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INTERMEDIA ART AND MUSIC IN 1960s JAPAN

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Cover image: Image based on Shiomi Mieko's *Shadow Piece* (1963).
Courtesy of Natalie Schiesser.

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To Yoko and Kaoru

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ABOUT THE COVER IMAGE

Artist and graphic designer Natalie Schiesser created an image based on Japanese intermedia artist Shiomi Mieko's *Shadow Piece* (1963) for the cover of this book. *Shadow Piece* is a work that I discuss in the introduction as undergirding the notion of intermedia woven across the course of the book. Thank you, Natalie, and thank you, Shiomi-sensei for going along with the proposal.

Shiomi created her instruction-based pieces to mail to friends around the world, who would send her their responses. The responses often took the form of a photograph, an image, a poem, or a written description. For Shiomi, the pieces afforded her a connection to multiple people and places simultaneously when she could not physically be there.

With Natalie, who lives across a sea, in Switzerland, I share some of my deepest coming-of-age memories of exploring the limits of art, music, and philosophy as expressions of Swiss teenage rebellion. Natalie's version of *Shadow Piece* is a blurry shadow of headphones on her wall. Perhaps she was thinking of our years together growing up, when we spent many hours listening to CDs on the bus and going to shows. For me, the red-tinted shadowy blurs on the white walls "dissolve" the pure red and white of the Japanese (and Swiss) flag, which is close to the heart of one of the main ideas of the book about complicating/blurring the notion of nation. The color and fuzziness also remind me of light shining through flesh. Where the "body" was often removed from theories and histories of modernism and experimentalism in twentieth-century music, the account of intermedia in the book frequently foregrounds the materiality of the gendered and racialized body, so that is also a connection. Throughout the book, I return to themes of intermedia as a kind of blur—between shadow and light, noise and sound, and meaning and its obfuscation.

The piece signals visions of artistic community materialized across borders and media—both a major theme in the book and my personal lived experience of friendship and artistic connection across continents.

NOTE ON NAMES AND LANGUAGE

Japanese names of artists appear as family name first, followed by given name, except for the cases of Yoko Ono and Toshiko Akiyoshi, who are US-based artists whose professional names generally appear as given name first, followed by the family name. Japanese words appear in italics, unless the word is common in the English language. Macrons are used for Japanese words but omitted from proper nouns such as the Sogetsu Art Center, which typically omits the macron in materials produced by Sogetsu.

FIGURES

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This book records a journey guided by the wisdom of so many. The worldviews it proposes through the lens of intermedia are deeply informed by the artists and thinkers who guided me along the path. I am grateful to Shiomi Mieko, who taught me about the profound joy and power that lies in noticing the beauty in the details of everyday life; Takahashi Yūji patiently sat with me through interviews, where his prolonged silences and gestures were as profound as his words. Fujieda Mamoru would go out of his way to meet me in special spaces that were significant to the history of the Japanese avant-garde. Konoike Tsunataka was pivotal in challenging the way I thought about the project of experimental practice at the intersection of the avant-garde and Godzilla. Roger and Karen Reynolds kindly invited me to their home, an awe-inspiring living archive of their life's work and ongoing creative pursuits. Tone Yasunao, Yuasa Jōji and Ichiyanagi Toshi passed away during the later stages of this project, but their memory continues to inspire me each time I sit with this text. Tone Yasunao, always provocative but also playful with his pronouncements, challenged me to keep asking questions. Yuasa was the first composer I met with as I embarked on this project; each encounter with him reminded me anew of his unmatched energy, whether it was delighting in talking about driving Cage around Tokyo in a yellow car branded with an S&B Curry advertisement, or dashing off to catch the Shinkansen for his next gig. Ichiyanagi, too, never seemed to stop, and while he would agree to meet with me to discuss "the 1960s," he was really always about the present. "Results are a thing of the past," (*kekka towa kakoda*) are words he wrote in 1961, and that was the pronouncement he lived by.

I offer my deepest gratitude to my teachers and advisors who helped me embark on this journey: to Bonnie Wade, whose intellectual and professional guidance offered with unwavering support laid the foundation for my doctoral studies and professional career as a scholar. To Jocelyne Guilbault, whose scholarly rigor set a model for all her students. To Trinh T. Minh-ha

whose practice of scholarship as a creative (intermedial) practice that always questioned existing frameworks of being and thought profoundly shaped how I have come to think about intermedia. To Miryam Sas who opened my eyes to a world of Japanese experimental arts and their study. To Joe Auner, who provided incredible support over two decades at every stage of my career, and my teachers at Stony Brook University—Judy Lochhead, Sarah Fuller, Jane Sugarman, and Fred Moehn—who took a chance that let me pursue a path in music scholarship in the first place.

Thank you to my peers during my graduate study for everything from food, a place to sleep, friendship, and kindness to tolerate drafts and offer feedback on practice presentations on work in its most nascent stages. Kendra Salois was the first person I met when I went to visit Berkeley. Her generosity as a friend and brilliant thinker has been a source of constant support. The peers in my ethnomusicology cohort—Sumitra Ranganathan and Robbie Beahrs—were always there to back me up without asking. Nick Tochka, my officemate at Stony Brook with his incredible work ethic and sense of humor was formative to my graduate studies; Laura Barger, the amazing pianist, whose friendship and famous biscuits continue to sustain me.

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and my colleagues in music for their wisdom and insight—Thomas Peattie, Brita Heimarck, Andrew Shenton and Jeremy Yudkin in Musicology and Ethnomusicology; Joshua Fineberg, Ketty Nez, Richard Cornell, and Rodney Lister in composition.

I am also grateful to the support of archivists and staff at the libraries and archives, in particular the C. V. Starr East Asian Library and the Music Library at UC Berkeley, the Keio University Art Center, the National Diet Library, the Sogetsu Library, the Toyama Kazuyuki Memorial Archives of Japanese Music, the New York Public Library, the Harvard-Yenching Library, the Museum of Modern Art Library and Archives, and the Rockefeller Archive Center.

I write these words of the book's acknowledgment section with gratitude at the New York University Center for the Humanities. I have been blessed with the support and kindness of colleagues who welcomed me with incredible kindness. Brigid Cohen, Michael Beckerman, Fanny Gribenski and the Department of Music in Arts and Science, Thomas Looser in East Asian Studies, and Cristina Vatulescu, Ulrich Baer, Denelia Valentin, Caila Bowen, and the fellows at the Center whose commitment to a shared practice of deep thinking have made even these trying times filled with many occasions of joy.

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Finally, thank you to my friends and family members who have been with

me all along, watching, waiting, being present with their love and brilliance: Natalie Schiesser, the extraordinary maker of this book's cover art, who has been there since the ideas of this project were microscopic seeds. K-Sue Park, Magdalena Moskalewicz, Zanna Gilbert, Betty, Alan, Leanne, Kurt, Sharyn, and Ben; my parents Yoko and Kaoru, for showing me a path guided by abundance and beauty. Tomo and Aiyrah, thank you for your gifts of love, hugs, and mountains of art. Russell, you are living proof that the impossible is possible.

I am deeply indebted to the people and institutions that have inspired and informed the ideas in this book. That said, I do not speak on their behalf, and any shortcomings or inaccuracies in these pages are mine alone.

Prologue

The "John Cage Shock" was a Fiction
The 1960s Japanese Avant-Garde and Experimental Music as a Transnational Practice

Lore has it that American composers John Cage and David Tudor's 1962 trip to Japan shocked the Japanese musical avant-garde into action and launched them into the international scene. Hosted by the Sogetsu Art Center (SAC), Cage and Tudor embarked on a 6-week tour of Japan, accompanied by a group of Japanese musicians that included Yoko Ono, Ichiyanagi Toshi, Takahashi Yūji, and Mayuzumi Toshirō. Critic Yoshida Hidekazu has described the feeling of excitement around Cage's visit as "John Cage shock," a phrase that has tinted discourse among scholars, critics, and fans about the 1960s Japanese avant-garde ever since.

In the 1969 published roundtable conversation looking back on the 1960s appearing in the preeminent Japanese music journal *Ongaku Geijutsu*, Yoshida proclaims the "John Cage shock" as the story of the decade.[1] However, Akiyama Kuniharu resists the narrative that over-emphasizes the impact of a single composer. Instead, Akiyama and the others reflect on how Cage's visit coincided with a sense of growing innovations in experimental music in Japan since the late 1950s. The term "John Cage shock" has continued to make regular appearances in publications since 1969. However, I have found no evidence of Yoshida using the term before 1969. If 1969 was indeed the time that Yoshida coined the term, it means that Yoshida's notion of the "John Cage shock" was a retroactive idea aimed at summary and impactful narrative, rather than a response to the immediate moment of Cage's visit that took place several years before.[2] And yet, reductively, Yoshida's proclamation set the stage for an understanding, or rather misunderstanding, of Cage's oversized role in shaping the Japanese avant-garde. The phrase has come to

encapsulate general assumptions about the relationship between Cage and the Japanese avant-garde with striking efficiency; in the transnational context of the American artist visiting Japan, the phrase suggests that the Japanese avant-garde, supposedly still in a formative stage looking Westward, were the recipients of a shock delivered by a single white, male composer.[3]

Sitting in his loft in Chinatown New York in 2012, the artist and musician Tone Yasunao told me, "The whole notion of 'John Cage shock' was a fiction!" Tone explained: "Cage's music and ideas weren't such a shock—Japanese people accepted them with relative ease. After all, Cage himself said that Japan was the first country to recognize and understand what he was doing."[4]

Examples from the Japanese musical avant-garde from the years around 1960 demonstrate the contemporaneity, or in some cases even precedence, of experimental musicians in Japan exploring practices that have generally been deemed or assumed to have originated in the United States or Western Europe. Shock was in the air, and artists were eager to overturn the sanctioned practices of traditional Western concert music in which they had been trained. Yoko Ono's performances brought actions from everyday life ranging from the mundane (waiting, staring) to the erotic (caressing, climaxing) onto the stage. In journalist Yano Jun'ichi's description, Ono's performance "shocked" him.[5] "Shock" is the word photographer Yoshioka Yasuhiro also used to describe his reaction to Ono's concert in the spring of 1962.[6] Just the year before, Ichiyanagi Toshi had challenged the fundamental premises of music when he introduced "happenings"—performances based on actions on stage rather than anything resembling traditional vocal or instrumental performance. In the pamphlet accompanying his recital, he declares, "Music is an event. Music is an action."[7] Cage's arrival in this scene was only one part of this already thriving avant-garde. Japanese experimental artists (such as the members of Tone's collective Group Ongaku) had already been exploring ideas about juxtapositions of everyday sounds and chance independently of Cage.[8] This book revisits the value of "shock" altogether and makes a case for the value of qualities beyond shock in the Japanese avant-garde. In contrast to a conception of the avant-garde that centers on "shock," I locate an ethos of experimental practice in Japan that thrived despite, or perhaps even because of the constant fact of the potential for something to go wrong or get lost in the noise in the circuits of transnational motion. Staying with these misses and misunderstandings, this book thinks about how the misses might also be understood as productive and generative.

Cage found new approaches to his compositional practice in Japan, and

this book hopes to restore some of the reciprocity obscured by the idea of a "John Cage shock." Traveling through Kyoto, Osaka, Tokyo, and Sapporo, Cage visited sites crucial to Zen Buddhism, which had been an ongoing interest of his. But he also learned about the experimental musical practices of Japanese composers, and new sonic possibilities for electronic music through his work with engineer Okuyama Jūnosuke at the Sogetsu Art Center.[9] In a lecture following his trip to Japan titled "Japanese Contemporary Music," Cage reveals how he was influenced by composers including Mayuzumi Toshirō, Takemitsu Tōru, engineer Okuyama Jūnosuke, Tone Yasunao, Ichiyanagi Toshi, and Kuniharu Akiyama.[10] (A notable omission by Cage is Yoko Ono, whom Cage had already encountered in New York on multiple occasions as an artist and composer, and who acted as guide, translator, and performer during Cage and Tudor's performance tour across Japan.) In one passage from this lecture Cage states:

> In the experimental group in Tokyo there is a composer by the name of Tone. I was delighted to discover that a composition which I have not yet written is in the area in which he is working, namely to discover some way to use maps of the Earth's surface in order to yield directions for the performance of music. I have in my "Atlas Eclipticalis" made music from maps of the stars, and my intention now is to make it from maps of the earth. And Tone is already doing this. A most extraordinary music that some people might not call music at all, consisting of wide spaces of silence with only a few (and to many ears very unsatisfactory) sounds dropped into these spaces of silence.[11]

This passage presents the voice of an established composer acknowledging an instance of *something new that has been done* by a young Japanese composer before Cage himself had gotten around to it. While Cage acknowledges Tone, he also asserts his own originality by claiming the initial idea: *"I have in my 'Atlas Eclipticalis' [also] made music from maps of the stars."* Cage's words minimize the originality of Tone's experiment at the same time that they express admiration for it.

Zen also influenced Cage's music and philosophy. He encountered Zen both in the United States through Suzuki Daisetsu, a Buddhist scholar and monk with an international career, as well as through figures in the transnational avant-garde like Yoko Ono. Cage met Ono when she was a bilingual composition student at Sarah Lawrence College, well-versed in Zen and Sartre as well as Marx and Hegel because she had been the first female philoso-

phy student at Gakushuin University. The notion of "John Cage shock" masks the story of the ongoing relationships and friendships that Cage had already established with Japanese composers such as Ichiyanagi and Ono in the years before his visit to Japan.[12]

The focus of this book is intermedia art, a multimedia practice that combined sound and moving image in self-consciously non-traditional combinations, which took root in 1960s Japan. With a focus on the multimedia avant-garde artistic practice referred to as intermedia, this story is about a vibrant moment for the Japanese avant-garde, and also about the mundane and repetitive aspects of an avant-garde as a social practice. It is a story that includes composers, where the composers are also listeners, and parts of collectives. It is a story about Japan and America that goes beyond a narrative of American impact. Instead, it considers Japan's long history of modernism and experimental practice, American culture in Japan, and Japan's inventions of its version of the West. It is a story of invention, and also a story concerned with the productive outcomes of misunderstandings and mishearings in the labor of artistic transmission.

The Village ~~Vanguard~~ Gate and Tadpoles: Two Paths to/from Cage

If Cage had his personal investments in Japan, Japanese composers also formed differing personal relationships with the idea of John Cage as a figure. In 1958 (or *thereabouts—we're not entirely sure*), Ichiyanagi met John Cage at the Village Vanguard (*or was it the Gate?*), a jazz club at the center of the New York downtown avant-garde. They were both there for a concert featuring David Tudor. At the time, Ichiyanagi was an international student attending the Juilliard School, the world-renowned school of arts, on a scholarship. Taking an interest in the artist from Japan, Cage invited Ichiyanagi to meet with him the next day, or, perhaps it was the day after, according to Ichiyanagi's recollection.[13] Excited, Ichiyanagi wanted to write a piece in the style of Cage. But Ichiyanagi's knowledge of Cage's actual music was limited. He knew that Cage's thinking and compositional process differed completely from the European avant-garde and Americans like Aaron Copland. Ichiyanagi had learned about Cage's music through hearsay, and he had also heard some of Cage's music, but at this point, he had never seen a Cage score. So, he did what an enterprising musician (and college student) might do before a

deadline. Overnight, he wrote a piece guided by what he heard in his imagination to be in the style of Cage. The musical result was *Music for Piano* No. 1.

Mayuzumi Toshirō, another composer who became acquainted with Cage in New York around the same time as Ichiyanagi, took a different path. A curious piece by Mayuzumi called *Tadpoles Music* (1962) presents a challenge to the assumption that Japanese composers were merely mimics. Featured in an exhibition that notably took place before the larger-scale *Exhibition of World Graphic Scores* at the Minami Gallery, Mayuzumi's piece was on view for the show *4 Composers – Exhibition of Graphic Score* held at the Tokyo Gallery in April of 1962.

Tadpoles Music consists of a small fish tank containing live tadpoles placed over a sheet, which resembles blank staff paper with two sets of five lines. *Tadpoles* plays on a few ideas—the first is the comical take on the Japanese word for tadpoles, *otamajakushi*, which is colloquially used to refer to notes based on tadpoles' visual resemblance to single quarter notes and eighth notes. In alignment with Cage's interests in graphic notation, *Tadpoles* also dissolves the fixity and rationality of the old Western notation by using live tadpoles in water. The piece depends on indeterminate timings that rely on the movement of tadpoles. Yet, the instructions for *Tadpoles* music, which are placed next to the fish tank, seem to parody both Cagean chance operations and his Zen koan-inspired forms of communication: in the first half of the instructions, Mayuzumi instructs the player to select sounds based on the location of the tadpoles in relation to the lines.[14] While allowing room for any amount of interpretive freedom in the choice of instrument ("free, but preferably a keyboard instrument"), and sound ("contrasting durations," but played "as fast as possible"), his instructions ultimately remove responsibility and creative agency from the performer—and the tadpoles. In the final sentence of the instructions, Mayuzumi reveals that the performance should happen zero times, with "no performances, which is also to say to infinity—until the tadpoles become frogs and leave the tank—determining only the intended sound for the duration of performance." There is a possibility that his graphic scores are sheer parodies and nonsense works, but there is a clear sense of connection with the Cagean approach while being neither rigorous nor clear about the motivation behind the invocation of Cagean aesthetics. While mimicking Cagean visual and written language, Mayuzumi's piece ultimately forecloses both interpretation and performance for the performer, leaving both performer

an exibition of world graphic scores

anhalt ashley
berio behrman brown brecht bussotti cage cardew cerha charpentier evangelisti
feldman haubenstock-ramati helms higgins ichiyanagi kager krums la monte
ligeti matsudaira mumma mercure otte paik paterson penderecki pousseur
rose schnebel stockhausen takahashi takemitsu tone wolff xenakis yuasa

アメリカの前衛作曲家ジョン・ケージ氏が来日したのを機会に、世界各国の前衛作曲家の新しい楽譜の紹介展をひらくことになりました。

最近問題になつている五線音符を拒絶してしまつたいわゆるグラフィック・スコア（図形楽譜）は、たんなる楽譜のニュー・スタイルとか進化の問題として登場してきたものではありません。

一九五〇年以後、ジョン・ケージを中心としたアメリカの若い作曲家のあいだで、従来のヨーロッパ的な <音楽> という概念とはまつたく異質の <不確定性> の音楽が大胆にすすめられてきました。この新しい音楽の冒険のなかからうまれてきた申し子が、グラフィック・スコアです。またこのような新しい楽譜が存在しなければ、<不確定性> の音楽を演奏することは不可能です。

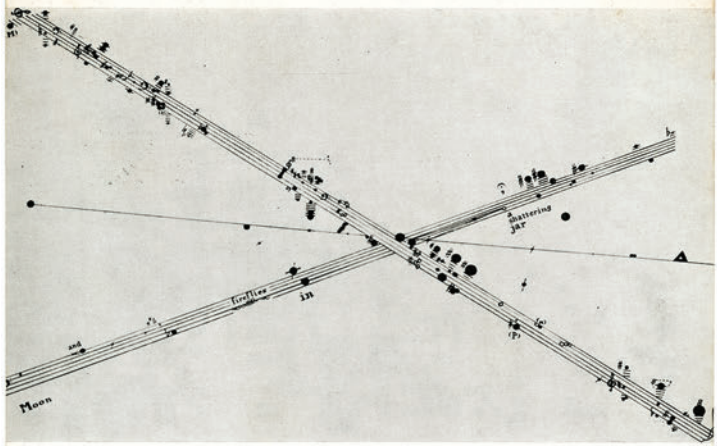
これまで、音楽は、演奏会場のなかで美しく鳴りひびく音楽だけを対象としていました。作曲家は、このような飼いならされた美意識を秩序づけ、構成し、結晶させて、かれの小宇宙を確定的に楽譜に決定しました。しかし現代の生活では、人間が唱える合理や必然、予想や秩序や計算は、つねに偶然という事実の世界によつて裏切られます。むしろわれわれをおびやかすそのようなきびしい偶然を果敢にとりいれ、偶然や物質（騒音）そのものから、新しい音楽の問題をひきずりだそうとするのが、不確定性の音楽でグラフィックな楽譜なのです。

ケージのこうした不確定性の音楽の思想とその方法は、ヨーロッパを含めた世界各国の若い作曲家たちにも強い影響をあたえています。

今回は、この展覧会のために送られてきた世界各国の前衛作曲家四十数名の新作を含めた百数十点を紹介します。

秋山邦晴・一柳慧

尚、会期中の十一月十二日（月）夜八時から、ジョン・ケージ氏が演奏を行います。



世界の新しい楽譜展

南 画廊 11.10-11.20 1962

minami gallery tanpei bldg., 3,3-chome, nihonbashi-tori, chuo-ku, tokyo. tel.(271) 8616·1661

Figure 1. Flyer for *An Exhibition of World Graphic Scores*, November 10, 1962, through November 20, 1962. Minami Gallery, Tokyo, Japan. The Gilbert and Lila Silverman Fluxus Collection Archives, I.24. The Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York. © The Museum of Modern Art/ Licensed by SCALA / Art Resource, NY.

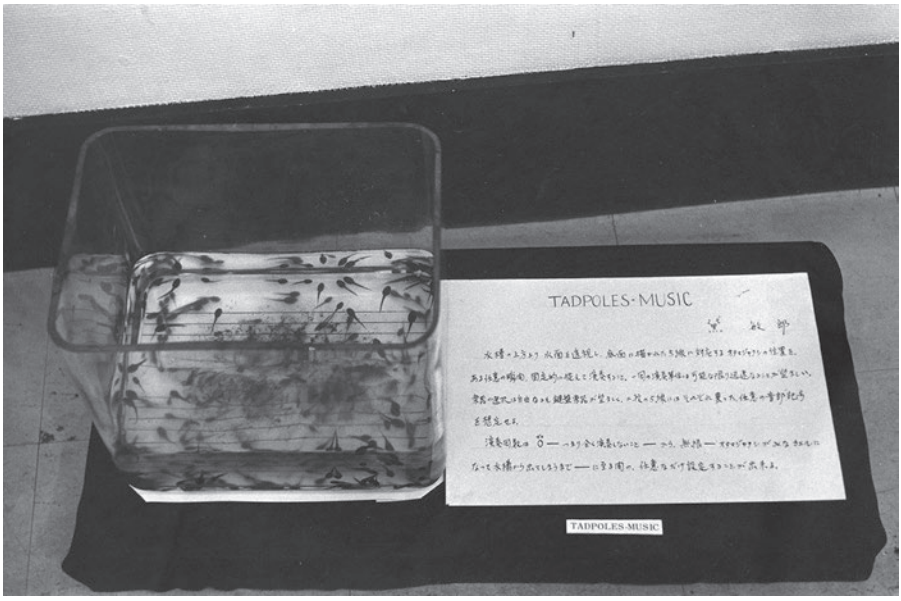


Figure 2. Installation view of Mayuzumi Toshirō's *Tadpoles Music at 4 Composers – Exhibition of Graphic Score: Toshi Ichiyanagi, Toshiro Mayuzumi, Yuji Takahashi, Toru Takemitsu* at Tokyo Gallery, Tokyo, Japan, April 16, 1962 through April 26, 1962. The Gilbert and Lila Silverman Fluxus Collection Archives, I.11. The Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York. © The Museum of Modern Art/Licensed by SCALA / Art Resource, NY.

and spectator trapped in a space of interpretive gridlock and contradiction. The result is both an active engagement with forms of graphic notation with contemporary international currency while simultaneously asking critical questions about its viability.

In his writing, Mayuzumi has analyzed Cage's concepts as they manifested musically in sound, through techniques such as the prepared piano.[15] By contrast, the influential critic Akiyama Kuniharu focused on Cage's artistic philosophy, and concepts such as chance and coincidence, and celebrated the kinds of thinking that Cage opened up to look beyond a narrow concept of the "musical work" as a fixed, completed composition. Akiyama went further, picking up ideas about the synthesis between the arts, and art and life from Cage. Crucially, Akiyama expanded them to suit his personal investment in those issues. He went on to define and discuss the Japanese avant-garde through the very notion of this synthetic practice. Mayuzumi criticized

Akiyama for getting lost in the concepts without paying attention to the actual music of Cage. Meanwhile, Mayuzumi could not follow Cage's path of experimentation and chance operations because he deemed such conceptual and process-oriented practices to be outside the realm of music. Mayuzumi's refusal of Cage may explain his absence from the list of thirty-eight international composers on the flyer for the *Exhibition of World Graphic Scores*, organized by Akiyama and Ichiyanagi, coinciding with Cage and Tudor's first visit to Japan.

These two stories of Ichiyanagi and Mayuzumi raise some guiding questions for what follows, prompting an inquiry that takes seriously the role of a practice imagined in the space of cross-cultural (mis)transmissions, and that considers how these deviations from the American standards might itself be a method, or at least a pattern.[16] Even Ichiyanagi, widely recognized as Cage's foremost proponent in Japan distinguished his musical practice from Cage.[17] Whereas Cage sought to erase the egos of both composer and performer, Ichiyanagi saw an opportunity in techniques such as graphic notation and indeterminacy to shift musical agency to the performer and the material spaces and physical process of performance. This distinction might also be linked with Ichiyanagi's continued interest in improvisation in jazz and popular music in contrast to Cage's disavowal of those forms.

For many members of the Japanese avant-garde, understandings of Cage were wide-ranging and often confusing, in part because of issues of uneven access to scores and recordings, where ideas and impressions about Cage flowed at a much faster rate than actual scores or recordings of the American composer's work. Mediators and messengers including Ono, Mayuzumi, Ichiyanagi, and Akiyama played important roles in transmitting Cage's ideas to Japan. Whereas Ono, Ichiyanagi, and Mayuzumi knew Cage personally, for others, in the absence of direct avenues to Cage in person, Japanese composers and performers constructed their interpretations of Cage. As the pianist/composer Takahashi Yūji explained, "we'd heard of Cage, and we knew that he composed using the *I Ching*, but his actual works were nowhere to be found. So the only thing we could do was make something that was *like* it."[18]

In the pages that follow, I locate an ethos of experimental practice in Japan that thrived despite, or perhaps even because of, the constant fact of the potential for something to go wrong or get lost in the noise in the circuits of transnational movement. In some ways, it is a sensibility and practice that comes out, not of aestheticized absence like the concept of *ma*, but rather, a

lack of access to resources or direction. This condition of proceeding without any clear ideas or plans, formed in the aftermath of World War II, is how Ichiyanagi describes his formative musical development. He recounts:

> After the war ended, we returned to Tokyo; school resumed in September and I sort of started playing the piano again. Luckily, our piano didn't get destroyed, but really, everything was burned down and we had virtually nothing else left—no scores, nor anything else for studying music. So I just played it on my own in whatever way, and that turned my interest to music composition; it wasn't like I started it with any clear ideas or plans.[19]

Focusing on the transactions between Cage and the Japanese avant-garde, in the space of this prologue I have sought to offer another way to understand processes of transmission and slippages in both Ichiyanagi's freewheeling interpretation and Mayuzumi's ambivalence toward Cage as generative spaces of creativity—spaces shaped by the constraints as well as the sense of imaginative possibility that characterized the 1960s Japanese avant-garde. Both inadvertently and self-consciously, these gaps test the limits of the structures of power framed by the notions of shock, originality, and individualism.

While this book engages scholarly conversations surrounding musical, historical, and ethnographic research of intermedia, at the same time, I offer this book to those who have dedicated their lives to finding, creating, hearing, and imagining senses of beauty, joy, and delight in unexpected spaces—despite the misses, existing conventions, and structures of power that attempt to render their experiences invisible, invalid, or impossible. They are the musicians, artists, and thinkers who have shown that the otherwise is possible. Along this trajectory, this book is also for those who care about how artists and musicians find ways to share those experiences through their everyday creative practices. The project is also about relations of power, how ideas travel, and from the position of a location that I describe as "not-quite non-west, and not quite west," alongside the artist and scholar Trinh Minh-ha's phrase "not quite other, not quite the same."[20] To this end I hope that the ideas in the book may take on lives beyond the context of studies of intermedia and 1960s Japan.

• • •

"Results are a thing of the past" (*kekka towa kako da*)[21]

I recalled these words by Ichiyanagi the morning of October 8, 2022, when I woke up in New York City to the news of his death the day before. He was one of the first people I met in Japan as I embarked on this project. Ichiyanagi, in many of his photos, and in my memory of conversing with him, almost always had a smile, in an amused, prankster kind of way (but never overstated or ironic like a wink). Even if he wasn't actually smiling, it feels as if his eyes were permanently in the shape of gently curved crescent moons on their sides. What did this expression say about his role in perpetuating the claims of being Cage's "student" and messenger—a claim that he both repeatedly embraced and downplayed depending on the occasion? Looking back, the steadfast smile suggests that the "truth" of his role in relation to Cage matters less than his defiant and joyful creativity, unafraid to impinge on inappropriateness. "*Kekka towa kako da*"—Ichiyanagi's proclamation rings out not just a modernist call bent on progress, but also delivers a gleeful riddle that leaves space where intermedia and the "results" of the experimental practices that he was part of may remain open as possibilities, of sounds yet to be heard.

Introduction

The Inappropriate Avant-Garde: Intermedia Art in 1960s Japan

The legendary composer, experimental musician, and intermedia artist Shiomi Mieko was wearing a pink baseball cap when she casually rolled down to the entrance of Sakurai station in Minoo, Osaka. She was riding on an old *mamachari*-style bicycle on that November afternoon in 2010 and greeted me with a warm smile. I was a graduate student who had come to visit her from California. To reach her house, we walked through the quiet streets of Sakurai, a pleasant neighborhood in the hills of northwestern Osaka. I found her house to be what I understood was a typical upper-middle-class Japanese home—clean, tidy, comfortable, and well-lit. The furnishing in the parlor where she invited me to sit included a coffee table, a sofa set, a TV, and shelves displaying the family's video cassettes, books, trophies, and art. The afternoon light seeped in through the lacy curtains. Taking a closer look, works and objects from Shiomi's affiliation with the Fluxus art movement adorn the shelves and walls: neatly framed versions of Shiomi's Balance Poems; a collection of tiny bottles with small objects and words inside from her Bottled Music series. During our conversation about her work with intermedia art as an internationally active experimental artist since the 1960s, Shiomi pointed out a shadow on the sofa next to my hand. *Look at the boundary, and look closely at the line of the shadow*, she instructed me. If you look closely enough, you can't tell exactly where the shadow ends. The light bouncing off the sofa's fibers appeared like tiny dots. The "boundary" where light fades into shadow is surprisingly ambiguous, and there is no clear line. *That's intermedia*, she said. To explain the concept of intermedia, Shiomi had guided me through a variation of her Shadow Pieces.[1] The text of *Shadow Piece* (1963) instructs the reader to:

Make shadows—still or moving—of your body or something on the road, wall, floor, or anything else.
Catch the shadow by some means.

The text of the *Shadow Piece II* score offers a variation:

1. Project a shadow over other side of this card.
2. Observe the boundary between shadow and lighted part.
3. Become the boundary line.

Curiously, the first version of *Shadow Piece* appears as if Shiomi had originally titled it *Shadow Music*. However, in the version kept as part of the collection at the Museum of Modern Art in New York today, the word "music" is crossed out and replaced with the word "piece," as if Shiomi herself was unsure of its status as music.[2] To the viewer, this gives pause to the concept of "music" as it stands in relation to intermedia as an experimental practice. In addition, the piece raises questions about language and internationalism. For example, why did Shiomi, a Japanese artist working in Japan, take the trouble to write in English, a language she knew, but was hardly fluent in at that point in her life? And why did she cross out the word "music," replace it with "piece," and send it off into an international circuit when she could have easily rewritten the instructions on a new sheet of paper? I draw on *Shadow Piece* to demonstrate how intermedia calls into question the conventional meaning of "music" and the relationship of the score and performance while firmly locating her practice in dialogue with a transnational network of experimental practice. It illustrates Shiomi's "questioning of the essence of music and the possible music of future" [*sic*], a theme that has coursed through her work from the 1960s to the present.[3] Notably, in a 2014 interview, she calls such pieces action poems, and tells her interviewers Kakinuma Toshie and Takeuchi Nao that "feeling duration itself *is* music." The "score" contains no standard notation, nor instructions specifying instruments. Most strikingly perhaps, unlike her 1963 instruction-based piece titled *Boundary Music*, there is nothing in the score that explicitly references sound or listening. But even in *Boundary Music*, which does mention music, sound, and instruments in the written instructions, the directions are similarly open to interpretation as those in *Shadow Piece*. Still, despite the openness of the work and ambiguities of form, there are fundamental aspects of musicality familiar to Western music that each of these pieces retains—that

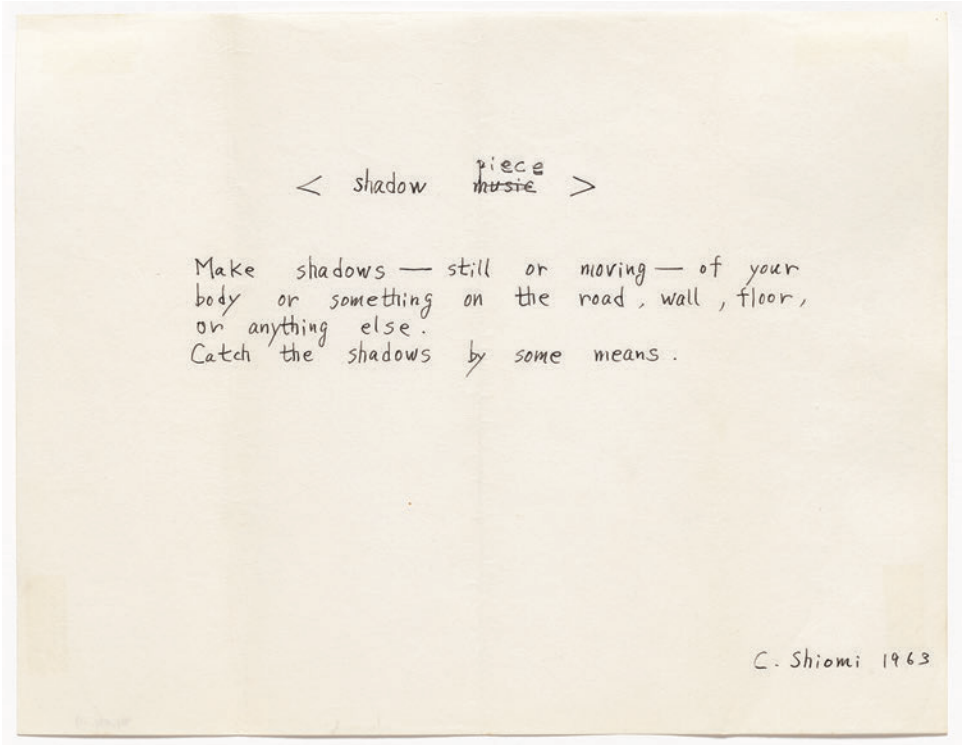


Figure 3. < *shadow piece* > (1963) by Shiomi Mieko, (b. 1938). © The Museum of Modern Art/Licensed by SCALA / Art Resource, NY.

of instructions (the score or the piece) to be interpreted by a performer, and enacted durationally, in space. To the notion of intermedia, Shiomi's "music" plays with the boundaries of the conventions between music, poetry, visual art, and performance.

(But before we get too far, in the spirit of Shiomi's work, I invite you to pause and play with the steps above to experience what a version of an intermedia piece feels like.)

In the impromptu performance of the *Shadow Piece*, Shiomi's house is a place of mingling—of the boundaries of everyday sounds, sights, and smells, subjected to the experimental testing of perception. In contrast to conventional notions of the avant-garde as a radical break from tradition and the familiar, Shiomi's transnational avant-garde takes place right inside the home,

existing simultaneously as avant-garde and mundane lived practice without compromising one or the other. In Shiomi's space of intermedia, the sofa is not just parlor room furniture, but also the screen onto which light is projected and shadows are made—an unexpected *mise-en-scène* of Shiomi's work. In part, an antidote to the formalized structure of the art world, in part structured by the conditions of her domestic life, Shiomi's events may take place anywhere, anytime. *Shadow Piece*, alongside other works by Shiomi, such as her Spatial Poems, is poetry as a necessary action in Audre Lorde's sense. Lorde writes, "for women, . . . poetry is not a luxury. It is a vital necessity of our existence. It forms the quality of the light within which we predicate our hopes and dreams toward survival and change, first made into language, then into idea, then into more tangible action."[4] Staying with Lorde for a moment, her essay on the "Uses of the Erotic: The Erotic as Power," provides a guide for thinking about intermedia in this book. Lorde's essay casts the erotic as a form of power, and as a form of "sharing of joy"—which might encompass the "physical, emotional, psychic, or intellectual."[5] Without equating Lorde's experience as a Black American feminist poet and writer with the experience of Japanese avant-garde artists, I nonetheless find an engagement with Lorde's writings on poetry and art to be an immensely productive way to think about "intermedia."[6] Lorde's essay invites a consideration of intermedia not just as an artistic practice, but as a powerful perspective, narrative, and way of relating to the world through the inseparable connection between art and everyday life in intermedia art that insists on being heard—even through and across forces that seek to undermine her status as poet and human based on racial, gendered, sexual, and class difference. Instead of repeating the existing frameworks and simply accepting them as oppressive, Lorde insists on a poetics that depart from the normative standards as beautiful and powerful *in their own terms*. Lorde's anecdote about margarine in the essay could be about making do. Margarine—ostensibly a substitute for butter when the real stuff was unavailable. And yet, in Lorde's words, the spreading of the rich yellow pellet to color the margarine delivers such joy. It is a joy that is sensual, emotional, and subversive too because frankly, the yellow coloring serves no nutritional or functional purpose. Art is in the ability to feel, not inherent in the object of art. What's more, her passage demonstrates the pure excess of the process of turning the margarine yellow. The sole purpose of the pellet, the softening, and the kneading is to fabricate the feeling of richness through the senses—visual, tactile, and perhaps even olfactory, with pleasure increasing through the delayed gratification of being forced to wait for the margarine to soften.

In this sense, *Shadow Piece* draws out qualities of intermedia that I focus on, as posing a challenge to the centering of shock, individual authorship, and radical politics as ontological givens of an avant-garde. Whereas shock, individual authorship, radical politics, and the genealogy-based establishment of an authoritative canon have been central to narratives of a hegemonic Euro-American avant-garde, this book foregrounds intermedia as a transnational avant-garde rooted in mundane practices (rather than shock), centering collective practice, often articulated by senses of ambivalence (rather than radical political action).

In the narrative of intermedia that unfolds in this book, *Shadow Piece* is an outlier in certain ways. For one, even though *Shadow Piece* was the piece Shiomi used to describe intermedia to me, the piece predates the wide circulation of intermedia as a term to refer to a set of artistic practices by artists in the 1960s. But although the name intermedia did not appear in print until the second half of the 1960s, ideas that led to what would be called "intermedia" were in circulation before the term. To describe these nascent forms of intermedia, Miryam Sas uses the term "proto-intermedial experiments" in filmmaker Matsumoto Toshio's *Ginrin* (1955), a film commissioned by the Japan External Trade Organization to advertise Japanese bicycles to an international market.[7] The contrasts and tensions between *Shadow Piece* and trends in a broader and more conventional narrative of intermedia and the avant-garde elicits some of the overlooked possibilities of intermedia that I focus on in this book. For example, in terms of intermedia, the blending of the multi-sensorial experience with everydayness in *Shadow Piece* frames an approach to the spectacular, technophilic, transnational events that are most prevalent in the documents of intermedia. I will shortly address these qualities of what might be called mainstream intermedia.

Shiomi's *Shadow Piece* also raises questions about musical aspects of intermedia, which have been the least discussed in scholarly accounts of intermedia. While scholars focused on the visual arts and film have produced rich studies of intermedia in Japan in English-language publications, discussions of intermedia in relation to larger narratives of experimental music have been far less common.[8] One aim of this project is to contribute to scholarly conversations about intermedia from a musical angle, or musical in an intermedial way. That is, first, music as a time-based form that includes sound but by no means a purely sound-based practice. In this sense, music in the case of this book is assumed to be always already intermedial, as it exists in a "sonic sphere" in Ana María Ochoa's sense, where sound is mediated in forms that range from "face-to-face communication to radio, cinema and television,

to the self-production of recordings to internet and cell phone communication."[9] With its frequent use of home electronics, everyday objects, and home appliances, the sonic sphere of intermedia emphasized the relations between sounds, technologies, language, and communication as the very conditions of its sonic-material being. Building on Ochoa's notion of intermediality, Shiomi's *Shadow Piece*—with its durational emphasis, the dependence on a physical environment, its basis in a score, and the possibility of a new way of understanding and representing music harbored in that score—is very much a musical take on intermedia.

Finally, while resisting the urge to claim Shiomi and her work as deliberately feminist (the same goes for the other women who are characters in this story), in my analysis, *Shadow Piece* sets a tone that inserts the possibility of imaginings, insights, and perspectives of a heterogeneous intersectional feminist account of experimental practice. In this context, the point is not to establish a case that intermedia was a feminist practice (I contend that it was not, by any stretch of the imagination), but nonetheless, to insist on the persistence of divergent forms of being. That is, surviving, struggling, and brilliantly naming its own terms of experience, defying the conditions imposed by the structures of the avant-garde and experimental practice that dominated, and in many ways continues to dominate, understandings of creative practice.

What Is Intermedia? Intermedia Art in 1960s Japan

Although the purpose of this book is not to offer a comprehensive account of intermedia in Japan, here, I offer a brief description of intermedia more generally in relation to the Japanese avant-garde to provide context and establish connections with existing scholarship on intermedia in 1960s Japan. Intermedia fit nicely with the political, cultural, and economic dynamism of 1960s Japan as an artistic practice that reimagined not only connections between artistic genres but also international artistic networks, as well as collaborations between art and technology, and corporate and underground culture. But such connections, or perhaps co-dependent relations, were not without tensions, conflicts, and new forms of unequal relations of power.

In the late 1960s, intermedia was a term that artists and critics in locales including New York and Tokyo used to refer to multimedia experimental artistic practices. In a brief but intense period of activity in the late 1960s, intermedia promised to radically challenge existing boundaries for the Jap-

anese avant-garde. In addition to festivals and exhibitions, *Bijutsu Techō*, Japan's leading art journal, devoted a special issue to the subject, titled *What is Intermedia?* in April of 1969. Many of the foremost artists of the Japanese avant-garde across disciplines were drawn to intermedia. With interest peaking between 1967 and 1970, musicians, visual artists, filmmakers, architects, poets, and designers came together to produce collaborative multimedia spectacles of unprecedented scale for the Japanese avant-garde. As the *Bijutsu Techō* issue foregrounds, many Japanese intermedia projects of this period drew on the creative use of contemporary technologies of sound and image while drawing on aesthetics and ideals of the avant-garde. Today, scholars often position intermedia within the broader category of media art or new media art.[10] However, in Japan, the term new media art did not come into use as a category until around the turn of the twenty-first century.

Intermedia art in Japan came about over the course of a decade when Japan was on the verge of entering the international stage as an economic and cultural force. Japanese avant-garde artists were beginning to actively participate in international artistic networks in larger numbers than ever before. At its height in the late 1960s, intermedia in Japan notably drew the attention of groups beyond members of the domestic avant-garde. American and international artists, Japanese corporate managers, the US State Department, and the general public of Japan each encountered intermedia in their own ways. For example, backed by corporate and national funding, the avant-garde played a central artistic role in Expo'70, the 1970 World's Fair that took place in Japan. There, millions of ordinary Japanese visitors, most with no direct connection to the world of avant-garde art, encountered intermedia as the expression of the transnational avant-garde. Examining some of these sites of mingling, this book positions intermedia in Japan at the intersection of histories of the avant-garde and cultural history, noting the tensions that arose surrounding artistic affordances linked to the fast-growing Japanese economy in the 1960s on the one hand, and the political climate of protest against a government narrowly focused on economic development aimed at positioning Japan as a viable force on the international stage on the other.

As a term, intermedia entered the Japanese art lexicon in 1966, the same year that the American artist Dick Higgins published his essay on the topic in his Something Else Press Newsletter.[11] A handful of events bearing the term intermedia took place in Tokyo between 1967 and 1971. These include an event called Intermedia at the Lunami Gallery in Tokyo in 1967 which featured presentations by artists working in different media and formats,

including paintings, experimental film and "happenings," a form of experimental performance, along with a symposium.[12] Writing in 1967, artist and critic Tone Yasunao refers to this event as the "first exhibition that advocated 'intermedia' expression" in Japan.[13] In January 1969, former members of Group Ongaku—Kosugi Takehisa, Shiomi Mieko, and Tone Yasunao—organized the Intermedia Art Festival held at the discotheque Killer Joe's and Nikkei Hall. One month later, the three-day-long Cross Talk Intermedia Festival, organized by a team of two Americans (Karen Reynolds and Roger Reynolds) and two Japanese artists (Akiyama Kuniharu and Yuasa Jōji) took place at the National Gymnasium in Yoyogi. Beyond these events that bear the name intermedia, several other events included presentations of intermedia practices. Most prominently, this includes the World's Fair in Osaka called Expo '70, which was the last of the period of the height of intermedia with large-scale intermedia events.

A few streams came together to become intermedia as an artistic practice in the second half of the 1960s. One trajectory stems from the multidisciplinary collaborations that took place with groups such as Jikken Kōbō/Experimenal Workshop and Gutai in the 1950s, and the Sogetsu Art Center in the 1960s, combined with information and exchanges involving artists in the downtown New York scene who were exploring "happenings," "events," and Fluxus-related practices that shifted the focus of art from fixed "works" to performance. While the details of the origins and precedents of intermedia in Japan differ between Tone, who focuses on underground experimental film, and Ishizaki who focuses on practices such as happenings that artists such as John Cage and Allan Kaprow were exploring, both point to New York as a precedent. Ishizaki further traces intermedia back to the European Dada and surrealist movements.[14] The Sogetsu Art Center hosted the performance component of the exhibition *From Space to Environment* in 1966, and the multimedia event Nanika Itte, Imasagasu (Expose '68), which combined performances and a symposium that interrogated fixed categories and formats in contemporary artistic practices. Another important stream for intermedia in both Japan and the United States emphasized experimental film.[15] Tone credits the 1960s experimental films of American artists Kenneth Anger and Stan Brakhage, as well as Andy Warhol, which turned their focus away from narrative to the essential material qualities of film—sound, light, image, movement, and projection in space—as precedents to intermedia art.[16] Film, in these cases, was not limited to the representation of a narrative or sequence of images from another time and place. Instead, it presented itself as a sculp-

tural, tactile, and sensory mobile performance taking place in physical space. Some early theorists and practitioners, most notably the experimental filmmaker Iimura Takahiko, used intermedia alongside the term "expanded cinema," taking film off a fixed screen and combining aspects of live performance with film projection.[17] Iimura's experiments included performances where he moved along with the camera, projecting images onto the surfaces of the room and his own body. The result was something of an improvised performance, where the fixed images on the film were but one component. Interacting with the space, bodies, and movement, the images themselves would transform as they illuminated the different objects that served as impromptu screens. Experimental sound and performance were also part of Iimura's expanded cinema, and one example includes Tone's soundtrack of improvised music that grew out of a session called the Pull Event. For the critic Ishizaki Kōichirō, the American roots of Japanese intermedia further connect to the 1950s with Cage and the collective artistic explorations that were taking place at the Black Mountain School.[18] From a musical perspective, the electronic music historian Kawasaki Kōji highlights a genealogy of intermedia in Japan that includes the NHK Electronic Music Studio, the Sogetsu Art Center, the music festivals Orchestral Space and Cross Talk, and Expo'70, as well as the experimental music group Taj Mahal Travellers. While Kawasaki acknowledges that intermedia events leaned toward the visual arts, his genealogy also emphasizes musical links to intermedia.[19] Many of these threads came together in the spaces of the burgeoning counterculture in clubs and discotheques, most famously at Killer Joe's, a club that functioned both as a dance club and a site for experimental intermedia productions. Intermedia practices of the late 1960s thus incorporated and foreshadowed forms related to performance art, computer art, sound art, and electronic arts.

For some readers with art historical knowledge of the 1960s Japanese avant-garde, a handful of Japanese musicians associated with intermedia will already be familiar from narratives of Fluxus in the realm of visual art. For example, Yoko Ono, Kosugi Takehisa, Ichiyanagi Toshi, and Shiomi have frequently been part of exhibitions at major US art museums in the past two decades. By contrast, their names appear far less in music historical accounts, even as the four artists mentioned above come from a musical background. The musical leanings of this book thus broaden the perspectives of intermedia, filling in its story from the less common spaces of music, which bring along its particular histories and habits of analysis. In the case of this book, these include histories of listening, and situating intermedia in the 1960s in

relation to trajectories of Japanese and international experimental practices, institutions, and people, each of which played a role in defining the shape that intermedia in Japan took in the 1960s. By delving into the sites, spaces, and social transactions of intermedia, I look to intermedia as a lens that sheds light on the politics of experimental music as a transnational practice by focusing on intermedia's connection to experimental music. At the same time, I focus on intermedia in Japan as a critical vehicle to examine transactions and discourses about the transnational avant-garde.

The Hegemonic Avant-Garde and Intermedia's Interventions

Intermedia was shaped by transnational exchanges. But the narrative of this book aims to challenge the dominance of Western Europe and North America as the uncontested sites of origin of experimental practice, and Japan as the receptive follower striving to imitate and appropriate Western practices—a notion most distinctly encapsulated by the "John Cage shock" in the realm of Japanese experimental music. By focusing on intermedia in Japan and its entanglements with the American avant-garde as a case study, this book provides a framework for understanding a transnational avant-garde located outside of the hegemonic Euro-American avant-garde. I use the term "hegemonic Euro-American avant-garde" to reference a canonical avant-garde that is most typically racialized and gendered as white and male. The term also connects with the aesthetic genealogy of what George Lewis has called the "Eurological tradition" to denote musical practices of the twentieth century that privilege the score while devaluing improvisation as a compositional device.[20] I distinguish the hegemonic Euro-American avant-garde from other avant-garde movements, including the Black avant-garde, Indigenous modernism, as well as the Latin American avant-garde, which have each played important roles in shaping current understandings of the avant-garde as a transcultural experience.[21] Yet these movements and their stories of interlinked connections remain peripheral in discourses of the avant-garde and experimental practice in general.

The book thus considers how practices and ideas around intermedia relate to narratives of experimental artistic practice and offers an intervention to a hegemonic narrative of experimental music that centers the American experimental composer John Cage. To this end, my project is hardly alone in its aims to challenge a hegemonic narrative of experimental practice. It joins a

strong body of work by music scholars including George Lewis, Tara Rodgers, Benjamin Piekut, Marie Thompson, Brigid Cohen, Ana Alonso-Minutti, Eduardo Herrara, Alejandro Madrid, Dylan Robinson, Thomas Burkhalter, Will Robin, and Kerry O'Brien who have made it clear that the racialized and gendered coding of experimental and contemporary classical music and experimental music as white, Euro-American, and male is no longer a given.[22] Still, even as this shift may be self-evident to music scholars of transcultural experimental practice, discussions of experimental music in larger and canonical contexts such as textbooks and reference sites continue to retain a Cagean lineage of American experimentalism and its point of reference.[23] At the same time, my intention is not to erase Cage from histories of experimental music. Without denying the impact and substantial presence of Cage in the international experimental scenes, I nonetheless question the terms of uncontested dominance. In this way, my project aligns with the work of identifying different paradigms and lenses through which to understand experimental musical practices of the past and to shape what experimental practice could be in the future. I aim to contribute to this conversation by offering the analytical framework of an "inappropriate avant-garde" that takes seriously the elements of intermedia and experimental music in 1960s Japan that have been deemed suspect, undesirable, or unregistrable according to the conventions of Western classical music—what I refer to as the "inappropriate," for shorthand, in this book.

From a methodological angle, the account of the avant-garde presented in this book leans heavily on ethnography, based on my training as an ethnomusicologist. What I take most from ethnography is a method that prioritizes being with, and thinking alongside the characters in this narrative, in their spaces, as many ethnomusicologists and anthropologists do. In this sense, while I do present some lesser-known works and events related to the avant-garde, my interest is not one that simply privileges an accumulation of ever more knowledge. Rather, I am invested in presenting a multiplicity of ways of thinking, as well as structurally different framings or sensibilities of conceptualizing what counts as knowledge. Being with, and thinking alongside, as a method, also sometimes means taking in the frictions and dissonances that arise when a story tries to hold these multiple views together. The ethnographic angle also means that the kinds of relations of knowledge I seek to highlight in this book, through an approach that foregrounds the collective construction of knowledge, differ from the kind of hermeneutic knowledge offered by the interpretation of individual works. It also informs my approach

to historical and archival research, treating the archive as a contested space and living archive. My approach finds resonance in what Ann Cvetkovich, channelling Alexandra Juhasz, describes as the possibility of a relation to the archive that attends to "its absences and that uses it *to create new kinds of knowledge and new forms of collectivity*."[24]

As a multimedia practice, intermedia's interventions to hegemonic notions of experimentalism include questioning the dominance of "sound" as the privileged object of musical analysis. For example, Shiomi's *Shadow Piece* emphasizes the performance of an action rather than making sounds, and thus suggests that music is not necessarily defined exclusively by the absence or presence of sound. "When a violinist plays, which is incidental: the arm movement or the bow sound? Try arm movement only," is artist Yoko Ono's provocation on this issue.[25] But the interventions go beyond both form and debates around the ontological status of the work of art. My investigation of intermedia as a transnational practice in Japan reveals how the transactions that take place in the realm of the mundane, collective practice, and senses of ambivalence demand analytical lenses that reshape or differ from those used to understand the works of Cage and his circle. These elements most directly challenge an influential paradigm of experimental music enshrined between Cage's own writing about music, most prominently in his collected volume *Silence: Lectures and Writings*, and Michael Nyman's elucidation of Cage's ideas in his text, *Experimental Music: Cage and Beyond*.[26] For Nyman, following Cage's challenge to the "traditional unities of composing, performing and listening" means first establishing a hierarchy where composing sets the conditions for performance and listening.[27] In his text, composing generally refers to the arrangement of sound through the regulation of musical processes that are written down in some form of notation—traditional Western, graphic, or text-based instructions. While Nyman does not leave out a discussion of musical politics (framed as "ethics" in his writing), musical politics becomes an individual concern, relating a sense of individual ethics to a broader social and political context. Moreover, by building a definition of experimental music around the unity (or disunity) of composing, performing, and listening, the naturalized object of analysis centers the work, which is understood as the creative output of an individual composer. By contrast, the intersections of the mundane, collective, and ambivalent in this book each speak to a kind of understanding of intermedia as a practice itself shaped by social interactions, which are also political. Whereas the work-centered

framework in Nyman's work elides a consideration of the humanness and sociality of the people doing the composing, performing, and listening, in my narrative, intersectional positionalities marked by race, gender, and class of composers, performers, and listeners raise questions about what it means and what it took to be a composer, performer, or listener in the first place. For example, even as Shiomi gained acceptance into the inner circles of the Fluxus scene in New York, she describes her path to New York as being welcomed as a "little girl from Japan."[28] Such positioning puts perceptions of her gendered and ethnically marked identity before her abilities as an artist, even if we can accept that she was able to prove her artistic worth during her participation in the New York scene.

As a historical project that aims to present the Japanese avant-garde and intermedia on its own terms, I posit a "disidentification" of the Japanese avant-garde from the norms of the hegemonic Euro-American avant-garde. As José Esteban Muñoz puts it, processes of disidentification are "about recycling and rethinking encoded meaning."[29] Viewed through the lens of the disidentifying processes of recycling and re-encoding, the transactions of power that play out in intermedia in Japan reshape understandings of transnational flows of ideas, influence, and discourses of imitation, appropriateness, and inappropriateness across borders.

On the Transpacific Avant-Garde as an Inappropriate Avant-Garde, and the Notion of Copycats

In this book, I use the term "transpacific avant-garde" to posit a framework that situates experimental arts in Japan culturally and transculturally in relation to a history and geopolitics of the Pacific. Furthermore, the transpacific avant-garde destabilizes a notion of a transnational avant-garde as always originating from the transnational Euro-American circuits of exchange. Crucial to my formulation of a transpacific avant-garde is not only its character as an inappropriate avant-garde, but also the "transpacific" as contrasted to a "transatlantic" avant-garde.

Part of the function of the "transpacific avant-garde" here is to put pressure on the notion of the transnational avant-garde as a cosmopolitan network of a Western base. In the context of the avant-garde, the transnational nests within it a sense of the transatlantic exchanges between Europe and the United States, shaping the avant-garde in the early twentieth century through

circuits running between Paris, Berlin, and New York. (The transnational in this sense also incorporates non-Western elements—the Oriental, the African, the Polynesian—sourced from active colonial infrastructures.)

It's important to note here that my use of the Pacific in this book differs from a substantial body of critical transpacific studies based *in* the Pacific—the transpacific in and of the sea, as theorized prominently by Epeli Hau'ofa and others. Hau'ofa's conceptualization of the Pacific as a "sea of islands" reconfigures givens in scholarly methods based on the study of different "lands" by positing a framework for cultural and intercultural studies built on living and moving in and around the Pacific. The result is a worldview that sharply contrasts with a hegemonic land-based view and significantly exposes the epistemological violence of a land-based worldview that "belittles" the peoples and cultures of the Pacific as insignificant and underdeveloped.[30]

My use of the transpacific is energized by Hau'ofa's epistemological framework, as well as by Kevin Fellezs's work in music studies, and aims to contribute to this robust interdisciplinary conversation.[31] At the same time, unlike scholarship rooted in the Pacific, my book does not focus on musical practices in the Pacific, nor does it center on epistemologies stemming from the region's cultural histories and politics. The transpacific avant-garde may further be distinguished from the more expansive geographic and cultural purview of the transpacific in work by Janet Hoskins and Viet Thanh Nguyen, Denise Cruz, as well as Michael Birenbaum Quintero and others whose transpacific examinations look to the Pacific as a site of inter-East Asian geopolitics, the Native Pacific, as well as the Black Pacific—regions and frameworks that were largely beyond the horizons of the imaginary of the Japanese avant-garde of the 1960s.[32] In this sense, in my framing, the transpacific avant-garde refers to both an actual geopolitics that created the conditions of possibility for Japanese exchanges with US artists with a New York (East Coast) emphasis, while also fueled by an imagination of an oceanic crossing—an imagining that specifically connected and arguably flattened actual geographies to fly over not only the Pacific Ocean but most of the continental United States before landing in New York. Despite these limits, the transpacific avant-garde in my formulation carries significance as a site of epistemological and aesthetic tension between the transpacific and the hegemonic transnational avant-garde. The transpacific avant-garde cannot exist apart from the transnational avant-garde. Yet, as an inappropriate avant-garde, it also exceeds and resists full integration into the global avant-garde as shaped by Euro-American conditions.

Perhaps, too, I am drawn to the notion of a transpacific avant-garde from a Japanese perspective on a personal level as I think of the word *taiheiyō* (太平洋), the Japanese word for the Pacific. An oceanic imaginary made its way into many areas of Japanese popular culture and public life in the mid-twentieth century. For example, the name Yoko (洋子) consistently ranked as the most popular girls' names between the 1930s and '60s, a time of rapid cultural transformation with a steady gaze to the Western world. The name evokes a child of the great sea, with an outlook to what lies beyond, of accessing the foreign, beyond the limits of the familiar homeland. Perhaps it is with this hope that both Yoko Ono (born 1933) and my mother (born 1955) were named, imbued with the hopes that they would become women who would cross the seas and would live, make art, and raise families in distant places only imagined by their ancestors. And yet, even as both Yokos did make it across those seas, carried by the hopes inscribed into their names, they were met with repeated situations where their presence, marked as Japanese women, rendered them as inappropriate. It is this feeling of imagining, desiring, and facing what lies beyond familiar, as well as the hopes of becoming-expansive and sea-like, as well as its failures and misunderstandings—of being inappropriate—that I hear in the term transpacific avant-garde.

Throughout the book, this notion of the inappropriate lingers around my investigations of the intermedia. The inappropriate avant-garde adapts the theoretical concept of the "inappropriate/d Other" in the work of the Vietnamese cultural critic, filmmaker, and feminist theorist Trinh T. Minh-ha. Trinh's concept of the inappropriate/d Other sheds light on relations of power that work through systems of inclusion and exclusion where the inappropriate/d Other as subject operates from the position of "Not quite other, not quite the same" located in a space of "elsewhere . . . within here" in relation to the hegemonic subject.[33] Simultaneously, for Trinh, the inappropriate/d Other is also a gendered Other. In a transcribed conversation with the philosopher Marina Grzinic (which took place during Trinh's residency in Japan as a Visiting Professor at Ochanomizu University) Grzinic explains, "we can read the term 'inappropriate/d other' in both ways, as someone whom you cannot appropriate, and as someone who is inappropriate."[34] With this in mind, I am drawn to Trinh's concept of the inappropriate/d Other that took shape in the course of her transnational itinerary, even if the historical and colonial contexts of Trinh's movements differ from those of intermedia's trajectory that I map in this book. Shaping Trinh's notion of the inappropriate/d Other is her observation about the postwar Japanese

context, where Japanese visibility in the West was marked by a conception of Japan as the great appropriator, with a remarkable "ability to appropriate masterfully the tools of the dominant," and faithfully mass-produced products originating in the West.[35]

I adapt her configuration of the term, which generates at least three possibilities, to think about the degrees to which a work by a Japanese artist in the 1960s may be understood as: 1) inappropriate according to metrics associated with the so-called West, but also 2) appropriating Western ideas or being-appropriated, as in the centuries-old practices of Orientalism, or 3) "inappropriate*d*," which is Trinh's way of suggesting a condition of refusal, or resistance, or impossibility of being subsumed through appropriation. Crucially, these three modalities often exist concurrently. The aspects of intermedia in Japan I highlight in this book articulate such "inappropriate/d" relations to the Euro-American avant-garde, rather than a counternarrative or a story of assimilation. The artists of the Japanese avant-garde worked alongside their European and American artistic colleagues, negotiating ambivalent relations with difference from the Euro-American avant-garde. These relations were variously marked by senses of desire for inclusion, rejection (and rejecting), and complicity with the hegemonic terms of the Euro-American avant-garde. I consider how the practices of the Japanese avant-garde are rendered "inappropriate," but also, how these inappropriate qualities deserve attention on their own terms. Characteristics of Japanese and non-Western avant-gardes should be understood as more than an imitation of the West.

Japan's relationship with the West and American inventions in sectors ranging from the arts to the auto industry have routinely been framed with a mixture of envy, awe, and derision, positioning Japanese imitation in response to Western innovation. If the products of imitation were not outright dismissed as inadequate ("inappropriate"), at times, they could be dismissed as "copycat" in academic and popular discourse from the eighteenth century to the present, as historian Michael Lucken has documented ("appropriating").[36]

And yet, in the context of the arts, I am interested equally in the possibility of articulating an aesthetics of the third term, the "inappropriate*d*" in relation to the first two terms. The concepts of the inappropriate, appropriate, and inappropriate/d in Trinh's sense are generative because they raise questions about the brokering of knowledge across uneven terrains of power, and who defines and who polices metrics of what counts as appropriate. The inappropriate is not simply a matter of inclusion and exclusion. Moreover, it helps shape an understanding of cultural transactions beyond the 1960s

avant-garde. For example, David Novak suggests that the appeal of the Japanese punk band Shonen Knife for North American audiences in the 1990s resided in how they seemed "wonderfully off."[37] Novak continues, "While the trio approximated familiar styles, their songs were quirky, amateurish, and somehow fundamentally 'alternative' to the more familiar original. The group simultaneously reinforced and confused Western stereotypes, both of Japanese women and of one-way models of intercultural imitation, with their absurdist-but-genuine version of outsider punk rock."[38] While Novak's example comes from a period later than the subject of this book, I locate a similar relationship between the Japanese and American avant-gardes where being inappropriate or "wonderfully off" was both a condition and affordance of the Japanese avant-gardes transnational legibility. At the same time, if we follow Trinh's thinking and position the Japanese avant-garde as "not quite other, not quite the same" as the West, the answer is not simply that the "West" or "America" determines the metrics, to which Japan is subject to.[39] Japanese artists were inappropriate subjects because of geographical and cultural distances from the realms of the European and American avant-gardes. At the same time, from the positionality of the Japanese artist, the music that they created by appropriating the music of the European and American avant-gardes was also "inappropriate*d*" in the sense that their practices could not, but also *would* not, be subsumed into the international avant-garde according to the existing European and American metrics.

Intermedia as a Method, and Chapter Summaries

As a performance-based, multimedia practice that was site-specific or contingent on the site of its performance, intermedia has escaped satisfactorily comprehensive forms of documentation with surprising consistency. Here is a photograph, here is a fragment of a documentary recording, here is a program about the event, here is one track of a multichannel recording, here are the source sounds, here is a graphic score that asks for improvisatory and indeterminate performance choices, here are schematic diagrams, here is a note by the composer, here is a review by a critic. The work of studying intermedia from the 1960s is a project of piecing together fragments that were never complete in the first place. The challenges of transnational transmission of sounds and ideas are hardly a thing of the past. Even with widely circulating recordings and web-based technologies that enabled so many

musicians to produce real-time collective performances during the months of isolation during the Covid-19 pandemic, digital access remained uneven.

For example, two years into the pandemic, I had not been able to return to the library of the Sogetsu Kaikan to listen to the archival recording of Takahashi Yūji playing a concert that included Takemitsu's graphic score composition *Corona for Pianists*. Finally, I emailed the head librarian, Masako Isobe, pleading her to let me hear the recording. Due to copyright issues, she could not send me a digital file, but she generously agreed to play the recording to me over Zoom. The challenge, however, was that the computer at the Sogetsu library did not have a CD drive connected to it, so she had to play the CD from the library's boom box over Zoom. Trying to listen to a CD played through an old boom box, over an international Zoom call, I desperately asked the librarian if she could tell if the sounds on the recording are normal piano sounds, or if they are unusual sounds, perhaps using extended techniques. Not a professional musician by training, she nonetheless addressed my query as patiently as she could, saying something along the lines of "they sound like normal unusual piano sounds." The result was that I could make out the contours of the performance and the rhythmic pacing. I could also gather a sense of Takahashi's electrifying energy in his performance. But I could not discern much about timbre. With the distorted sound resulting from the less-than-ideal listening conditions, I had to lean on my own imagination, combined with an understanding of Takahashi's extraordinary economy and briskness as a player, to fill in the gaps. Additionally, in a sound recording, the gestures of performance that are often so important to experimental music performance were of course absent. To research and to write about intermedia performances thus requires a multisensory and multimodal approach, which, like the object of study, crosses media. For example, in chapter 1, I aim to reconstruct a sense of the activities at the now demolished old Sogetsu Kaikan building by looking at the archive of printed matter related to Sogetsu Art Center events. In chapter 2, the tone of filmmaker Idemitsu Mako's voice offers clues to the gendered dynamics in a space of collective listening. In chapter 3, I am guided by the blur in the photographs of Cross Talk Intermedia that I suggest ultimately most accurately captures the feeling of the festival. In chapter 4, I listen to the works that would have been played through the audio system at Expo'70 but try to imagine how they sounded overlaying one another and amid a crowd of hundreds of excited and overwhelmed visitors. In chapter 5, at the site of Expo'70, I walk through the Expo'70 grounds with my father and listen to conversations of visitors to the park and feel what it is like to walk through a large park space that razed

an entire landscape and built the infrastructure for a World's Fair in a matter of years.

At times, it also means respecting the intentions of the ephemerality of works that sounded just once. Seen from the perspective that centers the ephemeral qualities of intermedia, awareness of the missing sounds (absent recordings), spaces (now demolished buildings), performers (no longer with us), and documents (now lost) is an integral part of the research process in this book. From the perspective of archival practices, intermedia as a multimedia practice was comprised of an assemblage of social and artistic relations that confound attempts to fully capture and document the event. A history of intermedia thus misses a lot. But all the while, the networks of power that intermedia practices relied upon produced tangible forms of inclusion and exclusion. Noting these misses, paying attention to the relations of intermedia and its erasures, omissions, and forgettings sheds light on a flavor of the Japanese avant-garde in connection to a transnational avant-garde and systems of values variously rendered illegible under normative ways of seeing and hearing the avant-garde.

In what follows, the first two chapters of the book unpack the developments of the Japanese avant-garde in the early 1960s as a transnational practice defined in relation to—but not defined by—the American and European avant-gardes. In other words, the Japanese avant-garde was transnational, but not in the unidirectional sense suggested by the phrase "John Cage shock." Foregrounding a trajectory that drew together music with other contemporary artistic practices, I center tendencies that would eventually be called intermedia with a particular focus on the Sogetsu Art Center (SAC). Alongside this trajectory, I focus on the notion that while intermedia in 1960s Japan drew together elements familiar to the context of the international avant-garde, the collective practices themselves often unfolded using spaces and techniques that belong in the spaces of the ordinary practices and practicalities of everyday life, which I call the mundane. From an analytic angle, these two chapters focus on formations of gender and race that were organized in relation to notions of the transnational, contemporary, and mundane at the SAC. As a result, these analyses show how formations of race, gender, and nation co-constituted a sense of a transnational avant-garde where multiple senses of difference were intimately linked.

In chapter 1, I focus on how the mundane shaped the Japanese avant-garde. Shock has long been a central part of the avant-garde's tactics according to influential theorists of the European and American avant-gardes

including Walter Benjamin and Peter Bürger. However, an understanding of the avant-garde that centers shock focus on the aesthetics of avant-garde and experimental practices, does not accurately characterize the mundane concerns related to labor, processes, and means required to produce art in the first place. Access to space, materials, and social networks that enabled the sustained production of experimental art was hardly a given at the turn of the 1960s in postwar Japan. The space of the Sogetsu Art Center in Tokyo, established in 1959, played an important role in shaping the Japanese avant-garde over the course of the next decade. Focusing on Sogetsu as a *ba*—the Japanese word that roughly translates to place, but also includes how a particular purpose shapes that place—the chapter provides an account of the range of events and activities that took place at the Sogetsu Art Center. As a space of experimental practice, the *ba* of the Sogetsu Art Center encompasses the transnational collective, mundane (as collaborations of necessity), and political distance. Drawing attention to the qualities of the spirit of internationalism, cross-disciplinary collaborations, and collective experimental practice at the Sogetsu Art Center, I argue that the mundane practices that took place at the SAC were crucial to shaping intermedia art and the transnational avant-garde in 1960s Japan. At the same time, by highlighting the mundane (which can also be a gendered experience of *ba*) as the inappropriate/d counterpart of hegemonic Euro-American understandings of the avant-garde, I contend that the Japanese avant-garde cannot be fully comprehended as a mere peripheral subset of the Euro-American avant-garde.

Chapter 2 then examines an aspect of the techniques of Japanese experimentalism, noting its roots in jazz, collective listening, and imitation, which are rendered inappropriate relative to hegemonic Euro-American notions of experimental practice that privileges individual originality and a genealogical relationship to the Western European canon. Seemingly forgotten, today we hear very little of the story of jazz at the Sogetsu Art Center, much less its significance for the Japanese avant-garde in general. Neither accounts of Japanese experimental music, nor histories of Japanese jazz make much of the connection between jazz and the experimental arts. The account of the SAC I offer centers the collective listening sessions around jazz involving key figures of the Japanese avant-garde, which included composer Takemitsu Tōru, poet and critic Akiyama Kuniharu, sculptor Yamaguchi Katsuhiro, and many others. I describe this new formation shaped by collective listening as an "auditory avant-garde" to highlight how listening practices played a crucial role in shaping the 1960s Japanese avant-garde during a brief but crucial incubation

period for Japanese experimental practice. In terms of genre and aesthetics, jazz at the SAC aligned with conventional contemporaneous notions of US jazz around 1960: it included styles of music with Black US-American roots ranging from New Orleans jazz, swing, bebop, and modern jazz, as well as precursors to jazz that included blues, gospel, and work songs. However, as a practice, jazz at the SAC centered on collective listening. Through two regularly occurring series entitled Sogetsu Music Inn and Etosetora to Jazu no Kai (Etc. and Jazz Circle), which both drew members of the Japanese avant-garde in large numbers, attendees gathered to listen together and discuss recorded and live performances of jazz. Arranged to foreground voices across artistic disciplines, these jazz events produced and fortified networks as well as the conditions of belonging and exclusion among Japanese artists interested in shaping the transnational Japanese avant-garde. It also reinforced a basis for intermedia-oriented work by actively positioning conversations across genres and disciplines as a source of creative exploration. I argue that the set of listening practices around jazz at the SAC helped shape the Japanese musical avant-garde and intermedia in the 1960s. At the same time, an examination of the power dynamics of the jazz events shows how this new auditory avant-garde created its systems of inclusion and exclusion along the lines of race and gender, which were closely linked to assumptions and expectations about the listening body. By turning an ear to the listenings that remained unregistered, and voices that remained unheard in the spaces of jazz at the SAC, I attend to how their voices play crucial and also confounding roles in influencing the 1960s Japanese avant-garde. Following an account of collective listening to foreign records in twentieth-century Japan, the chapter examines three individuals and their relationship to jazz at the SAC—Silas Mosley, a Black American teacher and musician, and two Japanese women: experimental filmmaker Idemitsu Mako and jazz pianist and composer Toshiko Akiyoshi. The stories of Mosley, Idemitsu, and Akiyoshi bring attention to how Japanese female bodies and Black American male bodies mediated acts of listening at the SAC. Taken together, they illuminate how racialized and gendered acts of listening shaped the Japanese avant-garde through processes of fetishization and exclusion.

Chapter 3 builds on the themes from the first two chapters but also stands alone as a central chapter that examines a key event for intermedia in Japan called Cross Talk Intermedia (1969). The chapter focuses on the aesthetics of intermedia and its relation to transnational cultural politics through an examination of the Cross Talk Intermedia Festival. Seven years after the

"John Cage shock," the Japanese avant-garde came together with American artists again in Cross Talk Intermedia, a festival dedicated to Japanese and American art, which explicitly foregrounded cross-cultural collaboration. On the surface, Cross Talk Intermedia appears to be a feat of cultural diplomacy where an event heavily supported by the US State Department's aims to use an occasion that brought together cutting-edge American and Japanese artists to create an elaborate performance of cross-cultural friendship. And yet, in both its planning and production stages Cross Talk was beset with miscommunication and conflicting desires on the part of the US State Department's agenda of cross-cultural collaboration, and the American and Japanese artistic team's desire to produce a technically and artistically demanding intermedia spectacle. What emerges is partly a story that complicates the geopolitical relations of power on the level of nation-states, which does not translate to the scale of individual artists and diplomats. At the same time, by focusing on the aesthetics of Cross Talk Intermedia, what emerges is an overwhelming sense of noise. This noise, I argue, is central to intermedia's aesthetics, which also undermined both the goals of the US State Department as well as the artists' aims of enacting a performance of critique against their respective national agendas.

The final two chapters then focus on Expo'70, the World's Fair that took place in Osaka, where the Japanese avant-garde took on their most ambitious intermedia art projects. But just as the ideals of experimental practice and intermedia seemed to come together in the moment of Expo'70, simultaneously, the avant-garde faced its own limits of growth. Shifting from the analytic focus on race and gender in the first two chapters, these later chapters pivot to reveal intersections between avant-garde and corporate values and situated everyday experience in macro-political economic contexts. In chapters 4 and 5, I examine the politics of intermedia in relation to the experiences of "everyday people," that is, people whose interests and concerns were not in alignment with the cosmopolitan elite spheres of the avant-garde. Highlighting the intersection of the aesthetics and politics of ambivalence in the spaces and senses of the everyday, the chapters on Expo'70 focus on the aesthetics of intermedia in Japan and its limits, which in turn bring to light yet another way to understand intermedia's possibilities as a playful creative, collective practice not bound to the terms of the avant-garde after 1970.

In a turn away from an analysis positioning the avant-garde in relation to the politics of the national government, chapter 4 centers on how intermedia at Expo'70 articulated a relationship between the avant-garde and the public

of Japan's growing middle class. A widely accepted story of Expo'70 pitches the radical artistic avant-garde against the forces of the national project of economic growth fueled by unstoppable capitalist greed remains. Yet, this narrative fails to explain why artists and musicians central to the Japanese avant-garde took part in Expo'70. It also fails to sufficiently explain why, if the avant-garde was indeed so radically oppositional to the capitalist values that Expo'70 represented, the corporations participating in Expo'70 so readily collaborated with the artists. In the face of such tensions, the consensus among the avant-garde and its commentators has been that Expo'70 was a monumental failure for the avant-garde. Through a discussion of the sounds of the avant-garde, I argue that if Expo'70 was a failure through the eyes of the avant-garde, it was not only because of its complicity with the corporate and Japanese national agendas but because the avant-garde failed its own "inappropriate" trajectory cultivated over the years, in terms of its openness to the mundane and porousness between art and the everyday. Japanese intermedial tendencies had derived momentum from spaces and sounds of the mundane throughout the 1960s. However, at Expo'70 the avant-garde's attempt to delineate an exclusive boundary for the avant-garde through ideas about what counted as appropriate expressions of intermedia at Expo'70 resulted in frustration on all sides. Expo'70 thus marks a shift for the 1960s avant-garde's relationship to the everyday and the mundane and the relevance of what I call the inappropriate as the terms of the Japanese avant-garde.

But Expo'70 was not the end of intermedia. Looking at Expo'70's legacy today, chapter 5 argues that while Expo'70 signaled an end of intermedia as a productive form of expression for the avant-garde, new possibilities for a multisensory, multidisciplinary art that defied traditional disciplines emerged throughout the decentralized practices of Expo'70 fans and everyday people. The chapter examines possibilities for intermedia as shaped by nostalgia and the practices of everyday people focusing on the soundscapes of popular culture and the everyday that shaped Expo'70 and its world alongside the avant-garde. I examine the significance of Nakamura Hachidai's popular song "Kon'nichiwa" performed by Minami Haruo, and the figure of Godzilla, the fictional monster with a signature roar. Following the fans of Expo'70 to the present, I discuss how people continue to produce meanings about Expo'70 well into the twenty-first century. The result is far from a failure. From the perspective of Expo'70 fans, Expo'70 continues to serve as a vehicle for dreaming up new possibilities for imagining connections across new worlds—both real and imagined. Closing the chapter, I suggest how interme-

dia practices and memories of Expo'70 shared by ordinary people carry on the work of disidentification while reinventing and sustaining new forms and experiences of intermedia. These disidentifications not only work against the hegemonic norms of Cagean experimentalism but also the dominant narrative of intermedia that the Japanese avant-garde sought to articulate through Expo'70.

Japanese intermedia in the 1960s was an inappropriate avant-garde because it took shape in the spaces and practices of the collective mundane, even as it shared many qualities and came into being through intimate relations with the hegemonic Euro-American avant-garde that made it recognizable as an avant-garde in the first place. In this sense, taking Tone Yasunao's declaration, "the John Cage shock was a fiction" literally, presents some productive possibilities. First, it hints at envisioning a vast fabric of fiction or invention that the figure of Cage inspired—a fiction both of imitation and invention. This in turn reframes the idea of influence on the Japanese avant-garde, shifting the focus from the degree of influence that Cage had as an individual to the collective envisioning of experimental practice. The story of a transpacific avant-garde told through the lens of such inventions of intermedia in 1960s Japan foregrounds collective practice cultivated through responsive processes and rooted in the mundane spaces and objects of the ordinary.

Crucially, these sites of the mundane are unexpected. As historian Philip J. Deloria has argued, the unexpected directly opposes the notion of "anomalies," defined against "Expectations," that "are almost invariably raced, classed, and gendered."[40] In his words, while the "anomalous . . . reinforces expectations, the unexpected . . . resists categorization and, thereby, questions expectation itself."[41] Alongside these entanglements of transpacific fictions and inventions, this book turns to intermedia as a useful practice for highlighting experimental music and sound-based practices as constituted by a multiplicity of disciplinary trajectories and socioeconomic conditions. The wide-ranging afterlives of intermedia demonstrate that intermedia art in 1960s Japan also harbored multidisciplinary and translocal possibilities for understanding experimental practice.

CHAPTER 1

The Mundane Archive

The ba *of Sogetsu Art Center's Printed Matter*

A bean sprout, as it relates to the history of the Sogetsu Art Center (SAC) and its afterlives, in many ways embodies the combination of the transnational circulation of experimental practices, its artefacts and archives, and the notion of the mundane, which serves as guide for themes in this chapter.

In the archive at Keio University in 2011, opening the folded invitation of Ono's SAC recital, I encountered the beansprout. At first, I mistook it for a fragment of a veiny, dead leaf that the wind had carried onto the sheet of paper, which, by mistake, or perhaps fortuitously, had slipped into the envelope, then mailed off to the poet, critic, and experimental arts impresario Takiguchi Shūzō. Shriveled and brown, and well over half a century old, the sprout looks like the remnants of a dried root (one photographer who also received the invitation misremembered the sprout as a pubic hair).[1] In the white space on the bottom third of the long and narrow sheet, a light brown stain in the shape of the sprout provides clues of the plant's contact with the folded paper. Two years later, I saw the sprout again at the Museum of Modern Art in 2013. After its transpacific flight from Tokyo, at the museum, it was protected in a plexiglass case, allowing the viewer to slowly observe and marvel at how intact it had retained its hearty vegetal fibers, with even its roots still attached. Sen Uesaki, the archivist charged with the sprout's care at that time, wrote that it "clings on" as if for dear life to the invitation, describing this most extraordinary example of perseverance, despite its inconsequential physical appearance.[2]

The sprout is now an artifact, part of the Takiguchi Shūzō Archive. Usually, the sprout rests alongside Takiguchi's collections of manuscripts, notebooks, and various printed matter. The mailed recital announcement was the product of a collaboration between designer Sugiura Kōhei and the avant-garde artist and musician Yoko Ono. Opening the envelope, Takiguchi would

have found an invitation consisting of a long sheet of white paper, folded in thirds, with typewritten text listing titles of Ono's pieces. Among these are *A Piece for Chairs* 1–10 and *Imaginary Piece*. As the title of the latter suggests, it's not clear that all of these were actually "performed" (in the traditional sense) at her recital.[3] Rather, these pieces, along with many other pieces by Ono such as her series *A Painting to Be Constructed in Your Head* (1962) may be understood as kinds of proto-conceptual performance art works whose realization remains in the realm of the imagination, but just as powerful, if not more so, than if the work were actually to be realized. The sheet also contained a list of the names of 29 collaborators who were to perform in her concert. At Sugiura's request, Sogetsu staff had grown the sprouts. A single sprout was affixed inside each invitation before folding and sending them off.[4] With the sprout, Sugiura sought to reflect the poetic simplicity and sensuality of Ono's instruction-based performances composed of acts of everyday life. The sprouts conveyed "the living cry of humanity, and lucidity of thought . . . [and] directly express the sensibility of freshness with something living." [5] Uesaki observes that Takiguchi took the trouble of wrapping the little sprout with glassine to preserve it.[6]

The sprout serves as a reminder that experimental artistic practice in 1960s Japan was as extraordinary as it was precarious, fragile, and mundane. Moreover, the sprout in Ono's invitation that Takiguchi kept far outlasted the performances of Ono's recital. The original function of the sprout was simply to herald the recital. But in the archive, it lives on as the representative of the ephemeral performances at the concert. At the same time, the sprout is also a material reminder that performances of the past may remain in the past, while we carry its memory along with us, which in turn invigorates us with new possibilities that build on that memory. My reading of the sprout takes up Ann Cvetkovich's invitation to have an "openness to unusual objects and collections, and an acknowledgment of that which escapes the archive," while at the same time working through a practice of staying with what *is* present in the archive—following a method that Ann Stoler outlined, to "explore the grain with care and read along it first" in her book *Along the Archival Grain*.[7] The sprout may also be read as an inappropriate intrusion of organic matter into the space of the archive of paper documents that also invites us to revisit the kinds of knowledge and collectivities an archive represents. In this sense, the sprout's journey (from a humble seed cultivated inside the Sogetsu building, to Takiguchi's home, to the archive, and then to New York and back), and in connection, the

account of intermedia I offer in this book, sheds some light on the different kinds of knowledge born of personal, discursive and affective relations of movement, and change over time, with ongoing possibilities for invention and reinvention even as they may have appeared to be inappropriate or impossible for existing narratives of the experimental arts.

"It was the epicenter of the Japanese avant-garde in the 1960s."[8] This is how the influential critic and composer Akiyama Kuniharu described the Sogetsu Art Center (1958–1971). The SAC can be located among an assemblage of several significant organizations that shaped the Japanese sonic avant-garde over the course of the 1950s and 1960s, which included the chanson café Ginpari, the networks around *shōgekijō* (small underground theater) such as Tenjō Sajiki, and the film-centered art space Theatre Scorpio (Sasori-za). While each of these are important spaces for the intersection of music and the broader Japanese avant-garde art community, the SAC holds significance as a space specifically designed for musical performance. The core activities of the SAC can be roughly divided into the three areas of film, jazz, and *gendai ongaku*, or contemporary classical music. Crucially, each of these areas invested heavily in experimental practices, and an important characteristic of the SAC was the intentional overlap created across artistic disciplines. In an essay about the SAC, Akiyama describes the highlights—key moments, events, and people at the seismic epicenter of the avant-garde. Over the years, artists, historians, and critics have echoed Akiyama's characterization.[9]

This chapter and the next consider the foundation that SAC provided for the many collaborations and experiments that would lay the groundwork for intermedia later in the 1960s. When the SAC was most active in the early 1960s, the term intermedia had not yet entered the Japanese art lexicon. Yet, events where music, sound, performance, film, and design came together, showed signs of intermedia-oriented thinking and experimental practice more broadly. I focus on the Sogetsu Art Center as a site that functioned as a cornerstone of a transnational avant-garde based in Japan in the early 1960s. My framework departs from Akiyama's focus on shock and the radical. Akiyama's discursive focus on shock was nothing out of the ordinary. Ana Alonso-Minutti, Eduardo Herrera and Alejandro Madrid have also noted that "experimentalism has usually been associated with contextual shock."[10] Intervening in this naturalized notion of shock as an essence of experimental practice, this chapter considers the role of shock's inappropriate counterpart—the mundane—in the formation of the 1960s transnational avant-garde. To do so, this chapter foregrounds an examination of the work of collectives with a

focus on the music-based events at the SAC as a place or *ba. Ba* is a Japanese word that translates roughly into the English concept of place, but it also goes beyond. The term *ba* captures a sense of a place shaped both by physical and affective senses. *Ba* aligns with philosopher Edward Casey's definition of "a place [that] is more an *event* than a *thing* to be assimilated to known categories. As an event, it is unique, idiolocal."[11] In a musical and anthropological context, Ian Condry mobilizes a related term *genba* as an "actual site."[12] By theorizing the *genba* as a site where "collective activities have performative effects," Condry insists on moving "away from seeing fieldwork as situated in bounded, geographical locales" through his framing of the *genba* as an active and transformative place.[13] In this chapter, the term *ba,* as it relates to the SAC, carries with it a sense of the richness of everyday activity, a space filled with events, things, people, movement, and encounters. *Ba* also emphasizes the nature of a place intended for gathering as in a meeting place or a scene while highlighting dynamic motion in the space. *Ba* thus references a space, place, field, or situation, that is determined not just by a physical location, but through a combination of an idea of space with conditions such as time (of day), and the sets of appropriate actions that may take place within them. Foregrounding activities and events at the SAC through the lens of the collective in the *ba* of the SAC, this chapter centers the notion of the physical and social place of the SAC that structured the SAC as a site for collective experimental practices. I argue that the transnational Japanese avant-garde in the 1960s was shaped by the mundane sequence of events and collective creative processes in the *ba* of the SAC at least as much as the shocking individual works and events that have been singled out.

The notion of *ba* and related terms such as *hiroba* (open space for gathering), and *basho* (a place in a designated physical location) recur in artists' reflections about the SAC since before its inception and in contemporary discussions about the SAC. The *ba* of the SAC was integral to both the artistic imaginaries and everyday social lives for artists. It was a place for social exchange: art critic Hariu Ichirō describes the SAC as a "place for encounters" (*deai no ba*).[14] It was a place of possibility: poet Tanikawa Shuntarō locates the SAC as a *ba* at the "intersection of a movement inclined towards cross-media collaboration mediated through jazz (*sou iu [jazu no] isshu no ugoki to Sogetsu to iu ba ga nanika settenga attanjyanaika to omou*)."[15] It also provided a space for conversation and dialogue about the arts: Takahashi Yūji recalls the SAC as a "place where conversations could happen" (*hanaseru ba*), and a point of departure for new ideas.[16] Donald Richie, an American filmmaker

and critic who regularly took part in SAC events, notes how there were no other spaces quite like it and calls the SAC "the first 'art center' in Japan."[17] He explains, before the SAC, "the only place [*ba*] for young contemporary artist types to get together were cafés . . ."[18] Emphasizing its distinctness, the website of the Sogetsu organization describes the SAC as a *ba* for artists to freely gather, create, co-present, and critique each other's work (*jiyū ni atsumari, sōzōshi, happyōshi, hihyōshiaeru ba, ātisuto dōshi ga kōryū dekiru ba*) that provided a "safe-haven from the storm of capitalism that controlled the art market."[19] Film maker Matsumoto Toshio's notion of the SAC as a "cultural apparatus" adds to the sense of the place of the SAC as an active agent that produced new social relations.[20] In these various formulations, both human and non-human actors shape the *ba* through interactions and relations unfolding across both space and time.

To examine the *ba* of the SAC in the early 1960s, this chapter turns to its archive. The SAC archive is one embodiment of the SAC, even as the original building that housed the SAC no longer stands, and the SAC itself ceased operations in 1971. The Keio University Art Center (KUAC) in Tokyo holds an extensive archival collection of printed matter related to the Sogetsu Art Center. The collection consists of programs, pamphlets, flyers, posters, tickets, and publications related to events that took place at the SAC.[21] In this chapter, there paper remnants of the SAC shape the narrative about the SAC as *ba*.

Through archival observations, a new insight emerges: while I use the *ba* as an analytic for conceptualizing the avant-garde in relation to frameworks within the hegemonic avant-garde, the *ba* in the context of the SAC—in line with the broader notion of *ba*—was in fact very much rooted in ideas about who and what is deemed appropriate within a spatial and situational context. The archival evidence juxtaposed with the historiographies centering on shock reveal how these women's bodies were "inappropriate/d" in narratives about the SAC and eventually, from narratives about intermedia and Japanese experimental practice. Yoko Ono's two SAC recitals, for example, are part of a very small group of women whose names appear in the titles of events at the SAC.[22] Looking at the archival documents of the SAC, of the close to 300 events that took place there, I counted the names of six women: Ono, Motofuji Akiko, Kimura Yuriko, Uchiyama Ayako, Hanayagi Suzushi, and Ashikawa Yōko. In this group, Ono is the only artist working in music and visual art among a group of dancers. As for the dancers, because the SAC did not have a regular series committed to dance, while Motofuji and others

are extraordinary dancers who have contributed to *butoh* and other areas of modern dance, their performances have not made it into the grand narrative of the SAC. The framework of the mundane combined with the flattening space of the archive makes these names present again, while offering a stark quantitative view of how few performances headlined by women were at the SAC. And yet, these bodies occupied positions that were often simultaneously appropriated (that is, recognized for their value as a resource contributing to the development of a transnational avant-garde), while deemed inappropriate to fully belong, as bodies marked by gendered difference.

The present ordering of the collection of the SAC's printed matter resulted from archivists' work at the KUAC. In 2009, archivists Sen Uesaki, Hitoshi Kubo, and artist Daishirō Mori, produced an exhibition poster emphasizing a wholistic way of viewing the collection of printed matter of the SAC. Taking the material related to the events that took place at the Sogetsu Art Center between 1958 and 1971, which number around 300 items, Mori created a large poster comprised of an arrangement of these objects into a large rectangular grid. In the poster's arrangement, flyers, posters, programs, and tickets are ordered by date of the associated event at the SAC. The chronological, event-based arrangement emphasizes the SAC as a gathering place based around performance and events. It highlights the sense of the SAC as a place shaped by the collective assemblage of not only people, but of events over time. Through this ordering, Uesaki contrasts the "curatorial view," which selectively highlights events deemed noteworthy whether for their shock value or novelty, with an "archival view," which the poster portrays.[23]

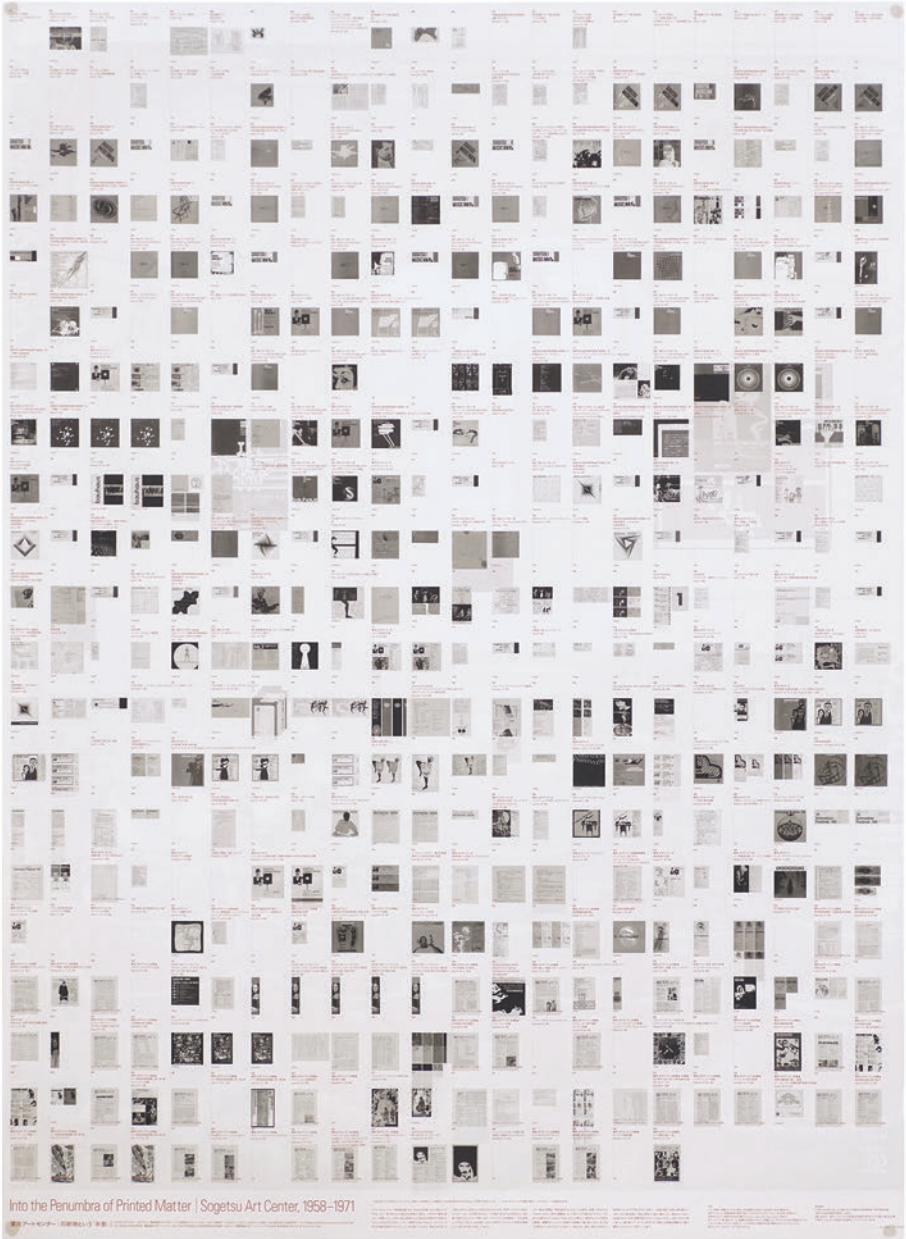
In Uesaki's notion of the archival view, the extraordinary and the shocking are still present, but they exist as part of the mundane whole. As a collective of printed documents and a repository of the paper remnants of SAC events, the arrangement of the archive does little to distinguish the extraordinary from the mundane rest. Working from the physical arrangement of the archive oriented toward the collective and mundane "archival view," this chapter presents a narrative that centers the *ba* of the SAC as the site of the collective shaping of the avant-garde. By mundane, I refer to the regular routine practices that shaped the *ba* of the SAC. The organization of the archival view furthermore undermines the notion that the individual artist must be at the center of a narrative about an avant-garde. The archive includes the Kyōyōkurabu ("culture club") events which aimed to cultivate an audience for avant-garde concerts by reaching out to Sogetsu ikebana students; here and

there, events beyond the SAC's programming show that the hall was rented out at times for a memorial, or for a farewell party to wish a jazz musician the best of luck before his departure to the United States. Significantly, each of these overlooked events that usually get left out of broader narratives of the Japanese avant-garde take up equal space as any other event, including the most widely recalled ones involving shocking premieres or international visitors. The lens of the archive also brings to the fore the more mundane events centered on collective learning. As it turns out, the mundane is hardly boring. On the contrary, the mundane was also a place for playful, creative, collaborative learning. But whereas critical and historical accounts lean toward recording and remembering the extraordinary, I suggest that the mundane structures and practices of the serialized programs shaped the SAC as a *ba*, and more broadly, created a foundation for intermedia and avant-garde practices in 1960s Japan.

The Architectural *ba* of the SAC

Well before regular public programs at the SAC began, the Sogetsu Kaikan building's plan and design began to set the tone for the defining features of the SAC. This building was also the subject of one of the first printed materials released by the Sogetsu Art Center in 1958, a brochure introducing the new Sogetsu Kaikan designed by the architect Tange Kenzō.[24] The emphasis on architecture as an act of place-making and the testimonies by artists in the brochure affirm this story of *ba*. In composer Moroi Makoto's words, the Sogetsu Kaikan was an artist's "castle of dreams" (*yume no shiro*). The physical space was made for artists; the possibility of entering into an expanding international artistic network—these were crucial to weaving the narrative of SAC as a *ba* of artistic promise. However, the SAC was not the main entity that the Sogetsu Kaikan housed. Sogetsu was and continues to be, as of this writing in 2024, an ikebana school, teaching traditional Japanese flower arrangement to students in branches across Japan, and around the world.[25] Founded by ikebana master Teshigahara Sōfū in 1927, the Sogetsu Art Center was a small extension of Sogetsu Ikebana, operating within the Sogetsu Kaikan between 1958 and 1971. Teshigahara Hiroshi, Sōfū's son, served as Director of the SAC.

Over the course of five years, Tange designed the building in close conversation with Teshigahara Sōfū, the visionary director and *iemoto* of Sogetsu,



Into the Penumbra of Printed Matter | Sogetsu Art Center, 1958–1971

Figure 4. Exhibition poster for *Into the Penumbra of Printed Matter*, Sogetsu Art Center, 1958–1971, at Keio University Art Center, November 27, 2009 through December 7, 2009. Text by Hitoshi Kubo, edited by Sen Uesaki and Hitoshi Kubo, 2009. Poster design by Daishirō Mori. Image Courtesy of Hitoshi Kubo.

and Hiroshi, a filmmaker at the beginning of his career. The future SAC played an important role in Tange's concept for the building. He envisioned his building would be a "central site for a new Japanese art movement . . ." and imagined that the space would be a site where artists would embark on endeavors "yet to be seen and heard."[26] The Sogetsu Kaikan physically embodies the key tenets of the SAC's identity and significance to the Japanese avant-garde: the spirit of internationalism rooted in traditional Japanese forms and aesthetics, as well as a site for transhistorical, transnational, and cross-disciplinary creative activity. Importantly, Tange's design emphasized the space as a site for collective gathering, whether it was to listen together in the performance hall or to mingle in the open lobby space outside of the hall that also served as a gallery space. Tange's vision came true, and following the opening of the SAC, graphic designer Sugiura Kōhei used the phrase "*shūdan no zawameki*"—noise of the collective—to describe the sounds of buzzing excitement that emanated in the *ba* of the SAC. This concept of the noise of the collective became central to some of Sugiura's designs for the publications and promotional material for the SAC.[27]

Both the form and content of the brochure emphasize the key tenets of SAC's vision of participation in the international avant-garde alongside cultivating a modern Japanese traditionalism rooted in ikebana. On the front cover, the words "Sogetsu Art Center" appear in both English and Japanese, but the alphabet text is much more prominent. Inside, image captions appear in both English and Japanese, though some of the longer texts appear in Japanese only. The booklet's pages flow from left to right, with text arranged horizontally, as opposed to a conventional Japanese book with vertically set words that flow from right to left. Sogetsu's spirit of internationalism predated the years of the SAC.

The front and back covers of the brochure show photographic images of the Sogetsu Kaikan, a broad, mid-rise rectangular block. A band of tiles in a dark blue shade wraps around the building. The varied tones and heights of the tiles evoke a calm body of water on the building's surface. Small windows quietly punctuate the tile in two neat rows in the lower and top thirds of the structure. Above and below the tile section, contrasting exposed concrete layers lend masses of weight. This attention to the concrete shares elements with architectural modernist contemporaries such as Le Corbusier. At the same time, the wide, unadorned stairway leading up to the entrance also echoes sensibilities of the architecture of traditional Japanese shrines. The front of the building is an open plaza that includes an amorphously

shaped stone sculpture with holes that sits atop a raw rock. The rounded and uneven shaping of the stone sculpture aligns with Joan Miró as much as with interest in the forms of the rounded hand-molded clay forms of the ancient Jōmon period shared by contemporary artists of the time including Tange and Teshigahara Sōfū. Plants in shades of green and red with contrasting textures and shapes appear to energetically sprout from the stone sculpture. The photo also captures a very elegant-looking automobile, perhaps Sōfū's, parked outside the building. The camera's perspective gives equal spatial representation to each of the contrasting characteristics of the building: the unmistakable modernism of the immobile industrial concrete; the craft-like quality of the neat rows of dark ocean-colored tiles; the Jōmon-inspired sculpture; the living organic plant matter bursting from the sculpted rock.

The brochure also features a lounge area on the second floor. Lined with wooden beams and decorated with modernist furniture, the lounge showcases a "perfect harmony of Japanese and Western architecture."[28] On the side of the building, an outdoor space designed by Sōfū features a "modern rock garden." Organically shaped modernist furniture and sculpture take the place of what might have been a large rock or tree in a Japanese rock garden. The Tokyo Tower, the nearby landmark communications tower built the same year as the Sogetsu Kaikan, is visible in the background.

Inside, the brochure devotes several pages to descriptions of the auditorium, the heart of the SAC. Without a season of events planned at the point of publication, the brochure offers no description of specific performance programs. Instead, it presents details of the architectural space and amenities of the Sogetsu Art Center, and endorsements by artists promoting the creative possibilities for the SAC that awaited artists. The hall was designed to accommodate up to 370 or so spectators, with a small stage suited for intimate presentations of music, theater, dance, and film. To the side of the stage, murals by French *art informel* painter Georges Mathieu and American abstract expressionist Sam Francis adorn the exposed concrete walls of the hall. Permanent fixtures in the hall, they affirm the international ties of the SAC. Striking vermillion upholstered chairs occupy the seating area, while a luxurious golden drop curtain marks the line between the audience and the stage. The lobby outside the hall also showcases original artworks including a mobile-style chandelier designed by Sōfū, and a mural by the French artist Fernand Léger. The hall's amenities include film projectors and a custom Bösendorfer piano, its vermillion red matching the hall's seating. A small but

indispensable recording studio connected to the hall is equipped to function as an electronic music studio. Composer and pianist Takahashi Yūji recalled, "it was a really small space. There was a tape recorder, Okuyama-san [the recording engineer], and if you put a chair nearby, the room was full."[29] The studio would serve as the site of creation for works by Japanese and international composers. Kōji Kawasaki notes, what distinguished the production of electronic music at the Sogetsu Art Center, a site of international distinction, was not necessarily the equipment, but the engineer Okuyama Jūnosuke. A legendary in-house sound engineer, Okuyama drew the admiration of Takemitsu, Yuasa, Cage, Tudor, Stockhausen, Xenakis, and others, who marveled at Okuyama's creativity and ingenuity in realizing their ideas in the studio.[30] Kawasaki argues that the commitment to the needs of the composers using the facility, demonstrated by Okuyama, reflects a quality of early electronic music in Japan in general: "in Europe and the United States, the electronic music studios tended to place an emphasis on the organization and environmental aspects of the studio. In Japan, however, the studios focused on the needs of the composers. One could say that this is a particular characteristic of electronic music creation in Japan, where at times the studios even created new equipment for the composers."[31]

The building's design also reflects the spirit of internationalism that was a key tenet of Sōfū's vision as an avant-garde artist working in the traditional Japanese arts predating the birth of the SAC. Though institutionally, Sogetsu Ikebana is linked to traditional Japanese arts, in his aesthetic and social inclinations, Sōfū was very much a cosmopolitan avant-garde artist working in the medium of flowers who had established a pattern of international travel and connection. His ikebana arrangements that feature bold, abstract, minimalist shapes frequently reference the materials and formal structures of contemporary sculpture of the European avant-garde. A *TIME Magazine* article on Sōfū calls him the "Picasso of flowers," and this moniker later became the title of his biography. The cultural prestige and wealth of Sōfū's Sogetsu was substantial–*TIME* mentions that "the Picasso of Flowers owns several canvases by Picasso, the Sōfū of painting."[32] This in turn paved the way for international connections in the realms of avant-garde painting and sculpture, jazz, experimental music, dance, theater, and film. In this sense, through its connection to Sōfū, the SAC's direction was slowly being established well before its official opening. When the SAC itself began operations in 1958, it continued to cultivate Sōfū's spirit of internationalism paired with the promise of the SAC as a *ba* of artistic possibility. The roster of guests in early programs, which

ranged from the artist Okamoto Tarō, the *noh* performer Kanze Hideo, the architectural critic Kawazoe Noboru, and the ethnomusicologist Koizumi Fumio, reveal the breadth of interests and cultural network that Sogetsu was already connected to.

As Director, Hiroshi embraced a hands-off philosophy of leadership that entrusted creative control to artists: "I had always been involved with activities that mixed up and brought together various art forms. So the [Sogetsu] Art Center was something that really concretized what I had been thinking about for a while. I insisted that it wasn't going to be a place where I would call on artists and ask them to do things. I really wanted people to come here on their own and find it to be a place where they could be spontaneous and experiment. The artists themselves are the real producers . . . it was probably the first time that any organization was able to sustain and continue this sort of thing. I really minded my own business. I was focused mostly on my own films, first, with *Otoshiana*, and then with *Woman in the Dunes*."[33] Pragmatically, Hiroshi's approach to the SAC also freed him to continue his own work on his way to international acclaim as an Academy Award-nominated avant-garde filmmaker.[34]

At its peak, the SAC as a *ba* of possibilities was sustained and fueled by the steady flow of hundreds of events at the SAC between 1958 and 1971. Most events took place as part of a number of recurring series, each structured around the subjects of film, jazz, contemporary music (*gendai ongaku*), and the performing arts. In keeping with the character of the SAC, events often centered on presentations and studies of contemporary international work. The programs cultivated an atmosphere of the SAC as an incubator of new artistic ideas through collective learning and experimentation across disciplines.

It's worth noting here that for an institution now mostly recalled for its significance for film and composers working in the realm of contemporary music, it was jazz that first set the tone for these collaborative practices, as I discuss further in chapter 2. Notably, the first series, explicitly dedicated to cultivating experimental performance, began in late 1959 with the establishment of the Etosetora to Jazu no Kai (Et Cetera and Jazz Circle). Jazz programs at the SAC were widely recognized by the public beyond the Sogetsu scene. The Sogetsu Music Inn turned out to be one of the most popular programs of the SAC, continuing through 1963.[35] Organized primarily by Yagi Masao and Uekusa Jin'ichi, the Sogetsu Music Inn, like Etosetora, combined lectures, listening sessions, performances, and live discussions. Mori's post-

er's arrangement of the SAC's printed matter also quantitatively hints at the centrality of jazz events, which visibly take up a large proportion of early SAC events, with a particular concentration in 1960 (the presence of jazz at the SAC all but ended after 1963).

Table 1 below shows the distribution of events at the SAC based on the archive of printed matter, focusing on film, jazz, contemporary music and the *SAC Journal*.[36] Dividing the SAC's history of programming into three periods, 1958–1959, 1960–1964, and 1965–1971, the middle period is marked by the presence of the most activity and interactions between artists across disciplines. A comparison of the two jazz-based series (combined in Table 1), and the experimental musical activities (SCS) is particularly striking. In 1960, the eighteen jazz-related events from the Etosetora to Jazu no Kai series and the Sogetsu Music Inn series held at the SAC amount to almost half of the total number of events that year, exceeding experimental music presentations. However, by 1961, only seven were jazz-related events, followed by four in 1962 and then only two in 1963. By contrast, the SCS had its most active year in 1962, with nine events.[37] Still, that only amounted to roughly a quarter of the total of SAC events for 1962. These numbers, of course, only tell part of the story. Nonetheless, the grid view of events of the SAC emphasizes a site that was strongly defined by interdisciplinary jazz events, film, and a journal in its heyday. In the remainder of this chapter, I focus on the contrast between "jazz" and "contemporary music" events at the SAC to demonstrate how the notions of the mundane and extraordinary played out in the SAC as *ba*.

The Mundane and the Extraordinary: Jazz and Contemporary Music at the SAC

Between 1960 and 1964, the peak years of SAC's centrality for the Japanese avant-garde, music programs dominated public events at the SAC and played an important role in defining the SAC as a *ba* shaped by music. Musical events at the SAC were driven by a few recurring series focused on jazz and *gendai ongaku* of the SCS. "Jazz" in the context of the SAC encompassed different styles of Black American music ranging from the blues to swing and post-bebop modern jazz. At times, these styles were also fused. For example, Dixieland jazz, by way of Manila under US occupation in the first half of the twentieth century and the routes of transpacific maritime travel, could be heard alongside modern jazz and bebop, the sound of jazz heard in Japanese

Table 1. Film, jazz, contemporary music ("SCS"), and journal issues as "events" between 1958–1971

Year	Film	Jazz	SCS	SAC Journal
I. Early				
1958	5	0	0	0
1959	7	2	0	0
II. Middle				
1960	1	18	7	9
1961	3	7	4	11
1962	7	4	9	8
1963	4	2	4	6
1964	7	0	4	3
III. Late				
1965	6	1	0	0
1966	13	1	0	0
1967	18	0	0	0
1968	14	1	0	0
1969	15	0	0	0
1970	13	0	0	0
1971	3	0	0	0
Total	116	36	28	37

cities in the years since the end of World War II and the Allied Occupation[38] "Contemporary" at the SAC, was translated as *gendai* (contemporary), but also encompassed senses of *zen'ei* (avant-garde) and *jikken* (experimental). *Gendai ongaku* was the term used to describe the musical practices of European and American composers working in the contemporary Western classical tradition, as well as the music of Japanese composers that aligned with the music of composers including Olivier Messiaen, Pierre Boulez, Iannis Xenakis, John Cage, Earle Brown, and Morton Feldman. *Gendai* and "contemporary" should be understood as signifiers serving to distinguish experimental and avant-garde compositional practices with roots in the Western Classical tradition, in contrast to the Black American roots of jazz, even as the artists and musicians saw jazz as a site of experimental practice as well. I retain the use of these terms as a way to reference their usage at the SAC. At the same time, as I discuss further in the following chapter, these divisions raise questions about aesthetics, race, and value. By taking place under the

auspices of the SAC, both the jazz series and the SCS drew interest from artists from across genres, creating a robust foundation for collaboration and cross-disciplinary artistic thought that would come together in many of the intermedia projects in the later part of the decade.

The archive reveals a curious pattern that shows the number of jazz events steadily declining in proportion to *gendai ongaku*, as table 1 shows. The table also shows that in 1960, jazz events far outnumbered *gendai ongaku* events. In 1962, the number of *gendai ongaku* events peaked, surpassing jazz. By 1964, the number of *gendai ongaku* series-based events remained the same, while there were no jazz events on record, though, in subsequent years, a very small handful took place at the SAC. One way to understand this shift is a shift in interest and significance accorded to jazz and *gendai ongaku*. What the table does not show is how the series also qualitatively differ from one another, not only in terms of genre but in terms of what I characterize as a difference between the mundane, and the extraordinary. Here, by the mundane and the extraordinary, I refer to both the function and purpose of the events. The mundane focuses on the routines of practicing, listening, and learning—a process that all musicians must undergo, but one which does not necessarily garner public critical attention. The extraordinary, by contrast, privileges works that delivered shocking radical departures from the status quo, and figure of the gifted individual—in the context of the SCS, these were usually the composers featured in the recitals and portrait concerts.

Through two series, Etosetora to Jazu no Kai (Et Cetera and Jazz Circle) and the Sogetsu Music Inn, jazz programming shaped the *ba* of the SAC, serving as a powerful site of minded experimental collaborations and encounters between media at the SAC that directly prefigured the collaborations of intermedia. For example, in an announcement inviting participants to a planning meeting for the series, the organizers Miho Keitarō, Yagi Masao and Takemitsu Tōru situate jazz as the art form drawing artists from different artistic disciplines. Placing jazz at the center, they announced the envisioned series as a site in which "exchanges and experiments between different artistic genres can take place, while producing new directions for jazz."[39]

Jazz programs very rarely focused on a single group or composer. The few exceptions include the "Hiraoka Seiji Quintet's MJQ Studies" and the "Miles Davis Research" sessions. But in these cases, the emphasis nonetheless remained on "research" and learning, through playing and listening. Notably, neither the MJQ (Modern Jazz Quartet) nor Davis was present at the SAC, and the investigations were thus conducted by listening to records. This how-

ever, turned the events ostensibly centered on an individual into developing a collective practice of listening and study, as I discuss in chapter 2.

Etosetora's roster demonstrates the commitment to bringing artists across disciplines together. For example, an announcement for the first meeting of Etosetora in January of 1960 lists the organizers as Miho Keitarō (jazz composer, arranger, pianist, actor, and a film director), Yagi Masao (jazz pianist, composer, and arranger), Takemitsu Tōru (composer), Uekusa Jin'ichi (literary, film, and music critic), Tanikawa Shuntarō (poet, playwright, and translator), Imai Hisae (photographer), Yamaguchi Katsuhiro (multimedia artist). The program was in two parts, beginning with Thelonious Monk studies that included guided listening to recordings, followed by a discussion between Uekusa and Yagi. The second part was called Etosetora to jazu no jikken (Et Cetera and Experiments in Jazz), featuring experimental film, art, poetry, and slide projection paired with jazz. Artists who presented included Miho, Imai, Tanikawa, and poet Terayama Shūji.[40] Yet, such collaborations were also grounded in the mundane practices of working as artists. Participants gathered could expect to "enjoy jazz through live performance and records, while sharing [new] works from different artistic perspectives. Here, each person is a creator and critic rather than an audience member. Talk about ideas, help find staff for one another, split the production costs, debate together. . . ."[41] The SAC editorial described the Etosetora to Jazu no Kai series, the eventsthat offered a space guided by the "spirit of play and creation, a group environment for creating and experimenting."[42] These descriptions of Etosetora demonstrate how a mix of idealistic and practical functions shaped the quality of the series. The uniqueness of jazz at the SAC was thus not its newness, but the variety of different historical eras of jazz, as well as the co-presence of jazz alongside other art forms.

In contrast to the jazz programs, the SAC had ambitions of a different scale for the Sogetsu Contemporary Series, which served as the primary vehicle for *gendai ongaku* presentations at the SAC. In a promotional flyer announcing the Sogetsu Contemporary Series, novelist Abe Kōbō anticipated that the SCS would become "not only a forum to present new music but a forum for a new art form" born of the intersecting energies resulting in nothing less than a 'synthesis' (*sōgōka*) of the different artistic trajectories."[43] In alignment with the SAC's character, collective practices and internationalism were key features of the composer-led musical contemporary music activities, with the Sogetsu Contemporary Series (SCS) serving as its most central vehicle. The two primary purposes of the SCS events were to showcase the music of com-

posers working around the SAC, and to bring the international avant-garde to the SAC. In the formative days of the SAC, Sōfū had called on composers Akutagawa Yasushi, Mayuzumi Toshirō, and Moroi Makoto to deliberately form a committee dedicated to bringing contemporary international music to the SAC.[44] Akutagawa, Mayuzumi, and Moroi would eventually become part of the Sakkyokuka Shūdan, the composer collective.

In contrast to the jazz series, the SCS was organized by a group that called themselves the Sakkyokuka Shūdan (Composer Collective), whose mission was to feature their own works in their assigned portrait concerts, which often featured world premiere performances of new work. This programming decision reflects the mindset of highlighting a single individual. Furthermore, by presenting completed works, the nature of the programs aligned more closely with traditional concerts of Western classical music rather than the unpredictable workshop atmosphere of the jazz series. These qualities of the SCS have readily lent themselves to journalistic and historiographic habits that prefer to highlight firsts and new ruptures to tradition over the collective study of existing works and recordings, as in the jazz series.

The *gendai ongaku* and SCS events also include several extraordinary and "shocking" events and notable firsts. For example, in September of 1961, the composer-improvisor unit Group Ongaku performed at the SAC. Their concert was musically as well as conceptually adventurous, and in a booklet accompanying the concert, members shared their ideas about their work as "anti-music" (Tone), explorations of temporal indeterminacy (Kosugi Takehisa), and music at the intersection of "centrifugal space and indeterminate temporality" (Shiomi).[45] The first part of the program consisted of presentations of compositions by members. But the most noted part of the program was the improvisation by members in the second half of the program. Group Ongaku's style of free improvisation included not only experimenting with sound, but also with movement and gestures, pushing the bounds of what is "musical." In the early 1960s, when such improvised music was little heard in public, the SAC was one of the few spaces in which an ensemble such as Group Ongaku could perform and be received warmly. Inspired by both the concept and the sounds of French *musique concrète* and the surrealist literary technique of automatic writing, the collision of these two forms reintroduced together in the context of free improvisation resulted in their innovative musical practice. In terms of instruments, the range of possibilities was expansive. Using whatever was available, their collection of instruments included everyday objects such as an oil drum, a radio, a doll, a set of dishes,

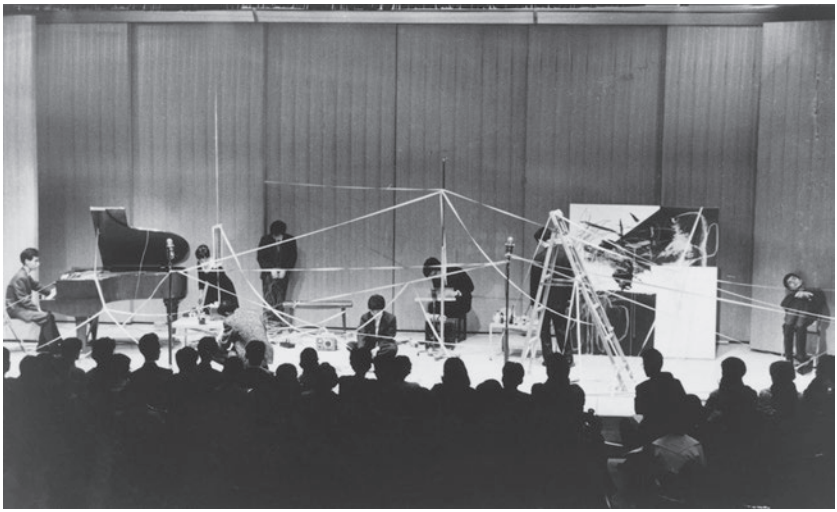


Figure 5. Performance documentation of Ichiyanagi Toshi, *IBM: Happening and Musique Concrète*, in Sogetsu Contemporary Series 10 / Works by Toshi Ichiyanagi. November 30, 1961. Sogetsu Art Center, Tokyo, Japan. The Gilbert and Lila Silverman Fluxus Collection Archives, I.21. The Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York. © The Museum of Modern Art/Licensed by SCALA / Art Resource, NY.

and an electric vacuum cleaner. Presenting a direct challenge to the notion of music as the carefully planned art of sound, member Tone Yasunao insisted that "sound is merely a result."[46] Freed from the restrictions of musical discipline and practice by the surrealist concept of automatism, they experimented with transferring actions such as physical gestures from everyday life into the framework of music.

Ichiyanagi's work sent a "shock" through the SAC community with his introduction of happenings pieces based on graphic notation.[47] Freshly back in Japan from New York, he had witnessed firsthand the "happenings" organized by artists such as Cage and Kaprow.[48] In October 1961, Ichiyanagi presented a recital of his works, which included the piece *IBM: Happening and Musique Concrète* (1960). In the presentation of *IBM*, the performers engaged in various actions on stage, producing sounds by playing a theremin-like instrument, sounding a radio, stretching a piece of tape around objects on stage and the audience, sawing, drilling, hammering a ceramic bowl, blowing bubbles, sitting in an awkwardly slumped posture, and painting.[49] Art histo-

rian Midori Yoshimoto credits the event as the first "happening" presented in Japan.[50] In 1962, Yoko Ono also returned from New York. Her 1962 concert introduced Japanese audiences to her instruction-based pieces. Ono's performances brought actions from everyday life ranging from the mundane (waiting, staring) to the erotic (caressing, climaxing) onto the stage. Journalist Yano Jun'ichi describes Ono and Ichiyanagi's work as radical practices that forcefully brought the materiality of the bodily and sensuality to the center of aesthetic experience.[51] "Shock" is the word photographer Yoshioka Yasuhiro also used to describe his reaction to Ono's concert.[52] Nam June Paik's recital also sent ripples of shock. "Paik destroyed a piano!"—for the composer and improvisor Kosugi, Paik's act of destruction as a musical performance made a strong and lasting impact.[53] Artist Akasegawa Genpei similarly recalls the sense of fear and confrontation in Paik's performance.[54] In 1962, John Cage and David Tudor were hailed as bringing the living embodiment of American Experimentalism to Japan, and with it, the phenomenon called the "John Cage shock."[55] Ichiyanagi and Takahashi had performed Cage's music in Japan the previous year. But the visit was also a much anticipated one for Cage and Tudor, who had never visited the "Orient." However, for many of the artists and spectators gathered at the SAC, witnessing Cage and Tudor in the flesh carried an irreplaceable thrill. Considering the so-called "John Cage shock," it's worth noting that Cage and Tudor were not the first international artists to visit the SAC. For example, in April 1961, Iannis Xenakis gave a talk and led a listening session of his work at the SAC. In February 1962 Aaron Copland received a "welcoming party" and a concert in which the composer himself performed. Alan Hovhaness received a similar welcome in 1960.[56] However, the Cage/Tudor visit was the first in which the SAC was the main sponsor for their visits, also producing a series of performance events in venues beyond the SAC.

The presence of these exceptional figures at the SAC (Ichiyanagi, Ono, Cage, Tudor, Paik, and Group Ongaku members)—rising stars or already prominent international artists in the 1960s connects the SAC with global contemporary histories of music and art. Their performances, legitimated through their radical nature and critical responses of shock provide a conduit to an international avant-garde through associations most directly linked through an international Fluxus network and lineage of Cagean experimentalism in Japan. Notably, Ono and Ichiyanagi's New York connections placed them directly in conversation with Cage and other Fluxus-related artists in the United States in the late 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s. Korean-

born artist Nam June Paik occupies a central place in international Fluxus as well. As an artist who variously called Tokyo, Germany, and New York home, Paik played an essential role connecting artists between these locations. Members of Group Ongaku who frequently appeared on the SAC stage as collaborators and performers would also develop links with Fluxus in the mid-1960s. Tone Yasunao, Shiomi Mieko, and Kosugi Takehisa would all become active participants in New York Fluxus in the mid-1960s and onward. Through such connections, the narrative of Japanese Fluxus thus situates the SAC as an early center for an emerging Fluxus movement in Japan.[57] In 1964 the SAC produced a handful of concerts featuring Cage and Tudor this time on the occasion of a visit with Robert Rauschenberg and Merce Cunningham. The accumulation of these contemporary music activities at the SAC in this period demonstrated tendencies that would continue to develop toward intermedia, including questioning the relationship between music, sound, and gesture; the primacy of performing bodies and action in space; the move away from boundaries of the score and the stage. Importantly for intermedia, these performances insisted on the interdependence of listening, seeing, and sensing that exceeded the boundaries of any single existing discipline.

And yet, qualities of the mundane also undergird these legendary highlights from the SAC. One musical hint that marks this presence of the mundane is the activities of the performer collective Ensōka Shūdan New Direction. New Direction's embrace of the collective was conceptually oriented toward challenging the figure of the individual composer. A note in the first program for the New Direction series declares, "until today, performers were supporters of composers, with our role confined to faithful reproduction of the score as technicians of sound."[58] At the same time, for both the Sakkyokuka Shūdan members and New Direction, a crucial function of collective identity was rooted in practical need that enabled the mundane practice of artistic work: as composer-performers, they wanted decent performances of new compositions (both by members themselves and other international composers).[59]

The archival view offers a reminder that the activities of the experimental music collectives were hardly uniformly extraordinary even as the experimental music concerts such as the recitals by Ichiyanagi, Ono, Cage, Nam June Paik, and members of Group Ongaku have come to define the musical scene at the SAC as radical, groundbreaking, and shocking.[60] And yet, even as the radically new and shocking draw our attention, seen from the archival view, there are a few more interesting things to notice about the SCS. The

first is that, in relation to the norms of the SCS, the events that gained notoriety as some of the better-remembered events produced a shock precisely because traditional norms of concert conventions remained largely intact at the SAC. We might then say that *gendai ongaku* at the SAC was not always, or not even very often, extraordinary. On the contrary, there were some exceptions to a conventional norm, and it is those exceptions that now define the image of music at the SAC. In addition, in terms of music in general at the SAC, jazz was far more integral to the soundscape of the SAC on a day-to-day basis. Despite the rhetoric of the shock of the new, regular programs for the most part stayed within the realm of the expected. For example, most programs for the Sogetsu Contemporary Series and New Directions series took the form of traditional concerts of contemporary music by Japanese and international composers. A series of portrait concerts featuring composers in the group Sakkyokuka Shūdan (Composer Collective) dominated the early SCS events.[61] Composers in the group variously embraced trends in French, German, and American modernism, including post-impressionism, twelve-tone and post-tonal techniques, neo-Romanticism, as well as experiments in indeterminacy linked to both French and American composers. Later, as performer collective New Direction took charge of the SCS, their concerts introduced audiences to contemporary music from abroad, including works by John Cage, Pierre Boulez, Alban Berg, Iannis Xenakis, George Brecht, Arnold Schoenberg, Karlheinz Stockhausen, Morton Feldman, Luciano Berio, Earle Brown, Mauricio Kagel, and Sylvano Bussotti. These concerts largely remained within the institution of classical avant-garde music concerts with musicians in tuxedos playing from scores on the stage, while audience members adhered to norms of polite concert etiquette. However, instead of merely dismissing such concerts as less than shocking or radical, I contend that these concerts also played an important role in a more mundane but valuable process of familiarizing members of the Japanese avant-garde with the historical legacies of the international avant-garde. These concerts also juxtaposed the music of the Euro-American avant-garde with contemporary Japanese composers, creating the possibility of a shared stage and opportunities for ongoing correspondence with an international scene of composers.

The archival grid of the SAC's printed matter offers a visible reminder that the SCS and jazz series were happening at the same time. While the jazz series and the SCS were each music-based series at the SAC, there are a few notable distinctions beyond differences in genre. Whereas the jazz series prominently featured workshops and discussions, the concert format was the standard for

the contemporary music series. With a focus on premieres and developing new work with composers and musicians who were regulars at the SAC, the concerts prominently featured the work of contemporary Japanese composers a distinction from the American focus of the jazz series, which relied on recordings and Japanese musicians playing in the style of those recordings. Yet, despite the differences between the jazz and SCS series, focusing on the mundane offers a sense of how the repetition of events played a role in cultivating the Japanese avant-garde over the course of many years.

The End of the SAC and Beyond

By 1965, events other than film screenings and festivals became increasingly rare, but the SAC remained an important site for film and animation in Japan. The SAC continued to host large film events such as the Animation Festival (1964–1966), The Sogetsu Experimental Film Festival (1967), The Film Art Festival (1968–1969), and several special series or events dedicated to underground cinema and expanded cinema. From time to time, there were events that drew a mixed artistic crowd: the performance component of the group exhibition *From Space to Environment*, which brought together aspects of Fluxus, performance, and experimental media art in 1966. In 1967, experimental theater groups Tenjō Sajiki and Gekidan Jyōkyō Gekijō staged performances. EXPOSE 1968, a "symposium," was a hybrid intermedia performance, screening, and conversation event that took place between April and July of 1968 and drew much attention among artists.[62]

The final years reflected the widening rift between the SAC and a handful of artists associated with the radical left. Memorably, in 1969, an uprising by an anti-capitalist group that called themselves the Fesutibaru Funsai Kyōtō Kaigi (Joint Struggle for the Annihilation of the Festival) forced the cancellation of that year's Film Art Festival. Whereas the SAC originally set out to provide a place for artists outside of the world of commercial art, by the end of the 1960s, the experimental film festival became the target of the radical left's critique of the bourgeois arts.[63] On a yellow-tinted sheet with handwritten text on both sides, the writers identifying themselves as the Fesutibaru Funsai Kyōtō Kaigi make demands for the cancellation of the festival and the dissolution of the Sogetsu Art Center as a whole.[64] Accusing Sogetsu of an alignment with commercialism and complicity in the national cultural agenda through its support of the upcoming World's Fair, the text fills both

sides of the sheet with black ink from edge to edge. The angular handwriting prioritizes loudness and clarity, but it is not particularly beautiful. Whatever one makes of this uprising, the SAC itself had changed too. As Yamaguchi Katsuhiro saw it, by the late 1960s, "Sogetsu itself began to change, but that means the connections between people also changed."[65]

Revisiting the SAC's archive reveals emphases on continuities of collaborative practice, and place as a site shaped by social relations. Each event, as well as each recollection of the SAC, produces a slightly new assemblage—the SAC as *ba*—shaped in relation to the broader artistic flows of the Japanese avant-garde. The jazz gatherings made space for a collective practice based on listening, workshopping, and imagining the possibilities of what jazz as an expansive creative practice could sound like. The contemporary music groups of the Sakkyokuka Shūdan and Ensōka Shūdan each sought to produce a forum for collective creative support.

During the 1960s, the habits of collectively-oriented creative work and the spirit of internationalism would continue to sites beyond the SAC. Beginning in the mid-1960s, many of the artists associated with the SAC would establish internationally-based careers, continuing a trajectory of internationalism of the SAC: Group Ongaku members Shiomi, Tone, Kosugi, and Tsuge would all go to New York in the 1960s and '70s. While Shiomi, Tone, and Kosugi interacted with the international Fluxus network in New York, Tsuge went in a different direction, pursuing a career as an ethnomusicologist. He studied Iranian Classical music at the University of Tehran and completed a PhD at Wesleyan University. Tone and Kosugi would remain in New York for decades. Kosugi worked with the New York City-based Merce Cunningham Dance Company from 1977, and served as Music Director for the dance company from 1995 to 2012.[66] Tone continued independent activities in New York. Dancers associated with the SAC, too, established careers in New York City. Kimura Yuriko was part of the Martha Graham Dance Company for close to two decades; Hanayagi Suzushi, also affiliated with Martha Graham, was a New York resident in the 1960s. Uchiyama Ayako established her own dance company in New York. *Noh* performers brothers Kanze, who made regular appearances on the SAC stage, spent time studying avant-garde theater in Europe, with Hisao spending six months in Paris in 1962, and his brother Hideo pursuing studies and a creative relationship with Polish theater director Jerzy Grotowski.[67]

Figure 6. Exhibition announcement for the event, Sogetsu Contemporary Series 15: Works of Yoko Ono, May 24, 1962. Sogetsu Art Center. Image courtesy of Keio University Art Center.

Coda: The Beansprout as Living Archive

In 2025, I encountered the sprout yet again—this time in the form of an image, which shattered what I had held to be an uncontestable material truth of the archive. Because the image size of Ono's invitation with the sprout was not large enough for the University of Michigan Press' publication standards for this book, I reached out to Hitoshi Kubo, archivist at the Keio University Art Center, to ask if he might be able to provide an image with a larger file size. When I opened the new image file he generously shared, what I saw was not, in fact, a hearty sprout that had remained intact over the years. My belief and certainty in the sprout's intactness had been based on earlier images as well as on-site viewings of the sheet. But this new image showed a hypocotyl or "stem," with a detached cotyledon, or "head." In a panic, I wrote to Kubo-san to ask what had happened. His calm reply was that this is actually how the sprout has always been. This means that the previous image (the one with the intact sprout) that I had grown so familiar with, as well as in its exhibited form at MoMA, represents curated choices made to present a certain archival fiction: an intact sprout, a version of what the sprout would have been or should have been. The two images of the invitation serve as nothing less than two versions of archival realities, and a reminder of the archive itself as a living, transforming space, and itself a *ba* of multiple narrative possibilities.

By following the archival grain as a document of the SAC as a *ba*, this chapter has sought to account for the flows of everyday practices and institutionalized rituals in which artists, administrators, archivists, and spectators take part, while more clearly drawing out processes of omission in hegemonic narratives that go against the archival grain. The following chapter focuses on these narrative omissions of "inappropriate/d" bodies by focusing on the practices of jazz and their significance at the SAC, while at the same time, jazz itself depended on structures of inclusion and exclusion policed by collectively shaped notions of appropriate bodies, sounds, and listening practices that were fundamental to jazz at the SAC.

CHAPTER 2

Archival Absences and Conditional Listening

How Jazz Shaped Experimental Music in 1960s Japan

Jazz events dominated the programming of the Sogetsu Art Center (SAC) between 1960 and 1962. Judging by the volume of jazz events held in the early years of the SAC, which was an incubator of experimental music, film, and performance in Tokyo, it would seem natural that jazz should hold a central place in the story of postwar Japanese experimental musical practices. When the number of jazz events at the SAC peaked in 1960, their frequency outnumbered all other music, film, and performance events combined. Between the two series devoted to jazz in that year—Etosetora to Jazu no Kai (Et Cetera and Jazz Gathering, which ran from 1959–1960) and Sogetsu Music Inn (1960–1963)—a total of eighteen jazz events took place. These jazz events are well documented in the SAC archive of printed matter, discussed in the previous chapter. By comparison, in that same year, there were a total of just seven Sogetsu Contemporary Series events, which primarily showcased contemporary classical music, or *gendai ongaku* in Japanese.[1] Under SAC Director Teshigahara Hiroshi's vision, the SAC actively harnessed jazz for its popularity among artists. In the words of critic Akiyama Kuniharu, "Hiroshi saw [the jazz series] Etosetora as an event that brought different artists together and, in this way, a crucial step towards new cross-genre collaborations."[2] The artists frequenting the SAC combined their interests in jazz with attentiveness to trends in contemporary international artistic movements.

Yet, with a few notable exceptions, most prominently in a research article by Watanabe Miho, neither histories of Japanese experimental music nor histories of Japanese jazz make much of the connection between jazz and the experimental arts.[3] And so, this chapter is framed both by abundance (in terms of archival volume) and absence (in terms of a coherent narrative to explain this abundance). Anchoring this story is the figure of a man who appears repeatedly in the abundant archival documents. His image, a Black

man, portrayed in three-quarter profile, one hand cupping the other next to his face, appears on the concert tickets for not one but a series of jazz events at the SAC. But despite his familiar presence as the face of the events, he remains unnamed. I open this chapter by asking, what can we make of such an absence of a name? As it happens, he is not the only unnamed one in the archive. Crucially, what can we uncover about the story of experimental music and intermedia in 1960s Japan by paying attention to these archival absences and omissions?

To approach these questions, this chapter builds on work by Watanabe and others but also draws attention to collective listening as the key practice that brought the *gendai ongaku* avant-garde and jazz together at SAC events. By focusing on the listening practices and transactions at the jazz events at the SAC, I argue that centering jazz in a narrative about early 1960s Japanese experimental practices provokes a rethinking of narratives about the history of Japanese experimental practices not only in terms of genre and aesthetics but in terms of specific practices—collective listening in this case. A study of jazz events at the SAC demonstrates how Japanese musicians interested in experimental practices looked not only to Euro-American avant-garde traditions following in the lineage of European classical music but equally to the creative innovations and traditions of African American music. In this way, the case studies of this chapter complicate narratives about the intersections of jazz and *gendai ongaku*, adding a Japanese angle to a body of scholarship that provides evidence of overlaps and exchanges between musicians working in the fields of jazz, avant-garde, and experimental music.[4] Complicating matters further, the genuine interests in jazz among the participants in jazz events were at times in tension with the self-image of the Japanese experimentalists as innovators and key players in the transnational avant-garde. These tensions were shaped alongside a self-conscious, deep awareness of the Euro-American avant-garde's directions in contemporary music as well as other art forms. I focus on the practices of listening at the SAC to suggest that this *awareness* of movements abroad does not mean that the Japanese avant-garde was *determined* by the West. Jazz at the SAC in this sense may be understood through Trinh T. Minh-ha's notion of the "inappropriate/d," a term she coined to describe the conditions and practices of a person in a minoritarian position in relation to a hegemonic or colonial paradigm who cannot be appropriated but is simultaneously deemed inappropriate. Trinh's notion of the "inappropriate/d other" illuminates the connections between collective listening, jazz at the SAC, and the SAC avant-garde's position-

ing relative to the international avant-garde. That is, the jazz events were constituted by a set of practices deemed both inappropriate and resistant to appropriation under the terms of a hegemonic framework, in this case, notions of what I described as the hegemonic avant-garde discussed in previous chapters. Like the practices surrounding contemporary music at the SAC, jazz was also linked to an inappropriate avant-garde in the sense that it was inappropriate in relation to the existing ways of talking about the avant-garde. In the case of jazz at the SAC, for example, the collective practices centered on careful study and imitation are rendered inappropriate in relation to the norms of both Western and Japanese music history and criticism that centers on works, premieres, and pivotal individuals, usually composers or bandleaders in the case of jazz. In addition, whereas the jazz events eagerly drew on the collective knowledge from local jazz connoisseurs and fans, there was never a push to invite exceptional leading players on the international scene that might match the notoriety of John Cage and David Tudor in music, or Merce Cunningham and Robert Rauschenberg in dance and the visual arts.

One more tension that needs to be addressed is encapsulated in the terminology that separated "jazz" from the "avant-garde" at the SAC, even as jazz was constitutive of the formation of Japanese experimental practices in the 1960s. At the SAC, the word jazz referred to the music conventionally associated with US jazz around 1960. This included musical styles with Black American roots, ranging from New Orleans jazz, swing, bebop, and modern jazz. There was also an understanding of precursors to jazz that included the blues, gospel, and work songs. At the same time, jazz was also used in contradistinction to terms like *zen-ei* (avant-garde) and *gendai ongaku* (contemporary music), which referred to the experimental practices of the Euro-American avant-garde. Members of the Japanese avant-garde seemed to recognize the radical potential of jazz to transform experimental approaches, yet the distinctions persisted. The use of the terms *avant-garde* and *zen-ei* unmodified at the SAC thus denoted more specifically the *gendai ongaku* avant-garde. When I retain the separation of the terms *avant-garde* and *jazz* in this chapter, I do so to align with their uses at the SAC. I recognize the problematic nature of this terminology, which forecloses the possibility of a notion of avant-garde jazz as a musical genre that is rooted in a history of jazz but also located at the frontlines of creative innovation. At the same time, the distinction between jazz and the *gendai ongaku* avant-garde at the SAC, in this chapter, is concerned not with marking the borders between genres

but with understanding the conditions of social practices surrounding jazz in twentieth-century Japan, rooted in collective listening. As I discuss in more detail below, this listening practice developed over the course of decades in the early and mid-twentieth century and eventually intersected with the creative activities of musicians and artists interested in a range of international artistic movements.

The connection between listening as a collective practice and developments in Japanese experimental practices remains undertheorized in discussions of the history of the Japanese musical avant-garde. Yet, I concur with David Novak, who has suggested that in Japan, "listening to recordings is the crucible of modern musical creativity, and its practice is filled with as much interpretable meaning as the sonic objects themselves."[5] The practices of listening at the SAC also align with what Jonathan Sterne has described as "audile techniques," which are a "concrete set of limited and related practices of listening and practical orientations toward listening."[6] In the case of the SAC, these are skills that listeners honed as part of a process of self-fashioning as jazz connoisseurs and creatively curious artists. While Sterne's discussion of audile techniques focuses on the genealogy of listening as a form of self-discipline in relation to new sound technologies, the jazz events at the SAC depended fundamentally on the sociality of listening not only to cultivate audile techniques but also to collectively shape new art forms that included film and visual art in combination with sound. At the SAC's jazz events, listening served as a vehicle by which Japanese musicians and artists sought to absorb, study, imitate, and imagine practices of an international avant-garde that were not readily available to Japanese artists through live performance. My analysis of the creative agency of listening at the SAC in shaping experimental practices aligns with Novak's assessment of listening to records as part of a creative process. Yet, in the archival recordings of SAC events, the conversations, the banter between pieces, the laughter from the audience, and a joke from the authoritative voice on stage all reveal ways in which the creative practice of listening included policing notions about the status of jazz in relation to the avant-garde. Listening and audile techniques at the SAC in this sense shaped Japanese experimental practices not only as vehicles for individual creativity but also social power—they produced ways to collectively establish boundaries about aesthetics as well as authority among the community of artists and listeners.

At the same time, an analysis of listening as a social practice at the SAC reveals the conditionality of listening. That is, at the SAC, racialized and

gendered bodies of jazz—both Japanese and American—complicated how members of the Japanese avant-garde listened to the music, and, importantly, who deserved to be listened to. Roshanak Kheshti has theorized the uneven relations of power at the intersection of race and gender in the process of listening to recordings through the notion of "aural imaginaries."[7] For Kheshti, the aural imaginary is a site of "interaction with the other that is at times voyeuristic, at times sadistic, and at times narcissistic."[8] Kheshti deploys the term "aural imaginary" to describe the relations of power produced in the space between a listener and the imagined, fetishized body of the performer on a recording. At the site of collective listening, a racial and gendered difference from the normative (i.e., Japanese cisgender male) listener threatened the legitimacy of the SAC avant-garde. Kheshti's notion of the aural imaginary elucidates the processes by which normative Japanese male listeners established a sense of masterful connoisseurship through an aural voyeurism of jazz conflated with the Black male body. At first glance, it might appear as if we are dealing with different parameters in the case of jazz in Japan, where the relation between geopolitical powers is twisted as the listener is Japanese and the object of the aural imaginary is American. In practice though, staying with Kheshiti's description of the aural imaginary as a practice where "first-world consumers, global northern elites, and flexible bourgeois citizens in a perceptual logic that is necessarily racialized as unmarked—hence white—and gendered through male heteronormative desire all the while maintaining a focus on the ambivalence inherent to this positionality," the dynamics of unequal racialized power structures remain firmly in place.[9] Only, here, the realm of listening erases the visible traces of the racialized Japanese body empowering the Japanese male listener to take on the listening positionality of the unmarked and white heteronormative listener. Another way to understand this dynamic perhaps is through the lens of W. E. B. Du Bois's concept of double consciousness. In this instance, at the intersection of race, class, and a desire to belong to the international artistic elite, the striving, in the realm of listening, the cosmopolitan Japanese listener finds an outlet from his entrapment between cosmopolitan and Japanese senses (as the parallel to Du Bois's "American" and "Negro" consciousnesses). But this reading draws out the irony of such fantasies of racial escape happening at the expense of the fetishized sound of Black jazz which, in the US American context, might also be analyzed as a sonic and social practice of double consciousness. What each of these concepts—the aural imaginary, and double consciousness—makes clear in this case is the fundamental dependence on unequal relations

of power that were so central to shaping a collective listening body of the Japanese avant-garde.

Whereas the figure of the Black male body was located at the sites of fetishized listening, Japanese women were key mediators delivering information and access to insider accounts about US American jazz. Yet, their female, Japanese bodies complicated the aural imaginaries about appropriate bodies of jazz. Being listened to as a Japanese woman in the space of jazz was conditional, made audible and legible only as a woman, which in the homosocial spaces of listening relegated women to the margins. The 1960s Japanese avant-garde did include several prominent androgynous, gender nonconforming, and queer performers, such as the chanson-performer Miwa Akihiro, celebrated for cross-gender performances of womanhood. There were also highly acclaimed artists in dance, literature, and film whose works explored homoeroticism and nonbinary representations of gender, such as Hijikata Tatsumi and Mishima Yukio. However, I hesitate to point to the existence of these artists as proof of a general acceptance of gender and sexual diversity or the absence of gender-based discrimination. While this discussion is beyond the scope of this chapter, I contend that a celebration of forms of sexuality understood as deviant (and therefore radical) in a very limited number of artists coexisted with entrenched discourses and practices of sexism and misogyny.

This chapter proceeds in two parts. First, I outline a history of collective listening in Japan that links to practices of collective listening at the SAC. What emerges is a narrative that challenges assumptions about Japanese experimental practices as mere offshoots or imitations of the West, without denying that imitation was indeed a key part of the practices related to collective listening. Then, I analyze documentation from two Sogetsu Music Inn jazz events as a starting point to expose the tensions within the spaces of collective listening along the fault lines of race and gender. The first of these two, which took place on February 25, 1960, featured the Black American scholar and musician Silas Mosley. The second took place on January 25, 1961. In the latter, I focus on the appearance of two Japanese women: the jazz connoisseur Idemitsu Mako and the pianist/composer Toshiko Akiyoshi. The segments that featured Idemitsu and Akiyoshi contrasted greatly, yet each exposed the gendered structures of inclusion and exclusion in the practice of collective listening at the SAC. The case studies in this chapter reveal how listening and imitation were key practices that consciously and unconsciously challenged the norms of the Euro-American avant-garde. At

the same time, within the space of the SAC, practices of listening and imitation existed alongside tensions in relation to hegemonic Euro-American notions of experimental practice that privilege individual originality and a genealogical relationship to the Western European canon. The first part of this chapter thus focuses on acts of listening as a collective creative practice of listening, which may be described as acts of *listening for*—for pleasure, for learning, and for deepening knowledge about the possibility of experimental practice. By contrast, the second part sheds light on what might be described as exclusionary practices of *listening against* other possibilities of listening. These are each aspects of a listening practice that I call conditional listening. As a practice of knowledge-making, listening developed as part of a social technology shaping expectations in the sense of what Philip J. Deloria has described as "dense economies of meaning, representation, and act."[10] Collective listening worked to establish and reinforce expectations about what counts as "good" jazz and who adjudicates those standards. These standards emerged from a structure that established a sense of collectivism through acts and discourse that reinforced racism and misogyny within the Japanese avant-garde. Together, the history of collective listening and the racialized and gendered tensions each shape the narrative about the self-fashioning of a transnational Japanese avant-garde.

Listening to Records in Twentieth-Century Japan

By the 1960s, listening to recorded sound as a group in specialized cafés and other public spaces was already a decades-old practice in Japan. As E. Taylor Atkins, Hosokawa Shūhei, Michael Molasky, David Novak, and others have noted, collective practices of listening to records developed in tandem with the reception of jazz and popular music from abroad over the course of the twentieth century.[11] From the late nineteenth century and continuing well into the twentieth, listening to records together in shared spaces was a primary way for Japanese enthusiasts of Western music, or *yōgaku*, to listen for knowledge about a range of styles from nineteenth-century symphonic repertoire to twentieth-century popular music. The first *meikyoku kissa* that played recordings of European *meikyoku* ("greatest hits" of European classical music) to clients was established as early as the 1880s.[12] The first Japanese *jazu kissa* (jazz café) is said to have opened in 1929.[13] Despite the inclusion of *kissa* in their names, the central purpose of the *meikyoku* and *jazu kissa*

was the audition of records (they are also sometimes called *rekōdo kissa*, or record cafés). The jazz cafés played a lasting role in the access to jazz in urban Japan well into the 1960s and beyond. These spaces attracted fans, connoisseurs, and collectors as well as amateur and emerging professional musicians eager to listen to the records that lined the walls of the smoky shrines of recorded music. Managers, often owners called "masters," reigned over the cafés, enforcing rules meant to enhance focused listening. In the 1950s and 1960s the *jazu kissa* thus functioned as what Eckhart Derschmidt has described as underground "schools" and "temples" of contemporary modern jazz that cultivated a cultural practice of listening and learning.[14] In addition to individual visitors, groups of dedicated amateur jazz listeners and collectors gathered regularly at these clubs to listen and learn together. One group that wielded significant power beyond the borders of the café walls was the Hot Club of Japan. While founded on the premise of a music appreciation group in the late 1940s, the Hot Club of Japan in many ways also functioned as a space that cultivated a generation of Japanese jazz and entertainment industry leaders. Notable members turned industry professionals included the music critics Yui Shōichi, Isono Teruo, and Aikura Hisato. The Hot Club of Japan also produced executives of recording companies, including Nihon Phonogram, RVC Corporation, and King Records.[15] Collective listening through the Hot Club of Japan thus not only sharpened the ears of its members but also shaped the structures of power that would in turn forge a generation of discourse and media representation in Japan rooted in a fellowship of collective listening.

In the postwar era, US-sponsored community spaces additionally served as important sites of *listening for*—for new American sounds through collective listening and learning about jazz and new music by contemporary American composers. Among these was the American Cultural Center (often referred to as the American Center). The American Center was part of a network of libraries installed across Japan by the Civil Information and Education Section (CIE) during the Allied Occupation of Japan. These centers were part of a broad US diplomatic campaign during the immediate postwar years to build social, political, and cultural alignment between Japan and US American values of democracy and capitalism during the Cold War years. The American Center became a beloved hangout for members of the *gendai ongaku* avant-garde including Yuasa Jōji, Takemitsu Tōru, and many others who attended record listening sessions that featured American music.[16] Visitors to the American Center also had access to music journals and scores

of new music by American composers—materials that were not available through the local Japanese libraries.[17]

Outside of the cities, listening for the sounds of jazz and American popular music on the radio was also an activity that often happened in collective settings. In a time when not every household owned a radio, families and friends would gather to listen to a single radio in the neighborhood. Perhaps they gathered to listen to important news. Or, perhaps they would tune in to the music played on the Far East Network radio established by the US Department of War, the Voice of America network, or the "Rhythm Hour" on NHK radio hosted by leading Japanese jazz critics such as Yui and Kubota Jirō.[18]

The SAC continued these practices of collective listening, study, and discussion, which were major features of the jazz-centered events. In the words of Nara Yoshihiko, former SAC administrator, "It was modern jazz that brought poets, artists, designers, and photographers together to create an open-space environment (*hiroba-teki na kankyō*) in the early days of the SAC."[19] They understood that for Japanese artists, jazz offered an avenue for myriad possibilities beginning in the 1950s—or innovation, experimentation, artistic freedom, and a feeling of international contemporaneity. For example, the composer Takemitsu Tōru, who played an active role in organizing the jazz events at the SAC, was equally interested in the music of the French modernist composer Olivier Messiaen and jazz. Notably, a formative part of his early musical training took place through a gig playing records for GIs stationed in Yokohama in 1946.[20] Throughout his career, jazz sounds make their way into film scores by Takemitsu including *Kurutta kajitsu* (Nakahira Kō, 1956) to the uncanny light jazz that accompanies the landscapes of Ōshima Nagisa's *Tokyo sensō sengo hiwa* (1970).

The first jazz series to launch at the SAC, called the Etosetora to Jazu no Kai series (Et Cetera and Jazz Circle), was part listening party, part concert, and part lecture on the theory and practices of jazz in the past and present. At the *Etosetora* gathering in January 1960, the attendees listened together to recordings by Thelonious Monk. Following the listening session, the program lists a discussion and debate about Monk's music by jazz critic Uekusa Jin'ichi and pianist Yagi Masao, an ardent advocate of Monk's music. (A few months later, Yagi would release his first record, *Masao Yagi Plays Thelonious Monk* [King Records, 1960]. As the title already suggests, the album was a study of Monk's music. By American standards, the playing in Yagi's record might be said to go against the tenets of originality and individual voice in American jazz. Indeed, in the words of a prominent American scholar, Yagi's playing

was "fairly derivative" of Monk while the sidemen equally relied on imitation, "copying licks verbatim from popular American jazz musicians.")[21]

However, to judge originality in and around Etosetora on the merits of individual performances alone misses the point. At the core of Etosetora's experimental endeavors is the way in which the music of Monk and others was placed in conversation with other contemporary visual and performing arts. As the "et cetera" in the name of the series suggests, the series explicitly aimed to put jazz in conversation with other art forms. The Monk study session was followed by a segment titled "Experiments in Et Cetera and Jazz," featuring work by the poet Tanikawa Shuntarō and others. The program from the February 1960 gathering of Etosetora similarly encapsulates a sense of experimental mixture. The flyer lists a performance titled *Eiga + Shi + Modan Jazu* (Film + Poetry + Modern Jazz), combining visual projection by photographer Imai Hisae, poetry by Terayama Shuji, and a composition by jazz musician Miho Keitarō performed by the ensemble CJA. The second presentation of the evening lists Italian artist Bruno Munari's *Direct Projections* (a series of works in which sequences of images are projected using a slide projector) combined with an electroacoustic piece by Takemitsu titled *Quiet Design*. The flyer notes artist Takiguchi Shūzō (poet, critic, artist, and impresario of the experimental collective, Jikken Kōbō, active in the 1950s), who made the Munari projections possible, would give a brief lecture on Munari. Finally, the program concluded with a lecture on "Top Ten Jazz" by Uekusa.

In addition to the jazz events, contemporary film shaped the relations between jazz and the avant-garde for the SAC crowd. From the earliest days of the Japanese film industry, jazz was part of film. Just as in the United States with *The Jazz Singer* (1927, dir. Alan Crosland), the soundtrack of the first Japanese sound film *Madamu to nyōbō* (*The neighbor's wife and mine*, 1931, dir. Gosho Heinosuke) was filled with the sounds of jazz and prominently featured a jazz singer as a character. Louis Malle's *Elevator to the Gallows* (1958), featuring music by Miles Davis, was an important vehicle for modern jazz at the SAC and was notable for bringing the realms of jazz and French avant-garde film together. In Aikura Hisato's assessment, for the SAC, the aesthetic value of jazz was consecrated through its validation in the film tradition of France—the original land of the avant-garde.[22] According to Aikura, inspired by the new avant-garde legitimacy accorded to jazz, SAC's director Teshigahara Hiroshi was emboldened to situate jazz at the core of the multidisciplinary gatherings.

Together, the long history of the collective practices of *listening for* reveals

the indebtedness of the collaborative experiments that took place at the SAC to practices around jazz and listening. Jazz was the launching point for discussions such as "the images of poetry," reflections "centered on improvisation on the piano," and "synthesizing effects for film and animation" that took place alongside musical performances.[23] While the jazz events reveal a clear attunement between the members of the Japanese avant-garde and the international scene, the centering of collective listening departs substantially from the focus on individual genius in the hegemonic Euro-American avant-garde. Yet, at the same time that the centering of these listening-centered practices of the SAC avant-garde may be understood as a radical and bold departure from the assumptions of the hegemonic avant-garde, it too depended on structuring its own modes of inclusion and exclusion. The lens of conditional listening reveals the workings of selective processes of fetishization and erasure along racialized and gendered lines.

Archival Absences and Conditional Listening: The Unnamed Black Man, The Little Girl, and the Missing Women

Such processes of fetishization and erasure, forms of what I describe as *listening against*, can be seen in the absences and incomplete presences in the archive of printed matter of the SAC. I return to the image of the face of the unnamed man mentioned in the opening pages of this chapter. His image continuously appears in concert tickets for the Sogetsu Music Inn series between 1960 and 1961. The image appears prominently in the SAC's publicity material for the Music Inn series ostensibly as a signifier of "jazz." But what is his name? What is his relation to the events? Is he a musician? An artist? The recurring figuration of his presence coupled with the persistent absence of the other parts of his story haunts the narrative of jazz and experimental music at the SAC. In the face of such absences and omissions, in this section, I focus primarily on three figures, Silas Mosley, Idemitsu Mako, and Toshiko Akiyoshi, whose racialized and gendered presences each mark the limits of what I am calling conditional listening of the 1960s Japanese avant-garde. As studied and dedicated as the practices of collective listening may have been, as a social practice, the acts of collective listening also served to determine the kinds of voices and sounds that could register as legitimate authorities as well as collectively establish those who were outside of that purview.

The jazz events at the SAC frequently focused on the recorded music of

Figure 7. Event ticket for Sogetsu Music Inn 2: “Burūsu no keishō” (Transmission of the blues), February 25, 1960. KUAC SAC no. 038(d). Courtesy of Keio University Art Center.

Black US Americans, featuring male instrumentalists such as the Modern Jazz Quartet, Thelonious Monk, Miles Davis, and Ornette Coleman, along with vocalists, which included women such as Billie Holiday and Ella Fitzgerald. Yet, in person, Black American artists were largely absent from the SAC stage. Their bodies remained in the realm of the aural imaginary.

Silas Mosley, a speaker at the February 1960 meeting of the Sogetsu Music Inn, was an exception. He was a Black US American educator, historian, and singer living in Japan. At the International Christian University where he worked, he was the first Black instructor in the university's history.[24] Titled "Burūsu no keishō" (Transmission of the blues), the February Music Inn gathering featured Mosley alongside Japanese musicians, singer Mizuta Sanae and pianist Nagata Kiyotsugu. The musicians Yagi Masao, Miho Keitarō, Yamaya Kiyoshi, and Takemitsu Tōru also took part in the program. In an archival audio recording from the event, Mosley can be heard introducing the audience members to the history of the blues and African American spirituals. In the lecture, in Japanese, he describes field hollers, work songs, and spirituals as the "ancestors" of jazz while locating the blues as the "backbone" of jazz.[25] Mosley also shares his assessment of the cultural and spiritual function of jazz: "Jazz is not a rhythm, nor a melody, nor even a musical form that gradually develops . . ." Instead, he insists, "It is a feeling of freedom that expresses what is felt in the moment."[26]

Mosley's lecture and the event were very well-received by the SAC listeners and the event went on to tour—a rare occurrence and achievement for a SAC production, which was most commonly a one-time event. As valuable as Mosley's lecture may have been, his singular presence at the SAC as an American speaking about jazz leads me to question why, at the same time Teshigahara and the SAC's event organizers recognized the jazz events as a meeting point for artists across disciplines, there is little evidence of the administration actively pushing to bring any jazz musicians of international stature to the SAC. Instead, the organizers turned their attention to more local scenes. For example, jazz pianist Yagi Masao, who curated the "Burūsu no keishō" event, spent his nights performing in the late 1950s at a Yokohama nightclub for Black US servicemen while he sought a taste of US jazz culture. It was there that Yagi claims to have experienced firsthand the "everyday sensibilities of Black people . . . and regardless of skill, the music leaped out of their mouths—the blues."[27] If the SAC could mobilize its resources and connections through individuals such as Ichiyanagi Toshi, Mayuzumi Toshirō, and Yoko Ono with ties to American artists of the Euro-American exper-

imental lineage to bring John Cage and David Tudor to Japan, why did the SAC never seriously attempt to bring someone like Bud Powell to Japan by leveraging Akiyoshi's connections? It appears that, in contrast to the all-out effort to bring white composers of the Euro-American experimental scene to Japan, the SAC largely listened against the Black body, which remained in the spaces of the aural imaginary of recordings, images, and discourse. Musicians and artists associated with the SAC's *gendai ongaku* avant-garde traveled to Europe and the United States to study the latest developments of the international avant-garde, but investment in jazz was contingent on lower budgets and domestic accessibility. Moreover, the framing of Yagi's account suggests he was able to fulfill a desire for exposure to authentic jazz by interacting with Black US servicemen, where the racialized encounter sufficiently counted as authenticity. The musicians and listers at the club remain unnamed in his story. In another instance, an article by Otsubo Naoyuki in the *SAC* journal invokes the authority of "a Black man I know" to legitimize Otsubo's assessment of Art Farmer's album *Brass Shout* as an indicator of the future of jazz. Without ever naming the "man I know," Otsubo rests authority on the man's race over any other qualifications.[28]

In each of these stories by Mosley, Yagi, and Otsubo, I note certain efforts at asserting authority over the meaning of the blues and its relation to Black musicality. How *did* Mosley and Yagi each turn to the blues in ways that shaped their respective auditory imaginaries? And in the end, what forms of listening and conditional listening were at work by the SAC listening collective in hearing Mosley speak? These are questions that the archival record cannot answer. Nonetheless, at the very least, they reveal how the archive is a place that reveals as many questions as it reveals evidence about the record of what took place at the SAC. Where we may not know the names, we may still understand that the questions, which are the absences and unnamed are very much part of the story, and formative to the practices and structures of power that in turn shaped musical practice.

Another set of absences haunt the record of three Japanese women who participated in the Sogetsu Music Inn 11 held on January 25, 1961. Titled "Etosetora no jamu sesshon: Gonin no gesuto ni yoru WHO PRESENTS WHAT" (Jam session et cetera: WHO PRESENTS WHAT by five guests), the program featured guests representing a range of fields: composer Takemitsu Tōru, ethnomusicologist Koizumi Fumio, visual artist Yamaguchi Katsuhiro, and jazz connoisseur Idemitsu Mako. The jazz vocalist Gotō Yoshiko performed as well, though her name was not included on the poster for the

Figure 8. Poster for Sogetsu Music Inn 11 "Etosetora no jamu sesshon—5-nin no gesuto ni yoru WHO PRESENTS WHAT" (Etcetera jam session—Who presents what with 5 guests), January 25, 1961. KUAC SAC no. 077(c). Courtesy of Keio University Art Center.

event. Also missing from both the poster and the program is jazz pianist Toshiko Akiyoshi. Akiyoshi would make an appearance later in the evening as a special guest. In the archival audio recording of the event, the difference in the ways in which authority is variously performed, or undermined, is striking. Here, I focus on the differences between Koizumi as the respected male professor, Idemitsu as a young woman who had the then still-rare experience of having witnessed the jazz scene in New York City as a Japanese national, and Akiyoshi as the brilliant jazz pianist whose sidelined position at the event seems mismatched with her status. Over the course of the evening, claims to authority and contestations of authority take shape through gendered and racialized terms.

The program of the "Etosetora no jamu sesshon" opens with Kubota Jirō serving as the host. In the audio recording of the event, he introduces the program, explaining that the evening is about bringing together four guests from different fields (ethnomusicology, contemporary classical music, visual art, and jazz) and combining their expertise through jazz. He recalls the excitement surrounding Art Blakey and his band's first visit to Tokyo (which had taken place just eleven days prior) and then invites the audience to listen to a performance of Miles Davis's "Dig" performed by Maeda Norio and his trio. Next, Koizumi Fumio, a professor of comparative musicology at the Tokyo University of the Arts, takes the stage for a brief lecture. He riffs on the connections between jazz and Indian classical music. In the recording, Koizumi, a male professor, speaks with the easy voice of a beloved and charismatic teacher addressing a public audience. As he expounds on the complex use of modes in Indian classical music, he plays recordings to illustrate his points. Koizumi makes it a point to distinguish the Indian music of the Brahmin class and its "big contrast to jazz," implying that jazz belongs in a social and cultural realm at the opposite of the Brahmin elite.[29] Exaggerating to emphasize the deeply systematic complexity of the Indian raga system, he explains, "There are about 37,000 modes unlike in Western classical music."[30] This draws laughter from the audience. He continues, "In school, you learn about fifty. To be a musician you need to know about two hundred."[31] He then goes on to explain the process of improvisation using the modes. After Koizumi's lecture, Kubota invites a group of musicians led by Maeda Norio to attempt a performance of Milt Jackson's "Bags' Groove" while improvising on a selection of three modes inspired by Indian ragas. Cued by Koizumi, Maeda cautiously plays three scales. The audience laughs again, perhaps noting the musicians' trepidation. The band obliges with Koizumi's request, nonetheless.

Tentative but dutiful in their effort, their performance ends up sounding like a hurried application of church modes from Western classical music imposed on the melody of "Bags' Groove." But the mood of Koizumi's segment is one of convivial fraternity, with the feeling of an open rehearsal, a classroom, and a workshop where attendees encounter new perspectives from experts while the focus remains on collective listening and learning.

Following a debrief on the band's performance, Kubota announces, "A woman will now appear on stage" (*Josei ga tōjō shimasu*)![32] On the printed program, this segment is titled *Watashi no Horace Silver* (My Horace Silver). The "woman" is Idemitsu, but in Kubota's introduction, her status as a woman precedes her name, reducing Idemitsu to a generic identity. Only when Kubota directly engages Idemitsu in conversation do we hear her name: "Idemitsu-san, good evening." In the exchange that follows, Kubota introduces Idemitsu to the audience. She is a college student attending Waseda University. In Kubota's words, she went to New York "because she is a jazz fan."[33] His first question to Idemitsu is about her favorite New York jazz club and musician. Now cast in the role of the young *josei*, she performs her part, a sweet young woman. Her favorite club? "Well, I suppose Birdland of course" (*Yappari* Birdland), she replies, elongating the last syllable of *yappari-ii*, taking on a Japanese speech pattern associated with girlishness. Favorite musicians? She giggles shyly and names Horace Silver (*yappari* Horace Silver).

The conversation then turns to the topic of Silver's racial authenticity. Kubota asks Idemitsu, "Horace Silver is not a real Black man, right? He's fake? But he is spearheading the 'funky' [sound in jazz]."[34] Idemitsu responds that Silver is "about half Black," with a Portuguese mother. Her defense of Silver is that "he keeps the rhythm with his whole body . . . and sweats so much that if you sit close to him the sweat might fly off to you" as if his sense of rhythm and profuse sweating were the sure signs of his bodily connection to the music.[35] Idemitsu's validation of Silver echoes a racialized white American view of Black musical labor, where visible physical exertion is viewed as evidence of value and authenticity, a critique that Anthony Braxton has made about white critics reifying Blackness with the phrase "the reality of the sweating brow."[36] Jokingly, Kubota turns to Maeda and suggests that the next prompt is for him to play like Silver, that is, sweating profusely to prove his worth as a jazz player (a joke conflating Blackness, jazz, and biology, where authenticity might be measured in ounces of sweat). At the same time, both his introduction and his questions to Idemitsu enact a *listening against* the possibility of Idemitsu sharing deeper insight about her experiences in Amer-

ica. Kubota directs the conversation to produce a performance of Idemitsu as a sweet rich girl, starstruck by Silver. As the segment's title implies, her testimony of "My Horace Silver" is nothing more than her personal opinion than a studied account. The takeaway for the audience is that her feminized presence marks her as a novelty act. For the host, the most useful part of her segment seems to have been to affirm entrenched notions of the biological racialization of authentic jazz through the interrogation of Silver's Blackness.

In the years that followed, Idemitsu would in fact become known as one of Japan's foremost experimental media artists and a fierce feminist voice of the Japanese artistic avant-garde. Her works, with titles such as *What a Woman Made* (1972), and *Kae, Act Like a Girl!* (1996), reveal her tongue-in-cheek brand of feminist filmmaking. If her film and video works are evidence of fearless creativity and critical insight, the gap between this better-known Idemitsu and the infantilized *josei* on stage denied a chance to speak as an authority is all the more striking. It is impossible to discern from the archived audio recording what the listeners in the audience were actually thinking. Could they have imagined and listened beyond the façade of gendered performance? Could there have been a space to listen past the codes of conditional listening that foreclosed a more open-ended engagement with Idemitsu's account? Could they hear Idemitsu as a messenger and authority who, behind all the performances of the girlish fan was in fact a young artist who had traveled abroad and gained rare access to the spaces of the New York jazz and art scenes, where most of her Japanese compatriots could only imagine through their listening?

Later in the program, Kubota excitedly announces a special guest. It is Toshiko Akiyoshi. Judging from the sense of anticipation in Kubota's banter, he had eagerly awaited the arrival of Akiyoshi. She had just returned to Japan from the United States the night before for the first time in five years since departing to study at the Berklee School of Music. The occasion was for a Japan tour of the Toshiko Mariano Quartet.[37] On stage, Akiyoshi explains that she wanted to get to the Sogetsu Hall earlier but couldn't. Greeted as a celebrity upon her return, that afternoon she had attended a big homecoming party held in her honor at the Akasaka Prince Hotel.[38] As they converse, Kubota tries to persuade Akiyoshi to play for the audience. But the request seems to take her by surprise. Her response sounds evasive. "Well, I'm playing [in Tokyo] in March, so . . ." Kubota again pleads, referring to her as "Aki-chan," addressing her in a friendly and diminutive way of addressing women and girls: "Well something in secret? Aki-chan, come on."[39] She agrees but

mutters, "If you had told me, I would have told him [Charlie Mariano, the sax player] to bring his instrument." Then, turning to her bassist, she asks, in English, "Gene [Cherico], do you want to try the bass?" (Presumably, as with the piano, there is an instrument on stage that Cherico can use for this occasion.) She explains to Kubota, "We don't usually play without the sax. . . . So I don't want people to misunderstand our sound . . . we're just going to play one piece."[40] Kubota reminds the audience that this is an unauthorized performance. They play around eight minutes of hard bop jazz. This is, in fact, the first (though unofficial) public performance in Japan by her American group, which included Mariano, Cherico, and Eddie Marshall. In sharp contrast to the tenuous tone of her conversation, her performance is unquestionably commanding. But the archival recording does not contain anything else from Akiyoshi. There is no other sign indicating that she returned to the discussion after her performance.

Akiyoshi's authority as an established musician should have been unquestionable on the SAC stage in 1961. Her credentials were impressive by any measure: At age twenty-four, in 1954, she had already released her own album in the United States and Japan, produced by jazz impresario Norman Granz. She was also the first Japanese musician to attend the Berklee School of Music where she received a full scholarship.[41] But her one performance at the SAC is all but erased from the visual and textual archive. With Akiyoshi's participation uncertain until the moment she stepped onto the SAC stage, there is no official program that bears her name. The SAC's archive of printed matter misses her presence altogether. Her name and sound exist only in the archival recording. But if Akiyoshi was Japan's leading jazz musician at this point in 1961, why was her participation so poorly planned and so tenuous?

For some listeners, even her performance was suspect. Her performance should have served as a demonstration of the latest techniques and sounds, delivering a rare experience of hearing a sound cultivated on the stages of New York City directly to the listeners assembled at the SAC. Whereas the critic Yui Shōichi widely championed Akiyoshi's talent in his writing and radio shows, others such as Aikura Hisato remained ambivalent about her success. In his book on the history of Japanese jazz, Aikura actively *listens against* Akiyoshi's talent and discipline, instead ascribing her success to the spectacle of being an "Oriental" and "woman" in America.[42] Aikura was suspicious of the fanfare she was receiving both in Japan and the US on the grounds that Akiyoshi's reception was contingent on her gendered exoticization as *tōyōjin* (an "Oriental" person) and *josei* (woman).[43] No amount

of international recognition was enough to enable Aikura to hear Akiyoshi without regarding her gendered and racialized Japanese female body as the object of suspicion. Unable to see beyond the Orientalist frame, he could not comprehend how Akiyoshi's career might have depended on proving to herself and listeners that she was more than a novelty act or "publicity" stunt. This was true whether she was performing for Norman Granz, at Berklee, or for the Sogetsu crowd. Aikura thus deploys his authority as an expert listener and respected critic to police the boundaries of who counts as a legitimate voice of jazz. Aikura's resistance to Akiyoshi is especially pronounced, as the critic was deeply invested in the promotion of Japanese jazz.

It is possible to read Aikura's aversion to Akiyoshi in his own discomfort and shame in seeing Japan's finest jazz musician objectified as a sweet, kimono-clad "Oriental" girl. On the album cover of Akiyoshi's first US release in 1954, titled *Toshiko's Piano*, there is an illustration by the artist David Stone Martin of a woman, presumably Akiyoshi.[44] She wears a modernized Chinese qipao-style dress. The Chinese dress seems to reference both a generic Orientalism and perhaps also Akiyoshi's birthplace in fascist Japan-controlled Manchuria in Northeast China. Using lettering from the "Chop Suey" font family, an American typographic signal used to evoke the stereotyped "Orient," the name "TOSHIKO" in all caps appears on the cover. Semianonymous, she isn't given her full name. Just Toshiko and her piano. The woman is depicted from behind, standing next to a grand piano where she has placed both hands as she gazes off into the distance. A large floral arrangement explodes above the piano. The floor-length dress casts the woman in the image as a lady in a salon. Far from such scenes of peaceful domesticity, in reality, it was not long before, prior to her studies at Berklee, that Akiyoshi had been cutting her teeth at dancehalls and clubs for American servicemen near the US bases in Japan. One such venue was the Seamen's Club in the port city of Yokohoma, a place that Akiyoshi recalls was a "rough place, and they maybe have a fight every night of the week, but you can play."[45]

Promoting a different image, the same album was released in Japan with the title *Amazing Akiyoshi Toshiko*, which imitatively echoes the naming of *The Amazing Bud Powell* (1954), Akiyoshi's musical role model. It's worth noting that the admiration went both ways, with Powell famously pronouncing her the best female jazz pianist—though his praise too was couched in gendered terms. But for Aikura, the image of the "Oriental girl" serves as proof of Akiyoshi's lack of musical ability. For Aikura, Akiyoshi was a great imitator of her idol and mentor Bud Powell but nothing more.[46] His attack

on Akiyoshi homes in on the notion of imitation, reifying a broader anxiety in Japanese jazz about the Japanese inability to move beyond imitation into the realm of authentic and original creativity—the broad acceptance of Akiyoshi by the US jazz community notwithstanding. Akiyoshi and Idemitsu each played direct roles in bringing knowledge about jazz to the SAC. Yet, the SAC audience and event producers saw their presence filtered through racialized and gendered discourses.

In 1961 when Idemitsu and Akiyoshi appeared on the SAC stage, they had very little in common aside from a few traits: both were women with deep investments in jazz, and they both had firsthand experience being around the music in the *honba*—the privileged authentic site—of the United States, New York City. Their differences were far more pronounced: Idemitsu was a wealthy daughter of the Japanese oil magnate Idemitsu Sazō, founder of the company Idemitsu Kōsan. She had traveled to the United States as a college student, at a time when relatively few Japanese had either the leisure time or the funds to take on such a trip. An ardent jazz fan, she frequented jazz clubs in New York City, becoming familiar with key players in the scene. A few years after her Sogetsu Music Inn appearance, Idemitsu would return to New York, this time as a student at Columbia University. By contrast, in 1961, Akiyoshi had already made waves in both the American and Japanese jazz worlds. She was a rare female artist who had attended the Berklee School of Music on scholarship and entered the New York scene as a fiery and dazzling hard bop pianist. And yet, despite these differences, Akiyoshi's and Idemitsu's appearances at the SAC are united by their invisibility and exclusion through the mechanisms of conditional listening, that is, *listening against* possibilities that lay beyond the boundaries defined by gendered and racialized limits. Attendees and presenters saw the appearances of both women as spectacles with their gendered identity shaping their reception, their expert knowledge and unique insight notwithstanding. The treatment of a third woman who appeared on stage on the same night at Sogetsu Music Inn 11 with Idemitsu and Akiyoshi—the jazz vocalist Gotō Yoshiko—only further affirms both the significant presence of jazz women on the Sogetsu stage and their persistent erasure from the written record of the SAC. Gotō performed in "I Got It Bad (and That Ain't Good)" by Duke Ellington with lyrics by Paul Francis Webster. As the composer Takemitsu introduces the band, he jokes that he doesn't trust the pianist Yagi Masao to sing but Yagi should get his wife Gotō-san to do so. Yagi's name appears on the event's flyer. Gotō's does not, though she too, was a well-established jazz musician at that time.

Paying attention to the gaps in the SAC archives reveals how Mosley, Akiyoshi, and Idemitsu contributed to the project of the collective listening sessions that shaped experimental practices in 1960s Japan. The assembled audience members surely recognized this to an extent. At the same time, reception and interactions during the programs framed them as novelties marked by their racialized and gendered identities and simultaneously rendered them unheard and unseen—their names and voices erased from the archive. As the SAC avant-garde strived to open their ears to multiple realms of artistic practice, their love for jazz existed as a carefully policed aural imaginary that served the avant-garde while managing anxieties about authenticity and appropriateness along the fault lines of race and gender. Freedom to explore new aesthetic possibilities glaringly did not guarantee freedom from an objectifying sociality of Japanese male listening.

Coda: The Possibilities of Jazz—Missed Connections and Future Implications

Jazz events shaped the spirit of the SAC, which in turn foregrounded collective exchange and internationalism in Japanese experimental practices. However, listeners of the avant-garde also excluded certain voices and sounds from their field of hearing. If listening was a democratic process with an experience shared among a collective, that collective nonetheless clearly produced its own boundaries. At the same time, in historiographical terms, the jazz activities at the SAC yielded few singularly transformative moments since their events centered on listening and collective study of existing recordings rather than groundbreaking new works and premieres.

Jazz musicians, not just members of the *gendai ongaku* avant-garde, also frequented the SAC, which provided a space to go beyond the expected. They came to the SAC with an interest in infusing jazz with avant-garde techniques and sensibilities. At the Shinseiki Ongakukenkyūjo (New Century Music Research Institute) established by Takayanagi Masayuki in 1962, a group of adventurous jazz musicians began exploring the possibilities of graphic notation for jazz performance.[47] The *gendai ongaku* avant-garde figured into pianist Yagi Masao's 1965 SAC recital, "Jazz—New Thing." While referencing the free jazz album *New Thing at Newport* featuring John Coltrane and Archie Shepp in the recital's title, Yagi also incorporated a graphic score, possibly German composer Karlheinz Stockhausen's *Zyklus* (1959), in

the program for the concert, indicating his enthusiastic experiment with new ways of approaching improvisation unbound by genre.[48]

For Aikura Hisato, the *gendai ongaku* avant-garde offered the possibility of creating original forms of Japanese jazz. "Jazz changes from the outside," he argued.[49] A key interlocutor between jazz and the *gendai ongkau* avant-garde, Aikura claims to have attended all of the Etosetora events. He also went to the series of events surrounding John Cage, David Tudor, and Robert Rauschenberg's visits as well as many of the events in the Sogetsu Contemporary Series that featured new experimental works by young Japanese composers such as Ichiyanagi Toshi or Kosugi Takehisa. Aikura himself took part in a multimedia performance organized by experimental musician Tone Yasunao that occurred at the SAC. The resulting sound recording would later become the soundtrack for Kanesaka Kenji's film *Hopscotch* (1967). Convinced of the significance of such events, the critic made it his mission to school younger jazz musicians. Aikura's students included the pianist Yamashita Yōsuke, and Aikura taught these new developments in avant-garde music and arts in his weekly night school gatherings held in the second floor of a *meikyoku kissa* named Mozart, located in the back of a pawn shop in the Asagaya neighborhood of Tokyo.[50] Yamashita, for his part, would become one of the most prominent Japanese jazz pianists over the course of his career. He continued to collaborate with members of the *gendai ongaku* avant-garde over the next several decades, which would include premiering Ichiyanagi Toshi's Piano Concerto No. 4, "Jazz" (2009), written specifically for him. Graphic notation, too, made an impression on jazz musicians.

In the end, however, it became clear to both the jazz musicians and the members of SAC's ever-more *gendai ongaku*-leaning avant-garde that the "jazz" that interested SAC composers and artists was viewed from a safe distance and occupied a separate category from the *gendai ongaku* avant-garde. The exchanges between the central members of the SAC's avant-garde and jazz communities were hardly mutual. While the SAC avant-garde idealized jazz, the scores produced by the jazz musicians in the Shinseiki Ongakukenkyūjo were never taken up with any sustained interest by the avant-garde crowd. Jazz and the *gendai ongaku* avant-garde thus influenced each other, but in asymmetrical ways that ultimately reinforced a cultural hierarchy that benefited the *gendai ongaku* avant-garde more than the jazz musicians at the SAC. Perhaps it is telling that the name of the series "Et Cetera and Jazz Circle" put the "et cetera," or whatever was understood as not-jazz before jazz, in its title.

A memoir by the conductor Iwaki Hiroyuki speaks to the conflicted relationship of the Japanese *gendai ongaku* avant-garde with jazz.[51] Iwaki entered the Tokyo University of the Arts as a percussion student at the same time as legendary jazz drummer Shiraki Hideo. He deeply admired his classmate and followed Shiraki to his nightly gigs with the Blue Coats. Iwaki later recalled that he too was on the cusp of joining another jazz group, but he declined in the end. He felt that he could not live up to the high standards set by the "genius" of Shiraki's playing. Claiming that he had no authentic "feeling for jazz" in his body (a framing that leans on racialized discourses of embodiment in jazz), Iwaki reasons that he could not pursue jazz in the long term.[52] He notes that Shiraki died alone by suicide at only thirty-nine, and mentions that it took almost two weeks after his death until his body was discovered. Iwaki's account implies that Shiraki's genius is also linked to his inability and refusal to take on any other work than that of a jazz drummer, or even take care of himself. While writing with love and tenderness toward his friend, the juxtaposition of his own decades-long career as a world-renowned conductor of classical music to that of Shiraki's implies something about jazz that relegates it to a youthful passion, a fling, but something too dangerous and fickle to pursue as a lifelong pursuit.

At the SAC, too, while jazz and its surrounding listening practices served the transnational Japanese *gendai ongaku* avant-garde in the years that followed, the engagement with jazz appears as something like Iwaki's notion of a fling: a passionate burst of initial energy that gradually declined after its first few years. Nara Yoshihiko, the SAC administrator, blamed the popularity of the Sogetsu Music Inn series and the subsequent pressures it received from the Japanese jazz industry from outside the SAC. In Nara's assessment, calls to embrace an industry-based model went directly against the SAC's identity as a haven from commercial pressures as a cause of the rift surrounding jazz and its effective disappearance from SAC programming. As Nara described it, "We wanted the Music Inn to stay out of the battles for prestige and acknowledgment that complicated things in the music industry so that we could stay on the same level as the audience."[53] Contemporary Japanese jazz musicians for their part eventually rejected the avant-garde of the SAC as elitist. As the split between jazz and *gendai ongaku* became clear, for the jazz critic Shimizu Toshihiko, the SAC represented the stuffy site of the "snobbish" (*sunobbu na basho*) avant-garde.[54] Even the Sogetsu Music Inn—which Aikura describes as a series initially organized by jazz musicians themselves to analyze and study jazz—was beginning to feel boorish: "I went to all of

them, but there was something a bit too academic and stale about reproducing the music exactly from recordings."[55]

By 1963, the Sogetsu Music Inn was over. Critical voices invested in contemporary Japanese jazz including writers such as Aikura, Soejima Teruto, and Ishihara Shintarō were increasingly invested in the political force of jazz. For these critics, the insularity of the SAC signaled a sphere of bourgeois elitism, and the talk of radical experiments was meaningless without a concrete grounding in revolutionary politics. What emerges is a rupture between what the SAC *gendai ongaku* avant-garde heard in their aural imaginaries of jazz and what jazz musicians sought from the *gendai ongaku* avant-garde. Thus, while jazz was a catalyst for collaborations creating new forms of expression, the *gendai ongaku* avant-garde and jazz scenes were far from fused. Nor did the composers inclined toward *gendai ongaku* seek to become jazz musicians. Even as the *gendai ongaku* avant-garde was attracted to ideas about freedom, improvisation, and the centrality of performance, jazz was a muse and auditory imaginary but not an equal to experimental practices of the *gendai ongaku* avant-garde.

Over the years the erasure of the story of jazz in relation to experimental practices and *gendai ongaku* has been compounded by music historical habits that continue to lean on style rather than creative processes. That is, whereas the *gendai ongaku* avant-garde produced around the SAC shows clear sonic and aesthetic affinities with the music of the Euro-American avant-garde, the traces of listening practices in the creative process are much harder to discern in a style-based genealogy. In this sense, jazz—especially the jazz at the SAC that centered on listening and imitation—has had little relevance in a style-based genealogy of experimental practice and *gendai ongaku*. However, if such listening practices are understood as incommensurable but also resistant to the hegemonic avant-garde because they stem from distinct histories, practices, and values, then jazz must occupy a central place in the narrative of experimental practices in 1960s Japan.

In the years following the peak of the jazz series at the SAC, programming shifted away from an explicit and visible interest in jazz, now replaced by other activities. In the mid-1960s, for example, the interests of Ichiyanagi and Takemitsu leaned into rock music. But rock, or any other emerging art form, would never play the same kind of formative role as jazz in terms of creating spaces for collective study and exchange within the space of the SAC. Significantly, the interchanges between jazz and the *gendai ongaku* avant-garde created the conditions of possibility for future Japanese experimental practices.

By the mid-1960s, the SAC itself would no longer retain its place as a central gathering place for Japanese experimental practices. Yet, the complicated alignments with the American avant-garde, as well as patterns of collective practice would continue even as the expressive output changed to form projects that would eventually be called intermedia in the late 1960s. In spaces beyond the SAC, the collaborative habits cultivated at the jazz events as well as ongoing negotiations with the complicated entanglements of race, gender, and a transnational avant-garde would continue to shape new experimental practices. The following chapter examines how these collective practices and negotiations of the Japanese avant-garde with the American avant-garde structured intermedia at the Cross Talk Intermedia Festival in 1969.

CHAPTER 3

Cross Talk Intermedia

The Aesthetics of Miscommunication, and Cultural Diplomacy

> cross-talk *n.* (*Teleph.*) *(a)* see quot. 1887; in wider use, any unwanted transfer of signals from one circuit, channel, etc., to another; also, in *Radio*, a reproduced signal due to waves that are not of the frequency to which the receiver is tuned; *(b)* altercation, repartee, back-chat; conversation; also *attrib.* (Oxford English Dictionary)

In the mid-to-late 1960s in Japan, some of the collective practices of artistic collaboration and transcultural outlook that had been characteristics of sites such as the Sogetsu Art Center became part of a practice that artists called intermedia. Events bearing the name "intermedia" began to appear in Japan starting in 1967, including the Intermedia exhibition at Lunami gallery, Intermedia Art Festival in January of 1969, and Cross Talk Intermedia (CTI). Produced by a team of Japanese and American artist organizers Yuasa Jōji, Akiyama Kuniharu, Karen Reynolds, and Roger Reynolds, CTI was part of an annual festival called Cross Talk, which ran from 1967–71.[1] Of the intermedia presentations since 1967, CTI, held at the Yoyogi National Stadium in Tokyo between February 5 through 7, was the largest and most explicitly transcultural in scope to date. In one of Roger Reynolds's letters to Richard Nolte, an officer at the ICWA that was funding Reynolds's stay in Japan, he describes the festival's grand scale:

> 10,000 would be a conservative estimate of the number of the photographs taken during the rehearsals and performances. There were literally dozens of photographers snapping relentlessly. Japan's leading art magazine, Bijutsu Techo, devoted 26 of 38 pages in a special supplement on CTI to close capturing the authentic atmosphere. The in-the-round setting; the particular excel-

> lence of the acoustics ("presence" without undue reverberation) the proximity of audience and performers; the medial dimension of the works, where not only sound and sight but the less easily defined sense of space-use made many of the works exhilarating if not awesome experiences. We all enjoyed the large scale and found 'the roar of the crowd' a rousing contrast to the usual polite applause granted by traditional concert audiences. The response set everyone to thinking and dominated the accounts of most reviewers who had not been prepared for such virile reaction.[2]

This chapter discusses how CTI attests to the shifts in cross-cultural exchange between Japanese and American artists from the sense of Japan looking to the West, to one that took more concrete steps to attempt exchange and collaboration on more level grounds—a marked difference in from the account of the "John Cage shock" in 1962. However, this observation needs to be examined alongside the context of Cold War geopolitics, where Cross Talk's existence and funding were deeply connected to the US diplomatic agendas of the Cold War era. The lens of Cold War geopolitics foregrounds the central role played by the American Cultural Center in Japan, operating under the US State Department, in supporting the festival in Japan. As the ongoing Cold War and Vietnam War produced an increasing number of skeptics of US foreign policy, from the point of view of US cultural diplomacy, Cross Talk was an effort on the part of the US State Department to win the support of the educated Japanese intelligentsia and artist class.

The team of Japanese and American artistic directors who put together each of the Cross Talk events reflected the vision of equal collaboration. At the same time, in producing the multi-media, multi-national, multi-sector event of CTI, composer Roger Reynolds used the term "cooperation" (in quotes, indicating a degree of self-reflexive irony) to refer to the administrative work of diplomatically smoothing over differences between the parties involved. Reflections in written accounts by both Reynolds and Yuasa reveal concessions that collaboration was a necessity as much as it was an ideal. While the idea of collaboration usually implies a positive and mutually beneficial process, the power imbalances of "cooperation" were not lost on Yuasa and Reynolds.

Cross Talk thus served at least two key agendas that did not necessarily always agree with each other. The first was the US diplomatic agenda. The second, the artistic agenda, in many ways challenged the goals of the first. The goal of cross-cultural exchange and fostering genuine friendships was

neatly aligned with the goals of US cultural diplomacy efforts. Yet, the artists of Cross Talk also sought to go beyond mere friendly cultural exchange to critically challenge the notion of US cultural and political dominance and Japanese complicity with such dominance. In the end, however, the aesthetics of noise, administrative miscommunication, conflicting desires, and competing ambitions shaped the political and artistic outcomes of Cross Talk Intermedia. In this sense, Cross Talk was a site of "cross-cultural interface and of defensive gatekeeping," where cultural exchange happened alongside US State-led efforts to maintain and increase its reaches of power in strategic regions around the globe, as Brigid Cohen has noted in her critical analysis of the experience of Egyptian-born composer Halim El-Dabh at the Columbia-Princeton Electronic Music Center (CPEMC).[3] For Cohen, the politics of the CPEMC was one in which the "gatekeeping" stood to affirm existing racialized and gendered structures of power in US cultural institutions. For Cross Talk Intermedia, the site of cross-cultural exchange took place in Japan. This meant that at the very minimum, the assumptions about the relations of power between US and Japanese artists shifted in a way that US artistic and music dominance was not taken for granted by the participating artists.

This chapter focuses on the significance of the Cross Talk series as a cross-cultural event through the dual lenses of *cooperation*, which was a term used repeatedly by the organizers, and *noise*, as both part of a sonic aesthetic of electronic sound, and a metaphor for miscommunication. I focus in particular on the 1969 festival, titled Cross Talk Intermedia (CTI). Taking these two agendas of cooperation and noise together, CTI demonstrates the limits and possibilities of intermedia as a social practice comprised of the interrelations between cultural politics and artistic exchange. Considering noise in relation to the apparatus of intermedia, this chapter posits noise as an analytic and derived from the aesthetics and practices of part of CTI. In Jacques Attali's well-cited study of the radical nature of noise as a herald of the disruption of social order, the sound and aesthetics of noise suggest a form of political resistance.[4] Following this assumption of noise as social disruption, from the perspective of US cultural diplomacy, the ability to manage and even embrace noise within the borders of a special space designated as "avant-garde" in Japan affirmed the mission of demonstrating values such as tolerance and an appreciation for freedom of expression, where art was valued as the ultimate vehicle for delivering such expressions of individual freedom. However, my analysis of CTI evaluates the link between noise and a politics of resistance deserves as part of a larger "apparatus" in Miryam Sas's

sense—a term that accounts for an assemblage of technological equipment, the "social and managerial apparatus" of cultural diplomacy, and the artists of intermedia.[5] Sas contends that all of these elements that came together in the production of Cross Talk "are not just background support to creating the environment in which the artworks can be made, but . . . *are* the art and work of intermediality."[6] Deviating from Attali's framework of noise as resistance, by examining the administration of CTI as a political and cultural production, I argue that the apparatus of Cross Talk intermedia thrived on noise where CTI equally *troubled* and was *troubled by* the politics of noise. Despite the talk of "cooperation" between Japanese and American artists and mutually beneficial arrangements across sectors, the aesthetics of noise at Cross Talk undermined the rhetoric of cross-cultural harmony. At the same time, the ubiquity of noise in the sonic aesthetics of CTI was not necessarily a sign of an inherently critical nature of the music. CTI promised to be an event where intermedia's ideals of collaboration and transnationalism came together. But a closer look at the process of assembling the event, as well as an examination of the musical and artistic collaborations presented at CTI, also reveals the limits of the ideals of intermedia as a story of collaboration between Japan and America, and between art and technology. What emerges in the lingering resonance of the noise of missed communications and aesthetic ambiguity are senses of the mundane transactions of transnational collaboration in intermedia practices. In this respect, CTI reveals complex sets of alignments, relations of power, and stories of inclusion and omission taking place alongside the larger geopolitics of American empire and Japanese complicity. There is a final piece of historical noise that frames this chapter, which I include here as a kind of excess, or overflow from the main story in the chapter. It is about the two Americans—Karen Reynolds and Roger Reynolds as a unit—who played substantial roles in the production of Cross Talk Intermedia at the time, but also acted as archivists and curators of its legacy. The testimonies of active and unquestionable partnership between Karen and Roger in action raise questions about the borders of visibility and invisibility within the partnership. The discrepancies are amplified in the gaps between the archive of written documents and oral narrative. One could argue that Roger Reynolds is over-represented in my account of Cross Talk, even as I have declared my intention to decenter the notion of one-directional influence on the Japanese avant-garde. Simultaneously, Karen's near absence from existing discussions of intermedia in Japan, relative to her role as organizer that basically equaled her husband's, is striking because it

lays bare a gap rooted in gendered difference that determined who and what counts as notable forms of work more broadly in music and art historiography. And yet, in the case of Cross Talk, to downplay his significance would require ignoring the archival evidence, which he has played a substantial role in producing. The takeaway then is how Roger Reynolds's central location in the story of CTI affirms the power endowed to him through a triumvirate of intersectional power that is geopolitical, racial, and gendered.

Audiovisual Technology, Noise, or the Aesthetics of "Cooperation"

Curiously, the name of the series itself suggests a possibility that these multiple signals produce noise. "Crosstalk," in technical terms, as "unwanted transfer of signals" as the OED defines it in the epigram above, *is* noise. Readers familiar with techniques of tape music will recognize that "crosstalk," a term dating back to the days of early telephony, is usually understood as an undesirable side effect where overlapping signals or speech obscure both signals. The Cross Talk series may have been produced with harmonious exchange as a goal, but already implicit in its name was the understanding that the presence of multiple signals could produce "unwanted transfer," that is, noise, and even altercation. The notion of intermedia at Cross Talk was predicated on this fraught relationship between technology, state power, and experimental avant-garde practice.

Noise was a feature of both the administrative processes and the sonic aesthetics of Cross Talk Intermedia. From the first iteration of the Cross Talk series, communicative challenges were present for the administrators who were tasked with communicating across linguistic, generational, national, and industrial divides. The results of such miscommunications might be characterized as a form of semantic "noise." Writing about the first Cross Talk season (1967–1968), Karen Reynolds recounted the multiple "problems" of translations for the extensive program. There were "difficulties in printing the English version . . ." in a country whose publishing formats were made according to the conventions of Japanese, not of English language publication.[7] There were also issues of translating idiomatic ways of expressing artistic statements: "English versions of statements by Shuko Mizuno and Joji Yuasa were done by an experienced translator, but the results were bizarre. Specific detail is considered inappropriate in Japanese musical program notes, and the Yuasa and Mizuno comments seemed in their English

translations unnecessarily mystical and self-indulgent."[8] (Not surprisingly, the Japanese and English texts in the various programs over the years offer very different kinds of information.) Finally, as Reynolds notes, there was a generational problem with the word "problem" among the Japanese participants: "Possibly the most engrossing problem (it was once pointed out to us that the younger generation refers to the word 'problem' with unusual frequency, and that older persons rarely use it. It is used here from time to time, I trust without offense)."[9] Still, Reynolds was committed to "the process of fulfilling [the] specification that the program itself be extensive and bilingual, so that it would not only be informative to the Japanese but would serve to distribute abroad ideas and information concerning Japanese composers" recognizing the potential value of a bilingual publication.[10]

Whereas I use the term "noise" metaphorically in reference to the realm of administrative communications, noise manifested literally as an acoustic phenomenon as well as a semantic aesthetic choice in the intermedia spectacles presented at Cross Talk Intermedia. The artistic offerings of Cross Talk Intermedia wove together trajectories emphasizing collaboration, experiments with technology, and an eye toward international connection that had been active for several years in Japan. But aesthetically, electronic noise and methods of distortion that purposefully confused and obliterated meaning were features of many of the pieces presented at Cross Talk Intermedia. Indeed, many of the works presented at Cross Talk Intermedia express senses of anxiety or ambivalence—hardly a utopian vision of collaboration.

With a transnational cast of musicians, filmmakers, and visual artists, the three evenings of Cross Talk Intermedia showcased a wide range of audiovisual experiences. For the purposes of this chapter, I foreground the notion of noise as a unifying factor to describe the event that culminated from the months of "cooperation" (in all its layered senses that Reynolds noted), miscommunication, the technological abundance, and political response to the US State Department's cultural diplomacy, all articulated through the sonic and visual aesthetics of Cross Talk Intermedia. The aesthetics of "cooperation" was in fact its opposite—aided by new and experimental uses of electronic audiovisual apparatus, the sonic dissonance and visual blurs of Cross Talk Intermedia frequently obscured meaning and at times directly assaulted the senses.

In tandem with the general tendency toward audiovisual noise and dissonance, the presentations at Cross Talk Intermedia all involved combinations of electronic audiovisual technologies. The festival program lists a large

range of equipment used for each piece. This list includes: speakers, amps, microphones, tape decks, RF transmitters, transistor radios, SCR drivers, electronic fiber optics, a cybersonic control system, computers, sequencers, projectors, lighting apparatus, various custom audio distribution sound systems, a ring modulator, and a photocell sound distributor.[11] But in contrast to their uses in contemporary home electronics and communications technology, as instruments of noise at Cross Talk Intermedia, the end result was aestheticized noise and obscured transmission of sonic and visual signals.[12]

Underscoring the importance of engineers as inventors and operators of the electronic gear, the programs for Cross Talk Intermedia prominently list Okuyama Jūnosuke's name as the Engineering Director, marking his presence as a central creative force in the production of the three evenings of Cross Talk Intermedia. Reynolds describes Okuyama: "The first person that I worked with technologically was a guy in Japan—who was working with Takemitsu at the time when I arrived—named Jūnosuke Okuyama. He was an engineer and he built boxes and would say, 'What do you want to happen?' And then he would build a box that would do that. It was extraordinary."[13] One photograph documenting the event in *Bijutsu Techō* captures the sound engineer Okuyama Jūnosuke from the back, in silhouette. The photograph shows him standing in front of a group of machines—their exact identity is hard to see but they are boxes of different sizes and heights, some with knobs and others just silhouettes. Positioned neatly around him, they are all lesser in height than Okuyama. The photograph captured what looks like an intimate moment between a teacher (Okuyama) and students (the machines) having a quiet pep talk before the big show.

This agentive, almost-human portrayal of the technological apparatus in the photos complements the mood of Cross Talk Intermedia where the gear was more than a means to produce the work, and was itself an aesthetic. Photographs by Ōtusji Kiyoji and others who documented the event in a feature visual story in a special issue of *Bijutsu Techō* following CTI prominently included a double-paged montage showing the various gadgets used for CTI. Other images capture the wires that crisscrossed the floor of the gymnasium. In the feature, these images of technology become a kind of genre themselves, with crisp lines that depicted the workings of the machines in detail while humans are reduced to shadows or just disembodied hands. The photographs portray the gear itself as the object of the presentations. Their output then was a mere result of the infinite technological potential embedded in their inner workings. But at the same time, in the performances, it was precisely

the sonic and visual output of these boxes and wires that betrayed the images of the cables and black boxes as infallible conduits of signal and by extension, cross-cultural "cooperation."

A second type of photographic image, usually capturing the performances in a darkened space, prominently features blurs, doubling up on the aesthetic of blurs that were part of many of the experimental films projected at CTI. In the photograph described as depicting Takemitsu Tōru's electronic tape music piece *Kwaidan*, the subject of the photo is a blur. At CTI, Takemitsu's electroacoustic piece played through the gymnasium speakers. The piece uses the compositional tools of electronic music to extract otherworldly sounds from natural materials like wood, and stone combined with shakuhachi, biwa, prepared piano, and voice. Takemitsu manipulates the sounds to become a kind of sonic specter of their original sound sources, where the techniques of *musique concrète* that create sounds from recorded sound come to the service of the sounds of the supernatural through amplification, distortion, and multitracking that unfold gradually. The effect is not so much a cinematic effect striking terror as it is a creeping haunting that feels as if physically present in the silences between the sounds that shape Takemitsu's music. The sounds of *Kwaidan* were accompanied by lighting designer Imai Naoji's work that played with light and shadow across the gymnasium space and the sculptures by Yamaguchi Katsuhiro that were in the space. What the camera captured of this event is a blurred reddish and whitish lines and shapes flashing across a black background. The blur obfuscates the physical boundaries between Imai's lighting, Yamaguchi's sculptures, and the architectural details, much less what the experience may have looked like for audience members. Through the blur, Takemitsu's spectral manipulations of sound manifest through the ghostly evocations of the limits of the visible.

With so much blurred, compounded by the dark lighting of the space, even when performers are present, their features are not always discernible. A stunning image of Shiomi's *Amplified Dream* juxtaposes blurred and obscured people with the crisp lines of the lid of an immobile grand piano, the bases of tall electric fans, and microphones and their cables snaking across the floor and into the piano. In the foreground, a pianist seated at the grand piano is a blur. Here, the blur seems to undermine both the technology and the humans who we expected to control them. The dynamic motion evokes a sense of the amplitude and effort he exerts as he uses the force of his entire upper body to bang out the noise of cluster chords and glissandi using his whole forearms to depress and slide along the keys as indicated in Shiomi's

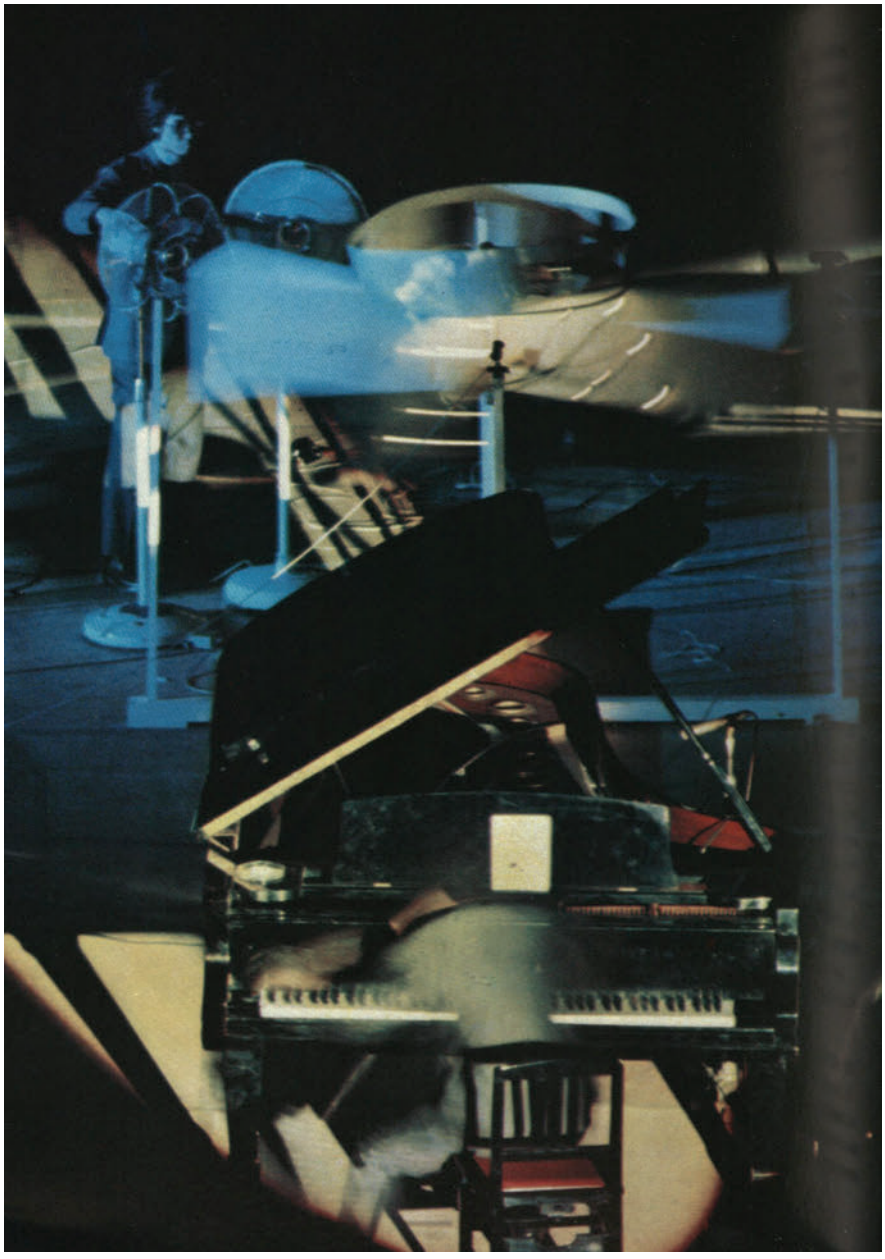
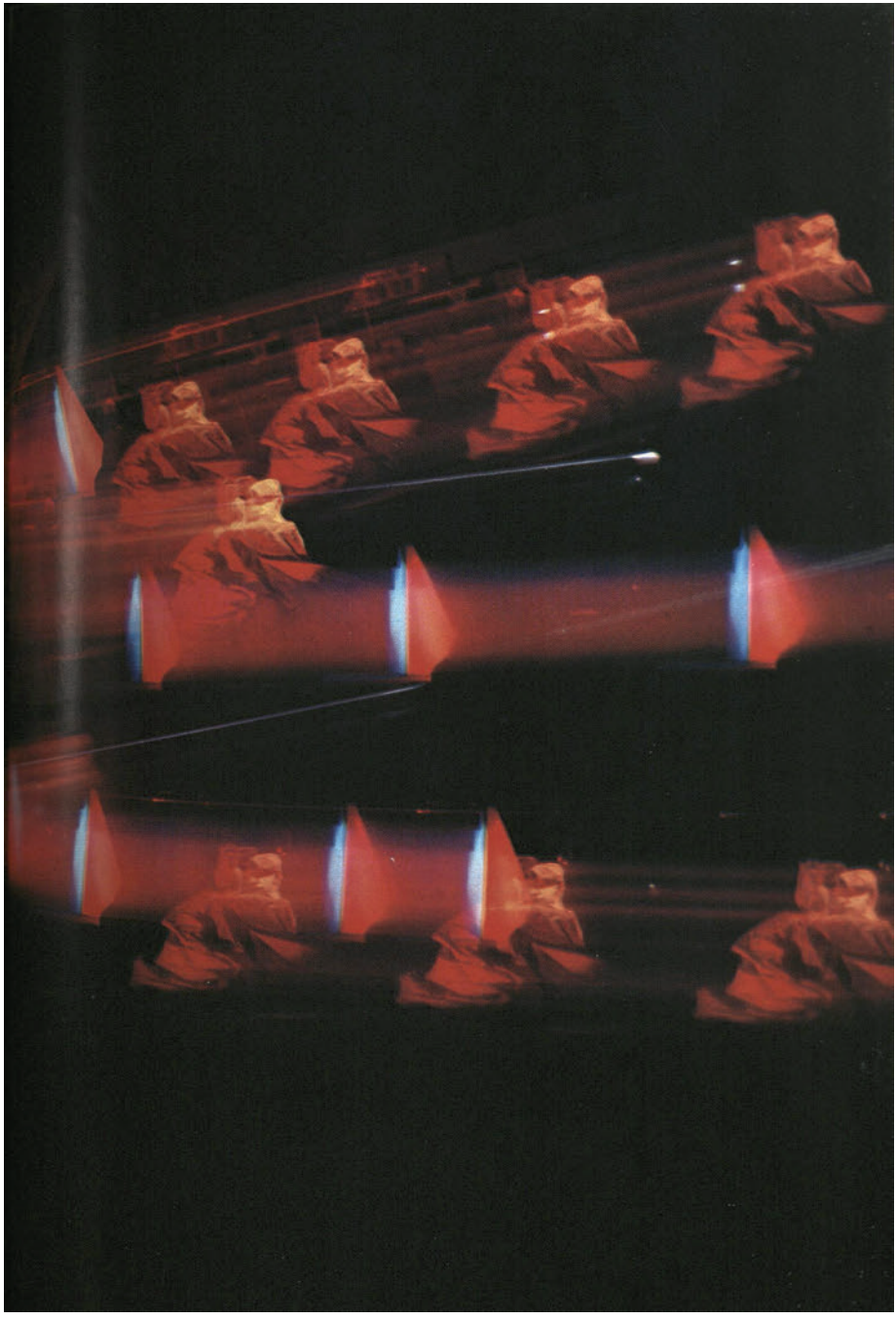


Figure 9. Performance view of Shiomi Mieko, *Amplified Dream* at Cross Talk Intermedia, February 5, 1969 to February 7, 1969 at the Tokyo, Yoyogi 2nd National Gymnasium. Originally published in *Bijutsu Techō* 311, 1969.

Figure 10. Performance view of *Kwaidan* (Music by Tōru Takemitsu, sculpture by Yamaguchi Katsuhiro, lighting by Imai Naoji) at Cross Talk Intermedia, February 5, 1969 to February 7, 1969 at the Tokyo, Yoyogi 2nd National Gymnasium. Originally published in *Bijutsu Techō* 311, 1969.



instructions for the piece. His blurred hand moves across the keyboard and his translucent head appears as a ghostly light, as if fading into the solid black of the piano. In the background, a short-haired figure operates the windmill specially designed by Shiomi for the piece. The line of the right side of his body is visible. His left side and legs below his knees, however, fade into the black of the background, the contours of his body eclipsed by the fans in front of him.

To be fair, capturing the full event would have been impossible in the first place. Ironically, because the advances in technology highlighted through Cross Talk Intermedia also meant that the artists and engineers used equipment that was new, experimental, or designed specifically for the presentation of intermedia, a couple of issues regarding documentation and preservation arise. The event was widely chronicled in major national Japanese newspapers including *Yomiuri* and *Asashi*, and art journals including *Bijutsu Techō* and *Ongaku Geijutsu*. However, no comprehensive audiovisual documentation exists. With the dearth of documents that can fully reproduce how the event felt in the moment, the photographic blurs in the pictures by Ōtusji's team seem to say: *you will never know, but neither did we who were there*. Ōtusji's photographs of Cross Talk Intermedia thus resonate empathetically with the work of his peers. A member of the cross-disciplinary experimental art collective Jikken Kōbō since 1953, as an experimental photographer, Ōtusji had long worked alongside a handful of artists involved in Cross Talk Intermedia: Akiyama, Yuasa, Takemitsu, and sculptor Yamaguchi Katsuhiro were all members of Jikken Kōbō. In keeping with intermedia's resistance to documentation, these are photographs that ethnomusicologist Deborah Wong has described aimed at eliciting effects along the lines of "this is what the moment feels like . . . this is how the moment opens up . . ."[14] In this sense, the Ōtusji team's photographs prioritize the evocations of the moment over an objective portrayal of the whole event.

The obfuscations of the blur also haunt us with their specters of the unknown. Writing about the blur, Dushko Petrovich notes that photojournalistic blur resonates with "our dread—about what is going on outside of view, outside of our control."[15] Analyzing images of politicians framed by a blur or as blurs even as they are the subjects of the image, Petrovich suggests that the blur "insinuates" dread. By purposefully obscuring the subject and their surroundings, the blur prods the viewer to produce their own sense of dread about what is present and "unnamable" as the dreaded thing lurks "just out of sight" through the absence of illustration.[16] Even without any explicit refer-

ence to the geopolitics of the Cold War era, the dreaded thing insinuated in the case of the CTI images might nonetheless be understood as linked to the cross-cultural miscommunications as well as the fact of the politics of "cooperation" and cultural diplomacy in the name of America's imperial ambitions.

Transposed to the realm of sound, the blur manifests as electronic noise and dissonance first through the sheer number of pieces packed into a three-day event, then through the literal acts of sonic and visual layering. In fact, of the fourteen total presentations across three evenings, in five cases, two works were presented simultaneously. For example, composer Gordon Mumma's *Beam* for electronics and acoustic instruments was paired with Stan VanDerBeek's experimental film *Found Forms* for nine 16mm projectors. Yuasa's electroacoustic composition for 5-channel tape *Icon* (1967) was paired with Matsumoto Toshio's *Projections for Icon* (1969). The presentation of *Icon* also included some twenty giant inflated plastic balloons activated by performers. From a programming perspective then, the three evenings of CTI seem to be designed to overload the senses, ensuring the spectator's experience of the event as a spectacle of noise rather than a coherent demonstration of cross-cultural communication.

Even at the individual level, pieces presented as CTI reflected their creators' mixed attitudes about the new technologies they worked with as well as the political context that had conditioned their production. Their uses and relations to sonic and visual noise also differed. But when each piece already carried sonic and visual material whose effects were amplified and projected to fill the cavernous space of an Olympic gymnasium, the consecutive presentations compounded by the overlays of several works would have produced a significant amount of information for the audience members to absorb, much less make meaningful sense out of the sounds and images that surrounded them from all sides. For example, filmmakers VanDerBeek, Matsumoto, and Iimura used an array of equipment to project and display images and experimented with techniques of multiple projection that dispersed and fragmented images across the hall, encircling audience members and sometimes projecting images on them. Matsudaira's *Assemblage* for tape is a pastiche of noises—radio static over the beats of a popular song, the voices of a crowd blurred into noise, and other clips of distorted sound patched together. Yuasa, Robert Ashley, and Reynolds's works bring to focus the ideas of noise, miscommunication, and alienation in spite of (or because of) the new technologies intended to make advances in communication. Counter to the notion of the drive toward progress, Yuasa's tape piece *Icon* dwells

on the "'materia primordialis' in our subconscious minds," drawing on the aesthetic philosophy of art historian Herbert Read.[17] While using white noise as its source material, it might be viewed as a critique of the obsession with efficient communication and clear signals. Robert Ashley's multimedia opera *That Morning Thing* suggests that technology did nothing to put an end to social inequality and violence against women, or the marginalization of people with disabilities. Roger Reynolds and Karen Reynolds's *PING* was a multimedia spectacle featuring traditional instruments (piano, flute, harmonium, bowed cymbal, tam tam) combined with 16mm film, visuals, 2-channel tape, photocell sound distributor, electronics, and a 14-channel audio system. But combined with a text from a Beckett poem titled "Ping," Reynolds's piece captures a sense of the alienated modern body trapped in a sterile white room. The visuals for the piece, produced by Karen Reynolds, projected words from the Beckett piece, combined with images of *butoh* dancer Sekiji Maro's body painted a ghostly white. To ensure the effect of alienation, Reynolds's score specifies that even the audience members should be "seated as far apart as possible to accentuate the sense of isolation . . ."[18] Cacioppo's piece tapped into the world of the ghostly uncanny, or modernity's illogical other. His *Holy Ghost Vacuum, or America Faints* uses tone clusters of unspecified pitches performed on electric organ. In the score, Cacioppo writes that he looked to the organ "as a way of activating the mechanical-acoustical nature of the loudspeaker as a common source of sound."[19] Dancer Hijikata's piece, which the program lists as taking place simultaneously with Cacioppo's piece, takes a different turn from the others. His is the only work that does not include a list of technical apparatus as part of the instrumentation. As if to explicitly disavow the obsession with gear, the description of his piece *Caw Caw Dance* in the program lists a "dancer, 10 elderly women, 10 workers, 6 crows, giraffe, visuals, suspended objects." But the idea of noise remains here in the sense of the decomposition of meaning through the absurd. To the disappointment of the organizers, Hijikata withdrew from the event after the program was printed and participation of the giraffe was secured.[20]

Of all the pieces on the program, Martirano's electronic tape music piece *L's G.A.* (1968), whose title as well as quotes throughout the piece come from Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, delivers the most overtly politically charged message. Written during the height of the Vietnam War, the piece and its handling of Lincoln's famous speech draw into question the cost of "freedom" and the "proposition that all men are created equal" as Martirano and his peers witnessed the toll of the Vietnam War. At CTI, Martirano's piece

was presented alongside three simultaneously projected films created by his University of Illinois colleague Ronald Nameth. In conjunction with Martirano's tape piece, the purpose of the film, which, according to Roger Reynolds's description featured recurring appearances of a "gassed-masked politico" and images of a "multitude of others—clothed and unclothed," was to "underscore the meaning in the text and music."[21] Both the films and Martirano's piece were projected and sounded in the vast space of the Yoyogi Stadium, enveloping the audience in a sea of violently abstract sound and image. Martirano's piece assembles together a distorted recitation of Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg Address juxtaposed with nonsense sounds that give the impression of irony. The listed instrumentation for *L's G.A.* includes the "gassed masked politico"—to be performed by an actor donning a gas mask, as well as a "helium bomb," referring to the helium gas that transforms the voice of the gas-masked actor during the piece.[22] The result is that the change of the actor's voice renders the words of the Gettysburg Address a joke. Indeed, John Melby, a longtime friend and colleague of the composer, described Martirano's view of Lincoln as a "jaundiced view of the Great Emancipator."[23] The piece, around 25 minutes in length, is comprised of seven distinct sections moving from pure white noise, then moving to speech that emerges gradually, first taking shape from barely audible moans, then moving toward a sense of violent parody of the Gettysburg Address text. The first section begins with a white noise circulating across speakers, like an invisible but palpable wind moving through the darkened space. Soon low beastly groan-like sounds become more prominent, as the sounds continue to swirl around the space. Finally, around eight minutes into the piece, words from the Gettysburg Address become more audible, only to degenerate into a grotesque comedy. In a final act of irony, the electronic noise of the piece gives way to a solo organ blasting out a rendition of Saint-Saëns's famous aria "Mon coeur s'ouvre à ta voix" (Softly awakens my heart) from *Samson et Dalila*. But with too much reverb and the occasional misplaced dissonance, the effect is anything but a soft awakening following the nightmarish assault of the noise in the preceding sections. Martirano's choice of the famous aria, which takes place in a dramatic moment in the opera when Dalila the patriot is trying to get Samson to surrender his secrets, may be heard as the seductive voice of American imperialism masked as cultural diplomacy. We may also recognize what Karen Henson describes as being "sincere about a desire for sex while also using that desire to manipulate" in the opera. [24] In the context of Cross Talk, we might transpose these erotics between two opera characters to the

cross-cultural politics of desire in a transpacific story of the copresence and conflicts of desire and political agency.

In the work presented at Cross Talk Intermedia, noise confounded the agendas of both the avant-garde and the US State Department. While Cross Talk presented avant-garde work, the state and corporate-funded premise of Cross Talk diluted any critical force. Writing about the uses of avant-garde music events as one strategic tool during the Cold War, musicologist Danielle Fosler-Lussier suggests that "aesthetic radicalism of avant-garde music was muted both by its geographical displacement and by its presentation as openly acknowledged propaganda."[25] While Fosler-Lussier is writing specifically about the European context, it is not a stretch to see the parallels and connections between the strategic use of avant-garde arts to serve the deeply interconnected goals of the nation-state and its economic engines here. As Roger Reynolds wryly described, through Cross Talk Intermedia, "interests of divergent sorts were served to the ample satisfaction of all concerned—the US government, avant-garde experimentalists, competing electronics firms, non-profits, soft-drink manufacturers, and airlines."[26] From this perspective, there is a way to read CTI as an enactment of the Althusserian ideological State Apparatus, where noise is the sign of "an intermediation of the ruling ideology that ensures a (sometimes teeth-gritting) 'harmony' between the repressive State apparatus and the Ideological State Apparatuses, and between the different state Ideological Apparatuses."[27] One way to read the spectacle of CTI through this Althusserian lens is how the marriage of intermedia and the state would seem to serve this furthering of the Ideological Apparatus of the US State Department perfectly.

And yet, I am not completely satisfied with the explanations of the macropolitical view of state politics, which somehow unhears the underlying noise of this chaotic event. As Cohen suggests in her analysis of the Althusser quote, sonic manifestations—even as the link to ideology is undeniable—leave open a possibility of sound as "multifarious in its effects and manifestations."[28] Nowhere is this possibility more fertile than in the "teeth-gritting" frictions of noise. My reading of CTI posits noise as an ambivalent din that nonetheless asks to be heard. If the noise of intermedia does not serve the purpose of radical politics and a critical avant-garde, nor does it effectively serve the state, particularly in the absence of an existing major threat to US dominance. As precarious as this in-between position is, it deserves recognition in its own terms as unwieldy, or "inappropriate/d" in Trinh T. Min-ha, sense. Paraphrasing Trinh, intermedia and its noisy practice in this case

cannot be appropriated precisely because it is "inappropriate." It cannot be reduced to a political tool. In place of the biting irony and unambiguous political message of Martirano or commentary on the modern condition in the manner of Reynolds's *PING*, what we are left with is noise. The works at CTI worked to destabilize the hegemonic mobilization of state-sponsored capitalism through its very failure (or refusal) to coalesce into any kind of cohesive message—critical or celebratory. At the same time, remembering the ending of Martirano's *L's G.A.* with the haunting rendition of "Mon Coeur," CTI and its acts of messy diplomacy bring to light the uncomfortable facts of the possibility of coexistence of sincere desires about transgressive cross-cultural collaborations while letting that desire serve the ideals of the state.

Cooperation or "Cooperation" in the Apparatus of Intermedia

In direct contrast to the idea of noise, to produce the multi-media, multinational, multi-sector event, organizers touted cooperation, smoothing over the differences between the institutions involved. From the artistic organizers' perspectives, Cross Talk was as much an artistic feat as it was a bureaucratic one. Many of the challenges of cross-cultural communication had to do with mundane bureaucratic operations. Beyond fantasies of mutually beneficial collaborations between art and technology, in one missive, Roger Reynolds noted wryly that for the first season of Cross Talk, "The USIS [United States Information Service] set aside for the first season (1967–68) the luxurious sum of $1500. As a result, everything was done based on what I euphemistically called 'cooperation.'"[29] Reynolds's placement of the word "cooperation" in quotation marks tells of the reluctance and the inevitability of working together not so much as a choice, but as a compromise that had to be made in order for him to put on the festival. The end result of this cooperative effort meant very different things to those involved. But candid reflections in written accounts by both Reynolds and Yuasa reveal concessions that collaboration was a necessity as much as it was an ideal. While the idea of collaboration often connotes a positive and mutually beneficial process, the imbalance of power and the lopsidedness of "cooperation" and the persistence of hegemonic orderings of power that the term conceals were not lost on Yuasa and Reynolds.

Cooperation, in the form of collaborations, overlapping boundaries, and experimental combinations of mixed media and artistic disciplines, were

already an essential part of the aesthetics of intermedia. Neither was the idea of collaboration in the avant-garde arts new. However, intermedia—as apparatus—took on a new mode of collaboration as an artistic practice that had as much to do with aesthetics as it had to do with an awareness of the worlds of art, technology, and social practices. In the case of the Cross Talk series, the US State Department's cultural diplomacy muscle was also a key collaborator. All of these elements blended as new tools of communication and patterns of a rapidly developing consumer society in the early postwar decades that touched every aspect of life. In this sense, an analysis of individual works alone cannot fully demonstrate the nature and significance of the kinds of collaboration that took place. The labor of collaboration far exceeds the traditional framework of the art object and the social relations themselves become part of the aesthetic practice of intermedia. But this apparatus of intermedia was hardly a smoothly functioning machine. On the contrary, communications failed, and competing stakes confused the aims of the projects.

The artistic organizing committee members—both American and Japanese—were aware of the diplomatic mandate of the American Cultural Center, and not all were silent about their suspicions (at least one Japanese participant in the festival suspected the American artists were sent as spies). Reynolds was also conscious of his own position caught between the state's agenda of cultural diplomacy, and his personal alliance with his artistic collaborators. In one of his missives to Nolte, he writes that the presence of the diplomatic mandate "was not lost on our Japanese colleagues."[30] Reynolds thus maintains his distance from the State Department's goals while explaining the reasons for the US State Department's sudden increase in interest in supporting Cross Talk Intermedia in 1969 in order to gain the favor of the "generally antagonistic segment of the Japanese public," against acts perceived as forms of US imperialism. Reynolds makes it a point to distinguish his position from the state's: "Our interest was different, of course," defending his own and other American artists for taking part in Cross Talk Intermedia first and foremost for artistic purposes.[31] The Reynolds's accounts of organizing the festival emphasize the difficulties in cross-cultural communication between Japanese and American business practices as well. The workload placed significant stress on the organizers to the point that it "severely strained relations between the Americans and Japanese who worked on the project."[32] The small budget did not help the situation, but there were countless other "crises, impasses, barriers, misunderstanding, and so on that arose" during the "seemingly endless parade of meetings and negotiations, of name-card

exchanges and tea drinking, of translation and misunderstandings" that took place in the planning meetings.[33] For Reynolds as an artist, the "cooperation" that the American Cultural Center expected as part of their participation was also another way for the Americans to say that unpaid and underpaid creative and administrative labor by the artists was expected to be on the condition of exposure, experience, and for the general good of the spirit of friendly international exchange, rather than proper pay. Yuasa too, described his utter exhaustion after the 1967–68 runs of Cross Talk. Tasked with reaching a satisfactory deal for the artists involved and the operations staff at the Asahi Kōdō where the events were held, his reflection on the event notes the "the difficulties of bridging the ideals and personalities of those in the corporate and art worlds."[34]

Nonetheless, in both Yuasa and Reynolds's narratives, faith in their work eventually conquers the excessive workload. With a visionary artist's zeal, they justify the working conditions as worth it in the end, as intermedia allowed them to access "a new world of possibilities," as Reynolds put it.[35] Echoing Reynolds's letter to Nolte about CTI's success, Yuasa explains how such challenges were overcome by the event organizers' desires to produce an event that defied the regular frame of the chamber music concert despite the low budget—"there was a sense of urgency."[36] Yuasa's "insider's account" of the event in the journal *Bijutsu Techō* altogether bypasses any mention of Cross Talk as a diplomatic effort for the US. Yuasa instead writes of his dreams of Japan standing on the world stage as a *bunka kokka*—a culturally advanced nation—not simply an economic engine that it was rapidly gaining a reputation for. In his report on Cross Talk Intermedia, Yuasa writes, "aside from the pros and cons of capitalism as a social system, I was seized by the question of how much Japan could contribute its capital towards supporting the arts."[37] Yet, his vision of the social and cultural implications of intermedia is abstracted from the discussions of concrete political issues. He writes:

> Intermedia has finally started to receive some recognition and in this sense, it is a field that is in development. Yet, as long as humans live in a world in which sight, hearing, thought, touch, and smell too, do not exist in isolation from one another, it should be no surprise that these senses should participate together in the arts. At the same time, intermedia is not simply about new sensory experiences; rather, what opens up the possibilities for a new world comes from the overlapping of distinct artistic disciplines with a multitude of electronic media and information systems theories that includes

> computers, and from approaches such as topology that have the power to challenge existing world views—in other words, when technology and the senses mutually absorb one another.[38]

Discourse about Cross Talk Intermedia by many others also affirmed the ethos of collaboration, or "cooperation," to use Reynolds's term. The ultimate ideal, they claimed, was not simply a meeting of different disciplines, but a harmonious coming together of "humans and machines composing as one," as architect Tange Kenzō put it in his essay contribution to the Cross Talk Program.[39] Artist Okamoto Tarō also saw the productive possibility born of the collaboration between art and technology that could change the meaning and function of music: "I am passionate when I say—Music is not something to listen for. It merely enters through the ear . . . Sound is a color that flows through daily life. What's more, it transforms humans who aren't even aware of it, as an energetic essence that is the source of life itself . . . This is the essence of art . . . To push art to such a state that does not yet exist, this is the important task of the project of *art and technology*."[40]

Reflecting the mandate of equal representation of US and Japanese artists, the official artistic directorship for Cross Talk Intermedia was split among American composer Roger Reynolds, and Japanese composer Yuasa Jōji and musician and critic Akiyama Kuniharu. The directing committee selected nine artists representing each country, and the three evenings showcased a bill split almost exactly between Japanese and American artists. From Japan, Cross Talk Intermedia would feature works by Ichiyanagi Toshi, Matsumoto Toshio, Yuasa Jōji, Shiomi Mieko, Kosugi Takehisa, Iimura Takahiko, Matsudaira Yoriaki, Takemitsu Tōru, and Hijikata Tatsumi.[41] From the US, works by Gordon Mumma, Stan VanDerBeek, Robert Ashley, Alvin Lucier, Roger Reynolds, John Cage, George Cacioppo, David Rosenboom, and Salvatore Martirano appeared on the program. To make the Americans' attendance possible, the festival procured free travel for the four Americans who attended: Pan American World Airways covered travel for Mumma, Ashley, and Martirano.[42] The JDR 3rd Fund covered travel for Stan VanDerBeek.[43]

However, many of the discursive and aesthetic norms that CTI embodied suggest that the idea of collaboration and "equal" representation took place on US economic, political, and aesthetic terms. The emphasis on "collaboration" was the very image that went hand-in-hand with the mission of US cultural diplomacy. CTI, in other words, embodied the ideals of freedom of artistic expression powered by corporate and state sponsorship. The nature of CTI as a diplomatic mission for the American Cultural Center was perhaps

what made it a priority for Japanese and American artists to receive equal representation: "in aiming for a very large and radically disposed audience, it was deemed important to avoid any appearance of an 'American Show' in order to speak to the 'generally antagonistic segment of the Japanese public'; through cultural presentations of avant-garde arts."[44] Equal representation aligned with an ethos of democratic participation as an ideal in intermedia art, in this case, it was conveniently also the most politically expedient method to demonstrate the possibility of those democratic ideals through American support.

The transnational framework of Cross Talk served American messaging about democratic participation well: through the production of a transnational borderless space, the cross-cultural framework thus made it so that the state, the corporations, and artists too, could reinforce American values that well exceeded traditional geographically bound definitions of the nation-state. One example that speaks to this point is the proliferation of words retained in their anglicized form—as in "Cross Talk" and "Intermedia" in the various printed matter created for Cross Talk Intermedia. Here, English is presented as the default common language. The artistic networks and careers of the Japanese artists were also shaped by their connections to the United States. While their nationality as Japanese was clear, their artistic identity was far less so. Except for Hijikata and Mizuno, all the Japanese artists participating in Cross Talk/Intermedia had already spent time living and working in the United States supported by grants by foundations such as the Fulbright and JDR 3rd. The close ties between foundations, artists, and the repeated names suggest a very particular (and to some extent closed) network of artists who were mostly already part of a transnational avant-garde enabled by US cultural agencies. Reynolds notes the existence of such a network: "Porter McCray, director of the John D. Rockefeller III Fund, . . . has a record of extraordinary acuteness in supporting contemporary Japanese artists. It happened that those musicians and artists we had selected for participation in CROSS TALK INTERMEDIA had, almost to a man, already received JDR 3rd Fund aid or were under consideration for it."[45] Through these exchange programs, the Japanese artists were in many ways already conditioned by Americanized perspectives on music and experimental aesthetics as well as the cultural politics of the American art world.[46] The representation of American and Japanese artists appears to be equal in terms of nationality, but despite the organizers' best efforts to avoid an "'American show' with Japanese concessions," the Japanese artists were in some ways American as well in terms of musical and cultural fluency in American values, networks, and aesthetics.[47]

In other words, a "Japanese" artist deemed fit for participation in Cross Talk was at least in part already shaped by American expectations about what constitutes experimental practice and aesthetic value.

Even so, while the American Cultural Center was the institutional leader of the event, artistic decisions were largely left to the team of American and Japanese artistic directors—a condition important to ensuring artistic freedom. For Yuasa, Reynolds, and other artists, this meant that being part of Cross Talk guaranteed "an opportunity of unprecedented size," and "access to a wide array of sophisticated audio and visual equipment that we proposed to secure through the cooperation of Japanese industry . . ."[48] Participation for the artists was deliberate and strategic. As Reynolds observes: "everyone seems increasingly alert to ways in which individuals can turn the establishment to their own ends."[49] The implicit sense of subversion in Reynolds's statement seems to suggest how an awareness of the agendas of the "establishment" allowed the artists to participate while retaining a sense of their own agendas that were separate from the goals of US cultural diplomacy.

CTI's curated discourse about art and technology, which appeared as a program booklet set, reinforced many of these notions of the possibility of collaborations in intermedia. For the booklet, the organizing committee commissioned texts by leading Japanese and American artists, including visual artist Okamoto Tarō, poet-critic and "mentor of the Japanese avant-garde" Takiguchi Shūzō, architect Tange Kenzō (interviewed by art critic Tōno Yoshiaki), critic-educator Peter Yates, and inventor-visionary Buckminster Fuller.[50] These contributing writers did not present work at Cross Talk Intermedia, but they represented voices of artistic authority. Three artists whose work was presented as CTI, Gordon Mumma, Stan VanDerBeek, and John Cage, also contributed essays (Mumma and VanDerBeek were present at Cross Talk Intermedia; Cage was not). Reynolds reports that he, Yuasa, and Akiyama "decided that the printed program should be thought of not only as a guide, but as a document. I suggested approaching a few of the leading Japanese and American thinkers on new directions in art, explaining the festival's intent, and asking them to contribute comments of any sort and at any length."[51] Going beyond the immediate event, for Reynolds these essays articulated "comparative intellectual climates" of the contemporary experimental and avant-garde arts in Japan and the United States. Reynolds also wrote of his desire to go beyond superficial collaborations and instead be an agent for in-depth cross-cultural collaboration. Learning Japanese was a first step for Reynolds, who saw language acquisition as not just a means of communica-

tion, but a "mind-stretching" way to access a fundamentally different way of thinking, revealing "new perspectives [and] fresh ways of looking at familiar surroundings and events."[52]

The participating artists' statements about their works show that each participant experienced mixed sentiments about the meeting of "art and technology" or the significance of "intermedia" in the late 1960s. At the same time, the repeated appearance of a very select group of artists—both from the American and Japanese sides—in the Cross Talk programs over the years (as well as in other contemporary "intermedia" and related events) suggests how intermedia was structured by a relatively small number of artists. In the sense of Howard Becker's "art worlds," this is a social network in the sense that "the same people often cooperate repeatedly, even routinely, in similar ways to produce similar works."[53] Furthermore, this network also plays a role in shaping how these works circulate and are consumed. Intermedia was therefore not just *what* was aesthetically considered cutting-edge work at the time, but *who*—that is, how invitations to events even at the international scale relied heavily on personal connections and friendships. From the perspective of this artistic network, the division between Japan and America are not so simple as it may seem. As we have already seen, the American Reynolds and Japanese Yuasa were united in their efforts to maintain artistic autonomy and viewed their goals as separate from those of the American Cultural Center and its agenda for cultural diplomacy. At the same time, it was Reynolds's and the other Americans' rapport with those in places of power in the network of American philanthropic and diplomatic players that played no small role in making the Cross Talk series possible.

Postscript: *June 15, 2017, A visit with Karen and Roger Reynolds in Del Mar, California*.[54]

In 2017, I visited Karen and Roger Reynolds, who generously invited me to their sunny home overlooking the Pacific Ocean in the hills of Del Mar, California. She is wearing red glasses that amplify her vibrant face, and a casual but stylish flowy long-sleeved dress. He sports black-rimmed glasses, and a light blue linen shirt with navy canvas pants. I am amazed by how incredibly energetic they are, as they described their current activities, which seemed to be a non-stop stream of publishing projects, concerts, university events, and grandchildren's graduation parties. Over the last half century and counting,

they had continuously traveled across continents creating new artistic connections. Karen joked, "our friends thought we were part of the CIA!" (based on a rumor that underscores their extensive international travels during the Cold War era). They spoke to me of throwing parties, and organizing events since the days of the ONCE Festival in Michigan.

When it came to Cross Talk, one strong memory for Karen involved the silk screen printing machine they had at their home to print the posters for Cross Talk. In the absence of a sufficient budget, they did it themselves—and this was how they generally make things happen, it seems. "We printed hundreds of posters," says Karen, to which Roger adds, "we always had ink on our hands." Looking at the poster, I observe how faint smudges of black ink give away the homemade production of the poster and other printed matter for Cross Talk. Each piece was printed by the couple in their Tokyo home sometime between 1967 and 1968. Like voices of the other track on magnetic tape bleeding over to this side (the "crosstalk" effect), the stenciled names of composers on Karen Reynolds's screen print poster overlap with one another. The names fall off the edge, mid-word when they reach the end of the page, and pick up again on the next line. ROBERT ASH . . . LEY; TORU T . . . AKEMITSU . . . While they mostly represent Japanese and American composers, the typographic treatment for all the names makes no attempt to differentiate composers by nationality. No one in particular is highlighted as a "featured" artist, and black letters of the names equally crowd the white page. The one element in red ink is the words Cross Talk, appearing roughly down the middle of the page. The bottom quarter of the page is divided into two columns, providing information about four evenings of upcoming Cross Talk events—in English on the left, and Japanese on the right-hand side. The spaces and periods that seem to separate the American and Japanese names do not so much divide the names as they add to the overall sense of noise. The vibrant collaboration between two artists and two life partners serves as a reminder about art as a daily practice, and a way of being that begins when one wakes in the morning to face the silk screen machine (and also in the decisions about what do with the indefatigable barking of the neighbor's dogs). The ink that stained Karen and Roger's hands, with smudges imprinted on the paper poster as proof, are rather reminders of the material and mundane work that goes into organizing a fledgling event like Cross Talk. Or, perhaps, the point is that the life-long collective of Roger Reynolds and Karen Reynolds as artistic collaborators, organizers, and rumored CIA agents also needs to be attached to, but far exceed frameworks like the "State Apparatus"

and the mission of "cultural diplomacy," in ways that could never have been anticipated at the outset.

The way that Karen and Roger speak as a seamless unit marks the apparent overrepresentation of Roger against the near-invisibility of Karen in the historical record as even more striking. From a historiographical perspective, it brings to the fore questions about the hierarchies of racial and gendered power and disempowerment at the site of Cross Talk Intermedia. In the ample textual and photographic documentation of Cross Talk Intermedia, very little of it sheds light on Karen Reynolds's work and thoughts. And yet, throughout the planning of the festival, Karen Reynolds worked tirelessly in numerous capacities as graphic designer, chronicler, and organizer. The listed festival's Artistic Directors are a team of three, with Karen's name missing in both the Japanese and English text (her name does appear below, but only for credits for the poster and program design). Reading through Roger Reynolds's newsletters, it's clear that she participated in every part of the process. Both Roger and Karen's ICWA newsletters are written from the perspective of "we" as a collective first-person. (Or, as Roger puts it: "She's involved in everything. That is, everything that concerns me or us."[55]) During my visit with Roger and Karen, the way that the two interact, finishing each other's sentences, elaborating on a story started by the other, affirmed this point. Both Roger Reynolds and Yuasa referred to the organizing team as a group of four—two Japanese (Yuasa and Akiyama) and two American artists. And yet, on the box of the Cross Talk Intermedia programs, the Director of the festival is listed as Donald Albright. However, as a flutist (rather than a composer), a woman, and a new mother by the time of Cross Talk Intermedia, social expectations and historiographic conventions privileged the composer's creative agency and reinforced an assumption that she was "merely" the wife of Roger Reynolds. Indeed, the record number for the ICWA Newsletters that she penned is titled, "Mrs. RR-1."

As I focused my eyes on the poster, I noticed the unintended and unexpected smears of the ink. Visible ones remained on paper; the imagined ones on their hands. These smears, or blurs, I think, are traces of other ways of being part of intermedia's apparatus at the intersection of collaboration, translation, mistranslation, noise, remembering, and forgetting. In the following two chapters on intermedia at Expo'70, I further consider such gaps—between avant-garde and corporate investments in intermedia, but also the trajectories of intermedia that took hold in spaces of the everyday, defying expectations of both corporate and avant-garde intents.

CHAPTER 4

Expo'70

The Pinnacle of Intermedia, or, the Avant-Garde Faces Some Conundrums

Exiting the train at the Banpakukinenkōen station (Expo Commemoration Park), I walk among weekend visitors headed to the Banpakukinenkōen in late November 2010. Some are multigenerational families; others are older visitors—many are men who appear to be in their 60s and 70s, arriving solo (backpack, sunhat, high-end SLR camera, and water bottle attached to their bodies that hold everything needed for the day trip). No direct lines from central Osaka serve the Banpakukinenkōen station, so it takes some effort to reach the park from the Osaka city center. Stepping off the train, a concrete walkway siphons park visitors across a bridge that goes over a major highway ("*Chūkan*," as locals call it), which was an infrastructure project that coincided with Expo'70. Despite the steady flow of people, the car noise of the road beneath makes the walk strangely silent. In sharp contrast to the concrete of the highway, a large hill of green rises across the way. Okamoto Tarō's *Taiyō no tō*, the 70-meter-tall monument that has become the symbol of Expo'70, looms alone in the sky, a solitary giant guarding the site of the festival. In 1970, the *Taiyō no tō* stood in the midst of a sprawling World's Fair, which to many, symbolized not only Japan's but Asia's rise as a global economic force. But now, in contrast to the spirit of progress shared by the avant-garde and the national agenda bent on growth, what remains is a sparsely populated green space with structures and signs. Walking through the beautiful 650 acres of green recreational space, I notice how the buildings are spread wide apart, with pretty flower beds and gently sloping vast green fields. Cars are not permitted and visitors stroll along the tree-lined avenues stretching across the idyllic if uneventful park. Most of the pavilions were taken down after the World's Fair. Inscriptions on buildings and signs remind visitors of

Figure 11. View of Okamoto Tarō's *Taiyō no tō* in the Expo'70 Commemorative Park across the Chugoku Expressway. Photo by Miki Kaneda.

the glory days. But gone are the electroacoustic sounds of the soundscape of Expo'70 as well as the mad rush of visitors bustling in and out of the psychedelic landscape of the pavilions. With the avant-garde now in the realm of the past, it is the sounds and rhythms of the everyday visitors and the memories of Expo'70 that prevail.

I am at the park because I want to see where the Japanese avant-garde realized their most grandiose visions of intermedia art at Expo'70. Expo'70 was the World's Fair in Osaka fueled by the accumulation of Japan's postwar wealth. It was also the first World's Fair to be realized in the region, after an earlier attempt to hold a World's Fair in Japan in 1940 to enshrine its global ambitions in the form of a World's Fair had disintegrated as Japanese national

energy poured into war efforts.[1] With 64 million visitors (which translates to over 60% of the Japanese population in 1970, though some were repeat visitors), it held the World's Fair record for the most visitors ever—a number not to be surpassed for 40 years later with the Shanghai Expo in 2010. After Expo'70 was over, the site was converted into a park. From what I see in 2010, the Expo Commemoration Park looks nothing like an exclusive space for the avant-garde. It doesn't strike me as a display of Japanese economic power either, though I know that producers had envisioned the event as a monumental achievement symbolizing Japan's global technological and cultural relevance in 1970. The following two chapters tell stories about intermedia as a marker of Expo'70's contentious relationship to the everyday people and practices—casual park visitors, popular songs, and amateur collectors. Even as intermedia art reached a pinnacle of sorts in 1970, simultaneously, the sounds of the aesthetics of Expo'70 that came to be described as *banpaku geijutsu* struggled to connect with the general public, many of whom were part of Japan's growing middle class. Expo'70 thus marks a shift for the 1960s avant-garde's relationship to the everyday and the mundane and the relevance of what I have been calling the inappropriate as the condition of the Japanese avant-garde. What emerges is a rift within the constitutive elements of intermedia, which on the one hand looked to the technologies and spaces of everyday as an aesthetic interest, and on the other, defined itself as an avant-garde practice with a transnational outlook, distinguished and extraordinary in comparison to the mundane practicalities of everyday life. In the twenty-first century, as in 1970, a narrative shared by artists is that Expo'70 was a failure for the avant-garde. While the mainstream media celebrated Expo'70 as a monumental milestone for Japanese industry and culture, many avant-garde musicians, artists, and art critics shared the opposite sentiment: disturbed by the delirious devotion to industry and technology that ironically neglected to attend to the needs and sensitivities of everyday human life, many Japanese and international critics did not take well to the aesthetic of *banpaku geijutsu* (the name given to what might be described as the outrageously futuristic aesthetic and unprecedentedly grandiose scale of Expo'70 architecture and art).[2] Public spaces and many of the pavilions—the other-worldly architectural wonders sponsored by corporations or international governments totaling 116 structures—embodied this aesthetic. For artists and musicians at Expo'70, the spectacular "environments" of intermedia art that served as attractions presented at corporate and national pavilions seemed an aesthetic and technological dream come true, but at the same time, contradicted the politics of the anti-capitalist countercultural movement.

In this chapter, I examine the politics of intermedia against two sources of tension. One is the relationship between the avant-garde arts and their sponsoring corporations. The other is the gap between the avant-garde's visions and their reception by everyday people, whose interests and concerns were not readily in alignment with the cosmopolitan elite spheres of the avant-garde. Departing from the debates that pit the radical avant-garde against the capitalist visions of the government, I ask—if Expo'70 was indeed at such extreme odds with the vision of a radical avant-garde, then why did so many artists take part in it in the first place (to the extent that a vast majority of artists identified with the 1960s avant-garde did so)? This chapter and the following offer a response by listening to the soundscape of Expo'70. In a turn away from an examination that exclusively positions the avant-garde in relation to the politics of the national government, this chapter examines how intermedia at Expo'70 also articulated a relationship between the avant-garde and the public of Japan's growing middle class—a relationship characterized by disdain for the untrained tastes of the general public by the avant-garde, and by indifference from the vast majority of Expo'70's visitors. The failure of Expo'70 in the eyes of the avant-garde, I argue, was not only because of its complicity with the corporate-backed Japanese national agenda but because the avant-garde faced the limits of its own trajectory cultivated over the years, in terms of its professed openness to the mundane and porousness between art and the everyday. Expo'70 no doubt caused ethical dilemmas for artists. Yet, I suggest that a significant source of frustration was the avant-garde's attempts to delineate an exclusive boundary for the avant-garde through ideas about what counted as appropriate expressions of intermedia at Expo'70.

The Avant-Garde Faces Some Conundrums

Expo'70 presented some conundrums for the avant-garde. Participating composers and artists found their utopian ideals of connecting art, technology, and everyday life somewhat at odds with the reality—not just of the corporate nature of Expo'70, but also with the interests of the general public as well, on both political and aesthetic grounds.

As a transnationally rooted cutting-edge practice, intermedia was an ideal artistic vehicle for Expo'70 to encapsulate the ideals of technology, creativity, and future-oriented visions of the marriage of art and technology with a global impact. Indeed, intermedia's investment in world-making through technological invention would seem to align with the vision of technocratic

nation-building. The historical progression bolstered by intermedia and other multimedia expressions followed the course of the 1964 Olympics, which had recently validated Japan's new status as a rising global economic and cultural power. In the decade after Prime Minister Ikeda's Income Doubling Plan was announced in 1960, aimed at doubling the Japanese GNP over the next decade, expenditures on transportation, communication, recreation, leisure, education, cultural services, and other miscellaneous expenses grew at a steady rate.[3] At the end of a decade of previously unimagined growth, Expo'70 celebrated economic affluence and the drastic increase in leisure and disposable income in Japan. The Income Doubling Plan redefined economic "growth" to include the expenditures of Japanese consumers, thereby recognizing the importance of individuals as part of the national economic vehicle.[4] Expo'70 also celebrated technological triumphs predicated on the "faith in capitalist reconstruction to solve not only economic problems but also political ones, the belief that science and technology held the answer to social inequities . . ."[5] On a local level, Expo'70 promised to change the urban landscape of the Osaka metropolitan area.[6] Following the success of the Tokyo Olympics in 1964, Osaka, as the nation's industrial center and second-largest city, now had an occasion to develop its infrastructure and amenities to rise to the status of the newest international city. Administrators, organizers, and other participants of Expo'70 lauded the economic significance and stimulus to the local economy. Construction, steel, cement, and machinery industries would enjoy high demand, and new highways and ports, urban renewal and new community services would make a lasting impact. Expo'70's proponents also touted new housing development, expansion of transportation and infrastructure, and regional economic development as benefits. The investment in all these projects would, in turn, stimulate the national economy.[7]

Japanese intermedia artists seized an opportunity in 1970 when Japan looked to establish itself in the world not only as an economic power as it had in the 1950s and 1960s, but now also as an international cultural leader. Intermedia tendencies had been developing in Japan over the 1960s, and many of the Expo'70 artists had already been involved in various intermedia projects. Among them were the Cross Talk Intermedia Festival sponsored by the American Cultural Center and the Intermedia Art Festival organized by Kosugi Takehisa, Shiomi Mieko, and Tone Yasunao in 1969; Orchestral Space organized by Ichiyanagi Toshi and Takemitsu Tōru in 1966; and a multi-venue group show titled *From Space to Environment* organized by the Enbairamento no Kai (Environment Collective) in 1966. Yet, none had

experienced anything on the scale of Expo'70, neither in regard to funding through corporate sponsorship nor in regard to the number of visitors to the exposition, most of whom were not at all familiar with contemporary art and music.

Corporations and government agencies supported artists of the avant-garde's cutting edge, often entrusting the artists with free rein over their projects. If such support of an avant-garde seems a risk, especially given that even the leftist stance of the avant-garde was widely understood, the capacity to take risks itself marked the corporate sponsor's cultural savvy. This in turn demonstrated the robustness of corporate economic power backed by national policies developed over the past decade. The sonic and visual fantasies encapsulated by the pavilions of Expo'70 brought together "industry, culture, and arts from all over the world in conversation," whose grand scale raised hopes for "economic stimulation (*keizaikōka*)" to the sponsoring towns within Osaka, as well as to the nation.[8] *Banpaku geijutsu* celebrated technology and the limitless possibility of a utopian future made possible through technological mastery. Recent events such as the moon landing by Apollo 11 in 1969 combined with Japan's technology-fueled rise to power in the 1960s bolstered this national feeling. For example, the main attraction of the Mitsui Group Pavilion was the Space Revue—billed as a place to experience an "1800-second happening of shock!" Titled "Creative Paradise," the Mitsui Group Pavilion presented a grand show of "total theater" with 1726 speakers, and a combination of 30 film, slide and special effects projectors.[9] The dome construction spanning 98 × 92 feet, named the Space Revue, was made to represent a vision of outer space. Inside, film, light, and other special effects projected onto a giant screen accompanied by otherworldly electronic sounds dazzled spectators.[10] Visitors to the Mitsui Group Pavilion could ride on one of three circular revolving audience "stages" that gradually elevated visitors to the top of the space. With Yamaguchi Katsuhiro as the head producer, composers Ichiyanagi Toshi and Satō Keijirō were in charge of sound design; artist Sakamoto Masaharu produced an automated multilayered projection system; film director Horie Hideo created a multi-projection system using turntables. Sculptor Ihara Michio and interior designer Kuramata Shirō were also on staff among other artists and engineers.[11] Through this experience of "total theater," the producers aimed to create an ever-changing multisensory space in which visitors were no longer passive spectators, but active producers of their own experience.[12]

But many artists also felt uneasy with the message of progress and tech-

Figure 12. Pamphlet for the Mitsui Pavilion at Expo'70 exemplifying the shapes and colors of the popular psychedelic pop aesthetic at Expo'70.
Photo by Miki Kaneda.

nological growth of Expo'70, which went against the leftist ideological stance of the avant-garde. While large-scale national events such as the Tokyo Olympics in 1964 and Expo'70 did bring tangible changes to the Tokyo and Osaka metropolitan areas, the long-term economic benefits weighed against the drawbacks of those enterprises are often difficult to measure.[13] By 1970, the Income Doubling Plan had surpassed its goals. Yet the economy-centered mentality privileged growth (measured quantitatively over a shorter term) above a more holistic sense of long-term success. Critics such as the journalist Satō Ichidan argue that while Expo'70 temporarily brought people and economic growth to the Kansai Area, ultimately, it did more harm than good to regional development.[14] Satō argues, development of this sort worked wonders with the 1964 Olympics in Tokyo, because Tokyo already had a growing concentration of political, economic, and diplomatic power. In the absence of the same degrees of political and cultural infrastructure, the same formula did not work for Osaka. In other words, Osaka's short-term economic gains failed to deliver lasting effects. On the other side of economic prosperity, in Osaka and across Japan, the creation of policies to protect the environment and restrict pollution lagged behind policies to stimulate economic growth. While the official theme of Expo'70 was "Progress and Harmony for Mankind," progress seemed to be a far clearer goal than harmony. By 1970, industrial and commercial waste contaminated Tokyo Bay and clouded the city's rivers; in Osaka, a stench lurked through the city center.[15] Yet, in the year that the term *kōgai retto* (pollution archipelago) became a buzzword, both the mainstream press and the organizers of Expo'70 maintained a striking silence about the wastefulness of Expo'70 or the razing of the Senrikyūryō forestland for the purpose of a fair that would last but 6 months.[16] Expo'70 also marks a turning point in Japan's energy supply, making the shift toward increasing reliance on nuclear technology, twenty-five years after the atomic bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. As the first World's Fair in history to draw on nuclear power as its primary energy source, Expo'70 celebrated nuclear energy as the man-made "new sun."[17] The Tsuruga power plant in Fukui prefecture, the second commercial powerplant operating in Japan, powered Expo'70, and the opening day of Expo'70 coincided with the opening of the Tsuruga plant. It was this energy from the Tsuruga power plant that also powered the bright light emanating from the central symbol of Expo'70, the 230-ft tower of the *Taiyō no tō* by the artist Okamoto Tarō, and other technological wonders.[18]

Individual artists, including Okamoto, presented different strategies to negotiate their ethical, political, and aesthetic ideals with their ambitions to

be part of a monumental event while they struggled to negotiate their artistic ideals with their ideological desires to connect with a broader Japanese public. Okamoto was ambivalent about Expo'70, even as he took on the role as the artistic producer of the central Theme Pavilion of Expo'70 (*tēma-kan* or "theme pavilion," where the *Taiyō no tō* lived). Suspicious of the unchecked faith in progress and national growth, Okamoto accepted and followed through on the commission, but famously, he declared that he would make something ridiculous—*berabō na mono* as he called it.[19] Okamoto's intention was to create something entirely inappropriate for Expo'70. The result was the *Taiyō no tō*, a mythical-looking tower with a scowling face with gleaming eyes that pierced through the night sky. With a godly demeanor, the face grimaces at the flood of visitors entering from the main gate to the Expo'70 park. Shadows accentuate the sculpted contours of the stern face. Even more ominously, the backside of the monument has a dark sun with tentacle rays. Narrowed white slits of eyes seem silently watch over the entire spectacle of the World's Fair. If the black sun emblazoned on the back of the tower had any relation to the notion of the "new sun," it portends a much more ominous or pessimistic one than the slogan of "harmony and progress" projects.[20] The Okamoto Tarō museum curator Hirano Akiomi recalls Okamoto's words: "Don't believe in the values [about progress and harmony for mankind] of the exposition! Man has not progressed!"[21] Okamoto viewed this absurd tower as a response not just to the theme of progress but to the anti-expo *hanpaku* movement as well. To him, *Taiyō no tō* was the greatest criticism of the exposition. "*Hanpaku, what are you talking about? The biggest hanpaku is the* Taiyo no tō."[22] But despite Okamoto's critical intentions, the Japanese public embraced the *Taiyō no tō* as the symbol of the future. As one of the few structures of Expo'70 to remain after the World's Fair, the public's love for the structure has only grown over the decades. In 2018 the tower re-opened its interior to the public after 48 years of deep sleep. The same year, the Okamoto Tarō Modern Art Foundation in collaboration with a number of media organizations released a hybrid surrealist-documentary film about the *Taiyō no tō* (dir. Sekine Kōsai).

Eight years after Expo'70, artist Yamaguchi Katsuhiro recalled taking part in Expo'70 with some hesitation, viewing the event as a giant national project that recruited artists to show off corporate and national cultural capital.[23] Yet, he also felt that "it is easy to have an abstract opinion of whether you agree or disagree with the premises of the exposition. But one should not forget that [through participation] one can initiate conversations between

people with whom one previously had no contact, or with people from different fields of work."[24]

The producers of the Textiles Pavilion, artist/designer Yokoo Tadanori and filmmaker Matsumoto Toshio, also envisioned their structure as presenting an "anti-expo" aesthetic.[25] In contrast to the clean curves of the space-age aesthetics of the Metabolism school of architecture that dominated the design of the Expo'70 grounds and many of the pavilions, Yokoo and Matsumoto, the artistic directors of the Textiles Pavilion, sought to insert an "incongruous, antagonistic tension" to Expo'70 through their design.[26] The Textiles Industry Pavilion is a red dome that rests precariously on a sloping white pedestal. Scaffolding remains around the dome, leaving an impression that the structure is incomplete. Life-like sculptures of ominous-looking crows and construction workers adorn the building and the nearby billboard advertising Matsumoto's film *Space Projection Ako* inside.[27] This was Matsumoto's way of signifying resistance or a hesitation about fully committing to the project of Expo'70.

Defending his participation in the Steel Pavilion, artist Usami Keiji declared the space an autonomous entity, independent of the goals or purposes of the exposition. He argued: "By limiting our energies to creating the Space Theatre, we were able to realize our ideas by distinguishing our space from the intentions of the exposition. The result was a theater in which the difference in energy was quite clear. Amid criticism from various artists, taking on full responsibility for the goals and purposes of our own space also allowed us to put our sincere efforts into the project."[28] It is perhaps ironic then, that in 2010 the Steel Pavilion was renamed the Expo'70 Pavilion and now represents Expo'70 as a whole as it houses the Expo'70 museum.

Composing Ambivalence: Yuasa's "Telephonopathy" and Ichiyanagi's *Music for Living Environment*

The opposition to the core values of Expo'70 also manifested sonically. Composer Yuasa Jōji has described Expo'70 as an opportunity for cross-sector collaborations between artists and corporations. "I think the World's Fair of 1970 will leave its mark in history as a collaborative project between art and large corporations. Artists were able to integrate the newest technologies for creative purposes in any way they desired. But with the 'oil shock,' [the Oil Crisis in 1973–74] this came to a stop. I think it's a real shame that the path of

development [of the relationship between art and corporations] wasn't pursued further. It was a dream that lasted for a short time."[29] But while Expo'70 seemed an aesthetic and technological dream come true, it went against the politics of the leftist movements against Japan's support of the Vietnam War and its ongoing cooperation with the US military.

Yuasa's electroacoustic composition "Telephonopathy," presented at Expo'70, sends a message of such ambivalence. Purposeful ambivalence, rather than dissent, characterizes the treatment of the sonic materials, in this piece. Yuasa's manipulations of his source material in "Telephonopathy" highlight ambiguity by navigating the zones between voice, sound, and noise within contemporary society. "Telephonopathy" is the first part of a longer composition titled *Voices Coming* (1969). It uses the recorded voice and sounds of telephone and switchboard operators as the main source material to explore the acoustic space of vocal labor. The piece uses the voices of telephone operators talking about everything *but* correct phone numbers and names. Yuasa focuses on the chatter, the pleasantries, and the emotional tone of the telephone operators' speech-work, between dial tone sounds that morph into noise. In the piece, the listener hears telephone operators dealing with confused customers, lost numbers, absent receivers, and busy networks. The repeated greetings, "Hello, *moshi-moshi*" (*moshi-moshi* is a Japanese greeting used on the telephone), which morph into noise through increasingly distorting reverb in the first part of the piece may be a stylized treatment of the distortion and echo of early international phone lines, but it also conveys a sense of searching for nothing. Yuasa visited the Dendenkōsha (Nippon Telegraph and Telephone Public Corporation) telephone exchange center to make recordings of the voices of operators and the noises of the switchboard. Following the standard practice for the occupation, all the voices of telephone operators in "Telephonopathy" belong to women, recalling the gendered labor of switchboard operators. During this visit, Yuasa became highly conscious of the physical and vocal labor that the technology of the telephone masks for the average user.[30] In everyday business life, the telephone operator's voice does crucial work in facilitating international and long-distance phone calls, connecting lines from one switchboard in city A to another in city B and from there, to city C in another country. But in a relation of power within a phone company and the phone users, the operators are nothing more than attendants of the telephone system; the "content" of the call is the caller's message and their words. By bringing the content (the telephone conversations) and medium (the voices of the operators) together,

Voices Coming reveals that human voices are central to the life of the system of the telephone network itself. As sound, the operators and the callers are on the same sonic plane in Yuasa's music. Yuasa describes the echoes and excesses of speech in the telephone network as existing "between words and pronunciation (*gengo to hassei*), voice and acoustics (*koe to gengo*), sound and music (*oto to ongaku*), meaning and non-meaning (*imi to mu-imi*), physical space and psychological space (*bashoteki kūkan to shinri-teki kūkan*)."[31] But through its very failure to convey a message, it brings to stark relief what is normally privileged in both the telephonic speech of efficiency and the language of the politics of high economic growth; it does so by focusing only on the voices of the operators, as voices that communicate through speech as sound and feeling, rather than speech as syntax. In Yuasa's words, the musical experience of his piece is an acoustics of lived communication (*ikita onkyōteki comyunikēshon*).[32] The treatment of the voice in "Telephonopathy" highlights the perceived difference between semantic meaning and the materiality of language while suggesting that as sound, they are not so different after all. It suggests that what is essential to conversation is not the words that "represent" meaning but rather, the vocalizations, or *traces of signification* that can *only* be conveyed through the voice.

Yuasa's "Telephonopathy" played in the Telecommunications Pavilion, sponsored by the Nippon Telegraph and Telephone Corporation, Japan's leading telecommunication company. "People and communication," was the theme of the pavilion. The yellow curved polyhedral structure was constructed of curved sail-like panels that appeared to float above the ground on stilts. The pavilion drew crowds excited to experience the newly unveiled wireless phones, whose innovations would eventually lead to mobile phone technology. Yuasa has insisted that there is no overt "message" of critique or subversion in his work and rejects the organized state politics and mass protests that proliferated in the 1960s: "I think it's very dangerous when music is directly concerned with politics. That is, in order to be political, you need a message. Words. I came of age during the war, and I saw how dangerous things can be when you make all these voices come together as one. We had to do that stuff all the time, and I hated it . . . music has the power to multiply the power of words many times over."[33] Born in 1929, Yuasa experienced the war years as a teenager, at a time when the choreographed performances of "mass mobilization" resonated with national power and the strategies of an imperialist state. Yuasa continued to regard such large-scale movements as a threat to individual creative freedom. Both figuratively and physically,

his music amplifies this perception. He makes the point that those in power abuse the power of music just as easily as those contesting power can use music to bring voices together. Yuasa's sonic politics takes note of the precariousness of using the same musical techniques deployed by the military government of his childhood. As an alternative, Yuasa sets out on an investigation of the sonic environment of everyday life with a focus on the *means* of communication rather than the delivered *message*, which he associates with the techniques of the military government's use of music as a tool of producing an affectively enhanced sense of national unity. What emerges in Yuasa's music is a careful exploration of the material conditions and contexts that make the delivery of a message possible in the first place. By purposefully obscuring the message, sonically, the productive ambiguity of *Voices Coming* leaves open the possibility of a configuration of new meanings without the imposition of a final message.

Ichiyanagi's *Music for Living Environment* (1969) illustrates a gap between the ambivalence of the musical avant-garde and the future-oriented visions of Expo'70. Composed for the Theme Pavilion, *Music for Living Environment* overtly connects with the themes of Metabolist architecture. With its future-oriented visions of the seamless exchange of energy between organic, biological models and the built environment, Metabolist architecture embraced modular techno-organic forms. *Music for Living Environment* uses new computer technology to read out key quotes from architect Kurokawa Kishō's "Capsule Declaration." Kurokawa's manifesto outlines a cybernetic or "cyborg architecture" based on modular and adaptable cellular units that he called capsules. These cybernetically connected units of "man, machine, and space build a new organic body," ever adaptable to urban environments.[34] Ichiyanagi's piece sonically animates and also complicates Kurokawa's vision of organically connecting people, machines, and space. At some point in the piece, the monotonous computer chant begins to sound like rhythmic Buddhist chanting. The low percussive repetitions *thump-thump*-ing at the end of the piece sound both like a heartbeat and a machine, emphasizing the machinic functions of the human body. And yet, throughout much of the track, an unadulterated chant of a Kyrie eléison—a prayer for mercy—runs in the background of the electronic noise. Kurokawa's manifesto declares that "man, machine, and space to build a new organic body *transcend confrontation*," seemingly removing any obstacles, manmade or spiritual, which stand in the way of the cybernetic organism.[35] By contrast, Ichiyanagi's Kyrie taps the lingering spirituality in the human or cyborg body, unsure of its ability

to "transcend" the orders of God or higher realms through man-made structures. Metabolist architecture integrates traditional symbols into its structures as well (for example, according to Kurokawa, the easily assembled and disassembled design for the Takara Beautillion pavilion drew on principles of *bushidō* and Buddhism, which embraced the transient as an element of beauty). Ichiyanagi's musical engagement with Metabolist ideas treats the encounter with tradition with hesitation. In *Music for Living Environment*, even the synthesized voice in Ichiyanagi's piece, despite being a use of recent advances in computer technology, does not seem particularly inspired or triumphant; rather, it alternates between being audible and masked by the Kyrie track—an ambivalent interchange between the new and historically rooted spirituality.

Mounting Tensions between Art and Corporations

Other artists and critics expressed more explicitly antagonistic positions against Expo'70, though ambivalence still presided. The biggest issue for artists opposed to Expo'70 were ethical and political allegiances, rather than aesthetic ones. Writer Murashima Ken'ichi decried the World's Fair as a monumental "jack-off session" celebrating high economic growth.[36] Murashima's critique also connects the term avant-garde to its military roots as he draws a connection to the origins of Japanese efforts to mount the first Japanese World's Fair during the wartime years. In an editorial in the newspaper *Asahi Shimbun*, art critic Hariu Ichirō denounced the neo-nationalist motivations behind the act of holding the World's Fair in his piece titled "Crazed Ideology" (*Kurutta Ideorogī*). In the column, Hariu argued that Expo'70 continued the imperialist agenda of the first Japanese World's Fair that had been planned for Tokyo (but never realized) by the Japanese Empire in 1940 during the Second World War. He wrote that this nationalist agenda was nothing more than a giant propaganda campaign that offered a rosy illusion of harmony and progress to distract the masses from protests and uprisings against the renewal of the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between Japan and the United States.[37]

Leading up to Expo'70, various artist groups protested the World's Fair. Led by Katō Yoshihiro, a group called the Banpaku Hakai Kyōtō-ha (Association for the Joint Struggle against the World's Fair) brought together artists such as Akiyama Yūtokutaishi, members of the collectives Kokuin, Vitamin

Art, and Kurohata. From 1969 to 1970, they staged various anti-expo (*hanpaku*) performances, often on a university campus as part of the wave of student protests taking place on campuses all over Japan. The largest among the anti-expo events was the *hanpaku* gathering at Osaka Castle Park in the summer of 1969, which brought together over 200 groups.[38] *Hanpaku* officially stood for *hansen no tame no bankokuhaku*, or "anti-war World's Fair." Yet, with the truncation of the term to *hanpaku* (where *han* stands for "against" and *paku* refers to the fair) the word also can mean *anti-expo.*[39] Another twist on the term connects the groups of artists around the *hanpaku* movements with a radical art movement that declared itself *han-geijutsu*, or anti-art. In that sense, *hanpaku* can also be understood as a festival of anti-art, *han(geijutsu)paku*. Combining these meanings, *hanpaku* staged an (anti) artistic demonstration against the exposition, which *hanpaku* artists viewed as a repository for "impotent" corporate art. Yet, from an aesthetic standpoint, not participating in Expo'70 did not create as much distance from the aesthetics of Expo'70 as one might assume. Despite the oppositional stance toward intermedia and the excesses of *banpaku geijutsu*, even the performances of the artists associated with the most radical of the anti-expo groups shared elements with the intermedia art of the same era: work by the group 8 Zenerēshon (8-Generation) deployed projectors spinning on turntables; artist Yoshida Minoru making sounds with speakers strapped to his body; a portable projection box devised by Mizukami Jun; the presence of "light art" and multiple projections, are all familiar to intermedia. As KuroDalaiJee has suggested, even while claiming a position of skepticism toward domination by technology, and even if the projects by the *hanpaku* factions didn't match the scale or cost of the art at Expo'70, they were still part of a continuum of the contemporary artistic environment.[40] Yet, as KuroDalaiJee's writing on the *hanpaku* movement suggests, on the flip side of the "failure" of *banpaku geijutsu*, Expo'70 in some ways provided a space for the "anti-art" movement.

While artists debated the ethical dilemmas of participating in Expo'70, the corporate sponsors of the pavilions generally went along with the artists' proposals. There was, however, one well-documented case where the corporate sponsor shut down collaborations with the artists, unable to contend with the unruly nature of the avant-garde. The partnership between the Pepsi-Cola Company and the US and Japanese branches of the collective Experiments in Art and Technology (E.A.T.) began as a truly collaborative endeavor. The Pepsi Pavilion brought together a team of over 20 artists and around 50 scientists and engineers.[41] The resulting pavilion was nothing less

than what You Nakai has described as a composition and musical instrument that was 45 meters wide and 23 meters high.[42]

Artists on the roster for programming included Hijikata Tatsumi, Kosugi Takehisa, Awazu Kiyoshi, Terayama Shūji, Yoshimura Masunobu, Takahashi Yūji, Ann Halprin, Allan Kaprow, Alvin Lucier, Pauline Oliveros, Terry Riley, La Monte Young, and Marian Zazeela. What at first seemed like a grand collaboration between art and technology ended as the tensions between "art" and "industry" escalated to the point of no resolution. Both E.A.T. and Pepsi initially enthusiastically welcomed the partnership. E.A.T. president and engineer Billy Klüver along with artists Robert Breer, David Tudor, and Frosty Myers led the artistic conception of the pavilion with blessings from Donald M. Kendall, Pepsi's president whom the group had met through David Thomas, a Pepsi executive and Breer's neighbor.[43] Pepsi's decision to collaborate with E.A.T. came after Pepsi executives became concerned that the original plan of using the pavilion as a disco might draw protesters and students drawn to the pavilion as a site of youth culture. Commissioning E.A.T. and filling the spaces with sounds of the avant-garde instead were part of a plan to preemptively avoid rebellion. Features of the Pepsi pavilion included the innovative use of mobile sound technologies inside a large, mirrored dome. Sound design by David Tudor highlighted a 32-input, 37-speaker system. These were embedded on the floor and dome walls, playing different sound loops based on the material of each particular section of the floor. Sounds of nature and urban environments were piped in from various locations, crafting a collaged soundscape inside. Visitors could pick up handsets distributed in the entrance tunnel to the pavilion. In certain locations inside the pavilion, these clear-plastic radio-receiver-like devices would emit light and allow users to tune into sounds.[44] Tudor also wrote pieces for the Pavilion including *Anima Pepsi*, and *Pepsibird Pepscillator*.[45] Artist Nakaya Fujiko, in consultation with scientist Keiji Higuchi and cloud physicist Tom Mee, created a fog "sculpture," an artificially made cloud that enveloped the structure and rolled off the dome, and dissipated into the grounds of Expo'70. But the blurring of the boundaries between art and industry finally came into an unresolvable conflict over the issue of ownership of the work created by the artists. Some of the performances (in particular Hijikata's) also drew concern from the Pepsi side. Ultimately, the collaboration lasted only into April, just one month into the six-month plan. The artistic team withdrew from the space, bringing along with them some of the tapes used for the sound inside the Pavilion. Pepsi apparently replaced them with tapes

Figure 13. Visitors explore the sounds of the pavilion using handheld mobile devices inside E.A.T.'s Pepsi Pavilion at Expo'70, Osaka, Japan, 1970 March 18. Many of the most enthusiastic visitors were children. Harry Shunk and Shunk-Kender Photographs, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles (2014.R.20). Gift of the Roy Lichtenstein Foundation in Memory of Harry Shunk and Janos Kender. Photograph: Shunk-Kender © J. Paul Getty Trust.

of the song "It's a Small World" and other music, which they considered to be more "user-friendly."[46] But all in all, resistance and ambivalence on the part of artists and failed collaborations aside, Expo'70 continued its unstoppable march to the tune of progress.

"Our Banpaku is Now Over"

If the corporations were enthusiastic supporters of the avant-garde, it was the general public that posed the most consistent challenge to the avant-garde. There is one thing that both artists and mass media reporters agreed on: Expo'70 was in no way a friendly place to contemplate avant-garde art.

Reporting for the *Sankei* newspaper, Yodono Takashi described the gap between the imagined and actual Expo'70 for the millions of visitors who arrived:

> People of all ranks (i.e., architects, artisans, construction workers, designers, film directors, musicians) would gather, and create a microcosm of mass society, be merry, or maybe have a fruitful discussion about a difficult theory, and move about the vast premises of the fair in their cars with their Tokyo license plates . . . but in the several hours between March 13th and [the opening of Expo'70 on] March 14th, this idyllic image changed completely. After the opening ceremony, when the best members from each sector in Japan made an appearance, with that event as the pinnacle, Expo'70 was given over to the masses averaging 300,000 a day. So, what happened after that? The producers and staff who had created the pavilions, upon seeing the masses, could only utter . . . Our *banpaku* is now over . . .[47]

Expo'70 was a space filled with chaos, and too many people: lost children, exasperated parents, disoriented tourists. The image of the mad rush of frenzied people running into the park at opening time during the final days of Expo'70 became so widespread that newspapers used the term "buffalo dash" to refer to the crush of visitors.[48] The average visitor was not prepared or especially invested in the wonders of the avant-garde. In a documentary audio recording of the sounds inside the Pepsi Pavilion, I hear a woman's voice politely addressing someone who perhaps worked there "Excuse me; what are we supposed to be looking at here?" She shifts her tone to a more casual register, perhaps turning to her child: "What is this? Let's move on now . . ." Not particularly enchanted by the space, she nudged her co-traveler to keep moving inside the Pepsi Pavilion.[49]

According to composer Matsudaira Yoriaki, the new audience at Expo'70 posed a big challenge for composers because "the vast number of visitors . . . were difficult to predict [in taste and in behavior]."[50] For example, the Steel Pavilion, Textiles Pavilion, and West Germany Pavilion presented some of the leading figures in avant-garde music. One of the few remaining structures from Expo'70, the Steel Pavilion housed—and still does—a giant sound system in a room called the Space Theatre, which allowed for up to 12 channels over roughly 1000 speakers. Music Director Takemitsu Tōru programmed new work including Iannis Xenakis's (*Hibiki, Hana, Ma*), Takahashi Yūji's (*Egen*), and himself (*Crossing*) to play on the sound system in a loop. While

designed as experiments in spatial dispersal of sound specifically commissioned for the Space Theatre, these pieces are also standalone electroacoustic works. The performing forces drew on established ensembles including the Japan Philharmonic Orchestra and Tokyo Philharmonic Chorus, plus a slew of top solo instrumentalists including Takahashi as pianist, the biwa master Tsuruta Kinshi, and Abe Keiko on vibraphone, conducted by Ozawa Seiji and Wakasugi Hiroshi. The space also featured a lightshow using laser beams designed by Usami Keiji called *Encounter 70*.[51] By foregrounding avant-garde music that did not seek out a broad appeal, they also stood out as anomalies at Expo'70. From the avant-garde community, they also drew more approval for what they saw as a critical stance, praising them as artistically uncompromising. As Midori Yoshimoto describes it, "even though [the Textiles Pavilion] did not win the heart of the average viewer, the Textiles Pavilion's rebellious quality attracted critically minded artists and writers."[52] Yoshimoto's observation picks up on the avant-garde's long-standing value system predicated on a distance between the avant-garde and the populace, where the avant-garde positioned itself in diametrical opposition to popular reception. The avant-garde's understanding of the general public's response is that they were not necessarily hostile, but worse, *indifferent*. Artist Usami Keiji writes about a similar experience as a team member responsible for the production at the Space Theatre in the Steel Pavilion: "We encountered a completely new set of audiences than we were used to and faced with deathly silence (*mokusatsu*)."[53] In his essay on Expo'70 titled "The Dreams and Illusions of Technopia," Matsudaira emphatically maintains that he aimed to push the sonic boundaries of musical experimentation, even at the expense of the comfort of the average Expo'70 goer. The sounds of the avant-garde also made their way into public spaces. One project worth noting is the "environmental music" of the Omatsuri Hiroba (Festival Plaza). The tiered seating of the Omatsuri Hiroba could seat upwards of 18,000 spectators. In contrast to the more traditionally avant-garde-leaning projects of the three pavilions described above, Akiyama Kuniharu produced the soundscape for this space creating an acoustic environment rather than presenting a series of autonomous musical "works" adapted for an architectural space. When the space wasn't holding a performance, visitors might have caught part of *Kankyō no ongaku* (Music of the Environment), an avant-garde mixtape of sorts playing from the 1000 speakers in the space. *Kankyō no ongaku* compiled twelve *musique concrète* pieces that featured everything from sounds of the ondes Martenot, voices of children of the world, nature sounds, traditional Japanese instruments, and other modified electronic sounds composed by Ichiyanagi Toshi, Matsudaira

Yoriaki, Matsushita Shin'ichi, and Kosugi Takehisa.[54] This soundscape sought to shape the sonic environment of the Omatsuri Hiroba by introducing elements from elsewhere, by introducing an element of acoustic dislocation that at times had a disorienting and uncanny effect. Yet, Matsudaira notes numerous occasions where these unfamiliar sounds were not always welcomed by Expo'70 visitors and employees. In one anecdote, festival organizers asked him to turn down the volume of his ambient electronics. The reason was that a visitor had complained of losing their appetite upon hearing Matsudaira's piece, *Tsue wa hirugaeri* ("Fluttering canes") in the Omatsuri Hiroba.[55] Matsudaira's sounds were not the only ones thought to cause physical distress. When an attendant working in the Japan Pavilion complained to her doctor about a sudden onset of irregular menstruation, the doctor blamed the discordant sounds played in a ceaseless loop inside the pavilion.[56]

From the perspective of the musical avant-garde, Expo'70 helped solidify the networks and institutions of what has generally come to be recognized as Japanese "avant-garde music." Expo'70 also held the inaugural Kyō no Ongaku (Music Today) concert series, organized by composer Takemitsu. Three years after Expo'70, Takemitsu launched Kyō no Ongaku as an ongoing series at the Parco Theatre inside the PARCO department store that served as a hub for youth culture in the Shibuya neighborhood in the 1970s and '80s. Tokyo Concerts, an artist management company facilitating musicians' participation at Expo'70, supported the production of the Music Today series through the end of the series in 1986.[57] Together, these two institutions, both created around the time of Expo'70, have contributed to cementing yet another powerful and internationally recognized symbol of the Japanese contemporary music establishment. Composers on the Tokyo Concerts roster such as Yuasa Jōji, Takemitsu Tōru, and Ichiyanagi Toshi began their careers as outsiders to the musical establishment but eventually became the face of Japanese new music as directors and board members of multiple national and regional committees on the arts, as well as professors and lecturers at academic institutions, and winners of numerous prestigious awards. In this way, Tokyo Concerts, through Expo'70 and beyond, worked as a powerful force solidifying a canonical Japanese avant-garde that traces its lineage directly back to the Jikken Kōbō days of the 1950s.[58] For some composers, Expo'70 was also an occasion to claim their place in an international avant-garde musical community. Yuasa, who participated in the production of the collaborative *Space Projection* took great inspiration from Xenakis: "I was inspired a few years before Expo'70 when I went to the Montreal Exposition and saw Xenakis' piece. It gave me great hope and excitement about what was possible at a World's

Fair . . . it was as if we were thinking about the same thing [about music] at the same time."[59] Sonic alignment with the European avant-garde served yet another strategic purpose for composers. Yuasa chose words that aligned himself with the European avant-garde *alongside* Xenakis, not merely following him. While the visual aesthetics that more readily combined avant-garde aesthetics with the colors of late 1960s psychedelic pop culture, a declared allegiance with the resolutely anti-pop culture musical features of the European avant-garde distanced Yuasa from the pop-cultural features of Expo'70. This in turn could function as a sonic critique of the psychedelic visual aesthetics of Expo'70 co-opted by the mainstream political and corporate agendas to dazzle the masses with Expo'70's psychedelic splendor, justifying participation in Expo'70 through a logic of agnostic ambivalence.

Both these domestic and international agendas of the avant-garde suggest how Expo'70 reinforced the gap between the general public and the avant-garde. Tokyo Concerts was established to provide support for the promotion of the music of the contemporary avant-garde as its own entity; it was far less concerned with supporting or opposing the politics of harmony and progress.

The outcomes of Expo'70 demonstrate how the limit for the avant-garde was not just the avant-garde's relationship with corporate and national agendas but rather their own limited understanding of aesthetic possibilities in a highly public space. The rifts of Expo'70 were not only between artists and industry, but among artists and musicians as well, making clear that unexpected collectives such as the ones that assembled at Expo'70 were always unstable in the first place. If anything, the disruptions and disagreements surface the *limits* of collective cohesion. They also suggest that the idea of cohesion was only ever an idea in the first place, albeit an important one. The multiple "failures" of Expo'70 can then be understood not as the collapse of a monolithic movement, but simply as highlighting Expo'70 as an event that catalyzed various tensions until they eventually gave in to the pulls from different directions, where the avant-garde and mundane that constituted intermedia became opposed to one another.

Coda: "Weird Stuff"

The Steel Pavilion, designed by the architect Maekawa Kunio, is among the few structures that remained after 1970. In contrast to the psychedelic organic shapes of many of the pavilions erected in 1970, the steel pavilion is a sensible

Figure 14. Interior view of the Expo'70 Pavilion at Expo Memorial Park, 2010. Originally the Steel Pavilion, as one of the handful of remaining structures from Expo'70, the building now serves as a museum and devoted to Expo'70. Photo by Miki Kaneda.

block-based structure featuring exposed concrete and steel beams as its primary elements. In 2010, when I visited, ivy covered the sides of the building, softening the rigid angular elements of the building. The original intention for the Steel Pavilion was for it to become a modern concert hall serving the public in the Osaka region. However, citing logistical issues and difficulty of access by public transit, officials left the pavilion largely untouched for forty years until finally installing an exhibition commemorating the 40th anniversary of Expo'70. It remains to be used as a concert hall with regular programming. Inside the steel Pavilion space in 2010, I stand in a hallway overlooking the circular Space Theatre. It is a fantastical room, with hundreds of spherical speakers illuminated by a blue light suspended from the ceiling, like a crowded solar system. Two tapestries measuring 60 feet in width hang on the outer perimeter of the theater. Originally installed in the Japanese National Pavilion, they were restored and relocated to the Steel Pavilion, now

named the Expo'70 Pavilion. Despite Usami's declaration of autonomy, today, the interior of the Steel Pavilion embodies the coming together of the avant-garde, and the corporate and national agendas hungry for energy and power: One of the tapestries depicts a brilliant gold and red radial design reminiscent of the sun. Designed by Kōno Takashi and named the *Yorokobi no tō* (Tower of joy), I learn from a description that it celebrates the hopes and possibility of harnessing the science of nuclear power. Next to it hangs the accompanying tapestry that portrays a mushroom cloud of a nuclear bomb. It is called the *Kanashimi no tō* (Tower of sadness) and commemorates the victims of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Reflecting now, over a decade later after the 2011 meltdowns triggered by the tsunami and earthquake in Fukushima, the juxtaposition of the two tapestries and the unshakable faith in technological progress appears even more brazen.

As I am trying to make sense of all of this—the politics, the conundrums of the avant-garde, and what the concerts in the hall might have sounded like—a Japanese couple who appear to be in their late 20s approaches a spot near me. They take a quick look at the theater. The woman closer to me turns to her partner. She tries to muster up some interest: "what a novel space." Her partner simply replies, "weird stuff." They go on with their lives.

The critiques and aesthetic theories of Okamoto, Yokoo, Matsumoto, and other artists were largely lost on what ordinary people made of Expo'70—*weird stuff*. But, as it happens, the *Taiyō no tō* has become a beloved mascot and symbol of the glories of Japan's golden age—just the opposite of Okamoto's intended critique of "harmony and progress." *Berabō*, perhaps, but also symbolic, cute, nostalgic, and perhaps even heroic. Even a menacing statue becomes endearing if it is miniaturized as a keychain sold at the Expo'70 gift shop. While artists alternated between dreaming up visions of the art of the future and interactive environmental art, and lamenting the failure of that vision to materialize, visitors to the fair had different concerns. Some wanted to collect as many memorabilia stamps at the pavilions. Others cherished the signatures and handshakes they solicited from the hostesses from foreign countries working as guides inside pavilions. The following chapter turns to the lives of sonic and material artifacts of Expo'70 that offer a much different view of the artistic and musical legacy of the event. In contrast to the perception that they are mass-produced commercial products that offer cheap imitations for the ordinary person, I consider their roles as spiritual objects—as talismans and relics mediated by a sense of nostalgia that con-

nects Expo'70 to the contemporary moment. Expo'70 did realize a dream of intermedia where art crossed over into the realm of the everyday through the production of lasting affective relations to the objects of commercial mass production through unexpected processes. These senses and objects of the everyday that constituted intermedia alongside the aesthetics and ideologies of the avant-garde have long outlasted the avant-garde of the 1960s.

CHAPTER 5

Talismans and Relics

Intermedia and EXPO in the Twenty-First Century

Expo'70 was, and continues to be, a high-profile, if controversial, event for the Japanese postwar avant-garde.[1] As I discussed in the previous chapter, it was also a pinnacle for intermedia collaborations between artists and corporations. Beyond the avant-garde, Expo'70 is a part of Japanese cultural imaginaries about the time around 1970. In this chapter, I argue that the most significant outcomes of Expo'70 were not the "works" by avant-garde creators discussed in the previous chapter, but rather, a new kind of intermedia shaped by the relations between Expo'70's arts as an avant-garde project and its reception and location within a realm of popular culture and ordinary experience—a kind of *everyday* intermedia in place of an avant-garde intermedia. Significantly, these new forms of intermedia long outlasted the duration of Expo'70 itself. Such intermedial remains of Expo'70 circulate through the technologies and infrastructures of capitalist economic production. The goods and ideas born of Expo'70 continue to circulate in multiple media, far beyond its original form, and long after the end of the Osaka World's Fair in 1970. This phenomenon relates to the concept of "media mix," a term media theorist Marc Steinberg has used to describe as a "system of interconnected media and commodity forms."[2] Media mix sheds light on how the artifacts and imaginaries of Expo'70 so successfully traversed such a wide range of media and consumption practices. Steinberg focuses on the media mix of the franchising of Japanese *anime* (television animation), arguing that "capitalism no longer creates the product but rather creates the world in which the product exists."[3] But the circulation of objects of Expo'70 are entangled with memory and active reinvention. Media mix doesn't fully capture how these products are experienced in everyday life, which is what I am interested in exploring in this chapter. This is why I call these products talismans and relics, and conceive of them as forms of everyday intermedia. More than just

products of capitalism, they are also excess, magic, and the unexpected forms of errant possibilities generated by the various circumstances of Expo'70. Rather than an explicit critique of the mechanisms of capitalism, here, I am interested in how the magical and animist ways of understanding the world and its artifacts shed light on what Anna Tsing describes as a "glimpse of non-capitalist and capitalist economic forms working together."[4] This chapter pays close attention to two sets of sounds at Expo'70: the circuits of contemporary popular music through the figure of Minami Haruo, and the domain of *kaijū*, the fantastical monsters on TV, movies, and manga comics beloved by children and adults. I suggest that the souvenirs that so many of the everyday, middle class Expo'70 visitors brought home—including youth magazines, keychains, and postcards—have helped to produce ongoing powerful feelings about national and collective identity through mixtures of nostalgia, capitalist desire, and transnational, and also monstrous fantasies that circulated through contemporary practices of consumption and media circulation.

By ordinary experience and everyday people, I mean people who were not artists, not the cultural elite, not bureaucrats, and not industry executives. Defined by economic class as well as patterns of shared cultural experience, they include people like my father Kaoru Kaneda, and some of the other protagonists of this chapter: the fans of the popular *enka* singer Minami Haruo, or the self-proclaimed EXPO experts like Konoike Tsunataka and Kushima Tsutomu born in the 1960s and who grew up to become connoisseurs of EXPO culture and collectors of Godzilla and other figurines of *kaijū* (monsters appearing in popular film, TV, and manga of the time) and their likes from the time of Expo'70. They were also members of the 90% of Japanese families who in 1970 identified as middle class. This dominant middle class in turn shaped a sense of national character.[5] Additionally, many of the visitors to Expo'70 were local people, residing in the Kansai region around Osaka. The ordinary also presents its own ways of relating to the world. Thinking through the ordinary thus attends to what anthropologist Kathleen Stewart has described "ordinary affects" as "public feelings that begin and end in broad circulation, but they're also the stuff that seemingly intimate lives are made of."[6] Ordinary affects outlive dominant narratives while also risking complete erasure as marginal and superfluous. Yet, if the dominant narratives about Expo'70 by artists and critics center on its aesthetic and critical "failure" based on its failure to enact meaningful artistic innovation and social change, ordinary affects offer a different perspective. In Stewart's framing, ordinary affects "work not through 'meanings' per se, but rather in the way that they

pick up density and texture as they move through bodies, dreams, dramas, and social worldings of all kinds. Their significance lies in the intensities they build and in what thoughts and feelings they make possible. The question they ask is not what they might mean in an order of representations, or whether they are good or bad in an overarching scheme of things, but where they might go and what potential modes of knowing, relating, and attending to things are already somehow present in them in a state of potentiality and resonance."[7] In what follows, I draw on this affective experience of the ordinary to illuminate a space outside the realm of purposeful "meaning" that can account for the lasting resonance of Expo'70 to consider how Minami Haruo's croon, Godzilla's roar, and the world of collectors of Expo'70 memorabilia shape an ongoing narrative about intermedia at Expo'70 through the lens of everyday intermedia as the mundane counterpart of the avant-garde.

The Popular Soundscapes of the Avant-Garde: Minami's "Kon'nichiwa" and Godzilla's Roar

At the intersection of the avant-garde and the ordinary, a cacophony of sounds filled the Expo'70 grounds in 1970: Competing pavilions, the announcements on the broadcast speaker system, the directions of the security personnel, crowds of people, and children. Musically speaking, most programmed performances, particularly those held on the largest outdoor stages, consisted of performances of popular music, folk and traditional music, and historical Western Classical music by Japanese and international performance groups. The avant-garde presentations discussed in the previous chapter took place alongside this wide range of musical programming featured at Expo'70. The festival plaza featured Kansai-based avant-garde art collective Gutai's collaboration with composers Kosugi Takehisa, Matsudaira Yoriaki, and Ichiyanagi Toshi. But not all contemporary composers wrote music that was inaccessible to the general public. The avant-garde represented only a sliver of the programs. For example, Ifukube Akira, who worked on the Mitsubishi Pavilion, was a prolific composer best known for his soundtrack for the Godzilla films. His composition style more closely aligns with dramatic Hollywood film music than with contemporary trends in the avant-garde.[8] Ifukube employs the affective language of 19th-century European classical music, adapted to the heightened dramatic action of twentieth-century film, deploying techniques like harp glissandi giving way to a unison-heavy low brass theme

backed by timpani rolls. Nor was the soundscape of Expo'70 limited to contemporary classical music. Variety, rather than a singular vision, characterized the programming in the central outdoor gathering space of the Omatsuri Hiroba (Festival Space). The opening week's program, titled "Banpaku ga yattekita" (Here comes Expo'70) featured jazz drummer Jōji "George" Kawaguchi, a Japanese marching band, hostesses from the various pavilions, mariachi musicians, Indonesian dancers, a presentation of "police officers from around the world," and Japanese awa-odori dancers.[9] In another program, composer Mayuzumi Toshirō produced an event that featured jazz drummer Inomata Takeshi and Sound LTD's funk jazz unit, along with gogo dancers and a pantomime artist in a spectacle described as "*oto to hikari no fantajia*" (a fantasia of sound and art).[10] Folk and traditional performances from Japan and around the world represented a portion of the programming too. Other events featured themed programs with titles like "Flowers of the World," which brought together performance groups from various nations. Other events included a Children's Festival, a gathering for international Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts, a presentation by Holiday on Ice, and well as an international synchronized swimming invitational. In addition, an indoor hall located adjacent to the Omatsuri Hiroba included performances by internationally acclaimed artists including Sammy Davis, Jr. (who performed seven sets over the course of five days), Marlene Dietrich, Sérgio Mendes & Brasil '66, Mary Hopkin, Amália Rodrigues, and the Swingle Singers.[11] The Northern Russian Folk Chorus held fifteen performances that drew a total of 12,616 spectators.[12] All this is to say, once on site, the average visitor did not always have the time to appreciate the detailed features of each pavilion, which were "hit parades of sound and visual projections."[13] With the onslaught of sensory experiences, even for the committed visitor, the result was that "actual images or the contents of each place blurred into one another."[14]

While the avant-garde may have failed to realize its ideals of connection and collaboration, other sounds unrelated to the avant-garde did linger above the total noise, reverberating over the decades to emerge as the sonic evocations of Expo'70. For example, *kaijū* imaginaries connected the physical space of Expo'70 to distant times and places beyond the event itself. The imagined geography and vision of the world of *kaijū* permeates an undertheorized but nonetheless important imaginative world of Expo'70 created and perpetuated by the children of 1970. Japanese and international critics may have bemoaned the absence of human qualities in the Metabolist architecture of Expo'70. However, *kaijū* fans, many of them children (or adults

connecting to their childhood selves through their identification with *kaijū*), saw beyond this anthropocentric critique. Metabolist architecture may not have served humans well, but it offered the perfect landscape for *kaijū* to stage their battles. From *kaijū* roars to popular song, more than just sound, the sonic evocations were intimately bound to visual, affective and narrative paradigms—a form of everyday intermedia. Together, these forms of memory formed lasting and powerful narratives about Expo'70 and the idea of Japan in 1970 as an international cultural force. Focusing on the soundscape of memory as a form of everyday intermedia, I examine the popular song and beloved anthem of Expo'70, "Sekai no kuni kara kon'nichiwa" ("Hello from the world"; music by Nakamura Hachidai, lyrics by Shimada Yōko), and Godzilla's roar. These sounds invite a consideration of the outcomes of Expo'70 that suggest the possibilities of Expo'70 as an occasion that prompts a reimagining of intermedia as a "radically democratizing potentiality" in José Esteban Muñoz's words.[15] An utopian intersection of social and disciplinary trajectories undergirds Muñoz's interest in intermedia. In distinction to intermedia as the marriage of art and technology as the avant-garde artists of Expo'70 had theorized, Muñoz's explicit utopian take on intermedia emphasizes an outlook that is "interdisciplinary in relation to both art-making protocols and taxonomies of race, gender, and sex."[16] Expo'70 adds class into this mix. Ceasing to assume that the avant-garde sets the terms of intermedia, the sounds of Minami and Godzilla that resonated in the realms of the everyday shifts attention to the significance of the mundane in intermedia.

"Sekai no kuni kara kon'nichiwa"

Minami Haruo's popular hit "Sekai no kuni kara kon'nichiwa" operates on the level of the ordinary and the everyday, but equally, the reach of its melody and cultural historical imaginary was expansive. Its resonance continues into the twenty-first century. Released in 1967, well in advance of the World's Fair, the lyrics of "Kon'nichiwa" announce the world coming to Japan: "*sekai no kuni kara kon'nichiwa*" (hello from the nations of the world). The lyrics imply that Japan no longer only merely gazes longingly outwards to the world. Now, the world looks to Japan as the central gathering place—hello *from* the world that comes *to* Japan at Expo'70. The simultaneous release of multiple versions of the song by eight major record labels virtually guaranteed widespread circulation of the song. The labels

recruited some of the most popular singers of the time. They included Minami Haruo (Teichiku Records), Yamamoto Linda (Minoruphone), Sakamoto Kyū (Toshiba Records), and others. Among these, Minami's version proved the most popular, achieving 1.4 million album sales.

Minami possessed several qualities that made him the ideal voice of Expo'70. The arc of his early life and career matched the narrative of Expo'70 and the Japanese postwar narrative of "rising from the ashes" through hard work, dedication, and adaptation to modern times. Hailing from humble rural origins, Minami built his career slowly and deliberately, eventually achieving great success through tireless toil. Born in 1923 in Niigata, a prefecture in the rural north of Japan, Minami trained as a *rōkyoku* performer in his youth (a form of traditional Japanese performance, *rōkyoku* combines narrative song with *shamisen* accompaniment). Coming into adulthood during the final years of World War II, he fought for the Imperial Japanese Armed Forces in Manchuria. Soviet forces captured him after the end of the war, and Minami spent four years in a Siberian POW camp. But even during his imprisonment, he never stopped performing, adapting his music to whatever situation he found himself in. After his release, he returned to Japan, diving back into his career, first as a *rōkyoku* singer. However, recognizing that the popularity of the genre had waned, he refashioned himself as a singer of *enka*, the new postwar Japanese ballad-based pop music gaining currency in the postwar era. Minami stood out as a popular music singer of *enka* who created a unique style by infusing *rōkyoku* influences with contemporary orchestral accompaniments and melodies.[17] Visually too, while *rōkyoku* performers typically wore kimonos, it was highly unusual for male *enka* singers to do so because *enka* represented a "modern" genre. Minami continued to wear kimonos, however, which would become a signature feature of his style. The cover for the record containing "Sekai no kuni kara kon'nichiwa" depicts Minami in an indigo kimono patterned with bold white floral motifs. Blue pastel drawings of a five-story pagoda and picturesque European cathedrals adorn the background white album cover, emblazoned with the Expo'70 logo on the upper-righthand corner. With his *rōkyoku* and Niigata roots in the rapidly modernizing postwar liberal capitalist economy, Minami embodied the Japanese past while distinguishing himself as a hard-working creator of "products" for the new consumer of entertainment. Indeed, his proclamation, "*okyakusama wa kamisama desu*" ("the customer is god") encapsulates his famed reverence for the audience.[18]

By the early 1960s, Minami and his voice embodied the spirit of optimism

of postwar Japan. His 1963 release of the "Tokyo Gorin ondo" ("Tokyo Olympic ondo") became a best-selling hit that resounded across the nation. While using an accompaniment of a studio orchestra of Western instruments, "Gorin ondo" drew on the traditional Japanese call-and-response *ondo* song form, often heard at bon-dance and other festivals. Sonically, compared to the "Gorin ondo," Nakamura's music in Minami's hit song "Kon'nichiwa" sounds less stereotypically Japanese, and more like an international anthem with an upbeat march feeling. In addition, the repetition of the word "*kon'nichiwa*" ("hello") invites sing-alongs without requiring much knowledge of Japanese, offering the possibility that international visitors to Expo'70 might also take part in singing the tune. Various layers in Minami's version each contribute to crafting the sonic and visual sense of a distinctly Japanese international optimism. Minami employs a slightly nasal singing tone with vibrato typical of *enka*, but without as much pitch bending. Juxtaposed with Minami's *enka* vocal sound, Western orchestral instruments place Minami's voice in a global sonic space. A lively children's chorus further bolsters the sense of voices coming together. As further reinforcement, instrumental lines that at first trade turns at carrying the melody for each iteration of "*kon'nichiwa*" eventually come together in unison. An accordion adds a folkish feel without specifying nationhood while marking this song as the people's music, not just the global elite's. Rhythmic accents on beats one and three grounded by an "oom-pah" bass line connect the feel to older forms of Western music too (specifically, the march), rather than contemporary popular music genres like rock or jazz. This regular underlying rhythm grounds the sense of international unity in a seemingly timeless historical present—reminiscent of a technique deployed by countless national anthems around the world.

"Kon'nichiwa" foregrounds the sound of the modern Western world but simultaneously evokes a sense of nostalgia for an older, traditional Japan in the timbre of Minami's voice and his visual iconicity even as the "land of cherry blossoms" ("*sakura no kuni*") in his lyrics heads toward the imminent future of "leaping out of the Earth . . . to the outer space of the moon" ("*tsuki no uchū e . . . chikyū wo tobidasu*"). Historian Hiromu Nagahara notes that this technique of drawing on the old to reflect on the modern has precedents in the first half of the 20th century.[19] When the film and its hit song of the same name "Tokyo March" (1929) flooded the urban Japanese soundscape, critics associated the song's "soft and sentimental" qualities as reflections of the turbulent modern times.[20] However, the same qualities that represented "cultural characteristics that were deemed to be both particularly 'Japanese' and ancient for the 'Tokyo March' hold for 'Kon'nichiwa.'"[21]

"Kon'nichiwa" as a nostalgic melody, visual memory, and soundscape transcends connections to individual creators including the lyricist Shimada, composer Nakamura, and even Minami himself. The song, whose identity and significance go far beyond the ontological category of song, and in this sense, I suggest that "Kon'nichiwa" in a transhistorical context, can be understood as intermedia. It also shares qualities with the notion of media mix, where, repackaged and transformed, the meanings and uses of the original take on many new lives. With its enduring popular appeal, like many other ubiquitous popular songs and children's songs that achieve folk song or anthem status at a national level, the song and the melody take on many afterlives, renewing meaning for each individual listener and singer. Later generations born well after 1970 continue to sing the song long after the end of Minami's career. For example, in 2013, the idol group SMAP released a version of the song for a commercial to promote UULA, a music and movie subscription service for SoftBank, replacing the year "1970" in the original lyrics with "2013," and an updated accompaniment of electronic dance-beats.[22] In the commercial, members of SMAP don red jackets with a black bowtie. Their updated sound visually connects with the bowtie and tuxedo look of Sakamoto Kyū, another iconic 1960s singer (of "Sukiyaki Song" fame), who had released "Kon'nichiwa" in 1967 with Toshiba. Just a few years later in 2017, Teichiku Entertainment released the vocaloid software, Hal-O-Roid the "virtual artist" that allows users to create their own songs using Minami's voice. Accompanying the release of Hal-O-Roid, Teichiku created animated videos of Minami's classics, including "Kon'nichiwa" and the "Tokyo Gorin ondo" (both in English, but with a Japanese accent).[23] In this way, "Kon'nichiwa" continues to connect the present with bygone times in ways that build on personal affective connections to a shared past through song and melody.

Godzilla's Roar

Similarly to "Kon'nichiwa," the iconic sound of Godzilla and the monster's presence as a household character in the Japanese cultural imagination sheds light on how real objects and sounds mediate the transactions of memories of Expo'70 in the present. Technically, the sound of Godzilla's roar was the outcome of an experimental sound design process and avant-garde techniques, which I detail below. Yet, from the perspective of everyday intermedia, the larger significance of the roar in popular culture is not so much the sonic innovation but the cultural imaginaries sparked by the roar, which ampli-

fied the visual impact of the film, Godzilla spin-offs, and its various media mix franchises. At the same time, while seemingly born in a historical period shaped by technological innovation and advancement, Godzilla and related *kaijū* symbolize connections to the ancient world and magical past in both their origin stories, as well as in their status as collectible objects for everyday fans. The specter of Godzilla in these various formations loomed over Expo'70 while shaping both its historical and contemporary reception in profound ways.

Godzilla's creators and fans have long appreciated the significance of Godzilla's roar. The roar has remained remarkably consistent from 1954 to the Hollywood release directed by Gareth Edwards in 2014; its transhistorical resonance well exceeds the temporal and spatial bounds of Expo'70. For the first Godzilla film released by Tōhō and directed by Honda Ishirō, the composer Ifukube Akira and a team of engineers created Godzilla's iconic sound. After many failed attempts at modifying animal sounds, the team achieved the sound effect by playing a double bass with a highly rosined leather glove, then adding reverb and amplification.[24] The effect resembles extreme distortion on an electric guitar, but the double bass remains audible in the noisy glissando at the end of the roar. On the level of pure sound and technique, this is a magnificent example of avant-garde sonic practice using experimental processes to achieve a new sound. Yet, aesthetic innovation was not the sole goal. The sound was created to communicate the impassioned pathos of a misunderstood beast. Eventually, millions of fans would come to empathize with Godzilla's anguish and suffering. Sound designer Erik Aadahl describes the roar as a "two-part roar," an initial screech followed by a deep downwards moan (see Figure 15).[25] Like the original team, Aadahl and his partner Ethan Van der Ryn spent six months adapting and agonizing over perfecting the new roar for Gareth Edwards's 2014 *Godzilla* film. While enhanced to fit the sonic expectations of contemporary cinematic sound, the updated roar retained the essential components of the two-part roar.

Godzilla's pathos is an important part of its widespread appeal in a post-nuclear apocalypse world grappling with the trauma of a nuclear attack while coming to terms with Japanese responsibility in the Pacific War. Godzilla and other *kaijū* articulate complex ideas about heroes with complicated agendas and missions. In Anne Allison's words, Godzilla offers a mirror for a Japanese person seeking their voice in the postwar world: "the creature has been scarred yet empowered by a particular historical event—a nuclear blast that disturbs his home but also rewires him an atomic cyborg. . . . [as

a] monster, he symbolizes the monstrosity Japan was reduced to by war but also the transformations Japan had to undergo to survive and rebuild in the postwar era."[26] In sharp contrast to the unequivocal spirit of good in the all-American hero of the Captain America kind, *kaijū* and their fans negotiate a world where there are irreconcilable allegiances to notions of nation, and ambivalent acts of heroism and justice, alongside shame still accompanied by hope. Aadahl reflects on the emotional resonance of the roar: "to me, both parts have different emotional reactions: the initial is the fury of nature and the finish is this knowing, this understanding that conveys a deeper, richer soul."[27] His characterization of the blend of intense affective states—of fury, of knowing, of the impossibility of returning to a more innocent past—echoes the psyche of a postwar generation who came to experience a deep love and resonance with the giant beast.

By the time of Expo'70, Godzilla's iconic roar had circulated in the Japanese and international mediascape for well over a decade. In 1970, the film and the iconic King of Monsters' popularity remained strong after a decade of a franchise industry building a world of *kaijū*. Expo'70 and related enterprises drew on Godzilla's popularity both onsite and off. On the grounds of Expo'70, Tōhō, the company behind the Godzilla films, staged *kaijū* battles by costumed monsters. Expo'70 also included a *kaijū* themed roller coaster named the Daidarasaurus, which operated into the 21st century in the amusement park Expoland located in a space adjacent to the main grounds of Expo'70. The same year, a Tōhō competitor, Daiei, released the *kaijū* film *Gamera tai daimajū Jaigā* (Gamera vs. Giant Mythical Beast Jaigā; Dir. Noriaki Yuasa, 1970), which included scenes showing the site of Expo'70 and also integrated the song "Kon'nichiwa" into the soundtrack—weaving one soundtrack of Expo'70 into another.[28]

Gamera tai daimajū Jaigā offers a glimpse of how fans of *kaijū* might have viewed Expo'70 at the time, connecting images of the physical site of Expo'70 with the fantastical world of the *kaijū* battle. Like the iconic Godzilla, both Gamera and Jaigā engender complex emotions in the viewer, and I suggest that the visceral sonic experience of hearing the roar plays an important role in eliciting the viewer's empathy toward the monster through sound. Indeed (as evidenced by numerous YouTube videos cataloging the progression of roars by Godzilla, Gamera, and many other *kaijū*, accompanied by lively fan discussions in the comments section), fans take *kaijū* roars seriously as key characteristics of the creatures.

Gamera's roar shares many similarities with Godzilla's "two-part roar."

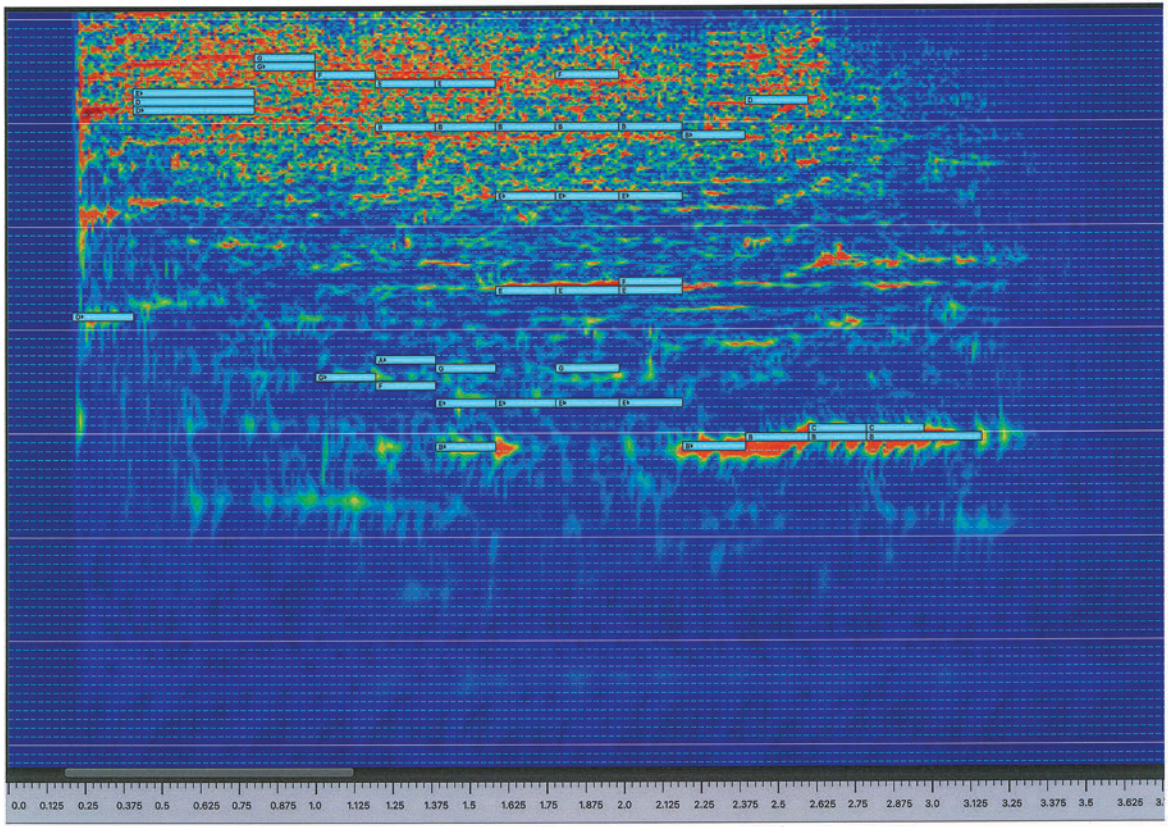


Figure 15. Spectrogram of Godzilla's roar. The analysis reveals a "two-part roar." The first part (the "initial screech," lasting about two seconds), spread across partials with a concentration in the higher register, produces a noisier cluster where pitch is harder to perceive. In the second part (the "downward moan," about one second), a more focused range of partials in the lower register shows that distinct pitches are more clearly audible. By Miki Kaneda using AnthemScore.

But compared to Godzilla, Gamera's roar starts and stays at a relatively higher register than Godzilla's deep roar, which reverberates in the bass register. Gamera's roar might also be described as more melismatic, moving rapidly in the higher register before it dips down to the lower register moan. However, the contours of their roars share similar characteristics, beginning with a cry-like outburst in an upper register, followed by a moan in the lower register as the breath fades. As with Godzilla, for Gamera, it is the pained roar in the scenes of battle and persecution, that perhaps engenders deep feelings of empathy with Gamera's sadness while finding hope and strength in witnessing Gamera's refusal to give up. In the films and in the franchise industries surrounding it, the figure of the postwar child channels the innocence that enables the child (or childlike viewer) to connect with the creatures, whereas adults are frequently depicted as the instigators of the political and technological forces that send the *kaijū* into their courses of destruction. In *Gamera tai Jaigā,* adults desperately try to annihilate Gamera, a monstrous giant turtle headed toward the Expo'70 site. In its quest to stop the angry reptilian *kaijū* Jaigā, Gamera destroys everything in sight, alarming the grown-ups. The children in the story know something that the adults don't. Unlike the adults, the children insist on defending Gamera—"*Gamera wa kodomono mikata da yo*" (Gamera is an ally of the children), they exclaim and maintain that "*Gamera wa heiwa o mamoru yasashii dōbutsu*" (Gamera is a gentle creature and defender of peace). The children empathize with Gamera because they understand its intentions: Gamera is trying to stop Jaigā from unleashing her wrath on the people of Earth. The film also juxtaposes the children's selfless love for creatures against the destructive ambition of adults. The viewer learns that Jaigā would not have caused trouble in the first place had it not been for the adults' modern-day colonialist desires to forcibly extract an ancient totem from Rapa Nui to Osaka. The adults, who are scientists and government officials, ignore an elder's protests and warnings that an unstoppable force of evil (Jaigā) will be unleashed if the totem is disturbed. Eventually, even military science and modern technology fail the adults. It is only then that they have no recourse but to place their faith in the children's beliefs and listen. The children turn out to be right. Gamera saves Expo'70 and the people of Osaka.

Expo'70 provided both an imaginative and "real-world" canvas for the fantasy worlds of *kaijū* to play out on. Both the plot and the moral implications of *Gamera tai Jaigā* blended into the imaginary worlds of the *kaijū*, especially from a child's perspective. Situated within the history of *kaijū*,

Figure 16. Film poster for *Gamera tai daimajū Jaigā* (Daiei Film, 1970), depicting a *kaijū* battle taking place with Expo'70 as a backdrop. In the foreground, the poster portrays the international cast of characters in the film next to the monorail built on the occasion of Expo'70. The pavilions that appear in the poster include the yellow and orange Fuji Pavilion in the middle ground, left hand side, the black net-like Toshiba-IHI Pavilion by Kurokawa Kishō, and domed clusters of the Sumitomo Pavilion in front by Sachio Ōtani, which all represent the Metabolist style of architecture.

after 1970, Expo'70 became one moment in the transhistorical and translocal soundscapes and playscapes of *kaijū*. In other words, while a critical site for *kaijū* imaginaries, the galaxies of *kaijū* space-time included but extend far beyond the locale of Expo'70.

The affective significance of the *kaijū* worlds were thus co-produced by both the producers and consumers of the *kaijū*. Focusing on the roar as I have done here, the strong identifying characteristics associated with the roar lend themselves to careful cataloging and analysis for fans. Today, the soundbites of the roars themselves take on a status akin to collectible objects as part of the *kaijū* media mix in the spaces of fandom and everyday intermedia playing out on the internet. At the same time, such ongoing practices of creation of the *kaijū* worlds both affirm and confound existing frameworks of media and product circulation that cannot be explained in capitalist economic terms alone. Connecting *kaijū* worlds of Expo'70 to a collector culture that well exceeded the days of childhood, the last section of this chapter attends to the contemporary manifestations of the life-long affective assemblages of *kaijū* worlds, the child consumer, and the afterlives of miniature monuments. In one shop called EXPO, dedicated to artifacts from the time of Expo'70, these affective assemblages reveal some relations between the avant-garde and the ordinary that grew up from Expo'70 where the trajectories of the ordinary maintained their momentum while the adjacent avant-garde's relevance becomes relegated to the past.

Everyday Intermedia: Miniature Monuments, Nostalgia, and the Ashes of EXPO

Konoike has been expecting me. At his store, in a sleepy neighborhood in Taitō ward in Tokyo, what looks like thousands of souvenirs from Expo'70 have found a home among other artifacts of the Showa-era (1926–1989) in Konoike Tsunataka's little shop EXPO. EXPO is a shrine of sorts to all things Expo'70 and "curios from the Showa era."[29] His shop is about a 10-minute walk from Nezu station along quiet streets in the Nezu and Ikenohashi neighborhood. Konoike's shop is on the street level of a rectangular three-story building. White block letters in chipped paint spell out "EXPO" against a faded red backdrop. EXPO's wares go well beyond the event of Expo'70. Arriving at his store, I walk past vintage household ornaments, clothing, and souvenirs in muted bright colors recalling the 1970s and '80s that spill out

of the open storefront. A small 1967 firetruck has prominently been parked in the middle of the inside of the shop after much of the store burned down from a fire in a neighboring building in 2014. It seems to act as a shrine that protects the store from fire and is surrounded by little objects on and around it, like offerings and protective talismans. The young man behind the cash register directs me to the backroom of his jam-packed shop. There, a miniature Godzilla figure overlooks the room from a high shelf in the corner. In addition to being the owner of the EXPO shop, Konoike is in fact, also an art curator and gallery owner. We might count him among Tokyo's artistic and intellectual elite, as someone whose social circle includes the novelist Murakami Haruki and art critic Sawaragi Noi. Yet, Konoike reveals a relation to the avant-garde or contemporary artistic elite that exists alongside his self-identification as a devoted *korekutā* (collector) of *kaijū* paraphernalia and mass-produced Expo'70 mementos, which in some avant-garde circles might be described as "kitsch."

Konoike's eyes light up when he talks about Expo'70. He explains the pronunciation of the store's name EXPO. He says *e-ki-su-po*, as sounding it out as four syllables, as written out in Japanese katakana characters. "That's how we said it. We called it EXPO," explaining how this is what true fans and devotees of Expo'70 called the event. Officially, Expo'70 welcomed visitors of all ages, but it made a particularly strong impression on a generation of young boys coming of age around 1970. For some, like Konoike, it shaped the course of their professional and personal lives. Expo'70, for the young Konoike, was serious business. He reminisced that as a school-aged child, he relentlessly pursued information about the pavilions and memorized facts about their features. The visit to Osaka from his home in Tokyo was a dream come true. In the days and weeks leading up to the trip, he made a detailed plan for his visit by studying guidebooks and maps that circulated in boys' (*shōnen*) popular magazines.

His explanation emphasized the connection between Expo'70 and *kaijū*, which is that "EXPO architecture is straight up *kaijū*." From the perspective of an *EXPO-shōnen* ("EXPO boy"), Expo'70's most avid supporters, the avant-garde topography of Expo'70 was merely a backdrop for the *kaijū* world. Another self-professed *EXPO-shōnen*, Kushima Tsutomu begins his book *Maboroshi Bankokuhakurankai* (The Fantastical World's Fair), echoing Konoike with a recollection of his childhood world structured around *kaijū*.[30] Kushima elaborates that the *Shūkan Shōnen Magajin* (Young boys' weekly magazine), was the most popular magazine for school-aged boys,

which provided the most extensive visual and statistical information about EXPO.[31] Readers and the magazine called the beloved editor Ōtomo Shūji behind the countless *kaijū* features the *kaijū hakase* (the professor of monsters). "Ōtomo-san introduced us kids to the world's mysteries and the nether world of magical beasts, the cities of the future, and the world of *kaijū*," writes Kushima. This perspective centered around the *kaijū* world was not merely fantasy but operated through a complex cultural and economic infrastructure of the "media-mix." This "imagined" world therefore has a very real material life that extended beyond the world of children's fantasy. Through the magazine, EXPO became an expanding universe that occupied readers' everyday (or weekly) lives and shaped the world-building imaginaries of an entire generation.

Kaijū culture is intimately connected to the circulation of collectibles. Konoike, a self-described *otaku* precursor, models this in his store and his relationship to *kaijū* objects and the network of collectors sharing his passion. His store is an ode to plastic toys and memorabilia either related to EXPO or dating from that time. The backroom, or his office, houses the special toys whose prices are unspeakable, including the Godzilla figurine perched on the high shelf. While these mass-produced toys may appear to be of relatively low value, he and other now-grown *EXPO shōnen* and aspiring *kaijū hakase* trade these items for sometimes extraordinary prices on eBay and other online marketplaces (noting the range of people involved in these exchanges, Konoike mentions the Buddhist monk as among his recent transaction partners). Konoike and Kushima both grew up alongside the industry of *shōnen* culture in Japan. Godzilla and other *kaijū* and their fantastical worlds shaped their imaginations, which in turn fed those *kaijū* worlds. But in contrast to the on-screen *kaijū* and those that dominated the oversized billboards in the big cities, the *kaijū* in the everyday lives of the *EXPO shōnen* were miniatures—stickers, toy figurines, and trading cards that list *kaijū* stats such as its name, weight, length, and type. Centered around collecting knowledge and objects around these *kaijū*, this enterprise explicitly targeted young boys. In turn, the boys took on the resources as a worldbuilding project, producing their own rules of circulation and exchange of material objects and knowledge. An entire industry and culture emerged around the *kaijū* obsession, and Expo'70 took part amid this *kaijū* craze.

Kaijū can of course mean big business. Indeed, for the studios that produced *kaijū* films, the aspirations were of a global scale. As proclaimed in a trailer for the first Godzilla film, the creators intended for the film to exceed

Hollywood in its use of modern technology and global impact. *Kaijū* worlds and economies have thus overlapped intimately with the real-world industries of franchise marketing that encompass not only multiple media forms but also the collaboration between entertainment and other industries that range from food products to banking. The Godzilla economy has continued to grow into the 21st century. As an integral part of the "Cool Japan" national branding project led by the Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry that seeks to boost Japan's cultural economic force, Godzilla became Shinjuku's official tourism ambassador in 2015. Toho Studios, located in the Shinjuku area, unveiled a large Godzilla sculpture at the Shinjuku Toho Building, a commercial building that includes a Toho Cinemas movie theater, hotel, a pachinko parlor, and restaurants as part of an urban renewal "Kabuki-chō Renaissance" campaign to transform the once-seedy Kabukichō district into a family and tourist friendly destination.[32] Two years later, the world's first Godzilla Store opened in Shinjuku. These corporate and government-led projects no doubt result in tangible changes to the circulation and consumption of Godzilla as a profitable commodity. Yet, the unexpected ways in which fans continue to create their own infrastructures and economies of *kaijū* demonstrate ways that parallel but also complicate neoliberal uses of Godzilla as a marketing tool.

Understanding the multiple scales, economies, and worlds occupied by *kaijū*, it is important to distinguish the trading practices of collectors like Konoike from the market economy. There is more than one economic model at work here. For one, the goods that Konoike and his cohort exchange have little financial value in the "real world" since they are collected and sold among individuals who do not have a major investment in the current new profit-based global Godzilla marketing chains.[33] Furthermore, an important part of the collectors' culture is the principle of loss and letting go of a beloved object as a part of the trading process. This principle runs counter to the impulse of accumulation, investment, and increased profit through trade in capitalism. Loss for Konoike and his fellow collectors plays a crucial role in the process of exchange, strengthening interpersonal bonds, while solidifying a sense of personal stakes.[34] A question posed by Anna Tsing—"How might capitalism look without assuming progress?" also sheds light on the possibility of unproductive and agnostic transactions that take place within capitalism.[35] Despite the location of this system of exchange within the heart of capitalist structures, the relationship with both toys and souvenirs does not lend itself easily to the neoliberal directive of progress. I therefore suggest that collectors not

only exchange commodities but also trade, co-create, and sustain visions of entire worlds that their objects inhabit. Worlds of play and fantasy, rather than monetary profit motives, better describe the economic transactions for collectors of Expo'70 relics.

The ambitions and scale of Expo'70 and the figure of the *kaijū* both have in common the impression of monumental scale. The most powerful memories survived by taking refuge in objects and practices that may have appeared marginal or insignificant at the time of Expo'70, a sort of process of miniaturization in direct contrast to the monumentality of Expo'70. Corporate and state interests, and the writings of journalists in the mainstream media quickly moved on from 1970 soon after the end of Expo'70. But the living and breathing experience of Expo'70 lingered in the marginal and the miniature. Artist Walid Raad's notion of "hibernation" reminds me of this secret life of the miniatures of both *kaijū* and Expo'70 memorabilia. Raad notes, under social and political duress (of the Lebanese War in his case), "colors, lines, shapes, and forms took shape in unexpected places . . . *they hibernated not in, but around artworks*."[36] The sounds, colors, lines, shapes, and forms of the various monuments of Expo'70 (monstrous, architectural, artistic, and sonic) similarly took refuge in unexpected places, hibernating in souvenirs, trinkets, pamphlets, amateur photographs, sticker collections, boxes of childhood toys, and in the embodied memory of a popular song that might emerge from an ordinary person's lips at any moment. In sharp contrast to the new Godzilla Store in Shinjuku with its neatly arranged commodities on pristine even white shelves, the overwhelming feeling of wonder at Konoike's EXPO derives from its lack of clear organization, sheer quantity, and the dream-like linking of disparate and tenuously related objects that evoke the Shōwa era. The objects seem to exist as an amorphous whole, as a collection or assemblage rather than as individual commodities on their own. The store lacks any sense of active financial profit-based, enterprising spirit. There is no way to browse or buy things through the website. It is hardly a streamlined business model. However, Konoike's act of rebuilding the shop after a devastating fire in 2014 affirms his passion to keep the dream world alive and renewed. Walking away from EXPO, through the dense green of Ueno Park that will eventually toss me out into the concrete maze of Ueno Station, I wonder if his shop is more of a cabinet of curiosities or art project. But unlike works of art, the provenance of the objects are at best unverified. The buyers even less so. Yet, if sold, the objects have a chance to go to new and unknown "hibernating places" (in Raad's sense). There, they

might weather the storm of the neoliberal economy that commodifies even the nostalgic affects of childhood fantasies.

The "hibernating places" may be out of view from grand narratives of Expo'70, but once plucked from the shop shelves, these goods each have journeys and take on a rich life as inside homes, too. They take on new identities as mementos, talismans, and testaments of experience. At the shop just inside the main entrance of the Banpaku Kinen Kōen, the Expo'70 Memorial Park, I watched my father pick up a plastic miniature keychain of Okamoto Tarō's *Taiyō no tō* (*Tower of the Sun*, the iconic structure that came to represent Expo'70 as a whole). Little goods crowded the shelves and baskets of the shop and I imagined it hadn't changed much since 1970. Still looking at the keychain, he appeared to speak to it, rather than me: "Ah, the *Taiyō no tō*," and smiled. Looking at this mass-produced cheap key chain, barely larger than my little finger, I found it difficult to feel that the little *Taiyō no tō* could be very menacing or even meaningful. But for him, it seemed to call forth a wave of happy memories. My father, Kaoru Kaneda, now a retired banker, grew up near Osaka, in Nara Prefecture. By the time of Expo'70 he had left to attend college in Tokyo in 1970. As a college student, he couldn't afford to take the train back to Osaka to go to Expo'70. "Now I can finally say I came," he told the keychain. He brought the tiny monument to the cashier, and then back to his apartment in Kawasaki, where he proudly placed it on his bookshelf. There, it sits among his collection of souvenirs from his travels to London and various Swiss towns. These are interspersed alongside *omamori* (amulets) and *ofuda* (talismans) from the shrines he visited. Among this spiritually infused collection, the *Taiyō no tō* souvenir came to stand as a nostalgic reminder of the days when the future was bright in 1970. Born in 1952—the year that both the Treaty of San Francisco (which ended the Allied Occupation of Japan), and the Security Treaty (which established the longstanding military partnership between the United States and Japan) went into effect—my father's life remarkably parallels the course of postwar Japanese economic history. Coming of age in the years of Japanese economic growth, he entered into a career in international banking from the mid-1970s to the late 1990s (the souvenirs from London and Swiss towns are from this period). In this personal life, a decade of bubble-era success in the 1980s—attending lavish corporate parties in Switzerland, golfing sprees, and vacations to Southern European islands—was followed by a decade of bank closures, mergers, layoffs, and unsettling career changes. During his last years in banking, following the Lost Decade on the heels of the prolonged Japanese economic crisis, a large part of his

work consisted of scaling down operations at the London branch where he worked. Today, I think of his home office as a shrine to his books, CDs, photo albums, and shelves of souvenirs collected over the course of his adult life. On some evenings, I used to watch him barely able to conceal his pleasure in the act of rearranging and admiring each one as if they possessed an inner spiritual life.

Perhaps the miniature *Taiyō no tō* spoke to him of the lingering possibility of the future that Expo'70 had promised to his generation. It alludes to the event—Expo'70—but so much more. The object itself is only worth the response it provokes, but at the same time, the object takes a quasi-spiritual significance for this very reason. Susan Stewart's comment on the "souvenir replica" is helpful for considering the importance of these miniatures:

> The souvenir replica is an allusion and not a model; it comes after the fact and remains both partial to and more expansive than the fact. It will not function without the supplementary narrative discourse that both attaches it to its origins and creates a myth with regard to those origins. What is this narrative of origins? It is a narrative of interiority and authenticity. It is not a narrative of the object; it is a narrative of the possessor . . .[37]

The souvenir replica receives its value from the stories and memories spun by its possessor. This narrative is affirmed by its replication and the fact that it is an object owned by so many others who stepped into that gift shop.

For Konoike, Tsushima, my parents, and many more Japanese visitors, Expo'70 directly connected them to the world beyond Japan. They sought out pavilions not to bask in their artistic glory but for the narratives about the ascendant futures of Japan in 1970 that they offered. The international pavilions offered multisensory possibilities for consuming the world. These came in the form of smells, tastes, and restaurant menu items. Expo'70 marked the "entrance of ethnic cuisine in Japan to mass culture."[38] Walking through the memorial park, my mother Yoko's face brightened with the memory of Expo'70. "I remember the smell of foods from around the world . . . and so many *gaijin-san* (foreigners)" dressed in their national costumes. To her, a 15-year-old schoolgirl living in nearby Hyōgo prefecture at the time of Expo'70, the event confirmed the international significance of her no-longer-so-little corner of the world. To be able to say that they went was a source of pride. Another park visitor overheard in 2010: "Oh, yes, we went alright. I was with my kids, and we only went to a few pavilions. I mean, that's all we could

do—there were so many people. But we went." He had returned to the site of Expo'70 for the first time since 1970. For some, that memory seems to grow fonder over the years, along with the widening gap between the optimism of that time and the precarity of the Lost Decades after the burst of the Japanese economic bubble.

If Expo'70 marked the end of an era of explosive growth, it also falls around the beginning of the reign of nostalgia. As Nagahara points out, in 1969 the popular show devoted to melodies of a time and character that sought to "provoke a sense of nostalgia," *Natsukashi no utagoe, toshiwasure daikōshin* (Songs of nostalgia, New Year's Eve grand march), began its run, steadily gaining in popularity by the eve of 1970.[39] Even as the future was the ostensible theme of Expo'70, it was a longing for the past that characterized the affect of that future both in 1970 and in the twenty-first century.

Intermedia as a term remains in circulation today in the corporate world. Companies bearing the term "intermedia" in their names have cropped up since the late 1970s. These names mark both the transformations of the term as an artistic form, accompanied by a normalization of the notion of hybrid media working in conjunction with one another. Examples from Japan include the system developer company InterMedia Co., Ltd. (est. 1978); a game developer company Tokuma Shoten Intermedia Inc. (1985–1997), and a translation and events planning company Intermedia, Inc. (est. 1986).[40] Intermedia as an entertainment experience has also become standardized in the medium of arcade and home console video games, where Japanese companies including Sega and Nintendo in the 1970s and '80s played a major role in shaping the aesthetics and practices for Japanese and global consumers. Meanwhile, the Tokyo-based international art collective teamLab has cemented the corporate partnerships and transnational outlooks explored through intermedia at Expo'70. teamLab's installations aim to offer experiences where "art, science, technology, and the natural world" come together in a "borderless continuity" that seamlessly connect the worlds of cutting-edge digital art with corporate settings.[41] These exhibitions explicitly aim to draw international tourists to new developments in Tokyo and other cities through their dazzling immersive experiences.

Yet, the story I have focused on in this chapter aimed to attend to how the legacy of Expo'70 lives on in the hibernating places of memory, which are also shrines within the spaces of the mundane: a familiar melody of "Kon'nichiwa" hummed; Godzilla's roar; the objects that wait patiently in a basket at the souvenir shop inside the park to be bought by park visitors; the countless

photographs on the internet taken by amateur photographers; my father's bookshelves lined with talismans and souvenirs. These traces of memory are minuscule in comparison to the giant pavilions and avenues of Expo'70. But they are hardly minor. Instead, they testify to a legacy of memory and of an aesthetic of intermedia that the avant-garde elite alone could not dictate. Seemingly removed from usual sites of the avant-garde, the spaces of the mundane shield the living memories of Expo'70 from the avant-garde's self-fulfilled prophesy of Expo'70 as an artistic failure.

In this scenario, the achievement of Expo'70 is neither great "works" of art, nor utilitarian innovations in technology and industry that promise to carry Japan over to rise as a global economic power. Rather, I suggest that Expo'70 *did in fact* realize a dream of intermedia where art crossed over into the realm of the everyday through the production of lasting affective relations to the very objects of commercial mass production through unexpected processes.[42] Expo'70 demonstrates overlapping investments in Expo'70 that are at once deeply embedded in the logic of capitalism and national growth, yet confound and exceed the logics of capitalism. Recognizing the polysemic meanings that the children of EXPO embraced calls attention to latent understandings of Expo'70 that interrupt the narrative of intermedia as a story of 1960s Japan as characterized by growth and conflict—sometimes unexpected, and sometimes delightful.

Coda

Imagining a Transpacific Avant-Garde, of the Sea

Now that we crawled out of the sea
we are dry and full of cravings.
We wander city to city
Carrying the memory of the sea
    (but it isn't just a memory)
Listen very carefully and you will hear
the sea in your body.
You know, our blood is seawater
and we are all seacarriers[1]
    —Yoko Ono, from "The Connection" (1952)

Focusing on a historical moment of the 1960s when experimental musicians collectively sought to reframe the concept of music and the arts through an approach called intermedia, this book has investigated the process of challenging the boundaries that questioned existing creative practices, and their naturalized historical structures of power. But more than a critique of norms, the work of artists, as well as ordinary people, around intermedia demonstrated ways of imagining the possibilities of liberation, beauty, and empowerment by being curious about what life with music and art could be. In Shiomi's *Shadow Piece* discussed in the introduction, a shared feeling of wonder in the ordinary emanated from the flecks of light bouncing off the tiny fibers of her parlor room couch. From the basement of the Sogetsu headquarters in 1962, a lowly sprout has come to signify nothing less than the spirit of vitality and resilience of the new avant-garde. Following the heady days of the Expo'70 World's Fair in Osaka, memories of intermedia continue to live on, hiding in plain sight in the form of talismans and relics in curio shops and personal collections tucked away in the side streets and residential apartment

buildings. In each of these cases, intermedia enabled new ways of sensing, feeling, and *imagining* the possibilities of artistic doing and being.

The final pages of this book will linger on the notion of *imagining* as it relates to further possibilities of the transpacific avant-garde. Whereas the book opened with a story about the "fiction" of the "John Cage shock," in this coda I focus in particular on Yoko Ono's notion of the concept of the imaginary (a different flavor of fiction from the "John Cage shock") articulated by her constant acts of translation, which are ever present in any transcultural context. Ono's imaginary motions to an alternative account to the story of shock as I move from a reflection on the stories discussed in this book, toward imagining yet other narratives, in the form of what I am calling the transpacific avant-garde.

The imaginary is a concept that has, in the twenty-first century, become a hallmark of Yoko Ono's multimodal practice. For example, *Imagine Peace* appears in numerous iterations as a slogan, an instruction, a call to action, a billboard ad, and various art projects. It is also the title of her official artist website. Ono articulates the stakes of the imaginary most vividly in her 1962 essay "The Word of a Fabricator," originally published in the *SAC Journal*. The piece insists that the imaginary is nothing less than an active practice of worldmaking and world-changing. As Brigid Cohen has suggested, Ono's imaginary is a work of political practice.[2] Within the essay, Ono's key term is "fiction," rather than the imaginary. Nonetheless, the essay provides the groundwork for what she later categorizes under the term "imagine."

Tension between reality and fiction and the accompanying possibilities, hope, and darkness of the "fabricator" in Ono's essay can inform an understanding of intermedia more broadly as a transnational, translational, practice. More than just an aesthetic philosophy, in practice, Ono's work gives flesh to an interest in cultivating "fictional rules." One example she offers in the essay is "imagine a perfect circle and a perfect line which exist only in our conceptual world."[3] These rules are driven by a "desire to free oneself from the irrational rationality of life, hoping to extricate oneself from it by one's immersion in a fictional world and its order."[4] At the same time, her instruction-based work presses the performer and the audience to imagine *and* experience. Through the conception of fabrication in action, Ono's practice grapples with the tensions between the insistence on the fictional and the realization that these instructions necessitate the materiality of the body, which consequently "destroys its conceptuality."[5] Through the acts of performance that depend on the body, relations of violence and possibility are born

in the spaces of connection with "others" outside of the limits of the self. Ono's intersubjective theory and practice of the fabricator thus challenge predetermined hierarchies and roles around the creator (composer), performer, and audiences. Extending this notion to the practice of intermedia, which she helped to shape, sheds light on how intermedia and its related practices discussed in this book also confounded the various roles related to experimental practice in terms of creation and performance, as well as how we can remember and tell its story through documentation, and archives.

The notion of the fabricator also offers a thinly veiled critique of Cage's practice. Marking a clear contrast to Cage's philosophy, in Ono's worldview, the fabricator is not a means to escape from human agency and responsibility, whereas Cage's chance operations abandon the possibility of human connection by operationalizing action. As Cohen notes, Ono dissects "Cage's Zen-inspired thought from a perspective drawing on transnational German, French, and Japanese currents in phenomenology."[6] Ono's essay critiques Cage's approaches to chance operations as a vehicle for freedom from "the irrational rationality of life."[7] Calling out the pretensions of achieving "Satori [enlightenment] by becoming plantlike" Ono raises doubt about the Cagean tactic that operationalizes concepts from Zen as a tool to move beyond Western rationality.[8] Ono's critique of Cage thus stems from her position as a profoundly transcultural modern thinker—not a stance of a more authentic or deeper connection to Zen as a Japanese national. It is a perspective shaped by her training in modern European thought as well as her multiply "exilic" status in both the senses of forced movement from her home in Tokyo during the Second World War, as well as the social "exile" she repeatedly experienced from the artistic circles she worked with in variously gendered and racialized terms in both Japan and the United States.[9]

By invoking the idea of the imaginary, I also pay homage to those works that existed only as possibilities, a recurring theme for Ono. The 1962 *Exhibition of World Graphic Scores* at the Minami Gallery, a major gathering of international graphic scores discussed in the opening pages of this book, offers one striking example. In the archive, Ono's name appears in the planning notebook used by Akiyama. But her piece is crossed out. In the end, her work never became part of the 140-something scores at the show. Yet, in a photograph from the exhibition, we can see Ono. She peers out from behind a crowd at Minami gallery. Her eyes intently focus on what is perhaps a performance taking place. The photo has stuck with me because I imagine that, if the exhibition and its curators had forgotten her, the intensity of her

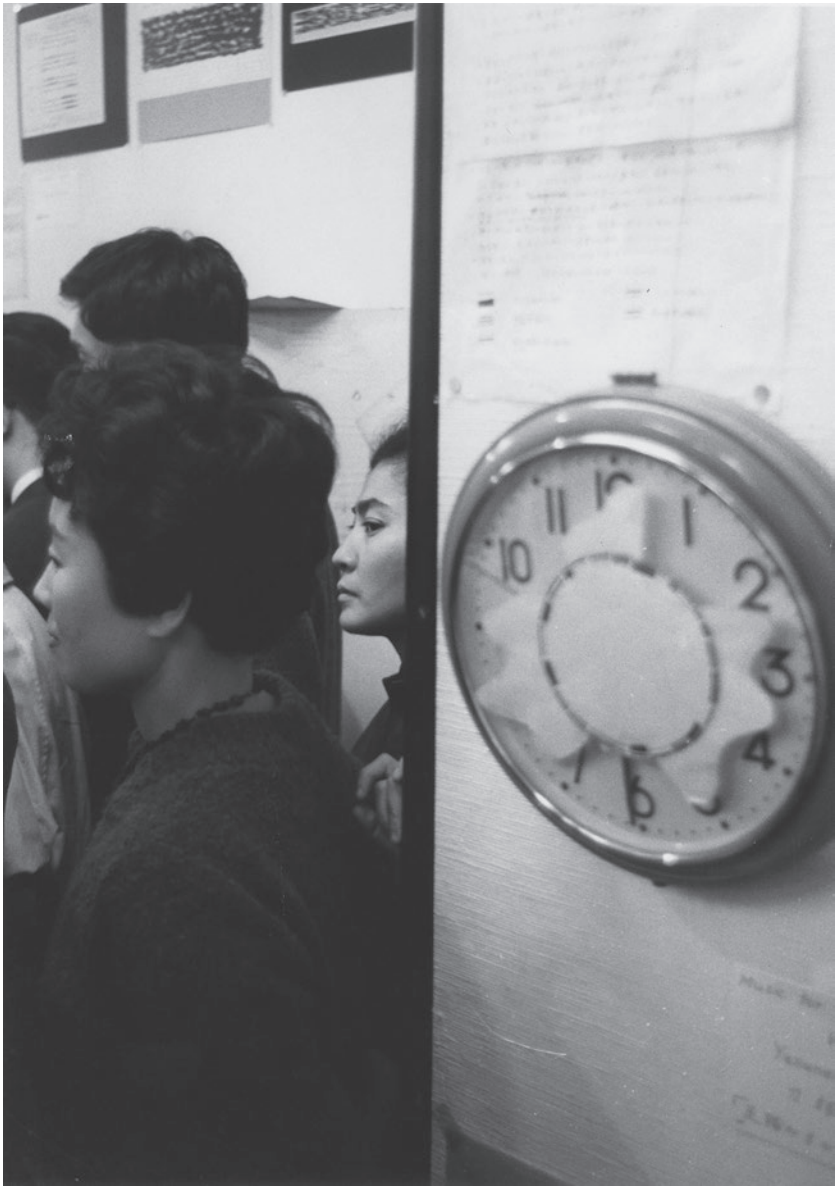


Figure 17. Yoko Ono next to Tone Yasunao's score for *Music for Foot Peddal Organ* (alternatively *Music for Reed Organ*) during a performance at *An Exhibition of World Graphic Scores* at the Minami Gallery, Tokyo, Japan, November 12, 1962. The Gilbert and Lila Silverman Fluxus Collection Archives, I.14. The Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York. © The Museum of Modern Art/Licensed by SCALA / Art Resource, NY.

gaze does the opposite, in which she is intent on absorbing and inscribing the moment within her own mind, refusing to forget. By 1971, Ono had made an art of the fiction of curated inclusion and exclusion by creating a catalogue for a "one woman show" at MoMA that never happened. But in both 1962 and 1971, even as she is excluded from the official narrative of exhibitions, her presence, documented in photographs, both resists and plays with the intersection of erasure and the imaginary.

Under these circumstances, Ono's transcultural practice articulated by the work of translation may be understood both as a creative practice and as a means to survival. As evidenced by the movement between languages philosophical systems, and national borders, traces of the work of translation are everywhere in Ono's work. She often served as a translator in many of these cross-cultural contexts, mediating linguistic and cultural knowledge among her interlocutors. Moreover, the lens of translation sheds light on the gendered and racialized tensions in Ono's relation to Cage as simultaneously a colleague, translator, and uneasy object of mutual desiring in which Cage holds a position of power within the circle of American experimentalists. In contrast, from Cage's perspective, Ono holds knowledge about Zen and "Oriental" aesthetics that he sees as keys to expanding his practice as an artist. For the Japanese avant-garde, Ono's role as translator of Cage's ideas played an important role in introducing his work to Japanese musicians.

Ono's work demonstrates how translation in practice is never a one-on-one exchange of words and meanings but a kind of work of imagining—of combining, remixing, transforming, and at times misreading, which culminates in new expression altogether. Sawako Nakayasu writes of the early twentieth-century Japanese poet Sagawa Chika (who was also a well-regarded translator of Western modernist poems including those of James Joyce), "Chika's work lived at the intersection of languages."[10] Nakayasu's choice of the term intersection also possibly links the notion of *inter*media and *intersectionality* vis-à-vis Sagawa's linguistic transculturalism as potential sites of gendered and racialized tensions and empowerment. As a practice that lives at the intersection, between languages, the practices that take place are not about "code switching," which implies a duality between *either* a Japanese avant-garde *or* a Western one. Instead, the intersectional understanding of translation suggests that an artist like Ono, simultaneously negotiated *both* Western and Japanese aesthetics, thought, and historical lineages articulated by her own lived experience as variously revered and rejected through prisms of race and gender. As Nakayasu writes of the modernist poets of the 1920s,

while many "struggled with their ambivalence about Western influence, Chika seems to have taken ownership of this tension."[11] Nakayasu's reading of Sagawa thus sheds light on the divergent experiences of modernism in Japan, which apply equally to the experimental practices in the postwar era and the 1960s. Sagawa Chika's work and Nakayasu's commentary on the "intersection of languages" also highlight how the transnational practices of the Japanese avant-garde in the 1960s connect to an already-existing history of transnational experimentalism dating back to the pre-war Japanese modernist movements of the 1920s and early '30s. To address the tensions and attitudes of ambivalence surrounding Western "influence" that remained (or emerged anew) in the 1960s, in this book, I have used the notion of the "inappropriated"—a position that holds the dual possibilities of rejection (by being inappropriate) and resistance (by being through a refusal to be appropriated) in tension—as a theoretical lens to consider how artists took ownership of such tensions, as Sagawa did in the 1920s.

As the stories in this book have suggested, practices of imaginaries and fictions around intermedia took many different forms—from the fiction of the "John Cage shock" and the imagined sounds of the avant-garde in faraway places, the auditory imaginaries of jazz at the Sogetsu Art Center, the fantasies of a listening collective, imaginaries of the power of noise against the fictions of transnational "cooperation" at Cross Talk/Intermedia, as well as the failures of an avant-garde to fully manifest in ways initially imagined for Expo'70. Now, in the twenty-first century, some contemporary Japanese people live with ongoing idealized imaginaries of Japan at its economic and industrial prime in the 1960s. Others continue to cherish and live with the imagined worlds of the *kaijū* and those visions of future cities promised by the Metabolist architects at Expo'70. At the same time as the imaginary undergirded each of these moments, it also produced real boundaries that are enforced as part of the social relations that take place on an everyday level, creating hierarchies and shared notions about who and what belongs with the realm of the experimental, and what sounds and bodies are appropriate, inappropriate, or possibly inappropriate/d.

This book has attempted to dwell on the tensions and multiplicities of the possibility of the imaginaries made audible and sensible through the practices, performances, and prompts of intermedia. Sometimes, these imaginaries were activated by simple instructions that function as an invitation by the artist, as in the case of Shiomi's Shadow Piece works and her Spatial Poems. Yoko Ono's scores and instruction-based pieces are also intersubjec-

tive, dependent on the recipient to do the work of imagining. As the listening practices at the Sogetsu Art Center events demonstrated, the work of imagining is a collective practice, inspired by and enforced by the power of the group. In the large-scale intermedia productions of Cross Talk/Intermedia and Expo'70, the collective imaginaries came together to realize structures and sounds that until then could only exist in the realm of the imagination. But because no medium could capture the full experience of these multisensory, multimedia productions (such a medium still doesn't exist), for a researcher trying to give an account of these events from the vantage point of the twenty-first century, imagining now becomes part of a scholarly methodology that weaves together the documentary and archival evidence with the missing and absent parts in order to create a narrative. The imaginary is also ever-present as part of the transactions of a fundamentally transcultural movement.

Along these lines, I have shared stories in this book to show how intermedia as a practice can offer a language, framework, and scope to understand the arts in order to tell a different story about why experimental matters, and to whom it matters. One way I have sought to do this is by bookending the account with Shiomi and Ono to create a space for a musical movement told through a transnational feminist lens. At the same time, as intermedia often lingers in the borders and in-between spaces, I would also caution that if the perspective that I have offered in this book leans on a "transnational feminist lens," that framework is nonetheless provisional, open, and expansive. This is also the case for the feminism of Shiomi and Ono. From the perspective of the twenty-first century, it is tempting to reframe their work as the foundations of a feminist avant-garde, given their investigations into the body, the politics of domesticity, and their multifaceted critiques of the conventions of the (male dominated) art world that they moved through. Yet, as artists who began their work in the 1950s and early 1960s, "feminism" and "feminist art" were not necessarily movements or terms that Ono or Shiomi explicitly embraced, and historically, their early work preceded any major international or domestic artistic movement self-identified as feminist. In this sense, I suggest that their "feminism" might also be understood as a part of a broader mood of critiquing hegemonic forms of power that shaped artistic and public life in the postwar Japanese and transnational environments in which they worked. In addition, as much as their work may be viewed as political acts, they also harbor a multitude of what Raymond Williams called "structures of feeling," potentialities for ideas, concepts, and movements yet to be fully

crystalized into labels like "transnational feminism."[12] If the weakness of the structures of feeling is in its not-yet-fully formed nature, its power is that it offers the strength of potentiality and hope. My hope is that this book has opened up possibilities for other stories—other imaginaries—by building on some of the ideas introduced in this book.

Here, I outline just one of these possibilities by imagining the transpacific avant-garde, *of the Sea*, motivated in part by Ono's text "The Connection," in the epigraph of this chapter. In the story, Ono hints at a history of movement as "we wander from city to city" while "carrying the memory of the sea"—a deliberate reference to a space of the ocean rather than the cities built on land—which at the same time is more than "just a memory" while also suggesting a different modality of history constituted by bodies in "connection" (the title of her story). Related to the trajectory of this book, which has focused largely on a conception of the "transpacific" as an exchange between the continental US and Japan, it's important to recognize that the physical space of the Pacific has indeed been bypassed. My intention, in invoking the transpacific in this book is not to repeat the violence of appropriation of the notion of the Pacific by staking a claim on the space of the Pacific by turning it into a metaphor or, for that matter, an experimental place of the imagination. Rather, I hope to show how the vital work of critical thought in and about the Pacific provides links to draw out emergent possibilities that might be understood as undercurrents but not fully named lines of thought within the work of Japanese artists I have discussed in this book. The aim here is to find openings for situating the work of artists such as Ono within a framework that is not exclusively bound to a narrative of the Japanese or American avant-garde. Instead, it draws out the connections between an artist like Ono with contemporary artists such as Yuki Kihara through their shared experience of gendered and racialized itineraries shaped at sea, in spite of the many other differences between Ono and Kihara. In the remainder of this coda, I explore the notion of the transpacific avant-garde of the sea through two projects: The first is a 2009 collaboration, *Hiruko and the Puppeteers: A Tale of Sea Wanderers* by feminist artist Tomiyama Taeko and composer Takahashi Yūji. The second is a project, "Sāmoa no uta," a series that Yuki Kihara, an artist of Japanese and Sāmoan descent, began in 2019. I ask, how might a framing of musical circulation along currents of transnational and transregional intimacies and coalitions work to overcome the violence of complicity and forgetting in existing institutional histories?[13] Or, to echo the language of Ono and Shiomi's instruction-based pieces: *imagine a story about music and*

connection; *try, of the sea*. In my response to such a prompt, Ono, Shiomi, Tomiyama and Kihara articulate the framework for understanding a trajectory of experimental practice from 1960 to the present and beyond.

Tomiyama and Takahashi's work consists of a resolutely simple form of "intermedia" that combines slides and collages of Tomiyama's visual work with music by Takahashi.[14] Tomiyama's work has focused on addressing the ongoing effects of violence and dispossession as a result of colonialism, the Asia Pacific war, and ecological disaster resulting from the excesses of capitalism. Yet, the simplicity is an explicit rejection of the appropriation of art in the name of power—colonial, corporate, fascist, and extreme leftist too—their work is deeply political but resists the usual markers of large-scale intermedia of the late 1960s. Tomiyama and Takahashi's piece also offers commentaries on boundaries and preconceptions about their borders of style, discipline, and practice. With a story that takes place in a mythologized Pacific underwater world, at stake is nothing less than the seas as the source of life, and the source of interconnectedness of peoples in and around the Pacific. Yet, the work laments the sea marred by centuries of competing forces of power, more recently taking the form of Japanese colonial violence, and environmental recklessness by human sources ravaging the seas. To respond to these histories of violence, Takahashi returns to the body as a way of rejecting dogma associated with power: "music out of the suffering that it is to be human, music that is itself liberation from that suffering . . . without wavering before ideology, methodology or experience / Trusting in something that will make music enter and be felt in our bodies / so that we continue to open ourselves every day to this world."[15] In this incarnation of intermedia, Takahashi's view centers on connections between human bodies and the experience of shared suffering, rather than the marriage of art and technology as a way to enter transnational conversations of the avant-garde. More broadly, Takahashi and Tomiyama's project invites the possibility of framing a transpacific avant-garde from the location of the Pacific Ocean against Japan's postwar history and its dependence on forgetting and drowning out the nation's wartime violence and postwar complicity with US military exercises, including an expansive nuclear testing program, in the sea.

In this case, the notion of the "transpacific avant-garde" becomes a critical lens to unpack the hegemonic connections of the 1962 transnational avant-garde. I do not intend for the "transpacific avant-garde" to simply replace the hegemonic avant-garde or the transnational avant-garde. As a critical lens,

I would like for it to remain a point of reference, but one which depends on being provisional and contingent for now. The "transpacific" here references multiple conceptions of and around the Pacific. One of these meanings is the sense of Pacific "crossings," charting the itineraries of the musicians working in and around intermedia. Tone, Ichiyanagi, Akiyama, Ono, Cage, Tudor, Shiomi, Mosley, Akiyoshi, Idemitsu, Yuasa, and so many others. Recalling chapter 2, and the story of the intersections of jazz and experimental practice in Japan, it also references the crossing from the US to Japan by the Black American avant-garde whose sounds and records easily made the journey while many Japanese listeners were content to keep racialized Black bodies nameless, and at a distance. But *Hiruko* also offers a chance to conceive of a different kind of transpacific. This transpacific is written with a capitalized Pacific as music scholar Kevin Fellezs proposes in his discussion of the "transPacific." Through "transPacific," Fellezs centers Pacific Islander perspectives and cultures, along with the Pacific Ocean "as a space with fluid content, boundaries, and logics."[16] With a focus on Hawai'i and Kanaka Maoli perspectives in his study of slack key guitar as a voicing of the polycultural transPacific, Fellezs's transPacific brings to light how the oceanic crossings of American and Japanese artists followed the infrastructures of empire, driven by "economic activity and power."[17] Against the first sense of the transpacific, Fellezs's transPacific explicitly names the hegemony of US and Japanese presence in the Pacific by calling attention to the ocean and Pacific Islands cultures that are crossed, along with the social and ecological costs of those routes.[18] But additionally, through his coinage of the transPacific, Fellezs argues that centering on the Pacific itself "allows us to consider that agentive Pacific Islanders did not stand idly by during the colonization and dispossession of their homelands."[19]

Viewed through this critical lens, the transpacific avant-garde of the sea weaves together threads of multiple entanglements. These are comprised of imperial Japanese and American ventures in the Pacific, as well Oceanic epistemologies and coalitions that long predate the presence of Japanese and American imperial forces. The transpacific avant-garde marks the paths of what historian Eiichiro Azuma has called the "complex transpacific and trans-imperial histories of the entangled settler colonialism of Japanese America, imperial Japan, and the United States. . . ."[20] Azuma and others such as Setsu Shigematsu and Lisa Yoneyama highlight a geopolitical history of the complicities of US and Japanese imperialism.[21] Their work critiques both the imperialist drives of the expansionist project of Japan's wartime Greater

East Asian Co-Prosperity sphere that sought to "unify" the Asia-Pacific under imperial Japanese leadership, and the postwar amnesia of Japanese imperial violence that did little to redress Japan's wartime aggression.

The notion of the transpacific avant-garde, of the sea, written from a Japanese perspective nestles dangerously between the poles of what historian Arlif Dirlik describes as "fantasy" on one end and "a disguise for the contradictions in the region."[22] And yet, I am hopeful for the possibilities that may go beyond the notion of a region defined by violence imposed from the outside.[23] For example, Yuki Kihara remarks: the "Vasa (or ocean) is . . . an oceanscape that is not a barrier but an opening to another world," a worldview that also echoes Epeli Hau'ofa's notion of "our sea of islands," which presents a cosmological and epistemological challenge to the "belittling" view of European settlers that characterizes the cultures of Oceania and the Pacific as that of tiny disparate islands separated by the sea.[24] Seen in this light, Kihara's work provides further insight into a framework of musical circulation along currents of transnational and transregional intimacies and coalitions that work to overcome the violence of complicity and forgetting in existing institutional histories.[25]

Sāmoa no uta (A Song About Sāmoa) Vasa (Ocean) (2019), is part of a multi-part, multimedia 5-year project titled *Sāmoa no uta*. The title comes from a Japanese children's song which aired on NHK national TV in 1962 and subsequently circulated widely through primary school music textbooks. By extracting the melody from a local song and adding new Japanese lyrics, the song builds upon Japanese orientalist fantasies of the purity of a Sāmoan island paradise. Kihara's project introduces the moment of 1962 using Japanese material (a kimono) to serve as a canvas for a depiction of Sāmoa from her vantage point. The internationalism and multilingualism inherent in the title rests in the legacies of Japanese imperialism. But Kihara's work cannot simply be reduced to the story of imperialism. By taking ownership of the tensions embedded in the history of the song and by remaking the kimonos out of Sāmoan *siapo* cloth, Kihara's practice engages intermedia as a kind of translational practice in which her personal history and artistic language live between and alongside both Japanese and Sāmoan senses. In Kihara's words, using the song's name as the title of her own work is a way to "speak to the Sāmoan experience from an Indigenous point of view."[26] The scene depicted across five *siapo* cloth kimonos arranged side by side depicts images of contemporary life, in, above, and around the sea. These are illustrated by sea life (but also a plastic bag and a floating coke can), an island with vegetation and

fale houses, and a sky with birds. The kimono, from Kihara's Japanese grandmother's garments, connects the work to a familial Japanese heritage. The ocean, sky, and land meet at the same height in the center of the piece, rearranging and land-based vantage point of the colonial metropole. In this work, the kimonos become a kind of intermedia score that mediate the melodies of empire, and reframe the complex intimacies of transpacific relationships. Kihara's work describes this moment where the sequence of panels of painted and beaded kimono depict a landscape "looking at the land from the ocean."[27]

The term intermedia today has lost its specificity, with ever-expanding aesthetics and contexts. Yet its reverberations can still help to radically rethink the notion of "Japanese" experimental practice as a transnational project. During the time I was writing this coda imagining the transpacific avant-garde that I have described above, one morning, I watched the lapping waves from the ocean of New York Harbor where specks of water, or air, rose into the air. Small crests of water tumbled against the old wooden piles of the pier, setting off a spray of mist, light and matter, sea and land and sky dissolved into one another. The scene returned me to the memory of being with Shiomi, and thinking about boundaries through the lens of her *Shadow Piece* where the boundary between light and shadow is really an area of transition (and where the idea of a fixed border is a fiction). We may have crawled out of the sea as Ono wrote in her short story "The Connection" quoted in the epigraph of this coda. But maybe we also never went so far. The sea, in that moment, was also visible as air and as sky. As Kihara's work makes evident, imagining the connection between sea and land is not about dreaming of a world that doesn't exist, but an act of imagining beyond the fiction and fixity of the colonial gaze—as a fabricator in Ono's sense.

Thinking with the possibilities of the imaginaries of the transpacific avant-garde means recognizing the silencing and disappearance of certain bodies and practices from institutional narratives, while working on unlearning habits and norms that have shaped those histories and practices. At the same time, the imaginaries also reveal pathways showing how intermedia in the 1960s harbored themes, threads, and currents in which imagined sounds and archives played no small role in shaping Japanese experimental practices, all along.

NOTES

Prologue

1. Mitsuhashi, "John Cage shock," 2; Nihon Sengo Ongakushi Kenkyūkai, *Nihon sengo ongakushi (Postwar Japanese music history)* vol. 1, 340; Shibata et al., "John Cage Shock."

2. Shibata et al., "John Cage Shock," 26.

3. While scholars and critics have repeatedly credited Yoshida with the coining of the term, none of these texts reference the date of its first utterance (these texts include an authoritative history of postwar Japanese composition, and articles in leading music and art magazines in Japanese and English). The first publication of the phrase "John Cage shock" that I have been able to locate appears in 1969—seven years after Cage's first visit to Japan. Published under the title "John Cage Shock" at the end of the decade in the November issue of *Ongaku Geijutsu*—Japan's leading music journal—the article's purpose was to reflect back on the musical legacy of the 1960s through a roundtable format that included Yoshida, the critic Akiyama Kuniharu, and the composers Shibata Minao and Hayashi Hikaru.

4. Kaneda and Tone, "The 'John Cage Shock' Is a Fiction! Interview with Tone Yasunao, Part I."

5. Yano, "Ongaku jihyō: chitsujyo e no chōsen (Contemporary music report: A challenge to the order of things)," 5. "Sogetsu Āto Sentāno Kiroku" Kankō Iinkai, *Kagayake 60-Nendai: Sogetsu Āto Sentā no zenkiroku*, 301.

6. Yoshioka, "Yōkotte ittai nanimono (Who on earth is Yoko?)," 182.

7. Ichiyanagi first recital program pamphlet (ac102b).

8. For the perspectives of Mayuzumi, Ichiyanagi, Takemitsu, and others, see also Ueno, "Nihon ni okeru John Cage no jyuyō (The reception of John Cage in Japan)"; Havens, *Radicals and Realists in the Japanese Nonverbal Arts: The Avant-Garde Rejection of Modernism*, 109–13.

9. For example, see Yuasa in *Kagayake,* 150.

10. Cage and Lieberman, "Contemporary Japanese Music: A Lecture."

11. Cage and Lieberman, "Contemporary Japanese Music: A Lecture," 196.

12. Cage and Tudor's friendship with Ono and Ichiyanagi, and Cage's admiration for Ichiyanagi in particular can be seen in various correspondences between the four. See, for example, letters in the David Tudor Collection at the Getty Research Institute, and *The Selected Letters of John Cage* (Wesleyan University Press, 2016).

13. Ichiyanagi and Kakinuma, "Ichiyanagi Toshi Oral History (Kyoto City University of the Arts Geijutsu Shigen Kenkyū Sentā [Geishiken])." The attempt to clarify the exact dates

around this meeting remains unresolved in the conversation between Ichiyanagi, Kakinuma, and Takeuchi, despite the thoroughness of the researchers' efforts. Historical documents, including a *New York Times* review from April 27, 1959, suggest that the concert where Ichiyanagi met Cage featured Tudor—though not as a solo recital, as indicated in the interview—and likely took place at the Village Gate in Greenwich Village in 1959, rather than at the Vanguard in 1958. I have kept the reference to the Vanguard in the section, with strike-through in the title, to highlight the slippages of transmission.

14. The instructions of the piece are drawn from the photographed installation view of Mayuzumi Toshirō's *Tadpoles Music* at *4 Composers – Exhibition of Graphic Score* at Tokyo Gallery, as seen in Figure 2.

15. Ueno, "Nihon ni okeru shoki no John Cage hyō ni tsuite: Akiyama Kuniharu to Mayuzumi Toshirō o Chūshin ni (Early critical reception of John Cage in Japan)."

16. Mizuno, "John Cage ga yatterukotowa mezurashikumo nantomonai (What John Cage does is nothing extraordinary or special at all)," 163.

17. Havens, *Radicals and Realists in the Japanese Nonverbal Arts,* fn. 38.

18. Takahashi, "Sogetsu Art Center no koro (Around the time of the Sogetsu Art Center)."

19. Ichiyanagi and Kakinuma, "Ichiyanagi Toshi Oral History."

20. Trinh and Grzinic, "Inappropriate/d Artificiality w/ Marina Grzinic."

21. "Concert program for Sogetsu Contemporary Series 10: The Works of Ichiyanagi Toshi."

Introduction

1. *Shadow Piece* is dated 1963, another similar piece, titled *Shadow Piece II* is dated 1964, and is included as part of a small box called *Events and Games*, which is part of a larger collective piece called the *Fluxkit* (1964), a compilation of works by artists associated with the Fluxus movement, put together by Fluxus impresario George Maciunas.

2. "Mieko Shiomi. < shadow piece >. 1963," The Museum of Modern Art, accessed August 23, 2022, https://www.moma.org/collection/works/127555

3. Mieko Shiomi, "Mieko Shiomi," 42.

4. Lorde, *Sister Outsider*, 37.

5. Lorde, *Sister Outsider*, 56.

6. Lorde, *Sister Outsider*, 59.

7. Sas, "By Other Hands: Environment and Apparatus in 1960s Intermedia," 85.

8. Ross, "Beyond the Frame"; Sas, "Intermedia 1955–1970"; Sas, "By Other Hands: Environment and Apparatus in 1960s Intermedia"; Hirasawa, Adachi-Tasch, and Ross, *Japanese Expanded Cinema and Intermedia*; NTT Intākomyunikēshon Sentā, *E.A.T.*

9. Ochoa Gautier, "Sonic Transculturation, Epistemologies of Purification and the Aural Public Sphere in Latin America," 807.

10. See, for example, the Agency for Cultural Affairs Media Art Timeline 2021, which offers a publicly accessible and detailed chronology of Japanese media art between 1950–2020. "Bunkachō media āto nennpyō (Agency for Cultural Affairs Media Art Timeline 2021)." https://cdc.jp/mac/

11. Higgins, *Intermedia*.

12. Junzō Ishiko, "Geijutsu wa sangyō kyōryoku no tame ni arunoka (Art for the sake of industrial cooperation?" 81; Hirasawa, Adachi-Tasch, and Ross, *Japanese Expanded Cinema and Intermedia*, 35.

13. Yasunao Tone, "A Tectonic Shift in Art: From the Expo to the Hippie Movement," 242.

14. Yasunao Tone, "A Tectonic Shift in Art: From the Expo to the Hippie Movement"; Ishizaki, "Tokushū intāmedia to wa nanika: Geijutsu o norikoeru mono (Special feature what is intermedia: Exceeding the bounds of art)."

15. Hirasawa, Adachi-Tasch, and Ross, *Japanese Expanded Cinema and Intermedia*.

16. Yasunao Tone, "A Tectonic Shift in Art: From the Expo to the Hippie Movement."

17. Iimura, "Meidō tsuzuku andāguraundo (Seismic rumbles from the underground)," 22.

18. Ishizaki, "Tokushū intāmedia to wa nanika."

19. Kawasaki, *Nihon no denshi ongaku (Japanese electronic music)*, 30–40.

20. Lewis, "Improvised Music after 1950."

21. Lewis, *A Power Stronger than Itself*; Alonso-Minutti, Herrera, and Madrid, *Experimentalisms in Practice*; Robinson, *Hungry Listening*; Levine, "Music, Modernity, and Indigeneity: Introductory Notes."

22. Lewis, *A Power Stronger than Itself*; Rodgers, "Toward a Feminist Historiography of Electronic Music"; Piekut, *Tomorrow Is the Question*; Thompson, "Sounding the Arcane"; Alonso-Minutti, Herrera, and Madrid, *Experimentalisms in Practice*; Robinson, *Hungry Listening*; Burkhalter, Dickinson, and Harbert, *The Arab Avant-Garde*; Cohen, *Musical Migration and Imperial New York*; Robin and O'Brien, *On Minimalism: Documenting a Musical Movement*.

23. Nyman, *Experimental Music: Cage and Beyond*; Nicholls, "Avant-Garde and Experimental Music"; Sun, "Experimental Music."

24. Cvetkovich, "The Queer Art of the Counter-Archive," 32. Emphasis added.

25. Ono, *Grapefruit: A Book of Instruction and Drawings*, n.p.

26. Cage, *Silence: Lectures and Writings*; Nyman, *Experimental Music: Cage and Beyond*.

27. Nyman, *Experimental Music: Cage and Beyond*, 2.

28. Mieko Shiomi, "Mieko Shiomi," 42.

29. Muñoz, *Disidentifications*, 31.

30. Hau'ofa, "Our Sea of Islands," 150.

31. Fellezs, *Listen but Don't Ask Question*; Trinh, *The Digital Film Event*, 125–26.

32. Cruz, *Transpacific Femininities*; Hoskins and Nguyen, *Transpacific Studies*; Birenbaum Quintero, *Rites, Rights and Rhythms*.

33. Trinh, *The Digital Film Event*, 125; Trinh and Grzinic, "Inappropriate/d Artificiality w/ Marina Grzinic."

34. Trinh and Grzinic, "Inappropriate/d Artificiality w/ Marina Grzinic."

35. Trinh and Grzinic, "Inappropriate/d Artificiality w/ Marina Grzinic."

36. Vogel, *Japan as Number One*; Lucken, *Imitation and Creativity in Japanese Arts*; Vlad and Bankson, "The Toyota Way."

37. Novak, *Japanoise*, 12.

38. Novak, *Japanoise*, 12.

39. Trinh and Grzinic, "Inappropriate/d Artificiality w/ Marina Grzinic."

40. Philip Joseph Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places,* CultureAmerica (University Press of Kansas, 2004), 7.

41. Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places,* 11.

Chapter 1

1. "Sogetsu Āto Sentāno Kiroku" Kankō Iinkai, *Kagayake 60-nendai: Sogetsu Āto Sentā no zenkiroku*, 181.

2. Uesaki, "A Sedimentation of the Archival Mind, 1."

3. Interestingly, these two pieces foreshadow two pieces that are among Ono's most well-known works—among them, her Imagine Peace concept that has appeared in multiple media and formats, along with the song "Imagine," which she co-wrote with John Lennon. In the recital invitation, the word "chair piece" for the titles of *Chair Piece* 1-10 are broken up where the line breaks to make it appear as if the titles are "hair piece," a resonant precursor of the iconic "HAIR PEACE." sign captured in the 1969 week-long "bed-in" performance with Lennon following their wedding.

4. Sugiura, "Omoidasu mama ni, Sogetsu Art Center to no kakawari (Involvement with the Sogetsu Art Center as I recall it)," 119.

5. Sugiura, 119.

6. Uesaki, "A Sedimentation of the Archival Mind, 1."

7. Cvetkovich, *An Archive of Feelings*, 32; Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain*, 50.

8. Akiyama, "Sokowa 60-nendai zen-ei geijutsu no shingenchi datta (It was an epicenter of the 1960s avant-garde)."

9. Chong, "Tokyo, 1955–1970: A New Avant-Garde," 70; Akiyama, "Sokowa 60-nendai zen-ei geijutsu no shingenchi datta (It was an epicenter of the 1960s avant-garde)."

10. Alonso-Minutti, Herrera, and Madrid, *Experimentalisms in Practice*, 2.

11. Casey, "How to Get from Space to Place in a Fairly Short Stretch of Time: Phenomenological Prolegomena," 26.

12. Condry, *Hip-Hop Japan: Rap and the Paths of Cultural Globalization*, 2.

13. Condry, *Hip-Hop Japan: Rap and the Paths of Cultural Globalization,* 18.

14. Hariu, "Naigai no atarashii chōryū ga haitte kiteita (New flows from inside and out came in)," 99.

15. Tanikawa, "Banpaku de subete owatta (Everything ended with the World's Fair)," 111. The list goes on: composer Ichiyanagi Toshi lamented that "these days there are too many concert halls, but very few *places* to do anything interesting—*ba ga nakunatta*—the concert halls today are very closed off to the outside world." (Personal communication July 17, 2008). Shimbo Kimiko, a music educator and former Secretary General of the Japan Federation of Composers used the same phrase as Ichiyanagi when she explained to me why composers today had less opportunity to be more innovative: music education and professions had become much more specialized since the 1960s, and frankly, there was little *place* for them to experiment—*ba ga nakunatta*. Yamaguchi Katsuhiro describes the SAC as a *ba* of workshops and presentations (*wākushoppu no ba, happyō no ba*). Yamaguchi, "Gendōryoku wa Sōfū-san datta (Sōfū was the driving force)," 122.

16. Takahashi, Personal communication.

17. Richie, "Gendai bunka no inkyubētā (An incubator of contemporary culture)," 208.

18. Richie, "Gendai bunka no inkyubētā, 208.

19. Sogetsu Art Center, "The Sogetsu Art Center."

20. Matsumoto, "Sogetsu to iu bunka sōchi (The cultural apparatus called Sogetsu)," 218.

21. Other material such as photographs, recordings, and administrative records of the SAC are held at the current Sogetsu headquarters.

22. The dance events, however, were part of an event titled "3-nin no jazu vocaru (Three jazz vocalists)" held on July 17, 1961 that also featured two female vocalists Gotō Yoshiko and Kowaki Masae, alongside singer/saxophone player Furuya Takashi. That the vocalists' names are not featured in the event's name, however, further affirms the condition of invisibility of women's names at the SAC. The title suggests that they were of more interest as "vocalists" rather than individual artists.

23. Uesaki, "A Sedimentation of the Archival Mind, 1."

24. "Brochure for the Sogetsu Āto Sentā (Sogetsu Art Center)," n.p.

25. Ikebana, also referred to as *kadō* (the way of flowers) refers to a traditional Japanese flower arrangement practice dating back more than a thousand years. Today, many schools or *ryūha* of ikebana methods exist. Within ikebana schools, Sogetsu is a relatively new school.

26. "Brochure for the Sogetsu Āto Sentā (Sogetsu Art Center)."

27. Sugiura, "Omoidasu mama ni, Sogetsu Art Center to no kakawari (Involvement with the Sogetsu Art Center as I recall it)."

28. "Brochure for the Sogetsu Āto Sentā (Sogetsu Art Center)," n.p.

29. Kawasaki, *Nihon no denshi ongaku (Japanese electronic music)*, 239.

30. Kawasaki, 43.

31. Yuasa, "Gendai ongaku ni kōken shite kureta onkyōgishi (The sound engineer who contributed immensely to contemporary music)," 150; Nakai, "Of Stone and Sand."

32. "Japan's Picasso Of The Flowers Blue Wind Blows New Life into an Ancient Art."

33. Teshigahara, "Yume o takushita Sogetsu Art Center (Investing my dreams into the Sogetsu Art Center)," 92. "Japan's Picasso of the Flowers: Blue Wind Blows New Life into an Ancient Art."

34. Teshigahara Hiroshi's *Woman in the Dunes* (1964) won the Special Jury Prize at the 1964 Cannes Film Festival and received two Academy Award nominations in 1966.

35. Akiyama, "Sokowa 60-nendai zen-ei geijutsu no shingenchi datta (It was an epicenter of the 1960s avant-garde)," 47. One off-site venture titled the Karuizawa Music Inn took place in the mountain resort town in Nagano, about 100 miles from Tokyo. Attesting to the popularity of the series, the Karuizawa event was a critical success, and attracted crowds far beyond avant-garde enthusiasts. Complaints rushed to the SAC about how they were simply not ready to accommodate all the guests who had made their way out into the hills of Nagano prefecture.

36. It bears noting that in Kubo, Uesaki and Mori's grid, each issue of the SAC's in-house journal publication, *SAC*, appears as an "event." According to the numbering of the KUAC SAC archive, the journals are the most numerous event in 1961. If this categorization of journal as event seems unusual, it nonetheless contributes to the notion of regularly occurring things as shaping the *ba* of the SAC. Moreover, considering a journal as an event underscores how a journal issue is the result of the collective labor of its writers, editors, designers, and printers, in the same way that a concert is the result of a collaborative effort of the many individuals involved.

37. The addition of two more events outside of the SCS (a party welcoming composer

Aaron Copland to Japan, and the Sapporo Contemporary Music Festival, co-sponsored by the SAC) would raise the number of avant-garde/experimental music concerts to 11, but the argument holds that at its peak, avant-garde/experimental music concerts were still substantially fewer in number than the number of jazz events in 1960.

38. Raymond Conde, a legendary Filipino clarinetist based in Japan, was a notable representative of Dixieland jazz at the SAC. Conde came to jazz by playing for US soldiers in Manila under US occupation, quickly absorbing the language of Dixieland, New Orleans jazz, and Swing from merchant marines and their records arriving on shore. Conde initially emigrated to Japan in 1934 to study medicine. But his accomplishment as a clarinetist led to a career in music, and he eventually established himself as a highly regarded figure in Japanese jazz spanning the pre- and postwar decades. E. Taylor Atkins, *Blue Nippon: Authenticating Jazz in Japan* (Duke University Press, 2001), 60.

39. "Announcement for Etosetora to Jazu no Kai (Et Cetera and Jazz Circle pre-launch event for Modern Jazz Circle [working title]

40. "Announcement for Etosetora to Jazu no Kai January gathering."

41. "Sogetsu Āto Sentāno Kiroku" Kankō Iinkai, *Kagayake 60-nendai: Sogetsu Āto Sentā no zenkiroku*, 246.

42. "Sogetsu Āto Sentāno Kiroku" Kankō Iinkai, *Kagayake 60-nendai: Sogetsu Āto Sentā no zenkiroku*, 246.

43. "Pamphlet announcing upcoming programs for the Sogetsu Contemporary Series."

44. Hrvatin, "Sōgetsu Art Center's Invitation Letters to International Composers," 61.

45. "Gurūpu Ongaku 1– Sokkyō ongaku to onkyō obuje no konsāto (Group Ongaku 1: Concert of improvisation and sonic objects [booklet])."

46. Kaneda and Tone, "Sound Is Merely a Result: Interview with Tone Yasunao, II."

47. Akiyama, "Gendai ongaku no jiyū to bōken (Freedom and adventure in contemporary music)," 7.

48. Havens, *Radicals and Realists in the Japanese Nonverbal Arts: The Avant-Garde Rejection of Modernism*, 109–110.

49. Akiyama, "Gendai ongaku no jiyū to bōken (Freedom and adventure in contemporary music)," 7.

50. Yoshimoto, *Into Performance: Japanese Women Artists in New York*, 29.

51. Yano, "Ongaku jihyō: chitsujyo e no chōsen (Contemporary music report: A challenge to the order of things)," 5.

52. Yoshioka, "Yōkotte ittai nanimono (Who on earth is Yoko?)," 182.

53. Kosugi, "Paik ga piano o kowashita! (Paik destroyed the piano!)," 159.

54. Akasegawa, "Chōsenteki na hapuningu no kowasa," "(The fear factor of a challenging Happening)," 175.

55. Cage, "Nihon hōmon ni saishite (On the occasion of our visit to Japan)."

56. See Hrvatin 2018 for a discussion of correspondences between the SAC and international composers between 1958 and 1965.

57. See Luciana Galliano's *Japan Fluxus* (Lexington Books, 2019) for a detailed account of Fluxus and Fluxus-related activities that took place at the SAC.

58. "Concert Program for Sogetsu Contemporary Series 20: Musicians Group: New Direction, subscription series 1."

59. "Concert program for Sogetsu Contemporary Series 20."

60. The Group Ongaku concert at the SAC was not part of the SCS, but a presentation outside of any of the regular series. However, Group Ongaku members, in particular Tone, Kosugi, and Shiomi appeared as performers in various SAC events including SCS concerts. For example, Tone, Kosugi, Mizuno, and Shiomi were part of Ichiyanagi's recital on November 30, 1961. Ichiyanagi, Tone, Kosugi, and Mizuno Shūkō (another Group Ongaku member) were among the performers in Ono's recital on May 24, 1962. Shiomi, Ono, Tone, Kosugi, and Shiomi were part of the group of performers on Paik's recital on May 29, 1964.s

61. "Pamphlet announcing upcoming programs for the Sogetsu Contemporary Series." The group was comprised of eight composers and one conductor: Akutagawa Yasushi, Takemitsu Tōru, Hayashi Hikaru, Matsudaira Yoriaki, Mamiya Michio, Mayuzumi Toshirō, Miyoshi Akira, Moroi Makoto, and conductor Iwaki Hiroyuki.

62. EXPOSE might also be described as a five-part hybrid happening and colloquium conceived of as an intermedia event. Participants included American Fluxus artist Geoffrey Hendricks, Shiomi Mieko, Takamatsu Jirō, Tone Yasunao, Ichiyanagi Toshi, Kurokawa Kishō, Yokoo Tadanori, Nakahara Yūsuke, and others. Notably, at EXPOSE, even the participation of art critics took the shape of a "performance."

63. Yamaguchi, "Gendōryoku wa Sōfū-san datta (Sōfū was the driving force)," 120.

64. "Tokyo Film Art Festival 1969."

65. Yamaguchi, "Gendōryoku wa Sōfū-san datta (Sōfū was the driving force)," 120.

66. "MERCE CUNNINGHAM TRUST"; Jōji Yuasa, Interview by author.

67. Brazell and Bethe, "The Practice of Noh Theatre," 190.

Chapter 2

1. In 1960, one of the Sogetsu Contemporary Series events was dedicated to animated film. The other five were portrait concerts, each featuring the music of one of the composers of a group that called themselves the Composer's Group.

2. Kuniharu Akiyama, "Sokowa 60-nendai zen-ei geijutsu no shingenchi datta (It was an epicenter of the 1960s avant-garde)," in *Kagayake 60-nendai: Sogetsu Āto Sentā no zenkiroku (Shine on 1960s: The complete records of the Sogetsu Art Center)*, ed. "Sogetsu Āto Sentā no Kiroku" Kankō Iinkai (Film Art, Inc., 2002), 46.

3. Miho Watanabe, "Nihon no modan jazu, gendai ongaku, furii jazu no setten: Sogetsu āto sentā to Shinseiki Ongaku Kenkyūjo no katsudō o rei ni (The intersection of modern jazz, contemporary music and free jazz in Japan: Around Sogetsu Art Center and the Shinseiki Ongaku Kenkyūjo)," *Tokyo Geijutsu Daikgaku Ongaku-Gagkubu Kiyō* 34 (2008): 189–202; Hisato Aikura, *Shikō no nihon jazu zenshi (The ultimate history of Japanese jazz)* (Shūeisha, 2012).

4. Important narratives that this chapter builds on include work by Fred Moten, *In the Break: The Aesthetics of the Black Radical Tradition* (University of Minnesota Press, 2003); George Lewis, *A Power Stronger than Itself: The AACM and American Experimental Music* (University of Chicago Press, 2008); Benjamin Piekut, *Experimentalism Otherwise: The New York Avant-Garde and Its Limits*, California Studies in 20th-Century Music 11 (University of California Press, 2011); Kwami Coleman, "Free Jazz and the 'New Thing': Aesthetics, Identity, and Texture, 1960–1966," *Journal of Musicology* 38, no. 3 (July 1, 2021): 261–95, https://doi.org/10.1525/jm.2021.38.3.261; and Brigid Maureen Cohen, *Musical Migration and Imperial New York: Early Cold War Scenes*, New Material Histories of Music (University of Chicago Press, 2022).

5. David Novak, *Japanoise: Music at the Edge of Circulation* (Duke University Press Books, 2013), 93.

6. Jonathan Sterne, *The Audible Past: Cultural Origins of Sound Reproduction* (Duke University Press, 2003), 90.

7. Roshanak Kheshti, "Touching Listening: The Aural Imaginary in the World Music Culture Industry," *American Quarterly* 63, no. 3 (2011): 711–31.

8. Kheshti, "Touching Listening," 711.

9. Kheshti, "Touching Listening," 711.

10. Philip Joseph Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places*, CultureAmerica (University Press of Kansas, 2004), 11.

11. E. Taylor Atkins, *Blue Nippon: Authenticating Jazz in Japan* (Duke University Press, 2001); Shūhei Hosokawa, "Jazu kissa no bunkashi senzenhen: Fukusei gijutsujidai no ongaku kanshō kūkan (A cultural history of jazz coffeehouse in prewar Japan: The music appreciation in the age of reproductive technology)," *Nihon Kenkyū* 34 (2007): 209–48; Michael S. Molasky, *Jazu kissa ron: Sengo no nihonbunka o aruku (Jazu kissa and postwar Japanese cultural history)*, shohan (Chikuma Shobō, 2010); Novak, *Japanoise*.

12. Molasky, *Jazu kissa ron: Sengo no nihonbunka o aruku*, 33.

13. Shūhei Hosokawa, "The Swinging Phonograph in a Hot Teahouse: Sound Technology and the Emergence of the Jazz Community in Prewar Japan," in *Sound, Space and Sociality in Modern Japan*, ed. Joseph D. Hankins and Carolyn S. Stevens (Taylor and Francis, 2013), 114, http://public.eblib.com/EBLPublic/PublicView.do?ptiID=1576005

14. Molasky, *Jazu kissa ron: Sengo no nihonbunka o aruku*, 198.

15. Shōichi Yui, *Jazu Shōwa shi: Jidai to ongaku no bunkashi (A history of Shōwa jazz)* (DU Books, 2013), 100–101.

16. Bonnie C. Wade, *Composing Japanese Musical Modernity* (University of Chicago Press, 2014), 63–64; Tōru Takemitsu, "Contemporary Music in Japan," *Perspectives of New Music* 27, no. 2 (1989): 200, https://doi.org/10.2307/833410

17. Even as the American Cultural Centers spread across Japan they were often viewed skeptically as instruments of the American propaganda machine, the library at the American Center in Tokyo was a haven for some composers, who made use of the abundant recordings, scores, and publications on American and international contemporary music. Takeshi Matsuda, *Soft Power and Its Perils: U.S. Cultural Policy in Early Postwar Japan and Permanent Dependency* (Woodrow Wilson Center Press; Stanford University Press, 2007); Yasushi Watanabe, *Amerikan sentā: Amerika no kokusai bunka senryaku (American Center: America's strategic international cultural policy)* (Iwanami Shoten, 2008).

18. While military radio was created for US service personnel stationed in Japan, Japanese devotees were fervent listeners as well. Katherine Whatley, "Kiyoshi Koyama: A Life Lived with Jazz," *Japan Times*, March 29, 2018, https://www.japantimes.co.jp/culture/2018/03/29/music/kiyoshi-koyama-life-lived-jazz/

19. Yoshihiko Nara, "60-nendai ga teikyō shite kureta butaisōchi (The stage apparatus that the 1960s provided)," in *Kagayake 60-nendai: Sogetsu Āto Sentā no zenkiroku (Shine on 1960s: The complete records of the Sogetsu Art Center)*, ed. "Sogetsu Āto Senta no Kiroku" Kankō Iinkai (Film Art, Inc., 2002), 237.

20. Peter Burt, *The Music of Tōru Takemitsu*, 24.

21. Robin D. G. Kelley, *Thelonious Monk: The Life and Times of an American Original*, 1st Free Press hardcover ed. (Free Press, 2009), 338.

22. Aikura, *Shikō no nihon jazu zenshi (The ultimate history of Japanese jazz)*, 72.

23. Sogetsu Art Center, "Event ticket for Sogetsu Music Inn 5: Modan jazu no tayō teki ōyō (The diverse applications of modern jazz)," May 27, 1960, KUAC SAC no. 050(b), Keio University Art Center.

24. Sogetsu Art Center, "Event ticket for Sogetsu Music Inn 2: Burūsu no keishō (Transmission of the blues)," February 25, 1960, KUAC SAC no. 038(d), Keio University Art Center; Holloway Brown, "Silas Mosley—Ambassador of Goodwill in Japan," *Negro History Bulletin* 23, no. 8 (May 1, 1960): 171, 191. I have identified just one other Black American musician, the singer Billy Banks, who performed in a Sogetsu series. Banks had lived in Japan since the 1950s. He appeared on Sogetsu Music Inn 10 with Mosley on November 12 at the Nihon Toshi Center Hall. Based on the success of the Sogetsu Music Inn 2 program that featured Mosley, this event took place off-site as a touring version of the program based on the February 1960 Sogetsu Music Inn.

25. Silas Mosley, "Burūsu to jazu no tsunagari (The connection between jazz and the blues)," *SAC* 8 (November 1960): n.p.

26. Sogetsu Art Center, "'Burūsu no keishō' (Transmission of the blues) [Archival Recording] Sogetsu Music Inn 2," February 25, 1960, recording no. 182.

27. Masao Yagi, "Burūsu no keishō' (Influence of blues on modern jazz) [Brochure]" (Sogetsu Art Center, February 25, 1960), KUAC SAC 38a.

28. Naoyuki Ōtsubo, "Kore kara no jazu (Jazz from now on)," *SAC*, April 1960.

29. Sogetsu Art Center, "Etosetora no jamu sesshon" (Et cetera jam session) Sogetsu Music Inn 11 [Archival Recording]," January 25, 1961.

30. Sogetsu Art Center, "Etosetora no jamu sesshon."

31. Sogetsu Art Center, "Etosetora no jamu sesshon."

32. Sogetsu Art Center, "Etosetora no jamu sesshon."

33. Sogetsu Art Center, "Etosetora no jamu sesshon."

34. Sogetsu Art Center, "Etosetora no jamu sesshon."

35. Sogetsu Art Center, "Etosetora no jamu sesshon."

36. Anthony Braxton, *Tri-Axium Writings* (Frog Peak Music, 1985), 297–98.

37. Akiyoshi was known as Toshiko Mariano at this point in 1961, when she was married to the saxophonist Charlie Mariano who was also a member of the group.

38. Zen'on Gakufu Shuppansha, *Kogun: Akiyoshi Toshiko sono jinsei to sakuhin (Kogun: Akiyoshi Toshiko, life and works)* (Zen'on Gakufu Shuppansha, 2004), 78.

39. Sogetsu Art Center, "Etosetora no jamu sesshon."

40. Sogetsu Art Center, "Etosetora no jamu sesshon."

41. However, wryly, in an interview she has suggested that the invitation to attend Berklee was a "publicity" ploy for the school noting her exoticness as an Asian woman who played jazz. Toshiko Akiyoshi, "Toshiko Akiyoshi, 2007 September 29." Interview by Fred Bouchard., September 29, 2007, BOHP_2007-09-29_TAkiyoshi Chapter 5 | Berklee College of Music Archives, Berklee Oral History Project, https://archives.berklee.edu/bca-011/toshiko-akiyoshi-2007-september-29/2007-09-29

42. Aikura, *Shikō no nihon jazu zenshi (The ultimate history of Japanese jazz)*, 63.

43. Aikura, *Shikō no nihon jazu zenshi,* 63.

44. Martin, an American artist, was best known for his work on jazz album covers including Bud Powell, Oscar Peterson, Mary Lou Williams, and many others.

45. Akiyoshi, "Toshiko Akiyoshi, 2007 September 29." Interview by Fred Bouchard.

46. Aikura, *Shikō no nihon jazu zenshi (The ultimate history of Japanese jazz)*, 74. Aikura was hardly alone in his racialized and gendered denigration of Akiyoshi. Michael Molasky notes the existence of a similar line of argument where an anonymous writer belittles Akiyoshi's studiousness as suspect and impossible while bizarrely comparing her performance on the keyboard to that of a "mixed race child" to imply that Akiyoshi had somehow betrayed both Japanese womanhood and racial purity. Michael S. Molasky, *Sengo nihon no jazu bunka: Eiga, bungaku, angura (Jazz culture in postwar Japan: Film, literature, and underground)* (Seidosha, 2005), 43–49.

47. Watanabe, "Nihon no modan jazu, gendai ongaku, furii jazu no setten: Sogetsu āto sentā to shinseiki ongaku kenkyūjo no katsudō o rei ni (The intersection of modern jazz, contemporary music and free jazz in Japan: Around Sogetsu Art Center and the Shinseiki Ongaku Kenkyūjo)," 196.

48. "Sogetsu Āto Sentāno Kiroku" Kankō Iinkai, *Kagayake 60-nendai: Sogetsu Āto Sentā no zenkiroku (Shine on 1960s: The complete records of the Sogetsu Art Center)* (Film Art, Inc., 2002), 267.

49. Aikura, *Shikō no nihon jazu zenshi (The ultimate history of Japanese jazz)*, 64.

50. Molasky, *Jazu kissa ron: Sengo no nihonbunka o aruku (Jazu kissa and postwar Japanese cultural history)*, 85–86.

51. Iwaki Hiroyuki "Watashi no rirekisho 27," *Nikkei Shinbun*, October 28, 2003.

52. Iwaki, "Watashi no rirekisho 27."

53. Akiyama, "Sokowa 60-nendai zen-ei geijutsu no shingenchi datta (It was an epicenter of the 1960s avant-garde)," 48.

54. Watanabe, "Nihon no modan jazu, gendai ongaku, furii jazu no setten: Sogetsu āto sentā to shinseiki ongaku kenkyūjo no katsudō o rei ni," 199.

55. Aikura, *Shikō no nihon jazu zenshi (The ultimate history of Japanese jazz)*, 78.

Chapter 3

1. Note that while the Cross Talk events in 1967 and 1968 did not bear the name "intermedia" in its title, presentations in these events did place an emphasis on intermedia and cross-disciplinary presentations.

2. Reynolds, "Cross Talk Intermedia II," 12.

3. Brigid Cohen, "Sounds of the Cold War Acropolis: Halim El-Dabh at the Columbia-Princeton Electronic Music Center," *Contemporary Music Review* 39, no. 6 (November 1, 2020): 685.

4. Jacques Attali, *Noise: The Political Economy of Music* (University of Minnesota Press, 1985).

5. Miryam Sas, "By Other Hands: Environment and Apparatus in 1960s Intermedia," in *The Oxford Handbook of Japanese Cinema*, ed. Daisuke Miyao (Oxford University Press, 2013), 383–415.

6. Sas, "By Other Hands," 405. Emphasis in original.

7. Karen Reynolds, "Cross Talk I" (Institute of Contemporary World Affairs, 1967), 1–2.

8. Reynolds, "Cross Talk I," 1–2.

9. Reynolds, "Cross Talk I," 1–2.

10. Reynolds, "Cross Talk I," 1–2.

11. American Cultural Center, "Cross Talk Intermedia" (Tokyo, 1969).

12. By contrast, the focus of the Intermedia Art Festival that took place in January of 1969 had a different emphasis. While the Intermedia Art Festival also had a cross-cultural focus, technology was only one of the various means with which to achieve intermedial expression. Shioimi Mieko, who was one of the organizers of the Intermedia Art Festival described the focus of the festival as follows: "works drawn from various countries that reside in in-between zones—for example, 'events,' live electronic music, concrete poetry, film events, realized using contemporary performance methods." Robert Ashley, Mieko Shiomi, and Takehisa Kosugi, "Kurosutōku Intāmedia," *Ongaku Geijutsu* 27, no. 4 (1969): 24.

13. Frank J. Oteri, "Roger Reynolds: The Benefits of Being Outside the Loops," NewMusicBox, December 1, 2009, https://newmusicusa.org/nmbx/roger-reynolds-the-benefits-of-being-outside-the-loops/. See chapter 1 for further discussion of the work of Okuyama.

14. Deborah Wong, *Louder and Faster: Pain, Joy, and the Body Politic in Asian American Taiko*, 1st ed., vol. 55 (University of California Press, 2019), 49.

15. Dushko Petrovich, "Rise of the Blur," *n+1* (blog), January 23, 2020, https://nplusonemag.com/online-only/online-only/rise-of-the-blur/

16. Petrovich, "Rise of the Blur."

17. American Cultural Center, "Cross Talk Intermedia," n.p.

18. Roger Reynolds, "PING," *SOURCE: Music of the Avant-Garde* 3, No. 2, no. 6 (1969): 70–86.

19. Cacioppo 1969, 14.

20. "Karen Reynolds: Cross Talk," accessed October 25, 2022, http://karenreynolds.com/cross_talk.html

21. American Cultural Center, "Cross Talk Intermedia."

22. Cross Talk Intermedia Program [n.p.]

23. John Melby, "Sal's G.A.," *Perspectives of New Music* 34, no. 1 (1996): 196.

24. Karen Henson, "Of Voices, Hearts and Ghosts Saint-Saëns, 'Mon Cœur s'ouvre à Ta Voix' (Dalila), 'Samson et Dalila', Act II," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 28, no. 2 (2016): 228.

25. Danielle Fosler-Lussier, "American Cultural Diplomacy and the Mediation of Avant-Garde Music," in *Sound Commitments: Avant-Garde Music and the Sixties*, ed. Robert Adlington (Oxford University Press, 2009), 244.

26. Reynolds, "Cross Talk Intermedia I," 9.

27. Louis Althusser, *Lenin and Philosophy, and Other Essays* (Monthly Review Press, 2001), 101.

28. Cohen, "Sounds of the Cold War Acropolis," 687.

29. Reynolds, "Cross Talk Intermedia I," 2.

30. Reynolds, "Cross Talk Intermedia I," 9.

31. Reynolds, "Cross Talk Intermedia II," 9.

32. Reynolds, "Cross Talk Intermedia I," 3.

33. Reynolds, "Cross Talk Intermedia I," 10 and 5.

34. Yuasa et al., "Hirogerareta kūkan e no kairo—insaido repōto <Cross Talk / Intermedia> wa koushite hirakareta (The path to an expanded space—Cross Talk / Intermedia: An insider's report)," 96.

35. Yuasa et al., "Hirogerareta kūkan e no kairo," 134.

36. Yuasa et al., "Hirogerareta kūkan e no kairo," 97.

37. Yuasa et al., "Hirogerareta kūkan e no kairo," 134.

38. Yuasa et al., "Hirogerareta kūkan e no kairo," 134.

39. Tange 1969, n.p.

40. Okamoto 1969, n.p.

41. For the actual event, dancer Hijikata Tatsumi did not, in fact, take part. This shifted the original balance of equal representation at the event slightly. Hijikata decided in early February to pull out. Too close to change the program, his name appears in the published programs but he did not actually perform.

42. Reynolds, "Cross Talk Intermedia I."

43. Yuasa et al., "Hirogerareta kūkan e no kairo," 130.

44. Reynolds, "Cross Talk Intermedia II," 9.

45. Reynolds, "Cross Talk Intermedia II," 6–9.

46. Mizuno's US residency did not take place until 1973, but his work had already been performed at Lincoln Center in the mid-1960s.

47. Reynolds, "Cross Talk Intermedia I," 9.

48. Reynolds, "Cross Talk Intermedia I," 5.

49. Reynolds, "Cross Talk Intermedia I," 9.

50. Reynolds, "Cross Talk Intermedia II," 2.

51. Reynolds, "Cross Talk Intermedia II," 2.

52. Roger Reynolds, "Interlude: Language—I (Initial Contact with the Enemy)" (Institute of Contemporary World Affairs, January 24, 1967), 2.

53. Howard S. Becker, "Art As Collective Action," *American Sociological Review* 39, no. 6 (1974): 774; Howard Saul Becker, *Art Worlds*, Updated and expanded 25th anniversary ed. (University of California Press, 2008).

54. This account is based on an interview by the author with Karen and Roger Reynolds on June 15, 2017.

55. Stephen Soderberg and Roger Reynolds, "Beginnings—The Roger Reynolds Collection—Digital Collections," web page, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540 USA, accessed May 26, 2017, https://www.loc.gov/collections/roger-reynolds/articles-and-essays/interviews/an-interview-with-roger-reynolds/beginnings/

Chapter 4

1. Norimichi Goishi, "Nihon ni okeru banpaku to shakai kōzo no henka (Expositions and changes in social structure in Japan)," 2005, 56–75, http://www.jsc.fudan.edu.cn/view.php?id=484; Noi Sawaragi, *Sensō to Banpaku (War and World's Fairs)* (Bijutsu Shuppansha, 2005).

2. Midori Yoshimoto, "Textiles Pavilion: An Anomaly and Critique of Expo '70," *Review of Japanese Culture and Society* 23 (2011): 115.

3. Charles Yuji Horioka, "Consuming and Saving," in *Postwar Japan as History*, ed. Andrew Gordon (University of California Press, 1993), 71–73.

4. Laura Hein, "Growth Versus Success: Japan's Economic Policy in Historical Perspective," in *Postwar Japan as History*, ed. Andrew Gordon (University of California Press, 1993), 114.

5. Hein, "Growth Versus Success," 106.

6. Goishi, "Nihon ni okeru banpaku to shakai kōzō no henka," 57.

7. Shun'ya Yoshimi, *Hakurankai no seijigaku: Manazashi no kindai (The politics of world expositions: The visuality of modernity)* (Kodansha, 2010), 227; Ken'ichi Murashima, "Aa, dōdō no shingun: EXPO'70 (Ah, the bold advancing guards)," *Chūō Kōron* 85 (1970): 232–47.

8. Kōtarō Ikeguchi, "Nihonbankokuhaku no keizai kōka (The economic stimulus of the Japanese World's Fair)," *Tsūshōsangyōkenkyū* 14, no. 5 (n.d.): 34–35.

9. Katsuhiro Yamaguchi, "Expo'70—hassō kara kansei made: Tōtaru shiatā no kokoromi—Mitsui-kan (From inspiration to completion: Aspirations towards a 'total theater'—the Mitsui Pavilion)," *Bijutsu Techō* 326 (1970): 12–19; Noi Sawaragi, *Sensō to banpaku (War and World's Fairs)*, 97–98.

10. Tsutomu Kushima, *Maboroshi bankoku hakurankai (Fantastical World Exposition)* (Chikuma Shobō, 1998), 169.

11. Yamaguchi, "Expo'70—hassō kara kansei made, 12–13.

12. Yamaguchi, "Expo'70," 12. While Yamaguchi's term "total theater" resonates with the Wagnerian notion of "Gesamtkunstwerk" (total work of art) the ideas differ in the sense that the Gesamtkunstwerk implies the sum of all art forms united, to present a complete world of the Wagnerian opera. Borrowing the term from French scenographer Jacques Polieri, the lineage of total theater that Yamaguchi invokes is the collaboration between architect Le Corbusier, composer/architect Iannis Xenakis and composer Edgard Varèse at the Philips Pavilion at the Brussels World's Fair in 1958. Yamaguchi was also in conversation with the recent concept of "environment art," conceived of art taking place in a living multidimensional, interactive space.

13. For example, Goishi suggests that because the economic benefits of EXPO'70 (and other World's Fairs and other large events of a national scale) are measured in terms of associated projects (*kanrenjigyō*) such as the construction of new highways and transit hubs, it is difficult to say whether these projects would never have happened without the event that is said to have stimulated their creation. Goishi, "Nihon ni okeru banpaku to shakai kōzō no henka, (The Expo and changes in social structure in Japan)," 58.

14. Ichidan Satō, "Osaka banpaku (The Osaka World's Fair)," *New Leader* 13, no. 8 (2000): 57.

15. Shakaibu Yomiuri Shinbunsha, *Nippon kōgai rettō: Sono jittai to ōgai o ikasu aidea (Japan, archipelago of pollution: The real situation and ideas for improvement)* (Niho Shōken Shimbunsha, 1970).

16. Shun'ya Yoshimi, *Banpaku gensō: Sengo seiji no jubaku (The phantasm of expositions: The spell of postwar politics)* (Chikuma Shobō, 2005), 76; Katsuhiko Yamaji, *Ōsaka, nigiwai no hibi: Futatsu no bankoku hakurankai no kaibōgaku (Osaka, the lively days: An examination of two World's Fairs)* (Kansei Gakuin Daigaku Shuppankai, 2014), 260.

17. Etō, Mitsunori and Takemi Kuresawa, *Ōsaka banpaku ga enshutsu shita mirai: zen'ei geijutsu no sōzōryoku to sono jidai (The future as performed by the Osaka exposition: The avant-garde's power of imagination and its era)* (Seikyūsha, 2014), 86. See also Yamaji, *Ōsaka, nigiwai no hibi*, 283–94.

18. Yamaji, *Ōsaka, nigiwai no hibi*, 293.

19. Etō, Mitsunori and Kuresawa, *Ōsaka banpaku ga enshutsu shita mirai*, 49.

20. Yamaji, *Ōsaka, nigiwai no hibi*, 231.

21. Akiomi Hirano, ed., *20-seiki ga yumemita 21-seiki, Ōsaka banpaku: Expo'70 (The twenty-first century that the twentieth century dreamed of: Expo'70)*, Creative visual book / Shogakukan (Kabushiki Kaisha Shōgakkan Kurieitibu, 2014), 196.

22. Hirano, ed., *20-seiki ga yumemita 21-seiki, Ōsaka banpaku,* 209.

23. Katsuhiro Yamaguchi, "Osaka Banpaku kara 70 nendai e (From the Osaka Expo to the 1970s)," *Bijutsu Techō* 436 (July 1978): 220.

24. Yamaguchi, "Expo'70—hassō kara kansei made," 10.

25. Yoshimoto, "Textiles Pavilion," 113.

26. Yoshimoto, "Textiles Pavilion," 118.

27. Yoshimoto Midori notes, however, that Yokoo, who became an increasingly vocal critic of Expo'70, could not go to Expo after opening because he was hospitalized due to illness at the time of Expo'70. Yoshimoto, "Textiles Pavilion," 127.

28. Keiji Usami, "Expo'70—hassō kara kansei made: Supēsu Shiatā Tekkōkan ga tsukuru 'otoba' (From inspiration to completion: The 'soundspace' of the Space Theater, Steel Pavilion)," *Bijutsu Techō* 328 (1970): 13.

29. Yuasa Jōji, "Intabyū Yuasa Jōji Jikken Kōbō no seishin: Sōzō no bakufu 1950–70 (The spirit of Jikken Kōbō: A deluge of creativity 1950–70)," *Kōzui* 7 (2011): 63.

30. Jōji Yuasa, Interview by author, 31 July 2009.

31. Jōji Yuasa, *Jinsei no nakaba: Ongaku no hirakareta chihei e (In the middle of life: The ground that music opened)* (Keio Gijuku Daigaku Shuppankai, 1999), 37.

32. Jōji Yuasa, Interview by author, 10 January 2012.

33. Jōji Yuasa, Interview by author, 31 July 2009.

34. Kishō Kurokawa, *Metabolism in Architecture* (Studio Vista, 1977), 75.

35. Kurokawa, *Metabolism in* Architecture, 75. Italics added.

36. Murashima, "Aa, dōdō no shingun: EXPO'70 (Ah, the bold advancing guards)," 232.

37. Ichirō Hariu, "Kurutta ideorogī: Kokuisenyo to keizai gōri shugi (Crazed ideology: The national project and economic rationalism)," *Asahi Journal* 11 (1969): 5–10; Noi Sawaragi, *Sensō to banpaku (War and World's Fairs).*

38. Kuro DalaiJee, "Performance Art and/as Activism: Expo '70 Destruction Joint-Struggle Group," *Review of Japanese Culture and Society* 23 (2011): 161.

39. Art historian and curator Kuroda Raiji uses the term *hanpaku* to refer to anti-expo more than anti-War. See chapter 9 in KuroDalaiJee, *Nikutai no anākizumu: 1960-nendai Nihon bijutsu ni okeru pafōmansu no chika suimyaku (Anarchy of the Body: Undercurrents of Performance Art in 1960s Japan)* (Guramu Bukkusu, 2010).

40. KuroDalaiJee, *Nikutai no anākizumu*, 276–79.

41. NTT Intākomyunikēshon Sentā, *E.A.T.: Geijutsu to gijutsu no jikken (E.A.T.: The story of experiments in art and technology)* (NTT Shuppan, 2003), 93.

42. You Nakai, *Reminded by the Instruments: David Tudor's Music* (Oxford University Press, 2021), 277, https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780190686765.003.0006

43. Billy Klüver, *The Story of E.A.T., Experiments in Art and Technology, 1960–2001*, 2001, n.p.

44. Elsa Garmire, "E.A.T. Pepsi-Cola Pavilion: A Technical Description, March 1, 1970" (Tokyo, Japan, 1970), 8.

45. David Tudor, *The Art of David Tudor, 1963–1992* (New World Records, 2013).

46. Frances Dyson, "And Then It Was Now," 2014, https://www.fondation-langlois.org/html/e/page.php?NumPage=2157; Calvin Tomkins, "Outside Art," in *Pavilion*, ed. Billy Klüver et al. (E. P. Dutton, 1972). See also Klüver, Martin, and Rose (1972) for a detailed description of the project, and the conflict that took place between E.A.T. and Pepsi shortly after the start of the World's Fair.

47. Takashi Yodono, "Yodono, Takashi. "Expo'70 taishūron: 'Saishū sōsha' no jiyū to kodoku (The Expo'70 theory of mass culture: The freedom and loneliness of the 'last runners')." *Bijutsu Techō* 330 (1970): 210.

48. Yoshimi, *Banpaku gensō: Sengo seiji no jubaku (The phantasm of expositions: The spell of postwar politics)*, 83.

49. Getty Research Institute, Jean Brown Collection, E.A.T. Records, Series VII. C55 & 56 David Tudor at Pepsi Pavilion.

50. Yoriaki Matsudaira, "20.5 seiki no ongaku—tekunorojī e no sanka (The music of the 20.5th century: In praise of technology)," *Ongaku Geijutsu* 36 (1987): 38.

51. Mitsunori Etō and Takemi Kuresawa, *Ōsaka banpaku ga enshutsu shita mirai: Zen'ei geijutsu no sōzōryoku to sono jidai* (Seikyūsha, 2014), 124.

52. Yoshimoto, "Textiles Pavilion," 117.

53. Usami, "EXPO'70—Hasso kara kansei made: Supēsu Shiatā Tekkokan ga tsukuru 'otoba' (From inspiration to completion: The 'soundspace' of the Space Theater, Steel Pavilion)," 12.

54. Yūji Tanaka, *Denshi ongaku in Japan (Electronic music in Japan)* (Asupekuto, 2001), 38. See pp. 39–40 for a list of other electronic pieces featured at Expo'70.

55. Yoriaki Matsudaira, "Tekunopia no yume to maboroshi—EXPO'70—pabirion de no gendaiongaku (The dreams and illusions of technopia: EXPO '70—contemporary music in the pavilions)," *Ongaku Geijutsu* 45 (1987): 39.

56. Tanaka, *Denshi ongaku in Japan (Electronic music in Japan)*, 26.

57. http://www.parco-play.com/web/program/000474/

58. Viewing Tokyo Concerts as a kind of avant-garde genealogy of artists associated with institutions in the Shibuya (Seibu/Parco in the 1970s and '80s) and Aoyama-area (the Sogetsu Art Center in the 1960s) is worth noting for its contrast to another genealogy of centers based around Shinjuku, which was a major site for large-scale student protests during 1969. The difference is not simply a matter of medium (music vs. visual art), but also linked to political expression. Although many overlaps and exchanges between the two scenes certainly existed, scholars such as KuroDalaiJee position Shinjuku as the more radical of the two scenes (groups and people frequently associated with the Shinjuku scene include the groups Zero Jigen and Hi Red Center, the film production company Art Theater Guild, photographers such as Moriyama Daidō and Taki Kōji associated with the magazine *Provoke*). Though both are considered experimental by scholars today, the Sogetsu scene is more directly associated with intermedia art, and aesthetically, leaned more toward the transnational avant-garde, whereas the aesthetics of the Shinjuku scene has been associated with terms such as "anti-art," "non-art," "underground" with a subversive engagement

with radical politics of the time (KuroDalaiJee 2010, 288). The Shinjuku artists were much more vocal in their protest of Expo'70 than artists in the SAC scene.

59. Jōji Yuasa, Interview by author, July 31, 2009. Emphasis added.

Chapter 5

1. Expo'70 has many names, and these names each articulate a particular relationship to Expo'70. Its official name is the *Nippon Bankoku Hakurankai* (Japan World Exposition). On official logos, the words EXPO'70 appear Romanized and in capital letters. In everyday use, variations on each of these proliferated. *Banpaku*, which condenses the *BANkoku* and *HAKUrankai* (the "h" sound changes to a "p" sound) is a common abbreviation. Media outlets frequently used the terms *banpaku* and *Osaka banpaku* as well as *bankokuhaku*. Fans and children, however, claimed "EXPO" (pronounced *ekisupo*, based on a phonetic *katakana* spelling) to refer to their beloved event. In this chapter, I use Expo'70 to signify a neutral abbreviated designation that I equate to *banpaku*. However, at times I use EXPO (based on *ekisupo*) to signal the affective connections to the event held by fans and devotees.

2. Steinberg, *Anime's Media Mix*, viii.

3. Steinberg, *Anime's Media Mix*, xvi.

4. Tsing, *The Mushroom at the End of the World*, 66.

5. Nagahara, *Tokyo Boogie-Woogie*, 192.

6. Stewart, *Ordinary Affects*, 3.

7. Stewart, *Ordinary Affects,* 3.

8. The pavilion was named the Mitsubishi Miraikan (Mitsubishi Future Pavilion) in Japanese.

9. Hirano, *20-seiki ga yumemita 21-seiki*, 334.

10. Hirano, *20-seiki ga yumemita 21-seiki*, 333.

11. Hirano, *20-seiki ga yumemita 21-seiki*, 332.

12. Hirano, *20-seiki ga yumemita 21-seiki*, 332.

13. Tsutomu Kushima, *Maboroshi bankoku hakurankai (Fantastical World Exposition)* (Chikuma Shobō, 1998), 154.

14. Kushima, *Maboroshi bankoku hakurankai,* 154.

15. Muñoz, *Cruising Utopia*, 7.

16. Muñoz, *Cruising Utopia*, 116.

17. Minami, *Shōwa no uta geinin Minami Haruo: Sensō, yokuryū, hinkon, Gorin, banpaku (Minami Haruo, the song performer of the Shōwa era: War, perseverance, poverty, the Olympics, and the World's Fair)*, 186.

18. Minami, *Shōwa no uta geinin Minami Haruo,* 95.

19. Nagahara, *Tokyo Boogie-Woogie*, 56.

20. Nagahara, *Tokyo Boogie-Woogie,* 56.

21. Nagahara, *Tokyo Boogie-Woogie*, 56.

22. Kushima, *Maboroshi bankoku hakurankai (Fantastical World Exposition)*, 154.

23. "Haruo-Roid Minami/ TEICHIKU RECORDS." The vocaloid's Romanized name is "Hal-O-Roid" whereas the Japanese name is "Haruo-Roid Minami."

24. See Michael Coleman's video for documentation of the myriad ways that the sound

team attempted to update the original Godzilla's roar. *SoundWorks Collection—The Sound of Godzilla*.

25. "'Godzilla': The Secrets behind the Roar | EW.Com."

26. Allison, *Millennial Monsters*, 46.

27. "'Godzilla': The Secrets behind the Roar | EW.Com."

28. *Gamera tai daimajū Jaigā* was part of Daiei's *kaijū* film series based on the model of Toho's Godzilla films. The 1970 version was the sixth in the series.w

29. Konoike, "EXPO."

30. Kushima, *Maboroshi bankoku hakurankai (Fantastical World Exposition)*.

31. The magazine's documentation of EXPO played such a monumental role in the world-making of EXPO for young children that a copy of Issue 14 from 1970 rests in a time capsule created at the occasion of Expo. However, after 1970, changes in the content shifted with the rising age of its readership, to high-school and college age boys and young men.

32. "Kabuki-chō no arata na shinboru Gojira no tokubetsu jyūminhyō o haifu: Shinjuku-ku (Distribution of special residency certificates for Godzilla, new symbol of Kabuki-chō: Shinjuku-ward)."

33. In the twenty-first century, however, such under-the-radar transactions are continuing to change to incorporate platforms where fans from around the world can more easily use the online platform of the Godzilla Store to take part in a more profit-based economy of exchange of commoditized vintage Godzilla goods.

34. See also Anne Allison, *Millennial Monsters: Japanese Toys and the Global Imagination* (University of California Press, 2006) on the economies of exchange at work in combination with forms of modern capitalist principles.

35. Tsing, *The Mushroom at the End of the World*, 5.

36. Respini, *Walid Raad*, 141. Emphasis mine.

37. Stewart, *On Longing*, 136.

38. Hirano, *20-seiki ga yumemita 21-seiki, Ōsaka banpaku: Expo '70 (The twenty-first century that the twentieth century dreamed of: Expo '70)*, 314.

39. Nagahara, *Tokyo Boogie-Woogie*, 193.

40. Accessed March 12, 2016. http://www.dramonline.org/labels/experimental-intermedia-archive

41. "[Official] teamLab Borderless TOKYO, Azabudai Hills"

42. Muñoz, *Cruising Utopia*, 121.

Coda

1. Ono, *Grapefruit: A Book of Instruction and Drawings*, n.p.
2. Cohen, *Musical Migration and Imperial New York*, 180.
3. Ono, "The Word of a Fabricator [1962]," 137.
4. Ono, "The Word of a Fabricator [1962]," 136–37.
5. Ono, "The Word of a Fabricator [1962]," 137.
6. Cohen, *Musical Migration and Imperial New York*, 181.
7. Ono, "The Word of a Fabricator [1962]," 136.
8. Ono, "The Word of a Fabricator [1962]," 137.

9. Cohen, *Musical Migration and Imperial New York*, 181, 221.

10. Sagawa, *The Collected Poems of Chika Sagawa*, xx.

11. Sagawa, *The Collected Poems of Chika Sagawa*, xviii.

12. Williams, *Marxism and Literature*.

13. Yuki Kihara, サーモアのうた (Sāmoa no uta) A Song About Sāmoa—Vasa (Ocean) | Artist Interview. Accessed September 19, 2024. https://www.milfordgalleries.co.nz/dunedin/exhibitions/10614-Yuki-Kihara-S-moa-no-Uta-A-Song-About-S-moa-Vasa-Ocean?artist=232

14. For further discussion of Tomiyama's ongoing project of remembrance through her work, see Tomiyama, Hein, and Jennison, *Imagination without Borders*.

15. Passages from *Oto no seijaku seijaku no oto* (2009) by Takahashi quoted in *Hiruko and the Puppeteers: A Tale of Sea Wanderers*, 5. Bilingual book, with translation from the Japanese by Rebecca Jennison.

16. Fellezs, *Listen but Don't Ask Question*, 20.

17. Dirlik, "The Asia-Pacific Idea," 56.

18. Fellezs, *Listen but Don't Ask Question*.

19. Fellezs, *Listen but Don't Ask Question,* 22.

20. Azuma, *In Search of Our Frontier*, 267.

21. See, for example, Shigematsu and Camacho, *Militarized Currents toward a Decolonized Future in Asia and the Pacific*; Yoneyama, "Toward a Decolonial Genealogy of the Transpacific"; Yoneyama, *Cold War Ruins*; Espiritu, Lowe, and Yoneyama, "Transpacific Entanglements"; Lowe, *The Intimacies of Four Continents*.

22. Dirlik, "The Asia-Pacific Idea," 77.

23. As Kevin Fellezs reminds his readers, "there is more to the story of the Pacific than settler colonialism and imperialism, which tends to keep the focus on nonindigenous constructions of the transPacific" (Fellezs, *Listen but Don't Ask Question*, 22). Fellezs's point should not come as a surprise, but nonetheless bears repeating. His capitalization of the "Pacific" locates the Pacific at the center of transformative connections and historical relations, emphasizing that the Pacific is not merely blank space to be crossed over. A focus on the Pacific is more than simply a reversal of a center-periphery geopolitics and a shifted vantage toward former and current colonies.

24. Hau'ofa, "Our Sea of Islands," 150; "Yuki Kihara サーモアのうた (Sāmoa no uta) A Song About Sāmoa | Milford Galleries Dunedin."

25. "Yuki Kihara サーモアのうた (Sāmoa no uta) *A Song About Sāmoa* | Milford Galleries Dunedin."

26. Yuki Kihara, サーモアのうた *(Sāmoa* no uta*) A Song About Sāmoa—Vasa (Ocean)* | *Artist Interview*.

27. Yuki Kihara, サーモアのうた *(Sāmoa* no uta*) A Song About Sāmoa—Vasa (Ocean)* | *Artist Interview*.

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