

A Mutual Attraction: Tschichold's New Typography and the Emerging Japanese Typography Mariko Takagi

That advertisements differing greatly in size and form can be arranged together in a really pleasing way is shown here by two pages from a Japanese newspaper. Its design shows paradoxically that Japanese culture is closer to European than to the North American pseudo-culture. In any case, some of the Japanese advertisements are remarkable for their typographic design. The many-thousand-year-old collective mental attitude of the East reveals itself in the astonishing similarity of this typography to our own. The Japanese, for long masters in the use of space, have also in this area much to teach us. In a book *Japanische Reklame in der Tageszeitung* (Japanese Advertising in Daily Papers) Dr Anna Berliner has written extremely well about this.¹

With this praise of Japanese typography, Tschichold closes the chapter "Inserate",² a critical examination of the contemporary practice of advertising design in newspapers in the 1920s. The richly illustrated, short text in *Die neue Typographie* shows only one Japanese graphic, a double-page spread of *The Tokyo Asahi* from 1926, as the last image of the paragraph.³ Tschichold's brief statement on Japanese typography is only food for thought and leaves the interested reader hungry, providing only a few hints as an appetiser. (**fig. 138**)

In particular, the claim about the "similarity" between Japanese typography and the New Typography perspective is relevant to this text. The narrative of the following essay is an investigation of the cause and effect of Tschichold's statement. Two scholars from Tschichold's time are of interest to this purpose. Anna Berliner and her publication on Japanese advertising will be used as a reference to investigate what initially moved Tschichold to make his statement on Japanese design. On the contrary, Tschichold's texts' effect on Japanese typography is described by introducing Hiromu Hara and his investigation into modern typography.

Tschichold refers to the publication *Japanische Reklame in der Tageszeitung* (Japanese Advertising in the Daily Newspaper), a comprehensive study compiled by the percep-

¹ Tschichold 1998: 201–202.
In the original: "Daß selbst nach Größe und Form sehr verschiedenartige Inserate zu einer in diesem Fall sogar bestechend schönen Gesamtwirkung vereinigt werden können, beweisen die hier abgebildeten zwei Seiten aus einer japanischen Zeitung. Ihre Form zeigt auch, daß, so paradox es klingt, die japanische Kultur der europäischen näher ist als die nordamerikanische Pseudokultur. Übrigens sind einige der japanischen Inserate bemerkenswert durch ihre typographische Gestaltung. Die seit Jahrtausenden kollektive Einstellung des Ostens erweist sich in einer zunächst erstaunlichen Ähnlichkeit dieser Typographie zu unseren heutigen. Die Japaner, von je Meister der Flächengestaltung, haben auch auf diesem Gebiete hervorragende Leistungen zu verzeichnen. In einem Buche *Japanische Reklame in der Tageszeitung* hat Dr. Anna Berliner ausführlich über sie berichtet". Tschichold 1987 (1928): 206.

² In the English translation by Ruari McLean, the chapter is named "Advertisements". *Ibid.*: 195–202.

³ Tschichold 1987 (1928): 199–205.



Fig. 138 Two pages from the Japanese newspaper *The Tokyo Asahi*, 1926, shown in Tschichold 1987 (1928); Tschichold writes that he had a subscription to the newspaper.
Photo by Niccolò Quaresima

tion psychologist Anna Berliner (1888–1977), published initially in Stuttgart in 1925. It seems evident that this publication was Tschichold's primary source for assessing Japanese typographic design in the 1920s. In fact, at this time, Japanese typography was still in its infancy. Opening the country's borders in the early 1860s marked the beginning of the introduction of hot metal typography and Western-style newspapers to Japan. What Tschichold recognised in the *Asahi* newspaper advertisements was built on the foundation of Western typography. However, it was too early to be based on the New Typography, which only reached Japan through Tschichold's publications. Berliner's publication will be used to reconstruct what Tschichold comprehends as "Japanese typography".

Almost simultaneously, Tschichold influenced the Japanese development of modern typography. As only a few years after his publications "Elementare Typographie" (1925) and *Die neue Typographie* (1928), the aspiring graphic designer, educator, and author Hiromu Hara (1903–1986) discovered his fascination for New Typography through the texts by Tschichold, Moholy-Nagy and Willi Baumeister, and translated them into Japanese. The ideas and concepts of the New Typography began to spread within Japan. This chapter explores the cross-cultural exchange of thoughts between Berliner, Tschichold and Hara.

Anna Berliner (1888–1977)

Anna Berliner (born Meyer) studied psychology focusing on perception in Leipzig and received her PhD under Wilhelm Wundt as the first and only female student. After graduation, she accompanied her husband, the physicist Siegfried Berliner, to Japan in 1913, after he was appointed professor of business administration at the University of Tokyo. During this politically unstable time, Siegfried was sent to military service, followed by a period in captivity. Anna stayed in Japan, applying her expertise in the psychology of visual perception to Japanese advertising design.⁴ This research was published in 1925 as *Japanische Reklame in der Tageszeitung* by C. E. Poeschel Verlag, Stuttgart. Since Tschichold refers to Berliner's book in his text, I will briefly introduce and analyse the content and methodology in the following.

Berliner takes a highly systematic approach in her book. In the preface, she explains her method and decision to focus on the genre of newspaper advertising. To introduce the reader to the uniqueness of Japanese design, she explains that she intentionally decided against a comparison with European or American advertising methods. Her analytical text spans the book's first half, in which she repeatedly refers to the second half (pages 49–108), which presents sixty-five plates, using those advertisements as case studies.

After briefly informing the reader about the history and business of Japanese newspaper advertisements, Berliner first explains essential design methods, such as standardisation, stylisation and symbolic motifs. Asymmetry, the inclusion of white space, high black-and-white contrast, distortion and enlarge-

ment are layout methods already partly known to Europeans through Ukiyo-e at that time and were, in this case, related to advertising design. Berliner also looks at lettering. This requires a knowledge of language and writing. She points to lettering with pictorial qualities and liberal interpretations of calligraphic styles.

4 Anna Berliner learned Japanese and did not only research advertisement design, but also Japanese traditional arts, such as the tea ceremony. She collected her knowledge in the publication *Der Teekult in Japan* (The tea cult in Japan) of 1930. Besides, she published articles in Japanese newspapers and worked as a judge for a poster design competition organised by Calpis (a milk-based beverage manufacturer).

After describing visual characteristics, Berliner moves on to concepts, the technique of association applied in the advertisements, and developing coherence between design and copy, which we understand nowadays as branding. Berliner thus also describes how advertising works and which tricks are applied to package the advertising message more or less obviously in a visual. Berliner was, therefore, not only a pioneer in investigating Japanese design, but also ahead of her time in design research.

Through her thorough research, Berliner provides international readers access to Japanese culture, its aesthetic principles and design methods in a well-structured manner, refraining from stereotypical portrayals. Berliner's work is an essential contribution to cultural comprehension. For the young Tschichold, this book might have been a gateway to Japanese, if not Asian, visual culture, feeling a common ground for the attitude to aesthetics.

Hiromu Hara (1903–1986) encounters Jan Tschichold

Born in 1903 as the eldest son of a family in the printing industry based in Nagano, Japan, Hiromu Hara was a contemporary of Tschichold (1902–1974). At the age of 15, his family sent him to Tokyo to study the technology of printing at the newly founded Crafts and Printing Department of the Tokyo Furitsu Kogei Gakkō (Tokyo Prefectural College of Industrial Art).⁵ The curriculum focused on training print engineers. Through one of his teachers, Takao Miyashita (1890–1972), Hara discovered his genuine interest: lettering and layout. Miyashita was fascinated by international design tendencies and shared his knowledge with his students. After graduating at eighteen, Hara remained at the school as a teacher of lithography and worked in this position for the next twenty-one years, while also working as a design practitioner. Hara is still regarded as a pioneering figure in Japan's early design of posters and books. However, it is not only his practical work that has shaped Japanese graphic design, but even more his theoretical exploration, notably his engagement in translating Western design theory.

The design critic Masaru Katsumi (1909–1983) once described Hara with “shikonshōsai”, a term from the Meiji era meaning “soul of a samurai, wisdom of the West”. In other words, Hara possessed “the mind of Japanese artisans while mastering Western design theory”.⁶

Hara first encountered modern design in 1925, when he was twenty-two years old, upon reading the two-series article by Sadanosuke Na-

kada on his visit to the Bauhaus in Weimar, published in *Mizue* (Watercolour Painting), one of the leading Japanese art magazines of that time.⁷ The report by Nakada was a comprehensive text based not only on what the author had seen, experienced, and felt, but on well-funded journalistic research. The first article describes the curriculum in detail, while the second introduces the teaching staff. Hara later reports that this was the first stimulus for his growing interest, but the “spirit of the movement” was something he could not yet comprehend.⁸

⁵ The Japanese official naming is Tokyo Furitsu Kogei Gakkō.

⁶ Citation from an article published in Katsumi 1986: 107. In the same article, Katsumi suggests for Hara the title “the Japanese emperor of book design”. Katsumi 1986: 106.

⁷ Art critic Sadanosuke Nakada and architect Kikuji Ishimoto were the first Japanese visitors to the Bauhaus in Weimar in November 1922. Ishimoto first published his report about this visit in 1924 and Nakada in 1925. Although later visitors published first, the article by Nakada is regarded as the earliest holistic introduction of the Bauhaus to Japan. The article was published in 1925, in the June issue, volume 244 and in the July issue, volume 245 of the *Mizue* magazine. Takagi 2019.

⁸ Hara 1970: 84.

About a year later, Hara came across the article "A Lesson in Typography" by Nicholas J. Werner, published in the American magazine *The Inland Printer*, to which Hara's school subscribed. According to Steven Heller, this review on "Elementare Typographie" might have been the first to discuss the New Typography in the United States. Hara described his feeling when seeing the typographical work of El Lissitzky's *Dlia golosa* (For the Voice) from 1922/1923 as "so fresh that it took my breath away", continuing that he learned more about layout and typography from the plates in the article than he could learn from contemporary Japanese textbooks on *zuan* (obsolete Japanese term for graphic design).⁹ From then on, this encounter is continuously found in Hara's articles. A few aspects are of interest in Hara's interpretation and introduction in Japanese. Firstly, he notes that the article mentions El Lissitzky by name but not Tschichold.¹⁰ In fact, Werner refers to Tschichold (in this case Ivan Tschichold) even before El Lissitzky and László Moholy-Nagy.¹¹ Furthermore, Hara does not bring up the critical undertone of Werner's article. Although Werner's text is richly illustrated, Hara only mentions El Lissitzky's *Dlia golosa* in his articles. Besides "Elementare Typographie", the article was illustrated with plenty of, such as *Pro dva kvadrata* (About Two Squares) from 1922, part of the letterhead and one design by Farkas F. Molnár, a cover of the magazine *MA* from an issue of the year 1924.¹² This leads to the assumption that El Lissitzky's *Dlia golosa* particularly impressed Hara.

Being an educator, Hara did not keep his discovery of this new typographic expression by El Lissitzky for himself and wrote up an article. However, it took a while before Hara found a way to publish his text on "Elementare Typographie". In October 1929, the article "Oushu ni okeru kappanzuan no shinkeikou" (New Trends in Typographic Design in Europe) under the pseudonym Hiro Hara was published in *PTG*, a bulletin of the Crafts and Printing Department of the Tokyo Furitsu Kogei Gakkō (Tokyo Prefectural College of Industrial Art).¹³ Almost two years later, in July 1931, Hara published a small booklet titled *Shinkapanjutsu-Kenkyu* (New Typography Research)¹⁴ which described the New Typography movement. Hara himself took care of the compilation, translation, editing and design. Published in *PTG*, this issue also did not reach the shelves of the general trade.

In 1933, Hara's texts finally reached a broader readership. A series of articles comprising four episodes under the title "E-shashin, mojikatsuji, soshite Typophoto" (Typophoto, Picture – Photo, Letter – Type, and Ty-

9 "I found the typographical work so fresh it took my breath away. [...] In the introductory page of the [...] *Inland Printer*, I learned a lot about new typesetting design, or what we would now call layout and typography. There was no way of learning so much from the *zuan* books of those days." Hara 2005: 26.

10 Thus, Hara describes that he first learned Tschichold's name when he held the book *Die neue Typographie* in his hands.
Ibid.

11 Heller 2019.

12 *Ibid.*

13 Hara 1929. *PTG* was published by educators and students of the research centre of the Furitsu Kogei Gakkō Printing Division Research Group, founded in 1918.
Kawahata 2002: 47.

14 The publication includes four translations by Hara of the following original texts: László Moholy-Nagy, "Die neue Typographie", in *Staatliches Bauhaus in Weimar 1919–1923*, 1923; Moholy-Nagy, "Zeitgemäße Typographie. Ziele, Praxis, Kritik", in *Offset. Buch und Werbekunst*, 7, 1926; Willi Baumeister, "Neue Typographie", in *Die Form*, 10, July 1926; Jan Tschichold, "Was ist und was will die neue Typografie?", in *Eine Stunde Druckgestaltung*, Wedekind, Stuttgart 1930. Hara contributed the text "the technic of Elementare Typographie, a revised version of his first article on elementary typography from 1929. However, he did not include his personal note rejecting Tschichold's thesis of abandoning upper-case letters. The individual translations previously appeared one after the other in the *PTG* bulletin until compiling them into a single volume, a book printed in black and white, B6 format with forty pages.

pophoto) subsequently appeared in the *Koga* magazine¹⁵ between February and May. Each text focuses on a particular aspect. The first text, only covering two pages, is a general introduction to the series. It discusses the relation between pictures and text as a visual communication system, contextualising the history of letterpress printing and Latin letter typeface design. The second eight-page contribution is richly illustrated and shows advertising graphics and magazine covers designed using typography and photography in the US, Germany, USSR, and Japan. All images were chosen by Hara for showing in this article, as none appears in *Die neue Typographie*. Hara only mentions the name of John Heartfield, Herbert Bayer and El Lissitzky in the caption. The other seven images are anonymous; only the country of origin is stated. On the text level, this article focuses on photography applied to photomontages and photojournalism.

While the fourth text summarises the central statements, the third text focuses on typography and is examined in more detail in the following. Hara begins this third article with a quote from Paul Renner, *Mechanisierte Grafik*, in which Renner states that all radically new inventions first meet rejection. From there, Hara moves on to a brief discourse on the history of typefaces and arrives at the choice of grotesque over Fraktur by the leaders of the New Typography movement. Citing Tschichold's article "Wo stehen wir heute?" (Where Are We Today?),¹⁶ Hara quotes the first part of the paragraph on typefaces, in which Tschichold refers to grotesque as the style of the present. Next, Hara relates this to the situation in Japanese typography, where the so-called *goshikku-tai* is equated to the sans serif of Latin letters. Hara believes that Japanese *goshikku* is far from mature as a style, with many disadvantages compared to the longer-established *mincho-tai* (comparable to serif typefaces). Hara sees the core of this problem in the nature of the Japanese writing system: despite the varying complexity of the characters, they all need to fit into the same space. In particular, the complex characters, with their many and dense strokes, contradict the idea of simplicity and legibility inherent in the concept of the grotesque style.¹⁷ And so, Hara also refers to Tschichold who, in *Eine Stunde Druckgestaltung* from 1930, mentions the use of the Antiqua typeface for text as one option; in Japanese terms, this would be the *mincho-tai*.

Returning to the article from 1933, Hara disagrees with Tschichold on one point, namely the abandonment of upper-case letters. After citing Tschichold's

15 Founded in 1932 by photographers Yasuzo Nojima (1889–1964), Iwata Nakayama (1895–1949) and Ihei Kimura (1901–1974). Publishing only eighteen issues until 1933, the magazine became one of the leading media to present the new photographic approach in Japan, delivering translations of international texts alongside photographic works.

16 Tschichold's article was published in February 1932 in the *Typographische Mitteilungen*, just one year ahead of Hara's publication in *Koga*.

17 Hara 1933: 50–51.

18 "Regarding letters, Tschichold argues for the elimination of capital letters. The exclusive use of lower-case letters makes a text easier to read (with which I disagree), easier to learn, more economical, and more cost-effective, so that valueless and useless elements can be discarded." Hara 1929: 4.

19 Hara 1933: 51.

argument and naming Jacob Grimm (1785–1863, who Tschichold also calls an early advocate of this thesis in *Die neue Typographie*), Adolf Loos (1870–1933), Stefan George (1868–1933) and the Bauhaus as proponents of the lower-case debate, Hara contradicts Tschichold on abolishing capital letters and argues his objection to the deterioration of readability.¹⁸ Adding that from the Japanese perspective, having two alphabets (upper and lower case) is not a "big deal".¹⁹ Hara does not elaborate on this statement and ends the article by pointing out that further research concerning typography and typesetting is still needed.

However, the hybridity of the Japanese writing system, consisting of four scripts – *hiragana*, *katakana*, and *kanji* (and Latin letters, which Hara did not mention) remained a matter of concern to Hara until the 1960s.

The structure of kanji is still complex, and creating typefaces of distinctive design will only lead to poor readability. And the combination of *hiragana*, *katakana* – characters from very different backgrounds – makes their unified stylisation very difficult. [...] In short, this is the problem of the Japanese script.²⁰

All four texts have in common that Hara refers to German or English sources²¹ and applies these theories to the conditions of Japanese culture, writing system and history. The broad referencing shows Hara's academic approach. The four articles reflect his continuous research on the New Typography.²² Although Tschichold's publication from 1928 is undoubtedly the main resource, Hara's texts are not simply a summary or translation: he takes a clear stand.

The reference to well-known Japanese examples supports the readers' understanding and emphasises Hara's role as a critical figure in the early dissemination of Tschichold's work in Japan. On the other hand, it also shows that Hara sought arguments to adequately apply his new findings to the Japanese writing system. Therefore, he can be seen as a leading contributor to the Japanese New Typography movement.

Already proposed in *Shinkappanjutsu-Kenkyu* in 1931, Hara suggests that Japanese typographers should develop their own New Typography adapted to the unique writing system:

We have much to learn from this movement in Europe. But their typography cannot be instantly applied to ours. In particular, the question of script and type, which arises from differences in writing systems, makes a decisive distinction in the concrete application of their theories. We must have our own new typography.²³

The text by Hara is not a simple translation or report, as he connects the content to the Japanese character environment and typography and even raises his opinion. This is particularly interesting because it shows that Hara did not simply adopt Tschichold's theses and the aesthetics of the New Typography. Rather, he questions Tschichold's theories and critically reflects on what and how the ideas apply to the Japanese writing system. Hara was aware of

being selective in the representation. In 1970, he stated:

I thought that what I had acquired was a cultural technology for communication, and [...] maybe I selectively kept what suited me from my previous Tschichold and Bauhaus studies.²⁴

A question remains unanswered. Tschichold's statement about Japanese typography and advertising designs shown in the publication *Die neue Typographie* remained un-commented upon by Hara. It is hard to imagine that it escaped Hara's

20 Hara 2005: 119. First printed in *Annual of Advertising Art in Japan*, Bijutsushuppan-sha, 1961.

21 In the first text, Hara is referring to Otto L. Bettmann's "The Relationship of Word and Picture" and Jan Tschichold "Photographie und Typographie" in *Die neue Typographie*. In the second, he refers to Franz Roh and William Morris, as well as Tschichold.

22 In February 1927, Hara bought the catalog *Staatliches Bauhaus in Weimar 1919–1923*, which included the short text "Die neue Typographie" by Moholy-Nagy and deepened his understanding of the movement. Kawahata 2002: 44.

23 Hara 1931.

24 Hara 1970: 89. (English translation by the present author).

attention. Was the silence a deliberate decision? How this is to be evaluated is another interesting question.

Design is about elaborating a solution to a specific problem. As a discipline of design, this also applies to typography. In the case of intercultural inspiration, a “translation” takes place. Solutions worked out in the context of one culture cannot simply be adopted and applied by another, they can only serve as a source of inspiration. This is especially true for applications in typography when it comes to two different writing systems.

The poet, playwright, memoirist and actor Hiroshi Kashiwagi (1922–2019) once aptly said, “Hiromu Hara can be described as a designer who established the style of Japanese design while remaining aware of developments in modern design in the West”.²⁵ Hara was the first to introduce Tschichold’s *Die neue Typografie* in Japan. From then on, Hara’s lifelong work as a designer, educator and author of countless texts on graphic design was shaped by his exploration of Modernism in typography. Hara was exclusively interested in *Die neue Typographie*, this particular phase of Tschichold’s work. Tschichold’s return to traditional typographic values and the contradictory nature of this step never found a way into Hara’s recitations and reviews of Tschichold.²⁶

25 Kashiwagi 2005: 77.

26 Yamamoto 2013: 122. Starting with Hara’s introduction of Tschichold, there has been constant interest in Tschichold’s design and writing in Japan. In March 2013, the GGG Gallery in Tokyo hosted the exhibition *Jan Tschichold / Yan Chihyōruto*, with his life’s work on display. In the exhibition catalogue, Taro Yamamoto summarises the Japanese review history of Tschichold in his text “Jan Tschichold in Japan”.

27 “Daß tatsächlich, trotz fremden Einflusses, auf alter Kulturgrundlage etwas Eigenes, Wertvolles entstanden ist, das zu zeigen ist mir eine freudige Aufgabe”.
Berliner 1925: Vorwort (Foreword).

28 Copying or plagiarism is an old accusation that refers to the first encounters between Japan and the West. One example is Matthew Calbraith Perry, who wrote down the following observation of the Japanese between 1852 and 1854: “They are exceedingly quick in observing any improvement brought in among them by foreigners, soon make themselves masters of it, and copy it with great skill and exactness”. Perry 1856: 50.

29 “Dabei handelt es sich um eine Fähigkeit, Versatzstücke einer ‘fremden Kultur’ aufzunehmen, mit der eigenen Kultur zu vermengen, unter der Anwendung des eigenen Referenzrahmens zu übersetzen und sich zu eigen zu machen. [...] Das Japanische wird im Refine nicht durch das Westliche (‘Fremde’ und/oder ‘Neue’) ersetzt, sondern viel eher wird der ‘fremde’ positive Impuls der japanischen Kultur angepasst und aufgenommen. Das ‘Eigene’ wird durch das ‘Fremde’ aufgewertet und bereichert. Demnach geht es im Refine nicht etwa um die Angleichung der japanischen Kultur an das ‘Fremde’, sondern viel eher um die Adaption des ‘Fremde’ in die japanische Kultur.”
Takagi 2012: 422–423.

Conclusion

Anna Berliner closes her preface with the words, “It is a joyful task for me to show that, despite foreign influence, something of value has arisen based on an old culture”.²⁷ This assessment depicts not only the Japanese newspaper advertisements of the early 1920s and the design thinking and practice of Hara, but also the practice of “refinement”, a Japanese cultural technique often misinterpreted as plagiarism or copying.²⁸ The term refinement can be defined as

The ability to assimilate elements from a “foreign culture”, blend them with one’s own culture, translate them using one’s own referential framework and incorporate them into one’s own culture. [...] In refinement, the “Japanese” is not replaced by the Western (“foreign” and/or “new”), but rather the “foreign” positive impulse is adapted and absorbed by the Japanese culture. The original Japanese is enhanced and enriched by the “foreign” influence. Thus, refinement is not about adapting Japanese culture to the “foreign” but rather about assimilating the “foreign” impact into the Japanese culture.²⁹

Hara thoroughly studied Tschichold’s writings and designs in the spirit of the New Typography, keeping a critical mind before applying it to his

typographic work based on the Japanese writing system. This led Hara to become a pioneer in modern Japanese typography, which Naomichi Kawahata calls "New Typography made in Japan".³⁰

On the other hand, Tschichold's interest in Japan, traced in the short section of the chapter "Inserate" in *Die neue Typographie*, was not a fleeting mood. His interest in Japan (and China) has emerged repeatedly. The images of the article "Japanische Typographie, Flaggen und Zeichen"³¹ published in 1928, show trademarks that let us assume Tschichold owned an issue of the magazine *Present-day Japan* in 1926.³² Tschichold's interest was not limited to visual appearances but also included printing techniques. *Der chinesische und der japanische mehrfarbige Holztafelldruck, technisch* (Chinese and Japanese Multicolour Woodblock Printing, Technical), published in 1959, shows Tschichold's continuing interest. Similar to Hara, who seemed to have found a common sense or attitude towards design in *Die neue Typographie*, Tschichold may have found it in the Japanese visual culture.

30 Kawahata 2003: 9.

31 The article in English "Japanese typography, flags and marks" was published in issue 2: 28–29 of the *Graphische Berufsschule* in Munich 1928.

32 During a visit to the Tschichold Archive of the National Library in Leipzig in May 2023, the present author discovered the year 1926 and text elements "NT-DAY JAPAN" on the edges of torn-out symbols (shown in the article mentioned above). These elements suggest the magazine *Present-Day Japan* as the source of the symbols.

References

Ball 2010

Laura Ball, "Profile of Anna Berliner", in Alexandra Rutherford, edited by, *Psychology's Feminist Voices Digital Archive*, 2010, feministvoices.com/profiles/anna-berliner (accessed 10 April 2023).

Berliner 1925

Anna Berliner, *Japanische Reklame in der Tageszeitung*, C. E. Poeschel Verlag, Stuttgart 1925.

Hara 1929

Hiro Hara, "New Trends in Typographic Design in Europe" (Ôshû ni okeru kappan toan no shinkêkô) in *PTG* (Insatsu Kenkyûkai Kaishi), 11 (1), October 1929, pp. 2–4.

Hara 1931

Hiromu Hara, edited by, *New Typography Research* (Shin Kappanjutsu Kenkyû Seihan Insatsuka Kenkyûkai), Seihaninsatsu-Kenkyûkai, Tokyo 1931.

Hara 1933

Hiromu Hara, "Picture – Photo, Letter – Type, and Typophoto (3)", E – Shashin, Moji – Katsujî, Soshite Typophoto (3), in *Koga*, 2 (4), April 1933, pp. 49–52.

Hara 1970

Hiromu Hara, "Memoirs of a Wanderer in Design" (Dezain Hôkô), in Tooyama Tōyama Naomichi, edited by, *A Brief History of Japanese Design* (Nihon Dezain Shōshi) (David-sha), Tokyo 1970, pp. 82–89.

Hara 2005

Hiromu Hara, *A Century of Design* (Dezain no Seiki), Heibonsha, Tokyo 2005.

Heller 2019

Steven Heller, "What the Old Guard Said About the New Typography", in *Printmag*, 26 May 2019, printmag.com/daily-heller/what-the-old-guard-said-about-the-new-typography/ (accessed 7 April 2023).

Kashiwagi 2005

Hiroshi Kashiwagi, "Hara Hiroshi, Establisher of Modern Design" (Modan Dezain no Kakuritsusha Hara Hiroshi), in Hara Hiromu, *A Century of Design* (Dezain no Seiki), Heibonsha, Tokyo 2005, pp. 76–77.

Katsumi 1986

Masaru Katsumi, *Collected Writings by Masaru Katsumi 4* (Katsumi Masaru Chosakushû 4), Kodansha, Tokyo 1986.

Kawahata 2002

Naomichi Kawahata, *Hiromu Hara and "Our New Typography"* (Hara Hiroshi to 'Bokutachi no Shin Kappanjutsu') DNP Graphic Design Archive, Tokyo 2002.

Kawahata 2003

Naomichi Kawahata, *Modernism on Paper: Japanese Graphic Design in the 1920s and 1930s* (Shijō no Modanizumu 1920–30-nendai Nihon no Gurafikku Dezain), Rikuyosha, Tokyo 2003.

Perry 1856

Matthew Calbraith Perry, *Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to the China Seas and Japan: Performed in the Years 1852, 1853, and 1854*, Under the Command of Commodore M. C. Perry, United States Navy, by Order of the Government of the United States, Beverley Tucker, Washington 1856.

Present-Day Japan 1931

Present-Day Japan. Special English Supplement of The Asahi, Osaka and Tokyo, 8, 1931.

Seigo, Tanaka and Katsumi 1999

Matsuoka Seigo, Ikko Tanaka and Asaba Katsumi, *Transition of Modern Typography in Japan 1925–95* (Nihon no Taipogurafikku Dezain 1925–95), Trans Art, Tokyo 1999.

Takagi 2012

Mariko Takagi, *Formen der visuellen Begegnung zwischen Japan und dem Westen: Vom klassischen Japonismus zur zeitgenössischen Typographie*, doctoral dissertation, Hochschule für Bildende Künste Braunschweig, 2012, opus.hbk-bs.de/frontdoor/index/index/docId/181 (accessed 29 May 2023)

Takagi 2019

Mariko Takagi, *Yamawaki Michiko: A Japanese Bauhaus Story*. Form+Zweck Verlag, Berlin 2019.

Tschichold 1987 (1928)

Jan Tschichold, *Die neue Typographie. Ein Handbuch für zeitgemäss Schaffende*, original ed. 1928, Brinkmann & Bose, Berlin 1987.

Tschichold 1991 (1928)

Jan Tschichold, "Japanische Typographie, Flaggen und Zeichen", 1928, in *Schriften 1925–1974*, vol. 1, Brinkmann & Bose, Berlin 1991, pp. 37–40.

Tschichold 1998

Jan Tschichold, *The New Typography*, translated by Ruari McLean, University of California Press, Berkeley 1998.

Yamamoto 2013

Taro Yamamoto, "Jan Tschichold in Japan", in Shirai Yoshihisa, edited by, *Jan Tschichold* (Jan Tschichold / Yan Chihyoruto), DNP Foundation for Cultural Promotion, Tokyo 2013, pp. 124–126.

Werner 2019

Nicholas J. Werner, "A Lesson in Typography", in *The Inland Printer*, 1926, quoted in Steven Heller, "What the Old Guard Said About the New Typography", *Printmag*, 26 May 2019, printmag.com/daily-heller/what-the-old-guard-said-about-the-new-typography/ (accessed 7 April 2023).
