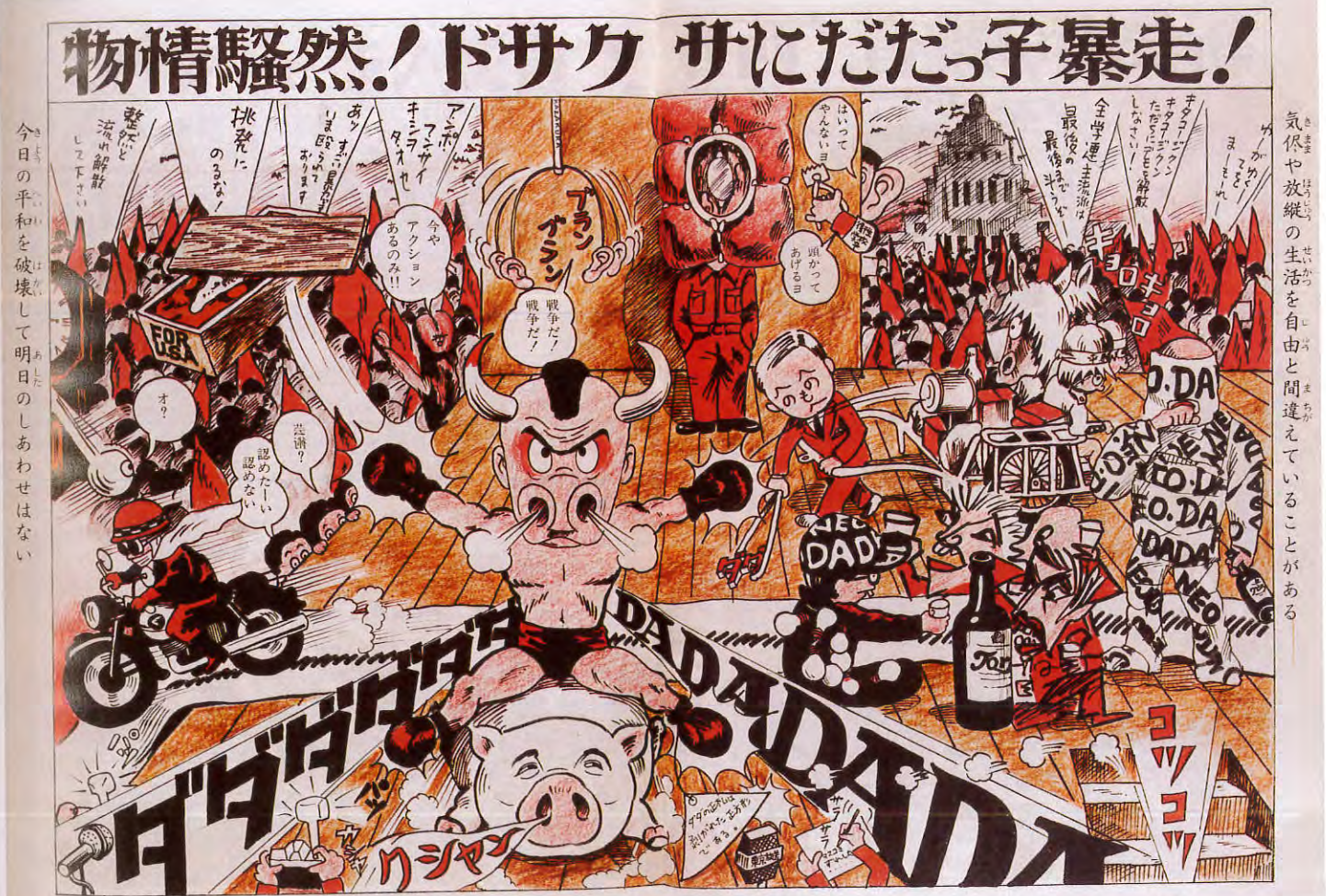
- SCENE 1: An Agonizing Revolution in the Closed Room! The Final Painting War!
- SCENE 2: Footsteps of New Art Echo in the Western Sky!
- SCENE 3: All Hell Breaks Loose! Dada-Kids Take Advantage, Go Wild!
- SCENE 4: Unruly *Anpan*-Eating Competition! Rushing Straight to Self-Destruction!
- SCENE 5: You Cowards, Thought Perverts! Such Artistic Methods under the Name of Crime!
- SCENE 6: Muscles of an Economic Superpower! Environment Art Magnificently Comes to the Stage!
- SCENE 7: Environment Art Did It! Money-Soaked Anti-Establishment!
- SCENE 8: Triumphant Return! Contemporary Art Comes Home with Honors!

In these eight scenes, the 1960s are reimagined by Akasegawa as a time that decidedly moved away from painting. The decade is preceded by "The

Final Painting War" (scene 1), which was fought in various realist veins during the 1950s. Armed with his irrepressible sense of humor and his first-hand experiences, Akasegawa liberally contextualizes his subjects, and in scene 2 he wittily acknowledges the importance that the Japanese avant-garde owed to Kyūshū-ha, from the western island of Kyūshū, and Gutai, from the Osaka-Kobe region.⁴⁴

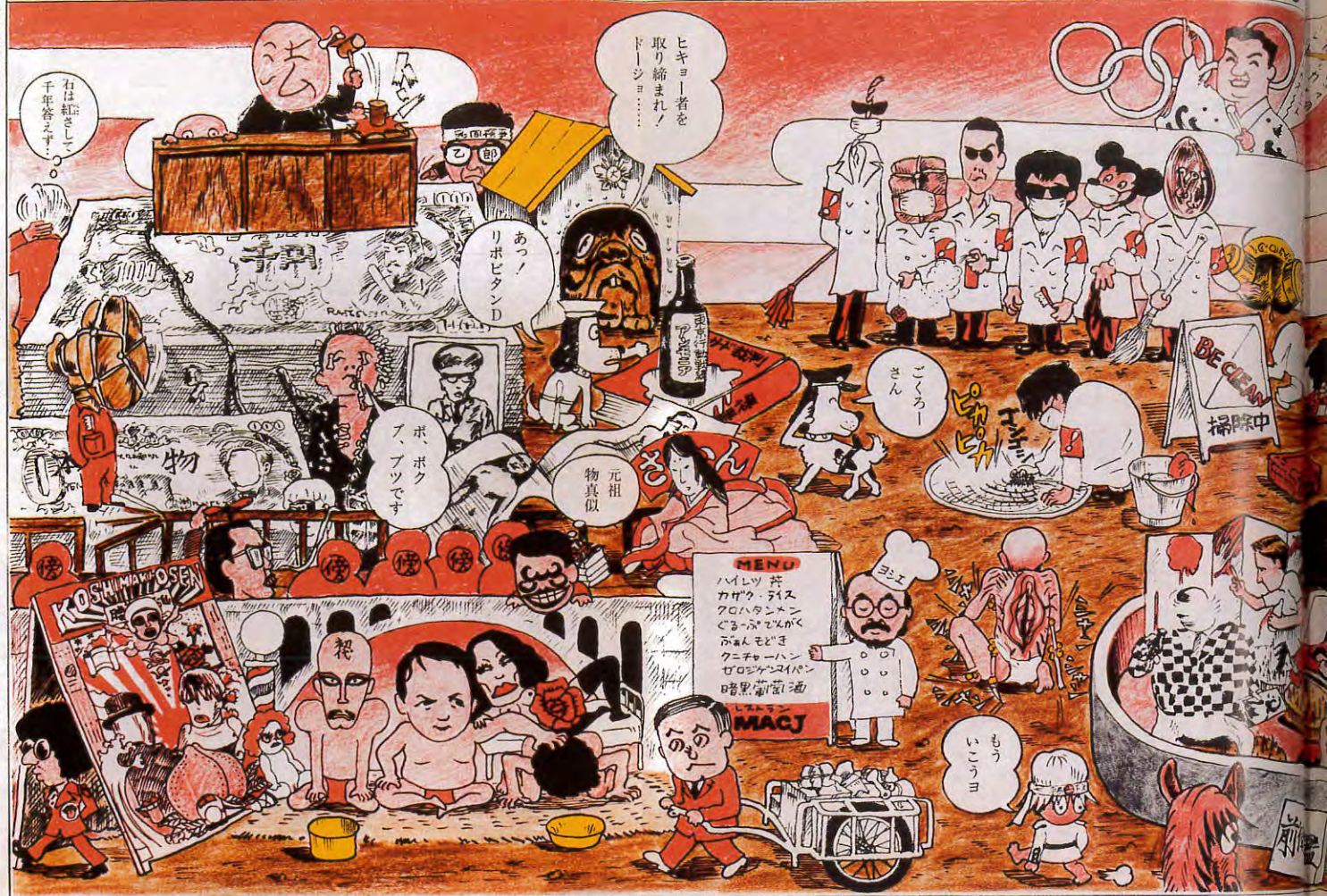
Throughout "Great Battles," Akasegawa weaves together art and social events. Scene 3 (fig. 22), for the year 1960, juxtaposes the Neo Dada group and the protest against Anpo, the defining political event of the 1960s. Signed in 1951, Anpo (the Japanese abbreviation for the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty) turned Japan into the key staging area for America's Asian military operations by allowing U.S. troops to be stationed inside the country. Its renewal, slated for 1960, incited fierce and massive popular protests. Vanguard art and leftist politics are uncannily aligned in scene 3, where protesters carry a coffinlike work by Arakawa emblazoned with the phrase "for USA," which can be interpreted either as "death for America" or as a reference to the artist's departure for New York in 1961.⁴⁵ The central figure is an energetic Shinohara, also known as Gyū-chan. This nickname certainly inspired Akasegawa and his associates to depict the artist as a bull, for *gyū* is an alternate reading of the Chinese character *ushi*, or "bull," which

Fig. 22. Akasegawa Genpei (Japanese, b. 1937), with Minami Nobuhiro (Japanese, b. 1947) and Matsuda Tetsuo (Japanese, b. 1947) *All Hell Breaks Loose! Dada-Kids Take Advantage, Go Wild!* From Akasegawa Genpei, Minami Nobuhiro, and Matsuda Tetsuo, "Nihon geijutsu dai-gekisen: Sōretsu emaki" (Great battles of the world of *geijutsu* in Japan: A heroic pictorial album), *Bijutsu techō*, no. 355 (May 1972): [scene 3]



ひきょうだぞ! 思想的変質者

欠点を改めにくいのには真に悪いと思っていないからである



sounds like his first name, Ushio. He vehemently performs his "boxing painting" in front of the cameras and microphones of the mass media.⁴⁶

Scene 4 shows the Yomiuri Independent Exhibition, or Anpan, a shortened form of *andepandan*, Japanese for the French word *indépendant*.⁴⁷ *Anpan* literally means a bun filled with red-bean paste. The scene depicts the exhibition space at the Tokyo Metropolitan Art Museum, its walls characteristically lined with pegboard. Realistic portraits of a man (popular singer Mihashi Michiya) and a woman (soon-to-be princess Shōda Michiko) represent works that are not Anti-Art. Although these more conservative works always outnumbered the unruly *Anpan*-eaters, it is Anti-Art that dominates Akasegawa's portrayal.

The panoramic scene 5 (fig. 23), for the years 1962 through 1967, prominently features Hi Red Center's various event-works, including *Cleaning Event* (*Campaign to Promote Cleanliness and Order in the Metropolitan Area*) (fig. 24).⁴⁸ Also shown are Kara Jūrō's underground Situation Theater (*Jōkyō Gekijō*), at the lower left, accompanied by a

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Fig. 23. Akasegawa Genpei (Japanese, b. 1937), with Minami Nobuhiro (Japanese, b. 1947) and Matsuda Tetsuo (Japanese, b. 1947) *You Cowards, Thought Perverts! Such Artistic Methods under the Name of Crime!*

From Akasegawa Genpei, Minami Nobuhiro, and Matsuda Tetsuo, "Nihon geijutsu dai-gekisen: Sōretsu emaki" (Great battles of the world of *geijutsu* in Japan: A heroic pictorial album), *Bijutsu techō*, no. 355 (May 1972): [scene 5]



Fig. 24. Akasegawa Genpei (Japanese, b. 1937), with Minami Nobuhiro (Japanese, b. 1947) and Matsuda Tetsuo (Japanese, b. 1947) *You Cowards, Thought Perverts! Such Artistic Methods under the Name of Crime!* (detail of Hi Red Center's *Cleaning Event*, with a police dog saluting the "cleaners" for their hard work)
See fig. 23

Fig. 25. Akasegawa Genpei (Japanese, b. 1937), with Minami Nobuhiro (Japanese, b. 1947) and Matsuda Tetsuo (Japanese, b. 1947) *You Cowards, Thought Perverts! Such Artistic Methods under the Name of Crime!* (detail of leading exhibitors at the Sōgetsu Art Center)
See fig. 23

art, which customarily produced audience-engulfing effects and dazzling sensory stimuli. In scene 7, in proud expressions of the economic miracle, glittering and twinkling effects coalesce at the Japan World Exposition '70, or Expo '70, the first world's fair held in Asia. Many of Akasegawa's colleagues joined this national effort, which occurred while Japan was mired in the anti-Anpo protests caused by the decennial renewal of the treaty slated for 1970. The 1970 protests converged with the anti-Vietnam War movement and conflict on college campuses nationwide, creating a huge tide of New Left activism.

In a sense, the caption to scene 8, "Contemporary Art Comes Home with Honors," is ironic. By 1970, "contemporary *geijutsu*" (Akasegawa has consistently employed *geijutsu* rather than *bijutsu* in his writings) had matured within the domestic arena while achieving an international status, as evidenced by the Tokyo Biennale exhibition that year, which gathered together Japanese and Euro-American artists who were working in the parallel global trends of conceptual art and postminimalism. The "home" that contemporary art came back to was the Tokyo Metropolitan Art Museum—where the biennale was held, and from which Anti-Art, overflowing with junk-art pieces, had been banned in 1964. Yet, to Akasegawa's jaded eye, "contemporary art" had nothing of the destructive energy and unruly imagination that had once fueled his works and those of his colleagues. It had become a stale exercise that nobody could comprehend, as illustrated by the elderly woman at the far left, who murmurs, "I have no clue about today's *geijutsu*."⁵⁰

In the Public Sphere (1): Is Geijutsu Rewardless?

The spiritual freedom that arises from the rewardless act [*mushō no kōi*] of *geijutsu* is nothing but a thing of the past. That is why I propelled the members of my group [Neo Dada] into the spotlight of twentieth-century mass media. In front of an interviewer's microphone, a serious discussion of *geijutsu* is useless. He who loudly says something shocking wins. In front of a camera, he must not hesitate but start dancing naked.

—Ushio Shinohara, 1968⁵¹

One crucial aspect of Anti-Art that Miyakawa failed to anticipate in his discussion of the "descent to the everyday" was its inevitable departure from the conventional sites of art—the museum and the gallery. This change is vividly captured in scenes 3 and 5 of Akasegawa's "Great Battles." If Miyakawa's stylistic formulation allowed him to examine the metaphysics of *geijutsu*, the artists took their descent to the everyday further and created a new reality of *geijutsu* in the actual space of life. Or, to put it differently, they pursued "experiments in the public sphere." Publicity became part of the equation as artists focused on extra-museum experiments, and an increasing number of mass media activities—whether associated with general-interest weekly magazines or television or movies—became part of the Anti-Art legacy.

The poster boy of Anti-Art, Shinohara, practiced what he preached (see the epigraph) in full force. His first feature appearance in the mass media was in "Rokabirī sakka" (A rockabilly artist), in *Weekly Sankei* in 1958, which reproduced photographs of the artist, complete with his signature Mohawk hairdo, demonstrating his working process.⁵² Shinohara never shied from stepping into the space of publicity. His dynamic "action painting" with a fire extinguisher, documented by the photographer Hirata Minoru in 1963 (fig. 26), was among many demonstrations that the artist staged privately for the media. He gave vivid accounts of his exploits in the mass media in his book *Zen'ei no michi* (The avant-garde road, 1968), whose design, which incorporated many of his energetic drawings, conveys the artist's outgoing character (see pl. 14).

For Shinohara, publicity was his reward. He sought recognition in the media partly because he repudiated the lofty modern ideal of "*geijutsu* for the sake of *geijutsu*" (making art the ultimate reward), partly because he believed that the action itself was far more important than the resulting painting (an attitude that, in his opinion, separated his works from Jackson Pollock's),⁵³ and partly because he, like any other young avant-garde artist, could expect hardly any financial reward from his works. When he at last had his first commercial solo exhibition at the influential Tokyo Gallery in 1966, no paintings were sold, and he had to give a painting, the largest and best one at that, to the gallery to cover expenses.⁵⁴ As for the junk-art pieces he presented at the Yomiuri Independent and other exhibitions, they are largely known only from documentary photographs. Shinohara recalls that works from the Yomiuri Independent not retrieved by their creators were burnt outside the Tokyo Metropolitan Art Museum.⁵⁵ Akasegawa has concurred that their works had a short life in those days. He kept his under the eaves of the house in which he was boarding, only to watch them gradually decompose because they were exposed to the elements. Lucky exceptions were works that were sold or that were forgotten in, say, a storehouse at an artist's family home.⁵⁶ A rare surviving work is Shinohara's *Doll House* (1966), the piece that he had surrendered to the Tokyo Gallery, which now resides at the Hyōgo Prefectural Museum of Art. Shinohara's publicity stunts, however, have been well preserved, and these records have yielded dividends for art history. The immortality of his signature "boxing painting" was secured by an article in *Mainichi gurafu* (Mainichi graphic) magazine, written by future Nobel Prize-winning novelist Ōe Kenzaburō and published in 1961, and by a book of photographs, *Tokyo*, published by the American photographer William Klein in 1964.⁵⁷

Still, publicity was a touchy issue in the early 1960s. In his review of the Yomiuri Independent of 1960, the thoughtful Takiguchi cautioned that there might be too much "optimism for exhibition-hall art [*kaijō geijutsu*]," as "the showmanship heightened... while the younger artists appear to stake too much on their rewardless spectacles." Nonetheless, he was well aware that this youthful energy would drive Japanese art forward.⁵⁸ Another critic, Yoshida Yoshie—a close ally of Anti-Art who appears twice in a chef's costume in scene 5 of "Great Battles"—looked back ten years



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Fig. 26. Hirata Minoru (Japanese, b. 1938), photographer
Ushio Shinohara's *Cheerful Fourth Dimension*, Tokyo, 1963
Black-and-white photograph, modern print, 20.3 × 25.4 cm
(8 × 10 in.)

Tokyo, collection of Hirata Minoru

later and observed that while Shinohara, Yoshimura Masunobu, and other Neo Dada members enthusiastically took advantage of the rapidly growing mass media around 1960, exploiting it to create a new horizon of culture, the media soon outgrew them. Only the memory of their scandals was left behind.⁵⁹ Moreover, although tens or even hundreds of thousands of people viewed and read about their works, providing instant gratification, the impact of media exposure was more often than not fleeting. Indeed, the enshrinement of Shinohara's "boxing painting" was an exception to the rule. Tasteless exposure had an inadvertent negative effect: until recently, many critics and historians judged the mass-media exploits of Neo Dada and other Anti-Art groups to be no more than youthful indiscretions unworthy of serious study.⁶⁰

The absence of a commercial market could have a liberating effect.⁶¹ The artists engaged in Non-Art, which emerged in the mid-1960s to follow Anti-Art, valiantly explored the possibilities of contemporary art in a more deliberate manner, often through collaborative or collective projects. The most rewardless work of the decade was staged by Group "I" (Gurūpu "I") at the Gifu Independent Art Festival in 1965.⁶² In the work titled *Hole* (fig. 27), the group members sweated under the August sun, digging a huge hole, about ten meters in diameter, and filling it back in, as dictated by the national river law. A veritable forerunner of earthworks, their Sisyphean



task was described by critic Akane Kazuo as “a brutal critique of the object-dependent act of creation,” and it was indeed the most talked-about work of the summer festival.⁶³ In addition, Group “I” and collectives such as The Play (Za Purei)⁶⁴ were keenly conscious of the importance of self-documentation because their works—primarily performances and installations—were ephemeral, leaving few physical traces behind. They actively took control of their photographic images and produced their own documentary volumes.⁶⁵

Another ephemeral form of contemporary art is mail art, which chiefly relies on postcards and other paper ephemera that are accepted and delivered by the post office. Psychophysiology Research Institute (Seishin Seirigaku Kenkyūjo), a mail-art collective active from 1969 to 1970, focused on self-documentation. Unlike Group “I” and The Play, whose members gathered, for example, to present performances, the members of this group never got together in person to execute their project. They instead corresponded via mail, and the only physical form of assembly that they made was a portfolio of their mail-art pieces compiled in 1970 (see pl. 38).

Self-documentation became central to conceptualist Nomura Hitoshi’s work after he watched the cardboard boxes containing his sculp-

△

Fig. 27. Group “I”’s *Hole*, Gifu Independent Art Festival, Nagara River, Gifu, 9–19 August 1965

Modern print from 35mm black-and-white negative
Kobe, Hyōgo Prefectural Museum of Art, collection of
Kawaguchi Tatsuo

tures collapse under their own weight. Kept under the eaves of his house, the boxes had become damaged by the elements. He realized that the process of transformation and the passage of time could be the focus of his art.⁶⁶ Credited as one of the first Japanese artists to use photography in the context of art, he documented a collapsing cardboard structure (*Tardiology*, 1969), evaporating dry-ice blocks (*Dry Ice*, 1970), and his own gestures. This interest informs *Hearing* (1970–75; see pl. 37), in which he recorded what he saw and heard through the course of one day, using the camera and the telephone.⁶⁷

In the Public Sphere (2): Is Geijutsu Harmless?

In its evolution in *kindai* [modernity], *geijutsu* was transformed into a non-everyday thing under the pretext of the independent mind and the autonomous *geijutsu*. *Geijutsu* was thus rendered utterly harmless [*mugai*]. Deprived of its anti-everyday trait, *geijutsu* was turned into a paper tiger. In contemporary art [*gendai bijutsu*], the confluence of the act of *geijutsu* and the everyday does not mean a mere merger, but it rather signifies a direction of making the everyday an agency of negation in the fullest sense of the word. That is to say, the confluence of the two helps transcend the harmlessness of *geijutsu*.

—Ishiko Junzō, 1967⁶⁸

After the Yomiuri Independent was canceled in early 1964, a few efforts were made to initiate artist-run independent exhibitions. Particularly notable were two exhibitions held in June of that year. The first, *Off Museum*, was organized by the members of Neo Dada, Hi Red Center, and Group Ongaku (literally, “Group Music”). Seeking a venue outside the Tokyo Metropolitan Art Museum, the artists showed their works at Tsubaki Kindai Gallery and on the Tama riverbank in Tokyo. In contrast, the second, *Independent '64*, was organized by critic Haryū and held at the Tokyo Metropolitan. The Gifu Independent Art Festival of 1965 was a regional response to these efforts. These exhibitions had little staying power, however, in part because the sites of the artists’ operations were expanding. Vanguard-friendly rental galleries (*kashi-garō*) such as Naiqua, Muramatsu, Shinjuku Daiichi, Ogikubo, and a few others opened in the late 1950s and the 1960s in Tokyo. Although they had little commercial role, they provided space for solo and group exhibitions. Sometimes the owners of these galleries did not collect a fee from younger artists, and occasionally the galleries produced their own exhibitions; a notable example is the Naiqua Gallery’s inaugural exhibition in July 1963, *Room in Alibi*, which was curated by Nakahara Yūsuke. These galleries served, in effect, as “non-profit alternative spaces,” like those that have supported contemporary artistic practices in Euro-America.

The nature of collectivism — an engine of the Yomiuri avant-garde — was changing, too. Neo Dada, active in 1960, was a lively congregation of individual talents, whose primary mode of collective activity, other than



◁

Fig. 28. Hirata Minoru (Japanese, b. 1938), photographer
 Hi Red Center's *Cleaning Event (Campaign to Promote Cleanliness and Order in the Metropolitan Area)*, Tokyo, 16 October 1964
 Black-and-white photograph, modern print: 20.3 × 25.4 cm
 (8 × 10 in.)
 Tokyo, collection of Hirata Minoru

holding three group exhibitions under its name, was partying together at the house of Yoshimura Masunobu, the group's leader. In contrast, Hi Red Center, active from 1963 through 1964, encompassed three impressive figures—Akasegawa, Nakanishi, and Takamatsu Jirō—whose modus operandi was collaboration. Some of their projects were executed outside of exhibition venues, including two from 1964: *Shelter Plan*, held at the Imperial Hotel, and *Cleaning Event (Campaign to Promote Cleanliness and Order in the Metropolitan Area)*, staged on the streets of Tokyo (fig. 28; see pl. 15).

Whereas Neo Dada exemplified the fervor of Anti-Art, giving boisterous demonstrations to court publicity in the mass media, Hi Red Center embodied a conceptualist evolution of Anti-Art in its quiet and more or less clandestine infiltration into social space, bridging Anti-Art to Non-Art. *Cleaning Event*, Hi Red Center's last project, was emblematic in this respect. The group made no public announcement about the street work that they executed on the seventh day of the Tokyo Olympic Games in October 1964, except for a billboard prop that bore the phrases "Be Clean!" in English and "Sōji-chū" (Cleaning now) in Japanese. The participants ostentatiously pretended to be official: they wore white coats and surgical masks, and their demeanor was so serious that a patrolling policeman thanked them for their diligent work, perhaps thinking they were part of the Olympics-related beautification program.⁶⁹ Yet, by occasionally halting automobile traffic, their project verged on unlawfulness. They ended their cleaning before their cover was blown.

This subversive intent, albeit unarticulated, and activist attitude permeated Hi Red Center's whole oeuvre, which comprised "pure communication, . . . transmission of demagoguery, . . . exploration of the boundary between the everyday and the non-everyday, and stirring of the everyday," to name a few of the group's stated goals.⁷⁰ Hi Red Center's cerebral stance probably inspired the emergence in the mid-1960s of two new voices in art criticism: Ishiko Junzō and Tone (a member of Group Ongaku), who were both close associates of the group. Ishiko was particularly attracted to Hi Red Center's subversive attitude, noting that in their descent to everyday life they aimed a series of shots at the "harmlessness" of *geijutsu* safely ensconced in its sanctuary of autonomy. Like Miyakawa, Ishiko and Tone held a critical view of modernity (*kindai*). They differed crucially from Miyakawa, however, who preferred to theorize on the intrinsic nature of art, as he was mostly indifferent to the reality of artists' practices. In contrast, Tone combined in his writings his practitioner's vantage point and his interest in philosophy, theory, and history, while Ishiko also kept his eye on popular culture, especially *manga*.

When Hi Red Center aimed to recover the "harmfulness" of *geijutsu*, anonymity within the crowd became an ideal form of identity. Still, it was a tricky business to straddle art and life in this manner. Akasegawa paid the ultimate price for creating a collision between art and life when police discovered his *Model 1,000-Yen Note* (1963), reproductions of actual money made with a photomechanically produced metal plate (fig. 29).⁷¹ He



1. 人体〈細胞総数約8000000000000 (兆) 個=海水〈ドラムカン約6000杯〉
あいまいな海について.....

3. タ円製造

〈肉体と、肉体に附随した意識を含む私有
財産制度の破壊〉

貨幣制度破壊に関する当CO.,の方法と技
術の精巧さは衆知のとおりです。偽人間
の方は非常に難しく、技術的にもまだ不可能
であり、現在発行中の人間を偽人間に似せ
て偽造する事が当面の方法であります。

2. 私 有
財 産
制 度
破 壊

1963年2月5日~10日
新宿駅中央口前第一ビル4階
新宿第一画廊 個展
4 ダース

赤瀬川原平CO.,LTD.
東京・杉並・阿佐ヶ谷 1.856 藤谷方

△

Fig. 29. Akasegawa Genpei (Japanese, b. 1937)

Model 1,000-Yen Note (Green), 1963

Printed work, double-sided, 7.4 × 16.1 cm (27/8 × 63/8 in.)

Back: invitation to the exhibition *On Ambivalent Sea*,
Shinjuku Daiichi Gallery, Tokyo, 5–10 February 1963

New York, collection of Jeff Rothstein and Reiko Tomii

became the subject of a currency fraud investigation in 1964, was indicted in 1965, and was tried for the crime of *mozō*, or “imitation,” in 1966 and 1967. He was found guilty by the Tokyo Regional Court in 1967, a conviction upheld by Japan’s Supreme Court in 1970. The trial and the issue of money continued to occupy him until 1974, when, after a second 1,000-yen note incident, he reached a stunning conclusion: since society perceived him to have the power to threaten Japan’s currency system, he must be not a mere individual but a “nation unto himself,” for in modern times nation-states alone possess the authority to issue money.⁷² He declared himself to be a one-person nation called “Akasegawa Genpei Capitalist Republic,”⁷³ bringing the decade-long *Model 1,000-Yen Note* incident to an end.

Akasegawa’s experiences with the Japanese legal system were accompanied by tens of thousands of words uttered and written on *geijutsu*, within and without the courtroom, by Akasegawa and his support group—the 1,000-Yen Note Incident Discussion Group (Sen-en-satsu Jiken Kondankai), whose members included Ishiko and Tone—as well as art-world bystanders and journalists.⁷⁴ Akasegawa’s in-court statements and related writings were compiled in *Obuje o motta musansha* (An *objet*-carrying proletarian, 1970).⁷⁵ The book is filled with insights into the nature of *geijutsu* in the age of Anti-Art (including the epigraph to this essay). Arguably, no other person in Japan thought harder about *geijutsu* than Akasegawa, who fought his legal battle as an *geijutsu saiban* (literally, “art trial”).⁷⁶ Since not only his freedom of expression but also the freedom of his person were at stake, he had no other strategy but to assert that Anti-Art is Art—that is, *geijutsu*. It was ironic that the regional court accepted his claim for *geijutsu*, yet his *Model 1,000-Yen Note* was judged unlawful. Significantly, the courtroom ordeal turned Akasegawa into a formidable master of language who was no longer afraid to “use the word *geijutsu*.”⁷⁷ He also honed his innate skill for parody: such words as “thought pervers” (*shisō-teki hen-shitsusha*)—part of the law-enforcement terminology Akasegawa picked up along the way—make repeat appearances in his posttrial works, where he uses them to their fullest comic effect. The caption to scene 5 of his “Great Battles” is one example.⁷⁸ As with Ono and Matsuzawa, language and conceptualism became Akasegawa’s weapons of choice, helping him transcend the conundrum of Anti-Art.

Anti-Art, which emerged in Japan in the late 1950s and thrived in the early 1960s, was replaced by Non-Art from the middle to the end of the decade. This new tendency was typically pursued by the artists of conceptualism, Mono-ha (literally, “Things School”), and Bikyōtō. They eschewed the Anti-Art rebellion against the modern concept of art—art being about “making” something (*tsukuru koto*)—and upheld the Non-Art credo of “not making” (*tsukuranai koto*). (Among the Anti-Art practitioners, Akasegawa, Matsuzawa, and Ono can be considered important proponents of Non-Art, in light of their continued practice of conceptualism.) In fact,

Anti-Art frequently served as the model for what they should *not* do. In 1971, when the first Bikyōtō Revolution Committee (Bikyōtō Revolution Iinkai), an offshoot of the radical student group Bikyōtō, organized a series of solo exhibitions by its members outside the institutional venues—the museum and the gallery—they specifically criticized the “optimism” of their Anti-Art predecessors who went “off museum” in 1964.⁷⁹ Instead, by staging an exhibition, for example, at a member’s home (as Hikosaka did; see pl. 39), they intended to scrutinize the “internal institution” (*uchinaru seido*) that arose in an artist’s mind no matter where he presented his works. Led by Hikosaka, the second Bikyōtō Revolution Committee, which represented Non-Art’s theoretical extreme, went so far as to make a pact of “producing or exhibiting no work at all” during 1974 to further critique the psychological binds engendered by the institution of art.⁸⁰

How the Non-Art movement unfolded from the late 1960s through the 1970s—in discourse as well as works of art—is another story. It is worth noting, however, that history has a curious way of repeating itself. Today, the new art of Japan is being created by artists who were born during the time when Anti-Art and Non-Art were “new.” To this generation, Anti-Art from around 1960 represents a nostalgic time, whereas Non-Art from around 1970 presents a precedent that requires cautious evaluation. New terminology suggests a historical transition in contemporary art: artists are now discoursing on *āto* (the Japanese pronunciation of *art*) in addition to *geijutsu* and *bijutsu*.

Notes

I would like to thank Nakajima Masatoshi, Nakajima Yasuko, and Kondō Tatsuo in Tokyo, as well as Alexandra Munroe and others too numerous to name here, who have generously assisted me in my research since I began my study of post-1945 Japanese art in 1988.

All translations from texts in Japanese are by the author unless otherwise noted.

1. Akasegawa Genpei, "Poketto ni haburashi o" (A toothbrush in my pocket), May 1967; reprinted in Akasegawa Genpei, *Obuje o motta musansha* (An objet-carrying proletariat) (Tokyo: Gendai Shichō-sha, 1970), 52, 54.
2. In Euro-America, this tendency was astutely observed by Lucy Lippard as the "dematerialization of the art object." Anti-Art and Non-Art represent a strain of dematerialization in the Lippardian sense. See Lucy R. Lippard, *Six Years: The Dematerialization of the Art Object from 1966 to 1972* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1997).
3. Among the survey publications from the past ten years, the most comprehensive remains Alexandra Munroe, *Japanese Art after 1945: Scream against the Sky*, exh. cat. (New York: Abrams, 1994).
4. Tōno Yoshiaki, "Asu no bijutsu, asu no sakka" (Art of tomorrow, artists of tomorrow), *Geijutsu Shinchō* 5 (May 1960): 145.
5. This annual exhibition initially was titled "Nihon Independent Exhibition" (*Nihon andependan ten*) but that was changed to "Yomiuri Independent Exhibition" in 1957 to differentiate it from another Nihon Independent Exhibition sponsored by the Japan Art Society (Nihon Bijutsu-kai).
6. Kuroda Raiji, "Appendix: An Overview of Kyūshū-ha," trans. Reiko Tomii, *Review of Japanese Culture and Society* 17 (2005): 43.
7. Takiguchi Shūzō, "Hitotsu no sōwa" (An episode), *Geijutsu Shinchō* 11, no. 4 (April 1960): 117.
8. Tōno Yoshiaki, "Garakuta no han-geijutsu" (Junk anti-art), *Yomiuri shinbun*, 2 March 1960, evening edition.
9. See Tōno Yoshiaki, "Kyōki to sukyandaru" (Insanity and scandal), *Geijutsu Shinchō* 10, no. 11 (November 1959): 104–12.
10. Tōno, "Garakuta no han-geijutsu" (note 8).
11. For example, see Tōno Yoshiaki, Haryū Ichirō, and Ebara Jun, "Han-kaiga, han-chōkoku, han-hihyō" (Anti-painting, anti-sculpture, anti-criticism), *Mizue*, no. 660 (April 1960): 77–84.
12. "Han-geijutsu" o meguru ronsō" (A debate on "Anti-Art"), *Asahi jōnan* (3 April 1960): 56.
13. Akasegawa Genpei, Shūsaku Arakawa, Itō Takayasu, Kudō Tetsumi, and Nakanishi Natsuyuki, with Ebara Jun and Nakahara, "Wakai bōken-ha wa kataru" (Young adventurers talk), *Bijutsu techō*, no. 192 (July 1961): 17.
14. Akasegawa et al., "Wakai bōken-ha wa kataru" (note 13), 7–17.
15. Akasegawa et al., "Wakai bōken-ha wa kataru" (note 13), 14.
16. Akasegawa et al., "Wakai bōken-ha wa kataru" (note 13), 14.
17. Akasegawa et al., "Wakai bōken-ha wa kataru" (note 13), 17.
18. Miyakawa Atsushi, "Han-geijutsu: Sono nichijō-sei e no kakō" (Anti-Art: The descent to the everyday), *Bijutsu techō*, no. 234 (April 1964): 57; a revised version appears in Miyakawa Atsushi, *Miyakawa Atsushi chosakushū* (Writings by Miyakawa Atsushi), vol. 2 (Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppan-sha, 1980), 96. For the excerpt translated by Reiko Tomii, see Nakajima Masatoshi and Reiko Tomii, comps., "Readings in Japanese Art after 1945," in Alexandra Munroe, *Japanese Art after 1945: Scream against the Sky*, exh. cat. (New York: Abrams, 1994), 385.
19. For example, see Akasegawa Genpei, *Imaya akushon aru nomi!* "Yomiuri andependan" to iu genshō (Action only, now! The phenomenon called the "Yomiuri Independent") (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1985); reissued as Akasegawa Genpei, *Han-geijutsu anpan* (Anti-Art independent) (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1994), 184–85.
20. Akasegawa, *Imaya akushon aru nomi!* (note 19), 11.
21. For their significance, see Kuwabara Sumio, "Gashō" (Dealers), *Bijutsu techō*, no. 183 (January 1961): 34–37.
22. Miyakawa, "Han-geijutsu," 1980 (note 18), 87.
23. Miyakawa, "Han-geijutsu," 1980 (note 18), 89.
24. Miyakawa, "Han-geijutsu," 1980 (note 18), 90.
25. Miyakawa, "Han-geijutsu," 1980 (note 18), 96.
26. Tōno Yoshiaki, "Isatsu: Han-geijutsu — 'Miyakawa Atsushi igo'" (An argument: Anti-Art — "after Miyakawa Atsushi"), *Bijutsu techō*, no. 236 (May 1964): 46–49; for the translated excerpt, see Nakajima and Tomii, "Readings in Japanese Art after 1945" (note 18), 385–86. Miyakawa Atsushi, "Eien no fukanō-sei" kara fukanō-sei no kanō-sei e: Varerian de aru anata e" (From the "eternal impossibility" to the possibility of impossibility: To you, who are Valérian), *Bijutsu techō*, no. 237 (June 1964): 22–25; reprinted in Miyakawa, *Miyakawa Atsushi chosakushū* (note 18), 97–103. Tōno Yoshiaki, "Dyushan 'Gurīn bokkusu' dansō 3: Ronsō ni kaete" (Fragmentary thoughts on Duchamp's Green Box 3: In lieu of the debate), *Bijutsu techō*, no. 238 (July 1964): 46–50.
27. Miyakawa, *Miyakawa Atsushi chosakushū* (note 18), 102. For Miyakawa's theory on *kindai* and *gendai*, see Reiko Tomii, "Historicizing 'Contemporary Art': Some Discursive Practices in *Gendai Bijutsu* in Japan," *Positions* 12, no. 3 (2004): 611–41.
28. Miyakawa Atsushi, "Anforumeru igo" (After Informel), *Bijutsu techō*, no. 220 (May 1963): 86–96; reprinted in Miyakawa, *Miyakawa Atsushi chosakushū* (note 18), 16–32. Tōno was the winner of the first competition in 1954; Nakahara the winner of the second, in 1955.
29. Miyakawa, *Miyakawa Atsushi chosakushū* (note 18), 17.
30. Miyakawa Atsushi, "Han-geijutsu igo" (After Anti-Art), *Tokyo Daigaku shinbun*, 15 February 1965; reprinted in Miyakawa, *Miyakawa Atsushi chosakushū* (note 18), 118.
31. Miyakawa Atsushi, "Kaiga, aruiwa mumei no shisō" (Painting, or nameless thought), *Me*, no. 3. (August 1965); reprinted in Miyakawa, *Miyakawa Atsushi chosakushū* (note 18), 135.
32. Miyakawa Atsushi, "Fukanō-sei no bigaku" (Aesthetics of impossibility), *Chūō Daigaku shinbun*, 11 January 1966; reprinted in Miyakawa, *Miyakawa Atsushi chosakushū* (note 18), 174–75.
33. For example, the prevalence of the phrase is attested by the reference to this idea in Isozaki Arata, "As Witness to Postwar Japanese Art," trans. Sabu Kohso, in Alexandra Munroe, *Japanese Art after 1945: Scream against the Sky*, exh. cat. (New York: Abrams, 1994), 28.
34. Yoko Ono, as cited in "Some Young People — From Non Fiction Theater: Transcript of a Documentary Film Directed by Nagano Chiaki," ed. and trans. Midori Yoshimoto, *Review of Japanese Culture and Society* 17 (2005): 99–100.
35. Yoko Ono, "Kyokōsha no gen," *SAC Journal*, no. 24 (May 1962); translation by Yoko Ono, as published in Alexandra Munroe, with Jon Hendricks, *YES Yoko Ono*, exh. cat. (New York: Japan Society & Abrams, 2000), 285.
36. Yoko Ono, *9 Concert Pieces for John Cage* (1966); reprinted in Munroe, with Hendricks, *YES Yoko Ono* (note 35), 279–81.
37. Yoko Ono, as quoted in Kevin Concannon, "Nothing Is Real: Yoko Ono's Advertising Art," in Alexandra Munroe, with Jon Hendricks, *YES Yoko Ono*, exh. cat. (New York: Japan Society & Abrams, 2000), 181.

38. Haryū Ichirō, "Zen'ei geijutsu ni tsukaremashita" (I become weary of avant-garde art), *Geijutsu Shinchō* 13, no. 8 (August 1962): 152.
39. Matsuzawa Yutaka, "Jihitsu nenpu 1922–2222" (Auto-chronology), *Kikan* (Fukuoka, Kaichōsha), special issue, no. 13 (1982): 42.
40. As gleaned from his autobiography (cited in note 39), his interest in alternate realities is broad, ranging from Esoteric Buddhism to yoga philosophy to parareligion, from mainstream science (biology, mathematics, physics) to all strains of parascience, including the examination of UFOs, the afterlife, and psychic phenomena.
41. This legendary episode and the first work he made upon this revelation is described in Reiko Tomii, "Concerning the Institution of Art: Conceptualism in Japan," in *Global Conceptualism: Points of Origin, 1950s–1980s*, exh. cat. (New York: Queens Museum of Art, 1999), 19.
42. Akasegawa Genpei and Matsuda Tetsuo, with Minami Nobuhirō's illustration, "Nihon geijutsu dai-gekisen: Sōretsu emaki (Bijutsu techō 5-gatsu-gō furoku)" (Great battles of the world of *geijutsu* in Japan: A heroic pictorial album [May supplement]), *Bijutsu techō*, no. 355 (May 1972): n.p.
43. Yasunao Tone and Hikosaka Naoyoshi, with Akatsuka Yukio, "Nenpyō: Gendai bijutsu no 50-nen, 1916–1968, ge" (Chronology: Five decades of contemporary art, 1916–1968, part 2), *Bijutsu techō*, no. 355 (May 1972): 25–186. This work is discussed in Tomii, "Historicizing" (note 27), 626–29.
44. Notably, Akasegawa gives contrasting views of these two regional collectives. While the gauche, hard-drinking Kyūshū-ha trucked its works to Tokyo, the center of the art world to its mind, the urbane and well-to-do Gutai used airmail to dispatch information about its activities internationally. Kyūshū-ha's focus on Tokyo and the collective's strong regional roots (its relationship to the local coal-mining industry is referenced by Akasegawa in scene 2) are an important aspect of this group's history. For further details, see Kuroda Raiji, "Kyūshū-ha as a Movement: Descending to the Undersides of Art," trans. Reiko Tomii, *Review of Japanese Culture and Society* 7 (2005): 16–21.
45. See Yoshida Yoshie, "Sengo zen'ei yukari no aragoto 18-ban: Kyōran no 'Neo Dada'" (Eighteen heroic plays of the postwar avant-garde: Wild Neo Dada), *Bijutsu techō*, no. 343 (June 1971): 193–95.
46. Other episodes from Neo Dada's eventful history are referenced in scene 3. The pig carrying Gyū-chan represents Yoshimura Masunobu, the Neo Dada leader known for his *Pig Lib* of 1971. Standing behind Gyū-chan is Akasegawa, his head replaced by his famous *Vagina Sheet*, which was shown in two Neo Dada exhibitions in 1960. Peeking out at his proper left is a man with a large ear, a brush cut, and hair clippers. This is Miki Tomio, known for his ear sculptures and for his motto, "The avant-garde begins with the head," from which it followed that he wanted to give everyone a so-called GI cut. His balloon says, "I won't join you," which points out his status as an associate, rather than a full member, of the group.

Yoshimura appears again at the right edge, holding a liquor bottle. He is wrapped in exhibition flyers, an echo of his street performance piece for the third Neo Dada exhibition in 1960. Seated nearby is Masuzawa Kinpei, who is wearing a baseball cap and electric bulbs tied to his jacket, the outfit he wore for a street performance with Yoshimura. Before him is a whiskey bottle—labeled "Torys," a trendy brand at the time—which refers not only to the group's frequent partying but also to its urban sophistication. By contrast, the drink of choice among the rustic Kyūshū-ha set was the very popular regional shōchū liquor. Masuzawa's drinking buddies are depicted in the bad-

painting style employed by Ushio Shinohara in his chronicle *Zen'ei no michi* (The avant-garde road, 1968).

The motorcycle running over a long sheet of paper is a reference not to Robert Rauschenberg's *Tire Print* of 1951 but to a work on paper Ishibashi Yasuyuki presented at the first Neo Dada exhibition. For his work, the Japanese artist had laid a large sheet (not a roll) of Kent paper in a busy traffic lane and retrieved the paper, now dirtied by tire marks, fifteen minutes later.

At the lower right, the *kotsu kotsu* (an onomatopoeia for the sound of shoes hitting a hard surface) in the stairway stands for the elder art critic Takiguchi Shūzō. Legend has it that Takiguchi came to the gallery where one of Neo Dada's early meetings was to be held, confirmed that the meeting was taking place, and immediately left, without saying a word. Akasegawa later interpreted this behavior as the critic's typically shy expression of being a "witness" to the formation of a new movement.

47. As the use of the French term suggests, the Japanese art world had long looked to France for both expressive and institutional models of modern art.
48. Akasegawa's depiction of *Cleaning Event* includes a "group portrait" of Hi Red Center members and associates in which the heads of the three core artists are represented by their signature works: that of Takamatsu Jirō by a piece of rope, Nakanishi Natsuyuki by an egg-shaped *Compact Object*, and his own by a wrapped object.

Three projects from the "pre-Hi Red Center" period appear on the right side of the image. The *Dinner Commemorating the Defeat in the War*, held on 15 August 1962, was a collaborative performance by Neo Dada, Group Ongaku, and the Ankoku Butoh Group, with Akasegawa joining as a "performer-eater." Held in a community center in a Tokyo suburb, the event was organized with the help of the critic Yoshida Yoshie and consisted of the performers eating a sumptuous dinner before an audience, whose members had unknowingly paid 200 yen for the privilege of watching them. Bespectacled and dressed in chef's attire, Yoshida is consoling hungry children in the lower right corner; he also appears, in the same attire, to the left, where he points to the "menu" of MACJ, the acronym of the Modern Art Center of Japan, his organization. Akasegawa (with a wrapped head) sits at the dinner table, while the Neo Dada leader Yoshimura Masunobu (the half-naked pig) "performs" brushing his teeth for thirty minutes and the Neo Dadaist Kazakura Shō, standing on a chair, presses a hot iron on his chest as a "ritual to execute the will of the marquis de Sade."

The *Yamanote Line Incident*, a performance event staged by Nakanishi, Takamatsu, and their colleagues on 18 October 1962, is indicated by a hanging strap, the ubiquitous accoutrement of Japan's commuter trains. The loop at the end of the strap references the circular route of Tokyo's busiest train line, while the flame alludes to the burn hole in the invitation to the event.

The third pre-Hi Red Center project was related to a theater program organized by the Criminal League (Hanzaisha Dōmei), a Waseda University student group, and held on 22 November 1962. Here, an egg-headed Nakanishi paints the urinals of the lecture hall red. The girl-wolf floating by in a red air balloon alludes to the Criminal League, whose publication *Akai fūsen, arui wa mesuōkami no yoru* (Red balloon, or night of the she-wolf, 1963) attracted the police's attention to Akasegawa's *Model 1,000-Yen Note*.

Scene 5 references several projects by Hi Red Center in addition

to *Cleaning Event*. The string, laundry pin, and wrapped bundle—the signature objects of Takamatsu, Nakanishi, and Akasegawa—to the right of the flower basin are related to the group's *6th Mixer Plan* (1963). As part of this project, the three presented these items to two editors of the artists' periodical *Keishō* (Form) at an office space that would soon become Naiqua Gallery; both editors would play significant roles in Akasegawa's defense in the case against his *Model 1,000-Yen Note*. A cockroach in a sealed glass bearing the group's trademark "!" is one of the few witnesses to the Hi Red Center exhibition *Great Panorama* (1964): the gallery was closed for the opening day and the duration of the show and opened on the closing day. An inscription on a tablet inserted in another glass is the nonsense haiku by Nam June Paik—based on the *ka* line of Japanese syllabary—that graced an announcement of a solo exhibition at the Naiqua Gallery by Izumi Tatsu, an important Hi Red Center associate. The cans bearing the "!" logo, the body "blueprints" displayed for the judge (next to a *butō* dancer adorned with Nakanishi's metal clothespins), and the bed on which sits a life-size "shelter" all reference *Shelter Plan*, a complex one-day performance event held at the Imperial Hotel in downtown Tokyo that involved the sometimes peculiar measurement of all body parts.

The upper left corner is devoted to the events of Akasegawa's *Model 1,000-Yen Note Incident*, which was in a sense the final activity of Hi Red Center. The judge is flanked, on his proper right, by Takiguchi Shūzō, who served as Akasegawa's "special defender," and, on his proper left, by Sakazaki Otsurō (wearing a headband), whom Akasegawa mockingly called the "prosecutor's special witness" because of the conservative critic's attacks outside the courtroom. Seated in the public section is Ishiko Junzō, a staunch supporter of Akasegawa who refrained from testifying lest his theory of the "harmfulness" of *geijutsu* should undermine the defense. Akasegawa himself (with a wrapped electric fan for a head) stands on his *Greater Japan Zero-Yen Note* (1967), which he created after being found guilty of currency fraud. It is authentic currency of zero value, thus totally legal.

49. The Japanese artists referenced in the flower basin are Ono, who holds a grapefruit, alluding to the book of instructions she published in 1964; the animator Kuri Yōji, whose work is shown on a television monitor here, an acknowledgment of the Sōgetsu Art Center's innovative animation programs; and Ushio Shinohara, who carried his kinetic sculpture *Marcel Duchamp Thinking* (the figure in a checked jacket) onto the stage at the Sōgetsu Art Center's auditorium as Rauschenberg was creating the combine *Gold Standard* (the large folding Japanese screen) and attempted to get the American artist to comment on it.
50. Scenes 7 and 8 include references to significant works from about 1970. In scene 7, four members of Zero Dimension (Zero Jigen) perform a nude "ritual" (*gishiki*) on the rooftop of Kyoto University as part of the group's nationwide anti-Expo '70 campaign. Itoi Kanji, a.k.a. Dada Kan, streaks by in a gesture of support. At the bottom left are members of the radical collective Bikyōtō, including the long-haired, bearded Hikosaka Naoyoshi—who wonders "What to smash next?"—and Hori Kōsai in sunglasses. Behind them stands the Aoyama Design School, one of the rare successes to come out of the student protests of 1969 and 1970. On its faculty were the musician-theorist Yasunao Tone and the critic Ishiko Junzō, both of whom played a significant role in Akasegawa's *Model 1,000-Yen Note Incident*.

Scene 8 is a veritable catalog of Non-Art (plus some Anti-Art). Signs of the victory of "contemporary art" include works exhibited at the Venice Biennale in 1968 (Miki Tomio's ear) and 1970 (Shūsaku

Arakawa's diagram painting, Sekine Nobuo's Mono-ha masterpiece, a stone atop a stainless-steel pillar). Mono-ha is represented by Takamatsu Jirō's carved units of logs, Narita Katsuhiko's charcoals, and Yoshida Katsurō's cotton-filled large metal can. Conceptualism is represented by Horikawa Michio's mail-art stone; the conceptualist forerunner Matsuzawa Yutaka's "Demise of Humanity Is Near" banner; and the poster "Do-It-Yourself Contemporary Art," which lists Xeroxing and the use of a dictionary among the tools of the artistic trade. The contentious nature of contemporary art is suggested by the presence of the theoretically oriented photography collective Provoke along with perplexed critics, critics focused on the internationalization of Japanese art, and uncouth collectors.

Scenes 7 and 8 are illustrated and further annotated in Tomii, "Historicizing" (note 27), pls. 1, 2.

51. Ushio Shinohara, *Zen'ei no michi* (The avant-garde road) (Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppan-sha, 1968), 78–79. The text was originally serialized, in eleven installments, as Ushio Shinohara, "Zen'ei no michi: Shinohara Ushio jiden" (The avant-garde road: An autobiography), *Bijutsu techō*, no. 263 (February 1966): 110–13; no. 264 (March 1966): 98–101; no. 265 (April 1966): 119–22; no. 267 (May 1966): 114–17; no. 268 (June 1966): 59–63; no. 270 (July 1966): 108–12; no. 271 (August 1966): 97–101; no. 272 (September 1966): 72–76; no. 273 (October 1966): 87–90; no. 274 (November 1966): 93–97; no. 276 (December 1966): 108–10.
52. "Rokabirī sakka" (A rockabilly artist), *Shūkan Sankei*, 27 April 1958, 39–41.
53. Shinohara, *Zen'ei no michi* (note 46), 63; and Ushio Shinohara, in discussion with the author, 8 March 2004.
54. Shinohara, in discussion with the author (note 53).
55. Shinohara, in discussion with the author (note 53).
56. Akasegawa, *Han-geijutsu anpan* (note 19), 111–12, 216–17.
57. Ushio Shinohara, Waseda Akihiro, and Ōe Kenzaburō, "Warera jun apuregēru" (Pure postwar generation), *Mainichi gurafu*, 7 May 1961, 25–27; and William Klein, *Tokyo* (New York: Crown, 1964).
58. Takiguchi Shūzō, "Ugoku wakai sedai no chikara" (Forceful younger generation's power), *Yomiuri shinbun*, 4 March 1960, evening edition.
59. Yoshida, "Sengo zen'ei yukari no aragoto 18-ban" (note 45), 199–200.
60. Kuroda Raiji, "A Flash of Neo Dada: Cheerful Destroyers in Tokyo (1993)," trans. Reiko Tomii, *Review of Japanese Culture and Society* 7 (2005): 52–53.
61. In this respect, the development of Mono-ha and conceptualism in Japan and that of postminimalism and conceptual art in the United States was propelled by different concerns, for American artists were far more conscious of the effect of the commodification of art.
62. Group "I" (Gurūpu "I"), an artists' collective founded in 1965 in Osaka, is known for its collaborative production of earthworks and installations. The *I* in its name signifies *i* of *tan'i* (unit), *i* of *ichi* (position), and *i* of *isō* (phase). For further information in English, see Reiko Tomii, "After the 'Descent to the Everyday,'" in Blake Stimson and Gregory Sholette, eds., *Collectivism after Modernism* (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 2007).
63. Akane Kazuo, "Zen'ei bijutsu no ichi saiten" (A festival of vanguard art), *Bijutsu techō*, no. 258 (October 1965): 81; and Akane Kazuo, "Geppyō" (Monthly reviews), *Bijutsu techō*, no. 258 (October 1965): 131–32.
64. The Play (Za Purei), an artists' collective founded in Osaka in 1967, is known for its collaborative, large-scale outdoor installations and

- performances. For further details in English, see Tomii, "After the 'Descent to the Everyday'" (note 62); and Reiko Tomii, "The Play 1967–2000," in *Ikemizu! 1964–2004* (Kyoto: privately published, 2005), 220–32.
65. For Group "I" and The Play, see Tomii, "After the 'Descent to the Everyday'" (note 62).
 66. Nomura Hitoshi and Aoki Masahiro, "Taiyō tonō tsukiaikata, shizen tonō tsukiaikata = How to Relate to the Sun, How to Connect with Mother Nature" (interview), in Mori Tsukasa, ed., *Nomura Hitoshi—Seimei no kigen: Uchū, Taiyō, DNA = Nomura Hitoshi—Genesis of Life: The Universe, The Sun, DNA*, exh. cat. (Mito: Art Tower Mito, 1999), 116 = 123.
 67. For translated excerpt, see Tomii, "Concerning the Institution of Art" (note 41), 24.
 68. Ishiko Junzō, "Geijutsu no mugai-sei o utsu tame ni" (To shoot at the harmlessness of *geijutsu*), *Nihon dokusho shinbun*, 30 January 1967, 2.
 69. Akasegawa Genpei, *Tokyo mikisā keikaku: Hai Reddo Sentā chokusetsu kōdō no kiroku* (Tokyo mixer plans: Documents of Hi Red Center's direct actions) (Tokyo: Chikuma Bunko, 1994), 264.
 70. "Hi-Red Center," in special feature, "Shūdan no nami, undō no nami" (Waves of groups, waves of movements), *Bijutsu techō*, no. 347 (October 1971): 70.
 71. Akasegawa made hundreds of these replica bills and used them in a variety of ways. See Reiko Tomii, "State v. (Anti-)Art: Model 1,000-Yen Note Incident by Akasegawa Genpei and Company," *Positions* 10, no. 1 (2002): 147–48.
 72. After the second 1,000-yen note incident, caused by his "Shihon-shugiriarizumu kōza" (A course on capitalist realism), serialized in *Bijutsu techō*, nos. 365–74 (March–November, 1973), *Bijutsu Shuppan-sha* terminated Akasegawa's series and apologized for "disturbing the stability of the currency and thus inconveniencing you." See "Owabi" (An apology), *Bijutsu techō*, no. 375 (December 1973): 31.
 73. Akasegawa Genpei, *Sakura gahō taizen* (The complete *Sakura Illustrated*) (Tokyo: Shinchō Bunko, 1985), 552.
 74. For the critical and theoretical issues pertaining to Akasegawa's money work, see Tomii, "State v. (Anti-)Art" (note 71), 141–72.
 75. See Akasegawa, *Obuje o motta musansha* (note 1).
 76. The term *geijutsu saiban* is often invoked by defendants as well as the media when "artistic merit" becomes the key point of contention, especially in obscenity cases such as the so-called *Chatterley* trial (1950–57), which centered on the Japanese translation of D. H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover*.
 77. Akasegawa, "Poketto ni haburashi o" (note 1), 54.
 78. See also Akasegawa Genpei, "Shisō-teki henshitsu" (Thought perverts; November 1969); reprinted in Akasegawa Genpei, *Obuje o motta musansha* (note 1), 293–94; and Akasegawa Genpei, *Tsuihō sareta yajūma: Shisō-teki henshitsu no jūjiro* (The heckling horse banished: The crossroads of thought perverts) (Tokyo: Gendai Hyōron-sha, 1972).
 79. Shihyō Group and Hikosaka Naoyoshi, "Shūdan no shi: Kyōdō-sei o tsuikyū shita yottsū no purakutisu" (Death of collectivism: Four practices that pursued collectivity), *Bijutsu techō*, no. 372 (October 1973): 148–49. For an English translation, see Tomii, "Concerning the Institution of Art" (note 41), 23 ("Text 6: Practice 3").
 80. See Tomii, "Concerning the Institution of Art" (note 41), 23 ("Text 9: Produced by Bikyōtō Revolution Committee II").

PLATES

Pl. 1. Experimental Workshop

Experimental Workshop's 5th Exhibition and Presentation,

Daiichi Seimei Hall, Tokyo, 30 September 1953

▽ Presentation poster, 18.3 × 53.8 cm (7¼ × 21⅞ in.)

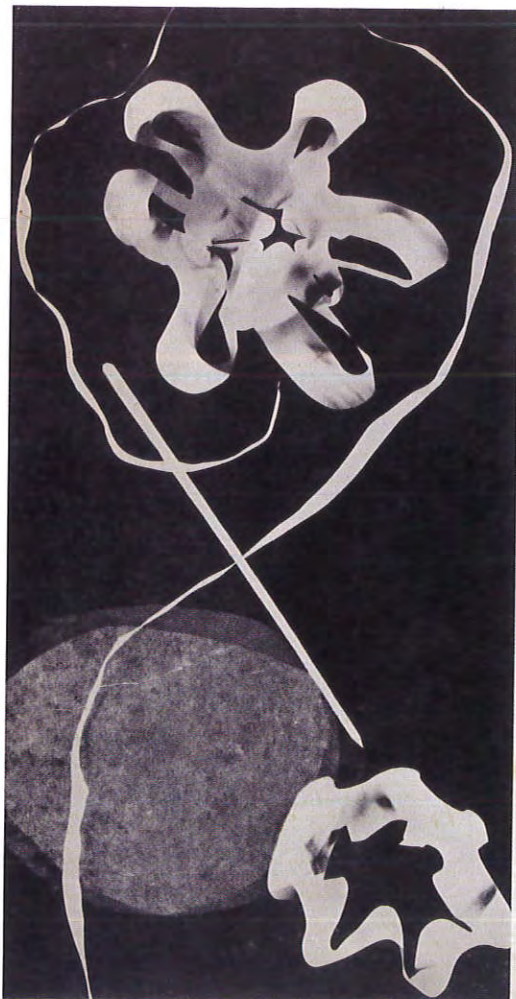
▽▽◁ Exhibition brochure, 26 × 18.6 cm (10¼ × 7⅜ in.)

▽▽▷ Presentation program, 18.5 × 12.7 cm (7¼ × 5 in.)

Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute

第5回発表会
9月30日
於第一生命ホール

実験工房



EXPERIMENTAL WORKSHOP'S 5TH EXHIBITION

実験工房第5回発表会

9月30日(水) 6時半開演

第一生命ホール(舊G.H.Q.)

今回は工房の作品演奏のほか、新しい試みであるテーブ・レコーダーの機能を利用して作った詩と、プロジェクト・アートの一つの実験として共同製作したオート・スライドと音楽による作品を発表する。

スリー・スコア・セット	湯	浅	讀	二
ソロ・ヴァイオリンの為に	福	島	和	夫
「遮ぎられない休息」	武	満	博	徹
ヴァイオリンとピアノのための音楽	鈴	木	博	義

演奏	松	浦	豊	明
	川	田	敦	子
	岩	淵	竜	郎
	長	松	純	子

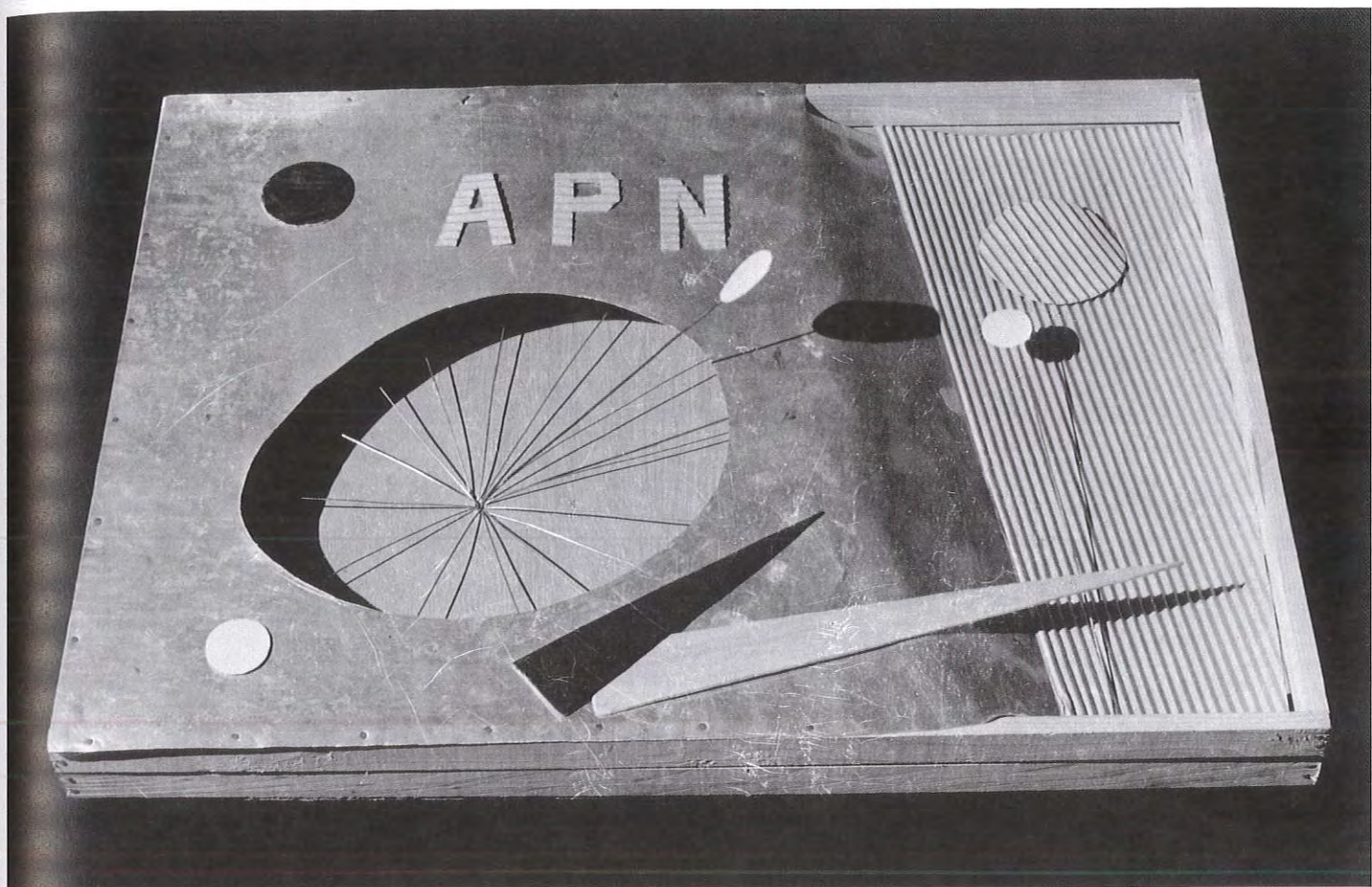
テーブ・レコーダーのための詩	秋	山	邦	晴
朗讀	芥	川	比	志
	若	山	渡	香

プロジェクト・アート ——スライドと音楽による——

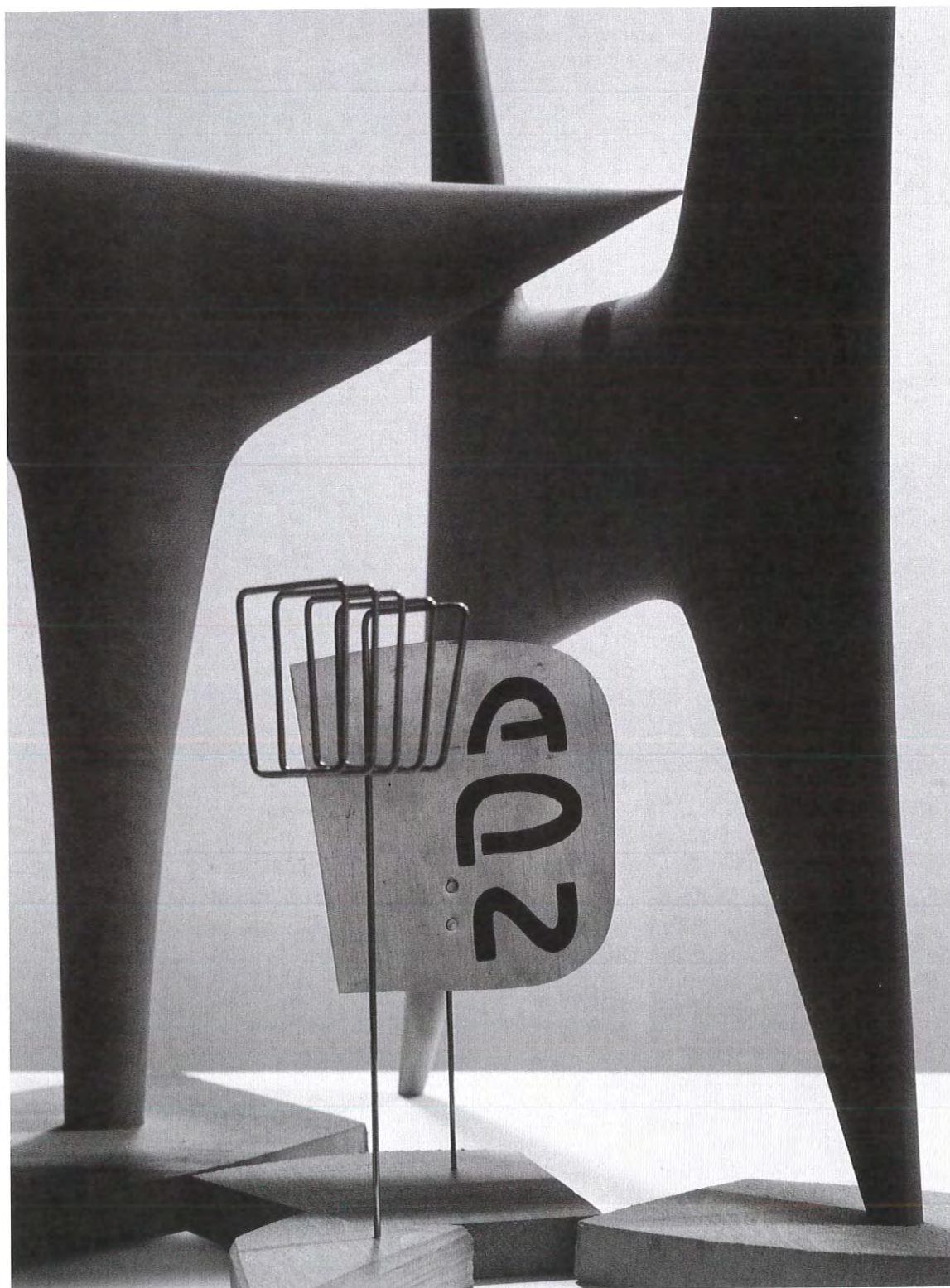
「試験飛行家 W・S氏の眼の冒険」	山	口	勝	弘
	鈴	木	博	義
「水、泡は創られる」	福	島	秀	子
	福	島	和	夫
「レスピュージュ」	駒	井	哲	郎
	湯	浅	讀	二
「見知らぬ世界のお話」	北	代	省	三
	武	清	博	徹
	鈴	木	義	二
	湯	浅	博	二

演奏	川	崎	優
	向	田	子
	関	原	和

Pl. 2. Ōtsuji Kiyoji (Japanese, 1923–2001), photographer
Assemblage by Yamaguchi Katsuhiro, photographed for
“Asahi Picture News,” *Asahigurafu* (Asahigraph), 18 March 1953
Modern gelatin silver print, 9.7 × 19 cm (3 7/8 × 7 1/2 in.)
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute



Pl. 3. Ōtsuji Kiyoji (Japanese, 1923–2001), photographer
Assemblage by Kitadai Shōzō, photographed for “Asahi Picture News,”
Asahigurafu (Asahigraph), 3 February 1954
Modern gelatin silver print, 19 × 14.3 cm (7½ × 5⅝ in.)
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute



Pl. 4. Ishimoto Yasuhiro (Japanese, b. 1921)

View from the New Palace toward the Middle Shoin, 1953

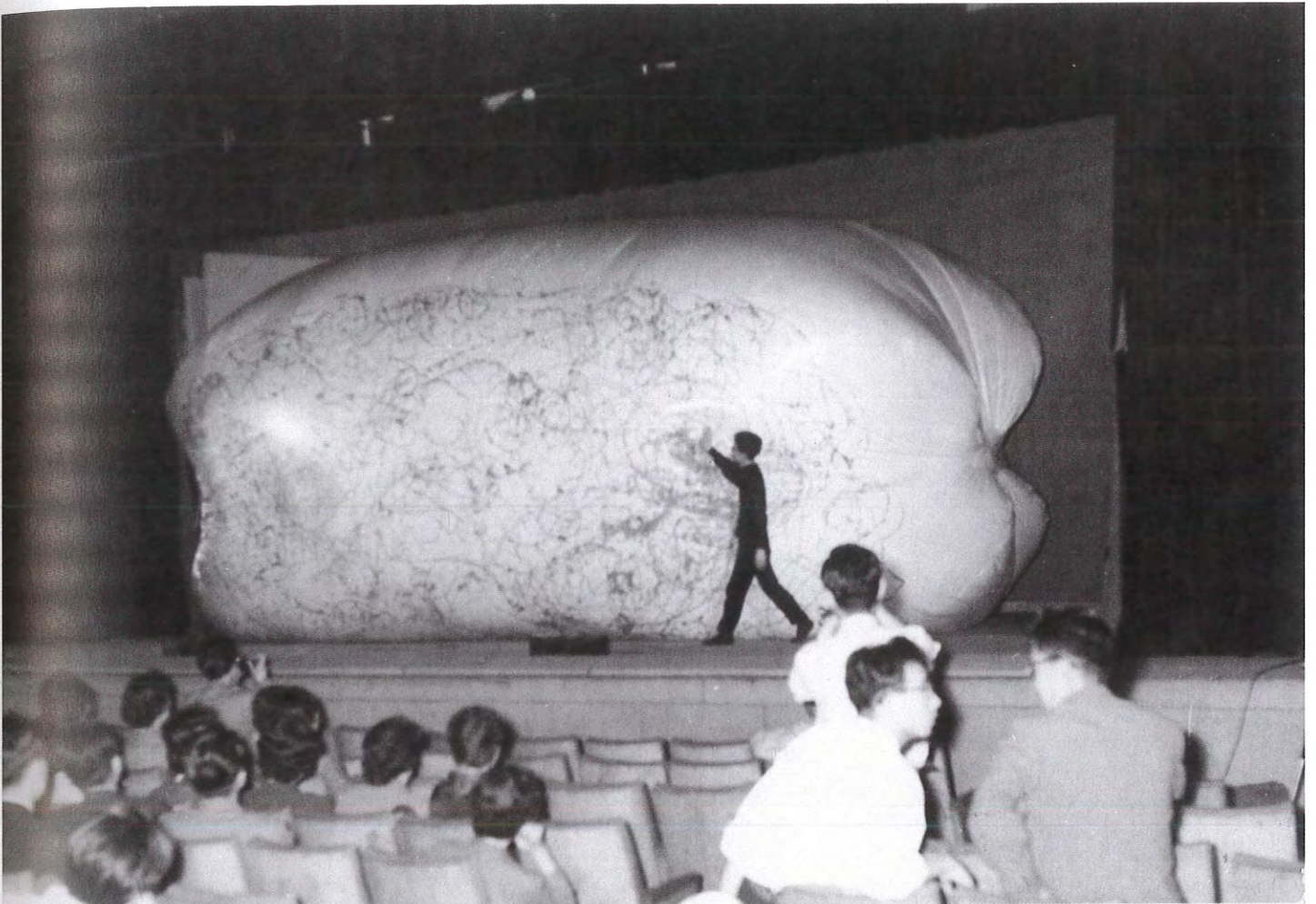
From Ishimoto Yasuhiro, Walter Gropius, and Tange Kenzō, *Katsura: Tradition and Creation in Japanese Architecture* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1960), n.p.



Pl. 5. Shiraga Kazuo's *Challenging Mud*, 1st Gutai Art Exhibition,
Ohara Kaikan hall, Tokyo, 19–28 October 1955
Gelatin silver print, 10.1 × 14.7 cm (4 × 5¾ in.)
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute



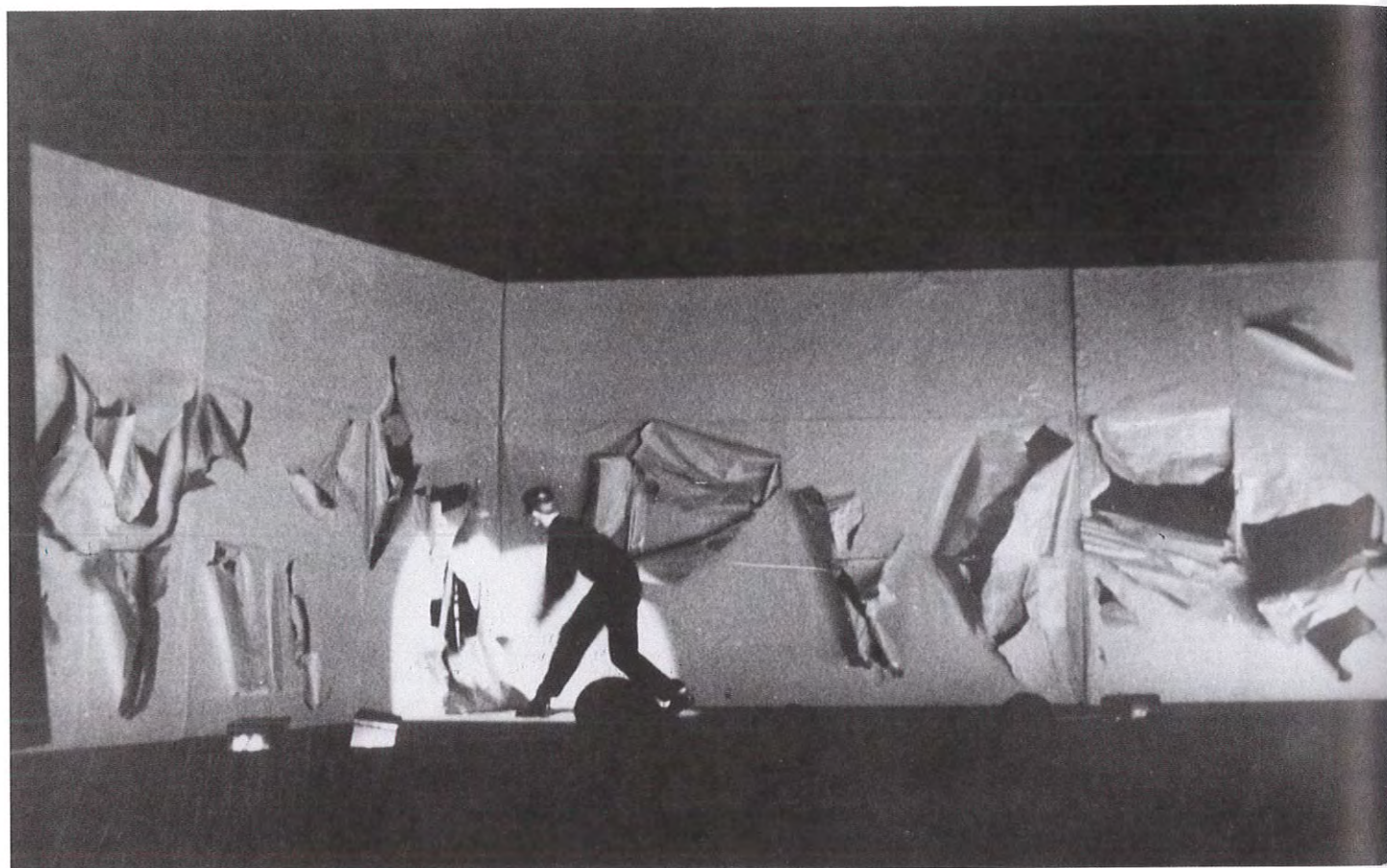
Pl. 6. Kanayama Akira's *Giant Balloon*, Gutai Art on Stage, Sankei Kaikan hall, Osaka, 29 May 1957, or Sankei Hall, Tokyo, 17 July 1957
Gelatin silver print, 10.2 × 14.8 cm (4 × 5⁷/₈ in.)
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute



Pl. 7. Murakami Saburō's *Breaking Paper Screens*, Gutai Art on Stage, Sankei Kaikan hall, Osaka, 29 May 1957, or Sankei Hall, Tokyo, 17 July 1957

Gelatin silver print, 10.7 × 17.2 cm (4¼ × 6¾ in.)

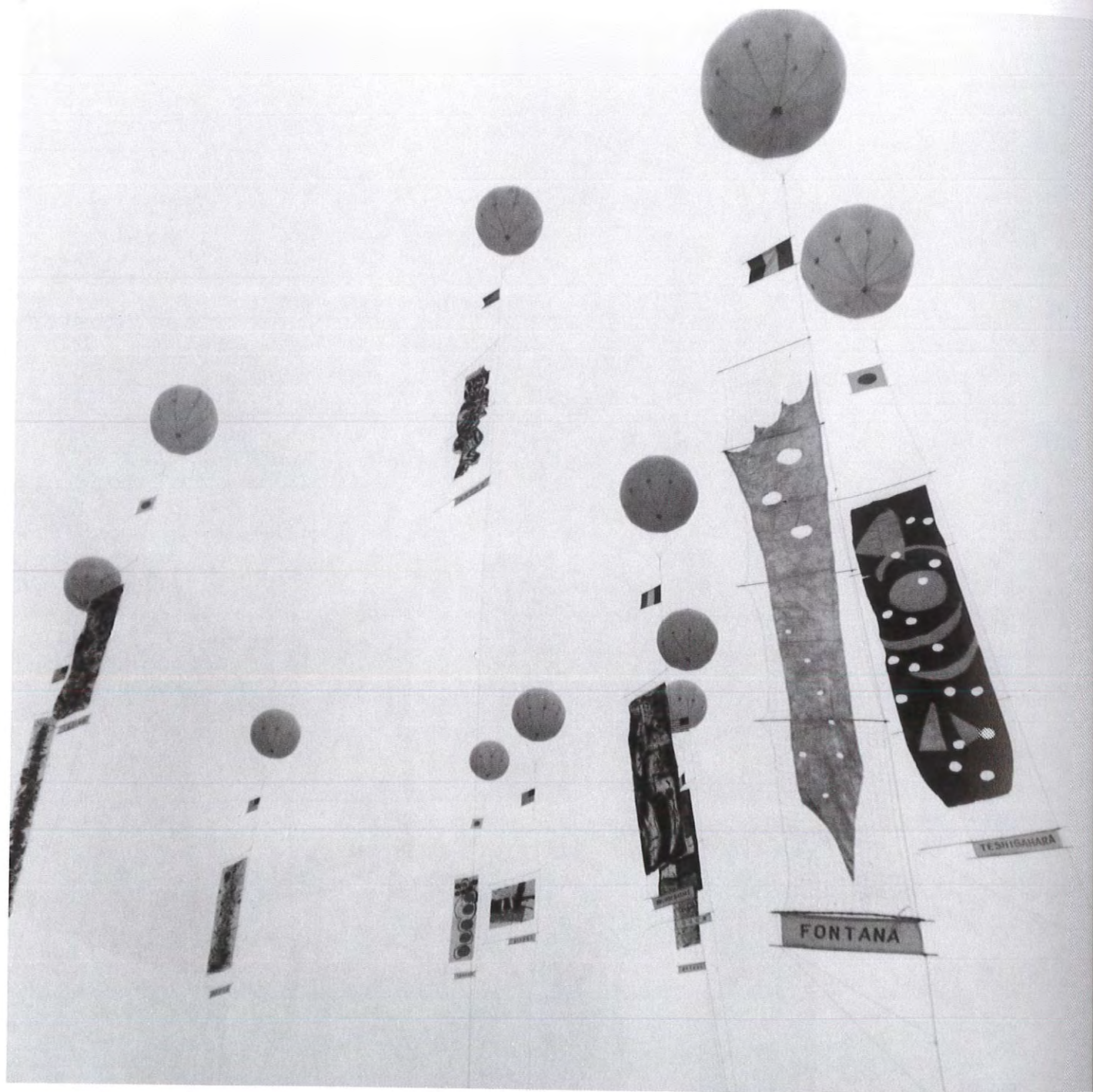
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute

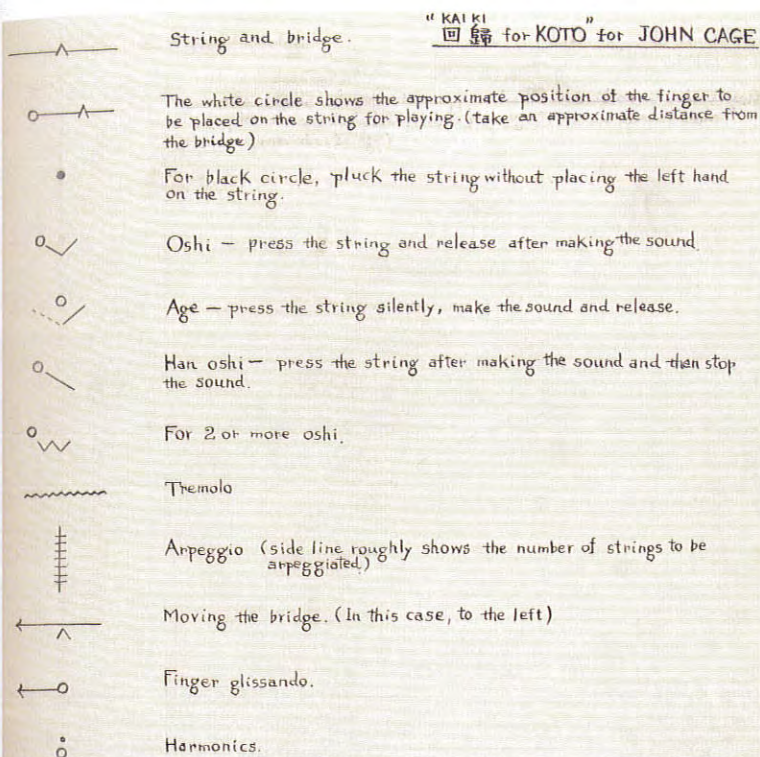


Pl. 8. Performance of Tanaka Atsuko's *Electric Dress* (1956),
Tanaka's studio, Osaka, April 1957
Gelatin silver print, 18 × 12.9 cm (7 1/8 × 5 1/8 in.)
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute



Pl. 9. Gutai Art Association's International Sky Festival,
Takashimaya Department Store, Osaka, 19–24 April 1960
Gelatin silver print, 10.9 × 11.2 cm (4¼ × 4⅜ in.)
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute





Determine the time for each line to be played. The white space in between the events may be interpreted as silence or waiting period for the previous sound to die out. Things within one event may be done in any order. When the notes are connected with a line, (8 9) it means to be played together. When there is no string or bridge written, it means to be played at any position. Overlapping of the sounds is possible within an event. The piece may be played with Shakuhachi pieces "Kurokami" or "Shika no ne" or "Music for piano #2, #3" or "For strings" of the composer or any combination of these pieces upon agreed length of time.

October 1960 Toshi Ichihyanagi

Pl. 10. Ichihyanagi Toshi (Japanese, b. 1933)

Kaiki [Recurrence] for Koto for John Cage, October 1960

Instruction sheet: ink and pencil on vellum, 31.7 × 24.2 cm

(12 1/2 × 9 1/2 in.)

Musical composition: ink and pencil on vellum, 24.2 × 31.7 cm

(9 1/2 × 12 1/2 in.)

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IBM FOR MERCE CUNNINGHAM

BY TOSHI ICHIYANAGI, Dec.1960

The performer may select his own medium (such as dancing, acting, writing, making sounds etc.) to express the piece. Once the medium is selected, the performer must use the same medium throughout the whole performance.

White rectangle indicates long duration.
Black rectangle indicates short duration.

Figure 8,4,2 and 1 indicate the numbers of different events to be performed within each medium. Read the score from up to down one line after another.

8 II	8 different events of long duration
(e.g. 4	4 counts of rest -the duration of rest is determined by the duration
2 II	2 different events of short duration of preceding event.
1	1 count of short rest (because preceding event was short)

Number of rectangle(s) in one line may be equal to the number of repetition within a line. As in the above case: 2 rectangles in one line mean 2 events out of 10 may be the same.

The piece may be performed with any number of performers.

The length of the piece is left to the discretion of the performers.

MUSIC FOR ELECTRIC METRONOME

BY TOSHI ICHIYANAGI, April 1960

Large figures are signs to set the electric metronome except for figure zero which means to turn off. Except at the end of the piece, determine the length of time to halt at zero accordingly with the length of line and resume metronome action in order to continue. Small figures indicate count of metronome beats while moving gradually from one large figure to another. In the case of zero, move as quickly as possible from one large figure to the next. Straight line indicates the operation of metronome only.

Curved line indicates action (walking, jumping etc.)

Curved line with single curvature indicates one action

Curved line with double or multiple curvature indicates two or more actions.

Dotted straight line indicates any number of any type of sound to be made without objects (such as clapping, whistling, voice sounds, etc.)

Dotted curved line with single curvature indicates one kind of physical sound before or after an action.

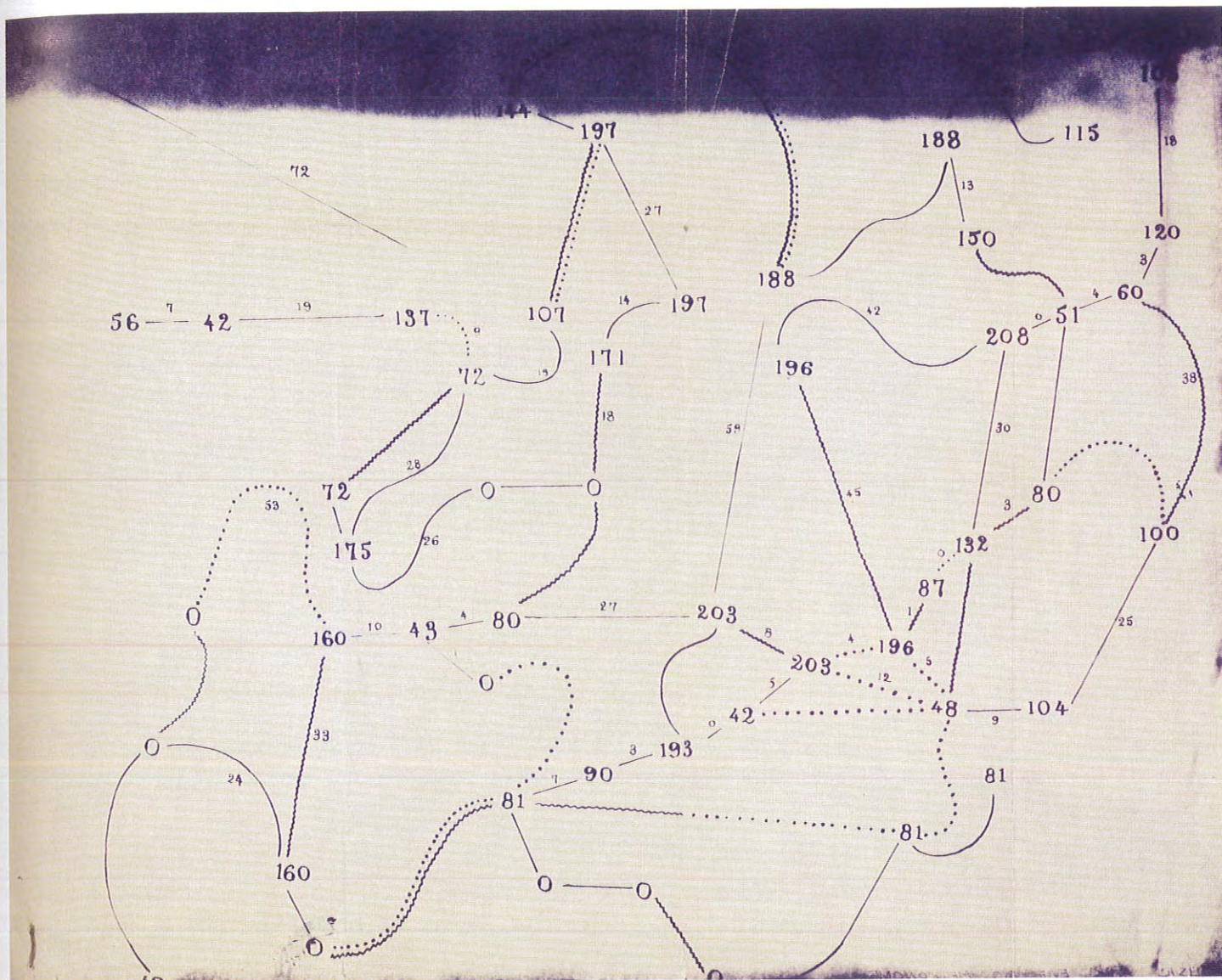
Dotted curved line with multiple curvature indicates two or more kinds of physical sounds with two or more kinds of actions.

Straight zigzag line indicates any number of sounds from any number of sources, using objects such as chairs, instruments etc.

One Single curvature zigzag line indicates any number of sounds from one source (using object) before or after an action.

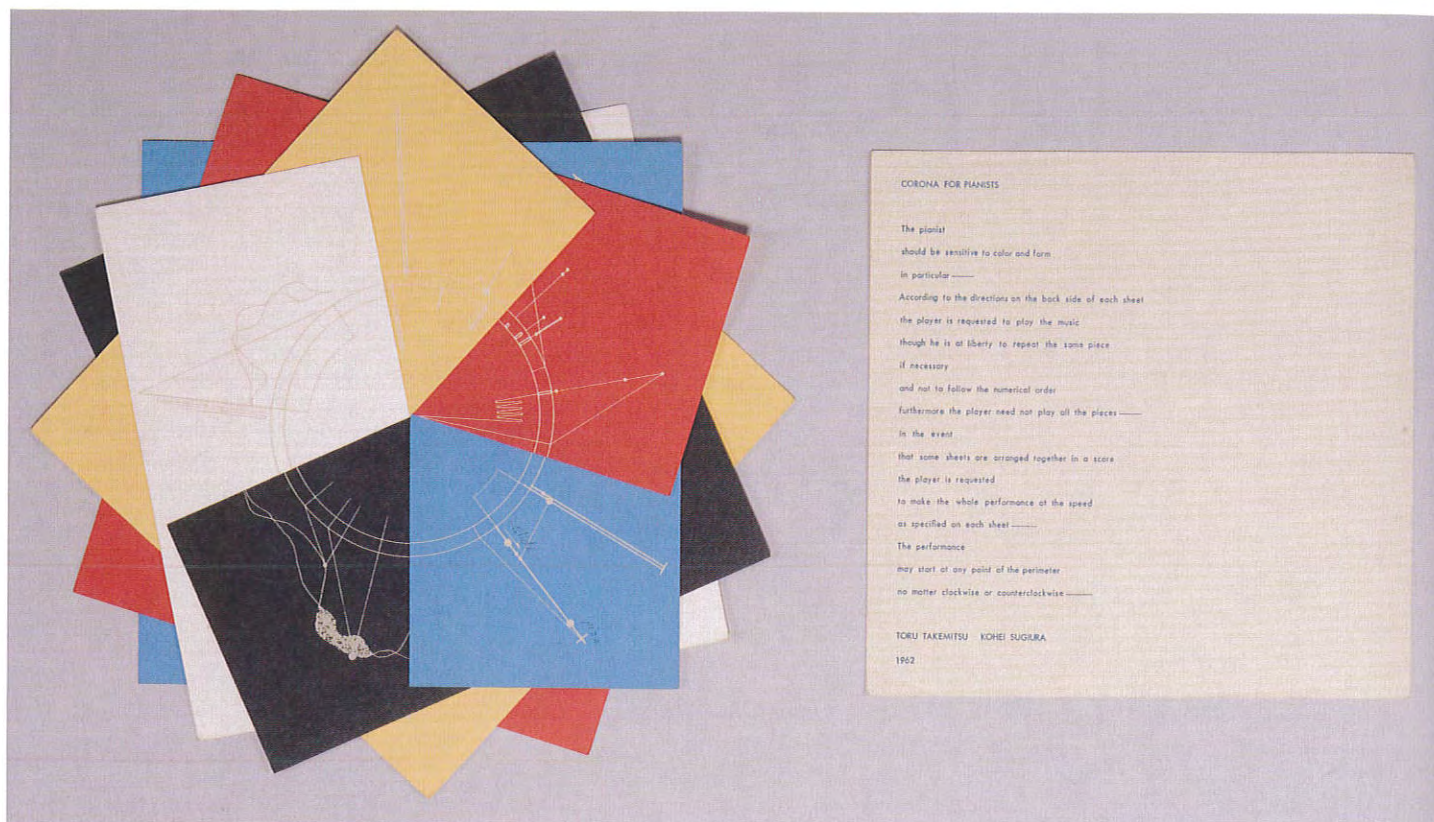
Multiple curvature zigzag line indicates any number of sounds from two or more object sources while making two or more kinds of actions.

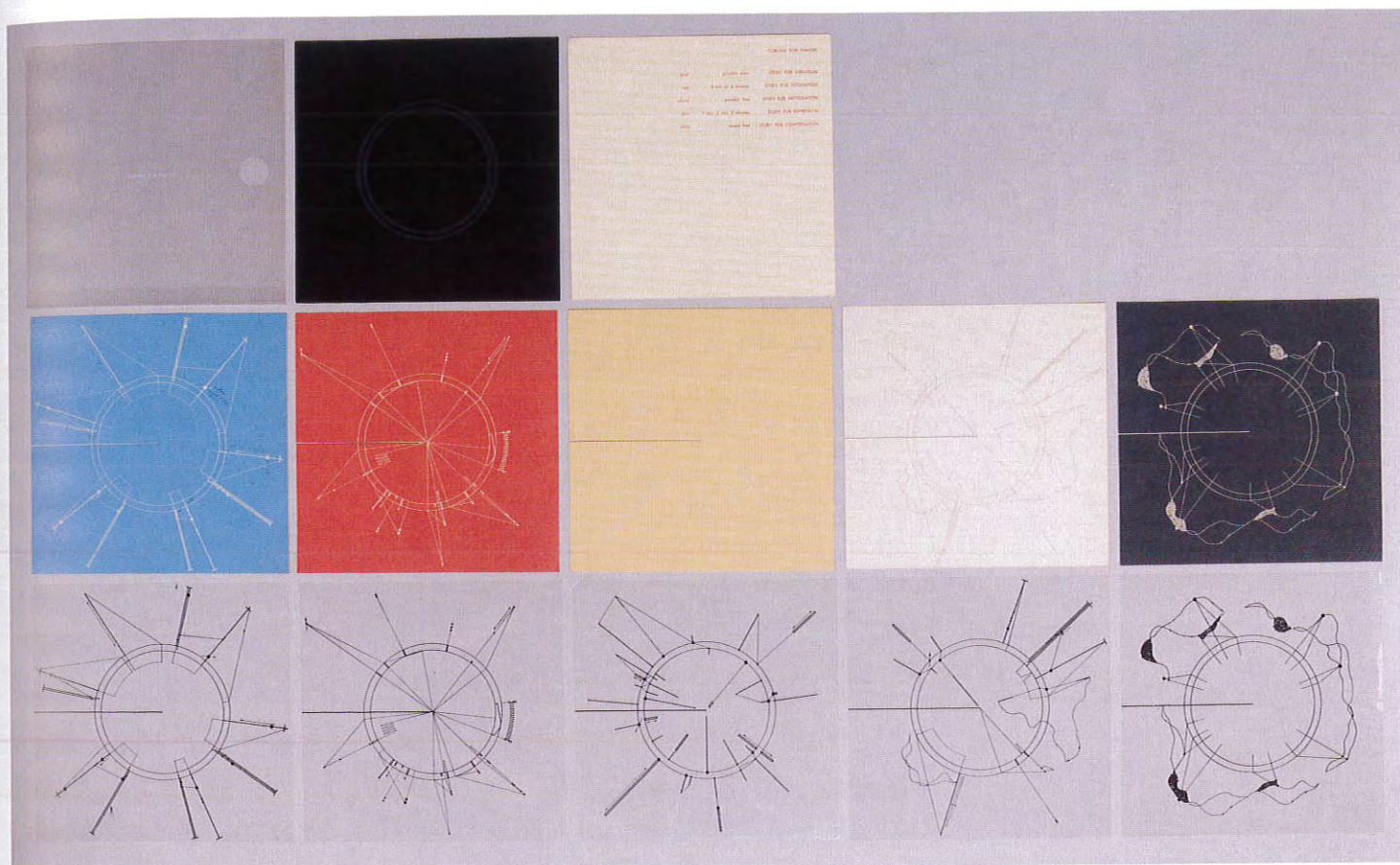
Actions (and/or) sounds are made after operating metronome using approximately the same amount of time spent for operating the metronome. When metronome operation is not required (in the case of where the same large figures come one after the other) actions or sounds are made within the given beats written in small figures. The piece may start at any large figure which has a line only on one side. Figure closer to the edge of the paper may be started sooner than the ones closer to the center of the paper. The performer should get to the large figure zero at the end and turn off the metronome to finish the piece. The duration of the piece may be, up to 3 minutes, between 3 and 6 minutes, between 6 and 9 minutes etc... The performer must reach figure zero within the given 3 minutes to end the piece. The piece should be performed with at least 3 performers.



Pl. 12. Takemitsu Tōru (Japanese, 1930–96), composer,
and Sugiura Kōhei (Japanese, b. 1932), designer
Corona for Pianists (Paris: Éditions Salabert Durand Eschig, 1962)
Musical composition: cover and instruction leaves, five colored
leaves, five Mylar leaves, with plastic slipcase: leaves, 24 × 24 cm
(9½ × 9½ in.)
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute

- ▽ Randomly assembled score, instruction leaf
- ▷ △ Slipcase, front cover, back cover
- ▷ ▷ Colored leaves: *Vibration, Intonation, Articulation, Conversation, Expression*
- ▷ ▽ Mylar leaves





Pl. 13. Matsuzaki Kunitoshi (Japanese, act. 1962), photographer
John Cage's *Music Walk* (performance by John Cage, David Tudor,
Yoko Ono, and Mayuzumi Toshirō), Tokyo Bunka Kaikan hall,
Tokyo, 9 October 1962
Gelatin silver print, 21.7 × 14.6 cm (8½ × 5¾ in.)
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute



Pl. 14. Ushio Shinohara, *Zen'ei no michi* (The avant-garde road)
 (Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppan-sha, 1968)
 Book with slipcase: book, 18 × 13 × 1.4 cm (7 1/8 × 5 1/8 × 5/8 in.)



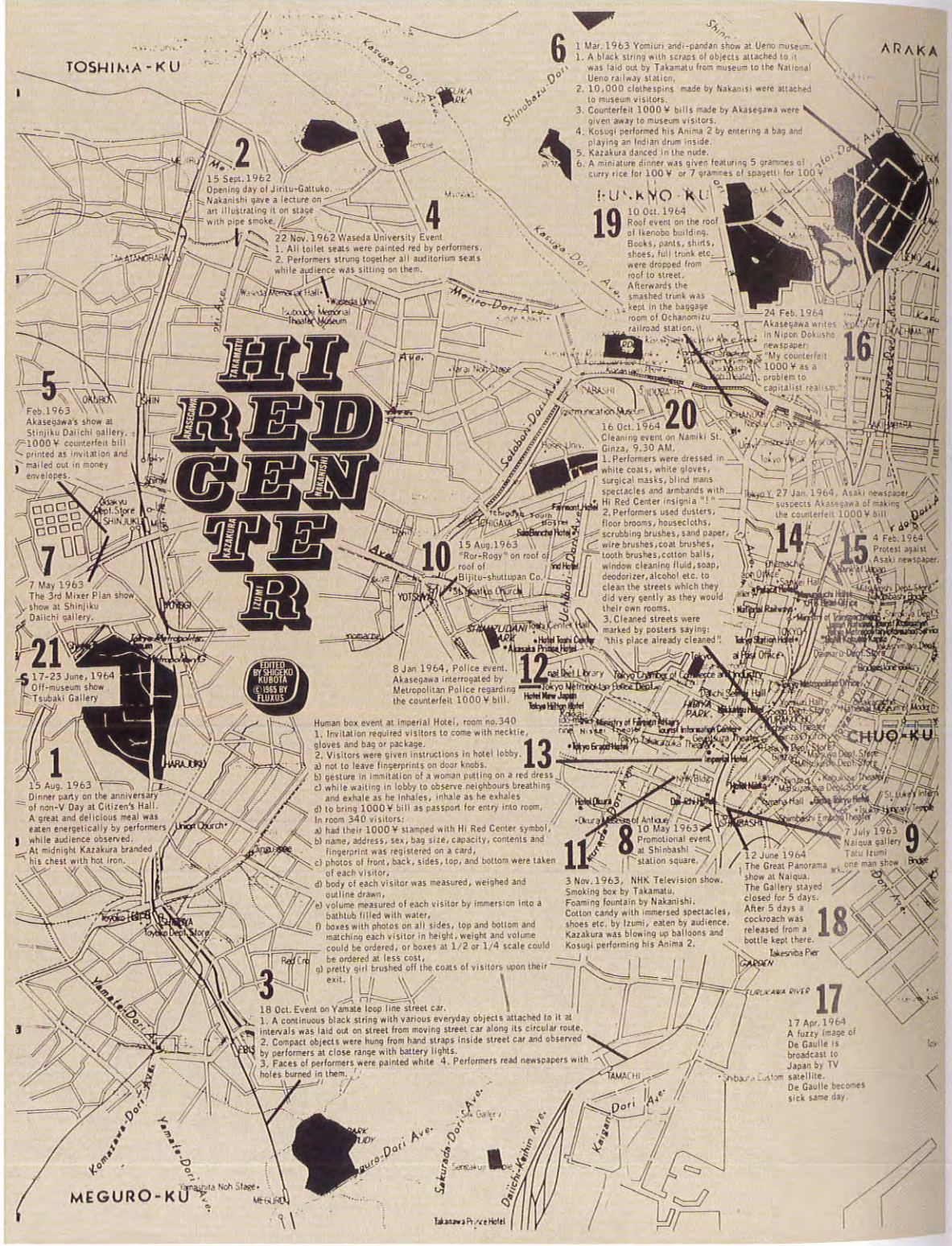
Pl. 15. Hi Red Center (act. 1963 – 64)

Map documenting Hi Red Center events in Tokyo, edited by Shigeko Kubota, designed by George Maciunas, 1965 (Fluxus edition, New York)

Half-tone print, double-sided, 56 × 43 cm (22 × 16 7/8 in.)

From *Fluxus 1*, 1965 (Fluxus edition, New York), but initially used for Hi Red Center's *Bundle of Events*, 1965

Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute



Pl. 16. *Fluxus 1*, 1964/1965 (Fluxus edition, New York)

Graphic works, envelopes bound together with bolts, and a wooden box: box, 22.5 × 24.1 × 5.7 cm (8⁷/₈ × 9¹/₂ × 2¹/₄ in.); bound envelopes (2 copies), 19 × 21 × 3.5 cm (7¹/₂ × 8¹/₄ × 1³/₈ in.)

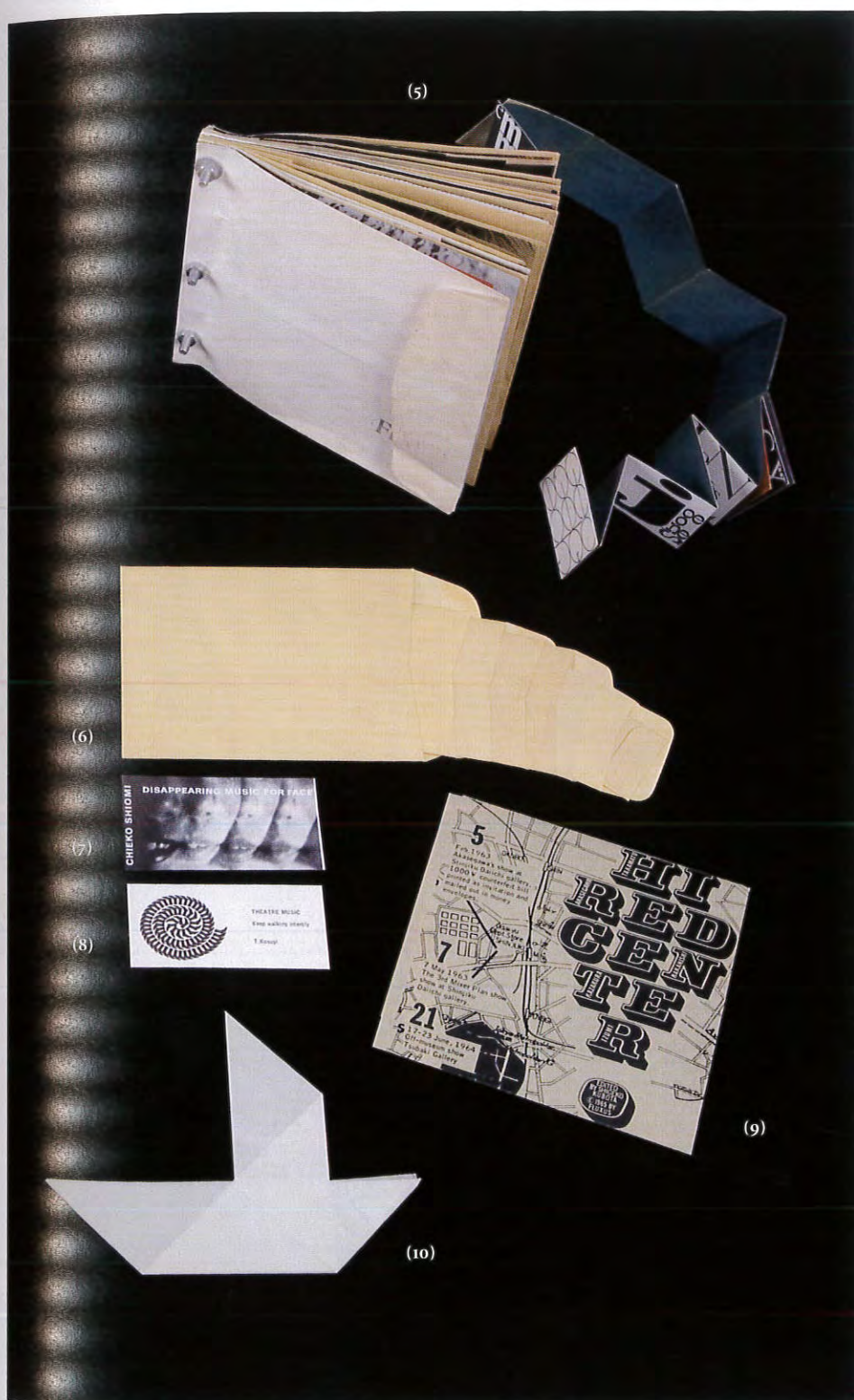
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Shown:

- (1) wooden box
- (2) bound envelopes, with Ay-O's *Finger Envelope* and Yoko Ono's *Self-Portrait* displayed
- (3, 4) Shigeko Kubota's *Napkin for Next Supper/Flux Napkins*



- (5) bound envelopes, with George Maciunas's accordion-folded
list of artists displayed
- (6, 7) Shiomi Mieko (Chieko)'s *Disappearing Music for*
Envelopes/Endless Envelopes and *Disappearing Music for Face*
- (8) Kosugi Takehisa's *Theatre Music*
- (9) Hi Red Center's map documenting Hi Red Center events
- (10) Takako Saitō's *Magic Boat*



Pl. 17. Ay-O (Japanese, b. 1931)

Tactile Box, 1963 (Fluxus edition, New York)

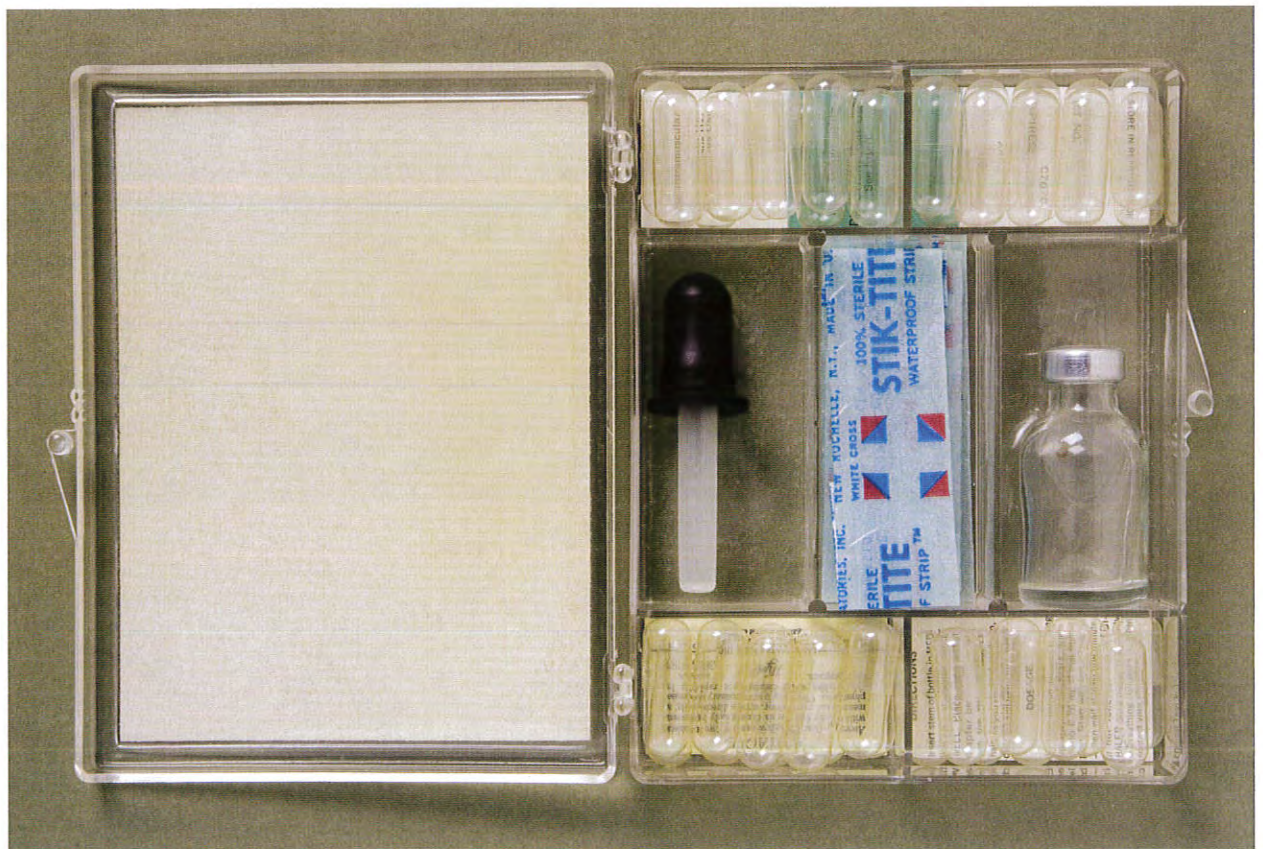
Cardboard box with torn architectural vellum, paint, and paper,

31 × 31 × 31 cm (12¼ × 12¼ × 12¼ in.)

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Pl. 18. Shigeko Kubota (Japanese, act. United States, b. 1937)
Flux Medicine, 1966 (Fluxus edition, New York)
 Bandage wrappers, empty capsules, dropper, and vial in a clear plastic container: container, 10 × 12 × 2.6 cm (4 × 4¾ × 1 in.)
 Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute



Pl. 19. Takako Saitō (Japanese, act. Germany, b. 1929)

Grinder Chess or Tool Chess, 1965/1966 (Fluxus edition, New York)

Metal grinders and paper in a wooden box: box, $17 \times 17 \times 7.3$ cm

($6\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{4} \times 2\frac{7}{8}$ in.)

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Pl. 20. Takako Saitō (Japanese, act. Germany, b. 1929)

Spice Chess, 1965 (Fluxus edition, New York)

Spices, glass tubes, corks, and acrylic board, 15.2 × 15.2 × 9.8 cm
(6 × 6 × 3⁷/₈ in.)

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Pl. 21. Shiomi Mieko (Chieko) (Japanese, b. 1938)

Spatial Poem No. 1: Word Event, March–May 1965

(Fluxus edition, New York)

Pins, cards, and stenciled cork sheet in a plastic box: box,

22.5 × 33.3 × 5.8 cm (8⁷/₈ × 13¹/₈ × 2¹/₄ in.)

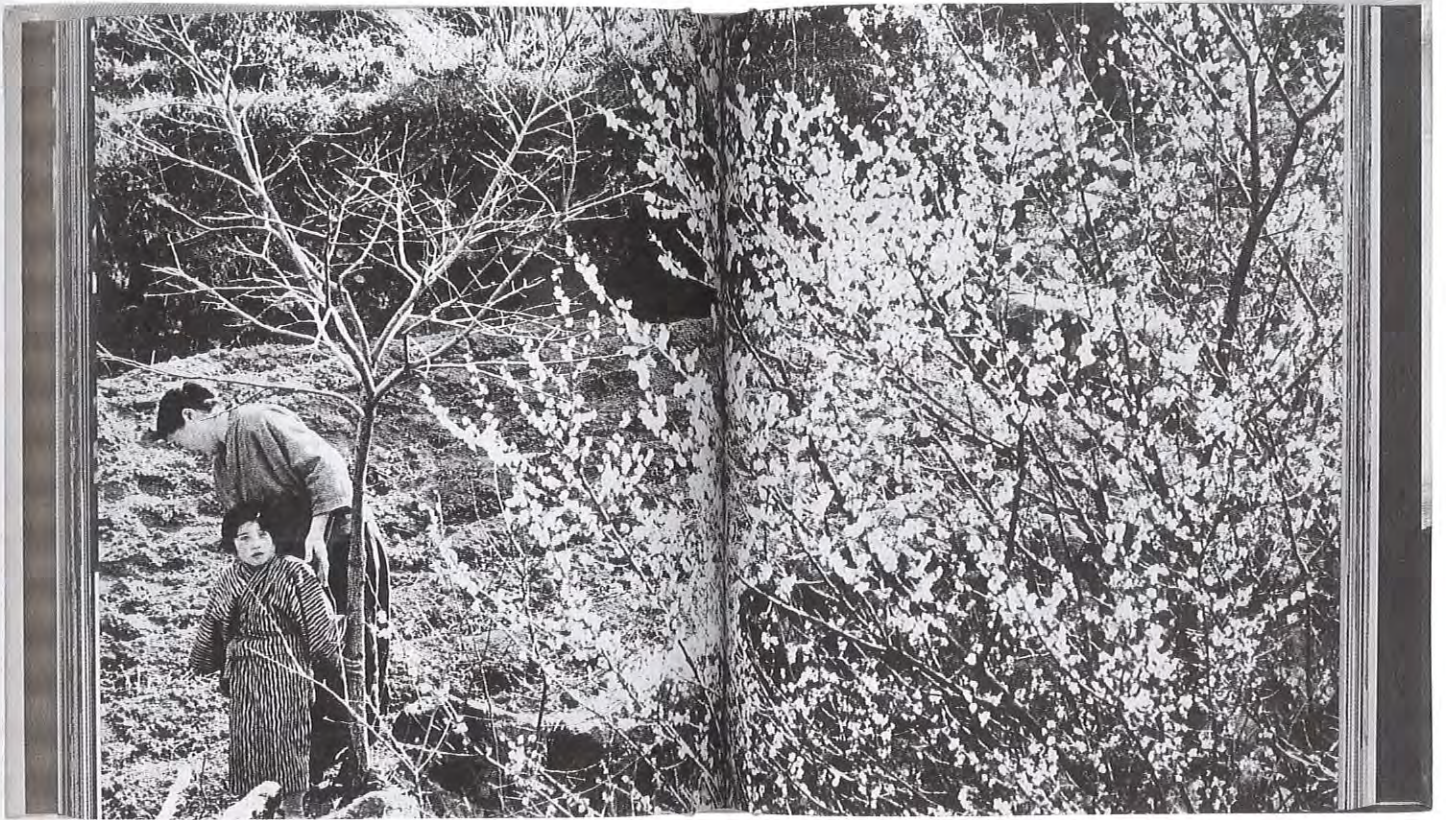
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute



Pl. 22. Tōmatsu Shōmei (Japanese, b. 1930)

Urakawa Kiyomi and Her Youngest Daughter Shizuka, Nagasaki, 1961

From Tōmatsu Shōmei, *11:02 Nagasaki* (Tokyo: Shashin Dōjin-sha, 1966), n.p.



Pl. 23. Tōmatsu Shōmei (Japanese, b. 1930)

Untitled (Kadena Air Base, Okinawa), 1969

From Tōmatsu Shōmei, *Shashinshū: Okinawa Okinawa Okinawa:*

Okinawa ni kichi ga aru no dewa naku kichi no naka ni Okinawa ga aru (Photobook: Okinawa, Okinawa, Okinawa: Not that the bases are located in Okinawa, but Okinawa is located in the bases)

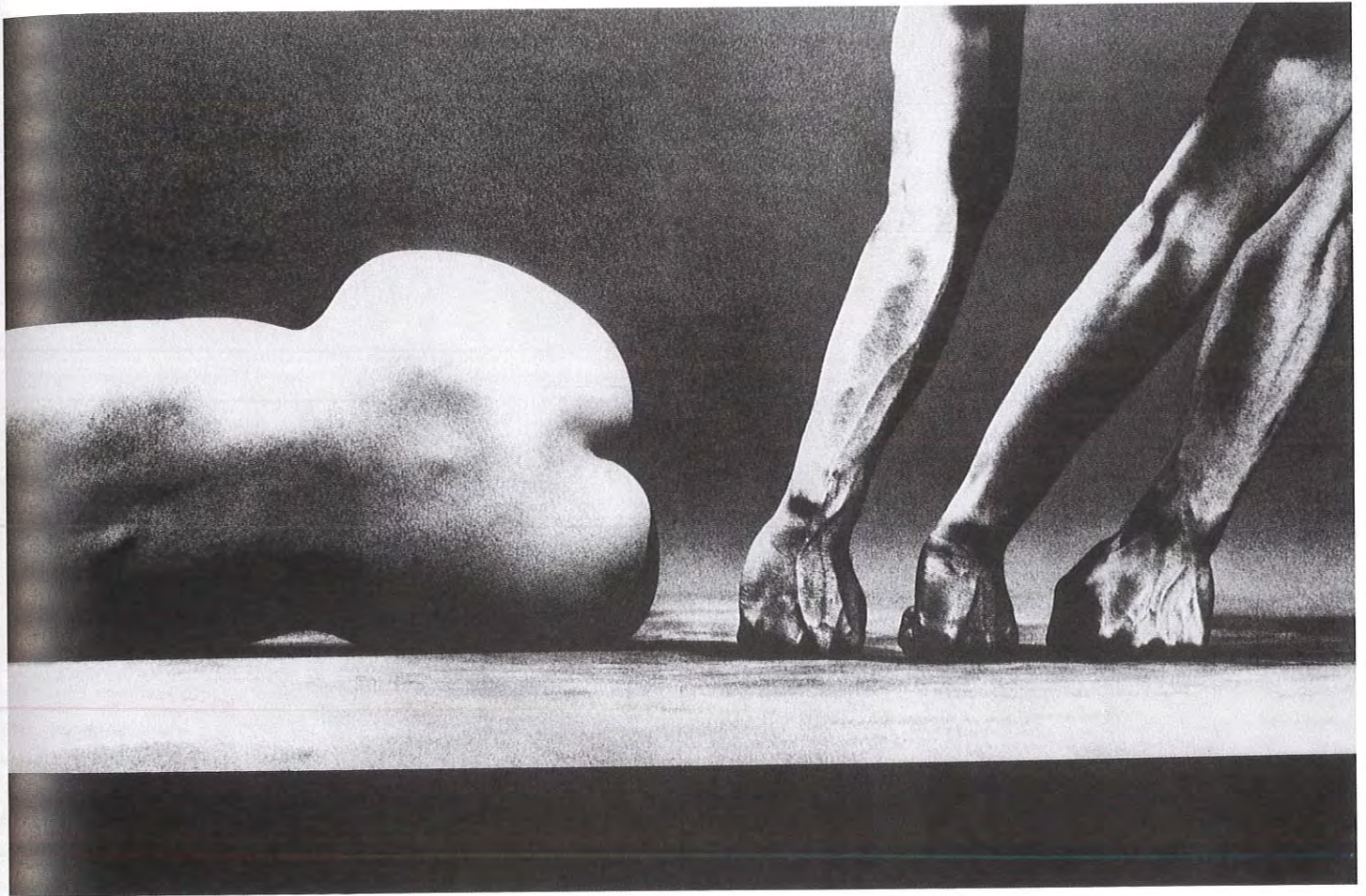
(Tokyo: Shaken, 1969), front cover



Pl. 24. Hosoe Eikoh (Japanese, b. 1933)

Man and Woman #24, 1960

From Hosoe Eikoh, *Otoko to onna = Man and Woman* (Tokyo: CamerArt, 1961), n.p.



Bara iro dansu, a la maison de M. Civeçawa, Shibusawa san no ie no hōe (Rose-colored dance, at the house of Mr. Shibusawa, to the house of Mr. Shibusawa), Ankoku Butoh Group, Sennichidani Kōkaidō hall, Tokyo, 27 and 28 November 1965

Silk-screened poster, 105.2 × 74 cm (41³/₈ × 29¹/₈ in.)

Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute



Pl. 26. Hosoe Eikoh (Japanese, b. 1933)

Hijikata Tatsumi holding an infant and running across
a rice field, 1965

From Hosoe Eikoh and Hijikata Tatsumi, *Kamaitachi: Hosoe Eikoh
shashinshū* (Sickle-toothed weasel: Photobook by Hosoe Eikoh)
(Tokyo: Gendai Shichō-sha, 1969), pl. 31

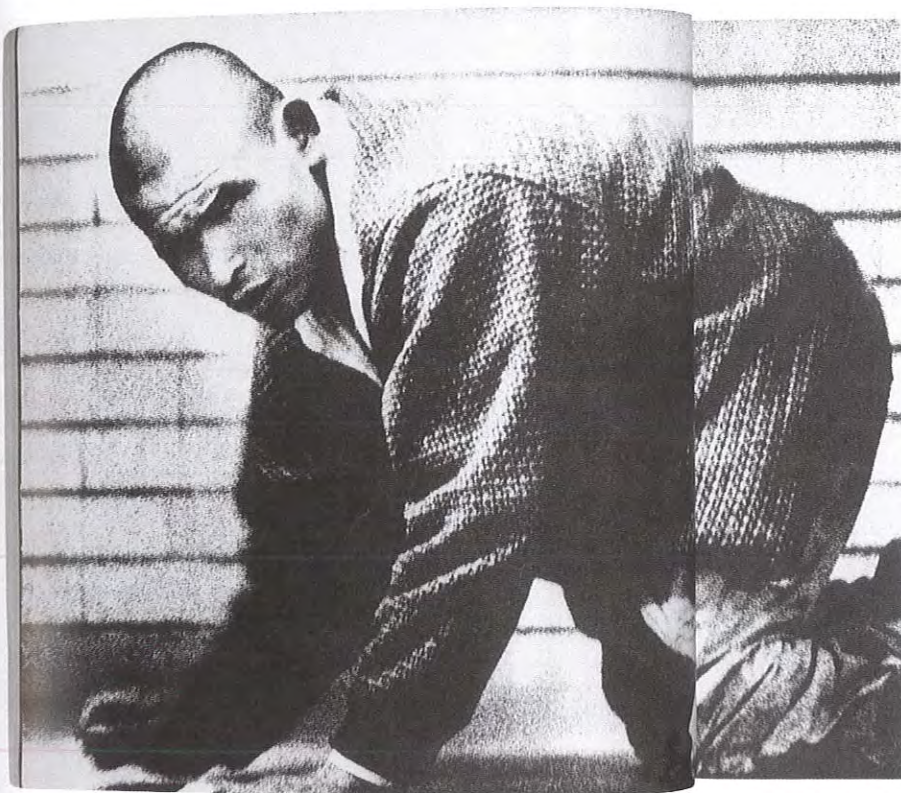




Pl. 28. Moriyama Daidō (Japanese, b. 1938)

Blind Man, 1965, and *Wallpaper*, 1969

From Moriyama Daidō, *Nippon gekijō shashinchō* (Japan theater photo album) (Tokyo: Muromachi Shobō, 1968), n.p.



Pl. 29. "1968 Natsu" (Summer 1968)

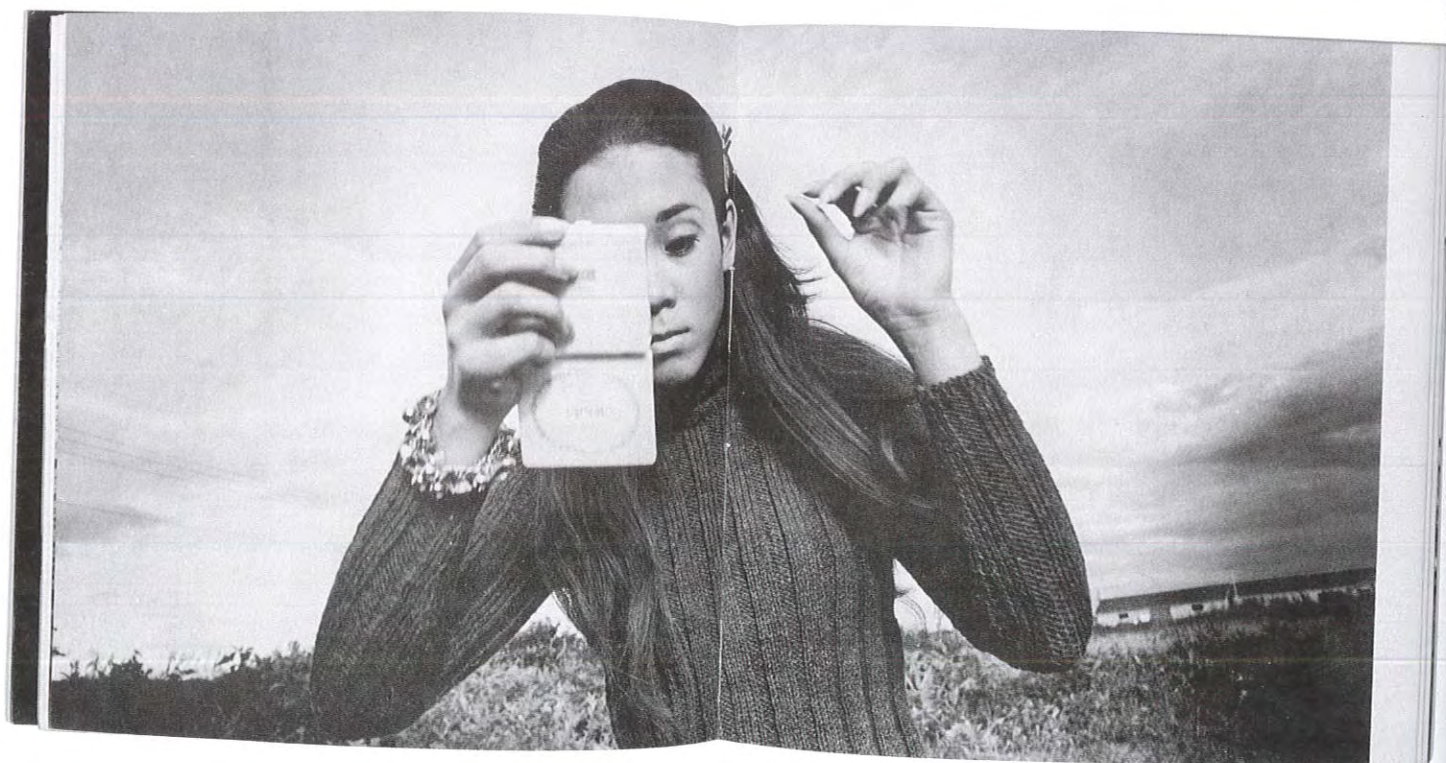
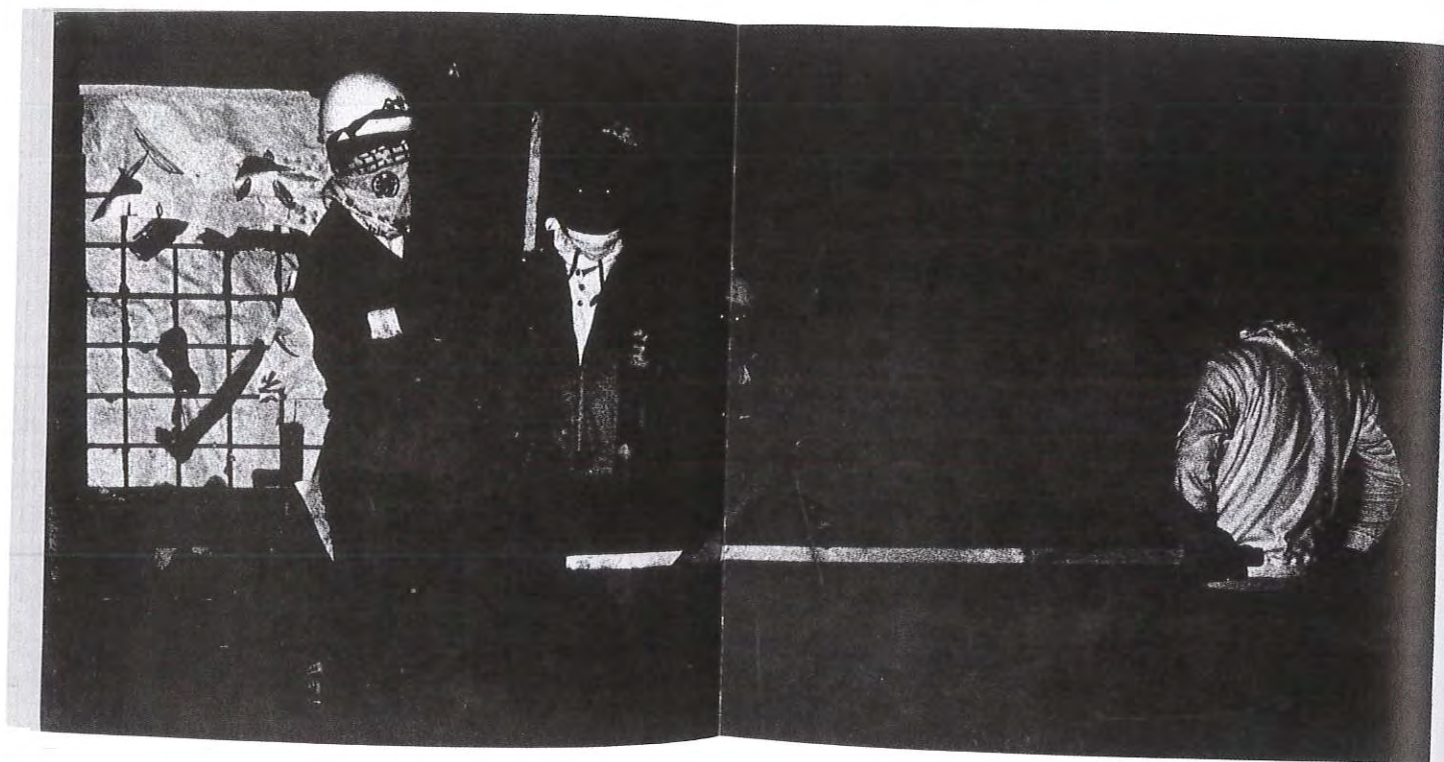
From *Provoke*, no. 1 (1 November 1968): 16–17, 34–35, 48–49

Photographs by

▽ Taki Kōji (Japanese, b. 1928)

▽▽ Takanashi Yutaka (Japanese, b. 1935)

▷ Nakahira Takuma (Japanese, b. 1938)

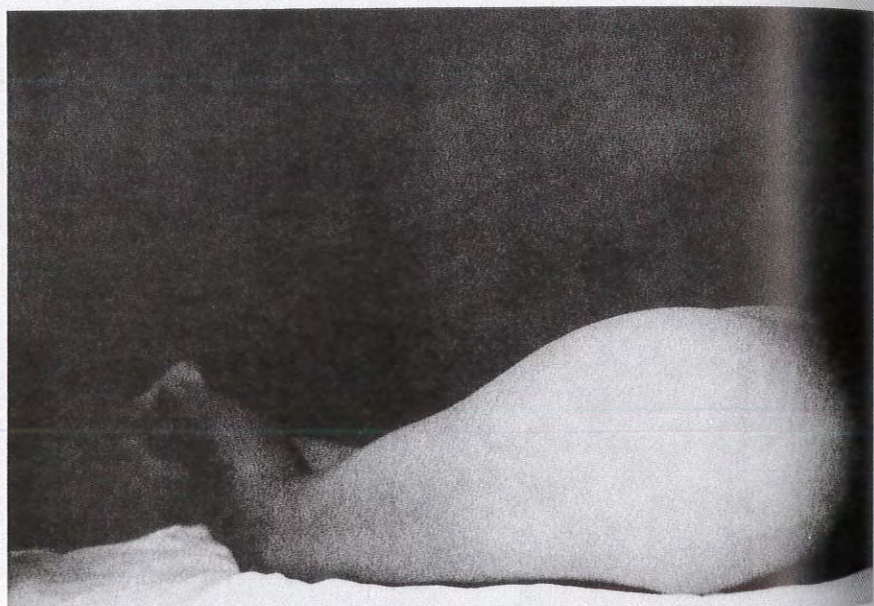




Pl. 30. Moriyama Daidō (Japanese, b. 1938)

Nude Woman

From *Provoke*, no. 2 (10 March 1969): n.p.

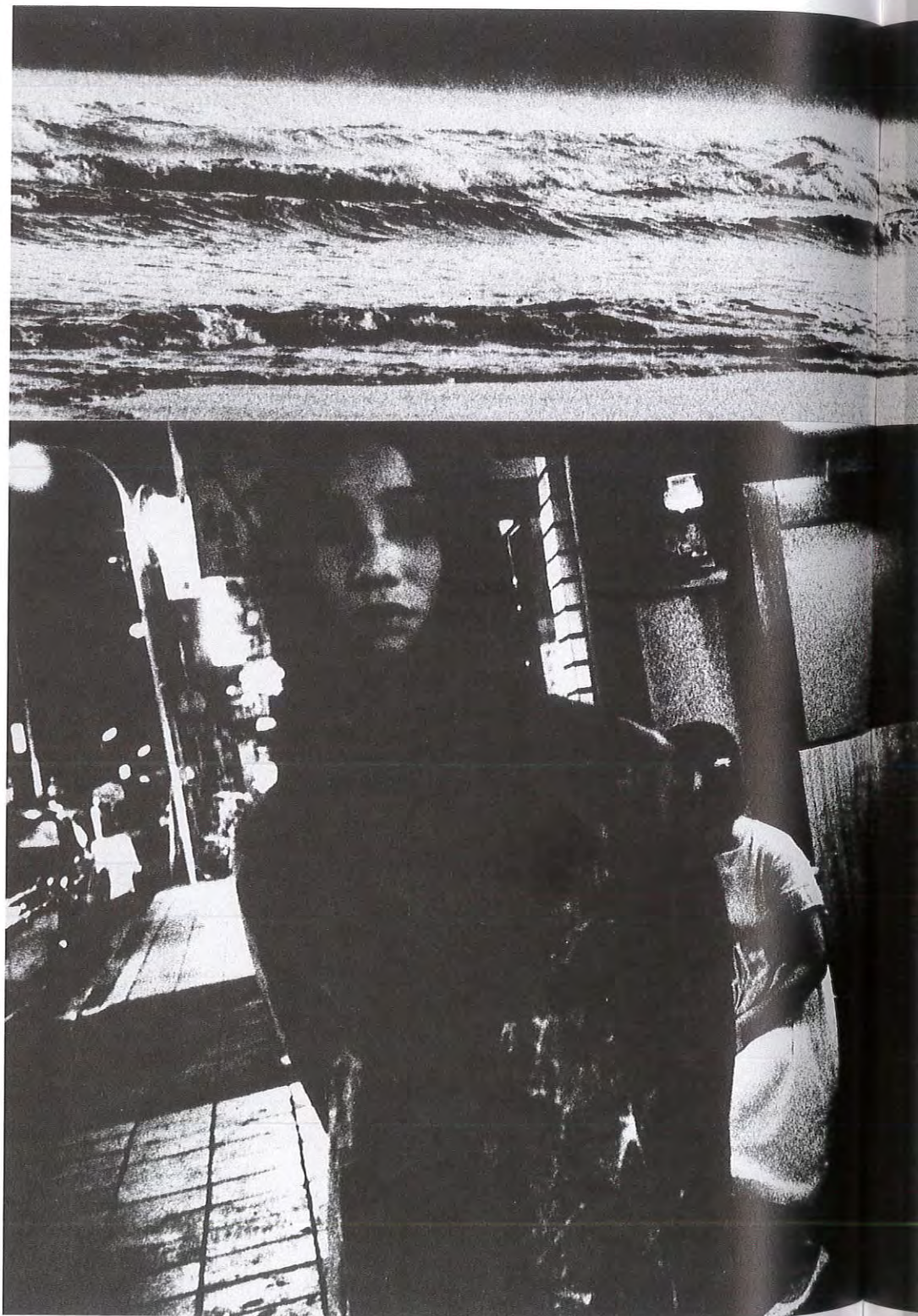




Pl. 31. Nakahira Takuma (Japanese, b. 1938)

Untitled (Sea waves and nightscape), 1970

From Nakahira Takuma, *Kitarubeki kotoba no tameni* (For a language to come) (Tokyo: Fūdo-sha, 1970), n.p.





Pl. 32. Sugiura Kōhei (Japanese, b. 1932), designer
Intermedia Arts Festival-1, organized by Kosugi Takehisa,
 Shiomi Miekko, and Yasunao Tone, Nikkei Hall, Tokyo,
 18, 19, and 21 January 1969
 Offset-printed poster, double-sided, 78.5 × 44.7 cm (30⁷/₈ × 17⁵/₈ in.)
 Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute



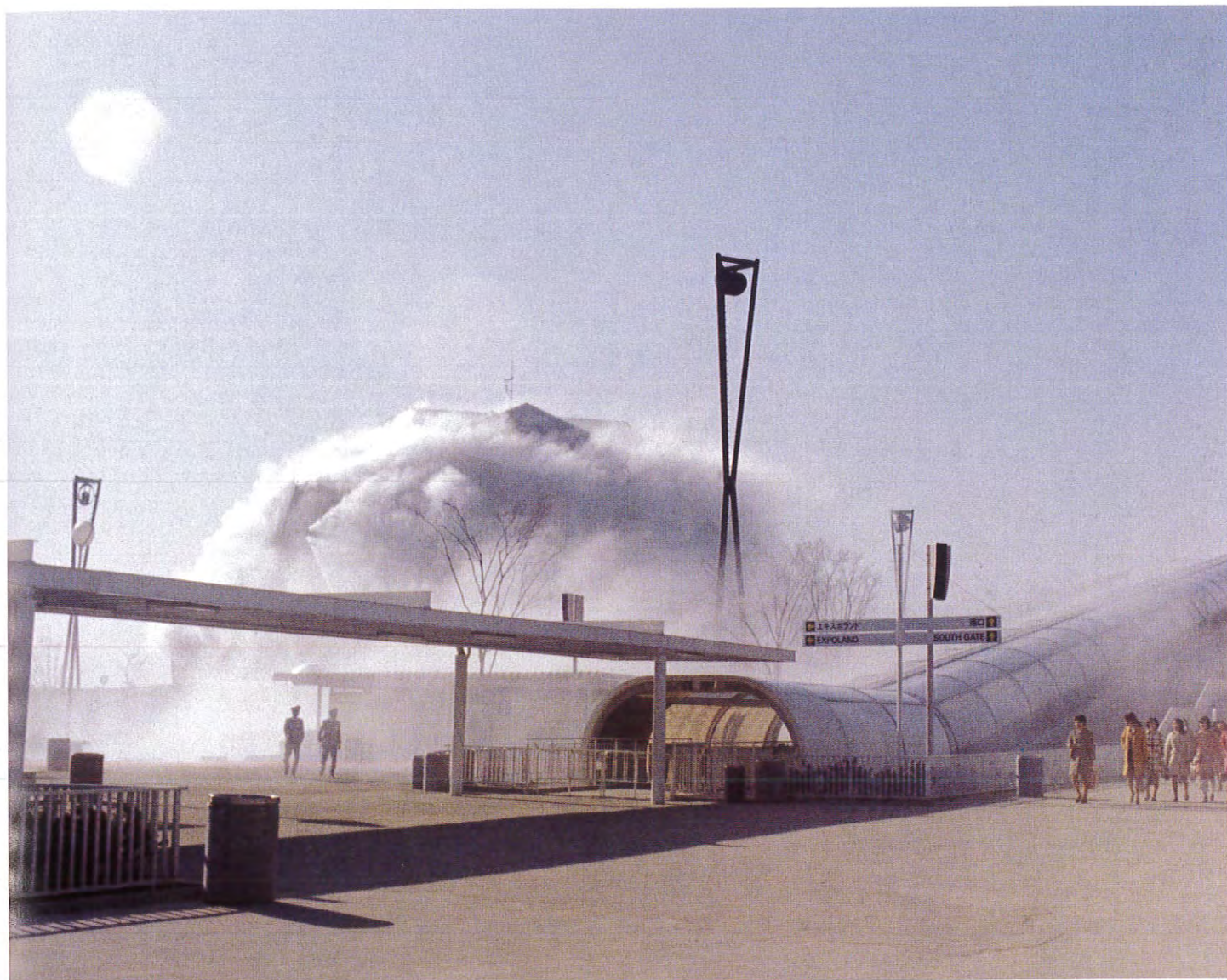
Pl. 34. Nakaya Fujiko (Japanese, b. 1938)

Fog Sculpture, Pepsi Pavilion, Japan World Exposition '70 (Expo '70),

Osaka, 15 March–13 September 1970

35mm color slide

Los Angeles, Getty Research Library



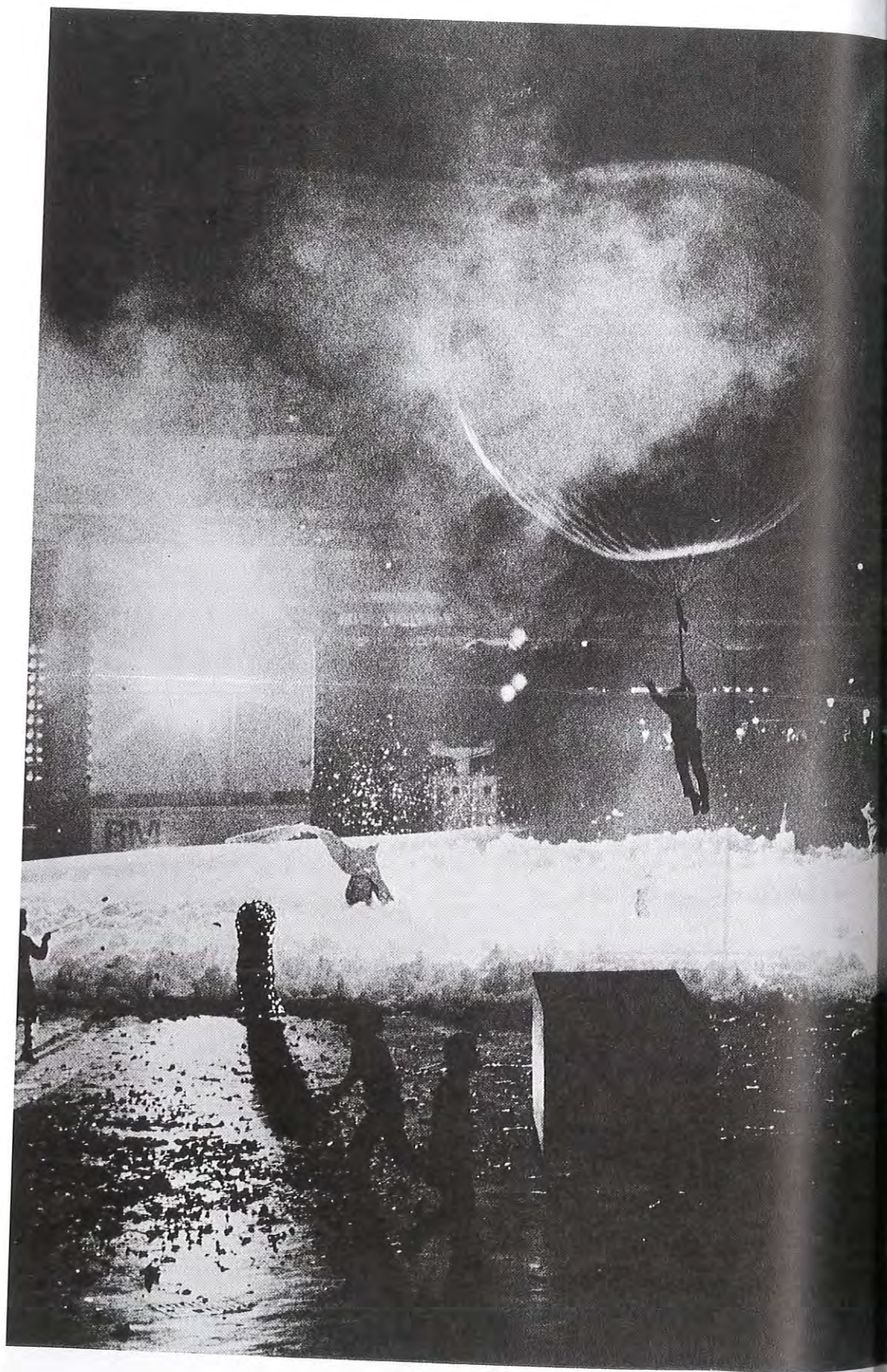
▷

Pl. 35. Gutai Art Association

A Happy New Year (New Year's greeting for 1971 featuring documentary photograph of the Gutai Art Festival at Festival Plaza, Japan World Exposition '70 [Expo '70], Osaka, 31 August–2 September 1970), 1971

Offset-printed poster, 39 × 54 cm (15³/₈ × 21¹/₄ in.)

Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute



A HAPPY NEW YEAR



具体美
ファイ

GUTAI ART
F

GUTAI ART FESTIVAL, EXPO'70 FESTIVAL PLAZA, AUG.31-SEPT.2, 1970, PRODUCED BY JIRO YOSHIHARA
 GUTAI GROUP, ROOM NO.844, OSAKA BLDG., 1 - SOZE-CHO, KITA-KU, OSAKA, JAPAN
 AKIKO HORIO, SADAHARU HORIO, NORIO IMAI, KUMIKO IMANAKA, SEIKO KANNO, SADAYUKI KAWAMURA
 GEORGE KIKUNAMI, TSUYOSHI MAEKAWA, MASATOSHI MASANOBU, YUTAKA MATSUDA, TAKESADA MATSUTANI
 KEIKO MORIUCHI, SADAMASA MOTONAGA, SHUJI MUKAI, SABURO MURAKAMI, MICHIMASA NAOHARA
 IUKO NASAKA, SENKICHIRO NASAKA, KIMIKO OHARA, MINORU ONODA, MASAYA SAKAMOTO, SHOZO SHIMAMOTO
 KAZUO SHIRAGA, YASUO SUMI, MOTONAO TAKASAKI, TERUYUKI TSUBOUCHI, CHIYU UEMAE
 TSURUKO YAMASAKI, MINORU YOSHIDA, TOSHIO YOSHIDA, JIRO YOSHIHARA, MICHIO YOSHIHARA

Pl. 36. Nakahira Takuma (Japanese, b. 1938)

Untitled (Landfill), 1970

From Nakahara Yūsuke, ed., *Dai jukkai Nihon kokusai bijutsu ten: Ningen to busshitsu = Tokyo Biennale '70: Between Man and Matter*, exh. cat. (Tokyo: Mainichi Shinbun-sha, 1970), front cover

▷ Catalog sent as a piece of mail art by Horikawa Michio (Japanese, b. 1946), an exhibitor at the biennale, to the art dealer Paul Maenz (German, b. 1939), 12 September 1970
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute



Top: *Words Rain and Words Sheep*, 4 November 1974
Vocal Chords and Vocal Chords, 20 February 1975
Vinyl and Packing Tape, 2 August 1972
Drain Pipe and D.X. Antenna, 16 December 1972
Big Beat and Big Beat, 9 February 1974
 Bottom: *Bank and Disc Cutting*, 17 May 1974
Telephone Eyesight, 6 July 1970

Pl. 37. Nomura Hitoshi (Japanese, b. 1945)

Hearing, 1970–75

Seven audiocassettes and printed transcripts: each booklet, 28 × 21.5 cm (11 × 8½ in.); each cassette case, 7 × 10.8 × 1.3 cm (2¾ × 4¼ × ½ in.); recordings, 6 min. 0 sec.–15 min. 37 sec.
 Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute



Pl. 38. Ina Ken'ichirō, Shimamura Kiyoharu, and Takeda Kiyoshi,
eds., *Seishin Seirigaku Kenkyūjo* (Psychophysiology Research
Institute) (Tokyo: Seishin Seirigaku Kenkyūjo, 1970)

Portfolio with 77 leaves: each leaf, 29.5 × 21 cm (11⁵/₈ × 8¹/₄ in.);

case, 34 × 21.7 × 2 cm (13³/₈ × 8¹/₂ × ³/₄ in.)

Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute

Top row, left to right: case, portfolio, title page, (no. 1) statement

Bottom row, left to right:

(no. 5) Horikawa Michio (Japanese, b. 1946), *The Shinano River Plan*
(*Christmas Presents*), 3:00 p.m., 7 December 1969

(no. 10) Ina Ken'ichirō (Japanese, b. 1947), *Fūka (toki)* (Time and
distance), meteorological data, 1-1-7 Takeoka, Kiyose, Kitatama-gun,
Tokyo, 3:00 p.m., 7 December 1969



(no. 18) Takeda Kiyoshi (Japanese, b. 1946), *Shisaku shinen no kanzume*
 (A can of contemplation and meditation), noon, 4 January 1970
 (no. 22) Matsuzawa Yutaka (Japanese, b. 1922), *Ima watashi wa...* (I am
 showing this white sheet of paper to Lake Suwa, at altitude 759 m, which
 usually would be visible but is not so today, while standing at latitude
 36°4'15" north, longitude 138°5'20" east, and altitude 788 m, as it silently
 and steadily snows, at time-space of 1200 hours), noon, 8 February 1970

精神生理学

我々は 各地の参加研究所がそれぞれ個々の
 取り得る位置で 規定された時空間において
 同時多発に行方あるいは無行為をもって参加
 する 不可視的美術館 精神生理学研究所を設
 立しました。
 この研究所は 直接的なかわりを拒否した個
 人の行為あるいは無行為の記録を 集合 離
 散させるものです。



今私は音も無く降りしきる雪のなかで東経
 138度5分20秒北緯36度4分15秒海拔788米の
 地点で見えるべくして見えない海拔759 米
 の諏訪湖にこの白紙を見せている。

1970年2月8日12時空

松 沢 有

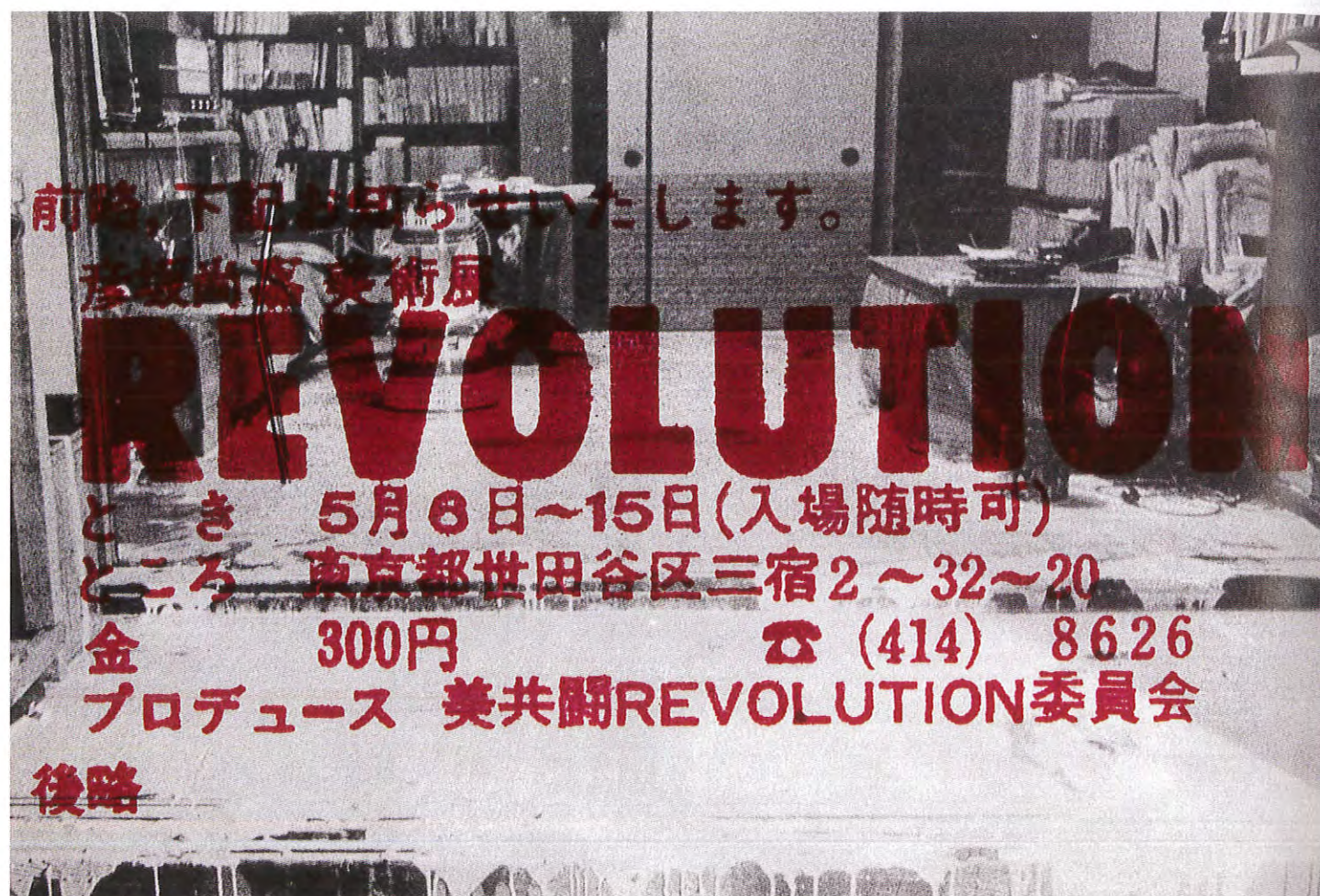
Pl. 39. Hikosaka Naoyoshi (Japanese, b. 1946)

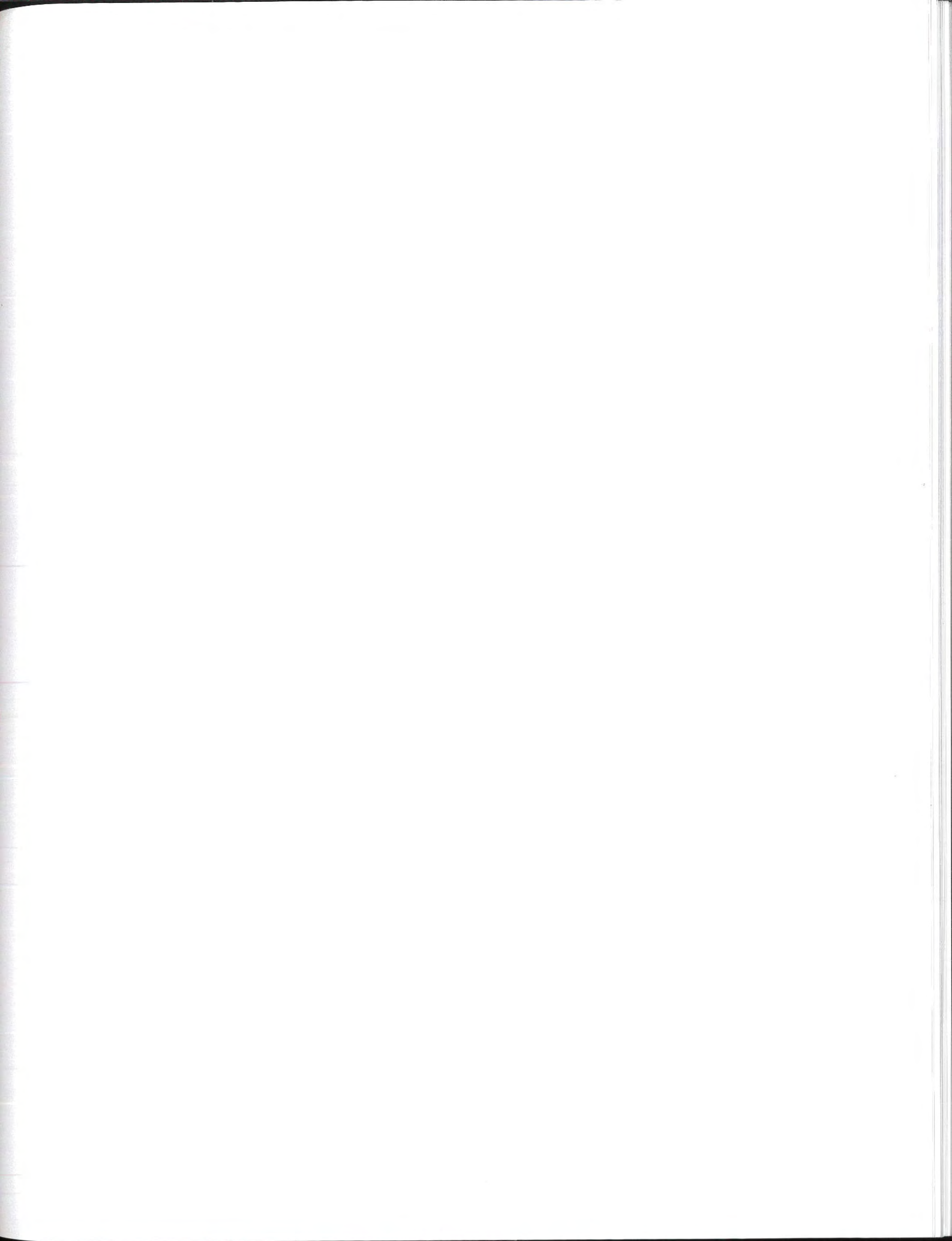
Invitation with a documentary image of Hikosaka Naoyoshi's

Floor Event, for the artist's solo exhibition *Revolution*, 6–15 May 1971

Postcard, silk-screen and offset printing, 10 × 14.5 cm (4 × 5¾ in.)

Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute





LIST OF OBJECTS IN THE EXHIBITION

1

Experimental Workshop
Experimental Workshop's 4th Exhibition, 9 August 1952
Brochure, 25.7 × 18.2 cm (10 1/8 × 7 1/8 in.)
Getty Research Institute, Research Library, 2005.M.8

2

[see pl. 1]
Experimental Workshop
Experimental Workshop's 5th Exhibition, 30 September 1953
Brochure, 26 × 18.6 cm (10 1/4 × 7 3/8 in.)
Getty Research Institute, Research Library, 2005.M.8

3

[see pl. 1]
Experimental Workshop
Experimental Workshop's 5th Presentation, 30 September 1953
Program, 18.5 × 12.7 cm (7 1/4 × 5 in.)
Getty Research Institute, Research Library, 2005.M.8

4

[see pl. 1]
Experimental Workshop
Experimental Workshop's 5th Presentation, 30 September 1953
Poster, 18.3 × 53.8 cm (7 1/4 × 21 1/8 in.)
Getty Research Institute, Research Library, 2005.M.8

5

[see pl. 2]
Ôtsuji Kiyoji
Photograph of assemblage by Yamaguchi Katsuhiro for "Asahi Picture News," *Asahigurafu* (Asahigraph), 18 March 1953
Yamaguchi Katsuhiro and Ôtsuji Kiyoji, *APN* (Tokyo: Tokyo Publishing House, 2004), 5/7, no. 5
Modern gelatin silver print, 9.7 × 19 cm (3 7/8 × 7 1/2 in.)
Getty Research Institute, Research Library, 2651-735

6

[see pl. 3]
Ôtsuji Kiyoji
Photograph of assemblage by Kitadai Shōzō for "Asahi Picture News," *Asahigurafu* (Asahigraph), 3 February 1954
Kitadai Shōzō and Ôtsuji Kiyoji, *APN* (Tokyo: Tokyo Publishing House, 2004), 5/7, no. 10
Modern gelatin silver print, 19 × 14.3 cm (7 1/2 × 5 5/8 in.)
Getty Research Institute, Research Library, 2651-741

7

[see pl. 4]
Ishimoto Yasuhiro
View from the New Palace toward the Middle Shoin, 1953
Ishimoto Yasuhiro, Walter Gropius, and Tange Kenzō, *Katsura: Tradition and Creation in Japanese Architecture* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1960), n.p.
Book, 28.5 × 27.5 × 2.3 cm (11 1/4 × 10 3/4 × 7/8 in.)
Getty Research Institute, Research Library, 91-B20256

8

[see pl. 5]
Shiraga Kazuo
Challenging Mud (Doro ni idomu), 1st Gutai Art Exhibition, Ohara Kaikan hall, Tokyo, 19–28 October 1955
Documentary photograph: gelatin silver print, 10.1 × 14.7 cm (4 × 5 3/4 in.)
Getty Research Institute, Research Library, Allan Kaprow Papers, 980063

9

Shiraga Kazuo
Please Come In (Dōzo ohairi kudasai), Imazuham beach, Nishinomiya, Hyōgo Prefecture, 6–8 April 1956
Documentary photograph: gelatin silver print, 11 × 15.3 cm (4 3/8 × 6 in.)
Getty Research Institute, Research Library, Allan Kaprow Papers, 980063

10

Shimamoto Shōzō
Making a painting by throwing bottles of paint, 2nd Gutai Art Exhibition, Ohara Kaikan hall, Tokyo, 11–17 October 1956
Documentary photograph: gelatin silver print, 11.7 × 11 cm (4 5/8 × 4 3/8 in.)
Getty Research Institute, Research Library, Allan Kaprow Papers, 980063

11

[see pl. 6]
Kanayama Akira
Giant Balloon (Kyodai na barūn), Gutai Art on Stage, Sankei Kaikan hall, Osaka, 29 May 1957, or Sankei Hall, Tokyo, 17 July 1957
Documentary photograph: gelatin silver print, 10.2 × 14.8 cm (4 × 5 7/8 in.)
Getty Research Institute, Research Library, Allan Kaprow Papers, 980063

12
[see pl. 7]
Murakami Saburō
Breaking Paper Screens (Byōbu to torikumu), Gutai Art on Stage, Sankei Kaikan hall, Osaka, 29 May 1957, or Sankei Hall, Tokyo, 17 July 1957
Documentary photograph: gelatin silver print, 10.7 × 17.2 cm
(4¼ × 6¾ in.)
Getty Research Institute, Research Library, Allan Kaprow Papers,
980063

13
[see pl. 8]
Tanaka Atsuko
Electric Dress (Denki-fuku), Tanaka's studio, Osaka, April 1957
Documentary photograph: gelatin silver print, 18 × 12.9 cm
(7⅞ × 5⅞ in.)
Getty Research Institute, Research Library, Allan Kaprow Papers,
980063

14
Tanaka Atsuko
Stage Clothes (Butai-fuku), Gutai Art on Stage, Sankei Kaikan hall, Osaka, 29 May 1957, or Sankei Hall, Tokyo, 17 July 1957
Documentary photograph: gelatin silver print, 11.2 × 15.2 cm
(4¾ × 6 in.)
Getty Research Institute, Research Library, Allan Kaprow Papers,
980063

15
[see pl. 9]
Gutai Art Association
International Sky Festival, Takashimaya Department Store, Osaka,
19–24 April 1960
Documentary photograph: gelatin silver print, 10.9 × 11.2 cm
(4¼ × 4¾ in.)
Getty Research Institute, Research Library, Allan Kaprow Papers,
980063

16
Yoshihara Jirō, editorial supervisor, and Shimamoto Shōzo,
editor and publisher
Gutai (Nishinomiya: Gutai Art Association, 1955–65)
Getty Research Institute, Research Library, 2595-157

Gutai 1, 1 January 1955
Journal, 26 × 19.2 cm (10¼ × 7½ in.)
Cover: Yoshihara Jirō

Gutai 2, special issue on works by Kinoshita Toshiko and
Inui Michiko, 10 October 1955
Journal, 25.6 × 27 cm (10⅞ × 10⅞ in.)
Cover: Yoshida Toshio

Gutai 3, special issue on Gutai's *Experimental Outdoor Exhibition
of Modern Art to Challenge the Mid-Summer Sun*, 20 October 1955
Journal, 25.5 × 26.5 cm (10⅞ × 10⅞ in.)
Cover: Motonaga Sadamasa

Gutai 4, special issue on the 1st Gutai Art Exhibition, 1 July 1956
Journal, 24.3 × 25.8 cm (9⅝ × 10⅞ in.)
Cover: Yoshida Toshio

Gutai 5, special issue on the *Outdoor Exhibition of Gutai Art*,
1 October 1956
Journal, 24.7 × 26.3 cm (9¾ × 10⅜ in.)
Cover: Kanayama Akira

Gutai 6, special issue on the 2nd Gutai Art Exhibition, 1 April 1957
Journal, 24.8 × 26 cm (9¾ × 10¼ in.)
Cover: Shimamoto Shōzō

Gutai 7, special issue on Gutai Art on Stage/3rd Gutai
Art Exhibition, 15 July 1957
Journal, 25 × 26.5 cm (9⅞ × 10⅜ in.)
Cover: Finale of Gutai Art on Stage

Gutai 8: L'aventure Informel, special issue on Art Informel,
29 September 1957
Yoshihara Jirō and Michel Tapié, editorial supervisors
Journal, 25.2 × 26.5 cm (9⅞ × 10⅜ in.)
Cover: Lucio Fontana

17
Group Ongaku
Music of Group Ongaku (Osaka: HEAR Sound Art Library, 1996)
Recordings transferred to compact disc
Getty Research Institute, Research Library, 1396-394

Automatism, performed at Mizuno Shūkō's residence, Tokyo,
8 May 1960, 26 min. 20 sec.

Objet, performed at Mizuno Shūkō's residence, Tokyo, 8 May 1960,
7 min. 34 sec.

Metaplastm 9-15, performed at Group Ongaku's *Concert of
Improvisational Music and Acoustic Objet*, Sōgetsu Art Center,
Tokyo, 15 September 1961: part 1, 14 min. 16 sec.; part 2,
11 min. 26 sec.

18
[see pl. 10]
Ichiyanagi Toshi
Kaiki [Recurrence] for Koto for John Cage, October 1960
Instruction sheet: ink and pencil on vellum, 31.7 × 24.2 cm
(12½ × 9½ in.)
Musical composition: ink and pencil on vellum, 24.2 × 31.7 cm
(9½ × 12½ in.)
Getty Research Institute, Research Library, David Tudor Papers, 980039

19
[see pl. 11]
Ichiyanagi Toshi
Music for Electric Metronome, April 1960

- Instruction sheet: electrostatic print with pencil, 2 sheets,
each 31.7 × 24.2 cm (12½ × 9½ in.)
Getty Research Institute, Research Library, David Tudor Papers,
980039
- Musical composition: blueprint positive, 28 × 35.7 cm (11 × 14 in.)
Getty Research Institute, Research Library, Jean Brown Papers,
890164
- 20
[see pl. 11]
Ichiyonagi Toshi
IBM for Merce Cunningham and Music for Electric Metronome, 1960
Instruction sheet: blueprint positive, 29.6 × 21 cm (11¾ × 8¼ in.)
Getty Research Institute, Research Library, Jean Brown Papers, 890164
- 21
[see pl. 12]
Takemitsu Tōru and Sugiura Kōhei
Corona for Pianists (Paris: Éditions Salabert Durand Eschig, 1962)
Musical composition: cover and instruction leaves, five colored leaves,
five Mylar leaves, in plastic slipcase; each leaf, 24 × 24 cm (9½ × 9½ in.)
Getty Research Institute, Research Library, David Tudor Papers, 980039
- 22
[see pl. 13]
John Cage
Music Walk (performance by John Cage, David Tudor, Yoko Ono,
and Mayuzumi Toshiro), Sōgetsu Contemporary Series 18:
Event of John Cage and David Tudor, Tokyo Bunka Kaikan hall,
Tokyo, 9 October 1962
Documentary photograph by Matsuzaki Kunitoshi: gelatin silver print,
21.7 × 14.6 cm (8½ × 5¾ in.)
Getty Research Institute, Research Library, David Tudor Papers, 980039
- 23
Performance by John Cage, Ichiyonagi Toshi, and David Tudor,
Event of John Cage and David Tudor, Sōgetsu Art Center, Tokyo,
27 November 1964
Documentary photographs: gelatin silver print, 10.4 × 16.8 cm
(4⅞ × 6⅝ in.), 11.2 × 17.2 cm (4¾ × 6¾ in.)
Getty Research Institute, Research Library, David Tudor Papers, 980039
- 24
[see pl. 14]
Ushio Shinohara, *Zen'ei no michi* (The avant-garde road)
(Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppan-sha, 1968)
Book with slipcase: book, 18 × 13 × 1.4 cm (7⅞ × 5⅞ × ⅝ in.)
Getty Research Institute, Research Library, 2601-380
- 25
Hi Red Center
Fluxclinic Record of Features and Feats, 1966–69 (Fluxus edition,
New York)
Folded card, 19.5 × 12.9 cm (7⅝ × 5⅞ in.)
Getty Research Institute, Research Library, 2003.M.7
- 26
1,000-Yen Note Incident Discussion Group (Sen-en-satsu Jiken
Kondankai)
One Thousand-Yen Note Trial Catalogue of Seized Works
Supplement in *Psyche Journal* (Tokyo), August 1967
Poster, 59 × 43.5 cm (23¼ × 17⅞ in.)
Getty Research Institute, Research Library, 2003.M.7
- 27
Fluxus (assembled by George Maciunas with contributions by Ay-O,
Kosugi Takehisa, Shiomi Mieko [Chieko], George Brecht, Giuseppe
Chiari, Dick Higgins, Alison Knowles, George Maciunas, Nam June
Paik, Benjamin Patterson, James Riddle, Ben Vautier, Robert Watts,
Emmett Williams)

Ay-O, *Finger Box*; Shiomi Mieko (Chieko), *Water Music*,
Endless Box, and *Box of Events*; Kosugi Takehisa, *Box of Events*
Fluxkit, 1965
Mixed media: vinyl attaché case, 30.3 × 44.5 × 12.5 cm
(11⅞ × 17½ × 4⅞ in.)
Getty Research Institute, Research Library, Jean Brown Papers,
890164
- 28
[see pls. 15, 16]
Fluxus (compiled by George Maciunas with contributions by Ay-O,
Hashimoto Sōhei, Hi Red Center, Kosugi Takehisa, Shigeko Kubota,
Yoko Ono, Takako Saitō, Shiomi Mieko [Chieko], George Brecht,
Stanley Broun, Giuseppe Chiari, Congo, Robert Filliou, Brion Gysin,
Dick Higgins, Ann Halprin, Joe Jones, Alison Knowles, Györgi Ligeti,
Jackson Mac Low, George Maciunas, Benjamin Patterson, Tomas
Schmit, Ben Vautier, Robert Watts, Emmett Williams, La Monte Young)

Kosugi Takehisa, *Theatre Music*; Shigeko Kubota, *Napkin for Next*
Supper/Flux Napkins; Shiomi Mieko [Chieko], *Disappearing Music*
for Envelopes/Endless Envelopes and *Disappearing Music for Face*;
Hashimoto Sōhei, *Composition for Rich Man*
Fluxus 1, 1964/1965
Graphic works and envelopes held together with bolts: bound
envelopes, 19 × 21 × 3.3 cm (7½ × 8¼ × 1¼ in.)
Getty Research Institute, Research Library, 90-B8246

Ay-O, *Finger Envelope*; Kosugi Takehisa, *Theatre Music*; Shigeko
Kubota, *Napkin for Next Supper/Flux Napkins*; Yoko Ono,
Self-Portrait; Shiomi Mieko (Chieko), *Disappearing Music for*
Envelopes/Endless Envelopes and *Disappearing Music for Face*;
Takako Saitō, *Magic Boat*; Hashimoto Sōhei, *Composition*
for Rich Man; map documenting Hi Red Center events in Tokyo
Fluxus 1, 1964/1965
Wooden box with graphic works and envelopes held together
with bolts: box, 22.5 × 24.1 × 5.7 cm (8⅞ × 9½ × 2¼ in.); bound
envelopes, 19 × 21 × 3.5 cm (7½ × 8¼ × 1⅜ in.)
Getty Research Institute, Research Library, Jean Brown Papers,
890164

- 29
[see pl. 17]
Ay-O
Tactile Box, 1963 (Fluxus edition, New York)
Cardboard box with torn architectural vellum, paint, and paper:
box, 31 × 31 × 31 cm (12¼ × 12¼ × 12¼ in.)
Getty Research Institute, Research Library, Jean Brown Papers, 890164
- 30
Ay-O
Finger Box, 1964 (Fluxus edition, New York)
Wooden box with alarm, bell, brushes, elbow pipe, glove finger,
paper, plastic balls, rubber point, sawdust, steel, Vaseline, plastic vial
in a larger vial, water, wax paper, and wool: box, 32.7 × 38.5 × 38.5 cm
(12⅞ × 15⅛ × 15⅛ in.)
Getty Research Institute, Research Library, Jean Brown Papers, 890164
- 31
[see pl. 18]
Shigeko Kubota
Flux Medicine, 1966 (Fluxus edition, New York)
Clear plastic container with bandage wrappers, empty capsules,
dropper, and vial: container, 10 × 12 × 2.6 cm (4 × 4¾ × 1 in.)
Getty Research Institute, Research Library, Jean Brown Papers, 890164
- 32
Yoko Ono
Untitled (Birth Announcement), 1963
Envelope with three sheets of paper: *Instructions for Poem No. 81*,
23 × 6 cm (9 × 2⅜ in.); *Instructions for Poem No. 86 Fly*, 23 × 5.5 cm
(9 × 2⅛ in.); address sheet, 23 × 6.9 cm (9 × 2¾ in.); envelope,
8.5 × 20.3 cm (3⅜ × 8 in.)
Getty Research Institute, Research Library, David Tudor Papers, 980039
- 33
Yoko Ono
Ono's Sales List, 1965
Mimeograph with blue ballpoint ink, 35.5 × 21.8 cm (14 × 8⅝ in.)
Getty Research Institute, Research Library, David Tudor Papers, 980039
- 34
Yoko Ono
A Box of Smile, 1967
1971 edition: clear plastic container, 5.4 × 5.4 × 5.5 cm
(2⅛ × 2⅛ × 2⅛ in.)
Getty Research Institute, Research Library, Jean Brown Papers,
890164
1984 edition by ReFLUX, New York: black plastic container
with mirror, 5.4 × 5.4 × 5.5 cm (2⅛ × 2⅛ × 2⅛ in.)
Getty Research Institute, Research Library, Jean Brown Papers,
890164
- 35
[see pl. 19]
Takako Saitō
Grinder Chess or Tool Chess, 1965/1966 (Fluxus edition, New York)
Wooden box with metal grinders and paper: box, 17 × 17 × 7.3 cm
(6¾ × 6¾ × 2⅞ in.)
Getty Research Institute, Research Library, Jean Brown Papers, 890164
- 36
[see pl. 20]
Takako Saitō
Spice Chess, 1965 (Fluxus edition, New York)
Spices, glass tubes, corks, and acrylic board: 15.2 × 15.2 × 9.8 cm
(6 × 6 × 3⅞ in.)
Getty Research Institute, Research Library, Jean Brown Papers, 890164
- 37
[see pl. 21]
Shiomi Mieko (Chieko)
Spatial Poem No. 1: Word Event, March–May 1965 (Fluxus edition,
New York)
Plastic box with pins, cards, and stenciled cork sheet:
box, 22.5 × 33.3 × 5.8 cm (8⅞ × 13⅛ × 2¼ in.)
Getty Research Institute, Research Library, Jean Brown Papers, 890164
- 38
Shiomi Mieko
Spatial Poem No. 3: A Fluxxalender, 1968 (Fluxus edition, New York)
Date cards, calfskin, and wooden box: calendar, 40 × 13.3 cm
(15¾ × 5¼ in.); box with date cards, 12 × 15.2 × 1.5 cm (4¾ × 6 × ⅝ in.)
Getty Research Institute, Research Library, Jean Brown Papers, 890164
- 39
Sano Bun'ichirō et al., eds., *Hiroshima-Nagasaki, Document 1961*
(Tokyo: Japan Council against Atomic & Hydrogen Bombs, 1961)
Book: vol. 1 (with photographs by Domon Ken and Tōmatsu Shōmei
and poems), 28.3 × 28.3 × 2.2 cm (11⅛ × 11⅛ × ⅞ in.); vol. 2
(with documents and data), 28 × 28 × 0.4 cm (11 × 11 × ⅛ in.)
Getty Research Institute, Research Library, 2604-898
- 40
[see pl. 22]
Tōmatsu Shōmei
Urakawa Kiyomi and Her Youngest Daughter Shizuka, Nagasaki, 1961
Tōmatsu Shōmei, *11:02 Nagasaki* (Tokyo: Shashin Dōjin-sha, 1966), n.p.
Book with slipcase and publisher's insert: book, 23 × 19.7 × 2 cm
(9 × 7¾ × ¾ in.)
Getty Research Institute, Research Library, 2604-887

41
[see pl. 23]
Tōmatsu Shōmei
Untitled (Kadena Air Base, Okinawa), 1969
Tōmatsu Shōmei, *Shashinshū: Okinawa Okinawa Okinawa: Okinawa ni kichi ga aru no dewa naku kichi no naka ni Okinawa ga aru* (Photobook: Okinawa, Okinawa, Okinawa: Not that the bases are located in Okinawa, but Okinawa is located in the bases) (Tokyo: Shaken, 1969), cover
Book, 21 × 26 × 0.8 cm (8¼ × 10¼ × ⅜ in.)
Getty Research Institute, Research Library, 2604-885

42
[see pl. 24]
Hosoe Eikoh
Man and Woman #24, 1960
Hosoe Eikoh, with poems by Yamamoto Tarō, *Otoko to onna = Man and Woman* (Tokyo: CamerArt, 1961), n.p.
Book, 24.5 × 21 × 0.8 cm (9⅝ × 8¼ × ⅜ in.)
Getty Research Institute, Research Library, 2601-362

43
[see pl. 25]
Yokoo Tadanori
Bara iro dansu, a la maison de M. Civeçawa, Shibusawa san no ie no hōe (Rose-colored dance, at the house of Mr. Shibusawa, to the house of Mr. Shibusawa), Ankoku Butoh Group, Sennichidani Kōkaidō hall, Tokyo, 27 and 28 November 1965
Silk-screened poster, 105.2 × 74 cm (41⅜ × 29⅞ in.)
Getty Research Institute, Research Library, 2641-640

44
Hijikata Tatsumi
Hijikata Tatsumi and the Japanese: Revolt of the Flesh (Hijikata Tatsumi to nihonjin: Nikutai no hanran), Nihon Seinen-kan hall, Tokyo, 9 or 10 October 1968
8mm performance documentation film transferred to CD-ROM, 12 min.
Getty Research Institute, Research Library, 2669-707

45
[see pl. 26]
Hosoe Eikoh
Hijikata Tatsumi holding an infant and running across a rice field, 1965
Hosoe Eikoh and Hijikata Tatsumi, *Kamaitachi: Hosoe Eikoh shashinshū* (Sickle-toothed weasel: Photobook by Hosoe Eikoh), with *butō* by Hijikata Tatsumi, preface by Takiguchi Shūzō, poetry by Miyoshi Toyoichirō, and book design by Tanaka Ikkō (Tokyo: Gendai Shichō-sha, 1969), pl. 31
Book with slipcase: book, 38 × 31 × 2.5 cm (15 × 12¼ × 1 in.)
Getty Research Institute, Research Library, 2639-354

46
[see pl. 27]
Yokoo Tadanori
Kara Jūrō, with insert note by Takiguchi Shūzō, *Jon Shirubā* (John Silver) (Tokyo: Tensei Shuppan, 1969), cover illustration and design
Book, 19.3 × 23.4 × 2 cm (7⅝ × 9¼ × ¾ in.)
Getty Research Institute, Research Library, Gift of Reiko Tomii, 2623-309

47
[see pl. 28]
Moriyama Daidō
Blind Man, 1965, and *Wallpaper*, 1968
Moriyama Daidō, with text by Terayama Shūji, *Nippon gekijō shashinchō* (Japan theater photo album) (Tokyo: Muromachi Shobō, 1968), n.p.
Book, 21 × 22 × 1.5 cm (8¼ × 8⅝ × ⅝ in.)
Getty Research Institute, Research Library, 2604-920

48
[see pls. 29, 30]
Provoke: Shisō no tame no chōhatsuteki shiryō (Provocative materials for thought) (Tokyo: Provoke, 1968–69)
Getty Research Institute, Research Library, 2604-874

Provoke, no. 1, 1 November 1968
Taki Kōji, Nakahira Takuma, Okada Takahiko, and Takanashi Yutaka, eds.
Journal, 21 × 21 × 0.7 cm (8¼ × 8¼ × ¼ in.)

Provoke, no. 2, 10 March 1969
Taki Kōji, Nakahira Takuma, Okada Takahiko, Takanashi Yutaka, and Moriyama Daidō, eds.
Journal, 24.3 × 18 × 0.9 cm (9⅝ × 7⅞ × ⅜ in.)

Provoke, no. 3, 10 August 1969
Taki Kōji, Nakahira Takuma, Okada Takahiko, Takanashi Yutaka, and Moriyama Daidō, eds.
Journal, 24 × 18.5 × 0.9 cm (9½ × 7¼ × ⅜ in.)

49
[see pl. 31]
Nakahira Takuma
Untitled (Sea waves and nightscape), 1970
Nakahira Takuma, *Kitarubeki kotoba no tame ni* (For a language to come) (Tokyo: Fūdo-sha, 1970), n.p.
Book with slipcase: book, 30 × 21.5 × 1.7 cm (11⅞ × 8½ × ⅝ in.)
Getty Research Institute, Research Library, 2604-891

50
[see pl. 32]
Sugiura Kōhei
Intermedia Arts Festival-1, organized by Kosugi Takehisa, Shiomi Mieko, and Yasunao Tone, Nikkei Hall, Tokyo, 18, 19, and 21 January 1969
Offset-printed poster, double-sided, 78.5 × 44.7 cm (30⅞ × 17⅝ in.)
Getty Research Institute, Research Library, Jean Brown Papers, 890164

51

[see pl. 33]

Kokusai saitekku āto ten katarogu "Electromagica '69" (Catalog of the international psytech art exhibition *Electromagica '69*), Sony Building, Ginza, Tokyo, 26 April–25 May 1969
 Supplement in *Bijutsu techō*, no. 313 (May 1969)

Poster/catalog, 79 × 57 cm (31 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 22 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)

Getty Research Institute, Research Library, David Tudor Papers, 980039

52

[see pl. 34]

Experiments in Art and Technology (EAT)

Pepsi Pavilion, Japan World Exposition '70 (Expo '70),

15 March–13 September 1970, with views of Nakaya Fujiko's

Fog Sculpture

Photographic documentation: 35mm color slides

Getty Research Institute, Research Library, EAT Records, 940003

53

[see pl. 35]

Gutai Art Association

A Happy New Year (New Year's greeting for 1971 featuring documentary photograph of the Gutai Art Festival at Festival Plaza, Japan World Exposition '70 [Expo '70], Osaka, 31 August–2 September 1970), 1971

Offset-printed poster, 39 × 54 cm (15 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 21 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

Getty Research Institute, Research Library, Allan Kaprow Papers, 980063

54

[see pl. 36]

Nakahira Takuma

Untitled (Landfill), 1970

Nakahara Yūsuke, ed., *Dai jukkai Nihon kokusai bijutsu ten:*

Ningen to busshitsu = Tokyo Biennale '70: Between Man and Matter,

exh. cat. (Tokyo: Mainichi Shinbun-sha, 1970), front cover

Book, 23.5 × 25.2 × 0.8 cm (9 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 9 $\frac{7}{8}$ × $\frac{3}{8}$ in.); width with front flap of cover open, 38.2 cm (15 in.)

Catalog mailed by Horikawa Michio to Paul Maenz, 12 September 1970

Getty Research Institute, Research Library, 91-B12079

55

Horikawa Michio

Shinano River Plan 2000 (*Stone Sent to Reiko Tomii*), 1969/2000

Stone, airmail tags, and address label: stone, 9.5 × 13 × 8 cm

(3 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 3 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.); tags and labels, 6 × 12 cm (2 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.)

and smaller

Getty Research Institute, Research Library, Gift of Reiko Tomii and

Jeff Rothstein, 2004.M.15

56

[see pl. 37]

Nomura Hitoshi

Telephone Eyseshot, 6 July 1970 (from the series *Hearing*, 12 September 1970–75)

Printed transcript and audiocassette with two recordings: booklet,

28 × 21.5 cm (11 × 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.); recording 1, 15 min. 7 sec.; recording 2,

13 min. 21 sec.

Getty Research Institute, Research Library, 2616-333, vol. 1

57

[see pl. 38]

Ina Ken'ichirō, Shimamura Kiyoharu, and Takeda Kiyoshi, eds., *Seishin Seirigaku Kenkyūjo* (Psychophysiology Research Institute)

(Tokyo: Seishin Seirigaku Kenkyūjo, 1 August 1970)

Portfolio with 77 leaves: leaves, 29.5 × 21 cm (11 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.);

case, 34 × 21.7 × 2 cm (13 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ × $\frac{3}{4}$ in.)

Getty Research Institute, Research Library, 2633-243

No. 5

Horikawa Michio

The Shinano River Plan (*Christmas Presents*), 3:00 p.m.,

7 December 1969

No. 10

Ina Ken'ichirō

Fūka (*toki*) (Time and distance), meteorological data, 1-1-7

Takeoka, Kiyose, Kitatama-gun, Tokyo, 3:00 p.m., 7 December 1969

No. 18

Takeda Kiyoshi

Shisaku shinen no kanzume (A can of contemplation and meditation), noon, 4 January 1970

No. 22

Matsuzawa Yutaka

Ima watashi wa... (I am showing this white sheet of paper to Lake Suwa, at altitude 759 m, which would usually be visible but is not so today, while standing at latitude 36°4'15" north, longitude 138°5'20" east, and altitude 788 m, as it silently and steadily snows, at time-space of 1200 hours), noon, 8 February 1970

58

[see pl. 39]

Hikosaka Naoyoshi

Invitation with a documentary image of Hikosaka Naoyoshi's *Floor Event*, for the artist's solo exhibition *Revolution* (produced by the first Bikyōtō Revolution Committee), 6–15 May 1971

Postcard, silk-screen and offset printing, 10 × 14.5 cm (4 × 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.)

Getty Research Institute, Research Library, 2006.M.2

GLOSSARY OF ARTISTS' GROUPS AND INDIVIDUAL ARTISTS AND WRITERS

Compiled by Rika Iezumi Hiro with Reiko Tomii

These brief descriptions are meant to provide additional context for the artists and groups central to the exhibition. As such, each is narrowly focused on the artist's or writer's associations with certain groups and the period from 1950 to 1970, and the later trajectory of an individual's life and work is largely ignored.

Artists' Groups

Bikyōtō [pl. 39]

Founded in Tokyo in 1969; active until 1974

A multifaceted artists' group with a brief but complex history, Bikyōtō was formed as Bijutsuka Kyōtō Kaigi (Artists Joint-Struggle Council), from which its shortened name was derived. It was founded in July 1969, in the midst of the nationwide student movement, to give art students and art professionals a distinct voice. The group's founders included the artists Hori Kōsai (b. 1947) and HIKOSAKA NAOYOSHI and the photographers Ishiuchi Miyako (b. 1947) and Miyamoto Ryūji (b. 1947), all of whom were at the time students at Tama Art University, where the group was headquartered. Under the slogan "Dismantle the power machine of art," which appeared on the group's flyers and posters, Bikyōtō politicized art by making the institutions of art—namely, museums and the exhibition system—the object of attack. After the student movement collapsed in 1970, Bikyōtō evolved into a cluster of artists' collectives.

In a broader, art historical sense, Bikyōtō encompassed not only Bikyōtō from 1969 to 1970, when it was primarily a political organization, but also the group's post-1970 phase, when its former members recast their political activism into artistic exploration, as well as the activities of the founders from 1967 to 1969, before the group was established. Post-1970 Bikyōtō began with the establishment of the first Bikyōtō Revolution Committee (Bikyōtō Revolution Inkai) by Hori, Hikosaka, and musician and theorist YASUNAO TONE. In 1971, this committee organized a series of members' solo exhibitions outside of institutional venues. Bikyōtō's critique of the art institution, which was a significant contribution to Japanese conceptualism, was continued through other Bikyōtō-related collectives under the leadership of Hikosaka. Among these were Bijutsu Shihyō-sha (lit., "Art History-Criticism Company"), which published the magazine *Bijutsu shihyō* (Art history-criticism, 1971–74, 1978), and the second Bikyōtō Revolution Committee, whose pact of "not making or exhibiting" during 1974 was the culmination of Bikyōtō's activities. The major archive of Bikyōtō materials is held by the Getty Research Institute.

Experimental Workshop/Jikken Kōbō [figs. 2, 3, 5; pls. 1–3, 12]

Founded in Tokyo in 1951; active until 1957

Experimental Workshop/Jikken Kōbō was one of the first artists' groups in Japan to include composers and writers. Founded by the composers TAKEMITSU Tōru and Yuasa Jōji (b. 1929) and the artists KITADAI Shōzō and YAMAGUCHI KATSUHIRO to explore new musical and artistic devel-

opments, it emerged from the artists' collective Trident (Toridan) under the mentorship of the poet and art critic TAKIGUCHI Shōzō. The group's interest in mixed media was clear even in their first public presentations and exhibitions, and their experimental blending of Japanese and Western musical traditions and multimedia performance paved the way for the avant-garde work of GROUP ONGAKU. Experimental Workshop not only introduced compositions by Olivier Messiaen (1908–92) and Leonard Bernstein (1918–90) to Japanese audiences but also created some of the earliest examples of tape montage (*musique concrète*), free (improvised), and chance (aleatoric) music, which were often combined in performance with automatic slide projections. Core members, in addition to Takemitsu and Yuasa, included the composer and musicologist Akiyama Kuniharu (1929–96), the photographer ŌTSUJI Kiyōji, the artist Fukushima Hideko (b. 1930), and the lighting designer Imai Naoji (b. 1928).

Experiments in Art and Technology (EAT) [pl. 34]

Founded in New York City in 1966; active until late 1970s

Experiments in Art and Technology (EAT) was founded by the engineers Billy Klüver (1927–2004) and Fred D. Waldhauer (dates unknown) and the artists Robert Rauschenberg (b. 1925) and Robert Whitman (b. 1935) in October 1966, following the landmark event *9 Evenings: Theatre and Engineering*, with the goal of encouraging the collaboration between artists and scientists exemplified by those performances. An international organization, EAT was devoted to promoting the interdisciplinary interaction of art and new technology along the lines suggested by the philosophies of Marshall McLuhan (1911–80) and R. Buckminster Fuller (1895–1983).

EAT organized and administered a large-scale international collaboration to design, build, and program the Pepsi Pavilion at Expo '70 in Osaka. Thirty-four American and Japanese artists, including NAKAYA FURUKO, who headed EAT's Tokyo office, were invited by EAT to design art and performances for the live programming of the space. Documents that trace the development and realization of the project have been compiled and published by EAT in *Pavilion* (1972). The major archive of EAT materials is held by the Getty Research Institute.

Fluxus and Tokyo Fluxus [figs. 12, 16, 17, 20; pls. 13, 15–21]

Founded in Germany in 1962; particularly active until late 1970s

The informal international avant-garde group known as Fluxus was one of the few Euro-American art movements to incorporate numerous Japanese artists. The movement's chief coordinator and the editor of its many publications was the Lithuanian-born American George Maciunas (1931–78), who coined its name—Latin for *flowing*, suggesting a state of continuous change. Among the many artists and composers who participated in Fluxus were Joseph Beuys (1921–86), George Brecht (b. 1926), Dick Higgins (1938–98), Yoko Ono, Nam June Paik (1932–2006), and La Monte Young (b. 1935). Fluxus activities centered on the production

of artistic multiples, the compilation and distribution of innovatively designed anthologies, and public festivals, or Fluxconcerts, that typically consisted of a rapid series of performances of short events of scored actions and music that, with their emphasis on mundane activities and nonmusical sound sources, were meant to disrupt the conventions of musical and theatrical performance and spectatorship.

Tokyo Fluxus (*katakana* rendering: Tokyo Furukusasu), the Japanese contingent of Fluxus, consisted of Japanese artists living or temporarily active in New York City, including AY-O, ICHIYANAGI TOSHI, KOSUGI TAKEHISA, ONO, SHIGEKU KUBOTA, SHIOMI MIEKO (CHIEKO), TAKAKO SAITÔ, and Yoshimasa Wada (b. 1943), and Japanese artists in Japan who were incorporated into the Fluxus movement by Maciunas, among whom were YASUNAO TONE and the members of HI RED CENTER. In his *Fluxus Codex* (1988), Jon Hendricks reckoned twenty-three Japanese artists among the core participants in Fluxus.

Group Ongaku [fig. 11]

Founded in Tokyo in 1960; active until 1962

Founded primarily by musicology students at Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music, Group Ongaku (Gurūpu Ongaku; lit., "Group Music") is regarded as the first improvisational music and sound collective in Japan. Its members focused on the simultaneous creation and performance of sounds in real time, often incorporating chance actions and spontaneous responses to musical and nonmusical events in creating their "anti-music." The group's first public performance, *Concert of Improvisational Music and Acoustic Objet*, was held in September 1961 at the Sôgetsu Art Center in Tokyo, which was a mecca of experimental music, performance, and film and animation programs throughout the 1960s. Group Ongaku's core members included KOSUGI TAKEHISA, SHIOMI MIEKO (CHIEKO), and YASUNAO TONE, artists who subsequently became associated with FLUXUS, as well as Mizuno Shūkō (b. 1934).

Gutai Art Association [fig. 7; pls. 5–9, 35]

Founded in Ashiya in 1954; active until 1972

Led by the abstract painter YOSHIHARA JIRŌ, Gutai Art Association (Gutai Bijutsu Kyōkai; lit., "Concrete Art Association"), or Gutai, was formed in July 1954 in Ashiya, west of the city of Osaka. Among those who created important work were Yoshihara and SHIMAMOTO SHŌZŌ; as well as KANAYAMA AKIRA, MURAKAMI SABURŌ, SHIRAGA KAZUO, and TANAKA ATSUKO, the primary members of Zero Society (Zero-kai), who joined Gutai in early 1955.

In accordance with his own slogan "Don't imitate others!" Yoshihara organized Gutai's initial exhibitions in unconventional places, including stages and the outdoors. Its members experimented with performance art and kinetic artworks, often documenting their pieces using videos and photographs and incorporating elements of performance in their gestural methods of painting. As Art Informel (Anforumeru) and expressive abstraction gained popularity in Japan, Gutai came to be considered their Japanese counterpart. The French critic Michel Tapié (1909–83) and the French artist Georges Mathieu (b. 1921) were closely associated with Gutai and promoted the group's paintings in Europe and the United States. Members of Gutai also enjoyed significant friendships with the American artists Sam Francis (1923–94) and Allan Kaprow (1927–2006). Gutai's inclusion as the "forerunner of happenings" in Kaprow's *Assemblage, Environments, and Happenings* (1966) helped gain the group international recognition, as did the twelve issues of the journal *Gutai* that the group published between 1955 and 1965. The major

archive of Gutai materials and a large number of Gutai works are held by the Ashiya City Museum of Art & History.

Hi Red Center [figs. 13–15, 28, 29; pls. 15, 16]

Founded in Tokyo in 1963; active until 1964

A group of Anti-Art artists, Hi Red Center (*katakana* rendering: Hai Reddo Sentā) was formed in 1963, soon after the collaborative performance project *Yamanote Line Incident*, which took place in October 1962 on the cars and platforms of the important circular train line connecting Tokyo's major city centers. The artists coined the name Hi Red Center by translating the first characters of core members' last names: *taka* (high) from Takamatsu Jirō (1936–98); *aka* (red) from AKASEGAWA GENPEI; and *naka* (center) from NAKANISHI NATSUYUKI. The group created a series of events and street happenings that were designed to shake those who viewed or participated in them out of their everyday consciousness of reality. One of the best known of these events, *Shelter Plan* (1964), was re-performed by FLUXUS members as *Fluxclinic* at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City in 1966. Hi Red Center's events are described by Akasegawa in his *Tokyo mikisā keikaku: Hai Reddo Sentā chokusetsu kōdō no kiroku* (Tokyo mixer plans: Documents of Hi Red Center's direct actions, 1984). Although Hi Red Center stopped group activities under its name in late 1964, its core members and their associates played a significant role in the trial of Akasegawa, who was prosecuted for currency fraud for creating his *Model 1,000-Yen Note* (1963).

Neo Dada [fig. 26, pl. 14]

Founded in Tokyo in 1960; active until 1962

Neo Dada (*katakana* rendering: Neo Dada), initially known as Neo Dadaism Organizers (*katakana* rendering: Neo Dadaizumu Oruganai-zāzu), represented the anarchic, anti-progress, Anti-Art tendency that marked the late 1950s through the early 1960s. The group held three exhibitions in 1960, including one at the Ginza Art Gallery in Tokyo and one at White House, the studio of Yoshimura Masunobu (b. 1932), who was a leading member. Their exhibitions featured expressionist and found objects as well as staged events of mayhem. Although short-lived, the group provided an important matrix for core members such as Yoshimura, USHIO SHINOHARA, AKASEGAWA GENPEI, and Shūsaku Arakawa (b. 1936) as well as for other avant-garde groups and for individuals, such as the artists Miki Tomio (1938–78) and Kudō Tetsumi (1935–90), the architect Arata Isozaki (b. 1931)—who designed White House—and the composer ICHIYANAGI TOSHI, who did not officially belong to the group but frequently collaborated with its members.

Provoke [pls. 28–31, 36]

Founded in Tokyo in 1968; active until 1970

Provoke (*katakana* rendering: Purovōku) was founded in 1968 by the photographers NAKAHIRA TAKUMA and Takanashi Yutaka (b. 1935), the critic and photographer TAKI KŌJI, and the critic and poet Okada Takahiko (b. 1939). Between November 1968 and August 1969, it published three issues of the magazine *Provoke: Shisō no tame no chōhatsuteki siryō* (Provoke: Provocative materials for thought), which featured essays, poems, and photographs. A response to the social upheavals of the late 1960s, the magazine was an artistic and philosophical manifesto designed to interrogate the established relationships between words and images, viewers and artists. The participating photographers, among them MORIYAMA DAIDŌ (who joined *Provoke* as of the second issue), were in search of a new photographic language, and their grainy, blurred, and out-of-focus photo-reportage represented Japanese society in ways

that both enraged and engaged. Provoke disbanded in 1970, after releasing its final publication on photographs, *Mazu tashikarashisa no sekai o sutero* (First abandon the world of verisimilitude), edited by Taki and Nakahira.

Psychophysiology Research Institute [pl. 38]

Founded in Tokyo in 1969; active until 1970

Psychophysiology Research Institute (Seishin Seirigaku Kenkyūjo) was a mail-art collective led by the artists Ina Ken'ichirō (b. 1947) and Takeda Kiyoshi (b. 1946). On seven occasions, Ina and Takeda asked thirteen fellow artists to send documents recording what the artist was doing at a designated time and on a designated date. During the project, which lasted from December 1969 to about June 1970, each participant was identified as a *kenkyūjo* (research institute) in the place where the artist resided, and one of the significant points of the venture was its recruiting of artists in smaller towns. When two or more artists lived in the same city or prefecture, one was identified by place and the rest were identified by surname. Ina was identified as "Tokyo Research Institute" throughout the project, while Takeda was "Nagano Research Institute." Other prominent participants included the artists MATSUZAWA YUTAKA ("Matsuzawa Research Institute") and HORIKAWA MICHIO ("Niigata Research Institute"); the Anti-Art artist Itoi Kanji (b. 1920; "Itoi Research Institute"), popularly known as "Dada-kan"; and the art critic Tōno Yoshiaki (1930–2005; "Tōno Research Institute"). About Shimamura Kiyoharu ("Gunma Research Institute"), by contrast, nothing further is known. After each occasion, Ina and Takeda mailed the participants copies of all responses. The responses were also compiled and self-published as a portfolio in August 1970. In the portfolio's preface, the project is described as an "invisible art museum" that "assembles and distributes records of action or nonaction of individuals."

Vivo [figs. 8, 18; pls. 22–24, 26]

Founded in Tokyo in 1959; active until 1961

Vivo (Esperanto for *life*; no katakana rendering) was established in July 1959 as a self-managed agency of six young photographers: HOSOE EIKOH, Kawada Kikuji (b. 1933), Narahara Ikkō (b. 1931), Satō Akira (1930–2002), Tanno Akira (b. 1925), and TŌMATSU SHŌMEI. The group participated in the series of annual photography exhibitions titled *Eyes of Ten* held in Tokyo and curated by the influential photography critic Fukushima Tatsuo (b. 1929). Vivo represented a new direction in postwar Japanese photography, and it played a central role in establishing photography as an art form and in promoting collaboration among photographers, artists, and performers. The group disbanded in 1961.

Individual Artists and Writers

Akasegawa Genpei [figs. 22–25, 28, 29; pls. 15, 16]

Born 1937 in Yokohama; lives and works in Machida, Tokyo. Member of Neo Dada and Hi Red Center

Akasegawa studied painting at Musashino Art School (the present Musashino Art University) in Tokyo. He participated in the Yomiuri Independent Exhibition from 1958 until its closure after the 1963 show. In 1960, he became involved in the group NEO DADA with artists USHIO SHINOHARA and Yoshimura Masunobu (b. 1932). Akasegawa, NAKANISHI NATSUYUKI, and Takamatsu Jirō (1936–98) founded HI RED CENTER in 1963. Akasegawa was an active leader of avant-garde artists throughout the 1960s, and he also became known for mail art and illustrations, in particular the *Model 1,000-Yen Note* (1963), a reproduction of a 1,000-yen banknote that led to his indictment and conviction for currency fraud. In 1981, Akasegawa received the prestigious Akutagawa Prize for his novel *Chichi ga kieta* (My father has vanished, 1980).

Ay-O [pls. 16, 17]

Born 1931 in Ibaraki Prefecture; lives and works in Tokyo and Ibaraki Prefecture. Member of Fluxus

Ay-O studied art at Tokyo University of Education. He was a member of Demokrato Artists Association (Demokurāto Bijutsuka Kyōkai; "Demokrato" is Esperanto for *democratic*) along with the artist On Kawara (b. 1933), the painter and photographer Ei-Kyū (1911–60), and the photographer HOSOE EIKOH. In 1955, Ay-O founded a group called Jitsuzon-sha (lit., "Existentialists") with the printmaker and writer Ikeda Masuo (1934–97) and the artist Manabe Hiroshi (1932–2000), among others. The group dissolved after three exhibitions. In the late 1950s, the critic and Esperantist Kubo Sadajirō (1909–96) encouraged Ay-O and Ikeda to work in printmaking, and the medium became a significant part of Ay-O's oeuvre. Ay-O moved to New York City in 1958, where he became affiliated with FLUXUS. His playful, tactile *Finger Box* series (1964) were iconic works at Fluxus exhibitions. In 1965, Ay-O began developing the multicolored striped motifs that appear in his prints, paintings, and sculptures. He represented Japan in the Venice Biennale in 1966 and the São Paulo Biennale in 1971. In 1970, he built an installation titled *Tactile Rainbow Room* for Expo '70 in Osaka.

Domon Ken [fig. 10]

Born 1909 in Sakata, Yamagata Prefecture; died 1990 in Tokyo

Domon was a talented and prolific photographer and a very influential promoter of realism in photography. Initially interested in painting, Domon embarked on a career in photography after becoming an apprentice at the Miyauchi Kōtarō Photography Studio in Tokyo in 1933. In 1935, he joined the Nippon Kōbō (lit., "Japan Studio") agency as a staff photographer for *Nippon* (Japan), a magazine intended to familiarize foreigners with Japanese culture. In 1939, Domon left Nippon Kōbō to join the Japan Cultural Society, where he worked until 1943. During this time, he documented Japanese traditional customs and cultural monuments, including the Buddhist Murōji temple in Nara Prefecture and Bunraku. From 1950 to 1955, he was intermittently a judge for the monthly contests that *Camera = Kamera* magazine held for young amateur photographers; his comments to the contestants advocated photographic realism.

Domon first visited Hiroshima in 1957 to document atomic bomb survivors, primarily children, for the magazine *Shūkan Shinchō* (Weekly Shinchō). A compilation of these photographs, *Hiroshima*, was published in 1958. In 1960, at the age of fifty-one, Domon suffered a cerebral hem-

orrhage. Because he could no longer hold a 35mm camera, he began taking pictures with a large-format camera. In 1961, Domon and collaborator TÔMATSU SHÔMEI, who focused on photographing atomic bomb survivors in Nagasaki, published *Hiroshima-Nagasaki, Document 1961*. The annual Domon Ken Prize was established by the Mainichi Newspaper Company in 1981, and the Ken Domon Museum of Photography was built in his hometown in 1983.

Hijikata Tatsumi [fig. 9; pls. 24, 25, 26]

Born 1928 in Akita Prefecture; died 1986 in Tokyo

Hijikata was an early pioneer of *butô*—an avant-garde, dance-based performance art in which formal dance technique is eschewed and primal sexuality and the grotesque are explored—and founder of the Ankoku Butoh Group (Ankoku Butô-ha, or School of Utter Darkness Dance, active 1959–66). In his particular mode of *butô*, Hijikata attempted to retrieve, through gestures and corporeality, the negated history and personal memories submerged beneath the surface of everyday life in the post-atomic era. Hijikata's early training included instruction under Masumura Katsuko (dates unknown), from whom he learned Neue Tanz, a form of modern German dance. At age twenty-four, Hijikata moved to Tokyo, where he met Ôno Kazuo (b. 1909), a pioneering avant-garde dancer and a major early figure in *butô*. In 1959, Hijikata performed *Forbidden Colors* (Kinjiki), which was inspired by the novel by Mishima Yukio (1925–70). A close friendship developed between Hijikata and Mishima, and Mishima became an enthusiastic supporter of Hijikata and his dance troupe. Hijikata was active throughout the mid-1970s, performing in legendary works such as *Masseurs* (1962), *Rose-Colored Dance* (1965), and *Revolt of the Flesh* (1968). In the late 1970s, Hijikata dedicated himself to teaching at the Asbestos Studio in Meguro, Tokyo. Hijikata's productions, and those of Asbestos Studio (closed in 2003), were a locus of collaboration and experimentation. The Hijikata Tatsumi Archive is deposited at the Research Center for the Arts and Administration at Keio University in Tokyo.

Hikosaka Naoyoshi [pl. 39]

Born 1946 in Tokyo; lives and works in Kamakura and Fujisawa. Member of Bikyôtô

Hikosaka studied oil painting at Tama Art University, where he met the artist Horî Kôsai (b. 1947) and the photographers Ishiuchi Miyako (b. 1947) and Miyamoto Ryûji (b. 1947). In 1969, these four art students founded BIKYÔTÔ, which would become a leading artists' group with a radical anti-institutional stance toward art and politics. Hikosaka is also known for his critique of the theories of Mono-ha (lit., "Things School"), developed by the group's ideologue, Korean-born artist and theorist Lee Ufan (b. 1936), as a "mystification of art" that disregarded the essential role of artists' social and historical contexts. Hikosaka's theoretical engagement with the nature of art and art making has since evolved into a singularly comprehensive historical understanding of modern and contemporary Japanese art.

Horikawa Michio [pls. 36, 38]

Born 1946 in Kiyosato, Niigata Prefecture; lives and works in Jôetsu, Niigata Prefecture. Member of Psychophysiology Research Institute

Horikawa studied art education at Niigata University and was a member of the Niigata-based avant-garde group GUN (acronym of "Group Ultra Niigata"), which was founded by Maeda Tadashi (b. 1945) in 1967 and disbanded around 1970. Horikawa is best known for *Shinano River Plan*, a mail-art project that he started in 1969. Inspired by the Apollo 11 moon

landing and the gathering of moon rocks, and feeling it was at least as important to gather the earth's rocks, Horikawa collected stones from the Shinano riverbank in Niigata Prefecture and sent them, along with a message, to artists, critics, and politicians. To express his opposition to the Vietnam War, he sent a stone to American president Richard Nixon in 1969 and to Japanese prime minister Satô Eisaku in 1970. One of the hallmarks of the conceptual and mail art movement in Japan, *Shinano River Plan* has been revived by Horikawa in recent years; in 2000, for example, he sent a stone to the art historian Reiko Tomii (b. 1957) to commemorate the fifty-fifth anniversary of Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor.

Hosoe Eikoh [pls. 24, 26]

Born 1933 in Yonezawa, Yamagata Prefecture; lives and works in Tokyo. Member of Vivo

Hosoe studied at Tokyo College of Photography (now Tokyo Institute of Polytechnics), graduating in 1951, and has been a professor of photography there since 1975. Currently he also serves as the director of the Kiyosato Museum of Photographic Arts in Yamanashi Prefecture. From 1959 to 1961, Hosoe was a member of Vivo, a group he formed with the photographers Kawada Kikuji (b. 1933), Narahara Ikkô (b. 1931), Satô Akira (1930–2002), Tanno Akira (b. 1925), and TÔMATSU SHÔMEI. In the 1960s, Hosoe collaborated with contemporary writers, experimental-theater actors, and dancers, including HIJIKATA TATSUMI. In 1961, he published *Otoko to onna = Man and Woman*, a compilation of close-up shots of Hijikata and members of his dance company, Ankoku Butoh Group. The harsh contrasts in Hosoe's black-and-white photographs of the *butô* dancers were meant to underline the dialectical struggle between the human body and the mind. Hosoe continued to develop this style in collections such as *Barakei = Ordeal by Roses* (1963), for which the writer Mishima Yukio (1925–70) modeled as the protagonist; *Kamaitachi: Hosoe Eikoh shashinshû* (Sickle-toothed weasel: Photobook by Hosoe Eikoh, 1969), a fantastic narrative played by Hijikata in a rural village of Akita Prefecture; and *Hôyô = Embrace* (1971), in which the dialogue between men and women in *Otoko to onna* was extended in even more abstract forms. In 1977, Hosoe began a project to photograph the architecture of Antoni Gaudí (1852–1926); a collection of the resulting prints, *Gaudí no uchû* (The universe of Gaudí), was published in 1984.

Ichiyanagi Toshi [pls. 10, 11]

Born 1933 in Kobe; lives and works in Tokyo. Associated with Tokyo Fluxus
Ichiyanagi studied composition with Hirao Kishio (1907–53) and John Cage (1912–92) and attended the Juilliard School and the New School for Social Research in New York City from 1954 to 1960. Ichiyanagi returned to Japan in 1961 to participate in a performance at the Sôgetsu Art Center in Tokyo, which was an important venue for avant-garde music and film. In 1963, he organized a group called New Direction (Nyû Direkushon) with fellow avant-garde composers, including KOSUGI TAKEHISA, Takahashi Yûji (b. 1938), and Kobayashi Kenji (b. 1957), and the poet and music critic Akiyama Kuniharu (1929–96). The group disbanded in the late 1960s, when most of its core members moved to New York.

One of the leading composers in Japan, Ichiyanagi has worked in a range of genres, creating operas and orchestral and chamber works that often incorporate chance music and nontraditional scoring. Among his major large-scale works are *Violin Concerto "Circulating Scenery"* (1983), *Piano Concerto No. 2 "Winter Portrait"* (1987), and *Opera "Momo"* (1995), which is based on the fantasy novel by German writer Michael Ende (1929–95). He has also created compositions using traditional Japanese ensembles and instruments.

Ishimoto Yasuhiro [fig. 6, pl. 4]

Born 1921 in San Francisco; lives and works in Tokyo

Ishimoto is known for his black-and-white photographs of life in the metropolis, especially Tokyo and Chicago, and for his images of traditional Japanese architectural structures. Born in San Francisco but reared in Japan from the age of three, Ishimoto returned to California in 1939 to study agriculture. From 1942 to 1944, he was interned in Armach, Colorado, where—along with other amateur photographers—he took “salon pictures” of the internment camp. After World War II, barred from residing in a coastal city, Ishimoto went to Chicago, where he joined an amateur photography club and met the Japanese-American photographer Harry Shigeta (1887–1963). After studying architecture at Northwestern University for two years, Ishimoto transferred to the Institute of Design at the Illinois Institute of Technology in 1948, where he studied photography under Harry Callahan (1912–99) and Aaron Siskind (1903–91), graduating in 1952. In 1961, Ishimoto went to Japan to assist Edward Steichen (1879–1973) with the touring exhibition *The Family of Man* (opened at the Museum of Modern Art, New York, in 1955), in which Ishimoto’s work was included. Ishimoto made Japan his home, and he began documenting traditional Japanese architecture, including the Katsura Imperial Villa in Kyoto. His photographs of Katsura were published—along with essays by architects Walter Gropius (1883–1969) and Tange Kenzō (1913–2005)—in *Katsura: Tradition and Creation in Japanese Architecture* (1960).

Kanayama Akira [pl. 6]

Born 1924 in Osaka; died 2006 in Nara Prefecture. Member of Gutai Art Association

Kanayama studied at Tama Art University and Osaka City Institute of Art. He was one of the leading members of Zero Society (Zero-kai), along with the artists MURAKAMI SABURŌ, SHIRAGA KAZUO, and TANAKA ATSUKO. In 1955, prompted by an impassioned plea from YOSHIHARA JIRŌ, all four joined GUTAI ART ASSOCIATION. Beginning in 1957, Kanayama began experimenting with automatism in art, making his *Machine Drawings*, which undercut the value placed on self-expression and painting as an outpouring of the soul by many of his contemporaries. *Machine Drawings* were made by attaching a can of quick-drying paint to an automatic toy car that created paintings even when the artist was not in the room. From the 1990s on, Kanayama was fascinated by outer space and produced a range of works that he called “astronomical painting.”

Kitadai Shōzō [figs. 2, 3, 5; pls. 1, 3]

Born 1921 in Tokyo; died 2001 in Tokyo. Member of Experimental Workshop/Jikken Kōbō

Kitadai worked in a variety of media, styles, and fields. Initially trained in mechanical engineering, Kitadai developed his interest in art after World War II. He became close to TAKIGUCHI SHŪZŌ, Japan’s foremost art critic and poet, through the Modern Art Summer Seminar (Modan Āto Kaki Kōshūkai), which was organized by the Nihon Avant-Garde Artists’ Club (Nihon Aban-gyarudo Bijutsuka Kurabu) in 1948. Kitadai was a significant and creative member of EXPERIMENTAL WORKSHOP/JIKKEN KŌBŌ, producing works of art, designing ephemera for the group, introducing new technologies such as automatic slide projection (with the artists YAMAGUCHI KATSUHIRO and Fukushima Hideko [1927–97]), and publishing his photographs in a variety of publications. Between 1957 and 1980, he stopped creating works of art and began producing model airplanes and other toys. He also gathered materials pertaining to

Experimental Workshop and established an archive, which was open to the public, at his home. These materials are now housed at the Taro Okamoto Museum of Art, Kawasaki, as the Kitadai Shōzō Archive.

Kosugi Takehisa [figs. 11, 16; pls. 16, 32]

Born 1938 in Tokyo; lives and works in Nara. Member of Group Ongaku and Fluxus

Kosugi creates mixed-media sound performances and installations, making use of everyday materials and electronic technology. He studied musicology at Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music, graduating in 1962. Starting in 1958, he and Mizuno Shūkō (b. 1934) presented impromptu sound performances, and two years later Kosugi helped form GROUP ONGAKU, an ensemble whose anti-musical Dadaistic events challenged conventional modes of artistic expression. Kosugi’s event pieces were performed at FLUXUS-related events in the early 1960s, garnering worldwide recognition. In 1969, he cofounded the collective Taj Mahal Travellers, which improvised performance works in various settings until 1976. In 1970, he participated in Expo ’70 in Osaka, providing commissioned environmental sound events for the Festival Plaza. Kosugi has been a resident composer and performer with the Merce Cunningham Dance Company since 1977.

Kubota, Shigeko [pls. 15, 16, 18]

Born 1937 in Niigata Prefecture; lives and works in New York City. Member of Fluxus

After graduating from Tokyo University of Education in 1960 with a degree in sculpture, Kubota moved to the United States, where she studied at New York University, the New School for Social Research, and the Art School of the Brooklyn Museum in the mid-1960s. She met members of HI RED CENTER at her exhibition at the Naiqua Gallery in Tokyo in 1963, and in New York City she was introduced to FLUXUS by Korean-born artist Nam June Paik (1932–2006). Kubota became actively involved in Fluxus events and played an essential role, along with Paik, in creating a bridge between Hi Red Center and Fluxus. This led to the fabrication of Hi Red Center’s *Bundle of Events* (1965), which was designed by the Fluxus artist George Maciunas (1931–78) and edited by Kubota, as well as the re-performance of Hi Red Center’s *Shelter Plan* (1964) as *Fluxclinic* in 1966. In 1972, having encountered video art through members of Fluxus, Kubota produced the first of her video diaries (*Europe on 1/2 Inch a Day*). The fusion of spontaneous autobiography and electronic processing characterizes her subsequent work, which ranges in focus from everyday events to meditations on the work of Marcel Duchamp (1887–1968), mixing self-conscious art historical and cultural references with explorations of female identity and the Japanese spiritual traditions of nature and landscape.

Matsuzawa Yutaka [fig. 21, pl. 38]

Born 1922 in Shimotsuwa, Nagano Prefecture; lives and works in Shimotsuwa, Nagano Prefecture. Member of Psychophysiology Research Institute

Matsuzawa, who studied architecture at Waseda University in Tokyo and philosophy and fine arts at Columbia University, is an advocate of “vanishing” the art object altogether. He participated in the annual Yomiuri Independent Exhibition seven times between 1953 and 1963. From 1955 to 1957, while on a Fulbright grant, he taught in Wisconsin and New York City. He also avidly read works on psychology, astronomy, astrology, psychic phenomena, hypnosis, and yoga philosophy—an eclectic course of study that no doubt contributed to his decision to renounce materiality in favor of ideas. In 1964, Matsuzawa produced his first work made

solely of language, *Psi (Ψ) Corpse*, and since then, the artist's cosmic conceptualism has embraced texts, manifestos, and invitations to readers to create exhibitions in their minds, along with mail, installation, and performance art. In 1970, Matsuzawa was invited to participate in the 10th Tokyo Biennale, where he showed his language-based work *My Own Death (Painting Existing Only in Time)*—an arresting sign that he hung across a gallery entrance to invite visitors to reflect on time and mortality—and performed *My Death*, with YAMAGUCHI KATSUHIRO as his *tachiai-nin*, or “designated eyewitness,” who felt the artist's heartbeats by touching his chest.

Moriyama Daidō [pls. 28, 30]

Born 1938 in Osaka; lives and works in Tokyo. Member of Provoke

Moriyama, a prolific photographer and writer, studied photography at the studio of Iwamiya Takeji (1920–89) in Osaka until 1961, when he moved to Tokyo and worked as an assistant to Hosoe EIKOH. In 1969, he became a member of the group PROVOKE and began contributing to its magazine, *Provoke: Shisō no tame no chōhatsuteki siryō* (Provoke: Provocative materials for thought). In keeping with the aesthetic principles of the group, Moriyama used high-contrast and high-speed film to capture a sense of movement, producing images that were often described as *are, bure, boke* (grainy, blurry, out of focus). Moriyama became a champion of this style. His first book, *Nippon gekijō shashinchō* (Japan theater photo album, 1968), focused attention on the areas of Tokyo that were being overlooked in the country's rapid economic growth. The text was written by the avant-garde writer and director Terayama Shūji (1935–83). Other collections of his photographs include *Kariudo = A Hunter* (1972), *Shashin yo sayōnara* (Farewell photography, 1972), *Tōno monogatari* (The tales of Tōno, 1976), and *Hikari to kage* (Light and shadow, 1982). He set up the Workshop Photography School in Tokyo with Tōmatsu Shōmei, Hosoe, and Araki Nobuyoshi (b. 1940) in 1974.

Murakami Saburō [pls. 7, 35]

Born 1925 in Kobe; died 1996 in Nishinomiya, Hyōgo Prefecture. Member of Gutai Art Association

Murakami studied philosophy and aesthetics at the Kwansei Gakuin University in Nishinomiya. Along with KANAYAMA AKIRA, SHIRAGA KAZUO, and TANAKA ATSUKO, he was one of the founding members of Zero Society (Zero-kai) and a key member of GUTAI ART ASSOCIATION. His painting *Work Painted by Throwing a Ball* was displayed at the Zero Society exhibition in 1954. One of a series of works the artist made by throwing an ink-soaked ball at paper, it reveals that Murakami's anarchic artistic sensibility was well established before he joined Gutai in 1955. At the 1st Gutai Art Exhibition in Tokyo in 1955, taking inspiration from his son, who had made a hole in a sliding paper screen, Murakami created *Six Holes*, his first work to incorporate the act of breaking paper. This led to, among other pieces, the memorable action-performance *Passage* (1956), in which he rushed through a row of twenty-one double-sided paper screens, displaying both a sense of humor and a keen eye for turning the mundane into a work of art.

Nakahara Yūsuke [pl. 36]

Born 1931 in Kobe; lives and works in Yokohama

Nakahara became an art critic in 1955, after winning first prize in the second art criticism competition sponsored by Bijutsu Shuppan-sha, the publisher of the important art journals *Bijutsu hihyō* (Art criticism), *Bijutsu techō* (Art notebook), and *Mizue* (Watercolor). Nakahara's win-

ning essay was titled “Sōzō no tame no hihyō” (Criticism for creation). In the 1970s, Nakahara curated a number of exhibitions—notably two São Paulo Biennales (1973, 1975); two Venice Biennales (1976, 1978); and the 10th Tokyo Biennale (1970), which presented under the rubric “Between Man and Matter” the work of some forty artists from Japan, Europe, and the United States. From 1979 to 1981, Nakahara served as president of Kyoto Seika University. He has published numerous articles and books, including *Gendai chōkoku = Contemporary Sculpture* (1977), *Miru koto no shinwa* (The myth of seeing, 1972), and the exhibition catalog for the 10th Tokyo Biennale, *Dai jukkai Nihon kokusai bijutsu ten: Ningen to busshitsu = Tokyo Biennale '70: Between Man and Matter* (1970), which he edited.

Nakahira Takuma [pls. 29, 31, 36]

Born 1938 in Tokyo; lives and works in Yokohama. Member of Provoke

Prolific as a writer and a photographer, Nakahira began his professional career in the 1960s as a magazine editor. Among the works he published was *Aa kōya* (Ah, wilderness), a serial novel by the radical writer and director Terayama Shūji (1935–83) that was compiled into a book in 1966. In 1965, after working for the leftist journal *Gendai no me* (Contemporary eye) for two years, he decided to pursue photography, having found inspiration in the images of Tōmatsu Shōmei. In 1968, he founded PROVOKE with TAKI Kōji, the critic and poet Okada Takahiko (b. 1939), and the photographer Takanashi Yutaka (b. 1935). As a photographer, Nakahira is known especially for black-and-white images that capture the restlessness and volatility of downtown Tokyo. As a writer, he was a vocal opponent of Expo '70, contributing critical texts to various cultural and art magazines. In 1970, Nakahira published his first book of photographs, *Kitarubeki kotoba no tameni* (For a language to come), which was followed in 1973 by *Naze shokubutsu zukan ka?* (Why an illustrated botanical handbook?), a collection in which he rejected all his previous photographs. A retrospective of his work, *Nakahira Takuma: Degree Zero-Yokohama*, was held at the Yokohama Museum of Art in 2003.

Nakanishi Natsuyuki [figs. 13–15, 28; pls. 15, 16]

Born 1935 in Tokyo; lives and works in Tokyo. Member of Hi Red Center

Nakanishi studied oil painting at Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music, graduating in 1958. One of the founding members of HI RED CENTER, he was the principal performer in the *Yamanote Line Incident* (1962), an art action that precipitated the formation of HI RED CENTER. The event, which took place on the platforms and cars of a major train line in Tokyo, featured Nakanishi, in white face paint and a gray business suit, licking an egg-shaped transparent container filled with everyday tools and utensils. His contribution to HI RED CENTER's first show, *5th Mixer Plan* (1963), was a performance piece based on *Clothespins Assert Churning Action*, the assemblage of seven clothespin-studded white canvases that he had presented at the Yomiuri Independent Exhibition earlier that year and that exemplified the pieces that earned him a reputation as a conceptual and Anti-Art artist. For the performance piece, Nakanishi covered his face with metal clothespins and took a stroll through the streets of Tokyo. His recent work consists primarily of abstract paintings in subdued tones (white, gray, green, purple) that reveal his continued interest in the subtle yet penetrating interaction of the body and the psyche, the sensual and the emotional.

Nakaya Fujiko [pl. 34]

Born 1938 in Sapporo, Hokkaido; lives and works in Tokyo. Member of Experiments in Art and Technology

The video artist and fog sculptor Nakaya studied art at Northwestern

University in Evanston, Illinois. She was an important member of EXPERIMENTS IN ART AND TECHNOLOGY (EAT), an experimental group based in New York City dedicated to promoting collaboration between artists and engineers, and of Video Hiroba (Video Plaza), a Tokyo-based artistic group whose thirteen members began exploring the technological and communication aspects of video in 1972. Nakaya played a vital role when EAT was charged with designing and programming the Pepsi Pavilion, one of four international, corporate-sponsored pavilions at Expo '70 in Osaka. Nakaya's environmental pieces *Fog Sculpture and Mirror* were among the pavilion's notable attractions. Since then, Nakaya has continued to experiment with the artistic potential of artificially produced water-fog, completing numerous interactive atmospheric works, including *Fog Environment for David Tudor Concert* (1974) on Knävelskar Island in Sweden and *Fog Sculpture #94768*, which was exhibited at the Biennale of Sydney in 1976. She collaborated with American choreographer Trisha Brown (b. 1936) to create *Opal Loop/Cloud Installation #72503* in 1980. This work has been restaged in various forms.

Nomura Hitoshi [pl. 37]

Born 1945 in Hyōgo Prefecture; lives and works in Kyoto

Nomura received an MFA in 1969 from Kyoto City University of Fine Arts. Initially trained as a sculptor, he is known for conceptual works in which he uses a photographic device to shape, or *sculpt*, time. His pieces are dynamic and ongoing, many lasting from several years to more than a decade, and are designed to document changes as reflected in ordinary matter or natural phenomena. Nomura first garnered attention with *Tardiology* (1969), which showed how corrugated cardboard exposed to the elements collapses under its own weight. In 1970, Nomura displayed *Dryice* at the 10th Tokyo Biennale. He was invited to participate by the art critic and biennale curator NAKAHARA YŪSUKU, whose vision was for an exhibition in opposition to what Nakahara identified as the "authoritative art" presented at Expo '70 in Osaka. For his *Hearing* (1970–75), Nomura recorded commonplace experiences, such as his dialogue with a shop clerk and the random events that he saw from a telephone booth. Issued as a set of seven booklets and seven audiocassette tapes, *Hearing* is an eloquent compilation of sounds and images.

Ono, Yoko [figs. 12, 20; pls. 13, 16]

Born 1933 in Tokyo; lives and works in New York City. Member of Fluxus

Ono is a conceptual artist whose works span a wide creative range: musical pieces, three-dimensional objects, paintings, performance events, instructions, and installations. She was one of the foremost artists of FLUXUS. Ono was trained in classical music from her childhood, but by the mid-1950s, her interest had turned to experimental music. From December 1960 to June 1961, Ono, together with her fellow Fluxus artist La Monte Young (b. 1935), hosted and performed in a now-legendary series of avant-garde concerts and events at her loft on Chambers Street in New York City. This led to her deeper involvement with Fluxus activities, including her solo exhibition in New York City in 1961 at AG Gallery, which was run by George Maciunas (1931–78). Ono's first husband, the composer ICHIYANAGI TOSHI, moved to Tokyo in 1961, and in 1962, Ono returned as well, if only temporarily. Her activities in Tokyo through 1964 were marked by an outburst of conceptually oriented creativity and collaborations with the emerging vanguard of Japanese artists. Some of her works were presented at the Sōgetsu Art Center, where she also appeared in performances of avant-garde pieces, such as *Music Walk* (1958) by John Cage (1912–92). After her move back to New York in 1964, Ono's oeuvre continued to evolve. The foundation of her artistic practice can be found

in the book *Grapefruit* (1964), in which she compiled her instructions for painting, objects, music, poetry, and events.

Ōtsuji Kiyoji [figs. 5, 9; pls. 2, 3]

Born 1923 in Tokyo; died 2001 in Tokyo. Member of Experimental Workshop/Jikken Kōbō

Ōtsuji studied at Tokyo College of Photography (now Tokyo Institute of Polytechnics). After working in the publishing industry, in 1947 Ōtsuji founded his own studio in the Shinjuku neighborhood of Tokyo, where he explored experimental and art photography. He soon became associated with the moderately progressive Art Culture Association (Bijutsu Bunka Kyōkai), participating in the group's exhibition in 1951 with MATSUZAWA YUTAKA and others. In 1953, Ōtsuji was invited to photograph for "Asahi Picture News" (APN), a regular feature in the news magazine *Asahigurafu* (Asahigraph). Through APN, Ōtsuji became a member of EXPERIMENTAL WORKSHOP/JIKKEN KŌBŌ. Around the same time, Ōtsuji founded Graphics Group (Gurafikku Shūdan) with fellow designers, photographers, and painters to enhance cross-genre collaboration. KITADAI SHŌZŌ and ISHIMOTO YASUHIRO also joined Graphics Group. This group's artistic explorations during the mid-1950s led to abstract film productions they called "Kine-caligraph" (Cine-Calligraphy). Although he created surrealist works such as *Song without Words* (1957) and conceptual photographs, Ōtsuji also saw the value of photographic documentation. He produced indispensable records of a wide range of art exhibitions, performances, and production processes, photographing not only the work of Experimental Workshop and GUTAI ART ASSOCIATION but also *butō* performances and works and events at the 10th Tokyo Biennale in 1970. Ōtsuji was also an educator and critic. In 1975, he published a series of articles on photographic experimentation in the magazine *Asahi kamera = Asahi Camera*.

Saitō, Takako [pls. 16, 19, 20]

Born 1929 in Sabae, Iwate Prefecture; lives and works in Düsseldorf. Member of Fluxus

Saitō is one of the primary artists affiliated with FLUXUS, along with AY-O, SHIGEKU KUBOTA, and YOKO ONO. Among her best-known works are a series of chess sets, each with a number of editions made under the direction of Fluxus organizer George Maciunas (1931–78), who revered the French avant-garde artist Marcel Duchamp (1887–1968), who in 1923 largely abandoned art making for chess, which had become an obsession and which he played at world-class level. The pieces of Saitō's *Weight Chess Set* (1965 and later), for example, are a series of identical wooden boxes that are defined by their weight: the king's box contains steel ball bearings, while the boxes for the pawns contain sand. Other chess sets require that the players use touch, smell, or even taste to distinguish the chess pieces, transforming a quintessentially conceptual game into a play of the senses. In addition to playful games, objects, and installations, Saitō has created a series of performance events that encourage visitors to play with games on display at her exhibitions or interact with objects. The first of these performances was *Kicking Box Billiard* (1971). She lived in various European countries before settling in Düsseldorf in 1979.

Shimamoto Shōzō [pl. 35]

Born 1928 in Osaka; lives and works in Nishinomiya, Hyōgo Prefecture. Member of Gutai Art Association

Shimamoto, a graduate of Kansai University in Osaka and a founding member of GUTAI ART ASSOCIATION, played an important role in the postwar art movement in Japan and abroad. He employed grand, ges-

tural actions in the 1950s to produce paintings such as *Hole* (1950), and he also created numerous installations such as *A Work to Be Walked On* (1956). Shimamoto's most famous art performance involved making a painting by smashing glass jars filled with pigment onto large canvases laid out on the floor (1956). Shimamoto was also among the first artists to work with concrete sounds, committing to tape familiar noises such as the sounds of a chair being pulled out, a kettle being hit, and water flowing for use in the presentation Gutai Art on Stage (1957). Since 1976, he has been administrative chief of the mail-art group AU (formerly "Artists Union"; later "Art-Unidentified"), which was founded by NEO DADA artist Yoshimura Masunobu (b. 1932) in 1975. Since 1977, Shimamoto has edited and distributed *AU Newsletter*, initially using the mailing list of Gutai, and he organized annual AU exhibitions at the Tokyo Metropolitan Art Museum until 1997.

Shinohara, Ushio [fig. 26, pl. 14]

Born 1932 in Tokyo; lives and works in New York City. Member of Neo Dada
Shinohara studied oil painting at Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music. He was one of the founding members of NEO DADA, which was established in 1960. He gained personal recognition and garnered publicity for Neo Dada with his series of "boxing painting" and "imitation art." For the former, his fists wrapped in ink-soaked rags, he boxed a sheet of paper or canvas hung on a wall. In 1968, he published *Zen'ei no michi* (The avant-garde road), an account of his participation in Neo Dada and its aftermath, from the late 1950s to 1966. The text was originally serialized in 1966 in the contemporary art journal *Bijutsu techō* (Art notebook). In *Zen'ei no michi*, Shinohara vividly describes his and his colleagues' rebellion against the modernist ideal of "art for art's sake" and their experiments in the public sphere. In 1969, Shinohara moved to New York City, where he has remained committed to an aesthetic of "repugnant beauty," creating stylized hybrid pop paintings and sculptural pieces that incorporate aluminum, fiberglass, cardboard, and other urban refuse.

Shiomi Mieko (formerly Shiomi Chieko) [figs. 11, 17; pls. 16, 21, 32]

Born 1938 in Kurashiki, Okayama Prefecture; lives and works in Minoo, Osaka Prefecture. Member of Group Ongaku and Fluxus
Shiomi is a composer, poet, artist, and leading contributor to the FLUXUS movement. While attending Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music, she founded the improvisational music performance unit GROUP ONGAKU with KOSUGI TAKEHISA, Mizuno Shūkō (b. 1934), and YASUNAO TONE. Introduced to Fluxus by Nam June Paik (1932–2006), Shiomi moved to New York City in 1964. After returning to Japan in 1965, she began a mail-art project titled *Spatial Poem*, which was designed to allow her to collaborate with Fluxus colleagues and other artists worldwide while she remained in Japan. The project ultimately comprised nine events that were executed from 1965 to 1975. In 1969, she participated in *Cross Talk Intermedia*, a three-day program of intergenre and collaborative performances. Since then Shiomi has developed a number of works that incorporate optical and sonic sensations, including *Bird Dictionary for Soprano and Piano* (1978) and *If We Were a Pentagonal Memory Device* (1979). Her album *Fluxus Suite: A Musical Dictionary of 80 People around Fluxus* (2002) marked the fortieth anniversary of the movement. In 2005, she published *Furukusasu toha nanika: Nichijō to āto o musubitsuketa hitobito* (What is Fluxus: People connecting the everyday and art).

Shiraga Kazuo [fig. 7; pls. 5, 35]

Born 1924 in Amagasaki, Hyōgo Prefecture; lives and works in Amagasaki, Hyōgo Prefecture. Member of Gutai Art Association

Shiraga graduated from the Japanese painting department of Kyoto City Special Art School in 1948. A painter, performance artist, and member of GUTAI ART ASSOCIATION, Shiraga's search for new modes of expression and his obsession with texture and formlessness resulted in an artistic project that included startling, violent performances as well as a unique, explosive style of painting with his feet. For *Please Come In* (1955), the artist, armed with an ax, stood within a cone of ten red-painted logs set up outdoors and cut into it. For *Challenging Mud* (1955), Shiraga, wearing only shorts, threw himself into a pile of mud and wrestled with the earth, thus extending his painting practice to an environmental setting. Shiraga's paintings from the 1950s and the early 1960s feature the color crimson lake, which—especially when applied with feet, hands, and head, as he did—is evocative of violence and freshly shed blood. In 1971, Shiraga entered the Buddhist priesthood at Enryakuji temple, Mount Hiei, in Kyoto.

Sugiura Kōhei [pls. 12, 32]

Born 1932 in Tokyo; lives and works in Tokyo

Sugiura studied architecture at Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music and is currently professor emeritus at Kobe Design University. Active chiefly in Japan, he is a renowned graphic and typography designer whose powerful blend of the sensual and the iconographic has been an innovative force in the graphic arts throughout much of Asia since the late 1950s. He is also known as a scholar of Asian iconography and has published widely in that field. Working closely with a number of important Japanese artists and graphic designers, Sugiura oversaw the design of posters and programs for the Sōgetsu Art Center in Tokyo, one of the premier venues for avant-garde music and film throughout the 1960s.

Takemitsu Tōru [pls. 1, 12]

Born 1930 in Tokyo; died 1996 in Tokyo. Member of Experimental Workshop/Jikken Kōbō

In 1948, Takemitsu began studying composition with Kiyose Yasuji (1900–1981), although he remained a chiefly self-taught musician and composer. He made his debut as a composer with *Lento in due movimenti* in 1950 and gained international recognition for his *Requiem for Strings* in 1957. In 1951, along with other composers and artists from disparate disciplines, he founded EXPERIMENTAL WORKSHOP/JIKKEN KŌBŌ. Takemitsu's knowledge of music and performance practices was crucial for the group, which soon became known for its avant-garde multimedia activities. In 1970, he was in charge of music programming for the Space Theater, which was part of the Steel Pavilion at Expo '70 in Osaka.

Takemitsu developed a distinctive musical style that combined the Western classical music tradition and traditional Eastern instruments, while his early interest in nonmusical art forms—including modern painting, poetry, theater, and film—deeply influenced his work. He was using tape recorders to create musical collages out of concrete sounds as early as 1950, and his compositions often used percussion in unusual ways, electronic alteration of orchestral sounds, and even silence to return to music the sensuality he thought it had lost.

Taki Kōji [pl. 29]

Born 1928; lives and works in Tokyo. Member of Provoke

Taki studied aesthetics and art history at the University of Tokyo and was active as an experimental photographer in the late 1960s. In 1968, together with the photographers NAKAHIRA TAKUMA and Takanashi

Yutaka (b. 1935) and the critic and poet Okada Takahiko (b. 1939), Taki founded PROVOKE. This group disbanded in 1970, after releasing several photographic publications, the last of which was *Mazu tashikarashisa no sekai o sutero* (First abandon the world of verisimilitude), edited by Taki and Nakahira. Since 1970, Taki has focused on art criticism, becoming one of Japan's leading writers on the visual arts. Among his numerous books and articles on architecture, photography, art, and other subjects are *Me no in'yu: Shisen no genshōgaku* (Metaphor of the eyes: Phenomenology of the gaze, 1982), *Tennō no shōzō* (The emperor's portrait, 1998), and an essay in the Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography's exhibition catalog *Nihon rettō kuronikuru: Tōmatsu Shōmei no gojū nen = Traces: Fifty Years of Tōmatsu's Works* (2000).

Takiguchi Shūzō

Born 1903 in Toyama Prefecture; died 1979 in Tokyo. Associated with Experimental Workshop/Jikken Kōbō

Takiguchi studied English literature at Keio University and became an influential poet, painter, and critic and a vital figure in the introduction of modern European art and poetry (especially surrealism) to Japan. He practiced surrealist automatism from 1927 until 1931, and in 1930 translated *Le surréalisme et la peinture* (Surrealism and painting, 1928) by André Breton (1896–1966) into Japanese. In 1941, Takiguchi was detained for six months for being a surrealist and, by definition, in league with the international communist movement. After World War II, his writings were instrumental in promoting the Japanese avant-garde. From 1951 to 1957, he served as the exhibition adviser to the Takemiya Gallery in Tokyo, during which time the gallery mounted over two hundred solo exhibitions of works by young and emerging artists, including members of EXPERIMENTAL WORKSHOP/JIKKEN KŌBŌ, Kusama Yayoi (b. 1929), On Kawara (b. 1933), and Yagi Kazuo (1918–79). In 1958, Takiguchi curated the Japanese exhibition at the Venice Biennale and visited Breton in Paris. He began experimenting with drawing and collage in 1960 and stopped writing in 1963. His oeuvre of critical writings is collected in the fourteen volumes of *Korekushon Takiguchi Shūzō* (Collected works of Takiguchi Shūzō, 1991–98). Between 1981 and 2003, the Satani Gallery in Tokyo held a series of twenty-four exhibitions in honor of Takiguchi. These featured AKASEGAWA GENPEI, MATSUZAWA YUTAKA, YAMAGUCHI KATSUHIRO, Experimental Workshop, Breton, Man Ray (1890–1976), and other groups and artists of importance to him, and they were accompanied by bilingual catalogs.

Tanaka Atsuko [pl. 8]

Born 1932 in Osaka; died 2005 in Nara. Member of Gutai Art Association

Tanaka was an avant-garde artist who worked in a variety of media and was one of the primary members of GUTAI ART ASSOCIATION. She joined Gutai in 1955 with fellow Zero Society members KANAYAMA AKIRA, MURAKAMI SABURŌ, and SHIRAGA KAZUO. Her well-known *Electric Dress* (1956) was a pyramidal garment made of blinking incandescent lights covered with red, blue, yellow, and green enamel paint and joined by a mass of wiring. She wore this amazing conflation of the Japanese kimono with modern industrial technology during performances. *For Work (Bell)* (1955), which she called a “sound piece” and fellow artists deemed the first “invisible” work of art, she installed a series of twenty electric bells at intervals of about six feet such that, when a viewer pressed a button, the bells rang one after another, growing fainter as the sound traveled away from the starting point. In 1957, Tanaka began creating paintings in vibrant enamels of circles connected by drips and lines. These works are evocative of both electronic circuitry and the circulatory

system of the human body. Tanaka held her first solo exhibition in 1963 in Osaka and left Gutai in 1965. In later years, she focused primarily on abstract paintings and drawings.

Tōmatsu Shōmei [fig. 18; pls. 22, 23]

Born 1930 in Nagoya, Aichi Prefecture; lives and works in Nagasaki. Member of Vivo

A self-taught photographer, Tōmatsu studied economics at Aichi University, graduating in 1934. His talent was recognized in 1952, when he submitted several photographs to a monthly contest for which the photographers DOMON KEN and Kimura Ihei (1901–74) served as judges. His early work, which focused on the daily lives of lower- and middle-class Japanese, appeared in magazines such as *Asahi kamera = Asahi Camera*. In 1959, Tōmatsu had a one-man show in Tokyo and also founded the photographic agency Vivo with Hosoe Eikon and four other young photographers. His subtle and often poetic images of Nagasaki and its atomic bomb survivors appeared in *Hiroshima-Nagasaki, Document 1961* (1961), a book on which he collaborated with Domon. He became a professor at Tokyo University of Art and Design in 1966 and later established the Workshop Photography School in Tokyo with MORIYAMA DAIDŌ and Hosoe, among others. His most recent solo exhibition, *Skin of the Nation*, was held in 2004 at the Japan Society in New York City.

Tone, Yasunao [fig. 11, pl. 32]

Born 1935 in Chiba Prefecture; lives and works in New York City. Member of Group Ongaku and Fluxus; associated with Bikyōtō

Tone studied Japanese literature at Chiba University, graduating in 1957. An artist-composer who manipulates technology for his own musical ends, Tone was one of the instigators of GROUP ONGAKU, an experimental performance collective of musicians and musicologists founded in 1968. He has also been an essential contributor to the TOKYO FLUXUS movement and to avant-garde groups such as HI RED CENTER, Team Random (Japan's first computer art group), and Bikyōtō Revolution Committee. An early associate of YOKO ONO and John Cage (1912–92), Tone moved to New York City in 1972. He is known primarily for his compositions of event music and improvisational music, and he has created experimental sound pieces for a variety of media, ranging from computers to film, theater, and dance. His critical writings include *Gendai geijutsu no isō* (Phase of contemporary art, 1970) and *Nenpyō: Gendai bijutsu no 50-nen, 1916–1968* (Chronology: Five decades of contemporary art, 1916–68), a massive compilation published in 1972 in the journal *Bijutsu techō* (Art notebook).

Yamaguchi Katsuhiko [fig. 5; pls. 1, 2, 33]

Born 1928 in Tokyo; lives and works in Tokyo and Hyōgo Prefecture. Member of Experimental Workshop/Jikken Kōbō

The video artist and sculptor Yamaguchi studied law at Nihon University, graduating in 1951, the year in which he became a founding member of the multimedia artists' group EXPERIMENTAL WORKSHOP/JIKKEN KŌBŌ. His earliest pieces already display his distinctive interest in unconventional media and new technology. In 1952, he created the series *Vitrine*, which were paintings with an optical effect using glass sheets, and in 1953, he collaborated with members of Experimental Workshop on works using automatic slide projection. From 1953 to 1954, Yamaguchi, along with the photographer ŌTSUJI KIYOJI and the artist KITADAI SHŌZŌ, created assemblages for “Asahi Picture News” (APN), a regular feature in *Asahigurafu* (Asahigraph). After Experimental Workshop disbanded, Yamaguchi continued to create mixed-media works and began to partic-

ipate in events associated with TOKYO FLUXUS. By the late 1960s, Yamaguchi had become a leader in the realm of video and multimedia art in Japan. Among the early events he organized were "Expose 1968: Nanika ittekure, ima, sagasu" (Expose 1968: Say something now, I am looking for something to say), a five-day symposium held in 1968; the group exhibitions *Electromagica: International Psytech Art Exhibition* (1969) and *Video Communication: Do-It-Yourself Kit* (1972); and the Mitsui Pavilion at Expo '70 in Osaka, for which he was chief producer. In 1972, he organized Video Hiroba (Video Plaza), a Tokyo-based artistic group focused on the technological and communicative possibilities of video, and he has worked mainly in this medium since.

Yokoo Tadanori [pls. 25, 27]

Born 1936 in Nishiwaki, Hyōgo Prefecture; lives and works in Tokyo

Yokoo is a painter and an influential graphic designer who arrived in Tokyo in 1960 and entered the Nippon Design Center. In 1965, Yokoo participated in *Persona*—an exhibition featuring Japan's foremost graphic designers, including Nagai Kazumasa (b. 1929) and Tanaka Ikkō (b. 1930)—by contributing a poster advertising himself. The following year, he had a solo exhibition at the Nantenshi Gallery in Tokyo. In 1967, Yokoo's print works were featured in *Word and Image*, an exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art in New York City, and he also began designing posters for the newly formed iconoclastic theater troupes Situation Theater (Jōkyō Gekijō), which was led by the charismatic playwright, director, and actor Kara Jūrō (b. 1940), and Gallery Tier (Tenjō Sajiki), which was headed by the provocative writer and director Terayama Shūji (1935–83). With their flat areas of color, overtly sexual images, eclectic typography, and free appropriation of popular imagery, Yokoo's prints of the 1960s deployed aspects of traditional Japanese woodcuts in a pop-art idiom, with his works becoming even more experimental, occult, and psychedelic over the next decade. He was the art director for the Fiber Pavilion at Expo '70 in Osaka. In 1980, Yokoo unexpectedly took up painting, soon discarding the medium of print entirely. A major retrospective exhibition, *Tadanori Yokoo: All Things in Universe*, was held at the Museum of Contemporary Art in Tokyo in 2003.

Yoshihara Jirō [pl. 35]

Born 1905 in Osaka; died 1972 in Ashiya. Member of Gutai Art Association

Yoshihara studied at Kwansei Gakuin University in Nishinomiya but was mainly self-taught as an artist. In his own work, Yoshihara primarily pursued abstract painting, but after World War II, he also became known as an advocate of avant-garde art, especially in the Kansai area. In 1954, Yoshihara founded GUTAI ART ASSOCIATION, and he served as the group's charismatic mentor and financier until his death in 1972, when it dissolved. Beginning in 1955, at their public exhibitions Gutai members created a series of art activities that anticipated the happening and the advent of performance and conceptual art. Yoshihara was instrumental in devising the group's new exhibition formats, which often took place outdoors or on the stage, and in encouraging Gutai artists toward forms of expression that broke with the past. He was the organizer of Gutai's International Sky Festival in Osaka in 1960 and of the Gutai Art Festival at Expo '70 in Osaka.

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