

BEYOND THE FRAME

INTERMEDIA AND EXPANDED CINEMA

IN 1960-1970S JAPAN

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Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Leeds
School of Modern Languages and Cultures
Centre for World Cinemas

January 2014

The candidate confirms that the work submitted is his own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

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*To my father, mother and sister,
with love and gratitude.*

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I want to express my deepest gratitude to the principal supervisor of this thesis, Lúcia Nagib, whose academic breadth and intellectual rigour has been a source of inspiration and her friendship and enthusiasm a constant support. My thanks extend to staff and research students at the Centre for World Cinemas, University of Leeds, whose consortium I had the privilege to join in 2009. The workshops, seminars and conferences that I participated in or had the honour of organising set the foundations for my academic experience. The devotion to interdisciplinary research and passion for intellectual exchange I found in the Mixed Cinema Network, whose White Rose Research Studentship fully supported my doctorate, also greatly assisted in shaping my research.

During my stay in Japan, I encountered a community of academics, archivists and artists whose commitment and passion for the arts I have modeled in my approach to research. I thank Shigeru Matsui, Jelena Stojkovic, Yuriko Furuhashi, Michael Raine, Steve Ridgley, Ann Adachi, Mika Ko, Hiroko Tasaka, Yasuko Imura, Hirofumi Sakamoto, Kenjin Miwa and Sen Uesaki, Yu Homma and Takashi Morishita at the Keio University Art Center. I am also indebted to Ayako Saito and Yomota Inuhiko for their support at Meiji Gakuin University. Personal thanks goes to Takashi & Rei MaKINO for their friendship and Stephanie & Hideki Fukui, Takashi & Misako Nakamura and Midori Uesawa for their hospitality during my stay. My deepest gratitude goes to Go Hirasawa and Roland Domenig whose comradery and insights I could always rely on.

I am indebted to a number of filmmakers and artists whose artistic vision provided me with ongoing stimulation. I had the privilege to converse with the following artists, many of whom shared with me private material — Masao Adachi, Katsu Kanai, Rikuro Miyai, Shuzo Azuchi Gulliver, Michio Okabe, Yoshihiro Kato, Jun'ichi Okuyama, Nobuhiro Kawanaka, Toshio Matsumoto, Toshi Ichiyangi, Masahiro Shinoda, Hikaru Hayashi, Eikoh Hosoe and Herikku Morisaki. I also had the pleasure of speaking with Koichiro Ishizaki, Kinshiro Kuzui and Emiko Namikawa, whose support for artists during the 1960s provided space for dialogue between the arts. My deepest gratitude goes to Takahiko Imura for the many conversations and for making his personal archive available to me where I made many significant discoveries.

During my project, I had the pleasure of sharing my research with a wider public thanks to the commitment to film and art from the following people — Damien Sanville, Josh Siegel, Jed Rapfogel, Joel Shephard, Jasper Sharp, Kathy Geritz, Geoff Andrew and Stuart Comer. My gratitude also goes to the Japan Foundation, who not only supported the public events and academic symposia I had the pleasure of organising but also financed my 10-month stay in Tokyo that this thesis could not have done without. I extend my thanks also to the Worldwide

Universities Network who supported my visit to the University of Sydney and the first academic event I convened as well as the Arts & Humanities Research Council who provided for the workshop I co-organised in Tokyo. Special thanks goes to Michael Smith and Oliver Dew whose friendship and collaboration as co-convenors formed the core of these academic events.

I would like to thank my partner Stefanie Kolk (and her family) not only for her personal and intellectual support but also for believing in me through some difficult times I went through on this journey. Without her loving care, I would have been lost.

Finally, I would like to offer my deepest gratitude to my father for his endless support and good humour and my mother for giving me the courage and teaching me the language that have made this thesis possible.

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines what intermedia meant for artists and critics in 1960s-70s Japan in order to investigate the intermediality of Japanese expanded cinema. While demonstrating the ability for mediums to interact, intermedia highlights the particularities of a medium through the process of juxtaposition. The historical theorisation of medium interactions are outlined in Part I, which addresses the distinctiveness of intermedia from others and provides an overview on the ways Japanese artists and critics responded to intermedia in the 1960s. While proposing a discourse on medium interactions pre-existed intermedia's arrival as a term in Japan in the form of synthesis arts (*sōgō geijutsu*), I will delineate the meaning of intermedia in 1960s Japan using three events that incorporated the word in its titles: Intermedia at Runami Gallery; Intermedia Art Festival; and Cross Talk Intermedia. Performances with projections, projections onto bodies and projections onto balloons are analysed in Part II as recurring tendencies in Japanese expanded cinema to demonstrate the ways the potential for performative action inherent in the apparatus of film projection was accentuated through staging an interaction with performance. Seeking alternative surfaces for projection, the works revealed the amorphous qualities of light projection usually concealed in the experience of film. Part III discusses relations between film, audience and space that are established in the spatial projections of Japanese expanded cinema. I will analyse film emancipated from the prescribed codes of the cinema space in the pavilions of Expo '70, psychedelic shows in underground discotheques and early film installations, to discuss how film projection participated in the critical turn to environment (*kankyō*) in Japanese contemporary art. Through its historical overview, the thesis will show the intermediality of Japanese expanded cinema was demonstrated by its performative and spatial approaches to film projection that staged an opportunity to compare film with other mediums.

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INTRODUCTION

On 5 December 1963, Japanese filmmaker Iimura Takahiko¹ projected his 8mm short abstract film *Iro* (Colour, 1962-3) onto the naked back of artist Takamatsu Jirō at the performance event 'Sweet 16' held at Sōgetsu Art Centre (SAC),² Tokyo. Iimura, the only filmmaker invited to participate, wrote in an accompanying short essay 'Today [...] it is necessary to consider not only the images presented, but also the theory of space as it pertains to the venue where the film is projected' (1963, p. 10).³ In the years that followed, groundbreaking shifts in Japanese film culture ensued where the potential for film began to expand beyond the frame of the cinema screen. Performative and multiple projections onto bodies, objects and the audience became common features of the Japanese art scene where artists initiated collaborations that collapsed disciplinary boundaries. Film escaped the traditional frameworks of the cinema to discover alternative spaces of the theatrical stage, galleries, gymnasiums and pavilions of the 1970 World Exposition in Osaka⁴ to offer renewed approaches to film presentation. Rejuvenated by increasing opportunities for interactions with other art forms, these activities that came to be known as expanded cinema challenged the preconceptions held on the medium of film and produced unprecedented responses.

Expanded cinema has experienced reappraisal in academic research and curatorial practice in recent years. Distinctly absent in the current historicisation of expanded cinema, however, are the activities that came out of Japan. As part of a comprehensive recent publication on the topic, the 'Expanded Cinema Map' in *Expanded Cinema: Art, Film, Performance* (Ball *et al*, 2011) brought together networks of history and activity on expanded cinema but the only listed contribution from Japan is the art collective Gutai Art Association,⁵

¹ For the sake of continuity and clarity, Japanese names in this thesis are written in their native order, surname first, including well-known artists, such as Yoko Ono, whose names are internationally established. An exception is made for the acknowledgements section.

² I will hereafter refer to the centre as SAC.

³ All translations of Japanese texts by the author, unless otherwise noted.

⁴ I will hereafter refer to the event as Expo '70.

⁵ I will hereafter refer to the group as Gutai.

whose performances involving projection were peripheral.⁶ Iimura Takahiko is the only Japanese artist mentioned in the text, yet his performances that took place in Japan are completely disregarded. Being overlooked, however, is nothing new for expanded cinema in Japan as contemporary publications committed similar oversights. Only those who presented their works in New York, such as artists Kosugi Takehisa and Isobe Yukihisa, were included in pioneering publications such as *An Introduction to American Underground Film* (Renan, 1967) and *Expanded Cinema* (Youngblood, 1970), leading to misconceptions that their works emerged from a participation in the city's underground arts.⁷ Art history in Japan, furthermore, has also expressed oblivion to homegrown activities by omitting Japanese case studies in their articulation of expanded cinema.⁸ The contributions of Japanese artists to the field of expanded cinema, and particularly their performances on Japanese ground, are clearly in need of critical consideration.

Due to the obstacle of language, geographical distance and paucity of readily available resources for the historian of expanded cinema, the very existence of a movement in Japan has so far been overlooked. Nonetheless, the activities that took place in Japan challenged film form in ways that deserve to be taken into account in the current reevaluation of expanded cinema. A thriving cultural network established between the United States and Japan meant that news on developments in American arts travelled at considerable speed to Japanese critics and artists. Expanded cinema had thus been introduced to the Japanese at least by 1966, years before its

⁶ 'X-Screen: Filmische Installation und Aktion der Sechziger – und Siebzigerjahre' at the Museum Moderner Kunst Stiftung Ludwig Wien (2003-4), an exhibition on expanded cinema, similarly ignores Japanese contributions altogether. The only Japanese artists represented in the exhibition 'Future Cinema: The Cinematic Imaginary after Film' (2002-3), was Masaki Fujihata, a digital artist working with computer graphics since the mid-1970s, a generation after the expanded cinema artists discussed in this thesis.

⁷ Kosugi Takehisa's *Film and Film #4* is mentioned in Hollis Frampton's performance *A Lecture* (1968) as well as in contemporary accounts of expanded cinema: Renan, 1967, pp. 247-8 (with a photograph by Peter Moore) and Dwoskin, 1975, pp. 235-6. Jud Yalkut's *Dream Reel* (1969) was a collaboration with Isobe Yukihisa's *Floating Theatre* involving a parachute devised as a surface for projection. The performance is mentioned in Youngblood, 1970, pp. 391-3.

⁸ Yoshizumi Takeshi makes no mention of Japanese activities on his chapter on expanded cinema that cites Nam June Paik's video work and quotes Gene Youngblood's text (1992, pp. 66-72).

prevalence was felt in European countries in the early 1970s.⁹ The nucleus for the alternative approaches to film projection in Japan, furthermore, can be traced even before the arrival of the term to the performative uses of projection by Tsukiji Little Theatre in the interwar years, Jikken Kōbō Experimental Workshop in the 1950s and activities soon after the opening in 1958 of SAC, which became the epicentre of Japanese avant-garde arts. At the peak of its proliferation across its art scene in the late 1960s, developments in Japanese expanded cinema ran concurrently to its counterparts in the United States. This thesis seeks to readdress the imbalance by introducing works by the Japanese artists and filmmakers of the 1960s and 1970s who oriented their artistic expression on the presentation of the projected image.

Another term introduced into Japanese critical lexicon soon after its proclamation in the United States was intermedia. First articulated by Fluxus artist Dick Higgins in February 1966, Iimura Takahiko introduced the term to Japan synonymously to expanded cinema in December of the same year, and artistic responses ensued soon after. Iimura's predisposition to expanded cinema in his understanding of intermedia heavily influenced the notion's critical and artistic conception in Japan. The two notions continued to inform one another in their development, catalysed by a wide debate among critics and artists throughout the 1960s and early 1970s.

Broadly standing for the interactions among conventionally separated mediums, intermediality has also experienced a resurgence of academic interest since the 1990s as a theoretical avenue through which boundary-crossing activities between the arts can be navigated.¹⁰ Despite its theorisation early on after its establishment, Japanese critical discussions on intermedia in the 1960s have been completely ignored in historical reflections on the articulation of the term. Recent contributions to intermedia theory have focused on its appropriation in film studies with publications such as Agnes Pethő's single-authored *Cinema and Intermediality* (Pethő, 2011) and edited publication *Impure Cinema: Intermedial and*

⁹ Noticing the widespread presence of expanded cinema in the Festival of Independent Avant-Garde Film at the National Film Theatre in London in 1973, Jonas Mekas remarked 'Of course, New York went through it 10 years ago' while acknowledging the structuralist impetus that made the British counterparts distinct (2011, p. 72).

¹⁰ To evade confusion with news media, I have chosen to refer to the plural of medium as mediums and will do so hereafter.

Intercultural Approaches to Film (Jerslev and Nagib, eds., 2014). As the inclusion of intermedia into the theoretical methodology of film studies is currently underway, it seems appropriate to contextualise and evaluate the critical discourse on *intermedia* as it stood in 1960s Japan.¹¹

Although the Japanese artists and critics borrowed the term *intermedia*, the ways in which it was interpreted into Japanese critical discourse stood apart from how it was developed in the United States and elsewhere. Rather than applying its theoretical framework as it had developed in the West, this thesis will probe the specificities of the ways in which *intermedia* was interpreted in Japan by analysing local artistic and critical responses. Along with other key phrases, such as 'expanded cinema', 'environment' and 'display', the ways in which the terms were introduced, interpreted and discussed, as well as what the artists and critics hoped to achieve in its implementation, will be considered in the forthcoming chapters. In such ways, the aims of this thesis aren't necessarily to include the interpretations of the term by Japanese artists and critics into a dominant narrative of intermedia but to open up the field of study internationally to incorporate the ways in which the meaning of the term proliferated. Rather than considering whether the case studies qualify as artistic responses to intermedia according to definitions proposed by the Western theorists, this thesis will situate the works in relation to the discourse of intermediality particular to Japan.

By addressing Japanese *intermedia* and expanded cinema of the 1960s, this thesis contributes to the ongoing international reassessment of Japanese postwar art and cinema that has been experiencing a period of intense focus in recent years. In the field of the fine arts, major museums and galleries in Japan and overseas have revisited artist collectives whose works have come to represent pinnacles of interdisciplinary activities in the period, including: Gutai at the Venice Biennial (2009), Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum (2013) and San Francisco Art Institute (2013); Jikken Kōbō Experimental Workshop at Annely Juda Fine Art in London (2009), Bétonsalon in Paris (2011), and a touring exhibition in Japan (2013); as well as a touring exhibition on the Hi Red Centre in Japan (2013-4). Other exhibitions have invoked the

¹¹ From hereafter, *intermedia* is italicised when it refers to the critical discourse in 1960s-70s Japan.

period of activity as their central axis, including: 'Art, Anti-Art, Non-Art: Experimentation in the Public Sphere in Postwar Japan, 1950-1970' at the Getty Centre (2007); 'Tokyo 1955-1970' at Museum of Modern Art (2012-3); 'Experimental Grounds 1950s' at the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo (2012-3); and 'The '70s in Japan: 1968-1982' in Museum of Modern Art, Saitama (2012). Recent film retrospectives have also taken the opportunity to reflect on the 1960s with a focus on independent directors Ōshima Nagisa, Yoshida Kijū, Shindō Kaneto, Wakamatsu Kōji and experimental filmmakers Matsumoto Toshio, Adachi Masao and Kanai Katsu presented at major film museums and film festivals in the past decade, with a touring retrospective on the Art Theatre Guild of Japan¹² remaining distinct in its focus on an organisation to frame its curatorial remit. Despite the emphasis placed upon collectivity in many of the exhibitions and retrospectives, ensuing publications have, with the exception of research by Miryam Sas (2013) and Yuriko Furuhashi (2013), nonetheless underplayed the role of intermedia as a formative principle in the Japanese arts of the period.

While embodying notions of intermedia in its very framework, Japanese expanded cinema has been poorly recognised in critical and curatorial re-evaluations of postwar Japanese art.¹³ The foremost reason is its ephemeral nature that eludes preservation as an object by its very mode of presentation, which has shaped the course of the methodology in undertaking my research. In my investigation, I have relied on primary resources that ranged from flyers, festival and event programmes, photographic documentation, contemporary reviews, critical essays and surrounding ephemera to corroborate, to the greatest extent possible, the transient experiments embarked upon by the artists that, in most occasions, were never revisited. Personal reflections from artists, filmmakers, critics and curators whom I had the privilege to interview also contributed to illustrating the contours of the events. In the absence of a survey in any language on Japanese expanded cinema, I have opted for the structure of the thesis to

¹² The Art Theatre Guild of Japan was an organisation founded in 1961 to distribute world cinema and eventually co-produce local independent features that were shown across their cinemas in Japan and at international film festivals. I will hereafter refer to the organisation as ATG.

¹³ An exception, once again, goes to Yuriko Furuhashi whose critical analysis of Matsumoto Toshio's intermedia projects encompasses his expanded film projections (2013, pp. 48-50).

encompass a historical overview rather than provide close analyses on selected individual works or artists. The pervasive breadth of the impact of expanded cinema across the contemporary Japanese art scene best manifests itself through presenting these interconnections.

The period of enquiry was limited to the years between 1958 and 1972, although references to prior and subsequent events are made where necessary. 1958 marks the opening of the SAC, the vital stage where many of the formative experiments in expanded cinema were performed. Located in Akasaka, Tokyo, in the basement of flower arrangement (*ikebana*) school ran by artist Teshigahara Sofū, the space was managed by his son and filmmaker Teshigahara Hiroshi who envisioned for it to become a nexus of interaction between the arts. Fifteen years later in 1972, the fifth annual Exhibition of Contemporary Plastic Art held at the Kyoto Municipal Museum of Art presented Equivalent Cinema, the first group exhibition of film installations in Japan. To counter the common presumption that intermedia in Japan reached its end at Expo '70, I have cited works and events after the world exposition that continued to contribute the development of intermedia and expanded cinema. The selected case studies will mostly be limited to those involving film projections before the domination of video art as the principal form of moving image in gallery and museum spaces for the ensuing years. By navigating the role of the moving image from performance to installation, the thesis seeks to outline selected works, events and exhibitions that assisted in the articulation of intermedia and expanded cinema in 1960-70s Japan.

In outlining avant-garde filmmaking of the period, many historians have cited the prevalent shift in the articulation of image in Japanese art critical writing. An increasing ubiquity of moving images beyond the cinema in the changing media environment of the postwar years called for a redefinition that incorporated this proliferation. The Japanese term for image (*eizō*), in other words, came into widespread prominence as visuality made possible by modern technology, thus primarily designating technological manifestations rather than a broader conception found in the English term for image. Demonstrating the increasing popularity of the term, Furuhata outlines the sheer number of appearances it makes in titles for journals, publications and research groups that were the primary platforms for critical dialogue

and exchange (2013, pp. 40-1).¹⁴ With the widespread use of the term in mind, tracing the etymology of *eizō* in the Japanese art critical lexicon helps us comprehend the alterations in the understanding of image that shaped the interpretation of expanded cinema in Japan.

Firstly, the change in terminology evokes a performative dimension for the image. In tracing the etymology of the word *eizō*, Furuhashi points out the character for shadow (*kage*),¹⁵ that can also be read as *ei*, was still in use in the 1940s in writing on image (*eizō*) but was soon after replaced by the identically pronounced *kanji* character, reflect (*utsusu*) (2013, p. 40). Whereas shadow remains a noun, to reflect is a verb that denotes an action. While historian Christophe Charles notes that the Japanese term for reflection (*utsusu*) also incorporates in its definition a shadow or a silhouette (1996, p. 1), the word *eizō* also insinuates in its character configuration a manifestation or coming into being. Rather than reducing an image to a result, the articulation of the term as 'reflected' or 'reflecting' picture, points towards the desire for the projection of film to be considered an action. Secondly, the term evokes a sculptural or spatial quality to the image as opposed to the flat plane of a pictorial manifestation on a screen surface. While Japanese word for film (*eiga*) incorporates the character for picture (*ga*), the term for image (*eizō*) substitutes picture with form or figure (*zō*) in its composition as a word. Incorporating a frame within its character constitution, the picture (*ga*) requires a surface onto which an image would be sketched or drawn. Form (*zō*), on the other hand, relinquishes the need for a surface in the manifestation of an image as it embodies presence in and of itself.

While *eiga* can be understood as subservient to the surface of the screen, *eizō*, on the other hand, can be a manifestation in itself without a foreign agent. The shift from picture (*ga*) to form (*zō*), therefore, embodies recognition of the potential for film to exist beyond the frame of the cinema screen and emphasises projection of light over appearance of shadows. The turn to *eizō* for film in particular was symptomatic of an emergence of alternative ways of moving

¹⁴ Michael Raine suggests, 'postwar Japanese intellectual life in the arts revolved less around universities than "study groups"' (2012, p. 144).

¹⁵ The earlier use of the character of 'shadow' to describe image shared the description of film in China that connotes an electrical shadow picture (*dianying*) and both articulations can be traced back to the precinematic lineage of image presentations in Asian shadow plays and puppet theatres.

image presentation that demanded an autonomous status standing apart from the narrative pictures of the commercial industry. These changes in the conception of the image form the pillars of my argument that performance and space became key to the development of Japanese expanded cinema.

In its investigation of Japanese expanded cinema, this thesis continues to return to the concept of the film frame. On the one hand, the frame represents the limitations of cinema that expanded cinema sought to overcome. The screen as the frame enforces certain pictorial configurations and margins upon the projected image. The filmstrip divided into twenty-four frames that signifies the duration of a second also imposes a temporal regulation. On the other hand, the frame represents the particular characteristics of film that expanded cinema accentuated in its crossover into fields usually pertained to other art forms. In the words of Thomas Elsaesser and Malte Hagener, 'the frame exhibits the medium in its material specificity' (2010, p. 15). The concept of the frame, therefore, embodies a paradox that is at the crux of this thesis referring to the ability of film to interact with other arts while retaining its own identity in the process. Also concerning the traversal of borders, intermedia discussed in 1960s Japan and more recently have engaged with a similar paradox where the mixing of conventionally separated mediums often result in an assertion of their specificity. The frame, therefore, remains pervasive throughout this thesis despite the impulse in intermedia and expanded cinema to overcome it.

By asserting a place for Japan's contributions to the theorisation of intermedia and the artistic practice of expanded cinema, this thesis readdresses the imbalance in critical theory and art history that has so far neglected their significance. The resurrection of the critical discourse on *intermedia* in the Japanese arts of the 1960s-70s will revitalise the ongoing formation of intermedia as a theoretical framework for criticism and research. The overlooked case studies of expanded cinema in Japan, moreover, will contribute to the decanonisation of expanded cinema as a historical phenomenon pertained to Europe and North America. In focusing on these undervalued works, the thesis will assist in drawing out the complex nexus of artists that precedes and exceeds the established names to offer renewed insights into recognised works by

providing a fuller background and context. Structured by the key critical terms — medium, performance and space — in discussing alternative modes of film presentation in Japan, this thesis probes the question — in 1960s-70s Japan, what did intermedia mean to critics and artists and how intermedial was expanded cinema?

Part I addresses the term intermedia by considering its critical development and comparing its current stage with how *intermedia* was discussed by Japanese artists and critics in the 1960s-70s. The first chapter 'Intermedia as a Theoretical Framework' will invoke other critical terms used to designate an interaction between mediums — intertextuality, interartiality and multimodality — in order to address its specific characteristics by asking — what sets intermedia apart from other activities that involve interactions between multiple art forms? Whereas other critical terms determine relations between mediums that remain structured upon codified relationships leading to homogeneity, intermedia refers to a process of border-crossing where individual mediums retain their own identity. The second chapter 'Japan Before Intermedia' will outline the theorisation and practice of interactions between art forms in Japan prior to the arrival of intermedia as a term. The final chapter 'Japan's Response to Intermedia' investigates the question — how was intermedia received in the Japanese art scene? It will demonstrate that Japanese artists and critics in the 1960s-70s echo recent theorisation of intermedia by resorting to *intermedia* to designate interactions between mediums that highlighted individual autonomy. After suggesting the nucleus of Japan's *intermedia* can be traced back to the discourse on synthesis arts (*sōgō geijutsu*) in the 1950s, the chapter will propose the distinction with its conceptual predecessor similarly lies in its devotion for individual mediums to retain their own individuality. Furthermore, the chapter will propose *intermedia* from its inception was founded upon an intimate relationship with expanded cinema due to its simultaneous introduction. It will conduct a close analysis of three events held in the late 1960s that explicitly referred to intermedia in their titles, to explore their intentions behind its invocation: 'Intermedia' at Runami Gallery; 'Intermedia Art Festival' at the discotheque Killer Joe's; and 'Cross Talk Intermedia' at Yoyogi Gymnasium. The analysis of the three events will

consider the question at the core of Part I — were *intermedia* and expanded cinema in Japan distinctly intermedial?

Part II will investigate the potential for performance in the act of film projection that was highlighted in Japanese expanded cinema where *intermedia* was staged between film and performance. In accentuating the performative turn in the articulation of image (*eizō*), Part II will ask — how did intermedia manifest itself through performance in Japanese expanded cinema? While its variable length, perpetual presentness and aversion to reproduction ostensibly render performance distinct from film, the juxtaposition reveals their ability to interact while highlighting their intrinsic differences. Through analysing a selection of case studies, Part II will suggest what I call the 'performativity of cinema', the technological potentialities for performance in light and projection, is revealed through interaction with performative actions of the body. As such, Part II will focus on the search for alternatives to the screen frame through three performative gestures — performance with film, projections onto the body and projections onto balloons — that recurred in Japanese expanded cinema. By rendering film projection as performance, the potential for transformation of both projection light and screen surface were brought to attention while their crucial roles in film were also confirmed. The first chapter 'Performance with Projections' explores the intersection of the emergence of performance art with expanded film projections. Placing an emphasis on the body as flesh as opposed to the immobility of the cinema screen, projections onto bodies explored the potential for off-screen action in film presentation. The second chapter 'Projections onto Bodies' will discuss the substitution of the screen with the body to discuss in what ways the act placed the performativity of film to the foreground. As well as channeling the theory of the body as flesh, the intersection of body and projection also corresponds with the 'shadow debate', a name given to the increasing indistinguishability of simulacra (*kyozō*) and origin (*jitsuzō*) discussed in 1960s Japan. The final chapter 'Projections onto Balloons' will similarly discuss in what ways the replacement of the screen with pneumatic objects emphasised cinema as light projection, an immaterial form able to transform shapes according to the surface upon which it lands.

Part III explores the emancipation of film from its prescribed codes of the cinema space in the development of expanded cinema in Japan. By focusing on space beyond the screen frame induced in the term for image (*eizō*), Part III asks — how did *intermedia* manifest itself through space in Japanese expanded cinema? Referring to the widespread concern on space in Japanese contemporary art, the first chapter 'Space, Environment, Display' will discuss in what ways film contributed in the critical discourse on environment (*kankyō*) and display (*disupurei*). Discarding the Japanese term for space (*kūkan*) that constituted an 'empty interval', the critical turn to environment in the mid-1960s underscored a desire for contemporary art to reconsider the relationships between art, space and audience in cultural experience. Mostly neglected in art history for its overtly commercial implications, the term display (*disupurei*) outlined similar aims for the exhibition of commercial displays, testifying to increasing collapse of boundaries between art and capital. The fundamental aims of environment and display were to stimulate recognition of space and motivate a desire to participate from their spectators. The second chapter 'Expo '70: World Exposition in Osaka' will analyse the pavilions at Expo '70 that embarked on the challenges delineated by environment and display. Despite their intentions, the chapter will conclude the pavilions met with little success against the regimentation of experience in Asia's first world exposition. As a counterpoint, the third chapter 'Psychedelic Shows: Underground Discotheques' will propose the underground discotheques were more successful in meeting the aims of environment art and display with their use of image projection. Finally, the fourth chapter 'Early Film Installations' will conclude with an introduction to the advent of film installations in Japanese art of the early 1970s as another manifestation of *intermedia*, environment art and display in the wake of Expo '70.

In the Conclusion, the historical overview of activities in Japanese expanded cinema will be brought together to assess in 1960s-70s Japan, what did intermedia mean to critics and artists and how intermedial was expanded cinema? The Conclusion will confirm in what ways medium, performance and space were informed by the discussion on *intermedia* in 1960s-70s Japan. Reflecting on its significance, it will offer suggestions for further developments for research in intermedia, expanded cinema and Japanese contemporary art.

PART I

INTERMEDIA

In recent years, the proliferation of possible meanings designated to the term 'intermedia' has stimulated research on artistic movements but stunted its development as a theoretical framework. Criticised as an 'inflation of its terminology,' (Pethő, 2010, p. 41), the variety of definitions, according to media theorists Jurgen Heinrich and Yvonne Spielmann, 'reflect the levels of uncertainty — and sometimes confusion — in current media debates' (2002, p. 5). The excessive impulse towards issuing definitions for intermedial activity has so far arguably produced more complications than valuable insights. Cautioned by Jürgen E. Müller as a 'theoretical phenomenon strongly subject to changing fashion' (2010, p. 15), the ventures in the categorisation of intermedial practice have overlooked what has always remained crucial to intermediality — its resistance against boundaries. By organising historical and more recent discussions, the following chapter aims to assemble the central debates surrounding intermedia to sharpen and hone into what has remained important in the development of intermedia as a theoretical framework. The critical theories on intertextuality, interartiality and multimediality are closely related to the concept of intermedia, but showcase fundamental characteristics that differentiate intermedia from other theoretical frameworks and activities that involve multiple art forms. By doing so, Chapter 1.1 will answer Part I's first research question — what sets intermedia apart from other activities that involve multiple art forms? As the chapter will further explore, I propose intermedia is committed to the creation of something new as well as offering the opportunity to compare the participation of mediums.

Although its historicisation has focused on North American and European case studies, intermedia was also discussed and practiced elsewhere. Countering the Eurocentrism that has so far pervaded the historical analysis as well as choices of artworks examined under the scope of intermediality, Part I will introduce Japan's response to intermedia. By doing so, it will answer

the second research question of Part I — how was intermedia received in the Japanese art scene? The focus of this question is twofold. Firstly, did intermedial activities exist in Japan before the introduction of the term by Iimura in 1966? Answering this question will be Chapter 1.2, which introduces various Japan-based efforts to combine different mediums before Iimura's introduction of *intermedia*. Secondly, were intermedia and expanded cinema in Japan distinctly intermedial? After being introduced by Iimura Takahiko in the same year it was conceived by Dick Higgins, intermedia went on to infiltrate the Japanese art scene in ways that incorporated Japan's own genealogies of media interactions and critical debates. *Intermedia* in Japan, therefore, embodies another transgression of borders as the medium-crossing phenomenon was translated from an American to a Japanese concept. The last chapter, Chapter 1.3, will explore how the critical discourse on intermedia settled in the Japanese art scene. Discussing three representative events organised in Tokyo that happened in the late 1960s — Intermedia at Runami Gallery (May 1967), Intermedia Art Festival (January 1969) and Cross Talk Intermedia (February 1969) — the chapter will explore the diverse interpretations of intermedia by Japanese artists and critics who actively engaged with the concept upon its arrival, and probe their commitment to the understanding of intermediality.

1.1 INTERMEDIA AS A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1.1.1 Intertextuality / Intermediality

Intermediality is often affixed to the concept of intertextuality. This is curious, as intermedia's inception predates its neighbouring and predominantly literary discursion. While 'intermedia' was conceived by Dick Higgins in February 1966, 'intertextuality' was first used by Julia Kristeva in 'Bakhtin, le mot, le dialogue et le roman' (1967) in an essay that describes Mikhail Bakhtin's 'dialogism', which is an understanding of literature that considers all novels to be always positioned in dialogue with previous works. Intertextuality, in such ways, describes the meaning of one text being shaped through another text. Despite coming into usage after 'intermedia', the act of tracing an influence can be considered a longstanding strategy practiced by writers and, in the words of Adolophe Haberer, 'had always been the pursuit of literary

scholars [...] as the basis of classical poetics' prior to the formation of intertextuality (2007, p. 57). One could say the same for 'intermediality', however, for it also has a longer history than its arrival as a word. Higgins himself, for example, acknowledged Samuel Taylor Coleridge's use of the word 'intermedium' in 1812 as a source of inspiration (1976, p. 271).¹⁶ Werner Wolf even argues the intermedial impulse has been 'relevant since time immemorial, since the very beginnings of vocal music, dramatic art, and the joint use of painting and architecture' (2005, p. 256). Along the same lines, Ken Friedman has suggested:

The fact that there are many media has always meant the possibility of intermedia, and intermedia has been with us (with or without the label) since the dawn of time. In a sense, the history of intermedia began with the birth of human communication. (2005, p. 56)

To illustrate its existence before contemporary art, Dick Higgins invoked case studies from the pattern poetry in Giordano Bruno's *Degli Eroici Furori* of the 16th century (1984, p. 31). Considering the emergence of 'intermedia' preceded Kristeva's conception of 'intertextuality', it would be misleading to push aside intermedia 'a sadly neglected but vastly important subdivision of intertextuality' (Wagner, 1996, p. 17).

The misunderstanding of intermedia as synonymous or indebted to intertextuality has resulted in allocation of intermedia in the literary field. Wolf followed Peter Wagner in considering intermedia as a 'logical continuation of the interest in "intertextuality"' and proposes it had 'originated in a literature-centred milieu' (1999, p. 1). While he admits the critical approach to have 'far transcended boundaries of the literary field', he still regards it to be 'still used mostly in relation to literature' (2005, p. 252). The adherence to intertextuality, particularly persistent in the German strand of 1990s intermedial research represented by Wagner (1996) and Wolf (1999) besets studies in intermedia, as notified more recently by Henk Oosterling (2003, p. 37), Stephanie Glaser (2009, p. 17) and Müller (2010, pp. 241-2). What raises an issue

¹⁶ Coleridge uses the word in 'On the Principles of Genial Criticism,' (1907, pp. 220-21) which was dated to have actually been drafted in 1817 according to Julainne S. Sumich (2007, pp. 6-7).

for research on intermedia, however, is not the competing geneses of the two terms but the finite implications of a text-to-text relation in 'intertextuality' to compromise the possibilities of mutual exchange in intermedia. To clarify, intertextuality relies on an origin from which a secondary mode draws inspiration, a teleological framework where the original only serves but remains fundamentally the same, while intermediality brings together two forces in a way in which the outcome fundamentally changes both.

Although in intertextuality, the 'text' initially exclusively indicated the printed press of literature, it began to encompass discursive practices beyond the page in the hands of the French poststructuralists. Starting with the destabilisation the 'author' promoted by Roland Barthes, who had supervised Kristeva's thesis on Bakhtin, the notion of the text itself came under scrutiny (Barthes, 1973; Kristeva, 1980). Nevertheless, Mikko Lehtonen notes that, surprisingly, 'the expanded concept of "text" has in practice hardly ever shown up in the study of "intertextuality"' (1999, p. 82), therefore, remaining firmly rooted in literature. In recent years, however, text-to-text relations have extended beyond literature and began to signal more than incestuous crossbreeding within one genre or medium (Lehtonen, 1999, p. 82). Particularly in the field of adaptation, film studies has adopted 'intertextuality' as a term employed in the analysis of cinematic interpretations of stories originating in literature (Stam, 1992 and 2005; Kline, 1992; Lampolski, 1998; Aragay, 2005). Recognising the shift in the conception of intertextuality, Wolf introduced the notion of 'homomedial' relations in reference to interactions between texts within the same medium and 'heteromedial' correspondences to connote the crossing of medial barriers in reference to the 'text' (2005, p. 252). In describing possible modes of intertextual activity, Lehtonen describes *horizontal* intertextuality to designate relationships within one text and the relationship between primary texts with others to constitute a *vertical* intertextuality (1999, pp. 75-6). Although offering more opportunities for intertextuality, Lehtonen's suggestion once again shows intertextuality requires original text. While the scope has broadened, what undermines intertextuality is its insistence on an origin that produces unidirectional procedures, something that I would argue intermediality sought to transcend as a concept. Although intertextuality may be useful in determining relationships within and

between mediums across generations of production, the possibility of mutually reciprocated influence is better served by intermediality.

In examples that involve works beyond literature, the linearity of influence in intertextuality is most evident in the concept of ekphrasis. In its broadest definition, ekphrasis is assigned to describe a medium citing or replacing another medium, usually in literature where words refer to visual art. For this reason, ekphrastic practice is bound in a sequential formula and by its very nature is referential or, in Lehtonen's reading, 'substitutional' (1999, p. 62). Although mostly used for literary analysis, ekphrasis can and has been appropriated to similarly referential procedures between different mediums. In her analysis of intermediality, Agnes Pethő, for example, invoked the use of ekphrasis to describe the literary quotations dispersed across films by Jean-Luc Godard (2009, pp. 47-64). Describing their term 'remediation' as an imitation of one medium in another, J. David Bolter and Richard A. Grusin, furthermore, included ekphrasis as one possibility of cross-medium transference (1999, pp. 45).

While ekphrasis only marks out a prescribe route from one medium to another, its practice nevertheless complicates the status of both mediums. W.J.T Mitchell has suggested, 'all ekphrasis is notional, and seeks to create a specific image that is to be found only in the text as its "resident alien"' (1994, p. 157). If we follow James Cisneros in tracing its etymology to determine its original meaning as to 'speak out' (2007, p. 22), an ekphrastic gesture calls attention to itself as displaced and, as Mitchell's paradox suggests, remains at once home and away. It is this feature that led Cisneros to assign the primary qualities of ekphrasis as 'Balance, symmetry, circularity in form and style [...] back to the fundamental imbalance between the linear text and circular object' (2007, p. 27). Drawing from this paradox, Peter Wagner called ekphrasis 'a Janus face', describing that, 'as a form of mimesis, it stages a paradoxical performance, promising to give voice to the allegedly silent image even while attempting to overcome the power of the image by transforming and inscribing it' (1999, p.13). Describing a sub-category of ekphrasis that he coins as 'iconotext', where an image is presented in a text or vice versa, Wagner implies the act of citation can subvert the quoted content itself through displacement onto another (con)text, thereby breaking the linear pattern of an ekphrastic act

(1999, p. 15). Nevertheless, ekphrasis still relies on the existence of a primary medium for a transfer to take place whereas intermediality has the potential to overcome linear relations between mediums. While ekphrasis is useful for particular purposes, such as the study of adaptations, intermedia offers new opportunities for interaction situated and built upon the present moment.

1.1.2 Interartiality / Intermediality

When the allegiance to literary scholarship of the 'text' was deemed problematic in the analysis of dialogue between traditionally separated forms of expression, 'text' was replaced with 'art' to give name to the phenomena as 'interart' and 'interartiality'. For a time, studies in interart proposed the exploration of boundary-defying practice among mainly literature, visual arts and music, in other words, artistic practice that bridged the sense-perceptors for words, image and sound (Bruhn, 2010, p. 225). Although relatively short-lived only to be superseded by 'intermedia', the concept's influence is still felt and its key proponents, namely W.J.T Mitchell and Claus Clüver, remain pivotal figures in intermedial studies. By reflecting on 'interart' and the reasons for its demise, we are provided with some hints as to the ways in which we can understand intermediality and its specificities.

In the early 1990s, interartiality signalled a shift in the histories of art by calling to study the relationship among art forms that were traditionally considered separate. As with intertextuality and intermediality, prior cases of such thinking informed interartiality. In Claus Clüver's 'Interart Studies: An Introduction', Oskar Walzel's notion of 'mutual illumination' (1917) and Richard Wagner's *Gesamtkunstwerk*, in other words, 'total work of art,' (1849) were included as predecessors in the study of interart (2009, pp. 499-500). The reason for its reignition of interest was historical research of non-Western cultural practices that debunked and rendered superfluous the artistic traditions previously held (Clüver, 2009, p. 507). In an attempt to accommodate these boundary-defying practices, interart studies broadly encompassed different modes of inter-relations without stringent specifications:

In studying the relations and connections as well as parallels, analogies, and differences among the individual arts, their disciplinary anatomy was rarely questioned, the central task was held to be a comparative one, and the discussion focused on the feasibility and the limits of comparisons across the boundary lines separating the art. (Clüver, 2009, p. 500)

As Stephen Greenblatt suggested, 'The term "interart" has a deliberate air of the temporary, the hybrid, the betwixt-and-between that is exactly right for this fluid movement' (1997, p. 15). In such ways, interart constituted diverse avenues of interfacing phenomena between traditionally separated arts that were absent in intertextuality.

By the late 1990s, however, the discursive practice of interart was conceptually challenged with the (re)emergence of intermediality. For example, Jürgen E. Müller probed the relevance of interartiality in the age of new media and the digital that, in their infancy, had yet to attain the status of 'art' but nevertheless had become contributors to border-crossing practices between mediums (2010b, p. 19).¹⁷ Media theorist Friedrich Kittler, furthermore, declared interart to be 'an old word for an old institution', questioning its choice of only including the recognised arts (1994, p. 215). Despite Clüver's claims that interart accommodates both 'low art' and 'high art' (2009, p. 511), interart was deemed a relic of the past that required refashioning as 'intermedia'.

1.1.3 Multimediality / Intermediality

Multimediality is also often used synonymously with intermediality. Kiene Brillenburg Wurth points out, however, 'there is a significant difference between them that is already announced in the prefixes "multi" (many) and "inter" (between)' (2006, p. 1). Multimediality is most often associated strongly with Richard Wagner's conception of *Gesamtkunstwerk* for its conception to achieve a sense of hybridity through the mixing of mediums, and it is precisely the term's historical indebtedness to Wagner's vision that clarifies the differentiation between

¹⁷ This view is also shared in Bruhn, 2010, p. 227 and Rajewsky, 2010, pp. 43-5.

multimediality and intermediality. While Wagner's 'total work of art' conspired to evoke sensory suspension in the audience where the specificities of each medium mix together in service of an overarching narrative, intermediality, on the other hand, aims for a different experience from its audience that explores, rather than hides, the gaps between mediums. This section will explore how the differences between multimedia and intermedia have been analysed and in what ways marking these differences will provide us with a deeper understanding of intermediality.

According to Jürgen E. Müller, multimediality primarily constitutes an interactive process according to an 'additive principle' (2010b, p. 26), in contrast to intermedia, where distinct mediums communicate with one another in ways that defy 'simple addition or juxtaposition' (2010b, p. 18). Yvonne Spielmann's definition of intermedia as, 'an activity of transformation and not of accumulation,' (2005, p. 136) also implies that the difference between the two modes of interaction are founded upon Müller's 'additive principle.' In Müller's reading, therefore, multimedia becomes associated with the negative connotations of hybridity (2010a, p. 245; Pethő, 2010, p. 44). Indeed, the dangers in championing hybridity in the form that neglects difference is crucial and is most often employed in the multimedial context. In Richard Wagner's conception of the opera, however, the degree of intermingling in fact calls for different results to hybridity as outlined in his essay 'Opera Affirms the Separation of the Arts'.

As the title suggests, 'Opera Affirms the Separation of the Arts' delineates Wagner's thoughts on the ways in which opera, what would later be coined a 'hypermedium' by Chiel Kattenbelt, stages the amalgamation of art forms only for the outcome to pronounce a confirmation of their difference: 'It stays *throughout itself* only when it *thoroughly gives itself away*' (1969, p. 2).¹⁸ Wagner opens the essay with a metaphor of 'the loving trinity' to describe the coming together of the arts, 'As man by love sinks his whole nature in that of a woman, in order to pass through her into a third being' (1969, p. 2). Its gendered and heteronormative implications aside, the metaphor indicates Wagner's vision of an interaction between arts functions on a purpose-driven paradigm that focuses on the end result rather than the moment of convergence — on sex only for the sake of birth. For Wagner, different mediums brought

¹⁸ Emphasis in original.

together for opera is always in service of the storytelling at the centre of the performance. In other words, Wagner's multimedia is founded on the principles of hybridity that seek to overcome difference. Wagner continues, '*Purity of the art-variety is therefore the first requisite for its comprehensibility, whereas an alloy (Mischung) from other art-varieties can only foul this comprehensibility*' (1895).¹⁹ His statement confirms Wagner's allegiance to what later was to be called multimedia that is formed according to 'additive principles'. Wagner's 'total work of art' calls for a unification of the arts that is founded on a different principle to intermediality that disavows the limitations of purity.

In an article he wrote in the 1980s that reflects on the term 'intermedia', Dick Higgins suggested that opera, with the music, text and *mise-en-scène* remaining distinguishable despite their amalgamation, is a mixed medium and therefore separate to an intermedium that operates on 'a conceptual fusion' (1989, p. 16). In Higgins' mind, what was the 'conceptual fusion' that marks the difference between the results of multimediality and intermediality? According to Rolof Volker and Henk Oosterling, who channel Michael Foucault, the difference is the autonomy retainable in the space of 'heterotopia'. Although unconcerned with the interaction between media, the social geography of Foucault's philosophy on space still provides a model mode of interactions that is reflexive rather than under the guidance of a hegemonic force for Volker and Oosterling. In his analysis of the films of Luis Buñuel and their relationship to literature, Volker suggested that what he called 'reflective intermediality' concerns the 'broaden(ing of) the in-between spaces between image and text' and 'makes visible the invisible and the eerie, the "other" space between the discourses, that Foucault qualified as heterotopy'.²⁰ Oosterling further clarifies the difference between multimediality and intermediality by stating that 'implicitly, a shift is made from the utopia of *Gesamtkunstwerk* to the heterotopia of intermediality' (2003, p. 38). The emphasis on the gaps in intermediality has made intermedia

¹⁹ Emphasis in original.

²⁰ I use Henk Oosterling's translation (2003, p.38) of Roloff Volker's original sentence written in German.

theorists engage with the notion of the 'inter' between the 'medium(s)' that is not available to multimedia.

1.1.4 Mediality / Intermediality

In an attempt to reach a definition of intermediality, recent scholarship on the subject has returned to 'medium' as a concept that demands clarification.²¹ In the exploration of 'inter' spaces between what is understood as mediums, the borders that are being crossed or dismantled must be taken into consideration. Despite its relevance being apparent in the word itself, the definition of 'medium' had been overlooked in the discourse of the intermedium (Wolf, 2005, p. 253) and perhaps accounts for the struggle that intermedial research has experienced in establishing an agreeable definition. Although scarce, scholarly efforts to define 'medium' have further complicated the classification of the degrees of interactions in an intermedial occurrence. Such intensified classification, this section will argue, has encouraged valuable reflection on what was previously overlooked as a given fact.

As Ken Friedman's outline of the various definitions summarises, 'medium' itself is an allusive term (2005, p. 55). Indeed, some who have raised the issue consider it an impossible task to provide a definitive description of what constitutes a medium.²² Recognising early on the importance of an understanding of 'medium' in any analysis of intermedia, Jürgen E. Müller proposed that medium could be understood as that 'which mediates on the basis of (meaningful) signs (or sign configurations), with the help of suitable transmitters for and between humans' (1997, p. 297). Lars Elleström, following Müller, described the 'medium' as a 'channel' and, in other words, a "'middle," "interval," "interspace" and so on' (2010, p. 13). Following the definitions proposed by Elleström and Müller, placing the word in juxtaposition with 'inter' would, at its most reductive, become an exercise in tautology. Can an interaction *interact* with another interaction? Such questions have led Elleström to determine intermediality to be 'the precondition of all mediality' (2010, p. 4). Nevertheless, at its most productive, the notion

²¹ For example, see Elleström, 2010, p. 11 and Eilittä, 2012, p. viii.

²² For example, see Bruhn, 2010, p. 229 and Emden, 2010, p. 8.

implies opportunities that could spawn many possibilities of dialogue with overlapping axes. Either way, the confusion surrounding the definition of 'medium' invites a reconsideration of the stability of the concept.

The assumption of purity has pervaded the study of medial forms when, in fact, a medium, interpreted as a mode of communication, can be exposed to change depending on the context on which it is subjected. This volatile nature of the medium has, once again, led to complications in defining the term. As it is subject to technological shifts, sociocultural changes and in constant communication with other mediums, a medium is constantly evolving and refashioning itself. Acknowledging the frail boundaries between mediums, W.J.T Mitchell declared that, 'all media are mixed media, and all representations are heterogeneous.' (1994, p. 5) The statement resonates with Marshall McLuhan's claim that '...no medium has its meaning or existence alone, but only in constant interplay with other media' (2001, p. 28). It has been understood in some circles that if boundaries that separate media are constructed they can also be demolished. The apparent permeability of the 'medium' has left many critics to dispute the existence of distinctions between traditionally separated mediums. Questioned as a 'historical as well as an ontological illusion' (Bruhn, 2010, pp. 228-9), the borders that distinguish media from one another have been considered as ideologically constructed (Elleström, 2010, p. 12) or, simply, '*conventionally* conceived as distinct' (Rajewsky, 2010, p. 62).²³ Andrew Shail has even suggested that, 'The fact that certain media share expressive conventions may merely show that there is only one medium, of which all so-called "media" are just different incarnations' (2010, p. 10). Shail's description of medium presences as 'incarnations' radically proposes the notion of the medium as an embodiment that lacks solidity or fixed form. Kiene Brillenburg Wurth's reading, furthermore, has put forward mediality as an 'intermedial effect' (2006, p. 14), an interpretation that also sees a 'medium' to be an evanescent phenomenon that takes shape when engaging in an intermedial act. In such ways, the degrees of intermediality possible in the interaction between media are complicated when the concept of mediality itself is questioned.

²³ Emphasis in original.

While critical thinking on intermedia has acknowledged the penetrability of medial forms, the existence of dividing lines has also been noted as a requirement for trespassing to take place. As Brigit Wien has declared, 'separation is inextricably linked with intermediality' (2012, p. 188), and an interaction must be founded on some form of difference. A gulf needs to exist for a bridge to be erected. Pointing out the paradoxical nature of any study of intermediality, Elleström notes, 'Indeed, there are no media borders given by nature, but we need borders to talk about intermediality' (2010, pp. 27-8). Irina Rajewsky reiterates the conundrum:

In fact, any reference to intermediality implicitly presumes that it is indeed possible to delimit individual media, since we can hardly talk about *intermediality* unless we can discern and apprehend distinguishable entities between which there could be some kind of interference, interaction or interplay. (2010, p. 52)

In this context, porosity and individuality must exist in balance for an interaction to be initiated. In what echoes Robin Nelson description of intermedia as a 'both-and' approach (2010, p. 15), Elleström validates the confusion as the principal function of intermediality:

If all media were fundamentally different, it would be hard to find any interrelations at all; if they were fundamentally similar, it would be equally hard to find something that is not already interrelated. Media, however, are both different and similar, and intermediality must be understood as a bridge between medial differences that is founded on medial similarities. (2010, p. 12)

In an attempt to remedy the situation where divisions are required in order for the bridging act of intermediality to take place, Elleström has proposed to rethink the concept of a border itself: 'If we are to talk about borders we are better off talking about border zones rather than strictly demarcated borders' (2010, pp. 3-4). Determining mediality to embody both an ability to be

porous as well as an ability to preserve its own distinctiveness, the 'both-and' approach of the 'zone' provides us with useful ways to consider intermedial discourse away from the shortfalls of absolutes.

By analysing its distinctions from intertextuality, interartiality and multimediality as a critical term, what sets intermedia apart from other modes of interactions has become clearer. Intermedia's distinctiveness can be allocated to two points. Firstly, intermedia rejects the linear relationship prescribed between mediums that can be found in intertextuality. Instead, intermedia stages an interaction where mutual reciprocation between both mediums are activated. Secondly, intermedia discards the tendency towards homogeneity in multimediality in favour of a mixture where the autonomy of individual mediums are retained. This autonomy is retained because of the very nature of intermedial pieces that highlight the differences between the participating mediums. Simply stated, it offers the audience an opportunity to compare. Now that we have established an understanding of intermedia, the following chapter will discuss intermedial manifestations in art and critical discussion prior to the arrival of intermedia in Japan.

1.2 JAPAN BEFORE INTERMEDIA

1.2.1 Synthesis Arts (*Sōgō Geijutsu*)

For an essay published on the programme notes for the event 'Intermedia' at Runami Gallery in 1967, critic Ishiko Junzō opened his text with a reminder to his readers that the collapse of boundaries as well as an interaction or synthesis between 'genres' (*gyanru*) had already been discussed 'once upon a time' as synthesis arts (*sōgō geijutsu*) (1967, unpaginated). In the essay, Ishiko recalls theatre, followed by film, which was then followed by musicals, were proposed to exemplify synthesis arts ten years before in the 1950s. Ishiko's reference to synthesis arts and his use of the Japanese transliteration of the English word 'genre' (*gyanru*), instead of 'media', hark back to critical debates on medium interactions led by art critic Hanada Kiyoteru, writer Abe Kōbō, film critic Satō Tadao and others that culminated in the panel discussion 'The Synthesis and Purification of Genres' (Abe,

et al, 1959, pp. 120-141) published in the short-lived art journal *Gendai Geijutsu* (Contemporary Art). Whereas the word 'genre' is usually deployed to describes genres within a medium in the English language, as Miryam Sas notes, it is used in Japanese critical theory to identify a discipline or a medium (2012, p. 156). Demonstrating a debate on medium interactions that existed before the importation of intermedia, synthesis arts provides us with an indication of critical thinking on the subject of medium interactions prior to the arrival of intermedia.

According to Miryam Sas, the debate on synthesis art emerged first with film critic Satō Tadao first use of the word to illustrate the unification of high-art and popular arts involved in film, which received critical response by Hanada Kiyoteru (2012, p.139). The discussion on synthesis, however, predated Satō's usage to the immediate postwar years where a culture of synthesis (*sōgō bunka*) came into prominence with the setting up of Synthesis Culture Society (*Sōgō Bunka Kyōkai*) in 1945 and the inauguration of the journal *Sōgō Bunka* (Synthesis Culture) that ran between 1947-9. In his comprehensive overview of the discourse on synthesis arts that tends towards Hanada's contributions, Ken Yoshida also suggests the debates foreshadow later discussions on intermedia and notes its importance in tracing a 'fuller historiography' of intermedia, particularly in describing its relation to the 'people' or the 'masses' (2012, p. 36). In the debates on synthesis art that ensued, what constitutes and positions 'high-art' became central to its discourse, particularly in relation to an audience, echoing the debates on the limitations of interartiality as a term for privileging 'high-art'.

Its sociocultural prevalence at its peak in Japan before in the decline of attendance in response to the rise of television, cinema was at the heart of the debate concerning synthesis arts. For critics of the 1950s, cinema represented a counterpoint to 'high-art' in the 1950s for its impurities regarding medium distinction and for its popularity among mass audiences. Suggesting cinema's ability to activate a synthesis of all other arts, Satō Tadao described the totalisation in the process of destructing boundaries — 'in essence, it is about grasping the moment of totality in the process of destruction, and grasping the moment of destruction in the

process of totalisation' (Abe *et al*, 1998, p. 121).²⁴ Hanada Kiyoteru, on the other hand, did not consider the ability to mix a privilege for only cinema. Like W.J.T Mitchell suggested later, he thought of all art was already mixed, as its 'genres' (*gyanru*) are each in perpetual communication with one another. Critical of medium specificity as an attainable prospect, Hanada's understanding of *sōgō geijutsu* hinges on this belief that would critique Satō's notion of destruction and totalisation that relies on a 'genre' to be destroyed or totalised. In his rebuttal, Hanada declares that we cannot repose by considering cinema as a synthesis art (*sōgō geijutsu*), for cinema also has the capacity to synthesise with other art forms (1978b, p. 244). Moreover, Hanada conceived the masses and their relationship to artwork differently. Whereas Satō voiced his concern against subordinating cinema to the level of the masses, as Yoshida points out, Hanada, on the other hand, had a vision of the relationship between the arts and its audience that would critique Satō's negligence of the masses (2012, p. 43). Hanada, as his writing on musicals demonstrated, felt the communication with the masses as a requirement for art if it ever hoped to achieve any political viability.

Richard Wagner's conception of Gesamtkunstwerk, which *sōgō geijutsu* had originally derived from as a translation of 'total work of art', provided a key springboard for its discourse, albeit with a slightly different reading of 'totality' and a relationship to the masses than is usually ascribed to Wagner. Sas points out that 'totality', or *zentaisei*, 'connoted not a grandiose organically unified whole, but rather a chaotic multiplicity beyond the experiential limits of human perception' (2012, p. 140). Sas points out Hanada's Marxist political stance, channeling the locally specific notion of 'totality', is retained in the dialectic tension he observes among mediums (2012, p. 139). Hanada conceived the synthesis between arts not as a culmination with an intention to overwhelm its audience but as an eternally ongoing and complex relational process between the arts.

Synthesis arts (*sōgō geijutsu*) in pre-intermedia Japan was shaped by the activities of two key art groups: the first, the art collective Jikken Kōbō (Experimental Workshop), that will

²⁴ I here use the translation of the sentence in Yoshida, 2012, p. 44.

be discussed in the following section, and the second, 'Three-Person Animation Circle', that will be discussed in the proceeding section.

1.2.3 Jikken Kōbō (Experimental Workshop)

As Japan attempted to find their feet after more or less two decades of imperial aggression, defeat and American occupational enforcement, its cultural output also launched into a process of rejuvenation. The liberalism of the New Deal, at least prior to what has come to be known as the 'reverse course' of the occupational strategy of the United States in light of the Cold War, encouraged Japanese artists to seek inspiration and collaboration from diverse sources, which included prewar avant-garde movements. One manifestation of what historian Tezuka Miwako calls the New Deal collectivism was, as she attests, a collective who envisioned an integration of art, life and technology in the form of Jikken Kōbō (Experimental Workshop), active in Tokyo between the years 1951 and 1958 (2013, p. 362). Beyond the *sōgō geijutsu* (synthesis arts) that the group exercised, the significance of Jikken Kōbō activities also lies in their use of projection as part of their performances. Supplied with tape recorders and automatic slide projectors from Sony, members of Jikken Kōbō embarked on a partnership with the electronics company to test the artistic potential of the emerging technology. The results set an early precedent to the collaborations between artists and technicians that became significant in the way expanded cinema was to develop a decade later.

Projection of images entered a new stage in their relationship to performative arts when members of Jikken Kōbō presented four automatic slide projection pieces on 30th September 1953 at the Dai'ichi Seimei Hall.²⁵ The newly developed projectors allowed the artists to align the projections to appear according to the rotation of the tape recorder. In other words, the images that appeared corresponded to the shifts in texture, volume and rotation of the tape player manipulated live by the musicians that included Yuasa Jōji, Takemitsu Tōru and

²⁵ The four Autoslide projections presented at the event were: Yamaguchi Katsuhiro and Suzuki Hiroyoshi's *Shiken hikōka W.S.-shi no Me no Bōken* (Adventure of the Eyes of Test Pilot W.S.); Fukushima Kazuo and Fukushima Hideko's *Minawa wa Tsukurareru* (Water Bubbles Created); Kitadai Shōzō, Takemitsu Tōru, Suzuki Hiroyoshi and Yuasa Jōji's *Mishiranu Sekai no Hanashi* (Story of an Unknown World); and Yuasa Jōji and Komai Tetsuro's *Resupyugu* (Lespugue).

Akiyama Kuniharu. The automated response mechanized in the relationship between projection and tape was an innovative direction for not only image projection outside of the cinema space but for the explorations of intermedial relations between sound and image. Considered an early case of *musique concrète*, the use of the rewind function performed live in Yuasa's *Lespugue* was composed, as its subtitle *Music for Projective Art, No. 2* indicates, with the projections in mind. The slides themselves, other than the hand-drawn animation for *Lespugue*, were photographs of scenarios staged using objects that recall the weekly photographic insert 'APN' that members of the collective had been devising for *Asahi Guraifu* magazine in 1953-4. Rather than the unbroken steady flow of time in film, the slides, according to the unaccredited text printed for the pamphlet of the event, presented a stuttered temporality that allowed the audience to 'play with the paused image freely in their minds as if they were an aimless walker'. Obinata Kin'ichi, in his analysis of the performances, surmises that the 'intervals' between the slides, 'the sinking movement caught by the eye whenever one slide was changed for another', was what Jikken Kōbō artists considered its artistic potential (2013, p. 325). In other words, the use of slides over film was an artistic choice to experiment with non-film projection.

Despite the preference for slides, Jikken Kōbō did later venture into filmmaking with *Mobīru to Vitorīnu* (Mobiles and Vitrines, 1954), made with an *obuje*²⁶ by Yamaguchi Katsuhiko and Kitadai Shōzō as its subject. A few of the members, moreover, participated in the production for Matsumoto Toshio's public relations film *Ginrin* (Silver Wheel, 1956) as well as the abstract film *Kine Calligraphy* (1955) painted directly onto film by the Graphic Shūdan (Graphic Group).²⁷ *Mobiles and Vitrines*, moreover, was reportedly projected together with slides at the nude show performance *7 Peeping Toms From Heaven* presented in October-December 1954 at the Nichigeki Music Hall,²⁸ marking the first of what would become many

²⁶ *Obuje*, the Japanese translation for *objet d'art* (the art object), was often used in postwar Japanese art circles to signify small items placed in an artistic context.

²⁷ Heralded as the first experimental films to be made in postwar Japan, *Kine Calligraphy* and *Mobiles and Vitrines* was both screened at the National Film Centre in a programme of abstract films in an event organised outside of the context of Jikken Kōbō.

²⁸ Okada Keikichi, who directed the show with Katō Tadamatsu, wrote in the pamphlet that Jikken Kōbō used the method of 'combined showing of Autoslides and film'. Quoted in Obinata,

expanded cinema performances in Japan that simultaneously utilised both modes of projections. Although experiments in film were peripheral for Jikken Kōbō, the films have since been highly regarded as early examples of experimental film in Japan. The group's marginal approach to cinema, furthermore, imparted significant influence on the ways in which projection became instrumental in performative arts in Japanese postwar art.

The tendency of recent criticism to retroactively designate the activities of Jikken Kōbō as *intermedia*, however, is misguided as their works preceded the establishment of the term. Moreover, distinctions should be made clear between the avant-garde arts of the 1950s and 1960s, particularly in the manner of which the interactions between mediums were realised. The group's activities, therefore, had a stronger association with critical concerns around synthesis of genres (*gyanru no sōgō*) or synthesis arts (*sōgō geijutsu*). Prior to the founding of Jikken Kōbō, a few of its members joined discussion groups such as *Yoru no kai* (Group of Night) and *Avant-Garde Geijyutsu Kenkyūkai* (Research Group of Avant-garde Arts) that had both been set up by Okamoto Tarō and Hanada Kiyoteru, a key proponent of synthesis arts.²⁹ Jikken Kōbō's proclivity towards what would later emerge as *intermedia*, therefore, should be understood in the context of synthesis arts. Obinata Kin'ichi suggests that, 'In the diverse collaborative projects of [Experimental Workshop], multiple media were loosely juxtaposed (rather than firmly connect), allowing different sensory systems to operate simultaneously while remaining independent' (2013, p. 325). In contrast to the later works described as *intermedia*, Jikken Kōbō's use of projection in their performances was closer to the additive principle of synthesis arts that critics Ishiko Junzō and Tone Yasunao later designated as distinct from *intermedia*. Nevertheless, the Autoslide projector experiments that they devised were harbingers to the expanded cinema experiments in the 1960s.

2013, p. 327 in footnote 14. Nichigeki Music Hall was renowned for hiring avant-garde artists, theatre directors and filmmakers to stage nude shows. For further details, see Kimata, 2010a.

²⁹ Jikken Kōbō members Kitadai Shōzō, Yamaguchi Katsuhiro and Fukushima Hideko were members of the Research Group of Avant-Garde Arts. For more information on *sōgō geijutsu* and Hanada Kiyoteru, see Chapter 1.2 and Yoshida, 2012, pp. 36-54.

1.2.4 Three-Person Animation Circle

What bridged the critical debates around synthesis arts (*sōgō geijutsu*) and 1960s *intermedia* were the activities at Sōgetsu Art Centre (SAC). Established in 1959 by filmmaker Teshigahara Hiroshi, the art centre was founded in the basement of the Sōgetsu flower arrangement (*ikebana*) school ran by his father, Teshigahara Sofū, to create a space of dialogue between the arts. As a member of *Seiki*, the consortium and journal that combined Group of Night and Research Group of Avant-Garde Arts, Teshigahara already had a longstanding artistic relationship with members of Jikken Kōbō, demonstrated in his first film as a director in the form of *Hokusai* (1953), a film scripted by Takiguchi Shūzō with music by Takemitsu Tōru. Although the group disbanded in 1957, members of Jikken Kōbō remained active in the forefront of contemporary art and, in particular, for activities at SAC. During its run until 1971, SAC housed many events that encompassed the mediums (*gyanru*) of music, theatre, dance performances as well as holding talks and symposia. Film, moreover, became one of its central strands as SAC held regular film programmes that included Japan's first animation film festival in 1966, Japan's first experimental film festival (1967-1968) and an occasional showcase of expanded cinema performances, most notably events with Stan VanDerBeek on 13-14 February 1969. SAC's relationship with expanded cinema began, in fact, years before the term was imported from the United States with its earliest example in 1960 at an event organised by the group Animēshon Sannin-no Kai (Three-Person Animation Circle).

Working outside of film studios, independent animators of the early 1960s sought to redefine the genre by disassociating themselves from the focus on narrative characterized in animations made by Disney and more local studios to explore animation's potential. The Three-Person Animation Circle, comprised of Kuri Yōji, Yanagihara Ryōhei and Manabe Hiroshi with backgrounds as manga artist, designer and painter respectively, was the first to assemble and came to represent the vanguard in animation. The three met as animators for the television programme *Hanjyōshiki no Me* (The Half-Astute Eye) for Nihon Kyōikku TV (Japan Educational Television) earlier in the year before they convened the Three-Person Animation

Circle with the support of SAC. At very early stages in their careers, the three animators had opposed following established traditions from the outset in their manifesto penned for the *SAC Journal* to accompany their first programme on 26 November – 17 December 1960. Another incentive for the group, moreover, was to break down their own artistic limits by way of staging an interaction with other mediums (Kuri *et al*, 1960, unpaginated). Composers well known to the SAC audience, such as Jikken Kōbō's Akiyama Kuniharu, Hayashi Hikaru and Yagi Masao, were invited to compose soundtracks for their contributions. Manabe Hiroshi, however, took a step further by expanding his animation off the screen and onto the stage, which became the first performance that alluded to what would later be called expanded cinema to be held at SAC.

Presented as the finale of the programme, Manabe Hiroshi's *Marīn Sunou: Butai no tame no Animēshon* (Marine Snow: Animation for the Stage) was an animation film that, in the event of its projection, involved live performances of tape music by NHK Radio and dance by *Noh* performer Kanze Hideo. Inspired by *Marine Snow – Sekiyu no Kigen* (Marine Snow – The Origin of Oil, 1960), a science film on the subject of oil, the animation drew inspiration from the microorganisms living deep in the ocean and captured on film in its documentary namesake.³⁰ Manabe's *Marine Snow* attempts to reimagine the seemingly bottomless depths of the ocean with repeated meshed lines in constant movement against the fish cut out of paper that float across the lines. The story was based on a poem for radio by Kijima Hajime and tells a tale of a shipwrecked man drowning to the bottom of the ocean. Although the narrative is simple, its presentation was radical. Kanze Hideo and his dancers performed in front of the screen during the simultaneous projection of film, light and photographs taken during the shoot of the documentary *Marine Snow – The Origin of Oil* (Fig. 1). In its co-presentation of dance, film and slide projection, Manabe certainly lived up to the call to break away from traditions the Three-Person Animation Circle endorsed in their manifesto.

³⁰ *Marine Snow – The Origin of Oil* was sponsored by Maruzen Oil Co., Ltd (Cosmo Oil Co., Ltd) and co-directed by Ōnuma Testurō and Noda Shinkichi, who became one of the leading figures in Japanese documentary. The film's English-language version is now available to stream online on the Science Film Museum website: <<http://www.kagakueizo.org/english/availablefilms/552/>> (last accessed 13th November 2013)



Figure 1: Manabe Hiroshi's *Marine Snow: Animation for the Stage* (1960). Photographer unknown, in [Akiyama, 2002](#), p. 43.

Receiving accolade more for its intentions than its delivery, Manabe Hiroshi's *Marine Snow – Animation for the Stage* was praised for attempting to break out of the screen that was described to be the size of four-and-a-half tatami mats to indicate its confinement in reviews by both Kuri Yōji and art critic Kawazoe Noboru.³¹ In his staging of interactions, Manabe channeled the group's manifesto that declared for the unification of different mediums, also described as the 'synthesis (*sōgō*) of genres', to go beyond cross-media trends of recent years to the actual transcendence of personal boundaries (Kuri *et al*, 1960, unpaginated). In other words, Manabe aspired for his performance to step beyond the juxtaposition of mediums he finds in synthesis arts to their mutual integration. His cartoon accompanying a short essay published a month before his performance sketches out a progression on evolutionary terms according to an additive principle whereby two humans with breasts breeds an infant with four breasts (Fig. 2). The drawing comically condemns cases of multimedia conglomerations where artists from different mediums (*jyanru*) are brought together for the sake of dilation rather than for mutual reciprocation.

³¹ Kuri Yōji's article mentions that Manabe said an animation for four-and-a-half tatami mats is an aged concept. See Kuri, 2002, p. 329 and Kawazoe, 2002, p. 329.

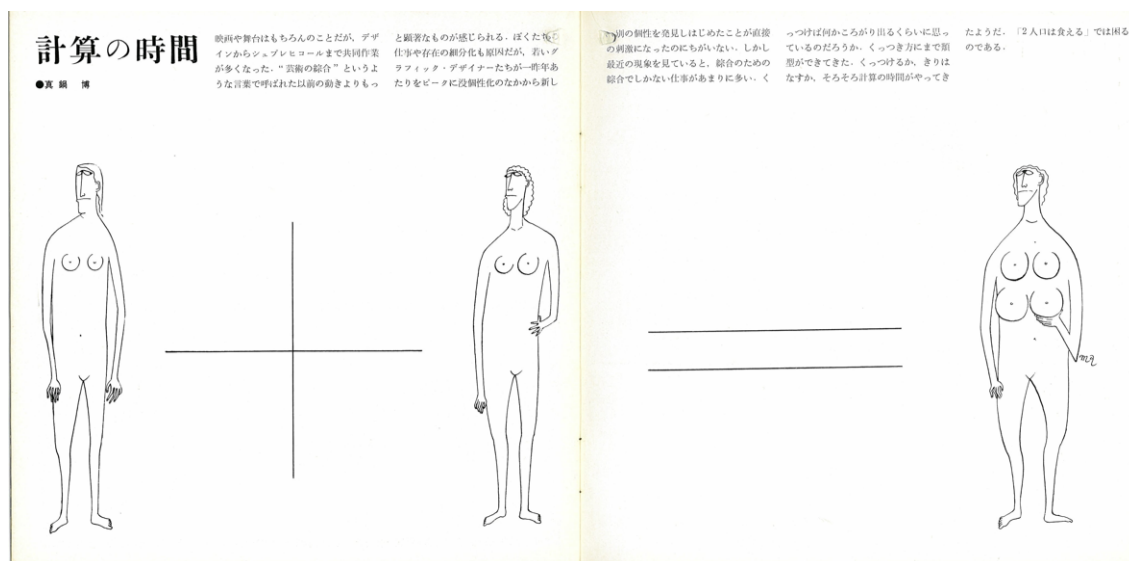


Figure 2: Manabe Hiroshi's Illustration accompanying his essay 'Keisan no Jikan' (Time for Calculations). See Manabe, 1960, unpaginated.

For Manabe Hiroshi, animation was not only a stylistic strategy to activate pictures but also a way to invigorate life into inanimate objects, as it was outlined in the tracing of the etymology of the word by writer Tanikawa Shuntarō in his introduction to the Three-Person Animation Circle (1960, unpaginated). In his short essay 'Time for Calculations', Manabe lamented the ways in which even synthesis of mediums had begun to subscribe to patterns despite their original intentions of breaking out of formulas, referring to what he saw as the failures of *sōgō geijutsu* (1960, unpaginated). In *Marine Snow*, Manabe attempted not only to animate his drawings but also the screen, the stage and the activities upon it. Despite his intentions, his experiments failed to breach new ground for reviewers. While commending his attempt, critic Tōno Yoshiaki felt that, despite breaking boundaries in animation, Manabe's performance was confined by another fixed regime of 'integration similar to that of holding hands' (2002, p. 328). Indeed, the animation film that was projected divided itself into intermittent moments of black screen to signal a switch in focus for the production from screen to stage, indicating a separation of mediums. Furthermore, Manabe's choice of Jikken Kōbō's

Imai Naotsugi as the lighting operator, as well as performer Kanze Hideo who had worked with Jikken Kōbō, shows a lineage with *sōgō geijutsu* practiced by the group in the 1950s.

Nevertheless, Manabe Hiroshi's performance indicates at the very least an attempt to transgress earlier approaches to medium interactions and a desire to break out of established traditions. In a review of the Expanded Art Festival in 1970, critic Yoshida Yoshie recalled Manabe to have declared the following:

I distrust the half-breed infants born out of what has now been reputedly called synthesis arts (*sōgō geijutsu*). It's a similar approach to calculating an average between a set of numbers. Out of a collision of 'genres', I want to create something that inflates like a beast. (1970a, p. 94)

Reminiscent of the cartoon depiction of the newborn with four breasts, Manabe's resistance against synthesis arts and his desire to seek an alternative to medium interactions were explicit. *Marine Snow* showed a shift, at least in approach, from synthesis arts towards the expanded cinema practice of *intermedia* where projection became more than just a backdrop for a performance event.

A strategy that went on to represent a key manifestation of *intermedia*, multiple-projection was also attempted by Kuri Yōji of the Three-Person Animation Circle with his film *Kiseki* (Locus, 1963). Presented at their third event at SAC on 3-28 April 1963, *Locus* was a double-projection piece where an image was projected onto another on the same screen. Accompanied by Yagi Masao's modern jazz score, the projection combined cutout animations by Kuri on top of a filmed footage of the traces of light let off by swinging pendulums. Despite appearing in intermittent flashes, the live recording and animation remain distinguishable for its simplicity as individual images. Although the two projections effectively emulated the familiar technique of superimposition, the means of generating the effect with double-projection was unfounded and typifies the group's continuous challenge against established ways of presenting

animations.³² As part of the same event, the group screened their commercials made for television and an Autoslide collaboration between the three animators in the form of *Mukashibanashi Shōnin Kishitsu* (Old Stories of Workers' Temperaments, 1963), showing further alliance with Jikken Kōbō's experiments in synthesis arts despite Manabe's comments. Nevertheless, their range of approaches towards animation staged by Three-Person Animation Circle had closer associations with what would later be theorised and practiced as *intermedia* for their recognition of mixedness as a method to expand the definition of animation rather than for it to be subsumed with other mediums into a creation of a newfound artistic genre.

The discussions and artistic practices in synthesis arts (*sōgō geijutsu*) demonstrate the prevalence of a desire to explore interactions between mediums prior to the arrival of intermedia as a term. As Manabe Hiroshi noted, however, synthesis arts had its limitations as it sought to stage interactions that resulted in homogeneous unity. Synthesis arts, therefore, correspond to Jürgen E. Müller's conception of multimedia to be founded on 'additive principles', as portrayed in the comedic sketch by Manabe of a body with four breasts. While explicitly denouncing synthesis arts, the Three-Person Animation Circle nevertheless endeavoured to bring together different mediums, revealing a desire for interactions between mediums disassociated from synthesis arts. Although some tenets of synthesis arts prevailed, the introduction of intermedia as a term in December 1966 by filmmaker Iimura Takahiko sparked further pursuits in medium interactions that offered alternatives to the 'additive principle'.

1.3 JAPAN'S RESPONSE TO INTERMEDIA

1.3.1 *Intermedia* introduced to Japan

Following a favourable review of his film *Ai* (Love, 1964) by Jonas Mekas, filmmaker Iimura Takahiko began seeking opportunities to visit the United States. After hearing of a fellowship for overseas artists from fellow filmmaker Kanesaka Kenji whom had been a recipient in 1964, Iimura submitted an application to join the Harvard University International Seminar in 1966,

³² A number of screenings at the Art Theatre Shinjuku Bunka followed the following month due to popular demand, where *Locus* was also screened.

which was approved and followed by a Visiting Artist Fellowship in the same year by Japan Society, New York. During his stay in New York, he had the opportunity to encounter kindred spirits among New York underground filmmakers and discovered the emerging art movements that related intimately to his own practice that will be described in further detail in Part II. Intermedia was one of these cultural developments in New York that chimed with his interests as an artist.

In December 1966, Iimura shared what he encountered in the United States in his essay 'Tokuhō! Meidō Tsuduku Andāguraundo,' (Special Report! Seismic Rumbles from the Underground) that he wrote for the journal *Eiga Hyōron* (Film Criticism). Introducing the notion of 'intermedia' to Japan, Iimura discussed the recent works by Stan VanDerBeek, Robert Whitman and the USCO group he witnessed at the 4th New York Film Festival, as well as an unnamed discotheque he visited in San Francisco, representing what he understood as the new wave of American independent film. Still in its infancy as a term in itself, Iimura seemed to struggle to grasp the precise meaning of 'intermedia', which is illustrated in the three variations he chose to spell the word in Japanese as well as the entangled definition he provided: 'As these names suggest, it is the expansion, combination, or dare I say the copulation of media. It can take the form of an environment or an experience' (Iimura, 2013c). Although Iimura's description shared crucial characteristics with Higgins', one significant propagation was a radical departure from the understanding of intermedia by Higgins; while Higgins resisted attaching the word to an artistic movement or genre of art, intermedia, in Iimura's words, was synonymous to what was also known as 'expanded cinema' (Iimura, 2013c).³³ Iimura's essay, along with his own artistic practice, had significant implications on how 'intermedia' was to be received in Japan. For example, this can be seen in the preponderance of underground filmmakers represented in the line-up for the 'Intermedia' event at Runami Gallery, one of the three events that will be explored in further detail in the following chapter. First, however, I will examine Iimura's writings that provided an entry point for Japanese artists to intermedia in more

³³ Dick Higgins drew the word 'intermedia' from Samuel Taylor Coleridge's use of the word 'intermedium' (1976, p. 271) and cited art works that ranged from pattern poetry to happenings in what constituted as 'intermedia'.

depth by outlining each of the three artworks presented at the 4th New York Film Festival that he introduces to his readers.³⁴

Stan VanDerBeek's *Movie-Drome* is the first example Iimura raises of an artwork that represents the emergent form of 'intermedia'. As Iimura identifies in his essay, Japanese audiences first encountered VanDerBeek's work in 1965 with the screening of *Science Friction* (1959), a stop-motion animation film comprised of cut-out images and letters pasted together in the style of collage, or 'combine', as it was known in the United States at the time. He had developed the style while working as an assistant for CBS and specifically for the children's television program *Winky Dink and You* that ran on Saturday mornings between 1953-7, where he underwent the only filmmaking training he was to have for his assignment to work on the opening sequence for the show. The collage style was appropriated to his multi-projection experiments where he overlapped slide- and moving-image projections in a frenetic display as *Visioniii* at the AC Gallery in 1956. At the invitation from George Maciunas of Fluxus, VanDerBeek simultaneously projected onto three walls of the gallery with 16mm film, 35mm slides and overhead projectors. Such experiments culminated, as Iimura also identified, in the construction of *Movie-Drome* (1963-65) a hemispheric dome of 15 meters diameter built at Stony Point, a bus-ride away from New York City. In the dome, VanDerBeek projected images cut out of newspapers, magazines and textbooks with excerpts from home movies through multiple film projectors and slide projectors, as well as fragments of light and shadow created by light projection onto patterned glass. The audience was asked to lie down on the floor to observe the chaotic dispersal of images coordinated by the artist and his projectionists above them. While critical of VanDerBeek's optimism in the possibilities of technology to provide a vocabulary for all of humanity, Iimura celebrated *Movie Drome* for demanding the 'projectionist to rise to the level of an artist' (Iimura, 2013c) and hoped for the maintenance of chaos over order in subsequent renditions of the performance.

³⁴ A fourth piece, the unnamed San Francisco discotheque, will be omitted here for the reason that psychedelic shows will be discussed in Part III Chapter 3.

As a second example for *intermedia*, Iimura discussed the Tabernacle by the USCO Group. Comprising of poet Gerd Stern, photographer Judi Stern, painter Steve Durkee, sculptor and photographer Barbara Durkee and electronics artist Michael Callahan as its core members (Oren, 2010, p. 76), USCO moved into a country church where they installed the Tabernacle for the occasion of the New York Film Festival. The dome-shaped ceiling had a white screen stretched across it, onto which films and slides were projected from outside of the chamber, and the speakers positioned on the five walls encircled the audience to create a rotating soundscape. Despite being installed in a church and using a title that referred to a sanctuary for Israelites during the time of Exodus, the Tabernacle assembled religious iconography from disparate theological sources and sought to concoct a spiritual experience that did not segregate religious practices from one another in favour of, what Iimura called, 'an abstract sanctity' (Iimura, 2013c). Despite showcasing the work as a representative case, Iimura was critical of the repetition and electronically programmed lightshow that, according to his experience, only took ten minutes to repeat its rhythms. Describing it as a counterpart to VanDerBeek, who interacted with his audience and incorporated spontaneity into his performance with his collaboration with projectionists, the criticism Iimura imparts on the Tabernacle foreshadows his complaints of the pavilions in Expo '70 as 'closed spaces' (1970a, p. 43) with pre-arranged frameworks of experience that will be further discussed in Part III.

A third example raised by Iimura in the essay was Robert Whitman's *Two Holes of Water, No. 2* that was presented at the Lincoln Center during the New York Film Festival. Robert Whitman was introduced as an artist that represented, once again, another aspect of intermedia in the new wave of American independent cinema. Whitman, unlike his counterparts introduced by Iimura, had emerged out of a group of artists spearheaded by Allan Kaprow who engaged in 'happenings'. After Kaprow's *18 Happenings in 6 Parts* performed in 1959, the term happenings was introduced to Japan as early as 1961 when Ichiyanagi Toshi, performing with Group Ongaku, presented his music piece *IBM: Dekigoto (Hapuningu) to Mūji'kku Konkurēto* (IBM: Happenings and Musique Concrète) at SAC on his return from the United States in a performance that involving punch-cards for computers. In 1967, film journal *Eiga Hyōron* held

a panel discussion for their March issue (Ishizaki *et al*, 1967b, pp. 58-81) and in 1968, *Bijutsu Techō*, the leading art journal, published a special issue in August 1968, by which time the word had entered popular lexicon with the celebrity presenter Kijima Norio's 'Happening Show' airing on television. Despite the prevalence of happenings in Japanese arts and media, Whitman's work was relatively understudied in Japan.³⁵ Nevertheless, Whitman's piece *Two Holes of Water, No. 2* (1966), became an important precursor to projections onto inflatable objects in Japanese expanded cinema, as Part II will demonstrate.³⁶

Iimura, clearly enamoured by Whitman's performance, celebrated the performance as a 'stunning illustration of what's possible with intermedia and expanded cinema' (Iimura, 2013c). His description of the performances focused on three central points that were to become fundamental to the way expanded cinema was to develop: the use of space; the role of the image; and the rejection of the screen. In his analysis of Whitman's use of space, Iimura praised the versatility of the work in contrast to VanDerBeek's self-constructed universe. The entrance was encased on either side with curved copper plates giving off warped reflections of the audience as they walked in, which were recorded and projected through a video system onto one of the inner walls of the auditorium. Despite the existence of a screen, other platforms were used as surfaces for projection. Multiple projectors pointed towards the ceiling displaying slides of the South Pole and films capturing water and depicting a woman performing simple movements were projected onto the stage curtain. Whitman, once again using a video system, recorded images of unassuming passersby outside and projected them into the auditorium to incorporate them into the visual vocabulary of the performance. While Whitman adapted the premises of the Lincoln Center, incorporating the stage curtain, ceiling and entrance to become part of the performance, his works, according to Iimura, 'are flexible, as they can be staged in any theatre and do not require a specific, customized space' (Iimura, 2013c). The mutability of

³⁵ Robert Whitman was listed as one of the key names to look out for in *Bijutsu Techō's* 'Encyclopedia for Tomorrow's Arts' (1969) and his activities with E.A.T. attracted a lot of attention in Japanese critical and artistic circles.

³⁶ Iimura revisited the performance his follow-up essay, accompanied with photograph of the performance by Elliot Landy (1967, p. 69).

the performance according to the space is a characteristic of Happenings that discarded the confines of the theatrical stage in attempt to incorporate spontaneity into the experience.

One of the key characteristics of Whitman's piece was the inclusion of a live performer into the performance and the role the film projections played in relation to the performance. On one of the walls Whitman projected two recordings of a woman, one shot from the front and the other from behind, which were projected on top of one another. Performing the simple act of dressing and undressing, the overlapping projections confused the anatomy of the actress in her various stages of undress. On the stage curtains, recordings of a woman enacting simple movements such as standing up and sitting down were projected onto the draped material. In front of the curtains, the same woman that had been appearing as an image began performing the same movements on stage as she was performing onscreen. Iimura saw the performance as displaying a certain 'clarity' in Whitman's use of images where multiple media, including slides and moving images, come together in ways that were not 'merely delivering multifaceted images' (Iimura, 2013c). The apparent simplicity and de-dramatised monotony of the performance recalled the happenings but with film incorporated into the framework in ways that enhanced the sense of the 'present' the performances embraced. Iimura, in his analysis of Whitman's *Two Hole of Water, No. 2*, acknowledges the significance of happenings in the construction of the framework for the performance, '...for Whitman, the "media" in intermedia has a clear function as an artistic tool. He has turned his command of images into a methodology that lets him manipulate the randomness of happenings to a desired effect' (Iimura, 2013c). While acknowledging the difference between happenings and intermedia, Iimura inserted a long excerpt from Michael Kirby's *Happenings* that, for him, illustrated the basic intentions that relate to both practices, including regulated off-stage time and everyday experiences. Whitman's use of film in his performative pieces engaged with the present by virtue of the film's inter-relation with the performance that went beyond a co-presence.

The screen, rejected in favour of the stage curtains, ceilings and walls, was further discarded in the section of the performance where Whitman projected film onto a white inflating balloon-shaped material that protruded outwards towards the audience. The balloon,

which Iimura described as the only form with 'absolute reality' in the performance, stretched the projected image as its circumference extended. The continuous change in size and shape of the projection surface set up a stark contrast to the rigidity of the fixed frame of the cinematic screen, which began to represent an intransigence from which artists sought to be emancipated. The rejection of the conventional screen surface became commonplace in the development of intermedia in Japan, as Part II will explore in more depth, but the seeds of the approach had been sowed in the essay by Iimura.

Beyond the descriptions Iimura provides of VanDerBeek, USCO Group and Whitman's 'intermedia' works, Iimura engages with the conceptual possibilities inherent in intermedia as an artistic approach in his essay. In his writing, Iimura saw intermedia as a practice that has the potential to break free from the conventions subscribed by each medium or, as he put it, 'the preordained spatial and temporal restrictions of these media' (Iimura, 2013c). He lamented that artists had historically been too faithful to the medium with which they work and described their thoughts to be subservient to the medium. Film was raised as particularly susceptible for its dependence on the mechanical apparatus. Iimura, however, saw intermedia as a chance to break through the monotony of the medium. According to Iimura, interaction between media involves a process whereby, "the intersections willfully ignore each individual medium's inherent grammar." (Iimura, 2013c) For Iimura, the interactions with other media would promise an emancipation of film from its mechanical limitations. Ishizaki Kōichirō, a fellow member of the Film Independents³⁷ and another writer for *Eiga Hyōron*, took up the possibilities of intermedia shared by Iimura in his essay for the landmark series of events, named 'Intermedia', presented at Runami Gallery on 23-28 May 1967.

1.3.2 Intermedia at Runami Gallery

³⁷ Film Independents was founded in 1964 by Ishizaki Kōichirō, Iimura Takahiko, Satō Jyūshin, Ōbayashi Nobuhiko and Donald Richie. Later joined by Adachi Masao and Kanesaka Kenji, the group was a collective of independent filmmakers primarily comprised of those who received a group award at EXPRMNTL 3 (1963) in Knokke-le-Zoute, Belgium.

Located in the Ginza district of Tokyo away from the bustling cultural epicentre that was Shinjuku, Namikawa Emiko set up Runami Gallery in 1963 with her father who wanted to set up a space that allowed for interactions between young artists. Still at the young age of twenty, Namikawa began managing the space during her studies in design and her amenable approach to the use of the gallery space soon attracted attention from critics and artists. The gallery opened the same year as the final annual Yomiuri Independent Exhibition, which planned to close for the works exhibited had become too subversive for it be housed at the Tokyo Metropolitan Art Museum.³⁸ A number of artists, now without a platform for exhibition, gathered together at emerging small gallery spaces that began to spawn across Tokyo. Runami Gallery, as one of the sites that accommodated such dissident arts, held some representative exhibitions that were positioned outside of institutional frameworks of cultural capital and industry in the wake of the no-jury structure of Yomiuri Independents. Small-gauge filmmaking also started to gain currency around the same period, due to the increasing and widespread availability of 8mm cameras, which led to the emergence of amateur film societies and artists using film as part of their practice. As small-gauge film projectors didn't require a large screen, intimate gallery spaces substituted for screening spaces for the emerging scene of independent and experimental filmmakers. Runami Gallery, alongside Naiqua Gallery and Modern Art Centre of Japan, became a key screening space for experimental filmmakers, which proved to encourage interactions between artists from different sides of the spectrum.

Critic Ishizaki Kōichirō, who had been a frequent visitor of Runami Gallery, started the screening series entitled 'Runami Film Gallery' that ran four times between January and April 1966. The film series, curated by Ishizaki, primarily focused on new titles by experimental filmmakers in Japan but also included a student film by Tama University Film Society and a documentary by psychiatrist Tokuda Yoshihito documenting an experiment on the effects of LSD on the skills of a painter. Another aspect that was unique to the Runami Gallery screenings was the documentaries on artists, including a documentary each on Gustave Moreau (Nelly

³⁸The Yomiuri Independents annual exhibition series was organised by the Yomiuri newspaper between 1940 and 1963.

Kaplan, 1961) and Yves Klein (Shinichi Segi, 1964), which stood out for their unique attempt to draw connections between fine art and film in their curatorial strategy. The experimental films showcased as part of the series primarily consisted of those made by members of the Film Independents, namely, Donald Richie, Ōbayashi Nobuhiko and Kanesaka Kenji, but also included filmmaker Jōnouchi Motoharu. Jōnouchi, whose work will be given comprehensive focus in Part II, presented *Van Document*, a filmed record of a performance by Hi-Red Centre that occurred in 1965 staged together with another live performance in an event that was described on the flyer as a 'happening-film'. The film series set the foundations for what was to be expected at the 'Intermedia' event on 23-28 May 1967, also organised by Ishizaki with support from the editor of *Eiga Hyōron*, Satō Jyūshin. The line-up brought together the diversity of works explored in the film series into four sections — fine art, happening, expanded cinema, and cinema.

Although Iimura did not take part in the event, the interpretation of 'intermedia' in the event, from what we can decipher from the line-up, clearly shows adherence to his essay on intermedia that privileged film. Indeed, in one of the essays published in the event's pamphlet, Satō Jyūshin, another member of the Film Independents, describes the importing of the concept of 'intermedia' to have been a phenomenon that occurred 'in cinema rather than painting' (Satō, 1967b, unpaginated). Out of the 27 participants listed in the line-up, 18 were involved in presenting films in expanded or normative projections, two of those being the only overseas contributions to the event. Iimura, who was also a member of the Film Independents, was listed on the flyer as a participant but was unable to attend as he was still in New York. Ishizaki's curatorial approach for the 'Intermedia' event seems to have largely followed Iimura's reading that introduced 'intermedia' as a newly emerging phenomenon in the field of cinema. A closer look at what was documented during the five-day series at the Runami Gallery reveals in what ways the event interpreted the notion of intermedia.

The disparate range of scarce information on the event reveals the predilection of it towards films and happenings. Both Tone Yasunao (1967, p. 105) and Ishiko Junzō (1969, p. 81), whom participated as artists in the event, remember it to be primarily a mixture of 'films

and happenings'. Ishiko, Tone and painter Suzuki Yoshinori had showcased a projection piece that involved five slide projectors that they had put together specifically for the event in response to Ishizaki's invitation. In the event of projection, performers Akasegawa Genpei and Kazakura Shō contributed to the piece, although to what extent has been left undetermined. Kazakura, whose name was not listed as a participant, reportedly inflated a large balloon into the gallery space during a screening (1996, pp. 124-5).³⁹ According to Tone, some artists arrived on the day unannounced and presented their contributions at the end of the programme, attesting to its loose structure that accommodated for unexpected interventions. In such ways, the events mostly involved a presentation of film and happenings.

Nevertheless, some minor discrepancies can be identified between Iimura's essay and the conception of intermedia outlined in the event. For example, the flyer includes 'expanded cinema', a form of practice introduced to Japan for the first time by Iimura in the essay, as an activity that would be showcased in the event, replacing the term 'film events' that was used in previous promotional material. What is notable is that 'expanded cinema' and 'intermedia' are separated on the flyer, whereas Iimura identified both as synonymous to one another. Reflecting on the event, Ishizaki stated that he wanted to explore the possibilities for interactions between the arts in the event with cinema accounting for one part of the equation.⁴⁰ Between Iimura and Ishizaki, we are already able to identify some inconsistencies in the conception of intermedia in Japan. The definition of intermedia was still in negotiation when two years later the debate was resurrected with the two events, Intermedia Art Festival and Cross Talk Intermedia. More so than with Cross Talk Intermedia, Intermedia Art Festival formed a lineage with Runami Gallery's Intermedia event in its invocation of Fluxus performances and staging of happenings with unprecedented results.

1.3.3 Intermedia Art Festival

³⁹ Although Kazakura Shō is not listed as a participant in the flyer or programme of Runami Gallery's 'Intermedia' event series, a short report published in *Eiga Hyōron* confirms his contribution (Satō, 1967a, unpaginated).

⁴⁰ Personal interview, 18 January 2013.

As its title suggests, Intermedia Art Festival was one of the key events that incorporated the notion of intermedia as its central curatorial drive and represented the pervasive influence of the concept in Japan's avant-garde arts of the period. Intermedia Art Festival was held for two days on 18-19 January 1969 at the discotheque Killer Joe's in Ginza and for a day on 21 January 1969 at Nikkei Hall, a multi-purpose auditorium located in Ōtemachi, Tokyo. Together with Tone Yasunao, the event was organized by Kosugi Takehisa and Shiomi Mieko who had both lived in New York for a couple of years before heading the organisation of the event. Kosugi resided in New York between 1965-67 after joining Fluxus and, similarly, Shiomi Mieko moved to the same city in 1964 to join the network of artists who had shown interest in the Japanese arts movement. The three had formed Group Ongaku (Group Music) in 1960 that performed at SAC in 1961 as the first improvised music collective in Japan. Group Ongaku made many appearances at the SAC as supporting musicians for John Cage, David Tudor and Ichihyanagi Toshi, who had returned from his stay in New York in 1961 to present the first event in Japan to incorporate the word 'happening' in its title. Also involved with Fluxus, Ichihyanagi presented work at the Intermedia Art Festival. Three out of the five Japanese artists represented, therefore, were previously based in New York and associated with Fluxus.

Moreover, the works presented during the festival were mostly pieces originally put together by Fluxus artists. Fluxus works by the following artists were presented in the programme: George Brecht; Jackson MacLow; Ben Vautier; Tomas Schmidt; Nam June Paik; and Dick Higgins, the original voice behind intermedia as a concept. Dialogue between artists in New York and Tokyo began to intensify in the early 1960s, especially via the Fluxus movement, with Ichihyanagi, Ono Yoko and Ay-O periodically returning to Japan after correspondence with George Maciunas who had spearheaded the Fluxus movement. Nam June Paik and Kubota Shigeko, who were both active in Tokyo prior to their move to New York, introduced Japanese artists' works such as those of the Hi Red Centre, who themselves later joined the Fluxus network. Intermedia Art Festival, in a sense, should be considered as a result of such nexus of interaction between artists with Fluxus at its axis. Although all the works were presented for the first time in Japan, the Intermedia Art Festival, therefore, should be considered

a follow-up to the exhibition Fluxus Shūkan (Fluxus Week) that had taken place at the Gallery Crystal in Tokyo on 8, 9, 11 and 14 September 1965.

Presented as an exhibition that included a film screening and a series of performances, Fluxus Week was a precursor to intermedia for its explorations of the intersections between the arts. The exhibition was organised by Ichianagi Toshi, artist Yamaguchi Katsuhiko and Akiyama Kuniharu, a musician and music critic who had also been based in New York for a year under the auspices of the Ford Foundation in 1963, again, showing a strong influence of activities in New York. Shiomi Mieko, during a brief return visit from New York, also performed her pieces *Water Music* and *Futari no Ensōsha no tame no Piece* (A Piece for Two Performers). Although no other New York-based artists attended, the Fluxus network encouraged re-enactments of performances with instructions. The event series itself had a lineup similar to the Intermedia Art Festival with performances of Fluxus-related works by Le Monte Young, George Brecht, Jackson MacLow, Nam June Paik, Shiomi and Tone, which were performed by Ichianagi, Tone, Takeda Akimichi and a member of the Kuni Chiya Buyō Kenkūjyo (Kuni Chiya Dance Institute), an all-female dance collective, who all also took part in the Intermedia Art Festival. The inclusion of a Fluxfilm programme, shorts made by Fluxus artists, together with films by Dick Higgins and Kuri Yōji, also foreshadows the presentation of cinematic works at the Intermedia Art Festival in an event that primarily consisted of performative works. Although Fluxus Week plays a significant role as a precursory event to the Intermedia Art Festival, one way in which the festival departed from its predecessor was its explicit engagement with electronic media.

Although the promotional material of Intermedia Art Festival announced the event to be a 'reclamation of art in the electronic age', many of the artworks presented at the festival incorporated electronic media in their action. The festival, moreover, was billed as a series of *happenings*, events, electronic arts, concrete poetry, total theatre and multimedia art in its programme presented together allegedly to provoke 'structuralist change'. Other than a re-

enactment of Nam June Paik's *Opera Sextronic*,⁴¹ originally a collaboration with Charlotte Moorman from 1964, all other performance pieces from New York Fluxus artists involved minimal preparation. For example, Dick Higgins' piece *Danger Music No. 17* simply involved the performer screaming at the top of his or her voice.

All Japanese artists involved, on the other hand, presented works that involved electronic and multiple media. Kosugi's *Catch Wave '69*, a preliminary version of a piece he solidified in 1975 and has since been widely regarded his representative work, involved creating a circuit of electronic signals and feedback. Performed together with George Brecht's *Two Durations: Red / Green* (originally 1961), Kosugi's performance involved creating circuitry loops with signals between a radio receiver and broadcast, feedback from audio speakers and the performative action of 'walking'. Ichiyanagi's *Activities* (originally 1967) was a performance based on a graphic score he had composed for live electronic music but, according to the promotional flyer, doesn't necessarily involve musical instruments. Tone's performance *Terebi wa Me de Kamu Chūinjugamu de aru* (Television is Chewing Gum for the Eyes) involved an amplifier and tape recorder installed in a skull with enameled wire looped around the room.⁴² The emphasis by Japanese artists on electronic media was partly due to support provided by Sōzōsha, also known as Ōno Studio, a company headed by pioneering sound designer of electronic music, Ōno Matsuo. Kosugi had worked with Ōno on the sound design for Japan's first television animation series *Tetsuwan Atomu* (Astro Boy, first broadcast on NHK between 1963-1966), and Ōno had worked closely with experimental filmmakers as a sound designer for *Ikebana* (Teshigahara Hiroshi, 1956), *Anpo Jyōyaku* (Anpo Treaty, Matsumoto Toshio, 1959) and short animation films by the Three-Person Animation Circle. By the late 1960s, Ōno's studio located in Aoyama had become a hub for avant-garde artists, particularly those interested

⁴¹ The organisation committee had originally planned to use computer music originally composed for Nam June Paik and Charlotte Moorman's performance, arranged by Max Matthews of Bell Labs, but due to complications in preparatory stages they were not able to use this. Instead, the unnamed female performer wore a mask and performed lullabies from different countries on her violin (Tone, 1969b, p. 7).

⁴² Konno Tsutomu, a TV director who worked at the television station TBS and later established the Telebi Man Union (TV Man Union), is listed to have performed in the event and presumably participated in Tone's performance.

in electronic media, and such interactions led to their sponsorship of the festival. With three coordinators originating from Group Ongaku and with support from Sōzōsha, the prominence of intermedial activities with an emphasis on music was perhaps inevitable. Nevertheless, Intermedia Art Festival also featured electronic works that focused on light over sound. The Japanese artist that engaged mostly with image and projection at the Intermedia Art Festival was, however, not one of those who had been closely associated with Fluxus or Ōno, but the young newcomer Shūzō Azuchi Gulliver.

Shūzō Azuchi Gulliver

As a student at Ritsumeikan University in Kyoto, Shūzō Azuchi Gulliver⁴³ had been performing happenings on the streets as a teenager, often with performance artist Murakami Jun and in groups based in the Kansai-region, Remandaran and The Play. His performances included displays of what was usually considered mundane activities. Some examples include measuring the distance between objects in public space for *Measurement Plan* (1967) at the 1st Kyoto Independents exhibition and tracing his own footsteps with chalk while walking barefooted around his university campus for *Foot-mark Revolution* in the same year. Once he relocated to Tokyo, Gulliver became involved in the urban hippie movement (*fūten*) that was popular in the mid-1960s and became one of the movement's flagship celebrities that featured regularly on weekly magazines.⁴⁴ His foray into film always involved a performative dimension beyond its projection whether it was for conventional cinema settings, galleries, gymnasium or a discotheque.

Miyai Rikurō, an artist who also worked with performative film projections, described Gulliver's practices as one strand of expanded cinema that he called 'thinking-cinema', representing a sharp contrast to the multiple-projection environments constructed by artists associated with Expo '70 (Isozaki *et al*, 1969, p. 141). Indeed, Gulliver's early film-

⁴³ From hereafter he will be referred to as Gulliver.

⁴⁴ In such weekly magazines and elsewhere in art journals, his name is often shortened to 'Gulliver'. The *fūten* were known by pseudonyms and, in Gulliver's case, he kept his nickname as his artist's name.

performances, such as *Watch* (1967), *Switch* (1967) and *Box* (1967) condensed the experience of film to its core principles of the screen and the projection space: *Watch* (1967), a close-up of a ticking watch, was only to be projected a 7 minutes past 4pm in order to synchronise screen-time and real-time; *Switch* (1967) showed an image of a light-switch that, when flicked onscreen, also signalled for the lights to be turned on in the theatre; and *Box* (1967) showed footage of Gulliver picking up a box and walking off screen, which coincided with Gulliver's appearance from behind the screen with the box in hand. All three performances were presented at his show 'Exptance'⁴⁵ at Shinjuku's first discotheque L.S.D, where he presented the projections onto a piece of cloth draped from the ceiling. Another piece presented at the event, *Screen*, involved a slide projector with fourteen slides projected onto a round screen specifically made for the performance. Other than the first and ninth slide with the appropriate numbers inscribed onto it, all slides had empty white circles in order to shift the emphasis from the content of the image to the surface onto which it was projected. *Box*, in particular, engaged conceptually with projection space and its audience. When Gulliver walked off-screen, the projection was frozen in order for the audience to join in by passing around the box only to be activated again when Gulliver walked back behind the screen. These performances presented at L.S.D demonstrated, with playful profundity, Gulliver's concern with the presentation of film projection as he drew attention to what usually is veiled in the spectatorial experience of film.

For the event *Andī Wōhoru o Hajirau Futari no Otoko* (Two Men Shy in the Face of Andy Warhol), a screening series presented by Miyai Rikurō and Gulliver at the jazz clubs Pit Inn and Noa Noa, Tone Yasunao wrote an introductory piece for Gulliver which led to an invitation for him to participate in the Intermedia Art Festival. In his short essay, Tone praised Gulliver for his engagement with cinema that dissects the medium as a mixture of different mediums (1969c, unpaginated). Indeed, Gulliver's intermedia experiments extract the core components that constitute a film by placing it in communication with other mediums. Following his deconstruction of the projection space, Gulliver proceeded to challenge the screen as another key component that constitutes cinematic presentation with *Cinematic Illumination*

⁴⁵ The event was originally spelt in this way.

(1969), presented as part of the Intermedia Art Festival at the discotheque Killer Joe's. Facing a spherical 360-degree screen made specifically for the performance, 18 automatic slide projectors with 80 slides each were controlled using an automatic operator usually used for neon-lighting systems. Some of the images derived from moving images, originally shot by Gulliver on a film camera and spliced into individual frames. These were used to make slides that were projected together to suggest movement in a gesture to expose the inherent mechanisms of cinema. Other slides included words and colours that were projected separately or in unison to form sentences or fill the space with a corresponding hue. Presented at the discotheque, itself at the forefront of electronic projection technology as will be explained in more detail in the analysis of underground discotheques in Part III, the performance employed industrial and advanced technologies for neon-light displays. Being the only performer with two pieces presented at Intermedia Art Festival, Gulliver presented *Stretch* at the final day of performances at Nikkei Hall. *Stretch* involved a tubular shaped screen that rotated with an overhead projector facing upwards to project into the tube, in a design that foreshadowed his piece *Flying Focus* (1969) that was conceived later in the same year and involved a projection into a tubular balloon, that will be analysed in Part II. The loop-film projected with no fixed duration involved straight lines of white and red that twisted and twirled as the screen itself rotated. The film, that should perhaps be understood as a 'display' for its association with the emergent art movements of light art and kinetic art, was a comedic reference, despite its elaborate arrangement, to the rudimentary light displays positioned outside barbers in Japan. Gulliver's approach to intermedia in the festival, despite his incorporation of various electronic media, was an unassuming demonstration that stretched cinema beyond its conventional display while not only retaining but also highlighting its core principles: it was and was not cinema.

Tone Yasunao

Tone Yasunao, who invited Gulliver to participate in the Intermedia Art Festival, delineated his interpretation of *intermedia* in several articles written in the period, including a short statement for Intermedia Art Festival. In the statement, he declared the starting point for the festival was

not to adopt *intermedia* as a new slogan but, instead, to consider *intermedia* as a self-evident truth concerning the history of art. Moreover, he expressed a desire for the festival to not only highlight the expressive inter-relations between the arts but also become a platform for its audience to recognise mediums do not necessarily have to be confined into compartments (1969a, unpaginated). In his writing prior to the coordination of the Intermedia Art Festival, Tone indicated that he felt its foundations were closely associated with the artistic movements of underground films and happenings. Tracing the interpretations of *intermedia* that Tone offered between the years 1967-1970 provides us with an insight into the ways intermedia was received in the Japanese art scene.

In an essay written in 1967, Tone suggested the identification of their roots would be a useful strategy to differentiate between *intermedia* and its neighbouring phenomena, happenings and *events*: 'Happening came out of action paintings; *events* out of improvised music; and *intermedia* founds its point of departure in the underground film movement' (1967, p. 103). Although he immediately follows the statement reminding us that it would be absurd to completely separate the activities according to their historical origins (1967, p. 103), the essay focuses on the expanded cinema works of USCO and Stan VanDerBeek as case studies of *intermedia*, following Iimura Takahiko's 1966 essay, and in keeping with his earlier statement. However, Tone's invocation of Austrian filmmaker Peter Kubelka's *Arnulf Rainer* (1960) to explain what he understands as *intermedia* was unique in that the film is not conventionally considered to be an expanded cinema work.

Arnulf Rainer is a landmark experimental film that purely consisted of black and clear film leader for its visual composition. Generating a strobe effect by alternating between these two, the film highlights the essential components of the cinematic experience as light and darkness. The sound, switching between perforated magnetic tape and recorded white noise, is similarly arranged in ways that represent the entire range of noises between sound and its absence. Named after his friend and Viennese abstract painter Arnulf Rainer, Kubelka's film was composed as a metrical film score and can be understood as intermedial for the influences it drew from other mediums. Nonetheless, Tone, seemingly unaware of its conception, heralded

the film as exemplary of *intermedia* after its screening at SAC for reasons related to the effects it generated rather than the ways in which it was conceived. Tone focused on the ways in which the auditorium was illuminated amid the flashes between darkness and light as the work highlighted the environment in which it was presented (1967, p. 104). Recognising a trend where the arts began to acknowledge their impossibility to represent everything in the age of ubiquitous news media, Tone saw both *intermedia* and happening to engage with the *zentai*, the inter-relation of things (1967, p. 104). For Tone, the experience of viewing the film not only involved watching the film but being made provocatively aware of the space, audience and the screen.⁴⁶ In his second citation of *Arnulf Rainer*, Tone once again refers to inter-relations (*zentai*) in the film's violent evocation of the structures of experience in which the space is illuminated to expose the act of viewing as a collective experience (1968a, p. 83).

For Tone, what characterises *intermedia* to be distinct from synthesis arts (*sōgō geijutsu*) is the ability for *intermedia* to expose the inter-relations within the structures of the universe by virtue of its own interconnected nature. In an essay reflecting on the Intermedia Art Festival, Tone marks the difference between synthesis arts and *intermedia* to be the ways in which, rather than commenting on the world, *intermedia* attempts to rejuvenate an interaction with the world (1969b, p. 7). While Tone felt synthesis arts was simply a reconstruction of genres that had been separated by modern art according to their individual sensual functions, *intermedia*, in his interpretation, goes beyond interactions between mediums to also include our body and its perceptual faculties into the mixture (1967, p. 106). Whereas Tone feels the word art (*geijutsu*) is bound by its own established boundaries seemingly separate from society, *intermedia*, in the same ways intermediality has been preferred over interartiality in recent theorisations, constituted for him the inter-relations beyond art, which he felt was often separated from society.

⁴⁶ Tone recalled a screening of the film at the Minami Gallery, Tokyo in 1962 to accompany an exhibition of Arnulf Rainer's work in 1962 (Saito *et al*, 1970, p. 66). Although Tone explicitly refers to the interior design of SAC, and specifically to the paintings on the wall, there is no record of *Arnulf Rainer* being screened at SAC to my knowledge.

In an article that reflected on *intermedia* published shortly after the festival, Tone declared *intermedia*, despite stemming from different roots as he noted in his 1967 essay, to be nearly synonymous with happenings (1969b, p. 7). Explaining his viewpoint, he described the ways in which happenings became connected with all mediums in its rejection of medium. He explains, 'Happenings are said to be neither painting, nor theatre, nor music, nor dance but are still all of them. In the sense that both aim for total expression (*tōtaru na hyōgen*), there is nothing that clearly separates happening and *intermedia*' (1969b, p. 7). Tone's use of 'total expression' (*tōtaru na hyōgen*) should be understood as a direct translation of what he repeatedly refers to in the context of intermedia, the inter-relation of things (*zentai sei*). Tone considered both expressions of *intermedia* and happening to be founded on the 'inter-relation of things', an interaction where the relations are drawn out rather than overcome. The shift from happening to *intermedia* that Tone identified, therefore, was based on something else, namely, the change in understanding of environment (*kankyō*) where in which these 'inter-relations' were taking place. In Tone's words, while happenings dealt with visible relations, *intermedia*, on the other hand, engaged with the previously invisible (1968a, p. 83). For example, the intense brightness sparked from the clear frames of *Arnulf Rainer* was meant to illuminate its surroundings despite its own invisibility (Tone, 1968a, p. 83).

Ichikawa Miyabi

Like his contemporary Tone Yasunao, Ichikawa Miyabi's conception of totality (*zentai sei*) within the context of *intermedia* was based on inter-relations. Primarily a dance critic, Ichikawa became one of the key proponents for *intermedia* in Japanese critical circles largely based on his experiences as a resident of New York in 1966-1968. *Intermedia*, in his conception, was seen as interconnections of dispersals rather than a wholesome entity:

Intermedia art is disassociated from the totality (*zentai*) that is structured according to coordinates. Rather, it is a scattered totality (*bara-bara zentai sei*). In other words, it is an

uncoordinated totality where the total being of the individual is kept from being obliterated.
(1971, p. 123)

Considering prior attempts of synthesis art (*sōgō geijutsu*) to have been operating on hierarchical relations (1970a, p. 102), Ichikawa favoured the use of the word mixedness (*kongō*) in his description of *intermedia*. Although a subtle difference, the choice of the word is key to understanding his articulation of the much-debated term. In their attempt to destroy themselves in collision, Ichikawa believed each individual medium (*jyanru*) retained their own in co-existence and co-habitation with other mediums. The *intermedia* event, for Ichikawa, resulted in 'unforeseen worlds where individual (*ko*) and totality (*zentai*) are no longer in contradiction' (1971, p. 123).

The conception of scattered inter-relationality (*bara-bara zentaisei*) corresponds with the articulation of intermedia more recently to be founded upon a 'both-and' approach where interaction occurs but individuality is retained. Tone Yasunao and Ichikawa Miyabi's understanding of *intermedia*, therefore, echoes the rejection of multimediality for its adherence to homogeneous mixtures. Whereas the events at Intermedia Art Festival sought to interconnect with its space and audience as well as reassert the individuality of the participating mediums, the following section will propose the interpretation of *intermedia* for Cross Talk Intermedia, on the other hand, opted for medium interactions to provide a continuation of synthesis arts in the ways the particularities of individual mediums were lost in the mixture.

1.3.4 Cross Talk Intermedia

Cross Talk Intermedia was the fourth in the Cross Talk concert series organised under the auspices of the American Cultural Centre by American composers Roger and Karen Reynolds with Japanese artists Akiyama Kuniharu and Yuasa Jōji. The name Cross Talk, referring to the effect whereby the signal recorded on one channel of magnetic tape picks up another channel during playback, indicated an advocacy for tape music and represented a desire for dialogue between the United States and Japan. Roger and Karen Reynolds, who were sponsored by the

Institute of Current World Affairs to live in Japan for three years, established the series in response to their surprise that, despite having an active music scene, little attention was given to contemporary music in Japan (1967, p. 54). Initially only arranged for four concerts, the Cross Talk series was organised intermittently on six occasions between November 1967 and May 1971. Although Cross Talk Intermedia was the only event where intermedia was explicitly raised as a central curatorial component, the exploration of contemporary music also encompassed its interactions with other mediums at various points in the concert series.

Cross Talk 1

Cross Talk 1, held at the Asahi Kōdō (Asahi Hall) on 13 November 1967, was primarily a presentation of improvised and electronic music from the United States and Japan.⁴⁷ The only notable performance that incorporated an interaction between music and other mediums was Morton Subotnick's *Play No. 1* (1963) that included six performers, tape music, light display and a film by Tony Martin as part of its presentation. While questioning the validity of the performance as an artwork, music critic Suzuki Takashi described the work to be 'melodrama rather than music' and highlighted its strive to reach beyond music as its main fascination (1968, p. 67). The opening event of the series indicated an aspiration to intellectually engage in a discussion on contemporary music with an audience, having the music compositions on display in the pre-event, Q&A sessions after performances and detailed programme notes written by the composers. Although the intermedia qualities were minimal for its first incarnation, the Cross Talk series began to incorporate works that engaged with the emerging concept of intermedia from its second event.

Cross Talk 2

Only held three months after the first of the series, Cross Talk 2 was held on 18 February 1968 at the Tokyo American Centre Kōdō (Auditorium) and included film screenings alongside

⁴⁷ Cross Talk 1 included Yuasa Jōji electronic music composition *Icon, Piano no tame no Kazō* (A Semblance for a Piano) by Mizuno Shūkō of Group Ongaku, Yūji Takahashi's *Chroma Morph 1* and works by Charles Ives.

presentations of electronic music. The event opened with graphic designer Herbert Matter's *Works of Calder* (1950), a short film on the sculptor Alexander Calder with John Cage's prepared piano and tape music from recorded sounds of Calder's studio. Synthesizers were used in Ichiyanagi's *Extended Voices*, a manipulation of a recording of a chorus in New York, and American artist Gordon Mumma's piece *Mesa* (1966), originally commissioned by Merce Cunningham Dance Company, was also performed using six contact microphones on a bandoneon. Akiyama Kuniharu, one of the organisers of the event, reflected on how the event engaged with the intersection between technology and art and revealed a demand for a new perspective set apart from previous approaches to the arts (1968b, p. 78). Indeed, one of the mandates that governed their selection of compositions was, according to Roger Reynolds, the inclusion of electronic devices for the expansion or manipulation of sound. Therefore, the exploration of technology and art was considered to be a blueprint for the design of the concert series from the outset.

Another notable contribution to Cross Talk 2 in 1968 was the presentation of a film recording of a pioneering series of collaborative performances that took place in New York on 13-23 October 1966. Presented at the 69th Regiment Armory on Lexington Avenue, 9 Evenings: Theatre and Engineering was a series of performances that shared the outcome of collaborations between artists, scientists and engineers on what would become considered as the first event organised by the group Experiments in Art and Technology (E.A.T.).

Officially founded in 1967, E.A.T. was an initiative spearheaded by artists Robert Whitman and Robert Rauschenberg with engineers Billy Klüver and Fred Waldhauer. Nakaya Fujiko shared the activities of the group, who later facilitated the fog sculptures that engulfed the Pepsi Pavilion at the Expo '70, to Japanese readership through translations and articles. E.A.T represented a shift in the arts to incorporate technology into its framework. The film recording of the collaboration between ten New York based artists and thirty engineers from Bell Laboratories was widely regarded as 'the highlight of the programme' (Akiyama, 1968a, p. 77). The footage showing John Cage, Robert Whitman, Yvonne Rainer and Robert Rauschenberg performing was an insight into the ways in which advanced technology infiltrated

the American arts and it shaped the exploration of arts and technology in the Japanese arts scene and, in particular, the Cross Talk series.

Cross Talk 3

The organisers of Cross Talk 3, presented only a month after Cross Talk 2, took on the challenge of exploring art and technology with their programme that was described by Akiyama as 'an experiment in light, image and sound' (1968b, p. 78). Larry Austin presented *Brass* (1967), an intermedial arrangement with slide projections, electronic music created by a brass quintet and a film. While the film was being screened, slides were superimposed onto the image at intermittent moments and in a random order, which indicated to the performers what to play according to the texture of the image and the timing of its appearance. The quintet performed with electronically amplified mutes, sounds usually inaudible to the human ear, that were modified and made louder. Austin's piece allowed for projection of images to dictate the development of the composition that blurred the boundaries between improvisation and pre-arranged material. Another performance in Cross Talk 3 that explored the interfaces between slide projection, film and music was Alvin Lucier and Iimura Takahiko's collaboration, *Shelter 9999*, which concluded the evening of performances.

Shelter 9999

A performance that changed on each occasion, *Shelter 9999* involved multiple slide and film projectors arranged by Iimura and tape music by Lucier, whom Iimura had met in Boston during the Harvard University International Seminar in 1966. *Shelter 9999* was showcased in auditoriums, gymnasiums and nightclubs: the Filmmakers' Cinematheque, Black Gate, Page Hall and the Electric Circus in New York; Gray Hall in Hartford, Connecticut; a church on the outskirts of Chicago; and in Tokyo as part of Cross Talk 3. Billed in promotional material as 'the study of the underground world', *Shelter 9999* was a parody of Cold War fears that pressured people into purchasing underground shelters to escape apocalypse. Iimura, who discovered signs for shelter scattered across the city, found interest in the absurdity of the signs

for being both a status symbol and a signal of fear (Iimura, 2013b) The performance, recalling the performance event *Shelter Plan* (1964) where members of the Hi Red Centre hired out a room in the Imperial Hotel to measure their guests' proportions in the pretense of building bomb shelters, was also clearly inspired by discotheques and multiple projection presentations that Iimura encountered during his stay in the United States.⁴⁸ Although Iimura found little enthusiasm for psychedelic shows, he found their resistance to central projection representing a shift in the acceptance of regimented behaviour in art and society (1967b, unpaginated). In his essay that introduced 'intermedia', he recalled an unnamed discotheque in San Francisco that had deeply impressed him in their use of multiple projectors (Iimura, 2013c). Such experiences in the United States encouraged Iimura to explore beyond his accustomed format of small-gauge film projections and attempt incorporations of multiple slide projectors and collaborations with electronic musicians. The series of performances under the name *Shelter 9999*, in many ways, marked a shift in Iimura's approach and the departure from his previous works was noted by Akiyama's review of the event (1968b, p. 78).

In the performance held at the Electric Circus, the eminent discotheque in New York where Andy Warhol's multi-projection light show were held with the band Velvet Underground, Iimura and Lucier presented one version of *Shelter 9999* as part of the multimedia event series Electric Ear. Irrespective of the venue's status as a discotheque, Iimura and Lucier opted for minimal arrangements for their presentation that contrasted with the use of technology usually experienced in the nightclub environment. Lucier's composition began with quiet clicks by four performers that were echoed through the auditorium and looped onto tape and ended with the performers blowing into conch shells and walking out of auditorium. Complementing Lucier's minimalist approach to sound, Iimura's moving images consisted of scratches and holes made into black leader filmstrip, sharply contrasting with the multi-colour sensations of discotheque projection, and the colour slides comprised of mundane everyday encounters such as newspaper clippings, obituary notices and neon street signs. Iimura pointed his projection towards three

⁴⁸ Hi Red Centre's *Shelter Plan* took place on 26-27 April 1964 at Room 340 in the Imperial Hotel. See Akasegawa, 1994, pp. 177-201.

walls and the ceiling while Lucier amplified the multichannel tape arrangements to cacophonous levels. Despite using similar apparatus, *Shelter 9999* changed forms on each of its presentations as both artists rejected being fixed by the technological mediums they chose to employ. Iimura's instructions, taped onto the inner layer of box in which one of the film reels are kept, reveal the different manifestations of the performance on a single sheet of paper as the black and red marker pens indicate changes made for individual performances.

For their first and final presentations of *Shelter 9999* at Cross Talk 3, Iimura and Lucier made some adjustments to the performance. According to the plan published in the Cross Talk 3 programme, Iimura used: one 35-minute film as a central projection that consists of scratches made onto a black leader filmstrip; one slide projector with colour slides; and two film projectors with four loop-films of black leader filmstrips with holes punched into them. Unusually for a music critic, Akiyama focused on the visual presentation of *Shelter 9999* in his appraisal of the performance as a 'vivid engagement on the interaction between film and music' (1968b, p. 78). Iimura, in an effort to incorporate the improvisations of Lucier's music performance into his projection, used colour gels and different lenses to adjust the projection during the presentation. Lucier's electronic soundscape generated through four channels accompanied the multiple projections that all faced a single screen on this particular occasion to make the overlapping images vanish in and out of each other. Iimura, in his collaboration with Lucier, took the opportunity to experiment with slide projectors, multiple temporalities engendered by the simultaneous presentation of slides, film and live electronic music. Their collaboration continued for Cross Talk Intermedia, which engaged most strongly with the question regarding art and technology that E.A.T had promoted and the Cross Talk series had sustained throughout its series.

Cross Talk Intermedia — the Question of Technology

Presented at Yoyogi Gymnasium on 5-7 February 1969, Cross Talk Intermedia has been remembered as the landmark event in Japan that brought *intermedia* to popular recognition, stimulating a series of debates that took place among art journals with a wider readership and

critical impact beyond what smaller incarnations of the concept instigated. Although there certainly were continuities in terms of personnel and approach, Cross Talk Intermedia had a stronger commitment to exploring the interface between art and technology than previous events of the series. This commitment, in many ways, played a role in the development of *intermedia* as a critical concept and artistic approach in the years to come. As such, an assessment of Cross Talk Intermedia is required in the articulation of the inception of *intermedia* into the Japanese art scene.

Although some of the pieces presented in the first three concerts of the Cross Talk series hinted at a concern with the engagement between art and technology, it was not until Cross Talk Intermedia that the organisers' interests in the subject was realised to its full extent. According to Yuasa Jōji, a member of the organising committee, their intentions to expand the boundaries of music proved troublesome without the necessary budget and amid the different agendas of the sponsors, musicians and organisers (1969, p. 96). Referring to pieces by Morton Subotnick, Imura Takahiko and Alvin Lucier performed previously in the series, Yuasa admitted that the four organisers had always expressed their interests in intermedia early on in the conception of Cross Talk (1969, p. 97). A selection of the performances was, indeed, a callback to previous incarnations of the Cross Talk series. Matsumoto Toshio's *Icon no tame no Purojekushon* (Projection for *Icon*, 1969) was an interpretation of Yuasa Jōji's electronic composition *Icon* presented a year previously at Cross Talk 1.⁴⁹ Gordon Mumma, whose *Mesa* (1966) was performed at Cross Talk 2, was invited to join Cross Talk Intermedia in person to present *Hornpipe* (1967). Following their successful collaboration with *Shelter 9999* at Cross Talk 3, Imura Takahiko and Alvin Lucier once again joined forces with *Circles* (1969). Nevertheless, Cross Talk Intermedia stood apart from previous sessions of the Cross Talk series and, with a larger budget, marked an occasion for the rejuvenation of the organising committee's initial aspirations for the series.

⁴⁹ NHK Studio was founded in 1955 and collaborated with distinguished musicians to explore electronic music. For *Icon* (1967), NHK built a six-channel tape machine that was also used for Karlheinz Stockhausen's *Telemusik* (1966). For more information on NHK's involvement in the emergence of electronic music in Japan, please see Loubet, 1997, pp. 11-22.

Cross Talk Intermedia had evidently been conceived as a response to 9 Evenings: Theatre and Performance, the film of which was screened at Cross Talk 2. Akiyama opened his statement on Cross Talk Intermedia describing the growing interest in the crossover between art and technology, citing E.A.T. as an example on the occasion of their new exhibition *Some New Beginnings* at the Brooklyn Museum that ran on 25 November 1968 to 5 January 1969 (1969c, p. 10). Yuasa's article reflecting on Cross Talk Intermedia, moreover, was followed by a translation of an essay by one of the co-founders of E.A.T., Billy Klüver, as if to strengthen the connection with their American counterparts. Usami Kenji, whose sculptural construction of space using laser beams had been picked up by *Some New Beginnings*, had also been invited to take part in Cross Talk Intermedia by the organising committee. The association was even further emphasized by the fact that members of the E.A.T., such as Klüver, were in Japan for meetings for the Pepsi Pavilion the group was organising at Expo '70. The fog sculpture that Matsumoto envisioned as a projection surface for *Projection for Icon* but had been forced to cancel for security reasons had been realised by the E.A.T. for the Pepsi Pavilion a year later by Nakaya Fujiko, who had been studying fogs for years as a daughter of a prestigious scientist of snowflakes. The influence of E.A.T. on the proceedings at Cross Talk Intermedia was unmistakable and had an indelible impact on the reception of *intermedia* as a concept bound in the discussion of technology that had pervaded Japan's art scene.

In Yuasa's mind, an articulation of *intermedia* was impossible without acknowledging an interaction with technology (1969, p. 99). The most evident distinction between Cross Talk Intermedia and its predecessors was, indeed, the ways in which technology was considered for the event. Similar to the ways in which E.A.T. initiated a collaboration between artists and engineers of Bell Laboratories, the committee approached electronic companies Sony, Pioneer, TEAC Corporation and the broadcast network NHK for support: NHK sent a six-channel recorder with engineers on standby; TEAC Corporation loaned six stereo recorders and amplifiers; Pioneer lent five stereo recorders, twenty 160 watt two-way speakers and amplifiers for all the speakers; and Sony, who had been on board with the project early on, lent the committee six special microphones. Moreover, the collaboration went beyond the sharing of

equipment to the invention of new equipment to facilitate the requirements for the artists. Okuyama Jūnosuke, who spearheaded the engineering of the event, specially developed a 14-channel control panel with Pioneer to supervise the overall sound. To build the resources to withstand the output of electricity necessary to generate the electronic sounds, Pioneer also developed and provided 14 five-way speakers that could handle 320 watts of electricity. John Cage's composition with computer-generated sounds and harpsichords, named *HPSCHD*, was scheduled to perform and, although it wasn't ready in time, Sony agreed to provide mechanical support with harpsichords, tape recorders and amplifiers.⁵⁰ As the promotional flyer of Cross Talk Intermedia indicated, the event was set up to probe the question 'Is Intermedia the Artistic Format of the Electronic Age?' and attempted to do so with the powerful industrial support the organising committee were able to assemble.

Along with E.A.T.'s exhibition and Cross Talk Intermedia, the exhibition 'The Machine as Seen at the End of the Mechanical Age' at the Museum of Modern Art⁵¹ had been running between 27 November 1968 and 9 February 1969, confirming the pervading presence of the debate in the international art circuit. To coincide with such activities, *Bijutsu Techō* ran a special issue on art and technology that was published the same month as Cross Talk Intermedia. The issue spotlighted a cusp in the transition the influence of technology on art; as the MoMA exhibition identified, the 1960s saw the twilight of the mechanical generation and the dawn of the age of electronics. The reviews of the MoMA and Brooklyn Museum exhibitions, hence, became essays that provided a selected history of the infiltration of technology in 20th century arts. In his essay surveying the E.A.T. exhibition, Nam June Paik proposed the 'marriage' between art and technology that people had begun to promulgate should be reworded to a 're-marriage,' or even a 're-re-marriage,' as the relationship, which he harked back to Leonardo da Vinci and even further to the Egyptian pyramids, had deeply embedded

⁵⁰ When eventually performed at the Assembly Hall of University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana, on the 16th May 1969, John Cage's *HPSCHD* was presented with images by Ronald Nameth projected 6400 slides and 40 films from 64 slide projectors and 8 film projectors onto a circular screen (340 feet) and eleven transparent rectangular screens (100x40 feet each) lifted above the ground.

⁵¹ I will hereafter refer to the museum as MoMA.

their histories (1969, p. 132). Okamoto Tarō, who had been appointed as the artistic director of Expo '70, wrote in his essay in the multilingual publication made for Cross Talk Intermedia on his belief that technology will facilitate its counterpart, art, to reach 'the point at which existence and non-existence as well as intention and non-intention come in contact with one another' (1969, unpaginated). As a friend of André Breton, the founder of Surrealism, Okamoto had exhibited his work as part of the International Surrealism Exhibit in 1938 and his statement can be read as a callback to the Surrealists' concerns with 'automatism'. A term they annexed from psychiatry in the early 20th century to denote artworks conceived without the interference of consciousness, automatism emerged out of an obsession with technology that also pervaded the early 1920s (Isobe, 1969, p. 104). Automatism engaged with the boundaries between 'intention and non-intention' in the production of art that Okamoto advocated in his conception of the role of technology for the arts.

An infant of the mechanical age, film has often been cited as a medium most appropriate for the exploration of this tension. In discussion of the ontology of film, Stanley Cavell appropriated automatism from the Surrealists as the term made an allusion to the 'automatic' function of the film medium (1979, p. 105). Although Cavell spotlights the mechanical role in the photographic apparatus of film in his invocation of automatism, he does not mean a work can exist without artistic intervention. In fact, Cavell considers artistic practice to define the medium, 'A modernist art, investigating its own physical basis, searching out its own conditions of existence, rediscovers the fact that its existence as an art is not physically assured' (1979, p. 107). Rosalind Krauss, a student of Clement Greenberg, took up the notion of automatism established by Cavell, who was in close contact with Michael Fried, another protégé of Greenberg. Considering how Krauss and Fried went on to represent opposite sides of the spectrum in critical theory, Krauss' reference to automatism as established by Cavell surprised many (Costello, 2012, pp. 819-21). For Krauss, Cavell's words came to articulate what she called the 'internal plurality,' the tension between chance and certainty, as well as the 'impossibility of thinking of an aesthetic medium as nothing more than an unworked physical support' (1999, p. 6). While she desired to dissociate herself from the notion of 'medium' that

her mentor had championed, 'to bury it like so much toxic waste' (1999, p. 5), Krauss resorts to holding onto the word 'medium' for it was embedded with the questions she wanted to probe. Written forty years after amid a changing role of the medium at the turn of the millennium, Krauss's text resorted to Cavell's perspective that acknowledged, in his reading of film, the physical support of the medium while retaining the role of the artist in defining it.

Walter Benjamin, whose essays were translated as early as 1965 in Japan, had an indelible impact on the Japan's critical debates on technology and arts. Rather than his famous text 'Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction,' however, it was his lesser-known short essay 'Destructive Character' that proved instrumental for Japan's discussion on intermedia. On the occasion of his visit for Cross Talk Intermedia, Stan VanDerBeek was invited to give a presentation at the Shin-Asahi Biru Hōru (New Asahi Building Hall) on 11 February 1969. An extract from the Japanese translation of Benjamin's essay appears inscribed on the poster made for the event by Awazu Kiyoshi, a designer who had been experimenting in expanded modes of film and slide-projections since 1967. The section of Benjamin's short essay extracted was as follows:

The destructive character sees nothing lasting. But for this very reason he everywhere sees ways and means. Where others come up against walls or mountains, there too he sees a way. But because he sees a way everywhere, he also has everywhere to clear the way (1999, p. 542).

What Benjamin articulated in 'Destructive Character' resonated with the editors of *Kikan Firumu* and their understanding of cinema's potential regarding *intermedia*. The quote was accompanied by a short text calling for cinema to take on the 'destructive character', and was signed by the editors of the journal *Kikan Firumu* who put together a special issue on expanded cinema for their second issue published in the same month. The editors call an end to the artwork made in response to society, and see film to not be limited to the status as an art but, recalling Hanada Kiyoteru's discussions on synthesis art in the 1950s, to possess revolutionary

value and take on the role of a changing society. Collapsing the barriers between artistic 'genres,' in other words, 'mediums,' was one of the functions of cinema identified by the editors to give it revolutionary potential.

Intermedia in Cross Talk Intermedia

Discussing *intermedia*, the organising committee of Cross Talk Intermedia used a similar language to describe the process of collapsing boundaries between mediums. Akiyama Kuniharu wrote on the phenomena around the destruction of boundaries between conventionally distinct mediums as well as the birth of artworks that cannot be assigned to any historically prescribed frameworks (1969c, p. 10). Yuasa Jōji also felt that a possibility of a new world open up when the artist simultaneously engages with different mediums as well as between technology and sense (1969, p. 134). Both Akiyama and Yuasa engaged with the dialectical outcome to pave way for explaining new aims for *intermedia*. It was their grasp on *intermedia* in this sense that differed significantly from Tone Yasunao and distinguished Intermedia Art Festival from Cross Talk Intermedia. Tone sought for *intermedia* to reveal the inter-related nature already existent between the arts, what he described as totality (*zentai-sei*), whereas Akiyama and Yuasa aimed for a destruction of boundaries in order to lay the foundations for new structures. In his criticism of Cross Talk Intermedia, Tone proposes the multiple projections and electronic music presented at the event had merely substituted older frameworks with newer guises (1969c, p. 7). Moreover, Tone denounces their interpretation of *intermedia* that he found neglected the artistic discourses of happenings and *events*. Considering the polarity in the perception of *intermedia*, it seems inevitable that Tone, invited to participate in Cross Talk Intermedia as a member of Group Ongaku, rejected the offer.

Discussing synthesis arts (*sōgō geijutsu*), Hanada Kiyoteru had suggested that the correspondence (*taiō*) between the arts should be calculated in a mathematical way (1978a, p. 54). Years later, critic Ishiko Junzō described the difference between synthesis art and *intermedia* using mathematical paradigms in an essay reflecting on the 'Intermedia' event at Runami Gallery. While synthesis art assigns a plus sign between the arts, Ishiko suggested that

intermedia, on the other hand, multiplied its plus signs beyond the introspective relation between 'genres' (*gyanru*) to encompass much more — technology, environment, life, media and message (1969, p. 81). Despite his claim to differentiate the two synthesising formulas, the ongoing accumulation of relational constructs in Ishiko's conception of *intermedia* recalls Hanada's debates on synthesis arts as a process that involves a perpetuation of continuous dialogue. Although two years previously Ishiko hesitated to accept *intermedia* feeling it only reproduced questions that had already been debated with synthesis arts, upon reflection, Ishiko revised his statement to highlight what he considered as a fundamental difference. In many ways, Ishiko's change of mind illustrates the ways in which *intermedia* spawned from its first inception into the arts scene into multifarious forms, as Tone had predicted as early as 1967 (1967, p. 106). Although by 1969 he felt *intermedia* had gone beyond the 'additive principle' of synthesis arts, he still felt resistance to subscribe to what he saw as an obsession with newness and technology that Akiyama Kuniharu and Cross Talk Intermedia had come to represent (1969, pp. 83-4). Although he was equally unimpressed with the delivery of Intermedia Art Festival (1969, p. 83), Ishiko suggested his perspective on *intermedia* was closer to that of Tone's as he felt the relations between artworks that are highlighted in *intermedia* provoked a rethinking of the relational structures present in the world (1969, pp. 83-4). Ishiko's consideration of *intermedia* remained critical of the role of technology as a factor that would, in its guise of newness, less instigate than automate change for a medium, something he did not consider lightly in the development of new media.

In a discussion between art critic Tōno Yoshiaki and architect Tange Kenzō published in the Cross Talk Intermedia pamphlet, Tōno joins Ishiko in his questioning of the application of the 'additive' principle regarding technology. Invoking Zengakuren, the All-Japan Federation of Self-Governing Students, and their trepidation against technology for its linkage with the establishment, Tōno states in the interview a preference for 'assimilating' technology rather than allowing it to take over (1969a, unpaginated). Participating in Cross Talk Intermedia as a voice actor in Robert Ashley's *That Morning Thing* (1968) where his own voice cut across a 14-channel audio system, Tōno likened the event, upon reflection, to the Cinemascope format in

cinema for its adherence to technology and concluded by questioning its groundedness (1969b, p. 115). Citing the critical view Kara Jūrō voiced at the SAC event EX POSE '68: Nanika Ittekure Ima Sagasu (EX POSE '68: Say Something Now, I'm Trying), Tōno also had suspicions whether the event meant anything beyond its scale (1969b, p. 115).⁵² Despite Akiyama's espousal, both Tōno and Ishiko felt trepidation towards a brazen infatuation with technology in the reflections on Cross Talk Intermedia, particularly in the ways it had usurped the possibilities of *intermedia*.

Both Japanese members of the organising committee of Cross Talk Intermedia, Akiyama Kuniharu and Yuasa Jōji, were founding members of Jikken Kōbō that, years before the arrival of *intermedia* to Japan, had been experimenting with multimedia presentations when synthesis arts was ripe in discussion. In the marriage of technology and art for the cross-fertilization between different artistic genres, Jikken Kōbō's activities in the early 1950s already set the foundations for experiments in *intermedia* more than a decade later. Cross Talk Intermedia similarly attempted to explore overlapping territories between music and visual arts, continuing what Jikken Kōbō instigated with collaborations between engineers and artists. Jikken Kōbō members Yuasa Jōji, Akiyama Kuniharu, Yamaguchi Katsuhiko, Imai Naoji, Takemitsu Tōru, and associate Matsumoto Toshio, all participated in Cross Talk Intermedia and Takiguchi Shūzō, the leading figure for the group, had an essay published as part of the programme notes.⁵³ Jikken Kōbō's unpublished manifesto, moreover, foreshadows the ways in which Yuasa and Akiyama would come to consider *intermedia* in the 1960s, 'synthesise / integrate / consolidate (*tōgō*) the various disciplines of art [...] to create a new form of art with social relevance closely tied to daily life.'⁵⁴ It is clear that, in the way that Intermedia Art

⁵² Kara condemned the electronic musicians for 'having no drama but only a stage'. (1969b, p. 115)

⁵³ Cross Talk Intermedia has retroactively been considered a continuation of Jikken Kōbō's activities. For example, the recent touring exhibition 'Jikken Kōbō: Experimental Workshop,' currently touring Japan, positions the event at the tail end of the exhibition with photographs by Jikken Kōbō member Ōtsuji Kiyoji, mostly of fellow members Matsumoto and Yuasa's piece *Projection for Icon*. Moreover, Jikken Kōbō are referred to as pioneers of *intermedia* in these exhibitions, despite the fact that 'intermedia' was not a word in circulation during their period of activity.

⁵⁴ See Sas, 2012, p. 143 for the translation.

Festival's notion of *intermedia* was shaped by its Fluxus-associated participants, Cross Talk Intermedia's interpretation of *intermedia* was heavily influenced by the involvement of its founding artists in Jikken Kōbō. Nevertheless, assigning the interpretation of *intermedia* to the origins from which each individual emerged becomes complicated when we consider that Akiyama Kuniharu had also become a member of Fluxus in the 1960s.

Akiyama had already been corresponding with members of Fluxus by the time he moved to New York in 1963. Although he was only scheduled to stay for a few months, Akiyama extended his stay upon being asked to conduct, despite having no prior experience, the Fluxus Symphony Orchestra at the Carnegie Recital Hall on 27 June 1964. Considered the representative of Fluxus in Japan at the time, Akiyama conducted works by Ay-O, Kosugi, Shiomi and Ichiyanagi, as well as Dick Higgins and other New York Fluxus artists. Akiyama's relationship with Fluxus, therefore, extends further back than that of Tone. Indeed, Shiomi and Kosugi, despite being coordinators of Intermedia Art Festival, had also participated in Cross Talk Intermedia and both had longstanding relationships with Fluxus artists in New York. After performing *Amplified Dream II* at Intermedia Art Festival, Shiomi presented *Amplified Dream I* at Cross Talk Intermedia, which was presented simultaneously with Mizuno Shūkō's feedback manipulation and Kosugi Takehisa's *Mano-Dharma*, another version of *Catch Wave* that had also been shown at Intermedia Art Festival under the title that entirely consisted of numbers 441.4867 – 0474.82.2603 – 712.9374. Despite presenting similar material at the two events, Kosugi and Shiomi's performances at the two events were allegedly incompatible due to the change in environment, equipment and the decision to perform at the same time. According to Shiomi, the only connection between her two performances was, 'a very tightly knit structure, partly using electronic technology which enabled the progress of the whole event through mutual feedback of sound, light, the rhythm of Morse signals, projected texts, and movements of the human body' (Shiomi, 2013). Despite the evident differences in standpoint, budget and scale, Cross Talk Intermedia and Intermedia Art Festival both resurrected debates that Jikken Kōbō and Fluxus raised into the issues of *intermedia*.

1.4 FROM *SŌGŌ GEIJUTSU* TO *INTERMEDIA*

The first chapter of Part I set out to answer what sets intermedia apart from other activities that involve multiple art forms. To probe the issue, intermediality was compared with intertextuality, interartiality and multimediality. While intertextuality concerns linear relations between texts or mediums, intermedia describes medium interactions that are mutually reciprocal. While multimediality shows preference for individual mediums to be at a service of a homogeneous and unified result, intermedia produces medium interactions that demonstrate the ability for individual mediums to interact while highlighting their particularities. It is its ability to stage a transformation while creating an opportunity to compare that sets intermedia apart from other modes of interactions.

The second and third chapter of Part I focused on Japanese discussions on the interactions between mediums. Firstly, tendencies towards investigating and staging an interaction between art forms was shown to exist prior to the arrival of intermedia as a term, with synthesis arts (*sōgō geijutsu*) in the 1950s and statements by the Three-Person Animation Circle in the early 1960s. Secondly, I analysed the critical responses to the arrival of intermedia from its inception to its usage. The distinction between synthesis arts and *intermedia* for the Japanese artists and critics corresponds with what I have described in the first chapter as the difference between multimedia and intermedia. Borrowing Jürgen E. Müller's description for multimedia, synthesis arts was founded on an 'additive principle', whereas *intermedia* operated, to cite Robin Nelson, on a 'both-and' approach.

The three events, namely, Intermedia at Runami Gallery (May 1967), Intermedia Arts Festival (January 1969) and Cross Talk Intermedia (February 1969), show the various ways in which *intermedia* was interpreted in Japan. In its alliance to technology and an overarching experience, the performances at Cross Talk Intermedia demonstrate a continuation of synthesis arts (*sōgō geijutsu*) in their approach to the interaction of mediums that opted for a homogeneous experience for their audience. In Cross Talk Intermedia, the organisers Akiyama Kuniharu and Yuasa Jōji interpreted *intermedia* to be a destructive force that breaks down

barriers between the arts in order to force open new pathways. Intermedia at Runami Gallery and the Intermedia Art Festival, on the other hand, followed Tone Yasunao and Ichikawa Miyabi's interpretations of *intermedia* as an opportunity to highlight the inter-relationality (*zentai sei*) between mediums. While showing an ability to interact, this form of *intermedia* preserves its own distinctiveness, demonstrating an allegiance with recent discussion on intermedia as interactions between 'border zones' outlined by Lars Elleström.

PART II

PERFORMANCE IN JAPANESE EXPANDED CINEMA

According to Jonas Mekas, who coined the term in 1965, expanded cinema broadly encompassed two strands of practice in alternative film presentation.⁵⁵ One was represented by the use of multiple projectors to proliferate the point of focus and expand the scale beyond the screen, represented by the works of Stan VanDerBeek, USCO and the presentations at the 1964 World Exposition in New York. The use of film projection in happenings or theatre, on the other hand, represented the other side of the spectrum with works by Carolee Schneeman and Robert Whitman. While the manifestations in Japan of the first will be surveyed in Part III, the following chapters in Part II will contemplate in what ways Japanese expanded cinema partakes in the interaction between film and performance.

As expanded cinema came into prominence in the 1960s, the movement intersected with other emerging tendencies in Japanese contemporary art. In rejection of the pre-arranged spatial frameworks prescribed by the stage, performers began to seek alternative spaces to enact their performances, leading to an emerging culture of underground arts (*angura*). The body was upheld as the primary instrument for self-expression in Japanese postwar culture and a recurring tendency of the period were performative actions that emphasised its corporeality. The first chapter will discuss in what ways *angura* performances crossed over with film projection and the second chapter will concentrate on projections onto bodies as one outcome of such intersecting activities. As well as the emergence of *angura* performance in the 1960s, pneumatic sculptures also made frequent appearances in exhibitions as an alternative to the inflexibility of

⁵⁵ Jonas Mekas wrote on cinema expanding beyond its usual parameters in 'Spiritualization of the Image' (1972, pp. 144-6, originally published on 25th June 1964 in *Village Voice*) and uses the phrase 'expanded cinema' in 'The Expanded Cinema of Robert Whitman' (1972, pp. 188-90, originally published on 3rd June 1965 in *Village Voice*). Mekas also organised the Expanded Film Festival in 1965.

hard objects. Balloons, explored in the third chapter, also became substitutes for the screen in collaboration with expanded cinema bringing air art and cinema into juxtaposition. Bringing together these activities for analysis, Part II will seek to answer the question — in what ways were these medium interactions intermedial?

In the *intermedia* interaction between mediums that took place in Japanese expanded cinema, the distinctiveness of film and performance were highlighted while shown to have the ability to share one another's characteristics. By being juxtaposed with performance, light and the screen are revealed as characteristics particular to cinema, while their performative qualities are also brought into the open. Shown performatively, the ephemerality of light and the screen is emphasised and rendered subject to chance in Japanese expanded cinema, thereby engaging with an emancipated temporality usually ascribed to performance. Through analysis of three performative gestures — projection with performance, projection onto bodies and projections onto balloons — Part II will determine in what ways the manifestations of *intermedia* in Japan as expanded cinema highlighted the performative qualities of cinematic projection. To explore these gestures, this chapter will make frequent reference to works by artists involved in underground arts (*angura*), who were the main contributors to Japanese experiments with the interaction between performance and film.

2.1 PROJECTIONS WITH PERFORMANCE

2.1.1. *Angura*

Causing a scandalous outbreak across the arts community, media outlets and popular magazines for general readership, the word *angura*, initially referring to underground cinema, was picked up to represent broader countercultural currents in underground activity. Tapping into an already present fervent community working outside established and institutional frameworks, *angura* came to represent a cohort of artists who crossed the boundaries of their mediums through their collaboration and artistic practice — arguably due to being imported and discussed among the same circles as those who advocated *intermedia*. One of its determined supporters, Tone Yasunao saw *angura* as an artistic trend in which *intermedia* was practiced.

Both emerging from the underground film movement, *intermedia* and *angura* prospered in the arts scene at close proximity.

Picked up regularly by popular weekly magazines, such as *Heibon Punch* (Common Punch), *Jyosei Sebun* (Women's Seven) and *Shūkan Manga* (Manga Weekly), *angura* was a subject of critical discussion in intellectual journals for its psychological, social and corporate values as a social phenomenon.⁵⁶ What proved an attraction for critics and journalists was the way in which the underground, with all of its scandals and rebuttals against conventions, was given the spotlight and pulled out of the shadows of the establishment. A term that eclipsed artistic genres, *angura* went onto being used to describe countercultural practices in dance, theatre, design, illustration, and even as an adjective to describe lifestyle choices, in such phrases as *angura-teki* (-like) or *angura-fū* (-style). While acknowledging the origins of the term, Kanosaka Kenji, held responsible for the widespread usage of the word, spoke of the dissemination of *angura* into other arenas as entirely appropriate in describing such activities:

'*Angura*' has more than just one or two faces and, in a way, gives a name to the fluid state that emerges at a turning point. To reduce it to a custom would be a misunderstanding. The intersections where cultural changes crossed over were themselves *angura*. It was a word that was naturally vague, that had a way of expanding, much like the state of our minds. (1971, p. 192)

An indication of the dispersal of *angura* can be traced by the ways in which it was featured in *Eiga Hyōron*, a film journal edited by critic Satō Jyūshin who became one of its principal ambassadors. In a panel discussion on *angura* hosted by the journal, four young independent filmmakers were invited (Miyai *et al*, 1968, pp. 57-68) but, in another panel discussion on the topic in 1971, *angura* activities that ranged from dance, theatre, music and film were discussed

⁵⁶ See, for example, Ōkuma, 1968, 138-51.

by critics and artists (Saitō *et al*, 1971, pp. 58-75).⁵⁷ The word came to embody an antiestablishment attitude rather than a particular movement in an artistic genre, in the same way that *intermedia* went to be association with more than one medium by some.

Nevertheless, *angura* had its strongest affiliation alongside cinema with the art of performance.⁵⁸ Prone to media scandal, what replenished the pages of newspapers and magazines were photographs of *angura* performances, often staged outdoors with the exposure of the naked body.⁵⁹ In rejection of scripted dramas, the *angura* artists often resorted to bodily action over words as their primary mode of artistic expression. The emphasis of *angura* on the body channeled broader renegotiations of the position of the body in relation to individual autonomy in postwar Japanese society. In literature immediately after World War II, the body had shown a predisposition towards being upheld as *nikutai*, carnal flesh, against what was seen as the oppressed *seishin* (spirit) of wartime Japan, seen explored in the works grouped together by scholar Douglas N. Slaymaker as 'flesh writers.'⁶⁰ In happenings of the early 1960s and *angura* of the mid-60s, the body as a corporeal vessel, encompassing both its vulnerability and fortitude as lived flesh, became the primary tool for artistic expression among a cohort of *angura* artists in the 1960s and will be a recurring theme in my analysis of performative expanded cinema in the following chapters.

The absence of dramatic or character-based development in their theatrical gesture predisposed *angura* performers for an interaction with filmmakers working in the field of expanded cinema, a similarly anti-narrative mode of cinematic expression. Their close vicinity

⁵⁷ The preeminent film magazine *Kinema Jumbo* dedicated two special issues to the phenomenon of *angura* in June and August 1968. Despite being a magazine on film, the special issues take a broad view of *angura* and include profiles on theatre troupes, happenings as well as filmmakers.

⁵⁸ Peter Eckersall focuses on underground theatre and largely neglects the film movement in which the word came from (2006b, pp. xiii-xiv).

⁵⁹ Although the relationship between *angura* artists and the media falls beyond the remit of this thesis, it is important to note that newspapers, magazine outlets and television were in close contact with *angura* artists. Miyai Rikurō's film production company Unit Puro (Unit Productions), for example, were called to stage a happening in Shinjuku for Kijima Norio's *Happening Show* that was scheduled to be aired on television.

⁶⁰ Slaymaker analyses the work of Tamura Tajirō, Noma Hiroshi and Sakaguchi Ango as writers who placed an emphasis on the body as *nikutai* in direct contrast to its general conception during wartime Japan as oppressed *seishin* (spirit). See Slaymaker, 2004.

to performance art in the artist network around *intermedia* established a foundation for which expanded cinema artists were encouraged to consider their own projections as performances, to draw out film's performative quality in its projection. Seeking alternative presentations, expanded cinema practices in *angura* circles began to stage happenings with film projection and, in rejection of the screen, resorted to projecting onto the bodies of the performers. When performance and film came together, aspects of their characteristics merged while their independence was retained.

2.1.2 The Body and its Shadow

The relational axis between the individual and the collective shifted in the wake of the Second World War, a social environment in which Japanese individuals were expected to dedicate their sense of selfhood to a fate determined by the nation and its emperor. The concept of individuality experienced a radical change as Japan, along with its people, reconfigured its geopolitical position during and in the wake of American occupation. A subject of prolonged interest in Japanese Studies, the postwar reconfiguration encouraged a renewed engagement with one's subjectivity or selfhood (*shutaisei*), a major topic of debate among postwar intellectual circles. While suggesting *shutaisei* embodied a plurality of meanings, J. Victor Koschmann, a leading researcher in the field, considers one way to interpret *shutaisei* was to understand it as 'an active force, or energy, that originated internally but was inevitably expressed in practice' (1981-82, p. 610).⁶¹ Nevertheless, the concentrated focus on *shutaisei* in the postwar years can be attributed to the postwar condition whereby individuals had experienced a lifetime of destabilised certainties and a prevailing loss of self. Postwar *shutaisei*, therefore, meant reclamation of a progressive autonomy and an engagement with revolutionary consciousness that, amid the public demonstrations against U.S. postwar foreign policy that embroidered Japan in the 1950-60s, led to political action.

⁶¹ *Shutaisei* had a history prior to postwar Japan, harking back to the call for individualism by leftwing activists and artists in protest against the impending manifestation of military imperialism. Prewar avant-garde artists, such as Murayama Tomoyoshi of the group Mavo, conceived the body as 'a site of sensation and knowledge' in his call for the reclamation of the self (Eckersall, 2006a, pp. 225-6).

Together with individual autonomy, bodies had similarly been a source of subjugation as a corporeal vessel devoted to the national cause in wartime Japan. Suggesting 'the distance between mind and body was collapsed in wartime efforts to create a nationalist body', historian Igarashi Yoshikuni outlined the ways in which bodies were placed under stiff regulation in medical terms for the production of healthy individuals (2000, p. 48). Moreover, Igarashi notes the Japanese body in the immediate postwar period was forced to submit to a decree on hygiene imposed by the American occupational forces with the compulsive spraying of DDT (2000, pp. 67-9). Despite the physical impositions it had experienced in wartime and occupational periods, the Japanese body became an antithetical source of resistance against the mind that had proven susceptible to servitude. In the wake of defeat, an intellectual debate on the body (*nikutai*) ensued in literary circles sparked by Tamura Tajirō's *Nikutai no Mon* (Gateway of the Flesh) that was published in 1947, which positioned the body and the sensations inflicted upon it as reliable truths in contrast to the impressionable mind.⁶²

Although criticised for his naivety in placing mind and body as polar opposites, Tamura Tajirō's conception of the body persevered into the proceeding decades to embody an expressive motor for autonomy. It was writer Mishima Yukio's own body that marked his transition from introverted writer to public figure in the 1960s, a transformation that resulted in sacrificing his body for his beliefs in a staged spectacle of ritual disembowelment (*se'ppuku*). Kara Jūrō, founder of the Situation Theatre, had also outlined his theory of the privileged flesh (*tokkenteki nikutai-ron*) for his play *Koshimaki Osen*, that was staged in August 1967 as the first performance to be held in the Red Tent that his troupe erected outdoors near the Hanazono Shrine in Shinjuku, Tokyo. His body theory emphasised the important role the actor's physicality, with all its history, in bringing about the performance of the character. His theory of theatre, in other words, proposed the movement of the body should take privilege. The focus on the body as an expressive tool for a generation of artists in the 1960s has led cultural critic Ueno

⁶² Filmmaker Seijun Suzuki adapted *Gateway of the Flesh* into a feature-length film for Nikkatsu studios in 1964.

Kōshi to designate the 1960s as an era of the flesh (*nikutai no jidai*) a period that was defined by its focus on the body.

The expression of individual autonomy, therefore, was closely related to the articulation of the body. Theatre scholar Peter Eckersall has declared 'action (as) everything' for *shutaisei* which, in his view, relied on the body for its newfound inclination for 'participation, visceral experience, and spontaneous action' (2006b, p. 19). According to Eckersall, the importance of the body in *angura* performance has a direct correlation with *shutaisei*:

In keeping with the spirit of the *shutaisei* effect, that life experience and cultural debates should be voiced in the theatre, the *angura* body was presented as a surface of authentic life experience and as evidence of the selfhood struggle in motion. (2006b, p. 65)

For *angura* artists, the body came to represent not only a site of contingency unattainable in the fixities imposed by the canvas, page or stage but also the primary channel for the expression of individuality.

The zealous attention on the body in cultural activities of postwar Japan was largely due to its capacity to render action. Along with the body (*nikutai*), the notion of action (*kōi*) became common in the description of happenings and emerging activities in the *angura* field. In December 1970, critic Yoshida Yoshie assembled profiles of artists for the arts journal *Bijutsu Techō* under the grouping of artists working in action (*kōi suru geijutsuka tachi*), which also included a selected highlights of such activities throughout the 1960s presented like a personal diary. In the essay, Yoshida explained that art was the result of bodily action (*nikutai no kōi*), and the selection was conducted according to the ways in which an artist shifted the focus of the artwork to the process of its production (1970b, p. 58). Published just a month before, cultural critic and writer Tomioka Taeko also published her book *Kōi to Geijutsu: 13nin no Sakka* (Action and Art: 13 Artists) that similarly provided a survey of thirteen artists who she felt were unified by their engagement in action. Propelled by the body, a proclivity for action had clearly captured the cultural imagination of Japanese artists in the 1960s.

Although the sociopolitical situation of Japan and the bodily reactions of its people can be understood as a unique condition in the wake of defeat and recuperation, the focus on the body and action has also been considered a transnational theme in postwar avant-garde arts, as seen in the happenings by American artists and the ritualistic ceremonies enacted by Vienna Actionists.⁶³ Even Osaka's group Gutai, their name constituting the Japanese word for 'embodiment,' had drawn inspiration from the action paintings by Jackson Pollock despite being hailed as predecessors to happenings and declaring, 'Create what has never been done before!'⁶⁴ Ming Tiampo, in her analysis of influences on Gutai, draws on Harold Bloom's *The Anxiety of Influence* (1973) as a template that questions the idea of originality to have derived from a purely clean slate. Recent research shows the changes in postwar Japanese art was often concurrent to, and in some cases preceded, European and American art, pointing towards what scholar Reiko Tomii calls the 'imitation conundrum' (2009a, p. 125).⁶⁵ Tomii cites art critic Haryū Ichirō's conception of 'international contemporaneity' (*kokusaiteki dōjisei*) that sought to counter the dualism of West versus East. While Tomii invokes Haryū's 1968 essay in her reference to his conception of international contemporaneity, Haryū himself, in fact, had used the exact phrase three years before in the introduction of a special issue on body art in *Bijutsu Techō*.

In response to Jasper John's *Flag* (1954-55), art critic Nicolas Calas' predicted contemporary art would begin to engage with symbols to question their meaning.⁶⁶ Citing Calas'

⁶³ Experimental filmmaker Kurt Kren's filmed documents of Otto Muehl, co-founder of Vienna Actionism, was presented by Iimura Takahiko and Satō Jyūshin at the basement of Tenjō Sajiki on 11 October to 3 November 1970.

⁶⁴ Quoted in Tiampo, 2007, p. 689, the statement is by Gutai's leader Yoshihara Jirō, 'Gutai Gurūpu no 10nen: sono ichi' (10 years of the Gutai Group: part one), *Bijutsu Jyānaru*, 38 (March). Tiampo considers the notions of 'originality' and 'influence' problematic in the context of modernism which, in its multiplicity itself, has drawn inspiration from a range of historical and contemporary sources. See Tiampo, 2007 and Tiampo, 2011, p. 5.

⁶⁵ The recent research on Gutai, a group formed in 1954, has shown its members' activities have paralleled Euro-American contemporary art. Gutai was seen as important predecessor to happenings by American artists for their engagement in performative action (Kaprow, 1966, p. 210).

⁶⁶ Calas' essay that Haryū cites is: Calas, Nicolas (1959). 'ContiNuance: On the possibilities of a new kind of symbolism in recent American painting and what such symbols could possibly mean', *Art News*, 57 (February), p. 39. Haryū's own essay that he refers to is 'Dōbutsu Kōbutsu Shokubutsu' (Animal, Mineral, Plant), chapter published in 1970, pp. 142-3. Originally

essay, Haryū identified the forces that defaced the ideologies of postwar humanism to have given birth to what he called the prevalence of 'shadows' in Japanese contemporary art (1965, p. 10). The 'international spontaneity' that Haryū configures between Japanese and American artists, therefore, constitutes the changing meanings of symbols — in the case of Japan, the symbolic meaning of the body. For the special issue, Haryū selected a number of artists whom he felt exemplified the tendency and provided them with a questionnaire on their uses of the human anatomy in their work. Thinking through their responses, Haryū saw what he called a 'multiplication' procedure in the artists' approaches to the body in contrast to the 'subtractive' method of their predecessors (1965, p. 17). Whereas the 'subtractive' approach started from body expression and arrived at abstraction, Haryū explained the method of 'multiplication' started from abstraction and arrived at the body (1965, p. 17). For Haryū, the prevalent engagement with the body in Japan's contemporary art represented an attempt to give shape to an anatomy that lost its form.

Haryū's invocation of shadows not only referred to works by artists Arakawa Shūsaku, Usami Keiji and Tamakatsu Jirō but also addressed what has been called 'the shadow debate' in contemporary art criticism. Between 1965-7, a number of critics were engaged by the thematic obsession of shadows demonstrated by local artists and began to debate their views mainly in the newsletter for Ogikubo Gallery named *Me* (Eye). Historian Hayashi Michio positions the debate at the turn from the 'blunt materialism' exerted in contemporary art criticism towards an age of simulacrum (*kyozō*), perceiving the emphasis on shadows as a response to the increasingly untenable concept of reality in the age of the simulacrum (*kyozō no jidai*) that had been promoted by art critic Tōno Yoshiaki (2012, pp. 209-10). Critic Nakahara Yūsuke's contribution to the debate invoked the shadow's dual ability to signify an object while being itself an image. Nakahara's reading, therefore, is at odds with Haryū's process of 'multiplication'. According to Hayashi, writing by Takamatsu Jirō pointed to the ability he saw in shadows to

published on February 1960 in *Nishi Nihon Shinbun*, the essay itself does not cite Jasper John's painting or Calas' essay.

'exists as an index of its absent origin; in this relational scheme, the absence becomes a sort of positive entity, more than mere nothingness' (2012, p. 209).

Tōno Yoshiaki, in the same special issue of *Bijutsu Techō*, agreed with Haryū's notion of 'international spontaneity' regarding body art, suggesting the deeper-rooted social conditions of its emergence went beyond mere 'imitation' (1965, p. 21).⁶⁷ Remembering the 15th Yomiuri Independent exhibition, Tōno points out that Kojima Shinmei submitted his own body as an art piece and that this could be taken as a case study of the prevalence of body art in Japanese contemporary art. Rather than praising its predisposition for action, Tōno, instead, focuses on the ways in which Kojima's body was transformed into an object for the duration of the exhibition.⁶⁸ Moreover, Tōno also raises the series of shadow works by Takamatsu Jirō for reasons similarly uninterested in the body's capacity for movement.⁶⁹ In Tōno's interpretation, Takamatsu's shadows concerns the body presented as a concept in the absence of its presence as a vessel (1965, p. 22), countering Haryū's conception of shadows as a formation resulting from abstraction. In the use of the body as a performative instrument in Japanese expanded cinema, however, Tōno's conception of shadow does not apply as the body reasserts its presence through performative action. Nevertheless, Tōno's conception of shadows as incarnations of the age of simulacrum points to a new understanding of the body in relation to the ubiquity of images. If shadows render the body as a concept, one had to resort to action to declare the existence of the body.

In such ways, the shadow debate pointed to the changing understanding of the body and shadow in 1960s Japanese arts. On the one hand, the body represented a postwar narrative

⁶⁷ Along with Haryū, Tōno was considered one of the *gosanke*, the Big Three art critics of the period, but his delineation of contemporary art rested on a belief that it came into prominence after the works of Jackson Pollock. His book on contemporary art was, therefore, entitled *Gendai Bijutsu: Pollock Igo* (Contemporary Art: After Pollock) published in 1984. Although he always maintained a strong kinship with young Japanese artists, his alliance with Haryū's 'international contemporaneity', in this context, supports the appearance of the body in postwar Japanese art in particular to indicate more than a replication of its Western counterparts.

⁶⁸ Kojima Shimei can be seen in the last minutes of Iimura Takahiko's *Dada '62* that documented the exhibition. In the filmed document, however, Kojima abandons his role as an immobile object and is seen to move around actively under the direction of Iimura.

⁶⁹ This could be the case for Takamatsu's performance in Iimura's *Screen Play*, that will be discussed in further detail in Section 2.2.2. Iimura Takahiko, inspired by Takamatsu Jirō, followed his own shadow along the streets for *I Saw a Shadow* (1966).

where in which the body as flesh signified a recuperation of individuality and identity and an assertion of its presence. On the other hand, the shadow debate negotiated another crisis of the body whereby the increasing presence of its shadow posed complications on the differences between body and shadow, in other words, origin and simulacrum. Projection onto the body that became popular in Japanese expanded cinema was one way the changing functions of the body and the image were staged through artistic practice. While illuminating the body as a performative vessel, the performative quality of light projection is also activated and the projected image is shown to be capable of eluding prescribed frameworks. The interaction, moreover, is intermedial in the sense that both film and performance demonstrate an ability to interact while their individuality is also highlighted. The following sections will explore a selection of 'performances with projections' to establish the intermediality that took place between film and performance in the Japanese expanded cinema of the 1960s-70s.

2.1.3 Kanesaka Kenji

A photographer, filmmaker and film critic, Kanesaka Kenji has been held largely accountable for the introduction of *angura* into Japan. As a participant of the Harvard University International Seminars in 1964, Kanesaka's meeting with Jonas Mekas set up early precedents of a cross-continental relationship for underground cinema between the two countries. In another visit in 1966, Kanesaka encountered more kindred spirits, such as Kenneth Anger, in the American film community. Anger had been a juror at the Hull-House Avant-Garde Film Festival where Kanesaka received an award for *Moeyasui Mimi* (The Easily Burning Ear, 1963), a film made in collaboration with an American, Edo Dundas. Depicting a murder at a political gathering, the film was inspired by the frank depiction of homosexuality and the spirit of independent filmmaking Kanesaka had come across during his visits to the United States. His critical writing primarily consisted of recollections of American underground cinema, interviews with its filmmakers and translations of essays including the manifesto of the New American Cinema Group that became an inspiration for young Japanese filmmakers, written by

Jonas Mekas⁷⁰. In June-July 1966, Kanesaka was also involved in the selection of films for what was to become the first introduction of American underground cinema in Japan, 'Underground Cinema: Japan and U.S.A' at SAC.⁷¹ Chosen together with critic Nara Yoshimi, the programme included representative works from the American underground film movement that were screened alongside Japanese works, including his own film shot in Chicago, *America America America* (Super Up!, 1966).⁷² Kanesaka remained a member of the selection committee for what was renamed the Underground Film Festival in the following year that continued the presentation of American and Japanese independent titles on 8-14 March 1967 at SAC, including his own *Ishikeri* (Hopscotch, 1967) shot on location in Chicago and Tokyo.⁷³ Retaining a strong connection with the United States in such ways, Kanesaka continued to introduce the writings and works of American underground filmmakers in his promulgation of *angura* in the 1960s.

The dispersal of *angura* beyond the medium of cinema can be largely attributed to the boundary-defying activities of Kanesaka's cinema and the nexus of artists to which he was connected. As a member of the Film Independents, Kanesaka was connected not only to independent filmmakers in Tokyo but also artists interested in the film medium. Signed by filmmakers Iimura Takahiko, Ōbayashi Nobuhiko, Donald Richie and critics Ishizaki Kōichiro and Satō Jyūshin, the Film Independents' manifesto was a challenge against industrial

⁷⁰ Kaneaska would have met Jonas Mekas right after the publication of the manifesto in *Film Culture* no. 22-23, Summer 1961.

⁷¹ Sōgetsu Cinémathèque's 'Underground Cinema: Japan and U.S.A' ran on 29 June - 2 July and 11-12 July in 1966.

⁷² Works by Stan Brakhage, Robert Nelson, Carl Linder and Joe Sedelmaier, Iimura Takahiko and Donald Richie were screened as part of the programme. References to Kaneasaka's film now often use the Japanese title, *America, America, America*, for example, at the Quest for Vision vol. 5 - Spelling Dystopia' exhibition at Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography (11 December 2012 – 27 January 2013) and the 'Art Theater Guild and Japanese Underground Cinema, 1960-1986' retrospective at the Museum of Modern Art, New York (6 December 2012 – 10 February 2013).

⁷³ The 'Underground Film Festival' included works by Stan VanDerBeek, Jud Yalkut, Jonas Mekas, Bruce Baillie as well as Japanese filmmaker Ōbayashi Nobuhiko's film *Densetsu no Gogo = Itsuka mita Dorakyura Emotion (Emotion, 1967)*. Iimura Takahiko was also involved in selecting the programme, reflected in the choice of works by VanDerBeek and Yalkut from the media collective USCO, both of whom he had praised in his writings in *Eiga Hyōron* upon his visit to New York.

filmmaking and a call for the 'return to the "personal" as a point of departure and to hand back filmmaking to the individual' (Iimura *et al*, 2012). For their first event 'A Commercial for Myself', the group arranged for independent filmmakers and artists to make 2-minute shorts that were presented together at Kinokuniya Hall in Shinjuku on 16-17 December 1964. In a review by critic Ōshima Tatsuo, the event itself was described as a happening for what he understood as the ways in which the programme invited its audience to participate in the event. The brevity of the shorts provided little time for audience absorption and the 2-minute title screen that announced a pause in the programme, in particular, expressed an 'ironic' understanding of the event of projection due to the comedic redundancy of such a short break (1965, p. 64). The group name Film Independents, in fact, was conceived as the cinematic namesake of the Yomiuri Independent exhibition series. Borrowing its policy of exhibiting all works submitted, the Film Independents also recruited performance artists that exhibited at the Yomiuri Independents, including Akasegawa Genpei, Tone Yasunao and Kazakura Shō, testifying to the breadth of the network of artists with which the Film Independents were in touch.⁷⁴

Kanesaka's collaboration with performance artists for his screenings demonstrated a desire to explore the boundaries between film and performance. Acquainted with the emerging artists in both American and Japanese performance art, Kanesaka began to incorporate happenings into his own film projections. On 19 January 1967, Kanesaka organised an event at SAC to record the soundtrack of his film *Hopscotch* in an event he named Pull Event.⁷⁵ Accompanying the projection of the film, the music was performed live under the conduction of Tone Yasunao with support from Takamatsu Jirō, free jazz musicians Yamashita Yōsuke and Yoshizawa Motoharu, music critic Aikura Hisato, filmmaker Miyai Rikurō and members of Film Independents, Satō Jyūshin and Ōbayashi Nobuhiko. Noted for bringing together artists from the Yomiuri Independents with a new generation of artists, the sound recorded at the event, manipulated on tape, was then used as the soundtrack for the film in subsequent

⁷⁴ Iimura Takahiko, a member of the Film Independents, shot his experimental documentary *Dada '62* at the Yomiuri Independents exhibition, which essentially was a record of the displays and performances that took place at the museum during its fifteenth run in 1962.

⁷⁵ The event also had the Japanese title *Eiga Ishikeri no Oto-ire Hapuningu* (A Happening for the *Hopscotch* Soundtrack).

screenings (Kurodalaijee, 2010a, p. 217). A year later at the Intermedia event in Runami Gallery, Kanesaka presented his film *The Easily Burning Ears* as a happening, where he arranged for Hijiri Chiko, regarded in Japan as their Twiggy, to appear during the screening in swimwear.⁷⁶ Kanesaka, listed in the programme in both sections for happenings and expanded cinema, proceeded to cover the model in whipped cream, which he also threw onto people around the room as a performative interruption of the screening of his own film.⁷⁷ Kanesaka's performance was a reenactment of a performance devised by Benjamin Patterson, a founding member of Fluxus, who had instructions for the cream to be licked off.

Presented at what became the inauguration event for the introduction of *intermedia* in Japan, a strong connection between *angura* and *intermedia* was firmly established from its starting point. Kanesaka's expansive network of artists, as well as his own practices that bridged boundaries between the arts, led to the expansion of *angura* as a term to encompass underground activities beyond cinema and into other arts. The alternative versions of *Hopscotch* and *The Easily Burnable Ear* as happenings juxtaposed performance art and film projection in ways that created an interaction but also enhanced the individuality of one another. At the Runami Gallery, Kanesaka predisposed the performative dimension of film projection by interfering with its pre-arranged temporality and viewing system. By combining his film projection with a Fluxus performance, the liveness of performance art was highlighted by being placed alongside film.

2.1.4 VAN Film Science Research Centre

Preceding the emergence of *angura*, a space where filmmakers and performance artists found a place to interact was the VAN Eiga Kagaku Kenkyūjyo (VAN Film Science Research Centre).⁷⁸ Following Nichidai Eiken (Nihon University Film Studies Club), a collaborative unit mobilised in 1957 by students of Nihon University, VAN was set up by student filmmakers upon leaving

⁷⁶ The performance drew the most attention from film journals and magazines for its promiscuity. See Satō, 1967a, unpaginated and Kaneaska (eds.), 1968, unpaginated.

⁷⁷ The manager of Runami Gallery, Namikawa Emiko, provides a short recollection of the performance in a recent interview. See Nishimura, 2003.

⁷⁸ I will hereafter refer to the centre as VAN.

the university as a film lab with projection equipment and a communal living space for artists. Running between 1960 and 1969, it housed experimental filmmakers of Nihon University, including Jōnouchi Motoharu and Adachi Masao, and had regular visitors whom ranged from activists, hippies, fellow artists and filmmakers including Akasegawa Genpei, Tone Yasunao, Iimura Takahiko and Ono Yoko. Describing the ways in which the space encouraged dialogue among dissident voices, Adachi suggested, in retrospect, that VAN aimed:

to position film production as part of and a continuation of the political movement while placing it within interactions that transcend artistic "genres" in order to integrate film expression within collaborative initiatives. In other words, we aimed to make mixed (*kongō*) films. (2002, p. 97)

For Adachi, the 'mixed' relationships not only attested to the interactions between film and other mediums but also to political activism with which he believed film to be intrinsically involved. After becoming an established scriptwriter and filmmaker for the production companies of independent directors Ōshima Nagisa (*Sōzōsha*) and Wakamatsu Kōji (*Wakamatsu Pro.*), Adachi went onto forging his political beliefs with cinema in an unequivocal move in the name of film activism. Before he left Japan for Palestine to join the Japanese Red Army and disappear from the public eye for 27 years, Adachi, together with director Wakamatsu, visited Palestine to co-direct the newsreel propaganda film in support of the Popular Front of the Liberation of Palestine and the Japanese Red Army, *Sekigun-P.F.L.P: Sekai Sensō Sengen* (Red Army/P.F.L.P: Declaration of World War, 1971). His desire to make 'mixed films', however, had began a decade earlier in his efforts to bring together performance in the act of film projection of his early collaborative productions with Nichidai Eiken and VAN.

In 1961, Zengakuren invited the members of VAN to produce the film *Document 6.15* for demonstration event that was planned to mourn the death of student protestor Kanba Michiko on 15 June 1960. Mixing documentary footage of protests leading up to the resigning of the Anpo U.S.-Japan Security Treaty with reenactments of incidents that portray police

brutality, the film was conceived as part of a performance that involved projection of film, lights and slides of Kanba Michiko's portrait. Described as a precursor to *intermedia* in Japan (Hirasawa, 2002, p. 108), the multiple projection and disarray of sounds were devised to incite confusion to interfere with the planned public announcement of the disbandment of Bund (Bundo), a strand of the Zengakuren that disassociated itself from the Japanese Community Party that represented the Old Left (Adachi, 2002, p. 98). In response to the large crowd that gathered with some unable to enter the packed auditorium, the members of VAN placed one of the speakers outside to produce dissonant sounds in both spaces in an act to intensify the ensuing disorder. The sounds included a tape recording of *Akuma no Uta* (Devil's Song), a song especially composed for the event played alongside recorded vocal insults against Prime Minister Kishi Nobusuke, Joseph Stalin, the Japanese Communist Party and Zengakuren, a deliberate juxtaposition to incite uproar in their audience. VAN ultimately achieved its political motive for the projection event and Bund's announcement was replaced with a call for rally. The aims of VAN outlined by Adachi, the bridging of both avant-gardes promulgated by Renato Poggioli, had already culminated in the projection of *Document 6.15* at the demonstration event. Kitadai Satoshi, a leftwing activist and a leader of Zengakuren, at first raged against the artists but later reconciled his initial dismay with an invitation to VAN for the follow-up event.⁷⁹ The following year, VAN presented a new version of *Document 6.15* at the Kudan Kaikan (Hall) where Tone Yasunao conducted Kosugi Takehisa, Ichiyanagi Toshi and Ono Yoko for the music that was accompanied by a performance by Kazakura Shō presented together with the film.⁸⁰ The two versions of *Document 6.15* show evidence of interaction between filmmakers and performance artists at the occasion of projection.

After the completion of Nichidai Eiken's sixth production, the feature-length film *Sain* (Closed Vagina, 1962) led by Adachi Masao, the screenings of the film in Kyoto and Osaka similarly took on a performative approach to the event of projection. A metaphor for the

⁷⁹ For critic Yoshida Yoshie's recollection of the two events, see Yoshida, 1982, p. 125. Yoshida notes that Iimura Takahiko was involved in both productions of *Document 6.15*, a projection event that foreshadows his later multiple-projection works, such as *Shelter 9999* (1967-8).

⁸⁰ Tone Yasunao recalls the line-up in the special issue of journal *Kikan* on Kazakura Shō. See Okada, T., 1981, p. 71.

helpless transfixion felt in the wake of the failed revolts against the resigning of the Anpo treaty in 1960, *Closed Vagina* showed an alliance with happenings in the stage of production with a soundtrack provided by Ichiyonagi Toshi who had performed what is considered the first happening in Japan. Adachi, together with fellow VAN member Jōnouchi Motoharu and frequent visitors Kazakura Shō, Akasegawa Genpei, Kosugi Takehisa and Koike Ryū, followed the production of the film with a happening staged together with the projection of the film, an action to which they gave the name *Sain no Gi* (Ritual for Closed Vagina). Presented together with performance and music at the Gion Hall in May 1963, the actions of the artists were scheduled after the screening of the film. With two reels of the film stolen immediately before the screening, the artists attempted to substitute the unfinished film with their happenings. One of the actions presented was movement enacted inside a large bag by Kazakura, who later on the same day whipped a piano with a rope until its eventual destruction at the outdoor musical hall in Maruyama Park.⁸¹ The audience, bemused and frustrated, demanded their money back instigating a riotous conflict.⁸² Hearing news of the brawl, the team organising the screening in Osaka cancelled their event to which the artists responded with a protest happening where the remaining reels were placed in a coffin and marched around the streets in a funeral procession. Unconventional screenings of *Closed Vagina* continued, once again, in the form of *Event: Sain* (Event: Closed Vagina) at the Modern Art Centre of Japan (MAC-J) as part of the Myūzu Shūkan (Muse Week) on 16-22 December 1965. Located in Tokyo's Meshiro, MAC-J was a space organised by critic Yoshida Yoshie whose curating, writing, and his own occasional performances, primarily focused on *angura* activities. Setting up a 16mm projector in the gallery space, the artist collective Jikan-ha stretched rope in various directions to form a web

⁸¹ According to Tone, the two reels were stolen was a happening performance by Komatsu Tatsuo, a member of a avant-garde theatre group in Kyoto contrary to most reports who have suggested it was the group Hanzai-sha Dōmei. Testimonies vary on these events and the destruction of the piano is sometimes listed as part of *Ritual for Closed Vagina* in Okishima, 2002, p. 106 and Kurodalajee, 2010a, pp. 200-2.

⁸² Kazakura recalls that the audience repeatedly kicked him during his performance until Jōnouchi brought a knife out from backstage and stabbed it into the floor. Silencing the audience, he proceeded to explain that they should not have expected a film with a conventional outcome, to which yakuza in the audience agreed and pleaded for the crowd to watch the rest of the performance. (Kikubatake, 1981, p. 15).

spanning the room to interfere with the happenings and the projection light. As part of the 'ritual', moreover, stripped performers of the group Zero Jigen (Zero Dimension) insinuated an orgy during the projection of *Closed Vagina*.⁸³ The accounts for various screenings of *Closed Vagina* demonstrate the ways in which Adachi and his collaborators interpreted the idea of happenings to incorporate the projection of film, predating expanded cinema as a term that was realised through encounters at the VAN.

Although the primary expressive tool remained their own body, a number of artists enacting happenings associated with VAN began to incorporate film projection into their performances. Devoted to the exploration of the moment, the artists employed a pre-recorded medium into the performance in order to, in way of contrast, place emphasis on the immediacy of their own bodily motions. The juxtaposition, in other words, instigated a heightened awareness of the present space and time for the performance. Like Gulliver's *Box* (1967), the projected images in these circumstances can be characterised by their simplicity. Not only due to the lack of production experience of the artists, the films remained simple in order to allow a balanced focus on both mediums upon its presentation. The act of walking, for its simplicity, proved to become a favourable option for performance artists working towards the integration of film into their performances.

As early as 1957, Kazakura Shō had been active as one of Tokyo's leading performance artist and, with the exception of a short period as a member of the Neo-Dadaism Organisers, worked mostly independently outside of collectives.⁸⁴ His performances were characterised by their plainness, such as falling off a chair or kissing a mannequin. Kazakura participated in

⁸³ Photographic documentation of *Event: Closed Vagina* exists and is published in photographer Yoshioka Yasuhiro collection, *Avant-Garde 60s* (1999, p. 263); however, it is unclear from the photographs exactly where the performances occurred and whether they took place before, during or after the projection of *Closed Vagina*. Critic Yoshida Yoshie's report suggests that the activities took place simultaneously in the event that he organised. He writes, 'Indifferent actions (*kōi*) began to provoke others into action. Entangled and torn part, the actions at times seem to be in unison and at other times seem separate' (1966, p.79).

⁸⁴ Neo Dadaism Organisers, later renamed Neo-Dada, were a collective of artists who represented anti-art (*han-geijutsu*) a term critic Tōno Yoshiaki subscribed to a tendency that emerged between artists in the Yomiuri Independent exhibitions that showed rebellious attitudes towards established conventions in the arts. Mobilised in 1960, the group, along with Gutai, is considered an early example of performance art in Japan (Goldberg, 2004, p. 45) and a precursor to the group Hi Red Centre. For more on Neo-Dada, see Section 2.3.4 of this thesis.

events by Group Ongaku, the dance group Ankoku Butoh and Hi Red Centre, as well as the aforementioned film presentations of *Ritual for Closed Vagina* and *Document 6.15*.⁸⁵ His frequent visits to the VAN, including a short period of lodging in 1964, meant he was closely associated with its tenants, especially Jōnouchi Motoharu, and with the filmmaking process practiced by the other tenants. After collaborating with Iimura for the recording of his film *Lilliput Ōkoku Butōkai* (Dance Party in the Kingdom of Lilliput, 1964), Kazakura submitted a short film *Mudai* (Untitled, 1964) for the Film Independents' shorts programme, 'A Commercial for Myself,' where he painted directly onto film in the form of abstract animation. Inspired by his encounters and collaborations with film and its makers, Kazakura revealed his first and only attempt at incorporating film in his performances in 1967.

Commissioned by the theatre group Hakken-no-Kai, film critic Satō Jyūshin invited Kazakura Shō to present at his event Happening Taikai 'Champon-men o Machinagara' (Happening Festival – As We Await for Champon Noodles) at the Sen'ichidani Hall. With little experience of filmmaking, Kazakura decided to ask members of VAN to film his performance, a version of *A Dance Party in the Kingdom of Lilliput* that was first performed at the Sweet 16 event held at SAC.⁸⁶ In the version presented at the event, Kazakura reportedly walked backwards up and down the stage, scrubbed a rope in a sink and proceeded to wash his face (Okada, 1981, p. 79). The walking motion was adapted four years later as the only action that was re-enacted for the recording of the untitled film. Kazakura performed together with his recorded self at the screening, enacting oppositional movements to what was presented

⁸⁵ Kazakura participated in the following performances by artist groups: Group Ongaku's *Eiyūtaichi no Daishūkai* (Gathering of Heroes) organised by Kyūshū-ha in 1962; Ankoku Butoh's performances *Anma – Anyoku o Sasaeru Gekijyō no Hanashi* (The Masseur – A Story about the Theatre that supported Sexual Passion) at SAC in 1963; Ankoku Butoh's *Sēai Onchōgaku Shinan Zue – Tomato* (Instructional Drawings for the Study of Disciplinary and Graceful Love-Making – Tomato) at Kinokuniya Hall in July 1966; Hi Red Centre's *Dropping Event* and *Cleaning Event* in October 1964.

⁸⁶ Sweet 16 performance series was presented on 3-5 December 1963 and included the participation of Kuni Chiya, Hijikata Tatsumi, Iimura Takahiko and members of Group Ongaku. The title of the performance is a reference to a poem by Henri Michaux. For more on Sweet 16, please see Section 2.2.2.

onscreen. After repeating the same motion for 30-40 minutes, the frustrated audience and the Hakken-no-kai organisers voiced their discontent and the performance was abruptly halted.⁸⁷

Despite his audiences' restless dissatisfaction, the simplicity of Kazakura's performance was in tune with the minimalism of his own performative actions. By juxtaposing his performance on film with an identical performance in a live setting, Kazakura's expanded cinema provided an opportunity to compare performance art and cinema. While the projection remained on a pre-arranged temporality, Kazakura's actions were subjected to chance occurrences and change, as demonstrated by the intervention from his audience. Therefore, possibility for performance and chance occurrences in the film viewing experience was emphasised in Kazakura's work through medium interaction with performance. Performed by Adachi Masao and his collaborators, the screenings of *Closed Vagina* similarly showed the performative quality intrinsic in film through demonstrating the possibility of creating multiple versions of spectatorial experience based on the same film.

2.1.5 *Angura* Theatre of the *Shōgekijō*: Terayama Shūji's *Laura*

Although with a stronger inclination towards narrative, dialogue and script than happenings, underground theatre troupes were also labeled as *angura* for their performances that, at times verging on the scandalous, rejected longstanding conventions of theatre. Branded as *angura* by the popular press, Western theatre studies have usurped the word *angura* to designate the *shōgekijō* (little theatre) movement that emerged concurrently in Japan. The definition of *angura* in *The Oxford Companion to Theatre and Performance*, for example, reveals the ways in which the word has been disassociated from its original usage to denote underground cinema (Poulton, 2012). In the historical narrative proposed by Western theatre studies, *angura* was a rejection of the adaptation of Western realist theatre as *shingeki*, meaning 'new drama', in the form of a theatrical style that drew influence from Japan's 'pre-modern' traditions which

⁸⁷ Satō who had produced the film was allegedly beaten up to take responsibility for the film. For short introductions to the performance, see Satō, 1967, unpaginated and Kikubatake, 1981, pp. 19-20.

exorcised spirits onstage and was energetic and carnivalesque in style.⁸⁸ The little theatre (*shōgekijyō*) director whose works most closely resembled happenings was Terayama Shūji, whose public persona was associated with controversy and whose works featured outdoor performances.⁸⁹ It was Terayama who showed a continuous engagement with underground cinema with his independent production company Jinriki Hikōkisha (Warehouse for Man-Powered Airplanes). His feature-length theatrical releases produced with ATG aside, Terayama's experimental short films went onto represent the *angura* phenomenon beyond the theatrical genre of *angura* affiliated with Western theatre studies. His films that involved an element of performance in its projection staged an interaction between performance and cinema that highlighted the particularities of both while bringing them into juxtaposition.

As the name of his production company indicated a fascination with manual labour, Terayama's films similarly placed an emphasis on the image as a result of construction and material. Emphasising the flatness of the screen surface, Terayama placed legible text in both written and calligraphic formats on top of images in *Maldororu no Uta* (Les Chants de Maldoror, 1977) and his second ATG-feature film, *Den'en ni Shisu* (Pastoral: Hide and Seek, 1974). In his later works that employed video technique of blue-screen, figures or hands motion the erasure of image in *Keshigomu* (The Eraser, 1977) and the folding, sawing and nailing of footage in *Issun-bōshi wo kijutsu suru kokoromi* (An Attempt to Take the Measure of a Man, 1977). It was, however, the occasions when Terayama chose to merge his skills in theatre with film that the construction of the image was most strongly brought forward.

At screenings of his short films, Terayama had members of his theatre troupe Tenjō Sajiki perform together with his projections. Invoking shadow plays in Asian storytelling traditions, Terayama's *Chōfuku-ki* (16 plus/minus 1, 1974) had performers block the image to

⁸⁸ Its proponents are considered to include: Kara Jūrō of Jyōkyō Geikijyō (Situation Theatre); Satoh Makoto of the Black Tent Theatre; playwright Shimizu Kunio; Suzuki Tadashi of the Waseda Shōgekijyō (Waseda Little Theatre); dancer Hijikata Tatsumi; and Terayama Shūji (Poulton, 2012).

⁸⁹ Kara Jūrō also staged outdoor performances as advertisements for their plays, as seen in the opening scenes of Ōshima Nagisa's film *Shinjuku Dorobō Nikki* (Diary of a Shinjuku Thief, 1969). Kara and Terayama were also both considered to represent *angura* as a social phenomenon in popular magazines.

create silhouettes of butterflies with their hands during projection. The play with light and shadow persisted as Terayama conjured shadows in the film and against the screen in presentations of *Kage no Eiga: Nitou-onna* (The Two-Headed Woman: A Shadow Film, 1977). With the casting of light from the projection booth and behind the screen, performers of Tenjō Sajiki moved behind the screen that emitted their silhouettes onto the projected image (Ridgeley, 2010, p. 120). In *Shinpan* (The Trial, 1975), performers incited audiences to join them in hammering nails into a white-painted plywood board that substituted the screen (Ridgeley, 2010, p. 120). The marriage of projection and performance reached new heights with *Rolla* (Laura, 1974), the only film in Terayama's career that could not exist without the participation of a performer.

Named the 'undisputable star' of the festival by critic David Robinson, Terayama Shūji caused a sensation at the Edinburgh International Film Festival in 1975 where he presented *Laura*, a film projection that was described as 'an impeccably performed trick', as part of a special programme of his experimental shorts (1975, p. 45). Projected onto a prepared screen, the short film begins with three women, apparently parodying actresses of erotic films, condemning the audience for only visiting arthouse theatres in the hope to glimpse some nudity. Terayama employed the distanciation effect, promulgated by Bertolt Brecht, for his audience by method of getting his characters to directly address their viewers in shouted delivery, recalling the opening scene of his own feature-film *Sho o suteyo, machi e deyo* (Throw Away Your Books, Let's Go Into the Streets, 1971). The departure from his previous work, however, was the ways in which live performance was brought into the staging of what ensued. The characters on film start to spur their viewers to come join them to which Henrikku Morisaki⁹⁰ from the theatre troupe Tenjō Sajiki, disguised as a member of the audience, responded by walking towards the screen. In a momentary flash, Henrikku jumped through the screen, appearing in the pre-recorded projected image only to be thrown back out again after being stripped of his clothes. To conclude the interplay between projection and live environment, Henrikku appeared naked from behind the screen and ran out of the auditorium (Fig. 3). Made out of a column of

⁹⁰ I hereafter refer to him as Henrikku, as preferred by the artist.

white rubber strips vertically stretched to cover the front of a box, the prepared screen was constructed for the purpose of the entrance of a performer while concealing itself as a familiar flat screen.



Figure 3: Henrikku Morisaki in *Laura* (Terayama Shūji, 1974). Courtesy Terayama Museum. Photograph by Herbie Yamaguchi.

Bringing together theatre, underground film and scandal, *Laura* accumulated the familiar features of *angura* activity in a performance that spotlighted the possibilities for the screen to be taken out of its prescribed fixed position. Usually assumed immobile, the projection surface for film is shown to be susceptible to performance when dislocated from its usual habitat of the wall. Staging the ostensibly impossible act of Henrikku jumping into the screen, the performance incites awareness of the existence of the screen usually concealed in the experience of cinema. Like Kazakura's expanded cinema, the presence of Henrikku on- and off-screen during the performance also produces an opportunity to compare film and performance art. Therefore, the potential for performance in film projection is brought to the foreground in

the film's interaction with performance art that demonstrates the possibility in intervening with the screen and light during projection.

2.1.6 Cutting the Screen: *Film & Film #4*

For a number of artists working in the 1960s, to project on a cinema screen represented complicity to a determined framework, a consignment to an immobile, unchangeable surface coordinated by a rigid geometry. Erkki Huhtamo's archaeology of the screen, however, has proven the history of screen practices has never been as consistent as it is commonly believed. The various sizes, scales and even shapes the screen as a surface to manifest as an image has been assembled by Huhtamo, spanning from pre-cinematic devices of phantasmagoria to television monitors, mobile phones and laptop screen of the contemporary age (2004, pp. 31-82). At the point of expanded cinema's emergence in the cultural sphere, screens were experiencing a proliferation with the spread of domestic television and advent of video technology. Consequently, cinema screens expanded in size in response to the ubiquity of screens in order to combat diminishing sales with an alternative experience of scale. Like Hollywood, Japanese major studios began developing their own anamorphic lenses that required a widescreen format inspired by the Western counterpart of Cinemascope. The new configurations included Daieiscope, Tohoscope, Nikkatsuscope and Sharp-scope, named after their studio namesake with marginal difference from one another to avoid rental costs and copyright infringements.⁹¹ In the underground arts, some artists working in expanded cinema similarly sought to break out of what was considered the conservatism of the screen. While studio productions changed the proportions of the screen, some artists resorted to replacing the screen and, in the case of artist Kosugi Takehisa, destroying it entirely.

A member of Japan's first improvised music collective Group Ongaku, artist Kosugi Takehisa had been performing *musique concrète* as a student of Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music. His sonic-based versions of happenings, named *events* in Japan for their

⁹¹ For more information on the development of widescreen in Japan, see Jasper Sharp's PhD research for the Mixed Cinema Network.

association with Fluxus activities, were also performed at SAC with Ichiyanagi Toshi, Tone Yasunao and Shiomi Mieko. During his stay in New York in 1965-7, Kosugi became a part of Fluxus and participated in the group's performances joining the influx of Japanese expat artists in the city. One of the many such performances was 'Toward More Sensible Boredom', organised by Nam June Paik, who had been closely associated with the avant-garde scene in Japan due to his early studies in the country. It was on this occasion that Kosugi performed his first and only performance that drew from what could be understood as the cinematic effect, excluding the loop-filmed footage of rivers that were projected as accompaniments during music performances of the collective Taj Mahal Travelers that he had founded in 1969.⁹²

On 21 February 1966, Kosugi Takehisa performed *Film & Film #4*, a performance that has since been heralded as a key presentation of expanded cinema in the United States.⁹³ With no prior experience in cinema, Kosugi's performance involved total focus on the projector apparatus in the complete abandonment of the material of film. In what Sheldon Renan described as a ritual destruction and purification of the film medium, Kosugi's performance began with a projection of pure light onto a paper screen (1967, 247). Instead of film, the material of the screen was thus presented as the foundation of the piece. First cutting a square into the centre, Kosugi proceeded to snip away the screen, strip by strip, until its eventual demolition with only the projection beam left for the audience. Reducing cinema to its bare essence of projector and screen, it is tempting to designate *Film and Film #4* as an emblematic performance of what was discussed as the apparatus theory that placed a focus on film's mechanisms and its viewing structures.⁹⁴ Indeed, only a few months earlier in November 1965

⁹² The Taj Mahal Travelers were a group of musicians, including Koike Ryū, led by Kosugi Takehisa who performed extremely long sets that incorporated traditional Eastern and Western instrumentation with drones and electronic music. The group had an extensive tour schedule around Europe and Asia, since being heralded as the forerunners of Japanese psychedelic music.

⁹³ Other participants of the event included Jud Yalkut, Wolf Vostell, Emmette Williams and Paik's collaborator Charlotte Moorman, who was the principal organiser of the Avant-Garde Festival in New York that Kosugi participated on the 3rd and 4th edition in Judson Hall (1965) and Central Park (1966) respectively. Writing on expanded cinema in Japan has tended to neglect Kosugi's landmark performance as it was not performed in Japan in the 1960s.

⁹⁴ Imura Takahiko's *Dead Movie* (1964) is another Japanese example that highlights the key proponents of cinema endorsed by the apparatus theory, and will be discussed in further detail in Section 3.

at the New Cinema Festival 1, Nam June Paik had performed *Zen for Film* (1964), a film projection with an emphasis on the material of film and the scratches and dust it collects over time.⁹⁵ In Kosugi's case, however, the focus for *Zen for Film* and what is traditionally considered essential for cinematic projection is entirely missing – the filmstrip. Jonathan Walley, countering a tendency to interpret 1960-70s avant-garde cinema to be abound by film's materiality, proposes that, concurrent with de-materialisation process in 1960s art promoted by curator Lucy Lippard, some works of the period focused on the 'idea of cinema' by way of stripping away its material foundation (2003, p. 30). Walley describes the ways in which works by Anthony McCall and Paul Sharits focused on the essential cinematic elements of light, shadow and time are representative of the trend that, as his later discussion on the subject confirms, would also include Kosugi's film performance. In his description of *Film and Film #4*, Walley points out the ways in which the very absence of material constitutes its common feature:

Though it employed no celluloid, *Film and Film #4* make very clear references to the material conditions of filmmaking. Its alternations of white (the screen, the beam of light) and black (the darkened space, the growing hole in the screen), which Kosugi extended to the clothing he wore during the performance, invoke black-and-white photography, and positive and negative imagery. The alterations made to the screen suggest such filmic elements as framing, zooming, cutting (of course), and change over time. (2011, p. 33)

While Walley, echoing Sheldon Renan, described the methods of such works as an attempt to reach a 'film degree zero' or 'pure film' (2003, p. 27), I suggest Kosugi's performance, on the contrary, offers a platform to summon the impurities of cinema. By way of spotlighting its innate mechanisms, Kosugi acknowledges the potential of non-cinematic strategies to intervene

⁹⁵ The performance was held at the Cinematheque, New York on 2 November 1965. Paik's film is now often presented without the context of his performance; nonetheless, Peter Moore's photographs of the particular event shows he performed with the projection of *Zen for Film* with himself positioned in front of the screen. See Kotz, 2003, p. 48.

into what Walley calls the 'idea of cinema'. Kosugi replaces the filmstrip with himself and stages a happening that reveals the cinema as an 'idea' with an intrinsic capacity to be able to exist disassociated from its apparatus. *Film and Film #4* can be traced as part of a lineage of Kosugi's performances that involved a reduction of a medium to its barebones to question to what extent its essence was associated with its material and device. At the 4th Avant-Garde Festival held in Central Park, New York, Kosugi staged *Piano No. 66* that involved floating a piano made of paper and wood adrift on the waters of one of the ponds until its eventual collapse (Fig. 4).⁹⁶ Similar in its simplicity to his instructions devised for Fluxus, the performance removes the sonic dimension of music but instead, in alluding to the musical instrument of the piano, references the 'idea' of music. Just as the visual dimension of the experience of music performance is emphasized in *Piano No. 66*, the performative component of film projection is placed centre stage in *Film and Film #4*. Rather than the purification of the mediums involved, Kosugi's performances of the period, including his expanded cinema, aimed at exposing its susceptibility to interaction with other mediums as an intrinsic component of the individual mediums.

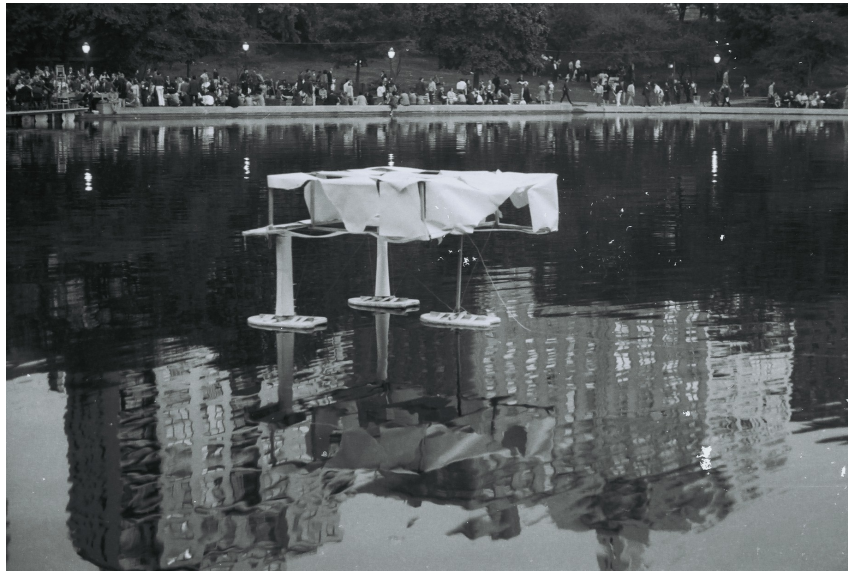


Figure 4: Kosugi Takehisa's *Piano No. 66*. Photograph by Imura Takahiko.

⁹⁶ The 4th and 7th editions of the festival was recorded on film by Jud Yalkut and can be viewed in *The 4th and 7th New York Avant-Garde Festival* (Jud Yalkut, 1966-1972). Excerpts of *Morning Glory* (Wolf Vestell) performed by Charlotte Moorman, *Dew Horse* performed by Judith Dunn, *Danger Music* by Dick Higgins from the 4th edition can be viewed on the film.

The performances with projection by Kanesaka Kenji, Kazakura Shō, Terayama Shūji and Kosugi Takehisa all juxtaposed performance and film in actions that resulted in demonstrating film's inherent ability to mix with other art forms. In the process of combination, the characteristics specific to the medium of film were highlighted in contrast to performance. Kanesaka's performative version of *The Easily Burnable Ear* revealed the ephemerality of light projection through the body intervention and ensued happening. With the same performer on- and off-screen, Kazakura and Terayama's performances revealed the separate temporalities involved in performance and film projection. The screen, in Terayama and Kosugi's performances, was exposed as an object susceptible to the intervention of performance. The following chapter will discuss in what ways the replacement of the screen with a performing body further emphasised the performative potential intrinsic to cinema.

2.2 PROJECTIONS ONTO BODIES

2.2.1 Skin Inscriptions

The body used as surface saw widespread popularity among artists that were considered a part of the *angura* phenomenon in the 1960s. Inscription onto the body in Japan has a long history, harking back to indigenous Ainu tattoos and the practice of *irezumi*, meaning ink insertion. The practice of tattooing traversed the social strata for centuries until its prohibition as part of the Meiji Restoration in 1868 by a government in fear of its potentially detrimental image for foreigners with whom they wanted to reignite commercial trade. Although legalised in the period of occupation following World War II, adorning one's body with *irezumi* retained an association with the criminal underworld largely for its ubiquity among the *yakuzas*, Japanese gangsters. With its challenge the social mores, *angura* culture embraced the act of embellishing the skin with ink in both permanent and temporary forms. *Kinema Jumpo*'s second special issue on *angura*, for example, showcased a selection of stills from *yakuza* films of major studios Shochiku, Nikkatsu and Toei for their photo essay 'Irezumi no Bigaku' (The Aesthetics of

Irezumi).⁹⁷ The craze for body paintings, moreover, was also encouraged by its increasing popularity as part of the hippie movement among the youth of the United States.⁹⁸ Drawing inspiration from their own ancestral past and the countercultural movements in the West, Japanese *angura* artists replaced the canvas with the body for their illustrations.

Uno Akira

Profiled as one of the 'Eight Samurais' of *angura* culture, graphic designer Uno Akira, also known as Aquirax Uno, drew onto the female body to animate his short film *Anata to Watashi* (*Toi et Moi*, 1966) that was screened as part of the Animation Festival '66 at SAC.⁹⁹ His second attempt at filmmaking, the Three-Person Animation Circle invited him for their inaugural festival in 1964 as an illustrator who had no prior experience in animation.¹⁰⁰ Having worked closely with Terayama Shūji, Uno is best known for his stage designs and posters for Tenjō Sajiki where he employed his signature blend of overt eroticism and refined elegance. Nevertheless, the period of two years between 1964 and 1966 marks a key moment in his career where he shifted from illustration, a static medium, to his work in stage design that relates to movement. In *Toi et Moi*, Uno similarly discards traditional methods of frame-by-frame animation and resorts to gestures of the body as a method to set his illustrations into motion. Painted onto contours of the flesh, Uno's sketches begin to emulate human and equine motion corresponding to the movement of the actress' knees and elbows in scenes that are intercut with close-ups of her face that, in contrast, arrests motion into stillness. Loosely adapted from a 1912

⁹⁷ 'Irezumi no Bigaku' was published with no credited author in the August 1968 supplementary issue 'Angura '68: Sho'kku-hen' (*Angura '68: Shock Edition*), *Kinema Jumpo*.

⁹⁸ Yayoi Kusama, a Japanese artist based in New York in 1957-72, had staged many outdoor *happenings* in New York, mainly between 1967-9, where she painted naked bodies with her signature polka-dot patterns. She staged what she called her 'Body Festivals' at the Museum of Modern Art (*Grand Orgy to Awaken the Dead*), Wall Street, Times Square, Washington Square Park and Tompkin Square Park.

⁹⁹ The 'Eight Samurais of *Angura*' was a feature in the August 1968 supplementary issue 'Angura '68: Sho'kku-hen' (*Angura '68: Shock Edition*). In reference to the film, Miryam Sas provides a direct English translation of the Japanese title, *You and Me* (2012, p. 148); however, I retain the use of *Toi et Moi* as the film is still most often presented.

¹⁰⁰ The Sōgetsu Cinematheque 11 Animation Festival took place on 21-26 September 1964 at SAC with the participation of Kuri Yōji, Yanagihara Ryōhei, Manabe Hiroshi, Tezuka Osamu, Yokoo Tadanori, Wada Makoto, Uno Akira, Russian animator Alexander Alexeieff and American filmmaker Morton Goldshall.

book by Paul G eraldy, the film inserts extracts translated in Japanese as intertitles that are nevertheless mostly illegible, as they only appear onscreen for a flash. Uninterested in narrative or character development, *Toi et Moi* asks for its viewer to retain their focus on the motions of its characters. The use of the body as the pictorial canvas brings about a unique approach to animation in its replacements of the frame with the skin corresponding with body painting craze of the period.

J nouchi Motoharu

In collaboration with J nouchi Motoharu, Hi Red Centre member Akasegawa Genpei similarly inscribed text onto the human body for J nouchi's film *Gewaltopia Yokokuhen* (*Gewaltopia Trailer*, 1968). An experimental filmmaker, J nouchi made films as part of Nihon University Film Studies Club, where he led the production of *P p * (1959) and founded VAN, where he was considered responsible for the production of the multi-projection spectacle staged at a demonstration event, *Document 6.15* (1961-2). Along with Akasegawa, J nouchi had also participated in *Ritual for Closed Vagina*, the screenings of Adachi Masao's film *Closed Vagina* that integrated happenings and the projection of film. Closely affiliated with Kazakura Sh  and members of Hi Red Centre though VAN, J nouchi had a strong rapport with performance artists that led to many collaborations on and off the film set, leading up to Akasegawa's participation in *Gewaltopia Trailer*.

In anticipation of the incomplete film, *Gewaltopia Trailer* was put together with pre-existing footage from his own films that were edited together with superimposed excerpts from classic horror films and newly staged footage with Akasegawa Genpei. Opening with a close-up of an eye, the film shows Akasegawa inscription of the film's title onto a man's eyelids that open and close in ways that obstruct the legibility of the text (Fig. 5). The body in relation to the text, hereafter, takes on a dual role whereby it becomes at once the surface onto which short slogans manifest while being what interferes its visibility. Moreover, the written text moves according to the contortions of the body that, corresponding with the statements inscribed, suggests a revolutionary spirit on the brink of action. Nakanishi Natsuyuki, another member of Hi Red

Centre, had similarly painted onto the naked back of Butoh dancer Kōichi Tamano for their performance *Bara Iro Dansu* (Rose Coloured Dance) for which he took on the role of a stage designer. For the performance, Nakanishi painted female genitalia on the Tamano's back that, in accordance with his movements, writhed in motion to make explicit the erotic connotations for which the performance style had come to be known.¹⁰¹ Sharing an affinity towards questioning the art object as members of Hi Red Centre, it seems plausible that Akasegawa drew inspiration from his partner to explore the capacity for movement embodied in the flesh as a foundation for his pictorial address.



Figure 5: Screenshot of *Gewaltopia Trailer* (Jōnouchi, 1968). The title of the film is inscribed onto the eyelid.

Gewaltopia was the name given to what was planned as a monumental 4-5 hour film that documented the political struggles in the wake of the first resigning of the Anpo Treaty in 1960.¹⁰² The word amalgamates the German word for violence, *gewalt*, with the English word utopia, a paradoxical coupling that expressed what he understood as a requirement of political

¹⁰¹ Nakanishi also painted a skeletal ribcage onto ringleader Hijikata Tatsumi's naked back for *Ankoku Butoh's* performance on 3rd July 1967 at Kinokuniya Hall for 'Takai Tomiko Butoh Kōen <Keiji Jyōgaku>'. Keio University Art Centre, the owners of the Hijikata Tatsumi archive, held an exhibition 14 May – 15 June 2012 at the Keio University Art Space, 'Hijikata Tatsumi + Nakanishi Natsuyuki / THE BACK' that focused on the two artists' relationship and their persistent engagement with the human backside.

¹⁰² Writing an introduction on Jōnouchi for *Bijutsu Techō's* profile of emerging artists titled 'Henkaku no Ninaitachi' (The Bearers of Change), Tone Yasunao wrote on *Gewaltopia* in anticipation of its completion. See Tone, 1971, p. 82.

action for the ignition of change. Since playing a principal role in the production of *Document 6.15*, Jōnouchi, a protestor during his time as a student at Nihon University, made films that explicitly dealt with the revolutionary struggles of student and political activists, such as *Nichidai Taishū Dankō* (Mass Collective Bargaining at Nihon University, 1968). For Jōnouchi, the production and screening of his films were interpreted as a political gesture and a call for action. As well as meaning a compilation of extracts to promote a feature-length film, the Japanese word for trailer (*yokoku*) in the film's title can also mean a prediction, therefore pointing to Jōnouchi's vision in 1968 for what the future may hold.

Jōnouchi abandoned *Gewaltopia* in a state of incompleteness to make his swan song *Shinjuku Sutēshon* (Shinjuku Station, 1974) that reflects with hindsight on the season of politics that he had spent immersed in for over a decade. Shot in Jōnouchi's signature frame-by-frame (*komadori*) shooting style, the film presents an erratic documentation of Shinjuku station as the epicentre of social protest leading up to the re-signing of the Anpo treaty in 1970. By 1974, when Jōnouchi edited the footage, the revolutionary struggle was considered to have ended without its goals achieved, epitomised by the Asama-Sansō Incident in February 1972.¹⁰³ The act of viewing footage in hindsight is visualised in the film with a scene of Jōnouchi himself, stood in front of a screen and facing the camera and projector, gesturing for the images to be projected onto him. Once projected, the images wash over his body as he looks towards the camera and projector and recites his poem, which is a mixture of ribald puns and political rhetoric in verses full of wordplay and onomatopoeia. The film visualises the thought process of reflection, on both his camera and his own role, on the meanings of the protests that he had taken part in with his body as the receiver of the image.

Jōnouchi Motoharu's projection onto his own body shown in *Shinjuku Station* was, in fact, an approach to film projection that he had explored during the event of screening his films

¹⁰³ A hostage situation that led to a police siege resulting in three deaths, the Asama Sansō Incident saw five members of the United Red Army take a woman hostage in a lodge on Mount Asama between 19th and 28th February 1972. Along with the Lod Airport massacre, a terrorist attack by the Japanese Red Army in support of the PFLP (Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine) that led to 28 deaths, the event marked a demise in support for leftwing activism that, in the late 1960s, received support from the general consensus.

for an audience. At the Runami Gallery on 13-14 February 1966, Jōnouchi presented *VAN Document* (1967), a recording of Hi Red Centre's *Shelter Plan* event as part of the 2nd Runami Film Gallery series. Following stills from their Naiqua Gallery exhibition by way of introduction, the footage consists of an event where the members invited guests to their hotel room under the pretense the group would construct human-sized bomb shelters for the participants. Diligently measuring the weights and proportions of their guests, the Hi Red Centre staged a quiet mockery of Cold War fears that pervaded the world. During the screening, Jōnouchi reportedly stood in front of the projection, rope in hand, whipping the image until bits of the wall, used as a substitute for a screen, fell to the ground. Described as a happening that staged a 'montage between the screen and the performer', Jōnouchi's performance was a precursor to Runami Gallery's Intermedia event series put together three months later where he was also listed as a participant.¹⁰⁴ Jōnouchi interrupted the projection employing different methods on each occasion, once reportedly using a flashlight to interfere with the projector's beam of light (Sas, 2011, pp. 150-1). Each screening presented a different opportunity for Jōnouchi to expose the established set up of film projection as only one of many possibilities the apparatus and occasion offered.

Jōnouchi Motoharu's motivation to present his films differently on each occasion stemmed from his affiliation with performance artists whose actions discarded the tendency for repetition in conventional stage theatre on a theatrical run. His films were re-edited for each screening, discouraging attempts to reduce his works to one particular version, while originality was similarly rejected by his editing method that integrated footage from one film into another.¹⁰⁵ The soundtrack, moreover, similarly differed on each occasion as Jōnouchi often

¹⁰⁴ Jōnouchi was at least scheduled to participate according to the promotional material of the event, but I have found no evidence of his participation.

¹⁰⁵ Jōnouchi also edited footage from classic films into his own films. Miryam Sas, for example, notes that Jōnouchi's *Van Document* included images from *Hi Red Centre Shelter Plan* (1964), *Gewaltopia Trailer* (1968), Nichidai Eiken's third production *Pūpū* (1959) that he had directed, as well as extracts from horror films *King Kong* (Merian C. Cooper and Ernest B. Schoedsack, 1933), *The Lost World* (Harry O. Hoyt, 1925), *Nosferatu* (F.W. Murnau, 1922) and *Der Golem, wie er in die Welt kam* (The Golem: How We Came Into the World, Carl Boese and Paul Wegener, 1920). Although all the classic horror films can be seen in *Gewaltopia Trailer*, the film itself was completed in 1968 while the performance took place in February 1967, making it

preferred to play the soundtrack on a tape player separate from the projection. The choice of the body as the surface of his projections, along with his substitution of the canvas for the skin in *Gewaltopia Trailer*, can be understood as one of the methods to which Jōnouchi resorted in order to emancipate his films from the stasis of repetition imposed by the flatness of the screen. By taking projection off the screen and onto the skin, Jōnouchi brings to light the potential for performance embedded in film projection. His intervention into the line of projection revealed the ephemerality of light that is susceptible to interruption and the shape and position of its images subject to transformation according to its placement onto the body. Jōnouchi's rejection of the prescribed temporality for film demonstrates the rigidity of film experience in conventional projections and highlights the ability for performance to be perpetually present.

2.2.2 Early Film Performances of Iimura Takahiko

A film performance by Iimura Takahiko that foreshadowed the ubiquity of projection onto bodies in the emergence of expanded cinema in Japan, *Screen Play* was a collaboration with artist Takamatsu Jirō. Takamatsu, who had founded the Hi Red Centre with Akasegawa Genpei and Nakanishi Natsuyuki earlier in the year, had been enacting action-based happenings since his participation as an individual artist in the Yomiuri Independent annual exhibition in 1958. Although the group had officially formed in May 1963, its members had already encountered one another at the Yomiuri Independent exhibitions and, on 18 December 1962, participated in the *Yamanote-sen Jiken* (Yamanote Line Incident), an infamous happening staged on public transport and train platforms.¹⁰⁶ A series of landmark exhibitions and happenings in their short life between 1963-4, and their subsequent membership in the international network Fluxus, made Hi Red Centre visible as one of postwar Japan's representative groups to be active in the field of performance art. Before their formation, members of Hi Red Centre met Iimura Takahiko in their visits to VAN, where Iimura took part in the delivery of *Document 6.15*, and

implausible that *Van Document* contained this footage. Other documents on *Van Document* suggest that the film was what is now titled *Hi Red Centre Shelter Plan*.

¹⁰⁶ Their inaugural exhibition 'Dai 5-ji Mikisā Keikaku' (The 5th Mixer Plan) was held at the Shinjuku Dai'ichi Gallery on 7-12 May 1963.

their participation in the Yomiuri Independent annual exhibition. As a regular visitor and close associate of the participating artists, Iimura recorded the displays and performances at the exhibition on its fifteenth edition for a film he titled *Dada '62*. Although Iimura rejects clarity in documentation favouring an approach that instead provides an overview of the exhibition, Takamatsu Jirō's submission, the first of his series of works based on the material of string, is clearly visible in the film. Therefore, *Dada '62* marks the first artistic encounter between Takamatsu and Iimura and, more broadly, the collaborations that ensued between members of Hi Red Centre and Iimura Takahiko.

The first public screening of *Dada '62* showcased at the Naiqua Gallery, moreover, became Iimura's first attempt at reconsidering the normative conditions of film projection that would later define his practice as an experimental filmmaker. A gallery set up by Iimura's friend who also attended Keio University, Naiqua Gallery was set up by Miyata Kunio in 1962 at his father's clinic after his death, a unique space that also provided the gallery with its name, *naika*, meaning internal medicine in Japanese. The gallery quickly became a residue for works by marginal artists who struggled to find a space to house their works, particularly in the wake of the termination of the Yomiuri Independent annual exhibition, accommodating many key exhibitions of postwar Japanese artists including Hi Red Centre, Ono Yoko and action painter Shinohara Ushio. At what was labeled the 1st Naiqua Cinematheque, Iimura inaugurated a series of small-gauge film screenings at the Naiqua Gallery in Shinbashi, Tokyo, where he presented *Dada '62* alongside a number of his recent works. The short run film series at the Naiqua Gallery proceeded to screen works by Ōbayashi Nobuhiko and other key Japanese experimental filmmakers; however, the series never reached the crossover potential between film and other arts that was exhibited by Iimura in his programme on 8-9 August 1963.

Presented at the 1st Naiqua Cinematheque, the projection of *Dada '62* by Iimura Takahiko was 'performed' as what he called a 'film concert.'¹⁰⁷ In an explicit evocation of music performance, Iimura had invited Tone Yasunao, later alongside Iimura a strong proponent of

¹⁰⁷ Iimura calls the performance 'film concert' in an interview with Jud Yalkut (1969, p. 18), although it was not named as such in the programme.

intermedia in Japan, to devise a graphic score for the projection of the film (Fig. 6). Although a visitor since around 1960, Tone himself, for his first time, also participated in the exhibition that Iimura documented with *Tēpu Rekōdā* (Tape Recorder), a reel-to-reel tape machine covered in white cloth that he labeled as a sculpture for the submission of music did not fit the categories provided by the exhibition organisers. A means of representing music through visual symbols rather than musical notation, graphic scores had become popular among avant-garde composers in Japan. The Exhibition of World Graphic Scores at Minami Gallery, Tokyo, on 10-12 November, 1962, showed works by Fluxus artists La Monte Young, Dick Higgins and George Brecht which were introduced by organiser Ichiyanagi Toshi, who had been composing graphic scores since 1959. Tone had also been accustomed with graphic scores prior to the exhibition and had been devising some himself, such as *Anagram for Strings*, as early as 1961. Requested by Iimura, Tone composed a graphic score for the projection of *Dada '62* that replaced the musical instrument with a film projector. The set of instructions, handed to Iimura together with the graphic score, explicitly referred to the ways in which Tone envisioned Iimura could manipulate the film projector. The instructions were outlined as follows:

The piece should be performed using all possible operations available on the projector.

Only the small symbols drawn on lines should be performed

1. "S"- Turn off the projector
2. "Thick line" - Change the projection speed (frames per second)
3. "Thin line" – Zoom in or out.
4. "Broken line"- Change the brightness of the projector
5. "O" - Repeat the previous motion
6. While reading the coordinates of the graph, keep in mind the increasing numbers of symbols correlates to an increase in what the symbol indicates (for example, thick lines mean an increase in projection speed in frames per second) and decreasing numbers of symbols indicate the opposite (for example, thin lines mean zoom in)

In the case of zero, maintain the previous position.

- o focus fade in
- focus fade out

(Tone, 1963, unpaginated)



Figure 6: Tone Yasunao's graphic score for *Dada '62*. Black and white reversed for purposes of legibility. Courtesy Tone Yasunao.

The instructions demonstrate Tone's replacement of musical instructions with visual and motional functions available in film projection, namely, zooming as well as changing projection speed and brightness. Following Tone's commands, Iimura presented an improvised performance that interpreted the graphic score in a live environment. The conditions of the space as a gallery without a pre-established projection booth meant that Iimura's performance was visible to his audience as the projector was placed in physical proximity.

Apart from performing the projector as if it was a musical instrument, Iimura also altered the speeds in which Guillaume de Machaut's music recorded on tape was played during the projection of his film *De Sade* (1962), an experimental short comprised of illustrations in Marquis de Sade's novel *The Travels of Juliette*, which had caused an uproar when its Japanese translator was indicted with obscenity charges. Moreover, Iimura proceeded to hand out

negatives of the films he had screened on the occasion, he joked, 'as a souvenir' (Ōbayashi, 1963, p. 95).¹⁰⁸ For the duration of the screening, Iimura also asked his audience to sit on the floor and shift sides after each film as he switched the orientation of the projector from left to right, a dumbfounding request for audiences accustomed to being seated in pre-arranged cinema seats. In such ways, Iimura forced his audience to acknowledge the presence of the projector and the susceptibility of the exhibition of film to live manipulation.

During a roundtable discussion organised after the screening, it became apparent that Iimura's approach to film exhibition, including the performance of *Dada '62*, split the panel concerning its effectiveness. Hirata Sakio, the production manager of Nichiei Science Film Productions, vehemently expressed his disdain against Iimura's approach as a filmmaker and, along with other criticisms, scorned Iimura's neglect of content in favour of presentation (Ōbayashi, 1963, p. 93). Although accepting the performance of *Dada '62* as 'interesting', film critic Ōshima Tatsuo similarly questioned Iimura's lack of attention to the production of film over its presentation (Ōbayashi, 1963, p. 95). It was Takamatsu Jirō, who had also been invited to join the discussion, who gave full support to Iimura in the debate arguing the presentation of his 'daily existence' as part of the screening established a fresh methodology for film (Ōbayashi, 1963, p. 95). Interpreted by Ōshima as the core of the performance, the rejection of coherence and structure in the film *Dada '62*, edited on camera, was indeed deliberate, as explicated by Iimura in his response that stated his preference for 'raw material' and his belief that 'to splice (the film) up and re-edit it would be a waste of time' (Ōbayashi, 1963, p. 95). Such affinities in approach led Iimura to collaborate with Takamatsu in his subsequent attempt at rethinking the event of projection with *Screen Play*.

Performed as part of the SAC event Sweet 16 on 3-5 December 1963,¹⁰⁹ the film performance *Screen Play* involved the projection of Iimura Takahiko's film *Iro* (Colour, 1962-

¹⁰⁸ Ōbayashi Nobuhiko, as the chair of the panel, transcribed the proceedings for the publication in the film magazine *8mm*. I have used the translation of the discussion that was published on the website *Post*, where it was commissioned for translation to coincide with a profile on Iimura Takahiko. See <<http://post.at.moma.org/sources/3/publications/90>>

¹⁰⁹ Although not explicitly stated, the performance series at least recalled the three exhibitions of Group Sweet earlier in the same year, including: Kawasumi Gallery on 22-27 March;

3) onto the back of Takamatsu Jirō. Sweet 16 was an event organised by Kuni Chiya, leader of the all-female dance troupe Kuni Chiya Dance Institute, with the participation of primarily dancers and performers including her own dance troupe, Hijikata Tatsumi, Kazakura Shō and Group Ongaku members Tone Yasunao, Mizuno Shūkō and Kosugi Takehisa¹¹⁰. Iimura's first endeavour in colour, the film recorded the chemical reactions concocted in the event of dropping oil into paint and burning wax. Completely detached from narrative, the film has a stronger affiliation with abstract painting than cinematic storytelling as its dramatic development depends on the apparently random ways in which the shapes contorted and colours mutated. Facing away from the audience, Takamatsu sat reading a newspaper ostensibly oblivious to the manifestation of the film *Iro* on his back. During projection, Iimura reportedly approached Takamatsu from behind and began cutting his jacket in the shape of the projection, gradually revealing the film on Takamatsu's naked back.¹¹¹ Predating by five years Werner

Shinjuku Dai'ichi Gallery on 23-28 April; and Runami Gallery on 26-31 May. The word 'sweet', in an essay written by Tone Yasunao, is loosely described with a list of performances and activities that he had approved (1963, p. 5). Although the meaning of 'sweet' remained uncertain, the list of participating artists in Sweet 16 indicate a correlating interest in happenings with the Group Sweet exhibitions in the wake of the termination of Yomiuri Independent annual exhibition. Artists listed to have submitted works for the Group Sweet exhibition in the Shinjuku Dai'ichi Gallery include Ishizaki Kōichirō, Nakanishi Natsuyuki, Kojima Shinmei and members of Neo-Dada Tanaka Shintarō, Miki Tomio, Yoshino Tatsumi, Toyoshima Sōroku, Akasegawa Genpei and Shinohara Ushio. According to William Marotti, Kazakura was also involved in the organisation of the first exhibition (2013, p. xix).

¹¹⁰ Kosugi took part with *Gekijyō no tame no Ongaku* (Theatre Music), *Mālikā*, *ear-drum 1-3* (Ear Drum Event) and an essay on his hand piece *Chironomy 1*, apparently in preparation for his participation in Fluxus activities the following year. Kosugi's performances performed at and written about for Sweet 16 have been preserved as instructions for Fluxus: *Theatre Music*; *Ear Drum Event*; and *Chironomy 1*. *Mālikā* also became a key part of a number of performances, including *South No. 3 (Malika)* (1965) and *Mālikā 5*. Kosugi had already participated in Yam Festival organised by George Brecht and Robert Watts at the Poet's Playhouse, New York, on 13 May 1963 and the Spring Event held at Kornblee Gallery, New York, on 21 May 1963. On the day he presented *Mālikā*, an improvised music piece based on repetition inspired by the circularity of the Jasmine flower, Kosugi would have seen Iimura's *Screen Play*, which could have inspired him to explore performative possibilities of projection that led to *Film and Film #4*.

¹¹¹ As there is no photographic documentation of the performance, it is worth noting that there are contrasting reports on this performance. Akasegawa Genpei, member of Hi Red Centre, recalled that he was the one who cut Takamatsu's jacket into the shape of the projection (1994, p. 353). Iimura Takahiko, however, does not recall Akasegawa's involvement (personal conversation with artist, 14 April 2013) and Tone Yasunao, in a recollection published only four years after, does not mention Akasegawa's involvement either (Ishizaki *et al*, 1967, p. 69). Moreover, Akasegawa, in his book, mistakes the year and the event in which the performance

Nekes' *Operation* (1968), a life-size projection of a medical operation onto his stomach, *Screen Play* demonstrated an early example of projection onto human skin in rejection of the cinema screen.

Searching for an alternative to the cinema screen, Iimura Takahiko found the antithesis of the rigidity and fixedness of its frame in human skin and the movement of the body it encases. The disavowal of the screen was all the more pronounced as the performance was staged at SAC, a space with a serviceable screen and accustomed to film projections with a regular film series. Iimura's choice of the body in replacement of the screen should be understood as a continuation of the lineage of his works that focused on the physicality of the body. Broadly regarded as his representative work, *Ai* (Love, 1963) is entirely comprised of close-up footage of the stretches, gaps and crevices of skin that surface when two bodies make contact in the act of making love. In a review of a nude photography exhibition by Tatsuki Yoshihiro, Iimura commented that in contrast to objects, the naked body (*ratai*) renders words inefficient due to, in his words, 'its overpowering visuality' (1969, p. 109). Rather than seeing the naked body as flesh (*nikutai*), Iimura suggested that Japanese artists have historically understood the body as figure (*keishi*) in pictorial representations, tracing the tradition from woodcut prints of *ukiyo-e* to Tatsuki's photographs. Iimura himself, on the other hand, depicts the human body with all of its corporeal carnality, as flesh — in other words, *nikutai*. His engagement with the body channeled broader tendencies in Japanese society whereby a shift from *shintai*, a spiritual understanding of the body, is depicted in the newfound preference for the use of the word *nikutai*, body as flesh, among avant-garde artists.

As a surface for projection and an instigator of action, the body takes on two roles in the projection of *Colour* in the performance *Screen Play*. Flexible and mobile, the skin is presented as an antithesis to the screen yet is able to support the function of screen in its absence. Iimura's *Screen Play* reveals the potential for ephemerality in the surface of projection as the clothing material is gradually cut away during the performance until it reveals the skin. The

was presented. As it was performed twice during the festival, it is also possible that both versions took place.

performativity of film projection is also highlighted as the manifestation of the image shifts in tone and shape as the surface of projection transforms during the performance.

2.2.3 *Angura* in Strip Shows and Pink Theatres

Mostly ignored in the art world for its reputation as lewd spectacle, strip shows were also a platform in the 1960s where in which *angura* artists found an opportunity to experiment with the crossover between film and performance. As a space where the exhibition of the body is an expectation from the audience, a number of artists in Japan collaborated with female strippers to present shows with a focus on the body as the platform for intermedial interaction. The involvement of artists in strip shows has a longer history in Japan, most famously at the Nichigeki Music Hall where established artists Terayama Shūji, Takechi Tetsuji, Teshigahara Hiroshi and Jikken Kōbō's Yamaguchi Katsuhiko all, at one point in their career, directed a show within its premises. Yamaguchi, who presented the show *7 Peeping Toms From Heaven* presented in October-December 1954, was inspired by his experiences to revisit projections onto the body ten years later with *Lulu* (1967). Staged for his 1967 monthly essay series for *Bijutsu Techō* 'Ikiteiru Zen'ei' (The Living Avant-Garde), *Lulu* was a slide projection onto American-Japanese model Maeda Bibari presented for an edition on the relationships between the perceptual senses and art.¹¹² Stood in front of a large plastic screen draped behind her, Maeda appears to be wave her arms around to cast shadow effects that multiple and varying in size onto the material in an physical interaction with the images emitted from multiple projectors. Presenting indistinct abstract forms of what appears to be chemical reactions, the slides were devised by Sakamoto Masaharu who later presented *Lulu* at the fifth day of EXPOSE '68 at SAC and as part of the Mitsui Group Pavilion's *Space Review* that was directed by Yamaguchi for Expo '70. In the aforementioned essay, Yamaguchi discusses the emergence of happenings and *events* released the senses from the spatial and durational restrictions of the

¹¹² See Yamaguchi, 1967a, p. 117 for photographic documentation on *Lulu*. Although *Lulu* is called a happening in the description on the photograph, Yamaguchi, in an interview conducted in 2010, said he made works specifically for the purpose of presenting it in colour on the pages of *Bijutsu Techō* (Iguchi & Sumitomo, 2010).

pure arts (*junsui geijutsu*) of the past to create what he calls a 'field' in which multi-sensory interaction can occur between the arts, the performers and the audience (1967a, p. 116). His choice of presenting *Lulu* to demonstrate his hypothesis indicates that, with a display of a projection onto a near-nude body, the skin can be a stage in which the interaction of senses can take place.

Despite being a strip show venue, the small underground theatre space Modern Art located in the second district of Shinjuku, also became a hub for artistic experiment by *angura* artists in the 1960s.¹¹³ Opening in 1966, Modern Art at least began as a small theatre for experiments (*jikken shōgekijyō*) that presented avant-garde theatre, small-gauge film screenings, live jazz performances and open-forum discussions. In an attempt to encourage visitors, the owner began including strip shows, which were presented alongside other activities in one running programme from early afternoon to late evening. In an intimate environment that held a maximum of forty-five customers, the walls were painted black with only candles to light the space.¹¹⁴ As well as short film screenings, Modern Art also staged projections onto their strippers during performances, as seen in Tachimi Tadahiro's *Psychedelic Show* (Fig. 7). Due to the prohibition against the exhibition of genitalia, strippers often faced away from their audience in the act of disrobement, resulting in their naked backs being used as a surface for projection.¹¹⁵ Although evidence of projections at strip shows are scarce outside of Modern Art, specialist cinemas for pink cinema, an industrial genre devoted to soft-core erotic films, also began staging live performances together with their screenings, a marketing strategy that began

¹¹³ Alongside Sasori-za (Theatre Scorpio) and Kara Jūrō's Situation Theatre, Modern Art is profiled in the morning issue of newspaper *Asahi Shinbun* on 3 March 1968 as a space where *angura* is staged. Modern Art is also introduced as a 'mecca of *angura*', alongside Theatre Scorpio, in Chamoto, 1968, pp. 145-146.

¹¹⁴ The description of Modern Art as a space has used the report in *Kinema Jumbo's* second special issue on *angura* as a reference. See Ishizaki, 1968a, p. 69. Photographs taken at Modern Art can also be seen in the first special issue on *angura*, unpaginated

¹¹⁵ An uncredited photograph in Ishizaki's report on Modern Art also shows a stripper, facing away from the audience, performing in front of a projection of an enlarged mirror image of her nude self (Ishizaki, 1968, p. 68), verifying that the use of projection in their strip shows happened on more than one occasion.

in the late 1960s and persisted throughout the 1970s.¹¹⁶ Although strip shows in the 1960s rarely received recognition in the art establishment, its influences were widespread and many artists and filmmakers were involved in staging shows.



Figure 7: Tachimi Tadahiro's *Psychedelic Show* at Modern Art. Photograph by Hayakawa Kiyoshi. *Kinema Junpo*, June 1968 supplementary issue, unpaginated.

Inspired by the staging of live performance and film in pink cinemas, the Nihon Andāgurando Sentā (Japan Underground Centre) ran a season of pink films by Wakamatsu Productions that were co-presented with happenings that similarly interfered film projections. Japan Underground Centre was an organisation with an aim to establish a distribution and

¹¹⁶ For more information on live performances staged with pink films, see Kimata, 2010b. Jasper Sharp's book *Behind the Pink Curtain: The Complete History of Japanese Sex Cinema* (2008) chronicles the industrial genre of 'pink cinema' that has long been neglected in Japanese film studies in the English language.

screening unit for local independent filmmakers that was modeled on New York's Filmmakers' Cooperative. Holding the film prints in the office of *Eiga Hyōron*, its editor Satō Jyūshin, who managed the Centre, had established strong relationships with the *angura* community of performance artists with frequent coverage of their happenings in the pages of the journal. With an editorial strategy that supported *angura* activities beyond filmmaking, Satō was largely responsible for the *angura* consortium established between underground activities of different mediums. Recipients of critical accolade in some circles unusual at the time for pink films, Wakamatsu Productions, whose directors included Wakamatsu Kōji, Yamatoya Atsushi and Adachi Masao, made subversive films that, due to their social proximity with activists, dealt with politically controversial and valiant subject matter. Presented weekly at Tokyo's Ikebukuro Art Theatre on 13-27 June 1970, Japan Underground Centre staged late night screenings of the films together with happenings by *angura* artists, which at times involved performative interference of projections. At what was called the 'Cine-Hapuningu Matsuri' (Cine-Happening Festival) that inaugurated the season, filmmaker Fujii Seiichi and his unnamed girlfriend founded the group The Vagina to stage a live performance that interacted with film. Projecting a close-up footage of female genitalia, the couple chanted and danced in front of the screen until Fujii proceeded to imitate an entrance into the screen as a metaphor for reverse parturition. The event also included a performance by Kosugi Takehisa's Taj Mahal Travelers in front of a projection of *Body Wave* (1970-1), an 8mm film directed by Fujii of the seaside that the collective continued to use as endless loop-film projections as background for their music performances. Establishing an intermedial stage upon where music, performance art and film could integrate, the Cine-Happening Festival was an important event that pulled together different sectors of *angura* activity.

Bara Manji Kessha (Rosicrucian Society) was another group that participated in the Cine-Happening Festival organised by the Japan Underground Centre. Founded in 1967, Rosicrucian Society was a performance art collective, led by Maki Akira, who staged ritualistic happenings that, frequently performed together with Zero Jigen, went onto become representative of *angura* culture. Often adorning funeral attire, the collective regularly

performed as corpses awakened instead of sent to the afterlife by an interment. On the occasion of the Cine-Happening Festival, the Rosicrucian Society projected slides documenting outdoor performances they had carried out on a beach. Although not showcased on this occasion, Maki and his group's happenings were infamous for their explicit emphasis on the physicality of the body with performances that involved urination and imitations of blood (Kurodalajee, 2010a, p. 475). Maki's engagement with the body as the vessel for expression can be traced back to his collaboration with Modern Art in the live body painting sessions he staged in 1968.

At the event Tojikata Hapuningu (A Binding Method/Happening) at Modern Art, Maki Akira performed live body painting sessions where he drew patterns onto the nude bodies of female strippers and onto himself in front of an audience. In what he called *shōmō kaiga* (dissipation paintings), Maki's reason for painting onto bodies was to repudiate the suffocation he felt presenting works on gallery walls (1968, p. 9). Moreover, he had a desire for his paintings to 'move, breath, and sweat,' and ultimately for 'the body (*nikutai*) itself to become the art piece' (1968, p. 72). His body paintings were an extension of his engagement with the anatomy as a platform to exercise his desire to produce evanescent works, which persisted in his performances that involved film projection.

Rosicrucian Society's first performance that involved film projection was presented as part of the Kyōki Mihonichi Taikai (Insanity Trade Fair) held at the Iino Hall in Tokyo on 30 November 1968. Spearheaded by film critic Satō Jyūshin, the event was produced as a collaboration between Japan Underground Centre and a group of *angura* performance artists including Katō Yoshihiro, the leader of Zero Jigen. For the event, billed as an '*angura matsuri*' (*angura* festival), the Rosicrucian Society staged a collaboration with young independent filmmaker Okuyama Jun'ichi that involved, once again, projections onto the body in the abandoning of the conventional screen. Opening the show, Maki Akira began the untitled performance by marching through the crowd chanting Buddhist hymns and simulating urination into a bowl in a parody of *tsuyuhari*, a ritual to awaken and lead the procession of spirits in traditional Japanese ceremonies. Gradually members of the Rosicrucian Society adorning ceremonial attire gathered onto the stage and held up a large bag made of white cloth with Maki

and a female performer inside. As the bag was carried around, the two stripped naked and covered themselves in red paint and tomatoes in an apparent imitation of blood. Draped in white cloth, the moving bodies inside the bag became the surface onto which filmmaker Okuyama Jun'ichi projected his film. Only lasting three minutes, the film was meant to mark the climax of the performance that was scheduled to involve the performers bursting out of the bag, which did not take place due to the premature closing of the curtains.

Despite being mostly overlooked in the delineation of Japanese film and art history, strip shows, pink theatres and *angura* theatres provided a space for experimentation in *intermedia* between film and performance. Once again, film's ability to exist beyond the screen and interact with other art forms was demonstrated while its particularities as a medium were also accentuated. Usually unrecognised, projection light and the screen are both highlighted in the expanded cinema performances by exposing their ability to be explored beyond the pre-arranged frameworks of conventional film experience. Film's potential to incorporate the characteristics usually subscribed to performance was explored in projections onto bodies as the projector and projection surface was subjected to motion, demonstrating the intermedial characteristic of expanded cinema in Japan.

2.2.4 Okuyama Jun'ichi

The film projected onto the performers of the Rosicrucian Society at the Insane Trade Fair was Okuyama Jun'ichi's 35mm short film, *Frameless 35* (1968). Discovering a box full of photographic negatives, Okuyama spliced the negatives together to create a strip of film for the purposes of projection. Horizontal for photographs but vertical for film, the 35mm format meant that Okuyama had to cut the photographs in half, rotate their orientation and overlap the splices in order to render the material sufficiently projectable. The content of the image primarily consisting of photographic portraits of faces, the projected result was a series of fragmented images presented in discontinuous motion, accentuating the material of film over the content of which it displayed. Projected onto the white cloth that veiled the performers, the collaboration between Rosicrucian Society and Okuyama showed the desire from both parties to experiment

with substituting the screen with the body in a collision of performance art and film projection. The projection onto moving figures, once again, demonstrated film's capacity to break out of its prescribed framework of the screen. As the projection light touches and responds to the movement of the performers, its ability to crossover with other mediums was made visible. The ephemerality of the screen is highlighted as it transforms during the performance from cloth material, the bodies of the performers and, finally, to skin painted red, substantiating the existence of a tendency towards performance that can be found in the cinematic medium.

Following the event, Okuyama's activities in film went onto primarily involve performative projections. Articulated in his notion of the *shōmō kaiga* (dissipation painting), the impermanence Maki saw in the body as lived flesh had evident impact on how Okuyama went on to perceive the film apparatus for his screenings. After what became his first out of many projection performances, Okuyama began calling a series of his works *shōmetsu eiga* (disappearance films) in his exploration of film's ephemerality in the performative act of film projection.

In his deep engagement with the materiality of film, filmmaker Okuyama Jun'ichi found his interpretation of projection as a performance an opportune way to demonstrate the particularities of the film medium. Embarking on film production at the early age of seventeen, Okuyama's works showed a preference for the projector over the camera as an instrument for self-expression. Completely abandoning film's capacity for storytelling, Okuyama's work can be constituted a part of what has been called 'structural film,'¹¹⁷ a term coined by critic P. Adam Sitney to describe works with a persistent focus on the apparatus of film and projector. His statement, 'almost any image would do' (qtd. in Nishijima, 1998, p. 68), could be considered a motto for his approach that diminished the significance of the film camera by shifting the process of production to the event of projection. The following section will discuss the ways in which Okuyama demonstrated film's relationship with other arts by highlighting its particularities through destabilising the established practices of film projection.

¹¹⁷ For more on structural film, see Hein, 1979.

Just as Maki Akira replaced the canvas with the skin as the surface for his paintings, Okuyama Jun'ichi began tampering with the material of film. As part of a film series organised by the Japan Underground Centre, Okuyama presented *Setsudan* (Cut-off Movie, 1969) at Tenjō Sajiki-kan, the basement of Terayama Shūji's theatre. *Cut-off Movie* was made of spliced together bits of hair, leaves, plastic, paper and tape with film. Upon projection, the makeshift filmstrip inevitably snapped due to its lack of material durability that could not withstand being reeled through a projector. Present at the screening as the projectionist, Okuyama explained the reason for the termination of projection on each occasion in a comedic act that tested the patience of his audience (qtd. in Nakajima, 1975, p. 6). Snapping into pieces every time it was screened, the film inaugurated his 'disappearance film' series as the filmstrip was cut into shorter pieces until eventually it was too short in physical length to project.¹¹⁸

The materiality of film necessary for the manifestation of an image was also central to Okuyama in his film *Kami Eiga* (Paper Film, 1972), a filmstrip made of paper material.¹¹⁹ Although sprocket holes were punctured into the material, the fragility of the paper inevitably caused it to rip when reeled through a projector. The result was a discolouring of the image that led to an eventual incineration of the paper film. In Jonathan Walley's survey of expanded cinema in the 1960s (2011, p. 29), he raises one variant of expanded cinema as 'the replacement of the "parts" of that machine with alternative parts, a process of substitution that mobilized all sorts of materials in the creation of "cinema"' (2011, p. 36). Walley refers to Tony Conrad's *Yellow Movies* series (1973-5) and Alan Berliner's *Cine-Matrix* (1977) as 'metaphorical associations' of cinema as paper material also replaced filmstrips in their works. Not only did Okuyama predate Conrad and Berliner in his substitution of filmstrip with paper, but the film also took the metaphor back into practice as the paper material was forced into the machinery of cinematic projection. Presented at the Nire no Ki Gallery in June 1972 as part of a series of

¹¹⁸ The film was schedule to be screened at the Tokyo Film Art Festival 1969 but, due to its cancellation, was only screened for the first time in front of an audience in September 1972.

¹¹⁹ Hirakata Masaki notes the film recalls motion pictures on paper roll film invented by the British engineer William Friese-Green in 1889 (1998, p. 9).

screenings organised by Kanesaka Kenji, *Paper Film* performatively presented the fragility of the image under subjugation to the material that functionally enables its manifestation.

The destruction of film material was also performed in *No Perforations* (1971), a film in which, as the title indicates, perforations were absent on the filmstrip. Perforations, also known as sprocket holes, are the punctures along the side of a filmstrip that are placed onto the teeth of a projector that mechanically pulls the film past the shutter and through its internal structure. The mechanism prevents the filmstrip getting stuck inside the projector in order to prevent the filmstrip from melting after being heated by the light beam. Reinterpreting the malfunction as a site for creative potential, Okuyama made the melting of the film his visual notation as he manually pulled through the projector to control the amount of light to which the material would be subjected. The winner of the Silver Hugo Award at the 7th Chicago International Film Festival, *No Perforations* was a film that was to be disposed after each presentation as its was rendered unusable following the event of its projection. Kanesaka Kenji, who saw the film at the festival, praised the film's ability to reveal the origin of the filmic universe presented onscreen as a three-dimensional object by systematically destroying it (1972, p. 272). Its performed desolation during the screening forced an acknowledgement of the material fragility of film that was visualised as the onscreen drama.

Continuing to highlight the performative dimension of projection, Okuyama Jun'ichi transferred the methods of direct animation into a live performance for *Wa'kka* (Being Painted, 1970). *Being Painted* was a performance that involved a 35mm clear-film loop that Okuyama painted onto while being reeled through a projector. The performance was presented on 19 November 1970 at SAC as part of New Film & New Rock, an event that attempted to bridge audiences of rock music and experimental film.¹²⁰ The image projected onscreen inevitably transformed upon every loop as Okuyama added layers of brushstrokes onto the filmstrip in a

¹²⁰ New Film & New Rock took place on 18-20 November 1970 at SAC. Other participants include Miyai Rikurō, Katsura Kōhei, films by John Lennon and Ono Yoko as well as music videos by The Beatles. Okuyama Jun'ichi's *Being Painted* was also performed for television on NHK's 'Wakai Hiroba - Sōzō suru Wakamonotachi' (Young Space - The Youths Who Create) in January 1971.

way that displayed the mechanisms of loop-projection. Recalling the live painting sessions onto the body by his collaborator Maki Akira, the surface upon which Okuyama paints is in continuous motion, carrying on 'disappearance' by both artists and showcasing a resistant to fixedness. The rejection of prescribed frameworks is also applied to the screen in *Inpodeyance* (1969). After showing repeated scenes that showed imitations of silent comedies, Okuyama began pasting the day's newspaper onto the screen during its projection in December 1969 at Tenjō Sajiki-kan. The screen's neutral role as recipient of the projection beam is transformed as the makeshift screen blocks the image and instead becomes the provider of the day's headlines illuminated into some form of visibility by the light.¹²¹ In its integration of daily news, *Inpodeyance* not only showed Okuyama's attempt to impose the role usually taken on by television onto film but also present projection, as well as daily lives, as a passing event.

Okuyama Jun'ichi also staged performative interventions upon the projector with his own body that called attention to light and shadow being the essential foundations of cinema. A reinterpretation of shadow-play, *Maka Fushigi na Tamashī no Shōmetsu o Shinjite – Shōmetsu Jigoku* (A hell, to see [a] mysterious dissolving spirit, 1974) involved one Regular 8mm projector, one 16mm projector, two slide projectors and Okuyama himself.¹²² Clothed in a long coat, Okuyama stood in front of the projectors and waved his arms around to block portions of the projection. Rather than becoming the surface of the image, the body takes on the role of obstructor in a method he also employed for his projection performance *Eiga Tanjyō* (Human Flicker, 1975). *Human Flicker* involved two projectors placed next to one another and positioned for its projections to overlap. Both projectors screened still images of an eye, one with the eye open and the other with it closed. The lack of onscreen movement is superseded by the action of Okuyama who, holding a fan in both hands, swayed his body sideways and waved

¹²¹ The work recalls Tone Yasunao's submission for the final Yomiuri Independent Exhibition, *Something Happened* (1963), which was a plaster object that was made using the mould that produced the newspaper that had been published on the same day, a process scholar William Marotti described to have taken hold of 'the fleeting moment of the everyday' (2007, p. 30).

¹²² The performance was staged once for the Underground Cinematheque Night Show at Tenjō Sajiki-kan in February 1974.

his arms up and down to block the projection in repetitive motion.¹²³ The result onscreen was an eye that appeared to wink in response to Okuyama's gestures that, in imitation of machinery, accelerated in a comedic effect during the performance. Its Japanese title meaning 'the birth of cinema,' Okuyama used his own body as a motor to engender motion into the still images projected, emulating cinema's instigation of movement into the stasis of photography. Once again, Okuyama highlighted key characteristics specific to the cinematic medium through an exploration of its interface with performance, revealing the immiscible tension between the malleability and reticence of the filmic medium in the act of *intermedia*.

Okuyama's expanded cinema accentuates a fundamental aspect of *intermedia* as articulated by Tone Yasunao in Japan. In his articulation, Tone suggested that *intermedia* establishes the inter-relationality of things (*zentai-sei*), in a way that reveals the patterns and associations already present between mediums. As his admiration for the film *Arnulf Rainer* showed, a key constitution of *intermedia* for Tone was the way the situation of experience was brought to the foreground. Although cinema remains a paramount concern for Okuyama's projection performances, it is crucial that his delineation of cinematic specificity is brought about by the integration of theatrical performance into the presentation. In Okuyama's approximation, therefore, an *intermedia* arrangement becomes an opportunity to highlight cinema's particularity in a way that also proposes its impurity. As the distinct nature of film is clarified, it can then be placed in collocation with other mediums while retaining its own characteristics. The juxtaposition of cinematic properties with other arts was staged in Okuyama's film projections that ultimately showcased the fundamental features of the film experience.

In close proximity to performance artist as associates of the *angura* community, many filmmakers in the field of expanded cinema resorted to the body as a surface onto which their images could manifest. Registering the renegotiations of the role of the body, the expression of the body as *nikutai*, carnal flesh, harnessed the proclivity for individual autonomy that pervaded

¹²³ The performance was staged for the first time at the 3rd Andāguraundo Shinema Shinsaku-Ten (3rd Underground Cinema New Films Exhibition), organised by the Underground Centre, at Yasuda Seimei Hall Tokyo, in June 1975.

the period. As *angura* artists wielded their own bodies as their primary instrument for expression, underground filmmakers participated by projecting their images onto the performers' bodies in ways that not only spotlighted their actions but also enforced recognition of film by its displacement from the screen. The body, as seen in the 'shadow debate' in contemporary art, represented both the proclivity for action and a surface, embodying the struggle and potential exerted on the body in Japanese postwar society. Another way in which filmmakers working in expanded cinema discarded the screen was by projecting onto pneumatic sculptures, which became the grounds upon which the explorations of form and perspectival focus beyond the pictorial frame in Japanese contemporary art intersected with similar concerns in expanded cinema.

2.3 PROJECTIONS ONTO BALLOONS

The industrial feasibility of high-frequency and electric welding of polyvinyl chloride (PVC) in the 1960s led to an influx of pneumatic structures in domestic home interiors, architectural designs and contemporary art. Channeling the Space Age's admiration for zero gravity conditions, inflatable constructions captured the popular imaginary with its capacity to embody allusions to levitation, expansion and basic defiance of principles previously considered established in the world. As rigid geometries of the gallery space and cinema screen became a source of frustration for artists, works employing the newly available pneumatic technologies emerged in contemporary art alongside kinetic art and land art. Naming the new phenomenon 'air art', curator Willoughby Sharp resorted to pneumatic sculptures as viable alternatives to 'absoluteness, inflexibility and materiality' (1968, p. 7). Architect Takeyama Minoru wrote on the ability for pneumatic structures to 'break the spell that binds together material and shape' and erase the sense of spatial territory (1970, p. 42). While I agree with Sharp and Takeyama's articulation of the potentials of air art, pneumatic works that emerged in the 1960s were, I would argue, consigned to the material that gave visibility to the accumulation of air. Contrary to what was suggested as the limitless potential of air, the materiality of vinyl continued to bind the artists who resorted to the shaping of the material as their primary mode of expression. One

way the artists placed emphasis on the physicality and material presence of the inflated objects was in their collaborations with expanded cinema.

In their shared stance against the intransigence embedded in the presentation of art, the development of expanded cinema and air art ran parallel to one another, at times sharing a history. As expanded cinema sought to diverge from the conventions of film exhibition, the resilient surfaces and mobility of inflatable structures offered viable counterpoints to the stringency of the cinematic screen. On the other hand, projections onto the inflated surfaces offered an opportunity to highlight the idiosyncrasies of pneumatic technology. Moreover, air art's articulation as 'becoming' against stasis was emphasised with projection that animated the inflated objects into action (Sharp, 1968, p. 8). The crossover collaboration between expanded cinema and air art, therefore, was a reciprocal breaking of boundaries and mutual accentuation of difference, what I have so far established as the hallmark of intermedia.

Despite strong contributions to the international emergence of air art, pneumatic works from Japan have been historically overlooked. Pneumatic sculptures had intermittently featured in events and exhibitions from the 1950s and, as its popularity rose internationally, air art became a prominent feature in Japanese art from the 1960s. Leading up to Expo '70 where many major pavilions had pneumatic tent structures, Japanese industries, architects and artists showed enthusiasm for experimentation in inflatable sculptures. Nonetheless, most critical attention on air art of the period has focused on its developments in the United States and Europe. Historian Sean Topham's statement is typical in its omission of Japan:

Air-filled art appeared simultaneously in cities all over Europe and America between the years 1965 and 1970, with interest in inflatable forms peaking around 1967 and 1968.

(2002, p. 80)¹²⁴

¹²⁴ Although in his historical analysis of 1960s pneumatic art Sean Topham fails to identify Japan's contributions, he does devote a section to Japanese artists in his chapter on 1990s pneumatics. Kenji Yanobe, Momoyo Torimitsu, Takashi Murakami and Mariko Mori are Japanese artists that Topham cites for their use of pneumatic technology, suggesting their work can be thematically linked in their 'confusion between fantasy and reality, the use of cuteness as

The limited geographical scope is not only reductive but also bestows a disservice to the nexus of global interactivity that had been taking place in postwar art, upon which pneumatics spread internationally. Moreover, the development of air art in 1960s Japan provides us with useful case studies for which *intermedia* was practiced in ways articulated by both Tone Yasunao and Akiyama Kuniharu. While its incorporation of new technologies attests to Akiyama's articulation of *intermedia* as technological art, air art also integrated the relationality posited as key to *intermedia* through its presentation that, making 'inside and outside one' (Sharp, 1968, p. 8), both creates and captures space.

The first section will begin with an overview of the ways in which air art was considered in critical circles following major exhibitions in the United States and Europe. Subsequently, the presence of inflatables in Japan prior to the international outbreak of pneumatic technology will be outlined in the second section. The air art of Kanayama Akira and Shinohara Ushio, artists who both engaged in performative expression, will be subsequently analysed in order to trace a lineage that demonstrates that the predilection in Japanese air art for performance was historically embedded rather than imported. Finally, the last two sections will offer case studies on expanded cinema presentations resulting from collaborations between pneumatic artist Ōnishi Seiji with filmmakers Iimura Takahiko and Shūzō Azuchi Gulliver. While Ōnishi has been largely overlooked in the recent reappraisal of Japanese postwar arts, his tendency to collaborate with other artists merits evaluation particularly in the context of *intermedia*. Shinohara and Ōnishi offered alternative to the screen for surfaces onto which the filmmakers' images could manifest, showcasing a crossover between air art and expanded cinema that became a distinctive feature for the practice of *intermedia* in Japan.

The following chapter will demonstrate the ways in which the crossover between air art and expanded cinema brought together performance and film while accentuating the differences between the two mediums. Moreover, it will explore the sculptural quality of the pneumatic

a mask, and an over-riding fear for the future' that he offers as a contrast to what he understands as an idyllic vision of the future in 1960s air art (2002, p. 114).

objects to have also been emphasised by its interaction with film as the projection light literally illuminated the surfaces of the balloons. With the balloon's mobility and rounded surface, the amorphous quality of light projection was also highlighted as a characteristic of film usually concealed in cinematic projection. The screen surface was similarly shown to be subject to transformation as, set in motion, the reflective layer of the balloons shifted axes in relation to the positioning of the projector. With light projection and the screen emancipated from their commonly prescribed roles in the cinematic experience, the crossover between air art and expanded cinema also imparted the performative quality of film.

2.3.1 Pneumatic Technology

The popularisation of pneumatic technology provided opportunities that bridged architecture, interior design and art in a period where collaborations between artists, engineers and corporations had increasingly become commonplace. While pneumatic architecture emerged as pavilions for world expositions and sports facilities, on the other side of the spectrum, inflatable furniture and domestic interiors began making an appearance in household markets. Artists similarly began making use of the industrial applicability of pneumatic technology with sculptural shaping of air, leading to a series of exhibitions in Europe and the United States on the subject. Although inflatables experienced a period of demand in the late 1960s, its history as technology harked back long before. Starting with man's investigations on the possibilities of flight, pneumatic technologies were developed with military funding for shelter and assault weaponry as well as by commercial industries for strategic advertising. While this was only partially acknowledged in critical discussions of the 1960s on inflatable architecture and air art, it remains important to provide a context upon which pneumatic technology provided a bridge between military, capital, popular culture and contemporary art.

Hot-air balloons had also been employed for commercial purposes in Japan, as traveling adverts named *kōkoku fūsen* (advertising balloon), or 'ad-balloons', harked back prior to Japan's involvement in the Pacific War. Although production halted during wartime and occupational periods, the Japanese innovation was soon reconvened and once again became familiar sights in

the skies. During the Second World War, balloons were manufactured as assault weaponry. In desperation nearing defeat between 1944-5, Japan sent over 9,000 balloon bombs (*fūsen bakudan*) adrift to the United States. Its programme developed for over a decade, the balloon bombs became the 'world's first intercontinental weapon' (Mikesh, 1973, p. 1) and the perpetrator of the only civilian deaths from enemy attack on American soil during the Second World War.¹²⁵ As historian Robert C. Mikesh's studies show, the Japanese government funded a substantial amount of scientific research into the calculation of transpacific wind currents and the production of low-cost and gas-proof material for durable balloons that would survive the conditions of the journey. Balloon production in Japan, therefore, has a history that similarly intertwined developments of commercial and military purposes.

For a generation of Japanese artists, critics and audiences, the growth in balloon production within the arts of the 1960s was a reminder of growing up in wartime Japan. With their school hours reduced, children were the unlikely labourers ordered to support the manual production of balloons that were to be used as weaponry against their wartime enemy (Mikesh, 1973, p. 16). This generation of schoolchildren corresponded with the age group of artists who, as adults, resorted to pneumatic technology for the construction of their air sculptures. Born in 1930, critic Tōno Yoshiaki was one of the thousands of children who took to the task of mass-producing balloons. In the first of many essays he wrote on air art, Tōno notes that it was 'actually with affection' that, upon encountering Christo's enormous tubular balloon *5,600 Cubic Meter Package* (1967-8) at Documenta 4 Kassel, he was reminded of his wartime labour (1968, p. 8). Tōno's response, in a sense, was emblematic of the broadly uncritical ways in which the use of the balloons was practiced in the postwar generation of Japanese artists. Despite its historical relationship with military practice, Japanese artists either took ownership or took no notice of the significance of pneumatic technology to the recent past of their country. Rather than through reflection, it was an influx of pneumatic activity in the United States and Europe that caught the attention of Japanese artists and critics, most notably 'Air Art', the exhibition

¹²⁵ Five children and a woman were killed near Lakeview, Oregon, on 5 May 1945, when the bomb exploded as they dragged the balloon out from the woods (Mikesh, 1973, p. 27).

curated by Willoughby Sharp that toured the United States between March 1968 and March 1969.¹²⁶

2.3.2 Willoughby Sharp and Japan's response to Air Art

'Air Art' was the first of a series of exhibitions curated around what are considered the classical elements of fire, water, earth and air that Willoughby Sharp had planned to put together. Identifying an increasing disposition towards immaterial arts, New York-based Sharp channeled László Moholy-Nagy for his curated exhibition 'Light/Motion/Space' (1967), followed by 'Luminism' (1967), 'Air Art' (1968-1969), 'Earth Art' (1969) and 'Places and Processes' (1969), as well as a series of exhibitions on kineticism (1966-68). It was his elemental exhibitions that caught the attention of Japanese art critics and to which led the journal *Bijutsu Techō* to dedicate two consecutive special issues on 'air art' (June 1969) and 'earth art' (July 1969). Although Tōno Yoshiaki used the term in his essay for *SD* magazine's special issue on membrane structure (November 1968), *Bijutsu Techō*'s edition marked the first occasion where 'air art' was taken into serious consideration in Japanese art criticism. Including an interview with Willoughby Sharp, the special issue provided profiles on Otto Piene of Group ZERO, Christo, Japanese artist Isobe Yukihiisa and an essay by Tōno Yoshiaki. The issues raised in the edition help us appreciate in what ways air art was critically evaluated in late 1960s Japan.

Along with other movements picked up for his exhibitions, Willoughby Sharp positioned the potential for air art in its exploration of an alternative to what he saw as an outmoded consignment to matter. Although Sharp was certainly not the only one who had identified the contemporary trend, Japanese critics seem to have assessed the new movement through his articulation of the trend. Other than Sharp's interview in the edition, *Bijutsu Techō* dedicated one of their artist profiles to Otto Piene who, although unrepresented in the Air Art exhibition, featured in the catalogue and was regularly featured exhibitions curated by Sharp.

¹²⁶ 'Air Art' was exhibited at the following institutions: Arts Council in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Contemporary Arts Center in Cincinnati, Ohio; Lakeview Center for the Arts and Sciences in Peoria, Illinois; University Art Museum in Berkeley, California; and Lamont Gallery in Exeter, New Hampshire.

The term 'air art' itself, unique to Sharp, continued to be used by Japanese critics to prescribe inflatable artwork with a local enunciation, *ea āto*. When 'Inflatable Art' exhibition curated by Tejas Englesmith at the Jewish Museum in New York¹²⁷ was introduced three months later, the journal continued to utilise Sharp's term to describe the exhibition. While acknowledging Group Utopie's March 1968 exhibition 'Structures Gonflables' at Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris as well as *Architectural Design's* June 1968 'Pneu World' special issue, Tōno Yoshiaki similarly chose to frame the activities within Sharp's turn of phrase, setting aside 'inflatable' or 'pneumatic' that had also been in use (1968, p. 7). The persistent use of 'air art' in critical writing in Japan attests not only to the impact of Sharp's exhibition but also to ways in which Japanese art critics welcomed Sharp's assessment of the movement.

As advocated by Willoughby Sharp, it was the repudiation of material in air art that had imparted considerable influence on the Japanese art critics. A dismissal of material that had long supported painterly and plastic arts, the immaterial promise of air art as an approach provided a refreshing departure from devotion to physical matter. Nakahara Yūsuke, in his profile on Otto Piene, pointed out the change in direction away from plasticity in contemporary art. Instead, he felt artists working with the classical elements shifted their importance from shape (*katachi*) to condition (*jō*) (1969c, p. 85).¹²⁸ Tōno Yoshiaki, on the other hand, seemed slightly more hesitant to embrace the work's total rejection of materiality, what he saw as fundamental to the attraction towards air in contemporary art:

When we think of air, we think of an emancipated, free world of flight and weightlessness. Just as we are drawn to light, moving image, sound and water, our recent attraction towards air can be understood as a rejection of solid matter in favour of looking towards a clear and brighter world of anti-material (*hi-bu'shitsu*) with the support from something immaterial (*han-bu'shitsu*). (1968, p. 8)

¹²⁷ 'Inflatable Sculpture' ran through 2nd July – 24th August 1969 and featured Kip Coburn, Charles Frazier, David Jacobs, Vera Simons, Susan Lewis Williams and Otto Piene.

¹²⁸ Nakahara's wordplay, as he points out, indicates the word *keijō* (form) that is the combination of the two *kanji* characters, namely shape (*katachi*) and condition (*form*).

Tōno's use of the prefix *han-*, here, is not the *han-* to signify a rejection as we have seen in anti-art (*han-geijutsu*); instead, it means 'semi-' or 'half' despite the identical pronunciation. Thus, Tōno's phrase *han-bu'shitsu*, which I translate to immateriality, constitutes a variation from material that nevertheless cannot be completely disassociated from materiality. In describing Christo's *5,600 Cubic Meter Package*, Tōno suggested the encasing of air in the work's use of pneumatic technology would be more accurately defined as a 'physicalisation of immaterial' (*han-bu'shitsu no bu'taika*) (1968, p. 8). Tōno's conception, therefore, points towards a paradox of air art; despite its immaterial reputation, air art relied on vinyl material for visibility. While dealing with atmosphere as a primary tool, the artists resorted to making air visible by enfolding it inside of a mould.

The visibility imposed on air was further emphasised in the artists' collaboration with filmmakers working in the field of expanded cinema in the late 1960s, where projection light literally lit up the material that enfolds the atmosphere. Before I discuss its relationship with expanded cinema, however, I will first explain Tōno Yoshiaki's suggestion that one of the idiosyncrasies of air art might be its connection with works that have a predilection towards action, specifically those with components related to happenings (1968, p. 8). Rather than citing examples from overseas, Tōno chose to demonstrate his point with Japanese performance artists, namely, Kazakura Shō, Ōnishi Seiji, Isobe Yukihiisa and members of Gutai. As an early proponent of air art, Gutai's Kanayama Akira's work *Balloon* (1956) marked the only Japanese entry in Willoughby Sharp's 'Air Art' exhibition. The use of balloons in happenings, however, was not necessarily unique to the Japanese art scene. Artists based in the United States and Europe, such as Robert Whitman, Allan Kaprow, Jeffrey Shaw and Otto Piene, had similarly staged actions that involved balloons of varying sizes. The following section will explore the ways in which air art and happenings intersected to attempt to articulate the reason for its proclivity towards action in Japan.

2.3.3 Gutai and Kanayama Akira

Emerging out of an abrasive period of postwar reconstruction, the Gutai Art Association was founded in 1954 by artists Yoshihara Jirō and a group of sixteen young artists based in the Kansai region. Spanning almost two decades of the country's tumultuous transformation from a nation torn from defeat, occupation and into a global economic superpower, Gutai's trailblazing activities until their disbandment in 1972 have since been commended for their attack on artistic conventions across multiple mediums. Gutai's stage was international as their activities corresponded with the European movement Arts Informel led by Michel Tapié and American Happenings by Allan Kaprow, despite establishing separately and, in the case of happenings, preceding the movement by some years.¹²⁹ Recent reappraisal of Gutai has focused on the group's innovative reconfiguration of the notion of painting that broadened to encompass materials and approaches that would become vital concerns in the arts a decade later with outdoor presentations, installations, performance, audience participation, light and the natural elements of earth and air.¹³⁰ The brief introduction of Gutai's activities in this section will focus on their contributions to air art to expound on the ways in which their use of balloons was one method to which they resorted in their search for alternative presentations of their paintings.

One unorthodox method of display Gutai discovered for their paintings was presented at The International Sky Festival the group organised on 19-24 April 1960, where they launched paintings by thirty international artists into the sky. Held during the 9th Gutai Art Exhibition on the gallery of Takashimaya department store in Osaka, the group collected sketches submitted by artists from Italy, Spain, the U.S. and Japan, of which the Gutai artists painted enlarged interpretations onto banners and subsequently attached onto paper balloons that were floated above the roof. Suspended to the roof with 80-metre cables, the balloons not only recalled the ad-balloons but also appropriated their methodology as they functioned as announcements of the in-store exhibition. Bridging the spaces for public, art and commerce, the festival provided a crossover the Gutai artists sought to establish between the platforms as a way to share a participatory space with everyday experience. Moreover, as the Gutai artists painted all the

¹²⁹ See Munroe, 2013, pp. 21-34. Gutai is also profiled in Kaprow, 1966, pp. 211-24.

¹³⁰ For recent English-language reassessments of Gutai, see: Munroe 1994; Munroe 2013; Tiampo 2007, 2011, 2013a, 2013b; Yoshimoto 2013b.

works in accordance to sketches submitted, the presentation also posed questions on authorship that they had sought to debunk with the members' early participatory paintings, such as Yoshihara Jirō's 1956 *Please Draw Freely* (Tiampo, 2013b, p. 62).¹³¹ Photographic documentation of the festival was published in the group's journal *Gutai 11*, which was sent to the participants of the festival and disseminated among artist circles overseas. The festival, however, was not the first occasion in which Gutai had established relationships with Abstract Expressionist and Informel artists. By 1957, Gutai's activities reached Michel Tapié with whom the group established a longstanding relationship that eventually led to a stronger international presence, starting with an exhibition at New York's Martha Jackson Gallery on 25 September – 25 October 1958. In such ways, Gutai became the Japanese collective with the strongest international outreach in the postwar period.

Willoughby Sharp's encounter with Gutai's work was evidently through the group's presentation as part of Nul 1965. For the exhibition, presented on 15 April – 8 June 1965 at the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam, Dutch artist-curator Henk Peeters brought together collectives Gruppo T from Italy, Nul from the Netherlands, Zero from Germany, Gutai and a selection of artists through what he observed as a common interest between the artists' engagement with natural elements. By 1966, Sharp had established a strong relationship with Zero since selecting works by its members Günther Uecker, Heinz Mack and Otto Piene as part of his Kineticism exhibition at American Abstract Artists. He subsequently also curated a single-artist exhibition of Uecker's at Alfred Schmela Gallery on 9-29 September and New York's Howard Wise Gallery on 1–19 November 1966.¹³² Sharp, in his research for these exhibitions, would have encountered Nul 1965 as his selection of its participating artists Pol Bury, David Boriani, Giani

¹³¹ *Please Draw Freely* (1956) was a blank signboard that invited attendees of the exhibition to contribute to the painting with marker pens that were provided. The painting was presented at the Outdoor Gutai Art Exhibition in Ashiya Park, 27 July – 5 August 1956 and more information can be found in Tiampo, 2013b, pp. 56, 84-85.

¹³² On top of the three exhibitions listed, Uecker exhibited at Sharp's exhibition Slow-Motion in Rutgers University (1967), Light-Motion-Space at Walker Art Center (1967) and Luminism at the Artists Club (1967). Piene was also exhibited at 'Kinetic and Programmed Art' at Rhode Island School of design (1966) and Kineticism: Systems Sculpture in Environmental Situations at University Museum of Arts and Science, Mexico City (1968). Mack was also exhibited at Slow-Motion, Light-Motion-Space, Luminism and Kineticism: Systems Sculpture in Environmental Situations.

Colombo, Lucio Fontana, Heinz Mack, George Rickey, Jesús Rafael Soto, Gabriele de Vecchi and Kanayama for his subsequent exhibitions testifies.¹³³ Upon the request of curator Peeters, the exhibition primarily consisted of Gutai's activities dating back a decade and was presented together in the same room. Kanayama's *Balloon* (1956), however, was installed separately together with Yves Klein's works including *Anthropometry* (1960).¹³⁴ Moreover, *Balloon* features prominently on a number of Peeters' photomontages made to illustrate the unrealised project Zero on Sea, an outdoor art event scheduled for the Scheveningen Pier in The Hague, the Netherlands, in the autumn of 1966. In such ways, Kanayama's work struck a chord with international artists and curators ten years after its making.

Kanayama Akira's *Balloon* appeared in different guises during and after his involvement with Gutai. After founding Zero-kai with Murakami Saburō and Shiraga Kazuo in 1952, Kanayama joined Gutai in 1955 with his fellow members where he first presented a balloon piece *Sakuhin* (Work, 1955) at the 1st Gutai Art Exhibition in Ohara Kaikan, Tokyo on 19-28 October 1955. Commenting on the large white balloon that was hung just centimeters above the floor from the ceiling, Gutai member Shimamoto Shōzō noted the work's enforcement of a recognition of its relationship with the exhibitions space (1956, p. 280).¹³⁵ Indeed, as Yoneda Naoki notes the *Sakuhin* (Work , 1955), presented outdoors, similarly concerned the work's relationship with its surrounding space (2012, p. 255). His earliest engagement with spherical objects, Kanayama placed a red ball at the central points of a block of white boards in Ashiya Park, on the occasion of the Experimental Outdoor Exhibition of Modern Art to Challenge the Mid-Summer Sun on 25 July – 6 August 1955. Discussing his captivation with balloons, Kanayama described how he wanted to experience and overcome the

¹³³ Although his work was not exhibited at Nul 1965, Nul member Hans Haacke had a longstanding relationship with Sharp and his work was exhibited at his exhibitions *Kineticism, Kinetic and Programmed Art, Slow-Motion, Kineticism: Systems Sculpture in Environmental Situations, Air Art, Kinetic Environments One & Two* at Central Park (1967), *Earth Art* at Andréw Dickson White Museum of Art (1969), *Place & Process* at the Edmonton Art Gallery (1969).

¹³⁴ Although Kanayama's *Balloon* was exhibited separately from Gutai's other works in the exhibition, the catalogue presents Kanayama as a Gutai artist.

¹³⁵ Quoted in Yoneda, 2012, p. 255.

interconnected nature between planarity, time and space through balloons (1957, p. 299).¹³⁶ After leaving Gutai in 1965, Kanayama continued to use inflated plastic material as sculptural objects for his film *Circles* (1970), a documentation of an event where he outlined a circle onto a landscape using a tubular balloon that was pumped with helium. It was in 1957, when Kanayama presented his performance *Kyodai na Barūn* (Giant Balloon) for their performance event Gutai Art on the Stage, that the artist first experimented with the crossover potential of air art and live performance.

Presented at Sankei Kaikan on 29 May 1957, Gutai Art on the Stage was a series of twelve performances by Gutai artists at the proposal and direction of its leader Yoshihara Jirō. The day of performances marked a shift in Gutai's approach to painting that culminated in their disavowal of the word for painting (*kaiga*) in favour of pictures (*e*), a word that can be understood as unencumbered by the conventions of painting (Tiampo, 2013, p. 52). Painting (*kaiga*) is, in fact, a combination of picture (*e*) and frame (*ga*), the same (*ga*) that is used for the word film (*ei-ga*). As Ming Tiampo notes, the word (*ga*) has its roots in the character for rice fields that insinuates flatness (2013, p. 52).¹³⁷ Gutai's preference for picture (*e*), foreshadows the shift from moving picture (*eiga*) to image (*eizō*) that seeks to explore beyond the flatness of the screen frame. A rejection of the flatness of the canvas, frame and exhibition space, the Gutai artists resorted to the stage as one method to enact what Reiko Tomii has called 'performance paintings', a performative rendition of the process of painting (2009b, pp. 8-30). With *Giant Balloon*, Kanayama Akira painted onto a large balloon in front of the audience for Gutai Art on the Stage in response to Yoshihara's call for painting as action. The staged use of a large balloon, preceding Otto Piene and Robert Whitman by some years, not only offered a dynamic substitute of the canvas but also invoked a reconfiguration of the stage as space. Channeling an overall shift in direction for Gutai, Kanayama, in an early example of Japanese air art,

¹³⁶ Quoted in Yoneda, 2012, p. 256.

¹³⁷ Ming Tiampo cites Reiko Tomii's essay for Gutai's use of the word *e*. Tomii, Reiko (2012). 'Murakami Saburō's 'e' no kokoro' (Murakami Saburō's 'Picture' Mind' in Tsukasa Ikegami and Reiko Tomii (eds.), *Murakami Saburō: 70-nendai o chūshin ni* (Saburo Murakami: Focus on the '70s). Osaka: ArtCourt Gallery.

experimented with predilection towards action in inflatable sculptures in Gutai's search for alternatives to flat canvas presentations.

2.3.4. Neo-Dadaism Organisers: Shinohara Ushio

Although short-lived in comparison to Gutai, the Neo-Dadaism Organisers¹³⁸ were similarly influential artist collective based in Tokyo whom resorted to action for artistic expression. Founded in 1960, the group consisted of artists that had been primarily responsible for the shift from paintings to assemblages in the displays at the Yomiuri Independents exhibitions.¹³⁹ Inspired less by the original Dada of the historical avant-garde than the American contemporaries of Robert Rauschenberg and Jasper Johns, Neo-Dada spearheaded the shift towards assemblages and the disposition towards on-street action. In their use of disposable materials for their assemblages, some of the members went on to incorporate balloons into their exhibitions and performances. Rather than its implementation as a surface for what William Marotti has called Gutai's 'work- and painting-focused productions' (2013, p. 174), Shinohara Ushio applied balloons into their works and performances as objects themselves, channeling the general shift towards assemblages in the early 1960s Tokyo art scene. In the emergence of expanded cinema, Shinohara participated in presentations of film with balloons. With inflatables as the pivot, tracing Shinohara and Kazakura's activities produces an understanding of the ways in which assemblages, happenings and expanded cinema intersected in the 1960s.

Founded after the opening of the 12th Yomiuri Independent exhibition, the group Neo-Dada was a congregation of artists who gathered around Yoshimura Masanobu's atelier that was given the name White House. Intermittently converted into an exhibition space, Yoshimura's home had become a meeting point for a nexus of artists and critics. Declaring 'Picasso's bull no longer has a capacity to inspire us' referencing the painting *Guernica*, Neo-Dada were united in their belief that an artist must become what they called the 'slaughterer' in order to avoid becoming the 'victim'. The statement reflects their propensity for action, demonstrated in the

¹³⁸ I will hereafter refer to the group as Neo-Dada, to which they were later renamed.

¹³⁹ Affiliated artists Kudō Tetsumi and Miki Tomio never joined the group despite being closely associated with its members.

organisation of their own group exhibitions and accelerated rate of production to complete their works in time for the occasions. Only a month after their mobilisation, the group held their first exhibition at the Ginza Gallery on 4-9 April 1960 that involved mainly assemblages built by its members Akasegawa Genpei, Arakawa Shūsaku, Kazakura Shō, Shinohara Ushio, Yoshimura and others.¹⁴⁰ Action, for the Neo-Dada group, also constituted participation in political demonstrations against the Anpo Treaty by some members of the group, including Kazakura and Shinohara, who bore witness to the 15 June 1960 protests that led to the death of a student protestor. On the evening of the automatic renewal of the Anpo treaty three days later, the artists gathered at the White House and burst into action, burning works and painting nude.¹⁴¹

A member of Neo-Dada, Shinohara Ushio artistic activity spanned many genres including assemblages, performances and inflatable sculptures for expanded cinema projections. By the time he joined Neo-Dada, Shinohara had already established himself as an artist with his assemblages submitted for the Yomiuri Independent exhibitions. Taking inspiration from Jackson Pollock and Georges Mathieu, whose demonstration of Art Informel in front of Shirokiya department store on 3 September 1957 had an indelible impact on an emerging generation of young artists in Tokyo, Shinohara's work took a turn towards an emphasis on the process of production as much as the finished result. With his iconic Mohawk haircut, a rare sighting in 1950s Japan, Shinohara began attracting media attention as a rock-a-billy artist who staged the production process of his paintings for journalists and cameramen.¹⁴² Mostly known for his boxing paintings where he dipped boxing gloves into paint and punched the canvas, Shinohara had also constructed large-scale assemblages inspired by Robert Rauschenberg and

¹⁴⁰ As seen in the exhibition pamphlet, Akasegawa Genpei, at the time, used his real name Akasegawa Katsuhiko and Kazakura Shō used his artist name Kazakura Shōsaku instead of his given name Hashimoto Masakazu. Both Akasegawa and Kazakura changed their name on the recommendation of Shinohara Ushio's mother during their time as members of the Neo-Dadaism Organisers.

¹⁴¹ The event is detailed in Marotti, 2013, pp. 175-7.

¹⁴² Shinohara's action painting had received so much media attention by the early 1960s that New York photographer William Klein documented Shinohara's boxing painting for his photobook *Tokyo* (1964) in 1961.

Jasper Johns, whose work he directly mimicked for his series *Imitation Art*.¹⁴³ This section will, however, focus on his lesser-known work with balloons that he began as early as 1960 corresponding with Japanese artists' increasing engagement with found objects and assemblages.

During the 1960s, balloons let loose into gallery spaces had become fairly familiar sights in the precedence of the development of installations art and interactive displays. On display between 30 September – 30 October 1962, Jean Tinguely built a tunnel from which balloons were let loose when visitors entered Room VII of the landmark exhibition 'Dylaby' at the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam.¹⁴⁴ In April four years later at the Leo Castelli Gallery in New York, Andy Warhol let loose his *Silver Clouds* (1966), a collection of pillow-shaped inflatables made of the material 3M scotchpak, heat-sealable plastic film, that was made in collaboration with Billy Klüver of Bell Labs. Even earlier in April 1960, Shinohara Ushio scattered fifty balloons tied together with wire at the first Neo-Dada exhibition. Entitled *Gokigen na Yojigen* (The Cheerful Fourth Dimension), Shinohara's balloons, bought in local markets in Asakusa where Shinohara worked part-time, took over one of the three rooms on the second floor of Ginza Gallery in an exhibition that would become a benchmark in the emergence of anti-art in Japan. What is often overlooked, however, is Shinohara's contribution marked his first inclusion of balloons into his artistic practice that he would follow almost a decade later in a spatial and cultural context of a different scale at the Cross Talk Intermedia.¹⁴⁵

Cross Talk Intermedia was a considerable departure for Shinohara Ushio's balloons from their humble beginnings at the Ginza Gallery. Amid the spectacle of electronic sonic and

¹⁴³ Shinohara copied Rauschenberg's *Coca Cola Plan* and John's *Three Flags*, allegedly with their consent (2006, p. 143). For more on the *Imitation Art* series see Ikegami, 2011a, pp. 154-203.

¹⁴⁴ The full title of the exhibition was *Dylaby: dynamisch labyrinth*. Other participants included Daniel Spoerri, Martial Raysse, Niki de Saint Phalle, Per Olof Ultvedt and Robert Rauschenberg. The exhibition, with the subtitle 'dynamic labyrinth', primarily consisted of found objects and junk from the nearby market that was assembled to construct various environments and assemblages.

¹⁴⁵ Photographic documentation shows that Shinohara also used inflatable sculptures for *Space Hunting*, a happening for television that took place at the TBS studios in 1969. In the photograph taken by Hara Eizaburō, Kanesaka Kenji, presumably invited by Shinohara to participate, is seen spraying pneumatic sculptures made of clear vinyl with paint. Models in swimwear also appear to have been covered in paint (Haryū, 1972, p. 23).

projection apparatus, what could be described as the only sculptural contribution were the balloons made by artist Shinohara and sculptor Misawa Kenzi.¹⁴⁶ Misawa, who studied under Tōno Yoshiaki at Tama Arts University, joined the company Glass Plastic in 1968 where he worked primarily with the two materials for the construction of promotional window and spatial displays, skills that were later used for the production of inflated sculptures. Named 'object screens' in the programme, Shinohara and Misawa made thirty heat-sealed and enormous plastic balloons for the purposes as the surface for the *intermedia* projections by Matsumoto Toshio, Iimura Takahiko and American artist David Rosenboom. Scattered in the spherical pit beneath which the audience sat in seats that encircled around and above the gymnasium, the balloons were pushed in motion by Shinohara and others during the projection events to produce a moving screen that, in its refrain from stasis, forced itself into positions of visibility. Together with the multiple projectors, Shinohara and Misawa's balloons staged the most ambitious expanded cinema projections in scale and technique yet to be seen by Japanese audiences.

On the one hand, Shinohara Ushio and Misawa Kenzi's inflated sculptures connected Cross Talk Intermedia onto the international lineage in the exploration of art and technology. The presence of balloons evidently recalled Steve Paxton's *Physical Things* (1966) presented at 9 Evenings: Theatre and Performance, the event onto which Cross Talk Intermedia is considered to have modelled itself.¹⁴⁷ Peter Moore's photograph of Paxton's inflated environment had been published in the May 1967 issue of arts journal *Mizue* and, in the second edition of Cross Talk, the organisers screened documentation of the event for their audience. Moreover, projections onto balloons that had taken place in Europe and the United States had also been introduced to Japan; Iimura Takahiko had praised Robert Whitman's *Two Holes of Water, No. 2* (1966) in film journal *Eiga Hyōron* and *Moviemovie* (1967), staged by the Eventstructure Research Group and Sigma Projects at the EXPRMNTL 4 in Knokke-le-Zoute,

¹⁴⁶ Although the direct iteration of his name would be spelt Misawa Kenji, the artist prefers his first name to be spelt Kenzi.

¹⁴⁷ In their special issue on *intermedia*, arts journal *Bijutsu Techō* included an essay by E.A.T-founder Billy Klüver in the pages after Akiyama Kuniharu's report on Cross Talk Intermedia (1969, pp. 135-137).

Belgium, was also documented in written and photographic form by its editor Satō Jyūshin.¹⁴⁸ On the other hand, the Japanese art scene had borne witness to its own proliferation of inflatable sculptures that harked back to the mid-1950s. Shinohara and Misawa's balloons, and in extension, Cross Talk Intermedia, should thus be considered both a strategic attempt to force an interconnection with global developments in the field and an affirmation of a local culture that could partake in such endeavours. In bringing together air art and expanded cinema, moreover, the projections onto the balloons staged at Cross Talk Intermedia brought forth key concerns around form, control and audience that will be explored through Matsumoto Toshio and Imura Takahiko's projections.

2.3.5 Matsumoto Toshio's *Projection for <Icon>*

Although best known for his first feature-length film *Bara no Sōretsu* (Funeral Parade of Roses, 1969), Matsumoto established a career in public-relation and documentary films over a decade prior to making his first feature. Starting his film career with Shin Riken Eiga who specialised in science documentaries and promotional films, Matsumoto joined a cohort of leftist filmmakers of the period who, snubbed by the traditional film studios, found refuge in companies, such as Iwanami Eiga and Tokyo Shinema, that produced public-relation films.¹⁴⁹ Matsumoto became a member of the study group Kiroku Kyōiku Eiga Seisaku Kyōgikai (the Documentary and Educational Producers Conference) with other leftist documentary filmmakers, who founded the journal *Kiroku Eiga* (Documentary Film) for which Matsumoto

¹⁴⁸ The group included Jeffrey Shaw, Tjebbe Van Tijen and Theo Botschuijver from the Netherlands. Satō Jyūshin had attended EXPRMNTL 4, held on 25 December 1967 – 2 January 1968, with Wakamatsu Kōji whose film *Taiji ga Mitsuryō suru toki* (The Embryo Hunts in Secret, 1966) was in competition at the festival. Satō seems to have mistaken *Moviemovie* for being a presentation by the USCO group and had more praise for its psychedelic qualities than its potential for film expression (1968d, unpaginated). For a more comprehensive report on the festival, including the protest Wakamatsu's film sparked by German student activists, see Satō, 1968c, pp. 34-39.

¹⁴⁹ In his introduction to his translation of Matsumoto's essay 'Theory of Avant-Garde Documentary', Michael Raine describes the cohort to have consisted of 'prewar veterans in the proliferian cinema movement, refugees from the occupation-era purges of the studio ranks, and politically active students who had found it difficult to enter the conservative film studios in the 1950s' (2012, p. 144). Shin Riken, Matsumoto directed *Ginrin* (Bicycle of Dream, 1955), *Haru o Yobu Kora* (Children Calling Spring, 1959), *Shiroi Nagai Sen no Kiroku* (Long White Line of Record, 1960), *Nishijin* (Weaves of Nishijin, 1962) and *Ishi no Uta* (The Song of Stone, 1963).

published his essay 'Theory of Avant-Garde Documentary' for the inaugural issue. As the editor of film journals *Eizō Geijutsu*, *Kikan Firumu* and author of the widely influential text *Eizō no hakken: Avangyarudo Dokyumentarii* (Discovery of Image: Avant-Garde Documentary, 1963), Matsumoto's critical writings had widespread influence among his contemporaries, which began in his essays for the group's newsletters for which he received praise and controversy. In particular, 'The Subjectivity of the Author' (1957), quoted in the aforementioned essay, aggressively denounced senior documentary filmmakers for upholding their pretences to naturalism in negation of their own subjectivity. In his critique of the absence of change in representation since wartime propaganda, Matsumoto called for the interlacing of documentary with the ostensibly oppositional form of the avant-garde which, I will argue, continued to shape his cinema beyond the realms of documentary for its investment in form in the delivery of content.¹⁵⁰

Under the leadership of Hanada Kiyoteru in the study group Kiroku Geijutsu no Kai (Society of Documentary Arts), Matsumoto Toshio felt the suppression of the artist and audiences' interiority in conventional documentary. In the collision of avant-garde and documentary and, in extension, subjectivity and objectivity that the two forms ostensibly represent, Matsumoto envisioned a liberation of both by critiquing their forms of representation through dialectical synthesis.¹⁵¹ Questioning the subsidiary position of form over thematic content in Japanese post-war documentaries, Matsumoto called for an engagement with the material conditions and specificities of cinema in the delivery of factual narratives. As Yuriko Furuhashi has pointed out, Matsumoto resorted to 'remediation' (2013, p. 33), a term described by Jay David Bolter and Richard Grusin as a 'representation of one medium in another' (2000, p. 45), to arrive at a strategy for the process of mediation to take priority over what is transformed.

¹⁵⁰ Matsumoto denounced the filmmakers as 'slavish craftsmen lacking subjectivity' (Matsumoto, 1971, p. 75, quoted in Nornes, 2002, p. 44).

¹⁵¹ Mika Ko, in her analysis of *Funeral Parade of Roses* in light of Matsumoto's conception on avant-garde documentary or, what he also called neo-documentarism, she invokes a Hegelian *Aufhebung*, or synthesis, for the duality of 'denial' and 'preservation' embodied in the meaning of the word that also describes a collision of opposites (2011, p. 378).

Matsumoto's turn to remediation is best exemplified in his analysis of Alain Resnais' film *Guernica* and its interplay with the painting subject.

Describing the film less as a document of the painting than a 'record of his own vision,'¹⁵² Matsumoto Toshio praised Alain Resnais and Robert Hessen's 1950 short film on Pablo Picasso's painting *Guernica* (1937) in his essay 'A Theory of Avant-Garde Documentary' (1958). Rather than showing the painting uninterrupted, Matsumoto noted how Resnais fragmented the painting into close-ups of its details that are brought together with cuts and superimpositions. For Matsumoto, Resnais' refusal to align the pictorial frame with the camera shot to reveal to his audience the entire painting was a method to translate the experience of observing the mural using cinematic means: 'Resnais does not intend to "show" Picasso but to "see" him' (2012, p. 149). Matsumoto's concern, therefore, is the transformation of raw material (*sozai*) into subject-object (*taishō*) by, through remediation, revealing the subjective orientation inevitable in the act of observation.¹⁵³ As Yuriko Furuhashi notes, the analysis had widespread implications on Japan's independent cinema ranging from the animation of still images in *WOLS* (Jōnouchi Motoharu, 1965) and *Ninja Bugeichō* (Band of Ninja, Ōshima Nagisa, 1965) to the insertion of still photographs into narrative storytelling in films by Wakamatsu Kōji and Kanai Katsu. Moreover, repercussions were also felt in Matsumoto's own film works (2013, pp. 33-7). In *The Song of Stone* (1963), Matsumoto entirely composed the film out of still photographs of Japanese stonecutters taken by *LIFE* magazine cameraman Ernst Satow that are edited together, a formal strategy he returns to in his video work for *Ātman* (1975) and *Shiki Zoku Ze Kū* (Everything Visible is Empty, 1975). Building on the analysis by Furuhashi, Raine and Mika Ko, I propose Matsumoto's conception of 'avant-garde documentary' retains relevance in his expanded cinema works of the late 1960s albeit within a renewed context of the developing conception of *intermedia* in Japanese arts.

¹⁵² The co-director Robert Hessen is not acknowledged in Matsumoto's essay, which solely attributes the film to Alain Resnais (2012, p. 149).

¹⁵³ See Nornes, 2007, pp. 19-27 for a discussion on subjective and objective duality of representation in the discourse of *taishō* in postwar documentary filmmaking and criticism.

Recalling Tone Yasunao's use of inter-relationship (*zentaisei*) as a framework to understand *intermedia*, Matsumoto explained the use of multiple projectors as a method to artistically engage with contemporary existence:

I was drawn to the ways the stratification of environment (*kankyō*) by intersections of multiple images interestingly compares with the sensory existence of our contemporary age. Currently experiencing intense changes, multiple phenomena seem together to form an impure (*konjun*) totality (*zentai*), or a mosaic, in a state of perpetual flow lacking logical connections... I look to multiple projections as one way to express the dynamic state of our contemporary age as it is. (1972, p. 160)

Originally written in 1968, Matsumoto's essay refers to his first expanded cinema projection *Tsuburekakatta Migimeno Tameni* (For the Damaged Right Eye, 1968) that was presented at the event series 'EX POSE 1968: Nanika Ittekure, Ima Sagasu' (Say Something, I'm Searching) at the SAC in 10-25 April 1968. The film, subtitled 'a mosaic made of multiple projections,' involves two projections positioned alongside each other with another placed in between and overlapping parts of both projections.¹⁵⁴ The content of the projections includes documentary footage of radical protests, underground discotheques and queer culture that is interspersed with still and moving imagery gathered from various sources, including Yokoo Tadanori's designs in Terayama Shūji's book *Throw Away Your Books, Let's Go Into the Streets*. As Yuriko Furuhata has noted, the inclusion of advertisement, television commercials, comics and graphic design in *For the Damaged Right Eye* continues Matsumoto's project on remediation first voiced in his 1958 essay (2013, p. 69). What had also become important for Matsumoto in the decade between, however, was the shift in orientation of interiority from the artist, discussed as the subjective gaze in his conception of 'avant-garde documentary,' to the audience. The experience

¹⁵⁴ In its presentation at New York's Black Gate in 4-6th October 1968, Matsumoto's triple-projection piece was given the alternative title *Cine-Mosaic*. It was presented along with two other expanded cinema projections, *Circles* and *Three Colors*, by Iimura Takahiko who resided in New York at the time.

of viewing was no longer for the artist to translate in remediation but for the audience to experience themselves. Matsumoto's concern is best exemplified with the substitution of the screen with balloons in his *Projection for <Icon>* for the unique spatial arrangements of the Yoyogi Gymnasium.

Presented on the opening day of Cross Talk Intermedia, Matsumoto's *Projection for <Icon>* intermeshed light, slide and moving-image projection onto the surfaces of the balloons constructed by Shinohara Ushio and Misawa Kenzi. The expanded cinema from multiple projectors was made in response to Yuasa Jōji's *Icon*, a white noise electronic music piece first performed at Cross Talk 1 using 25-channel and 5-track tape recorder especially made by NHK. Although the performance marked his first collaboration with Yuasa, Matsumoto worked closely with Jikken Kōbō since his first film *Ginrin* (Bicycle in Dreams, 1955) that involved members Kitadai Shōzō, Yamaguchi Katsuhiko and Takemitsu Tōru. Providing soundtracks to Jikken Kōbō's Autoslide and film works as well as Terayama Shūji's radio show *Comet Ikeya*, Yuasa was familiar with intermedial uses of music but, on this occasion, the process of accompaniment was inverted where the soundtrack set the foundations for the visuals. Using five 16mm projectors, four light projectors (emitting blue, red, green and yellow colours) and an over-head projector, Matsumoto filled the circumference of the gymnasium with projectors turned inwards towards the centre of the space. Describing the visual impressions he had experienced while listening to Yuasa's *Icon* as 'aerial,' Matsumoto had initially planned to project into air made visible by the release of smoke or dry ice fumes in the gymnasium, an idea that was forced into cancellation due to complications concerning the venue's ventilation system.¹⁵⁵ Instead, Matsumoto chose for his projections to land onto the pneumatic surfaces of balloons in a continuation of his efforts to translate his impressions of wind and air currents into his visual accompaniment.

In the way it attempts a visualisation of sound and air, the performance can be considered as part of Matsumoto's longstanding engagement with form in his approach to

¹⁵⁵ See Matsumoto Toshio's unpaginated page that introduces Matsumoto Toshio and *Projection for Icon* in the pamphlet for Cross Talk Intermedia. Stan VanDerBeek succeeded in projecting onto steam in public spaces outdoors ten years later with *Steam Screen* (1979).

intermediality and cinema first outlined in his essay 'Theory of Avant-Garde Documentary.' *Projection for <Icon>*, in other words, corresponds to fragmentary editing style of Alain Resnais' *Guernica* for it stages, through its multiple projectors, a dispersal of centrality that shift the focus instead on the inter-relation of things. Tone Yasunao, who described Peter Kubelka's *Arnulf Rainer* as an *intermedia* work, suggested the film's presentation of inter-relationality (*zentaisei*) hinged on its revelation of film as a collective experience. The critical discourse on multiple projection of the period similarly concentrates on the emancipation of the viewer from the prescribed role of receiver. Speaking of each individual member of the audience as the 'protagonist' of such works, Iimura Takahiko wrote in a 1969 essay on multiple-projection and its relationship with an audience:

Multi-projection demands proactive involvement from its audience. During a multi-projection film, the audience are free to select what to see and construct them together themselves, which is to say the audience is able to obtain their own 'vision' for the work. (Iimura, 2013b)

Matsumoto similarly describes the experience of viewing expanded cinema works to be similar to observing a sculpture for the audience is free to look at the object from different angles (1972, p. 176). It was the flatness of the screen, therefore, that was seen to impose a certain perspectival relationship with its viewers. The desire to dispense with a singular focal point chimed with an emerging tendency in contemporary art towards using evasive material. Critic Nakahara Yūsuke, for example, suggested the increasing interest in light art was due to its complete absolution from form (1969a, p. 133). According to Matsumoto, his idea of displacing the screen came from the spatial circumstances of Yoyogi Gymnasium and Yuasa's music that encouraged him to 'show the filmed images ambiguously - not clearly focused' (1969, unpaginated). The lack of definitive form created by the multiple projections and the arched surfaces of the balloons, therefore, was staged as an invitation for the audience to participate in the experience of the piece.

intermediality. *Projection for <Icon>* could be described as an intertextual in Matsumoto's approach to medium interactions, as Yuasa Jōji, a music piece that had already been written and performed a year prior to the event, conceived it as an accompaniment to *Icon*. For Matsumoto, however, multi-projection was not only a strategy for accompaniment but also a presentational mode that reflected contemporary society. Discussing the multiplication of screens and projections in expanded cinema, Matsumoto called for 'an expansion of film rooted in the impulse of the era (*jidai*)' (Isozaki *et al*, 1969, p. 142). Moreover, Matsumoto wanted to seek 'in what ways expanded cinema can, or should, bring about meaning to our present-day' (Isozaki *et al*, 1969, p. 140). In other words, Matsumoto's multi-projections, including *For the Damaged Right Eye* similarly designed with a *gurafu-conte*,¹⁵⁷ are a response from an observer of the 1960s as an epoch. Iimura and Gulliver's projections onto balloons, on the other hand, were works by artists who sought to take part in the era with an approach to *intermedia* that created unprecedented images, beyond representation and into the realms of presentation.

2.3.6 Floating Circles: Iimura Takahiko's Balloon Projections

Although Iimura Takahiko's work in expanded cinema predated expanded cinema as a term, his first foray into multiple projection was a result of his encounters during his stay between 1966 and 1969 in the United States. Impressed with expanded cinema works by Stan VanDerBeek, Robert Whitman, Andy Warhol and the USCO group, Iimura shared his encounters with Japanese readership in the pages of film journals *Eiga Hyōron* and *Kikan Firumu* and began to conceive multi-projection works himself. Although his multi-projection works had a wide range, his distaste for its strategic employment as spectacle resulted in conceptual works that, despite establishing interconnections with other medium expressions, maintained firm ground within the medium of film. Unlike Matsumoto Toshio's multi-projection works, Iimura's background in performance art often resulted in works that resisted following prescribed

¹⁵⁷ The *gurafu-conte* of *For the Damaged Right Eye* is available to view online at Postwar Japan Moving Image Archive, 2013. On top of criticising its similarities with Andy Warhol's *Chelsea Girls* (1966), Satō Jyūshin condemned the film for lacking 'physiology' (1968g, unpaginated).

frameworks. In Iimura's multi-projection works, we are able to discover an alternative to the spectacle that critic Tōno Yoshiaki condemned as a 'management of the audience'.

After his encounter with multi-projection at the New York Film Festival in autumn 1966, Iimura Takahiko immediately began experimenting with the format for his artistic practice. Revisiting his own film from 1964, Iimura reincarnated *A Dance Party in the Kingdom of Lilliput* as a double-projection piece where two versions of the film were projected alongside each other onto separate screens, simply retitled *A Dance Party in the Kingdom of Lilliput No. 2* (1966). One of the projections showed a re-edited version with a selection of scenes removed, scratched or disfigured that was showed alongside the original film. The work recalled the resistance against finality he had shown for *Onan* (1963), a short film that was re-edited on the occasion of each screening (Iimura, 1965, pp. 14-20), but with the added juxtaposition of the original and renewed versions placed side by side at the same time for the audience. Iimura equated the display to concrete poetry for its focus on layout over content and its ability to forge unexpected relationships between the images in juxtaposition (1986, p. 17). His following double-projection piece *New York Scene* (1967) comprised of indoor and outdoor scenes taken in New York where, alternating from monochrome to colour, each scene amounted to one 50-ft roll of film. Also presented alternately as a single projection piece, the double-projection presented at SAC on the 20 February 1970 encouraged affiliations between the isolated moments in the city captured by its new artist resident. Focusing on what was presented as unplanned links between the filmed documents, Iimura's approach to multi-projection from the beginning were attempts to establish a relationship between his work and an audience that considered them as active participants in the creation of associations.

Iimura Takahiko continued his experiments with *Three Colours* (1968), a triple-projection film screened at Black Gate in October 1968 and twice during the Tokyo Film Art Festival in SAC later in the same month.¹⁵⁸ The film presented gleams of blue and green

¹⁵⁸ In the same year, Gulliver conceived similar multi-projection expanded cinema works based on colour that were never materialised: *Colors* projected three primary colours onto one screen and on top of one another; *Colors #2* projected the same films one to the same screen but visibly

projected alongside each other with a projection of red overlapping both in the middle. Recalling Futurists Bruno Corra and Arnolda Ginna's synaesthetic experiments in 'Chromatic Music' of the early 20th century, Iimura mixed the colour schemes to create a white stream between the overlapping hues, reportedly freezing the frame and changing projection speeds to shift the colour gradations in what he considered a performance with no fixed duration as the filmstrips were looped.¹⁵⁹ Presented as part of the 'Perceptual Films Feature' programme alongside canonical American works, *Three Colours* joined the introduction to Japan of what would later be called structural film.¹⁶⁰ Screened as part of a the symposium 'What Does Cinema Mean to Me?' held during the festival, *Three Colours* was screened with Michael Snow's *Wavelength* (1967) to partake in the discussion surrounding the status of film in the age of the proliferation of audiovisual media. The question remained an important one for Iimura whose film installation and single-projection works in the early 1970s continued the investigation using minimalist methods to engage with the specificities of the film apparatus.

Iimura's urge to present variations of his single-screen works persisted in the approach he took for his multi-projection experiments. In *Shelter 9999*, discussed in detail in Part 1.2.4, the method for multiple projections differed in each presentation. For *Circles*, Iimura similarly reshaped the multi-projection piece according to the spatial circumstances of which it was to be presented, including its first performance at the Black Gate. Co-founded in March 1967 by Aldo Tambellini and Otto Piene, Black Gate was located above Tambellini's cinematheque the Gate Theatre in East Village, New York. Labelled as the first Electromedia Theatre in New York, the Black Gate housed performances and screenings using film, video and light media by Nam June Paik, Kosugi Takehisa, Charlotte Moorman and Kusama Yayoi as well as the co-founder artists

separated; and *Rainbow*, where seven projectors projected endless films of the seven colours of the rainbow onto one screen and on top of one another.

¹⁵⁹ Although present for its presentation at the Black Gate, Iimura was not able to attend the screenings at the Tokyo Film Art Festival and the film was presented without the addition of performance.

¹⁶⁰ *Three Colors* was presented together with Michael Snow's *Wavelength*, Tony Conrad's *The Flicker*, Paul Sharit's *Three Loops from Razor Blades*, George Landaow's *Film In Which There Appear Sprocket Holes, Ege Lettering, Dirt, Particles, etc.*, that have all since been regarded as representative examples of the turn to structuralist cinema in the late 1960s. The programme, presented on 23 and 29 October 1968, also included *Triana* by Carlos Marchiori and *Beatles Electroniques* by Jud Yalkut and Nam June Paik.

themselves (Tambellini, 2011, p. 69). According to Matsumoto Toshio, who participated in the performance as one of the projectionists, Iimura used three projectors with 50-60 loops and projected onto all surfaces of the one-room theatre (1969, unpaginated). The difference between Matsumoto's own projections of *For the Damaged Right Eye* at the same event was the unplanned nature of the presentation for both Iimura and the participating projectionist-performers. Matsumoto recalled:

As a performer, it was up to me to decide what loop to choose, when to change it, and where to project it. I used my own discretion, looking at what the other performers were doing. As a matter of fact, from time to time, astonishing environments of projected images descended upon us by sheer chance. (1969, unpaginated)

In an interview by Jud Yalkut, Iimura explained that the loops contained footage of different street corners in New York shot in 360-degree pans at varying speeds (1969b, p. 18). The loops, simultaneously presenting streets on a horizontal spin, would have created an impression of streets set in motion and colliding into each other.

The presentation of *Circles as Cross Talk Intermedia* engendered different results according to the changed spatial circumstance and Iimura, unable to attend, had even less control over his multi-projection piece. The instructions sent by Iimura from New York included an addition of six projectors and *Sound Environment Mixtures*, a recording made outdoors with a shotgun microphone that rotated on a 360-degree horizontal arc by Alvin Lucier, who was also invited to take part in the event. Moreover, Iimura asked for the nine 16mm projectors to face three balloons made by Shinohara Ushio and Misawa Kenzi so the images would land onto the pneumatic surfaces (Fig. 9). Projected onto the balloons by five projectionists, the circularity of the camera pans, loop-films and Lucier's recorded sounds corresponded with both the annular architecture of the gymnasium and the arched surfaces of the projection surfaces. Iimura expressed a desire for projecting onto spherical objects as early as December 1963 in an essay published to coincide with his performance *Screen Play*, a

projection onto skin. Discussing the industrial formats of CinemaScope and Cinerama, Iimura suggested that screens of 'spherical shapes' would not be far from being realised (1970f, p. 47). The reception of the first realisation of his idea in the form of *Circles* was less than satisfactory. While praising the deafening volume of Lucier's soundtrack, critic Joseph Love cited Iimura's projections as an example of the event's misuse of space suggesting it was 'as if it was meant to induce a state of sleep, disappear(ing) into a cluster of balloons in the centre onto which the images were projected' (1969, pp. 47-8). The audience allegedly clapped their hands together during the performance as if to plead for it to finish, to which critic Tōno Yoshiaki responded in lament for the lack of patience shown by contemporary audiences (1969b, 115). The shortfalls of the performance, probably due to Iimura's absence as a performer, was more than rectified for his following film performance, *Floating*, at which he was present.

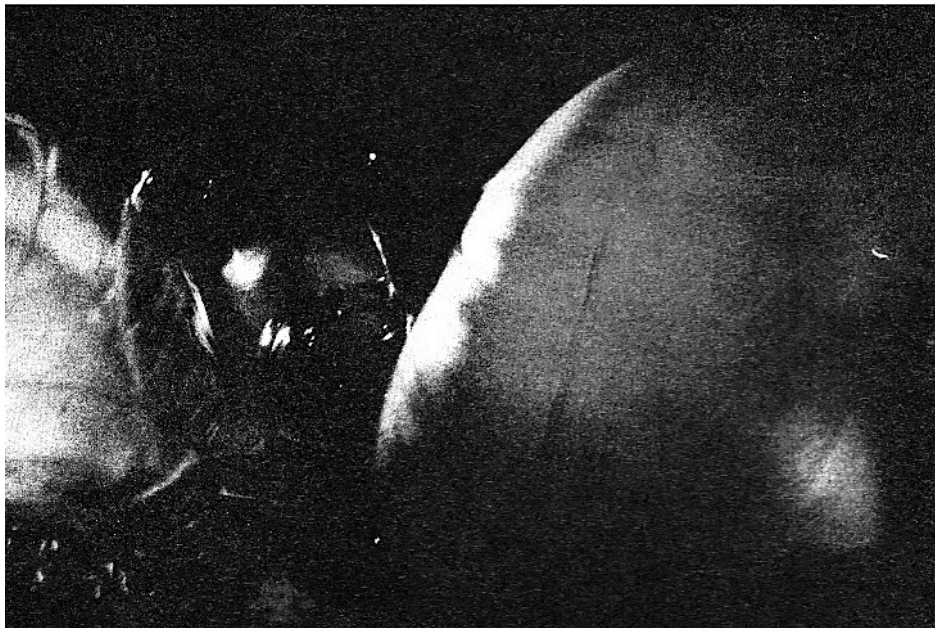


Figure 9: *Circles* by Iimura Takahiko at Cross Talk Intermedia. Photographic documentation by Hara Eizaburō published in Love, 1969, p. 91.

Floating was an expanded cinema performance by Iimura Takahiko that was presented as part of the Expanded Art Festival presented on 21 March 1970. Held at Kishi Memorial Gymnasium in Shibuya, Tokyo, the event was organised by critic Ichikawa Miyabi and Iimura's

contribution was the only one that involved film despite the event's clear allusion to expanded cinema in its title. Conceived as an *intermedia* event, Ichikawa coordinated the festival out of frustration against the focus on music and film in neglect of other expressions in the articulation of *intermedia* that had been displayed in Cross Talk Intermedia and Intermedia Art Festival.¹⁶¹ While preeminent modern dancers Kuni Chiya, Atsugi Bonjin and *butoh* dancer Hijikata Tatsumi's disciple Ishii Mitsutake took part in the Expanded Art Festival, it was Iimura's contribution that most clearly engaged with Ichikawa's conception of *intermedia*.¹⁶²

Reeling black film leader loopsff into three 16mm projectors, Iimura Takahiko used a hole-puncher to perforate the filmstrip for his performance *Floating*. As light from the projector passed through the holes circular flashes appeared as a projection onto the large inflated black balloons that were scattered in the gymnasium. As recorded sounds of speeches by Black Panther Party members was played as the soundtrack, the white flashes gradually increased until, creating one hole too many, the filmstrip snapped and let uninterrupted beams of light cast onto the pneumatic objects. In the complete absence of pre-recorded footage, the act of film projection is reduced to its most bare bones, purely mechanical form, revealing the common denominators of light and shadow. A performance with no fixed duration, it was left up to the technical apparatus when the performance could come to an end, thus foregrounding the usually hidden mechanics of film projection.

By the time Iimura Takahiko presented *Floating*, the hole-punch had become a recurring motif in his film presentations. In his collaboration with Hi Red Centre-artist Nakanishi Natsuyuki, Iimura delivered a parody on censorship by punching holes and scratching onto sex-education films found by Nakanishi in a dustbin for *Shikan ni tsuite* (On Eye Rape, 1962). As Iimura outlined in his 1965 essay, his fifth rendition of *Onan* was a version

¹⁶¹ Ichikawa saw the absence of dance and performance in *intermedia* as a problem specific to Japanese *intermedia*. Although he notes Hijikata Tatsumi was scheduled to participate in Cross Talk Intermedia before cancelling, Ichikawa notes the participation of dancers, such as Trisha Brown, in American intermedia events such as *Intermedia '68* (2000a (1969), p. 28). Ichikawa also voices similar frustrations in Ichikawa, 2000c, p. 38 and Ichikawa, 1970a, p. 102.

¹⁶² The performances at Expanded Art Festival on 21-22 March 1970 included: Kuni Chiya Dance Institute's *Sākasu Komaba* (Circus Komaba); Atsugi Bonjin's *Haku* (Puke); Maeda Tetsuhiko's *Purei* (Play) and an untitled performance by Ishii Mitsutake with a troupe of *Butoh* dancers.

with scattered perforations. The holes, once again, recall the Japanese establishment's attempts to censor sexuality as the loose narrative of the film traces an adolescent boy's lust. Iimura also punched holes in a performance for his first film installation *Dead Movie*, in which two 16mm projectors, one with a black film leader hung and looped from the ceiling and another operating with no film, were placed against opposite walls and facing each other. Iimura explained the act of hole punching as 'less a destruction than a spotlight on the illusory nature of the image' (1965, p. 20). The hole-punches, therefore, were Iimura's strategy to encourage an awareness of the materiality of the filmstrip and the discrete existence of each frame. For Iimura, 'Film is material first and only subsequently an image' (1970d, p. 156).

On the one hand, Iimura Takahiko's *Floating* engages with the specificities of the film medium that foreshadow what he would explore in his structuralist films and film installations of the early 1970s. On the other hand, *Floating* opens out cinema into an interface with other mediums through its appropriation of *intermedia*. The use of multiple projectors in an unplanned way, comparable to the variability of performance, shows Iimura's devotion to chance that Ichikawa Miyabi, who saw the audience of *intermedia* as witnesses to accidents (1969b, p. 70), championed as crucial for the success of *intermedia* (2000c, p. 40). The immiscible tension of retaining the medium's own characteristics while absorbing others in the performance aligned strongly with what Ichikawa held as the value of *intermedia* experiments. Ichikawa suggested, 'Although the denial of the *kyanru* (medium) may be possible, it would never amount to the destruction of the medium' (1970a, p. 103).¹⁶³ Despite Iimura's intents to disintegrate the borders between mediums by subjecting film to performance, his expanded cinema works often call the attention back onto the filmic medium. In his own words, 'By reducing each medium to its bare essence, *intermedia* actually reveals the independence of a medium' (1970d, p. 157). Although the malleability of medial forms is highlighted, in other words, the existence of *difference* between mediums is simultaneously accentuated in the act of *intermedia*. As Gene Youngblood stated, '...the exclusive properties of a given medium are

¹⁶³ Ichikawa repeats this notion: '...not matter how hard one tries to escape individual *kyanru* (mediums), the result of *intermedia* always becomes a mixture' (1971, p. 123).

always brought into sharper focus when juxtaposed with those of another' (1970, p. 365). Speaking on the medium relationships in a different context, Bertolt Brecht called for medium collisions that caused a realisation of one another rather than amalgamating into homogeneity:

So let us invite all the sister arts of drama, not in order to create an "integrated work of art" in which they all offer themselves up and are lost, but so that together with the drama they may further the common task in their different ways; and their relations with one another consist in this: that they lead to mutual alienation. (1964, p. 204)

In such ways, *intermedia* acts can instigate self-reflexivity through the act of overlapping different mediums. Iimura, therefore, situated *Floating* in what Lars Elleström later described as 'border zones' between mediums.

It was not only the medium of performance, however, that Iimura Takahiko subjected film into an interconnection for his expanded film work titled *Floating*. The black balloons specifically constructed for the performance was made by sculptor Ōnishi Seiji, whose work in air art had been attracting some attention. The use of black vinyl and the scale of his balloon works had become a signature of Ōnishi's work in pneumatic sculpture. While the circularity of the flashes from the film projectors corresponded with the spherical shape of the balloons, the whiteness of Iimura's projected light provided a heavy contrast with the black colour that encased the objects. Whereas the black balloons acted as surfaces for projection, the illumination of light also revealed them as sculptural objects. Taking his pneumatic sculptures to different spatial and presentational circumstances, Ōnishi displayed fluidity for his air art by bringing them into a range of different contexts that all intervened with our recognitions of space as an audience. The following section will examine Ōnishi Seiji's air art that will conclude with his collaboration with Gulliver for the expanded film projection, *Flying Focus* (1969).

2.3.7 Ōnishi Seiji: Air on Air

After graduating Musashino University of Art with a major in painting, Tokyo-based artist Ōnishi Seiji spent a few years working in graphic design before focusing on air as his central artistic tool. During the years between 1965-70, Ōnishi constructed pneumatic sculptures of different scales depending on the spatial circumstances of the exhibition opportunities that included galleries, gymnasiums and the limitless capacity of outdoor spaces. Despite his solo and group exhibitions at key contemporary art galleries during this period, Ōnishi's work has been largely neglected in both local and international studies on Japanese contemporary art due to the ephemerality of his creations and the lack of outreach beyond Tokyo during his career. Nevertheless, Ōnishi's contributions to air art remain significant primarily for the breadth his work spread in terms of spatial circumstances and intermedial collaborations with other artists. More importantly, however, it was his determination to engage with air itself as the primary 'material' of his art that marked him distinct out of the sculptural artists working in the period.

Ōnishi Seiji's artistic project on air can be underlined by his commitment to make constitutive the presence of air to those who encountered his work. Since working with inflatable sculptures for his solo exhibition 'Air in Air' at Muramatsu Gallery on 30 March – 4 April 1968, Ōnishi discovered the construction of vinyl tubes and shapes filled with helium gas made visible the existence of air in everyday life. The exhibition was followed by a two-year period of obsessive activity with pneumatic sculptural works of varying scales that protruded beyond the gallery floor and walls into the air that it surrounded.¹⁶⁴ Since his solo exhibition at Muramatsu Gallery, Ōnishi saw potential in the idea to take his inflatable forms out of the gallery and install them outdoors. For his sound installation *Circum-Sounds* (1971) for the Mainichi Contemporary Art Exhibition at Tokyo Metropolitan Art Museum, Ōnishi created a circulation of air from three blow dryers installed that were pointed into a microphone that was

¹⁶⁴ Ōnishi had solo exhibitions Naiqua Gallery (1965), Tsubaki Modern Gallery (1966), Muramatsu Gallery (1968), Miyuki Gallery (1968), Akiyama Gallery (1969) and Minami Gallery (1972). The group exhibitions to which he participated include: Yomiuri Independents exhibition (1963); 'The Big Fight Exhibition' at Tsubaki Modern Gallery (1965); 'The Art Eight' at Frannell Gallery (1965); Shell Award exhibition (1966); Intermedia at Runami Gallery (1967); Mainichi Contemporary Art Exhibition of Japan at Tokyo Metropolitan Art Museum (1969 and 1971); 'Contemporary Trends in Japanese Painting and Sculpture at National Museum of Modern Art (1969); and many more.

hung from the ceiling. The sound, captured through the resistance of the microphone against the movement of air, made audible the invisible presence of air. Ōnishi followed the installation with a performance, *The Great White Light*, at the Kishi Memorial Gymnasium on 13 February 1971 where he performed with 'air' as his instrument with the music group Taj Mahal Travellers.¹⁶⁵ Creating sound out of microphones placed in front of six large blow dryers, the audience were positioned between the multiple speakers with Ōnishi at the centre controlling the modulation of feedback incurred by the air made audible (Fig. 10). Describing his commitment to air, Ōnishi stated 'I deal with air as a material (*bu'shitsu*) that is furthest away from any sense of materiality. Always changing form, going in and out of humans and (constitutively) establishing relationships with other material, air is too immaterial (*hi-bu'shitsu-teki*) to be considered material' (1972, p. 31). In both visible and audible forms, the shaping of air in Ōnishi's projects should be considered an artistic engagement with the impossibility of materialising air elicited in his paradoxical statement.

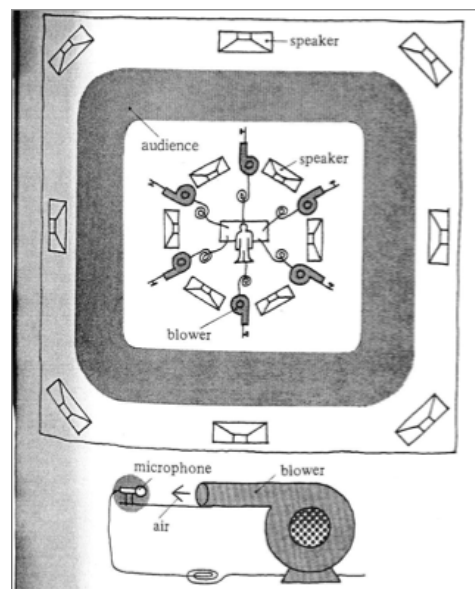


Figure 10: Diagram for *Great White Light* by Ōnishi Seiji in Ōnishi, 1981, p.

¹⁶⁵ In the gymnasium that was described as 'cave-like,' Ōnishi cut through the darkness with the irregular uses of spotlights, once again, momentarily making visible the air that surrounded the audience. Imura Akiko, reviewing the show, criticised the use of lights for dampening the sounds of wind for its dramatic usage.

Ōnishi Seiji's inflatable sculptures, furthermore, not only dealt with visualising the air that it encased but also gave shape to the atmosphere that surrounded it. The installations of his works in gallery spaces, gymnasiums, window displays and a skating ring all called attention not only to themselves but also to the formation of space the works intervened with its presence. In his essay 'Art and Space' on sculpture and its relationship with the gallery space, philosopher Martin Heidegger discussed the ways in which a sculpture instigated for its audience a realisation of the 'emptiness' that it surrounded, an activity that he called a 'bringing-forth' (1997a, pp. 123-4). Recalling the ways a Greek temple erected in the mountains 'set-forth' its surroundings, Heidegger also articulated his phenomenology of space with the metaphor of a bridge, 'One of the (spots) turns out to be a location, and does so *because of the bridge* [...] a location comes into existence only by virtue of the bridge' (1997b, p. 154). In such ways, Ōnishi's pneumatic sculptures can be understood to be engaging with not only the air inside it but also the air surrounding it that it in turn defines by cutting into. Echoing Heidegger, critic Tōno Yoshiaki discussed the ways in which Ōnishi's work concerned what it surrounds it as much as itself:

Just with the idea of illustrating air, we are faced with the fact the world we see that fills our surroundings is, in fact, only a small portion of what is really around us. Modernity has stifled "art" into the act of only "seeing". Our lines of sight glance at the group of corpses. Although we cannot see it, the violent amount of air gently encircles us entirely. (qtd. in Ōnishi, 1981, unpaginated)

Reviewing his solo exhibition at Muramatsu Gallery, artist Shinohara Ushio also commented on the ways in which the sculptures protruded into different directions with so much presence that the gallery visitors had to come into contact with it, forcing them to move in certain ways (1968, p. 172). Calling the exhibition a happening, Shinohara identified a potential in the transparent inflated sculptures for the expansion of different arts (1968, p. 172). In such ways, Ōnishi's collaboration with artist Gulliver with *Flying Focus* (1969) was able to discover

another method to make the presence of air felt both within and surrounding his sculpture – through its interplay with light.

Gulliver had been projecting onto non-rectangular screens since his first screening at the discotheque L.S.D in 1967 with *Screen*, a slide projection onto a round screen made specifically for the occasion. For his participation at the Intermedia Art Festival at the discotheque Killer Joe's, Gulliver presented *Stretch* (1969), a projection into a tubular screen. Installing a projector facing upwards into the screen, Gulliver projected a loop-film of moving red and white stripes for the occasion of the festival. The work imitated the lit-up tubular displays stationed outside of hairdressers in Japan that similarly have diagonal stripes of red and blue that slowly spin sideways to give the optical effect of the lines eternally moving upwards. Appropriating the effect in the act of projection, Gulliver borrowed the op art displays recognisable by all Japanese audiences into his projection that inspired him to construct a tubular screen of a larger scale for *Flying Focus*. On 28 June 1969, artists Gulliver and Ōnishi Seiji specially constructed a tubular balloon for the purposes of projection to present at the outdoor event 'Pow-Wow' at Rekisen Park, Tokyo (Fig. 11).¹⁶⁶ Pointing a film projector skywards, Azuchi moved the image up and down the tubular balloon during the performance by shifting the turntable onto which the projector was placed. Rather than dispersing the image by increasing its numbers, *Flying Focus* was conceived to counter the inclination for multi-projection events in the run up to Expo '70 with a performance that brought together its audiences' focus onto one object. While it also conducted a cross-fertilisation between air art and expanded cinema, the collaboration also touched upon the emerging artistic genre of light art that had also begun to show prominence in 1960s contemporary art.

¹⁶⁶ According to its flyer, the title of the event alludes to pow-wow, the traditional gathering of Native Americans. Originally, the event was scheduled to be held at Shinjuku Nishiguchi Hiroba, the plaza outside of the west exit of Shinjuku station where many protests and happenings had taken place in the run up to the re-signing of the Anpo Security Treaty in 1970.



Figure 11: Shūzō Azuchi Gulliver's *Flying Focus* (1969). Photographer unknown. Courtesy Shūzō Azuchi Gulliver.

Although the electric device had been used by artists such as László Moholy-Nagy of the Bauhaus school before, light began to have an increasing presence in contemporary art exhibitions of the 1960s.¹⁶⁷ The resurgence of interest in the art of luminism can largely be accounted for the increasing dissolution of the boundaries between art and technology and what critic Ishizaki Kōichirō called the transformation of light as 'spot' to light as 'line' (1971, p. 194). Writing on both Japanese and overseas works, Ishizaki commented on the ways in which the availability of fluorescent lights increased opportunities for artists to draw in lines rather than dots. In Japan, the turn towards light media became visible particularly in sculptural and spatial works towards the end of the decade in the lead up to the Expo '70, including the Gendai no Kūkan '68 - Hikari to Kankyō (Contemporary Space '68 - Light and Environment) in Sōgō, Kobe (1968) and Kokusai Sai-te'ku Āto - Electro Magica '69 (International Psy-tech Art -

¹⁶⁷ Moholy-Nagy's *The New Vision* (1938) was translated into Japanese and published in 1967 by Ōmori Tadayuki for David-sha, contributing to the resurgence of interest in his work and light art.

Electro Magica '69) in the Sony Building.¹⁶⁸ As the titles for the exhibitions indicate, the concern with light overlapped with that of space and environment, primarily for the ability of light to not only illuminate itself but also its surroundings (Nakahara, 1968b, p. 5; Ishizaki, 1971, p. 210). Channeling the emergence of light art, *Flying Focus* not only corresponds to the shape of the fluorescent lights but also to their ability to make its surroundings visible.¹⁶⁹ Illuminating its inner and transparent layer by projecting into the balloon, *Flying Focus* inverts the subservient role of projection light in relation to the image it elicits, as light itself becomes the image in the eyes of the audience. In such ways, the expanded cinema work evokes the turn from *eiga* to *eizō* in its invocation of the sculptural and spatial quality of light in and of itself. Inspired by Ōnishi Seiji's conceptual engagement with air, Gulliver staged *(L)ucky (S)trike for (D)inner* (1969) a few months later in the underground theatre Sasori-za (Theatre Scorpio), where a mixed media environment made the air visible with a smoke machine which generated dense smoke that was cut through by light projections.¹⁷⁰

The emergence of air art, light art and expanded cinema in the 1960s culminated in the form of projections onto pneumatic sculptures at performative events. The prevalence of balloons in contemporary art and performance continued into the early 1970s, most notably in the Japanese-Deutsche Contemporary Music Festival 'Wandering Concert' in 1971 where modern dancers Furuzawa Toshimi and Ishii Kahoru danced inside an inflatable sphere that was

¹⁶⁸ The growing concern with the medium of light was also present in the following group exhibitions: *Kūkan kara Kankyō* (From Space to Environment); Nagaoka Gendai Bijutsu Kanshō-ten (Nagaoka Contemporary Exhibition Awards Exhibition) (1964-, particularly in 1968); *Mainichi Gendai Nihon Bijutsu-ten* (Mainichi Contemporary Art Exhibition); the 1st *Kōbe Suma Rikyū Kōen Gendai Chōkoku-ten* (Kōbe Suma Rikyū Park Contemporary Sculpture Exhibition) (1968); and overseas at the Institute of Contemporary Arts, London, for the first exhibition of Japanese contemporary art in Europe in the form of 'Fluorescent Chrysanthemum' (1968-69). Artists who presented light art for these exhibitions include but are not limited to: Yoshimura Masanobu; Tada Minami; Usami Keiji; Yamaguchi Katsuhiro; Kawaguchi Tatsuo; Tanaka Shintarō; Ushio Shinohara; Yamamoto Keigo; Moriguchi Hirokazu; and Yamaguchi Katsuhiro, Ito Takamichi and Sakamoto Masaji who together formed the *Nihon Denki Geijutsu Kyōkai* (JEAA) (Japan Electronic Arts Association) in 1967.

¹⁶⁹ The tubular shape of the inflatable sculpture recalls the sculptural work presented at the 14th Yomiuri Independents exhibition in 1962 by Ito Kenji (a.k.a Dadakan) as well as Christo's *5,600 Cubicmeter Package* (1968).

¹⁷⁰ The ninety-minute performance was held on 15-25 December 1969 and also sought to come in contact with other sensory perceptions with the use of incense, sound and vibrating floors that allegedly trembled to the music. Theatre Scorpio opened in 1967 in the basement of Art Theatre Shinjuku Bunka, the centrepiece cinema of the Art Theatre Guild (ATG).

also used as a surface for film projection.¹⁷¹ The pneumatic architectures reached a peak with Expo '70 where the structure was adopted for the construction of pavilions due to the poor quality of soil and the fear of earthquakes. Yet, as the robustness of pneumatic architecture and furniture began to be placed under question its industrial popularity began to diminish. Moreover, it became apparent that pneumatic sculptures had less malleability than stiff structures as they have to be adjusted to force equilibriums (Chi and Pauletti, 2005). Nevertheless, the availability of pneumatics in the 1960s intersected with the emergence of *intermedia*, immaterial sculpture and expanded cinema to provide fertile ground for collaboration between different sectors of contemporary art. Alternatives to the geometric rigidity of the rectangular screen were provided by the annular shape of the inflatables, which were used by artists working in expanded cinema as a surface onto, or at times into, which images were projected. The immateriality of projection light similarly corresponding with the ethereal quality of air art, projections onto balloons gave visible presence to both air and light which critic Tōno Yoshiaki had called the 'physicalisation of immaterial.'

In Japan, the emergence of air art took place among artists, such as Gutai's Kanayama Akira and Neo-Dada's Shinohara Ushio and Kazakura Shō, whose performance and visual art practice abandoned the stage in their theatrical expression. Later labeled under happenings and *angura*, the proclivity for action in contemporary art crossed over with the inclination towards considering the event of film projection as an opportunity for performance what came to be known as expanded cinema. Returning to the shift from shadow (*ei*) to reflection (*ei*) in the understanding of film in Japan, the balloon works in the expanded cinema by Matsumoto Toshio, Iimura Takahiko and Shūzō Azuchi Gulliver responded to the increasing demand for activity and presence for the screen image itself. Due to the nature of its importation, expanded cinema in Japan had an intimate relationship with *intermedia* from its inception and, therefore, reached out towards other medial expressions for the initiation of such projects. Developed in

¹⁷¹ See *Bijutsu Techō* (1971), no. 341 (April): unpaginated. Although it is unclear whether projection occurred for Furuzawa and Ishii's dance performance, Argentina-born German composer Mauricio Kagel projected his film *Hallelujah* (1967) onto the balloon. Projections onto balloons also took place for display shows, most notably at Space-Media '70 sponsored by the mannequin manufacturers *Daiwa Manekin* held at a conference hall.

this light, the collaborations with air sculptors, such as Ōnishi Seiji, contributed to the participation of cinema in pronouncing inter-relationality (*zentaisei*) that Ichikawa Miyabi and Tone Yasunao saw as the project for *intermedia*. While it retained some influence from the preceding phenomenon of synthesis art (*sōgō geijutsu*) the Japanese artists working in expanded cinema and *intermedia* favoured the impurity of mixedness (*kongō*) over synthesis. In effect, the cross-fertilisation between different mediums resulted in spotlighting the differences between each medium as much as revealing the porosity of their boundaries.

2.4 THE PERFORMATIVITY OF CINEMA

Part II explored the crossover between film and performance in Japanese expanded cinema of the 1960s-70s to ask — in what ways did the manifestation of *intermedia* in Japan as expanded cinema highlight the performative potential of cinema? The first chapter discussed the articulation of the body (*nikutai*) in Japan's post-war years and the ways in which performances with projections that took place in underground (*angura*) arts emphasised the proclivity for action in the body. Projections onto bodies were analysed in the second chapter, where the skin as a surface for projection replaced the screen in ways that underscored the ephemerality of light and the impermanence of the screen. Finally, the traversal between air art and expanded cinema in projections onto balloons was discussed in the third chapter, where the surfaces of pneumatic objects were illuminated to make visible the immaterial presence of light and air. Performances in Japanese expanded cinema, in such ways, underlined the performativity of the cinematic medium by showing that both light and the screen are subject to change and chance. Therefore, performances of Japanese expanded cinema set into practice the shift in the terminology of the image (*eizō*) from noun to verb that underscored the shift towards action that was considered to have always been a part of film projection.

PART III

SPACE IN JAPANESE EXPANDED CINEMA

3.1 SPACE, ENVIRONMENT AND DISPLAY

Amid the emergence of alternative venues and a turn toward performance and sculpture, space and its relation to art and audience became a pervasive issue in Japanese art of the 1960s. The prominence of space was marked by the exhibition *Kūkan kara kankyō e* (From Space to Environment), held by the Enbairmento no kai (Environment Society), that opened on 11 November 1966 for six days at the Matsuya Department Store Gallery in Ginza with an accompanying event at Sōgetsu Art Centre on 14 November. The title of the exhibition made explicit the overarching concerns on space of the 38 participating artists assembled under the Environment Society. While it made use of the word *kankyō*, the group preferred the English word 'environment' for the Japanese term had its limitations in implying an 'enclosed space' and had already been used within the field of architecture. The predisposition for the use of 'environment', furthermore, reveals the intentions on behalf of the Japanese artists to interconnect with international artists, such as Fredrich Kiesler and Allan Kaprow, whom are both cited as critical influences in surrounding texts. It may prove to be more effective to analyse the word they renounced as a relic of the past, *kūkan*, in order to stage a new direction in contemporary art. The Japanese word for space (*kūkan*) is a compound word comprising of two kanji characters – the first means emptiness or a vacuum (*kū*) and the other denotes an interval (*kan*). What the artists sought to abandon, in other words, was the tendency to neglect the space between art and its area of placement as an 'empty interval', deprived of meaning or association.

Another 'empty interval' the Environment Society attempted to relinquish was the relationship between the artwork and its audience. Published on the flyer and the pages of the

November 1966 issue of *Bijutsu Techō* journal, their statement penned by critic Tōno Yoshiaki demanded its visitors 'take part' and suggested 'the harmonious and still space (*kūkan*) between audience and art has broken and replaced with an active and mixed environment (*kankyō*)' (1966, p. 118). Akiyama Kuniharu, a member of the society, reiterated in his statement, 'One incarnation of contemporary art is in your own experience [...] the space transforms according to the experience of its visitors' (1966, p. 59). He continued, 'When the spectators are motivated into action (*kōi*), what we may be able to call a solution of the process appears for the first time' (1966, p. 60). In other words, environment art, in his belief, centered on the relationship between space, artwork and audience. Indeed, the artworks presented at the exhibition encouraged tactile participation from its audience. Ay-O's *Finger Box* (1963-6), for example, asked for its visitors to put their finger into a hole to feel what was hidden inside, which ranged from nails to nothing. In fact, the level of participation the works managed to stimulate surprised as much as intrigued the organisers. Some works were damaged or experienced malfunctions, leading Tōno to condemn the modes of participation as 'violent responses' (1967, p. 9). Nevertheless, critic Akane Kazuo considered audience participation an essential component of environment art and saw action in its response as its strongest direct expression (1970, p. 14). Inspired by Allan Kaprow's interpretation of happenings, moreover, these were also established as a relevant method of interaction with space and audience delineated by environment art (Tōno in Isozaki *et al*, 1966, p. 93). Nakahara Yūsuke, another member of Environment Society, noted that not only technological works but also happenings encouraged recognition of space from their spectators (1967, pp. 140-1). Indeed, the supplementary event held at SAC listed the subtitle 'happening' and involved events by artists, such as Akiyama, Ay-O, Ichiyanagi Toshi and Shiomi Mieko, who had all been involved with Fluxus.

Environment art in Japan also assimilated Fluxus artist Dick Higgins' ethos of crossing of boundaries between art forms. Another 'empty interval' to be bridged, in other words, was the relationship between artistic mediums. While I agree with historian Midori Yoshimoto's suggestion that the exhibition 'From Space to Environment' marked the emergence of intermedia art in Japan (2008, p. 25), it should be noted the term *intermedia* itself in its Japanese

enunciation was never used in the context of the exhibition. The subtitle for the exhibition was 'painting + sculpture + photography + design + architecture + music', reminiscent of the additive principle for the association between arts that had been practiced in the synthesis arts (*sōgō geijutsu*) of the 1950s. Despite critic Takiguchi Shūzō's membership in Environment Society, however, his previous role as the principal orchestrator of Jikken Kōbō Experimental Workshop did not undermine the new approach to medium interaction in the form of environment art. In fact, Takiguchi explicitly disassociated environment art with syntheses (*sōgō*) between the arts that characterised the works a decade earlier, which he criticised for not pursuing beyond the mathematical conjunctions of addition and division in their approach to medium interaction (1966, p. 1). Environment Society's statement, moreover, asserted they 'distrusted the simplicity of "synthesis" (*sōgō*)' and equated the process of synthesis arts to 'children holding hands' (1966, p. 118). Comparing artists working within the confines of their own medium to be 'fish in an aquarium', the Environment Society called for the destruction of the fishbowls to create a space for collision and mixedness (*konjun*) (1966, p. 118), a word that was frequently invoked in the emergence of *intermedia* in Japan. The new mode of medium interaction in environment art sought results other than synthesis. Designers Nagai Kazumasa and Fukuda Shigeo both commented on the ways their participation in the exhibition reasserted the distinctions between design and other arts. Fukuda, for example, commented that 'by getting out of the insular boundary [of a medium], I think we were able to thoroughly understand its very essence' (1967, p. 18). Referring to medium-specific qualities as 'an ally' (*mikata*), Yamaguchi Katsuhiro wrote that their destruction was productive but emphasised the necessity to search for new allies amid the ensued chaos (*konran*) (1967b, p. 102). In its proposal to establish interconnection amid the 'violent self-destruction of mediums' that they had seen in contemporary art (1966, p. 118), Environment Society certainly prepared fertile ground for *intermedia* to be practiced and theorised in the proceeding years.

In what has been considered as a prelude for the emergence of technological arts of Expo '70, the place for environment art has been firmly established. What has been broadly neglected in discussions on environment art, however, is the role of film in the emergence of

environment art. Indeed, 'From Space to Environment', in both incarnations as exhibition and event, did not include any form of film presentation. Nevertheless, many of the artists involved in Environment Society, including Yamaguchi Katsuhiko and Awazu Kiyoshi, proceeded to incorporate image projection into their works preceding and during Expo '70 in what developed along the lines of environment art. Although no film work was selected for exhibition, Teshigahara Hiroshi's independent narrative film *Tanin no Kao* (Face of Another, 1966) was acknowledged by members of the Environment Society as a precursor to environment art.¹⁷² Beyond the interdisciplinary collaborations on film sets, however, the reconfiguration of space in film projection in the form of expanded cinema was deeply inspired by the conceptual promise of participation in environment art.

Part III, the final part of this thesis, sets out to explore the articulation of environment art in film. Part III will discuss: firstly, the pavilions presented at Expo '70 (Chapter 3.2); secondly, the psychedelic shows in underground discotheques of the late 1960s (Chapter 3.3); and lastly, film installations of the early 1970s (Chapter 3.4). By exploring in what ways they attempt to fulfill the aims of environment art, I will address the research question – what new opportunities did the exploration of space in expanded cinema in Japan offer for the relationships between space, film and audience?

While film projection was mostly ignored in the discourse on environment art, its place was firmly established in the development of another cultural lexicon of the time, display (*disupurei*). Encompassing window displays, expositions and fashion shows, the artistic possibilities of display, despite their overtly commercial purpose, was discussed among artists as early as 1963. The presentation of displays in a spatial context and its aims to encourage spectators into activity were discussed as an artistic possibility. Although mostly rejected in

¹⁷² In the November 1966 special issue on 'environment' by *Bijutsu Techō*, a still from the film showing reflections caused by medicine cabinets made of plastic cutting through the space was included next to a short text by Awazu, who had designed the film poster and directed its trailer. In the same issue, architect Isozaki Arata commented on his use of transparent material in his art direction for the film, describing it was to create a space that developed multiple reflections with no shadows and felt unshackled from gravitational pull (Isozaki *et al*, 1966, p. 96). The seeds of interaction between the arts that was called for in environment art, therefore, had already been sown on the film set of Teshigahara's productions that had recruited artists who gathered around SAC.

Japanese art history for its commercial basis, artists that range from Okamoto Tarō, Ōnishi Seiji and Tanaami Keiichi as well as Yamaguchi Katsuhiro, Awazu Kiyoshi and Takamatsu Jirō whose works were presented at 'From Space to Environment', collaborated with corporations to put together displays. Displays, it was noted, shared two remarkable characteristics with environment art that appeared in the latter half of the decade: first, their consideration of space as a primary factor because of their presentation in a spatial context; and second, their aim for interacting with an audience beyond linear spectatorship, because of their purpose to encourage spectators into activity.

Arguably, display has a place in Japan's pre-history of intermedia. Nevertheless, due to its close proximity to environment art in its consideration of space as a primary factor, I have allocated its discussion in this chapter. The following section will articulate the overlapping concerns between environment and displays that cross over in the shape of Expo '70, while exploring the role image projection went on to play in their developments.

3.1.1 Display

Display (*disupurei*) was a word used by Japanese businesses and artists who worked with corporations to delineate the exhibition of trade products in an artistic way for the purposes of encouraging purchases or strengthening brand name. Although rising to prominence in Japanese lexicon in the 1950s mainly to describe window displays for department stores, the spatial turn in contemporary art also encouraged the development of displays beyond the flatness of the window to the spatial arrangements of expositions and fashion shows. Increasing competition between corporations led to a demand for creative input, leading to the recruitments of contemporary artists for the design of displays. Later directors of major pavilions in Expo '70, both Yamaguchi Katsuhiro and Okamoto Tarō participated in discussions on the topic of displays years before the announcement of Japan as the site for the 1970 world exposition.¹⁷³

The culture of display, together with the notion of environment, set the foundations upon which

¹⁷³ See Okamoto, 1963 and Furuhashi *et al*, 1962. A strong tradition of galleries and art exhibitions located in department stores in Japan ensured a longstanding relationship between art and capital, resulting in many artists to transition fluidly between the ostensibly separated worlds.

the Expo artists conceived their works for the pavilions. Despite what seems like a clear lineage of artistic influence from Japanese displays to the world exposition, the notion of display has been overlooked in favour of environment art in critical studies of art leading up to and during Expo '70. Critical discussions on display made explicit the importance of interactions between mediums and visitor participation, and therefore it shared fundamental concerns with environment art despite predating it by many years. A renegotiation of the importance of display is evidently necessary in evaluating the artistic concerns surrounding film and other mediums in the preparations for Expo '70.

Participation from its passersby was seen as integral for displays, whose ultimate goal was to stimulate those who saw the presentation to take part in the commercial trade offered by the corporation. Explaining the fundamental principles of displays, film critic Okada Susumu wrote, 'Display does not just communicate information but, through an environment that synthesises objects and people, communicates to the visitors' sensory perceptions'. In a statement that echoes the discourse on environment art, he continued, 'Displays must encourage visitor participation and be shaped by the very participation' (1971, p. 18). Suggesting shops have become spaces for happenings, art critic Okada Takahiko concurred spatial features of shops (*tenpo*) incorporate the motivation into autonomous action as part of its design (1969, p. 56). Making clear reference to environment art, Okada warned shops should not only see itself as a place for trade but a wider space for interaction (1968b, p. 13). The discussions on displays leading up to Expo '70, in such ways, took into account a search for alternatives to 'showing' in a presentation that would incorporate interactions. Fujimoto Shunsuke, who wrote almost exclusively on displays in the 1960s, declared the most important factor for displays was less beauty or originality than 'the ability to establish a prolonged dialogue' (1967, p. 140).

Corresponding with the discourse on environment art, the performativity of displays were also considered a necessity for its success. Characterising it as a temporary space, Fujimoto emphasised the ability for displays to respond accurately and quickly to society as a prerequisite (1966b, p. 120). In contrast to graphic design work for paper publications, displays did not enjoy or take into account longevity or preservation (Hamaguchi, 1963, p. 166). Rather,

displays resisted being bound by formula to be able to evolve according to societal changes, resisting commercial strategies of reproduction in favour of effective transformation. With the ability for the projected image to change constantly, film came to be considered an appropriate medium for displays. With its expected audience constituting primarily commuters, motion within the displays corresponded with movements of the eye for the passersby (Fujimoto, 1966a, p. 173). As light and projection displays became popular in art exhibitions they also became increasingly prevalent in the culture of displays. The expansion of film beyond the cinema space correlated with the shift for displays from window to spatial environments, and expanded cinema experienced popular usage in display and fashion shows. Although its fleeting nature has resulted in a lack of documentation, Awazu Kiyoshi and Miyai Rikurō, both leading figures in Japanese expanded cinema, have mentioned the significance of their commercial work for display shows prior to their involvement in Expo '70. Photographic documentation of display shows, furthermore, reveals the widespread use of film projection onto balloons, mannequins and models, revealing the infiltration of underground (*angura*) practice into corporate entertainment (Fig. 12). The spectacle of performance demanded in the transient existence of displays chimed with developments of expanded cinema in the 1960s, leading up to the pervasive employment of multiple projections in the pavilions of Expo '70.

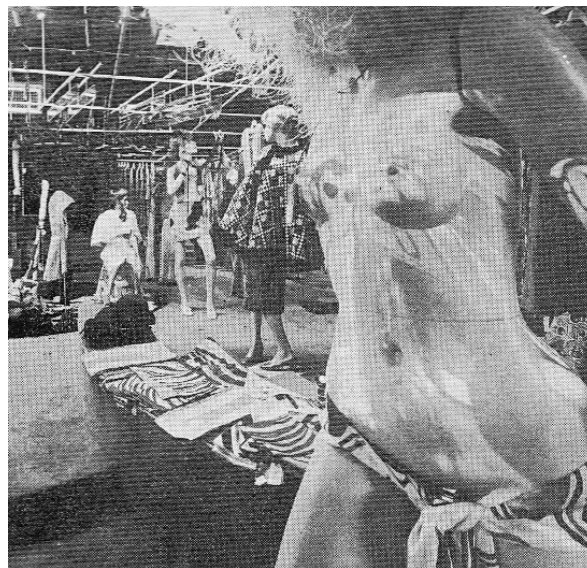


Figure 12: Projections onto mannequins in fashion displays

Anticipating the development of *intermedia* and environment art as a critical concept in the mid-1960s, discussions on display had also emphasised the importance of interconnections between mediums. In a talk he gave on the issue of art and display, Okamoto Tarō spoke on the insipid separation of modes of experience allocated to individual art forms. By taking out painting from the gallery and music from the concert hall into the core of everyday experience, Okamoto felt art would be rejuvenated (1963, p. 110). In the same seminar held on 28-29 August 1963 by the Tokyo Display Association, historian Abe Kimimasa suggested displays should resist the temptation of the pure arts (*junsui geijutsu*) in favour of bringing together different artistic boundaries into synthesis (*sōgō*) (1963, p. 113), a sentiment that was echoed later in Fujimoto Shunsuke's description of displays as 'impure' (1967c, p. 139). In his advocacy for the societal acceptance of displays, Hamaguchi Takaiichi proposed 'when different artistic fields are gathered together and shifted around, the profile of displays reveals itself' (1963, p. 168). In the seminar, historian Kiyokawa Kiyoshi emphasised the importance of establishing connections for displays using the analogy of an amusement park (1963, p. 105), a metaphor that was also invoked by Haryū Ichirō and Iimura Takahiko in their written criticism of Expo '70.

Display, in such ways, shared fundamental characteristics with the critical terms *intermedia* and environment. Nevertheless, the differences in the approaches to their aims become crucial in addressing the ways in which they were implemented. While display was a resolutely commercial practice developed among business corporations, *intermedia* and environment was practiced among artists. The boundaries between them, however, began to dissipate as display began to infiltrate the arts and artists crossed over into designing displays, epitomised by the mass cohort of artists who participated in Expo '70. While *intermedia*, environment and display share commonalities, some levels of difference can be identified in the work's relation to its space and audience, as well as what they hope to attain with the relationship. Displays echo what Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer called 'the culture industry'. In their theoretical treatise, Adorno and Horkheimer propose popular culture mass-

produced identical works according to a formula, which ultimately leads to passive consumption of experience. As Adorno suggests, 'The power of the culture industry's ideology is such that conformity has replaced consciousness' (2001, p. 104). While practitioners producing displays aim for participation from their customers or passersby, the participation is on their terms according to a prescribed framework. *Intermedia*, on the other hand, hope for unprecedented results in their staging of interactions between mediums, space and audience.

While film, together with radio and magazines, was considered to be products of the culture industry by Adorno and Horkheimer (2002, p. 115), a discussion on film projection outside of the industrial and regimented space of the cinema allow us to reconsider its complicity. On the one hand, some film projection activities in alternative spaces posed a continuation for film projection to participate in the culture industry through their collusion with the ideology of display. The pavilions of Expo '70, the subject of Chapter 2, were schematic in their approach to encouraging audience participation, ultimately suppressing their individuality, or, as Adorno phrased the results of the culture industry, 'imped[ing] the development of autonomus, independent individuals who judge and decide consciously for themselves' (2001, p. 106). Although underground discotheques, the subject of Chapter 3, similarly sought to achieve audience interaction, their attempts at unprecedented variability in the performative collision of different mediums, as opposed to the synonymity of experience in the pavilions of Expo '70, align them with *intermedia* as delineated by Tone Yasunao and Ichikawa Miyabi. Finally, Chapter 4 will conclude with an analysis of Japanese film installations in the early 1970s that took inspiration from the spatial uses of film in such activities to suggest they produced recognition of space from their audience that had been deemed significant for environment art. Bringing together an overview of the ways projections were installed into spaces outside of the cinema in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the following chapters will articulate the significance of the approaches to space, in their allegiances to display or environment, on the outcomes of the works regarding their relationship with audience, space and medium.

3.2 EXPO '70: THE WORLD EXPOSITION IN OSAKA

As a facilitator of multiple encounters between state, capital and art, the 1970 World Exposition in Osaka (Nihon Bankoku Hakurankai) represents the pinnacle in the bulging culture of display in Japanese contemporary art. Held for six months between 15 March and 13 September 1970, Expo '70 was the first world exposition in Asia and, until recently being overtaken by the Expo 2010 Shanghai China, was the largest and most well-attended with the total number of visitors exceeding 64 million. In the years and months leading up to the monumental event, Japanese culture and society was gripped by Expo '70 that represented a national strategy to be firmly placed onto the international stage following the accelerated transformation of Japan from defeated nation to a key global economic force.¹⁷⁴ One tactic employed to reinstate its cultural reverence was a broad recruitment of Japanese artists into the participation of Expo '70, including avant-garde artist Okamoto Tarō, who designed the Tower of the Sun that loomed over the 330 hectares of ground prepared for the occasion in Suita City of northern Osaka as the theme producer of Expo '70. With over two-thirds of the pavilions installing some form of moving image projection, Expo '70 followed the 1967 World Exposition in Montreal by being given the epithet as the 'Expo of Moving Images.' Ranging in names from studio filmmaker Ichikawa Kon to independent voices Teshigahara Hiroshi, Kuri Yōji and Matsumoto Toshio, film directors were among the many artists whom accepted invitations to take part in Expo '70, yet film studies has largely ignored their contributions to the world exposition in the delineation of Japanese film history. For many years, art history has also dismissed works produced for the Expo '70 echoing the breadth of criticism the artists came under for taking part in what many considered the swan song for the Japanese avant-garde. The compliance with the state was said to have even recalled the country's wartime painters (Sawaragi, 2005, p. 62). Although *intermedia* and environment (*kankyō*) has been broadly banished until recently for their association with Expo Art, the pavilions of Expo '70 should be reexamined as part of the lineage of Japanese cinema and contemporary art in the resurrection of the two critical terms for their pervasive prominence.

¹⁷⁴ Indeed, Expo '70 followed one planned for 1940 that had been cancelled due to the dawn of World War II.

Echoing the turn from space to environment in contemporary art, Fujimoto Shunsuke considered the accomplishment of a display to be founded on the extent to which it succeeds in enticing a visitor to engage and, in turn, respond to their participation. This was something he stated was being disregarded in the preparation for Expo '70 in his monthly report on its development between January and October 1968 for *Shōten Kenchiku* magazine. However, the pavilions of Expo '70 did consider such audience interaction articulated by Fujimoto as a tenet of display, yet the relationship they sought to activate with their audience was one founded according to their terms. Although the name Festival Plaza (*omatsuri hiroba*) indicated in words a space for open public discourse, in reality the area was under heavy control against any autonomous activity for fears they may lead to further uprisings.¹⁷⁵ Civil surveillance broadly denied individual expression in the form of happenings or social protest, demonstrated in the subjugation of the occupation of Okamoto's Tower of the Sun by an alleged Red Army member Eyeball Man and performance artist Dada-kan's naked fifteen-meter run on the grounds underneath. Beyond these rare cases of unrest, however, the visitors expressed little autonomous action suppressed under broad scale civilian control¹⁷⁶ and the pavilions, in turn, were criticised for their lack of attempt at 'cognitive communication' with their audiences (Bretz, 1970, p. 3). Takeyama Minoru similarly commented on the lack of consideration for the intentionality (*shikōsei*) of individual visitors whom he felt was restricted due to the over-saturation of devices installed in the pavilions (1970, p. 48). The social experience within the parameters of Expo,

¹⁷⁵ Isozaki Arata, recalling his participation in Expo '70 with some regret, explained that 'politics are visualised through festivals' reminding that the word for political affairs (*seiji*) and festivals (*saiji*) both share the alternative reading as *matsuri-goto* (2011, p. 79). The notion of plaza echoes the change in name in 1969 from Shinjuku Station West Exist Underground Plaza to Underground Passageway in response to the increasing use of the space for social demonstrations, inter-personal discourse on politics and spontaneous concerts by guerilla folk singers (*fōku gerira*) the state feared was out of their control. The change of the space from plaza to passageway was the subject of the experimental documentary film *Chikatetsu Hiroba* (Underground Plaza, 1969) by Ouchida Keiya and further details can be found in Eckersall, 2011.

¹⁷⁶ Here I echo Yuriko Furuhashi, who has explored the parallels between the security operations and multimedia spectacles of Expo '70 in her recent papers (Michigan, September 2012) and in her forthcoming article 'Multimedia Environments and Security Operations: Expo '70 as a Laboratory of Governance', *Grey Room*, 54 (Winter 2014). Contemporary criticism of Expo '70 as a system of control can be read in Haryū, 1969, pp. 11-29.

both within and beyond the individual pavilions, was that of a programmed experience with little room available for spontaneity or chance.

Participation from the audience, however, did not necessarily involve physical activity. According to critic Nakahara Yūsuke, environment (*kankyō*) art facilitates a condition where its audiences arrive at recognition of the space and their involvement within it (1967, p. 139). Another contributing factor to the broad failures of the pavilions at Expo '70 was their tendency to attempt an erasure of their status as space in devotion to the immersive experience of the installations. Described by Takeyama Minoru to be an elimination of space (*kūkan no shōkyō*), the pavilions of Expo '70 served as attractions from outside, but once inside, sought to conceal its architectural design with uses of reflective material, pneumatic technology and open inner spaces (1970, p. 42).¹⁷⁷ Rather than emphasising the status of a screen as a surface for projection, many of the pavilions resorted to painting over visible evidence of frames in their installations or creating new screen forms with dry ice, mirrors, smoke and water. Izumi Shinya, a producer of environments, wrote on the widespread distrust against 'material and objects' he discovered within the Expo '70 site, raising architect Isozaki Arata's conception of the Festival Plaza as an 'invisible monument' to be a prime example. Although the concept behind the plaza was to encourage interactivity within the space, Izumi criticised the enormous roof looming over the Festival Plaza to have only created 'vast emptiness' (1970, p. 202). While implying a return to the 'empty interval' of space (*kūkan*) as opposed to environment, the preference for illusionary presence at Expo '70 even counteracted against what was considered by some a prerequisite for displays. Proposing it to be always embedded in reality, Fujimoto Shunsuke emphasised displays were an art of less shaping than molding and even declared it an impossibility for them to be illusionary (1968, p. 124). Indeed, while displays were most often installed to sell a consumer product, the pavilions were centered on themes, including the overarching 'Progress and Harmony for Mankind' selected to represent the entire edition. In the

¹⁷⁷ An exception could be made with the Pepsi Pavilion that was submerged in layers of fog installed by Nakaya Fujiko.

absence of a tangible basis to mould itself around, the pavilions of Expo '70 shrouded its spatial structure to instead focus on the delivery of immersive experiences for its visitors.

The following chapter will examine a selection of four installations presented in pavilions to explore their attempts to establish an environment (*kankyō*) within the confines of Expo '70. The four installations were selected according to individuals who were active in expanded cinema, environment art and performance prior to their appointment for Expo '70 in order to draw out comparative analyses. Firstly, the Textile Pavilion (Senni-kan) will be examined under the context of audience participation in relation to space, making reference to previous *intermedia* projects by Matsumoto Toshio, the director of the pavilion. Secondly, graphic designer Awazu Kiyoshi's contribution to Expo '70 will be analysed in relation to his previous slide projection works to demonstrate the elimination of space (*kūkan no shōkyō*) and a concealment of its devices in his installation *Mandalama* for the Theme Pavilion (Tēma-kan). Finally, the restriction on performance will be explored through dancer Hijikata Tatsumi's participation in Expo '70 both as the subject of a film in *Astrorama* for the Midori Pavilion (Midori-kan) and as a performer for the series of events presented at the Pepsi Pavilion before its premature cancellation. Although the pavilions sought to achieve medium interaction and establish a relationship with its audience, the following chapter will propose the correspondence between space, audience and work was delimited according to what was required for a display.

3.2.1 Matsumoto Toshio and the Textile Pavilion

Sponsored by the Japan Textiles Association, the Textile Pavilion brought together luminaries of the Japanese avant-garde including designer Yokoo Tadanori, former Jikken Kōbō members Akiyama Kuniharu and Yuasa Jōji, former Neo-Dada artist Yoshimura Masanobu and doll-designer Yotsuya Simon, under the auspices of filmmaker Matsumoto Toshio. Completed even with what appeared to be the scaffolding that had been left behind, the Textile Pavilion has since been discussed as an oddity within the pavilions of Expo '70 that succeeded in housing a critique of the event within its own parameters, alongside other notable subversions in the form of Okamoto's Tower of the Sun and E.A.T.'s Pepsi Pavilion (Yoshimoto, 2011b, p. 128). The

pavilion was shaped in the form of a wave with its trough as the entrance and a protruding dome penetrating its centre which, Yokoo confirmed, is a symbol of the male phallus (1970, p. 175). Inside, the pavilion accommodated a series of attractions that included: an area teeming with dolls that appeared to be René Magritte impersonations quietly emitting recorded and fragmented sounds of the artists discussing the making of the pavilion; two rooms replicating one another in form but vastly contrasting in colour arrangement with one covered in white and the other submerged in a myriad of colours; a passageway display involving revolving acrylic boards on the walls grouped into four with patterns that momentarily merged together to form contours of human shapes and flowers; and projections of human shadows onto a spinning tubular form made of lines of strings tied together. The succession of activity led to the central dome where Matsumoto's presented his fifteen-minute expanded cinema piece *Space Projection Ako* (1970) projected onto sculptures of fragmented body parts designed by Yokoo amid electronic sounds arranged by Yuasa. While the Textile Pavilion may have provided a dynamic counterpoint to the rest of Expo '70, Matsumoto's experimentation in projection, nevertheless, struggled to unshackle cinema from its prearranged configurations.

Conceived explicitly as an *intermedia* project by Matsumoto (1970, p. 84), the Textile Pavilion certainly delivered in its exploration of the boundaries between conventionally separated arts. Expressing reservations against the tendency for syntheses in *intermedia* and describing them as broadly optimistic, Matsumoto's described his approach in bringing together art forms to be similar to 'mixing water and oil', a 'disavowal of harmony' that recalls Ichikawa Miyabi's articulation of *intermedia* as immiscible interactions (1970, p. 84). Indeed, Matsumoto's desire for the pavilion to become a ground to test medium interactions can be observed in his appointment of his staff against their type. According to Matsumoto, Yokoo Tadanori was chosen as architect despite having no prior experience in the profession. He explained the decision was made taking into the consideration that the building was not being designed to last as its demolition after the closing of Expo '70 was already part of the plan (1970, p. 85). Even though their arrangements were in constant change through the combination of six tracks and 26 channels, Yuasa Jōji's composition, a mixture of electronic and orchestral

sounds, was dubbed according to spatial and projection coordinates of the dome. Despite the transient nature of the sound and the building, the audiovisual experience within the pavilion was programmed to the utmost detail. Publically rejecting the Textile Pavilion during its installation, Yokoo Tadanori, who had taken part in the exhibition *From Space to Environment* in 1966, repudiated the pavilion's nickname as Happening Pavilion (*happening-kan*) explaining that 'the Textile Pavilion was calculated towards a foreseen conclusion from its beginning. Even the happenings during its construction are a result of these calculations' (1970, p. 174). Using ten 35mm projectors and eight slide projectors, the multiple projection was similarly detailed in its coordination and was outlined in a *gurafu-conte* that had been devised six months before its opening (Matsumoto, 1970, p. 88). Like his two previous expanded cinema projects, both of which he conceived only after being appointed as director of the pavilion in December 1967, Matsumoto's projections were meticulously planned leaving little room for chance occurrences, an important attribute of expanded cinema for some as it dislodged the cinema experience from entirely constituting reproduction.

Although performativity was compromised in Matsumoto's projection installation, investment to disassociate the projection from the conventional cinema experience was made in the configuration of the screen at the Textile Pavilion. The entire inner layer of the dome was conceived as a surface for the multiple projectors, and fragments of the human anatomy designed by Yokoo Tadanori emerged outwards from within the walls. Early plans outlined by Yokoo reveal he originally planned for large male and female sculptures to loom over the dome with multiple entrances and exists between their legs. Furthermore, the sculptures were not only to receive projections but also emit them as stroboscopic lights were embedded in the eye sockets and 35mm projectors with wide-angle lenses were positioned in the mouths, their feet and, in one case, their genital region.¹⁷⁸ Adjusted in response to complaints against its overt sexuality that their committee feared may go against the regulations of Expo '70, Yokoo and Matsumoto resorted to fragmented body parts that, nevertheless, appeared to retain a certain

¹⁷⁸ Yokoo's sketches of his early designs can be seen in Matsumoto, 1970, pp. 84-98. One early sketch also shows multiple television monitors installed above the entrances and mirrors to further refract the projections.

eroticism in their reception of projected images. The multiple projections entirely consisted of one young girl, Ako, enacting various actions shot against a black background in order to allow not only the individual projections to merge into one another but also for the sculpture and projections to become indistinguishable. Matsumoto described the central concept of the pavilion to be the combination of real space (*jitsu kūkan*) and virtual space (*kyo kūkan*) (1970, p. 82), which was duly followed by Yokoo in his appropriation of the anatomy of Ako, the subject of the image, into the design of the sculptural body parts onto which the images were projected.

As seen in Part II, film projections onto a body in performance were an activity thriving in *angura* culture and, as will be discussed in Section 3.3, a common feature in discotheques. As Midori Yoshimoto notes, close ties between the textile and fashion industries meant the Textile Pavilion was targeted primarily at young people (2011b, p. 124) and Matsumoto and his team drew heavily from psychedelic shows of the underground discotheques.¹⁷⁹ Indeed, Matsumoto's first multi-projection piece, *For My Damaged Right Eye*, featured scenes shot in the nightclub LSD and Yokoo, upon returning from a trip to New York, organised a psychedelic show at SAC with Ichianagi Toshi as part of EX POSE '68. The Textile Pavilion had intended to appeal to the sensory perceptions of the audience, as emphasised in the promotional material and overheard in the announcements made upon entering the pavilion.¹⁸⁰ Praising it as the most revolutionary installation in Expo '70, film critic Ogi Masahiro echoed the announcements in confirming *Space Projection Ako* was only for the senses (1970, p. 85). Nevertheless, the Textile Pavilion contradicted the projections of underground discotheques in one crucial point, which was that projections were onto bodies reproduced as sculptures rather than the live dancers of psychedelic shows. While he saw the combination between real and virtual space to be the central concept of the pavilion, Matsumoto had written earlier that expanded cinema that

¹⁷⁹ Yoshimoto also suggests the sponsorship of the Textile Pavilion from a corporation, rather than a national body, was one of the reasons for its individuality as it was broadly able to escape ideological assertions from the nation state (2011b, p. 117). Furthermore, the fashion industry was taking referring to psychedelic culture at the time, and projections onto mannequins and models were also seen in fashion shows and *displays*.

¹⁸⁰ The announcement can be heard in *Kōshiki chōhen kiroku eiga: Nihon Bankokuhaku* (The Office Feature-Length Documentary: Japan World Exposition, 1971) directed by Taniguchi Senkichi. Footage of *Space Projection Ako* from one angle can also be viewed online in Postwar Japan Moving Image Archive, 2013.

amalgamated both were primarily developed by artists working with happenings (1972, p. 180). With the absence of Ako as a real figure (*jitsuzō*), the dynamic live environment of discotheques only served as a reference point for the Textile Pavilion.

The programmed delivery of *Space Projection Ako*, furthermore, limited the scope of involvement from the audience, a vital concern in the establishment of environment art. Recognising its importance, Matsumoto asserted that his audience were free to look towards any direction inside the dome. With the projectors positioned at ground level, Matsumoto also suggested the audience would become a part of the display as their shadows joined the projections casted against the walls (1970, p. 98). Pointing out the similarities with sculptures in the way that it is possible to be observed from multiple angles, Matsumoto suggested expanded cinema would shift the site of creativity to the reception experience of a work (1972, p. 176). With some of the scaffolding still on site, the pavilion exerted the appearance of still being incomplete, implying its completion would require the contribution from the visitors. Motivating audiences into participation had also been a desire for directors of other pavilions. Yamaguchi Katsuhiko, former Jikken Kōbō member, envisioned his Mitsui-kan pavilion as a site where audiences engage in an experience similar to happenings where, rather than quietly observing, they were able to have a say in selecting their mode of involvement (1969, p. 14). The attraction of Mitsui Group Pavilion was that the audience was able to view the projected images overhead from different angles as they assembled in groups of thirty onto levitating turntables that moved up, down and sideways. The floor movements, however, was what limited the experiential scope of the spectacle as the involvement of the audience remained unchanged as their viewing perspectives were mechanically programmed. Similarly, the result for the Textile Pavilion seemed to be that audiences were mostly bemused and dumbfounded rather than motivated into action. Rudy Bretz noted in her report, 'I'm afraid that the other visitors joined me in being so stunned by the gigantic unusual that we didn't know how to take it and walked out in a kind of daze, not really sure what had hit us' (1970, p. 45). In such ways, a negotiation with its audience to facilitate its completion, which was considered key for environment art, was not to be achieved in the Textile Pavilion.

3.2.2 Awazu Kiyoshi and *Mandalama*

According to critic Nakahara Yūsuke, the participation of an audience in environment art did not necessarily involve physical action. Recognition of the environment, its structural formation and the implications of their involvement within it were also considered valid modes of participation from an audience. An established independent graphic designer whose work for books, posters, theatre and film sets had become a common feature in Japan's 1960s avant-garde, Awazu Kiyoshi was also commissioned to participate in the design of the Toshiba IHI Pavilion and one of the four sections of the Theme Pavilion (Tēma-kan) in Expo '70. Upon being invited to participate in Expo '70, Awazu began using slide projections in the formation of environment art as a performance for *Holiday in Print* (1968) and an installation for *Yotsu no Purojekushon no tame no Enbairamento A* (Environment A for 4 Projections, 1968), which he continued with his installation *Mandalama* (1970) for the Theme Pavilion at Expo '70. As one of the principal members of the Environment Society whose desire to expand design had set the foundations of the exhibition *From Space to Environment* in 1966, the period where in which Awazu explored the use of slide projections was deeply inspired by the discourse on environment. A comparative analysis between his slide projection works of the period reveals what was compromised in terms of audience participation, once endorsed as a key ingredient of environment art, in his contribution to Expo '70.

An advocate for exploring boundary-crossing activities between the arts, Awazu's contributions to intermedia in theoretical terms was his inclusive interpretation of design. Suggesting 'design must look beyond the realms of design for its progression' (1968, p. 153), Awazu sought to dissipate the boundaries between art and design, an activity that had reproduction at its foundations. Referring to Walter Benjamin's seminal essay 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction', Awazu somewhat misunderstood Benjamin's concern for the lack of an auratic quality in the absence of an original in mechanical reproduction as a 'hopeless situation' (1968, p. 152). By broadening his use of design works, Awazu advocated the resurrection of aura in coteremporary art by removing the commercial functionality and effect of design in order to subject it to the realms of art (1972, p. 64). In mixing art and design, the result

becomes neither yet its components are able to take motion in unison towards something unprecedented (1972, p. 66). Although Awazu preferred the use of the phrase 'mixed media' to *intermedia*, how he described the mixedness had strong parallels with the description of *intermedia* offered by Ichikawa Miyabi. Referring to the mixture as mishmash (*gocha-maze*) (1972, p. 66), Awazu invokes the same phrase as Ichikawa to describe the scattered (*bara-bara*) condition of 'connected non-connections' (1972, p. 68).

The notion of mixture also became an important factor for Awazu in his understanding of environment art. Referring to his practice in the occupation as environment design (*kankyō dezain*), Awazu wrote he sought to coordinate a mixed (*konjun*) condition where individual parts remain scattered yet remained in co-existence (1972, p. 125). In seeking to create a mixed condition, Awazu created a situation in his environment art where the simulacrum (*kyozō*) and the original (*jitsuzō*) shared the same condition in order for both statuses to become indistinguishable from one another. With an understanding of design broadly as an activity that bestows 'value to illusion' (1972, p. 269), Awazu attempted to create an environment (*kankyō*) that played with the interface (*sukima*) between simulacra and their origin using slide projections. At the 6th Trends in Contemporary Art (*Gendai Bijutsu no Dōkō*) exhibition at the National Museum of Modern Art, Kyoto on 16 August – 22 September 1968, Awazu installed *Environment A for 4 Projections*. Rather than projecting against the wall, the installation involved four projectors pointing inwards into the room onto multiple transparent screens hung from the ceiling. Suspended at different angles, the transparent screens multiplied each projection as it went through the screen appearing in fragments and in different sizes depending on the distance from the projector.¹⁸¹ An earlier experiment with *Holiday in Print*, presented at the symposia EX POSE '68 he organised at SAC, the slide projections were presented on a stage that only amounted to establishing a frontal relationship with its audience. A progression in terms of audience interactions, the visitors of *Environment A for 4 Projections* were given the choice of looking into the installation through a window as an observer or entering the space to

¹⁸¹ Awazu tested out an earlier version of the piece in a classroom at Musashino Art University in 1966. Photographic documentation can be found in Awazu, 1968, p. 152.

become a part of the presentation as their shadows interacted with the projected slides. All 324 slides were reproductions made from paper publications, further complicating the notion of an origin (*jitsuzō*) together with the shadows of its audience. Declaring the installation as incomplete (1968, p. 151), the audience contributed to the formation of Awazu's work as their experience not only varied according to each individual but the installation itself transformed upon every entrance of a visitor (Fig. 13). In this sense, the work recalled his submission for the exhibition *From Space to Environment* where he installed a stainless water basin that, in its reflection of the visitors and nearby objects, altered according to its surroundings. Moreover, the formation of the space, including the slide projectors and screens, were visible within the room to encourage an audience to recognise the method of function. Although the exhibition received accolade for being the first of its kind to have assembled kinetic and light art works by Japanese artists, Awazu's installation stood out among others for its incorporation of space and audience as integral to its structural formation.



Figure 13: Awazu Kiyoshi's *Environment A for 4 Projections* (1968). Photographer unknown. Courtesy Awazu Ken.

Awazu admitted the possibilities Expo '70 offered to him encouraged a consideration of approaches beyond the two-dimensional platform he had become accustomed to working in design (Awazu *et al*, 1969, p. 199). Nevertheless, the slide projection work *Mandalama* for the Theme Pavilion was unsuccessful in terms of its ability to incorporate key tropes of environment art. Taking inspiration from stained glass in the Middle Ages (Awazu *et al*, 1970, p. 27) or, more contemporarily, the use of multiple screens for *Kinoautomat* at the Czech Pavilion and the Kaleidoscope Pavilion of the 1967 World Exposition Montreal, *Mandalama* was a presentation that involved 192 vertically alternating triangular screens.¹⁸² Assembling photographic images of human activity from birth to death from 48 countries, the slide projection showcased a familiar theme of harmony between the people often seen in world expositions and one that was considered a central theme for Expo '70. The slide projectors were hidden behind the screens presenting the images using back projection, concealing the structural operations in order to sustain the consonance between the subjects of the images that rotated numerous over three minutes. *Mandalama* was part of what was called the 'in-air display' section that symbolised 'the future and progress', visible to the audience overhead or upon setting their feet on an escalator that took them to the second floor. Awazu struggled with the position of his display above the audience and the limitations of space with which he was provided (Awazu *et al*, 1969, p. 202), and spoke on the difficulties he experienced in his attempts to incorporate variability and chance (*gūzensei*) into the presentation (Awazu *et al*, 1969, p. 208). In the same panel discussion, critic Haryū Ichirō condemned the lack of encouragement for participation he saw in the plans for the pavilions, anticipating the experience would be similar to 'sitting on a sofa, watching a meal cooked for them and then walking home tired' (Awazu *et al*, 1969, p. 208).¹⁸³ Although Haryū's comments would not have

¹⁸² Photographs of both were inserted in his article (1968, p. 153). Awazu visited Expo '67 and shared film documentation of his experience to the audiences of EX POSE '68 at SAC.

¹⁸³ Awazu appeared at least twice in a panel discussion on Expo '70 with Haryū Ichirō, who represented Anti-Expo in art criticism, showing an open attitude towards dialogue with the opposition. Haryū and Awazu were both on the editorial board of *Dezain Hihyō* (Design Criticism), where a special issue was published on Expo '70, mostly involving Anti-Expo opinions, that was ran alongside a full report on EX POSE '68, an event that was considered to have strong affiliations with Expo '70 (no. 6, July 1968).

applied to Awazu's *Environment A for 4 Projections*, it pointed at a deficiency that he identified in Awazu and others' work for Expo '70 regarding their validity as environment art.

3.2.3 Hijikata Tatsumi: Astrorama and the Pepsi Pavilion

In its invocation of variability and its contingency to chance, performativity was another aspect that was considered largely absent in the pavilions at Expo '70. As I have explored in fuller detail in Part II, performativity constituted a key ingredient for *intermedia* in the Japanese avant-garde for unprecedented outcomes to be attained in the collision of two or more mediums. Performativity of the space and its audience was also considered fundamental to the success of environment art where an experience of the work should vary for the visitors upon each visit. With the multi-projection environments set in advance and presented numerous times in daily rotation, the expanded cinema presented at Expo '70 experienced a dearth in performativity as its intermedial arrangements were tested to precision before its presentation in front of an audience. Moreover, the audience had been discouraged against autonomous action by security guards, limiting the scope of impulsive activity. A comparative analysis between two appearances of dancer Hijikata Tatsumi, once at the Pepsi Pavilion and the other at Midori Pavilion (Midori-kan), proves to highlight the restrictions bestowed upon performance on the grounds of Expo '70.

One of the pavilions with the strongest attendance, Midori Pavilion was a dome structure 46 meters in diameter sponsored by the Midori Kai, a conglomeration of 32 corporations within the Sanwa Group business network. The inner layer of the dome, thirty meters in diameter, was covered in a hemispheric screen of 2,000 square meters onto which five vertically rotating projectors presented a 360° panoramic experience for its visitors. Established by GOTO Inc., a corporation that produced astronomic telescopes, the dome projection involving five 70mm oblong film with 8 perforations projected through the world's largest lenses of 300mm aperture, was given the name Astrorama. Suitably immersive aural environment was initiated using a three-dimensional sound system using twelve magnetic channels through 515 speakers accompanying the images that ran separately through a Selsyn

synchronisation device. In the film *Birth* (1970), one out of the two films especially commissioned for the pavilion, Hijikata was invited as the only official cast member of the 18-minute film directed by Akiyama Tomoharu and scripted by renowned poet Tanikawa Shuntarō, who specifically requested for Hijikata to perform the role of a 'monstrous and grotesque man' that appears from within a volcano (Anon [*Project Rebirth*], 2012, p. 29). Scheduled to screen twenty times a day for audiences that totaled over six million over the period of installation over six months, *Birth* was an intermedial presentation of Hijikata's dance that was certainly the largest in scale.

The collaboration with the filmmakers of Midori Pavilion, however, was not the first time Hijikata subjected his dance to an interaction with other arts. In September 1959, the same year *butoh* was founded, Hijikata took part in an event '6 Avant-gardists Gathering' organized by the 650 EXPERIENCE Society, whose members included Donald Richie, dancer Wakamatsu Miki, art director Kanamori Kaoru and musicians Mayazumi Toshirō and Moroi Makoto. Critic Takiguchi Shūzō contributed an essay for the programme notes for their second event, 'Second 6 Avant-gardists' in October 1960, where six artists presented works consecutively over an evening. Takiguchi commented that the works in the programme did not result in synthesis art (*sōgō geijutsu*) but, instead, each work 'remain[ed] solitary...brushing against each other and negotiating with each other, and even cooperating with one another' (2004, p. 18). Mishima Yukio, on the other hand, commented in the same programme notes that the artists were, 'moving away from purity' and increasingly towards synthesis (*sōgō*), describing the process as the 'exchange of ice, the fusion of glaciers', while criticising previous interdisciplinary attempts as 'just rubbing their skin together to be intoxicated' (2004, p. 18).¹⁸⁴ The two essays and the existence of the 650 EXPERIENCE Society demonstrates that the interaction between art forms were both theorised and practiced in the formative period for *Butoh* and Hijikata. The results of early exposure to intermedial presentations can be seen in his invitation of members of Hi Red Centre to contribute set designs for his early performances but

¹⁸⁴ Here I use Bruce Baird's translations of Takiguchi and Mishima's statements (2012, p. 60).

can also be identified in his collaborations with filmmakers on numerous occasions throughout his career.

In a period of just three years between 1969 and 1971, Hijikata made appearances in six feature-length narrative films as a strange deity whose haunting presence often straddles between a spiritual incarnation and a freakish human. Appearing in four studio films by Ishii Teruo, a director of the films in the subgenre *ero-guro-nansensu*,¹⁸⁵ Hijikata also made short appearances in independent productions, such as two ATG-produced titles *Nihon no Akuryō* (Evil Spirits of Japan, 1970) by Kuroki Kazuo and *Himizu* (1970) by Shinoda Masahiro. His appearances in the narrative films can be described according to what Werner Wolf calls 'overt intermediality', as dance and film remain separate and 'quotable separately' in their presentation together (1999, p. 40). An alternative approach to intermediality, however, can be seen in Hijikata's work with experimental filmmakers earlier in his career. *Heso to Genbaku* (Navel and the A-Bomb, 1960) was a collaboration with photographer Hosoe Eikoh for the screening *Jazz Jikken-shitsu JEUNE* (Jazz Laboratory JEUNE) in October 1960 where Terayama, Tanikawa Shuntarō and Takemitsu Tōru gathered to screen their first attempts at directing films. The film interchanges between dance document and film expression as the two seem to alternate control as Hosoe frantically follows Hijikata's dance motions while the camera frame fragments Hijikata's body. The approach to filming dance continued with Iimura Takahiko's two films *Anma* (The Masseur, 1963) and *Bara-iro Dansu* (Rose-Coloured Dance, 1965) shot during Butoh performances at the Asahi Hall and Sennichidani Public Hall respectively. The result was what Stephen Barber has described as an 'anti-document' (2010, p. 54); instead of striving for quality of documentation, Iimura opted to interact with the dancers and interpret their gestures through his camera movement. Iimura spontaneously translated the dancers' choreography and has described his approach as a 'cine-dance' with '...my hand as an extension of the camera, or the camera as an extension of my hand' (Ross, 2012). Iimura purposefully chose to use a 8mm

¹⁸⁵ *Ero-guro-nansensu* can be translated to 'erotic grotesque nonsense,' which was used to group together cultural output that focused on grotesque and erotic imagery. Hijikata appeared in Ishii's *Kaidan noboru ryū* (Blind Woman's Curse, 1970) for Nikkatsu studios and *Meiji Taishō Shōwa Ryōki Onna Hanzaishi* (Love Crime, 1969), *Gen'enjyō keizu* (Orgies of Edo, 1969) and most famously in *Kyōfu Kikei Ningen* (Horrors of a Malformed Man, 1969), all for Toei studios.

spring wind motor camera to allow for maximum mobility, at times obscuring the image, in hope to establish a contiguous relationship between the dance and filmic expression. Iimura continued:

What I meant by 'cine-dance' was that it was 'cinema' dancing, and therefore not just a recording of a dance but also the fusion of dance and film...I got on stage myself as if I were one of the dancers, and I recorded the dancers' movement while simultaneously recording traces of my own as moving images. (Ross, 2012)

An approach that can be described using Wolf's phrase as 'covert intermedial' for its absorption of the characteristics of dance, Iimura's film questions the role of the filmmaker in the recording of a performance. Hijikata had allegedly asked for his dancers to 'imagine having eyes on their fingertips' (Baird, 2012, p. 200) and Iimura, with a real camera in hand, joined the stage and considered himself a part of the performance.

The interactions with film to which Hijikata subjected his dance directly facilitated new approaches to his performances. Between March-November 1968, Hijikata choreographed burlesque-inspired dance numbers for his dancers in the nightclub Space Capsule where he incorporated image projection onto their bodies as part of the performance and, in his training hall Asbestos, he reportedly screened films of his dances to his students while dancing with the projector in hand (Barber, 2010, p. 54). Hijikata began incorporating slide projections into butoh, notably for *Instructional Drawings for the Study of Disciplinary and Graceful Love-Making – Tomato* at Kinokuniya Hall in July 1966. At the event, performance artist Kazakura Shō climbed onto infrastructures supporting the ceiling of Kinokuniya Hall and swung a chair above the audience, an act that cast shadows onto the slides that reproduced drawings by Leonardo da Vinci put together by artist Nakanishi Natsuyuki (Okada, 1981, pp. 83-4). In a short section of *Birth* directed by Hijikata, the slide projection onto dancers were incorporated into his direction as paintings depicting hell by Hieronymus Bosch and *The Last Judgment* by Pieter Bruegel the Elder were superimposed onto footage of near-naked Butoh dancers writhing

to Hijikata's choreography. Beyond the short section, however, little of Hijikata's experiences in intermedial collaboration and dance film were incorporated into the production of *Birth*.

What Hijikata compromised in his involvement as a projected image in *Birth* was the immediacy and variability that is intrinsic in performance. Shot over a week on the evenings in June 1969 on Mt. Atosanupuri (Mt. Iō) located in Hokkaido, his dance was reproduced onto film, edited and presented on the dome-shaped screen nine months later on identical rotation twenty times a day. With the five projections combined and synchronised, in one scene Hijikata's image was reproduced and multiplied into five highlighting the work's distance from live performance. The enormous scale in which his dance was projected, moreover, further distinguished the intangibility and absence of liveness of the performance for the audience in Astorama (Fig. 14). In her analysis of cinematic scale, Mary Ann Doane wrote on the imbrications of scale to contained in a dialectic with 'the real and the unreal; the body and disembodiment; and possession and alienation' (2009, p. 64). Enveloping the audience in its expansive circumference, the projection of *Birth* at a distance over the audiences limited all recognition of their sensory perception of space to vision and sound which, according to Doane, alienates and distances the spectator who is dispossessed of space (2009, p. 77). Recognition of spatial frameworks in the projection experience was further limited with the construction of the dome-shaped screen, which was painted silver and made of nylon tape fastened like window shutters to eliminate diffused reflection and to sustain a defined picture (Anon [*Project Rebirth*], 2011, p. 27). In Doane's explanation, 'space in cinema is delimited by the frame, which acts both as an edge or border and as an apparent container' (2009, p. 70). Attempting a concealment of the frames, the screens of Astorama were installed to subject the audience into immersion rather than encourage awareness of their presence within the space, a key ingredient for environment art according to Nakahara Yūsuke. Apprehensive against his own involvement in Expo '70, Hijikata was critical of the world exposition and spoke of the producers as 'idiotic' and 'all looking like real estate producers' (1968, pp. 104-7). During the shoot, Hijikata reportedly stayed in a separate inn from the rest of the crew, refused to dine with them and only consumed milk during the course of the week (Anon [*Project Rebirth*], 2011, p. 29). Despite his stance

against Expo '70, the documentation of his dance for *Birth* remained a part of the projected image.



Figure 14: Hijikata Tatsumi in *Birth* (1970) presented at Astorama. Photographer unknown in Uno, 1970, p. 188.

The live series of the Pepsi Pavilion, on the other hand, offered an opportunity for Hijikata to level a critique of Expo '70 on its own grounds. E.A.T, the American organisation of artists and engineers, were commissioned to design the Pepsi Pavilion that was developed into a geodesic shell with an inflated inner dome made of hard-panel mirrors 90-feet in diameter and 55-ft high. Conceiving as a 'living environment', the dome was designed to be perpetually incomplete and dependent on the participation of the visitors whose three-dimensional reflected image refracted, expanded and multiplied according to their position in relation to their surroundings (Klüver, 1970, pp. 94-5). The physical manifestation of the interactions between object (*jitsuzō*) and its simulacrum (*kyozō*) also connected with the emergence of shadows in

Japanese art of the period. Noticing the effect of the dome, one reporter commented in *Architectural Design*, 'it is often impossible to interpret what is "object" and what is "image"' (Anon [*Architectural Design*], 1970, unpaginated). E.A.T.'s conceptual foundation in the design corresponded with the turn to environment art (*kankyō geijutsu*) in Japanese contemporary art, which itself had been influenced by Allan Kaprow's articulation of 'environment' to be where 'the visitor-participant recreate and continue the work's inherent processes' (1966, p. 184). Billy Klüver, who spearheaded activities of E.A.T., explained the core concept of the pavilion as follows:

The initial concern of the artists who designed the Pavilion was that the quality of the experience of the visitors should involve choice, responsibility, freedom, and participation. The Pavilion would not tell a story or guide the visitor through a didactic, authoritarian experience. The visitor would be encouraged as an individual to explore the environment and compose his own experience. (1972, p. ix)

As an extension of participation as a central ethos for the pavilion, E.A.T. put together an open call for live programming where artists were invited to submit proposals for performances to be presented inside the dome during its period of installation. The selected twenty-four artists, half from Japan and the other half from the U.S. or Europe, were instructed to respond to the particularities of the space and to include participation by the visitors where possible (E.A.T., 1972, pp. 280-2). In a selection that included proposals by Awazu Kiyoshi, Terayama Shūji, Kosugi Takehisa, Miyai Rikurō, Yoshimura Masanobu, computer artists Tsukio Yoshio, musician Takehisa Yūji and critic Tōno Yoshiaki, Hijikata's proposal was among the few that were selected.

In contrast to his involvement as a projected image in *Birth* for Astrorama, Hijikata's proposal for the Pepsi Pavilion involved a strong emphasis on the live presence of the body. According to the published plans, the untitled performance was to involve sixty Japanese high

school students in school uniform holding brass and aluminum plates.¹⁸⁶ Young students were selected for their 'very pure and unpolluted hearts' that was, at least according to Hijikata, 'not influenced by surrounding situations' (1972, pp. 294-5), an implicit reiteration of his disdain for those complicit in the organisation of Expo '70 whom he considered corrupt. As well as singing choral songs together, accompanying music was to be provided by ten flying birds with pieces of metal tied to their legs and students running into metal plates held by their fellow students. Beyond their role as instruments, the plates also took on the role of 'movie screens' in the hands of the students who, according to Hijikata, were taking on 'a very important role as a motion-picture projector' (1972, p. 295). Interacting with the mirror surface of the dome, the reflections of the students refracted against the plates and the walls to create a situation where simulacra and their origins interconnected in motion and appearing simultaneously. At least conceptually, Hijikata's proposed performance can be understood as an expanded cinema piece that, while recalling Iimura's cine-dance and Hijikata's own private dance performances with a projector in his hand, invoked what Jonathan Walley described as 'an idea of cinema' with the material foundations of the medium taken out. In a statement that evokes a disapproval of his own dance captured on film for *Birth*, Hijikata explains the reflected images in the performance would not be 'a dead body of the action, but a living flesh that will move and act by itself' (1972, p. 295). Hijikata's desire for a somatic quality to be incorporated into the performance was further emphasised by his request for the students to keep white handkerchiefs in their pockets in order to wipe their sweat away (1972, p. 294).

The potential threat of unpredictable variability proved to be too much for E.A.T.'s sponsors at the Pepsi Pavilion, who retracted their contract allegedly for budgetary reasons on 20 April, a little over a month after the opening of Expo '70. The live programming proved to become the foundation of a precarious relationship between E.A.T and Pepsi, who had expressed their disapproval of performances early on in its development (Ikegami, 2011b, pp.

¹⁸⁶ The use of metal plates on stage had also been seen in Hijikata's performances as early as *Nikutai no Hanran* (Rebellion of the Body) in October 1968.

181-2). What finalised their decision, according to Nakaya Fujiko, was Hijikata's performance presented at the press preview on 11 March, a few days prior to the opening of the pavilion:

It seems that the problem started with the butoh performance of Tatsumi Hijikata [...] Suddenly, a dancer ran like lightening across the floor, only to collide bodily with an enormous metal slab, resulting in a crashing sound that reverberated across the dome. The people from the PepsiCo seemed quite shocked by this performance, and further live performances were cancelled. (2003, p. 125)¹⁸⁷

Although Hijikata's performance may have been the catalyst, it is unlikely to have been the only reason PepsiCo revoked their contract. As historian Hiroko Ikegami notes, their executive had at least approved the other performances presented (2011b, p. 182). Indeed, Pepsi had also been the main sponsor for Cross Talk Intermedia, an event presented a year earlier in Tokyo that involved primarily performances, albeit mostly an *intermedia* of a highly technological form championed by Akiyama Kuniharu. Hijikata had also been invited to Cross Talk Intermedia but had revoked his participation a few days before the event. According to Akiyama, the performance 'Caw-Caw Dance' was to involve 2-channel tape music, hanging objects, slide projections, ten old women and, foreshadowing his proposal for the Pepsi Pavilion, ten crows, in a performance that would have sat at odds with the advanced technology used by the other performers.

As most performances at the Pepsi Pavilion were cancelled after the termination of E.A.T.'s contract, Hijikata's performance at the press preview constituted one of the only performances that came into fruition out of the scheduled programmes.¹⁸⁸ According to Billy

¹⁸⁷ I use the English translation of Nakaya's statement by Hiroko Ikegami, whose essay on the Pepsi Pavilion has been a valuable resource for this section of the thesis (2011b, p. 182)

¹⁸⁸ The only other Japanese artist who was able to perform inside the Mirror dome was Miyai Rikurō, who is the subject of section 3.3.2 of this thesis. Curiously corresponding with Hijikata in the emphasis on bodily action, Miyai's performance *Shadows Left on the Moon* involved a juggler whose thrown balls that refracted and stretched as an image demonstrated the optical possibilities of the space. The second part of Miyai's programme involved dancers with fluorescent suits and strobe lights (Klüver, 1972, p. xiv).

Klüver, Hijikata 'mime danced' and 'performed to sounds of traditional funeral chants, a thunderstorm and the cawing of a crow' for his programme. He added, 'Japanese wedding robes were hung at different heights, where they revolved in the Mirror dome' (1972, p. xiii), confirming an interaction between the performance and the unique environment. Although his proposal was not realised to its full extent, it remains a rare case of an intervention on the grounds of Expo '70 that challenged the overt dependence on technology for the facilitation of liveness and spectacle.¹⁸⁹ The subversive possibilities of the living body in action was largely suppressed not only in the cancellation of E.A.T.'s contract by PepsiCo but also in the surveillance of the Expo site, represented by the immediate arrest of performance artist Itoi Kanji, also known as Dadakan, who had ran naked across the grounds of the site on 27 April 1970. The emergence of civil surveillance and security control in Japan in response to the threat of autonomous action, represented by both performance art and social demonstrations, compromised the principles of environment art (*kankyō geijutsu*) that endorsed the importance of participation. Multi-projection displays, in their attempts at sensory immersion within the pavilions of Expo '70, began to represent the crowd control as opposed to the utopian premise of interaction delineated by environment art. In his critique of Expo '70, Tōno Yoshiaki called the multi-projection spectacles 'audience management' (*kanshū no kanri*) posed against its intentions for 'audience participation' (*kanshū no sankā*) (1972, p. 305). In the Anti-Expo movements, bodily actions and alternative uses of multiple projections with an emphasis on performance became key strategies, as the following section will discuss, to present a critique of Expo '70.

3.2.5 8 Generation and the Expo '70 Destruction Joint-Struggle Group

Although Expo '70 presented a rare opportunity for some artists, it also represented for others a threat against the art community for its allegiance to state, corporation and industry. For its

¹⁸⁹ Live programming was also held on the Festival Plaza, to which E.A.T were to participate with a performance by John Cage until their withdrawal only twenty days prior to the event (Ikegami, 2011b, p. 186). Gutai Art Festival, which had been shortened to three days to accommodate E.A.T's involvement, was held on 3-5 September 1970 but primarily involved a multimedia spectacle rather than performative actions that had categorised their early period.

critics, the Expo '70 represented a blatant attempt by the state to distract its public from the impending renewal of the Anpo U.S-Japan Security Pact of the same year, a threat against public peace. Social activists in Japan had demonstrated its capability to oppose Anpo preceding its first renewal in 1960 (Haryū, 1969, p. 15). A group of marginalised artists centered around the performance art collective Zero Jigen, joined forces in retaliation against the artists who had accepted their invitations to participate in the formation of Expo '70. Calling themselves the Banpaku Hakai Kyōtō-ha (Expo '70 Destruction Joint-Struggle Group),¹⁹⁰ at times abbreviated to Han-paku (Anti-Expo), the artists staged events in vocal opposition against Expo '70 in actions that primarily involved happenings in line with those that took place with the emergence of *angura* culture. For the months between February and December 1969, the EDG staged happenings in theatres and outside in resistance against Expo '70, often bearing helmets to identify themselves in unity with the political activists of Zenkyōtō and organising activities within the barricades of the student occupations.¹⁹¹

As the performance of EDG posed a contrast with the pavilions of Expo '70, there has been a tendency to divide the artists along the lines of *intermedia*. Introduced by Iimura Takahiko as a movement in cinema that explored alternative modes of cinematic projection, *intermedia* seemed to address the multiple projections that dominated the pavilions of Expo '70. Katō Yoshihiro, the leader of Zero Jigen, condemned the Expo '70 in one of his most vocal oppositions as *intermedia* child-play (*go'kko*), a comment that has since led some, such as historian Kurodalaijee, to determine *intermedia* to have become 'an apolitical spectacle with more high-tech equipment, grand exhibition spaces and large-scale funding - no longer *angura* or avant-garde' (2010b, p. 82). Yet, the widespread invocation of *intermedia* at the time complicated the predilection to divide the two groups along their allegiance to the artistic concept. In fact, for the first meeting of EDG on 22-23 February 1969, *intermedia* as a term was

¹⁹⁰ Following Kurodalaijee, I will hereafter abbreviate the group to EDG ((2011, p. 157).

¹⁹¹ On 10 June 1969, for example, EDG performed a naked ritual on the roof of the Department of General Education in Kyoto University and Kanosaka Kenji's photographs of the performance published in *Asahi Guraifu* lead to the arrest of Kokuin members, Katō Yoshihiro and Koyama Tetsuo. At the same event, film critic Matsuda Masao and Terayama Shūji gave lectures and Wakamatsu Kōji's films were screened.

invoked in the staging of the event '8 Generation + Intermedia Show' at Theatre 36 in Nagoya. As a collective of filmmakers, founding EDG-members 8 Generation had also turned to multiple projection and expanded cinema in alliance to the promise of ephemeral spontaneity evoked by the performance artists of the group. Nevertheless, the artistic intent and approach 8 Generation took to *intermedia* widely differed in their relation to documentation and performance to what had been put into practice by the artists of Expo '70. The following section will outline the activities of the 8 Generation and Zero Jigen to reevaluate the role of *intermedia* in the activities proceeding the formation of EDG.

Considered leading figures of the *angura* art scene, the performance art collective Zero Jigen staged naked group performances primarily in urban public spaces outside of the confines of the art institution.¹⁹² Starting their activities in Nagoya in 1960, the group relocated to Tokyo in the mid-1960s where the artists enjoyed widespread attention from the media for their outrageous interventions into daily city life and were covered in popular magazines at least fifty times between 1963 and 1970 (Kurodalajee, 2003, p. 32). Considering their performances as rituals (*gishiki*), collectivity was paramount to the artists of Zero Jigen, whose reference to 'zero', in Kurodalajee's interpretation, constituted the 'zeroing of man' and the 'denial of the self' (2003, p. 35). The male and female artists of Zero Jigen defied training practices associated with conventional dance and performance, as their movements involving semi-coordinated repetitions required no training. Despite its fleeting life as performance art, Zero Jigen's scandalous actions not only enjoyed an afterlife in the photographs of popular magazines but also through their collaborations with underground filmmakers of which some reveal an intermedial strategy often under-played in the activities of the group.

For the most part, Zero Jigen were summoned in film productions to feature the absurdity and scandalous nature of *angura* culture. In the Toei studio documentary *Nippon '69: Sex Ryōki Chitai* (Japan '69: Sex Bizarre Zone, 1969) directed by Nakajima Sadao, Zero Jigen make an appearance alongside introductions to sadomasochist practice, sex parties, tattoo and

¹⁹² Zero Jigen occasionally performed in museums, galleries, concert halls and paid facilities such as public baths.

plastic surgery that took place in the underground of Shinjuku. Even in independent productions, such as Okabe Michio's *Crazy Love* (1968) that traces *angura* activities of Shinjuku, Zero Jigen's activities are reduced to a scandal. Their appearances in fictional narratives such as Matsumoto Toshio's *Funeral Parade of Roses* (1969) and Kanai Katsu's *Mujin Re'ttō* (The Deserted Archipelago, 1969) could also be argued as incarnations conjured to represent the delirious states of the protagonists' minds. Nevertheless, closer readings of Zero Jigen on film suggest their collaborations went beyond what we can determine from the fleeting moments presented on the cinema screen. With their preferred location as the street, Zero Jigen took hold of the situation by forcing the filmmaker to participate in their ritual for their audience, the unsuspected passersby. On location, in other words, the filmmaker was implicated in the performance for the audience as much as the performers. In *Funeral Parade of Roses*, we see cinematographer Suzuki Tatsuo take position in line with the procession of Zero Jigen performers adorned with gas masks and funeral attire. Having taken place on 24 March 1969, the performance was a re-enactment of the *Vietnam Hansen Kōshin* (March Against Vietnam War) that was first staged in 1967 and alludes to a social movement referred to later in the film when the protagonist Eddie encounters an injured protestor. First shown early on in the film, Eddie in the scene embodies both the role of an onlooker and that of a participant as Peter, a transvestite icon of Shinjuku's queer and transgender subculture, also performs for the screen in the role of an observer. The cameraman for *The Deserted Archipelago* similarly participated in Zero Jigen's on-street rituals as he lay on the ground as the performers writhed past him in movements captured from low angles using a wide-angle lens on a handheld camera.¹⁹³ Forcing its audience to become witnesses of its making, the film shoot itself became a performance with the involvement of Zero Jigen. Rather than simply being an act of documentation, to film Zero Jigen was to take part in an intermedial confrontation of artistic forces to which Katō Yoshiro, in recalling the filming of Donald Richie's *Cybele: A Pastoral Ritual in Five Scenes* (1968), described to be like '...two motorbikes coming into contact at the corner where two streets

¹⁹³ Kawanaka Nobuhiro, in fact, shot an 8mm documentary of the making of *The Deserted Archipelago* that he called *Camera Stylo* (1969) that has since been lost due to the decay over time of the film material (2006, p. 38).

meet'. He continued, in words that resonate with the turn to *intermedia* of the period more broadly in Japan, 'Contemporary art has become a place where the action of the contact itself can become the artistic question' (1968, p. 82).

Although Zero Jigen came into contact with a wide range of filmmaking practices that included studio and independent productions in documentary, fictional storytelling and experimental film, they formed the strongest artistic alliance with filmmakers that practiced expanded cinema, one of which led to their first production of a film as a collective. Directed by Katō, *Inaba no Shiro Usagi* (White Hare of Inaba, 1970) was shot by experimental filmmaker Ōe Masanori who had just returned to Japan after four years in New York which he spent immersed in psychedelic culture and activist documentary filmmaking. After a period during which he stayed at Third World Studios, Ōe joined Marvin Fishman in Studio M2 where he began shooting demonstrations as part of the Newsreel collective who documented incidents of uprising and state violence against protestors in response to the absence of media coverage of the events.¹⁹⁴ Participating in the organisation of psychedelic shows organised by Timothy Leary, Ōe began to consider expanded cinema as conducive to the psychedelic experience and devised multiple projections for his film presentations. He multiplied the frame by taping 8mm filmstrips onto 16mm filmstrips for *Between the Frames* (1967), an approach he extended using two projectors for screenings of *Salome's Children* (1968) that showed women dancing to Indian music using multiple-exposure and extreme close-ups. Ōe's political activism and expanded cinema culminated in *Great Society* (1967), co-directed with Marvin Fishman in a project commissioned by television broadcast company CBS, where the screen presenting a collage of newsreel footage was divided into six to illustrate the chaos incurred by the American social experience of the late 1960s.¹⁹⁵ Upon his return to Japan, Ōe founded Newsreel Japan

¹⁹⁴ *No Game* (1967), for example, documented the International Anti-War Day demonstrations at the Pentagon on 21 October 1967 and *Head Game* (1967) recorded a mass *be-in* staged in Central Park. Both were co-directed with Marvin Fishman.

¹⁹⁵ Although commissioned for television, *Great Society* was also presented as a six-screen multiple projection work. See Satō, 1969, unpaginated.

with photographer Nakahira Takuma and filmmakers Hara Masato¹⁹⁶ and Kanesaka Kenji, who all joined activities of EDG. Through such associations, Ōe began to accompany Zero Jigen to document the rituals where his ability to adapt to situations honed in the documentation of social protests in the United States proved to be valuable. At least in their recent screenings of *White Hare of Inaba*, Zero Jigen has opted for the use of dual projections and screenings since its first on 17 December 1970 they have performed along with the film.

Another significant partnership for Zero Jigen was established with the film collective 8 Generation who also resorted to expanded cinema for their cinematic presentations. Formed in 1963, 8 Generation was a group of Tokyo-based filmmakers led by Kawanaka Nobuhiro who shot on 8mm film and, through their alliance with performance artists, their work mostly involved documentation of performances. In particular, Kawanaka Nobuhiro shot many performances including Zero Jigen for a number of untitled works, Koyama Tetsuo (Vitamin Art) for *Vitamin Show* (1969) and the Fluxus performances at Intermedia Art Festival for *ZJA* (1969).¹⁹⁷ Gradually beginning to participate in performance events themselves, 8 Generation joined Zero Jigen, Kurohata and Jakku no kai¹⁹⁸ for on-street performances in Yoyogi on May Day 1966 by marching covered in cigarettes and matchboxes.¹⁹⁹ In August of the same year, 8 Generation joined Zero Jigen for their Anti-Vietnam War Action Parade where they staged what they considered a happening involving six 8mm cameras that simultaneously recorded and participated in the outdoor processions. Continuing with their filming as performances, 8

¹⁹⁶ Before working as an assistant to Matsumoto's *Funeral Parade of Roses* and Ōshima Nagisa's *Tokyo Sensō Sengohiwa* (The Man Who Left His Will on Film, 1970), Hara Masato received critical accolade at the Tokyo Film Art Festival 1968 where he received two awards for his film he made as a highschool student, *Okashisa ni irodorareta kanashimi no barādo* (A Sad Yet Funny Ballad, 1968).

¹⁹⁷ Although most of 8 Generation and Kawanaka Nobuo's documents of Zero Jigen have been lost, a blow-up of an 8mm colour film re-shot on 16mm exists in the form of *Ke'shikō* (View Point, 1974). Both *Vitamin Show* and *ZJA* have been lost due to the accelerated decay of 8mm film (Kawanaka, 2006, p. 38).

¹⁹⁸ Jakku no kai (Jack Society) was another group of performance artists that staged happenings on the streets of Tokyo and strategically used mass media of television and weekly magazines to promote their practice (Kurodalijee, 2011, p. 156). Kurohata (Black Flag), founded in 1961 and led by Matsue Kaku, were said to be the 'most explicitly political' out of the performance collectives (Kurodalijee, 2013, p. 442).

¹⁹⁹ Photographic documentation available in issue 2470 of *Sunday Mainichi*, published 29 May 1966, unpaginated.

Generation participated in the Shinjuku Art Festival on 27-28 December 1966 at ATG's Art Theatre Shinjuku Bunka enlisted as performers in the filming of Kurohata's performance *Tsuina* (1966) with multiple cameras held onstage and across the auditorium. It was upon screening of a version of the film editing together the individual camera positions, however, that the 8 Generation came to a realisation that the cameras had not captured their own presence as performers (Kawanaka, 2006, p. 27). Equating their use of multiple cameras to that of big budget productions, the members of 8 Generation questioned the 'completeness' (*sakuhin-ka*) of the finished cut and resorted to expanded cinema as a site to explore their own performativity in a live situation (Kawanaka, 1975, p. 324).

Rather than presenting to their audience an edited cut of a performance, 8 Generation assembled the reels of footage documenting performances by their peers and reinterpreted the editing process that was staged with the use of multiple projectors in front of an audience. The members of 8 Generation operated the individual projectors using the zoom function, freezing the image and overlapping images by moving the apparatus in spontaneous collaboration. In each performance, the number of projectors gradually increased. For their 'Film Ceremony' at Theatre Scorpio on 24 February 1968, they used three projectors that the members held in their arms to move the projection around the walls of the space. For their performances 'Korega 8 Generation da!' (This is 8 Generation!) at the Shinjuku jazz club Pit Inn nightly between 11-14 and 18-21 November 1968, they covered the space with mattresses (*futon*) to alter the spectatorial experience of film viewing and used seven projectors that they similarly moved around. The evening also involved performances by Kokuin²⁰⁰ and Zero Jigen, whose member Iwata Shinichi's painting was used as a screen by 8 Generation (Kawanaka, 2006, p. 27). For their contribution to the EDG's first meeting in Nagoya's Theatre 39, 8 Generation placed ten projectors onto a turntable that they spun at the centre of the room, covering all walls of the auditorium (Kawanaka, 1975, pp. 324-25). Considering the EDG's explicit stance against the

²⁰⁰ Meaning 'heralding shadow,' Kokuin was a group of performance artists founded in 1967 who, led by Suenaga Tamio, sought to liberate expression (*hyōgen*) from the limitations of the art institution (Kuodalaijee, 2011, p. 163). Participating in many social protests, the group's leader filmed demonstrations, such as *Kokusai Hansen Dē 10gatsu 21nichi Yoru Shinjuku* (International Anti-war Day, 1968), and screened them at their performances.

Expo '70, the parallels between the increasing use of multiple projectors in the projects of both the Expo '70 and 8 Generation are remarkable, though the scale would have been worlds apart due to the use of projectors for small-gauge film by the 8 Generation. While Midori-kan's *Astrorama* was a panoramic presentation utilising five 70mm projectors simultaneously onto a dome-shaped screen above the audience, the multi-projection of 8 Generation employed 8mm projectors in small spaces, such as the basement Theatre Scorpio that accommodated a maximum of forty people.

The distinction between the expanded cinema of the 8 Generation and projects of the Expo '70, however, went beyond the incompatible scales of projection. Their difference, instead, can be placed on the approach to expanded cinema in relation to the performance art their cameras captured. Continuing the comparison with Midori-kan's *Astrorama* in Expo '70 yields for us an opportunity to explore this, as it featured the *butoh* dance of Hijikata Tatsumi as a principal part of its presentation. While the film presentation of Hijikata's performance remained unchanged during the 183 days the Midori-kan was open to visitors, the performances by Zero Jigen and Kurohata, filmed by 8 Generation, changed on each occasion of its presentation as a film projection. In devotion to 'liveness' exerted by performance, Peggy Phelan has declared performance 'become(s) itself through disappearance,' and suggested when it 'enter(s) the economy of reproduction (it) betrays and lessens the promise of its own ontology' (1993, p. 146). Philip Auslander, responding to Phelan, suggested liveness only came to exist after the possibility of mediation that came about with recording technologies, thus, uniting the two as contingent upon one another (1996, p. 198). Auslander proposed a redefinition of liveness as 'im-mediate,' suggesting the mutual dependency of mediation and live presence (1996, p. 197). Invoking performance in their mediation, the expanded cinema of 8 Generation resided in what Auslander calls the 'im-mediate' as it played with the very tension between mediation and performance. While their performance with film was unrepeatable and, in Phelan's words, 'nonreproductive' (1993, p. 148), it utilised tools of reproduction as a key ingredient for its representation. 8 Generation's film expression, moreover, corresponds to the age of simulacrum (*kyozō*) in Japanese contemporary art, where the act of simulation became

the performance itself in ways that blurred boundaries with the subject of its representation. In relation to the performance art they captured and mediated, the expanded cinema of the 8 Generation reached beyond the ekphrasis of intertextuality into the realms of intermedia where an encounter was staged between presentation and representation as well as performance and cinema.

During his involvement with 8 Generation, leader Kawanaka Nobuhiro managed the distribution system Japan Filmmakers' Co-operative and screening organisation Japan Underground Centre²⁰¹ for independent and experimental cinema. Inspired by their New York counterparts, the Japan Filmmakers' Co-operative was founded in March 1968 by Satō Jyūshin to establish a network for experimental film to facilitate distribution and exhibition in the absence of physical spaces dedicated to their cause. Only a year after its formation, the Co-op came into conflict in the event of the Tokyo Film Art Festival 1969 held at SAC which became the subject of protests and closed its doors only hours after beginning on 14 October.²⁰² In the wake of the previous year's cancellation of Cannes Film Festival and Jonas Mekas' rejection of an invitation to be a juror at the Venice Film Festival, the Tokyo Film Art Festival 1969 had come under scrutiny for their competition selection that, according to its protestors, imposed a hierarchy among the films.²⁰³ Moreover, the group also opposed the participation in Expo '70 of those within the organising committee, including Teshigahara Hiroshi who managed SAC.²⁰⁴ Led by Kanesaka Kenji, the opposition group of around thirty members called themselves the Feschibaru Funsai Kyōtō Kaigi (Joint-Struggle to Destroy the Festival)²⁰⁵ including members of EDG, Suginami Cine Club and Newsreel Japan, who included the multiple award-winner from

²⁰¹ I will hereafter abbreviate the name to JUC.

²⁰² The main reasons behind the closure of the festival was the presence of thirty policemen in response to a call one of the protestors had made to the police along with interruptions by the protestors during the first screening. Immediately after the cancellation of the festival, a mass meeting was held for six hours at the SAC.

²⁰³ Responding to the opposition SAC had been receiving prior to the festival, SAC changed the name of the festival to disassociate the festival from Sōgetsu, changed the competition to enable the screening of all films submitted, divided the awards money equally among nominees and offered the festival as an opportunity to debate the purpose of a film festival (Anon [*Mainichi Shimbun*], 1969, unpaginated).

²⁰⁴ Others included Matsumoto Toshio, Awazu Kiyoshi and Takemitsu Tōru.

²⁰⁵ I will hereafter abbreviate the name to JSDF.

the festival's previous edition, Hara Masato, as one of its members. In recognition of the importance of the event for the showcasing of independent works, the JUC rejected the call for support they received from the protesting committee effectively splitting with the EDG on an ideological basis.²⁰⁶ What ensued was a heated debate among critical circles on the importance of space (*ba*) for the cultivation of talent in the arts that resurrected the debate on space to environment from three years prior in a way that positioned film at its centre.²⁰⁷

Although most agreed on the redundancy of the JSDF's act and the widely reported cancellation of the festival, the proceeding responses to the notion of space (*ba*) varied and proved to recapitulate the turn from space (*kūkan*) to environment (*kankyō*) that had vivified art criticism leading up to the Expo '70. The debate on space (*ba*) began even before the cancellation of the festival in a letter to *Asahi Jyōnaru* in reply to JSDF's manifesto published in the same weekly magazine on 21 September 1969. While welcoming the widespread international rebellion that brought about changes for a new era, Nara Yoshimi emphasised the necessity for spaces (*ba*) to grapple with cinematic production made amid the changing times and allow for them to be presented within the same context (2002, p. 402), a sentiment the Festival Organisation Committee echoed in a report published two days after the incident. One of its members, Matsumoto Toshio, continued the debate a month later with a statement declaring that space (*ba*) is a medium (*baitai*) upon which the 'invisible topology' of artistic movements finds an opportunity for mediation (2002, p. 403).²⁰⁸ Critiquing Matsumoto's articulation of the relation between space (*ba*) and artwork as reductive and pedagogical, Ishiko Junzō proposed the current state of affairs become tangible in a space only because it is ideologically loaded (2002, p. 404). Declaring the necessity for film theory to include a critical

²⁰⁶ Condemning what he considered a betrayal to the community of independent filmmakers, Kawanaka jokingly suggested that Kanesaka Kenji was a mole of the CIA while, in a more fervent criticism, reminded the readers of Kanesaka's role as juror for the Mainichi Eiga Konkūru (Mainichi Film Contest), the requests he made previously to become a juror of the festival he went on to oppose, and his attendance a year later to the opening ceremony of the controversial Expo '70 (1970b, p. 37).

²⁰⁷ Although their meanings correspond, I have chosen to retain and highlight the use of the word space (*ba*) in the debates as separate from the use of the word space (*kūkan*) that implied the 'emptiness of intervals' in art criticism a few years earlier.

²⁰⁸ The word medium here designates a platform for mediation (*baitai*) rather than an artistic genre (*gyanru*).

enquiry into the cinema space, Ishiko suggested that the screening space is part of a film's constitution and a film is not complete until it is placed in the context of other works and viewed by spectators (2002, p. 404). Despite his involvement in Expo '70, Matsumoto's statement revived the understanding of space as 'empty interval' (*kūkan*) that had been annulled by the recent turn to environment (*kankyō*) that acknowledged the implications of space on the artwork Ishiko implies in his response. In a subsequent article, Ishiko reiterated his stance against the separation of audience and artist, artwork and space, an understanding of space that corresponded to the inter-relationality of things (*zentai-sei*) evoked in Tone Yasunao and Ichikawa Miyabi's articulation of *intermedia* (1970, p. 107). The debate implicated space in relation to the presentation of film and the cinema space was identified as a structure that posed limitations beyond the physical, as it was laden with a historically prescribed relationship between the components involved in film experience.

Although the Japanese Filmmakers' Co-operative disbanded along with the cancellation of the festival, the JUC continued with distribution and screenings in a table tennis hall and an apartment room, eventually leading to regular evenings from 1971 in the basement of the theatre Tenjō Sajiki under their new name as Underground Centre. Contrary to the tendency to defer *intermedia* to the big budget activities represented by Expo '70, the circle of independent filmmakers continued exploring the possibilities of multiple and performative projection. In substitution of the cancelled festival, smaller screenings were organised in the following months to showcase recent local independent works. Kawanaka Nobuhiro, who suggested JSDF to organise an alternative to the Tokyo Film Art Festival 1969 with screenings at Takabashi park near SAC (1975, p. 347), projected films onto the sea in Chiba.²⁰⁹ Inspired by his work as a production assistant for *Astrorama* at Expo '70, Okuyama Jun'ichi presented *Astro mara* (1969) that involved three projectors aligned that he moved for the images to overlap and separate in a

²⁰⁹ Although the exact dates are unknown, the event was organised by promoter Sasaki Michiko. Personal conversation, 21 June 2013. Photographic documentation of the event can be seen in the inner cover of Kawanaka, 1975.

performative projection.²¹⁰ Poet Tsuji Katsuyuki, also associated with the JUC, presented the multi-projection work *Mandala* (1971), which later in the same year evolved into what he called a 'projection environment' with *Mandala Love-In* (1971). Hara Masato, whose actions as part of JSDF led to the cancellation of the festival, began dual projections of his film *Hatsukuni Shirasureeramikoto* (First Emperor, 1973) on the second floor of a restaurant in Shibuya. Using an 8mm projector and a 16mm projector, Hara performed the projection by overlapping and slowing down the images in a screening that lasted approximately four hours (1978, p 46). His expanded cinema continued with *Aketo to no tabi* (Travels with Aketo, 1976) where he increased the number of projections to four. Even two years after Expo '70 at Tenjō Sajiki, an event that mixed music and film was given the name 'Gav '72 Intermedia,' demonstrating the continuing prevalence of the term. In such ways, independent filmmakers continued to use multi-projections in their *intermedia* presentations in ways that defied Katō Yoshihiro's contemporary and Kurodalajee's more recent denouncements that tend to set aside *intermedia* activities as only involving the big budget pavilions of the Expo '70. On the contrary, these independent filmmakers continued to explore *intermedia* in small alternative venues not only in order to release film viewing from the cinema but primarily due to necessity imposed by the absence of dedicated venues. Amid the critical enquiry on space surrounding art criticism and the cancellation of Tokyo Film Art Festival 1969, some other artists working in expanded cinema began to look towards underground discotheques and gallery spaces in attempt to emancipate film viewing into what Ishiko called an artistic act (*geijutsu kōi*) where space, audience and artwork were deeply connected (1970, p. 107).

3.3 PSYCHEDELIC SHOWS: UNDERGROUND DISCOTHEQUES

While expanded cinema was appropriated into the pavilions Expo '70 as spatial installations, the emerging nightlife culture of underground discotheques similarly employed strategies of

²¹⁰ Okuyama planned to use five projectors for his initial proposal to the Tokyo Film Art Festival 1969, but the space of the theatre did not have the wall space to accommodate five 16mm projections aligned horizontally. Personal conversation on 3 May 2013.

intermedia for their own brand of entertainment. Discussion on environment art (*kankyō geijutsu*) theoretically proposed the implication of its audience into the formation of the art yet, in practice, the civilian control of Expo '70 severely restricting autonomous activity. Upon visiting Expo '70, Haryū Ichirō detailed an account where he saw guards stopping young men and women who go-go danced during intervals between scheduled performances, demonstrating security fears of happenings (2011, p. 48). Discotheques, on the other hand, facilitated the widely theorised opportunities of environment (*kankyō*) into practice, for audience participation was a primary requirement to ensure commercial viability. Rather than the prearranged facilitation of patterned motion as seen in the pavilions at Expo '70, a number of underground discotheques staged a radical proposition for its visitors to not only move freely but also galvanise changes through their participation, channeling the shift from space to environment in the theorisation of contemporary art practice.

Subordinate in budget and scale, underground discotheques that rose to prominence in the late 1960s have been overshadowed by the pavilions of Expo '70 in both English- and Japanese-language critical studies of the period. In fact, the development towards the initiation of the Expo '70 looked towards the discotheques for inspiration and experimentation as several industries, particularly based in Osaka, used the spaces as testing grounds for their technologies. Based on a different form of consumer interaction to that of Expo '70, the discotheques, and dine-and-dance spaces called go-go snack bars, were a commercial enterprise founded on individual cooperation of its customers. According to Hamano Yasuhiro, one of the creative figureheads of Japan's bulging nighttime entertainment, the discotheques had to remain adaptable to cultural change and dependent on individual participation for the maintenance of its business (1968b, p. 118). Despite its outwardly commercial stance, some key artistic figures, including many who also participated in Expo '70, took part in the design of such spaces where they discovered an opportunity to exercise their prowess in light art, performance art and spatial media. A cohort of artists from various disciplines, moreover, conjoined to establish largely neglected cases in the collaboration between art and technology: architect Kurokawa Kishō and Ichiyanagi Toshi for Space Capsule; Awazu Kiyoshi for Luminescence; filmmaker Miyai

Rikurō for Killer Joe's; and Terayama Shūji, Uno Akira and Yokoo Tadanori for Panic. As well as operating as nighttime casual entertainment, the discotheques also became alternative spaces for one-off performances and art events. A number of key *angura* activities took place at these discotheques: the Intermedia Art Festival at Killer Joe's; the Maboroshi no Bura'ku Fesuchibaru (Phantom Black Festival) at Angura Pop; Gulliver's first screening at L.S.D; and a performance by Tenjō Sajiki for the opening of Space Capsule. Furthermore, the discotheque became a space for radical action not only for the performers and artists but also for the visitors as dancing was placed under strict state regulation since the passing of the Entertainment Business Control Law in 1948.²¹¹ The discotheque as both social and artistic spaces is clearly in need of critical reassessment in terms of its impact on and shared involvement in Japanese contemporary art.

One of the catalysts for the rise in popularity for discotheques was the emerging social phenomenon in the form of psychedelic culture. Taking inspiration from a lifestyle that began to materialise from the widespread use of hallucinogenic drugs in the United States and the United Kingdom, a certain sector of Japanese metropolitan society, albeit with limited access to the actual drugs, began to emulate and participate in a global counterculture. As travels between the Western world and Japan increased, Japanese artists and critics took note of Andy Warhol's *Exploding Plastic Inevitable* (1966-7), the Electric Circus discotheque in New York and psychedelic art in the form of op-art and graphic design in their travels and began informing the Japanese art scene of their experiences. While taking inspiration from the social phenomenon of psychedelia in the United States and Europe, the Japanese rendition of psychedelic culture in the form of *psych-e*, nevertheless, also drew from Japan's own contemporary art scene, in particular, the *angura* arts that came into prominence in the mid-1960s. In fact, the *psych-e* culture in Japan was considered to have derived from the *angura* art scene and was considered a part of it. Bringing the concept of the underground (*angura*) as an artistic approach from the United States, Kanesaka Kenji also led the importation of psychedelic culture (*psych-e*) into the Japanese art scene. Indeed, Satō Jyūshin even described go-go dancing as 'indispensible' for

²¹¹ The law is known in Japan as the *fūzoku eigyo to no kisei oyobi gyōmu no tekiseika to ni kansuru hōritsu*, or simply *fūeihō*.

angura (1969a, unpaginated). An in-depth serial on psychedelic art over three issues of art journal *Bijutsu Techō* soon followed, further confirming the visibility of psychedelic art to the point the art establishment was no longer able to ignore. Popularly referred to as *psych-e*, the imported word even entered everyday lexicon in Japan, featuring in popular magazines to describe artistic practice and social phenomena of an emerging underground subculture. As the rendition of a psychedelic experience as a performance, psychedelic shows also reached widespread recognition, as seen in a scene in Toho studio's *Godzilla vs. Hedorah* (Yoshimitsu Banno, 1971) and manga series *Ashita no Joe*. Along with its closely aligned ally *angura*, *psych-e* infiltrated Japanese contemporary art and popular culture with a widespread reach.

Although psychedelic culture largely remained an appropriation of Western cultural sensation, some Japanese artists came armed with experience of LSD intake. Short for lysergic acid diethylamide, research on the drug was conducted throughout the 1950s in the United States and came into popular usage in the early 1960s. Although it was only illegalised in Japan in 1970, the intake of LSD was low in numbers as reports from the period confirm that Japanese hippies (*fūten*) had to substitute the experience by taking other narcotics or through renditions of the psychedelic experience in art and performances.²¹² Nevertheless, individuals who were able to access the hallucinogenic drug often rendered it through an artistic experience. While under the influence of LSD himself, Jōnouchi Motoharu shot *Document LSD* (1962), a documentary on a conversation between one drug-induced individual with another sober partner. For their third screening organised in April 1967, Runami Gallery showed a short film by psychiatrist Tokuda Yoshihito, *LSD ni yoru kaiga* (Painting on LSD, 1957), that documented an unnamed member of the artist collective Issuikai painting under the influence of LSD. Based in New York in 1965-8, filmmaker Ōe Masanori, a self-proclaimed 'drop-out', also wrote extensively on his experiences of LSD upon his return to Japan. He eventually translated into Japanese *The Tibetan Book of the Dead* (Kōdansha, 1974), a text considered a manual for the psychedelic experience in some circles, including Harvard psychology lecturer Timothy Leary whom he had

²¹² One review of a psychedelic show, for example, stated that, 'In Japan where it is too difficult to get hold of LSD, it is easier to experience psychedelia through light' (Ōsaki, 1968, p. 45).

befriended during his stay.²¹³ These cases of firsthand experience of LSD, however, should be considered as anomalies in the experience of psychedelia in Japan, which was primarily a cultural phenomenon founded on a fascination with its associated lifestyle and aesthetics rather than a scientific preoccupation with its possibilities to further the study of psychology.

Largely neglected in the established sectors of Japanese contemporary art, psychedelia in Japan found fertile ground to settle in the culture of display that was positioned between commerce and art. Yokoo Tadanori, Uno Akira and Tanaami Keiichi, whose promotional illustrations were described as *psych-e* in popular magazines, appropriated certain aesthetics associated with psychedelia in their designs for posters, flyers and other ephemera. Window displays, fashion shows and design expositions similarly incorporated stylistic features of psychedelia into their presentations. Hired for such purposes, artists such as Uno Akira and Miyai Rikurō blurred the boundaries between art and commerce as their practices bridged such distinctions. In an essay published for general readership in *Asahi Jyānaru*, Nakahara Yūsuke wrote on the dissolution of a focal point (*shūten*) in contemporary art, suggesting the dispersal of its platform out of the gallery into other spaces. Rather than lamenting the disintegration of its identity, Nakahara proposed the closer art edges itself into the areas of commercial design and industrial practices the more acutely aware it becomes of itself as something that holds its own (1968a, p. 103). What he calls 'the fashionisation of art', in other words, provokes a questioning of the status and purpose of art. Brought into critical and popular attention during this period of self-reflection, psychedelia went on to be assimilated into the culture of display in a way that encouraged a challenge for the role of art in society.

Incorporating the culture of psychedelia into its commercial and artistic endeavour, the discotheques in Japan of the mid- to late-1960s were acutely aware of its position in display culture and were at the crux of the debate concerning art and commerce. 'It is art precisely because it is not art', was how producer Hamano Yasuhiro described his discotheque MUGEN in Akasaka, Tokyo (1968c, 28). Promoted as a 'psychedelic zone', MUGEN was the most

²¹³ Leary published *The Psychedelic Experience: A Manual Based on The Tibetan Book of the Dead* in August 1964.

popular and well-attended discotheque that became representative of psychedelic culture in the form of nighttime entertainment since its opening in 1968. Acknowledging the ability to mutate according to changes in popular culture as a business requisite, the ethos behind MUGEN was to offer its customers a different experience on each visit (Hamano, 1968c, 28). A blackened auditorium covered in fluorescent paintings, an 8-meter screen with nine slide projectors, individual lights controlled by approximately one thousand switches and, for the first time in the country, strobe lights were permanently installed in MUGEN to enhance the dance experience together with sound designed by Ichiyanagi Toshi. Conceived as a 'preview to Expo '70' with its use of state-of-the-art technology and a control room as big as the dance floor, later in the same year Hamano followed MUGEN with the discotheque Astro Mechanicool in Osaka (1968a, p. 87). Encasing the space with aluminum, four moving screens, fourteen slide- and moving-image projectors, strobe lights and objects by Gutai-artist Mukai Shūji were installed into the space. Designed by Hamano Marketing Communication Laboratory, MUGEN and Astro Mechanicool show the discotheques became a space that rested on the axes between art, technology and popular culture while pulling each towards previously unfounded directions.

Arriving to prominence during the conceptual shift from space to environment in contemporary art, environment art (*kankyō geijutsu*) was aimed to not only encourage an interaction beyond 'seeing' for its audience but the art work itself was also shaped by the experience (Nakahara, 1968a, p. 104). The principal outline for display mirrored that of environment art albeit within an openly commercial and strategic framework. Critic Fujimoto Shunsuke suggested, 'Even more than its beauty or peculiarity, what is most important above all else for display is its ability to provide a structure for continuous dialogue' (1967a, p. 147). The discotheques, considered a part of display culture by Japanese architecture and art journals, realised the aims for communication with an audience voiced by environment art and display culture. Described by Hamano as a 'meeting room that doesn't require words for communication' (1968c, p. 28), Astro Mechanicool was, for its director Uchida Shigeru, a work with 'its audience as the protagonist' (1968, p. 89). Designers of discotheques challenged the

rigidity of contemporary art practice as ineffective for the achievement of their stated aims for environment art:

Art is no longer something above the clouds. Spaces for the masses are turning into art. Museums and galleries are no longer spaces that introduce us to art; instead, the discotheques, cafés and go-go clubs of mass culture have become the space for environment art (*kankyō geijutsu*). (Hamano, 1968a, p. 87)

In bringing together various artistic approaches, the discotheques were considered a part of the emerging culture of *intermedia* for their staging of an inter-relation between the arts. Yet, what most fundamentally grounded their allegiance to *intermedia* was the relationship with an audience the discotheque sought to activate. Establishing the connections through collaborations and a simultaneous presentation of different mediums, the discotheques extended the network of participation to its audience.

This chapter will investigate the ways in which, despite being largely neglected in the history of Japanese contemporary art, the projection of film and slides in psychedelic shows at underground discotheques took part in establishing the aims for environment art (*kankyō geijutsu*) and the commercial culture of display. In a close examination of two discotheques in Tokyo, Angura Pop and Killer Joe's, the chapter will propose the discotheques not only provided an alternative space for creative experimentation but also an artistic experience for its audience. With its encouragement for audience participation, the underground discotheques will be established as separate from the pavilions of Expo '70, at least in their results, despite both incorporating multi-projection as a strategy to enhance the experience of space. In its use of projection beyond the cinema screen, this chapter will suggest psychedelic shows should be positioned as part of the trajectory of expanded cinema. Finally, the co-presentation of different mediums within the same space will not be the only quality regarded intermedial in this chapter. The ways in which its amalgamation, despite the allusion to losing oneself associated to the

experience of psychedelia and dance, instigate an awareness of the individual mediums as well as the space will be also considered its *intermedia* characteristic.

3.3.1 Angura Pop

Opening in 1968, Angura Pop was a café and restaurant that transformed into one of the landmark discotheques of Shinjuku's nightlife. Its adaptable approach to entertainment also encompassed the cultural practices it housed as an alternative space for the arts. The walls covered with psychedelic posters, the venue reserved a white wall-space for the purposes of *angura* film screenings, displayed sculptural and design work and, at other times, became a stage for happenings and other subcultural *angura* activities. Its ability to mutate for multiple purposes was strategic as, according to its designer Kawamura Yukio, a flexibility to deal with the ever-changing culture was considered most important in the conception of the space (1968a, p. 66). Not only did Angura Pop accommodate *angura* activities, it also became a space that encouraged contribution from its visitors in the form of action (*kōi*), encompassing happenings to dance. In his essay, 'The Store is the Place for Action (*Kōi*)', critic Okada Takahiko suggested:

In designing a new store, it is worth keeping in mind the ways in which happenings are attracted to spontaneity yet also require a pre-arranged infrastructure for it to proceed with accuracy. If we substitute 'infrastructure' with the concept of the 'apparatus', we could take the allurements or encouragement for our customer to take action (*kōi*) into consideration as part of a systematic design. (1969, p. 57)

Despite being a refurbished basement, Angura Pop had a high ceiling that was divided into two floors with visibility across the levels separated by wire nettings in its uniquely designed space. Through its architectural design, Angura Pop allowed, or even encouraged, lines of sight between customers and between performers beyond what is possible within the confines of staged theatre. In such ways, the space became conducive to happenings and expanded cinema

performances that were propelled by its spatial arrangements as Japan's first psychedelic show held at the venue will help elucidate.

Psychedelic Show: Intermedia Piece #1 was organised by filmmaker Kanesaka Kenji and PR promoter Kazumata Kōichi at Angura Pop on 24 February 1968. Not only did the performance mark the first psychedelic show in Japan, but it was also the first occasion in Japan where multiple slide- and moving-image projectors were used performatively, along with dancers, and dispersing its projection surfaces beyond the screen. The performance brought together participants from a range of artistic disciplines, including Shinohara Ushio, Gulliver, Miyai Rikurō, Ōbayashi Nobuhiko, photographer Hanaga Mitsutoshi, film and jazz critic Uekusa Jyunichi and Itō Mika, the leader of an all-female dance troupe Bizarre Ballet Group. *Angura* films from three projectors and photographed *ukiyo-e* from slide projectors were pointed in constant movement towards the walls, the ceiling and onto the dancers' bodies. Itō and two dancers were dressed in full-body white tights, adorning white socks and gloves with their faces painted white specifically to accommodate projection in what one reviewer called an 'optical-light tattooing of the bodies (*nikutai*) of the beautiful women' (Ōsaki, 1968, p. 44). At one point in the show, a man also appeared in a white mask amidst smoke machines. Shinohara, whose sculptural work had shifted from the assemblages of his Neo-Dada period to light art, installed an object, painted in neon and intermittently eliciting light, that was described to have looked like 'an embryo or the inner walls of intestines' (Ōsaki, 1968, p. 44). Describing the multi-sensory experience, Kanesaka stated that, 'the aim for the show was to awaken our audience into a new sensory experience by exploding their daily senses with sound and light. In other words, we aimed for emancipation through the expansion of sensorial boundaries' (qtd. in Ōsaki, 1968, p. 44). In combining film, slides, sculpture, music and dance, *Psychedelic Show: Intermedia Piece #1* can be considered an example of the merging of different arts and the increasing indifference to boundaries in the 1960s Japanese subculture.

What was remarkable about the performance regarding its setting of the discotheques, moreover, was its ability to make use of the space to encourage its audience to participate, or at the very least, see each other as intrinsic to the performance. Seated at multiple levels and

different corners of the space, the audience's line of sight inevitably clashed with one another as Angura Pop disregarded the conventional dichotomy between audience and performers set with stage and seats. Instead, Angura Pop encouraged a sense of participation from the audience, an approach emphasised by requesting their visitors to take off their shoes to incorporate the customary practice for Japanese homes. Held over a period of three hours, the performance involved body painting, including onto the audience during the performance, with neon colours that illuminated in the darkness of the space. The use of strobe lights, a rarity at its time, was considered particularly innovative for its ability to momentarily freeze the audiences' surroundings into an image.²¹⁴ Referring to strobe lights as the pinnacle of psychedelic experience (1968e, unpaginated), Satō Jyūshin wrote on how strobes had their closest ally with the structuralist film works by Paul Sharits, Michael Snow and Tony Conrad, particularly his 1966 film *Flicker* (1969, unpaginated). Indeed, it was the strobe lights that impressed critic Satō Jyūshin over the films in his visit in December 1967 to EXPRMNTL 4, the experimental film festival in Knokke-le-Zoute, Brussels (1968b, p. 37).²¹⁵ Similarly to Tone Yasunao's appraisal of Peter Kubelka's flicker film *Arnulf Rainer* as an *intermedia* work, Satō wrote on the ways in which strobe lights, in their attack on optical perception, forced the environment (*kankyō*) and the dancers to become a part of the performance by transforming them into an image (1969, unpaginated). In seizing the space and its audience to become part of its ocular presentation with strobe lights, the psychedelic show enforced recognition of the inter-relation of things (*zentai-sei*) deemed fundamental to *intermedia* by Tone.

The unique spatial design of Angura Pop, in such ways, had an indelible effect on the presentation of Kanesaka and Kazumata's *Psychedelic Show: Intermedia Piece #1*. The significance of space becomes most apparent when comparing the show to its counterpart *Psych-e Delicious* presented at SAC on the first evening of the event EX POSE 1968. Presented less than two months later on 10 April 1968, *Psych-e Delicious* was organised by Ichianagi

²¹⁴ Satō Jyūshin wrote on how the audience was most impressed with the strobe lights over anything else in *Psychedelic Show: Intermedia Piece #1* (1968e, unpaginated).

²¹⁵ Director Wakamatsu Kōji, who accompanied Satō to the festival, was so impressed with the strobe lights he expressed his desire to take the equipment back to Japan in order to use it in one of his films (Satō, 1968c, p. 37).

Toshi and designer Yokoo Tadanori with an intention to bring back to Japan the psychedelic culture they had witnessed during their stay in New York. Recruiting the help of Hamano Yasuhiro, they invited The Happening Four and The Fingers, two hugely popular rock and pop groups that were loosely grouped by the popular media as Group Sounds. Originally scheduled at a skating rink (Ōsaki, 1968, p. 45), Yokoo and Ichiyanagi's show was considered an artistic failure primarily for their inability to incorporate the space or audience, failing as both an *eizō* (image) display and environment art (*kankyō geijutsu*). Presented as part of a symposium, their psychedelic show was not able to overcome the conventional spatial arrangements of the SAC with its stage and seated audience. Condemning them for their ill-considered use of strobe and ultraviolet lights, Satō Jyūshin, instead, praised *Blue Box* performed by an unlisted artist that was presented in the same programme. In the performance, a box was thrown into the audience and strobe lights chased after it, allegedly inciting surprise in the audience by breaking the barrier between them and the performance space (1968g, unpaginated). Satō's admiration for *Blue Box* and Angura Pop's *Psychedelic Show: Intermedia Piece #1* should be understood, therefore, as an allegiance to the use of light, slide and moving-image projection in a way that would incorporate the space and audience, as widely discussed in the critical discourse on environment art at the time.

Channeling the shift from space to environment (*kankyō*), the approach for the spatial design to be propitious for audience participation became fundamental to the construction of discotheques that began to increase at an accelerated rate in the late 1960s. Although go-go snack bars, such as LSD, Playmate and The Others existed in Shinjuku previously, the new discotheques, including Angura Pop, was noted by Satō Jyūshin to have embodied the notion of environment (*kankyō*) into their design (1968f, p. 129). Not only were the discotheques designed to encourage activity from its audience, but they were also planned to accommodate art and display in the age of electronic media, including various modes of light projection, that emerged as increasingly prominent in environment art. Miyai Rikurō, a prominent *angura* filmmaker, became one of the principle advisers for the design of discotheques that incorporated such electronic media. Profiling his work of the period provides us with a case study to navigate

the ways in which expanded cinema and *angura* film infiltrated the culture of display and environment art in the late 1960s.

3.3.2 Miyai Rikurō and Killer Joe's

In his first film, *Jidai Seishin no Genshōgaku* (Phenomenology of Zeitgeist, 1968), Miyai Rikurō takes his audience on a forty-minute journey around Shinjuku in just one seemingly endless take. On its trip, the handheld camera encounters performance art by Zero Jigen and Kokuin, psychedelic poster art and show window displays through underground passages and on-street locations. The diversity of cultural activity Miyai's camera documents can be, in fact, interpreted as an encapsulation of the artist's own persona. Traversing different creative worlds, not only was Miyai Rikurō one of the renowned hippies (*fūten*) of the late 1960s but was also an underground filmmaker, critic for journals *Eizō Geijutsu* and *Kikan Firumu*, model, adviser for television programmes and magazines, designer of discotheques and the head of Unit Productions, an independent film production unit set up in his apartment in Shinjuku. Discussing his rejection against conforming to patterns, Miyai jokingly suggested it was natural for a multi-faceted person like himself to be versatile in his approach (Anon [*My Way*], 1968, p. 104). Although an exemplary in many ways, the flexibility Miyai possessed in his approach to different mediums was supported by a culture and artistic community in the form of *intermedia* that increasingly enabled and encouraged such transgressions. Tracing his practice in expanded cinema and design of discotheques not only reveals his adaptability to a range of professions but also demonstrates the impact of *intermedia* on him and a range of cultural practices of the period.

Phenomenology of Zeitgeist was also Miyai Rikurō's first expanded cinema projection, setting a foundation upon which his moving image and light projection works would follow. Presented at Jiyū Gekijyō by the Japan Underground Centre in March 1968, *Phenomenology of Zeitgeist* involved a double-projection of the same footage. With one projection on top of the other starting after a slight delay, the result of the double-projection was the appearance of a ghost of an image chasing itself or, conversely, an image being pulled back by its own

apparition. For each screening during the series, moreover, Miyai incorporated a performative element to the projection with the use of colour filters, manipulation of sound, spotlights and happenings, bringing together discotheque and performance art into the expanded film projection (Anon [*Bijutsu Techō*], 1968c, p. 47).

As a participant of the Association of Documentary Filmmakers during his time as a student at Waseda University, Miyai Rikurō began in the field of documentary filmmaking and criticism. As articulated in his 1965 essay 'The Pop-Cinema Approach to Phenomenological Documentary', Miyai's transition from documentary to expanded cinema can be traced upon his admiration for Andy Warhol who represented a new direction in filmmaking for him. Warhol's engagement with time was of particular inspiration for Miyai who, upon seeing *Vinyl* (1965) at SAC, commented on the ways in which the film presents 'not a constructed time but a historical moment, just as it happened' and shows 'not a world of images expressed but an "action" or "phenomenon" presented as itself' (1965, pp. 16-17). In presenting *Phenomenology of Zeitgeist* unedited, Miyai alludes to both the treatment of time in Warhol's single-projection and expanded film works.

In the summer of 1968, further homage was paid to Andy Warhol when Miyai Rikurō, together with Gulliver, organised an afternoon screening series Two Men Shy in the Face of Andy Warhol at the jazz cafés Pit Inn and Noa Noa, both in the Shinjuku district. At his screening at Pit Inn, Miyai presented *Terebi to Manga* (T.V. and Manga, 1968) where his double-projection simultaneously showed images of *manga* comic strips and televisual footage that was presented together with a performer sat at the side eating a meal while watching an actual broadcast on a television monitor (Hatano, 1970, p. 75). In the expanded cinema performance, the only sound heard was sourced from the televisual broadcast and the performer. While also alluding to Warhol's *Outer and Inner Space* (1966), the simultaneous presentation of television and film was an act of *intermedia* that placed the two mediums against one another to reveal that, despite their similarities, their differences are founded upon the ability for television, through broadcast reception, to stay in tune with continuously shifting time. Rejecting 'personal films' for their tendency for introspection (*kyūshin-teki*) as opposed to the

centrifugal (*enshin-teki*) movement of time, Miyai called for a cinema that engaged with the zeitgeist (Miyai *et al*, 1968, p. 67). Calling Warhol's films 'an expansion of reality itself,' Miyai explained his admiration for him to be based on his ability to push aside his own subjectivity in devotion to the zeitgeist (1965, pp. 17-18). Suggesting a similarity with Jean-Luc Godard's montage, Miyai proposes it is the 'confusion' and 'incompleteness' of Shinjuku that attracts and invites participation from young people (1970, p. 42). His expanded film works, and *Phenomenology of Zeitgeist* in particular, can be understood as Miyai's attempts to channel Shinjuku as space and the zeitgeist as time, in their multiplicities and continuously shifting nature, through the method of multiple projections.

Miyai Rikurō's concerns with the role of art in response to the ever-changing zeitgeist alluded to the discourse of simulacrum (*kyozō*) that had similarly engaged with the role of the image. As discussed in Part II, these concerns manifested in the art world in the form of shadows that similarly propelled what was called the shadow-debate in Japanese art criticism. Immobile bodies and active shadows in Japanese contemporary art blurred the boundaries between object and reflection as a mediated image, questioning the point of distinguishing between them. Shadows had also become a recurring trope in Japanese experimental film appearing as the primary subject in experimental animation films *Gen'ei Toshi* (City of Illusion, 1967) and *Tōmei Ningen* (The Transparent Man, 1968) by Shimamura Tatsuo²¹⁶ and *Kage* (Shadow, 1968) by Hayashi Seiichi, where shadows are shown to playfully mediate between active agent and reflected image. Miyai's *Shadow* (1968) similarly appropriates and contributes to the shadow-debate by way of using double projection. Placing the projections alongside each other, the expanded cinema piece presents one projection against another with the same image mirrored and the colour tones reversed. To emphasise its engagement with the shadow-debate, moreover, the sole content of the film is the shadow of the filmmaker walking outdoors. The result of the double-projection is a presentation of a shadow of a shadow where, in its expanded cinema projections, the original shadow, itself an image, becomes indistinguishable from its

²¹⁶ Shimamura also presented a 16-minute multi-screen work *Love* (1970) for the Wacoal-RICCAR pavilion in Expo '70 but, according to critic Mori Takuya, the multiplication of the image was what ruined the piece (1970, p. 94).

simulacrum (*kyozō*). Miyai's reworking of the same footage, and their presentation together, aligns with debates ongoing in the pictorial arts with its impact largely unaccounted for in the film medium. In another double-projection piece, *Yokoo-chan da-isuki!* (I Love You Yokoo, 1968), Miyai presented footage of a photographic image of Yokoo Tadanori, once again, presented together with a mirror image. The choice of Yokoo Tadanori's image, as much as the work's mode of presentation, emphasises Miyai's engagement with simulacrum as Yokoo, a designer of poster art himself, questions the status of the art object through the mass production of his poster work. In his double-projections, Miyai uses expanded cinema as a strategy to evoke the reproducibility of film and questions the point of asserting an original status.²¹⁷

'I'm no longer interested in showing my films to audiences who come to see my films. It's more exciting for my films to be watched by people visiting department stores and go-go discotheques' (Miyai *et al.*, 1968, p. 67), was Miyai's statement in a panel discussion where he discussed the ubiquity of moving images. Following his statement, Miyai Rikurō became one of the most active filmmakers in the emerging culture of display that sat on the borders between promotional work and legitimate art practice while also becoming a ground for the reconceptualisation of space and environment (*kankyō*) to foster. In collaboration with pneumatic sculptor Ōnishi Seiji, Miyai installed three enormous tubular balloons decorated in primary colours onto the ceilings of skating rings at Shinagawa and Ikebukuro in 1969, a display referred to as 'not-design' (1970, unpaginated) by Ōnishi, an allusion to anti-art earlier in the decade for its rejection of established strategies within the field of promotional practice. While this display didn't involve projection, most of Miyai's work in display culture incorporated his expertise in light media to achieve an establishment of environment (*kankyō*) whereby the displays were marked as works through the participation of their audience.

Although each unique in their incorporation of its spatial framework, the members' clubs and discotheques designed by Miyai Rikurō reveal continuations of what he had explored in his multi-projection experiments despite changes in presentational circumstance. In

²¹⁷ Although less conceptually grounded on the shadow-debate, Miyai's film *Party* (1971) also used double-projection where one projection presented scenes of lesbian foreplay that was placed next to another depicting scenes of Shinjuku and the passing of time (Hara, 1971, p. 23).

collaboration with Miyai in 1969, artists Sakamoto Masaharu and Hayata Yasuhiro designed Club Sharivari located in Ginza. 'Rather than hiding the vacant space with mirrors and strobe lights, we wanted to focus on how to show the space' (1969, p. 73), was how Sakamoto described the motivation behind the design of Club Sharivari. Using blackened walls, mirrors and lights, the space was designed to play with its visitors' lines of perspective as it became difficult to distinguish between visitors and their reflections traveling the walls as moving simulacrum (Sakamoto, 1969, p. 73). With half-silvered mirrors installed into the ceiling and the floor, the beams of light and the visitors infinitely multiplied in their reflection to produce an interactive evocation of the shadow-debate as spatial installation.²¹⁸ Critic Ishizaki Kōichiro, in his review of the club, discussed that, 'As long as shadows and simulacra (*kyozō*), while confirming the presence of matter, remains purely visual, the existence of the "thing" is certified as a presence. I discovered presence in the illusion of shadows; I discovered the absence of matter' (1969c, unpaginated). Ishizaki's experience of being unable to distinguish between matter and its reflection is, like Miyai's double-projection *Shadow*, exercising the shadow-debate concerning the age of ubiquitous media and mass production.

Miyai Rikurō's work in designing alternative spaces continued with Station '70 in Shibuya, which he had conceived as a 'meeting point between art and entertainment, a crossover of art and technology and a base for the rejuvenation of entertainment in the information age' (1969b, p. 143).²¹⁹ His interest in television, noted in his expanded cinema performance *T.V. and Manga*, was expanded upon in Station '70 where he installed television monitors into the walls as sources of light as much as information broadcast.²²⁰ The bridging of interior and exterior seen with his use of television monitors continued once again with his unrealised display design for a rooftop beer hall. Miyai planned to install a pneumatic dome made of

²¹⁸ The club Groovy, designed by Kanesaka Kenji, similarly utilised large mirrors for the purposes of fragmentation and multiplication. For a photograph, see Yoshiwara, 1968, p. 124.

²¹⁹ Kudō Tetsumi, who had returned to Japan from Paris to carve the public sculpture *Monument of Metamorphosis* onto Mt. Nokogiri, opened Station '70 on the New Year's Eve in 1969 with a performance. Rare footage of the space can be seen in Yoshioka Yasuhiro's documentary *Epigraph of Metamorphosis - Record of Kudō Tetsumi* (1969).

²²⁰ Both Miyai and his Unit Productions had a strong relationship with television programmes as a production assistant, most notably TBS programmes *Cool Tokyo* (Muraki Yoshihiko, 1967), and adviser for programmes.

transparent vinyl that would be the surface for images projected from inside using multiple projectors.²²¹ For the beer hall, the images would have functioned as immersive expanded cinema environment similar to Stan VanDerBeek's *Moviedrome*; from the outside, the illuminated dome would have also acted as a promotional display as part of the cityscape. The marriage of his work in expanded cinema and discotheque designs, however, was most strongly established with the discotheque Killer Joe's built in 1968 in Ginza. The discotheque, furthermore, epitomised the aims outlined for environment art by structurally incorporating the participation of its visitors as part of its design.

Articulating his interest in display for its demand to 'construct an environment (*kankyō*) from a fused (*sōgō-teki*) perspective' (1968, p. 93), Miyai Rikurō planned the discotheque Killer Joe's as a collaborative project with design by Hayata Yasuhiro, art design by animator Tanaami Keiichi, pneumatic sculptural designs by Yoshida Minoru from Gutai, and Tone Yasunao on the advisory board. Criticising the practice of covering the walls of discotheques with posters as 'static', Miyai substituted the posters with projectors for their ability to continuously shift the mood of the space. Installing twenty slide and overhead projectors, Killer Joe was designed to have light projections, involving illustrations by Tanaami Keiichi, covering its walls from all directions. Described as a 'space that breaths' (Ishizaki, 1968b, p.94), the ceiling, wall and pillars in the venue were covered in silver vinyl, which moved according to solenoid, geared motor and air pumping devices hidden behind them (Fig. 15). Describing the pneumatic structure as an 'environment skin', recalling projections onto bare skin by *angura* artists, Hayata described the ways in which the discotheque was designed to interact with and respond to the changing times. As opposed to remaining fixed, the pneumatic sculptures were designed to 'continue to perform under the controls of the operator' and 'always deny its status as form (*keitai*) in manifesting in response to situations and being actualised as a moving interior' (Hayata, 1969, p. 80). Incorporating the artistic ambition of environment (*kankyō*), the visitors of the discotheque contributed to the formation of the 'performance' of the pneumatic layers and projected images. Sensors for movement and sound were installed in the

²²¹ The untitled project is outlined in Hayata, 1968, p. 93.

discotheque, designed for the motion and projection devices to respond accordingly. In Hayata and Miyai's aims to provide the ability for 'people to change the interior' (Hayata, 1969, p. 80), Killer Joe's realised both the commercial aspirations in display and the artistic imperatives for environment (*kankyō*) art.

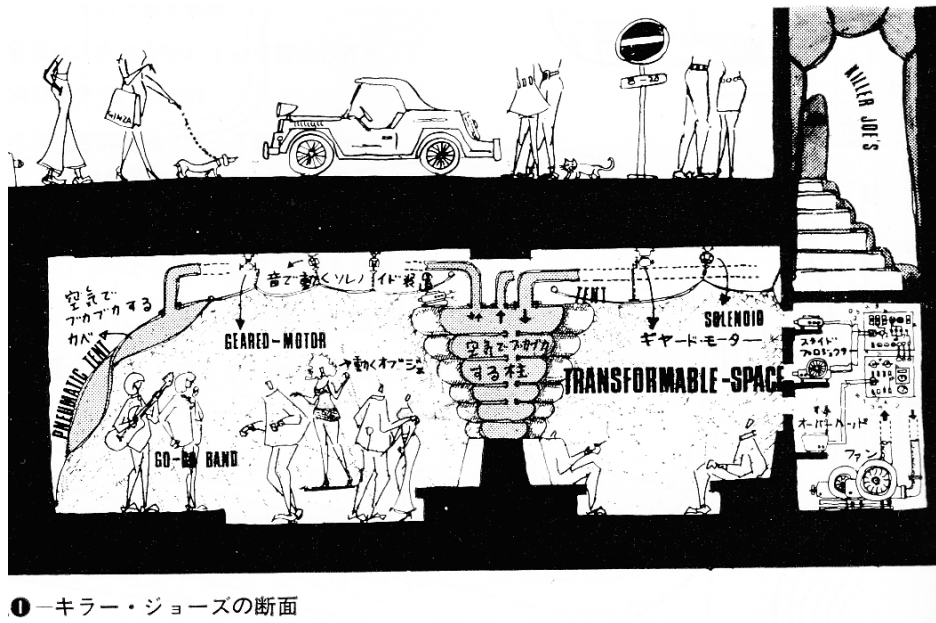


Figure 15: Diagram for *Killer Joe's* discotheque in Hayata, 1969, p. 80.

The emerging discourse of environment (*kankyō*) demanded for artists to reconceptualise the role of space in the presentation of their art. Not only were the architectural structures of the space taken into concern, but also the individual motions of the visitors were considered to take part in the formation of the work. In response to such changes in artistic discourse, artists and filmmakers began to seek alternative institutional and architectural spaces for the exhibition of their work. With the rise of psychedelia that traversed the arts, artists such as Kanesaka Kenji, Shinohara Ushio and Miyai Rikurō discovered discotheques to be auspicious opportunities for the engendering of environment art, as they were conducive to audience participation as commercial enterprises. Various projectors — film, slide, overhead and light — were installed in the underground discotheques as image (*eizō*) displays to proliferate the lines of perspective from the visitors in ways that participated in the

reconsidering of the function of the moving image in expanded cinema. In search for alternative spaces for the projection of film, the art gallery and museum — the white cube — also began to increasingly accommodate the installation of moving images. Film became relatively common in exhibitions in Japan in the early 1970s coinciding with the turn to video, electronic media and the immaterial arts of light and air in Japanese contemporary art. Outlining a new set of institutional and discursive practices, film in the white cube demanded a reconsideration of the forms moving images can take in both viewing and presentation. The following chapter will explore the rise in film installations of the late 1960s and early 1970s in Tokyo, Kyoto and Osaka to suggest the roots of the shift lied in the changing role of the moving image in the cultural discourse of display and environment (*kankyō*).

3.4 EARLY FILM INSTALLATIONS

3.4.1 Exhibition of Contemporary Plastic Art (*Gendai no Zōkei*)

Despite the tendency for the histories of postwar Japanese arts to be mostly drawn upon the activities that took place in its capital city, contemporary art practices in Kyoto, where artists from Kōbe, Osaka and Nagoya came together, similarly had an indelible impact on the ways moving images in the 1960s began to traverse into territories that were previously reserved for plastic and pictorial arts. What characterised moving image practice in the southern cities of the main island was that, even more than in Tokyo, underground film culture grew out of already existent networks founded upon the fine arts and, in particular, the sculptural arts. In other words, sculptors in the region made a transition to filmmaking in the mid- to late-1960s. An engagement with space inherent in sculptural arts crossed over for these artists in the artistic methods they deployed for the medium of film, where the presentation of the projections was of equal importance to the content of the projected image. The shift from sculpture to film installation in Kyoto's art community can be traced by the annual Exhibition of Contemporary Plastic Arts (*Gendai no Zōkei*, 1968-1977) and, in particular, its 5th edition entitled Equivalent Cinema that marked a culmination of their activities in film.

Alternatively titled *Expression in Film '72 — Thing.Place.Time.Space —*, Equivalent Cinema was co-presented, as was each exhibition of the annual series, by the Kyoto Shimbun newspaper and the organisation committee. Held for five consecutive days on 14-19 October 1972 at the Kyoto Municipal Museum of Art, the fifth edition was the first that was curated by the committee according to invitations rather than submissions. Its most significant change, however, was that Equivalent Cinema comprised primarily of film installations. Starting the first two editions with outdoor sculptural exhibitions, the Exhibition of Contemporary Plastic Arts series had transformed into film screenings in a conference hall for its third and fourth edition. Film screenings in Kyoto, such as those organised by the collectives See Documentary Film and Art Film Association held at Galerie 16 and Gallery Iteza, began exploring beyond single screening formats. ZONE, held at the Mainichi Shimbun Branch Office 3rd Floor Hall on 8, 14 and 19 November 1968, invited thirty artists, including Gulliver and Miyai Rikurō, and included demonstrations of electronic music, butoh dance, performative film projections, double-projections and a panel discussion. Accommodating the growing frustration with the programming format of sequential screenings and fixed spatial arrangement for a seated audience, the organisation committee of Exhibition of Contemporary Plastic Arts reverted to the museum space where they began as sculptors.

The first of its kind in the country, the group exhibition installed works by sixteen artists and 23 projectors into one room of the museum. Projecting onto all walls, the floor and a window, the coordinated disarray of the exhibition layout was intended to hand over the coordination of spatial and temporal experience to the museum visitors (Anon [*Kyoto Shimbun*], 1972). The 'equivalent' in the title, the committee explained, was meant to signify an equal relationship between the temporality and spatiality of the film and the individual audience (qtd. in Tsuji, 1972, p. 29). Reflecting the rejection of order in the exhibition space, the catalogue mirrored the exhibition layout and was designed as an unpaginated collection of cards with each one allocated to each artist. On the one hand, Equivalent Cinema engendered the promises of environment (*kankyō*) art with its encouragement for its visitors to formulate their own experience. On the other hand, the reversion to space (*kūkan*) in the subtitle marked an attempt

to be disassociated from the environment art of Expo '70 in the neighbouring city of Osaka. In his review of the exhibition, Tsuji Katsuyuki discussed that, despite the co-presentation of the works in the same time and place alluded to *intermedia*, each work held its own (1972, p. 28). According to Ichikawa Miyabi's definition of *intermedia* as scattered relationality (*bara-bara zentaisei*), however, the interconnection of mediums within and between the works would qualify the exhibition itself as *intermedia*.

One strategy the artists resorted to for the instigation of a renewed relationship between the work and the audience was by treating the screen as sculpture. Broader changes in contemporary art towards immaterial practices of light and air art similarly encouraged sculptors to reconsider their practice in relation to material and space in the changing media landscape. Taken off the walls, many of the artists in Equivalent Cinema found different spatial arrangements for the screen, in ways that the organisation committee attempted as 'the destruction, or, at least to question the status of the screen' (Anon [*Kyoto Shimbun*], 1972). On 12-19 January 1969, many artists who later participated in Equivalent Cinema took part in the event 'Image Speaks!' (*Eizō wa hatsugen suru!*) at Galerie 16, Kyoto, where a dome-shaped screen was installed by Imai Norio a month before Stan VanDerBeek's visiting lecture in Kyoto. Devised by Sakaki Ken, Nomura Kō and Matsumoto Shōji, a circular board made of wood that span in continuous motion was, when covered in cloth, also used as a screen in the same event. At Equivalent Cinema, both Matsumoto Shōji and Yonezu Shigehide continued the repositioning of the screen by placing it in the middle of the room and projecting images onto both sides, enabling it to be in sight from all angles and dismantling linear perspectival arrangements. Showing a man outdoors in a field walking towards and reappearing from behind an upright white board, the footage shot the board from both sides and was projected onto the screen from the same distance, bringing together filming and screening locations. Uematsu Keiji also used a mirror as a screen for his *Earth point project* (1972), accommodating both the reflection of the space as well as the projection within the frame. Commenting on his dome screen, Imai Norio explained that 'although the films changed, the screen always remained the same,' a frustration that led him to 'tie together object and image' (Anon [*Yūkan Kyoto*], 1969,

unpaginated). In the hands of the sculptor-filmmakers at Equivalent Cinema, the screen was transformed into a sculptural object that invited observation from multiple perspectives.

Equivalent Cinema also showcased film installations that engendered recognition of onscreen and off-screen space by forcing them together in juxtaposition that, paradoxically, highlighted their differences. Muraoka Saburō's film shows a man holding up a squared timber plank onto a wall, which was projected onto the same plank put up against the museum wall. A short film of feet being washed was projected on a loop onto six pieces of paper pasted onto the wall for Etsutomo Kashihara's film. Orders were written on the pieces of paper to wash your feet, bringing together word and image in a way that left uncertain whether the demands were targeted at the subject of the film or the audience in the museum. In a double projection piece, Kawaguchi Tatsuo simultaneously filmed from a pavement facing a road, rail tracks and the sea different modes of transport with two cameras adjacent to one another. Projected onto a wall in the same arrangement, Kawaguchi left a gap between the two projections in order for the horizontal motion of traffic to disappear momentarily to force its viewers to take notice of the wall that accommodated the projection. By aligning the projector arrangements with the camera positions, the work brought together off- and onscreen space in a way that illustrated their separation through juxtaposition.

Multi-projection was also used as a strategy to blur the relationship between simulacrum and its origins as an image. Installing a transparent screen in the middle of the room, Matsumoto Shōji projected slides onto the screen that, together with the shadow of the monitors and visitors, created multi-layered image on the other side that was recorded by a video camera and transmitted back onto the monitor. Moreover, an 8mm camera was positioned next to the video camera and the footage that, processed and remediated onto video, was shown on a monitor placed alongside the other. The interlacing of past and present through the use of a range of moving image formats displayed different levels of mediated presence that blurred boundaries between simulacrum (*kyozō*) and origin (*jitsuzō*). The visual trickery and incorporation of space and visitors into the image referred to environment art staged in psychedelic shows. At 'Image Speaks', Matsumoto arranged a fashion show as part of the

programme, *Cine Fashion*, where he projected psychedelic images onto a transgender model in an expanded cinema performance. Recording op art and light art, the footage projected included dancers superimposed onto spinning patterns, which was itself projected onto the model. Moreover, the camera focused onto the reflections onto contours of material responding to illumination that, transformed into a film projection itself, similarly interacted as light onto the clothed material. The blurring between simulacrum and image both within the film and the projected instance was passed on from fashion displays into film installations. The incorporation of space into the image was also engendered by the use of mirrors as part of the screen in works by Uematsu Keiji and Uemura Yoshio. Both featured a main character holding a mirror up in the city, but for Uematsu the same mirror that appeared onscreen was hung onto the centre of the screen where, once again, the boundaries between reflection and projection were muddled.

The artists' roots in sculpture were most apparent in the exhibition display of Equivalent Cinema, where film and slide projectors, cameras, video and television monitors were positioned in close vicinity among one another. The mechanical devise of the projector was taken out from behind the walls into the audiences' eyesight to not only reveal itself as the creator of the illusionary images but also be incorporated as part of the artwork. Together in their scattered relationality (*bara-bara zentaisei*), the film installations encouraged the visitors to disregard previously held assumptions over spectatorial viewing positions to instead discover their own through navigating the exhibition as they pleased. Among all the installations, Imai Norio's *Bundan sareta firumu* (Film Divided Apart, 1972) embodied the display of film apparatus and material for sculptural purposes. Using a collection of disregarded footage edited out and left on the cutting room floor of television productions, the youngest artist of Gutai, Imai Norio, spliced a selection of clips into slides and projected them onto a wall where their remediation into slides made the filmstrip material visible as an image. Imai, who began his work in film with *En* (Circle, 1967) where he hole-punched a black leader filmstrip, gathered the rest of the filmstrips to make a sculptural mountain of filmstrips on the museum floor. At the Kyoto Biennale in August 1973, Imai presented a projection of *Jointed Film* (1973) where he

spliced the disregarded filmstrips together at random to create a flow of seemingly unrelated fragments from news and television media.²²² Reflecting the apparatus theory that had begun to generate critical intrigue particularly in the 1970s in Western Europe, Imai and his contemporaries' works presented at Equivalent Cinema sought to establish the involvement of the film apparatus in the presentation of cinema. In describing the exhibition, Tsuji Katsuyuki felt the image (*eizō*) was 'fixed down rather than emancipated' (1972, p. 33). The 'thing' notified in the exhibition subtitle 'Thing.Place.Time.Space' signified the apparatus that made the 'expression of film' possible, which was given centrality in the sculptural interpretations of the film medium by the artists participating in Equivalent Cinema.

The place of film in the gallery and museum space was a question also taken into consideration by student artist collective Bikyōtō Revolution Committee (*Bikyōtō Revolution Inkaï*), of which members Yamanaka Nobuo and Hikosaka Naoyoshi had been represented as two of the three artists from Tokyo in Equivalent Cinema. Presenting his *Pinhole Camera* (1972) at Equivalent Cinema, Yamanaka installed a box in the corner of the room with a lens embedded to refer to the pre-cinematic effect of camera obscura. Walking into the box, the visitors were able to observe the exhibition space, including the other visitors and artworks, transformed into an image projected upside down onto the inner wall of the box. The first of a series of pinhole camera works, it is crucial that Yamanaka initially conceived it as a film work until later taking on an existence in still photography (1978, p. 29). Hikosaka's contribution *Film Duet - Upright Sea*, involving a projection of the sea onto the floor of the museum, similarly reconsidered space not only by its approach to projection but also by incorporating the processes of production, including the conceptualization and shooting of the work, as part of what he called the 'performance.' Moreover, the presentation at Equivalent Cinema was the third in a consecutive run of film installations organised in the preceding weeks in different forms at other venues. Yamanaka and Hikosaka's approach to film installations, particularly in their understanding of the implications of space on the artwork, was one of the overriding concerns

²²² Imai also performed the splicing together of the disparate filmstrips at the Kyoto Independents exhibition in February 1973 and left the results on display.

of the Bikyōtō Revolution Committee. The members of the collective proposed a reexamination of art's relationship to space by seeking public and private spatial alternatives for the exhibition of their works. The following section will analyse Yamanaka Nobuo's *River* series to demonstrate how Bikyōtō's facilitated their questioning of space in their installations.

3.4.2 Bikyōtō Revolution Committee

Institutionalisation of the art exhibition was publically denounced by Bikyōtō, whose members declared in 1971 they were not to exhibit their works in art museums or galleries for a year. In an earlier phase founded in 1969, Bijutsuka Kyōtō Kaigi (Artists Joint-Struggle Council) were a group of art students primarily based in Tama Art University but including members from Tokyo University of the Arts, Kuwasawa Design School and Aoyama Design School with strong ties to student activism and protest movements. Emerging out of the Zenkyōtō movement of student activists, Bikyōtō, led by Hori Kōsai, included Miyamoto Ryūji, Ishiuchi Miyako, Yonezu Tomoko and Hikosaka Naoyoshi. Declaring in their manifesto, 'As long we call ourselves "artists," art will continue to be our battlefield' (Bijutsuka Kyōtō Kaigi, 1970, p. 77), Bikyōtō targeted cultural establishments in their radical activity that involved obstructions of meetings and exhibition spaces of Japan Advertising Artists' Club (*Nissenbi*) in August 1969, Ueno no Mori Museum in September 1969, Japan Fine Arts Exhibition (*Nitten*) in November 1969 and joined the Anti-Expo struggles in March 1970.²²³ Renamed Bikyōtō Revolution Iinkai (Art Joint-Struggle Revolution Committee), the second phase of Bikyōtō formed out of research groups independent of universities, shifted tactics to consider conceptual attacks on the cultural establishment as their primary mode of activism. Questioning what they considered foundational principles omnipresent in the art world, its members included their former leader Hori Kōsai, Hikosaka Naoyoshi, Yamanaka Nobuo and, crucially, Tone Yasunao. Considering Bikyōtō under the lineage of Anti-Art into Non-Art and as part of the emergence of conceptualism in Japanese contemporary art, Reiko Tomii refers to the group's disapproval of

²²³ Their disdain for the Expo, along with Tokyo Biennale, had been expressed earlier in an agitation flyer published in July 1969 (Kurodaliajee, 2011, p. 170).

'internal institution' (*uchinaru seido*), a customisation of art within the mind of the artist, in their pejorative enquiry against the art establishment. Although at a distance from the commercial imperatives of display and institutional foundations of environment art (*kankyō geijutsu*), the activities of Bikyōtō, nevertheless, interconnect with the reconsideration of space in artworks of the period. Yamanaka Nobuo's early work, in particular, draws out the foundational concerns of space that brought together the works of the Bikyōtō artists.

A former student of Tama Arts University, Yamanaka Nobuo joined Bikyōtō a year after he dropped out of the university in 1970. His first work, *Kawa o utsushita firumu o kawa ni utsusu* (To Project a Film of Filmed River on a River, 1971), was realised as part of the *Revolution* project where the participating artists of Bikyōtō vowed to abandon the gallery or museum space for the exhibition of their works in 1971.²²⁴ Presented at the riverside of Tamagawa (river) near his former university, Yamanaka had shot footage of the same river a couple of weeks prior to the event and, pretty much unedited, projected the reproduced images back onto its surfaces each night between 25-27 June 1971 (Fig. 16). Yamanaka's projection highlighted the under-explored relation between apparatus and space in cinematic projection. Through the tautology of placing an image of a river onto a river, the work overlaps the simulacrum (*kyozō*) with its origin (*jitsuzō*) in a way that engenders recognition of the projector as the producer of the image. The event, promoted as an art exhibition (*bijutsu-ten*) rather than a screening, launched Yamanaka's critique of institution as a member of Bikyōtō that set the foundations for his consideration of space in relation to his work.

²²⁴ I thank art historian Matsui Shigeru for introducing me to Yamanaka Nobuo and acknowledge his research on Yamanaka and broader currents in Japanese contemporary art as an inspiration. His unpublished research on Yamanaka focuses on *To Project a Filmed River onto a River* and its conceptual relationship to television.



Figure 16: Yamanaka Nobuo's *To Project a Film of Filmed River on a River* (1969)

As Yamanaka points out in his essay 'Departing from the Gallery' (1971), conceptual art began to gain currency in the late 1960s, which was an approach to art less reliant on space of exhibitions due its primary focus being the 'occasion' over its 'presentation' (1971, p. 20). Shifting the focus from the result to the process, the artists assembled and exhibited ephemera surrounding the event and film contributed to the documentation of the happenings and performance art by recording them with a camera. According to historian Arata Tani in his writing on Yamanaka, however, another way for film to participate in such process-driven performative arts was the placement of the projector within the visual field for an audience (1987, p. 24). As we have seen with the Equivalent Cinema exhibition, the projector on display encouraged the audience to acknowledge the process in which an image is made manifest on a surface. In his essay 'Towards the Confusion of Film' (1973), Yamanaka proposed displaying the film projector engenders a reflection within the audience on 'the distance between projector and screen, the apparatus, the intentions, place, space, the immediacy of the relationship with the audience and the act of seeing itself' (1973, p. 67). His comments confirm the importance of

the presence of the film projector as well as the image it projects, a belief he extends in the subsequent incarnations of the *River* series in the following year.

In addressing the physicality of film experience, Yamanaka Nobuo's interest in the presence of an image extends from the apparatus to include the material existence of the filmstrip. In his essay 'Departing from the Gallery,' Yamanaka discusses André Bazin's famous dictum of the 'mummy complex' (1967b, p. 9) in his articulation of the ontology of the photographic medium (1971, p. 18). Rather than positing the metaphor's significance to the notion of trace and the indexicality of truth in the film material, Yamanaka, on the other hand, proposes the analogy reveals the inevitability for the image to remain lifeless:

Even if we reincarnate the mummy and it becomes Frankenstein, it would remain a mummy. To follow such hallucinations — in pursuit of another self or another 'reality' — is like stepping in between an infinite wall of mirrors. There, we find ourselves in a situation where the mummy-hunter becomes the mummy. (1971, pp. 18-19)

Yamanaka's reference to Bazin, it seems, is a misunderstanding of the original text. Bazin's 'mummy complex' is not a rebuttal of the absence of life in cinema but, on the contrary, a celebration of the capacity embedded in the photographic medium to embalm a moment pregnant with life as light embeds an imprint on the film material (1967a, p. 9). Nevertheless, Yamanaka's application of the mummy metaphor reveals his discontent with the cinematic experience. The viewing experience of cinema, according to Yamanaka, is a pursuit of hallucinations and the viewing space, the cinema, is an entrapment that renders the viewer lifeless. In such ways, Yamanaka's misconceptions are significant for the artistic directions it leads for him as they provide the foundation for his criticism against the detachment from reality he found in contemporary film experience.

The 'infinite walls of mirrors' that Yamanaka uses to describe the cinematic experience, in fact, resonates with the psychoanalytic theory of the 'mirror stage' delineated by Jacques Lacan that some film theorists in 1970s Europe and North America invoked in describing film

spectatorship. Lacan proposed infants encounter an external image of the 'self', what he called the mirror stage, which lead to the imaginary formation of the 'I.' Jacques Baudry channeled Lacan in his apparatus theory, where he suggested the film spectator in the act of viewing a film not only identifies with the characters onscreen but also the 'transcendental subject whose place is taken by the camera' (1986, p. 295). In such ways, the viewer in the act of viewing 'relays' through the camera-eye to see the world, leading to a construction of an 'I' as an imaginary function. When the spectator does not recognise the mirror-screen but sees it as a world, they enter what Yamanaka describes as a 'hallucination' that is like 'stepping in between a infinite wall of mirrors.' Using the same metaphor, Baudry, in suggesting 'an infinite mirror would no longer be a mirror,' considers the 'framed, limited, circumscribed' nature of the mirror to be hidden in the cinematic experience (1986, p. 294).

By hiding the intervals between the individual frames by reeling through the film, the camera and projector apparatus activates an illusion of motion for the viewer that, according to Baudry, concealed the material conditions of the production of the image in ways that suppresses the differences between reality and image. In Baudry's analysis, cinematic experience is predetermined in such ways by the mechanism of the apparatus and, therefore, is ideological in the way it orders experience. Yamanaka's *To Project a Filmed River of a River* can be understood as an attempt to liberate the film experience from such prescribed frameworks. Whereas cinematic projection in the 'closed spaces' helps engender the concealment of its material functions, Yamanaka's projection of a filmed river onto a river brings the 'reality' of the river and the image of the river into juxtaposition in an event that highlights the image as a reflection. The co-presence of simulacrum and origin that the projection stages, furthermore, resonates with the shadow debate of the 1960s and use of projection in discotheques. However, while the shadow debate and discotheques questioned the certainty of reality, Yamanaka's projection, on the other hand, sought to differentiate the artificiality of the image with the actuality of reality. Discussing the project, Yamanaka recalled a certain feeling he felt one day when he walked alongside a river:

I discovered an extraordinary river that far surpassed any 'filmed river'. I thought to myself this is what a 'real river' looks like. A 'filmed river' or a 'river imagined in the mind' is distinctly different and far inferior to any 'real river.' (1971, p. 28)

According to Tōno Yoshiaki, the work can be understood as an 'attack on the meaninglessness, or, at least, the limitations of taking out a piece of the world' (1987, p. 9), suggesting Yamanaka's projection shifts its audiences' attention from the work to the world itself. Although he disagreed with Tōno's reading of the work as tautological (1987, p. 9), Yamanaka described the ways in which projecting onto the river at night caused an illumination of the river that surrounded the image:

The screen is limited in terms of space. What we find in my piece is not a limited space but, on the contrary, the world. Even the space where the film isn't projected becomes visible. (1978, p. 30)

Suggesting the screen was responsible for the spatial limitations of cinema (1971, p. 30), Yamanaka described film without a screen as 'unshapely' and 'all over the place' (1973, p. 63), qualities he found invigorating as he had qualms with the rigidity of the cinematic experience. In lamenting the lifelessness of the film experience, a 'hallucination' of stepping between an infinite mirror, Yamanaka used cinematic projection as a way to illuminate the boundless actuality of reality. Emancipated from what Baudry calls the 'chained, captured, or captivated' experience of film viewing (1986, p. 294), the spectator is encouraged to see freely and acknowledge the space the work and he or she inhabits.

After Bikyōtō's one-year commitment to abandon gallery spaces expired, Yamanaka continued his reconsideration of space in his exhibitions at gallery and museum spaces. Reflecting on the year, Yamanaka felt the limitations of abstaining from exhibiting at museums suggesting, 'Just as off-museum requires the existence of museums and anti-art would be nothing without art, exhibiting outside a museum requires the inside of the museum as its

opposite' (1971, p. 22). In his subsequent works, Yamanaka nevertheless continued his interrogation of the ideological limitations of normative film projection. In what could be called his *River* series, Yamanaka deconstructed the film apparatus in ways that exposed its mechanics that activate the illusion of motion. Reproducing the same footage, Yamanaka disseminated the image of the river onto a range of presentational circumstances as an extension of *To Project a Film of Filmed River on a River*. At Nire no Ki Gallery in July 1972 only a month after Okuyama Jun'ichi presented *Paper Film*, Yamanaka installed *Kawa no kadorāju* (Quadrangle of River, 1972), a slide projection of the footage of the river onto fifteen transparent vinyl screens hung in front of the projector. An 8mm projector was also installed on the other side of the screens to alternate the projection, involving the same footage, with the slide projector. Through the multiplication of screen, the visitors saw a gradual decline in luminescence of light as well as the increase in the size of the frame the further the screen was positioned from the projector. A month later in August 1972, Yamanaka submitted *Tensha* (Transfer) to the October issue of *Bijutsu Techō*, where the 16mm film of the river was transferred onto lith film, a high contrast film used for photoengraving that takes out the grey between black and white, which was then mass produced onto the pages of the journal. In *Diffusion de Rivière* (Diffusion of River) two months later at Tamura Gallery, Yamanaka used two 16mm projectors facing a window outwards, alternately projecting the same footage on a loop. Due to the interference of daylight, even within the dimmed room the only thing clearly visible during its daily installation between 12pm and 12am was the projector until the darkness of the night allowed for the projected image to manifest on the street. In *Fixed River* presented at Atelier Shinon in Tokyo on November 1972, fifteen sheets of the lith films from *Transfer* were hung as screens from the ceiling where the images, reproduced as slides, were projected onto them. Finally, *Fixed River II* eliminated projection entirely and exhibited the still frames of the same footage onto lith film material laid out separately onto the walls of the Kyoto Municipal Museum of Art for the Kyoto Independent Exhibition in February 1973. Within a short period of less than a year, the footage of the river migrated into different presentational circumstances that all worked to expose the mechanical functions of the film apparatus.

Placed alongside one another, Yamanaka Nobuo's *River* series epitomises a transition between expanded cinema to film installation as cinema began to enter the gallery and museum space in the early 1970s. As much as it was a result of changes in the conception of film, the shift also provoked renewed perspectives on the cinematic medium as it entered into an institution itself loaded with its own history structured by its particular economic, social and political framework. Whereas the performative quality of projection light was emphasised in film performances, the film installations called attention to the sculptural features. Not only was the sculptural characteristic of the projector accentuated in *Diffusion of River* and *Fixed River*, but also the presence of the projection light itself, the figure (*zō*) of the image (*eizō*), was emphasised in both where the light beam was made visible through transparent screens or dimmed gallery spaces. Replaced by a river, a window, lith film material and transparent vinyl screens, the screen was also displaced or multiplied in the *River* series to question its neutrality and frame its existence. Finally, the status of the medium is brought forward in the *River* series where Yamanaka disperses the same image onto not only a variety of spatial situations but also onto a range of mediums. Between lith film, 35mm slides, 8mm and 16mm film, the identical image of the river, shifting from stasis to movement, poses a critique of the art object in the age of reproduction while demonstrating exclusivity can abide when attention is shifted from content to situation. The space (*kūkan*) and its relation to his work was, therefore, Yamanaka's underlying concern and mirrored the growing interest in the subject within Japanese contemporary art. Responding to a critic's comment on the importance of space for the image presiding over its capacity to record (*kiroku*) in his work, Yamanaka agrees while also stressing his own implication within the space as fundamental (1978, p. 31).

Film installations of the early 1970s, in such ways, can be understood as a part of and a continuation of expanded cinema but in different spatial, experiential and durational circumstances. By testing the borders of mediums through the remediation of the footage into various film formats, slides and the printed page, Yamanaka's *River* series can be considered an exploration of what Lars Elleström calls the 'border zones' between mediums, at once showing the existence of demarcated borderlines between photographic media yet revealing a certain

translucence between them. For Yamanaka, the six projects together were experiments in intermedia but also reconsiderations on the impact of exhibition spaces, investigating to what extent space (*kūkan*) is integral to the presentation of a work of art. Although unique in its conceptual breadth, Yamanaka's shift from expanded cinema to film installation was indicative of a general shift in the conception of film medium in contemporary art. A move into film installation can also be traced in the works of Iimura Takahiko, a filmmaker whose artistic work in expanded cinema and theoretical introduction of *intermedia* had laid out new ground for the cultivation of Japanese contemporary art and, particularly, film.

3.4.3 Dead Movie: Film Installations of Iimura Takahiko

In his search of alternative practices for the film medium, Iimura Takahiko began subjecting film to the characteristics usually subscribed to sculpture and the fine arts for his film installations. To initiate his project, a continuation of his work in *expanded cinema*, Iimura resorted to where he began his small-scale screenings, namely, the gallery. For a period between 1968-74 in the United States, Europe and Japan, Iimura began installing film projectors in gallery spaces for its sculptural qualities as much as for its functional role for projection. Using no pre-recorded footage, the film installations used either clear and/or black film leaders that were often looped to take into account the negation of programmed time for the gallery visitor. Carrying on his practices in film screening and performance, the film installations continued his *intermedia* project that tested the boundaries of cinema by forcing it to interact or take on the role of other mediums. Maintaining his focus on cinema, Iimura's *intermedia* experiments demonstrated the idiosyncrasies of film precisely by juxtaposing them with practices usually subscribed to the other arts. Although an underlying concern with duration and space becomes particularly relevant in the gallery context, Iimura's film installations demand to be considered under the lineage of theoretical enquiries he grappled with for his *intermedia* work, the practical fascinations he entertained with expanded cinema and the widespread reconsideration of space in relation to art in the context of environment art.

During his stay in New York in 1966-9, Iimura Takahiko presented his first film installation, *Dead Movie*, at the Judson Gallery over a weekend on 26-28 January 1968. Presented for two hours each evening, *Dead Movie* involved two projectors facing each other from different sides of the gallery space. One projector projected light without any film through it and the second, facing the other, had black leader film looped through the ceiling. Presented as opposites, the two projectors nevertheless interact to underline the mechanical functions of film projection involving the apparatus, light and shadow. With its projection light, the first projector frames the object, shadows of the second projector, and shadows of the hanging filmstrip as the only visible image. Its light projection perpetually blocked by the looped black film leader in motion, the only function left for the second projector was to become the image of the first. The extreme minimalism of *Dead Movie* foreshadowed not only his film installations to follow but also his single-screen projects he has since thematically grouped together as personal explorations 'on duration' or 'on time',²²⁵ which could also be categorised as part of the emergence of structuralist cinema widespread in North America and Europe since the late 1960s.²²⁶ The continuous looping of the black film leader meant it eventually picked up scratches that allowed light to cut through the material, an oppositional relationship that Iimura noted as a revelation of 'two aspects of time – permanent and temporary' (1978, p. 75). A basement space of the Judson Memorial Church that housed radical art since the late 1950s, the Judson Gallery had reopened in 1967 after periodically shutting in 1960, during which time the church itself continued to accommodate the performative arts of happenings, dance and poetry readings. Together with his inclination towards performance in his earlier expanded cinema, the history of performance in the venue encouraged Iimura to consider his film installation as a performance or, at least, an exhibition that encourages or facilitates performative interventions.

²²⁵ His recent self-published DVDs documenting the works, for example, use these categories as titles.

²²⁶ Rather than to structuralism in philosophy, the term 'structuralist cinema', coined by Paul A. Sitney (1971, pp. 326-48), refers to a tendency in some experimental films to focus on 'structure.' Although Sitney referred to Andy Warhol and Minimalism in contemporary art to have been precursors to structuralist film, he later revoked this statement when he was called attention to the work of underground filmmakers, such as Peter Kubelka, who had employed such strategies before Warhol.

The visitors of the installations were free to roam as they pleased and were encouraged to interact with the projections to become a part of the image (Ishizaki, 1970, pp. 166-7). At times labeling his installations as 'film environments' (1974, unpaginated), Imura had taken on the widespread reconsideration of space in relation to art in the form of environment (*kankyō*) that called for the participation of its visitors to be included in the formation of a work. His film installation, in other words, was not only created according to the spatial frameworks of the venue but also its visitors, their interactions and navigation through the space.

Characteristically for Imura Takahiko, his film installations mutated according to the situational circumstances of its presentation and continued to evolve beyond its first exhibition. In its presentation at the Wandering Concert in February 1971 at the Goethe Institute, Tokyo, *Dead Movie* was installed as part of a music performance that included dance, music recitals and projections onto balloons where audiences were free to roam between the simultaneous occurrences. During its installation period over one evening, Imura hole-punched the black leader filmstrip that produced intermittent flashes against the projector with no film, harking back to his earlier single-screen films *On Eye Rape*, *Onan* and film performance *Floating*. The following year saw Imura rename his installation *Projection Piece* (1972) and add another projector into the arrangement for its installation at the Palais Thurn und Taxis in Brigenz, Austria. The reincarnation of his installation as *Projection Piece* included a projector that looped empty clear film leaders that, once again, represented an opposite to the black film leader. Positioned next to the projector with black film leader, the third projector faced an empty wall where it projected the empty frames of the clear film leader. Whereas the film material was visible as a shadow for the black loop film, the material was invisible against the light for the clear loop film; while the individual frames were discernible on the wall as a projected image for the clear loop film, the frames of the black loop film remained indefectible (Imura, 2007, p. 66). The use of only black and clear film leader, for Imura, was in order to reveal the fundamental principles of film projection. In the installation, 'one blocked light and the other emitted light' (1978, p. 74). The complete absence of pre-recorded footage became Imura's trademark during this period of production in the early 1970s, where he made a series

of single-screen films dependent on the interplay between the two modes, scratches onto the soundtrack and occasional scratched-on signs and numbers for its dramatic impetus: *Models* (1972); *A Line 1, 2, 3* (1972); *1 to 60 Seconds* (1973); *24 Frames Per Second* (1975-78); and *One Frame Duration* (1977). His performances, installations and single-screen work continued to infiltrate and test the boundaries of one another while their focus remained solely on the particularities of the film experience.

In what could be described as continuations of *Dead Movie*, Iimura began working on a series of film installations that similarly engaged with the presence of film material and apparatus in relation to the space of exhibition. Iimura remarked that he considered film to be 'what happens in real time during projection,' and that his intentions with his film installations were to expose the 'whole system' of projection beyond the projected image (1978, p. 74). In these installations, the gallery space was not darkened but kept at 'under normal room-light' where the projection light shared within the visitors' visual vicinity the projector apparatus and the film material. In Iimura's film installations, therefore, the conundrum of 'white-cube and black-box' as incompatible opposites becomes redundant. At the 9th Avant-Garde Festival held aboard the Alexander Hamilton boat of the South Street Seaport Museum, Iimura installed *Loop Seen As A Line* for one day on 28 October 1972, where two projectors were placed alongside each other facing a wall, one with black and the other with clear film leader looped from the ceiling.²²⁷ Each loop had a vertical scratched line on the material that appeared for the former as a single white line in darkness and, for the latter, a black line in a whitened projected frame. Although the vertically hung loops appeared to parallel the image of a line on the wall, it was not the loop itself but, instead, the line scratched onto the loop that was the producer of the image. Despite the two projectors positioned as contrasts, the gradual appearance of scratches onto both filmstrips also destabilised the symmetry (Iimura, 2007, p. 70). Moreover, viewed from the side it became apparent that the circular motion of the loop was conducting the linear movement of the line, further separating the movements of the apparatus and the projected image. For the Japan Cultural Institute in Rome in 1975, Iimura installed an alternative version

²²⁷ It was also installed at the New Reform gallery in Aalst, Belgium on 21-23 September 1974.

of *Loop Seen As A Line* where the projectors faced each other with a single black film leader, scratched with a white line, looped between them in the shape of a Möbius strip. The three-dimensionality of the projector and the hung film material as opposed to the flat projected image together, sharing the same visual plane for the gallery visitor, revealed the entire 'system' of film projection.

The coordination of time in the gallery as separate from that of the cinema was another opportunity Iimura was drawn towards in his film installation. Emancipated from the programmed experience of time and space in the seated auditorium, the gallery visitor was able to experience cinema in relation to autonomous time 'where they could come and go at any time' (Iimura, 1978, p. 74). In such a situation, Iimura began to focus his attention on the experience of time physically calculated in its rendition as frames on the film material for his film installations. In *1 Sec. and ∞* (1975), Iimura, once again, positioned two projectors alongside each other with black and clear film leaders looped respectively. On the walls the projectors faced, Iimura taped on a black and clear film leader of 24 frames each, both representing the duration of a second as marked on a filmstrip. Presented at the Maki Gallery, Tokyo, in 1975, the installation simultaneously presented a physical representation of both 'minimum and maximum' time – the former shown visually and the latter experienced conceptually (Iimura, 2007, p. 76).²²⁸ *Timing 1, 2, 3* (1972), presented three years earlier at the Apple in New York, similarly showcased in its installation a contrast between film material exhibited like paintings on a gallery wall and film material reeled through a projector. Iimura taped three strips of clear film leader, 100 feet each and horizontally aligned, onto the four walls of the gallery space: for the first, an interval was marked each second by a black marker pen and no sound was added onto the soundtrack; for the second, every two seconds were marked with the sound and image alternating every second; and finally, for the third, each second was marked by a scratch on the soundtrack yet the visual intervals shifted a frame every second, increasing the disparity

²²⁸ In the Artists Space (New York, 1977), an alternative version was presented where 24 frames of clear film leader was inserted into the black loop film, and vice versa, in order to show black and white flashes respectively for one second each. The installation was also presented at the Film As Film exhibition in Hayward Gallery (1979).

between sound and image until they eventually corresponded again. Reeling the three films spliced together into a single print, the projector faced one of the walls and projected onto a section of the taped film leaders. Once again, the visitors encountered time calculated and visualised through the film leaders on display at the same time as experiencing time rendered through visuals and sound.

After his six-month tour around Europe starting in 1969, a rarity at the time and since for Japanese filmmakers, Iimura Takahiko had shifted his base for activity from North America to Europe, eventually staying in Berlin between 1973-4 on a Deutschen Akademischer Austauschdienst (DAAD) fellowship where he primarily worked with galleries to arrange installations.²²⁹ Strengthening his relationship with European avant-garde filmmakers and in particular with the circle around the London Filmmakers' Co-operative, Iimura engaged in structural/materialist cinema where he abandoned narrative, representation and the mechanical function of recording to engage solely with the relation of film material and projection with time.²³⁰ In *Minutes and Seconds* (1973) installed at the Gallery Bochum, Germany, two projectors were positioned next to each other, both with 27-ft (two minute) film loops suspended from the ceiling. Representing minutes, one of the loops consisted half each of black and clear film leader, while the other, representing seconds, consisted of alternating 24 frames each of black and clear film leader. Simultaneously presented, the seconds and minutes were physically separated by the projector and filmstrips but co-existed in the experience of time for the gallery visitors. In *Film Installation* (1974) at Gallery 23, Paris, Iimura completely abandoned projection by taking the film projector out of the presentation. With two screens displayed on the wall, Iimura suspended one loop-film each of black and clear film leader from the ceiling. Making the separation between film and the screen visible, Iimura describes the

²²⁹ For more information on Iimura's Europe tour in 1969, see my research published in Ross, 2014, pp. 44-65.

²³⁰ Structural/materialist film was harder-line and Marxist development of Sitney's 'Structural film' coined and practiced by Peter Gidal (1976, p. 1). Peter Gidal and Malcolm Le Grice were strong supporters of Iimura and, in particular, his line of structuralist film. Iimura was the only Japanese participant in the Hayward Gallery's *Film As Film* exhibition. In Birgit Hein's article 'The Structural Film', published in the exhibition catalogue, Iimura's *Dead Movie* (1968) is the earliest film installation that receives a mention (1979, p. 99). For more on structural film and structural/materialist cinema, see: Gidal, 1976 and Trodd, 2011, pp. 8-13.

relationship between as simply 'referential' (2007, p. 78); with its common function removed, both screen and filmstrips were only able to embody a sculptural role for the installation. In a reversal of Jonathan Walley's analysis of Kosugi Takehisa's *Film & Film #4*, Iimura refers to the 'idea of cinema' by substituting the replacement of the filmstrip with the replacement of the projector.

In such ways, film installations at the 5th Exhibition of Contemporary Plastic Arts and by artists Yamanaka Nobuo and Iimura Takahiko in the early 1970s were deeply invested in the aims established by the discursive practices of environment art. The displacement of film into the gallery space conducted a traversal of borders between fine arts and cinema that, despite their border-crossing, engaged with their fundamental differences regarding temporal and spatial relations between audience, space and artwork. In staging an *intermedia* interaction with the fine arts, the intrinsic sculptural characteristic of the film apparatus was brought to the foreground while its experiences of regimented temporality emancipated. By being positioned outside of its customary habitat, the installations underscored the specific characteristic that form the experience of film — light, shadow, time, projection and screen — usually concealed in narrative cinema's devotion to storytelling, thereby asserting its identity among the other arts. In other words, the installations demonstrate film's ability to not only interact or share a space with other arts but also arrive at recognition of its own specificities through the process. The film installations followed spatial projections in Expo '70 and the psychedelic shows of underground discotheques in their commitment to exploring the potential for film beyond the screen frame. Developments in Japanese expanded cinema, in such ways, reappointed the significance of space in subjecting mediums with different customs of space into juxtaposition. The immiscible mixtures formed in *intermedia* also had repercussions on the establishment of space in relation to audience and artwork for expanded cinema in 1960s-70s Japan.

3.5 THE SPATIALITY OF CINEMA

Part III explored the spatial characteristic of film in expanded cinema to ask — what new opportunities did the exploration of space in Japanese expanded cinema offer for the

relationship among space, film and audience? Subjecting film to the possibilities delineated in the critical term 'environment' (*kankyō*), the sculptural characteristic of film was accentuated, as the audience was encouraged to look at it from different angles. In order for the expanded cinema work to be truly intermedial, the relationship between film, space and audience must be explored beyond their usual parameters in the event of expanded cinema. The renegotiation between space and film was necessary for expanded cinema in order to instigate recognition of the mechanisms of projection, a fundamental characteristic of cinema attenuated through intermedia. A participatory relation between audience and film, moreover, was also required in order to draw attention to the performativity of cinema. Being the hallmark of environment and display as concepts, the exploration of space in Japanese expanded cinema necessarily involved the intersection of film, space and audience.

The first chapter discussed the emergence of environment (*kankyō*) and display (*disupurei*) as concepts that reassessed the importance of considering space and its relation to artwork and audience. The recognition of space and participation from audience were considered the artistic aim for environment and the commercial aim for display, and the expansion of film beyond the cinema participated in reorganisation of space, art and audience. The second chapter explored four pavilions of Expo '70 to analyse to what extent the expanded cinema presented as multi-projections met the aims delineated by intermedia and environment art. In terms of these aims, the pavilions were unsuccessful as the particularities of film were concealed in service of the experience of spectacle and audience participation was limited against the security control and immersive displays, echoing definitions of display, as well as multimedia and synthesis arts (*sōgō geijutsu*). Although Japanese artists often considered *intermedia* as synonymous to expanded cinema, the pavilions of Expo '70 provided an expansion of the screen without incorporating the performative element in film projection that grounds its intermediality. The third chapter proposed psychedelic shows at underground discotheques were more successful in their appropriation of film for the purposes of environment, as their relationship with audience and space was mutually reciprocal, and therefore more intermedial. The fourth chapter, finally, showcased film installations that

emerged in museums and galleries of the early 1970s to explore in what ways the relationships between artwork, space and audience were reorganised in spatialities and temporalities specific to film installations. By accentuating the sculptural qualities of the film apparatus, the installations highlighted the medium-specific characteristics of film projection despite of its displacement out of the cinema space. The spatial exploration in Japanese expanded cinema of the 1960s-70s brought to light the potential for alternative relationships among artwork, space and audience — relationships that are intrinsically available in the cinematic medium but is little explored in conventional projections. The experiments in placing film projection outside of the cinema space, therefore, offered new possibilities regarding recognition of space, accentuations of the mechanisms of film projection and participation of an audience.

CONCLUSION

This research project was set out to explore what intermedia meant to critics and artists of 1960s-70s Japan and investigate how intermedial expanded cinema was at the time. In this Conclusion, I will bring together the disparate activities that have been introduced in this historical overview of Japanese expanded cinema, highlight the limitations of the study and offer new areas and directions for further pursuits in research on intermedia and expanded cinema.

As shown in the developments of expanded cinema in Japan, intermedia provided an opportunity for film to be compared with other arts, where its ability to interact while reasserting its identity in the process was highlighted. Cinema's capacity for performative action and renegotiating space were thus brought to the foreground when subjected to juxtaposition with other art forms. Developed simultaneously as a critical discourse and a theoretical practice, discussions on intermedia produced indelible ramifications on the Japanese practices in expanded cinema.

Part I began with an introduction to the theoretical framework of intermedia as it stands in critical theory at present to explore how *intermedia*, as discussed in 1960s-70s Japan, may be able to contribute to its further development. While use of the word in the titles of three major art events during the 1960s illustrates its prevalence, *intermedia* encouraged multiple interpretations but its alliance with expanded cinema continued to persist. Its distinction with its predecessor, synthesis arts (*sōgō geijutsu*), was established as the preservation of autonomy in the juxtaposition of mediums, echoing more recent turns in the theorisation of intermedia worldwide. Part II explored the performative quality inherent in cinema, as emphasised in the shift in terminology of image (*eizō*) from noun to verb, brought into prominence through the activation of collaborations with performance art. Projections onto bodies and onto balloons that took place in 1960s Japan came to highlight the ephemeral qualities of light in rejection of the

conservatism represented by the screen. Part III, finally, investigated the role of expanded cinema in the shifting relations between artwork, space and audience that was highlighted in the critical turn to environment (*kankyō*) and display (*disupurei*) in Japanese art criticism and commercial practice. Outlining the core aims of environment art (*kankyō geijutsu*) to be recognition of space and participation of audience, the section evaluated the fulfillment of these aims in the multi-projection strategies of selected pavilions in Expo '70 and psychedelic shows held in underground discotheques. With the relinquishing of pictorial surface in the conception of image (*eizō*) in mind, Part III concluded with an introduction to early film installations that emerged in the context of the changing conception of space that produced a recognition of the particularities of film experience by spotlighting the sculptural qualities of the film apparatus.

Introduced by Iimura Takahiko in 1966, *intermedia* had an intimate relationship with expanded cinema from its inception into Japan, leading some critics and artists to believe in its synonymity. Although the possibilities of medium interactions were discussed in the discourse of synthesis arts (*sōgō geijutsu*) since the immediate postwar years, the arrival of *intermedia* provided an opportunity for it to be reconsidered by Japanese critics and artists. On the one hand, aspects of synthesis arts persisted in the incorporation of some of its characteristics in the interpretation of *intermedia* by the participants of Cross Talk Intermedia, such as Akiyama Kuniharu, who regarded it to have a strong association with technology. While synthesis arts delineated the practice of bringing together art forms for a common cause, on the other hand, *intermedia* offered an opportunity to compare mediums for critics like Tone Yasunao and Ichikawa Miyabi. While the individual mediums were shown to have an ability to interact, in other words, the mixtures were deemed immiscible, accentuating the individuality of each medium. In Tone's words, *intermedia* created an occasion for the inter-relation of things (*zentaisei*) to be outlined, which were scattered (*bara-bara*) according to Ichikawa.

Beyond its interpretation in 1960s Japan, more recent debates on intermediality have described an interaction where a mutual reciprocation between conventionally separated mediums is activated through juxtaposition. Furthermore, *intermedia* disavows the tendency to bring together art forms for a pre-arranged purpose to form a homogenous entity, which is what

often is found in multimedia or, in the Japanese case, synthesis arts (*sōgō geijutsu*). Instead, individual mediums in intermedia maintain their autonomy in the interaction as their difference is accentuated.

If the definition of intermediality was such, how intermedial was Japanese intermedia and expanded cinema in the 1960s-70s? In the case of the multi-projection spectacles performed at Cross Talk Intermedia and the pavilions of Expo '70, their successes were limited regarding the level of intermedia they were able to attain. Although the works certainly brought together conventionally separated mediums, the spectacles showcased a preference of a unified experience that was pre-arranged in advance, showing little interest in the devoting their works to the possibilities of chance. Furthermore, most of the works at these events did not necessarily incorporate participation from their audience into its formation. In this sense, it would be more appropriate to designate these works as pertaining to characteristics of multimediality. On the other hand, the projections onto bodies and balloons in Japanese expanded cinema created an opportunity to compare that is considered fundamental to intermedia. While film's ability to interact with other art forms was demonstrated, its particularities were accentuated through juxtaposition with other arts. Being subjected to performance, the ephemerality of both light and screen was exposed from their concealment in normative projections. Psychedelic shows at underground discotheques and Japan's early film installations, furthermore, were also intermedial in the sense they incorporated potentials for chance and change into its presentation, encouraging audience participation and recognition of the space.

The resistance against established modes of film distribution, preservation and exhibition at the core of expanded cinema has resulted in its limited historical access. Indeed, many of these works were performed only once fifty years ago with little evidence of the event preserved. Nonetheless, this thesis has sought to demonstrate the significant contribution of their works in the development of 1960s-70s Japanese art and cinema. Primary resources of contemporary reviews, journals, magazines, photographs, artist statements, performance or exhibition plans and surrounding ephemera including posters, flyers and festival programmes were assembled to give shape to past events. Although documentations remain sparse, the

paucity of available material should not account for the elimination of Japanese expanded cinema from film and art history. With the verification of interactions between the arts during the 1960s-70s in Japan, I hope to have provided further insights to yield fertile ground for future research in the field of Japanese film and art history.

Although encompassing many aspects of Japanese expanded cinema of 1960s-70s, this thesis is by no means exhaustive. It has predominantly focused on performances and installations that feature film material over the new media of video, computer art and television, whose increasing prevalence contributed to sparking the self-reflective impetus that was exercised within the film medium. Nonetheless, video had a presence in expanded cinema from the 1960s, which only grew stronger in the ensuing years as video equipment became affordable for personal use. The video performances and installations invoked the particularities offered by the video medium, including its ability to transmit or project while recording, while expressing an ability to conjoin with other arts. The aims outlined in the discourse on environment (*kankyō*), including audience participation and incorporation of space, was arguably most impeccably executed in works using video. Despite its distinctions to film as a medium, video was taken up by many artists whose expanded cinema had involved film, including Kawanaka Nobuhiro, Matsumoto Toshio, Iimura Takahiko and artists organising and exhibiting at the annual Exhibition of Contemporary Plastic Arts in Kyoto. A comparative analysis of each of these artists with an investigation into whether their approaches to film differed from video would further develop the discourse on medium specificity as it attained to moving image practice. While many studies on video art have made the case for the specificities of the medium to be the impetus for creativity (Spielmann, 2010), the comparisons would situate the development of video art, performance and installation within the advancements of intermedia and the changing conception of image (*eizō*) in Japanese arts.

Another avenue for further research into Japanese expanded cinema would be to pursue the implementation of slide projectors as a way to investigate medium specificity as it pertained to projection technology. Operating on a different temporality to film or video by being situated between still photography and motion pictures, 35mm slides offered an artistic opportunity for

many Japanese artists whose output in the field were considered as *intermedia*. Still, their slide works have yet to be assessed. Although briefly mentioned in this thesis, an in-depth analyses on the specificities of the slide medium and its role in 1960s-70s Japanese art would, once again, strengthen the implication of medium specificity in the context of intermedia. If an intermedial juxtaposition did indeed create the opportunity to compare the particularities of each medium, what were the specificities of the slide projector? The use of the slide projector by a wide range of artists discussed in this thesis, including Awazu Kiyoshi, Tone Yasunao, Okuyama Jun'ichi, Matsumoto Toshio, Matsumoto Shōji, Kanetsaka Kenji, Yamaguchi Katsuhiko and Hijikata Tatsumi, as well as in the discotheques discussed in Part III, all attest to the significant role the medium played in the 1960s that is yet to be explored. Once again, comparative studies between works incorporating slide projection and works using film projection by these artists would contribute to establishing the particularities of each medium that is brought about in the act of intermedia. Furthermore, a selection of the expanded cinema works discussed in the thesis included the use of slide-, film and video projection presented together. The implications concerning medium specificity in simultaneous projections of multiple formats could be another avenue to pursue for the theoretical study of intermedia.

While the thesis proposed to reconsider the end of intermedia by identifying its persistence after Expo '70 in film installations, another extension for the line of research could be to discuss the theorisation and practice of activities beyond the timeframe of the thesis that foreshadows intermedia and expanded cinema. Examining the ways the performative qualities of film projection were accentuated in activities that predated the invocation of intermedia and expanded cinema as terms could demonstrate the potentialities of performance as embedded in the technology of film projection. Murayama Tomoyoshi of MAVO, an artists' collective of the interwar avant-garde, used multiple projections together with staged theatre, and discussed the validity of pure arts in his advocacy for the crossover of disciplines. Murayama voiced his praise for the chain-drama (*rensa-geki*) in the 1910s, where film projection became a part of theatrical productions, and attempted to resurrect it in his own stage productions. In the context of popular theatre in *rensa-geki*, the screen often displayed outdoor scenes and episodes of

battle to substitute for large costs of elaborate stage sets and many castmembers. Japanese cinema in the silent era, furthermore, incorporated the live performances of the *benshi*, oral narrators who stood beside the screen that situated cinema in a history of storytelling in popular Japanese theatrical styles of *kabuki*, *noh* and *bunraku*. The pre-cinematic projection devices of *utsushi-e*, Japanese magic lanterns, and their application in oral storytelling, could also be considered precursors to expanded cinema in the ways it merged live storytelling with the projection of images. Such a study into the history of projection practices in performative situations would renegotiate intermedia as an axis for the development of visual culture in Japan and further problematise the interpretation of intermedia as simply imported from the West.

Finally, this thesis has demonstrated the ways in which the definition of English language terms, such as intermedia, environment and display, proliferated in meaning according to the ways in which they were introduced and depending on how they were implemented. Rather than applying the theoretical frameworks as developed in the context in which it originated, the thesis speaks to the necessity of analysing the specificities of local contexts upon which such terms were discussed and applied to artistic practice. In the Japanese context, other terms such as 'media art' have similarly derived from the English language only to develop in a context and usage particular to its region. While acknowledging the importance of identifying specificities in terms, the approach ultimately undermines attempts to arrive at a unified cohesive definition, instead, accepting and celebrating the ways in which meaning constitutes relativity. With this thesis as one case study, an international study on the interpretation of intermedia could be conducted not only to reach a fuller understanding of the term but also as a way to comprehend the particularities of a given artistic context through the ways in which they are discussed and implemented into artistic practice

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APPENDIX

Key Names:

Adachi Masao (1939-) is a filmmaker, screenwriter, co-founder of **VAN Film Science Research Centre**, and member of **Nihon University Film Studies Club** and **Film Independents**. He screened his film at **Theatre Scorpio**. Primarily active in the Japanese art scene in the 1960s and early 1970s, he went to Palestine in 1974 for 27 years to join the Japanese Red Army. Works discussed in this thesis include *Ritual for Closed Vagina* (1962) and *Document 6.15* (1961-2).

Akiyama Kuniharu (1926-1999) was a composer and music critic. He was a founding member of **Jikken Kōbō**, member of Fluxus, participant and co-organiser of **Fluxus Week** and, as an organiser of the Cross Talk series including **Cross Talk Intermedia**, he was a strong proponent of intermedia arts.

Awazu Kiyoshi (1929-2009) was a graphic designer and interdisciplinary artist best known for his poster designs of 1960s underground theatre and film. He organised **EX POSE '68: Say Something Now, I'm Trying** and participated in **From Space to Environment** and **Expo '70**. Works discussed include *Environment A for 4 Projections* (1968) and *Mandalama* (1970).

Hara Masato (1950-) is a filmmaker and screenwriter. A recipient of awards at the 1st Tokyo Film Art Festival at **Sōgetsu Art Centre**, he has since presented his films as performances using multiple-projection. He showed films at the **Underground Centre** and took part in the Joint Struggle to Destroy the Festival. Works discussed include *First Emperor* (1973) and *Travels with Aketo* (1976).

Hanada Kiyoteru (1909-1974) was an editor, art critic and founder of the discussion groups Yoru no Kai (The Night Society) and Kiroku Geijutsu no Kai (Society for Documentary Arts). His critical writing on synthesis arts (*sōgō geijutsu*) has been considered a key precedent to intermedia arts.

Hijikata Tatsumi (1928-1986) was a choreographer, dancer and co-founder of influential performance movement **Ankoku Butoh**. He participated in **Jazz Laboratory JEUNE**, **Expo '70** and was scheduled to perform in **Cross Talk Intermedia**. As well as being a subject of films by **Iimura Takahiko** and **Jōnouchi Motoharu**, he collaborated with members of the **Hi Red Centre** and **Kazakura Shō**, sometimes using slide projectors during his performances.

Ichikawa Miyabi (1937-1997) was a dance critic. A strong proponent of intermedia arts, he was the organiser of **Expanded Art Festival**.

Ichiyangi Toshi (1933-) is a composer of avant-garde music. After studying at the Juilliard School of Music (1954-57), he composed music for films by **Matsumoto Toshio** and **Nihon University Film Studies Club**, performed with **Group Ongaku**,

organised John Cage and David Tudor to visit Japan and designed the sound for the discotheque Space Capsule. As a member of Fluxus, he co-organised **Fluxus Week**. He participated in **From Space to Environment**, **EX POSE '68**, **Intermedia Art Festival**, **Cross Talk Intermedia** and **Expo '70**.

Iimura Takahiko (1937-) is a filmmaker, video artists and writer. Considered a pioneer of expanded cinema, video art and film installations in Japan, he introduced intermedia to Japanese artists. Frequenting the **VAN Film Science Research Centre** and establishing strong relationships with **Hi Red Centre**, Iimura was a founding member of the **Film Independents**. Iimura moved to New York (1966-1969), Berlin (1972-74) and Paris (1974) and, since, has lived between New York and Tokyo. He screened at **Theatre Scorpio** and **Sōgetsu Art Centre** and participated in **Sweet 16** and **Cross Talk Intermedia**. Works discussed in this thesis include: *Dada' 62* (1963), *Screen Play* (1963), *Shelter 9999* (1967-69), *Circles* (1968-69) and *Floating* (1970).

Imai Norio (1946-) is an artist. He joined **Gutai** as its youngest member in 1965, exhibiting in **From Space to Environment** and, as part of Gutai, in **Expo '70**. He organised and participated in the **Equivalent Cinema** exhibition. Works discussed include *Jointed Film* (1972).

Ishizaki Kōchirō is a film critic, art critic and member of **Film Independents**. He co-organised **Intermedia** and has written extensively on underground cinema, displays and contemporary art.

Jōnouchi Motoharu (1935-) was a filmmaker, performance artist, a member of **Nihon University Film Studies Club** and co-founder of **VAN Film Science Research Centre**. He showed films at **Runami Gallery** and **Underground Centre**, participated in **Intermedia** and had strong relationships with **Kazakura Shō**, **Hijikata Tatsumi** and **Hi Red Centre**. Works discussed include *Gewaltopia Trailer* (1968).

Kanayama Akira (1924-2006) was an artist and member of Gutai. Although his art encompassed many different mediums, this thesis focuses on his contributions to air art. Works discussed include *Gutai Art on the Stage* (1957).

Kanesaka Kenji (1934-1999) was a photographer, translator, writer, filmmaker and founding member of **Film Independents**, Newsreel Japan and Japan Filmmakers' Co-operative. Travelling to the U.S for the first time in 1961, Kanesaka brought back to Japan the notions of 'underground cinema' and 'psychedelic culture' to Japan. He participated in **Intermedia**, performed at **Angura Pop**, organised film series at **Sōgetsu Art Centre** and founded the Joint Struggle to Destroy the Festival. Works discussed include **Psyche-Delicious Intermedia Piece #1** (1968) and the Pull Event organised for his film *Hopscotch* (1967).

Yamanaka Nobuo (1941-) is a filmmaker, founding member of **8 Generation** and, later, Video Hiroba. He was involved in founding the Japan Filmmakers' Co-operative, Japan Underground Centre and **Underground Centre**.

Kazakura Shō (1936-2007) was a performance artist and a member of **Neo-Dadaism Organisers**. Participating in **Sweet 16** and **Intermedia** and frequenting the **VAN Film Science Research Centre**, he had a strong relationship with **Hi Red Centre**, **Jōnouchi**

Motoharu, Satō Jyūshin, Iimura Takahiko and Group Ongaku. Works discussed include *Ritual for Closed Vagina* (1962) and *Document 6.15* (1961-62) as well as his own film performance *Happening Festival - As We Await for Champon Noodles* (1967).

Kosugi Takehisa (1938-) is a composer and musician. He was a member of **Group Ongaku**, Fluxus, Taj Mahal Travelers and was the music director for Merce Cunningham Dance Company since 1978. Frequenting the **VAN Film Science Resarch Centre**, he composed music for films by **Jōnouchi Motoharu** and **Iimura Takahiko**. As well as co-organising **Intermedia Art Festival**, he participated in **Sweet 16** and **Cross Talk Intermedia**. Works discussed include *Film & Film #4* (1966).

Miyai Rikurō (1940-) is a filmmaker, critic, designer and video artist. He participated in **Intermedia** and **Expo '70**. Before joining Video Hiroba, he designed the discotheques **Killer Joe's**, Club Sharivari, Station '70 and more. He showed his films at **Underground Centre** and took part in performances at **Angura Pop**. Works discussed include *Phenomenology of Zeitgeist* (1968) and *Shadow* (1968).

Manabe Hiroshi (1932-2000) was an illustrator, animator and founding member of the **Three-Person Animation Circle** active at **Sōgetsu Art Centre**. Long before intermedia arrived as a concept, he called for the interaction between film and other arts. Works discussed include *Marine Snow – Animation for the Stage* (1960).

Matsumoto Shōji is an artist and filmmaker. He founded the **Art Film Association** and organised and exhibited at **Equivalent Cinema**. Works discussed include *Cine Fashion* (1968).

Matsumoto Toshio (1932-) is a filmmaker, video artist, theorist and critic, considered a pioneer of expanded cinema and video art. As a young critic, he studied in the Society of the Documentary Arts and his writing on 'avant-garde documentary' influence a generation of filmmakers. He participated in **EX POSE '68**, **Cross Talk Intermedia**, **Expo '70** and later joined Video Hiroba. Works discussed include *For a Damaged Right Eye* (1968) and *Projection for <ICON>* (1969).

Ōe Masanori (1942-) is a filmmaker, translator and founding member of Newsreel Japan. During his stay in New York between 1965-68, he was involved in the Third World Studios, Studio M2, the Newsreel Collective and participated in activities organised by E.A.T and USCO. He participated in the Joint Struggle to Destroy the Festival and had strong relationships with **Zero Jigen**. Works discussed include *Great Society* (1967).

Okuyama Jun'ichi is a filmmaker. He participated in events organised by **Zero Jigen**, worked as a production assistant at **Expo '70** and showed films at the **Underground Centre**. Works discussed include *Frameless 35* (1968), *No Perforations* (1971) and *Human Flicker* (1975).

Ōnishi Seiji is an artist and one of the leading figures in Japanese air art. He participated in **Intermedia**, **Expanded Art Festival** and had solo exhibitions at **Naiqua Gallery** and **Runami Gallery**. He worked with **Shūzō Azuchi Gulliver** and **Iimura Takahiko** on their expanded cinema works.

Satō Jyūshin (1932-1988) is a critic, editor and curator. As the editor of influential film journal *Eiga Hyōron*, he frequented **VAN Film Science Research Centre**, co-organised **Intermedia** and appeared in films by **Adachi Masao**, Kanai Katsu and Wakamatsu Kōji. He was co-founder of Japan Filmmakers' Co-operative and Japan Underground Centre. He had strong relationships with **Zero Jigen**.

Shinohara Ushio (1932-) is an artist, a member of **Neo-Dadaism Organisers**. He participated in **EX POSE'68**, **Psyche-Delicious Intermedia Piece #1**, made balloons for **Cross Talk Intermedia** and was active as a sculptor, painter and air artist.

Shiomi Mieko (1938-) is a musician, composer and artist. She was a member of **Group Ongaku** and Fluxus, co-organiser of **Intermedia Art Festival**, and participant of **Fluxus Week** and **Cross Talk Intermedia**.

Shūzō Azuchi Gulliver (1947-) is an artist and filmmaker. He participated in **Intermedia Art Festival** and **Psyche-Delicious Intermedia Piece #1**. He performed at **Theatre Scorpio** and events organised by the **Art Film Association**. Works discussed include *Box* (1967), *Switch* (1967) and *Flying Focus* (1969).

Takamatsu Jirō (1936-1998) was an artists and one of the three members of the **Hi Red Centre** and a key member of Mono-ha. His *Shadow Painting* series (1964-98) was one of the key works that instigated the 'shadow debate' in 1960s Japanese art. He exhibited at **From Space to Environment**, participated in **Sweet 16** and **EX POSE '68**, and often collaborated with **Hijikata Tatsumi**.

Tanaami Keiichi (1936-) is an artist, illustrator and animator with some multiple-projection work. Active in psychedelic art and poster design, he took part in the design of **Killer Joe's**.

Terayama Shūji (1935-1983) is a poet, scriptwriter, theatre director, writer and filmmaker. He participated in **EX POSE '68**, **Jazz Laboratory JEUNE** and facilitated the **Underground Centre** screenings through use of his theatre, Tenjō Sajiki. He showed his films and staged his theatre productions at **Sōgetsu Art Centre** and **Art Theatre Shinjuku Bunka**.

Tone Yasunao (1935-) is a composer, musician and artist. He was a member of **Group Ongaku**, co-organised and participated in the **Intermedia Art Festival**, participated in **Fluxus Week**, **Sweet 16**, frequented the **VAN Film Science Research Centre**, exhibited at **Naiqua Gallery** and composed music for films by **Jōnouchi Motoharu** and **Iimura Takahiko**.

Tōno Yoshiaki (1930-2005) was considered one of the most important art critics of his generation. As a young critic, he studied under **Hanada Kiyoteru** in Society of the Documentary Arts. He took part in the **Environment Society** and participated in **Cross Talk Intermedia**.

Yamaguchi Katsuhiko (1928-) is an artist. He is a founding member of **Jikken Kōbō**, **Environment Society** and Video Hiroba. He was a participant of **Fluxus Week**, **EX POSE '68**, **Cross Talk Intermedia** and **Expo '70**. He co-organised **Fluxus Week**,

exhibited in **From Space to Environment** exhibition. Works discussed include *Lulu* (1967).

Yamanaka Nobuo (1948-1982) was an artist. He was a member of the **Bikyōtō Revolution Committee** and exhibited at **Equivalent Cinema**. Works discussed include *To Project a Film of Filmed River on a River* (1971).

Yuasa Jōji (1929-) is a composer, musician and artists. He was a founding member of **Jikken Kōbō**, an organiser and participant of the Cross Talk series including **Cross Talk Intermedia**, a participant of **Expo '70**.

Key Groups:

8 Generation was a collective of filmmakers founded in 1963 and led by **Kawanaka Nobuhiro**. With strong relationships with **Zero Jigen**, the group considered the recording and exhibition of film as a performance. Also involved in performance art, the group mainly used 8mm cameras, performed at **Intermedia Art Festival** and **Art Theatre Shinjuku Bunka** and presented films at **Theatre Scorpio**.

Bikyōtō Revolution Committee was a second phase of an artists' collective formed out of research groups of primarily art students in 1971. The first phase, *Bijutsuka Kyōtō kaigi* (Artists' Joint-Struggle Council), was formed in 1968. Its members include. Its members included **Yamanaka Nobuo**, Hikosaka Naoyoshi, Hori Kōsai and **Tone Yasunao**.

Film Independents founded in 1964 by **Ishizaki Kōichirō**, **Iimura Takahiko**, **Satō Jyūshin**, Ōbayashi Nobuhiko and Donald Richie. Later joined by **Adachi Masao** and **Kanesaka Kenji**, the group was a collective of independent filmmakers primarily comprised of those who received a group award at EXPRMNTL 3 (1963) in Knokke-le-Zoute, Belgium.

Group Ongaku is considered the first improvised music group in Japan. Founded in 1958 by **Takehisa Kosugi** and Mizuno Shūzō, its members included **Shiomi Mieko** and **Tone Yasunao**. The group performed many times in **Sōgetsu Art Centre** and reformed for **Cross Talk Intermedia**.

Gutai Art Association was founded in Osaka by Yoshihara Jirō and were active between 1954-1972. Considered pioneers in light art, air art, happenings and electronic art, the group participated in **Expo '70**. Members included **Kanayama Akira** and **Imai Norio**.

Hi Red Centre was founded in 1963 by Akasegawa Genpei, Nakanishi Natsuyuki and **Takamatsu Jirō**. The group exhibited at **Naiqua Gallery** and its members collaborated with **Kazakura Shō**, **Hijikata Tatsumi**, **Jōnouchi Motoharu** and **Iimura Takahiko**.

Jikken Kōbō, active between 1951-1958 in Tokyo, the group comprised of fourteen members including **Yamaguchi Katsuhiko**, **Yuasa Jōji**, **Akiyama Kuniharu** and Takemitsu Tōru. Considered a key postwar art collective in Japan, the group embraced technology, collaboration with industry and multimedia presentations. Their Autoslide projections can be seen as precedents to intermedia art and expanded cinema that came

into prominence a decade later. Many of its members participated in **From Space to Environment, Cross Talk Intermedia** and **Expo '70**.

Neo-Dadaism Organisers was founded and disbanded in 1960 with members including **Shinohara Ushio**, **Kazakura Shō**, Akasegawa Genpei, Yoshimura Yoshinobu and Arakawa Shūsaku.

Three-Person Animation Circle was founded by Kuri Yōji, Yanagihara Ryōhie and **Manabe Hiroshi** in 1960. The group were active in **Sōgetsu Art Centre**, where they held the first Animation Festival (1966). Their presentations involved multiple projection and performances with projection, marking them as key precedents of expanded cinema in Japan.

Zero Jigen was a performance art collective founded in 1960 in Nagoya by Katō Yoshihiro and Ishida Shin'ichi. Forming a central part of the Joint Struggle to Destroy the Festival and Anti-Expo group, the group exhibited at **Naiqua Gallery** and featured in films by **Matsumoto Toshio**, **Miyai Rikurō** and many more.

Key Spaces:

Angura Pop (1968-unknown) was a discotheque disguised as a café and restaurant. Designed by Kawamura Yukio, the space housed many events including **Psyche-Delicious Intermedia Piece #1** and Phantom Black Festival, which included performances by **Zero Jigen**.

Art Theatre Shinjuku Bunka (1962-1974) was one of the ten cinemas of the Art Theatre Guild of Japan (ATG), a distribution and exhibition outlet set up across the country to screen foreign arthouse and local independent films. Located in Shinjuku, Tokyo, it was considered the centrepiece cinema and, under the management of Kuzui Kinshirō, the space was used for late-night theatre productions, performance and experimental film screenings. **8 Generation**, **Matsumoto Toshio**, **Three-Person Animation Circle** and **Adachi Masao** are just a few names that performed or screened in the space.

Killer Joe's (1968-) was a discotheque in Ginza designed by **Miyai Rikurō** and Hayata Yasuhiro with illustrations by **Tanaami Keiichi**. It was one of the venues where **Intermedia Art Festival** was held.

Modern Art (1966-unknown) began as a small theatre in Shinjuku, Tokyo, where avant-garde theatre, film screenings and live jazz performances took place. Although it eventually became a strip theatre, its strip shows incorporated avant-garde theatre and film projection. Artists Tachimi Tadahiro and Maki Akira organised performances at this venue.

Modern Art Centre of Japan (1965-unknown) was an art space located in Meshiro, Tokyo, ran by critic Yoshida Yoshie, where film projection, performances and exhibitions took place. Holding events like Muse Week, the space housed screenings and performances by **Kazakura Shō**, **Adachi Masao** and **Zero Jigen**.

Naiqua Gallery (1963-1966) was a gallery space where many young artists exhibited after the closure of Yomiuri Independents exhibition series in 1963. Exhibiting works by **Shinohara Ushio**, Ono Yoko, **Tone Yasunao** and **Hi Red Centre**, the gallery also held the first gallery screenings in Japan with works by **Iimura Takahiko** and Ōbayashi Nobuhiko.

Runami Gallery (1963-1998) was a gallery space ran by Emiko Namikawa. It held many events and exhibitions, including **Intermedia**, events by **Zero Jigen** and Group Sweet (including **Shinohara Ushio**), and the Runami Film Gallery, with screenings of works by **Jōnouchi Motoharu** and Ōbayashi Nobuhiko.

Sōgetsu Art Centre (1958-1971) was the major centre for avant-garde arts in postwar Japan. Managed by **Teshigahara Hiroshi**, it was built in the basement of the Sōgetsu Kaikan in Akasaka, Tokyo, a school for flower arrangement ran by his father Teshigahara Sōfū (1900-1979). It was the space where the following events were held: **Sweet 16**, **EX POSE '68: Say Something Now, I'm Trying** and **Tokyo Film Art Festival 1968**, the first experimental film festival in Japan.

Theatre Scorpio (1967-1974) was an underground theatre and cinema space. Located in the basement of the **Art Theatre Shinjuku Bunka**, the space was managed by Kuzui Kinshirō and screened works and/or performances by **Adachi Masao**, **Iimura Takahiko**, **Shūzō Azuchi Gulliver** and **8 Generation**.

Underground Centre (1972-1977) began with the Japan Filmmakers' Co-operative (1968-1969) that was set up as a distribution outlet for independent filmmakers. After disagreements concerning the Joint Struggle to Destroy the Festival, **Satō Jyūshin** and **Kawanaka Nobuhiro** set up the Japan Underground Centre (1969-1971) to continue distribution and exhibition of such works. After disagreeing with Satō, Kawanaka set up the **Underground Centre** (1972-1977), which eventually became the Image Forum (1977-).

VAN Film Science Research Centre (1960-1969) was founded by **Jōnouchi Motoharu**, **Adachi Masao**, Kanbara Hiroshi, Asanuma Naoya and Kawajima Keishi branching out of the Nihon University Film Studies Club. As well as being a film processing lab with projection equipment, it became a communal living space where artists, including **Kosugi Takehisa**, **Kazakura Shō**, **Tone Yasunao**, members of **Hi Red Centre**, **Iimura Takahiko** and Ono Yoko frequented. The research centre produced the film and the event, *Document 6.15* (1961-2).

A Chronology of Key (Group) Events:

Jazz Film Laboratory JEUNE (21-22 October 1960) at Video Hall, Yūrakuchō, Tokyo, was a screening of films made by artists working in other mediums, including **Terayama Shūji**, Takemitsu Tōru and Hosoe Eikoh, whose film featured **Hijikata Tatsumi**.

Document 6.15 (15 June 1962) at Kudan Hall was organised by Zengakuren and **Jōnouchi Motoharu**. The projection that included slides, film and live performance was conducted by **Tone Yasunao** with participants **Kosugi Takehisa**, **Ichiyanagi Toshi**, **Kazakura Shō**, Ono Yoko and **Adachi Masao**.

1st Naiqua Cinematheque (8-9 August 1963) at **Naiqua Gallery** was a film screening series organised by **Iimura Takahiko**. Participants included Ōbayashi Nobuhiko and members of **Hi Red Centre** as discussants, and **Tone Yasunao's** graphic score. It launched a series of film screenings at the gallery.

Sweet 16 (3-5 December 1963) at **Sōgetsu Art Centre**. Performance event organised by **Kuni Chiya** with participants including **Kazakura Shō, Kosugi Takehisa, Tone Yasunao** and **Iimura Takahiko**, who presented *Screen Play*.

Fluxus Week (8, 9, 11, 14 September 1964) at Ginza Crystal Gallery, Tokyo, was organised by **Akiyama Kuniharu, Ichiyanagi Toshi** and **Yamaguchi Katsuhiko** with participation from **Tone Yasunao** and **Shiomi Mieko**. It is considered the first major presentation of Fluxus works in Japan.

A Commercial for Myself (16-17 December 1964) at Kinokuniya Hall, Tokyo, was a screening of two-minute short films organised by the **Film Independents**. Participants included **Iimura Takahiko, Kazakura Shō, Tone Yasunao, Ōbayashi Nobuhiko, Donald Richie** and **Akasegawa Genpei**.

From Space to Environment (11-16 November 1966) was an exhibition held at Matsuya Department Store Gallery, Ginza, and an event held at **Sōgetsu Art Centre**. Organised by the **Environment Society**, the exhibition showed works by **Awazu Kiyoshi, Imai Norio, Takamatsu Jirō** and **Yamaguchi Katsuhiko**, and participation from **Akiyama Kuniharu, Ichiyanagi Toshi, Tōno Yoshiaki** and others for the event.

Shinjuku Art Festival (27-28 December 1966) at **Art Theatre Shinjuku Bunka** was two evenings of performances with participants including **8 Generation, Kurohata** and **Zero Jigen**.

Pull Event (19 January 1967) was an event at **Sōgetsu Art Centre** organised by **Kanesaka Kenji** and conducted by **Tone Yasunao** to make a live improvised composition of Kanesaka's film *Hopscotch*. Participants included **Miyai Rikurō, Satō Jyūshin, Takemitsu Tōru** and **Ōbayashi Nobuhiko**.

Intermedia (23-28 May 1967) at Runami Gallery, Ginza, Tokyo, was the first presentation of 'intermedia' in Japan. Organised by critics **Ishizaki Kōichirō, Satō Jyūshin** and manager of **Runami Gallery, Namikawa Emiko**, the exhibition and event included works by **Ōnishi Seiji, Adachi Masao, Kazakura Shō, Kanesaka Kenji, Tone Yasunao, Miyai Rikurō** and **Jōnouchi Motoharu**.

Psyche-Delicious Intermedia Piece #1 (24 February 1968) at **Angura Pop** was organised by **Kanesaka Kenji** and **Kazumata Kōichi**. Considered the first 'psychedelic' event in Japan, participants included **Shinohara Ushio, Shūzō Azuchi Gulliver, Miyai Rikurō, Ōbayashi Nobuhiko** and the all-female dance group **Bizarre Ballet Group**.

EX POSE '68: Say Something Now, I'm Trying (10, 15, 20, 25 and 30 April 1968) was held at **Sōgetsu Art Centre** and organised by **Awazu Kiyoshi** who also participated. Other participants included **Matsumoto Toshio, Shinohara Ushio, Akiyama Kuniharu** and **Tōno Yoshiaki**.

Two Men Shy in the Face of Andy Warhol (12 July - 4 August 1968) was an event series organised by **Shūzō Azuchi Gulliver** and **Miyai Rikurō** at Noa Noa, Shinjuku, and Theatre Pit Inn, Shinjuku, every Saturday, that involved presentations of their films.

ZONE (8, 14 and 19 November 1968) at the Mainichi Shimbun Branch Office 3rd Floor Hall was organised by the **Art Film Association**. The events involved the presentation of films and happenings. Participants included **Imai Norio**, **Matsumoto Shōji**, **Shūzō Azuchi Gulliver** and **Miyai Rikurō**.

This is 8 Generation! (11-14 and 18-21 November 1968) was an event series organised by **8 Generation** at Theatre Pitt Inn that involved happenings and films. Participants included Kokuin and **Zero Jigen**.

Image Speaks! (12-19 January 1969) was a series of events held at Galerie 16, Kyoto, where a dome-screen was installed for the projection of films and happenings. A follow-up event, **Image Speaks! Continued**, took place at Shinanobashi Gallery, Osaka (4-9 February 1969). Both events were organised by the **Art Film Association**, including **Imai Norio**, **Matsumoto Shōji** and Kawaguchi Tatsuo, and participants included **Shūzō Azuchi Gulliver** and **Miyai Rikurō**.

Intermedia Art Festival (18-19, 21 January 1969) at **Killer Joe's** and Nikkei Hall respectively, was an event series organised by **Tone Yasunao**, **Kosugi Takehisa** and **Shiomi Mieko**. It included many performances based on Fluxus instructions and a performance **Ichiyanaigi Toshi** and **Shuzō Azuchi Gulliver**.

Cross Talk Intermedia (5-7 February 1969) at Yoyogi Gymnasium was the fourth in the series of Cross Talk events sponsored by the American Cultural Centre and organised by Roger and Karen Reynolds, **Akiyama Kuniharu** and **Yuasa Jōji**. The event included performances by **Matsumoto Toshio**, **Yuasa Jōji**, **Yamaguchi Katsuhiko**, **Takehisa Kosugi**, **Shiomi Mieko**, **Iimura Takahiko**, balloons by **Shinohara Ushio** and scheduled to include **Hijikata Tatsumi**.

8 Generation + Intermedia Show (22-23 February 1969) at Theatre 36, Nagoya, was organised by Zero Jigen and involved happenings and films. Participants included **Zero Jigen**.

1970 World Exposition in Osaka (Expo '70) (15 March - 13 September 1970) was the first world exposition in Asia. Highly controversial for bringing together art and industry, participants included **Matsumoto Toshio**, **Awazu Kiyoshi**, **Yamaguchi Katsuhiko**, **Hijikata Tatsumi**, **Miyai Rikurō**, **Ichiyanaigi Toshi** and **Imai Norio**.

Expanded Art Festival (21 March 1970) at Kishi Memorial Gymnasium in Shibuya, Tokyo, was organised by Yoshida Yoshie. Among dance and performances, the event included an expanded cinema collaboration between **Ōnishi Seiji** and **Iimura Takahiko**.

Cine-Happening Festival (13-27 June 1970) was a series of events with film and performances organised by **Japan Underground Centre** at Ikebukuro Art Theatre,

Tokyo. Participants included **Adachi Masao**, **Kosugi Takehisa** and the Taj Mahal Travellers.

Equivalent Cinema (14-19 October 1972) at Kyoto Municipal Museum of Art. Organised as the 5th edition of the Exhibition of Contemporary Plastic Arts (1968-), it was a group exhibition of sixteen artists and 23 projectors in one room. Organised by **Imai Norio** and **Matsumoto Shōji**, who also participated, the exhibition is considered the first major presentation of film *Play*.