**Shin buyo and sosaku buyo:**

**tradition and change in japanese dance**

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When the pioneers of modern dance in the West began their revolution at the end of the nineteenth Century, they turned their backs on traditional dance and performed, for the most part, as though ballet had never existed.1 While traditional dance in Japan at precisely the same time was in a relatively low state, despite several brilliant performers, it was not the way of the Japanese artist to turn his back upon tradition. In-stead of kicking over the traces, he attempted to effect the renewal of traditional Japanese dance from the inside. This traditional Japanese dance, known as either Kabuki dance or Nihon Buyo(literally "Japanese dance"), does not, a the latter name implies, embrace all forms of dance in Japan. Nihon Buyo is used today synonymously with Kabuki dance to indicate that dance form which developed as part of the Kabuki theatre, and its offshoots which have remained close to the traditional forms.2

At its very beginnings in the late sixteenth and early seven-teenth centuries, Kabuki was made up largely of dance. By the time the dance forms were crystallizing in the mid-eighteenth Century, Kabuki had become a complex amalgam of theatrical arts, a drama combining Speech, music, and dance. Some pieces stressed speech while others consisted largely of dance. The latter (known as shosagoto or buyo geki), like the former, in-variably depicted character, Situation, and dramatic event. Kabuki dance involves role types whose manners and movements are dictated by tradition and a logic based on reality. The repertoire of Kabuki dance, largely made up today of pieces written and choreographed in the first half of the nineteenth Century, covers a vast r ran Some pieces are lyrical evoca-tions of a mood (almost invariably through a specific character or series of characters); others are dances in which a single character dances out the events of a specific Situation. Yet others are complete dance-dramas with a large cast of characters and featuring long sequences of dialogue. Just as Kabuki's spoken drama is unthinkable without its basis in dance, traditional Japanese dance is unthinkable without its foundation in drama.4

The first indication of a reversal in the development of Kabuki dance came about, as might be expected, as a result of the Meiji Restoration when, after a period of two and half centuries, Japan was opened to the outside world, most particularly to the West. Rendered more respectable by a performance before the Emperor, Kabuki attempted to become more genteel both by purging itself of grotesqueries, absurdities and indecencies found in many pieces of the repertoire, and by imitating the refinements of the aristocratic No theatre and various Western forms. But by and large the so-called renewals of the Meiji era (1868-1912) did not derive from any profound re-evaluation of the role of Kabuki dance, but instead reflected the insecurity, trendiness, and snobbism of the Kabuki world of that period.5

Renewal was to come not from the Kabuki actors who had been the exclusive public performers of Nihon Buyo since the seventeenth Century. The twentieth Century brought with it an increased importance and independence for the choreographers whose main function traditionally had been to compose dances for the Kabuki actors. Although they taught lay pupils as well, neither the teachers nor the pupils presented public performances. By 1900 the choreographers realized that it was up to them to take the lead in the development of a new form of dance. Unlike the Kabuki actor, prisoner of a rigorous acting schedule, the dance teachers and choreographers had time to devote themselves totally to the study of the dance and its problems. The twentieth Century witnessed a vast expansion of their activities. 1t was then that the buyoka or dancer, as opposed to the Kabuki actor-dancer, was born. Until the twentieth Century it was assumed that the Kabuki actors would dance, the choreographers would Choreograph, and the people who studied dance outside the theatres would dance in private gatherings if at all.

The increasing awareness of the identity of the buyöka äs a dancer, and of his difference from the actor, is the first major development in the renewal of Nihon Buyo. A few of the more imaginative buyoka realized that Kabuki dance had come to a standstill, and they began the difficult struggle against the forces of entrenched tradition. They were aided by the famous scholar Tsubouchi Shoyo, translator of Shakespeare and admirer of traditional Japanese theatre. At first, in 1904, he advocated a kind of total dance theatre, in-fluenced somewhat by Wagner. By 1919 Shoyo had come to realize the impracticability of his earlier vision and was proposing three major changes in Nihon Buyo: deletion of dialogue; performance of major protions of the dance to music without words; a more abstract kind of movement, relying less on mimetic gesture than on traditional dance.6

What Shoyo was suggesting was what the buyoka had actually begun doing. Realizing that they were deficient in dramatic training and could not compete at that level with the Kabuki actors, the buyoka had begun to turn toward the creation of a more lyric form of dance. This form they called the "new dance" or shin buyo. The two earliest pioneers of the movement were Fujirna Shizue, who later took the name of Fujikage Shizue, and GojoTamami. 1t is not surprising that the impetus for shin buyo came from women for, enjoying less prestige than the male choreographers bound to the theatres, they were less constrained by the traditions and restnctions which made their male colleagues more conservative.

In 1917 Shizue founded her dance troupe, which she called Fujikage-kai, and presented many original programs. In 1919 Gojo Tamami began her activities. In 1921 Shizue's new piece, "Shibon" ("Everday Thoughts"), was performed to the admiration of critics, dancers, and actors alike. As the title suggests, "Shibon" is a lyrical, non-dramatic dance, revealing an interior state of mind. Following the lead of Shizue, the new dance movement was to stress the psychological, the ideal, the inner world, and to eschew the absurdities and the strong licensed pleasure quarter" (kuruwa) elements so typical of traditional Kabuki dance. Soon joined by writers, critics, and Kabuki actors, the new dance movement specialized in pieces deriving from ideas, concepts, emotions, rather than dramatic incident. As early a 1920 it was apparent that the new dance was setting out on a path quite different from that followed by traditional Kabuki dance.

But the new dance was not content simply to reject the traditional elements as Shoyo had advocated. Anyone familiar with classical dance in Japan will realize what a fundamental reversal was brought about in Nihon Buyo by the rejection of dialogue, of sung verbal texts as dance accompaniment, and of mimetic gesture. The very definition of traditional Japanese dance would have to include at least two, if not three, of these components. A continued interest in Western and in other non-Japanese forms was coupled with a search for non-Kabuki indigenous forms which might be drawn upon in Choreograph ing new dances. In 1919 Mei Lan-fang [Lanfang], the famous star of Peking [Beijing] opera, caused great excitement in the dance world when he performed in Japan. Three years later, Pavlova danced at the Imperial Theatre and electrified the dance world with her "Dying Swan." Some dancers were inspired to incorporate ballet technique into their work, using, for example, a pointed toe which had never before appeared in Japanese dance except as an indication of an animal nature. The great Kabuki actor, Kikugoro VI (1885-1949), known as "god of the dance," changed the ending of the famous dance piece, "Yasuna." The young man who has gone mad at the death of his sweetheart traditionally strikes a mei at the end, but Kikugoro, remembering the swan, sank slowly to the ground and covered his head with his sweetheart's kimono. Such were the importance and influence of Kikugoro that "Yasuna" is rarely performed today without the "Pavlova" ending.7

In 1925 the first joint performance of folk songs and dances bore witness to a renewed interest in preserving the folk heritage which had begun to disappear during the Meiji years.8 The revival of interest in folk dance fed directly into the new dance movement and in a sense reinforced the ties with traditional dance, for folk dance had been one of the major contributors to the birth of Kabuki dance. But when an art attempts to go back to its beginnings, such a return often implies a reversal of the current state of the art, for the purity of the earlier form has usually been lost through an increasing trend toward sophistication over the centuries. Pure odori, as folk dance is usually called, is an abstract, earthy, rhythmic dance, containing leaping and stamping movements, and as such fit well into the lyrical, nondramatic style of the new dance movement.9

Related to folk dance was the new importance given to group dance in shin buyo. In its early stages Kabuki had usually included some kind of group dance, but this so-odori, the finale to the day's performance, was neither dramatic nor sophisticated. It was rather a kind of celebration in which, at least one critic suggests, the audience might also join — much as it did in "Hair." As Kabuki dance developed, the group dance was dropped and, with very rare exceptions, Nihon Buyobecame a solo dance or a dance in which several soloists performed together, each with a particular identity. The new dance was to revert to the group dance or gumbu, but in a much more sophisticated form. One of the earliest examples of this occurred in 1921 in "Haru kara aki e" ("From Spring to Autumn") by Umemoto Rikuhei, headmaster of the prestigious Umemoto guild in Osaka, and one of the most adventurous and intellectual of headmasters, inclined to experimentation. (Rikuhei is said to be one of the two dancers in Japan capable of using Labanotation.)

In the 1920's and 30's the pioneers, joined by an ever-growing group of dancers and even by young Kabuki actors, continued their activities. Although there were new works of a dramatic nature, by and large the thrust of the new dance movement was toward the achievement of "dance poetry." There were experiments using Western movement, Chinese movement, and of course folk elements. Music was composed combining various classical instruments in new ways. Western Instruments were integrated with traditional ones; sometimes the music was entirely Western. In 1930 Azuma Tokuho {then called Fu-jima Harue) founded her Harufuji-kai and staged a performance using children's songs, folk songs, foreign and Japanese music blended, jazz, and other unusual elements.

The effervescence and inventiveness of those years led Hanayagi Juraku to call them the golden age of the new dance (1970:119). Unfortunately, the momentum was intermpted by the Second World War, during which most artistic activity ceased and many of the theatres were destroyed.

The new dance that has developed since the war is no longer called shin buyo, but rather by a new name: sosaku buyo or "creative dance." Although the name is different, the product is in many ways the same. Creative dance was to thrive on the impetus created by pioneers like Fujikage Shizue and Gojo Tamami. Continuity is proved by surviving members of the earlier movement like Umemoto Rikuhei and Azuma Tokuho. Many of the talented choreographers of creative dance were influenced in their Normative years by the new dance movement also. Among the leaders were Nishikawa Koisaburo, Kawaguchi Hideko, Wakayagi Mitsutae, and with the Hanayagi name, Tokubei, Juraku, Toshinami, Teruna, and Shigeka.

Shortly before his death in 1968, Hanayagi Tokubei, one of the most important contributors to creative dance, made evident the ties between prewar and postwar developments when he summed up what many dancers and writers had been suggesting for almost sixty years:

Contemporary dance must be international and readily understandable to the spectator today. japanese dance is still in the Bunka-Bunsei era, and no one understands it or enjoys it. [Bunka-Bunsei is the last great creative era of dance in which most of the classical pieces performed today were premiered, 1804-1830.] The peculiarity of Japanese dance in using words as a point of departure makes a modern and international appeal very difficult. We canrvot forget our heritage, so we must create using our traditional buyo means of expression, but we must also turn for Inspiration to our falk heritage, for minzoku buyo (folk dance] is much older than Kabuki dance and possesses the freshness of prehistory and the earthiness of the people and the soil near which they live.

We must take into consideration the faster tempo of life today. Jazz has replaced the old work songs, trains have replaced the palanquin, and farm machines, hand labor. We should rethink therefore the tempo and the repeti-tions of our dance pieces. At the same time we must attempt not to lose traditional essentials. In minzoku buyo this means local color, vitality, and energy, which are usually lacking when they are danced by buyoka, who strive for nothing but beauty, Nihon Buyo is sorely in need of a blood transfusion from folk dance. (1963:T76-182)10

The importance of renewal through a new international viewpoint on dance is clear, and just as apparent is the necessity of finding the new through tradition instead of simply rejecting tradition. In much of the sösaku buyo one sees today this double ideal is apparent. In much of it, however, it is not. The varieties of creative dance span the entire ränge from abstract nonliteral works, through lyrical psychological evocations, to frankly dramatk pieces with all the accoutrements of dance-drama including diaglogue, a large cast, and changes of decor. The form varies from solo dance to group dance.

Whatever the variety, there are two major approaches to sosaku buyo, with much of the interesting work often lying somewhere between the two. One kind of choreography uses only the classical forms (kata), creating pieces that look for all the world like the classical dances of a Century or two ago. They are set to words and music cast in the traditional forms of nagauta, kiyomoto, tokiwazu, or one of the other musical Idioms of the past. This kind o£ dance rarely possesses any feeling of newness and belongs, as Tokubei pointed out, to the Bunka-Bunsei era more than it does to our own. Rather than deserving the name creative dance, it could more logically be dubbed new traditional dance. As such it is not a proof that traditional forms are alive and well-it might be indeed an indication of the contrary. For tradition cannot be called alive unless it possesses the vitality of life, which implies change, flux. This is particularly true in a form like Kabuki dance which has constantly varied with the years, taking advantage of fads, popular music, foik songs, No dance, and whatever seemed most appealing and interesting at the moment. The tradition of Japanese dance is a tradition of change within the framework of a clearly defined form using a dramatic format, though sometimes the dramatic element is attenuated. It has the Choreographie components of mal (aristocratic, controlled, circling movement) and odori {abandoned, strongly rhythmic, stamping and jumping movement), bound together by the interpretive or pantomimic element called odori,11 all used to depict the meaning and emotion of accompanying words. What I have called the new traditional dance is not proof of the vitality of tradition; it is an example of its mummification,

It is the second approach to sosaku buyo that reveals the vitality of tradition in its contact with new forms and new ways of thinking, and it is this approach that deserves the name of creative dance. Still using many of the traditional forms (kata), the choreographer in-fuses them with a new spirit by blending them with nontraditional forms, Japanese or foreign, or by using traditional kata in a new way, forging new relationships. Modern themes, international themes, classic themes from Western literature (such as King Lear, Salome, Faust, Hamlet), are set to traditional music with a difference, or to new or exotic forms of music, including rock. Costumes and sets are sometimes traditional; often they create ironic or jarring effects by juxtaposing the modern and the old. A description of several of the most interesting examples of recent sosaku buyowill give the reader a more vivid idea of just how the effects I have described above are realized in a dance piece. I shall limit my descriptions to shorter dances for, although many lengthy dance-dramas are choreographed in the so-called creative dance style, they are rarely successful, usual-ly lacking the originality of concept and the tightness of realization that are typical of the smaller pieces. The dance-dramas often suffer from badly written libretti, a saccharine or silly fantasy, or the cheap slickness of commercial reviews or operettas, featuring such atrocities as blue-haired mermaids or underwater ballets.

One of the most impressive new pieces is Hanayagi Sukesaburo's "Umi to sora" ("Sea and Sky"). The strong kata of the dance are performed to equally strong and moving music composed by Matsukaze Sofu, a music which, while modern in feeling, uses as chief in-strument the heavy gidayu shamisen (having a deep tone and a very low range), supported by a Japanese flute and Western tympani. The lyrics, written by the choreographer's son, Aoki Isao, express the endless struggle of man with man. Three male dancers, two at stage right and one at the left, wearing formal kimono and hakama and carrying fans, hold a pose for an extended length of time after the opening of the curtain. As they dance, their movements evoke the flux of waves and the struggle of men in battle. Even without understanding the words, one is aware of the underlying theme of struggle and wonders whether this is not perhaps a dance based upon some famous battle in the past. Yet, despite the strength of the poses and the tensions apparent among the three dancers, the fans never become Symbols of swords or halberds, and the dance never quite touches on tachimawari, the stylized martial movements used in the choreography of battle scenes. Because of its force and intensity, and the drama generated by the performers, this piece possesses a feeling of kinship to modern dance, particularly the work of a dramatic choreographer like Martha Graham. This feeling is reinforced by the abstractness of the movement, the lack of a story line, and the "musicality" (for Western ears) of the music. The movement, however, is purely classical. As the dance ends, the dancershave assumed the same positions with which they began, stressing the eternally recurrent rhythm of sea and struggle. Nonliteral but deeply suggestive, "Sea and Sky," äs its title suggests, is a strongly lyrical expression of deep humanity and muted anguish, a kind of danced meditation on the human condition.

"Taiyo" ("Sun"), choreographed by Hanayagi Tokubei, is again intensely lyrical and strongly masculine. 1t was performed by two süperb male dancers wearing white Jeans, white tabi, and bright yellow t-shirts, against a backcloth lighted with a vivid reddish yellow light. Somewhat similar in feeling to "Sea and Sky," "Sun" was much more abstract, hav-ing no accompanying words and thus leaving the Interpretation entirely up to the speo tator. The parallel to Western dance was underscored by the modern Western clothing, but the movement was completely traditional although it achieved patterns between the bodies of the two dancers which would not normally be found in classical Nihon BuyÖ, Without resorting to mimetic gesture of any kind, Tokubei succeeded in evoking the in-tense brightness and warmth of the sun, its rays, its reflections, and the effects it produced on men. The accompanying music by Kineya Elizaburo was rhythmical, resonant, and modern in feeling, despite its classical Instrumentation of shamisen, shakuhachi (vertical bamboo flute), fue (transverse flute), koto, and percussion.

"Taiyö" is one part of a trüogy which also includes "Mizu" ("Water") and "Kaze" ("Wind"). The latter two sections feature group dancing, chiefly women wearing white pants and with bare feet. The freer movements, like the bare feet, were more reminiscent of modern dance than were the stricter kata and tabi-clad feet of "Taiyo."

"Shitaya Hatsune-chö" (apparently a place name), choreographed by Hanayagi Sumi, is astonishing chiefly for its setting: an old-fashioned overstuffed sofa and chair, and a coffee table at stage left. Bach music serves as accompaniment for an exquisite lament, performed in classical style and in kimono against the modern setting. Unfortunately, despite the moving choreography and beautiful dancing, the modern middle-class setting juxtaposed to the traditional dance does not—äs the choreographer no doubt intended-infuse the bourgeois interior with an unexpected poetry. Instead, the decorlends "soap opera" sentimentality to the emotions expressed.

Contrasting with the pieces discussed above, Hanayagi Shigeju's "Salome," as the title indicates, leaves behind the themes common to Japanese arts and plunges into the midst of Judeo-Christian mythology. Using effective music by Pink Floyd, with a strong beat suggestive of the Near East, Shigeju performed against projected backgrounds which shifted colors with the mood. Her costume was of filmy material; the sleeves were discarded halfway through the dance, leaving the performer bare-armed and almost bare-legged-a strikingly different appearance from the usual kimono-clad body. At the beginning, a blue sky holds a dripping Beardsley moon and Salome holds a dripping head which appears to be real and which, by some stage artifice, disappears before she begins her dance. As she takes a small mirror from the well at stage left, the sky turns red and a huge skull rises from the well and hangs suspended in the sky during the rest of the dance, most of which is performed while holding the mirror. With a dramatic thud from the music, Salome collapses, lifeless, and on the backdrop is suddenly projected Titian's Salome holding the head of John the Baptist, along with several other depictions of the same subject. Strong, free moving, somewhat primitive in feeling (but not performance), "Salome" showed clear influence from modern dance.

Creative dance today ranges from imitations or re-creations of classic pieces, often in the spirit of a bygone age, through superficial and glittery commercial numbers, to meaningful and moving works born from a profound love and understanding of traditional dance and a youthful, imaginative, experimental vision. Despite the brilliant future which much of this work implies, there are grave problems confronting the creative dance movement. Not least of them is the conservatism of the dance world itself, for however creative the choreographers may be, they still must function within the framework of Nihon Buyo. They are bound to the medieval organization of the dance world with its rigid hierarchy requiring fidelity to the family and the headmaster.

According to Gunji, many headmasters place economic and political considerations ahead of artistic ones. "They make no effort toward creativeness for the sake of pure dance, and even though their performances flourish, they show no artistic progress at all."12 The young dancer in this kind of organization finds that, no matter what his talents or his vision, they must be bent to the will of the headmaster and the good of the guild rather than to the good of dance itself. Fortunately, there are exceptions. Several important dance guilds, like the Hanayagi and the Kan'emon branch of the Fujima, encourage originality among their members, and it is they who are creating much of the best sosaku buyo today.

Another major problem is the dance world's isolation. Outside the Kabuki theatre, there is no general audience for Nihon Buyo. Ballet, modern dance and avant-garde dance13 have somewhat eclectic audiences, but virtually the only spectators today for traditional dance and its offshoots are other dancers, or friends and relatives of the performers. Indeed, it is almost impossible to discover the dates and places of performances even of major dance figures without some connection to the dance world.

Dance recitals, even those featuring important dancers, are organized more like the small nonprofessional dance school recital in the United States than like the performances of our major troupes. This is partly because there are no constituted troupes which perform regularly. A second contributing factor is that many of the dancers are women, who often have no abiding professional interest in dance, Not a few of them study dance as a feminine accomplishment, advance to the level where they are allowed to take the name of the teacher and perform in recitals, and yet never achieve truly professional competence. The fact that name-taking and performing require large sums of money normally limits the ranks of dancers to the comparatively affluent. Many of these people have little interest in performing often for large audiences, since dance is only a part of their lives. Yet, having attained the guild name, they are considered Professionals. Gunji laments the fact that the lines between professional and amateur have become so blurred, and decries the isolationist tendencies of the dance guilds (1970b: 179-182).

The problems faced by Nihon Buyo today are many and complex, and could be the subject of lengthy analysis. Suffice it to say here that young dancers and choreographers, eager to experiment and expand, need to be offered the freedom to prove their own artistic worth, regardless of age, rank, or famaly line. An impartial critical attitude toward the entire dance world, based upon facts and performances rather than name, past achievements, or dizzying rank, would be beneficial. The headmaster System, pronounced worn-out half a Century ago by Kodera Yukichi (1974:369), is in need of serious examination so that artistic Standards will prevail instead of financial or political ones.

Alternatives must be found to the insular attitudes which prevail among some teachers and choreographers, to the petty rivalries and exaggerated self-interest which have sometimes characterized their relationships. Perhaps most important of all, if dance is to thrive as an art, it must establish relations with a large popular audience. As Nihon Buyo, in its newest phase of sosaku buyo, moves away from the Kabuki dance from which it derives, it can no longer simply imitate the kinds of dance which, as Tokubei pointed out in 1963, are found boring by most contemporary spectators. Kabuki dance as such appears to be a completed dance form, and new pieces cast in the old mold almost invariably smack a bit of the museum. Using traditional means of expression, or blending themth new elements, the modern choreographer must treat themes of significance to the contemporary public. He must show the nonspecialist that dance can be an exciting form of theatre. After all, for some two hundred and fifty years Kabuki dance was a popular form of entertainment whose stars were the matinee idols of their day. Modern dance in the West is prospering today as never before. If Japanese dance can find its way out of the tradition-bound position which is stifling much of its creativity, there is no reason why it cannot create a dynamic new dance renaissance.

Notes

1Ballet, representing extreme formalism, was rejected at the end of the nineteenth century by the Delsartians, by Genevieve Stebbins, and above all by the most important of the pioneers, Isadora Duncan, who declared, "I am an enemy of the Ballet, which I consider a false and preposterous art, in fact outside the pale of all art" (Ruyter 1979:35; see also p. 14).

2Nihon Buyo is peformed by Kabuki actors either in dramatic peformances or in recitals, and also since the beginning of the twentieth century by dancers who are not actors and often pride themselves on that fact. The two ways of dance have begun to diverge rather dramatically. The fretful question of defining Japanese terminology cannot be simply resolved because the terms have been used for centuries in differing ways. Still, that most scholars consider Nihon Buyo to be synonymous with Kabuki dance is beyond doubt. Tobe Ginsaku says, "Today Nihon Buyo, generally speaking, refers to the so-called Kabuki Buyo and whatever buyo that came into being after the birth of Kabuki" (1969:94). Gunji states, "The full term for Japanese classical dance is Nihon Buyo (literally 'Japanese dance')----It is also popularly called Kabuki Buyo, since it originated in the Kabuki stage and had its greatest development there.. .the dance of Kabuki, rather than the esoteric mai found in Bugaku and No, has come to be known as Nihon Buyo and represents the essence of Japanese dance" (1970b:75). See also the articles by Japanese scholars in Volume I of this publication. Consult further: Eguchi 1965:75, Gunji 1970a:126; Ashihara 1964:13, 15. The fact remains that some speakers use the terms with only the most classical forms of dance in mind, while others are alluding to more recent developments. This ambiguity, while disconcerting to the Westerner, is typical of much terminology pertaining to the arts of Japan.

3 The dances from the Kabuki repertoire are often presented by actors as part of a dramatic performance. The same dances make up over ninety percent of the repertoire of the dance recitals presented by teachers who have no connection with Kabuki. The new dance and creative dance discussed herein are largely confined to recitals by major teachers, often including Kabuki actors among them. Occasionally one of these new pieces is presented within the framework of a Kabuki performance.

4"The coexistence of Kabuki, which is a very dance-like form of theatre, with Nihon Buyo, which is a very dramatic form of dance, makes it impossible to draw a clear line between drama and dance in Japan" (Tobe 1969:100). Every competent Kabuki scholar, whether Japanese or Western, says as much. To quote Ernst: "Since the Kabuki retained dance movement as the underlying force of its performances, the distinction between actor and dancer that exists generally in the Western world at present was not made in the Japanese theatre" (1974:173; see also 167, 168-169, 172). Many other scholars have also discussed this point, among them Scott 1955:83; Bowers 1974:166; Kawatake 1971:67; Gunji 1957:14; Kodera 1974:318.

5Gunji (1957:27) quotes Tsubouchi, the great scholar and theatre reformer of the Meiji and Taisho eras, and expresses full agreement: "Matsubame mono [Kabuki plays imitating N6J are the result of the early Meiji snobbishness and therefore should be done away with." For further enlightening discussion, see ibid.: 113-118, Kodera likewise dismisses these works contemptuously (1974:294, 297, 300). He criticizes the writers of the dance texts for lack of talent (308-309) and castigates the arrogance of the actors as well (316-318).

6Gunji (1974) discusses Tsubouchi's ideas in some detail.

7I am indebted for this detail to Mr. Faubion Bowers who received the story from the lips of Kikugoro VI. The mie is a stylized movement culminating in a pose which emphasizes the emotional mood through the facial expression as well as the preceding movements of the torso and limbs.

8This joint performance took place on October 26, 1925, at the newly opened Seinenkan (Youth Hall) at the Meiji Shrine Outer Gardens in Tokyo. The program, featuring folk performers from all over Japan, was organized by the well known dance scholar Kodera Yukichi and others. It is

chronicled in Kodera 1974:372-376.

9Odori, like many Japanese technical terms, has at least two meanings. It is often used in a very general way simply to mean dance, and particularly Kabuki dance. One might say, for example, "I have an odori lesson today," On the other hand, in a discussion of the components of Japanese dance, that element deriving specifically from folk and popular dances, characterized by strong rhythm and leaping, is called odori.

10I have summed up the author's principal ideas rather than making a direct translation. That Tokubei was on the right track is suggested by the enthusiastic reception given some years back to the Japanese Folk Dance Troupe organized by Hanayagi Juraku. It featured well trained classical dancers performing folk dances that had been specially adapted for theatrical presentation. More recently the Ondekoza has brought other Japanese folk peforming arts to a large public.

11The complex question of distinguishing among mai, odori and fun is treated by Gunji (1957:127-130); Kodera (1974:216-221); Tobe (1969); and in articles in Gunji and Misumi (1971:65-81, 117-146). My capsule definitions are based on these authors.

12The iemoto (headmaster) system is discussed critically by Gunji (1970b:179-182) and by Kodera (1974:369-371). Kodera opined in 1931 (1974:365-369) that the iemoto system no

longer had anv significance. See also Ortolani (1969). For a more affirmative view, see

Joyce Rutherford Malm's article in the present publication.

13 For an enlightening discussion of some avant-garde dance in Japan, see the article by Thomas R. H. Havens in Volume 1 of this publication.

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