

<sup>12</sup>The dissertation *The Bunraku Puppet Theatre since 1945 to 1964: Changes in Administration and Organization*, by Julianne K. Boyd includes important information about the period of formation of the Bunraku Kyōkai.

---

CHAPTER IX

---

THE MODERN THEATRE: SHIMPA

*Origins of the Shimpa Movement: Sudō Sadanori*

The word *shimpageki* means "new school drama" and is used (mostly in its abbreviated form *shimpa*) to designate a specific form of theatre, the first to develop outside the *kabuki* world after the Meiji Restoration as an attempt to modernize and westernize Japan's drama. The name began to appear in the newspapers starting from the very first years of our century to distinguish the drama of the "new school" from that of the "old school" (*kyūha*), that is, of *kabuki*.<sup>1</sup>

It was unavoidable that the theatre would join the general movement of change that swept Japan after the opening of the country to western influence. The efforts of the *kabuki* and *bunraku* professionals to modernize their art produced only sporadic results of short duration, and certainly did not transform those genres into forms of westernized spoken theatre. They instead generated today's *kabuki* and *bunraku*, which present a change from the pre-Meiji outlook something like that accomplished in the performances of many operas in the West in which music, libretto, and basic acting style have remained much the same, while modern technical resources have been incorporated.

The lack of participation by professional actors in the creation of a modern theatre resulted in amateurism and low levels of acting skills in the courageous pioneers. Not much could be expected from the first groups that dared to present themselves to the public without acting training and without a clear idea of what a modern style should look like; this was largely because the only experience of theatrical performance

in Japan was that of the traditional performing arts, and direct experience of western theatre was not yet available to the young amateurs.

Despite the lack of professionalism and a model for modernization, one thing was very clear in the mind of Sudō Sadanori (1867-1907), who is considered the founder of *shimpa*: theatre was to be an instrument of political propaganda against the conservative regime.

The first expressions of this goal occurred in conjunction with a tense political situation. In 1884 the conservative government dissolved the major opposition force, the Liberal Party (*Jiyūtō*), of which Sudō was a militant member, and forbade all political rallies. A group mostly made up of young militants decided to continue the fight against the government with the means left at their disposal, such as lectures, newspaper articles, and, eventually, the theatre. These young people called themselves *sōshi*, a word that means both "courageous young man" and "political bully" or "henchman." Several *sōshi* were lawless ruffians, who did not shy away from violent revolutionary actions, and often got into trouble with the police. Their political aims of freedom were unfocused, and their unrest was expressed primarily as a manifestation of a sense of frustration with the conservative leadership, rather than as the execution of a clear and systematic plan of action.

A group of *sōshi* came together under Sadanori's leadership and formed the Dainippon Geigeki Kyōfūkai (Great Japan Society for the Reformation of the Theatre), one of the many "improvement societies" born in the middle eighties to promote the westernization of some aspect of life or culture, this time, however, with the aim of using theatre for the purpose of liberal political opposition against the conservative government. The first performance took place in Osaka in December 1888.

Rather than epoch-making events, this and similar performances were generally considered by contemporaries as a kind of a curiosity, an odd attempt by amateurs to present theatre outside the monopoly of the *kabuki* establishment. Many failed to recognize until much later the importance of a movement that broke the ice in the process of thrusting Japan into the stream of contemporary spoken drama, introduced new theatre customs such as darkened auditoriums and elaborate

stage lighting, added the new dramatic subject of social and political struggle, re-introduced women to the stage, and, above all, showed the possibility of surviving outside the traditional theatre monopoly.

The founder of *shimpa*, Sudō Sadanori—a Kyoto policeman turned journalist, a *sōshi*, and eventually a full time actor—spent twenty years of his short life mostly touring the provinces, but reaping only scattered success in the big cities where he could not last long in competition with both the professional *kabuki* theatre and the offspring of his own reform, such as the more aggressive and better organized troupe of Kawakami Otojirō. Sudō died at forty, in the dressing room of a Kobe theatre. On the memorial erected in his honor in 1937 in the cemetery of the Tennōji temple of Osaka an inscription describes him as the "father of the new theatre."

#### *Kawakami Otojirō*

If Sudō was the first to show the possibility of survival outside the *kabuki* world, Kawakami Otojirō (1864-1911) succeeded in proving much more: that stardom and financial reward independent from *kabuki* were possible even for a man of obscure origins without any family connections with the professional theatre world.

Kawakami's life reads like a fast-paced adventure novel, a sequence of continuous changes, failures, new enterprises, and a series of "firsts" in the Japanese theatre world.<sup>2</sup> Though he never achieved greatness in the quality of his performances as an actor, his role as a catalyst in the process of forming Japan's new theatre was unique. Kawakami's family had served for generations as official purveyors under the feudal lords of Hakata in Kyūshū. He left home at fourteen and started a series of diverse experiences: among others, as an apprentice in a Buddhist temple, as a pupil of the famous scholar Fukuzawa Yūkichi at Keiō University, as a policeman, and as a political propagandist. In 1887, he was on stage with *kabuki* actors in Kyoto, his role being to improvise outside the curtain at those points where the text broke off. In 1888, he became the disciple of a famous Osaka *rakugo* storyteller, Katsura Bun'nosuke, and used his new skill to put together his original

*Oppekepe bushi*, a satirical ballad sung to a very popular tune composed by Katsura Tōbei, a storyteller of the same school. The ballad's onomatopoeic name derived from the sound of the trumpet which opened its refrain. The ballad made Kawakami famous three years later, when he performed in Tokyo in 1891 with his new company formed in imitation of Sudō's *sōshi* theatre. He appeared at the Nakamura-za in plays not worth remembering, gaining his success because of his entr'acte performance of the *Okkepeke bushi*, which he sang while dashing like a swashbuckler in front of a golden screen with a Japanese flag in his hand. His success was so great that even the major *kabuki* stars went to see him.

Kawakami is responsible for the introduction of such "sensations" from the West as the changing of scenery in darkness, the new system of lighting the stage while the orchestra is darkened, and the "authentic reportage" drama in which in a relatively realistic way he presented war episodes from the Chinese campaign of 1894/95. His war plays were enormously successful, gaining a better public reception than the corresponding war plays done by *kabuki* actors. To enhance the patriotic atmosphere he had soldiers and sailors fight in formal uniform, and instructed the audience to bow when the name of the Emperor was mentioned. He traveled to Korea to inspect the front-line and then produced his most successful play, *Kawakami Otojirō senchi kembunki* (Kawakami Otojirō Reporting from the Battle Field, 1894) in which he played himself in the role of a reporter at the front line witnessing the valiant deeds of the Japanese heroes. For the first time, *shimpa* won over *kabuki*, and for the first time the most important *kabuki* stage, Tokyo's Kabuki-za, was at *shimpa's* disposal.

Kawakami was also the first to present Japanese theatre abroad. He toured with his company to America, England, France, Germany, and Russia. As a consequence of his experiences abroad Kawakami introduced western-style tickets and shortened the duration of his shows. He pioneered childrens' theatre in 1903. Also in 1903 he began the presentation of western masterpieces: he began by staging his adaptation of *Othello*, and followed it between 1903 and 1906 with *Hamlet*, *The Merchant of Venice*, and plays by Maeterlinck and Sardou.

Contemporary sources agree in judging rather harshly the quality of Kawakami's performances. It is clear that his forte was sensationalism, not art. In his war plays the secret of his success was a rhetorical, sentimental appeal to patriotism, and an ostentatious, one-sided glorification of valiant Japanese heroes. Photographs of the time show cheap operetta-like sets and exaggerated, melodramatic gestures. In the play *Itagaki-kun sōnan jikki* (The True Story of Itagaki's Misfortunes, 1891) during the scene of the attempted murder of the famous liberal politician, Itagaki Taisuke, he had actors in police uniforms suddenly appear on the *hanamichi*, so that the audience momentarily believed in a real intervention by the police. His presentation of western masterpieces could hardly give an idea of the originals; he often relied on western curiosities such as introducing Hamlet by having him make a sensational entrance on a bicycle.

It is doubtful whether the type of Japanese theatre shown by Kawakami abroad was a service to the cause of international exchange. The purpose of his foreign trip originally had been to study the western theatre, not to perform. An enterprising theatre manager in San Francisco, however, induced him to go on the stage with his fellow actors. Part of the mixed success was due to his wife, Kawakami Sadayakko (1872-1946), who was not an actress, but, before her marriage, had been a professionally trained, high class *geisha*. She was therefore capable of fascinating European audiences who had never seen the live performance of a *geisha*.<sup>3</sup>

It is clear that Kawakami was successful both in Japan and abroad as long as he could capitalize on spectacular or emotional elements which did not require real acting skills. Their very lack of acting skills, however, gave to the performances of his troupe a freshness unknown to the stereotyped traditional models. While most *kabuki* plays repeated themes that were becoming increasingly obsolete, Kawakami's presentations exploited the hottest issues of the day. While the language of *kabuki* was sounding more and more like something from the past, Kawakami's colloquialisms reflected the latest, rapidly changing expressions of "modernized" society. Kawakami did not abolish the convention of female impersonation in *shimpa*, but selectively used actresses for certain female roles, thereby initiating a new

tradition of female stars on the Japanese stage. In 1908 he established the first modern school for actresses, the Teikoku Joyū Yōsei-jo (Imperial Actresses School), which was headed by his wife Sadayakko. His last enterprise was the building of a new theatre, the Teikokuza, in Osaka, which he hoped would become the center for the "true theatre." Shortly after opening the new house in 1911 he died, aged forty-seven.

### *Seibikan and Other Companies*

During Kawakami's time, realization of the need to improve the quality of acting and the standards of the plays was at the root of efforts by several of the most serious theatre reformers. Several groups were formed, those especially worthy of mention being the Seibikan, the Seibidan, the Isami-engeki, and the Hongōza.

The Seibikan was short-lived; it performed only one program in Tokyo in 1891. It was the brainchild of Yoda Gakkai (1833-1909), a scholar and theatre critic who gave to the company the purpose of high artistic ideals exclusive of political concerns. It was the Seibikan who introduced young Ii Yōhō (1871-1932), an actor who was to become very famous as a *shimpa* star for decades; the troupe also was the first to break the ban on theatrical companies comprising both men and women.

The Seibidan also was a short-lived effort to stress quality over sensationalism. It was founded in 1896 by an ex-member of Kawakami's troupe, Takada Minoru (1871-1916), who is credited, with such collaborators as Kitamura Rokurō (1871-1961) with having set the standards for the best achievements of *shimpa*. In 1898 the name Seibidan disappeared from the records, but Takada's teaching about the importance of *iki* (breathing) and his exemplary dedication to the art of acting as a technique of realistic expression had great importance in the process of finding a serious new professionalism within *shimpa*. Takada died at forty-six, in 1915. Kitamura, an offshoot of the Seibidan, founded a school of acting which continued the same methods.

The Isami-engeki was formed in 1895 by the actors Ii Yōhō, Satō Toshizō (1869-1945), and Mizuno Yoshimi (1863-1928; the name I-Sa-Mi was formed with the initial syllable of

each actor's name). Ii was the most popular among the *shimpa* actors. A very handsome and talented performer, Ii is also remembered for his serious effort to rediscover for the new theatre treasures of traditional playwriting or new interpretations of Japanese legends as presented by important contemporary authors. Famous are his cycle of eight plays, *Chikamatsu kenkyū-geki* (Research Plays on Chikamatsu), and *Tamakushige futari Urashima*, novelist Mori Ogai's philosophical adaptation of the Urashima Tarō legend. The contribution of such talented modern writers as Mori Ogai (1862-1922), and the dramatization of famous contemporary tragic novels such as Tokutomi Roka's *Hototogisu* (The Cuckoo) and Ozaki Kōyō's *Konjiki yasha* (A Demon of Gold) provided the *shimpa* stage with a new repertory representative of contemporary Japanese culture, quite different from whatever Kawakami had been dressing up to display his showmanship.

### *The Golden Age of Shimpa*

The first decade of the twentieth century was a period of prosperity and busy activity for *shimpa*. The death of the two major *kabuki* stars Kikugorō and Danjūrō in 1903 had left a great vacuum in the Tokyo theatre. The beginning of the Russo-Japanese War in 1904 inspired *shimpa* to revive the genre of war plays which had been extremely well received at the time of the Sino-Japanese War. The success of war plays by different *shimpa* groups was such that an invitation was extended to *kabuki* actors to produce one of them jointly. The invitation was not accepted, but *kabuki* actors did themselves produce a *shimpa* war play—a sign of the new importance reached by *shimpa* on the Tokyo scene. *Shimpa* was taking a vigorous leadership in the professional theatre world not only by choosing timely themes for its plays (war plays and plays adapted from successful novels and newspaper serials), but also because of the input of serious and well trained actors such as Ii and the female impersonator Kawai Takeo, son of a *kabuki* actor and therefore belonging by birth to the traditional theatre establishment. This "great age" of *shimpa* saw times in which *shimpa* plays were simultaneously presented at three

different Tokyo theatres: a famous example is that of the three competing productions of *Hototogisu* running at the same time a few blocks away from each other.

In 1907 two hundred thirty *shimpa* actors formed a Grand Coalition of New Actors (*Shin Haiyū daidō danketsu*), which lasted only two months, but was a clear indication of the strength and diffusion reached by the *shimpa* movement in a period of two decades. Novelists whose work had been dramatized for *shimpa* use began to write original dramas. The most important among them was Mayama Seika (1878-1948). A number of successes of this period are still performed as "classics" of the *shimpa* repertory: an example is the play derived from Izumi Kyōka's novel, *Onnakeizu* (A Woman's Chronicle), a tragic love story with strong sentimental overtones, that opened in 1909.

### The Decadence of Shimpa

The beginning of *shimpa's* decadence coincides with the rise of *shingeki*. The function of *shimpa* as a catalyzer of new theatrical energies seemed soon to be exhausted. Attempts to revive audience interest, such as Inoue Masao's production of western plays with his new Shinjidaigeki Kyōkai (Association for the New Epoch Theatre, founded 1911), or Kawai Takeo's production of such plays as Hofmannsthal's *Elektra* with his Kōshū Gekidan (Public Theater Company, founded 1913), were unsuccessful.

*Shimpa* went through very difficult years during the Taishō period (1912-1926). Even the most popular stars such as Ii and Kawai could hardly survive; the famous female impersonator Hanayagi Shōtarō, however, scored some success with his *geisha* roles, which became and have remained very important in the *shimpa* repertory.

In 1929 the Shōchiku Company took the initiative of bringing together all *shimpa* performers and managing regular performances. *Shimpa* was slowly taking its place in the Tokyo theatre establishment, in a new position, well defined by Inoue Masao in 1937, of *chūkan engeki*, the "theatre in-between" *kabuki* and *shingeki*.

Around this time the actress Mizutani Yaeko (born in 1905), whose long career saw her rise to legendary status, was already enriching *shimpa* with her great acting and introducing a repertory of sentimental dramas with melodramatic heroines against the backdrop of the *demi-monde*.

### Shimpa from World War II

During World War II three *shimpa* companies were active, Engekidōjō (The Theatre Studio) directed by Inoue Masao; Geijutsuza (Art Theatre), directed by Mizutani Yaeko; and Honryū Shimpa (Main Stream Shimpa), directed by Kitamura Rokurō and Kawai Takeo. The revival of patriotic plays helped the fortunes of *shimpa*, but the end of the war opened a serious crisis of survival. The great post-war boom of *shingeki* attracted some of the best *shimpa* actors to the rival field, making the *shimpa's* situation even more critical. Finally, in 1950 all remaining *shimpa* performers came together in a company called Gekidan Shimpa, which relied heavily on the fame of Mizutani Yaeko and Hanayagi Shōtarō for a hoped-for revival. The famous Kubota Mantarō, Kawaguchi Matsutarō, and Nakano Minoru wrote some successful plays for *shimpa*. *Shimpa* became a synonym for light, sentimental, old fashioned drama, geared above all to an audience made up primarily of housewives, and performed in a style in between the realism of *shingeki* and the traditional stylization of *kabuki*.

*Shimpa* was born in the Meiji period, during which time it reached the zenith of its success. There have been recent attempts to introduce *shingeki*-like plays and performance style into *shimpa*. In a true sense, however, *shimpa* still reflects the uncertain period of Japan's early modernization, and embodies a nostalgia for what today is felt as the old-fashioned, strangely distant, mixed esthetic tastes of a period when Japan was being introduced to the culture of the West.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Komiya, ed. *Japanese Music and Drama in the Meiji Era*, 270.

<sup>2</sup>Ortolani, "Nō, Kabuki and New Theatre Actors in the Theatrical Reforms of Meiji Japan (1868-1912)," 113.

<sup>3</sup>See an attempt to interpret the importance of Sadayakko's performances in Europe in Savarese, "La peripezia emblematica di Sada Yacco."

---

## CHAPTER X

---

### SHINGEKI: THE NEW DRAMA

#### *The Period of Trial Plays (1906-1913)*<sup>1</sup>

The pioneers of *shimpa* had shown little interest in the serious study of western drama as a literary genre and as a guiding light in the process of modernizing the Japanese theatre. The occasional performances of great western plays by *shimpa* companies previous to *shingeki*'s beginnings were experiments in superficial sensationalism; even in the golden era of *shimpa*, the repertory remained made up primarily of makeshift Japanese plays which did not even try to achieve literary value. *Shimpa* was born in the ebullient arena of active, sometimes violent, political confrontation, developed in a commercial direction, and stabilized under the management of the very same Shōchiku company that ruled the *kabuki* world.

*Shingeki*, on the contrary, was born around two major Tokyo universities. From the very beginning the serious study, translation, and performance of western dramatic literature, as well as the development of a Japanese dramatic literature comparable in value to that of the West, have been central to the *shingeki* effort at creating a modern theatre in Japan. These principles were essential to at least some of the *shingeki* pioneers, who shunned commercialism, and worked mostly outside Japan's professional entertainment world.

A) *Tsubouchi Shōyō*. The establishment of the Bungei Kyōkai (Literary Association, 1906) by Tsubouchi Shōyō (1858-1933) at Waseda University, and of the Jiyū Gekijō (Liberal Theatre, 1909, centering around Keiō University) by Osanai Kaoru, are usually considered by historians as the starting point of *shingeki*. The two leaders and the movements

they originated represent two very different approaches to the same ideal of modernizing the Japanese theatre.

Tsubouchi was a man of many activities and many merits. His concerns were broader than the theatre: they encompassed the wide spectrum of modernizing literature in general, although focusing especially on the novel and the drama. Early in his career he became the leading literary critic of his time, and pioneered the study of the nature of the western novel in his *Shōsetsu shinzui* (The Essence of the Novel, 1885). Besides being considered with Osanai one of the two founding fathers of *shingeki*, and having produced and directed the very first *shingeki* performances, he wrote a number of novels, translated the entire dramatic work of Shakespeare, authored a few important plays of his own, published essays on the new esthetics, was the editor with Shimamura Hōgetsu of one of the most influential literary journals of the time, the *Waseda bungaku*, and was a highly esteemed university professor, and the recognized founder of theatre research in Japan.

Tsubouchi's basic approach to the complex problem of modernization was that of using the serious study of the western masterpieces as a means to his end of reforming contemporary Japanese literature. His main purpose in translating Shakespeare was not so much to capture his spiritual message, but rather to learn his masterful playwriting technique and use it for the reform of *kabuki*.<sup>2</sup> From the commencement of his activity to his death Tsubouchi was concerned with the continuity and improvement of the existing forms of Japanese literature, including drama. As a theatre historian, Tsubouchi had no doubt that *kabuki* was the theatre of Japan, and that the problem therefore was not whether to abandon *kabuki* or not, but how to reform *kabuki* for the new times. He had been disillusioned by Danjūrō's *kabuki* experiments with the historical accuracy of the *katsureki* plays, and was convinced that the way to modernize *kabuki* was by providing new literary texts that would satisfy the needs of a contemporary psychological approach.

Tsubouchi did not consider himself a playwright; wanting, however, to give an example of what he meant, he wrote in 1884, when he was only twenty-five, *Kiri no hitoha* (A Leaf of Paulownia). The protagonist of this historical play—a famous sixteenth-century warrior, Katagiri Katsumoto, caught in the struggle between his master Hideyoshi and the future ruler of

Japan, Ieyasu—offered an ideal case to demonstrate the new technique of dealing with psychological insight into a complex character facing extremely difficult circumstances; the traditional *kabuki* would simply have handled such a character as a villain. Despite the favorable reception by the critics who read the play in *Waseda bungaku*, the *kabuki* actors did not feel comfortable with the implications of the new style. The play was not performed for twenty years until 1904, when it became a great success with both critics and audiences.

More important is Tsubouchi's second play, *En no gyōja* (The Hermit), published in several versions between 1914 and 1921 and written under the influence of Ibsen, whom Tsubouchi in the meantime had discovered. The subject matter is a poetic re-telling of a legend about a Buddhist hermit and his deep disillusion caused by the failure, because of a woman, of his beloved disciple to follow his path of living. The personal emotion of loss and betrayal caused by the desertion of the actor Shimamura Hōgetsu from Tsubouchi's company gives the play a sincere autobiographical touch, and, even more than in his preceding play, a dimension of profound psychological insight.

Tsubouchi's importance is not limited to his contribution to a renewal of playwriting. Even before establishing his Literary Association, Tsubouchi had started a playreading group to teach proper methods of elocution. He continued his mission as guide to the new generation of actors through his new association, the purpose of which more and more became that of training amateurs for the new plays. Tsubouchi had lost the hope of reforming the professional *kabuki* actors, and therefore concentrated his efforts on preparing a new breed of professionals from the ranks of amateurs having no family connections with the traditional theatre world.

Beyond his efforts as a teacher and founder of a school for actors which gave Japan some of its finest *shingeki* artists—such as the renowned actress Matsui Sumako and the actor/entrepreneur Sawada Shōjirō, who became famous because he founded the theatrical group Shinkokugeki (New National Theatre, very popular in the twenties)—Tsubouchi is very important as a pioneer in producing and directing plays that remained as landmarks in the history of the new theatre. At the beginning of his producing/directing activity Tsubouchi had single acts or scenes from Shakespearean plays performed

in between *kabuki* plays, of which the first was the court scene from the *Merchant of Venice*, presented at the Kabukiza theatre (1906). After a few performances of *Hamlet* at the actors' school, he directed in 1911 a very successful production of Ibsen's *A Doll's House*. This led to an invitation to perform at the Imperial Theatre, then the most modern and best equipped stage in Tokyo. This recognition of *shingeki* can be considered as the highpoint of the Bungei Kyōkai as a producing company, and a landmark in the history of the modern Japanese theatre.

The unfortunate romance between Tsubouchi's disciple Shimamura Hōgetsu and the leading star Matsui Sumako provoked a crisis in the Bungei Kyōkai which led to its dissolution in 1913, after a final performance of Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* at the Imperial Theatre.

**B) Osanai Kaoru.** While Tsubouchi had championed continuity and gradual reform, Osanai Kaoru (1881-1928) became the promoter of a complete break from the past and of a new start according to the models of the contemporary western theatre. Tsubouchi had programmatically avoided professional actors and placed his hopes for the future in the transformation of amateurs into professionals through his school. Osanai, on the contrary, with his collaborator, the *kabuki* actor Ichikawa Sadanji (1880-1940, the first among the *shingeki* pioneers to visit Europe), wanted to re-educate professional *kabuki* actors into non-professional *shingeki* performers. Tsubouchi had aimed at a renewal of drama, music, and dance without ever abandoning his ideal of a modernized *kabuki*. Osanai had no interest in music and dance—which he dismissed as entertainment for the masses—and concentrated on the inception of a realistic, psychological drama, according to what he considered to be the real message of the most important modern western playwrights. While Tsubouchi had given equal importance to Shakespeare and Ibsen, Osanai placed every western author before Ibsen at the same level as *nō* and *kabuki*, and therefore considered them irrelevant to the efforts to speed up the modernization of Japan. While the morally conservative Tsubouchi had not particularly appreciated certain Ibsenian attitudes—such as those exemplified by Nora's behavior in *A Doll's House*—Osanai loved controversial plays which scrutinized values taken for granted in the past.

The first production of the Jiyū Gekijō was Ibsen's *John Gabriel Borkman*, only thirteen years after its premiere in Copenhagen.<sup>3</sup> This production, considered by many as the first real *shingeki* performance, was staged on November 27, 1909, at the Yūrakuzo, then probably the most up-to-date theatre in Tokyo. Despite the fact that the female roles were performed by *kabuki onnagata*, and that Sadanji interpreted the intense guilt feelings of the typical Northern introverted main character with the falsetto tones of traditional *kabuki* diction, audiences were deeply moved and perceived that a new kind of drama was being offered for the first time in Japan.

Osanai organized his theatre according to the model of the Stage Society of London, which his associate Sadanji had experienced during his stay in London. Each year he presented only a couple of new productions to a limited membership until the group ended in 1919. His repertory consisted primarily of non-Anglo-Saxon authors such as Ibsen, Maeterlinck, Gorkij, Hauptmann, Wedekind, and Pirandello.

During the early years of *shingeki* the performance style of both the Bungei Kyōkai and the Jiyū Gekijō troupes remained closely related to that of *kabuki*, especially in the matter of diction. Tsubouchi had studied closely the technique of *jōruri* singing, and Osanai had been involved with *kabuki* actors from the onset of his *shingeki* activity. The definite step in the direction of a realistic acting method was taken after Osanai's trip abroad in 1912-1913, during which he experienced the work of Max Reinhardt in Berlin and of Stanislavskij in Moscow, each of whom remained lifelong models for his work.

#### *The Period of Commercialization (1914-1923)*

The years that followed the dissolution of the Bungei Kyōkai saw a number of *shingeki* companies coming together and falling apart without any special achievement as far as the quality of performances was concerned. Tsubouchi was silent and hurt. Osanai, fresh from his experiences abroad, did not hide his disillusionment at the poor quality in the performances of the period's best troupes, including the Geijutsuza (formed by Shimamura Hōgetsu and Matsui Sumako after the dissolution of the Bungei Kyōkai). The Geijutsuza



had a great success in 1914 with the production of Tolstol's *Resurrection*, which went on tour all over Japan, but the critics insisted that popularity had come at the price of quality and accomodation to the taste of the masses. The death of Shimamura in 1918 and the suicide of Matsui in 1919 marked the end of the Geijutsuza.

According to the critics, *shingeki* of this period had lost the enthusiasm and inherited the defects of its early days. The division into numerous, mostly short-lived, small companies did not help the cause of quality. "The intellectuals of that time found pleasure in the mere sight of red-haired people with pipes in their mouth and their shoulders against the mantelpiece, engaged in philosophical discussion, or just cutting meat with their knives and forks."<sup>4</sup> This statement by playwright Takada Tamotsu expresses the feeling of those contemporaries who became very critical about the exaggerated hopes of intellectuals looking to the West as a saviour. At this point several critics began to divorce themselves from a *shingeki* that was slipping into a superficial acting-out of western curiosities.

On the positive side, *shingeki* playwrights such as Yoshii Isamu, Nagata Hideo, Kurata Momozō, and others began to write *shingeki* plays that achieved success. Kurata Momozō's *Shukke to sono deshi* (The Monk and His Disciple, 1916), a drama about an idealized Shinran Shōnin, the famous thirteenth century Buddhist reformer, provides a touching example of the search for a new synthesis between Japanese and imported ideals.<sup>5</sup>

#### *The Early Tsukiji Little Theatre Movement (1924-1927)*

The years between the great Tokyo earthquake of 1923 and the death of Osanai Kaoru in 1928 are dominated by the opening of the first theatre exclusively dedicated to *shingeki* and by the activities of Osanai's final years. The vast destruction in the capital provided Tokyo with an opportunity to modernize its appearance: new buildings, new streets, and new theatres. Hijikata Yoshi (1898-1959), who was in Germany at the time of the earthquake to study contemporary theatre movements, immediately returned to Tokyo at the news of the earthquake and financed the building of the Little

Theatre at Tsukiji (Tsukiji Shōgekijō), in an area close to the Ginza and far away from Asakusa, the entertainment quarter where most of the previous *shingeki* performances had taken place. The move to Tsukiji meant catering to a more exclusive audience, limited in number, and conscious of being an intellectual elite interested in ideas in foreign plays. Osanai became the soul of the new five-hundred-seat theatre, which was designed according to the latest developments in western theatre architecture and provided with excellent equipment for lighting and scenic effects. He conceived the new theatre as an experimental laboratory where the various western styles, from realism to expressionism, from impressionism to symbolism, and all avant-garde novelties were to be tried out and presented to a public eager to become acquainted with them. The Tsukiji Shōgekijō became the center of *shingeki* activity, the place where a new generation of *shingeki* theatre people was formed.

Osanai had been especially influenced in Europe by the importance of the director, as exemplified by the period's two European directorial giants, Max Reinhardt in Berlin and Stanislavsky in Moscow. The work of the Russian maestro in building an ensemble remained in Osanai's memory as probably the most important model to imitate in his future work in Japan. This explains why he did not give much importance to the development of new Japanese plays, which he considered inferior—his own plays included—and which he completely neglected for several years; he instead concentrated all his enormous energy on building the "cult of the director" as applied to the production of translations of the best contemporary western plays. In this period about fifty major western plays were produced, against very few original works by new Japanese playwrights.

The difference in taste between Osanai and Hijikata became more and more evident. Osanai preferred authors who were primarily interested in an artistic message, especially those in the psychological-naturalistic vein such as he had experienced during the time he spent with Stanislavsky. Hijikata, on the contrary, during his Russian trip had particularly admired Meyerhold's brilliant combination of vivid theatricalism, daring stylization, and political message; hence his preference for expressionistic and politically involved plays. Hijikata became more and more part of a trend

towards socialism which was to take over most of the *shingeki* world as soon as Osanai's leadership was brought to an abrupt end by his premature death in 1928. Tsubouchi's and Osanai's battle against Marxist infiltration into the *shingeki* world—they never showed any understanding of or inclination toward socialism—was lost.

### *The Leftist Propaganda Plays (1928-1932)*

In the economic crisis of the twenties trade unionism and other leftist workers' movements developed in Japan, but were severely repressed by the conservative government. A number of leftist intellectuals rallied around *shingeki* theatre companies to continue their political battle for socialism. In 1921 Hirasawa Keishichi started the Rōdō Gekidan (Worker's Company), and in 1925 the Toranku Gekijō (Trunk Theatre, inspired by the European Agit-prop theatre), began its performances. Its founders were to give life to a number of leftist companies, such as the Zen'ei Gekijō (Avant-garde Theatre) and the Proletaria Gekijō (Proletarian Theatre). After the death of Osanai, Hijikata left the company of the Tsukiji Theatre and started the Shin Tsukiji Gekidan (New Tsukiji Company), which became, with the Sayoku Gekijō (Leftist Theatre, a company that had coalesced out of smaller leftist groups) the main force of the *shingeki* world.

The leftist movement was sharply criticized by non-socialist historians, who found the plays and performance style of this period dull, repetitious, and devoid of artistic inspiration; theatrical values were replaced by propaganda slogans inciting to class struggle, and the proletarian plays offered classes in Marxist ideology instead of genuine poetical drama. Leftist critics, on the other hand, consider this time as the fervent years of *shingeki*; the plays of such leftist playwrights as Murayama Tomoyoshi (born 1901), Kubo Sakae (1901-1958), and Miyoshi Jurō (1902-1958) are thought of as typical, important examples of *shingeki* political theatre. There is no doubt that there were no geniuses among those talented authors who tried to succeed at the difficult task of joining political propaganda and playwriting: it would be unjust, however, to dismiss their contributions, in difficult circumstances, as worthless. The leftist companies did rely

almost exclusively on Japanese scripts, thus providing for the first time the place for new Japanese plays that Osanai had refused. However, Osanai's "cult of the director" had deeply penetrated the mental attitude of the leftist leaders, who relegated the playwright to the inferior position of a scenario-writer subject to the demands of an omnipotent director—thus perpetuating the old *kabuki* traditions of the playwright being mainly a hack in the service of a leading actor.

The Marxist political dominance of *shingeki* could not go unnoticed by the military authorities, who began to censor "subversive" leftist propaganda, jailed leaders like Murayama, and eventually suppressed the principal leftist *shingeki* companies.

### *The Artistic Period (1933-1940)*

The harassment of the leftist companies by the authorities reached a point at which plays were censored and occasionally forbidden, leaders and actors sometimes arrested and jailed, and spectators attending the plays had to face the risk of being held and interrogated by the police. The Nihon Proletaria Gekijō Dōmei (Japan Proletarian Theater Federation), which had succeeded in obtaining control of most of *shingeki* by 1930, was finally dissolved in 1934. Meanwhile, a group of anti-leftist *shingeki* actors and playwrights had come together in 1932 as the Tsukijiza, a company with an artistic program which introduced two new important elements to the *shingeki* structure: first, the elimination of the all-dominant figure of the company leader in favor of a collective leadership by actors, and, second, a preference given to serious, original Japanese plays as the backbone of the repertory. This is a time during which a number of important playwrights developed new Japanese plays of lasting value. Among them the important contribution of Kishida Kunio (*Mama sensei to sono otto*, Professor Mama and Her Husband, *Ushiyama Hōteru*, Ushiyama Hotel), Kubota Mantarō (*Fuyu*, Winter, *Kadode*, Leaving Home, *Odera gakkō*, Odera School), Satomi Ton (*Ikiru*, Living), Tanaka Chikao (*Ofukuro*, Mother), and others.

Kishida (1890-1954) was educated as a specialist in French literature, and in France he learnt the technique of the French conversation plays.<sup>6</sup> Upon his return to Japan in 1923

he began to work in small *shingeki* companies. He played an important role in the formation of the Tsukijiza, supporting the two major actors, Tomoda Kyōsuke and Tamamura Akiko, and providing leadership in the choice of the repertory. He was a major factor in switching the main focus of attention of the *shingeki* people from the German, Scandinavian, and Russian dramatists—who had been the favorite of Osanai and of the leftist groups—to the French and English authors. In France Kishida had learnt to admire Copeau's work, and had nurtured the ideal of transferring to Japan Copeau's intention of renovating the dramatic literature. Kishida, moreover, hoped to assume a mission in Japan as *shingeki*'s teacher-theoretician-reformer, much as Copeau had been for the contemporary French theatre. Kishida's achievements, however, were not as high as his ideals. He succeeded, though, in leading a number of the best *shingeki* talents to a serious pursuit of non-political, purely literary, and theatrical values in the plays, and of artistic integrity in their performance. These ideals became the program of the Bungakuza, the company he was instrumental in forming (1936), which became the longest lasting group in *shingeki* history.

After the suppression of the major leftist companies, Murayama Tomoyoshi, who had been in prison until 1933, rallied some of the left-over politically involved *shingeki* people and formed the Shinkyō Gekidan (Collaboration Company) in 1934. It was a time in which Socialist Realism was enforced in the Soviet Union over "formalistic deviations," and the Japanese Marxists followed the new party line. The best plays in this style were *Kazanbaichi*, by Kubo Sakae, which criticizes capitalistic farm policies, and *Hokutō no kaze* (North-East Wind) by Hisaita Eijirō.

Meanwhile, the government had become less and less tolerant of any activity "unsuitable to the national feeling." The leftist companies took refuge in the performance of western classics and the training of their actors according to the Stanislavsky method. They tried not to attract the attention of the hostile authorities, but it was to no avail. On August 19, 1940, the two remaining leftist *shingeki* troupes, the Shinkyō Gekidan and the Shin Tsukiji Group, were dissolved and a number of their members arrested. The only survivor during the war years was the Bungakuza, which had no political

affiliation and quietly continued the pursuit of its "art for art's sake" ideal. Those *shingeki* actors who were released from jail could perform during the war only under the supervision and control of the nationalistic authorities.

### *Shingeki after World War II (1944-1994)*

Immediately after the war the American occupation authorities favored *shingeki*. They were distrustful of the "feudalistic" traditional drama of *kabuki* and *nō*, which was censored and subjected to special control, while complete freedom and support was given to the new westernized drama as a potential instrument of democratization. All prominent veteran *shingeki* actors joined forces and in December 1945 opened with a production of the old favorite of Japanese audiences, Chekhov's *The Cherry Orchard*. Soon a number of companies were organized, and an extraordinary torrent of productions followed, with a success that for a short while seemed to indicate a possible assumption by *shingeki* of the leading role among post-war theatrical genres.

Among the post-war companies one of the most important is the Haiyūza (Actors Theatre, founded in 1944), centered around the director/actor Senda Koreya. Senda has been for many years one of the main leaders of *shingeki* activity; he had a great influence also as the founder of an actors' school in which numerous successful recent *shingeki* performers were trained. Senda had been involved with the leftist theatre movement for years before starting the new company with the director Aoyama Sugisaku, the actors Tōno Eijirō and Ozawa Sakae, and the actresses Higashiyama Chieko and Kishi Teruko.

Also important is the Tōkyō Geijutsu Gekijō (Tokyo Art Theatre), the major members of which formed, after its dissolution, the Gekidan Mingei (People's Art Theatre, founded in 1950) around Unō Jūkichi. The Bungakuza flourished after the war, continuing its artistic mission, while companies like the Haiyūza, Mingei, and Murayama's reconstituted leftist Shinkyō Gekidan showed a renewed Marxist involvement. The honeymoon between *shingeki* and the occupation authorities was soon over. Marxist propaganda

began to appear more dangerous than the "feudalistic" traditional plays—which were actually admired by audiences not because of their remote contents but for the enjoyment of politically harmless stylized theatricalism. While the censorship of *kabuki* plays was being eased, and eventually abolished, the official backing of *shingeki* soon became a policy of the past. *Shingeki* was on its own, and the wave of initial enthusiasm gradually leveled off. Numerous companies came and went, many of them lasting only a short time. In an average year in the fifties and the sixties there might have been in Tokyo forty to fifty such companies producing about a hundred plays yearly.

The *shingeki* companies, as a rule, have no fixed place of performance; for each production they rent for their production a hall, proportionate in size and importance to their means and their hope of public reception; these places range from large modern theatres to small private or public halls, or even locales comparable to off-off Broadway lofts. In 1954 the Haiyūza Company built its own 400-seat theatre called Haiyūza Gekijō, which was rebuilt in 1980. The ensemble, however, no longer uses that facility for its major shows because it would not be financially possible to produce an expensive play for such a small audience.

Most *shingeki* actors have traditionally supported themselves with work outside their company, especially in television and other commercial jobs, both acting-related and not, because it has been well known since *shingeki*'s birth that "you cannot make a living with *shingeki*." For the great majority of *shingeki* people their many years of hard work in the theatre has been an act of faith in political and/or artistic ideals with minimal financial reward. As a matter of fact, the actors have been in the habit of contributing their earnings to the company so as to be able to produce plays, *shingeki* never having been granted state support, and high rents, taxes, and low returns creating a constant economic strain.

In recent years, however, greater flexibility and interchangeability among the various fields of the performing arts has increasingly blurred the border between the despised "commercial"<sup>7</sup> and the revered "artistic" and/or "politically committed" theatre. The beginnings of this process were seen as early as the fifties and the sixties, when it became fashionable to experiment with the use of stars of one genre

for performances in another. Important companies like Kumo (The Clouds), founded in 1963 by Fukuda Tsuneari (born 1912), one of the most important critics and leaders of *shingeki* from the sixties to the present time, made use of famous *kabuki* actors in the interpretation of the major Shakespearean roles. *Kyōgen* and *nō* actors like Nomura Mansaku and Kanze Hideo became part of avant-garde experimental groups, and important *shingeki* actors like Akutagawa Hiroshi or even avant-garde directors like Suzuki Tadashi became famous in the so-called commercial circuit of the theatre or through the movies.

Moreover, an important development inside the *shingeki* world is represented by the enormous diffusion of both government and commercial television networks in Japan, especially since the seventies. Entire *shingeki* productions have been broadcast and followed by millions of viewers, opening for the best *shingeki* actors the wide market of television popularity, which greatly enlarges the range previously reached by the work of a few *shingeki* actors in films.

*Shingeki* actors and directors are also hired along with movie and television stars for the so-called "commercial" productions of hit plays often transferred from Broadway and West End theatres to the Tokyo stages—thus increasingly blurring the boundaries of what defines *shingeki*.

Since the fifties a number of *shingeki* groups have come and gone; only a few still survive to the present (1988) or have left a lasting mark in Japan's theatrical landscape.<sup>8</sup> Among them is the group Gekidan Shiki (Theatre Four Seasons), founded in 1953 and directed since its beginning by Asari Keita (b. 1933), who was inspired by the ideals of playwright Katō Michio (1918-1953). Katō was deeply influenced by the French literature and the French way of acting, and this explains why the repertory of Gekidan Shiki consisted almost exclusively of French plays—especially those by Giraudoux and Anouilh. Since 1972 Shiki has ventured into the production of large scale musicals, among which the recent *Cats* and *Phantom of the Opera* were immensely popular.

The Kumo company—established by Fukuda as a part of his Modern Drama Foundation—specialized in performing Fukuda's translations of the major Shakespearean plays. Kumo sought to realize the high aspirations of its demanding leader

for a literary theatre, in contrast with the overtly political and ideological aims of groups like the Haiyūza and Mingei, and in opposition to the flatness of a style inspired by socialist realism. Kumo's inheritance was taken over by the company Subaru (The Pleiades), founded by Fukuda in 1976 after the dissolution of Kumo.

The Hayūza company still maintains a position of leadership in the *shingeki* world. Veteran actor-director Senda Koreya (b. 1904, real name Itō Kunio) continued his important mission of training hundreds of actors at his Research Institute of Actor's Theatre until 1967, when the training work was transferred to the newly established theatre department at Tohō Gakuen. The Bungakuza company, the longest living *shingeki* group established in 1937, continues, notwithstanding a number of painful secessions, its non-political performances of valuable, literary texts. Gekidan Mingei, the spiritual heir to the proletarian theatre of the leftist tradition, solidly anchored in realism, is still—with the Hayūza and the Bungakuza—one of the three major *shingeki* companies.

Probably the most interesting achievement of *shingeki* in the last few decades has been the maturation of playwrights of sustained distinction, some of whom recently have achieved a deserved international recognition. Outstanding among them is Mishima Yukio (1925-1970) whose modern *nō* plays are frequently produced by many companies all over the world. Most of Mishima's plays, which followed an almost morbid and decadent "art for art's sake" estheticism before he became involved in his dream of the restoration of ultratraditional samurai values, were premiered by Tokyo's Bungakuza in the fifties and in the sixties.

Also important is the work of Kinoshita Junji (b. 1914), whose play *Yūzuru* (Twilight Crane) is a delicate masterpiece of the poetic-symbolic genre, and an important break from the realistic *shingeki* tradition. *Yūzuru* was also adapted for *kabuki*, *nō*, and opera performance. Besides his plays centered on the theme of folklore, such as *Hikoichibanashi* (Tales of Hikoichi) and *Akai jimbaori* (The Red Tunic), Kinoshita has written successful plays on social themes, such as *Furō* (Wind and Waves) and *Otto to yobareru Nihonjin* (A Japanese Called Otto).<sup>9</sup>

Tanaka Chikao's (b. 1905) lifetime work spans many periods of *shingeki* history. In his many plays, from *Ofukuro* (Mother, 1933) to the more mature *Maria no kubi* (Mary's Neck), Tanaka shows a delicate and profound insight into the intricacies of modern Japanese interior struggles, not only, as so often had been the case, on a political level, but primarily on the individual and religious levels as well.

The break from the realistic/naturalistic style, even in leftist *shingeki* companies, began with the introduction of Brecht in the fifties. In the sixties the advent of absurdism sharpened the discussion about the place of theatrical elements (*engekisei*), ideological elements (*kannensei*), and literary elements (*bungakusei*) in theatre, with the result that there was, at least theoretically, an acceptance of the importance of theatricality in the new absurdist plays by Japanese authors such as Abe Kōbō (b. 1925).

Abe already had become known abroad because of the filming of his novel *Suna no onna* (The Woman in the Dunes, 1962). His many avant-garde plays, starting with *Doreigari* (Slave Hunting) in 1955, through the more recent plays such as *Tomodachi* (Friends) and *Suichū toshi* (Underwater City) baffled Japanese critics because of their pitiless and unconventional vivisection of the contradictions in today's society. Abe's plays also have been presented abroad, in an avant-garde style typical of the sixties by his own company, the Abe Sutajio (Abe Studio), which was founded in 1973, and continues in Tokyo with performances in repertory of the plays by its leader.

It was unavoidable, in the wake of a renewed nationalism and pride in the value of the Japanese tradition, that *shingeki* artists would "rediscover" the importance of *nō* and *kabuki* as a source of inspiration for new plays and for actor training. Mishima, taking a hint from the modern adaptation of the Greek classics by French playwrights, had opened the way by using themes from the classical *nō* for his modern *nō* plays. Kinoshita had found in *kyōgen* inspiration for his folkloristic plays. A further step in this direction was to be taken by the new generation of post-*shingeki* theatre groups, that are now known under the common denominator of underground theatre, or *angura*.

During the last few years of the Shōwa period (ca. 1985-1989), after the gradual fading away of the underground theatre movement (1960-1985, see next paragraph), *shingeki* has shown little artistic vitality. The healthy number of companies, productions, and new theatre buildings reflects the extraordinary prosperity of the Japanese economy. The Japanese critics, however, lament *shingeki*'s lack of direction and its widespread escapism, deprived of serious inspiration, as exemplified by the great number of senseless, superficial comedies. They cannot avoid the comparison with the "commercial" shows, which follow production patterns similar to those of Broadway or the West End and often succeed in reaching higher quality and greater success, while employing, also in competition with the media, an increasing number of the best *shingeki* talent. The role of the traditional *shingeki* companies and, in general, the characteristics of *shingeki* in the pluralistic Japanese theatrical scene of the next decades, remain, at the beginning of the new period of Japanese history, Heisei, difficult to foresee.

#### *The Underground Theatre Movement (1960-1985)*

While *shingeki* was finding its place among the legitimate forms of the Japanese theatre, the function of protest and avant-garde experimentation was being taken over by the underground movement (*angura*).<sup>10</sup> Although born from an explicitly anti-American protest, the *angura* developed a following in the manner of the off-off Broadway theatre and of the "happenings" in New York in the sixties, with the same purpose, that of creating a new counterculture. Its origins were in the violent demonstrations led by the leftist Zengakuren student organization against the renewal of the United States-Japan Security Treaty in 1960. The fact that the *shingeki* groups—even those that openly proclaimed themselves pro-communist—failed to react seriously to the treaty renewal caused deep disaffection among the young protesters with what they sneeringly started to call the "Old Left." They also felt alienated from the powerful leftist Rōen (acronym for Rōdōsha engeki hyōgikai, The Workers' Council on Theatre), which had deteriorated, in their eyes, into a champion of

conservatism concerned only with the profitable recruitment of audiences and with the preservation of its own power. Politically, a number of the young protesters wanted neither the alliance with the United States, favored by the government, nor a new one with the Soviet bloc, favored by the pro-communist leftist organizations. They were fighting for a complete "independence" of Japan, in a non-aligned, neutral position.

Most of the protest-inspired youth produced rather poor, overwritten plays and sophomoric acting, often displaying grotesque elements in costume and make-up, shocking nudity, loud music, and so on; they thus were akin to a part of the avant-garde work being done in the radical New York theatre of the sixties. Among bursts of exuberant and often confused anti-*shingeki* energy some important common characteristic traits emerged in the work of a number of representative post-*shingeki* playwrights, who deserve special consideration.

After World War II the major *shingeki* groups had developed—notwithstanding differences in artistic and political ideals—a silent consensus in accepting the following characteristics typical of much western modern theatre: a commitment to realism; the principle that theatre must be based on a text, which both actor and director cooperate to correctly interpret on the stage; a deep conviction that the theatre "educates" the audience, which takes therefore the passive attitude of a pupil towards his master; and the use of a conventional proscenium stage. The commitment to realism took the shape of a thorough effort to completely secularize drama in Japan, ignoring the existence of, and replacing the native gods and demons—omnipresent in pre-Meiji drama—with imported psychology and Marxist slogans. The better *angura* artists began to question the above *shingeki* tenets, and eventually rejected them, one by one, in the attempt to create a new, original, non-western contemporary Japanese theatre, rooted again in the native tradition. Goodman calls this process of re-rooting "the return of the gods"<sup>11</sup> and warns that such return is not meant as a religious revival, but as a process to liberate Japanese ghosts (i.e., the Japanese gods, as a symbol of the Japanese archetypal, aesthetic, and sociopsychological heritage) "not to affirm them, but to acknowledge and negate them."

Most *angura* groups, including the first inspired by the new ideals, the Seinengeijutsu (1959), had a very short life, lacked professionalism, and relied more on shocking the audiences than on learning the necessary acting techniques. The five groups that succeeded in achieving results worth mentioning are the Kurotento 68/71, the Jōkyō Gekijō, the Tenjō Sajiki, the Tenkei Gekijō, and the Waseda Shōgekijō.

The theoreticians of the Kurotento 68/71 (called in English Black Tent Theatre, or BTT 68/71) are Tsuno Kaitarō (b. 1938) and Saeki Ryūkō (b. 1941), who gave shape to the criticism against *shingeki* shared by most *angura* groups.<sup>12</sup> Instead of using the typical proscenium stage in a conventional *shingeki* theatre, the BTT 68/71 built in 1970 an enormous black tent where any kind of stage could be set up. The tent made possible a complete independence from the organized network of traditional *shingeki* theatres, confined mostly within the Tokyo metropolitan area. Instead of traditional realistic plays, a number of performances were presented, including "songs, dances, one-liners, agit-prop, promotions, readings, record concerts, film screenings, standup comedy, slapstick, Noh and Kyōgen, through lectures and panel discussions, to demonstrations, carnivals, parties, and mass meetings."<sup>13</sup> Instead of catering almost exclusively to the Tokyo *shingeki* audiences, the BTT 68/71 began traveling extensively all over Japan, performing in a great number of centers which had never been reached by *shingeki*, and trying always to involve the audience in the action. BTT 68/71 also performs sophisticated theatrical extravaganzas/new plays by such playwrights as Satoh Makoto, Katō Tadashi, and Yamamoto Kiyokazu, in a small locale called the Red Cabaret in Tokyo. Instead of preserving the *shingeki* cult for European style, the BTT 68/71 has increasingly leaned towards the creation of an Asian style, going back to *nō* and *kyōgen* and assimilating elements from other Asian countries such as China, Korea, India and the Philippines.

While the BTT 68/71 always tried to draw its repertory from a number of new playwrights, the Jōkyō Gekijō (Situation Theatre) orbited around the work of its charismatic leader, the playwright Kara Jūrō (b. 1940). Also departing from *shingeki* tenets, Kara led his troupe to perform in most unusual environments, using "public toilets, railroad stations, and even lily ponds (from the waters of which the cast make

their entrances and exits) as the setting for his plays."<sup>14</sup> Kara was the first to use a tent for his performances (1967), and his red tent in the precincts of the Hanazono Shrine in Shinjuku became a symbol of revolt against environmental abuses. Searching for inspiration in the Japanese tradition, especially in *kabuki*, Kara called his actors *kawara kojiki* ("river-bed beggars," the name by which Tokugawa era *kabuki* actors were called), and found in the *kabuki* techniques models for a non-realistic acting style, while also the content of his plays leaned more on traditional *kabuki* themes than on the modern western models. A prolific playwright, Kara received the Kishida Prize for his *Shōjo kamen* (Virgin Mask, 1969), and was honored also with the important Akutagawa Prize for literature (1983). Among the best of his plays is *Ai no kojiki* (John Silver, The Beggar of Love, 1970),<sup>15</sup> a typical example of retreat of the avant-garde from the political and social action of the sixties into the individual consideration of human fragmentation and a search for a world of fantasy and poetry typical of the seventies and the eighties. Kara also pursued an Asian ideal of independence from western models, and traveled often with his company to third world countries, remaining on purpose aloof from a pursuit of fame in the industrialized countries of the West. Recently Kara has begun directing "commercial" productions in Tokyo, joining therefore other avant-garde artists like Suzuki Tadashi who have, in recent years, capitalized on their fame to be hired by the once despised corporate establishment.

The third group, Tenjō Sajiki, owes its existence to one man, Terayama Shuji (1935-1983) who produced a large amount of avant-garde work not only in the theatre, but also in poetry, film, photography, television, radio scripts, and children's theatre.<sup>16</sup> His happening-like underground theatre provided hallucinatory visual and sound experiences for an audience invited to share in the continuing search for a more intense and meaningful reality than that of everyday routine. Terayama, born in the poor and mountainous Aoyama region, grew up with the hard memories of the postwar years, as an underprivileged and sickly youth: eventually he had to drop out of Waseda University and struggle for the balance of his short life because of poor health. This partially explains his poetic and escapist vivid imagination, never tired of creating happenings, street theatre, and theatrical events, one of which,

*Jinriki hikōki soromon* (The Man-Powered Airplane, Solomon, 1970) for example, required the spectators to go to different places in Tokyo at a variety of times, making therefore the experience different for each individual. Terayama did participate with his troupe in a number of European and American Festivals and became therefore well known abroad because of his "scandalous" style.

The post-*shingeki* reaction against the foreign dogma of realism is especially represented by the work of Ota Shōgo (b. 1939), founder and director of the Tenkei Gekijō (Theatre of Transformation), founded in 1968 and disbanded for financial non-viability in 1988. Ota is especially known for his three-part play, *Mizu no eki* (Water Station), *Chi no eki* (Earthhill Station), and *Kaze no eki* (Wind Station), and for his work as a critic and theoretician (*Doshi no in'ei*, Shades of Verbs, and *Geki no kibō*, The Hope of Drama). *Mizu no eki* is a two-hours play in which not a word is spoken: the wordless intense performance by actors trained to perform with almost blank facial expression and slow movements, impressed public and critics in Japan and abroad because of its successful attempt to rediscover the *nō*'s secret of the moments of non-action.<sup>17</sup> The tendency to silence is also evident in *Komachi fūden* (Tale of Komachi Told by the Wind, 1977), one of the few contemporary plays that uses a *nō* stage and has a protagonist a heroine who does not speak throughout the play. Ota believes that "only what is difficult to convey is worth artistic expression," and therefore drama should emphasize the power of "passivity," that is of being, instead of the easier to convey power of "activity," that is of doing. Silence and quiet are a great part of human "being," and should therefore be prominent on the stage instead of word and action. In the early nineties Ota has switched to a new period of his creativity, as the artistic director of the new Civic Theatre, a municipal theatre in Fujisawa, a suburb of Tokyo. His play *Sarachi*, which premiered there in 1992, presents speaking characters and confirms Ota's preoccupation with simple daily life: "dispossession, wandering, a search for connectedness; questioning and reaffirmation of life."<sup>18</sup> Ota is basically apolitical, like a growing number of today's leading theatre people belonging to the surviving *shingeki* companies or to whatever is left of the post-*shingeki* movement; he is, however, concerned with an intercultural approach that

further experiments with foreign artists—an approach that he shares with the abroad better known theatre directors Suzuki Tadashi and Ninagawa Yukio.

The Waseda Shōgekijō (Waseda Little Theatre, since 1984 called SCOT, Suzuki Company of Toga) rooted in the student theatre at Waseda University, developed around the personalities of the already mentioned leader, Suzuki Tadashi, and of the gifted playwright Betsuyaku Minoru (b. 1937). Betsuyaku is the author of the first play of some importance written for the post-*shingeki* movement, *Zō* (The Elephant)<sup>19</sup> produced in 1962 by the group which at the time was called Jiyū Butai (Free Stage), before taking the name Waseda Little Theatre in 1966. *Zō* shows evident influences of Beckett, and repeats the lack of action, the sense of futility and hopelessness of man trapped in life, the darkness and pessimism expressed through the poetical helplessness of a clown, so typical of numerous avant-garde/absurdist plays since *Waiting for Godot*. The deceptive simplicity of the language had also a great influence on the stage language of the *angura* plays.<sup>20</sup> The return to Japanese traditional *nō* theatre for inspiration is also typical of Betsuyaku's work, as much as it is in some aspects of Suzuki's method of training. The Waseda Little Theatre did not limit itself to Betsuyaku's plays, on the contrary it was responsible for presenting to the public the two important works *Atashi no biitoruzu aruiwa sōshiki* (My Beetles and the Funeral, 1966) by Satoh Makoto, and the already mentioned *Virgin Mask* (1969) by Kara, both directed by Suzuki Tadashi. In collaboration with the actress Shiraishi Kayoko, Suzuki developed a series of collages titled *Gekiteki naru mono o megutte* I, II, III (On the Dramatic Passions, I, II, III) which gave Suzuki the chance to develop his synthesis of an acting style founded in severe discipline, the martial arts, and *kabuki* and *nō* techniques.<sup>21</sup> Of all the post-*shingeki* groups, the Waseda Little Theatre was the one that received the greatest attention in Europe and in the United States, because of the keen interest in finding a bridge between eastern and western traditions and solving the practical problem of making the experience of classical Japanese acting techniques meaningful for today's performers of western plays. The success of Suzuki's production of *The Trojan Women* both in Japan and in the tours abroad is to be explained in view of this special interest of elites. In imitation



of Jerzy Grotowski's Laboratory Theatre in Wrocław, Poland, Suzuki moved with his troupe to a small village, Togamura, far away from every important cultural center, and began there a five-year period of intense training that lasted until 1980. Togamura has become since an important center, where yearly groups of professional actors from many countries are trained, and theatrical events of international interest take place.

The vitality of the *angura* movement appears to have subsided since the onset of the eighties, to the point that many critics have declared it as practically finished by 1985, notwithstanding the fact that most of its major playwrights are still very prolific. It is still premature to attempt a definition of its historical position and value. In the long range, the phenomenon of *angura* might end up in the history of Japanese theatre as a short and not very relevant offshoot of the *shingeki* movement, or as the turning point for a new, yet to be named, post-*shingeki* period. Today, at the beginning of the Heisei era (began 1989), it becomes ever more difficult to draw the lines of demarcation between *shingeki* and *angura*, and between *shingeki* and the commercial theatre. Suzuki's career is an example of the blurring of borders among the genres of the modern Japanese theatre. He began as a student at Waseda University during the politically activist anti-*shingeki* underground theatre movement of the sixties, then started to reevaluate the treasures of the Japanese tradition after discovering the power of the *nō* at a 1972 international festival in France. From an avant-garde position he developed his own group into a conservative, highly disciplined unit that many would probably categorize as a form of contemporary *shingeki*; at the same time, Suzuki directed commercial productions of Broadway-like plays for major Japanese producing companies, and made his mark on the international scene both through the presentation of his productions and the teaching of his method abroad, as well as by organizing his international school and festival in the mountains at Togamura.

The increased mobility of several performers and directors from one to the other genre of the pluralistic Japanese scene, with the consequent blurring of the borders among the genres themselves, might well be the most characteristic development of the Japanese theatre of the eighties and beginning nineties.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>The division of *shingeki* history follows with few modifications the one proposed by Toita Yasuji in his *Shingeki gojūnen*, (Fifty years of *shingeki*), Tokyo: Jijitsūshinsha, 1956.

<sup>2</sup>Ortolani, "Fukuda Tsuneari: Modernization and Shingeki," 484-488. See also Rimer, *Toward a Modern Japanese Theatre: Kishida Kunio*, 17-27.

<sup>3</sup>Rimer, *Ibid.*, 29. Tokyo: Shinchōsha 1958, 221.

<sup>4</sup>Words by the playwright Takada Tamotsu during a conversation with Fukuda, referred to by Fukuda himself in his essay "Nihon shingeki-shi gaikan (Outline of Japanese *shingeki* history)," in *Watakushi no engeki hakusho* (My theatre confessions), Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1958: 221.

<sup>5</sup>See a summary of this play in Ortolani, "Das japanische Theater," in Kindermann, ed. *Einführung in das Ostasiatische Theater*, 401-403.

<sup>6</sup>See Rimer, *Toward a Modern Theater: Kishida Kunio*, 57-71, and passim, for a thorough discussion of Kishida's life and accomplishments.

<sup>7</sup>See Tsubaki, "Bunraku Puppet Theatre, Kabuki, and Other Commercial Theatre," 100-102, for a listing of the most important companies producing "commercial" theatre, among which the two giants are Shōchiku and Tōhō.

<sup>8</sup>See Tsubaki and Miyata, "Shingeki, The New Theatre of Japan," 103-110, for a listing of the major *shingeki* companies operating at present in Japan. See also *Theater Japan 1989. A Companion to the Japanese Theater: Companies and People*, the most up-to-date information available in English on the subject.

<sup>9</sup>Ortolani, "Shingeki: The Maturing New Drama of Japan," 174-178.

---

## CHAPTER XI

---

### MODERN MUSIC AND DANCE THEATRE

#### *Opera*

Soon after the Meiji Restoration, the government began a campaign for the diffusion of western music, as a means of promoting the desired modernization of the country. At first, however, western music did not find the same enthusiastic reception which had greeted the introduction of other novelties from the West. A substantial change in the attitude of the new generation began when, in 1898, the study of western music became a compulsory subject in all schools. A gradual familiarization with the new sounds and the new rhythms followed, leading eventually to the great diffusion of western music in twentieth century Japan.

Operatic music and the singing of famous arias from classical operas were a part of this process, and eventually reached a wide audience. The history of opera production, however, shows a slow and difficult development, from its amateur beginnings in the 1890s to the sophisticated stagings of recent decades. High production costs, made more prohibitive because of opera's restricted appeal and the lack of government support, always have been the main reason for the limited activity of Japanese opera companies.

Opera production was introduced to Japan in the excerpted performance of a work that took place in 1894 in Tokyo as part of a benefit program for the Japanese Red Cross: the first act of Gounod's *Faust* was performed by a group of foreign amateurs who sang the leading roles in collaboration with students of the Tōkyō Ongaku Gakkō

(Tokyo School of Music), who provided the chorus, and with the musicians of the Imperial Household Ministry conducted by Franz Eckert (1852-1916).

In 1902 the Kageki Kenkyūkai (Opera Study Society) was formed by students of the same Tokyo School of Music and of the Imperial University. On July 23, 1903, this group sponsored the first complete opera performed in Japan, Gluck's *Orfeo ed Euridice*, which produced a loud echo in the Japanese music world and inspired Japanese composers to enter the new field of opera. The libretto was translated into Japanese for the occasion. Because of the lack of an orchestra the production had to make do with a simple piano accompaniment. The sets were prepared by students of the Bijutsu Gakkō (Fine Arts School). The single performance incurred a huge financial loss and provoked a series of controversies which reached the Ministry of Education, with a consequent official warning to the School that discouraged the continuation of such pioneering opera activities.<sup>1</sup>

The first attempt at a Japanese opera was *Roei no yume* (Dream in Camp, libretto and music by Kitamura Kisei), presented in 1905 at the major *kabuki* theatre of the time, the Kabukiza, between *kabuki* plays, on the same program. *Kabuki* actor Matsumoto Kōshirō VII—employing traditional *kabuki* vocalization—performed the leading role of this operatic composition written in unaccompanied monotones with orchestral intermezzi. Kōshirō was supported by *kabuki* actors who also recited their parts in *kabuki* style. Rather than an opera it was actually a play with spoken parts and connecting songs.

The *shingeki* pioneers, Tsubouchi Shōyō and Osanai Kaoru, were involved in the first phase of operatic development. In 1904 Tsubouchi published the first theoretical work about Japanese opera, the *Shingakugekiron* (Theory of the New Music Drama), in which he envisioned original Japanese operas free from imitation of foreign models and inspired by Japanese tradition. As an example of his theory he wrote the libretto for *Tokoyami* (Eternal Darkness, music by Tōgi Tetteki), whose performance was the first sponsored by the Bungei Kyōkai. The first opera greeted by Japanese critics as a successful fulfillment of Tsubouchi's ideal was *Hagoromo* (The Feather Robe, 1908, inspired by the

homonymous *nō* play, music by Komatsu Kōsaku). In addition, Osanai Kaoru arranged and staged *Chikai no hoshi* (The Star of the Oath, music by Yamada Kōsaku).

The opening in 1911 of the Teikoku Gekijō (Imperial Theatre, often called Teigeki) with an opera department (begun in 1912) under the direction of the Italian Giovanni Vittorio Rossi offered new hopes for a development of opera in Japan. The reality, on the contrary, remained rather modest. Only single acts, or abridged versions of light operas, were performed between plays in the fashion of typical *kabuki* programming. The director of the opera department was actually a ballet master who had been primarily active in the field of operetta in London. In his tenure from 1912 to 1916 he produced only some light opera/operettas such as Donizetti's *La Figlia del Reggimento* and Planquette's *Les Cloches de Corneville*. The production of serious classical opera at the Imperial Theatre was still far from being commercially and artistically viable; an enormous effort would have been necessary to support the development of singers and orchestras, not to mention audiences.

The task of popularizing operatic music and arias was accomplished by the popular theatres in Asakusa between 1916 and 1920, when up to three theatres at a time were playing "opera," that is, a variety of mostly western-looking plays with music and songs. Together with operetta, selected parts of the famous classical operas were also popularized through the Asakusa stages.

The next important event in the history of classical opera was the nineteen day visit in 1919 of the Russian Opera from Vladivostok for nineteen days at the Imperial Theatre. For the first time Japanese audiences could witness fully staged productions of such works as *Aida*, *Carmen*, *La Traviata*, *Tosca*, and *Boris Godunov*, with a singer of the caliber of the world famous soprano Bulskaja. The great success of these foreign guests inspired several more attempts to organize Japanese performances of opera, but with sparse results.

Eventually, a series of radio programs of western music directed by Iba Takashi between 1927 and 1930—during which fifteen operas were broadcast with accurate introductions and with enormous audience success—helped greatly in creating an atmosphere in which the first important Japanese opera company was founded by the tenor Fujiwara Yoshie in 1934.

The Fujiwara Kagekidan (Fujiwara Opera Company) has survived to the present time as probably the most important producer and promoter of serious opera—in spite of the many financial problems that have plagued its life as well as those of other opera companies such as the Nagato Miho Gekidan and the Nikikai Opera Company.

Despite the great progress in the diffusion of opera and in the level of artistry during recent decades, there is still no opera house in any of the big cities in Japan. The various companies must rent a theatre or a suitable hall for their performances.

In the post-war era a great number of the world's best opera ensembles have visited Tokyo, where every year at least one or two such groups usually perform to sold-out houses.

### *The Takarazuka Revue Company*

A special place in the history of Japanese popular musical entertainment is occupied by the Takarazuka Revue Company, which for three quarters of a century has been a most successful and unique phenomenon in the Japanese performing arts world. The present average of four troupes of about one hundred performers each, all consisting of unmarried women, performing almost constantly in enormous theatres in Takarazuka (located in the Kyoto-Osaka area) and Tokyo, and on tour all over Japan, gives an idea of the scale of this enterprise.<sup>2</sup>

The founder, Kobayashi Ichizō (1873-1957), had started his all-girl company in 1914 with the hope that it would evolve into a uniquely Japanese form of grand opera for large, popular audiences. His efforts were always directed at providing morally unobjectionable and financially affordable theatre entertainment for the average Japanese family. A very successful industrialist who also eventually climbed the political ladder, becoming Minister of Commerce and Industry, Kobayashi was a man of many large-scale initiatives, such as creating the "Terminal Culture;" that is, commercial development of terminals with huge restaurants, department stores, and mass entertainments near the new railroad lines he had planned; he founded, moreover, Tōhō Films, of which he was the president (Kurosawa's *Seven Samurai* and the popular

*Godzilla* films were produced under his leadership). His genius for meeting the needs of the Japanese populace also guided him in changing a small, quiet town, Takarazuka, into a busy entertainment center, with a famous music school and a three-thousand-seat Grand Theatre. He eventually adapted his dream of grand opera to the reality of a more popular, extremely successful, and unique synthesis of revue/operetta/musical theatre which over the decades won an important share of popular entertainment throughout the entire country.

Kobayashi was the founder and the soul of the famous Music School—a convent-like training ground for thousands of Takarazuka performers, which became a legend among Japan's teenage girls, and is still highly respected and much in demand. He personally set the strict rules for the *setto* (students, the name all Takarazuka girls share, even after they reach stardom) and made sure they would be closely observed, thus maintaining a deserved reputation of high moral standards and thorough dedication.<sup>3</sup>

As a first step towards the establishment of his school, Kobayashi put together the Takarazuka Shōtakai (Takarazuka Chorus), a group of sixteen girls aged twelve to sixteen who gave their first concert in 1913. It soon became the Takarazuka Shōjo-Kageki Yōsei Kai (Girls Opera Training Society), which debuted as an entertainment for the Takarazuka spa in 1914. This naive show concocted of fairy tale operettas and dances is now considered the first official performance of the Takarazuka girls.

During the early years the girls performed rather childish adaptations of nursery tales, such as *Urashima Tarō*, and cut-and-paste stories from foreign sources, many of which were prepared by Kobayashi himself. Their success was based on the charm of innocence and inexperience, which exercised a surprisingly magnetic attraction on steadily growing audiences.

Additions of theatre professionals to the staff of the School resulted in a profound change in the training, which produced accomplished performers ready for more ambitious programs. The great successes in the Osaka-Kyoto region were extended to the capital, with performances at the Imperial Theatre in 1918.

In 1919 the Shōjo-Kageki Yōsei Kai became the Takarazuka Ongaku Kageki Gakkō (Takarazuka Music Opera School), which has served to the present time—under the simpler name of Music School—as the only training ground for girls who aspire to become stars in the Takarazuka company. In 1923 the upper age of the girls admitted to the school was changed from fifteen to nineteen, thus making possible the transition from basically childish programs to adult and professional-looking shows.

In 1924 Kobayashi built in Takarazuka the largest theatre in the Orient, the Daigekijō or Grand Theatre, seating three thousand (the previous largest theatre in Japan had been the Imperial Theatre, seating sixteen hundred). Soon the need for new programming was felt, and the writer-director Kishida Tatsuya was sent abroad for inspiration. He came back in 1927 with the idea of adapting the French revue. The first show in the new style was *Mon Paris*, a series of numbers tied together by the trip of a honeymoon couple stopping in exotic places such as India, Egypt, Shanghai and, of course, Paris. The chorus line now counted eighty girls, scenery and costumes were lavish and sparkling, and the splendidly glossy French-style revue—tamed by a typical Takarazuka sense of family style decency—conquered the fantasy and hearts of innumerable full houses. A new era for the Takarazuka à la *Parisienne* had begun.

The 1930 trip of Shirai Tetsuō to New York, London, and Paris brought to Takarazuka the latest techniques of Broadway musicals. The result was a stunning success of the revue *Parisette* which shared with enormous audiences in all major Japanese cities the lessons learnt from such masters as Maurice Chevalier, Josephine Baker, and the Ziegfield shows; however, nudity and sex were conspicuous by their absence. While never relinquishing the principles of popular family entertainment the Takarazuka company created a formula that has been the source of constant success: an eclectic composite of romantic musical comedy and revue, a mixture of western and Japanese themes and styles, with a heavy emphasis on dance, large-scale choreography with the participation of enormous chorus lines, glitter and gorgeous costumes, and all the trimmings that today are usually identified with the Las Vegas style—minus an emphasis on sex, which is carefully avoided and substituted by a subtler eroticism.

The building in 1934 of the new Tokyo Takarazuka Theatre, which was followed during the next decade by new theatres in Yokohama, Kyoto, Nagoya, Shizuoka, and Hiroshima seemed for a while to establish Takarazuka as a kind of national popular theatre of Japan, a dream shattered by the war.

Success was not limited to Japan. Pre-World War II tours abroad, both to Europe and America, were greeted with general enthusiasm except for the New York performances during a time of political tension preceding the beginning of the conflict between the two countries.<sup>4</sup>

The war in China and World War II saw the company entertaining the Japanese soldiers in Asia and at home with patriotic productions exalting the war effort. The company dropped the word "girls" (*shōjo*) from its name and became the Takarazuka Kageki, (literally Takarazuka Opera), a misleading but official name which is reflected in the logos including the English initials TOC, for Takarazuka Opera Company.

As soon as the war ended the Grand Theatre in Takarazuka was soon repaired; it reopened in 1946. The Takarazuka Theatre in Tokyo, on the contrary, was taken over by the occupation authorities who turned it into a G.I. entertainment center until 1955, when it reopened as the Tokyo center for Takarazuka revues.

The success of the post-war revues was immense, probably because they provided a bright moment of escape in a particularly hard time. A Takarazuka style *Carmen* had an enthusiastic reception, and was followed by a series of hits, among which those worth remembering include a spectacular *Gubijin* (The Beautiful Gu, 1951, located in imperial China) and *Genji Monogatari* (The Tale of Genji, 1952). The repertory of the Takarazuka revues shows that there is hardly any area of successful world drama, novel, opera, operetta, ballet, musical comedy, and so on which has not been adapted for the Takarazuka stage, from *Hamlet* to *Tristan and Isolde*, from *Turandot* to *The Arabian Nights*, from *Coppelia* to *The Merry Widow*, from *West Side Story* to *Carousel* and so forth, to the recent (1987) *Me and My Girl* and a version of the *Dracula* story.<sup>5</sup>

In 1958 Emperor Hirohito and the imperial family attended a Takarazuka benefit performance, and starting in the late fifties a number of foreign dignitaries, including royal

personages, visited the Takarazuka shows during their stay in Japan. Coveted official recognition of the artistry reached by Takarazuka performers was achieved in 1958, when for the first time the prestigious Purple Ribbon Medal of Merit (*Shijuhōshō*) and the Fine Arts Festival Prize (*Geijutsusaishō*) were awarded to Takarazuka stars. Many other important awards were earned in the following years. Recognition came also in the form of favorable reviews by major world critics on the occasion of successful tours abroad, for example during the recent performances at Radio City Hall in New York City (1989).

Kobayashi Ichizō died in 1958. To ensure the continuity of his company after his death—despite the enormous production expenses and the relatively low cost of tickets—Kobayashi placed the fiscal responsibility for the school and the productions in the hands of the trustees of the prosperous Hankyū railway system, who always have taken good care of the Takarazuka Company's finances.

At Kobayashi's funeral over three hundred artists filled the stage of the Grand Theatre in Takarazuka, and admirers in the thousands honored the man who had pursued the dream of making theatrical entertainment available to everyone. His dream, however, reached only a section of the general population. Apart from a small percentage, the audiences of the Takarazuka revues have become almost exclusively female, the majority of whom are very young.<sup>6</sup> The typical Takarazuka fan has become almost a synonym for a dreamy teenage girl, infatuated with the glossy fantasy-world of an *otokoyaku* star (an actress playing male roles), and romantically sharing the ideals of the Takarazuka girls, *kiyoku*, *tadashiku*, *utsukushiku* (be pure, be right, be beautiful).

#### *Revue, Operetta, Miscellaneous Entertainments*

The great success of the Takarazuka revues did not long remain without competition.<sup>7</sup> Only three years after the first performance of the Takarazuka girls, the Tōkyō Shōjo Kageki (Tokyo Girls Opera, later renamed the Osaka Girls Opera, abbreviated as OSK) started its performances about six months before the Tokyo debut of the Takarazuka company. In 1928,

the powerful Shōchiku organization joined the field with the Shōchiku Kageki Dan (Shōchiku Opera Company, usually abbreviated as SKD), which, until World War II, was almost as successful as the Takarazuka. It was characterized by sophisticated dances and lavishly decorated stages, with liberal use of the latest mechanical technology for special effects. After World War II, however, only Takarazuka succeeded in recapturing a wide following, while OSK and SKD reduced their activity to three or four programs a year. The SKD used to perform, until its closing in 1982, at the Kokusai Gekijō in Asakusa, catering to an audience mostly of adults of both sexes from mixed social backgrounds, very different from Takarazuka's audiences swarming with teenage girls from upper and middle class families. Since 1982 the SKD has given some performances at the Kabukiza and other Tokyo theatres; it has been, however, recently inactive because of financial problems.

The efforts of ballet master Rossi at the Imperial Theatre resulted in the production of western operettas performed by Japanese artists between 1912 and 1916. When the Opera Department was closed, Rossi tried to continue the production of operettas at a small Theatre, the Royal-kan; after two years, however, he had to give up, and went back to London.

Very successful, on the contrary, was the so-called Asakusa Opera (1919-1923), performed at up to four Asakusa theatres at the same time with programs changing every ten days. Broad concessions to popular taste produced a genre which is difficult to define, but which certainly made the arias of famous operettas and classical operas well known all over Japan.

The epoch of the Asakusa Opera was brought to a sudden end by the Tokyo earthquake of 1923, which destroyed the theatres. For a while Asakusa was dormant as a theatrical center, until a revue theatre, the Casino Folly (Kajino Fōri), opened in 1929. It introduced to Japan a popularized and magnified night club-style revue based on low comedy and the sex-appeal of scantily clad girls. The most remarkable comedian of this genre was Enoken (Enomoto Ken'ichi, 1904-1970), who became very famous, while the erotic shows found a very large following, largely because of their escapist values for depression audiences. Enoken later joined the Tōhō company and was part of the development of the Nichigeki

Dancing Team (NCT), which made the new theatre, Nihon Gekijō (usually called Nichigeki, built in 1933), famous because of the popular Nichigeki Shows, partly inspired by the presentations at the glamorous Radio City Music Hall of New York.

After World War II Enoken's effort to revive the revue were unsuccessful. For a while the large popular adult audience was preoccupied by strip shows, which developed a following disproportionate to that of any other country; at one point, they were seriously considered by Japanese theatre historians as a significant chapter in the history of the nation's popular entertainment. The major centers of such sex shows were the Teito Theatre in Shinjuku and the Nichigeki Music Hall in Yūrakuchō.

#### *Butō and the Phenomenon of Circularity*

Among the contemporary Japanese contributions to theatrical arts a post-modern dance genre, *butō*,<sup>8</sup> deserves a brief mention because of its international influence which goes beyond the field of dance. The pioneers of *butō* are Ono Kazuo, who is still (1989) active as the grand old man of *butō*, and an avant-garde dancer, Hijikata Tatsumi (who died in 1986 at 57 years of age). In the late fifties they created a new type of dance which had its roots in Hijikata's dadaistic and surrealist experiments, and in a need to express in a subversive manner the feeling of anguish and terror experienced during the wartime destruction of Japan. There are some common characteristics in the variety of *butō* artists and companies: the intensity of training, the surrealist and hallucinatory atmosphere of unconventional, overcontrolled, and mostly slow movements, near-naked bodies painted white, shaved heads, rolled-upwards eyes, wide-open mouths, and the presentation of several spectacular outdoor pieces, such as the one performed by the Dai Rakuda Kan company, in which the dancers are lowered by ropes from high above while expressing a slow unfolding from a fetal position.

*Butō*, like the achievements of Suzuki Tadashi in the formation of actors, presents an example of the phenomenon of "circularity" in present-day Japanese performing arts. Educated by western teachers who had been deeply impressed

and influenced by the classical theatre arts of Japan, young Japanese artists trained in western performing arts, while at the same time "rediscovering" the treasures of their own traditions. The most creative artists went back to the sources of their Japanese training, but only *after* the western experience had left an indelible mark on them.

Some results of the new synthesis are of the highest caliber and allow the hope that, in general, the encounter between East and West may become an important factor in the improvement of the performing arts during the next century.<sup>9</sup>

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Komiya, *Japanese Music and Drama in the Meiji Era*, 499.

<sup>2</sup>Berlin, *Takarazuka: A History and Descriptive Analysis of the All-Female Japanese Performance Company*, is the major source for this subject in English.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, Appendix 3, 327-328, provides a translation of the regulations for *seito* entering the organization.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, Appendix 1, 311-312, provides a list of tours abroad.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, Appendix 4, Table 4, 329-344, provides a list of plays based on western sources and other familiar material.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, Appendix 2, 313-326, provides a survey of fans and audiences.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, 128-129.

<sup>8</sup>Vicki Sanders, "Dancing and the Dark Soul of Japan: An Aesthetic Analysis of *Butō*," 148-162 and Maria Pia D'Orazi, "Kazuo Ohno: Alle radici del *Butō*," 121-148.

<sup>9</sup>Ortolani, "Il teatro occidentale alla ricerca dell'energia profonda, «rilassata e composita» dell'oriente", 192-194.