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Barbara Geilhorn / Eike Grossmann  
Miura Hiroko / Peter Eckersall (eds)

# Enacting Culture – Japanese Theater in Historical and Modern Contexts



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Kurokawa während des Events Nō auf Wasser (*Suien no nō*) im Juli 2005.

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS 目次

Barbara GEILHORN and Eike GROSSMANN  
Preface (序).....9

Barbara GEILHORN and Eike GROSSMANN  
Introduction (はじめに).....13

## 1. THEORETICAL WRITINGS AND COLLECTIONS OF PLAYS 演劇論と謡本・台本

YAMANAKA Reiko  
世阿弥時代の能の演技 (Performing Nō in Zeami's Time) .....27

Andreas REGELSBERGER  
Poetics of Voice and Puppet: Secondary Texts on the Art of  
Ningyō Jōruri (声と人形の美学 — 人形浄瑠璃における芸道論).....37

Bonaventura RUPERTI  
「世阿弥の能楽論とルネッサンスの演劇論 — 演劇の本質、  
戯曲と舞台化、俳優というテーマを中心に」(Dramatization,  
Staging, Actor – A Comparison of Zeami's Theories on Nō and  
Renaissance Theater Theories) .....49

ŌTANI Jun  
『黒川能の狂言台本集』解題 (Annotations to the Collection of  
Kyōgen Plays of Kurokawa Nō) .....62

## 2. PERFORMING CULTURAL CONCEPTS: LEGENDS AND OBJECTS 文化的概念の演出：伝説と物体

MIURA Hiroko  
能の「音楽」論序説 (On the Meaning of the Expression  
Ongaku (Music) in Nō Theater).....75

Pia SCHMITT

Mirror of Attachment – On Magic Mirrors and Reflections in  
Nō Plays by Zeami Motokiyo ( 執心の鏡 — 世阿弥能における「鏡」と  
「反映」の役割について ) ..... 83

ODA Sachiko

変貌する小町 (Transfigurations of Komachi) ..... 103

Robert BORGEN

Performance in a Pilgrimage – The Monk Jōjin’s Travels in China,  
1072–1073  
( 巡礼のパフォーマンス — 僧成尋の宋への旅、1072–1073 ) ..... 108

### 3. CONTEMPORARY PERFORMANCE PRACTICES: AUDIENCES AND ADAPTATIONS

現代の演出・演技方法：観客と改作

TAKEMOTO Mikio

能・パトロン・観客 (Nō Theater, Patrons, and Audience) ..... 123

NISHINO Haruo

現代に蘇る古典—復曲能《常陸帯》の能本作成を例として—  
(Reviving Classical Plays – The *Fukkyoku Nō Hitachiobi*) ..... 135

KAGAYA Shinko

Nō in Busan: 1905–2005 ( 釜山での能 : 1905–2005 ) ..... 149

MARUMOTO Takashi

A Song for Kingdoms: Takarazuka’s Attempt to Adapt  
the Opera *Aida* ( 《王家に捧ぐ歌》 — 宝塚歌劇によるオペラ《アイダ》  
改作の試み ) ..... 159

### 4. RECEPTION AND REDEFINITION OF THEATER:

TURNING POINTS IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

演劇の評価と再定義：二十世紀の転換点

KOBAYASHI Seki

狂言師・野間善左衛門小伝  
(Transmissions by the Kyōgen Actor Noma Zenzaemon) ..... 175

James R. BRANDON  
 Three Wartime Kabuki Plays ( 戦時中の歌舞伎三作品 ) ..... 184

HATA Hisashi  
 小林秀雄「当麻」についての断想 (Kobayashi Hideo's Thoughts  
 on the Nō Play *Taema*) ..... 195

5. CROSS-MEDIA:

CONTEMPORARY DANCE, FILM AND LITERATURE IN THE 1960s  
 クロスメディア：六十年代の現代舞踊、映画、文学

Peter ECKERSALL  
 Catastrophe in Association – Butō cine Dance as Cross-media  
 Performance Art ( カタストロフィーとの関連性 – クロスメディア・  
 パフォーマンスアートとしての舞踏シネダンス ) ..... 207

Katja CENTONZE  
 Encounters between Media and Body Technologies. Mishima Yukio,  
 Hijikata Tatsumi, and Hosoe Eikō ( メディアと身体テクノロジー  
 の間の出会い – 三島由紀夫、土方巽、細江英公 ) ..... 218

Thomas HACKNER  
 The Death of the Author Considered as one of the Fine Arts:  
 The Aesthetics of Suicide in Mishima Yukio's *Yūkoku* ( 芸術としての  
 「作者の死」 – 三島由紀夫『憂国』における自殺の美学 ) ..... 238

6. THEATER AND SOCIETY IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY  
 二十一世紀の演劇と社会

Barbara GEILHORN  
 Performing Social Criticism in Contemporary Japanese Theater –  
 Okada Toshiki's *Hot Pepper*, *Air Conditioner*, and the *Farewell Speech*  
 and *Five Days in March* ( 日本現代演劇における社会批判 –  
 岡田利規の《ホットペッパー、クーラー、そしてお別れの挨拶》  
 と《三月の5日間》 ) ..... 251

Eike GROSSMANN  
 Deformation and Destruction. Matsuo Suzuki's *End of the World*  
 ( 変身と破壊。松尾スズキの世界の破滅 ) ..... 264

Annegret BERGMANN

Art Tower Mito – A Culture Facility Concept off the Beaten Track  
in Japan (水戸芸術館 – 従来の公立文化施設からの脱却).....276

ABSTRACTS 要旨.....293

CONTRIBUTORS 執筆者紹介.....303



## PREFACE

*Barbara GEILHORN and Eike GROSSMANN*

The essays in this collection were written for Stanca Scholz-Cionca expressly for this volume. She has been a teacher, a colleague and a most perceptive friend to those of us who have had the very fortunate opportunity of working with her. She began her academic career at the Department of Japanese Studies at the Ludwig-Maximilians-University in Munich, where she worked on the aspects of medieval syncretism in *nō* theater. In her PhD thesis she analyzed the adaptation and transformation of the images of Sugawara no Michizane in *nō* theater, where he appears as the god Tenman Tenjin. She then focused her interest on the history of theater in Japan, especially on the development of *kyōgen* in the seventeenth century. This period is also characterized by translations of *nō* and *kyōgen* plays into German and Rumanian.<sup>1</sup>

After her habilitation, Stanca Scholz-Cionca broadened her field of research and began to work on contemporary Japanese theater while teaching as visiting professor at the Freie Universität Berlin and the University of Oslo. She never lost contact with her initial research topics and began to combine not only interdisciplinary approaches but also research on different theater forms. With her appointment as full professor of Japanese Studies at the University of Trier, she expanded her activities further and published, for example, on the reception of William Shakespeare in Japanese avant-garde theater and on Japanese theater on the international stage. Stanca was the first to translate contemporary plays into German, supporting the emergent field of research on contemporary Japanese theater and making important texts accessible to scholars outside Japan.<sup>2</sup>

In recent years she managed to bring her wide interests together in various research projects, one of which focused on the reevaluation of *nō* theater in the Meiji period (1868–1912) and on *shinsaku nō*, newly written *nō* plays addressing contemporary issues. Stanca's other projects involved the difficult tasks of interpreting humor on theater stages from an intercultural perspective, as well as the performative aspects of Asian culture. In all projects she was eager to include performers, thus connect-

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<sup>1</sup> Scholz-Cionca 1982, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1998.

<sup>2</sup> Scholz-Cionca 2000, 2003, 2004, 2008, 2011, Scholz-Cionca and Leiter 2001.

ing theoretical and analytical approaches with practical performance contexts.<sup>3</sup>

The diversity of theater subject matter contained in this anthology certainly reflects the breadth of Stanca's intellectual interests. Starting from her mother tongue, Rumanian, she also published widely in German, English, Japanese and French. Thus our choice to publish a bilingual collection with papers in English and Japanese was made in recognition of her borderless influence as a researcher. This decision was influenced by *The Noh Ominameshi* edited by Mae J. Smethurst and Christina Laffin (2003), in which specialists on nō theater published their findings on one nō play in both, English and Japanese.

So we present this set of papers in her honor. All of the authors are Stanca's colleagues, junior colleagues, or students. Although the papers do not necessarily exhibit that thematic unity so much beloved of publishers, they extend Stanca's work in different directions. It is a lively array of views, some quite disparate from each other, and some especially selected to present approaches at variance from her.

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<sup>3</sup> Scholz-Cionca, 2001, 2005. Scholz-Cionca and Balme 2008, Scholz-Cionca and Oda 2006, Scholz-Cionca and Oshikiri 2004, Scholz-Cionca and Borgen 2004, Scholz-Cionca and Bayerdörfer 2005.

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## EDITORIAL REMARKS AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The following method of translation and transliteration is applied: Japanese names are presented in the Japanese fashion, with family name preceding given name; in transliterating Japanese words and names, the Hepburn System is used. Japanese terms are given in italics, except for words used continually throughout this work. Thus, expressions like *nō*, *kyōgen*, *kabuki*, *bunraku*, *butō* – which are explained in the text – are not italicized as they appear often. Since we choose to leave each paper in its original language abstracts in the opposite language are given at the end of this volume to allow readers without knowledge of both languages access to the main ideas of the papers.

Our sincere gratitude goes to the German Institute for Japanese Studies (DIJ, Tōkyō) and its director Florian Coulmas for generously publishing this book in the DIJ series of monographs. Without this substantial support this book would have not come into being. Personal assistance has furthermore proven to be most crucial to this project's completion. We are indebted to Miki Aoyama-Olschina, Fukazawa Nozomi, Nicola Hyland, and Matthew Königsberg for providing their essential native speaker skills as diligent proof-readers. Our deeply felt gratitude also goes to Hilaria Gössmann and Michael Kinski for their unconditional advice and encouragement.

# INTRODUCTION

Barbara GEILHORN and Eike GROSSMANN

The contemporary Japanese theater scene is characterized by the coexistence of various theater forms, which all have their clearly marked boundaries but are also fluid enough to merge and collaborate, creating even more theatrical blends. Besides the four so-called classical theater traditions – *nō*, *kyōgen*, *bunraku*, and *kabuki* –, a stunningly prolific mainstream theater, relying in its productions mainly on Western plays, exists. In addition there are countless theater troupes, with their own repertory of Japanese plays that often contain social critique such as Sakate Yōji's (\*1962) troupe *Rinkōgun*, or groups that draw their plots from classical motifs or historical incidents as can be often noticed in productions of Noda Hideki (\*1955) or Ninagawa Yukio (\*1935). And not to forget the immeasurable number of small theaters often referred to as a part of the subculture concentrating for example around the Shimokitazawa district in Tōkyō. This is complemented by dance theater, with *butō* as the most renown, and by international and intercultural co-productions between Japanese, Western, and recently Asian producers and performers blurring not only the lines between genres but also between countries and languages.<sup>1</sup>

Nevertheless, beginning with the Meiji period (1868–1912) the Western perception of Japanese theater focuses mainly on its classical manifestations, an image that survived until today. This image was further enforced by a Japanese policy aiming at the creation and presentation of a 'traditional' country, with a deep-rooted culture. However the situation changed completely in the last two decades. One can claim, that a new generation of theater practitioners was 'discovered' by an international audience and became regular guests at theater festivals worldwide, where they were celebrated for the critical contents and experimental

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<sup>1</sup> One example for an international cooperation is the Chinese-Japanese coproduction *Lost Village* by Hirata Oriza and Li Liuyi, which was staged successfully in China, Hong Kong and Japan in 2007. *Lost Village* was advertised as '[a] borderless, universal multilingual drama from Asia!' (see Webpage *Lost Village*, New National Theatre, Tōkyō). *Bai, Su Zhen: A Kabuki Forgery* (2006), a Taiwanese production, is based partly on the *nō* drama *Dōjōji* and combines *kabuki* elements with a Chinese plot.

performance styles of their productions. Thus more elements of Japan's theaters became known abroad.

Despite the multiple facets of Japanese theater, the latest history on Japanese theater in general was published in Japanese by Kawatake Shigetoshi in 1959 and in English by Benito Ortolani in 1990. Since then there have been no attempts to investigate the history of Japanese theater in its different manifestations.<sup>2</sup> Japanese and Western theater research rather concentrates on one of the classical performance traditions or on single aspects of contemporary theater.

To be precise, Western studies on *nō* theater, for example, mainly follow the Japanese research tradition, where *nō* is integrated into classical Japanese literature studies (*kokubungaku*). With its distinctively historical focus on literary linguistic-hermeneutical studies of theoretical writings and *nō* plays, most studies on the development of *nō* theater end abruptly with the nineteenth century leaving the impression of a theater form that reached, and managed to preserve, its artistic peak from the Edo period (1600–1867) up to today.<sup>3</sup> A similar situation can be observed for the other classical theater forms. Nevertheless there are some exceptions, such as Amano Fumio's *Gendai nōgaku kōgi* (Lectures on contemporary *nō*, <sup>3</sup>2006) that gives readers an impression about present-day *nō* theater practice. Eric Rath's work *The Ethos of Noh. Actors and their Art* (2004) on the creation of tradition and the role of tradition in the institutional development of *nō* up to the late twentieth century or Barbara Geilhorn's *Weibliche Spielräume. Frauen im japanischen Nō und Kyōgen-Theater* (Female Spaces. Women in Japanese *nō* and *kyōgen* theater, 2011) on women on *nō* stages from the Meiji period up to today can be named here for Western research that broadens the conventional view on *nō* theater.

Contemporary theater on the other hand is often reduced to *butō* or to individual producers and playwrights. This led to exceptional, but also highly specialized studies and it is no exaggeration to claim, that research on contemporary Japanese theater is still developing.<sup>4</sup> Nishidō Kōjin's

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<sup>2</sup> From 1981 to 1990 a group of researchers at Hōsei University (Tōkyō) published a series of seven volumes titled *Nihon geinō shi* (History of Japanese Performing Arts). However, the publication follows strictly conventional descriptions of the development of performing arts in Japan, focusing on the canonical theater forms such as *nō* and *kyōgen* even in its last volume on contemporary theater, which only briefly covers modern theater forms.

<sup>3</sup> For an overview on Japanese *nō* research see Takemoto 1994; see also Omote and Amano 1999: 173–4 and 184–5. Examples for Western studies are Hare 1986, 2008 and Fenno Quinn 2005, Atkins 2006.

<sup>4</sup> Works on producers and playwrights are for example Carruthers and Takahashi 2004, Sorgenfrei 2005, Boyd 2006.

(2006) study on the conditions of contemporary theater is one rare example that investigates different aspects of performance techniques and contexts focusing on text, body, and the relation of actors and audience without referring directly to one theater form or troupe. An example for a Western in-depth analysis of the relation of theater and politics is Peter Eckersall's *Theorizing the Angura Space* (2006).

This collection was inspired by all these studies and tries to connect the many approaches identified above. It is the first attempt to bring together papers on various genres of Japanese theater in order to narrow the seemingly wide gap between traditional and modern theater, literary and performance analyses, practical and theoretical stances. The selected papers are representative contributions to the field, opening new perspectives on a potential further development of research on Japanese theater.

The papers display the wide range of possibilities the historical materials, contemporary scripts, and performance records open for theater research. Some papers interpret their materials from a conventional perspective (Miura, Nishino, Oda, Yamanaka), others combine materials from various genres (Centonze, Eckersall, Hackner, Regelsberger) or investigate them from an interdisciplinary angle (Borgen, Marumoto, Rupert, Schmitt). There are also contributions that propose a reconsideration of already well-known sources (Hata, Takemoto), introduce and analyze recently found handwritings (Kobayashi, Ōtani) or 'forgotten' plays (Brandon), or add another point of view to the history of one theater form (Kagaya). Some papers face the problem of a just emerging research field and hint at prospective topics and contexts for further studies (Bergmann, Geilhorn, Grossmann).

In detail this collection consists of six thematic sections. Section one deals with theoretical writings and collections of plays and contains four chapters. Yamanaka Reiko analyzes the performance techniques of *nō* during the time of Zeami (1336?–1443?), starting with the expression *nō o mau*, to dance *nō*, which in contemporary Japanese is the general reference to a *nō* performance. Since the body movements differ significantly from natural body movements, and thus leave the impression to the audience that *nō* is rather dancing than acting, Yamanaka considers *nō o mau* appropriate when referring to a contemporary *nō* performance. Nevertheless she argues that *nō* during the fifteenth century was far away from dance and much more realistic than today. By analyzing Zeami's treatises she traces back descriptions of performances and performance styles and proves that improvisation and direct expression of emotions such as laughing and crying were a central part of *nō* performance. There will be great interest in the future development of her thesis especially in

regard to the question when, how and why changes in the performance styles took place.

Andreas Regelsberger offers another close reading of theoretical treatises focusing on the aesthetics of *ningyō jōruri*, Japanese puppet theater. By interpreting treatises on puppetry and considering writings on *nō* theater as well as on poetry, Regelsberger examines the aesthetics of *ningyō jōruri* from various perspectives such as the representation of reality, the depiction of emotions, and the notion of tradition. He argues that it is the combination of a skillful libretto and the vigor of the human voice, which animates the 'lifeless' wooden puppets and grants them a second, 'bodiless' body rather than the action on stage. He develops his argument even further by claiming, that the main concern of secondary texts and eventually of the audience during the seventeenth and eighteenth century was with the talent of the chanter, whose voice bestows the puppets with their individual character, and less with the visual impact of the puppets.

Bonaventura Ruperti widens the perspective of the interpretation of theoretical treatises towards a transcultural or 'borderless' exchange of theater forms and contents. He focuses on the similarity in the development of theoretical treatises in fifteenth century Japan and Italy. Ruperti argues that during that time both countries simultaneously experience a rapidly growing interest in theater, which can be seen in the increasing number of theoretical writings. A comparison of theoretical writings on *nō* theater with Italian treatises on theater enables him to distinguish several common key aspects, for instance discussions on the 'essence' of theater, the art of the actor, and the staging of plays. He concludes with the assumption that, although not connected, the dawn of theater in both countries shares simultaneities in its theoretical approaches leaving room for speculations on the socio-political conditions that supported the development of theater.

These conditions are also important for the emergence of a distinction between what is today generally considered as 'professional theater' and as 'non-professional folk performing arts.' The relation of both performance traditions is addressed by Ōtani Jun, who introduces the repertory of a *kyōgen* theater performed by the inhabitants of Kurokawa, a small rural village in the Yamagata Prefecture. In Kurokawa, *kyōgen* is generally staged together with *nō* theater and both are well-known as Kurokawa *nō* with a written history of more than four hundred years. Based on a collection of libretti compiled by the villagers Ōtani traces the history of the 43 *kyōgen* plays in the village back to the Edo period. His analysis shows that already during that time the villagers of Kurokawa had intense contact with traveling actors and actors living in their vicinity. He



further proves the influence of the *Kyōgenki*, an Edo period reading book of kyōgen plays published in several versions between 1666 and 1730 on Kurokawa's kyōgen. Ōtani's paper not only nurtures speculations on how far printed editions of the *Kyōgenki* managed to travel around Japan but also stimulates discussions on the validity of a border between professional and non-professional arts. It is a crucial contribution to the research on art forms beyond their genre boundaries and supports further investigations on Kurokawa nō/kyōgen as well as on the history of kyōgen in general.

Following the analysis of theoretical materials, the four papers in section two investigate how cultural concepts are displayed on theater stages by focusing on legends, objects, and the use of expressions in plays and texts. For this nō plays have proven an immeasurable treasure and Miura Hiroko investigates the meaning of the expression *ongaku* (music) and its use in the actual plays. She conducted an exhaustive analysis of the standard repertory of 250 plays and extracted 25 plays, in which the expression *ongaku* appears. Her discussion of the context in which *ongaku* is used, leads to an in-depth interpretation of how *ongaku* was perceived in medieval Japan. Her conclusion that *ongaku* mainly stands for 'heavenly music' or announces the appearance of deities or dances of heavenly creatures is underlined by the combination of the expression with supernatural phenomena, such as purple clouds or unknown fragrances. By taking literary works into account as well, she argues that *ongaku* symbolizes 'the sound of paradise' to medieval people and proposes a reconsideration of the social implications of nō from a cultural history perspective.

The following paper by Pia Schmitt on the role of objects in medieval nō and their representation as props takes a similar approach. Schmitt analyzes nō from a cultural and theater studies point of view and by focusing her study on props she opens up a field that has been widely ignored by scholars of nō. Although only used sparsely, props in nō theater emphasize decisive moments and meanings of the plays and thus an analysis of nō plays should also contain a study of the stage props. Tracing the relationship of the mirror as a leitmotif in selected plays by Zeami, its use as a prop on stage, and as precious object in medieval material culture Schmitt even considers its psychological dimension and claims that the prop itself has to be considered a metaphor. She finally applies the image of the mirror in its metaphorical meaning to the whole genre, claiming that it actually symbolizes the mirror-like relation of gravity and amusement, or simply of nō and kyōgen.

The last two papers in this section deal with the adaptation and transformation of medieval literary motifs into nō theater, both focusing on a legendary person – Ono no Komachi and the monk Jōjin. Oda

Sachiko claims that, besides their fictional aspects, the plays relating to the poetess Ono no Komachi are displaying medieval conceptions of women in general. With Ono no Komachi as an example Oda identifies three main literary motifs in the *nō* plays and shows that the figure is interpreted in two differing ways: either as a possessed human being or as a possessed demon dwelling in another person. The focus on the demonic, so Oda, enabled the authors of the *nō* plays to add a new facet to Ono no Komachi. By changing from the outside to an inner perspective, they give Ono no Komachi a chance to explain her behavior to the audience. Thus the legendary Ono no Komachi is not only enhanced with a negative image closely related to the image of women in Buddhism. While Ono no Komachi is criticized for being too independent and for not relying on the support of a man she also turns into a human being the audience can feel sympathetic for, since her inner struggles become obvious.

Next to legendary persons and their transformation for the stage the encounter with other cultures is another crucial topic in *nō* theater. Robert Borgen's paper gives important insights into the historical background of a legend around the monk Jōjin and his travel to China in the eleventh century. Jōjin's diary draws a fascinating picture of his encounter with Chinese culture and Borgen shows, how the performative and ritual aspects of this pilgrimage might have stimulated similar topics in *nō* and later kabuki plays. Following Borgen's argumentation, Jōjin has to be considered as a performer of rites on various levels beginning with his regular performance of the Lotus Rite and the realization of his pilgrimage according to the prescriptions of his sect. Thus, although there are no plays referring directly to Jōjin, the diary provides sufficient theatrical aspects that allowed a smooth implementation of intercultural features into theater plays, especially in *nō* theater.

After the analysis of plays the four papers in section three finally turn to performance practices focusing on different audiences and on the adaptation of plays. The historical and contemporary audience of *nō* performance has been a long neglected topic. Contemporary *nō* actors not only support themselves with performances on stage but mainly by supervising disciples. This led to a composition of the audience, which is unique to *nō* theater: 'amateur' performers attending performances of their master represent the largest group within the audience. Takemoto Mikio addresses this fact as problematic to the survival of *nō*, especially in the moment the number of disciples decreases, and recognizes a lacking consciousness of the actors as artists and teachers. His investigation of the historical roots of this peculiar audience shows that although being a popular art during medieval times *nō* was always highly dependant of

powerful patrons. Despite the fact that some performances attracted an audience of up to one thousand people, small-sized stagings in residences of nobles were common as well. Even in the early modern times *nō* actors were connected to an individual *daimyō* and dependent on his financial support. Takemoto concludes that although *nō* was able to attract masses up to the Meiji period, the organizational structure of contemporary *nō* makes it unsuitable as a commercial theater. Therefore it is important that actors realize the position of their theater and thus he urges them for a change in attitude instead of a constant dwelling in the memories of a glorious past, adding that the well-researched history of *nō* theater poses a problem in adapting to new circumstances.

As Takemoto shows, the audience and performance contexts of *nō* theater were always in a process of change, and the same can be said for the repertory of *nō* which experienced various changes throughout its history. Especially since the Edo period a habit of reviving plays became popular and has been maintained up to today. In his paper Nishino Haruo outlines a brief history of *fukkyoku* ('revived') *nō* and shows, that this process is a main characteristic of *nō* theater. His paper gives valuable insights in the practice of reviving *nō* plays for the contemporary stage. Nishino reports his experiences of transforming the libretto of *Hitachi obi* (A Sash from Hitachi), which was excluded from the main repertory in 1912, into a stage script and offers a comparison between the old and the new version of the play. Assumably written before 1467 *Hitachi obi* probably belongs to the oldest plays in the *nō* repertory and has been infrequently performed up to the Meiji period. The revival of the play initiated a discussion on how to adapt it in order to make it attractive for a modern audience and on how far the original play and its dramaturgy should be protected. Thus, Nishino presents contemporary *nō* as an art form that does not exclusively rely on 'conventional' plays and performance techniques but is undergoing constant change.

Kagaya Shinko's paper also discusses how *nō* theater managed to survive until today by showing its ability to adapt to new circumstances and environments. She analyzes two *nō* performances in Busan (Korea) in 1905 and 2005 focusing on the content of the performed plays, the context of the performances, and the composition of audiences. On the example of the performance of the *shinsaku nō Bōkonka* in 2005, which broaches the issue of a Korean woman whose husband has been taken by the Japanese during the colonial period, Kagaya shows that *nō* possess a 'contemporaneous necessity.' Thus, by connecting the performances in Korea to the socio-political situation of Japan and Korea, Kagaya investigates the timeliness of *nō* in each context and argues that the potential of relating even to sensitive topics enables its constant transmission.

The intercultural exchange that is central to Kagaya's paper is also taken up by Marumoto Takashi, who turns the perspective towards the adaptation of foreign plays for the Japanese stage. Marumoto claims that although the all-female Takarazuka revue is a genre close to Western musical the attempt of adapting Western opera has proved to be a challenging task. He outlines the aspects that have to be considered in case of a 'takarazukalization' and argues that directors and composers of Takarazuka aim at perfectly transforming works of various theatrical and literary genres into the context of the musical revue. With *Aida* as an example Marumoto shows that while maintaining the basic storyline the writers of the Takarazuka version created a completely new work that conveys its own meaning. He concludes that Takarazuka not only assimilates topics from other cultures for a Japanese audience but by adapting a familiar plot it can also help Western audiences to accustom with Japanese culture, or to be precise, to accustom to the Japanese view on Western culture.

The reception and also redefinition of theater is the main topic of section four. All three papers discuss turning points in the reception of theater in Japan during different stages of the twentieth century. The history of *nō* often follows the five *nō* schools and within them the major families, giving the impression of a linear development of houses and head families, and subsequently of a regional concentration of *nō* to the areas around Tōkyō, Kyōto, and Ōsaka. Research on the history of *kyōgen* theater can be considered similar. Nevertheless, like researchers on *nō* in Japan are recently focusing on *nō* in the domains during the Edo period and thus writing a new history of *nō*, Kobayashi Seki follows this trend in his paper on a *kyōgen* actor from Kumamoto (Kyūshū). He analyzes unpublished diaries and records of the Noma family and reconstructs the activities of Noma Zenzaemon (1856–1913), who left Kumamoto at the end of the Meiji period and relocated to Tōkyō, where he gained a reputation as an actor. Besides a description of the *kyōgen* practice in Kumamoto during the Edo period Kobayashi also draws a lively account of the theater world in Tōkyō at the turn of the century.

How deeply theater used to be connected to social and political conditions is shown by James Brandon, who discusses the contribution of kabuki to the patriotic fervor during 1931 and 1945. Although today perceived as classical theater, kabuki until recently fulfilled a crucial role in commentating and supporting contemporary incidents. This characteristic can be observed already in its early history. However, even though there are about one hundred so-called *sensōgeki*, war plays, which were written to support and celebrate Japan's military success, kabuki's role during the interwar and war period has long been ignored. Through an

analysis of three representative plays belonging to this group, Brandon demonstrates how profoundly kabuki authors and actors were engaged in supporting the war effort on stage and beyond. He then argues that the alteration from contemporary into classical theater only took place after World War II when kabuki's ideological liability was discussed and its ties to contemporary society were radically cut.

The perception of *nō* theater by intellectuals and literati in the 1940s is the topic of Hata Hisashi's paper. Rather than focusing on the political implications the 'return to traditional culture' had on the re-evaluation of *nō* during war times, Hata is interested in the 'personal' impact of *nō* performances. He interprets the effects a performance of the *nō Taema* by Umewaka Mansaburō I had on the literary critic Kobayashi Hideo (1902–1983). His analysis starts from the assumption that Kobayashi, who received a Western education, was able to emotionally grasp the meaning of the play and to describe it accurately in his essay 'Taema,' without being a specialist on *nō* or even classical literature. While the essay also shows the misinterpretations of *nō* by the audience, Hata argues that just by experiencing an excellent performance Kobayashi's interest in Japan's medieval literature was triggered, proving the image of *nō* as non-understandable to outsiders wrong.

While sections one to four mainly deal with one of the classical theater forms, be it from a historical or contemporary perspective, section five contains three papers that deal with the relation of theater to contemporary dance, film, and literature. Peter Eckersall, Katja Centonze, and Thomas Hackner investigate theater from a cross-media perspective and focus mainly on the 1960s, drawing a dazzling picture of Japanese avant-garde. First, Peter Eckersall presents *butō* as a radical, disturbing, and continuously evolving performance style that blurs the line between art and the prosaic world. His article is an in-depth analysis of hybrid performances and cross-media experiments by Hijikata Tatsumi (1928–1986) in collaboration with the filmmaker Imura Takahiko (\*1937). By introducing Hijikata's various intermedia approaches that covered film, photography, contemporary art, and music Eckersall shows that these experiments were attempts to extend the radius and effect of live performances.

Katja Centonze's paper focuses on the same cultural settings and recalls the actor-body discourse of the Japanese avant-garde. She gives a thick description of interrelated art works by three representatives, Mishima Yukio (1925–1970), Hijikata Tatsumi, and Hosoe Eikō (\*1933), and demonstrates the cross-fertilization between the artists. Each of these artists showed a particular concern for the body and Centonze provides a close reading of first-hand material thus enabling the protagonists of her study to speak with their own words. It becomes obvious that the

three artistes can be considered as pioneers in the contemporary development of a discourse on the body and the physical space in performing arts, film and photography as well as in literature.

The body, in its willingly damaged stage, is also topic of Thomas Hackner's paper, which shifts focus towards the concept of suicide in Japanese culture and its alteration by Western influence. Exploring the interference between *seppuku* (ritual suicide) and *shinjū* ('lovers' suicide' or 'double suicide') as two socially accepted forms of suicide in medieval Japan Hackner introduces two central motifs of classical performing arts. He then transfers these images on the display of suicide in Mishima Yukio's works and analyzes a short story and its adaptation into film. Hackner shows that both, short story and film, can be interpreted as essential for the mind-set of Mishima Yukio, which apparently centered around the annihilation of the human body.

The final section consists of three papers focusing on various aspects of contemporary Japanese theater and society in the twenty-first century, proposing different approaches. Barbara Geilhorn's paper introduces the productions of Okada Toshiki (\*1973), one of the leading playwrights and directors of the younger generation. Okada is one of the few playwrights, who address social and psychological problems of contemporary Japanese society such as the *otaku* (geek or nerd) phenomenon, precarious working conditions, or the widening social gap. To stage these critical conditions adequately he developed a performance style, which is labeled by critics as radically new. Geilhorn analyzes two of Okada's recent plays and illustrates the characteristic modes of expression for his theater. She concludes that raising issues of global and individual crisis makes Okada an internationally comprehensible playwright which is a central factor for his success.

The depiction of society is also the topic of Eike Grossmann's paper. She chose *Erosu no hate* (The end of Eros), a contemporary play written and directed by Matsuo Suzuki (\*1962) and performed with his group *Otona keikaku* (Grown-up plan) in 2001. Suzuki, who is often labeled as one of the most aggressive dramaturges of Japan, stages a society driven by rage and desperation and proposes one final 'solution' to solve all problems of this society. *Erosu no hate* gained actuality especially after the triple disaster – earthquake, tsunami, and nuclear catastrophe – that hit northeastern Japan in March 2011. In his play Matsuo draws a disturbing picture of distortion and tantalization: a hopeless Japanese society is heading towards self-destruction and finally wiped out by an explosion in Tōkyō's first nuclear plant. A plot, that from today's perspective makes the play appear, as Grossmann shows, almost like an omen for what happened only ten years later.

The last paper finally turns to cultural politics and performance conditions in contemporary Japan. Anne Bergmann investigates the revitalization of mainly regional culture. She takes a twofold approach and considers the perspectives of local governments as well as of cultural facilities in communities. Tracing significant steps in the establishment of modern cultural policy, administration and management over the last decades in Japan Bergmann analyzes the governmental endeavor to bridge the supposedly widening gap between a ‘decaying’ culture of rural Japan and a concentration of culture facilities in metropolitan areas. On the example of Art Tower Mito, a cultural center with a concert hall, a theater and an art gallery in the prefecture of Ibaragi she introduces a new type of cultural hall that combines a sound artistic and managerial concept with a firm financial base provided by governmental subsidies.

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# SECTION 1

THEORETICAL WRITINGS AND COLLECTIONS OF PLAYS

演劇論と謡本・台本



# 世阿弥時代の能の演技

山中 玲子

## はじめに

能を演ずることを「能を舞う」という。現代の能においては、能舞台上での演技にただの一つも日常的な動作はない。能の所作は、背筋を伸ばし腰をわずかに落とし緩やかに腕を広げた「カマエ」と、その姿勢を保って歩む「ハコビ」を基本とし、そのうえに、決められた所作単元を組み合わせさせて演じていく。ただじっと立っているだけでも、歩くだけでも、日常の動作とは違うわけだ。また、悲しみに涙を流す様子は「シオリ」と呼ばれる定型の所作で表され、誰かが主人公の悲しみをより効果的に表現する方法を思いついてそれを演じる、というようなことはない。したがって、現代の能に関しては「舞う」という言い方はふさわしい。

だが、世阿弥伝書の記述を見ると、世阿弥時代の能を「舞う」という言葉でまとめてしまうのは少し不正確と思われる。『申楽談儀』には世阿弥の能にも大きな影響を与えた近江猿楽の犬王の芸について次のような記事がある。<sup>1</sup>

もりかたの申楽に、物に腰掛け、経を読む所へ、妻・母来りて、二人「いかに」と申時、母の方つくづくとしばし見て、顔引く尻目にて、妻の方をそと見てうつぶきし、面白き心根也と、其比沙汰有し也。こは子にてなきと云申楽に、「あれ、疾く去ね」と申とて、目にて心根をせし、同く沙汰有し也。<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> 世阿弥伝書の記事は、日本思想大系『世阿弥・禅竹』（表章校注、岩波書店、初版は1974年）により、世阿弥伝書の英訳は原則として、Tom Hare (2008), *ZEAMI: Performance Notes*, New York: Columbia University Press を用いる。ただし、『申楽談儀』は同書に含まれていないため『申楽談儀』の英訳は Erika de Poorter (1986), *Zeami's Talks on Sarugaku*, Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben によっている。

<sup>2</sup> 'In the Sarugaku [play] *Morikata*, whilst he was seated reading the sūtra, his wife and mother came up to him, and when they called him, he looked intently at his mother for a while, then, turning his face away, he looked tenderly at his wife with a sidelong glance, and dropped his head. It was a supreme [expression of] caring, and in his day he was applauded for it. In the Sarugaku [play] called *Ko wa ko nite naki* he was equally applauded [for the passage where] he expressed his caring with his eyes when he was going to say: "Go away quickly!"' (de Poorter 1986: 84, section 16).

また、世阿弥自筆能本「多度津左衛門」には、出家した父を探し乳母とともに高野山までやってきた娘（姫）を父が追い返す場面に「姫を打つべし。姫まるび臥すべし。乳母も取り付きて泣き沈むべし」との注記が見える。<sup>3</sup> これらの例からうかがわれるのは、現代の能よりはずっと通常の芝居に近い演技であろう。世阿弥が歌舞に重点を置いた作品を多く作ったことを考慮に入れても、やはり能は舞楽のような「舞踊」ではなく「演劇」の一つと考えるべきである。そうであれば、常識的に考えても、現在の能のように1曲全体を通して所作が決まっておき役者の自由がほとんどないスタイルが世阿弥時代から確立していたとは思えない。たとえば「初同」（最初の地謡部分）で舞台上をどのようにまわるか、中入前にどんな所作をするか、どこで袖を返し、どこで右にうけるか…などが、初めから厳密に決まっていたとは考えられないのである。

それでは、世阿弥時代の能は、どのように演じられていたのだろうか。あるいは、別の言い方をすれば、世阿弥時代には能を演じるにあたってどのようなことが決まっており、何が自由に任されていたのだろうか。世阿弥の能楽伝書には、謡い方に関しては個々の曲の特定の箇所について実に細かな指示が書かれているのにくらべ、身体の動かし方（舞い方）に関する指示は非常に少ない。世阿弥自筆能本においても、ゴマ点や節付記号など謡い方の指示が圧倒的多数である。だが、それでもなお、日常の動作とは別の、能を演じるための所作の名称やその演じ方についての指示は、伝書にも能本にも残されている。演じられては消えていく身体芸能の宿命として、当時の能の姿を正確に復元することはできないが、以下では世阿弥伝書の記述や世阿弥自筆能本の注記等、世阿弥自身の言葉に添って、当時の演技のあり方やそこで重要視されるポイントについて、考えてみたい。

## I. 器楽舞・ハタラキの所作

大小鼓と笛の伴奏によって舞う舞やハタラキには、すでに世阿弥時代から所作の連なりとしての定型が在ったようだ。『花鏡』の「…合掌の手より、五体を動かし、手を指し引き、舞一番を序破急へ舞おさむる…」<sup>4</sup>からは、手を「指し」（前へ出し）たり引いたりする所作单元や、舞の中に「序破急」の流れを作る意識があること、さらに「合掌の手」のように一部の所作单元には特別な名称が与えられ、その名称を聞けばどん

<sup>3</sup> 世阿弥自筆能本の記事は『世阿弥自筆能本集』（岩波書店、1997年）によるが、本文中にも記した通り、読みやすさを優先し、適宜表記を変えている。

<sup>4</sup> ‘… the dance is to be danced within the contours of *jo-ha-kyū*, from the praying hands posture to the movement of all five limbs, and the extension and drawing back of the arms’ (Hare 2008: 102).

な所作かは理解し合えていたことが判る。また、『却来花』には「舞に左右左、左右左あり」との記事もある。ここで言う「左右左」は、現在の所作単位「サユウ」とまったく同じものではないだろう。言おうとしているのも、「舞にサユウという型がある」ということではなく、むしろ舞の所作を司るルールについてなのだと思う。だがそれでも、「身体を左へ向け、次には右に向け、そしてもう一度左へ向けて正面を向く」(サユウ→打込)、「舞台上を左へ進んだら次は右に進みもう一度左に向いて正面へ出る」(大ザユウ→打込)のような、現在の能の舞に見られる所作の流れが世阿弥時代から続くものであることは確かである。

一方、ハタラキの所作については『二曲三体人形図』付載の「当流之碎動一動之足数之分」<sup>5</sup>がよく知られている。一拍子、二拍子…のような数拍子や、「拾い拍子、重ね拍子」等の特殊な足拍子、さらに「盗足(足を抜く)」「還り足」「置き足」等、さまざまな足遣いの名が挙がっており、同時に、「一拍子よりモロイリまでは、前へ行足也。盗足よりは、右の方え身を折りて、大輪に右の後ろえ廻りて…」のごとく、舞台上での動きも説明されている。ここから、多様な足拍子・足遣いが所作単位として完成していたことや、どの足遣いはどういう時に用いるものなのか、ある程度のルールが決まっていたことが判る。ただし、世阿弥自身も「そうじて風曲折々によて出来る拍子、数を知らず」と言うように、曲趣やその時々状況に応じて、アドリブも多かったであろうことは想像に難くない。

## II. 曲舞の定型的所作

定型的な所作は、謡に合わせて舞う謡舞の部分にも見られる。特に、独立の芸能「曲舞」を取り込んだクセの部分には、定型的な所作が多かったようだ。『申楽談儀』第1条「定れることを知るべし」には、「地獄の曲舞」を舞う際のルール(定れること)が詳しく記されている。

序をば序と舞、責めをば責めと、責めつ含めつすること、定れる也。「劍樹共に解すとかや、石割地獄の」と云所をば、きつと低く成て、小足に拾う所也。さやうに、責めては延べ責めては延べ、「火燥足裏を焼く」など云所にては、はや手も尽き、いかん共せられぬ所にては、後などへ理もなく踏んで退り、きりゝきりゝと廻り手などして、「飢へては鉄丸を呑み」などいふ所を待受けて、喜ふで、扇を左へ取て、打つ開きて、押して廻りなどする。かやうに、道を守り

<sup>5</sup> 'The Part for Dance Steps for One Cycle of Sparring Using Intricate Movement According to Our Troupe' (Hare 2008: 148).

得て、すべき時節時節有を、たゞ面白しと斗見て、いまだ手も尽きぬに、くると廻り廻りなどする、あさましき事也。<sup>6</sup>

「小足に拾う」「廻り手」「扇を左へ取る」等の所作は、引用されている謡の当て振りになっているものではない。上に掲げたような指示がなく謡の文言を見たり聞いたりしただけでは、これらの所作を演ずることはできない。「見る」という謡に合わせて何かを見、悲しみを表す謡に合わせてうつむくというような日常的な動作の延長ではなく、それぞれ舞台上での特別な所作として、「小さな歩幅で歩く」「小さく廻る」「扇を左へ取って開き廻る」等の類型ができていたということである。

### III. 「文字にあたる風情（謡の文言に合わせた所作）」

以上に述べたような舞踏的な所作、特に意味を持たない抽象的な所作は、世阿弥時代の能の所作の中心ではない。謡に合わせて舞う部分は、

「見る」といふ事には物を見、「指す」「引く」など云には手を指し引き、「聞く」「音する」などには耳を寄せ、あらゆる事にまかせて身をつかへば、をのづからはたらきになる也。<sup>7</sup>

のように、基本的には謡の文言に合わせてその内容を目に見えるように演じるのが基本だった。そうした所作は現在の所作単元のように定型として確立していたわけではなからうが、それでも日常的な動作のままではなかったようだ。

<sup>6</sup> 'The introduction is danced [slowly] as an introduction [should be] and the presto [is danced quickly] as a presto [should be], and [to dance] first quickly, then composedly is all determined. In the passage "As soon as [they touch] the trees of swords, they seem to disappear, [the pains] of the hell of the crushing rocks", one suddenly bends and walks with short steps. In this way one first quickens, then slackens speed, quickens, then slackens speed. In the passage "The flames of the fire burn the soles of the feet", one has soon used [all] the gestures and when there is nothing more to do, one takes random steps backwards and makes turns.

While observing [the rules of] the art one has to perform [each gesture] at the right moment. But it is ugly to turn and turn without using [all] the gestures, just because it looks interesting' (de Poorter 1986: 88, section 29).

<sup>7</sup> 『花伝第三問答条々』「文字に当たる風情」。'When the text says look, you should look; when it says arm reach out or draw back your arm, you should reach out or draw your arm back accordingly; and when it says "listen" or "a sound is heard," you should lend your ear; if you use your body thus in accordance with each action as specified, you will perform the stage actions as a matter of course' (Hare 2008: 44)

「泣く」と云言葉を人に聞かせて、その言葉より少し後るゝやうに、袖を顔にあつれば、風情にて止まる也。<sup>8</sup>

能に、成就せぬ為手有。泣くといふことに、袖を目にあてゝ、やがて引く。あるいは、片目など拭う様也。<sup>9</sup>

からは、ただ「泣く」動きをすれば良いのではなく、良い・悪いの区別があり、舞台上での効果を意識した所作を工夫していた様子がわかる。だが逆に、世阿弥に批判されるような所作を演じていた役者もいたということであり、文言をどのように身体表現として示すか、当時の能においては、通常の芝居と同じように役者の工夫に任されていたことも示している。

ただし、「見る・泣く・聞く・指す・引く」などの動作は比較的単純で、特に「指す・引く」はそのまま舞の所作をあらわす動詞でもある。「見る・聞く」も、そうした動作そのもののほかに、何かが見えたり聞こえたりするという情景描写に用いられる例が多い。「泣く」という動作も、その行為を引き起こすさまざまな心情の表現として用いることができる。したがって、これらの動作はもともと「舞える言葉」の当て振りであり、容易に舞の所作単元に変化していくものと言える（実際、現在の能の所作単元にも「見る・聞く・泣く（シオル）」等は残っている）。だが、謡のテキストに出てくる動作はもっと多様で複雑である。情景も心情も、ただ見たり聞いたり泣いたりするだけでは表現しきれない。そのような場合はどうしていたのだろうか。

世阿弥自身の型付が残っていないのだから想像するしかないのだが、『花伝第六花修』には、「靡き・臥す・帰る・寄る」等柔らかな響きの言葉は自然と幽玄な所作になり、「落つる・崩るゝ・破るゝ・転ぶ」等の強い響きの言葉は、所作も強くなるとある。ここで言われているのは、言葉の響きが柔和か強いかによって同じ所作単元の演じ方が変わるといようなことではないはずだ。本当に文字通り、「なびく」や「落つる」という言葉に合わせ、現在の能の演技からは想像できないような強い所作が演じられていたということだろう。「転ぶ」という所作は、江戸時代初期頃の型付にはしばしば登場することが知られている。<sup>10</sup> 現在でも、省略を重ね洗練された型になってはいるが、「たいまつを振り立

<sup>8</sup> 『花鏡』「先聞後見」。'If it is a matter of weeping, then let the people hear the word weep, and a little bit after the word has been uttered, press your sleeve to your face and bring the matter to completion with the visual impression' (Hare 2008: 100).

<sup>9</sup> 『申楽談儀』第3条。'There are some performers who do not act successfully. When they weep, for instance, they bring their sleeve in front of their eyes and immediately remove it. Or they seem to wipe one eye' (de Poorter 1986: 93, section 50).

<sup>10</sup> 小田幸子「研究十二月往来〈221〉『ころぶ』演技」（『鍬仙』507. 2002年10月）に詳しい。

て」という所ではたいまつを振り、「すがりつき」「払いのけ」のような文句があればそれらしい所作を見せる。古くは、こうした言葉どおり、より写実的な演技がされていたことだろう。

もう一つ、動きではなく心情を表す所作について例を挙げる。能《姨捨》の「月に見ゆるもはづかしや」でどのような演技をすべきかを世阿弥が語っている部分である。

「月に見ゆるもはづかしや」とて、向かへる人に扇をかざして、月をば少も目にかけて、かい屈みたる体には有ゆへに、見苦しき也。「月に見ゆるも」とて、扇を高く上げて、月を本にし、人をば少目にかけて、をぼをぼとし、し納めたらば、面白風成べし。<sup>11</sup>

シテの老女が「姨捨山で月にすべてを見られてしまうのが恥ずかしい」というところだが、世阿弥風が、扇を高く上げる所作によって空に月があることを示しその月に対して恥ずかしいという様子を見せるのに対し、批判されるやり方は、全体の文意に関係なく「はずかしや」の当て振りとして、舞台上で応対しているワキ役者に対して自分の姿を隠すような演じ方である。先に引いた「泣く」の場合と同様、当時の猿楽一般では後者のようなやり方が多かったからこそその批判と推測される。また、世阿弥が批判する所作も良しとする所作も、「恥ずかしい」という気持ちを表すのに「扇で隠す」という点は一緒であることも確認しておきたい。恥ずかしいという気持ちの表れとして何か特別の型が作られているのではなく、ごく自然で日常的な所作が用いられているということである。

#### IV. タイミングへの言及

世阿弥時代の所作が、テキストに書かれているとおりを自然に演じるものだとすれば、世阿弥はそういう能の所作について、どんなことを弟子たちに教えたのだろうか。

一つは、上記《姨捨》の例のように、基本的には同じ所作でもその本意に沿う演じ方によって、より幽玄な美しさを生み出す工夫である。そしてもう一つ、世阿弥が重視していたと思われるのが、タイミングである。前述の通り、世阿弥伝書の中で所作の工夫について述べられる箇所

<sup>11</sup> 『申楽談儀』。‘Therefore, to hide [one’s face] with the fan from the person [playing] opposite at the words “I am ashamed even to be seen by the moon”, and bend forward, not looking at the moon at all, looks ugly. If one holds the fan high at “even to be seen by the moon”, to hide oneself mainly from the moon, and just glances at the person, and finishes performing it in a subtle way, then it will look interesting’ (de Poorter 1986: 90, section 35).



は謡い方についての注意に比べて非常に少ない。その少ない例の中には、タイミングについての言及がいくつもあるのだ。

たとえば、(松風)は世阿弥伝書で言及されることが特に多い作品だが、演技については『申楽談儀』に次のような指示がある(参考のために当該箇所謡テキストを併記し、伝書の引用箇所にアンダーラインを引いておく)。

松風村雨の能に、「わが跡弔ひて賜ひ給へ」の所より寄らば、風情延ぶべし。「わが跡弔ひて」迄はかゝへて持ちて、「いとま申て」と云所より寄りて、「かへる」と云時帰れば、面白き也。「松風斗や残るらん」に、「残る」から帰るほどに、面白もなき也。「らん」から帰るべし。殊にかやうの所、心根・風情相応なくば、面白も有べからず。<sup>12</sup>

我が跡弔ひて、賜ひ給へ、いとま申して、帰る波の、須磨の浦かけて、吹くや後ろの山嵐、関路の鳥も声々に、夢も跡なく夜も明けて、村雨と聞きしも今朝見れば、松風ばかりや残るらむ、松風ばかりや残るらむ。

「帰る波の」の謡に合わせて「帰る」所作を見せるのは決まっていたようだ。その際、小さく廻れとかまっすぐに戻れとかいう指示ではなく、その所作を活かすためにはあまり早くワキ僧に近づかず、「いとま申して」まで待って近寄ってからすぐに戻れば面白いということを教えている。おそらく多くの役者は僧に弔いを頼む文句に合わせてワキに近づき、帰るといふ文句に合わせて帰っていたのだろう。それでは間延びしてしまうから近づくタイミングを少し遅らせろというのが世阿弥のポイントである。二つ目の「残るらん」は、二度謡われるのでどちらのことか明確ではないが、現在のようにトメ拍子を踏んでいないのなら、初めの方の「らん」から退場を始め、謡が残るのかもしれない。早く帰ってしまう世間のやり方に対し、世阿弥は「残る」といふ文句に合わせてそこまでは残り「らん」から帰ることを教えている。所作自体は謡の文句どおりのものであっても(あるいは、ものであるからこそ)、それを最大限効果的に活かすタイミングが重要だったのではないだろうか。

<sup>12</sup> 'In the play *Matsukaze Murasame*, if one approaches [the supporting actor] at the passage "Please pray for the repose of our souls!" the acting will become slow-motioned. [Therefore] it is more interesting to hold on [without moving] up to "pray for the repose of our souls", to approach [him] at the words "We take our leave", and to go back when saying "and go back". When one goes back at "pines is" in "Only the wind in the pines is left", it is not interesting at all. One has to go back at "left". Such passages in particular will not be interesting if the meaning [of the words] and the acting do not correspond' (de Poorter 1986: 89, section 34).

一つ一つ検討する余裕はないが、この他にも、悲しみにくれる女の役が顔を上げるタイミング、物狂の父親が狂乱の様を見せてから謡に移るタイミング、重要な区切りとなる足拍子を踏むタイミング等々が説かれている。どのように扇を扱うか、どのように腕を広げるか…といった指示は、言葉で伝えそれを書き留めるより、師が演じて見せるのを身体で覚えるという形で伝えていたということもあろう。そうした教えが重要でなかったと言うつもりはない。だが、現在ほど所作の洗練や類型化が進んでおらず、言葉に合わせた振りをして見せるのが基本であれば、それをどれだけ効果的に見せるかという演劇的な工夫は、流れていく謡のどこでその所作を演じて見せるかという工夫となっていくのも自然なことだろう。そうした工夫は言葉で伝えることが容易であったろう（だから伝書に書き留められた）し、また、謡のテキストに「ここで…」と書き込んでおくのも効果的だったと思われる。世阿弥の自筆能本にもそのような書き込みが多くされている。次項では世阿弥自筆能本の演出注記を検討する。

## V. 自筆能本に記された型付的注記

世阿弥自筆の能本は、〈難波梅・盛久・多度津左衛門・江口・雲林院・松浦・阿古屋松・布留・柏崎〉の9本と江戸時代の忠実な転写本（弱法師）、計10曲分が残っている。謡い方を示すゴマ点や節付記号のほか、演出注記として、登場人物の風体や装束、舞や登場・退場の囃子などが記され、また、演技に関するト書き風の注記が書き込まれている場合もある。だが、その数は非常に少ない。〈柏崎〉や〈難波梅〉など所作に関する注記のまったく無い曲もあるほどである。以下に、そのわずかな例を挙げる。原文のカタカナを適宜漢字・ひらがな交じりに変え、句読点も付してある。

- \* 姫を打つべし。姫まるび臥すべし。乳母も取り付きて泣き沈むべし。  
（多度津左衛門）
- \* ヲカシに問ふべし。（江口）
- \* 法師立つべし。（江口）
- \* 「秋風羅月に」ここの時分より立つべし。（江口。末尾の追記）
- \* 「ある時は色に染み」ここにて船より出づべし。（江口。末尾の追記）
- \* 女出て、腰をかけて居べし。（雲林院）
- \* 女は腰をかくべし。（松浦）
- \* ソツと働きて、鏡を僧に渡す所にて（松浦）
- \* ここにて僧の持ちたる鏡をまた取るべし。（松浦）
- \* 帰るを止むべし。（阿古屋松）
- \* 帰りかかりて立て云べし。（阿古屋松）
- \* ここにて腰かけて、居静まるべし。（弱法師）
- \* 舞う風情なるべし。（弱法師）

これらの能の中にはほかにも多くの所作があるはずなのに、なぜこんなに少ししか注記がないのか。書かなくても判るというのなら、あるいは所作については実地を通して伝えるというのなら、逆になぜ上記のわずかな例だけが記されているのだろうか。そういう疑問を持って見ると、ここにもまたタイミングに関する教えが多いことに気づくのである。下線を引いた部分はあきらかに、所作をおこなうタイミングを示す文言である（「ここにて」は舞台上の位置ではなく「この文言のところで」の意味）。

たとえば〈江口〉の場合、「この時分より立つべし」という指示の核となるのは「立つ」という所作の指示のように見えるが、江口の遊女が立ち、舟の作り物を出て曲舞を舞うのは自明のことである（そして曲舞の舞い方には定型があったらしいこと、前述の通りである）。むしろ連続する謡のどこで立ち、どの文言までは舟の中に留まりどこから舞台上で舞い始めるのが最も効果的か、そのタイミングを見極めるのが重要だったのだろう。また、〈松浦〉の場合も、「鏡を僧に渡す所にて」という注記によってはじめてこのような所作が在ったことを確認できる我々にとっては「鏡を僧に渡す」という指示が重要に思えるが、実はシテ（佐用姫の霊）が僧に鏡を渡すことも謡のテキストから容易に想定できる。〈多度津左衛門〉で父が娘を打ち、打たれた娘が地面に転がって泣くというも、現在の能の演出とは大きく違うため所作自体に目が行くが、やはり謡のテキストからは想定内のことと言える。これらの場合、鏡を渡したり受け取ったりする所作、あるいは杖で打ったり倒れて泣き伏す所作そのものは各自の常識と工夫に任せ、むしろ、そうした最大の見せ場をどこに置くのが良いかを教えているのが世阿弥自筆能本の注記なのだろう。先に見た〈松風〉終曲部の教えと同様である。このほか、下線を引いていない例の中にも、僧が謡のどこで立ち上がるか（江口）、木樵の老人をどこで引き留めるか（阿古屋松）等、1曲の進行に関する広い意味でタイミングの指示と言えるものが多いことも言い添えておく。

## おわりに

能の謡や仕舞を一度も稽古したことのない役者をいきなり能舞台の上へ上げ、能らしい動きとして有名な「すり足」（ハコビ）などは気にせず、地謡に合わせて演じてくれと頼んだら、どのようなことになるだろう。ダイアログである〔問答〕〔掛ケ合〕等の小段、器楽舞や定型の多い曲舞の部分などはとりあえず措き、登場人物の行動や思いやその場の情景を地謡が謡う箇所での演技を想像すると、基本的には、そこで謡われている内容に沿って、悲しそうなしぐさ、誰かを探しまわる様子、戦いの様などを演じることになるだろう。泣く演技一つをとっても、能の型を知らなければ、さまざまな泣き方があるだろうし、舞台に身を投げ出して嘆くような

場合もあるにちがいない。本稿であれこれ思いを巡らせてきた世阿弥時代の演技というのは、まさにそのようなものである。こうして書いてしまえば「あたりまえ」と言われるかもしれないが、現在の能の極限まで省略され抑制された所作や定型的な所作の連なりから自由になるのは難しく、少なくとも私自身は、「現在のような洗練された演技ではなかったろう」とは想像するものの、それ以上の具体的なイメージを持つことができなかった。世阿弥が能の所作について言及する際にはその指示の多くがタイミングに関するものであることに気づき、タイミング以外の指示が要らない演技がどういうものかを改めて考え直してみたのが本稿のきっかけである。もちろんここで推定した世阿弥時代の演技の在り方は、それを具体的に記した資料があるわけではない。本稿での推定した世阿弥時代の演技が現代の能の演技へとどのように変化してきたかを資料に基づいてたどる作業も必要となるだろうが、それは今後の課題としたい。

# POETICS OF VOICE AND PUPPET

## SECONDARY TEXTS ON THE ART OF NINGYŌ JŌRURI

*Andreas REGELSBERGER*

### I. INTRODUCTION

Aesthetic discourses on the art of puppetry (ningyō jōruri) can be found in various secondary texts from the latter half of the seventeenth century. In contrast to dramas or primary texts, these secondary texts are not directly involved in the performance itself but they reflect upon the performance, its history, tradition and aesthetic principles on a meta level.

These texts can be of historical character and may, for example describe the evolution of the genre (*ayatsuri gekisho*, literally: 'books on puppet theater'). Additionally, they may reflect the artist's position concerning his art, as it is the case in prefaces to drama collections (*damonoshū*). On top of that, they can also be helpful to understand the audience and its perspective, as is the case with the critical texts of the *ayatsuri hyōbanki*, or puppet theater critiques.

In ningyō jōruri, drama collections are written by the chanters (*tayū*) and not the puppeteer. This fact implies that it is their very performance and voice that substantiates the complete show. It is for the *tayū* and not the puppet that the audience is visiting the theater and for this reason, one can understand ningyō jōruri first of all as a *vocal* art form. Hence a common expression in Japanese is not *going* to the theater but *listening* to it: *bunraku o kiku*.

Different from the genre of aristocratic nō theater in medieval Japan, which can be considered, in several aspects, the ancestor of ningyō jōruri there is no monumental ingenious originator, or central father-figure, such as Zeami Motokiyo (1363?–1443?). Not only did Zeami pen a large number of plays, but he also looked at his own work in approximately twenty treatises that help us get a better understanding of this unique art form. Information about the meta level, the core concepts of style and beauty as well as the training of the performers of ningyō jōruri, however, is relatively scarce and scattered over many different genres.

## II. THE AUTHOR AND THE TEXT: *NANIWA MIYAGE*

### THE AUDIENCE

One of the most famous sources on ningyō jōruri is the preface to the *Naniwa miyage* (Souvenir of Naniwa), published 13 years after the death of the prolific playwright Chikamatsu Monzaemon (1653–1725), in 1738. Chikamatsu argues that the audience's preferences are crucial for the future and the survival of any art form. Thus, a play is considered successful when it is well received by the audience.<sup>1</sup>

For a writer of jōruri theater who does not have actors to work with but instead 'must impart to lifeless wooden puppets a broad range of emotions, and thus attempt to capture the interest of the audience, to match their preferences'<sup>2</sup> is a difficult task for two reasons. As one successful example, Chikamatsu cites a scene from 'The Village of Falling Flowers' in *Genji monogatari* (The Tale of Genji, early eleventh century), in which an anthropomorphized pine tree, annoyed at the surrounding snow being cleared away, recoils its branches and shakes off some of the snow.<sup>3</sup> It was from scenes like this that Chikamatsu learned to impart life to dead objects in a way that effectively moves the viewer. The tools the jōruri author can use to achieve this goal are the rhetoric instruments of language: by the means of the word, the audiences' fantasy blooms and the puppet comes to life.

To put the focus on the power and lifelines of language on the text level is also mirrored on the level of the poetical discourse about the puppet theater. Particularly and frequently used are 'plays on words' such as *ateji*, in which the phonetic pronunciation and the written character diverge, thus creating a space for additional nuances and allusions. The usage of these rhetorical instruments implies that the author is referring to the *reading* audience in particular and in doing so he is affirming his position as a playwright. This may seem not unusual, if one has in mind modern theater and authorship – but in the Edo period (1600–1867), when copyright laws did not yet exist and the chanter, the *tayū*, was the originator of the whole performance and so to speak the author of the staged plays, it was very uncommon. That is why we do not know much about the authors of earlier puppet plays, particularly those of *ko-jōruri*, or old jōruri. Nevertheless, a very special and striking example can be found within the textual corpus of *Naniwa miyage*:

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<sup>1</sup> Nihon koten bungaku taikei (NKBT) 50: 356.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

*Gei to iu mono wa jitsu to uso no hiniku no aida ni aru mono nari.*

Art is something, which lies in the slender margin between the real and the unreal.<sup>4</sup>

The word *himaku*, as the written *kanji* generally has to be read, originally meant ‘skin’ or ‘membrane’. Figuratively speaking it is the ‘slender margin’ of a difference. Here it has to be read as *hiniku* not *himaku* – as the *furigana* indicate. But the word *hiniku*, which is usually written with the characters ‘skin’ and ‘flesh’, denotes body and refers to the metonymical use of the two characters. On the other hand, *hiniku* implies a certain *surface* because the penetration of the elements mentioned does not reach the *bone*, not to mention the *medulla*. Obviously the topos of *hi-niku-kotsu* – *skin*, *flesh* and *bone* that appears in many other poetical contexts is implied in this line.

The poetic writing *Guhishō* (Private sketchbook, undated), which for a long time had been attributed to Fujiwara no Teika (1162–1241) compares the strengths and weaknesses of the three ingenious calligraphers of the Heian period (794–1185), Ono no Michikaze (894–967), Fujiwara no Suke-masa (944–998) and Fujiwara no Yukinari (972–1027) to that of *bone*, *flesh* and *skin*. Michikaze’s style is described as *bone*-penetrating, Sukemasa’s style is characterized as *flesh* and Yukinari’s style is specified as *skin*.<sup>5</sup>

Zeami quotes this passage from the *Guhishō* and writes in *Shikadō* (The True Path to the Flower, 1420), one of his fundamental treatises on *nō* theater, as follows:

In this art there is skin, flesh and bone. But they are never to be found together. Even in calligraphy they are said to never have appeared united, except in the writings of the grandmaster. If you look at the art of *nō*, you might call it “bone” when the actor reveals his innate ability, which naturally leads to great talent; you might call it “flesh” when the actor’s power that is based on his masterful dancing and singing leads to a perfect style and you might call it “skin” when the unfolding of these elements bring about perfect beauty. If one relates skin, flesh and bones to watching, listening and the heart, skin corresponds to watching, flesh corresponds to listening and heart corresponds to bones.<sup>6</sup>

In the *Naniwa miyage*, the concepts of 1) *himaku no aida*, a small gap and a slender margin thin as skin, and 2) *hiniku no aida*, a small gap between

<sup>4</sup> NKBT 50: 358, translation quoted from Keene 1951: 95.

<sup>5</sup> Nihon kagaku taikai (NKGT) 4: 295.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. Unless otherwise specified, translations of Japanese texts are by the author.

skin and flesh, happen to converge to form a palimpsest that has been intentionally constructed by the author.

The self-reflexivity of Japanese aesthetics is vast, as has been the tradition in literary circles. In this case it applies predominantly to the field of *waka* poetry. Almost every theoretical work, particularly the prefaces to poetry anthologies quote former Japanese or Chinese works, with the preface to the *Kokin wakashū* constituting the ‘vanishing point,’ the centre to which all other works refer to in one way or another.

But it seems, that the allusions of the *Guhishō* or *Shikadō* in *Naniwa miyage* are made intentionally by the author, which leads us to an important deduction. In identifying the concepts of skin and flesh with the respective passages in Zeami, one obtains the correlations of ‘watching and skin’ and ‘listening and flesh.’ For both sensory perceptions *watching* and *listening* – the eye and the ear – are crucial to the observation process of the audience, a surprising conclusion can be drawn. Bearing in mind all previous information, we can extend the phrase and interpolate the line:

The thing called art emerges from the gap between watching and listening to the real and the unreal.<sup>7</sup>

Going even one step further, one can add that the missing third element, the *bone*, which has been identified with the *heart* in Zeami’s treatises, points back to the feelings, the *pathos* of the play: between *watching* and *listening*, the *heart* is missing. This is the *pathos* that is to be experienced by the audience in the process of active perception. It is only through theater reflecting experiences of life that audience and performance connect.

### III. PATHOS AND THE QUESTION OF REPRESENTATION AND REPRODUCTION OF REALITY

For the very reason that *jōruri* is dealing with puppets, the author of the *Naniwa miyage* does not fail to point out this essential feature at the very outset of his text:

*Jōruri* differs from other forms of fiction in that since it is primarily concerned with puppets, the words should all be living things in which action is the most important feature.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> NKBT 50: 356.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*: 357, translation quoted from Keene 1951: 93.



This statement sums up the central paradox inherent in puppet theater. The crux of the matter is already anticipated: on the one hand we have imposed ‘puppets without any emotion,’ which, due to their materiality, can hardly have an equal appeal to the audience as, for example, a living actor of flesh and blood. On the other hand, it is the puppets very lack of life that is supposed to conjure up an even higher degree of reality than an actual actor could ever evoke. The kabuki actor, who always keeps an eye on the positive effect of his performance and who is a master of showmanship, is much more confined to his body, whereas a puppet is not subject to these restrictions. Hence the audience has a much better opportunity to use the puppet as a projection screen for their imagination in comparison to kabuki. Thus, it can be argued, that the jōruri performance is more suggestive than any other performing art.

We can therefore take the material limits of the puppet as a key to transcend the fundamental limitations of theater itself. These restrictions are based on the limited means of expression to create reality on stage. For only the breach of an expression that is conceived as too naturalistic can possibly solve this dilemma. Chikamatsu outlines a remarkable solution to this dilemma: the ‘resuscitation through the text.’<sup>9</sup> Chikamatsu’s vivid writing, gives life to the otherwise emotionless puppets. To him, texts are ‘living creatures.’<sup>10</sup> For that reason, ‘action’ is based on the text’s liveliness, which only becomes possible, because the text is based on *feeling*:

For this reason, it should be borne in mind that feeling is the basis of writing.<sup>11</sup>

In another passage Chikamatsu argues as follows:

This is what I mean by the real and the unreal. It is unreal, and yet it is not unreal; it is real, and yet it is not real. Entertainment lies between the two.<sup>12</sup>

It is this ‘slender margin between the real and the unreal,’<sup>13</sup> which is a core concept of the whole treatise and the reason why researchers refer to this theory as the *kyojitsu-hiniku-ron*, the ‘theorem of the space of the skin membranes, between unreal and real being.’<sup>14</sup> In other words, it is all about the deliberate incongruence of artistic reflection – in this case the

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid.: 356.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., translation quoted from Keene 1951: 94.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.: 359, translation quoted from Keene 1951: 96.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.: 358.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.: 356.

text – and the original prefiguration. It is the tension between the conflicting priorities of realistic illusion and distancing presentation: the oscillating space of fictional projection and naturalism where entertainment (*nagusami*) and art emerge.

#### IV. CHANTERS AND PERFORMANCE: *JŌKYŌ YONEN GIDAYŪ DAMMONOSHŪ* (1687) AND *TAKENOKOSHŪ* (1678)

Following on from the discourse of the basics of text production, authorship and the core concepts of art, I would like to proceed to discuss the reproduction of these texts on stage, to the chanters and how they put the text into practice.

Even though *jōruri* developed into a sophisticated and complex art form, it carried on the medieval style of storytelling until the latter half of the seventeenth century. Only then did it mature in technical terms and its plots became more dramatic. In order for the *jōruri* to develop further, the succession of gifted chanters was of vital importance. Among them were remarkable chanters such as Harimanojō (1632?–1685?), son of a craftsman from Kyōto who performed in Ōsaka. Then there was his disciple, Kiyomizu Rihei (dates unknown), who became a teacher of Takemoto Gidayū (1651–1714) as well as Uji Kaganojō (1635–1711).

In the 1670s, Kaganojō began publishing his plays with accompanying musical annotations. To that date, musical annotations were kept secret. He went even further, by explaining the signs and symbols used in these annotations and how to read the rudimental score. The latter texts were intended for both patrons and amateur chanters from the Kamigata region (Kyōto and Ōsaka). This daring act of publicizing material that was supposed to be only accessible to Kaganojō's disciples triggered a downright *jōruri* boom and brought about a huge number of hobby chanters. Subsequently, the recitation of *jōruri* became a major leisure activity among the citizens of Japan's big cities.

By publishing his texts and making them available to a considerable reading public, Kaganojō also underlined the importance of *nō* theater and *nō* chanting, as well as emphasizing that *jōruri* was deeply indebted to the former. In 1678, he published a collection of his most popular plays under the title *Takenokoshū* (Collection of Bamboo Shoots). Introductory, Kaganojō explains the relation of *jōruri* to *nō* and its esoteric teachings as follows:

In *jōruri* there are no masters. However, you have to understand that *nō* theater is the parental genre to *jōruri*. The reason is that a perfor-

mance in jōruri starts with the three nō dances Okina, Senzai and Sambasō. After these ritual pieces, the nō music Sagihara is played during the entrance of the puppets. Are not *happi*, *hangiri* and *ōkuchi* (ritual clothes) in jōruri the same as those used in nō theater? Hence jōruri originates in nō.<sup>15</sup>

In this preface to the *Collection of Bamboo Shoots* Uji Kaganojō is as daring as he is cautious. In saying that there are no masters in jōruri, he claims to be acknowledged as its founding father; while in emphasizing that jōruri descends from nō, he legitimizes his art, making it a direct successor of the praised performing art of his time. In the foreword to the *Kotakeshū* (Small Bamboo Collection, 1685) one of the most prominent citizens of Ōsaka speaks up. Renowned author Ihara Saikaku (1642–1693), who also penned some dramas for Uji Kaganojō writes:

Jōruri that has been considered a very low matter without any use for the world was developed by Uji Kaganojō and his school to an art form that can entertain its audience just as the nō theater.<sup>16</sup>

But Takemoto Gidayū, sixteen years his junior and first ever pupil and then later strongest rival of Kaganojō, was a perfect child of the Genroku era (1688–1703): an era during which some citizens already had developed a notable self-confidence even though the merchants were still – officially – the lowest of the four classes.

In 1684, Takemoto Gidayū opened his theater, the Takemoto-za, in Ōsaka's theater – and entertainment district – Dōtombori. The opening play was written by Chikamatsu Monzaemon, as were many others thereafter. It was with Chikamatsu's celebrated play *Sonezaki shinjū* (The Love Suicides at Sonezaki). Despite Kaganojō's several desperate attempts to win Chikamatsu back, Takemoto Gidayū was offering something very tempting: he allowed the playwright to publish his work under his own name and in doing so to gain the due public consideration. Kaganojō refused this privilege to all his playwrights, staying in line with the convention of the time.

As he had learned from his master Uji Kaganojō, Takemoto Gidayū, too, opened his anthologies with some general remarks. One of his most important compilations is the *Jōkyō yonen Gidayū dammonoshū*, literally 'A Collection of Gidayū Plays Dating from the Year 1678,' which owes its long-winded title to the original one being lost. In its preface, he refers directly to the writings of his former master, Uji Kaganojō. In it he drafts

<sup>15</sup> Nihon shomin bunka shiryō shūsei (NSBS) 7: 125.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.: 128.

a new and different approach to learning jōruri. To him, it is neither the traditional link nor the parallels to nō that is crucial, but the personal effort of each chanter. Consequently, the education and training as well as the input of any one disciple gain greatly in significance.

It has been said that jōruri should regard the nō as its parents. For that reason one should start with nō chanting and only then go for the rehearsal of jōruri chanting. My answer is as follows: obviously there are some advantages in this approach. But due to my understanding of teaching one should better regard the jōruri of the old masters as father and mother and regard arts as nō and *kōwakamai* (medieval ballad-drama) as foster parents. But the child does not know anything about the parent's heart and anybody has his talent on his own and a distinct understanding of the rhythm of voice and heart, of melody and text, the rhythm of the shamisen and a distinct understanding of the performance and the audience's reactions to it. That is why there is a talent beyond pure learning from a master.<sup>17</sup>

In these remarks, Takemoto Gidayū explains his basic principles and underlines that understanding the epochal context and its corresponding demands are more important than an unreflexive assumption of pure tradition. The continuous re-evaluation of the chanter's position is already implied in these theorems. Not only do these various prefaces discuss the differing positions on learning and tradition, but also aspects such as the appropriate attitude for the right delivery of emotions. Kaganōjō further explains:

Because all art ways originate from the heart and are nourished by it one should follow the heart's suggestions.<sup>18</sup>

And further in the same text:

As far as the style of *yūgen*<sup>19</sup> is concerned, the voice should be the same as in the auspicious pieces but the singing should be designed in a softer way and the heart should feel as if one would be sitting under cherry trees spending the time listening to the music of *koto* (stringed musical instrument), flute or drum and completely forget to return home.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid.: 131.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.: 125.

<sup>19</sup> Referring to Zeami Motokiyo and Fujiwara Teika, roughly 'refined elegance'.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

In contrast Takemoto Gidayū writes in his *Jōkyō yonen Gidayū damonoshū*:

In delivering scenes of lament and bitterness one should not ignore reality. One always must keep in mind the essence of the piece during the performance. Thus the different attitudes of the heart have to be performed in a clearly distinguishable way. The different voices, the begging and the narrating, past and present, tears and sorrow have to be emphasized in the chanter's performance.<sup>21</sup>

The emotional depiction of the different characters is one of Takemoto Gidayū's central issues, proving that his approach to jōruri chanting greatly differs from that of Kaganojō.

## V. RECEPTION – AUDIENCE AND CRITICISM

In the last sub-chapter of my remarks on the aesthetic of ningyō jōruri, I would like to take a closer look at the audience and its reactions to the shows.

### VOICE

The destruction of illusion on stage leads to the showcasing of the performance itself. With the chanter's voice steadily building up momentum and challenging as well as captivating the audience, it is gaining in importance until it becomes the focal point of the show. Apart from his general expressivity, it is above all his voice that attracts the audience's attention, which can be found in various publications.

It is in this context that books like the *Ima mukashi ayatsuri nendaiki* (A Chronicle of Puppetry Long Ago) from Nishizawa Ippū (1665–1731) were eventually published. Published in 1727, it is the first book to inform *in extensis* about the history, music, various texts and styles and core figures of the genre. After a while, public interest in jōruri had become so widespread that every year handbooks – compendia similar to books such as 'Who is Who' – were circulated. Not only did they list the various chanters (and sometimes musicians and even puppeteers too), they also gave an evaluation and ranking of the 'stars' of the day. These compendia were called *ayatsuri hyōbanki* (puppet theater critiques).

During the complete Edo period *Hyōbanki* served the genre both in terms of advertising and/or criticism. And it was not celebrities, but also

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid.: 370.

works of literature and the performing arts that were listed in these small stitched booklets. The historical origin of *hyōbanki* lies in the list of courtesans (*yūjō hyōbanki*), and later of actors. These lists first appeared in the entertainment quarters. Together with the *saiken*, periodically published tourist guides, they were the only manual not to get lost in the demi-monde.

On the basis of vivid analogies (*mitate*), characteristic features of the given descriptions are articulated in the *ayatsuri hyōbanki*. The *Ongyoku sarugutsuwa* (Music Gag, 1746) lists 46 entries on chanters, shamisen players and puppeteers. All artists are acknowledged with a poem or a poetic line, each of which ends with a bird's name. Sometimes these poetic descriptions also make use of rhetoric figures such as *kakekotoba* (pivot word). For example, the last entry on the puppeteer Nishikawa Rokujūrō (dates unknown) reads:

*Kōken to narite ichiza no sewa o yakitori.*

Here *sewa o yaki* – to care for [the theater] overlays with *yakitori* – grilled chicken on a skewer: as a tutor he takes good care of the whole theater – grilled chicken.<sup>22</sup>

In *Sōkyoku Naniwa no ashi* (Puppet dramas – Reed from Naniwa, 1747) chanters and some playwrights are characterized by riddles (*nazo*). About the famous author Takeda Izumo II (1691–1756) the text says:

*Putsuputsu to chie no fukideru kumo.*

Clouds of wisdom come into sight.<sup>23</sup>

This 'riddle' is more a play on words – like many riddles actually are – since the 'upcoming clouds' (*fukideru kumo*) already contain the name Izumo.

Other *ayatsuri hyōbanki* have their *mitate*, the comparing analogon with fans (*ōgi*), meals, flowers, pearls, coins and so on. Besides the listing of different objects (*mono-zukushi*), this procedure turned into a true obsession. The *Ayatsuri-awase kendai* (A Bookrest of Puppet Dramas, 1757), with mention of poetical or famous places (*utamakura* or *meisho*) at the end of each line, are a good illustration of this. As another example, I would like to present the praising lines on the chanters Takemoto Yamatonōjō (1702–1766) and Harimanoshōjō (= Takemoto Masatayū, 1691–1744):

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.: 389.

*Shindai kara no gyōgi o kuzusazu ongyoku no zuiichi wa Ama no hashidate*  
The manners of the divine ages are not destroyed [in his performance], first in music – Ama no hashidate.<sup>24</sup>

*Harima-dono no omokage ni sukoshi mo kawaranu jōruri no hibiki Onoe no kane.*

Not the slightest change in the shadow [= memory] of Harima, his jōruri still reverberates – bell of Onoe.<sup>25</sup>

In addition to the poetical places in the second entry, the selection of the term *omokage* attracts attention. On the semantic level, *omokage* denotes shadow, while at the same time it is also used as a characteristic term in the theoretical context of poetic discourses (*karon*), as in the *Mumyōshō* (Nameless Notes, 1211) from Kamo no Chōmei (1155–1216). In particular, the description of the chanters is elaborate with their voice being the foremost criterion in evaluation.

The one who has a good and clear voice reaches the lectern and becomes a chanter; the one who has not, sticks at the balustrade (*tesuri*) and becomes a puppeteer.<sup>26</sup>

He has a good voice and knows how to use it.<sup>27</sup>

As we can deduce from these examples, the chanter's voice was the foremost criterion on which he was evaluated. It could be said that his voice formed some kind of universal element. A beautiful and strong voice was regarded as imperative. But there were also more differentiated evaluations that do not describe the voice with the sublime criterion of 'beauty' or 'strength.'

His voice has a certain elegance that corresponds to the sorrow (*urei*) in the text.<sup>28</sup>

Picking it up as a sword / and penetrating as if it was an arrow / with his voice / the audience's ears. / What a great success!<sup>29</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Together with the pine-clad islands of Matsushima and the *torii* at Itsukushima shrine, the sandbar of Amanohashidate is one of the Three Views of Japan (*Nihon sankei*), the canonical list of Japan's three most celebrated scenic sights. Ibid.: 398.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> *tesuri* = the wall, that hides and covers the puppeteer (*Tōkan zasshi*). Ibid.: 36.

<sup>27</sup> *Gidayū shushinroku* on Yagitayū. Ibid.: 70.

<sup>28</sup> *Naniwa sono sueba* on Takemoto Shimatayū. Tokugawa bungei ruijū (TBRJ) 12: 251.

<sup>29</sup> *Tōzai hyōrin* on Toyotake Komatayū. Naniwa sōsho (NWSS) 15: 40.

From these remarks we learn that a strong and powerful voice with a wide range was regarded as positive, while a weak and quiet voice was generally seen as insufficient. In order to summarize my remarks on the aesthetics of jōruri, I would like to put forward the hypothesis that the chanter's voice is regarded as the fundamental force, which gives life to the lifeless puppets. When put into practice on stage, the voice lends them an, albeit bodiless, individual body.

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# 世阿弥の能楽論とルネッサンスの演劇論

## 演劇の本質、戯曲と舞台化、俳優というテーマを中心に

ボナヴェントウーラ・ルペルティ

### はじめに

世阿弥の能楽論が吉田東伍によって公開されて2009年で100年になった。その記念に様々な催し物、展覧会、再検討等が行われた。世阿弥の非凡なる業績が世間に知られ、多方面にわたる研究の対象になり、能楽研究、中世文学研究、演劇学などにとって大変な刺激になったのは、周知のことである。ここで、非常に広いテーマではあるが、イタリア演劇の伝統という観点から世阿弥の能楽論を見る試みとして、主に二つの点に注目したいと思う。

まず第一に、演劇の本質について、第二には俳優の芸、戯曲とその舞台化の関係についてである。この二つの問題について特に世阿弥の能楽論を中心に考察したいと思う。

### I. 演劇に対する意識

世阿弥の演劇論でまず注目されることは演劇に対する意識の高さとその現代性である。明らかに世阿弥にとっては、演劇は劇文学だけでなく、演技、音楽、舞踊などの多種多様な要素を備えた舞台芸術なのである。

能は特殊な演劇形態だと言われている。詩劇、舞劇など、種々の呼称が使われるが、やはり大変洗練された舞台芸術、本格的な総合芸術、つまり「演劇」そのものに違いないのである。そして謡曲も、すでに文章の段階から舞台上で言葉、動作、音楽によって満たされ統合されるという前提で書かれている。そして、現在の能では、音楽と舞踊によって進行するなか、声、音、動きが全体的に整った形で流れるようになっていく。

美的評価に際しては、謡曲という劇文学の作品としての価値があるにせよ、能は舞台上で上演されて初めて作品が生きてくるということを、世阿弥ははっきり認識している。それは根本的な前提であり、彼の能楽論は舞台芸術（遊楽）としての多面性を主張し、あらゆる側面を立体的に総括する。音楽、舞踊などの要素を従属的な要素とは見なさず、歌、音

曲、舞を基本的な素材とする日本の伝統演劇の特性を簡潔かつ純粋に、一切の無駄をそぎ落とした形で、それら諸要素を絡み合わせるのである。

日本の演劇形態とヨーロッパの演劇形態は、歴史的に見て、実質上、全く異なる舞台芸術になっている。また、ジャンルによって演劇を構成する諸要素間のバランスが異なり、各要素の比重の変化により全体の雰囲気、全体の姿、舞台像が根本的に変わってくる。では、日本の歴史、そしてヨーロッパの歴史において、舞台芸術また演劇をめぐる意識はいつごろ、どのように誕生し、論じられてきたのであろうか。

## II. アリストテレスの『詩学』の影響

ここではまず、イタリアの演劇論について考えてみたい。ヨーロッパの文化・演劇においてアリストテレスの『詩学』はゆるぎない存在であった。特にルネッサンスの演劇にとっては、イタリアその他のヨーロッパ諸国に広く知られる詩学論、芸術論、悲劇論であり、無視できないものとして非常に高く評価されてきた。

実創作のレベルでは、イタリアのルネッサンス時代にアリストテレスの悲劇論に基づいた悲劇、古代ギリシア・ローマの喜劇の模倣（新創作）も数多く生まれている。この時代からアリストテレスの『詩学』をめぐる注釈、解説、解釈、論争と共に、演劇論も数多く出た。また、それと同時に、ウィトルウィウスの『建築十書』が再発見されて研究の対象になり、高く評価されることで、劇場の建築に関する理念も検討され、それに刺激されて劇場建築、舞台美術の設定、舞台装置、大道具などに関する論考も生まれてくる。しかし、建築家による劇的空間（劇場）の研究は、多彩な舞台の現象の研究と対話を持たずに発展し、演劇の総体的な観念そのものの展開は、その後の16世紀後半を待たなければならない。いずれにしても、そのような各分野の分業的な動向に基づいて、建築としての劇場、その設備や舞台装置、遠近法による背景画法などが豊かに発達する時代になる。16世紀の半ばからコンメディア・デッラルテ（つまり職業的俳優、劇団による芝居）が栄えると、演劇人、俳優が演劇の中心的な存在となり、完全に主導権を握るようになる。その全盛期には、劇文学よりも俳優の芸、演技力が中心とされたのである。このように、科白劇でも、音楽劇（オペラ）でも、劇文学の台本と演出との緊

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<sup>1</sup> “De architectura” は1414年にカッシーノで再発見されたとされているが、その研究に触発されて、16世紀の半ば頃まで次々とL. B. Alberti (*De re aedificatoria*, 1485年版)、P. Prisciano (*Spectacula*, 1500年頃)、Fra' Giocondo (1511年版)、C. Cesariano (1521年版)、L. Durantino (1524年版、1535年版)、G. Caporali (1536年版)、D. Barbaro (1556年版)、S. Serlio (1545年版)による劇場建築論の翻訳・注釈などが発表される。

張関係が存在し、言葉を絶対的な存在として重視する場合にも、演技・歌唱を行なう演者、舞台美術家、音楽を指揮する者、舞台の全体像や演者を総合的に監督する演出家など、各方面の力関係が成立し、主導権を握る側は様々に変わっていったというのが、ヨーロッパ演劇史の実態である。

### III. 劇詩人の立場から見た演劇

そのような時代風潮のなかで、16世紀を頂点とするルネッサンスに演劇論が数多く出版される。事実、古代の芸術思想の最高峰、アリストテレス（前384-前322年）の『詩学』（前330年頃）、ホラチウス（前65-前8年）の『詩論』以降、演劇論といえる書物はほとんど残っていないか、もしくは伝承されていない。中世の文学論のなかに、わずかに演劇、悲劇に触れるものがある以外は、ルネッサンス時代になってようやくイタリヤを初めとしてヨーロッパにおいて演劇に関する論考が誕生する。アリストテレスの『詩学』、セネカの悲劇、プラウトゥスやテレンティウス等の喜劇を参考にして、演劇の再発見、再構築を行なう転換期になり、これが近代演劇の始まりとなった。

ルネッサンスの主な演劇論を挙げると、下記の通りになる。

- ベルナルディーノ・ダニエッロ (Bernardino Daniello) 、*La poetica* 『詩学』（1536年）
- ジョヴァンバッティスタ・ジラルディ・チンツィオ (Giovan Battista Giraldi Cinzio) 、*Discorso intorno al comporre delle commedie e delle tragedie* 『喜劇と悲劇の創作をめぐる論』（1554年）
- レオーネ・デ・ソンミ (Leone de' Sommi) 、*Dialoghi* 『対話』（1556年）
- ユリウス・カエサル・スカリジェル (Iulius Caesar Scaliger) 、*Poetics Libri Septem* 『詩学』（1561年）
- ルドヴィコ・カステルヴェトロ (Ludovico Castelvetro) 、*Poetica d'Aristotele vulgarizzata e esposta* 『アリストテレス詩学通説』（1570年）
- アンジェロ・インジェニエーリ (Angelo Ingegneri) 、*Della poesia rappresentativa e del modo di rappresentare le favole sceniche* 『劇詩と戯曲の演じ方について』（1598年）

当時の劇詩人、演劇人の参考になったものは、アリストテレスの『詩学』とホラチウスの『詩論』、およびその注釈書であり、ほとんどはそれらを基範にした悲劇論（あるいは喜劇論）になっている。事実、演劇現象全体の立場から見た演劇論は少ない。しかし、そのようなアリストテレスの『詩学』の枠を出ないものとは異なる演劇論もある。ジラルディ・チンツィオ、デ・ソンミ、インジェニエーリによる3論である。これらに注目していくつかのテーマを取り上げたいと思う。つまり、戯曲作品（悲劇、喜劇、牧歌劇という3ジャンルとその構成）と上演との

関係、劇詩人と興行のかかわり、興行における演出（演出家の役割）、俳優の演技、物真似、科白と身体言語との関係、音楽（舞踊やコロスの役割）、舞台装置と舞台美術、照明である。その背景にはむしろ、俳優と観客との葛藤がある。

アリストテレスにおいては悲劇は文学の 1 ジャンルにすぎなかったが、近代ヨーロッパの演劇論では、脚本とその演出は明らかに演劇の本質にかかわるものとして意識されていき、考慮の根本的な問題となっていた。

まず、ジラルディ・チンツィオ（1504-1573）は 16 世紀のフェッラーラの宮廷文化を代表する劇作家であるが、その悲劇論は明らかに作品の舞台化を重視する見解を示している。スペクタクルとしての効果を悲劇（劇詩）の本質よりも重視する立場から、ギリシア悲劇よりもむしろセネカの悲劇に接近する傾向を示し、詩劇の劇的内容とその舞台化のバランスを保ちながらも、演出、舞台効果に対してはより敏感な態度と繊細な心配りを見せている。音楽の役割は場面と場面の間に限ると主張しているが、従来のアリストテレスの準則とは異なり、舞台美術の重要度と俳優の役割をはるかに大きく重んじている。俳優のエロキューション、演技、衣裳にも注目して、人物の真实性／写実性のために俳優の言葉、身体の動作などが喜怒哀楽の感情を表現するには決定的な条件だと強調する。つまり、上演がなければ、演劇の創作行為にならず、戯曲だけでは演劇という出来事／現象は成り立たないと主張するところに新鮮味がある。ジラルディにとって演劇は無限なる情感を絶えず動かす仕組みであり、劇詩と演出の完璧な均等を目的とした演劇の本質を論じる叙述となっている。

この頃から神話的な題材、歴史的な出来事に脚色を施して、仕掛けなどにより幻想的な場面に作り上げ、多種多様な不思議さを華やかな変化や幽霊の登場で見せることが盛んになり、その後のイタリアの劇場や観客が好んで楽しんだ（音楽）劇となっていく。劇文学尊重への回帰という風潮が見られたなかでも、ジラルディ（またスカリジェル）は例外的な存在のようである。

#### IV. 演出家の観点

著者が現場の演劇人で、実際の演出家の仕事もし、おそらくその観点から演劇を見て書かれた最も古い論考は、デ・ソンミ（1527-1592）の『対話』とされる。デ・ソンミは北イタリアのマントヴァの領主ゴンザーガ家のために活躍したユダヤ系の劇詩人兼演出家だが、この時代に初めて演劇を有機的な全体として考え論じている。総体的な演劇論だが、同時代の俳優中心の演劇コンメディア・デッラルテの即興性に反して、台本と稽古によってあらかじめ全てきちんと計算し用意することを勧め、脚本を重視しつつも、演出の細かい細部にも行き届いた実施主義を見せ

ている。問答形式による4章の対話形式で論述の幅は広い。『対話』は最初のコレーゴ (corego)、つまり演出家による演劇論であり、具体性が高く、文化的かつ芸術的に洗練された職業的な意識に裏打ちされた、ルネッサンス時代の演劇再発見の最高峰と言える。唯一上演の演出に対する認識を示したジラルディの悲劇論を超えて、アリストテレス、ヴィトルヴィウス、ボルックス (『オノマスティコン』、170年頃)の演劇論を参考としながら、そこから出発して、演出の入門書、具体的な方法論になっている。第1章と第2章は主に劇文学的なテーマ (悲劇と喜劇と牧歌劇、韻文と散文、喜劇の段構成、部分と全体のプロポジションなど) を扱っているのに対して、第3章と第4章は自分の実際の体験から、俳優の演技 (即興的な演技ではなく、前もって準備した演技)、戯曲の選択 (できれば優れた散文による新しい喜劇)、俳優の選択、全員との打ち合わせとリハーサルなどの重要性を主張しながら、俳優の演技力、聞き取りやすい発声、人物に適した容姿 (声)、発声を妨げる仮面・厚化粧を避けることなど、やはり俳優の演技には身体の演技よりもはっきりとした声と悠々としたエロキューションを重要視しているのだが、場面と局面に合わせた人物の心理、情感などに適した微妙な演技の変化、コンメディア・デッラルテの伝統的で洗練された物真似的な工夫なども必要だとしている。俳優の持つ天分の素質に加え、表情と身振りへの敏感な対応が要求され、劇詩人演出家の説明・指導も大事だがパントマイムに見られるように、「身体の雄弁さ」にも自然さ、滑らかな機敏さが重要だとする。

ここには、職業的な自覚による、演出家、総監督のあらゆる細部まで精密に行き届いた演出へのこだわりが認められる。プロローグの挨拶の仕方、観客の気分転換として場面と場面の間に挟まれる幕間狂言、寸劇、音楽、間奏曲、場面の転換を運ぶ音楽の役割なども論じられている。第4章では、建築家や画家の担当となる舞台美術、大道具、背景画に注目して、衣裳にマッチした豪華さのみならず、伝統的な設定 (喜劇、悲劇、牧歌劇など) の類型化を守りながら、より具体性のある特定の背景などを勧める傾向が見え、イタリア演劇の伝統に従い、室内よりも野外 (道、広場など) での設定が好まれているようである。また、照明にもいたる細かい心得は、豊かな技術、知識、経験を証明しているよう。古代ギリシアの神話の世界、神々・英雄たちの物語よりも現実、日常生活からヒントを得た風俗的な幕間狂言、出来るだけ芝居 (喜劇、悲劇) の本筋と直接関係のある幕間狂言 (寸劇) が好ましいとしている。

16世紀の後半になると、演劇人、建築家兼演出家インジェニエーリ (1550頃-1613) が登場する。建築の他に台本も書いていた。デ・ソソミの『対話』がほとんど普及していなかった様子 (現在では写本1冊のみ発見) なのに反して、インジェニエーリの演劇書は様々に残っており、かなり広く流布し、参考にされたようである。作者は、イタリア各地で名声を挙げた人物で、ヴィチエンツァのパツラディオの設計による現存最古の室内劇場、素晴らしいつくりで知られるオリニコ劇場 (オリン

ピア翰林の劇場)の舞台上に今でも残る、こけら落とし公演『オイディプス王』の舞台装置の創作者である。

演劇論は2部に分かれ、第1部の劇文学では、文学的な側面から出発しながら、戯曲と演出の関係に触れ、第2部は特に上演の問題に集中していく。第1部では、悲劇、喜劇、牧歌劇の三つのジャンルのなかで特に中間にある牧歌劇を評価する。次第に下品さを増し、コンメディア・デッラルテのプロの役者たちの猥褻さのため墮落しつつある喜劇と、上演の為に破格の予算を要するものの、観客に好まれない暗いテーマで、実際には上演に無理がある悲劇に反して、舞台に女性も上がらせ、見所と聞き所で観客を楽しませながら、より上品な情感などを表現する牧歌劇を好み、16世紀末にはメロドラマに近い劇が喜ばれる傾向を示している。そのなかで、劇詩の完璧な文章と構成だけに注目して、その舞台化を無視している当時の悲劇の風潮を批判し、舞台の本質に迫る必然性を強調している。

ジラルディの名前を挙げずに明らかに彼の所見を非難しているインジェニエーリは、幽霊などを登場させるプロローグのような無駄な仕掛けを難じ、登場人物の数を12人程度にとどめるようにと言う。偶然と無秩序をさけ、俳優の仕事と舞台装置の合理性を求め、品格と真実らしさに基づきながら、最初から最後まで合唱団の役割を重視し、寸劇と幕間狂言などの劇との一貫性を保ちながら、そのほとんど習慣になった使い方を認める方針を示している。悲劇だけでは幕間狂言を省き、移動するコロスよりも行為に参加するコロスをはるかに好み、観客のカタルシスの妨げとなる諸要素を避けるべきであるとしている。多くの具体例を挙げながら、劇作家の舞台に対する知識、経験の必要性を強調する態度である。劇詩人は場面をまず想像し、舞台設定の細部を主張し、聖なる劇の並列による展開(パラタクシス)と現代劇の統辞法(シンタクス)を対立させ、登場人物の行為の一貫性、木霊現象の使い方の工夫を重視する傾向を見せている。

第2部では、上演に関して舞台美術、演技、音楽という三つのテーマに注目している。

以上のように、当時のイタリアではプロの俳優が登場しつつあり、劇詩人から演出家へと発展していく演劇をめぐる思想には、まだ本格的な俳優論、演技論は現れない。また、優れた具体的な演劇論でありながら、世阿弥等の伝書と比べれば、理論的かつ思索的に、美的な考察にまで及ぶものではなく、有機的に演劇のあらゆる面を対象としながらも、また職業的な認識を示しつつも、ある意味ではより普遍的な観点から顧みたま美的な観察にはいたっていないと認めざるをえないだろう。しかし、徐々に分業的になった演出家の専門的な自覚が明確に感じられる論考である。ヨーロッパでは比類のないものだけに、ルネッサンス時代の最も優れた舞台芸術論であると思われる。

## V. 俳優の観点

ルネッサンス時代のイタリアにおいては、俳優とその演技に関する論はデ・ソンミとインジェニエーリのみに見られるようである。デ・ソンミの演劇論『対話』第3章には俳優に関する部分があるが、おそらくヨーロッパの近代における最古のものであろう。<sup>2</sup> 演者を中心に考えるものとしては、ルキアノスの『舞踊』とイタリア・ルネッサンスの舞踊巨匠ドメニコ・ダ・ピアチェンツァ、アントニオ・コルナツァーノ、グリエルモ・エブレオなどによる舞踊の論考が最も早いようである。しかし、デ・ソンミの論考は特定の技術的な問題点に注目しているが、より根本的な俳優のありかたについては論じていない。デ・ソンミは戯曲の優劣よりも俳優の演技のほうが効果的としながらも、あくまでも演出家としての見方から、演出や人物の解釈などにも俳優をただの一要素として演出家の指図に従うべきものとしている。そして動作の重要性を認めながらも、演技には分かりやすくゆっくりとした科白を述べる話術重視の俳優の姿を要求している。インジェニエーリも戯曲家のみならず演出家の立場からも舞台の世界を見ているが、おそらくより明確に演出と俳優の演技を扱った理論書はピエルフランチェスコ・リヌッチーニ（作曲家オッタヴィオの息子）による1630年頃の版『イル・コラーゴ』（演出家）であろう。この演出論では俳優論は23章の内4章を占めており、俳優に多彩なる情感を表現しながら観客にその情感を喚起する役目を与えている。そして、俳優のなかに3種を認め、それぞれ芸域や手段が違っても、俳優、歌手、パントミモス（踊り手）はいずれも話の筋を再現するものとしている。

おそらく、ヨーロッパでは俳優の役割についての理論は、コンメディア・デッラルテの劇団の成立に伴うプロの俳優の登場とともに職業意識として生まれ育ったものなのであろう。<sup>3</sup>

世阿弥時代の日本には猿楽、田楽などの伝統のある劇団（座）があり、神事芸能、祭礼猿楽から劇形式の娯楽芸、商業的興行へいたる職業的な芸人、専職の役者がいた。そして、世阿弥の演劇論は、舞台の上に立った役者の芸域、存在感の意識の面では非常に鋭い考察を展開している。また、ルネッサンス時代のヨーロッパの演劇は、舞台上で演じると

<sup>2</sup> その後、ヨーロッパでは18世紀の半ばからイタリア（Perrucci, Barbieri, Cecchini, Luigi と Antonio F. Riccoboni, Alamanno Morelli, E. Rossi）、フランス（R. de Sainte Albine, Dorat, J. Dubos, Denis Diderot, F. J. Thalma など）、イギリス（Irving など）、ドイツ（Lessing, Johann Jakob Engel など）など、演出家や俳優自身による俳優論が際立ってくる。そして、近現代になってからは、演劇人の演劇論は A. Antoine, Gordon Craig, Appia, Stanislavskij, Mejerchol'd, Copeau, C. Dullin, B. Brecht, A. Artaud, Grotowski, E. Barba などと、重要性を増して行く一方である。

<sup>3</sup> おそらくヨーロッパのプロの劇団の成立を証明する最古の史料はパドヴァのコンメディア・デッラルテの俳優同士による1545年の契約書である。

いっても、劇場という特定の用途に適した場所（専用の空間）を実験的に設計している段階で、新しい劇場建築が始まろうとしている頃である。他方、日本で常設舞台が現行のような様式で整えられるのは、室町末期と考えられているが、世阿弥の伝書のなかでは勸進猿楽の舞台、棧敷<sup>4</sup>などという形に触れる場合でも、ありとあらゆる舞台に立った役者の姿の自覚、あるべき姿勢が見事に表されている。そもそも、演劇は最低条件となる形式、役者と観客、仕手と見手との緊張関係によってのみ成り立つものとして認識されているようである。

世阿弥の伝書には、演劇の多彩な現象、状況、ありとあらゆる条件を総合的に考える視野が窺える。世阿弥が認識している条件は、俳優自身による内的なものとの外的なものに分けられて、把握されている。「時の調子」<sup>5</sup>「時節」（時刻、日夜、季節など）という宇宙的環境、場所（都鄙、広大な会場、座敷、大庭など）という空間的環境、「見所」「見物衆」の社会的人間的環境、そしてタイミング、時の流れ（観客の気分、雰囲気、期待感的に中する時節<sup>6</sup>など）のなかでの運びと展開の時間的環境といった、多種多様な基本的な外部の条件と境遇<sup>7</sup>が想定され、俳優は時空軸の座標に置かれた立場に対応する身体となる。

時間の変化とともに、情況に順応することが主張され、それぞれの演能の機会（猿楽の立合など）と客層に合った作品曲柄の選択、1日の能番組の全体の展開、番組の順番に合った演目について、また、自己の芸位・風体に似合った曲をつとめることを勧め、鑑賞眼の高い観客と一般の聴衆相手ではどう変えるか、貴人などが遅れてきたらどのように公演中の曲を調節するかなど、様々な事情と特質を多方面から捉えている。<sup>8</sup>

以上のような外的条件に対して、俳優については、師弟関係のもとで年齢に合った訓練、正しい稽古法を行い、身体を作り、常に謡舞を嗜み、<sup>9</sup>物真似の演技を工夫して、立体的な存在としての多能な俳優になり、適切な作品選び、それに相応しい演技を行なう心得を細かく考察している。

俳優の手段は、習道、稽古<sup>10</sup>によって磨かれた芸位、舞歌二曲、猿楽の伝統なる物真似の技芸と、時間と空間の条件への対応性に限

<sup>4</sup> 『申楽談儀』、第17条（勸進猿楽の舞台・棧敷、292頁）。

<sup>5</sup> 時節や時刻によって定められている調子。『花鏡』、299頁。

<sup>6</sup> 『花鏡』、303頁など。

<sup>7</sup> 『風姿花伝』、90-3頁、『拾玉得花』、374-6頁など。

<sup>8</sup> 「能に初心を忘れずして、時に応じ、所によりて、おろかなる眼にもげにもと思ふやうに能をせん事、これ寿福なり。」（『風姿花伝』、199頁）。

<sup>9</sup> 『花鏡』、331-2頁など。

<sup>10</sup> コンメディア・デッラルテの俳優たちのトレーニングがどのようなものであったかははっきりとは分からないが、史料によると、おそらく舞踊、歌、楽器、手品などを含め、柔らかい身体による演技を重視しながらも、即興的に述べられるように、台詞のエロキューションの暗記が中心であったようである。



られる。そして、「住する」<sup>11</sup> ことなく、幅広い芸域、芸位を育てよと言う。

世阿弥の演劇論は、舞台での戦いの体験から鍛えられ育てられた理論であり、時代の変遷、傾向とともに進展し変化していくが、自身の舞台芸術に対する思想、本質論と方法論、そして状況への対応策と工夫も絶えず深めていく。網羅的に考察した理論に裏付けられる体系的かつ詳細な論証ではないにせよ、時代と共に変化する演者と観客、美学と舞台の流れに対応しながら、全面的に役者の視点から、内的条件なる役者の訓練、年齢に合わせた芸の育て方、使い方、外部の条件なる場所、時間、観客との関係、それへの対応のしかた、能つまりドラマ、作品の作り方、選び方など、あらゆる方面から演劇を考える。その点ではヨーロッパの演劇論にはまだ見られない思索、認識、態度であり、そこに傑出性と独自性が認められる。

俳優、演出家、作曲家、能作者を兼ねる立場から、総体的に空間と時間という次元のなかで俳優と観客の尽きることない葛藤を考える姿勢は見事と言わざるを得ない。

## VI. 舞台芸術の諸要素の関係を考える

現代の能の姿は江戸中期あたりから成立したと思われるが、「小段」の集積という基本的な構成によってできている。小段の構造によって流れるような全体の形式が、寄せ木細工のように、非常に細かく、かつ微妙に構成されており、言葉と音楽と舞が適宜に多種多様に組み合わせられる可能性を持つことなどから、世界でも諸要素の均衡のとれた最高の舞台芸術の一つとされるのであろう。つまり、言葉と音楽と所作という要素／媒介が、示唆に富む喚起性をもった形で劇的に絡み合う具合は簡素にみえるが、リズム（間）という時間の位相と舞・所作などの空間の位相との兼ね合いで、複雑で洗練された効果を生み出す。それが小段の連続的かつ並行的に流れて行くなかで、含蓄の豊かな完成度の高い演劇が現出する所以であろう。<sup>12</sup>

しかし、世阿弥の能楽論においては、能を作ること自体、能を演じることと密接な関係をもっており、各要素の組み合わせと全体の構成の運び、その全体の舞台像を、すでに劇詩・謡曲を書く段階から予想する姿

<sup>11</sup> 同じ状態に止まり、変化しないで停滞する。『風姿花伝』、247 頁、『花鏡』、319 頁など。

<sup>12</sup> オペラの場合も、基本的に旋律的な魅力に富んだ歌曲（アリア）、台詞や話の筋を運ぶ役割をする（語るように歌われる）叙唱（レチタティーヴォ）、それに時代によってはアリオゾ（レチタティーヴォよりも旋律的な部分）、また合唱などによって全体の運びを行い、変化をもたらす仕組みになっているが、所作（動作）との関連は検討されていない。

勢が明らかに示されているように思われる。そして、各要素の美しい姿から理想の幽玄が湧き出てくるのである。

「見る姿の数々、聞く姿の数々の、おしなめて美しからんを以て、幽玄と知るべし」。<sup>13</sup>

## VII. 言葉と演技の関係

世阿弥の伝書については、花、幽玄の美的理念から、序破急という構造理念<sup>14</sup>まで、その秀でた芸術論が内外で様々に論じられてきたが、ここには演者と観客との関係において、言葉と所作、所作と音楽などの複雑微妙な関係、つまり聴覚の次元と視覚の次元の組み合わせを配慮に入れているようなくだりも認められる。

世阿弥は、各要素を生かすために、音曲（謡）と舞との間のつながり、つまりどのような関係によって結び、組み合わせればいいのかということを考え、順番とずれというものを設けるように述べている。

『風姿花伝』第三問答条々「文字に当たる風情は何事ぞや」（130 頁）のあたりから、音曲（謡）と動作、そこから生まれる言葉と動作の関係について説いているところがある。この段階では比較的単純な説き方になっており、所作というものの発想は、謡の文句の言葉通りに体を動かし演技すれば、能本来の動作になると述べているが、その後、『風姿花伝』の第六花修（220-221 頁）のなかでは、音曲によって訴える作品と、目に訴える作品とを分けて、『花鏡』のなかでさらにそのような作品論をより洗練された論述へと展開する。

見、聞、心の一心曲感のバランスを求め、理想として言葉と動きとの関連によって論述を進める。まず、知覚的には、聴覚による言葉の意味の分別があり、続いてそれに伴い動作を見る視覚があるとし、一つのずれを設けたほうが良いと勧めている。「音曲とはたらきというものは一心になるべし」という目的で、その後、『花鏡』の「先聞後見」（297-298 頁）というくだりでは論考の発達した形で、「見るところ」と「聞くところ」との関連という問題をより深く論究し、聴覚と視覚との間に一つのずれ（順序）を考え、言葉の余韻につぐ風情によってそれぞれの情趣を生かし、その「相応」にいたるのを理想としている。人間の知覚の問題として、又は美的な必然性のためか、観客はまず言葉を聞いて、その言葉の響きで風情、所作を見て享受し、そしてそのように観ることによって、それぞれの感覚が生かされ、刺激され、鑑賞の仕方が変わってくる、と観客の享受の仕方をも考察している。歌と舞が相応し融合に近くなる流動感、連続感あふれる演技、聴覚から視覚へと共鳴し、「共感

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<sup>13</sup> 『花鏡』、318-9 頁。

<sup>14</sup> 『風姿花伝』、100 頁、『花鏡』、305-9 頁、『三道』、307-8 頁、『拾玉得花』、385-8 頁、『習道書』、409 頁など。

覚」に移る微妙な瞬間ここに、妙力（なんとも言えない風情の魅力）を感じるとするのである。

「舞は、音声より出でずば感あるべからず。一声の匂ひより舞へ移る境ひにて、妙力あるべし。また、舞ひ納むる所も、音感へ納まる位あり。」<sup>15</sup>

そして現在の能でもいい演技にはその刹那その刹那にそれが感知できるのではないだろうか。

ただし、それは同時、同音、同調、同一、一律、共時性に解け合うような境地を求めるのではなく、平行に進行しながらも、間、空白、余白、ズレによる出会いを設けることによってそれぞれを生かす効果、それぞれの知覚と余韻を感得できるような鑑賞が望ましいと、世阿弥は考えているようである。そして、「舞を舞ひやむ隙、音曲を謡ひやむ所、その外、言葉・物まね、あらゆる品々の隙々に、心を捨てずして、用心を持つ内心なり。その内心の感、外に匂ひて面白きなり」<sup>16</sup> と、心で「せぬ」ところをつなぎあわせ、音と目で見る姿が響き合う間、その匂ひに趣きを認めるのである。

実は、デ・ソンミの論でも、台詞と舞台上での動きは、できるだけ同時に行わないことを勧めているのだが、それは演技よりもエロキューションを重視する傾向の証と思われる。

このように、世阿弥の思索は、舞台上でそれぞれの感覚を刺激する曲（ドラマ）全体の分類にも及ぶ理念となる。主眼となる感覚、鑑賞の仕方によって能の曲を「見より出でくる能」、「聞より出でくる能」、「心より出でくる能」<sup>17</sup> の3種に分けているのである。「見」、つまり、主に目に訴える作品、見栄えがする視覚的な華やかさでどのような観客にも楽しめるような曲、「聞より出でくる能」は、音曲の面で効果的に、謡の引き起こす感動で、しみじみとした雰囲気醸し出す曲である。しかし、最も望ましいのは「さびさびとしたる内に、何とやらん感心のある所」の「冷えたる曲」、「心より出でくる能」であるとしている。能の場合も各要素が所々感覚を刺激しながら、様々な機能と役割を果たして、曲によってその釣り合いが変わるわけで、ある意味では能全体の構造にバランスのとれた諸要素を生かした仕組みがあり、それに対応して役者の演技も観客の享受も変わってくるのである。そこから、観客を圧倒することなく、観客の感覚や心に内省の余裕を与え、劇的な出来事による自己判断や舞台の感慨に溢れる鑑賞よりも、より余裕と自由のある鑑賞が美的にも望まれるようである。

世阿弥の伝書によると、能の役者はまず遊樂の基本となる舞歌二曲<sup>18</sup>と、大和猿樂の伝統なる物真似の芸の両立によって成り立っている。ス

<sup>15</sup> 『花鏡』、299 頁。

<sup>16</sup> 同上、321 頁。

<sup>17</sup> 同上、324-7 頁。

<sup>18</sup> 『至花道』、339 頁、『三道』、305 頁など。

ペクタクル性の基本となる舞と歌も、ミメシスとして多彩なる人物を演じる物真似の芸も、同じように俳優が身につけるべき芸域である。

そして、舞台上でのみ生きる芸能（舞台芸術）の本質を忘れずに、時間の流れのなかで舞歌二曲と物真似の基本なる三体という根本的な要素を通して、俳優はありとあらゆる状況のなかで観客の目を引きつけ、感を喚起し、花を咲かせるのを目的とする。

そこに、観客の感覚、知覚の対象となる役者の身体、その時その時の空間と時間の座標に置かれた役者の身体が立っているのである。「目前心後」、「離見の見」に見られるように、役者の肉体に関して、また演技論的な演者自身の意識について、非常にすぐれた所見を示している。<sup>19</sup>

しかし、俳優と観客の葛藤のなかで、時間と空間という次元のなかで、俳優と演出家と作曲家の立場から演劇／舞台を考案し創作するにあたって、もう一つ大変重要な条件がある。それは台本である。舞台に立つ俳優の視点から能を作ることも大切な条件である。<sup>20</sup>

世阿弥の『三道』の能作論を読むと、最初から舞歌の重要性が強調される。<sup>21</sup> 構想（能本）の段階から舞台での効果を考え、舞と歌を生かすために、相応しい人物（種）、ドラマを選び、序破急による曲全体の五段の構造（作）を整え、和歌などの響きのある文章（書）を綴ることによって、能独自の完成度の高い作品となる。そのため、世阿弥が勧めるのは、「その芸道の筋目筋目をあてがひて、作書すること、能の道を知りたる書き手なるべし」<sup>22</sup>ということである。つまり、能役者は自作自演することを理想とし、演劇の台本を書く者は、芸能、舞台芸術のことを知らねばならない。

ヨーロッパ、日本ともに、演劇の条件、約束事、役者・歌手・舞踊家の芸などを知った上で執筆する台本作者が登場してくる頃である。そして演劇に関する思案が深まる季節でもある。観客と俳優の葛藤、生きた舞台の体験から生まれる芸論、演劇論はその価値を失うことはない。そして、時代とともに観客が変わっても、常に親しまれ、舞台上で演じ続けられるのは、舞台上での効果を考えた作品なのである。西野春雄が言うように、「観客を意識して創作した作品こそ、世阿弥が公式にわれわれに答えた芸論の具体的な姿なのである」（127頁）。

<sup>19</sup> 舞の五智、目前心後（離見の見）。『花鏡』、300-2頁。舞踊の立場から所作、身体動作をめぐる論については別の機会に譲りたい。

<sup>20</sup> 「花伝第六花修に云はく「一能の本を書く事、この道の命なり。極めたる才学の力なけれども、ただ、工みによりて、よき能にはなるものなり。」」（『風姿花伝』、210-2頁）。

<sup>21</sup> 『三道』、304-6頁。

<sup>22</sup> 『三道』、326頁。紙面の都合上、取り上げられなかった課題は次の機会に譲る。

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# 『黒川能の狂言台本集』 解題

大谷 准

## I. 黒川能と王祇祭 — 序にかえて

黒川能は、黒川の春日神社（所在地・山形県鶴岡市櫛引町黒川）に伝わる猿楽の能と狂言である。能は世阿弥が大成したあとの様式を備えていて、現・五流（観世・金春・宝生・金剛・喜多）の能と、相違はあるが同系統の能である。

東北地方には番楽、山伏神楽などの名で、世阿弥以前の田楽能、猿楽能系統の芸能が数多く残っている。黒川の近くでも羽黒町の高寺八講、遊佐町の比山番楽など名高い。黒川自体にも現在演じている能、狂言以前と思われる古い芸能が伝えられている。王祇祭（おおぎまつり、おおぎさい）の折の「大地踏（だいちふみ）」「所仏則の翁（ところぶっそくのおきな）」、更衣祭の折の「弓舞」「神子の舞」「獅子舞」などである。

黒川の能と狂言は、春日神社の正月行事・王祇祭に氏子たちが演じ、神に奉仕する芸能である。江戸期までは正月の元日、2日（古くは正月元日～4日）の行事だったが、明治以降、新暦2月1日、2日に変った。祭のあいだ、3本の柱を束ね、広げると巨大な扇状になる王祇さまを御神体として扱うため、王祇祭と呼ばれる。

大字黒川は広範囲なので、春日神社氏子たちの組織である宮座は、神社のおよそ南側を上座、北側を下座とふたつに分かれている。能と狂言は宮座の有志が自演するので能座（役者たちの組織）も上と下、ふたつの座がある。

王祇祭のとき祭の主宰者となる当人（当人の住居を当屋と呼ぶ）は、氏子（男性）が一生に1度、年齢順に勤める決まりで、当人を済ませた者は隠居となる。1度の王祇祭で上と下、ふたりの当人が生まれるわけで（古いかたちは1日、2日、3日と3人の当人が居り、両座で6人。現在も形式的にはこのかたちが残っている）、2月1日の夕方から翌2日の早朝まで、当屋の仮設舞台で演ずる徹夜の能と狂言は、王祇さまを前に上座と下座で同時に行われる。神だけが同時進行の能、狂言を楽しめるので、人間たちはどちらかの舞台を選ばざるを得ない。

2月2日の早朝、当屋の能が終ると、王祇さまは神社にお帰りになる。2日の午前と午後は、神社の舞台で能、大地踏、所仏則の翁が演じられる。

黒川能の能の曲目は、上座と下座が折半して伝承している。江戸期末期にはそれぞれの座が40～50曲ほどの曲目を演じていたらしい。ところが明治期に、上座と下座の対抗意識が高まり、能面や能装束を争って買い求め、座の上演曲目を増やそうと競争をした。

五流の能の歴史のなかで、廃曲になったおびただしい数の曲目がある。廃曲または番外曲といっても、謡曲の詞章だけ残ったもの、謡曲の節付け、型付けまで残ったもの、いろいろな段階があるが、上座と下座は手あたり次第に復曲を目ざして争った。そのため所有の曲目だけは上座 275 曲、下座 258 曲、合計 533 曲に達している。五流の現行曲合計が 240 曲前後なので、圧倒的に黒川の上演可能曲が多い。

狂言は江戸期から、能のように上座と下座が曲目を折半しないで、約 40～50 曲ほどの同じ曲目を両座で演じる。

能座は、舞方、狂言方、囃子方、3 役に分かれる。

舞方は能のシテ、ワキ、ツレ、地謡などを演ずる。五流のようにワキを専門に演ずるワキ方はない。狂言方は狂言の諸役、能の間狂言を演ずる。ただし「翁」の三番叟役は狂言方でなく、舞方の世襲の役者が演ずる。囃子方は笛、小鼓、大鼓、太鼓の 4 役があり、それぞれ専業である。

「式三番」（「翁」）の翁役、三番叟役、千歳役はそれぞれ世襲の役者が演ずる。王祇祭だけに演ずる「所仏則の翁（黒川の仏式による翁、の意か）も同じく 3 役とも世襲の役者で上と下の共演になる。

能座の芸事上、実務上の責任者は太夫である。上と下にひとりずつ太夫がいる。太夫は現在、上座は座の実力者たちの話しあいでは決まるが、下座は世襲である。五流のように狂言方や囃子方に家元がいることはなく、すべて太夫が責任をもつ。能の稽古は太夫のほか師匠格の人びと、狂言や囃子は師匠格の人に個人的に師事しているようだ。

明治期から昭和の中頃までは、農村の子どもの数が多く、謡の稽古などは小字ごとに師匠格の人がいて教えていたが、現在は子どもの数も謡の稽古をする人も減って、後継者の養成は民俗芸能全般にわたる大きな課題である。

## II. 『黒川能の狂言台本集』 解題

### (1) 『黒川能の狂言台本集』 の概要

1988（昭和 63）年、黒川能保存会が黒川能の狂言台本集（全 5 巻）を発行した。あらためて手書きで清書した台本が、コピーしてまとめられている。内部的な資料整備が目的であり、台本集全体の題名もないので、仮に『黒川能の狂言台本集』と呼んでおく。

奥書によると、

製作 昭和 63 年 10 月

山形県東田川郡櫛引町

黒川能保存会

編集 五十嵐喜市、遠藤甚勇、劔持富男、遠藤一郎、  
劔持勇紀夫、井上孝一、上野左京太夫、劔持泉  
太夫

資料提供 清和政右衛門

浄書 佐藤與助、秋山吉郎、成田順治（順不同）

とある。

前述したように、黒川能の場合、狂言に家元的な存在はなく、座の能太夫が芸事上の統率者である。編集のうち、はじめの3名は上座の狂言師匠格、つぎの3名は下座の狂言師匠格、つぎは下座、上座の能太夫。資料提供の清和氏は下座・所伝則の三番叟太夫。

黒川狂言の稽古は口頭で伝えられ、各師匠の手控えはあるものの、台本がまとめられたのは初めてのことで、1945～88年頃の黒川の標準的狂言レパートリーが確認できた。

全5巻に記載された43曲はつぎのとおり。

- 〈巻1〉 末広、三本柱、宝の槌、禰宜山伏、靱猿、牛盗人
- 〈巻2〉 西の宮、棒縛、文相撲、千鳥、附子、三人片輪、茶壺、三十日囃子
- 〈巻3〉 苞山伏、蟹山伏、柿山伏、梟山伏、毘沙門、八郎、琵琶借勾当、仁王、千人切、狐塚、居杭
- 〈巻4〉 花折、墨ぬり、毘沙門、不聞座頭、猿替勾当、膏薬煉、笠の下、柿壳、伯母ケ酒
- 〈巻5〉 朝比奈、節分、瓜盗人、釣狐、針立、鬼清水、痿痺、宗論、名取川

注解（以下、→印の左は黒川の題名、右は大蔵、和泉2流の現行曲題名）

- 〈巻1の内〉 末広は大蔵流ではスエヒロガリと読んでいるが、黒川では略称、通称としてスエヒロと読んでいる。「末ひろ」「末ひ路」などと書いている例がある。
- 〈巻2の内〉 西の宮→釣針  
三十日囃子は黒川の新作
- 〈巻3の内〉 毘沙門→毘沙門連歌、八郎→首引、琵琶借勾当→伯養  
千人切は廢曲の能の改作
- 〈巻4の内〉 毘沙門→毘沙門（大蔵流）、猿替勾当→猿座頭、笠の下→地藏舞  
柿壳は『狂言記』の作品
- 〈巻5の内〉 針立→神鳴、雷  
鬼清水→清水  
痿痺→痿痢、痿痺、痺、しびり



記載された 43 曲の内、大蔵、和泉の中央 2 流と共通の演目は 40 曲で、黒川独得の演目は 3 曲（「三十日囃子」「千人切」「柿売」）である。

1690（元禄 3）年正月、庄内藩城内で初の黒川能演能が催されたとき、事前の藩からの問合せに、黒川側は「式三番」のほか、能は両座で 10 番しか上演できない、狂言も現在は演じられない、と返答している。

ところが初の城内能が契機となって、庄内藩酒井氏の援助もあったが、黒川能復興の機運が高まる。第 2 回の城内能は 1734（享保 18）年であるが、その間に能は曲目を大幅に増やし、狂言も上演できるようになっていた。そして幕末まで黒川住民の能や狂言に関する興味と関心は衰えなかった。こうした長年の努力と精進が、狂言台本集の 43 曲すべてにつながっていると思われる。

以下、記載曲 43 曲の解題を加える。

## （2）黒川の狂言台本集の狂言解題

### 凡 例

- \* 五十音順に曲名を並べた。
- \* 曲名は太字で出し、その次に読みかたと登場人物の数を記した。
- \* 文中の『記』は狂言記、続狂言記、狂言記拾遺、狂言記外の総称。
- \* 文中の『黒』は黒川の狂言台本の意。

### 解 題

〈朝比奈〉 あさひな 2 名  
『記』のとおり。誤記あり。例えば『記』の“たん尺（手形）”を“三尺”。

〈居杭〉 いぐい 3 名  
『記』のとおり。小異あるが、セリフを言いやすく直した程度。

〈牛盗人〉 うしぬすびと 5 名  
和泉流の牛奉行の役は大名。しかも和泉流台本と違い、訴人の少年が冒頭に、自分の父・庄五三郎が牛を盗み親の供養をした、他人が訴えると父は死罪になるので、自分が訴えると種あかしをする。これは類曲「鶏猫（けいみょう）」の構成に似る。原典は廃曲の能「羊」と思われるが、和泉流「牛盗人」は終曲にすべてが判明して解決する。『黒』も和泉流とは少し異なるが、近世人情劇ふう。『記』には無い曲目。

〈靱猿〉 うつぼざる 4 名  
『記』外篇の記述はおおむね簡略なので、『黒』とは違っている。『黒』の大名は名のりのあと、殺生をしないと心が屈する、今日は殺生に出ようと思う、というのが異色。大名の性格描写であろう。“まだい猿”“めじれいて”という方言めいたセリフもある。ここでは“人馴れたおとなしい猿”“驚いて”の意か。大蔵系の台本に黒川のことばが加えられた印象。猿唄も大蔵系。この曲や「節分」「首引」などは、黒川の祭の夜にふさわしい感じがする演出。

〈瓜盗人〉 うりぬすびと 2名  
構成は『記』と同じ。セリフに小異あり。

〈鬼清水〉 おにしみず 2名  
『記』は簡略だが『黒』ははじめの主人と太郎冠者の問答がていねい。冠者の意見をきいてから野中の清水にきめる。冠者は客があるたび水を汲みにやらされては困ると、清水に“がごぜ（鬼のこと。大蔵系の台本にある）”が出た、という。鬼の面のことを“ふりう（風流）の面”という。鬼に化けての主人への待遇改善要求は、酒のこと、妻のことで『記』のとおり。蚊帳をつつて寝かせろという切実な要求はない。

〈伯母ヶ酒〉 おばがさけ 2名  
鷺賢通（さぎ けんつう）本とほぼ同じ。注意ぶかく、わかりにくいことばを直している。賢通本・「伯母ヶ酒」を所収する『狂言集』中巻（日本古典全書、朝日新聞社）は、1954（昭和29）年11月に初版が発行されているので、それ以降に黒川が取入れたものと思われる。

〈柿売〉 かきうり 2名  
大和の国日暮谷（『記』は丹波の国へぐり谷）の柿売りが、新市に来て柿を売りはじめる。

所の目代（代官）が現われ、柿売りの売り声やかましいなどと言ったあと、目代の身分を明かす。柿売りが売りものの柿をひとつずつめると、食べあらした末、柿が渋いと言い出す。柿売りが渋くないと食べてみせると、ウソ（口笛）吹いてみよ（口もとが渋いと口笛が吹けないという言いつたえあり）と命じ、やはり渋柿だと店をあらす。柿売りは謡がかりで落ちた柿を拾い集め、淋しく帰って行く。

類曲の「合柿」は大勢が登場する現行曲で、柿売りが、口もとをかくしながら口笛を吹こうとする趣向は同じ。

「柿売」の黒川台本と『記』を比べると、少しの異同がある。

『記』ははじめに目代が登場して名のり、新市の高札をかかげ、一の棚を飾れば（最初に市にやって来た商人には、の意）万雑公事（まんぞうくじ・荘園の雑税、夫役）が免除されると述べる。

『黒』では、はじめに登場した柿売りの名のりのなかで、万雑公事のことが述べられる。

こうした異同は何を根拠に生じるものなのか。例えば、旅廻りの群小狂言グループが演じた影響なのか。黒川で『記』から忠実に舞台化したのが、長年のあいだに変形したものか。

〈柿山伏〉 かきやまぶし 2名  
和泉流三宅派の台本のまま。山伏は犬、猿、鳶の順に真似をさせられ、鳶のつもりで木から飛び下りる。終曲も山伏の祈りが効果があったように、柿主にからかわれる。

〈笠の下〉 かさのした 2名

大蔵流、和泉流が入りまじった台本で『記』とは異なる。地蔵舞の詞章は大蔵系。シャギリの笛を口で囃す。

〈蟹山伏〉 かにやまぶし 3名

出羽の羽黒山の山伏が強力を連れて本国へ下る途中、山が鳴って怪物が出る。怪物はカニの精で、黒川では狂言面ではなく能面、能装束を流用するので、カニの扮装が楽しい。『記』ではカニが山伏や強力をはさんでシャギリになるが、黒川ではシャギリはなし。

〈狐塚〉 きつねづか 3名

小異あるが『記』のとおり。したがって和泉流ふうで、太郎冠者が、次郎冠者と主人をキツネと違って縛ってしまう。大蔵流ふうは太郎冠者と次郎冠者が主人をキツネと思ひこむ。

〈膏葉煉〉 こうやくねり 2名

ほとんど『記』のとおり。

〈猿替勾当〉 さるかえこうとう 3名

台本は『記』のままなので、女や猿引の心の動きが見えてこない。勾当は平家を語らない。小舞の曲目も違う。

〈三人片輪〉 さんにんかたわ 4名

『記』のとおり。誤記あり。酒宴の小舞は、座頭のみが舞うらしい。

〈三本柱〉 さんぼんのはしら 4名

シテの役名は大名。普請はおおかた成就したが、いまし致し残いたところがあるので、3人の冠者に命じ材木を取りにやる。大名がシャギリを口で囃してトメ。大蔵系か。

〈痿痺〉 しびり 2名

主人は太郎冠者に、和泉の堺へ行き肴を求めて来いと命ずる。太郎冠者は、次郎冠者をやれというが、容れられないので仮病を使う。

〈宗論〉 しゅうろん 3名

『記』どおり。終曲のふたりの謡に誤記あり。

〈末広かり〉 すえひろがり 3名（「末広」トモ）

『黒』は、シテは「かくれもない大名です」と名のる。茶の湯のふるまいの引出物として使う末広を買いに、太郎冠者を都へやる。そのとき末広の注文書きを渡す。大名が急いで行け、冠者がハアと答えると、すぐに大名が「はや帰ったか」という虎明本に似たギャグが入る。冠者は都のスッパに末広の注文書きを読み上げ、古傘を買ったあと、スッパは主人の機嫌を直す法を冠者に耳元でささやいて教えてくれる。冠者もささやき返して確認を取り帰国する。おしまいは機嫌が直った大名と冠者が、シャギリの笛を口で囃して終る。大蔵系の台本に『記』の印象的な

ことば（例えば傘の地紙をたたいて“師走狐（しはすぎつね）”のようにコンコンという、などのセリフ）を混ぜた印象。

〈墨ぬり〉 すみぬり 3名（『記』は「墨塗女」）

『記』のまま。故・井上孝一（下座の狂言師匠）氏が、「墨ぬり」は狂言記から作り上げた、という意味の発言をされた記憶がある。多分1945年以降の作であろう。

〈節分〉 せつぶん 2名

『記』のとおり。誤記多し。台本には書いてないが、女の役も面をつける。狂言面は使わないので、女は能面、鬼も異形の能面ふうのものをつける。大蔵、和泉ではふつうの女は素面だから、黒川のローソクの舞台では、面をつけたふたりは幻想的な印象になる。そして“鬼は外へ”で、女が見物にまで撒き散らす殻つきピーナツやキャラメル。

〈千人切〉 せんになぎり 3名

大熊川の源左衛門という男が登場、自分の父親はある夜往来で何者かに殺された、父の無念を晴らすため今日から誓願を立て、往来の者を無差別に千人殺そう、と述べる（言外に、千人殺せばそのなかに本当の犯人も含まれるのでないか、という源左衛門の理屈があるようだ）。

このあたりに住む男が登場。親の孝養（きょうよう）のため源左衛門が千人切りをすると聞いたので、自分は往来の人千人に道案内をして命を助け、自身の親の孝養としよう、という。つぎに遠国の僧が現われ、都で学問をしていたがいま国もとへ帰るところだ、という。男が話しかけ、広い道でなくせまい道に行くようすすめる。僧が、なぜかと尋ねるので、男は千人切りのことを話す。僧はいったんは教えに感謝しせまい道を行こうとするが、自分の使命は犠牲になる千人になり代って死ぬことであり、自分の親の孝養にもなろうと思っていた。そこでさいぜんの男に、源左衛門の父が殺されたのは元亨2年3月3日、場所は石橋の上と聞きだす。僧がその石橋を通りかかると、源左衛門が呼びとめ千人切りの志を話す。僧が自分こそあなたの父を殺した者だと告げると、源左衛門は本当の敵かと不審を起し、日時や場所を尋ねるが正確な答である。源左衛門が僧を討とうとすると、僧はあなたの千人切りはなんのためか、人を切って親の孝養になるのか、と尋ねる。源左衛門は天竺の故事をひいて弁明するが僧に論破され、千人の身代りになって、自分の命を捨てようとする僧こそまことの仏よ、と太刀を捨て礼拝する。そして源左衛門は僧の弟子となって仏道に入る。

能の廃曲「千人切」（「千人伐」「千人斬」とも表記。別名「大熊川」）は内容、構成とも異色の能で、謡の部分は少なく、舞は無く、シテ（源左衛門）、ワキ（僧）ふたりの対話で進行する。

能「千人切」は陸奥の国阿武隈川、または武蔵の国大熊川が舞台。源左衛門はすでに百人ほどの人を切っているが、狂言台本ではあいまい。能の終曲近く源左衛門は、僧に切りつけると見せて自分の髻を切り落と

し、仏道に入る決心を示す。狂言台本はここもあいまい。眼目の対話部分も、能台本に比べて緊迫感が少ないのが残念だ。狂言化成功とは言い難い。

僧に三帰戒を授かり弟子入りした源左衛門は、「南無帰依仏……」と唱えながら髪を剃ってもらうが、この部分は現行狂言「呂蓮」に似る。堂本正樹氏も「番外曲水脈(9)」(『能楽タイムズ』335号)で指摘しているが、それにしても「千人切」まがいの男ふたりの悲愴な心情による剃髪を、女房が知って怒りだす「呂蓮」はパロディとして傑作。

まったく笑いのない「千人切」のような作品(狂言台本でシテ、アド、教えアイの3人がみな「親の孝養のため」命をかけるくり返しの設定が笑いといえれば笑いだが)や人情劇「牛盗人」、論争劇「鹿狩」(『記』の作品で江戸期・黒川での上演記録あり。「左近三郎」「出家狩人」の類曲)が黒川で成立していた時代もあったのだ。一種の狂言能ともいうべき演目である。ただ「千人切」も近年の上演記録は未見。

奥山けい子氏の論及によれば、黒川狂言と綾子舞狂言に、直接か間接かは不明だが、何らかの交流があったようで、双方に類似の演目がある。「千人切」も「大熊川」の題名で綾子舞狂言に伝えられている。

〈宝の槌〉 たからのつち 3名

アドの役名は大名。都へ上って宝物を求めて来いと太郎冠者に命ずる。スッパは冠者に宝を打ち出す呪文を教えるとき、「末広」と同じくささやいて教え、冠者もささやき返して確認する。「月氏国(がっしこく)にくわったり」を「此のところにくわたり」と言い直している。トメは追いこみ。大蔵系統か。

〈千鳥〉 ちどり 3名(『記』は「津島祭」)  
だいたい『記』どおり。誤記多し。

〈茶壺〉 ちゃつぼ 3名

大蔵、和泉、『記』などと筋、セリフに大差なし。誤記多し。壺主(中国の者)が目代に事情を申したてるとき、頼うだ人でなくて、自分の親が茶好きだという。連舞のときは頼うだ人になっている。茶壺もフロシキ包みで代用することがあるので、セリフも混乱している。

〈苞山伏〉 つとやまぶし 3名

だいたい『記』に拠っているが、3人の登場順が『黒』は山人、山伏、侍。侍が弁当の盗み食いをするのがおもしろい。『記』の終曲は山伏が「山人、あれを見よ、お侍の物に狂ふを見よ」で天正狂言本「苞御ひ(つとくわい)」を思わせる。『黒』は山人が追い込む。

〈釣狐〉 つりぎつね 2名(『記』は「こんくわい」)  
『記』とセリフは小異あれどほぼ同じ。『黒』ではさいごにキツネは捕まってしまう。大曲意識がないので、みなのかのびと演じているのがすばらしい。

〈不聞座頭〉 つんぼざとう 3名（『記』は聾座頭）  
だいたい『記』どおり。耳が遠い太郎冠者が、主人のこたばを聞き取れず「何と二、三日雨が降ると仰せらるるか、今晩は雪であろう」とつぶやくのは黒川らしいリアルさ。

〈名取川〉 なとりがわ 2名  
江戸期の城内能で、はじめ庄内藩御役者が演じ、のちに黒川狂言師が4回上演。御役者に習ったものか。そして東北の川の名から発想した奇想の作に、親近感があったものか。大蔵系台本。東国の僧が本山で受戒し、別の寺で名をつけてもらう。帰り途に名取川を徒歩で渡ったとき、衣に書いておいた名が消えた。名取のなながしと名のる男と偶然出会い、取った名を返せと迫る。

〈仁王〉 におう 2名、立衆大ぜい（『記』は「二王」）  
小異あるが『記』と同じ。『記』は仁王に化けた男が身動きしたようなので、参詣人が「こそぐってみましょう」となるが、ここが『黒』は明確でない。

〈西の宮〉 にしのみや 2名、立衆大ぜい（黒川で「釣女」の題名で演じられることが多い。『記』も「釣女」）

『記』にだいたい同じ。エビスとは絵に描いたもので、木で作ればキビスになる、という笑いも『記』にある。さいごに出てくるオトゴゼは“乙御前”で、狂言面乙（おと）をつけて不器量な女性を意味するが、『黒』では“男ぜ”と表記しているので混乱する。なお黒川能にも脇能「西の宮」があり紛わしい。この能は五流では廃曲。

〈禰宜山伏〉 ねぎやまぶし 4名  
伊勢の国の御師が茶屋で休むと、出羽の羽黒山の山伏が登場、大峯葛城から本国への帰り道。ほとんど『記』のまま。御師と茶屋の亭主が、山伏の横暴さにかげ口すると、山伏が聞きとがめる。

〈八郎〉 はちろう 3名、立衆大ぜい（『記』は「首引」）  
黒川でもふつう「首引」という。「ちんせい八郎」という例もあり。大蔵、和泉では鎮西八郎為朝（ゆかりの者、または本人）が都へ上ろうと播磨の国印南野（いなみの）にさしかかると親鬼が現われる。偶然鬼に出会ったのに対し、『記』や『黒』の八郎は鬼ヶ島に渡って宝物を取って帰ろうと思っている。親鬼はヒメ鬼に人間の食い初めをさせようとするが、ヒメ鬼は八郎を見て、きれいな男と腹押しがしたいなどといっている。

〈花折〉 はなおり 2名、立衆大ぜい  
『記』に、花見一行が弁当を開き、酒宴になり小舞を舞う、などのやりとりを加えたのが黒川の台本。

〈針立〉 はりたて 2名 (『記』は「針立雷」)  
黒川も「針立雷」といっている。『記』のほかに、医者の名のりなど、いろいろ工夫のセリフが入っている。あとは小異あるが『記』のとおり。

〈毘沙門〉 びしゃもん 巻3、巻4トモニ3名  
「巻3」の「毘沙門」は大蔵流では「連歌毘沙門」、和泉流は「毘沙門連歌」、大蔵は明治時代に廃曲。「巻4」は大蔵流現行曲の「毘沙門」。『黒』はどちらも大蔵系。両作とも参詣人がふたり、鞍馬の毘沙門天に参詣すると毘沙門からありの実(梨)を賜る。参詣人がありの実を「剥かで」食べた、と毘沙門の眷属であるムカデに掛けた連歌を詠んだ、という内容。

〈琵琶借勾当〉 びわかりこうとう 3名  
『黒』のはじめの状況説明が少しわかりにくい。和歌のはじめ勾当が、あとで伯養が詠む。これは和泉流ふう。盲人ふたりの相撲になり行司役の琵琶主をふたりで打ち倒す。

〈鼻山伏〉 ふくろやまぶし 3名  
太郎には弟がひとりいる。山から帰ると「もっけ」という状態になっていた。『記』には「うっかり」状態と書いてある。ときどき鳥のような奇声を上げる。山伏は旅をする山伏でなく、定住して祈祷を職業としているようだ。さいごに山伏は『黒』だと「のりつけほせ」と叫ぶ。鼻の鳴き声らしいが不詳。

〈附子〉 ぶす 3名  
『黒』では主人の役名は大名だが、「このあたりの者」と名のる。筋もセリフもだいたい『記』のとおり。小異、誤記あり。

〈文相撲〉 ふずもう 3名  
おおよ『記』のとおりで、大名は「八幡大名です」と名のり、フロを焚くのは道雲(大蔵、和泉ではどうきんという老人)。

〈棒縛〉 ぼうしばり 3名  
台本は大蔵系か。次郎冠者が棒を使って見せるところで「夜の棒」という印象的なセリフが入る。縛られたまま留守をすることになり、それでもふたりは酒蔵に入り酒を飲んでしまう。酔ったふたりは縄も解いてしまい舞を舞って楽しむ。縄を解くのは天理本、和泉流の野村又三郎家系統および狂言共同社で、なぜ黒川に伝わっているのだろうか。

〈三十日囃子〉 みそかばやし 3名  
茂平治という男、山ひとつ先の与平治に金を貸した。大みそかなので催促に行く。与平治は返す金がないので、知りあいの金持ちに借りて返すことにする。ふたりで借りに行くと、金持ちの主人は能好きで、さいきん買った笛、小鼓、太鼓の音色が聞きたい。金を貸す代りに与平治に奏してもらおう。ひと晩中、与平治は3つの楽器を奏しみなで楽しむうち夜

明けになり、年始が来るので茂平治は金を受取れぬまま帰り、与平治も帰ろうとすると、主人は今度は自分が舞うから太鼓を打ってくれ、とせがみながら追い込む。

能に夢中の主人の描写が黒川らしい。与平治が太鼓をいろいろに打ち分けると、主人が黒川流の手がおもしろい、という楽屋オチのセリフが祭では受けている。

明治期の今様（いまよう）能狂言の新作をもとに作られた狂言と伝える。



## SECTION 2

PERFORMING CULTURAL CONCEPTS: LEGENDS AND OBJECTS

文化的概念の演出：伝説と物体



# 能の「音楽」論序説

三浦 裕子

## はじめに

日本音楽における「音楽」の意味に着目し、その変遷について総合的に論じたごく初期のものに吉川英史氏の「「音楽」という用語とその周辺」があげられる。<sup>1</sup>そこでは能に関して

室町初期からの謡曲の歌詞に「音楽」という語がよく現れるが、《竹生島》や《羽衣》にも出てくるように天上の音楽（ときに浄土の音楽）を指し、ここでも俗楽とは区別した狭義の音楽の意味に使われているのである。

とあり、結語のひとつとして、日本音楽においては「平安初期ごろから「音楽（おんがく）」という語が用いられたが、主として、古代中国や古代朝鮮系統の器楽合奏曲を指した」と述べている。

吉川氏によれば、平安初期ごろの「音楽」は雅楽などおもに外来系器楽曲を意味していたが、中世芸能の能における「音楽」は「天上（浄土）の音楽」「天人の音楽」の意味に変化していることになる。これは〈竹生島〉〈羽衣〉以外の能にも当てはまることなのだろうか。

本稿では、他の能にまで範囲を広げ、そこに現れた「音楽」という用語を検討し、能に見る「音楽」を総合的に追究する第一歩としたい。なお以下では、用語としての音楽は「音楽」とし、音響現象としての音楽、すなわち現在用いられている音楽の意味を示す場合は、括弧を付さずそのまま音楽と表記することにする。

## I. 「音楽」が現れる場面

現行の能において「音楽」は30箇所<sup>2</sup>に現れる。<sup>2</sup>〈国栖〉〈誓願寺〉〈養老〉には2回<sup>3</sup>、〈難波〉には3回出てくるが、他の能には1回しか現れない。つまり、25曲の能に「音楽」が出てくるのである。

<sup>1</sup>『東京芸術大学音楽学部・年誌』第2集（1975年）に発表後、『日本音楽の美的研究』（音楽之友社、1984年）に再録。

<sup>2</sup>『謡曲二百五十番集・索引』（赤尾照文堂、1978年）を参照したが、新作能（大典）は除外した。

<sup>3</sup>〈国栖〉に2回「音楽」が現れるのはシテ方観世流の詞章。

これらを検討したところ、能の「音楽」には、(A) 天界の音楽<sup>4</sup>、(B) 雅楽、(C) 法要の音楽、という三つの意味が見出された。そのうち (A) は、[1] 神仏来御の予兆などの場面、[2] 成仏の場面、[3] 天界そのものを描写する場面、と使われる状況に応じてさらに細分化して考えることも可能かと思われる。

以下、この分類にしたがって「音楽」の現れる能を五十音順に上げ、「音楽」が用いられる役柄・場面などを簡単に記す。

(A) 天界の音楽

[1] 神仏来御の予兆などの場面

〈国栖〉天女（後ツレ）の来御

蔵王権現（後シテ）の来御

〈久世戸〉文殊菩薩の来御（謡による表現）

〈現在七面〉龍女（後シテ）の如我等無異の身への変身

〈佐保山〉佐保姫（後シテ）の来御

〈逆鉾〉瀧祭の神（後シテ）の来御

〈須磨源氏〉光源氏の霊（後シテ）の来御

〈西王母〉西王母（後シテ）の来御

〈誓願寺〉和泉式部の霊（後シテ）の来御

〈当麻〉化尼（前シテ）と化女（前ツレ）による本性の告知

〈竹生島〉弁才天（後ツレ）の来御

〈難波〉王仁（後シテ）と木花咲耶姫（後ツレ）の来御

〈寢覚〉三帰の翁（後シテ）の来御

〈羽衣〉羽衣が示す瑞相

〈富士山〉天女（後ツレ）の来御

〈和布刈〉天女（後ツレ）の来御

〈弓八幡〉高良の神（後シテ）の来御

〈養老〉山神（後シテ）の来御

〈吉野天人〉天人（後シテ）の来御

〈来殿〉天満天神（後シテ）の来御

〈輪蔵〉傳大士（後シテ）と普建・普成（子方）の来御

[2] 成仏の場面

〈水無瀬〉藤原為世の妻の霊（シテ）

[3] 天界そのものを描写する場面

〈誓願寺〉菩薩たちによる音楽（謡による表現）

〈大会〉大法要の様子（謡による表現）

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<sup>4</sup> 「天界の音楽」には吉川英史氏の言われる「天上の音楽（ときに浄土の音楽）」と同様の意味もあるが、氏の論との混乱を避けるために、ここではあえてこのような表現を用いた。

(B) 雅楽

〈梅枝〉富士の妻の霊（後シテ）が姿を消す際に聞こえるもの  
〈難波〉王仁の霊（後シテ）による舞楽

(C) 法要の音楽

〈天鼓〉天鼓の霊（後シテ）に手向けるもの  
〈山姥〉山の女（前シテ）が希望する供養

## II. 天界の音楽としての「音楽」

〈誓願寺〉には2箇所「音楽」が出てくると言ったが、あとのほうの「音楽」は「虚空に響くは音楽の声」という描写のなかにあるもので、誓願寺堂内の荘厳な様子を表すひとつの要素として用いられている。<sup>5</sup>〈大会〉では「天人雲に連なり。微妙の音楽を奏す」とあり、釈迦が靈鷲山で行った説法を再現するときに「音楽」が聞こえる。これらは天界そのものを描く際に鳴り響くものであり、その意味では吉川氏ご指摘の「天上（浄土）の音楽」と言えよう。このような用例を本稿では（A）[3]としたが、該当する曲は今述べた〈誓願寺〉〈大会〉の2曲しかなかった。一方、神仏来御の予兆などの場面に鳴り響く現象を「音楽」とする[1]の曲例は非常に多い。

これが（A）の最大の特徴と思われるが、以下では、さらに（A）について考えていきたい。

第一は、上記の繰り返しになるが、天界の存在がこの世に来御する際に予兆として聞こえる音響を「音楽」とする能が多く、[1]の20曲中14曲があげられる。例外は〈現在七面〉〈当麻〉〈寝覚〉〈富士山〉〈羽衣〉〈和布刈〉の6曲である。

〈寝覚〉では三帰の翁（後シテ）が現れ舞を舞う直前に「音楽」が響き、〈和布刈〉では天女（後ツレ）が現れ舞を舞う直前に「音楽」が聞こえる。

〈現在七面〉において「音楽」の現れる場面は

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<sup>5</sup> 〈誓願寺〉の最初の「音楽」は和泉式部の霊の来御の際に聞こえるものであることから（A）[1]に分類した。複数の「音楽」が見られる他の能〈国栖〉〈難波〉〈養老〉に関しては、〈国栖〉の場合、シテ方観世流では天女（後ツレ）と蔵王権現（後シテ）の来御にそれぞれ「音楽」が聞こえる。〈難波〉は3箇所「音楽」が出てくるが、最初と最後の「音楽」は王仁の霊（後シテ）と天女（後ツレ）の来御にかかわるものである。2箇所目の「音楽」については、「Ⅲ．雅楽あるいは法要の音楽としての「音楽」」の項で述べたい。〈養老〉では山神（後シテ）の登場の前と登場後に「音楽」が現れるが、続いて「諸天来御の影向かな」と謡われ舞が舞われるので、これら「音楽」も山神の来御を表すものと考えた。

たちまち蛇身変じつつ。如我等無異の身となれば。空には紫雲たなびき。四種の花降り。虚空に音楽聞こえてきて。宜禰が鼓に類ふなる。報謝の舞の袂も。異香薫じて吹き送る。

とあるように、龍女（後シテ）が如我等無異の身に变身するという奇跡に即して「音楽」が鳴り響くのである。〈当麻〉では化尼・化女が本性を名のる際に「その古の化尼化女の。夢中に現じ来れりと。いひもあへねば光さして。花降り異香薫じ。音楽の声すなり」とある。

〈富士山〉では天女（後ツレ）が勅使に仙薬を捧げる場面に「音楽」が聞こえ、〈羽衣〉では天人の羽衣のそばで「音楽」が鳴り響く。

〈寢覚〉〈和布刈〉以外の能では変身後の姿や本性という聖なる存在、あるいは仙薬や羽衣といった聖なる物体にともなう瑞相として「音楽」が鳴り響くと考えられよう。

第二は、「音楽」の予兆に導かれるように登場した神仏が「音楽」の鳴り響くなか舞を舞う能がほとんどであることである。上述の例外曲 6 曲は「音楽」を神仏来御の予兆とするものではないが、舞と「音楽」との関連は深い。これを考慮してこの 6 曲を含めると（A）[1] のうち 19 曲が該当し、例外は〈久世戸〉だけである。〈久世戸〉では「天竺五台山の。文殊を勧請し給へば。上は有頂の雲を分け。下は下界の龍神。音楽種々の花降り。御灯を捧げ奉る。その影向のありさま。語るも愚かなりけり」と文殊菩薩の来御の様子を謡だけで表現するもので、当然、文殊菩薩が舞を舞う場面にはならないのである。

「音楽」を背景に舞を舞う能として〈羽衣〉を例に考えると、漁師の白龍が羽衣を見つける場面に「音楽」が聞こえる。

われ三保の松原に上がり。浦の景色を眺むるところに。虚空に花降り音楽聞こえ。霊香四方に薫ず。これただことと思はぬところに。これなる松に美しき衣懸かれり。寄りて見れば色香妙にして常の衣にあらず。

すると天人が現れ、白龍から返された羽衣を身にまとい国風歌舞《東遊》を舞う。そこには「簫笛琴箏篪。孤雲の外に充ち満ちて」とさまざまな楽器の音が響くのである。<sup>6</sup>「音楽」が羽衣に付随する奇瑞であるとすれば、羽衣を着して天人が舞う舞にも「音楽」が鳴り響いていると考えられよう。となると、ここでの「音楽」は《東遊》であり、しかも実際の《東遊》には用いられない「簫・琴・箏篪」の楽音が聞こえるという複雑な様相を呈している。この点に関しては後ほど考察したい。

「音楽」を背景に舞を舞う 19 曲は、詞章にその名称などが具体的に示されているものと、曲名の提示もなく舞を舞う行為に言及することもなく舞事を舞うものがあるが、いずれにしても「音楽」の鳴り響く荘厳

<sup>6</sup> 謡本によっては「笙笛琴箏篪」とするものもあるが、正しくは「簫笛琴箏篪」と思われるので、本稿ではこちらの表記で統一した。

な雰囲気における舞と考えられよう。以下に、この 19 曲の舞の内容を簡単にまとめておく。<sup>7</sup>

- (a) 名称に言及するなど、舞に具体性のあるもの
  - 〈現在七面〉龍女（後シテ）の報謝の舞  
楽音など＝松の風、鈴の音
  - 〈国栖〉天女（後ツレ）の国風歌舞《五節舞》  
楽音など＝呂律の調、琴の音
  - 〈佐保山〉佐保姫（後シテ）の神楽
  - 〈逆鉾〉瀧祭の神（後シテ）の舞楽《古鳥蘇》
  - 〈須磨源氏〉光源氏の霊（後シテ）の舞楽《青海波》  
楽音など＝玉の笛、簫笛琴箏篳
  - 〈竹生島〉弁才天（後ツレ）の夜遊の舞楽
  - 〈難波〉王仁（後シテ）の舞楽《春鶯囀》など  
木花咲耶姫（後ツレ）の舞楽
  - 〈寢覚〉三帰の翁（後シテ）の夜遊の舞楽
  - 〈羽衣〉羽衣（シテ）の国風歌舞《東遊》  
楽音など＝簫笛琴箏篳
  - 〈富士山〉天女（後ツレ）  
楽音など＝簫笛琴箏篳
  - 〈和布刈〉天女（後ツレ）の舞
  - 〈弓八幡〉高良の神（後シテ）の初卯の神楽
  - 〈吉野天人〉天人（後シテ）の国風歌舞《五節舞》  
楽音など＝琵琶琴和琴簫箏篳鉦鼓鞀鼓、糸竹の声
  - 〈来殿〉天満天神（後シテ）の風雅の舞曲  
楽音など＝管絃
  - 〈輪藏〉傅大士（後シテ）の夜遊
- (b) 舞を舞う行為に言及しないもの
  - 〈西王母〉西王母（後シテ）
  - 〈誓願寺〉和泉式部の霊（後シテ）
  - 〈当麻〉中将姫（後シテ）
  - 〈養老〉山神（後シテ）

第三は、第二の特徴を受けるものであるが、「音楽」に雅楽や「簫笛琴箏篳」といった楽音などのイメージを重ねることが多い点である。上記 (a) に掲げた 15 曲がこれに該当する。平野健次氏は能〈竹生島〉〈羽衣〉に現れる「音楽」を「具体性を持たない、つまり実態不明の天人の「音楽」（略）こうした音楽に拘わるものは、謡曲の作者にとっては、そ

<sup>7</sup> ここで舞われる舞事に関しては煩雑さを避けるため、考察の対象とはしなかった。

の具体的実証性は、どうでもよかったことなのであろう」と評しておられる。<sup>8</sup>

『観無量寿経』に極楽を観想する13段階が記されているが、そのうちの第6段階に「楽器ありて、虚空に懸処し、天の宝幢のごとく、鼓たざるにおのずから鳴る」と天上の楽器が自然に鳴り響く様子が描かれている。<sup>9</sup>ここでの音楽は非常に抽象的なものである。これも平野氏が指摘しておられることだが<sup>10</sup>、〈羽衣〉などに見る楽器群「簫笛琴箏篪」は『法華経』「方便品」の「人をして樂を作さしめ鼓を撃ち、角・貝を吹き簫・笛・琴・箏篪 琵琶・鏡・銅鈸かくの如き衆の妙音を尽く持て、以て供養し」を引くものである。<sup>11</sup>音楽書『文机談』（1274年成立）に「経には、簫・笛・琴・箏篪・琵琶・鏡・銅鈸と侍るにや」と記されているように<sup>12</sup>、経典に描かれた楽器といえば『法華経』「方便品」のものを中世の人びとは想像したのではないだろうか。『観無量寿経』などに描かれた抽象的な天上の音楽を、より具体的なものとするために、能作者は「音楽」に雅楽や『法華経』の楽器群のイメージを重ねたのではないだろうか。その際、たとえば〈羽衣〉で《東遊》が舞われる場面に、実際には用いられない簫・琴・箏篪という楽器を明記するという、平野氏のいう「具体的実証性」とは異なる方向にイメージを膨らませていったのであろう。

第四は、能の「音楽」は、紫雲がたなびく（〈現在七面〉〈当麻〉〈輪藏〉）、異香が薫る（〈現在七面〉〈逆鉢〉〈誓願寺〉〈当麻〉〈寢覚〉〈羽衣〉〈和布刈〉〈弓八幡〉〈吉野天人〉〈輪藏〉）、花が降る（〈現在七面〉〈九世戸〉〈佐保山〉〈逆鉢〉〈誓願寺〉〈当麻〉〈竹生島〉〈寢覚〉〈羽衣〉〈養老〉〈吉野天人〉〈輪藏〉）などという他の超自然現象とともに鳴り響く場合が多いことである。（A）[1] 20曲のうち15曲がこれに該当し、単独に「音楽」が用いられる能は〈国栖〉〈須磨源氏〉〈難波〉〈富士山〉〈来殿〉の5曲であった。

たとえば『平家物語』灌頂巻は建礼門院の臨終を「西に紫雲たなびき、異香室にみち、音楽そらにきこゆ」と描いている。<sup>13</sup>往生を遂げる場面に響く「音楽」は紫雲・異香・花とともに極楽の瑞相のひとつである。能でも同様な考えが見られるのである。

しかしながら、ここには能独特の「音楽」の意味も見出せるように思われる。『平家物語』の建礼門院は、この世に出現した極楽世界に包み

<sup>8</sup> 「日本において音楽とは何か」（岩波講座『日本の音楽・アジアの音楽』第1巻、1998年）所収。

<sup>9</sup> 引用は、中村元・早島鏡正・紀野一義訳注『浄土三部経』下巻（岩波書店、1964年）55頁。

<sup>10</sup> 前掲書（注8）。

<sup>11</sup> 引用は、坂本幸男・岩本裕訳注『法華経』上巻（岩波書店、1962年）116頁。

<sup>12</sup> 引用は、岩佐美代子『文机談全注釈』（笠間書院、2007年）9頁。

<sup>13</sup> 引用は、市古貞次校注『平家物語』（2）（日本古典文学全集30、小学館、1975年）、532頁。



込まれるようにしてあの世に旅立つ。すなわち、「音楽」などの奇瑞を通して、極楽がこの世に「来る」、人間があの世に「行く」という往復の事象が同時に描かれるのである。これは『平家物語』だけでなく、『日本往生極楽記』などの往生伝や、あるいは来迎図のような美術作品にも同様の描写が認められることから、これが当時の「音楽」の一般的理解であったと思われる。

この観点からすると (A) [1] の用例は、神仏がこの世に来御する際に鳴り響く現象、および来御ののちに舞を舞うときに聞こえる音響として描かれており、当時の「音楽」観としては特殊なものと言えるのではないだろうか。

一方、(A) [2] に分類した〈水無瀬〉では、藤原為世の妻の霊(シテ)が夫の弔いを受けて成仏するときに「音楽」とともに紫雲がたなびく奇瑞が起こる。これは前述の『平家物語』の記述に近く、極楽世界が出現しそれに包まれて往生を遂げる際に「音楽」が鳴り響くと考えられよう。しかし、このような能の「音楽」の用例は現行曲では1曲だけである。

### Ⅲ. 雅楽あるいは法要の音楽としての「音楽」

(B) にあげた雅楽の意味で「音楽」が用いられている例は〈梅枝〉〈難波〉の2曲である。〈梅枝〉で「音楽」が現れるのは終曲部で「音楽の音は、松風にたぐへて。ありし姿は明けぐれに。面影ばかりや残らん」と、富士の妻の霊(後シテ)が夜明けとともに姿を消す場面である。その前に妻の霊は《夜半楽》などさまざまな舞楽を奏しており、それらを「音楽」という用語で表現したと考えることができよう。

前述のように〈難波〉には「音楽」が3回現れる。神仏来御の予兆を告げるものとして「音楽」が響き、それに導かれて登場した神仏が舞を舞う能を (A) [1] にまとめたが、〈難波〉の場合は、予兆として響く「音楽」が詞章に記され、さらに舞を舞う場面にも「音楽」が用いられている。つまり「あら面白の音楽や」とあり、続いて《春鶯囀》《秋風楽》《萬歳楽》《青海波》《抜頭》という舞楽名を連ねて王仁の霊(後シテ)が舞を舞う場面が展開するので、ここでの「音楽」は雅楽の意味に解釈したいと思う。

〈梅枝〉は伶人・富士の妻の霊が無念の死を遂げた夫を偲ぶ能であり、〈難波〉は梅に鶯が戯れる春の難波にこと寄せて王仁が舞楽《春鶯囀》などを舞う能で、2曲とも雅楽との強い関連を見せるものである。

(C) にあげた法要の音楽の意味を持つ「音楽」は〈天鼓〉〈山姥〉の2曲と思われる。

〈天鼓〉では帝が天鼓の霊に管絃講を捧げるが、それを「かかる音楽の。舞楽も天鼓が手向の鼓」と記しているので、「音楽」は舞楽が手向けられるような管絃講に奏されるものと考えよう。その際、興味深い点は、天鼓が管絃講に導かれて登場すると天の鼓を打ち鳴らして舞を舞

うのだが、これは (A) [1] で神仏来御の予兆として鳴り響いた「音楽」を背景に舞を舞う場面に類似している。

〈山姥〉では山の女（前シテ）が「輪廻を逃れ。帰性の善所に至るため、百万山姥（ツレ）に「舞歌音楽の妙音」を所望する。「舞歌音楽の妙音」にはいろいろな解釈が成り立つだろうが、かりに「山姥の曲舞」という「舞歌」を百万山姥が謡い舞うことが「音楽の妙音」になると解釈すれば、「音楽」は山姥の曲舞かつ法要の音楽となろう。

## おわりに

『日本紀略』延喜 21 年 (921) にある「覧雅楽寮舞人。於清涼殿前奏音楽」は日本の文献に「音楽」が現れる初期のものとして有名だが、ここでの「音楽」は雅楽寮の楽人が演奏したものであることから、天界の音楽の意味ではない。10 世紀末に慶滋保胤が著した『日本往生極楽記』には高僧の往生に「音楽」が響く記述が多く見られ、『日本紀略』の「音楽」の例から百年も経たないうちに、「音楽」は極楽に鳴る音響をも意味するようになったと思われる。10 世紀末といえは源信が『往生要集』を書いた時代であり、これから半世紀のちの永承 7 年 (1052) には未法の世が到来すると当時は信じられていた。

本稿では、能における「音楽」が天界に鳴り響く音響というイメージのもと、神仏が来御する予兆である用例が圧倒的に多いことを確認した。10 世紀末ごろから見られる「音楽」の意味と合致することが言えるのであるが、能の場合には「音楽」を背景に神仏が舞を舞うことが多いこと、さらには雅楽などの意味も重ね合わされていることも少なくなく、そこに「簫笛琴箏篪」という具体的な楽音が添えられている例も見受けられた。

極楽など天界に鳴り響く「音楽」を当時の人びとはどのように想像したのだろうか。たとえば『古今著聞集』（1254 年成立）には源博雅の誕生時の奇瑞として「天を聞くに微妙の音楽あり。笛二、笙二、箏・琵琶各一、鼓一聞えけり。世間の楽にも似ず」と記している。<sup>14</sup>このように雅楽の楽器の実際を用いて「音楽」を描写する例は来迎図などでも視覚的に行っていることで、能の発想と一致するところである。しかし、『法華経』にある楽器群を記す能以外の記述を管見では発見できていない。

今後の課題としては、文学・美術および芸能における「音楽」をさらに調査し、能と比較することで、能の描く「音楽」の世界をより深く厳密に考えていきたいと思っている。

<sup>14</sup> 引用は、西尾光一・小林保治校注『古今著聞集』上巻（新潮社、1983 年）294 頁。

# MIRROR OF ATTACHMENT

## ON MAGIC MIRRORS AND REFLECTIONS IN NŌ PLAYS BY ZEAMI MOTOKIYO<sup>1</sup>

*Pia SCHMITT*

### I. INTRODUCTION

Suit the action to the word, the word to the action, with this special observance, that you o'erstep not the modesty of nature. For anything so o'erdone is from the purpose of playing, whose end both at the first, and now, was and is, to hold as 'twere the mirror up to nature; to show virtue her own feature, scorn her own image, and the very age and body of the time his form and pressure.<sup>2</sup>

In many cultures, the mirror – as well as the mirror image as a structural concept – has a long history of meaning in the fields of art, religion, philosophy and descriptions of the human psyche.<sup>3</sup> In theater, as in other arts, the mirror plays an important role as a metaphor characterizing the process of mimesis, as much as the psychological effect the work has on its recipients. Psychoanalytic theater theory, for example, refers to the stage as a mirror for the spectators and emphasizes the audience's identification with the events presented to them.<sup>4</sup> As the French cultural studies scholar Sabine Melchior-Bonnet summarizes, the mirror also plays an important role in providing a private stage for individual performance, as described in the following:

The mirror acts more or less as a theatrical stage on which each person creates himself from an imaginary projection, from social and

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<sup>1</sup> This essay on the mirror was written during a research stay at Waseda University. The author wishes to express her thanks to Professor Takemoto Mikio and Professor Miyake Akiko for their support. The analysis of the mirror in nō is part of my dissertation project on nō-props.

<sup>2</sup> Hamlet III.ii, Sisson 1954: 1019. Mikiko Ishii also quotes this passage in her comparative study of nō and Shakespearean theater (1994: 51).

<sup>3</sup> Konersmann 1995: 1379.

<sup>4</sup> Balme 2003: 66.

aesthetic models and from an appearance that all reciprocally sustain each other.<sup>5</sup>

Not least – as this paper tries to explore – the mirror is also an effective and charming prop.

Since ancient times, the mirror in Japan has played a decisive role in cult and ritual, and, consequently cultural spheres linked to performance. As Klaus Antoni illustrates, the meaning and fascination of the mirror first unfolded in the Shintoistic cult surrounding the sun-goddess Amaterasu-ōmikami.<sup>6</sup> In a famous episode recorded in the *Kojiki* (Records of Ancient Matters, 712),<sup>7</sup> the lesser gods also make use of a mirror in their staged spectacle to elicit the sun-goddess out of her hideout, where she had retreated after being offended by her crude brother Susanoo no mikoto's rambunctious violence.<sup>8</sup>

Buddhism, as Aoki Yutaka points out, also made use of the dramatic and scenic effects of the reflective surface. Especially in the syncretistic efforts of medieval Japan, the mirror turned into an important structural and visual concept. Buddhas and Bodhisattvas were considered to be reflections of indigenous deities (*kami*). To effectively stage this belief, the Buddhist figures' outlines were drawn on sacred Shintoistic mirrors.<sup>9</sup>

Not least, the mirror played an important role in medieval material culture as a much-sought-after and prestigious object. In the context of an extensive enlargement and specialization of handcraft – motivated by flourishing trade relations with China, Korea and, even reaching as far as Vietnam –<sup>10</sup> the import and production of mirrors also experienced a considerable increase. As Aoki points out, during the Muromachi period (1336–1573), metallic mirrors became popular among the fashionable and wealthy.<sup>11</sup>

Considering these deep roots of the mirror in cult, ritual, religious ceremony, and as such in acts of performance, but also in material culture, it is not surprising that *nō* as premodern stagecraft is pervaded by it. As a thematic motif, the mirror plays an important role in many works. Plays attributed to Zeami Motokiyo (1363?–1443?), in which the mirror func-

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<sup>5</sup> Melchior-Bonnet 2001: 174.

<sup>6</sup> Antoni 1989: 15–7.

<sup>7</sup> Unless they are proper names, translations of Japanese titles will be given in parentheses.

<sup>8</sup> Kurano and Takeda 1958: 81–5.

<sup>9</sup> Aoki 1992: 77.

<sup>10</sup> Sasamoto 2002: 146–9.

<sup>11</sup> Aoki 1992: 133.

tions either as a man-made object or in its most natural and primordial form as reflection in the water plays an important role as central topic or as poetic leitmotif, are the works *Higaki* (The Cypress Fence), *Matsukaze* (Pining Wind),<sup>12</sup> *Izutsu* (The Well Cradle), *Nomori* (Field-watch), and the unperformed plays *Sanekata*<sup>13</sup> and *Matsura*.<sup>14</sup> In medieval Japan, the mirror was already being implemented as an effective prop in performances of some of these works.

The mirror as a prop and as a popular thematic motif in the aforementioned *nō*, will be the focus of this analysis. In part II and III, I will attempt to analyze the mirror's 'ideological baggage'<sup>15</sup> by taking a closer look at reflections and mirrors in the dramatic texts. Part IV will examine the development of the mirror as a prop and explore its relationship to material medieval culture. In this connection, Zeami's notes on staging the play *Matsura*, as well as later instructions and sketches by Kanze Sōsetsu (1509–83) and lay actor Shimotsuma Shōshin (1551–1616) provide valuable insights.

The topic of the mirror has appealed to many scholars, who have produced numerous studies on its cultural history, meaning, and also portrayal in literary texts. A thorough study of the mirror's function in European culture emphasizing the French context is provided by Sabine Melchior-Bonnet (2001). Aoki Yutaka (1992) traces the mirror in Japanese cultural history. Articles dealing with the Japanese context include Matsuoka Shinpei's research on water imagery in plays by Zeami (1990), Klaus Antoni's study in German that focuses on the mirror as comic motif in Japanese, Indian and Chinese fairy stories, Stanca Scholz-Cionca's article on the motif of scooping water in pre-modern Japanese literature (1997) also mentions the topic, as does her study on the art of *kyōgen* (1998). Taking these examinations as a point of departure, this paper tries to tackle two tasks. One aim is to provide a more comprehensive analysis of the mirror in Zeami's works. The other aim is to examine medieval *nō*

<sup>12</sup> *Matsukaze*, as Yokomichi Mario and Omote Akira summarize in their edition of the play, was originally written by Kan'ami (1333–1384) and then reworked by his son Zeami. The treatise *Sarugaku dangi* (Talks on Sarugaku, 1430) and the style of the work indicate this process of creation (1960: 57).

<sup>13</sup> Concerning the author of the play *Sanekata*, there are different opinions among Japanese scholars. Following the analysis in Tanaka 1989 and in Matsuoka 1990, this paper will treat the play as Zeami's work.

<sup>14</sup> Itō Masayoshi emphasizes on the basis of a stylistic analysis that *Matsura* must have been written by Zeami (2000: 1). In his manuscript Zeami includes the work under the title *Matsura no nō* (The *nō* Matsura) (Getsuyōkai 1997: 128). In this analysis the play will be referred to as *Matsura*.

<sup>15</sup> Sofer 2003: 17.

from the perspective of theater studies, including thoughts on the mirror on stage.

## II. MIZUKAGAMI – REFLECTING WATERS

At the barrier to Ōsaka, like the full moon, too reflected in the clear water, now we wish to drive you on, horses from Mochizuki.<sup>16</sup>

*Ōsaka no seki no kiyomizu ni kage miete ima ya hikuramu mochizuki no koma.*<sup>17</sup>

In the classic poetic literature of Japan particularly the oldest form of the mirror, the reflecting surface of clear water is a central motif. As the Japanese literary scholar Matsuoka Shinpei points out, one poet who is especially fond of reflective waters is Ki no Tsurayuki (?–945), compiler of the famous anthology *Kokin wakashū* (A Collection of Poems, Ancient and Modern, 905–914) and author of its Japanese foreword.<sup>18</sup> Atmospheric images recur in the poet's work. A bonfire (*kagaribi*) makes the surface of the nightly river seemingly aflame, while deep waters (*mina soko*) reflect the blazing colors of autumn foliage and a hand scooping water catches the reflection of the moon.<sup>19</sup>

A Buddhist connotation can be found in these reflections. As Fabio Rambelli points out, the full moon mirrored in still water signifies the state of enlightenment to the same extent as the clear, reflecting surface itself, which represents 'the originally pure substance of the mind.'<sup>20</sup> At the same time, however, the momentary reflection also becomes a strong symbol for the fleetingness of the world.<sup>21</sup>

In *nō*, these atmospheric images are interwoven into poetic chains of multilayered allusions. In *Matsukaze*, the female protagonists – two salt-makers – scoop the reflection of the moon with their buckets, conjuring up an association to Tsurayuki's scooping hand; in *Higaki*, the nightly

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<sup>16</sup> The poem depicts the custom of presenting horses to the emperor performed every August since the Heian period (794–1185). 'Mochizuki' here, as the editor Hagitani Boku points out, as *kakekotoba* (homonym) refers to the full moon as well as to the village of Mochizuki in the present day Nagano prefecture (1969: 157).

<sup>17</sup> *Tsurayuki zenkashū* (Tsurayuki's Collected Poems, year of creation unknown), No. 14: 157. Unless otherwise specified, translations of Japanese texts are by the author. This poem is also quoted by Matsuoka 1990: 4.

<sup>18</sup> Matsuoka 1990: 4–5.

<sup>19</sup> *Tsurayuki zenkashū*, No. 10: 157; No. 26: 159; No. 856: 282.

<sup>20</sup> Rambelli 2001: 24.

<sup>21</sup> See Scholz-Cionca 1993: 20.

river mirrors the moon<sup>22</sup> and in the unperformed *Matsura*, the image of the full moon shimmering in the crystal stream pervades the play like a red thread.<sup>23</sup>

Buddhism, however, adopts an ambivalent attitude towards objects, as Fabio Rambelli illustrates in his study on *Buddhist Materiality*.<sup>24</sup> This also applies to the mirror, be it in the simple form of reflecting waters or as a man-made object. The crystalline reflecting surface thus does not only constitute a powerful symbol of the enlightened mind. It also holds the danger of forming too strong an attachment to outward appearance,<sup>25</sup> conjuring up associations with the myth of Narcissus. This aspect of the mirror creating dramatic scenes of inner conflict repeatedly unfolds in Zeami's works.

Nobody could serve as a more appropriate protagonist to illustrate this than the dandy-like character who is placed in the center of the *nō Sanekata*. In this play, which, as historical documents record, was performed until the Edo period (1600–1867),<sup>26</sup> an old man, the ghost of the Heian period (794–1185) poet Fujiwara no Sanekata (?–998), appears as *shite* (protagonist). Following the structure of a dream *nō* (later scientific term *mugen nō*)<sup>27</sup> this inconspicuous person hints of his illustrious life at the imperial court, the compilation of the *Kokin wakashū*, and his beautifully dancing figure and then he disappears.<sup>28</sup> In the second half of the play, while gazing at his face in reflective water, the protagonist once more conjures up his erstwhile beauty:

Chorus:

Seeing my reflection in the water	<i>Mizu ni utsuru kage mireba</i>
It is still my own, but beautiful.	<i>waga mi, nagara mo utsukushiku</i>

<sup>22</sup> Yokomichi and Omote 1960: 61 and 281.

<sup>23</sup> Getsuyōkai 1997: 139. Further works attributed to Zeami, in which reflective water is mentioned as a poetic motif, are *Yumi yawata* (The Bow of Hachiman Shrine), *Takasago* and *Sakuragawa* (The Cherry-Blossom River) (see Ōtani 1978a: 300–1 and 1978b: 1223–4).

<sup>24</sup> Rambelli 2007: 66–70.

<sup>25</sup> On this aspect, see also the entry on the mirror in the *Butsugu jiten* (Dictionary of Buddhist Tools) (Shimizu 1978: 20).

<sup>26</sup> Tanaka 1989: 56.

<sup>27</sup> In his ten introductory lectures on *nō*, Amano Fumio explains the history of the term *mugen nō* (dream *nō*). He summarizes that the term was first used in a radio feature on *nō* in the year 1926 (Amano 2004: 47).

<sup>28</sup> Tanaka 1989: 274–5. In 1987 a revised version of the play was staged by Komparu Nobutaka (1920–2010). In the revised text an episode in which *Sanekata* was praised for tastefully embellishing his hat with a twig of bamboo, only briefly alluded to in Kanze Motoyori's copy, becomes a central motif (Tanaka 1989: 288–300).

Undesignedly I stay	<i>kokoro narazu ni yasuraite</i>
The hand of dance forgotten like	<i>mai no te o wasuremizu no</i>
secret streams	
Bending it to purifying waters	<i>mitarashi ni mukaitsutsu</i>
Captivated by the reflection I linger.	<i>kage ni mitorete tatazumeri.</i> <sup>29</sup>

However, the illusion of youthful splendor dissolves and the protagonist painfully recognizes his withered face. In chant that alternates with the chorus, he laments his unkempt white hair (*midaruru wa hakuhatsu*) and withered figure (*rōsui no kage*).<sup>30</sup> The reflecting water here also turns into a mirror of truth, dramatically displaying the protagonist's real shape.

In *Sanekata*, attachment (*shūshin*) to his beautiful reflection binds the protagonist beyond death. A parallel example is developed in Zeami's *Higaki*. Here the protagonist, a female dancer (*shirabyōshi*), is even portrayed as suffering in the hell of flames and heat (*shōnetsu jigoku*) ceaselessly scooping hot water which scalds her body as a punishment for attachment to a former existence. In this work, too, the playwright places the gaze into the water at the climax of the action:

Chorus:

My face so beautiful,	<i>Samo utsukushiki</i>
	<i>kōgan no,</i>
My hair shining like the kingfisher's	<i>hisui no kazura</i>
wings,	
faded like flowers,	<i>hana shiore,</i>
Eyebrows beautiful like the new moon,	<i>katsura no mayu mo</i>
now white like falling frosts.	<i>shimo furite</i>
Reflection in the water,	<i>mizu ni utsuru</i>
	<i>omokage,</i>
An old and withered shade sunken on	<i>rōsui kage shizunde.</i> <sup>31</sup>
its bottom.	

A different nuance of meaning mingles in the image of the reflecting water in the *nō Izutsu*. Here the mirror seems, significantly, to provide a gate to another world. In this well-known example, the female protagonist – daughter of the poet Ki no Arisune – cannot forget her late husband, Ariwara no Narihira. At the climax of the play, her ghost

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<sup>29</sup> Tanaka 1989: 279. The Japanese text refers to the version recorded by Kanze Motoyori, copied in 1557 (Ibid.: 270–81).

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.: 280. See also Matsuoka 1990: 2.

<sup>31</sup> Yokomichi and Omote 1960: 285. See also Matsuoka 1990: 3.



appears in the beloved's robe and hat and gazes into the well, where, as children, the two had measured their height. It is not her own face, however, but her lost husband's that seems to look back at the protagonist in that dramatic moment:

Chorus:

<p>Just as he looked, the Man of Old, his robe and headdress, conceal the woman, show me a man, Narihira.<sup>32</sup></p>	<p><i>Sanagara mimieshi, mukashi otoko no, kamuri naoshi wa, onna to mo miezu, otoko narikeri, Narihira no omokage.</i><sup>33</sup></p>
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In the reflecting water of the well, the religious meaning of the mirror elucidated by Antoni resonates. The belief that the mirror does not only reflect the visible face, but also the invisible soul – or even the soul of a departed – constitutes a widespread religious view.<sup>34</sup> Thus, it is not surprising that in Buddhist mythology, King Enma, watchman of the gate to hell, possesses a magic mirror that reveals the departed's heart.<sup>35</sup> In premodern literature, numerous *waka*<sup>36</sup> and tales, the mirror providing access to an unreachable person was crystallized into a popular topic.<sup>37</sup> The poem on the 'sparrow hawk finder's mirror,' documented and annotated in numerous commentaries,<sup>38</sup> is one example. Zeami weaves the well-known verse into his *nō Nomori*, linking it with the reflective surface of a pond (*nomori no mizukagami*).<sup>39</sup>

Sparrow hawk finder, Watchman's Mirror, would you were mine!  
Unseen I'd see does she love me or not.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Tyler 1992: 131.

<sup>33</sup> Yokomichi and Omote 1960: 279.

<sup>34</sup> Antoni 1989: 14.

<sup>35</sup> Aoki 1992: 115.

<sup>36</sup> The term *waka* refers to a Japanese poem with 31 syllables.

<sup>37</sup> On the mirror as access to an unreachable person see also the analysis by Antoni (1989). Oda Sachiko (1976) gives examples of the motif in *waka* in her article on the mirror and *nō* plays about demons.

<sup>38</sup> Yokomichi Mario and Omote Akira name the *Ōgishō* (Quintessential Comments [on Poetry], 1135–1144), *Shūchūshō* (Comments [on Poetry] from Inside the Sleeve, 1185–1187), *Kigoshō* (Comments on Idle Words, 1107–1116) and *Toshiyori zuinō* (Toshiyori's Essential Thoughts [on Poetry], approx. 1115) (1960: 314).

<sup>39</sup> Yokomichi and Omote 1960: 314.

<sup>40</sup> Tyler 1978: 184.

*Hashi kata no nomori no kagami ete shigana, omoi omowazu, yoso nagara min.*<sup>41</sup>

However, Zeami's depiction of reflection in his work *Izutsu* also seems to surpass religious belief. The reflection in the well almost appears to provide an insight into the protagonist's psyche, in terms of Melchior-Bonnet's analysis:

Consciousness of the reflection, and reflection of the consciousness, the mirror image never ceases to be an illusion. Yet the illusion is not always deceptive. It can even provide a useful moment of psychic reality. The mirror is the place of transfer, a space of imagination in which the subject disguises his self and makes contact with his fantasies.<sup>42</sup>

However, this moment of illusion in *Izutsu*, as Stanca Scholz-Cionca points out, is not free from narcissistic traits.<sup>43</sup>

### III. ON DIVINE AND HELLSH MIRRORS

Sideman:

If that Dharma-might I've built up year in,	<i>Ware nengyō no kō o</i>
year out by my work is real,	<i>tsumeru,</i>
then bring out your magic mirror,	<i>sono hōriki no makoto</i>
demon, show me wonders! <sup>44</sup>	<i>araba,</i>
	<i>kijin no myōchō</i>
	<i>arawashite,</i>
	<i>ware ni kidoku o mise</i>
	<i>tamae.</i> <sup>45</sup>

Not only is the reflective surface of clear water an attractive topic and motif for Zeami Motokiyo, the mirror as a man-made or divine object repeatedly plays a central role in his plays. It is mysterious and magic, an object of fear and worship. Especially the apparently divine mirror, without a clear origin, concentrates supernatural powers.

Besides the initially quoted *Nomori*, Zeami's unperformed *nō Matsura* presents a fascinating example. This work is one of the few plays for

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<sup>41</sup> Yokomichi and Omote 1960: 315.

<sup>42</sup> Melchior-Bonnet 2001: 182.

<sup>43</sup> Scholz-Cionca 1997: 326.

<sup>44</sup> *Nomori*, Tyler 1978: 186.

<sup>45</sup> Yokomichi and Omote 1960: 316.

which even the author's handwritten manuscript, bearing the date Ōei 34 (1427) still exists. *Matsura*, however, was not crowned with success at the time of its appearance. The absence of later medieval documents recording its staging indicates that the work must have been removed from the repertoire of plays in regular performance as early as the late Muromachi period (1336–1573).<sup>46</sup> Since it seems that *Matsura* has not yet been translated into English, the play will be treated in more detail here.

The mirror Zeami dramatizes in his forgotten play is a keepsake (*katami*). Ōtomo no Sadehiko has given this precious object to his beloved, the fisherwoman Sayohime, at the Bay of Matsura, which is located in present day Kyūshū, as a parting gift before leaving for the land of Mimana on the Korean peninsula. Already the Gazetteer of the Land Hizen (*Hizen no kuni fudoki*), composed around 732, mentions this emotionally charged mirror.<sup>47</sup>

Besides the motif of Sayohime sorrowfully waving at her lover's departing boat from the peak of a mountain at Matsura Bay,<sup>48</sup> the keepsake mirror also attracts numerous writers' attention from the late Heian period (794–1185) onwards. Commentaries on *waka* poetry, such as the *Shūchūshō* (Comments from Inside the Sleeve, approx. 1185–1187), the *Waka dōmōshō* (Comments for Beginners of Poetry, late Heian period) and the *Jikkīnshō* (Extracts from Ten Lessons, 1252) – a collection of tales – circulate the story of Sadehiko's present.<sup>49</sup>

Dramatizing both motifs, Zeami here too unfolds the story of the mirror in the pattern of a dream *nō*. A wandering monk reaches the Bay of Matsura, where he encounters a simple fisherwoman. She hints at the story of Sayohime, who hurls herself into the floods of a stream, clasping the keepsake-mirror at her breast, and disappears. In the second half of the play, the protagonist – called by the monk's prayers – appears in her true shape, holding the precious object.

Once more, the reflecting surface here builds a bridge to the unreachable beloved. Echoing the scene in *Izutsu* in which the protagonist gazes into the still waters of the well, the 'noble' face of Ōtomo no Sadehiko seems to appear in Sayohime's mirror as well. Here, however, it is not the

<sup>46</sup> Nishino 1985: 28.

<sup>47</sup> Akimoto 1958: 395.

<sup>48</sup> The motif of Sayohime waving at the parting boats carrying away her beloved is first developed in a circle of poems by Yamanoue no Okura (approx. 660–733) in the *Man'yōshū* (Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves, late Nara period (710–784)) (Takagi, Gomi and Ōno 1959: 82–95).

<sup>49</sup> On the development of the motif see the detailed interpretations in Yoshioka (1906), Tyler (1998), Itō (2000) and Harada (2006).

female protagonist to whom this uncanny reflection manifests itself, but the priest who notices Sadehiko's countenance with astonishment. The mirror thus becomes a magic object:

Monk:

How strange!

Once I worship this divine mirror  
it does not reflect my face.

No, a noble man appears,  
a figure neatly wearing his hat.

What is the meaning of this?

*Fushigi ya na*

*kono shinkei o hai sureba*

*mukō omote wa utsurazu shite*

*samo namamekeru nantai no*

*kamuri tadashiki menshoku nari*

*ko wa somo ikanaru onkoto zo.*

Sayohime:

Oh shame!

Outcome of my attachment!

I swore to him,  
but time passed swiftly.

My wrath for Sadehiko has grown,  
crystallized in this mirror,

but I cannot break away from it.

*Hazukashi ya*

*sono shūshin no mukueba koso*

*chigiri mo hayaku Sadehiko no*

*urami wa nao mo masukagami ni*

*katachi o nokoshite*

*sute yaranu.*<sup>50</sup>

A variety of popular beliefs surround the visualizing of the souls of the departed, some involving the mirror as a powerful instrument. The *nō Shōkun*, an old play of unknown origin transmitted in the Konparu School, contains a specific segment in which the aged father of the late beauty Shōkun remembers and relates the following story on an old custom:

Hakudō:

In ancient times someone named

Peach Leaf

Exchanged solemn vows with a nymph

After the nymph had passed away,

He held peach flowers before a mirror,

And the nymph's form became visible.<sup>51</sup>

*Mukashi tōyō to*

*itsushi hito,*

*senjo to chigiri o*

*kome asakarazarishi ni,*

*senjo munashiku*

*narite nochi,*

*momo no hana o*

*kagami ni utsuseba,*

*sanagara senjo no*

*sugata miekeru to nari.*<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Getsuyōkai 1997: 141.

<sup>51</sup> Sesar 1970: 173.

<sup>52</sup> Yokomichi and Omote 1960: 171.

Following this advice, the parents can once more see the figure of their beloved daughter on the crystalline surface.<sup>53</sup>

In *Matsura*, however, the mirror transcends this function of an instrument providing a mere gate to the departed. As the phrase *kono shinkei o haisureba* ('Once I worship this divine mirror') in the aforementioned quotation indicates, the mirror also represents a religious sanctuary. It seems to refer to the 'divine body of the sun-goddess, Amaterasu-ōmikami.'<sup>54</sup> Already the first words of the inconspicuous fisherwoman provide hints of this idea:

Woman:

This river is named 'Matsuragawa.'	<i>Kore koso Matsuragawa nite sōroe</i>
Here at its mouth Sayohime clasping the mirror to her breast hurled herself into the floods.	<i>kono minato nite Sayohime mo kagami o idakite mi o nagekeru to ka ya</i>
Her ghost remained and this very day her shrine is called the 'Mirror Shrine.'	<i>sono hakurei nokotte, ima mo kagami no miya to ka ya,</i>
If you please go there and pray!	<i>mairite ogamase tamae to yo.</i> <sup>55</sup>

The motif of Sayohime's mirror here mingles with the goddess worshipped in the shrine of Matsura. Already during the Tenbyō shōhō era (749–757), as the Great Encyclopedia of Shintoism (*Shintō daijiten*) lists, the 'Mirror Shrine' (*kagami jinja*) was erected on these shores in honor of the shamanistic empress Jingū.<sup>56</sup> In view of the portrayal of the empress as fisherwoman in the aforementioned *Hizen no kuni fudoki*,<sup>57</sup> a later identification of the goddess worshipped in the 'Mirror Shrine' and Sayohime does not come as a surprise. The *Jikkinshō* and the collection of linked verse, *Bontōan sode shita shū* (Collection [of Verses] from the Sleeves of Bontōan), composed by the poet Bontōan (1349–?) – a contemporary of Zeami – provide examples for this development. Bontōan concludes his records of the legend with, 'One says that after this Matsura Sayohime was worshiped in the "Mirror Shrine"' (*sono nochi Matsura Sayohime o kagami no miya to iwai mōsu to ka*).<sup>58</sup> Although the mirror as a sanctuary

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> Antoni 1989: 15.

<sup>55</sup> Getsuyōkai 1997: 133.

<sup>56</sup> Shintō daijiten 1969: 299. See also Harada 2006: 49.

<sup>57</sup> Tyler 1998: 165.

<sup>58</sup> Ōta 1958: 1518.

does not appear in these sources, from here – as the name of the shrine indicates – the way to Zeami's portrayal of Sayohime's mirror is not far.

The divine mirror, charged with religious-cultic meaning seems to have strongly appealed to the playwright. Zeami's *nō* *Nomori* provides a further example. In this gloomy work about hellish creatures – which in contemporary *nō* belongs to the fifth category of plays<sup>59</sup> – besides the aforementioned reflecting water, a mirror of demons and gods (*kijin no kagami*)<sup>60</sup> is placed in the center of the action. This sacral mirror has been stolen by a demon, who later turns out to be the protagonist himself. At the end of the play he appears in his true demonic shape brandishing a huge mirror.<sup>61</sup> Also in the second half, the meaning of the precious object fully unfolds. It is revealed as King Enma's mirror of truth (*jōhari no kagami*), which is displayed on stage.<sup>62</sup>

Here, I would like to come back once more to Zeami's *Matsura* and conclude this part on the mirror as dramatic motif with an anecdote on the play's further history. *Matsura* encountered an interested playwright and actor later in the Edo period. Kanze Motoakira (1722–1774), fifteenth head of the Kanze School and instructor of *nō* to shōgun Tokugawa Ieharu (1737–1786), who enthusiastically studied Zeami's treatises and devoted much energy to annotating medieval plays, attempted to revive the unperformed work. Under the title of *Sayohime*, Motoakira included a strongly revised version in his *Meiwa kaisei utaibon*, a collection of *nō* plays, commissioned by the shōgun in 1774.<sup>63</sup>

Kanze Motoakira's adaptation, however, originated in an era shaped by different discourses. The Edo period witnessed the first steps in the movement towards the formation of literary studies in terms of a reflective examination and annotation of old works, accompanied by processes of canonization.<sup>64</sup> It is the age in which the nationalist *kokugaku* (Japanese studies) consecrated itself in the field of literature to the study of ethnic Japanese motives by an examination and reevaluation of ancient texts. For example, in Kanze Motoakira's adaptation, these tendencies find expression in his rectification of misinterpretations of the *Man'yōshū*.

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<sup>59</sup> The division of *nō* plays into five categories (plays dealing with gods, plays about the spirits of warriors who died in battle, plays about women, miscellaneous plays, plays about demons) was established in the Edo period, when *nō* became a part of courtly ceremonial in the Tokugawa shogunate (See Yokomichi 1987: 273).

<sup>60</sup> Yokomichi and Omote 1960: 315.

<sup>61</sup> On the historical staging of *Nomori* see the analysis by Iwasaki 1991: 41–4.

<sup>62</sup> Yokomichi and Omote 1960: 317.

<sup>63</sup> Taguchi 1997a: 92.

<sup>64</sup> Hall 1970: 222.

Without reading the original, Zeami declares a poem in Yamanoue no Okura's (660–733) dialogic poetic depiction of Sayohime's unhappy love, as the voice of the poet himself. This interpretation clearly follows the anthology's medieval commentaries.<sup>65</sup>

Zeami's mirror in *Matsura* is without a clear identifiable ancient written source. It circulates the ideologies and energies of a past epoch. This might have filled the reviser of his play with uneasiness. The magic mirror completely disappears from Motoakira's version.

#### IV. STAGING THE MIRROR

Kanze Motoakira deleted the mirror from Zeami's *nō* to be true to its historical sources, specifically to the *Man'yōshū*. In the plays analyzed in this paper, however, the image of the mirror as reflecting water and as a magical object also fulfills a crucial structural role. As Amano Fumio and Omote Akira point out, in medieval Japan often temporary stages, sometimes even the earthen or grassy ground served as a space for the performance of *nō*.<sup>66</sup> These temporary constructions and spaces, as does the *nō*-stage today, lacked a curtain to separate different scenes and worlds. The mirror as dramatic motif thus gave the plot structure. It effectively linked different worlds, past and present and levels of medieval reality.<sup>67</sup>

In performance, reflecting waters are restricted to the imaginary dimension of gestures and dance, or indicated by other props, such as the well in *Izutsu*. Kanze Sōsetsu (1509–83) advises the protagonist to gaze into the well (*i no naka o mite*) before she longingly exclaims at seeing her late husband.<sup>68</sup> Man-made and divine mirrors, as religiously connoted sanctuary and magic instruments, however, were presented as props already in medieval Japan. They give slices of time and space a material shape. A valuable source testifying to the early use of the mirror as a prop are Zeami's instructions concerning the staging of *Matsura* in his handwritten copy. On the protagonist's entrance in her true form in the second half, he notes:

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<sup>65</sup> Taguchi 1997a: 94–6.

<sup>66</sup> Omote and Amano 1987: 208–9.

<sup>67</sup> Oda Sachiko explains this function of the mirror in the *nō* *Nomori* and *Shōkun* (1976).

<sup>68</sup> Nishino 1982: 72.

Sayohime should appear aboard a small ship and row into the sea. She should clasp the mirror to her breast and state why she hurled herself into the floods.

*Sayohime wa kobune ni notte oki ni idete, kagami o idaite mi o nagetaru yoshi, iu beshi.*<sup>69</sup>

Following this entrance, Zeami instructs the protagonist to hand the precious mirror over to the monk. Upon lamenting her fate in the passage quoted above, and indicating considerable agitation on stage, she suddenly grasps the mirror again.<sup>70</sup> Here the chorus's words depicting her action suggest the protagonist's movements:

Chorus:

Clasping the mirror keepsake at her body	<i>Katami no kagami o mi ni soemochite</i>
she wipes away some dust	<i>chiri o harai</i>
reflects her face	<i>kage o utsushite.</i> <sup>71</sup>

Historical notes on staging the play *Nomori* provide further hints on the mirror as prop in performance.<sup>72</sup> 'With his left hand he raises the mirror slightly, reflecting the land' (*hidari no te bakari nite kagami o karogaro to sashiage, chi o utsushi [...]*),<sup>73</sup> the actor Kanze Sōsetsu (1509–83) records in the Tenbun era (1532–1555) in his *Sōsetsu shimai zuke* (Sōsetsu's Dance Notes), providing another early example.

As was already indicated in the beginning of this text, the cultic mirror in Japan played an important role in the performance of ritual and religious ceremonial from ancient times. Titles of works such as *Okagami* (The Honorable Mirror) in the art of *kagura* (literally 'god music'),<sup>74</sup> seem to also indicate an employment of the sacred object as prop in pre-modern performing arts preceding *nō*.<sup>75</sup>

As Matsuoka Shinpei delineates, medieval *nō* possessed strong bonds to sacred performances in temples and shrines. Amongst others, its origins in medieval Japan include ceremonies of exorcism (*tsuina*) which

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<sup>69</sup> Getsuyōkai, 1997: 139.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.: 141 and 145.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.: 145.

<sup>72</sup> A thorough examination of historical documents concerning the staging of *Nomori* is provided by Iwasaki 1991: 41–4.

<sup>73</sup> Nishino 1982: 149.

<sup>74</sup> The term *kagura* refers to sacred dances accompanied by rhythmical music and song. These dances were already staged during the Heian period (794–1185) (Nose 1938: 16–22).

<sup>75</sup> Honda 1995, vol. 7: 624. See also Harada 2006: 50.



were performed during the festivities at the beginning of a new year (*shushōe*) and in February (*shūnie*).<sup>76</sup> Moreover performances for religiously motivated fundraising (*kanjin*) played a crucial role in the development of the performing art.<sup>77</sup> It is thus not surprising that the sacred mirror becomes a prop in the performance of medieval *nō*, too.

However, as Aoki points out, even in the connection of sacred performance, it is also the pure joy of the mirror's interesting materiality – the shining and reflecting surface – which provides an eye-catching attraction. In Shintoistic ritual since Heian times, for example, the mirror came to fulfill clearly decorative purposes, adding a spectacular ornamentation on portable shrines (*mikoshi*).<sup>78</sup> Framed by the 'set of semiotic quotation marks',<sup>79</sup> which the object acquires on stage, the mirror in medieval *nō*, besides its meaning as magic and powerful object, also delights the spectators' eyes.

The shape of Zeami's mirror is not fixed in documents such as sketches of the stage. Early hints on its design, albeit from a considerably later epoch, are offered by the illustrations in the *Butai no zu* (Illustrations of the Stage), drawn by lay-actor Shimotsuma Shōshin (1551–1616) in 1596. As Oda Sachiko points out, in comparison to Zeami's *nō*, the late medieval stage experienced an unfolding of incomparable splendor as far as decoration, props and costumes are concerned.<sup>80</sup> This development commenced with the work of playwright and actor Kanze Nobumitsu (1435–1516) and culminated during the Momoyama period (1573–1600), accompanied by an explosive display of luxuriousness in fields such as art and fashion. The mirror, too, as illustrations by Shimotsuma Shōshin on the plays *Shōkun* and *Matsuyama kagami* (The Mirror of Matsuyama)<sup>81</sup> testify, seems to have been staged as an effective eye-catcher. It was not only brought on stage as a small prop held by the main actor, but presented in a gorgeously decorated frame, the *kagami dai* (mirror frame).<sup>82</sup>

<sup>76</sup> Matsuoka 2002: 76–88. Matsuoka explains the role of *shushōe* and *shūnie* in the development of early *nō* masks and plays with demons.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.: 3–45. With emphasis on the *nenbutsu odori* (dancing invocation of Amida Buddha's name), Matsuoka delineates, how on the one hand Buddhist monks increasingly turned into artists in their performances for religious fundraising, while on the other hand artists began participating in these public events.

<sup>78</sup> Aoki 1992: 99.

<sup>79</sup> Sofer 2003: 31.

<sup>80</sup> Oda 1985: 122.

<sup>81</sup> *Matsuyama kagami* like *Shōkun* is an old play of unknown origin (Oda 1976: 3).

<sup>82</sup> Nishino 1973: 203; 251.

Developments of material culture, which were outlined in the introduction to this paper, might be discernible behind these spectacular mirrors on stage. In a most considerable way, the important role of the mirror in medieval culture is expressed by the establishment of a new profession, namely that of the mirror polisher (*kagami togi*). Interestingly, this profession was condensed into a central topos circulating in folk songs, even finding expression in the comic drama of *kyōgen*.<sup>83</sup> As Fabio Rambelli points out, in an attempt to give their activity a religious fundament and justification, these artisans even interpreted a 'well-polished mirror as a representation of both Buddha's enlightenment and the Japanese kami.'<sup>84</sup> The large and effectively-presented mirrors on the *nō* stage seem to reflect these developments. However, through lack of evidence, this nexus between medieval material culture and *nō* props remains an assumption.

#### V. INSTEAD OF A CONCLUSION: MIRROR STRUCTURES

In Zeami's *nō*, the mirror, which was deeply rooted in medieval cult, religion and popular belief, condenses into a central topic and atmospheric poetic leitmotif. It functions as a magic gate to the world of the deceased and as a religious sanctuary (*Matsura, Nomori*). Furthermore, as the analysis of the reflective waters in the plays *Sanekata*, *Higaki* and *Izutsu* shows, it also highlights moments of psychological intensity and insight, in which the mirror reflects the protagonist's psyche in an almost modern symbolic interpretation. On stage, however, it is the former – the religiously connoted mirror – which, in gorgeous and spectacular constructions, serves as a visual climax.

Mirror structures in *nō*, however, reach beyond its topical and performative dimension. Even the whole structure of the art can be characterized by employing the mirror as a metaphorical concept. In dream *nō* (*mugen nō*), the spheres of the 'present' and 'ghostly past' mirror complement each other. Also the alternation of *nō* and comical *kyōgen* can be described in terms of reflection. In its use of parody and jest (*modoki*),<sup>85</sup> *kyōgen*, the comic interlude between *nō* performances, often 'holds a mirror up' to the more serious *nō* by presenting a comically deformed version of the same theme.

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<sup>83</sup> Scholz-Cionca 1998: 54.

<sup>84</sup> Rambelli 2007: 189.

<sup>85</sup> On the aspect of *modoki* in early *kyōgen*, see the analysis provided by Taguchi 1997b: 406–13.

Under the title *Mirror of the Flower* (*Kakyō*) completed in the year Ōei 31 (1424), Zeami fixes his view on the mastership of *nō* in writing. The metaphor of the mirror here points to the depth of knowledge, observation and experience the mature actor attains in his later career. Interesting parallels in meaning pervade Chinese, but also European culture,<sup>86</sup> as the German scholar Hermann Böhner has indicated in the foreword to his translation of the treatise.

Not least of all, the mirror as concept finds a visual expression in the structure of the contemporary stage. In the mirror-chamber (*kagami no ma*), a place having a close relationship with the mirror's cultic meaning,<sup>87</sup> the actor transforms into the character he embodies on stage. Also, the *kagami ita*, the mirror-board in front of which the action unfolds, seems to be a manifestation of this context.

These characteristics do not, however, appear on the medieval *nō* stage, but seem to be developments that unfolded during the Edo period, as Amano Fumio explains on the basis of historical drawings.<sup>88</sup> In his *Nō kuden no kiki-gaki* (Records of the Oral Transmission of *Nō*), the poet and actor Hosokawa Yūsai (1534–1610) even discusses the cumbersomeness and, thus, foolishness of fixing a board as a background to the stage without using the expression of the mirror-board.<sup>89</sup> What cultural contexts can be detected behind these developments in stage construction? This question could function as the starting point for a study examining the continuously strong affinity between *nō* and the mirror in later epochs.

#### ABBREVIATIONS

NKBT = Nihon koten bungaku taikei

NKZ = Nihon koten zensho

NSS = Nōgaku shiryō shūsei

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<sup>86</sup> Böhner 1953: 8.

<sup>87</sup> Honda 1980: 13–8.

<sup>88</sup> Amano 2004: 172.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

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# 変貌する小町

小田 幸子

## I. 伝説の人

平安時代前期の宮廷女流歌人で、六歌仙の一人として『古今和歌集』「仮名序」に名を連ねる小野小町の生涯は、多くの謎と伝説に彩られている。そもそも、実在の小町像がはっきりしないうえに、平安末期以前に成立していた弘法大師作と伝える『玉造小町（子）壮衰書』が小町の生涯とみなされたことが大きく影響して「落魄の小町像」が広く流布した。そこにさらに多彩な伝説が加わり、中世には「若い頃は絶世の美女で多くの男性に言い寄られたが、拒絶や翻弄を繰り返したあげく、年老いてからは顧みる人もなくなり、乞食となって百歳に及ぶまで諸国を放浪した末に孤独のうちに亡くなった。その骸骨は野ざらしとなっていたが、ある人が見つけて供養した」という一代記風の輪郭が形作られていったのである。小町を主人公とする能の多くはこうした伝説的エピソードを取り込んでおり、なかでも最も古い時代に成立した〈卒都婆小町〉と〈通小町〉の二曲は、「美人驕慢」と「衰老落魄」説話<sup>1</sup>を主要なモチーフとして構成されている。『申楽談儀』に観阿弥作とする両作品は、世阿弥の手が加えられるなど現在の形に至るまで複雑な改作過程を経てきたようだが、小町説話の摂取方法として、また夢幻能形式確立以前の古い能の姿を残している点で、貴重な事例といえよう。以下では、〈卒都婆小町〉を中心に、能がいかなる意図のもとに小町説話を取り入れたのか、また、能が新しく付け加えた小町像は何だったのかを考えていきたい。

## II. 小町説話と能〈卒都婆小町〉

小町説話と関係する〈卒都婆小町〉のモチーフは、次の三点である。

- (1) 高野山の僧と老婆による「卒都婆問答」。
- (2) 小町の正体明かし。現在の落魄と過去の栄華。
- (3) 深草少将の怨霊が取り憑き狂乱。「百夜通い」の物まね。

まず(2)は、小町衰老説、なかでも『玉造小町壮衰書』に依拠しており、同書の文句を多く引用している。(1)は(2)との関連のもとに形

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<sup>1</sup> 片桐洋一『小野小町追跡』1975、笠間書院。

成された伝承らしく、九州大学蔵『古今和歌集序秘注』や智積院蔵『日本記』等、中世注釈書類の本文が紹介されている。ともに、古卒都婆に腰掛けた老女小町を弘法大師が教化するという内容で、「極楽の内」の戯れ歌を伴う点も能〈卒都婆小町〉と極めて関係が深い（ただし、歌の語句は小異）。小林健二氏は、能〈卒都婆小町〉の説話的背景に、天台僧が関与したと推測されるこの種の「小町教化譚」が存在したことを指摘したうえで、「説話の世界では、大師が小町を教化することに眼目があったのであるが、『卒都婆小町』では、教化する側であるはずの高僧が逆に論破され、そのうえで小町が『極楽の内』の戯歌を詠む<sup>2</sup>ところに、能としての意義を見出している。

(3)の「百夜通い」説話（百夜通えば逢おうと言われた男が、懸想した女の元に通うが百夜目に行けなくなる）は、男女の人物を特定しない形で平安中期以降の歌学書類に散見するが、やがて小町と深草少将（四位少将）の物語とみなされるようになった。能以前の文献は報告されていないものの、同じモチーフを題材とする〈通小町〉（古名「四位少将」）の原作について、「四位の少将は、根本、山とに唱導の有しが書いて、今春権の守多武嶺にてせしを、後書き直されしと也」（『申楽談儀』）との記述などにに基づき、二人を最初に結びつけたのは「山徒」（比叡山）の唱導であったろうと推測されている。なお、小町が生涯にわたって深草少将の怨念に祟られたとの説が、やや時代は下るが、御伽草子『和泉式部』に次の如く記されている。

小野小町は若盛りの姿よきによりて、人に恋ひられて、その怨念とけざれば、無量の咎によりて、その因果のがれず、つひに小町、四位の少将思ひ離れず…

ややわかりにくい文章だが、全体としては、小町が若い頃男たちの恨みを買ひ、その罪の報いとして、四位少将の執心から離れないのだというのであろう。

四位少将の百夜通いは、小町の「驕慢」を示す典型的エピソードとして能以前から唱導の世界である程度流布しており、〈卒都婆小町〉ではその怨霊が生きている小町に憑き祟るという形で、〈通小町〉では死後にも祟るという形で二種類の舞台化がなされた結果、一気に広がりを獲得したものと推測される。夢幻能成立前夜に流行をみた「憑き物物狂い」の題材として、あるいは「物まね」の題材として、「百夜通い」は魅力あるエピソードだったろう。能を契機に少将と小町のカップルは決定的な結びつきを果たし、後代に影響を及ぼすことになる。

以上のように、〈卒都婆小町〉は、実在の歌人小町から遊離して中世に広く流布した美人驕慢・衰老落魄説話の大半をカバーする集大成的な内容を備えていることが知られる。舞台面に目を転じると、百歳に及ぶ老女の道行——高僧をやり込める老女の機知的な宗教問答——老女が

<sup>2</sup> 「弘法大師教化説話と能《卒都婆小町》」。『解釈と鑑賞』1994・11。



有名な小町と判明した驚き——過去の栄華と現在の老醜の落差——憑き物狂いの狂乱——仏果を願う結末と、次々と場面が展開して飽きさせない。小町伝説の本格的舞台化、及び後代の文芸・芸能に与えた多大な影響をとっただけでも〈卒都婆小町〉と〈通小町〉の意義は小さくないが、舞台展開や演技の面白さだけが、小町伝説の舞台化を促した要因ではあるまい。そもそもの動機は何だったのだろう。

### III. 小町説話の受容

小町伝説が如何なる意味で受容されていたのかをうかがわせる興味深い記事に『平家物語』巻九「小宰相身投」がある。平通盛と北の方・小宰相局のなれそめを語るエピソードの一節である。上西門院の女房で美女の誉れ高かった小宰相が十六歳頃のこと、小宰相を一目見て恋に落ちた通盛は心を尽くした和歌や文を三年間も送り続けたが、一度も返事をもらえない。もうこれが最後のつもりで書いた通盛の文が、ふとしたことから上西門院の手に渡り、女院は小宰相ら女房達の前で文をあける。事情を察知した女院は、「これは、逢はぬを恨みたる文や。あまりに人の心強きもなかなかあだとなる物を」（これは、逢ってくれないのを恨んだ手紙ですね。あまり強気に拒否するとかえって不幸を招くことにもなりますよ）と論じて、次のように小野小町を引き合いに出す。

中比小野小町とて、みめかたち世にすぐれ、なさけの道ありがたかりしかば、見る人聞く者、肝魂を痛ましめずといふ事なし。されども心強き名をや取りたりけん、はてには人の思ひのつもりとて、風を防ぐたよりもなく、雨を漏らさぬわざもなし。宿に曇らぬ月星を、涙に浮かべ、野辺の若菜、沢の根芹を摘みてこそ、露の命をば過しけれ。（「覚一本」による）

そして、みずから返事をしたため、通盛は小宰相を賜ることになった。このエピソードは、当時一般に知られていた小野小町伝説の概略がわかると同時に、それがいかなる文脈のもとに享受されていたかを知らせてくれる。端的に言えば「小野小町のように、美人だからと言って男性を拒絶していると、男性の恨みを買ひ、最後は落ちぶれて貧しい暮らしに泣くことになりますよ」ということである。小宰相の心情は記されていないが、聞きようによっては、若い独身女性を脅かしかねない言葉であり、類似の言い方は現代でもしばしば耳にする。実は、先に引用した御伽草子『和泉式部』の場合も同じ文脈で小町のエピソードが用いられており、和泉式部は小町の例をみずから思い浮かべることによって、道命と契る決心を固めるのである。ともにフィクションとはいえ、「好色や拒絶によって男を翻弄した結果転落した女の末路」として小町伝説が人々に与えた影響の大きさがうかがわれる。

細川涼一氏は、小町落魄説話の背景に「親権による庇護を失って孤児となり、結婚し世帯をもつことも容易でない境遇に置かれた、家族を持たない身寄りのない单身者として存在した女性に対する、蔑視観を伴った思想」があるとして、『玉造小町壮衰書』や小町髑髏説話の意味を歴史的に捉え直し、さらに、鎌倉中期には成立していた『九想詩絵巻』と称する絵巻のモデルが小野小町であったこと、後世その模本類が『小野小町九相図』として絵解きされたことを論じている。<sup>3</sup> 詳しくは同書に拠られたいが、野ざらしになった女性の屍が膨張し腐乱腐敗して鳥獣に食い荒らされ骨となって焼かれるまでの九段階を克明に描写したこの絵巻は、「女人回向の懺悔を勧める対象として…まことにふさわしきもの」<sup>4</sup>であったと推測される。中世の小町は、まぎれもなく仏教的罪業観を刻印された女人のネガティブな側面を背負った人物だった。

能が、このような小町像から自由であったとは思われない。その際〈通小町〉の原作が唱導だったことは示唆的である。〈卒都婆小町〉も含めて、舞台化したそもそものきっかけは、小町伝説が「女人の因果応報を示して人々に宗教心を呼び起こす」機能を持っていたからではあるまいか。〈卒都婆小町〉のキリの文句「これにつけても後の世を、願ふぞまことなりける。…花を仏に手向けつつ、悟りの道に入らうよ」は、小町自身の述懐であると同時に、「因果応報を体現する小町の有様を見るにつけても、死後の成仏こそが願われることだ」という一般に向けられた文言としても解釈しうるだろう。仏道を志す小町は〈卒都婆小町〉だけではない。〈通小町〉の小町もまた仏法帰依を求めて僧に奉仕し、ついには「多くの罪を滅して、小野の小町も少将も、ともに仏道なりにけり」と成仏を果たす。二作品とも、劇の枠組み、ないしは建前として「教化」があったことは疑いない。『今昔物語集』が道成寺説話を記述するにあたって「女人ノ悪心ノ猛キ事」の典型例として掲げ、法華経の功德によって男女を成仏させる結末を用意したことに通い合う現象と言えようか。一般的に古作能であるほど宗教との密着度が高く、小町を題材にする際も、世俗的興味や舞台的関心以外に、宗教的理由を必要としたということかもしれない。しかしながら、能は単に中世的小町伝説を集大成しただけではなく、あらたな性格を小町に付与していることに注目される。その点を次にまとめて小考の結びとしたい。

#### IV. 変貌する小町

問題となるのは「卒都婆問答」である。先に小林健二氏の見解を紹介したように、本来「小町教化譚」であった伝承を、能では力関係を逆転して小町が僧をやりこめる形に変えた。外見は見苦しく浅ましい老婆

<sup>3</sup> 『女の中世—小野小町・巴・その他』1989、日本エディタースクール。

<sup>4</sup> 徳江元正『芸能・能芸』所収「黒髪のエロス」1976、三弥井書店。

が、実は狭い教義にとらわれない本物の「知恵」の体現者だったのである。はじめは上位に立って意気込んでいた僧を舌鋒鋭く論破した末に戯れ歌まで詠んでコテンパンにする小町の姿は、胸がすくようだ。そして、この段は全体の「因果応報に苦しむ小町」から遊離し、小町を称賛する方向性を持っている。実はこの段は観阿弥原作のままではなく世阿弥による改訂が施されているらしい。改訂の規模については、部分的な語句の増補とする立場から「卒都婆問答」全体を世阿弥による増補と見る立場まで幅広く、決め手を欠くが、全体の中で異質な理由は改作が関係しているのかもしれない。ともあれ、この場の小町は落ちぶれてはいても頭の回転が早く、機知に富み、気骨と尊厳を失わない魅力的な女として、能の女性の中で異彩を放っている。一方〈通小町〉の小町も個性的に描かれる。成仏を妨げようとする少将に対して「少将の心はいざしらず、私は一心に受戒を求めている」と突っぱねたり、「こんな迷妄があるとは思ひもしなかった」と心情を吐露する。<sup>5</sup> 作者に明確な意図があったかどうかは不明ながら、〈卒都婆小町〉も〈通小町〉も、外側から突き放して小町を見るだけでなく、血の通った女としての小町の立場や内面によりそう視点を持っているのだ。単一ではない物の見方を促すのは演劇の持つ力だろう。あるいは、平安朝から中世に至る「女人の負の側面」を体現してきた伝説の小町が獲得した複雑性・多様性が、能の中で開花したといってもよいだろう。さらに、世阿弥作〈関寺小町〉になると、老残の小町に歌の道を語らせ、『古今和歌集』を始めとする小町の歌を引用して、中世的伝説と「歌人小町」の融合を試みている。小町の「古い」は華やかな過去や美を内包するよすがともなっていたのである。

〈関寺小町〉の影響もあって、後代〈卒都婆小町〉は「老女物」の一つとして重視されるようになった。〈卒都婆小町〉が生まれた頃の舞台は、現代の重々しい演じ方とは大いに違っていたはずだ。そうであっても、女の罪業を一身に背負い、壮絶な愛の地獄を体を張って訴えかける小町の姿を、現代の舞台の中に見たいと強く思う。

<sup>5</sup> 小田幸子「〈通小町〉 - 演出とその歴」『観世』2004・6。

# PERFORMANCE IN A PILGRIMAGE

## THE MONK JŌJIN'S TRAVELS IN CHINA, 1072–1073

*Robert Borgen*

### I. INTRODUCTION

From ancient times to the present day, pilgrimage has been an important element in Japanese Buddhism. The destinations for most pilgrims have been religious sites in Japan, typically famous monasteries or holy mountains. A few pilgrims, however, ventured to more distant regions. That was equally true among aristocrats of the Heian period. Pilgrimage within Japan was already a well-established practice, and occasionally a hardy monk might seek to worship at holy sites overseas. Japanese knew that Buddhism had originated in India and one Heian monk did attempt to go there, but he was the rare exception. Typically, the most devout of monks aspired only to visit China, for China was the source of both the Buddhism they knew best, and also of many elements in the Japanese court's secular culture. For example, classical Chinese was the principal written language of both Heian Buddhism and officialdom. If Japanese monks could not speak Chinese, at least they communicated in its written form. Finally, the voyage to China was difficult enough; travel to India, virtually impossible. The one monk who had tried to go there was said to have been eaten by a tiger in what is now Malaysia.

Religious rites were 'performed.' To be effective, one was expected to conduct them properly, following set rules. They were, in effect, scripted. Pilgrimage was no exception. This paper will consider the experiences of one Heian monk, Jōjin (1011–81), who made a pilgrimage to China in 1072 and left a diary describing his travels. The paper will show first the importance of performative elements in his pilgrimage and other religious practices. It will also consider various types of secular performances he recorded in his diary, sometimes as an observer, other times as a participant. A common thread that links many, although certainly not all, these performances is their link to power, either spiritual or political.

## II. A JAPANESE MONK PERFORMS HIS PILGRIMAGE

Jōjin was born to an aristocratic family. His father died when he was a child of six, which diminished his prospects at court, and so his mother had him raised in a monastery to become a monk. Eventually he rose to a high position in the Buddhist hierarchy. Then, in the first month of 1070, he petitioned the court for permission to make a pilgrimage to China, the first such request in sixty-eight years. Although permission apparently was never granted, Jōjin set off anyhow. In the third month of 1072, accompanied by seven disciples, he boarded a Chinese merchant ship in Kyūshū. After six days at sea, they arrived off the coast of China near the modern city of Ningbo. From there, Jōjin and his entourage travelled to the nearby Tiantai Mountains, where his sect of Buddhism had been founded. Jōjin's second goal was to worship at another holy site, the Wutai Mountains far to the north. Such travel required approval from the central government, and so he sent a petition to the Song dynasty capital of Kaifeng. When the reply eventually came, it made no mention of Wutai but instead ordered him to Kaifeng for an imperial audience. From this point on, Jōjin became a guest of the Chinese government, his travels generously subsidized. He proceeded to Kaifeng, where he met with Buddhist monks from throughout Asia. After his imperial audience, he was granted permission to visit Wutai, a two-month journey through the northern mountains that he completed in the dead of winter. Upon his return, he began to make arrangement to send five of his disciples home to Japan and to return to Tiantai himself in the company of his remaining two followers. With this in mind, he gathered many unfamiliar Chinese texts that he wanted to send home.

Before he could depart, however, he was again summoned to the palace, this time to say prayers to end a drought. When rain fell, he was given credit and rewarded with a distinguished rank in the Chinese Buddhist hierarchy. Subsequently, he returned to the coast, near the point where he had first arrived in China. He entrusted his diary to his returning disciples, and they brought it safely back to Japan. Entitled *San Tendai Godai san ki* (The Record of a Pilgrimage to the Tiantai and Wutai Mountains), it offers a detailed description of sixteen months of travel throughout China.<sup>1</sup> Jōjin

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<sup>1</sup> The best edition of the diary is Wang 2009. The diary is also available in an excellent annotated translation by Fujiyoshi Masumi (2007, 2011). A searchable online version is at [http://www.japanology.cn/japanese/jyojun/jyojun\\_jieti.htm](http://www.japanology.cn/japanese/jyojun/jyojun_jieti.htm). For a general introduction in English see Borgen 2007: 384–413. The diary will be cited by chapter/month/day, for the convenience of those using alternate editions.

then disappears from the pages of history until eight years later, when we are told he died in China.

Jōjin was a devout monk and so, as one might expect, religious matters are conspicuous in his diary. Performative elements are apparent in many of them. First, the pilgrimage itself can be seen as a performance. By Jōjin's day, the few Japanese monks who went to China followed a similar pattern, in effect, a script. At the time, two sects of Buddhism were dominant, Tendai and Shingon, and most pilgrims belonged to the former. Accordingly, they aspired first to visit China's Tiantai Mountains, where their sect had been founded and after which it was named, 'Tendai' being the Japanese pronunciation of 'Tiantai.' Tiantai had been the goal of Saichō (767–822) the Japanese patriarch of the sect who had gone there in 804. Conveniently, it was located not too far from the port of Mingzhou, the modern Ningbo, where ships from Japan typically landed. When Ennin (794–864), the third head of the Japanese sect, went to China in 838, he was unable to visit Tiantai, but instead he made a pilgrimage to Wutai, another of China's holy mountains, far to the north. Unlike Saichō, he also visited the Tang capital of Chang'an, the modern Xian, before returning to Japan in 847. The next Tendai pilgrim to China was Enchin (814–91), founder of Jōjin's lineage within the sect. When he traveled in China in 853–58, he first made a pilgrimage to Tiantai and then went to Chang'an.

The pattern was set. The goals of Jōjin's pilgrimage were the holy mountains at Tiantai and Wutai, plus monasteries in Chang'an that both Ennin and Enchin had visited. China had other Buddhist holy mountains and many great monasteries, but early Japanese pilgrims showed little interest in them. Pilgrimage was a form of religious practice and, to 'perform' it correctly one followed the prescribed script. In the end, Jōjin skipped the monasteries in Chang'an, presumably after learning that they – or at least their city – were no longer as central as they had been, but he did succeed in visiting both Tiantai and Wutai.

Jōjin's visit to Tiantai was scripted in a textual as well as a metaphoric sense. In describing his visit, he chose to use the precise words that Enchin, the founder of his religious lineage, had used more than two centuries earlier. Here he recounts his arrival at Guoqingsi, the principle monastery at Tiantai:

[...] Next, continuing five *li*, at the hour of the sheep [app. 1:00 PM], we reached the Qing household and rested. Palace Monk Rai'en [one of Jōjin's disciples] provided 158 cash so the thirteen bearers could drink some wine. A marker stated "Taiping Township: to the East, Guoqingsi, Ten *Li*; Jing District, Five *Li*." The head of the household, a religious man, offered us tea to drink. For a while we gazed at the

south face of Mount Chicheng [Red Wall], which looked just like a wall made of red stone. Next, continuing five *li*, we entered the mountains of Guoqingsi, where we saw a five-story stone pagoda fifty feet high. We travelled five *li* through the mountains until, at the first quarter of the hour of the sheep [app. 1:30 PM], we reached the Great Gate of Guoqingsi. At last I saw the bridges and halls! **Around the monastery aged pines flourished profusely. For ten *li* gem trees glistened along the sides of the path. The five peaks enveloped the monastery, and the two valley streams flowed together. This is truly one of the four wonders!**<sup>2</sup>

The sentences in bold face are taken verbatim from Enchin's description of his arrival at Guoqingsi. Whereas Jōjin's own writing, at least in his diary, tends to be prosaic, with his vocabulary limited and repetitive, the quoted lines use poetic terms neatly arranged into a series of four-character phrases. Even without the aid of a helpful footnote, readers will notice the stylistic change. In the days immediately following, Jōjin would continue to borrow passages, some rather long, from Enchin's writings. Presumably, this was a subtle way of indicating how closely he followed precedent; how correctly he 'performed' his pilgrimage.<sup>3</sup>

Pilgrimage was, in a sense, a ritual or rite, and performing rites was an integral element in monastic life. In Jōjin's case, he usually performed a sequence of rites at seven specific times of the day. The only major exception was during his travel overland from Kaifeng to Wutai, when, on most days, he was able to perform rites only two or three times. In the first few entries of his diary, he mentioned each rite, but he soon began to use a formula that varied only slightly from day to day: 'At the seven hours we performed the rites.' Although Jōjin omits the subject of the sentence in his diary, one imagines that his disciples joined him in the rites, and hence the plural subject in English.

Particularly important to Jōjin was the Lotus Rite, which honored the *Lotus Sutra* and was intended to prevent calamities. It is the first rite Jōjin mentions in his diary, and he performed it upon his arrival at Wutai and again upon his safe return to Kaifeng. When he requested permission to travel in China, he states that, after he completed his pilgrimage to Wutai, 'I shall return to Tiantai to devote myself to performing the Esoteric Lotus Rite for the rest of my days.'<sup>4</sup> To perform the rite correctly, Jōjin needed to set up his stage, the altar, correctly. If modern examples are a reliable

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<sup>2</sup> I/5/13.

<sup>3</sup> For details, see Borgen 1993: 63–88.

<sup>4</sup> I/3/15; V/11/28; V/12/29; I/6/2.

guide, the rules for the altar were elaborately worked out and the result highly ornate.<sup>5</sup> After he had settled in to his quarters at Tiantai for what would be a stay of almost four months, he adorned a special altar for the rite. He did so again on the boat taking him to Kaifeng. Indirect evidence suggests that Jōjin's version of it was unfamiliar in China. After decorating his altar at Tiantai, he notes that his hosts there came to observe it, perhaps because of its novelty. The following year, when he was in Kaifeng, a Chinese monk requested that Jōjin transmit the rite to him, which Jōjin did two days later. Occasionally he describes it as the 'Esoteric Lotus Rite,' and so special initiation was required to perform it.<sup>6</sup>

One of the high points in Jōjin's pilgrimage involved the Lotus Rite. Two months after his return from Wutai, while he was in Kaifeng readying to send some of his disciples back to Japan with newly acquired Buddhist texts and to return himself to Tiantai, he received a summons from the emperor. China had been suffering from draught and Jōjin joined twenty-two eminent Chinese monks who had been called to the palace to pray for rain. The next morning, Jōjin gathered the ritual objects necessary to adorn his altar for the Lotus Rite and headed to the palace. There, he found altars to the various Dragon Kings. In East Asian tradition, dragons were associated with rain, and so prayers to Dragon Kings were appropriate, but instead Jōjin chose to perform the Lotus Rite. He had such faith in the power of the rite that he vowed to produce a heavy rain within three days. His prayers were answered and it rained on the following three days. Eventually, so much rain fell that Jōjin was asked to pray for the rain to cease. Once again, his prayers proved effective.

Jōjin's version of the Lotus Rite intrigued the Chinese who were present at the palace. Even before the rain fell, monks and laymen watched as he performed it. The altar impressed high court officials too, and the emperor himself came and burned incense. The grand empress dowager (the emperor's grandmother, as Jōjin notes), the empress dowager, and the empress too also came to see it. After the rite had proven successful, a Chinese official asked him why he performed it instead of the Pray for Rain Rite. Jōjin explained that he belonged to the Tendai Sect, but the Pray for Rain Rite was associated with the esoteric Shingon Sect, and even in that sect the rite had been transmitted only to a few. Jōjin added that once, in the past, the Chinese emperor had ordered an eminent monk to lecture on the Lotus Sutra and, when he came to the fifth chapter, 'Parable of the Medicinal Herbs,' it began to rain. The parable notes that rain falls equally

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<sup>5</sup> See, for example, the unpaginated illustrations at the beginning of *Butsugu daijiten* (Okazaki 1982).

<sup>6</sup> I/5/22; II/6/27; VI/2/24; VI/2/26; II/6/5; passim.



on all plants, but each develops differently according to its nature, just as the Buddha offers his teachings to all, but people respond differently according to their natures. Thus, according to Jōjin, people perform the Lotus Rite to induce rain.<sup>7</sup>

The example of the Lotus Rite sheds light on the nature of Jōjin's religious practice. Rituals were performed on a regular basis. In the case of the Lotus Rite, when possible Jōjin performed it daily. It was an esoteric rite that belonged to his sect of Buddhism and seems to have been unfamiliar to his Chinese counterparts. Performance of esoteric rites required special initiation, and Jōjin was willing to teach this rite to a devout Chinese monk. He was not, however, able to perform esoteric rites that belonged to other sects. As the success of Jōjin's efforts at producing rain demonstrates, the rite had special powers. By staging a special performance of his rite at his beautifully adorned altar, Jōjin revealed his spiritual power to his Chinese hosts.

### III. PERFORMANCES OBSERVED BY A JAPANESE PILGRIM

In his travels, Jōjin occasionally observed performances in the conventional sense of shows put on to entertain people. His most detailed description is of a show he saw at a night market in Hangzhou not long after his arrival in China:

At one place various water-powered dolls danced, beat drums, or spouted water. Two of them spun around like wizards, two spat water from their mouths to the height of four or five feet, two sprayed water five feet from their elbows, and two galloped on horseback. In all, there were more than 100 dolls. They were displayed on a high stage, and each was about five inches tall. I cannot possibly describe all of their marvelous tricks. Every person who watched was given a cup of tea and had to pay one copper coin.<sup>8</sup>

This fascinating show demonstrated simultaneously the power of water to move objects in amusing ways and the power of a good performance to attract money from those who watch it.

He saw another non-human performance at Ningling, just over 100 kilometers or four days travel from Kaifeng:

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<sup>7</sup> VII/3/1-7.

<sup>8</sup> I/4/22.

In one stable were three elephants; in another, four. First we looked at the three elephants. The man who cared for them explained to the elephants that foreign monks had come to see them and so they should bow. The first elephant bowed, bending its hind legs and lowering its head. Then he indicated that it should greet us, and it immediately bellowed. The elephant was about twelve feet tall and sixteen feet long. Its nose was six feet long. Its tusks were seven feet long and curved upward. It wrapped its nose around hay, picked it up, and ate it. I gave the elephant trainer fifty cash. [...] [The second and third elephants are similar] [...] These three elephants were all males.

Next I went to the stable with four elephants. [...] [Three elephants are briefly described] [...] The fourth elephant was a male. I paid fifty cash. The final elephant trainer climbed from the tusk to the top of the elephant, which raised its tusk and allowed the man to climb it. It was amazing! The elephant was about fourteen feet high and eighteen feet long. Just as before, it bent its hind two legs to bow and bellowed. All of these were black elephants. Their two hind legs were bound with rope. Here and there, a mountain of hay was piled up. Each day's feed was fifteen cattles per animal. The hay is about seven or eight feet in length.

I was told that originally the great king of Quảng Nam kept the elephants in his fortress for use in battle, but after Quảng Nam was defeated, they were kept here. The elephants have no hair. The color of their skin resembles that of a Japanese black ox. When their hair falls off, their color is dull gray. The location and shape of their sexual organs resemble those of a horse. The nipples on the female elephants are like those of a pig.<sup>9</sup>

Jōjin would have been familiar with elephants since the bodhisattva Fugen (or, in Sanskrit, Samantabhadra) was customarily depicted as seated on one, but Jōjin may well have been the first Japanese to see a live specimen. Jōjin does not tell us who owned the elephants, but they probably had been sent to the emperor as tribute. Quảng Nam, today a

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<sup>9</sup> III/10/7. Fujiyoshi believes that, here, Quảng Nam (Chin., Guangnan) refers to the Vietnamese Ly dynasty, which had presented trained elephants to the Chinese court on several occasions, once in 1063. He notes, however, that it could also be Champa, which also sent trained elephants to China, once in 1061. Georges Maspero (2002: 62) argued that Champa's king was defeated by the Ly in 1069, and so I follow the latter interpretation. Also see Wade 2005: 18. Michael Vickory (2005: 51–5) suggests that the Champa king was defeated by Cambodians, not Vietnamese. Details are uncertain.

province in Vietnam, was the center of Champa, a kingdom that, at the time, was engaged in chronic warfare with its Vietnamese and Cambodia neighbors. Just eleven years before Jōjin's visit, Champa had presented the Chinese with trained elephants. Perhaps those were the ones Jōjin saw. Alternatively, since Jōjin states that they were kept in China only after the king had been defeated, they may have been sent by one of Champa's enemies, as the Vietnamese had also sent elephants as tribute. However they got to China, if indeed they had been sent to the Chinese emperor, their display of skill and power indirectly hinted at the power of the emperor himself.

Jōjin also witnessed human performances, although he does not describe them in great detail. For example, as he was traveling by canal from Tiantai to Kaifeng, he observed a group of prefectural officials, high and low, send off a fiscal commissioner with entertainment provided by a boat of dancing girls. It was, Jōjin writes, a ceremony beyond his powers of description. He also mentions masked dancers at a religious rite.<sup>10</sup> These staged performances were not the only forms of public pageantry that he recorded. He saw officials coming and going in palanquins accompanied by as many as fifty to sixty retainers. At the night market where he saw the hydraulic puppets, he also saw the wife of the local commander, who had several hundred retainers, some preceding and others following her.<sup>11</sup> When officials – or even their wives – appeared in public, they showed their status or, to put it another way, played their roles, by going about with a large entourage.

Ten days after he arrived in Kaifeng, Jōjin would both observe and participate in a particularly important official ceremony, an imperial audience. Jōjin's canal boat had arrived in the capital on the eleventh day of the tenth month. On the morning of the thirteenth, he moved into the monastery where he and his disciples would stay. Later that day an imperial messenger came to bring documents from the court confirming how they were to be treated and to check documents Jōjin had carried from Japan establishing his identity and his list of gifts for the emperor. The process of exchanging documents continued for the next few days. When Jōjin was asked when he would like to have his imperial audience, he replied he hoped it would be as soon as possible so he could proceed to Wutai. During this time, he avoided bathing because he had been told not to engage in such practices until after his audience. In the evening of the twentieth, word came that his audience would be two days later. The next day he received detailed instructions on how to conduct himself at

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<sup>10</sup> III/8/12; III/9/14.

<sup>11</sup> I/4/14; I/4/16.

the audience, when to bow, when to cry out 'Long live the emperor!' and so forth. An audience was a carefully planned performance. Jōjin and his disciples were both participants and observers.

Early in morning on the twenty-second, Jōjin's party borrowed horses and rode to the palace. After entering a gate, they dismounted and rested at a spot curtained off for that purpose until an official from the Visitors Bureau came to lead them through a second gate. There, Jōjin reported seeing hundreds of men arrive on horseback to make obeisance before the emperor. After passing through more gates, they came to a spot where they rested again in a curtained off area to enjoy a meal. There, they saw thousands more arrive. Around 8:00 AM two officials came to teach them, once again, the proper way of shouting, 'Long live the Emperor!' in his presence and then led them through a final gate to a courtyard. In it, they observed two men, whom they guessed to be provincial controller generals, have an audience before the emperor. The officials first elaborately prostrated themselves bowing three times, then three more times, and then three times again. An attendant appeared at the east side of the courtyard and cried out something the Japanese did not understand. After the officials bowed three more times, it was the turn of the Japanese visitors.

They entered the courtyard and saw the emperor, wearing a red tunic, seated on a silver chair atop a silver dais at the north wall of the hall. Behind him was a line of hundreds of men, several tens of them armed with bow and arrow. A man cried out, 'Audience!' and the interpreter stepped forward, bowed deeply and shouted, 'His Majesty is the myriad treasures!' Then the monks, their heads lowered, exclaimed, 'Long live the emperor! Long, long live the emperor!' The man then cried out, 'Bestow the usual items,' and silks were presented to the monks in order of their hierarchy. The Japanese exclaimed, 'Long live the emperor!' as before and did so a final time after the shout of 'Withdraw!' Upon leaving the imperial presence, officials came to inform them first that the emperor wished them to visit monasteries in the capital and also that he had granted them permission to make the pilgrimage to Wutai. At this point, the audience was over and the Japanese were treated to an elaborate vegetarian banquet before returning to their residence, where the gifts of silk from the Chinese court were delivered. Included, we discover, was a purple robe for Jōjin, a mark of the highest distinction for a monk.<sup>12</sup>

Those familiar either with Japanese diplomatic history of an earlier age or English diplomatic history of a later time will recognize that a potential diplomatic row apparently had been avoided. Japanese envoys

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<sup>12</sup> IV/10/11-22.

during the Sui and Tang dynasties had gotten into trouble first for submitting an insubordinate document and later for bringing none at all. In 1793, Lord Macartney would create a diplomatic contretemps when he refused to kowtow before the Qianlong Emperor. Jōjin had left Japan without receiving the appropriate document, his permission to travel, but the Chinese were content to accept in its place his proclamation from the Japanese government granting him a title in the monastic hierarchy. His description of his audience suggests that, whereas Chinese officials who appeared before their emperor ahead of him were required to kowtow (although Jōjin did not use that term), his interpreter was required only to bow deeply and the Japanese less deeply. Skeptics well may wonder whether Jōjin might not have been improving upon the facts, since he intended his diary to be sent back to the Japanese court, and so he may have wanted to conceal obsequious behavior from those in his native land.

Although the possibility that Jōjin prevaricated cannot be ruled out, he may well have told the truth. The Chinese had already welcomed him with extraordinary generosity and later would use the return of Jōjin's disciples as an occasion to initiate a series of attempts at resuming formal diplomatic ties with Japan, perhaps in the hope of gaining a useful ally and a profitable trading partner. The Song dynasty was, in fact, threatened by foreign armies and, in 1127, Kaifeng would fall to the Jurchens who established the rival Jin dynasty in the north. The Song may have allowed Jōjin and his party to show less deference than others at their imperial audience in the hope of establishing friendly relations with Japan.<sup>13</sup>

This was not Jōjin's only encounter with the Chinese emperor. As noted, he also met the emperor when he went to the palace to pray for rain. In addition, he was once invited to attend an imperial progress. Thousands participated in that grand spectacle. Finally, before leaving the capital, Jōjin had a farewell audience that was similar to the one when he had first arrived.<sup>14</sup> All these ritualized events, performed according to established scripts, were designed to symbolically demonstrate the status of the emperor. Whereas the Lotus Rite Jōjin had performed at the palace revealed his spiritual power that could cause the gods to bring much needed rain, the imperial audiences in which he also participated showed the secular power of the emperor. If the Song dynasty thought it useful to make allowances for Japanese sensibilities, they were modest ones. At best, the Japanese monks did not have to bow as deeply and as often as

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<sup>13</sup> For details, see Borgen 1992: 1–6.

<sup>14</sup> VI/1/10–13; VIII/4/1–2.

Chinese present at the audience, but their more modest bows and repeated shouts of 'Long live the emperor!' revealed their subordinate status.

#### IV. CONCLUSION

Space does not allow me to offer a full discussion of all the events in Jōjin's diary that have performative elements. For example, religious rites conducted by Chinese, both monks and laymen, appear in the diary but not in this paper. I offer only passing mention of Jōjin's encounters with the Chinese emperor after his first audience. Also, Jōjin was often invited to vegetarian banquets, maigre feasts, that seem to have had a public, ceremonial component, but he does not provide enough detail to reveal much of their performative nature.<sup>15</sup> And finally, I suspect readers more attuned to performance would find passages that have escaped my attention. I have tried to show that many of the performances I discuss were intended to reveal that the performer possessed some sort of power, but clearly that was not always the case. The dancing girls summoned to entertain departing officials surely had little power beyond the ability to hold the attention of influential men, but their presence did reveal that those who sponsored the event had the means to stage a grand farewell.

If Jōjin never did return to Japan, he made a point of sending his diary back. As a devout monk, he intended it to be a record of his achievements and a guide for future Japanese monks who might want to visit China. Probably he would have objected to being characterized as a 'performer,' but to modern readers, his whole pilgrimage seems to be a grand performance made up of many elements, including smaller performances he either carried out or observed along the way. Many of these reveal the power, temporal or spiritual, of those who staged them. Others merely show the power of a good performance to entertain an audience.

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<sup>15</sup> For a discussion of Chinese maigre feasts, see Mather 1981: 419–23.

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## SECTION 3

### CONTEMPORARY PERFORMANCE PRACTICES: AUDIENCES AND ADAPTATIONS

現代の演出・演技方法：観客と改作



# 能・パトロン・観客

竹本 幹夫

## はじめに

能の観客の特色は、舞台に同情的な立場の人々が観客層の中核である点にある。同情的観客とは、個人的な楽しみで能や謡のレッスンを受け、自分の師匠を絶対と仰ぎ、自分の師匠以外の能を見ないような人々である。そういう観客が芸術としての能を墮落させることは言を俟たない。ところが現在では、能や謡を趣味とする人が激減し、それに伴って能を鑑賞する観客の数も漸減しつつある。芸術至上主義を標榜する役者たちですら、素人の弟子たちの減少を危機ととらえ、能の将来を脅かす深刻な事態として憂慮している。そもそもレッスンプロであると同時に舞台芸術家でもあろうとするという、能役者のディレンマは、何に由来するのか。能役者とその素人の弟子たち、パトロンたち、観客たちとの関係史について分析し、そこから現代の能役者と能のあり方の意味を考える。

## I. 観世寿夫の言説をめぐって

芸術のみならず、例えばスポーツにおいても、その楽しみ方には、鑑賞して楽しむことと、自ら行って楽しむこととの二面性がある。この両方面は互いに関連し合う場合も多く、1人で両様の楽しみ方をする場合もまた多い。それを趣味として楽しむような人々が、観衆の中核として、芸術や競技を経済的に支えることも少なくない。ただし観衆としてその存立を支えるようになるためには、万余の入場者が必要であり、マスメディアを動員しての拡大再生産も必須である。要するにこれは、一種のショービジネスであり、例えば商品売ると同様に、商品となる出し物の上演コストを下げることによってより多くの観衆を獲得することが重要となる。そうしたビジネスが成り立たない場合には、専門家としてその道を究めることは無償の行為となり、それに関わって生活の糧を得るためには、レッスンプロとして生きることを余儀なくされる。ショービジネスとしての成功の裏には、たとえスター級となっても、商業主義の前に芸術性や競技の記録性などが犠牲にされることがしばしばあるし、レッスンプロの道には、技術の低下や芸術性の墮落という問題が存在する。多くの芸術、多くの競技スポーツにおいて、この問題は共通しており、日本の伝統演劇である能楽においてもそれは同様なので

あるが、かつてこうした現象が舞台芸術としての墮落の根本原因であるとして指弾された時代があった。観世寿夫（1925-1978）の観客論・家元制度批判がその急先鋒であったことはよく知られている。

観世寿夫の観客論・家元制度批判は『観世寿夫著作集』の複数の論文に散見するが、下記にその代表例を引用しよう。

畢竟演者が対象とする観客というのは、素人として謡または能を稽古しているものに限定されてしまっている。現に、毎月各所で公演される能会のほとんどは、その主催者である楽師の素人弟子またはそれに類する人びとのみが対象となっている。そのために、かならずしも良い能に観客が集まるということにならないで、素人弟子の多い演者の主催する会が、内容いかんにかかわらず満員という状態である。これでは、単に謡を習う者がふえて能会が盛大になっても、決して能の良さが本当に受け継がれているとは考えられないし、将来も正しい伝統を維持していけるとは到底考えることはできない。<sup>1</sup>

観世寿夫は、完全に分業化して互いの領分を侵すまいとする能楽界の体質が、演劇としての舞台構築を妨げるものと断じた。それと一体で真の批評を認めないことの背景に、能楽界の独善的体質と、上に引いたような観客との癒着があつて、それらの根本原因は、家元制度にあると力説する。家元制度とは、一流派を代表する家元を頂点として、素人弟子の末端までを包摂するピラミッド型の師弟関係であり、上達に応じて位階が上がるたびに、免状料を上納するというシステムであるが、たんに技術の教授のみでなく、能楽界の人間関係・力関係の基礎となる構造でもある。そもそもは14世紀後半の観阿弥（1333～1384）時代に確立した、能の棟梁が一座を統率するというシステムが、江戸時代に幕府の扶持を得たことにより固定化し、18世紀半ば頃以降に、主要な地方能役者を弟子として取り込む形が完成して確立した体制で、それが現代までも持ち越されたものであった。

1960年代後半以後の一時期、当時の反体制的な気運と相俟って、観世寿夫の主張は多くの若い観客の賛同を得たが、寿夫没後は同様の論を継承する者はなく、こうした考えは自然消滅した。しかしながら寿夫の指摘は能楽界の抱える問題の一面を言い当てており、いまだにそれに対する反論は存在せず、寿夫の提起した問題はなお未解決課題であることに疑いはない。すなわち、ショービジネスとして成立する見込みのあまりない舞台芸術の場合に、経済的な自立と芸術性をいかにして両立させていくのかという問題についての理論が、能楽界には欠如したまま、現在に至っているのである。レッスンプロであることとアーティストであることとは両立するのかどうか、両立させるにはどうしたらよいのかと

<sup>1</sup> 観世寿夫『観世寿夫著作集』第3巻「現在の能と世阿弥の能」9頁、平凡社、1981年。

いうことに対する理論的な解決を見出し得ないままに、現代の能は進んできた。レズンプロであることを止めて芸術家として生きるという道は、はじめから放棄されている。玄人の能楽師として生きることは、弟子を取って生活出来るということの意味する。しかしこの問題に対する無自覚は芸術家としての無自覚と一体となる。もちろん無自覚でも技能の優れた能役者は存在し得るのだが、精神性の欠如は覆いようのない事実である。いっぽう自覚しても解決策を見出し得ない以上は、内心忸怩たる思いを抱えつつ能に生きることとなる。これはきわめて不健全な状態と言えよう。能や狂言はそもそも素人の稽古人口によって経済的に支えられている側面があり、しかも現在は稽古人口が激減しつつある。稽古人口を増やすための努力は芸術的な仕事とは無縁であるから熱心にはなれない。しかしその努力を怠るのは経営努力の放棄であり、経済基盤が脅かされる。それではどうしたらよいのかという問題解決の道筋は見失われたままなのである。

実はこの問題は能楽だけに限らず、非商業的な芸術活動全般に共有される問題でもあろう。能の事例について、その歴史的経緯を考察し、現在の能楽界が抱える問題点について、新たな理論構築を行うのが本稿の目的である。

## II. 中世における猿楽のあり方について

中世における猿楽の仕事は、①祭礼等での「翁猿楽の上演」、②能・狂言の上演、③謡などの座敷芸の上演に大別される。①の担当者と②③の担当者とはグループが異なり、翁猿楽は翁座の専門役者が、能・狂言および座敷謡の類は能グループの能・狂言役者が担当していたことはよく知られている。<sup>2</sup>現在の能に繋がるのは、観世父子の所属した②③のグループであるが、彼らは本来、一座を率いて商業的興行を行い、神事猿楽に参勤しての能・狂言の上演、貴人の邸宅での能・狂言や座敷謡などの上演、及び自ら主催する勸進興行での翁猿楽・能・狂言の上演などを主要な仕事としていた。この状況が一変するのは、応安7年(1374)かその翌年、室町将軍足利義満が今熊野における観阿弥の能興行を見物してからである。この時以後、観世猿楽は將軍の愛顧、すなわち世阿弥の言う「天下の名望」を獲得して、世阿弥晩年期に至る。將軍の愛顧を背景として、興行には貴人の観客が参集して莫大な禄物を賜り、また貴人の宴席に招かれる機会も増大したのであろうから、それまでの猿楽一般の商業的興行とは次元の異なる収入を獲得したことであろう。<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> 表章『大和猿楽史参究』岩波書店、2005年。

<sup>3</sup> 青柳有利子「能役者と座の発展 — 運営の変遷をめぐって —」中世文学会 2010 年度秋季大会、県立広島大学。

## 『風姿花伝』奥義篇に

この芸とは、衆人愛敬を以て、一座建立の寿福とせり。ゆゑに、あまり及ばぬ風体のみなれば、また諸人の褒美欠けたり。このために、能に初心を忘れずして、時に応じ、所によりて、おろかなる眼にもげにもと思ふやうに能をせん事、これ寿福なり。

(能の芸というのは、多くの観客に愛され親しまれることを、一座が成り立っていくための福德とするのである。したがってあまりに高踏的な芸風ばかりであっては、やはりすべての人の賞賛を獲得出来ない。このために、これまで演じてきた演目を忘れずにいて、時と場所に応じて、鑑識眼の低い観客でもすばらしいと思うように能を演じることこそが、福德なのである。)<sup>4</sup>

とあり、さらに、

この寿福増長のたしなみと申せばとて、ひたすら世間の理にかかりて、もし欲心に住せば、これ、第一、道のすたるべき因縁なり。

(この福德を増すという修行が大切だからといって、ひたすら理財ということにこだわって、もしも私利私欲に走れば、これこそが、芸道断絶という結果をもたらす最大原因となる。)<sup>5</sup>

とあるのは、一見大衆主義に見えるがそうではない。「衆人愛敬を以て、一座建立の寿福と」するとは、観客動員力を一座の経営基盤とするとの主張ではあるが、実は商業主義に徹したショービジネスとしての能を否定した言葉なのである。将軍の後援を失った商業的興行は、きわめて小規模なものとならざるを得ないから、大衆相手の小規模興行をねらうのではなく、貴顕の賞翫に堪えうる技芸の向上を前提として、芸道精進を行い、その上でより多くの観客の獲得を目指すというのが、「衆人愛敬」説の基本であった。要するに「天下の許され」こそが本来目標なのである。例えば勸進興行にしても、将軍愛顧の役者の場合は、幕府高官が棧敷設営を差配するのであり、役者側にとってはコストの大幅削減が可能であった。世阿弥の場合もそれは同様であった。

A 田舎の風体。金春権守・金剛権守、つゝに出世なし。京中の勸進にも、将軍家御成なし。金春、京の勸進、二日して下る。金剛、南都にては、立合の時も、二番にてきてをかる。<sup>6</sup>

(田舎猿楽のありようについて。金春・金剛両座の棟梁たちは、最後まで世に出ることがなかった。京都の勸進猿楽でも将軍の御見物

<sup>4</sup> 竹本幹夫『風姿花伝・三道』角川書店、2009年。

<sup>5</sup> 同前。

<sup>6</sup> 『申楽談儀』第21条・田舎の風体。日本思想大系『世阿弥 禅竹』岩波書店、1995年。

はなかった。金春権守の京都での勸進能は、二日間しか興行が続かず、奈良に逃げ帰った。金剛権守は奈良では、將軍御前での競演の猿楽でも、二番しかさせてもらえなかった。)

B 五月廿日、庚寅、晴、今日於一条竹鼻有勸進猿楽（觀世）、御棧敷赤松総州禪門用意云々、青蓮院、聖護院等入御云々、<sup>7</sup>

(1399年5月20日。晴れ。今日、北野の近く一条竹ヶ鼻で觀世元清の勸進猿楽があった。將軍の御棧敷は赤松総州禪門〔義則のこと〕が用意したという。青蓮院・聖護院等の、都の名門寺院の高僧たちもお出ましとのことである。)

C 七月十日、辛卯、天晴、……今日於因幡堂猿楽也、北山殿御出、御棧敷、管領畠山右衛門佐入道構了、<sup>8</sup>

(1402年7月10日。晴れ。……今日、因幡堂で猿楽が上演された。義満公がお出ましになった。公の御棧敷は幕府管領の畠山左衛門佐入道〔基国〕が用意した。)

上記の三つの引用は、Aが將軍出御のない猿楽興行、Bは世阿弥の勸進能、Cは上演者不明ながら義満台臨の猿楽で犬王か世阿弥の出演ではなかろうか。AとB・Cの歴然たる相違を見れば、「天下の名望」の何たるかは明らかであろう。興行収入に莫大な差があったことは想像にたたくない。それを思わせる、次のような資料もある。

十八日、乙巳、晴、或人云、先日青蓮院一品親王、於棧敷御参会之時、取結城越後守盃被飲之、為謝其恐進五萬疋、是自室町殿被進伏見殿准抛也、又室町殿同被献三萬疋、彼是八萬疋令感得給云々、近日如此珍事連続、頗以物怪也、可以目々々々、<sup>9</sup>

(1397年4月18日。晴れ。ある人からの伝聞。先日、青蓮院門跡の尊道法親王が義満公の御棧敷に挨拶のためお出ましになったとき、法親王は義満公の寵臣の結城満藤の盃をお取りになり、その盃で酒をお飲みになられた。満藤は恐縮と感謝の意を表すべく、5万疋〔錢500貫文。中央に穴の空いた銅錢1000枚に紐を通して一連としたもの500本〕を法親王に献上した。これはかつて義満公が前上皇の皇子であった伏見宮榮仁親王に進上した金額にならっている。また義満公は満藤と同じ時に3万疋を法親王に進上した。法親王の懐には両方合わせて8万疋が転がり込んだのである。最近このようなおかしな出来事がひんぴんとある。はなはだけしからぬことだ。お互い目で合図し合うばかりだ。)

<sup>7</sup> 東京大学史料編纂所DB所引『迎陽記』応永6年(1399)。

<sup>8</sup> 『大日本史料』応永9年条所引『吉田家日記』。

<sup>9</sup> 東京大学史料編纂所DB所引『荒暦』応永3年(1397)4月条。

当時の勸進能の棧敷というのは特別席であり、その代金は1間の平均が1貫文(銅銭1000枚)であった。世阿弥時代の勸進能で、棧敷数はおおむね62～63間とされ<sup>10</sup>、1間は普通6尺(1.82m)だが、勸進能はこれを5尺とするのが芸界の決まりだったようで、大体のところ周囲94m～95m、直系30mくらいであった。將軍を筆頭に、大名や門跡等の貴顕がこの棧敷を埋める場合、上記のように、貴顕間の贈答で棧敷の総収入を超えるほどの金額が動くのであるから、棧敷料とは別に將軍最員の役者に与えられる棧敷客の禄物は、貴顕同士の贈答よりは遥かに少額としても、かなりの額に上ったであろう。これに対し、將軍の臨席がなければ、その役者を個人的に最員する貴人や豪族だけになるから、棧敷料収入に若干の禄物が加わる程度となろう。

舞台と棧敷の間には、芝居と呼ばれる大衆見物席があった。能と同時代に流行した曲舞の芝居の代金については、『康富記』<sup>11</sup>応永30年(1423)10月1日条に、「芝居物。人別に一疋宛出し入る也」(芝居席は1人当たり10文を支払い入場する)とある。また地方の寺社の祭礼で願掛けの翁を奉納する場合は1人100文ずつの支払いが普通だったらしい。<sup>12</sup>勸進猿楽の芝居の入場料は両者の中間よりもやや低額であったろう。江戸時代の江戸における勸進能では、1日に数千人の観客を集めることも珍しくはなかったらしいが、室町前期の京都で直径30m前後の芝居にどれほどの人数が蟻集したかは定かでない。世阿弥が観客席を概括して「数万入」<sup>13</sup>などというのは実数にほど遠く、多くても1000人前後なのではなからうか。2日も持たないような田舎猿楽の勸進能では、入場者がこれに遠く及ばないのはもちろんである。

座敷芸も当時の能役者にとっては重要な収入源であったようである。しかしよほどの大宴会に招かれるのでない限り、それほど収入は期待出来ないはずで、日常的に行うそうした活動の大半が小規模な座敷芸能披露であったろう。

以上から考える限り、中世の能役者の活動は、勸進猿楽から座敷芸に至るまでの、小規模な商業的興行活動を基礎にしていた。その中のごく一部のエリート的なスター役者が「天下の名望」＝將軍の愛顧を獲得したのである。こうした環境においては、恒常的に観客動員を持続して勸進猿楽のような商業的興行を成功させるよりは、將軍を頂点とするパトロンの庇護を受けることに努力を傾注することになる。世阿弥はその条件に高い芸術性の維持と芸道への精進を提唱していたが、それは多くの能役者にとって、特定のパトロンの好みに合わせる努力に他ならない。「衆人愛敬」だけでは必ずしも「寿福増長」を約束しなかったのである。

<sup>10</sup> 『申楽談儀』第17条。

<sup>11</sup> 『増補史料大成』37、臨川書店、1965年。

<sup>12</sup> 『申楽談儀』第31条。

<sup>13</sup> 『風姿花伝』第3条、問答々々第1問答。



なお、1度の興行に1作品20～30分以下の出し物を連続して同じ棟梁が主演することを前提とし、1日5～10作品前後の上演を3日程度継続して、その間同じ出し物を再演しないという上演形態が、世阿弥時代にはすでに確立していた。この形は、主演者を時々入れ替えること以外、ほぼそのままに19世紀末の近代初期まで持続された。短編にならざるを得ない能の劇形態と、それを取り巻く興行形態の両方が、能が江戸時代の歌舞伎のような大規模商業演劇に発展することを難しくしていたわけである。これは中世という時代に生まれた芸能の宿命でもあったろう。

ちなみに、寺社の祭礼への参勤の禄物は、特殊な場合を除き、中世全般の小規模な商業的興行よりもさらに小規模な収入しかもたらさなかつたらしい。『申楽談儀』に見える翁猿楽座の禄物配分規定や、最古の能の上演記録とされる『貞和五年春日臨時祭祀』<sup>14</sup> (1349)の祭礼に関わるコストを見ると、とうてい商業的興行とは比較にならないほどの規模であることが推測される。こうした祭礼猿楽や、個人の邸宅への推参の芸能などの小規模経営を積み重ねた先に、大都市での勧進興行という晴れの舞台があり、さらにその先に「天下の名望」という特権的な地位があるというのが、室町期の猿楽を取り巻く環境なのであった。音阿弥の獲得した、醍醐寺の清滝宮楽頭職として初演した時の参勤禄物は2000疋(20貫文)で、将軍の威光を背景に、貴顕の邸宅での大規模な催しに匹敵するものがあつたが<sup>15</sup>、これも「天下の名望」の結果なのであり、一般の猿楽の参勤禄物とは事情を異にする。

### III. 近世における能のあり方について

近世初期に能役者のあり方を大きく変えたのが、豊臣秀吉による慶長2年(1597)12月の猿楽四座への支配米の支給であった。<sup>16</sup> 観世座をはじめとする四座の役者に対し、諸大名が分担して米を供出し、猿楽四座の年俸とする制度であり、豊臣秀吉没後、四座の猿楽を駿府に移住させたのを契機に、徳川幕府が猿楽配当米としてこの制度を受け継ぎ、途中改訂を経ながら幕末まで継続した。豊臣家や徳川家の事業であるはずの能役者召し抱えの費用を大名に負担させるのは、勧進能見物の棧敷を室町幕府に仕える大名が交代で負担するのと同じである。娯乐的なもののみならず、治水工事や江戸城城郭の補修など、国家事業もしくはそれに準じた事業の費用を、権力者の権威の下、諸侯に負担させることがごく普通に行われていた。国家予算という概念の存在しなかつた封建社会ならではのやり方であろう。

<sup>14</sup> 『日本庶民文化史料集成』第2巻、三一書房、1974年。

<sup>15</sup> 『満濟准后日記』永享2年(1430)4月17・18日条等。

<sup>16</sup> 観世文庫蔵「観世座支配之事」他。

能役者は室町時代後期より、将軍をはじめ地方有力諸侯の下で能・謡・囃子の稽古の相手をするのが、演能と共に大きな仕事となったようで、応仁年間（1467～69）以後には、素人への相伝を目的とする謡本や能伝書の類が数多く執筆されるようになる。能数寄と称する大名などが次々に現れるのもこの頃以後である。これに前後して、最頂の大名より領地を拝領する能役者も現れはじめ、織田信長以降の権力者にその既得権を安堵され、新知を賜るものも続出した。<sup>17</sup>しかしながら、当時の能役者が、都での勅進興行や戦国大名をパトロンとする地方興行を主体に、権力者の能の稽古の相手をしたからといって、身分的には必ずしも権力者に臣従するものではなかった。これに対し、猿楽四座への支配米とは、豊臣家、後には徳川家に臣従する能役者の固定給を諸大名に分担させるものであった。もちろん従前の拝領領地などは、江戸時代までもそのまま既得権として認められていたが、秀吉も、また家康以後の徳川歴代将軍も、もはやたんなるパトロンではなく、能役者の主君となったのである。観世・宝生・金春・金剛の四座役者に、江戸初期には喜多を加えた五座の役者は、猿楽配当米の分与、先祖以来の知行米、それらを補填する扶持米などの俸禄を支給され、これら固定給の他に折々の勤務について恩賞等も与えられ、また拝領屋敷を賜った。要するに、権力者の権威の象徴として、当代随一の人気芸能であり、伝統的な芸能でもあった能を専有するのが、秀吉が発案し、家康に継承された、猿楽配当米の制度の目的であった。

四座の猿楽以外には支配米・配当米は支給されなかったもので、これに洩れた諸国の猿楽は、秀吉以外の封建諸侯に直接臣従するか、小規模商業興行に甘んじるか、民俗芸能化した。京・大坂の町役者には、本来は手猿楽の出身者もいたが、江戸初期までの間に多くが四座役者の門弟となっており、演能や素人相手の能・謡・囃子の師匠となる道を選んだ。地方都市にもそうした町役者はいたようである。また四座の家元クラスの能役者は、自身が、もしくは門下の弟子たちを、諸大名の抱え役者に仕立て、自流の勢力の扶植に努めた。金春大夫安照を最頂した秀吉・家康の時代に金春流役者が、北七大夫を最頂した徳川秀忠時代に喜多流役者が、宝生大夫を最頂した徳川綱吉の時代に宝生流役者が、全国の大名家で召し抱えられたのはそうした事情による。幕府直属のはずの四座の役者の中にも、自身が諸大名より合力米を賜って稽古の相手をするものがあり、また非番には地方を巡業して素人弟子に稽古を行い、あるいは大坂に下向して勅進能を興行する者、拝領屋敷を転貸する者などがいた。配当米を基本とする幕府の俸禄だけでは生活が苦しかったのであろう。禄を離れて興行だけで生活を支えようとするのは難しいが、副収入として一時的に勅進能を興行するのは収入面で大きな助けになったろう。また大夫を筆頭に家元クラスのワキ方・狂言方・囃子方は大名相手

<sup>17</sup> 江口文恵「勅修寺文書に見る観世小次郎元頼の領地安堵」『能楽研究』34、法政大学能楽研究所、2010年。

の稽古が出来たが、それ以下の身分の四座の役者たちは、江戸町人の稽古師匠として活躍したらしい。資料がほとんどないので実態をつかみにくい。江戸の地誌の類に、京・大坂の地誌と同様に能役者の住所の一覧があるのは、稽古の需要を満たすためでもあったろう。また江戸後期に至り、能道具や能衣装等を不法に所持した富商が検挙される事件がたびたび起こるが、四座の役者もそれに連座して罪に問われている事例がある。<sup>18</sup>

そうした中で、観世大夫は徳川家専属の能大夫という色彩が強かったが、封建諸侯の中で観世流の能をたしなむ者も少なくなかった。観世座所属の役者たちも、江戸市中や関東諸国に素人弟子を開拓していた。例えば観世座地謡方の梅若誠太郎家の場合、文政3年(1820)～文久2年(1862)の間の門人帳に、延べ600名にも及ぶ入門者を数えることが出来、その多くは江戸以外の関東各地の町人や富裕農民であった。何名かは観世大夫内弟子に推薦し、免状を斡旋してもいる。<sup>19</sup>『梅若実日記』にも、幕末期より大名諸家や江戸市中の素人弟子の稽古に赴く記事が見える。前掲「丑年阿部伊勢守より差図」も観世座狂言驚伝右衛門、宝生座地謡巴野松五郎が咎めを受けており、四座役者と江戸の富裕層町人との交わりを確認できる。観世に限らず、四座役者の多くが複数諸藩の藩邸に出入りし、藩主一族や藩士の稽古や、接待のための藩邸での能上演の交渉役などに従事しているのは、江戸初期以来の習慣であった。<sup>20</sup> 封建諸侯から非常勤給に相当するような合力米を支給されての副業という形は、江戸時代に入って初めて現れた形のものであり、四座役者が猿楽配当米という固定給によって幕府に抱え込まれることで発生したものと考えられる。この副業は、豊臣秀吉時代には、制度成立後間もないことから、まだなかったのではなかろうか。それでは室町時代における能役者と素人との付き合いの実態はどのようであったのだろうか。

#### IV. 能における素人と玄人

観客として楽しむ他に、自ら演じることによって楽しみとする習慣が、能・狂言の分野でいつから始まったのかは、定かでない。最古の能の記録である『貞和五年春日臨時祭記』の田楽・猿楽からして、素人の所演であった。また『満濟准后日記』によれば、世阿弥晩年の永享4年

<sup>18</sup> 早稲田大学演劇博物館安田文庫蔵「天保七年(1836)浅草猿屋町松屋左吉・同天王町伊勢屋加兵衛一件」。法政大学鴻山文庫蔵「丑年(嘉永6 [1853])阿部伊勢守(正弘)より差図/新吉原角町能一件御咎め」。

<sup>19</sup> 早稲田大学図書館蔵梅若家文書『延寿堂門弟人名録』『文久二年改め門弟名前控え』。

<sup>20</sup> 竹本幹夫「江戸時代諸藩における能役者の身分」『国文学研究』108、早稲田大学国文学会、1992年。

(1432) 正月 24 日、將軍足利義教の御所で、細川陸奥守持経の家中の若侍らが能を 5 番演じ、世阿弥も命じられて 1 番上演したことが知られる。ただしこれらはいわば専門の猿楽者の真似をした遊びであり、それ自体が楽しみであったわけではない。観阿弥・世阿弥の時代に、自分で能謡の作詞や作曲を行う玄人はだしの素人がいたことは、『申楽談儀』に見える海老名南阿弥や細川満元の例からも明らかである。しかし現代と同じように趣味で能を演じ、囃子演奏や謡を楽しむ風潮が一般化するのには、応仁以後であり、とくに永正年間(1504～21)には、素人の稽古用に書写・節付したと思われる謡本や、能・囃子・謡伝書が続出する。また金春大夫禅鳳の芸談筆記『禅鳳雑談』の永正 9 年(1512)の記事は明らかに素人を相手にした稽古の記事である。

一、同(永正九年)十二月十三日夜、中市坂東屋に被留候時、好文木一番稽古也。かやうの能は、しまい、手もとけたかく、うつくしく、誠其物もかほどにあるべきかと、じんじやうに仕候がよく候べく候。<sup>21</sup>

(永正 9 年 12 月 13 日夜、奈良中市の坂東屋に逗留されたとき、「好文木」1 番を稽古した。こういう能は、所作が上品で美しく、まさに本物の和泉式部もこんなふうであったろうかと、いかにも立派に演じるのがよいであろう、とのことであった。)

『禅鳳雑談』の筆者は(中村?)藤右衛門なる禅鳳の素人弟子らしい。禅鳳元安は当時 59 歳で、禅竹の孫の金春大夫である。本書の記事は、謡や型をはじめ、能に関する記述がそれ以前の能楽論に比べてきわめて詳細かつ具体的で、素人対象の室町後期能伝書に共通する特色を有する。これをはじめとして歴大かつ多様な能楽伝書類を生み出したのが、室町後期から江戸初期にかけての能の特色であった。<sup>22</sup>ただし歴史に残るそうした能や謡の享受者の多くは、戦国大名や貴族であり、京都の町人もそこに交じることがある。そして安土桃山時代には、晩年の豊臣秀吉も能の虜となり<sup>23</sup>、能役者に初めて固定給を支給して、四座の能を自身の専属として抱え込んだことを契機に、近世能楽史が展開していったことは既述した。

明治元年(1868)、明治維新により江戸幕府が崩壊した。將軍・幕府に仕えた四座の能役者たち、藩侯に仕えた四座の家元の門弟たちや町役者にとって、それが何を意味したかは明らかであろう。この時、能役者は、豊臣秀吉以来の固定給をすべて失ったのである。それでも明治元年には、旧幕の家臣達の内、新政府への奉公希望者に扶持を安堵するべく種々の請願が行われた。8 月に入り、明治新政府は、新政府に仕えるこ

<sup>21</sup> 表章・伊藤正義『金春古伝書集成』わんや書店、1969 年。

<sup>22</sup> 表章・竹本幹夫、講座能・狂言Ⅱ『能楽の伝書と芸論』岩波書店、1988 年。

<sup>23</sup> 天野文雄『能に憑かれた権力者：秀吉能楽愛好記』講談社、1997 年。

とを希望する四座の能・狂言役者には扶助を与えることを、鎮守府を通じて通達した。<sup>24</sup>これに対し、8月13日、幕府への暇願い提出の上、喜多六平太や梅若六郎を含む38名が江戸城に奉公願を提出<sup>25</sup>、他の多くは役者を廃業し帰農、もしくは別の職業に就き、そのままついに能楽界に復帰せぬ者も少なくなかった。10月10日には、幕臣400人余に朝臣への嘱任が行われ、奉公願を提出済みの能役者の大半にも扶持が与えられることとなった。翌月年俸が定められ、12月には俸給が10月分に遡り支給された。<sup>26</sup>しかしながらこれらの役者たちも、明治4年11月には、2年分の禄を一時に下賜の上、改めて新政府より解雇されるに至った。<sup>27</sup>この時、能は固定給を完全に失い、以後は独立採算の道を模索することになる。その時、収入の中核になるのは、やはり素人からの教授料であった。

明治14年(1891)には現在の東京タワーの真下に位置する場所に西洋式のクラブである紅葉館と能楽堂が建設され、皇室よりの下賜金に華族を中心とする同人の寄せた基金を運用して、能の商業的興行の道が模索されたが、しばしば経営に行き詰まって破綻し、明治35年(1902)には閉鎖のやむなきに至る。その頃には各流家元が能楽堂を建設する気運が盛り上がりを見せ、複数の流儀の舞台が建設されるが、商業劇場というよりは流儀の象徴的な意味合いの方が強かった。そこで行われる興行自体も商業的興行の実質を伴わなかったことは言を俟たない。商業的成功を伴う興行が1度もなかったわけではないが、舞台収入に生活を依存する形態は成立せず、現代に至るのである。

## おわりに

世阿弥の観客論として知られる『風姿花伝』奥義篇の「衆人愛敬説」は、能が唯一無二の演劇形態として君臨していた時代を前提としており、伝統演劇以外にも多様な演技芸術が林立する現代においては、もはや成立し得ない理論である。このような環境にあつて、他分野の演劇に対する視点を欠いた、能楽の独自性を強調することは、独善以外の何物でもない。また席数600前後という能楽堂の観客収容能力と、演技の質が厳しくて同一役者による同一演目のロングランが出来ないという能の本質的条件とは、現代能もまた商業化が不可能であることをはっきりと示すものである。あわせて、上演する古典的能作品の文学性は著しく高く、その様式自体も芸術性に優れているが、技術習得が至難で芸の完成には人生の大半を要するというのが、能や狂言の一大特色でもある。

<sup>24</sup> 梅若六郎・鳥越文蔵監修『梅若実日記』第2巻、8月8日条所引観世三十郎廻状。

<sup>25</sup> 同前8月13日条。

<sup>26</sup> 同前11月18日条、12月9日状、12日条。

<sup>27</sup> 同前明治4年11月29日条。倉田喜弘『明治の能楽』同年分。

これらを踏まえれば、能楽が演劇として発展していくためには、公演に対する大規模な支援と、徹底的な技芸修練以外に道がないことは、もはや自明といえよう。もちろん生活上の経済基盤は、素人からの教授料に依拠するほかないのであるが、素人弟子の獲得でいかに経営努力しても、芸術的向上とは無縁であることも明白である。従って舞台公演に大規模な支援が不可欠であるゆえんにつき、常に自己証明を重ねていく必要が能や狂言にはあり、それこそが能楽の現在および将来に向けての課題ということになる。

本稿は2011年8月24日タリン大学における第13回EAJS大会での講演に基づく。なお能役者の収入に関するより実証的な歴史研究として、青柳有利子『武家と能楽の関係をめぐる歴史的研究』（学位論文、2012年3月、早稲田大学）がある。

# 現代に蘇る古典

## —復曲能《常陸帯》の能本作成を例として—

西野 春雄

### I. 復曲の立場

復曲能とは、一般に、廃絶した演目に演劇的生命を与え、現行の能として舞台上に再び蘇らせた作品をいう。江戸時代にも、能に耽溺した將軍徳川綱吉の意向を受け、《砧》《恋重荷》《弱法師》など世阿弥や元雅の名作が復曲された。明治時代以降には、家元またはそれに準ずる立場の役者によって再興され、自流の現行曲とした例も少なくない。たとえば、明治期の初世梅若実による《菊慈童》（他流の《枕慈童》と同曲）や《木曾》などの再興、第二次世界大戦後の1951年の観世華雪による《求塚》、金春信高による《恋重荷》（1963）、《鷲》（1968）、《檜垣》（1970）などや、観世流の《三山》（1985）や《松浦佐用姫》（2000）などである。

復曲作業は、横道萬里雄氏が『能楽そぞろ歩き』（能楽書林、1996）で説かれるように、様式の選択と実態の決定の二段階に分けて考えられ、その立場は、1) 原上演時の様式・実態の再現、2) 現行演目に準じた様式・実態の設定、3) 現代能としての様式・実態の工夫、の三つに分けられる。

1) を徹底させると、過去の奏演形態をできるだけ忠実に舞台に再現する復元上演となり、2002年横浜能楽堂企画公演「秀吉が見た卒都婆小町」がこれにあたる。2) は、対象作品がもし廃絶されることなく今日まで上演されて来たならば、このような実態になっていたはずだという推定のもとに復活上演を行うもので、謡も囃子も所作も装束もすべて現行の様式で整える。濃淡の差はあれ、これまでの復曲能はほとんどがこの立場である。3) は、新作能と同じ考え方で復活上演を行うもので、現行の能の様式を基礎にするが、それに束縛されないことを前提とし、新しい形式を創作するものである。

なお、この三つの立場はそれぞれ独立して存在するとは限らず、演目により、能本は1) であるが、その他は2) または3) ということもありうる。筆者はこれまで、法政大学能楽研究所の事業「世阿弥本《雲林院》」の試演（1982）に参画して以来、復曲作業に携わってきた。すなわち、《横山》（1987）の演出を、《当願暮頭》（1991）、《鐘巻》（1992）、《実方》（1993）、《雪鬼》（1993）、《松山天狗》（1994）の能本作成を、《婆相天》（2001）、《千引》（2008）の監修である。ほとんど2) の立場であるが、《当願暮頭》は限りなく3) に近く、《松山天狗》も、3) に近い。

そして今回、鹿島神宮から、鹿島明神の靈験能《常陸帯》の復曲を依頼され、能本作成を担当することになった。現在、2011年10月18日の上演に向けて、シテおよび作曲・演出のシテ方観世流の浅見真州氏と協議しつつ進めているが、本稿では、現代に蘇る古典作品として《常陸帯》の能本作成を例に、A)《常陸帯》の概要と特色、B)復曲の意図、C)いかにして伝承本の形から上演台本の形に仕上げたか、D)復曲能《常陸帯》の魅力、について述べる。

## II. 《常陸帯》の概要、素材・特色

### [概要]

時は正月、所は常陸国、鹿島の明神。正月11日、鹿島の神職が常陸帯の神事を執り行う旨を告げる。参詣の男たちが歌を書いた帯を手向ける。1人の男が手向けた帯を、ひごろ男が心を寄せていた女が引いて歌を詠んだので、男は喜ぶ。それは「書く歌占を一番に詠ぜし人を妹背」と定めるのがこの神事の風習だからである。しかし女は神慮を疑って拒否し、人込みに紛れ、男は神託を確信して追う(中入)。社人たちが神輿を社壇に還御させようとするが、神輿は動かない。この異変を神職に報告し、神慮を疑った女がいたことを話すと、神職はそれが異変の原因であろうと推察する。やがて神慮を疑った女はその咎により神罰を蒙り、狂乱。「結ぶ契りの神」である鹿島の明神が「八尺の白蛇」と現じ、神威を示し、女を責め、恋路の源を語り、2人を夫婦となす。正月11日に行われた鹿島明神の縁結びの祭「常陸帯の神事」に取材した靈験能である。

### [素材・特色]

鹿島明神の祭日に行われた縁結びの占い「常陸帯」のことは『源氏物語』竹河の巻にもみえ、平安末期から鎌倉初期にかけての歌学書の源俊頼『俊頼髓脳』や藤原清輔『奥義抄』などにもみえる。今『俊頼髓脳』の記述を示してみよう。<sup>1</sup>

あづまぢの道のはてなる常陸帯のかごとばかりもあはむとぞおもふ  
〔六帖 五〕

これは、常陸の国に、鹿島の明神の祭の日、女の、けさう人のあまたある時に、その男の名ども、布の帯に書きあつめて、神の御前におくなり。それが多かる中に、すべき男の名書きたる帯の、おのづから、うらがへるなり。それをとりて、禰宜がとらせたるを、女見て、さもと思ふ男の名ある帯なれば、やがて、御前にて、うへのか

<sup>1</sup> 日本古典文学全集『歌論集』橋本不美男他校注・訳、小学館。1975。141ページ。



け帯のやうに、うちかづくなり。それを聞きて、男かこちかけて、親しくなりぬ。

#### 口語訳

あづまぢの……（あの東国路のはての常陸の国にあるという常陸帯ではないが、私はほんの少しでもあなたに逢いたいと思います）

この常陸帯とは、常陸の国にある鹿島明神の祭の日に、女性で、自分に対する求婚者が多数ある時は、それぞれの男性の名前を、布製の帯一枚一枚にかき集めて、それぞれを神前に置き並べるのである。そのたくさんな帯の中で、神がその女性と結婚するのがふさわしいと思われた男の名を書いてある帯だけが、自然と裏返しになるのである。それを神官がとりわけてきて女に授けると、女がその帯を見て、この人ならと納得できる男の名を記した帯であれば、そのまま神前でその帯を女装束の上に掛けた掛帯のように肩に掛けるのである。それを聞き伝えたその男が、想いを口説いてその女性と親しくなってしまうのである。

歌学書では、このように、女性が自分に対する求婚者が多数ある時、男どもの名を一枚一枚布に書き神に手向けると、自分が想いを寄せる男の名を書いた帯だけが自然に裏返る、その帯を神官が取りわけ、女に授ける、という神事である。

この点、男が帯に歌を書き手向け、その歌を詠んだ女と結ばれるという能とは、男女が入れ替わっているが、「常陸帯の神事」が縁結びの神事であることは動かない。若い男女が互いに歌を歌いかけ、結ばれる古代の「歌垣（うたがき）」を思わせる、歌をなかだちとする神事であり、おそらく陸奥の「錦木」と同じく、都人にとって、東国におけるめずらしい婚姻の風習であったにちがいない。「あづま路の…」の歌は『新古今和歌集』巻第11恋歌1にも収められており、耳近い歌であったろう。

前場の参詣人たちの登場歌の[サシ]にみえる「霞明らかには日落ちて万山紅なり」は、世阿弥の能楽論書『九位』のうち、中三位の第1「正花風」の芸境を示す詩句として使われていて、出典不明ながら禅林の詩句と思われる。『九位』にみえる詩句は世阿弥の後継者、観世元雅や金春禅竹の作品に限られるので、作者を探る手掛かりとなる。

また神霊の登場の[詠]「神は非礼を享け給はず。水上清しや鹿島の波」、[キザシグリ]「ご殿しきりに鳴動して…」や[サシ]「われ劫初よりこのかた。この秋津洲に住んで…」は、金春禅竹作の《龍田》に類似表現が見られ、このあたりに《常陸帯》の作者を解く鍵がある。ことに禅竹には、毎年十二月晦日、長門の国、早鞆の明神で行われる「和布刈の神事」に取材した《和布刈》があることも参照される。西国の《和布刈》に対する東国の《常陸帯》の対比である。

さらに、禪竹の孫の禪鳳が、昔、音阿弥が春日若宮御社上りの能で演じたと語っており（『禪鳳雑談』）、音阿弥は応仁1年（1467）に没しているので、それ以前の成立であることもわかる。

[伝本・演出資料]

『国書総目録』第6巻「能の本」によって諸本の伝存状況をみると、現存最古の謡本は「天文二十四年五月廿日 観世小次郎元頼（花押）」の奥書のある観世流謡本（東京大学史料編纂所蔵）で、天文24年（1555）以後、書写された謡本もほとんど異同がない。下掛り謡本もほぼ同文であり、江戸期の版本も同じで、ほとんど異同のないまま伝承されてきた。

演出資料に目を転ずると、最古の装束付である室町中期成立の金春系装束付『舞芸六輪之次第』の「わき能」の項目に、

ひたち帯。是はかしまの明神。して、前八人間のもの。つまを申て、参詣の一義也。わきはかしまの神主。明神の出立ハ、半切に、はつひ又かりきぬ。くろかしらなれば、すきかふりを着たるかよし。しやくまならば、たうかふりもよし。れうをもいたゝく也。<sup>2</sup>

とあり、室町中期の扮装もわかる。これによると《白髭》の白髭明神のような半被半切悪尉出立か、《高砂》の住吉明神のような透冠狩衣大口出立か、あるいはそれに準じた扮装である。

また、安土桃山時代の古演出を伝える『妙佐本仕舞付』<sup>3</sup>にも見え、そのころまでは上演されていたことは確実で、江戸時代も宝生流の上演演目に組み入れられている。

謡曲注釈書では、加賀前田家が学者佐久間寛光に命じて編纂させた『謡言粗志』<sup>4</sup>にも収められ、江戸末期嘉永頃に富山藩主前田利保が刊行した宝生流全曲の型付『天津賢』（てつけ。6冊1揃。装束付・舞手付なども含む）からは、当時の宝生流の演出が知られる。ほかに装束付や作り物図も残っている。

囃子伝書にもみえる。たとえば、昭和2年の刊行ながら『春日流頭附』（14世春日俊忠刊）は、宝生およびそれ以外の音楽演出と、シテ・ツレの登場や中入りに数種の演出があることを伝えており、中入りが問題であったことも推察される。大蔵・鷲・和泉流の間狂言資料も伝わっていて、ほとんど異同はない。

本曲は上演が稀ながら明治まで宝生流の遠い所演曲であった。ちなみに池内信嘉著『能楽盛衰記』下巻（能楽会、1926）所載の「芝能楽堂演能及び狂言統計」によると、1882年1月から1897年10月までの15年の間に、わずか1回、1885年2月22日に宝生九郎が演じた記録がある。

<sup>2</sup> 『国語国文学研究史大成文献目録補遺』三省堂、1969。

<sup>3</sup> 能楽資料集成 12『観世流古型付集』所収。西野春雄校訂。法政大学能楽研究所編、わんや書店、1982。

<sup>4</sup> 『金沢市立図書館蔵謡言粗志一 翻刻と校異一』上下2冊、金沢市、1989-90。

おそらく東京以外でも上演は稀であったろう。その宝生九郎が明治末年に「当時相勤め申さず候」として所演曲 210 番から 30 番を廃し、本曲もその一つに含まれていたため、以後、120 数年、上演が途絶えている。

### III. 復曲の意図

私は、数年前、鹿島神宮から《常陸帯》を復曲したいとの意向を受け、復曲能に実績のある観世流の浅見真州氏に相談し、浅見氏の快諾を得て、鹿島神宮側の了承のもと、復曲作業を進めた。復曲の基本は、I で述べた 2) の立場であるが、進めていくうちに、かなりの部分で 3) の立場に立つことにした。というのも、伝存する資料を集め、能本作成にとりかかるうちに、正直言って、伝承本の形のままで、あまり面白いとはいえないと思ったからである。明治の九郎が廃した気持ちも分からないでもない。しかし、それは宝生流の演出が様式的・類型的に過ぎ、内輪に小さくまとまっているからではないかと思った。伝承本の間にはほとんど異同はないが、創作期の靈験能の姿を想像する時、省除ないし改変されてきたのではないかと思われてならない。

おそらく原初の形は、鹿島神宮の正月の神事の祝祭空間の、祭りのにぎわいのなかで、次々と歌を詠じ、歌を媒介に繰り上げられる若き男女の縁結びの神事を劇的に再現していたのではないか。原初の形態を想像すると、もう少し劇空間に広がりがあったのではないか。想像を逞しくすると、ちょうど、世阿弥本（正しくは世阿弥本臨写本）が発見されて、冒頭に天王寺の住職と大勢の随行の僧たちが登場し、盲目の弱法師（シテ）が妻（ツレ）を伴って登場するなど、春の彼岸会の中日のにぎわいのなかで展開される世阿弥時代の《弱法師》と、住職も随行の僧も妻も登場しない縮約改作の現行《弱法師》のような改変があったのかもしれないと思われる。百歩譲って、そのような改変がなかったとしても、現代に蘇らせるには、伝承本のままでは魅力に乏しく、創作部分もあってしかるべきと考えたのである。

そこで、復曲の方針として、まだ雪の残る睦月の凜とした神域を舞台に、若き男女が集う縁結び「常陸帯の神事」と、神霊が現れる奇跡を、祝祭空間のなかで描くことにしようと考え、かなり創作し加筆することにしたのである。前述した三つの立場でいえば、2) を基本としつつ限りなく 3) に近い。

### IV. いかにして伝承本の形から上演台本の形に仕上げたか

そのために、伝承本のいいところは残しつつ（前場・後場とも順序を変えた場面もある）、まず、①冒頭の神職（ワキ）の名ノリに「常陸帯の神事」の内容を詳しく説明することにした。伝承本では、中入りでア

イが説明するのだが、冒頭に状況説明をし、観客に祭の意味を理解してもらうためである。

②登場人物も、男ヅレ（伝承本ではシテ。シテと同格の重い役）と女ヅレのほかに、男組（トモ）女組（トモ）とも3人ずつ登場させ、男組の登場歌を少し増やす。③新たに女組の登場歌を創作し、初春の叙景歌とする。④ワキと男ヅレの応対を、男組が歌を手向ける場面の前に移し、男ヅレの歌を印象づける。

⑤男組と女組との応対をにぎやかに描くべく、帯尽くしの会話歌〔ロンギ〕を作詞し、男たち3人の歌を新たに加える。主題歌である男ヅレの「あづま路の…」の歌が新古今の耳近い歌なので、3人の歌も同集や後撰集などの、よく知られた歌で、かつ常陸と同じく東国の「つくば」や「みちのく」に縁のある歌を選び、3組が結ばれる場面を創作する。そのあとで、クライマックスの⑥男ヅレと女ヅレの会話となるようにする。

中入りは、男が宮の作り物に中入りし、後場で後ヅレ鹿島明神として登場する伝承本に対し、男ヅレを中入りさせず、シテ（別の役者）は宮または幕から登場させることに変える（これについては後で述べる）。⑦後場の冒頭のワキ・女ヅレの応対と、⑧シテの登場は、劇の展開を考え、伝承本の順序を少し変更させる。

以下、伝承本（元頼本に準じる）と加筆修訂した復曲能本との違いが分かるように、上記①～⑧、およびそのほかの展開も含め、対照させて記すことにする。〔 〕は囃子事、[ ]は謡事の小段。なお、役名は復曲能本に記す。

#### 伝承本

##### ①ワキの登場

[名ノリ笛]

[名ノリ]

かやうに候者は。常陸の国鹿島の明神に仕へ申す神職の者なり。さても当社において。ご神事さままご座候なかにも。睦月十一日のご神事をば。常陸帯のご神事と申し候。今日に相当たりて候程に。急ぎ社中に相触れ。ご神事を執り行ひ申さばやと存じ候。

（アイの触れあり。省略）

#### 復曲能本

##### ①ワキの登場

[名ノリ笛]

[名ノリ]

ワキ そもそもこれは常陸の国鹿島の明神に仕へ申す神職の者なり。さても当社において。元旦のご神事白馬のご神事。祭頭のご神事御田植のご神事。御船のご神事などご神事様々ござ候なかにも。睦月十一日のご神事をば。常陸帯のご神事と申し候。その謂れと申すは。若き男の妻を迎へんと思し召さば。帯に一首の歌をしたため。神前に手向けその帯を手にとり歌を詠ぜし女をすなはち妻となし給ふおん事にて候。さればいにしへより今に至るまで。八百萬の男女の縁しを結びさせ給ふめでたきご神事にて候間。近隣の若き男女踵をついで群集仕り。常陸帯のご神慮のままに妹背のなかだちとなし申して候。当年も今日に相当たりて候

程に。ご神事を執り行はばやと存じ候。

いや、囃子物の音の聞こえ候。されば神輿の神幸の時節にて候程に。これにて相待ち申さうずるにて候。

②シテ・トモの登場

[次第]

[次第]

(右に同じ)

[サシ]

ころは陸月の十日あまり。  
霞明らかに日落ちて。万山紅なり。

げに面白や梅が枝に。来居る鶯春かけて。なけども未だ薄雪の。朝祭りする神垣や。隔てぬ恵み頼むなり。

[下歌]

あら有難やこの神に。頼みを深くかけまくも。

忝なや偽りの。なきみ心を頼むなり。なきみ心を頼むなり。

[上歌]

(右に同じ)

②男ヅレとトモ(男組)の登場

[次第]

[次第]

男ヅレ・トモ これより出でし春の日の。これより出でし春の日の。宮居の祭り急がん。

[サシ]

トモ ころは陸月の十日あまり。  
霞明らかに日落ちて。万山紅なり。

男ヅレ げに面白や梅が枝に。来居る鶯春かけて。

男ヅレ・トモ 啼けども未だ降る雪に。杉の葉白き鹿島の杜。神さび心も澄みわたり。朝祭りする神垣の。隔てぬ恵み頼むなり。

[下歌]

男ヅレ・トモ あら有難やこの神に。頼みを深くかけまくも。忝なや偽りの。なきみ心を頼むなり。

[上歌]

男ヅレ・トモ 常陸なる。鹿島やいづくみなかみの。鹿島やいづくみなかみの。常世の波も深緑り。苔のむすきが岩船の。出でしも遠き代々を経て。国豊かなる今までも。誓ひの舟に身をうけて。み影を仰ぐ春の日の。けふのどかなるあしたかな。けふのどかなるあしたかな。

③女ヅレとトモ(女組)の登場

(上歌のうちに登場)

[一セイ]

女ヅレ・トモ 見渡せば。緑りの空も晴れわたる。光のどけき。鹿島の杜。

女ヅレ 松吹く風も静かにて。

女ヅレ・トモ げに春めける朝ぼらけ。

[サシ]

女ヅレ 霞とも花ともいはじ春の日の。垂水の上の早蕨の。もえいづる春なれや。

女ヅレ・トモ 秋津洲のいづくはあれど常陸なる。鹿島の神のおん祭り。手向けの袖もひとしほに。色添ふ春の訪れに。氷もけさはとけそめて。苔のしたみづ道もとむらん。

[上歌]

地 歩みを運ぶ諸人の。歩みを運ぶ諸人の。願ひもみつの山風に。心涼しきしでの音。祈る常陸の帯かけて。妹背の道のなかだちの。神のみ前に参らん。神のみ前に参らん。

③シテとワキとの応対

[掛合]

時を得て今日の手向けか神祭る。睦月のどけき空色の。

手向けも同じ袖はへて。貴賤群集ぞ有難き。

我はまた同じ手向けのその内に。わきて心も色深き。

花田の帯の末長く。契り結ぶの神のみ前に。信心を出だして参りけり。

よそめにはそれとも知らぬ思ひ妻。あるひは花の手向け草。

または名に負ふ常陸帯の。おもてに一首の歌を書く。

同じ世をかけて頼まん常陸帯結ぶかひある契りなりせば。

④男ヅレとワキとの応対

[掛合]

ワキ 時を得て今日の手向けか神祭る。睦月のどけき空色の。手向けも同じ袖はへて。貴賤群集ぞ有難き。

男ヅレ 我はまた同じ手向けのその内に。わきて心も色深き。花田の帯の末長く。契り結ぶの神のみ前に。

信心をいだして参りけり。

ワキ よそめにはそれとも知らぬ思ひ妻。或ひは花の手向け草。

男ヅレ または名に負ふ常陸帯の。おもてに一首の歌を書く。

同じ世をかけて頼まん常陸帯の。結ぶかひある契りなりせば。

⑤男組と女組との応対

[サシ]

男ヅレ・トモ さらば時節も来たりたり。我らも歌をしたためて。誓ひも深きこの神に。いざいざ帯を手向けむと。

[下歌]

地 いざいざ帯を手向けむ。いざいざ帯を手向けむ。

[ロンギ]

男ヅレ・トモ ときかへし。井手の

下帯行きめぐり。逢ふ瀬うれしき玉川の。水のいにしへしづはた帯を。結びたれぞと問ふ人も。君にはまじ鹿島野の。いかなる帯ぞ花田の帯。

女ヅレ・トモ これは結びの常陸帯。心をこめて引かうよ。心こめて引かうよ。

トモ1 わらはが引ける常陸帯。おもてに書かれしその歌は。

つくばねの。みねより落つるみな  
の川。恋ぞつもりて淵となり。

男トモ1 おう。わが歌ぞ嬉しやと。

女のもとに走り行き。歎び伴ひ歩みゆく。

トモ2 続いて引きしこの帯の。おもてに詠まれしその歌は。

みちのくの。しのぶもぢずりたれ故に。乱れそめにしわれならなくに。

男トモ2 さればこそ。我が歌なれと歎びて。手に手をとりて進みゆく。

トモ3 さてさてわらはが引く帯の。おもての歌はかくばかり。

み狩する。狩場の小野のなら柴の。馴れはまさらで恋ぞまされる。

男トモ3 恋ぞまされる我が心。嬉しや神のおん誓ひ。妹背の契り結ばん。

[下歌]

(右に同じ)

[上歌]

(右に同じ)

④シテと女ヅレの応対

[掛合]

(右に同じ)

[下歌]

地 神は偽りましまじ。人やもしも空色の。花田に染める常陸帯の。契り掛けたりや。かまひて守り給へや。

地 ただ頼めかけまくも。ただ頼めかけまくも。忝なしやこの神の。恵みも鹿島の。草葉に置ける露の間も。惜しめただ恋の身の。命のありてこそ。同じ世を頼むしるしなれ。同じ世を頼むしるしなれ。

[上歌]

⑥男ヅレと女ヅレの応対

[掛合]

女ヅレ 不思議やな手向けも繁きその内に。わきて心も色深き。花田の帯の美しきを。お前にかけてる不思

議さよ。寄りて見れば歌を書きたり。  
同じ世をかけて頼まん常陸帯の。結ぶかひある契りなりせば。  
心を知れば恋の歌なり。そもこの手向けに恋心を。手向けば神も受け給ふべきか。返す返すも不審なるぞや。  
男ヅレ 嬉しやな今までは。つれなかりつるみ心の。今はやはらく言の葉の。結ぶ契りの末頼もしうこそ候へ。  
女ヅレ そも契りの末の頼もしきとは。心得難き言葉かな。もし人たがへにてあるやらん。  
男ヅレ いやさやうにては候はず。何をかつつみ給ふらん。数書き贈りし玉章の。返しをだにも白露の。身の置き所のなきままに。  
当社に頼みをかけし身の。けふ待ち得たる常陸帯の。われにかごとはよもあらじ。  
女ヅレ そも契りの末の常陸帯とは。  
男ヅレ お前に見えたる花田の帯に。書く歌占を一番に詠ぜん人を妹背ぞと。昔より神のお告げなり。  
女ヅレ 昔の事はさもありなん。今はまことをしらゆふの。  
[下歌]  
[下歌]  
地 神に末世はよもあらじ。ただ信仰の誠あらば。今も威光はよもつきじ。  
[掛合]  
女ヅレ いやとにかくに言葉つくし。よその人目も恥づかしとて。あらざる方に立ち退けば。  
男ヅレ あら情なのおん事や。よし我にこそ疎くとも。  
[上歌] (クリ歌を上歌に編曲)  
地 神は契りの常陸帯。結びとめさせ給ふべし。恐ろしや疑ひの。神罰あたり給ふな。  
[ロンギ]  
[ロンギ]  
地 げに疑ひはあらかねの。島根はこれか鹿島野の。神のみ心頼むなり。理り給へおん誓ひ。  
男ヅレ これやこの東路の。道の果

[下歌]

(右に同じ)

[クリ歌]

(右に同じ)

[ロンギ]

(右に同じ)



てなる常陸帯。かごとばかりもあひ見んと。人影に佇めば。  
 地 立ちよる影も人繁き。手向けの袖も様々に。神のみ祭りあがめよ。  
 男ヅレ よしとても。よしとても今日よりは。人も我も睦み月の。袖ふれて寄りこよ。  
 地 げにや睦月の空なれや。緑り立ち添ふ青柳の。  
 男ヅレ 影踏む道に休らひて。  
 地 貴賤の群集。  
 男ヅレ 押し隔て。  
 地 後る影も見えざれば。せんかたもなく日も暮れぬ。とにかくに恋はなど。さのみ心を筑波嶺の。このもかのもに道はあれど。恋の道は迷へり。あらうたておん神。常陸帯返し給へや。常陸帯返し給へや。  
 [女ヅレ、イロエからカケリ]

⑤中入り。アイあり。  
 (省略)

⑥ワキ・ツレの応対  
 [サシ]  
 これは不思議の神託かなと。宮人数々騒ぎあひ。神慮を疑ふ人あらば。心中になどか知らざらむ。もしも包まば重ね重ね。その神罰は疑ひあるまじ。悔やみ給ふな人々と。参籠のうちに触れければ。

[クドキグリ]  
 げに思ひ内にあればいろほかにあらはれさむらふぞや。

[クドキグリ]  
 あら悲しや恐ろしや。  
 神慮を疑ふ科により。  
 白蛇の責めを蒙るぞや。  
 あら悲しのおん事やな。

⑦後ジテの登場  
 [出端]  
 [詠]

⑦男ヅレは中入りせず臥す。

⑧ワキ・ツレの応対  
 [クドキグリ]  
 女ヅレ げにや思ひ内にあれば。色ほかにはあらはれさむらふぞや。あら悲しや恐ろしや。  
 [イロエ]  
 [□]  
 女ヅレ 神慮を疑ふ科により。明神の責めを蒙るぞや。あら悲しのおん事やな。  
 [□]  
 ワキ これは奇特のありさまかな。神慮を疑ふ故により。さだめて神罰を蒙り給ふなるべしと。言ひもあへねば不思議やな。

[キザシグリ]  
 地 ご殿しきりに鳴動して。み神楽の鼓。ともし火の影。和光同塵もかくやらんと。顕はれ給ふぞ忝なや。

⑨シテの登場  
 [出端]  
 [詠]

(右に同じ)

[キザシグリ]

ご殿しきりに鳴動して。み神  
楽の鼓。燈火の影。和光同塵  
もかくやらんと。顕はれ給ふ  
ぞ忝なや。

[サシ]

(右に同じ)

シテ 神は非礼を享け給はず。みな  
かみ清しや鹿島の波。

[サシ]

シテ われ劫初よりこのかた。この  
秋津洲に住んで。その形八尺の白蛇  
と現じ。衆生の明闇を守り。陰陽の  
なかだちとなつて。契りの末や常陸  
帯の。かごとなき事を守る所に。汝  
今さら疑ふべしや。

[立廻り]

[中ノリ地]

シテ 疑ふべしや心の馬の。隙ゆく  
道や神のゆふしで。結びとめよや結  
びとめよや。さてこそ契りの常陸  
帯。

⑧後ジテの立ち働き

[歌]

報ひは常の世の習ひ。  
報ひは常の世の習ひ。  
いかに廻るも小車の。  
直ぐなる道は変はらじ。  
ただ狂へ狂へ狂女よ。

[ノリ地]

(右に同じ)

⑩シテの立ち働き

[口]

地 報ひは常の世の習ひ。

[ノリ地]

地 そもそも。恋路において。そも  
そも。恋路において。憐れむべしや。  
かなしむべしや。陰陽の二神下つ  
て。天の八衢。菩提の。岩枕を敷島  
の。波を払ひ罫を求め。鶺鴒の翅に  
たぐへ。東西南北諸天善神。十方国  
土を治めしより。恋路の源なれや。  
汝などかは疑ふべきと。神託あらた  
に聞こえしかば。教への契りの神か  
けて。忝なしや常陸帯の。結ぶ契り  
となりにけり。

## V. 現代に蘇る《常陸帯》の魅力

かくして復曲能本ができあがった。伝承本の形よりも、参詣人を大幅  
に増やし、女の登場歌や男と女の間で歌をめぐる会話(ロンギ)を加筆  
したので、にぎやかな祝祭空間が現出するはずである。古代、東国で行

われた「歌垣」に淵源するような常陸帯の神事を描くには、こうした祝祭空間がふさわしいと考えたからである。

しかし、これで能本が整ったわけではない。前場と後場をつなぐ間狂言を考えなくては完全ではない。現存する間狂言の資料によれば、前場で、女が神慮を疑ったため男が怒り「常陸帯返し給へ」と叫んで宮の作り物または幕へ中入りする。そのため間狂言は、社人たち（オモアイ・アドアイ）が御輿を還幸させようとしてもビクとも動かない異変を描いている。そして、異変の出来を神職に報告し、やがて神霊が登場する。ちょうど《道成寺》で、鐘が落下し、能力（オモアイ）が住侶に報告し、住侶の祈りで鐘が上がり、蛇体が現れるという構造と似ている。

しかし『春日流頭附』によると、「中入。諷ノ内ニ、シテ作物ニ入。間ナシ。ワキ、シカシカ諷フ。又中入来序ニモ。ソノトキハ、一、此面彼面に道ハあれど、恋の道ハ 吹ズ」とあって、中入りに、a) 謡の内に宮の作り物へ中入りする、b) 間狂言ナシ、c) 来序で中入りする、の3通りの演出を伝えている。

このうち、b) 間狂言ナシが目される。むしろ、アイのない形が原初形態を伝えているのではないか。ちょうど《鶉飼》に伝わるアイを出さぬ特殊演出が、前ジテ鶉匠の霊は中入りせずそのまま舞台上に居残り、後場に別役の鬼が出たことの名残を示しているように、《常陸帯》の「間ナシ」の演出も、別役で神霊が登場したことを伝えているのではないかと思われる。

前ジテまたは前ジテ相当の人物が中入りせず、後場に神霊（別人）が現れて事件を解決する形態は、廃絶曲の《護法》など古い作品に見られる。ギリシャ劇でも「デウス・エクス・マキーナ」と呼ばれる形式で、靈験を示すのにふさわしい手法である。後ジテを前ジテとは別の役者が演じれば、装束を改める時間も要らないから、アイがなくても直ぐ出られる。むしろ《道成寺》のアイのような枠組でなくていい。

私案では、シテを別人（浅見真州氏）が演じるので、アイのない形にし、男ヅレ（片山九郎右衛門氏）を中入りさせず、女ヅレ（坂真太郎氏）が神罰を蒙って「うつつない」ていで舞台を巡るなどし、やがて〔出端〕で神霊を登場させるのである。

なお、祝祭気分を盛り上げるべく、社人の触れをやめ、神職が祭りの歌声や囃子の音が近づいてきた旨を述べるやいなや、幕から社人出立のアイたちが歌を歌いながら登場し、囃子物に乗って浮きに浮いて神輿を運び出し、社殿に据え、酒宴をなす場面を創作し、祭りの序曲とした。

それから、鹿島の明神の扮装も、白蛇の姿なので、白頭に龍（蛇）台をいただくか、あるいは、冠をつけて神々しさを出すか、さまざま工夫してよい。これも楽しい選択になろう。上演日まで、稽古を重ねていくうちに、また新たな展開が生まれるかもしれないが、それもまた歓迎すべきことだろう。

出演者たちの活発な議論と工夫と稽古を通して実り豊かな舞台が現出し、百数十年の時空を超えて、新生《常陸帯》が現代に蘇ることを願っている。

# NŌ IN BUSAN: 1905–2005

KAGAYA Shinko

## I. INTRODUCTION

At two very different historical junctures, in 1905 and again in 2005, *nōgaku* (a term that references both *nō* plays and their accompanying comedic interludes, *kyōgen*) was put to use to advance very different social agendas with respect to Korean-Japanese relations. A 1905 performance tour by professional *nō/kyōgen* performers featured several examples from the traditional repertoire of *nō/kyōgen* plays, staged for the benefit of the Japanese military occupation in Korea. One hundred years later, another tour featured a single play that was *shinsaku*, or newly created *nō*.

Tada Tomio (1934–2010), late Emeritus Professor of Immunology, Tōkyō University, stated that a *shinsaku-nō* play has to possess ‘contemporaneous necessity,’<sup>1</sup> for it to be born and for it to survive. He has said, ‘A new *nō* play must deliver, via the context of *nō*, a message to contemporary people.’<sup>2</sup>

To illustrate his point, Tada has authored several *shinsaku nō* plays dealing with such contemporary issues. These include *Mumyō-no-i* (Well of darkness), which deals with brain death and donors’ perspectives on organ transplants; *Isseki sennin* (The ‘one-stone’ hermit), on Einstein’s theory of relativity and its relevance to humankind in the contemporary world; *Genbakuki* (Atomic bomb memorial), a tribute to the Hiroshima atomic bomb victims, and *Nagasaki no seibo* (The god/mother of Nagasaki), on the theme of resurrection of hope in Nagasaki. Tada contends that *nō*’s theatrical universality and symbolism suit themes of catholicity that are echoed in his plays.<sup>3</sup>

But Tada’s point about ‘contemporaneous necessity’ is perhaps no better illustrated than by his *shinsaku-nō* play, *Bōkonka* (the title roughly translates as ‘resenting lamentation’), whose central character is an old woman living alone in a small Korean village. As a young bride, she lost her husband when he was taken away to work in a coalmine in southern

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<sup>1</sup> Tada 2001: 49 and 306.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*: 10.

<sup>3</sup> Tada 2007: 76.

Japan. There he would die, leaving both longing for the reunion that was never to occur. The play premiered in 1993 at the National Nō Theater in Tōkyō, and has been performed several times since. It was this play that was presented at the Busan International Performing Arts Festival in 2005 in Korea, under the title *Manhanga*.

This paper explores the 2005 performance of this play in Busan, and compares it to the very different circumstances of the 1905 tour. Also considered here in some depth are the story and poetry of the play itself. By framing poetic consideration of this play and others within the context of the volatile political climates in which they have been performed, I hope to show how this very resilient form of theater has been used to advance very different political agendas, and has thus retained its contemporaneous necessity.

## II. 1905 PERFORMANCE TOUR

2005 was a dual landmark in Korea-Japan relations: it was the one hundredth anniversary of the onset of Japanese colonial occupation, and the fortieth anniversary of formal restoration of diplomatic relations. One hundred years earlier, a 1905 treaty signed following the Russo-Japanese War awarded Japan superior position on rights and interests over Korea. Later, in 1910, the central office of the Japanese governor-general of Korea would be established by force at Keijo, present-day Seoul; thereafter, Japanese colonial rule lasted until 1945.

Japan's annexation and military occupation of Korea followed a period in which the institution of nō itself had fully recovered from a severe crisis of lost patronage, following the end of shogunate rule forty years earlier. Champions of nō in the new imperial government argued that nō might be perceived abroad as a legitimizing national art form — Japan's equivalent to European opera. Nō's champions, many of whom were also amateur practitioners, helped produce performances for foreign dignitaries visiting from overseas, and were instrumental in advocating nō/kyōgen performance tours to the occupied territories in Korea, China and Taiwan. Korea became one of the earliest oversea performance sites for such nō/kyōgen in the occupied territories.<sup>4</sup>

On May 25 and 26, 1905, nō performances were held in the capital on the occasion of the opening of the Keifu railroad connecting Keijo with Busan. Two days later another nō performance was held at the other end of the line, in a warehouse of the Busan Merchant Marine Company, for

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<sup>4</sup> Kagaya 2001: 257–69.

the benefit of the volunteer fleet.<sup>5</sup> Even the president of the Keifu railroad administration agency himself, Furuichi Kinki (1854–1934), performed during this tour.<sup>6</sup> Led by Kanze Kiyokado (1867–1911), the head of the Kanze School, altogether twenty-one performers took part in the fifteen-day tour.<sup>7</sup>

The newspaper, *Ōsaka Jiji Shinpō* reports that Kiyokado ‘jumped for joy and embraced [the opportunity to perform in Korea].’

“Born as the legitimate heir of Kanze, it is my long-cherished desire to enter into the capital of Korea where the imperial influence is ablaze, and to astonish the Koreans by carrying forward the direct Kanze line that has lasted five hundred years without cease,” so believing he promoted the performance in Korea.<sup>8</sup>

But although it was Kiyokado’s aspiration to astonish the Koreans, the *Kyōto Hinode* newspaper reported that ‘among the audience members [at the performance in the capital], many were Japanese, and Koreans were few.’<sup>9</sup> As for the performance in Busan the same newspaper reported: ‘The audience totaled more than two thousand, and all were Japanese. Since everything was just as it would be to see it in Japan, it felt like the performance was being given in our native land.’<sup>10</sup>

The 1905 performance tour – funded, arranged and produced by and for an occupying Japanese contingency – presented plays sharing common themes that endorsed and/or glorified the forceful occupation; such as assuring national prosperity, accomplishing revenge, divine intervention, heroic fighters, and conquering monsters.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Ikenouchi 1926: 369.

<sup>6</sup> Furuichi performed on May 26 at a charity performance that took place at the same place as the previous day.

<sup>7</sup> Some details of this tour are reported in the *Ōsaka Jiji Shinpō*, 2 May, 1905. See Kurata 1994–1997: 374.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*: 379.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> For a detailed program of this performance tour, see Ikenouchi 1926: 368–9. The popularity of nō among Japanese residents does not seem to have slackened over the following years. Another tour was organized in 1910. Performances were held in Busan on 29 November and 1 December and again in Keijo on 4 and 5 December. In 1918, planning went forward for a Shintō shrine in Keijo. A shrine dedicated to Shintō deities is emblematic of the legitimacy and the reigning power of the Japanese imperial family. Included in the plan was a proposal that a nō stage might be constructed inside the shrine property. The proposal stated: ‘[Nō] is very popular, such that nowhere in *naichi* [the Japanese homeland, K.S.], either in city or in provincial town, may one fail to hear

## III. 2005 PERFORMANCE TOUR – BACKGROUND

A century later, another *nō* troupe would tour to Busan and present a work that laid bare the violent dislocation of a Korean family by the Japanese occupation. Not only the content but the performance context – the political and historical climate in which it happened and how it was received – was drastically different.

The year was 2005 and the territorial dispute over the Liancourt Rocks in the Japan Sea had nearly ruptured relations between Japan and South Korea when Japan's Shimane Prefecture declared 16 March to be *Takeshima no hi*, or 'Takeshima Day' – Takeshima being the Japanese name for the Liancourt Rocks. This helped to rekindle an anti-Japanese movement in Korea, which eventually escalated and spread to China. Issues surrounding the Yasukuni Shrine – dedicated to the lost lives in service to Imperial Japan – and, in particular, visits to this shrine by Prime Ministers of Japan, had sparked tremendous protests in recent years from various countries, Korea among them. 2005 was no exception. Prime Minister Koizumi's fifth annual visit was pending and would take place in October. Attached to these issues, questions concerning recognition of the history between these two nations – and particularly discrepancies in historical descriptions – were also heating up as a result.

Such friction probably had much to do with the fact that the year 2005 marked not only the hundredth anniversary of the onset of Japanese colonial occupation, but also the fortieth anniversary of the formal restoration of diplomatic relations between the two countries, and many reflections were bound to take place. While commemorating the anniversary, in order to quell such tensions, the prime ministers of the two countries designated the year 2005 as the 'Japan and Korea Friendship year.' According to the Project Report, there were over 700 exchange events in the areas of culture, sports, academics, and the like, intended to deepen mutual understanding between the two countries.<sup>12</sup> Among them, 81

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voices singing *yōkyōku* [*nō* song, K.S.]. In this Korean land, too, because residents from *naichi* are here, one hears the sounds of *yōkyōku*. Also, we have noted some native Koreans who have come to like it' (Ueki et al. 1918: 104). The proposal continues: 'Since the establishment of the Korean Shrine is to promote Shintō worship, the foundation of our country, in a new place, we, of course, have to make the plan carefully. The inseparable relationship between a shrine and a *nō* stage is demonstrated in the examples of the Meiji Shrine and many other shrines in *naichi*' (Ibid.). The Meiji Shrine, founded in 1920, had been dedicated to the Emperor and the Empress Meiji (Ibid.: 103–4).

<sup>12</sup> The 2005 Japan-Korea Friendship Year Executive Committee ([http://www.jkcf.or.jp/friendship2005/japanese/finalreport/yujounen2005\\_web.pdf](http://www.jkcf.or.jp/friendship2005/japanese/finalreport/yujounen2005_web.pdf)).



events were related to stage performances, including *Across that River in May* by Hirata Oriza. Also early that year, performances partnering bunraku (Japanese traditional puppet theater) and *pansori* (Korean story-opera), took place at the National Center for Korean Traditional Performing Arts in Seoul in January, followed by the National Theater in Tōkyō, in March. Both bunraku and *pansori* had been designated by UNESCO as World Cultural Heritages two years earlier. In April 2005, the second kabuki performance in Korea was held by Chikamatsu-za at the National Central Theater of Korea, backed by Shōchiku Kabuki Company (the first was seventeen years earlier). The Japanese National Living Treasure, Nakamura Ganjirō, performed in major pieces. This performance was followed with a *pansori* performance by the Korean national troupe at the same location. Also that year, the inaugural Korea performance of Takarazuka Review Theater took place in November, under the auspices of the Korea Tourism Organization.<sup>13</sup>

Thus the May 16 and 17 performances of *Bōkonka* at the Busan International Performing Arts Festival came in the middle of a year that was replete with cultural exchanges between the two countries. It also reflected the complicated socio-political situation of the time, as well as the organizers' desire to have cultural exchanges independent of such turmoil: to explore a person-to-person communication more closely focused on individual lives, rather than politics. Ogihara Tatsuko, a *nōgaku* producer who arranged the performance writes:

Politically and economically Japan-Korean issues were tenuous, and when the advertisement for the art festival entered into the final stage in April, things grew violent. Within university campuses, anti-Japanese billboards started to line up, and unsettling rumors were floated that the performance would not be able to take place in a university town. Even the performance venue had to be changed.<sup>14</sup>

Ogihara also writes:

Though posters were made, we couldn't hang them, and the use of media was also avoided. Handing out fliers one-by-one, trying to update the changing information by word of mouth: the advertising was like a human wave that swept up young students with appetites for intellectually challenging things.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>13</sup> [http://www.jpfa.go.jp/j/about/outline/result/pr/2005/img/pr\\_cul\\_5.pdf](http://www.jpfa.go.jp/j/about/outline/result/pr/2005/img/pr_cul_5.pdf), Japan Foundation.

<sup>14</sup> Ogihara 2006: 36–7.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

There was no way to predict how many people would show up at the Busan Civil Hall – where the performance was ultimately held – but it turned out that both days the hall would be filled with many young audience members.<sup>16</sup> Subtitles for the play were also provided in Korean.

#### IV. THE PLAY

According to Tada, he got the idea for *Bōkonka*<sup>17</sup> or *Manhanga* in Korean, when he saw a television documentary on the widow of a Korean coalminer who had died through forced labor.<sup>18</sup> She had been a young wife then, but was now an old woman with white hair and a bent back, living in obscurity in a remote village in Korea. Her afterglow burned itself into the author's retina, who eventually came to believe that it had to be a *nō* play, since only by *nō* could he express her pain.<sup>19</sup>

The play begins with a statement by the *waki* (secondary actor), a traveling priest, which describes his mission and also roughly summarizes the action of the play:

I am a priest from the village of Yahata in Kyūshū. In the war that has passed, many people from Korea worked in the coalmines of Tsukushihōshū; many got sick, and countless died in this land. Recently, a memorial hall was built to offer heart-felt prayers. Numerous articles were uncovered that had been left behind. Among them was an unfinished letter written by a man named Ri Tōjin.<sup>20</sup> This man was taken from a small village called Tangetsu in Jeolla Province,<sup>21</sup> leaving behind his young wife with whom he spent about a year. This letter too is addressed to his wife that he left in his homeland. His affection for his wife (though they were separated by a great distance) fills the lines, making anyone who reads it wet their sleeves.

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid.: 36.

<sup>17</sup> For a German translation of the play see Scholz-Cionca and Oda 2006.

<sup>18</sup> According to the statistics on the war period in Japan kept by the Japanese Coal Industry Association, there were more than 341,000 coalminers in 1941, of which about 12% were Koreans; by 1945, the total number increased to over 410,000, of which over 30%, more than 135,000, were Koreans (Bae 2005).

<sup>19</sup> Tada 2001: 300.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.: 302. Ri Tōjin is read as 'In Donin' in Korean, but the Japanese reading is used for this play.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid. Tangetsu is a fictional name. Zenradō is Jeolla-do in Korean.

However, Ri Tōjin's wife yet lives in that land, and is now an old lady of over seventy years. Feeling unbearably pitiful, I plan to deliver this letter to the village of Tangetsu and to visit the old lady.<sup>22</sup>

The setting is as follows. On stage is a prop wrapped with white cloth, which represents a shack in a remote farming village. The old lady is inside. The priest arrives at the village on the day of the evening of the harvest moon, or *chuso*, one of the two major annual events for family gatherings in Korea. He asks an old villager the whereabouts of the wife of Ri Tōjin. The villager explains that ever since hearing of Ri Tōjin's death, his wife has remained alone and has been offering prayers to the lost one. The priest reaches her shack and asks for her. There is only silence first, and then rejection as she asks him to go away. After the priest explains that he has come all the way to deliver the letter Ri Tōjin wrote to her before his death, she finally responds, 'What? A letter? To me? A letter from Ri Tōjin?' The wrapping cloth is lowered and she appears. She comes out of the shack to receive her letter and, after fixedly reading the letter under the moonlight, says (in the only Korean verse in this play) 'Aa, izeya, mannanne' (Oh, that I could see you again).

At the priest's request to talk about Ri Tōjin, the wife starts telling her story. The poetic verse used in this play is based on a Korean literary form known as *jeongeupsa*, folksongs of the Baekje/Paekche country. At over one thousand years it is among the oldest extant narrative forms. In the developmental stage of her narrative (the *kuse* section), the wife sings:<sup>23</sup>

<p>A wailing voice blankets the sky, tears of lament swallow the earth and now, every night, I think of the husband who hasn't returned, wondering: has he just gone to town? The seven stars at the edge of the mountain are those that shine on hell. Please walk calmly, don't let your steps get caught in the mire. With an uneasy feeling, I worry. At least I may console my heart by taking out a fulling-stick. As I beat the cloth, my mind clears. Through the long, sleepless night,</p>	<p>哀號の聲は空を覆い 恨みの涙地に満てり さるほどに宵々は 帰らぬ夫を思ひ ぬしは市に通ふらむ 山の端の七星は 冥土を照らす星なり。 心静かに歩めよや 泥濘に足とらるなど 胸さわぎ肝をけす。 せめてや心慰むと から砧取出し 打てば心の月清み 寝られぬ長き夜すがら</p>
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<sup>22</sup> Ibid.: 308.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.: 316–7.

the lament of the fulling-stick echoes  
the sky...

恨みの砧 空に鳴り ...

The priest asks the old woman to perform a dance, and she prepares, saying: 'My eyes are glued shut, legs weakened and unsteady, but I will dance, as my heart is a bundle of nerves.'<sup>24</sup> Saying 'I dance the dance of lament, the dance of lament,' she begins a quiet, solemn dance, which is named 'the dance of *han*.' At the close of the dance, she says:

The moon at the edge of the mountain climbs on high,  
illuminating the horizon.

Lastly the old lady utters, 'my lament will never be drained; I won't forget. I won't.' In response, the priest says, 'such a lament should never come again; don't forget, it shouldn't be forgotten.'<sup>25</sup> The play closes with the description of the calmed field.

## V. CONCLUSION

The 1905 and 2005 performance tours were similar in that highly regarded, prominent actors – both of the Kanze lineage – traveled to Korea to perform *nō* plays at historical junctures in the relationship between Korea and Japan. But the contemporary context of the 2005 performance, literary themes of the play and the intended audiences were all drastically different from those of 100 years earlier.

The 1905 performances featured plays whose themes explicitly or implicitly endorsed and/or glorified the forceful occupation – such as assuring national prosperity, divine intervention, heroic fighters, and conquering monsters. The 2005 performance featured a single work that laid bare the violent dislocation of a Korean family by the Japanese occupation.

The social setting of the 1905 performances was the Japanese military occupation, by which the performance troupe was largely isolated and insulated from contact with Korean nationals; whereas for the 2005 performance, the troupe and even choice of venue were subject to the exigencies of the social turmoil, hostility and repeated threat of anti-Japanese demonstrations.

The 1905 performance tour was a large-scale collaboration between military and commercial interests, the opening of a military transport

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid.: 317.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

railroad (which ultimately helped pave the way for Japan's forceful annexation of Korea). The 2005 tour was small in scale, produced on the initiative of individual artists, such as Kanze Hideo and Ogihara Tatsuko. And lastly, whereas audiences for the 1905 performances were mostly Japanese nationals, that of the 2005 performance was made up predominantly of Korean youth.

Audience members who stayed for the talkback said little about the play's content, but were intrigued by and asked questions about nō as an artistic/literary form.<sup>26</sup> Thus, it took 100 years of social transformations to pique interest in the art of *nōgaku* among Japan's neighbors across the strait.

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<sup>26</sup> Ogihara 2006: 36.

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# A SONG FOR KINGDOMS: TAKARAZUKA'S ATTEMPT TO ADAPT THE OPERA AIDA

MARUMOTO *Takashi*

## I. TAKARAZUKA AS AN OBJECT OF INTEREST

As an all-female theater company, Takarazuka is a great exception in the history of world theater. In Japan, even people who never go to the theater know Takarasienne – at least by name. Most of the top stars who retire from Takarazuka enter directly into the entertainment industry and carry on to a successful career; thus Takarazuka is perceived as a path to female success. Every year Japanese media reports about the entrance exams and ceremony of the company claim that almost ‘every girl’ in Japan dreams of becoming a ‘Takarazukan.’ Although media coverage of Takarazuka is high, this does not mean that people are actually acquainted with the actual content of the performances.

Despite its relatively short history of one hundred years, Takarazuka is one of the oldest existing modern theater companies in Japan. The company is fairly exceptional within Japan, where theater culture is not situated as favorably as in European countries, where most theaters are publicly financed. It owns several theaters which are visited by more than two million people per year and runs a school annexed to the company to train its performers. It is therefore rightly said to be one of the most prominent and influential companies in Japan.

However, with the exception of a few Asian countries, Takarazuka is fairly unknown in the rest of the world and receives almost no international interest. When Takarazuka held performances in Berlin, Germany in 2000, it hardly drew remarkable public attention. The performances were held at the Friedrichstadtpalast, a Mecca of revue and in order to make the play understandable for the foreign audience, the company presented only entertaining and light revues, which usually make up no more than a part of Takarazuka performances. Unfortunately, the choice of play had a disadvantageous effect in Germany, where serious theater predominates, so that the visit of these unique performers from Japan were either entirely ignored or paid only little attention.<sup>1</sup> Even now, when

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<sup>1</sup> For the performances, see Watanabe 2002: 251–2 and 270–1; Iwabuchi 2004: 158–66.

Japanese contemporary pop culture such as manga, anime or costume-play, are enjoying more and more popularity in Germany, the 'Takarazuka-culture,' which relates in some aspects to those media, does not experience any rise in its popularity.

Nevertheless, Takarazuka is an essential subject, not only for theater studies, but also for creating a better understanding of Japanese culture in general.<sup>2</sup> This paper deals with Takarazuka as music theater, focusing on *A Song for Kingdoms*, a play performed in Japan in 2003. The reason for choosing *A Song for Kingdoms* is the fact that it is an adaptation of Giuseppe Verdi's opera *Aida*. The worldwide fame of *Aida* supports a vivid comparison with the Takarazuka version, helping readers unfamiliar with Takarazuka to envision its individual characteristics.

## II. DYNAMICS OF 'TAKARAZUKALIZATION' AND THE OPERA *AIDA*

Takarazuka commenced its activities in 1914 as a Japanese style 'girls' opera.' Gradually European theater, especially French revue, began to have an influence on the performances and the company integrated this repertoire into its own. Adaptations of Western plays soon became the most important repertoire of the company.<sup>3</sup> Besides straight plays and – after World War II – musicals from the West, operas, such as *Carmen*, *Les Contes d'Hoffmann*, *Der Rosenkavalier* and *Turandot*, were used. Nevertheless, while Takarazuka transforms adaptations into musicals, the content of operas proved to be difficult to rearrange on a Takarazuka stage. Instead of musical aspects, a simple storyline that reaches many people is more important for Takarazuka performances.

None the less, European opera impacts on the repertoire of Takarazuka, and therefore I argue that it is necessary to analyze the repertoire of the company in detail. There are operas, like Verdi's *Aida*, which have been staged by the Takarazuka company. One question arising from this situation is how do these adaptations differ from the original and do they convey new meanings in the process?

Relevant too is the fact that the name of the company easily causes confusion. In Japanese the company is called Takarazuka-*kageki*. Although in contemporary Japanese *kageki* is a synonym for 'opera,' around the time of the company's foundation *kageki* also meant music theater in

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<sup>2</sup> Marumoto 2005, 2007. In English there is also Jennifer Robertson's pioneering work (1998) and the most recent monograph by Makiko Yamanashi (2012).

<sup>3</sup> On the development of the Takarazuka repertoire, see Watanabe 1999: 100–8.



general,<sup>4</sup> with the literal meaning of *ka* as song and *geki* for drama. What is called 'Takarazuka-opera' actually is a play with song and dance, which is, in fact, quite different from Western opera. Therefore, today the expression Takarazuka-opera does not coincide with the contents of the performances but is rather an established and familiarized reference to the company.

In the meantime, the official English name has been changed from the original 'Takarazuka girl's opera' to 'Takarazuka revue' or 'Takarazuka revue company.' In fact, the Takarazuka stage is filled with various revue-like elements. The finale, in particular, performed after the main part of almost every performance, is a revue which scarcely has an organic relationship with the body of the performance. The stage is filled with large-scale stairs and the 'silver bridge,' an illuminated long apron in front of the orchestra pit. The main characters of the play performed before the finale appear with splendid plumes, one after another, introducing themselves with song and dance and staging a tremendous spectacle called 'the great mannerism.' However, the main performance, mostly features a full-scale drama using songs and dance and therefore can be considered as a musical. In any case, one characteristic of the company is that every adapted work is transformed into the context of the Takarazuka revue; that is to say, it is perfectly 'takarazukalized,' no matter the category the work may originally belong to or the content it might have.<sup>5</sup>

How this 'takarazukalization' works will be shown in the following on the example of the opera *Aida*. *Aida* is a multifaceted opera piece in its content and performance style and can be considered as challenging in its interpretation. Nevertheless, it is generally regarded as a festive and entertaining grand opera and often performed on a spectacular stage with a large chorus, splendid dancing scenes, and magnificent orchestral music. In addition, the plot is constructed around an eternal love triangle. I argue that these aspects coincide with the tastes of Takarazuka, hence *A Song for Kingdoms* also displays these aspects and successfully presents the complete story. In addition, the Takarazuka version invents several new characters, as will be discussed later in more detail.

Although the content of *Aida* is adapted, it is important to mention that the Takarazuka version does not contain any music from the original opera, although it is subtitled 'based on the opera *Aida*.' There are, for example, no traces of the excellent aria 'Celeste Aida' sung by a tenor at the opening of *Aida*, nor any hint on the trumpet performance, which

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<sup>4</sup> Masui 1990: 19–20, Watanabe 2002: 253–4.

<sup>5</sup> Kawasaki 2005: 30–8.

is famous enough to be regarded as one of the identifying features of the opera. In general, opera is considered as a performing art in which the music plays an absolute role for the dramatic development of the story. Accordingly, *Aida* is often attributed to Verdi, and not to Ghislanzoni, Du Locle, or Cammarano, who contributed to the libretto. Without Verdi's music *Aida* would not be regarded as opera, although he dedicated himself (exceptionally for general operatic convention) to producing the libretto as well. *A Song for Kingdoms* on the other hand is 'based on the libretto of *Aida*,' and rather a homemade, collaborative work by the playwright and director Shinji Kimura and the composer Masato Kai. In the program of the performance, Kai states, 'I did not refer to any original music, because my motto is to create a completely new work.'<sup>6</sup> In the same booklet, Kimura introduces their methods more concretely: the music, including the triumphal march, was composed 'after a method which would realize the potential of the Takarazuka,' namely by composing music with 'a strong rhythm to show off the dancing.'<sup>7</sup> Here we can confirm the production's complete difference from the original opera and at the same time a unique resemblance to it in its emphasis on musical aspects.

### III. THE MAIN CHARACTERS OF 'THE ETERNAL TRIANGLE' AND OTHER CHARACTERS

Like *Aida*, *A Song for Kingdoms* relies fundamentally on the love triangle between the Egyptian commander Radames and two rival female characters. *Aida* is a splendid opera in outward appearances, and simultaneously shows a marked internal tendency to describe each character with still, serene music. This is especially remarkable in the case of Aida, who experiences a conflict between her personal feelings of love towards the leader of her enemy's army and a sense of duty to be loyal to her homeland as the princess of Ethiopia. This very personal feeling of guilt remains rather hidden from the other characters. In contrast, in *A Song for Kingdoms* the conflict is shown much more externally and the complicated circumstances are addressed extensively by other characters. At the beginning of the drama, the love relationship between Radames and Aida is introduced, and Aida's brother Ubaldo – one of the newly created characters in the Takarazuka version – reproaches her for subordinating herself to Egypt by holding affection towards Radames. Ethiopian slave women

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<sup>6</sup> Program of the performance in 2003: n.p.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

also remind her not to forget that she is the princess of their country. In Verdi's *Aida* warnings against the arrogance of falling in love despite her slavery and against betraying her homeland are only mentioned by Amneris and Amonasro. In the Takarazuka opera *Aida* is scolded by several people, one after another, such as in the case of the bullying actions performed by Amneris' maids. Through this external pressure the torture of *Aida* in the Takarazuka version becomes visually more intense than in Verdi's *Aida*, making *A Song for Kingdoms* an easily accessible performance with more visual and dramatic movement suitable for the melodramatic tastes of the audience of a Takarazuka performance.

A similar interpretation is possible for the character of Amneris. In Verdi's opera, music connected to each character and/or his or her emotions are repeated like a leitmotiv in Wagner's *Musikdrama*, and the first is during Amneris' appearance in Act 1. Amneris' theme is usually interpreted as depicting her 'crooked' mind and a later variation expresses the intensity with which she is consumed by jealousy. She is a conflicted woman, strong but also weak, regretting having finally ruined her beloved Radames because of her envy and begging him for mercy. However, in *A Song for Kingdoms*, such a complicated molding of her figure is avoided and she embodies the pattern of a noble and proud ruler. She admonishes Radames resolutely, 'I will never allow you, the warrior who should defend Egypt, to be captivated by an Ethiopian woman. [...] I must get married to the warrior destined to be Pharaoh to defend Egypt, and I will try all possible means to do so.'<sup>8</sup> Convinced firmly that 'Egypt must continue to triumph,' she comes to ascend the throne after the king has been assassinated and remains a strong woman until the end. This depiction displays Amneris' mind as clearer and more understandable than in the original version.

Radames, finally, is a man eager to be the general of the Egyptian troupes, who is fully aware of his ambitions. However, he falls in love with *Aida*, an enemy and now a slave prisoner. He wishes for a humane treatment of prisoners, admits his guilt with good grace after having involuntarily betrayed a state secret, and carries out the consequences of his love to his death. Probably because of this exaggerated honorable and accordingly impractical attitude, he is especially conspicuous as a dull character among the heroes of Verdi's operas. The Takarazuka production takes the outline of the plot but makes him a man fit to be a decisive and brave ruler contradicting his decision to die for true love. Nevertheless, in the Takarazuka version, Radames plays the most important role as a protagonist, which will be discussed later.

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<sup>8</sup> Libretto for the performance in 2003, Act II Scene II: n.p.

Incidentally it is also characteristic of the Takarazuka company to have a star system connected with performers' ranking. This is clearly indicated on the posters and programs. It is probably not necessary to mention that in *A Song for Kingdoms* the three main characters in the love triangle are shown in an especially large font. Amonasro (Aida's father), the Pharaoh and the High Priest (now as Nesser), are treated here as the next biggest stars. It must be emphasized that four more characters are newly added to the play: Ubaldo (Aida's elder brother), Fatma (an Ethiopian slave woman), Kheper (Radames' comrade-in-arms), and Kamante (a one-time vassal of the king of Ethiopia). All of them can be regarded as important, following the main characters. Furthermore, it is also typical of Takarazuka to present all cast members, including even those with small parts, as a large group of Egyptian soldiers and Ethiopian slaves with their names and portraits in the program, all strictly arranged according to their rank in the troupe.

The meaning of this ranking, especially among the three main characters, will be examined later. I now want to pay attention to the fact that such an arrangement is inseparably related to the organization of the company. The performers are divided into five troupes, each of which has an individual, romantic name, for instance, *A Song for Kingdoms* was staged by the Star Troupe. Each troupe has several top stars, whose ranks are fixed and usually only changes after an actress retires. In *A Song for Kingdoms*, 78 actresses of the troupe appeared on stage, each of whom has, without exception, a specific ranking, even sometimes based on her results at the company's school.

However, it is also a policy of Takarazuka to stage a performance with all troupe members. Even minor performers who take part mainly in the chorus and group dances often appear as named characters. Because of this policy, a Takarazuka production needs to invent many new characters. This also forms a characteristic of the 'takarazukalization' that influences the content of a piece.

#### IV. AN ATTEMPT TO MODERNIZE A CLASSIC BY ADDRESSING THE TOPIC OF WAR

It is well known that Verdi sympathized with the Risorgimento, an Italian social and political movement that realized its goals in the second half of the nineteenth century in aiming for independence and unification. The influences of the Risorgimento can be observed in several of his works. However, the movement developed with turns and twists, and Verdi did not always consider it positively. In particular, he is said to have been

quite disappointed about the establishment of a monarchical system after the end of the movement. In any case, the time of this social upheaval certainly forms part of the background of *Aida*. Verdi's opera deals with the war between Egypt and Ethiopia at a time when the Franco-Prussian War was breaking out.

Concerning the reason why he showed interest in *Aida*, Kimura mentions Verdi's anger at Prussia 'destroying with the help of God,' and this is mirrored in his adaptation.<sup>9</sup> It is notable that in the adaptation the war comes closer to the fore and becomes a central topic by asking for the meaning of war.

Ubaldo, Aida's elder brother, is one of the characters unique to the Takarazuka production and plays a particularly important role. 3500 years after the events of the story, he revives in the present and reflects back on those days. The stage becomes, thereby, a drama-within-a-drama. It begins with a fantastic scene in which Radames and Aida arrive by boat from the underworld and Ubaldo asks them why people fought with each other in those days. And while in the opera the battles are only suggested with roars and military marches, Takarazuka on the contrary, spectacularly presents epic war scenes on stage with warriors fighting fiercely and dramatically against their enemies.

Furthermore, the depiction of the priests varies significantly in this adaptation. In *Aida*, they appear as heartless men who actively urge people to war. It is likely that Verdi projected his disgust toward clergy, which he acquired from his own difficult experiences, into the story. Since in contemporary Japanese society religious criticism is of minor relevance, the religious aspects are deemphasized in *A Song for Kingdoms*. The loss of religious meaning can, for example, be seen in the changes the character of Ramphis undergoes in the Takarazuka adaptation. Ramphis, the High Priest of Isis in *Aida* and thus the most powerful servant of the gods turns into Nesser, a mere high priest of Egypt in *A Song for Kingdoms*.

At the same time, the meaning of war becomes more generalized. Here the differences to the original work are even more obvious. Verdi's Amosnasro, who confronts Egypt bravely as the king of Ethiopia, is sometimes thought of with sympathy as a weak person trampled by a great power. More typical for Verdi is his modern viewpoint that relativizes the war itself, a viewpoint which may have developed from his own experience as well. Both sides, Egypt and Ethiopia, reproach against the enemy for its aggressiveness while brutality and justification for their own attacks seem to be presented objectively. How the concept is taken up in Kimura's work can be noticed in sentences such as 'A battle causes but another new

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<sup>9</sup> Program of the performance in 2003.

battle,<sup>10</sup> which Aida repeats in various scenes. *A Song for Kingdoms* is the official English title given by the Takarazuka company itself. In Japanese the play is called *Ōke ni sasagu uta* which, translated directly into English, means 'Song(s) dedicated to the Royal Family/Families.' Since the distinction between singular and plural in Japanese is often vague *ōke* is usually understood as kingdom.<sup>11</sup> Only with the English title can we understand what the author's real intentions are. In comparison to Verdi, who experienced his own country Italy as weak and thus choose Egypt as the usurping and Ethiopia as the oppressed country, Kimura criticizes not one specific war but rather war in general. For him those people who are fascinated by aggression and meaningless death and who selfishly activate a chain of hate that transcends all generations are to be blamed for wars all over the world.

Assuming that various aggressors initiate all wars and conflicts, Kimura then asks for the meaning of peace for society. *A Song for Kingdoms* also adopts the underlying alternative conflict of 'which comes first, nation or self' of *Aida* and emphasizes the priority of the human desire to live and love freely instead of being bound to social restraints. The main issue, which Kimura draws into the present world, is whether or not peace is significant and if mankind is corrupted by a peaceful and flourishing society.<sup>12</sup> Takarazuka's *Aida*, for example, wants to be regarded as an individual rather than an Ethiopian woman,<sup>13</sup> while Amneris wishes to be 'a woman before the Pharaoh.'<sup>14</sup> Radames repeatedly confesses how lonely he feels as the commander of an army and the Egyptian women enjoy peace claiming that with 'money and power, we can get all that we want.'<sup>15</sup> Amneris' question 'Is this the peace you have desired, in which everybody does nothing but get money and power day and night to live easily without effort'<sup>16</sup> is answered by Radames with a counter question, 'defending this kind of peace, 'Should Egypt continue to fight until the

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<sup>10</sup> Libretto of the performance in 2003, Act I Scene III, V, VIII, Act II Scene II, IV, V and XIV.

<sup>11</sup> Unfortunately the only German work on Takarazuka by Maria Grädian-Mengel's called *Die Takarazuka Revue oder die Überwindung der Tradition* (Takarazuka Revue or the Overcoming of Tradition) mistranslates the title of the Aida-adaptation in the singular as *Ōke ni hōka* [sic] (Ein Lobgesang für die königliche Familie) (A song of praise for the royal family) (2005: 42, 113 and 121).

<sup>12</sup> Compare Suzuki 2004: 74.

<sup>13</sup> Libretto of the performance in 2003, Act II Scene III.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, Act II Scene VI-A.

<sup>15</sup> Libretto of the performance in 2003, Act II Scene II.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

end of the world?’<sup>17</sup> This heated discussion ends tragically when Amneris is forced to execute her beloved. The Pharaoh is assassinated in a *coup d'état*, and Amneris ascends the throne.

The Takarazuka heroes and heroines who experience these tragic circumstances convey a message for the people living today. The dying Aida utters, ‘My wish is now nothing but to pray in order that lovers would be saved from death.’<sup>18</sup> The drama then comes to an end with Amneris, who does not despair like Aida, when she says, ‘Even if the war continues we must not lose hope for peace.’<sup>19</sup> This idealism is not inherent in Verdi’s *Aida* with its atmosphere of deep resignation. It is remarkable that these hopeful words in Takarazuka do not derived from a deep insight connected to the dramatic process. There is, furthermore, no answer given to the above-mentioned question about the serious consequences of living in a peaceful world. Accordingly, the characters do not only appear illogical but also too theatrical and even too mawkish. Thus they are probably hardly bearable for those who are accustomed to realistic plays. However, a Takarazuka performance, in general, is not appreciated as realistic, but rather as a stylized performance similar to kabuki, one of Japan’s classical drama forms, which consists of sentimental elements that are represented with *kata*, highly conventionalized movements, to entertain the audience. Similarly Takarazuka is more than mere melodrama, but rather, to borrow the words of a Takarazuka actress, ‘cool (*kakkoii*)’ performance. The methods of a Takarazuka performance are completely based on naturalism, which aims at making the performances, acting, and speech appear as realistic as possible. Yet beyond this, the fundamental ‘anti-naturalistic’ restriction of being an all-female performance produces factors of stylization, which can be regarded as the most significant feature of the Takarazuka. Thus even though *A Song for Kingdoms* seems to emphasize war as its main topic, it is not necessarily a serious anti-war drama.

#### V. ALL-FEMALE PERFORMANCE AND THE SUPERIORITY OF OTOKOYAKU

Takarazuka, which originally contained a choir made up of girls from fourteen to eighteen years, soon developed into a theater company with actresses of various age groups. Although, in this development, several

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid., Act II Scene VI.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., Act II Scene VII.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., Act II Scene VIII.

attempts to incorporate male performers were made in 1919 and 1945,<sup>20</sup> Takarazuka still consists exclusively of unmarried women. Needless to say, male roles therefore have to be acted by women and it is precisely this fact that has to be considered as the prime reason for a so-called 'takarazukalization' of the adopted plays. Although an actress impersonating the opposite sex by wearing male clothing is quite unnatural on stage, she tries to make the figure as real as possible within these limitations. As early as in the beginning of the 1930s, the actresses were divided into two groups: *otokoyaku* (men's roles) and *onnayaku* (women's roles) or *musumeyaku* (girls' roles). Above all *otokoyaku* came to be regarded as a particularly characteristic figure of Takarazuka, similar to the *onnagata*, the male actor acting as a woman, of kabuki theater.

Whether an actress is suitable as a *otokoyaku* depends on various conditions. First, those who are tall and/or look boyish are preferred for the roles and are selected to undergo a special training to behave manly. They learn to imitate male voices and usually sing in a low register, sometimes even in baritone, though not in *bel canto*. It is worth mentioning that a figure modeled after 'real' men turns into a stylized male figure. At this point it is important to notice that there are great differences between the *otokoyaku* and a trousers role, which appears occasionally on the stage of European theater and opera. The trousers role is mainly used to replace a baroque castrato, who used to play a heroic person of high social rank, generally a feminine young man or boy. The trousers roles usually speak and sing with a female voice and do not behave especially 'man-like,' they are integrated into modern Western naturalistic performance. In addition, these roles are limited to specific works and not taken by a specialized actor, therefore they are temporary. In contrast, every Takarazuka performance also includes *otokoyaku*.

In its early years, when Takarazuka was still a girls' chorus, the audience mainly consisted of men who wanted to watch pretty girls on the stage. With the establishment of *otokoyaku*, however, female spectators began to outnumber male spectators, and the male role came to rise in fame and significance.

According to the survey immediately after the beginning of the revue line, the ratio of male to female audience members was almost fifty-fifty [...]. In 1932, actresses as *otokoyaku* with their hair cut appeared for the first time on the stage of Takarazuka. Around this

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<sup>20</sup> In 1919 the Company accepted eight men but dissolved the group about ten months later. In another attempt thirteen men were accepted into Takarazuka from 1945 to 1948 but this group was also dissolved in 1954.



year female audience [...] began to hold a dominant position. [...] Even so, it was far from the situation where the actresses wanted to obtain their identity by making the *otokoyaku* their selling point.<sup>21</sup>

As already outlined above, each Takarazuka troupe is organized in a hierarchical rank system. Within this rank system *otokoyaku* are considered as the top performers. This means that they always play the most important part both in the main body of a drama and in the finale. The *primo uomo* is followed by the *prima donna*, the top *musumeyaku* star and then the *secondo uomo*.

Because of this principle of putting *otokoyaku* in the center of the performances, Takarazuka prefers dramas in which the main characters are male. Yet in *Aida*, the main protagonist is female and the Takarazuka adaptation faced the difficulty of changing the lead role to a male character. Here we recognize another aspect of what I argue is the ‘takarazukalization’ of plays. First of all the title is drastically changed from *Aida* to *Song for Kingdoms*, thus losing any associations with the original. Secondly, the positions of the characters differ from their positions in Verdi’s *Aida*. The treatment of Radames, for example, as the principal *otokoyaku*, is above all remarkable. Just by looking at the poster for the premiere of *A Song for Kingdoms*, Radames, played by Kogetsu Wataru (\*1971), who just became the top star of the Star Troupe in 2003, can be unmistakably recognized as the main character. In the picture, the oversized Radames is surrounded by the two female leads Aida and Amneris, and almost overshadowing the two women.

In this arrangement, Amneris, who stands to Radames’ right looking magnificently, seems to be more important than Aida who, by kneeling down, has a lower stance. Aran Kei (\*1970), who usually played the second *otokoyaku*, was selected for this performance to take the role of Aida, one of the rare cases where the strict role division between *otokoyaku* and *musumeyaku* was broken. Amneris was acted by Dan Rei (\*1971), the principal *musumeyaku*, and therefore ranked second in the troupe before Aran Kei, the second *otokoyaku*. Although by making Aran Kei perform a female character an exceptional situation was created, within the troupe’s rank system the casting policy stayed consistent.

Takarazuka’s *otokoyaku* are particularly ‘takarazukalized’ types not only in regard to their movements and voices as mentioned above, but also to their personalities. The male heroes are rarely tough, macho types with solid physics, but rather appear as cleanly shaven, elegant and noble men. They are broad-minded, polite to women and always treat them

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<sup>21</sup> Watanabe 2002: 271–3.

with kindness and consideration. They are highly idealized ‘cool’ men, who do not exist in reality, but are desired by the audience as imagined existences on a dream stage. Or as Leonie R. Stickland writes,

the *otokoyaku* are ‘ideal men (*risō no dansei*),’ embodying such qualities as delicacy, handsomeness, long legs, gentleness, and the ability to speak romantic phrases without embarrassment.<sup>22</sup>

As described above, Takarazuka’s Radames has a stronger air of a heroic ruler than Radames in Verdi’s opera. His firm assertion, ‘The commanding general of this war is me!’<sup>23</sup> indicates that his character is molded to the *otokoyaku* and, as a reliable protector, is perfectly suitable for Aida. It is, above all, the top *otokoyaku* star who enters the spotlight as the exclusive object of admiration for the female audience. These heroic implications are not inherent in *otokoyaku* ranked below the top star. Amonasro, for example, who holds the key to one of the most adored themes in Verdi’s operatic works – the father-daughter-relationship with Aida – is not a dignified or powerfully influential parent to his child in the Takarazuka version. In the adaptation, he is a non-heroic man pretending to be mad and lurking for a chance to take revenge.

This distinguishing mark of Takarazuka is deeply related to the spiritual climate of Japan. A trace of the Confucian precept from feudal times, ‘Man and woman shall not take a seat together from the age of seven onward,’ can be noticed even in contemporary Japan, where, for example, university students are often seen to sit down separately in class. Quite different from Europe, where the idea of ‘mixed row’ or ‘in pairs’ has been a long tradition, there are still many ‘girls only’ high-schools in Japan. One of the conventions rooted in these schools is the performance of drama. During these occasions, students naturally face the restrictions of an all-female theater and sometimes choose to imitate Takarazuka methods of performance. It is interesting, that in most cases even there the hero, and not the heroine attracts most attention. In everyday school life too, a ‘masculine’ student of this type is often popular and regarded as the realization of the ideal male leader. Kawasaki Kenko argues that many enthusiastic Takarazuka fans are women who have experienced girls’ schools.<sup>24</sup>

The image of school is also applied by the Takarazuka company itself, where actresses are referred to as ‘students’ even after the end of training school until they retire. The motto of the company to create a ‘pure, right,

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<sup>22</sup> Stickland 2008: 155.

<sup>23</sup> Libretto of the performance in 2003, Act I Scene VI.

<sup>24</sup> Kawasaki 1999: 172–4.

and beautiful' stage, is a strong reminder of the 'good wife and wise mother' (*ryōsai kenbo*) education which has been traditionally promoted in girls' high-schools and women's universities. Although by the choice of play we might get the superficial impression that Takarazuka performances are oriented towards the West, the example of the adaptation of *Aida* shows that Takarazuka assimilates various topics for a Japanese audience creating its very own 'takarazukalized' world.

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## SECTION 4

RECEPTION AND REDEFINITION OF THEATER:  
TURNING POINTS IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

演劇の評価と再定義：二十世紀の転換点



# 狂言師・野間善左衛門小伝

小林 責

野間善左衛門は、明治後期から大正初期にかけて東京の能楽界で活躍した、熊本出身の和泉流狂言師である。在京期間が短かく、芸事後継者に恵まれなかったため忘れられた存在となっていたが、過般その後裔のもとで善左衛門に関する資料を披見することができ、事跡がかなり明らかとなったので報告しておきたい。

## I.

江戸時代、和泉流は、徳川幕府直属の大蔵・鷲2流と異なり、尾張徳川藩・金沢前田藩・熊本細川藩と地方の大藩に召し抱えられるローカルな流儀であった。また和泉流は、江戸初期に、京都で活躍していた山脇和泉家が宗家となり、同じく京都の有力な狂言方だった野村又三郎家と三宅藤九郎家を、両家とも独自のテキストの使用を認め、いわば客分として迎え入れて、3派が糾合し形成された流儀で、禁裏御用を特色とした点でも、他の2流とは性格を異にしている。そして、山脇和泉派と野村又三郎派は尾張徳川藩の、三宅藤九郎派は金沢前田藩の禄を受け、熊本には野村又三郎派に属する小早川家と野間家とがあった。

江戸時代において、熊本の能楽は、祇園社（北岡神社）の猿楽座である本座と、藤崎八幡宮の猿楽座だったが祇園社の祭礼にも勤仕していた新座とによって営まれており、本座の能大夫が喜多流の友枝家、狂言大夫<sup>1</sup>が小早川家、新座の能大夫が金春流の桜間家、狂言大夫が野間家だった。

野間家は、尾張の国野間（現、愛知県知多郡美浜町）の出自で、加藤清正に仕え清正とともに熊本に移住したが、加藤家退転ののちは、野間家も数代不詳であるという。しかし、熊本市池田町にある浄土宗往生院の檀徒となった江戸前期の貞享4年（1687）に没した兵太夫から系譜が明らかとなり、その2代あとで享保18年（1733）没の善左衛門（法名、善慶）をもって狂言師としての初代としている。

現野間家蔵「野間家々系」は、この初世善左衛門について、

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<sup>1</sup> 熊本の本座・新座では狂言方の頭領を「狂言大夫」と称し、諸行事の席次も、ワキ方や囃子方より上で、能大夫の次であったという。

元禄二年八月十五日熊本県藤崎八幡宮御神御能<sup>2</sup>之節千歳ヲ勤メタリ。是記録ノ始メナリ。同六年九月細川綱利侯野村又三郎ヲ従京都熊本江被為召連御花<sup>3</sup>御能之節於テ御樂家（ママ）右又三郎江善左衛門ヲ入門被仰付夫ヨリ和泉流ニ伝流致候事。

と記す。この野村又三郎家の弟子になる経緯は、野村又三郎家文書「野村家家譜」<sup>4</sup>の2世又三郎重信の項に「細川家用達にて肥後熊本に下り以来御抱へ役同様御用を勤め同地にて野間善左衛門小早川小三郎兩人を職分に取立つ」とあり、重信は正徳元年（1711）に71歳<sup>5</sup>で没しているのが時代的に符合する。もっとも、これ以前から新座に狂言大夫はいたはずであるが、その状況は不明で、野間家はこの初世善左衛門から藩より5人扶持・米15俵の禄を受けることとなっている。

現野間家に残る「過去帳写」によれば以後、2世兵左衛門——3世善左衛門——4世兵左衛門——5世善助（早世）——6世善左衛門——7世三右衛門（早世）——8世儀兵衛——9世善左衛門——10世兵左衛門を経て、本稿で採り上げる11世善左衛門に至る。（善左衛門は、兵左衛門とともに、世襲の通称であるが、以下11世についてはただ「善左衛門」と書いていく）。

## II.

善左衛門は、安政3年（1856）12月17日、9世善左衛門重信の嫡男として熊本に生まれた。幼名、林太郎。初舞台は、万延元年（1860）10月、5歳、細川慶順（のち韶邦）の家督相続祝能における〈太鼓負〉の稚児であった。

善左衛門は父・9世重信の36歳のときの子で、当時としては遅い子であった。重信には19歳年下の弟に玄二がおり、万延元年8月には藤崎八幡宮神事能に21歳で〈釣狐〉を披き、気鋭の狂言師に育っていた。年も親子ほど違っており、重信は、慶応元年（1865）10月、玄二を養子とした。玄二は10世兵左衛門元信となる。善左衛門の修業も考えての相続だったと思われる。

そこで善左衛門は、実父と養父（叔父）、2人の師匠をもつこととなった。「余の苦心」<sup>6</sup>には、9歳か10歳で、桜間舞台の月並稽古能において〈土蜘蛛〉の早打チ間を勤め、中ほどで文句を忘れ、二、三分絶句してしまったときのことを、次のように回想している。

<sup>2</sup> 「御神事能」のことであろう。

<sup>3</sup> 細川家の「御花畑邸」であろう。

<sup>4</sup> 『能楽』明治44年4月。

<sup>5</sup> 数え年。本稿では年齢はすべて数え年。

<sup>6</sup> 『能楽画報』明治44年5月。



何うやら恚うやら勤め了せて這入ると、父が幕際に居て、只ゴロヂロと睨めてゐるばかりで叱るだらうと思つた叱言一つも云はない。(中略) 夫れから養父と門人とで装束を脱がしてくれ、家に帰つても、父は翌の日まで一言も云はない。(中略) 翌々日になつて見ると、父が初めて口を開き、稽古が足らぬから、あの様な事が出来るのである。是れから稽古を一生懸命になつてやれと云ひ聞かされ、先づよかつたと、ホツと一息つき、夫れから、養父と毎日交る交る稽古をしてくれたが、父は余り撲らなかつた。その代り養父は始終打杖を持つてゐて、一ト口つまると、直ぐに撲るので、殆んど涙の出ぬ日とはなかつた位であつた。

狂言の古い家柄の典型的稽古法だったといつてよいだろう。その際、16歳年長の養父のほうが、実父より、より親しくかつきびしく指導してくれたようである。

ほどなく明治維新となり、おそらく善左衛門は五十五郎と改名、実名も義信と称することとなつたが、野間家は藩の禄を失ひ、明治10年(1877)の西南の役により住居は焼亡、父・9世善左衛門重信は避難先で5月19日に57歳で没した。五十五郎、22歳。西南戦争は熊本の能楽を極度に衰微させたようである。新座の能大夫だった桜間伴馬(のち左陣)も明治12年暮には東京へ移住している。野間家でも安閑と狂言の舞台に専心しているわけにはいかなかつたであろう。後年になるが、昭和16年(1941)1月12日と14日に『九州日日新聞』に載せられた河島政雄という人の書いた「狂言太夫・野間善左衛門」には、

彼れは野間家十一世たるべき善左衛門でありながら、芸道に依ることも出来ず先代の門人である梅田源五郎の媒酌で荒物商富岡家に養子となつたが、なれぬ商売より結局腹の中から修業してる(ママ)狂言道だといふので明治廿六年三十八歳の時意を決して大阪の野村家に入つたものである。

と記されている。富岡家は米穀商だったともいうが、ともかく善左衛門は商家の婿養子となつたのである。時期は当時の結婚適齢を考えれば明治15年前後であろうが、この結婚の詳細についてはまったく伝えられていない。当の善左衛門も、中年までの境遇について、前掲の「余の苦心」に、

養父は明治廿四年歿したが、其の当時は盲目が杖に離れたやうで、私の落膽は一ト通りではなかつた。ソコで思ひ切つて、明治廿七年十二月三十九歳の年、熊本を去つて、大阪に出て、竹村の家<sup>7</sup>へ落ち着き、稽古を受ける事となつたが、年者<sup>8</sup>の事であるから、記憶

<sup>7</sup> 「竹村の家」については不詳。

<sup>8</sup> 上に一字欠字があるらしく、「中年者」などか。

も鈍く、殊に不器用な生れであるから、師も教へるのに骨を折り、私も習ふのに一層の辛苦を嘗めたのである。

と回顧しているのみで、富岡家へ入り婿したことなど、毛頭ふれていない。ここに「養父は明治廿四年歿した」とあるのは誤りで、10世兵左衛門元信は明治23年11月27日に51歳で亡くなっているのだが、「其の当時は盲目が杖に離れたやうで」というのは、富岡家主人としてではなく、狂言師としての感懐である。「余の苦心」が『能楽画報』に載った明治44年といえ、善左衛門はすでに東京で狂言師として一家を成しており、おそらく再婚もしていたと想像されるから、富岡家の婿になったことは知られたくない過去だったであろう。一方、養父の没した明治23年ころには善左衛門はふたたび狂言の道に帰る覚悟を固め、富岡家でありながら舞台へも復帰し始めていたような気がする。倉田喜弘編著『明治の能楽(2)』<sup>9</sup>に掲げられている『熊本新聞』明治26年10月11日の記事に、

能狂言師富岡五十五郎氏 市内坪井広丁の同氏は、先般大阪の能師(ママ)野村又三郎氏の紹介に依り昨年末東京なる能楽狂言師の泰斗山脇元清氏に従ひ、花子、金岡、唐人相撲、歌仙、庵の梅五番の狂言、及び望月、石橋、道成寺三番の能間、其他に習事一切の伝授を受け帰熊したり。

と見える。山脇元清は和泉流の16世家元である。どのくらい滞京してこれだけの習事の伝授が受けられたのか、その具体的受領方法は明らかでないが、いずれにせよ、旅費・滞在費・免状料は小額ではなかったはずだが、富岡家は婿のためにその費用の負担にも耐えたのであろう。

またこの明治26年には4月に、大阪にいた師家である10世野村又三郎信茂から〈釣狐〉の口伝を受けるに際し、師の勧めに従い、善左衛門を襲名し、実名も正嗣と改めている。

善左衛門は婿養子でありながらこうした狂言への念願も達成できる恵まれた家庭環境にあった。しかし、狂言一途に生きたい思いは飽和点に達し、ついに本格的な修業を決意し、家を出、大阪へ走る。時期については、『九州日日新聞』の「狂言太夫・野間善左衛門」は「明治廿六年三十八歳の時」とするが、同年は10月に山脇元清のもとから帰熊しているのだから、「余の苦心」のいう「明治廿七年十二月三十九歳の年」であろう。

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<sup>9</sup> 平成7年、日本芸術文化振興会刊。

### III.

ずいぶん遅い発心であった。ただ、善太郎という男子まで成していたにもかかわらず、今度はいわば大阪へ出奔するのであるから、なかなか決心がつかなかったにちがいない。

事実、大阪での野村又三郎信茂のもとでの稽古は、並大抵の苦労ではなかった。先に掲げた「余の苦心」の述懐に続けて、次のように述べている。

師匠は頻りに心持ちを研究せねばならぬと申しましたが、トント解らない。師に聞いても教へてくれない。自分では十分研究したつもりで、斯うであるかと尋ねると、そんな事があるものか、是位なものが解らないのかと一言の下に叱り飛ばされてしまふ。だから心が馬鹿になつて、一向考へがつかない。或時の如きは、こんなに心を痛める位なら、他に何か好い生活法がありさうなものだと思つた位であつた。けれども亦一方祖先代々の家業を私が中止するも濟まない事と思ひ返へして辛抱したが、死ぬ苦みであつた。

他の「好い生活法」を妻子とともに熊本に捨て、大阪で「祖先代々の家業」に立ち戻つたのであり、背水の陣であつた。しかし、大阪での修業滞りわずか三年にして上京する。

善左衛門の名を初めて東京に見出だすのは『梅若実日記(6)』<sup>10</sup>の明治30年10月17日条の「和泉流狂言師野村又三郎門人富岡五十五郎事当時野間善左衛門ト申人本日被参。大西亮太郎よりノ照会状ヲ持参初テ面会仕る」という記事である。大西亮太郎はのちの手塚亮太郎で、一時上京して初世梅若実の教へも受けた、大阪観世流の旗頭であつた。草分けである三宅庄市と野村与作は別として、それ以後の和泉流狂言師の上京は、東京の同流狂言師の招請によるのがふつうである。善左衛門についても、「三宅惣三郎に伴はれて上京」などしている文書もあるが、『梅若実日記』によるかぎり、大西亮太郎の添書をもって、単身いきなり東京能楽界の大御所である梅若実に面会を求めてきているのであり、異例の上京といえる。熊本新座の能大夫・桜間伴馬も東京へ移住、旧主である細川侯爵家も東京におり、善左衛門にとって大阪へ修業に出たときから東京進出は既定の路線だつたのではなからうか。

善左衛門は筆まめな人だつた。河島政雄の「狂言太夫・野間善左衛門」には、東京の善左衛門から野間家の古参の弟子で熊本の狂言を守つていた栃原栄八に宛てて出した多くの書簡が紹介されている。明治30年11月20日付の書状について「麹町の三宅惣三郎より書簡到来、梅若実七十賀祝能に出勤仕候とあり、又細川様麹町御別邸落成に桜間(伴馬)、三須(錦吾)、友枝(三郎)と共に小謡仕舞数番出来仕候とある」と伝えている。『梅若実日記』によると、11月21日に自宅舞台で催された実の

<sup>10</sup> 平成15年、八木書店刊。

古稀祝能に三宅惣三郎は〈鞠座頭〉を勤めており、善左衛門は勾当立衆などで出演したのであろう。

当時、東京にいた職分といえるほどの狂言師としては、和泉流には山脇和泉派の16世山脇元清、そしていずれも三宅派の8世三宅惣三郎・野村与作・5世野村万造（のち初世萬斎）・高島弥五郎らがおり、善左衛門はそこへ野村又三郎派として1人乗り込んだのである。辛労もあったろうが、ほかには大蔵流の初世山本東次郎（のち東）と長男泰太郎（のち2世東次郎）がいたくらいで、狂言方の絶対数が不足していたので、善左衛門にもしだいに出演依頼はふえていったようである。

翌明治31年になると、11月3日付の書状には「私儀も当今は芸事の方にて生活相立ち候に付先づ仕合と相歎候」とあり、同便には続けて前日2日に一条公爵邸で皇后（のち昭憲皇太后）の行啓能があり、16世宝生九郎知栄の〈放下僧〉にアイを勤め<sup>11</sup>、「皇后陛下の御前へ罷出候事は今度初めにて誠に難有仕合、御場所せまくて御舞台より御座凡そ一間半位にて誠に恐多き事に御座候」と恐懼感激している。

そして、その翌明治32年7月の書簡に「当秋は紅葉館にて釣狐開きの催相勤、就而者狐の面当東京にも和泉流の面無之依て今度桜間氏帰京の節に御言伝被下度候」と見える。東京にあるのはみな三宅派の面で、上下の顎の離れていない細身の野村又三郎派の狐はないので、野間家伝来の面を使いたく、このとき帰熊していた桜間伴馬に持参方を依頼しているのであろう。この催しが紅葉館、すなわち芝能楽堂でいつ行なわれたか確認できなかったが、善左衛門はすでに44歳、いかにも遅い〈釣狐〉の抜きであった。だがこうして、善左衛門の東京における舞台生活は順調に確立していく。

さらに、右の明治32年7月の書簡末節に「尚々小早川無二の芸友、兄弟同様の（ママ）存居候。小生が今少し都合能く成候へば一度上京させ同人の芸の程を東京人に知らせ度存意有之候」と記している「小早川」とは、小早川精太郎で、本稿冒頭部に述べた熊本本座の狂言大夫家の8世であるが、その精太郎が、明治36年10月、山脇元清の招きを受けて上京してくる。精太郎は、善左衛門の13歳年下で35歳の働き盛り、しかも芸境大いに進んでいたもので、同郷同派の役者の共演は好評で、善左衛門の立場はいっそう安定した。

明治39年1月、流儀の長老だった高島弥五郎が、横浜の茂木邸で（金岡）を勤めたとき、家元山脇元清は、かねて高島の属する三宅派と不和だったこともあり、特別の秘曲を無断で演じたのは家元を軽蔑するものだとし、高島弥五郎に破門、同席していた小早川精太郎・野間善左衛門に芸事差止めの処分を課した。しかし、能楽界にはこの強引な家元権の行使を不当とし高島らに同情する雰囲気強く、ことに観世流宗家23世

<sup>11</sup> 『梅若実日記(6)』によれば、このアイは野村万造になっているが、「狂言大夫・野間善左衛門」に載る書簡の写しは「放下僧（宝生九郎）間（善左衛門）」とあり、このほうを信ずべきであろう。

清廉は「泉が割れたのだから白水会がよかろう」といって高島らの結成した「白水会」を応援し、処分を受けた3人以外の和泉流狂言師の多くもこの会に加入したので、かえって家元のほうが逼塞する結果となってしまった。そして、明治41年3月ごろ、元清は処分を撤回、白水会は解散して、一件落着する。野間善左衛門は、小早川精太郎とともに、その立場は揺らぐことなく、明治時代を経過する。

#### IV.

6世野村万蔵の「明治の狂言界」<sup>12</sup>には「野間善左衛門は、東京では大した活躍もしないうちに、いつの間にか消えるように亡くなってしまい、芸事上不遇な存在に終わった人です」と書かれている。しかし、当時の雑誌に見られる番組などによれば、善左衛門は他の和泉流狂言師と同等に舞台に出演しシテも勤めているので、この6世万蔵の回想は不可解である。ただ善左衛門の地味な芸や存在感の薄い舞台がこうした印象につながっているような気がする。

善左衛門は、素人の弟子に対する希望であるが、「早成の望を去れ」<sup>13</sup>に、

けれども面白いと思ふと芸は下卑て来るものであるから、なるべく面白いと云ふやうな場当りは忌んで、地味な処を研究して貰い度いのである。例へば、三人片輪や棒縛などよりも文蔵や名取川のやうなものへ目を着けて貰い度い。只無闇に笑はせるばかりでは狂言の真味が発揚せられない。厭やでも撰り好みをせずと面白くないものをやつて貰い度いのである。

といっている。ここには素人に対する思いではなく、善左衛門の芸に対する主張が遺憾なく述べられているように思う。こうした意識は当然、その舞台に反映していた。明治37年12月から38年1月にかけて新聞『日本』に連載された『狂言百話』の「東京狂言師評」には、善左衛門の芸について、

よし見物にわからうがわかるまいが、昔の型を崩さぬやうにといふのは野間の平生の主張で、狂言の芝居がりになるのを常に嘆息して居る。蓋し観客の受けを専らとする目下の狂言界には、稍語るに足る人物といふべきであらう。其芸已に成熟して居るといふではないけれど、一言一行、何処となく手堅い処のあるのは、多数観客の認める処であらう。若し高島弥五郎が当意即妙の芸を以て一方に立

<sup>12</sup> 『狂言の道（増訂版）』昭和42年、わんや書店刊。

<sup>13</sup> 『能楽画報』明治44年9月。

つ時には、昔の型を楯にして戦ふ勇士はこの野間であらうと思はれる。

と書いている。善左衛門の芸質をいいえた評であろう。6世万蔵も先の「明治の狂言界」に「巧みのない上品な芸風は、巧拙を度外視した雰囲気を舞台に漂わせたのでした」と好印象を語っている。しかし、50歳に達した役者が、『狂言百話』には「其芸已に成熟して居るといふではないけれ共」と、6世万蔵からは「巧拙を度外視した」といわれているところに問題がある。このあたりの事情は小早川精太郎が「狂言方の今昔」<sup>14</sup>に語った次の言葉に指摘されているように思える。

一体野間の芸は、私共から云へない事でございますが、若い芸でございました。私は時々夫を物足りなくも思っております。(中略)十分に叩き込んでもあるし、又天分もあつたのに、ずっと後までも芸が年配不相応に若々として居てモ少し老けたらばといふ念が絶えず私の胸には溜つて居たのでございます。所が亡くなる三四年前から驀然に進みはじめました。蓄積して居た真力量が勃々と現れて来ました。私などは感歎して眺めて居るばかりでございました。而して幾程も経たない内に亡くなつたので、誠に惜しい事をしたと思ひます。

すなわち、最晩年は別として、芸が若かったのはやはり狂言師にとって大事な時期を富岡家で商賈として送つたためであり、それが6世万蔵に「いつの間にか消えるように亡くなってしまい」といわれる、善左衛門の舞台の存在感の薄さの遠因になっていると考えられるのである。

## V.

6世野村万蔵の「明治の狂言界」には、また「温厚な人柄は敵を作らず、誰にも好感を持たれていたようです」とあるが、さらにその姿態について、長文を用い、

いつも垢抜けのした、贅沢な身なりをしていたところから考えて、狂言師には非常に貧乏人が多かったその頃として、ずば抜けて裕福に思われたものです。着道楽であつたと見えて、平常でも美服を纏っていました。金縁の眼鏡をかけ、金鎖つき金時計といった黄金づくめの豪華なスタイル。(中略) こう説明すると、随分キザっぽい、成金の好みのようにとれますが、黄金万能時代であつたその頃の、流行の姿でもあつたのです。この人は、色の浅黒い痩せぎすな好男子で、葉巻煙草をくわえている格好は、どうみても狂言師とは受けとれず、景気のいい株屋さんといった感じでした。

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<sup>14</sup> 『能楽』大正4年11月。

と描写しているのは、ふしぎである。実際、株式投資などの利殖の才があったのだろうか、あるいは東京での再婚相手が裕福な婦人だったのだろうか。そのわけは、わからない。

「能楽家の好き嫌い」<sup>15</sup>の余芸の欄には茶道・活花・俗俳とあり、囲み記事「能役者中の歌人」<sup>16</sup>には鐺木祚胤と2人名が挙げられており、多趣味な人だったらしい。笑扇などの雅号ももっていた。「能楽家名簿」<sup>17</sup>によれば「子・一男一女」とあるが、東京で儲けた子は女1人と伝えられているから、1男は富岡家に残してきた善太郎かもしれない。能楽雑誌によれば、大正2年(1913)4月ごろから番組に名が見えなくなり、同年12月15日、肺患で他界した。58歳。「狂言太夫・野間善左衛門」によると、墓は東京青山・梅窓院にあったが、その後伊勢の一身田に改葬したという。法名は釈得善信士。梅窓院は和泉流三宅家の7世庄市以後の菩提寺で、現三重県津市の一身田は東京での夫人の故郷であろう。野間家累代の墓所である熊本・往生院に葬られることはなかった。

(本稿をなすにあたり、善左衛門後嗣の野間友一家、野間家縁戚の緒方正人家のお世話になった。誌して感謝申し上げます)。

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<sup>15</sup> 『能楽画報』明治44年1月

<sup>16</sup> 『能楽』明治38年11月。

<sup>17</sup> 『能楽画報』明治44年10月。

# THREE WARTIME KABUKI PLAYS

James R. BRANDON

## I. INTRODUCTION

Kabuki's place in Japanese society between 1931 and 1945 closely followed the trajectory of the 'Fifteen Year War' being waged by the Greater Japanese Empire against China, Britain, Holland, Australia, and the United States. When the war began in 1931, the entire kabuki world shared the enthusiasm and pride felt by most Japanese over early military victories on the continent. Kabuki's participation in the war encompassed a wide range of activities: offering special programs for government guests, raising funds to purchase aircraft and munitions for the army and navy, purifying the traditional repertory of immoral themes, and touring the countryside performing for military audiences and war workers. Of particular interest is the fact that kabuki producers and actors mounted more than 100 newly written war plays (*sensōgeki*) between 1931 and 1945. They were known as 'overnight pickle' plays (*ichiyazuke*) alluding to the fact that sensational events were rushed onto the stage literally overnight. Plays about contemporary events have been a part of kabuki's appeal from its beginnings in the seventeenth century. That is, present day activities were always dramatized in kabuki and this 'tradition of the new' continued without interruption through Japan's fifteen war years, 1931–1945.

A veritable flood of overnight pickle war plays reached kabuki stages in the first years of the war, stimulated by a rising tide of patriotic fervor throughout Japan. The plays dramatized well-known military happenings of the Manchurian Incident (*manshū jihen*), 1931–1932, and the China Incident (*shina jihen*), 1937–1940. Popular themes included accounts of victorious battles on the Chinese mainland, eulogies for fallen heroes, and praise for citizens' sacrifices on the home front. We can identify war themes in many early overnight pickle plays simply by reading their titles:

*Three Heroic Human Bombs* (*Nikudan sanyūshi*, 1932)

*Major Kuga* (*Kuga shōsa*, 1932)

*Now the Battle Begins* (*Tataikai wa kore kara da*, 1933)

*Military Citizen* (*Gunkokumin*, 1937)



- The Final Hours of Commander Kanō (Kanō butaichō no saigo no hi, 1937)*  
*Secret Agent of a Nation at War (Gunkoku misshi, 1938)*  
*Regimental Flag (Rentaiki, 1939)*  
*Tank Commander Nishizumi: Warrior God (Nishizumi senshachō: Gunshin, 1939)*  
*Five Army Scouts (Gonin no sekkōhei, 1940)*  
*Breaking Dawn: the Epic Tale of Japan and Manchuria's Friendly Nation*  
*Founding (Reimei shokō: Nichiman shinzen kenkoku monogatari, 1940)*

In addition to writing overnight pickle plays about current events, kabuki playwrights also reinterpreted past history in so-called 'new history plays' (*shin jidaijeki*). Though not set in the present, the dramas resonated with support for the ongoing expansion of the empire. The historical figures in new history plays were presented to audiences as exemplars of national sacrifice and Japan's unique 'warrior spirit' (*Yamato damashii*). Let me cite a few examples. A low ranking reserve soldier fights bravely at the front during the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905 in Yoshida Genjirō's *Gilt Button Soldier (Kinbotan heitai, 1932)*. Though wounded the soldier continues fighting until he finally dies in the arms of weeping comrades. Yoshida portrays an ordinary man whose strong character can inspire young men in 1932 to sacrifice their own lives on the battlefield. Gōda Tokū's *Tosa Naval Squadron (Tosa kaiheidan, 1939)* depicts the founding of Japan's modern navy in the late 1800s: the nation's present powerful navy exists due to the courage and foresight of earlier patriots. The production of *Sino-Japanese Diplomacy: Foreign Minister Mutsu (Nishin gaiko: Mutsu Munemitsu, 1940)*, present the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895 as a parallel to the present China Incident. Since a firm stand by Japanese foreign minister Mutsu Munemitsu brought peace in 1895, an equally strong stance by Japan in 1937 should bring the Chinese around to peace. (This was a Japanese expectation that did not occur: Chinese forces did not capitulate in the 1930s). A successful documentary drama, *Submarine No. 6 (Sensuitei dairokugo, 1941)*, details the slow suffocation of officers and crew who are trapped at the bottom of the sea during naval maneuvers in 1910. The captain calmly records the type and extent of mechanical failures so that future submarines can be improved, thus demonstrating the crew's complete loyalty to the emperor even in death.

War plays were written by virtually every professional kabuki playwright of the day: Mayama Seika, Matsui Shōō, Uno Nobuo, Kikuta Kazuo, Kaneko Yōbun, Kawaguchi Matsutarō, and Kimura Kinka, among others. War plays were staged at every kabuki theater, major and minor. New plays were strongly supported by managements of the Kabuki-za, Tōkyō Gekijō (Tōgeki), and Shin-Kabuki-za in Tōkyō, the Minami-

za in Kyōto, and the Ōsaka Kabuki-za, Naka-za, and Kado-za in Ōsaka. Ichikawa Sadanji II was the actor who most extensively played in kabuki war plays (his forte was new plays of all types). After Sadanji's unexpected death in 1940, Ichikawa Ennosuke II and Sawamura Tosshi VIII continued to perform in dozens of new war plays. The greatest kabuki stars abandoned sumptuous silk costumes in order to patriotically dress in the drab uniforms of 1930s soldiers. For example, The 'god of kabuki,' Onoe Kikugorō VI, played a private first class who sacrifices his life to blow up a Chinese fortification in *Three Heroic Human Bombs*, and Matsumoto Kōshirō VII took the role of a junior officer who leads his company in a frontal attack on a fortified Chinese city in *General Offensive Against Daijōchin* (*Daijōchin sōkōgeki*, 1932).

I have discussed kabuki's role in Japan's Fifteen Year War in detail elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> Here I will examine briefly three overnight pickle war plays created after Japan had attacked Pearl Harbor and invaded Western colonies in Asia and the Pacific (Singapore, Malaya, Hong Kong, the Philippines, Indonesia, Burma, Guam, New Guinea, and elsewhere) in December 1941. These plays exemplify fundamental wartime policies of the Japanese government vis-à-vis its new Western enemies. The plays are *Honolulu City* (*Honoruru-shi*, 1942) by Gōda Toku, *If to the Sea* (*Umi yukaba*, 1943), by Kikuchi Kan, and *Ten-Thousand Cheers for the South Seas* (*Nanyō banzai*, 1944), by Kimura Tomiko.

## II. HONOLULU CITY

*Honolulu City* by Gōda Toku is perhaps the most unusual overnight pickle play created by kabuki artists during the war. It is the only kabuki drama I know of that is set entirely in America (Hawai'i). Although the action takes place in a foreign country, that action is not about foreigners, that is Caucasian Americans. Like a Hollywood movie that follows the adventures of an American hero in a foreign setting, *Honolulu City* is solely about Japanese in a foreign environment: Issei, or first generation immigrants living in Honolulu, and their Nisei (second generation) children born in America.

*Honolulu City* was staged at the Ōsaka Kabuki-za in February 1942 by Ichikawa Ennosuke's Shin'ei kabuki troupe, composed mostly of young actors. The cast repeated the play in Kōbe and Nagoya in March. In an endnote to the play, Gōda says he received a hint to write *Honolulu City* when Okamura Kiwao, deputy director of the Cabinet Bureau of Informa-

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<sup>1</sup> Material in this article has been adapted from Brandon 2008.

tion (Naikaku jōhōkyoku), addressed a Citizens' Grand Conference to Destroy America and England on December 8, 1941.<sup>2</sup> Presumably Okamura urged Gōda and other participants to denounce American immorality and cruelty. *Honolulu City* is the most explicitly anti-American play written for kabuki actors during the war, glorifying Japanese blood ties and decrying American racist aggression.<sup>3</sup>

The scene is the Yamato Hotel owned by first generation Japanese immigrant Motoida Sōbei (Ichikawa Ennosuke II). Set on a hill, the hotel overlooks Pearl Harbor. The time is the evening before the Pearl Harbor attack. Scene One introduces Tamihei (Ichikawa Danshirō III), Motoida's youngest son, a recent graduate of McKinley High School in Honolulu. Gōda describes him thus: 'He appears ill at ease, his American-born Nisei Yankeenness at odds with his innate Japanese dignity.'<sup>4</sup>

Motoida's brother-in-law Kamibayashi Ichitarō (Ichikawa Jukai III), principal of the local Japanese language school, urges Tamihei to be loyal to Japan regardless of what occurs in the current struggle with America. Kamibayashi rages against the unfathomable arrogance and duplicity of white Americans.

KAMIBAYASHI (transported): You can't understand these people! One hundred million Japanese citizens can't understand them! [...] (Pause.) Look, we're legally in China through the Nine Power Pact and we'll stay there. With one hand, America stubbornly defends its "basic principles" and with the other, it sends reinforcements to the Third Army in the Philippines. [...] China is getting military aid through Indochina and the Burma Road. Britain has massed troops on the Thai border! The [Allied] military encirclement of Japan is growing stronger! Tamihei, you know this of course. America's Pacific Fleet is in Pearl Harbor. A thousand planes stand by at Hickam and Ford and Wheeler airfields. [...] One hand is offered in peace while the other hand grabs Japan by the throat!<sup>5</sup>

Tamihei, deeply conflicted, blurts out that he is 'a Nisei American citizen who has two nationalities, two languages, two national flags to honor.'<sup>6</sup> He is duty bound to fight for America, but in his heart he is a Japanese who dreams of beautiful Japan.

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<sup>2</sup> According to theater critic Nakamura Tetsurō, Gōda's strong support of Japanese militarism blackened his postwar career (2006: 437).

<sup>3</sup> Gōda 1942: 60–79.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*: 63.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*: 66.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*: 67.

Kamibayashi replies that he has a different dream. He dreams of America's destruction:

KAMIBAYASHI: I want our naval pilots to attack and bomb Hawai'i and Honolulu! I don't care if this hotel is blown up, too! [...] My prayer is, please destroy America utterly!<sup>7</sup>

Scene Two opens with Motoida speaking passionately to assembled Issei and Nisei:

MOTOIDA (face flushed): The captain gave a talk yesterday at the Japanese Association meeting: "[...] The Japanese Empire will never crumble, no matter how much the war costs or how long it takes. War expenditure may be ten-million a year or 100-million. We will endure ten years, twenty years." [...] Americans look at us immigrants in Hawai'i with coldly contemptuous eyes, but anti-Japanese actions will not sway Japan! [...] I'm an old man. If bombs from my homeland pulverize my Yamato Hotel, I will wave our national flag and joyously shout *banzai!* [...] People say it is absolutely impossible, but I believe soon Japanese airplanes will bomb Hawai'i!<sup>8</sup>

In Scene Three, Motoida commiserates with his middle son, Tadao (Ichikawa Chūsha VIII), now a soldier in the American army. Tadao says, 'As an American soldier I will be asked to fire my rifle at my Japanese homeland.'<sup>9</sup> Seeing no way out for his son, Motoida weeps in despair. Motoida understands Tadao's intention to kill himself in order to protect Japan. Father and son fall sobbing into each other's arms.

In the next scene, violent sounds of exploding bombs, flashes of light, and air raid sirens draw everyone outside. They see American battleships exploding in the distance. Motoida unfurls a Japanese national flag and, laughing and crying, shouts and waves the flag.

MOTOIDA (Ecstatically): Japanese airplanes are dropping bombs on Pearl Harbor! Drop more! Drop more! Blow up my hotel, I don't care!

His eldest son, Hiroshi (Morita Kanya XIV) tries to stop him but Motoida continues:

MOTOIDA: Don't be a fool! Don't be a fool! I've waited thirty years! Today everything is changed! In one day! Oh, this day! This day! This day! Ha, ha, ha, ha!<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid.: 67.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.: 68–9.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.: 77.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.: 78.

The final scene returns to the parlor of the hotel. The body of Tadao, dressed in his American army uniform, lies in a chair. During the air raid Tadao has killed himself.

MOTOIDA (standing beside Tadao): From the beginning he was prepared ... determined to return home. It is a fine thing ... a fine thing he has done. (He weeps.)

TAMIHEI (quietly): The Japanese race ... The Japanese fatherland ... (Motoida gently drapes the Japanese flag over Tadao's body. Curtain.)<sup>11</sup>

Characters in *Honolulu City* proclaim that a person of Japanese blood is indissolubly attached to the homeland and owes loyalty to the emperor. Motoida and Kamibayashi who are first generation immigrants naturally consider Japan their 'homeland.' But in addition, the three Nisei sons, Americans by birth and by education, also owe first allegiance to Japan, even though it is an ancestral land that they do not personally know. Gōda, who had never visited Hawai'i, did not know that the majority of American Nisei chose to support the land of their birth, not their ancestry. Gōda also wildly exaggerates the size of American forces in Hawai'i and the Philippines in order to paint Japan as a victim. Several times characters say that America is the aggressor, in line with government statements that Japan's attacks on Hawai'i, Southeast Asia, and the Pacific islands were defensive actions. The final moment of the play is symbolically potent: the Japanese flag erases from sight the corpse of the dead American soldier, just as the Japanese flag will cover all of Asia and the Pacific. *Honolulu City* is a true overnight pickle play, written within a month of the event it dramatizes.

### III. *IF TO THE SEA*

*If to the Sea* by Kikuchi Kan is an old master playwright's hymn to wartime sacrifice. Kikuchi was one of the first authors to visit the war front in China in order to observe combat first hand. In all of his writing, Kikuchi presented a highly favorable view of the military. *If to the Sea* is a home front drama in which Kikuchi praises civilian sacrifices made for the sake of victory. Ichikawa Ennosuke II's kabuki troupe staged *If to the Sea* with the help of several modern drama actresses at the Meiji-za in April 1943. The production was well received. The play's title comes from the first phrase of a poem in the *Man'yōshū*: 'If to the sea, a water-soaked corpse; if to the hills, a corpse covered with grass; let me die beside His Majesty;

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid.: 79.

without regret.' The poem, by Ōtomo no Yakamochi, eulogizes a warrior who shows boundless loyalty to the emperor.<sup>12</sup> The theme of self-sacrifice matched government slogans urging that all personal concerns be shelved until the war was won.

*If to the Sea* opens in autumn 1941, when Japanese-American diplomacy is reaching an impasse. It is a sunny morning at the Tōkyō home of deceased naval officer Yokota. His widow, Yoshiko (actress Murata Kikuko), is living with her second son, Sōji (Ichikawa Danshirō III), who fought bravely in North China and now is a lieutenant in the army reserve. Her eldest son, Ken'ichi (Ichikawa Ennosuke II), a naval lieutenant, is visiting but must return to active duty that evening. Ken'ichi eagerly accepts his duty to protect the Pacific Ocean in the event of war with America. He urges Sōji to marry quickly: 'Marry soon and have children. [...] Your marriage will benefit the nation and will honor the sacrifices our ancestors made for us. It is your foremost duty [...].'<sup>13</sup>

The next scene takes place in a banquet room in downtown Tōkyō, mid-December 1941. It is Sōji's wedding day and he has just received his mobilization order. Yoshiko and Sōji's new bride, Michiko (actress Tanoue Toshiko), accept his departure willingly, as a woman's normal sacrifice in wartime. Wedding guests are in high spirits, celebrating Japan's successful attack on Hawai'i, the invasion of Malaya, and raging sea battles in the Pacific. Sōji must report for duty in five days. Yoshiko is allowed a mother's tears: 'It is sad to think that Ken'ichi is already in the Pacific and soon Sōji will be sent to the front, too.' But Michiko objects: 'We have started a new family today. You will not be alone.'<sup>14</sup> Called to a corner of the room, Yoshiko receives an emergency phone message: Ken'ichi has been killed during a naval battle. She stifles her tears and vows to keep silent.

Guests at the banquet rise and offer congratulatory speeches to the bride and groom. When the guests depart, Toshiko quietly tells her father that Ken'ichi is dead. She vows to protect Sōji: 'I will not tell Sōji until he returns from his honeymoon. At least these few days will be joyous.'<sup>15</sup> When the newlyweds reenter, Toshiko, 'with her heart bursting, sees Sōji and Michiko to the door. She watches them depart with joy in her heart: for she is a mother in a military nation.'<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> The poem *Umi yukaba* was set to a deeply melancholy melody in 1937. Beginning in 1944, naval pilots sang it before flying Special Attack (*kamikaze*) missions against American war ships.

<sup>13</sup> Quotes are from a synopsis by Kuzuki 1943: 14–6.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*: 16.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

*If to the Sea* is an example of a 'mother play' (*hahamono*), foregrounding the fortitude of a mother who courageously accepts terrible personal loss for the sake of others, in this case for the nation. In 1943 Allied forces were successfully retaking Guadalcanal and New Guinea. Kikuchi, by setting his play in 1941, was able to utilize the more optimistic spirit of Japan's earlier military successes in support of the country's war aims. The play's dramatic action is slight and depends on the trite arrival of an unexpected message. Even so, audiences strongly empathized with Toshiko's loss. For the fact is many thousands of mothers throughout Japan were similarly losing their sons in combat in 1943.

#### IV. TEN-THOUSAND CHEERS FOR THE SOUTH SEAS

*Ten-Thousand Cheers for the South Seas* is one of the last kabuki plays set during the war. A short dance play for two characters, it was written by Kimura Tomiko and staged at the Meiji-za in January 1944.<sup>17</sup> The play is set on a small, unidentified island in the South Seas. Usually, it is difficult to determine if traditional acting techniques (such as *mie* poses) were used in overnight pickle plays. In the case of *Ten-Thousand Cheers for the South Seas* we know that the young actors Nakamura Kanzaburō XVII and Ichikawa Enshō III executed formal kabuki dance movements, or *kata*, and that they were accompanied by traditional *nagauta* music.<sup>18</sup> If one only watched the actors' movements and listened to the music, the performance would appear wholly traditional. What was contemporary and new, was the play's subject matter, the exploitation of natural resources in the occupied southern regions. We may say the author wrapped and concealed modernity within a shell of kabuki artistic convention.

Kimura's lyrics exalt Japan's benevolent rule of newly conquered lands in Asia and the Pacific. Kimura explains the ideology of the play in a program note:

Entering the third year of the sacred war, our military forces attack the American and British enemy without cease. Meanwhile construction of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperty Sphere advances. In particular, our creation of prosperity for the South Seas by developing its abundant natural resources constitutes a complete and imperishable victory. Above all, *Ten-Thousand Cheers for the South Seas*,

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<sup>17</sup> Kimura Tomiko was born into a kabuki acting family. She is the author of many mainstream kabuki dance plays.

<sup>18</sup> Kimura 1944: 13.

danced by innocent Japanese maidens, consecrates the New Year [...] and prays for glad tidings in economic development.<sup>19</sup>

The dance lyrics clearly describe the economic intentions of the Japanese government in the Pacific:

At New Year's turn, victorious in battle throughout the South Seas, our Rising Sun flag flies, lively in the breeze, high in an open sky, o'er this island stage. [...] Friendly comrades [...] together building, growing, flourishing, in Manila, Singapore, Malaya, and Burma [...] we battle to mine rich natural resources – gold, tin, and iron – and harvest rubber and hemp. Rice! Sugar! Lumber! Load a thousand, ten thousand ships. Prepare to depart, scales o'er-tipped with goods [...], beyond gain and loss, our nation's sure strength. Play the drum, spread the dance fan. Our prayers consecrate Ten Thousand Years of the shining Imperial Reign.<sup>20</sup>

The writing, reeking of racial superiority and imperial exploitation, illustrates a fundamental contradiction inherent in Japan's Asian mission. Japanese government propaganda boasted that Asians and Pacific Islanders had been rescued from white colonial rule and were now living in freedom and equality. In reality, however, Japanese did not treat them as their equals. Kimura's play is a hymn to Japan's cultural supremacy in Asia. The playwright gives names, Komatsu and Wakamatsu, to the two Japanese maidens, places them center stage, and makes them the sole agents of the dramatic action, while local islanders in the scene are nameless, voiceless, and given no action. The Japanese maidens dance eloquently; the 'natives' sit or squat and observe. Expensive and elegant costumes worn by Komatsu and Wakamatsu speak to us of a sophisticated Japanese culture; nearly naked locals, wearing leaf skirts and head feathers, belong to a lower, less civilized, order of culture. Finally, Kimura describes economic benefits of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere flowing just one way: to homeland Japan. Kimura is writing for a Japanese audience and she does not suggest that any economic benefits accrue to local inhabitants of the southern regions.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Kimura is shaky in her geography: raw materials mentioned in the lyrics come from Southeast Asian countries (Malaysia, Indonesia, Burma, and the Philippines), not from a small island in the South Pacific.



## V. CONCLUSION

Three plays cannot represent the entire repertory of new kabuki plays created during the late years of the war. But they can indicate important strands of ideology that supported the war and helped to mold Japan's wartime society. *Honolulu City* propagates a fierce hatred for and resistance to America. Set during the bombing of Pearl Harbor, Kamibayashi and Motoida celebrate the skill and daring of their nation's attack on a boastful America. There is unabashed rejoicing and total confidence in Japan's coming victory in line with the Cabinet Bureau of Information pro war, anti-American war propaganda promoted after December 8, 1941. In *If to the Sea*, Japan's military actions only serve as background, while the author praises brave civilians like Yoshiko. Yoshiko, who is every Japanese mother, stoically accepts the death of a son believing that her sacrifice will contribute to the nation's victory. Her action follows the Bureau of Information slogan, 'No Personal Desires until Victory.' *Ten-Thousand Cheers for the South Seas* is set neither on the battlefield nor in Japan, but in a remote, non-Japanese environment. War events are far distant and despite the claim that Japan is gaining victories, the play offers no evidence that this is the case. How can Japan assimilate tens of millions of non-Japanese into its new empire? *Ten-Thousand Cheers for the South Seas* aestheticizes this difficult cultural question but it gives no answer. Solving important social questions was not kabuki's function late in the war.

The one-hundred-plus war plays clearly show that the kabuki repertory consisted of a mix of traditional plays and new plays about contemporary events up through 1944. When Japan lost the war in August 1945 these contemporary war plays became a dangerous liability. The directors of kabuki did not want American military occupation officials to know about them or about kabuki's strong support for the war. Japanese scholars and critics writing in the postwar period passed over wartime kabuki in silence and kabuki producers shelved the war scripts. To save kabuki from American occupation theater censorship defenders rhapsodized over kabuki's artistry and argued that its traditional plays contained no ideological message for contemporary Japanese society. In support of this idea kabuki producers not only dropped the recent war plays, they shunned doing new plays about postwar Japanese society. So one of the ironies of Japan's defeat in World War II is that in 1945 kabuki's directors and producers abandoned the art's long-standing nature as a mixed traditional-modern theater form. In the 1950s and 1960s, when they excluded contemporary themes, they changed kabuki into a 'classical' art form. This is the kabuki we know today.

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# 小林秀雄「当麻」についての断想

羽田 昶

## I.

1942年2月21日、小林秀雄は、高輪の梅若舞台で初世梅若万三郎(1868～1964)演ずる能(当麻)を見た。その所感を綴った「当麻」というエッセイが『文学界』1942年4月号に掲載され、のちに単行本『無常といふ事』<sup>1</sup>に収められ、さらに全集はもとより各種の選集や文庫本で多くの読者を獲得している。

このエッセイ「当麻」について、そのときの観能に同行したという中村光夫は『文学回想 憂しと見し世』<sup>2</sup>で、「氏の文章のなかでも、もっとも好きなもののひとつ」と言い、また「実にいろいろな問題が提起されていて、ある意味では氏の精神のひとつの転回点を示すもの」、「氏が西洋的近代文学の感化から脱出して、日本の過去に全身的に打ち込む姿勢を取る転機は、このあたりにある」とし、「これを『無常といふ事』の巻頭に据えたのは、おそらく偶然ではない」と言っている。

たしかに、「当麻」のあとに小林は「無常といふ事」「平家物語」「徒然草」「西行」「実朝」を書き継ぎ、この6編を『無常といふ事』と名づけた。この6編からなる伝統論ないし中世文学論のプロローグ的な位置を占めるのが「当麻」である。その意味で中村光夫の指摘は、あたかも多くの近代文学研究者の「当麻」論を総括しているかのように私には思われる。

しかし、このエッセイは観能記でも、もちろん能楽批評でもない。小林のいちばん言いたいことは、「仮面を脱げ、素面を見よ、そんな事ばかり喚き乍ら、何処に行くのかも知らず、近代文明といふものは駆け出したらしい」という一文の前後に示されている。ここに展開する「近代文明」批判が、このエッセイの主眼であり、小林の他の評論「私小説論」、「戦争と平和」、「文学の伝統性と近代性」、「文芸批評の行方」などと相呼応する問題を提起していることは言うまでもない。

しかし、私は本稿では、このエッセイを、能という題材、「当麻」という作品に即して、解釈し論評したい。小林の評論は高邁で晦渋なので、これを論ずる人の語り口まで高邁で晦渋になりがちだけれど、私には平俗な地平に引き下ろして論ずることしかできない。

<sup>1</sup> 1946年、創元社。

<sup>2</sup> 1974年、筑摩書房。

## II.

「当麻」のなかで小林秀雄が、知識でなく感性で、能の本質を鋭敏かつ正確にとらえていることが分かる表現が二箇所ある。

第一に「あれは一体何だつたのだらうか、何と名付けたらよいのだらう、笛の音と一緒にツツツと動き出したあの二つの真っ白い足袋は」という表現である。

能は歩行の芸術ともいわれている。摺り足での足の運びは、演技の命である。まずそこに着目したのはすぐれた感性である。私は、同じようにすぐれた能楽師の舞台を見て足の運びに触れた、二人の文学者の観能記を思い出す。

女性に扮する能役者が白い足袋をはいて、静かだが音律的にこの掛橋を歩む工合を見て、私は、いつも『なんといふ女性的香気のある歩み工合であらう、小股の内気な運び工合は実に天下一品だ……この歩み工合丈けでも、芸術として世界に誇る事が出来る』とは思えないことが無い。遠方から足だけを眺めて居ると、(実際に私は喜多六平太君が女性に扮する時、その足だけを見て居ることがある)、まるで白い二つの魚が泳いでゆくやうだ。

狂女の舞ぶりも綺麗だつた。殊に白足袋を穿いた足は如何にも微妙に動いてゐた。あの足だけは今思ひ出しても、確かに気味の悪い代物である。僕は実際あの足へさはつて見たい欲望を感じた。少くとも白足袋を脱がせた上、つらつら眺めたい欲望を感じた。どうもあの足は平凡なる肉体の一部と云ふ気はしない。必ず足の裏の皺の間に細い眼か何かついてゐさうである。

前者は野口米次郎の「能楽の鑑賞」<sup>3</sup>、後者は櫻間弓川の舞台を見た芥川龍之介「金春会の隅田川」<sup>4</sup>という文章である。あらためて、その舞台を見ていない私も、梅若万三郎、喜多六平太、櫻間弓川という名人たちの、入神の演技を想像させられる。

第二に、小林の冴えた眼は

中将姫のあでやかな姿が、舞台を縦横に動き出す。それは歴史の泥中から咲き出でた花の様に見えた。人間の生死に関する思想が、これほど単純な純粹な形を取り得るとは。僕は、かういふ形が、社会の進歩を黙殺し得た所以を突然合点した様に思った。

という表現を生む。これは冒頭の

何故、あの夢を破る様な笛の音や大鼓の音が、いつまでも耳に残るのであらうか。夢はまさしく破られたのではあるまいか。白い袖が

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<sup>3</sup> 1925年、第一書房『能楽の鑑賞』。

<sup>4</sup> 1924年、『女性』5巻3号。

翻り、金色の冠がきらめき、中将姫は、未だ眼の前を舞つてゐる様であつた。

とも重なる。この部分は後シテの早舞を見て湧き起こった想念に違ひなくて、「人間の生死に関する思想」とは、中将姫は死んでも西方浄土で歌舞の菩薩として化現するという、能（当麻）に盛り込まれた思想のことである。おそらく小林は、万三郎の舞う早舞を見て、極楽の靈気をたたえたかのような荘厳な美しさを覚え、その感動が「これほど単純な純粹な形を取り得るとは」と言わしめたのである。同じ『無常といふ事』の「実朝」の末尾で「伝統とは現に眼の前に見える形ある物であり、遙かに想ひ見る何かではない事を信じよう」と言っているのと、同じテーマの変奏である。

小林秀雄には、「当麻」以前に、歌舞伎やチェーホフ劇に親しんだことを示す「演劇について」<sup>5</sup>という文章がある。すでにそこで「その後、能楽に接する機会を得て、その手の附けられぬ様な美しさに深く心を動かされ」たと書いているから、「当麻」が観能の初体験でないことは明らかだが、まさに初めてではない程度にしか能を認識していないし、実はさほど「深く心を動かされ」ても来なかつたらしいことも見て取れる。たとえば、明らかにアマチュアリズムが露呈しているのは、

老尼が、くすんだ董色の被風を来て、杖をつき、橋懸りに現れた。真つ白な御高祖頭巾の合ひ間から、灰色の眼鼻を少しばかり覗かせてゐるのだが

という表現である。

前シテの花帽子を「御高祖頭巾」などと、似て非なる物に見違えたのはともかく、色無シの唐織（または厚板）着流シのはずなのに「被風」と、およそ実態とかけ離れた把握をしている。「被風」と見えたのなら丈が足下まではなかつたのだろうか、もしや当日の前シテの出立は水衣か壺折でもあつたのかと疑わせるが、雑誌『観世』1942年4月号には「研能会 於 高輪 —— 二・二一」と明記した「當麻 梅若万三郎氏」の写真が載っていて、それは間違いなく唐織着流シ姿である。

また、次のような表現にもある種の微笑ましさを覚える。

音楽と踊りと歌との最小限度の形式、音楽は叫び声の様なものとなり、踊りは日常の起居の様なものとなり、歌は祈りの連続の様なものになつて了つてゐる。

「音楽と踊りと歌との最小限度の形式」とは、能の術語ならば、当然、とりもなおさず「囃子と舞と謡」と言うべきところであり、しかも、囃子の掛け声を「叫び声の様なもの」と感じ、〈当麻〉前シテの型がいかにな少ないからといって、それを「日常の起居の様なもの」と見、謡の旋

<sup>5</sup> 『文学界』1936年10月号。

律やリズムを「祈りの連続の様なもの」と聴きとっているのは、いかにも素朴で無邪気な言いぐさである。しかし、同時に、続く一文「音と形との単純な執拗な流れに、僕は次第に説得され、征服されて行く様に思へた」は、能の演技の呪術的な一面、その力を感覚的に受けとめた表現である。

「音楽は叫び声の様なものとなり」云々を読むと、後シテの登場するまでは、小林秀雄はあまり〈当麻〉という作品や演技の内容に集中できなかったらしく読める。「念仏僧の一人は麻雀がうまさうな顔付きをしてゐる」とか、「婆さんは、何にもこれと言つて特別な事もせず、言ひもしなかつた」というあたりにも、少なからず退屈していた様子がうかがわれる。尤も「含み声でよく解らぬが、念仏をとなへてゐるのが一番ましなんだぞ、といふ様な事を言ふらしかつた」という部分などは、「らしかつた」と当て推量するかのようであり、実は〈当麻〉の内容に踏みこみ、周到に巧まれた文章である。

### III.

「当麻」には、「美しい「花」がある、「花」の美しさといふ様なものはない」という、まるで芝居の名セリフのように有名な文句がある。もし、これが「美しい花がある、花の美しさといふ様なものはない」というのだったら、まぎらわしく気障な言い回しであるにすぎない。しかし、「花」は世阿弥の伝書に言う、観客の感動を呼び起こした状態の意だから、橋本治が『小林秀雄の恵み』<sup>6</sup>で言うように、「花」とコーテーションマークがつけられているのであって、「美しい「花」がある、「花」の美しさという様なものはない」というのは、つまり「美しい美がある、美の美しさをあれこれ言うことに意味なんかない」という意味になる。続けて橋本は言う。

こんな一文が（中略）強く印象に残り、強く記憶されるということは、能楽堂へ行って、「世阿弥の言う花ってなんなんだ？」と頭を抱えて、舞台に実現されているものを見ることが出来ない人間がいかにか多かつたかということの表れでしかない。

「彼の「花」の観念の曖昧さに就いて頭を悩ます現代の美学者の方が、化かされてゐるに過ぎない」と、小林は言うが、当時の「美学者」がどのように「頭を悩ま」していたのか、私はつまびらかにしない。しかし、1974年に加藤周一が「花」を定義して次のように言っているのは、注目してよい。

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<sup>6</sup> 2007年、新潮社。

世阿弥のいうところは明瞭であり、第一「花」は演技の特定の性質ではなく、観客の特定の反応であること、第二、特定の反応の内容は、観客が面白がることと、珍しがることとであり、両者は一致するということであった。「花」というこれほど単純な概念について、後世複雑な議論が行われたのは、見物人の反応に関する概念を、多くの論者が、演技の性質に関する概念と混同したからであり、美的価値と混同したからである。<sup>7</sup>

世阿弥能楽論の読解と研究が進んだ 1974 年に加藤が言っているのと同じことを、小林は 1942 年に言っていることになり、小林が『風姿花伝』をよく読みこみ、深く理解していたことが分かる。

なお、小林は単行本『無常といふ事』に「当麻」を収録するに際し推敲に推敲を重ねているので、いま全集や文庫本などで読むことのできる文章と、『文学界』初出の文章とは、少なからず異なる。早い話が、この「美しい「花」がある」云々の一文は、初出の文章にはない。代わりに「彼の教には、美しい形を編み出さうとする自然人の真実さが鳴り響いてゐるのであり、」とあって、「彼の「花」の観念の……」に続くのである。もともとは、橋本治の解説と解釈を必要とするような、アフォーリズムめかした言い回しなどはなかったのである。

#### IV.

私がいちばんこのエッセイで気にかかるのは、「現代人は、どういふ了簡であるから、近頃能楽の鑑賞といふ様なものが流行するのか」という記述である。屈折した物言いである。このごろ能楽の鑑賞が流行っているようだが、なにゆえそんな不思議な現象が生じているのか、現代人に能楽などが分かるのか、何かの間違いではないか、とでも言いたげである。

しかし、この屈折した物言いは、たしかに近現代の日本人の、自国の文化の捉え方の一般的傾向を言い当てていると思う。

明治この方、西欧的な教養と感性を身につけた近現代の日本人は、自国の古典に対してエトランゼでありつづけた。とりわけ、伝統芸能または古典芸能と呼ばれるジャンルのなかで、宮内庁（戦前は宮内省）が管掌している宮廷芸能、雅楽を別にすれば、能楽ほど一般社会から縁遠い芸能はない。（ここでは、声明とか平家のようなまったく商業ベースに乗らない芸能は問題外である）。芸能だけではない。茶の湯、生け花、陶芸といった伝統文化も、能楽よりは人口に膾炙している。

たとえば音楽学者、兼常清佐は、能について

<sup>7</sup> 加藤周一「世阿弥の戦術または能楽論」（1974年、日本思想大系『世阿弥・禅竹』）。

音楽の部分は声と囃子である。囃子は雅楽に比べると遙に簡単になつて来て、メロディは僅に笛が吹くだけである。そのメロディもかなり簡単で、同じやうな型が幾度となく繰返へされる。予備知識のないものには甚だ退屈である。

と云い、日本音楽総体について

存続の理由のないものは滅びなければならない。謡曲や三味線はもはや私共の生活を直接うるほしてはくれない。私共は支那や、朝鮮や、ホツェントットの音楽には些かの面白みも懐しさも感じない。それらは私共と何の縁もゆかりもない外国の音楽、原始的な音楽である。(中略) 日本には日本独特の着物があるからと云つて、活動に便利なこの洋服を脱げと命ずるなら大ていの日本人は全く困るであらう。日本には算木があるから微分積分などといふ西洋の数学を習つてはいけなるとなると、今日の機械工業は破滅する。我々は寺子屋と草紙を捨てて西洋館の学校で全然西洋の系統の教育をうけてゐる。私共自身の生活は西洋人の生活とそんなにひどい区別はない。従つて私共の生活とよく調子の合つた、本当の私共の音楽はもちろん西洋音楽である。(中略) 西洋音楽こそ正に本当の日本音楽である。

と言っている。<sup>8</sup>

別に奇警な発言でも極論でもない。これが平均的な近代日本人の偽らざる認識であり実感であると思う。

にもかかわらず、1930年代の東京には、能が見直され盛んに鑑賞される情況も、たしかにあった。それには三つの要因が考えられて、第一に能役者の名人上手が輩出したこと、第二に出版界、マスメディアに能の取り上げられる機会が増えたこと、第三に時代思潮、ナショナリズムの影響である。

まず、1920年代から40年代にかけて、おそらく明治以後現代に至るまでこれほど能役者の陣容が充実していた時期はなかったであろう。梅若万三郎・梅若六郎(2世実)・観世鍊之丞(華雪)・初世観世喜之・橋岡久太郎、松本長・野口政吉(兼資)・近藤乾三、櫻間金太郎(弓川)、喜多六平太・粟谷益二郎、金剛右京、そしてワキの宝生新、囃子の川崎九淵・幸祥光……という布陣がたちまち思い浮かべられる。

さらに、1925年には、ラジオ放送が開始され、謡曲が電波に乗る。28年、本郷元町に鉄筋コンクリート造り、近代劇場風の宝生会能楽堂が開設される。31年には、東京音楽学校に能楽科が設置され、近代的な学制のもとに能楽師が養成される。33年、来日したバーナード・ショウが櫻間金太郎(弓川)の「巴」を観る。35年、鉄道省観光局が、海外向けの能の映画「葵上」を製作する。27年に創刊された岩波文庫は、日本の謡

<sup>8</sup> 兼常清佐「日本音楽」(1933年、『岩波講座日本文学』)。



書人に多大な感化を及ぼすが、そのラインナップにさっそく『風姿花伝』と『申楽談儀』が収められる。30年に野上豊一郎『能研究と発見』と佐成謙太郎『謡曲大観』が刊行される。36年、野上豊一郎『解註 謡曲全集』、38年、能勢朝次『能楽源流考』が刊行される。40年には、野上豊一郎が顧問となり、多くの文学者が賛助員に名を連ね、文藝春秋社と謡曲界発行所が後援・主催する能楽鑑賞の会が発足する。42年はまた、世阿弥500回忌記念の特集記事や行事が続いた。

そして、時あたかも1931年の満州事変に始まる十五年戦争の時期である。ここに国体明徴運動や国民精神総動員運動などを持ち出すのは大袈裟かもしれないが、時代の動きが大きく復古調、伝統回帰へと舵を取っていたのは否めない。一例が、有名な『近代の超克』である。これは現在、富山房百科文庫で読むことができるが、もと『文学界』1942年9月・10月号に載った、京都学派の哲学者と日本浪漫派や文学界同人の文学者、計13人による『近代の超克』という大座談会である。文学者は、小林秀雄をも含む、亀井勝一郎・河上徹太郎・中村光夫・林房雄・三好達治というメンバーである。司会の河上徹太郎は、冒頭、

この時勢に対して、吾々は（中略）いろいろな角度から生きて来ながら、殊に十二月八日以来、吾々の感情といふものは、茲でピタツと一つの型の決まりみたいなものを見せている。この型の決まり、これはどうにも言葉では言へない、つまりそれを僕は「近代の超克」といふのですけれども

と、説き起こす。この座談会の前年、1941年の「十二月八日」とは、言うまでもなく、日本が真珠湾を攻撃し、対米英宣戦布告をした日である。太平洋戦争が始まって以来、「吾々の感情」は一つになっている、というのである。そういう前提で展開するこの座談会は、あながち単純な復古調の意見ばかりで占められているわけでもないが、全体的な姿勢は、明治以後の日本人が欧米の文化を摂取移入することに急であったことへの反省であり、機械文明に対して日本的な精神性や倫理観を強調する意見が支配的である。いささか矮小化した引例になるが、端的には林房雄の次のような発言がある。

僕らはフランスの小説が面白かったし、アメリカ映画が面白かったりした。さうした恥しい経験を僕らはみんな持つてゐるんです。ところがいろいろ苦しい経験を舐めて、ぼくも四十になつてやつと記紀、万葉が解る、又面白いと思ふやうにそこまで成長して来た。

たとえばこの種の意識から日本の古典が見直され、それと一連の関心から人々が能楽にも眼を向けた、という側面があったのではないか。

事実、前述の能楽鑑賞の会は、『近代の超克』より早く1940年に発足しているが、雑誌『謡曲界』に載っている会員募集の記事には、次のような文言が混じる。

六百年伝統の光輝ある古典芸術「能楽」研究の声が近時勃然と興りつゝあります。然し、従来の「能楽」は極めて狭い範囲の人々にのみ鑑賞され、一般人が正規の能楽堂に赴くには尠なからぬ不便を感じて居りました。(中略) かうした現状では益々時代と乖離することを恐れ、茲に鑑賞会を設けて「能楽」を正しく普及すると同時に、此の伝統芸術を通して日本精神の作興を計るに至つた次第です。

小林が〈当麻〉を見た1942年2月は、そういう時代の状況下にあった。「近頃能楽の鑑賞といふ様なものが流行る」という感想が生まれる、一つの根拠である。

## V.

しかし、小林秀雄が見た「能楽」が、世阿弥作の〈当麻〉であり、演じたのが初世梅若万三郎であったことの意味を忘れてはならないだろう。能なら何の曲でもよかつたのではなく、演者が誰であつてもよかつたのではない。

〈当麻〉は準老女物とも言われ、演者にとっては至難な曲である。一般に能のあらすじを書くのは容易ではなく、〈当麻〉のように劇的ストーリーの稀薄な曲はなおさらである。が、小林は

当麻寺に詣でた念仏僧が、折からこの寺に法事に訪れた老尼から、昔、中将姫がこの山に籠り、念仏三昧のうちに、正身の弥陀の来迎を拝したといふ寺の縁起を聞く。老尼は物語るうちに、嘗て中将姫の手引きをした化尼と変じて消え、中将姫の精魂が現れて舞ふ。

と書いている。間然する所のない、見事な要約である。〈当麻〉という能には、たとえば世阿弥の他の夢幻能、〈井筒〉や〈檜垣〉のようなドラマはなく、阿弥陀信仰と浄土讃歎のテーマが一貫していて、すぐれて中世的で宗教的で荘嚴な、幻想と美の世界そのものの表現である。だから難しい。再度引用するが、前シテについて「念仏をとなえてゐるのが一番ましなんだぞ、といふ様な事を言ふらしかつた」と言い、後シテについて、

中将姫のあでやかな姿が、舞台を縦横に動き出す。それは歴史の泥中から咲き出でた花の顔に見えた。人間の生死に関する思想が、これほど単純な純粋な形を取り得るとは。僕は、かういふ形が、社会の進歩を黙殺し得た所以を突然合点した様に思つた。要するに、皆あの美しい人形の周りをうろつく事が出来ただけなのだ。

という、こういう感想が導き出されたのは〈当麻〉だったからである。「花」についての考察にしてもそうである。まかり間違つて観世信光や観世長俊の能などを見たとしたら、この名文は生まれなかつた。

同じように、もし演者が凡庸で、〈当麻〉の荘厳な美の世界を表出できなかつたら、やはりこの名文は生まれなかつた。「あでやか」で「美しい」と感じさせたのは、梅若万三郎の芸の力である。

初世梅若万三郎は、容姿、声量、声質に恵まれ、華麗で輪郭の大きい、しかも強靱な演技で知られ、明治の三名人（初世梅若実・宝生九郎・櫻間伴馬）なきあとは、野口兼資・喜多六平太・宝生新らとともに能楽界の第一人者として尊敬を集めていた。1937年に帝国芸術院が創立されたとき、能楽師では宝生新と二人だけが会員になった。晩年は、文化勲章でも能楽師で初めての受章者となった。

坂口安吾は『日本文化私観』<sup>9</sup>のなかで

僕は「檜垣」を世界一流の文学だと思っているが、能の舞台を見たいとは思わない。もう我々には直接連絡しないような表現や唄い方を、退屈しながら、せめて一粒の砂金を待って辛抱するのが堪えられぬからだ。舞台は僕が想像し、僕がつくれば、それでいい。天才世阿弥は永遠に新ただけれども、能の舞台や唄い方や表現形式が永遠に新たかどうか疑わしい。古いもの、退屈なものは、亡びるか、生まれ変わるのが当然だ。

と直言して憚らないが、その安吾が同じ『日本文化私観』で日本の文化人について

日本本来の伝統に認識も持たないばかりか、その欧米の物真似に至っては体をなさず、美の片鱗もとどめず、全然インチキそのものである。ゲーリー・クーパーは満員客止めの盛況だが、梅若万三郎は数えるほどしか客が来ない。かかる文化人というものは、貧困そのものではないか。

と、突如、梅若万三郎を引き合いに出す。より若い文学者、加藤周一もまた、歌舞伎、新劇、能に親しんだ経験を『羊の歌』<sup>10</sup>で回想し、

羽左衛門の助六の啖呵は —— それを聞くと私の全身には戦慄に似たものが走り、文字通り息が詰まった。先代梅若万三郎の舞台を除けば、およそ日本語の科白から、それほど直接に感覚的な強い衝撃をうけたことは、一度もない。

と、回想する。つまり、能に親しんでいるか否かを問わず、伝統芸能の演者で人がすぐ脳裏に浮かぶ存在が初世梅若万三郎で、それほど時代を代表する名人だったのである。

「万三郎の当麻を見た」からこそ「当麻」という作品が生まれたのであった。

<sup>9</sup> 1943年、文体社。ただし引用文は角川文庫『墮落論』（1973年）所収のもの。

<sup>10</sup> 1968年、岩波新書。



## SECTION 5

CROSS-MEDIA: CONTEMPORARY DANCE, FILM,  
AND LITERATURE IN THE 1960s

クロスメディア：六十年代の現代舞踊、映画、文学



# CATASTROPHE IN ASSOCIATION

## BUTŌ CINE DANCE AS CROSS-MEDIA PERFORMANCE ART

*Peter ECKERSALL*

### I. INTRODUCTION

*How does the cameraman compare with the painter?*

Walter Benjamin

Hijikata Tatsumi's vision of an anatomised corporeal existence fostered in his *ankoku butō* was also dramatically explored in the medium of experimental film. At a crucial time for *butō* – developing contemporaneously with rapid urbanisation, social and political unrest and widespread artistic experimentation in Japan – these films give unique temporal perspectives on *butō* that are otherwise unavailable through the ephemeral record of live performance.

Early in his career, Hijikata worked with Donald Richie to make the short films *Sacrifice* (*Gisei*, 1959) and *Wargames* (1962), and with Hosoe Eikō to make *Navel and A-bomb* (*Heso to genbaku*, 1960).<sup>1</sup> *Sacrifice*, shot on 8mm film and running at 15 minutes, reconnoitred some of the explorations done by Hijikata and his circle of young dancers. It was made soon after the landmark 1959 performance of *Kinjiki* (*Forbidden Colours*), adapted from Mishima Yukio's 1951 novel of the same name.<sup>2</sup> At the time *butō* was a completely new and evolving dance performance style that defied previously accepted aesthetic conventions in modern dance.

*Wargames*, at 22 minutes, and showing beautifully composed images in black and white film, depicts a group of young boys playing at an ocean beach. They surround, pat, and then kill a tethered goat as if participating in an imagined collective ritual sacrifice. One boy stays apart and watches the action. He looks sad, as if he is contemplating the senselessness and melancholia of the goat's death; especially as the group

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<sup>1</sup> On encounters between media and body technologies in the works of Hijikata Tatsumi, Hosoe Eikō and Mishima Yukio see the article of Katja Centonze in this volume.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Hackner's essay looks into Mishima's novel *Yūkoku* and its adaptation into film.

of boys soon forget about the animal and run off to play. The corpse of the goat is buried in sand and is later uncovered by the changing tide, revealing limbs grotesquely frozen in rigor mortis, jutting uncomfortably from the sandy grave. Hijikata does not appear in the film; however, the desiccated state and uncanny angles of the limbs of the goat compare to the physical contours and musculature of butō's seemingly frozen physiology. As a young bohemian filmmaker and cultural critic, the film's director Donald Richie brought a wide knowledge of experimental film history to his projects: '(T)he collaborations between Richie and Hijikata explore processes of conflict: their impact on the human body, and also the amalgam of memory and oblivion within which they exist.'<sup>3</sup>

Hosoe, on the other hand, works mainly as a photographer. Collaborating with Hijikata, he created the celebrated *Kamaitachi* series of photographs of Hijikata in his rural homeland of Akita, first published as a photographic essay in 1969. Hosoe photographed some of butō's most enduring images including Hijikata's seminal solo performance *Hijikata Tatsumi and the Japanese: Rebellion of the Body: (Hijikata Tatsumi to nihonjin: Nikutai no hanran, 1968)*. As his only film, *Navel and A-bomb* shows a photographer's interest in the graphic contours of the body as a site of potentially transgressively artistic expression. Images of an enlarged navel is seen as a perverse rupture of the body in the film, which also included surrealist poetry and images of the atom bomb. All of these films border into filmic excursions of the human body, transforming it into abstract and erotically textured fragments of skin, surface or flesh.

Two other films, Imura Takahiko's *The Masseur (Anma, 1963)* and *Rose Colour Dance (Bara iro dansu, 1965)*, are examined in more detail in this essay for their unique documentation of interactions with Hijikata's butō performances. Both take their name from seminal butō performance works made by Hijikata and fellow butō pioneer Ōno Kazuo, together with members of Hijikata's troupe. The live performance of *Anma: Aiyoku o sasaeru gekijō no hanashi (Masseur: A Story that supports passion)*, took place in November 1963 and *Bara iro dansu A LA MAISON DE CIVEÇAWA (Rose Colour Dance: To Mr Shibusawa's house)* two years later. However, this essay is not directly concerned with butō but with hybrid performance and cross-media experiments. Imura's films are documents of early butō made in a personal and idiosyncratic way, but more importantly, as unique artefacts from the early 1960s Japanese performance scene, they aim to blend the sensory experiences of film and live performance. Al-

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<sup>3</sup> Barber 2010: 59.



though they seem full of noise and energy, cine dance works were filmed in black and white and were originally projected silently.<sup>4</sup>

Imamura called these films 'cine dance' (*Shine dansu*) as a way of expressing the visceral qualities of experimental film in synthesis with Hijikata's militant dance form. Using a portable camera he inserted himself amidst the butō performers, capturing their preparations and performance and documenting the audience and performance space. The resulting images are wildly unstable, ceaselessly moving, jarring and often unclear. By communicating a powerful sense of the visceral and chaotic sensibilities of butō, the cine dance films seem to both capture butō's antinomic plurality and expand on this awareness to create what Stephen Barber calls a 'profound anatomical shock, and deliquescing into a mist of deteriorating celluloid.'<sup>5</sup> This is also very much in keeping with the idea of butō as a relational form of artistic expression, one showing vanishing gestural fragments of the body and creating disturbing images that suggest radical propositions for culture, gender and physical transformation. These are embodied through playful images and, ironically, also ideas of catastrophe, mutation and death. Cine dance is therefore distinguished by a radical sensory immersion in the performative dialectics of butō: the performative viewpoint addressing the tensions arising in the interrelationship of temporality, physical manifestation and cultural context (as will be explored in more detail below).

The first of only two cine dance experiments, *The Masseur*, begins on a floor of shifting tatami mats. Bodies run back and forth, images of an audience taking their seats in the theater are intercut with close-up shots of the performers spreading clay over their faces and arms. The white clay skin of the performers, which is featured in the film, is deeply textured and fissured. The piece has formal repetitious elements such as running, mimes of baseball throws, marching and frenetic movement. A bicycle is ridden around, creating chaos and disorder. Helpers seem to be trying to hold the mats in place, or perhaps they are moving them to create the very instability of order that the piece suggests. Bodies slip and slide as they rush across the space. Comic images of the young performers wearing imperial army hats and marching on the spot are the most recognisable of historical references. But, as the camera arcs across the span of the auditorium, a wild 360-degree distorted view is produced. On the other hand, the compositional ideas appear tenuous (especially in contrast with Hiji-

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<sup>4</sup> The 2007 publication of a DVD version used for my analysis has avant-garde music composed by Adachi Tomomi that is not included in the original films, otherwise, program notes state that the films have not been changed.

<sup>5</sup> Barber 2010: 65.

kata's other works) and sometimes dissolve into simple gestures drawn from sport and the movements of daily locomotion. *The Masseur* was like an art happening: 'Painters became performers, dancers were more or less degraded to moving objects and the border between audience and performance became defuse.'<sup>6</sup>

*Rose Colour Dance* shows a more formal and complete assemblage of contemporary butō dramaturgy composed around a remarkable homoerotic duet between Hijikata and Ōno. The performance includes a well-documented sequence of a dancer's writhing back, onto which an image of a large flower-like vagina was painted. Scholars suggest that *Rose Colour Dance* was a turning point for butō; the androgyny and extended emaciated forms of contemporary butō first appear in mature form in the work. Use of tubes and objects almost cybernetically, as appendages of the body, and simulated sex are seen here as a recognisable choreographic medium; these are reoccurring motifs seen in butō styles to come. Ōno Yoshito (Kazuo's son), who also performed in *Rose Colour Dance* remembers the work as the last time Hijikata performed in duet with his father and that the performance was an important turning point towards Hijikata's development of ankoku butō and the nativist fascination in his so-called Tōhoku kabuki dance style.<sup>7</sup> In using imperial Japanese flags to drape bodies and references to images and performance conventions from Japan's premodern cultural practices, *Rose Colour Dance* is a precursor to the seminal 1968 work *Rebellion of the Body*.

## II. THE BODY IS ONE KIND OF MEDIA: CINE DANCE AND PERFORMANCE

Iimura has a long history working in experimental film, beginning his work in Japan in 1960 and soon moving to New York. His cine dance films are examples of a more spontaneous style of filmmaking, in contrast to the focus on semiotics and theoretical ideas of perception in many of his later works, where a lexicon of filmic material draws attention to distinct properties of projection, light, visibility, screen and so-forth in a meta-cinema, multi-layered style of presentation. His films are seen as contributing uniquely to the international explosion of experiential cinema in the 1960s and 1970s, with roots in the work of John Cage, Merce Cunningham, Fluxus and others.<sup>8</sup> Experiences and gestures taken from everyday ways of life and re-presented in minimalist close-up abstract forms is

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<sup>6</sup> Polzer 2004: 18.

<sup>7</sup> Ōno 2005: 36–7.

<sup>8</sup> Mekas and Iimura 2007: 17–8.

common in such work, which often blurs the difference between art and the objects and events visible (but usually overlooked) in the prosaic world. Also important is the awareness of intervals of time, and how art is a medium occurring in and transacting the mediums of duration, interval, temporality and the 'spaces' of silence and non-action. Describing his interest in cinema, Iimura writes: 'Many of the films I produced then could be seen as attempts to materialise temporal duration in film. As it has been said by John Cage about music, time is the most important element, and the same applies to film.'<sup>9</sup>

Prior to making his *butō* cine dance works, Iimura was best known for his film *Ai* (Love, 1962). *Ai* is an extended visual mediation on the act of love making, visually-temporally extended, abstracted and made into kinetic material by its extreme close-ups of body parts. Upon seeing a version of the film, Ono Yoko – who was also making a shift from the conceptual art and performance scene in Tōkyō to New York – made a soundtrack for the film based on sounds she recorded from an open window. Ono's film *Bottoms* (first made in 1963 and later remade in several versions, the best known 1966 version is also called *No 4*), featuring a close-up frame of parading human backsides, is a similar exploration of human skin in an abstract medium. However, Iimura's film is arguably more of a transgression as it shows moments of sexual activity and is more graphically physical than the dada-like humour of Ono's work. In fact, Iimura noted how he made the film in extreme close-up to evade Japanese censorship; nothing could be recognised explicitly as a sexual act, so nothing could be censored. *Ai* combines aspects of the sensual and grotesque – its fragmented depiction of human bodies managed to combine haptic qualities with forms that suggest parody. In combining the experience of bodies in motion with various forms of chopped and disorienting framing, *Ai* suggests similarities with the cine dance films to come.

Other contemporaneous artists such as those associated with Gutai and Neo Dada (who Iimura includes as influences on his work) were similarly exploring duration, conceptualism and minimalism in their performances and art works; however, Iimura's 'embedded' way of combining film and *butō* as intermedia art is novel and was not seen in other art works of the period. Using the idea of intermedia performance, his works show how temporal, corporeal and visual aspects of cine dance construct a dramaturgical language as well as a filmic one. Intermedia is a term used by the Fluxus artist Dick Higgins to describe the mixing of genres in artworks. Intermedia emphasizes the 'dialectic connections' of

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<sup>9</sup> Iimura and Collado 2009: n.p.

artistic media in mixed art contexts; Higgins contends that this trend is a reflection of 1960s culture that enables art to pursue new means of communication.<sup>10</sup> Cine dance is similar in its mixing forms and proposition of a new media dramaturgy. Thus, according to Iimura, 'the body is one kind of media' amidst the filmic reconstitution of the dance.<sup>11</sup> In this way, cine dance comes to be an important link in the closing gaps between media, performance and everyday temporal and corporeal experiences in the 1960s.

Discussion of cine dance films has been strangely curtailed in butō and film studies. Iimura's own collected writings don't discuss the films in any detail, although other texts in the book give insight into his multidimensional filmic imagination in ways that can apply to reading cine dance. An example is the script for his work *Taking Pictures (The Structure of Film Viewing)* (1981), offering a decentred viewing platform where the perceptive experience of 'I' and 'you' looking at the film constantly shifts. Demonstrating this is a point when the script records that the filmmaker leaves the frame and the scene reads: 'Now you and I are both the viewers.'<sup>12</sup> This is typical of many of the conversations in the film; circular absurd reversals of perspective in the dialogue that compare to Samuel Beckett (who Iimura admired), as if to fill the space and time with empty actions. Moreover, Iimura was influenced by philosopher Jacques Derrida's ideas of how knowledge is unstable, arising from transacting composite cultural operations and language effects. These ideas are reflected in an abiding interest in what Iimura terms 'phenomenological operations' relating to the sensory experience of perception.<sup>13</sup> This confusion of viewpoints (although not the surplus of meaningless actions, as might be understood as an important point of interpretation in the work of Beckett) bears comparison to the perceptible experience of cine dance that, in a more chaotic and spontaneous form than Iimura's later works, prefigures his interest in constantly shifting the viewing perspective.

Stephen Barber's discussion of cine dance is brief but illuminating. Noting that the films were not directly collaborations with Hijikata – other than making and appearing in the works being filmed by Iimura – Hijikata had little to do with their conception. Barber considers butō films generally to be the 'anti-documents of ankoku butō.'<sup>14</sup> His analysis suggests that film overrides the impact of other media, 'as though the corpo-

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<sup>10</sup> See Higgins 1966: 1.

<sup>11</sup> Iimura 2007a: 2.

<sup>12</sup> Iimura 2007b: 57.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.: 163–9.

<sup>14</sup> Barber 2010: 54.

real has been sieved down to a ghostly near erased presence.<sup>15</sup> He suggests that the cine dance films arose from a sense of contradiction wherein a fragmentary rendering of the live body could be more impactful than the totality of the stage performance. This essay takes a different approach, examining how the culture of cross-media experimentation in the 1960s that is exemplified in cine dance retained and invented new awareness of the medium of performance. It explores how, rather than disappearing, *butō* corporeality might extend its performative sensibilities in new directions. In fact, performance is a key point of reference for Iimura's work as artist, writing in 2004 that: 'performance is a vital part of my film and video work, a 'live' film/video, occurring only once, yet it could be repeated. It makes the (fixed) medium into something 'live,' and 'live' into a (fixed) medium, blurring the border between.'<sup>16</sup> This composite effect of mixing media to explore convergence and moments of creative distortion that occur at the borders of form and genre are the focus of my analysis.

Although not involved in the planning of cine dance, Hijikata was alive to the possibilities of intermedia practices. During showings of films of his performances in his studio he would sometimes grasp the projector in his arms and swing it widely around the room. The film presumably becomes distorted and likely tangled. Barber comments on the irony of this situation – Hijikata 'finally [uses] dance to distort and supplant Iimura's own filmic overruling of his work.'<sup>17</sup> But while Barber sees the cine dance negating *butō*, it is also possible to see it more aligned with the production of a revolutionary subjectivity of human experience through a uniquely performative/intermedia expression of embodiment.

### III. HIJIKATA AND BUTŌ: HUMAN REMODELLING AGAINST THE POVERTY OF POLITICS

Kurihara Nanako writes how *ankoku butō* 'denote(s) a cosmological dance which completely departed from existing dances and examined the darkest side of human nature.'<sup>18</sup> *Butō* takes many forms and explores the

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<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*: 61.

<sup>16</sup> Iimura 2007b: 83. At first sight, this comment appears to be paradoxical. However, when we consider that many of Iimura's works combine elements of spontaneity and repetition the comment is more one that describes a temporal stasis.

<sup>17</sup> Barber 2010: 98.

<sup>18</sup> Kurihara 2000: 12.

variety of human experience. It draws influences from early mid-twentieth century German expressionism, bearing comparison to theories of kinaesthesia such as those fostered in contact dance, a movement also dating from the 1960s. As the dance scholar Susan Foster outlines, kinaesthesia is a theory of the perceptual system of movement; synonymous with a body-space cycle wherein spatial dynamics connect with movement and are in turn transformed by the kinaesthetic presence of bodies. This results in a performative action where, 'the perceiver negotiates the perpetual flux of surroundings by determining that which is constant and that which is changing.'<sup>19</sup> Thus in *butō*, choreographic processes develop from abstracting images and certain archetypical forms, and from responding to the presence of bodies and the spatial-temporal environment in the real time of live performance.

The comparison with kinaesthesia is relevant; the performing body in *butō* is a shifting energised entity transacting cultural and political messages at a primary level of human activation and existence. In his essay *To Prison*, published in 1961, Hijikata cites Jean Genet, Herbert Marcuse and George Bataille in a vast re-imagining of the body and politics that ultimately offers a deeply critical idea of human existence in postwar Japan. He targets the morality of post war Japan noting, as well, how Japan's capitalist state denatures the body and negates its potential to experience diversity, peculiarity or pleasure:

I am a body shop; my profession is the business of human rehabilitation, which goes today by the name of dancer. [...] I am able to say that my dance shares a common basis with crime, male homosexuality, festivals, and rituals because it is behavior that explicitly flaunts its aimlessness in the face of a production oriented society. In this sense, my dance, based on human self-activation including male homosexuality, crime, and a naïve battle with nature, can naturally be a protest against the "alienation of labor" in capitalist society.<sup>20</sup>

The essay concludes by linking ideas of revolution and social transformation with the body: 'Human remodelling will be accomplished only by getting involved with a dreaming lethal weapon that has long ignored the poverty of politics.'<sup>21</sup> This idea of modelling and activating the material relationship between body and space is evident in the cine dance films. Also evident to the point of extreme is the sense of fragmentation, cutting, interruption and aimlessness that signals a need to seek human self-

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<sup>19</sup> Foster 2008: 51.

<sup>20</sup> Hijikata 2000a: 44–5.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*: 48.

activation. The proposition is for something untenable in a mono-capitalist system; an idea of multiplication and escape from manufactured norms.<sup>22</sup> Renegotiations and destabilization of performance conventions in *butō* is doubled by the performative-immersive and fragmented experience of the films. In talking about this, Imura advises that: 'The intention was indeed to present the structure of picture-viewing using myself as both an object and subject. This idea comes also from a desire to be the audience and the performer simultaneously.'<sup>23</sup> In other words, cine dance circulates a range of sensations and experiences of embodiment covering abstract notions and also the materiality of bodies in space. Audience sensations are also activated in the unfamiliar vortex of images.

For example, in the cine dance of *The Masseur* the close-up images of performers covering their bodies with clay are accompanied by visceral rubbing of body parts and, in rapid sequence, images of audience, auditorium and the shifting surfaces of the tatami floor. The very ground is moving, making the performance unstable. The film shows a silent scream, shuffling footwork, a live chicken wandering around and Hijikata falling from his bicycle creating chaos in the cramped performance space. Occasional surtitles such as: '*Anma* is to rub skin and muscles using fingers, arms and legs' provide a commentary. An extended sequence shows one performer lifting two others from his shoulders and they spin in a dervish formation, the two bodies flying out by centrifugal force. The camera also spins and blurs the action. As if demonstrating this motion, the phrase: 'To *Anma* is to smooth the blood circulation while enhancing the metabolism of the body' is projected. The speed of the bodies and the camera distortion makes the film shimmer; bodies are reimagined, almost Artaud-like, as fleshy organs and interstitial permeations of skin, flesh and the performance space. A later sequence captures a parodic military parade in some detail. The performers wearing imperial army hats stand in a catatonic state of attention. In the next scene, performers are shown moving blindly, their heads wrapped in newsprint bound by string. One performer climbs a ladder blind and falls to ground in a redundantly painful surrealist gesture. All of these images deal with the material dramaturgical composition of bodies while also showing their dynamic fusion-like capacity to erupt.

Both films use handheld camerawork to disrupt patterns of movement and create extremes of velocity and short fragmentary images. The bodies show self-activation in their dynamic energy and symbiotic relations to

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<sup>22</sup> How capitalism territorialised and reified *butō* in the postmodern culture of the 1980s is another point, see Uchino 2009: 86.

<sup>23</sup> Imura and Collado 2009: n.p.

camera and viewer. Above all, the films seem to stand out of time, as if all linear temporal manifestations are gone; instead the disturbances in the performance magnify Hijikata's defiant aesthetic challenge to habitually civilised bodies.

#### IV. CONCLUSION: CATASTROPHE IN ASSOCIATION

'This big Tōkyō is rotten with bodies.'<sup>24</sup> In Hijikata's early writing, the body is ineluctably connected with the urban space of postwar capitalism. One of the underlying rhetorics of the 1960s was the importance of bodily action – bodies in action to change the space as a way of changing politics – to transform by activating energies, feelings and the imagination. Cine dance interrupts what is already a radical temporality by removing *butō* of a continuous auratic presence and extending its propensity for action. The materiality of performance is visible in the warm-ups, audience activity, shifting floor and the artworks covering Hijikata's body. Viewing the work, one cannot complete the image and the direction of the gaze shifts in an unruly dramaturgy: from maker, to viewer, to immersion in abstract forms. The total effect is to explore the sensory habitat of radically unstable bodies; their heightened affective presence refashions time and space in ways that stress the immediate capacity of performance to transform the viewers and their world.

Thus, we can better appreciate how the intermedia approach of cine dance magnifies the already unstable ground of *butō* by showing how technologies and ideas of immersion extend rather than replace the experience of live performance. In the wider context of the 1960s, the jarring expression of bodies and film show radical perspectives on the society at large and proposes an idea of militant alterity. In other words, the view of camera and the painter (from the prefacing statement above), are not separate but dialectically resituated. 'The body is constantly violated by things like the development of technology' wrote Hijikata,<sup>25</sup> uniquely fusing aspects of performance and film, cine dance enacts that very confrontation.

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<sup>24</sup> Hijikata 2000b: 40.

<sup>25</sup> Cited in Kurihara 2000: 25.



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# ENCOUNTERS BETWEEN MEDIA AND BODY TECHNOLOGIES

MISHIMA YUKIO, HIJIKATA TATSUMI, AND HOSOE EIKŌ

*Katja CENTONZE*

## I. INTRODUCTION

This paper illustrates the encounter among three important exponents of the 1960s culture in Japan: Hijikata Tatsumi (1928–1986), Mishima Yukio (1925–1970) and Hosoe Eikō (\*1933). Each of these artists showed a particular concern for the body, directing the attention towards what is called the *nikutai*, the carnal body, on which a prevailing part of the artistic production of the post-war avant-garde focused during the upheavals of the 1960s.<sup>1</sup> As Fukushima Tatsuo writes, ‘Mishima and Hijikata, Hijikata and Hosoe, and Hosoe and Mishima – [are] the three people who, in 1960, pioneered the contemporary view of the body and physical space which continues dynamically to the present.’<sup>2</sup>

Mishima, Hijikata and Hosoe expressed the flavours of a world that surrounds corporeality with sexuality, eroticism more or less approaching a sense of darkness by which the human being is swallowed up. Each of these artists selected his own means of expression, his own media. Dance, photo, film, prose, theater and other artistic forms come together when we analyze the relation between the three artists. Their lives, their art, and activities are intertwined in ‘elective affinity.’

## II. *KINJIKI* – FORBIDDEN COLORS

In May 1959, Hijikata and Ōno Yoshito staged *Kinjiki* during the new talent section organized by the Dance Art Association of Japan. This event is considered the official debut of *ankoku butō* and the beginning of a groundbreaking body-expression, provoking a scandal that resulted in the expulsion of Hijikata from the dance association.

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<sup>1</sup> The *nikutai*, unfolded in its revolutionary force, was a specific conception of corporeality, which embodied a critique against the establishment. See Centonze 2002, 2010a, b. For the counter-culture politics in theater see Eckersall 2006.

<sup>2</sup> Fukushima 2000: 297.

Motofuji Akiko states that when Hijikata entered the stage, a strange silence arose from the audience and young women were rigidly sitting on their seats.<sup>3</sup> No music was played. Then a sweet melody of harmonica was audible and the half-naked body of the handsome Ōno became sometimes visible in the darkness of the scene. Hijikata was only wearing a pair of black trousers and his body was covered with black paint and olive oil. He started to run in circles and then squatted in front of Ōno's feet, offering him, as a sign of love, a sacred hen. Both lay, one on the other, in complete darkness, from where moans of a homoerotic encounter emerged. Motofuji affirms that it was something never before seen and most female spectators stood up and left the hall.<sup>4</sup>

*Kinjiki* inaugurates a rebellious form of dance consecrated to ankoku butō – the dark side of humankind – where inexpressible and unavowable drives, normally repressed by society's rules, are alive and instinct reigns. Deep impulses cry out from ankoku's bottomless abyss. According to Gōda Nario, this performance connected dance directly to human existence, demonstrating a strong sense of courage to use the *nikutai* to show – not narrate – the erotic realm by means of this body. Consequently, this performative act required an honesty to unveil and reveal through the arts a world far from artificial constructions and falsehood.<sup>5</sup>

Besides the homoerotic encounter, another element of aberration is represented by the act of Ōno, who supposedly choked the hen between his thighs. *Kinjiki*'s title recalls Mishima's homonymous work, but it also takes inspiration from Jean Genet's literature. As Mishima writes some months after the premiere:

I had heard at secondhand that Hijikata Tatsumi from the Tsuda Dance School was presenting a modern dance performance [*gendai buyō*] whose title he took from my work *Kinjiki*, but I passed the opportunity to watch it. To tell the truth, I did not take it seriously thinking it would be after all the overly conceptual dancing of literary youth. However, I went one night to visit the Tsuda Dance School and ever since I saw with my own eyes this *Kinjiki*, the choreography of Wakamatsu Miki's *Kokuten* [Maculae] (it can be said it takes on the subject of impotence),<sup>6</sup> and the rehearsal of the theme lessons, I

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<sup>3</sup> Motofuji 1990: 56.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ichikawa 1983: 162.

<sup>6</sup> Wakamatsu also practiced at Tsuda Nobutoshi's school renamed Asbestokan in 1962.

developed a deep interest in this extremely avant-gardist experimentation.<sup>7</sup>

Since then, Mishima often visited the dance school and even gave ideas during the improvisation lessons. He proposed the topics for dance exercises, such as the 'melting clock of Salvador Dali' or 'Marquis de Sade.' The fascination he nourished for Hijikata was outstanding. Motofuji writes that Mishima, while attending the rehearsals, often whipped out some costumes and then they danced together.<sup>8</sup> She remembers the many times when Mishima entered and exclaimed in a loud voice 'Hijikata is here!'<sup>9</sup> Extremely interesting for Mishima in those rehearsals was that when he assigned one idea to the dancers, a multiplicity of elements of body-movement (*nikutai no ugoki*) were formed by the consequent abstraction:<sup>10</sup>

However, it was in the comparatively long dance creations of *Kinjiki* and *Kokuten* that I could savour very well the deeper truly musical pleasure that one feels at the moment when the concept produces the action, the action forces out the aimless energy that lies in the body [*nikutai*], and this energy flows back into the idea again, and the idea is enriched, is made divergent and expanded. I feel that at this moment there are no performing arts that are more interesting than this all across Tōkyō.<sup>11</sup>

Since the beginning, the writer detected in these performances one of the specific aspects that make this dance differ from other choreutic expressions. He observes how the movements are not detectable in their evolving process. The movement begins developing in its temporal continuity, but stops suddenly at a certain point that the spectator cannot foresee or comprehend. This dance is actually the expression of the true meaning of pureness assigned to bodies (*nikutai*), soaked in sweat between waking and dream states.<sup>12</sup>

In his essay *Gendai no muma* (The nightmare of the contemporary age, 1959), Mishima emphasizes a distinctive element of the avant-garde dance: the *nikutai*, a term used when he refers to the performing body. There is only one specific instance when the novelist employs the term

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<sup>7</sup> Mishima 1959: 128. Unless otherwise noted, all translations from Japanese are my own.

<sup>8</sup> Motofuji 1990: 61.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Mishima 1959: 129.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.: 129–30.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.: 130–1.

*jintai* (human body) writing about the movement possibilities of the body in gymnastics, sports and in the acrobatics of circus art.<sup>13</sup> It seems that what strikes the attention of the literati is the peculiar use of the body and its aesthetics of provocation. Mishima captures the essence of this new expression, which is gradually taking form and will develop in the following years into the anti-systemic dance called *ankoku butō*.

In reference to the dance experiments, in this essay, Mishima is still using the definition *gendai buyō* – which literally translates as ‘contemporary dance’ – but conveys the meaning of modern dance.<sup>14</sup> In the following year, Hijikata’s creations were designated with the label *ankoku buyō* – especially after the performance *Antai* (Dark body, 1960). The first time Hijikata used the definition *ankoku butō* was when he directed *Leda no kai* in 1962. Since 1963, after the performance of *Anma* (The Masseur, 1963) and numerous discussions with Mishima, the rebellious dance appears as *ankoku butō*.<sup>15</sup> Motofuji states that:

At that time we started to use the white body paint and from that time on, while changing into various forms we developed a continuity [for our practice]. After that performance *Anma*, we reconsidered radically the fact to have named our activity *buyō*, and consulting for example with Mishima Yukio, gradually we came to use the word *butō*. We decided to change from the *buyō* age to the *butō* age.<sup>16</sup>

The intimate bonds between Hijikata and Mishima are also described by Kurabayashi Yasushi, who defines the 1960s as the ‘age of the *nikutai*’.<sup>17</sup> He argues that Hijikata, whose role had been outstanding during those revolutionary years, represented for Mishima the epitome of his deep concern in the *nikutai*:

For Mishima, who assigned an important position to the *nikutai* in his own thought, there was a presence who should be called the “hero of the *nikutai*” who perfectly embodied his own discourse on the *nikutai* during the 1960s. [This presence] is Hijikata Tatsumi.<sup>18</sup>

Without doubt, Mishima saw in Hijikata’s *butō* the same passion for the *nikutai* as he himself nourished. Hijikata reflected his desire to make the

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid.: 130.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Centonze 2006.

<sup>15</sup> For a definition of the expressions *buyō* and *butō* see Centonze 2008.

<sup>16</sup> Motofuji 1990: 129.

<sup>17</sup> Kurabayashi 1996: 141. The critic refers widely to Motofuji’s account.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.: 125.

*nikutai* escape from the yoke of concept and speculation, and expose the *nikutai* by itself.<sup>19</sup>

Throughout the decade, an intense exchange of ideas, long drinking sessions and collaborations characterized the relationship among Hijikata, Mishima, Hosoe and Shibusawa Tatsuhiko – translator, novelist and critic. These years of cultural revolt offered a fertile terrain for interdisciplinary projects and experimentations that emerged almost as a daily practice. Hijikata became more involved in the revolutionary artistic wave of the 1960s until representing a point of reference for many exponents of the avant-garde. As Hijikata states, the 1960s did not give birth to *ankoku butō*, but rather, the times came to nestle close to the *nikutai*.<sup>20</sup>

In September 1959, Hijikata directed the first meetings of *650 EXPERIENCE no kai*. For its program Mishima wrote *Suisen no ji* (A recommendation address, 1959). Hijikata performed within these sessions the second version of *Kinjiki* with Ōno Kazuo, Yoshito and Wakamatsu Miki among others. In July 1960, Hijikata directed *Hijikata Tatsumi DANCE EXPERIENCE sanshō*. Its brochure was a photo collection presented to him by Hosoe Eikō, containing several texts, among them Mishima's *Kiki no buyō* (Dance of crisis, 1960). In October 1960, Hijikata directed, among others, Terayama Shūji in *Dai ni kai rokunin no avangyarudo* (Second meeting of six avant-garde artists), and Mishima wrote for its program *Junsui to wa* (What is pureness?, 1960).

### III. MISHIMA ON AVANT-GARDE DANCE

In *Suisen no ji*, Mishima declares himself as originally belonging to the classical school and that, although this avant-garde wave is different, he himself does not know why his heart is attracted by it in a magical way.<sup>21</sup> Then he traces a parallel between both currents, referring to the sense of terror and fear rooted in human nature as expressed in classicism and contemporariness.

In *Junsui to wa* he argues that all artistic genres separated from each other after the Romantic period, which he identifies with modernity (*kindai*). With the appearance of the realistic novel, the novel, poetry and painting decisively broke with each other and each continued along its own path. With the rise of Impressionism, visual arts demonstrated a break with literature and pursued pure art. As a consequence, the com-

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid.: 127.

<sup>20</sup> Motofuji 1990: 100–1. Cf. Centonze 2010a: 113.

<sup>21</sup> Mishima 2004b: 18.

panionship between literature and art as it was developed during Romanticism became lost. In music, the fruit of melting with other artistic genres culminating with Wagner, announced its end during the Post-Romantic era. Dance, with the completion of the Romantic ballet, broke with Romantic literature. For Mishima the only thing that remains after this split of the artistic fields, is *The waste land*, as T.S. Eliot calls it.<sup>22</sup>

Mishima continues:

I am not a prophet, but I have the prescience that the age of the exchange and synthesis of artistic genres will be restored again in the latter half of the twentieth century. By no means this appears as a revival of the old Romanticism. What is called the romantic synthesis could be rather defined as collusion, and among painting, music and literature there occurred a reciprocal rubbing of skins and inebriation.

The exchange and synthesis that has to come, from now on, is an exchange similar to ice, and it is not different from an ice-cold synthesis.

Borrowing here temporarily the name of avant-garde, the genres of dance, music, painting and theater assemble and are exhibited in one single venue. It is not necessary that people are bound by the name avant-garde. It is sufficient if we see in here the fateful tendency of the arts in the latter half of the twentieth century. This being the destiny, now also the arrogant old arts have to follow after all this path. In here, it is possible to think as a definition for pureness, after all, the resolute will to choose by oneself his or her destiny.<sup>23</sup>

The skepticism nourished towards the 'dancing of literary youth' confessed in *Gendai no muma* is drastically overturned in *Kiki no buyō*, where Mishima expresses a great expectation to see the 'heretic ritual,' performed by Hijikata. In order to attend this ceremony, the writer has to prepare objects like 'a black mask, alluring perfumes and a cross with the smiling figure of Christ showing a licentious expression.'<sup>24</sup> In this text, Mishima voices the ideas that Hijikata provoked in him. The sense of crisis which emanated from the performing bodies was received by the novelist as an occult ritual. This challenge of existence revealed a sense of esotericism and mystical excitement. For example, Mishima mentions one of the postures of crisis proposed by Hijikata:

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Mishima 1960.

When I met him the other day, Hijikata frequently referred to what is called “crisis.” Dance [*buyō*] has to grasp in its inside the human posture of crisis, raw as it is. He said that, an example that seizes this posture of crisis—and it is a very singular example—is “a man who urinates in a standing position seen from behind.” Indeed, if one reflects about this, he is right.<sup>25</sup>

Mishima observes that most of the arts basically preserve an awareness of this crisis. He notes how crisis is manifested in primitive art through the form of a sense of dread felt towards nature, or even in highly stylized ceremonies that are directed towards appeasing nature.<sup>26</sup> The novelist refers to the pointe shoes of the classical ballet dancer as unnatural and artificial footwear that seems to put the dancer’s balance into uncertainty; while at the same time produces the aesthetics of the dynamic of balance typical of classical ballet. On the other hand, in the avant-garde dance, the crisis in itself is expressed without using these shoes – that is to say that no artificial presupposition is necessary to provoke this state of crisis. Mishima affirms that the crisis and anxiety of human existence have to be manifested by the pure expression of the sole human *nikutai*. He notices the difference between the classical ballet – that lies to the audience in order to show a beautiful dream – and the avant-garde dance that has to make visible the actuality (of the body) freed from the concept.<sup>27</sup>

We may say that the novelist was confronted with an artistic reality characterized by the potential to display concretely what its intentions and desires are, and by the actual and carnal manifestation of a discourse that goes beyond words. In fact, he often puts emphasis on the ‘actuality’ (*akuchuariti*) of the performative act.<sup>28</sup>

Mishima’s reflections inspired by Hijikata’s words are accounted also in *Zen’ei buyō to mono to no kankei* (The relation between avant-garde dance and things, 1961), written for the brochure of *Hijikata Tatsumi DANCE EXPERIENCE* (September 1961). The novelist remembers Hijikata telling him about an experience when he saw a patient affected by poliomyelitis who tried to catch an object, realizing that it was the same movement he had always taught during his dance lessons.<sup>29</sup> As a consequence, after this discovery, Hijikata’s approach to dance was re-enforced. Mishima describes the movements through which Hijikata showed him as connecting the images of the patient and the object the child wanted to grasp. This

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid. Cf. Mishima 2004b.

<sup>27</sup> Mishima 1960.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Mishima 2004c: 16.



made Mishima reflect about the fact that, in classical ballet, the relationship between person and the object is not shown in a process of estrangement and that likely in classical ballet – where ‘stylization’ prevails – the ‘thing’ (*mono*), as such, does not appear at all.<sup>30</sup> Mishima analyzes how, in Hijikata’s dance, the object is a dreadful ‘thing in itself,’ and his discourse extends to the quotidian relationship between man and things and the gestures that are habitually connected to it. What is thought of as ‘natural gestures’ are only the result of a social education.<sup>31</sup>

These [gestures of the avant-garde dance] are effective for unmasking the falsehood of everyday gestures and the falsehood of our “natural gestures” that have been trained by social habits. Because when we reach, even without any reason, for the cigarette, coffee or teacup on the desk, the act of grasping this, the act of *begreifen*, is the more enabled just because, in brief, we live a quiet life in the world of the concepts (*Begriff*) of coffee, teacup and cigarette. [...]

In this [society] a strange perversion is latent, in other words, our everyday gestures are ritualistic, while the gesture of avant-garde dance and of the child affected by poliomyelitis are probably “natural gestures,” in the true meaning of the word.<sup>32</sup>

What is noticeable in *ankoku butō* is the deformation of simple gestures and the extension of the dancer’s range of action to extra-human fields. Shibusawa has also touched this aspect of Hijikata’s dance and points out that Hijikata’s *ankoku buyō* transforms everyday actions into scandalous movements, refusing to comply with the audience’s expectations and inducing the spectators to discover the aesthetics of alienation and marginalization.<sup>33</sup>

An important statement on the reciprocal esteem between Mishima and Hijikata is furnished by Shibusawa. For Shibusawa, there is no doubt that the unique dancer during his first period was overwhelmingly influenced by Mishima and that, on the other side, Mishima was also profoundly shaken by the artist.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.: 16–7.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.: 17.

<sup>33</sup> Shibusawa 1969: 103. In his essays Shibusawa, introduced by his friend Mishima to Hijikata in July 1960, treats specifically Hijikata’s dance choosing the definition of *ankoku buyō* instead of *ankoku butō* (Centonze 2003–04: 23).

<sup>34</sup> Shibusawa 1992: 227.

## IV. HOSOE, MISHIMA AND HIJIKATA

It is not only by consulting the texts written by Mishima about Hijikata's dance, but also through the portfolio *Barakei* taken by Hosoe Eikō between 1961 and 1962 and published in 1963, that we can acknowledge the deep interest he nourished for him.<sup>35</sup>

Hosoe, a friend of Motofuji, was introduced to Hijikata at the Tsuda School in 1959. After seeing *Kinjiki* Hosoe took photos of Hijikata in his experimental work *Otoko to onna* (Man and Woman).<sup>36</sup> Since the beginning, Hosoe affirms, they were perfectly in tune with each other and during the photography Hosoe's studio was transformed into a body-theater (*nikutai gekijō*), while outside demonstrators chanted loud slogans against the Security Treaty.<sup>37</sup> The topic developed in this collection was 'sex and life.' Hosoe was a member of the VIVO collaborative, which searched for a more free expression by showing the characteristic of each artist in order to save the image from a reductive process.<sup>38</sup> Central to Hosoe's artistic work is his relationship with the subject of the photograph. Instead of an 'objective documentary' as proposed by realism, Hosoe pursues the 'subjective documentary,' which is the result of the encounter with the subject and its generated process of transformation, which involves also the photographer.<sup>39</sup>

Mishima saw Hosoe's photos selected from the portfolio *Otoko to onna*, which appeared in the brochure including *Kiki to buyō*. In September 1961, Hosoe was informed that Mishima wished to be portrayed by him for the cover of his essay *Bi no shūgeki* (The Attack on Beauty, 1961). For the young photographer it was a challenging experience to penetrate the cliché of Mishima – who was considered a 'superstar' – and to destroy the icon cultivated by a large readership.

Hosoe went to the novelist's house and produced images that reflected the 'Mishima of Hosoe Eikō.'<sup>40</sup> Mishima gave complete creative freedom to the photographer and spontaneously took off his clothes. The writer wanted to be captured by the camera just as the nude dancers have been photographed in their unmediated physicality. Mishima said to Hosoe,

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<sup>35</sup> Initially presented as *Killed by Roses* the official translation was changed to *Ordeal by Roses* with its republication in 1971, a translation preferred by Mishima.

<sup>36</sup> Hosoe 2006: 35.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Shiga 2007: 32.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> Hosoe 2000b: 239.

'There is a collection of Hijikata Tatsumi's photos that you took, right? That are very good photos. I asked Kawashima [from the editorial Kōdan Sha] to contact you because I would like to be photographed that way.'<sup>41</sup> For Hosoe it was natural to photograph Mishima as a dancer (*buyōka*), because this was Mishima's own wish.<sup>42</sup>

While they were shooting in the villa's garden, Hosoe wound around Mishima's half-naked body a rubber hose, that Mishima's father, Azusa, was using in that moment to sprinkle water. This session, which also involved Hijikata, created more than a few problems for Mishima's family. Azusa was scandalized when he saw his son, Hosoe and Hijikata transforming the garden in a kind of extravagant theater of nude bodies. He shouted 'You three are crazy! You are three complete fools!'<sup>43</sup> Meanwhile Mishima's wife would not let him come home; her husband told Hosoe: 'It is your fault that I could not go home yesterday.'<sup>44</sup>

One month after the first session, the photographer proposed to the writer to create a portfolio which he defined as 'his subjective documentary with Mishima as its subject': *Barakei*. Several sessions were held at Mishima's home (this time without the family's presence), together with Hijikata and Ōno Yoshito, as well as at the Asbestokan with Motofuji and other dance apprentices. The theme of this series was 'Eros and Thanatos,' that is to say 'life and death.'<sup>45</sup> Hosoe has no doubt that when this book was republished in the summer of 1970, Mishima's intention was already very clear to leave a testament of his *nikutai*, the decay of which the writer could not tolerate. *Barakei* is offered by Hosoe to the writer as a requiem, as it portrays Mishima's magnificent and strongly muscular thirty-eight year-old body without any change.<sup>46</sup> Mishima wrote about *Barakei*:

I realized that in front of Hosoe's camera, my soul and psychology were not necessary at all. This experience was as if my heart would dance, and the situation I was eagerly been looking forward to.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.: 239.

<sup>45</sup> Hosoe 2006: 49.

<sup>46</sup> Hosoe 2000b: 240.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.: 238.

As Mishima declares, his *nikutai* was abducted by Hosoe and the magic<sup>48</sup> of his lens. He specifies that Hosoe uses this civilized precise instrument with a method directed against civilization.<sup>49</sup>

Hosoe merely explored via the medium of his camera—much as a novelist uses words and the composer sounds—the various combinations in which the objects to be photographed could be placed, and the light and shadow which made those combinations possible. For him, in short the objects correspond to words and sounds. The objects are stripped of their various meanings, which are flung into a meaningless arrangement where their meaningless reflection of each other eventually restores a certain order to the light and shadow. It is only by such means that the elements with which he composes can acquire an abstract quality similar to that of words and sounds.<sup>50</sup>

Mishima affirms that there are two methods of photography: one of record and one of testimony, and the artist has to make a choice between these methods. For the novelist, Hosoe's work is a supreme testimony, therefore his creative process alters reality in a subjective way, testifying to the sense of metamorphosis in order to preserve the truth.<sup>51</sup>

#### V. HOSOE AND HIJIKATA: *HESO TO GENBAKU* AND *KAMAITACHI*

The collaboration between Hosoe and Hijikata was extended to the medium of film. In 1960, the experimental movie *Heso to genbaku* (Navel and A-Bomb) was conceived and directed by Hosoe. He describes the content of this film starting from the moment when human suffering and agony began, after Eve and Adam violated the law of the forbidden fruit in the garden of Eden, whereafter the earth was deprived of the sun and covered by a black mushroom-cloud.<sup>52</sup> Hence any sign of life disappeared. The director refers to an imaginary atomic-bomb of ancient times. After tens of thousands of years, new elements of vitality were born from the sea – which is originally the cradle of life – and, after a long time, the rebirth of humankind occurred. In its history, humankind has alternated

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<sup>48</sup> *Jujutsu*, the sympathetic magic practice associated also with traditional performing arts.

<sup>49</sup> Mishima 2000a: 237.

<sup>50</sup> Mishima 1985.

<sup>51</sup> Mishima 2000a: 238.

<sup>52</sup> Hosoe 2000c.

from war to peace, tragedy to comedy and reason to absurdity, while in the present moment peace seems to be restored. In the present day, man should also not violate the law of the prohibited fruit. One of these untouchable elements is the children's 'navel,' which is the source of life. Children are born with their navels bound to their mother's womb. A new Garden of Eden – a new sea of life, full of children, flourishing green and twittering birds – was born. But a man [Hijikata] who violates the children's untouchable navel appeared and from the centre of this navel a violent explosion happened. This mushroom-cloud is the real atomic bomb. The earth is marked again by the disappearance of life and human-kind after this nuclear explosion. Hosoe asks if the earth will start again from the myth and if life will be restored again.<sup>53</sup>

According to Donald Richie, this film displays a critical attitude towards Japan's post-atomic culture, overturning the victim position of the country.<sup>54</sup> This experiment remains an innovative conception of the naked body, where the strong representation of vital energy emblemized by the navel is combined with symbols of destruction and death. The dominant life-force is embodied by the presence of ten children, naked protagonists, who play, run, laugh and cry on the beach under the sun where Hijikata and Ōno Yoshito also appear.<sup>55</sup>

In September 1965, a new landscape of memories inspired by the source of traditional folktales was molded by the photographer and Hijikata, when they both traveled to the fields of Akita.<sup>56</sup> A reconsideration of *kamaitachi* (sickle weasel) was undertaken in a challenging journey through the popular culture and villages of the rice-planters of Tōhoku, where Hijikata was born. *Kamaitachi* is identified with the phenomenon of 'a little whirlwind that suddenly occurs and then disappears again but occasionally leaves instantaneous partial wounds on human skin by means of a sharp vacuum.'<sup>57</sup> This ungraspable being, while caught in several situations, was conveyed by Hijikata's *nikutai* and Hosoe's photographs in the portfolio *Kamaitachi* (1969).

The weasel disappears in an instant and is distinguished by undetectable ability and swiftness. I dare to read the movement in *butō* practice in this way: the audience is not able to control visually what is happening in the scene. *Kamaitachi* is a work that represents a memory-record of Hosoe's experiences, when he was evacuated from Tōkyō to his

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<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> Richie 2000: 212.

<sup>55</sup> Centonze 2010b: 45–6.

<sup>56</sup> Tashiro in Hagochō, Yushōgun.

<sup>57</sup> Fukushima 2000: 297.

mother's hometown in Yonezawa in 1944. At the same time it is also a documentary about Hijikata – sometimes appearing like a trickster – and his cradle.<sup>58</sup> This 'subjective documentary,' characterized by a comical and humorous vein, is the story of a man who picked up from the corner of the rice fields the darkness and from the local customs of Tōhoku its sense of humor.<sup>59</sup>

Hosoe and Hijikata's collaboration is important to the dancer's butō history for several reasons. The *butōka* states: 'Hosoe Eikō made me famous.'<sup>60</sup> *Kamaitachi* marks a new era in the evolution of Hijikata's ankoku butō and is the origin of a mechanism for the elaboration of pre-modern aspects in this dance form. The first exhibition of Hosoe's photo collection was held in March 1968 at Nikon Salon under the title *Totetsu-monaku higekitekina kigeki: Nihon no butōka, tensai 'Hijikata Tatsumi' shuen shashin gekijō* (An Extravagantly Tragic Comedy: A Photo Theater Starring a Japanese Butō Dancer, Genius Hijikata Tatsumi). The excerpt of the critique written by Tanemura Suehiro about this exhibition became the flyer distributed in October 1968 during Hijikata's solo, *Nikutai no hanran: Hijikata Tatsumi to nihonjin* (The rebellion of the *nikutai*: Hijikata Tatsumi and the Japanese), considered Hijikata's manifesto. Tanemura's text, which explicitly emphasizes the locution *nikutai no hanran*, has become a sort of emblematic declaration where Hijikata's butō, centered on the revolt of the *nikutai*, is mirrored.<sup>61</sup>

*Kamaitachi* has a high performative value and treasures moments of epiphany, rare contingencies and conjunctions of intensities that only the *nikutai* of Hijikata and Hosoe could produce, while emerging from and in-between that world, dense with obscurity. It is not a representation, but a manifestation, in the same way a butō performance appeared to its audience in the very first years. Takeguchi Shūzō recognizes in *Kamaitachi* a magical happening between the photographer and the photographed, with the concretization of Hijikata's art realized as a dance *experience* – as the dancer defined his performances in the early years.<sup>62</sup> Experience appears unfolded in all its aesthetics.

As highlighted in this discussion, the experiments undertaken by Hijikata move on planes of intermediality, but the core of his creations and artistic choice is represented by the body. Devoting himself to crisis and danger, he conferred to the body the *raison d'être* of dance practice, a

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<sup>58</sup> Hosoe 2006: 91; 2010.

<sup>59</sup> Hosoe 2006: 91.

<sup>60</sup> Hijikata 1998: 297.

<sup>61</sup> Centonze 2010a: 112.

<sup>62</sup> Takiguchi 1969.

special connotation, the constant sense of raising questions. Hijikata initially pursued an anti-dance – in line with Neo-Dadaism – which unfolds the rawness of the *nikutai*. His *ankoku butō* was oriented towards an anti-aesthetic (*shūaku no bi*) regime and turned to grotesque connotations. This is in contrast with the attitude of aestheticism delineated in Mishima's life and works.

According to Uno, Kuniichi Hijikata sought, through the performance *Nikutai no hanran*, to excavate the *nikutai* because of the indifference generally shown by society, which disregards the high potential and the quality hidden inside of it.<sup>63</sup> Hijikata writes about the *nikutai*:

The *nikutai's* voice, inside which are buried an infinite number of chasms, is something as if you would wrap in a handkerchief anew the scream from the material. This happens often in the civilisation inside the body [*karada*]. Who is the creator of the overconfidence in transforming into flesh and blood? The pure spirit and the dim soul gazed at by the body [*nikutai*] which is divinity of flesh and raw dream<sup>64</sup> while the sobbing collapse hand in hand is still hanging unbalanced [...].<sup>65</sup>

The coryphaeus of *butō* did not aspire to a strong, beautiful, trained and well-forged body, nor did he simply point at the carnal desire. Thus the emancipation of the impulses was not necessarily the only intention within his art. On the other hand, Mishima showed his yearning for a muscular, body-building trained, body.

Uno emphasizes how, in Hijikata, the act of the *nikutai* is a straightforward opposition against capitalism and the society of labor productivity, where the *nikutai* is suppressed and subject to uniformity and domestication and where – obeying the standardized labor – it is transformed into a criterion, or value to possibly be exchanged. The dancer places the *nikutai* outside the logic of capitalistic exchange and consumerism, exploring its nature as a heterogeneous and alien substance.<sup>66</sup> In this sense, Hijikata discovers the 'aimless *nikutai*,' which is connected more to a criminal world, to male homosexuality and to ceremonies as a protest against the alienation of labor; which, in turn, implies the alienation of the *nikutai*.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Uno 2000: 24.

<sup>64</sup> This expression can be read *sei no yume*, thus be translated as 'dream of life,' or *nama no yume*, consequently interpretable as 'raw dream.' I have chosen to retain the latter close to the complex images suggested by Hijikata.

<sup>65</sup> Hijikata 1998, 1: 225.

<sup>66</sup> Uno 2000: 25–6.

Hijikata orients his perception towards weakness, which leads us to the *suijakutai* – a sort of diseased body, suffering from alteration – of his later production in the 1970s. In brief, his dance is a form of resistance, which I intend as the resistance to the society of the spectacle as theorized by Guy Debord.<sup>68</sup>

## V. CONCLUSION

In this essay I have shown how the contact with Hijikata and the avant-garde scene provoked in Mishima a sort of discovery of things he had always been searching for.<sup>69</sup> The impact that the free body-expression of the *butō* coryphaeus has exerted on the novelist must have been deeply felt. Mishima probably witnessed the concretization of his cultural and intellectual interests fused with the realization of a corporeal art that eludes verbal expression and meaning. His yearning for a body released from social taboos and constraints finds expression in his writings, but was a chimera in his concrete life. Mishima later writes in *Taiyō to tetsu* (Sun and Steel), which he declares to be his new form of *himerareta hihiyō*,<sup>70</sup> the untold, secret criticism:

When I examine closely my early childhood, I realize that my memory of words reaches back far farther than my memory of the flesh. In the average person, I imagine, the body precedes language. In my case, words came first of all; then – belatedly, with every appearance of extreme reluctance, and already clothed in concepts – came the flesh. It was already, as goes without saying, sadly wasted by words.<sup>71</sup>

It is extremely interesting to notice how Mishima points to words – the material of his career, life and passion – as white ants that eat away the pillar of plain wood,<sup>72</sup> which stands for the body. He states that ‘words are a medium that reduces reality to abstraction for transmission to our reason’<sup>73</sup> and that their corrosive potential is not only a menace for reality,

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<sup>67</sup> Ibid.: 25. Centonze 2010a: 114–9.

<sup>68</sup> Centonze 2009.

<sup>69</sup> See also Hosoe 2004.

<sup>70</sup> John Bester translates it as ‘confidential criticism’ (Mishima 1970a: 5), while Lydia Origlia chose the definition ‘critica occulta’ (Mishima 2000b: 7).

<sup>71</sup> Mishima 1970b: 8.

<sup>72</sup> Mishima uses this metaphor also related to capitalism (see Mishima translated in Pollack 1992: 168).

<sup>73</sup> Mishima 1970b: 9.



but for words themselves.<sup>74</sup> In contrast, when he wrote about Hijikata, he communicated the epiphany of the *nikutai*.

There are several parallel attitudes between the writer and Hijikata as, for example, the opposition to capitalism and Westernization following World War II. As David Pollack outlines, for Mishima 'the central meaning of time as both primary indicator and agent of degeneracy in the world is best illustrated by the operation of modern capitalism.'<sup>75</sup> Mishima, who was well-traveled, was in a search for a Japanese novel, passing through philosophical speculations and spectacularity, aiming for a polished, refined and ornate style in his writings.<sup>76</sup> As Pollack outlines:

For Yukio Mishima "the novel" itself was a central problem of Japanese narrative. The Japanese had quickly realized that they required this foreign Western technology no less than other technologies of communication, such as the telephone, in order to be able to express themselves as the "modern" people were doing. Mishima understood, however, that using this indispensable alien technical device to express the native story could only alienate the Japanese from their own narrative.<sup>77</sup>

On the other hand, Hijikata never left Japan. Although originally educated in modern and jazz dance, he elaborated a new dance which opposed the Western forms by exalting the anti-narrative character of performance and the potentiality of a spoiled scene, where the body rules. His corporeal speculation, opposed to spectacularity and psychologism, leads to an anti-aesthetic approach, which produced a new choreutic formula that successfully spread overseas. The importance of *butō* in post-war dance history is undeniable. Contemporary expression in the West developed in a radical way after the contact with *butō*, especially in the 1980s, and is still proceeding along this path.

Hijikata's writings are difficult to analyze due to their quite inscrutable content and expressions that evoke a personal world deeply rooted in Hijikata's body and biography. *Yameru maihime* (The ailing dancer, 1983), for example, could be close to a vernacular form or a sort of oral tradition, but these are projected into a poetical dimension without a poetical structure. There is a close link between the perception of the body and the perception and conception of words in Hijikata, testified by his habit to express himself through onomatopoeic forms.

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<sup>74</sup> Mishima 1970a: 7.

<sup>75</sup> Pollack 1992: 168.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*: 148–73.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*: 148.

One important aspect that binds Mishima and Hijikata is, besides the relation to eroticism, their tied bond to death. No adequate words can be spent on the suicide committed by Mishima. It is also true, that Hijikata, who focused his dance on the *shitai*, the dead body,<sup>78</sup> and on *ankoku butō*, experienced death nearly everyday in his performances.

Hosoe's intuition and perception of the *nikutai* works on an exceptional level. He catches particular shadows that rise to the surface. The rendering of the visual and invisible dimension in his photos achieves a superb horizon that surpasses the fixed nature of a static image impressed on the photography paper. And this dynamic is majestically attained in the series *Kamaitachi*. The visual artist shows, not only a sharp recognition of the intimate metamorphic body that surfaces from the unknown abyss of *ankoku*, but he himself invests his *nikutai* during the act of shooting. Thus Hosoe transforms the act of fixing the image in an enterprise and in a challenging use of his own body when he chases the focus of his pictures; i.e. in this case, the human body that pulses. The happening of that very moment is incised in the *pellicula*. The physical experience of creation and collaboration rises to a process and performative uniqueness. Also the subject's bodies are distinguished by uniqueness. Hosoe's sensing the *nikutai* makes it that one can feel the *nikutai* in his works of art. What is at issue here is not the simple 'flesh' or 'carnal body,' but a corporeal universe that has been expressed especially by the avant-garde in the 1960s and with acute sensibility by Hijikata and Hosoe.

Hosoe's collection *Hōyō* (Embrace, 1970), apotheosis of sensuality, was motivated by his belief 'that the spirit dwells within the *nikutai* as well,' therefore he eliminates all the faces in his photos, focusing instead on the fragments of the *nikutai*.<sup>79</sup>

In the above-mentioned part of *Taiyō to tetsu* there is also a previous utterance of Mishima, when he ponders the nature of the 'I' and concludes that it is the territory occupied by his *nikutai*. He further writes: '*Watashi wa "nikutai" no kotoba wo sagashite ita no de aru.*'<sup>80</sup> This sentence is translated by Bester: 'What I was seeking, in short, was a language of the body.'<sup>81</sup> I would like to advance that "'*nikutai*" *no kotoba*' instead of 'language of the body' or 'linguaggio del "corpo"'<sup>82</sup> could be translated as 'the word of the *nikutai*' or 'the word for the *nikutai*.' Thus Mishima was

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<sup>78</sup> Centonze 2008.

<sup>79</sup> Okabe 2000: 301.

<sup>80</sup> Mishima 1970a: 6.

<sup>81</sup> Mishima 1970b: 7.

<sup>82</sup> Mishima 2000b: 7.

seeking for the *word* or for a specific corporeality, which would result in a very intriguing declaration made by the novelist. As Hosoe affirms, in Mishima's work evolved a complex process of coveting the *nikutai* and the *ankoku butō* as well.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> Hosoe 2004.

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# THE DEATH OF THE AUTHOR CONSIDERED AS ONE OF THE FINE ARTS

## THE AESTHETICS OF SUICIDE IN MISHIMA YUKIO'S *YŪKOKU*

Thomas HACKNER

*We dry up our tears, and have the satisfaction, perhaps, to discover that a transaction, which, morally considered, was shocking, and without a leg to stand upon, when tried by principles of taste, turns out to be a very meritorious performance.*

Thomas de Quincey, *Murder considered as one of the fine arts* (1827)

*... the birth of the reader must be at the cost of the death of the author.*

Roland Barthes, *The Death of the Author* (1968)

### I. INTRODUCTION

Mishima Yukio's *Yūkoku* (Patriotism) is the rare case of a short story that has been made into a film by its author, who also financed the film project with his own resources, wrote the script, played the leading role, in short, did all himself, what he possibly could do. What makes this instance even more – if not absolutely – unique is that the author five years later took his own life, very much in the same way, as he had envisioned it in the novel and enacted in the film before. This poses the question, what were Mishima's intentions for making this text into a film? And how are these fictional representations of suicide related to his own very real death?

Seemingly, Mishima was well aware that adapting a text for the screen is much more than just casting the same contents in a different form:

Usually, when I sold a novel to a film company, I made a point of not interfering too much, and facilitated a free interpretation in film [because] it is a different means of expression. But in the case of *Yūkoku* I definitely knew I did not want to do that.<sup>1</sup>

The reason Mishima gives for this disinclination is the tremendous importance he attaches to this novel, a text which, he believes, contains in a nutshell all what is important in his work:

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<sup>1</sup> *Seisaku-ito oyobi – keika* (Mishima 1973–76, 32: 306).

While this novel is a work of mine which is easily overlooked [...] because in this text many of the defining elements of my work are concentrated [...] if you read just one of my works, read *Yūkoku*, and I think you will find all the good and the bad which constitutes me as a writer condensed in this text.<sup>2</sup>

Still rather than giving up on the idea of making the text into a film, Mishima was eager to realize it, but tried to be in almost absolute control of the production process. His motivation can be found in the word 'overlooked': rather than searching for new modes of expression Mishima wanted to reach out to an as large as possible (international) audience for this work, and the best medium to achieve it seemed to be film. This, after all, implies that he was convinced that what constituted him as a writer was not exclusively linked to the medium of literature and could be preserved even when translated into a film. So, at least from Mishima's perspective, what is important, are not so much the inevitable differences between novel and film, but what both works have in common, i.e. the plot, which I believe can be read as an outline of Mishima's aesthetics of suicide.

How are these aesthetics linked to Mishima's own death? It is tempting to interpret the text, the film and Mishima's suicide as stages in a process of preparation and gradual actualization of an idea, an artistic performance which turned step by step 'real.' But while he certainly did not disapprove of narcissism<sup>3</sup> after the release of the film he fervently insisted, that, even though he had taken the leading role, it would be misleading and run against his intentions to confuse the role of the young lieutenant with himself.<sup>4</sup>

Leaving aside Mishima's possible motivations for these statements, his spectacular suicide almost 'forces' his posthumous audience to read his work through the lens of his death. In this way, the actual death of the author gets in the way of the 'death of the author,' as postulated by Roland Barthes in a seminal essay in 1968. Most if not all readers/viewers are finding themselves involuntarily reading the works in relation to what they know about Mishima's death.

Yet, given the dominant position biographical modes of writing occupied in twentieth century Japanese literature well beyond the actual genre of the *shishōsetsu* (I-novel), it often is just not adequate to try to ignore the

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> *Narushizumu-ron* (Ibid.: 375–89).

<sup>4</sup> *Yūkoku no naso* (Ibid.: 304).

biographical background, which readers were well aware of, and also from the outset was intended to be part of the reception process. When writing under this premise the author turns his life into a part of his work, by remodeling it through fictionalization and/or by performing a life apt for or in accordance to his literary production. Although the dichotomy between fiction and reality does not vanish completely, it gets blurred. From this perspective Mishima's suicide can be understood as a performance, which is at the same time part of his 'work' and his 'real' life. Governed by the same aesthetics put forward in *Yūkoku*, it therefore can be read in the context of literary history.

## II. FILM AND NOVEL

The short novel *Yūkoku* was first published in 1960 in the magazine *Shōsetsu chūō kōron*. While it belongs to a group of several works, in which Mishima takes up the *coup d'état* of February 26<sup>th</sup>, 1936, it is completely fictional and situated only on the periphery of the historical events.<sup>5</sup> In five chapters an omniscient narrator tells the story of the double suicide of the young lieutenant Takeyama Shinji and his wife Reiko. Already in the first chapter the reader gets to know the whole plot and the ineluctable ending. Because his comrades do not want the newlywed lieutenant to take part in their *coup d'état*, which they already believe to be doomed to fail, and to avoid being pitted against his comrades, he decides to kill himself.

The second chapter introduces the young couple, its marriage and married life. They are a young good-looking couple living in a shabby but well-kept house, leading a frugal and austere life according to the ideals of what might be regarded as 'samurai ethics': the obedient wife's devotion to her husband is as strong as her unflinchingly determination to sacrifice her life if necessary. Most notably, this ascetic life is not at variance with enjoying a passionate sexual relationship.

The third chapter describes the couple's preparations for death and their last sexual encounter, while the following chapters depict respectively the *seppuku* (ritualized disembowelment) of the lieutenant and the suicide of his wife. While descriptions of the thoughts and emotions of the two protagonists take up much space in the text, the lieutenant and his wife remain pale and lifeless, because they are overly idealized and typified.

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<sup>5</sup> Matsumoto 2005; *Niniroku jiken to watakushi* (Ibid.: 356–368).



The film, shot in 1965, five years after the publication of the novel, follows this plot quite closely. It is divided in five 'chapters,' too, which however differ somewhat from that of the novel. This is in part due to the different aesthetics of a film, but also to the expanded role of Reiko. Every 'chapter' and the whole film are preceded by an introductory text handwritten by Mishima himself. The 'backbone' of the film is its soundtrack: an instrumental version of the *Liebeshod* from Richard Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde*. The film was cut to fit the soundtrack, rather than the other way around.<sup>6</sup>

What sets the film apart from the novel most is its radical stylization: The black and white silent movie of about 27 minutes with long handwritten inter-titles defies almost completely the aesthetics of mainstream cinema.

While the soundtrack positions the film in the context of European opera, the set design is an allusion to traditional Japanese theater. The whole action takes place on a kind of abstracted *nō* stage. In the back a scroll with the word *shisei* (sincerity) can be seen. The actors' 'robot-like'<sup>7</sup> movements, as well as the scarcity of props, may also be seen as allusion to the aesthetics of the *nō* theater. While Mishima states that there were also economical reasons behind the decision for doing the film in 'nō style,' first of all he apparently strove for the intensity and simplicity of *nō*, because he saw in the *nō* stage 'a space, where it is not unnatural that the dead and real people can meet in the light of the same reality.'<sup>8</sup> In deliberately sharp contrast however to these mannerisms stands the drastic realism of the lieutenant's *seppuku*, which is shown in cruel detail.<sup>9</sup>

Mishima had emphasized that the love between the two protagonists is the main topic of the narrative, and that the actual drama is the wife having to face her husband's death, rather than the *seppuku* itself.<sup>10</sup> This is underlined by the eyes of the lieutenant remaining hidden under his visor cap, while the eyes of his wife are shown in close-up. Furthermore, it exposes the suicide as a performance in need of an audience.

To receive international attention, not only a Japanese version, but also English and French versions were produced. The premiere of the film happened to be in France. However, the reaction of the French audience was less enthusiastic than Mishima had anticipated. He described it as

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<sup>6</sup> *Seisaku-ito oyobi – keika* (Mishima 1973–76, 32: 311).

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*: 315.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*: 309.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*: 326.

<sup>10</sup> *Yūkoku* (Mishima 1973–76, 32: 335).

'fifty-fifty.'<sup>11</sup> In Japan, however, the film was shown together with Buñuel's *Le journal d'une femme de chambre* in ATG cinemas, and proved to be – especially for an independent production like this – exceptionally popular.<sup>12</sup>

### III. MISHIMA'S AESTHETICS OF SUICIDE

In 1959, one year before the publication of *Yūkoku*, Mishima claimed that the core of his work is the preoccupation with death:

I do not want to die from an illness, or by a nuclear bomb, but to be shot would be ok. The words of a deceased friend come to my mind: "Are you prepared to *sterben*<sup>13</sup> (die)?" So bluntly asked, I can only answer "not yet," but the idea of death is the sweetest mother of my work.<sup>14</sup>

In several essays Mishima has emphasized the importance of (living and) dying beautifully, an idea he derived from ancient Greece.<sup>15</sup> An important element of a beautiful death is to die young. The suicide of a youth is not only superior to that of an adult, because it occurs at a time when physical decay has not yet set in, but also because – according to Mishima – at this age the decision for a suicide is not yet tainted by intellectual reflection or any kind of calculation.<sup>16</sup>

This 'noble simplicity' gives suicide its 'quiet grandeur,' which in Mishima's eyes is the true meaning of the February 26th incident. For him this *coup d'état* is not so much a conflict of competing political standpoints and interests but of dirty and coldly calculating politics on one side and the innocent purity of youth on the other side. Even though or just because the young rebels are failing they carry off the moral victory.<sup>17</sup> But for Mishima the beauty of a suicide lies much more in the suicide itself than in its motivation, so that the political events in *Yūkoku* seem to be more a pretext for the suicide than a real reason.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Funahashi and Mishima 1999: 524.

<sup>12</sup> Kuzui and Domenig 2003: 18.

<sup>13</sup> German in the original text.

<sup>14</sup> *Jūhassai to sanjūyonsai no shōzōga* (Mishima 1973–76, 29: 348).

<sup>15</sup> *Utsukushii shi* (Mishima 1973–76, 33: 42) and *Otoko no bigaku* (Mishima 1973–76, 35: 310).

<sup>16</sup> *Shinjūron* (Mishima 1973–76, 28: 7–15).

<sup>17</sup> *Niniroku jiken ni tsuite* (Mishima 1973–76, 33: 173).

<sup>18</sup> Held 2010: 18–31.

In *Yūkoku* the double suicide is also extremely erotically charged. For the couple the awareness of their impending death not only deepens the lust of their last sexual encounter, but the suicide itself is construed as the supreme form of erotic and aesthetic fulfillment, a radical manifestation of beauty and purity. In Mishima's eyes, *Yūkoku* is 'not a comedy, not a tragedy, but a story about a kind of highest happiness.'<sup>19</sup>

#### IV. SEPPUKU AND SHINJŪ – SUICIDE IN PRE-MODERN JAPAN

Although Mishima's aesthetics of suicide are not exclusively based on Japanese ideas and concepts, pre-modern Japanese tradition plays an important role.

While in Europe suicide had been condemned as sinful by Christianity, in Japan Shintoism, Confucianism and Buddhism had taken a much more permissive and ambivalent stance. In addition, in literature and even more in drama of the Tokugawa era a pronounced tendency of aestheticizing especially two forms of suicide evolved: *shinjū*, the double suicide of lovers, and *seppuku*, the ritualized disembowelment practiced by the samurai class.

The first mention of a *seppuku* goes back to the tenth century: the notorious bandit Fujiwara Yasusuke is said to have eluded his capture in this way. But only with the emergence of samurai culture in the 12<sup>th</sup> century did *seppuku* come into vogue. Rapidly it took hold as the befitting form of suicide for the samurai class. This was accompanied by a growing formalization of the procedure.

The *seppuku* had several social functions. Common motives for committing *seppuku* were to take responsibility for a mistake or a failure or to protest against unjust treatment by a superior. In both cases, suicide was a means to demonstrate one's integrity and to heal the disruption of the social order. Then, *seppuku* was a form of death penalty. Another common pattern was that a samurai retainer would kill himself to follow his lord into death (*junshi*), to demonstrate his loyalty. Finally there was also the possibility that out of love two samurai killed themselves or one followed the other into death: this was the origin of *shinjū*.<sup>20</sup>

The classical form of *shinjū* was shaped in eighteenth century drama, where non-aristocratic lovers, because they could not come together in this world, as a last resort chose to kill themselves. This not only was an attempt to escape from the intractable conflict of *giri* (obligation) and

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<sup>19</sup> *Niniroku jiken to watakushi* (Mishima 1973–76, 32: 359).

<sup>20</sup> Pauly 1995.

*ninjō* (human emotion) in this world, but also the hope to find salvation together in the next world.<sup>21</sup> *Shinjū* is different from *seppuku* not only because the lovers in general were not from the samurai class, but also because the killing itself was not a ritualized process.

What both forms, nonetheless, have in common is, that suicide is not the result of a psychological crisis or social anomy. Instead the decision to kill oneself is grounded in a clearly defined social context. *Shinjū* and *seppuku* were socially accepted forms of behavior. Very concrete social restraints lead to these forms of suicide: to live on would have resulted in social exclusion or other serious consequences. The strong interconnectedness of these forms of suicide to the social structure of pre-modern feudal society also gave them a clear and unambiguous meaning, which could not be misunderstood.

This social framework was lost in the Meiji restoration, which, for example, becomes obvious in the discussions following the *junshi* of general Nogi Maresuke after the death of emperor Meiji in 1912. While for some Japanese Nogi's suicide was a manifestation of archaic but still relevant samurai values, many others saw in it nothing more than an anachronistic and atavistic act. At that time, following the establishment of Western science, Western concepts of suicide had taken root in Japan. In Europe since the eighteenth century the religious condemnation of suicide as sin had turned into its denunciation as pathological or a result of physical or social decay. In Japan the first medical treatises in this vein were published around 1900.

How the literary representation of suicide had changed can be exemplarily seen by the suicide of Akutagawa Ryūnosuke in 1927. He left behind the literary essay *Aru kyūyū e no tegami* (Letter to an old friend), in which the author's explicit intention is to deliver the first authentic psychological description ever of the mind of the suicide, as a kind of public suicide note. The literary representation of suicide as the result of a psychological crisis is completely in accordance with the modern scientific construction of suicide as pathological.

Mishima, on the contrary, tries to tie in with the lost pre-modern tradition, but interprets it in a completely new way. *Seppuku* becomes a socially autonomous deeply sexually charged manifestation of absolute beauty and ecstatic transgression, a work of art. To refer to the pre-modern is an attempt to revert to a concept of suicide that considers suicide not as pathological but heroic. Still it cannot win back its social function, even in a military context, and Mishima's efforts in this direction are desultory at most, in *Yūkoku* as well as in his life. Moreover, with the

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<sup>21</sup> Heine 1994.

notion 'Death is the Japanese eros'<sup>22</sup> Mishima construes suicide as an icon of Japaneseness, that fits in perfectly with Western orientalist and Japanese auto-orientalist clichés of Japanese culture.

#### V. DAZAI OSAMU – SUICIDE WITHOUT 'GRACE'

But Mishima's aesthetics of suicide not only try a kind of re-invention of tradition, they are also an obvious counter project to those of Dazai Osamu. Dazai's aesthetics of suicide relate to pre-modern modes of representation and are closely interconnected to the author's life. Dazai made his first suicide attempt in 1929 at the age of 19. In the following year, the first of Dazai's known three *shinjū* attempts occurred: he tried to kill himself with a bar maid he had got to know just shortly before. The girl died, Dazai survived. In 1935 an attempt to hang himself failed, as well as a *shinjū* attempt with his wife two years later. Instead the couple decided for a divorce. After a break of ten years, during which no suicide attempts seem to have happened, in 1947 Dazai tried again to take his life and finally in summer 1948 his dead body was found in the Tama canal in Tōkyō: this time he had succeeded in committing *shinjū*.

Dazai wrote a number of texts about his suicide attempts, most notably the novels *Doke no hana* (Flowers of Buffoonery) and *Kyōgen no kami* (The God of Kyōgen), both published in 1936. While *Doke no hana* is based on his first *shinjū* attempt, in *Kyōgen no kami* he takes up the suicide attempt of 1935.<sup>23</sup>

In both texts Dazai plays with the autobiographical dimension of the narratives. While the narrator, explicitly states that they are fictional literature, their autobiographical dimension is (made) obvious at the same time. The actual motives for the suicides remain rather vague and are attributed to a hazy inability to cope with life. Dazai's (self-)ironical representations focus on the comical, embarrassing, and grotesque aspects of his suicide attempts, portray the protagonist/himself as weak and ridiculous, and depict his failing suicide attempts as meaningless as his life.

Like the double suicide in *Yūkoku*, the *shinjū* in *Doke no hana* is not a traditional *shinjū*. This obviously is not about lovers who cannot come together, but about an accidental encounter of two people, who – for what reason ever – want to die and casually decide for a double suicide. While in Mishima's text suicide is a lustful manifestation of beauty and heroism,

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<sup>22</sup> *Seisaku-ito oyobi – keika* (Mishima 1973–76, 32: 308).

<sup>23</sup> Sone 1986: 136–161.

in Dazai's narratives it is as meaningless, bleak and absurd as life itself. Thus, it comes to no surprise, that Mishima criticized Dazai's *shinjū* aesthetics as 'lacking any grace.'<sup>24</sup> Dazai's allusion to the pre-modern *shinjū* tradition is a deliberate parody, the now socially functionless form used as means to emphasize the emptiness of the suicide act.

If one is to believe Henry Scott Stokes seminal Mishima biography, Mishima and Dazai just met once in their life – some time in 1947. Mishima was 22 then, an aspiring young author, who nevertheless was applying for a position in the Ministry of Finance. At the same time he tried to network with established authors, hoping for their support:

Dazai and his group of admirers were sitting in an upstairs room in their Ginza restaurant. It was a squalid room, with dirty tatami (rice straw mats), just the kind of place Mishima disliked, and the company was drinking low-quality sake. [...] When there was a brief silence, Mishima broke in. "Mr. Dazai," he said, "I hate your work." The novelist, as Mishima told it, paused for a moment before replying, seemingly surprised. [...] Then he remarked for those sitting close by: "I know he loves me, though; otherwise, he wouldn't have come here." The remark stung Mishima [...]; and he remembered the taunt for the rest of his life. He would often tell his "Dazai story;" twenty years later he was still obsessed with the memory of the remark.<sup>25</sup>

One year after that episode Dazai killed himself. And 22 years later Mishima followed suit.

## VI. CONCLUSION

*Yūkoku* is but one short text in the extensive work of Mishima Yukio, but it is of enormous importance to the author. In order to reach out to a larger particularly international audience he decided to make it into a film, in whose production nothing was left to chance. Novel and film deploy Mishima's aesthetics of suicide, in which *seppuku* is celebrated as a manifestation of beauty and purity and a supreme form of erotic and aesthetic fulfillment. In Mishima's view, the ideal suicide has to be young in order to ensure that the purity of the act is not tainted by rational calculation and physical beauty has not yet been marred by the aging process.

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<sup>24</sup> *Shinjūron* (Mishima 1973–76, 28: 7).

<sup>25</sup> Stokes 1995: 90.

Another less obvious element is, that one has to be seen when committing *seppuku*.

Compared to Dazai Osamu's suicide, Mishima's aesthetics can be read as a deliberate counter-project. While for Dazai suicide is a grotesque, ridiculous, meaningless and absolutely non-heroic deed, demonstrating the weakness of man and the absurdity of life, for Mishima suicide is a heroic act, in which all this is simply transcended. Mishima's (as well as Dazai's) aesthetics of suicide relate to pre-modern customs and aesthetics. Both take up the motives of *shinjū* and *seppuku*, which had played an important role in pre-modern Japanese literature and drama. Completely bereft of the social function they had in feudal society these forms of suicide now are filled with a new almost exclusively aesthetical meaning. While for Dazai the reference to the pre-modern is a way to underscore the pointlessness of his suicide attempts, for Mishima it is one to overcome the exclusivity of the modern pathological view of suicide and to link his work to a – in Mishima's eyes – key element of Japanese culture, which also is able to appeal to an international audience.

What sets both authors apart from other modern authors as well as from the pre-modern tradition is that their literary representations of suicide are closely connected to their own lives, which in turn can be considered part of their work. While Dazai wrote seemingly autobiographical texts based on his failed suicide attempts, at least in retrospect Mishima's writings seem to prefigure and prepare his own death, even though his suicide did not completely conform to his ideal: at the time of his death he could neither claim to be young anymore nor to have not reflected extensively on what he was doing. By transforming the 'shocking' act of killing themselves into an 'aesthetical' performance they undercut the 'death of the author' and inscribe the author, i.e. themselves on the reception of their literary works.

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## SECTION 6

THEATER AND SOCIETY IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

二十一世紀の演劇と社会



# PERFORMING SOCIAL CRITICISM IN CONTEMPORARY JAPANESE THEATER

OKADA TOSHIKI'S *HOT PEPPER*, *AIR CONDITIONER*, AND THE  
*FAREWELL SPEECH* AND *FIVE DAYS IN MARCH*

Barbara GEILHORN

## I. INTRODUCTION

In recent years, popular Japanese literature has increasingly addressed social and psychological problems in contemporary Japanese society like the *otaku* (geek or fanboy) phenomenon or precarious working conditions.<sup>1</sup> Authors like Kakuta Mitsuyo (\*1967) or Amamiya Karin (\*1975) became known for dealing with the widening social gap in a society that has long been perceived as predominantly middle-class. In the field of theater, Okada Toshiki is a playwright and director noted for addressing topics such as the weariness and desperation of young urban youth on stage. Okada is considered one of the most interesting playwrights and directors of the younger generation in Japan and is also gaining a growing audience abroad. His formal experiments, which he realizes with his theater group *chelfitsch*,<sup>2</sup> are evocative of contemporary dance. In his productions he questions the interrelation of body and language, whilst employing a choreography that makes use of contemporary colloquial language and body movements originating from everyday life.

In the following essay, I will explore Okada's 'super-real' staging of everyday life in Japan and also illustrate how he tackles topics such as the social and psychological conditions of people in times of crisis. Aiming at an in-depth investigation, I will focus my analysis on two recent plays. The first explores *Hot Pepper*, *Air Conditioner*, and *the Farewell Speech* (*Hotto peppā, kūrā, soshite owakare no aisatsu*, 2009), a revised version of *Air Conditioner* (*Kūrā*, 2004), which broaches the up-to-date issue of young people in precarious employment conditions. The way Okada combines contemporary theater and dance makes it an interesting play for discus-

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<sup>1</sup> Azuma 2009 provides a popular introduction into the *otaku* phenomenon. For a recent study on this field of literature see Gebhardt 2010.

<sup>2</sup> The company's name is Okada's coinage, representing a child's mispronunciation of the English word 'selfish' (<http://chelfitsch.net>).

sion as well. Secondly, I will take a closer look at *Five Days in March* (*Sangatsu no itsukakan*, 2004), which confronts the banalities of everyday life in Tōkyō with the outbreak of the Iraq war. In this play Okada addresses an aspect of the global crisis humankind is facing at the beginning of the third millennium and again employs techniques of postdramatic theater.<sup>3</sup>

## II. OKADA TOSHIKI – THE ARTIST AND HIS WORK

Okada Toshiki, playwright, director and – more recently – novelist<sup>4</sup>, was born in Yokohama in 1973, and became interested in theater during his university years when he started his career as an autodidact.<sup>5</sup> In 1997 he founded his troupe *chelfitsch*. Japanese critics, as well as Okada himself,<sup>6</sup> acknowledge the strong influence of Hirata Oriza's theater, which became known for employing contemporary colloquial language in the 1990s.<sup>7</sup> Now he is a central figure in contemporary Japanese theater and has a strong influence on the younger generation of theater people. While many young people started their career in his troupe *Seinendan*, Okada became familiar with Hirata's theater in a workshop. Meanwhile, Okada is – together with Miura Daisuke<sup>8</sup> – considered as an important playwright of the post-Hirata generation.

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<sup>3</sup> The term describes forms of avant-garde theater since the 1970s that no longer strive to remain true to the text. Thus, other means of expression like dance, lighting or music gain in importance (see Lehmann 1999: 22–3).

<sup>4</sup> His collection of stories, published under the title *Watashitachi ni yurusareta tokubetsu na jikan no owari* (*The end of the special time that we were entitled to*, 2007) was awarded the Ōe Kenzaburō Prize for literature in 2008.

<sup>5</sup> Okada studied business administration at Keiō University (Tōkyō). Because of his interest in film he became a member of a students' theater group, where he did the lighting. For further detail see an interview of the Performing Arts Network (Okada and Okano 2005).

<sup>6</sup> See Nakanishi 2006 or Okada and Okano 2005.

<sup>7</sup> Hirata Oriza was born in Tōkyō in 1962. In 1983 he founded his troupe *Seinendan* ('Group of young people'; for further information see <http://www.seinendan.org>). Besides his activities as a playwright and director he is the manager of Komaba Agora Theatre in Tōkyō and also teaches at the center for communication design at Ōsaka University. In *Gendai kogo engeki no tame ni* (*For a Contemporary Theater in Colloquial Language*, 1995) Hirata sets the theory and background for his theater. For an easily accessible introduction see his interview with Senda Akihiko (Hirata and Senda 2007).

<sup>8</sup> On Miura Daisuke see the Performing Arts Network or Nakanishi 2006.

Staging moments of everyday life in colloquial Japanese constitutes an obvious parallel between the plays of Okada Toshiki and Hirata Oriza. While Hirata aims at freeing language on stage from its artificiality inherited from Western theater, Okada goes one step further: he employs a kind of 'super-real' Japanese, which consists of staccato sentences and numerous interjections, as if directly taken from everyday conversations of contemporary urban youth.<sup>9</sup> In addition, Okada is broadening Hirata's concept by developing a unique body language. Analogue to his use of Japanese, Okada employs gestures and movements taken from everyday life and creates his own choreography by repeating and carrying them to excess. The actors' movements do not simply illustrate their speech but direct the focus of the play from the spoken text to other aspects of representation.<sup>10</sup> Although employing movement patterns from everyday routine or combining contemporary theater with elements of dance cannot be perceived as 'new' anymore, the dance scholar Mutō Daisuke argues that, 'the movement of ordinary bodies reaches a point of culmination' in the productions of *chelfitsch*.<sup>11</sup> Thus, it comes to no surprise that Okada's theater first gained interest in the dance scene. One reason might be his activities at ST Spot Yokohama – a center for contemporary dance – during his early career. At the same time, his closeness to the world of dance and his cooperation with some of its representatives might have added to the development of the peculiar movement style of Okada's theater.<sup>12</sup>

Since receiving the renowned Kishida Kunio Drama Award for *Five Days in March* in 2005, Okada progressively gained popularity in Japan and, following his invitation to the Belgian Kunsten Festival des Arts

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<sup>9</sup> Okada first used this kind of language for the play *Karera no kibō ni mihare* (*Be Surprised with Their Hopes*, 2001) (Okada and Soma 2010).

<sup>10</sup> Okada 2005b.

<sup>11</sup> Mutō 2009: 263 (German original; translation by the author). Mutō (ibid.) names the following persons as Japanese trendsetters for dance choreographies based on every day movements: Ide Shigehiro (composer, dancer and choreographer born in 1972; founder and leader of the dance troupe IDEVIAN Crew), Yamada Un (composer, dancer and choreographer born in 1969, who founded and leads the dance troupe Co. YAMADA Un) and Yanaihara Mikuni (who is the first dancer and choreographer of the artist collective Nibroll). The Performing Arts Network provides further information as well as an interview with Ide Shigehiro (Ide and Ishii 2006).

<sup>12</sup> This assumption is shared by Mutō Daisuke (Mutō 2009: 264). For example, Okada was cooperating with the dancer and choreographer Tezuka Natsuko (Okada and Okano 2005: 6) or the female duo *Hōhō Dō* (Mutō 2009: 264). On Tezuka Natsuko see the Performing Arts Network.

(KFDA)<sup>13</sup> in 2007 to perform the same play, his overseas activities significantly increased.<sup>14</sup> In the following year, the KFDA, the Wiener Festwochen and the Festival D'Automne in Paris commissioned Okada to write a new play<sup>15</sup> for the festivals. In 2006, he directed his play *Enjoy*<sup>16</sup> – staging the life of young people in an Internet café – at the New National Theatre (*Shin kokuritsu gekijō*) in Tōkyō. More than the innovative content of the play, it is remarkable that 'he brought a radically new style of theatre'<sup>17</sup> – as Uchino Tadashi, a theater critic and scholar, describes Okada's productions – to a renowned place like the New National Theatre. In 2008, Okada directed Abe Kōbō's *Tomodachi* (*Friends*, 1967) in a production of the Setagaya Public Theatre (Tōkyō). In his yearly review on contemporary theater in Japan, Uchino Tadashi writes about this event:

Japanese mainstream theatre industry has not necessarily recognized him as important yet but [...] his appearance at the Setagaya Public may lead him to a wider acceptance and appreciation.<sup>18</sup>

Unfortunately, Okada was refraining from staging this classic play of modern Japanese theater in his characteristic style. After staging Dea Lohers *Tattoo* (*Tätowierungen*, 1992), his second production at the New National Theatre in 2009, Okada signaled his intention to turn away from cooperation with big public theater institutions. In a short essay published in the theater journal *Higeki kigeki* (*Tragedy and Comedy*), Okada explained that his own troupe *chelfitsch* provided him with better working conditions to realize experiments with new modes of expression on stage.<sup>19</sup>

### III. HOT PEPPER, AIR CONDITIONER, AND THE FAREWELL SPEECH

Focusing on two recent plays, I will now analyze Okada's way of dealing with issues of individual and global crisis in contemporary Japanese

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<sup>13</sup> The Kunsten Festival des Arts is a festival for contemporary arts and is noted for its avant-garde theater program as well. Beginning in 1994 it takes place in Brussels in May every year.

<sup>14</sup> Okada and Soma 2010.

<sup>15</sup> *Freetime* (*Furitaimu*) was published in the journal *Shinchō* in the year of its debut performance (Okada 2008). For a recording on DVD see *chelfitsch* / Okada 2008.

<sup>16</sup> See Uchino 2007: 69. The text is published in Okada 2010c.

<sup>17</sup> Uchino 2007: 69.

<sup>18</sup> Uchino 2009: 72.

<sup>19</sup> Okada 2010a: 24.

society and address the question of how and to what extent he expresses social criticism on stage.

*Hot Pepper, Air Conditioner, and the Farewell Speech* (*Hotto peppā, kūrā, soshite owakare no aisatsu*, 2009) premiered in October 2009 at Hebbel Theater Berlin and is a revised version of the dance piece *Air Conditioner* (*Kūlā*, 2004).<sup>20</sup> The play addresses processes of precarization of contemporary working conditions and is divided into three scenes of 20–30 minutes each that are mirrored by the tripartite title. *Hot Pepper*, the first scene, shows a group of three nameless young office workers with limited contracts who are planning a farewell dinner for their workmate Erika. One of the characters is painstakingly searching for restaurants in *Hot Pepper*, the coupon journal that gives the episode its name. His behavior illustrates the absurdity of focusing on a question as banal as food in a situation such as theirs. The food question is the dominant issue that is addressed in form of soliloquies: Shall we have noodles, Chinese food, or something different this time? In contrast, the actual problem – the permanent threat of unemployment – is mentioned only in passing. The absurdity of the scene is emphasized by the redundancy of the characters' speeches. Their words seem to be repeated in endless loops. The scene is further loaded with atmosphere by music of John Cage. Okada's characters have given in to the hopelessness of their situation and do not take any action for improvement. Instead, in an attempt to keep up the illusion of 'normalcy' in times of ongoing crisis, they systematically repress their cheerless reality. *Hot Pepper* ends with black humor, when the characters, one after another, announce their culinary favorites to provide some help for organizing their own farewell dinner.

The second scene, *Air Conditioner*, is a kind of interlude. Two permanently employed office workers, a nameless man and a woman, appear on stage. The man announces the performance of the scene, introduces the woman as Makiko and assumes his role. While he is complaining about common TV shows and the topics they cover, Makiko talks about being bothered by the low temperatures caused by the air-conditioner in her office. They completely fail to effectively communicate with each other. Instead, similarly to *Hot Pepper*, the speech acts are delivered in monologues that are repeated in endless loops. Both characters almost exclusively react with interjections (*aizuchi*) that briefly affirm the banal statements of the other without responding or adding new aspects to the

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<sup>20</sup> The Japanese text, *Hotto peppā, kūrā, soshite owakare no aisatsu*, is published in Okada 2010b. For a DVD-recording of *Kūlā* see chelfitsch / Okada 2007. I would like to thank Hebbel Theater Berlin for providing me with DVD material of the rehearsals to the 2009 performance for private use (chelfitsch / Okada 2009).

argument. Thus, they do not succeed in approaching each other and the few clumsy attempts expressed by gestures, such as a short moment of body contact or the hesitant waving of a hand, are doomed to fail as well. The dynamic and dance-like character of *Air Conditioner* becomes even more apparent when compared to the other two scenes of the play. Songs of the Indie bands Tortoise and Stereolab add to the emerging sense of rhythm in language and movement, which even accelerates to the end of the scene. Although Okada's play shows permanently employed office workers and people with limited contracts in two succeeding scenes, there is no comparison of one group with the other and he does not draw a positive image of the advantages of life-long employment. The play, rather, shows that young people are incapable to communicate with each other independent to their social surroundings. The movements of their bodies reveal their neurotic state of mind. Permanently and precariously employed office workers are not presented as competitors but as similarly aggrieved by the impact of the inhuman working and living conditions in contemporary Japanese society.

The third scene, *The Farewell Speech*, shows Erika's last day before losing her job, which is euphemistically referred to as *sotsugyō* (graduation). Thus, the first and the last scene directly relate to each other and effectively 'frame' the play. Erika starts her farewell speech as expected: she politely thanks her workmates for the pleasant atmosphere at work and talks gratefully about the interesting job she had been doing during the last two years. Her talk finishes in a similarly thankful mood. However, in the central part, Erika gives a detailed description of her encounter with a dying cicada that morning. Her staccato movements seem to mirror the agony of the animal. The absurdity of this scene is stressed by language and movement patterns characteristic of Okada's theater. At the same time, the image of a cicada chirping in late summer when it is doomed to die soon mirrors Erika's situation. Her helpless fidgeting that accompanies her words seems like a brief outbreak of her carefully concealed emotions. Her endeavor to stick to her daily routine even on her last day on the job has something therapeutic. Songs of John Coltrane add to the dramatic effect of the scene, which ends with the lapidary remark of one of Erika's workmates: they all will follow in her footsteps soon.

*Hot Pepper, Air Conditioner, and the Farewell Speech* is a dynamic mix of dance and theater. Critics in Berlin enthusiastically welcomed the play as a 'great choreography.'<sup>21</sup> The play does not address the problem of precarious employment conditions directly, but diverts the attention of spectators from its focal point until it finally becomes apparent as a blank. The

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<sup>21</sup> Wildermann 2009. See also Meierhenrich 2009.



play shows people who have surrendered to the inevitable, instead of taking action against what troubles them. In their desperation, they adopt an absurd carefree attitude, and occupy themselves with keeping up the routines of everyday life. At the same time, their incapability to communicate prevents Okada's characters from showing solidarity. Yet their bodies reveal what their words are hiding: their movements and gestures come across as a helpless flounder that embodies the desperation and hopelessness of the characters. Okada's production demonstrates the inhumanity of late capitalist society that can be observed outside Japan as well.

#### IV. FIVE DAYS IN MARCH

According to Uchino Tadashi, *Five Days in March* (*Sangatsu no itsukakan*) is the most important theater production of the year 2004.<sup>22</sup> Winning the renowned Kishida Kunio Drama Award, *Five Days in March* marks a turning point in the career of Okada Toshiki and his troupe *chelfitsch*. By March 2010, the play had been performed approximately eighty times in Japan and abroad,<sup>23</sup> for instance at the Berlin Hebbel Theater in December 2008. *Five Days in March* shows a couple of young people and their lives in Shibuya, a fashionable district in the center of Tōkyō, during the outbreak of the Iraq war in March 2003. The story focuses on Yukki and Minobe, who spend five days together in a love hotel. Thus, the title refers to the private affair and the global event as well. Both protagonists belong to the so-called *freeter*, young people aged between fifteen and thirty-four years of age who work only temporary or part-time jobs.<sup>24</sup> As in *Five Days in March*, *freeter* often appear in Okada's plays even though their precarious working conditions are not central to all of these plays. Okada seems to point to the fact that, in recent years, working on fixed-term contracts has become quite common among young people. Yukki and Minobe, the *freeter* in *Five Days in*

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<sup>22</sup> Uchino 2005: 75. The libretto is printed in Okada 2005a. For a recording on DVD see *chelfitsch* / Okada 2006.

<sup>23</sup> Okada and Soma 2010.

<sup>24</sup> Sōmuchō tōkeikyoku 1992. The term combines the English word free with 'Arbeiter,' the German word for worker. *Freeter* first emerged during the years of rapid economic growth in the late 1980s. Many of them consciously choose this way of life. Today about 50% strive in vain for permanent employment (Kosugi 2002 has the details). For a comparison of the contemporary situation of *freeter* in Japan with that of German youth at the beginning of their working life see Hommerich 2009.

*March*, live on a small income and thus can only afford a short stay in a love hotel in Shibuya. The first three days they are absorbed in their sexual relationship without having any contact with the outside world. It is not until they leave the hotel to buy condoms that they come across an anti-war-demonstration and realize the global political event that has taken place.

Okada confronts this simple story with a complex narrative structure: What happens to Minobe and Yukki is presented several times from the various perspectives of other people the two come across or interact with during these five days. Besides Minobe and Yukki, the following characters appear: Minobe's friend Azuma – with whom he spends the evening when he first meets Yukki – and Miffy, who has a date with Azuma at the same spot where the two guys meet. In addition, two participants of the anti-war-demonstration Minobe and Yukki come across when leaving the hotel appear on stage. The actors change between the roles of narrator, to that of one of the characters retelling the events from her or his perspective, to finally re-acting them. They switch between roles without prior notice or even shifting their position on stage. The fact that the same character is represented by various actors, who also act as different characters the next time they appear on stage, adds to the complexity of the performance. The distinction between narration and display, presentation and representation becomes blurred. Besides this, actors also step out of the character to give notice of the beginning break or to announce the presentation of a certain event in the next scene. To a considerably lesser degree, Okada employs a similar style of representation in *Hot Pepper*, *Air Conditioner*, and *the Farewell Speech*. However, in *Five Days in March* he systematically explores a style of acting that examines the dialectics of living by showing the events on stage from various perspectives. In his attempt to break the illusion of theater, Okada's work is reminiscent of Bertolt Brecht.<sup>25</sup>

In terms of equipment, Okada employs minimal theater, refraining from using any props or stage design. From time to time, fields of color are projected on the background of the stage. In contrast to *Hot Pepper*, *Air Conditioner*, and *the Farewell Speech*, in *Five days in March* music does not play a crucial role. In both plays, Okada uses the common language and movement patterns of urban youth, but in *Five days in March* they do not

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<sup>25</sup> When indicating the influence of Brecht's writings on his own theater Okada refers to his *Kann die heutige Welt durch Theater wiedergegeben werden? (Can the world of today be represented on a stage? Brecht 1993 [1955/56])*. In this essay Brecht argues that the world can only be represented on stage if it is regarded as transformable (Okada and Okano 2005: 2).

develop the rhythmical dance-like dynamic observed in the play previously analyzed.

Although the outbreak of the Iraq war is mentioned in *Five Days in March* in almost all of the ten scenes, it is never addressed directly or even criticized. Minobe, for instance, is fascinated by the idea that his love affair is chronologically connected to a global event. For Yukki, Tōkyō gains a new atmosphere by the anti-war-demonstration. The Shibuya, once familiar to her, now looks like a city in a foreign country and she feels like a visiting tourist. Even the two participants in the anti-war demonstration who appear on stage do not seem politically involved. Not only do they walk at the very end of the protest march but their conversation exclusively deals with questions of everyday-life. However, Okada does not blame them for their lack of interest. He only shows their distance to the global events. Nevertheless, *Five Days in March* can be perceived as an anti-war play and Okada argues:

I was thinking that I wanted to say something about war, for example I feel that committing ourselves to anti-war movements doesn't seem to fit us. Still we do have some feelings. We have this attitude that involves concern with some degree of distance, but it is not that we are not concerned. That is the idea I wanted to show, involving that distance. Some people see this as a work showing young people who have no concern at all about the war and are only interested in sex, but I personally think of that as a firm anti-war play.<sup>26</sup>

Similar to Okada's handling of the problem of precarious working conditions in *Hot Pepper*, *Air Conditioner*, *And the Farewell Speech*, in *Five Days in March* the topic of the Iraq war becomes apparent as an event that is left out of the narrative, thus its absence becomes blatantly obvious to everyone. In both plays, Okada addresses up-to-date problems without directly criticizing them or even pointing out possible solutions. According to Uchino Tadashi, *Five Days in March* is the only Japanese play that successfully brings the global situation of the 'normalcy' of war, on stage:

In other words, Okada is not only interested in formal experiment, but in mapping what kind of social, psychological and physical relationship 'we' are living and are forced to be living, at the time of world crisis, using a simple story and a complex narrative structure.

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<sup>26</sup> Okada and Okano 2005.

The work was impressive in its rigorous measuring of the distance between Japan as closure and the world.<sup>27</sup>

## V. CONCLUSION

The lethargy and hopelessness of young urban youth, as well as the inhumanity of Japanese society, are frequent topics of Okada's theater. While *Hot Pepper, Air Conditioner, and the Farewell Speech* focuses on precarious working conditions, *Five Days in March* skillfully combines the depiction of private and global crises. The first stimulates the interest of audience and critics with a dance-like dynamic, while the second fascinates with a complex narrative structure. Although Okada develops his social criticism in a specifically Japanese context, he raises common issues of current globalization trends that are comprehensible outside Japan as his growing international success demonstrates. The widening social gap is also the central topic of *Who Knows We Are Not Injured like the Others? (Watashitachi wa mukizu na betsujin de aru no ka?)*,<sup>28</sup> the play which followed *Hot Pepper, Air Conditioner, and the Farewell Speech* in 2010. This time, Okada focuses on the problem from the opposite direction: the seeming 'winners' of recent societal developments. Compared to the plays analyzed here, the plot is reduced even further. Okada presents an exceedingly minimal and quiet theater. His ongoing experiments with the modes of expression, characteristic of his theater, makes one wonder what the future will bring from Okada Toshiki.

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<sup>27</sup> Uchino 2005: 75–6.

<sup>28</sup> This coproduction with Aichi Triennale was also shown at Hebbel Theater Berlin in October 2010. The title, *We Are the Undamaged Others*, departed from the original. Okada and Soma 2010 give further detail on the play. For an interview in the context of the performance in Berlin see Okada and Laudenschach 2010.

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# DEFORMATION AND DESTRUCTION

## MATSUO SUZUKI'S END OF THE WORLD

*Eike GROSSMANN*

### I. INTRODUCTION

In 2002, probably still deeply mindful of the September 11 attacks, the theater researcher and critic Uchino Tadashi claims that contemporary Japanese theater has lost its actuality and social meaning. For him this loss is strongly connected to the detachment of culture and theater from society during the post-war economic miracle. Uchino states that most productions create a self-centered 'Japanese world' by thinking and acting exclusively local. He claims that the trend to concentrate solely on so-called Japanese topics, which he recognizes in the all-embracing label 'J,' such as in *J-bungaku* (Japanese literature), J-pop (Japanese pop music), and now in *J-engeki* (Japanese theater), is especially noticeable since the 1980s.<sup>1</sup>

Uchino's pessimistic view of theater is stressed even stronger, when he connects a second meaning to the 'nationalistic J.' Assuming that, in an era of rapid and then stagnating economic growth an audience only interested in entertainment emerged, he argues that contemporary theater experienced a strong tendency of 'junk-ification.'<sup>2</sup> Thus the 'J' in J-theater can be also interpreted as junk and describes a theater that is less defined by its contents but rather by its mostly unconventional performance styles. Vulgar farces, absurd nonsense performed in rapid speed remind more of Japanese stand-up comedians than of so-called serious theater.<sup>3</sup>

Since the turn of the century, J-theater, be it in its meaning of Japanese or junk theater, has turned into a label connected to various contemporary theater troupes. Sakate Yōji's (\*1962) and Noda Hideki's (\*1955) productions take up topics such as worldwide political and social events and thus seem to fit in the context of what Uchino prefers to call theatrical and global contemporaneity or just 'think local act global'-troupes.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Uchino 2002: 80–1.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.: 81.

<sup>3</sup> Nishidō 2006: 492–3.

<sup>4</sup> Uchino 2002: 81.



Other troupes such as Kerarino Sandorowitchi (\*1963) and his company *Nairon 100°C*, Miura Daisuke (\*1975) with *Potsudōru*, or Okada Toshiki (\*1973) with *chelfitsch*, are considered as J(unk)-theater in its purest form.<sup>5</sup>

Nevertheless, as Barbara Geilhorn shows in her paper on Okada Toshiki's productions, the above-outlined distinction between Japanese and junk, social impact and mere entertainment is too strict to actually grasp the critical implications of contemporary theatrical productions. In my opinion the positive international reception of Okada's work is no exception to the Japanese theater scene. There are other playwrights and troupes whose performances own a distinctive contemporaneity that can reach beyond a mere Japanese audience even though the performance style might aim at an audience familiar with Japanese language, culture and performance traditions.

The productions of Matsuo Suzuki (\*1962) and his theater company *Otona keikaku* (Grown-up plan), for example, belong to the high-speed, nonsensical-comedic category of work, but the contents of his plays mostly deal with topics that are of concern in many industrial societies. These include topics such as discrimination, gender equality, unemployment and, especially relevant to Japan, the theme of natural and man-made disasters. In an attempt to prove that Uchino's harsh critique should be at least softened, I will show how Matsuo and his troupe put these concrete events and critical topics on stage. For this I choose *Erosu no hate* (The End of Eros, 2001). Although performed in 2001 the play nurtures an especially distinctive feeling of actuality and anxiety after the triple catastrophe – earthquake, tsunami, and nuclear disaster – that hit northeastern Japan on 3 March 2011.

## II. MATSUO SUZUKI AND OTONA KEIKAKU – A SHORT INTRODUCTION

Matsuo Suzuki and the work of *Otona keikaku* are often positioned between Okada Toshiki's so-called real stagings of omission and Sakate Yōji's socially critical productions. Without exaggeration it can be said that Matsuo's productions are – more than others – located in the center of a society shaped by a consumer culture. His unpredictable and seemingly unsubstantial performances are considered as symptomatic for an indecisive, wavering consumer society. As the theater researcher

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<sup>5</sup> For a 'mapping' of troupes belonging to J-theater and their different styles and topics see Uchino 2005.

and critic Nishidō Kōjin claims, 'in Matsuo's productions political and critical messages turn into meaningless farces.'<sup>6</sup>

Matsuo defends this stance when he declares that every expression, no matter how radical it might be, disappears ineffectively and without a trace when confronted with an audience that only longs for pure entertainment.<sup>7</sup> But with his absurd and satiric performances, Matsuo, although being described as apolitical and noncritical, manages almost unrecognizable but well directed criticisms of the problems and worries of society. His plays deal with excessive discrimination and violence in their various social manifestations. Matsuo uncompromisingly brings social taboos or, as Nishidō claims, the 'suppressed and depressing reality of life'<sup>8</sup> to the theater stage. Nevertheless, the theater critic Senda Akihiko argues that although the characters in Matsuo's productions are described in a realistic way filled with cold and calm humor, there is always a certain lyricism in the description of their hopelessness. A fact that together with Matsuo's 'chaotic energy' leads Senda to a comparison with Noda Hideki, claiming that both artists are the exceptional talents of their generation.<sup>9</sup>

Matsuo does not restrict himself to the theater stage. Considering his omnipresence in Japanese media since the 1990s he appears as a prolific all-rounder, who turns everything and every place into his stage.<sup>10</sup> Since 1988 Matsuo is, together with *Otona keikaku*, considerably successful. He received recognition as an actor, writer, manga illustrator, and film director. His production *Fankī* (Funky, 1996), for example, was given the famous Kishida Kunio Drama Award. His movie *Koi no mon* (Otakus in Love) made it on the selection list of the Venice Film Festival in 2004, the movie *Tōkyō tawā – okan to boku to, tokidoki, oton* (Tōkyō Tower – mom, myself, and sometimes dad, 2007) for which Matsuo was screenwriter, won the Japanese Academy Award in the category 'Screenplay of the year.' His novel *Kuwaitto rūmu ni yōkoso* (Welcome to the Quiet Room, 2005) was on the short list of the renown Akutagawa Literary Award in 2006 and in 2007 adapted into a movie. His recent novel entitled *Rōjin tobaku* (Old Men's Gambling, 2010) was also nominated for the Akutagawa Award and a manga version by Sugimura Shin'ichi was just published in 2011–2012.

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<sup>6</sup> Nishidō 2006: 493. Unless otherwise specified, translations of Japanese texts are by the author.

<sup>7</sup> Kanisawa 2004: 102.

<sup>8</sup> Nishidō 2006: 492.

<sup>9</sup> Senda 2003: 80–1.

<sup>10</sup> Nishidō 2006: 493.

The return of a celebrity cult around single theater actors, producers or writers, which was last observed during the 1960s, is also regarded as an important characteristic of J-theater.<sup>11</sup> Although performances of Sakate and Noda do reach a large audience, there is no distinctive fixation of the media on single members of their companies. *Otona keikaku* on the other hand is far more than a theater company and can be simultaneously considered an artist agency. The members of *Otona keikaku* are not only active in productions of Matsuo Suzuki but also individually appear on television or in movies. Thus, the star-studded composition of the company is impressive. Next to Matsuo Suzuki there is for example Kudō Kankurō (\*1970), actor and director, who wrote the screenplay and directed Kaneshiro Kazuki's *Go* (2001), and wrote the screenplay to Murakami Ryū's *69* (2004), both internationally acclaimed movies. The charismatic actor Abe Sadao (\*1970), whose movie *Nakumon ka* (No more cry, 2009), which screenplay was also written by Kudō, even played in movie theaters in Germany the same year and is regularly cast in television dramas also belongs to *Otona keikaku*.

### III. THE PROTAGONISTS OF MATSUO'S PRODUCTIONS

Many of Matsuo's productions have generated public controversy. Matsuo, who is also described as the most aggressive dramatist of the 1990s, often creates a theater world that aims to tantalize the audience with scenes of nightmarish reality, the effect of which is softened by comically weak protagonists.<sup>12</sup> Being located between manga and anime his absurd plays develop into serious tragedies enriched with scariness infused with black humor. At the end the audience is left with a 'reset' at best, mostly it is just 'game over.' In connecting several plots and time-lines as well as in using science fiction elements, Matsuo's plays sometimes seem like the surreal productions of *Angura* theater in the 1960s, especially those of Kara Jūrō (\*1940). In this sense it seems conveniently logical that Matsuo himself points out the influence of Kurt Vonnegut's black comedies and satires on his own work.<sup>13</sup>

His productions are displaying characters that are unreasonably, wretched and stupidly running towards catastrophe. Matsuo comments that

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Matsuoka 2003: 24.

<sup>13</sup> Matsuo and Sandorowitchi 2003: 43.

in order to be mentally healthy it is important to perceive the reality of the world. As soon as one decides to do so darkness naturally appears; a darkness, which one can and should not avoid.<sup>14</sup>

Thus, reality is staged in unmitigated cruelty and the morality of the audience is attacked. Or as the writer and director Takeuchi Jūichirō states, the exaggeration of Matsuo's staging takes theater to the point, where it stops being theater. The endless repetition and meaninglessness of movements, actions and speech, while being polemical, negative, judgmental, and discriminative, foster a feeling of shame and disgust in the audience.<sup>15</sup> The protagonists in *Erosu no hate*, for example, find themselves in a primitive state of desire. They are possessed by a consuming frenzy and sudden uncontrolled outbursts of violence. In the play every taboo is broken and the audience is confronted with incest, drug addiction, suicide, murder, cannibalism, self-harm, in short with every facet of self-destruction. The situation of all protagonists seems desperately hopeless and there is no salvation. The last resort for the audience, when facing these tragic facts is the escape into thunderous laughter, which resembles a means to distract others and oneself from the feeling of helplessness.<sup>16</sup>

#### IV. THE END OF EROS OR THE END OF THE WORLD?

Matsuo describes *Erosu no hate* as a story closer to being a novel than a play and considers it as an aesthetic experiment in 'real-time science fiction.'<sup>17</sup> The play is filled with an unsettling darkness and describes a degenerated society, which is not able to observe reality any more. The momentary present and the satisfaction of one's own needs are seen as the only truth, with self-destruction as the actual aim of life. This anxiety is more visible in the print version of the play rather than in the actual production, where the fast and fragmented dramaturgy makes it almost impossible for the audience to realize the real action on stage. The absurdity of wordplays supports the entertaining atmosphere just enough to let the audience have a glimpse of the tragedy.

The main protagonist Saigo ('The last,' played by Abe Sadao) was, as his name already implies, supposed to be the last of his kind. Born in 1999

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<sup>14</sup> Kanisawa 2004: 102.

<sup>15</sup> Takeuchi 2003: 22–3.

<sup>16</sup> Uchino 2004: 79; Kanisawa 2004: 98–100.

<sup>17</sup> Matsuo and Sandorowitchi 2003: 43.

in a whirlpool of a brothel, Saigo is left behind by his disappointed mother Natsuko, a believer in Nostradamus, who expected the apocalypse at the turn of the century. Now in 2019 he prepares for a job interview with his best friend Oyamada-kun (played by Kudō Kankurō). At first sight the two are seemingly normal adolescents, although they appear slightly eccentric and hyperactive. But their appearances are deceiving and the degenerated society in 2019 rapidly approaches the end of the world.

Sexual intercourse for reproduction has become a relic of the twentieth century and children are exclusively created in vitro. A group of women decides to fight this new regime and forms a terrorist-like group called *supermā doraggon* (sperm dragon) raping men to sell their semen on the black market. Besides HIV a new aggressive and generally terminal sexual disease called *purada* (Prada) is taking the lives of thousands of people. An anesthetic drug that not only numbs the body but also gives a rush of happiness and highness when pain is inflicted is also popular especially in S&M practices, thus, causing innumerable deaths as well. Companies recruit new employees using disreputable interview techniques and so-called *sararīman* (white-collar workers) in their Armani suits arrogantly present themselves as the essence of Japanese society, considering other people as randomly replaceable junk. The chances for a woman in her thirties to be chosen by an employer are less than ten percent, and – if a graduate from a public university – close to zero. People state that possessing a higher IQ lessens one's value for society. To become a successful member of society the pressure of blending in forces people to attend character-regulating seminars (*jinkaku kaizō seminā*). These draw their potential customers from marginal groups and promise to enable their participants to 'go mainstream and to escape discrimination,' even advertising that it is possible to 'stop being homosexual' and become a 'normal *sararīman*.' Finally, we meet Saigo in his apartment, which has a 'marvelous panorama view' on Tōkyō's first nuclear power plant.<sup>18</sup>

This is the disastrous world of Saigo and his friend Oyamada who are surrounded almost exclusively by disenchanting and damaged people. Without exaggeration it is possible to describe their world as a human pandemonium. Saigo is obsessed with his mother and a need to claim motherly substitutes. In the process of his birth-mother abandoning him, he gained three new mothers. His 'first mother' (*ichibanme no haha*) is Mineko, at the same time biological mother of Oyamada. Heavily traumatized by giving birth to Oyamada she not only realizes that she is lesbian

<sup>18</sup> Matsuo 2001: 85; 113–22.

at the moment he is born but also decides on a gender reassignment. In 2019 she is still struggling with her use of male language and constantly lives with the feeling of not being a 'real man.' Thus in order to support her manly feelings she wants to be called 'tōchan' (dad) from now on.<sup>19</sup>

Saigo's 'second mother' (*nibanme no haha*), Haru, is a prostitute addicted to piercings and the 'third mother' (*sanbanme no haha*), Azami, a prostitute addicted to tattoos, which are already covering her face completely. Both of them are caricaturing an obsession with beauty and beauty operations. Haru, the pierced one, is a follower of a new trend of amputating body parts, and she begins with her fingers. Azami, the tattooed one, is a follower of the contrary trend of adding body parts. Naturally both of them are forming a symbiotic team with Haru amputating her body parts and Azami transplanting them onto her body. However, they are facing the problem of the newly transplanted body parts that do not regain their function, which fosters their urge to become one person, a new synthesis of their respective body parts. Thus the three mother's favorite phrase is: a mother that decreases, a mother that increases, and a mother that turns into a father,<sup>20</sup> leaving Saigo without a mother again.

The description of the three women generates an atmosphere of random replacement of human bodies and body parts, which finally results in the creation of a man-machine. One can say that in *Erosu no hate* bodies are objects of social disciplining, which leads to a disappearance and rediscovery of the body.<sup>21</sup> At first, the attempt to alter the body and even merge bodies in order to create a new society appears successful. Naturally artificial bodies present an imagined state of perfection and wholeness. Haru and Azami, who both fall in love with Semimaru, a man bound to a wheelchair, decide that the only way to save their friendship is the fact that not only their minds, but also their bodies become one. Connecting their bodies for a short period and turning into Hazami (Ha[ru]-[A]zami) triggers a feeling of contentment with their new self after wandering around aimlessly for so long.<sup>22</sup> However, this peaceful state does not last long and soon it becomes obvious that this new society of symbiotic cyborgs dismantles the energy of humans and forces the individual to disappear.<sup>23</sup>

The fractionized and stitched together cyborg bodies of Haru and Azami thus symbolize a dysfunctional and disrupted society. Their body

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid.: 87–8.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.: 88–9.

<sup>21</sup> Bannasch and Butzer 2007: 1–2.

<sup>22</sup> Matsuo 2001: 128–30.

<sup>23</sup> Compare Haraway 1991: 150.

fragments represent parts of the community/society which torn apart are no longer fully functional.<sup>24</sup> The body of the individual turns into a commodified object and both women end up as a hybrid monstrous unity. It is noteworthy that their new name Hazami already implies the failure of the experiment since *hazami* in Japanese actually means scissors, the opposite of what the stitched together Haru and Azumi now represent. Thus Hazami's body emerges from a successive, experimental, but also planned ritual self-destruction. 'She' celebrates the artistic fragmentation like a spectacle that aims at the creation of a 'new' body. Nevertheless, the experiment is doomed and Hazami finally realizes the emptiness and meaninglessness of her physical and mental symbiosis. With one body but two heads the mouths are only able to speak in a tinny duet. Shortly before the world explodes Hazami begs Oyamada to cut her in two with a chainsaw.<sup>25</sup>

The realization that cyborg-humans are not able to gain happiness seems to show only one solution, which is a complete refusal of society. Kadokawa, another friend of Saigo, for example, decides that the last consequence is the amputation of his own genitals. This act triggers a cult declaring that genitals are religious relics, since Kadokawa is known as the genius of his times, who invented the aforementioned anesthetic used in S&M practices. It is Saigo, who amputates Kadokawa's genitals with a cutter knife and thus comes into the possession of the relic.<sup>26</sup> The amputation of Kadokawa's genitals and then storing them in a tight-fitting glass bottle is a reminder of relic cults in which body fragments are of highest sacred meaning and can be considered as what Hartmut Böhme calls 'profane form of idolatry.'<sup>27</sup> However in *Erosu no hate* the cult is driven even further, and Saigo decides to take the last step of disembowelment. He exchanges his genitals with Kadokawa's, believing that the two of them reached a new stage of mutual understanding with their body parts amputated to each other.<sup>28</sup>

Saigo now appears in what he considers to be a perfected form and postulates lifelong abstinence. Women in comparison replace their genitals with artificial plugs, which can be transplanted anywhere onto the body. This still enables sexual intercourse but at the same time works as a natural contraceptive and prevents a continuity of humankind. In the end each individual refuses to participate in society and even those who are

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<sup>24</sup> Opel 2001: 391.

<sup>25</sup> Matsuo 2001: 131.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.: 101–2.

<sup>27</sup> Böhme 2001: 229.

<sup>28</sup> Matsuo 2001: 101–2.

upgraded with technical organs become machines that contradict the survival of the human kind and eventually destroy the world.

The plug of Saigo's biological mother Natsuko, whom he falls in love with, is filled with nitroglycerin, which is supposed to explode at the moment of her first and only orgasm – her final climax. This image is connected to the nuclear plant in Tōkyō, as it turns out that Kadokawa, Saigo, Oyamada, and Natsuko are part of a conspiracy to destroy the world by causing a nuclear catastrophe. After the kidnapping of Semimaru, the police expect a terrorist attack, especially when they see Oyamada, who is infected with *purada*, with a chainsaw on the roof of the building trying to cut apart Hazami. While everyone is distracted Saigo, Oyamada's mother Mineko, and her girlfriend Jun ride on bicycles fixed on a stand next to Tōkyō's nuclear plant, creating their very own electrical power. The energy the bicycles create is transferred directly to the plug of Saigo's mother, who has boarded a plane that will pass by the plant. Shortly after her exclamation: 'Now it will begin, from here everything will begin,' the plane explodes and crashes into the nuclear plant leading to Tōkyō exploding. The final scene shows the survivors of the nuclear conflation: bound together in incestuous love, we see the boy Imao and the girl Mune, the disturbed and neglected children of the symbiotic Hazami. They are her children who were conceived when she was raped by an uncountable number of men.<sup>29</sup>

## V. CONCLUSION

Matsuo Suzuki's *Erosu no hate* displays a society at the edge of its existence. Every aspect of human life is brutalized and infiltrated by darkness and meaninglessness. Every person in the play experiences the sarcasm of contemporary society, which is obsessed with outer appearances and success. Even those who display themselves as the core of society, the *sararīmen* who only believe in tomorrow, finally realize their replaceability.

Naturally the body is attached with a central meaning in the play. To describe *Erosu no hate* one can thus rely on Helga Finter, who claims that the stage becomes a cult place for bodies, where the complexity of social body and identity concepts is scenically presented.<sup>30</sup> The body turns into a caricature and the obsession with beauty and bodily health is exposed. Thus the body loses its individuality and turns into a commodity, a

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid.: 128–30; 139–40.

<sup>30</sup> Finter 1996: 15.



sexual object, a birthing or reproduction machine.<sup>31</sup> However, the auto aggressive, masochistic behavior destroys and demystifies all bodies that appear on stage. They turn into objects of their own desires, proving that there is no intact unity of the body, no way of being whole. Cyborgs that appear as hybrids between machines and humans first appear to be able to blur the difference between the two forms of existence.

With their bodies destroyed and their mental and emotional state disabled the protagonists of the play are in search for happiness and love. Their quest leads them to form units, claiming that their individual existence can only be perfected by another being. However, this symbiotic existence also fosters or even accelerates the downfall of society. This is most obvious in the Haru-Azami combination with the creation of Hazami. It is also evident in the friendship of Saigo and Oyamada, who spend their days playing what they call 'slave games,' where the looser becomes the slave of the winner until they start the next game.<sup>32</sup> They finally decide to destroy themselves and the world they know.

The problems of this fictional society are indeed not limited exclusively to Japan. Unemployment and inhuman working conditions are not restricted to one country alone. Neither are discussions on sexuality and gender. The beauty craze rather seems to be a prominent topic in most modern societies. The international contemporaneity of *Erosu no hate*, as demanded by Uchino for theater in general, becomes obvious in the staged plane crash. In these scenes Matsuo, although avoiding direct references, plays with the images of the terrorist attacks of September 11. Instead of a (political) judgment *Erosu no hate* represents a societal fear, which is hard to grasp and rather shows the sensitivity with which society reacts to real or even imagined threats.

The society of 2019 with its people living vis-à-vis a nuclear plant and celebrating the magnificent view from their homes appears as a complete absurdity in the play. After the triple catastrophe in March 2011, when Japan actually faced a nuclear incident that shook society in its foundations and led to a reconsideration of the usage of atomic energy in most industrial countries, *Erosu no hate* definitely deserves to be reconsidered.

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<sup>31</sup> A similar interpretation is given by Véronique Liard in her analysis of the body in Elfriede Jelinek's theater (2008: 85).

<sup>32</sup> Matsuo 2001: 93.

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# ART TOWER MITO

## A CULTURAL FACILITY CONCEPT OFF THE BEATEN TRACK IN JAPAN

*Annegret BERGMANN*

### I. INTRODUCTION

During the course of uniform modernization, coupled with the gradual collapse of local communities following migration to the metropolitan centers, cultural activities in regional communities in Japan vanished considerably. Local culture often became the focal point of tourism or was merely protected as a cultural asset. As Hirata Oriza advocates in his *Geijutsu rikkokuron* (Theory of making Japan into an art nation), artists ensure a pluralistic society, not only in cultural centers, but also throughout the surrounding regions. Thus, promotion of cultural activities in local communities is an important duty of the local governments in Japan.<sup>1</sup> This essay deals with regional cultural facilities in Japan, focusing on Art Tower Mito (ATM, *Mito geijutsukan*) as a unique example. The success of Art Tower Mito can be largely attributed to a pair of innovations. This venue introduced the system of placing an art director in charge of productions, while the responsibility for running the facility was taken on by an art foundation; a trend that became mainstream only at the end of the 1990s. The ACM Theater of the Art Tower Mito was also the first public theater in Japan to employ a resident theater company. This theater company has managed numerous long-term program series and produces a wide range of plays, and therefore is not dependent upon renting the facility out in order to ensure financial stability.

The article provides an introduction to the establishment of modern Japanese cultural policy and the historical development of cultural halls. Relevant changes in the theater following the development of Art Tower Mito are also reviewed. An examination of the Acting Company Mito (ACM) provides an illustration of a new cultural hall concept that was implemented 'off the beaten track' when the facility opened in March 1990.

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<sup>1</sup> Hirata 2001: 39–43.

## II. CULTURAL POLICY DEVELOPMENT

There has always been a distinction between the culture of the center – or capital – of Japan and that of outlying regions. Ninety percent of all theater companies are located in Tōkyō and sixty to seventy percent of all theater performances are given there.<sup>2</sup> The center of cultural life in Japan has always been found in the capital. Only the Edo period (1600–1867) saw the development of three main cultural centers: Kyōto, Ōsaka and Edo, with Nagasaki also playing a significant role as a window to foreign culture. Modernization and westernization during the Meiji period (1868–1912) again concentrated cultural activities in the capital, Tōkyō; a situation that remains unchanged. Awareness of the distinction between central and regional culture is accompanied by general acceptance of the first as standard setting and superior.<sup>3</sup>

Cultural policy in Japan has historically been part of educational policy. In the new constitution after World War II, Japan declared itself a ‘cultural country’ and an Art Division was set up within the Social Education Department of the Ministry of Education. Soon after the war, reconstruction, the development of social infrastructure and the promotion of industry were given priority over the promotion of arts and culture. The adoption of the Law for the Protection of Cultural Policies in 1950 fixed the concept and definition of tangible and intangible cultural properties and their protection, which was the main focus of cultural administration until the founding of the Agency for Cultural Affairs (ACA) in 1968. ACA was formed in a merger of the Cultural Bureau of the Ministry of Education and the Cultural Properties Protection Commission. It is positioned as an extra-ministerial bureau of the Ministry of Education and still has no separate minister. Until the 1980s, the protection of cultural properties was the primary policy of ACA.<sup>4</sup>

In the 1970s, the first cultural administration boom occurred, not in the central cultural administration, but on the local government level. In 1978, the governor of Kanagawa prefecture proclaimed the ‘era of the region’ (*chihō no jidai*). It became a catchphrase used to focus administrative attention on regional culture and autonomy, with an aim to improve the quality of life through cultural activities.<sup>5</sup>

During the 1980s, the long-standing attitude that worthy cultural activities were to be found only in the capital gradually changed, result-

<sup>2</sup> Satō 2006: 141.

<sup>3</sup> Neki 2007: 47.

<sup>4</sup> Neki et al. 1996: 27.

<sup>5</sup> Neki 2007: 48.

ing in the promotion and encouragement of independent and individual cultural identities in regions outside the capital. This new trend was meant to overcome the gap between central and regional cultures. Against this background, policies of the Agency for Cultural Affairs (ACA) included 'expanding top class culture', as well as 'expanding and increasing the basis of cultural activities'<sup>6</sup> in regions throughout the country.

Local governments began to include amenities, environmental issues and town planning considerations when developing their cultural policy. Town development (*machizukuri*) and regional development (*chihōzukuri*) became the focus of local governments. Their belief in the power of culture led to investment in public cultural facilities and/or to the preservation of cultural heritage not only in order to foster tourism, but also to stimulate local production and boost the local economy.<sup>7</sup>

In 1980, Prime Minister Ōhira Masayoshi (1910–1980) established the Policy Study Council. Under the aegis of this council, the 'era of culture' (*bunka no jidai*) was proclaimed and the groundwork for cultural policy to be implemented by the central and local governments was laid. The idea that cultural issues should be made separate from educational policies was also raised and had considerable influence on the cultural administrations of local governments.<sup>8</sup> The concept of city development through culture was also promoted, with the intention that local governments should not only engage in administrative services, but also provide high-quality cultural services to help foster the development of creative cities. These aims resulted in the establishment of public cultural facilities as creation-oriented institutions with programs administered by a professional artistic staff. Local governments endeavored to use original approaches in order to encourage the revitalization of regional culture. Interest in the possibilities offered by unique local facilities led to the development of characteristic cultural policies. The regional culture budget increased from 204 billion yen in 1983 to 820 billion yen in 1993<sup>9</sup>, while national spending on culture increased only moderately. The number of public cultural halls in the countryside increased from 520 in 1975 to 1,870 in 1996 with financial support from municipalities and other entities.

The end of the 1980s could be considered a second period of increased interest in cultural administration within local government. In the wake of this new attitude toward regional cultural policy and increasing finan-

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid.: 47.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.: 99.

<sup>8</sup> Neki et al. 1996: 27.

<sup>9</sup> Satō 2006: 139.

cial support for regional cultural activities, Art Tower Mito was built in Mito, the capital of Ibaraki prefecture, to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the town.

During the 1990s, a new era in financial support for the arts began. In response to a corporate movement characterized by enhanced cultural support from companies (within the context of social contribution and philanthropy), the Association for Corporate Support of the Arts (*Shadan hōjin kigyō mesena kyōgikai*) was established in 1990. The government joined hands with private industries to establish The Japan Arts Fund (*Nihon geijutsu bunka shinkō kikin*) with the contribution of 50 billion yen from the state and 10 billion yen from the private sector. The founding of these two arts support organizations was a milestone in the history of Japanese cultural policy. During the 1990s, the ACA's budget doubled. The governmental launch of Arts Plan 21 that same year provided a significant increase in subsidies for the arts.

### III. CULTURAL HALLS – *BUNKA KAIKAN*

‘Cultural hall’ is a term embedded in policy. In practice, the facilities bear several different names such as: cultural halls, cultural facilities, and cultural centers. Contemporary cultural halls can be divided into two, possibly three groups. First are the facilities found in urban areas, which run high-level programs, particularly classical music. This group can be divided into those halls in major metropolitan areas, which earn enough income for financial independence and those in smaller urban areas, which are much more focused on participatory activities for residents and are dependent on support. The second group is made up of the halls in rural areas. These facilities are much more oriented towards participatory activities for residents and are heavily dependent upon support – both ‘hard’ and ‘soft.’<sup>10</sup> In 2000, there were 2,835 cultural halls across Japan. These facilities provided an average of 20.9 seats per one thousand citizens. Over 85 percent of these halls were opened after the 1970s, with the greatest increase coming during the 1980s.<sup>11</sup>

The predecessors to these cultural halls were the public assembly halls (*kōkaidō*), which served primarily as facilities where residents held assemblies, political rallies, ceremonies, for instance. These halls were used only secondarily for cultural presentations or performances. The first of these halls was built in November 1918, in Ōsaka. The Ōsaka Municipal Central

<sup>10</sup> Dugmore 2006: 6.

<sup>11</sup> Geinō bunka jōhō sentā 2001: 152.

Assembly Hall (*Ōsakashi chūō kōkaidō*) is today's Nakanoshima Assembly Hall (*Nakanoshima kōkaidō*). The second was the Hibiya Public Hall (*Hibiya kōkaidō*), opened in 1929 as the Tōkyō Municipal Assembly Hall (*Tōkyō shisei kaikan*). In 1930, the Assembly Hall of Nagoya City (*Nagoyashi kōkaidō*) was the last to be built before World War II. After the war, department stores and newspaper publishing houses opened multi-purpose halls (*tamokuteki hōru*) featuring lectures on culture, performances and symposiums. These privately built halls had a big influence on the functions of public halls built in the 1960s by local administrations.<sup>12</sup> In the fiscal year 1967, the central government provided subsidies for the establishment of places to present independent art and cultural activities; places where the citizens could appreciate the music, theater and art productions from Tōkyō that toured regions throughout the country. These subsidies helped fund the construction of public halls with facilities to host a variety of assemblies and performances, but none of them to perfection.

The above-mentioned 'era of culture' had the effect of separating the performing arts genre from the previous 'repertoire' of cultural halls and those specializing in, for example, only music or only theater. One early example is the Hyōgo Performing Arts Center in Hyōgo Prefecture, which was established in 1978 in order to foster cultural creativity among the citizens and to provide a venue for performing arts activities.<sup>13</sup> It was the first public theater in Japan to organize original and dynamic programs, including a theatrical school, a technical school and cultural seminars involving famous artists. In 1994, a resident company, the Piccolo Theater Company, was founded. Another example of a hall specializing in music is the Nakaniida Bach Concert Hall (*Nakaniida bahha hōru*) in Miyagi Prefecture, which opened in 1981.

Cultural halls served as a hub for the promotion of local culture and cultural exchange and played an important role in the Moving Art Festival (*Idō geijutsusai*), the Youth Theater (*Seishōnen geijutsu gekijō*) and the Children's Theater (*Kodomo geijutsu gekijō*) (events initiated by ACA), as well as offering performance spaces for theater companies based in Tōkyō. Cultural halls are also symbols of the region and development of the local city. They serve in the promotion of cultural activities and their extension into daily life. They provide a place for regional groups to rehearse, train, play, etc., and provide a venue for events related to all aspects of community life.<sup>14</sup> From 1992 until 1995, specialized halls were

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<sup>12</sup> Edagawa 2007: 179-80.

<sup>13</sup> Satō 2006: 325.

<sup>14</sup> Edagawa 2007: 180.



actively supported by the ACA. In the 1990s, local governments also built independently managed, high-standard theaters. For example, in 1994, Sai no kuni Saitama Arts Theater (*Sai no kuni Saitama geijutsu gekijō*) in the city of Saitama, Saitama Prefecture, opened on an area of 23,855.81m<sup>2</sup>. The big hall has 776 seats, the small hall holds 226–346 seats and the concert hall has 604 seats. The cinema was designed for an audience of 150.<sup>15</sup>

The Setagaya Public Theater (*Setagaya paburikku shiatā*), with an audience capacity of about 600, and Theater Tram (*Shiatā toramu*) with an audience capacity of 200, opened in April 1997 in Setagaya ward, Tōkyō. Both theaters aim to produce and to present high quality performing arts productions, especially contemporary drama and dance by both national and international artists. The Setagaya Public Theater holds creative workshops for theater practitioners or dancers, engages in research related to contemporary performing arts and provides outreach programs to schools in the Setagaya area.<sup>16</sup>

The aims and specializations of cultural halls in Japan, their organization, programs, performances and events, as well as their artistic levels, are more than diverse. But they all struggle with the challenge of managing on a low budget with a small, often non-professional, staff. Regular reshuffling of the local government staff makes it nearly impossible to realize long-term projects or to establish a clear, unique identity as a facility, since every few years a new director has to establish himself.

Cultural halls were founded on the legal basis of local laws concerning the establishment and management of museums, exhibition halls, public assembly halls, theaters, concert halls and other institutions in connection with education, science and culture. Local laws regulate the rights to use these facilities. These laws were revised during the decentralization reforms enacted between 1995 and 2000. Cultural halls are now allocated to general local area government offices. The activities of cultural halls now have no legal regulations that control their development, as is the case for school education, social education, libraries and museums. There are no minimum standards for staff qualifications, guidelines for their numbers, a fixed system for subsidies, or rules for expenses.<sup>17</sup> Building first, and thinking about a concept later has been the guiding principle for the establishment of most of the cultural halls in Japan.<sup>18</sup> With an average

<sup>15</sup> For further information see their homepage (<http://www.saf.or.jp/arthall>).

<sup>16</sup> See Setagaya Public Theater ([http://setagaya-pt.jp/en/about\\_sept](http://setagaya-pt.jp/en/about_sept)).

<sup>17</sup> Edagawa 2007: 184.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*: 181.

operating rate of only 52 percent, they are often called empty boxes (*hakomono*).<sup>19</sup>

Facilities that are designed to produce their own performances, to develop their own regional cultural faces and to build strong relationships with the local community do exist. Cultural halls that combine a commitment to the community with the presence of an art director who is in charge of the whole artistic concept of a house (*geijutsu kantoku seido*) have shown the way to fill those empty boxes with life. Art Tower Mito was one of the first to do so.

#### IV. THEATER BACKGROUND

There are more than 743 professional and amateur theater companies (*gekidan*) in Japan.<sup>20</sup> The distinction between professional and amateur is quite blurred, due, in large part, to very low salaries and to relatively low entry barriers compared to opera, ballet or classical music. Most theater companies are not based at a particular theater or arts center. Instead, they rent public or private facilities for only the number of days necessary for each performance. Some professional theater companies have their own rehearsal studios or studio space for small-scale performances. A large number of companies are concentrated in Tōkyō, while only a few professional companies are based in cities other than Tōkyō.

One of the main characteristics of the *shingeki*<sup>21</sup> theater companies – as well as the small theater movement (*shōgekijō undō*) and its descendants – was the structure of the theater company based on strong personal and ideological bonds. In the 1980s, this structure began to change when the exclusive commitments of the actors to their company became loose, and actors began to perform as freelancers in different productions. Programs and productions were no longer limited to the theater company.

Beginning in the second half of the 1980s during the bubble economy in Tōkyō, many new theaters built by big companies emerged. Economic success led to an increase in private cultural investment. Privately owned theaters mushroomed in Tōkyō. New venues included the Suzunari (1981) and Honda Theater (1982) in Shimokitazawa, Theater Apple (1982)

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<sup>19</sup> Shimizu 1991: 78.

<sup>20</sup> Geinō bunka jōhō sentā 2001: 46.

<sup>21</sup> Literally ‘new theater,’ a theater movement comparable to the Western theater that began at the turn of the 20th century. In contrast to the ‘old’ Japanese theater such as *nō* and *kabuki*, it uses conversational form of dialogue and psychological realism.

in Shinjuku, Aoyama Theater in Aoyama, Ginza Sezon Theater (1987) in Ginza, Tōkyō Globe Theater (1988) in Ōkubo, and Theater Cocoon (1989) in Shibuya. Thus, contemporary theater became more and more commercialized.

During this time, local governments also extended the construction of cultural facilities in the regions throughout the country. However, during this construction boom, theater troupes or orchestras to perform in all these new spaces were hardly considered, resulting in underutilized cultural halls with neither adequate numbers of touring theater performances, nor productions of their own. So, the future of contemporary theater was not only a problem for the actors and companies, but one for the local governments as well.

Meanwhile – notably in Tōkyō – theaters began to produce their own programs and, in doing so, created a new model that transcended the usual system of comprehensive production within one company. Until that time, a theater company and its leader (often author, dramatist and stage director in one), had been completely responsible for the planning and production of a program, as well as for renting a theater in which to realize their plans. This new phenomenon was a turning point in the position held by the company in the theatrical production system of Japan. The so-called production system program (*purodyūsu kōen*) became more important and made productions that overcame the boundaries of companies possible,<sup>22</sup> resulting in more independent performances by individual actors. This trend continued as the passing away of main actors and playwrights also led to the dissolution of established companies.<sup>23</sup>

Against this background emerged a new and – notably for Japan – revolutionary type of theater company: the residing company. The first was established in 1990 at Art Tower Mito. It was named ACM, ‘Acting Company Mito,’ followed by the Piccolo Company of Hyōgo Prefecture in 1994 and the Company of the Shizuoka Performing Arts Center (*Shizuoka butai geijutsu sentā*) in 1997.

## V. ART TOWER MITO

According to the director of Art Tower Mito, Yoshida Hidekazu, multi-purpose halls do not serve anyone well and are nothing more than a compromise for any genre put on stage<sup>24</sup>. With its new cultural hall Mito

<sup>22</sup> Satō 2006: 342.

<sup>23</sup> Nishidō 2009: 255-6.

<sup>24</sup> Yoshida 1991: 259

City engaged in a different concept, moving away from the multi-purpose halls and towards a specialized facility, which also aimed to encourage the participation of the residents of Mito. Art Tower Mito consists of three independent buildings: one for music, one for theater and one for art. The overall concept of this cultural center was to be 'a place from tradition to creativity.'<sup>25</sup> The whole complex comprises the area of the municipal Goken Elementary School, founded in 1873, which had to be rebuilt due to its desolate and unsafe building. The decision to relocate the school provided the city with a 1.4-hectare area in the center of the city. In 1981, the decision process to determine how to use this vacant area began. That year, an investigative committee presented the result of their work. They noted that the city of Mito lacked a public square, an art museum, a theater and a concert hall. Between 1983 and 1987, twenty six meetings and hearings were held in order to collect proposals and listen to the wishes of the residents, as well as the Chamber of Commerce, the Mito Tourist Association, the Mito Junior Chamber<sup>26</sup> and other local groups. In September, 1986, under the aegis of a six member round table, consisting of representatives from city planning, the construction business, art and tourism organizations, it was decided to build a public square, a cultural facility with a concert hall, a theater, a museum and assembly hall, and an underground parking lot. The chief motive was to break away from the standard notion of multi-purpose cultural facilities, returning to the concept of an art-specific space, which was especially relevant for the theater building. After several hearings, the draft of architect Isozaki Arata (\*1931) was chosen. The budget was adopted in 1987. In March 1988, the Mito City Arts Promotion Foundation (*Zaidan hōjin Mito geijutsu shinkō zaidan*) was founded to run the venue as an independent legal entity.<sup>27</sup>

The cultural center incorporates three kinds of spaces – buildings, an open area and a parking lot – as well as three themes: water, green areas and earth. The whole complex is arranged around a central plaza with a lawn encircled by zelkovia trees, a waterfall and a corridor. On the east side of the plaza stands a 100-meter high helix tower, which commemorates the 100th anniversary of Mito City's modern form of government. The design of the complex is based on a concept that includes separate buildings for a theater, a concert hall, an art gallery, a tower, a plaza, a

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<sup>25</sup> Yoshida 1991: 259-60.

<sup>26</sup> Non-political, non-sectarian organization. Members are between 20 and 40 years old and engage in activities for a bright and abundant society in public utilities. Founded nation-wide in 1949 and has 750 local chapters all over Japan.

<sup>27</sup> Hosokawa and Miyazaki 1999: 51-3.

conference hall and a parking area, all linked for easy and comfortable access.<sup>28</sup>

The entire complex is owned by Mito City and run by the Mito City Arts Promotion Foundation (*Mito geijutsu shinkō zaidan*). Yoshida, director and head of the arts committee from the first day, manages Art Tower Mito's three main divisions. The arts committee is responsible for advising the respective managers of the concert hall, theater and exhibition space. There is also an advisory board, chaired by the mayor and consisting of members and administrators of the city council, artists and citizens. The advisory board serves as a council and offers suggestions, but assumes no legal responsibility. The local government strictly controls ATM, but due to the strong position of the art directors of all three divisions, arts-oriented planning and operation are guaranteed. All programs are planned by the relevant artistic director or co-sponsored by the music, arts or theater divisions, with final approval required from the arts committee. Facilities are not rented out, as is the case in other public halls.<sup>29</sup>

The building's large entrance hall functions as a common lobby for the Art Tower Mito Concert Hall, ACM Theater and Contemporary Art Gallery. The main arts facilities include the theater, with a capacity of 636, the concert hall, which seats 620, and nine exhibition rooms. The whole venue was designed after consultation with the respective operating staff: music and literary critic Yoshida Hidekazu (\*1913) for the concert hall, modern art critic and curator Nakahara Yūsuke (\*1931) for the art gallery, and Suzuki Tadashi<sup>30</sup> for the theater.<sup>31</sup> In 1990, the ACM Theater had a resident company with nine actors employed all year round on a two-year contract basis.

After consultation with the first artistic director of the theater, Suzuki Tadashi, architect Isozaki Arata designed a twelve-sided theater with the

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<sup>28</sup> Isozaki 1988.

<sup>29</sup> Zemans and Kleingartner 1999: 247.

<sup>30</sup> Suzuki Tadashi is the founder and director of the Suzuki Company of Toga (SCOT) based in Toga Village, located in the mountains of Toyama prefecture. He is the organizer of Japan's first international theater festival (Toga Festival), and the creator of the Suzuki Method of Actor Training. He was also the General Artistic Director of Shizuoka Performing Arts Center (1995-2007), is a member of the International Theater Olympics Committee, a founding member of the BeSeTo Festival (Beijing, Seoul, Tōkyō Festival, jointly organized by leading theater professionals from Japan, China and Korea) and Chairman of the Board of Directors for the Japan Performing Arts Foundation, a nationwide network of theater professionals in Japan.

<sup>31</sup> Hosokawa and Miyazaki 1999: 52-3.

stage circled by three curved levels of balcony seats. This arrangement brings the audience and stage into extremely close contact. The balcony levels are low enough for the audience to observe each actor's expression from any seat.<sup>32</sup> This design supported Suzuki's attempt to reestablish the relationship between the actors and the audience that had formerly existed, for example, in Shakespeare's Globe Theatre or in the dramatic space of the era that produced the *nō* stage.<sup>33</sup>

Principal costs of the programming are borne by the city, although some individual programs receive assistance from the private sector. Box office receipts and revenue from the bookstore support the center. Restaurant revenues go to the city, as the city's contract with the foundation requires that the center be used for cultural activities and food services fall outside this definition.<sup>34</sup>

In 1989, the municipal parliament adopted a resolution to spend one percent of its total annual budget on the Center's operating costs, even though the city was not in charge of the management plan.<sup>35</sup> In February 1990, after nearly two years of construction, the 104 million yen Art Tower Mito was completed. On March 21<sup>st</sup>, the facilities were opened with a grand series of events. The ACM Theater was officially inaugurated by the ritual celebration dance *Sanbasō*, performed by the famous *kyōgen* actor Nomura Mansaku (\*1931). The first theater production, the Greek tragedy *Dionysus – About the Forms of Loss* (*Deionyusosu – Sōshitsu no yōshiki o megutte*), directed by Suzuki Tadashi, opened the next day. During the course of the opening festival – which extended until May 13, 1990 – well-known contemporary companies and directors performed Shakespeare-related plays<sup>36</sup> at the ACM Theater.<sup>37</sup>

The theater company Acting Company Mito was founded in June 1990 as the first public theater company in Japan. To Suzuki, a theater building specializing only in theater performances was a space that itself reflected the idea of a 'theater person' (*engekijin*), be it a director, producer or actor. Convinced that the space of the ATM Theater fulfilled this ideal concept

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<sup>32</sup> Isozaki 1988.

<sup>33</sup> Carruthers and Takahashi 2004: 57.

<sup>34</sup> Zemans and Kleingartner 1999: 248.

<sup>35</sup> Hosokawa and Miyazaki 1999: 54.

<sup>36</sup> *Moonlight – from A Midsummernight's dream* (*Mūnraito manatsu no yoru no yume yori*) by Yūkikai zenjidō shiatā, *Hamlet* by Minamikawachi banzai ichiza, *Shakespeare* by Hanagumi company, loosely based on Shakespeare's *Romeo and Julia* from Verona (*Hanagumi saōgeki romeo ando jurietto berona watari katte ni shitateta sheikuspia*) by Hanagumi shibai and Daisan Erotica performing *A man named Macbeth* (*Makubesu to iu no otoko*).

<sup>37</sup> Hosokawa and Miyazaki 1999: 62-3.

and would provide him with a fine space in which to engage in new productions, Suzuki advocated for a resident company and persuaded many of his old acquaintances and young talented actors to join this company, to live and work in Mito.<sup>38</sup> In 1996, Suzuki also took over the artistic directorship of the Shizuoka Performing Arts Center and shuttled between Toga, Mito and Shizuoka. Unlike the members of the Suzuki Company of Toga (SCOT), the members of ACM refused to follow Suzuki to Shizuoka. The young members of ACM had never bonded with the older generation of SCOT actors, despite Suzuki's attempts to provide opportunities for them to do so through mixed casting. The gap between the younger actors of ACM and the older ones, both under the directorship of Suzuki, together with their rather comfortable life in Mito and the reassurance of fixed contracts were the reason that most of them stayed at ACM and did not move on together with Suzuki.<sup>39</sup>

The present manager of the ACM Theater, Matsumoto Koshirō, and six members of the production management committee are in charge of productions today. Their goal is to produce nationally and internationally successful performances on a high artistic level and to promote modern Japanese theater and dance as well as traditional performing arts. The productions include not only professional performances, but also those by local residents. Matsumoto's concept of the ACM Theater consists of 'sending out new theater, new impulses in theater from Mito' on the one hand and 'excellent original productions' on the other hand. In his opinion, contemporary theater has matured to a point where productions should not only concentrate on new inventions but also re-evaluate existing plays. Theater should not only serve those in the audience. Matsumoto is also seeking a close relationship with, and the participation of, local residents in projects like the Citizen's Acting school, the Children's Acting Academy and a contemporary dance school. In the program there are also public readings of plays and workshops, for instance, offering a wide range of opportunities for the appreciation of culture and ways of making it a part of daily life.<sup>40</sup>

Theater performances are organized in several series. I will refer only to some of these to illustrate the concept and its intended goals. From the start, the Acting Company Mito engaged in Greek tragedies, classical Shakespeare plays, plays by Anton Chekhov, and modern works by Samuel Becket, Mishima Yukio, Betsuyaku Minoru and contemporary playwrights. This first series of new plays directed by Suzuki Tadashi

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<sup>38</sup> Suzuki 1989: 2-3.

<sup>39</sup> Carruthers and Takahashi 2004: 63.

<sup>40</sup> Hosokawa and Miyazaki 1999: 102.

were replayed as New Year's programs in 1991-1994. Hasegawa Hirohisa, who was under exclusive contract for ACM since the planning of the theater began, wrote the series *Japan's Tragedies* (*Nihon no higeki*). In 1992, he became the exclusive literary and artistic director of ACM Theater. The original productions were intended as critiques of contemporary theater, thus the series name.<sup>41</sup>

From 1994 until 1996, three new plays in the series 'New Plays' by ACM Company were staged.<sup>42</sup> From 1997 until 1999, Hasegawa Hirohisa wrote the New Year Performance plays as well as one more new production each year.<sup>43</sup> Another long-term series was comprised of the plays of eight famous playwrights from the small theater movement (*shōgekijō undō*). This series included representative and famous plays from this theater movement in order to reflect on their significance in contemporary Japanese theater, as well as to establish them in the repertory system of ACM.<sup>44</sup> Performances included plays by Kara Jūrō, Shimizu Kunio and Betsuyaku Minoru in 1995, Tsuka Kōhei, Takeuchi Jū'ichirō and Yamazaki Tetsu in 1996, two plays by Terayama Shūji and another by Kara Jūrō in 1997 and four plays by Ōta Shōgo in 1998.<sup>45</sup>

Every July since 1990, one of four *nō* schools (Kita, Hōsei, Kanze and Komparu) has performed in a program called 'Nō in Mito.' Since 1991, Nomura Mansaku has presented *kyōgen* programs on a regular basis. *Rakugo*, traditional storytelling, is another fixed program scheduled in spring each year.

The Theater Festival Mito was held each February from 1993 until 1998, providing an opportunity for local theater groups as well as amateur theater groups from other regions to perform in public. In addition to serving as the official venue for the High School Theater Festival of Ibaraki prefecture, the ACM Theater has held an annual workshop for high school students each August since 1996.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> The series consisted of: *Courtisan Sanseu* (*Sanseu tayū*) performed in January 1993 and again in October the same year. *The Survivor Taira Kagekiyo* (*Ikinobita otoko Taira Kagekiyo*) in January 1994 and *The Masterless Samurai from Ako* (*Akō rōshi*) in January 1995.

<sup>42</sup> *An expectant mother in love* (*Koi suru ninpu*) written and directed by Iwamatsu Ryō, *Satyam* (*Sateiani*) written and directed by Yamazaki Tetsu and *With light and then several more things* (*Hikari to soshite ikutsuka no mono*) written and directed by Takeuchi Jū'ichirō.

<sup>43</sup> *Beautiful Comet* (*Bibō no nagareboshi*) in 1997, *The Land of the Corolla* (*Kakan no tairiku*) in 1998 and *Aphrodisiac of the Devil* (*Daten no biyaku*) in 1999.

<sup>44</sup> Hosokawa and Miyazaki 1999: 102.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*: 70-3.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*: 76-7.



In 1999, in the series *Theater for Hundred People* (*Haykunin gekijō*), the theater space was reduced to the size of the first avant-garde small theaters. The intention of this series was to re-evaluate modern and contemporary plays, foreign and national, to concentrate on the literature of the script and its visual impact on stage. Although ACM Theater has a capacity of only 636 seats, an audience of only one hundred in the space brings the performance into a more intimate atmosphere. According to Matsumoto, this 'life-size space' returns 'life-size actors on stage and a life-size audience, a concept that could serve as a new starting point to future creativity.'<sup>47</sup> Matsumoto aimed at reducing the play again to script and pure acting. In his opinion, the lighting of large stages or huge props absorbs attention and thus distracts from the essence of the play. To him, a good play needs no elaborate staging and consequently its production is less expensive. Such a play can be performed for one or two weeks, while productions in local venues usually only last for one or two performances. Productions in an even smaller theater provide, according to Matsumoto, the opportunity to reconsider the meaning of theater and thus may be a new starting point for modern theater in the 21st century.<sup>48</sup>

## CONCLUSION

The use of cultural resources to energize regional communities was a trend initiated in the 1970s, yet was certainly not effective in all communities. The lack of a well-defined focus and main cultural policy framework caused many efforts to falter. From a sociological point of view, cultural policy failed to implement the right measures necessary to overcome the so-called crisis of the communities. This crisis was triggered by the diminishing numbers of residents, and exacerbated by the migration of residents to the big cities.<sup>49</sup> From the 1980s onward, local governments implemented unique projects with originality and ingenuity, but only in terms of buildings, and without real participation by the local communities.<sup>50</sup> In the past, public cultural halls were used to showcase professional performances – mainly stars and productions from the cultural center. The movement to involve residents in the programs of local cultural halls and to present their cultural achievements has been hampered by the lack of professional staff to manage the halls. The lack of legal regulations,

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<sup>47</sup> Ibid.: 102–3.

<sup>48</sup> Matsumoto 1999.

<sup>49</sup> Tomooka 2006: 171.

<sup>50</sup> Itabashi 2001: 19.

similar to those that exist for museums and libraries – coupled with a lack of defined tasks and management principles – hamper the development of long-term concepts or creative vision. Administrations remain mired in the struggle of daily business and innovative ideas do not develop. A more active role for the local administration in setting up cultural goals and concepts, followed by engagement in realizing those goals, could offer a solution to the problem.<sup>51</sup> This is exactly what the City of Mito implemented in Art Tower Mito and its ACM Theater.

The concept of Art Tower Mito, especially the performances and programs at ACM Theater – from traditional *nō* to modern and contemporary theater, national as well as foreign authors and new plays and amateur performances – is, in my opinion, a positive example of an attempt to link performing arts at a professional level to the local residents. The fixed subsidies of the municipality and the resident theater company provide the means necessary to present high-level programs by the resident company, as well as guest performances by famous companies from the so-called cultural center. The capacity of cultural halls in Japan averages about fifty percent utilization.<sup>52</sup> Including rehearsals, the capacity of ACM Theater is ninety percent utilized. This proves that a sound concept and a firm financial base can make the difference in promoting regional cultural activities.

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<sup>51</sup> Mori 1991: 82-4.

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## ABSTRACTS

### 要旨

**Annegret BERGMANN:** 水戸芸術館 — 従来の公立文化施設からの脱却 (Art Tower Mito – A Culture Facility Concept off the Beaten Track in Japan)

第二次世界大戦後、日本は文化政策にあまり重きを置かず、常に教育政策の一環という位置づけしかしてこなかった。1968年に文化庁が設置されたが、芸術文化の振興には至らず、文化財保護が主眼でありつづけた。1970年代に政府の呼びかけで「地方の時代」が始まると、生活環境の向上を目ざして地方自治の独立と地方文化に目が向けられるようになった。その結果、芸術文化の振興が進み、80年代になって「文化によるまちおこし」が提唱される。単なる文化財の保護だけでなく、芸術文化の積極的な振興がますます重要視され、地方自治体が独自の文化事業を行うようになった。

1990年に開館した「ART TOWER MITO 水戸芸術館」は、日本で初めて芸術監督を置き、専属劇団を擁している。従来のように、ほとんど東京からの公演を招聘するために建てられたハコモロ文化ホールではなく、水戸のまちの個性の創出と芸術文化の創造を図り、市民と強く結びつけた活動を行うため、水戸芸術館のコンサートホール、劇場ならびに美術ギャラリーは今日まで活動をつづけている。本稿では日本の文化政策を背景に、水戸芸術館設立の経緯と芸術文化における目標を論じる。

**Robert BORGEN:** 巡礼のパフォーマンス — 僧成尋の宋への旅, 1072–1073 (Performance in a Pilgrimage – The Monk Jōjin’s Travels in China, 1072–1073)

成尋(1011–81)は、宋に渡って聖地巡礼をした日本人僧で、1072年から73年の旅を詳細に記した日記『參天台五台山記』を遺した。この巡礼は、多様なパフォーマンス、主に宗教的なパフォーマンスの旅であった。巡礼そのものと成尋が道中に行った様々な法会は、手本、つまり「台詞」に基づいている。これらの儀式は、「台詞」通りに演じれば、例えば雨を降らせたりできよう、その力を見せつけることができる。成尋はまた、多くの儀式を目にしている。首都、開封市の郊外では、調教された象のショーを観ている。彼は、宮廷の儀式にも招かれているが、この儀式は皇帝の権力誇示が目的であった。

成尋自身はおそらく「パフォーマー」と見做されることを拒んだであろうが、現代の読者にとって、彼の旅の全ては、道中彼自身が行ったり観たりした小さなパフォーマンスを含め、多様な要素を内包した壮大

なパフォーマンスと映る。そのパフォーマンスの多くは、それを上演する者の世俗的もしくは宗教的な権力を誇示するものである。

**James R. BRANDON:** 戦時中の歌舞伎三作品 (Three Wartime Kabuki Plays)

歌舞伎の演目は、通常、「古典的」もしくは「伝統的」なものであるとされているが、第二次世界大戦中の歌舞伎上演について調べれば、その見解が誤りであることは明らかである。戦時中の1933年から1945年にかけて、百を超す新演目が上演されているのである。戦争後期の作品中3作品を分析すると、内閣情報部が与えたプロパガンダ的テーマに従っていることが分かる。郷田恵の『ホノルル市』は、アメリカへの憎悪とアメリカのアジア侵略に対する抵抗活動を扇動している。菊池寛の『海行かば』では、長男の戦死を、自らの犠牲が戦いの勝利に通じると信じ、静かに受け入れる一人の母が描かれている。木村富子は『南洋万歳』で、大東亜共栄圏の成果を称賛している。1945年、これらの作品がアメリカの占領軍によって上演されなくなって初めて、歌舞伎の演目は文字通り「古典」になったのである。

**Katja CENTONZE:** メディアと身体テクノロジーの出会い — 三島由紀夫、土方巽、細江英公 (Encounters between Media and Body Technologies. Mishima Yukio, Hijikata Tatsumi, and Hosoe Eikō)

本稿では、60年代の重要な代表者土方巽、三島由紀夫、細江英公らの出会いおよび相互の関連性について紹介する。各々は戦後のアバンギャルド芸術界が中心としている「肉体」に特別な感心を持つ。その「肉体」というのは60年代における革命であり、激動の反体制批判を表現し、独特の身体性を指していた。土方、三島、細江の間の影響を検討しながら、性、エロティシズムと暗黒に関わっている「肉体性」に関する各々のメディアを選択してそれぞれが生み出した表現を研究する。この三者を分析すると、舞踊、写真、映像、小説、演劇などが身体テクノロジーとされ芸術的な現象として交差することが明らかになる。

**Peter ECKERSALL** カタストロフィーとの関連性 — クロスメディア・パフォーマンスアートとしての舞踏シネダンス (Catastrophe in Association – Butō cine Dance as Cross-media Performance Art)

飯村隆彦による舞踏映画「シネダンス」は、映画の感覚的体験とライブ・パフォーマンスを融合させようとし、「あんま」(1963)と「バラ色ダンス」(1965)は、土方巽の独創的なパフォーマンス作品に基づいたものである。結果として生みだされた映像は、激しく不安定で熱狂的であり、絶え間なく動く表現豊かなものとなった。このエッセイは、日本の1960年代において過激な身体体験に取り組んだインターメディア・パフォーマンス

マンスアートとしてのシネダンスを、飯村と土方による文章とシネダンスの分析によって探るものである。

**Barbara GEILHORN:** 日本現代演劇における社会批判 — 岡田利規の《ホットペッパー、クーラー、そしてお別れの挨拶》と《三月の5日間》(Performing Social Criticism in Contemporary Japanese Theater – Okada Toshiki's *Hot Pepper, Air Conditioner, and the Farewell Speech and Five Days in March*)

岡田利規は日本の若い演劇人のなかでも特に魅力的な劇作家／演出家である。2007年、KUNSTENFESTIVALDESARTS への《三月の5日間》の招待を皮切りに、海外において演劇活動に対する評価が高まった岡田利規は、演劇への実験的なアプローチをチェルフィッチュという演劇カンパニーと一緒に実現する。その特徴の一つは現代口語演劇であるが、群像会話劇ではない。舞台上で複数の俳優が同じ人物を演じることで、それぞれの人物について複数の視点が提供される。もう一つの特徴としては、日常的な身体のある方を舞台に取り入れて、それがコンテンツポラードダンスに近づいていることが挙げられる。

本稿では岡田利規の芝居における日常生活の《ハイパーリアリズム》の演出方法を分析しながら、チェルフィッチュが現代日本の社会条件をどのように批判しているのかをテーマにする。ここでは二つの時事的な作品に絞って徹底的な分析を試みたい。一つは2009年に発表された、若い世代の職業条件の問題とした《ホットペッパー、クーラー、そしてお別れの挨拶》である。もう一つの作品《三月の5日間》(2004)では、岡田は東京での日常生活の陳腐さをイラク戦争の勃発と対立させている。

**Eike GROSSMANN:** 変身と破壊 — 松尾スズキの世界の破滅 (Deformation and Destruction. Matsuo Suzuki's *End of the World*)

日本現代演劇は社会性・現代性・批判性に乏しいという指摘は多い。しかし、たとえ日本語で台本が書かれ日本人の観客に向けて演出されていたとしても、その内容面において、あらゆる先進諸国が直面している政治的・社会的問題を取り上げている演劇は数多く存在する。本稿では松尾スズキと劇団・大人計画の演出による「エロスの果て」(2001年)の分析を通じて、日本の演劇界においてなされたグローバルな問題提起の一例を示す。

演劇界だけではなく様々な分野で活躍している大人計画のメンバーたちは現代日本におけるポップカルチャーの代表的な担い手であるといえる。その舞台演出は常に観客の爆笑を引き起こす。しかし「エロスの果て」で描かれるのは破滅寸前の状態にある世界である。就活・就職困難をはじめ、ジェンダーと性差別、暴力、消費中毒、狂気じみた美への渴望が戯画的に描き出され、最後に劇中に登場する東京の第一原子力発電所が爆発する場面で幕が下りる。

本稿では、とりわけ 2011 年 3 月の東北地方太平洋沖地震・原発震災以降、「エロスの果て」がもちうるようになった国際的なアクチュアリーティを指摘する。

**Thomas HACKNER:** 芸術としての「作者の死」: 三島由紀夫『憂国』における自殺の美学 (The Death of the Author Considered as one of the Fine Arts: The Aesthetics of Suicide in Mishima Yukio's *Yūkoku*)

三島由紀夫の『憂国』は、作者自身による小説の映画化という点で、稀有な作品である。映画化の動機は、新たな表現形式の追及ではなく、可能な限り多くの聴衆を得たいという三島の切実な願いであった。類無き美の実現として、またエロスと美の成就の最高形態として切腹を賛美する三島の自殺の美学が、この小説と映画の中で展開されている。同時に、三島は意図的に、自身の自殺の美学を太宰治のそれとは対極に置こうとしていたと考えられる。この二人を他の作家と隔てているのは、彼らが、すでに社会的機能を失ってしまっていた前近代的な自殺の形態と文学的表現を用いているのみならず、作品中の自殺の描写が、彼ら自身の人生と分かちがたく結びついている点にある。

**HATA Hisashi:** Kobayashi Hideo's Thoughts on the Nō Play *Taema* (小林秀雄「当麻」についての断想)

In most cases modern Japanese intellectuals based their thoughts on Western education and many were rather indifferent to the traditional culture of their own country, especially nō theater, often neglecting it entirely. But when Japan entered World War II in the 1930s the country encountered a revival of tradition. With the trend of traditional resurrection nō theater also experienced a period of re-evaluation.

Kobayashi Hideo is one of these intellectuals with a Western education. Therefore his essay *Taema*, which deals with nō theater, gained considerable attention. *Taema* not only reflects the thoughts of Japanese people during wartimes, but also shows the distance of amateurs towards nō. Nevertheless, in my article I argue that the poignant insights and sensibility of Kobayashi, who had just developed a deep interest in Japanese medieval literature, show that he understood the meaning that Zeami incorporated into his play *Taema*. Besides interpreting the medieval play, Kobayashi also attended a performance of *Taema* by Umewaka Mansaburō I. and his essay gives a vivid description of the fascinating performance style, which will be introduced here as well.



**KAGAYA Shinko:** 釜山での能 : 1905–2005 (Nō in Busan: 1905–2005)

日韓の歴史において、全く異なる社会的背景ではありながら重大な節目となる二つの年、1905年、そして2005年に、韓国釜山で能楽公演が催された。前者は占領下、京城（現ソウル）釜山を結ぶ京釜鉄道開通を祝うもので、観客も主に現地の日本人、また演目にも国の繁栄、勇敢なる武将、神性を備えるものの介入の正当性などを暗示するものが含まれていた。後者は、日本による韓国統監府設置及び保護国化より一世紀、朝鮮半島での日本の統治終了から60周年、日韓国交正常化40周年にあたり日韓友情年と定められた年ではあるが、政治社会的騒動、反感、反日感情が渦巻く最中で、演目は、日本による占領時に韓国の一夫婦に暴力的に齎された別離をあらわに描き出す、多田富雄による新作能「望恨歌」だった。

**KOBAYASHI Seki:** Transmissions by the Kyōgen Actor Noma Zenzaemon (狂言師・野間善左衛門小伝)

Noma Zenzaemon was a kyōgen actor of the Izumi School who was born in Kumamoto (Kyūshū) and was active in Tōkyō from the end of the Meiji to the beginning of the Taishō period, from the end of the nineteenth to the beginning of the twentieth century. During the Edo period (1600–1867) the daimyō of his birthplace, the Kumamoto domain, supported nō theater, which was performed by two guilds. Each nō guild was associated to one shrine, the main guild (*honza*) to the Kitaoka Shrine and the new guild (*shinza*) to the Fujisaki Hachiman Shrine. The Noma family belonged to the new guild and was responsible for the hereditary position of the kyōgen master (*kyōgen tayū*).

Zenzaemon was born in 1856 as the eleventh leader of the family and started his kyōgen training in Kumamoto. With the Meiji Restoration in 1868 and the abolishment of the domains, the nō tradition in Kumamoto also declined and in 1897 at age 41 Zenzaemon moved to Tōkyō. Until his death in 1913 he frequently performed kyōgen on stages in Tōkyō. However since his active period in Tōkyō was quite short and he died without a successor, Noma Zenzaemon was forgotten and research focused on other actors of the Izumi School. I gained access to materials on Zenzaemon in the possession of the successors of the Noma family and was thus able to trace his life as a kyōgen actor. In this article I will therefore introduce the transmissions left by Noma Zenzaemon.

**MARUMOTO Takashi:** 《王家に捧ぐ歌》— 宝塚歌劇によるオペラ《アイダ》改作の試み (A Song for Kingdoms: Takarazuka's Attempt to Adapt the Opera *Aida*)

宝塚歌劇は日本の現存の劇団の中で最古の歴史を誇り、社会的影響力も大きく、とりわけ「女性の演劇」として世界的にもユニークな存在である。そして近年各国で脚光を浴びるマンガ、アニメ、コスプレなども通じ合う、日本研究に不可欠な興味深いテーマのはずである。ところが、それら「クール・ジャパン」を体現するサブカルチャー群と比べて、宝塚歌劇の国外での注目度はそれほど高くない。筆者はその宝塚歌劇の学術研究の重要性を意識し、これまでこの劇団について、ドイツでの三度の講演を含め国内外で、ささやかながら情報発信を行ってきた。それらは主に、宝塚歌劇を世界演劇史の流れの中に位置づけ、ジェンダーの視点も加えてその意義を探ろうとするものであった。

本稿ではそれらの成果を踏まえつつ、この劇団による上演作品、特に西洋ものをもとにした改作の分析を通じて、日本の代表的な音楽劇としての宝塚歌劇の特徴に迫る。《アイダ》を中心的に取り上げるのは、それが世界的に知られたヴェルディ・オペラのアダプトであり、国外で宝塚歌劇が未知の存在に近い現状の中で、読者がそれら二つの舞台作品の比較により、その実態をよりよくイメージしうるためである。それらの考察を通じ、この劇団がヨーロッパとの文化的架け橋の役割を演じる一方、日本固有の文化的伝統に深く根ざし、外来のオリジナル作品を巧みに「宝塚化」している点を明らかにするのが、本稿の目指すところである。

**MIURA Hiroko:** On the Meaning of the Expression *Ongaku* (Music) in Nō Theater (能の「音楽」論序説)

Throughout its history the meaning of 'music' in the expression 'Japanese music' underwent several changes. As Kikkawa Eishi shows, 'music' came to Japan from ancient China and Korea in the eighth century and consisted mainly of instrumental court music for ensembles. Nevertheless in *Nihon ōjō gokuraku ki* (Japanese Records on Rebirth in Paradise, 2007) Yoshishige Yasutane pointed out that from the end of the tenth century the expression 'music' was also used for musical entertainment and thus developed from court music to a more worldly music.

This article questions the meaning of the expression 'music' in nō theater and argues that it has to be considered within the historical development of 'music' in Japan. To be precise, twenty-five plays of the contemporary nō repertoire mention 'music.' For my analysis I divided the thirty entries into three groups: (A) Heavenly music, (B) *gagaku*, and (C) Buddhist ceremonial music. This made it possible to show that in general the term 'music' in nō theater is applied to 'heavenly music' and

one can even state that ‘music’ is mainly used to announce the appearance of a heavenly creature.

**NISHINO Haruo:** Reviving Classical Plays – The *Fukkyoku Nō Hitachiobi* (現代に蘇る古典—復曲能《常陸帯》の能本作成を例として—)

*Fukkyoku nō* are plays that have been excluded from the repertoire and are currently being revitalized for performance. In this paper I will discuss the work of reviving classical plays and the situation of *fukkyoku* using the play *Hitachi obi* (A sash from Hitachi), which will be staged in October 2011 at Kagoshima shrine, as a concrete example. I will begin with a brief account of the outline, source material and characteristics of *Hitachi obi*, the transmitted versions of the text, and the material used for the recent production. The idea of the *fukkyoku nō* was to pleasantly describe the gathering of young men and women for the divine service of *Hitachi obi* during the shrine festival at New Years Day. To do so, Asami Masakuni (the performer of the leading role and artistic director of the production) shortened the original version, newly depicted the scenery, increased the number of characters and added recitals of poems. The paper will trace the steps from employing the classical material to the final libretto for the contemporary production and show what is fascinating about the *fukkyoku nō Hitachi obi*.

**ODA Sachiko:** Transfigurations of Komachi (変貌する小町)

The life of Ono no Komachi, a poetress at the early Heian court, is colored with many legends and mysteries. In the middle ages, this even took the shape of biography: ‘In her young years she was a woman of matchless beauty courted by many men whom she repeatedly refused or made fun of, while in her late years nobody took notice of her and up to her hundredth year she wandered as a beggar through the provinces to finally die in loneliness. Her skeleton was exposed to the weather until somebody found her and held a memorial service on her behalf.’

There are several *nō* plays with Ono no Komachi in the leading role. Many of them are written using these kinds of legends. This paper traces back the transfigurations of Ono no Komachi in *nō* over time by analyzing the two oldest *nō* about her, *Sotoba Komachi* (Komachi on the Gravepost) and *Kayoi Komachi* (The Nightly Courting of Komachi). I will refer to the reception of the Komachi legends typical for medieval times, examine the method of adapting legends into *nō* and discuss what *nō* newly adds to the figure of Komachi.

**ŌTANI Jun:** Annotations to the Collection of Kyōgen Plays of Kurokawa Nō (『黒川能の狂言台本集』 解題)

In 1988 the Kurokawa Nō Preservation Society published a first collection of kyōgen plays (five volumes) of Kurokawa nō. The Preservation Society intended to internally organize the materials concerning kyōgen found in the village of Kurokawa. At the same time the publication of this collection also helped to give a first impression of the standard kyōgen repertoire of Kurokawa nō.

The collection contains 43 plays from which 40 plays match with the repertoire of the Ōkura School and two with the Izumi School of kyōgen. However, three plays, namely *Sanjūnichi bayashi* (New Year's Music), *Senningiri* (Killing One Thousand Men), and *Kakiuri* (The Persimmon Seller), exist only in Kurokawa. Thus the aim of this article is to introduce the kyōgen repertory of Kurokawa, trace its history and relation to professional kyōgen, and to give a first interpretation of the unique plays in Kurokawa.

**Andreas REGELSBERGER:** 声と人形の美学 — 人形浄瑠璃における芸道論 (Poetics of Voice and Puppet: Secondary Texts on the Art of Ningyō Jōruri)

人形浄瑠璃についての論考が、すでに江戸時代後期から、各種の二次的なテキストで行われてきたことは、段物集や素人向けの教本の序・跋などから読み取ることが出来る。

本稿ではその二次的なテキストにおける芸道論に注目する。作者、大夫そして観客の態度を穂積以貫作の『難波土産』、竹本義太夫作の『貞享四年義太夫段物集』、宇治加賀掾作の『竹子集』、西沢一風作の『今昔操年代記』やその他の操り評判記に焦点を当てながら、浄瑠璃における芸道論について考察する。

**Bonaventura RUPERTI:** Dramatization, Staging, Actor – A Comparison of Zeami's Theories on Nō and Renaissance Theater Theories (世阿弥の能楽論とルネッサンスの演劇論 — 演劇の本質、戯曲と舞台化、俳優というテーマを中心に)

Zeami's treatises on nō theater, which were published in 1910 for the first time, are a significant contribution not only to the dramatic arts and aesthetics of Japan, but to world culture as well. Zeami tackles problems like the proper training of an actor, the relationship between actor and audience or the composition of plays combining poetry, dance and song. This paper attempts to confront Zeami's theoretical writings on nō with selected theater treatises originating in Renaissance Europe that were

written under the influence of Aristoteles' (384–322 a. C.) *Poetics* (*Peri Poietikes*, about 330). The Renaissance is of similar importance for European theater as is Zeami's time for the development of *nō*. It was in this period that organizational structures like theater companies came into being or questions of artistic skill were widely discussed to influence the development of the performing arts. By comparing Zeami's writings with European treatises of about the same time, the analysis aims at evaluating the qualities of his thoughts, its modernity, and his awareness about the importance of all aspects of theater from composition to acting from a transcultural perspective.

**Pia SCHMITT:** 執心の鏡 — 世阿弥能における「鏡」と「反映」の役割について (Mirror of Attachment – On Magic Mirrors and Reflections in *Nō* Plays by Zeami Motokiyo)

他の芸術と同様に、演劇では、「鏡」が物まね、及び舞台芸能における心理的経過を説明する比喻として、重要な役割を演じている。日本の古典芸能である能楽においても、構造上に、また主題としても、多方面に渡って「鏡」が登場する。前者の例として、能舞台では、俳優が面を着け、謡曲の主人公に変化する楽屋が「鏡の間」と呼ばれること、また上演が「鏡板」を背景に行われることなどが挙げられる。また後者の例としては、〈檜垣〉と〈井筒〉においては自然の水鏡という「鏡」が、〈野守〉或いは廢曲となった〈松浦〉においては魔的なものとしての「鏡」が、素材、或いは詩的なライトモチーフとして頻繁に登場することが挙げられよう。

本稿では世阿弥作品における「鏡」に注目する。描写されている「鏡」が中世文化史、宗教などをどのように反映しているのか。舞台上では「鏡」がどのように表現されるのか。それらの問題に焦点を当てながら、上記した世阿弥作品と室町時代におけるその演出を考察する。

**TAKEMOTO Mikio:** *Nō* Theater, Patrons, and Audience (能・パトロン・観客)

Since the modernization of Japan began in 1868 *nō* theater experienced the most serious strains in its 650 year long history. When European drama was imported in 1868 it started to control and change the Japanese theater scene for more than one hundred years. Traditional theater, such as *nō* theater, met with demands for a revision of attitude and self-awareness, and changes were unavoidable in order to survive until today. Contemporary *nō* today finds itself in an odd position. It is often described as theater but not considered as such. Judging from its appearance it is obviously theater and it is also performed on daily basis. Nevertheless the performance environment of *nō* differs significantly

from other theater forms and its transmission is protected in a special way. Rather than being considered an art of body expressions, which is presented to the audience, it is furthermore surrounded by the image of a recreational art, appealing mainly to amateur practitioners of *nō*.

In my article I will investigate the characteristics of both *nō* as a professional theater form and as an amateur theater and analyze how these contrary sides interrelate. I will argue that this characteristic of *nō* theater actually dates back to the beginning of the sixteenth century and became an important factor that helped sustain *nō* up to today. Nevertheless, I will also show that in recent times this system seems to malfunction. This new approach will also shed light on the future development of *nō* theater.

**YAMANAKA Reiko:** Performing *Nō* in Zeami's Time (世阿弥時代の能の演技)

Today's *nō* actors perform each play according to the basic rules they have learned. Their knowledge about how to move is written down in *katatsuke*, performing notes. However, we cannot find such notes in the form of choreographies for each play in Zeami's era. How did *nō* actors perform in Zeami's time? Did they act according to their own interpretations of each play? Were there any movement patterns the actors should observe? This paper takes such questions as its starting point.

Commonsense tells us that actors' movements in Zeami's era were probably more figurative and much less sophisticated than today's *nō* movements, but still there must have been some important rules about how to move and some secret tricks for showing actors' movements as effectively as possible. In this paper, I attempted to search for those rules and tricks in Zeami's treatises and his own notes in some autograph libretti. I inferred that the most important rule in those days was to decide the most effective timing for each movement.

## CONTRIBUTORS

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