JAPANESE CULTURE
IN THE
MEIJI ERA

Volume III

MUSIC and DRAMA

THE TOYO BUNKO
TOKYO JAPAN
JAPANESE MUSIC and DRAMA IN THE MEIJI ERA

Edited by
TOYOTAKA KOMIYA

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DONALD KEENE

THE TOYO BUNKO
TOKYO JAPAN
The Nō stage of Kanze school (see p. p. 97, 103) “Izutsu”

Kyōgen-Mask: Noborihige

Nō-Mask: Wakaonna
(young woman)
Ningyo jōruri (Puppet Theatre) *Yoshitsune Sembon-zakura* (Yoshitsune and the Thousand Cherries) see p. p. 206, 240-1, Yoshida Eiza, the first; Bungorō.

Bunraku Puppet—Bunshichi
Bunraku Puppet Young lady
The whole view of Kabuki-za—existing in Tokyo.

The stage of Musume Dojoji, See p. p. 81, 94, 102, 116, 203, 436.
Sakuroku:
One of the Kabuki Jūhachiban (Repertoire of Eighteen Classical Pieces for Danjūrō) see p. 230
Onna keizu
(In the Female Line)
See p. 281
(Ii and Kitamura)
at Kabuki-za

Konjiki Yasha (Demon Gold)
See p. p. 271, 277-8
(Hanayanagi Shōtarō and Mizutani Yaeko)
at Tokyo Theatre
Hototogisu (Cuckoo) See p. 40, 227, 279.

Fukkatsu (Resurrection) See p. 48.
Hamlet See p. p. 44, 291-2, Doi Shunsho.

En-no-Gyoza See p. 296.
“MUSIC AND DRAMA” is the third to be published in the planned series of English translations of the fourteen volumes of “A Cultural History of the Meiji Era” (1868-1912). It is the work of many hands. The Japanese original was edited by Komiya Toyotaka, who himself wrote the general introductory section, “Music and Drama in the Meiji Era.” The detailed studies in the original were written by Furukawa Hisashi, on Gagaku and Nō; Miyake Shūtarō, on the Puppet Theatre; Toita Kōji, on Kabuki, Shimpa and Shingeki; Machida Kashō, on Music and Dance; and Nomura Koichi, on Occidental Music.

The encyclopaedic compilation produced by these Japanese authorities in their respective fields was turned into English by two of the most competent young American translators now at work on Japanese literature, Edward Seidensticker and Donald Keene, who divided the task between them. And finally the result of their separate labors was given unity through a painstaking job of editing by Mrs. Carl Bartz, the wife of the head of the Publications Section of the Press and Publications Branch of USIS Tokyo.

This extensive collaboration has produced an English volume that introduces the western reader to a vast field of Japanese cultural endeavor that has until now remained virtually unknown to those unfamiliar with the Japanese language. It will serve a valuable purpose in showing the non-specialist what a long and arduous lot of work and experience had already in 1912
FOREWARD

gone into the making of the modernized musical and dramatic performances that draw such large and enthusiastic audiences in Japan today.

Glenn W. Shaw

Tokyo, March 12, 1956
# JAPANESE CULTURE IN THE MEIJI ERA

Volume Nine. Music and Drama

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Part one
MUSIC and DRAMA
in the
MEIJI ERA

Komiya Toyotaka
Chapter One

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

THE object of this history of culture in the Meiji era may be said, in brief, to be the tracing of the various aspects which the new Japanese culture assumed during the years following the Meiji Restoration, when the introduction of Western culture brought about in all fields collisions, mixings, and blendings with the traditional Japanese culture. In this section of the history we shall deal with music, the drama, and the dance. I have divided the book into gagaku, Nō, bunraku, Kabuki, Shimpō, Shingeki, Japanese music, and Western music. The various parts have been written by authorities in the different fields.

The type of art treated in this book is called in Western aesthetics "bound art," because the performers are bound by a given text or score, and are not allowed to express freely whatever their mood may be. Of course the Japanese examples of this type of art differ considerably from Western ones, but in general we may say that they are alike in being "bound arts." It is not, however, on this point that I wish to dwell here. In one other respect as well these Japanese arts do not differ from Western ones... in that they may be called momentary arts, which live only during the moment when they are being performed on the stage, and when that moment has passed disappear, leaving behind almost nothing but an impression. In this sense they are arts of just one time. This fact was pointed out some seven hundred years ago in the Yakumo Mishō, a volume of poetic criticism by the Emperor Juntoku, where he wrote that collections of poetry remain behind for posterity,
but musical performances vanish on the spot. In the literary arts, when a text is printed or copied, it remains behind for all time, and may be consulted as the occasion requires. However, a musical performance occurs only once and can never be repeated. Even if it is repeated, there is no way of telling whether it is the same as it was before.

This fact does not present any difficulties in itself. The trouble comes from the fact that when one discusses an art which has such characteristics as these, one must start from direct impressions, and yet it is impossible for a writer to capture direct experiences which he has not actually known. In the case of Kabuki, a person who because of his years has never been able to see Danjūrō or Kikugorō perform cannot give any fair judgment as to what Danjūrō or Kikugorō expressed how. Lacking this knowledge, he cannot record with confidence and accuracy what were among the glories of their age, and a full history of the culture (which should be based on such knowledge) will not emerge.

Of course we can read the texts, and through the texts imagine what the performances must have been like. By consulting the records kept by people of the time we may learn what contemporary opinion was of different actors, and in this way it is possible to imagine with some degree of accuracy what the art of Danjūrō (or any other actor) was like. However, this is entirely the work of the imagination, and is not a matter of living impressions. Interpretations or judgments which result from such a process rest on an extremely shaky foundation. All that can positively be asserted are such facts as in what month of what year Danjūrō appeared in what play, or in what month of what year he conversed with whom. In the usual type of history just that much may be quite enough, but in a history of the arts (and particularly the special arts dealt with here) that is by no means sufficient. We have attempted, by gathering material from various sources, to adopt the most suitable possible method for dealing with cultural
GENERAL INTRODUCTION

history, but in cases where we have not directly witnessed or heard performances we have had no choice but to depend on our imaginations.
Chapter Two

GAGAKU

At the time of the great upheavals in Japanese society which lasted from the opening of the country in 1854 until the Meiji Restoration of 1868, the art which was hardest hit was the No, and the one which was least affected was the type of ancient music known as gagaku. This was only to be expected: the No had been under the protection of the shoguns, while gagaku had been supported chiefly by the Imperial court.

With the restoration of the Imperial rule, the shogun went into retirement in Shizuoka, and the personal rule of the Emperor began. The No performers were faced with the dilemma of whether to serve the new government, to follow the last of the shoguns to Shizuoka, or to give up their careers altogether. Regardless of whether they decided to remain in Tokyo or to go to Shizuoka, they had no idea where or how they might perform. Their first consideration was to make a living; those who had possessions sold them in order to eat, and those without possessions for the most part were obliged to work with their hands: there was no question of practicing the No. One actor wove bamboo hats to make a living, another opened a charcoal shop, another became a farmer, another a ferryman, and still another a policeman.

The gagaku performers, on the other hand, as a result of the Restoration came to occupy much the same position as the No actors had enjoyed during the Shogunate. Of course the gagaku performers could not hope to lead the prodigal lives of the leading No actors during the previous regime, but they had
learned to accept a life of poverty during the long years of Shogunate supremacy and gratefully accepted the improvement in their status.

When the Imperial residence was moved from Kyoto to Tokyo, some *gagaku* musicians at once accompanied the court to Tokyo, while others, continuing to live in Kyoto, traveled back and forth between Kyoto and Tokyo. It may easily be imagined how this circumstance, together with the frequent changes in the organization of the Department of Music and in the place for rehearsals, made it impossible for them to settle down. Nevertheless it is true that in spite of such inconveniences and anxieties the fact that the court guaranteed the *gagaku* performers an environment in which they could devote themselves to the art of their fathers with its most ancient traditions, put them in a position of great good fortune when compared with the *No* actors. The *gagaku* performers had at least that much margin of assurance, and the speed with which Western music was taken up by them may, I believe, be partially explained by this fact.

When the authorities adopted a policy of introducing Western music to Japan, apart from military bands the only established organization capable of carrying out this policy was the Department of Music within the Imperial Household Ministry. Moreover, since it was decided that when foreign guests were entertained by the Imperial Household Ministry or when foreign officials were honored with court banquets, not only *gagaku* but Western music was to figure in the program by way of entertainment, it was far more fitting for the Department of Music to undertake this responsibility than for the military bands. It was thus quite natural that plans were made to train the *gagaku* musicians in Western music. However, unless the performers themselves had been thus inclined, it is unlikely that these plans could easily have been realized.

In 1874, the Vice-Grand Master of Ceremonies sent a request to the Assistant Naval Minister for some instructors to teach
the *gagaku* performers Western music. The request was granted, and in December nineteen musicians were selected to be trained by members of the Naval Band. Two years later, on September 30, 1876, a letter of inquiry was sent to the Board of Ceremonies stating that two junior musicians, having heard the daily practice of the students of European music, were extremely desirous of being permitted to study it themselves. The writers of the letter were in favor of having them learn Western music "while continuing their *gagaku* studies." This is indicative of the temper of the times.

The enthusiasm of *gagaku* performers for Western music mounted with the years. In 1879, Izawa Shūji (1851–1917) was appointed to examine the musical situation. In the following year L. W. Mason was invited to Japan from America, and the two men began the work which was to lay the foundations for the Tokyo Music School. When the school was established many of the court musicians became students. Not only did they study general principles of Western music, but some learned singing and orchestral music from Mason, others studied the piano with Mrs. Clara Matsuno, and still others the violin with Franz Eckert, the instructor of the Naval Band. In November, 1880, the *Yōgaku Kyōkai* (Western Music Society) was founded by interested persons in the Department of Music. It was this Society which on July 8, 1881, first performed orchestral music at a banquet in the Imperial palace. The Western Music Society changed its name to the *Ongaku Kyōkai* (Music Society) on February 11, 1882, and sponsored the first public concert of symphonic music in Japan.

Mason gave instruction in singing at the elementary school attached to the Tokyo Normal School and at the kindergarten of the Tokyo Women's Normal School. Later he also taught the regular students of the Tokyo Normal School, and tried to promote the training of singing throughout the country. When a call was made for students to be trained as the future instructors of the nation, court musicians not only joined the
ranks of the students, but several were invited to become teachers even of Western musical instruments. The court musicians also participated quite actively in the compilation of *Shōgaku Shōka-shū* (Collection of Songs for Elementary Schools). It should not be overlooked that during the early period of the introduction of Western music, the court musicians played an essential role in fulfilling the project conceived by Izawa and Mason of "blending Eastern and Western music as a first step towards the creation of a future Japanese music". For this purpose they urged the necessity of "discovering the points of resemblance and dissimilarity between the two types of music, matching the things which were similar, and gradually bringing together from both sides the things which were dissimilar." The familiarity of the court musicians with the rhythms and voice production of the old, traditional *gagaku* enabled them to take an active part in this work. In 1898 seven court musicians, together with some graduates of the Tokyo Music School, formed the *Meiji Ongakukai* (Meiji Music Society), which gave concerts in the spring and autumn at various places. One may judge the importance of their work from the fact that they had given no less than fifty concerts by 1910.

Of course the court musicians were not so infatuated with Western music as to forget their own work. They devoted themselves seriously to *gagaku* and would on occasion go to the provinces to give courses of instruction in their particular specialities. However, even though they conscientiously studied their art, there were few occasions for public performances of *gagaku*, and they seldom received any criticism. What criticism there was turned on questions which were "within the family", and they could not obtain any fresh stimulus. The danger of falling into apathy and depression was not absent. Moreover, unless a musician was able to grasp firmly the distinctions between the natures of the two worlds represented by *gagaku* with its ancient traditions and the newly imported Western
GAGAKU

music, it was impossible to join the two separate disciplines and make of them one art. Inevitably the artistic life of the musicians either became a split one or they had to discard one of the two kinds of music in order to devote themselves entirely to the other. There was, for example, a gagaku performer who decided to become a professional violinist, although he came from a family of court musicians.

The court musicians could not keep up indefinitely the important role that they played in the early period of the introduction of Western music because, with the steady growth in the numbers of people specializing in Western music, the situation went beyond the scope of the Department of Music. However, I believe that it is also certainly true that as the court musicians went deeper into Western music they reflected more and more seriously about their own speciality, gagaku, and began to realize the futility of chasing after two hares at once. At the same time, as the possibilities of public performance, criticism, and study gradually increased, the musicians' affection for their own art asserted itself all the more strongly.

Gagaku is an art which preserves extremely old traditions. Of course the traditions have on a number of occasions been broken, tampered with, and restored, and one cannot say for certain that the present form of gagaku is the same as that of a thousand and more years ago. However, in its antiquity and its special beauty it is without parallel elsewhere in the world, and it is an art which should be treasured. If it can be preserved in its proper form for prosperity, it will bring joy not only to Japan but to the peoples of the whole world. That it has survived this long is clearly because it has always enjoyed the patronage of the court, but today, with the reduced post-war budget of the court, the amount of money available for gagaku has naturally been cut, and the number of musicians halved. Unless the livelihoods of these musicians are fully protected now and they can devote themselves whole-heartedly to the study of gagaku, its survival is problematical.
Chapter Three

The No

The No is similarly in need of protection by the nation. This does not mean, of course, that the No performers of today are in the same desperate plight that they were in immediately after the Meiji Restoration, when they had no idea where their next meal was coming from, but there has been a tendency for the No, as the art which has the second oldest traditions in Japan, to draw away from the common people.

The No was not a people’s art in the Tokugawa Era. It belonged to the samurai, the daimyo, and the shogun. The people were barely allowed to see the kind of No called “Chōnin-No” (No for townsmen). Perhaps when these performances were of a high order they had served to excite the curiosity of the people, but in the society that existed immediately after the Restoration it was indeed a bold step for the No actors to plan to perform No directed at the people. The revival of No in the Meiji Era was due to Umewaka Minoru and Hōshō Kurō (who was persuaded by Minoru to appear on the stage again). However, unless these men had received support they could not have planned to revive the No with the common people for their audience. It was Iwakura Tomomi (1825–1883) who appeared at this juncture.

Iwakura, on a tour of inspection of Europe and America in 1871 as an ambassador, attended performances of opera, which he was informed was a representative type of foreign drama. Seeing opera made him recall that Japan had the No, and after his return to Japan he and two members of his suite, Kume
Kunitake and Nishioka Yumei, began to plan a revival of the Nō. Kume and Nishioka frequented Umewaka Minoru’s theatre and became friendly with the actors. Finally, on April 4–6, 1876, Nō was performed at Iwakura’s residence in the presence of the Emperor and Empress. On the first day the Emperor, the Empress, and the Dowager Empress attended the performances together with the chief officers of state. On the following day the Empress and the Dowager Empress were present, and on the third day, with various princes and princesses in attendance, the performances concluded triumphantly.

From this time onwards, whenever the Emperor visited the residences of the principal officers of state or the nobility, there were always performances of Nō, and its future thus came to appear quite bright.

By about the tenth year of the Meiji Era conditions were gradually becoming stable, and the various daimyō, who had been uncertain even about their personal safety, were able to lead quite comfortable lives based on considerable wealth, even if they no longer enjoyed their former power. As a result they were now able to patronize their favorite Nō actors and could, if they so desired, themselves display on the Nō stage the fruit of their own studies of the art. Not only did the Emperor, Empress and Dowager Empress witness Nō performances, but in 1878 the Emperor Meiji as an act of filial piety to the Empress Dowager, had a Nō stage built within the Aoyama Palace. In June of that year Hōshō Kurō, Kanze Kiyotaka, Umewaka Minoru, Kanze Tetsunojō, Komparu Hiroshige, Kongō Tadaichi and Miyake Shōtarō were given official appointments and received 3,000 yen each with which to buy costumes. This act must certainly have done much to reassure the heads of the different schools of Nō. Although they no longer enjoyed the shogun’s protection, they were now benefiting from the patronage of the Imperial Household, and the nobility and the daimyōs also offered their support. When Grant, the former president of the United States, visited Japan in 1879, Iwakura invited
him to his house and had Nō performed for him. Grant lauded it in the highest terms, and advised Iwakura to preserve it.

It was about this time that the question of establishing a Nō theatre came to be discussed. It was economically impossible to guarantee the livelihoods of the over one hundred Nō actors, but it was considered a first essential to build a Nō stage for them. Accordingly, forty-eight members of the aristocracy lent their names as members of the Nō Society (Nōgaku-sha), and a site for a theatre was sought in Ueno Park. There proved to be no suitable place there, but fortunately just at this time plans were being considered for the building of a restaurant named the Kōyōkan in Shiba Park, and it was decided to open in conjunction with it “a refined and elegant auditorium, free from the lewdness and obscenity of singing-girls.” The theatre was completed in March, 1881, and on April 16 the brilliant opening took place, in the presence of the Dowager Empress, representatives of the Emperor, and various members of the aristocracy. Performances of Nō for the Imperial Family, the nobility, etc. were given on various subsequent occasions, and the future of the Nō seemed to grow ever brighter. It proved, however, impossible for the aristocrats who were members of the Society to maintain the theatre all by themselves. In 1882 plans were discussed for preserving the Nō by opening membership in the Society to the general public, and for offering public performances, but with the death, in July, 1883, of Iwakura Tomomi, who was a pillar of the Society, its future prospects were for a time dimmed. In 1887 a “Petition for the Imperial Protection of the Nō” was presented to the Minister of the Imperial Household.

The Imperial Household Ministry granted “some money,” but it is not clear how much. At any rate plans were advanced for issuing a general invitation to the public to form a society which would maintain the Nō theatre and preserve the art, deriving its funds from the Imperial bequest. Close to 200 yen a year was needed for renting the land on which the
theatre stood. There were also various taxes to be paid, and the theatre stood in a damp place, necessitating extremely heavy repair expenses occasioned by the annual moisture damage. Moreover, as the various schools of Nō began to thrive again and build their own stages, their members felt disinclined to appear at a theatre meant for the common use of all five schools. In spite of the Imperial bequest of "some money," the originators of the plan eventually resigned from the organization, and the very existence of the Nō theatre at the Kōyōkan came to be uncertain. In the autumn of 1890 the name of the Nō Society was changed to the Nō Theatre (Nōgakudō) and it was reorganized in order to avert imminent dissolution. In December of that year Nō was performed in the Imperial presence, and a message was received from the Empress Dowager encouraging the Nō Theatre. However, its activities did not show very satisfactory progress. The society was reorganized in 1896, this time as the Nō Association (Nōgakkai), with the then Minister of the Imperial Household, Hijikata Hisamoto, as its president.

In June 1894, Minnie Hauk, who held the title of Königliche Kammersängerin from the Prussian court, visited Japan. She and her husband, together with the Austrian and German Ministers, were invited to the Nō theatre to witness a performance including Umewaka Minoru in Kantan and Hōshō Kurō in Momiji-gari. Explanations of the plays were written by Ōwada Tateki (1857–1910) and were translated into English by the Assistant Master of the Board of Ceremonies.

Minnie Hauk was a celebrated soprano born in New York in 1852 who made her début in Brooklyn in 1866 and later sang in London, Vienna and other European cities. From 1873 to 1875 she belonged to the National Opera. Until her retirement in 1896 she continued to make guest appearances at all the famous theatres of Europe, and was considered an artist of the front rank. She came to Japan at the age of forty-two, two years before her retirement. The contents of the letter of
thanks which Mme. Hauk sent after witnessing the Nô are worthy of our attention. No foreigner showed such an intuitive understanding of the Nô as she did. She wrote to express her thanks for "having been shown a sample of the most important and the most praiseworthy of the genuine traditions of old Japan... for having seen ancient Japanese dramas performed by actors schooled in the true traditions, and for having heard Japan's most ancient music sung by true singers." She continued, "Our German and Austrian dramatic entertainments are of recent origin when compared with those in your country, and your Society has done well to preserve these remains of the ancient past and traditions. We had thought that we in Europe were the first to create operas, but now that I know that the art existed in Japan before we even became civilized, I am struck all the more with admiration. I am nothing short of amazed at how early music and the art of singing developed in Japan."

As has been previously mentioned, Grant admired the Nô and urged his host to preserve it, but we do not have any specific information as to what Grant found to admire in the Nô. However, Mme. Hauk's artistic training enabled her to understand its qualities intuitively, and comparing the Nô with European opera she was struck by the artistic eminence and distinctive qualities of the Nô. One wishes that Minnie Hauk had also been introduced to gagaku and asked her opinion of it. One wonders whether among the admirers of Nô in the Japan of the time there was anyone who recognized its value as well as she did.

The Nô is an art which was completely achieved in the past. For this reason it is an art which one is unlikely to enjoy if one merely happens to stroll into a performance without the proper background. In order to appreciate the Nô one needs preparation and education. This is particularly true because the Nô, having passed through the fashions of the Tokugawa Era, came to incorporate within it many elements of the military
arts. An emphasis on timing and control, as well as a considerable stoic flavor, was the result of this influence. The Nō thus came to differ very much from its form as conceived by Zeami in the Muromachi Era. It was only to be expected that the great artists, who had been grounded from childhood in the singing and dancing of the Nō, should have had no more than partial success in their efforts to bring the Nō to the general public, if for no other reason than that the latter was insufficiently prepared to appreciate the Nō. It is true that with the drop in the social prestige of the Nō after the Meiji Restoration, and the relatively free adoption of elements from the Nō in the Kabuki, it became easier for the general public to appreciate the Nō, but it still remained rather remote.

On July 1, 1896, the Nō Association was founded. Members were enrolled from the general public, and joint performances were planned with the leading actors of the five schools of the Nō. The Nō had come gradually to be generally appreciated, and firm foundations were now laid for its continued prosperity. On the first day some 600 persons were in the audience. Of course the path that the Nō was subsequently to tread was not one of roses. On January 11, 1897, the Empress Dowager Eishō, who had possessed the deepest understanding of the Nō, and who had repeatedly granted money for its preservation, passed away. One of the directors and an auditor resigned from the Nō Association because it had not been possible to gather the expected contributions, and another important figure was transferred to Kyoto. Because of managerial and financial difficulties, in 1899 a request was again made to the Imperial Household Ministry for support, and widespread invitations were sent out to interested people urging them to join the Association.

The actual activities of the Association were, however, steadily expanding. As part of the 300th anniversary of the death of Hideyoshi, a joint Tokyo-Kyoto performance of Nō was held on April 18 to 22, 1898, at the Hōkoku Shrine in Kyoto. On
November 13, 1899, there were performances of Nō sponsored by Prince Komatsu, and from that time on various princely families sponsored performances of Nō. This custom was said to have originated in an opinion expressed by the Emperor Meiji when President Hijikata of the Nō Association suggested that Nō be made a feature of the ceremonies of the three principal palace festivals. The Emperor replied that the first essential was to foster an interest in the Nō among the high officials, and that it would therefore probably be best to have the princely families take turns at sponsoring Nō. The practice came to a halt in 1912 on the seventh occasion. In other words, it terminated with the death of the Emperor Meiji in that year.

The Nō Theatre in Shiba underwent various vicissitudes and finally, on September 9, 1902, was turned over to the Yasukuni Shrine, and came to be known as the Kudan Nō Theatre. In the same year Ikeuchi Nobuyoshi (1858–1934) came to Tokyo from Matsuyama. He was particularly interested in the training of the musicians, who play so basic and vital a part in the Nō even though they are often not adequately appreciated. Ikeuchi founded the Nō Club and planned to give night performances of Nō in order to raise funds for training the musicians. He unbegrudgingly gave his full efforts to this project, and the fact that in October 1912 a department of Nō music was established in the Tokyo Music School may be attributed to his enthusiasm. Ikeuchi was one of the men to whom the present prosperity of the Nō is most indebted. It is true that with the revival of the fortunes of the schools of Nō and the gradual increase in the numbers of people studying Nō singing and dancing, the work of various scholars and critics has served to deepen the interest and understanding of the Nō among the general public. However, Nō is essentially an art in which the two main factors are discipline and harmony, and the musicians, like the samisen in bunraku, form the element in the Nō which controls the melody and rhythm of the whole. Their role is not a conspicuous one like that of the principal
actors, and they must content themselves with a thankless task. One may thus see why the work of Ikeuchi Nobuyoshi in training the musicians represented so important a step in the development of the art of the No.
Chapter Four

BUNRAKU

THE puppet theatre, unlike gagaku and the Nō, is an art which was born and rose to prosperity with the support of the common people, and in this respect it is similar to the Kabuki. For a time, during the Tokugawa Era, the puppet theatre overwhelmed the Kabuki and cast it into the shade. This relationship later changed, and Kabuki gradually came to dominate the puppet theatre, but it is impossible to dispute the great influence which the puppet theatre exerted on the Kabuki. Bunraku (as the puppet theatre is called) was an art which had its stronghold in Osaka, and never quite caught on in Tokyo. With the Meiji Era there was a tendency for it to be supported exclusively by the people of Osaka, which caused it to be thought of as a provincial art. Had the Meiji government remained in Kyoto instead of moving to Tokyo the situation would have been very different of course, but since Tokyo was now the centre of the administration and of all forms of culture, bunraku, which was not a Tokyo art, inevitably suffered.

It had been a custom of long standing for the outstanding chanters to be granted the title of Jō by the court, and for them to receive the treatment accorded to samurai. The chanters thus enjoyed a superior social status to that of Kabuki actors, who were often branded as “beggars.” In official documents one even finds references to “so many head of Kabuki actors” as if they were animals, but the chanters were clearly considered as men. Of course this was largely a matter of social usage; the Kabuki theatre was very popular, and once it gained the
ascendancy over the puppet theatre the Kabuki actors were not always in practice all humility before the chanters. The story is still told of how the third Nakamura Utaemon hit upon the idea of presenting alternate acts of bunraku and Kabuki on one program. He invited some thirty bunraku performers, including chanters, samisen players and puppet operators to a dinner to celebrate the occasion. At one stage in the proceedings he presented them all with expensive tobacco-cases which he had been collecting over the years. The bunraku players, who up until this moment had been standing on their dignity and scarcely condescending to return salutations, were evidently impressed, for the following day they went to Utaemon to express their warm thanks. The Kabuki players felt that they had won a point.

The ill-feeling which existed between bunraku and Kabuki performers was a contributing reason for the prohibition in Tokyo on the performance of puppet plays in Kabuki theatres. When the chanter Koshiji dayū, who had become very popular in Tokyo, returned from Osaka the authorities erected a new bunraku theatre in Asakusa where he was to put on his first season of puppet plays. This event took place in September, 1885. The bunraku performances enjoyed great success and ran for fifty days, but this was because of the partiality of the Tokyo audiences for Koshiji’s beautiful voice, and did not reveal any special interest in the puppet theatre. Koshiji enjoyed all the greater popularity when, after the bunraku troupe returned to Osaka, he chanted the plays without puppets. In March, 1890, Koshiji went to Tokyo for the third time and remained there for about seven months, intoxicating the city with his recitations and giving rise to a rage for plain recitations. This led eventually to the popularity of the women chanters, who drove so many students wild with delight, as we can read in novels of the time. In Tokyo the chanting was thus welcomed, but the puppet theatre itself did not thrive.

Why, it may be wondered, did such a situation prevail?
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Even in Tokyo there was a long tradition of puppet theatres. To be sure, the typical Tokyo (or more properly Edo) puppets were string-operated marionettes, rather than the large dolls worked from underneath as in Osaka, and there were no real plots to the plays. In bunraku the operators are plainly visible and the text of the plays is the most important part of the art. The Tokyo audiences were apparently offended by the mechanical movements of the puppets themselves, and not only did they prefer the realism of Kabuki actors to the stylized puppets, but they missed in the puppets the verve or dash so conspicuous in Kabuki presentations. In Osaka, on the other hand, the popularity of bunraku did not prevent the Kabuki also from flourishing.

In April, 1872, several leading Kabuki figures were summoned by the Tokyo authorities and informed that historical truth should not be violated in Kabuki plays. For example, the historical Hashiba Hideyoshi might not be called Mashiba Hisayoshi—in other words the “decorative and fictitious language” of the stage was prohibited. It is not clear to what extent this directive was observed by Kabuki performers. It was apparently interpreted as meaning that they must not alter the truth in new works even if nothing could be done about existing texts. It may have been that performances of old works in the customary manner were tacitly permitted. In February 1878, when a play based on the Satsuma Rebellion of the previous year was performed in Tokyo, however, Saigō Takamori was called Saijō Takamori, and Shinowara Kunimoto was called Minohara Kunimoto. This was evidently because to use real names would have been too direct. If, for similar reasons, it was frequently necessary to use false names in the plays of the Tokugawa Era, there was hardly any point in objecting to the practice. It may have been for this reason that in Tokyo the authorities were not so strict about prohibiting the use of false names, but at the Bunraku-za in Osaka as late as 1891, Koshiji-dayū when chanting Taikōki changed the names of Mashiba
Hisayoshi to the historical Hashiba Hideyoshi and Takechi Mitsuhide to the historical Akechi Mitsuhide. This decision was criticized in the press because phrases involving puns on the names entirely lost their sense with the names altered. It is evident from this fact that for a considerable time after it was issued the directive remained in force in Osaka.

Another instance of change may be seen in the fact that the Osaka Kabuki actor Udanji as early as 1872 appeared in Kyoto in a play called *Paris*, which had Paris for its setting, and in which all the characters wore Western clothes. Udanji was highly praised by the governor of Kyoto Prefecture for having put on a new type of play which did away with the stale old habits of the Japanese theatre. The same Udanji three years later (in 1875) performed in Osaka a play based on the newspaper account of the murder of a woman at a local brothel. In it he took the part of a policeman. A new breeze was stirring in the Osaka Kabuki no less than in Tokyo, but the puppet theatre (like *gagaku* and *No*) could not so readily adapt itself to the new era because of the technical problems. It may have been out of a desire to make the puppet theatre appear in step with the new era that using historical names in place of the false ones was attempted. Even in the puppet theatre when *Tsubosaka Reigenki (The Miracle at Tsubosaka)*, a new play, was tried out in 1879 all kinds of effort were lavished on it in the hope of exciting the interest of the audience.

In 1891 a curious new puppet play *Nikkō-zan* was offered, in which a geisha and a Westerner have a love-scene before the Yōmei Gate at Nikkō. English words were used in this scene, producing a comic effect. By this time the actors of Kabuki in Tokyo were already playing the parts of foreigners and even appearing in the same plays with foreigners. One might note in particular the performance, in January, 1891, of the play called *Füsen-nori Uwasa no Takadono (The Celebrated Balloonist)* at the Kabuki-za. This play combined the story of Spencer’s ascent in a balloon, which was the sensation of the
moment, with a traditional love story. Kikugorō, in the role of Spencer, delivered a speech in English. This venture was obviously born of a desire to do something new or perhaps simply to startle people with its novelty. The puppet play, Nikkō-zan, however, was unfavorably received and closed after three days.

As has previously been stated, the puppet theatre is an art in which the chanters, samisen player and puppet operators work like cog-wheels and must operate in perfect gear to obtain the desired effect. One man operates the feet, another the left arm, and the third the body, the right arm and the head. It takes nine or ten years to learn to operate the feet or the left arm. Only after one has passed through such training does one get to be a chief operator (of the body, the right arm and the head). The two assistants must coordinate their breathing with that of the chief operator and perform exactly as he desires if the puppet is to seem a living puppet. Once the puppet comes to life as a puppet, it joins with the chanter and the samisen in creating the true essence of the art of the puppet theatre. The puppet theatre resembles the Nō in being an art in which discipline and harmony are of the first importance. Unless all three elements work in perfect harmony the puppet theatre does not present a unified impression. The fact that the Osaka audiences welcomed Tsubosaka Reigenki (The Miracle at Tsubosaka) and rejected the play with the foreigner was mainly due to the fact that its form was not suited to the theatre, and could not achieve the desired artistic effect.

Unless the persons responsible for the various parts of this art try to express their creativity on the basis of a thorough comprehension of the forms, it cannot succeed as an art. This is a fact too obvious to need saying. However, in order thoroughly to comprehend the forms, it is necessary to practice for nine or ten years, a monotonous drudgery reducing the operator almost to an unthinking machine. This is almost
impossible for present-day people to do. The man of determined will, like those of former days, who desires to perfect his art even if it takes ten or twenty years to do so, is gradually dying out. Nor will present-day apprentices stand for the insults and physical punishment from their masters that formerly were taken as a matter of course. 

In any art, the art must become a part of the artist. In the past, in order to achieve this, the masters would not explain anything, but would have their disciples repeat what they taught them until they were satisfied. If after they had the disciples repeat it, the masters were still not satisfied, they would beat and kick the disciples, or they would make the disciples repeat their lessons until dawn. The art of the great puppet operators was formed in this exacting way. Even though today most of the great men of the art are dead there are still quite a few promising figures and the number of people interested in the puppet theatre, not only in Osaka but in Tokyo, has considerably increased. Unless suitable steps are taken to preserve it, however, this unique and marvellous art must sooner or later perish.
Chapter Five
KABUKI AND SHINGEKI

KABUKI, like the puppet theatre, was born amidst the common people, grew up among them, and reached its heights in their midst. Gagaku served the court; Kabuki served the common people. Although there was this great difference between them the two were rather similar in the fact that neither was particularly affected by the Meiji Restoration, as is witnessed by the fact that the usual performances took place at the various Kabuki theatres in Tokyo in 1868 and 1869. It is true that performances were halted for a few days when, as a result of the fighting south of Kyoto between supporters of the Emperor and the shogun, popular agitation caused attendance to fall, but this was entirely because of the fighting and was not connected with the opening of the country. When the fighting subsided and the anxiety over it ended, the Kabuki went on again as usual.

It hardly needs saying that with the Meiji Restoration there was a great influx of Western things into Japan. In everything the Western ways were adopted, not only in the government, but in trade, the use of machines, customs, and manners. To be Japanese meant to be content with backwardness, and it came to be thought that it was essential to Westernize everything as quickly as possible. This was the ideal which moved the leading spirits of the time, and it does not necessarily follow that the general public shared quite the same high ambitions. Nevertheless, as the ideal and its realization gradually percolated down to the lower classes it became a “trend,”
and it came to be felt by ordinary people that to speak English, wear Western clothes, and to be somehow "modern" was the short-cut to success. As this trend developed, the world of Kabuki—which must be sensitive and responsive to all trends and should indeed aim to be at the forefront of the age—began also to be influenced by the times.

The statesmen of the time and the people surrounding the statesmen frequently made journeys abroad, and when they came in contact with music, operas and plays in Europe or America, they would reflect about the situation in Japan. Some would think about the Nō, and others would consider ways of improving the Kabuki. Some men became particularly concerned with the possibilities of using Kabuki as a means of indoctrinating the people. As early as March 1872 a Department of Instruction (Kyōbushō) was established which had three main objectives: "to comply with the principles of piety and patriotism," "to clarify the principles of heaven and the way fit for men" and "to bring about reverence for the Emperor and observance of the Imperial will." It was organized along the lines of a central temple with branch temples, and it had as its task the instruction of the common people. The instructors appointed for the most part were Shintō priests, Buddhist priests, and scholars of the Japanese classics, but in the provinces Kagura masters were also made instructors, as were professional storytellers in Tokyo. It was at the same time a task of the Department of Instruction to supervise the drama, but it is not clear whether Kabuki actors were appointed as instructors. However, in February of the same year, three actors and playwrights were summoned to the Tokyo Prefectural Office, and informed of the "Imperial view" that since members of the aristocracy and foreigners were now likely to see Kabuki, nothing should be performed which might serve as an agency for wantonness or which could not be seen by parents and children together. They were urged to deal only with subjects which could serve as instruc-
tion. In April of the same year, as has already been recorded, there was a directive to use the real names for historical characters, so that school children would not be led into mistakes.

The trend of the times soon revealed itself in the Kabuki. In August, 1871, at the Morita-za, Danjūrō tried the experiment of having the curtain drawn to the sound of a clock instead of using the traditional wooden clappers. In September of the same year, in a play at the Nakamura-za, Kikugorō dressed as a thief, took a pocket watch from his kimono, and after consulting it declared, "It is already past twelve mid-night. The time has come for me to go to work." As he pronounced these words there came from behind the scenes the sound of Rai Sanyō's poem "Is it a mountain or a cloud?" (Kumo ka Yama ka) and the actor made his exit. The same Kikugorō in May 1872 appeared in the part of "the foreigner Giovanni" in Otonikiku Kyokuba no Kawamuchi (The Whip at the Circus), a play based on a Western circus. Among the musical instruments used at that performance were "Western bugle," "a music-box" and "a xylophone".

In the same year it was permitted that theatres (which had hitherto been confined to Saruwaka-machi) be erected in Shintomichō. The owner of the Morita-za, Morita Kan'ya, built the Shintomi-za, opened to the public in October, 1872. It was 108 feet wide, 24 feet wider than the Morita-za had been. The outside walls were all painted, the roof was covered with corrugated metal, and the theatre tower was plated with copper. There were several dozen chairs arranged facing the stage so that guests wearing Western dress would not be inconvenienced. For the most part traditional Kabuki plays were presented but various schemes were used to inject novelty into the performances. Not only were new elements included in the old forms, but "the West" was added in every way at every point.

The Shintomi-za was razed by a conflagration in November, 1876. Kan'ya erected a temporary building where he staged
plays from April, 1877, but without much success, owing to the repercussions of the Satsuma Rebellion which began in January of that year. The war ended in September, and Kan'ya at once hit on the idea of producing a play about it which would draw audiences by its up-to-the-minute theme. He was very cautious in planning the production of this drama, consulting various informed people before he got Kawatake Shinshichi to write *Okige no Kumo Harau Asagochi (The Morning East Wind Clearing the Clouds of the Southwest)* in March, 1878. It was performed by a cast including Danjūrō, Kikugorō, Sadanji and Sōjūrō. Danjūrō played Saigō Takamori and Kikugorō was Shinowara Kunimoto. In the scene in which Shinowara Kunimoto, fighting amidst a rain of shells, falls from his horse and is killed, the audience was startled by the use of Western fireworks. The play was a great success and ran for over a month, earning Kan'ya an immense profit.

It was an epoch-making event in the history of the Kabuki to have treated a great national question like the Satsuma Rebellion in a play, and to have had the leading actors of the day appear in it. Of course the play’s success stemmed from its topicality, but it was also welcome because it dealt realistically with a real subject, thus conforming to the trend of the times.

This first taste of success with realism led Kan'ya to rebuild his Shintomi-za in a fully “modern” manner, down to gaseliers. At the opening ceremony he had the Army and Navy bands give concerts, and the whole occasion was staged with the greatest pomp. “Polite invitations were issued to the important government officials, from the Prime Minister and the governor of the prefecture down to other distinguished gentlemen of the capital in all over a thousand in number. Proprietors of shibai-cha, (tea-houses attached to the theatre) all dressed in frock coats, were busily engaged in welcoming the guests, a most edifying sight. Everyone was astonished by the display of pomp, on a scale never before known in the history of the
KABUKI AND SHINGEKI

theatre." This exhibition of pretentiousness may be ascribed to Kan'ya's efforts to cultivate upper-class society, but it may also have been that he had the secret ambition of resolving the problem of a national theatre, which had been occasionally discussed at the time, by accepting government support for his theatre while continuing to run it himself. At any rate the opening ceremonies were a demonstration of the social instincts of Kan'ya, who was one of the advanced spirits of his time.

When Okige no Kumo Harau Asagochi was about to be performed at the Shintomi-za, such men as Itō Hirobumi were summoned to the residence of the Governor of Tokyo Prefecture to discuss the play with Kan'ya, Danjūrō and Kikugorō. It may be seen from this fact that Kanya's dream of a national theatre was not entirely without substance. However, if we examine the activities of Kan'ya, who was so possessed with his feverish conception of "modernization" as sometimes to have appeared quite demented, it will be apparent that what guided Kan'ya principally was his desire to improve the Kabuki in his capacity as a pioneer of "modernization." Kan'ya was a thoroughgoing devotee of things Western, considering nothing admirable, even in the things of daily life, unless it were foreign. He would not touch such Japanese food as soy sauce, saying that it was harmful to health, spurned Japanese saké in favor of beer, and ate his raw fish seasoned with Western table salt—such was the extent of his infatuation with the West.

Be that as it may, Kan'ya's younger associate Danjūrō began from about this time to show interest in "ancient practices and usages," and sought to apply on the stage the knowledge he gained from his studies. The spirit of the directive received in 1872 to perform nothing which violated the historical truth came increasingly to guide Danjūrō as his new style of Kabuki gradually took shape. The attention he gave to "ancient practices and usages" in costuming and stage directions differed completely in scale from any previous Kabuki attempts up to then. Although some people were impressed by his efforts,
most of the spectators appear not to have favored Danjūrō’s revisions. It may well be imagined that the experiments of Kan’ya and Danjūrō were welcomed only by the most radical faction within the intelligentsia of the time—those who advocated Europeanization. That Okige no Kumo Harau Asagochi enjoyed tremendous popularity may be attributed to the fact that it was good theatre and does not necessarily reveal any partiality for historical accuracy.

In February, 1879, thirty-two foreigners who had been invited to the opening of his theatre in June of the previous year presented Kan’ya with a curtain to show their appreciation. On March 1, this group went in a party to the theatre. On the following day the Dutch residents of Yokohama all attended. On the fifth, a great many foreigners resident in Yokohama visited the theatre at the invitation of Yoshida Kiyonari, former Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States. On this occasion Danjūrō, Kikugorō, and other leading actors were presented to them. This event helped to raise the social position of Kabuki actors. Danjūrō became as extreme a “West-lover” as Kan’ya, ordering his shoes, hats, etc. from shops selling Western merchandise in Yokohama. On June 4, Prince Heinrich of Germany visited the Shintomi-za in the company of Prince and Princess Arisugawa, Prime Minister Sanjō, Itō Hirobumi, and a great many other high officials. On the eleventh, the Governor of Hong Kong came, and on the sixteenth, General Grant. Both the Prince and General Grant presented the Shintomi Theatre with curtains. It was this series of visits which led Kan’ya to stage in September of that year the extraordinary work, Hyōryū Kidan Seiyō Kabuki (The Wanderer’s Strange Story: A Foreign Kabuki).

Hyōryū Kidan Seiyō Kabuki is the tale of a Japanese fisherman who is shipwrecked and goes to America, England and France. At one stage of his travels he visits the theatre in Paris. The play within a play which the fisherman sees in Paris was performed by Western actors, a bold juxtaposition
of the acting styles of Japanese and foreign actors. Kan’ya, deciding that Kikugorō and Sadanji were old-fashioned, sent them off on a tour of the northern provinces, and left Danjūrō and Sōjūrō to deal with this production. He invited to Japan a troupe of English actors, who were then performing in Hong Kong, plus some musicians. Kan’ya sent invitations to the Ministers of all countries to attend the production of this play. It is not recorded what they thought of it, but the Japanese spectators, who were accustomed to Kabuki, had no idea where to focus their attention, and the play was unsparingly criticized for its dullness. Kan’ya lost 20,000 yen on account of this fiasco. He had gone too far for the audiences to keep up with him. The failure would seem to prove that the number of those who preferred the traditional Kabuki far exceeded the advocates of modernism, and that there was a very conservative nature to the demands of the audience. Kan’ya at once summoned back Kikugorō and Sadanji from their tour of the northern provinces, and in October presented Kagami-yama dramatized by Mokuami, with which he not only recouped his losses for the September fiasco, but was even able to make a handsome profit. This fact makes it all the more obvious how conservative the audiences were. The failure of Kan’ya’s experiment marked the beginning of his bad luck; his fever to “improve” the theatre gradually abated, and one failure after another led him to the verge of bankruptcy.

Danjūrō, however, appears not to have been able to abandon so easily his cherished desire of reforming the theatre. In June, 1878, at the opening of the Shintomi-za, Danjūrō, as delegate of the actors, had read a message of congratulations containing the words: “It seems to me that there has been a tendency in the theatre during recent years to revel in the impurities of the world and to take pleasure in the rank odor of ignobility. The theatre has lost its wonderful property of encouraging virtue and admonishing vice, and has fallen instead into a wanton seeking after novelty, which bears it ever down-
wards. There has never been a darker period in the history of the theatre than the present. I am deeply distressed by this situation, and earnestly hope that by working together we shall be able to free our art from this defilement.” These words were actually written by Fukuchi Ōchi, whose article on the improvement of the theatre is said to have served without alteration as the material for Danjūrō’s address. Even granting this, it is quite clear that Danjūrō was in fact hoping to effect an improvement in the theatre in much those terms. Of course, Danjūrō meant by “improvement of the theatre” largely an examination of “ancient practices and usages,” and although this was certainly superficial in character, it was a fair expression of the kind of naturalism he advocated. In his katsureki (historically true drama) and haragei (inner realism) Danjūrō was not merely external in his approach but at points penetrated deep beneath the surface and was able to infuse into the usual Kabuki a fresh content. The Kabuki had traditionally placed its emphasis on beauty of form, and had tended to have as its ideal merely a picture-like arrangement of the stage. There are even today some people who believe that this is the true nature of the Kabuki. Danjūrō did not of course ignore beauty of form, but he considered it a more important question for the actor to express the emotions of the part he was playing.

In the Kabuki of the early Meiji Era, works of a decadent, unhealthy nature were popular, and virtually every new play fell into one or another debased category. The actors of the different troupes were so accustomed to performing in such plays that it would have been very difficult for them to appear in works of a different kind—that is plays which were healthy and had real human value. The dramatists, at a loss what to do, were unable to write anything of interest. The intellectuals of the time who were interested in a reform of the drama for the most part had very little knowledge of the Kabuki. They consisted mainly of people with some knowledge of Western drama, and though they could offer advice to dramatists and
even become dramatists themselves, they were incapable of creating works of interest.

The Kyūkokai (Antiquarian Society) began from January 1883 to meet once a month in Danjūrō’s home, to discuss “ancient practices and customs,” exchange historical chit-chat, and guide Danjūrō, or at least try to give him advice. All these meetings led to an increase in Danjūrō’s demands on the playwrights without bringing about any real enrichment of his art. In 1889 the Kabuki-za was formed and Danjūrō joined it. At the same time Fukuchi Ōchi began to write historical plays for him. Unfortunately Ōchi did not have the talent to express his ideas dramatically, and the best he could manage was to put together something in the shape of a play. He was unable to write for Danjūrō any work which moved people or which has survived to this day. Danjūrō was criticized in the newspapers and magazines of the time for performing with a superior air, as if he were the only one capable of understanding their meaning, plays quite devoid of interest. Of course Danjūrō was partially to blame for this situation, but the fact that he could not find a suitable author—one who would write the kind of plays in which he wished to perform—probably was the chief difficulty. Danjūrō was forced to perform either in worthless new pieces by experienced writers who knew the theatre, or dramatically uninteresting works by new writers unfamiliar with the theatre. He was thus a victim of the times.

About 1886 Danjūrō stopped performing in newly written historical dramas and turned back towards the old period pieces, domestic plays and miming roles. It was in that year that certain statesmen and scholars formed the Engeki Kairyōkai (Society for Theatre Reform) with the intention of initiating positive action for reforming the theatre. In 1887 the Kabuki actors had the honor of performing in the presence of the Emperor. The programs consisted mainly of traditional Kabuki plays, with a few new works. The choice of works may have reflected Danjūrō’s preferences at the time, or it may have been
felt necessary when presenting Kabuki before the Imperial Family to select works in which the actors felt completely at home. From this point of view the traditional Kabuki plays were the best suited. If the intention of devoting himself to the traditional plays were already present in Danjūrō, it may well be imagined that the command performances helped to strengthen this resolve.

It should not be overlooked that there was at the time a Society at work for the "reform of the theatre" (Engei Kyōfūkai) in which the principal figure was Suematsu Kenchō, the son-in-law of Itō Hirobumi. It was Suematsu who had arranged for the Emperor to witness Kabuki. The Society for Theatre Reform dissolved in July, 1888, and became known as the Society for the Betterment of the Entertainments (Engei Kyōkai). In September, 1889, the name was again changed, this time to the Japanese Entertainments Society (Nihon Engei Kyōkai). In 1891, this organization also met a natural death. The fact that the word "theatre" (engeki) in the title of the Society was changed to "entertainments" (engei) shows that it was intended to reform not only the drama but the dance, Japanese music, and even storytelling and comic recitations. It thus differed in intent from the Society for Theatre Reform. However, inasmuch as the Society included such leading figures as Okakura Kakuzō, Tsubouchi Shōyō, Ozaki Kōyō and Furukawa Mokuami, it is likely that Danjūrō (who was a member of the arts section of the Society) was committed to the work of "reform." Even after the Society finally dissolved, the fact that Fukuchi Ōchi was still in close touch with Danjūrō must have kept him on the road to "reform," however distasteful it may have become. Of course, there is no reason to suppose that Danjūrō came particularly to dislike "reform." Even Kikugorō, who was considered by Kan'ya to have had old-fashioned ideas, played the part of Spencer the balloonist in 1891. Such was the temper of the times. The association of Danjūrō and Ōchi, however, failed to produce anything positive. If anything
positive may be said to have come out of it, it was the haragei but this was not so much Ōchi’s as Danjūrō’s own invention.

Realism in the haragei was by no means unknown before Danjūrō. Its ancestor was Zeami, and the Nō, even today, has as its most important element intellectuality. Even in Kabuki, at the height of its glory in the late seventeenth century, such actors as Sakata Tōjūrō or Yoshizawa Ayame devoted the greatest attention to intellectuality. But as the Kabuki developed technically in many directions, the actor who was most versatile gradually came to enjoy the greatest reputation. Skill came to be prized more than intellect, and form more than meaning. The chief desideratum of the Kabuki was for it to resemble a picture. Danjūrō returned to the earlier period and restored meaning to the Kabuki. It may have been that Danjūrō was guided by the Nō. Or it may have been Danjūrō’s naturalism—his desire to represent human beings as they actually are—which led him to choose this art. Danjūrō’s naturalism, by giving internal substance to the existing forms of Kabuki, lent new life to the parts he played. It may be wondered whether, if Danjūrō had not felt the weight of the Kabuki traditions of the past on his shoulders and had been in a position to play whatever he chose, he would not have attempted to portray realistically the world around him, as in such parts as Saigō Takamori in Okige no Kumo Harau Asagochi or the fisherman in Hyōryū Kidan Seiyō Kabuki.

About 1890, shimpa first emerged and took shape as an artistic form. Shimpa plays describing the Sino-Japanese War were immensely popular, and the Kawakami troupe, in May, 1895, presented on the stage of the Kabuki-za Ikaiei Kanraku (The Fall of Weihaiwei) with great success. After this first taste of success, the Kawakami troupe began a season in July, this time not with a war play, but with Ayamari Saiban (The Mistaken Verdict), base on the records of trials in Europe and America. There was a steady stream of complaint about the work from the audiences, who felt that there was no reason
for such a play to have been produced at the Kabuki-za. The play had no success at all, and the manager of the Kabuki-za in desperation went to the Meiji-za where Danjūrō was playing and begged him to perform in the next season at his theatre. Danjūrō replied that he was quite willing to perform, providing the stage were planed over and repaired, by which he meant, of course, that an actor of his standing would not dream of appearing on the stage after it had been bruised by Kawakami’s play. This would seem to be an expression of Danjūrō’s arrogance, but when one takes into account the fact that in November of the preceding year Danjūrō had performed in a war piece called Kairiku Renshō Nisshōki (Successive Victories on Land and Sea; The Rising Sun Flag), which received abysmal reviews, his statement may appear to have been motivated not only by sarcasm, but by jealousy towards the shimpa.

Danjūrō must certainly have felt sharply the change in the times since 1878 when he had enjoyed such a success in the play about the Satsuma Rebellion. Now a great gulf had opened between the success of Kabuki actors and the shimpa actors when it came to portraying modern times, as was shown by the different reception accorded to their respective war pieces. It may be imagined, on the other hand, that Danjūrō realized the more keenly that his own field was the Kabuki, and that he should not have the ambition of competing with the shimpa actors in portraying modern times. Danjūrō even after this time appeared in a number of new plays written by Ōchi, but he performed much more often in traditional Kabuki plays, and since he had the general reputation of being far better in such plays, he was a greater box-office attraction in them. It may be that as a result of the victory in the Sino-Japanese War the Japanese came to show new interest in the Kabuki, a heritage from their past. At the same time, as was indicated by the current opinion that there was no point in going to the Kabuki-za just to see an ordinary “political drama,” Danjūrō’s polished Kabuki art made a far more solid impression
on the audiences than the shimpa. Although shimpa was able to draw audiences because of its new form, it was poor in content, and it was not surprising that most people continued to prefer the Kabuki, even if they sometimes deplored the fact that the same old plays were still being offered. What Danjūrō was able to do in the Kabuki may be likened to putting new wine in old bottles; even if the forms were old he managed to infuse them with new spirit. Kikugorō, on the other hand, added realism to the surface portrayals of the various parts. This was a newness in the sense of his having pushed the traditional Kabuki farther along its usual tracks, but was not a newness in any revolutionary sense, as was true of Danjūrō’s contribution. When Kan’ya said that Kikugorō was old-fashioned, he put his finger on the main weakness of Kikugorō’s art.

Kan’ya cannot escape the charge of shallowness in the way he affected to be a member of the intelligentsia of the time and in the manner in which he plunged into the creation of a new theatre. Danjūrō, in much the same way, studied “ancient practices and usage” and placed importance on meaningless historical facts, and in the interest of creating a new drama resorted to an often foolish use of novel stage properties. This was childish of him, and may give the impression that he did not have his feet firmly on the ground. But Danjūrō went on to perfect himself in the authentic Kabuki, and with a solid grounding in this art was then able to create a truly new Kabuki as the result of many experiments. This was his haragei. When Danjūrō said or did anything self-consciously there was apt to be a good deal of childishness or superficiality in it, but when on the stage and taking a part into which he could immerse himself, he was moved by a force which he did not himself understand, and he displayed a marvellous art.

As has been said, the shimpa began about 1890. Its rise was associated with a political movement, as is evidenced by the Sōshi Shibai, popular plays designed to elaborate current political themes, and Shosei Shibai, plays essentially political
but on a more literary plane than the former. It originated as a kind of propaganda organ for political parties. Thus, like the Communist propaganda plays of the mid-twenties, it was not a theatre for displaying art, but one where the theme was the important thing. In these dramas the characters appeared in modern dress, and dealt with modern problems, and it was thus a theatre which was able to appeal directly to the audiences of the time, unlike the Kabuki. It was a realistic depiction of the real world.

In 1894, as will be recalled, the Kawakami troupe had a great success with a play about the Sino-Japanese War, but with the end of the war and the restoration of peace, it was only to be expected that war pieces should no longer have been able to attract customers merely by their content. At this point the artistry of the actors came into question and at the same time, artistic plays which could bring out this artistry became a necessity. The shimpa actors had to begin to perfect themselves as actors. Shimpa itself began to include works by Japanese writers, as well as adaptations and translations from foreign languages, and finally even Kabuki plays, so that it came to represent a rival organization to the Kabuki. An example of this rivalry occurred in 1904, when the Russo-Japanese War broke out and both shimpa and Kabuki troupes put on war plays. It was precisely because the Shimpa actors were accustomed to a realistic depiction of the real world that the Kabuki actors’ performances seemed unnatural and curiously rigid, and thus unsuited to the portrayal of the realities of the war which was going on. The Kabuki was at a natural disadvantage. In September, 1904, the Kabuki troupe presented the great shimpa success Hototogisu (Cuckoo), and in January 1905 they performed another shimpa work Chikyōdai (Foster Sisters). It may have been the intent of the Kabuki actors to do battle with shimpa and to crush it, now that with the successive deaths of Danjūrō and Kikugorō its own future was uncertain, but these attempts instead served to prove that the
shimpa had secured an unshakable footing in the world of the theatre, for the Kabuki performances failed.

The shimpa was not to be shaken from its stronghold of modern drama. This may have been because, as the Kabuki actors had secretly feared, popular favor gravitated towards shimpa after the deaths of Danjūrō and Kikugorō. In September 1907 the shimpa troupe staged at the Hongō-za Dainō (Large-scale Farmer), a play which had been selected by Mori Ōgai, Ueda Kazutoshi, Ueda Bin, Shimamura Hōgetsu and Miki Takeji. It was a most colorful occasion. In January and February, 1908, the Grand United Shimpa performances were held at the Tokyo-za, as a result of the efforts of Kawakami Otojirō. These events show how firmly shimpa was established. However, the fact the shimpa actors were modelling themselves after the Kabuki—that is, that the shimpa actors were trying their utmost to lead lives like the Kabuki actors—meant that they were feeling satisfied with themselves as accomplished performers and were gradually losing all ambitions of artistic improvement. This was the origin of the shimpa mannerism known as Hongō-za style, from which shimpa was never able to free itself.

At this point the foundations were laid for the shingeki, a form of theatre more suited to the new age. The persons connected with the shingeki had to start as rank amateurs. They truly burned with a love for their art and were willing to devote all their energies to it, resolved to sacrifice everything else. Most of the Kabuki and shimpa actors, in keeping with the traditions of the stage in Japan, wore fine clothes, ate expensive food and lived in luxurious house. They were treated with great attention and led self-satisfied lives, devoid of aspirations. It was not likely that such people could create a truly new art or accomplish anything artistically unusual. The Literary Society and Free Theatre together formed a new movement in which amateurs were trained from the first in an attempt to create a truly new theatre.

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It was in 1909, when *shimpa* showed signs of waning in popularity, that the moment arrived for the Literary Society and the Free Theatre to be born. The desire to create a theatre in the true Western traditions, and one which they would not be ashamed to show to Westerners, began to make itself felt powerfully among the young people. The Literary Society (*Bungei Kyōkai*) was founded on February 17, 1906 and on November 10 of that year a gala performance was held at the Kabuki-za. On this occasion the Society presented the trial scene from *The Merchant of Venice* in Tsubouchi Shōyō's translation, two scenes from Tsubouchi’s play *Kiri Hitoha* (*A Leaf of Paulownia*) and Tsubouchi’s *Tokoyami* (*Eternal Darkness*). A chorus of one hundred and forty took part in *Tokoyami*, marking a beginning of Japanese-style opera. In November, 1907, the Society presented *Daigokuden* (*The Great Hall of State*) by Sugitani Daisui, *Hamlet* in Tsubouchi’s translation, and his *Shinkyoku Urashima* (*New Urashima*). These were all performed under Tsubouchi’s direction. Since the days of the Society for Theatre Reform, Tsubouchi had been an advocate of gradual progress in the theatre, and as the programs presented quite clearly show (including as they do works in the Kabuki tradition), he was still resolved to achieve reform gradually. Even Tsubouchi’s translations of Shakespeare are shot through with this principle. In both *Tokoyami* and *Shinkyoku Urashima* he was preoccupied with the similarities of *Nō* and Kabuki to Western opera, and while creating a new Japanese opera, he was attempting to bring life to the old music. It was inevitable under the circumstances that Tsubouchi’s work struck people as being rather tedious.

The Free Theatre (*Jiyū Gekijō*), in which Osanai Kaoru and Ichikawa Sadanji joined their efforts, gave as its first public performance Ibsen’s *John Gabriel Borkman* in November, 1909, at the Yūraku-za. The Free Theatre differed considerably from the Literary Society in that it consisted not of amateurs but of professional Kabuki actors, and attempted to effect its desired
plan of reforming the stage in Japan by starting from an "age of translations" (honyaku jidai). The translations used were not full of period and local flavor like Tsubouchi's, but of a more neutral nature. Sadanji was, it is true, a Kabuki actor, but he had seen Western plays and had ever studied for a while at a Western dramatic school. He was filled with the zeal to discard his past history as a Kabuki actor and to create a new theatre in which he would be but an amateur. Osanai Kaoru had been connected with shimpa and had earnestly studied the Western theatre. After making a careful examination of the situation in the theatrical world of the time, he came to the conclusion that there must begin in Japan a true age of translations. In the field of learning, ever since the establishment of the new educational system in the early years of the Meiji Era, Japan had been passing through a long "age of translations," and now, especially since the Russo-Japanese War, Japan was walking a uniquely Japanese path. This was true also in the world of letters, but in the domain of the theatre a true "age of translations" had yet to come. Only after Japan had passed through such a period was there any possibility of her producing a new and Japanese form of theatre. It would not do to resort to temporizing expedients. It was in part because many people from the world of the arts thus gave unstintingly of their help that the Free Theatre aroused such public enthusiasm, but its success was also due to the fact that the work which it planned and realized met the demands of the time, and in particular of the intelligentsia of the time, far more than did the contemporary Kabuki or shimpa.

However, even if this theatre exactly met the demands of the intelligentsia, its work required a great deal of money. The Kabuki actors could not very well go on making a living as Kabuki actors nor could the amateurs continue to study the theatre as mere amateurs, supported by their parents. If these actors were to make a living by means of their work on
the modern stage, those who were in charge of the Free Theatre must consider how to present works which would be appreciated not only by the intelligentsia but sufficiently well by the general public. It was inevitable that with the passage of time the struggle between art and finances became ever more severe in the shingeki. After Osanai staged the sixth public performance of the Free Theatre in April, 1912, Sadanjii signed an exclusive contract with the Shôchiku Company. At the performances in October, 1912, at the Hongô-za, Strindberg's \textit{Facing Death} was put on under Osanai's direction in between Kabuki plays, but afterwards Osanai left for a year's journey to Europe. During the trip the Free Theatre was forced to halt its public performances.

During Osanai's European tour he saw for himself the stages run by Reinhart, Craig, Stanislavsky, etc. and returned to Japan filled with admiration. Gorki's \textit{Night Lodgings}, presented at the Teikoku Gekijô (Imperial Theatre) in October, 1913 as the seventh Free Theatre production, was a magnificent success. This was a revision of the third production, but it not only far outclassed the earlier effort, but was so stunning a performance that it was thought that never before and never again was such a splendid production likely to be seen in Japan. This is an excellent instance of the extent to which Osanai's European voyage enriched his artistic views. However, Osanai produced only one more play for the Free Theatre, and it was forced to close its doors in September 1919 after the ninth production. This fact, too, was probably closely related to the conflict between art and finances. Sadanjii began to devote himself entirely to Kabuki plays by Okamoto Kidô, while Osanai afterwards produced works for various small theatrical groups.

The by-laws of the Literary Society were published in March, 1909, and instruction began in May. In September a study hall was completed where lectures were held by Tsubouchi Shôyô on \textit{Hamlet}, practical psychology, elocution, stage performance, and
the Japanese dance; by Kaneko Chikusui on the philosophy of art; by Shimamura Hōgetsu on English conversation and *A Doll’s House*; by Ihara Seisei’en on the history of the Kabuki; by Tōgi Tetteki on vocal music and miming; by Doi Shunsho on elocution and performance; by Matsui Shōyō on voice production and stage performance; by Ichikawa Shōroku on stage fighting; by Kohayakawa Seitarō and Tsubouchi Daizō on *kyōgen*, etc. There were twenty-five students, and whether because of Tsubouchi’s skill as a promoter or his reputation, of the Literary Society at the Imperial Theatre sold out during the run May 20 to May 26, 1910. On this occasion they presented *Hamlet* and *Daigokuden*. The second production at the same theatre, offered *A Doll’s House, Kanzan and Jittoku, Oshichi and Kichiza* and the Trial Scene from *The Merchant of Venice. Hamlet* and *A Doll’s House* after their Tokyo productions were taken to Osaka and ran there for a week each. On both occasions Tsubouchi went to Osaka where he gave lectures explaining the works. Thus far everything went smoothly, but about the time of the third production there began the love affair between Shimamura Hōgetsu and Matsui Sumako which was eventually to wreck the organization.

Sudermann’s *Heimat* was presented in May 1912, at the Yūraku Theatre. Sumako was chosen to play Magda with the intent of capitalizing on the great public favor she had won with her Ophelia and Nora. The plan worked so well that the 5,000 yen spent on producing the play was recovered in advance ticket sales. However, immediately after the first performance, the Police Department directed that performances cease, on the grounds that the attitude of Magda towards her father ran counter to good morals. Shimamura Hōgetsu went as representative of the Society to see the Undersecretary of Home Affairs and succeeded in getting the ban lifted on condition that modifications be made in the text. This created great repercussions in the literary circles of the time, and the Literary Society’s attitude, which had been curiously com-
promising, was criticized as a debasement of its ideals. However, the incident served only to make the Literary Society and Sumako all the more famous, as needs hardly be said. In June and July of that year the Literary Society took *Heimat* on a tour of Osaka, Kyoto, Nagoya, and other cities, with excellent reviews everywhere. It was at the time of this tour that the complications within the Literary Society over Sumako began, and gradually developed into open gossip. Tsubouchi held an extremely strict attitude about morals within the Society, and when this matter became common gossip, he removed Shimamura from the front ranks, and appointed in his stead Matsui Shōyō. The production of Shaw’s *You Never Can Tell* in November 1912, and of Meyer-Förster’s *Alt Heidelberg* in February 1913 were both under Matsui Shōyō’s supervision, and only earned the Literary Society the criticism of having become vulgarized. This criticism also took the form of resentment toward Tsubouchi for having got rid of Shimamura. There were also complaints about Tōgi Tetteki and Doi Shunsho of the administrative staff. Finally Shimamura and Sumako both left the Literary Society and formed a new group called the Arts Theatre (*Geijutsu-za*).

Tsubouchi, who had preached anti-idealism as opposed to Mori Ōgai’s idealism, who had advocated moderatism as opposed to the radicalism of Suematsu Kenchō and others, and who invariably compromised with reality in his works and translations, had at last succeeded in establishing his Literary Society, and taken the first step in his practical movement of “reform of the drama” by establishing his study centre. It was most unfortunate that a crack in the organization should have opened in an unexpected direction, a crack which was to end by destroying the whole of Tsubouchi’s great dream. So great a misfortune cannot be found elsewhere in the history of the modern Japanese drama.

The Arts Theatre did not last long either. Its first production (in September 1913) consisted of Maeterlinck’s *Monna Vanna* and *Intérieur*; the second production was of Oscar
Wilde’s *Salome* and Ibsen’s *The Woman from the Sea*: and its third production (in March 1914) was of Tolstoi’s *Resurrection*. “Katusha’s song” (*Kachūsha no Uta*) which Nakayama Shimpei composed for the character of Katusha in *Resurrection* came to be known in every village and hamlet of Japan, and the wide popularity of the song was responsible for the Sumako’s becoming famous throughout the country. However, as a result of this success Shimamura’s policy switched to one of merely making money. He staged *Resurrection* not only at the leading Tokyo theatres as might have been expected, but in cities throughout the country, and even as far afield as Formosa, Korea, Manchuria and Vladivostok, thus attempting to reap to a maximum the benefits of the “new drama for the general public” (*taishū no shingeki*). No other project of the new theatre met with such great success. However, this success spoiled Sumako as an artist. Shimamura had a share of the blame in this, but Sumako became increasingly arrogant until she ended by being such a tyrant that not even Shimamura could handle her. Many of the male actors felt dissatisfied and angry, and some of them left the company. The Arts Theatre, which was attacked by the critics for having debased the modern drama, also incurred their resentment because of the arrogance which Sumako continued to display in spite of her inadequacies as an artist. It was gradually losing its popularity when in November 1918, Shimamura Hōgetsu died of illness. In January, 1919, Sumako hanged herself out of longing for him. This marked the end of the Arts Theatre.

Various other modern drama organizations were later formed. All of them had some degree of success, but none long survived. Nevertheless the Kabuki’s existence was threatened by them on several occasions, and it only managed to meet these threats by changing on each occasion. Kabuki succeeded in this partially because it had the backing of capitalists while the modern drama had no financial support. On the other hand, the low level of education of Japanese audiences was also a contributing
factor. They tended to be drawn by the Kabuki, which was sentimentally and musically appealing thus more to the emotions than to the intelligence. When one considers the fact that the popularity of *Resurrection* was due to "Katusha's song", this attitude of the public becomes apparent. The only thing which could have replaced Kabuki was not the modern drama but the new opera. If its successor was to be the modern drama, it would have to be a modern drama which included or was enveloped in music.
Chapter Six

JAPANESE MUSIC

THERE occurs in the monologue, Hitorigoto, by Dazai Shundai, a work apparently written about 1745, the following passage: “In joruri every locality has its own style. There are not only the styles of Edo, Kyoto and Osaka, but even of the remotest villages, and one piece thus will have many variants. The Edo joruri was originally designed to meet the tastes of the samurai, and its words and music were forceful, as if meant to rouse the listeners. In the Kyoto and Osaka joruri the voice shakes sorrowfully, and the contents are weak. However, before the Genroku Era the joruri irrespective of locality, consisted of stories about former times, and it thus was never so debased as in later times, when it came to deal only with the gossip of the moment. Not only the words but the style of singing and the music became vulgar and superficial. It might have been expected, in view of the different customs prevailing in different places, that if a man from Edo heard Kyoto or Osaka joruri he would turn his back on it and cover his ears in dismay, but along about 1705, a joruri master named Itchū came from Kyoto to Edo, where he popularized the Kyoto joruri. Thus it came about that Edo people acquired a taste for the Kyoto style. Then, along about 1715 a joruri master named Takemoto came to Edo from Osaka, and succeeded in popularizing the Osaka joruri. When he began to chant in his plaintive voice the trivial, shallow, jumbled things in the text, the Edo audiences were so moved that he enjoyed enormous popularity. Everyone went wild over him, not only the base
sort of people (as was only to be expected), but the daimyo, aristocrats, and even the members of the Court. At the beginning of the year, or on other felicitous occasions, Takemoto went on chanting his doleful lays in a lachrymose voice even while celebrations were actually going on, but no one seemed to think this strange or inauspicious. People listened to him day and night without ever becoming sated. At present the people of Edo enjoy only Kyoto and Osaka jōruri and consider the Edo jōruri not worth listening to.

We may probably accept most of what Dazai had to say about the vicissitudes of music in Edo and in the Kyoto-Osaka region at the time. In the Tokyo of the period immediately before and after the Meiji Restoration, the music which was current consisted of the three branches of Bungo-bushi (tokiwazu, tomimoto and kiyomoto); shinnai, which is closely related to Bungo-bushi; itchū-bushi; and, from the Kyoto-Osaka region also, miyazono-bushi, gidayū-bushi and katō-bushi; and the nagauta and sōkyoku. One may thus see that almost all the music in Tokyo at the time had been imported from the Kyoto-Osaka region. However, while it is true that jōruri in the traditions of the Bungo-bushi certainly originated in that region, its special development as tokiwazu, tomimoto, kiyomoto, shinnai, etc., had taken place on Edo soil, and may thus be considered like the nagauta as Edo music. This was because these various types of jōruri, like the nagauta, were linked with the Kabuki and there were thus many opportunities for the general public to come in contact with them as music for the theatre.

From this point of view it is possible to divide Japanese music into two main categories: music which is connected with the Kabuki, and music which is not. It may be argued that there is no music which has never once been used on the stage, but in general sōkyoku, jiuta, miyazono, itchū, hauta, utazawa, kouta and the like have nothing to do with the theatre. Moreover, the traditional Japanese music, irrespective
of whether or not it had to do with the theatre, was not much affected by the changes of the Meiji Restoration, and even when new pieces were composed, they were almost completely derived from the old traditions, and belonged to quite another world from that of "modernization." It is true that in the sōkyoku new experiments were gradually made, perhaps because sōkyoku inherently differs from other Japanese instrumental music in that it is capable of having an independent development. As early as the middle of the nineteenth century, such musicians as Mitsuzaki of Kyoto and Yoshizawa of Nagoya composed Shūfū-no-Kyoku (The Song of the Autumn Wind), Chidori-no-Kyoku (The Song of the Plovers), and other splendid works. Even after the Restoration, many new works were written by koto masters. In the twenties this was to become the New Japanese Music (Shin Nihon Ongaku) of Miyagi Michio. Indeed one might say that it was quite natural for Western music to have been incorporated in the traditional forms to suit the taste of the new Japan.

It was not possible in the music built around the samisen to give a new flavor, as it was in the sōkyoku. This may have been because the samisen had almost always been used for accompaniment and not as a solo instrument. At the same time, the fact that the vocal music which used the samisen as an accompaniment had a history of being connected mainly with the acting and dancing of the Kabuki actors, deprived it of many opportunities to become independent and expand its domain as music. In 1897, however, the Tokyo Nagauta Union (Tokyo Nagauta Kumiai) was founded, followed by the New Tokyo Nagauta Union (Tokyo Nagauta Shin Kumiai). In 1898, the nagauta musicians staged an outdoor concert by the Double Bridge of the Imperial Palace to celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of the removal of the capital to Tokyo. In 1899 Tanaka Shōhei, who had been studying in Germany, returned to Japan and began a basic study of traditional Japanese music, as a result of which the Nagauta Study Group (Nagauta Kensei-
was founded in 1902. A new atmosphere was breathed into the world of the nagauta as an independent musical form divorced from the theatre. However, although various experiments were tried by the samisen players in the words and melodies employed, they could not surmount the limitations imposed by the musical instrument itself, and were thus unable to achieve results as great as had been hoped.

In the world of Japanese music the names of the composers have almost all been lost. What remains is the names of the performers, and even then it is usually the names of the singers rather than of the samisen players which remain. Most of the composers were samisen players. In the case of sōkyoku, it usually happened that the composers were at the same time performers, and their fame as composers amounted to the same thing as their fame as performers, but in the nagauta, although all the composers were samisen players, theirs was an unthanked task, for the tendency was for the singers to get all of the credit. This was particularly true in the theatre because the singer's role is the most conspicuous one and it is he who can most easily move people. He thus tends to carry off the popularity. The problem stems basically from the fact that although there is theoretically an equal division of responsibility between the singing and the samisen, the vocal part always predominates. When the success of the Nagauta Study Group in achieving independence from the Kabuki marked the first step in the development of the nagauta as pure music, but at the same time one could not say that the possibility of true samisen music had been adequately investigated as long as no step had been taken in the direction of freeing the samisen from the singing and making of it an independent instrumental music.

In any case the traditional Japanese music had been influenced by the long closure of the country, and had not only become constrained and stiff, but had tended to be perfected only in the details. Most frequently, as Dazai Shundai had said, Japanese songs tended to be “trivial, shallow and jumbled” words
sung in a plaintive voice. The tradition had almost been lost of songs which could rouse the audience. Of course, as has been mentioned, Dazai’s words cannot all be accepted at face value. But if there had been composers in the late seventeenth century who had attempted to write music which captured the spirit of the people of the time and had something of largemindedness and greatness about it, it is likely that within fifty years of the Meiji Restoration a music suited to the new Japan would have been born.

In October 1879, the Department of Education established a Music Study Committee (Ongaku Torishirabe-gakari) with Izawa Shūji as its head, and in March, 1880, when Mason arrived from America, the office was moved to a building of the Department of Education (within the grounds of the present Tokyo University). Izawa Shūji had as his task (1) to blend the music of East and West and create a new music; (2) to train people who would contribute to the national music of the future; and (3) to bring music to the schools. In order to carry out this sweeping policy, Izawa and Mason resorted to many expedients. Thirty-three years were to pass until 1912, the last of the Meiji Era, and even if the two men did not succeed in creating a new music worthy of pride, one might have expected that under their stimulus at least there would have been considerable activity in the field of traditional Japanese music. The fact that this did not take place was, it may be imagined, because the people associated with the traditional Japanese music were all either individualists or conservatives who lacked the energy to stick their heads out of the hard shells in which they were enclosed and have a look at the outside world.
Chapter Seven

WESTERN MUSIC

It is said that Western music was first introduced to Japan at almost the same time as the Portuguese arrived in 1549. However, with the proscription on Christianity of 1637 Western music was also shut out of Japan. It was thus not until after the Meiji Restoration that Western music was openly introduced for a second time to Japan, this time to take roots. Even during the Tokugawa Shogunate, trade with Holland was permitted, and the Japanese had opportunities to come in contact with some Western musical instruments. When Perry came to Japan there were two military bands in his fleet. Thus we can see that even before the Meiji Restoration Japanese must have heard some Western music. Moreover, some twenty years previous to Perry’s arrival, Takashima Shūhan (1798–1866) after studying Dutch military science in Nagasaki, had recognized the necessity of “fife and drum corps.” At the time of the Restoration almost all of the military clans were employing “fife and drum corps.” From this it may be seen that Western music had already entered Japan previous to the Meiji Restoration. However, it was not until 1869 that the next step of creating a genuine military band was taken. After the Meiji Restoration legations of the various countries of America and Europe were established in Yokohama, to which guards were attached. Among the English guards (who were known as the red-coats) there was an English naval band. The Shimazu clan had had some of its men trained by the guards in tactics, and in September 1869 thirty soldiers of the clan were sent to
learn military music, borrowing instruments from T. W. Fenton, leader of the band attached to the "red-coats". This was the beginning of military bands in Japan, and the first formal introduction of Western music to Japan.

In May, 1871, the Ministry of War organized a military band built around the members of the military band of the former Shimazu clan, and in August of that year it supplied the music when the Emperor reviewed the troops. In September the Ministry of War was abolished and replaced by the Ministries of the Army and of the Navy. It thus came about that Fenton, who had been employed by the Ministry of War was formally attached to the Naval Band in 1875. On September 12, 1872, at the opening ceremonies for the first railway in Japan, between Shimbashi and Yokohama, this newly-organized Naval Band performed for the Emperor Meiji, and gave a concert at the Shimbashi station together with the gagaku by the orchestra of the Imperial Household Ministry. The army, on the other hand, had adopted French military drill, and thus naturally could not use an English type of military band. In 1872 it hired successively a French bugler, an Italian band leader and a French bandsman first-class to train its military band. Western music in Japan began with the military band.

Another factor in introducing Western music to Japan at this time was the Christian hymn. Hymns probably were first brought to Japan in the sixteenth century with the Portuguese missionaries, but with the granting of religious freedom in 1873, the singing of Protestant hymns began to spread rapidly. The year before the prohibition on Christianity was lifted there were only two hymns with Japanese translations but in the year following six different collections of hymns were published, containing from eight to thirty pieces. The popularity of these hymns came from their use to break the ground for giving singing instruction to the pupils of the Japanese elementary and middle schools.

The musicians of the Music Department of the Imperial
Household Ministry also began the study of Western music. Beginning in December, 1874, these musicians were instructed in Western music by the chief of the Navy Band, and in 1876 they were given instruction in band music by Fenton. Fenton came even to hold a post with the Imperial Household Ministry. In May, 1876, Koshino Hidekazu resigned his post as leader of the Army Band and was transferred to the gagaku department of the Imperial Household Ministry. The fact that someone who had been head of a military band should have been transferred to the Imperial Household Ministry to teach Western music, shows how considerable the interest was in Western music within the Imperial Household Ministry. Koshino had studied Western music with Dacron, the French bugler, and had been praised for his remarkable talent. He learned to play the clarinet, saxophone, trombone and bass. It may thus be imagined that when he entered the Music Department much was expected of him, and his own aspirations must have been quite high. The Navy in 1879 invited Eckert to be foreign professor attached to the Naval Band. Eckert also (in 1888) accepted a post with the Music Department, and worked there for more than ten years. As has previously been noted, there was no other organization than the Music Department of the Imperial Household Ministry suitable to perform the task of formally introducing Western music to Japan. It is true that the military bands had been giving public concerts for quite some time before, and were quite active in broadening the interest in Western music. On September 27, 1876, on the occasion of services commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the death of Ōtsuki Bansui, held at the Ōtsuki residence in Tokyo, twenty-eight members of the Army Band under the direction of its chief, Koshino Hidekazu, gave a concert of nine pieces, including polkas, boleros, quadrilles and marches. The Army Band also performed at the opening ceremonies of the Shintomi-za Theatre in June 1878, and always appeared to perform at dances held at the Rokumeikan, after its completion.
in 1883. From this point of view the Army Band played a considerable role in the spreading of Western music during the early part of the Meiji Era. However, because of the limitations to the instruments which can be used in a military band, it cannot perform orchestral music, which is the highest part of Western music. This role was not to be assumed until the development of the Tokyo Music School.

The founder of the Tokyo Music School (Tokyo Ongaku Gakkō) was Izawa Shūji. Izawa studied in America in 1875, devoting himself to the study and examination of methods of training teachers. He learned music from Mason, and deplored the fact that the Japanese educational system ignored music. He joined with Megata Tanetarō who was then in America as supervisor of the students studying abroad, to submit a petition to the then Minister of Education urging the necessity of promoting the study of music in Japan. In 1879 the Ministry of Education established the Music Study Committee with Izawa as its chairman, and when in March 1880 Mason arrived from America to take up his duties, the practical work of the Committee began. In its building the Committee had over ten pianos, flutes, clarinets, celli, contrabasses, etc. as well as such Japanese musical instruments as the koto and biwa in order to make a comparative study of Western and Eastern music. In June of that year the Music Study Committee established the curriculum for music students, and in September advertised throughout the country for a maximum of thirty students. A total of twenty-two students—nine men and thirteen women—passed the examinations in October and were permitted to enroll. In March, 1881, twelve more students were provisionally admitted.

Since the policy was to give instruction regardless of the sex or age of the students, there were both men and women students, ranging in age from twelve to fifty. The entrance of those who had already learned Japanese music was especially urged, and thus among the students were to be found the outstanding
nagauta artists of the time, Kineya Katsuhisa and the sixth Tomimoto Buzendayū. In addition the musicians of the Imperial Household Ministry were also enrolled as students. The instructors included Mason (the leading figure), and the court musicians, sōkyoku players and, somewhat later, Nagai Shige. After spending more than ten years studying music in America, she returned to Japan in 1881, and began to teach piano in March 1882. The subjects taught at the school were singing, instrumental playing (piano, organ, violin), theory (musical grammar, harmony), koto and kokyū. The playing of orchestral instruments was added in 1882. Instruction was given two hours each day, and the remaining time was devoted to practice. Tuition fees were not charged, and the instruments, study materials, and all facilities were to be used freely. But, this was not exclusively a music school—instruction was given, but it was necessary also to carry out practical research. Thus, school songs for the use of elementary school children were composed and collected, and after these had been tried out on the music students, the children of the elementary schools attached to the two teachers' training schools were taught to sing them, and it was then determined whether they were suitable or not.

The final intention of Izawa was to examine the differences and similarities between Japanese and Western music and to create a new national music by blending the two; and to train people who would promote this new national music. To achieve these ends school songs were composed, and at the same time music students were recruited and given a specialized education. The reason why person already trained in Japanese music were favored when selecting students was that their sense of hearing was developed, but it may be imagined that it was also hoped that they would be able to provide a valuable stimulus to the creation of the national music of the future based on their personal experience of both Japanese and foreign music. The fact that some court musicians had studied Western music for
several years may have been responsible for their having been selected as instructors in Western music, but judging from the considerable use of gagaku rhythms in the children's songs, it may be wondered if they were not serving rather as teachers of Japanese music and especially of Japanese singing. The fact that the koto and kokyū were taught along with the piano and violin also stemmed from the desire to make possible the "blending of Japanese and Western music."

However, the policy of the "blending of Japanese and Western music" tended according to the aptitude of the students, to become confused or to fall between two stools. It is quite all right if after one studies either the koto or the piano and becomes thoroughly competent in it, one goes to the other, but if before one is really accomplished in either one dabbles in both, one's mind and fingers will become confused, and one is apt to lose sight of one's original aim. Thus it was quite natural that when the Music Study Committee became the Tokyo Music School, it invited foreign teachers from all fields, and gradually began to develop as a school giving specialized instruction in Western music. When once the musical education was on the right tracks, it became possible to realize Izawa Shūji's goal of training suitable people to create a national music of the future. When Osanai Kaoru began the Free Theatre, he said that Japanese drama must pass through a true age of translation. The feature of the Tokyo Music School in the Meiji Era was to cause the Japanese musical world to pass through a true age of translation.
Part Two

GAGAKU

Furukawa Hisashi
PART TWO: GAGAKU

GAGAKU had been for centuries under the protection of the Imperial family. It was from the first strongly ceremonial in character and not particularly sensitive to external influences. With the Meiji Restoration the gagaku musicians came under a new system, as a result of which Western music was studied and public concerts of gagaku were offered. Gagaku thus came to play a rather important part in the music of the Meiji Era, although as a whole it was somewhat behind the times.

Investigations into the nature of gagaku were carried out by various Europeans and Americans from the 1870's, and at the Paris Exposition of 1894 there was an exhibition of the different types of gagaku instruments, scores, and pictures of bugaku, the ceremonial dances which are performed in conjunction with gagaku. It has been pointed out that in the prelude for piano by Claude Debussy La Cathédrale Engloutie, use is made of gagaku harmonies quite unaltered. Some critics even assert that the gagaku of a thousand years ago achieved a form almost identical with that of modern Western music. It is possible to search for modernity in gagaku, but one is led into difficulties unless such a study is organized more scientifically than has hitherto been the case. It is indeed possible to discover modern anguish even in the seemingly serene world of gagaku, but in the present study no more will be attempted than to outline gagaku under two main headings: organization and activities.
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Chapter One

ORGANIZATION

1. PRE-MEJI

The history of gagaku is a long one, and the name itself has undergone various changes. In the year 701 a gagaku department was established in the Ministry of State and musicians were appointed to study the music and dancing which had been introduced from the Korean kingdoms of Silla and Pekche and from China. However, there were also indigenous varieties of song and dance which were officially regulated about the ninth century and also known as gagaku. Even after the establishment of the gagaku department additional types of foreign music continued to be brought into Japan until there numbered some eight varieties. The gagaku instruments included the shō, hichiriki, ryūteki, biwa, kakko, taiko and shōko.

From the end of the sixteenth century the gagaku department acquired the name "gagaku of the three centres." This name refers to the fact that from about that time part of the Nara school (attached to the Kasuga Shrine) and part of the Osaka school (attached to the Tennōji) were moved into Kyoto along with the Kyoto school (attached to the Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine), and the schools of the three centres were thus gathered in one place. The total number of musicians, according to a work published in 1864, was ninety-one men. Distinct from them were the group of musicians also from the three centres who served the shogunate family. According to an official document of 1866, they were ten in number, and played at
GAGAKU

temples and shrines. In other words, immediately prior to the Restoration, about one hundred musicians were responsible for the continuation and preservation of gagaku.

2. FROM THE RESTORATION TO 1887

In 1870 a gagaku section was provisionally established within the administrative framework, organized under a chief, with a vice-chief, master musicians, junior musicians and students. The previously existing gagaku organizations were abolished and a new start was made. Eleven musicians were ordered to proceed to Tokyo from Kyoto, and provisions were made for expanding the activities of the gagaku department.

Previous to the Restoration the musicians had served not only in the gagaku department but as police officials, record keepers, military officials or Shinto priests, depending on the particular musician. However, under the new system their main function became the playing of kagura and the gagaku accompaniment to bugaku. Having no other duties but those within the gagaku department they could devote themselves entirely to the study and practice of their music. In addition to the Tokyo gagaku department there was a branch in Kyoto with a music school. The school in Kyoto, a city of traditions, was more active than the one in Tokyo, where conditions had not yet quite settled down. It specialized in the training of priests and musicians from the provinces.

In 1871 the Secretariat was established and court business was divided into five departments, of which one was gagaku. As a result, the offices of chief and vice-chief were abolished; the number of master musicians was set at seven, intermediary musicians at twelve, and junior musicians were to be unrestricted in number. Shortly after the reorganization, on September 12, the musicians performed on the occasion of the opening of the railway between Yokohama and Shimbashi, playing when
the Imperial carriage left Shimbashi, when it left Yokohama, and when it arrived back in Shimbashi. Most of the *gagaku* musicians, however, were unwilling to leave Kyoto. There is a record surviving from 1873 which complains of overcrowding at the Kyoto music school, a testimonial to its flourishing state. At the various ceremonies during the year which were the chief business of the *gagaku* department, there was no choice but to share the duties between the Tokyo and Kyoto departments.

In 1877 the disturbances which marked the Restoration had at last quieted down, and in September the Secretariat was attached to the Imperial Household Ministry. In October the Kyoto *gagaku* department was abolished, and the musicians made their way to Tokyo. The two music schools were thus amalgamated. In the following year study at the music school was opened to the general public, thus expanding gradually the activities of the *gagaku* department.

3. AFTER 1888

In 1888 there occurred another reorganization of the *gagaku* department, and in the years following frequent changes of nomenclature took place. The music school itself was moved to various sites. Since 1923 it has been situated within the precincts of the Imperial Palace.
Chapter Two

ACTIVITIES

1. REGULAR DUTIES OF THE GAGAKU MUSICIANS

There have been numerous changes in the organization of what began as the gagaku office within the Cabinet and is today the music department of the Imperial Household Ministry, but there has been no change in the most important duties, which are service at coronation ceremonies and at the removal of the Ise Shrine.

There is an average of two or three occasions a month when the musicians perform gagaku at festivals at important shrines; or on the anniversaries of deceased Emperors; or within the Palace on state holidays. The work of the gagaku has been so particularized that it is almost impossible to detect in it any social influence.

2. PUBLIC CONCERTS OF GAGAKU AND THE STUDY OF WESTERN MUSIC

Gagaku in recent times has extended its activities to the following three fields in each of which it has achieved a fair measure of success. The first of these is the project of public concerts. Beginning in 1879, each year two sets of concerts were opened to the general public, and later these came to be patronized by amateurs under the name of Gagaku Public Performance Society (Gagaku Kōenkai). This was a great stimulus to the study and
appreciation of an art which for many years had been kept a secret treasure within the palace and now was first revealed in the light of day. The fact that men from the confined world of gagaku came to show so positive an attitude owes much to the influence of public performances, as well as to the study of Western music (which may be counted as the second new activity).

It was in 1874 that the Vice-Grand Master of Ceremonies sent a letter to the Assistant Naval Minister, requesting him to send him an instructor to teach the gagaku performers European music, prefiguring the new age in which the shell of tradition had to be broken. In December permission was at last granted, and nineteen men were selected, of whom the oldest was thirty-seven, and the youngest fifteen.

In 1876 half of the salary of 250 yen paid to the Englishman, J. W. Fenton, employed as an instructor by the Naval Ministry, was assumed by the gagaku department, and the court musicians studied band music with him. The musicians felt that they could not be satisfied merely with their old studies, and strongly desired to prove that they were abreast of the new age by learning European music. This is witnessed by the request already alluded to above.

On November 3, 1876, occurred the first concert of Western music by gagaku musicians, an epoch-making event in the close to 1200 years since the gagaku department was founded. The program consisted of Kimi ga Yo (Your Majesty's Reign), a series of European marches and Mitami Ware (We, His Subjects). Henceforward, whenever a suitable occasion presented itself there were performances of Western music, as, for example, in 1877 when the Peers' School was opened and at the banquet given for civil officials leaving for the front in November of that year. In 1879 the fever for western music among the court musicians continued to mount, and many of the members studied the piano with Mrs. Clara Matsuno or the violin with F. Eckert. Finally, in November of that year, the
Western Music Association (Yōgaku Kyōkai) was formed by members of the gagaku department. On July 8, 1881, occurred the first concert of Western music in the Imperial Palace on the occasion of a banquet, the program being Kimi ga Yo, the Austrian national anthem, the Welsh national anthem, Hail Columbia and the vocal piece Wakamurasaki. On December 11 of the following year the Western Music Association (under the new name of the Music Association Ongaku Kyōkai) gave under its auspices the first public concert of Western music in Japan at the Asakusa Honganji, with 700 people present. It is most interesting that the gagaku musicians, who preserved the oldest traditions, were the leaders in giving the latest type of concerts, namely Western music.

In 1880 L. W. Mason, who had come to Japan as an instructor with the Music Study Committee, attended a gala concert of gagaku, and some of the court musicians took advantage of the opportunity to request him to teach them singing and the playing of Western musical instruments. They realized that singing in particular was likely to be adopted into the school curriculum, and within four or five years there sprang up private schools giving courses in singing and organ-playing, with a view to teaching in elementary schools. The court musicians served as teachers there or were active as supervisors or instructors at courses in the provinces. In January, 1898, seven court musicians joined with graduates of the Tokyo Music School to form the Meiji Music Society (Meiji Ongaku-kai), which gave concerts twice a year at the YMCA or the Hongō Central Auditorium. By December 1910 they had given fifty concerts.

3. TEACHERS OF GAGAKU AND WESTERN MUSIC

It might seem that the court musicians of the Meiji period were intoxicated by Western music, but they naturally did not forget their regular duties. To obtain an idea of what their
work was in this sphere we must look at their teaching of gagaku and Western music, the third of their new activities. In connection with their teaching of gagaku, something has already been said about the music school of the Kyoto branch of the gagaku department. The gagaku musicians later studied singing under guidance of Westerners, but they harmonized it to the traditional wagon. The children’s songs which they composed were of great importance in the elementary schools of the time.

As far as Western music is concerned, they taught mainly instrumental playing at the Tokyo Music School from about 1887 as well as violin and singing to the blind students at the Tokyo School for the Blind and Deaf. It is also necessary to add, although it is not an example of direct teaching, that when the investigation of Japanese music was begun at the Tokyo Music School, the court musicians participated in and aided this work.

It is fortunate that gagaku, a music of Asia, has been preserved in Japan if nowhere else. The unwavering patronage of the court has made this possible, but it will be necessary in the future for the number of the connoisseurs to be increased and the value of the gagaku widely communicated. It should be studied both culturally and musically. It is our duty to expand still further the work of the court musicians of the Meiji Era.
Part Three
THE NŌ

Furukawa Hisashi
PART THREE: THE NÔ

IT will be convenient to consider the history of the Nô during the past half-century and more, centred on the Meiji Era, by dividing it into three periods. The first is the period of decline, the thirty years between 1848 and 1877, beginning with the Subscription Nô which was the last performance sponsored by the Shogunate, and going up to the first glimmerings of the dawn of the new age after the confusion surrounding the Restoration. The second period is that of the rebirth, the eighteen years between 1878 and 1895, beginning with the construction of a Nô stage within the Aoyama Palace, which served as the impetus for the foundation of the Nô Society, and going through the period when the fortunes of the Nô were retrieved, up to the Sino-Japanese War—the course of the revival of the Nô. The third period is that of the flourishing, the twenty-two years between 1896 and 1917, covering the developments following the formation of the Nô Association, the steady progress in studies of the Nô and the coronation performances of Nô, up to the death of Sakurama Sajin, the last of the three great artists of the Meiji Era.

The history of the Nô in the Meiji Era is, in a word, the history of the sufferings of the Nô. If there had not been the unwavering efforts of the Nô performers and supporters of the time, the Nô would certainly have perished.
On the Other Hand
Chapter One

THE PERFORMANCE OF SUBSCRIPTION NŌ IN 1848

1. THE NŌ SYSTEM AND THE POSITION OF THE ACTORS

The Nō may properly be called the ancestor of the Japanese drama. It was brought to its full greatness about the end of the fourteenth century by Kan’nami Kiyotsugu and Zeami Motoykiyo, and was enabled to transcend the limitations of previous and contemporary arts. That its creation lagged far behind that of other arts was probably due mainly to the fact that it was only about this time that the drama was freed from the shackles of religion, and a class of people was formed who could appreciate it as an art. Even after the creation of the Nō the protection of the shrines and temples continued, but a far more important protector came to be the political figures of the time, and of these we must first mention Ashikaga Yoshimitsu who appointed both Kan’nami and his son Zeami. Examples are not wanting from former times of statesmen patronizing the drama—we need mention only Hōjō Takatoki and Ashikaga Takauji who both were fond of dengaku—but they did not foster the development of the art and give it protection in a true sense of the word, as did Yoshimitsu. Or we might say, rather, that whereas most protected arts tend to become “purveying arts” and thus to degenerate, the creators of the Nō, and especially Zeami, devoted their efforts to its improvement, and thus were able to lay the foundations for a classical drama which has survived to this day. The details of how he skillfully made the most of the power of the authorities, in the interests
THE NÔ

of the development of his art, may be found recorded in his testament, Zeami Jûrôkubu-shû (The Sixteen Treaties of Zeami). The Nô, which had such beginnings, enjoyed the patronage of Nobunaga and Hideyoshi in the Sengoku Era and subsequently the patronage of the Tokugawa family.

Ieyasu was appointed Shogun in 1603. On this occasion there was held at Fushimi Castle the so-called Shogun's Command Performance of Nô (Shôgun Senge Nô), and this served as a precedent for Nô invariably being offered at ceremonies of the shogun's family. The daimyo also naturally followed this practice, and Nô came to be treated as a ritual performance. The Nô actors were accorded an official stipend. Strictly speaking this practice did not originate with the Tokugawa family. In an account of 1609 it is related: "It was the custom in the time of Hideyoshi to grant to the Nô actors in Osaka either 50 or 30 koku, and until last year Hideyori continued to pay this sum." In the same work there is also a reference to financial support being given to actors in 1592, proving that from Hideyoshi's time this was the practice. In 1609 Ieyasu, partially as a gesture of power towards the Toyotomi family, summoned to Edo all the Nô actors who had until then been at Osaka Castle and placed them under his command. In 1618, in the time of the second Tokugawa Shôgun, Hidetada, when in addition to the existing four schools of Nô (Kanze, Hôshô, Komparu and Kongô) the Kita school was also recognized, an order was issued to the various daimyo requisitioning from them one koku of rice for each 10,000 of their income, for the support of the Nô actors. A national system of support of the Nô was thus provided.

At the same time the status of the Nô actors was settled. They were treated as samurai, and were considered one element making up the feudal system. The heads of each of the schools were fixed and protected by hereditary succession. In 1647, in the time of the third Shôgun Iemitsu, detailed regulations for the Nô actors were issued. Especially of note is the
provision: "All matters shall be dealt with in accordance with the orders of the Head. In the event of any lawsuits, they should be reported by the Head to the officials. However, if the Head behaves improperly, this too should be communicated to the officials." It may be seen that the "School of No system" (Iemoto Seido) had its inception here. The foundations which enabled the feudal system to maintain its existence until the Meiji Era (under the special conditions of a closed country) were firmly laid by the first three shoguns, Ieyasu, Hidetada and Iemitsu. Similarly, the No organization, and the position of the No actors which went hand in hand with the system, were established during these three reigns, and maintained through the Edo Era.

The No actors did experience occasional hardships, but by and large they continued their ways undisturbed until the end of the shogunate. According to the Bakufu Noyakusha Bun genshirabe (Investigation of the Status of No Actors of the Shogunate) of 1886, the total number of actors was 226, and the number of persons connected with the No supported by the state was 1,226. The No actor—particularly the Head of a School—led a luxurious life during the Tokugawa Era. One may gather from the recorded conversation of the wife of Kanze Kiyotaka what the life of the Head of the Kanze School was like: "The Kanze family was very well off under the shogunate. When I was young I served at the palace, and it was not until I was thirty that I married into the Kanze family. At the time of my marriage I had seven maids to wait on me. I took one from my own family, and I had in addition a seamstress and a hairdresser. As a result I had nothing whatever to do, and it was indeed often painfully boring for want of something to keep me occupied.... We had a total about thirty-five servants."

The same was true, with some difference in scale, of No actors in the provinces, as is witnessed by this report. "During the Tokugawa Era the Komparu family of Nara was exceedingly
prosperous. They had a mansion covering over 1,000 *tsubo* in the centre of the city, and a splendid stage.... Nara was one of the five principal cities of the country and was under the jurisdiction of a commissioner. Large landholders such as the Kōfuku Temple or the Komparu family were permitted to issue their own currency, which circulated quite widely, and not only on their own lands."

One may see from these accounts that tales of *No* actors who never paid a bill were not without foundation. It was an advantage which gave their art amplitude and dignity, but it was also true that their feeling of security worked as a disadvantage in keeping them from maturing as human beings. This disadvantage told on them as soon as the *No* was separated from its protectors.

2. THE CHANGE IN SUBSCRIPTION *NO*

The *No* developed under the protection of the rulers, and performances were generally in their presence. During the first three reigns of the Tokugawa Era, the *No* actors, whose status by then was fixed, were not permitted to break this precedent. However, with the reign of the fourth shogun, Ietsuna, the number of performances staged for the shogunate temporarily fell off, and the natural result was the popularity of the kind of public performances which had been called "Subscription *No*" (*Kanjin No*) since Zeami's time. By "Subscription *No*" was originally meant *No* performed with the purpose of raising money for the building or repair of temples and shrines. Various records of such performances have been preserved from the Muromachi Era, notably for 1464 and 1505. When the practice was revived its original meaning seems to have been lost, and "Subscription *No*" came to be performances on a commercial basis. Such performances could be given at any time, providing permission was obtained from the authorities.
It was even recorded in a late 16th century work that "Subscription Nō" was so popular in Edo that it was given every month.

There was a special variety of "Subscription Nō" called "once-in-a-lifetime Nō" (ichidai Nō). The head of the Kanze School was the only actor permitted to give this special performance, and he had this opportunity only once in his lifetime. The practice was begun in 1656. As an exception the head of the Hōshō School was twice permitted to give such performances. The last "once-in-a-lifetime" performances were those of the head of the Hōshō School in 1848; these performances mark the beginning of the modern history of the Nō.

3. THE SUBSCRIPTION NŌ OF 1848 AND AFTERWARDS

Of the five schools of Nō, the Kanze, thanks to its long patronage by Tokugawa Ieyasu, was considered the leading one. However, the eleventh shogun, Ienari (1773–1841), studied the Hōshō style of Nō, and from his time the Hōshō School emerged into prominence. The fact that an exception was made in 1848 and "once-in-a-lifetime" Subscription Nō performances had been allowed to the head of the Hōshō School was entirely because the twelfth shogun had also studied that school. During the performances the reign-name was changed to Kaei (Joy Eternal), testifying to the historical importance of this set of performances. Hōshō Kurō, who was to be famed as one of the three great Nō actors of the Meiji Era, made his appearance in these performances at the age of eleven, giving a sunset glow of beauty to the end of the shogunate.

According to the documents that have been preserved, in August, 1845, Hōshō Yagorō requested permission to give "Subscription Nō", which was granted in December of that year. The original plans called for performances in 1846, but in January of that year there was a great fire, which resulted
in a postponement until 1848. In the previous year the time had been fixed as the second moon and the place as 2,000 tsubo of vacant land near the present Mansei Bridge. Requests were sent out to the performers, and the selection of the program was begun. In the autumn work started on the buildings, and finally, on February 6, 1848, the performances began. Tickets were sold and in fifteen days the total number of paid admissions reached close to 60,000, bringing a total of 20,000 ryō in gold to the Hōshō family.

The opening day saw fine weather, but thereafter the weather was poor, necessitating postponements, and it was not until May 13 that the fifteen scheduled performances were completed. On each occasion, in addition to Okina (the traditional ceremonial curtain-raiser), six Nō and five kyōgen were presented. Thirty-six men appeared as shite, twenty as tsure, twenty-seven as waki, thirty-five as kyōgen, and sixty-three as musicians. Thus, a grand total of one hundred and eighty-one people appeared, not counting the chorus. The great success of the Subscription Nō of 1848 may be ascribed to the prestige of the shogunate (however much it may be said to have been on the decline), and to the popularity of Yagorō, who was then fifty and at the height of his powers. However, it is worthy of attention that his successor, the boy Ishinosuke (later called Kurō), then barely eleven, danced in one play on each occasion. This was a brilliant function which ornamented the end of the shogunate, and gave no inkling that in six years' time the great social changes brought about by the opening of the country would occur.

In June, 1853, the year that Perry's "black ships" appeared off Uraga, Yagorō, who had enjoyed the special patronage of the twelfth shogun, decided to retire because of the death of his patron. The sixteen-year-old Ishinosuke succeeded as Head of the school, and on the third of January of the following year, at the opening performance of the new year at the shogun's palace, he made his first appearances in that capacity. In the
following year Commodore Perry came again, and in March a treaty of friendship was concluded. In the meanwhile conditions were in a state of turmoil, and in 1855 Edo was visited by a great earthquake. The number of shogunate performances of No naturally diminished. With the death of the thirteenth shogun, Iesada, and the No performances held for the inauguration of the new shogun in 1858, we come to the final No held by command of the shogunate. Hōshō Kurō appeared on the inner stage within the castle in performances which lasted into 1859, on each occasion performing Tamura, Okina, Takasago, Sōshiarai, Dōjōji and Arashiyama. The foundations of the shogunate were strong, and they were not likely to crumble in a day, and the No was also maintained. Kurō continued to dance four or five times a year on the stage of the inner castle until 1861.
Chapter Two

THE WORLD OF THE Nō AT THE TIME
OF THE RESTORATION

1. THE CONFUSION IN THE CAPITAL

At the end of 1866 Tokugawa Yoshinobu, the fifteenth shogun, succeeded to his post, but the times, far from being conductive to a command performance of Nō for the new reign, as was the custom, were such that the shogunate was threatened with imminent collapse. The Nō actors, who had enjoyed the protection of the government for some 500 years, were now for the first time face to face with cold realities, and for a while they were at a loss what to do. Among the younger actors, who were more sensitive to the change in the times, there were some who had begun to practice fencing in their school for want of occasions to perform Nō, but at the time this was hardly more than sport, and not a way to earn a living. With the Restoration the allowances and support that the actors had received from the government came to an end, and their lives were plunged into uncertainty.

By a proclamation of the shogunate, the actors were permitted to choose whether they wished to appeal for protection to the Imperial court, to follow the shogunate although they could hope for no allowances, or to return as rōnin to their family residences. The Nō actors were in a quandary. Kanze Kiyo-kane, for example, decided at last in 1869, in spite of the discouragement of others, to follow the Tokugawa family to Shizuoka, but it was quite impossible for him or the other
actors to adapt themselves without a struggle to the violent changes of the time. His wife wrote, "It was our second autumn since coming to Shizuoka. It was decided, at the encouragement of people of the town, to give performances of No on ten days, inviting actors from Tokyo as well. Our luck was bad and we had incessant rain. We wasted more than fifty days in this way. Later we heard a rumor that the townspeople having heard that we had a little money, had urged us to put on the performances, even though they knew that it rains here a great deal in autumn. This was one way of getting our money from us. At any rate, we waited each day for it to clear, feeling sure that it couldn't keep on forever, but the rains continued. For over fifty days we had to supply food and lodgings for a great many people. This stroke of bad fortune took not only our savings, but we were even forced to sell No costumes. At the time my husband and I decided that if things came to such a pass that we had to sell our No masks and stage properties, we would burn them instead, and commit suicide together."

When one reflects that it was a bare twenty years previous that the Subscription No of 1848 had taken place, one cannot help being struck by the terrible turn the fortunes of the No had taken.

The actors who had gone to Shizuoka had to concern themselves first of all with making a living, and they had no leisure to think of practicing No. Matsumoto Kintarō supported himself by weaving bamboo hats; Kanze Motonori at first ran a firewood and charcoal business, and later became a merchant of fireworks. The actors who remained in Tokyo were in a similar predicament. In the words of Umewaka Minoru, "After the Restoration everything was in confusion, and no one had any thought of reviving the No. We were all thinking of what occupations to follow, and I myself was having my family take odd jobs." Matsuda Kametarō, a veteran of the Kita School, became a ferryman, and another member of that school became a police-
man at the Akasaka Station. Others sold their clothing for the pittance which it brought them.

It was not an easy thing in such tumultuous days to examine the situation calmly and take the proper steps. Hōshō Kurō, who saw from the outset the state of things and at once appealed to the Imperial court, was the wisest. His petition was granted in 1868 and he was given a post. It thus happened that on July 29, 1869, when the first performance of 能 after the Restoration was held, in honor of the Prince of Wales, Kurō danced Hagoromo. But even Kurō lived in uncertainty. In 1870 he requested permission to retire from the stage, and was debating whether to become a businessman or to go back to the farm. Among the daimyo then resident in Tokyo there were many who were fond of the 能, and there were frequent performances at their houses as part of the entertainments at banquets, but this did not last long. With the return of the daimyo to their provinces shortly afterwards, the future of the 能 was plunged into darkness.

2. THE PITIFUL SITUATION OF 能 IN THE PROVINCES

To turn our attention now to the world of the 能 outside the capital, Kyoto was the centre of the anti-foreign fighting, and as a result three of the principal 能 stages were burnt by the fires of the rebellion in 1864. Of these only the Kongō stage in Muromachi Street was rebuilt. None of the 能 actors had been directly in the employ of the court, but they were all attached to different clans and received allowances from them. In 1861 occurred the last 能 performances in the palace. The actors were subsequently at a loss what to do. Some, like Kongō Kinnosuke, moved to Awa by command of the daimyo, others took up varied professions. Nevertheless, in 1869 Shigeyama Sengorō (Oakura School), Miyake Shōichi (Izumi School) and Itakura Yōzō (Sagi School) and other members of each of
the three schools of kyōgen met and drew up a code in seven articles pledging cooperation among their schools in face of the difficult times, but little of practical good could be done about the unfortunate situation.

Osaka during the days of the shogunate was the economic centre, and was called "the kitchen of the nation". It was there that the storehouses of the various daimyo were situated, and there were also a number of Nō stages. According to an early 19th century record, there were some one hundred and fifty Nō actors, but with the Restoration, the various stages were destroyed because of hard times, and the only one left was the one belonging to Hashioka Gasetsu.

The splendors of the Komparu family of Nara have been described. Here is a description of their later days: "The battle at Fushimi took place on January 3, 1864. The shogunate army, which was defeated in this battle, was unable to return to Osaka, and it therefore withdrew to Nara. The turmoil in Nara was intense. The privately-issued banknotes were no longer valid, and an immense crowd pressed on the gates of the Komparu mansion, demanding that they be redeemed. The Komparu family was exceedingly agitated. They locked the front gate and admitted no one, secretly sending their precious possessions over the back wall to their family temple, and the Head and his whole family hid within the temple."

Under such conditions the only actors who kept their stages and went on practicing were Kongō Tadaichi and his son, and Umewaka Minoru. The only stage where Nō was performed during the early days of the Meiji Era was the one belonging to the Kongō school. The Kita and Komparu schools also performed on the same stage.

Umewaka Minoru came from a family of tsure performers, and even in the days of the shogunate had had only a small allowance and no stage. However, as he himself related, "I decided that I would not stop singing even if it killed me. I sang Nō even in 1868." In 1871 he bought a stage which he
moved to his house in Asakusa in Tokyo. In 1872 he inaugurated his theatre with benefit performances, and in 1875 put on performances in honor of the 988th anniversary of his ancestor. These proved important events in the revival of the Nō.

3. THE PROTECTION OF IWAKURA TOMOMI

The influence of Iwakura Tomomi’s visit to Europe and America in 1871 has already been discussed above. As one of the members of his entourage said, “I had never thought that the Nō was interesting until I saw costume-dramas acted abroad and thought how much they resembled the Nō.” Iwakura began to plan the revival of the Nō after his return. Performances at Iwakura’s residence attended by the Imperial family afforded the Nō a good start towards its recovery. The program consisted of Kokaji, Suehirogari, Hashi Benkei (Benkei on the Bridge), Tsurigitsune, Tsuchigumo (Earth Spider) and part of Kumasa ka Umewaka Minoru and Hōshō Kurō were among those taking part.

In Kyoto the dawn of a new age in Nō was heralded in 1872 by the command performance of five Nō and three kyōgen held for the elder sister of the late Emperor Kōmei. In 1877, on the occasion of the Emperor Meiji’s visit to Kyoto, another set of command performances was given. Nō was also performed at the Kujō residence in 1874, and in 1877 Kongo Kinnosuke returned to Kyoto from Awa. He repaired his theatre, and started monthly performances. Thus, both in Tokyo and Kyoto, from the depths of decay new sprouts had gradually pushed up their heads.
Chapter Three

UMEWAKA MINORU AND HŌSHŌ KURŌ

1. SHORT ACCOUNT OF MINORU AND HIS EMERGENCE TO FAME

There is mention of the Umewaka family in an account of a performance written in 1582, and as has been mentioned, in the Tokugawa period the family were tsure for the Kanze. Minoru was born in 1828, and was thus forty at the time of the Restoration. His life under the shogunate had been rather hard. When he sold the hundred sacks of rice of his monthly stipend he received 19 ryō. Of this he would give his adopted father 2 ryō for spending money, and with the rest took care of his mother and younger brother. At the age of twenty-four he was ordered to okuzume, palaceal service. He related in recollection, "It was the time for me to attire myself as an okuzume, and for a mere 24 coppers I could have my hair bound. But I did not have even 24 coppers to my name. There was a pawnshop close by, but if I were to deposit anything there the neighbors would gossip. There was nothing for me to do but to go all the way to a distant pawnshop in order to get the money to have my hair bound." When one compares this to the style of living of the Kanze family as above related, one can imagine where Minoru got the strength to brave the storms of the time.

Minoru did not give up the Nō even in 1868, the year of the Restoration, and this gave rise to gossip in his neighborhood. To avoid such gossip he went for a time to the villa of Nishio Oki-no-kami, but in the following year he regularly gave
about three performances a month of Nō at his own house. There were usually ten to fifteen persons present, and each one would contribute one shu. At the end of the year there would be a ryō or so left over. He was also provided with costumes and stage properties by these people, and for a curtain leading to the bridge he used five light green towels. However, in the following year (1870), he was able to hire costumes in which to dance Yoroboshi. The makeshift stage he used was inadequate for performances, but his efforts impressed one of the powerful memers of the audience who saw to it that an unused stage in the Aoyama mansion was presented to him.

Gradually the results of his perseverance began to show. In 1874 he put on a series of performance with seats at one yen. He was fortunate in the weather and every performance sold out. In the following year he had twice as large audiences, and he was able to establish himself financially. In this year (1875) Kanze Kiyotaka returned to Tokyo from Shizuoka. There is a story that he planned ceremonies to celebrate his return and Minoru opposed them. Be that as it may, from this time started the rift between the Kanze and Umewaka which was to cause so much grief. However one construes Minoru’s actions one cannot but recognize his services in a most difficult period for the Nō. Another factor which enhances his reputation is that he brought Hōshō Kurō back to the stage.

2. KURŌ’S MOVEMENTS AND HIS RETURN TO THE STAGE

As has been related, a performance of Nō was given on February 29, 1869, in honor of the Prince of Wales. Kongō Ukon, Kita Roppeita, and Kanze Tetsunojō appeared as well as Kurō, who was then thirty-two. In the previous year his mother had died in Kanazawa, and in the spring of 1869, his elder sister came to live with him. He must certainly have been troubled by family worries. At any rate, the Head of the Hōshō, who
formerly had an income 100 koku, was now a minor, badly-paid functionary, with no prospects for the future. In the following year he made up his mind to retire from the stage. He made his sister's husband his foster-son and transferred to the couple the headship of the Hōshō family. He related, "I was told that in order to begin in business one must know how to use an abacus, so for the first time in my life I took one in my hand. I practiced moving the beads to such numbers as 123,456 bushels 7 gallons 8 quarts 9 pints,... but whatever I learned one day I forgot by the next morning." What his business was is not clear: some say he sold candles, others that he sold furniture, but in any case he was not very skillful at it, and as bad luck would have it his shop burnt down.

Kurō changed his plans again, this time deciding to become a farmer. 1871 was the year that Iwakura Tomomi went abroad and Umewaka Minoru obtained his theatre, and the first signs of the revival of the Nō could be detected, but Kurō appears to have spent it as a farmer at Itabashi. It was Umewaka Minoru who visited him there and encouraged him to return to the stage. Kurō was a stubborn person and not easily persuaded to yield, but he was overcome by the enthusiasm of Minoru, who was looking for a collaborator, and in August 1873 he danced Kōya Monogurui as a hakama-Nō. In 1875 he appeared in Yoroboshi, Miidera, and as tsure to Minoru in Seminaru. As relations between the two men became more intimate, Kurō felt increasingly disposed towards returning to the Nō. What finally decided him was the performances in the Imperial presence at the Iwakura residence in 1876.

In that year Kurō was thirty-nine. In February he appeared in Sanemori on Umewaka's stage, and on the occasion of the April performances he decided to put himself completely in Umewaka's hands. Umewaka secretly decided to take advantage of the opportunity, and on the first day he added Kumasaka with Kurō to the program as a special abbreviated Nō. Kurō, who had been taken into the dressing-room as an assistant, was
impressed by Minoru's efforts and agreed to dance. On the second day Minoru yielded one place on the program to Momiji-gari with Kurō, himself performing only an abbreviated version of Tōru Kurō was all the more stirred, and on the third day, in his performance of the great work Mochizuki he displayed his full talents. Minoru's plan had worked. Iwakura was struck by Kurō's artistry. It was the combination of Minoru's friendship and Iwakura's backing which effected the return of Kurō to the world of the No and he who had once retired from the stage now threw himself into his works with all his heart and planned for the future. Following the Imperial performances, Kurō became very active, appearing in numerous performances, including two at the Tokugawa residence which were said to be in no way inferior to those of former days. Kurō, unlike Minoru, was the Head of a School, and the Hōshō School was the school which had been most favored by the shogunate in its last days. He personified the history of the No in those days himself: appearing at the age of eleven in the 1848 command performances, succeeding at the age of sixteen to the Head of the school, forced to spend seven years of silence at the Restoration, and now splendidly flowering again.
Chapter Four
THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NO SOCIETY

1. THE IMPERIAL FAMILY AND THE NO

ALTHOUGH the NO had developed under the protection of the shogunate, there had often been performances of NO at the Imperial court, especially before it acquired its ritual character. It is clear from Zeami’s writings that in his day there were frequent performances at the court. Although for a time performances of NO ceased in the palace, they were revived on a large scale again in the times of Nobunaga and Hideyoshi. In 1593 occurred the famous palace NO which lasted three days, which Hideyoshi and the other generals attended. But after the death of Hideyoshi in 1598, performances at the palace gradually decreased in number, and soon the NO became established as a ritual function of the Tokugawa shogunate, and most of the actors went to Edo, leaving the Kyoto stages rather desolate.

With the Meiji Restoration, NO again came to receive the protection of the Imperial family and was enabled to take the first steps towards a revival. This was indeed a strange twist of fate.

2. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NO STAGE IN THE AOYAMA PALACE

The fact that a NO stage was constructed in the Aoyama
Palace as a mark of filial piety to the Dowager Empress was a memorable event in the history of the No of modern times. The Empress Dowager’s fondness for the No may be supposed to have originated in the Emperor Kōmei’s tastes, but the depth of her own knowledge may be deduced from the fact that when she later invited Hōshō Kurō and Umewaka Minoru to her residence, she had the two men successively take the same part as a test of ability. On June 14 of that year Hōshō Kurō, Kanze Kiyotaka, Umewaka Minoru, Kanze Tetsunōjo, Komparu Hiroshige, Kongō Tadaichi and Miyake Shōichi were granted 3,000 yen with which to buy costumes, a literal case of Imperial bounty.

On July 5 the stage was opened with the Emperor Meiji present. Hōshō Kurō danced in Dōjōji one of the most demanding No roles, in the terrible summer heat, but so intent on the performance was he, as he later related, that he did not notice the weather at all.

3. INVITATION NO FOR GRANT

The second time that the stage was used was on November 20 of the same year. This time three pieces were given: Arashiyama with Hōshō Kurō, Kosode Soga with Kanze Tetsunōjo and Umewaka Rokurō and Shakkyō with Umewaka Minoru. With this performance the role played by the No at the Aoyama Palace in the revival of the No became decisive. In 1879 when the former President of the United States, U. S. Grant, visited Japan, Iwakura Tomomi invited him to his house on July 8 to a performance of No. The program consisted of an abbreviated version of Mochizuki (Hōshō Kurō), Tsurigitsune (Miyake Shōichi), Tsuchigumo (Kongō Yasuiichirō), and several dances. Grant lauded the No and urged Iwakura to preserve it. This strengthened all the more Iwakura’s intent to develop the No. His hopes for the revival of the No were
THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE Nō SOCIETY

to be materialized in the formation of the Nō Society.

4. CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE ESTABLISHMENT
   OF THE NŌ SOCIETY.

In the same year in which the Aoyama Palace stage was in-
augurated a draft of regulations for a Nō society was drawn up.
The persons chiefly concerned were members of the aristocracy
who were later to play an important part in the revival of
the Nō. The draft deals mainly with the necessity of establish-
ing a theatre for rehearsals and public performances, the pro-
posed site being Shiba Park. This plan was eventually to lead
to the formation of the Nō Society (Nōgakusha).
Chapter Five

THE OPENING OF THE SHIBA NÔ THEATRE

1. CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE BUILDING OF THE THEATRE

As a result of the above discussions it was considered that it would be economically very difficult to support a hundred Nô performers, and it was decided to concentrate therefore on the building of a theatre. Forty-eight members of the aristocracy who were members of the Nô Society requested land in Ueno Park on which to erect a theatre, but there was no suitable site. While they were pondering what to do, by chance the plans for the building of the Kôyôkan were disclosed. This was to be a theatre with refined entertainments in Shiba Park. Iwakura Tomomi added his efforts on its behalf. In September, 1880, a request was sent to the governor of Tokyo Prefecture asking permission to borrow land in Shiba Park for the erection of a Nô stage. Work was begun in October and completed in March of the following year.

2. OPENING PERFORMANCES AT THE THEATRE

On April 16, 1881, in the presence of the Empress Dowager and two hundred of the highest ranking nobles, etc. the impressive opening performance was given. Another performance was given on the following day for the nobility, and on the 18th a public performance at which over 700 persons were present. This theatre was completed three years after the one
in the Aoyama Palace, and is important in the history of the revival of the Nō as the first place where the ordinary lover of the Nō could see performances. When we examine the programs presented on the three days of the opening, it is apparent that Hōshō Kurō and Umewaka Minoru's leadership of the Nō was unshaken, and in fact it was these two men who organized the programs. One other figure who emerged into prominence at these performances was Sakurama Bamba who had come to Tokyo from Kyushu in the previous year. He was an actor of the Komparu School, and was presently to be ranked with Kurō and Minoru as one of the three great Nō actors of the Meiji Era. Outstanding members of the Kita and Kongō schools also performed.

3. THE SUBSEQUENT MANAGEMENT

Nō performances of various categories (Imperial command performances, nobility performances, etc.) were later given at the Nō Theatre and it seemed that the Nō, which had sunk to the bottom of ill-fortune, was now on the road to recovery. It was actually still in sore straits. A sufficient number of members could not be found among the nobility, and from October, 1882, members were recruited from the general public. Discussions were being held concerning public performances as a means of saving the Nō, when in July of the following year Iwakura Tomomi died. The establishment of the Nō Society and the opening of the Nō Theatre was a shining beacon in the world of the Nō, and the number of actors who were drawn by its beams steadily increased. In 1887 a petition was addressed to the Imperial Household Minister by several important figures in the Nō Society stating that unless government support were obtained, the art would cease. It went on to say that although conditions had improved since the time of the Restoration, "every year old masters of the art die off, and because
of uncertainties over making a living as a No actor, no young people are taking up the No now in the hope of becoming masters. The time is rapidly approaching when the existence of this art will be in peril.” It is not clear to what extent the request for help was effective, but according to a document of the following year (1888), the Imperial Household Ministry granted “some money.” With this money it was attempted to maintain the No Theatre and to form a society appealing to a wide public for the preservation of No.

However, there was an annual rent of close to 200 yen to be paid for the No Theatre, as well as taxes and annual repairs to the theatre occasioned by the dampness of the site. As a result of all the difficulties encountered, the original organizers announced their intention of resigning. In 1890 there was a general reorganization as the Nogakudō which staved off dissolution of the No Society. In December of that year there were performances under the patronage of the Empress Dowager who lent her encouragement. On the other hand as each of the schools its old strength, it felt less and less inclined to give joint performances, preferring to appear in its own theatres.

When the Sino-Japanese War broke out it seemed for a time that soldiers about to be shipped overseas would be billeted in the No Theatre, but this danger was averted. Instead, in November 1894 three days of performances for military funds were given, and as a result 1,000 yen was contributed.

Another important function of the time was Minnie Hauk’s visit already described.
Chapter Six

SAKURAMA BAMBA AND MATSUMOTO KINTARÔ

1. BAMBA'S ARRIVAL IN TOKYO

ONE of the conspicuous features of the time when Nō was beginning its resurgence was the arrival in Tokyo of Nō actors who had been living in obscurity in the provinces. This was especially true after the opening of the Shiba Nō Theatre in 1881. Of these actors, the two outstanding ones were Sakurama Bamba and Matsumoto Kintarō. Of course, in this early period of the revival of the Nō the position of Hōshō Kurō and Ume-waka Minoru was far superior, and Sakurama and Matsumoto by no means displaced them. Their great contribution was to blow a fresh breath of air into the world of the Nō. Bamba was a shite of the Komparu school, and his achievements in restoring the fortunes of this school, which had fallen on exceedingly hard times, were very impressive. Kintarō helped Kurō in the development of the Hōshō School.

Bamba was born in Kumamoto in 1835, and was thus seven years younger than Minoru and two years older than Hōshō Kurō. Bamba was a seventeenth generation descendant of an old Kumamoto family which traditionally served the Hachiman Shrine in that city. The Hosokawa family of Kumamoto had two Nō organizations, the main and the new. The Sakurama family was of the new theatre, the main theatre belonging to the Kita School which served the Kitaoka Shrine. When Bamba was twenty he went to Edo by command of the clan, and studied under Nakamura Heizō, a very strict teacher of the
old-fashioned type who helped Bamba to lay the groundwork for his future career. After several years in Edo he returned to Kumamoto. While on a second visit to Edo the Restoration occurred and he had no choice but to return to Kumamoto. He suffered the hardships of the period of eclipse, his own house being burnt during the fighting in the Satsuma Rebellion. He fled to a nearby village where he ran a cake-shop to make a living. In 1881 he went to Tokyo. It was just at the time that the Shiba Theatre was completed, and on the opening day he danced in *Kamo*. There was, however, not much chance for him to reveal his full talents with this one performance.

In May 1882 he performed *Kantan* at the Shiba Theatre and for the first time attracted the attention of the audience. In April of the following year he appeared in *Dōjōji* at the Shiba Theatre and performed so brilliantly that a leading connoisseur jumped to his feet in delight. This performance earned him a place as one of the three great actors of the Meiji Era. The acclaim that Bamba won was of course due to his own skill, but Hōshō Kurō’s understanding was also an important factor. Kurō helped him from the time he arrived in Tokyo, and Bamba even practiced in Kurō’s house. Bamba’s two great roles were *Kantan* and *Dōjōji*. He was famed for his technical skill, as Kurō was for his nobility and Minoru for his intelligence.

2. THE RETURN OF KINTARŌ TO TOKYO

Matsumoto Kintarō was known as the second-in-command of Hōshō School. He was seven years younger than Hōshō Kurō. After the Restoration he had gone to Shizuoka. As he later said, “At the time I was very hard pressed to make a living. The sufferings I underwent then are responsible for my having become old before my time.” He wove bamboo hats and took the examinations for a tax reviewer. In 1882 when the Shiba
Theatre was completed he went to Tokyo. Later, he returned to Shizuoka, and it was thanks to a gift from Tokugawa Yoshinobu that he was able to move his family to Tokyo in 1884. This was the start of his activity. From 1890 onwards he danced one play a month and was a representative performer of the Hōshō school.

3. ACTIVITIES OF SHITE

A word may be said here about the Head of each of the five schools. Kanze Kiyokado was gradually reaching his peak, and in October 1883 he performed in his father’s place in the gala performance of the Imperial Nō held at Prince Tokugawa’s residence. He was then seventeen. The Kanze School gradually grew more powerful, and in 1891 erected a new theatre. Kiyokado was very talented and not yielding to Umewaka in popularity, was steadily strengthening his position. However, there was also a profligate side to him, and in 1896 when performing on the Umewaka stage, a woman ran up on to the stage and seized him by the front of his costume. On account of this unfortunate incident he was obliged to give up his career.

In the Kongō School, Tadaichi had established his reputation with Tsuchigumo (Earth Spider), but his successor was of a despondent nature and the school, particularly the future Head, Ukyō, went through many hardships as a result.

In the Komparu School, Hiroshige, who was the Head at the time of the Restoration, died in 1888, and his son who succeeded him was not of outstanding ability. The Kita School for a time had almost ceased to function, but when in 1884 Roppeita was named as Head, and many serious students grouped themselves around him, things began to look up. In 1892 a theatre was built in Tokyo.
4. THE NO WORLD IN THE KYOTO—OSAKA REGION

Kongō Kin'nosuke returned in 1877 from Awa to Kyoto, where he did his utmost to revive the No. In 1879 he went to Tokyo, where he remained for about a year, returning to make Kyoto his regular base. Stimulated by him Katayama Kurōemon also built a new theatre. In 1883 he invited Kanze Kiyotaka and Fukuō Shigejūrō to appear in the opening performances. From then on he gave public performances. The long discontinued Imperial performances were revived in 1887 when the Emperor and Empress visited Kyoto. A temporary stage in the Palace gardens was used. In 1890, when there was an Imperial visit in connection with the opening of the Kyoto aqueduct, there was another performance of even greater brilliance. Katayama Kurōemon died that year and was succeeded by Katayama Kurosaborō, a younger brother of Kiyokado. Kurosaborō was later active both in Tokyo and Kyoto.

Apart from the stages owned by the different schools, as early as 1882 there was a new stage built at the Fushimi Inari Shrine. There were No performances in 1891 at the Kamigamo Shrine and in 1894 at the Shimogamo Shrine. In addition, No was occasionally performed at the Yasaka Shrine in Gion and at the East and West Honganji. In 1891 Hōshō Kurō visited the Kyoto region for the first time. On May 22, he gave a benefit performance at the Miidera. On the 29th he was welcomed by Kinnosuke and performed on the Kongō stage. This was a deeply significant event linking the No worlds of Tokyo and Kyoto.

To say a word about kyōgen in the Kansai: as previously stated, in 1869 Shigeyama Sengorō Masatora and twelve other kyōgen actors drew up a code. Sengorō Masatora was an Ōkura school kyōgen actor who had served the Hikone clan, and had also appeared at the Palace. He enjoyed the reputation of a great artist. In 1886 he died and was succeeded by Sengorō
Masamune. There is a branch of the Shigeyama family which bears the name of Chūzaburō, of whom the second was a famous performer. The Sagi and Izumi schools also existed, but kyōgen activity was centred around the two branches of the Shigeyama family.
Chapter Seven

THE FOUNDING OF THE Nō ASSOCIATION

1. CIRCUMSTANCES SURROUNDING THE FOUNDING

EVERYONE recognized that the Nō Society (which was founded in 1880) had played an important part in the revival of the Nō, but the management of this Society was by no means easy, and as a result of various developments, it gradually came to be ignored. An organization founded by a few interested persons and organized as a small-scale society of friends became inadequate to control the whole of the world of the Nō. The establishment of the Shiba Nō Theatre had encouraged Nō actors from the provinces to come up to Tokyo, and this had resulted in all the greater difficulties of accommodation. Ten years after it was founded the Society was reorganized in part, and the name changed, but it still was not able to function satisfactorily. That things should have come to such a pass testifies to the flourishing state of the Nō, and was the reason the Nō Association was founded in 1896 as a development from the Nō Society.

The prospectus of the newly founded Nō Association (Nōgakkai) related the changes which had occurred since the Restoration, and went on to say, “An examination of the situation in the world of the Nō reveals that the actors are performing in isolation. There are signs that established regulations are being disregarded and the whole system of the Nō may presently crumble. Moreover, the aged masters of the art are falling into a decline, and there are not many persons to continue their
fathers' professions. Is this not a lamentable state of affairs! Unless there are people to organize the No actors and look after them, they will suffer economic hardships, and will not be able to devote themselves entirely to their art nor to train their disciples." It then went on to relate previous attempts to form a society to achieve these ends, and pointed out their eventual failure.

On July 1, 1896, the No Association was formally organized under the general presidency of Prince Yamashita, with Hijikata Hisamoto as president, and various distinguished men in the other offices. The Association's regulations were set down in nineteen articles. The first article defined the general purpose of the Association as the preservation and fostering of the No, and the protection and encouragement of the actors. The fifth article provided that anyone contributing 5 yen would be a regular member, and anyone contributing less than 5 but more than 1 yen could be an auxiliary member. Thus it was attempted to put the organization from the start on a sound financial basis. There were also large contributions to the Association by the Iwasaki and Mitsui families, each of which gave 500 yen, and patronage was so generous as to assure a bright future for the organization. In September the No Association completed taking over all documents relating to the theatre building from the No Society, and on October 8 the first ceremonial performances were held at the Shiba No Theatre, now called the "No theatre of the No Association." These were memorable performances, showing that No had truly been restored to glory.

2. ACTIVITIES OF THE ASSOCIATION

Various events conspired, however, to prevent the development of the Association. The first was the death on January 11, 1897, of the Empress Dowager, who had been such a steady
and generous patron of the Nō. Her death greatly saddened everyone connected with the Nō, who felt that they had lost in her a spiritual pillar. The Association then suffered the other blows already mentioned above. Two years after its foundation the Association boasted 492 regular and 22 associate members, 8 special benefactors, and had received a total of 15,825 yen in contributions. This was scarcely on the scale that had been hoped for. In the beginning two plans for operation of the society had been drawn up, the first calling for a budget of 100,000 yen, and the second for 50,000 yen, and the contributions received fell very far short of either sum. Accordingly, in 1899 an appeal was again made to the Imperial Household Ministry for a grant, and a membership drive was begun.

The Nō Association was thus faced with adverse circumstances. Nevertheless it did manage to achieve certain results which would have been impossible were it not for this group. One of these was the four days of performances commencing on April 19, 1898, in Kyoto to commemorate the 300th anniversary of the death of Hideyoshi, in which all the leading actors of eastern and western Japan took part. Two others major sets of performances took place in the following year under the auspices of the Association. The Association continued to present Nō chiefly in the palaces of the aristocracy until the end of the Meiji Era, when it ceased to exist.

3. THE REMOVAL OF THE NŌ THEATRE TO THE YASUKUNI SHRINE

Such were the financial difficulties of the Nō Association that it became difficult even to maintain the Nō Theatre which was closely connected with it. On September 9, 1902, after having experienced many vicissitudes, the Theatre was offered to the Yasukuni Shrine, and was renamed the Kudan Nō Theatre.
The Nō Theatre was not much used afterwards because its function had already been completed. It served more as a remembrance of the period of revival of the Nō than anything else.

4. THE FOUNDING OF THE HŌSHŌ SOCIETY AND THE KANZE SOCIETY

The difficulties of the Nō Association and the decline of the Kudan Nō Theatre prove that it was now quite unreasonable to attempt to keep the world of the Nō unified and to carry out joint performances. The development of each of the individual schools became a conspicuous feature of this period. In 1898 Matsumoto Kintarō was finally able to start the Hōshō Society (Hōshō-kai) after ten years of unswerving efforts under adverse circumstances. It obtained gifts amounting to 3,443 yen and was able to build a new theatre in Tokyo. Many new and talented pupils also came to study. They seemed likely to develop into fine actors, and the future of the school was bright. In 1911 the Hōshō Society was reorganized as a corporation and in 1913 a new stage was built with a budget of 23,000 yen.

In 1900 the Kanze Society (Kanze-kai) was founded, and it was able to build a new theatre in Tokyo, ten years after its first temporary theatre. In 1898 a Kanze theatre was built in Osaka, and in 1902 the Katayama Nō Theatre was built in Kyoto.

The brilliant performance of Nō given in 1915 to celebrate the coronation of the Emperor Taishō marked the culmination of all of the efforts which the Nō actors and their supporters had made during the Meiji Era to revive this great art. All five schools were represented, and not only were famous old actors in evidence, but also young men worthy to carry on the traditions. However, with the deaths in 1917 of Hōshō Kuro and Sakurama Bamba an epoch in the history of the Nō in modern times had come to a close.
Chapter Eight

STUDY OF THE NO

1. HISTORY OF THE STUDY OF THE NO

A study of a theatrical art does not necessarily help directly in its development, but it does indirectly contribute to its prosperity by affording a logical basis for its appreciation, and thus permitting its future to be discussed. Especially in the case of a classical drama such as the NO, the study of the art is of importance both as criticism and education, and deserves our full attention. The study of the NO was begun as early as the beginning of the Tokugawa Era. The first printed edition of NO texts back to 1601, and there are kyōgen texts going as far back as the end of the seventeenth century. The oldest commentary on the NO was published in 1595, and following this quite a large number of studies were attempted. NO criticism dates back as early as 1658 when a review was written of a performance in Kyoto by actors of the Kita School. There are also various records of the period still surviving concerning costumes, masks, stage properties, etc.

2. PUBLICATION OF THE MAGAZINE NOGAKU AND FOUNDING OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF NO LITERATURE

It was not until recent times, however, that such studies became sufficiently scholarly to be called objective research. The study of the NO, together with other scholarly pursuits, steadily progressed in the Meiji Era, but its tempo, like that of the
revival of the No itself, was slow. In July 1902, Ikeuchi Nobuyoshi published the magazine Nozaku (No-Drama) which featured articles by leading writers of the time. Their contributions gradually won readers for the magazine, and at that time the No first came to be an object of scholarly discussion. In October 1904 the Society for the Study of No Literature (Nogaku Bungaku Kenkyūkai) was founded (also at Ikeuchi’s suggestion), and from the first included such men as Tsubouchi Shōyō, Haga Yaichi, Sasa Seiichi, Yoshida Tōgo, Igarashi Tsutomu, and Noel Peri. The aims of this Society were (1) to study the development of the No from its inception to the Meiji Era; (2) to make comparative studies (with Sanskrit drama, Greek drama, the Comedy of Masks, mysteries and miracle plays, with opera, and with Wagnerian lyric drama); (3) to evaluate the No both as drama and music; (4) to study the influence of the No on Japanese drama, popular music, literature in general, and art: and (5) to study the relations between No and Buddhism.

The Society began thus impressively, but in 1906 it merged with the Literary Society (Bungei Kyōkai), without unfortunately having achieved very much. In 1908 it was revived with Yoshida Tōgo as the central figure.

Even before these events, the study of the No had been germinating. In May 1892 a magazine called Tokyo Nogaku Shimpō (Tokyo No Report) appeared, but did not last long. In the same year was published the first general annotated edition of No plays by Ōwada Takeki, the pioneer work in the field. No criticism began to appear in the newspapers from the opening of the Shiba Theatre in 1881, and came into especial prominence in 1899, when it was carried by all the leading newspapers. In 1900 Ōwada began to write a regular column for the Tokyo Asahi.

The most important single event was the publication in February 1909 under the auspices of the No Association of Zeami Jūrokubu-shū (The Sixteen Treatises of Zeami), which revolutionized the study of the No. Early in the Tokugawa
Era a work ascribed to Zeami had been published, but it was actually a forgery. It may therefore be appreciated how important the publication of the genuine texts was.

3. STUDY OF THE NO BY FOREIGNERS

As has been mentioned, there was a performance of No in honor of the Prince of Wales, but this of course was of a purely ceremonial nature. When President Grant witnessed the No in 1879 he was provided with an English synopsis of the plays. Ernest Fenollosa, who came to Japan in 1878 and is famous as a pioneer in the study of Japanese arts, was also deeply interested in the No, and his friend E. S. Morse, who was a biologist teaching at the time at Tokyo Imperial University, was led by Fenollosa's enthusiastic praise to go to see the No, and finally, not satisfied with merely seeing it, to study with Umewaka.

The steadily deepening interest in the No on the part of foreigners led to a translation of the texts. Fenollosa died in 1908, but his translations of Hagoromo, Tamura, Tsunemasa Kumasaka, etc. appeared in magazines, and in 1916 Ezra Pound's reworkings of Fenollosa's translations were published in London under the title Noh, or Accomplishment: A Study of the Classical Stage of Japan. The Irish poet and playwright W. B. Yeats wrote dance-dramas (such as At the Hawk's Well) which were influenced by the No. Translations of the No had appeared as early as 1880 when B. H. Chamberlain published Hagoromo, Kantan, Manjū and Sesshōseki. In 1903 W. G. Asten translated Sesshōseki, and in 1909 K. A. Florenz published Funa Benkei (Benkei in the Boat). In the domain of kyōgen, Chamberlain made translations in 1879, and other translations followed by Florenz and by Noel Peri. Peri's work Le No (Tokyo, 1944) is the greatest achievement by a Westerner in this field and contains both No and kyōgen translations as well as a comprehensive introduction.
Chapter Nine

KITA ROPPEITA AND KONGŌ UKYŌ

1. ROPPEITA AND HIS ART

WHEN we examine the program of the coronation Nō performances of 1915, we see that the centre of the second day’s performances was Kita Roppeita’s Hāgoromo and Kongō Ukyō’s Hashi Benkei. The other leading performers on that day were all members of leading schools who had received instruction from such men as Umewaka Minoru and Hōshō Kurō. However, both Roppeita and Ukyō belonged to schools which did not have wide popularity and they had not been able to benefit by good training. They were alike in having had to surmount these handicaps in developing their respective special styles, and they both had a forte of individuality. This is the reason for devoting special attention to these two men here.

The Kita School, as has been mentioned, was formed at the beginning of the Tokugawa Era. As late as 1866 in the records of the shogunate Nō actors it was only treated as a “branch” and not as a full-fledged school. However, the founder of the school had enjoyed the patronage of Hideyoshi and the other members of the Toyotomi family, and after the fall of Osaka Castle they became dependants of the daimyo Kuroda of Chikuzen. In 1618 when the Head was employed at the command of the second Tokugawa shogun, Hidetada, it was understood that he would be given the same treatment as the Head of the four recognized schools. The school underwent various vicissitudes during the shogunate. Towards the end it appeared that the school was about to develop considerably under official
patronage, but shortly afterwards the Restoration occurred, and the Kita School all but ceased to exist. Anything which would raise money—costumes, masks, stage properties—was sold, and only documents of no monetary value remained.

Roppeita’s father had been a retainer of the shogunate with an income of 550 *koku*, but with the Restoration the allowance was taken away. The father made his living first as a teacher of calligraphy and later as a lantern-seller, undergoing all kinds of hardships. His mother had been the third daughter of the twelfth Roppeita, and because of this blood connection, the future Roppeita was adopted into the Kita family at the age of five (in 1879). After being trained by Matsuda Kametarō, Kita Monjūrō and other masters, he became Head at the age of eight in 1882. In 1883, at the age of nine he first danced a *Nō*, and the following year he made his first appearance on the stage in *Sagi* (*The Heron*). In 1892 the Kita School’s theatre was opened, and the Kita Society, led by Iida Tatsumi, was founded. In March of that year Roppeita appeared in *Dōjōji*. This is, of course, an exceptionally long *Nō*, but he was determined to perform it in spite of his youth. Roppeita related that he had heard that in order to perform *Dōjōji* properly it was necessary to rehearse it one hundred times, and this he did. It was in 1894 that he first assumed the name of Roppeita.

2. UKYŌ AND HIS ART

As has been related, the Kongō family managed to keep its stage through the Restoration, but it later suffered a fire in which everything was lost. Ukyō was born in 1872 and grew up in the gloom of a despondent household. For a time he considered abandoning the *Nō* altogether, especially after the death of his father in 1887. He went to Tokyo to take a physical examination for the army, but finally decided that he
would return to Kyoto where there were good pupils. After leading a vagabond life for ten years he was called back to Tokyo by Kanze Kiyokado in 1903 and performed at the third performance of the No Association. In 1904 he scored a success with Tsuchigumo, a speciality of his school. From then on he appeared regularly in public performance. In 1910 he took the name of Ukyō. His was an unusual talent, not free of flaws, but possessing its distinctive qualities.
Part Four

THE PUPPET THEATRE

Miyake Shūtarō
Chapter One

THE PURIFICATION OF THE STAGE AND ITS EFFECT ON THE PUPPET THEATRE

IN April 1842 the then prime minister of the shogunate, Mizuno Tadakuni, enforced the so-called Reform of the Tempō period, which had repercussions on the puppet theatre. In the name of reforming morals and suppressing extravagance, severe regulations and restrictions were placed on the Kabuki actors and on the chanteres, samisen players and puppet operators of the puppet theatre. It is not necessary here to enter into details about the effects on the Kabuki, but the Bunraku Theatre, which in that day was already the stronghold of the puppet theatre, was absolutely forbidden to put on performances within the precincts of shrines and temples, despite the fact that the theatre itself was located within the precincts of the Inari Shrine.

There was some cause for this order. The seventh Ichikawa Danjūrō, at the peak of the theatrical profession, was leading a life of incredible luxury. The costumes he wore on the stage were of real gold brocade and damask, and in private life he spent his days in extravagance approaching regal splendor. After he was expelled from Edo he went for a time to Osaka, which was the centre of the puppet theatre. At the time the puppet theatre could not boast any famous authors such as Takeda Izumo of the mid-eighteenth century or Chikamatsu Hanji of the late-eighteenth century, much less Chikamatsu Monzaemon of the early seventeenth century, and it was barely scraping along on third-rate writers. The Kabuki on the other
hand was blessed with such extraordinary actors as the third Nakamura Utaemon (Baigyoku) of Osaka, and, irresistibly growing in prestige and popularity, was beginning to influence both for the good and the bad the puppet theatre, which had originally been its source. The chanters, who had taken samurai morality as their ideal, might almost have been considered intellectuals, but the puppet operators were then as today highly gifted mechanical workmen, and susceptible to the worst influences. For example, when they operated the puppets they vied with one another in the beauty of their costumes, and put rouge and powder on their faces in imitation of the Kabuki actors, in the hope of attracting the attention of the ladies. There was thus some justification for the stringent controls, although the puppet theatre narrowly escaped being paralyzed by it.

A further law decreed that actors, chanters, and puppet operators were permitted to live only in one section of Dōtombori. This was indeed an act of interference in the private lives of the performers; in refusing to recognize private property rights, the government was restricting personal liberty. The chanters had in the course of over two hundred years established their standing, and had long been accustomed to being treated as samurai. Moreover, some chanters were honored by the rank of Jō, which could only be bestowed at the recommendation of members of the Imperial family. This title corresponded nominally to that of governor or lieutenant governor of a province, and was a distinction so important that in the two hundred and fifty years or more since the first Takemoto Gidayū received it, there have been only twelve others likewise honored. Nevertheless, the new decree took no cognizance of this fact, but treating the chanters like ordinary performers, limited the area where they might live and forbade them to own property or houses.

In face of this interference, the Kabuki actors of the whole country showed virtually no resistance. But in Osaka, the home of the puppet theatre, the third Takemoto Fudedayū boldly rose
in protest. Almost nothing is known of his talent or his character, and there is no proof of his proficiency as a chanter, but he appears to have been an intellectual, and was one of the authors of a famous work on the puppet theatre. He seems to have been unable to tolerate the repeated government interference, and questioned the reasons for the prohibition on the holding of private property by actors, chanters, and other artists, and especially protested against the severity of the law as it affected chanters, who for many years had enjoyed the treatment of samurai. The elders to whom he voiced his complaints were persuaded of their justice, and transmitted them to the presiding magistrate, together with the request that the law be made less severe. Shortly afterwards, a decree came from the magistrate which declared that the Kabuki actors and puppet operators would have to live in Dōtombori, but that chanters could go on owning houses and property as before. This shows the discrimination that was made between actors and chanters.

The puppet theatre was able thus, thanks to Takemoto Fude-dayū, to escape narrowly the oppression under which the Kabuki labored. However, the reason his protest was effective was that the puppet theatre had been born in Kyoto before the Kabuki, and favored as it was by the Imperial family, it assumed the status of a rather elevated art. Nevertheless, after 1800, when the last first-rate writer of works for the puppet stage died, the art steadily declined. There were still six puppet theatres, however, which proves how popular the art was with the people of Osaka.

It was also about this time that the first manager of the Bunraku Theatre (whose name has since come to be synonymous with the puppet theatre) came to Osaka. He was the first Uemura Bunrakuken. He was born on the island of Awaji, where the puppet theatre had long flourished, although in a rather crude state. When he learned of the decline of the puppet theatre in Osaka, he went there, with ambitions of becoming a producer. The date of his arrival is not certain,
but it was towards the end of the eighteenth century. He erected a building south of Takatsu Bridge, which he called the "Bunrakuken Theatre" after his own name. The style of the puppet plays produced at his theatre derived much from the Awaji traditions with which he was familiar, and were so unlike the usual Osaka puppet plays as to cause quite a sensation. In 1811 his theatre moved to the Inari Shrine, and there for about thirty years, until the edict of 1842, did a thriving business. By this time, however, the original Bunrakuken was dead, and his adopted son became the second Bunrakuken. He was a man thoroughly versed in the business, and possessed of enough literary ability to be able to write new works. He may be called the father of the prosperity of the bunraku; it was thanks to him that the declining art was revived in his theatre at the Inari Shrine. As a result his theatre soon became famous. Such famous chanters as the third Takemoto Nagatodayū (who will presently be discussed) performed there and "Puppet Theatre" became synonymous with Bunraku-za. The Tempō Reforms compelled the theatre at the Inari Shrine to close for a time, but in 1843 Mizuno was suddenly dismissed from office, and performances within the precincts of temples and shrines were again permitted. The theatre at the Inari Shrine run by the second Bunrakuken became the power in the world of the puppet theatre.

Towards the end of 1868, the year of the Meiji Restoration, the Osaka Prefectural Government inaugurated a program for increasing the prosperity of the city. One project called for bringing together all the places of amusement in the city, as they were concentrated in the Yoshiwara in Tokyo. It proposed to lend the Kabuki and the puppet theatre land, free of rent for five years, at Matsushima west of Osaka, and urged the theatres to move there from the various parts of the city. The theatre at the Inari Shrine was accordingly moved there in January 1872, and was called the Bunraku-za. This is, in fact, the origin of the word bunraku. At the time there were other
puppet theatres as well, but as the result of the combination of the talents of the fifth Takemoto Harudayū (chanter), the second Toyozawa Dampei (samisen) and Yoshida Tamazō (puppet operator), bunraku was able to become the adjective for the finest quality of puppet theatre. In 1884 it was decided that Matsushima was too inconvenient a place, and the Bunraku-za was moved to the grounds of the Goryō Shrine in Hirane-machi. At the time it had a rival in the Hikoroku-za, but its old traditions kept the Bunraku-za supreme. Unfortunately, however, in November 1926 the delightful old theatre was destroyed by fire. The provincial government, modelling itself in severity on the Tempo reforms, refused permission to rebuild on the grounds that it was unbecoming to have the theatre within temple precincts. For a while puppet plays were performed in a hired theatre, and finally in 1930 the Bunraku-za moved to its own theatre at Yotsubashi. It was damaged in the war, and rebuilt in February 1946. A new theatre was opened in 1956 in Dōtombori.

The Tempō reforms, which had seemed a threat to the puppet theatre, actually proved to its advantage, for its members received treatment superior to that accorded the Kabuki actors. There was another similar example. In 1831 there was an unprecedented performance of "operated Kabuki," which is to say, the Kabuki actors performed like puppets. For the great actor Utaemon to make a puppet of himself and not utter a single word of dialogue shows the esteem with which the puppet theatre was held by the actors of the time. From the time of this experiment by Utaemon, other Kabuki actors attempted occasionally to inject a "puppet style" into their acting of parts from plays which were originally written for puppets.
Chapter Two
THE FAMOUS CHANTER NAGATODAYУ

As has been related, after the death of Chikamatsu Hanji in 1787 the puppet theatre fell into a steady decline. Even the celebrated Takemoto-za had to suspend performances. It may be imagined, then, how much worse off the lesser theatres were. Just at this time, when things seemed at their darkest an extraordinarily talented chanter appeared who was able to rescue the puppet theatre from disaster: this was the third Takemoto Nagatodayу.

He was born in October 1800 of an Osaka merchant family, and like most of the truly great chanters had no family connections with the puppet theatre. He was of a well-rounded disposition, and was blessed with a powerful constitution and a rich voice. He possessed exceptional talents and versatility, being equally capable in domestic tragedies and historical plays, and able to chant a great variety of roles. He also had literary ability, as is witnessed by a play of his still performed today. Just the fact that this one man appeared in an age of decline led to the glorious period which followed. Moreover, his training produced such outstanding men as the fourth Nagatodayу, the sixth Tsunadayу, the fourth and fifth Yadayу, and in particular, the first Nagaodayу, who studied the longest with him. Among the puppet operators, Yoshida Tamazō was encouraged by him, and it was he who stimulated the genius of the samisen, Toyozawa Dampei, to work a revolution in the domain of samisen music.

To cite from among all these men the case of Dampei, it
was in 1854, when Nagatodayū was chanting the ninth episode of *Chūshingura* (*Loyal Rōnin*) at the Temma Tenjin Theatre that the samisen player who was to accompany him suddenly took ill. This is perhaps the most difficult piece in the entire repertory of the puppet theatre, and it was essential that a worthy accompanist be found for the great Nagatodayū. Faced with this problem, Nagatodayū selected Toyozawa Dampei, then at twenty-six a very junior member of the company. The young Dampei played the part brilliantly, and everyone was at once obliged to reappraise Dampei’s talent and to admire Nagatodayū’s skill in selecting men. When two years later Nagatodayū’s accompanist, the veteran Tsuruzawa Seikoku, died, Nagato selected Dampei as his regular accompanist. This was in 1856, when Dampei was twenty-nine. Nagatodayū had in the previous year become the leading member of the company, and Dampei thus took precedence over many senior samisen players in becoming accompanist for the great chanter. When, after the beginning of the Meiji Period, Dampei had become the leading figure in the artistic revolution in samisen playing, and had been acclaimed as a genius of the samisen whose likes would never again be seen, he declared that when accompanying all other chanter but Nagato he had always played as he saw fit, but with Nagato he was glad to be guided.

Nagato was a man of simplicity and manliness. Although a master of his art he was always given to deep reflections on improving it. He was modest enough to seek the criticism of the quite ordinary members of the audience. After the performance was over he would conceal his face with a kind of veil, and go out and mingle with the audience to listen to their criticisms. This eventually got to be known among his fans, and Nagato’s practice of walking around the crowds with his face covered, listening to what people said, became quite famous. In olden days there had been the Kabuki actors who had a similar devotion to their art, but Nagatodayū was the only chanter so distinguished.
He was also very simple in his personal habits, and wore cotton kimonos all year round. Every day he would walk the more than two miles from his house to the theatre. It is related that he only wore geta with perforated supports, for fear of crushing insects with the usual geta.

About 1860 he was invited to Edo. His beautiful voice was famous even there, and the impresario had ready an advance payment of 200 ryō. He was certain that Nagatodayū would be an immense success, and wished to have him and a few other chanters appear at the theatre in Saruwaka-chō. Nagatodayū refused on the grounds that Saruwaka-chō was the home grounds of the Kabuki, and if he were to appear there would naturally be competition between his troupe and the Kabuki. Moreover, if he were not a success, it would be said that the puppet theatre had been vanquished by the Kabuki. He therefore performed not in Saruwaka-chō but in the centre of the city. His plan worked. His performance on the opening day created a sensation, and he enjoyed an unexampled success.

After his return to Osaka from Edo, his health suffered a decline, and in September 1864, after making a final appearance at the theatre of the Inari Shrine, where he had first built up his reputation, he died at the age of sixty-four. However, even after his death, there were many of his disciples to carry on his great artistic work. His high purpose thus extended into the Meiji Era and did not die with him.
Chapter Three

THE MEIJI RESTORATION AND THE BUNRAKU-ZA

AFTER the death of Nagatodayū, the leadership of the company passed in 1865 to the sixth Takemoto Somedayū. It is needless to state that with the death of its most celebrated performer, the prosperity of the Bunraku-za was adversely affected. Moreover, the disturbances which marked the beginning of the Meiji Era also made themselves felt on the Bunraku-za. In 1854, after Perry's ships had appeared off Japan, the Bunraku-za was shut for a time, and in 1868, the first performances of the New Year were a dismal failure, presumably because their subjects seemed too far removed from the stirring times. Accordingly the spring performances featured Ichinotani Futaba Gunki (The Battle at Ichinotani) and Yotsuya Kaidan (The Ghost Story of Yotsuya), pieces more suited to the violent times, and this won the favor of the citizens of Osaka. Fortunately for the Bunraku-za, there were numerous excellent performers left, including the peerless Dampei, and it was thus not so surprising that it was able to stage so rapid a recovery, even while the full effects of the changes of the Restoration had not yet been felt.

The removal of the Bunraku-za to the new pleasure quarters in 1872, described above, marked another step forward for that theatre. By then, however, the sixth Somedayū was already dead, and his successor left the company. The new Head was the fifth Takemoto Harudayū, but such was the popularity of the puppet operator Tamazō, that for the first time in the history of the puppet theatre, a "Head" was chosen for the
puppet operators as well, and from this time on the Bunraku-za operated under two Heads, Harudayū and Yoshida Tamazō. With the establishment of the new Bunraku-za, the Osaka prefectural government, in keeping with the spirit of the early years of Meiji, issued many directives and warnings to maintain the high moral level of the theatre, to prohibit indecency or disrespect towards the Imperial family in the plays, and various other regulations, some of which approached the comical.
Chapter Four

THE ELEGANT CHANTER TAKEMOTO NAGAODAYŪ

IT has already been mentioned that the chanters, unlike the Kabuki actors, very seldom succeeded father to son. Even the most famous chanters have come from families having nothing to do with the puppet theatre. The first Takemoto Gidayū, the man who developed the art of chanting, was born a farmer at Tennōji Village near Osaka. He was gifted with a naturally beautiful voice, and when his neighbors heard him sing as he drove cattle or worked in the fields, they were so impressed that they urged him to give up his work as a farmer and become a chanter. This he did. He went to Kyoto where he entered the school of the most popular chanter of the time, Uji Kadayū (later Uji Kaga-no-Jō). After much effort and practice he managed to become a great artist.

Of course, there were some exceptions to this rule of non-succession. The first Toyotake Komadayū, who was active at the Toyotake-za, the rival of the Takemoto-za during the 18th century, had a son of great talent who succeeded him as the second Komadayū, and who was able to keep the Toyotake-za prosperous. But this was a very rare exception. Most of the other chanters, however great their talent, have been of non-professional origins. As a result there has been none of the feudalistic evil of cliques, and there are few arts in which it is possible to succeed through one's own ability and efforts as cleanly and purely artistically as this one.

I should like here to discuss a chanter very exceptional in this respect, the first Takemoto Nagaodayū. He came from a
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long line of pawn-brokers of Tennōji. As a boy he was adopted by the headman of the village, and as he grew up he studied to follow in the footsteps of his adopted father. Although the end of the shogunate was approaching, the samurai still held complete control of the government, and if Nagaoadayū had succeeded his adopted father as headman, he would have led a very comfortable and happy life. However, partially perhaps because his first wife had no children, he took to a life of pleasures (as indeed seems to have his natural bent). He studied the tea ceremony, flower arrangement, archery, Nō, and was also deeply interested in Kabuki. He spent his days in pleasure of one sort or another like some wealthy potentate. In addition, he secretly studied chanting, and this was what he liked best of all. However, such was the feudal atmosphere of the time, that it would not have been permitted for someone of his position to practice chanting publicly.

Nevertheless, he was so passionately attracted by the jōruri that he finally gave up everything else—his position, career and family—to follow it. Once having left his exceedingly easy life as a headman at Tennōji, he became a disciple of the third Nagatoadayū, and was given the name of Nagaoadayū. Such was the result of his having studied the art of Gidayū by way of amusement. In time he got to be known as the “goblin” (bakemono) because he had begun as an amateur. This of course had a derogatory meaning, but it was hardly appropriate in view of the fact that almost every chanter was of amateur origins, and thus equally exposed to the charge of being a “goblin”. It may have been to distinguish him from people who, although of amateur origins, had studied chanting from childhood. But that was not the only reason for his having acquired the sobriquet. It was a well-known fact all over Osaka that he was a gentleman turned chanter and that his fast living earned him many troublesome debts. His teacher eventually decided to send him away from Osaka, where he was treated as a “goblin,” to Tokyo, where his unusual talents were likely to assure him
success.

Nagato was not mistaken in his expectations. Nagaodayū won an exceptional welcome in Tokyo, and this served greatly to further his artistic career. Whether because of his training or his own character, he did not hesitate to devote twice as much time to his work as ordinary people. If he scored a great success chanting the role of Matsudaira Kaheiji in *Mikka Taiheiki* (*The Three-day Taiheiki*), it was because he had devoted extraordinary trouble to it. In this part Kaheiji’s laugh was extremely difficult. Up to this time the laugh had not been given especial attention by chanthers as it is today. Moreover, Kaheiji’s laugh had to be done lying down. “It was a loud laugh delivered while dozing—Mmuhahaha mmuhaha ....” he later related. While Nagaodayū was practicing one day his eye lit on the five-storeyed pagoda of the Tennōji. He entered the pagoda and had someone stand outside. First he lay down on the second storey, and gave a long laugh of his “mmuhaha” variety. He then asked the man outside if the laugh could be heard there. When he was informed that it could, he climbed this time to the third-storey, and again laughed. When this could still be heard, he climbed to the fourth storey, lay down and laughed. From far below came the answer that it could be heard, and this time he climbed to the top of the pagoda. Even when he learned what his laugh could be heard from that height he was still not satisfied, but practiced for many days. This was the way that he achieved his celebrated laugh in the role of Kaheiji.

During the six years after 1848 that he remained in Edo, he acquired considerable popularity, which proves that he was by no means a “goblin.” In the spring of 1854, he was urged by his teacher Nagato, to return to Osaka and appear in the Wakadayū Theatre. His samisen accompanist was to be Toyozawa Dampei. Nagaodayū was delighted. In the midst of his farewell performances in Edo, on the first day of June, the so-called “black ships” appeared off the coast. In his autobi-
graphy he wrote, "On the morning of the first day of June, when the clouds and fog cleared over the water off Shinagawa, great ships of a foreign country appeared. No one saw them but was amazed. Presently a flyboat was rowed out from the Uraga watch-station, and officials boarded one of the foreign ships to inquire what their business was. It was learned that there were American ships which had come to trade with Japan. It was further stated that unless their wishes were complied with, they would open fire. These facts were at once reported to the Castle, where the successive relays of messengers caused immense commotion. From former times there had been an edict that in the event of foreign ships coming into Japanese waters, the reasons should be investigated. If it turned out that the ships were driven here by storms, they should be treated with solicitude, but if by any chance they had hostile intent, they should be driven off. On the morning of the ninth orders were sent to the headman of Edo to muster all the property owners and townsmen. It was expected that an unfavorable reply would be given on the 12th to the request for trade, and if the foreigners did not heed it, it might lead to war. It was considered a simple matter to drive away these ships, but it was possible that others were lurking in the fog. Therefore the aged, women, and children should at once retreat to a distant place, and men fifteen years of age and older should gather the following day. When they heard this, the citizens of the city, imagining that war had come, were in a great commotion."

Nagao dayu was also alarmed, but fortunately, even when an official informed the foreign ship the following day that trade would not be permitted, the foreign ships at once set sail and departed without incident. The celebration of Nagao's farewell to Edo went on as planned, with a flood of pennants, banners, curtains etc. from all quarters, and even a great banner bearing the picture of a treasure-ship from the prostitutes of the Kado-ebi in Yoshiwara.
He returned that autumn in triumph to Osaka. The opening of the new season was to have been in September, but it was delayed because of various difficulties until November 1. Nagao discovered that in spite of the training and success he had experienced in Edo, on returning to Osaka he was still treated as a "goblin." It was a rule at the time that, no matter how talented a chanter might be, if he were of amateur origins he was restricted to "extras" (Tsukémono) for his first three seasons when he appeared at the main theatre. By "extras" was meant the last work performed in an evening's entertainment, when the audience was already tired by the long program, and the theatre was in an uproar with noise of people leaving their seats or finishing off the evening with a small drinking bout in the theatre. The chanters naturally disliked appearing in "extras," which was why they imposed on amateurs the requirement of three appearances. However, even in Osaka Nagao's ability and reputation in Edo were known, and it was debated whether he should be made to perform in "extras." It was eventually the majority view that he should at once be allowed to appear in major roles. However, when Nagatodayū was consulted, he was opposed, and ordered that Nagao appear in "extras." It was decided that he would perform the episode in Kaheiji's house from Mikka Taiheiki, at the close of a long program. Nagato had made this decision to protect Nagao from the jealousy of his associates (some of whom felt that as an amateur he should appear in "extras"), and thus ensure his future success.

Nagato's observation was shrewd. The piece in which Nagao was to appear was the very one described above, for which he had rehearsed in the pagoda of the Tennōji, and one which he had performed many times. When he gave his laugh, the high spot of the piece, the audience quieted down, and even the late "extra" met with a surprising reception.

Nagao's return to Osaka was thus a great success. One thing which helped his success was Nagato's practice of returning
home immediately after finishing his own performances, without waiting for Nagao to appear. This was because he knew that if he were present, Nagao would be nervous before his teacher and unable to do his best, and he wished to make Nagao feel at ease. Such was the kindness and the deep insight into human nature which Nagato possessed.

One further complication arose when, as the result of corruption on the part of Nagao's successor as headman at Tennōji, the town became without an official, and there was an order for Nagao to return for a time to his original post. However, it was later decreed that, since he had definitely become a chanter, it would be preferable for him to select some suitable person to be headman and then supervise him. This, for the time, was absolutely unprecedented. It had long been established that chanters were not to be treated as vagabonds, but to have one in effect act as a headman was unheard of. After considerable investigation Nagao selected four suitable candidates and accompanied them to agistrate's office, thus successfully complying with orders. Then the four men, as an expression of gratitude for Nagao's good offices, presented him with ten sacks each containing five bushels of white rice, and a sealed parcel. This parcel is said to have contained the promissory notes for Nagao's debts of previous years. It is recorded that when he discovered that they had redeemed his debts, Nagao prostrated himself before them.
Chapter Five

THE FIFTH TAKEMOTO HARUDAYŪ

The fifth Takemoto Harudayū had a very varied career. Naturally endowed with great physical bulk, he was a wrestler as a young man, and when, in straitened circumstances, he took a job as a luggage porter for daimyo on their way to Edo, he was able to do the work of three or even five men. He even served as an attendant in a bathhouse because of poverty. He was powerfully built, close to six feet tall and weighing some 250 pounds. On his sixtieth birthday, he easily lifted a sack containing two bushels of rice, while wearing his festive raiment.

He was born in 1808, the son of a tile merchant of Sakai, and died in 1877. From childhood it was urged that he become a wrestler because of his physique, but he was naturally fond of chanting, and he became a pupil of the fourth Harudayū (who was a pupil of Nagatodayū). He had a voice of amplitude corresponding to his body, and there are many legends about his amazing breath-control. He was able effortlessly to chant the longest and most demanding roles, but at the same time had the requisite suppleness of tone to be able to win praise for his chanting of romantic scenes. He could be fierce or tender with equal success.

His samisen accompanist was Dampei, who after the death of the third Nagatodayū was at the peak of his career. It was the success of the combination of Harudayū and Dampei which enabled the puppet theatre, which was made desolate by the death of Nagato, to survive this crisis and go on to new glories. Had it not been for them, the puppet theatre might not have
survived the Meiji Restoration.

The opening of the Bunraku-za at Matsushima, as already has been related, took place at the beginning of 1872, at which time Harudayū chanted the Amagasaki episode from *Ehon Taikōki* (The Life of Toyotomi Hideyoshi). The performance was a great success and ran for fifty-three days. The following year was marked by the growth in popularity of Koshijidayū, the future Settsu-Daijō, who as early as 1872 had begun to enjoy popularity under Harudayū’s auspices. While Koshiji was on tour in Kyushu, a dispute arose between Harudayū and Dampei on the one hand, and the management of the Bunraku-za on the other, over salaries. Dampei was indifferent to money matters, and by this time had already become the leading samisen player of the company. However, Harudayū’s wife was an extremely obstinate woman, who unlike her easygoing husband, meddled in everything. As a result the salary questions led to a split, with Harudayū, Dampei and their pupils all leaving the Bunraku-za. They found financial backing and opened a new theatre (the Hikoroku-za) where they won immediate popularity. The Bunraku-za accordingly suffered, and in an attempt to restore itself, summoned back Koshiji and his troupe from Kyushu. At this time Koshiji was just coming into celebrity, and had resorted to a lavish use of money in order to win popularity. He was consequently saddled with heavy debts to the Bunraku-za, which of course was well aware of this situation, and sought to induce him to return by offering to cancel his debts. Koshiji was torn between his loyalty to Harudayū, and his desire to rid himself of the crushing burden of debts. There was no choice but to betray his old teacher. He returned to Osaka, and from the beginning of the following year (1875) he performed at the Bunraku-za. On this occasion the complete *Sugawara Denju Tenarai-kagami* (*Sugawara’s Secrets of Calligraphy*) was presented, with Koshiji chanting the *Terakoya* episode, the part usually reserved for the Head of the company. Although he was still only in his forties, he had an excellent reputation, and the
performance ran for forty-four days.

As a result the Harudayū troupe, in spite of Dampei's samisen, fell off in popularity, and this gave rise to many complaints about Koshiji. The amiable Koshiji bore more than his share of reproaches in silence. He finally approached Dampei, and after acknowledging his profound indebtedness to Harudayū, asked Dampei to support his view that there was no reason why the two companies could not exist together. Dampei, who was a simple soul, accepted this reasoning, and calmed Harudayū. The two companies were thus able to get along.

In the end, however, Harudayū's theatre failed. For two years (beginning in 1875) the Harudayū-Dampei theatre tried to overwhelm the faction of the young Koshiji, but the advantage in the dispute went to the Bunraku-za. Even the great Harudayū could not contend with advancing years. Fortunately, in March 1877, it was arranged that Harudayū return to the Bunraku-za. Awa no Naruto (the Whirlpool of Awa) was chosen for his first appearance, but after several days he was obliged by illness to withdraw from the role. In July of that year he died, in his seventieth year. It had been Koshiji who arranged that his old teacher be taken back into the company. He had been overcome with grief to see the adversity into which Harudayū had fallen, and had hoped that his last years might be peaceful, but it was all to no avail, for Harudayū died soon after.

After the death of Harudayū it was natural that Koshiji succeed as Head of the company, but, respecting seniority, he recommended that Nagato's nephew be named. However, Koshiji was head of the company in all but name.

1877 was the year of the bitter internecine strife of the Satsuma Rebellion, and after that a terrible depression ensued which created serious problems in the management of the Bunraku-za. But with the young Koshijidayū a new age had begun. After Harudayū's death, Dampei became accompanist for Koshiji, and the two of them were responsible for the amazing progress in the puppet theatre which will be related.
Chapter Six
DAMPEI, THE SAMISEN ARTIST

As has been related in the foregoing pages, it was thanks to Nagato and Harudayū that the puppet theatre was able to survive the dangerous period of the Meiji Restoration. However, at a time when Western music was being introduced along with the flood of other Western things, and even the Kabuki actors wore Western clothes at important functions, it might have been expected that the traditional samisen music would either be overwhelmed or else atrophy to a shadow of itself. It was the second Toyozawa Dampei whom we must thank for averting this disaster and for enabling the puppet theatre not only to survive the Meiji Restoration but to enter into a period of hitherto unknown prosperity and popularity with the common people.

Dampei’s real name was Kako Nihei. He was born in 1827 at Kakogawa in the province of Harima. Very little is known of his early career. At the age of twelve he began to study the samisen with the third Hirosuke. In 1839 he appeared at the Bunraku-za at the Inari Shrine. In 1844 he took the name that Hirosuke had used as a young man—Dampei. By that time he was already displaying his talents. As has already been related, in 1853, at the age of twenty-six, he became the samisen accompanist for the first Takemoto Nagaodayū when the latter returned from Edo. In the following year he was selected by Nagato as his accompanist. Dampei soon became his regular accompanist, serving in that capacity until Nagato’s death, some eight years later. After Nagato’s death he played for the fifth
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Harudayū. In 1877, after the death of Harudayū he played for the young Koshiji-dayū, and helped him on the way to success. Later he joined the newly former Hikoroku-za, which was performing in opposition to the Bunraku-za, and was active in directing it and training the younger men. With all these achievements to his credit, Danpei is a figure in the puppet theatre comparable to Danjūrō and Kikugorō in the Kabuki, having saved and enhanced his art in the difficult Meiji period as they did theirs. On April 1, 1898, while playing the accompaniment for Ōsumidayū, he suddenly dropped his plectrum and fell into a coma. His pupils rushed to him and bore him to the hospital in a stretcher, but on the way he died. He was seventy-one years old.

He was by nature a person free from material desires and indifferent to money—as well as a hard drinker. He lived all his life in mean surroundings. It is said that he had the habit of throwing his pay-envelope into the waste-basket because he found it a nuisance to count the money. When people come around at the end of the year to collect debts, he would drag out the wastepaper basket and tell them to look for themselves. When he died he left almost no money, and there was trouble even raising money for the funeral. Then his pupils had the idea of looking in the wastepaper basket, where they found quite a large sum, enough to pay for the funeral,—or so it is related.

His rival as a samisen player was the fifth Toyozawa Hirosuke, a very conservative player who was deeply conscious of traditions. It was only natural that some conflict arose between him and the progressive Danpei. Hirosuke was born in Kyoto in 1831, and rarely enough for a samisen player, came from a family of professional puppet theatre artists. He made his début in 1844. In 1854 he took the name of Enshi, and in 1870 succeeded as the fifth Toyozawa Hirosuke. He died in February 1904 at the age of seventy-three. Quite unlike Danpei, he was a great money-grubber, and built a large fortune. When he died he left behind 200,000 yen (which corresponds
roughly to some $100,000 in present-day currency). Nevertheless, he was also a heavy drinker, and in fact the drinking companion of Dampei.

Dampei was also active in composing new works for the puppet theatre. One of the most interesting of these was called popularly Nikkō-zan (Nikkō-Shrine), and was first presented on April 15, 1891, at the Hikoroku-za, Dampei devoted immense effort and care to this work, and it represented a bold innovation in the michiyuki, (the episode at the Yōmei Gate of Nikkō), there appear a geisha named Otsuki, a Westener named Son' unka, a Chinese named Fūran, and the girl Ohana. The geisha and the Westener are in love, and the two of them put on a love-scene before the Yōmei Gate, in which they recount their memories of love. Otsuki is made to recite a passage containing English words incuding Wasureyō mono ka last year no spring, I know fine day Sumida no hana yori Paris London, etc.. The passage does not make much sense, but the very fact that English was used at all was unprecedented. The effect of the English in the passage is comical, and lends additional verve to the gay rhythm of the samisen. Dampei was intent on making this play a success, and saw to it that everyone was thoroughly rehearsed, but unfortunately, it was a failure, and had to be withdrawn abruptly after only three performances. As a result Dampei was extremely dissatisfied and gave vent to his disappointment. It is interesting to note that one of the puppet operators on this occasion was a youth who was subsequently to become the great Yoshida Bungorō, and who at the age of eighty-eight (1955) is still active.

This new work, for all its boldness, was not a finished piece, and what is most important about it is that it reveals the progressive nature of Dampei's artistic bent. There are two other works for which he composed the music, and which scored great successes. The first of these, which is still given frequently today, is Tsubosaka Reigenki (The Miracle at Tsubosaka). The text of the play was written by Dampei's wife Chiga, and
Dampei himself composed the music. This work was not completed in a day: it was first put on with no success in 1879, and had to be considerably re-worked before the performance in 1887 which is usually considered the “first performance.” Dampei’s wife was an intellectual, serious person, and the text she wrote is well-conceived, but it had to be polished by Dampei, especially in the scenes depicting the tragic love of Sawaichi and Osato, the husband and wife of the play.

The other success by Dampei was Rōben-sugi Yurai (The Story of the Cedars of Rōben), also written by Chiga, and presented at the Hikoroku-za in February 1889. The work is not necessarily a masterpiece, but it won a considerable reputation because of Dampei’s fine score and the skilful handling of the puppets by Yoshida Tatsugorō, the leading performer of the day.

Dampei may truly be said to have revolutionized the art of samisen accompaniment. Up to his time the samisen had served merely as accompaniment, but he devised a style in which the samisen not only helped the chanter, but actually gave meaning and body to the work being performed. It is said that after he used a samisen for a while, there would be a dent in its neck caused by the energetic and complicated means he used to produce a great variety of effects with a mere three strings. He brought about many changes in the traditional musical accompaniments, some of which are considered the standard techniques today.

Dampei had thorough understanding of the atmosphere, theme and content of each work he performed. He gave particular attention to the fact that gidayū was at once music and an art which made a direct and urgent appeal to the heart and mind. Like Danjūrō in the domain of the Kabuki, Dampei had the genius of infusing new life into old forms. But Dampei was even more concerned that Danjūrō with the classics, and it was thanks to his studies and efforts that various old works were revived.
As an example of the kind of change that Dampei effected in the style of singing and accompanying the jōruri, we may consider the beginning of Kumagai Jinya (Kumagai's Camp). In the descriptive passage which opens the act occur the words "Sagami pushed open the lattice-door; the sun had already sunk in the west." In this scene Sagami is worrying about the lateness of her husband, Kumagai, in returning. It is a calm and solemn scene appropriate to the tragedy which is to follow. The traditional way of reciting these words at the Bunraku-za had been to give them more or less unaltered and without special emphasis, but Dampei's style was quite different. He prolonged the word "lattice-door" (shōji) to three times its normal length and doubled the length of the vowels in three words of the following line, giving them a pronounced rhythm. Each syllable was accompanied by the prolonged, deliberate accents of the samisen. This may seem a trifling matter, but in this way he was able to set the tone properly for the tragedy by suggesting the full pathos of Sagami's anxiety. This is an example of Dampei's invention, but it is not one which has been followed since his day.

In this manner he was able to work wonders both in the creation and perfection of music for the jōruri, in the new as in the old. He advanced the art of samisen playing to such a pitch that it was possible to understand the characters, mood and content of a work just by listening to the samisen, even supposing the words could not be understood. When he played the music for the part of a pitiable girl, the sound of the samisen was enough to bring tears to the eyes. When, on the other hand, in the Amagasaki episode of Taikōki, Mitsuhide appears, the samisen rang out splendidly and boldly, as it must have in the mind of the creator of the work when it was first written in the late eighteenth century. Especially with the name Mitsuhide in the opening phrase "there came forward Akechi Mitsuhide," Dampei would strike the samisen so violently with the plectrum that it could be heard outside the theatre, thus
evoking the image of that tempestuous soldier.

Dampei enjoyed a wide following among artists not only of the jōruri but the Kabuki. The fifth Onoe Kikugorō in particular was a worshipper of Dampei. When Dampei died in 1898 pupils numbered over 1,200. In addition, all of the great chanTERS after the death of Harudayū in 1877 had been trained by him, and thus he may be said to have been the most important man in the art of the puppet theatre.

The only person who might have disputed this distinction was the puppet operator Yoshida Tamazō. He was born in 1829, became a puppet operator at the age of ten, and died in 1905. He was talented, colorful, and gay, and was extremely popular. There was a natural professional jealousy between these two stars, and on one occasion Dampei, in an attempt to upset Tamazō, played at so furious a tempo that the latter split his belt in the effort to keep the puppet in time with the samisen.

Although in theory the puppet theatre requires teamwork involving equal participation by the chanter, samisen player and puppet operator, with rare exceptions the puppet operators have been mechanically dextrous persons rather than intellectual, serious artists. Thus, in practice, the puppet operators have been on an inferior artistic level when compared with the other two, and although one speaks of the "puppet theatre," in fact the puppets do not play the most important part in this art. Yoshida Tamazō, for all his skill, was a great mechanic rather than a great handler of the puppets, and he apparently made almost no attempt to discover the symbolic meaning of the puppets. Preferable from this point of view was Yoshida Tatsugorō who, although not so famous as Tamazō, was a far more serious artist. It was Tatsugorō who performed at the Hikoroku-za at the time, and he is also famous as the teacher of the great Yoshida Eiza, about whom more will be said presently.
Chapter Seven

RIVALRY BETWEEN THE BUNRAKU-ZA AND THE HIKOROKU-ZA

As has already been related, the Bunraku-za moved from Matsushima to the Goryō Shrine in Hirano-machi in September 1884, where a new building was constructed. In the same year disaffected members of the company opened a new puppet theatre in the precincts of the Inari Shrine, and called it the Hikoroku-za. The animating spirit of the new theatre was a saké brewer from Nada. He was quite a wealthy man, and he poured a good deal of capital into the puppet theatre. The first program, performed in January of that year ran in competition with the Bunraku-za, which could boast of Koshiji-dayū and Dampei, and it was not surprisingly a failure. For the second program in February, a great deal of money was spent in advertising, eventually with good results, but the theatre remained weak. It was therefore attempted to get Dampei to play at the Hikoroku-za as well as at the Bunraku-za, but the management of the latter refused permission. This led to the breaking of the combination of Dampei and Koshiji, and Dampei joined the Hikoroku-za.

When Dampei, who combined great art with enormous popularity joined the company, he recognized the promising talents of the rising chanter Harukodayū, and seeing that his nature and art were quite the opposite of Koshiji’s he thought that he would train him afresh. He played the accompaniment for Haruko, and gave him the benefit of his genius in the art, so that the Hikoroku-za soon began to be very active. A lively
rivalry between the Bunraku-za and the Hikoroku-za, reminiscent of that between the Toyotake-za and the Takemoto-za in the late seventeenth century, ensued and brought a period of great brilliance to the puppet theatre. However, a few years later the Hikoroku-za was destroyed by fire, and with the deaths of the manager and of the senior chanter, it fell on hard times. In the autumn of 1893, this theatre which had been able to stand up to the Bunraku-za, thanks to Dampei’s prowess, was obliged to close.

In March 1894, however, the theatre was reorganized as the Inari-za by the fifth Yadayū, a celebrated chanter of domestic tragedies. At this time Harukodayū had made great strides, and was now known as the third Ōsumidayū. This theatre also put up successful opposition to the Bunraku-za, but in the following year the Sino-Japanese War broke out, and it fell on hard times. It managed to survive until 1898, but with the death of Dampei, it received a mortal blow. Various other attempts were made to establish a rival theatre to the Bunraku-za, but they all failed, and with the sudden death of Ōsumidayū in 1913, all of the dissident chanters and puppet operators returned to the Bunraku-za, which since that time has been the only major puppet theatre in Japan.
Chapter Eight

TAKEMOTO SETTSU-DAIJÔ AND THIRD ŌSUMIDAYÛ

ABOUT the time that the Bunraku-za moved to the Goryô Shrine, the popularity of Koshijidayû was steadily increasing. He was also of amateur origins. His real name was Futami Kinsuke. He was born in 1836, the son of an Osaka lacquerware merchant. When still very young he was adopted by a carpenter with a fondness for the puppet theatre, who had the boy study the samisen from the age of ten so that he might accompany the carpenter's chanting. The boy memorized what he heard, and he was soon singing puppet plays with his naturally beautiful voice. He was so fond of chanting that he made no effort to learn his step-father's trade, but announced instead his intention of becoming a samisen player. The step-father at first stubbornly opposed this plan, but was eventually moved by the boy's zeal, and agreed to allow him to follow this calling. At the age of nineteen he became a pupil of the celebrated samisen player the third Nozawa Kichibeî, and at first devoted himself to the study of this instrument. Kichibeî was the son of the first Takemoto Koshijidayû, and inherited his father's profound knowledge of the puppet theatre. He was by this time quite an old man, who could boast of having developed the fifth Harudayû. Kichibeî discovered the boy's unusual voice, urged him to study chanting, and to make his career as a chanter rather than as a samisen player. The boy therefore became a pupil of Harudayû, and was given the name of Takemoto Nambudayû. He was twenty-one at the time.
Kichibeı had a special fondness for Nambu. When he discovered how unusual his character and nature were, he trained him as he would be his own child, and took him on a tour of the provinces himself playing the samisen accompaniment. This was Nambu’s first appearance before the public. After three years of study, Kichibeı took him to Edo, again playing accompaniment for him. One reason for the trip to Edo was that it was the 13th anniversary of the death in that city of his father, Koshiji-dayu. Kichibeı proposed that Nambu take the name of the second Koshijidayu and perform as the chief attraction at the Edo Variety Theatre (Yose). Nambu was at first unwilling to undertake this responsibility and refused, but Kichibeı finally persuaded him to succeed to the name.

The Variety Theatre in Edo was unlike the Osaka puppet theatre in that the program changed every night. Koshiji was still only twenty-five and the number of works he knew was limited, but Kichibeı drilled him in new pieces from the moment he left the theatre until the time came to go to the theatre the next day. The strain was almost too much for Nambu, but when he heard how his old teacher Harudayu had worked as a bath attendant while studying chanting, he summoned up the courage to go on with this laborious study. Kichibeı’s instruction was also extremely severe, and when even after a night spent practicing a new piece, Koshiji was still not sufficiently fluent in it, Kichibeı would announce at the theatre the next day that because Koshiji had neglected to practice the night before he was not ready with the new work. Under such training Koshiji roused himself to still greater efforts, and managed to survive.

Under the old system of training in the arts, it was considered necessary to spend a certain amount of time practicing out in the cold. Accordingly Koshiji used to go off to deserted fields outside the city by himself, and practice there with full voice. The town watchmen passing by sometimes would take him for a lunatic and demand to know what he was doing. It is also
related that he used to take a few coppers with him so that when his throat got dry he could buy a bowl of soup from a passing noodle-vendor. In the course of time he got to be quite friendly with the man.

As a result of all this strenuous practice, he gained quite a reputation in Edo in spite of his youth. However, the third year he was there—in July 1862—Kichibe died, and the young Koshijidayū felt completely at a loss. In the following year he returned to Osaka, but at the age of twenty-seven he was much too young to find a suitable job. He therefore returned to study with Harudayū again. In Kyoto and Osaka he was given only second rate treatment, and he was extremely depressed. He felt so discontented with the poor treatment he was receiving merely because of his youth that he considered running off to Edo again. He was rebuked by Harudayū and determined to go through with his apprenticeship in Osaka.

After the death of Harudayū, Koshijidayū and Dampei formed a combination, and they toured Kyushu and other parts of the hinterland together. Under the almost excessively strict tutelage of Dampei, Koshijidayū studied the powerful voice production of the old puppet theatre as it had been transmitted to Nagato and Harudayū, and his naturally beautiful voice improved steadily. In 1883, when Dampei was named Head of the troupe, it created dissension, because it was almost without precedent to have a samisen player in this position. As a result it was decided to have three Heads—Dampei, the puppet operator Tamazō, and Koshijidayū, each representing one of the three components of the puppet theatre. On this occasion Koshiji chanted the Nozaki section of Uta-zaimon to Dampei’s accompaniment. The marvellous beauty of Koshiji’s voice and Dampei’s samisen brought sold-out houses for fifty days. All expenses were covered by the first thirty days, and the remaining twenty days were pure profit.

Mention has already been made of the various events leading to the founding of the Hikoroku-za. Suffice it to say at this
point that Koshijidayū continued through this period to grow in stature as an artist and in popularity with the general public. He was quite capable of acting as the mainstay of the new Bunraku-za, even after the defections of Dampeï and other stars.

Koshiji never forgot that his first successes had been achieved in Edo, and he was anxious when the capital was established at Tokyo to go there. In 1885 he at length had the opportunity. The company was not allowed by law to use a Kabuki theatre, and after considerable discussion it was decided to build a new Bunraku-za in Saruwaka-chō. A company of about one hundred persons in all sailed from Osaka to Yokohama, and then took the train from Yokohama to Shimbashi. They were met by some two hundred people at the station, and three hundred strong they proceeded to Saruwaka-chō in a caravan of fifteen horse-drawn vehicles. There were three changes of program, and the whole season lasted fifty days. Koshiji's voice won him great acclaim, and it was requested that he prolong his stay. He remained behind with two or three of his pupils, continuing to enjoy tremendous popularity with the citizens of Tokyo. His success led to a third engagement in Tokyo in March 1890 when, for seven months, he gave recitals of chanting (without puppets) in the Variety Theatre, thus creating the great vogue for jōruri which was to sweep Tokyo.

Koshiji was soon almost without a rival throughout the country. Even after Dampeï left the Bunraku-za (a serious personal loss to Koshiji), he went on developing his art. He appeared before various Imperial princes, both in Tokyo and in Kyoto. On September, 10, 1902, when he performed in Kyoto for Prince Komatsu, he was given the title of Settsu-Daijō, and was presented with a ceremonial cap and robe in accordance with ancient practice. The title of Jō is the highest honor which can be bestowed on a jōruri artist, and as well may be imagined, Koshiji was overjoyed.

He had one further ambition—to succeed to the name of
Harudayū, his deceased teacher. It was in January 1903 that he assumed the name of the sixth Harudayū, and gave his young pupil Mojidayū the name of the third Koshijidayū. In May of that year there were performances given in commemoration of his having been awarded the title of Daijō. At this time Osaka was flooded with people from all parts of the country because of the Fifth Trade Fair. Because of the various attractions connected with the fair most theatrical enterprises fared poorly, but the Bunraku-za enjoyed staggering popularity. The season ran from May 1 to July 15 with a total of seventy-five performances, an unexampled long run during the period covered by this study.

From then on Settsu-Daijō’s popularity was without rival in the world of the puppet theatre. Only after he passed the age of seventy did he begin to show signs of a decline. He still was a master without peer, but even he was subject to the effects of time. In 1913, at the age of seventy-seven he retired. Four years later, on October 9, 1917, he died at the age of eighty-one. When he died, his pupil the third Koshiji, was proving himself possessed of talents not inferior to the old master’s, and the last of the opposition puppet theatres had yielded to the Bunraku-za. Settsu-Daijō was thus probably quite at peace when he died. He also had the satisfaction of seeing his own son, whom he had taken care not to allow to enter so uncertain a life as that of the puppet theatre, establish himself as an import merchant.

The only rival that the second Koshiji (the later Settsu-Daijō) had was the third Takemoto Ōsumidayū. He was more than twenty years the junior of Koshiji. He was born in Osaka, the son of a blacksmith. In 1866, he decided that he would like to become a chanter, and became a pupil of the fifth Harudayū. He was given the name of Harukodayū, and made his first appearance in 1872. He was a man of powerful build and ringing voice, with an obstinate and inflexible nature, and was completely uneducated. Thanks to the unremitting efforts
to which his fondness for the puppet theatre led him, he was able in 1873 to take an important role in one of his teacher Harudayū's performances, and won instant popularity. After the death of Harudayū in 1877, he became a pupil of the second Koshiji, and accompanied him to Tokyo where, in spite of his youth, Harukodayū was very popular at the variety theatre.

In 1884, when the Hikoroku-za was founded, he joined its company, which proved to be the most fortunate thing he did in his life. Shortly afterwards Dampeī also joined the company, and recognizing the talents of Harukodayū, devoted himself to training the young man. Harukodayū gradually improved as an artist, and in March 1894, when the Hikoroku-za changed its name to the Inari-za, he succeeded to the name of Ōsumi-dayū. From April of that year, Dampeī and he regularly performed together, bringing him wide attention as well as invaluable instruction. When on tours of the provinces, Dampeī gave the young chanter a very rigorous training. For example, in the Gappo, when Gappo's daughter wounds herself and reveals her motives, Gappo at last understands what has been happening, and he cries out "oi-yai, oi-yai," indicating his sudden realization. At this critical point in the work, Dampeī on one occasion (when they were appearing in Himeji) kept playing the same notes, and the then Harukodayū had no choice but to keep on crying out "oi-yai" in his powerful voice over and over until he fainted and collapsed over the music stand in front of him. When the astonished audience began to make an uproar, Ōsumi came back to himself, whereupon Dampeī went on with the music. Perhaps it was because of such training that the one play in which Ōsumi was considered to surpass Koshiji was Gappo.

Harukodayū, no doubt because of his size and corpulence, had the nickname of "the dunce" (noroma). It is related how one summer he was studying the play Konoshitakage Hazama Gassen (The Battle at Okehazama) under Dampeī's guidance. This is an extremely difficult work. There was one place that Haruko
TAKEMOTO SETTSU-DAIJÔ AND THE THIRD ŌSUMIDAYÛ

could not manage—where he was required to say the words “the charm-bag which was a keepsake.” Dampeï, who was always one to insist on perfection no matter what effort it took, had Haruko go over this section several hundred times. He was still not satisfied, and even though Haruko was exhausted, Dampeï (who in the meanwhile retreated into a mosquito netting) had him continue. Haruko kept on repeating the same passage over and over, even though he was being devoured by mosquitoes, until the summer night was almost dawning. Only then did Dampeï say, “That will do.” In other words, Dampeï was not sleeping inside the mosquito netting but had been listening all night long to “the dunce” go over this one phrase. In later years Ōsumi used to tell this story of how great a teacher Dampeï was.

Dampeï always had as his ideal chanting in which the voice and the words naturally invoked the mental state, character and emotions of the human beings portrayed. He was also very orthodox in his respect for the text. He was thus a genius who captured both the internal and the external aspects of a work, and Haruko carefully obeyed his teachings. Haruko was also undeniably superior to Koshiji in his realism, an artistic quality which came to be valued at this time. Thus the art of Ōsumi and Dampeï was welcomed as a new introspective style which, in its realism, reflected the times.

However, Ōsumi, because of his lack of an education, was of a wild disposition and a libertine. His household was always in a state of uproar, and there were rumour flying which tended to make the better sort of people frown. His wife seems to have been of a similar disposition, and on one occasion had an affair with another man. When Ōsumi learned of this he was convulsed with rage. It happened that at the time he was chanting a work in which the heroine sells herself to another man for money. Ōsumi told people that no one could chant this part as well as he could, and indeed, when chanting the part concerning the wife’s infidelity, there was something diabolical
about the accents he gave to it. It may be seen from this example that he was of the "experiential" school.

In chanting scenes from domestic tragedies, Ōsumi gave the parts the natural inflections of conversations that might be heard in one's neighbor's houses. Other chanters, for example, were in the habit of reciting the part of Yojirō in Chikamatsu's *Horikawa* with exaggerated agitation in order to convey his simply honesty, but Ōsumi was completely unflurried, and managed thus to give a far greater conviction to the part. He was also calm and restrained in doing historical plays. When, in April 1894, he changed his name to Ōsumi, the first piece which he performed in official collaboration with Dampei was the *Castle of the Lions* (*Shishi-ga-Jō*) from Chikamatsu's masterpiece *Kokusenya Kassen* (*The Battles of Coxinga*). Dampei put Ōsumi through such fierce rehearsals that even Ōsumi's famed physique gave out, and he was obliged to cancel performances. After the death of Dampei, this "Castle of the Lions" became Ōsumi's speciality. Even when reciting such a piece he was completely unperturbed and did not move his head or have sweat pouring over his face. Perhaps because of his natural strength of breath, he was able to achieve an astonishing immobility when chanting.

Ōsumi had a square face with a bull-neck and large nostrils. He was an ugly man, quite the opposite of the aristocratic-looking Koshiji. His appearance on the chanter's platform reminded one of a huge toad. In his chanting too, it was his powerful direct realism which caused some people to rate him above Koshiji. However, although he was suited to works filled with gloom and sorrow, he was lacking in the pathos, charm and color which are also part of the art of the jōruri. In these qualities, Koshiji was pre-eminent, and the two men thus complemented one another.

Ōsumi returned to the Bunraku-za about the time that Koshiji changed his name to Daijō, but he switched back to the rival theatre later on. In 1912 he performed at the opening of the
Chikamatsu-za, one of the successors of the Hikoroku-za, but from about this time his health began to fail. In July 1913, while on a tour of Formosa, he took ill, and he died in Tainan at the age of fifty-nine, when he still had years of good work ahead of him. Unlike Koshiji, whose life was one crowned by success and happiness, Ōsumi died unhappy and frustrated. In spite of his great talents, which were not inferior to Koshiji’s, he never won adequate recognition, and this made him an embittered man.
Chapter Nine

THE REVISION OF THE CLASSICS AND THE RAGE FOR THE PUPPET THEATRE IN OSAKA IN THE MID-MEJI ERA

WITH the Meiji Era, immense changes occurred in the government, in daily life, in social structure and in thought. Up to that time the historical dramas performed at the puppet theatre had always had the names of all the characters altered for fear of the recrimination of the authorities, and the periods in which a particular historical drama actually took place would also be changed lest its contents be constructed as an exposure of existing society. For example, in the famous Chūshingura (Loyal Rōnin) the period was changed from the early eighteenth century to some centuries before; the real name of the hero Ōishi Kuranosuke became Ōboshi Yuranosuke, and the villain Kira Közukenosuke became Kōno Moronao. In other works, which actually dealt with the struggle at Osaka between the Tokugawa and the Sanada in the early seventeenth century, the time was moved back some four centuries, and the names of the characters suitably altered. Many other examples might be enumerated. However, with the Meiji Era this caution became unnecessary, and with the katsureki movement in the Kabuki there was a strong emphasis on historical accuracy in nomenclature and costuming. In the puppet theatre too, from about 1872 on, the names of characters in the texts began to be restored to their historical forms.

The second Koshiji was most advanced in this development, but he soon met with difficulties. The names of the characters
in puppet dramas are often used in various types of word-plays, and if the name is changed in the interests of historical accuracy it will render meaningless whatever word-plays may have been involved. Nevertheless, whenever possible the Bunraku-za, which boasted of its new departures, went ahead with the restoration of historical truth. The other puppet theatres continued to give plays in the usual manner, and there was thus a link established between Koshiji of the Bunraku-za and Danjūrō in Tokyo. However, even before 1887 it was decided to abandon this venture as being essentially meaningless, and in 1891 Koshiji bowed to criticism and ended the reform.

The abandonment of the reforms in the puppet theatre furthered the revival of the fortunes of the art. To judge from play-bills of 1889, mainly of amateur companies, there must have been about a thousand people who could chant in the Osaka of the time, which had a population about one-tenth what it is today. If we consult the Jōruri Zasshi (Jōruri Magazine) we find that within the four central districts of Osaka alone there were eighty-seven teachers of jōruri, and these were all regular professionals bearing the proud names of the three schools of samisen playing: Tsuruzawa, Nozawa and Toyozawa. If we included unlicensed teachers the number would be doubled.

The prosperity of the jōruri continued until the end of the Meiji Era. According to a magazine published in January 1903, every night there was an average of three performances of puppet plays at different theatres in Osaka. Most of the troupes concerned consisted of about twenty men, but the famous ones contained as many as four or five hundred in the company. As one may readily imagine, the great pleasure of Osaka life at the time was to listen to jōruri, to learn it and to recite it. The theatre and jōruri were two indispensable elements in Osaka life. A visitor to Osaka at the time recorded that every hundred yards was another performance of jōruri, and one heard the sound of the samisen wherever one went. Whenever Osaka
people met, whether on private or public business, the chief subject of discussion was the jōruri. Osaka was then the "art capital" of Japan and the "city of jōruri."
Chapter Ten

THE SALE OF THE BUNRAKU-ZA TO SHÔCHIKU

IN spite of the prosperity of the Bunraku-za trouble developed in the management. The manager was the third Uemura Dai-suке, a man who had poured the family fortunes and capital into unsuccessful foreign trade ventures. His son was incompetent and utterly incapable of assuming the management of the company. The Head of the company, Settsu-Daijō, and other old hands were much upset at this situation, and were convinced that unless a suitable manager could somehow be found, the future of the company was in doubt. About this time the twin brother impresarios Shirai Matsujirō and Ōtani Takejirō (originally from Kyoto) were scoring great successes as impresarios for Kabuki and Shimpa. They had moved into Osaka and acquired two big theatres on Dōtombori, and they were steadily growing more powerful. Settsu-Daijō, noting their successes, together with his disciple Nambudayū entered into negotiation with Shirai, and before long had reached an agreement for the unconditional taking over of the company. It thus happened that, in March, 1909, the then "Shōchiku Joint Company" (the name Shirai used) took over the company, and ran it just as it had been going up until then. Thus, almost one hundred years since it was founded by Uemura Bunrakuken, the theatre passed out of the hands of the Uemura family owing to the poor capabilities of the fourth generation descendant.

Although the Shōchiku company showed itself conscientiously concerned with the fortunes of the Bunraku-za, it was rapidly becoming a mammoth organization with branches in Kyoto,
THE PUPPET THEATRE

Osaka and Tokyo, and the personal management exerted by the Uemura family came to an end.
Chapter Eleven

THE THIRD TAKEMOTO KOSHIJIDAYŪ'S RISE

As has already been noted, in 1903, the second Koshiji received the title of Settsu-Daijō and at the same time his leading disciple, the brilliant young Mojidayū took the name of the third Koshijidayū. His real name was Kida Tsunejirō, and he was born in 1865 in the city of Sakai. His family was in the restaurant business. From his boyhood days he was so fond of chanting as to exhaust his father's patience, who thereupon sent him out as an apprentice. However, since he would speak nothing but dialogue from puppet plays, his employers sent him back. He then expressed a wish to become a priest and was accordingly sent to the Daianji in Osaka as an acolyte. Even after he entered the temple, however, he still went on murmuring bits from the puppet plays to the astonishment of the priest. The latter, guessing that the boy must be quite talented, went to his father and persuaded him to let the boy study this art which he loved so much. At this time there was in Sakai a samisen player named Toyozawa Danshichi, who was a pupil of Dampei's, and Tsunejirō was formally enrolled in his school. Danshichi quickly became aware how talented the boy was, in spite of his years, and from the age of eleven the boy began to appear in variety theatres as a child chanter under the name of Tsunekodayū.

This Danshichi was no run-of-the-mill teacher. He was thoroughly versed in the art of his master, Dampei, and was no less strict than he in instilling this art into his pupils, including the child Tsunekodayū. Once, when he was teaching the boy,
the latter stopped in the midst of an extremely difficult passage. Danshichi flew into a rage, and without thinking struck the boy in the forehead with the plectrum he held in his hands. The scar remained with Koshiji as long as he lived. As a result of such training, he rapidly improved, and in 1878, at the age of thirteen, he became a pupil of the second Koshiji, and under the name of Tsunekodayū became a member of the Bunraku troupe.

Danshichi's severity had had its effect: Koshiji was also impressed by the boy's skill at chanting, at the amplitude of his voice, and by his truly simple nature. The training received from Danshichi stood him in such good stead that he did not have to go through the usual preliminary instruction, and his progress was so rapid that in 1889 (at the age of twenty-four) he became the outstanding young figure in the company, taking in that year the name of Sanodayū.

He was of a buoyant, fun-loving disposition, and as a person with few worldly desires and good heart, he was loved by all who had to deal with him, from his teacher down. He was also very popular with the ladies, and although he was not given to drink, he had an endless succession of love affairs from his young days. The very proper Settsu disliked this, and was so irritated by each successive instance of his pupil's dissipation, that he frequently threatened to expel him from the ranks of his disciples. When the young man became the third Koshiji, and came to be looked upon by connoisseurs of the art as the logical successor to Settsu, his amorous adventures grew all the more numerous. What was most remarkable was that in spite of these indulgences, he never wavered in his studies of the jōruri, and his art, far from suffering, improved uninterruptedly. All the same, when sometimes Koshiji would disappear, Settsu would grow wildly excited, and declare that this time he would certainly disown him. Each time there would be someone to intercede for Koshiji and to win forgiveness from Settsu.
Koshiji was given to rather unusual behavior. Once he fell in love with a geisha, and went with her to the beach at Suma to commit suicide together. Just then he was startled by the whistle of a passing train, and saying, “It’s time for me to appear at the Bunraku-za” forgot all about the suicide and rushed back to the station alone. There are many such stories, and it is said that Settsu threatened to expel him over thirty times.

In the latter part of the Meiji Era he did a splendid job of following in his master’s footsteps. It often happened then that the Bunraku season ran for as long as forty days at a time. The new managers, the Shōchiku people, also treated him with great consideration. In 1915 he became Head of the company, and he was popular not only at the Bunraku-za but in Tokyo where, because of his voice and prestige, he drew packed houses every day with his recitations. He was skilled in both historical and domestic pieces, and had a delivery which combined strength and suppleness. After the deaths of Ōsumi and Settsu he became the chief pillar of the bunraku and kept its fortunes high. However, he fell ill 1920, and, in March, 1924, he died at the age of fifty-nine, while still in full possession of his talents. With his death came the real threat to the art of bunraku, for there has been no one since to equal him.
Chapter Twelve

THE THIRD TAKEMOTO TSUDAYŨ
AND YOSHIDA EIZA

THUS, with the death of the third Koshiji, bunraku was placed in a precarious position. It was enabled to survive by the "magnificent mediocrity" of the character and art of the third Takemoto Tsudayũ. He was born in 1869 in the province of Buzen, but being fond of joruri even as a child he soon went to Osaka. In 1880, at the age of eleven, he became a pupil of the second Tsudayũ, and at fifteen began his training at the Bunraku-za under the name of Hamakodayũ. At twenty-five he took the name of Fumidayũ, subsequently gaining recognition when he substituted for an older chanter. He worked all of his career at the Bunraku-za, never serving at other theatres even in times of difficulties. His voice was naturally a poor one, and he had to devote great pains to it. As a result of his laborious efforts and practice he gradually improved, and in 1910 he took his teacher’s name and became the third Tsudayũ. He was particularly skilful in domestic dramas, and with the expert samisen accompaniment of Tsuruzawa Enshi he steadily grew more proficient.

However, with the death of the third Koshiji, the Bunraku-za fell on hard times. There were even old graybeards to announce that "bunraku is finished." Tsudayũ, standing in the midst of this storm, demonstrated his courage by accepting the leadership of the company in 1924. He appears to have accepted his heavy responsibilities with energy and a characteristic honesty. His straightforward, forceful style of recitation gradually grew
more polished, and his performance of Kagekiyo in *Hyūgajima*, performed after he became leader of the company, was the crowning achievement of his career in its virility and heroism. Tsudayū was a rival of the present Head of the Bunraku-za, Yamashiro-no-Shōjō (and like him a pupil of the second Tsudayū), but roles like *Hyūgajima*, which hark back to the old *jōruri*, were not in Yamashiro’s repertory.

As a result of Tsudayū’s persistent and unselfish efforts, the Bunraku-za, which had seemed on the verge of extinction, began in 1928 to stage a quite unexpected revival, finding tremendous support especially in Tokyo. The theatre continued under his aegis to be quite prosperous until his death in May, 1942, at the age of seventy-two. His was a life of simple and steadfast devotion to his art, and even though he lacked genius, he managed to become through his efforts a full-fledged chanter. It is also significant that his art did not decline in quality as long as he lived. That he could go on until the end maintaining his conscientious attitude of devoting his full strength and powers to his art shows what kind of man he was.

In the field of puppet operation we must not forget the achievement of Yoshida Eiza. He was born in Osaka in 1872, and began his career at the age of twelve as a child puppet operator, working as an assistant at the Sawano Theatre. In 1884 he entered the Hikoroku-za, where he studied under Yoshida Tatsusaburō, the chief puppet operator of the company. In 1893 he entered the *bunraku* company where he performed for about fifty years until his death in 1945 at the age of seventy-three.

He was small in stature, and consequently operated the puppets for women’s parts when he was young, but from about 1912 he began to operate the puppets for the leading male roles. Eiza proved to be a great blessing to the *bunraku*. Although he had also been trained by the first Yoshida Tamazō, he was—a rare phenomenon among puppet operators—given to introspection, and his art was very unlike that of the colorful
Tamazō. It should be borne in mind that as a result of Dampei’s efforts, the art of the bunraku had been considerably raised with such reflective and psychologically sensitive chanters as the third Ōsumi and the third Koshiji, and the realistic, deft handling of puppets which was characteristic of the Tamazō school did not quite suit the new era. That Eiza should have appeared just at this time was a godsend to the puppet theatre.

Eiza was a person passionately devoted to the texts of the works he performed. He attempted to work out the movements of the puppets and their interpretations from the texts themselves. This was in contrast to the style of Tamazō and the later Kiritate Monjūrō, who devoted all their efforts to achieving an effect of reality, with sometimes childish results. Eiza was not content with such an attitude, and devoted great care to making his interpretations blend with those of the chanters. He was of the opinion that the puppet operator should make his work fit that of the chanter, and not the other way round. This had not been true of Tamazō, for example, and the desire to achieve spectacular effects without regard to whether they fitted what was being chanted had been a defect in bunraku performances.

It is interesting to note that in 1941 when the Kabuki actor Nakamura Kichiemon was playing Sugawara Denjū Tenarai-kagami (Sugawara’s Secrets of Calligraphy), he went to Eiza for help in his interpretations. Eiza studied the psychology of the characters in this important play and was able to achieve a rare degree of understanding of them. The puppet operators had always been considered a kind of mechanic, and for someone like Eiza to give an intellectual quality to his art was a unique phenomenon. It is most unfortunate that he died as he did of an illness brought on by malnutrition (as was all too common in 1945) at the place in the country to which he had been evacuated. With his death and that of the third Koshiji, bunraku lost its greatest exponents.

The Bunraku-za at the Goryō Shrine suddenly caught fire in
November, 1926, and quickly burnt to the ground. Most of the numerous puppets which the Shōchiku company bought from the Uemura family were destroyed. The theatre had been ideally suited for bunraku and its loss was a serious one. When the loss of the puppets is added, the magnitude of the catastrophe may be realized.

The Bunraku-za was not permitted to build again within shrine precincts. After several removals it finally came to the present Bunraku-za at Yotsuhashi in Osaka. This theatre in turn was burnt in March 1945 as the result of bombing, but in February of the following year the Shōchiku company rebuilt it, amidst the desolated wasteland of its surroundings. The new Head of the company became Yamashiro-Shōjō, and the chief puppet operator Yoshida Bungorō, who in his eighties now still manages to display a special quality of artistry. There are gifted men among the young chan ters and the samisen players, and if the nation will support bunraku there is no reason why it must suffer extinction.
Part Five

THE KABUKI,
THE SHIMPA,
THE SHINGEKI

Toita Koji
Chapter One

EARLY MEIJI KABUKI

1. THE THEATRE OF THE IMMEDIATE POST-RESTORATION PERIOD

The Meiji theatre naturally divides itself into three main currents, the Kabuki and the two modernized schools, the Shimpa and the Shingeki. Until the third decade of the period (1887–1897) the Kabuki continued to enjoy the monopoly it had had under the Tokugawa Shogunate.

The Kabuki itself gradually changed, so that early, middle, and late periods are to be distinguished. An important event at the beginning of the Meiji Era was the lifting of the geographical restrictions on theatres, which had been in effect since the Tempō Period (1830–1844). A second great change was the recognition of the Kabuki as a cultural activity and even as a means of education. In the Tokugawa Era actors had been cringing and subservient, in keeping with the idea that the Kabuki was a low form of popular entertainment. With the new period, the reviled “players” joined hands with the powers of the day, and even came to be treated as celebrities.

It was in these new currents that the movement for the revision of the theatre had its origins.

In the early years of the Meiji Era there were but three theatres, the Nakamura-za, the Ichimura-za, and the Morita-za, all at Saruwaka-machi (near Asakusa, than at the northern edge of the city), and two puppet theatres, the Satsuma-za and the Yūki-za, which for a time after the Tempō edicts were also at
Saruwaka-machi, but which had by early Meiji moved to the centre of the city. The manager (zamoto) of the Nakamura-za was the thirteenth Nakamura Kanzaburō, the principal actor (zashira) the fifth Bandō Hikosaburō, and the principal female impersonator Shijaku, later the eighth Iwai Hanshirō. The manager, principal actor, and principal female impersonator of the Ichimura-za were respectively the thirteenth Ichimura Uzaemon, the first Bandō Kamezō, and the third Sawamura Tanosuke, and of the Morita-za the twelfth Morita Kan'ya, the fourth Nakamura Shikan, and the second Onoe Kikujiro.

The elders among the actors were, besides Kamezō, the third Seki Sanjūrō and the third Nakamura Nakazō, and at the head of the middle rank were Shikan and Hikosaburō. Among the young actors were the second Ichikawa Kyūzō, then thirty-one, Kawarazaki Gonjūrō, thirty, Ichikawa Sadanji, twenty-five, and Ichimura Kakitsu, twenty-three. Danjūrō (the former Gonjūrō), Kikugorō (the former Kakitsu), and Sadanji, later the mainstays of the Meiji theatre, were thus rising young actors when the period opened.

Early in 1868, the first year of the Meiji Era, a battle between supporters of the Shogunate and supporters of the Emperor took place at Toba-Fushimi, south of Kyoto. A campaign against the Shogun, Tokugawa Yoshinobu was ordered by the Emperor. Public opinion was in a turmoil. The Edo theatres were closed through January, but in February all three reopened. Two months later Edo Castle was handed over to the Imperial forces, and in May there was a battle in the city between Imperial forces and last-ditch supporters of the Shogun. It does not appear that, except perhaps for short breaks, the theatres were closed during these disturbances.

The times being what they were, however, attendance was poor. In February the Nakamura-za added a play to its program in mid-month, and in April the Morita-za lowered its ticket prices. In September the Nakamura-za and the Morita-za agreed upon a joint production to combat the depression.
EARLY MIEJI KABUKI

For three months the same actors presented the same programs in alternating ten-day runs at the two theatres. The first month a hand-bill of the sort a clothier would have used to advertise a sale was passed out with the program.

In October, for the third run, the joint troupe presented the story of the forty-seven rōnin (Jitsuroku Chūshingura) to counter a rival version of the same play (Kanadehon Chūshingura) being performed at the Ichimura-za. The former was billed as Azuma no Miyako Chūshin-yurai, the use of the words Azuma no Miyako (Eastern Capital) for Tokyo being a sign of the times. In the Ichimura-za's version, Gonjūrō played Yuransuke, the leading role, while Kikugorō (who had changed his name from Kakitsu in September) was given the second lead. Kamezō, the principal actor of the troupe, and Nakazono had minor roles. One feels here something of the reforming spirit of the times.

The Nakamura-za and the Morita-za were not alone in their economic difficulties. The whole theatre world was insecure for some years after the Restoration. One can see this clearly from the frequency with which theatre managers were changed. The thirteenth Ichimura Uzaemon, for instance, who was manager of the Ichimura-za (his name as an actor was Kakitsu), relinquished his name to his younger brother Takematsu in 1868, the first year of Meiji. The new fourteenth Uzaemon became Ichimura Kakitsu in 1870, Uzaemon once more in 1871, and then again Kakitsu, while in January, 1872, the Ichimura-za changed its name to the Murayama-za and Kakitsu changed his family name to Bandō. Such changes were common as devices for putting off debtors.

During the run at which this fourteenth Uzaemon made his debut as manager, the sixth Kawarazaki Gon'nosuke was killed by a night robber. The untimely death of Gon'nosuke, who had been aggressive and persistent in his attack on the Morita-za, was an important development for the Meiji theatre. Gon'nosuke had headed one of the hikae-yagura (a company allowed
to play when for some reason one of the three theatres was closed) for the Morita-za, a fact that had bred discord and jealousy. He had, therefore, gone over to become a power in the rival Ichimura-za, and his death was a turning point in the career of Morita Kan'ya.

2. CHANGES IN THE THEATRES

In 1872 Kan'ya moved the Morita-za to Shintomi-chō in what was later to become Kyōbashi Ward. An earlier attempt to move from Saruwaka-machi to the centre of the city had been made by Kawarazaki Gon'nosuke. In 1867 Gon'nosuke had petitioned to be allowed to reopen the old Kawarazaki-za, and had proposed the Fukagawa Warehouse, east of the river, as a site. Before his petition could be acted upon, however, the disturbances of the Restoration closed the town offices, and the following year Gon'nosuke was killed.

Though announcement was made in 1868 of the lifting of the Tempō edicts, none of the theatres had the courage to move immediately.

Earlier, with the weakening of the Shogunate's authority, there had been in addition to the three theatres prescribed by law small troupes playing in busy parts of the city and in shrine precincts. They were known as "shrine plays," and, particularly when they were presented on the grounds of shrines and temples, they were considered beyond the control of the town office and left quite unregulated. They were somewhat vulgar, but they were cheap and very popular.

In September, 1872, an edict from Tokyo Prefecture announced that theatres would be re-licensed in the city. The edict referred to "the three theatres and others". One per-cent of each day's admission charges was to be collected in taxes. A license fee of a hundred fifty yen and a tax of three hundred yen were levied at the outset. The "shrine theatres," after
numerous trials, finally gained official recognition as “little theatres” (shōgekijō). When in the spring of 1873 the ten theatres of the city (their number was limited to ten) were licensed, smaller theatres without official sanction were registered as “comic dances” (dōke teodori) and “drop-curtain” or “low-class” plays (donchō shibai).

It was probably no accident that at precisely this time, in September, 1872, the Morita-za was in process of moving downtown. The Morita-za's plans aroused government interest in the theatre, and the 1873 order limiting the number of theatres to ten was probably the result of a need sensed since the preceding autumn to check the growth of theatres.

In any case, theatres appeared in Tokyo one after another in 1872 and 1873, among them some which, though successors to the lowly “shrine plays,” proceeded to leave behind distinguished names in the Meiji theatre.

In April, 1873, the Nakajima-za, successor to the “Muraemon Troupe” of Nishi-Ryōgoku, opened in Nihonbashi. In the same month a successor to what was popularly called the “Three Brothers Troupe” at Nishi-Ryōgoku moved to Nihonbashi as the Kishō-za. In May the Satsuma-za, which had the previous year changed from the puppet theatre to Kabuki and moved to Kyōbashi, became the Sawamura-za, under the management of actors in the Sawamura line. In July the Okuda-za opened in Hongō. It had formerly been known, at Higashi-Ryōgoku, as the “Dai-tatsu Troupe.” The following July the Kawarazaki-za opened in Shiba.

With the old Nakamura-za, Ichimura-za, and Morita-za, there was thus a total of eight theatres. The other two theatre rights were held by the Kiri-za in Yotsuya, under the Shogunate a hikae yagura to the Ichimura-za, and the Tatsumi-za, which held land for a theatre in Fukagawa.

There is not space here to tell in detail of the subsequent rises and falls of theatres under rapidly changing management. One fact is certain, however: the prestige of the so-called three
theatres fell in the Meiji Era, and other great theatres grew up to replace them.

The greatest were the Kabuki-za, which opened in November, 1889, and the Meiji-za, which opened in November, 1893. More will be said of them later. The Meiji-za was a successor to the Kishō-za.

The ten-theatre restriction applied to the total number of large and small theatres, and that number was also incorporated into the Regulations for the Control of Theatres (Gekijō Torishimari Kisoku) of February, 1882.

According to Keishichō Shikō (The History of the Metropolitan Police), there was considerable disagreement between the prefectoral government and the police before the proclamation of these regulations. The police were apparently of the view that "an increase in the number of theatres would bring harm and no good, and was not to be welcomed", and wanted to require that all theatres be built of fire-proof materials. The governor of the prefecture, Matsuda Michiyuki, however, was a man who understood the theatre. He pointed out that for the time being it was quite impractical to build theatres of fire-proof materials, and deleted the proposed requirement. The regulations were amended in August, 1890, and the theatres that had been tacitly recognized as "comic dances" were openly recognized as "little theatres" (shōgekijō). Theatres were divided into the categories large and small, the former totalling ten and the latter twenty-two. The earlier regulations had been somewhat unreasonable, refusing to make allowance for the growth of the city.

3. RISE IN ACTORS' SALARIES AND TICKET PRICES

In January, 1875, regulations were published for the licensing of actors and the collection of a monthly tax. The tax was, according to a Tokyo prefectoral order, to be based on income
and to be paid the twenty-fifth of each month. Actors with a monthly income of more than 250 yen fell in the first bracket, those with incomes of 100–250 yen in the second, and those who received less than 100 yen in the lowest. The monthly tax was respectively five yen, two yen fifty sen, and one yen. Actors in the top bracket were Bandō Hikosaburō, Nakamura Shikan, Ichikawa Danjūrō, Onoe Kikugorō, Sawamura Tosshō, Nakamura Kanjaku, Ichikawa Sadanji, Iwai Hanshirō, Ichikawa Mon'nosuke, Nakamura Nakazō, Kawarazaki Kunitarō, Bandō Jusaburō, Ichimura Kakitsu, and Nakamura Tokizō. Bandō Tsuruzō, Nakamura Jūzō, and Tachibanaya Sōhachi (later Bandō Kitsujūrō), who were at the time playing at the Kishō-za, were also placed in the upper bracket. Even though they were of leading-actor stature, actors at such theatres as the Kishō-za were not given top billing when they played at the large theatres, and there was some resentment in the large theatres at the rank given these last three. The actors in question dutifully paid their tax, however, and indicated that they would like to be listed in the top group "for good luck". Questions of rank continued to arise for some time afterwards, since discriminatory treatment depending on the theatre troupe to which an actor belonged had long been the custom of the theatre world.

When, in February, 1889, an actors’ union (haiyū kumiai) was organized, its membership was limited to actors in the large theatres. The chairman was Danjūrō and the vice-chairmen were Kikugorō and Sadanji. In the view that it was the intention of the government to classify actors according to their accomplishments, the chairman and the vice chairmen went in March to see the young troupe at the Haruki-za, but scorn for actors in the "drop-curtain plays" was still quite open. The union applied sanctions against anyone who had once played in one of the small theatres. Such discrimination caused both unpleasantness and inconvenience and finally, in February, 1895, a union was formed with the encouragement of the prefectural government bringing together actors from both the large and
the small theatres. Even so the back-stage class system was not easy to eradicate.

A look at actors’ incomes shows that, with the lifting of the limit of 500 ryō per year imposed by the Shogunate, actors’ “gratuities” rose sharply. *Sanza Shikomi Gairyaku (Outline of Gratuities in the Three Theatres)*, for instance, reveals that in 1872 Hikosaburō received 550 yen for forty-two days’ acting and an additional fee of thirty yen as head of the troupe (*zagashira-ryō*). The actor had customarily been responsible for his own costumes, moreover, but now the theatre came to provide them. The theatres found themselves deprived under the new system of the traditional year’s contract, and they learned to think of their troupes as constantly shifting. With the growing number of theatres and the more intense competition, this of course meant higher fees for actors. Newly opened theatres had to pay quite exorbitant prices for the services of famous actors.

For the most part actors’ incomes were not made public, but material is to be found, as is appropriate for the leading actor of his time, on Danjūrō’s earnings. It appears that he earned 1,000 yen in 1882 at the Shintomi-za, 2,000 in 1889 at the Kabuki-za, 4,500 at the same theatre in 1892 (plus 700 for special appearances), 3,500 from the Kabuki-za and the Meiji-za jointly in 1894, and 6,000 from the Kabuki-za (plus 500 for special appearances) in 1899—each of these for one month’s work. In January, 1898, at the Osaka Kabuki-za he received 50,000 yen for runs that lasted but two months.

The incomes of lesser actors probably followed the same curve, and with the rise in expenses admissions also rose. At the time of the Tempō Reform (1841) a first-class stall cost thirty-five momme, or about fifty-eight sen. In 1868, the first year of Meiji, the same stall was fifty momme or about eighty-three sen, and by the time the Morita-za moved to Shintomi-chō in 1872 it had become 180 momme. Seven could sit in one stall, so that the price per person was forty-three sen. In
a day when a shō (3.18 pints) of rice cost about eight sen, that price was not as cheap as it may seem.

When the Kabuki-za opened in November, 1889, stalls sold for four yen seventy sen. Since they held five people, this meant ninety-four sen per person. In 1896 this was raised to five yen fifty sen (one yen ten sen per person), and in 1898 to eight yen fifty sen (one yen seventy sen per person). Since Tamura Nariyoshi, in his plan for reforming the Kabuki-za at the end of the Meiji Era, suggested that “admissions be lowered in the stalls to two yen fifty sen per person, in the raised pit to two yen twenty sen per person, and in the ordinary pit to two yen per person” it would seem that prices continued to rise. For the performances at which the Osaka Kabuki-za paid Danjūrō 50,000 yen, admission charges too broke records: thirteen yen eighty sen for a six-person stall, or two yen thirty sen per person.

4. MORITA KAN’YA, THEATRE MANAGER

We must speak now of the Morita-za’s move to the centre of the city, a move which opened the twelfth Morita Kan’ya’s great “Shintomi-za period.” In his later years Kan’ya went into a decline, but it was around him that the theatre world moved until the third decade of the Meiji Era. He was the second son of Nakamura Kanzaemon, who had been manager (tōdori) of the Ichimura-za. Kanzaemon later rehabilitated the Morita-za, and out of gratitude the eleventh Morita Kan’ya, then manager (zamoto), adopted Kanzaemon’s oldest son as his heir. That son died shortly afterwards, however, and Kanzaemon’s second son entered the Morita family at the age of seventeen. He became the twelfth Kan’ya upon the death of his foster father.

Kan’ya as a person seems to have been both earnest and impassioned, and as a manager he was most astute. In 1865, at
the age of twenty, he was given an award by the town office “for the faithful discharge of filial duties.” One may be amused by this, but Kan’ya had indeed even at that young age fought back Kawarazaki Gon’nosuke’s attacks and by 1867 paid back in full the oppressive debt the theatre carried from fire and other misfortunes. In 1868 Gon’nosuke died, and Kan’ya’s time had come. In 1870 he invited the fifth Onoe Kikugorō from the Ichimura-za, and in 1871 the seventh Kawarazaki Gon’nosuke (later the ninth Ichikawa Danjūrō) entered his troupe. The latter met with the opposition of Kan’ya’s foster mother and other functionaries of the Morita-za, who still cherished their resentment against the sixth Gon’nosuke. Kan’ya, however, confident that the new Gon’nosuke was the actor on whom the theatre of the new period would be built, pushed his plans through.

His next plan was to move the Morita-za to the heart of the city. Of the three theatres in Saruwaka-machi, the Morita-za was the most poorly situated. Kan’ya was therefore early in favor of moving. He investigated the process by which the various “shrine theatres” had been allowed to move, and began hunting suitable land for the Morita-za. The Shin-shimabara pleasure quarter, opened in 1869, was destroyed by a typhoon in the autumn of 1870 and was not allowed to rebuild. Kan’ya saw it as the perfect site for his theatre. A custom that persisted from the days of the Shogunate required that he have the signatures of the other two theatres, the Nakamura-za and the Ichimura-za, on his petition, but he was a deft enough politician to obtain them. In February, 1872, permission was granted to move, and in September the new theatre was completed.

The old Morita-za had been fourteen ken (a ken is equal to about two yards) wide at the front and eighteen ken deep. Both dimensions were increased by four ken for the new theatre. The roof was of sheet-iron, with tiles at the front and the back. The yagura (the tower carrying the theatre’s mark)
was roofed with copper, and measures were taken to prevent fire.

Shin-shimabara and Ōtomi-chō had been combined in 1871 to make Shintomi-chō.

Tōkyō Kaika Hanjōki (The Prosperity of Tokyo under the New Enlightenment), published in 1874 and edited by Hagiwara Otohiko, has this to say about the “theatre at Shintomi”: “It has exhausted the resources of modern engineering, and stands in contrast to its run-down rivals. . . . Some tens of chairs have been provided directly before the stage so that those wearing Western clothes need not be troubled.” As early as 1872 Kan'ya's ideas for meeting the new age thus took concrete shape. With the move to Shintomi-chō Kan'ya did away with certain theatre functionaries: the tomeba who guarded the theatre, the okuri who escorted the actors, and the kappa who tried to attract guests from the streets.

He also decided to part company with the organized backers the Morita-za had long had—a bold move indeed for the day. Under the Shogunate each of the three theatres had behind it groups of organized supporters called tsumiba. Kan'ya resented their interference more than he appreciated their help, and he determined not to consult them on the move to Shintomi-chō. He saw the move as a good opportunity to declare his independence.

It was with such steps as these that Kan'ya's “reform of the theatre” began. There was great resentment in the ten sections of the city where the Shintomi-za had its organized backers, and Gon'nosuke was forced to retire from the company. Kan'ya retaliated, however, by substituting Hikosaburō and Kikugorō. In January, 1875, the Morita-za became a joint-stock company, and its name was changed to Shintomi-za.

Danjūrō (Gon'nosuke), who had been in economic difficulties since the re-opening of the Kawarazaki-za the previous July, had taken to touring the provinces to pay off his debts. Kan'ya saw his opportunity, and in September, 1876, at the Shin-
tomī-za, the manager Morita Kan'ya and the actor Ichikawa Danjūrō, independent now of the organization that had forced his earlier resignation, joined forces to bring a new day to the Meiji Kabuki. Both advocated theatre reform, and their ideas were in accordance, moreover, with the policies of the Meiji government.

In March, 1872, a Ministry of Instruction (Kyōbushō), charged among other things with administering the theatres, was established. Slightly earlier the theatres had been reprimanded by the government. No. 36 of the journal Shim bun Zasshi (March, 1872) carried this item: “Command with regard to theatres. Leading actors of the three Saruwaka-machi theatres as well as three writers for the stage were summoned to the prefectural office late in February and informed of His Majesty’s will that, since illustrious Japanese and foreigners frequently attend the theatre, performances not suited for family groups henceforth be banned, and that the theatres be considered an instrument for education.” This “command” was probably based on information which Fukuchi Ōchi, who had been to Europe on government business four times since 1861, and others had collected on the foreign theatre.

In April of the same year Morita Kan'ya, with Kawatake Shinshichi and Sakurada Jisuke, writers for the Morita-za, was summoned to the ward office to hear the views of the government: “It is of course assumed that the Kabuki must disseminate moral teachings. Useless frills in the play-wright’s style must moreover be done away with. Hashiba Hideyoshi, for instance, is presented as Mashiba Hisayoshi. This might make the very young think that Hideyoshi’s name was Hisayoshi, or again that Oda Nobunaga’s name was Harunaga. Nothing should be at variance with the facts. That which is stiff and dry need not necessarily be considered good and that which is amusing bad. Levity too may be used for instruction. These points should be carefully noted, and they should be passed on to other theatres and writers.” (Shim bun Zasshi, No. 40.)
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This is an extreme example of the didacticism of the day. If indeed "frills" were to be done away with, it would mean in practice that traditional plays and traditional names must quite disappear. When in May, 1872, the Morita-za presented the story of the forty-seven rōnin (Kanadehon Chūshingura), the traditional name of the hero was retained, and it would seem therefore that the theatres interpreted the directive to mean "actual names are to be used in plays written henceforth." Still it cannot be denied that in the early years of the Meiji Era, with respect for the Emperor emerging to replace the old reverence for the Tokugawa house, there was a tendency in the Kabuki to beat the drum for Bushidō. At the point in the play Terakoya where Takebe Genzō and his wife, having decided to sacrifice their own son to save their master's son, join hands and lament on "how hard a thing it is to serve faithfully," the text was changed so that, as his wife lamented in the traditional manner, Genzō replied: "But this is what service is." The change was first made in October, 1870, at the joint Nakamura-za—Ichimura-za production.

This is but one small example. There was a general tendency to "improve" the theatre by bringing in the ideals of Bushidō, and it seems true that the tendency pleased the groups coming to dominate the theatre audience. Kawatake Shinshichi relayed the Kyōbushō's directive practically unchanged in Oto ni Hibiku Sen'nari Hisago (A Thousand Gourds, the Banner of Toyotomi Hideyoshi), presented at the Shintomi-za in 1876: "The Kabuki stage and the puppet theatre are tools for instruction. They should promote good and chastise evil. This aim has been realized in part, but there are still examples of the licentiousness that it was once the practice to display before innocent women and children. The modern theatre should avoid any suggestion of the unseemly. Plays which make parent and child blush are not shown at the Shintomi-za." This is no doubt in accord with the policies of the government, and it suggests a theatre in transition.

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On November 28, 1876, the Shintomi-za was destroyed by fire. The following April it was reopened in a temporary building. Nakamura Sōjūrō came from Osaka to appear in the opening program, but attendance was poor because the Satsuma Rebellion had broken out previous month. On September 24 the rebellion was put down, and Kan’ya, sensitive to the moods of the day, decided to have Shinshichi write a play about it. He made friends with Ijūin Kanetsune and Kōmyōji Saburō, it is recorded in his biography, and from them gathered information for the play, which was a great success when it opened in March, 1878, as Okige no Kumo Harau Asagochi (The Morning East Wind Clearing the Clouds of the Southwest). It was for Danjūrō’s performance in the role of Saigō Takamori (leader of the rebellion) that Kanagaki Robun, writing in the Kanayomi Shim bun, nick named the actor Danshū, a reference to “Nanshū” or Saigō Takamori. Danjūrō subsequently took Danshū as a sort of a elegant professional name.

The Kōmyōji whom Kan’ya cultivated on this occasion was a new-school intellectual who had studied in France with the statesman Saionji Kimmochi. Kan’ya was able to rebuild his theatre from the profits of the play, and on June 7 and 8, 1878, the new Shintomi-za was opened with elaborate ceremonies. The influence of the scholars and statesmen with whom Kan’ya was then intimate was important in the succession of daring projects he proceeded to launch. The Chinese scholar, Yoda Gakkai, has stated in his reminiscences that on April 28, 1878, some two months before the opening of the new theatre, Matsuda Michiyuki, chief secretary in the Home Ministry (naimu daishokikan), invited to his Yotsuya home Danjūrō, Kikugorō, Sōjūrō, Nakazō, and Kan’ya. Also present were the statesman Itō Hirobumi, Nakai Hiroshi, Oki Morikata, and Gakkai. Itō pointed out that the foreign theatre was on a much higher level than the Japanese, that it was more rational. Gakkai argued strongly that the theatre must always follow his-

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torical fact. It appears, from material in Ōtsuki Nyoden’s Kan’ya Jireki (Story of Kan’ya), that Kōmyōji Saburō had described the royal theatres of Europe to Kan’ya, and offered his prediction that such a theatre must inevitably be established in Japan. No doubt Kan’ya was confident at the time that he would become its director (gekijō no kami). He resolved to make the new Shintomi-za a step toward an imperial theatre, to offer up through it the first fruits of reform.

5. THE SHINTOMI-ZA IN NEW DRESS

The newly finished Shintomi-za had roughly the same dimensions as the theatre built in 1872, but the old awnings and the curtains about the base of the stage were discarded. The medium and small tea stands were discontinued and the total number of stands was reduced from forty-two to sixteen. Gas lights were installed by the Tokyo Gas Company—a revolutionary step in theatre décor.

Several thousand guests, including Prime Minister (Dajōdaijin) Sanjō Saneyoshi and numerous other notables and even foreigners, were invited to the opening ceremonies. Such an affair would not have been dreamed of ten years earlier. A detailed description of the opening ceremony has been handed down to us. On the main stage, eight ken wide, were the army and navy bands. Kan’ya and the cast, from Danjūrō down (in tails, except for the female impersonators), and even the playwright Shinshichi, were lined up in the audience. Danjūrō, representing the actors, read a speech in which these harsh words appeared: “When one thinks back upon it, the theatre of recent years has drunk up filth and has smelled of the coarse and the mean. It has discarded the beautiful principle of rewarding good and chastising evil, it has fallen into mannerisms and distortions, it has been flowing steadily downhill. Perhaps at no time has this tendency been more marked than now. I,
Danjūrō, am deeply grieved by this fact, and in consultation with my colleagues, I have resolved to clean away the decay.” The actual author of the speech was Fukuchi Ōchi, who was then still active in politics. Danjūrō did no more than transmit Ōchi’s theories on the improvement of the theatre. Danjūrō and Kan’ya were of course whole-hearted admirers of Ōchi, but it seems that in addition Kan’ya had plans for using Ōchi, who had that year been elected chairman of the prefectural assembly, to promote the fortunes of the Shintomi-za. A stream of important foreigners visited the theatre in the late 1870’s, probably in large part through the good offices of Ōchi.

In August, 1878, the Shintomi-za presented a “night theatre”, another Kan’ya innovation. This was in imitation of the French theatre as Kan’ya had heard it described by Kōmyōji Saburō. It had been traditional for Kabuki to be presented in the daytime, but Kan’ya decided that five to eleven in the evening would be more appropriate. The program, under the general title Butai Akaruki Jisei no Yoshibai (The Well-lighted Evening Stage of Our Day), consisted of the didactic Hakkenden and the ghost story Sara Yashiki. The expression “well-lighted stage” was an allusion to the gaslights. The innovation was a success and attendance was good.

It was in writing of the Shintomi-za’s October program that Kanagaki Robun invented the word katsureki, still used to refer to historical plays. We shall hear in detail of the katsureki in the next section, and here it will suffice to say that it was the reforming zeal of Kan’ya that produced the new genre.

Kawatake Shinshichi’s new play Ningen Banji Kane no Yononaka (The Omnipresence of Money in Men’s Affairs), presented in March, 1879, was at Ōchi’s suggestion modeled on an English drama. Thirty-three Dutchmen from Yokohama, who appeared in the play, presented the theatre with a velvet curtain and organized a large theatre party. A synopsis of the plot was printed in English.

On February 3, 1879, the magazine Kabuki Shimpō (Kabuki
News) appeared for the first time. One notes on reading it how frequently distinguished foreign guests visited the Shintomi-za. On June 4 there was Prince Heinrich of Germany, who was accompanied by Prince Arisugawa, Prince Fushimi, and Prime Minister Sanjō. On the eleventh of the same month the governor of Hong Kong visited the theatre. On July 16, public-spirited citizens of Tokyo organized a party in honor of General Grant, who was then in Japan. It is said that this last event cost Kan’ya ten thousand yen, while Kawatake Shinshichi wrote a special play extolling the general’s war achievements. Grant was represented by the eleventh-century Japanese hero Minamoto Yoshiie and the play was called Gosannen Ōshū Gunki (A Chronicle of the Latter Three-year Campaign in the Far Provinces).

In September, 1881, Kan’ya presented Hyōryū Kidan Seiyō Kabuki (The Wanderers’ Strange Story: A Foreign Kabuki). An English troupe presented a foreign play as an entracte, which was fitted into the main play by the device of having Japanese wanderers visit a Paris theatre. The entracte, according to contemporary accounts, consisted of plays and dances changed each week. Summaries of the foreign plays were distributed to the audience. The production was at first popular as a novelty, but presently it became clear that plays in foreign languages should be handled with extreme caution. The theatre suffered a loss of twenty thousand yen on the enterprise. Indeed it is said that Kan’ya’s decline began with this misstep. “A famous master of the oil painting put all of his art” into the sets, we are told, and the sets were thus a pioneering experiment in Western-style stage designing.

Thereafter Kan’ya’s enthusiasm for things foreign ebbed. In September, 1879, Kikugorō and Sadanji went off touring the northern provinces, largely, it is said, because of Kan-ya’s desire to keep those conservative actors at a distance. The month after the failure of the foreign play, however, they were called back, and the Dan-Kiku-Sa combination (Danjūrō, Kikugorō, Sa-
danji) appeared at the Shintomi-za in Kaga Sōdō (The Kaga Disturbance). The enthusiasm that had made Kan’ya turn even to the foreign way of living quickly cooled, and only the woolen curtain sent by General Grant remained at the Shintomi-za. In March, 1881, the King of Hawaii, and in May, 1886, a member of the Bonaparte family visited the theatre, but it would seem that Kan’ya no longer went out aggressively after foreign notables.

Morita Kan’ya’s apparent weariness in the years 1878 and 1879 perhaps reflected the mood of the country. The next movement “for improvement of the theatre,” which like its predecessor left behind no permanent achievements, began, one feels, with its feet a bit more on the ground. Perhaps the maturing.

The Shintomi-za, according to Okamoto Kidō’s Meiji no Engeki (The Meiji Theatre), was popularly known as the “play at Shimabara.” The residents of Tokyo did not take easily to new names like Shintomi-chō, and it was not until the third decade of the Meiji Era that the name Shintomi-za came into country was popular usage.

6. THE KATSUREKI HISTORICAL DRAMA

The actor Ichikawa Danjūrō, who with Kan’ya supported the Meiji theatre like a wheel of a carriage, was the special “star” of his day. The originality of his art, one would judge from the accounts of those who saw him, arose from an intense desire to perfect, on the basis of the traditional Kabuki, a free technique for creating on the stage a real human being. His appeal to the new audiences seems to have depended on something which they took directly from the Danjūrō stage, something not bound by the restrictions of the past.

From his youth he was a heretic. He was born in 1842, the fifth son of the seventh Ichikawa Danjūrō. He was adopted by
the sixth Kawarazaki Gon’nosuke, head of the Kawarazaki-za. He seems to have possessed extreme self-confidence. While he was of a very common-sense turn of mind, he had his own views on ethics, and he seems to have favored the “improvement of the theatre” from about the age of twelve or thirteen. He would see a picture scroll, for instance, and remark to himself that here was the sort of scene he would like to present on the stage. That, however, was in an age when the seventh Danjūrō was punished for the crime of wearing real armor on the stage. The young actor could not but wonder whether his ideal must remain unfulfilled.

That it did not was due largely to the coming of a new age. The Meiji Era shared his tastes and welcomed his dramatization of history, and he was helped too by Morita Kan’ya. Danjūrō threw off convention and discovered the art of realistic speech, expression, and gesture. He was to an extent a genius.

His new style began to develop from his appearance at the opening of the new Kawarazaki-za in July, 1874. The production was a quiet, simple one, and yet the audience was astonished at Danjūrō’s unconventional exits and at the elimination of the wooden clappers used traditionally at the end of each act.

Danjūrō had as a matter of fact appeared in a “woodless” performance, a performance that dispensed with the clappers, at the Morita-za in August, 1871. The play was a topical one dealing with the abolition of the clans in 1871. It told of the departure of the chief of the Sanada clan from his sīf, mourned by the farmers who had been under him. This description of the play is found in the Zokuzoku Kabuki Nendaiki (Second Supplementary Chronicle of the Kabuki): “Gon’nosuke (Danjūrō’s name at the time) in the role of Tokimasa, cutting off with a monosyllable the complaints of Nakazō as Kogōri, placed his hand upon a chair, and whispered something to Kogōri behind a fan. The two of them nodded silently, and the curtain was drawn to the sound of a clock off-stage. Such was the first
‘woodless’ drawing of the curtain."

In fact, there had been such endings, known as *kimiai*, in the traditional Kabuki. They had simply dispensed with the clappers, however, while Danjūrō’s performance at the Kawarazaki-za was completely new from the beginning, where he stood casually writing a poem under a cherry tree, to the end, where he marched off the stage without a backward glance.

In May, 1875, at the same theatre, Danjūrō played in *Kibidaijin Shina Monogatari* (*The Tale of the Minister Kibi in China*). Traditionally a spider was suspended from the ceiling at the moment when the hero read the “Yabadai” poem (i.e., poem about Japan), but Danjūrō merely read the poem and indicated by his expression that he had seen a spider.

It was a style of acting that could be attempted only by an actor with a great deal of self-confidence. One cannot deny, however, that it was a style too restrained and subtle for the ordinary theatre-goer of the day. Nishida Kimpa, an old connoisseur of the Kabuki, is said to have remarked that “the skill (*kokyū*) with which Danjūrō made it known that he had seen the spider was indescribably wonderful” (Ibara Toshirō, *Meiji Engekishi / History of the Meiji Theatre*). The word *kokyū* seems to have been used in the Edo period to refer to the art of an actor with a reputation in a wide variety of roles, and it would be a mistake to consider Danjūrō an iconoclast. He was in the final analysis a solid Kabuki actor.

He did not stoop to flattering his audience, however. Rather it was his ambition to educate the audience to “a true eye for history.” This ideal was no doubt suggested to him in part by Yamanouchi Yōdō and others who early patronized him, but Danjūrō’s own ideals were lofty enough ones. The expression “a true eye for history” is not to be taken to mean anything so grand as a reinterpretation of history. Danjūrō steeped himself in antiquities, and his program was to take scenes from picture scrolls and present them as literally as possible. He had very early had Ichikawa Kumao, an antiquarian, to advise him
on the selection of costumes and properties, and when Ichikawa died he turned for advice to Matsuoka Akiyoshi, a costume and dress expert in the Arima household who had been among his assistants since the production of *Kibi Daijin* (*Minister Kibi*). Danjūrō studied how to wear arms and ancient dress, the distinctions between the various ensembles, and the rules for handling arms.

The Kawarazaki-za did not prosper. Soon its name was changed to Shimbori-za, but before long it was bankrupt, and Danjūrō moved on to Kan'ya and the Shintomi-za. Among the historical plays he appeared in at about this time were *Shigemori Kangen* (*Shigemori’s Admonition*), *Katada Ochi* (*The Flight to Katada*) and *Amakusa Sōdō* (*The Amakusa Uprising*). The Shigemori play, by Shinshichi, was taken almost without change from the medieval military romance *Heike Monogatari*, and was, according to the *Zokuzoku Kabuki Nendaiki* (*The Second Supplementary Chronicle of the Kabuki*), “filled with antique expressions which quite mystified the audience.” Nabeshima Shinano-no-kami in the Amakusa play is said to have been modelled on Yamanouchi Yūdō. Danjūrō’s theories are to be seen at work here. He rather cavalierly ignored the level of his audience, but it was his great accomplishment that he braved disfavor and presently carried his audience with him.

The Shintomi-za burned down in 1876, and Danjūrō spent most of 1877 touring the provinces. In December he returned to Tokyo to appear at the temporary Shintomi-za in *Kōmonki Osana Kōshaku* (*A Tale of Kōmon for the Young*). He wore his hair in the modern manner, having in his absence cut his top-knot.

7. CRITICISM OF DANJŪRŌ

Danjūrō’s Mito Kōmon (*Tokugawa Mitsukuni*) was said to be an exact reproduction of the historical figure. Much the same
was said of his Ieyasu and his Kiyomasa. One can perhaps find here a clue to his style of acting.

In July, 1878, Danjūrō appeared at the newly rebuilt Shintomi-za in Kawatake Shinshichi’s Matsu no Sakaе Chiyoda Shintoku, a play about Ieyasu in which Danjūrō’s admonitions at the opening ceremonies were given concrete application. The play represented an extreme attempt to depart from the techniques of the old Kabuki. It seems to have been on the advice of Matsuda Michiyuki and Yoda Gakkai that the retainers, when they received their swords from Hideyoshi in the final scene, advanced on their knees in the authentic manner. The astonished audience compared them to caterpillars.

In October Nichō no Yumi Chigusa no Shigetō was presented at the Shintomi-za. It was again by Shinshichi and was based on Gempei Nunobiki-no-taki, a play about the feud between the Minamoto and Taira Clans in the twelfth century. Kanganaki Robun had this to say in the Kanayomi Shimbun for October 20: “The program at the Shintomi-za yesterday was finally complete, down to the domestic piece (sewamono). The representation of Saitō Sanemori in the second play shows that the classical scholars are still in charge. His costume is the authentic one of his day, and the play might indeed be called ‘living history’. A historical play sandwiched in between two plays of every-day life, it is conspicuous for soberness of treatment. We shall hope for more of this.”

Robun was no doubt half joking when he coined the term “living history”, katsu-rekishi, but it was most appropriate for describing Danjūrō’s style, and it became very popular. The last syllable was presently dropped, and the word came to stand for the type of historical drama in which Danjūrō specialized. Today it is a technical term used by historians of the drama. On November 16, 1884, Danjūrō used it in his greetings on the occasion of the opening of the Saruwaka-za. Danjūrō’s message is worth quoting, since, with his words at the reopening of the Shintomi-za, it is a statement of what he felt the actor’s
mission to be: "The theatre was once pure entertainment. Its influence on society today is not small, however, since it praises good and chastises evil through 'living history', reproducing the manners and emotions of yesterday and today. It is right that in civilized countries the theatre should be considered a means of education. Our intercourse with the outside world becomes ever more intimate, and we live in an age when there is scarcely time for all the reforms that must be made. It is in keeping with the age that the structure of our theatres should change." (The quotation is abridged.)

Danjūrō's vehicle for "education" that month was a play about the Kamakura Regent Takatoki. After 1889 he appeared chiefly in plays by Fukuchi Ōchi, but before that, with but two exceptions, his plays were by the second Kawatake Shinshichi, who after 1882 was known as Mokuami. Under the Shogunate, Mokuami had written chiefly plays in contemporary settings, but with the Meiji Era and the emergence of Danjūrō he shifted to the kasureki historical drama.

After 1889, the beginning of the Kabuki-za period, Mokuami retired and left the field to Ōchi. Danjūrō continued to play historical roles, written now by Ōchi. He appeared in kasureki for twenty years if one dates from the first performance of Shin Butai Iwao no Kusunoki. In the last ten years of his life he showed some tendency to return to the classics, but even in traditional pieces it is clear that his historical research was painstaking. He broke stereotypes and sought new and fresh approaches. Ibara Toshirō has called that late Danjūrō style "semi-kasureki", and it is probably correct to say that the guiding principles were laid down by the Antiquarian Society (Kyūkokai), with which Danjūrō was associated. The Antiquarian Society, made up of such eminent scholars as Yoda Gakkai, had met once a month since January, 1883, at Danjūrō's home to hear lectures on material culture and to exchange views on historical subjects.

The Society was bitterly lampooned in No. 484 of Kabuki
Shimpō, which carried an article about Danjūrō’s 1884 performance in the role of Takatoki. It was probably written by Kanagaki Robun under a pseudonym. An accompanying illustration showed Danjūrō, his head bandaged, being made to dance by a gang of goblins.

It seems clear that there were some who were not happy with the refined new drama. In a June, 1891, issue of the Yomiuri, for instance, there was this criticism of Danjūrō’s performance as Kasuga no Tsubone: “Danjūrō has for some reason always been fond of exaggerated histrionics. At the drop of a hat he will strike a pose and, with a lofty snort, serve up something as interesting as a sliver of dried fish stewed in water, with an expression as if to say that only he can understand it. The imposition upon the audience is by no means small.” The novelist Natsume Sōseki, when he saw the same play, wrote to the poet Masaoka Shiki that “Danjūrō’s long, old-womanish face was painful to look at.”

There is an interesting anecdote in this connection. At about the time he played his controversial Takatoki, Danjūrō was in financial difficulty because of his joint liability for Morita Kan’ya’s debts. Someone offered to lend him three thousand yen for three years without interest, but only on condition that court dress, armor, and beards be banned from the Kabuki stage for that period. Whether or not the story is authentic is difficult to establish, but in any case it is a harsh criticism of Danjūrō’s katsureki.

No. 637 of Kabuki Shimpō reported: “The great actor of the katsureki, Ichikawa Danjūrō, is rumored to have decided to give up his devotion to picture scrolls and, in keeping with the times, to turn to ‘living history’ on more modern themes. Rumor has it that he will give us all we need of the old Danjūrō touch in an occasional piece glittering with arms and court costumes, but that he will make it a principle to undertake every Jōruri dance piece offered to him. When this happens the spirits of the audience will rise and the theatre in
general will become more appetizing."

No doubt many agreed. Politicians and scholars were intent on "reforming the theatre," however, and in 1886 organized a society for that purpose. In 1887, the Emperor Meiji made his historic visit to the Kabuki. Morita Kan'ya had recovered from his intoxication with foreign things and was cool to the new movement, but Danjūrō was excited afresh.

After the opening of the Kabuki-za in 1889, Danjūrō attached himself to Fukuchi Ōchi. This meant that he always had a knowledgeable adviser beside him, and yet it seems clear that, without Danjūrō's genius, the katsureki would very soon have died. Danjūrō was a highly gifted man, and he was fortunate in the people he had around him.

We shall speak in more detail in Chapter 2 of the movement for reforming the theatre.

8. THE MEIJI STYLE OF ACTING

Danjūrō's talents lay in the direction of the katsureki, and in the katsureki a new style of acting was created.

Danjūrō himself described his art thus: "When I am on the stage the true thing refuses to come forth unless I forget myself, forget the stage, and become the figure I am acting," and, "This is not a matter only of surface. The 'entrails' are important. True feeling is transferred from heart to heart."

This haragei (inner realism) was not wholly unknown in the old Japanese theatre, but it may be said that Danjūrō introduced the concept of seeing to its farthest depths the nature of a stage figure. This was probably not realism but an extension of traditional Kabuki, and yet it was a great blow to tradition for Takatoki, for instance, to speak with his face half turned from the audience. It was equally revolutionary to shorten a speech of the sixteenth-century hero Kiyomasa from "Was it a dream?" to simply, "A dream?"
Danjūrō sometimes suffered for his realism. Often the whole troupe was dissatisfied with him. When in June, 1881, he appeared at the Shintomi-za in the revenge story of the Soga brothers, he played the younger brother to Sōjūrō’s elder brother. Danjūrō was dressed in full armor, while Sōjūrō was dressed in the traditional hitched-up trousers and was barefoot. A critic reported that “the younger brother was prepared for a fire, the elder brother for a flood.” Sōjūrō pleaded illness and appeared but one day.

When, in June, 1878, Danjūrō criticized Nakazō’s exits as lacking restraint, Nakazō retorted that Danjūrō’s Ieyasu would never have succeeded in conquering Japan. It cannot be said that the resistance of Sōjūrō and Nakazō left Danjūrō untouched. Rather it was by bleeding as he marched ahead, so to speak, that Danjūrō perfected his art.

In Danshū Hyakuwa (A Hundred Stories of Danjūrō), a collection of anecdotes compiled by Matsui Shōyō, Danjūrō is quoted as saying that the roles he most disliked were those of Sanemori in Nunobiki-no-taki and Moritsuna in Ōmi Genji. He pointed out that both characters were warriors of uncertain loyalty. “It is impossible to know where to put one’s heart. There are no more difficult roles.” This is the sort of reaction one might have on reading a play, but it is an odd one indeed for an actor to confess to. Danjūrō’s predilection for bowdlerizing too seems a trifle childish.

Though Danjūrō was no doubt influenced by the people around him, one must recognize the spirit of the new age in the way he investigated the traditional Kabuki for himself and made known his objections to it. That the mixed reception with which he was at first greeted gave way to praise approaching adulation is evidence of a change in the times. The tide presently turned to Danjūrō’s advantage.

One may imagine that it was because of the emergence of actors in the westernized theatre from about the time of the Sino-Japanese War (1894–95) that Danjūrō, secure as leading
actor at the Kabuki-za, turned back to the classics.

In May and July, 1895, the Kabuki-za presented Kawakami Otojirō in a new-style Shimpa drama, but in July attendance was bad and Danjūrō was called back. It is said that he insisted on having the floor of the stage sanded before he appeared. This of course was a gesture of contempt for the swashbuckling "new theatre." In any case he returned in November, to play for the first time in years in the traditional Shibaraku. The following year he played in Dōjōji and Suke-roku, also traditional.

Immediately after Kikugorō's death in 1903, Danjūrō appeared at the Kabuki-za to confer new stage names on Kikugorō's sons. It is said that he passed the standards of the classical Kabuki on to the son who became the sixth Kikugorō. The latter was much loved by Danjūrō in his last years, and he spent his summer vacations at Danjūrō's seaside villa, where the old actor taught him dancing. There was something of the traditional reverence for lines of succession in the way in which Danjūrō, who had so immersed himself in the new katsureki, sought to prepare for retirement by passing on to the younger man the tradition of the Kabuki, and there was probably also in it a growing awareness that, with the fourth decade of the Meiji Era and the social changes it brought, the preservation of the old was becoming more difficult.

Danjūrō continued to play principally in Ōchi's historical dramas, but from about 1892 his appearances with Kikugorō became more frequent, and their presentation of the classics was so remarkable that even today old theatre-goers talk about it.

Danjūrō last appeared at the Kabuki-za in May, 1903, whereupon he took to his bed. On September 13, at the age of sixty-five, he died of uremia and pneumonia. He had as his disciples the actors who later became Kōshirō, Danshirō, and Chūsha, and among his relatives were Mon'nosuke, Sadanji, and Kodanji, so that the glory of the Ichikawa line did not die with him.
One is led to think, looking back over the decades, that Danjūrō's spirit was transmitted to the Taishō Era (1912–1926) in the acting of Nakamura Utaemon, and a little later in that of the sixth Onoe Kikugorō.

It appears, however, that Danjūrō saw his successor in Ichikawa Shinzō, who died in July, 1897, at the age of thirty-six. Shinzō was a highly talented actor whose range was wide and who was endowed with spirit and energy. Had he lived he would probably have become the tenth Danjūrō. "This is a great blow," Danjūrō is said to have mourned. "Had Shinzō lived my principles for reforming the theatre might have been handed on after my death." (Ōchi-koji to Ichikawa Danjūrō / Ōchi and Ichikawa Danjūrō).

The same year Onoe Kikunosuke, had the all qualifications for a great actor of romantic roles (wagoto), died at the age of twenty-nine. Six years later Kikugorō and Danjūrō were dead, and shortly afterwards Sadanji, and an era was over. Through the early Meiji Era and the transitional period which will be taken up in the next chapter, the actor who in every sense of the term symbolized the age was Danjūrō. Danjūrō's style of acting was the Meiji style of acting.

9. THE POSITION OF THE FIFTH KIKUGORŌ

Danjūrō's rival Kikugorō too had his own individual style of acting. The Western hair-cut, which became current from around 1872 or 1873, was popularly known as zangiri. Kikugorō commissioned zangiri plays on contemporary themes (the characters of course had zangiri hair-cuts) from the same Mokuami who wrote Danjūrō's historical plays. He introduced nine such zangiri-mono between 1879 and 1889. Among his roles were those of a young man in Kane no Yononaka (Money in the Affairs of Men), a murderous woman in Takahashi O-den, a policeman in Shimoyo no Kane (The Bell on the Frosty Night),

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a prostitute in *Hakone no Shikabue* (The Hunter’s Horn at Hakone), a robber in *Shima Chidori* (Island Plovers), a rickshawman in *Musuko Kagaribi* (Guide for Young Men), a stationer in *Suitengū*, a geisha in *Ugai Kagaribi* (Cormorant Fisher’s Flare), and yet another geisha in *Hanai O-ume*. Kikugorō was able to range over a wide variety of roles and give a convincingly realistic performance in all of them. O-den and O-ume, who figured in the news of the day, are especially worth our notice.

In comparison with Danjūrō’s acting, however, Kikugorō’s style showed little novelty and freshness. He failed to advance beyond older plays that had treated of contemporary themes. The costumes, properties, and incidents were Meiji, but the old musical accompaniment was used, and the characters, even the policeman in Western dress, all struck traditional poses. The *zangiri-mono* thus had its limitations from the outset.

As is made clear in *Meiji Jibutsu Kigen* (The Origin of Things Meiji), everything foreign was marvelled at in the second and third decades of the Meiji Era. To please the tastes of the day, Kikugorō now and then appeared in new dance dramas. In 1886 he presented a play inspired by an Italian circus troupe that had that year been a great success in Tokyo. In January, 1891, his play at the Kabuki-za was based on Spencer’s balloon flight, then much talked about, and on the completion the year before of the twelve-storey tower at Asakusa in Tokyo. Kikugorō appeared in the role of Spencer, and, with the instruction of the great Western scholar Fukuzawa Yukichi, made a speech in English. In July, 1894, he mimicked English string puppets. When he changed an old-style hairdresser in a traditional play to a modern barber, some scores of barber shops in the city organized a large theatre party. One can perhaps sense in this Kikugorō’s alertness to the fashions of the time and his ability to appeal to the masses.

Miki Takeji’s treatment of the art of Kikugorō in the magazine *Tsukikusa* suggests that he was at the opposite pole from
Danjūrō in his attitude toward the audience. While Danjūrō tried to be lofty and elegant, Kikugorō emphasized the common, and there can be no doubt that he sometimes fell into vulgarity.

Mokuami’s death in 1893 was a great blow to Kikugorō. Roles such as that of Tatsugorō in Me-gumi no Kenka (The Quarrel of the Firemen and the Wrestlers), by Mokuami’s disciple Takeshiba Kisui, and Hanzō in the third Kawatake Shinshichi’s Kaidan Botandōrō came to join such earlier roles as Benten Kozō and Kataoka Naojirō as popular items in the repertoire of the Onoe school. The plays themselves were inferior, however, and dependent on Kikugorō’s acting.

It was perhaps natural that Kikugorō presently joined Danjūrō, then turning back toward the traditional stage, and devoted himself to the classics.

Kikugorō was an actor who placed beauty of form and line above all else. He paid a great deal of attention to order, and would not permit the position of the smallest stage property to be changed from day to day. Among the traditional roles he perfected were Kampei in Chūshingura, Gonta and Tadano-bu in Yoshitsune Sembonzakura (Yoshitsune and the Thousand Cherries), Sanemori in Nunobiki-no-taki (Nunobiki Falls), and Mitsugi in Ise Ondo (Ise Chorus).

The fifteenth Ichimura Uzaemon inherited Kikugorō’s dash and verve, the fifth Onoe Baikō his devotion to minute details, and the sixth Kikugorō his realism.

Kikugorō suffered a stroke of apoplexy in December, 1901. The following year he returned to the stage, even though he had not fully recovered. His last performance was at the Kabuki-za in November, 1902. On February 15, 1903, he died at the age of fifty-nine from a recurrence of the same illness.

Kikugorō traveled a different path from that of Danjūrō, but it was his great accomplishment at the end to join hands with Danjūrō to bring the Meiji theatre its greatest age. In 1903, however, when the Dan-Kiku era ended, the situation was still as Tsubouchi Shōyō had summarized it: Danjurō was the in-
novator, Kikugorō the preserver and transmitter.

10. OTHER LEADING ACTORS OF THE DAY

We shall now take up the principal actors around Kikugorō and Danjūrō in the early years of the Meiji Era.

Among those already famous under the shogunate was Bandō Hikosaburō, who was gifted with a fine physical presence and a powerful voice. His principal virtue, however, was the elegance and purity of his acting. Danjūrō had great respect for him, and once said, "In the fourth act of Chūshingura I can do Yuranosuke myself, but in the seventh act I can't match Hikosaburō." Again, toward the end of his life, he said, "If Hikosaburō were still living, I would give him the title role in Kasuga no Tsubone and do Ieyasu myself." Hikosaburō was extremely popular from the last years of the Shogunate, and the success of Nakamura Shikaku (later Denkurō) when he appeared in Tokyo was said to be due to the fact that he resembled Hikosaburō. The latter played in Osaka from January, 1869, to May, 1870. Thereafter he returned to Tokyo, but when the Shintomi-za burned in November, 1876, he moved to Nagoya with Kikugorō. He then proceeded to Osaka, where he appeared in March and May, 1877. He was even then having trouble with his lungs, however, and on October 13 he died at the age of forty-five.

Hikosaburō's great rival from the last days of the Shogunate was the fourth Nakamura Shikan. Shikan was an impressive figure on the stage, and his features suggested the beauty of old color prints. He was also an accomplished dancer, the heart of whose acting lay not in an attempt to interpret character but in an attempt to express himself through beauty of line. Younger actors had no trouble overtaking him intellectually, and he was an easy-going person who to the end of his life knew nothing about money. He seems to have been quite
aloof from the currents of the Meiji Era, a survival from an earlier era. For four years, until his son Fukusuke had gained sufficient stature to act opposite Danjūrō, Shikan played in the provinces. When he returned to Tokyo, all the other actors had cut their hair in the zangiri fashion, and only Shikan and Fukusuke still wore the old fashioned topknot. This suggests what sort of man he was. In January, 1885, at the opening of the Chitose-za, he still had not cut his hair. (He finally succumbed to the urgings of the dance master Hanayagi Jusuke and surrendered his topknot in August, 1887.) He died on January 16, 1899, at the age of sixty-nine.

Actors a generation older than Hikosaburō and Shikan included Bandō Kamezō, who died in November, 1873, at the age of seventy-three; the sixth Ichikawa Danzō, who died in October, 1871, at the age of seventy-one; and the third Seki Sanjūrō, who died in December, 1870, at the age of sixty-five. Sanjūrō was the most accomplished of the three. When in later years Mokuami was asked who of the actors he had known was the finest, he immediately mentioned Sanjūrō, it is said. Sanjūrō was known popularly as "Seki San."

Five years younger than Sanjūrō was the third Nakamura Nakazō. His career progressed slowly because he lacked the support of a clique or school, but he was an actor accomplished in both historical and contemporary roles, and he was particularly famous for his skill in the roles of old men and villains. He died on December 24, 1886, at the age of seventy-seven, a theatre elder in the real sense of the term. He devoted himself to passing on ancient lore to posterity, and his autobiography, Temae Miso (Self Praise), contains valuable material for the historian of the drama.

Onoe Kikujiro, the fifth Ichikawa Mon’nosuke, and the fifth Ichikawa Metora were all actors of women’s roles who died toward the end of the first decade of the Meiji Era.

The third Sawamura Tanosuke, who died on July 7, 1878, at the age of thirty-three, had the brief and tragic career of a
flower that blooms out of season. He was the second son of the fifth Sōjūrō, and was so precocious that in 1860, at the age fifteen, he became the leading actor of female roles at the Nakamura-za. He was a friend of the fifth Kikugorō. His style of acting was particularly suited to the role of the dashing woman, but he tried his hand at a wide variety of roles. In March, 1865, when he was playing in the Cinderella story Benizara Kakezara, he fell from a tree and developed gangrene as a result. The American surgeon Hepburn removed both of his feet and his right hand, but even thus afflicted he stubbornly refused to leave the stage.

The eighth Iwai Hanshirō, sixteen years older than Tanosuke, was perhaps the last actor who possessed the seductiveness of the old-style female impersonator. He played with Danjūrō and Kikugorō in the shogunate and the first years of Meiji, always in the leading female role. He died on February 19, 1882, at the age of fifty-three. One catches a suggestion of his style of acting in the fact that after his death Danjūrō gave up Naru Kami (Thunder God) for want of an actor to play the voluptuous female lead, and the fact that he had many plays written for him on domestic themes because of his skill in the role of the beloved concubine.

Another female impersonator accomplished in romantic roles (wagoto) was the second Sawamura Tosshō, who later became the fourth Suketakaya Takasuke and who died in February, 1886, at the age of forty-eight. The elder brother of Tanosuke, he fell into obscurity in his later years.

11. TOKYO ACTORS OF FEMALE ROLES

Tokyo actors who succeeded Hanshirō and Tanosuke in playing women's roles included Shūchō, Matsunosuke, Gen'nosuke, and Metora. We shall have occasion later to speak of Fukusuke, who became Shikan and here we shall say something of
these four.

Bandō Shūchō began his career as a disciple of Kodanji. He grew up in Osaka, and had advanced as far as second lead in female roles when his teacher died. Presently he moved to Tokyo, and in 1873 he became a disciple of Morita Kan'ya. He played young women's roles at the Morita-za, staying with that theatre after it became the Shintomi-za. His performances opposite Danjūrō, Kikugorō, and Sadanji were quiet and unspectacular. When, in 1882, Hanshirō died, Shūchō should naturally have become the leading female impersonator in the company, but he allowed that position to go instead to Fuku-suke, who was better looking and more popular. Shūchō was not unable to play lively, bright roles, but he was better suited for the role of the old woman or the warrior's wife. After the opening of the Kabuki-za in 1889, he joined Kikugorō and Danjūrō and was numbered among the masters. He died in September, 1901, at the age of fifty-three. Shūchō had a well-grounded technique and a wide knowledge of ancient forms and customs which gave him a penchant for violent action—perhaps too strong a one for the best Kabuki tradition. That may, however, have been his way of compensating for his rather unimposing appearance. Not a few roles have come to us in their classical manner through Shūchō, who bridged the gap between Tanosuke and Fukusuke.

The fourth Iwai Matsunosuke was a pupil of the eighth Hanshirō. He first came into prominence when he took the place of the ailing Mitsugorō at the Morita-za. Takasuke, interested in the youth's career, asked to take him as an adopted son but Matsunosuke declined the offer. In 1881, he appeared at the Hisamatsu-za without his master's permission and was disinherited. He took the name Seishi for a time, but upon Hanshirō's death he reassumed the name Matsunosuke. He died in March, 1906, at the age of forty-eight, his career having largely been spent at second and third rate theatres. He was accomplished in a wide variety of roles—young girls,
courtesans, noble wives—but his specialty was thesp ir ited, energetic woman, and it was for this reason that he often played opposite Kikugorō.

Sawamura Gen’nosuke was born in Osaka, the son of Sei jūrō. He moved to Tokyo in his youth and, taking the name Sei jūrō, appeared at the Sawamura-za, founded by Tanosuke, and later at the Shintomi-za. In 1882 he succeeded to his foster father’s name as the fourth Gen’nosuke. He became an actor of sufficient importance to have his name on the bill-boards, and in 1892 he was a remarkable success in Ise Ondo (I se Chorus) with Kikugorō. When, in November, 1885, Nakamura Sōjūrō played at the Shintomi-za, he gave Gen’nosuke a role that would have been expected to go to Shūchō. He was Sōjūrō’s favorite among the young Tokyo actors, and Sōjūrō even wanted to take him as an adopted son. Gen’nosuke was successful in his early years, but after he turned thirty he began to have bad luck. It would have seemed that when he appeared at the Kabuki-za in November, 1890, he had at length won security, but when in June of the following year he appeared at the Misaki-za with lesser actors he lost his status as an actor in the large theatres. For five years after 1892 he played in Osaka. Meanwhile, in February, 1895, discrimination between actors in small theatres and large theatres had been done away with, and he returned to Tokyo to appear at the Ichimura-za. He acted only twice thereafter at the Kabuki-za and was seen principally at the Meiji-za.

What gave Gen’nosuke an undying reputation with lovers of the theatre, however, was his “Miyato-za Period.” He distin guished himself at the Meiji-za during the closing years of the century, but it was at the Miyato-za in the same years, and less often at the Tokiwa-za, that he created roles reminisc ent of Tanosuke and the last days of the Shogunate. In an age when the new, westernized theatre was coming to the fore, and increasingly so in its later years, this return to the beauty of the color prints was worth stopping to look at. In and after 1904 Gen’nosuke appeared at the Miyato-za in pure
classical plays with such actors as Sawamura Tosshi, Sawamura Tosshō, Ichikawa Sumizō, Ichikawa Metora, Ichikawa Onimaru (later Asao Kōzaemon), Ichikawa Kodanji, Onoe Kikushirō, and Nakamura Kangorō. Gen’nosuke continued to play the roles for which he had been known earlier, and he became in addition an actor of men’s roles. He brought to life again the figures which Kikugorō and, somewhat earlier, the master Kodanji had created.

In what the poet Yoshii Isamu called “the theatre in the bottom reaches of Tokyo” (Tokyo no donzoko ni aru shibai) was performed what the playwright and novelist Nagata Hideo called “the dance of death” (dokuro no mai). One should not be surprised that the romantic poets of the fourth decade of the Meiji Era found something exotically appealing in this out-of-the-way little theatre. The Miyato-za stood apart from the world.

It is interesting that the Miyato-za was the first theatre to present the combined screen-stage play to which most small and medium sized theatres turned in the theatre depression of the early Taishō Era. In September, 1908, film shot at the Tamagawa River was used in the river scene of Onna-zamurai (Woman Warrior), in which Gen’nosuke played the leading role (Akiba Tarō, Meiji no Engeki/The Meiji Theatre/). The innovation was well received. The Miyato-za seems to have been able to adapt the extremely new to the extremely old.

In 1910, Gen’nosuke appeared with Sadanji at the Meiji-za, which he left in March, 1912, to tour the provinces and play in the small theatres. He returned occasionally to the Miyato-za, but in and after the Taishō Era he stood aloof from the main current of the theatre world. He died at seventy-seven in April, 1936. A fine physical presence to the end, he commanded attention even when cast in the role of an old woman.

Ichikawa Metora was born in Shimane Prefecture and first appeared in local plays. Moving to Osaka, he became a pupil of Ichikawa Udanji. He made his début on the Osaka stage under the name Ichikawa Fukunojō at the age of fifteen. In
1885 he gained recognition in Tokyo. Kanzaburō, manager of the Nakamura-za, urged him to take the name Iwai Kumesaburō, but because of his ties with Udanji he instead joined the Ichikawa "family council" (sanshōkai), and in 1888 became the second Ichikawa Metora. From 1890 he appeared at the Kabuki-za. With Shūchō and Fukusuke at that theatre, however, his prospects for advancement were slight, and he had to be satisfied with secondary roles. The high point in his career came when he played opposite Danjūrō at the Meiji-za in October, 1897, and it was perhaps natural that upon Danjūrō's death he left the Kabuki-za for the Meiji-za. In 1909 he returned to the Kabuki-za, and the following year he became the sixth Ichikawa Mon'nosuke. He died in 1814 at the age of fifty-two, an actor hounded by bad luck throughout his career. His son took the name Otori and subsequently became Omezō and the third Ichikawa Sadanji.

12. OSAKA ACTORS

During these same years the first Jitsukawa Enjaku was playing in Osaka. In the true tradition of the Osaka romantic drama (wagoto), he had a winsome and realistic style of acting that made Takayasu Gekkō call him "the Kansai Kikugorō". He died on September 18, 1885, at the age of fifty-four. His son, the second Enjaku, transmitted his art to the next generation.

Nakamura Sōjūrō stands in contrast to Enjaku. If the latter was "the Kansai Kikugorō," the former was "the Kansai Danjūrō," He played in a katsureki in 1887 and became the centre of the prefectural government's reform movement. In Tokyo, where he played for five years from April, 1877, there had occurred the disagreement with Danjūrō described above. Sōjūrō was an adept politician, skilful at accommodating himself to the times, but his reform movement seems not to have had
very deep roots. The first performance of the "Reformed Company," after his theatre became the Naniwa-za and was reorganized as a joint-stock corporation, was a failure. It was perhaps for this reason that he moved to the Kado-za in March, 1888. At the Kado-za his rank was second only to that of Udanji. He died in October, 1889, at the age of fifty-four, without having seen the new Kabuki-za, opened but a month later.

Sōjūrō's style of acting may indeed have been even more modern than the katsureki. It is said that Sudō Sadanori first determined to begin his "new theatre" (shin-engeki) after seeing Sōjūrō. Kawakami Otojirō, too, was influenced by Sōjūrō. Ibara Toshirō perhaps came to the heart of the matter when he spoke of Sōjūrō as "a layman-like artist, and artist-like layman."

The fourth Arashi Rikan, a contemporary of Enjaku and Sōjūrō, was rather behind the times. By temperament he was nearer the actors of the Edo Period. He died in May, 1894, at the age of fifty-six.

Ichikawa Udanji, the son of the fourth Ichidawa Kodanji, made his appearance somewhat later. He was called to Edo by Kodanji, but he returned to Osaka after a quarrel with his stepmother. From 1870 he appeared principally at the Kado-za, largely because of his friendship with the manager, Yamatoya Seikichi. Yamatoya died in 1893, when Udanji was in Tokyo, and the latter thereupon moved to the Naka-za. By 1893, Udanji's popularity was declining. The centre of the stage was coming to be occupied by younger actors like Gadō and his brother, and Ganjirō. In January, 1909, Udanji changed his name to Sainyū, and in March, 1916, he died at the age of seventy-three.

Other Osaka actors of the time were the third Nakamura Kanjaku, father of Ganjirō, and Jitsukawa Yaozō.
Chapter Two

THE THEATRE IN TRANSITION

1. THE THEATRE REFORM MOVEMENT

We come now to the third decade of the Meiji Era, a decade that more than any other saw violent changes in the Kabuki.

The katsureki of Danjūrō and the zangiri-mono of Kikugorō had had their start early in Meiji Era, and were well established by the second decade of that period. The Westernized theatre as a separate genre did not appear until somewhat later, but already the Kabuki itself was changing, reflecting a changing world.

In November, 1873, at the Morita-za, a play by Mokuami was presented which dealt for the first time with the news of the day. It had as its subtitle Tokyo Nichinichi Shimbun (Tokyo Daily News), partly as advertising for that newspaper and partly in description of the play itself. In September, 1875, a play by Katsu Genzō dealing with a recent Tokyo murder was presented at the Kado-za in Osaka. Udanji was cast in the role of a policeman. In Kyoto three years earlier Udanji had appeared in a precedent-shattering play set in Paris, the whole cast of which appeared in foreign dress. For such innovations Udanji was extolled by the prefectural governor as "the new man." The Osaka playwrights, Katsu Nōshin and his son Katsu Genzō, wrote great numbers of plays on contemporary themes, among them one on the Satsuma Rebellion. Presently they turned to dramatization of newspaper serials. In a sense these projects reveal the nature of the merchants' capital, Osaka,
more advanced even than Tokyo. Udanji and the playwrights aimed at showing the new and different through the traditional Kabuki, however, rather than at changing Kabuki itself.

The call for “theatre reform” became really noisy after August, 1886. According to Meiji Jibutsu Kigen (Origin of Things Meiji), the expression “reform of manners” (fūzoku kairyō) appeared in the magazine Marumaru Chimbun in May, 1877. During the decade following, “reform” was popular in virtually every section of society. The Magazine Jogaku Zasshi noted that “from the end of 1884 to the winter of 1886 the call was loud for the reform of women’s education, reform of clothing, reform of housing, reform of social intercourse, reform of the coiffure, reform of the theatre”, and in January, 1888, Marumaru Chimbun carried an article on “The Fashionable Competition to Reform,” listing thirty-two varieties of reform. Attempts by Japanese who had been abroad to westernize Japanese life were not new, but it was in this third decade of the Meiji Era that the government actively encouraged westernization, and there were not a few devotees of things foreign among the ruling classes of the time.

In November, 1883, the first of the famous foreign-style parties was held at the Rokumeikan Club in Tokyo. There were even those who talked seriously of “reforming the race,” it is said. These fashions may to an extent have been no more than extravagances brought on by a desire for revision of the “unequal treaties,” but the fact remains that they stirred our conservative, irresolute country to action.

Morita Kan’ya, in his first enthusiasm for the West, tried certain very superficial innovations, as has been noted above, and he succeeded in raising the prestige of the Kabuki by entertaining foreign guests and important Japanese. The movement to reform the contents of the theatre, however, was launched by a group of scholars in 1886.

The Society for Theatre Reform (Engeki Kairyōkai) was organized in August, 1886. The Cabinet, under Itō Hirobumi
and the Chōshū clique, had adopted an administrative policy favoring aristocracy and Europeanization. The evening parties at the Rokumeikan were an important element in Itō’s foreign policy, and for similar diplomatic reasons he was keenly sensitive to the need to reform popular entertainment. The real leader of the Society was Itō’s son-in-law, Suematsu Kenchō, recently back from Europe.

These were the stated purposes of the Society: 1) to put a stop to the bad practices into which the theatre had fallen and to foster the development of a better theatre; 2) to make the writing of Kabuki plays an honored profession; and 3) to build a perfectly appointed theatre for the drama and for concerts.

In general, the playwrights of the past “had not numbered among them even one who was a scholar and a master of letters. They had but played with trite commonplaces.” New authors failed to appear “because of the inadequacy of copyright and production laws, and the inadequate remuneration that resulted.” Even if better scripts were to appear, however, they would be useless without a theatre. Therefore it was necessary to build a new theatre, and to invite foreign actors and to present concerts there. These views were set forth in a statement explaining the Society’s three general aims.

The Society had twenty-three members, including Inoue Kao-ru, Hozumi Nobushige, Mori Arinori, Shibusawa Eiichi, Fuku-chi Ōchi, and Wadagaki Kenzō, and thirty-one backers, including Itō Hirobumi and Ōkuma Shigenobu. One can thus say with confidence that it had the support of the ruling classes.

In the morning of October 3, 1886, Suematsu spoke in the auditorium of the First Upper Middle School, Hitotsubashi, Kanda, Tokyo, on the need for theatre reform. The full text of his address was carried in the Jiji Simpō from October 6 to 12, while the Yūbin Hōchi Shimbun for October 5 and the Tokyo Nichinichi Shimbun for October 5 and 6 carried detailed summaries. The full text was printed again in three issues of the magazine Bijutsu Shimpō (Art News) beginning with No.
36. One thus sees what interest the speech aroused, and one sees too how interested the newspapers were in Kabuki with its two faces, the one classical, the other popular and contemporary. In November the speech was published in book form under the title *Engeki Kairyō Iken* (Views on Theatre Reform), illustrated with drawings of theatres in Paris and Milan.

Suematsu’s “views” were largely in explanation of his plans for building a new theatre. He also touched upon actors and plays, noted that plays by men of letters would be welcomed, advocated the abolition of the Kabuki’s musical accompaniment, said that acting should be spiritual (*seishinteki*), and indicated that he would prefer to use actresses in place of female impersonators. In general, however, his purpose seems to have been to air his plans for building a new theatre: he would collect a capital of 150,000 yen and, in an appropriate location, build a three-storey brick theatre with chairs rather than the traditional straw-matted stalls. He would do away with the tea houses, and he would reform the system of footwear and the lavatories. He also proposed doing away with the *hanamichi*, the passageway by which actors enter from the rear of the theatre. His argument seems to have been that architecture was the “base” on which the reformed theatre must rest. (He was a supporter of the “domestic drama” /sewamono/. In this he was a heretic in an age that favored the “historical drama” /katsureki/.)

Suematsu’s plans soon became concrete. On November 19, at a Nihonbashi meeting attended by Shibusawa Eiichi, Yasuda Zenjirō, Fukuchi Ōchi, Ōkura Kihachirō, and others, it was decided to build a “reformed theatre” in the vicinity of Kōbiki-chō in downtown Tokyo. The capital, 250,000 yen (Suematsu had set the figure at 150,000 yen in his Kanda speech) was to be raised as follows: 100,000 by subscription from members and sponsors of the Society for Theatre Reform, 50,000 in subsidies from the government, and the remaining 100,000 from the sale of stock to the public at a thousand yen per
share.

The English architect, Josiah Conder, was commissioned to draw up the plans. He proposed a three-storey brick building 108 feet wide at the street and 250 feet deep. An interesting feature of his design, which is reproduced in Kondoru Hakase Shashin-chō (Doctor Conder: A Picture Album), is its provision of standing room for a hundred at the rear and for sixty at each of the two sides of the third floor. The sort of theatre Suematsu Kenchō proposed was not actually built for another quarter of a century (the Imperial Theatre was opened in 1911). One story has it that the scholar Fukuzawa Yukichi planned a similar theatre in 1890. (The Conder plan is described in the album as a design of about 1890 for a theatre. It is clear, however, that it is not far from the Suematsu plan of 1886.)

In September, 1886, just before Suematsu’s speech, there had appeared a book by Toyama Shōichi, an advocate of theatre reform, called Engeki Kairyōron Shikō (Thoughts on the Argument for Theatre Reform). Toyama was more generous to the Kabuki than was Suematsu. He recognized in very great measure the virtues of the hanamichi and the revolving stage. He was like Suematsu in wanting to abolish the chorus and the veiled actor’s assistants, however, and criticism of Kikugorō’s realism is implied when he remarks: “One of the vices of actors today . . . is their desire to make a display of their one skill . . . so that the actor who is good at ladder climbing goes about incessantly imitating the acrobats in Kaga Tobi.” (Kaga Tobi /Kaga Fireman/ was first performed in March, 1886.)

“Recent performances,” he continues, “which several members of the Society for Theatre Reform and I myself consider most nearly ideal have been those of Nakamura Sōjūrō at the Ichimura-za as Shigenoi Shinzaemon and of Ichikawa Danjūrō at the Shintomi-za as Nakamitsu.”

The Society was clearly partial to Danjūrō. He was the only actor who went to hear Suematsu’s Kanda speech.

The philosophy of the reform movement seems to have been
based on what its members had heard and seen of the foreign theatre. When the reform enthusiasts set about applying their theories to Japan, they could think of no suitable actor except Danjūrō, who for more than ten years had been experimenting with katsureki in the face of much opposition. Or, to state the matter in reverse, was it not perhaps because they had Danjūrō that they were able to publish their radical views?

Shortly before Suematsu's and Toyama's arguments for reform appeared, Takada San'ei had published in the Chūō Gakujutsu, Zasshi, No. 32 (July, 1886) and after, a treatise called Nihon no Ishō oyobi Jōkō (Form and Content in Japan). This was an expansion of a work by Taguchi Ukichi with the same title, published in June of that year. Taguchi later became one of the sponsors of the Society for Theatre Reform while Takada stayed rather clear of the movement. He argued nonetheless that the Japanese drama was lacking in naturalness, that its great defects were "inadequate psychological analysis and a failure to pursue philosophical principles." He found, on the other hand, that in its inventiveness the Kabuki was in no way inferior to the theatre of the West. His views seem to have been shared by most intellectuals.

The Jiji Shimpō carried an editorial on Gekijō Kairyō no Setsu ("Talk of Rebuilding the Theatres") in three installments from July 1, 1886. On August 9 it carried an editorial on Shibai no Ishin ("The Theatre Restoration"), for three days from August 10 an editorial on "Theatre Reform", for three days from August 14 more views on theatre reform, and on September 22 an editorial on Kairyō Gekijō no Kanri ("Administration of Reformed Theatres"). The E'iri Jiyū Shimbun discussed Engeki Kairyō no Hōhō Ikan ("How to Reform the Theatre") in twenty-one issues from July 22, 1886. The Yūbin Hōchi Shimbun seems to have carried a long exhortation to scholars to become actors (according to Takita Tei'ji, Dentō Engeki Sadan [Trivia on the Traditional Theatre]). It is interesting that all of these discourses should have appeared
precisely when the theatre reform movement was being launched.

This view was included in the Jiji Shimpō's editorials on reform: "It should not be too difficult to produce interesting plays by picking suitable specimens from the European and American drama, translating them, and modifying them to conform to Japanese character and customs." This is the argument for adaptation of foreign plays, which argument found wide support at the time.

The Jiji's editorials were published in October under the title Shibai no Kusenaoshi (Reforming the Theatre). In the same book were an article by Tsubouchi Shōyō entitled Engeki Kairyōkai no Sōritsu wo Kiite Hiken wo Nobu ("Humble Thoughts upon Hearing of the Founding of the Society for Theatre Reform"), and articles by Osaka newspaper reporters entitled Shibai Kairyō no Chūmonsuji ("How to Reform the Theatre") and Oyama wa Onna ni Kagiru ("Female Roles should be Played by Women"). Shōyō's view was diametrically opposed to that of Suematsu, who held that reform should begin with theatre architecture. To Shōyō, improvement of the texts themselves was the first and most important step. Shōyō felt, moreover, that while the crudeness and the vulgarity of the old theatre were not to be denied, "it would distress those who, like me, are insane about art if art and edification were to be confused, if we were to be given nothing but a surface quite devoid of flavor." He denounced the theory that the theatre should be indentured to moral instruction. Shōyō was at the time conducting his own patient campaign for theatre reform, of which we shall have occasion to speak in some detail later. He insisted that the theatre need not carry the nickname "a school for the unlettered," that it should be made instead a "nursery to develop the sense of beauty".

The occasion for the publication of the Osaka articles was the organization, at the behest of the prefectural assembly, of the Osaka Society for Theatre Reform. A meeting to launch
the new organization was held on October 9 with more than a hundred charter members present, among them the playwright Takeshiba (Katsu) Genzō, the painter Kubota Beisen, and the actors Nakamura Sōjūrō and Arashi Rikan,

The movement was debated in the papers and created a certain stir, but in the end it came to nothing. Osaka blindly followed Tokyo, and the Kado-za, which was opened in February, 1886, was, at the request of Ichikawa Udanji, made an exact replica of the Shintomi-za in Tokyo. It was but natural that Osaka should imitate Tokyo when it heard that a theatre reform movement was under way.

Sōjūrō, who later influenced Sudō Sadanori and the new theatre movement, had own style of acting, somewhat different from Danjūrō's, but just as advanced. He was such a confirmed "new man" that already in May, 1885, he had played the part of Kinokuniya Denjirō in Sakura-doki Zeni no Yononaka (Mercenary Affairs under the Cherry Blossoms), an adaptation of The Merchant of Venice.

It is safe to say that the reason for the short life of the Society for Theatre Reform in both Tokyo and Osaka was its preoccupation with theatre building. The novelist and critic Mori Ōgai remarked in an essay entitled Engeki Kairyō Ronja no Henken ni Odoroku (Astonishment at the Narrow Views of the Theatre Reformers) (Shigarami-Zōshi, October, 1889): "They seek what they are after in the reform of the theatre building itself, and their plans go no farther than imitation of the architecture of western Europe."

Fukuzawa Yukichi also opposed the Society for Theatre Reform. In an article published in the Jiji Shimpō in 1887 he reprimanded the radicals. The theatre, he said, "must move ahead slowly... The present theatre is what people want. If it is refined a little it will lose a few followers, and if it is refined a great deal it will lose a great many."

Shōyō, Ōgai, and Fukuzawa Yukichi all held aloof from the Society, a fact which suggests the nature of that organization.
In October, 1886, a book called Engeki Kairyō-ron Bakugi (Answering the Argument for Theatre Reform) rebutted Sue-matsu's views. The author, who used a pseudonym, was said in the preface to be a student "who went abroad to rap at the gate of the philosophers, and has been hidden among us since his return."

These hostile views stirred the Society to action, and presently a stream of translated plays began to appear. Prefaces of works published at about this time frequently preached "reform". A translation of The Merchant of Venice published in October, 1883, for instance, carried this statement of purpose: "It is our earnest desire to promote the improvement of Japanese prose literature by giving the public this specimen of superior writing."

Takahashi Yoshio, in his Rien no Akebono (Daybreak in the Drama), declared: "Now that the time has come to reform the theatre, scholars and gentlemen must turn first to improving the plays themselves."

The Society met on October 17, 1886, at Tsukiji, Tokyo, to hear Kawajiri Hōgin read a play, Yoshino Shūi Meika no Homare (Praise of Famous Poems Gleaned at Yoshino), the joint work of Hōgin and Yoda Gakkai. Itō Hirobumi was present, and Kan'ya and Danjūrō were also invited. When the Society suggested that the new play be produced at the Shin-tomi-za, however, Kan'ya, who had recovered from his intoxication with foreign things and was tired of refining the theatre, seems not to have found the work one of astonishing merit. He seems to have shown little more interest in plans for building a new theatre.

Takahashi Yoshio, the author of Rien no Akebono, and Toyama Shōichi, the author of Engeki Kairyō-ron Shikō (Thoughts on the Argument for Theatre Reform), announced themselves on the covers of their works as members of the Society for Theatre Reform, a fact which suggests the prestige membership carried. The Society's new theatre was never built, however,
and the play reading was its last project.

That Yoda Gakkai was a thorough-going advocate of the katsu- 
tsureki can be seen from his comments (sakusha jihyō) on the 
published version of his play: "My purpose in having Masatsura 
shoot an arrow from a horse is to illustrate a style of 
archery much used by medieval warriors. I have investigated 
ancient usages carefully, and I have made the actor use a real 
bow, carry a quiver and other appurtenances modelled 

on ancient ones, draw his arrow, and shoot from a horse, so 
that the audience can see what warriors did of old". He used 
a musical accompaniment and the hanamichi, however, and the 

fact that he read his play before a Society which condemned 
such "useless conventions" suggests some confusion in purpose. 

In October, 1887, Miki Aikasenshi, in a satirical work called 
Kaika Hyaku Monogatari (A Hundred Tales of Enchantment), 
ridiculed the Society in a chapter on "How the Reformers have 
Misjudged the Times." Slightly earlier Nihontei Shōfū had 
made fun of the movement in a piece of light satire called En-
geki Kairyō Sannin Shōgo (A Humorous Tale of Three Theatre 
Reformers). Thus did the fortunes of the Society for Theatre 
Reform rise and fall, rather like an attack of the fever. 

2. THE EMPEROR VIEWS THE KABUKI

The social status of the Kabuki rose with the beginning of 
the Meiji Era as the level of its audience rose. Not a few im-
portant foreign guests were theatre-goers. Foreigners probably 
visited the Kabuki in the largest numbers in about 1879, when 
Morita Kan'ya was working to attract them. In May, 1885, a 
member of the Bonaparte family visited the Shintomi-za, and it 
was probably no coincidence that the same year the Society for 
Theatre Reform was founded. Many were still predisposed to 
think of the Kabuki as vulgar, and the visit of so distinguished 
a foreigner no doubt induced reflection.
THE THEATRE IN TRANSITION

In November, 1886, at the Waseda house of Ōkuma Shigenobu, the actors Danjūrō, Kikugorō, Sadanji, and Fukusuke gave a special performance of Kanjinchō and Kisen for foreign dignitaries. In January, 1887, Danjūrō and Kikugorō were invited to a foreign play at the official residence of the Foreign Minister, Inoue Kaoru. On March 27 a German prince visited the Shintomi-za. The fact that such visits began after a lull of several years indicates that the authorities were beginning to have confidence in the effect of their “reforms”.

It was at this point that an unprecedented showing of the Kabuki before the Emperor took place.

Great resolution was required to bring about an Imperial viewing of the Kabuki a scant twenty years after the end of the Shogunate. No doubt the existence of the Society for Theatre Reform and the fact that its leading figure was the son-in-law of Itō made so dramatic and achievement possible.

On March 10, 1872, there had been an Imperial viewing of the sumō, Japanese wrestling. Later it was argued (to quote Kanda Kōhei) that sumō was “not a battle of minds but an animal battle of muscles,” and there was even a movement afoot to do away with the sport. From about 1883 or 1884, however, it began to acquire patrons in the upper classes, and on March 10, 1884, the Emperor again went to see it.

Immediately after this second visit to the sumō, Kabuki Shimpō (No. 394) carried this suggestion: “His Majesty has visited the sumō, and there is no reason why he should not deign also to visit the theatre. Indeed we have a precedent. The first Saruwaka Kanzaburō was invited to the Kyoto court to play before His Majesty. We should therefore like now to show His Majesty the art of Danjūrō, Kikugorō, Fukusuke, Sadanji and the rest.”

Three years later this hope was realized. The Society for Theatre Reform came to nothing, but one may credit it with being responsible for the Emperor’s viewing the Kabuki.

In April, 1887, there was to take place a celebration in honor
of the completion of a tea-house at the estate of the Foreign Minister, Inoue Kaoru. The Emperor was to be present. Suematsu undertook to negotiate for the presentation of a Kabuki program to brighten the occasion. Morita Kan'ya took responsibility for the arrangements, and on April 2, he discussed the matter with Danjūrō. It was Suematsu's plan to have only actors in Danjūrō's school appear, but Danjūrō was firm in his insistence that Kikugorō and Sadanji should share in his good fortune. The cast finally included the best actors of the time.

A temporary stage roofed with cedar branches was built in the gardens. It was seven ken (a ken is about two yards) wide and three ken deep, and had a hanamichi not quite three ken long. The Imperial stall was enclosed in a fresh bamboo fence, some three ken from the stage.

On April 26 the Emperor, Imperial princes, and government officials saw the Kabuki, on April 27 the Empress, princesses, and wives of officials, on April 28 the diplomatic corps and relatives of the Imperial family, and on April 29 the Empress Dowager.

The program went off smoothly. "It would seem commonplace today," Uchida Roan wrote, in his book Kinō Kyō (Yesterday and Today), "but this was thirty years ago. One can well imagine that the debate in the Imperial Household and other circles was no ordinary one when it came to deciding whether His Majesty should deign to look upon players /koyamono/ who had but short time before been treated as members of the most despised class. Only the resoluteness and prestige of Marquis Inoue made it possible to carry out the plans."

Yōshū Chikanobu's color print "The Imperial Viewing of the Kabuki" is an item of first importance in the study of the Meiji theatre. The Emperor, the Empress, and the actors Danjūrō, Sadanji, and Fukusuke in Kanjinchō are shown in three prints making a single composition. At first one is disturbed by
certain feelings of incongruity, but presently one comes to sense the great wave that was sweeping over the country in that third decade of the Meiji Era.

The Imperial visit was truly epoch-making. One may say that it was the sole accomplishment of the Society for Theatre Reform.

3. THE SOCIETY FOR THE BETTERMENT OF THE ENTERTAINMENTS AND ITS SUCCESSORS

Ceremonies to launch the Society for Betterment of the Entertainments (Engei Kyōfūkai) were held on July 8, 1888, at the Rokumeikan. The Society for Theatre Reform was merged with the new organization. Various important figures were invited to the opening ceremonies, at which dances were presented by Hanayagi Jusuke, Danjūrō, and Kikugorō. The court poet Takasaki Seifū and the scholar Mozume Takami helped write the accompanying lyrics. The Society thus seems to have departed from the aims and ideals of the earlier Society for Theatre Reform and made itself rather the vehicle for bringing Kabuki to the upper classes.

The president was Tanabe Taiichi. In December, 1888, the Society presented a second program at the Chitose-za and for two days in June, 1889, gave a special performance of the plays scheduled to be presented that month at the Nakamura-za. The wives of well-placed figures sponsored charity performances from time to time, probably with the encouragement of the Society for the Betterment of the Entertainments. Plans for the reform of theatre building had come to nothing, and reform of the drama itself seemed remote. At the very least, then, the theatre could be improved by bringing the upper classes into the audience. "Betterment" thus came to mean improving the quality of the theatre-goer.

In September, 1889, the Society for Betterment of the Enter-
tainments became *Nihon Engei Kyōkai* (The Japan Entertainments Society). The chairman was Hijikata Hisamoto, Minister of the Imperial Household, and the vice-chairman Kagawa Keizō, chamberlain for the Empress. There were seven directors, including the philosopher and artist Okakura Kakuzō (Tenshin) and the critic Takada Sanae. The literary committee (*bungei iin*) had seventeen members, among them Mori Rintarō (Ōgai), Tsubouchi Yūzō (Shōyō), Ozaki Tokutarō (Kōyō), and Furukawa (Kawatake) Mokuami. The committee on techniques (*gigei iin*) had twenty-seven members under Ichikawa Danjūrō, and the committee on production (*enshū iin*) three members under Morita Kan’ya.

Takada and Okakura were at the centre of the organization, which was therefore quite different in nature from the Society for Theatre Reform. It is worth noting that with the foundation of the Society for the Betterment of the Entertainments the term “drama” or “theatre” (*engeki*) was displaced by the term “theatre arts” or “entertainments” (*engei*). The Society did not limit its activities to the Kabuki. Dancing, music (*hōgaku*, principally samisen music; and *sankyoku*, the koto, samisen, and *shakuhachi* trio), and serious and humorous storytelling (*kōdan* and *rakugo*) also became objects for “betterment.”

The Society’s program at the Shintomi-za in October, 1890, showed a certain freshness. It included the humorous reading (*rakugo*) *Shirōto Yōshoku* (*Amateur Foreign Cooking*) written by Yamada Bimyō and recited by Sanyūtei Enyū, the serious reading (*kōdan*) *Seiyō Kuroneko* (*Foreign Black Cat*) written by Takada Sanae and recited by Momokawa Joen, and the song (*nagauta*) *Yokobue* (*Flute*) composed by Tanabe Kaho and sung by Matsushima Shōgorō. The next day Kikugorō performed the dance-drama *Yasuna* at the Rokumeikan.

The original aim of the Society was to spread the fruits of “betterment” through the theatre world. In practice, however, its activities were such as to draw this criticism from *Kabuki Shimpō* (No. 231): “Not once has what we could call an
advisory meeting (sōdankai) for actors and artists been held. The Society seems quite to have forgotten the existence of anything except the special performance. It suddenly comes to life when there is talk of a special performance, and the disappointment of some among those who hopefully became members has sent them into the opposition.”

Takada Sanae has written in *Hampō Mukashi-banashi (Stories of Old by Hampō)* that he expected his friends Shōyō and Kōyō to write new plays and was disappointed when they did not. As has already been pointed out, however, the aims of the organization, from the days when it was still the Society for the Betterment of the Entertainments, were vague indeed.

In December, 1890, *Ōta Dōkan* by the novelist and critic Aeba Kōson was scheduled to be presented at the Shintomi-za, but circumstances forced its cancellation. In October, 1891, Miyazaki Samma’s *Izumi no Saburō* was presented for two days at the Nakamura-za, whereupon the Society was dissolved. Its one memorable project was a public meeting held at Ueno in February, 1890, at which Mori Ōgai spoke on *Engekijō-ri no Shijin* ("The Poet Backstage"), and Seki Naohiko on *Gigeisha no Chii ni Tsuite* ("The Position of the Artist"). Both were numbered among the fine addresses of the time.

Thus ended the first wave of activity for theatre reform. It was perhaps responsible for the production, some years later, of plays by writers not exclusively attached to the Kabuki.

4. THE INFLUENCE OF THE Nō

We must here make special note of an element that worked from outside to change Kabuki: the Nō. Borrowing from the Nō had become so common that the Kabuki felt no qualms about transplanting Nō plays bodily. The haughtiness of the Nō, the formal entertainment of the old warrior class, was breaking down with the decline of that form’s traditional backers.
The Kabuki actor had once been despised and looked down upon. Now, joining forces with the rising classes, he had overtaken and passed the Nō player. The Kabuki actor still had a feeling of inferiority, however. He was strongly drawn to the Nō, and it was a source of particular pride to be able to act in plays borrowed from the Nō.

It is said that the seventh Danjūrō, when he played Kanjinchō, virtually had to kneel down and beg costumes from the Sekioka, a family of Nō wardrobe masters. After the Restoration the Sekioka lost their patron and had to sell their treasures, and the ninth Danjūrō bought a number of robes which he subsequently used on the stage. Danjūrō also received Nō robes from Yamanouchi Yōdō when he played Kanjinchō at the Morita-za in 1872, and the costumes he used in Ninin Shōjō (Two Sprites) at the Kawarazaki-za in 1874 he had bought from the Yamanouchi family.

Danjūrō wore wide Nō trousers in the back-garden (okuniwa) scene of Kiichi Hōgen. Among his plays were Yamabushi Settai (Tea for Pilgrims) and Funa Benkei (Benkei in the Boat), which were adapted from the Nō drama, and Ninin-bakama (Trousers for Two) and Suō Otoshi (The Dropped Robe), from Nō comic interludes (kyōgen).

Funa Benkei and Suō Otoshi reproduced the Nō stage exactly, and, because of the traditional pine on the backdrop, were known as “pine-needle plays” (matsubame-mono), a new Kabuki genre. Danjūrō was not the only actor who appeared in “pine-needle plays.” In June, 1881, Kikugorō introduced Tsuchigumo (Earth Spider) on the stage of the Shintomi-za, and in April, 1883, Ibaragi at the same theatre. They came to be included in the Onoe repertoire of Shinko Engeki Jisshu (Ten New and Old Dramas), the answer of the Onoe to the Kabuki Jūhachiban (The Repertoire of Eighteen Classical Pieces for Danjūrō) of the Ichikawa. The presentation of Tsuchigumo involved certain difficulties. It was to commemorate the thirty-third anniversary of the death of Kikugorō’s grandfather, the third Kikugorō,
and opening day was to be June 29. On June 5 the Nō actor Hōshō Kurō was to perform a goban Nō (a Nō play dealing with a devil or monster) at Shiba. Kikugorō, through Kongō Tadaichi, another Nō actor, asked if Tsuchigumo might not be the play selected. The Hōshō and Kongō schools decided that it would not be possible to present a play especially for a Kabuki actor, and, pleading the illness of a member of the cast, refused Kikugorō's request. Kikugorō, however, "spared no expense," according to Kabuki Shimpō, and on June 7 he invited Kongō Tadaichi to the Zōjōji Temple in Shiba, where the latter played Tsuchigumo and instructed Kikugorō in such details as to how to manage the spider's web. The incident reveals a schism in the Nō world, one faction falling back on tradition in an attempt to preserve its old prerogatives, the other somewhat more tolerant toward the new.

These various Nō plays were all adapted by Mokuami. His Kabuki version of Momiji-gari (The Maple Viewing), while it too was based on a Nō play, represented a complete re-writing. It was presented at the Shintomi-za in October, 1887. Somewhat later (for presentation at the Kabuki-za in January, 1898), Mokuami's student, the third Kawatake Shinshichi, drew upon Hagoromo (The Feather Robe) for a Kabuki play. Another student, Takeshiba Kisui, adapted the comic interlude (kyōgen) Sannin Katawa (Three Cripples) for presentation at the Meiji-za in October of the same year.

5. THE OPENING OF THE KABUKI-ZA

There is something symbolic about Morita Kan'ya's failure as a manager.

Quick to move from Saruwaka-machi to the centre of the city, able to establish his theatre as Danjūrō's main base and to invite foreign and native notables to the Kabuki, Kan'ya had in effect made himself the manager of the "National Theatre."
And yet from the outset he was in financial trouble. By 1874 his debt had mounted to 300,000 yen, and he lost 20,000 yen in 1879 on the venture in foreign drama alone. His debt in subsequent years was so heavy that even actors were affected by it.

In 1880 the Shintomi-za became a corporation, but by the following year the gas bill had gone so long unpaid that the lights were turned out during a performance of *Shima Chidori* (*Island Plovers*). Late that year the company went bankrupt, and the following year the name of the theatre was for a time changed to Saruwaka-za. Kan’ya’s career thereafter was one long fight with debt. His sense of the theatre was still good, however, and Sadanji stayed with him. It was Kan’ya who called Sōjūrō from Osaka in 1885 (a shrewd piece of management even though the end result was to anger the actor) and who made the play *Watanabe Kazan* a success the following year. In December, 1886, through the good offices of Itō Hirobumi, Kikugorō was persuaded to return to the Shintomi-za for a “Dan-Kiku-Sa” performance. The Imperial viewing of the Kabuki in April, 1887, was probably Kan’ya’s last success.

The following year, plans to build a new theatre were announced by Fukuchi Ōchi. Ōchi, whose real name was Fukuchi Gen’ichirō, was born in Nagasaki and moved to Edo during the Ansei Era (1856–1860). In 1861 he was sent to Europe as minister plenipotentiary for the Shogunate, and upon his return he founded a newspaper. He subsequently worked in the Finance Ministry, made several more trips abroad, and became president of the *Tōkyō Nichinichi* and finally of the Tokyo prefectural assembly. He was a member of the wing that spoke out most aggressively for theatre reform in and after 1886. Involved in a bribery case which ruined his political career, he gave up journalism and turned to the theatre and the effort to reform it.

The earlier *katsureki* had been the work of Danjūrō and the *Kyūkokai* (Antiquarian Society). The reformed drama of the
third decade of the Meiji Era, on the other hand, was the work of Ōchi, who appropriated Danjūrō for himself. With Chiba Katsugorō, who had loaned money to his Nichinichi, Ōchi undertook to found a new theatre. He would probably have considered making Kan’ya his manager but for the fact that by this time the debt-ridden Kan’ya had become a liability.

Chiba Katsugorō was a native of Nagano Prefecture. A most able man, he had served as clerk to the money-lender Chiba Tsunegorō and subsequently married the latter’s daughter and been adopted into his family. He loaned money to various theatres, and in 1887 built a small theatre called the Azuma-za in a vacant lot behind Asakusa Park. The Azuma-za later became the Miyato-za. Chiba quickly accepted Ōchi’s invitation, and began work on the new theatre after selling the Azuma-za to Umemoto Yagorō.

Ōchi wrote his application in the grand style and submitted it to the Metropolitan Police, announcing that his project had theatre reform as its end. At first the name Reformed Theatre (Kairyō-za or Kairyō Engekijō) was considered for the new theatre, but finally Kabuki-za was decided upon. Land was bought at Kobiki-chō in downtown Tokyo. A theatre named for neither a family nor a place was quite without precedent. The characters now used to write the work “Kabuki” became standard with the building of the Kabuki-za.

On September 26, 1888, the very day plans for the Kabuki-za were announced in the newspapers, Morita Kan’ya of the Shintomi-za called together Nakamura Kanzaburō of the Nakamura-za, Nakamura Zenshirō of the Ichimura-za, and Takagi Shūkichi of the Chitose-za to sign the “Four Theatre Alliance.” The heart of the alliance was an agreement that for the full six years from January, 1889, to December, 1894, such actors as Danjūrō, Kikugorō, Sadanji, Sōjūrō, Shikan, Fukusuke, Kakitsu, and Gen’nosuke were to be attached exclusively to the four theatres. The alliance was successful in getting signatures of all the actors in question, although Danjūrō added the condi-
tion that the agreement would become invalid if in the future any theatre received financial assistance from the Government. Sōjūrō is reported to have said to Kawarazaki Gon’nosuke, who went to Osaka for his signature, “Very well, I shall sign, but Morita will be the first to break the agreement.”

The actors bound by the agreement appeared at the Chitose-za in September, 1888, at the Ichimura-za in November, at the Shintomi-za in December, again at the Shintomi-za (Kiri-za) in March, 1889, at the Chitose-za in May, at the Nakamura-za in July, and at the Shintomi-za (Kiri-za) in October. The Kabuki-za’s prospects for luring them away seemed slight indeed. As a last resort, Chiba decided to buy off Morita Kan’ya. The result of tortuous negotiations was that Kan’ya settled for ten thousand yen for himself, ten thousand yen to maintain the Shintomi-za, and a share in the management of the new theatre.

On November 21, 1889, the Kabuki-za was opened. The building was fifteen ken (a ken is about two yards) wide at the street and thirty ken deep. Its crest was a design particularly admired by Ōchi, the “phoenix circle” found on seventh- and eighth-century treasures in the Hōryūji Temple, Nara.

6. THE ŌCHI KABUKI

The new Kabuki-za offered first of all a round, umbrella-shaped ceiling with electric lights. It is said that when, on opening day, all thirty-six lights were turned on at once, the cry of admiration that went up from the audience did not soon subside.

Secondly, the new programs, written by Ōchi himself, were a novelty. Illustrations were by Mizuno Toshikata, a pupil of Hōnen, rather than by the traditional Torii artists, and the old style of calligraphy was abandoned. A reform that should be particularly noted was the listing of actors not by rank but in order of appearance. The term “reformed program” was
quickly coined to describe the innovation.

Finally, there were the plays themselves, written by Ōchi. A disagreement arose between Ōchi and Chiba Katsugorō, the real manager of the theatre, on the question of the program to be presented at the opening. The plays chosen were Kömonki (The Kömon Chronicle) and Rokkasen (The Six Great Poets). The Kömon play was an old piece, written in 1887 by Mokuami. Ōchi wanted to present a play of his own, but he did not have one ready in time. He therefore added a scene to Kömonki, which was billed as "by Furukawa Mokuami, revised by Fukuchi Gen'ichirō." Kömonki was Chiba's choice because an old play with an established reputation, he felt, was best suited for bringing Danjūrō, Kikugorō, Sadanji, and Shūchō together in one cast. Ōchi was the idealist who wanted somehow to reform the theatre, while Chiba was the realist who wanted to make money in the name of theatre reform.

Shikan and his son, out of loyalty to Morita Kan'ya, never appeared at the Kabuki-za. Mokuami, annoyed at the "revisions" in Kömonki, wrote only at the special request of Kikugorō. To his death in 1893, he refused to work for the new theatre.

In the beginning Ōchi was manager and Chiba was in charge of finance only, but in July, 1890, the theatre was reorganized with Chiba as manager. Ōchi was attached to it thereafter as playwright. Chiba soon tired of theatre management. Late in 1895 he resigned, to be succeeded by Inoue Takejirō, Miyake Hyōzō, Tamura Noriyoshi, Minakawa Shirō, and others. In April, 1896, the Kabuki-za became a joint-stock company, and the November program was presented officially by the Kabuki-za Company, Ltd.

While these changes were going on behind scenes, Ōchi was producing a steady stream of new plays. Sōma Heishi Nidai Monogatari, (A Story of Two Generations of the Sōma Heishi), presented at the Kabuki-za in March, 1890, was an adaptation of Chikamatsu's Kan Hasshū Tsunagiuma (Rebel Banner in the Eastern Provinces). Until Danjūrō's death in 1903, Ōchi's plays
were with but one exception written for the Kabuki-za. Danjūrō appeared in twenty-six of Ōchi's thirty-six plays. Ōchi specialized in the historical drama that had long been Danjūrō's forte, and a number of dance dramas were also among his works. While he wrote original plays, representative examples being Kasuga no Tsubone and Kyōkaku Harusame-gasa (Gallant in the Spring Rain), one's attention is drawn particularly to his adaptations of the classics, and especially of Chikamatsu.

Ōchi's accomplishments as a scholar—he is said to have read through more than six hundred old theatre texts in the days when he was active in the Society for Theatre Reform—are evident in his works. His activities in the third and fourth decades of the Meiji Era reflect the mood of a day that saw the rise of a new, westernized theatre. He was quite willing to do violence to old texts, to such an extent indeed that Aeba Kōson exclaimed: "What makes him so dislike Chikamatsu Monzaemon!" Ōchi insisted that Chikamatsu was an inept playwright, and praised himself for having unearthed Chikamatsu plays that would otherwise have lain buried. One may criticize Ōchi's works, however, for being so dependent upon the virtuosity of one actor, Danjūrō. In the final analysis he was but another old-fashioned kyōgen writer—an ironic fate for the man who drove the Kawatake from the chambers of the Kabuki-za.

Perhaps the Ōchi Kabuki was but a freak produced by a theatre in transition.
Chapter Three

Late Meiji Kabuki

1. SADANJI AND DANZŌ

Danjūrō and Kikugorō died in 1903. If we take this as the end of an era, the first actors we must consider in the new era are Sadanji and Danzō.

Sadanji died in 1904 and Danzō in 1911. As actors who filled the gap between "Dan-Kiku" and the rising new generation, they were perhaps overrated in their last years. The historian of the theatre, however, cannot overlook such "heroes" of their day.

Sadanji was the adopted son of Kodanji. Two of his brothers were also actors. He made his stage début in the children's theatre at the age of twelve. At the age of twenty-two he moved to Edo and became a pupil of Kodanji. In January, 1865, at the Nakamura-za he took the name Ichikawa Sadanji. His west-country accent was heavy, and his progress as an actor was slow. When his adopted father died the following year, he determined to leave the stage. He would probably have done so had Mokuami not stopped him. Indeed it is unlikely that, without the protection and encouragement of the playwright, the Sadanji of later years would have emerged.

His first success was in 1870, in a role (Marubashi Chūya) created by Mokuami. Also in 1870, Kyūzō, later Danzō, left Tokyo, and Sadanji's position was thus improved. With his lively style of acting and his dashing appearance he presently became one of the most popular actors of the day. He was
backed by Morita Kan'ya, who had a series of successful roles written for him at the Shintomi-za. Out of gratitude to Kan'ya he rarely appeared at other theatres, and it is characteristic of him that he became in effect guardian of the debt-ridden Shintomi-za. In 1891, however, a trivial disagreement brought a parting of ways, and Sadanji shut himself off as head of the troupe at the Ichimura-za.

In 1893 he rebuilt the Chitose-za, which had burned down three years before, and became its manager and leading actor. For the next ten years he was a lone wolf in the truest sense of the expression. Mokuami was dead, but his disciple, Takeshiba Kisui, turned out plays under the influence of the new political theatre (sōshigeiki) and the contemporary novel. Sadanji's masculine straight-forwardness made him especially good at playing men of action. It is no accident that in a day when Japan as a nation was on the rise, the new, foreign-influenced theatre should have made its appearance, and in the traditional theatre Sadanji should have been a popular favorite. Sadanji had Kōda Rohan's novel Higeotoko (The Man with the Beard) made into a play, but more than that it is to his very great credit that he opened a new field by making it possible for writers from outside the theatre to have their plays produced. The field had until then been limited to specialized Kabuki playwrights.

Aku Genta (The Intrepid Genta), presented at the Meiji-za in October, 1899, was the work of the theatre critic Matsui Shōyō. The third Kawatake Shinshichi added stage directions and asked that the play be announced as the joint work of Shinshichi and Shōyō, but his petition was rejected by Sadanji. Moved by this generous act, Shōyō wrote a number of plays for Sadanji at the Meiji-za: Gen-Zammi Yorimasa, Gotō Mata-bei, Tekikoku Gōbuku (The Enemy Surrenders). After Sadanji's death Shōyō advised and assisted his son Enshō (the second Sadanji).

For all Matsui Shōyō's services as a pioneer, the hereditary
playwrights (sakusha-beya) remained to persecute new writers. When Oka Onitarō and Okamoto Kidō collaborated on a play for the Kabuki-za in January, 1902, Kidō himself has written, the manuscript was received with more coldness and malice than they had imagined possible. They received but fifty yen for a four-act play.

Soon, however, other writers began to move down the road opened by Matsui Shōyō: Okamoto Kidō and Oka Onitarō were followed by Yamazaki Shikō, Takayasu Gekkō, Enomoto Torahiko, Migita Torahiko, and Ikeda Taigo. Even their senior, Tsubouchi Shōyō, who had written Kiri Hitoha (A Leaf of Paulownia) for Danjūrō and Kikugorō, but had not seen it produced until after their death, was able to make his way in the theatre world only by virtue of the precedent set by Matsui Shōyō. The latter’s achievement may in the final analysis be considered Sadanji’s.

Sadanji was in serious trouble as manager of the Meiji-za, and he vainly pressed the de facto manager to reorganize its finances. When his request was refused, he moved to the Tokyo-za, where he played from July to December, 1903. He returned to the Meiji-za in January, 1904, upon a change of management, and was a great success there in Gotō Matabei. During the run, however, he was forced to enter a hospital with a stomach ailment. In May he played the part of the fisherman Yatōji in Tekikoku Gōbuku (The Enemy Surrenders), a topical play dealing with the Russo-Japanese War. On August 7 he died, aged sixty-two, of a malignant tumor. Since he lived but a year longer than Danjūrō and Kikugorō, it is hardly appropriate to label him “late Meiji,” and yet his work at the Meiji-za in and after 1893 had a freshness that suggested the dawn of a new period.

There were fears that the Kabuki would collapse with the death of Kikugorō and Danjūrō, but the classical tradition was somehow preserved by their successors. The nature of the Kabuki was nonetheless changing slowly. The seventh Ichikawa
Danzō was an actor much loved as a sort of survival from the old era.

Danzō was the adopted son of the sixth Danzō. At the age of twenty he took the name Kyūzō. Like the fifth Kikugorō, he was trained under Kodanji, but he had a narrow, intolerant turn of mind that made it difficult for him to get along well with his fellows. In August, 1870, in the middle of a run at the Ichimura-za, he left the company, and for some years thereafter he wandered the provinces. He returned to Tokyo in August, 1879, to appear at the Hisamatsu-za, but even then he made no attempt to associate himself with the main stream of the Kabuki.

In November, 1887, he took part in the program opening the Azuma-za, a small theatre in Asakusa, where he played the roles of Tomomori and Gonta in Yoshitsune Sembon-zakura (Yoshitsune and the Thousand Cherries). This headstrong act, which dropped him to the rank of an actor in the despised "drop-curtain theatres" (donchō-yakusha), was characteristic of him. He seems nonetheless to have been ashamed of himself for having appeared in one of the little theatres, and he explained that, since both Tomomori and Gonta die with their backs to the audience, he had no way of knowing whether the curtain was dropped or drawn. In any case, he was pacified, it is said, when he received four times the payment specified in the contract.

He returned to the provinces until 1890, when he appeared at the Kotobuki-za. His career was in sharp contrast to that of Danjūrō, then in his glory at the new Kabuki-za.

In March, 1895, Danzō appeared at the Kabuki-za with Danjūrō in Sendaihagi, a memorable production for him. After the one run he returned again to the small theatres. In June, 1896, he became the seventh Ichikawa Danzō. He moved about from theatre to theatre, and from the summer of 1901 he played in Osaka. After the death of Danjūrō and Kikugorō he returned to Tokyo. In March, 1908, he appeared at the Kabuki-za, where he was received as a triumphant hero. His fine figure and his
subtle art satisfied something of the public nostalgia for the old Kabuki.

His performances from then until his death on September 12, 1911, as Nikki in Sendaihagi, Tomomori in Yoshitsune Sembonzakura, Mitsuhide in Taikoki, Moronao in Chushingura, Sakura Sogoro in Hana no Kumo Sakura no Akebono, and Ishikawa Goemon (the robber hero of a number of plays) had the grandeur and sadness of the setting sun. Danzo was the last actor to bring back memories of the Edo stage. When in June, 1911, he acted at the Imperial Theatre, he is said to have been choked with tears at being able to "act near His Majesty." The incident perhaps tells all there is to tell about his career and his position as an actor.

2. SHIKAN AND GATO

The question of who would succeed Danjurou at the centre of the Kabuki world had commanded considerable attention even before his death. If Shinzo had not died young he would probably have followed Danjurou in the tradition of the katsureki. The actor who actually did seize the initiative in the post-Danjuro period was Nakamura Shikan.

The foster son of the fourth Shikan, he earlier had the name Fukusu. He was an actor of remarkable grace and good looks, and his popularity as an actor of women's roles seems astonishing to the student of today. He became the leading actor of women's roles in Danjuro's troupe at the age of twenty-seven. His foster-father was rather outside the main current, but his own career on the grand stage of the Kabuki-za progressed smoothly.

In May, 1901, he became the fifth Nakamura Shikan. Thereafter he sometimes played male roles. A very ambitious actor, he had plans for building a new age, and it was with this aim in mind and with an eye on the rising westernized theatre that
he brought together Baikō, Kakitsu, and Komazō in the “Alliance of the Four”—this in 1903, while Danjūrō was still alive. The Four agreed to rise and fall together. In June, without the permission of the Kabuki-za manager, they presented at that theatre a benefit performance for the children of female convicts. They were moreover indifferent to Danjūrō’s Sanshōkai “family council”, and they succeeded in getting themselves black-listed by the manager and the great actor. Two of the Four, Shikan and Baikō, left Tokyo that autumn. Danjūrō died while they were away. In September, Shikan, with Danzō, Sainyū, and Gato, was playing at the Kado-za in Osaka. In October he returned to Tokyo, bringing Gato with him.

The arrival of Gato in Tokyo met with the hostility of the theatre critics. Gato, later the eleventh Kataoka Nizaemon, was the son of the eighth Nizaemon. He was a most original actor, whose speciality had been presenting new plays in low-ranking Tokyo theatres. In 1886, at the age of thirty, he returned to his father’s native city, Osaka, where he received the protection of Sōjūrō and made something of a name for himself. The competitive spirit with which he faced his rival, the first Nakamura Ganjirō, presently led him to challenge even Danjūrō. When, in February, 1898, Danjūrō played at the Kabuki-za in Osaka, Gato refused to appear with him, and inserted a speech in Akagaki Genzō making fun of the great actor who was at the time absolute monarch of the theatre: “There is nothing to fear, whatever heroes come visiting us.”

Danjūrō seems not to have been much upset. It is said that, had his health permitted, he would have played in Kumagai Jinya (Kumagai’s Camp) at the Kabuki-za in October, 1903, and that Gato was cast in one of the principal roles. One may therefore conclude that Gato’s return to Tokyo had nothing to do with Danjūrō’s death. His brisk entry into the capital made the bad impression it did because the memory of his earlier challenge to Danjūrō was still strong.

Miki Takeji and Ihara Seiseien (Toshirō) of the magazine
Kabuki supported Gatō. Other critics attacked him: Matsui Shōyō of Yorozu chōhō, Sugi Gan’ami of the Mainichi, Oka Onitarō of Niroku. Sensitive to the criticism, Gatō paid his respects at Danjūrō’s grave in Aoyama shortly after his return to Tokyo, and gave a party for critics and men of letters. Tsubouchi Shōyō, who was present, described Gatō’s manner thus: “Like a lone rider who has charged into the enemy’s camp, he had his sword in readiness, he saw a threat in every movement, he kept an unblinking eye turned on the enemy.”

The end result was that Gatō became a celebrity. It was as though Matsui Shōyō and the rest had labored to make him famous. Another bit of unpleasantness helped him still more: Shikan quarreled with Inoue Takejirō, manager of the Kabuki-za, after appearing with Gatō in October, and left the theatre as a result.

From November Shikan appeared at the Tokyo-za in Kanda. In May, 1906, he returned triumphantly to the Kabuki-za, and shortly thereafter he was made chairman of its committee on acting (kambu gigei iinchō). Thus three years after Danjūrō’s death he was at the top of the Kabuki world.

Those three years were dark ones for the Kabuki. Its future seemed gloomy indeed. For the first time the traditional theatre began to feel insecure before the new westernized theatre.

Shikan, who had played opposite Danjūrō, reigned supreme among the female impersonators. In March, 1904, he first played Yodogimi, concubine of Toyotomi Hideyoshi, in Tsubouchi Shōyō’s Kiri Hitoha (A Leaf of Paulownia). That play had been published in February, 1896, an ambitious attempt at the dream fantasy that was Shōyō’s ideal. As has already been noted, he had Danjūrō and Kikugorō in mind when he wrote the play, but it was not staged until a year after the two were dead. Tsubouchi’s major work had to wait until Matsui Shōyō had pioneered the way for non-specialized playwrights.

Shikan and Gatō were great successes in Kiri Hitoha, and
Shikan played the part of Yodogimi, the most successful of his career, in other plays at the Tokyo-za in 1905 and 1906. He was preparing himself for the new Taishō Era, in which he was to be more politically minded.

3. THE AGE OF GANJIRŌ

Meanwhile, the age of Ganjirō had come to Osaka.

Ganjirō was the son of the third Nakamura Kanjaku. For a time in the early Meiji Era, as a pupil of Enjaku, he was known as Jitsukawa Ganjirō, but in 1878 he became Nakamura Ganjirō. After the death of his father in 1881, he became a pupil of Sōjūrō.

Quite aside from Sōjūrō’s other achievements, he would command our attention as the actor who discovered Gato and Ganjirō. In March, 1883, Sōjūrō took Ganjirō for his understudy in Chūshingura, and, pleading illness on the seventh day of the run, turned his part over to the younger actor. The manager of the theatre, who wanted the role given to Sōjūrō’s pupil Sangorō, and the second Jakuemon, who was a member of the same cast and wanted it himself, were both displeased, but Sōjūrō’s wishes prevailed. The Chūshingura performance made Ganjirō’s name.

His career as a leading actor progressed smoothly. His next great success was Shiobara Tasuke, played in Osaka in September and in Kyoto in October, 1889. Sōjūrō died in October. In January, 1890, Ganjirō at length attracted the notice of Danjūrō, who was playing in Kyoto. In the two months Danjūrō was in Kyoto he had Ganjirō for his principal supporting actor in a succession of roles: Atsumori to his Kumagai (Kumagai Jinya), Kampei to his Ōboshi (Chūshingura), Gompachi to his Chōbei (Suzugamori). Such were the heights Ganjirō had reached at the age of thirty.

He was invited to Tokyo the same year. The Tokyo ex-
perience was an unhappy one for him, but his art was made more profounded by association with Danjūrō.

Ganjirō was unchallenged lord of the Kansai until his death in February, 1935, at the age of sixty-six. His style, not as true as it might have been to the seventeenth-century tradition of the romantic drama (wagoto), was influenced by the new realism, and his career is in a sense a miniature of the Meiji theatre in which he grew up.

Ganjirō came to be attached exclusively to the rising Shōchiku entertainment company, and after Gatō left for Tokyo his supremacy in the Kansai was absolute. This was due in part to the early deaths of Nakamura Hikaku in 1881, Arashi Rishō in 1886, the second Jitsukawa Enzaburō in 1888, and Bandō Jusaburō in 1889. Udanji, an older actor, went his own way, and Ganjirō was not directly associated with him. The third Nakamura Fukusuke, on the other hand, attached himself to Ganjirō to further his career.

The third Nakamura Fukusuke was a pupil of Nakamura Tamashichi. His rivalry with the third Arashi Kitsusaburō was intense, but Fukusuke became the more popular of the two actors. He accompanied Ganjirō to Tokyo and from 1893 or 1894 seems to have resigned himself to playing supporting roles to that actor.

In 1907 Fukusuke took the name Baigyoku, a haiku pen-name of the third Nakamura Utaemon, and a foster son succeeded to the name Fukusuke. The fourth Fukusuke came to play female roles opposite Ganjirō.

Jitsukawa Enjirō and Nakamura Naritarō, who later took the names Enjakku and Kaisha respectively, were somewhat younger than Ganjirō. They had to be satisfied with subordinate positions in the Osaka theatre. Enjakku had inherited from the preceding Enjakku a highly individual style of acting, touched with comedy and rich in the spirit of Osaka, and, with this skill at a wide variety of roles, he built a world quite independent of that of Ganjirō. Osaka belonged to Ganjirō, however,
and Enjaku's art did not receive the attention in deserved.

Ganjirō for a time considered becoming the fifth Utaemon. Gatō had in 1907 become the eleventh Nizaemon (he in fact succeeded his brother, who died insane in 1895 immediately after becoming the ninth Nizaemon, so that he should have been the tenth; but he disliked the number ten and became the eleventh by giving his brother-in-law, an earlier Gatō, who had died in 1871, the posthumous name Nizaemon) and Ganjirō too wanted to take a new name. Nizaemon had been given custody of the name Utaemon, however, by a disciple of the fourth actor who held it, and was not prepared to replace it to Ganjirō. Ganjirō was forced to reconsider, and in November, 1911, Shikan became the fifth Utaemon.

In and after the fourth decade of the Meiji Era Ganjirō appeared at the Naka-za, a member of a sort of triumvirate with Udanji at the Kado-za and Arashi Ganshō at the Benten-za. He was attached exclusively to Shōchiku from 1906.

Watanabe Katei in the Meiji Era and Ōmori Chisetsu in the Taishō Era wrote plays for Ganjirō, most of them adaptations of the classics. Successful plays of the sort included in the Ganjirō Jūnikyoku (Twelve Plays for Ganjirō) were little more than display pieces for Ganjirō's unique art, a mixture of the old Kabuki and the katsureki, of exaggeration and realism.

Arashi Ganshō, in the line of the fourth Rikan, was nine years older than Ganjirō. He had a certain old-style beauty, but he was out of touch with the mood of his day. He lived until 1930.

The fourth Arashi Tokusaburō was skilled in female and wagoto male roles, and was known as the "Osaka Uzaemon." He became the fifth Rikan in 1918 and died in 1920.

Arashi Rishō, a pupil of Rikan, was a popular player of handsome young men's roles (nimaiame). He died young in 1886. His son Emitarō, foster son of the second Nakamura Jakuemon, later became the third Jakuemon. The second Jakuemon was a player of leading men's roles, the third of women's roles.
LATE MEIJI KABUKI

There was thus no consistent tradition handed down by succeeding actors in the line. The third Jakuemon played opposite Chūsha in Tokyo, displaying a fine classical technique. He died in 1927 at the age of fifty-two.

There is little to record of the Kansai theatre in the late Meiji Era other than that the foundation was laid for the reign of Ganjirō and the Shōchiku Company.

4. THE NEW DISTRIBUTION OF POWER

As has been noted above, Shikan returned to Tokyo in 1906. Komazō had returned slightly before him, and appeared at the Kabuki-za in September, 1905, in a memorial program for Danjūrō. The Ichikawa actors, lined up on the stage to make speeches for the occasion, were present in sufficient array to suggest the after-glow of the family’s great period under Danjūrō, but by the end of the Meiji Era the distribution of power in the Kabuki had changed. There were many reasons for this.

In the first place there were three rival actors in the main Ichikawa line, Yaozō, En’nosuke, and Komazō. Yaozō presently became Chūsha and in the Taishō and Shōwa Eras was cherished as a “national treasure” (kokuhō) for this classical art. He was weak in dancing, however, and was unable to play Benkei, the leading part in Kanjinchō, as the role had been handed down by his teacher. It was for this reason that Enomoto Torahiko wrote another play for him, Ataka no Seki, with Benkei as hero. En’nosuke and Komazō, on the other hand, were both accomplished dancers.

En’nosuke was sixteen years the elder of the two. His career had been retarded because, dissatisfied with the roles given him, he had played Kanjinchō at the Nakajima-za in 1872 without the permission of the Ichikawa house. He had as a result been disinherited in 1874, and had for some years pieced together a living at the small theatres. In 1888 he became the
leading actor at the Azuma-za, and later he moved to the Haruki-za. In October, 1890, he was at length taken back into the Ichikawa house, and for the first time in seventeen years acted in a major theatre. It was the rule, however, that anyone returning to the large theatres from the small ones had to appear three times in roles of insufficient importance to merit listing on the play-board. The month of his return to the Kabuki-za he played one of Kikugorō's attendants. He was even called upon to perform the acrobatics required of minor extras.

Because of this early failure, En'nosuke was overtaken and passed by Yaozō, six years his junior. Between the year of his return to the Kabuki-za and the 1905 memorial program, he played as principal actor in the Haruki-za, the Engi-za, the Tokyo-za, the Kotobuki-za, and the Miyato-za. It was not until his late years that he came to be attached exclusively to the Kabuki-za.

In the memorial program he appeared as Benkei, a deeply significant role for him in view of the fact that it was the role that had earlier led to his dismissal from the Ichikawa house. It was at first suggested that he and Komazō appear in the role on alternate days, evidence that an actor's merit could be obscured by his past missteps. The two actors did in fact appear on alternate days in Ōmori Hikoshi, so closely balanced was their power. All three of these pupils of Danjūrō, however, had to bow down before Shikan, who had acted female roles opposite their teacher.

It was rather Baikō who resisted Shikan. Baikō was the foster son of the fifth Kikugorō. He let the name Kikugorō go to his foster brother (and Kikugorō's real son) Ushinosuke, but, deeply conscious of the honor of the Onoe name, he had no intention of surrendering to Shikan. The readiness with which he appeared at the Imperial Theatre, when at length it was opened, is probably to be explained by more than his debt to the Fukuzawa family, who had a part in managing the new enterprise.
LATE MEIJI KABUKI

In October, 1906, just after Shikan’s return to that theatre, Inoue Takejirō retired as manager of the Kabuki-za, and Ōkōchi Terutake, who took his place, immediately appointed eight actors, Shikan, Yaozō, Baikō, Uzaemon, En’nosuke, Komazō, Tosshō, and Matsusuke, to a committee on acting (kambu gigei iiin). Of the eight only the old-fashioned Matsusuke declined, and his appointment was for a time held in abeyance. Shikan became chairman of the committee. Under Ōkōchi, the Kabuki-za seemed to come to life for the first time since the death of Danjūrō and Kikugorō. Ōkōchi himself died after but three years as manager. Behind scenes Tamura Nariyoshi was meanwhile making full use of his managerial abilities.

5. THE MEIJI-ZA AND THE SECOND SADANJI

While the great names were thus gathered at the Kabuki-za, the Meiji-za in Hisamatsu-chō was going its own modest way as in the days when the first Sadanji was living. Upon the latter’s death, in August, 1904, his son Enshō, then twenty-four, became nominal head of the theatre. The young man had but two thousand yen in ready cash and he had on his hands a heavy debt and a theatre company. He soon learned how cold the world can be. For the first production after his father’s death, the only actor among his seniors to come to his assistance was Metora.

His acting moreover was still rough and immature. One may doubt whether he would have gone ahead to build a career over more than three decades if he had not had Matsui Shōyō to encourage him. Shōyō advised him to go abroad in search of a fresh style. Osanai Kaoru, a leading figure in the theatre and an old friend, strongly supported the suggestion, and presently Enshō made up his mind.

Shōyō himself left Yokohama for Europe in April, 1906. He landed in Kobe and asked Kawakami Otojirō, who was playing
at the Naka-za in Osaka, to look after Sadanji’s heir. That he should have had to ask such a favor of an actor in the westernized theatre was evidence of how cool the Kabuki was to the young actor. When in September Enshō became the second Sadanji, however, Shikan, Komazō, and En’nosuke all appeared at the Meiji-za to help celebrate the occasion. The month’s production was a great success, the house being full nineteen of the twenty days, and the profit went to finance the new Sadanji’s trip abroad.

The roles he played in 1906, the year of his decision to go abroad, suggested that he was devoting himself exclusively to the classics, and indeed voices were heard asking way, if this was what he preferred, he found it necessary to go abroad. When one compares his critical reception in 1905 and 1906 with that awaiting him on his return from Europe, one feels that he was if anything over-rated. In any case, he was very popular, and when in 1906 the Miyako Shim bun conducted a poll for “the three best actors” he came third, behind Onoe Eizaburō (later the sixth Bandō Hikosaburō) and Yamaguchi Sadako (daughter of Yamaguchi Sadao).

He was a different man when he came back from Europe. It was but natural that his contact with the foreign theatre should have roused him to rebellion against certain of the customs and restraints of the traditional Japanese theatre. Indeed there was a feeling upon his return that youthful impetuousness had rather carried him away. He refused to get off the train at the station where his admirers and fellow actors were waiting to meet him.

The Meiji-za had been rented to Ikeda Tōbei and Shimomura Eikichi during Sadanji’s absence. It was his understanding that Komazō would be the principal actor there. In January, 1907, however, Komazō left for the Kabuki-za. Certain critics were enraged at this breach of faith. Sugi Gan’ami printed a sharp attack in the Mainichi, and Yorozu chōhō in November carried an exposé of Komazō’s machinations. Komazō was back at the
Meiji-za late in 1909. We shall have more to say of this later. Until Sadanji's return in August, 1908, the Meiji-za had to make out with such second-rate actors as Tosshi and Tokizō, with the regular Sadanji Company, and with Udanji and his son from Osaka.

Sadanji was the centre of attention upon his return, the first Kabuki actor who had been abroad. He bided his time for the rest of the year, and thereby aroused much resentment. A vicious attack on him was printed in the *Kokumin Shimbun* in answer to the attack on Komazō in *Yorozu chōhō*.

Sadanji made his home-coming appearance in January, 1909. It cannot be denied that he chose a most inopportune moment to introduce his theories on theatre reform. He had as his "brain" Matsui Shōyō, who had returned to Japan with him. Oka Onitarō, who had become his manager, and Kimura Kinka and Kawakami Gorō, who administered the Meiji-za, helped with the plans.

Besides remodelling the theatre, they proposed to introduce reserved seats. The functionaries who traditionally had been accustomed to finding seats for theatre guests were to become ushers on a fixed wage, and various tips and special charges were to be done away with. The reform thus struck at the very foundations of the theatre tea-houses. Sadanji had also brought the spotlight back with him from Europe, and he proposed to subject the stage, unchanged since the Edo Era, to its merciless light. Ruffians tried to stop the play on the opening day, and the police had to be called in. A rumor spread to the effect that Hisamatsu Bridge, which had been built by donations from theatre tea-houses in the Chitose-za period, would be burned down. Thus the opening performance, which should have been such a glad occasion, gave rise to a most murderous excitement. The young Sadanji left his dressing room in an uncovered rickshaw. The performance ran twenty-one days, at the end of which Sadanji concluded that reform should begin not with theatre management but with acting.
techniques. From the next run, in March, the theatre tea-houses were in business as usual. When the Imperial Theatre was opened in 1911, it adopted very nearly the system Sadanji had tried at the Meiji-za. Sadanji’s ideas were a little ahead of their time.

Sadanji was later one of the organizers of the Free Theatre (Jiyū Gekijō) movement, and at the Meiji-za, his main base, he was persistent in trying out innovations in the Kabuki.

Matsui Shōyō, keenly aware of his responsibility for the failure of the January production, retired to a temple. Oka Onitarō and Osanai Kaoru, however, remained to help and advise Sadanji. The settings for Yamazaki Shikō’s Kabuki Monogatari (Kabuki Tale), presented in March, 1908, were done by a group of western-style painters, and it is said that the applause when the curtains were raised continued for some moments. For Molière’s L’Amour Médecin in April, the French practice of rapping on the floor at curtain time was adopted. Even such naive imitation had its freshness, and from it the new theatre movement was launched.

In 1908 Kawakami Otojirō came to help Sadanji in his lone fight. Kawakami’s first production was announced as Kawakami Kakushin Kōgyō Dai-ichi-nen (The First Year under the Kawakami Reformed Management). Ishin Zengo (The Days of the Restoration), one of the plays, marked the beginning of the collaboration between Sadanji and the playwright Okamoto Kidō. The services of certain actors at the Kabuki-za had been requested of Tamura Nariyoshi, and after lightly giving his permission the latter withdrew it at the last moment. Kawakami retaliated with a denunciatory curtain speech. Tamura, who was in the audience, left immediately. He had nothing to say about the incident, evidence perhaps that he was ashamed of himself.

Nizaemon, who had changed his name from Gatō in January, 1907, was meanwhile having a quarrel with Shōchiku in Osaka, and Sadanji called him to the Meiji-za in 1909. The two actors
were by nature incompatible, however, and their partnership did not last long.

Kawarazaki Gon’nosuke, who had been de facto manager of the Meiji-za, was replaced upon his resignation by Yazawa Genjirō from Kabuto-chō, the Tokyo stock-market district. Komazō was lured back from the Kabuki-za and appeared at the Meiji-za in January, 1910. He had ranked high in the affections of Ōkōchi Terutake, and he took the latter’s death in October, 1910, as a good opportunity to move permanently to a new theatre. He was persuaded by Tamura to stay for a performance of Chūshingura in November, in which he was given the lead. That was a remarkable honor in a company that included Yaozō and En’nosuke. Tamura dangled tempting bait indeed, but it had no effect. Komazō appeared at the Meiji-za only until January, 1911.

6. THE RISE OF NEW ACTORS

We must now speak of the young actors whose first triumphs were at the Kabuki-za and who from the late Meiji Era to the mid-Taishō Era brought a new golden age to the Kabuki.

In Shitaya, the Ichimura-za preserved a tradition going back to the Edo Shogunate. In January, 1908, the two sons of the twelfth Morita Kan’ya organized a company of young Kabuki actors at that theatre. Besides Mitsugorō and Kan’ya (who had changed his name from Mitahachi to the thirteenth Kan’ya in November, 1906), the troupe included Eizaburō, Jūzō, Kōnosuke, Komasuke, Shūchō, Fujaku, and Takesaburō. Eizaburō later became Bandō Hikosaburō, Jūzō became Kataoka Ichizō, Kōnosuke became Onoe Monzaburō, Komasuke became Ōtani Tomoemon, and Fujaku became Onoe Kikujirō.

When in July the leading actors at the Kabuki-za were on vacation, the Ichimura-za company played for twenty-days at the former theatre for a flat thirty-sen admission charge. The
cast was headed by the twenty-three-year-old Kikugorō and the twenty-two-year-old Kichiemon. Taking this as a good opportunity to merge the Ichimura-za with the Kabuki-za, Tamura Nariyoshi undertook the management and training of the young Ichimura-za actors. In November Kikugorō and Kichiemon appeared at the Ichimura-za, Kichiemon playing Kumagai and Kikugorō playing Gosho no Gorozō for the first time. Kikugorō and Kichiemon had been held back by their seniors, but they took full advantage of their new opportunity, and their art progressed rapidly. In the November program, Kichiemon was given historical roles and Kikugorō domestic and dancing roles. It was Tamura’s policy to divide the field between the two young actors.

Until August, 1913, when he was forced to retire for a time because of illness, Tamura dominated the Kabuki world from his two theatres.

Tamura set about grooming Kichiemon to take the place of Danjūrō and Kikugorō to take the place of the old Kikugorō. When the older actors at the Kabuki-za were on vacation he gave the Ichimura-za company the stage of the larger theatre. He purposely set Kichiemon and Kikugorō against each other, frequently giving them the same role on alternate days. The Ichimura-za had a complete and well-rounded company, with Fujaku as the principal actor of female parts, Kan’ya a player of second-lead male roles, Mitsugorō in dancing roles, Komasuke to play villains and old men, and behind the scenes Shinjūrō and Gansuke to supervise and instruct. It was no accident that the Ichimura-za was able to become one of the trio, with the Kabuki-za and the Imperial Theatre, that dominated the theatre of the Taishō Era.

With admirers of the two young leading actors shouting their support of the one or the other, excitement at the Ichimura-za reached a white heat. Tamura, recovering from his illness, brought that theatre to its finest age, and gave important roles to the two actors who were to dominate the Shōwa theatre.
The Ichimura-za Era continued until Kichiemon handed his resignation to Tamura’s son in March, 1921. The intense praise which Komiya Toyotaka, Kusuyama Masao, and other young writers had for the two shows how much more exciting their performances were than anything older actors were offering at the Kabuki-za or the Imperial Theatre.

Danjūrō and Kikugorō had been the most widely praised actors of their day. In the Taishō Era the critic Miki Takeji held out special hopes for the fifteenth Uzaemon. Besides that actor, only Kikugorō and Kichiemon were singled out for special attention. Sadanji had Oka Onitarō, Okamoto Kidō, Nagai Kafū and Ikeda Taigo for friends, while the pair at the Ichimura-za had a group behind them that included Osanai Kaoru, Okamura Shikō, Kubota Mantarō, Yanagisawa Ken, Hasegawa Shigure, and Yoshii Isamu. Kikugorō was the more energetic of the two. In 1913 he organized the “Kuroneko-za” (Black Cat Theatre) and began publishing a magazine. He also appeared at the Yūraku-za in special performances, and in 1914, with Tamura’s backing, he joined Hasegawa Shigure in the Kyōgen-za, which presented two special performances (kōen).

In January, 1914, the Ichimura-za and the Kabuki-za presented the same play, Soga no Taimen (The Soga Meeting). In April both presented Kanjinchō in competition with the Imperial Theatre, and in April of the following year the two theatres again presented the same play, Sukeroku.

It is said that Tamura favored Kikugorō. In any case, Kichiemon gradually became dissatisfied and in 1921 he left the Ichimura-za to join Shōchiku. The incident created a sensation. Earlier, in December, 1918, Kan’ya had joined the Imperial Theatre. In August, 1919, came the death of Kikujiro, whom Kikugorō mourned to the end of his life as unrivalled in the role of the wife, and of Kawarazaki Kunitarō, another player of female roles.

The death of Tamura in November, 1920, speeded Kichiemon’s decision to leave the Ichimura-za. The Ichimura-za, in the last
years of the Meiji Era, had made the recovery of the Kabuki in rather a different form from the theatre of Sadanji and the Meiji-za seem possible. Because the Ichimura-za strove to defend the traditional Kabuki against the commercialism of the large theatres, the year of its opening, 1908, is a significant one in the history of the Meiji theatre.

7. THE OPENING OF THE IMPERIAL THEATRE

The Teikoku Gekijō (Imperial Theatre) was opened in March, 1911. Its staff was, in the eyes of the old-style manager, an aggregation of amateurs. Still the Kabuki-za had received something of a shock when in 1906 a joint-stock company was formed and the following year work was begun on the new theatre, with Shibusawa Eiichi as chairman of its committee and Itō Hirobumi and Saionji Kimmochi among its sponsors. The retirement of Inoue Takejirō from the theatre (for his last program, in October, 1906, he called Ganjirō, already with Shōchiku, from Osaka) was occasioned by preparations for the new theatre, and the imposing “committee on acting” set up by his successor, Ōkōchi, with Shikan as its chairman, may also be considered a weapon for resisting the Imperial Theatre.

In 1907, the Kabuki-za was thoroughly remodelled inside and out. Its actors felt quite secure, and in 1908 it took the Ichimura-za as a sort of “reserve theatre.” The Kabuki-za bought the Tokyo-za, which was less than prosperous after Shikan’s return, in July, 1909.

In October, 1909, Ganjirō was again invited to Tokyo. The Kansai theatre had changed since his appearance in 1906, however. In 1901 Tamura had gone to Osaka and obtained Ganjirō’s services for an indeterminate fee. In the intervening years, the theatre entrepreneur Shirai Matsujirō had bought the Osaka Naka-za, Kado-za, Naniwa-za, and Asahi-za and formed the Shōchiku Company. Shirai accompanied Ganjirō to
Tokyo and insisted on a share in the profits. Tamura accepted his terms. When the two, actor and manager, arrived in Tokyo in September, however, they were angered to find that among the Kabuki-za actors Baikō, Uzaemon, and Matsusuke had joined Danzō at the Tokyo-za, and they denounced this as a breach of promise. Tamura explained his position and succeeded in soothing the pair at a meeting attended by theatre critics. At the end of the run Tamura visited Shirai at his inn, taking with him a large bundle of ten-yen notes as the latter’s share of the profits. Shirai succeeded in buying the Shintomi-za, headed then by Nakamura Shikaku, but returned to Osaka without suggesting to anyone what had happened.

The years between the meeting to organize the Imperial Theatre in 1906 and the completion of the revolutionary Renaissance-style building in 1911 were restless and uncertain ones for the theatre world.

Speculation began early on what actors would appear in the new theatre. By the end of 1910 the roster was fairly definite.

Somewhat earlier, in November, Tōkyō Gekijō Kumiai (The Tokyo Theatre Association) had been organized, and on November 26 a meeting was held at the Kabuki-za to elect officers. Miyake Hyōzō of the Kabuki-za became director, and Shimmen Tadatsugu of the Yūraku-za and Maeda Atsunaga of the Shintomi-za assistant directors. The rules to which the eighteen participating theatres subscribed included most significantly this one: “No theatre will make use of the services of an actor attached to another theatre without the permission of the second theatre.” The association was clearly organized to combat the Imperial Theatre. The Imperial, quite naturally, did not join, nor did Shōchiku. Under Nishino Keinosuke, its managing director, the Imperial set about luring actors from the other theatres.

Shikan was approached through Itō Hirobumi, and indeed he felt drawn to a theatre that seemed to have something about it of a national theatre. Itō was assassinated in October, 1909,
and nothing came of the negotiations. One theory has it that disagreement over salaries was the basic cause of the failure to come to terms (Ibara Toshirō, Zoku Dan-Kiku Igo |Supplementary Story of the Kabuki since Danjūrō and Kikugorō|).

From the Kabuki-za came Baikō, who was obligated to the Fukuzawa family; Matsusuke, his assistant; and Toshō. Negotiations were also conducted with Nizaemon and Yaozō, but both refused, it is said, because of the fact the Osaka actor Ganjirō was to appear in the opening performance. Ganjirō was present especially for the opening, and not as a permanent member of the troupe. Negotiations for his services progressed smoothly because of Shōchiku’s hostility toward the Kabuki-za.

Komazō and Sōnosuke were enlisted from the Meiji-za. Komazō’s appearance was the occasion for the retirement as manager of Yazawa, who had brought the actor to the Meiji-za from the Kabuki-za. These various projects to entice actors from the other theatres were all undertaken by Isaka Baisetsu under the direction of Nishino.

The Imperial Theatre’s company was presently assembled, with Komazō as the leading actor, Baikō as the leading actor of women’s roles, Toshō as second lead (kakidashi), Sōnosuke as actor of young women’s roles, and Matsusuke as villain. The initial performance took place on March 4, 1911, following opening ceremonies on the first day of that month.

The impressive white building, in the French style, was without precedent in Japanese theatrical history, but there was no denying that it was somewhat inappropriate for the traditional Kabuki. In particular the imperfect hanamichi came in later years to be considered the theatre’s great defect. The novelty of the architecture and of the ticket system that Sadanji and Kawakami had tried unsuccessfully at the Meiji-za attracted great attention, however, and the thirty-one-day opening run was a great success.

Early in the Taishō Era the Imperial Theatre invited Mr. and Mrs. G. V. Rosi from Italy, and in February, 1913, the
opera *Hansel and Gretel* was presented. That and the other operas presented during the five years following, the *joyū-geki* (all-women theatre) attached to the theatre, and the musicians (Zimbalist and others), actors (Mei Lan-fang), dancers (Anna Pavlova), and choruses (Russian and Italian) which it brought to Japan are still fresh in our memory. In 1918 Kan'ya was added to the Kabuki Company, but aside from that one change the company remained the same, with Baikō at its head, until the theatre was turned over (nominally, rented) to Shōchiku in 1930. Komazō, the seventh Matsumoto Kōshirō (he took the name in November, 1911), remained content in a secondary role, thus contributing much to the stability of the company.

Kabuki actors also appeared in the women's theatre as "mentors" (*hodō*), and frequently traditional Kabuki plays were presented with women in the roles that had been played by female impersonators. This was new and different for the Kabuki, but, as Osanai Kaoru pointed out, the physical unbalance between male and female actors disrupted the harmony of the drama and was enough to make the experiment a failure.

At the beginning of the Meiji Era the ban on women actors had been lifted, and successors to those female *o-kyōgenshi* who had played in aristocratic houses (such actors as Bandō Mitsue, Matsumoto Umekichi, Mizuki Kasen, and Nakamura Toraji) formed a women's Kabuki company, with male roles played by women. A representative actress was Iwai Kumeshachi, later Ichikawa Kumeshachi, who died in July, 1913, at the age of sixty-seven, and whose fame earned her the name "the lady Danjūro." Secondary players in the company included Ichikawa Rishō, Matsumoto Kinshi, and Nakamura Kasen. The company played regularly at the Misaki-za in Kanda. Though different in kind from the all-woman theatre at the Imperial, the Misaki-za company, too, was born in the Meiji Era and died in the Taishō Era.

The Yūraku-za organized a company of actresses in competition with that at the Imperial Theatre. The new company
made its début in October, 1912, in a new play under the direction of Kurishima Sagoromo and Inatomi Hiroshi. The enterprise was not long-lived, however. Among its actresses were Kurishima Sumiko and Katsuragi Fumiko, who later appeared in the movies.

The Imperial Theatre reformed the system of seating and did away with the theatre tea-houses, and it was responsible for not a few other innovations: smoking and eating in the theatre were prohibited; programs were distributed free; and the custom was set of beginning a run on the first day of the month. No other theatre could have accomplished so much.

The managing director of the theatre (under Shibusawa Eiichi, the president) was Nishino Keinosuke, who was succeeded by Yamamoto Kyūzaburō. In the script department (bungei-bu) were Migita Torahiko, Matsui Shōyō, Ninomiya Yukio, and later Kawatake Shigetoshi and Hamamura Yonezō. Migita Torahiko was until his death in 1920 attached exclusively to the Imperial Theatre, the counterpart of Enonoto Torahiko at the Kabuki-za.

All in all, the opening of the Imperial Theatre was an event that shook the late-Meiji Kabuki world. The Imperial and the Yūraku-za also became bases for the new theatre, through such organizations as Bungei Kyōkai (The Literary Society), Kindai-geki Kyōkai (The Modern Theatre Society), Jiyū Gekijō (The Free Theatre), the Geijutsu-za, Mumeikai (The Nameless Society), and Butai Kyōkai (The Stage Society).

8. THE RISING THEATRE

The month the Imperial Theatre was opened, the Kabuki-za presented a low-priced production with a small cast built around Kikugorō and Mitsugorō. The old theatre thus turned a calm, unexcited front to the sparkling new theatre. Its last-ditch stand, so to speak, was a success. The remodelling of the
theatre was a pressing need, however, and in August it was closed to be re-done in pure Japanese style. At about the same time, a faction in the management known as the Dōshikai (Fellowship) contracted to sell three thousand shares of the theatre's stock to Shōchiku without Tamura's permission. Some held that this was a move on the part of Ganjirō to forestall Shikan's imminent succession to the name Utaemon, which name Ganjirō wanted for himself. In any case, the incident was given wide publicity in the Tokyo newspapers, which damned the perfidiousness of the officials in question. Part of this reaction was no doubt simple Tokyo hostility to Osaka capital, but it was probably in large measure sympathy for the underdog.

The dismayed Tamura collected funds, argued the rebellious officials out of the transaction, and sent Shōchiku, as required by the civil code, double the down-payment on the stock as the price for breaking the contract. Ōtani Takejirō of Shōchiku appeared in Tokyo at the end of August and returned all of the money above that which had actually been paid on the contract. One may say that his patience was rewarded. Shōchiku very shortly thereafter succeeded in its Tokyo invasion.

Thus at the end of the Meiji Era the men of the old theatre were disappearing, and Shōchiku and the Imperial Theatre had arrived on the scene to herald a rising new theatre.
Chapter Four

THE SHIMPA

1. POLITICAL DRAMA (SÔSHI NO SHIBAI)

In the third decade of the Meiji Era there evolved a new theatrical form in keeping with the spirit of modernization, a form which stood quite apart from the intellectual currents of the modern theatre, however. It is doubtful indeed if the founders themselves were aware that what they were doing would in later decades bring something new to the theatre.

In Volume 21 of Zokuzoku Kabuki Nendaiki (The Second Supplementary Chronicle of the Kabuki) is this entry: “In Osaka this year there was presented a play of sorts that called itself ‘sôshi shibai (the political drama).’” The new drama seems indeed to have been considered only “a play of sorts.”

Between the dissolution of the Jiyûtô (Liberal Party) in 1884 and the promulgation of the Meiji Constitution in 1889, groups of political-minded youths who called themselves sôshi pleaded the cause of freedom (jiyû minken) in newspapers and in lectures. Not a few of them were in fact no better than ruffians. One such gallant was Sudô Sadanori, who first thought of using the theatre for propaganda.

Sudô was born in Okayama Prefecture and at the age of sixteen went to Tokyo as a struggling student. Later he moved to Osaka and devoted himself to the sôshi political movement. He wrote a novel called Kibi no Yozakura (Kibi’s Night Cherries), later published under the title Gôtan no Shosei (The Stout-hearted Youth). It was typical of the political novels the
period produced in great profusion. Sudō became greatly interested in the acting of Nakamura Sōjūrō, then a great figure in the Osaka theatre, and presently decided that a new theatre could be created by adapting the realism of the Kabuki to social themes. He saw too that the theatre could be used for the political propaganda in which he was engaged. Political speeches were difficult for the old and the very young to understand, and they invited police repression. The theatre was the ideal vehicle for spreading enlightenment.

He became head of Dainippon Geigeki Kyōfūkai (The Great Japan Society for Improving the Theatre), which he organized with fellow sōshi. It had as advisers Nakae Tokusuke (Chōmin) and Kurihara Ryōichi, and was under the protection of the politician Itagaki Taisuke. It is interesting that Nakamura Sōjūrō served as director (though active direction was rather in the hands of his disciple, Nakamura Ganshō).

In March, 1937, a memorial was erected in the cemetery of the Tennōji Temple, Osaka, to “Sudō Sadanori, father of the new theatre.” The inscription, selected by Ibara Toshirō, author of Meiji Engekishi (A History of the Meiji Theatre), was in the hand-writing of Tōyama Mitsuru. The presentation the month before at the Kabuki-za in Tokyo of a program in honor of the “fiftieth anniversary of the Shimpa” had been the occasion for launching a movement among those active in the new drama to perpetuate the name of its founder. Research at the time by the actor Yanagi Eijirō revealed that the first performance by the Sudō group took place on December 3, 1888, at the Shimmachi-za (formerly the Takashima-za) in Echigomachi, Nishi-ku, Osaka. Earlier works, such as Meiji Geidan Gojūnenshi (A Half Century of the Meiji Theatre), Meiji Engekishi (A History of the Meiji Theatre), and Meiji Jibutsu Kigen (The Origin of Things Meiji), had it seems all been mistaken.

The program, which was not as profound as it might have been, consisted of Tainin no Shosei, Teisō no Kajin (Long-
suffering Youth, Chaste Beauty) in seven acts, and Kinnō Bidan Ueno no Akebono (Dawn at Ueno: A Beautiful Tale of Reverence for the Emperor).

Sudō had originally hoped to open at the Naniwa-za in the Dōtombori entertainment district, but the police intervened circumspectly and wrecked the negotiations. It was through the intercession of Nakae Tokusuke that he was able to rent the Shimmachi-za. A lamp-seller in the vicinity was his financier, and the Shinonome Shimbun built a festive arch for the opening performance. Perhaps the sōshi no shibai aroused the public’s curiosity—in any case attendance was surprisingly good. Sudō himself later recalled (as recorded in Yanagi Eijirō’s Shimpa no Rokujūnen/Sixty Years of the Shimpa/) that in spite of the fact that the theatre was in the very heart of a licensed geisha quarter, only six or seven women were seen in the audience.

The members of the company were less actors than political swashbucklers, and the atmosphere of the dressing room seems to have been explosive. Later, during a tour of the provinces, several of its members were jailed for attacking a newspaper office.

Sudō himself played for a time in Tokyo, but he was not in a position to compete with the rising new theatre, and for the most part he continued his tours of the provinces. He died suddenly on January 20, 1907, in the dressing room of the Daikoku-za, Kobe, at the age of forty. He never gave up the dream that had prompted him to raise his banner at the age of twenty-one, and to the last he carried the title “founder of the new theatre.”

2. KAWAKAMI OF THE OPPEKEPE-BUSHI

Kawakami Otojirō was the next pioneer in the Shimpa. He was born in Hakata, moved to Tokyo at the age of thirteen, and was for a time a pupil of Fukuwaza Yukichi. After
a period of wandering he became a political propagandist (enzetsu-tsukai). It was the sign of the times that the career of not a few youths began in a similar manner.

He called himself Jiyū Dōji, "Child of Freedom," and his speeches were a great popular success. This alone was enough to bring trouble with the police, and he is said to have been arrested a hundred eighty times. In February, 1887, he appeared with Kabuki actors at the Sakai-za in Kyoto, in a play about a person known as the "Robinson Crusoe of the Orient." The play has survived, and it is interesting that at one point the text breaks off while Kawakami, according to the stage directions, stands outside the curtain improvising. The play thus made use of the talents Kawakami had developed as a political orator.

Kawakami left the theatre and in 1888 became a disciple of the popular Osaka rakugo comic story-teller, Katsura Bun'nosuke. As a story-teller he took the name Ukiyotei Marumaru, and, borrowing a melody which Katsura Tōbei, a story-teller of the same school, had made popular, he added lyrics sharply satirical of the times. This was his "Oppekepe-bushi" named for the syllables in imitation of a trumpet with which its refrain opens.

Excited by the founding that year of Sudō's sōshi shibai, Kawakami organized a company called Shosei Niwaka which played in Yokohama, Tokyo, Mito, and other cities but which was in the end a failure. Later Kanaizumi Ushitarō, the son of a sake brewer; Aoyagi Sutesaburō, a comic reciter in Katsura Bun'nosuke's school; and a magazine reporter named Fujisawa Senjirō joined Kawakami in launching a new company. Its opening performance was at the Uno-hi-za in Sakai on February 5, 1891. The plays were adaptations by Kawakami, Aoyagi and Fujisawa of Yano Fumio's Keikoku Bidan (Beautiful Tale of Statesmanship) and Itagakikun Sōnan Jikki (The True Story of Itagaki's Misfortunes). The project seems to have been less than a success: the run closed after but a week, a hundred and
ninety-two yen in debt. The troubles of the group have been recorded in Kanaizumi Ushitarō’s diary.

Kawakami, however, was endowed with a strong will, and in June of the same year, 1891, he appeared at the Nakamura-za in Tokyo. Between acts he emerged, dressed like a true swashbuckler, with a golden screen behind him and a rising-sun flag in his hand, to sing his *Oppkekepe-bushi*. It was a great success, one can guess how much of a success from the fact that even Danjūrō and Kikugorō went to hear it. The weakness of the company is apparent, however, from the fact that it had to rely on an entr’acte to draw crowds.

Kawakami pushed his way a step inside the door that Sudō, the “ancestor” of the new theatre, had opened. His success excited *sōshi* all over the country. He had shown how a nameless youth could win quick fame.

3. THE SEIBIKAN AND YAMAGUCHI SADAO

Among the groups that emerged during these years to promote the new theatre, the Seibikan, which first played at the Azumazā in Asakusa in November, 1891, is especially worth our attention. The actor Ii Yōhō, who was active on into the Shōwa Era, made his début with that company.

The scholar Yoda Gakkai was instrumental in organizing the Seibikan. Yoda was an ardent advocate of theatre reform, and for a time he had been one of the leaders of the group surrounding Danjūrō. The later actor had come to be monopolized by Fukuchi Ōchi, however, and Yoda turned his attention instead to amateurs and to the creating of a new theatre. The presence of this scholar put the Seibikan on a higher artistic level than the Sudō and Kawakami groups. It called itself “the reformed theatre” (kairyō engeki), and it had no political aims.

The Seibikan first broke the Edo ban on theatre troupes that
included both actors and actresses. The actress Chitose Beiha, who had become the wife of Kōmyōji Saburō, was included in the cast. As a special attraction Chitose Beiha was made to do a dance from the Kabuki play Seki no To (The Barrier Gate). The dance, which won the favor of the audience, was not entirely consistent with the announcement in the program that “the Kabuki with samisen accompaniment (aikata jōruri) must be abandoned.”

The Seibikan disbanded after but the one program, and Ii and Mizuno presently joined Kawakami.

The actors listed above all began as amateurs. Yamaguchi Sadao, who appeared at the Ichimura-za in Tokyo in July, 1892, on the other hand, was a young player of women’s roles in the Kabuki, a pupil of Kataoka Gadō with the Kabuki stage name Kataoka Gajaku. This fact was perhaps evidence that the theatre founded by the political gallants was beginning to gain itself a place as art.

4. THE SUCCESS OF THE WAR DRAMA

Presently Kawakami was appearing at the Asakusa-za in Tokyo, in the plays Igai (Strange) and Mata Igai (Strange Again), both written by Iwasaki Shunka and based on the Sōma case, a much talked-of incident of the day. It was these plays that gave Kawakami a firm foothold in the theatre, and it was in them that the unique art of Takada Minoru, who was cast as a villain, was first recognized. Saori Keiichirō and Ii Yōhō were also in the cast.

Igai was produced in January, 1894, and it was such a success that the following month Mata Igai was presented in answer to the public demand. In July, while Mata Mata Igai (Strange Yet Another Time) was enjoying a run, the Sino-Japanese War broke out.

Kawakami was always quick to sense an opportunity. Sōzetsu
Kaizetsu Nisshin Sensō (The Sublime, the Delightful Sino-Japanese War) opened at this same Asakusa-za on August 31. The program notes seem to show Kawakami's touch: "We assume it goes without our saying, but we should like the audience to bow when the illustrious name of His Majesty the Emperor is mentioned," and, "To add to the dignity of the actors who play the parts of our soldiers and sailors, we have dressed them in formal uniforms. The audience will understand of course that for this reason our battle is somewhat different from the real thing."

The play was such a success that Kawakami went to Korea for a look at the front. He came back to present Kawakami Otojirō Senchi Kembunki (Kawakami Otojirō’s Battle Report) in December. Kawakami’s own role was that of "Kawakami Otojirō, front-line observer." Kabuki actors too presented war dramas, but the victory clearly went to the new theatre, with its more realistic presentation. The war was the windfall that led, in May of the following year, to an honor that would not have been dreamed of but a short time before: an opportunity to play on the grand stage of the Kabuki-za.

Kawakami’s style of acting was, according to Tsubouchi Shōyō, that of the Osaka clown (Osaka niwaka). There was a certain charm in his husky, tense delivery, but he seems to have pandered to the tastes of the vulgar. It may be said indeed that he had no art worthy of the name. He started out under-cover of the Oppekepe-bushi and he consolidated his position with the war drama. It is possible, however, that without such a "hero" as Kawakami the later Shimpa would not have developed. One may perhaps say that he acted as a catalyst.

In 1896 he satisfied a long-cherished desire and founded his Kawakami-za at Misaki-chō, Kanda, Tokyo. He had already lost most of his actors, however. Only Fujisawa stayed with him.

We shall have occasion to speak again of Kawakami. In the
meantime, it will perhaps be well to describe the activities of various factions in the new theatre.

5. FOUNDING OF THE SEIBIDAN COMPANY

It is not easy to say when the westernized theatre came to be called the Shimpa or “new school” and the Kabuki the Kyūha or “old school.” Sources dating from around 1894 or 1895 used the terms sōshi shibai and shosei shibai, while officially the westernized drama was known as the “new theatre” (shin engeki). The term “new-school” (shimpa) was used to refer only to actors, and it seems likely therefore that the expression “actor of the new school” (shimpa haiyū) appeared first, and that “drama of the new school” (shimpa-geki) was a later development. When in 1902 Kawakami returned from his second trip abroad, he called his company the “true theatre” (shōgeki). The name was not long-lived, however.

Although the date when it came commonly to be called the Shimpa is unclear, the date when the style of the new school became fixed is fairly certain. The founding of the Seibidan group in Osaka marks the beginning of an era.

The Seibidan came upon the scene when Takada Minoru and Saori Seičhirō from Kawakami’s company went to Osaka with Iwao Keisaburō, Fukuzawa Kōzō and Kimura Takeo, and, inviting Akizuki Keitarō and Kimura Shūhei to join them, opened at the Kado-za in September, 1896. The plays were Meiji Shijū Yūyonen (The Fifth Decade of Meiji and After) and Sanuki Shichinin-giri (The Murder of the Seven in Sanuki). Kitamura Rokurō was also a member of the cast. Kitamura had joined Aoyagi Sutesaburō after the latter, with Ii, had parted company with Kawakami. Subsequently he had played with Yamaguchi Sadao and Fukui Mohei.

Takada and Saori left the group in 1898 and the name Seibidan disappeared. The company itself, however, continued
as the New Theatre (Shin-engeki).

The contribution of the Seibidan rested on the fact that Takada Minoru, between his tour of Hokkaido with Sudō and the performances of Igai and Mata Igai by the Kawakami company, had learned the technique of realistic expression. (Saori Keiichirō, another member of the group, was much admired for his performance as a foreigner in Mata Igai, this too because he had learned to express himself freely.) It was Takada who set the tone for the new theatre.

Takada, discussing his own art, held that "breathing" (iki) was its most important element. His greatest role was that of Arao Jōsuke in Konjiki Yasha (Demon Gold). He was an actor with a rough, vigorous style, but within it he sought to cultivate small details. The term nūbō ("rough, bear-like") was applied in a half-deprecatory sense to his art, while those who praised him called him the Danjūrō of the new theatre. Indeed his style must have had something in common with the haragei of Danjūrō. His last stage appearance was at the Shintomi-za in January, 1915. He died on September 24 of that year at the age of forty-six.

His early death was indeed unfortunate. Had he lived longer the Shimpa might have taken a different form. Kitamura, however, who was a product of his Seibidan, founded a school of acting that delved deep into the inner workings of the human spirit, as in a somewhat different manner did the style of his competitor and fellow female impersonator, Kawai Takeo.

6. II OF THE MASAGO-ZA

Ii Yōhō, an alumnus not of the Seibidan but of its predecessor the Seibikan, was for a time with Kawakami's company. In 1895 he was a member of the Isami-engeki, which he organized with Satō Toshizō and Mizuno Yoshimi (the name "Isami" is formed from the first syllable of each of the three family names).
After dissolution of that theatre he became a free-lance actor with Fukushima Kiyoshi and Fukuzawa Kōzō. He was an extremely handsome man, and when in 1901 the Chūō Shim bun conducted a popularity poll he led actors of the new school. As a prize he was given a draw-curtain decorated with a picture of Mt. Fuji (the characters with which the name Yōhō is written suggest that mountain). Popularity is not always a matter of an actor's looks, but in the case of Ii that element is not to be underestimated.

Toward the end of 1901 he brought Kawai Takeo into his company to play women's roles, and in 1902, at the Masago-za, he presented eight plays "in research on Chikamatsu" (Chikamatsu kenkyū-geki). Ii had long been fond of period pieces, but his Chikamatsu series was something quite new in the theatre, Kabuki as well as Shimpa. The minutely detailed joint-critique (gappyō) which Kabuki, most respected of the theatre periodicals, gave the June performance in the Chikamatsu series suggests how important it was considered.

In January, 1903, Ii appeared at the Ichimura-za in Mori Ōgai's philosophical adaptation of the legend of Urashima Tarō (Tamakushige Futari Urashima).

It was through the good offices of Ōgai's brother, Miki Takeji, editor of Kabuki, that the famous author was induced to write, but there is evidence of the latter's admiration for Ii in the fact that he invited the actor to hear him read the new play.

In 1904 Osanai Kaoru became the playwright for Ii and the Masago-za. The programs at that theatre seem quaint and old fashioned today, but it would be no mistake to say that Ii represented what was freshest and most advanced in the theatre of his day.

Kawai Takeo was the son of the Kabuki actor Ōtani Bajū. An actor of women's roles, he lived on into the Shōwa Era. His style of acting was brilliant and florid, in contrast with that of Kitamura—the mark no doubt of his Kabuki origins.
7. KAWAKAMI IN HIS LAST YEARS

After an unsuccessful effort to break into politics, Kawakami gathered most of the new-school actors then in Tokyo for his August, 1898, appearance at the Kabuki-za in Mata Igai and San Kyōetsu (Three Delights). The venture was a financial failure. On the last day of the run Kawakami announced to Satō Toshizō, a member of the cast, that he had bought a boat and was about to explore the Arctic, and he suggested that for the succeeding five years Satō leave Tokyo and tour the provinces. The exploring venture was ill-considered, however. The crew finally made its way back to Kobe, grateful for having survived.

In April, 1899, Kawakami set out on a trip to the Occident with his wife and eighteen other actors. He returned in 1901. After presenting Yōkōchū no Higeki (A Tragedy Abroad) and Bushiteki Kyōiku (A Warrior’s Education) in Osaka and Tokyo, he set out once again for the West. During its two tours abroad his company presented such plays as Bushi to Geisha (The Warrior and the Geisha), displays of Japanese manners that were something of a national disgrace. One must nonetheless admire a Japanese who had the courage to play in America, England, France, Germany, and Russia in that fourth decade of the Meiji Era.

The company returned to Japan in August, 1902, and in February, 1903 (calling itself, as has been noted, the “true theatre”), it presented an adaptation of Othello at the Meiji-za. Kawakami subsequently appeared in Hamlet and The Merchant of Venice. (For the production of Hamlet at the Hongō-za, a new ticket system was initiated, theatre hours were shortened, and the traditional extra payments were abolished. These reforms were perhaps the core of what Kawakami brought back from abroad.) Between 1903 and 1906 he also introduced plays by Maeterlinck and Sardou. It may thus be said that a new movement was taking form inside the Shimpa. In September,
1908, Kawakami, who had given up acting, tried his hand at "reformed management" (kakushin kōgyō) at the Meiji-za. He made his wife, Sada-yakko, head of his Imperial Actresses' School (Teikoku Joyū Yōseiho). The latter was subsequently taken over by the Imperial Theatre. For three days in October, 1903, a children's drama (otogi shibai), the first of its kind in Japan, was presented at the Hongō-za. Kawakami was a man of considerable vision.

His ventures as a manager were not successful. His first company, built around Sadanji, and his second, built around Sada-yakko, both soon slipped from his control, whereupon he returned to acting. In March, 1910, he built the Teikoku-za at Dōjima in Osaka, with the intention of making it a centre for the "true theatre". After but five runs, however, on November 12, 1911, Kawakami died, aged forty-seven. The Teikoku-za thus unexpectedly became the setting for his funeral.

Kawakami's career was a violent one quite in keeping with his impulsive nature. He popularized the Shimpa, but he was presently pushed aside by younger actors. He went abroad in the hope of opening new paths, but he came back to find that the Japanese theatre world had moved ahead in his absence. His retirement from acting showed that he knew his limits, and yet he had to have one more try at it. The phrase "a lonely man" quite describes the Kawakami of this last venture.

Mizuno Yoshimi founded the Encouragement Society (Shōrei-kai) at the Asakusa Tokiwa-za in December, 1897. It survived until about 1903, and produced two outstanding actors of women's roles, Kawai Takeo and Kojima Bun'ei.

8. A PROSPEROUS AGE FOR THE SHIMPA

The year 1904 opened another period of great activity for the Shimpa. In 1903 the two great figures in the Kabuki world, Kikugorō and Danjūrō, had died, and theatre lovers had
even earlier predicted the death of the Kabuki and had begun looking about for an alternative. The outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War in 1904 moreover excited the Shimpa to new efforts.

February, 1904, saw topical war plays in every theatre, presented by actors of both the new school and the old. At the Ichimura-za was Satō Toshizō in Nichiro Daisensō (The Great Russo-Japanese War); at the Kokka-za, Nakano Nobuchika in Manshū no Fubuki (Blizzard in Manchuria); at the Masago-za, Ii Yōhō in Seiro no Kōgun (The Imperial Army that Vanquishes the Russians). In May, Fujisawa, Satō, Nakano, and Kojima appeared at the Kabuki-za in Emi Suiin’s Senkōtei (Undersea Boat).

On February 25 Fujisawa Asajirō left for Korea with a photographer and a painter as members of a “Shimpa Actor’s War-inspection Troupe” (Shimpa Haiyū Senchi Shisatsu-tai). The project was of course inspired by Kawakami’s battle report on the Sino-Japanese War. In May, Kawakami himself appeared at the Hongō-za in a program called Senkyō Hōkoku Engeki (Battle Report Drama), an attempt to win back some of his old glory.

In Osaka at about the same time Senchi Kembunroku (Battle Report) was presented at the Asahi-za, and the Ryōjun-kō Kanraku (Fall of Port Arthur) at the Naniwa-za.

In September of that year the Shimpa success Hototogisu (Cuckoo) was presented at the Tokyo-za by a company of Kabuki actors under Shikan and Komazō, a development of considerable significance. In June of the previous year Kawakami’s company had presented Takayasu Gekkō’s Edo-jō no Akewatashi (Surrender of Edo Castle) at the Meiji-za. Shikan, Baikō, Kakitsu, and Komazō had all seen it and had presented their views in the Jiji Shimpō. Those views represented a clear challenge to the growing “enemy camp.” Kawakami sent letters replying to Shikan and Komazō, while Satō, Fukui, Fujisawa, and Takada proposed a joint production with the
Kabuki actors. The invitation was not accepted. That the Kabuki should even so have presented a Shimpa play suggested a clear victory for the new school.

In January, 1905, the Shimpa presented a dramatization of the novel Chikyōdai (Foster Sisters) at the Hongō-za, and the same month Shikan and Komazō again presented a successful Shimpa play at the Tokyo-za. The public was thus treated to an unexpected contest between the new and old schools. As one can see from Miki Takeji’s comparative review in Kabuki, the new play was considered inappropriate for the Kabuki.

A number of Meiji Shimpa successes are still played occasionally: Hototogisu (Cuckoo), Chikyōdai (Foster Sisters), Konjiki Yasha (Demon Gold), Onoga Tsumi (My Crime), Nasanu Naka (Step-Mother). All of them were based on domestic novels, a fact indicative of the change that had come to the Shimpa since its beginnings. The Shimpa of Sudō and Kawakami in the third decade of the Meiji Era had at first been political, and had presently changed to dramatization of sensational news stories, of crime novels, and of semi-fictional “true detective stories” (tantei jitsuwa). Iwasaki Shunka, author of Mata Igai, was the first specialized writer for the Shimpa. He was a disciple of the third Kawatake Shinshichi, and as a playwright for the Kabuki he had taken the name Takeshiba Shinzō.

Toward the end of the century adaptation of newspaper serials for the stage came into vogue. Konjiki Yasha (Demon Gold) was first performed in 1897, Onoga Tsumi (My Crime) in 1900, and Hototogisu (Cuckoo) in 1901, all either in Tokyo or in Osaka. The critic of today may find them oldfashioned, but it was a great advance indeed for the Shimpa to be presenting plays of literary merit—the Shimpa that had been offering such works as Mumei no Dokuyaku (A Nameless Poison) and Denki no Shikei (Death by Electrocution). It took some ten years to make the step. The Shimpa had begun to acquire some feeling of security by the time Kabuki actors were
finally prepared to play in Onoga Tsumi (My Crime).

In March, 1905, Shikan and Komazō appeared at the Tokyo-za in a third Shimpa play, an adaptation of Kosugi Tengai’s novel Makaze Koikaze (Wind of the Devil, Wind of Love). The same month Satō and Fujisawa presented a very successful dramatization of Taguchi Kikutei’s Shinshōgai (A New Life) at the Hongō-za. (Ii had presented this same Shinshōgai slightly earlier at the Masago-za.)

In July the Hongō-za added Takada and Kawai to its company, and in a series of productions thereafter that theatre maintained a lead over its rivals. In March, 1906, Ii came from the Masago-za to join the cast of Nobi (Fire in the Fields) by Iwasaki Shunka. Thus began the grand Shimpa coalition. Since the third decade of the Meiji Era, the school had seen a vast number of alliances and separations, and now for the first time it seemed to have in the Hongō-za a stable base.

9. THE HONGŌ-ZA PERIOD

The great age of the Shimpa coalition may be called “the Hongō-za Period.” The Hongō-za had been through the most extreme vicissitudes since the days when it was the Haruki-za. It was burned down and rebuilt twice. Though it had failed to prosper even after it became the Hongō-za in March, 1902, the first Tokyo performance of Hototogisu in April, 1903, with Fujisawa, Kinoshita Kichinosuke, and Satō in the leading roles, was a great success, and the foundation was laid for the theatre’s following in the University quarter. In June Fujisawa and Satō moved to the Tokyo-za for a performance of Konjiki Yasha, but in July they were back at the Hongō-za in Onoga-Tsumi. It was the age of “high Shimpa tragedy” (Shimpa dai-higeki), which served to consolidate the Hongō-za’s position.

There were at the time two other Shimpa companies in Tokyo: the Ii company playing at the Masago-za and the
Ichimura-za, and the Mizuno company, entrenched in the Asakusa Tokiwa-za. Takada Minoru, Kitamura Rokurō, Akizuki Keitarō, and Saori Keiichirō had their own "new theatre," its base at the Asahi-za in Osaka. Twice in 1903 Takada went alone to Tokyo to appear with the Kawakami company and others, the first time as Iago in Othello, and the second time as Saigō in Edo-jō no Akewatashi. He later played in Konjiki Yasha and Onoga Tsumi at the Tokyo-za, and returned to Osaka after having created something of a sensation in Tokyo.

Kawai, who had been in Tokyo playing with Ii, joined the company slightly before Takada's return. Almost simultaneously Kitamura moved to the Temma-za. He had raised the banner of the new theatre with Akizuki in April, 1900, after the break-up of the Seibidan. His motives for leaving the Asahi-za, that centre of resistance to the old style theatre in the Benten-za next door, must therefore have been complicated ones, but unfortunately they are not clear. He no doubt left in search of something new and fresh. The Russo-Japanese War intervened before he had a chance to find it. Kitamura was then thirty-two.

Somewhat earlier, in February, 1901, an all-star performance had been held at the Asahi-za for a week to welcome Kawakami back from abroad. It is recorded (in Shimpa no Rokujūnen /Sixty Years of the Shimpa/) that at a meeting of the actors Kawakami took it upon himself to point out to Kitamura the virtue of respecting one's elders—a sign that actors not in the Kawakami line had reached positions of considerable eminence in the Shimpa.

Kitamura had appeared regularly at the Asahi-za with Takada, Saori, and Akizuki, but he finally parted company with his old comrades and in January, 1904, presented Chikyōdai in competition with them.

For his own presentation of Chikyōdai, Takada offered his theatre manager "seven principles for improved management." In June the matter came to open disagreement, and Takada and Kawai left for Tokyo.
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After another month at the Temma-za, Kitamura returned to the Asahi-za, where he appeared in Francesca, based on The Divine Comedy, and in Urami (Malice) and Mukui (Revenge), adaptations of the Count of Monte Cristo. It is an interesting fact that Kitamura, who so disliked Kawakami, seems to have been influenced by Kawakami’s “true theatre.”

Takada and Kawai appeared at the Hongō-za in September, later for one run at the Meiji-za with Kawakami, and then again at the Hongō-za.

Kitamura, left behind in Osaka, played at the Asahi-za until May, 1906. In September, 1905, the three Dōtombori theatres staged competing versions of Hototogisu, an event worth recording beside the appearance of Tokyo Kabuki actors in Shimpa plays. In Osaka leading actors of the new and the old schools were pitted against each other: Akizuki and Kitamura in the leading male and female roles respectively at the Asahi-za, Unosuke and Shibajaku at the Naka-za, and Ganjirō and Shikan at the Benten-za.

In March, 1905, the Enjirō-Gatō company had presented Chikyōdai at the Kado-za. Female impersonators for the Kabuki had come to imitate female impersonators for the Shimpa.

10. KAWAI AND KITAMURA

Kawai and Kitamura, contrasting players of women’s roles, were making rapid progress.

Kawai had left ii’s company in 1903 and gone to Osaka. When in June, 1904, he returned to Tokyo with Takada, he appeared at the Masago-za and with Kawakami at the Meiji-za. Presently he settled at the Hongō-za. He played there in Hakushaku Fujin (The Countess) in 1906, and the following month returned again to Osaka. Alone among actors of the new school, he appeared with Gató and Taminosuke in Sappho at the Benten-za—another in a most ambitious and brilliant
series of undertakings. In January, 1907, Ii and Kawai were together at the Shintomi-za for the first time in four years. For the remainder of the year Kawai appeared chiefly with Ii at that theatre.

The previous year Takada, deserted by Kawai and in search of a player of women’s roles, had invited Kitamura up from Osaka. In June Kitamura appeared on the Tokyo stage for the first time in twelve years in Yanagawa Shunyō’s Yadorigi (Mistletoe).

The Hongō-za period was still in progress. The fourth program, Satō Kōroku’s Kyōenroku (Chronicle of Passion), firmly established Kitamura, the “returned prodigal,” in the Tokyo theatre. The strong performances of Fujisawa and Takada in other leading roles made the production a memorable one in the history of the Shimpa.

Playwrights for the Shimpa had fallen into certain mannerisms. For the most part they produced adaptations of old works. Even at Ii’s Masago-za, which sought originality and freshness, Takeshiba Manji of the Kawatake school, and Fukuzawa Seisaku and Hatakeyama Kohei, who had experience as actors, were guilty of the fault. Osanai Kaoru was perhaps an exception with his translation of Romeo and Juliet. Kōroku, an anonymous writer of theatre criticism for the Yomiuri Shimbun, offered original plays and brought fresh literature to the Shimpa. Thus a new path was opened in the fifth decade of the Meiji Period.

11. THE GRAND COALITION

Satō Kōroku wrote five plays for the Shimpa: Hana no Yume (Dream of a Flower) in February, 1907, Kumo no Hibiki (Sound of the Clouds) in March, 1907, Kochi Monogatari (Tale of the East Wind) in January, 1908, Haru no Uta (Spring Song) in February, 1908, and Ushio (Tide) in October, 1908. Kochi Monogatari and Haru no Uta were written for the Shimpa
all-star "coalition," the other three for Takada. The coalition in question played at the Tokyo-za, not at the Hongō-za.

Ihara Toshirō has described in great detail in his Dan-Kiku Igo (Since Danjūrō and Kikugorō) why this came to be. In September, 1907, Sano Tensei's Dainō (Large-scale Farmer), the Ibsen-inspired prize-winner in a contest sponsored by the Miyako Shimbun, had been presented at the Hongō-za. For the first three days Takada gave an admirable performance before guests invited to celebrate publication of the seventy-third number of the Miyako Shimbun. On the fourth day, however, he asked that revisions be made. Since the playwright agreed, no particular problem arose; but Takada had been notorious for rewriting plays, and his attitude on this occasion was somewhat unreasonable. The Tokyo-za took advantage of the disagreement between actor and management to lure the Shimpa from the Hongō-za, and in January and February, 1908, presented its own all-star production. The listing of the actors has survived. Fujisawa received the third-ranking position at the head of the cast, followed by Kitamura, Fukuzawa, Aoki, Mizuno, Takada (at the centre of the list, the second-ranking position), Satō, Gomi, Kinoshita, Kawai, and Ii (head of the troupe, always listed last).

The fact that through the good offices of Kawakami a Shin-haiyū Daidō Danketsu (Grand Coalition of New Actors) was formed in 1907 with two hundred thirty members, and the Shimpa chose to adopt the traditional Kabuki listing for its actors perhaps indicates, as Sekine Mokuan has suggested in his Meiji Gekidan Gojūnenshi (A Half Century of the Meiji Theatre), that "the Shimpa had acquired a margin of safety", and that "it had come to stay." The Meiji Shimpa was in full bloom.

The coalition at the Tokyo-za lasted but two months. In March Ii and Kitamura formed an alliance, and Kawai returned to Takada. The Ii-Kitamura combination presented a new version of Hototogisu and a dramatization of Izumi Kyōka's novel Onna
Keizu (In the Female Line) in September, 1908. Kitamura returned to the Kansai for a time in 1909. In 1910 he was back in Tokyo, appearing with Ii in the first performance of Shirasagi (White Heron).

12. LATE MEIJI STAGNATION

The year 1909 brought a reverse in the fortunes of the Shimpa. The principal reason was the scarcity of plays, but the Shimpa was also beginning to reap the harvest of its failure to take action in and about 1907, when the Bungei Kyōkai (Literary Society) and the Jiyū Gekijō (Free Theatre) seemed in process of being formed.

This was also the day when Kawakami Otojirō was having his try at theatre management, and when his joyū yōseijo (school for actresses) was training actresses shortly to appear on the stage of the Imperial Theatre.

The Yūraku-za was opened in November, 1908, an ideal stage for the new theatre. In autumn of 1909, Shōchiku bought the Shintomi-za, and in the summer of 1910 the Hongō-za.

In this time of ferment, there was restlessness too in the Shimpa.

In November, 1908, the actor Fujisawa Asajirō founded his Tokyo Haiyū Yōseijo (Tokyo Actor’s School). The actors who were graduated from the school will be discussed later.

In April, 1909, Takada appeared at the Hongō-za in Yamazaki Shikō’s Kōmei. Technically it was a superior production, but it was not well received. In September, 1910, at the same Hongō-za, Takada, Ii, and Kitamura presented Biwa Uta (Lute Song). The performances of the three were hailed as the ultimate in the art of the Shimpa, but attendance was bad. Shōchiku, loath to repeat the failure (the first production under Shōchiku management), brought Kawai, Fujisawa, and Satō in November to join the other three in an all-star production of
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Nakazato Kaizan’s *Kōya no Gijin* (The Virtuous Man of Kōya), a remarkable success for the late-Meiji Shimpa.

The same month *Shinjidaigeki Kyōkai* (The New Age Theatre Society), a company organized by the Shimpa actor Inoue Masao and attached to the Yūraku-za, presented its first production. In October, 1913, the *Kōshū Gekidan* (Public Theatre Company) was founded by Kawai Takeo and Matsui Shōyō. Both projects seem to have come to nothing, but one cannot deny that there were abundant reasons why the Shimpa was striving to move in a new direction.

Satō Kōroku wrote a play for Takada in April, 1912, and thereafter left the theatre. Kojima Koshū, who had begun writing slightly earlier, took his place as the Hongō-za’s staff playwright. In January, 1915, Mayama Seika wrote his first play, which was Takada’s last. With his “Mayama-style” dramatizations of novels, the playwright was of a great service to the Shimpa of the late Taishō Era.

The Shimpa of the Taishō Era was an extension of the late-Meiji Shimpa. Shingeki (The New Theatre) was rising, while the Kabuki was reviving under the Shōchiku system of monthly performances. The Shimpa, on the other hand, no longer showed the life it had once had. It cut a somewhat limited swathe until, in Ii’s and Kawai’s last years, the popularity of the Taishō-reared female impersonator Hanayagi Shōtarō and treatments of geisha and literary themes brought signs of a revival, and presently the Shōwa all-star “coalition.” The observer today sees that, though the Shimpa had come to a standstill with Takada Minoru, the advance from the rather childish theatre begun by Sudō and Kawakami was like the transformation of a caterpillar into a butterfly. The Shimpa had its assemblies of stars who were no longer the “sōshi” and “shosei” of an earlier age, who were envied on occasion by even Kabuki actors. In the way it reflects turn for turn Japan on the rise, the Shimpa may be said to symbolize the Meiji Era.
Chapter Five

THE NEW-THEATRE MOVEMENT (SHINGEKI UNDŌ)

1. THE IMPORTATION OF IBSEN

As the Shimpa was beginning to harden, the first movements toward a newer theatre were quietly taking place.

Ibsen was still living in Christiania when, in 1901, his works were introduced to Japan by Takayasu Gekkō in a volume of Waseda Sōsho called Ibsen no Shakaigeki (The Social Drama of Ibsen). Included in the volume were complete translations of An Enemy of the People and A Doll's House. An incomplete version of the former had been serialized ten years earlier in Dōshisha Bungaku (three numbers beginning with No. 63).

We may say that it was with the fourth decade of the Meiji Era, however, that the influence of Ibsen began to be felt strongly.

In July, 1906, Waseda Bungaku published an “Ibsen commemorative issue”, and the first issue of the first of the magazines called Shinshichō, published in September, 1907, and four succeeding issues carried a symposium on Ibsen. The symposium was the record, taken down in shorthand by Akita Ujaku, then twenty-five, of a meeting of the Ibsen Society, which included among its members the novelists Tayama Katai, Iwano Hōmei, and Shimazaki Tōson, the poet Kambara Yūmei, the poet and student of folk-lore Yanagida Kunio, the student of English literature Hasegawa Tenkei, and the playwright Osanai Kaoru.

The Society was, according to Tayama Katai, a successor to the group of writers and painters called the Ryūdo Society
from the name of the house where some of its meetings were held. Katai has this to say in *Tokyo no Sanjūnen* (*Thirty Years in Tokyo*).

"There seem to have been *Ghosts* and *The Wild Duck* and *Little Eyolf* and two or three others. Y's (Author's note: Yanagita Kunio's) elegant, self-possessed face stood out clearly in what little of the evening sunlight the western-style room admitted. A. (Author's note: Akita Ujaku?) sat at his ease on the long sofa, now and then giving his views. 'What do you suppose it means, that white horse? It's a strange symbol', he would say of *Rosmersholm*.

"The debate was fairly lively over *The Wild Duck*. Was it best to speak out boldly with what one thought? Was it good or bad to fling a rock into a quiet life of compromise? That seems to have been the question. 'I have no idea here which side Ibsen is on!' said Y. 'Sometimes he seems to be recognizing his own faults and pulling up short of telling everything.'

"The debate was lively too over the conflict between new thought and old. Everyone said exactly what suited him. There was considerable research into magazines and essays for the meetings, and now and then someone would come with a fair amount of really unusual material. O. (Author's note: Osanai Kaoru) in particular, deeply versed as he was in the theatre, brought photographs of foreign actors playing Ibsen roles.

"We would talk for an hour or two, and when we had decided what we would talk about at the next meeting we would move on into the Japanese room to eat beef, perhaps, which we cooked for ourselves, or foreign food ordered from outside."

According to the writer Masamune Hakuchō, who was also a member of the group, the Ibsen Society was a sort of accessory to the magazine *Shinshichō*. When Osanai Kaoru started his *Jiyū Gekijō* (Free Theatre) movement in 1909, the
names listed as advisers were for the most part names also found in the Ibsen Society, and it was no accident that an Ibsen play was picked for the company's first production. Earlier translations by Gekkō and Mori Ōgai had attracted little attention; but it would be no exaggeration to say that the fourth decade of the Meiji Era was the Ibsen Era.

In and after 1909 Ōgai translated John Gabriel Borkman, A Doll's House, and Ghosts. Also in 1909, Chiba Kikkō's Hedda Gabler was published. Meanwhile Shōyō, who wrote an introduction for the latter work, was giving the semi-weekly lectures at Waseda University that were to be included in his Ibsen Kenkyū (Ibsen Research).

There was scarcely a playwright who was not influenced by Ibsen. Mayama Seika's Daiichi-ninsha (Man of the First Rank), published in 1907 and first performed by the New Age Theatre Association (Shinjidaigeki Kyōkai) in 1911, was clearly based on Borkman. The influence of Ibsen is also strong in Seika's Umarezarishi Naraba (If One Had Not Been Born). Satō Kōroku, who began as a writer for the Shimpa, was enough of an admirer of Ibsen that he translated Little Eyolf, and his own plays—Kumo no Hibiki (Sound of the Clouds) and Haiba (Worn-out Horse), for instance—have social and intellectual messages quite unprecedented in the Japanese drama.

Nakamura Kichizō, who had gone to Europe in 1906 and returned in 1909, published Bokushi no Ie (The Minister's House) in 1910, and in October of the same year had it produced by Shinshakai Gekidan (The New Social Theatre), which he headed. The company disbanded after two productions, but Nakamura continued to write Ibsenesque social dramas. His Nami (Waves) in particular has a heroine who is very like Nora of A Doll's House.

The influence of Brand is to be seen in Tensei's prize-winning Dainō (Large-scale Farmer), which has been mentioned in the chapter on the Shimpa. The trend of the times is apparent also in the titles of some of his later works: Kashikoki Hito
(The Wise Man), Ishi (Will), Fushi no Chikai (The Deathless Vow).

With Ibsen so widely read and so widely imitated, his influence could not but be a powerful one toward the rise of a new theatre. It was an age when Japan, victorious in the Russo-Japanese War, was on the ascendant. Matsui Shōyō set out for Europe on the first passenger boat to leave after the war, and Ichikawa Sadanji soon followed. Presently, in 1909, the latter started his Free Theatre with an Ibsen play.

Even earlier, the work of Tsubouchi Shōyō had shown signs of jarring the theatre world. It would perhaps be best to look for a moment at this new development.

2. TSUBOUCHI SHŌYŌ

We have seen above how the theatre reform movements of the third decade of the Meiji Era came to nothing. They were premature. Society had not reached a stage of enlightenment where acceptance of the reformers' views was possible.

Tsubouchi Shōyō, who had stood in opposition to the theatre reform group headed by Suematsu Kenchō, had from about the same time formulated his own ideas on theatre reform, and had set to work on a long-range plan for putting them into effect.

Tsubouchi was born in Mino Province. At the age of sixteen he entered the Aichi Prefecture English-language School. Subsequently he moved to Tokyo and graduated from Tokyo University, and in 1883, at the age of twenty-four, he founded his own school. With an ardor and intensity very common among Meiji pioneers, he devoted his seventy-six years to spreading enlightenment.

In 1884, after Itagaki Taisuke had returned from Europe and published his theories on reforming society and when the rage for things European was at its height, Tsubouchi published his translation of Shakespeare's Julius Caesar. He was a member
of Engei Kōsūkai (The Society for Betterment of the Entertainments) of 1888 and of its successor, Nihon Engei Kyōkai (The Japan Entertainments Society), on whose literary committee he served. In September, 1889, he was asked by Danjūrō, Kikugorō, and Sadanji at a committee meeting to write a play about the seventh-century statesman Fujiwara Kamatarī. He finished two of four acts, later produced by Bunseki Kyōkai (The Literature Society) at the Hongō-za as Daigokuden (Great Hall of State).

In 1890 he gathered a group of students at his house to study Shakespeare. While he was teaching at the Tokyo Semmon Gakkō (Tokyo Academy) he founded his Rōdokuhō Kenkyūkai (Elocution Society), which included among its members Sekine Masanao and Aeba Kōson. The project was perhaps suggested by the Shakespeare lectures.

Tsubouchi Shōyō was blessed with a fine voice, and his days in the Aichi English Language School he had studied elocution under a foreign teacher. He was particularly interested in the laws of pronunciation and in forensic techniques. He was greatly stimulated by the art of the comic story-teller Sanyūtei Enchō and the actor Danjūrō. Another memorable event in his development was a playreading in November, 1891, at the residence of Takahashi Kenzō, director of Kampōkyoku (The Official Gazette Bureau), by that survivor of the Edo Theatre, Kawatake Mokuami.

Shōyō was beginning to think of writing historical plays. He had his young followers put on a production of Mokuami's Jishin Katō (Kato's Fidelity at the Fushimi Earthquake) while he was still in his thirties.

From about 1894, when he wrote Kiri Hitoha (A Leaf of Paulownia), he began practical research on elocution with his play readings. It was in 1905 that his group came to be known as Ekisūkai (The Society for Reforming Manners). Each time he read one of his plays, his young disciples, excited at the emergence of a theatre quite outside the world of Danjūrō and
Kikugorō, would urge immediate production. Shōyō quietly awaited his opportunity however. Minaguchi Biyō, who with Doi Shunsho was a charter member of the Elocution Society, has written in *Zenki Bungei Kyōkai* (The Literary Society in its Early Period) that seven or eight years passed while Shōyō was thus admonishing his followers to bide their time. That was in a less hurried age than today, but even so one cannot but be surprised at Shōyō’s patience.

Besides Doi and Minaguchi, Tōgi Tetteki, Ōtorii Kōjō, and Hatakeyama Kohei became members of a five-man governing committee. They met once or twice a month on the grounds of the Akagi Shrine in Ushigome, Tokyo.

In 1902 the Tokyo Academy became Waseda University, and its *Zokkyoku Kenkyūkai* (Society for the Study of Plebeian Music) was founded. In 1904 Kaneko Umaji and in 1905 Shimamura Hōgetsu returned from abroad.

During the ten years that had elapsed, Tsubouchi Shōyō had written a number of historical plays, and had set his eye on the new movement in the dance. Finally he decided that his moment had come.

Upon Shimamura Hōgetsu’s return to Japan, the group that had in April, 1905, become the *Ekisūkai* emerged as *Bungei Kyōkai* (The Literary Society). The initiative in forming the latter Society was not Shōyō’s, but he made all the arrangements for the observances on February 17, 1906, at which its activities were officially launched. Three actors were among the guests: Ichikawa Sadanji, Ichikawa Danshi (later the second Ennosuke), and Kawakami Otojirō. A special feature of the day’s program was *Imoseyama* (Mt. Imose), an adaptation by Nagai Kūgai of one act of a Kabuki play, with sets by western-style painters and with the dialogue in the manner of the Nara Era. This novelty was well received.

On November 10 of the same year, the dramatic-arts section (*engeibu*) of the Literary Society presented a special production at the Kabuki-za of the court scene from *The Merchant of
Venice, translated by Shōyō; two scenes from his Kiri Hitoha; and his Tokoyami (Eternal Darkness). The latter included a chorus of a hundred ten voices, and was in a sense a forerunner of the Japanese-style opera.

For four days from November 22, 1907, a second programme, was presented at the Hongō-za: Tsubouchi Shōyō’s translation of Hamlet, his Daigokuden (Great Hall of State), revised by Sugiya Daisui, and his Shinkyoku Urashima (New Urashima). The fact that this second program ran four days shows that the Literary Society was making progress, Shōyō, with the title technical adviser (gigei komon), was thereafter pushed to the fore as de facto director of the organization.

When the Society decided to establish a research centre, Tsubouchi took full responsibility for the plans and donated land for a building. It is with this development, in February, 1909, that the late period of the Literary Society begins.

3. THE LITERARY SOCIETY IN ITS LATER YEARS

Bungei Kyōkai (The Literary Society) was originally planned as a broad literary movement to be developed in Waseda University. It was generally inactive, however, except for the publication of the magazine Waseda Bungaku, and the drama section under Tsubouchi Shōyō and Shimamura Hōgetsu, at first but one branch, presently came to take over the name of the parent organization.

The by-laws of the group were published in March, 1909, and instruction was begun in May. At first a house was rented near Shōyō’s residence, but in September the research centre’s own building was completed. A total of twenty-five research students were enrolled in the first class.

Shōyō considered the centre’s mission to be the training of actors who had no previous experience in the theatre. The first two years were to be devoted to general education. He
disliked the atmosphere of the professional theatres, and considered it necessary to train amateurs, and amateurs as cultivated as he could find, if the cultural level of the theatre was to be improved. His approach stands in contrast to that of Osanai Kaoru and the Free Theatre. The latter brought Kabuki actors into the new theatre, in effect making amateurs of professionals. The two movements, the Literary Society and the Free Theatre (because they emerged at about the same time they call constantly for comparison), thus differed on the question of whether "professionals" were to be made "amateur," or the reverse.

Courses at the Literary Society’s research centre included Shōyō on Hamlet, on applied psychology, on elocution, and on acting (jitsuen); Kaneko Umaji on the philosophy of art (geijutsu tetsugaku); Shimamura Hōgetsu on English conversation (taiwa) and A Doll’s House; Ihara Toshirō on the history of the Kabuki; Tōgi Tetteki on vocal music and on expression through gestures: Doi Shunsho on elocution and an acting; Matsui Shōyō on vocalization (hasseihō) and on acting; Fujima Kabuhachi and Tsubouchi Daizō on Japanese dancing; Ichikawa Shōroku on stage manoeuvres (tachimawari); and Kohayakawa Seitarō and Tsubouchi Daizō on the Nō comic interlude (Nō kyōgen). The lectures were of rather a high order.

The entrance fee was three yen, and the monthly tuition three yen. It was assumed from the start that the centre would lose money. Shōyō did not have as his aim the production of a marketable commodity, but the Literary Society was surprisingly soon taken up by the Imperial Theatre.

From March, 1910, the year after the founding of the centre, four performances of Hamlet, little more than rough rehearsals, were presented on the centre’s private stage. Subsequently the Literary Society was reorganized with Shōyō as chairman.

The full five acts of Hamlet were presented at the Imperial Theatre for a week from May 20, 1911. Aside from the matter of whether it would make a profit, there were considerable doubts about the artistic merits of a production by amateurs
with but two years of training. Indeed the performance was a rough one. Tōgi played Claudius, Doi played Hamlet, and the actress Matsui Sumako the part of Ophelia. Shōyō is said to have frayed the skirt of his hakama walking back and forth between the dressing rooms and the audience each day. This earnestness suggests the contrast between the Literary Society and the Free Theatre. Shōyō was at the time fifty-two.

In September, 1911, a practice theatre was completed next door to the centre proper, and the same month A Doll’s House was presented there. Shōyō next planned introducing Shakespeare’s four great tragedies, but the Imperial Theatre asked for A Doll’s House as it had been presented at the practice theatre. The Literary Society’s second appearance at the Imperial Theatre thus took place in November. Doi, Matsui Sumako, and Tōgi headed the cast. Two dance dramas were also presented, as well as the court scene from The Merchant of Venice.

The Imperial Theatre paid a fee two thousand yen for each performance. To the Literary Society, financed privately by Shōyō, this was no trifling amount. Hamlet and A Doll’s House were taken to Osaka for a week at the Kado-za and the Naka-za respectively. Shōyō went along to give explanatory lectures. The year 1911 brought the Literary Society to perhaps its highest point. From about the time of its third production the love affair between Shimamura Hōgetsu and Matsui Sumako began to present complications. Soon the scandal had developed to such proportions that it shook the Waseda campus and led to the dissolution of the Society. The conflict was between Shōyō the educator on the one hand, and liberated youth on the other, and at the centre of it was Matsui Sumako, an actress who rose like a comet and whose fame was such that she dominated a generation.

Matsui Sumako was born in Nagano Prefecture. She moved to Tokyo at the age of seventeen, and was twice married. It was through the good offices of her second husband that she entered Shōyō’s research centre. A rustic, uncultured girl, she
had an intensity and enthusiasm that quite set her apart from her fellows. She set about training herself with boldness and singleness of purpose, and she literally jumped from the ABC's to Shakespeare, reading from the latter's works with a Japanese pronunciation guide between the lines. She was no beauty, but she had a good physique and a certain magnetism that made Shōyō single her out early for leading roles. Her appeal lay less in her art than in her freshness, and in one short year her performances as Nora and Ophelia brought her fame.

The choice of Sudermann's *Heimat* for the Society’s next production, in May, 1912, was dictated by the success of *A Doll’s House*, and by a desire to capitalize on the new star. The production was at the Yūraku-za, and management was in the hands of the Society itself. Expenses were covered by advance sales alone. The house was full for seven days of the ten-day run.

After the run at the Yūraku-za, the police forbade further production of the work on the grounds that the heroine’s relations with her father were improper. An Osaka production was scheduled, and Shimamura Hōgetsu succeeded in having the ban lifted on condition that the play be revised. The incident caused something of a furor in the literary and intellectual world, and was the first page in the history of censorship of the new theatre. The Literary Society and Matsui Sumako became more famous than ever.

4. SHIMAMURA HŌGETSU AND MATSUI SUMAKO

In June and July *Heimat* was taken to Osaka, Kyoto, and Nagoya. The censorship incident had only served to publicize the company, and financially the tour was a great success. Nagoya being Shōyō’s home ground, he planned a ten-day run there as in Osaka. News came of the Emperor’s indisposition, however, and the company returned to Tokyo after but three
days.
Complications were meanwhile arising over Matsui Sumako. The Society was at the peak of its prosperity, when from an unexpected quarter it was plunged into a crisis. Shōyō had been severe with members of the Society and had insisted on the resignation of the individuals concerned whenever he heard of an improper love affair. Now, however, the affair was between Shōyō’s principle and best-liked disciple and the actress who was in a sense the Society’s most valuable property. Resentment arose within the Society, and Shōyō was put in an extremely difficult position. Acting with determination, he moved Shimamura Högetsu into the background and turned instead to Matsui Shōyō, who had withdrawn from the theatre world upon the failure of Sadanji’s venture in the reformed theatre but who had later become one of Tsubouchi Shōyō’s followers. Högetsu, who has left behind in plays and poems a record of his violent love for her, refused to sever his relations with Sumako.

The Society’s first productions in the new Taishō Era were both directed by Matsui: Shaw’s You Never Can Tell for ten days at the Yūraku-za from November 16, 1912, and Meyer-Förster’s Alt Heidelberg for two weeks at the Yūraku-za from February 1, 1913. Since both were popular plays, the Literary Society was criticized for going plebeian, and there was also criticism of Shōyō for having dismissed Högetsu. Within the Society, hostility was growing toward Tōgi and Doi, who were among the managers.

Högetsu and Sumako left the Society to organize their own company. Sumako’s resignation, at the request of the Society, came on May 31, 1913. Somewhat earlier the Society’s second group of apprentice actors had resigned en masse to join Högetsu. Högetsu’s resignation was accepted with Sumako’s, and in effect the Society had cut away its ailing parts. The incident was taken up by the newspaper Yorozu chōhō, however, and presently Högetsu’s romance was sensational news throughout
the country. For a time even the fate of Waseda University seemed to hang in the balance.

Shōyō said nothing about the affair at the time, but he set down his anguish in the play *En no Gyōja*, published five years later. The relationship between *En no Gyōja* and his disciple is clearly that between Shōyō and Hōgetsu, while the woman who troubles the disciple is clearly Sumako.

Hōgetsu organized a new company called the Geijutsu-za. The Literary Society was disbanded after the sixth presentation of *Julius Caesar* at the Imperial Theatre in June, 1913. Administratively the dissolution occurred on July 27.

The Society thus came to an unfortunate end, but the stimulus it gave to the new theatre movement was a considerable one. At the very least, one notes when one compares it with Fujisawa’s training centre that the curriculum evolved under its academic organization made reasonably accomplished actors of amateurs in a remarkably short time. This may be attributed to Shōyō’s practical acumen and his vision as an innovator. The Literary Society, in contrast with the Free Theatre, was an adult that knew the world,

5. THREE LINES OF SUCCESSION FROM THE LITERARY SOCIETY

Two companies besides the Geijutsu-za were organized by members of the Literary Society, and all three made their contributions to the Taishō theatre. Although it will take us beyond the field of the Meiji theatre, we may complete our picture of the Literary Society by looking at its successors.

The Geijutsu-za’s first program, for ten days at the Yūraku-za from September 19, 1913, consisted of Maeterlinck’s *Monna Vanna* and *Intérieur*. In the cast were Sumako, Sawada Shōjirō, Kurahashi Sentarō, and Nakai Tetsu. The run was a great success. Sumako next played in *Salome* and Ibsen’s *The Lady from the Sea*, and in March, 1914, she played Katusha in
Tolstoy's *Resurrection* at the Imperial Theatre. Her “Katusha’s Song,” a sentimental melody composed by Nakayama Shimpei, became popular and sold twenty-thousand records. Encouraged by this success, Hōgetsu determined to turn his company into a commercial theatre. The Geijutsu-za thereafter had runs at the Kabuki-za, the Tokyo-za, the Meiji-za, and the Shintomi-za, and even at the Tokiwa-za in Asakusa. Hōgetsu’s vision of a “new theatre for the masses” thus became a reality. The troupe toured the country with *Resurrection*, and went abroad to Formosa, Korea, Manchuria, and Vladivostok, an undertaking quite without precedent.

Sumako revived her Literary Society roles as Magda and Nora, and appeared in adaptations of foreign works: *Anna Karenina*, Tolstoy’s *The Power of Darkness*, Shakespeare’s *Antony and Cleopatra*, Tolstoy’s *The Living Corpse*, Hauptmann’s *Die versunkene Glocke*. She was also seen in original plays by Hōgetsu and by Nakamura Kichizō.

The Geijutsu-za was a commercial success and Sumako won fame and position. She was an arrogant ruler over the company and even over Hōgetsu, and resentment at her excesses was strong. Sawada Shōjirō and other actors left the theatre in protest. While the Geijutsu-za did undertake certain honest experiments, it for the most part fell to the level of popular art. Hōgetsu knew what he was doing, but criticism was intense. He died of pneumonia on November 5, 1918, at the age of forty-six, before he could make his rebuttal. His death was so sudden that Sumako was unable to reach his bedside. It was a great shock to her. She succeeded him as head of the theatre, and in January, 1919, appeared at the Yūraku-za in *Carmen*, and as Okichi in Nakamura Kichizō’s *Niku-ten* (Butcher Shop). Before dawn on January 5 she hanged herself, thus putting an end to a brilliant but unstable career.

The Geijutsu-za is remembered for Sumako and for her songs. It was as her song writer that Nakayama Shimpei made his début in the musical world. The company was soon disbanded.
Sawada Shōjirō had organized his *Shinkokugeki* (New National Theatre) in March, 1917, and most of the members of the Geijutsu-za joined him.

Doi Shunsho and Tōgi Tetteki, who had been on the staff of the earlier Literary Society under Shōyō, and Ikeda Taigo, who had been the director (*engei shunin*) of the reorganized Society, formed the *Mumeikai* (Nameless Society) and presented *Othello* for six days from January 26, 1914. From that date until May, 1917, the Society presented plays, chiefly at the Yūrakuzu-za, for runs of about a week on an average of once every other month. The group was disbanded when Tōgi joined the Shimpa. Ikeda was in complete charge of direction and most of his plays were first presented by the *Mumeikai*, which also presented Shaw’s *Arms and the Man*, Tolstoy’s *The Living Corpse*, *Magda*, *Macbeth*, and *Crime and Punishment*. Magda was played by Nakamura Kikue of the Imperial Theatre company, and her performance was said to rival that of Sumako in the same role.

Another group claiming descent from the Literary Society was *Butai Kyōkai* (The Stage Association), built principally around Sasaki Tsumoru, Mori Eijirō, Katō Seiichi, and Yokogawa Tadaji. Its first production, at the Yūrakuzu-za in December, 1913, was of Shaw’s *The Devil’s Disciple* and von Scholtz’s *Der Besiegte*. It also gave performances of *The Merchant of Venice*, *Alt Heidelberg*, Hauptmann’s *Fuhrmann Henschel* and *Hannels Himmelfahrt*, and Strindberg’s *The Father*. From about 1918, the entire cast and staff joined the Imperial Theatre, and the troupe was in effect disbanded. The mark left by alumni of the Literary Society on the new theatre was an impressive one. That organization and the Free Theatre, which will be discussed next, aroused the enthusiasm of the younger generation and stimulated the theatre revival of the early Taishō Era.

In October, 1912, Kamiyama Sōjin and Iba Takashi organized *Kindaigeki Kyōkai* (The Modern Theatre Association), while
Aoyama Sugisaku and Murata Minoru organized the *Toride-sha*. Iba broke with the former to head the *Shingeki-sha* (The New Theatre Company), while the latter became the *Tōro-sha*, which in 1918 went into motion-picture production. It was from this time that joint theatre-cinema operations began.

Innumerable other theatre companies rose and fell during these years, as seems appropriate for the Taishō Era, often called the period of Japan's youth. The reforms that had come to other phases of Japanese society in the Meiji Era were twenty years late in coming to the theatre and literature, one might say. It took yet a few more years for the new theatre to be ready for really first-rank production. The public had to wait for this last development until 1924, when the Tsukiji Shōgekijō (Tsukiji Little Theatre) was organized.

6. OSANAI KAORU AND THE SECOND SADANJI

It was Osanai Kaoru who built the Tsukiji Shōgekijō. Osanai himself said that his real work began with the organization of that "laboratory." The work on which he expended the energies of his younger days, however, laid the foundation for his Tsukiji period. It was indeed a "song of youth" that fascinated the whole dramatic world, the whole literary world, of the day.

Osanai Kaoru was reared in Tokyo and graduated from the English Department of the Imperial University. While a student he became friendly with the writer Mori Ōgai, and, on the recommendation of the latter's brother, Miki Takeji, he went to work for *Ii Yōhō*'s *Masago-za*. He became especially friendly with Ichikawa Sadanji, and when the latter went abroad he was urged to go along. Circumstances prevented his making the trip, however.

Sadanji went abroad in December, 1906, on the proceeds from the Meiji-za production at which he had succeeded to his father's name. He joined Matsui Shōyō, who had gone abroad
ahead of him, and under the latter's guidance toured the European theatres. He spent three weeks as auditor at a London actor's school, and he returned to Japan via America in August of the following year.

Osanai listened greedily to Sadanji's report. He was that year involved, as a member of the Ibsen Society, in laying plans for the magazine *Shinshichō*, and he was eager to join his friend in a new project. In January he had formally become a member of Ii's company. In October he resigned, a fact which suggests the ambitions he was nursing. In September, 1908, the first number of *Shinshichō* appeared, and at a lecture meeting sponsored by that magazine, Osanai's remarks revealed what he had learned from Sadanji, and suggested that he was already beginning his plans for a new theatre movement: "In order to build a theatre which is neither Kabuki nor Shimpa," he said. "Japan must have an informal (mukei) theatre movement".

Sadanji had taken note of the English Stage Society, an organization whose members chose the plays they wanted to see. Under commercial management, it did not always follow that the spectators saw the plays they were interested in. The good was driven out by the bad. Under the "informal theatre" system, however, it was possible to present the good alone.

In the autumn of 1908, Sadanji and Osanai went away on a trip together, in the course of which they laid concrete plans for their theatre. Sadanji, having suffered both financially and spiritually from the failure of his attempt to reform theatre management, had played in a production managed by Kawakami Otojirō and drawn sharp criticism from those who thought it unbecoming for a Kabuki actor to appear with an actor from the scorned sōshi shibai.

Fortunately, however, he had Osanai Kaoru with him. Matsui Shōyō had retired to the country in nervous prostration after the failure of the Meiji-za project, and Oka Onitarō had taken his place as Sadanji's adviser on management. Okamoto Kidō had also appeared on the scene, his first play in co-operation
with Sadanji having been produced in September. The second Sadanji was blessed with good friends throughout his career. It was probably an accumulation of unpleasant incidents in his "main work," the Kabuki, that made him turn so enthusiastically to the new theatre.

In February, 1909, the by-laws of the new theatre were published. It took the name "Jiyū Gekijō" (Free Theatre), a change from the "Dokuritsu Gekijō" (Independent Theatre) Osanai had used the month before in a Shinshichō article addressed "To the Actor D." ("D" was Danshi.) Of particular interest in the article was his insistence that the Japanese theatre should rely for a time on translation alone, and that the writing of original plays was a secondary consideration.

7. THE FREE THEATRE

Osanai had never been to Europe, but in his imagination he succeeded in recreating the English Stage Society. In 1912, he published a book called Jiyū Gekijō (Free Theatre) in commemoration of his first trip abroad. Under the heading "Stage Society" he had these remarks to make: "Productions are usually given on Sundays.... They are not open to the public, and are for the benefit of subscribers and their friends only. The program announces that doors will be closed when the play begins, and that no one will be admitted while it is in progress." This is a detail that the theatre-goer of today would be likely to overlook, but in the late-Meiji theatre it no doubt seemed more distant even than the ideal itself. To shorten the distance a little, Osanai thought of transplanting "the informal theatre that comes to take on a form" (Osanai's own words) to Japan.

In the by-laws published in February, 1909, the purpose of the new theatre was defined as "to give an honest trial to plays appropriate for the new age, and to open the way for new
plays and the new theatre.” Everything had to be new and fresh.

The seventeen advisers, among them the members of the Ibsen Society, included the leading young literary talents of the day. Even a listing of their names must have given an impression of youth and freshness.

It was decided that the first production would be a translation. Iwamura Tōru favored Hauptmann’s Vor Sonnenaufgang, while Shimazaki Tōson supported John Gabriel Borkman. The latter was chosen. Mori Ōgai was asked to prepare the translation, which he finished in May. Sadanji said he wanted three or four months' practice and immediately began reading the script. The difficulties experienced by Osanai, without a shred of experience in directing Western drama, were like these of an explorer in a new land. He wanted to study the performance of Joseph Keintz in Vienna, but presently found that impossible. He began rehearsals with nothing to guide him except clippings and observations sent by a friend in Munich who had seen a performance of Borkman.

The play opened on November 27, 1909, at the Yūraku-za, then the most modern theatre in Tokyo. Osanai, who made a curtain speech, suggested a young warrior in his first engagement. The play was well-received, but one may doubt whether it was really a finished production. Its appeal no doubt lay in the freshness and vitality of the movement itself. Leaving aside the Literary Society’s experiments, one may say that this production marked the beginning of the Shingeki. Osanai was twenty-eight, Sadanji twenty-nine.

Osanai remarked in his curtain speech that “our reason for organizing the Free Theatre is to be found nowhere else than in our desire to live” (as recorded by Tanizaki Jun’ichirō in his Seishun Monogatari /Tale of Youth/). The desire was shared by the youth of the late Meiji Era and one cannot understand the Free Theatre's success except against this background. It was epoch-making for an actor from the tradition-bound Kabuki to appear in the “theatre of the red-headed
foreigners” and give to rehearsals time and care that would not have been possible in the commercial theatre. No doubt it was also without precedent to have young prompters behind the scenes.

Borkman played successfully for two days.

8. THE MEIJI SHINGEKI

Sadanji also undertook new projects in his main work at the Meiji-za, In March, 1910, for instance, he appeared in Naru Kami, one of the “eighteen classical pieces” (jūhachiban) of the standard Kabuki repertoire, as arranged by Oka Onitarō. Sadanji’s greatness lay in the fact that he pioneered new paths for the Kabuki even while he was working with the Free Theatre. Possibly of the two the latter presented the fewer problems.

The Free Theatre’s second program, at the Yūraku-za in May, 1910, consisted of Wedekind’s Kammer Sänger, Chekhov’s A Proposal of Marriage, and Mori Ōgai’s new play Ikuta-gawa (The River Ikuta).

The third program, at the Yūraku-za in November, included Gorky’s The Night Lodgings and Yoshii Isamu’s Yumesuke to Sō to (Yumesuke and the Priest). The fourth program, in June, 1911, at the same theatre, consisted of Maeterlinck’s Miracle de Saint Antoine and three new plays, Nagata Hideo’s Kanraku no Oni (The Merry Devil), Akita Ujaku’s Dai’ichi no Akatsuki (The First Dawn), and Yoshii Isamu’s Kōchiya Yohei.

With these four productions, at intervals of about six months, the theatre attained to a feeling of calmness and stability that even infected the audience. Shimazaki Tōson has written of the “pleasant smokes” in the halls during intermission.

In October, 1911, with Hauptmann’s Einsame Menschen, the company moved to the Imperial Theatre. The sixth production, in April, 1912, consisted of Sugano Nijūichi’s Dōjōji, and
Maeterlinck's *La Mort de Tintagiles*. Immediately afterwards Sadanji relinquished his position at the head of the Meiji-za troupe to the Shimpa actor Ii Yōhō, and became attached to Shōchiku, which had moved in from Osaka. In October, he petitioned Ōtani Takejirō of Shōchiku to let him appear at the Hongō-za in Strindberg's *Facing Death*, under the direction of Osanai Kaoru. Even though it had behind it the popularity of the Free Theatre, the project was no doubt a daring one for its day.

After the sixth production (it was called a trial or rehearsal, but, since the next production was numbered the seventh, the sixth may be treated as one in the series), the group took a year's vacation, during which Osanai, as he himself put it, made a "pilgrimage" to the theatres of Europe. He returned in August, 1913, with what was secretly called by the staff of the Tsukiji Shōgekijō "the Bible," his notes on the productions of Reinhardt and Stanislavsky. The trip seems to have been a series of revelations for Osanai. Highly impressionable and easily moved, he found cause to meditate on the "new theatre" he had led for three years.

The Literary Society was dissolved while Osanai was away, and the Hōgetsu-Sumako troupe, which had not yet given its first performance, took for itself, somewhat presumptuously Osanai thought, the name "Art Theatre" (Geijutsu-za). Kindai-geki Kyōkai (The Modern Theatre Society) made its début with an almost unrehearsed production of *Faust*. These developments were enough to stir Osanai to action.

In October, two months after his return, he presented his first play, *Chūtei Kidan* (A Strange Tale of Fidelity), an adaptation of the opera *Fidelio*, with Utaemon and Sadanji. The same month, at the Imperial Theatre, the Free Theatre presented its seventh production, a thorough revision of *The Night Lodgings*. Pepel, the role which Sadanji had played in the earlier production, was given to Ennosuke, while Sadanji himself played Satchin, a change which suggests something of
Osanai’s desire to begin anew.

In November, 1914, at the Yūraku-za, the Free Theatre presented Andreyev’s *Toward the Stars*, for which Yamada Kōsaku wrote a song to compete with “Katusha’s Song,” popular then since March.

A period of inactivity was beginning for Osanai, who was preparing himself for his next undertaking. Sadanji had become popular as a Shōchiku actor, and it was no longer possible for the Free Theatre to maintain its schedule of two productions a year. It was some years later, in September, 1919, that Osanai, who had been directing a company called the Shingekijō (New Theatre) returned to the Free Theatre to present, for its ninth and final production, a work by Brieux. The company’s best years had been before Osanai left for Europe. After his return, with the “revised” seventh production and later ones, it entered a period of stagnation. Sadanji’s Kabuki company had banded together in a most admirable fashion to help him with his new project, but presently it had to return en masse to its main work, the Kabuki. Sadanji’s continuing experiments in the Kabuki, however, on a scale quite unrivalled in other companies, must be attributed to his experience in the Free Theatre.

One may say that the Literary Society and the Free Theatre were the new theatre (*Shingeki*) of the Meiji Era. It was a theatre different both in atmosphere and in content from that of the following Taishō Era.

9. OTHER COMPANIES

In closing, let us look briefly at other companies that had their beginnings in the Meiji Era.

There was first of all, though it went relatively unnoticed, Fujisawa Asajirō’s acting school. While his founding of the school is indicative of Fujisawa’s perceptiveness as a *Shimpa*
actor, no doubt he was influenced by Kawakami Otojirō, with whom he had so often worked. Kawakami had political and entrepreneurial ambitions which were eventually his undoing. He had a freshness of thought and a keenness of vision, however, that were the mark of the true Meiji pioneer.

Fujisawa founded his school quite on his own resources, the counterpart of the actresses’ school of Kawakami’s wife. Among the instructors were Osanai Kaoru, Doi Shunsho, Masumoto Kiyoshi, Ichikawa Komazō, and Ichikawa Shinjūrō. The curriculum seems to have been little different from that of the Literary Society. Osanai gave a course in the dramatic repertoire (kyakuhon gaisetsu), and made a speech between acts when the group presented an experimental play at its own theatre on April 24 and 25, 1909. One senses here Osanai’s antagonism toward the Literary Society.

It is interesting that Matsui Sumako sought through Matsumoto, a friend of her husband’s, to be admitted to Fujisawa’s school. When she was refused on the grounds that the school was for actors only, she went instead to the Literary Society. Had she gone to Kawakami’s school for actresses, the fate of the Literary Society might have been different.

The Fujisawa School offered two experimental productions in 1909. Two elders of the Kabuki world, Kōdō Tokuchi and Aeba Kōson, said in Kabuki that the second of the two, Lady Gregory’s The Poor House, was the most interesting play they had seen that year. This may perhaps be explained in part by the appeal of the exotic for two old men who had tasted the bitter and the sweet in the Edo and post-Edo Kabuki. In any case there was clearly something in the production that stirred their sensibilities.

In April, 1910, the group presented Yeats’s The Hour Glass at the Yūraku-za. Like the earlier Irish play, it was translated and directed by Osanai. There was some criticism of the fact that women’s roles were played by men. The year before, at the Free Theatre’s presentation of Borkman, the actors Sōnosuke
and Enjaku had appeared in women’s roles, along with the daughter of the actor Gonnosuke and the younger sister of Sadanji, and no one had noted any incongruity. One can see from this the favored treatment the Free Theatre received as a new movement springing from the conservative Kabuki.

In November, 1910, Masumoto Kiyoshi was called to the Yūraku-za to manage Shinjidaigeki Kyōkai (The New Age Theatre Society), whose principal actor was Inoue Masao of the Shimpā. Kawamura Karyō succeeded him at the acting school.

From January, 1911, the Fujisawa School undertook to present for one day at the end of each month an experimental drama by an advanced playwright. This was clearly a protest against the Free Theatre’s emphasis on translation. Among the plays presented were works by Yamamoto Yūzō, Kusuyama Masao, Satō Sōnosuke, Akita Ujaku, Kawamura Karyō, U buckata Toshirō, Shimamura Ryūsui, Matsumoto Kumi, and Kunieda Shirō.

For three days from June 3, 1911, at the Yūraku-za, the School, which had already become the Tokyo Haiyū Gakkō (Tokyo Actors' School), presented its first graduating class in a program that included Satō Kōroku’s Haiba (Worn-out Horse). Takada Minoru was to appear in the same play the following year. In the cast were Inatomi Hiroshi, Iwata Yūkichi, Moroguchi Tsuzuya, Tanaka Eizō, Hibiki Shigesuke, Azuma Hanae, and Shindō Wakako. The views of Masumoto, who was already associated with the New Age Theatre Society, and Kawamura were in diametric opposition, and the graduating students too were divided into two opposing factions. Moroguchi and others resigned as a result.

Already a new company had taken in some of the graduates: the Engeki Dōshikai (Society of Theatre Friends), headed by Kitamura Kisei, with Iwaya Sazanami and Matsui Shōyō as advisers. Immediately after the graduation performance noted above, the new group presented Hauptmann’s Elga at the
Yūraku-za. The following January, again at the Yūraku-za, it presented Ibsen's *Ghosts* and Bjørnson's *A Gauntlet*. Thereafter it ran into financial difficulties and had to disband. As the Experimental Theatre (*Shien Gekijō*) it offered a play in November, 1911, and in January, 1912, certain of its members, calling themselves the Tokyo Stage Society (the name was in English), presented *Hedda Gabler* on the old Ushigome stage under the direction of Masumoto Kiyoshi.

The previous autumn the Tokyo Actors' School had disbanded, after graduating the first students to finish its three-year course. The students were dispersed to many theatres and many careers. Among them were some who joined nameless groups touring the provinces, and a number who found great difficulty in making a living.

With the failure of Inoue's New Age Theatre Society, the Yūraku-za decided to produce *Shingeki* on a slightly lower level—on a level that would please the public. The result was the Saturday Theatre (*Doyō Gekijō*), suggested by Kawamura Karyō. Kawamura himself was manager, and the principal actors were Inatomi Hiroshi and Tanaka Eizō. A matinée performance was presented every Saturday from March 2, 1912. The program was changed every month, and the policy at first was to present two Japanese plays and two plays in translation. The old-style wooden clappers were used as the curtain rose on Kawamura's *Onna Hitori* (*A Woman Alone*), a sign of the compromises the theatre was making. As one looks at the programs for April, May, June, and July, one notes an increase, at the request of the Yūraku-za, in the proportion of translated plays. Meanwhile Osanai was aggressively pushing his way into the theatre, and in July he took Kawamura's place. In December Osanai went abroad, and in his absence the theatre was disbanded.

In October, 1912, the Yūraku-za, with the assistance of the Saturday Theatre, staged a production in imitation of the all-girl drama at the Imperial Theatre. It very soon became
The Saturday Theatre produced its last plays in December, 1912, both of them translations: Strindberg's *The Father* and Lady Gregory’s *Spreading the News*. The following May, Ichikawa Ennosuke presented Ibsen’s *The Wild Duck* and Watsuji Tetsuro’s *Tokiwa*. Ennosuke called his troupe the *Goseikai*. Inatomi and Moroguchi were among the actors, and the performance of Sakai Yoneko was especially well-received.

*Shingekijō* (The New Theatre), organized in 1916 by Osanai and Yamada Kōsaku, closed after two productions. It was organized in part to help actors left stranded by the Saturday Theatre. Subsequently most of the company went into the movies.

The New Age Theatre Society (*Shinjidaigeki Kyōkai*), upon which we have already touched, was the first attempt by the Yūraku-za to maintain its own troupe. The enthusiasm with which Inoue Masao joined it suggests the impasse he felt the *Shimpa* to have arrived at. There is no doubt that he saw his adversary in Sadanji’s Free Theatre. For its first program, from November 23, 1910, the Society presented Shaw’s *The Showing-up of Blanco Posnet* and Chekhov’s *The Bear*. Inoue’s performance was well-received. The run lasted until December 5. Kobori Makoto and Fujimura Hideo were also in the cast. That the first program should have included Shaw might be taken as suggesting the theatre’s nature, especially when one considers that the Literary Society began with Shakespeare and the Free Theatre with Ibsen. The second program, in February, 1911, consisted of the first Japanese presentation of Gogol’s *The Inspector General*, as well as of Mayama Seika’s *Daiichi Ninsha* (*Man of the First Rank*). One notes the spread of the social drama in these last years of the Meiji Era.

The New Age Theatre Society presented its third and final production in April, 1911: von Hofmannsthal’s *Der Tor und Der Tod*, Erckmann-Chatrian’s *The Bells*, and Nakamura Shun'
u's Shin Kichôsha (The New Returnee). Inoue returned to the Shimpa with a bitter smile. His experience in the Shingeki was not wasted, however, in view of its influence on his later career.

Nakamura Shun'u (Kichizô) returned from Europe in 1909 to organize Shinshakai Gekidan (The New Social Theatre) which gave its first performance in April of the following year at the Tokyo-za. Nakamura, who was intoxicated with Ibsen, was in search of something new and different. He presented his own Bokushi no Ie (The Minister's House) and Ide Shôu's Oya (Parent). The cast, under the direction of Doi Shunsho, included the Kabuki actor Arashi Kikkaku. Bokushi no Ie was the very prototype of the social drama. Rehearsals took more than a month, and the cast managed to get through the long speeches without boring the audience. One feels that the female impersonator, Nakao Ômu, was rather badly cast as Mariko, however.

In October, the group offered its second production, Nakamura's Nami (Waves) and Doi Shunsho's adaptation of Pinero's Sweet Lavender, at the Hongô-za. In the former there appeared a character redolent of Ibsen's Nora, and the theatre having learned its lesson from Nakao's failure, the actress Hanabusa Tsuyuko (in her later years, the novelist Satô Toshiko) was successfully cast in the role.

The New Social Theatre disbanded after its production of Victory. Nakamura's new theatre movement may nonetheless be considered one of the major ones of the period.
Chapter Six

THEATRE BUILDINGS AND THEATRE JOURNALISM

1. RISE AND FALL OF THE THEATRES

FROM the last years of the shogunate, Morita Kan’ya became such a power that he was known as the “grand marshal” (dai-gensui) of the Shintomi-za. With the opening of the Kabuki-za in 1889, he received a subsidy from Chiba Katsugorō of the latter theatre with which to maintain the Shintomi-za. The assistance of Danjūrō and Shikan was unavailing, however, and in March, 1892, when even the faithful Sadanji had left, the Shintomi-za closed its doors. Later, with a company headed by Yamaguchi Sadao and Fukui Mohei, it became the Fukano-za. In 1895 Morita Kan’ya ceased to be associated with the theatre even in name.

Kan’ya toured the northern provinces with Shikan in 1893, and in 1896 he organized a road company with his sons Yaso-suke and Mitahachi. His last years were lonely ones. In August, 1897, he died at the age of fifty-two. He is said to have left behind a debt of eight hundred thousand yen.

The Kabuki-za, on the other hand, continued to be Tokyo’s leading theatre even after its reorganization as a joint-stock company. The appearance there in 1895 of Kawakami’s Shimpa was exceptional, as were the appearances in 1899 of Ii Yōhō’s troupe and of Bandō Matasaburō (called “the twopenny Danjūrō”). All three were dictated by considerations of the moment. It was at the Kabuki-za that Danjūrō and Kikugorō gave their last performances.
The changes in the theatre following the deaths of these two actors have already been described. In 1906, Inoue Takejirō was succeeded as director by Ökōchi Terutake. Behind Ökōchi was Tamura Nariyoshi, a veteran of the old Chitose-za. Ökōchi, a graduate of Keiō Gijuku, was a gentleman of the new school. As director of the Kabuki-za, he bought the Tokyo-za and turned the Ichimura-za into a sort of auxiliary (hikae yagura) to the Kabuki-za. Such rising new enterprises as Shōchiku and the Imperial Theatre, however, were beginning to attract attention.

After Ökōchi's death the Kabuki-za was for a time run by a three-man directorate. The incident of the stock sold to Shōchiku in 1911 has already described. It had the unlooked-for effect of consolidating Shōchiku's position in Tokyo.

Shōchiku got its start in 1905, when it made common cause with Ganjirō at the Kyoto Kabuki-za. In February, 1906, it moved on to the Naka-za, and the same year it bought the Minami-za, and in March, 1909, the Osaka Bunraku-za. In November, 1909, it took over the Shintomi-za in Tokyo, and in July, 1910, the Hongō-za. Finally, in August, 1913, the management of the Kabuki-za passed into the hands of Shōchiku. The October, 1913, performance was the first under Shōchiku management. Shōchiku and earlier acquired the services of the Tokyo actors Yaozō and Sadanji.

It has already been noted that Sadanji headed the company at the Meiji-za, which was opened in November, 1893, a successor to the Chitose-za (the latter had burned down in 1890). In 1908 the old management withdrew, and after Kawasaki's venture in new-style management Yazawa Genjirō assumed control. In 1912 Ii Yōhō bought the theatre. Sadanji, left with no responsibilities, joined Shōchiku. In January, 1917, Ii leased the theatre to Shōchiku, and the following year it became the property of that company.

The Nakamura-za, one of the three Saruwaka-wachi theatres of the late Edo Era, became the Torigoe-za in 1892, following its
removal to the Torigoe district. In 1892 Kawakami appeared there on his first visit to Tokyo. The theatre was destroyed by fire the following year and was not rebuilt.

The Ichimura-za remained longest in Saruwaka-machi, but in November, 1892, in finally moved to Shitaya. Sadanji headed its company before he moved on to the Meiji-za. It was re-built after it burned down, but it was considered distinctly second-rate. A troupe of young actors led by Kan'ya's sons, Mitsugorō and the thirteenth Kan'ya, was organized there in 1908. With the appearance there from November of Kichiemon and Kikugorō, the Ichimura-za of the Taishō Era was born.

Among large theatres founded in the Meiji Era was the Kawakami-za, built by Kawakami Otojirō at Misaki-chō in Kanda and opened in June, 1896. In 1901 it became the Kairyō-za (Reformed Theatre), but when it burned down two years later it was not rebuilt.

The Tokyo-za, opened in March, 1897, in this same Misakichō, was a very large theatre—it had a floor space of 335 tsubo (a tsubo is about four square yards). Danjūrō appeared at the opening. The Osaka actors Enjirō and Jakusaburō played there for about two years from May, 1899, while Shikan and Komazō played for a time from October, 1904; but the actor with the closest ties to the theatre was Ennosuke.

Successors to the minor theatres (theatres besides the three in Saruwaka-machi) of the Edo Era included the Meiji-za, successor to the Kishō-za through the Hisamatsu-za and the Chitose-za; and the Hongō-za, successor to the Haruki-za. The Haruki-za specialized in Osaka Kabuki and in Shimpa. It became the Hongō-za in March, 1902, and from the following year it prospered for a time as the principal Shimpa base.

With the Theatre Control Regulations of 1890, the so-called "drop-curtain theatres" (donchō shibai) were recognized as "little theatres" (shōgekijō). The Akagi-za in Ushigome, the Asahi-za, the Kishō-za, and the Jōruri-za in Shitaya had already closed, however. In 1892 the Morimoto-za in Shiba, the Taka-
sago-za, and the Kaisei-za also closed. The Kaisei-za's rights were leased to the Masago-za, which opened at Nihonbashi in January, 1893. The Masago-za is remembered for Ii Yohô's performances there.

Another little theatre, the Ryusei-za in Shitaya, opened in January, 1891. Its chief attraction was Bandô Matasaburô, a small-scale imitation of Danjûrô. The Yamato-za in Shitaya became the Fukuei-za, and in 1895 the Kaisei-za.

Among the Asakusa theatres were the Tokiwa-za, near Asakusa Park, opened in October, 1886, and the Azuma-za, farther north in Senzoku-chô, opened in November, 1887. The latter became the Miyato-za. The Sawamura-za in Shinsaruwaka-machi was from 1892 the seat of the Sawamura line. Nakamura Zenshirô of the Ichimura-za, which burned in 1893, took control and changed the name to Asakusa-za, and the following year Kawakami scored a success there in Mata Igai (Strange Again).

In May, 1897, the Asakusa-za organized its children's Kabuki, with Ginzô, Kodenji, Kichiemon, Sonosuke, and others in the company. The Shintomi-za organized a rival troupe around Danshi, Eitarô, Mitahachi, and others, and competition between the two was intense. (In April, 1902, a charity production at the Kabuki-za offered a cast from the two theatres. As its actors grew up, the children's Kabuki was disbanded.)

The Asakusa-za became the Kokka-za in October, 1903, the new name having been bestowed on it by Yoda Gakkai. The name was changed again, to Hôrai-za, in November, 1909. The Aizome-za, opened in Hongô in April, 1892, became the Sakae-za. The Shinsei-za, opened in Fukagawa in January, 1893, became the Fukagawa-za in 1897. The Suehiro-za was opened in Yotsuya in August, 1901.

In June, 1891, the Misaki-za opened in Misaki-chô, Kanda, while in August, 1892, the Fukuroku-za opened in Akasaka. The two theatres were the cause of some resentment in the actors' union. Such actors as Gennosuke, Bajû, and Kôzô had been censured for appearing in the Misaki-za, a "little theatre,"
without proper permission. When, on the other hand, the Keiko-za (Practice Theatre) gave a public performance at the Fukuroku-za under the auspices of Nihon Engei Kyōkai (The Japan Entertainments Society), actors from the Ichikawa house were in the cast, and on opening day Danjūrō himself read greetings from the stage. The sanctions imposed in the case of the Misaki-za were therefore taken as evidence of favoritism. The Asakusa-za troupe, under Nakamura Zenshirō, moved to the Fukuroku-za, where it opened provisionally as the Shin-Ichimura-za. A warning came from the authorities that the theatre would be closed unless the actors had the proper licenses for small theatres (shōgekijō). Kyūzō, Shikaku, Tosshi and others therefore secretly obtained such licenses, and were punished for doing so by the actor’s union. It was in November, 1900, that the distinction between small and large theatres was abolished. The former too were allowed to have draw curtains (in contrast to the donchō, the drop curtains), the hanamichi passage, and the revolving stage. Discrimination against actors in the small theatres had been abolished in 1895, partly because of such incidents as the one at the Shin-Ichimura-za.

Quite outside the Edo tradition stood the Imperial Theatre, built in 1911, and the Yūraku-za, finished in November, 1908, near Sukiya-bashi in Kōjimachi. The latter was originally designed as a small theatre for high-grade drama, and from its stage much of the Meiji and Taishō Shingeki was introduced.

The rise and fall of the theatre was as we have outlined it. Reform in the system of theatre management did not come easily. The various reform schemes of Kan'ya, Kawakami, and Sadanji met with intense opposition. There was nothing to do but leave matters to the gradual workings of time. Regular monthly performances were introduced only at the end of the Meiji Era, with the opening of the Imperial Theatre and the rise of Shōchiku. Before then the large theatres had ordinarily presented six or seven programs a year.

A novel scheme was tested at Mitamura Kumakichi’s Haruki-
za, where, from May, 1885, a flat rate of six sen per person was charged for seats in the pit. This inexpensive theatre unfortunately lasted less than a year.

The regulations of October, 1886, limited theatre performances to eight hours a day. In 1900 this was relaxed to nine hours. Along with this liberalization, however, came stricter theatre censorship. From July, 1897, when Kozaru Shichinosuke was banned at the Kabuki-za, the authorities had apparently become more alert in their surveillance of the theatre. The contents of most of the plays in the Edo repertoire were found to be unsuited to the times, and new plays from new playwrights were in demand.

Another great Meiji reform, which we have touched upon before, gave women the right to appear on the stage with men. Permission came officially in August, 1890, largely, it would seem, upon the urgings of the Society for Theatre Reform. The first male-female performance in Tokyo was that by the Seibikan at the Azuma-za in November, 1891, and in Osaka the performance in December, 1892, at the Kado-za, with Ōtani Bajū and Kōraiya Imamurasaki. Danjūrō thought to make his daughters actresses at the Kabuki-za, while a sister of the second Sadanji and a sister of Mitsugorō also appeared on the stage. These events anticipated establishment of the Imperial Theatre’s company of actresses.

2. THEATRE JOURNALISM

The term “theatre journalism” is not standard even today, and yet it indicates a force that is strong enough to move the Japanese theatre.

The duty of newspapers is to inform and to criticize. There was, of course, no journal of information in the Edo theatre world. Even news of important events was spread by word of mouth from rumors first circulated through childish tile-printed
(kawaraban) broadsheets. Commercial advertising took much the same form. The newspaper of the Meiji Era was revolutionary. Theatre news made its appearance when newspaper reporter-critics were assigned to cover the plays at the various theatres.

Theatre magazines flourished somewhat earlier. The Edo Era programs, "form sheets" (hyōbanki), illustrated texts, guides, and plain texts were all in a sense theatre advertisements. The play guides (kyōgenbon) gave summaries of plots and pictures and appraisals (hyōbanki) of actors. They covered generally the same ground as the theatre magazines of the Meiji Era and later.

The hyōbanki date from the mid-seventeenth century. More than two hundred were published, a number of them for some time after the Restoration. We may perhaps dismiss these as no more than the playthings of conservatives who disapproved of the new reforms and looked nostalgically back to the Edo Era. Among the organized groups of theatre-goers from the Edo Era on into the early years of Meiji, the so-called Rokuniren (Six-Two Group) was especially active. It is remembered for the old-style hyōbanki it brought out from November, 1879.

The Rokuniren took its name from the fact that it occupied a block of seats centering on the sixth stall in the second row of the pit. The group was organized during the Ansei Period (1854–1860), and for thirty years its members regularly attended the theatre together. Tomita Saen contributed to the Kanayomi Shimbun, and it is he who deserves most of the credit for the group's hyōbanki.

Called Haiyū Hyōbanki (Appraisal of Actors), the publication had a black cover and a wrapper decorated with a wood-block print. Unlike earlier publications of its type, it carried synopses that could be understood by people who had never seen the play in question, and it also carried contributions from the general public. This attempt to reach out beyond its own small circle was quite in keeping with the spirit of the Meiji Era.
The *Hyōbanki* appeared between the first and tenth days of a run. At first it covered only plays at the Shintomi-za. As we will see later, however, the *Kabuki Shimpō (Kabuki News)* began publication in February, 1879, with synopses of plays for its principal attraction. As a countermeasure the *Haiyū Hyōbanki* began from about its tenth number to concentrate on reviews and to cover the plays at the Hisamatsu-za and the Ichimura-za, as well as the Shintomi-za. The *Hyōbanki* published its twentieth-seventh and final number in 1887, thus bringing to a close the long history of its genre. Takasu Kōen, one of the contributors, continued to write for *Kabuki Shimpō* and other publications.

The *Rokuniren* published material that was in a sense critical, but its members were lovers of the Kabuki for whom the publication was no more than a hobby. They quite lacked a true critical spirit. Even so, one cannot ignore the fact that they approached Kabuki with a specialized knowledge that could not be matched by the young Meiji newspaper reporters.

Japan's first real drama critic was Miki Takeji, a man of discernment who used all the resources of scholarship and science.

Among the *Zokuniren*’s rivals was the group known as the *Suigyoren*, whose members—Nishimura Kissō, Santei Yaraku, Nishino Kaidon—wrote for *Shogei Shimbun (News of the Arts)*; but they too stopped short of real criticism.

Among newspaper critics, mention must first be made of Kanagaki Robun, a light writer (*gesakusha*) in the Edo tradition. Born in Edo in 1829, he became a disciple of the Edo *gesakusha* Hanagasa Rosuke. In the last years of the Edo Era he was a writer of illustrated romances (*kusazōshi*). From 1873 he became associated with the *Yokohama Mainichi Shimbun* and the *Tokyo Nichinichi Shimbun*, and in November, 1875, he founded the *Kanayomi Shimbun*. The *Kanayomi Shimbun* specialized in news of a not-too-serious nature (*nampa kiji*). It carried little that could be called drama criticism, but on its pages the term *katsureki* was first applied by Robun to Danjūrō’s historical
Kabuki.

Robun later became co-editor with Kubota Hikosaku of *Kabuki Shimpō*, which carried many sharp attacks on the convention-bound theatre of the day. In later years his disciple, Itō Kyōtō, critic for the *Ukiyo Shimbun*, showed himself to be no less sharp-tongued than his master.

There were a number of other critics in these early years of the Meiji Era, but except for Yoshikawa Shuntō they all fell in the tradition of the *gesakusha*.

With the second decade of the Meiji Era, newspaper reviews came to be followed with intense interest even by the theatres. Yamamoto Jirō states in his *Meiji Shoki no Gekihyō* ("Theatre Criticism in the Early Meiji Era"), published in *Engeki-kai (Theatre World)* for August, 1948, that as early as November, 1874, the *Yūbin Hōchi Shimbun* carried impressive drama criticism, presumably by Kurimoto Joun, which contained numerous references to the European theatre. Criticism seems for the most part to have been overwhelmed by news reporting, however, and to have been limited to trivia that can only have aroused amusement in the theatres.

In January, 1880, Morita Kan'ya invited the press to a performance at the Shintomi-za, and afterwards asked for their comments. The same month this statement appeared in *Gekijō Shimpō (Theatre News)*: "It has become fashionable to carry theatre criticism in the newspapers, and the harshness of the criticism reminds one of an old woman who likes to find fault with her daughter-in-law." One catches a suggestion here of the resentment of the old-style connoisseur toward the rising critic. The fact that even Kan'ya was beginning to worry about the newspapers tells of their growing strength.

Yoshikawa Shuntō was editor (*shukan*) of the *Sakigake Shimbun* until 1880, when he moved to the *Hōchi*. The first critic to sign his remarks, he stated the case for the new critics in the *Shogei Shimbun*. With the founding of the *Yamato Shimbun* in 1886, Jōno Saigiku left the *Tokyo Nichinichi* to
become its managing editor. He paid particular attention to the literary columns and wrote its drama reviews himself. Oka-
moto Kidō became drama critic for the Tokyo Nichinichi in January, 1890. A list of critics for the various newspapers is to be found in Meiji no Engeki (Meiji Drama): Höchi, Morita Shiken; Kaishin, Sudō Nansui; Yamato, Jōno Saigiku and Minami Shinji; Tokyo Asahi, Aeba Kōson; Miyako, Maeshima Wakyō and Uda Torahiko; Chūo, Inoue Ryūen and Mizuno Yoshimi; Jiji, Takeshita Gonjirō; Yomiuri, Suzuki Imobei; Kok-
kai, Nozaki Sabun. Ozaki Kōyō occasionally contributed to the Yomiuri under the name Imotarō, while Saitō Roku’u sometimes wrote for Kokkai. Reviews of plays at the large theatres were carried in installments for some two to five days. Okamoto Kidō went to the Tokyo Nichinichi as successor to Tsukahara Jūshien. Nansui of Kaishin later moved to the Osaka Asahi, to be succeeded by Sekine Mokuan. Shiken moved on to Yorozu chōhō, and was succeeded by Sugi Gan’ami.

Sugi Gan’ami was born in Okayama Prefecture. He wanted to study law, and upon his removal to Tokyo became a proof reader for the Chōya. Through the good offices of Inukai Tsuyoshi, he joined the staff of the Mimpōsha upon its founding and when it ceased publication he moved on to the Höchi. For twenty-five years from 1894 he was on the staff of the Mainichi. In 1908 he joined the Maiyū, for which he wrote for some ten years. He also wrote under a pen-name for the Chūgai Shōgyō.

Contemporary with him was Oka Onitarō. Oka was born in Tokyo. In 1894, upon his graduation from Keiō Gijuku, he joined the staff of the Jiji Shimpō. Later he moved to the Höchi, where he succeeded Matsui Shōyō, himself successor to Sugi Gan’ami, as theatre critic. In 1896 he had a debate with Kawakami Otojirō in which he proved himself to be a drama critic of first importance. He later joined Niroku and moved into the theatre world proper. To his death in 1943 he was a critic with a keen eye and a pungent style.

Nothing need be said here of Okamoto Kidō and Matsui
Shōyō, who were more prominent as playwrights than as critics. There can be no doubt that it was the drama critics of these third and fourth decades of the Meiji Era who put theatre journalism on a sound footing.

The career of Miki Takeji, senior to Gan’ami and Onitarō, will be taken up in the next section.

3. THEATRE MAGAZINES

The hyōbanki aside, the first publication that can properly be called a theatre magazine was probably Gekijō Shimpō (Theatre News), the first number of which appeared in June, 1878. In August of the same year Gekijō Chimpō (Strange News of the Theatre) appeared in Osaka. Both in form and in content, however, the most imposing theatre magazine was without doubt Kabuki Shimpō, first published in February, 1879. Bound Japanese-style, octavo, and printed on Japanese paper, it was at first issued three times a month. The editors were Kanagaki Robun and Kubota Hikosaku. As a special feature it introduced new works by Mokuami and other playwrights. Its miscellaneous news items, written in the old gesaku style, furnish valuable material for the drama historian. In January, 1892, it became the organ of Nihon Engei Kyōkai (The Japan Entertainment Society), with Miyazaki Samma, Miki Takeji, Kōdō Tokuchi, and Okano Seki as editors. It published Futabatei Shimei’s translation of a study of the Greek drama, Mori Ōgai’s reports on the European theatre, and plays translated by Ozaki Kōyō. Presently Okano Shisui, Kōda Rohan, and Yamada Bimyō became contributors and in 1895 Sekine Mokuan became editor-in-chief. The magazine discontinued publication in March, 1897, with its No. 1670. The seventeen years it was in publication were the most eventful ones in the history of the Meiji Theatre.

Other magazines of the day were short-lived. The Engeki Zasshi (Theatre Magazine) was founded in Osaka in 1880, to
be followed by Gekijō Shimpō (True News of the Theatre), Engeki Shimpō (Theatre News) and Osaka Kabuki Shimpō (Osaka Kabuki News). The name of this last suggests how great the influence of Kabuki Shimpō was. Other fly-by-night magazines appeared later: Shibai-dayori (Theatre Tidings) in 1889, Naniwa Shibai Annai (Guide to the Osaka Theatre) in 1891; and Naniwa Kabuki Shōhō (Guide to the Osaka Kabuki) in 1893.

In Tokyo, the Tokyo Gekijō Shimpō (Tokyo Theatre News) and Shibai Aikyō Shimbun (Charm of the Theatre) appeared in 1887, the Gekijō Zasshi (Theatre Magazine) and the Nihon Engei Kyōfūkai Zasshi (Magazine of the Japan Society for Betterment of the Entertainments) in 1888, and Engeki Zasshi (Theatre Magazine) in 1893. Nihon Engei Kyōfūkai Zasshi was first published in December, 1888, the organ of the Kyōfūkai. An interesting contribution was Hasegawa Tatsunosuke’s translation of the Aristotelian theory of tragedy. The magazine was discontinued with the dissolution of the Society. It was probably the first magazine to take up the new theatre.

Kabuki subsequently carried numerous items on the Shingeki. Meiji magazines devoted exclusively to that form totalled but three (according to Takita Teiiji): Geki to Shi (Drama and Poetry), founded in 1910 and edited by Yabu Yotaro; Shibai (Play), founded by Kusuyama Masao in 1912; and Engeki Hyōron (Theatre Commentary), founded the same year by Iba Takashi. Several Kabuki magazines were founded in the fourth decade of the Meiji Era. The outstanding late-Meiji theatre magazine, however, was Kabuki; founded in January, 1900, by Miki Takeji. Miki, the younger brother of Mori Ōgai, was by profession a physician. He was fond of the theatre, and presently turned his attention to theatre research and criticism. His writings in Kabuki Shimpō and after are also to be found in the magazine Tsuki Kusa. While his style suggested that of the old gesakusha, his approach was quite new, and he had a penetrating and subtle mind. His magazine was financed by Yasuda
Zennosuke, with the moral backing of Mori Ōgai.

The first number appeared in January, 1900. Miki paid particular attention to theatre criticism and to recording what we might call Kabuki choreography. His emphasis on this latter, and on reminiscences of old theatre-goers and Edo historical materials, may be explained by a fear that valuable information would shortly be lost if not written down.

The magazine also featured joint critiques (gappyo). Its contributors included veterans of the Kabuki Shimpō, as well as young men like Osanai Kaoru. Though the joint critiques sometimes followed the form of the old hyōbanki, in spirit they were quite new. It should be noted that the magazine also carried criticisms of plays as literature. Miki's work was especially valuable in the gloomy period after Danjūrō's death.

Miki Takeji died of a throat inflammation in January, 1908, at the age of forty-one. Ihara Seiseien (Toshirō) succeeded him as editor of Kabuki. The magazine discontinued publication in January, 1915, with its hundred seventy-fifth number. Though it dealt chiefly with the Kabuki, it also carried valuable information on the Shingeki. Ōgai supported the magazine to the last. His own plays were published in it, and his oral translations of Western plays, written down by Suzuki Shumpō, are especially worth our notice.

From February, 1903, Kabuki began carrying photographs of the Kabuki stage. It was natural that, with photography sufficiently developed to be of practical use in journalism, a pictorial magazine should make its appearance. Engei Gahō (Pictorial News of the Theatre) was first published in January, 1907. In April, 1912, Hakubunkan began publishing Engei Kurabu (Theatre Club) which in November, 1914, was merged with Engei Gahō. For a time after Kabuki ceased publication, Engei Gahō was the only theatre magazine in the country. In March, 1916, Gembunsha introduced Shin'engei (New Theatre). The joint critiques it carried until it suspended publication in 1925 are most valuable documents. Engei Gahō continued publication
THE KABUKI, THE SHIMPA, AND THE SHINGEKI

until 1943, when the Jōhōkyoku (Information Bureau) ordered a merger of the theatre magazines.

Prominent critics in the generation after Miki Takeji included Osanai Kaoru, Komiya Toytaka, Abe Jirō, Kusuyama Masao, Kubota Mantarō, Ikeda Taigo, Mori Shin’nyo, Okada Yachiyo, and Ibara Seiseien. The last, as Ibara Toshirō, was the author of a three-volume Nihon Engekishi (History of Japanese Drama). He was active to the end of his life as drama critic for Miyako.

CONCLUSION

We have traced briefly the development of the theatre world in the Meiji Era, and we are left with the thought that in the theatre as in society at large it took many years for influences from abroad to be really absorbed.

Kabuki, which had monopolized the Japanese theatre, was joined by Shimpa and Shingeki. The latter was an organized movement, albeit imperfectly organized, undertaken by men steeped in Western culture. The former, on the other hand, grew and split in a manner that could not possibly have been foreseen at its founding, so complex and confused were the changes through which it passed. Some twenty years later, in the Taishō Era, the Shingeki too broke into a confusing jumble of sects and faction.

We may summarize the expansion of the theatre thus: Restoration to 1887: Kabuki; 1888 to 1907: Kabuki and Shimpa; 1907 and after: Kabuki, Shimpa, and Shingeki.

Within each branch old faces were replaced by new, and each was aggressive in its challenge to the others. A busy exchange of actors took place among them.

It was in the late Meiji Era that such men of learning and vision as Shōyō, Ōgai, and Osanai Kaoru became strong influences in the theatre world. In the first half of the period, one feels, matters were pushed ahead largely through the intuitive
THEATRE BUILDINGS AND THEATRE JOURNALISM

judgments of such individuals as Danjūrō, Morita Kan'ya, Sue-matsu Kenchō, and Fukuchi Ōchi. It was an age when Japan itself was young. The drama failed to reach maturity even in the succeeding Taishō Era. The Kabuki, allied to managerial capital, remains a force not to be sneered at. In this sense there has been no change in a uniquely Japanese institution.

Our look at the Meiji theatre has suggested not a little material for thought on the drama of today.
Part Six

JAPANESE MUSIC and DANCE

Machida Kashō
Chapter One

GENERAL

THE Shogunate in its last years came to a complete impasse both economically and politically. There were nonetheless certain officials, among them Mizuno Tadakuni, Lord of Hama-matsu who sought somehow to ward off the collapse of the regime. It was through his efforts that the emergency reform ordinances of 1841 were promulgated.

Tadakuni's principal political reforms were revision of the sankin kōtai system, which required the daimyo to stay every other year in Edo, the Shogun's capital, and rationalization of daimyo lands scattered through the various provinces. To combat the inflation that had been gathering momentum since the era of the fifth Shogun, Tsunayoshi, commercial guilds were ordered to disband and steps were taken to prevent the growth of capitalist exploitation; and efforts were made to increase production by controlling the growth of cities and returning farmers to the land. Severe repressive measures were taken to prevent extravagance and to purge public life of corruption, and such writers of light, frivolous literature as Ryūtei Tanehiko and Tamenaga Shunsui were punished as pornographers. Since it was considered corrupting to the public morals to have theatres, the fountainhead of sin, in the heart of the city, the burning that year of the Nakamura-za and the Ichimura-za, which had stood side-by-side in Nihonbashi, was taken as a good opportunity to move the theatres, with the Kawarazaki-za, to Shōdenji in Asakusa. Actors and other workers were required to live in that district. The exiling of the seventh Ichikawa
Danjūrō was another incident in the campaign to control extravagance. Unlicensed prostitution was done away with, and, except for the fifteen houses that specialized in war stories and in Shinto lectures, the fifty variety theatres (yose) in the city were closed. Women gidayū singers were arrested, women teachers of singing and dancing were forbidden to give lessons, women barbers were outlawed, and the issuing of lottery tickets was banned. There was much resentment at the orders, even within the Shogun’s court, where officials and ladies had long been accustomed to lives of pleasure. Mizuno Tadakuni was forced to resign after but two years in office. The populace of the city was delighted at the news and stoned his Edo mansion. It is doubtful, however, if the Shogunate could have been saved by any less severe measures, and indeed even they were probably too late. Most historians are of the view that, if the Mizuno’s reforms had succeeded, the end of the Shogunate might have been postponed, and the Meiji Restoration might have taken a different form. In any case, these years, the last of the Shogunate, stand as a preparatory period for Meiji music and dance.

The Emperor Meiji came to the throne on February 13, 1867. He was not crowned until August of the following year, however, and the Meiji Era is strictly speaking the period between October 23, 1868, the date on which the year designation was changed from Keiō to Meiji, and July 30, 1912, the day on which the Emperor died. It will be our duty here to trace the development of Japanese-style music and dance through the period. While the tenuous and meandering course of each particular field and school can be followed, however, it will be found that lateral liaison and interchange was lacking. Isolation and secrecy were traditionally the rule, and each school was extremely loath to have its secrets discovered by another. Accordingly it is possible to divide the history of one specific school vertically into phases of approximately a quarter of a century, but it is difficult, and indeed it is meaningless, to attempt to impose periods and phases horizontally across groups of schools, and while the
Meiji Era ended on July 30, 1912, the fifteen years of the succeeding Taishō Era were an extension of the Meiji Era, as were the wars and the defeat of the Shōwa Era. The outstanding development in the Meiji theatre and its allied arts was the importation of Western culture, a development which of course also influenced literature, art, music, and material culture. It is of interest to trace the processes which the importation of Western culture set afoot in such traditional arts as music and the dance. There were two conflicting reactions: one to resist the new influences and to maintain the old arts as they had always been, the other to absorb those influences and to build something new from the merger of the new and the old. One may also study the influence on the old arts of such new inventions as movable type, musical notation, the phonograph, the movie, radio, and television.

It is possible to make these chronological divisions: 1) the end of the Shogunate; 2) early Meiji; 3) late Meiji; and 4) Taishō and Shōwa. The first period consists of the eighteen years from 1850 through 1867; the second, of the twenty-six years from 1868 through 1893, the year before the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War; the third, of nineteen years when the country's fortunes were on the rise, 1894 through the victories in the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese Wars to the death of the Emperor Meiji in 1912; and the last, of the three decades after 1912. Both in a good sense and a bad, the thirty years after the death of Meiji saw the harvesting of grain planted in the Meiji Era.

Changes in music and the dance were not as violent as changes in society at large. In every period, the conflict between those who would at all costs preserve the old and those who would overcome every obstacle to develop the new leads to a middle-of-the-road compromise. Not the strength and leadership of individuals but the will of society at large pulls the arts along bit by bit, rather in the manner of a hare racing with a tortoise. It may therefore serve our purposes better not
to divide the hundred years between 1850 and 1950 into sub-periods too fine and to impose horizontal divisions across fields and schools; but rather to proceed vertically, basing our narrative on particularly significant incidents. Accordingly we shall lump the first of our four divisions with early Meiji, and the last with late Meiji, and treat of eras built around the two halves of the Meiji Era.

We must also note a division between art forms inherited from the Edo Era, and those forms born in the Meiji Era, and in the former group between those that saw radical changes in the Meiji Era and those that saw virtually none. Probably the forms that changed least were the gagaku court music in the Imperial Household, and Nō drama (they were in fact changing, but their leading figures consciously resisted change). In samisen-accompanied music, certain styles sought change and others resisted it. Among the latter were the styles we may call old-school: katō, itchū, and miyazono. Gidayū may also be placed in the group. Nagauta, on the other hand, with kouta and sōkyoku, has constantly expanded its repertoire and has attempted to throw off binding conventions. Satsuma and Chikuzen biwa music arrived at its present form in the Meiji Era, though its origin is much more ancient. The naniwabushi too is of course a Meiji product, but it is in effect the Meiji adaption of sermons (sekkyō) and memorial addresses (saimon) of Edo and before. I shall first give a simple description of pre-Meiji forms that were carried over into the Meiji Era.

Among the forms of Japanese music and dance, the gagaku has the longest history. It was introduced from China and Korea as early as the seventh century. In the Heian and Nara Eras the gagaku was used chiefly in shrine and temple services, and for the entertainment of the court nobility. With the Kamakura Era and the transfer of power to the military clans, the form declined. It was preserved only by a few specialists in Kyoto and in such shrines and temples as the Kasuga-jinja in Nara, the Tennōji in Osaka, the Atsuta-jingū in the province
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of Owari, and the Itsukushima-jinja in the province of Aki. These isolated centres were virtually destroyed in the civil wars of the late Muromachi Era. When, late in the sixteenth century, Oda Nobunaga pacified the country, he set about reviving the old arts. Toyotomi Hideyoshi and Tokugawa Ieyasu continued the work, and the latter gathered the few surviving musicians from Kyoto, Nara, and Osaka in Edo Castle to restore gagaku. It was this group of "Momiji-yama musicians," named for the section of Edo Castle in which it worked, that was taken over by the Meiji government and placed under the protection of the Imperial Household Ministry.

Next in point of age comes the shōmyō, Buddhist music imported from China by Jikaku-daishi and Kōbō-daishi in the ninth century and handed down by a succession of eminent priests on Mt. Hiei and Mt. Kōya. Its object was to praise the Buddha, not to entertain. There is no point in going into the details of its growth and development, but it is necessary to point out that all of the vocal music of the Japanese middle ages and after was based on the shōmyō. The heikyoku of the blind minstrels, the enkyoku songs for banquets (this form no longer survives), the yōkyoku of the Nō drama, and the jōruri of the puppet stage all trace their ancestry to it.

Among other song and dance forms of the Heian Era and after, the saibara and the rōei were transmitted as part of the gagaku, while the imayō, the shirabyōshi, and the kusemai all disappeared. A fragment of the Muromachi koura survived in Nō kyōgen interludes, and of course the Nō utai has survived. The sarugaku and the dengaku, based on the utai and koura with hayashi accompaniment, were perfected by the sarugaku masters Kan'ami and Zeami and taken up by the Shogunate as the Nō. In the Edo Era the form was refined yet further, and the Nō tradition was thus handed down to the Meiji Era. The art of the Edo military nobility, Nō was strictly prohibited for the masses. The ban was lifted in the Meiji Era.

The heikyoku originated in the Kamakura Era (the thirteenth
century) and consisted of episodes from the military romance, *Heike Monogatari* (The Tale of the Heike), set to the music of the *biwa*. It was the special art of blind musicians who were organized into a mutual-aid society (*shokuyashiki*) that had about it certain characteristics of extra-territoriality. Through this organization the tradition of the *heikyoku* was preserved for some centuries, but in the Edo Era the form was at length overwhelmed by samisen and koto music and quite lost its popular following. In the Meiji Era the mutual-aid society was disbanded. *Heikyoku* singers were thus grievously injured by the Restoration.

The samisen was an adaptation of a three-stringed instrument introduced from the Ryūkyūs in the late Muromachi Era. It came into wide use from the middle of the seventeenth century, and various schools of samisen music developed when the instrument became an indispensable part of the puppet and Kabuki theatre and of the demi-monde. Because of its popular base, samisen music developed numerous regional characterististics. Lyrics and ballads in the Edo style, for instance, grew up in contrast to similar forms in the Osaka-Kyoto style. With the improvement of communications in the Meiji Era such distinctions began to disappear.

The koto was used as early as the Nara and Heian Eras, but it came into popular use at about the same time as the samisen —indeed it in a sense developed as a sort of adjunct to the samisen. In the late Tokugawa Era, however, music came to be written independently for the koto, and with the Meiji Era the koto acquired luster as a vehicle for the music of the new Japan.

The *biwa* music of Satsuma and Chikuizen Provinces, which in the Meiji Era became popular even in Tokyo, was derived not from the *heikyoku* and the *gagaku* but rather from the *biwa* music of blind Heian Priests. The six-, two-, and one-stringed koto were imported from China along with the more common thirteen-stringed variety, and were played in limited
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circles, though their influence on the world at large was very slight indeed.
Chapter Two
THE EARLY MEIJI ERA

1. GENERAL CONDITION OF THE WORLD OF SONG AND DANCE

THE nagauta. The nagauta world, in theory, looked to Kineya Rokuzaemon, overlord of Edo samisen music, as its ancestor. This does not mean, however, that every nagauta school followed Rokuzaemon. There were three Kabuki theatres in Edo, and each had its own independent school. To phrase the matter differently, the nagauta was based on theatres rather than on houses and lines of descent. At the end of the Edo Era, Kineya Rokuzaemon, the second Kineya Katsusaburō, and the third Kineya Shōjirō all had their spheres of influence.

In the early Meiji Era the Rokuzaemon house split, one branch taking the Rokuzaemon name and the other that of Kangorō. Kangorō and Rokuzaemon were both disciples of the tenth Rokuzaemon, and a dispute arose between them over the succession to that name. Kangorō first succeeded as the eleventh Rokuzaemon, but presently relinquished the name to his rival, who became the twelfth Rokuzaemon. Severing relations with the latter, Kangorō retired to Negishi in Tokyo. He was an outstanding nagauta composer and an eminent scholar who has left behind writings on the nagauta. He died in 1877 at the age of sixty-two, after a not very fortunate career. His children did not succeed to the family art, and a pupil of the first Kineya Rokushirō became his adopted son and later took the name Kangorō. This younger Kangorō was the father of the third Kineya Rokushirō, later Kineya Jōkan, who was active
from the late Meiji Era on into the Shōwa Era. A son of Rokuzaemon succeeded him as the thirteenth Rokuzaemon, while another became the fifth Kangorō. Both were instrumental in building the nagauta of the following era. The twelfth Rokuzaemon was not particularly gifted either as a performer or as a composer. Until about 1887 he was under the shadow of his seniors, the second Kineya Katsusaburō (1820–1896) and the third Kineya Shōjirō (1827–1896). In 1889, with the opening of the Kabuki-za, he became chief accompanist for that theatre, and from the death of his two illustrious seniors in 1896 until his own death in 1912 he was lord of the nagauta world.

The second Katsusaburō and Shōjirō were, with that Kangorō who was for a time the eleventh Rokuzaemon, leading composers of the period from the end of the Shogunate on into early Meiji, and have left behind a number of outstanding works. Katsusaburō was particularly eminent. He became the leader of a school of musicians all of whose professional names began with the character katsu. Among nagauta singers (as distinguished from samisen players) the golden-voiced Matsunaga Wafū (the third to succeed to that name), who was born in 1839 and died in 1916, quite dominated the field after the deaths of the fifth Yoshimura Isaburō (died 1882), the second Matsushima Shōgorō (1833–1890) and the third Yoshizumi Kosaburō (1832–1889). The ninth Ichikawa Danjirō, however, disapproved of Wafū's wilful and impetuous style of singing, which he said went beyond the bounds of nagauta. Wafū presently lost his position to his junior, the sixth Yoshimura Ijirō. Mochizuki Tazaemon was a master drummer who died in 1861, at the age of seventy-seven. A quarrel broke out among his disciples over the succession to his name. Takizō, who had considerable influence as the manager of the Yamato-ya tea-house in the Morita-za and as the father-in-law of the fifth Ōtani Tomoemon (a Kabuki actor), won the battle and became the fifth Tazaemon. After his death in 1874, the name was for a time unused. Chōsaku, who had become his pupil immediately before his
death, finally succeeded as the sixth Tazaemon, and was the leading artist in his field from the late Meiji Era on into the early Shōwa Era. The second Takara Sanzaemon, an adopted son of the fourth Tazaemon, set himself up in competition with Chōsaku (later the fourth Chōkurō) having earlier failed himself to succeed to his adopted father’s name, and when, in 1905, he heard that Chōkurō was to receive the name Tazaemon from the son of the fifth Tazaemon, he announced that he himself was rightly Tazaemon. The nagauta world therefore had for a time two musicians who called themselves Tazaemon. Chōkurō’s claim prevailed upon the death of his rival in 1910.

A leading flutist was Sumida Matabei, while Tanaka Denzaemon and Rokugō Shinzaburō, players of the small drum, both belonged to houses that boasted a long tradition. Two drummers whose names were not passed on to their successors but who exercised great influence on the world of the nagauta were Fujikura Rosen and Nakamura Jukaku. Rosen (1830–1889), whose real name was Katō Sōzaburō, had been a drummer for the Kanze school of the Nō. Weary of the hide-bound Nō, he moved on to the nagauta, where he became a pupil of the fifth Mochizuki Tazaemon with the name Fujikura Rosen. Hiyoshi Kichizaemon sought his advice in the production of the azuma kyōgen (which will be described later) and the second Katsu-saburō received his assistance in composing nagauta based on the Nō plays Funa Benkei and Adachiga-hara. In his late years he became interested in the two-stringed koto and composed for it a large number of short pieces in the nagauta manner. He founded what he called azuma-ryū-nigenkin (Azuma school of the two-stringed koto), for which he was able to gather a considerable number of pupils. The details of Nakamura Jukaku’s life are uncertain. Like Rosen, he was originally an accompanist for the Nō. He attracted the attention of the ninth Danjūrō, and it may be assumed that he was a figure of considerable importance in the program of adapting Nō to Kabuki.
Nagauta was still entirely dependent on the Kabuki. There was no way for a musician to receive recognition other than as a stage accompanist. The *nagauta* was, in other words, a by-product of the Kabuki rather than an independent art.

*The fortunes of the Bungo schools.* Tokiwazu, *tomimoto* and *kiyomoto* are commonly called "the three schools *bungo bushi*" (*bungo-bushi sampa*). Of the three, *tomimoto* was the least fortunate. It lasted in effect only through the lifetime of the second Buzenadayū. This second Buzen early lost his father and was reared by one of his pupils. The first Enjudayū, who founded the *kiyomoto* school, was a student of the same man, Itsukidayū. The second Buzen was an artist of very great talent, and between 1781 and 1800, when he was most active, his style so fitted the public mood that he ruled the music world. With the assistance of a number of eminent samisen players, he produced several outstanding compositions. Between 1804 and 1829, however, the tastes of the Edo play-goer changed. Richness and voluptuousness gave way to cleanliness of style, and profundity to ease and dash. Buzen was not able to keep up with the times, and the popularity of *tomimoto* was at an end. *Kiyomoto* arose to satisfy the new demand. When the second Buzen died in 1822, at the age of sixty-eight, Kiyomoto Enjudayū, in his prime at forty-four, was scoring success after success. The *tomimoto* faction presently resorted to direct action, and in 1825 an assassin was hired to kill Enjudayū on his way home from the theatre. His successor, the second Enjudayū, was as talented as he, and was able to add yet more to the glory of the *kiyomoto* school.

Had it been in Osaka that all of this occurred, *tomimoto* would have disappeared in perhaps twenty years. It was Edo, however, a city devoted to titles and systems, and *tomimoto* was preserved on into the Meiji Era, less because it was needed than because inertia kept it alive. The second Buzen had no children. An adopted son succeeded to the name, but, while he is said to have had some power in the households of the
daimyo, he was but holding the ground that had been gained by his predecessor. Tomimoto was becoming alienated from the public, and good music was no longer being composed for the school. Buzen’s wife was the daughter of the fifth Matsumoto Kōshirō, and their son became the fourth Buzen. The latter was an accomplished musician but there was little he could do while tomimoto was out of demand. His wife was the daughter of the twelfth Ichimura Uzaemon, while his brother became the fifth Onoe Kikugorō. In 1875 he relinquished his name to his fourteen-year-old son and went into retirement. He felt that the fortunes of tomimoto would stand more chance of reviving if he himself were to take a position with no responsibilities and leave the titular leadership of the school to his son, who was of course a nephew of Kikugorō. This manoeuvre antagonized the theatre manager Morita Kan’ya.

When, in August, 1880, the fifth Buzen died at the age of nineteen, his father was forced to take the name again and become the sixth Buzen. A particularly pathetic incident in his later life was his application the following year, at the age of fifty, for training in Western music. Perhaps, ignoring for the moment the incompatibility of Western music with Edo music and its hundred-fifty-year tradition, he found himself in sympathy with the call for a new national music and set out to give practical meaning to it; still one cannot but be impressed with the tragi-comedy of his practising the piano and singing foreign songs beside twelve-year-old schoolgirls. It is unfortunately not clear how long his work with Western music continued. In his main work, meanwhile, he was prevented by the enmity of Morita Kan’ya from appearing in the large theatres and he had to be satisfied with the small story-teller theatres (yose). A Shimbashi restaurant owner, hearing of this, reminded him that it was a disgrace for an artist of his standing to appear in such low-class establishments, and offered to support him. Through the good offices of this benefactor, Buzen assembled some thirty or forty pupils, was invited to play for restaurant
guests, and seemed in prospect of reviving the fortunes of his house. In 1889 he died at the age of fifty-nine, and the *tomimoto* in effect died with him.

*Kiyomoto* presents and interesting contrast to *tomimoto*. The second Enjudayū was a superior artist and a proud and arrogant individual. Whereas the *tomimoto* school had looked upon ties with Kabuki actors as the best way to maintain its position, the *kiyomoto* developed a brisk new style that refused to be dominated by the Kabuki actor—in effect the dancer had to follow *kiyomoto*, and not the reverse. The second Enjudayū subsequently relinquished his name to an Asakusa lumber merchant. He died in 1855 at the age of fifty-three. His successor, the third Enjudayū, died of cholera in 1858 at the age of thirty-seven. The daughter of the second Enjudayū, O-yō, thereupon took for a husband, with her family name, the oldest son of an old merchant family. This fourth Enjudayū had been extremely dissolute in his youth, and his family had passed him by and named a younger brother as its heir. Marrying him off to the daughter of a theatre family was a way of getting rid of him. He somehow took to the artist’s life, however, and his singing became indispensable to Mokuami’s new domestic dramas (*nibamme-kyōgen*). He later took the name Enju-Ō, and in March, 1904, he died at the age of seventy-two. His wife, who died in 1901, was, with Ichikawa Kumehachi and the third Kazawa Shibakin, one of the three leading women of the Meiji Era.

In 1850, the fourth Tokiwazu Mojidayū was granted the title Bungo Daijō by the Imperial family. He was a son of the actor Ichikawa Omezō and a great-grandson of the first Mojidayū, founder of the *tokiwazu* school, and when the third Mojidayū died young without an heir, he was taken into the family and succeeded to the name. As a singer he was greatly indebted to his samisen accompanist, the fourth Kishizawa Koshikibu, but in the fall of 1860 the two quarrelled and parted company, and Koshikibu founded an independent school. Many versions of
the quarrel have been given, but the truth seems to be that it concerned salaries. In all of the samisen schools, the singer was better paid than the accompanist. Because of the close relationship between Bungo and Koshikibu, however, the latter received special treatment and was paid as well as Bungo himself. When he retired and his son, the sixth Shikisa, took his place, the salary was reduced. Shikisa refused to accept the reduction; it was unfair to discriminate against the accompanist, he said, in view of the fact that the latter was also a composer. If indeed his salary as accompanist should be lower than that of the singer, then he should be given a composer’s fee. The service of the composer had always been dismissed lightly in Japanese music, and he had claimed no special rights. This quarrel was therefore of great significance as the first attempt to assert the principle of copyrights. Bungo Daijō died in 1862 and Koshikibu in 1866, and the quarrel was carried over into the Meiji Era by their successors. It was finally settled in 1882 through the intercession of Morita Kan’ya and others.

The fifth Mojidayū died young, while the sixth, who succeeded to the name in 1902, and to the name Bungo Daijō in 1926, was overshadowed by his rival, Rinchū, and later by the third Matsuodayū. He died in February, 1930, at the age of seventy-nine. A skilled musician, he unfortunately had a weak voice.

In the world of the shinnai, which, like the three schools discussed above, was descended from bungo-bushi but which was associated less with the theatre than with the pleasure quarters, the achievements of Fujimatsu Rochū are particularly to be noted. He died in 1861 at the age of sixty-four. He originally belonged to the Tsuruga line, but because of a love affair with the daughter of the head of the line he was disinherited, and in the mid-1840’s he revived the old name Fujimatsu and took as his professional name Rochū. The Tsuruga daughter with whom he had had the affair seems to have followed him, a fact which aroused further antagonism and led the Tsuruga line to forbid Rochū’s use of its repertoire. He was therefore forced
to produce his own, and the appearance of ten compositions for the Fujimatsu jōruri was an epoch-making event. He was evidently a man of considerable culture. In his later years he managed a funayado (a sort of tea-house cantering to Yoshiwara guests) in Asakusa and immersed himself in the writing of haikai poetry. After his death Fujimatsu Shichō, one of his pupils, became the leading exponent of the Fujimatsu style. He had the special quality of voice that is associated with the blind, and was able to create a new mood for the shinnai. He transmitted his art to a disciple who later took the name Yanagiya Shichō and who died in 1918. In the main Tsuruga line, meanwhile, the brother of the woman who ran away with Rochū succeeded his father, taking the name Shinnai in 1868. He died in 1883 and was succeeded by his son, the third Wakasadayū. The latter subsequently disappeared, and thus expired a line that traced itself back to the first Tsuruga Wakasa-no-Jō.

The music of the leisure. Katō-bushi was the oldest of the Edo jōruri styles, but with the rise of the Bungo schools it gradually came to be treated as a classic and lost touch with the masses. It was prized by connoisseurs as the most elegant and refined of samisen music, but it had little vitality. Itchū-bushi, similarly revered as a classic by connoisseurs, still had enough life to be the subject of factional feuds, and in the late Edo and early Meiji Eras it showed considerable energy. Itchū originated in Kyoto and was introduced to Edo at about the same time as bungo-bushi. Overwhelmed by the latter, it languished until a revival was launched in 1792 by Chiba Karoku (later the fifth Miyakodayū Itchū) and the katō-bushi samisen player Yamabiko Shinjirō (later Sugano Joyū). Much new music was composed. The fifth and sixth Itchū died, and a disciple succeeded to the title. He was wild and dissolute, however, and given to temporary disappearances. The second Joyū, a son of the first, thoroughly tired of the disturbances in the Miyako branch of the school, set up an independent
Sugano branch in 1839. On the death of the second Joyū a disciple attempted to take the leadership of the branch from the third Joyū, and when he met the opposition of the first Joyū’s widow, he returned to the Miyako branch and took the name Ikkansai. Upon the death of the seventh Itchū, a suitable successor to the name could not be found because of the disrepute into which it had fallen, and Ikkansai tried this time to seize the leadership of the Miyako branch. Failing again, he took the name Shibunsai and set up his own independent Uji branch in 1849. He composed a number of songs, and he seems to have been greatly indebted to his mistress, who had talent both as a musician and as a composer, and who, with the establishment of the new Uji branch, took the name Uji Wabun. The itchū-bushi thus entered the Meiji Era divided into three factions, the Miyako, the Sugano, and the Uji.

Miyazono-bushi was introduced to Edo by one Yamashiroya Seihachi. Legend had it that during the Bunsei period (1818–1830) he was traveling in the Kansai when he heard a beggar beside a bridge singing and interesting jōruri. Told that it was miyazono-bushi, he learned some ten numbers from the miyazono repertoire, it is said, and introduced the new style to Edo. Whether or not this is true is impossible to determine. In any case, the influence of miyazono-bushi is clear on nagauta and on the Bungo music written in the Bunsei Era, and the style must therefore have been known in Edo at least by then. Seihachi later took name Miyazono Senshi. His two principal disciples, both women, were Senhide and Senju, the latter the manager of a Nihonbashi restaurant. In 1861 Senju published the miyazono repertoire on the occasion of the twenty-sixth anniversary of her teacher’s death. She in turn had two disciples, both of them comfortably established as the mistresses of wealthy men. Neither had to make a living from music, and both were omitted from the Shogei Jimmeiroku (List of Artists) published in 1875. In 1880, however, one of them, Umeda Tazu, became a professional teacher of miyazono, while the
other, Ogawa Sana, found herself forced to make a living as a teacher when the man who was supporting her died. Tazu became the second Senju, and Sana the second Senshi. As the two began to gather pupils, their relations became more strained, and presently the task of arbitrating their quarrels was entrusted to the head of the itchū school, from which miyazonono-bushi originated. Each of the two passed her art on to disciples, so that miyazonono-bushi continued to thrive in its very modest way.

*Koto music and the jiuta in Kyoto, Osaka, and Edo (Tokyo)*. The koto is a far older instrument than the samisen. The so-called “vulgar” koto, however, did not become popular until after the rise of the samisen. Yatsuhashi Kengyō (1614–1685) the founder of Edo music for the “vulgar” koto, was an accomplished samisen musician before he mastered the koto, and he seems thus to have brought a knowledge of samisen tempos and modes into his Yatsuhashi school of the koto. The koto was treated as a sort of adjunct to the samisen until, at the end of the Edo Era, the Kyoto koto master Mitsuzaki Kengyō and the Nagoya master Yoshizawa Kengyō began writing music exclusively for the koto. Both men were also accomplished samisen musicians and wrote music for that instrument, so that they cannot be said to have devoted themselves exclusively to the koto. Since the koto and the samisen were the property of blind musicians, it seems likely that these latter learned both instruments and that they then specialized in the one or the other as their talents suggested. A composer for the samisen probably did not compose for the koto, and even when one of his compositions was to be arranged for the koto he called in a koto specialist to do the work. Thus Yaezaki Kengyō did the koto writing for the *jiuta* samisen songs of Matsuura and Kikuoka, and even for certain compositions by Mitsuzaki. It would appear that the two fields were clearly defined and the specialist in the one did not encroach on the other.

With the Meiji Era, the mutual-assistance co-operative (*sho-
kuyashiki) was disbanded, and musicians lost their special privileges. They were, on the other hand, freed from ceremonial and conventional obligations. They were turned out defenseless into the world, but those among them who had talent were free to develop as they would. They soon sensed that the koto, with its wide adaptability as a household instrument, was in a better position to follow the reform policies of the new government than was the samisen, so long associated with the voluptuous and the excessively plebeian. They therefore left behind the jiuta, which had never advanced beyond the world of love and passion, and set about composing what was called "reformed music" (kairyō shōka). Kikudaka Kengyō is to be recognized as a pioneer in the movement. His Mikuni no Homare ("In Praise of Our Country") was a sort of eulogy of the new government. The work marked a new departure technically, with two strains, one high and one low, played against each other. Kikudaka was influenced by Chinese music of the Ming and Ch'ing Eras; he also made original use of the "Dutch mode" of the second Ichimura Kengyō. Tateyama Noboru, who was active from the late Meiji Era into the Taishō Era, brought to a close Meiji composition of new music for the koto. His works, which made use of gagaku modes, were somewhat monotonous, but in the interludes he used the left-hand to mark rhythm.

The musicians mentioned above all belonged to the Ikuta school and the Tsugiyama school in the Kyoto-Osaka area. In Tokyo, the Yamada school was unchallenged. After the death of its founder, Yamada Kengyō (1757–1817), the school split into three branches, all of them still active at the end of the Edo Era. Nakanoshima Shōsei (1838–1894) was a child prodigy who received the title kengyō or "master" at the age of fifteen. He was especially famous for his voice, and he was trained in tomimoto as well as in the koto. In the early Meiji Era, the koto world was dominated by the third Yamase Shōin (1848–1908). When, in 1880, the Ongaku Torishirabe-gakari (The
Music Study Committee) was established, the head of that office, Izawa Shūji, invited Shōin to become its consultant in koto music. He later devoted himself to education, becoming a professor at the Tokyo Music School and the School for the Deaf and Blind. He was the first blind man to become a sōnin-rank official (an official whose appointment required the approval of the Emperor). He died on September 9, 1908, at the age of sixty. He had many disciples, among whom Hagioka Shōka (later Shōin) and Imai Keishō were the leading figures in the Yamada school from the late Meiji Era into the Taishō Era.

New music for the Yamada school went little beyond the ground broken by the school's founder, Yamada Kengyō. From the late Edo Era into the early Meiji Era, Nagase Katsuichi, an outstanding member of the Ikuta school, was on intimate terms with Yamada musicians and helped them with their compositions, so that the Yamada school, which had placed its emphasis on the voice rather than the instrument, was influenced by music for the solo koto. At about the same time the Yamada school began taking over Ikuta works and playing them in the florid Yamada manner. Itchū-bushi and tomimoto samisen music was also adapted for the koto, an indication of the wide area over which the Yamada school ranged. One would be reluctant to say, however, that the school showed the originality of the Kansai Ikuta school. The new knowledge imparted by Nagase was simply superimposed on the style of the school's founder. Whereas in the Kansai Kikuzuka Kengyō, for instance, had introduced a right-hand melody with a bass carried by the left hand, rather in the manner of the piano, the Yamada school continued to emphasize the voice, and failed to advance the technique of the koto itself.

The Dance in Edo, Kyoto and Osaka. In the Tokyo dancing world, the most active figure in the late Edo and early Meiji Era was Hanayagi Jusuke (1821–1890), founder of the Hanayagi school. He was the son of an Edo toy merchant, and at the age of three he was adopted by a Yoshiwara caterer. The
latter was fond of the theatre and its allied arts, and had the boy begin dancing lessons at the age of five under the fourth Nishikawa Senzō. When he was seven, his foster father, who was a friend of the seventh Ichikawa Danjūrō, apprenticed him to that actor. In 1839 the foster father died, and the youth left the stage and returned to dancing with the professional name Nishikawa Yoshijirō. The following year Senzō, Yoshijirō’s teacher, was made dance master for Danjūrō’s first performance of Kanjincho. In 1845 Senzō died, and in the wrangle that ensued over who should be his successor, Yoshijirō was expelled from the school and went to teach dancing at the Yoshiwara, where he was known through his foster father. In 1849 he took the name Hanayagi Yoshijirō, and in 1850 he was given the name Jusuke by the seventh Danjūrō, who had been permitted by the Shogunate to return to Edo (he had been exiled following the Tempō reforms). His career had meanwhile received a strong push forward when his services pleased Ichimura Uzaemon and the latter made him permanent dance master on the staff of the Ichimura-za. Jusuke continued to receive Uzaemon’s support after he founded the Hanayagi school. The actor’s children later became the fifth Kikugorō and Kakitsu, and his father-in-law was Bandō Hikosaburō. In the Meiji Era all of the actors associated with Kikugorō therefore became his pupils, and each year he grew more powerful.

The main Nishikawa line meanwhile failed to prosper. The rival disciple who succeeded as the fifth Senzō died in 1860, while the second Fujima Kan’emon, who became the sixth Senzō, left the school in 1871 and took again the name Fujima Kan’emon. The son of the fifth Senzō never succeeded to the name, and to his death in 1898 was in no position to challenge Jusuke.

Jusuke himself presently fell on evil days because of a disagreement with the ninth Ichikawa Danjūrō. The dance master had traditionally been an obscure figure who was little more than an actor’s assistant, and he frequently had to bow down before the willfulness of the latter, in theory his pupil. In the
autocratic Kabuki world, the rule of the actor was absolute, and not even the manager who paid him could stand against him. Most of the Kabuki actors, however, were Jusuke’s pupils, and he was able to maintain his supremacy over them. To one who was not his pupil this seemed audacious and arrogant in the extreme. When the Emperor Meiji saw the Kabuki in 1887 at Count Inoue’s mansion, Danjūrō and Jusuke disagreed over the question of whether the actors’ assistants (kōken) should appear on the stage in the traditional manner. Jusuke won the dispute and appeared on the stage as always, but Danjūrō was deeply offended, and thereafter the two disagreed about everything. Presently matters came to an open clash: Jusuke left the Kabuki-za, and Danjūrō made the second Fujima Kan’emon his dance master. The incident sent Hanayagi Jusuke into his decline. Fujima Kan’emon thereafter acted as dance master for every play in which Danjūrō appeared, and month by month and year by year Jusuke lost ground. For a man of his strong temperament, this was a fate scarcely to be endured; but his adversary was the tyrant Danjūrō, and there was little he could do. The man who had never lost a battle was completely routed.

The year 1903 was a strange one. On January 28 Hanayagi Jusuke died at the age of eighty-two, on February 18 the fifth Kikugorō at fifty-eight, and on September 13 the ninth Danjūrō at sixty-five. Probably for the first time in the history of the Kabuki a dance master had challenged a leading actor. That fact in itself gave Jusuke his right to rest in peace. The activities of the second Fujima Kan’emon fall in the late Meiji and Taishō Eras.

In Nagoya, Tokugawa Muneharu, head of the Nagoya clan, had encouraged the arts, and dancing was extremely popular. The Yamamura school of Osaka and the Fujima school of Edo and, in about 1840, the Shinozuka of Kyoto and the Bandō of Edo were all introduced to the city. In 1841 a pupil of the fourth Nishikawa Senzō moved to Nagoya. He became dance
master for a Nagoya theatre, it is said. He also learned the Shi-
nozuka style from his wife, a member of that school, and the
Bandō style from Bandō Hideyo, and incorporated them all into his
Nagoya Nishikawa school. He completely dominated the Nagoya
dancing world to his death in 1899 at the age of seventy-six.
His pupils brought the school to a certain stage of perfection,
but their activities belong rather to the late Meiji Era.

In Kyoto, the Shinozuka school, founded by Shinozuka Baisen
d. 1845) was strong at the end of the Edo Era. Under the
second Monzaburō the school became a power in the pleasure
quarters and in the theatre. The Katayama school was founded
by the first Yachiyo (1767–1854), who began her career as
attendant to an elderly lady of the Konoe family. Her abilities
was recognized by the Konoe, who gave her the name Yachiyo,
and allowed her to use the Konoe crest on her dancing fan.
Her dancing, calculated to please the court and the noble court
families, was accompanied by the flute and the drum rather
than by the samisen, and seems to have been rather near the
Nō. The second Yachiyo (d. 1868) a niece of the first, modelled
her dancing on the Kongō school of the Nō, and worked also
to incorporate elements of the puppet and Kabuki theatres.
The noble families were meanwhile going into their decline and
were no longer able to support the Katayama school, while the
pleasure quarters were dominated by the Shinozuka school. It
was all Yachiyo could do to maintain herself by teaching the
free-lance geisha known as “wild cats” (yamaneko) and the
last successors to the medieval Shirabyōshi dancers, and even
in these limited circles she seems to have been somewhat too
aloof to win a following.

Her disciple, Katayama Haruko (1838–1938), who became
the third Yachiyo and the dancing teacher for the Gion geisha
quarter, worked with vigor and energy to develop the school.
When, with the Meiji Restoration, Kyoto ceased to be the
nation’s capital, an honor it had held for more than a thousand
years, the prefectural governor assembled an advisory group to
plan for the city's future. One project they decided upon was the First Kyoto Exposition (1872), a feature of which was a series of dance recitals patterned on the *Ise Ondo*. The various pleasure quarters were put in competition: Gion with its *Miyako-odori*, Ponto-chō with its *Kamogawa-odori*, Shimabara with its *Aoyagi-odori*, Shimogawara with its *Higashiyamameisho-odori*. The program was a great success, especially the *Miyako-odori* of the Gion *maiko*, which presently became an indispensable part of the Kyoto spring.

The credit must go to Haruko: the *Miyako-odori* made Haruko and Haruko made the *Miyako-odori*. Her first marriage ended in divorce, but her second marriage, to the Kanze-school *Nō* actor Katayama Kuroemon, was a happy one. Kuroemon died in 1890, and thereafter Haruko devoted herself to her art. She died on September 7, 1938, at the age of a hundred. Her style was greatly influenced by the *Nō* and her position as the widow of Katayama of Kanze gave her considerable social prestige. The Shinozuka school meanwhile reigned in pleasure quarters other than Gion. It wielded great influence while the second Manzaburō and her pupils were alive, but subsequently fell into obscurity.

In Osaka, the Yamamura school of the second Yamamura Tomogorō reigned supreme. The school was founded by the first Tomogorō (1781–1844), who in the first half of the nineteenth century received the protection of the third Nakamura Utaemon and who is said to have been the dance master for most of the plays in which the third Arashi Sangorō and the second Nakamura Tomijūrō appeared. The second Tomogorō, his adopted son, was active as a stage dance master, and active as well in the geisha quarters and among the townsmen. He died in 1895 and was succeeded by an adopted daughter. Two adopted daughters of the first Tomogorō, meanwhile, were well-known in their own right, and were in no way inferior to the second Tomogorō. Both acted as stage dance mistresses, and Fujima Chikuyū, a leading rival of the second Tomogorō in the
field of theatre dancing, was also a woman. It seems to have been only in the Kyoto-Osaka area that women invaded the theatre as teachers of the dance; such a thing was unheard of in Edo. In the early Meiji Era, the period of the Yamamura school's great prosperity, Kimoto Senshō (d. 1894) led a rival school. He developed his style of dancing, which was based on the gagaku, in Kyoto, and moved to Osaka early in the Meiji Era. A pupil succeeded him as the second Senshō, built up the school's following, and acted as dance master when in 1908 the Shimmachi geisha first presented their Naniwa-odori. He was spirited in his resistance to the Tokyo dance. A son succeeded him as the third Senjō.

It would be wrong to argue that the Meiji Restoration had an immediate effect on the music and dancing world, but it may be said that that world was beginning to move slowly in a new direction. It may be said too that many distinctive regional characteristics were carried over into the new regime.

2. REGIONAL DIFFERENCES IN MUSIC AND THE DANCE

Samisen music and the dance had traditionally been looked down upon as playthings of the pleasure quarters, inappropriate for proper ladies and for samurai. While there may have been some change in the discretion allowed the officials supervising them, there was no basic program for reforming these arts. They were not important enough to command the attention of the new government. The citizen of Tokyo, for his part, was sympathetic to the Shogunate that had so long been a part of the city, and hostile toward the new government; but while he may have looked down on the warriors from the south as "farmers," he said nothing and took the new regime with his traditional stoicism. Foreign guns might be booming in the Bay, anti-foreign samurai might be cutting down Englishmen, but these things were of no concern to the Edo-ites. The plays
went on, and the halls of the story-tellers stayed open through
the confusion.

In 1873 came the order to cut the top-knot (chommage) in
favor of the foreign haircut. The Tokyo-ite was reluctant. Even
so, the number of cropped heads in the city began to rise
sharply, it is said, after the quelling of the Satsuma Rebellion
in 1877. Among persons of note, only three held out to the
end: the mine operator Furukawa Ichibei, the first Hanayagi
Jusuke of the dance, and the twelfth Kineya Rokuzaemon of
the nagauta. This fact perhaps suggests the general temper of
the men of the theatre and its allied arts.

In 1872, the year after the musicians’ mutual-aid co-operative
(shokuyashiki) and the Fuke Zen sect of the mendicant musi-
cian-priest were dissolved, the government, in a survey of the music
and the dance, required the head of each school to submit a
statement of the school’s history. In 1875 an order came from
Tokyo prefecture dividing musicians, dance artists, and actors
into three grades according to income for tax purposes, and
leaving the classification to the heads of the schools. Some
of the persons covered by the order made their bid for the
second rating, in the view that it would be well to have a
middle rank but bad to have to pay taxes, while others, who
had considerable talent but did not want to pay taxes recklessly,
were content with the lowest rank. The tax whirlwind caused
much consternation.

These are the people who were entrusted with administering
the order in the various schools. Nagauta: Yoshimura Isaburō,
Yoshizumi Kosaburō, Yoshimura Ijūrō, Yoshizumi Kohachi,
Nakamura (Kineya) Kan’gorō, Kineya Shōjirō, Kineya Rokusaburō,
Kineya Rokuzaemon, Kineya Katsugorō, Kineya Rokuō. Gidayu-
bushi: Toyotake Okadayū, Hanazawa Izaemon. Tokiwa-zu-bushi:
Tokiwa-zu Bunchū. Kishizawa-bushi: Kishizawa Shikisa. Tomi-
Utazawa-bushi: Utazawa Sadakichi. Kazawa-bushi: Kazawa
Shibakin. Kouta-bushi: Kouta Masaju. Matsunoya-bushi:

Here we have the leaders of music and the dance in Tokyo. Miyazono and ogie are not included because they lacked specialized leaders at the time. The kishizawa-bushi broke away from the tokiwazu in the wage dispute described above. The shinnai-bushi listed five musicians in the top grade and sixty-nine in the bottom. Fujimatsu-bushi seems not to have graded its musicians; all fifty-eight of them, headed by Harudayū, were listed in the bottom grade. The young son of Rochū, who revived the Fujimatsu name and who died in 1861, was the actual head of the school, but since Harudayū was managing its affairs Rochū seems to have made no attempt to have himself listed in the top grade. Tokiwazu-bushi, still prosperous even after the quarrel with kishizawa, makes an interesting contrast. Bunchū, listed at the head of the school, was the widowed daughter-in-law of the fourth Bungo-Daijō. The school listed sixteen men and eighty-two women besides Bunchū herself in the top grade, while in the bottom grade were thirty-seven men and fifty-one women, or a total of one hundred eighty-seven. Tomimoto listed seven in the upper and twenty-eight in the lower grade. Kiyomoto-bushi on the other hand was pressing tokiwazu with a total of a hundred fifty-one musicians, all in the bottom grade. These figures give a fair picture of the relative fortunes of the three Bungo schools. The matsunoya-bushi was an offshoot of tokiwazu founded by the male
Yoshiwara geisha Matsunoya Seijū. It listed nine singers and six samisen players, but it died with its founder. Kouta Masaju broke with the utazawa-bushi in a quarrel over the succession and founded the competing kazawa school; he too failed to find a successor and the school died with him.

Something must be said of Hiyoshi Kichizaemon’s Azuma Nō kyōgen, a new Meiji form. Hiyoshi was a Nō actor of the Hōshō school, but with the Nō almost at a standstill after the Restoration, he opened a temporary theatre in Asakusa in about 1869 or 1870 and for five days every month presented Nō in the Hōshō style as well as the Kita and Fukuō styles. When he could not find enough actors otherwise to fill out his cast, he offered amateur Nō. The audiences were not as large as he had hoped, however, and, when he began introducing samisen music into the Nō, the Azuma Nō kyōgen was born. His programs were not exclusively for the samisen. Rather they consisted of three elements: traditional Nō; samisen music in the nagauta, tokiwazu, and kiyomoto styles; and Nō redone with a nagauta accompaniment. He commissioned the second Kineya Katsusaburō to compose new nagauta. The accompanists were led by Nakamura Shūkaku and Fujikura Rosen, who had once accompanied the Nō, and with their help Katsusaburō wrote nagauta based on the Nō plays Funa Benkei and Adachi-ga-hara. The Azuma Nō did not prosper. It seems to have continued sporadically until about 1879 or 1880, after which date it disappeared, leaving only the two additions to the nagauta repertoire.

In the dance, the school headed by Bandō Mitsuyo listed the most followers, a total of fifty-three. Nakamura Shikan listed thirty disciples, Nishikawa Minosuke and Fujima Miyo twenty-one each, and Hanayagi Jusuke ten. The large following of the Bandō and Nakamura groups is to be explained by the activity of those women teachers of the dance known as o-kyōgenshi. In the Edo Era these latter taught in the women’s quarters of the noble houses, and on occasion presented plays. It was for this
reason that they were known as o-kyōgenshi, “masters of the kyōgen,” rather than simply dancing teachers. With the Meiji Restoration they of course lost their noble following. Some of them became actresses and played in the provinces, some moved from job to job, some went to ruin. Their work was taken from them by men like Hanayagi Jusuke and Fujima Kan’emon who were also dance masters for the theatre. Presently the o-kyōgenshi disappeared from the front rank of the dance world. A list compiled in 1852 shows how extremely active they were in the last years of the Edo Era.

We have very little information on what was happening in Kyoto and Osaka. It would seem, however, that, except for the gidayū of the Osaka puppet theater and the jiuta and sōkyoku, activity was very modest indeed. In the accompaniment (keigoto) for the Kabuki dance drama, the Bungo-line jōruri of the miyakoji school, the counterpart of the Edo tokiwazu and tomimoto, had gone into a swift decline from the early nineteenth century, while an “eastern song” (azuma-uta) that was not quite tokiwazu and not quite nagauta came to control the field. The itchū-bushi of Kyoto too had disappeared some fifty or sixty years before, and survived not where it was created but rather in Edo, as did the miyazono-bushi, an offshoot of miyakoji.

When one style came to an impasse and a new one developed, Kyoto and Osaka promptly forgot the old one, and indeed the new one too was shown little mercy if it failed to suit the temper of the times. In this respect the Kansai stood in diametric opposition to Edo. There were a number of early puppet schools in Osaka and Kyoto, but they all died when the Chikugo school of Takemoto Gidayū began to gain prestige. In Edo, on the other hand, when katō-bushi started afresh from handayū jōruri, it might have been taken for a signal that handayū was to be left to die, since the two styles were basically the same; but handayū held on tenaciously. The same thing is in a general way true of the rival schools of tomimoto,
kiyomoto, and tokiwazu. In Edo the system of heads of schools (iemoto) was so strong that nothing was allowed to die, whereas in Kyoto and Osaka a leading master might gather pupils about him, but there was virtually no system of succession that centered on the school itself. Though certain names were indeed handed down, this was entirely on the basis of merit and family relationships were not the consideration they were in Edo. In this sense, the Kyoto-Osaka area was considerably more realistic than Edo, and preserved only what was necessary.

From about the middle of the Meiji Era, the Kyoto-Osaka area began importing Tokyo art wholesale, samisen music as well as the dance. Teachers were invited from Tokyo, quite the reverse of what had happened during the Edo Era. The new trend began with the nagauta. When the ninth Danjūro appeared in Osaka in 1898 for the opening of the Osaka Kabuki-za, the nagauta of the brothers Kineya Rokuzaemon and Yoshimura Ijūrō was such a success, it is said, that nagauta entr’actes were added to the program. Somewhat earlier, in 1895, the fifth Kikugorō had brought nagauta to Osaka, but he had aroused almost no interest. It was after the 1898 performance that the nagauta took root in Osaka, and the geisha quarters invited Rokuzaemon and his brother from Tokyo to teach the style. In 1903 the two were commissioned to write music the quarters were to perform for the Fifth National Industrial Exposition. Unable to fill all the orders, the brothers sent Okayasu Kisaburō and Kineya Sakichi to Osaka in their place. When subsequently each of the quarters came to give its own dance recital, music masters were hired from the Tokyo nagauta, tokiwazu and kiyomoto schools, and presently the Tokyo influence became so strong that the special dances of Osaka were produced by staffs from Tokyo.

Until about 1887, the arts of Tokyo and those of the Kansai had gone their own independent ways, but after that date regional characteristics began to break down. One reason for this was the progress of transportation. It had once taken
more than ten days to walk the fifty-three stages of the Tōkaidō, but with the opening of the Tōkaidō Railroad in 1889 the same journey took only fourteen or fifteen hours, and with the introduction of expresses this was shortened another three or four hours. Ways of living and views on art began to draw nearer, until in the end the two sections were pursuing the same pleasures.

3. THE PLEASURE QUARTERS AND THE GROWTH OF MUSIC AND THE DANCE

A drinking bout was originally a device whereby the drinkers, coming together in harmony and fellowship, established communion with a deity and partook of his glory. The duty of the host was a heavy one, therefore, and it was he who pressed wine upon his guests. With the passage of time, the emphasis changed, and song and dance became an important adjunct to drinking. Presently women specialists came to take over the wine pouring and to dance for the guests. Thus originated the geisha, and man’s desires being what they are, it was but natural that the geisha should be attractive young women. Their legendary ancestress was that Ame-no-uzume-no-mikoto who, in the Kojiki, danced to lure the Sun Goddess from the cave in which she was sulking. The sarume-no-kimi who performed sacred dances and exorcisms were among her earliest descendants. Folk-lore has it that these latter were also prostitutes. That aside, however, it is a hard fact that the priestesses (miko or bikuni) of later ages were known as priestess-prostitutes (fushō). The uneme and saburuko of the Nara Era, the asobime and kugutsume of the Heian Era, the shirabyōshi of the Kamakura Era were all, history tells us, musicians and dancers who doubled as prostitutes. It would be a mistake, however, to assume that they were prostitutes who sang or danced as a sideline; rather the reverse was true—they were artists who occasionally in-
dulged in prostitution, and this darker side of their work was cleansed by their devotion to their art.

As entertainers who could please everyone and who were on occasion amenable to special requests, these singing and dancing ladies became a sort of vehicle through which to reach every level of society, and as such they were used in politics and diplomacy and acquired social prestige quite out of keeping with their humble origins. Not a few of them became the darlings of their age and left their names behind in history. To the end of the Kamakura Era they were scattered and unsupervised. They were seen in noble houses, of course, and in war-time some of them went so far as to follow the camps.

It was in the Muromachi Era that licensed prostitution was established under a Bureau of the Quarters (Keiseikyoku), and the Edo Shogunate inherited the system and set up the Shimabara quarter in Kyoto, Shimmachi in Osaka, the Yoshiwara in Edo, and similar quarters in other cities, thus regulating prostitution and at the same time insuring the public tranquility. Many of the Edo Era courtesans were both beautiful and talented, and from the early Edo Era samisen music had become a common feature of the drinking party. In Osaka courtesans who specialized in music and dancing were called taiko jorō, while in Edo the hōkan (male geisha) lived by their music and their witty conversation, and the odoriko who were the ancestresses of the modern geisha pursued their trade in the unlicensed quarters. The odoriko at first specialized only in music and dancing, but presently they fell into prostitution, and began taking away the business of Shinagawa and Yoshiwara and the other licensed quarters.

The Shogunate attempted to discourage this development, but the unlicensed quarters only became more prosperous. The art and the voluptuousness of the Fukagawa district were so celebrated that its customs became a sort of model for the dashing and the stylish, and the color prints of Kuniyada and the love stories (ninjō-bon) of Tamenaga Shunsui spread the Fukagawa
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legend to the provinces. The Shogunate, alarmed at the vigor of the unlicensed quarters, tried without success to suppress them in the reforms of 1789 and 1841. With the end of the period and growing political tension, however, followers of the Shogunate or of the Emperor, not knowing what the morrow would bring, took to forgetting themselves in the pleasure of the quarters, and certain brave, highspirited courtesans emerged, among them Ikumatsu of Gion in Kyoto. Presently too the unlicensed geisha who had so thrived as the Edo Era drew to its close began to move to the Yoshiwara, and the unlicensed quarters languished. This is to be explained by the fact that in the Yoshiwara the line between the geisha and the prostitute was rigidly drawn, and the geisha was never called upon to sell herself. Indeed, if she did she was expelled from the quarter, and on occasion exposed naked before the kemban, the geisha headquarters. That the Yoshiwara geisha thus became a model of propriety and of artistic accomplishment was in no way the result of the Shogunate's repressive measures; it resulted rather from the desires of the geisha themselves.

With the Meiji Era, the samurai and the rich Edo merchants who had been the patrons of the quarter disappeared, and their place was taken by statesmen and officials from the southern clans. The Yoshiwara, which was not favored geographically, thus tended to be forgotten, and the Shimbashi and Akasaka sections prospered because of their situation near government buildings. With the disappearance of the Fukagawa section, its business was transferred to Yanagibashi. For a time Yanagibashi, fortunate in being near the Nihonbashi wholesale houses, was the leading pleasure district in Tokyo, but it was in the end unable to hold out against the currents of the times and the growing power of Shimbashi and Akasaka. Nihonbashi and Yoshi-chō, which had been thriving unlicensed pleasure quarters in the Edo Era, were crowded into downtown commercial districts and were unable to expand. Tradition none-theless kept them alive.
In Kyoto, Shimabara was immortalized in those erotic romances called *kōshoku-bon*, but the quarter itself went into a rapid decline from the beginning of the Meiji Era. Its buildings, its fittings, and its customs became in a sense museum pieces. Gion on the other hand prospered, its ancient flavor captured in Kagawa Kageki’s *hauta, Miyako no Shiki* (“The Four Seasons of Kyoto”). Similarly in Ponto-chō, Miyakawa-chō, and Kami-shichiken-chō the traditional strain of the samisen was still heard. Shimmachi was the oldest of the Osaka quarters. Two centuries had passed since the Shimmachi courtesans, Yūgiri of *Awa no Naruto* and Umekawa of *Meido no Hikyaku* (*Messenger from the Nether-World*), were dramatized by Chikamatsu Monzaemon. With the shifting tides of the Meiji Era it was rather Shimanouchi and Kita-no-shinchi (Sonezaki) that prospered. Kita-no-shinchi had long been famous. In Kita-no-shinchi occurred the tragic love of Tokubei and the courtesan O-hatsu, celebrated by Chikamatsu in his *Sonezaki Shinjū (Love Suicide at Sonezaki)* and especially in the great scene that opens with the words, “Farewell to this world, and to the night farewell.” It was this play, presented at the Takemoto-za puppet theatre, that established the domestic tragedy (*sewa jōruri*). Koharu of Chikamatsu’s *Shinjū-ten no Amijima (Love Suicide at Amijima)* was also a Kita-no-shinchi courtesan. The famous Shijimi River, into which had poured the tears of many a courtesan, was filled in after the great fire of 1909, inspiring these lines from the poet Yoshii Isamu: “The Shijimi River is now but a name; I am sad as I think of those who have died for love.” With a third district, Horie, once maritime Osaka’s front door, these were the unlicensed quarters, the “islands” (*shima basho*) of Osaka that corresponded to the “hills” (*oka basho*) of Edo. Matsushima, on the other hand, had but a shallow tradition. It was built in 1868 when small quarters scattered through the city were gathered together.

There were innumerable licensed and unlicensed quarters in smaller cities, and song and wine, as well as women, were
always to be had in them. The relationship between the world of music and dance and the world of pleasure was thus traditionally a close one. The latter was the founder, the purveyor, and the preserver of those arts.

The services of geisha were limited to drinking parties. Their appearance on the stage was forbidden in 1629. With the beginning of the Meiji Era the ban was lifted, and licensing was delegated to the responsible police department. The Gion geisha with their *Miyako-odori* were the first to be licensed, and thus, though they held the stage but for a month a year, to break the ban that had held since the outlawing of the “women’s Kabuki” in the early seventeenth century. This happened in 1872, as has been described above, when Kyoto set out to make itself a tourist centre. Two of the dance recitals given for the Kyoto Exposition were subsequently discontinued, and only the *Miyako-odori* and the Ponto-chō *Kamogawa-odori* are to be seen today. In 1882 the Shimanouchi *Ashibe-odori* and the Sonezaki *Naniwa-odori* of Osaka were presented for the first time. The latter was discontinued with the fire of 1909, and resumed again in 1915, while the *Konohana-odori* of Horie was introduced in 1914. All of these various recitals were presented in “practice halls” (*kaburenjō*) which seated more than a thousand people and were built from the earnings of the geisha. In Tokyo, where the pleasure quarters lacked the organization they had in Osaka and Kyoto, recitals were held from time to time, but the grand recital that were a fixed part of the spring season in Kyoto and Osaka were not introduced to Tokyo until considerably later. The Shimbashi Geisha Union (*Shimbashi Geigi Kumiai*) took the lead in building the Shimbashi Embujō, and in April, 1925, the *Azuma-odori* was first presented. Though late in making its appearance, the *Azuma-odori* was able to compete with the spring dances in the Kansai.

The calling of the geisha and the courtesan was known as *mizu shōbai* (literally, “water trade”) because, subject as it was to the shifting tides of popularity, it offered no steady income.
Some of its practitioners died destitute, while others, in spite of their low birth, rode grandly in state carriages. While much depended on chance, it was undoubtedly true that, without inventiveness and self-control, a woman could not pit herself against distinguished gentlemen, albeit in the apartments of the pleasure quarter, and many geisha were therefore women of very great talent. The romance of Katsura Kogorō (Kido Kōin) and the Gion geisha Ikumatsu is enough to remind us that a great many Meiji leaders had for their wives women who were once engaged in *mizu shōbai*. This does not point to loose behavior on the part of Meiji leaders, but rather to the abundance of women in the quarters who could acquit themselves as the wives of the great. Talent in music and the dance was also not uncommon. One does not need to go back to the *asobime* Otomae, who was loved by the twelfth-century Emperor Go-Shirakawa and who taught him the *imayō* style of singing. The Shimabara section of Kyoto had Kawachi, who spread the vogue for the *nage-bushi*, and in the Edo Yoshiwara was Tamagiku, who has left her name behind in the *katō-bushi* song *Mizu-jōshi* (“Drifting”). O-nao, to whom are attributed well-known works in the *kiyomoto* repertoire, is said to have been at one time a Yoshiwara geisha, while Sugano Shizu, later Uji Wabun, who helped found the Uji branch of the *itchū-bushi*, was also a geisha.

When, in the Meiji Era, statesman from the provinces became important, the arts of Edo fell into disuse, and it was but natural that many despaired of finding new disciples for such old styles of music as *katō-bushi*, *itchū-bushi*, and *miyazono-bushi*. Yamabiko Hidejirō, head of the *katō-bushi* school, turned to business and tried unsuccessfully to manage a geisha house. After a trip to the World’s Fair in the United States he returned to the *katō-bushi*. Except for a very few amateur gentlemen, his pupils were all geisha, and it has been through the efforts of the geisha who succeeded Hidejirō that *katō-bushi* has come down to us. Geisha also served as the transmitters of *itchū*, *miyazono*, and
ogie. The kouta was dominated by geisha, while several geisha became famous for their recordings of hauta and popular songs. Fujikage Shizue, Hanayagi Sumi, and Gojō Tamami, who were known as the "three geniuses" of the new dance, were all ex-geisha, just a such dance masters as Hanayagi Jusuke, Fujima Kan’emon, Fujima Kanjūrō, and Nishikawa Koisaburō had all had experience as actors.

4. THE USE OF TRADITIONAL MUSIC IN MUSIC EDUCATION

In October, 1872, the Ministry of Education introduced shōka or singing as a regular subject in the primary-school curriculum. The word shōka was not, as might be expected, a translation from the English, but was rather an old and honorable word (pronounced as shōga) in use since the Heian Era. When court gagaku musicians were entrusted with the task of producing music appropriate for the primary school attached to the Tokyo Women’s Normal School, they composed songs in the style of gagaku and called them hoiku shōka, "songs for education."

In 1879, the government, interested in shōka as a way to disseminate and popularize a national music, established the Ongaku Torishirabe-gakari (Music Study committee), with Izawa Shūji, principal of the Tokyo Normal School, at its head. Detailed information on Izawa will be found in the section on Western music. He was born in 1851, the son of a samurai family in the province of Shinano. He was sent to Edo as a clan-sponsored student in 1867, and after the Restoration he entered the Ministry of Education. In 1875 he went to America to study normal schools. Returning the following year, he became principal of the Tokyo Normal School. Since he had studied in the United States under L. W. Mason, an authority on music education, he was considered the best-qualified candidate to head the Music Study Committee. He immediately summoned Mason from America, and at first devoted his energies to the importa-
tion of foreign music. His ideal, however, was not simply to import from the West, but rather to incorporate traditional music into a new music for educating the nation.

In 1884, he submitted a “Report on the Achievements of the Music Study Committee,” appended to which were Zokkyoku Kairyō no Ikén (“Views on the Reform of Vulgar Music”). The report dealt with gagaku, sōkyoku, and nagauta, as well as Chinese and Western music, and recommended the teaching of the koto and the kokyū (a sort of samisen played with a bow) at the music school (ongaku denshūjo) attached to it; and proceeded to the question of the teaching of shōka and the use of “vulgar music” in the building of a national music. The report was an extremely long one, but its substance was as follows: the term “vulgar music” was used in opposition to gagaku to refer to all samisen- and koto-accompanied vocal music, which had unfortunately been left too long in the hands of the unlettered and had become coarse and degraded; since it had so long been the music of the masses, however, to prohibit it at once would be quite out of the question, and to form it, to fight poison with poison, so to speak, would be wiser policy. There were moreover varying degrees of shallowness and deterioration, and sōkyoku was examined as the music that had suffered the least damage. Both sōkyoku and nagauta were subjected to expurgation and revision. (Recitals of the new music had been presented on January 30 and 31, 1882, in Kanda, with ministers and other important personages in the audience.) The report also touched upon Izawa’s desire to add harmony to the new music and have it stand shoulder-to-shoulder with the music of the Occident; and on his desire to analyze the Japanese scale and adapt foreign music notation for use in textbooks.

In April, 1880, he began his investigations of gagaku and Chinese music, and the same month he invited Yamase Shōin of the Yamada school of sōkyoku to be his adviser on koto music. (When the Committee became the Tokyo Music School,
Yamase Shōin was made a professor, which rank he held until 1900.) Twenty music students, both men and women, were enrolled in the new centre. There being no age limit, wives and widows, mothers and daughters were among the students, all of whom had had training in Japanese music. Vocal music was sung in the Western style, and instruction was given in piano and violin. Because of the shortage in musical instruments the koto was used in place of the piano and the kokyu in place of the violin to accompany singing. This was perhaps Izawa’s first attempt to achieve his ideal, the fusion of Western and Japanese music. The study of the nagauta was entrusted to Yamase Shōin and to Uchida Yaichi, a member of a high samurai family (hatamoto) in Tokyo Prefecture. Uchida was proficient in English, had a fine voice, and knew nagauta thoroughly, and was therefore ideally qualified for work in spite of his being only an amateur musician. His friend the sixth Kineya Saburōsuke (the father of Kineya Jōkan) was called in as a temporary consultant on the samisen.

In 1890 the Music Study Committee became the Tokyo Music School, with Izawa as its first president. Since Izawa was also principal of the Tokyo School for the Deaf and Blind, he relinquished the presidency of the Music School a year later to Muraoka Han’ichi. The curriculum gradually shifted to the importation and imitation of Western music. The view persisted, however, that Japanese music was to be studied as a significant part of the life of the Japanese, and that it must somehow be preserved. It was this view that led to the establishment of the Committee for the Study of Japanese Music (Hōgaku Chōsa-gakari) and of a department of Japanese music. Scientific study of Japanese music was first undertaken by Tanaka Shōhei, a doctor of physics. Tanaka was born in 1862 on the island of Awaji and graduated from the School of Foreign Languages and from the physics department of the Imperial University, where he specialized in acoustics. In 1884 he was sent on a grant from the Ministry of Education to study under Helmholtz
at Berlin University. While in Germany he was decorated by the Kaiser for inventing the enharmonium. Upon his return to Japan in 1889, he became conscious of the need to study Japanese music scientifically, and at his own expense he opened a research centre. He pioneered in the use of the five-line staff for the notation of Japanese music. His disciples, the Yamada Shmupeii who later became Yoshizumi Kojūrō and published the Nagauta Shinkeikobon (New Nagauta Practice-book), Sugano Gimpei of the itchū-bushi, and Ochiai Yasue of the Yamada school of sōkyoku began helping put his theories into practice. Among the musicians with whom he worked in writing down Japanese music were Höshō Kurō of the Nō, Yamabiko Shū-Ō and Yamabiko Eishi of the katō-bushi, the fourth Sugano Joyū and Gimpei of the itchū-bushi, Rinchū and Mojibei of the tokiwazu, Tokujusai and Taka of tomimoto, Umekichi of kiyomoto, Shibakin of utazawa, the seventh Fujimatsu Kagadayū of shinnai, Yoshizumi Kosaburō and Kineya Jōkan of nagauta. Tanaka, who presently went to work for the Railways Ministry, had to abandon the project before it arrived at wholesale use of musical notation. Most of his manuscripts were destroyed in the recent war, a great loss to the nation. Tanaka himself died three months after the Surrender in the Chiba farmhouse in which he had taken refuge from the Tokyo bombings.

The government-financed Tokyo Music School began its research in the use of the five-line staff for the notation of Japanese music after the establishment of the Committee on Japanese Music in October, 1907. Musicians were called in as advisers first in the itchū-bushi, tomimoto-bushi, kiyomoto-bushi, shakuhachi, and heikyoku, and later in katō-bushi, nagauta, miyazono-bushi, ogie-bushi, shinnai-bushi, and jiuta. The group continued its work into the Taishō Era and left behind a fair number of scores, but presently it suspended operations without sumitting a report. In the field of musical scholarship, on the other hand, its achievements were considerable. Through the
labors of Takano Tatsuyuki (1875–1947), Kuroki Kanzō (1882–1930) and others, three volumes of an unfinished *Kinsei Hōgaku Nempyo* (Chronology of Japanese Music in Recent Ages) were published: in March, 1912, one volume covering the three Bungo schools: another volume in May, 1914, covering the ōzatsuma of the Edo nagauta; and a third in January, 1927, covering the gidayū. One of the immediate reasons for the establishment of the Committee on Japanese Music in the Tokyo Music School was the petition of Tateyama Zennoshin, a heikyoku musician of the Tsugaru clan, to the Minister of Education and the president of the Tokyo Music School for the protection of heikyoku. Tateyama’s petition was an outgrowth of the cultural nationalism that had gained strength from the Russo-Japanese War. When those two gentlemen turned him away, he went to Ōkuma Shigenobu, who relayed the petition to the Emperor. The Emperor made inquiries with the Minister of Education, and shortly the Cabinet was considering the possibility of a committee in the School to look after not only the heikyoku but all traditional music. The School had acquired a new president, and the committee was promptly established. In addition to its work in musical notation and musical scholarship, the School sponsored joint recitals by musicians of various schools, and recordings toward preserving traditional music. Unfortunately, however, old-style wax-cylinder recordings were the best that could be arranged, and presently they mildewed and became useless.

With the disbanding of the Committee on Japanese Music the frail sound of the samisen disappeared from that corner of Ueno Park. In 1922, however, Nakahashi Tokugorō, Minister of Education in the Seiyūkai cabinet of the day, responded to protests against the emphasis on foreign music by establishing in the ministry a Hōgaku Kyōiku Chōsa Inkai (Committee to Study the Teaching of Japanese Music). The Committee met once or twice a month from January, 1922. It soon decided on the establishment of departments of Nō, sōkyoku, and nagauta in the Music Academy, and on the exclusive use of the five-
line staff. Factional disputes among the schools were a source of considerable debate. In June, a proposal was drafted to submit to the government and the Diet, and budget figures were ready for presentation when, in September, 1923, the Kantō earthquake made further progress impossible and the Committee was disbanded. Norisugi Yoshihisa, president of the Music School, reorganized the elective courses in sōkyoku and in the instrumental accompaniment (hayashi) to the Nō, and in April, 1920, introduced a new Nō Department and a nagauta department. Kanze Motoshige (later Sakon), Yoshizumi Kosaburō, and Kineya Rokushirō (later Jōkan) became instructors. In the sōkyoku department Imai Keishō of the Yamada school was dismissed and his place taken by Nakanoshima Kin’ichi. Miyagi Michio of the Ikuta school was also invited to join the staff, as somewhat later was Hōshō Shigehide, head of the Hōshō school of Nō. In 1936 these departments were given the same status as the departments in Western music, and after the war they were brought with the rest of the academy into the Geijutsu Daigaku (University of the Arts).

5. DEVELOPMENT OF THE SHAKUHACHI

The shakuhachi bamboo flute was traditionally the instrument of the wandering priest of the Fuke Zen sect. Liberated from Fuke, shakuhachi music became allied, both in Tokyo and in the Kansai, with sōkyoku and jiuta koto and samisen music. The shakuhachi under the Fuke priests had an extremely beautiful tone, and the bamboo mode had been most effectively used; but the music was unfortunately private music, so to speak, incapable of moving the listener. Immediately after the disbanding of the Fuke sect, Araki Hanzaburō (the second Kodō) in Tokyo and Kondō Sōetsu in the Kansai began experimenting with shakuhachi-samisen-koto music, though there was still a strong prejudice against the shakuhachi on the grounds that
it was a religious instrument. Even the amateur finds the pure Fuke music (known as "the true song" /honkyoku/) less interesting than the three-instrument ensemble (known as "the outer song" /gaikyoku/), and the shakuhachi gradually came to be accepted as accessory to the samisen and the koto.

This development brought with it a marked advance in the instrument itself. When the komusō, the itinerant Fuke priest, played alone, it had not mattered whether the flute was pitched a trifle too high or a trifle too low; but when the instrument had to be in harmony with koto and samisen, this lack of precision could be disastrous. Shakuhachi players took to making their own instruments and giving them accurate pitch. The traditional "three instruments" (sankyoku) had been the samisen, the koto, and the kokyū, but the shakuhachi presently came to replace the kokyū as the third member of the trio. The credit for this success is usually given to the second Kodō (1823–1908) in Tokyo and to Kondō Sōetsu in the Kansai, but since the latter died early in the Meiji Era, credit should really be given to Kodō alone.

Kodō was the son of a former samurai in Ōmi province and early began his study of the shakuhachi. While wandering about Edo as a komusō he chanced to meet Toyoda Katsugorō, the first Kodō. Impressed by the latter's skill, the young man became his disciple and succeeded to his name as the second Kodō. Since Toyoda was extremely busy with government affairs, the second Kodō pursued his studies under Hisamatsu Fuyō, the leading master in the main line of the Kinko school. Upon his death Fuyō entrusted the fortunes of the school to his two leading pupils, Araki Kodō and Yoshida Itchō. The Meiji Restoration came, and the shakuhachi was liberated for whatever use it might be put to—to accompany the popular music of the day, even. Kodō consulted with the jiuta samisen master Nagase Katsuoichi and set jiuta music to the shakuhachi, thereby gaining himself such a following that when Yoshida Itchō retired he completely dominated the Tokyo shakuhachi
world. In 1896 he relinquished the name Kodō to his son, and on January 17, 1908, he died at the age of eighty-five.

The reason for the remarkable spread of the shakuhachi in so short a time was the use it made of musical notation, a device not hit upon by rival forms. The holes in the shakuhachi had always had names, but those names had been used only verbally and had never been developed into a system of musical notation, there being no need for notation in the age of the Fuke shakuhachi. With the new era and the concord with other instruments, it became impossible to memorize the repertoire immediately, and some aid to the memory was necessary. A similar need was encountered by all the pioneers in the new music. Western musical notation was still completely unknown, however, and no way had been developed to indicate the time value of a note. Kodō's first system of notation was no more than aid to his own memory. One of his pupils, Uehara Kyodō, a physicist and musician, set about working out a system of dots by which tempo and rhythm could be clearly indicated. The two of them, with a second pupil, Kawase Jun'suke, wrote down the Kinko repertoire and distributed copies to all applicants. Of the three it was really Kawase who managed the publishing enterprise and succeeded in distributing shakuhachi music throughout the country. Kyodō's system of dots became the definitive system for notation of Kinko-school music.

Uehara Kyodō was born in Edo in 1848, the son of a samurai family. In 1869 he entered the Kaiseisho Academy, where he studied French and physics. Graduating in 1875, he began a career as a teacher, first in the Military Academy and subsequently in the Music School, the Higher Normal School, and the Art Academy. His achievements were particularly outstanding in music, and in 1895 he wrote the remarkable Zokugaku Senritsukō (Thoughts on the Melodies of Vulgar Music), based on his studies in the shakuhachi. He took up that instrument in 1875, upon joining the staff of the Military Academy, and
subsequently perfected his technique under Kodō. Among his relatives was a woman skilled at both the jiuta and the sōkyoku, and with her to experiment on Kyodō lost himself in his study of melodics. The result was the great work just mentioned, and a by-product was the new system of shakuhachi notation.

Kodō was succeeded by his eldest son, who was born in 1879 and who turned to the shakuhachi after he had given up his early aspirations to become a painter. After succeeding to his father’s name in 1896 he improved his technique rapidly, and after his father’s death he stood at the forefront of the shakuhachi world. He was in turn succeeded by a son upon his death in 1935. This fourth Kodō, who showed much promise, died suddenly in July, 1943, at the age of forty-one.

If one asks what was at the heart of Kinko music, the answer of course is the solo Fuke music (honkyoku) of the original Kurosawa Kinko. It was in his music that Kinko survived, but that music, while it was eminently successful at making the player drunk with his own art, was too poor both in form and in content to move the listener. The spread of the gaikyoku, samisen-koto-shakuhachi music was therefore natural and inevitable. The jiuta had been perfected as a fusion of samisen music and koto music, and the shakuhachi had to follow one or the other of those instruments. Since this arrangement fell considerably short of the occidental trio, the shakuhachi quite failed to make artistic advances. The Meiji shakuhachi musician was preoccupied with producing a beautiful tone, and it was not until the Taishō Era that young musicians began to appear who were dissatisfied with the shakuhachi as a dressing for the koto and samisen. The young warhawks were led by Yoshida Seifū, Fukuda Randō, and Kawamoto Seirō.

Yoshida Seifū was born in Kumamoto in August, 1890. He began studying the shakuhachi while he was still in commercial school, his teacher being a musician of the Kinko school. In 1912 he went to Korea, where, as a businessman, he was able to pursue his interest in the shakuhachi. There he came to
know the koto-player Miyagi Michio, and the two promised to meet again in Tokyo. In 1915 Yoshida returned alone and devoted his energies to creating a new music for the shakuhachi. Miyagi Michio followed in 1917, and the two of them went to work energetically on the "movement for the new Japanese music" (shin nihon ongaku fukyū undō). Yoshida asked for the privilege of performing the piano-shakuhachi music then being composed by the Western-style musician Moto'ori Nagayo. In the fall of 1920 he presented the music of Moto'ori and Miyagi in the old Yūraku-za. It was Yoshida who gave the program its name: Shin Nihon Ongaku Ensōkai (Recital of New Japanese Music). In 1924 he went to America with a group headed by Moto'ori Nagayo on a mission of thanks for American earthquake aid. He subsequently toured America and Siam, and in Japan he began manufacturing a one-yen shakuhachi and set out on an aggressive campaign to popularize the instrument. He died on June 30, 1950, at the age of sixty. He was a most apt partner for Miyagi Michio, and it may be said that he spent his life performing Miyagi's music. In his last years he took to writing his own music, but it was no more than an extension of Miyagi's.

Fukuda Randō was born in May, 1906, the illegitimate son of the celebrated Western-style painter Aoki Shigeru. He began his study of the shakuhachi while still a grammar-school student. The name Randō was given to him by his teacher, Sekiguchi Getsudō. He also studied Western music under Murozaki Seitarō, and subsequently by himself. He wrote music for the piano and shakuhachi, but his real forte was rather as a performer, his music having a peculiarly modern charm to it. His talent was so great, however, that he unfortunately did not limit himself to the shakuhachi.

Kawamoto Seirō was born in 1904 in Utsunomiya. At the age of eight he was adopted by Kawamoto Itsudō, under whom he studied the shakuhachi. Later he became adept at the seven-holed shakuhachi, and to the end of the war he was
occupied in making recordings and otherwise spreading the fame of the instrument.

In the Kansai, the originator of shakuhachi notation was Chikurinken Tozan, and it was the perfection and dissemination of his system that started the Tozan school on the way to its present position of eminence. Tozan was born in October, 1876, the son of an old family in Osaka Prefecture. His mother was the daughter of Terauchi Kengyō of Kyoto, master of the heikyoku, the koto, and the kokyū, and was herself skilled in jiuta, and it seems therefore that Tozan's musical abilities were inherited. As a child he took up the shakuhachi without a teacher, it is said. In 1894, at the age of eighteen, he went to the Tōfukuji in Kyoto with the intention of becoming a komusō itinerant priest. Ordinarily one had to be twenty-four before one was allowed to become a komusō, but he was given a special license, together with a testimonial to his skill as a musician. He is said to have wandered the provinces of the Kansai as a mendicant.

The Fuke sect had been outlawed in 1871, and the following year the regimen of the mendicant had been officially proscribed. This led to great difficulties in the propagation of Buddhism, however, and in 1878 the various sects jointly petitioned the government for permission to revive mendicancy. In 1881 the request was granted by the Ministry of the Interior. In 1883 the Meian Kyōkai (Meian Society) was founded with Prince Kujō at its head, its purpose being to preserve the komusō system, even if the Fuke Sect itself could not be revived. Katsuura Shōzan, the thirty-sixth abbot of the former Meianji, became head of the Kyoto branch, and his organization came to be called the Meian School.

In Osaka, Kondō Sōetsu's home ground followers of that musician were naturally most numerous, but there was no central liaison among shakuhachi musicians. Having polished his technique during his mendicancy, Tozan apparently first set himself up as a teacher in 1896. It was extremely difficult
at the time to make a living as a shakuhachi teacher, and when in 1900 he lost his mother, who had been his one supporter, he went to work in an office. With the prosperity of 1903, the number of applicants for shakuhachi lessons rose sharply, and he again turned to music. He once described his early difficulties to the writer; "My music was my own invention, and I had never studied formally. This gave me a certain uneasiness. I had long known of a master in Tokyo called Araki Chiku-Ō and I was most anxious to go to study under him. At the time, however, I was so poor that I was not able to scrape together train fare to Tokyo." Had he gone to Tokyo, the Tozan school might never have been born. His progress was rapid after he returned to teaching in 1903. He capitalized on the prosperity that came with the Russo-Japanese War. In 1904 he published a new composition in the martial spirit, and his later compositions, called main or principal songs (honkyoku) of the Tozan school, contributed to the growth of the school's prosperity.

That the school was able to build up a following throughout the Kansai with ten years after its founding, in the whole country within twenty years, and in Manchuria, Korea, and other areas overseas within thirty years, however, was due entirely to the perfection and dissemination of its system of notation, and to the development of an examination system. Familiar with Western musical notation since his youth Tozan had tried during his years as an office worker to write music for the violin. He supplied this experience to the shakuhachi, and, determining on a way to express time value, developed a system quite unlike that of Uehara Kyodō, a system rather like abbreviated Western notation. His students advanced through lower, middle, and upper grades to the ranks of probationary teacher, and master-teacher, and the name Chikurinken was granted as a reward for special services to the school. To move from one grade to another the student took examinations, the examinations being based on published scores. Each new
publication was thus assured of a sale as a textbook. The system of sales was quite unlike that of Kawase Jun’suke, who canvassed the country for buyers. The Tozan school relied rather on organization. It became incumbent upon everyone enrolled in the school to buy each new work. The final result was an entrepreneurial triumph rather than an artistic one.

The school saw its greatest growth after Tozan moved to Tokyo in April, 1922, and, by publishing the works of Miyagi Michio, Hisamoto Genchi and other musicians not actually members of the school, succeeded in disseminating “new music” throughout the country. The Tozan school made the works of Miyagi and Hisamoto famous, and those musicians in turn contributed to the prosperity of the school. Perhaps we may say that school’s period of growth lasted until about 1931, when celebrations were held in twenty cities, including Tokyo and Osaka, to celebrate the thirty-fifth anniversary of its founding. By the end of that year the school had under it 54 musicians with the rank of master, 224 with the rank of teacher, and 1,283 with the rank of assistant teacher, in addition to 1,218 instructors not so graded—a total 2,779 persons qualified to teach. If each had fifty pupils, followers of the school totalled 138,950, a really astonishing for a school of Japanese music.

The Tozan school, in common with other schools of music and the dance, suffered severely from the war, however. Tozan’s Tokyo house was destroyed in the air raids and at the end of the war he moved to Kyoto. Whatever may have been the case in rural areas, the Tozan school and shakuhachi music in general went into a sharp decline in the cities. The reason seems to be that students, who were the principal supporters of the shakuhachi, turned to jazz and other forms of Western music. Whether this is but a temporary phenomenon remains to be seen.

6. GROWTH AND SPLIT OF THE HAUTA

In addition to such schools as tomimoto, kiyomoto, tokiwazu,
nagauta, and gidayū, which had their heads and were very particular about maintaining a true line of succession, there were in the Edo Era certain popular styles that had their day and disappeared. Indeed it might be more accurate to say that this popular music was the base on which, from time to time, a style crystallized into a school. In any case, if the uta and the jōruri of the schools may be taken as the main stream, there was always a lesser stream of popular music flowing parallel to it. This latter was the music principally of the pleasure quarters. When the song was interesting people sang it, regardless of what school it might belong to. The nage-bushi, itako, yoshikono, and dodoitsu popular in the three large cities in the mid-Edo Era were early examples of this popular music. From the Bunka and Bunsei periods of the early nineteenth century a short song called the hauta acquired a considerable following among Edo townsmen. Hauta were probably composed by professionals for the diversion of the pleasure quarters, but they were not allowed to die and soon acquired non-professional admirers. Groups called “hauta clubs” (hauta-kō) met for recitals in rented quarters or the houses of members.

In 1953, a work called Tōdai Zensei Kōmyōzuke (Roster of Successful People of Our Time) listed twenty-five musicians skilled in the hauta. Six of them were women hauta instructors, all ex-geisha who had failed to win glory in that profession and who filled out their husbands’ incomes by giving music lessons. The others were all men to whom hauta was no more than a hobby. Hirata Toraemon, who later became the head of the kazawa-bushi school, was a tatami-maker. With several acquaintances, he organized a hauta club called the Ume-no-yu Group from the name of the bath house which became its meeting place. At about the same time a Honjo hatamoto named Sasamoto Hikotarō was taken with a fever for the hauta. Retiring from his other responsibilities, he devoted himself to music and presently became intimate with the Ume-no-yu Group. Members of that group as well as other devotees of the hauta
frequented his mansion. He seems to have most admired Toraemon. In 1857 he petitioned the Impartial Family for permission to organize a school of utazawa-bushi, and when permission was granted he became head of the school with the name Yamato Daijō Minamoto-no-Tadakane. Toraemon took the name Utazawa Sagami. Sasamoto considered himself only the patron of the new school, and when the founding process was complete he stepped aside and Toraemon, now called Noto, became the second head of the school. Other members of the Ume-no-yu Group were somewhat dissatisfied with Toraemon’s appointment, but none of them had enough talent to challenge him. After 1860, when Sasamoto died of palsy, most of the old group left him. He devoted himself assiduously to his duties as head of the school, however, and turned to the training of disciples.

In 1862, Shibata Kinkichi received permission to found another utazawa school, whose head he became with the name Utazawa Tosa-no-Jō Shibakin. Whereas Toraemon was devoted exclusively to music, Shibakin seems to have been adept at politics, and he was a friend of the writer Kanagaki Robun and others. When in 1870 he performed in Mokuami’s dramatization of the Tamenaga Shunsui novel Umegoyomi, he had himself billed as “head of the utazawa school,” a claim which greatly angered Toraemon. The latter took his case to court and won, and Shibakin changed the name to his own school to kazawa-bushi. The kazawa-bushi was successful enough at advertising to be a strong rival of the older school, and the public came to think of the “Tora branch” and the “Shiba branch” as the whole of the utazawa-bushi. Shibakin died in August, 1874, at the age of forty-six, and Toraemon in October of the following year. The date of the latter’s birth is not clear, but he seems to have lived into his sixties.

How then did the hauto change when it came to be known as the utazawa-bushi? How were the two factions into which it split distinguished from each other? It would seem that in
the hauta period proper, the airs varied with the performer, and the style lacked unity. With the development of the hauta clubs, singers listened to and criticized one another, until certain outstanding singers came to be recognized as models on the basis of whose art the school developed a unified style. The standards in question were probably the composite judgments of the Ume-no-yu group. It may be said that the principal characteristic of the new school was its emphasis not on voice but on song itself, and on a thin, reserved style quite the opposite of the rich and the showy. The differences between the two branches seem to have been no greater than personal differences between Toraemon and Shibakin.

The first Shibakin, who had no children, adopted a son and a daughter. The former succeeded to his name, but seems not to have had much talent, and leadership of the school passed to his foster sister, who became the third Shibakin. She was the daughter of a Fukagawa lighter operator, and was adopted by the first Shibakin because of her remarkable musical abilities. In October, 1908, she relinquished her name and the leadership of the school to her niece, and in May, 1910, she died. It is not known how old she was. The fourth Shibakin was only sixteen when she succeeded to the name. She won a following with the help of her sister and accompanist, the second Shibasei. In 1927 the two quarrelled and the school split into the Shibakin faction and the Shibasei faction. The break was not mended until 1942. Toraemon’s name was taken in 1881 by a daughter. There seem to have been certain difficulties that thus kept her from succeeding to the name until six years after her father’s death. She was the third head of the school, if one includes Yamato-Daijō as the first. She in turn was succeeded by a daughter. The latter relinquished the leadership of the school to a daughter in 1927, and was in her later years bedridden with palsy. She died on March 4, 1943, at the age of seventy-one.

In the Meiji Era the Toraemon faction was overshadowed by the
rival Shibakin faction. In the Taishō Era, however, the musician who had succeeded to the name Toraemon appeared in a Tōzai Meijinkai (Kantō-Kansai Joint Recital) organized around Toyotake Roshō, and made such an impression on the Tokyo intelligentsia with her quiet, refined style that she was able at a stroke to outdistance the rival school. Thereafter the two schools generally balanced each other both in technique and in popularity. In and after the Taishō Era, the Toraemon faction seems to have placed its emphasis on long and delicate airs, while the Shibakin faction gave up its cultivation of fine details and emphasized a soft, soothing tone.

The hauta had thus, on the one hand, settled into the utazawa-bushi, and, on the other, given rise to the kouta. The term kouta had already appeared in the 1853 roster mentioned above, and Kuchinawa no Mohei, a member of Toraemon’s group, had in his resentment when the latter became head of the utazawa school taken the name Kouta Seijusai. His kouta seems to have been no different from the hauta and the utazawa-bushi. Quite independently, singers and samisen players in the kiyomoto style had taken to writing short pieces as a diversion from their main work. A clear record of this maybe traced back to 1855, when O-yō, the fifteen-year-old daughter of the second Enjudayū, wrote a short song so admired by the second Seibei that he composed variations for it. The girl was encouraged to write another song, and again he wrote variations, she herself stated in a magazine interview (to be found in the Dagyo-kushū collection) that gives us our earliest information on the origin of the form.

O-yō’s song was of course not itself the first work of its kind. It seems likely that kiyomoto musicians had long been fond of kouta, and that her young effort was in imitation of her seniors. The fashion seems to have been current from the youth of her father, the second Enjudayū, of whom it is written in the Kouta Shiishū (Kouta Historical Collection) that when he set a kiyomoto work to the yoshikono-bushi of the Bunsei
Period (1818–1830), his effort became popular not only in Tokyo and the Kansai but all over the country. No doubt singers and samisen players thereafter were enthusiastic in their pursuit of the *kouta*. From the time of the second Enjudayū, *kiyomoto* became less the continuous composition it had traditionally been and more a sort of stringing together of short *kouta*, and certain *kiyomoto* works became popular as *kouta*. *Kiyomoto* singers in and after the Meiji Era who are known today as *kouta* composers include Kikujudayū (1820–1905), while players of the samisen include the third Kiyomoto Seibei (1852–1909), the second Kiyomoto Umekichi (1854–1911), and the third Kiyomoto Junzō (1851–1917). Yoshida Sōshian, who was a prolific composer of *kouta* in the Taishō and Shōwa Eras, was originally a *kiyomoto* samisen player. He moved on to the *kouta* under the influence of Kikujudayū. A number of compositions by these men are still popular today.

It was not only the creative urge of *kiyomoto* musicians that led to this enthusiasm for the *kouta*, however. There were other patrons behind the movement, some of whom simply enjoyed listening to the *kouta*, and some of whom composed lyrics to be set to the samisen. These compositions were strictly for the moment, and neither the writer of the lyrics nor the samisen musician had any thought of preserving them for posterity. The man who sang them well was popular at a party, and the matter went no further. The more famous numbers were transmitted orally, and the names of the composers are not known (except in the cases of scores printed with the names of the composers in and after the Taishō Era). Kawada Koichirō always comes to mind as typical of these amateurs. He was a native of the province of Tosa and was one of the planners instrumental in the rise of the Mitsubishi combine. In 1889 he became president of the Bank of Japan, and later he was appointed by the Emperor to the House of Peers. In 1896 he resigned from the Bank of Japan because of illness, and later the same year he died, at the age of sixty. As president of the Bank of Japan
he frequented the pleasure quarters, with numerous dancers and musicians in his retinue. It is said that one evening during the June rains, he went to a Mukōjima pleasure house with a geisha other than the one who was under his protection, and that unfortunately the latter geisha was at the same house and chanced to see them. Kojima commemorated the incident in lyrics for a kouta: "The long rains, and water rises in the reed-filled pond. Who now can distinguish the kakitsubata iris from the ayame iris? It is a quiet room not far from the Shrine of the Water God, that much is certain, and not far from the Yoshiwara. In the evening light, we see Mt. Fuji and Mt. Tsukuba for a moment." The two kinds of iris and the two mountains refer to the two rival geisha. Kiyomoto O-yō is said to have set the lyrics to music. It was this sort of song that delighted wealthy amateurs.

There were also a few outstanding connoisseurs, like Hiraoka Ginzō, who composed both lyrics and music and taught them to geisha. Hiraoka was born in 1856. His father, an official of the Shogunate, was adept at utai of the Hōshō school of Nō, and a constant stream of musicians passed in and out of his house; and his mother was a sister of Miyako Itchū, master of the hauta and the itchū-bushi. The youth went to America at the age of fifteen to study the manufacture of locomotives. After his return he founded a locomotive company and, having made his fortune, turned to the elegant arts, in the pursuit of which he became famous as a lavish spender. In 1902 he wrote ten songs for what he called the tōmei school, a new style incorporating elements of katō, kiyomoto, nagauta, etc. Being playful by nature, he liked to publish mischievous works when someone in his group was having romantic troubles, and to compose decisive kouta based on these affairs. When the fifth Kikugorō was temporarily disabled with palsy, he wrote a song whose samisen accompaniment was meant to poke fun at the actor's dragging gate, and when he was studying under the katō-bushi master Yamabiko Hidejirō, he wrote a kouta treating of Hidejirō's troubles with his wife, and of his policy of
lending money to his colleagues at usurious rates.

Kawada Koichirō and Hiraoka Ginshū represented an age when capitalism was at full tide. The Meiji Era was a paradise for their kind, and it became imperative for geisha to be proficient in the kouta. Koyoshi (Yokoyama Saki), a Nihonbashi geisha, became an entertainer without whose presence a party was not complete. Originally trained in kiyomoto, she became the wife of Yokoyama Magoichirō, manager of the Imperial Hotel. After his death she took to teaching kiyomoto and kouta, the first person to give formal instruction in the latter. She was urged to found a new school for the dissemination of the form, which it was held, was too good to be the plaything of only a few connoisseurs. She refused, and instead urged her pupil, Hori Kotama, to found such a school. The latter officially announced herself as head of the Hori school of kouta in November, 1917. Shortly after Yokoyama Saki’s death in 1919, one of Kotama’s pupils, Tamura Teru, quarrelled with her teacher, and, calling from retirement one Koteru, who had been a Nihonbashi geisha with Koyoshi and was like the latter skilled in kouta, set her up as a rival teacher. Thus Hori Kotama and Tamura Teru stood in competition as the first kouta teachers who called themselves heads of schools. There were other musicians proficient in the kouta, but since it was for them no more than a hobby, they were in no position to compete with the two established schools. Presently it became clear that the only way to resist these latter was to establish rival schools, each with its own line of succession and its independent organization. The mushrooming of new schools in the Shōwa Era brought unprecedented prosperity for the kouta.

Kouta was thus in effect no more than a branch of hauta. After it passed into the hands of kiyomoto musicians, however, the emphasis on new composition led to a form quite different from the parent hauta and utazawa. Whereas the accepted tempo for hauta had been moderate, utazawa was delivered in a tempo rubato, with the time value shortened and prolonged
in an uneven rhythm. *Kouta*, on the other hand, was generally played allegro, and was at one time distinguished from the other as “allegro *kouta*” or simply “allegro.” While the voice was dominant in *utazawa*, moreover, and the samisen accompaniment was kept subordinate, the emphasis was placed on the samisen in *kouta*, and its charm came from a skilful fitting of the lyrics into the samisen accompaniment. The *kouta* also had as special characteristics the use of variations in a sort of antiphonal accompaniment, and the addition of a samisen cadenza at the end of the lyrics.

Besides the *utazawa* and the *kouta*, the so-called *hayari-uta* and *sawagi-uta* (“popular songs” and “roistering songs”) were forms of *hauta* used to liven up parties. From about 1890, with the promulgation of the Meiji Constitution, provincial songs came to be popular in Tokyo: *Miyazu-bushi, yosakoi-bushi, Iso-bushi, Tairyō-bushi, Oiwake-bushi, Kiso-bushi, and Ina-bushi*, sung chiefly at drinking parties; and later, in the Taishō Era, *Yasuki-bushi, Etsū Owara-bushi, Sado Okesa, Yamana-bushi, Kushimoto-bushi*, and in the Shōwa Era, *Aizu Bandaisan* and *Kagoshima Ohara-bushi*, all of which gained wide popularity along with jazz and popular songs in the Occidental manner.

The samisen music of the Edo Era, *uta* as well as *jōruri*, tended to become hardened and formalized, and to lose its life. The real nature of the *hauta* is clear from the fact that, developing from popular music to the music of the geisha and the banquet, it continued to flow and move, and avoided the stagnation of the other styles.
Chapter Three

THE LATE MEIJI ERA

1. GENERAL CONDITION OF THE WORLD OF SONG AND DANCE

THE various nagauta schools. It is convenient to begin our survey of the late Meiji Era with the year 1896, when the two elders of the nagauta, the second Kineya Katsusaburō and the third Kineya Shōjirō, died. The following year the sixth Kineya Saburōsuke and Matsunaga Wafū organized the Tokyo Nagauta Kumiai (Tokyo Nagauta Union). The Union was in many ways like a modern trade union, a mutual protective association made necessary by the absolute power of the theatres and their refusal to consider the welfare of the musicians they employed. Kineya Kambei (formerly the twelfth Rokuzaeemon), an influential figure as chief samisen player at the Kabuki-za, and Takara Sanzaemon, another musician at the same theatre, opposed the Union out of loyalty to the management, and organized a sort of company union which they called the New Tokyo Nagauta Union. In 1898, in celebration of the thirtieth anniversary of the transfer of the capital to Tokyo, both groups presented new music in unprecedented open-air nagauta concerts. The unions served to real purpose, however, and both quietly disappeared after three or four joint recitals. Still it must be noted as a step forward, and as a sign of the times, that artists who had been concerned only with their own personal interests came to consider joint action necessary.

In 1899 Tanaka Shōhei returned from Germany. His return of course had no direct effect on nagauta, but among the pupils
he trained in his program for adopting Occidental notation was one Yamada Shumpei (1886–1933), who became a samisen musician with the professional name Yoshizumi Kojūrō, and who, under Tanaka’s direction, published Nagauta Shin-keikobon (New Nagauta Practice-book), a distinct contribution to the school. On August 19, 1902, Yoshizumi Kosaburō (Kojūrō’s teacher), Kineya Rokushirō and others launched their Nagauta Kenseikai (Society for Refining the Nagauta), an organization which had as its purpose the liberation of nagauta from its subordination to the theatre, and its establishment as an independent concert art. The achievements of the Society were very considerable in spreading an appreciation of nagauta beyond the narrow circle of devotees on which it had until then depended, and in removing from the samisen the stigma of the pleasure quarters and making it an acceptable instrument for the proper bourgeois. More will be said of its work later.

Simultaneously with the founding of the Society, announcement was made that the sixth Kineya Saburōsuke, father of Rokushirō, would succeed to his teacher’s name as the fifth Kineya Kangorō. At this news, the rival Rokuzaemon faction of the Kineya house hastily announced that one of its sons was becoming Kangorō. There were therefore shortly two musicians with the professional name Kangorō. In 1905 both Mochizuki Chōkurō and Takara Sanzaemon became Mochizuki Tazaemon. The two incidents show how intense was the desire of nagauta musicians to succeed to the names of their seniors.

The tenth Kineya Rokuzaemon, famous as a leader of the nagauta revival, had two foster sons, Eizō, who became the fifth Saburōsuke, and Rokumatsu, who became Kisaburō. Upon Rokuzaemon’s death, a squabble arose over the succession. Saburōsuke became the eleventh Rokuzaemon, but in 1868 he was forced to relinquish the name to Kisaburō, whereupon he took the name Kangorō, retired to Negishi, and severed relations with the new Rokuzaemon. Among his pupils was one Kineya Shirōji. The latter was really a disciple of the first
Rokushirō, but Kangorō, extremely fond of him, let him succeed to a name he himself had once held. Shirōji thus became the sixth Kineya Saburōsuke. When Kangorō died in 1877 at the age of sixty-two, Saburōsuke took care of all the funeral arrangements. The memorial services the following year, however, were under the direction of one Setsu, an influential pupil of the deceased Kangorō. Rokuzaemon, who had administered such a bitter defeat to Kangorō and who was hated by the latter to the end of his life, and by Setsu herself as well, managed somehow to mollify them and was a conspicuous figure at the services. Rokuzaemon went even farther: he persuaded Saburōsuke to act as intermediary, and succeeded in having Hirokichi, his second son, adopted by Setsu. It would appear that Rokuzaemon was secretly plotting to make his eldest son the thirteenth Rokuzaemon, and his second son Kangorō. Some ten years later, in 1902, Saburōsuke, as the pupil who had ministered to Kangorō in his last days and who had even received a name from that master, announced his succession to the name Kangorō. The counter-attack was immediate. Hirokichi, who had since become Eizō, was proclaimed Kangorō on the basis of his having been adopted by Kineya Setsu. To the disinterested observer, however, the claim to the Kangorō name through Setsu seems dubious indeed. The question, of course, is whether Setsu and the deceased Kangorō actually lived as husband and wife; but even assuming that they did, it does not seem that Setsu had a clear right to call herself his widow. Her position was not publicly recognized, and it is somehow laughable to think that Rokuzaemon had his son adopted by her as a device for claiming the name Kangorō. The rivalry between the two Kangorōs lasted for six years, until in 1908 Saburōsuke Kangorō took the name Kineya Jōkan. Almost as though they had arranged it in advance, the rival Kangorōs both died in 1917, the Kisaburō (Hirokichi) Kangorō on March 14 at the age of forty-two, and the Saburōsuke Kangorō on August 29 at the age of seventy-eight. The Kisaburō Kangorō
was an extraordinarily talented musician and composer, whose untimely death brought to an end a most promising career. He was fortunate in being born to an illustrious house, and yet the academic atmosphere in which he lived, with its sycophants, tyrants, and conspiracies, may have prevented him from fully developing his capabilities.

In February, 1903, the year after the Nagauta Kenseikai (Society for Refining the Nagauta) was founded, the Rokuzaemon faction organized a rival group called the Nagauta Music Society (Nagauta Ongakukai), its first meeting being a recital in the hall where the Kenseikai met. With its activities fitted into a busy theatre schedule, it was entirely different in spirit from the latter, whose members were determined to go on with their work even if they could not make money for car fare. The Rokuzaemon group scheduled four meetings a year, but the number fell to two, to one, and presently to none, while the Kenseikai on the other hand was becoming more vigorous each year. In 1911, with the completion of the Imperial Theatre, the Rokuzaemon faction, always quick to sense a good opportunity, moved to that theatre. Among its singers were Yoshimura Ijūrō, Okayasu Nampo, Nakamura Eigorō (later the fourth Matsunaga Wafū), and Nakamura Heizō, and among the samisen players Kineya Rokuzaemon, Kineya Kangorō, and Okayasu Kisaburō. The move had the effect of bringing new blood to the nagauta. Musicians like Fujita Otozō (1874–1928), Matsushima Shōjūrō (1877–1927), and the seventh Yoshimura Ishirō moved from the second and third rank at the Kabuki-za to the first. Kineya Eizō, foster son of Ijūrō and pupil of Kangorō, parted company with his foster father and became the leading samisen player at the Kabuki-za. Kineya Katsutarō, Kineya Sakichi, and other newcomers were also given more prominent positions.

With the rise of these younger musicians, concerts outside the theatre became more common. The two most active groups were led by the samisen players Kineya Eizō and Kineya Sakichi.
Such singers as Otozō, Shōjūrō, and Ishirō served them all, so that these latter became purveyors of music on whom an unreasonable demand was made. The result was that most of them died fairly young. Nakamura Eigorō, later Yoshimura Kojirō, managed to work at a fairly leisurely pace, and developed a particular appealing style that made him indispensable as a sole accompanist for domestic pieces (*nibamme kyōgen*) on the stage. In his later years he took the name Matsunaga Wafū, and became Yoshizumi Kosaburō’s only strong competitor. Among the samisen players, Kineya Sakichi was extremely active from the early Taishō Era and became chief accompanist for the Sadanji-Ennosuke troupe. He wrote many dance pieces for the latter actor, as well as concert pieces, *fuyōkyoku*, and children’s music for the samisen, but he was unfortunate in not having an outstanding singer for his partner, as Kineya Kangyoku (formerly the thirteenth Rokuzaemon) had Yoshimura Ijūrō and Kineya Rokushirō had Yoshizumi Kosaburō.

*The Bungo schools.* In the Bungo schools, the rise of Tokiwazu Rinchū must be noted. His career extends over the whole of the Meiji Era. He was born in 1842, the son of a samurai family in northern Japan. He was adopted by another samurai family, and perhaps because his foster father was fond of music, began studying *tokiwazu* under Watodayū. In 1853 he took the name Kowatodayū, and in 1862 succeeded as the second Matsuodayū to the name of the master to whose school he had transferred. He seems to have matured early. In the main branch of the Tokiwazu line, an illegitimate son of the deceased Bungo-Daijō became the sixth Komojidayū, and when he died young, in 1872, his widow, with the name Bunchū, became head of the school. The rival Kishizawa line meanwhile was prospering, and it became imperative that a successor to the Tokiwazu line be named. Through the intercession of Morita Kan’ya, Matsuodayū was adopted by Bunchū in July, 1879. The quarrel between the Kishizawa and the Tokiwazu, which had begun in 1860, was patched up by Morita Kan’ya and
Kawatake Mokuami, and the sixth Kishizawa Shikisa composed a piece of music celebrating Matsushima, a famous scenic spot in the part of Japan that was the new Komojidayū’s home. For some reason, however, the latter did not get on well with his foster mother. In 1886 he left her house, and, taking the name Rinchū, began touring the provinces with Nakasuke, a younger brother of the sixth Shikisa. While he was an accomplished musician, he seems to have had certain defects as a person, and the venture was for the most part a failure. In 1890 he took the name Miyakoji Kunidayū and settled down to teach music to geisha in Moriooka, his native city. In 1894, the ninth Danjūrō, dissatisfied with the singing of the man who had succeeded Rinchū as the eighth Komojidayū, summoned Rinchū back from the provinces. It was from that date that his true worth came to be recognized. He played for all of Danjūrō’s tokiwazu dances, and indeed his name came to stand for tokiwazu in the public mind. Fate was not kind to him, however, and he died on May 6, 1906, at the age of sixty-four, of cancer of the stomach. He is said to have had a thin, delicate voice as a young man, but during his period of inactivity in Moriooka he changed his style completely and developed a rich and indescribably colorful voice. There was nothing fussy about his style, and his timing added great interest to unmodulated jōruri recitatives. His delivery was incomparably skillful. For all his talent, however, he did not have a happy career.

Among his disciples in his later years was Fukuda Sōkichi, who in 1900 became a disciple of the fifth Kishizawa Koshikibu. He was greatly embarrassed and inconvenienced by the failure of a provincial tour organized by Koshikibu’s brother Nakasuke, however, and, leaving the Kishizawa house, became a pupil of Rinchū. The latter saw great promise in him, and gave him the name Matsuodayū, which he himself had had. After Rinchū’s death Matsuodayū returned to the Kishizawa house. The Kishizawa and the Tokiwa were again feuding, and the former set itself up independently with Matsuodayū as its leading
artist. After the deaths of the fifth Koshikibu and his brother Nakasuke, the seventh Shikisa and his brother, the third Nakasuke, became Matsuodayū's samisen accompanists. In 1911, the management of the Imperial Theatre, upon the opening of that theatre, teamed Matsuodayū with the samisen accompanist Mojibe, who belonged to the main Tokiwazu line. This combination, drawn from the new and old factions, was a great success, and Matsuodayū, attached exclusively to the Imperial Theatre, went on to perfect his technique. He was assisted by the second Mojibe, and after the latter's death by his son, the third Mojibe. In November, 1939, Matsuodayū had a stroke while playing in Osaka. He was inactive from then until his death in 1947 at the age of seventy-two. Though as an artist he could not compare with his master, Rinchū, the two decades centering on the Taishō Era were a golden age for him.

Several attempts, all unsuccessful, were made to revive tomimoto after the death of the sixth Buzendayū. A woman named Sakada Raku, who was born in 1857 and who studied under the third and fourth (later the sixth) Buzen in her youth, took the name Tomimoto Miyakoji in 1909, after the death of her husband, and began a career as a professional musician. Later she became Buzen. She died in 1933 at the age of seventy-six. Unrecognized as the successor to the house of Buzendayū (which was of course extinct), she may not be counted as the seventh Buzen. She deserves credit, nonetheless, for preserving tomimoto.

Upon the death of Rinchū, the fifth Kiyomoto Enjudayū came into prominence in the Bungo world. He was born in Edo in 1862, but was reared by an aunt and uncle in a Yokohama restaurant that numbered important notables among its patrons. He is said to have been impressed at the age of eight by Kiyomoto O-yō of kiyomoto and Nakanoshima Shosei of tomimoto, who were called to the restaurant by guests, and to have determined to study kiyomoto himself. When the Mitsui Trading Company was founded by Inoue Kaoru, a patron of the
restaurant, the youth was invited to apprentice himself to the new organization. Moving to Tokyo, he studied kiyomoto under Kikujudayū. He was assigned to the Yokohama branch of the company at the age of eighteen, and given the task of drinking in place of the branch manager, who it seems was not a strong drinker and therefore had trouble entertaining illustrious guests. The young man apparently acquitted himself nobly. In about 1885 he made some fifty or sixty thousand yen buying dollars, and, retiring from Mitsui, he devoted five years to spending the money. His skill at kiyomoto improved rapidly, and he was constantly calling O-yō, who, much pleased with him, suggested wistfully that it would be good to have someone like him to succeed to her line; and in the summer of 1890 he was adopted into the Kiyomoto house, which then was laboring under a debt of four thousand yen. His first stage appearance was at the Shintomi-za in May, 1891, as the second Kiyomoto Eijudayū. Later he appeared with Rinchū, who impressed him greatly and stirred him to new efforts.

Eijudayū became the fifth Enjudayū in 1894, when he was twenty-two years old. He was still immature and he attracted little attention. With the death of his foster parents and his seniors he was left to his own resources, and from about 1910 he began to improve markedly. His art reached perfection toward the end of the Taishō Era, from which time he was in a position to look down upon the whole of the music world. He had no children of his own, and a step-child, Keijirō, became his heir. In 1922, the third Umekichi, a samisen player, brought together an anti-Enju clique that broke away to form an independent school of kiyomoto. This Umekichi's mother was the daughter of O-yō and the fourth Enjudayū, and he therefore fell in the true line of the first Enjudayū. The quarrel seems to have arisen over the conflicting interests of the two factions, but emotional difficulties were also involved. Though a number of attempts were made to arrange a reconciliation, each group went its own way, training its own singers and
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samisen players. With the death of Enjudayū in 1943, at the age of eighty-one, the break became permanent. Enjudayū's stepson had died before him, and the latter's son succeeded as the sixth Enjudayū.

The most illustrious name in shinnaï was that of the seventh Fujimatsu Kagadayū (1856–1930). Born Kobayashi Buntarō, he was the son of an artisan family attached to the Shogunate. In his youth he thought of a career in the navy, but after he began studying shinnaï under Fujimatsu Shigadayū he decided instead to become a musician. For six years from 1880 he was the chosen disciple of Kagadayū, head of the shinnaï school. His fine voice attracted attention, and in 1894, on the death of the fifth Tomimoto Buzendayū, he was adopted into the Tomimoto house with the name Hoshidayū. He soon returned to the shinnaï school, and in 1895, the year after the fifth Kagadayū's death, took one of the latter's old names, Fujidayū. A brother of the dead master, the second Roccū, succeeded as the sixth Kagadayū. The new Kagadayū died in Nagoya in 1896 at the age of forty-five. In point of talent no one approached Fujidayū, but certain of the older disciples opposed him and succeeded in keeping him from becoming head of the school. It was not until 1902 that the Fujidayū faction, upon petitioning the government of Tokyo Prefecture, was able to obtain for him the name Kagadayū. He had a certain following in the shinnaï world, but he was almost unknown in the larger world of Japanese music until, in 1909, he participated in the two Kantō-Kansai Joint Recitals at the Yūraku-za. Shinnaï had until then been considered something coarse and noisy, something that ragged beggars sang in the streets late at night. Kagadayū and his brother (later the eighth Kagadayū), who accompanied him, won the audience with their clean, proper deportment. He was no match for Yanagiya Shichō (1873–1918) when it came to the jōruri recitative, but his fine, rich voice was unrivaled. Since he relied less on art than on the native quality of his voice, it was natural that his decline in his late
years should be rapid. He was a singer of the first rank to the end, however, and he may be said to have carried the load for one wing of Japanese music.

The classical schools (kokyoku). Already by the end of the Shogunate, katō-bushi had become an antique, the plaything of gentlemen of leisure. One would have expected, therefore, that with the new age it would wither away like the tomimoto-bushi. Perhaps as a reaction in favor of the old, however, it showed considerable life, though of course it can hardly be said to have flourished. Leaders of the school were Yamabiko Hidejirō (1841–1919) and Yamabiko Eishi (1838–1922). Hidejirō's father was a musician who had served katō-bushi well at the end of the Shogunate and who was posthumously made the ninth Katō. Eishi was a pupil of Hidejirō's mother, Bunshi. The two were thus in effect the last survivors of the house, but, perhaps because they were business rivals, they fought bitterly to the end of their lives. Eishi was the better artist of the two, but Hidejirō was blessed with better disciples, including the two women, Yamabiko Hideko and Yamabiko Yaeko, who were to represent the school in the next generation. Hidejirō was the true heir to the man who had, albeit posthumously, borne the name Katō. It is said, however, that he despaired of the school's future and emigrated to America, and that, unsuccessful there, he returned to Japan and, for want of a better trade, to the katō-bushi. It is not clear when this might have been. In the 1875 list of musicians, on which he would be to expected to appear as head of the school, Eishi is rather given that honor, perhaps because at the time she was securely established as a housewife and able to practice at leisure. Hidejirō was fortunate in his pupils, and made a comfortable living to the end of his life. Yamada Shumpei, upon the order of Tanaka Shōhei, wrote down in Western notation the complete repertoire of Yamabiko Hidejirō and Yamabiko Eishi, and Hidejirō’s music has also survived in the scores left by the Music Study Committee.
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The three lines of itchū-bushi, Miyako, Sugano, and Uji, had their own styles and their own lines of succession. The senior representative and most esteemed member of the school was the fourth Sugano Joyū (1841–1919). He succeeded to the name at the age of ten, and his musical career thus extended over nearly seven decades. His fine voice did not fail him even in his last years. He had no children, and a nephew became the fifth Joyū.

The Miyako line, as has been noted above, had no formal leader for some time after the death of the dissolute seventh Itchū. The fortunes of the line were in the hands of women musicians until, in 1855, an eight-year-old grandchild of the sixth Itchū succeeded as the eighth Itchū. The eighth Itchū died in 1877, and his father, who was no musician, took over the management of the house as the ninth Itchū. Shortly he too died, and a grandson of Miyako Matsuji became the tenth Itchū in 1881. He was not a particularly distinguished artist but he acquired a large following and greatly strengthened the line. He was bedridden from 1917 to his death in February, 1928, at the age of sixty. At his request the affairs of the school were left in the hands of the entrepreneur Ōkura Kihachirō, while Kobayashi Kin, a mistress of Itchū, was in charge of musical matters. Kin was also proficient in the kiyomoto, miyazono, and katō. In 1948 she secured the succession to the Miyako line by giving the name the tenth Itchū to a daughter she had borne. She died in November, 1950, at the age of seventy-one.

From the Taishō Era the katō and the itchū, together with the miyazono and the ogie, were known as "the classics" (kokyoku). If the term "classical" is taken in its literal meaning, there is nothing more classical about these four schools than about nagauta, gidayū, and the Bungo schools. Still the same musicians tended to learn all four, and their varied styles of singing and reciting blended so well into one cocktail, so to speak, that it became a matter of convenience to refer to the
four schools as “the classics” rather than to list them one by one. In the early Shōwa Era Sasagawa Rimpū added the jiuta of Tomizaki Shunshō to the others and organized the Kokyoku Kanshōkai (Society for the Appreciation of the Classics) which gave regular concerts, and with that development the term “classics” came into more widespread use.

The descent of ogie is quite distinct from that of the others. It developed rather as an offshoot of nagauta. Toward the end of the eighteenth century a Kabuki nagauta singer named Ogie Royū founded a school that left the theatre and specialized in nagauta for the Yoshiwara and the other pleasure quarters. His line presently died, to be revived toward the end of the Edo Era with the fourth Royū at its head. The revived ogie added jiuta and new compositions to its nagauta repertoire, and it was thus considerably different in style from its ancestor. The fourth Royū, it is said, let pleasure go to his head and degenerated into a male geisha. He died in 1884 at the age of forty-eight. His wife was left in charge of the affairs of the school, and when she died in July, 1902, the line expired. Only the daughter of his samisen player and two of her pupils remained to pass on the ogie-bushi. Upon the deaths of these latter, the leadership of the school went to the katō musician Yaeko, who took the name Ogie Rosho. Takemura Suzuko, who became Ogie Juyū, was a professional singer in the ogie style. In miyazono-bushi two of the representative Taishō musicians, Senka (Kobayashi Kin) and Senshū (Katayama Fusa) came to specialize respectively in itchū and katō, leaving only Miyazono Senharu, who died in 1924, as a professional teacher of miyazono. Among her pupils was the novelist Nagai Kafū. She was succeeded by a pupil whose professional name was Senhiro and later, from 1948, the third Senju.

*Exchange between the Yamada of Tokyo and the Ikuta of the Kansai.* The power of the Yamada school of sōkyoku koto music was absolute in Edo. Ikuta had come to the city even before emergence of Yamada Kengyō, but had failed to prosper,
and it was a realization that Ikuta was not what Edo wanted that led Yamada Kengyō to compose his new music. This is not to say, however, that at the time of the Restoration there were no teachers of the Kansai jiuta and sōkyoku in Edo. There was, for instance, Nagase Katsuochi, whose lineage is not clear but who undoubtedly was trained in the Ikuta school. The second Araki Kodō, as has been noted above, cooperated with him in composition of new shakuhachi music, while Yamada masters were also indebted to him in their work as composers. There was also Tokunaga Richō, later Tokuju, who from the early Meiji Era taught Ikuta to Tokyo Specialists and Yamada to Osaka specialists, and generally contributed to interchange between the two schools. He seems to have had a following in the world of pleasure, but he was not active as a public performer. Though the year of his death is not known, he seems to have been alive and active as late as 1935.

Matsushima Itoju (1843–1925) is considered the real pioneer in bringing Ikuta to Tokyo. The daughter of a Fukuoka samurai, she went blind at the age of four, and took up the koto under a teacher named Ōtsuka Kikuju. She moved to Tokyo in 1870, but shortly returned to Fukuoka. In 1882 she was back in Tokyo, this time to stay. She was adept at ensemble music, and it is said that even Nakanoshima Shōsei, the great name in the Yamada school, stole music from her. In the third decade of the Meiji Era, the Kyushu sōkyoku musician Takano Shigeru became an instructor in the Kazoku Jogakkō (Peeress’s School), but in his last years he returned to Kyushu. In the fourth decade of the Meiji Era the Kyushu musician Koide Toi lived for a time in Tokyo. It is interesting that she had among her pupils the third Kineya Rokushirō of the nagauta, and Kiyomoto Kikunosuke, the kiyomoto samisen player who later became Kouta Sōshian. In 1905, Yonekawa Chikatoshi moved to Tokyo from his native Okayama, and at about the same time Sato, a leading pupil of the Kumamoto master Nagatani Mitsuteru, moved to Tokyo as the wife of the shaku-
hachi musician Kawase Junsuke. In 1911, when the Music Study Committee was established at the Tokyo Music School, Yamaguchi Kikujirō (Iwao) was invited from Kyoto to join its staff, while Nagatani was occasionally invited to Tokyo from Kumamoto by his followers. Ikuta thus began to flourish in Tokyo, but it was still not widely known, and could not compare in influence with Yamada until, in the Taishō Era, Tomizaki Shunshō arrived in Tokyo. There had been until then no opportunity to hear jiuta in that city, and even connoisseurs of music knew nothing about the style. When Tsubouchi Shōyō, hearing that there was in jiuta a branch of Bungo-bushi known as shigedayū-bushi, asked Kōdō Tokuchi if he did not know of an Osaka jiuta teacher with whom inquiries might be made, Kōdō went all the way to Osaka in his search for such a person. Even in Osaka shigedayū-bushi was considered low class, and no teacher would admit that he knew the form. Kōdō’s quest thus ended in failure. Later a reporter for the Osaka Jiji Shimpō learned that Tomizaki Shunshō had presented a shigedayū-bushi number as his contribution to a recital organized with his colleagues, and wrote of the event for the newspaper. Yūki Reiichirō, editor of Shin Engei, was at the time in search of new advertising. He promptly sent a member of his staff to Osaka to negotiate with Miyazaki for an appearance in Tokyo. A two-day shigedayū-bushi recital was presented grandly at the Tokyo Yūraku-za in 1917. It won Tomizaki the recognition of the Iwasaki (Mitsubishi) family, and with their backing he left Osaka in 1918 to live permanently in Tokyo. With well-placed backers like Iwasaki Toshiya, Ōkura Kihachirō, and Yūki Reiichirō, and with his remarkable talent, he soon won security in Tokyo.

Though Miyagi Michio had in 1917 returned to Tokyo from Seoul, no one was yet inclined to pay any attention to the pale youth. Meanwhile the Yamada school was as prosperous as ever. While Tomizaki was living in a shabby little house in Azabu, financed by the Iwasaki, Imai Keishō, head of the
Yamada school, had a fine mansion at Kōjimachi, near the heart of town, held high official rank as a professor in the Tokyo Music School, and even owned his own automobile. It is said that the shakuhachi musician Yoshida Seifū, leading the blind Miyagi past Imai’s gate, touched his hand against the pillar and said: “Miyagi, this is where Imai lives, the most famous man in Tokyo. You’ll have to study to be a second Imai some day.”

*Developments in the Tokyo dance.* Principal developments in the Tokyo dance world in the late Meiji and Taishō Era were the rise of the second Fujima Ken’emon with the backing of the ninth Danjūrō to overtake his rival, the first Hanayagi Jusuke, and, upon the latter’s death, to become the dominant figure in the field; Tsubouchi Shōyō’s plans for a new dance movement, and composition of several new dances; and the work of Kan’emon as dance master and of his pupil Fujikage Shizue as the pioneer dancer in the new movement. We shall have occasion to speak of Tsubouchi Shōyō and Fujikage Shizue later; here it will suffice to touch upon Kan’emon’s achievements.

He was born in 1840, the son of the first Kan’emon and of Fujima Kenkichi, one of the *o-kyōgen-shi* dance instructors patronized by powerful Edo families. The first Kan’emon (1813–1851) was the son of a nagauta musician. At one time an actor apprenticed to the seventh Danjūrō, he later turned to the dance. He died fairly young, and his career was not a particularly eminent one.

Tracing the Fujima line back, one finds that the traditional name of its head was Kambei, which name became extinct in 1878 with the death of the seventh Kambei. The first Kan’emon was a pupil of the second Kanjūrō, which name was first held by the third Kambei. Kan’emon thus belonged to a cadet branch of the school. Though his state was a low one, he was both lucky and talented, and the way to advancement lay open. On this point at least, the world of music and the dance offered more freedom for individual development than
did No or the Kabuki. It was the ninth Danjūrō who really gave Kan’emon his opportunity.

Kan’emon lost his father at the age of eleven, and was reared by his mother. Like his father, he was for a time a disciple of the seventh Danjūrō. He changed to dancing under the guidance of a colleague of his father’s, and in 1858 became the second Kan’emon. (One theory has it that he did not take the name until 1864.) Hanayagi Jusuke was meanwhile becoming popular. Upon the death of the fifth Senzō in 1860, the Nishikawa line was left without a suitable successor, and Kan’emon was adopted into that house and became the sixth Senzō in 1867, through the good offices of Jusuke. It seems therefore that, at the time, he lacked confidence to push ahead under the name he had taken from his father. Whether for good or bad, he broke his ties with the Nishikawa line in 1871 and took again the name Kan’emon. He worked as a theatre dance master until 1873, and thereafter retired to teach dancing privately. Because his adopted son was under the protection of the ninth Danjūrō, he attracted the attention of that actor, and when, in October, 1887, the disagreement between Danjūrō and Hanayagi Jusuke over arrangements for the Emperor’s viewing of the Kabuki became an open quarrel, he helped Danjūrō prepare his own dances for a Shintomi-za production. Jusuke eventually found himself “locked out” by Danjūrō, and as he retreated Kan’emon advanced, until presently their positions were reversed. Jusuke died in 1903, as did Danjūrō. Thereafter Kan’emon’s position was unshakeable. The following year Tsubouchi Shōyō’s Shin-buyō-ron (Views on the New Dance) was published. Kan’emon, at the time frequently seen in Shōyō’s house as a teacher, joined in plans for the new movement. He served as dance master for all of Shōyō’s dance dramas, and his contributions to the new form were many. In later years it was a pupil of his, Fujikage Shizue, who came to the fore as the pioneer interpreter of the new dance. Kan’emon was blessed with a happy home, fame, money, and long life. He
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died in January, 1925, at the age of eighty-five. His was a longer life by three years than Hanayagi Jusuke's.

In the Hanayagi school, Jusuke's pupil Yoshimatsu took the name Wakayagi Yoshimatsu and set himself up independently in 1893 after a disagreement with his teacher. He left the theatre and became a teacher of some influence in the provinces and in the pleasure quarters. In 1906, on the occasion of his sixty-first birthday, he formally founded his new school. He died in 1917 at the age of seventy-two. His son was a painter, and a pupil succeeded as head of the dancing school. The latter died in 1943. The son of the first Jusuke, Yoshisaburō, who was born in 1893, was too young at the time of his father's death to succeed to the name, and a nephew of Jusuke's wife temporarily founded a sub-school with custody of leadership rights. In June, 1918, Yoshisaburō became the second Jusuke. An adopted son of the first Jusuke's adopted daughter, calling himself the fourth Yoshijirō, also founded a sub-school, so that the Hanayagi school today has three independent leaders.

The dance in Nagoya and in Kyoto-Osaka. The Nagoya Nishikawa style was perfected by Kagi (1864–1921) and Ishimatsu (1854–1935), two women disciples of the first Nishikawa Koisaburō. Kagi was born in Nagoya and adopted at the age of eight by Nishikawa Iku, a pupil of Koisaburō, and was instructed by both Koisaburō and Iku. From 1891 she took the place of her teachers as a dance instructor in the pleasure quarters. In about 1895 or 1896 she married Iku's stepbrother. She was known chiefly as a teacher of geisha and wealthy maidens until 1905, when, during the Russo-Japanese war, she appeared in monthly charity performances that showed her to be also a talented dancer. She received instruction from Tsu-bouchi Shōyō each time she came to Tokyo, and took to performing his new dances. She was thus somewhat too radical for her time. She did not find the pleasure quarters congenial, and yet she was not able to break with them. This fact and her rivalry with Nishikawa Ishimatsu led her to commit suicide
in Osaka, where she was giving lessons, on March 11, 1921. Ishimatsu lived a prosperous eighty-one years. The great grief of her life was the early death of her daughter and principal disciple, Hanako. She was at first an actress, but after training by Koisaburō she became a dancing teacher. She was suited by nature to be the dictator of the pleasure quarters, and Kagi, who was devoted to her art, could not approach her rival when it came to political manoeuvering. Such was Ishimatsu’s power that she was able to regulate the private lives of geisha, to act as arbiter in the selection of lovers, for instance; and it is said that if a geisha aroused her disapproval even on a matter that did not concern dancing, the geisha in question had to leave Nagoya. Ishimatsu handled her pupils with great skill, however, and her short-lived daughter was an outstanding dancer. In 1941, when both Ishimatsu and Hanako were dead, Onoe Shigeru, a disciple of the sixth Onoe Kikugorō, received the hand of Hanako’s daughter through the good offices of Kikugorō, and became the second Nishikawa Koisaburō.

The Kyoto dance world was completely dominated by the school of Inoue Yachiyo. Bunsaburō, third head of the Shinozuka school, was forced to move to Nagoya because of personal irregularities. He left behind pupils on his death in 1886, but the school declined, and with the Shōwa Era it disappeared completely. The third Inoue Yachiyo lived a full century. With her control over the Gion geisha, the most honored in the city, her position was unassailable. Four of her leading pupils watched over the school after her death, and in 1947 Katayama Aiko, a granddaughter by adoption, became the fourth Inoue Yachiyo. The Inoue dance was of course based principally on the jiuta and gidayū of the Kansai, but gradually it came also to absorb the music of Edo. When, in about 1898, Tokiwazu Rinchū appeared in Osaka, Yachiyo received instruction from his samisen players, the second Mojibei and Nakasuke, and, always fearful of being left behind by the times, arranged dances based on tokiwazu.
In Osaka, the Yamamura school was split into factions, the adopted sons and daughters of the first Tomogorō each having founded a separate branch. The line of Yamamura Ren was the most active. Its followers included three women named Raku, among whom Ebi-raku (1845–1916), so called from the first syllables in the given name of her husband, the actor Kubota Ebijūrō, was the most talented. Her daughter died young, and her granddaughter succeeded as the second Ebi-raku (1881–1938). The latter inherited her grandmother’s talent, and was much admired by Minamiki Yoshitarō, manager of the magazine Kamigata, and by the novelist Tanizaki Jun’ichirō.

When, in 1931, Nihon Buyō Kyōkai (The Japanese Dance Association) was organized in Tokyo as a grand union of masters of the Japanese dance, the Kansai was represented by Nishikawa of Nagoya, Inoue Yachiyo of Kyoto, and Tsune of the Osaka Yamamura school and Yoshimura Yūkō of the Yoshimura school. The Yoshimura school was founded by one Yoshimura Fuji (d. 1909), one of the free-lance “wildcat” geisha of Kyoto who professed to perpetuate the tradition of the medieval shirabyōshi dancers. Fuji was called to Osaka by the first Ebi-raku, with whose backing she opened a school. She was succeeded by a disciple, and Yūkō, a pupil of the second head of the school, succeeded in turn. Yamamura Tsune called herself the head of the Yamamura school, but she met with the united opposition of the other factions. In April, 1948, when all of the various rivals were dead, the fifth Yamamura Wakako was finally recognized as head of the school.

While the Yamamura school was thus divided, the Tokyo schools were, from mid-Meiji, making steady progress in Osaka, comparable to the progress of nagauta, kiyomoto, tokiwazu, and kazawa. When the four pleasure quarters began presenting their annual spring dance recitals, competition was fierce for the services of Hanayagi, Fujima, and Wakayagi teachers from Tokyo. At first the teachers commuted between the two cities, but presently their pupils in the Kansai began to establish
themselves independently, until Tokyo-school teachers came to outnumber their Kansai-school rivals. In Tokyo, on the other hand, admiration for Kansai elegance was growing, especially for the Kanzaki and Takehara branches of Yamamura.

2. THE SPREAD TO TOKYO OF SATSUMA AND CHIKUZEN BIWA MUSIC

Of the musical forms passed on from the Edo Era, the most seriously injured by the new age was the heike biwa or heikyoku. Akashi Kakuichi, a heikyoku master said to be a nephew of the Ashikaga Shogun Takauji received the protection of the Shogunate and the elevated title kengyō. The shokuyashiki secured the livelihood of blind musicians for the next five hundred forty years. In the Edo Era, the popularity of the heikyoku declined, but under the shokuyashiki system anyone who became a kengyō had complete security. The new government abolished this bit of extra-territoriality in 1871, and the blow to the heikyoku was mortal one. Fujimura Seizen, a kengyō in the true line of the Hatano school, was forced to make a living as a masseur, and at his death in 1912, at the age of fifty-nine, he was the last specialist in heikyoku. In Tokyo, Tateyama Zennoshin of the old Maeda school survived, and in Nagoya the line of Yoshida Kengyō, but both had lost their vitality. Meanwhile the biwa was being revived in a quite different tradition, the music of blind Satsuma and Chikuzen priests.

The mōsō biwa (“blind priest’s biwa”) is in fact more ancient than the heikyoku. In the Heian Era priests of low rank went about chanting prayers and exorcisms to the accompaniment of the biwa. In the course of time their music came to be localized in Kyushu. In the Muromachi Era, Shimazu Tadayoshi (1492–1568) of the Satsuma clan hit upon the scheme of using mōsō biwa for educational purposes. He ordered
Fuchiwaki Juchōnin, thirty-first heir to the mōsō line, to write three new compositions, one for the edification of the young, one for women, and one for the old, and thus was born the Satsuma bitwa. Its repertoire came to fall into two general classes, one for the edification of samurai and the other for the pleasure of the plebeian townsman. Toward the end of the Era, two Satsuma bitwa styles grew up: Myōju, founded as a combination of the samurai and town styles by Ikeda Jimbei, a samurai turned townsman, and developed into a vigorous style by his disciple Myōju, a blind musician; and the Tokuda style of Tokuda Zenjirō, which stressed the more elegant and refined aspects of the instruments. Zenjirō’s pupil Nishi Kōkichi, who was born in 1859, was introduced by a cousin to the statesman Gotō Shōjirō, and in 1879 moved to Tokyo, where he used Satsuma statesmen to help him make his way into the upper levels of society. On occasion he even played for the Emperor Meiji and his activities were more political than artistic. Yoshimizu Kyōwa, a pupil of Myōju, is an interesting contrast. He reached Tokyo a year earlier than Kōkichi, and, with the name Kin’ō, worked to train less aristocratic circles.

In northern Kyushu another school, which called itself the Chikuzen mōsō, had received the protection of the Chikuzen clan. With the Meiji Restoration the school’s privileges were withdrawn, and it declined until its musicians came to be treated as little better than beggars. At this point one Tachibana Chijō (1848–1919), who claimed to be related to Tachibana Gensei, founder of the Chikuzen mōsō, set about restoring the school. Hearing of the growing strength of the Satsuma bitwa in Tokyo, he organized a rival school which he called the Tsukushi bitwa, but which from about 1891 came to be known as the Chikuzen bitwa. Its music was at first no more than the provincial music of north Kyushu. Among his pupils was a woman named Yoshida Takeko, who also played the gekkin (a bitwa-like instrument) and the samisen, and who from about 1893 began applying samisen techniques to the bitwa. In 1895 she took advantage
of the triumphant mood that followed the Sino-Japanese war to introduce her art to Tokyo. Very shortly, however, she returned to Hakata. In 1898 Chijō himself, who had been biding his time in Hakata, went to Tokyo and began training disciples, and the Chikuzen *biwa* was at length established in the capital. The two *biwa* schools moved only between Tokyo and their home provinces, and made no attempt to established themselves in Nagoya and the Kansai. This is to be explained by the fact that many of the officials in the new government were from Kyushu, and it was through them that the *biwa* musicians sought to consolidate their position.

In the late Meiji Era and the Taishō Era, the Kinshin school, an offshoot of the Satsuma school, became powerful, and with that development the Tokyo *biwa* (as distinguished from that of Kyushu) came to dominate the field. The founder of the school, Kinshin or Nagata Takeo (1885–1927), was born in Tokyo and gave up painting in favor of music when he heard the Satsuma *biwa* at a class reunion. He became a pupil first of Higo Kinshi and then of Yoshimizu Kin'ō. His fine voice and his engaging style quickly won him fame and a large following, and in 1915 he founded his own school. The Satsuma *biwa* had always emphasized heroic delivery, and had been nearer the recitation than the song. The Kinshin school on the other hand, won over Tokyo with its emphasis on melody. In the rival Chikuzen school, a son (born 1874) of the first Kyoku-ō became the second Kyoku-ō, while a foster brother (born 1892) became Kyoku-sō. The two worked together to develop the Chikuzen *biwa*. In 1906, Takamine Chikufū (1879–1936), a pupil of Yoshida Takako, arrived in Tokyo, and in 1912 he founded his own school, the Takamine *biwa*. With the actor Sawamura Tosshi he wrote several *biwa* dramas, his appearance in which won him great popularity.

The real reasons for the great strength of the *biwa* school were the popularity of its heroic songs, which appealed to the martial spirit, and its success in capturing a student following.
Students belonged in these days to rather a lowly order. Their great diversion when they were resting from their studies was listening to the woman reciter (musume gidayū) at the yose theatre. Gradually interest shifted from yose to biwa music. Since the samisen was still associated with the world of the pleasure quarters, the biwa was thought more appropriate for students, and class reunions invariably had biwa music as one of their attractions. Fairly large numbers of students began to take up the instrument, the reformed music of Kinshin leading its rivals in popularity. After Kinshin's death in 1927 biwa music began to decline, partly because Western music was beginning to win a following among students.

The Satsuma biwa has a small body and a larger head than the Heike biwa. It is about three feet long, with strings perhaps two and a half feet long. The four bridges are larger and higher than those of the Heike biwa, and the first is placed near the top of the instrument at some distance from the others—as if the second bridge of the Heike biwa were removed. The instrument is held in a vertical position and played with a plectrum held in the right hand, while the left hand is occasionally pressed against the strings between the bridges to produce a quaver. This last technique, absent in music for the Heike biwa and the gagaku biwa, adds to the richness of the music. The Chikuzen biwa is somewhat smaller and more delicate, about two feet nine inches long, with strings about two feet four inches long. It has five bridges and usually four strings, though it has been made with five strings. It is held not vertically like the Satsuma biwa but on an incline like the samisen. Each of the schools of course has its own repertoire, in both cases largely concerned with historical subjects. The composers of the lyrics were men of considerable culture, but they adhered too rigidly to a set form. The staleness of the lyrics and of the principles behind their selection was no doubt a contributing factor in the inability of biwa music to keep up with the times.
3. DEVELOPMENT OF THE NAGAUTA KENSEIKAI

The music of the samisen, except for forms like jiuta and sōkyoku that have traditionally been the property of the blind, was almost exclusively written for the Kabuki and the puppet theatre. Even when, occasionally, recitals were presented independently of the theatre, they were for the benefit of assemblies of music students. Persons who were learning nagauta, say, or gidayū would organize meetings called o-sarai at which they would play for each other. Until about 1897, there were no public concerts. The Nagauta Kenseikai, which has been mentioned above, was organized in 1902, and with its regularly scheduled concerts music which had until then been only for those with a special interest in it was opened to the general public. With this development the samisen, always associated with the pleasure quarter, began to attract the interest of the intellectual class.

The Nagauta Kenseikai was at first a study group built around the fourth Yoshizumi Kosaburō, a singer, and the third Kineya Rokushirō, a samisen player. The new organization early found hostile forces to combat.

The enemy was the twelfth Kineya Rokuzaemon, who at the time headed the nagauta school and was absolute monarch of the theatres. His hostility sprang from his interest in the traditional succession.

The fourth Kineya Rokusaburō and the tenth Kineya Rokuzaemon were musicians of such stature that they might be called the revivers of the nagauta. They were active both as performers and as composers, Rokusaburō from the end of the Bunka Era (1804-1818), Rokuzaemon from the middle of the Bunsei Era (1818-1830). Rokuzaemon was particularly honored as the head of the nagauta school. He had no children, and adopted two sons: Eizō, a nephew of his wife; and Rokumatsu, son of the singer Yoshimura Kozaburō. Eizō became the fifth
Saburōsuke, and Rokumatsu became Kisaburō. In 1858 the tenth Rokuzaemon died of cholera. He had not made clear who was to succeed him, and a quarrel broke out between his two foster sons. Saburōsuke was twenty-five years the senior of the two, and he had moreover been adopted into the family earlier. He became the eleventh Rokuzaemon in the winter of 1861, on the understanding that Kisaburō was to become a sort of provisional foster son, and that the name was to be ceded to the latter when a suitable occasion arose. The eleventh Rokuzaemon was in no way inferior to his predecessor as a composer, but as a musician he fell far behind. He was moreover a scholar at heart, while his rival was a true musical genius who was also a skilled politician and who was intent on having the name Rokuzaemon. He had the support of a certain police official, and he succeeded in winning over both Nakamura Kanzaburō, patron of the nagauta school, and the widow of the tenth Rokuzaemon. In 1868 the eleventh Rokuzaemon was forced to surrender the name, whereupon he severed his relations with the house, took the name Kangorō, and went into retirement at Negishi.

The first Rokushirō, on the other hand, was a leading pupil of the fourth Kosaburō. He was held in considerable affection by the tenth Rokuzaemon, while his pupil, Shirōji, came to the attention of Kangorō, the eleventh Rokuzaemon, and was made the sixth Saburōsuke by the latter. A son of the sixth Saburōsuke became the third Rokushirō. The twelfth Rokuzaemon was meanwhile making good use of his political abilities, and when the Kabuki-za was opened in 1889 he became its chief musician (hayashi-gashira). Among the samisen players, the fourth Yoshizumi Kosaburō was the son of the third, who had succeeded to the name largely through the good offices of Kangorō, the eleventh Rokuzaemon, and was therefore active as a member of the Negishi faction. In 1889, the year the Kabuki-za was opened, the third Kosaburō died. The third Rokushirō, aged fifteen, and the fourth Kosaburō, thirteen, both
under the protection of the eleventh Rokuzaemon (Kangorō), became apprentice musicians (minarai) at the Kabuki-za. The twelfth Rokuzaemon had two sons, Aguri and Hirokichi. Aguri, five years older than the third Rokushirō, became the thirteenth Rokuzaemon and later Kangyoku, while Hirokichi, one year Rokushirō's junior, later became prominent as Kangorō. All of these musicians were samisen players. Hisatarō, a nephew of the twelfth Rokuzaemon's wife, and therefore a cousin of Aguri and Hirokichi, was a singer who later became the second Okayasu Kiyohachi and Nampo. He was the same age as the third Rokushirō and one year older than the fourth Kosaburō, it is said. A troupe of musicians of about the same age thus began their careers at the same time.

The twelfth Rokuzaemon, in the view that blood is thicker than water, favored his own sons and treated Kosaburō and Rokushirō as nuisances, until presently the latter two came to find the Kabuki-za most uncongenial. They continued to appear on the stage, through the good offices of a friend, the actor Ichikawa Shinzō, but they concluded that being attached to a theatre inevitably meant being under the control of that theatre and that to perform nagauta for its own sake they would have to retire from the stage. With the help of certain of their seniors, therefore, they decided to organize a study group. The first meeting was held on August 19, 1902. The activities of the group were at first limited to concerts for people who had special ties with the performers, and the project lost money. Musicians outside the immediate Kosaburō-Rokushirō group began to fall away one by one. On more than one occasion the samisen players found themselves with no supporting accompanists; but fortunately the group soon won the attention of men of letters. Presently the audiences began to grow, and to include individuals not associated with the pleasure quarters. The boom brought by the First World War also contributed to the success of the movement. The monthly concerts at the Yūraku-za were extended for two, three, and four days. At the end of a con-
cert expensive vehicles would be lined up outside the theatre and pedestrians would be pushing one another off the sidewalks.

This was the period of rivalry between the Seiyūkai and Kenseikai political parties. The wives of the Prime Minister, Hara Kei, and of the Minister of Education were among the regular followers of the Kenseikai. A member of a Seiyūkai organization was heard to complain that it was most inappropriate for the wives of the heads of the Government to be constantly talking about the Kenseikai (he mistook the nagauta organization for the rival political party, the name of which is written with different characters).

The Rokuzaemon faction was meanwhile not standing with arms folded. In 1904, the competing Nagauta Ongakukai (Nagauta Music Society) was organized, centering on the sixth Yoshimura Ijūrō and Okayasu Kiyohachi as singers and the thirteenth Kineya Rokuzaemon and Kangorō (brothers—the sons of the twelfth Rokuzaemon) as samisen players. The main concern of the Ongakukai, however, was the theatre, the exigencies of which made it impossible to give regular performances. The Ongakukai was not long-lived.

New music for the Kenseikai was composed half by the singer Yoshizumi Kosaburō and half by the samisen player Kineya Rokushirō. Traditionally the samisen player had been the composer, and the singer had had little to do with the matter. At first the two composed complementary sections of a work, but later they took to dividing a single unit. Their principal works, with date of composition and author of the lyrics, are as follows: Shunyū (Spring Play), January, 1904, Kōdō Tokuchi; Kochō (Butterfly), October, 1904, Aeba Köson; Aoi no Ue (The Lady Aoi), May, 1905, Kōdō Tokuchi; Sarukani Kassen (The Battle between the Monkey and the Crab), March, 1906, Izaka Baisetsu; Hanasaka Jijii (The Old Man who Makes Flowers Bloom), April, 1906, Kōdō Tokuchi; Kachikachi Yama (Mt. Click-click), May, 1906, Mme. Yomogyū; Shitakiri Suzume (The Tongue-cut Sparrow), June, 1906, Na-
karai Tōsui; Momotarō, July, 1906, Kuroda Busen; Hachi Katsugi Hime (The Lady Carrying the Tub), November, 1907, Tsubouchi Shōyō; Ikkyū Zenji (The Priest Ikkyū), November, 1908, Tsubouchi Shōyō; Yūki Daijin (The Great Spender Yūki), May, 1909, Nakauchi Chōji; Yōrō (Caring for the Old), November, 1909, Nakarai Tōsui; Ringo no Mato (The Apple Target), November, 1910, Iwaya Sazanami; Kibun Daijin (The Great Spender Kibun), May, 1911, Nakauchi Chōji; Momoyogusa (The Hundred-night Daisies), October, 1911, Nakarai and Ködō; Kanzan and Jittoku, September, 1911, Tsubouchi Shōyō; Oshichi and Kichiza, September, 1911, Tsubouchi Shōyō; Taishō no Sakae (Taishō Prosperity), November, 1915, Nakauchi Chōji; Shinkyoku Takasago (New Takasago), 1916, Nakarai Tōsui: Koto no Isao (Fame of the Koto), November, 1917, Takahashi Sōan; and Sakura Saku Kuni (The Country where the Cherries Bloom), November, 1919, Tamura Nishio.

Rokushirō’s Yūya (August, 1894), and Kosaburō’s Toba no Koizuka (April, 1903) were also presented by the Kenseikai and were well received.

The progress of the Kenseikai brought the samisen, until then the property of the pleasure quarters, to the highest levels of society, and happy family scenes, husband singing, wife accompanying, began to unfold everywhere. The music of the samisen came to be enjoyed for itself, not merely as an adjunct to dancing.

This achievement was due of course to the remarkable talents of the fourth Kosaburō and the third Rokushirō, but they were aided by the prosperity of the Russo-Japanese War, and by the opposition of the twelfth Rokuzaemon. Chinese paradox would have it that Rokuzaemon made the Kenseikai.

The fourth (Disciple) (Son)
Kineya — the first —— The sixth ——— the third
Rokusaburō Rokushirō Saburōsuke Rokushirō
4. THE NEW-MUSIC MOVEMENT, AND THE SÔKYÔKU

The term "new Japanese music" (Shin Nihon Ongaku) was first adopted as a slogan when, in November, 1920, Moto'ori Nagayo and Miyagi Michio presented new works at the Yûrakuza. Motoori's music was for shakuhachi with piano accompaniment, while Miyagi's was shakuhachi music accompanied by the koto, vocal music accompanied by koto and shakuhachi, and music for the koto, shakuhachi, and samisen ensemble. Miyagi did not try to combine Western and Japanese musical instruments as did Motoori, though he was strongly influenced by Western music. The term "Japanese music" at the time commonly referred to music transmitted from the Edo Era, and the term "new Japanese music" seems to have been coined to refer to that music given a new form. It was the invention of Yoshida Seifû, who carried the shakuhachi part in the Moto'ori-Miyagi concert. Miyagi and Motoori presented only
the one joint concert. Moto’ori turned to the composition of pure Western music, and the term "new Japanese music" came to be applied exclusively to Miyagi's works. Miyagi was not satisfied with traditional samisen and koto music. He wanted something more in keeping with the times, and in his search he turned to imitating Western music. He was so successful that the result was not, as it might have been, that of splicing bamboo to wood.

Miyagi was not the only musician who was not content to perform the music of his day but sought rather to create new music. There have of course been such men in every school and in every period, and even in Miyagi's own special field, the koto, Mitsuzaki Kengyō and Yoshizawa Kengyō at the end of the Shogunate might well have been called exponents of "new Japanese music." In the Meiji Era, the compositions of Kikudaka, Kikuzaka, and Tateyama were without doubt compositions in the new style. All of these men showed great ingenuity in modulation, and their use of a heavy bass played with the left hand was quite revolutionary. Already by the mid-Meiji Era, Kikuyoshi Shūchō in Osaka was composing fresh music in the Western style. The public was not yet ready for the innovation, however, and he died young and almost unknown. Suzuki Koson (1875–1931) was some years senior to Miyagi Michio. His attitude toward his work was quite different from that of the latter. Suzuki, thoroughly familiar with classical music—gagaku, the shōmyō recitative chant, heikyoku, the Tsukushi sōkyoku, etc.—was an advocate of compositions revitalizing and modernizing the classics. Miyagi on the other hand seemed intent on melting the Japanese classic into Western music. Suzuki thought vocal music to be at the heart of Japanese music. He therefore paid almost no attention to instrumental music, while Miyagi composed both vocal and instrumental music in a form that was entirely Western. Suzuki failed and Miyagi succeeded. The difference in their ages and the periods in which they worked was partly responsible.
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Suzuki was born in 1875 in Miyagi Prefecture in northern Japan. He went to Tokyo at the age of twelve or thirteen. Entering the army, he served in the Sino-Japanese War. After his discharge he became a teacher in Fukui. His grandmother and mother were both fond of the koto, and he was familiar with the instrument from his childhood. His formal training began under Takano Shigeru, it is said, during his years in the army. His professional career began around 1899, after he resigned his position in Fukui and moved to Kyoto, while his career as a composer began when he became acquainted with the poets Takayasu Gekkō and Susukida Kyūkin, and set their works to koto music. He lived some seven or eight years in Kyoto, and in about 1907 moved to Tokyo, where he undertook to dissem- inate the Kyōgoku style of koto music. He had well-placed noblemen, writers, artists, and scholars behind him, but his aloofness and his elevated approach rather set him apart from the music teachers of the town, and he failed to win many pupils. Finding it harder and harder to earn a living, he became managing editor of the magazine Bijutsu Shūhō (Art Weekly) in 1913. In June of that year he published Nihon Ongaku no Hanashi (The Story of Japanese Music), extremely valuable as the first history of music as music, in contrast to earlier works about musical organizations or the musical system (ongaku seido), and about music as “song literature” (kayō bungaku). The work was a product of his career as a journalist, but that career was short-lived. In 1917, his benefactor, Iwamura Tōru, who had given him the magazine post, died. Suzuki’s name was not among those present at the funeral, a fact which would indicate that he had already returned to Kyoto. The years from his return to Kyoto to his death in 1931 were the most secure ones of his life. He became a painter in the old Tosa style, apparently under the name Nachi Syunzen, which name he presently took as head of the Kyōgoku koto school. His old professional name thus fell into disuse. His “new classical” theories were not what Tokyo wanted, and, though he had en-
thusiastic followers, there was no one after his death who really cared to play his music; but perhaps this is to be explained by the fact that his emphasis on the voice left little room for koto virtuosity and was unsatisfying to the koto musician. As has been mentioned above, his compositions were based largely on the poetry of Takayasu Gekkō and Susukida Kyūkin. He also set to music the verses of Yosano Akiko, Kobayashi Naruo, Sōma Gyofū and others. The old styles—hei kyoku, shōmyō, and those Heian song forms which are classified under the blanket term teikyoku—and the attempt to modernize koto-accompanied vocal music were at the heart of his work. He paid no attention to Western music. The tragedy of his work lay in his isolation from his age.

In contrast stands Miyagi, who came a few years later. Miyagi in his early career had to go through the trials of a true revolutionary, but he was able to survive them and build the "Miyagi age" of the Shōwa Era. This was due in part of course to his very great talent, but it was also due in part to his good fortune. He was born in Kobe in April, 1894. He went blind at the age of six, and at the age of nine he began studying koto under the second Nakajima Ken gyō. In 1907, upon his father's failure in business, he moved to Seoul and supported his family as a koto teacher. His genius as a composer first showed itself in 1909, when he was fifteen. His early compositions, however, were but extensions of the Ikuta repertoire. In 1914 came his first truly original piece, a composition, without voice, for high and low koto and samisen, which showed a formal resemblance to the Western trio. The effect was something quite new in koto music. He was at the time fascinated with Western music, but he was too poor to buy records, and it is said that he would stand in the rain outside record shops listening to music. The basis for his later accomplishments was already laid in his Seoul years: there he became acquainted with Fujita Tonan, at the time a literary vagabond, but later a student of the sōkyoku who added much
to the glory of the Ikuta school; and there he came to know Yoshida Seifū through the latter's *shakuhachi* music. Yoshida returned in 1915, and Miyagi followed in 1917. By 1918, when he set to music a poem Kobayashi Naruo, his reputation as a composer was established. It is perhaps natural that he encountered the opposition of the *sōkyoku* world and various conservative factions allied therewith, and that he was supported by Western-style musicians. After the joint 1920 concert with Moto’ori, Miyagi's music came to be known as "new Japanese music." New compositions by him appeared steadily: *Higurashi* (May Fly) for *kokyū*, *shakuhachi* and koto; *Beni Sōbi* (Red Rose), *Cosmos*, *Sekirei* (Wagtail), and *Haha no Uta* (Mother's Song), all songs accompanied by the koto and the *shakuhachi*; *Ochiba no Odori* (Dance of the Falling Leaves), for koto, samisen, and seventeen-stringed koto; *Kairo-chō* (Kairo mode) for *shakuhachi*, *kokyū*, *shō*, koto and seventeen-stringed koto; and *Seoto* (Sound of the Shoals) for ordinary and seventeen-stringed koto. Miyagi also received the support of the soprano Nagai Ikuko and of the orchestra leaders Konoe Hidemaro and Sugawara Meirō, and his position in the musical world became an ever loftier one. When, in 1929, Japanese music was established as an elective course in the Tokyo Music School, he became an instructor in the Ikuta school of koto, and when, in 1936, the Japanese music department was placed on an equal footing with other departments, he became a professor.

Various other experiments in the new music were conducted from the late Taishō Era: orchestral music using only Japanese instruments, ensembles of Japanese and Western instruments, samisen or koto with orchestra. Many problems concerning the nature of the instruments, timbre, and harmony, however, remained unsolved, and none of these works can be called finished. It is nonetheless clear that many lovers of Japanese music held high hopes for the experiments.
5. ACTIVITIES OF COMPOSERS IN THE VARIOUS SCHOOLS OF JAPANESE MUSIC

Japanese music may be divided into song (utaimono) and recitative (katarimono) on the one hand and pure instrumental music (bugaku kangenkyoku) on the other. The development of instrumental music was arrested at the end of the Heian Era, and only vocal music thrived. The shōmyō chants of both esoteric and exoteric Buddhism had been made up of short melodies strung together and fitted to Buddhist texts. All subsequent recitative music was based on the shōmyō. With the heikyoku, which grew up in the Kamakura Era, music based on these small units began to be dominated by literature. The jōruri arose in the late Muromachi Era. When jōruri became wedded to the puppet theatre, melody began to give way to the demands of literary expression. The song (utaimono) developed from the ancient kagura and popular song through the saibara, rōei, and imayō of the Heian Era. In the Muromachi Era, kouta music, which was primarily melodic, was based on popular songs and folk songs of the day. The samisen, introduced toward the end of the era, was taken up by blind men who wrote a considerable body of music for it. Samisen music thus came to repose in the peculiar sensual world of the blind man. Melody acquired more and more beauty, while content became increasingly poor. The technique of the jiuta, which was the work of blind men in the Kyoto-Osaka area, was transplanted to Edo and used in the Kabuki, where it became the Edo nagauta. Since beauty of melody was not enough for dramatic expression, the form came to be influenced by jōruri, and, later, to add the mood music of the off-stage (geza) accompaniment. This development brings us to the end of the Shogunate and the beginning of the Meiji Era.

The jōruri puppet theatre. In the seventeenth century there were various competing styles in the puppet theatre. The form
was unified by Takemoto Gidayū, Chikugo-no-Jō, and thereafter the term jōruri came to mean gidayū-bushi. The Edo handayū-bushi and katō-bushi, and the tokiwazu, tomimoto, and kiyomoto, which traced their ancestry to Miyakoji Bungo-no-Jō, were all offshoots of jōruri, but they had all come to be sung more than recited. It may be said that the Edo jōruri and the gidayū jōruri had quite separate repertoires. Tokiwazu and shinnai-bushi of course adapted gidayū texts to their own styles, but the results were no more than distant imitations. After a great creative age in the mid-eighteenth century, the gidayū entered a period of consolidation. Audiences came to take less pleasure in new plays than in polished performances of familiar roles, and the styles of certain outstanding gidayū reciters came to be handed down by their successors. A jōruri work was generally outlined by a samisen player, but its color depended entirely on the tayū’s recitation, so that the work of the latter was looked upon as in its way a form of composition. A performance in which Toyotake Chikuzen-Shōjō was well-received, for example, came to be known as a “Chikuzen scene” (Chikuzen ba), and the name of the samisen player responsible for the main outlines of the work was quite forgotten. From about 1830 virtually no new music was written for the gidayū. In the years before and after the Restoration, the quiet was broken by the appearance of a remarkable samisen player, the second Toyosawa Dampei, and with him the concept of jōruri composition began to change. Since the gidayū is treated at some length in Part IV, there is no need to go into great detail here. It will suffice to say that among Dampei’s many works the most popular is Tsubosaka Reigenki (Miracle at Tsubosaka). The second Takemoto Ōsumidayū was particularly famous as a reciter of Tsubosaka, but the work was known as Dampei’s, never as Ōsumi’s or “in the style of Ōsumi.” This was an unprecedented honor for a gidayū samisen player. It must be remembered, however, that the public thought of the relationship of Dampei to Ōsumi as something like that of master to disciple, and knew
that Ōsumi owed his advancement to Dampei’s guidance. Toyosawa Dampei was a god of sorts in the early Meiji Era.

The gidayū jōruri failed to produce a single new work of note thereafter, evidence that the traditional modes of expression no longer offered possibilities for development.

Jiuta and sōkyoku. The jiuta and the sōkyoku are basically different forms, the former the short Kansai song to the accompaniment of the samisen, the latter vocal music to the accompaniment of the koto. They were both, however, the exclusive property of the shokuyashiki, the mutual protective association of blind musicians, and it had long been the practice to add koto to a samisen accompaniment. The koto was thus secondary to the samisen, and had no music of its own until, during the Tempō Era (1830–1849), Mitsuzaki Kengyō appeared in Kyoto and began writing new koto music. One of his more revolutionary compositions was a work for two kotos, low and high, with no lyrics. Slightly later, Yoshizawa Kengyō of Nagoya, taking his hint from the koto of the gagaku, contributed greatly to the advancement of the sōkyoku by developing a mode that fused the courtly and the plebeian. In the Meiji Era, well-known jiuta were composed in the Kansai, but the larger number of outstanding new compositions was in the field of the sōkyoku. Kikudaka Kengyō’s Mikuni no Homare (In Praise of our Nation) pioneered a new field, while Matsuzaka Harue’s Kaede no Hana (Willow Flower) produced a different effect by the device of setting bass variations against the treble. Kikuzaka Kengyō, in his Meiji Shōchikubai (Meiji Pine, Bamboo, and Plum), set high and low koto against each other, the former following the so-called “Dutch organ” mode of the Edo Era. The work, though not revolutionary, was highly distinguished. In his Mitsu no Keshiki (Three Scenes) he emphasized the left hand, little used before then. Slightly later came Tateyama Noboru of Osaka. He was born in 1876 and began writing music about 1894 or 1895. He used the “wild-goose” mode of the gagaku, and adopted samisen music in a manner both
novel and complex. His work shows little melodic variety, however, and is lacking in poetry. All of these musicians belonged to the Ikuta school of the Kansai. Edo, and later Tokyo, was still the province of the Yamada school. Ikuta was not able to make its way to the capital until the Taishō Era.

**Nagauta.** Three men were particularly active as nagauta composers in the late Edo and early Meiji Eras: the eleventh Kineya Rokuzaemon, later Kangorō; the second Kineya Katsusaburō; and the third Kineya Shōjirō. Kangorō (1815–1877) was the oldest of the three. Most of his works were adaptations from the Nō, his masterpiece being *Kishū Dōjōji*. Though he was a hard worker well-versed in antiquities, his technique was not quite up to his aspirations. An intellectual in a field where the intellectual tended to be regarded with contempt, his position was a difficult one, and his career was beset with misfortunes. The second Kineya Katsusaburō (1820–1896) was both a skilled musician and an inventive composer. In his last years he ruled over a wide empire, with some three hundred disciples in his school. Most of his noteworthy works were composed before the beginning of the Meiji Era. In his last years he virtually gave up composition, possibly because he had acquired fame and security. The youngest of the three, the third Kineya Shōjirō (1827–1896), was pre-eminently a writer for the stage. He came to the attention of the ninth Danjūrō, and his services to the theatre were many. His style of composition is somewhat harder and colder than that of Katsusaburō, but no looseness of form is to be detected in his works. He reminds one of an expert wood-joiner.

These were the principal composers in the nagauta from the end of the Shogunate down to the mid-Meiji Era. In late-Meiji and Taishō there appeared Kineya Rokushirō and Yoshizumi Kosaburō of the *Kenseikai*, and their rivals, the brothers Rokuzaemon and Kangorō. A little later the fourth Kineya Sakichi began to distinguish himself. The composing activities of the third Rokushirō began in 1894 when he was twenty. It was
the rule that only musicians of the rank of chief samisen player or head of a school could be composers, and the impudence of the young man soon won him the enmity of the twelfth Rokuzaemon. His first composition was written to fill an order. The same year, this time from no desire to earn money, he wrote a work based on the No drama Yuya. It is still considered one of his masterpieces. His principal works in collaboration with the fourth Yoshizumi Kosaburō have already been listed. Kosaburō’s first works, adaptations of No dramas, were performed in 1899 together with a work by Rokushirō, also based on a No play. Since he was a singer, Kosaburō composed the voice part first and then set it to the samisen. His method was thus in interesting contrast to that of Rokushirō, a fact which in part explains the success of their joint works.

In clear rivalry with the Rokushirō-Kosaburō team were the two sons of the twelfth Rokuzaemon: the thirteenth Rokuzaemon (1870–1940) and the fifth Kangorō (1875–1917). The feud was not of their choosing but of their father’s, and may, as far as they were concerned, be called predestined. The four musicians were all about the same age and were childhood friends. The twelfth Rokuzaemon had for his favored singers the fifth Yoshimura Ishirō, later the sixth Ijūrō, and Okayasu Nampo, a nephew of his wife. He was not able to foresee the career Kosaburō would make for himself. Had he been more far-sighted and teamed Kangorō with Kosaburō, the nagauta might have developed in a different direction. The two brothers were also composers, and Kangorō’s Shinkyoku Urashima (New Urashima) is considered the finest work for the nagauta composed during the Meiji Era. His early death on March 24, 1917, at the age of forty-two, was a severe blow to the nagauta.

The fourth Kineya Sakichi (1884–1945) was active in the Taishō Era. He was of great service to the new dance movement, and has left behind works done in collaboration with the actor Ichikawa Ennosuke and the dance master Hanayagi Jusuke. As an advocate of reformed music he was at one time Miyagi
Michio's samisen counterpart. He composed works for samisen ensembles without lyrics, and, excited by the popularity of the phonograph, published short nagauta pieces which he called fuyōkyoku. A shrewd judge of the times, he had the ability to act on his judgment, and was one of the more progressive figures in the world of Japanese music. His activities were too numerous, however, and he lacked the learning to make his work any more than a display of cleverness and dexterity. If one was to compose a work for a samisen ensemble, for instance, one had to think of the nature and potentialities of the samisen and give the work unity as instrumental music. This advance preparation was always missing from Sakichi's work. It was very well to set children's songs to the samisen as they became popular; but his knowledge of other fields of Japanese music was shallow, and he never progressed beyond the technique of the nagauta. While his services to the new dance as the last major composer for the nagauta were considerable, he was not a reformer in the real sense of the term.

The Bungo schools. In tokiwazu, the fifth Koshikibu (1833–1898) was no less a composer than his father, the fourth Koshikibu, had been. His works are beautiful and well-turned, but one cannot escape the impression that they are but an extension of his father's. The fourth Kishizawa Nakasuke, the second Mojibei (1857–1924), and the third Mojibei all composed music for Tsubouchi Shōyō's dance. Of these compositions, the second Mojibei's O-natsu Kyōran (The Madness of O-natsu) has survived in the tokiwazu repertoire.

In kiyomoto, Kiyomoto O-yō (1840-1901), the second Kiyomoto Umekichi (1854-1911), and the third Kiyomoto Seibei (1852-1909) were all distinguished composers in the early Meiji Era. Among their representative works were Karigane (Wild Goose), Michitose (Michitose, Lady of the Yoshiwara), Seikaiha (Waves of the Blue Ocean), and Sumidagawa. Kiyomoto recitatives (katarimono) had always been considered wanton and vulgar, but the work of the second Umekichi served to correct this
impression. In the late Meiji Era, the third Umekichi and the third Kiyomoto Eijirō were active as composers, but there was nothing strikingly new in their work. This was perhaps because the kiyomoto form was too hardened and stereotyped to permit of freshness. It is interesting that all of these composers were influenced by Hiro’oka Ginshū, founder of the tōmei school. Hiraoka, who has been discussed above, was a famous connoisseur and spender who wrote his own songs and lyrics and otherwise demonstrated his knowledgeability. He was looked down on by the professional musicians as a dabbler, and yet they felt that the loss would be theirs if they ignored him. All of them frequented his house and studied his tōmei style. When they set about composing their own works, therefore, and attempted to depart from kiyomoto, it was the tōmei school that came to the fore.

In the shinnai, Fujimatsu Rochū was extremely active as a composer in the late Edo Era. No new composers appeared after him, and indeed new compositions were not needed. Hamachō Gashi (The River Bank at Hama-chō), a part of a longer composition by his son, the fifth Kagadayū, was an exception and remains part of the shinnai repertoire. In the Shōwa Era, Fujimatsu Kagajidayū, later Okamoto Bun’ya, deserves mention for his work in finding new materials for the shinnai-bushi.

6. TSUBOUCHI SHŌYŌ AND THE NEW DANCE MOVEMENT

The Kabuki dance, which had of course been the vehicle of the Kabuki actor, gradually departed from, or more accurately overflowed, the stage, so that dancing teachers flourished in the cities, and the dance spread to the pleasure quarters and to private homes. As it did so it began to take on its own autocratic structure and to breed abuses that led the scholar Tsubouchi Shōyō to raise the banner of reform. It would be no exaggeration to say that the reformed dance movement of
the Taishō Era and after was based entirely on the work of Shōyō. A sketch of his early career has been given above and need not be repeated here. He made notable contributions to the literature of the new age, but his greatest achievement was in the reformed theatre. Thoroughly dissatisfied with the lack of literary merit in plays for the traditional Kabuki, he wrote a number of historical plays, and in the course of his theatre activities he became convinced of the need to reform the dance. In November, 1904, he published his Shingakugeki-ron (Argument for a New Musical Drama), in which he argued the need for theatre reform, analyzed the traditional theatre and possible ways to reform it, and concluded with a promise that concrete reform measures would be discussed in detail in a supplementary Shingakugeki-ron Honron (Principal Argument). The "principal argument" was never published, but his Shinkyoku Urashima (New Urashima) may be taken as an attempt to put into practice the ideas it would have elucidated. Shinkyoku Urashima was called a "new musical drama" (shingakugeki).

The movement to import Western music was gradually taking form, and Shōyō wanted to see what could be done with the opera, so basic to Western music. In 1902, a Kageki Kenkyūkai (Society for the Study of the Opera) was organized by interested parties at the Tokyo Music Academy and the Imperial University, and on the night of July 23, 1903, after a month’s preparation, Gluck’s Orpheus was presented in Japanese at Ueno. The performance was accompanied by Dr. Raphael Koeber on the piano rather than by a full orchestra, and was far from a complete opera. Still it aroused interest that was not limited to music circles. The following year Shōyō’s Shingakugeki-ron and Shinkyoku Urashima appeared. Whether or not he saw the performance, he very probably became convinced that, rather than imitate the West and produce a freak neither Eastern nor Western, it should be possible to use the technique of the Japanese dance, not perhaps unmodified, but in any case as the raw material for a drama emphasizing those things at which Japan
excelled. He therefore made it his policy to limit himself to neither Japanese nor foreign music, but to use both as the occasion demanded. One senses here the breadth of his aspirations, and one senses too a protest against the idea that opera could be produced in Japan before the orchestral accompaniment was ready.

The writing of musical dramas became something of a literary fad. The poet Takayasu Gekkō wrote his Nochi no Hagoromo (Latter Robe of Feathers) in 1902, and Shōyō’s rival, Mori Ōgai, his Tamakushige Futari Urashima (Two Urashimas of the Jewel Box) the same year. There followed dramas by Takayasu Gekkō, Hanabusa Ryūgai, Shirai Junjō, and Sugiyama Daisui, and a second Shōyō drama, Kaguya Hime, based on the tenth-century romance Taketori Monogatari. In March, 1905, Kitamura Kisei’s Roei no Yume (Dream in Camp) was presented at the Kabuki-za with a cast headed by Ichikawa Komazō (later the seventh Kōshirō). Shōyō’s Shinkyoku Urashima, however, far surpassed the others in breadth of conception and beauty of language. It was a work of great literary value, but unfortunately even Shōyō’s influence was not enough to insure a complete production, which would have been extremely expensive. The work moreover included Western music, gagaku, the yōkyoku Nō music and such folk songs as the oiwake and the funauta, in addition to the various schools of samisen music: nagauta, itchū, tomimoto, tokiwazu, kiyomoto, and ozatsuma. This made for a splendid edifice, but with Japanese music in the hands of rival schools, a performance, even had one been put together by force, would no doubt have been fragmentary and disconnected.

Shōyō seems to have been fairly aggressive in his efforts to complete the work, and to have taken the position less of author than of leader. He first commissioned the fourth Okayasu Kisaburō, for instance, to set the prelude to nagauta, but the latter presently resigned because he found the writer’s demands too trying and his constant interference somewhat insulting.
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Shōyō therefore had to turn to Rokuzaemon and his brother. This touchiness was by no means limited to Kisaburō, but was prevalent throughout Japanese music. It was Rokuzaemon’s younger brother, Kangorō, who set about composing the music, and the result was an outstanding Meiji work in the nagauta. The fourth scene of the first act was presented at the Hongō-za in November, 1907, while the second act, set to itchū-bushi, was presented in February, 1914, at the Imperial Theatre, by the sixth Onoe Kikugorō’s Kyōgen-za company. Kikugorō and Onoe Fujisaku played the leading roles. These were but experiments, and the work was never produced in full. In effect it left behind only the nagauta, Shinkyoku Urashima. Shōyō himself did not except immediate production. Rather he wanted to show from every conceivable vantage point what his ideal was.

Urashima was based on a popular legend. It was followed by the musical dramas Shinkyoku Kaguya-hime (New Kaguya-hime), Tokoyami (Eternal Darkness), and Hienzan no Hagoromo (The Mt. Hien Robe of Feathers). Tokoyami was set to music by Tōgi Tetteki and presented at the program launching the activities of the Bungei Kyōkai (Literary Society) at the Kabuki-za in the autumn of 1906. The music was completely Western, and the work is to be noted as the first example of Japanese-composed opera. Hienzan no Hagoromo, renamed Ochitaru Tennyo (Fallen Angel), was performed in December, 1929, at the Kabuki-za to a score by Yamada Kōsaku. Including orchestra and chorus, a total of a hundred forty people took part in the performances, an indication of how far the musical drama had come in the twenty-seven years since the performance of Orpheus, and the twenty-four years since performance at the Kabuki-za of Roin no Yume (Dream in Camp).

Tsubouchi Shōyō did not limit himself to the quest for one great musical drama. He wrote a number of shorter pieces corresponding in general to the traditional dance dramas (shosagoto) and the quick-change pieces (henge-mono) of the Kabuki.
That he did so seems to have been due in some degree to his domestic arrangements. Partly for recreation and partly to fill out the earnings of a lady actor (o-kyōgenshi) named Nishikawa Nakaji, who had been called in to coach Shōyō's student theatre, the women and children in his household began taking dancing lessons. Shōyō's own interest in the dance grew. The year before he wrote his Shingakugeiron (Argument for a New Musical Drama), he had called in Fujima Kan'emon, the leading teacher in Japan, as a dance consultant. It may in a sense be said that Shōyō's reformed dance movement had its beginnings in home demonstrations. His Hachi Katsugi Hime (The Lady Carrying the Tub), written in 1907, was set to music by Yoshizumi Kosaburō and Kineya Rokushirō, with choreography by Fujima Kan'emon. Eminent though the staff was, the work was given only a private performance at Shōyō's house. In 1908, he presented his Ikkyū Zenji (Priest Ikkyū) and O-natsu Kyōran (The Madness of O-natsu), and in September, 1911, upon the reorganization of the Literary Society, he offered Kanzan and Jittoku and O-shichi and Kichiza, based on works by the artists Sesshū and Hokusai respectively. Here again he preferred not to use professional actors. The role of Kanzan was given to his niece, and that of Jittoku to Fujima Ise, while his adopted daughter danced O-shichi and one of his students Kichiza. The fact that he thus used a staff from his own household shows how little interested he was in attracting attention, how much more interested in moving carefully ahead step by step. O-natsu Kyōran was set to music by the second Tokiwa-water Mojibei for the Literary Society, and in September, 1914, it was presented by Onoe Baikō and Matsumoto Kōshirō at the Imperial Theatre. It has been produced a number of times since. When in 1913 the defection of Shimamura Hōgetsu forced the dissolution of the Literary Society, into which Shōyō had poured so much of his energy, his creative aspirations began to fade. He determined to retire after writing Waka-no-ura in 1920, but he was called back to write a dance for the Osaka Shimmachi pleasure quarter.
The result was *Chōsei Urashima* (Long-lived Urashima), a revision in more practical form of the old Urashima drama. It was first presented in March, 1922, at the *Ashibe-odori*, to *nagauta* by Kineya Sakichi and *kiyomoto* by Enjudayū, and choreography by Wakayagi Kichirō. In March, 1935, it was presented a second time at the Takarazuka Theatre in Tokyo, with a cast including Mizutani Yaeko. On February 28, while the production was in rehearsal, Tsubouchi died at the age of seventy-six. His contributions to literature and the theatre were great, and both as an idealist and as a bold experimenter he laid the foundation for the reformed dance of later years.

7. THE NEW DANCE AS PIONEERED BY WOMEN

Shōyō's thunder-bolt was a fairly strong one, but it was not strong enough to arouse the dancing world from the dreamland in which it had slumbered for three hundred years. After Shōyō came Fujikage Shizue, however. She had of course no direct part in Shōyō's new dance movement, and yet the bond between them was not a slight one, since she was a disciple of the dance master Fujima Kan'emon, to whom Tsubouchi had entrusted the choreography for his dance dramas. Fujikage Shizue was earlier known as Fujima Shizue, which name she received from Kan'emon.

Born in Niigata in 1880, she took up dancing at the age of eight under a local teacher. At the age of twelve she saw and was delighted with a performance of *Musume Dōjōji* by the actress Ichikawa Kumehachi. In 1899 she departed for Tokyo and became a pupil of the latter. Kumehachi told her that she was too small to become an actress and persuaded her to return to the provinces, but presently she was back in Tokyo again, this time as a pupil of Fujima Kan'emon. After intense work, she was given the name Fujima Shizue by Kan'emon. Her family pressed her to return to Niigata as a dancing teacher, but she
knew that to leave Tokyo would be to give up her aspirations. In her determination to set herself up independently, she became a geisha. She was both intelligent and cultivated, and in 1914 she fell in love with and married the novelist Nagai Kafū. They separated after about a year, and she again became a Shimbashi geisha. The influence of certain of her seniors in the geisha world was very great, however, and they considered her a nuisance.

High-spirited and determined as she was, she decided to make herself a different career. With a colleague, Fujima Kanji, the wife of the novelist Morita Sōhei, she organized a dance study group called the Fujikage Kai, which gave its first recital on May 29, 1917. The second recital, on September 30 of the same year, was led by Shizue alone. She had important backers who provided artistic leadership and who saw to the management, and she was able to devote herself exclusively to the perfection of her art. Among her backers were the scholar Sasaki Nobutsuna, who was her poetry instructor; Wada Eisaku; Tanaka Ryō; Fukuchi Nobuyo (son of Ōchi), who helped select texts; Katori Sen'nosuke; Tōyama Shizuo, a specialist in lighting; Yūki Reiichirō, managing director of the magazine Shin Engei; and Hattori Fuhaku. All of these men were thoroughly dissatisfied with the traditional dance and sought to use Shizue as a sort of guinea pig for new experiments. They were not worried about making money, moreover, and this was most fortunate for Shizue. When at her fifth recital in May, 1921, she appeared in a dance adapted from the Chinese by Fukuchi, she aroused both praise and derision, and became the centre of a spirited controversy. Such leading Kabuki actors as the sixth Kikugorō, Baikō, Kōshirō, Mitsugorō, En'nosuke, and Kan'ya went to see her dance. The Shimbashi anti-Shizue faction sought Kikugorō's support for the view that whatever Shizue might be doing, she was not dancing. Kikugorō replied, however, that whatever Shizue did was outstanding. The idol of journalism, she went boldly ahead introducing new works. In October, 1928, feeling
that she had come to an impasse, she set out for Paris. Returning ten months later, she started afresh with a dance version of Puccini's *Madame Butterfly* and a dance set to Liszt's *Hungarian Rhapsody*. In 1931 she was presented with an award as "a pioneer in the new dance" by the *Kokumin Bungeikai* (People's Literary Society), and in 1951, when the *Tokyo Shimbun* established a prize in the Japanese dance, she was its first recipient.

It will be valuable to examine in a general way her services to the new movement. In the first place, she was a rebel against the tradition-bound world of the dance. She traveled a thorny road and was much abused, but presently she won through to establish herself in a new field. In the second place, it had been forbidden for anyone less than the head of a school to create new dances, but from its ninth recital Shizue's *Fujikage Kai* was given this privilege by Fujima Kan'emon. Trivial though the incident may seem now, it was epoch-making in its day. In the third place, she organized subscription recitals. The dance had until then been the province either of the actor on the stage or of the private *o-sarai* recital. In the fourth place, she founded her own Fujikage school not because she wanted fame and money but because she was at length forced to by the head of the Fujima school. She thus stood apart from the dance master, much too common in recent years, who at the first opportunity kicks his teacher in the face and starts a new school. In 1917 Fujima Kan'emon relinquished his name to his son Kōshirō, who became the third Kan'emon. During the lifetime of the second Kan'emon, Shizue had no ambitions for founding her own school. She was satisfied if she was but allowed to dance as she wanted. With the second Kan'emon's death in 1925, however, there were grumblings from within the school against the freedom allowed Shizue, and the third Kan'emon reluctantly asked her leave. It was then that she founded her Fujikage school, taking the name of the group she had helped organize.
8. THE NEW DANCE AS PIONEERED BY ACTORS

Down to the late Edo Era and the early Meiji Era the term dance (odori) referred to the Kabuki dance, and the dancer was the Kabuki actor. There were of course rural dances—the bon odori, dances to pray for rain, harvest dances, lion dances (shishimai)—but these were ignored by the city-dweller. The post-Edo resident of Tokyo and the Kansai cities did not even know of their existence. In Kabuki too, while at the outset the dance and Kabuki had been co-terminous, the dance had been thrust aside with the rise of the Kabuki kyōgen. The dance-drama came to be carefully placed among the more purely dramatic kyōgen: if a leading actor was well-known as a dancer, the dance piece was placed between the two principal kyōgen (and called a nakamaku), and if the dancer was a lesser actor the dance piece came last (as an oidayashimono). Among the principal actors in the Kansai in the years before and after the Restoration, none were known as dancers, and virtually no attention was given to writing new dances or performing old ones. Only Ichikawa Udanji (1843–1916) continued to devoted himself to the dance, but his work went little further than a re-warming of the classics. In Tokyo, on the other hand, the fourth Nakamura Shikan and, after him, the ninth Ichikawa Danjūrō and the fifth Onoe Kikugorō were skilled dancers. Almost no new dances were written for Shikan, but for Danjūrō there were Funa Benkei (Benkei in the Boat) (October, 1885), Momiji-gari (The Maple Viewing) (October, 1887), Suō Otoshi (The Dropped Robe) (October, 1892), Kagami-jishi (March, 1893), Ninin-bakama (Trousers for Two) (June, 1894), and Ōmori Hikoshichi (October, 1897); and for Kikugorō, Tsuchigumo (Earth Spider) (June, 1881), Ibaragi (April, 1883), and Modori-bashi (October, 1890). All of these were dance dramas for presentation between two kyōgen (nakamaku shosagoto), and all of them survive in the repertoire.
today.

Under the Tokugawa Shogunate the Nō had been the entertainment of the military houses. The Nō actor and the Kabuki actor had been at opposite ends of the social scale, and intercourse between them as equals had been impossible. The Kabuki had moreover been forbidden to imitate the Nō. Toward the end of the period these restrictions were somewhat relaxed, and the seventh Danjūrō was able to use Nō robes in Shakkyō (1813) and Kanjinchō (1840). When, with the Restoration, the last of the restrictions were lifted, Kabuki adaptations of Nō and Nō kyōgen became common. Indeed the Kabuki dance came to lose its old erotic flavor and to become a sort of imitation of the Nō dance. Tsubouchi Shōyō deplored this development and made opposition to it one of the conditions for his new dance movement. After the death of the ninth Danjūro and the fifth Kikugorō, Ennosuke (later Danshirō) and Komazō (Matsumoto Kōshirō), both disciples of Danjūrō, were skilled dancers, as were Baikō and Ichimura Uzaemon in Kikugorō’s school, and Sawamura Tosshō (later Sōjūrō). In the Taishō Era, the sixth Onoe Kikugorō (1885–1949), the seventh Bandō Mitsugorō (1882– ), and the second Ichikawa En’nosuke (1888– ) were all influenced by the reformed dance movement (shin buyō undō).

The sixth Kikugorō, born in 1885 as Terajima Közō, was the son of the fifth Kikugorō. He studied dancing under the ninth Danjūrō, and was unsurpassed in such roles as Kagami-jishi and Musume Dōjōji, handed down to him by the ninth Danjūrō. Among new works he introduced were Migawari Zazen (Meditation by Proxy) (text by Okamura Shikō, music by the sixth Kishizawa Koshikibu and the fifth Kin'eya Mitarō, first performed in 1910); Bō Shibari (Tied to a Pole) (text by Shikō, music by Mitarō, first performed in 1916); Tachi Nusubito (The Sword Thief) (first performed in 1917); Ejima Ikujima (text by Hasegawa Shigure, music by Kin'eya Rokuzaidemon, first performed in 1917); Maboroshi Wankyū (The Phantom Wankyū) (text by Shikō, music by the fifth Kiyomoto Enjudayū). Kikugorō was
especially good at the first three, all based on Nō comic interludes. In all of them he was teamed with Mitsugorō. Although described as new dance roles, they were in fact conventional and offered nothing new in conception and direction. Kikugorō preferred to perfect and revitalize classical roles, his favorite plays being Dōjōji, Fuji Musume (Wisteria Maiden), Ukare Bōzu (The Merry Priest), Sansha Matsuri (The Sanja Festival), and Kagami-jishi. He was most reluctant to undertake new roles. This was in part due to the policies of his managers, who feared that a failure in a new venture might damage their principal marketable article. It seemed better to have him repeat old roles that were sure to draw crowds, and presently Kikugorō lost his desire to test the new.

In the days when enthusiasm for the reformed dance (shin-buyō) was at its height, however, his disciples Ichikawa Omezō (now the third Ichikawa Sadanjī) and Onoe Eizaburō (1900–1926) had organized a dance company called the Tōeikai, and Kikugorō advised the group, offered ideas for new dances, and even on occasion appeared on the staged incognito to lead his juniors. The group gave its first recital in 1922, with both classics and new works included in the program. In the fourth scene of Ikenie (Immolation) (a new work, text by Katori Sen’nosuke, music by Hirota Ryūtarō), a sacrificed maiden was required to descend into the sea, from which a water sprite came to greet her. The dancer to whom this last part was given was quite unequal to it, and Kikugorō himself took over. He was a great success as he danced up a thirty-degree staircase to the accompaniment of a triple rhythm in the orchestra—the very image of a waving water sprite, it was said. Almost no one in the audience knew it was Kikugorō. The group’s second recital was presented in March, 1923, at the Imperial Theatre, again in two parts, old and new. Kikugorō appeared incognito in the role of a devil in Inyō (Light and Shade), his own work. The right half of the devil’s body, represented by Eizaburō, was in shadow, and the left half, represented by Omezō, in the light, and the dance
was a humorous one depicting the devil's changed behavior in the two elements. The Töeikai soon ran into financial difficulties, and with the Kantō earthquake it was forced to disband.

In February, 1922, the fifth Nakamura Fukusuke's Hagoromo Kai was organized. Fukusuke (1900–1933) was the son of the fifth Nakamura Utaemon, one of the great figures in the Kabuki of the time. He was trained in dancing by Kikugorō, at his father's wish. The new dance group, organized through the good offices of Kawajiri Seitan, Kimura Kinka, and Hattori Fuhaku, all theatrical functionaries close to the Nakamura house, gave its first recital in February, some ten months ahead of the Töeikai. Its main aim was to sell Fukusuke, and its plans were lavish. Fukusuke danced first in a classical role opposite Mitsugorō, while among the new works were Jinyōkō (The River Kiukiang) (text by Oka Onitarō, music by Kineya Sakichi), under the direction of Hanayagi Jusuke; Utsuriyuku Jidai (The Changing Age) (text by Kimura Kinka, music by Moto'ori Nagayo), an adaptation of a children's song; Yume (Dream), a new musical drama by Moto'ori Nagayo; and Hachi Katsugi Hime (The Lady Carrying the Tub) (text by Tsubouchi Shōyō, music by the Yoshizumi-Kineya team), with Fujima Kan'emon in charge of the dancing and Tsubouchi Shōyō himself acting as general director. It was a brilliant program indeed, and it created something of a sensation. The second recital, at the Imperial Theatre in 1923, lasted five days, a record-breaking run for the dance world of the day. New dances for this second recital were Koma Uri (The Seller of Tops) (text by Oka Onitarō, music by Kineya Eizō), and a dramatic poem by the French ambassador, Paul Claudel, with music by Kineya Sakichi and art by Kaburagi Kiyokata. Set to western music were Mizutori (Waterfowl), music by Yamada Kōsaku based on an idea by Fukusuke, and a dance arrangement of Yamada Kōsaku's Mary Magdalene. Properties for these two productions were managed by Okada Saburōsuke, and Osanai Kaoru acted as director. The conception was too grand, however, and the
group failed from its own lavishness. It disbanded after these two recitals, leaving behind a feeling of loneliness as at the end of a fireworks display.

The actor who most earnestly devoted himself to the new dance as an actor (rather than a participant in a recital) was the second Ichikawa En’nosuke. The son of the first Ennosuke (later Danshirō), he received an unusually good education for an actor of the time, and for a young actor he was fairly aggressive. In the spring of 1919 he went abroad to see the European and American theatre. His first performance on his return was at the Kabuki-za in October, when, through the kindness of President Ōtani of Shōchiku, he received special prominence in a performance of Sumida-gawa (revised for kiyomoto) that included such older and better-established actors as Utaemon, Nizaemon, Uzaemon, and Chūsha. En’nosuke was of course not satisfied with only this, and he organized his own company, the Shunjū-za, which gave its first performance at the Shintomi-za in October, 1920. There was no dancing in this first production, but the second, at the Meiji-za in November of the following year, included the controversial Mushī (Insects). The piece was inspired by the Russian ballet, which En’nosuke saw and greatly admired in the United States. He had the general outlines and most of the melodies done by Imagi Shūzan, a shakuhachi player who frequented his house, and the samisen part was then completed by Maeda Rokō, the koto by Yano Emiko, the kokyū by Tsuruzawa Saizaburō, and the wind and percussion by the tenth Mochizuki Tazaemon. The orchestra on opening night consisted of seven shakuhachi, seven samisen, one thick-necked (futosao) samisen, four ordinary koto, two two-stringed koto, three kokyū, flutes (nōkan, takebue), drums (ōtsuzumi, kotsuzumi, kakkō, mame-daiko), xylophone, organ, music box, gongs (matsumushi), wooden clappers (shaku-byōshi), bamboo whisk (sasara), bells, old-style clocks (garagara tokei), and other instruments. The cast included En’nosuke and his two brothers, Yaozō and Kodayū, as well as fifteen others. The dance was a symbolic representa-
tion of the world of autumn insects. The curtain fell on Ennosuke, the grasshopper (kirigirisu), last of the insects, dying to a melancholy air on the shakuhachi—a Japanese version of Anna Pavlova’s dying swan. The presentation was a general success, though the orchestra lacked unity and dynamics, the shuffling of feet in the group dances was disconcerting, and fine nuances were rather lacking. Encouraged by his success, Ennosuke presented a succession of new dances the following year, all of them inspired by the Russian ballet; but presently his venture-someness disappeared and he turned to more commonplace productions.

The participation of actors in the new dance movement was after all speculative, and the theatre managers did not approve of speculation. Without their approval it was impossible to continue the experiments for long.

9. THE PERIOD OF WARS IN THE NEW DANCE MOVEMENT

A representative of the dance world proper who went to work on the new dance with Fujikage Shizue was the second Hanayagi Jusuke (1892-- ). He launched his Hanayagi Buyō Kenkyukai (Hanayagi Dance Study Society) in 1924, seven years after the organization of Shizue’s Fujikage Kai. Shizue was quite alone in the world, and once her personal affairs were in order she was free to dance as she liked. When she saw her opportunity, she was able to take advantage of it immediately. Hanayagi on the other hand was at the head of a school that had given professional names to some two thousand disciples, and unlike Shizue, who could descend from her mountain to seize her opportunity, he was faced with the necessity of climbing always higher. He was born in October, 1892, when his father, the first Hanayagi Jusuke, was already seventy-one. Upon his father’s death in 1903, he became a disciple of Onoe Baikō and Onoe Kikutokoro and began a career as an actor with the
name Kikutaro. In 1910 he gave up acting and, at the urging of the Hanayagi school, set about perpetuating his father's work. He became the second Jusuke in 1918, the year after Shizue founded her Fujikage Kai. The reformed dance movement was in full swing when he succeeded to the leadership of the school, and he could not stand aside and ignore it. When he indicated that he too wanted to organize a recital group, his adviser, Tokutarō, fearing that the rashness of the young leader might harm the school, suggested restraint, and Jusuke was forced to bide his time.

In February, 1922, Nakamura Fukusuke's Hagoromo Kai was organized, and in November the Tōeikai of Kikugorō's disciples. Jusuke gained considerable confidence as a dance instructor for the Hagoromo Kai, and Anna Pavlova's appearance in Tokyo in September, 1922, greatly excited him and convinced him that the time had come to organize his dance society. The earthquake the following year set his plans back, but in April, 1924, he was able to give his first dance recital at the Imperial Hotel, which had survived both the earthquake and the fire. He was helped with his plans by Nagasaki Eizō, Fukuchi Nobuyo, Tanaka Ryō, and Tōyama Shizu. The fact that all of these men except Nagasaki were also among Fujikage Shizue's backers suggests who the powers behind the new dance movement were. Tanaka's work on the sets and properties and Tōyama's on the lighting were particularly outstanding. The writing of scripts was entrusted to Katori Sen'nosuke and the music to Kineya Sakichi. For the second recital, in the autumn, Jusuke gave certain of his pupils permission to arrange their own dances. Among them were Tokuji, later Gojō Tamami, and Juyū, later Hanayagi Sumi, both of whom afterwards organized their own dance groups, the Tamami Kai and the Akebono Kai respectively. It was of course their work in Jusuke's group that laid the foundation for their later careers. The two new groups were organized in 1930, a year which also saw the organization of the Wakaba Kai by Nishizaki Midori, a pupil of Nishikawa
Kishū; the Motome Kai by Fujima Kansoga, a granddaughter of Viscount Takahashi Korekiyo and a pupil of the fifth Fujima Kanjūrō; and the Shuntō Kai by Fujima Harue (later Azuma Tokuho), daughter of Ichimura Uzaemon and Fujima Masaya. This was perhaps the new dance movement’s greatest year, and yet the outlines of the movement were becoming blurred, and the distinction between the new dance and the traditional was fading. The rebels against the system of heads of schools, thought to be the greatest obstacle to reform, had themselves become the heads of schools and were bestowing professional names on their pupils. The new dance movement thus touched off a sort of period of civil wars, with vassals trying to replace lords. In the Shōwa Era, members of the old fashioned schools began to produce dances that were newer than those of the reformed schools, so that it became quite impossible to distinguish the two on the basis of their repertoires. Thus was the influence of the new movement felt throughout the world of the dance.

10. JAPANESE MUSIC AND THE INVENTION OF THE PHONOGRAPh

In 1888, two year after Edison’s invention of the wax cylinder for recording, an English friend of the inventor, one Edwin, brought the new device to Japan. Fukuchi Ōchi was among those invited to a demonstration, and, asked to say something for recording, he remarked in a loud voice: "This sort of invention will make things hard for newspapermen." That was the first recording by a Japanese, it is said. In 1885 a friend back from abroad brought a wax-disk machine as a gift to Itagaki Taisuke, while in 1888 Mutsu Munemitsu bought a machine in America and in 1892 the Ginza Hattori Watch Company imported another. In the third decade of the Meiji Era there were thus but three phonographs in Japan. In July, 1896, the S. W. Horn Company
of Yokohama began commercial importation, and from about
the following year the machine began to attract attention at
night fairs and such.

At just that time, Matsumoto Take'ichirō, a newspaperman in
Ehime Prefecture, moved to Tokyo, and, noting the possibilities
of the new device, opened a phonograph business in Asakusa
supplied by the Horn Company. He went about to geisha houses
and had zokkyoku, jiuta, etc., recorded by outstanding singers.
Hurrying off with his recordings to the night fairs, he charged
one sen to hear two recordings, a rubber tube being used to
transmit the sound to the listener's ear. An alert and resourceful
man, Matsumoto displayed his wares at the Fifth National
Industrial Exposition in Osaka in 1903, and when the Emperor
appeared to view the exposition, he was ready, dressed in tails,
to explain the new device to His Majesty and to offer for the
Imperial diversion a recording by the Nō actor Hōshō Kurō.
The Emperor is said to have been delighted. Among the styles
of music which he recorded on his wax disks were choruses
(shōka), bands, hauta, zokkyoku, nagauta, sōkyoku, gidayū,
tomimoto, tokiwazu, kiyomoto, shinnai, naniwa-bushi, ahodara-
kyō (a kind of humorous song accompanied by samisen and/or
wooden gong), daikagura (kagura imitations), rakugo, and
kowairo (imitations of Kabuki actors). Most popular were the
zokkyoku and the hauta, especially the latter as sung by the
Yoshiwara geisha Shimeji. Imperfect though they were, the
recordings enjoyed great success as novelties. Matsumoto also
made a number of private recordings on special order: in April,
1933, at the request of Count Nabeshima, a recording of the
sixth Yoshimura Ijūrō, then the hope of the nagauta world,
singing Kanjincho, to the accompaniment of the brothers Roku-
zaemon and Kangorō; in 1895, at the request of the merchant
Kashima Seibe, a recording of Yoshiwara Suzume (Yoshiwara
Sparrow); in 1896, at a legation in Tsukiji, a recording of
Chikuma-gawa (Chikuma River); in 1898, at the request of a
certain foreigner, a recording of Matsu no Midori (The Green
of the Pines); on November 1, 1898, at the Akasaka mansion of one Mr. Mitsumura, a recording of Kanjincho, Matsu no Midori, Chikuma-gawa, and Shakkyo; for ten days in 1900, at the mansion of the Fukagawa landowner Minomura, recordings of Ya no Ne (Arrowhead), Kumo no Hyoshi-mai (Spider Dance) (a hyoshi-mai is a short dance accompanied by a drum), Kanjincho, Tsunayakata (The Tsuna Family) (an adaptation of the No play Ibaragi), Kurama-yama (Mt. Kurama), Ninin Wankyū (The Two Wankyūs), Yoshiwara Suzume, and Tomo Yakko (Manservant).

The mistress of the Yoshiwara tea-house at which it was held has said, in a book called Mandan Meiji Shonen (Light Talk of the Early Meiji), that a meeting of the Edokko Kai (Society of Edo-ites) on April 24, 1901, was also recorded. Among the entertainers were Kiyomoto O-yo, Yamabiko Hidejirō, head of the katō-bushi school, and the Yoshiwara geisha O-chara, who sang shinnai. O-yo died suddenly eight days later, on May 2, at the age of sixty-one. The daughter of the second Kiyomoto Enjudayū, she was an outstanding woman musician of her day. The Cameron Company of Kobe undertook the same month to arrange recordings on the wax disks that had been perfected by English Gramophone. Several rooms were rented in the Tsukiji Metropole Hotel, and in a period extending over more than a month a hundred and seventy single-sided seven-inch records and a hundred and ten single-sided ten-inch records were made of the gagaku of the Imperial Household, the yōkyoku and kyōgen of No, the Satsuma and Chikuzen biwa, nagauta, sankyoku (sōkyoku and jiuta, usually accompanied by koto, samisen, and shakuhachi), tokiwazu, kiyomoto, hauta, naniwa-bushi, rakugo, and kowairo. The kiyomoto was sung by Yayoidayū. Had O-yo been alive she would no doubt have been invited to make a recording. The wax cylinder recorded at the April Yoshiwara meeting has been lost, and O-yo’s voice does not survive. Her husband, the fourth Enjudayū, seventy that year, lived to 1904. He would have been a natural choice for the kiyomoto record-
ings, and it is not clear why he did not participate. Perhaps he was too old, or perhaps he declined an invitation because of O-Yō’s illness and death. He was dead when, in 1905, American Columbia undertook the next project for recording Japanese music, so that unfortunately we have no recording of his voice. We are most fortunate, on the other hand, in having both Gramophone and Columbia recordings, albeit fragmentary and imperfect recordings, by Tokiwazu Rinchū, one of the great figures in Meiji music. His career has been discussed above and the details need not be repeated here. For English Gramophone in 1901 he made single-sided recordings of excerpts from Seki no To (The Barrier Gate), Noriaibune (Passenger Boat), and Sannin Namayoi (Three Slightly Intoxicated Persons).

Columbia sent two technicians to Japan in the autumn of 1905, and, with improvised recording studios in both Tokyo and Osaka, made some four hundred records in the two cities. Rinchū recorded six sides of Noriaibune, eight sides of Kumo no Ito (Spider’s Thread), and one side each of Yamauba (Old Woman of the Mountains), Seki no To, Yūgiri, Masakado, and Hōkaibō. The recordings were sold from two Ginza stores, partly by Columbia and partly by Stockton. Both the English and the American records were taken abroad to be processed, and it was a year or two before they were on sale in Japan. Rinchū died of stomach cancer on May 6, 1905, the year after he made the Columbia recordings. According to Yaohachi (later the third Mojibe), who played second samisen to the first samisen of his father, the second Tokiwazu Mojibe, for Rinchū’s Columbia recordings, those recordings arrived in Japan at about the time of the master’s death, and were offered at his grave. It would thus appear that he died without hearing them. There is no way of knowing how well the records sold, but it does not seem likely that they had large sales. Today, however, they are among the most prized of records.

In Osaka, too, recordings were made by eminent figures of the day: Jusshu Kō (Ten Perfumes), six sides, by Takemoto
THE LATE MEIJI ERA

Settsu-Daijō and Toyozawa Kōsuke; the tenth act of Taikōki, ten sides, by Takemoto Somedayū and Toyozawa Kōsaku; and Sakaya (The Sake Store), ten sides, by Takemoto Sumidayū and Toyozawa Ryūsuke. Settsu-Daijō was a leading figure in the jōruri world, and, since he made no other recordings, his Jusshu Kō is particularly valuable. The idea of having him make a recording was Matsumoto Takeichirō's. Knowing that the singer would not readily agree to the project, Matsumoto sought the good offices of Doi Tsūjin, a well-placed figure in the financial world who had been of great service to Settsu-Daijō. The latter at length agreed, on condition that the recordings were not to be offered for sale to the general public and that they were to be made at Doi's residence and not at the Osaka recording studio. The mats were taken up and the recording equipment was laid on the bare floor, but with the low ceiling the results were extremely bad. Though one of the Columbia technicians pointed out that this would be the case, the singer replied that he was making the recordings not to sell but to help Doi with his gidayū practice. He refused to put himself out by singing in a stronger voice that usual, and when the test records came back they were as bad as predicted. Virtually all that could be heard was needle scratch. Settsu-Daijō could not insist that Doi have the records destroyed, and an agreement was finally concluded whereby they were not to be listed for sale, but applications were to be taken from individuals especially interested in having them. Matsumoto's store, which handled the sales, failed to fulfill the contract, and Doi found himself in the unhappy position of relaying repeated protests from the singer.

Upon Settsu-Daijō's death in 1917, he was succeeded as head of the Bunraku theatre by his pupil, the third Koshijidayū. The latter, when approached to make a recording, replied that he would be glad to, but that, since it was impossible to give a satisfactory performance with a break every three minutes, he would go through a complete scene without interruption.
That meant the end of the negotiations, since recording techniques at the time—not even the microphone had yet been invented—made it impossible to grant the request. This was still true in 1924, when he died, and his voice was never recorded. Somedayū, also recorded by Columbia, was a veteran who in 1897 succeeded as the ninth to carry the name. He too refused to go to the studio, and a temporary studio was arranged for him in the Osaka Hotel. He told the technicians that, since he always lost himself when he began singing and could not possibly notice the signal light, they should hit him sharply over the head when the time came for a break. The technicians were most reluctant to indulge in this bit of violence and sought an alternative, but finally they agreed to do as he said, and hit him over the head every three minutes through ten twelve-inch sides of *Taikōki*.

Another notable project in this period of recording by foreign companies was the joint *nagauta-kiyomoto* recording of *Kisen* (nine sides, complete), with top-ranking performers from both schools. The undertaking was a bold one for its day. *Nagauta* was sung by the sixth Yoshimura Ijūrō to the samisen accompaniment of the brothers Rokuzaemon and Kangorō, and *kiyomoto* by the fifth Enjudayū to the samisen of the second Umekichi, assisted by Umesaburō (later the third Umekichi). The results, however, were not satisfactory, since the music, recorded into a trumpet, lacked balance, and since there was much surface noise, a general defect of Columbia records of the day. The fifth Enjudayū also recorded *Asama* in six sides, and a number of single sides, while Kineya Rokushirō and Yoshizumī Kosaburō recorded a number of singles for Stockton and Columbia. The latter two musicians subsequently made full electrical recordings for Osaka Nittō and for Tokyo Victor and Columbia, and the earlier recordings have come to be of little value. In about 1907, when American Victor sent a technician to Japan, Yanagiya Shinchō of the *shinnai* made more than ten single-sided recordings, including *Senryō Nobori* (The Thousand-ryō Banner), *Shige-
noi Kowakare (Shigenoi’s Parting with Her Child), Akegarasu Nochi no Masayume (Dream after Dawn), and Oshichi-Kichiza. Shichō died in 1918 without having made other recordings.

The period of recording by foreign companies passed, and in October, 1907, Nichibei Chikuonki Seizō Kabushiki Kaisha (Japanese-American Phonograph Manufacturing Company) was organized by the F. W. Horn Company and the vice-president of Tokyo Electric, with a Japanese, Fukushima Kanema, as general manager. A factory was built at Kawasaki, between Tokyo and Yokohama, and domestic production of records was begun. In October, 1910, the company became the Japan Phonograph Company (Nihon Chikuonki Shōkai), which, with the trade name “Nipponophone,” dominated domestic record and phonograph production. In the early Shōwa Era it merged with Columbia to become Japan Columbia (Nihon Korombia). Meanwhile, competing companies were organized: The Nisshin Phonograph Company (Nishin Chikuonki Kabushiki Kaisha) in 1912; the Tokyo Phonograph Company (Tokyo Chikuonki Kabushiki Kaisha) (record label: Mt. Fuji) in 1913; the Imperial Phonograph Company (Teikoku Chikuonki Shōkai) (label: airplane and sphinx) the same year; the Osaka Phonograph Company (Osaka Chikuonki Kabushiki Kaisha) (label: a polar bear) in Osaka in 1912; and the Oriental Phonograph Company (Tōyō Chikuonki Gōshi Kaisha) (label: a camel) in Kyoto in 1914. With the Kantō earthquake of 1923, the Imperial Phonograph Company and the Tokyo Phonograph Company merged with Matsumoto’s Sankōdō Music Store to form the Joint Phonograph Company (Gōdō Chikuonki Kaisha), a sister company to “Nipponophone” which was presently absorbed by the latter.

With its program for reconstructing the country after the earthquake, the Government in a law that went into effect on July 31, 1924, classified phonograph records as luxury items and at a stroke increased the import duty ten-fold. As a result, such foreign companies as Victor, Columbia, Brunswick, and Gramophone (Polydor) were forced to establish subsidiary com-
panies in Japan. In May, 1927, "Nipponophone" and Columbia concluded an agreement whereby the president of Columbia became also president of the Japanese company. In March of the following year "Nipponophone" began producing microphone recordings under the Columbia label. At about the same time, the Japanese agent for German Polydor hit upon the idea of evading the import duty by importing masters and making his own pressings in Japan. The result was Japan Polydor (Nihon Poridōru Chikuonki Shōkai), organized in May, 1927. Japan Victor (Nihon Bikutā Kabushiki Kaisha) made its appearance under a similar arrangement with the American parent in September of the same year, and recordings under the Victor label were on sale in April, 1928. At about the same time Japanese record production was revolutionized by the change to electrical transcription. Almost the only old-style records that really sold well had been naniwa-bushi, especially as sung by Tōchūken Kumoemon and Yoshida Naramaru. In samisen music, the gidayū of Toyotake Roshō had sold somewhat better than its competitors, though its sales, too, had been extremely limited. With the Shōwa Era the talking picture was introduced and movies with finished plots began to be produced in Japan. In imitation of the Occidental theme song, a movie would have its main melody, which as a phonograph recording would become the hit song of the day. Sales mounted from fifty thousand to a hundred and fifty thousand, and presently motion picture companies and record companies went into joint production of popular songs. The fate of popular songs became the fate of the record companies, and intense competition brought the age of the popular song, with record companies searching out talented song-writers and contracting for their services. The market for pure Japanese music, on the other hand, was fixed, and sales were very small except for the more plebeian forms. Thus naniwa-bushi sold fairly well, while nagauta, haita, kiyomoto, tokiwazu and the rest came to be limited to the more popular numbers that could be used as dance accompaniments.
Part Seven

OCCIDENTAL MUSIC

Nomura Kōichi
Chapter One

IMPORTATION OF OCCIDENTAL MUSIC

1. FOREWORD

OCCIDENTAL music came to be imported into Japan after the Meiji Restoration. The importation was not at first the result of a demand for the music as such, however. Japan already had her own music. In the Edo Era, samisen and koto music was both an art form and a source of every-day pleasure. Western music was accordingly not imported for what it was, but rather as a sort of adjunct to the various reform schemes that followed the collapse of the Edo system. What, then, were the uses to which Western music was put? One was to stir up a martial spirit, an inevitable result of the decision to adopt Western military methods. Another was for religious purposes. When the Meiji government lifted the Edo ban on Christianity, the Catholic Church, which had survived in hiding through the Edo Era, was revived. Protestant sects also began to spread, and with them the Christian hymn. Yet another important use was in education. The public education system of the Occident was adopted and primary and middle schools were organized throughout the country, and on September 4, 1872, regulations sent out by the Ministry of Education included an order for musical instruction in all primary and middle schools. These then were the reasons for the importation of Western music into Japan. None of them was directly concerned with the music itself. Though music was but a device for military indoctrination, however, it was military music that first aroused in the Japanese an interest in foreign instrumental music. Again, the Protestant hymn was a way of praising God, and
yet it was the hymn that first brought popular appreciation of foreign vocal music. Music was a device for educating children, and the need to write songs and to train instructors led to the establishment of the Music Study Committee, which became the Tokyo Music School, and which stood at the very centre of the Japanese music world through the Meiji, Taishō, and Shōwa Eras.

Western music, thus introduced for non-musical reasons, developed as music for its own sake with the general progress of the Westernization of Japan. The Meiji Era was the period of initial importation, and did not go beyond a superficial imitation, and yet even this childish imitation, as it brought the new music in contact with traditional music, showed signs of producing something new.

We shall on the pages that follow look at the process of importation and development of Western music, and at the various results of the meeting between this newcomer and traditional Japanese music.

2. THE ORGANIZATION OF MILITARY BANDS

It would be a mistake to assume that western music appeared in Japan only with the Meiji Restoration. Even in the centuries of isolation it was being imported, while in the ninety years after 1549, when Roman Catholicism was introduced to Kyushu, the Japanese no doubt heard foreign hymns of praise every Sunday. Following the suppression of the Shimabara Rebellion in 1637, Christianity was banned by the Shogun Tokugawa Iemitsu, and Catholic music quite died out. Foreign music was none the less played on Deshima in Nagasaki harbor, where the Dutch were allowed to remain for trading purposes. We have evidence for this in the fact that the terms "flute", "hautboy" or "oboe," and rebeika, a corruption of "rebecca" or "rebeck," were early known to the rangakusha, the scholars of the Occident. These
isolated influences, however, gave rise to no new musical movement.

The next importation was the military band. The military band too had been known in the Tokugawa Era. In the Tempō Era (1830–1844), Takashima Shūhan of Nagasaki founded a Dutch-style military academy and recognized the need for martial music. Commodore Perry, on his visit in 1853, had with him two military bands, and it was probably through them that the Japanese had their first direct contact with military music. The first military band organized in Japan was not a full brass band but a fife-and-drum corps (kotekitai). Occidental military power soon convinced both the Shogunate and the clans that the old bow-and-arrow and matchlock were useless, and the competition was intense to import foreign weapons and training methods. Almost all of the large clans were using the fife-and-drum corps for training purposes by the time of Restoration. The change to the brass band began in 1869. With the Restoration, foreign legations were established in Yokohama, each legation with its guard. In May, 1869, the Satsuma clan was given instruction in military training methods by the "red troop," the Tenth Marine Battalion which served as guard to the British legation. Greatly impressed with the navy band attached to that battalion, the Satsuma clan determined to organize its own military band, and in September of that year thirty clansmen were loaned instruments by and began to receive instruction from John William Fenton, the bandleader. This was the first military band organized in Japan.

The Satsuma clan ordered instruments through an English company, and after their delivery in June, 1870, Fenton gave four lessons every day and evening to Satsuma bandmen. Included in the band were one piccolo, nine clarinets, one bass clarinet, four cornets, one trumpet, four horns, two alto horns, two tenor trombones, one euphonium, two bass horns, one bass drum, and one parade drum, a total of twenty-nine instruments. In September of that year, the system of sending clan soldiers to
court was discontinued. The bandsmen therefore returned to their clan after but three month's practice, with a repertoire of only four or five numbers. On February 23, 1871, palace guardsmen, forerunners of the Konoe guards, were conscripted from the Satsuma, Nagato, and Tosa clans, and included in the Satsuma troop were two military bands with a total of a hundred and fifty or sixty members.

In May, 1871, the Office of Military Affairs (Hyōbushō) organized a military band around the Satsuma bandsmen. The new band appeared in August at a review on the grounds of the Hama Detached Palace. Fenton had been hired by the Hyōbushō in March of that year and when in September that office was reorganized into separate Army and Navy Ministries, he became instructor to the Navy Band. Officially named full-time instructor in 1875, he served until the Satsuma Rebellion in 1877. The first leader of the Navy Band was Nakamura Suketsune, and the first band had thirty-six members, organized after the English fashion.

The band played before the Emperor on September 12, 1872, in the Shimbashi Railway Building (Tetsudō-kan). The occasion was the formal opening of the first railway in Japan, from Shimbashi to Yokohama.

The army on the other hand adopted French training methods, and English military music naturally fell into disuse. In 1872, a French bugler fourth-class was hired as instructor in the bugle. He was well versed in military music in general, and at his suggestion volunteers were called for in September and a French-style band organized with Nishi Kenzō as leader. In 1874 an Italian bandmaster was hired on a short-term basis to teach clarinet and saxophone, while a French bandsmen first-class was hired for two and a half years to teach trombone and bass horn. Such were the origins of the Army and Navy Bands.

The Army Band had forty-two members. Kusaba Shinsaku of the Satsuma clan, who succeeded Nishi as leader in 1873, resigned and returned to the provinces when he became an
advocate of an expedition to Korea. He was succeeded by the highly talented Koshino Hidekazu, on whose recommendation the two foreigners were hired in 1874. Koshino resigned in 1898 to join the gagaku section of the Imperial Household. Gagaku musicians were feeling the influence of the newly imported foreign music, and he was charged with leading their studies in the field. Though the army adopted German-style methods in 1878, its French band remained.

In 1877, Fenton, the pioneer in introducing the military band to Japan, finished his term of service and returned to England. In April, 1879, after the suppression of the Satsuma Rebellion, the Navy hired a German, Franz Eckert, as its foreign music instructor. From 1883 to 1886 he was also music consultant to the Ministry of Education, and in 1888 he became full-time instructor in the music department of the Imperial Household. He left Japan in 1899. Through him German music was first introduced to Japan. His rigorous training methods brought quick and marked improvement to the Navy Band, and it was he who, in 1880, made a band arrangement of the national anthem, Kimi ga Yo, until then in gagaku notation. In his work with the government, he promoted basic music education. His services to foreign music in Japan were many. In 1880 the Navy hired Anna Löhr, a German, as piano instructor, and ten bandsmen were picked to study piano. This project continued for ten years. Eckert's successor was another German, who served from 1889 to 1892. After him the Navy discontinued the practice of having a full-time foreign instructor.

In 1882 the Army sent Furuya Hiromasa, the Army Band's interpreter, and Kudō Sadaji, a bandleader first-class (ittō gakutai-chō) to the National Conservatory in Paris to study music. In 1884 the French bandleader Charles Leroux was hired by the Army. He advised reforming the uniforms and the courses of study and expanding the band, and, like Eckert, he studied Japanese music. He was suddenly recalled by the French government in 1889. His position in the Army was much like
that of Eckert in the Navy, and he may be called the father of the Army Band.

The military band was thus the first importer of Western music into Japan. Its work was not limited to military training and to the instilling of a military spirit. For the first two decades of the Meiji Era—until the Music Study Committee began to produce results—the military band led the way in introducing and fostering Western music. Until about 1879, it may be said, musical activity was organized around the military band, and it was the band that pioneered the way in what today we would call the public concert.

The Army Band made its first recorded non-military appearance on September 27, 1876, when it played at the Hōnō mansion of Ōtsuka Bankei. Twenty-three leading scholars, among them Nakamura Masanao, Mizukuri Shūhei, Fukuzawa Yukichi, Katsu Awa, Narushima Ryūhoku, and Fukuchi Ōchi were present. With Koshino Hidekazu as leader, the twenty-eight bandsmen played nine numbers. The Cyōya Shimbun had this to say about the concert: "Twenty-eight members of the Army Band, all in full uniform, gathered in a circle before the audience and played several numbers. (There has been an order permitting the Army Band to appear at private ceremonies, and Mr. Matsumoto, hearing of this, asked permission to have the band play at Mr. Ōtsuki's. It would appear that this was the first such private performance.) The tone was grand and rich, and everyone was delighted." The policy of allowing the Imperial Army Band to appear at private functions was a liberal one for the government of the time. After completion of the Rokumeikan at Hibiya in 1883, the Army and Navy Bands played for the famous evening parties. The two bands even appeared at the opening of the Shintomi-za in 1879. The policy of bringing them nearer to the people was of very great service in spreading an appreciation for foreign music.

It was not only in arousing interest in foreign music that the military bands contributed to musical education in the years
IMPORTATION OF OCCIDENTAL MUSIC

before the establishment of the Music Study Committee. The gagaku section of the Imperial Household, for instance, sought to perform foreign music, in keeping with the times, when entertaining foreign dignitaries. Court musicians set out to master the new field, and from December, 1874, Nakamura Suketsune, leader of the Navy Band, was their teacher. In 1876 the court sent its gagaku musicians to the Shiba Shinsen-za to hear the Navy Band and to receive instruction in wind instruments from Fenton, and subsequently the latter became an instructor in the Imperial Household, which was thus wholly dependent on the military bands for instruction in foreign music. The Music Study Committee, after the return of its American adviser L. W. Mason in 1882, used Eckert of the Navy Band as teacher of orchestration, harmony, and musical grammar (gakuten). The part played by Eckert and Fenton in the composition of the Japanese national anthem is also well known. (Fenton first composed Kimi ga Yo in 1870 as the band’s salute to the Emperor. It was used by the Navy in that form until 1876. In 1880 the selection of a more appropriate anthem was entrusted to a committee made up of Eckert and three others. Kimi ga Yo as composed by Hayashi Hiromori and orchestrated by Eckert became the present national anthem.)

The military bands also encouraged composition, and most of the musical activity of the early years of Meiji was in their hands. Indeed they occupied the commanding position in those years of pioneering that the Tokyo Music School (Tokyo Ongaku Gakkō), successor to the Music Study Committee, had in the late Meiji Era and the early Taishō Era.

3. THE INTRODUCTION OF HYMNS

In the early Meiji Era, in addition to the music for military bands, Protestant hymns played an important part in the diffusion of Western music in Japan. The propagation of Roman
Catholicism had begun in 1549, when Francis Xavier landed in Kagoshima, and the music of that church had also spread. This was the first Western music brought to Japan. However, this Christian music disappeared without leaving a trace in the development of Japanese music, after the religion had been prohibited in 1637. With the opening of the ports in the 1850’s, Christianity again was introduced to Japan. At this time Christianity included not only Roman Catholicism, but Greek Catholicism and the various Protestant sects. In 1873, with the granting of religious freedom, Christianity, and particularly Protestantism, won converts among the youth of Japan with tremendous impetus. This was partially because the American Protestant Missionary organizations were very active in spreading their teachings, and partially because a youth of the time were fascinated by the new Western culture of America, which they seemed to scent in the simple teachings of Protestantism. Moreover, its hymns, unlike the Catholic ones which were extremely difficult chants to be sung by a choir of trained singers, were simple melodies which could be sung in chorus even by congregations of Japanese who had no experience of Western music. Thus it came about that the Japanese first came in contact with music in the Western traditions through the Protestant hymns. A foundation was laid for the future growth of Western music in Japan.

Previous to the lifting of the prohibition on Christianity in 1872, only two Protestant hymns existed in Japanese translation, but with the granting of religious freedom this number quickly increased, and in 1874 there appeared six varieties of hymnbooks, containing from eight to thirty-one hymns each. It is not difficult to imagine what an influence (openly and covertly) the spread of Protestant hymns had on the materials used for teaching singing in elementary and middle schools when such instruction was begun by the Music Study Committee. Even where there was no direct influence, it was the first chance given to Japanese for singing Western music.
Chapter two

THE BEGINNINGS OF MUSIC EDUCATION

1. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MUSIC STUDY COMMITTEE

WITH the Meiji Restoration the government sought to unify education, and as preparation for this task the school systems of Western countries were examined. According to the Dutch School System, translated by Uchida Masao in 1869, singing was a compulsory subject in Dutch elementary schools. This work became an important source of reference in establishing the Japanese school system, and was in part responsible for singing becoming a compulsory subject in Japanese elementary schools. However, there was apparently no mention in this book of singing being included in the curriculum of Dutch boys’ or girls’ high schools.

The government next examined the information contained in the French School System (translated 1873–76) and also used this as an important source of information. According to the French School System, in the elementary schools singing was compulsory in France as in Holland, but there was no provision in high schools for teaching music. However, in France besides the government-founded high schools there were high schools connected with religious organizations, both Catholic and Protestant, and in such schools, where girls’ education was emphasized, there was also an emphasis on music, and not only singing but music training was given.

The government established the Japanese schools system in the light of the Dutch and French systems. In 1872, regulations for education were promulgated by the Ministry of Education. With regard to music it was provided that singing should be
part of the curriculum of elementary schools, and the playing of musical instruments part of the middle-school curriculum, but it was noted in both cases that for the time being instruction would not be provided. The reason this notation was made was that at the time there were neither teachers nor teaching materials for this purpose. Only in private schools established by the Christian missions was singing in English and hymn-singing treated as part of the curriculum. This however was very much of an exception.

Why, then, it may be wondered, was such an impractical provision written into the regulations for the school system? The reason was that it was an age of modernization; with the collapse of the old system and the establishment of a new one, ideals and abstract principles came to be the governing factors rather than realities. The implementation of these principles by realities was the mark of progress and enlightenment. Music and singing were included in the school curricula of advanced foreign countries. For this practice to be imitated without modification was an act symptomatic of the progressiveness of the authorities who had received the baptism of the new spirit of the Restoration. (It may, however, also be interpreted as having been influenced by the importance given to rites and music in Confucian thought.)

The system had thus been established, but as has been related, there were absolutely no teachers or teaching materials, and it was thus quite natural that “for the time being” instruction would not be provided. This was true not only of music, but of the educational program in general. For example, it was not possible to erect new school buildings at the time, and the old temple schools had to be used for want of something better in most cases. Moreover, the educational methods continued to be the old-fashioned ones. As proof of this, it may be noted that, when the educational system was promulgated in 1872, only six elementary schools were opened in all of Tokyo, and all of them were in Buddhist temple buildings. Moreover,
the two schools which were opened in the district of Ichigaya, had only four teachers and two pupils. In view of this situation, such subjects as music were quite out of the question. However, by the end of the same year the number of public elementary schools had increased to ten, and as the schools began gradually to thrive, there were before long some even where they attempted to teach the children singing.

The first school where instruction in singing was given was the Tokyo Women’s Normal School (Tokyo Joshi Shiwan Gakkō), opened in 1874. A singing department had been established in the school curriculum, but since there were no teaching materials, the composition of such materials was requested of the Gagaku Department of the Board of Ceremonies. The Gagaku Department composed such new works as Fūsha (The Windmill) and Fuyu no Madoi (The Family Circle in Winter) in gagaku harmonies to either existing or newly composed verses. Among the pieces composed, Chūshin (Loyal Subjects) was based on a traditional gagaku melody. These various works were given the name of “edifying songs” (hoiku shōka), but unfortunately were not generally sung except at the Women’s Normal School.

Izawa Shūji (1851–1917) at this time devoted himself to the widespread dissemination of musical education. He unstintingly gave his efforts to persuade the government of the importance of musical education, and was in the end to convince it. The fact that in an age of revolution he was able to borrow the government’s strong powers of control and guidance meant that he could in a short time effect his great work.

In the early years of Meiji the United States of America, among all the foreign powers, was the one which lent the most direct assistance and guidance in the modernization of the country. This was particularly conspicuous in the field of education, where it is perhaps no exaggeration to say that almost everything was a direct importation from America. Izawa Shūji was ordered by the Ministry of Education in 1875, when he
was still acting as principal of the Aichi Prefectural Normal School, to go to America to study and examine normal school education. He studied both at Bridgewater Normal School and Harvard University. He learned music from the Director of the Boston Music School, Luther Whiting Mason (1828–1896), and bitterly regretted that music training was not being carried out in Japan. Mekata Tanetarō, who happened to be in America at the same time as director of Japanese students studying in that country, was of the same opinion as Izawa, and the two men composed a joint petition urging the importance of encouraging music in Japan. The petition was dated April 8, 1878 and was sent from America to the Minister of Education, Tanaka Fujimaro.

This petition considered what the nature of music should be in the new Meiji Era, and a specific plan was suggested to meet the situation. It stated that traditional Japanese music did not belong in the Japan of the new era. On the other hand, Western music could not be absorbed in its entirety without modifications by Japanese. However, since poetry and music were natural and direct expressions of universal human emotions, they could be appreciated by all human beings regardless of race or country. Therefore, those parts of Western music which may easily be understood should be fused with the existing Japanese music to form a new national music. Such was the purport of their communication. The report made by the two men was in connection with the newly established program of music education, but its scope extended to more general questions of music, and in the eighty or more years which have elapsed since the petition was written, it has remained our cherished hope, even in these days when Western music has succeeded in spreading among the ordinary people, that "Western and Japanese might be blended to form a new music." In this sense Izawa Shūji must be called the great benefactor who charted the course of music in Japan for a century to come.

Along with the above petition, Mekata Tanetarō sent "A
Plan for Promoting the Teaching of Singing in Public Schools.” This plan contained eleven articles, of which the significant ones are given below.

1. A department of instruction in vocal music should be established at the Tokyo Normal School and at the Tokyo Women’s Normal School.

2. Such instruction should eventually promote a national music. “The worth-while examples of traditional Japanese songs and music should be studied afresh, and their inadequacies supplemented from the west. National songs can then be written which every Japanese, of high or low birth, of refinement or simplicity, can sing on all occasions, and a distinctive Japanese music will be promoted. This is why it is given the name of national music.”

3. A teacher well-versed in Western music should take charge of this program. He should blend Japanese and Western music and compile songs suited to the Japanese. He must be a person who will devote his every effort to the promotion of a Japanese national music.

4. The most suitable person for this post is Mason.

5. Because Mason is not familiar with conditions in Japan, it is recommended that Izawa Shūji be appointed as his assistant.

8. Instruction in singing should be given at the elementary school and kindergarten attached to the Normal School. “The best and quickest way of teaching singing is to begin with infants.”

9. If this experiment is a success in the two normal schools, it should gradually be broadened to other public schools in the prefecture.

11. Musical instruments may be purchased in America or they may be manufactured easily in Japan.

When Izawa Shūji returned to Japan he urged the necessity of establishing an organization for the study of music, and as a result the Music Study Committee was eventually set up. Izawa was appointed principal of the Tokyo Normal School.
after his return in May, 1878 and deploiring the inadequacy of music education, he began at once to work to remedy the situation. Now that he was in a position to observe closely at first-hand what was taking place in Japan, he strove all the more to put into effect the ideals which he had described in the petition he wrote while in America. The result was his "Plan for the Establishment of a Music Instruction Centre," which he submitted to the Ministry of Education on March 8, 1879.

In this plan Izawa advocated the establishment of something corresponding to a National Music Conservatory to promote a national music, and he appended detailed estimates down to the expense of erecting a new building as a study centre. Fortunately the Ministry of Education accepted this plan, and the establishment of a music instruction centre was agreed upon. At the same time it was agreed to invite Mason from America. Izawa Shūji was named in October, 1879, as the official in charge of the investigation of problems in music education. However, in view of the opposition to the plan for the establishment of a music instruction centre on the part of the then Prime Minister, San'jō Sanetomi, it was decided to delay this for the time being, and the plan was altered by the Ministry of Education into the foundation of a Music Study Committee. On October 30, 1879 Izawa presented to the Minister of Education his "Plan for the Study of Music," which represented a development of the ideas set forth in the report he and Mekata had from America. The text of the Plan is given below.

A PLAN FOR THE STUDY OF MUSIC

In 1872, the Ministry of Education first promulgated a school system throughout the country and revolutionized the objectives of popular education. As a result of this decree singing has been listed in the curriculum of every school in the country, regardless of its location.
Nevertheless, as far as I am aware, there is not a single instance where instruction in singing is actually being carried out. This is entirely because of obstacles which have to this day prevented such instruction.

The principal obstacle is apparently not the difficulty of teaching singing but rather the difficulty of selecting suitable music. I shall discuss the main features of this difficulty below.

There are in general three theories put forward by those familiar with music. According to the first, music is an instrument for the expression of human emotions, and the various emotions are naturally revealed in the melodies. Moreover, since the human emotions are the same for East and West, for the white man as for the yellow man, it is proper that music be the same as well. Now, inasmuch as Western music has been brought to almost the highest peak of perfection as a result of several thousand years of study since the time of Greek philosopher Pythagoras, Eastern music naturally cannot compare with it either in intrinsic value or beauty. We should therefore select good examples of this music and transplant them to Japanese soil. What need is there to attempt to cultivate or improve the inadequate Eastern music?

According to the second theory, each country has its own language, customs, and culture, which are naturally produced by the characteristics of the people living in it and by the nature of the country itself. These things may not lightly be changed by human efforts. Moreover, since music originates as an expression of human emotions, it is proper that each country have its own national music. We have yet to hear of
an example of music of an entirely foreign country having been introduced into one's own country. In view of this we may see that to attempt to transplant Western music in entirety into our country would be just like attempting to replace the Japanese language with English, and is a quite untenable view. It is therefore clear that the best plan is to cultivate and improve our own Japanese music.

According to the third theory, both the first and the second theories have something to be said for them, but both have been unable to avoid falling into an extreme position. We should take a middle course between the two views, and by blending Eastern and Western music establish a kind of music which is suitable for the Japan of today.

In my view the third theory is correct. Nevertheless it must be admitted that it will be extremely difficult to put it into effect. If the third theory is deemed to be correct, we must devise means suited to our present state of knowledge and conditions for arriving at our goal in the future. If we do not begin on this plan now for fear of the difficulties involved, when may we expect to see any progress achieved?

If it is accepted that the plan to blend Eastern and Western music will be of help in promoting a future Japanese national music, there are three main headings under which the practical investigation should be carried out. These are: the composition of new pieces of music by blending Eastern and Western music; the training of people to promote a future national music; and the testing of the suitability of carrying out music instruction in the various schools.
1. The composition of new pieces by blending Eastern and Western music

Inasmuch as the blending of any two things involves ascertaining in what respects they are similar and in what respects they are dissimilar, and then matching the similar aspects and gradually bringing the dissimilar aspects together from both sides, the first step which must be taken is to discover the similarities and dissimilarities between Eastern and Western music.

If, for example, we compare Western and Japanese popular songs we will find that there are almost no points of resemblance. If, on the other hand, we compare Western religious music with Japanese koto music we will find that although dissimilarities are not lacking, there are many points in common.

Finally, if we compare Western and Japanese children's songs we will find that they are strikingly similar. This is because the elements which compose Western and Japanese music do not differ in the slightest, and it is only the methods of combining the elements which are dissimilar. Therefore, in the case of simple compositions like children's songs the differences are exceedingly small, but with the increasing complexity in composition represented by such works as popular songs, the differences are multiplied.

For the above reason, the first step to be taken is to collect children's songs and other extremely simple songs and after comparing them with Western children's songs to blend the two and compose suitable pieces to serve in teaching elementary school students.
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In order to accomplish the above aims, persons thoroughly conversant with both Western and Japanese music should be selected. After they have studied the various points of similarity and dissimilarity between foreign and Japanese music, they should consider ways for blending the two, and then gradually work on the composition of new pieces.

2. The training of people to promote a future national music

There are two ways of learning music. The first is to learn the theory of music, which is a branch of physics. The second is to learn the practice of music, which is one of the arts. Ideally a musician should combine a knowledge of theory and practice, but in view of the limits to the time available and to the talents involved, and to the limitless requirements of the art, the ordinary musician devotes himself almost exclusively to the artistic aspects of music, and contents himself with a glimpse at music theory.

Although it is of course desirable that such students as may be trained henceforward be fully equipped with a musical education, it is important not to confuse essential qualifications with less necessary requirements. Therefore, the students should devote themselves first to the exclusive study of music as an art, and such things as music theory should be left to later years.

The students who will carry out this program must be selected with regard to the following points.

a. Education. Persons who can read ordinary books
with ease; however, persons who can also read English are most desirable.

b. Age. Persons between the ages of 16 and 25.

c. Artistic Accomplishments. Persons who have learned either gagaku or popular music.

d. Sex. Both men and women should be chosen.

About twenty persons who meet the above requirements should be selected and trained for three years in both Western and Japanese music. They should then be able gradually to assist in the establishment of a national music.

3. Music instruction in the various schools

When, by means of the steps outlined in paragraph 1, new songs have been composed, they should be taught to the pupils of the elementary school attached to the Tokyo Normal School, and to the pupils of the kindergarten and practice elementary school attached to the Tokyo Women's Normal School, with a view to testing their suitability. Those pieces which prove satisfactory should be selected, and books and charts containing the music prepared. Means should then be found for distributing them to other schools.

The personnel required to carry out this program will be: one teacher of Western music, three persons familiar with Japanese music, one person familiar with Japanese literature, an interpreter, and five officials. The monthly costs will be approximately 1,200 yen
Moreover, a suitable building will be needed in which to carry out this study. In view of the economy measures which are at present in effect within the Ministry, it is advisable to leave to another day the construction of a new building to be used as a Music Institute. It is preferable for the time being to renovate (or where necessary enlarge) an existing building and make it do for the present... The estimated total cost will be 3,775 yen.

The above is only an outline of the order and methods of planning for beginning work on the general program of music study. I shall be glad to answer in detail any questions you may have about specific matters.

October 30, 1879

Izawa Shūji

The above statement is similar in many respects to the report prepared in America, but there are several distinctive points. The first is the advocacy of children's songs as the starting point for the blending of East and West. The second is the explicit emphasis given to music as an art rather than as a theory.

The Music Study Committee (Ongaku Torishirabe-gakari) was set up in October 1879 in accordance with the recommendations made by Izawa Shūji, with him as its head. Mason, who had already been invited, arrived in March 1880. The office was moved to a building in the Ministry of Education compound. Thus the first step was taken towards the formation of the Tokyo Music School, which was to be the foundation of Western music education and the Western music movement in Japan.

The building housing the Music Study Committee was a small
wooden structure with an auditorium, three instruction rooms and six practice rooms. The building contained about a dozen pianos, plus flutes, clarinets, celli, contra-basses etc. for practice and performance use. (The instruments were imported from America after Mason's arrival.) Japanese musical instruments were also provided in order to facilitate the comparative study of Eastern and Western music which had been envisaged. Behind the building of the Music Study Committee was a two-storied official building, the second floor of which became Mason's quarters. Soon after his arrival in March, 1880, Mason began various types of musical research, and from April of that year he taught singing at the designated elementary school and kindergarten. He also began to teach students of the Tokyo Normal School itself in July of that same year. This was the beginning of formal instruction in singing in Japan.

In June of that year the regulations for music students were established, and in September a call for up to thirty students was made throughout the country. In October, a total of twenty-two successful students—nine men and thirteen women—was admitted, and instruction in music began. These were the first specialized students of music in Japan. In March, 1881, the second call for students was made, and a total of twelve students was provisionally admitted. Since age was not considered in admitting students, their age ranged from twelve to fifty. Persons who had already learned Japanese music were specifically encouraged to apply, and among the pupils were such celebrated Japanese artists of the time as the nagauta teacher, Kineya Katsuhiisa, and the sixth Tomimoto Buzendayū; musicians from the Imperial Household Ministry also took part. The instructors were headed by Mason, and included musicians from the Imperial Household Ministry. The younger sister of Masuda Takashi (the later Uryū Shigeko), who had studied music for ten years in America as the first woman to study abroad, returned to Japan in 1881, and from March, 1882, was put in charge of piano instruction.
The curriculum for music students included singing, playing of a musical instrument (piano, organ, violin), theory (musical grammar, harmony), koto, and kokyū. In 1882, orchestral instruments were added. Two hours of instruction daily were provided, and in addition the student was expected to practice in the special rooms. No tuition was charged, and the musical instruments, teaching materials, etc., were all provided free. However, the Music Study Committee was not a fully developed school. The teachers were not only giving instruction but carrying out an investigation. Their task was to compose school songs for the use of elementary school pupils, try them out on the music students, the pupils at the schools attached to the two Normal Schools, and then investigate their suitability. Moreover, the curriculum embraced both Western and Japanese music, and the demands on the students were excessive. As it happened, extremely few of the students were exceptional. Most of them failed to survive the course because of its difficulty or because it was only a whim of the moment which led them to enter the school, or because of illness, and quite a few of them withdrew from the school altogether. In view of the records of the students of the first class, it was decided to adopt a system of provisional entrance from the second class onwards, and not to admit students regularly unless they seemed promising. Nevertheless, among the few students who persisted through the course there were one or two who fulfilled the initial expectations of the Music Study Committee and were qualified to serve as music teachers in the schools of the future. Among these was Kōda Nobu (entered 1882; graduated 1885) who was to have a brilliant career in Western music at the end of the Meiji Era.

Teaching materials for singing were gradually compiled in the meanwhile. Some of them consisted of Western pieces of music to which Japanese words were set; others were new pieces made by selecting existing gagaku or koto melodies. These were an expression of the original intent of the Music
Study Committee in that they combined East and West. Thirty-three pieces were composed and published by the Ministry of Education in November, 1881, as the Shōgaku Shōkashū Shōhen (First Collection of Songs for Elementary Schools). Among these pieces were some which are still widely sung today.

As a demonstration of the great progress in the performing ability of the music students, concerts were held in Tokyo on January 30 and 31, 1882, under the name “Achievement Report of the Music Study Committee.” The same program was offered on both days, including singing in unison by the pupils of the elementary school attached to the Tokyo Normal School, solo vocal pieces, solo piano pieces, etc., with Japanese music after the intermission. As Izawa Shūji said, it was the first time that a program featuring both Western and Japanese music had been offered, and no matter how elementary the level achieved may have been, it was an absolutely unprecedented event.

In January, 1883, Izawa presented a report to the Minister of Education summarizing the activities of the Music Study Committee. It was in six articles, of which the important points are listed below.

(1) Research into different types of music. Research has been made into Japanese music (including gagaku and popular music), Western music and Chinese music. We have transcribed in the international notation those pieces of Japanese music which had no scores. Wherever possible the superior pieces have been harmonized.

(2) School songs. This work has involved the selection of music and words, the compilation of books, practice in musical instruments, and the dissemination of songs. Music by both Japanese and Westerners has been used; in the case of the words, sometimes they have been set to existing music, and sometimes music has been selected to go with words which have been especially written for this purpose. Mr. Mason and other foreigners have harmonized music composed by Japanese.
When words have been put to existing melodies, the melodies and rhythms have been analyzed to determine whether there were places at which the words did not properly fit. In such cases, either the music or the words or both were changed to make a harmonious whole. When words were written before the music was selected, the number of verses and syllables was fixed.

Works compiled include wall-charts for singing instruction, collections of songs, and manuals for teaching singing.

The musical instruments used in school songs have been the koto, kokyū, violin, organ, and piano.

The aim of spreading school songs has been met with the help of the students of the Normal School and the music students in the Centre.

(3) Higher music. The highest music is orchestral music. Since higher music inspires higher sentiments in the people, the choice of national songs should be governed accordingly. "There are two types of orchestral music—Japanese and foreign. The Japanese orchestral music is gagaku, and since this is dealt with by the Gagaku Department, there is no need for the Music Study Committee to concern itself with it. As for Western music, it has only been a short time that we have been practicing it, but already the assistant instructors at the Centre have become proficient enough to give concerts. Many scores should be purchased from Europe and America, and preparations made for further progress.

(4) The Selection of different types of music. The best pieces of music composed at the Music Study Centre (including material for national songs) should be harmonized, and collected with the intent of eventually publishing a book. The harmonization should be done by Mason. Other Westerners may be induced by publishing the melodies in a Western music magazine and offering to give a prize for the best harmonizations. In this way an excellent opportunity will be afforded for making works composed by Japanese known throughout the world.
(5) The improvement of popular music. Popular music is the music of the general public. The influence that such music exerts is very great, depending on its quality, and it is therefore necessary to improve it. In some cases the melody may be left as it is but the words improved; in other cases new words should be given to a part of the old music.

(6) The practice of music. The subjects taught by the Music Study Committee should be singing piano, organ, koto, kokyu and European orchestral musical instruments. Singing ranges from simple singing in unison up to the higher ranges of the art. Part singing is most difficult to teach. The piano is truly the foundation of music of every description, and should be made an obligatory part of the studies of all students.

In these six points Izawa Shūji listed his hopes and ambitions for Western music in Japan. It is undoubtedly because of his far-sighted planning and self-sacrificing efforts that the art has made such progress in this country.

2. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MUSIC STUDY COMMITTEE

In July, 1882, Mason, who had done so much to help the establishment of the Music Study Committee, returned to America on leave and failed to return. As a result his contract was terminated in November of that year. In February, 1883, Izawa invited Eckert, a teacher employed by the Navy Band, to take Mason's place, and to give instruction in orchestral music, musical grammar and harmony. In March, 1886, Eckert resigned from this post, and a Dutchman named Guillaume Sauvlet was hired in April. He was accomplished in the piano, and being a very versatile musician who could also teach singing, direct orchestral playing, and compose music, he fitted in well with the work of the Music Study Committee.

In August, 1882, the regulations for the Music Study Committee's students were changed. The period of study was
changed to four years, and in addition to the practical courses which had been given, such theoretical courses as ethics, harmony, musical history, and methods of teaching music were added. In this year, Kōda Nobu became a music student at the age of twelve. In February, 1885, the Music Study Committee's name was changed to the Music Study Centre (Ongaku Torishirabesho), and Izawa Shūji was appointed as its head. In July of the same year, the school moved to a larger building. On the 20th of February, graduation exercises were held for twenty students including Kōda Nobu, Tōyama Kōko and Ichikawa Michiko. After the ceremonies a concert was held under the name "The First Graduation Concert of the Music Study Centre." The program began with a Chopin Polonaise played by Miss Tōyama, followed by various Japanese songs, and by such piano pieces as Weber's Invitation to the Dance, and the Last Rose of Summer. There was a Haydn quartet, and a song called Mount Fuji composed to music by Haydn, accompanied by violin, viola, cello and flute. The program concluded with the song Kimi wa kami to music by Beethoven, which was accompanied by the school orchestra.

This is a most interesting program and clearly reveals the state of music at the time. It is plain that there were various levels of proficiency represented. In the Japanese part of the program there were Christian hymns sung to koto and kokyū accompaniment, an example of Izawa Shūji's ideal of a blend between Eastern and Western music, but compared with the Western music in Japan today, rather like children's games. On the other hand, such piano pieces as the Chopin Polonaise and the Invitation to the Dance by Weber are still performed today. This unevenness of gait in the music of the time was typical of the early Meiji efforts at becoming a "modern country." Be that as it may, the program bears witness that in the bare six years since the Music Study Committee was founded, some of the better students had attained a surprising grasp of Western music.
In December, 1885, however, there was a major change in the organization of the government along more closely European lines, as a result of which the Music Study Centre reverted to being a Committee. Izawa was appointed Second Secretary of the Editorial Section of the Ministry of Education, and the work of the Music Study Committee gradually diminished in scope. The various research projects were abandoned, and only instruction in music continued on its former scale. There remained, however, a section of the intelligentsia which had as its goal the improvement of music as an art in Japan, and a movement centered around Izawa Shūji gradually took shape. In November, 1886, Izawa and some of his associates presented a petition to the Minister of Education for the establishment of a music school. As a result, on October 5, 1887 the Music Study Committee became the Tokyo Music School (Tokyo Ongaku Gakkō), a school under the direct control of the Ministry of Education. In January, 1888, Izawa was assigned the additional post of principal of the Tokyo Music School, and in May, 1890, the School moved to its present building in Ueno Park.

In 1891, however, Izawa Shūji was removed from his post, and in June, 1893, the Tokyo Music School was transferred to the jurisdiction of the Higher Normal School. This was because of the debates in the Diet in 1891 as to whether the Music School should be closed because of the expense. It was true that although Izawa had been quite successful in the field of music education—the composition of materials for teaching music and the training of music teachers—the achievements in the field of the art of music itself were not all that might have been hoped for. Without the proper social surroundings and background, no budding talent, however promising, was likely to mature. Izawa was a pioneer and an idealist, and his efforts to establish a new system at first met with sympathy in the times immediately following the Meiji Restoration. However, with the later reaction, Izawa’s ideas encountered opposition, and the fact that, in spite of such extraordinary performers as Kōda
Nobu, most of the graduates of the School were not very accomplished led some people to wonder if the great expense required by the School was not money wasted. Moreover, the fact that these debates took place just before the Sino-Japanese War, at a time when the government was more interested in military than in cultural activities, was also instrumental in bringing about a reduction in the budget. The school was attached to the Higher Normal School with the view that it should concentrate on training music teachers. The higher artistic goals were thus tacitly abandoned.

3. THE BEGINNING OF SCHOOL, MILITARY, AND POPULAR SONGS

The prosperity or poverty of the musical culture of a country is not determined only by the presence of specialists, nor by the existence of a small group of intellectuals who can appreciate the higher types of music. It is rather when the general public is interested in music, and its interest is at a high level that a musical culture is first firmly established. Needless to say, the easiest type of music for the average person to appreciate is music which can be sung. This is why every people has its popular and folk songs. However, such songs seldom contain any intellectual background, and they are thus apt to show only an extremely slight cultural influence. Folk songs, and particularly popular songs, are creations of the moment which faithfully reflect the rapidly changing aspects of society. To the degree that the culture of the times finds a place in the aspects of society, the popular song does receive some influence from the culture. In Japan today, for example, there is a great vogue for popular songs which have been influenced by American jazz or by the French chanson. It is clear that this vogue has no direct bearing on the development of musical culture in Japan. However, even if jazz or chansons do not in themselves embody culture, we may learn from them the trend of the times, and
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we may discern what kind of political and cultural contacts were responsible for the formation of this trend. In this sense the popular song may perhaps be said to be at once the child of the times and the illegitimate offspring of the musical culture of the times. In the Meiji Era the counterpart of the present vogue for jazz and chansons was the influence of the newly imported European and American music, which affected and modified in many ways the popular songs.

Before the Meiji Restoration we had our native folk songs and popular songs, which were not influenced either in form or content by Western music. With the Restoration, Western music was introduced. The first Western music was that used in teaching in the elementary schools, and a contact was thus at once established with the general public. The music education of the public took the form of songs, as the simplest means, resulting in the school songs that were composed. These songs were for the most part in the Western music scale and had Western rhythms. They were taught to the pupils of the elementary schools throughout the country by teachers who had been trained by the Music Study Committee. The "school song flavor" (which came from Western music) was brought into the homes by the school children, and came to be absorbed into the popular songs in a kind of blending of East and West. This was the transitional period in the popular songs of the Meiji period.

The Western music which was introduced by military bands influenced the military songs of the time, and it should not be forgotten that these in turn (particularly at the time of the Sino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War) permeated the popular songs. Military songs were easier for the general public to take into their hearts than the school songs (which were truer to Western music) because they placed their emphasis on the words and the modulation rather than on the sounds, and this permitted such modifications in the form of the music as the times demanded. For this reason, in the early Meiji Era
military songs exerted a greater influence on popular music than the school songs. (At the time of the Sino-Japanese War, however, there was a reverse trend. The school songs influenced the military songs which in turn influenced popular music.) The confluence of the school and military songs on the one hand, and the traditional folk and popular songs on the other, formed the general pattern of popular music throughout the Meiji period, and in its changes we may trace the aspects of Meiji society and the development of its culture.

"Singing" was one of the subjects included in the elementary school curriculum promulgated by the Ministry of Education in 1875, but in fact singing was not taught anywhere, for want of textbooks and teachers. It has already been related how textbooks for singing were prepared by the Music Study Committee. The first collection published consisted of thirty-three pieces, and appeared on November 24, 1881. Half the contents were foreign songs, and the other half were composed by Mason and various Japanese. The words in all cases were Japanese poems. Among the pieces included, those written by Japanese are almost forgotten today, but because the originals of the foreign songs were for the most part of high quality, they are still sung today with the words that were given to them at the time. They include Chō-chō (Butterfly) based on a Spanish song, Utsukushiki (Beautiful One) from a Scottish folk-song called The Bluebells of Scotland, and Hotaru no Hikari (The Light of the Fireflies) to the tune of Auld Lang Syne, etc. It is possible that some of these songs were introduced into Japan along with the military band music and hymns even before they were included in the collection, but it was not until that time that they were given Japanese words and came into general circulation.

In the meantime, Kimi ga Yo was established as the national anthem. The impetus for the composition of a national anthem was furnished in 1869 when the military band students of the Satsuma Clan were studying band music with the English band master, Fenton. Fenton urged the necessity of having a con-
gratulatory piece to play for the Emperor, and a poem from the Kokinshū (The Collection of Poetry Ancient and Modern, 905 A.D.), was selected for the text, Kimi ga yo (Your Majesty’s Reign). Fenton set this poem to music, and his version was used by the Navy Band until 1876. At that time it was decided that the music was not appropriate for expressing respect for the Emperor, and the head of the Navy Band submitted a report to the Naval Ministry urging that the music be changed. In 1880, it was decided to compose new music to the poem, and the task was entrusted to the Board of Ceremonies within the Imperial Household Ministry. Eventually a court musician named Hayashi Hiromori’s setting of the words was selected. It was modelled on a gagaku piece. Eckert (who had succeeded Fenton) harmonized the new music, and Kimi ga Yo thus took what was virtually its present form. The only further change occurred in 1899 when Dietrich, an instructor at the Music School, made two alterations in Eckert’s harmonization. The music was officially recognized as the national anthem in 1888. If for no other reason, the fact that this music filled Izawa Shūji’s ideal of a “blending of Japanese and Western music”, it was a most felicitous choice.

A Second Collection of Songs for Elementary Schools (Shōgaku Shōkashū Dainihen) was edited by the Music Study Committee and published by the Ministry of Education in 1883. It included seventeen pieces, both foreign and Japanese. The third collection appeared in 1884, and contained mainly foreign pieces, including Annie Laurie and The Last Rose of Summer. In the same year also appeared the first collection of songs for the koto, and this too is of great significance as an expression of Izawa’s ideals. Between 1881 and 1884, the year of its last publication, the Music Study Committee produced three collections of vocal music containing some ninety-two songs. This was a pioneer work which strengthened the foundations of Western music in Japan, and exerted immense influence.

The composition of songs for schools did not end with the
Music Study Committee. The most important collections were published by the Tokyo Music School, and included Yōchien Shōkashū (Songs for Kindergartens) (1887) and Chūtō Shōkashū (Intermediate Songs) (1889). However, with the rapid growth of music education the officially published collections proved insufficient, and numerous privately compiled collections were also published, reaching more than thirty by 1887. Among them the most widely used were Meiji Shōka (Meiji Songs) in six volumes by Ōwada Tateki (1857-1910) and Oku Yoshigi, and Shōgaku Shōka (Elementary School Songs) in six volumes by Izawa Shūji. These collections made frequent borrowings of foreign melodies, and indeed it was not until after the Sino-Japanese war that compositions by Japanese were able to compete with foreign works. The early Meiji Era was a time marked by childish imitation of foreign music.

Military songs shared with school songs the honor of introducing Western music in the early Meiji Era, but they were quick to become Japanized and to penetrate among the ordinary people. The first military song of the Meiji Era was Miyasan, Miyasan, Ouma no Mae ni (famous to Western listeners from Gilbert and Sullivan’s The Mikado), which was sung at the time of the eastward march of the Imperial army in 1868. This is based on a popular melody of the Tokugawa Era. No new military song was composed at the time of the Satsuma Rebellion in 1877, but in 1885, Leroux, a Frenchman who was serving as instructor with the Army Band, composed Battō-tai (The Drawn Sword Unit) about this war, and it at once became popular. The song was in march-time, and combined both major and minor keys of the Western scale, but in 1887 after an English freighter had gone down off the coast of Kii and the Japanese crew members were drowned, the same song was changed to the key of a Japanese popular song, and given the title of Norumantongō Chimbotsu no Uta (The Sinking of the Normanton). At the time of the Russo-Japanese war the rhythm was changed and it became Rappa-bushi (The Bugle Song),
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under which guise it enjoyed great popularity at the end of the Meiji Era. Other similar examples might be cited.

The reason the military songs enjoyed such popularity was that Japanese of the time were still not accustomed to Western songs built around Western rhythms, and could not sing them properly, while the military songs were built more around the words and ideas of the texts than the rhythms. However, about 1887 singing came to be taught in the schools throughout the country, and as the people came to be more familiar with the accents of Western music, the military songs also gradually adopted a more pronouncedly Western tone. This tendency is particularly apparent in the works composed in 1894-5 in connection with the Sino-Japanese War. Typical songs of the period were Michi wa Roppyaku Hachijū-ri (Far Away to the Battlefield) (1891), Teki wa Ikuman (Though the Enemy Numbers in the Tens of Thousands) (1891), Rappa no Hibiki (The Echo of the Bugle) (1894), Yūkan Naru Suihei (The Gallant Sailor) (1895) and Yuki no Shingun (March through the Snow) (1895). These songs were all by people who had been trained in Western music, and were quite unlike the earlier songs with their poverty of rhythms. The five-toned scale which is typical of primitive peoples, and especially of oriental peoples, gave way to the seven-toned scale, not only in military songs but in most other songs composed by Japanese.

Military songs from the time the of Sino-Japanese War thus acquired a Western flavor, and before long they were also being used to teach singing in the scools. They were sung widely by the ordinary people, and took the place during the war of other popular songs. As a result, there was a much wider familiarity with the style of Western music.

Most of the popular songs of today deal with the joys and sorrows of love or with the pleasures and pains of life, but the popular songs of the Meiji Era more frequently dealt with social problems than with the problems of life itself. It is true that well into the Meiji Era the popular songs of the
Tokugawa Era continued to maintain their hold on the common people, and that new popular songs were evolved with great success by "urbanizing" certain traditional rustic ballads. These can scarcely be called "popular songs" in the modern meaning of the term. Only works composed against the background of Meiji society deserve this name.

Popular songs of today are circulated by the radio and phonograph, but in the early Meiji it was by the variety hall. One of the first songs to become a hit was an absolutely senseless ballad called Suteteko, but about 1882, when the Movement of Freedom and People's Rights (Jiyū Minken Undō), which had as its aim the establishment of a popularly elected parliament, became prominent, there arose a type of performer called sōshi who would sing on the streets satirical songs entitled "dynamite ballads" (dainamaito-bushi) which were directed against the bureaucracy. This was the origin of the later street-singers. They would walk along the streets singing (and selling copies of) plaintive songs bewailing the times or attacking the government. The songs were always up to the minute on latest developments, and they thus had the freshness of a kind of political and social criticism. However, the vocabulary and melodies used lacked variety, and their monotony and crudity presently caused people to tire of them. In any case, with the end of the Sino-Japanese War and the restitution of peace there was no longer any urgent necessity for such doleful and politically tinged works. With the advent of peace there also came to be a demand for songs which were soft and gentle. Even with the Russo-Japanese War there was no wish for the violent ballads of the sōshi. Instead, there were performers who wandered through the streets playing on violins and singing of romantic affairs.

In the early Meiji Era there was, in addition to the ballads of the sōshi, a kind of poetical recitation song called the "new style poem" (shintai shika). It was connected with a movement in Meiji literature to evolve a new poetic form along
foreign lines in opposition to the traditional Japanese poetic forms. The songs which were based on these verse forms shared the freer rhythms. Many of them dealt with military subjects, and they were most popular among soldiers and students.

Both the "ballads" of the sōshi and the "new-style-poem" songs emphasized the words rather than the melodies, and they thus tended to be recitations and not songs in the usual sense. It was not until the end of the Sino-Japanese War that, with the replacement of other popular songs by military ones, Western melodies came into wide favor. In this sense the Westernization of popular music came latest among the various new trends.

4. THE BEGINNING OF CONCERTS

However much musical education in the schools may have advanced, and however much military and other popular songs may have found wide audiences, this was no more than the foundation work for the spread of pure music. The establishment of pure music—that is, music as an art—is the test of the true state of the musical culture of a nation. The establishment of pure music is governed by the composition of pieces of serious music and by concerts. In the early Meiji Era one may say that there were no pieces of serious music composed by Japanese, because it was not possible in the infancy of the art of Western music in Japan to acquire the necessary skill. The only way to demonstrate the vitality of pure music in Japan was by acquiring proficiency in the performance of serious Western music, and this in fact was what happened.

The first concerts in Japan worthy of the name were those of military bands, the earliest form of Western music introduced. The earliest record of a military band giving a concert not for the troops but for the pleasure of the general public was on September 27, 1876, in the garden of the residence of Ōtsuki
Bankei in Tokyo, on the fiftieth anniversary of the death of Ōtsuki Bansui. An army band of twenty-eight musicians performed. The program consisted of nine pieces including a pas redouble, the Tonkin Polka, Airs Japonais (various Japanese songs), the bolero Barcelona, several other polkas, and the quadrille from Offenbach’s La Vie Parisienne.

It may be judged from this program at what an elementary level concerts were. A newspaper review of the time reported that “the music was majestic and brought pleasure to guests and hosts alike,” but it is difficult to imagine now what the concert must have sounded like.

At the time the Army allowed the Army Band to perform at the request of ordinary citizens, and there were frequent concerts of a similar nature. The most brilliant of these was on November 28, 1883, on the occasion of the opening of the Rokumeikan in Tokyo. A Western ball was held, and the Army Band furnished the music. Balls were held subsequently two or three times a month. Not only did the Army and Navy Bands appear on such occasions, but sometimes the musicians from the Imperial Household Ministry also performed.

The opening of the Rokumeikan inaugurated a new era in Japanese musical performances. It is true that the Rokumeikan was the exponent of a fad for things European and did not make any direct or lasting contribution to Japanese culture, but it cannot be denied that even such superficial, ostentations displays as the Rokumeikan featured served as a stimulus to Western music in Japan. It afforded an opportunity, not only to the Army and Navy Bands to perform, but for frequent recitals by the musicians of the Music Study Committee, which had just begun to be active about this time. According to the records, the first concert of serious music at the Rokumeikan was on July 10, 1886.

Mention has already been made of the first Graduation Concert of the Music Study Centre. Previously, on July 7, 1881, there had been a joint concert of students and teachers performed at
the Center. At the time the program consisted of Fuji-san, Hail Columbia,Oboro (The Misty Moon), Elfin Waltz, the Austrian National Anthem, Wakamurasaki (Young Murasaki), Uro (Rain and Dew), and the Welsh National Anthem.

Concerts of a more serious nature were frequently given from then on by the Music Study Committee. In 1887, for example, part of the Beethoven First Symphony was offered at a concert, and in the following year a Haydn symphony was played. The number of listeners at a concert was very small. Only a limited number of persons were seriously interested in classical music, and to their number was added only the aristocracy who attended the Rokumeikan with its Western affectations. An attempt was made to organize the members of the upper classes and the intelligentsia who attended concerts, in an effort to spread Western music. The first manifestation of this intent was the Japanese Music Society (Dai-Nihon Ongakukai), formed in July, 1886. The Society was under the presidency of Marquis Nabeshima Naohiro (1846-1921) with Izawa Shūji as vice-president, and had as its objective the sponsoring of concerts. Concerts were held every other month, and a subscription fee of one yen was collected each time. The members for the most part were aristocrats, industrialists, officials, scholars, and other members of the upper class. This was the beginning in Japan of organized music appreciation societies. The first concert was held at the Rokumeikan on July 10, 1886, and concerts continued until 1894. The programs consisted of instrumental solos, and ensembles, vocal solos and choruses, performed by members of the military bands and persons connected with the Music School.

The level of these early performances was, in general, low. By comparison the concerts of the military bands were far superior artistically. For example, on March 12 and 26, 1887, at concerts held at the Engineering College in Tokyo in the presence of the Empress, the Navy Band played excerpts from Wagner’s opera Lohengrin and a fantasia from Glinka’s opera
Life for the Czar. Such works were exceptional for the time. At most of the early concerts, moreover, both Western and Japanese music were offered on the same program. This was an expression of the ideal of "blending Eastern and Western music" of the Music Study Committee. The same artist might perform in the same concert on the koto, the piano and the violin. This was a valuable experiment even though it ultimately did not succeed. The "blending of Eastern and Western music" remained a task for the future.

The artist who performed most brilliantly in this period was Kōda Nobu. She was an outstanding performer both on the violin and the piano, and was also an accomplished player of Japanese music. In April, 1889, she was sent abroad for study by the Ministry of Education. She studied mainly in Vienna. In November, 1895, she returned to Japan and from then on enjoyed a double career as a professor at the Tokyo Music School and as a concert artist of the highest quality. She was the representative figure of Japanese music during the Meiji Era. Other outstanding talents of the early Meiji Era were the pianist Tōyama Kōko who graduated in the same class with Kōda Nobu, and the pianist Uryū Shigeko who was an instructor with the Music Study Committee after her return from America.

Most of the musicians of the period received a German style of education and displayed a German concert style, but Kambe Ayako was a rare exception in having been trained in France and is deserving of special mention as the first musician to introduce to Japan the French style of performance.

Among the foreigners who contributed to the musical education of Japanese and at the same time themselves served as models in performance were the Dutchman Guillaume Sauvlet who was employed by the Music Study Committee in 1886 and retired in 1889, and his successor, the German Rudolf Dietrich. In addition to the foreign musicians employed at the Music School, there were also occasionally concert artists who visited
Japan on tour and brought to the Japanese music world the fresh atmosphere of the outside world. In 1890, for example, the celebrated Austrian flautist, Telshak, visited Japan together with the pianist, Luise Schler, and gave a concert on March 11 at the Rokumeikan. They attracted wide attention, and in August of that year (together with Dietrich) they gave a command performance in the presence of the Emperor and Empress.

Classical music was thus well launched in Japan, and parallel to its development was the spread of popular Western music, chiefly by the military bands, The Army and Navy Bands performed widely at garden parties, celebrations, athletic meetings, etc. but since they were official bodies, there were restrictions on their appearances. In the attempt to remove such obstacles to widespread performances, the Tokyo Municipal Music Society (Tokyo Shichû Ongakukai) was founded in November 1886 by a former member of the Navy Band, and the new organization played wherever requested. The popularity of band music at the time was part of the fad for foreign things, and had about it the air or "modernization." As a result the bands functioned less to supply a demand for music than as a means of advertisement and publicity for businessmen anxious to draw in customers. In such an atmosphere the performing abilities of the players declined, and eventually such music took the form of the crude ensembles of street performers employed to help sell merchandise. However, the Municipal Music Society played a considerable role during the early Meiji Era in introducing Western light music to the public.
Chapter Three
THE GROWTH OF WESTERN MUSIC
(LATE MEIJI ERA)

WESTERN music during the early Meiji Era was a direct import of Western culture, and was considered by the Japanese government as a means of helping to furnish the country with the attributes of a modern state. It was thus a product of the ideals of the statesmen of the time, and did not necessarily correspond to the general situation in Japan. In spite of all the efforts that went into transplanting Western classical music into the country, and the lofty ideals which inspired these efforts, it did not take any real roots among the people, at first meeting with success only among a small group of the intelligentsia and the upper classes.

However, as a result of the unselfish exertions of Izawa Shūji and other leaders gifted with an understanding of the proper path to be taken, the foundations of Western music in Japan were well laid. Japan, after her victories in the Sino-Japanese War and (ten years later) the Russo-Japanese War, was burning with the highest ambitions and hopes, and began to plan a rapid military strengthening and industrial expansion. Parallel with these developments she strove to absorb and digest the culture of Europe and America. In the later half of the Meiji Era, even such direct imports of Western spiritual culture as music lost the character of being the playthings of the upper classes and the intelligentsia, and musical education, which had on the whole been forced on the people as part of compulsory education, with the shift in the times came gradually to be digested. Even if the general public remained indifferent to Western music in this era, it came to lose its former antipathy towards it, and even showed some signs of responding to it.
OCCIDENTAL MUSIC

It was a particularly conspicuous feature of the period after the Sino-Japanese War, that with the rise of capitalism the children of the urban middle class, which most benefitted by it, began of themselves to show an interest in music and other aspects of Western culture. It was thus in this period that Western music came to penetrate the lives of the middle class, and became a part of their spiritual life. Western music changed from being educational music in the early Meiji to being artistic music in the late Meiji. However, it was not for many years yet that true artistic successes in music were to be achieved.

The tendency for Western music to find a wider public in Japan was furthered by the invention of the phonograph and other devices for the recording and reproduction of music. The first commercially imported phonograph was brought to Japan in 1896, by a foreign firm in Yokohama. In 1899 the first Japanese-run shop to specialize in the sale of phonographs was opened at Asakusa in Tokyo. However, in that period the records were still wax cylinders which did not have very great possibilities for wide distribution. It was not until disc-shaped records were invented that large-scale production of records became possible. The first such records were imported into Japan about 1897, but it was not until after the Russo-Japanese War that these records gained wide circulation in the country. At the time American Columbia and Victor records were steadily imported, following the tide of postwar prosperity. The first domestically-made records were produced at Kawasaki in 1909.

1. THE TRANSITION PERIOD FROM EDUCATIONAL MUSIC TO ARTISTIC MUSIC

The development of the Tokyo Music School. With the approach of the Sino-Japanese War and the expansion of military preparations, other national expenses were reduced, and this inevitably resulted in a gradual curtailment of the cultural.
facilities established during an era of peace. One after another of the publicly established special schools were either discontinued or amalgamated with others, and the Tokyo Music School, in spite of the growing interest in music, was obliged to give up its independent existence. It has already been related how, in June, 1893, it was attached to the Higher Normal School.

The first director of the School during this period was Uehara Rokushirō. It was he who, in July, 1894, was forced to dismiss Dietrich, the most important teacher in the school, on grounds of war-time economy. From then on the Music School embarked on a course of musical patriotism.

After Japan's victory in the war new plans for internal development and expansion were considered. The Music School rode on this wave of optimism. In April, 1898, Yatabe Ryōkichi succeeded Uehara as head of the School, and in June of that year Watanabe Ryūshō assumed the post. That autumn there was a nation-wide conference on middle school instruction, and the Ministry of Education proposed that music be made a compulsory course in middle schools. This proposal was accepted, but there remained the practical question of the shortage of music teachers. The necessity was urged of again making the Music School independent and restoring its importance, so as to aid in training new teachers. A bill to this effect was brought before the Diet, and in April 1899 the Tokyo Music School was restored to its former status.

The school steadily grew in strength and importance. Several European teachers were added to the faculty, people who were sufficiently gifted to lead the Japanese in this period when Western music had not yet emerged from its infancy in the country. However, with the exception of Noël Peri (who taught organ, harmony and musical forms from 1899–1904) all the teachers were trained in the German musical world, which resulted in the Japanese' tending to think of the German traditions as the only ones. The belief in German musical supremacy was so strong that with only one exception Japanese
music students who studied abroad all went to Germany. When one considers that at the time the music of Wagner and Brahms still dominated the European scene, this Japanese attitude was understandable, although it may be regretted.

The belief in the supremacy of German music led to the growth in Japan of a classicism based on the direct line of descent of Bach, Handel, Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven. Of course it is questionable to what degree the Japanese musicians who were not yet out of their infancy musically speaking were able to understand the meaning of Bach or Beethoven. It is unlikely that the musical knowledge which they possessed was adequate to understand the definition of music as "the art of thinking in sounds". For them music was nothing more than a stringing out of successive notes, and the only thing they worried about was acquiring the skill to play the notes without making a mistake. The fact that at the time in Japan there was a musician—and at the same time a noble-minded philosopher—named Raphael Koeber (1848–1923) may have been for the Japanese little more than pearls before swine. Western music in Japan at the time was still in the transitional stage between not yet being an art and gradually becoming one. Nevertheless, under the guidance of various outstanding European teachers the Japanese music students began to improve, and some of them showed exceptional ability. Finally, in 1908 the Music School sent out into the world as a graduate in the voice department Yamada Kōsaku, who was in later years to win a brilliant reputation as a composer.

In short, the Music School was at first a place for the training of pupils who would in future become music teachers, but as time went on the level of their ability rose, and as it did, they inevitably turned towards artistic music. Thus what was learned for the sake of "educational music" tended to become "artistic music". However, in this period the impulse towards artistic music did not go as far as the domain of composition, but was mainly limited to the area of performance. This was
only to be expected in an age of importation.

As music began to thrive in Japan, the number of people who wished to make it their career steadily increased. Privately founded music schools were established either as preparation or substitution for the Tokyo Music School, where the number of applicants had markedly increased. Among the new schools were the Women's Music School (founded in 1901) and the Oriental Music School (founded in 1907). The concerts of the early Meiji Era gradually became more numerous as the performing skill of the musicians improved. Music appreciation societies such as The Japanese Music Society (Dai-Nihon Ongakukai) were formed to study classical music, and became very active. When the Sino-Japanese War broke out in 1894, these societies at once felt the impact, and it became very difficult to maintain a society which thought purely in terms of music, as had been previously the case. The music societies were unified by patriotic spirit and were used to raise money for relief of the soldiers and similar purposes. Concerts devoted to pure music fell on hard times, and the Japanese Music Society was forced to disband in 1896. With the end of the war, however, concerts of classical music were at once revived. In 1898, the Meiji Music Society (Meiji Ongakukai) was founded in place of the Japanese Music Society, and sponsored concerts. Various other organizations devoted to similar aims sprang up. Before the Sino-Japanese War there were no more than a few concerts given each year, in the spring and autumn, but after the Russo-Japanese War the number was sharply increased to several each month.

The following are a few of the outstanding musical events of the time:

April 18, 1896. Concert given by Kōda Nobu celebrating her return to Japan the previous November. She played the piano solo of the first movement of the Mendelssohn Piano Concerto, and sang in German Schubert's Death and the Maiden and Brahms's May Night. She then played the first violin in a
quartet which rendered a work by Haydn. At the same concert Shimazaki Akatarō played a Bach organ concerto.

November 20, 1897. Kōda Nobu sang in German, Schubert's *Phantom* and *The Young Nun*. The pianist Tachibana Itoe played the Beethoven *Pathétique* Sonata. The organist Shimazaki Akatarō played the Bach *Toccata and Fugue*.

December 4, 1898. Taki Rentarō, who was later to become a famous composer, and who studied under Kōda Nobu at the Music School, performed the Bach *Italian Concerto*. The violinist Tanomogi Komako and the pianist Tachibana Itoe played the Mozart *Violin Sonata in D minor*.

November 26, 1899. August Junker, Kōda Nobu and Raphael Koeber played a Mozart *Symphonie Concertante* on the violin, viola and piano. The *Morris Dance* and *Shepherd's Dance* from Edward German's *Henry VIII Suite* were also performed.

November 15–16, 1902. The Tokyo Music School Symphony Orchestra played the Schubert *Unfinished Symphony*.

March 7–8, 1903. The soprano Shibata Tamaki began her artistic career singing arias from Weber's opera *Oberon*.

December 6, 1903. An orchestra consisting of teachers and students of the Tokyo Music School performed a suite from Bizet's *Carmen*, and joined by a chorus performed the *Pilgrim's Chorus* from Wagner's *Tannhaeuser* (to Japanese words).

November 27–28, 1909. The Tokyo Music School Symphony Orchestra played the overture to *Iphigenia in Aulis* by Gluck and the first movement of the Beethoven *Eroica Symphony*. The pianist Kambe Ayako, accompanied by the orchestra, then performed the Mendelssohn *Capriccio Brillante* and Liszt's *Variations on Schubert's Serenade*.

June 5, 1910. Shibata Tamaki sang arias from Meyerbeer's *Le Prophète* and Rossini's *Barber of Seville*.

November, 1910. Orchestra, soloists and chorus of Tokyo Music School performed part of Brahms' *German Requiem* (baritone solo: Shimizu Kintarō). The alto Nakashima Kane (later called Yanagi Kaneko) sang Bruch's *Odysseus*, and the
orchestra played the overture to Weber's *Oberon*.

December 6, 1911. Tokyo Philharmonia Concert. Sugiura Chikako sang arias from Saint-Saens' *Samson and Delilah*. The pianist Kambe Ayako played the Chopin *Ballade Number 3 in A Major*.

As may be judged from the above instances, the performing abilities of Japanese artists were gradually improving. Singing in unison came to be replaced by singing in chorus, for example, but at first it was still to piano accompaniment. Gradually orchestral accompaniments were used, and there was also an increasing tendency towards singing in the original language rather than in Japanese translation. Symphonic pieces, which had been almost absent in the 1890's, came to occupy a prominent part in the concerts. However, it is clear that the level of accomplishment of violinists and pianists was not matched by artists on other instruments, and the most finished performances were undoubtedly violin and piano solos. In the 1890's there were a few exceptional artists like Kōda Nobu, but twenty years later, with the general improvement in standards of performance, it was possible to hear at almost any concert works by Beethoven, Chopin and other great composers adequately played. On the other hand, until Shibata Tamaki made her début there were almost no vocal artists, and this remained the branch of music which made the slowest progress in Japan because of the problems of foreign language, voice production, etc. Moreover, unlike the playing of musical instruments, the art of singing required a long period of personal experience before it could be absorbed by the Japanese. With this exception, the standards of musical performance reached, in the late Meiji Era, a level which foreshadowed the present situation.

In this connection, something should be said about opera. The first performance of a foreign opera in Japan was on November 24, 1894, at the Tokyo Music School. On the occasion of a concert sponsored by the Japanese Red Cross to raise funds for war relief, the first act of Gounod's *Faust* was
presented on the stage. It is clear that the reason why the people of the Meiji Era wished to put on an opera, the most difficult of musical forms, was that they wanted to reproduce in Japan the gorgeous effects of this foreign musical spectacle. It was much the same spirit as that which motivated the aristocrats and literati of the early seventeenth century in Florence, when they dreamed of reviving the classical Greek tragedy. At the first performance a member of the Italian Legation sang the role of Faust, and the part of Mephistopheles was taken by the acting Austrian Minister, Baron Coudenhoven. The orchestra was that of the Music Department of the Imperial Household Ministry, and the Chorus (which sang behind the scenes) was that of the Tokyo Music School. The performance was under the direction of Eckert. There is no detailed information as to the quality of the performance, but it was probably no more than an experiment.

The next opera performance was presented on July 23, 1903. In the previous year the Opera Study Society (Kageki Kenkyūkai), consisting mainly of students of the Tokyo Music School and Tokyo Imperial University, had been formed, and it was this group which put on Gluck’s Orpheus at the auditorium in Ueno. The libretto was translated into remarkably good Japanese and is still used today. The sets were designed by students of the Fine Arts School (Bijutsu Gakkō). The principal roles were sung by Yoshikawa Yama (Orpheus) and Shibata Tamaki (Euridice), and the performance was directed by Noel Peri. In place of the normal orchestral accompaniment, Dr. Koeber played the piano. This was a performance worthy of record in the history of opera in Japan. The enthusiasm of the students made possible what was artistically and financially almost impossible. The lofty and powerful longing for musical culture on the part of a small number of intellectuals was always able to surmount the obstacles in the path of Western music in the Meiji Era and move forward to new triumphs. One might say that the spirit guiding the people who accomplished this was
the same as that which guided Izawa Shūji when he strove so valiantly to establish musical education in Japan during the early Meiji years.

Be that as it may, this ambitious venture aroused a storm of controversy. The Ministry of Education, which had jurisdiction over the Music School, warned the authorities of the School that it was improper for students to perform dramatic impersonations within the Music School. From that time on it was forbidden for the school to give public performances of dramatic works. The Opera Study Society accordingly went through a most difficult period and for a time was forced to discontinue its work. The decision of the Ministry of Education represented a great setback to opera in Japan. There was also the problem of the tremendous financial losses which the performance incurred. Attempts were frequently made to put on Orpheus again, this time with the proper orchestral accompaniment, but the financial problem always defeated such proposals.

After Orpheus there was performed on March 29, 1905, Roei no Yume (Dream in Camp). This was put on at the Kabuki-za with Matsumoto Kōshirō in the leading role. The score was a kind of cantata with book and music both by Kitamura Sueharu. It was written in unaccompanied monotones interspersed with orchestral intermezzi. Kōshirō performed the work in Kabuki style, and it was at a very elementary level as an opera. However, it is worthy of note as being the earliest attempt at operatic composition by a Japanese.

There was a later movement, stimulated by the publication in 1904 of Tsubouchi Shōyō's Shingakugeki-ron (Concerning a New Musical Drama), to compose and perform Japanese-style operas which would not be a mere imitation of Western operas but would have a distinctive Japanese flavor. Tsubouchi's theories were put into practice in November 1906 with the performance at the Kabuki-za of Tokoyami (Eternal Darkness) (words by Tsubouchi, music by Tōgi Tetteki, chorus of one hundred, fifty dancers and an orchestra of thirty men). This
was the first performance sponsored by the Bunrei Kyōkai. The second performance of this society (in November, 1907) included a dance-play Shinkyoku Urashima (New Urashima) (words by Tsubouchi, music by the thirteenth Kineya Rokuzaimon and Kineya Kangorō, choreography by Fujima Kan’emon). This was an opera with purely Japanese music. Numerous other attempts at opera were made in the late Meiji Era. In some cases the words were by Japanese and the music written by foreigners resident in Japan.

In spite of the widespread popularity of works written by Japanese, there were not many performances of foreign operas at the time. This was because not only the vocal parts but even the instrumental parts of the score of any opera were beyond the capacities of Japanese artists. The only performances during the Meiji Era after Orpheus were of the first act of Gounod’s Faust (in Japanese translation) performed in April 1907, and of a part of Cavalleria Rusticana by Mascagni, performed in December 1911. The latter performance consisted mainly of the duets of Turiddu and Santuzza (played by the Italian tenor Zarelli and Shibata Tamaki respectively).

The Imperial Theatre was opened on March 1, 1911 as a completely Western-style theatre. It was intended to perform operas there regularly, and Junker, Welkmeister, Shibata Tamaki and Shimizu Kintarō were invited to serve as instructors for a resident troupe. The performance of Cavalleria mentioned above was produced under these auspices, as were two Japanese operas in the following year. However, these works met with an extremely unfavorable reaction from the ordinary spectators. As a result, Shibata Tamaki in despair left the Imperial Theatre. The operatic troupe soon was obliged to turn to performing comic operettas, but even these were financially unsuccessful, and the company had to disband. The high ideals of the Imperial Theatre of performing opera could not be realized, and it was not until the 1930’s with the Fujiwara Opera Company that the dream of opera in Japan turned into reality.
THE GROWTH OF WESTERN MUSIC

The attraction that opera exerted on people of the late Meiji Era could not bear fruit at the time for many reasons. One might cite the ineptitude of the performing artists, the immaturity of native composers, the inadequacy of financial support, and the losses which were bound to occur because performances had to be in theatres catering to the general public, and the general public was as yet not ready for opera. Without government support so vast an undertaking as opera was impossible, but the Japanese statesmen of the time had absolutely no understanding of this fact, and even crushed the first sproutings of opera in Japan represented by the performance of *Orpheus*. This was to prove a great hindrance to future productions of opera in Japan.

*Research, criticism, inventions, manufacture of musical instruments.*

Izawa Shūji lectured on Helmholtz's theory of acoustics shortly after the Music Study Committee was founded, but the first Japanese to study Japanese music from a scientific point of view and to obtain outstanding results was Tanaka Shōhei (1862–1945). Tanaka was sent by the government to Germany to study physics in 1884, and had as his teacher at Berlin University the celebrated Helmholtz. He also became very fond of Western music, and began a theoretical study of it. In order to eliminate the faults in keyed instruments tuned to the mean modulation which had been in general used in the Western music world, he attempted to devise an instrument which would work on the pure natural modulation. The result of his researches was the "pure-tone" organ which he invented. His first trial product was a reed organ, completed in 1890. Its importance was recognized by Hans von Bülow and Josef Joachim and other leading figures in the German music world of the time, and was eventually brought to the attention of the
Kaiser. The German government accordingly granted Tanaka 6,000 marks for research expenses. With this money he devised a "pure-tone pipe-organ" or euphonium. Joachim played the second movement of the Beethoven Violin Concerto to the accompaniment of this organ and enthusiastically praised its qualities.

There have been no other scientific researches into music and inventions by Japanese since Tanaka's time which can compare with what he achieved. There have been, however, various valuable studies of Japanese music, some of them dating back from the Meiji Era.

The books about music which were published in the early Meiji Era were at a very elementary level and poorly produced. In the late Meiji Era, however, it became possible to publish books with as dignified a format as in Europe, and the number of publications on music, including scores, studies on music, and in particular appreciations of music, steadily increased. It was the music enthusiasts who stimulated the publication of books about music. At the same time, musical journalism made its first appearance, and this led to the publication of music magazines which reported activities in the world of music as they occurred. The earliest of these was Ongaku no Tomo (The Friend of Music), which first appeared in 1901. This was followed by various other music magazines, all of which carried informative articles relating to the knowledge and ways of appreciating Western music. At the same time the first steps were taken in the direction of reports and criticisms of concerts, the forerunners of the musical criticism which is now an important feature of our newspapers. The writers of this criticism were for the most part editorial assistants of the various music magazines. The fact that such criticism should have begun to appear as the Meiji Era wore on bespeaks the progress and development in the musical world in that Era.

The manufacture of Western musical instruments in Japan began almost as soon as Western music was introduced. The
first Western musical instrument was made in 1880, an American-style reed-organ for use in Protestant churches in accompanying hymns. A sample was made in Yokohama by a maker of Japanese musical instruments. In the same year the first violin was made in Japan by a Tokyo craftsman. In 1881 reed organs were made in Tokyo on a commercial basis. In 1887 a manufacturer of medical equipment in Hamamatsu named Yamaha Torakichi became interested in making organs as a result of having repaired an American reed-organ, and from that time on began to produce organs on a large scale. Yamaha founded *Nihon Gakki Seizō Kabushiki Kaisha* (The Japanese Musical Instrument Manufacturing Company) in 1897, with himself as president, and laid the foundations for the now famous Yamaha Organ and Yamaha Piano. However, the first piano made in Japan was produced from foreign materials in 1889 by a Yokohama craftsman. The present “Suzuki Violin”, one of the important musical instruments produced in Japan, was first made by Suzuki Masakichi of Nagoya in 1883. At the height of its prosperity his company was exporting large numbers of violins to America.

The Japanese musical instruments of today, including the piano and the violin, are good serviceable instruments, but they still yield in quality to the best foreign products. The special feature of the manufacture of Western musical instruments in Japan has been the rapid imitation of Western products and success in turning them out in large quantities, but they still unfortunately leave room for improvement in the matter of durability and quality.

2. THE GROWTH OF MILITARY BANDS

The foundations of military bands in Japan were laid when the Navy Band received instruction from Eckert and the Army Band from Leroux. The two organizations continued to make
steady progress, and it is noteworthy that in the late 1880's, when the Tokyo Music School and the orchestra of the Imperial Household Ministry were still in a formative state, and had not yet reached a level of artistic performance, the bands were able to contribute to the musical tastes of the time by their superior ability.

After Leroux and Eckert left neither the Army nor the Navy employed a foreign instructor, and it was the policy to train the military bands chiefly with Japanese teachers. (It is true, however, that while Eckert, who had been employed by the Navy, was serving as instructor at the Music Department of the Imperial Household Ministry, he was employed from 1892–1894 by the Army Band, and by the Navy from 1895–1899, but this was only part-time employment.) In 1894, both the Army and Navy Bands went off to war. After the war they had increasingly frequent occasions to perform before the general public. Especially after the opening of the Music Hall in Hibiya Park on August 1, 1905, the military bands gave many concerts, and during the following ten years or more did the most basic work in spreading a taste for Western music among the general public. One may say that throughout the period of the introduction of Western music and the attendant building of a Japanese tradition, the military bands were always a step ahead of the Tokyo Music School.

The military bands began the study of symphonic music as soon after the Russo-Japanese War as conditions would permit. Beginning in December 1908, the Navy had its music candidates study with the foreign instructor, Junker, at the Tokyo Music School, and the head of the Army Band invited musicians from the Music Department of the Imperial Household Ministry to give instruction. It would seem that the military bands went too far when they extended their studies to symphonic music. Their efforts ultimately ended in failure, but it was most natural under the conditions which prevailed after the end of the Russo-Japanese War that the military bands, having already achieved
THE GROWTH OF WESTERN MUSIC

considerable artistic results, should have attempted to attain to still greater heights. The very fact is indicative of the importance of the military bands in the musical world of the time. The influence of the military bands extended throughout the domain of music. For example, the orchestra of the Tokyo Music School could not have existed without borrowing wind and percussion players from the Navy Band and the Imperial Household Ministry. It also, as has been stated, was of great importance in bringing Western music to the general public, and made a vital contribution to the formation of orchestras in later years.

3. THE VOGUE OF POPULAR SONGS

The military songs composed against the background of the Sino-Japanese War were written in the Western style which had begun to be diffused throughout the country by the music education system. Because they were of a high quality as music, they were even adopted for use in the schools, and were able to escape the ephemerality which is characteristic of this sort of military song. After the end of the war, when peaceful conditions were restored, songs came to play an even more vital part in the lives of the people. It happened that at this time there were unusually capable Japanese composers of songs who were able to foster this popularity. Among the representative composers were Taki Rentarō (1879–1903), the composer of Kojō no Tsuki (The Moon over the Ruined Castle). After his graduation in 1897 from the Tokyo Music School with high honors, he went to Germany in 1902 to continue his studies, but while in Germany his lungs were affected, and he had to return to Japan, where he died in the following year. It may well be imagined that if he had not died so young he would have had a brilliant career as a composer.

After the end of the Russo-Japanese War innumerable collec-
tions of songs were published for the use of schools or amateurs. Most of them consisted of foreign songs with Japanese words appended, but unlike the early Meiji Era, there were also excellent works by Japanese composers included. Many of the songs in these collections are still sung today. Among the important collections was Yōchien Shōka (Kindergarten Songs) (1901), probably the most successful collection of children's songs ever compiled in Japan. In included Hatopoppo (The Dove) and Suzume (The Sparrow) by Taki Rentarō, and other songs still extremely popular with children. Both in their music and their words they are far superior to anything being written today.

Even during the Russo-Japanese War many songs for use in the schools were composed. After the war, with the growth in importance of girls' education, there was a great demand for songs for use in girls' schools, and many collections were compiled. The texts used for teaching singing in the elementary schools throughout the country came to be regulated by the Ministry of Education from about the same time. The fact that the Ministry of Education compiled the collections of songs meant that vulgar songs were eliminated and only those which would have a healthy effect on children were taught. This was all well and good but it is also true that as a result the children got very little fun out of singing. If Japanese school children sing a good deal while at school, they tend to sing very little while at home, an unfortunate situation which may well have been produced by the bureaucracy over the years.

One special by-product of the popularity of songs after the Sino-Japanese War was the student song. The students at institutions of higher learning who had received training in singing while in elementary and middle schools, wanted songs of their own to sing. As a result each institution came to have its dormitory songs, school songs, cheering songs, etc. The texts of most of these songs are in ornate, poetic language, and the melodies, if largely of the school song variety, do sometimes
skilfully follow the rhythms of the old words. The student songs thus have a flavor of their own.

Other vocal music which was popular in the late Meiji Era included Christian hymns. When hymns were introduced to Japan in the early Meiji Era, the Japanese believers, unaccustomed as they were to Western music, found them very difficult to sing, but with the spread of musical education (and, of course, the increase in the number of Christian converts) hymns enjoyed great popularity. In 1903 a collection of hymns was issued by all the various Protestant denominations jointly, for the use of all sects. This collection included four hundred and eighty-three pieces. The music was of Western origin, but the words, which had hitherto been a great stumbling-block, were vastly improved and made singable. So popular did they become that not only believers but non-believers sang these hymns along with the other songs of the time.

The vicissitudes of popular songs in this period have already been described. The particular type of ballad which flourished at the end of the Meiji Era, describing at length unhappy love affairs and the like, was doomed by the rise to popularity of the phonograph with the limitations imposed on the length of songs by the records, and shortly after 1910 disappeared altogether.

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