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Re-staging postwar Japanese photography: Ōtsuji Kiyoji, APN and straight photography

DANIEL ABBE

Abstract: In both English and Japanese-language scholarship, Domon Ken's 'realism photography' grounds the history of photography in postwar Japan. Domon proclaimed that photographs should deal directly with social phenomena, and that photography should never mix with other media. This essay introduces an alternative to Domon's realism, through a series of abstract, studio-based photographs that were published in the pages of the popular magazine *Asahi Graph* between 1953 and 1954. The photographer Ōtsuji Kiyoji (1923–2001) produced this series (collectively known as the APN photographs) in collaboration with other artists, while simultaneously criticizing Domon's dogma in print. This essay argues that Domon's 'realism photography' should be reconceived as a form of straight photography, a tradition of modernist purism couched in a moral language that also reflects heterosexual anxiety over the stability of identity. The APN photographs themselves play with the conventions of realistic representation, and the critical nature of Ōtsuji's writing remains unexplored in scholarship to date. Shifting attention towards Ōtsuji loosens the hold of realism on postwar photography in Japan, and also brings the conditions of prewar photography into view.

Keywords: Ōtsuji Kiyoji, straight photography, Domon Ken, queer modernism, realism

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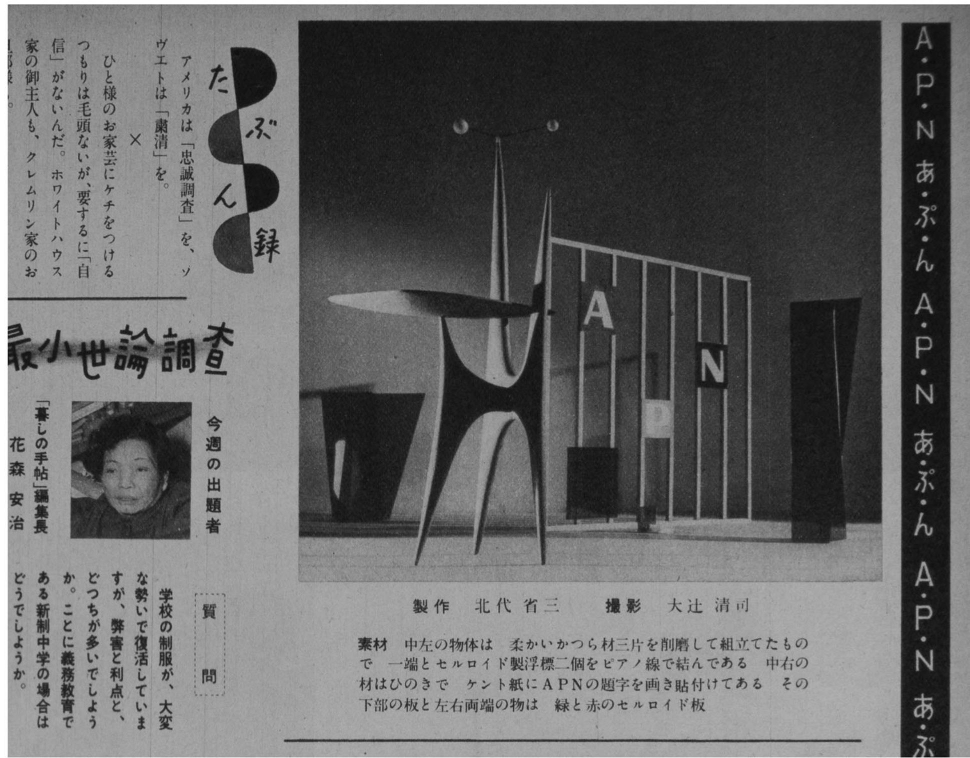
> Contrasted with the horrors of sentimentality and of pseudo-sophistication, straight photography is a clean breath of good, fresh air. It affirms again, as history and tradition do, the essential photogenic quality of photography and calls for the use of the medium without perversion of its true character.
>
> Berenice Abbott (1941, 161)

Introduction

Photographs hold out the myth of having faithfully reproduced the external world – call it 'reality', if you like. This myth is encoded linguistically: in English, 'photography' points to nature itself as the agent of visual description, while the Japanese word '*shashin*' connotes the transposition of truth (Fukuoka 2012). The epistemological weight of these words bears little relation to the anarchic range of actual photographic practices, which rarely, if ever, live up to the lofty idea that photographs copy the world. Even so, the American photographer Berenice Abbott is hardly unique among 20th-century photographers in expressing disdain for photographs that willingly turn their back on the world, an act that seems to go against the 'true character' of the medium. The pages of *Asahi Graph* (*Asahi Gurafu*), Japan's most widely read news magazine, might seem like a strange place for such disobedient photographs to appear, as most photographs in the magazine illustrated news stories.[1] However, from January 1953, decidedly unrealistic photographs appeared in *Asahi Graph* each week, as the header of a section called 'APN'. These images only needed to spell out those three letters, and once that job was done they were free to run wild. Precisely at this moment, a Japanese-language discourse of straight photography in line with Abbott's injunctions reached its rhetorical peak (Kai 2012, 102). This discourse, practically a moral doctrine, has influenced the development and understanding of photography in Japan since. The APN photographs represent an experimental alternative to straight photography, proposed at the very moment this discourse was most loudly trumpeted. These images embody other possibilities for photographic production, and open up a broader field of postwar Japanese photography.

From the beginning of its run of about one year, the APN photographs played with photographic conventions.[2] The photograph published on 4 February 1953 credits two people: 'Production: Kitadai Shōzō; Photography: Ōtsuji Kiyoji' (Figure 1). Each APN photograph was a collaboration between an artist, who produced an object, and Ōtsuji, who photographed it. A three-legged object supporting an oblong disk appears in the foreground of this image. Behind it is a wooden structure, seemingly the skeleton of a wall, on which the three letters A, P, and N have been pasted. All of the objects are bathed in a raking light that is projected from beyond the right side of the frame. Like all other APN photographs, this image was made in a studio,



A・P・N あ・ぷ・ん A・P・N あ・ぷ・ん A・P・N あ・ぷ

製作 北代省三　　撮影 大辻清司

素材 中左の物体は 柔かいかつら材三片を削磨して組立てたもので 一端とセルロイド製浮標二個をピアノ線で結んである 中右の材はひのきで ケント紙にAPNの題字を画き貼付けてある その下部の板と左右両端の物は 緑と赤のセルロイド板

たぶん録

アメリカは「忠誠調査」を、ソヴエトは「粛清」を。

×

ひと様のお家芸にケチをつけるつもりは毛頭ないが、要するに「自信」がないんだ。ホワイトハウス家の御主人も、クレムリン家のお

最小世論調査

今週の出題者

「暮しの手帖」編集長 花森安治

質問

学校の制服が、大変な勢いで復活していますが、弊害と利点と、どっちが多いでしょうか。ことに義務教育である新制中学の場合はどうでしょうか。

Figure 1 APN photograph (Construction: Kitadai Shōzō, Photograph: Ōtsuji Kiyoji) published in *Asahi Graph* 4 February 1953. © Ōtsuji Seiko, © Tokyo Publishing House.

under controlled lighting conditions. Here, the light source is hidden, as if in the wings. A low camera angle places the viewer's line of sight close to the light-colored ground, and the contrast with the dark backdrop gives this photograph the feeling of looking at a stage. The arrangement and lighting of elements within this scene – especially a spotlight at left that calls further attention to the backdrop itself – highlight its explicitly staged quality.

This staging matters because in the very same year, the influential photographer Domon Ken was calling for photographers to adopt the method of an 'absolutely unstaged, absolute snapshot' (Domon 1953, 185). Across a range of articles, Domon made this call in the name of realism, arguing like Abbott that photographers needed to ground their practice in a faithful relationship to the outside world.[3] Yet Domon claimed that the crucial matter was the 'attitude of the photographer themselves' (*shashinka jitai no taido*), as Domon put it in a roundtable discussion from 1953 (Kamera 1953a, 68). Such photographic realism does not inhere in the camera's mechanical qualities but in the moral constitution of the photographer.[4] If a photograph is 'real', that is

because the person who took it has the correct attitude, not the correct technique.

In practice, the photographs that Domon claimed as examples of proper photographic realism were snapshots, which Yoshiaki Kai defines as 'an instantaneous photograph taken with a hand-held camera' (Kai 2012, 5). By the time the APN photographs were published, Domon had already championed the method of the 'absolutely unstaged, absolute snapshot' in the pages of *Camera*, a popular photography magazine. Domon worked as a judge of the magazine's monthly contests, to which readers sent in their work for review. Domon defined 'realism' in negative and dogmatic terms: he argued that if photographers were to contribute to society – and if photography was to be considered an art – photography must emphatically deny any connection to other media. The tenor of such discourse supports Philip Charrier's claim that 'from its origins in the 1950s, Japanese realist discourse was strongly moralistic, binding photography to a cluster of "noble" social goals' (Charrier 2020, 4). This tone also connects Domon to straight photography.

Like Domon's realism, the discourse of straight photography links morality to medium specificity. The term 'straight photography' has designated various technical approaches to photography, but I am interested above all in the shared moral commitments of its self-avowed practitioners, and the exclusions that these commitments entail. In a striking letter to fellow photographer Willard Van Dyke, Ansel Adams once wrote: 'Cheers for playing it "straight"! But even if you used a soft-focus lens and a paper negative it would be OK – because you think, feel and "do" straight!' (Cited in Oren 1991, 125). Adams wrote several instructional manuals on the technical practice of photography, but he saw straightness in the photographer's orientation, not in any specific technique. Domon did not introduce Abbott's rhetoric to a Japanese audience, and straight photography as it was practiced in the United States did not translate to what he called 'realism photography (*riarizumu shashin*)' in Japan.[5] Even so, Domon's realism resonates deeply with straight photography. For Domon and the straight photographers, the individual photographer bore the moral weight of securing the medium's purity. As a result, they strictly prohibited photographers from incorporating elements of other media in their work. For this reason, I take Domon's 'realism photography' as a form of straight photography.

Art critic Michael Fried shares this anxiety around the purity of art, which leads him to police its boundaries. However, Christa Noel Robbins' (2019) recent research shows that Fried's anxieties were couched in terms not just of art, but sexual identity. Putting Fried in dialog with straight photographers shows how the ambitions of photographic discourse aligned with modernism writ large, while also demonstrating that the idea of straightness in photography was bound up with heterosexual anxiety over the stability of identity.

Such anxieties appear, for instance, in Abbott's appeal to 'the use of the medium without perversion of its true character'.

Domon, American straight photographers and Fried all feared deviations from medium-specific purity – and the APN photos performed exactly this deviation. Around 1953, Ōtsuji engaged with Domon's positions both through his work on the APN photographs and in his own writing. The series asserts that photography cannot exist in isolation from other media, and also that photographs need not restrict themselves to a program of realism. Although the APN series has received relatively little critical attention, it presents a more open alternative to realism at an important historical juncture.[6] Returning to APN offers a chance to reconceive, or re-stage, what followed. Doing so loosens the hold that the discussion of realism centered around Domon has enjoyed for so long. Even in 1996, photography critic Nishii Kazuo could make the blanket statement that 'postwar Japanese photography began with Domon Ken's "realism photography" movement' (Nishii 1996, 8). It is time for photography historians to move beyond this view; as it stands, though, Nishii's assertion still passes for a factual statement rather than the claim that it is.

A focus on realism as a postwar discourse also obscures the fact that it played a role in wartime photography of the 1930s, when it also pit itself against avant-garde practice. Domon and Ōtsuji each link the prewar to the postwar, through different channels. As a young photojournalist in the 1930s, Domon had worked on imperialist propaganda under Natori Yōnosuke, who is widely credited with introducing techniques of modern photojournalism into Japan.[7] Ōtsuji was slightly younger than Domon, but he absorbed trends in 1930s Surrealist photography through articles by the poet and critic Takiguchi Shūzō. Ōtsuji later developed a personal relationship with Takiguchi, and his participation in Takiguchi's artist group Experimental Workshop (*Jikken Kōbō*) further connects his work to an earlier avant-garde tradition.

Looking at this postwar debate in light of recent scholarship on queer modernism offers the chance to understand Domon's 'realism photography' as a program of straight photography. In Robbins' gloss, '"queer" interventions into modernist and neo-avant-garde formations are manifest not in iconographic content or biographical background but as *formal* disruptions in the expectations of aesthetic legibility and relationality' (Robbins 2019, 432). In their subversion of Domon's program, the APN photographs act this out, especially in the way that they treat shadows. Still, even if Domon does represent the extreme of a 'straight' photography, it doesn't follow that the APN project should automatically be understood as a 'queer' project that opposes it in binary fashion. The APN photographs loosen up the restrictions of straight photography, and point towards a more open conception of what photography could do, or who a photographer could be. By following the work that the work *does* – breaking down boundaries between media, calling into question

the stability of the subject called 'photographer', returning to a Surrealist practice of photography – the very category of a coherent object called 'postwar Japanese photography' looks less and less stable.

Ōtsuji Kiyoji and the context of APN

In a 1952 letter to the art critic Takiguchi Shūzō, Ōtsuji Kiyoji (1923–2001) wrote: 'I want to take photographs, but their shadows are weak, they are powerless' (Ōtsuji 2007a [1952], 34). Ōtsuji himself has cast something of a 'weak shadow' across histories of Japanese photography. Looking across his career, Ōtsuji's photographs lack a signature style, in part because of the diverse contexts in which he worked – often on commission from magazines, or in collaboration with artists. Throughout the 1950s, he worked as a photographer for various art magazines, and his later installation photographs of exhibitions blur the line between paid and personal work. In this sense, he is like many other professional photographers who made a living by meeting the needs of their clients.[8] Ōtsuji wrote to Takiguchi that he felt the 'defeat of the I that wants to take photographs' (Ōtsuji 2007a [1952]). This statement proved to be more than a rhetorical gesture, because Ōtsuji's photographs never coalesced into an easily understandable body of work. He did not hold a solo exhibition until the age of 64, and unlike many photographers in Japan, he did not publish a single photobook during his career. Although some recent publications collect his work for contemporary audiences, until not long ago his work was scattered across art and photography magazines, illustrated books of calligraphy materials, scientific textbooks, exhibition catalogs – and *Asahi Graph*.[9] Ōtsuji's lack of exhibitions and publications makes his work difficult to grasp.

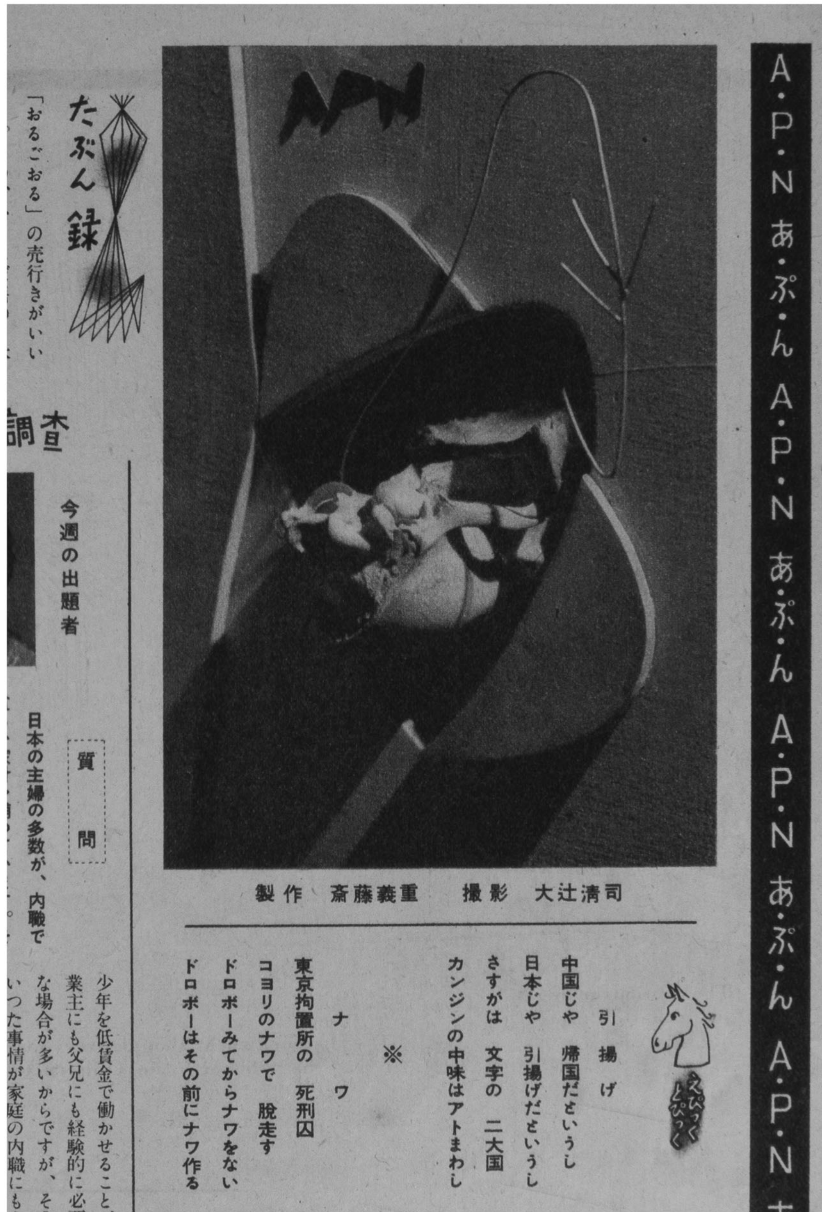
The shadowy distribution of Ōtsuji's work itself calls for a methodological shift in what counts in the art historical study of photography, and the unusual setting of the APN photographs complicates matters further. *Asahi Graph* was a weekly pictorial magazine with one of the widest circulations in the country.[10] The magazine was firmly part of popular culture, 'a staple of waiting rooms in banks and dental offices' during the 1950s (Kuwahara 2007, 112). Each week, readers could expect to find a range of stories on domestic and international matters. The 4 February 1953 issue ran a lead story on the new Japanese Air Force, a report from an American stringer on life in Hong Kong, and a human interest piece on an outdoor swimming competition in freezing Iwate Prefecture. Located near the end of the magazine, the APN section itself was something of an op-ed page, collecting word games, satirical musings on current events, and questions posed to people on the street.[11] This is not a space of traditional art historical inquiry – but the APN photographs push against clearly defined categories of artist and work.

Although Ōtsuji has not been written about at length, it would be difficult to understate his importance to the development of contemporary photography in Japan. In the first place, as Jelena Stojković (2020, 171) has recently argued, Ōtsuji connects prewar and postwar discourses of photography through his relationship with Surrealism in general, and with Takiguchi Shūzō in particular. Takiguchi was a central figure of Surrealism in Japan, and as I discuss towards the end of this article, Takiguchi's essays published in the 1930s motivated Ōtsuji to become an artist when he encountered them as a teenager. Ōtsuji participated in some of Takiguchi's avant-garde art groups during the early 1950s, most notably Experimental Workshop. Ōtsuji later became an influential writer and teacher: he published articles in art and photography magazines throughout his life, and his numerous pupils include the contemporary photographer Hatakeyama Naoya.

Because of their deeply collaborative nature, and their location outside of traditional art channels, the APN photographs might actually model Ōtsuji's dispersed photography. The series consists of wildly different images, so a few facts are in order. Of the 55 installments, Ōtsuji photographed all but five; Kitadai Shōzō took the rest. All of the photographs were produced in a studio. In total, seven different artists produced objects for the APN photographs: Kitadai Shōzō (artist), Saitō Yoshishige (sculptor), Yamaguchi Katsuhiro (artist), Komai Tetsurō (printmaker), Teshigahara Sōfū (head of the Sōgetsu school of *ikebana*), Hasegawa Saburō (painter), and Hamada Hamao (designer).[12] The photographs only show inanimate objects, and each photograph contains the English letters A, P, and N. The appearance of these three letters was the only requirement from the magazine; the artists were free to create whatever they wanted as long as the photograph could function as the header image of the APN section.

Many of the artists involved in the production of the APN photographs were members of Experimental Workshop. Ōtsuji, Kitadai, Yamaguchi and Komai were all part of the group, while the older figure Saitō was an informal advisor. Experimental Workshop was founded in 1951, more or less under Takiguchi Shūzō's direction. The group's primary public displays were not exhibitions of visual art (much less of photography in particular) but rather performances of music, ballet and theater for which the artists made stage sets and costumes. The majority of the group's members, in fact, were associated with the performing arts, including one dedicated lighting designer.[13] The photograph by Kitadai (Figure 1) alludes iconographically to theater, and this motif appeared across other APN photographs, in which the image is not merely staged in the studio, but also represents a theater-like space.

Given their place of publication and the diverse group involved in their production, the APN photographs are a difficult body of work to pin down in art historical terms. In the first place, whose work is it? Each photograph shows a



A・P・N あ・ぷ・ん A・P・N あ・ぷ・ん A・P・N あ・ぷ・ん A・P・N

APN

製作 斎藤義重 撮影 大辻清司

引揚げ

中国じゃ 帰国だというし
日本じゃ 引揚げだというし
さすがは 文字の 二大国
カンジンの中味はアトまわし

※

ナワ

東京拘置所の 死刑囚
コヨリのナワで 脱走す
ドロボーみてからナワをない
ドロボーはその前にナワ作る

たぶん録

「おるごおる」の売行きがいい

調査

今週の出題者

質問

日本の主婦の多数が、内職で

少年を低賃金で働かせることが
業主にも父兄にも経験的に必
な場合が多いからですが、そ
いった事情が家庭の内職にも

Figure 2 APN photograph (Construction: Saitō Yoshishige, Photograph: Ōtsuji Kiyoji) published in *Asahi Graph* 11 March 1953. © Ōtsuji Seiko.

sculptural construction created by artists working across a range of media. Is Ōtsuji merely documenting this construction, or does he make his artistic 'hand' present? A construction by Saito brings these questions to the fore (Figure 2). The photograph shows a grotesque object that protrudes from a

hole in the center of the frame. Among otherwise linear elements, parts of this object resemble a bone, a set of teeth, or strange clumps of flesh. A wire extends out of it, and describes a broad arc before splitting off into smaller segments. A single light projected from the top right corner of the frame casts long shadows across the bottom left. The grain of the magazine paper itself blurs the boundary between these shadows and the central object. The image offers no clues about who made the choice to position the light in this particular place. Ōtsuji was a lifelong tinkerer, so perhaps he, too, was adjusting the objects in front of the lens. Across the series, unpublished photographs of the same construction show that the artists were experimenting with wildly divergent possibilities in the studio, rather than attempting to realize a single predetermined image.[14] The collaborative nature of these photographs will frustrate the art historian seeking individual artistic intention.

In his writings from the time, Ōtsuji theorized this experimental approach to photography. His 1954 essay 'On Avant-Garde Photography' swears off any formal dogma and argues for the fundamental openness of the medium. Ōtsuji begins the essay by declaring that if photography's 'record-like quality' (*kirokusei*) is its most distinctive function, then it is logical to end up with realism (Ōtsuji 1954). Ōtsuji describes the drumbeat of a journalistic approach that proclaims realism to be the supreme form of photography. In response, he asks: 'is the range of photographic expression really that narrow?' (Ōtsuji 1954). This leads him to discuss avant-garde photography as an alternative that has been overlooked by the postwar photography world. Ōtsuji himself is critical of some contemporary avant-garde photography; he laments the fact that this practice has become codified as a style, when the avant-garde should never be content with repeating itself.

Against the formal codification of avant-garde techniques, Ōtsuji lays out a program for avant-garde photography grounded in expanding possibilities. He claims that it is impossible for a photograph to match up with reality, and that 'even resemblance alone is difficult' (Ōtsuji 1954). This claim already diminishes the artistic power that realism took for granted, and Ōtsuji goes even further, setting his sights on the figure of the photographer. 'The force of an actually existing thing or phenomenon is much greater than that of the artist's vision, so perhaps all an artist can do is receive this shock, and give their vision over to it' (Ōtsuji 1954). This attitude significantly minimizes the role of the photographer themselves, who Ōtsuji says must now deal only in selection and arrangement. Rather than any grand goal – 'Mt. Everest had to be climbed because it was there, but avant-garde photography does not have any mountains that need climbing' – Ōtsuji writes that the aim of avant-garde photography is to experiment, in order to keep expanding the terrain of expression (Ōtsuji 1954). He expects that realist photographers will eventually use these techniques, not out of a haughty sense that the avant-garde way is most correct, but from the sanguine position that photographic techniques are always put to multifarious uses.

Although Ōtsuji does not name Domon Ken in 'On Avant-Garde Photography', he clearly wrote this text in response to Domon's program of realism.[15] To clarify the significance of Ōtsuji's gesture, I turn now to Domon's own discourse.

'Realism photography' as straight photography

At this time, Domon wielded great influence among amateur photographers through his position as a judge of the monthly photography contest in *Camera* magazine. His 1953 text 'Realism Photography and the Salon Picture', published in *Camera*, captures the moralistic tenor of his program. Domon writes that realism does not exist in the 'cold camera' but rather in the person who uses it (Domon 1953, 186). This is because he defines realism negatively, against staging: 'Only realist photography, which takes as its basic method the absolutely unstaged absolute snapshot (*zettai hienshutsu no zettai sunappu*), is capable of facing up to societal reality itself' (Domon 1953, 185–186). He was unsparing in his condemnation of anything that might threaten this position:

> When photography imitates painting, or is made to stage models in a play, shouldn't we reflect upon this as a total abandonment of principles, a suicidal act? The way of using the camera mechanism properly is precisely when a photographer faces up decently to societal reality not as a painter, not as a poet, not as a novelist, not as an actor, but using the absolutely unstaged absolute snapshot as a body blow. I believe that the only true way for a photographer to add anything to this society as an artist lies in this method of production. (Domon 1953, 186)

Domon's call to preserve the artistic purity of photography by anxiously enforcing its boundaries resembles the discourses of modernist art criticism and straight photography. In this section, I put Domon in dialogue with these discourses to argue that 'realism photography' is a form of straight photography, which also privileges orientation over technique, and also makes injunctions over the correct use of the medium. This resonance demonstrates that the anxiety over the self-identity of the medium – its 'true character', as Abbott would have it – maps on to heterosexual anxiety over the stability of sexual identity.

Domon secures the ground for photography as an art through medium specificity. At one point in the essay, he writes: 'The question is not the *hobby* (*dōraku*) called photography, but the *art* (*geijutsu*) called photography' (Domon 1953, 186).[16] For Domon, photography's status as an art rests on its differentiation from other media, so he argues that photography must purify itself of non-photographic effects.[17] This logic aligns with art critic Clement Greenberg's foundational discourse of modernism. Greenberg claimed that each medium must pursue the effects that are most logical to it. Like a true Greenbergian, Domon duly enumerates the essential qualities of various media: fiction for novels,

5・メーデー　川田喜久治（土浦）

On May Day　Kawada Kikuji

ニコンS型・ニッコールF2　85ミリ・スーパーXX・絞F8・1/50・D－76・月光V3・D－72〈特選〉評・今年のメーデーは昨年のいわゆる血のメーデーのあとをうけて、いろいろなデマが飛んでいたが、平和を願う労働者たちの欲求がメーデーそのものをも明るく楽しいものに終らせたといつた感じだつた。川田君の作品は今年のメーデーのそういう歴史的な性格を的確に写真化している。明るい笑顔のシャッター・チャンス、大きな集団の一部を一列横隊式に切ることで、逆に大きな集団そのものを暗示するカメラ・ポジション、内容的にも造型的にも昨年ニコン賞を得た吉田良夫君のメーデーを一歩前進させた作品であることは、昨年に引き続く月例選評者として実に嬉しい成果であるし、芸者の写真でデビューした川田君としては近代的な写真家としての健康な成長をしていることの実証でもある。

Figure 3 Kawada Kikuji, *May Day*, 1950. Published in *Camera* March 1950, collection of Tokyo Photographic Art Museum. © Kawada Kikuji, Courtesy of PGI.

imitation for film, and the ‘shutter chance’ – an instantaneous snapshot photographed in the outside world – for photography. This led him to praise photographs like a 1950 photograph that a young Kawada Kikuji submitted to the contest[18] (Figure 3). Because Kawada was able to capture the smiles of these people at a May Day parade, Domon calls it a successful ‘shutter chance’.

In opposition to ‘realism photography’, Domon scorned the ‘salon picture’, but what did he mean by this term, and why was he so vehemently opposed to it? ‘Salon picture’ referred a photograph that was produced for artistic connoisseurship, to be displayed in a literal private salon of like-minded photographers. A few months earlier *Camera* had published a discussion, ‘Salon Picture or Snap?’ in which the editors defined the salon picture as a ‘painting-like, or constructed photograph’ (Kamera 1953b). In this discussion, photography

Figure 4 Willard Van Dyke, *Funnels*, ca. 1932. Gelatin silver print; 7 1/16 × 9 1/2 in. (17.94 × 24.13 cm). San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, Purchase. © Murray and Neil Van Dyke. Photograph: courtesy SFMOMA.

critic Watanabe Tsutomu suggested that salon pictures actually share much in common with snapshots, and that more than a few snapshots could be displayed in salon settings. This suggestion resonates with Ōtsuji's idea that realist photographers will, in the course of time, naturally use avant-garde techniques. Domon himself was not above producing constructed photographs in the studio on commission, but in his public-facing artistic persona, he swore off any such rapprochement.[19] Instead, he criticized 'salon pictures' – for Abbott, read 'horrors of sentimentality and of pseudo-sophistication' – because they ignore societal reality in favor of subjectivity, and are thus a form of 'secret spiritual masturbation' that will 'only carry out the role of a societal negative' (Domon 1953, 186). This discourse carries the moralistic tone Charrier diagnosed, and it also suggests in obviously sexual language that photographic activity must be *productive* – that is to say, straight.[20]

Domon's medium-specific purism resonates deeply with the discourse of straight photography, a similarly dogmatic tradition. 'Straight' has been used in different contexts to designate different technical approaches to the medium. In the late 1890s, it referred to an unmanipulated print on platinum paper; by the 1930s, it indicated crisp focus and a direct approach to subject matter. But straight photographers also advocated for the purity of photography as an art through the moral rectitude – that is, the straightness – of the photographer. This is why Ansel Adams told Willard Van Dyke that the important thing was to 'think, feel and "do" straight!' Adams and Van Dyke were members of Group f/64, a San Francisco Bay Area association of straight photographers whose members also included Dorothea Lange and Edward Weston. Van Dyke's 1932 photograph *Funnels* (Figure 4) shows the group's high aesthetic

ambitions: it represents the industrial objects in clear detail (even in shadow, each individual rivet is visible) and also functions as modernist abstraction (the three wires at left are no more than lines). The group's manifesto of the same year proclaimed:

> Group f/64 limits its members and invitational names to those workers who are striving to define photography as an art form by simple and direct presentation through purely photographic methods. The Group will show no work at any time that does not conform to its standards of pure photography. Pure photography is defined as possessing no qualities of technique, composition or idea, derivative of any other art form. (Cited in Heyman 1992, 21)

As in Domon's essay, this discourse ties photography's status as art to its absolute separation from other media. Audiences in Japan could have seen work by Group f/64 photographers like Weston, Lange and Adams – as well as by Abbott herself – at 'The Exhibition of Contemporary Photography: Japan and America', held in late 1953 at the National Museum of Modern Art in Tokyo.[21]

The New York group of straight photographers under the guidance (or jurisdiction) of Alfred Stieglitz also corresponds to Domon's program. Group f/64 was founded to distance its members from Stieglitz, but Hidaka Yū (2007) suggests that these groups were more alike than not. Bonnie Yochelson's research suggests that the New York group also focused on the position of the photographer, and her writing centers gender and sexuality: 'the rhetoric of straight photography was metaphysical – concerning the unique powers of the camera to penetrate reality – and moral – concerning the photographer's purity of expression and honest use of his remarkable tool' (Yochelson 1983, 30).[22] While Yochelson's language only alludes to the ostensibly heterosexual and male identity of the straight photographer, Domon used much more explicitly sexual language in his articles, insofar as he decried the 'spiritual masturbation' of the salon picture. All told, Kawada's photograph does not greatly resemble Van Dyke's, but the movements behind these two images share a moral attitude. In this light, Domon's 'realism photography' looks very much like straight photography. Hidaka claims that straight photography was 'the starting point of modern photography'; artistic modernism itself also shared this puritanical stance (Hidaka 2007, 71).

The discourse of straight photography – including Domon's realist rhetoric – echoes the modernist discourse of art, especially that of Michael Fried. Fried's 1967 article 'Art and Objecthood' responded to minimalist sculpture with revulsion, on the grounds that this work forced the spectator to become aware of their own body – for Fried an intolerable incursion into the pure space of beholding art. Fried named this incursion 'theater', which he denigrated as 'that which lies between the arts' (Fried 1967, 21). He declared that pictorial

art was facing an existential crisis: '*The success, even the survival, of the arts has come increasingly to depend on their ability to defeat theater*' (Fried 1967, 21).[23] In Fried's view, art had to be kept separate from such untoward intermingling. Fried's polemic can be read against the grain as a tremendous self-own, in which his granular descriptions of just how minimalist sculptures disturb art's purity function as an insightful and even laudatory view of these works. Yet Fried's essay and the view of art it articulates remain influential today, and in recent years Fried has incorporated photography into his critical project, a development I discuss in the following section.

Recent scholarship by Christa Noel Robbins closes the loop on the resonances between Fried, American straight photographers and Domon by calling attention to the specifically sexual anxieties that haunt Fried's modernism. In a note to his editor about the theatrical elements that so worried him, Fried wrote that such 'corrupt sensibility is *par excellence* faggot sensibility' (cited in Robbins 2019, 429). Robbins does not set out to tar Fried as an outright homophobe, but rather to suggest that taken in light of Fried's overall project, and in fact 'his playful nods to his own love of men', the statement 'reads not as a straightforward denouncement of gay men and women but rather as an expression of fear and anxiety over the instability of identity as such' (Robbins 2019, 441). In other words, Fried transposes his anxiety over queer sexual identity – 'the internally excluded difference that cements heterosexual identity', for Leo Bersani (1995, 36) – onto his anxiety over the erosion of art's stable boundaries. Domon voiced a similar anxiety in his discourse on the sexually fruitless nature of the salon picture, and in fact his specific prohibition of staging resonates powerfully with Fried's own opposition to theater.

Domon and American straight photographers both took restrictive positions about what counted as art. Ōtsuji responded to this high-minded attitude with the irreverent question: 'is the range of photographic expression really that narrow?' Why restrict the possibilities of the medium, when photographs always participate in multiple contexts? Does all photography really have to be straight? Ōtsuji realized the fears of straight photographers within the popular space of *Asahi Graph*. Bearing in mind Robbins' claim that queer modernism appears as '*formal* disruptions in the expectations of aesthetic legibility and relationality', in the following section I examine the formal properties of the APN photographs, specifically through the way they represent shadows.

Shadow play

Published at the same time as Domon's texts, the APN photographs embody a theatrical challenge to the restrictive program of straight photography. Actual stages, the cause of such anxiety for Domon and Fried, appear throughout. Kitadai's construction from December 23 (Figure 5) shows what looks like a

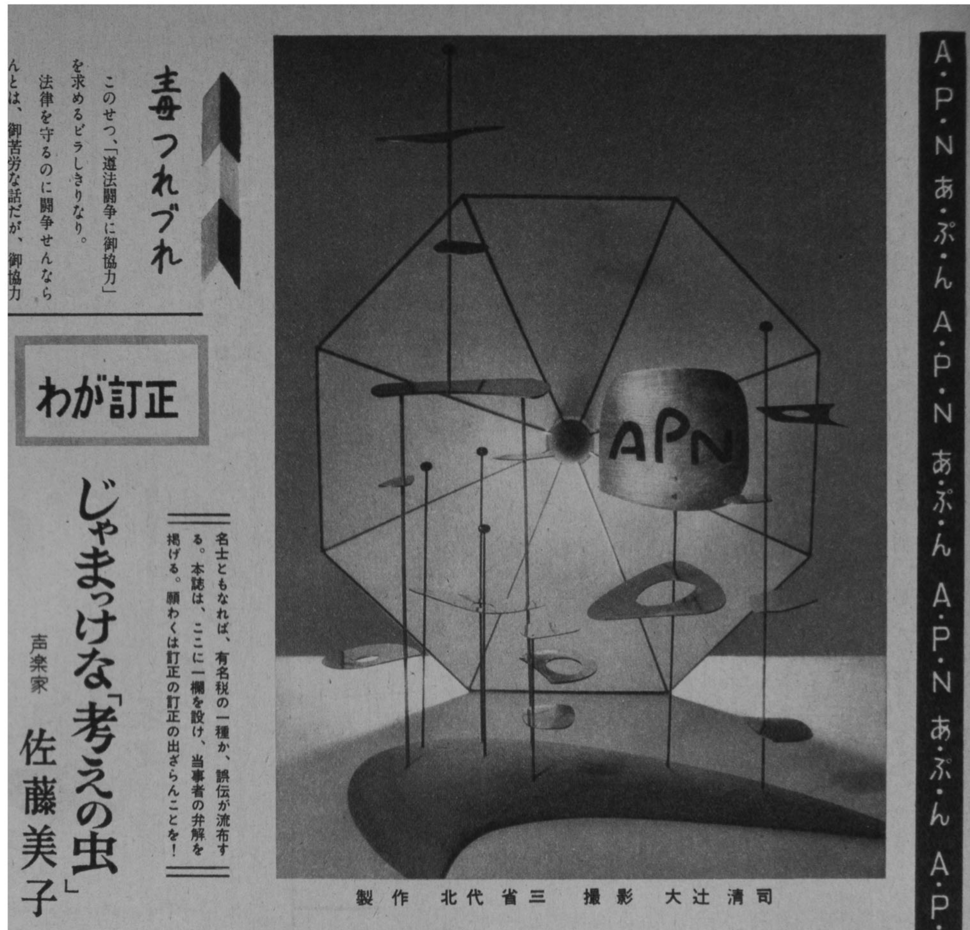


Figure 5 APN photograph (Construction: Kitadai Shōzō, Photograph: Ōtsuji Kiyoji) published in *Asahi Graph* 23 December 1953. © Ōtsuji Seiko, © Tokyo Publishing House.

soundstage, complete with microphones and a sound baffle – actually a light reflector used in studio photography. Aside from the literal appearance of theatrical space in the photographs, they have all quite clearly been staged. None of the photographs remotely resemble a scene from 'societal reality', because they are all studio constructions. As a result, shadows figure prominently in the images. However, shadows sometimes become transparent, or sometimes lose their connection with the object that casts them, if they do not become ambiguous or disappear altogether. Ōtsuji wrote that images cannot 'match up' with reality, and in the APN photographs, shadows are freed from any such representational burden. Such ludic manipulation of shadows demonstrates how the series works against the injunctions of straight photography and its attendant theoretical paradigms.

Figure 6 APN photograph (Construction: Yamaguchi Katsuhiro, Photograph: Ōtsuji Kiyoji) published in *Asahi Graph* 18 March 1953. © Ōtsuji Seiko, © Yamaguchi Hiroyasu.

Some APN photographs only slightly disconnect shadows from their objects. The APN photograph published on March 18, a construction by Yamaguchi Katsuhiro (Figure 6), has been framed or cropped so that there is no way to judge its scale, or the direction that the camera is facing. This photograph in particular is riven by shadows of all kinds. Spoke-like wires arrayed in a hole cast their shadows on the surface below. One wire escapes the hole, and terminates in a white disk which casts a dark shadow. The shadow of a white triangle at the bottom of the frame registers on a striated surface; the striations are themselves shadows cast by the ridges of corrugated cardboard. To the left of the frame, a pair of black and white disks set each other off. The white disk at right dramatizes a secure, complementary relationship between object and cast

秩父宮さま御逝去。
深く哀悼の意をささげる。
×
しかし、最も同情されて然るべきは勢津子妃殿下だろう。半生を御夫君の看護婦として過された。
×
一種の「戦争未亡人」の生活と

最少世論調査

今週の出題者

仏文学者
東大教授
渡辺 一夫

しい。(B)「与うるは受くるより幸なり」ということを衷心から喜びうることは容易でない。特に富者にその傾向が大である。(C)貧富一律に同一額を醵金することは貧者の多い現状では困難である。

女子学生 青木佳代子(19)
決して実現不可能なことではないと思います。ただその方法は政府役人の手によるものではなくて、国民一人一人の心から

製作 山口勝弘　　撮影 大辻清司

材料及び工程 桐の薄い板の工作品を天井から糸で吊した ジョウゴ型のものは画用紙で バックのビニールに貼付けてある

Figure 7 APN photograph (Construction: Yamaguchi Katsuhiro, Photograph: Ōtsuji Kiyoji) published in *Asahi Graph* 21 January 1953. © Ōtsuji Seiko, © Yamaguchi Hiroyasu.

shadow, as its round shadow falls neatly within another circle. For the most part the relationships between shadows and objects are stable. But there is one complication. Towards the bottom of the photograph, a black triangle surges into the frame, overlapping the white triangle. Is this also a shadow? The photograph denies the viewer the ability to draw a clear conclusion.

Other photographs in the series completely unmoor shadows from realistic representation. A Yamaguchi construction offers a dramatic example (Figure 7). Against a flat background, the photograph shows a top with 'APN' written on it, and a structure of thin wood that seems to float in mid-air. The top casts a shadow directly onto the background, and a smooth gradation appears on its unlit side. But the structure is missing its shadow, even though the two objects appear to sit at the same distance from the camera. The caption notes that the 'industrial object was hung from the ceiling by a thread'

(Asahi Gurafu 1953), so a clever arrangement of lighting, objects and background – that is, a careful staging – has effaced the shadow. The simultaneous presence and absence of shadow corresponds to nothing like the environmental conditions that characterize straight photography, which takes place in the outside world. Domon would not have been amused.

The APN photographs loosen the conventions of realistic representation through their treatment of shadows, and in the same way they also loosen the ties between photographer and image. Just as the stable representation of a shadow ties a photograph to the world, the presence of a single person behind a work produces a coherent subjectivity that can be called 'artist' or 'photographer'. Because of their collaborative quality, the APN photographs cannot be assimilated to an intentional mode of photographic authorship. Instead, the 'photographer' here plays an indeterminate role, much as Ōtsuji had proposed in 'On Avant-Garde Photography' when he suggested that 'perhaps all an artist can do is receive this shock, and give their vision over to it'. The APN photographs at once muddy straight photography's medium-specific purity and decenter the photographer, who sits at its moral center. Like the shadow of the wooden structure in Figure 7, the figure of the photographer goes missing.

In this regard, the series again challenges Michael Fried, who has turned to photography as a late addition to his critical program. Just as straight photography's moral weight falls on the subjectivity of the photographer, Fried also relies on this figure to support his argument for *Why Photography Matters as Art as Never Before*, his 2007 book that enlists photography in his long battle against theatricality. Fried notes that the question of intentionality had been 'a dire problem' for photography's status as an art, but that it was resolved because 'generations of art photographers from the mid-nineteenth century on came increasingly to be seen as having produced pictures of the highest individuality' (Fried 2008, 272). This 'individuality', in turn, found its highest expression in the rhetoric of straight photographers. Author figure intact, the project of modernist art criticism can continue without unwanted incursions.

The APN photographs make Fried's art historical task of locating and assigning artistic individuality as easy as chasing a shadow. Moving away from this subject disturbs the moral center of straight photography, but it also works against what Jennifer Bajorek has called 'a preponderance of historical and theoretical paradigms that see photography as descended from European painting' (Bajorek 2020, 99). In other words, even as the APN series pushes for an experimental mode of photography in line with avant-garde art practices, it also resists incorporation into traditional models of Euro-American art history organized around individual protagonists. As it happens, Fried's book very much argues that photography belongs to the history of European painting. Instead of this normative account of artistic practice, the 'artist' is always

A・P・N あ・ぷ・ん A・P・N あ・ぷ・ん A・P・N あ・ぷ・ん A・

製作 北代省三　撮影 大辻清司

えぴっく とぴっく

カブ

日本のことを

困るというので

皇太子さま 御

カブキが お役

コド

ことしは ジフ

ことしはハシカ

はやるはずだよ

だいたい コド

多分録 たぶん録

府中の輸出工場爆発。形骸をとどめず。惨たり、死者二十一。

×

世論調査

今週の出題者

質問

私は、新聞とラジオとが余りにも日々の生活に沁みこんで暴威を振つているかのように思うのですが、精神の休養の為には一年のうち十日なり二十日なり連続的に新聞は休刊、ラジオは放送を停止したら如何かと思つ

総休みしてく

神経衰弱的な

養になるとは

全然自分の眼

範囲だけの原

も堪えないで

困ると思い

Figure 8 APN photograph (Construction: Kitadai Shōzō, Photograph: Ōtsuji Kiyoji) published in *Asahi Graph* 4 March 1953. © Ōtsuji Seiko, © Tokyo Publishing House.

doubled, or dispersed. Without a single author to fall back on, other elements – like the material of *Asahi Graph* itself, the way it feels to touch its paper – might come into view, or become sensible.[24] In their original appearance in the magazine, at least, the photographs propose an engagement with authorship that is as murky as some of the shadows they represent.

One final APN photograph, with a construction by Kitadai, draws out further complications with the treatment of shadows (Figure 8). The camera is positioned above the scene, which plays out on a flat, white plane. A light cast from the left passes through a stencil of the 'APN' letters, casting a shadow

that is quite literally legible. But two constructions below this stencil disturb this relationship. They resemble the rhomboidal forms of Figure 1, which were identified as 'green and red celluloid'. The top form is made up of perhaps five pieces of celluloid, arranged into a small, volumetric cluster. They, too, cast a shadow, but it is not as opaque as the one cast by the stencil just above it; the material is somewhat translucent, rendering the shadow 'weak'. Another cluster appears lower in the frame, but it is much more complex than the first one. The material is arranged at haphazard angles, and it consists of longer and more numerous pieces, such that it finally becomes impossible to distinguish between celluloid and shadow. The camera registers both in the same way; the boundary is unclear. Where does Ōtsuji's individuality end and Kitadai's begin? Here, as throughout the APN series, the image mocks the attempt to fix the boundaries of object, medium, or even author. Blurring such distinctions as it does shadow and object, the APN photographs propose an alternative to realism.

Prewar continuities

The debate between Ōtsuji and Domon did not take place in a cultural or historical vacuum; on the contrary, it was directly connected to prewar photographic schools of thought. In an important article that analyzes the discourses of realism in postwar Japan, Julia Adeney Thomas claims that 'Japanese realists, because they worked in conditions of extreme dislocation, simultaneously had to create the picture and the context in which the picture should be understood' (Thomas 2008, 391–392). However, Jelena Stojković's recent research details the extremely robust discourse that photographers and critics produced before 1945. In contrast to Thomas' picture of 1945 as a blank slate, Stojković draws out considerable connections between prewar and postwar practice (Stojković 2020, 167–177). In the 1930s as in the 1950s, writers on the sides of Surrealist expression and realism faced off against each other. However, the moral fulcrum of prewar realist discourse was the state's imperial ambition. What was the situation of photographic production in the 1930s, and how did the debate at that time play out?

In 1935, at the age of 26, Domon began working for Natori Yōnosuke's agency Japan Workshop (*Nippon Kōbō*) – one of the most significant agencies producing nationalist propaganda in the name of photojournalism. Natori had worked as a photojournalist in Germany until 1933, when he returned to Japan and established Japan Workshop, a company launched to present a sanitized view of Japan to readers in Europe (Weisenfeld 2000). From late 1934, the company published the quarterly magazine *Nippon*, which appeared in English, French, German and Spanish. Japan Workshop was not alone in producing this kind of propaganda, especially from late 1937 with the establishment of

the Information Department of the Cabinet (*naikaku jōhōbu*); from that time on, a number of other photographic magazines supported Japan's imperial aggression in Asia.[25] Japan Workshop's most ambitious publication is *Nippon*, a 72-page accordion-style foldout book from 1938 that approximates the scale and grandeur of a photomural in the size of a book. Domon became a staff photographer of the agency, and among his other work, he took photographs for a nationalist photomural that appeared at the 1940 World's Fair held in New York.[26]

In the same year that Japan Workshop published *Nipppon*, Takiguchi Shūzō published important articles on Surrealist photographic practice in the domestic photography magazine *Photo Times* (*Foto Taimusu*). He introduced the works of Surrealist photographers from Europe like Man Ray, Brassaï, and Hans Bellmer (Takiguchi 1938). Ōtsuji recounted that one of the most important moments in his development as a photographer came during middle school, when he encountered back issues of *Photo Times* at a local bookstore. He later wrote that this encounter pushed him to pursue photography as more than just a hobby. 'At the same time that my interest in producing photographic work was piqued, I also took a greater interest in a particular direction: the constructive qualities of photography and Surrealism' (Ōtsuji 1989, 164). Up until that point, he had taught himself about photography exclusively through photography magazines, and his interest in the medium was largely technical.

Discovering Takiguchi's articles as a middle school student may have been a turning point for Ōtsuji, but within this historical moment of wartime mobilization, Stojković argues that avant-garde photography became effectively 'impossible' to practice. Already in 1931, a report called 'The Condition of Social Movements During the 16th Year of Shōwa' noted that Surrealism 'aims to liberate the human mind by overcoming various inconsistencies in human psychology' and that 'the overcoming of the psychological inconsistencies must be conducted in tandem with the overcoming of socio-economic inconsistencies as proclaimed by Marx' (cited in Tezuka 2005, 122).[27] In 1941, Takiguchi and painter Fukuzawa Ichirō were in fact arrested under the Public Peace Maintenance Law (Ward 2019), and spent several months in jail. Throughout the 1930s, it became more difficult to practice avant-garde photography, and even to use the word 'avant-garde' (Stojković 2020, 141).

Surrealism came under attack as a form of societally useless, frivolous photography in contrast to realism. In a 1939 article titled 'War and Surrealism, etc.', Dan Mitsuru criticized Surrealist photography on the grounds that it was an intentional deviation from reality. Dan asked why Surrealist photography became popular at this time, both in Manchuria and at home, as the country entered a difficult phase of the war. Given the actual restrictions placed on artistic activity at this time, abstraction was one of the few options available to photographers. However, Dan's criticism was personal: he suggested that

Surrealism offered an escape from this harsh reality, and as such let 'cowardly intellectuals' (*ki no yowai interi*) find comfortable spaces for themselves (Dan 1939). Dan praised 'societal realism', and wrote that photographers ought to include 'societal content', never allowing their emotions to interfere in the production of the photograph.[28] Well before Domon's injunction that photographers needed to use realism to 'add' to society, Dan wielded realism in service of the war. Both writers took a moralizing stance not so much towards particular kinds of photographs, but towards the people who took them.

In 1939, Domon published an article in *Photo Times* called 'Propaganda', in which he confessed his unhappy feelings over taking the photograph of a warplane which was later used in Japan Workshop's photomural for the 1940 World's Fair. Towards the end of the article, Domon writes: 'My sadness comes from the fact of being a propagandist' (Domon 1939). Perhaps Domon's calls for realism in the postwar were a result of his guilt over making such imagery; Kuraishi Shino (2007, 102) has suggested as much.[29] Unlike his fellow *Camera* judge Kimura Ihee, who also worked on wartime propaganda, Domon came out the other side of the war advocating for a left-wing politics, as the Kawada photograph from 1950 shows.

APN photographs, and Ōtsuji's texts, mark a recurrence of Surrealist thought in the postwar. Stojković notes that the APN series itself 'reflected a number of methodological similarities with Surrealist photography of the 1930s' (Stojković 2020, 171). Ōtsuji continued to toe the line of the avant-garde, and while Domon returned after the war with a new political stance, he carried over the puritanical tone of prewar realist discourse. Although the issue of war responsibility went unspoken, 'realism' had been mobilized in service of imperialist propaganda projects while Surrealism tried to hold on to its autonomy for as long as that was possible. In this light, it appears that old scores were settled up in 1953, and decided in favor of realism. Since then, the model of straight photography in service of reality has set the course of postwar photography history in Japan. The APN photographs point to a different story.

Conclusion: other postwar narratives

In 1976, the photography magazine *Asahi Camera (Asahi Kamera)* asked 27 well-known photographers what they thought of *bure boke*, the photographic aesthetic of harsh blur and grain associated with the 1968–1969 magazine *Provoke*. Domon offered by far the shortest response: 'I absolutely hate it' (Asahi Kamera 1976, 219). Members of the magazine had surely riled Domon by suggesting his complicity with Japanese imperialism (Nakahira 1973 [1968]). However, *Provoke*'s photographic ethos was a curiously natural extension of Domon's it exaggerated the techniques of blur and grain to *reclaim* the straightness of the photographic document from its war-tarnished past.

Figure 9 Ōtsuji Kiyoji, *Photo of Nothing Much*, 1975. An image from a series that was published in the article ‘Photo of Nothing Much (Ōtsuji Kiyoji’s Laboratory of Photography 5)’, *Asahi Camera*, May 1975. © Ōtsuji Seiko, Courtesy of Musashino Art University Museum and Library.

Shimizu Minoru suggests this connection in an essay on Domon: ‘To pierce through affectation, and plunge hardcore into the thing itself – well before *Provoke*, this kind of discourse was already quite widespread’ (Shimizu 2009, 118). Shimizu’s observation hits home: in Nishii’s standard account that ‘postwar Japanese photography began with Domon Ken’s “realism photography” movement’, the discursive object called ‘postwar Japanese photography’ becomes a series of straight photographers trapped in a dialectical relationship to realism.

The APN photographs turn away from the outside world, stage experiments in the studio, and relax the grip of the individual photographer over the final image. In the end, they do not attack realism ‘as a body blow’, but nudge it off-kilter. In this way, they offer one possible alternative starting point from which to narrate a history of ‘postwar Japanese photography’. Because the photographs are so fundamentally open, this alternative starting point would welcome and affirm other starting points, in concert with the notion that ‘avant-garde photography does not have any mountains that need climbing’. Such histories might move in two directions. First, towards other kinds of artistic photography, like the rich ‘subjective photography’ movement of the 1950s, the range of

conceptual photography that emerged in in the 1970s, and Surrealist work of all stripes. Second, they might also take up daily uses of photography: commercial photography, fashion photography, studio photography, vernacular photography and so on. Diverging from the almost unbroken chain of men inaugurated by Nishii's claim, these alternative directions bring more women into view, like the photocollage artist Okanoue Toshiko, or the Surrealist turned equine photographer Imai Hisae. The APN photographs already embody such photographic multiplicity. Their playful manipulation of shadows point them towards open expression, and they were firmly embedded in popular culture through their publication in *Asahi Graph*. Against realism, they suggest that photography can and should follow both paths – maybe even at the same time.

By the mid-1970s, Ōtsuji himself was taking photographs in a more conventional, snapshot mode. Each month in 1975, he published a column of text and photographs in the pages of *Asahi Camera*, titled 'Ōtsuji Kiyoji's Laboratory of Photography'. Ōtsuji's essays described the procedures he used to make that month's photographs. He referred to himself in the third person, or as 'the subject of the experiment' (*hikensha*), effacing yet again the individuality of the 'photographer'. In the May issue, he published a series of snapshots he took on a stroll in his neighborhood[30] (Figure 9). Was this a belated turn to a Domon-like ethos of 'shutter chance' photography? Hardly. In his text, Ōtsuji writes that he himself 'doesn't really know what these photos are about', and that he took them using the Surrealist technique of automatism (Ōtsuji 1975). The cheeky title of each photograph bears out Ōtsuji's gentle but unyielding critique. They were all called 'Photo of Nothing Much'.

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Notes

1. Following convention, I render the magazine's Japanese title *Asahi Gurafu* in English as *Asahi Graph*.
2. The APN photographs were published between January 8, 1953, and February 3, 1954.
3. For a nuanced study of Abbott that clarifies and complicates her fervor for realism, see Weissman (2011).
4. Kimura Ihee argued the mechanical position in (Kamera 1953a).
5. For example, Domon emphatically rejected the idea that Edward Weston was a realist. See (Kamera 1953a, 70)
6. In 2012, Kunsthalle Bern held an exhibition of the APN photographs, and published a small catalog (Mermod and Obinata 2012) with brief essays in English. Photography historian Obinata Kinichi has written most extensively on the series. See Obinata (2007); Obinata (2009).
7. See in particular Shirayama (2014).
8. I thank Kelly McCormick for this observation.
9. Recent books on Ōtsuji include (Ōtsuji 2007b; Ōtsuji 2016). From 2017, the Musashino Art University Museum & Library began publishing a series of small catalogs reproducing negatives and contact sheets from their archive of Ōtsuji's work.
10. For more information on *Asahi Graph*, including rough circulation data, see Utsumi (2011); Asahi Shinbun-sha (1969).
11. 'APN' is an acronym of 'Asahi Picture News', the magazine's official English title at that time.
12. The last three members joined the project midway through 1953, when Saitō and Komai were forced out by the editors of the magazine.
13. Among the group's fourteen members were five musical composers, a piano player, a lighting designer, an engineer and a poet-critic. See Miwako Tezuka's doctoral dissertation on the group (Tezuka 2005).
14. Some of these alternate images have been published in (Kanagawa kenritsu kindai bijutsukan et al. 2013).
15. In 'Boring Talk', another essay from this time, Ōtsuji staged a dialogue between six fictional photographers labeled photographer A, B, and so on. They each represented a particular position within the photography world. Ōtsuji introduced the lines of photographer D as 'Realism Artist D's Dogmatic Talk'. See (Ōtsuji 1956).
16. Emphasis in original.
17. This contradicts Julia Adeney Thomas' claim that 'the category of "art" held little allure' for realist photographers in postwar Japan (Thomas 2008, 369).
18. Fulfilling Domon's hopes, Kawada became a major photographer who is producing work to this day. See Mustard (2018).
19. For example, Domon took color studio photographs for APN participant Teshigahara Sōfū's 1952 book *Ikebana*, which introduced his work to English-language audiences. Domon also photographed *bunraku* performances, but those photographs are more comfortably snapshots, as he had could not control the lighting. Domon's photographs for *Ikebana* are more curious, as they work to efface all shadow.
20. In 2018, right-wing Japanese lawmaker Sugita Mio suggested that queer people should not receive taxpayer money because they are 'unproductive'. See (Dale 2020, 144–146).
21. These works were shown alongside those of Domon and other Japanese photographers. This exhibition was held in tandem with the photography department of the Museum of Modern Art, New York, then under the direction of Edward Steichen. For further information on this exhibition, see Kamera (1953c).

22. Yochelson sought to shift attention to Clarence White, a member of Stieglitz's circle until 1910, when Stieglitz adopted a dogmatic brand of straight photography. White split with Stieglitz because he, like Ōtsuji, remained open to photography's multiple uses; for him, straight photography was no moral imperative, just one among other valid methods.
23. Emphasis in original.
24. In recent years some of the APN photographs have been reissued as a set of modern prints, which have since entered the collections of the Museum of Modern Art, Tate Modern and the Getty Research Institute. But these matted photographs, produced for pure beholding of a Friedian sort, are not meant to be touched; the matte allows each photograph to be handled, but not hand held. For a haptic approach to photography, see Olin (2012).
25. Many of these magazines can be seen in Shirayama and Kohara (2015).
26. For an excellent analysis of this photomural, see Yamamoto (2009).
27. This translation is by Miwako Tezuka.
28. Dan's argument echoed an earlier essay by photo critic Ina Nobuo (1933), in which Ina suggested that photographers should avoid 'unrealistic' photographs, and instead take a 'healthy, realistic' approach to the medium.
29. Kuraishi referred specifically to Domon's books *Hiroshima* (1958) and *Children of Chikuhō* (1960).
30. This image was retitled *Sundown* when it was printed in 1987 for Otsuji's solo exhibition at Tokyo Gallery, and again retitled *At That Time* when it was published in a 1999 book.

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