

Ishimoto Yasuhiro's KATSURA—Reexamined and Revisited

Yasufumi Nakamori

Whenever a photographer "speaks" via his photographs, he may be likened . . . to a kind of visual linguist. By this analogy, then, Yasuhiro Ishimoto is a visual bilingualist: Japanese by heritage, his traditions of seeing are Oriental; Western by schooling at the Chicago Institute of Design (the contemporary center of the Bauhaus tradition), he speaks visual English with a German accent.

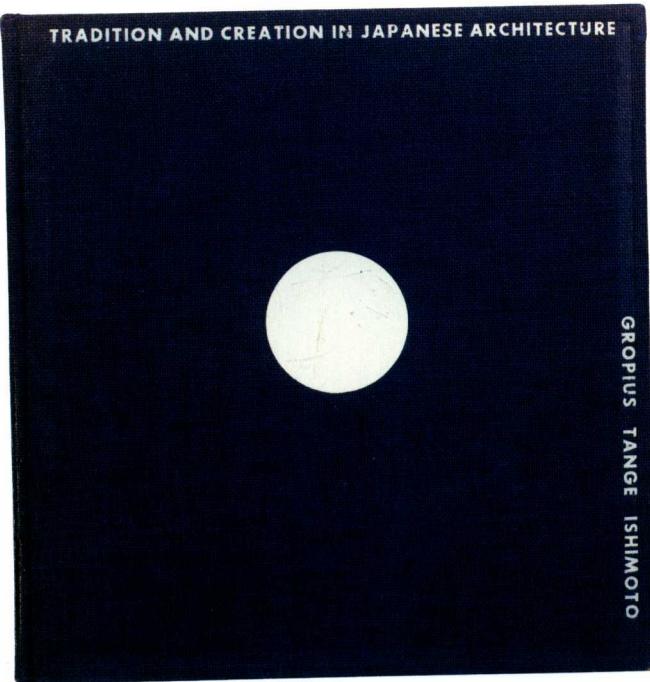
—Minor White, *Photographs by Yasuhiro Ishimoto*¹

In 1953 Ishimoto Yasuhiro (born 1921) [FIG. 1] returned to Japan after fourteen years in the United States, including four years of training in photography and basic design at the Illinois Institute of Technology's Institute of Design (also known as the "New Bauhaus" or simply the "ID"). Ishimoto's photography evinced a combination of the experimentalism and avant-gardism of the New Bauhaus (New Vision), the cool and detached documentation associated with the *Neue Sachlichkeit* (New Objectivity), and his teacher Harry Callahan's approach to photography as a personal medium to understand and reveal the relationship to everyday life. Ishimoto's images presented new and dynamic expressions to his Japanese audience. At the time, the country's cultural elite were struggling to define their own "modernity" in the post-occupation era. Ishimoto, with his "absentmindedness"² regarding Japan's past and the highly politicized notion of tradition at the time, visited and photographed the buildings and gardens of the seventeenth-century Katsura Imperial Villa (*Katsura Rikyū*) in Kyoto. There he compared the geometry of the villa's New Palace (page 103) to the gridlike composition of Piet Mondrian's paintings and the organic arrangement of the villa's stepping-stones (page 73) to Hans Arp's collages and sculptures. (In fact, he fiercely disagreed with Minor White's characterization, for at the time Ishimoto emphasized his New Bauhaus heritage over his Japanese heritage.) Soon his photographs drew critical attention from the prominent architect Tange Kenzō (1911–2005), who found that they resonated with his own photographic vision. Tange saw Katsura as a synthesis of tradition and modernity and had been examining and photographing such examples of Japanese premodern architecture in his pursuit of developing and contextualizing

Fig. 1 [OPPOSITE]

Ōtsuji Kiyoji, *Portrait of Ishimoto Yasuhiro*, c. 1953, gelatin silver print, printed 1991, collection of the Estate of Ōtsuji Kiyoji.





his postwar architectural designs. As an avid photographer, Tange was well aware of the magic that photography could render; it could focus on details, deconstruct, fragment, and reconstruct an architectural structure, and, through selection, cropping, and sequencing, could present a specific image of a building. He found Ishimoto's photography the perfect means to illustrate his discourse of Katsura in relation to his postwar designs.

The landmark book that resulted from Ishimoto's collaboration with Tange, *Katsura: Tradition and Creation in Japanese Architecture* [FIG. 2], is an outstanding example of the nuanced and complex relationship between photography and architecture. Published in 1960, this photographic publication presents a particularly fascinating case against the backdrop of the highly political environment of 1950s Japan. The book offered an entirely new and different approach to viewing the Katsura Imperial Villa, a former property of the imperial family. Two hundred pages long, it features approximately 135 black-and-white photographs, selected from about 300 shots that Ishimoto had taken and successfully developed of Katsura in 1953 and 1954. These images are accompanied by an essay by Tange and an introduction by the German Bauhaus architect Walter Gropius (1883–1969). Whereas the original layout of the photographs was prepared by Tange with the assistance of the Japanese graphic designer Kamekura Yūsaku (1915–1997), the cover and other design aspects of the publication were conceived by the acclaimed Bauhaus designer Herbert Bayer (1900–1985), who also commented on Tange's layout. Published by Yale University Press in the United States and by Zōkeisha in Japan, this book enjoyed international acclaim and was reprinted at least seven times in the United States. Due to the book's success, Ishimoto's images of Katsura gained wide circulation in the United States, Japan, and Europe. However, this success came, to some extent, at the expense of the young photographer's full artistic vision.

This new publishing endeavor, produced fifty years later, has a twofold objective. First, it reveals the original vision of Katsura that Ishimoto created by presenting his original prints, both in these pages and in an accompanying exhibition. These images are displayed as Ishimoto originally intended them, free of Tange's manipulations, such as sizing, cropping, and sequencing. Some of them were not even included in the 1960 book. Second, it examines the collaboration between Tange and Ishimoto, which resulted in *Katsura* as the architect's visual manifesto, rather than the photographer's. Although the two shared a photographic vision—which made the collaboration possible—their motivations to create a publication on Katsura differed vastly. Ishimoto, who had simply wanted to publish his first photo book, invited Tange to contribute an essay. Yet Tange then took the liberty of shifting his involvement from that of a mere essayist to a general editor and photo editor. In this capacity, with his modernist bias, he quickly recontextualized Ishimoto's vision of Katsura to fit his own architectural and ideological discourse,

Fig. 2

Front cover of *Katsura: Tradition and Creation in Japanese Architecture* (1960).

injecting Modernist photography into Japan's "tradition debate" (*dentō ronsō*) of the mid-1950s. In doing so, Tange put Ishimoto's photographs—which were once characterized as being "free of ideology"³ or "absentminded"⁴—in the service of his own agenda. However, until now little study has been made to uncover the exact nature of their collaboration and the involvement of others, such as Bayer and Gropius, in creating the extraordinary publication.

KATSURA IMPERIAL VILLA: PHOTOGRAPHY AND THE PURSUIT TO DEFINE MODERNITY
The Katsura Imperial Villa [FIG. 3] is among the most frequently debated examples of Japanese premodern architecture. Constructed in the mid-seventeenth century along the Katsura River in the southwest part of Kyoto, the villa comprises a complex of aristocratic dwellings (including the Old Shoin, Middle Shoin, and New Palace) built in the *shoin* residential style developed in the Momoyama period (1568–1603), four tea-ceremony houses (Shōkintei, Shōkatei, Shōiken, and Gepparō) in the vital *sukiya* style (a tearoom design of the same period), and one Buddhist hall, Onrindō, on exquisitely gardened grounds. Katsura was designed and constructed over the course of fifty years by Prince Toshihito (1579–1629) and Prince Toshitada (1619–1662), a father and son of the imperial Hachijō-no-miya family, and is believed to have been completed by 1663. Though the designer of the architecture is unknown, it has been suggested that numerous figures, particularly the tea-master Kobori Enshū (1579–1647), had been consulted in the design process.

Built over an extended period, the architecture reflects a wide variety of styles and construction techniques. According to the architect Isozaki Arata (born 1931), who has written extensively on Katsura, this diversity is in part informed by a massive stylistic shift in Japanese building history that took place during the Kan'ei era (1624–43), which overlapped with the initial stages of Katsura's development.⁵ Isozaki observes that Katsura shows a complicated depth and layering of styles in time and space, and that, as a result, the whole structure, including its garden, is "an assemblage" of various design styles, "an all-inclusive complex of mixed methods."⁶ While the architecture represents the force of Japanese tradition from the seventeenth century, it also shows ways in which Japanese cultural and architectural practices were created and transformed through negotiations, compromises, appropriations, and mergers that transpired over years.

Many other distinguished twentieth-century architects, including Bruno Taut (1880–1938), Horiguchi Sutemi (1895–1984), Walter Gropius, and Mori Osamu (1905–1988), have analyzed and reevaluated Katsura's architecture, often in relation to their own design directions and strategies. Seeing Katsura as "a text rich in ambiguity, where architectural languages of quite different formal and temporal inspiration are juxtaposed," Isozaki contends that "these layers of approach and language have made Katsura an object of incessant new reading strategies."⁷

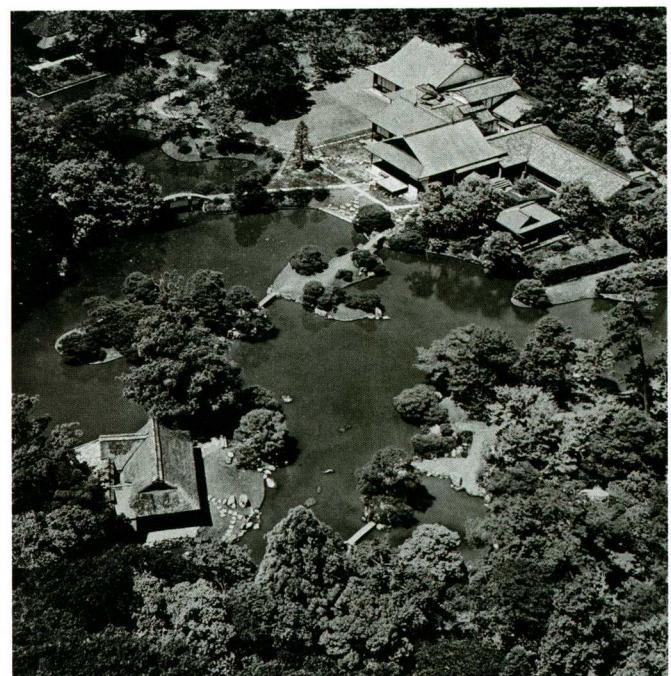


Fig. 3

Aerial view of Katsura Imperial Villa, a photograph by Iwamiya Takeji, as it appeared on page 49 of the 1972 edition of *Katsura: Tradition and Creation in Japanese Architecture*.

Katsura has been not only the subject of critical textual discourse but also of photographic representation. Indeed, Katsura's long history as a photographic subject demonstrates Japan's ongoing attempts to define modernity. The fact that images of this imperial property with extremely limited public access were mass-produced and widely circulated was a sign of the modern consciousness of the state. Early depictions of the villa, often in the hazy Pictorialist tradition, stand in dramatic contrast to Ishimoto's avant-garde depiction of the same architecture.

The first photographs of Katsura were made in 1872, when Yokoyama Matsusaburō (1838–1884) photographed it and made a series of albumen prints and stereocards [FIG. 4] as part of the Jinshin survey, the first survey in modern Japan to systematically examine and photograph its significant cultural property, initiated by the new Meiji government.⁸ The early twentieth century brought a number of commercial publishing endeavors dealing with Katsura, which made the villa accessible to the public through photography. In 1926, ten photographs of the villa taken by Ōtsuka Minoru were included in a special two-volume portfolio, *Treasure on One's Side* (*Zauhō*), published as *fukyūban*, or a reasonably priced edition on Japanese art and architecture. These images often portray Katsura as a static, nostalgic monument of the past.

An empirical approach to Katsura was undertaken by historian Kawakami Kunimoto (1883–death date unknown), who visited the villa several times between 1928 and 1932 to take measurements and to photograph the site. His findings

4

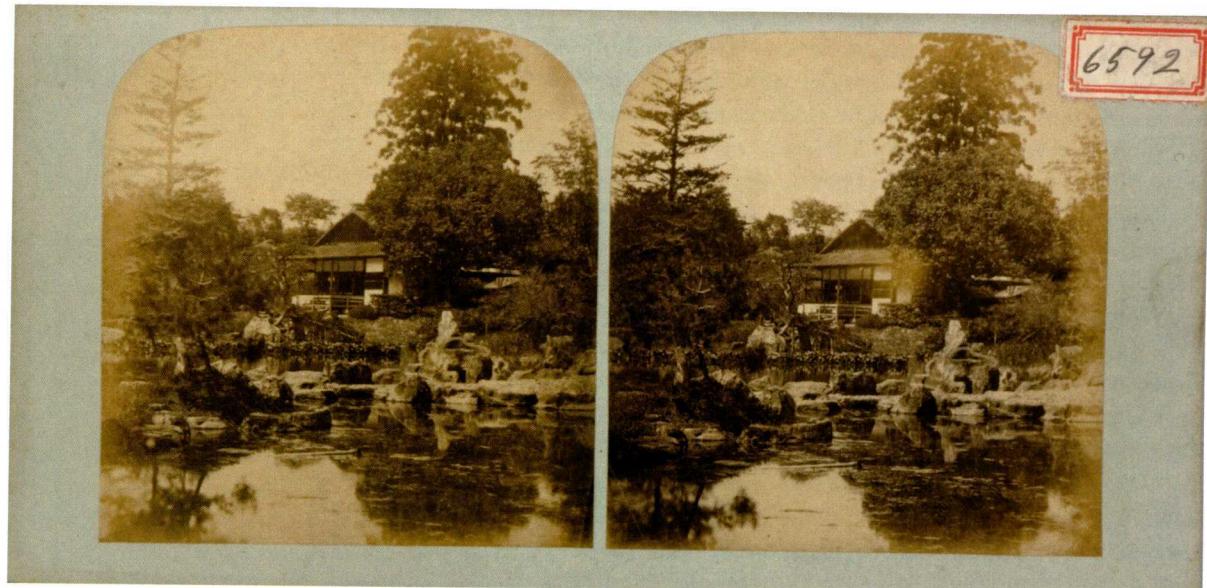


Fig. 4

Yokoyama Matsusaburō, Katsura-miya Oniwa Mae ([In front of the garden of] Katsura Imperial Palace), 1872, stereocard, the Tokyo National Museum, TNM
Image Archives Source: <http://TnmArchives.jp/>

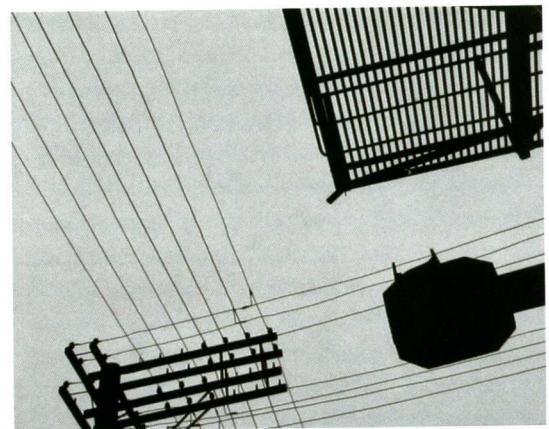
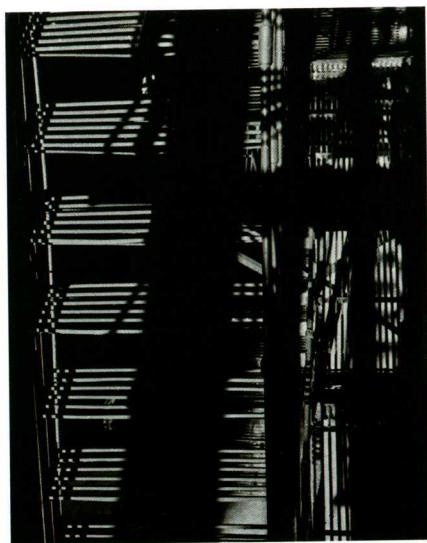
were published in 1932 in the two-volume book *Photography and Surveyed Map of the Katsura Imperial Villa* (*Katsura Rikyū oshashin oyobi jissokuzu*), whose many drawings and several hundred photographs of the architecture and gardens make it one of the most comprehensive visual studies of Katsura to date. Not long after, in 1934, Bruno Taut published another book on Katsura, *Gedanken über Katsura*, which consists of his own twenty-seven drawings and proselike short texts titled "Gedanken nach dem Besuch in Katsura, Kioto, Mai 1934" (Thoughts on a visit in Katsura, Kyoto, May 1934).⁹ While his impression of Katsura, epitomized by the statement "Katsura is eternal," inspired several Japanese architects to later produce their own books on Katsura's architecture, some architects, such as Kishida Hideto (1899–1966) and later his student Tange, resisted such nostalgic aestheticization of Katsura and pursued their own investigations.

In 1929, Kishida had published the important photographic book *Structures of the Past* (*Kako no kōsei*), which consists of texts and snapshots of premodern architecture, including the temples Hōryūji, Yakushiji, and Tōdaiji, as well as Kyoto Palace (Kyoto Gosho) and Katsura, focusing on the details of the structures and their ornaments, materials, and artifacts. Kishida himself took many of the photographs, and these modern images would later influence Tange.¹⁰

The 1950s marked a publishing boom for books on Katsura, at a time when the notion of tradition was reinvented in reaction to the Allied Forces' occupation of Japan. Among the many titles produced, architect Mori Osamu's *The Study of the Katsura Imperial Villa* (*Katsura Rikyū no kenkyū*) (1955) is outstanding for its extensive scholarly research on the history, cultural background, and architectural and garden designs of Katsura—research that took him more than twenty years to amass.¹¹ The architect Horiguchi Sutemi worked with photographer Satō Tatsuzō to examine the design of Katsura and to speculate on its patron and designer in the book *Katsura Imperial Villa* (*Katsura Rikyū*) (1953).¹² Horticulturist Niwa Teizō studied Katsura's stepping-stones and stone lanterns in *Garden Lanterns of Katsura* (*Katsura Rikyū no niwadōrō*) (1952) and *Stepping-stones of Katsura* (*Katsura Rikyū no tobiishi*) (1955). These books are worth noting for their unique empirical and photographic approach to locating every stepping-stone and lantern at Katsura. But none of these photographs revealed Katsura in such a visually avant-garde manner as those of Ishimoto. In most cases, the photographs, often anonymous and static, were merely used as illustrations to support the authors' standpoints.

An exception was *Form and Space in Japanese Architecture*, a visually remarkable 1955 publication by the American architect Norman F. Carver, Jr. (born 1928). Trained in architecture by Vincent Scully at Yale University, he shot Katsura and other sites while in Japan on a Fulbright scholarship between 1953 and 1955. Equipped with a medium-format Hasselblad camera, Carver approached Kyoto as a photographic site more freely and flexibly than Ishimoto, who used a large-format camera. Some of Carver's images resonated with those of Ishimoto,

5/6/7



8

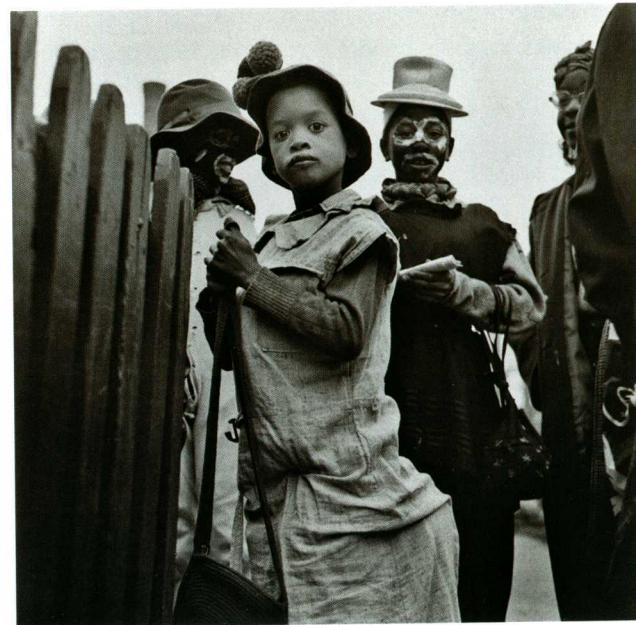


Fig. 5

Ishimoto Yasuhiro, *Untitled*, c. 1951, gelatin silver print, the Museum of Art, Kōchi, gift of the artist.

Fig. 6

Ishimoto Yasuhiro, *Untitled*, c. 1954, chromogenic print, the Museum of Art, Kōchi, gift of the artist.

Fig. 7

Ishimoto Yasuhiro, *Untitled*, c. 1951, gelatin silver print, the Museum of Art, Kōchi, gift of the artist.

Fig. 8

Ishimoto Yasuhiro, *Untitled*, c. 1951, gelatin silver print, the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, museum purchase, 2009.118.

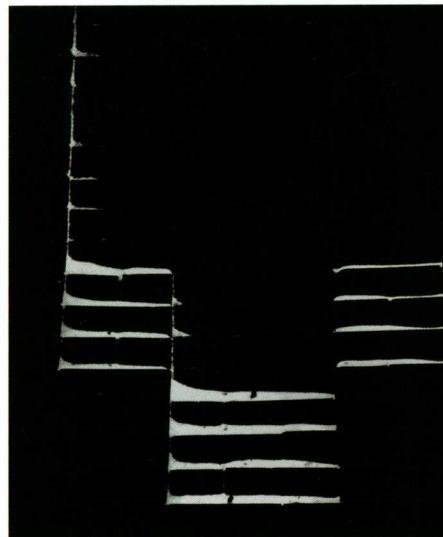
and the two shared similar visions in their portrayal of the premodern buildings, particularly Katsura's Shōkintei tearoom. Both employed a photographic frame to capture the architecture's geometric body, while omitting the thatched roof.¹³ Recognizing this similarity, Ishimoto recalls that he discussed with Carver his way of seeing Katsura, but noted that Carver's photographs of Katsura were published first. Carver also acknowledges that there was a quiet rivalry between the two.¹⁴

Yet aside from Carver's images, Ishimoto's photographs of Katsura, when compared with the previous photographic expressions, undeniably demonstrate his originality and avant-gardism. It is thus imperative to trace his art back to his education at the New Bauhaus in order to fully understand Ishimoto's Katsura.

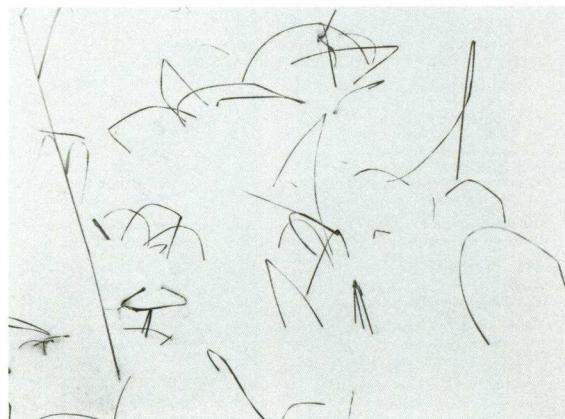
ISHIMOTO'S WAYS OF SEEING: AN EDUCATION IN CHICAGO

In 1948, at the age of twenty-seven, Ishimoto enrolled at the Institute of Design (ID) of the Illinois Institute of Technology (IIT), where he received comprehensive training in photography and basic design, eventually earning a B.S. in photography.¹⁵ Under the directorship of the Hungarian émigré László Moholy-Nagy (1895–1946), the mission of the ID faculty was to apply the principles of the German Bauhaus, modified for an American context, to the training of "universal designers" who would unite art, industry, and technology. Independently, Ishimoto had earlier gained exposure to the Bauhaus and ID philosophy of experimental vision through the books *Vision in Motion* (1947) by Moholy-Nagy and *Language of Vision* (1944) by György Kepes (1906–2001), which served as his theoretical foundation.¹⁶

During Ishimoto's studies at the Institute between 1948 and 1952, his teachers included Harry Callahan (1912–1999) and Aaron Siskind (1903–1991). Callahan, as a newly appointed chair of the photography department, redirected the Institute's photography program, shifting its focus from German Bauhaus experimentalism toward a more personal and subjective way of photographic seeing.¹⁷ As one of his early students, Ishimoto directly benefited from the shift, which broadened his vision. Ultimately, he not only acquired traditional Bauhaus photographic and design skills [FIGS. 5 AND 6], but also learned from Callahan's personal, intuitive, abstract perspectives and Siskind's documentary photography [FIG. 8]. Various assignments given as part of the Institute's required basic curriculum and its photography foundation course (such as producing an image that was 90 percent sky) [FIG. 7] shaped and nurtured Ishimoto's conceptual, visual, and technical skills. Callahan was undeniably a major influence on Ishimoto, although the Japanese photographer recalls having seen only three photographs by Callahan while a student.¹⁸ He taught the young student the act of photographic seeing and the importance of having the "willingness simply to let things happen, and a sheer persistence and commitments" so that he could "transform his initial impetus into something that was highly innovative."¹⁹ One of Ishimoto's early photographs, a delicate black-and-white image of snow-covered steps [FIG. 9], responds to Callahan's *Weeds in Snow, Detroit* (1943) [FIG. 10]. Whereas Callahan



9



10

Fig. 9

Ishimoto Yasuhiro, *Untitled*, c. 1951, gelatin silver print, the Museum of Art, Kōchi, gift of the artist.

Fig. 10

Harry Callahan, *Weeds in Snow, Detroit*, 1943, gelatin silver print, the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, gift of Charles S. Zucker, 91.1586.

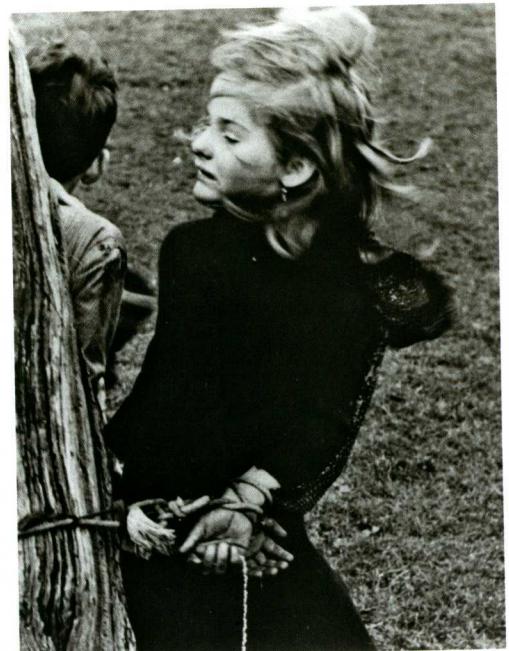
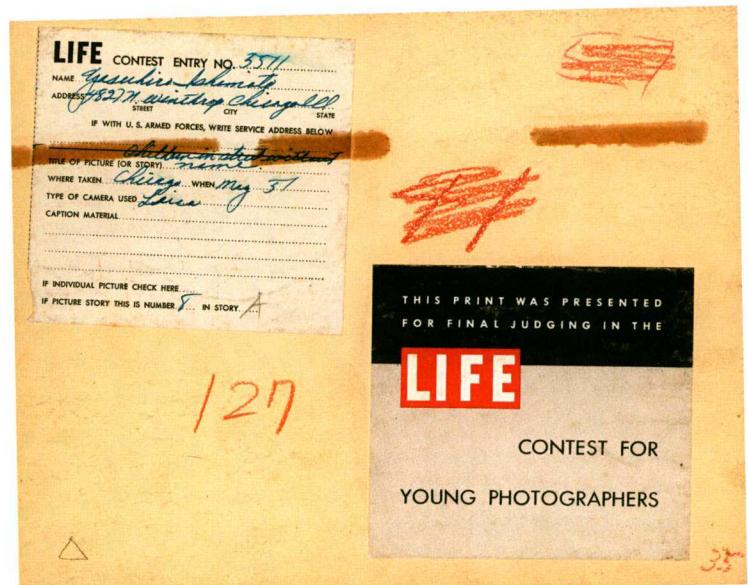


Fig. 11
Front and back of Ishimoto Yasuhiro's *Untitled*, c. 1950, gelatin silver print, the Museum of Art, Kochi, gift of the artist.

Fig. 12
Ishimoto Yasuhiro, *Untitled*, c. 1951, gelatin silver print, the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, gift of the artist in memory of Ishimoto Shigeru, 2009.198.

captured delicate, minute weeds that appear like line drawings against the white snow, Ishimoto, who was well aware of his teacher's image, captured a dusting of white snow on dark steps. Both images compress three-dimensionality into a highly controlled, two-dimensional black-and-white realm, creating a visual effect of positives and negatives.

As an undergraduate student at the ID, Ishimoto twice won the prestigious Moholy-Nagy Award, given to the best photography student at the Institute. He was also recognized in 1950 for his photographs of children in the *Life* magazine Young Photographers contest [FIG. 11], which was extremely popular among emerging talents in photography. (Robert Frank entered a year later.) As soon as Ishimoto graduated, Callahan introduced Ishimoto as one of his best students to Edward Steichen (1879–1973), curator and director of the department of photography at the Museum of Modern Art, New York (MOMA). Shortly thereafter, Steichen included Ishimoto in a group exhibition of twenty-five emerging photographers, *Always the Young Strangers*, in 1953.²⁰ Though he was fresh out of school, Ishimoto's career as a photographer seemed relatively secure, but he was firmly determined to return to Japan, where his farming family resided.²¹

Trusting the young photographer's eyes, Steichen gave Ishimoto two missions upon his return to Japan: first, to find additional Japanese photographers for his upcoming exhibition *The Family of Man* (1955), which would feature two of Ishimoto's photographs [FIGS. 8 AND 12] and would later travel to Japan²²; and second, to assist Arthur Drexler (1925–1987), MOMA's curator of architecture and design, who was scheduled to arrive in Tokyo for exhibition research days after Ishimoto's arrival.

Ishimoto's U.S. contacts included not only photographers but also architects who were important in midcentury Chicago, including Ludwig Mies van der Rohe (1886–1969), Buckminster Fuller (1895–1983), and Konrad Wachsmann (1901–1980), each of whom saw the city and the ID/ITT as test sites for new design ideas and methodologies. During Ishimoto's time in Chicago, Mies chaired the architecture program at the IIT, while Wachsmann taught at the ID.²³ Often given special assignments, such as photographing a thesis exhibition, Ishimoto, as a student, had once photographed Mies [FIG. 13] and was acquainted with Wachsmann. These encounters evince the interdisciplinary nature of education at the ID and the close relationships cultivated between the student body and the faculty.

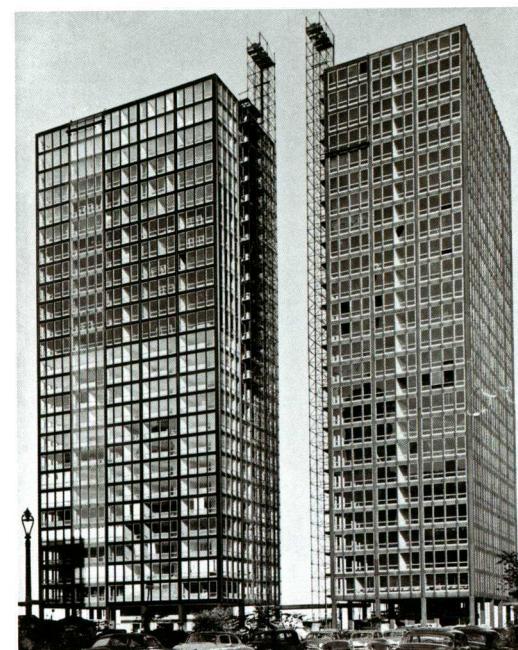
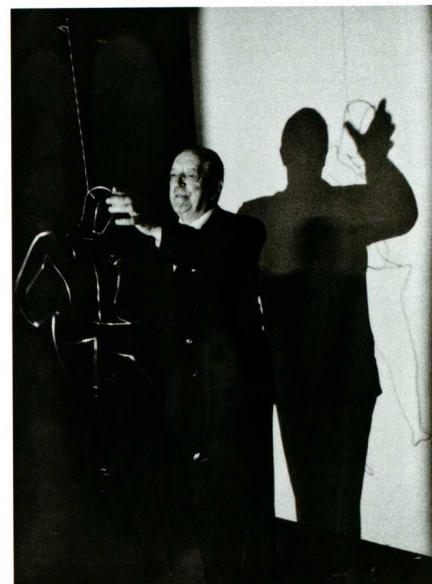
During his junior year, about 1951, Ishimoto was assigned a project that involved learning to rotate the lens of a large-format view camera (a technique known as a "tilt and swing"). He chose to photograph Mies's nearly completed Lake Shore Drive Apartments (1948–51) [FIG. 14] in Chicago, emphasizing its geometric structure of iron and glass. This assignment was the only time he photographed architecture while a student, yet it had a significant and lingering impact on him and influenced the way he later visualized Katsura.

Fig. 13

Ishimoto Yasuhiro, *Untitled* (Mies van der Rohe), c. 1951, gelatin silver print, the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, gift of Harry Reasoner in honor of Macey Reasoner at "One Great Night in November, 2009," 2010.13.

Fig. 14

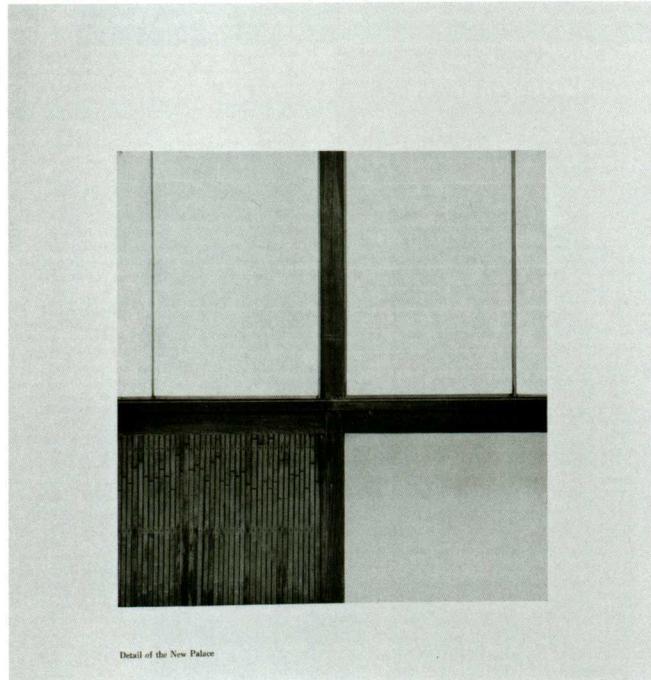
Ishimoto Yasuhiro, *Untitled* (Lake Shore Drive Apartments), c. 1951, gelatin silver print, collection of the artist.



15



16



ISHIMOTO'S VISION OF KATSURA

On March 19, 1953, Ishimoto returned to Japan after fourteen years in the United States. Following the directive of Steichen, Ishimoto accompanied Arthur Drexler in his research. (Steichen himself would later make his first visit to Japan—and Katsura—in 1956 when *The Family of Man* traveled to several locations in Japan [FIG. 15]). Together with the Japanese architect Yoshimura Junzō (1908–1997), who taught at the Tokyo College of Art, they traveled to Kyoto, Shiga, and Nara in search of architecture on which to base the construction of a Japanese structure to be featured in the exhibition *House in the Garden* in MOMA's Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Sculpture Garden in 1954 and 1955.²⁴ Their itinerary included stops at various temples, shrines, gardens, and *minka* houses of premodern design in Japan's ancient capitals, including the Kamigamo Shrine, Kyoto Palace, Shūgakuin Villa, the temple Onjōji (also known as Miidera), and Katsura.²⁵ At the time, and until 1955, Katsura was still closed to the general public, its management having been transferred to the current Imperial Household Agency. Only an extremely limited number of visitors was allowed, and special permission and an appointment were required to visit the villa, with priority often given to the former imperial family members and to distinguished personnel from abroad.

Among the architectural sites Ishimoto viewed on that trip, the Katsura Imperial Villa made the deepest impact on him. He was particularly taken with its garden and numerous stepping-stones. There, using his large-format 4 × 5 German Linhof camera, he became absorbed in photographing the organically shaped and arranged stepping-stones surrounded by moss found throughout Katsura's garden. He was also struck by the post-and-beam structure of the villa's New Palace architecture [FIG. 16], pronouncing, "Katsura is Mondrian-esque!" He later recalled:

When I visited Katsura for the first time last year, I found its garden's stepping-stones particularly interesting.... Of course the stones are natural, but the selection and combination of their forms, colors, and textures were impressive. What I found most amazing, after making one round of these combinations, is that these are not simply passages, they played a role in adjusting hues by form, size (i.e., large and small), and color, meaning that the placement of the stones is carefully thought out, in a sense [to accommodate] the angle for a certain way of walking, to psychologically guide people to other parts of the garden or the next building, or to create an atmosphere.²⁶

The architecture critic Hamaguchi Ryūichi (1916–1995), who had met Ishimoto in Chicago in the fall of 1952 and the following year had introduced the photographer to Tange, his classmate at the Tokyo Imperial University, saw Ishimoto's photographs of the stepping-stones (pages 73–78 and 155) in the 1954 exhibition *Today's Focus: From the History of Japanese Art (Gendai no me: Nihon bijutsushi kara)* at the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo. Finding these images unusually

Fig. 15

Unknown photographer, *Untitled* (Edward Steichen at Katsura), c. 1956, gelatin silver print, collection of Uchida Michiko, Tokyo.

Fig. 16

Page from *Katsura* (1960) showing Ishimoto Yasuhiro's 1954 photograph captioned "Detail of the New Palace."

intriguing and powerful, Hamaguchi thought that Ishimoto had cropped them to reveal the sculptural aspect of the stone, its solidity and texture, and above all the essence of stone as design.²⁷ These images by Ishimoto demonstrate characteristics of the post-World War I artistic movement *Neue Sachlichkeit* (New Objectivity), which emphasized a photographer's rigorous and close observation and brought a sharply focused, documentary, and typological quality to the art of photography. What Hamaguchi did not know is that Ishimoto did *not* crop the photographs to achieve this effect; rather, he framed them tightly in his view-finder as he photographed the stones. Ishimoto's unconventional images of the stones demonstrate his highly original photographic way of seeing, informed by his curiosity and his grasp of formalism, experimentalism, and objectivity.

This revelation of Katsura as a modern subject led Ishimoto to return to Katsura in May 1954, about a year later. This time, he spent one month there, with the self-imposed mission to photograph the entirety of the villa. As a U.S. citizen (he did not become a naturalized Japanese citizen until 1969), he was able to gain permission without difficulty from the Imperial Household Agency to access and photograph the site for one month. Staying at the renowned (and expensive) inn Tawaraya (the astronomically high bill for which would later infuriate his father), Ishimoto made daily visits to Katsura with his Linhof camera, four lenses (90 mm, 120 mm, 150 mm, and 210 mm), and a handheld flash, shooting approximately six hundred frames in total. The flash was necessary for illuminating the dim interiors of the villa's pavilions, and consistent lighting was often difficult to achieve. Unfortunately, half of the film was ruined in developing by a local, inexperienced camera shop. Ishimoto had the rest of the film developed after he returned to Tokyo. Soon after, these images, showing the entirety of Katsura, would awe critic Hamaguchi Ryūichi and architect Horiguchi Sutemi as well as Tange. This body of work would become a foundation of the 1960 publication *Katsura*.

ISHIMOTO AND TANGE: TWO WARTIME EXPERIENCES

Ishimoto first met Tange shortly after the photographer's initial trip to Katsura in 1953 [FIG. 17]. There were a few important similarities between Ishimoto and Tange. Both were trained in design and were passionate about photography. (Ishimoto had briefly studied architecture at Northwestern University before enrolling at the ID, whereas Tange had enrolled in Nihon University's film department for two years before studying architecture at the Tokyo Imperial University.) To different extents, both also had overseas experiences while growing up during the period of Japan's aggressive territorial expansion. However, their backgrounds varied considerably, as did their vastly different wartime experiences—which likely affected their later, disparate notions of “tradition.”

Born in 1921 to Japanese immigrant farmers in San Francisco, Ishimoto spent his first three years there before his family returned to their home in Kōchi Prefecture



Fig. 17

Unknown photographer, *Untitled*
(Ishimoto Yasuhiro, Tange Kenzō,
and Katō Toshiko), c. 1956,
gelatin silver print, collection
of Uchida Michiko, Tokyo.



on Japan's Shikoku Island.²⁸ In contrast, Tange was born in Osaka, Japan, in 1911, and his father, a successful banker, soon took his family to China, where he worked for just under a decade at the branch of a prestigious Japanese commercial bank, first in Hankou and later in Shanghai.²⁹ Both families were part of Japan's growing migrant population: whereas the Tanges were privileged business expatriates, the Ishimotos were economic refugees seeking better opportunities. Both returned to Japan in the early 1920s.

Unlike Tange, who had gone to an elite high school in Hiroshima and had eventually entered the nation's top architecture program in the engineering department of the prestigious Tokyo Imperial University, Ishimoto completed his high school education at a local agricultural school and then chose to return to the United States alone, encouraged by his progressive-minded mother to leave Japan at the beginning of the nation's war years. She believed that he would be better off abroad when the war began and wanted him to further his education in California, taking advantage of his U.S. citizenship. In 1939, Ishimoto arrived in California, where he worked first as a farmhand for a family from Kochi in Hayward while attending a nearby junior college. He then enrolled at the University of California, Berkeley, where he studied agriculture. At the farm, a friend named Mr. Kubota taught Ishimoto how to develop photographic film. Soon after, following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Ishimoto and thousands of others of Japanese descent were sent to internment camps in the summer of 1942—under Executive Order 9066. Ishimoto's eventual destination was the Granada Relocation Center (also known as Camp Amache) in southern Colorado. He spent almost two and a half years there, working as a fireman and learning silk-screening skills. Ishimoto's first substantial encounter with photography also occurred in the internment camp [FIG. 18]. A fellow internee, George Inoue, taught him photography skills, from setting exposure times to developing film and enlarging prints. Ishimoto also met another photographer-internee, Toshi Matsumoto, who would later move to New York and work for such popular magazines as *Harper's Bazaar* and *Vogue*. However, Ishimoto had to wait until Japan lost the Battle of Midway in June 1942 to have his own camera shipped to the camp. While in the Bay Area, he had purchased his first camera, a Kodak 35 mm, but had to leave it behind with his employer when he was forced to move to the internment camp.³⁰

Ishimoto was released from the camp in early 1945, after the U.S. Supreme Court, in *Ex parte Mitsuye Endo*, 323 U.S. 283 (1944), held that the United States could not continue to detain a citizen whom the government conceded was loyal to the country. Given two hundred dollars as compensation, he chose to go to Chicago because he was not allowed to move to any coastal city due to his classification as a "returning second-generation Japanese" (*kibei nisei*). Ishimoto saw the defeat of Japan and the end of the war as a silk-screen artist working in the Windy City.

Fig. 18
Ishimoto Yasuhiro, *Untitled*
(Camp Amache, Colorado),
c. 1944, gelatin silver print,
collection of the artist.

A more drastic reversal of fortune awaited Tange at the end of the war. He had led a seemingly privileged life as a young architect, working in the office of architect Maekawa Kunio (1905–1986) and later enrolling in Tokyo Imperial University's graduate school in 1941. In August 1945, he saw the almost simultaneous deaths of his parents in Imabari, a city on the northern tip of Shikoku Island facing Hiroshima across the Inland Sea. Having heard that his father was ill and near death, Tange had boarded a westbound train from Tokyo and was only an evening away from Hiroshima when he heard that an atomic bomb had been dropped on that city. When he reached Imabari, he saw a nearly decimated city and learned that his father had died and that his mother had been killed only a few days later by a firebomb.³¹

As different as Ishimoto's and Tange's experiences after the collapse of Japan's imperialist, fascist government may have been, these experiences prompted each of them to construct a new visual image of postwar Japan through design and photography—though their manners, methodologies, and attitudes would vary. Ishimoto, who had once desired to return to Japan as an architect, was now determined to become a photographer. This desire stemmed from a magazine article he had read at a Japanese grocery store in Chicago about the fortieh prime minister of Japan, Tōjō Hideki (1884–1948), a former general in the Japanese Imperial Army. The article speculated on the fate of the war criminal and argued that photography could play an important role in how he is portrayed. Ishimoto was thus inspired to photographically capture Japan in a way that would be pertinent in a postwar setting. However, his plan was devoid of any particular ideological or political intent.³²

During the war, Tange's romantic inclination toward the war was evidenced by his appreciation of Japanese Romantic literature (*Nihon Rōman-ha*) (in particular the literature of Yasuda Yojurô [1910–1981]) and by his winning design entries for the Memorial to the Creation of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere (1942) and the Japan-Thailand Friendship Hall (1943) in Bangkok, in which he incorporated the expressions of Japanese traditional designs, such as Ise Shrine and Kyoto Palace, using modern technologies and materials (such as reinforced concrete).³³ In these unbuilt designs, Tange attempted to create an architecture that departed from the nationalistic and eclectic *teikan-heigō* (Imperial Crown) style—which combined a Japanese-style castlelike rooftop with a Western-style geometrical structure—and from the Western, modernist white box, which he rejected as a "utilitarian porcelain container" (*eisei tōki*).³⁴ As an admirer of Le Corbusier, Tange wanted to incorporate meaningful expressions of premodern Japanese architecture into his own modernist designs.³⁵ After the war, he jettisoned his nationalistic past and began to design and reconstruct war-devastated cities such as Imabari, Hiroshima, and Maebashi, soon winning the 1949 competition to create the Hiroshima Peace Center, including the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum, the design of which was based in part on Katsura as well as on the eighth-century Shōsōin, the temple



treasure house of Tōdaiji in Nara constructed in the *azekura* log-cabin style. In fact, his visual interpretation of Katsura would serve as a critical tool for Tange in the political shift from the wartime to the postwar years as a means of upholding his design strategy (as seen in his use of premodern architectural expressions in modern design) under the two opposing political regimes.

ISHIMOTO IN THE CULTURAL MILIEU OF POSTWAR JAPAN

Upon his return to Japan in 1953, Ishimoto soon found himself in the midst of a vibrant, cultural postwar scene. His friendship with Tange flourished, despite their differences in age, achievement, status, and ideology, and Tange helped the newly returned photographer to launch his career. Ishimoto participated in the Committee on International Design (known as the Japan Design Committee), which Tange had helped found in 1953 [FIG. 19]. The architect often invited Ishimoto to various social gatherings; he even served as a *nakōdo* (symbolic matchmaker) at Ishimoto's marriage in 1956 to Kawamata Shigeru (1926–2006), an assistant to the legendary avant-garde flower-arrangement master Teshigahara Sōfū (1900–1979). Through this professional and social relationship, Tange in turn became well acquainted with Ishimoto and his photography.

The artistic collectivism that flourished in postwar Japan supported Ishimoto's emergence in Japan's art world. After the war, many Japanese artists, buoyed by their regained freedom of expression, gathered to discuss subjects such as technology, modernity, and an interdisciplinary approach to art as they searched for their own artistic identities. These discussions were also stimulated by information on modern art from Europe and North America disseminated through the print media and sometimes through exhibitions. During this time, a number of collectives emerged in the realm of visual arts, including Gutai Art Association in Osaka and the Tokyo-based Jikken Kōbō/Experimental Workshop, Guraifikku Shūdan (Graphic Artists' Collective), and the Japan Design Committee. Although the degree and manner of collaboration differed from collective to collective, the 1950s were marked, as art historian Reiko Tomii suggests, by a shift toward a socialist and utopian collectivism of artists, changing the way many artists identified themselves.³⁶

The mission of the Japan Design Committee, which initially consisted of fifteen ambitious industrial designers, architects, and artists, was to select a project for the Milan Design Triennial, and the committee members gathered monthly to select the best design items made in Japan for commercial launch at the Matsuya department store in the Ginza shopping district of Tokyo. One of the goals of the committee was to elevate the status of craft to that of modern design, without losing the force of Japanese tradition. The group's meetings were often followed by an informal dinner and drinks, during which committee members introduced their own projects, investigated the meaning of tradition in modern Japanese design, and passionately and candidly exchanged ideas.³⁷

Fig. 19

Unknown photographer, *Untitled* (Tange Kenzō and Okamoto Tarō in discussion at the Japan Design Committee), c. 1954, gelatin silver print, collection of the Japan Design Committee.

Tange and other committee members were eager to hear about Ishimoto's experience at the New Bauhaus and were awed by the intense formalism and high design qualities of his photographs.³⁸ Ishimoto's participation in the committee allowed him to develop a meaningful relationship with Japan's artistic leaders. The photographer Ōtsuji Kiyoji (1923–2001), an important member of Jikken Kōbō,³⁹ recalled the circumstances under which he had met the photographer in 1954: "When I met Ishimoto at a coffee shop in Shinjuku...he brought with him a mountain of his own photographs, all astonishingly accomplished. They were photographs of a great formal quality found in the street that I, too, had been trying to create. I felt very close to him in substance....I received prewar design training from Yamawaki Iwao, who studied architecture at the Bauhaus, and I thought that Ishimoto and I were heading towards a similar direction through our Bauhaus connection."⁴⁰ With Ōtsuji and the artist Tsuji Ayako, Ishimoto created a short experimental film *Cinecaligraph* (1955), named by Takiguchi Shūzō (1903–1979), an eminent Surrealist critic and poet and one of the leading figures in the Japan Design Committee. Inspired by a film-based experiment by Norman McLaren (1914–1987), which was introduced to the group by Ishimoto, they shot a 16 mm film of a cityscape and then painted, scratched, and poured an emulsion on it. The film, accompanied by a sound piece by Igor Stravinsky, was shown at the second exhibition of GuraFikku Shūdan.⁴¹

The Japan Design Committee provided Ishimoto with a Japanese alternative to the interdisciplinary Institute of Design, and he certainly played a key role in Tokyo's art world by injecting it with the Bauhaus aesthetic and synergy of collectivism. Yet Ishimoto ultimately chose instead to produce art on an individual basis. This decision was based in part on having observed, during his years in Chicago, the effects of McCarthyism and how socially progressive artistic collectivism was often the target of government censorship and persecution.⁴² Arguably this was also the reason why Ishimoto often preferred to photograph nonpolitical subjects. Ultimately, what is critical in his images is not the subject matter, but the way in which they open up and speak to a viewer. His tone may be neutral—or "absentminded"⁴³ or "ideology-free"⁴⁴—but he had undeniably innovative visual methods of transforming the seemingly ordinary into the extraordinary.

Ishimoto soon received a fair amount of critical attention: not only did he publish his photographs in magazines and journals of art, photography, and architecture, but he also exhibited them and shared his educational methodologies through articles, guest lectures, and informal get-togethers.⁴⁵ In spring 1954, Takiguchi Shūzō gave Ishimoto his first solo exhibition in Japan. A weeklong exhibition was held at Takemiya Gallery, located in the Kanda section of downtown Tokyo, which was at the time one of the centers of Japanese avant-garde art.⁴⁶ In this exhibition, Ishimoto presented some of the photographs he had shot in Chicago (such as his light experiments, images of African American children, and those of the legs of beachgoers at the boathouse at Chicago's North Shore Lake Beach);



he also showed a pair of bamboo sculptures and an installation involving a photograph and a suspended ashtray to reference a recent debacle in the Japanese parliament.⁴⁷ His interdisciplinary approach and social criticism were indicative of his training at the ID.

At the same time, Ishimoto quickly became known in Japan's museum scene as a representative of the contemporary photographic trends of the United States. From August 29 to October 4, 1953, the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo, presented its first photography exhibition, *The Exhibition of Contemporary Photography: Japan and America (Gendai shashin-ten: Nihon to Amerika)*, organized by three Japanese photography specialists, including Ima Nobuo (1898–1978), with Edward Steichen of the Museum of Modern Art, New York. Ishimoto was featured as one of thirty American photographers, and his works appeared alongside many of the photographers championed by Steichen, such as Ansel Adams, Berenice Abbott, Walker Evans, and John Szarkowski.⁴⁸ The canonical nature of the exhibition, the first to validate photography as an artistic medium at Japan's newly established but influential first museum of modern art, helped to establish Ishimoto's status as an emerging photographer in Japan.

Ishimoto recalls that, with his reputation on rise, he was contacted by the Japanese publisher David-sha, which expressed an interest in publishing his photographs of Katsura. After completing his photography of Katsura in May 1954, Ishimoto was given a book contract with the publisher and discussed with its young editor, Kobayashi Hideo (c. 1926–death date unknown), whom they should ask to contribute an essay to accompany his photographs. In 1955, they selected Tange Kenzō because he represented the younger generation of architects and had expressed admiration for Ishimoto's "humanism and extraordinary ability to create forms."⁴⁹

TANGE'S WAYS OF SEEING

Tange's interest in photography predated his meeting with Ishimoto. His teenage interest in optics—as an aspiring astronomer, he had a telescope specially made for him⁵⁰—was followed by his love of the camera and photography. As an adult, he often photographed his wife and his daughter, who recalls posing for him frequently and sometimes for lengthy periods of time as a child.⁵¹

While a student, Tange came to recognize the power of photography as an effective tool of representation and imagination in architecture. Tange's teacher at the Tokyo Imperial University's architecture program, Kishida Hideto, had photographed Japanese premodern architecture, particularly Kyoto Palace, for his publication *Structures of the Past*; his photographs helped inspire Tange to use photography in designing and analyzing architecture.⁵² Later, with his Leica, Tange would photograph many of these same structures [FIG. 20].

Tange's encounter with photographs and perspective renderings of Le Corbusier's architecture in architectural journals is another important episode

Fig. 20

Unknown photographer,
Untitled (Tange Kenzō at Katsura), c. 1955, gelatin silver print, collection of Uchida Michiko, Tokyo.



21



22

in his biography. These drawings and photographs gave him an appreciation for the artistic and often cinematic spaces created by the Swiss architect, especially the Centrosoyuz Building.⁵³ According to architectural historian Fujimori Terunobu, this discovery later led Tange to utilize his cinematic and photographic vision to create early schematic designs consisting of numerous images portraying different perspectives; Tange's own architectural designs are extremely photogenic, and Tange was always very conscientious about how his architecture looked in photographs.⁵⁴ The photographer Murai Osamu (born 1928) recalls the architect's uncanny ability to pinpoint the most photogenic shooting locations for his structures, such as the complex shell structure of his Yoyogi National Gymnasium (1961–64), conceding that Tange knew "where his architecture should be viewed from, and particularly about how it would look in the city."⁵⁵

Tange also had a profound interest in Katsura prior to meeting Ishimoto. Beginning in the early 1950s, he visited the gardens and structures of Kyoto and Nara to photograph them with his Leica.⁵⁶ As revealed in his recently discovered family albums, Katsura was among the sites he visited, along with such historic landmarks as the Daisen-in and Ryōanji gardens, as early as 1952.⁵⁷ The contact strip of images shot at Ryōanji [FIG. 21] shows Tange's practice of constructing a focused image through trimming, indicated by a blue line. Another strip of images from Daisen-in [FIG. 22] indicates his interest in including both the organic (stones) and the geometric (background wall) in one frame.

Fig. 21
Tange Kenzō, contact strip
images of Ryōanji, Kyoto,
c. 1955, gelatin silver print,
collection of Uchida Michiko,
Tokyo.

Fig. 22
Tange Kenzō, contact strip
images of Daisen-in, Kyoto,
c. 1955, gelatin silver print,
collection of Uchida Michiko,
Tokyo.



Fig. 23
Tange Kenzō, contact strip
images of Katsura, Kyoto,
c. 1952, gelatin silver print,
collection of Uchida Michiko,
Tokyo.

What captured Tange's photographic eye at Katsura was not its scenic views but its particular details—including its texture and materiality, the geometry of its structure, and the interaction between man-made and natural elements—as demonstrated by seven contact strips (of three frames each) from 1952 taped to a single album page [FIG. 23]. Tange took these film strips out of sequence and arranged them to show his reading of Katsura's *shoin* buildings. Indeed, he created a certain narrative that starts with images of the facade of the New Palace, accentuated by the geometric patterns of *shōji* screens. As seen in the frames of the first row on the album page, Tange tended to omit the elegantly curved roofs of the architecture. Then, in the first three frames (left to right) of the second row, he shifted his focus to the Old Shoin and shot close and low to capture the texture of the cypress floor of the veranda adjacent to the Moon-viewing Platform. The following three frames on the same row focus on the grid forms of the Old Shoin with the Moon-viewing Platform. In the third row, the first four frames were shot from the lawn that surrounds the *shoin* complex. There, he looked at the contrast between the geometric structure of the Old Shoin and an organic and vital garden space with a horizontal line of stepping-stones.⁵⁸ In this sequence, Tange assumes the role of an investigator, exploring the complex's forms, its material details, and its relationship to the garden. Some of these images bear a striking similarity to Ishimoto's Katsura images [FIGS. 24 AND 25], and their arrangement

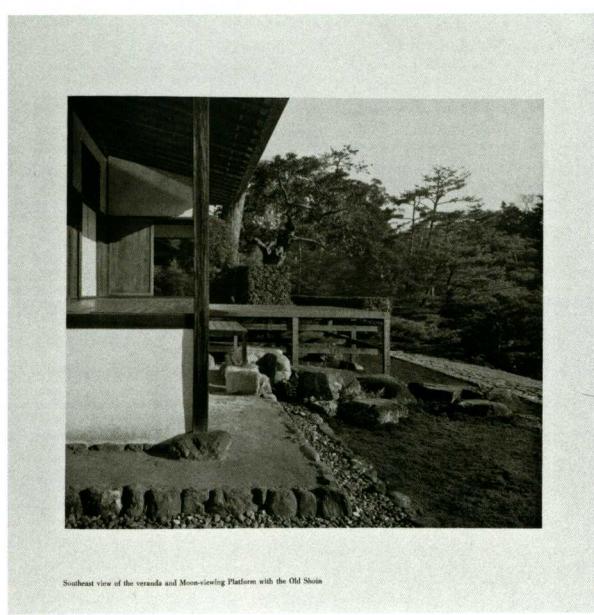


Fig. 24
Page from *Katsura* (1960) showing Ishimoto Yasuhiro's 1954 photograph captioned "Southeast view of the Veranda and Moon-viewing Platform with the Old Shoin."



Fig. 25
Tange Kenzō, contact strip image of Katsura, Kyoto, c. 1952, gelatin silver print, collection of Uchida Michiko, Tokyo.

26

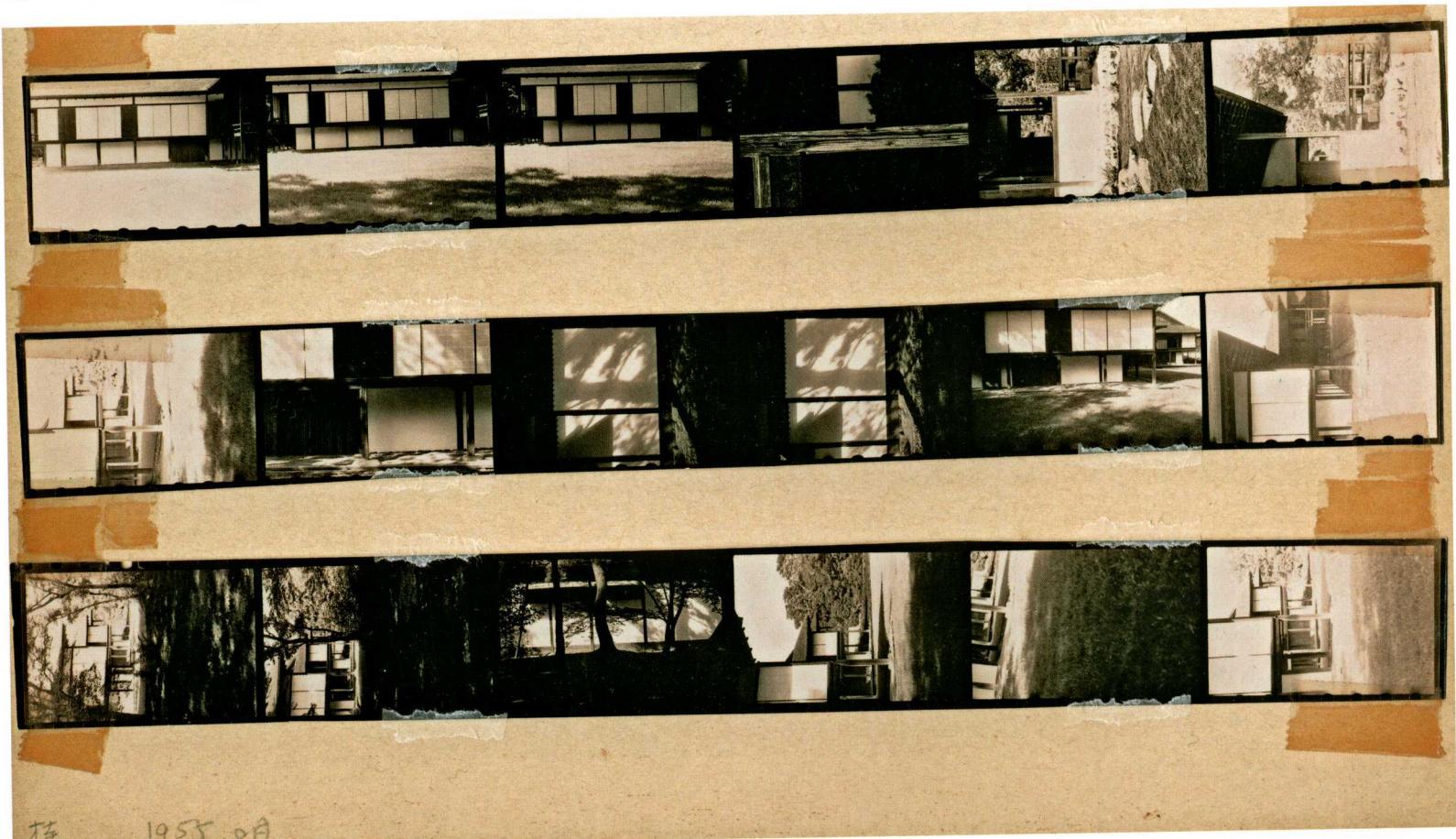


Fig. 26

Tange Kenzō, contact strip
images of Katsura, Kyoto, 1955,
gelatin silver print, collection
of Uchida Michiko, Tokyo.

anticipates how Tange would create a narrative for Katsura by specifically sequencing the images by Ishimoto.

Tange saw Ishimoto's Katsura images in 1953 and 1954 and was invited to write for his *Katsura* book project by early 1955. In July of that year, he announced to his architect colleagues his intention of producing a collaborative book with Ishimoto. Tange then returned to Katsura in August 1955 to see and photograph the villa again [FIG. 26]. Many of Tange's shots from this trip, preserved in his album in the form of contact strips, are more refined than his earlier snapshots, and they resonate with Ishimoto's photographs shot in 1954. Two images by Tange [FIG. 27] are particularly intriguing, as they show part of the New Palace lawn photographed from a similar angle but showing the lawn with and without shadows, implying the passage of time. The results point to his interest in a shift in time as manifested in space. In the 1960 book, one spread [FIG. 28] reveals Ishimoto's own interest in the play of light and shadow. Tange selected two photographs by Ishimoto for the spread, one showing a view of the lawn from the Middle Shoin and another showing a different view over the same lawn also seen from the Middle Shoin looking to the New Palace, to offer a spatial view from these two vantage points and to visualize the relationship between the architecture and the garden. In the photograph on the right of the spread, the surrounding trees cast their shadows into the structure, and the image documents the diffusion of light and shadow into the architecture, the ephemeral into the permanent. The implied temporality of these shadows and their shifting relationship to the villa's *shoin* convey the dimensions of "time" and "space," giving Katsura a sense of eternity. Tange chose to juxtapose the two images in the spread, perhaps remembering his own snapshot sequence.

The similarities between images by Ishimoto and Tange, the commonalities in their ways of seeing, and their shared concerns with shadows and other elements beg a vexing question: Are these similarities coincidental or not? In light of Tange's photographic interest in Katsura, it is tempting to imagine that some direction was given to the photographer by the architect.⁵⁹ However, although Ishimoto forcefully maintains that his photographs were made as an independent project, he also acknowledges that the Tange family spent an afternoon with him during his monthlong photography session of Katsura in 1954 and that he and the architect went around the villa together while Tange's daughter, Michiko, waited at the Moon-viewing Platform.⁶⁰ If anything, this episode indicates Tange's avid interest in Katsura and in Ishimoto's photography, and marks a meeting of the minds between two men who had similar ways of seeing the subject at hand.

TANGE AND THE TRADITION DEBATE OF 1950S JAPAN

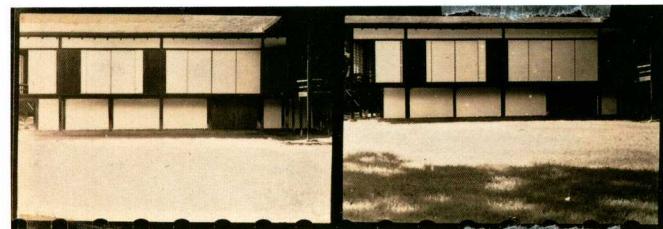
Two things set Tange crucially apart from Ishimoto: the architect's intense investment in the "tradition debate" (*dentō ronsō*) that preoccupied Japan's cultural sphere in

Fig. 27

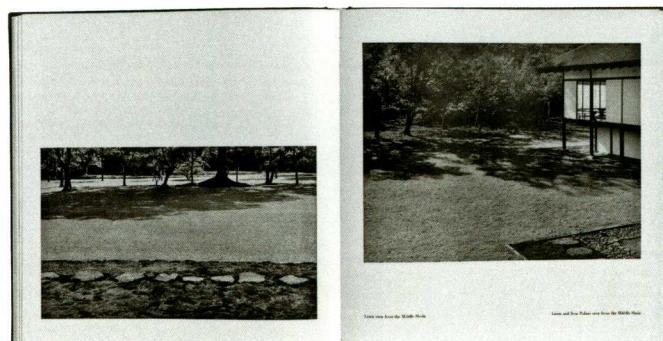
Tange Kenzō, contact strip images of Katsura, Kyoto, 1955, gelatin silver print, collection of Uchida Michiko, Tokyo.

Fig. 28

Spread from *Katsura* (1960) showing Ishimoto Yasuhiro's 1954 photographs captioned "Lawn seen from the Middle Shoin" and "Lawn and New Palace seen from the Middle Shoin."



27



28

the mid-1950s and the key place Katsura occupied in his evolving position in that debate. The tradition debate concerned the creative interpretation of tradition in the context of modern artistic and design practices,⁶¹ and it was both motivated and burdened by Japan's wartime past.

By 1952, when the Allied Forces' occupation of Japan had ended, nationalistic sentiments were resurfacing and the notion of tradition (*dentō*) gained renewed importance among the country's intellectual and cultural elite, who wanted to reconnect with the country's past and identity. The postwar invention of and search for tradition unfolded mainly in the print media, in particular in architecture and design journals, in the form of essays, group discussions, and photographic essays.⁶² Tradition was a precarious subject, and many postwar cultural elites and intellectuals found it difficult to discuss because of its perceived connection to imperial fascism and, in particular, to the wartime discourse of "overcoming modernity" (*kindai no chōkoku*), which opposed modernity as defined by the West.⁶³

According to architectural historian Yatsuka Hajime, Tange was implicated in the tradition debate because of the continuity found between his wartime and postwar design theories and practices.⁶⁴ His postwar designs—most notably the Hiroshima Peace Center (1949–55)—must be understood in reference to his preceding unbuilt designs for the Memorial to the Creation of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere (1942) and the Japan-Thailand Friendship Hall (1943). Tange's self-conscious anxiety about this continuity led him to revisit the issue of tradition within modern architecture and to create a credible manifesto for his evolving practice.

GROPIUS AS A CATALYST FOR THE TRADITION DEBATE

In his engagement with the tradition debate, Tange found an unexpected catalyst in Walter Gropius's 1954 visit to Japan [FIG. 29], which significantly affected his thinking both about tradition and photography. A former director of the Bauhaus, Gropius had taught at the Graduate School of Design at Harvard University. With his wife, Ise, he traveled to Japan upon the invitation of the Japan Association of Architects and the International House of Japan during an exhibition of his designs at the National Museum of Modern Art in Tokyo. From May to August of that year, Gropius toured the country, visiting historical and architectural sites, lecturing, and attending conferences, such as one at Hakone, where he met with young Japanese architects, who enthusiastically received him. Gropius's lectures and discussions addressed a wide range of topics, including the interpretation of tradition in modern architecture, collectivism, housing issues, industrial design, and architectural education.⁶⁵ As one of the architects hosting the couple, Tange discussed with Gropius such subjects as housing development and the evolution of modern architecture in relation to tradition.⁶⁶ Tange and other young architects accompanied the couple to various temples and shrines in Japan's old capitals. Their extensive itinerary included Tōdaiji in Nara and Ryōanji and Katsura in Kyoto.

Gropius's favorite place in Japan turned out to be Katsura, which he visited twice during the trip. He later commented: "Katsura's architecture, together with its garden, manifests the most superb expression of Japanese talent in its creation of architectural space in accordance with human scale. Here, spirit exceeds material. The excellence of conception, while expressed in a completely simple manner, allows the tangible to express the intangible. There, in every aspect, I find 'modernity' that transcends time, which may be considered the best trait of Japanese residential architecture."⁶⁷

Gropius's praise for the seventeenth-century architecture provided a clue to many younger architects who had been struggling to locate tradition in their modern architectural creations. Tange sensed that Gropius found modernity in the simplicity of the garden at Ryōanji in Kyoto and that this modernity derives not from material rationality but from the Zen spirit that transcends materiality.⁶⁸ Through his tour with Gropius, Tange came to realize that black-and-white photography could enable him to look at the temple's garden symbolically and more clearly than seeing it in person.⁶⁹

Gropius had an outsider's freedom to speak with effusive admiration on the relationship of Japanese tradition to modern architecture, the very topic that vexed Japanese architects so profoundly.⁷⁰ Yet Gropius's profuse praise for Katsura's architecture made Tange realize that Katsura in reality did not move him at all.



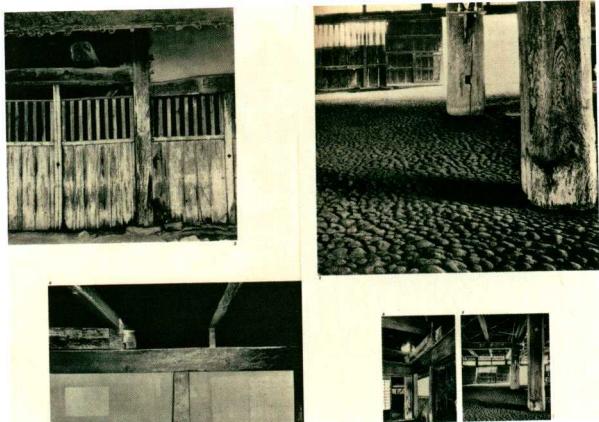
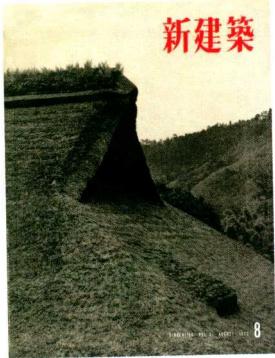
Fig. 29

Unknown photographer, *Untitled*
(The Tanges, the Gropiuses,
and the Nouses in Miyajima,
Hiroshima), 1954, collection
of Uchida Michiko, Tokyo.

30



31



The real Katsura appeared darker and more overwrought than the vision he had of it in his mind and in his photographs.⁷¹ From this experience, Tange came to believe that an architect would not be able to create an "outer reality," or visible reality, without mediating tradition through an "internal reality."⁷² Tange took the position that tradition exists as "an integral part of the self," and that such tradition had to be questioned, denied, destroyed, or deconstructed to be transformed into a creative force.⁷³ To Tange, photography was a key means of clarifying this internal reality and deconstructing and reinterpreting tradition with the goal of creating something new. He recognized in Ishimoto's photographs of Katsura a new and unconventional way of examining tradition—a way that dynamically embodied the transformative act that Tange hoped to achieve.⁷⁴

SHINKENCHIKU AS A FORUM FOR THE TRADITION DEBATE

While preparing the 1960 *Katsura* publication with Ishimoto, Tange launched his discursive campaign on the pages of the journal *Shinkenchiku* (New architecture) in 1955. Under the editorship of Kawazoe Noboru, an architecture critic and Tange's close ally, the magazine boasted a monthly circulation of about eight thousand copies, exerting a growing and significant influence on the Japanese architectural community.⁷⁵ Its 1955 and 1956 issues explored the dialectics of tradition and modernity through photography, essays, discussions of recently built architectures, and a section titled "Classics" (*koten*) that featured photographs of premodern structures. Photography also played a central role in the journal's covers. The May 1956 issue featured an abstract image of the repeating arcs of the modern concrete roof of a tennis court recently built in a suburb of Tokyo [FIG. 30], and the August 1956 issue featured a photograph of a mid-nineteenth-century thatched-roof samurai house of the Egawa family in Izu taken by Ishimoto [FIG. 31 (TOP)], who had accepted photography assignments from the journal since 1954.

The August 1956 issue also included a compelling essay, "About Things Jōmonesque: The Medieval Residential Architecture of the Egawas, Nirayama-kan," by the renowned architect Shirai Seiichi (1905–1983), who wrote about the architecture featured on the cover.⁷⁶ In this article, Shirai addressed the dichotomy of Japan's prehistoric Jōmon (c. 10,500–300 B.C.) and Yayoi (c. 4th century B.C.–A.D. 3rd century) cultures in the postwar context of the tradition debate. Whereas the cultural manifestations of the Jōmon period, known for its cord-patterned, frame-formed earthenware vessels, were dynamic, vernacular, and populist (as seen in its pit dwellings), those of the Yayoi period were sophisticated, elite, and aristocratic (as seen in its platform-type housing). Specifically, Shirai argued in favor of Jōmon culture, whose cultural potential he believed to be vital to the creative development of modern Japan because it had silently sustained the Japanese ethnic spirit. In the decaying house of the Egawas, Shirai saw the spirit of Jōmon culture. Ishimoto's photographs of the house [FIG. 31 (BOTTOM)] dramatically enhanced the

Fig. 30
Cover of the May 1956 issue of
Shinkenchiku.

Fig. 31
The August 1956 issue of
Shinkenchiku showing
the cover and photographs
by Ishimoto Yasuhiro illus-
trating Shirai Seiichi's essay
"About Things Jōmonesque."

architect's words by emphasizing the textures and forms of this vernacular architecture, particularly the organic nature of its thatched roofs and pebbled floors. Of the numerous articles on the tradition debate, Shirai's essay was among the most visually arresting, and it held a powerful sway over Tange, who advocated for neither Jōmon nor Yayoi alone but a combination of the two.⁷⁷

Tange's *Shinkenchiku* articles on tradition were illustrated by photographs of his architectural projects taken by himself and others. One published in the January 1955 issue was boldly titled "My Conception [of] Modern Architecture in Present-day Japan: To Create Tradition." In it, he put forth his famous declaration "Only beautiful things can be functional" and his emphatic belief that an architect can express tradition in contemporary architecture through the interaction of the modern and the traditional.⁷⁸ These points were visually supported by photographs of his recent designs, including House in Seijō (1952–53), Tsuda University Library (1953–54), and Shimizu City Hall (1953–54).

His June 1956 essay, "Creation in Present-day Architecture and the Japanese Architectural Tradition," incorporated two of his own photographs: one of Daisen-in [SEE THE THIRD FRAME IN FIG. 22, PAGE 27] and the other of Katsura, which helped to convey his point that the synergy of the Jōmon culture and the Yayoi culture is analogous to the synergy of the architectural styles of the vernacular *sukiya* (simply structured houses for the masses derived from teahouse architecture) and the sophisticated *shinden* (residential architecture for the nobility) and *shoin*, both of which are found in Katsura, he argues.⁷⁹ (In the 1960 book, Tange would illustrate his essay with photographs of figurines and houses from these two periods to make a clear visual distinction between the two cultures [FIG. 32].)

Katsura occupied an exemplary place in Tange's thesis. Whereas certain of its traditional design elements (such as the *en* veranda and the *shōji* screen doors suitable to Japanese climate conditions) and spaces of social significance (such as the *piloti*-raised floors) could be adopted into contemporary architecture without any sentimental interpretation, Katsura embodied something more—a site of dialectic forces, where the tastes of the nobility (the imperial) coexist with those of the masses. Tange distanced Katsura from its imperial aristocratic tradition, recasting it as a modern symbol of postwar Japan. He closed his June 1956 essay by hinting at potential ways to approach and overcome tradition in modern architecture—ways that he announced he would further explore in the forthcoming book on Katsura.⁸⁰

THE MAKING OF KATSURA

The project of the 1960 book on Katsura was initially conceived by Ishimoto when he was approached by the publisher David-sha and its editor Kobayashi Hideo in 1954. The photographer's idea was to create a straightforward photo book to present his images of the imperial villa taken in 1953 and 1954. Tange, who had been invited by

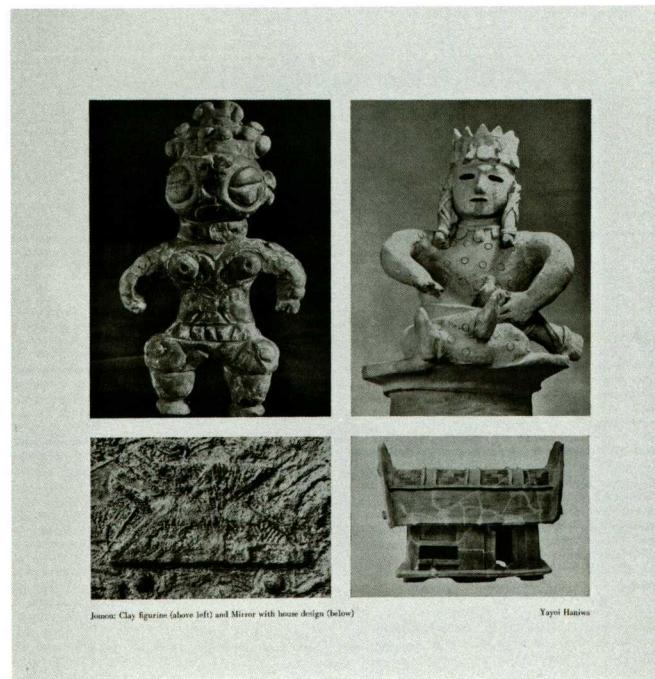


Fig. 32

Page from *Katsura* (1960) showing photographs titled "Jōmon: Clay figurine (above left) and Mirror with house design (below)," and "Yayoi Haniwa." The images on the left show a fertility goddess figurine and a relief of a pit dwelling from the Jōmon period. The images on the right show a Yayoi Haniwa figure and a mirror with a house design.

Ishimoto to participate in the project as an essayist, soon expanded his role to become the book's de facto general editor, picture editor, and publicist. A glimpse into the making of *Katsura* can be gained through recently discovered archival materials, including correspondence among Tange, Bayer, Gropius, Ishimoto, Kobayashi, and others and the production materials prepared for the publication.

The first indication of Tange's self-appointed role in the project can be found in his letters, dated July 29, 1955, to at least eight architects and critics outside of Japan, including Gropius, Phillip Johnson, and Charlotte Perriand. In them, he informed his colleagues about his plan to publish a book of Ishimoto's photographs on Katsura and sought their comments. One, to Gropius, reads: "Recently we have been thinking of putting out a new publication based on the pictures taken by Yasuhiro Ishimoto which I believe you will remember. It is our hope to bring this to the attention of readers all over the world and with this aim [we] are preparing texts in English, French and German"⁸¹ (see page 60).

Tange went on to report that out of the approximately 300 photographs Ishimoto had taken and successfully developed, 150 had been selected for the book, which would be 200 pages long and 12 by 12 inches in size. (The final trim size, at 10 3/4 by 11 1/4 inches, slightly deviated from this description.) Tange also asked Gropius to contribute as a co-author, stating: "It goes without saying that it would mean a great deal for us to have your support, and I am sure you yourself are aware of how much your voice would add for friends abroad." He concluded by offering to send Gropius the 150 selected photographs. The letter demonstrates how Tange tried to present the publication as an announcement to the world of his interpretive stance on Katsura and its relation to his postwar designs. In his letter dated August 5, 1955, Gropius would eventually accept the invitation, contributing an introduction that helped to position the book for an international audience interested in Japanese architecture.

TANGE'S CROPPINGS

Ishimoto felt Tange's strong hand of editorial intervention most in the architect's cropping of his photographs: "Tange cropped [my photographs] right and left.... He never listened to anything I said."⁸² These words saliently describe Ishimoto's experience of the book project under the commanding editorship of Tange. He recalls that Tange provided specific cropping instructions for many of the photographs for the book. In retrospect, Tange's intervention no doubt enhanced the photographs as a vehicle of the polemics he put forth in his essay, which interpreted Katsura as a dialectical synthesis of tradition and creation that serves as an inspiration for modern design.

Ishimoto's recollection is corroborated by sixty-eight production prints discovered at his residence in Tokyo in 2007. These 8 x 10 inch prints, covered by tracing paper, were prepared by Ishimoto for the book production and readied

by either the editor or designer for printing. Most of them bear the small label "all rights reserved by david publishing co., ltd. ginza, tokyo" on the reverse side, indicating that the prints were created at the final or near-final stage of the design process [FIG. 33]. These prints [FIGS. 33–36] show Tange's cropping instructions in black, red, and sometimes blue pencil marks, noted either on the overlay sheets or in the margins of the photographs themselves. (The use of multiple colors could suggest the involvement of more than one person.) Most of the circled numbers marked in pencil on the overlay sheets correspond to the ordering of the images in the publication. Some overlay sheets bear other instructions, such as "Make [the top margin] bigger" (with arrows to show the desired cropping of the image) [SEE FIG. 36 (RIGHT)] and "Make it whiter" (with shadings of the area to be whiter) [SEE FIG. 35 (RIGHT)].

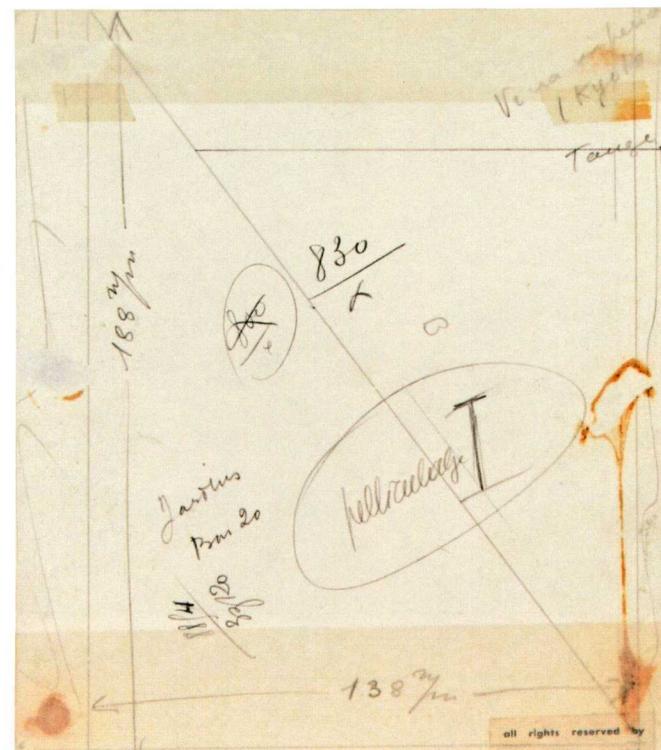
Tange's signature appears on the reverse of one of these images [FIG. 33], perhaps in approval of the cropping instructions, and the backs of other prints include notations that indicate Tange's classification and organizational method. Many of them bear cursive notations enclosed in rectangular frames at the top left corner. On one, marked on the back with a caption in Japanese ("Ishimoto Yasuhiro / 'Katsura' / Seen from the garden, Middle Shin, Music Room / and New Palace"), the notations in English [FIG. 34 (BOTTOM)], such as "modular," "vista-perspective-continuity," and "vista continuity," reveal Tange's ways of seeing and classifying Ishimoto's Katsura photographs. They illustrate the thought process behind Tange's cropping instructions, found on the other side. The crop marks on the overlay sheet clearly indicate that the cambered roofs and part of the foreground should be eliminated [FIG. 34 (TOP RIGHT)]. The cropping would enhance the Mondrian-esque patterns of the facade and accentuate the difference between the orderly *shoin* structure in the upper half of the picture and the organic flow of the garden in the lower half. Though this image appears in the publication according to the designated cropping instructions, others images sometimes deviate from the marked instructions, perhaps because of further adjustments made in later stages of production.

TANGE'S EDITORSHIP AND BAYER'S BOOK DESIGN

The high level of editorial and authorial control Tange exerted over the publication during the making of *Katsura*, which spanned five years from 1955 to 1960, is documented in the letters recently found in Tange's private archives. They also indicate Herbert Bayer's involvement in the design process from early in the process. Bayer's communication with Tange and Kobayashi demonstrates Tange's authority even in the layout of the photographs, which was initially Bayer's responsibility. In a letter dated August, 4, 1955, Bayer conveyed to Kobayashi his acceptance to design the book based on his favorable impression of ten Ishimoto photographs he had received from the editor. Tange had chosen Bayer for his Bauhaus pedigree

Fig. 33

Reverse of a photograph by Ishimoto Yasuhiro prepared for the 1960 publication *Katsura*, c. 1954, collection of the artist.



34

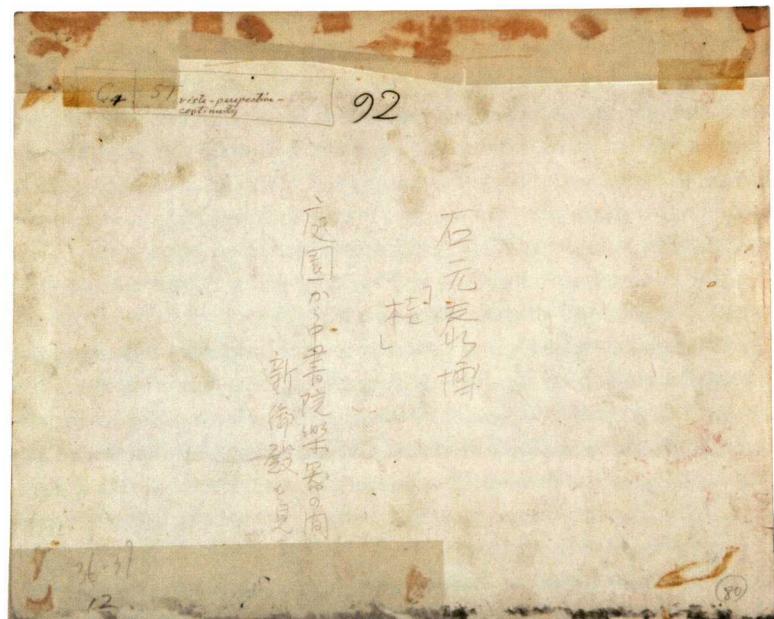
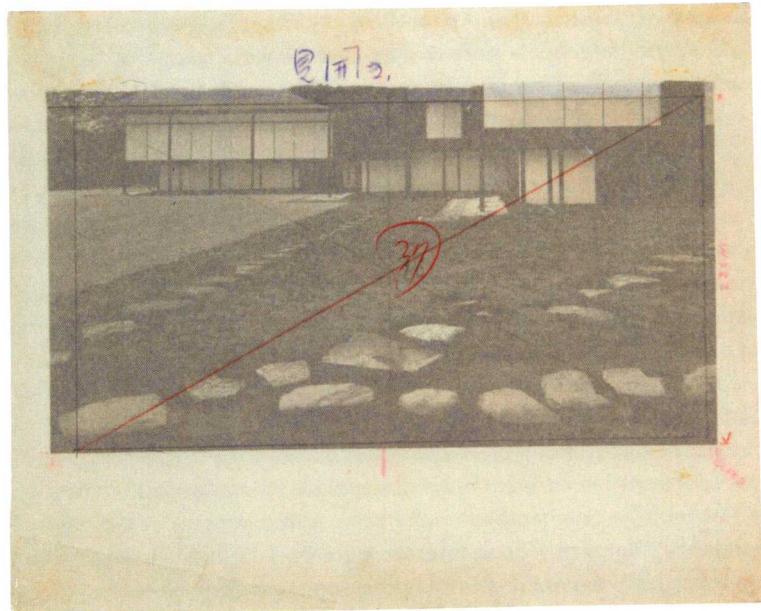
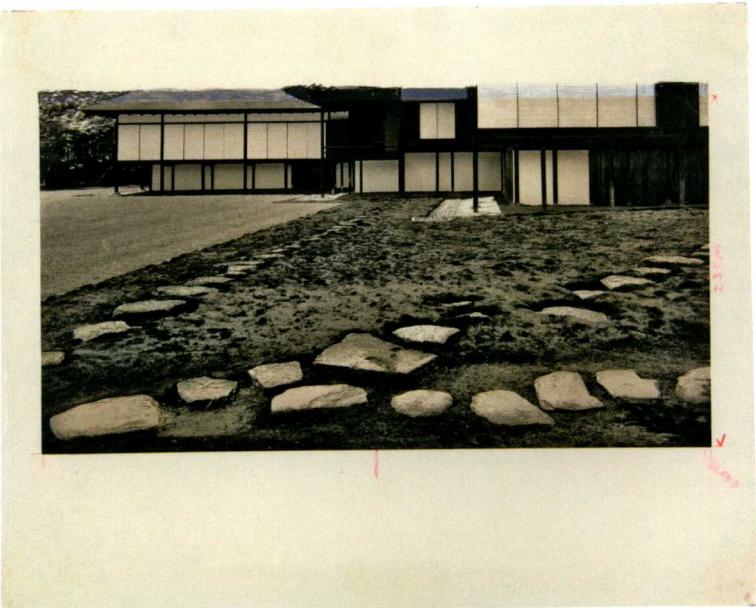
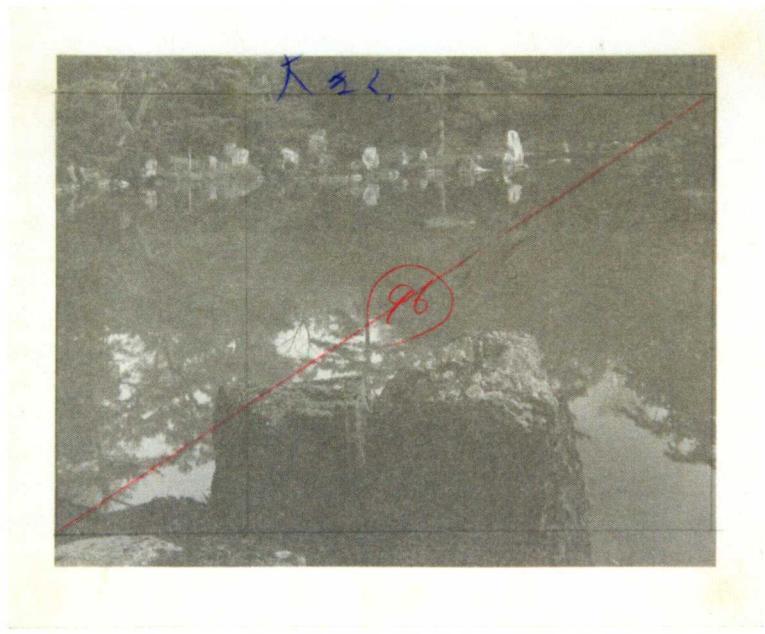
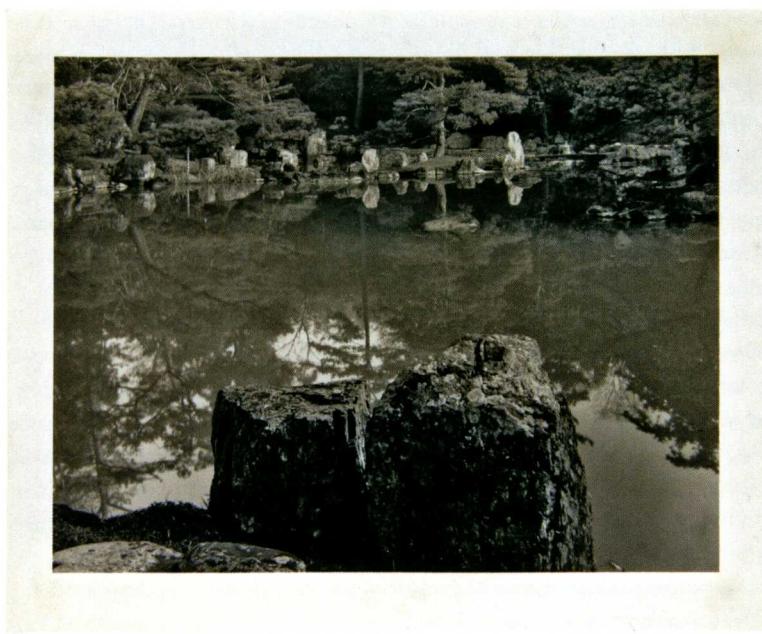
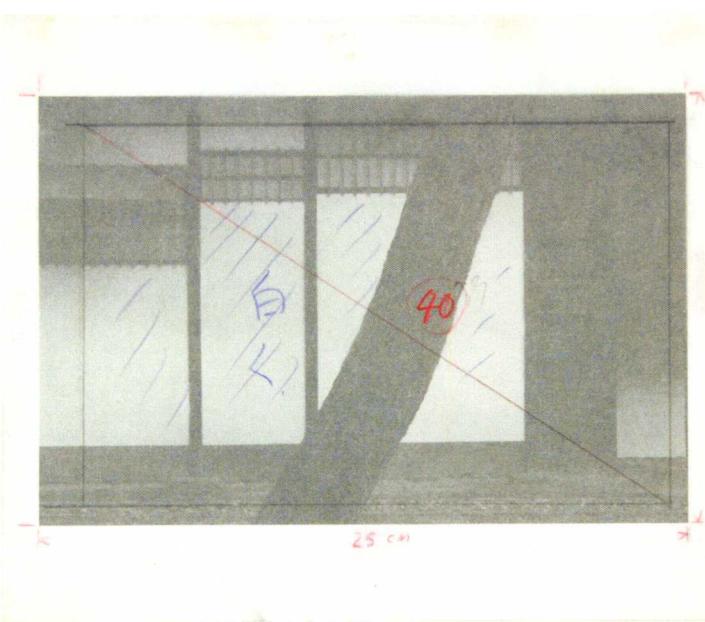
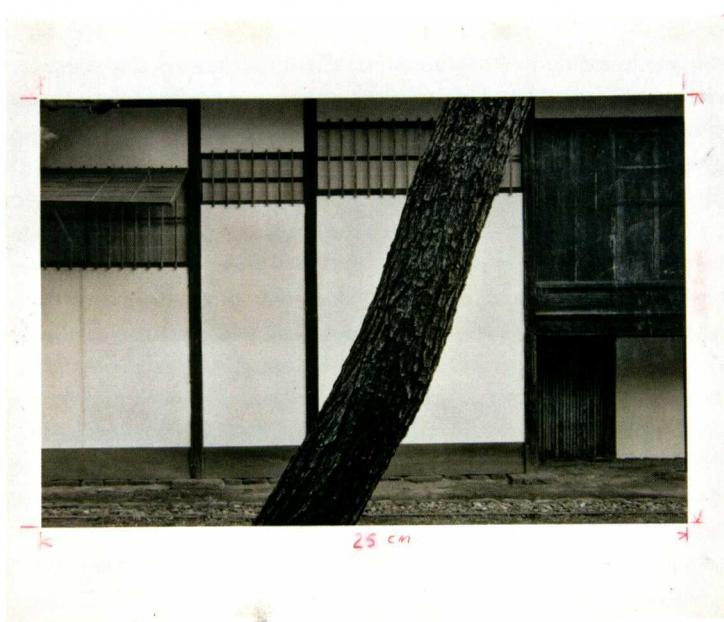


Fig. 34

Ishimoto Yasuhiro, untitled gelatin silver print, c. 1954, prepared for the 1960 publication *Katsura*, shown with and without tracing paper marked with cropping instructions and also from the reverse, collection of the artist.



Figs. 35/36

Ishimoto Yasuhiro, untitled gelatin silver prints, c. 1954, prepared for the 1960 publication *Katsura*, shown with and without tracing paper marked with cropping instructions, collection of the artist.

and used Bayer's acceptance to leverage Gropius's participation in the project. Tange also had another professional reason to involve Bayer: the designer had been involved in the founding of the International Design Conference in Aspen, which began in 1949. Recognizing the conference's importance in modern design, Tange desired to organize one in Japan, and thus wanted to be acquainted with the designer.

In his acceptance letter, Bayer sounded extremely pleased with the publication's prospects but was anxious to know about the book's printer and binder. He also was concerned about the logistics for the design, stating: "I beg you to send me as complete as possible information, for instance, to what size of photographs can go, which photos should be large, which one can be small, what kind of binding materials and cover stamping can be used."⁸³ Two months later, in October 1955, he wrote to Kobayashi to request ideas from Tange on "how the various photographs should be placed or juxtaposed."⁸⁴ At this point, his inquiry was more indicative of the designer's professional courtesy than of Tange's heavy involvement in design. In fact, soon after Bayer's acceptance, Tange wrote to Gropius, "We are looking forward to [Bayer's] wonderful layout and his coming to Japan."⁸⁵

By early 1956, two hundred photographs by Ishimoto were sent to Bayer, who was to begin the layout design.⁸⁶ Tange later arranged to send him other illustrations, including an overall map showing the location of Katsura's various buildings and gardens as well as detailed drawings of the plans and elevations of the individual pavilions and their interiors.⁸⁷ In June and July of 1957, according to Bayer's diary entries, he spent a significant amount of time creating a layout.⁸⁸

However, when Tange received Bayer's initial layout plan sometime in late summer 1957, he was greatly dismayed and disappointed. Bayer had arranged Katsura's pavilions in alphabetical order and had grouped the photographs accordingly. In August 1957, Kobayashi responded to Bayer on Tange's behalf with their honest assessment of the disastrous layout design: "The division of the [layout] plan, which separates areas by letters of the alphabet, was made completely at random and has nothing to do with the ordinary route followed in inspecting the palace, nor is it based on any organic, architectural concept of how to subdivide Katsura palace and its garden."⁸⁹ Kobayashi apologetically offered two reasons for this outcome: "The first... is our realization that the information we gave you for your guidance has been highly insufficient, and in many ways, exceedingly inappropriate... a second mistake on our part was that of having sent you too many photos."⁹⁰ Tange and Kobayashi suggested a solution to the designer: he should "delete from the layout those photos which appear... to be unnecessary duplication, distracting from the clarity of the image of Katsura that should be conveyed, and we shall make a very rough layout sketch to indicate our own image of Katsura that we would like to convey to the beholder of the book."⁹¹

After this letter, Tange apparently recruited the Japanese graphic designer Kamekura Yūsaku (1915–1997) to consult on the layout design, as Ishimoto recalls.⁹² Tange asked Kobayashi to assure Bayer of their wish to keep him involved as the designer, but did not communicate with Bayer for some time about the status of the project, despite the designer's repeated requests. This state of affairs put the project on hold for a while.

After more than a year, Bayer, feeling left out of the project, wrote to Kobayashi on December 29, 1958, to express his frustration. He had heard from Kamekura that part of the book printing was under way and stated, "I hope these [the proofs] are not the final and printed pages."⁹³ This letter suggests that Kamekura, not Bayer, had been involved in revising the layout design. Although Tange and Kamekura subsequently consulted Bayer on such details as the book's binding and fonts, they did not immediately share the revised layout design with him. In a letter dated January 15, 1959, Kobayashi informed Bayer that the proofs of the photoengravings had been completed already and that a dummy of the book (without the typeset essays) had been created but that, because of some errors in the plates, he and Tange had decided to make corrections before sending the layout to him. In the same letter, Kobayashi stated that Tange had various suggestions, but that they would wait to share these with him once he had received the pages. In May 1959, Kobayashi traveled to New Haven to negotiate a co-publication contract with Yale University Press, where he met with graphic-design professors (including Paul Rand and Alvin Eisenman) and the university press's staff, who offered their input about the publication. Unsure about Bayer's design contribution, Chester Kerr of the press suggested to Kobayashi the possibility of disengaging Bayer.⁹⁴ The press requested that captions be added to the untitled photographs and that an aerial photograph of Katsura be inserted at the beginning of the publication, while assuring Kobayashi of the publication's future success in the United States.⁹⁵ During the discussions, it was agreed that Yale's press would hold the worldwide copyright to the English version, except in Japan, including the translation and reprinting rights.⁹⁶

Finally, on May 6 and 7, 1959, Kobayashi met with Bayer in Aspen, Colorado, for two full days to discuss various design aspects of the publication. For the plate section, Bayer suggested deleting six plates, changing the sizes of twenty-five others, and inserting plans of the various pavilions at the beginning of each section. Bayer also suggested setting the type in Futura Book ten-point font and proposed a cover design with a white circle set against a background of blue cloth the color of ink used in ball-point pens—which describes almost exactly how the cover ultimately did appear.⁹⁷

By August 1959, Bayer had recommended numerous changes in the final proof of the layout design, which would have affected more than half of the printing plates prepared for the publication.⁹⁸ It is uncertain how many of Bayer's

⁹² Ishimoto, interview, 1997, 10; see also Kamekura, interview, 1997, 10.

⁹³ Bayer to Kobayashi, December 29, 1958, Box 1, folder 1, *Letters to and from the Yale University Press*, Yale University Library.

⁹⁴ Kerr to Kobayashi, January 15, 1959, Box 1, folder 1, *Letters to and from the Yale University Press*, Yale University Library.

⁹⁵ Kerr to Kobayashi, January 15, 1959, Box 1, folder 1, *Letters to and from the Yale University Press*, Yale University Library.

⁹⁶ Kerr to Kobayashi, January 15, 1959, Box 1, folder 1, *Letters to and from the Yale University Press*, Yale University Library.

⁹⁷ Bayer to Kobayashi, August 1959, Box 1, folder 1, *Letters to and from the Yale University Press*, Yale University Library.

⁹⁸ Bayer to Kobayashi, August 1959, Box 1, folder 1, *Letters to and from the Yale University Press*, Yale University Library.

changes were accepted by Tange and incorporated into the final version, though the designer's font specification obviously was not implemented. In his congratulatory letter to Bayer dated October 13, 1960, Kerr informed the designer that they were not able to use his designed book jacket, saying, "Juries always remove jackets, of course, and the book itself is all yours."⁹⁹ In light of this statement, it seems that some of the changes suggested by Bayer were accepted and implemented in the end.¹⁰⁰

The preparatory work for the publication appears to have been completed by the time Tange left for Europe in early September 1959 (with plans to go then to Boston to teach at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology). The publishing contract with Yale University Press was completed at about the same time. A dummy book with the finalized prints was made available either at the year's end or early in 1960, and the finished product was distributed on the Japanese market in the late spring of 1960, about the same time or immediately after the World Design Conference was held in Tokyo in April. (The English version of the book was available in the United States in late October 1960 in time for the Christmas holidays.) Tange, who had returned to Tokyo in time for the conference, was thus able to witness the long-awaited release of *Katsura*. He sent complimentary copies to a circle of architects and critics in North America and Europe whom he had met, including José Luis Sert, Minoru Yamasaki, Kevin Lynch, Arne Korsmo, and Károly Polónyi. Upon his receipt of the publication, Sert, then dean of Graduate School of Design at Harvard, wrote to Tange in a letter dated October 13, 1960: "I want to thank you for sending me your beautiful book. It is the best I have seen on Japanese architecture and makes me wish more than ever that I could come to Japan to see the country and my friends. If you ever plan to come back to visit this country, please let me know as I would very much like to have you at this School"¹⁰¹ (see page 69). Although the publication had been six years in the making, Tange ultimately accomplished his mission of positioning Japanese tradition as a synergistic force for contemporary creation and validating his own direction in architectural design through Ishimoto's photographs of *Katsura*. Indeed, the publication served as Tange's manifesto for his intellectual and architectural practices in the early postwar years.

ISHIMOTO'S DISENGAGEMENT

Whereas Tange had been instrumental in the book project, Ishimoto ceased to be involved after he had handed the photographs over to Kobayashi (and Tange) by late 1954 or early 1955. Ishimoto and his wife, Shigeru, had left Tokyo in December 1958 with a grant Ishimoto had received from the Minolta Corporation to spend three years in Chicago creating a new series of photographs focusing on the city's people and architecture. There are a few possible reasons for Ishimoto's disengagement. First, the enormous difference in the status and reputation of Ishimoto

and Tange would have placed Ishimoto in the backseat for the project. Second, since Ishimoto was used to entrusting an editor or publisher in publishing his photographs in a journalistic context, he could have assumed the same process for this book. Nevertheless, he was eager for the release of *Katsura*, which was to have been his first book in print (though *Someday, Somewhere*, issued in 1958, was published before *Katsura*). Shigeru wrote several times to Tange in early 1959, asking about the status of the publication project and conveying their desire that it be published even a day sooner, though Tange never personally replied.¹⁰² Ishimoto saw the book and the attention it might glean as an opportunity to bolster his reputation as a photographer in the United States. Indeed, when the Japanese version of *Katsura* was published in spring 1960, he began sending Japanese copies of the book to potential reviewers in the United States, including *The Architectural Forum* and *Harper's Magazine*, which upset Yale University Press because it scooped their own marketing efforts with reviewers to whom they usually gave a priority, such as the *New York Review of Books*.¹⁰³

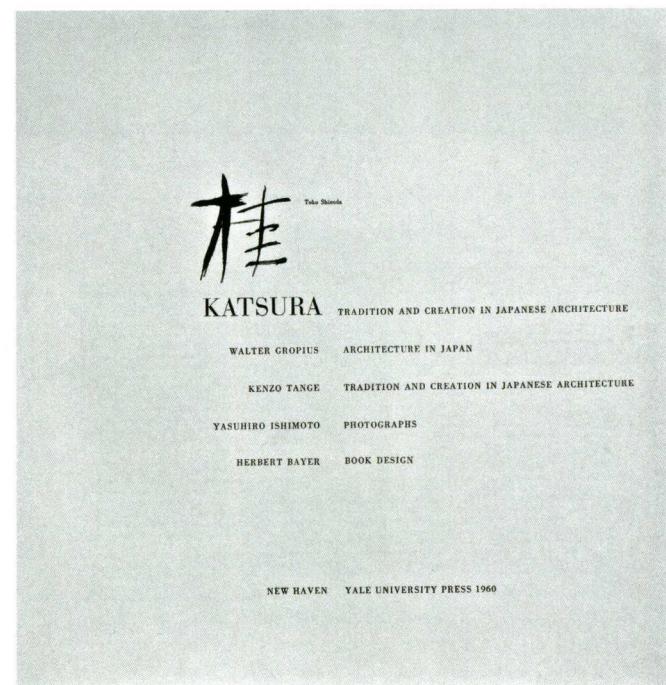
To complicate matters, Ishimoto was angered by one of the advertisements developed for the book in the United States, which credited Tange and Gropius as the authors but noted that the book was merely illustrated with photographs by Ishimoto.¹⁰⁴ Ishimoto claimed to the press's editor, Edwin Stein, Jr., that his rights had been trampled, that his independent photographic project had been commandeered by Kobayashi and Tange, and that he had no contact with the Japanese publisher Zōkeisha, which had published the book in Japan.¹⁰⁵ (The lack of contract resulted from the dissolution of David-sha in 1958. Afterward, Kobayashi took the project to his new publishing house, Zōkeisha.¹⁰⁶) In response, Stein assured Ishimoto that the press had given and would continue to give him full credit on the title page and wherever else they could.¹⁰⁷ Although Ishimoto had ceded physical control over the book's making to Tange, who had assumed de facto authorship of the publication, the young photographer maintained his claim in the authorship.

LOOKING AT KATSURA: THE BOOK'S STRUCTURE AND IMAGE FLOW

Tange's own authorship is revealed not only in his essay but also in the sensitive sizing, pacing, and arrangement of images and texts throughout *Katsura*. The title page is graced with the Chinese character for *katsura*, 桂 (the Japanese name for the tree *Cercidiphyllum japonicum*), rendered by the noted avant-garde calligrapher Shinoda Tōkō (born 1913) [FIG. 37]. The volume begins with Gropius's introduction, "Architecture in Japan," followed by Tange's essay, "Tradition and Creation in Japanese Architecture." Between these texts is the general plan of *Katsura* and a matching aerial photograph.¹⁰⁸ Tange's essay is followed by Ishimoto's images, which, coupled with Tange's prose headings and captions, visually exemplify the diametric forces in operation at *Katsura*: the visible and the invisible, nature and architecture, and tradition and modernity.

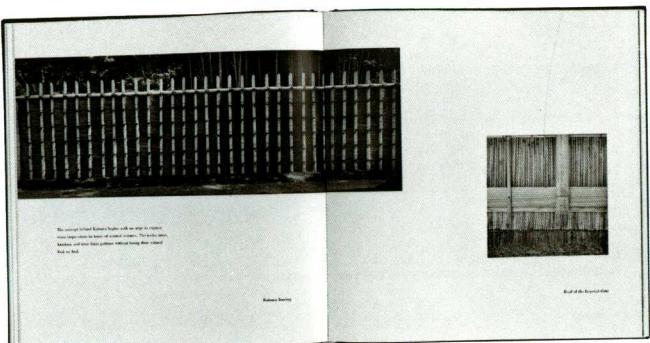
Fig. 37

Title page of *Katsura: Tradition and Creation in Japanese Architecture* (1960).

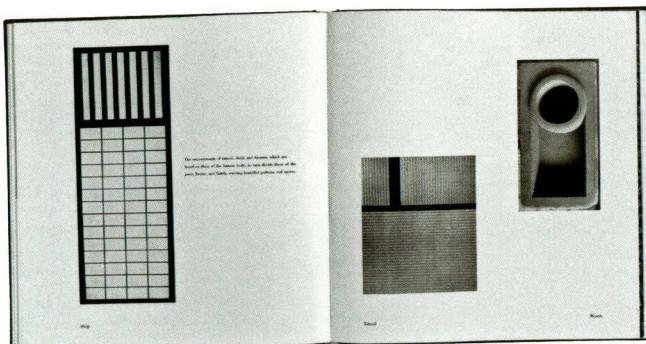


37

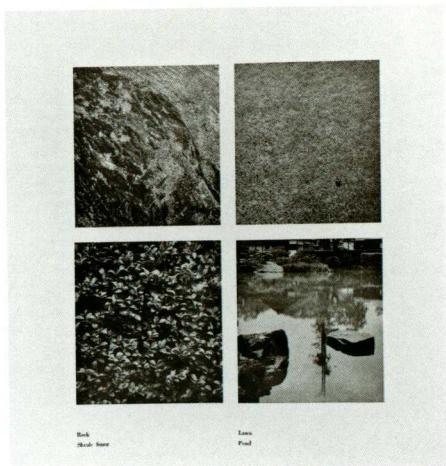
38



39



40



The photographs are divided into six sections, representing Katsura's pavilions and the spaces around and between them: "Approach to Shoin Buildings," "Interior of Shoin Buildings," "Gepparō," "Approach to Shōkintei," "Shōkatei and Onrindō," and "Shōiken." Each section begins with a detailed floor plan, which, along with the headings and captions, guides the reader on a two-dimensional tour through the villa. The photography sections of *Katsura* exhibit a lyrical synergy created by the layout of the captions and photographs in a seamless narrative. The first section, "Approach to Shoin Buildings," begins by highlighting the textures of the villa and its environment. The first caption for this section reads: "The concept behind Katsura begins with an urge to express sense impressions in terms of natural textures. The rocks, moss, bamboo, and trees form patterns without losing their natural look or feel."¹⁰⁹ These words are accompanied by two images featured on one spread [FIG. 38]. On the left, a vertical image of a bamboo fence, located between Katsura's Main Gate and the Imperial Gate, demonstrates the organic, handmade geometry of the woven fence. On the right, a close-up image displays the finely made structure of the gate's roof. Together, the images illustrate the space's uniformity, consistency, and order. Following this spread are a number of photographs devoted to details of the various elements and materials that make up the villa and its grounds, such as a wood floor, a clay wall, and a moss-covered stone. These images reflect the photographer's subjective approach to the villa; set side-by-side, they invite the reader to see how these different materials harmoniously interact and coexist in a shared space.

These close-up views also reveal the complex structure of the architecture. In one, the edges of a clay wall and a shrub fence meet in a Mondrian-esque composition. Others zoom in on architectural elements such as *tatami* floor mats, *shōji* screens, and a hearth, giving no sense of their actual sizes. On one spread [FIG. 39], these fragmented, out-of-scale, tightly cropped elements are arranged in a rhythmic order, appearing to float against the white background of the page. They convey the sense of Katsura's architecture as a composition of human-scale modules and units. Accentuated by the cropping and grouping, these images demonstrate the universality of such units, whether in traditional or modern architecture, and whether used in Japan or in the West (as seen in Le Corbusier's Modular concept). They reveal how the measurements used in Japanese traditional architecture are based on the human body, and thus transcend time and place. These photographic fragments are displayed in a cinematic manner to encourage a visceral response on the part of the viewer. This stylistic approach to the layout is particularly notable in a grouping of photographs of four different textures in a Miesian grid on one page [FIG. 40].

Despite Tange's interventional picture editing, Ishimoto's singular aesthetics permeate the entirety of the publication. His photographs assert formalism, experimentalism, and a purity of design, reflecting his training at the Institute of Design in

Fig. 38

Spread from *Katsura* (1960) showing Ishimoto Yasuhiro's 1954 photograph captioned "Katsura fencing" and "Roof of the Imperial Gate."

Fig. 39

Spread from *Katsura* (1960) showing Ishimoto Yasuhiro's 1954 photograph captioned "Shōji," "Tatami," and "Hearth."

Fig. 40

Page from *Katsura* (1960) showing Ishimoto Yasuhiro's 1954 photographs captioned "Rock," "Lawn," "Shrub Fence," and "Pond."

Chicago. He photographed the subject in a systematic yet highly original way. His photographs of Katsura are documentary (like his photographs of African American children in Chicago), abstract (like his photograph of snow on dark steps), and sometimes typological (his images of stepping-stones). Ishimoto's images extract the essence and force of Katsura's form, tone, materiality, and texture, and their abstraction makes the familiar unfamiliar.

As the artist Okamoto Tarō (1911–1996) noted, one of the characteristics of Ishimoto's photography, at least to Japanese audiences at that time, was the seeming absence of a preconceived notion or ideology (*gainen*)—the absence of a sense of tradition.¹¹⁰ (This statement relates back to Minor White's observation that Ishimoto's photographs are "absentminded.") Okamoto argued that this absence of ideology was missing in the work of contemporary Japanese master photographers such as Hamaya Hiroshi (1915–1999), whose images in his photographic book *Children in Kōtō* (*Kōtō no kodomo tachi*), depicting children in Tokyo's slum district, were stylistically based on photo-academism and Japanese naturalism. This book was charged with the artist's intent to photograph something socially and politically important. Further, Okamoto argued that, unlike photographers such as Kimura Ihei (1901–1974) and Domon Ken (1909–1990), who had championed photorealism in Japan, the younger Ishimoto had begun photography at a point beyond Hamaya's academism and saw his photography as both documentary and pragmatic (*sokubutsuteki*), characteristics that derived from the New Objectivity.¹¹¹ Whether or not Ishimoto intentionally cultivated this absence of ideology, his neutral and detached yet compellingly original, subjective, and abstract visions of Katsura were open to interpretation, and thus provided an excellent means by which Tange could promote his own message. Tange, alert to the complexity and dichotomy of Ishimoto's working method, found that Ishimoto's images correlated well with the friction and synergy of Katsura. In both, he recognized a balance of intense creative forces and rational order.

Such dualism is emphasized in many of the book's photographs and often accentuated by Tange's selection and cropping, and the image of the Moon-viewing Platform in the Old Shoin [FIG. 41] is a perfect case in point. This platform is pictured four times in *Katsura*, and from different perspectives. Tange's caption summarizes his point: "The vista from the Old Shoin out over the verandas, the Moon-viewing Platform, the pond, and the hillock to the moon is reminiscent of the lyrical mood of perspectives cherished in the aristocratic age, but it is interrupted by the stubbornly contrasting rock formations. Contrasts of this sort, which are found throughout Katsura, create tense space."¹¹² This statement supports Tange's central concept of the tension and synergy that arise from two different but coinciding forces: the order and consistency of the bamboo veranda stand in contrast to the organic vitality of the rock arrangement, covered with moss and fern. Another excellent example of this visual dualism is the

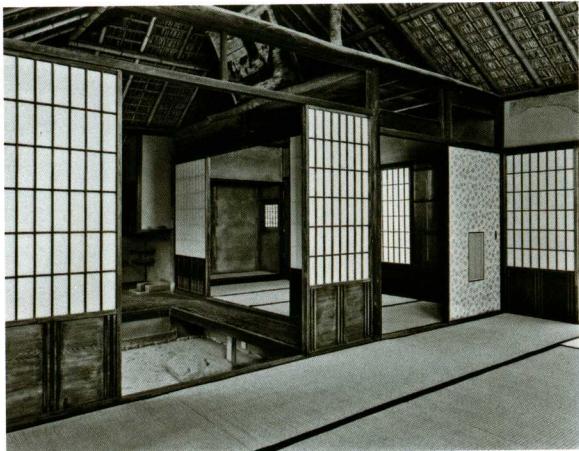


41

Fig. 41

Ishimoto Yasuhiro, *Untitled*, from the series *Katsura*, 1953–54, gelatin silver print, printed 1980–81, the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, gift of the artist in memory of Ishimoto Shigeru, 2009.263.

42



43 / 44

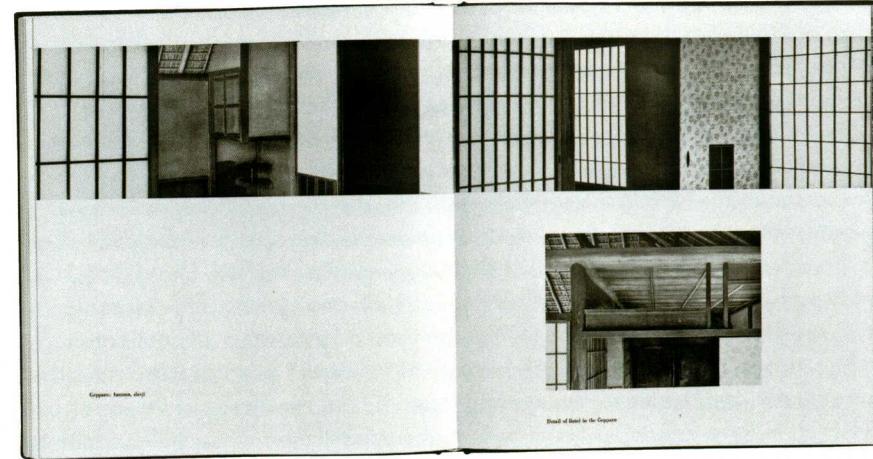
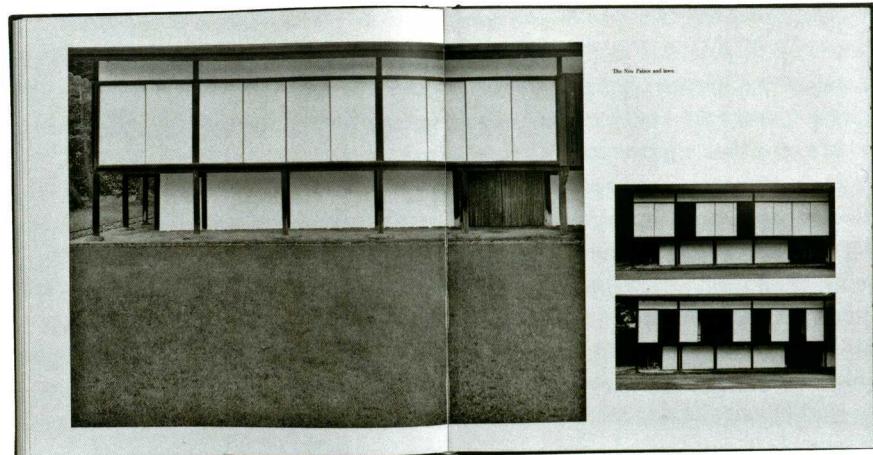


Fig. 42

Spread from *Katsura* (1960) showing Ishimoto Yasuhiro's 1954 photographs captioned "The New Palace and lawn."

Fig. 43

Ishimoto Yasuhiro, *Untitled*, from the series *Katsura*, 1954, silver gelatin print, the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, gift of the artist in the memory of Ishimoto Shigeru, 2009.260.

Fig. 44

Spread from *Katsura* (1960) showing the cropped version of Ishimoto Yasuhiro's 1954 photograph captioned "Gepparō: fusuma, shōji."

photograph captioned "The Middle Shoin, Music Room, and New Palace seen from the garden" [FIG. 34] (see also pages 94–95), which juxtaposes the orderly geometry of the base of the architecture with the garden's organically arranged stepping-stones covered with moss and grass.

In the spread captioned "The New Palace and lawn" [FIG. 42], by cropping out the curved roofs and by sequencing similarly cropped images of exterior walls and of the bases of the *shoin*, Tange forcefully reveals a pattern in Ishimoto's photographs of the New Palace. The repeating geometric exterior walls create the illusion that the structure might continue over or even transcend time. Tange sought to evoke the universality of time and space found in traditional Japanese architecture. He also wanted to enhance the geometry of the structure to suggest a resonance between Katsura and modern, for example Miesian, architecture. The vertical juxtaposition of two almost identical photographs of the same New Palace structure with slightly different arrangements of the *fusuma* (sliding wall-panels) not only illustrates the function of the panels but also emphasizes the spatial effects of the different arrangements, thus revealing a dynamism that is not immediately apparent in the traditional architecture. The whiteness and geometry of the palace walls are heightened by the dark brown lines of the columns, the crossbeams under the veranda, the sills, and the lintels. In addition, the various image scales throughout the publication—for example, in this spread, the two differently sized photographs of the same pavilion—disorient the viewer and create a labyrinthine effect.

Cropping was used as a technique to direct the reader to specific spatial elements. By eliminating extrinsic details, certain effects could be emphasized. Two examples of aggressive cropping include a photograph captioned "Gepparō: *fusuma, shōji*" [FIGS. 43 AND 44] and another captioned "Vicinity of the Central Gate" [FIGS. 45 AND 46]. The former is a horizontal fragment of a photograph that depicts an area in the Gepparō pavilion surrounding the loggia with its dirt floor. Shot at an angle, the photograph shows the progression of space, but its cropped version in the 1960 publication conveys only a narrow horizontal portion of the overall space, creating a kaleidoscopic effect of *shōji* screens, each slightly tilted to evoke a sense of cinematic mystery. In the other example, "Vicinity of the Central Gate," the top third of the photograph was cropped horizontally in the publication. As a result, the reader is directed to the dynamic collision of the three distinct elements: pebbles, an earthen wall, and a bamboo fence.

In Katsura, Tange desired to establish both a new social reality and an approach to the masses through his postwar designs. He wanted postwar modern architecture, unlike the villa of Katsura, which was originally created for the enjoyment of the imperial family, to provide an open space of social importance for the masses. The raised floor of the Middle Shoin and Music Room is emphasized in a photograph captioned "The Music Room and the New Palace" (page 99 [right]). This image reminded both Tange and Ishimoto of the use of



45



46

Fig. 45

Ishimoto Yasuhiro, *Untitled*, from the series *Katsura*, 1954, silver gelatin print, printed 1980–81, the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, gift of the artist in the memory of Ishimoto Shigeru, 2009.230.

Fig. 46

Ishimoto Yasuhiro's 1954 photograph captioned "Vicinity of the Central Gate," as it appeared in *Katsura* (1960).

pilotis in Le Corbusier's Villa Savoye and in Mies's Lake Shore Drive Apartments. To Tange, a space created by *pilotis* was a space of social significance, similar to the space created by the columns of the Ancient Agora of Athens or Rome's Forum.¹¹³ Tange frequently utilized *pilotis* in his own architecture of the 1950s, including the House in Seijo (1952–53) and the Kagawa Prefectural Government Office (1955–58), where the space below the floor serves as an open site for gatherings. By giving centrality in the Music Room photograph to the area beneath the raised floor, Tange hints at how this traditional arrangement of space can lend a dynamic force to modern architectural practice. In addition, the photograph shows a compositional and spatial complexity, emphasizing the contemporary nature of the details in the architectural and garden designs—something Tange tried to bring to the fore throughout the 1960 *Katsura* publication.

In his Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum [FIG. 47], Tange used *pilotis* to create a social and democratic space. Tange had argued that the work of an architect, as an intermediary who creatively reinvents tradition, should be shared with the masses.¹¹⁴ Thus, the museum's central space is Tange's reinvention of a design element found in premodern architecture. As shown in the two photographs shot by Tange [FIG. 48] from the top of the staircase to the museum's raised floor, more

47



Fig. 47
Ishimoto Yasuhiro, *Untitled*
(Hiroshima Peace Memorial
Museum), c. 1955, silver gelatin
print, the Museum of Fine Arts,
Houston, gift of the artist in the
memory of Ishimoto Shigeru,
2009.369.

than fifty thousand mourners assembled in the space and on its contiguous plaza for the tenth memorial service for the atomic-bomb victims in Hiroshima on August 9, 1955. To Tange, the views captured in these photographs eloquently demonstrated his success in fulfilling his intentions to create a space for the masses.¹¹⁵

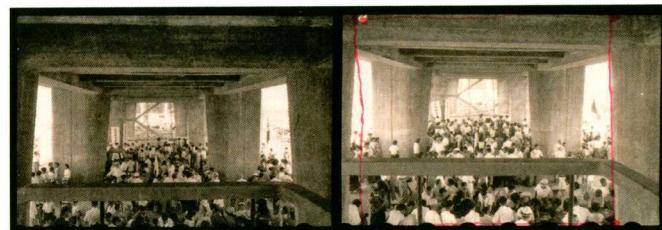
In his sizing, cropping, and arrangement of Ishimoto's images, Tange illustrated not only his position on the tradition debate but also his proposal for a new direction in postwar architecture. The book launched his concepts on an international scale and had a lasting impact on Japanese architecture and on architects for years to come.

KATSURA REVISITED: A NEW EDITION (1971) AND A NEW BOOK (1983)

Katsura was the subject of two later books, one in 1971 and another in 1983, that also featured photography by Ishimoto. Whereas the 1971 publication amounted to a revised and redesigned edition of the 1960 book, the 1983 book was a completely new book consisting of color photographs Ishimoto had taken in 1982 after the villa's restoration. These two publications provide insights into Tange's photo-editorial manipulation of the 1960 book, as well as into the collaborative relationship between the architect and the photographer and their subsequent ideological and aesthetic shifts.

The differences between the 1960 and 1971 editions bring to light Tange's orchestration of the original publication. As for Ishimoto, he does not recall being notified that the new edition was being planned.¹¹⁶ The 1960 publication was revised in its layout and content when it was reissued in 1971 by Chūō Kōronsha in Japan and in 1972 by Yale University Press in the United States. The purpose of the new edition was to replace the old photographic plates with crisp new ones and to erase references to the Bauhaus by removing Gropius's introduction and Bayer's design input from the publication. Although the 1971 edition utilized new plates of Ishimoto's same photographs from the original edition, the Japanese graphic designer Kamekura Yūsaku, working this time without Bayer, laid them out moderately differently. A few of the photographs were replaced and several were adjusted either by cropping or resizing. For example, an uncropped version of the photograph captioned "Gepparō: fusuma, shōji" was used in this edition [FIG. 43]. None of the photographs bleed off the page, as they had in the previous version; instead, each one is surrounded by a white margin. In some places, the order of the photographs was shuffled to enhance a certain narrative. Though Kamekura changed parts of the design, the basic layout of the publication stayed recognizably familiar. The fact that many of the photographs maintained their original cropings and captions suggests that Tange maintained his role in the making of the revised edition.

Between 1960 and 1971, Tange's career flourished against the background of the changing political, economic, and social conditions of Japan.



48

Fig. 48

Tange Kenzō, contact strip
images of Hiroshima Peace
Memorial Museum, 1955,
gelatin silver print, collection
of Uchida Michiko, Tokyo.

His design principle shifted from functionalism to structuralism. This evolution can be seen in the shift from his designs of the 1950s, such as the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum and the Kagawa Prefectural Government Office, to the utopian urbanism of his Tokyo Plan in 1960 and the megastructure of his master plan for the Japan World Exposition '70. Yet Katsura never lost its relevance in his strategic thinking as a site of the dialectic forces of the Jōmon and Yayoi cultures. In his new foreword to the 1971 edition, while recognizing the success of the 1960 edition, Tange emphasized the importance of the new edition: "The conflict and interaction between two traditions that are distinct in Japanese culture—an aesthetic, lyrical frame of mind and an underlying vital energy—always provide us with a basic subject for investigation. We will feel rewarded if the revised edition gives the reader a better understanding of these forces."¹¹⁷ The revised book also suggests Tange's continuing high regard for Ishimoto's photographs.

Ishimoto published his own book on Katsura, *Katsura Villa: Space and Form*, in 1983 with Iwanami Shoten in Japan and in 1987 with Rizzoli in the United States.¹¹⁸ For this later publication, Ishimoto photographed Katsura after the villa's restoration in 1982 using both color and black-and-white films and the same 4 × 5 large-format camera with a variety of lenses, including a 65 mm wide lens. By this time, not only did Katsura have a fresh appearance as a result of major restoration work, but Ishimoto's photography had also changed drastically over the course of thirty years.

In the process of making this new book, Ishimoto reviewed the color images, which were laid out by graphic designer Ohta Tetsuya (born 1941), who has since worked on most of the photographer's publications. Both Ishimoto and Ohta recall that almost no picture editing or cropping was done for the publication.¹¹⁹ Significantly, Ishimoto made a point of photographing some of the same locations featured in the 1960 edition from similar angles. In addition, he photographed places and objects that were omitted in the previous photographing opportunities. As the architect Isozaki Arata, who wrote an essay to accompany the color photographs, later pointed out, the type of visual information in the 1983 publication is fundamentally different from that contained in the 1960 publication, often making the villa look entirely different.¹²⁰ Ishimoto admits that he found it extremely difficult to create another body of work on Katsura.¹²¹ He was afraid of not being able to surpass the avant-garde nature of the earlier black-and-white images. However, part of his motivation to photograph the same site was to fully realize his own artistic vision of the architecture under different circumstances.

By then, his attitude toward modernism had changed greatly. His own interest in creating photography of "tradition" had been kindled by his experience, in 1976, of photographing hundreds of Buddhist deities pictured in what is known as the Mandalas of the Two Worlds (*Ryōkai Mandara*), a National Treasure preserved

at Shingon-in, a subtemple of the Tōji complex in Kyoto. This project was later made into a special boxed collector's edition, titled *The Mandalas of the Two Worlds: The Legend of Shingon-in* (1977). Ishimoto recalls:

I became deeply involved with this icon of the universe, and it was a startling revelation for me. I had never personally experienced such a strange, mysterious, beauty before: it profoundly affected my whole being. The sensuous, even voluptuous beauties of the Womb Realm Mandala, contrasted with, and yet organically complemented by the pristine formalism of the Diamond Realm Mandala, led me naturally to meditations on the accompanying Buddhist philosophy of *funi*, or nonduality. The supposedly separate or contradictory phenomena, such as maximum and minimum, positive and negative, physical and spiritual, life and death, are actually mutually interdependent and constitute cosmic illustrations of the principle of non-duality expressed by the lines from the sutras: "Though two, yet not two."¹²²

In this experience of "seeing the truth of the universe," Ishimoto realized that the beauty he had pursued until then was a "subtractive" beauty, as he wanted to "strip off excess, unnecessary features and extract only the essence, only the 'correct' forms."¹²³ He therefore reexamined the aesthetics he had once espoused, allowing himself to "entertain doubts about modernism" and to ask if modernism had "tried to tidy up the world and its people rather too much."¹²⁴ Katsura was naturally an object of reconsideration:

The first time I photographed Katsura was right after I got out of school in Chicago. This was prior to its restoration—within the architecture there was no decoration. It was very monochromatic and had clean simple lines—like modern design—and it was just right for me back then. There was no color, so its essence was revealed directly. When I photographed Katsura for the second time, there was color. It was restored to its original style—if I had seen it first in the restored condition, I might have strongly rejected it. I wouldn't have been ready to accept it. It has an attraction, but if I had seen the decoration first, I wouldn't have accepted it. By making the photographs of *Mandalas* between the first and second Katsura photographing, I came to accept a wider range of things. I came to accept decorative things—which I had previously rejected out of a certain aesthetics I had back then. So, in 1982, I was able to approach Katsura more openly. It expresses the Japanese aesthetic principle of *kirei-sabi*, which is a slightly expanded version of *wabi-sabi*; by doing *Mandalas*, I started to open myself to that sort of thing.¹²⁵

Color photography, in other words, enabled Ishimoto to add another dimension to his earlier black-and-white photography, revealing more details. It lent an aura of contemporariness to the architecture, but, as a result, the architecture was visually rendered in a completely different light, sometimes appearing as a static object. Even when shooting at the same location and from a similar angle, he found that, with color, he was able to make a difference in visualizing "the refined



Fig. 49

Ishimoto Yasuhiro, *Untitled*,
from the series *The Mandalas
of the Two Worlds at the Kyō
Gokokuji*, 1973, chromogenic
print, collection of the artist.

50 / 51



52



combination of ornamentation and restraint, of sophistication and rusticity" of Katsura.¹²⁶ Isozaki was involved in the publication's making from a relatively early point, but did not edit the images. Because of this lack of editing, Ishimoto acknowledges that the images became wholly his own. With a heightened sense of the villa's renewed beauty, he photographed Katsura, this time including even its ornate shelves and triangular roofs, and in the process came to the realization that Katsura was, indeed, "a stately pleasure dome for the aristocracy of the Edo period."¹²⁷

All in all, the 1983 book, with its more consistent sizing of color photographs, does not portray the sense of movement or dynamism created by the layout of the photographs in the 1960 *Katsura*. This uniformity does not convey the sensation of taking an imagined tour of the villa, of walking from one teahouse to the next and noticing details along the way. A sense of formal "architectural photography" permeates the interior images. The absence of prose headings in the new book also effaces the poetic quality of the earlier book. However, the color images are sumptuously rich (often to the point of distraction) and always focused and pristine. Each image undeniably reflects Ishimoto's photographic mastery.

Comparisons of similar images from the two books reveal their discrepancies. For instance, two images of the same stone pavement of the Inner Garden convey almost entirely different information. The black-and-white image [FIG. 50], narrowly cut, focuses on the layered arrangement of rocks and stones of various shapes. The verticality of the image gives us a sense of direction. In contrast, in the color version [FIG. 51], the details take prominence over the composition as a whole. The color image's wider view and the details of the gemlike stones may distract viewers from appreciating its dynamic overall composition.

In another example, the color photograph *Stepping-stones toward the Music Room, the Middle Shoin (right), and the New Palace (left)* [FIG. 52] juxtaposes the order and rationality of the geometric main shoin and the well-tended garden with its beautifully arranged stepping-stones, whereas the black-and-white photograph of the same location shot in 1954 [FIG. 34 (top left)] emphasizes the sense of dynamism and dualism. However, by including the structure's angular roof in the color image, Ishimoto acknowledges the villa's more elaborate historical architectural details.

Color photography enabled the artist to capture a full range of hues, including nuanced shades of gold and silver used in some of the renovated interior walls and screens. For example, in the color photograph *Interior of the Old Shoin, Viewed from the Veranda Room* [FIG. 53], golden tones in the brand-new tatami and fusuma, with their gold-leaf family crests, distinguish the space, contrasting impressively with the brown cedar columns and the decorative wood filigree transom. However, the colors once again detract somewhat from the compositional dynamics and from the element of time, as represented in the older photograph.

As Ishimoto has said, with color he did not shy away from photographing details of ornate and painted shelves, as seen in images such as *Imperial Dais*

Fig. 50

Ishimoto Yasuhiro's 1954 photograph captioned "Rock Arrangement at the Central Gate," as it appeared in *Katsura* (1960).

Fig. 51

Ishimoto Yasuhiro, *Stone Pavement of the Inner Gate, Natural Stone, and Ashlar Pavings*, 1981, chromogenic print, collection of the artist.

Fig. 52

Ishimoto Yasuhiro, *Stepping-stones toward the Music Room, the Middle Shoin (right), and the New Palace (left)*, 1981, chromogenic print, collection of the artist.

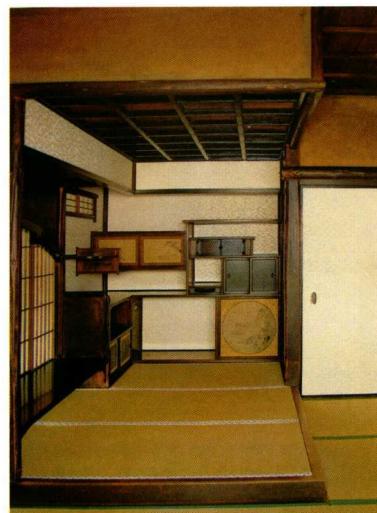
and the Katsura Shelves at the Southwest Corner of the First Room of the New Palace [FIG. 54]. In the 1960 book, curves and decorations were seen as kitsch. Every effort had been made to avoid them, both by Ishimoto when he was photographing the villa and by Tange when he was editing the photographs. However, the modernist abhorrence of kitsch did not carry through to his new color photography.

Ishimoto's color photographs suggest not only the change in the subjects Ishimoto found desirable at the other end of his lens, but also the shift in his interpretation of modernity through photography. In these images, created nearly thirty years after Ishimoto's return to Japan, the notion of tradition had become familiar and anesthetized to Ishimoto. The 1983 book marks a sharp departure from his previous radical and avant-garde ways of seeing Katsura.

Ultimately, *Katsura: Tradition and Creation in Japanese Architecture*, issued in 1960, was, and still is, a visually and ideologically charged photographic publication, created at the height of upheavals in Japan's political, social, intellectual, and artistic milieus of the 1950s. The book, and Ishimoto's photographs in particular, provided the perfect means by which Tange could address the tradition debate in Japan and bolster his new direction in architecture after World War II. The success of the book and its international circulation made Katsura a topic of great interest among architects and photographers. Although Ishimoto's photographic aesthetics permeate the publication, and although Ishimoto and Tange indeed shared a similar photographic vision of Katsura, Tange's aggressive cropping, sizing, and sequencing of Ishimoto's images subordinated the photographer's vision to serve the architect's own agenda. In essence, the book became not only the container but also the constitution of Tange's postwar ideology of architecture, and it demonstrated the power of photography to convey these ideas. Despite their shared vision of Katsura, the two men approached the subject from different backgrounds and with different intentions—and these intentions changed over time. Now, fifty years later, we have a more complete picture of how Ishimoto first saw Katsura, and how his impressions of the site evolved with his own development as an artist. Yet his enduring interest in the villa, and the fact that architects and photographers alike have returned again and again to the site as a place of beauty and inspiration, a place of inquiry and ambiguity, testify to the fact that Katsura is, indeed, an eternal subject of interpretation and observation.



53



54

Fig. 53

Ishimoto Yasuhiro, *Interior of the Old Shoin, Viewed from the Veranda Room*, 1981, chromogenic print, collection of the artist.

Fig. 54

Ishimoto Yasuhiro, *Imperial Dais and the Katsura Shelves at the Southwest Corner of the First Room of the New Palace*, 1981, chromogenic print, collection of the artist.

Notes

All translation from Japanese sources is by author, unless otherwise noted.

- 1 Minor White, "Photographs by Yasuhiro Ishimoto," in *Photographs by Yasuhiro Ishimoto*, exh. brochure (Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago, 1960).
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 Okamoto Tarō and Ishimoto Yasuhiro, "Shashin taidan: Okamoto Tarō/Ishimoto Yasuhiro" (A dialogue about photography by Okamoto Tarō and Ishimoto Yasuhiro), *Camera* (July 1956): 185–88. Artist Okamoto Tarō, who had studied ethnology under Marcel Mauss at Sorbonne, attended the Collège de Sociologie Sacré organized by George Bataille, and returned to Japan in 1940, was vocal about his avant-garde interpretation of "tradition" (stating, "we make 'tradition' in contemporary life") and was influential in Japan's artistic world. In the dialogue, Okamoto argued that one of the characteristics of Ishimoto's photography, at least to the Japanese audience at that time, was the seeming absence of "ideology or preconceived notions" (*gainenteki na mono*), which manifested in his matter-of-fact (*sokubutsuteki na*) photographic expressions. This style shared similarities with the aesthetics of the *Neue Sachlichkeit* (New Objectivity).
- 4 White, "Photographs by Yasuhiro Ishimoto."
- 5 Arata Isozaki, *Japan-ness in Architecture*, trans. Sabu Kohso (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2006), 249.
- 6 Ibid.
- 7 Ibid.
- 8 Anne Wilkes Tucker et al., *The History of Japanese Photography* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, in association with the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 2003), 369. Several examples of stereocards of Katsura created for the survey can be found at the digital image library of the Tokyo National Museum Web Archives. See <http://www.ndl.go.jp/scenery/kansai/e/data/117/index.htm>. For a detailed discussion on the Jinshin survey and photography, see Okatsuka Akiko, *Utsusareta kokuhō: Nihon ni okeru bunkazai shashin no keifu* (Image and essence: A genealogy of Japanese photographers' views of national treasures) (Tokyo: Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography, 2000).
- 9 *Gedanken über Katsura* was originally produced as a publication resembling an architect's sketchbook. This fact is emphasized in the title of the Japanese edition, which was reissued several times: *Gachō Katsura Rikyū*. *Gachō* means "sketchbook."
- 10 Kishida Hideto, *Kako no kōsei* (Structures of the past) (Tokyo: Kōseisha Shobō, 1929). Kishida followed this photo book with another, *Gendai no kōsei* (Structures of the present) (Tokyo: Kōseisha Shobō, 1930), in which he highlights the beauty and modernism of anonymous industrial structures. Kishida also created the photography book *Kyōto Gosho* (Kyoto Palace) (1954), which includes sixty-six pages of his photographs of the palace.
- 11 Mori Osamu, *Katsura Rikyū no kenkyū* (The study of the Katsura Imperial Villa) (Tokyo: Tōto Bunka Shuppan, 1955). In 1951, Mori also published *Katsura Rikyū* with Sōgensha, with a new edition issued in 1956.
- 12 Horiguchi Sutemi, *Katsura Rikyū* (Tokyo: Mainichi Shinbun, 1953).
- 13 Ishimoto Yasuhiro, in an interview with the author, Tokyo, September 28, 2007. In researching Ishimoto's *Katsura*, I conducted a series of interviews with Ishimoto between September 2007 and September 2009. Although the most recent published interview with him by Naito Hiroshi in *Inax Report*, no. 176 (October 2008) is of substantial length, I have not referred to it due to what I consider to be an extensive editing of the photographer's words.
- 14 Norman Carver, in a telephone interview with the author, October 24, 2009. In 1955 Carver published *Form and Space of Japanese Architecture: Photographs by Norman F. Carver, Jr.* in Japan (Tokyo: Shokokusha, 1955). The book contains 159 black-and-white photographs of various premodern buildings in Kyoto and Nara.
- 15 The Institute of Design was founded as the Chicago School of Design in 1937 by László Moholy-Nagy, who taught at the Bauhaus between 1923 and 1928. The school later became the Institute of Design, and in 1949, it merged with the Illinois Institute of Technology. See Lloyd C. Engelbrecht, "Educating the Eye: Photography and the Founding Generation at the Institute of Design, 1937–46," and Keith David, "To Open an Individual Way": Photography at the Institute of Design, 1946–61," in *Taken by Design: Photographs from the Institute of Design, 1937–1971* (Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago, in association with the University of Chicago Press, 2002), 16–33, and 68–91, respectively.
- 16 For discussions of the impact of Moholy-Nagy's writing and philosophy on Ishimoto, see Colin Westerbeck, "The Ten Foot Square Hut," in *Yasuhiro Ishimoto: A Tale of Two Cities* (Chicago: the Art Institute of Chicago, 1999), 35–57.
- 17 Charles Traub, "Photography Education Comes of Age," in *The New Vision: Forty Years of Photography at the Institute of Design*, ed. Charles Traub (New York: Aperture, 1982), 35–46.
- 18 Ishimoto, in an interview with the author, Tokyo, November 20, 2007.
- 19 Sarah Greenough, "Art of Seeing," in *Harry Callahan: Photographs by Harry Callahan* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1997), 38.
- 20 This exhibition included work by Marvin E. Newman and Roy de Carava in addition to Ishimoto, and was dedicated to the seventy-fifth birthday of writer and poet Carl Sandburg (1878–1967). See Jacob Deschin, "The Young Strangers' Museum Exhibit of Prints Chosen by Steichen," *New York Times*, 1 March 1953, X14.
- 21 Marvin E. Newman (born 1927), Ishimoto's best friend from the ID, recalls that Ishimoto, as the eldest of three children, felt that he should return to Japan. Marvin E. Newman, in a telephone interview with the author, February 13, 2009.
- 22 In Japan, the exhibition was titled *Warera ningēn kazoku* (We, the human family) and traveled to various cities including Tokyo, Osaka, and Nagoya beginning in March 1956. The exhibition, a highly imaginative installation of photographs in various sizes, was designed by Kamiya Kōji and Tange Kenzō. Both Tange and Ishimoto were part of *The Family of Man* Japan committee.
- 23 Wachmann was well known in Japan for his space-frame designs. In Japan in 1955, he conducted an influential twenty-one-day seminar series for young Japanese architects, in which he discussed these designs. See "Wakkusuman seminā" (Wachsmann's seminars), *Shinkenchiku* (New architecture) 31 (February 1956): 57.
- 24 Mr. and Mrs. John D. Rockefeller also participated in this trip. The group also met with prominent figures in Japanese politics, business, and art to negotiate the financing and logistics of the garden exhibition. The details of this exhibition and Drexler's trip to Japan are documented in an unsigned article, "A House of Old Japan in the Heart of Manhattan," *The America-Japan Society Bulletin* 3, no. 2 (July–August 1954): 16–20.

- 25** Drexler was most drawn to the simply designed Guest Hall (*kyakuden*) of two subtemples of the great Tendai monastery, Onjōji. Located in Ōtsu, a suburb of Kyoto, the temple was built in the seventeenth century in the *shoin* style. This tour later produced the *shoin*-style Shōfūsō at MoMA. Ishimoto contributed many photographs to Drexler's publication, *The Architecture of Japan* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1955). Ishimoto had photographed what Drexler requested, but in his own way.
- 26** Hamaguchi Ryūichi, "Katsura Rikyū no niwaishi to kameraman Ishimoto: Kindai Bijutsukan Gendai no me ten yori" (The garden stones of the Katsura Imperial Palace and photographer Ishimoto: From the exhibition Today's Focus at the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo), *Mizue* 593 (February 1955): 61.
- 27** Ibid.
- 28** Nagano Shigeichi and Ōshima Hiroshi, "Ishimoto Yasuhiro rongu intabyū: Tanjō kara genzai made" (A long interview with Ishimoto Yasuhiro: From birth to the present), in *Shashin nenkan 2006* (Photography annual 2006), ed. Nippon Camera Mook (Tokyo: Nippon Camera, 2006), 178–208.
- 29** Tange Kenzō, *Tange Kenzō: Ippon no enpitsu kara* (Tange Kenzō: From one pencil) (Tokyo: Nihon Tosho Sentā, 1997), 9–11.
- 30** Nagano and Ōshima, "Ishimoto Yasuhiro rongu intabyū," in *Shashin nenkan 2006*, 181–82.
- 31** Tange, *Tange Kenzō: Ippon no enpitsu kara*, 9–11.
- 32** Ishimoto, in an interview with the author, Tokyo, May 20, 2008. Indeed, photography played a crucial role in rehabilitating the image of Hirohito immediately following the end of the war. For example, the photo essay titled "Sunday at Hirohito's: Emperor Poses for First Informal Pictures" appeared in the February 4, 1946, issue of *Life*, in which the Japanese Emperor, whose fate was unknown at that time, was portrayed as a peaceful family man and marine biologist.
- 33** Arata Isozaki discusses in depth the relationship between Tange's winning design entries and his attitude toward Japan's *tōno* system and his pursuit of "Japan-ness" in architecture in *Japan-ness in Architecture*, 14–21.
- 34** Arata Isozaki discusses in depth the development of *teikan-heigō-shiki* (crown-topped style) citing the architect Kikutaro Shimoda (1866–1931) as an early advocate of the style, considering the style as "a unification of rational structure and traditional symbol, thus affording an emblem simple enough to be widely appreciated." *Japan-ness in Architecture*, 8. One of the existing examples of a building with the style is the main gallery of the Tokyo National Museum (1932–38), which was designed by the architect Watanabe Jun.
- 35** Tange Kenzō, interview by Fujimori Terunobu, "Konpe no jidai" (Era of design competitions), *Kenchiku zasshi* (Journal of architecture and building science) 100, no. 1229 (January 1985): 23.
- 36** Reiko Tomii, "After the 'Descent to the Everyday': Japanese Collectivism from Hi Red Center to the Play, 1964–1973," in *The Art of Social Imagination after 1945: Collectivism after Modernism*, eds. Blake Stimson and Gregory Sholette (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), 52–53.
- 37** Kokusai Dezain Komitī (International Design Committee) and Okamoto Tarō, "Me: Good design" (The eye: Good design), in *Aoyama jidai no Okamoto Tarō 1954–1970: Gendai Geijutsu Kenkyūjo kara Taiyō no tō made* (Tarō Okamoto: The Contemporary Art Institute through Expo '70), eds. Satō Reiko et al. (Kawasaki: Tarō Okamoto Museum of Art, 2007), 54 and 62, respectively. The latter was originally published in *Dokushojin* (Reading people), March 21, 1956.
- 38** The International Design Committee of Japan was organized after Japan had been invited to participate in the Milan Design Triennial in 1953 but was unable to accept due to the absence of an organization that could coordinate such an event in Japan. The founding members of the International Design Committee included Ishimoto Yasuhiro, architects Tange Kenzō, Seike Kiyoshi, Yoshizaka Takamasa, Sakakura Junzō, and Maekawa Kunio; designers Charlotte Perriand, Kenmochi Isamu, Watanabe Riki, Yanagi Sōri, and Kamekura Yūsaku; critics Katsumi Masaru, Takiguchi Shūzō, and Hamaguchi Ryūichi; and artist Okamoto Tarō. For more on the committee's activities, see the Japan Design Committee's Web site, <http://designcommittee.jp/#/about> and interviews with Watanabe Chikara, Ishimoto Yasuhiro, Chō Taisaku, and Fujino Yoshitaka in "Kokusai Dezain Komitī no koro" (Around the time of the International Design Committee), in *Aoyama jidai no Okamoto Tarō 1954–1970: Gendai Geijutsu Kenkyūjo kara Taiyō no tō made* (Tarō Okamoto: The Contemporary Art Institute through Expo '70), 171–77.
- 39** Jikken Kōbō (Experimental Workshop) is an interdisciplinary collaborative that was organized by the Surrealist poet and art critic Takiguchi Shūzō in 1951 and lasted until 1957. Other than Ōtsuji, the group included pianist Sonoda Takahiro, composer Takemitsu Tōru, and an early multimedia artist who pioneered the use of technology, Yamaguchi Masahiro. The group's wide-ranging activities encompassed stage designs and exhibitions and reached a peak in 1953, coinciding with Ishimoto's return to Japan. For more on Experimental Workshop, see Miwako Tezuka, "Jikken Kōbō (Experimental Workshop): Avant-Garde Experiments in Japanese Art of the 1950s," PhD dissertation, Columbia University, 2005.
- 40** Ōtsuji Kiyoji, interview by Okatsuka Akiko, "Interview with Ōtsuji Kiyoji," in *Ishimoto Yasuhiro: Chicago, Tokyo* (Tokyo: Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography, 1998), 156–57.
- 41** Ōtsuji Kiyoji no shashin: *Deai to koraboreshon* (Photography of Ōtsuji Kiyoji: Encounters and collaborations) (Tokyo: Film Art-sha, 2007), 54–55.
- 42** Ishimoto, in an interview with the author, Tokyo, September 15, 2009.
- 43** White, "Photographs by Yasuhiro Ishimoto."
- 44** Okamoto and Ishimoto, "Shashin taidan: Okamoto Tarō/Ishimoto Yasuhiro," 185–88.
- 45** Ishimoto's photographs were featured in such major magazines as *Asahi Graph* (December 1953), *Bijutsu techō* (April and May 1954), *Mizue* (February 1955), and *Ikebana Sōgetsu* (March 1954). In 1954, soon after his return to Japan, he began photographing various modern and premodern architectures for *Shinkenchiku*.
- 46** In his exhibition series at Takemiya Gallery, Takiguchi endeavored to give emerging talents the opportunity for solo exhibitions, still rare at the time in Japan. See Ebizuka Kōichi, "Shuzo Takiguchi and the Takemiya Gallery," trans. Reiko Tomii, in *1953: Shedding Light on Art in Japan* (Tokyo: Tama Art University and Meguro Museum of Art, 1998), 59–66.
- 47** Takiguchi Shūzō, "Ishimoto Yasuhiro no shigoto" (Work of Ishimoto Yasuhiro), *Camera* (July 1956): 182–83.
- 48** See *Gendai no shashin-ten: Nihon to Amerika* (The Exhibition of Contemporary Photography: Japan and America), exh. cat. (Tokyo: The National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo, 1953).

- My discussion of the exhibition with Masuda Rei, curator of photography at the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo, on September 15, 2009, was most helpful in understanding the exhibition's historical significance.
- 49** Tange, in an announcement flier for Ishimoto's book *Aru hi aru tokoro* (Someday, Somewhere) (Tokyo: Geibi Shuppansha, 1958).
- 50** Tange, *Tange Kenzō: Ippon no enpitsu kara*, 16–18.
- 51** Uchida Michiko, in an interview with the author, Tokyo, January 20, 2008.
- 52** Subsequently, as a graduate student, he traveled to Ise, Izumo, Kyoto, Nara, and Kamakura to visit examples of premodern architecture. Tange Kenzō and Fujimori Terunobu, *Tange Kenzō* (Tokyo: Shinkenchikusha, 2002), 75. Also, Fujimori Terunobu, in an interview with the author, Tokyo, November 5, 2007. Fujimori Terunobu is a professor of the history of architecture at the University of Tokyo's Institute of Industrial Science.
- 53** Tange, interview by Fujimori, "Konpe no jidai," 22. In Tange's first published essay in 1940, he expresses his admiration for the space created by Le Corbusier—specifically its cinematic and sculptural effects, as compared to spaces often found in functional modern architecture (such as Bauhaus architecture)—though an analogical comparison of work by Michelangelo to that by Filippo Brunelleschi. See Tange Kenzō, "Mikeranjero syō: Rukorubyujie ron no jyosetsu to shite" [In praise of Michelangelo: An introduction to my thesis on Le Corbusier], *Gendai kenchiku* (Contemporary architecture) (January 1940): unpaginated.
- 54** Fujimori Terunobu, in an interview with the author, Tokyo, November 5, 2007.
- 55** Murai Osamu, interview by Okatsuka Akiko, "Kenchiku shashin raireki" [My personal history with architectural photography: An interview with photographer Murai Osamu], in *Kenchiku no kioku* (Remembrance of places past), exh. cat. (Tokyo: Tokyo Metropolitan Foundation for History and Culture, Tokyo Metropolitan Teien Art Museum, 2008), 331. Also, Murai Osamu, interview by author, Tokyo, February 18, 2008.
- 56** Katō Toshiko, in an interview with the author, Tokyo, January 10, 2008.
- 57** These albums are in the collection of Uchida Michiko (Tange's daughter with Katō Toshiko) in Tokyo.
- 58** In the fifth and sixth frames of the third row from the top, a woman is seen seated on the veranda facing the Moon-viewing Platform with a man in a suit photographing her. They are likely his wife Katō Toshiko and the Japanese-American artist Isamu Noguchi, whom the couple took around Kyoto. Tange frequently included Katō in his photographs, as her five-foot-tall figure served as a convenient scale within architectural settings. She was hence nicknamed "Madam Human Scale."
- 59** The architecture critic Kawazoe Noboru, Tange's close associate at the time, wrote in 1960 after the book was released that Tange had taken several hundred photographs of Katsura with his 35 mm camera and had also given Ishimoto some instructions on how to photograph Katsura. Kawazoe Noboru, "Katsura to shōbu suru Tange: Dentō no hakai ni koso sōzō ga aru" [Tange fights Katsura: There is creation only when tradition is destroyed], *Nihon dokusho shinbun* (Japan bookreaders' newspaper), August 1, 1960, 3.
- 60** Ishimoto Yasuhiro, Katō Toshiko, and Uchida Michiko, in an interview with the author, Tokyo, September 14, 2009.
- 61** For an overview of the tradition debate, see Kitazawa Noriaki, "Dentō ronsō: 60-nendai abangarudo e no airo" [The tradition debate: A narrow path to the 1960s avant-garde], in *Bijutsu hihyō to Nihon no sengo bijutsu* (Art criticism and postwar art in Japan), ed. AICA (Tokyo: Brücke, 2007), 103–22.
- 62** The debate also extended to the fields of fine art, art criticism, art history, and even art education. See ibid., 104.
- 63** For more on this topic, especially in reference to the influential literary critic Takeuchi Yoshimi, see my chapter on Katsura in "Imagining Cities: Visions of Avant-Garde Architects and Artists from 1953–1970 Japan," PhD dissertation, Cornell University, forthcoming.
- 64** Yatsuka Hajime, *Shisō to shite no Nihon kindai kenchiku* (Modern Japanese architecture as thought) (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2005), 546. Kawazoe Noboru, the theoretical instigator of the debate, later confirmed that Tange was made its "target," in "Kokuminteki chitsujō no keisei: Iwayuru Nihonteki na mono ni kanshite" [The formation of national order: On the so-called things Japanese], *Shisō* (Thought) 449 (November 1961): 48.
- 65** *Guropiusu to Nihon bunka* (Gropius and Japanese culture) (Tokyo: Shōkukusha, 1956), 400.
- 66** Tange Kenzō, "Guropiusu no nokoshita yoin" [The reverberations of Gropius], in ibid., 377.
- 67** Mori Minoru, "Guropiusu hakase no Nihon-kan: Kyōto no kokenchiku teien ni tsuite" [Dr. Gropius's views on Japan: Regarding old architectural gardens in Kyoto], in ibid., 142.
- 68** Tange, "Guropiusu no nokoshita yoin," in ibid., 160.
- 69** Ibid.
- 70** Ibid., 376.
- 71** Ibid., 378.
- 72** Ibid., 381.
- 73** Tange Kenzō, "An Approach to Tradition," *Japan Architect* (January–February 1959): 59–65, as quoted in Jonathan M. Reynolds, "Ise Shrine and a Modernist Construction of Japanese Tradition," *The Art Bulletin* 83, no. 2 (June 2001): 324.
- 74** The artist Okamoto Tarō is a seminal figure in considering the role of photography in the tradition debate. His passion for photography traces back to his time in Paris during the 1930s, when he learned photographic skills from artists such as Brassai. Okamoto influenced Tange regarding the effective use of photography in conveying a position in the tradition debate. Okamoto, who positioned Jōmon clay as an energetic life source for contemporary art and design, used his own high-contrast black-and-white photographs of the prehistoric figurines and wares in his visually arresting article, "Yojigen to no taiwa—Jōmon doki ron" [Dialogue with the fourth dimension: Theory of Jōmon earthenware], which appeared in the February 1952 issue of *Mizue*. The June 1956 issue of *Shinkenchiku*, the journal's first issue made available in English as *Japan Architect*, and which included Tange's influential essay "Creation in present-day architecture and the Japanese architectural tradition," featured Okamoto's photo-essay "Human drama in stone and tree." There, Okamoto argues with his own high-contrast black-and-white photographs of premodern rock gardens that Japanese gardens embody the dialectics of two opposing values: the organic and the inorganic; life and death; comfort and fear; and destruction and growth; as represented in the constant battle between ever-growing vegetation and seemingly immobile stones.
- 75** Kawazoe Noboru, in an interview with the author, Tokyo, June 2, 2009.
- 76** Shirai Seiichi, "Jōmon teki narumono: Egawashi kyū Nirayamakan ni tsuite" [About things

- Jōmonesque: The medieval residential architecture of the Egawas, Nirayama-kan), *Shinkenchiku* (New architecture) 31 (August 1956): 4–8.
- ⁷⁷ Fujimori Terunobu, in an interview with the author, Tokyo, November 5, 2007.
- ⁷⁸ Tange Kenzō, "Genzai Nihon ni oite kindai kenchiku o ikani rikai suruka: Dentō no sōzō no tame ni" (My conception [of] modern architecture in present-day Japan: To create tradition," *Shinkenchiku* (New architecture) 30 (January 1955): 17.
- ⁷⁹ Tange Kenzō, "Gendai kenchiku no sōzō to Nihon kenchiku no dentō" (Creation in present-day architecture and the Japanese architectural tradition), *Shinkenchiku* (New architecture) 31 (June 1956): 31.
- ⁸⁰ Ibid., 36–37.
- ⁸¹ Tange Kenzō, letter to Walter Gropius, July 29, 1955, Tange Papers, in the collection of Uchida Michiko, Tokyo. Although this unsigned letter was prepared under the names of both Tange and Ishimoto, it was prepared by Tange under the letterhead of Tange's university office without the knowledge of Ishimoto.
- ⁸² Ishimoto, in an interview with the author, Tokyo, September 28, 2007.
- ⁸³ Herbert Bayer, letter to Kobayashi Hideo, August 4, 1955, Tange Papers, in the collection of Uchida Michiko, Tokyo.
- ⁸⁴ Herbert Bayer, letter to Kobayashi Hideo, October 5, 1955, Tange Papers, in the collection of Uchida Michiko, Tokyo.
- ⁸⁵ Tange Kenzō, letter to Walter Gropius, January 31, 1956, Tange Papers, in the collection of Uchida Michiko, Tokyo.
- ⁸⁶ In ibid., Tange states that he was going to send on the same date "the photos...with the detailed explanatory note."
- ⁸⁷ Tange Kenzō, letter to Herbert Bayer, June 18, 1956, Tange Papers, in the collection of Uchida Michiko, Tokyo.
- ⁸⁸ Dominika Glogowski, in a telephone interview with the author, Houston, October 13, 2009. A PhD candidate at University of Applied Arts Vienna, Glogowski is completing a dissertation on the relationship between Isamu Noguchi and Herbert Bayer in relation to landscape in post-war Japan and has published "Herbert Bayer in the Context of the Japanese Architectural Debate 1960–1971," in *Ahoj Herbert! Bayer and Modernism*, exh. cat. (Linz, Austria: LENTOS Art Museum Linz, 2009), in which she reported her findings based on her study of Bayer's diary entries, including ones from June and July 1957.
- ⁸⁹ Kobayashi Hideo, letter to Herbert Bayer, August 23, 1957, Tange Papers, in the collection of Uchida Michiko, Tokyo.
- ⁹⁰ Ibid.
- ⁹¹ Ibid.
- ⁹² Ishimoto, in an interview with the author, Tokyo, November 20, 2007.
- ⁹³ Herbert Bayer, letter to Tange Kenzō, December 29, 1958, Tange Papers, in the collection of Uchida Michiko, Tokyo.
- ⁹⁴ Chester Kerr, letter to Kobayashi Hideo, June 5, 1959, Yale University Press Katsura/Tange Papers, in the collection of Manuscripts and Archive, Yale University, New Haven, CT.
- ⁹⁵ Kobayashi Hideo, letter to Tange Kenzō, May 19 and 27, 1959, Tange Papers, in the collection of Uchida Michiko, Tokyo.
- ⁹⁶ Chester Kerr, letter to Kobayashi Hideo, June 5, 1959.
- ⁹⁷ Kobayashi Hideo, letter to Tange Kenzō, May 14, 1959, Tange Papers, in the collection of Uchida Michiko, Tokyo.
- ⁹⁸ Kobayashi Hideo, letter to Ishimoto Yasuhiro, August 17, 1959, Tange Papers, in the collection of Uchida Michiko, Tokyo.
- ⁹⁹ Chester Kerr, letter to Herbert Bayer, October 13, 1960, Yale University Press Katsura/Tange Papers, in the collection of Manuscripts and Archive, Yale University, New Haven, CT.
- ¹⁰⁰ The designer of this publication, Daphne Geismar, who received her graduate training in graphic design from Paul Rand at Yale University and is familiar with designs of Herbert Bayer, shared with me her valuable insight that the 1960 publication does not have the feel of Bayer's book design, pointing out, for example, that the font used for the essays is not his preferred font style. New Haven, CT, October 5, 2009.
- ¹⁰¹ José Luis Sert to Kenzō Tange, October 13, 1960, Tange Papers, in the collection of Uchida Michiko, Tokyo.
- ¹⁰² Ishimoto Shigeru, letter to Tange Kenzō, January 23, March 5, and March 17, 1959, Tange Papers, in the collection of Uchida Michiko, Tokyo.
- ¹⁰³ Edwin Stein, Jr., Yale University Press Internal Memo to Chester Kerr, October 11, 1960, Tange/Katsura Papers, in the collection of Manuscripts and Archive, Yale University, New Haven, CT.
- ¹⁰⁴ My review of Yale University Press's book announcement and several book reviews has revealed that the press's announcement that appeared in the autumn 1960 issue of *Art Journal* (vol. 20, no. 1) and the December 1960 issue of *The Journal of Architectural Historians* (vol. 19, no. 4) lists Ishimoto as the third of the three authors after Gropius and Tange. This advertisement implies that Ishimoto's photographs only illustrate the essays by Gropius and Tange. A book review on *Katsura* that appeared in the February 1962 issue of *The Journal of Asian Studies* (vol. 21, no. 2) lists only Gropius and Tange as co-authors, entirely skipping Ishimoto in the author information.
- ¹⁰⁵ Edwin Stein, Jr., Yale University Press Internal Memo to Chester Kerr, regarding Ishimoto's telephone conversation of October 6, 1960, Yale University Press Tenge/Katsura Papers, in the collection of Manuscripts and Archive, Yale University, New Haven, CT.
- ¹⁰⁶ In 1958, the owner of David-sha, Tōyama Nao (who was a son of Tōyama Gen'ichi, a founder of one of the largest securities brokerage houses in postwar Japan, Nikko Securities) moved to the United States, and thus the company was dissolved. Katō Toshiko, in an interview with the author, Tokyo, September 20, 2009.
- ¹⁰⁷ Edwin Stein, Jr., letter to Ishimoto Yasuhiro, October 13, 1959, Yale University Press Katsura/Tange Papers, in the collection of Manuscripts and Archive, Yale University, New Haven, CT.
- ¹⁰⁸ My examination of the Tange Papers in the collection of Uchida Michiko, Tokyo, has revealed that this photograph and the individual photo captions were added toward the end of the design process, at the behest of Yale University Press. Kobayashi Hideo, letter to Tange Kenzō, May 27, 1959, Tange Papers, in the collection of Uchida Michiko, Tokyo.
- ¹⁰⁹ Ishimoto Yasuhiro and Tange Kenzō, *Katsura: Tradition and Creation in Japanese Architecture*, trans. Charles S. Terry (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1960), 38.
- ¹¹⁰ Okamoto and Ishimoto, "Shashin taidan: Okamoto Tarō and Ishimoto Yasuhiro," 185–88.
- ¹¹¹ Ibid., 186. Ishimoto's photography was often regarded by many of his Japanese peers as

examples of *shukan shugi shashin*, the Japanese concept and term translated from the German *Subjektive Photographie* (the term coined by Otto Steinert [1915–1978] in the late 1940s). It encompassed, in Japan at that time, photographs created as a plastic art (*zōkei shashin*), an extension of the photographic expressions of the New Vision from the 1920s and 1930s, which included photograms and photomontages. Ishimoto was included in the first *International Exhibition of Subjective Photography* (*Kokusai shukan shugi shashin-ten*) in Tokyo in December 1956. See Izawa Kōtarō, ed., *Nihon shashinshi gaisetsu* (An outline history of photography in Japan), *Nihon no Shashinka* supplementary volume (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1999), 73.

- 112 Ishimoto and Tange, *Katsura*, unpaginated.
- 113 Kawazoe Noboru, "Tange Kenzō ron" (Theory of Tange Kenzō), in *Genjitsu to sōzō: Tange Kenzō 1946–1958* (Reality and creation: Tange Kenzō 1946–1958) (Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppansha, 1966), 10.
- 114 Tange Kenzō, "Dentō to sōzō ni tsuite" (On tradition and creation), in *ibid.*, 205.
- 115 Tange Kenzo, "Minshu to kenchiku" (The masses and architecture), in *ibid.*, 34.
- 116 Ishimoto, in an interview with the author, Tokyo, November 20, 2007. However, the foreword to the English 1972 edition by Tange states that it was his and Ishimoto's joint decision to create new plates of the original photographs from 1953 and 1954, rather than having Ishimoto rephotograph the villa, and to redesign the book, including the photography layout. Ishimoto Yasuhiro and Tange Kenzō, *Katsura: Tradition and Creation in Japanese Architecture*, rev. ed. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1972), 7.
- 117 Isozaki Arata and Ishimoto Yasuhiro, *Katsura Rikyū: kūkan to katachi* (Katsura: space and form) (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1983), 6.
- 118 Isozaki, *Japan-ness in Architecture*, 252.
- 119 Ishimoto, in an interview with the author, Tokyo, June 5, 2009.
- 120 Isozaki, *Japan-ness in Architecture*, 254–55.
- 121 Ishimoto, in an interview with the author, Tokyo, May 20, 2008.
- 122 Ishimoto Yasuhiro, "Postscript," trans. John D. Lamb, in *Katsura Villa: The Ambiguity of Its Space* (New York: Rizzoli, 1987), 265.
- 123 *Ibid.*

124 *Ibid.*, 265–66.

125 Ishimoto Yasuhiro, "Interview 1," in *Ishimoto Yasuhiro shashin-ten 1946–2001* (Yasuhiro Ishimoto photography exhibition 1946–2001) (Kōchi: The Museum of Art, Kōchi, 2001), 144–45.

126 Ishimoto, *Katsura Villa: The Ambiguity of Its Space*, 266.

127 *Ibid.*