Revue as a Liminal Theatre Genre:
A comparative, interdisciplinary approach to
contexts and characteristics of revues
in transitional modern times

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ABSTRAKT

Diese Dissertation behandelt die Revue als ein bedeutendes interkulturelles Genre in der Geschichte des globalen Theaters. Während der „Modernisierungsphase“ in Europa, Amerika und Japan erlebten die meisten großen Städte einen Boom an Revue-Locations und -Darbietungen. Bisher wurden nur wenige Studien zur Revue in den Theater- oder Stadtkulturstudien (urban cultural studies) durchgeführt. Mit Hilfe des Konzepts der Liminalität bewertet und definiert meine Dissertation Revue als hochgradig interkulturelles Theater-Genre neu. Die Revue wird als ein Genre untersucht, das auf ‘moderner Komposition der Zwischenmenschlichkeit’ aufgebaut ist und scheinbar gegensätzliche Elemente überbrückt, wie das Fremde und das Inländische, das Klassische und das Innovative, das Traditionelle und Moderne, das Professionelle und das Laienhafte, die Hoch- und Niedrigkultur, das Weibliche und das Männliche. Das Ziel ist es, Revue als ein liminales Genre zu betrachten, welches inmitten der Verhandlungen zwischen diesen binären, sich in ständigem Fluss befindenden Gegensätzen aufgebaut ist. Der Zweck dieses Ansatzes besteht darin, Revuen als vorübergehende Phänomene in fünf Dimensionen zu erfassen: konzeptuell, räumlich, zeitlich, kategorial und physisch. Im Laufe von sechs Kapiteln wird diese interdisziplinäre Diskussion die Gründe und Wege aufzeigen, mit denen sich die Revue zu einer herausragenden Position in der japanischen Theaterindustrie entwickelt hat. Dieser Ansatz ist auch ein Versuch, soziologische Überlegungen auf die Theaterwissenschaft plausibel anzuwenden.

ABSTRACT

This thesis discusses revue as a significantly inter-cultural genre in the history of global theatre. During the 'modernisation' period in Europe, America and Japan, most major urban cities experienced a boom in revue venues and performances. Few studies about revue have yet been done in theatre studies or in urban cultural studies. My thesis will attempt to reevaluate and redefine revue as a highly inter-cultural theatre genre by using the concept of liminality. In other words, the aim is to examine revue as a genre built on 'modern composition of betweenness', bridging seemingly opposing elements, such as the foreign and the domestic, the classic and the innovative, the traditional and the modern, the professional and the amateur, high and low culture, and the feminine and the masculine. The goal is to regard revue as a liminal genre constructed amidst the negotiations between these binaries, existing in a state of constant flux. The purpose of this approach is to capture revue as a transitory phenomena in five dimensions: conceptual, spatial, temporal, categorical and physical. Over the course of six chapters, this inter-disciplinary discussion will reveal the reasons why and the ways by which revue came to establish its prominent position in the Japanese theatre industry. The whole structure is also an attempt to provide plausible ways to apply sociological considerations to theatre studies.

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TECHNICAL NOTES

Japanese personal names are written in the conventional Japanese order, i.e. surname followed by given name. As for Japanese nouns such as book titles and theatre production titles, the official English titles where available, otherwise my own translations, are used. Translation of the quotations from Japanese books, Takarazuka scenarios and lyrics is by the author unless otherwise noted. Macrons have been omitted from common place-names such as Tokyo, Osaka and Kyoto. Words which have entered the English language are not italicized. As set out in the table of contents, this thesis consists of six chapters, each with sections. Japanese and English references are listed together in alphabetical order. If book is a reprint of the original with new page numbers, such as Nakamura Akiichi (1935), this thesis follows the page numbers of the original publication.

INTRODUCTION

A spectre is haunting the imperial city – the spectre of revue.

(*The Age of Revue*, May 1931) [1]

The first edition of *Revū-jidai* (*The Age of Revue*), the Japanese theatre magazine exclusively dedicated to revue, parodied Marx and Engels' famous communist manifesto '*Ein Gespenst geht um in Europa – das Gespenst des Kommunismus*' in order to describe the phenomenal revue boom in Tokyo. The 'haunting' was not only in Japan's metropolis, but was preceded in the European cities of Paris and Berlin or in the American city of New York. This genre called revue matured in Europe and America and by the 1930s had become an international trend. Although revue in the realm of theatre is usually known as a somewhat superficially lavish visual spectacle, it is deep down like a 'spectre' which invades the theatre realm and escapes any concrete, universal definition. One may have a vague image, but what is revue precisely? How can its definable identity be grasped? A certain image of revue exits amongst people across the globe, but it is ethereal, like the image of a phantom whose outline blurs depending on where and when it appears. Given its nature, it is necessary to start pinning down the image at a public level by looking at its general definitions in common dictionaries, and then qualifying them by examining more professional academic interpretations written by theatre study specialists.

Relatively similar descriptions of revue are found in dictionaries such as *The New Oxford Illustrated Dictionary* (1981), where revue is defined as 'theatrical entertainment purporting to give a review (often satirical) of current fashions, events, etc.; (freq.) entertainment consisting of numerous unrelated scenes or episodes.' As in this English explanation of 'review', the literal origin of revue derives from the French word 'revoir', meaning to review, i.e. to view news and trends all over again. So as in a newspaper scrapbook, the theatrical presentation can be seen as a succession of pictorial frames which are not necessarily related to each other. The French dictionary, *Le Petit Larousse Illustré* (2005, 100e edition), defines revue as '*s*pectacle comique ou satirique evoquant des événements de l'actualité, des personages connus' and also as 'spectacle de music-hall comportant une succession de tableaux fastueux, animus par des danseuses légèrement'. In addition to the musical entertainment aspect, the French dictionary points out the importance of 'danseuses' (female dancers) being indispensable in revue

[1] The author's translation: 「ひとつの怪物が帝都を徘徊している ー レヴューの怪物が。」

productions, and who, at a socially critical level, can be seen in the context of women's emancipation in public, if not subversively seen as exploitation.[2]

In Japan, the most general *Kōjien* dictionary (Iwanami 1992, 2723) defines revue as 'a show that combines skits centred on dancing and singing, and accompanied by colourful choreography and gorgeous stage set. Originally, it was a kind of satirical comedy made out of speedy scene changes and presented in December Paris, reviewing the news of the year in highlight. It became popular in every country after the World War I.'[3] This is a vague and limited account which might give readers quite a biased understanding of revue because revue is not always a short sketch nor simply a comical satire or a year-end show. It certainly became popular in the 1920s, but not everywhere in the world. Another renowned dictionary *Daijirin* (Sanseidō, 1989, 2572) describes revue as 'A kind of stage art. Variety show that developed from vaudeville in France as well as from variety in Britain and America. It is a show style stage that has a high degree of entertainment consisting of colourful gorgeous elements of all different performing arts such as comical sketches, dancing and singing. In Japan, Takarazuka Girls' Opera staged it for the first time.'[4] This is a more comprehensive explanation as it shows the ambiguity of the genre. Still, it is hard to differentiate vaudeville from variety, and what Takarazuka produced can be seen as quite different from these categories. Nevertheless, if there were something in common between them, then what is this 'something'? In order to search for this commonality linking different theatre genres co-envisaged in the vague, vast grasp of revue, we may have to examine specialist commentary to obtain a more analytical view.

In the most comprehensive theatre dictionary in Japan, *Encyclopaedia of Theatre* (Waseda University Theatre Museum 1962, 12-13), Kogure Tadao describes revue as 'a popular entertainment which is composed by dexterous mixture of various elements from comical sketches, acrobats, dancing, singings and so forth'. Furthermore, he points out the difficulty of pinning revue into a single category: 'Depending on age and country, what revue means or the way it is composed differ considerably. Also, it is difficult to distinguish revue from productions under similar namings such as show, spectacle, variety, vaudeville and burlesque.' After giving a brief history of revue's development in France, Kogure explains revue in Japan as the genre 'introduced by Takarazuka Girl's Opera followed by Shōchiku Girl's Opera and light comedy of the Casino Follies in Asakusa in the early Shōwa period.'[5] He

[2] Anan Nobuko critically discusses the industry of girls in her book, *Contemporary Japanese Women's Theatre and Visual Arts* (2016).
[3] The author's translation
[4] The author's translation
[5] The author's translation

especially notes the importance of Takarazuka's *Mon Paris* in 1927 for 'its resounding success and [as a] pioneer of the forthcoming revue boom'. While he regards the Japanese revue in which music and content were often copied from France or America, he emphasises the all-female feature particular to the Japanese revue which continued after the Second World War and matured in its own lavish style, surpassing its Western predecessors which by then had faded away from the major theatre industry.

In retrospect, Kogure's description covers a few important points that motivate us to further explore the pre-War contemporary reception of revue in Japan. When the boom of revue was at its prime in 1935, the theatre critic Nakamura Akiichi tried to theorise revue in a book named *Revū-Hyakka* (*Revue Encyclopaedia*) sub-titled in English *Review of Revue.* This is the most dedicated, if not informatively comprehensive, analytical book about revue before and since. Nakamura reports how the French word 'revue' was known even in the remote countryside in 1930s Japan, while alerting the difficulty of giving a single definition of the new genre given the different places and numerous productions claimed to be a kind of the same trendy revue branch: 'For the revue itself is indefinable like a monster who eats out our dream, it cannot be helped that the word revue is uncertain' (Nakamura 1935, 3-4). Juggling with the foreign word at the time when Japanese people had limited access to overseas and foreign languages, Nakamura endeavoured to analyse the international diversity of revue performance: entertainment, attraction, show, variety, circus, burlesque, vaudeville, opera, operetta, musical comedy and the like (ibid., 9-11). Nakamura introduces the vast range of definitions for the global trend of revue. For example, the British showman, C.B. Cochran's usage of revue is, in the broadest sense, a general term referring to the new theatre with multiple features (ibid., 7); this is in contrast to American choreographer's Florence Siegfeld's standard of presenting a so-called 'girls' show' consisting of 'a hundred of beautiful girls in lavish feather costume or nude dancers' to which erotic elements were added or the spectacularity emphasised by revue film makers such as Busby Berkley (ibid., 6). Nakamura's understanding of revue through English sources was limited at that time, and thus not always accurate or reliable, but at least it offers a good starting point from his contemporary viewpoint. His approach helps an examination of the differing revue elements in detail, and furthers the discussion of revue in a Japanese socio-cultural context as well as in comparison with the cases in Europe and America.

The history of revue in Japan is commonly understood to have begun with the all-female Takarazuka Revue which staged *Mon Paris* in 1927. *Mon Paris* was indeed the first nationwide hit of European-style revue production, but we must not forget that there were a number of other minor productions produced by theatre companies other than Takarazuka. For Japan in the process of Westernisation, revue functioned as a modern icon that would challenge pre-existing socio-cultural norms and project new

criteria on stage. Both small and lavish in scale, but huge in number, they altogether made a phenomenal revue boom that would be fertile ground in which the genre would thrive for a century in Japan. This book will question the reasons why and the way in which revue has taken such a strong hold in Japanese society. What is its background and its significance? Keeping these questions in mind, I shall compare and contrast Japanese revue with Western equivalents in order to examine the dynamics of inter-cultural as well as inter-medial characteristics of this particular theatrical genre.

My approach will consider revue as 'a composition of betweenness' built between seemingly opposing elements such as the foreign and the domestic; the classic and the innovative; the traditional and the modern; the analogue and the scientific; the occidental and the oriental; the professional and the amateur; discursively the high culture and the low culture; the feminine and the masculine. This is to re-define revue by examining conflicts and frictions between them, and to regard revue as a liminal genre constructed amidst the negotiations between these binaries in constant flux. This idea of bordering periphery can be described in Japanese as *awai* or *yohaku*. The former means space or time in-between things signifying their relations, while the latter means margin, in which there is space to accommodate new ideas and images. This liminal condition can be applied to the theatrical aesthetics. For example, Japanese traditional performances such as *miko* (shrine maiden)'s dance mediating between the sacred and the earthly, or Nō in which supernatural entities visualise the border between the real and imaginary (Yasuda 2014). The idea of liminality is effective in analysing revue in thematic terms, for revue reveals itself as such a liminal device to envisage the theatre world on the border (*kyōkai* in Japanese) and therein in transition, shifting from the conventional whilst eliminating the roots of pre-existing genres. This approach will enable us to examine revue as transitory in spatial, temporal and categorical dimensions. In this way, examining revue in the liminal condition gives us a new balancing measure by which to view twentieth century Japanese theatre, especially from the perspective of urban development and its byproduct, popular culture.

In the academic practice of theatre studies, it is relatively recent that popular commercial theatres with a high degree of entertainment have become the subject of serious discourse. In general, the study of music theatres has been so far either marginalised or concentrated on the writings of fans. Even in France, the birthplace of revue, there are few academic theses on revue. Société d'Histoire du Théâtre published a special journal issue on the theme of *En revenant à la revue. La revue de fin d'année au XIXe siècle* (*Revue d'Histoire du Théâtre*, Numéro 266, TRIMESTRE 2, 2015), but none of the articles have tried to find the roots of revue, by way of tracking down 'the first one' in their revue heritage, although they have discussed many different productions. The English journal, *Studies in Musical Theatre* published Jonas Westover's article titled 'The revue: The genre-bending, ever-shifting,

spectacular entertainment that was (almost) forgotten' (*Studies in Musical Theatre*, Volume 7, Number 1, March 2013, 3-7, Intellect, 2013). Westover affirms that the treatment of the genre of revue in scholarship is barely beginning. Both in France and Britain, therefore, it is a relatively recent endeavour (the 2010s) to cast light on revue as a significant genre and thus consider it a worthwhile subject for academic interest.[6]

In Japan too, it has been only during a little over the last decade that revue has received scholarly attention in the academic discipline. Professor Marumoto Takashi at Waseda University founded in 2002 an official research group Opera-Ongakugeki-Kenkyūkai dedicated to the studies in a broader scope of music theatre including revue. The outcome of their fifteen years of collaborative research has been accumulated in the book *Opera/Ongakugeki Kenkyū, Handobukku* (*A Handbook for Opera and Music Theatre Research*: ARTES, 2017). It widely encompasses European opera works and their reception in Japan. Although a partial section towards the end is dedicated to Japanese music theatre including all-girl revue (Ibid. 356-371)[7],no article gives a comparative canon of the history and the current situation of European revue to give a relative perspective of the Japanese revue.

In this respect, a book titled *Steiji-shō no Jidai* (*The Age of Stage Show*: 2013) edited by Nakano Masaaki is the first achievement of this kind in which a collection of five sections with fifteen essays covers revue extensively. Altogether, they display inter-disciplinary discourses focusing exclusively on the genre, interpreted as 'stage show'. In particular, the last section titled 'The World's Stage Show' contains Akai Tomoko's 'Charles B. Conrand and London Revues', Hagiwara Ken's 'The History of Berlin Theatres which hosted Takarazuka Twice', Hibino Kei's 'Revues in the United States of America' and Hosoi Naoko's 'Opia Power: The History and the Allure of Taiwanese Popular Theatre'. These four essays offer a comparative means to capture Japanese revue at an international level, but all of them are still too specific to generate a relative view of the genre in a global scope. In his book review, the scholar of literature and theatre, Kawasaki Kenko, acknowledges this volume as 'the laborious work that convinces the academic potentials regarding stage-shows' (*Japanese Society for Theatre Research Bulletin*, vol.62, 2016, 123-127). Namely, discourses about stage shows including revue are expected to reveal several important questions to be dealt with in future research. Moreover, Kawasaki alerts us to a blind spot where 'tradition' is taken for granted as fixed. Tradition can shift when it encounters, or is challenged by, something new. She emphasises that this awareness is vital when trying to acquire an

[6] Except partially published monographs on selected theatres and starts e.g. *The Folies Bergère* by Charles Castle (Olympic Marketing Corp.,1985), *Vesta Tilley* by Sarah Maitland (Virago Press, 1986) and *The Ziegfeld Touch* by Richard Ziegfeld and Paulette Ziegfeld (Harry N Abrams, 1993).
[7] Article by Nakano Masaaki and Yamanashi Makiko.

overview of a genre like revue in order to examine the dynamics of how a number of varying traditions and modern devices are interrelated, mixed or otherwise alienated (ibid., 126).My book will attempt to discuss these dynamics on liminality, not only between the traditional and the modern, but also between the foreign and the domestic. To examine the dynamism of their interrelation and alienation will enable further evaluation of the subject between the global and the local, and between the universal and the particular. By balancing these liminal conditions, this book will reveal the reason why revue has been productive and popular in Japan until today, while it became an almost bygone genre abroad. Revue is seen as a convincing example of indigenised Western culture in Japan which invites socio-historical interest. However, as Kawasaki Kenko warns, it is difficult to talk about revue because it is not a past genre, and also because of its fragmenting as well as destructive characteristics of narrativity which cannot be easily relativised in a chronological history (ibid., 2016, 124, 126).

Discussing revue is not straightforward. Nevertheless, describing 'revue as a liminal theatre' will not only cast a new comparative light on the genre within theatre studies, but also its mutability could tell us socio-cultural elements that constitute the liminality. This approach will also inevitably bring out the gender liminality. Since women were the central members in any revue production, the genre helped women to obtain attractive opportunities to perform in public. In the case of Japan, in contrast to hitherto male-dominated conventional theatres such as Kabuki and Nō, revue undoubtedly provided a substantial opportunity for female performers to build up respectful careers. It was the time when *Joyū* (actresses), different from *geisha*, were barely in existence in Japan. To emphasise the importance of this history of Japanese women on stage, there are two thematic dimensions in my approach. Firstly, revue is a hybrid theatrical form that reflects a dynamic integration and assimilation of the foreign culture in Japan. Secondly, revue can be seen as the progressive genre that has provided Japanese women with a springboard to perform on stage, namely work in a public arena. These dimensions together will reveal the ways in which revue has established its prominent position in the Japanese theatre industry.

In order to review the history of revue both at global as well as local levels, and furthermore to relocate Japanese revue within the framework of Japanese theatre in terms of the socio-cultural factors, this book is divided into six chapters by chronological, spatial and thematic vectors. First of all, Chapter 1 will introduce the theoretical interpretations of liminality in order that the concept of liminality can be used as an analytical tool to contextualise revue. Three theoretical approaches will be introduced. The first is the anthropological approach advocated by Bjørn Thomassen. Thomassen explains liminality in an

extended meaning that refers to 'any betwixt and between situation or object' (Thomassen 2009, 16).[8] The second is the similar concept of *aida* applied to my use of liminality in Japanese, theorised as '*kōtsūron* (in-between traffic theory)' by Japanese philosopher Shinohara Motoaki. On the premise that theatrical liminality is about these relational dynamics generated betwixt and between different agents and subjects in shifting process, the third approach is about the importance of such liminal theatre as *chūkan-engeki* (in-between theatre) advocated by the Japanese theatre scholar, Kamiyama Akira. To tie up these three concepts from different disciplines, Walter Benjamin's idea about passage will be employed to confirm revue as a liminal experience. Passage is the modern architectural construction built by new technologies in iron and glass to bridge a row of various boutiques – symbolising one of the sensations that signifies a common liminal experience. Those people walking past the passage are flâneurs/flâneuses – a new kind of city stroller who would generate the urban vibe that transcended to revue spectacles. The idea of passage and flâneur are effective imageries to envisage the interrelationship between city and revue, and to establish a premise that revue could be a convincing metaphor of urban modernity, which is the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter 2 takes a chronological look at revue as a metaphor of urban experience of modernity. The historical background from which revue became a world trend is necessary to lay the foundation for the rest of the argument. The urban environment in Western Europe that nurtured revue will be compared to show resonant conditions in Japan. Amongst the growing metropolises, London, Paris and Berlin are focused on as cradles for revue.[9] Revue can be seen as a medium that reflects this specific time and space where temporal and spatial liminality are unveiled.

What were the common conditions in these cities to nurture revue? To find the commonalities in the shared epoch background, the influence of world expositions and theme parks will be discussed. Kawasaki Kenko's view of regarding revue as a spectacle of Expo-like showcase in the growing consumer society will provide a way to understand revue's characteristics in more socio-conceptual terms (Kawasaki 1999, 24). This is to examine a collective dream manifested in expositions, theme

[8] For example, historical moments can be understood liminally when characterised by collapse of order or convention, and a loss of background. The idea was previously suggested by Turner V.(1969) and developed by Eisenstads, S.N. (1995) and Szakolczai A. (2000).

[9] Except a brief reference to jazz music, the Ziegfeld Follies and Busby Berkeley's revue films, I do not look into American revues, or take up New York as the subject of urban analysis. The reason is that American revue at that time was strongly influenced by European predecessors until they established a similar genre called 'show' in the 1930s. Even though the terms revue and show are used almost synonymously, I regard the two roots differently in terms of their importation into Japan. The case in Japan will be explained with specific examples in Chapter 6. On the other hand, my future research should include cities such as Bucharest in Eastern Europe and Shanghai in Asia for they also experienced the modernisation process aligned with the revue boom.

parks and revues in their aura of fabricated modernity as in phantasmagoria. This also contributes to reconfirming the intertwined scope of modernity.

Chapter 3 focuses on revue as a theatre genre by examining its characteristics. Given the mechanically advancing stage set and lighting systems, revue is a rapidly changing stage-show with a number of scenes quickly passing one after another. A revue usually consists of vibrant dancing, singing and acting, though often without a coherent narrative but a theme. The performers appear in lavish costumes and glamorous make-up which emphasise the fantasy of the spectacle. Nakamura Akiichi's pioneer analysis of revue in 1935 will be the main text through which to critically examine the essential characteristics of revue in terms of its stage composition and signifying features.

His analysis forwards the discussion that revue is a categorically liminal theatre genre. The background epoch is going to be discussed as the Age of 'S' based on the contemporary magazine *Esu Esu* (*Stage and Screen)*, representing more 'S' for Science (scientific technology) and Speed (accelerated tempo) that impacted the theatre industry of that time. Revue represents a synthetic art form by blending the theatrical and cinematic and the foreign and domestic to create a heterogeneous genre on stage that broke down the hierarchy of traditional theatre practices and innovated new stylistic features. As a result, it created its own style and established a new genre. This view verifies revue as a kind of heterotopia – a melting pot of different genres. This approach provides a topographical overview of what can be called 'Modern Tokyo' to access the position of revue in that context.

Chapter 4 looks at the formative years of Japanese revue. Whilst constantly influenced by European and American predecessors, revue in Japan has developed its own style and became a unique part of Japanese theatre heritage. There are two perspectives to understanding Japanese revue in its nascency. The first is textual analysis of outstanding numbers of publications on the subject of revue between 1930 and 1940. In particular, *Revū-jidai* (*The Age of Revue*), the journal exclusively dedicated to the genre, will be an important focus. The variety of enthusiastic contributors to this journal reveals the people who were most central to the Japanese revue boom and created the discourse about this popular genre. The second perspective is to consider the locality within Tokyo where several different environmental conditions determined the growth of Japanese revue. The local history of Yokohama and Ueno, Asakusa and the area around the foreign settlement and the Imperial Palace, i.e. encompassing Ginza, Hibiya and Marunouchi, will be evaluated in order to access Tokyo as the complex cradle of Japanese revue.

Chapter 5 expands the discussion on physical liminality regarding the age and gender of female performers. To reevaluate Japanese women on stage in the transitional period between tradition and

modernity is crucial for more contextual understanding of revue in Japan. Regarding revue girls as one kind of *moga* (modern girls), the idea of flâneuses, the female version of flâneur introduced in Chapter 1, will be applied to these young women in order to envisage their liminal persona in the city as well as in the theatre world. One of their liminal characteristics is found in the transitional border from girl to woman, and another in the sexual border between men and women. *Atarashii-onna* and school girls will be discussed as enlightened women through education, in parallel with, or by contrast to, modern girls who are not necessarily educated but norm-breakers. Then in order to locate revue girls as a rising force of Japanese women performing in public, the emergence of *Joyū* (actress) will be revised. In looking at new theatrical genres for girls and women, the art of male impersonation is given an importance to deepen our consideration over gender issues in the history of Japanese theatre. In this way, this chapter will be an attempt to decode revue and its performers from a gender point of view.

Lastly, Chapter 6 zooms in the all-female Takarazuka Revue because it continues to sustain the modern characteristics of revue up until the present day. Born in the suburban town of Osaka and then brought to Tokyo, it offers a century-long example of the liminal genre, exemplifying many of the arguments about liminality hypothesised in this book. This chapter thus examines the all-female Takarazuka Revue seen as a prototype between binaries of theoretical, temporal, spatial, physical or gender, and categorical liminality. This case study will articulate the dynamic interplay between the liminal conditions such as global and local, occidental and oriental, traditional and modern, student amateur and professional, imitative and authentic, men and women or girls and women. By examining the delicate balance between these on these liminal traffics, revue can be seen as not only as sheer entertainment, but as a form of democratic theatre breaking down conventional borders and harmonising seemingly dual oppositions. Two case studies will assess the liminal features to evaluate the representation of cosmopolitan modernity depicted on revue stage. The first case study provides a close look at Japan's supposed first revue production which initiated the revue boom. This production, *Mon Paris* (1927) is an example of cultural translation from France to Japan. The second case study analyses *Harunoodori Ryūsenbi* (1935) as a representation of the urban experience of modern Tokyo.

Revue seen as a metaphor of urban modernity in a global context will redefine revue as a liminal theatre genre in terms of its characteristics and socio-cultural context. The concept of liminality will enable comparative as well as inter-disciplinary approaches to this particular genre called revue, which will help illuminate the answers to the question: What is revue as a theatre genre? What was the context for the advent of revue? How did the revue trend enter Japan and manifest itself in the Japanese context? Discussion through the six chapters will eventually reveal the reasons why and the way by which revue came to establish itself in such a prominent position within theatre industry in Western Europe in the

early twentieth century, and almost simultaneously in Japan. By comparing the socio-cultural context of revue in its formative years in representative cities in Europe and in Japan, this book hopes to show what made revue as a theatre genre so popular and enduring particularly in Japan up until the present day.

CHAPTER ONE

Liminality may perhaps be regarded as the Nay to all positive structural assertions, but as in some sense the source of them all, and, more than that, as a realm of pure possibility whence novel configurations of ideas and relations may arise.

Victor Turner, *Betwixt and Between* (Turner 1967, 97)

Liminality as an Analytical Tool to Contextualise Revue

The main conceptual aim of this thesis is to propose revue as a liminal theatre genre. Liminality is an idea I employ to analyse revue. The Danish sociologist Bjørn Thomassen takes on the view that Victor Turner had advocated that liminality in an extended meaning refers to 'any betwixt and between situation or object'.[10] A similar concept of *aida* (betweenness in Japanese), in my use of liminality to interpret revue, is theorised as *kōtsuron* (in-between traffic theory) by a Japanese philosopher, Shinohara Motoaki. Theatrical liminality, i.e. aida, can be found in the relational dynamics generated 'betwixt and between' different agents and subjects, most likely in a shifting process. This approach will enable us to examine revue as transitory in spatial, temporal and categorical dimensions and relates to what the Japanese theatre scholar Kamiyama Akira emphasises as *chūkan-engeki* (middle/in-between theatre). This chapter will eventually lead to the fundamental premise that revue is a theatrical genre conceived and developed on the threshold, e.g. between tradition and modernity. Last but not least, Walter Benjamin's discourse on passage will be discussed in order to establish the theoretical angle useful to an expansion of the dynamics of revue.

1.1 Anthropological Concept by Bjørn Thormassen

The Danish theoretician Bjørn Thomassen, in his essay *The Uses and Meanings of Liminality* (2009), defines liminality as 'a world of contingency where events and ideas, and "reality" itself, can be carried in different directions. But for precisely these reasons, the concept of liminality has the potential to push social theory in new directions' (Thomassen 2009, 5). Based on Arnold van Gennep's view on the history of the concept of liminality, such as the one posed by sociologist Max Weber, Thomassen

[10] Thomassen (2009, 16) extends the view of Victor Turner.

encourages the belief that the concept of liminality may be applied in different fields and subject areas by saying 'the concept has gained enormous popularity within a variety of subfields, and broadly speaking together with the notion of "hybrid culture"' (ibid., 18). The concept, moreover, can circulate within a variety of disciplines. In the academic discipline of theatre studies, in its inevitable association with urban cultural studies, this concept of liminality is especially useful for redefining a hybrid genre like revue. Given its diversity in cosmopolitan characteristics, revue is the genre which can point its social theory in new directions as this thesis will reveal through the following five chapters.

According to Thomassen, liminality is applicable to both space and time in different types of subject. The subject may vary from single individuals to larger groups and societies, or even civilisations. These three dimensions of liminality can be summarised in his words as follows (ibid., 16):

I. Experiences of liminality relating to different types of subject can be:

1) single individuals
2) social groups (like cohorts, minorities)
3) whole societies, entire populations, maybe even "civilizations"

II. The temporal dimension of liminality can relate to:

1) moments (sudden events)
2) periods (weeks, months, or possibly years)
3) epochs (decades, generations, maybe even centuries)

III. The spatial dimension of liminality can relate to:

1) Specific places, thresholds (a doorway in a house, a line that separates holy from sacred in a ritual, specific objects, in-between items in a classification scheme, parts/openings of the human body)
2) Areas or zones (border areas between nations, monasteries, prisons, sea resorts, airports)
3) "Countries" or larger regions, continents (Mesopotamia, Mediterranean; Ancient Palestine, in between Mesopotamia and Egypt; Ionia in Ancient Greece, in between the Near East and Europe)

Based on these premises, Thomassen suggests that those different dimensions within the above three areas can function together in a variety of combinations whilst admitting that these analytical

distinctions are of a somewhat arbitrary nature because the dimensions invoked could also be thought of as a continuum, and that all these experiences are demarcated with a transition (ibid., 17).

If revue is to be analysed in this scheme, the types of liminal experience can be identified with its attributes as below:

I. Subject:

1) Individual: revue's physical performer: awakening of the self, especially amongst young women (passage to womanhood, and social status in acting on the new hybrid stage)

2) Group: revue schools, troupes and companies

3) Society: shifting society where revue was developed as a distinctive modern theatre, where social distinctions and normal hierarchy were challenged and disappeared or altered in the case of Japan; this was an industrialised society where modernity functioned as synonym for being 'civilised' or Westernisation.

II. Time:

1) Period: revue in its formative years marked the period of modernity, vaguely defined between the late nineteenth century and the 1930s in Europe, and in the case of Japan, between the 1910s and the 1930s

2) Epoch: the duration of the revue boom, both in Japan and in the West, can be seen as a particular epoch in the theatre history as well as in the idealised retrospective scope of the 'belle-epoch' or in Japanese *furuki-yoki-jidai* (old good time)

III. Space:

1) Specific place or threshold: theatre and stage to house revue shows

2) Areas or zones: where revue was performed and its own theatre was built. In the case of Japan, e.g. Takarazuka in Kansai (regional demarcation), Hibiya and Asakusa for two different zones for revue in Tokyo (urban demarcation)

3) "Countries" or larger regions, continents: the revue trend spread across the world, beyond national and continental borders across Europe, America, China and Japan

All these elements show how revue resonates with the idea of liminality. Revue's liminal qualities will be examined against each one in the following chapters. What is important to acknowledge at this stage is that revue is one of the liminal experiences which emerged in the realm of theatre in modern society in a global urban context. Modern society often infers industrialised and commercial, but when it comes to liminality, Thormassen poses the question that modernity itself might be a 'permanent liminality' (ibid., 17, 22-23). Indeed, this might be so if modernity is understood to be the crystallised conceptualisation of a global phenomenon which swept across the world at a given time in a particular space. If transition and mobility are prerequisites for a liminal nature, modernity could be crystallised and thus permanently liminal. The same can be said about revue and the relationship between revue and urban modernity will be the main focus of Chapter 2. Here, I want to emphasise that the nature of interrelated modernity and revue are both 'permanently liminal', in the sense that their concept and imaginaries hark back to their glorious past and evoke nostalgia in us even without actually experiencing the epoch or the place. Both temporal and geographical, whilst transitional and mobile, modernity is embedded as well as represented in revue and vice versa, retrospectively closely relating to the urban sphere and culture. From our postmodern perspective, a century later, the concept and the imaginaries of modernity seem rather fixed. However, liminality (and therefore modernity) describes a state with no predefined boundaries and which, when activated by our imagination, is in constant flux.

Furthermore, Thomassen points out an important aspect of liminal experience, that it exists outside ordinal normality'If the dimensions of subject/space/time each have (at least) three basic dimensions, one could also bring in another variable, namely "scale", referring to the "degree" to which liminality is experienced, or, in other words, the intensiveness of the liminal moment or period. Liminal experiences can (and most often do) take place within a society where much of what goes on stays "normal"' (Thomassen 2009, 17). Liminality, therefore, though varying with differing measurements of degree and scale, signifies an outstanding agent out of the normative majority or what is taken for granted.

Revue was such a phenomenon, built on the liminal, that evoked irony as a dramatic device to simultaneously inhabit mass culture and yet radiate something 'extraordinary' on stage. In Japan since the Meiji period, we have observed a complexity of modern Japanese identity: while a new Japanese identity built on the Westernised subjects (impacting all realms of individual, group and society) was promoted in the domestic context, the old Japanese identity had gained impetus and appreciation abroad as exampled by the popular trend of Japonisme. From this it can be deduced that, modernity was thus

generated both in Orientalism in the West concurrently with Occidentalism in Japan and together, by the same token, they generated an intertwined matrix of exoticism. The exotic is non-ordinary and abnormal, and therefore confirmed a quality of modernity. Revue carries many of these exotic features: blending the East and the West, projecting foreign attire out of normality, and is thus on the liminal.

1.2 Philosophical Concept by Shinohara Motoaki

In addition to the anthological concept of liminality, the philosophical concept advocated by a Japanese philosopher, Shinohara Motoaki (1950-) is to be introduced as a Japanese equivalent but in a more nuanced manner. Shinohara advocates what he calls *Aida-tetsugaku* (in-between philosophy). Literally, it is a philosophy focusing on *aida*, which in Japanese means betweenness, or liminality. In his book, *Trans-esthetic* (1992), he examines *aida* as the most supreme category in the sense that liminal matters can only be understood by analysing what is going on in between them, i.e. in between the traffic conditions on the liminal. He talks about this liminality especially as an attribute of arts (Shinohara, 1992, 3-16). Shinohara presents the importance of not only the relationship between the subject matters in question, but also the traffic condition that can be precipitated between them. This methodological approach to the liminal realm is named *kōtsū-ron* (traffic theory) for which Shinohara introduces four different types, described in his own terminology (ibid., 17):

1. *Tankōtsū*, i.e. one-way traffic
2. *Sōkōtsū*, i.e. two-way traffic
3. *Hankōtsū*, i.e. counter-traffic which blocks the usual flow of the traffic
4.*Ikōtsū*, i.e. heterogeneous-traffic where different components emerge to produce further diversity

Shinihara affirms that these liminal traffic models are applicable to various fields and subjects from politics to arts (ibid., 17). In response to his categorisation, revue falls into the fourth condition for its dynamic is made by skillful traffic management from different directions to somewhere newer. In respect of a sense of time, Shinohara sees the heterogeneous-traffic model in the concept of historical time held by Walter Benjamin (ibid., 18) to which revue also corresponds. As this chapter will examine further, Benjamin was a thinker who was against concepts of progressive history.'Jetztzeit' (ibid., 19). Revue shares this stand-point for its reference to the past, or to different time and space, resulting in an anachronistic piece of work, but with particularemphasis on 'the now'.

Shinohara is not the only one to look at in-between space in this way. Prior to Shinohara, Watsuji Tetsurō (1889-1960) indicated a similar theory about *aida*, drawing attention to liminal relations *aidagara* in his famous essay 'Fūdoron' written in 1935. *Fūdo* in Japanese is generally understood as a geographically defined environment particular to the region or country. However, in Watsuji, the word is used more as a milieu based on the assumption of the importance of the spatial climate that influences the subjects' identity. In the words of the French human geographer and philosopher, Augustin Berque (1942-), it is 'mediance' that decides for Watsuji a "*ningen sonzai no kōzōteki keiki*"' (structural moment for a human being) (Berque 2016, 56-63). This relates with Watsuji's ontological ethics driven by his critique over the German philosophy of time and existence theorised by his contemporary Martin Heidegger (1889-1976). Watsuji was studying in Berlin in 1927 when *Sein und Zeit* was just published. On reading it, Watsuji thought that the concept of space-boundary was lacking from its time-bound definition of being (Watsuji 1962, 1). Contemporary Japanese philosopher, Hoshino Tsuyoshi suggests that speciality for Watsuji was important because it gives an individual being the social dimension that people share in living (Hoshino 2005, 4). Hoshino agrees with Berg's approach to *Fūdo* that the mediance is *tsūtaisei* (trajet/tranjectivite) where constant active interactions are happening in-between things (ibid., 25). This constructive process can alternatively be called 'traffic' similar to Shinohara's *aida* theory. The idea of liminality has thus been explored in different ways, from different angles, but persistently as an intriguing subject amongst philosophers who try to consider it outside the confines of the Eurocentric idea of binary opposition, rather concentrating on the things in between, the melting pot where opposing currents meet, are influenced by and then depart from each other.

The reason why I digress to refer to these philosophical ideas is to appropriate my perspective of examining revue as a liminal genre. The following chapters will examine the premise that the identity of revue falls on this inter-relational milieu, in the interactive *aida* traffic. Ironically, in the history of theatre studies, revue has been marginalised in the sense that it is touching the liminal border of other major theatre genres. However, my approach will illuminate the margin as a central importance by asserting that it is in this liminal traffic that the revue dynamic exists, lively, hybrid, inter-cultural more than international, cosmopolitan, more dynamically than any other theatrical venture. Indeed, revue is a fundamentally commercial venture, developed as a modern commercial entertainment in the capitalist urban environment. This commercial aspect is one of the reasons that revue has been looked down upon and ignored in academic research on modern theatre. Both in Japan and Europe, it is only recently that this neglect has been recognised in theatre studies as a serious problem in understanding modern, popular theatre. To even out the bias and to redress the balance, there has recently been an attempt to bring the idea of liminality into the scope of theatre studies. To pave a new way and cultivate a liberal

perspective in theatre studies, the following section will look at this liminality as a theatrical concept proposed by Kamiyama Akira.

1.3 Theatrical Concept by Kamiyama Akira

It is the Japanese theatre scholar, Kamiyama Akira, who has published a series of essay collections under the coherent title *Kindai-Nihon-no Kioku to Bunka* (*Memory and Culture of Modern Japan*) since 2013. Throughout its five volumes, Kamiyama endeavours to cast a new light on hitherto under-estimated theatre genres and people who have been left out of the mainstream history and academic discourse; revue is one neglected example. In his book preceding this series, *Kindai Engeki no Suimyaku – Kabuki to Shingeki no Aida* (2009), Kamiyama already points to the fundamental problem of the generalised view of modern Japanese theatre in the binary relation of kabuki vs *shingeki*.

Shingeki literally means a new drama as opposed to *kyūgeki* meaning old drama, and refers to Westernised productions that can be differentiated from kabuki and from *shinpa* (new school drama in kabuki style productions staged by students and amateurs often in the context of political satires) and other traditional genres. When kabuki was the main popular theatre during the Edo period (1603-1868) leading up to the Meiji, *shingeki* was formed as a part of the cultural reformation scheme under the imperial nation's direction. The *Shingeki* movement was a theatre reformation led by new associations of literati and dramatists. One such was Bungei Kyōkai (Literary Arts Society) founded in 1906 by the Shakespeare scholar Tsubouchi Shōyō (1859-1935) and novelist director Shimamura Hōgetsu (1871-1918), and another was Jiyūgekijō (Free Theatre) founded in 1909 by Osanai Kaoru (1881-1928) and modelled on André Antoine's Théâtre Libre (1887-1896) in Paris and its follower Otto Brahm's theatre club, Die Freie Bühne, in Berlin (est. 1889-1895) (Gillespie 2017, 294-296). Both Bungei Kyōkai and Jiyūgekijō would mainly stage foreign plays in Japanese translation. The ideology of modernisation, Westernisation and civilisation in their 'reformation' process is so deeply embedded in this process that Kamiyama alerts us to the blind sense of superiority enforced on native productions which still haunts the elite's general grasp of modern theatre in Japan (Kamiyama 2009, 7).

Kamiyama is critical of this structure represented by *kabuki* vs *shingeki*. He seems to say that this is a fabricated differentiation resulting from an elitist consciousness which tends to draw a line between the native and the adopted foreign by means of the binary consensus of superiority vs inferiority, sophisticated vs vulgar, higher and lower or minor vs major. Kamiyama urges us not to get caught up in these prevalent, binary views, and challenges us to remember that the majority of people were not

confined by elitist attitudes to the appreciation of these recognised genres, but were open to the multiple layers and variety offered by other neglected genres. In his words, many of these neglected genres fall into the *fukugō-ryōiki* (composite domain) or *chūkan-ryōiki* (middle domain) expanding between kabuki and *shingeki* which to the intellectuals may appear something of a 'fujun-na (impure)' domain since the Meiji period (Kamiyama 2009, 7). It is also the domain where it is rather difficult to have a solid grasp of the audience's reaction due to the lack of intellectual discourse (ibid., 381). For the purpose of my thesis, this composite middle domain can be described as a liminal domain. Kamiyama gives more precise examples which fall into this middle domain: *shinpa*, *shinkokugeki* (new national theatre, kabuki avatar), *Teigeki-joyūgeki* (Imperial Theatre's in-house actress drama), revues such as those by Takarazuka and Shōchiku, *kei-engeki* (light comedy drama) and Tōhō-Kabuki and Tōhō-Musical productions to name a few — all genres being what we call *shōgyō-engeki* (commercial theatres) (ibid., 8).

In this way, Kamiyama problematises the fact that commercial theatre has been marginalised in academia despite the fact that it was the major entertainment for many, and revises the history of Japanese modern theatre from what he repeatedly calls the populus' *shinsei* (mentality, mindset) viewpoint. He believes that by keeping the spirit and traditions of past theatrical productions alive through imagination, the rich, individual memories of audiences will continue to fertilise the scope of 'modern theatre' (ibid. 29). Kamiyama's contribution to Japanese theatre studies is very important in the sense that his approach, focusing on the liminal area where different commercial genres meet and create busy traffic, leads to new dimensions in theatre research. It makes the understanding of Japanese modern theatre more traversal, interdisciplinary and cross-sectionally comparative.

Kamiyama asserts that the mentality of the living audience cannot be understood by binary oppositional measures but only in terms of liminal traffic, composite-middle (ibid., 10). Kawasaki Kenko also warns of the pitfalls of examining a cultural notion such as 'modernism' in the binary, e.g. tradition vs modern, the West vs. Japan vs. the rest of Asia, modernisation equalling Westernisation (Kawasaki, 2010). Kawasaki emphasises the cultural phase in which tradition is not simply the unmoving opposite of modernity, but which shifts as it overlaps and moves with the ebb and flow of contemporary ideas about modernity (Kawasaki 2016, 125). As the following chapters will show, revue is the genre that sits most comfortably in this fluid relationship between tradition and modernity. To deal with revue is therefore an actual practice of giving not a binary comparison, but a serious and diversified approach to one of the most tasteful unverified fruits of the neglected commercial genre. Looking at liminality, the overlapping realm, is the methodology of this thesis. Liminality would constitute a device in my

argument not to exclude things which have not been classified yet, or marginalised in the prefix classification.

Talking about liminal theatre, here is one specific example which used *chūkan-engeki* (middle theatre). Yokota Hiroshi in Kamiyama's series book volume II dedicates a whole chapter to discussing a modern actor Inoue Masao (1881-1950) as a prolific persona, actor-film director-calligrapher, who endeavoured to cultivate a way to *chūkan-engeki* (Yokota 2014, 187-220). He started his career as a *shimpa* actor; middle theatre for him first of all meant in between *shimpa* and *shingeki*, which more broadly meant a theatre that aimed at the midway between artistic theatre and commercial theatre (ibid., 189). Realistically speaking, the former theatre genre is often financially challenging, while the latter can function as a viable business. At the time when both were developing as opposing theatre directions, Inoue aspired for the middle ground. Yokota asserts that the midway for Inoue was not at all a compromise, but was in fact the ultimate goal (ibid., 188-189). There has been considerable input as well as output to combine artistic and commercial endeavours, and my reading reinforces my belief in the fact that this is the goal that these revue productions were striving for.[11]Inoue's attitude was also appropriate for revue producers in the sense that he was both popular and avant-garde. On the one hand, he produced popular *rensageki* (chain drama) which consists of play and cinema; on the other hand, he played the main character in the experimental new-expressionist film of *Kurutta Ichipeiji* (*A Page of Madness*: 1926) directed by Kinugasa Teinosuke who was inspired by the German expressionist masterpiece *Das Kabinett des Doktor Caligari* (1920) (Yokota 2014, 195, 208).

At a time when there was much experimentation with new themes and media as a form of new expression both abroad and in Japan, there must have been a particular reason for people like Inoue to purposefully try to occupy the middle ground for its own sake. The important relationship between cinema and revue will be examined in Chapter 3, but for now let us now consider how revue not only lies between the artistic and the commercial, in the manner described above, but also how its essence occupies a more metaphorical liminal space between.

[11] Yokota gives further examples of Shimamura Hōgetsu of Geijutsu-za, and Sawada Shōjirō of *shin-kokugeki* who sought for the middle way in theatre (Yokota, 2014,190). Shimamura held a policy of *Nigen-no-michi* (Dual Way), the liminal way between artistic and popular, by presenting two productions meeting both ways in one programme. This helped the company to manage financially. Similarly, Sawada advocated *Engeki-hanposhugi* (Half-a-Step Theaterism) which meant to push the artistic input not too much but to be considerate of what the audience demanded. Like Inoue, they tried to keep balance between the high aim of artistic achievement and the consideration of the commonality of public taste by maintaining the commerciality of their productions.

1.4 In-between Passages: The Cradle of Revue and its Liminal Experience

A key word in my discussion about the liminality of revue is ‘passage’ especially as a means by which to relate it to urban modernity, which will be the focus of Chapter 2. Usually in French, ‘passage’ refers to the pedestrian pass-ways built between buildings often with iron-and-glass ceiling arches so that people can walk without an umbrella even when it rains; they may also be lit at night, thereby easing the walk even in the evening. In English, ‘passage’ refers to an arcade, especially when both sides are lined with boutiques, cafes and restaurants. When translating the French word ‘passage’ into Japanese, it could be written as *katakana* faithful to the phonetic ［pǽsədʒ］ and meaning *tsūka* (pass), *komichi* (small street), *ikō* (traverse), *gairo* (city walkway), *tsūkaten* (passing point) or *kyōkai* (border or immorality) (*Sanseidō Crown Dictionnaire Français-Japonais* 2015). This tells us that, in addition to the basic meaning of small street or passageway, there is a certain nuance of passing, moving, shifting and accordingly, being liminal.

Historically speaking, a passage was a venue that constituted one of the main features of modern, urban life, formulating the passer-by’s desire for leisure consumption such as shopping, eating, drinking and viewing activities. Passages were marvellously modern market facilities when they were first built in Paris in the late eighteenth century prior to Georges-Eugène Baron Haussmann’s re-designing of the French capital in the nineteenth century (1853-1870, and coined as Haussmanisation).[12] Walter Benjamin (1892-1940) writing *Charles Baudelaire: A Lyric Poet in the Era of High Capitalism* (1938) transcribes a journal entry: ‘Before Haussmann wide pavements were rare, and the narrow ones afforded little protection from vehicles. Strolling could hardly have assumed the importance it did without the arcades’. ‘The arcades, a rather recent invention of industrial luxury’, comments an illustrated guide to Paris of 1852, ‘are glass-covered, marble-panelled passageways through entire complexes of houses whose proprietors have combined for such speculations. Both sides of these passageways, which are lighted from above, are lined with the most elegant shops, so that such an arcade is a city, even a world, in miniature’ (Benjamin 1985, 36-37). Moreover, according to Benjamin, this is the world where ‘the flâneur is at home’ (ibid., 36). The idea of the flâneur as a resident in this passage will be discussed later in this chapter and also in Chapter 5 when looking at Japanese women on the revue stage. For the moment, we shall look a little more at Benjamin and his unfinished work posthumously titled *Passagenwerk* – namely, *Arcade Project*.

[12] An expert study has been made by Patrice de Moncan in her books *Les passages de Paris*, (SEESAM, Paris, 1990) and *Le Paris d'Haussmann* (Les Editions du Mécène, Paris, 2012).

Arcade Project is an unfinished collection of essays on various aspects of urban life observed in close relation to passages. The Berliner Walter Benjamin conceptually explored the idea of 'passage' in Paris while on exile from Nazi Germany between 1927 and his death in 1940. For Benjamin, the passage is 'More than anywhere else [a place where] the street reveals itself in the arcade as the furnished and familiar interior of the masses' (Benjamin, M3a, 4).[13] Furthermore, it is described as a pure interior room, 'having no outside-like the dream' (Benjamin's Arcade Project, L1a, 1). Benjamin occasionally refers to Hugo von Hofmannsthal's description of Paris as a 'landscape built of sheer life' (Benjamin, Ml,4J / Arcade Project, 417) and the passage is its representative. The reason why Paris is alluring is because the city represents the dream of the collective masses. Yes, it is about dream, more than ambition and desire that Benjamin stresses. And the dream in the metropolis appears more public than private (Kashima 2011, prologue).

Also, Benjamin points out that such passages were once criticised by Franz Hessel as a product of a 'dreamy epoch of bad taste' (Benjamin 11, 6). Nevertheless, bad taste as seen in the discussion of kitsch must have been an inevitable criticism because the architecture, made possible by the science, must have been a sign of vanity rather than of a need. Also, its decoration can be seen like a lady's elaborate make-up, in order to cover ugly steel structures. It was a marriage of the oppositional drives of mankind, i.e. scientific technology and decorative arts. The money spent on the construction of arcades was to provide luxury for the masses, albeit pretentious and flashy – but at the same time, it could be seen as just an illusion, a smoke and mirror trick to bring ordinary people's dreams to life. This image of the 'passage' is important to deepen the understanding of revue which came from the same epochal background and which could also be described as vanity, decorative pretentiousness backed up by science and technology, and fabricated kitsch illusions reflecting the desire of the masses.

In addition, revue can be metaphorically seen like a passage, bridging different genres, connecting differing elements and exposing extra-ordinary skills and exotic visions. This condensed traffic in revue would create a purely illusory stage manifest from outside ordinary life, a dream world of the collective masses. Revue is a stage where the audience becomes a flâneur, an onlooker as referee and witness of the sketches of entertainment, which are presented like boutique windows in Parisian passages as one strolls past.

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[13] Those marked in alphabet and numbers are conventional orders in Walter Benjamin. The translations I quote from here onwards with these identifying article numbers are from *The Arcades Project*, trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin, Harvard University Press, 2002.

In *Das Passagen-Werk*, Benjamin uses the arcade as a compositional image for his way of writing literature like collage (Hanssen 2006, 106). The way he writes is highly fragmented as if to reflect the shimmering sensations of the modern age characterised by rapid shifts of focus, in tune with the age of industrial capitalism and a short-lived commodity culture. Moreover, the way Benjamin writes reflects the idea of passage itself, bridging and connecting images, letting them freely interact, sometimes going back and forth, digressing. By presenting his recollections in a vast array of topics in fragmental yet inventive phrasing, his *Arcade Project* seems to show that the urban phenomena can be comprehended and analysed only fragmentally in this dioramic perspective. In a letter of 1930, Benjamin described his *Arcade Project* as 'the theatre of all my struggles and all my ideas' (Benjamin 2002, x). Indeed, one can regard it in the way that Benjamin's writing form resembles theatre, especially revue theatre in its fragmental composition consisting of pathological quotations. In 1935, a contemporary philosopher and perspicacious reader of Benjamin, Ernst Bloch, described one of Benjamin's essays, *Einbahnstraße* (*One Way Street)* written in 1928 as 'Revueform in der Philosophie' (Bloch 1985, 368-371). Beatrice Hanssen interprets this 'revue form in philosophy' as the way in which Benjamin constructs his writing like houses and establishments where the reader enters joyfully at first but then experiences a bewildering disorientation (Hanssen 2006, 140). I would agree and also see a nuanced impression of the theatrical spectacle of revue in Benjamin's writing.

Intuitive, creative, inspirational, referential, poetic, yet critical and sometimes political, Benjamin's writing is laid out like a revue, a series of sketches of varying themes. His eloquent words are intricately interwoven to reveal the alluring urban phantasmagoria in front of us. For example, it is obvious when he writes about the crowd and its collective dream natured in the arcade:

> The nineteenth century a spacetime 'Zeitraum' (a dreamtime 'Zeit-traum') – in this respect like the mad-man sets out on the macrocosmic journey through his own body, and the noises and feelings of his insides, such as blood pressure, intestinal churn, heartbeat, and muscle sensation (which for the waking and salubrious individual converge in a steady surge of health) generate, in the extravagantly heightened linear awareness of the sleeper, illusion or dream imagery which translates and accounts for them, so likewise *for the dreaming collective, which, through the arcades, communes with its own insides.* We must follow in its wake so as to expound the nineteenth century in fashion and advertising, in buildings and politics as the outcome of its dream visions (Benjamin Kl,4 2002, 89).[14]

[14] Author's italics.

In Japan, the English term in *katakana, ākeido* meaning arcade was first adopted for the basement shopping mall at the Imperial Hotel designed by Frank Lloyd Wright in 1922, which was super modern and chic at that time (Imperial Hotel 1990). A decade later, Tokyo Takarazuka Theatre was built next to this hotel, just in front of the exit from the basement arcade. Often in conjunction with train stations and connecting theatres and hotel facilities, the arcade became one of the most popular strolling venues throughout the nation. These arcades appeared akin to traditional Japanese walkways with souvenir shops leading to temples and shrines such as Sensōji's *nakamise* in Asakusa, which also led to a theatre and the red-light district of *geisha* at the back of Sensōji' Temple. Notwithstanding the environment, on the border of the secular and the vulgar, the home base of Asakusa revue in the Taishō period and the International Theatre for the Shōchiku Revue company from 1937 to 1982, both existed in this area. At big theatres foyers such as in Kabuki and Takarazuka, arcades constituted a place of extra entertainment where one could shop and buy merchandise and souvenirs. These arcades have expanded in post-War Japan, and the longest arcade is *Tenjinbashi-suji* leading to Tenjin Shrine in central Osaka which extends 2.6 km accommodating 600 shops, restaurants and bars, both leisure and cultural venues hosting the nationally famous carnival festival with parades, dances and puppet shows. In a way, arcades are very similar to commercial amusement parks. Amusement parks and theme parks are also important subjects in relation to the characteristics of revue as will be discussed in Chapter 2.

At this point, it is worth referring to Mochizuki Teruhiko's urban studies which he names 'machilogy' (*machi* for cities, *logy* for study like in sociology), in search of an alternative way to advocate a methodology for cultural studies about cities. He creates an index of cities in three categories: objects in space, human behaviours and phenomena. Though indexing cannot always be thorough and risks generalisation, it may help in scientific research on the city, by evoking awareness of urban components, i.e. what consists of the city sphere. Here are some examples from the index:

1. Facade, alcove, pavement, alleys and street corners, sloop, window (so as to look into a city as a theatre), bench, crossing, walls, labyrinth
1. Men and women on streets, peddlers, flows and crowds, communication , liveliness
2. Rain, wind, water, sound, shadow, sky, night and day

This is important for my argument in that Mochizuki regards a city as a grand theatre in its totality, calling people in the public sphere *dōhke no machiyakusha*, i.e. 'urban harlequins' (ibid., 90). When we 'science' the city, therefore, objects exist to instigate our relationship with it and encourage our interaction with these factors: city lights, pavements as the texture of the ground surface, show-windows

as a mirror to reflect city life, gates, roadside trees, towers to represent adoration for the height and sky, entrances, monuments, traffic signs, street furnitures etc – all can be seen as a stage set. Their juxtaposed existence as purposeful man-made objects, functional or simply decorative, all contribute to creating a dynamic stage set of a city experience, namely, the city as a theatre. Moeover, it resonates with revue theatre because of the juxtaposition, grandeur, speed, artificiality surpassing nature, lighting – continuous spectacle of optical sensations and physical energies.

Moreover, Mochizuki's rather romantic interpretation of the phenomenological townscape, which imagines the city as a body with entity, emphasises the physicality of the city as a total stage. His exaggerated metaphors describe rain as an ethereal artist, wind as a metaphysician, water as blood, sound as reverberation, shadow as adoration for darkness, sky as the arched roof of the arcade. Under these astronomical stage sets, Mochizuki points out the ironic reality of solitary persons in a populated metropolis. This is the 'flâneur' aspect, a city dweller like Charles Baudelaire (1821-1867), as examined by Walter Benjamin.

Both in Japan and in Europe, it can be said that arcade was an archetype of urban space structure representing the liminal sphere between tradition and modernity, secured and secular, melting into the more spectacular display, and more lively consumption, of things and happenings. Architecturally, it is scientific achievement which created an ultimately artificial outdoor commercial space unaffected by climate or weather. British industrialised cities such as Leeds still maintain these elaborate iron-steel arcades today, whilst cities of culture, such as Paris still maintain the decorative grandeur of boutiques and lively cafes under impressive arcade structures. They may be a little down at heel, but still have the impressive aura reminiscent of the nineteenth-century dream vision, *Zeittraum*, to use Benjamin's word. Today in Paris, Tokyo or in big cities, strolling through these arcades may evoke a certain nostalgia, and there remains an obscure but alluring atmosphere generated by the density of past dreams, commercial activities and visual sensations. As will be described in Chapter 2, revue was a genre which shares this urban vibrance of the arcade, the liveliness of a liminal sphere.

Thus, it is not so coincidental that the Takarazuka Revue Company eventually put together a revue production in homage to the Parisian arcade, cerebrating the most fertile years of revue shows with romantic, sometimes sweetly sentimental nostalgia. Directed by the former in-house playwright director, Ogita Kōichi, it identifies itself as Revue Romanesque and was entitled *Pasāgyu: garasuno sora no kioku* (Passage: Memoirs of the Crystal Sky, snow troupe, 2001). The first scene opens with the Grand Palais built for the 1900 Exposition. The stage faithfully reproduced it, though on a miniature scale,

including the circular glass ceiling lifted by iron-steels that, in turn, emulated the Crystal Palace of the London Exhibition in 1851. The lyrics glorify Paris as a crystal city whose passages were the pinnacle of accomplishment:

> Passage, Gathering light, Glass ceiling, Bridging over the sky
> Reflecting eternal dreams, Passage, Crystal dreams …
> Reminiscence of past days, Fragrance of lived days, Crystal dreams[15]

While this revue show repeatedly revives 'nostalgic' Paris by presenting an in-theatre stage of *cancan* dance adorned with ostrich feathers, it also depicts the decadence and melancholy of the city. In the middle of the show, there is a scene set in a shabby café where the routine work of garçons serving both regular and chance customers encapsulates the particular ennui of people caught in the traffic of their gazes. The scene shows the undercurrent of possibility for chance encounters, perhaps romantic or lucrative, but also how often these pass unrealised and unnoticed, as the opportunities pass by and we observe just lonely individuals in an anonymous crowd. The scene is a reminder of an idea described by the scholar of French culture, Kashima Shigeru: the individual awakes from the collective dream controlled by capitalism and realises the self balancing on the commodity system lying in the ambivalent liminal condition of either being useful or valuable in search of his/her raison d'être (Kashima 2004, 184). This individual is seen as a flâneur. Drawing on his analysis of the poetry of Charles Baudelaire, Benjamin described the being called the flâneur – the city stroller – as the essential figure of the modern urban spectator, an amateur detective and investigator of the city.

Originally in French, 'flâner' is the verb that means to stroll, while 'flânerie' is the particular noun which means the act of strolling as the ultimate urban experience, and flâneur is the person who practices it. As for the key subject matter of his arcade project, Benjamin gives great attention to the concept of the 'flâneur'.[16] In English, it is often translated as a city stroller, but it is innately French and evolved in the nineteenth century as Paris became urbanised, and may connote some additional nuance of wonderer or observer. It is notable that the *Larousse Encyclopaedia* in 1872 had an entry for flâneur as an emerging phenomenon, defined as follows: 'The flâneur is one condition of a lazy person ... The laziness of a

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[15] The author's translation: 「パッサージュ　ヒカリを集めて　空にかけた　ガラスの屋根　はるかな夢を映す　パッサージュ　ガラスの夢よ … 過ぎし日の名残よ、往きし日の香りよ、ガラスの夢よ」

[16] For female, it can be written flâneuse, though it was often male dilettantes from a bourgeois background who had time and money to spend days strolling in Paris. This idea of female flâneuses is extended by feminist scholars such as art historian Tom Gretton in the book, Chapter 5 will examine this female version of flaneuse in relation to revue girls.

walker has an ingenious and artistic aspect. ... Most of the geniuses were also great flâneurs. However, they were diligent and productive flâneurs. ...The artist and poet are immersed in the job most often when they seem to be the least busy at work' （*Larousse* 1872, 436).[17] It can be concluded that although the understanding of the emerging term flâneur was somewhat ambivalent in the 1870s, it was not all negative. It denoted not just a man of leisure, a loafer, but a man of intellect – an observer, a researcher, a thinker (Kamiya, 2009, 68). This also shows how inescapable the social phenomenon of 'flâneur' was in the discussion about Parisian urban life. If the word were to be translated into Japanese, *yūho-sha* or *manpo-sha* are better applied than *sanpo* which simply means taking a walk while the former two nouns combine the joy of strolling with urban consciousness in a modern sense.[18]

Benjamin, in his essay on *Baudelaire*, devotes an entire chapter to the *flâneur*, the city stroller, as a new kind of urban being. Benjamin rediscovered this particular Parisian phenomenon and became inspired by the idea of flânuering as the art of walking in the city. He regards Charles Baudelaire as the pioneer of flâneur qualifying his definition of a 'gentleman stroller of city streets', finding in Baudelaire's literature 'the art of flânerie' where the 'leisurely quality of these descriptions fits the style of the flâneur who goes botanizing on the asphalt' (Benjamin 1985, 36 (I 538)).

For Benjamin, Baudelaire was an unbeatable example of a flâneur, 'a lyric poet in the era of high capitalism' as the title of his essay shows. Baudelaire is seen as an emblematic figure of urban, modern experience, especially in nineteenth-century Paris. Baudelaire was a prototype of the flâneur, the urban observer. Being a flâneur for Benjamin was a lifestyle, but also an effective analytical tool by which to ponder upon modern life. It was especially through those passages, seen through the eyes of the flâneur, that Paris becomes real 'scenery'. By scenery, what Benjamin means is not simply a landscape (*Landschaft*) but a definite townscape (*Stadtschaft*). For such a flâneur, the city is a 'holy land' (Benjamin, 1999, M2a,1) in the sense that a city can be read as a book; the city can be seen as a literary text in its physical terms.

It is this physical sense of being a flâneur(se), and of his/her engaging in the act of flaneuring, which proved one's modern existence in the metropolis – a city consisted of millions of fragmented, illuminated images. Obviously, Baudelaire presented a memorable portrait of the flâneur as 'the artist-poet of the modern metropolis' by whom Benjamin was considerably inspired during his stay in Paris.

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[17] The author's translation is from a Japanese translation of the original French.

[18] Y*ūho* as in *yūhodō* (promenade) implies artificially made promenade strolling, while *manpo* can be alternatively read as *sozoro aruki*, containing the Chinese letter, *man (漫)* to connote a sense of undistinguishable joy without serious reason. *S*ozoro aruki is used in the theme song of Japan's first revue, *Mon Paris* as analysed in Chapter 6.

It is worthwhile quoting the text written by Baudelaire himself about the flâneur in his essay, *The Painter of Modern Life*, which was published in *Le Figaro* newspaper in 1863 as below:

> *The crowd* is his element, as the air is that of birds and water of fishes. His passion and his profession are to become one flesh with the crowd. *For the perfect flâneur, for the passionate spectator, it is an immense joy to set up house in the heart of the multitude, amid the ebb and flow of movement, in the midst of the fugitive and the infinite*. To be away from home and yet to feel oneself everywhere at home; to see the world, to be at the centre of the world, and yet to remain hidden from the world – impartial natures which the tongue can but clumsily define. The spectator is a prince who everywhere rejoices in his incognito.[19]

There are interesting contradictions envisaged in the text above, combining two different elements and spheres in consciousness such as the sense of being away from home yet feeling at home at the same time, or that of being in the centre of the world yet hidden from the world. This liminal feeling is essential for the identity of the flâneur. He/she ought to be a solitary being in 'the crowd'. The flâneur is alertly self-aware because s/he is 'the passionate spectator' who is 'a prince who everywhere rejoices in his incognito'. Yet at the same time, s/he diminishes the self 'amid' the anonymous others as if to liken the self to 'a mirror as vast as the crowd itself; or to a kaleidoscope gifted with consciousness'. Baudelaire's flâneur was a sign of the alienation of the city and of capitalism. His individuality and awareness of his objective being makes him detach from the others. When thinking about the relationship between individuals and the crowd of the masses, the flâneur has to be described in the context of modern alienation.

What is indicated is the importance of in-betweenness, represented by the words such as 'amid' and 'midst'. In other words, 'the threshold' of interiority and exteriority, public and private is the distinctive aspect of the passage as well as of the mentality of the flâneur. It is the urban condition, with which the flâneur could cultivate their senses by absorbing the 'flickering grace of all the elements of life' in the city and thrive, existing as an ultimate individual. The sense of threshold will be further examined later in this chapter. For now, let me concentrate on Benjamin's words about the crowd. In his words, 'The

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[19] English Translation by Jonathon Mayne (1963, 9-10). Author's italics. The original French text is 'La foule est son domaine, comme l'air est celui de l'oiseau, comme l'eau celui du poisson. Sa passion et sa profession, c'est d'épouser la foule. Pour le parfait flâneur, pour l'observateur passionné, c'est une immense jouissance que d'élire domicile dans le nombre, dans l'ondoyant dans le mouvement, dans le fugitif et l'infini. Etre hors de chez soi, et pourtant se sentir partout chez soi; voir le monde, être au centre du monde et rester caché au monde, tels sont quelques-uns des moindres plaisirs de ces esprits indépendants, passionnés, impartiaux, que la langue ne peut que maladroitement définir. L'observateur est un prince qui jouit partout de son incognito.' (Baudelaire 1863, 9)

crowd was the veil from behind which the familiar city as phantasmagoria beckoned to the flâneur' (Benjamin 1935, 54). I would rather describe it as the crowd consisting of numerous others, and being both the vessel and the veil for the flâneur, in which and from behind which the familiar city appears as phantasmagoria. The flâneur is capable of shifting between the unconscious stream of the crowd and the awakened, sole self.
This identity of the new kind of city individual and of its collectives reflects how Benjamin sees the townscape. He starts the essay by writing, 'once a writer had entered the marketplace, he looked around as in a diorama. A special literary genre has preserved his first attempts at orienting himself. It is a panorama literature' (Benjamin, 1985, 35). Looking at a city in diorama was a popular practice in leisure parks, and revue was a similar theatrical device developed at the time to show the experience of the panoramic view of the city on stage. Like the revue stage, the city appears almost as fabricated scenery, highly material and decorative, illuminated and fast moving. This stand point is important in relation to my thesis which looks at revue as a theatrical form of passage. In German, Benjamin writes of *schwelle*, i.e. threshold where the *flâneur* (the performer as well as the audience) possesses the consciousness of transgressing, 'passaging' through the borders, thriving on the liminal. The extensive questions of Baudelaire and Benjamin tell us about the crowds and the real joy of being a flâneur as a liminal-being amongst them.

Notwithstanding the phantasmagoria and cinema to be discussed in Chapter 2, it is relevant to consider the realm of photography, not as a mere tool for visual record but as an artistic observation medium to imbue the aesthetics of flâneurie. The French photographer who lived during the same period as Baudelaire, Eugene Atget (1857-1927) is a perfect example. His gaze through the camera lens is as one of the flâneurs, using the camera to capture solitary Paris without people. Atget's photograph looks even more surreal because they exclude the crowd, collective inhabitants of Paris, as if to highlight the sole person observing and feeling in the midst of the streets and passages. Susan Sontag is quite right when she writes that 'the photographer is an armed version of the solitary walker reconnoitering, stalking, cruising the urban inferno, the voyeuristic stroller who discovers the city as a landscape of voluptuous extremes. Adept of the joys of watching, connoisseur of empathy, the flâneur finds the world "picturesque."'[1] (Sontag, 1977, 55). Capturing privacy in public through his personal intimate peepshow and detached observation could lead to the discovery of profoundness and beauty.

Both Baudelaire and Benjamin remain excitingly inspiring in our thinking about the existence of the flâneur in the metropolis, and in evaluating the fragmental elements in the process of creating urban culture through flâneurie. Significantly, Baudelaire described Paris to be strolled about and observed

with eyes. A presupposition for this thesis is that this perspective of the flâneur, in other words, the flâneur's ways of seeing the world and perceiving physical sensations, is fundamental to understanding the experience of revue. In the context of this thesis, passage and flâneur are the integral elements of urban dramaturgy, whose existential territory can be defined as 'liminal'. Taking the importance of physicality and visuality, it can be deduced that materiality was central both in Baudelaire's and Benjamin's reading of city life, especially in their reading of the passage. In this sense, revue was a heavily materially loaded spectacle metaphorically interpreted as a lively passage, cutting and pasting of fragmental moments.[20]

In this way, the liminality of passage is explained as a consecutive row of momental encounters with constant happenings, items and people, which materialised together at the culmination of moments so as to facilitate the ever-shifting traffic in between them and to evoke an impact of being in constant motion. The idea of passage can thus be employed as a metaphorical cradle of revue in terms of the liminal experience both in spatial and time-bound dimensions. Revue is a theatre in this lively liminal traffic, on the threshold of differences both in time and space, carrying on the flair of the epoch in its shifting style and vision. Whilst describing the quick scene changes, consisting of shimmering moments and fashionable topics, the whole idea of liminality will be brought closer to the world of theatre, with the aim of contexualising revue.

This chapter has examined the theoretical possibilities of employing analytical tools to contexualise revue. It has shown that liminality is a concept which can be discussed in anthropological, philosophical and theatrical discourses all of which are valid in the examination of revue. How we could apply this concept of liminality to revue will be shown throughout this thesis by interpreting the idea wherever it is appropriate and effective. Given this conceptual background, the following chapter begins by looking at the relationship between revue and the city in order to articulate spatial and temporal liminality.

[20] This sense of capturing moments is synonymous with what Benjamin claims as 'history, which is "the subject of a structure whose site is not homogeneous, empty rime, but time filled by, the presence of the now 'Jetztzeit'" (Benjamin, 2007, 261).

CHAPTER TWO

The daily sight of a lively crowd may once have constituted a spectacle to which one's eyes had to adapt first.

(Walter Benjamin 2007, 197)

To discuss 'theatre' is to discuss 'city'

(Terayama Shūji 1984, 105)

Revue as a Metaphor of Urban Modernity - Temporal and Spatial Liminality

It is generally understood that revue is the spectacle which flourished from the late nineteenth century to the 1930s in a number of 'modernising' cities. When talking about revue, it may be more appropriate to use the name of the cities than countries, because revue is integral to urban culture which finds commonalities beyond national borders. Before looking at Japanese examples, it is worthwhile acknowledging that revue was indeed a worldwide trend. London, Paris, Berlin and New York were all big cities which became the cradles of revue. Smaller cities from Copenhagen in Northern Europe to Lisbon in the South also hosted a boom of revue.[21] The revue trend was not restricted to Europe and America. It swept across Asian cities including Shanghai, Seoul (Keijō under the administrative rule of Japan), Taipei and Tokyo where commercial capitalism was nurtured.[22] Despite the differences in geography and socio-political conditions such as censorship systems, it is an intriguing fact that they all shared a similar stage style which can be categorised under the genre of revue.[23]

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[21] Copenhagen has an independent Revymuseet separate from the national Theatre Museum. It is a rare, publicly founded institution dedicated to the specific theatrical genre of revue. The author's conversation with the curators ofthe museum revealed their urge to be independent as otherwise the genre is marginalised in the mainstream theatre history on display at the Theatre Museum. On the other hand, the author's visit to the theatre Museum in Lisbon in 2017 found that the museum gives about a half of one floor in this permanent exhibition to Portuguese revues in the section dedicated to 'revista', whereas the Theatre Museum affiliated to Waseda University in Tokyo gives just a little corner to revue-related theatre productions.

[22] The research of Asian revue currently underway is still rare. Except for the study on Taiwanese Opeia by Hosoi Naoko (2016, 359-389), not much research has been done about Asian revue scenes. It is the author's future task to investigate the revues in Shanghai and Seoul, as well as Eastern European cities such as Bucharest, Vilnius and St. Petersburg. For example, culture within the context of 'colonial modernity' has been studied by Namigata Tsuyoshi in his '*1930nen kara 40nen no Higashi-asia ni okeru honyaku no porittikusu: Koroniaru Modaniti no Shatei* (The Politics of Cultural Translation in East Asia between the 1930s and the 1940s: The Range of Colonial Modernity)' (2016) but revue has not been included.

[23] London, Paris, Berlin and New York once had rich revue cultures. Smaller cities like Copenhagen, Stockholm and Lisbon also hosted revue booms in the 1920s and into the '30s

By the time a city had grown big enough to be called a metropolis, urban experience came to weigh heavily on dazzling optical sensations accentuated by buzzing auditory stimuli. Lit by neons and mobilised by ever-developing technology, it appears that the urban environment is presenting a non-stop show and thus the city itself becomes a vast stage of spectacle. Amongst many stage genres, revue may be the most convincing representation of the 'urban vibe'. On the premise that revue is a non-coincidental phenomenon born out of the optically loaded, tirelessly motioning environment of the city, this chapter constitutes three sections in order to look back at the formative years of revue in the pre-1930s and considers revue as a metaphor for urban modernity common in cities.

The first section will comprise an overview of the relationship between cities and revue. The term, 'revue phenomenon' will be used strategically to investigate their integral linkage in the socio- historical context that ushered in the global revue trend. The second section will examine the international revue trend by comparing revue booms in representative European cities which saw the early rise of revue as a new form of commercial theatre. It will discuss theatre as an industry, and to locate revue as its indispensable genre. Serving a bigger audience, revue theatre could reflect the sentiment of the masses, the anonymous crowd. This is a difficult concept to grasp, but one that should not be ignored. The third section will examine urban modernity in the context of a collective dream. This will deepen our understanding of what modernity means in relation to urbanity, and how revue represents modernity. This chapter lays the foundation for the examination of Japanese revue in Chapter 4.

Given the context of the city, this section will look further at the simultaneous trend of revue in these cities by analysing some representative examples. This comparison helps generate a baseline by which to consider the relationship between the city and revue. This will enable a rethink of the historical context in which these metropolises were all once the cradle of revue theatre, reflecting the common aspects of modern urban life. The key to understanding the reason why revue was spontaneously and prevailingly popular might lie in the common, shared physical experience of an increasingly ostentatious urban life coupled with the desires and fantasies of the population.

To verify this premise, we shall look at the sweeping trend of revue in three cities: London, Paris and Berlin, by focusing on selected theatres, performers or productions. It will be seen that revue can be described as theatrical language, almost a global language, which evolved in the particular epoch that spans the years from the turn of the century to the 1930s, in which 'modernity' was synonymous with a growing urban capitalist consumerism, fuelled by vanity and fantasy. Revue became a signifier of

metropolitan modern life. To explain why this genre was so widespread and so popular, we will look at the social demographics of these urban populations. We will question the phenomena that were reflected in revue, and what made it so attractive. We will also look at who the audiences were, and how they responded. This question looks for answers in the dynamics of urban life that allowed this genre to flourish. I will show that the urban experience itself can be convincingly described as 'revue- like', and how the stage was a reflection of the urban revue-phenomenon, by means of stimulating visual and auditory sensations.

2.1 European Cities and Revue Phenomenon: London, Paris, Berlin

First and foremost, looking at the relationship between the city and revue is vital to prove that revue was a genre nurtured as an expression of modernity in the urban environment, firstly in Europe and then in America and Asian cities including Tokyo. Thus, 'modernity' is an essential term throughout this thesis, and the concept of modernity is essential in a discussion about the nature of revue as a global, cultural phenomenon as well as a metaphor of modern life in cities across the world. 'Revue phenomena' here can mean two things. Firstly, it can mean the city that assumed the form of a revue show. Secondly, it can mean the subsequent 'phenomenal' revue boom sweeping across international cities. This mutual relationship is fateful because they can be seen as two sides of the same coin: i.e. revue could not emerge without the city and the city became like a revue show. Together, they formulated a strong sense of modernity. In order to understand the birth of revue as a metaphor of modernity as well as an ultimate urban experience, and to reveal this interdependence as a relationship between revue and city, a good starting point is to look at 'World Fairs' or 'Expos' and other public leisure venues. This is because expos were a showcase of the nation's power concentrated in the city, which is a common feature with revue. The next sections will give a brief overview of London, Paris and Berlin, in Europe, where revue became a metaphor for their urban modernity.

London

When tracing the historical background of the mutual relationship between revue and the city, London cannot be ignored, for it was the first industrialised, modern city which subsequently impacted theatre scenes in Paris, Berlin, and also Tokyo to a considerable extent. Britain was the forerunner of the Industrial Revolution achieving scientific discovery, technological advancement and a capitalist economy brought about by mass production (Rider 2007). The first World Exposition took place in 1851 in London as a showcase not only of these British achievements and industrial products, but also novelties from twenty-five other countries (Auerbach 1999). The exhibition hall was the legendary Crystal Palace with 92,000 m^2 built in Hyde Park. In total, the Palace housed more than 14,000 exhibitors and people could view them from multiple dimensions including upper galleries (Mckean 1994). The innovative new building materials of iron and

glass of Crystal Palace paved the way for a new form of architecture that would change the outlook of the urban landscape. This glass-iron structure provided the technical blueprint for the arcades of the neighbouring city of Paris, which will be discussed in more detail later.

Lewis Carroll, one of the enthusiastic visitors to Crystal Palace, reported, ‘I think the first impression produced on you when you get inside is of bewilderment. It looks like a sort of fairyland’ (Carter 2003, 28).[24] Carroll was obviously amazed by the spectacle, finding it to be like entering a theatre or ‘Wonderland’. The whole display must have been a feast for the eyes and the imagination: for some, extolling the victorious image of the nation’s progress in science and industry, while for many, it was simply a showcase of an extraordinary and previously unknown world. In both cases, it was based on a belief that scientific advancement, and its facilitation of mass production and the capitalist system, would improve peoples’ lives by making things better and more affordable, not just in the UK but across nations. Thus, the Expo is not simply a means by which to display the nation's modernity, it is a showcase, a public spectacle on a huge scale. Japanese sociologist, Yoshimi Shunya, extensively discusses exposition as the first form of ‘incident as a public performance’ (Yoshimi 2008, 122-197).

London was also one of the first places in Europe to develop public transport systems, e.g. buses, taxies and tubes, starting with the Metropolitan Line in 1863. These new means of transportation would greatly enhance mobility across the city – allowing people to visit the modern leisure institutions such as museums, department stores, garden parks, zoos and theatres. In this urban flux, all these institutions become the new, urban venues for spectacle, education and commerce. Since Georgian times in England, and London in particular, what were called ‘pleasure gardens’ can be seen as a combination of these sites for recreation. The ‘Pleasure Garden’ is not a mere garden with trees and flowers, but often incorporated entertainment facilities such as concert halls, bandstands, greenhouses, cafes, zoological areas and playgrounds or electric rides for children to serve the upper-class hubs of polite society.[25]

In this urban development, scientific technology appeared synonymous with cognitive enlightenment as the 1851 Great Exhibition led to the construction of the Royal Albert Hall (1867) dedicated to arts and

[24] In the letter from Lewis Carroll to his sister, Elizabeth Carroll, dated July 5, 1851.

[25] 5 Many of these gardens were opened in the city of London through and after the Industrial Revolution, for example, Marylebone Gardens, Vauxhall Gardens and the Royal Kew Gardens with its refined tea houses. A comprehensive socio-historical study is found in Downing Sarah-Jane, *The English Pleasure Garden 1660–1860*, Bloomsbury USA, 2009.

science, with the capacity to house a 9000-strong audience·[26] Within walking distance from the Royal Opera House in Covent Garden, London's 'West End' theatre district developed as the city's centre of entertainment. Here, the number of theatres mushroomed until the 1930s, many of them presenting variety and revue shows. Akai Tomoko, in her analyses of Charles Cochran and his revues in London in the 1920s, portrays ‘variety theatre’ as a commercial institutions managed by big enterprises developed from previously popular musical establishment ‘music halls’ mainly serving working class people, but very different from music halls in the Victorian era (Akai 2015, 286). An example of music hall at its prime was The London Pavilion (1859), which opened as a super-deluxe venue when it was remodelled in 1885 with ‘its elegant and luxurious foyers and promenades brilliantly illuminated by myriad of electric lights·[27] Later on, Variety Theatres became respectable and safe leisure institutions welcoming all family members, and thus expanded the audience to the new 'middle class' who inhabited the London suburbs, and included women and children (ibid.). This is similar to the background of Japanese revue as it emerged in the 1910s, which will be discussed in next chapter. Akai argues that revue is a genre which stems from variety theatre, but clarifies the difference between the two. While a variety show would consist of a wide range of individual performances, revue would have the coherent theme written by a single author with the same performers appearing in a number of different scenes (ibid., 293).

Examples of theatres where varieties and revues were staged, are The Vaudeville Theatre (1870), The Savoy Theatre (1881), The Prince of Wales Theatre (1884), Shaftesbury Theatre (1911), The Coliseum (1904), The London Palladium (1910) and The Prince Edward Theatre (1930). These were all part of the ‘glitter and bright lights’ of a city which was, in turn, reflected on the revue stage. In these theatres, one of the most popular entertainments was the girls’ dancing troupes, characterised most famously by the girls choreographed by John Tiller in Manchester in 1889. By 1920, John Tiller had a school to train synchronised dancers and founded more than eighty troupes, with his girls performing in The London Palladium, The Folies Bergère in Paris, and also in Busby Burkley’s films in Hollywood.[28] What made the Tiller Girls internationally famous and influential was their high kicking line up. The German sociologist, Siegfried Kracauer described these dancing girls in his essay of ‘mass ornament’ in 1923, as ‘energetic women [who] dance about in geometric shapes: the regularity of their patterns is cheered by the masses, themselves arranged by the stands in tier upon ordered tier’ (Kracauer 2005, 74-75). For

[26] Royal Albert Hall in British History Online. Acessed on September 15, 2018. http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vol38/pp177-195

[27] 'Shaftesbury Avenue', in *Survey of London: Volumes 31 and 32, St James Westminster, Part 2*, ed. F.H.W. Sheppard (London, 1963), pp. 68-84. British History Online. Accessed on September 15, 2018. http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vols31-2/pt2/pp68-84

[28] The history of the Tiller Girls is found in the ongoing company’s official website, managed by John’s descendant Bernard Tiller. Accessed on September 15, 2018. https://tillergirls.com

Kracauer, the 'mass ornament' is formed by the masses of many bodies, mechanical and thus sexless bodies in bathing suits that move in regular controlled patterns conforming to kaleidoscopic, geometric patterns. The fact that they were young girls and their mechanical style resonated with the epoch, reflected both women's liberation and oppression and the development of science and mass production. Under the different socio-political context of each country, dancing girls have conspicuously gained mutual influences from the Tiller Girls, the French cancan dancers at the Moulin Rouge or the Ziegfeld Follies and the Rockettes in America, or the Takarazuka Girls in Japan.[29] Besides the popularity of dancing girls at the advent of the twentieth century, the revue show had another novel attraction, the male impersonator where a man's part was performed by a young girl. Vesta Tilley (1864–1952), a female revue performer, based at the London Coliseum, was an early example. She was a London idol, gained her popularity as a 'principal boy' in revue by convincingly playing the role of a charming elegant man (Yamanashi 2012, 98)·[30] By the time Vesta Tilley retired from stage in 1920, groups of dancing girls such as the Gaiety Girls had also become famous through their performances at The Shaftesbury Theatre and The Prince Edward Theatre in particular (the latter being a leading British music hall identified as London's Folies Bergère)·[31] Young women were becoming increasingly active in the theatre at this time, and it was revue, as a theatre genre, which largely accommodated them. This is evidenced by the fact that they were generally known as 'revue girls'. This also demonstrates that by the 1920s, London was consciously competing with, or rather consciously aware of the culture of neighbouring Paris becoming the international capital of revue. Although the London-Paris relationship was two way, Paris was a considerable influence in London, especially in terms of revue productions. Why Paris? Let us now turn to look at the socio- historical context in France.

Paris

England's neighbour, France, underwent another kind of dramatic change that took place under Napoleon III. Elected by the national referendum in 1852, his Second Empire resulted in Paris undergoing an unprecedented urban renovation project which was completed by 1870. As already mentioned in the

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[29] In the studies of cultures controlled by dictatorships in the 1930s, such as Germany and Japan, the dancing girls are often interpreted as a representation of their imperial order, and the girls are victims or conformists of the masses (e.g. Gordon, 'Fascism and the Female Form: Performance Art in the Third Reich' (2002), Robertson, *Takarazuka and Sexual Politics*' (1994). However, the way to interpret the dancing girls and their popularity depends on whether we regard their performance body as asexual as in Kracauer and Benjamin, or sexual as in Gordon and Robertson. Also, it is important to be aware that the sentiment of the individual performers and the audiences is another matter

[30] Attributed to Vesta Tilley Collection at the Worcestershire Country Council. Accessed September 24, 2018. http://www.worcestershire.gov.uk/info/20230/archive_and_archaeology_projects/1127/the_vesta_tilley_collection

[31] The author's first-hand study at the Foyer exhibition at the Prince Edward Theatre and the Footlight Girls Exhibition of the Gaiety Girls at the National Portrait Gallery, London in 2004. Accessed September 24, 2018. /www.npg.org.uk/whatson/display/2004/gaiety-girls/past-exhibitions.php?searched=Gaiety+Theatre&advsearch=allwords&highlight=ajaxSearch_highlight+ajaxSearch_highlight1+ajaxSearch_highlight2).

interpretation of *passage* and flâneur in Chapter 1, this renovation is now known as Haussmannisation. Baron Georges Haussmann carried out a massive development with thirty-metre-wide boulevards, squares, parks and other public space innovations.[32] While *passages* interposed the Haussmann buildings, increasing numbers of parks, museums, hotels, restaurants and cafés were also constructed for the people to stroll in, bicycle through, meet, relax and sightsee. During the Second Empire, four periphery parks, Bois de Boulogne, Bois de Vincennes (where a zoo was incorporated in 1934), Parc Montsouris and Parc des Buttes-Chaumont, were located to encompass the city. These public spaces would offer not only restful rows of trees and flower beds but also cafés and benches, rides, booths selling sweets and balloons and music performances. The open-air performance developed into café-concert or café-chantant-musical establishments, similar to English pleasure gardens and music-halls, comprising an open-air or indoor show with orchestra, singers and dancers. In this way, Parisian public venues in the late nineteenth century reflected the expansion of public spheres with restaurants, cafes and bars generating dynamic social mingling of different backgrounds of social class, gender or age. Amongst a number of innovations, the installation of gaslights in public spaces particularly impacted urban night life. The city could remain luminous and populated in the evenings because gas street lights lit up the promenades and boulevards. Neons create urban sky lines, appearing futuristic, inviting people to eat, drink or dance till late. Paris Opera Palais Garnier (1875) where nine hundred and sixty gas jets were installed (Penzel 1978, 69), must have enhanced not only the Parisian theatre scene, but also chic urban life. Nearby the magnificent stone building, the department store Galleri Lafyette was built in 1894. It was vaulted with an elaborate glass ceiling and expensive lighting over the dazzling display of merchandise, serving consumers with various needs. Other market places, especially along a number of *passages* were also vaulted and lit by gas light; Paris appeared to be living up to its nickname 'la ville-lumière'.

The Japanese scholar of urban studies, Mochizuki Teruhiko, describes this night-time city experience as follows: "as the time of twilight approaches, lit by street lights and building neons, the city starts to 'make-up' and young men with broken hearts hung around, carrying their long shadows like their mantles, and strolling around the city like an endless theatre play" (Mochizuki 1977, 128). It can be said that the city was transforming into a kind of theatre platform day and night, a stage set on which the passer-by was a performer on the urban stage. Lighting certainly changed the night life of the city. Illuminated streets were like a stage set lit by footlights and spotlights, making the night time promenade not only more lively and safer, but also more of a kind of show place for mingling socialisation and

[32] Fully illustrated scholarly essays about the total view of Haussmannisation in Paris is found in *Des Cars*, Jean & Pierre Pinon eds. Paris - Haussmann, 'Le Paris d'Haussmann' (1991).

dramatic encounters. So-called ‘noctambulisme’ added a romantic flair to the urban activity that attracted bohemian city dwellers and strollers represented by flâneurs (ibid., 50). Thanks to the charming lighting, public parks and gardens could stay open at night in all their luminous glamour; they were often known as Luna parks.

France was also rapidly following England's lead in organising World Expositions, during this 'Second Empire' period. In 1855, Paris hosted La Exposition Universelle des Produits de l'Agriculture, de l'Industrie et des Beaux-Arts. One of the attractions to this expo was the operetta theatre, Théâtre des Bouffes-Parisiens, opened by the German-born French composer Jacques Offenbach. It was a remarkable success, and led to the production of *Orphée aux Enfers* (1858) which uplifted the Parisien working class ‘cancan’ dance into a national trend (Nakano 2015, 17-18). This high-kick dance performed by young girls in a line eventually became one of the signatures of Parisian revue shows, and was imitated worldwide. After 1855, Paris held expositions in almost every decade from 1867 to 1937, proving how powerful and attractive the French capital was to industrialists and artists alike.[33]

What was unique about Paris and London seems to have been the artistic outcome. While scientific technology, machines and the iron and steel industry brought new methods of manufacturing, there arose a desire in the arts for handmade decorative items to balance machine-made mass production. This brought the distinctive new artistic style of Art Nouveau into architecture, graphical design and fashion. With an emphasis on sensuous, organic lines as opposed to sharp straight mechanical lines, it became the iconic style of the La Belle Époque of the fin de siècle.[34] For example, following the model of the London underground, Paris laid out its Métro during the World Exposition of 1900 designed by Hector Guimard in Art Nouveau style, which became a symbol of Parisian modern life, facilitating the movement of people across the city.

The 1900 Paris Exposition is also important in relation to theatre. especially to Japanese theatre. It was here, in the programme of the performing arts, that a Japanese troupe of Kawakami Otojiro and his wife Sadayakko made their international debut. Their performance *La Ghéisha et le Samurai* (*La Danseuse et la Chevalier: The Geisha and the Warrior*) was presented at le Théâtre de Fuller run by the sensational

[33] Exposition Universelle de Paris 1867 (Japan attended for the first time), Exposition Universelle de Paris 1878, Exposition Universelle de Paris 1889 (for the first time in the history of world exposition, it was lit by gas light and stayed open during the night), Exposition Universelle de Paris 1900, Exposition Internationale des Arts Décoratifs et Industriels Modernes 1925, Exposition internationale des Arts et Techniques dans la vie moderne 1937.

[34] The author’s first-hand study at the opening reception at the exhibition, Paris 1900: The City of Entertainment, April2 – August 17, 2014, Petit Palais, Paris.

dancer, Loie Fuller. Judging from the pretentious title of the programme, *Les Musiques Bizarres à l'Exposition de 1900*, it seems obvious that it was designed to pique the curiosity of the public about the unknown, exotic east.[35] What they categorised 'les musiques bizarres' included music from Java, Egypt, Madagascar, Indonesia, China and Japan. The programme was received like a world music tour with a high degree of exoticism. Sadayakko, whose dance was accompanied by music from her native Nagoya, was described as 'Sada-Yacco, dont tout Paris raffole en ce moment. Elle nous apporte comme une brève et dernière vision de ce Japon féodal que nous n'avons pas connu et qui n'est plus; dont, là-bas, les grandes courtisanes et les acteurs tragiques, seuls, gardent pieusement la tradition; mais qui aussi va être submergée sous le flot de la civilisation nouvelle.'[36] Sarcastically, this statement imposes the Western idea of 'new civilisation' to erode the Eastern tradition, even though the comment was not evaluating its superiority or inferiority.[37]

The period was also an innovative phase for the art scene and printing media, when many painters of 'modern' life depicted a series of paintings of Parisian life. Some art historians, such as Caroline Mathieu in her article, 'Paris d'Haussmann dans la peinture:1860-1900' (Des Cars and Pinon 1991, 311-319) and Tom Gretton in 'Not the flâneur again: Reading magazines and living in the metropolis around 1880' (D'Souza and McDonough, 2006, 94-112) have attempted to read the changing townscape and people's habits rendered in paintings and prints of that time. For example, the feeling of shimmering urban life and bright optimism can be felt in the impressionist painting of *Le Pont-Neuf, Paris* (1872) by August Renoir, depicting the bridge over the River Seine under a sunny blue sky with a crowd of pedestrians, men and women, young and old, and cars and coaches crossing together. It conveys visual liveliness and the soundscape of a city in transition, and enables us to imagine how spectacular Paris was.

The Haussmannisation can be observed in the geometrically laid out buildings and pavements with gaslight, looking orderly, clean and charming, whereas disorderly, shabby, oppressed dark sides can be imagined hidden behind the dignified buildings and affluent people: those scenes were often depicted by the satirical painter of the same period, Honoré- Victorin Daumier. As the reverse of the urban vibrancy of the impressively ordered main roads lies a bleakness glimpsed here and there, on the corner, or behind the facades, on the outskirts. This melancholy and forlornness is the price of a bustling downtown and Sigfried Giedion has suggested the ugly mess is hidden, like in a costume

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[35] Studied the original programme kept at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, no.4°W 4234 (5).

[36] Ibid

[37] See Chapter 5 for more consideration of Sadayakko as a pioneer actress in Japan after her success abroad.

cabinet, behind the uniformed avenues (Giedion 2003). Behind Haussmannisation's orderly boulevards of Paris, in the back streets, sideways, alleys and lanes there was a sort of bohemian chaos. This can be likened to the backstage of lavish revue shows that depict an impressive, lavish, belle epoch image, concealing the possibility that the lives of dancers and musicians were laborious or even miserable.

It was in this spectacular environment, cast in light and shadow, that revue theatre boomed in Paris in the Moulin Rouge, the Folies Bergère and the Casino de Paris. The most famous revue house of the Moulin Rouge sparkled with its landmark of a neon-red windmill and contributed to the liberal as well as the romantic image of the city. Established in 1889 in Montmartre, it was an epoch-making cabaret which brought theatrical elements to the traditional dance hall, making dance into an entertainment show product for the audience to watch (Nakano 2015, 11). The famous poster, *Moulin Rouge: La Goulue* (1891), by one of their regular guests Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec was made three years after the opening, when the cabaret started the group dance of young girls on stage that became the ultimate iconic image of revue represented by cancan dancers in line. This grew into a spectacular stage revue adorned with frilly dresses, ostrich feathers and glittering spangles, absorbing exotic, oriental features increasingly after the 1900 Paris Exposition (Nakano 2015, 17). The theatre was then a new kind of meeting place for people from different classes and backgrounds who shared a liberal bohemian spirit in this urban pleasure-ground. At the very dawn of the 'talkie', the cabaret was made into a film *Moulin Rouge* (dir. E. A. Dupont: 1928). Due to the popular graphic posters and subsequent remakes, the Moulin Rouge, with its iconic red windmill, has established itself not only as a symbol of Montmartre, even today, but the most famous icon of revue culture worldwide

Another famous establishment is the Folies Bergère. Modelled on London's Alhambra Theatre, it started as a house for operetta, pantomime, and circus before changing its theatre name to the Folies Bergère in 1872 (Castle 1985, 15-17). The discursive painting by Manet, *Un Bar aux Folies-Bergère* (1882) is a little reminiscent of the café-concert style; the reflection of the bar maid in front of the mirror seems to be indicative of the melancholic solitude of the theatre crowd (Collins 1996). In the early years, both experimental and exotic variety shows seemed to be the main attraction. Under the direction of Édouard Marchand from 1886 to1902, music-hall inspired revue featuring female performers in fancy dress and targeting upper-class patrons to make revue theatre a fashionable venue (Gutsche-Miller 2015, 37-38). It was here that the American dancer Loie Fuller was invited to show her sensational 'serpentine dance' for the first time in 1892-93, as famously painted in the poster by Jules Chéret. Fuller wore long, drapery sleeves which would whirl as she danced, and which were lit by electric lighting, uplifting the status and fame of revue theatre ever higher (ibid., 38-39).

Even the Japanese jangling man, who appeared in 1895,[38] appealed to the Parisians, who were now most receptive to the novel and exotic. Foreign exoticism was positively received as in the world of fine art of the time. Parisian journalist Louis-Leon Martin wrote about the growing appetite for revue: "The entire world is at your disposal: Hawaii with its nostalgic guitars, the Orient and its disquieting equilibrists and jugglers, America with its eccentrics, its girls and dancers, India with its snake-charmers and magi, and more. The limits of the possible have naturally receded" (Castel 1985, 29). This description is similar to the feature of world expositions where attractions from all the corners of the globe were presented on one stage. It was part of the character of the epoch to expose exotic foreign lands by intertwining curiosity and national identity at the same time.

The Folies Bergère gradually grew into a thriving revue theatre and by 1918, when Paul Derval became director, it would be producing shows where the costumes were so revealing, the girls were almost naked (Castel 1985, 94). In 1926, when the theatre facade was renewed in the most modern Art Deco style of that time,[39] Josephine Baker from America danced in a skirt made of a string of artificial bananas, which became known as the 'banana dance' and became the hallmark of the revue repertoire. In her autobiography, Baker recounts how liberated and respected she felt, as a black woman in Paris at that time, whereas she faced severe prejudice and exclusion in America (Baker 1948). This account shows how Paris was liberal in accommodating creative talents from abroad, and they would add to the urban cultural dynamics.

Notwithstanding the allure of the exotic or perhaps to put it more positively an enthusiasm for, and curiosity about, the foreign, Paris was cosmopolitan, a melting pot of different nationalities and classes, an attractive heterotopia for artists and entrepreneurs. During the first few decades of the twentieth century, many people came to Paris as exiles or misfits, but with a shared lust for liberty and modernity. To name but a few in relation to this thesis, the revue star Josephine Baker from America, the painter Fujita Tsuguharu from Japan and the writer Walter Benjamin from Germany all contributed in one way or another to the development of Parisian culture. Paris was a melting pot, not only of nationality, but of métiers and of new art movements, stirred by cosmopolitan freedom and experimental spirit initiated by a positive reception of foreign culture.

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[38] The poster of the Folies Bergère 1895, *Tous les soirs Awata, le célèbre jongleur Japonais* shows the Japanese magician, Awata Katsunosuke.

[39] In the field of art and design, the Exposition Internationale des Arts Décoratifs et Industriels Modernes in 1925 brought another stylistic trend defined as Art Déco characterised by the stripped-down aesthetics of geometrical lines in practical design driven by fascination for industrialised scientific technology demonstrated by fast aeroplanes, trains or cars (Benton 2003). It can be said that in the period bridging Art Nouveau and Art Déco, revue emerged as a signifier of Parisian metropolitan modern life. The French capital was striving to generate creative cultural forces in art

In the same way, the Folies Bergère became the model for the grand revue abroad. The Ziegfeld Follies in America, and the Takarazuka Revue in Japan directed by Shirai Tetsuzō, who studied in Paris between 1928 and 1929, adopted the impressive use of staircase in stage choreography where hundreds of dancers could be accommodated (Yamanashi 2012, 76, 129). Amongst girls at the Folies Bergère, the English dancing girls, Les Alfred Jackson's especially attracted Shirai and became a model for Takarazuka revue girls. Shirai admired the Jackson Girls who maintained a pure innocent image:

> There is a school in Britain for the Jackson Girls where they get educated, and go out to perform in revues and theatres in different countries with their own repertoires. They receive a very strict training, lead a very controlled group life, and never dance in the nude. On stage, all of them appear animated, pure-hearted and jolly. They are so thoroughly disciplined in group dance that they dance with any fast tempo really in a precise line, in perfect order as if they are a single person. That really deserves admiration...There were a lot of revues too erotic…, but the Jackson Girls were still very active and their popularity is also something special. While the erotic or the extraordinary may gain temporal popularity, the Jackson Girls continue to attract people. I think this is a victory of innocence. (Shirai, 1930, 6-11)[40]

Shirai's impression paradoxically tells that there were increasing numbers of shows selling sexual appeal by the 1930s. The Jackson Girls' non-sexual, wholesome dancing incorporating American tap and jazz music inspired Shirai, more than the seductive repertoires, in making *Parisette* (1930) and subsequent Parisian inspired productions after his return to Japan (Shirai 1967, 111).

Last but not least, The Casino de Paris was a very well-known music hall for revues in the 1920s and '30s. With its roots in the nineteenth century as a theatre for various productions (including wrestling), the Casino de Paris was a renowned music hall where revue starts including Mistinguette, Maurice Chevalier and Josephine Baker who would dance and sing on the stage (Sallée et Chauveau, 1985). One of the stage devices of the Casino that became a distinguishing feature of Takarazuka upuntil today was 'pont d'argent'

[40] The author's translation: 「英国にジャックソンズ· ガールズの学校があって、此処で教練を受け、その出演作品をもつて各国のレヴユウなり劇場に出演するのです。彼女達は実に厳格な訓練を受け、常に団体行動をとって規律も正しく、舞台でも決して裸踊りをやらない、みんな舞台で愛嬌があって純情でとても愉快です。彼女達は団体舞踊の教訓が行き届いているのでよく揃うこと〻いったらどんな早いテンポの踊りでも実に一糸乱れずまるで一人のように踊ります。そればかりは将に驚嘆に価ひします。・・・今度のレビユウは可成りひどくエロがかったもので到底『歌劇』誌上に発表できないものがありました·・・。・・・が、相変わらずジャックソンス· ガールスは活躍してゐました。人気も大変なものでエロ味がかったものや珍奇なものは一時は人気を沸き立てたとしてもすぐ飽かれてしまうのに、ジャクソンス· ガールスは相変わらず人気を呼んでいるのは純真の勝利だと思いました。」

– a passage laid out between the orchestra pit and the audience seats (Shirai 1967, 121–122). Shirai describes this time enthusiastically: 'When I went to Paris, it was still before the talkies, and when the theatre was more popular than cinema, the revue was at its epitome. The Moulin Rouge, the Folies Bergère, the Casino de Paris were competing to produce extravagant revues, for which big stars such as Mistinguett, Maurice Chevalier and Josephine Baker were performing brilliantly' (Kashima 2004, 32–33).

Through these revue establishments along with the revue *chansons*, there is no other city but Paris that has been sung about so affectionately. The image of Paris is highly idealised and romanticised, and its present grandeur and riches owe much to the resplendence of those years known today as the 'belle- epoch'. Whether or not it is a naive fantasy, Paris has certainly nurtured a cosmopolitan spirit, which accommodates artistes and the intelligentsia to mingle amongst the populace. It can be said that revue retains its original form in France, at least in outlook, but the irony is the audience is no longer the Parisian public, but tourists and foreigners who still cherish the Paris that once was. Although the golden years of revue in Paris could be seen as vainglorious, visual feasts, with lavish costumes and extravagant stage sets– the product of capitalism and consumerism for the masses – Paris created the definitive image of revue and had remarkable influence on revue worldwide. Thus, even after its heyday, 'revue' performed in any establishment in the world, retained it French spelling 'revue', associating it with Parisian-style revue. Meanwhile simultaneously, in Paris, revue was eager to absorb American jazz and foreign exoticism into its repertoire. This demonstrates that revue was an interactive, thus inter-cultural, genre that really did become a global phenomenon.

Berlin

The modern period in Germany is politically complex, but Berlin, as the capital of Germany, has been the forefront of modern culture from the time of the federal republic of Wilhelm I's German Empire (1871-1917) throughout the Weimar Republic (1918-1933) and the rise and fall of the Third Reich (1933-1943). The exception was the period of the Cold War, when Bonn was the capital of West Germany and Berlin was a divided city. When we consider culture in an urban context in Germany, the short, fourteen years of the Weimar Republic was especially important, and was as culturally fertile as the Taisho period in Japan, encompassing the period from the German defeat of WWI to the rise of Nazism in 1933. the effect of the 1920 Greater Berlin Act (Groß-Berlin-Gesetz), meant that the population of Berlin sharply increased, and Berlin became a prominent cultural centre in Europe throughout the 1920s. The American historian, Otto Friedrich, in his classic book about Berlin, *Before the Deluge: A Portrait of Berlin in the 1920s*, describes the city as both turbulent and modern as follows:

> The twenties were not golden for everyone, of course, for these were the years of the great inflation, of strikes and riots, unemployment and bankruptcy, and Nazis and Communists battling in the streets. Still, the magic names keep recurring – Marlene Dietrich, Greta Garbo, Josephine Baker, the grandiose productions of Max Reinhardt's 'Theatre of the 5,000', three opera companies running simultaneously under Bruno Walter, Otto Klemperer, and Erich Kleiber, the opening night of Wozzeck, and The Threepenny Opera. … Almost overnight, the somewhat staid capital of Kaiser Wilhelm had become the centre of Europe… Above all, Berlin in the 1920s represented a state of mind, a sense of freedom and exhilaration. (Friedrich 1995, 7-8)

In the description, 'Theatre of the 5,000' is Max Reinhardt's vision of a big theatre for the people, whose collective vision is expressed on stage (Fischer-Lichte 2005). It was realised as Großes Schauspielhaus in 1919 converted and extended from a former circus theatre (Welke 2009, 10-11).[41] Reinhardt's dream of collaborating with the audience did not come to pass, and it was mainly the home of extravaganza revues directed by Erik Charell (Hagiwara 2015, 308-309). In 1924, Charell presented his first revue *An Alle* which was a mixture of German operetta and modern exotic features such as jazz music and the Engish Tiller Girls' high kick dancing. Alfred Flechtheim wrote a review titled 'Vom Ballett zur Revue' in *Der Querschenitt* (Herbst 1924, 201) in which Charell wanted to portray the many different facets from all around the world. The second revue *Für Dich* (1925) and *Von Mund zu Mund* (1926) were also the elaborate fantasies of the kind that evoked dreams of exotic foreign lands far distant from reality (Hirai 1985, 273-274). These kinds of performances ushered in the typical, cosmopolitan form of revue that will be examined further in Chapter 3. The future director of the Tokyo Takarazuka Theatre and Nihon-Gekijō (known as the Nichigeki Theatre), Hata Toyokichi who was then in Berlin wrote, 'In Germany after the World War I, what was most welcomed was Charell's revue following Reinhardt's revolutionary drama. Music joined hands with dance and play to conceive the synthesist art of revue like a blooming flower, and intoxicated the people in the defeated German nation' (Hata 1948, 164).[42]

[41] In Japan, it was this Großes Schauspielhaus which inspired the Takarzuka Grand Theatre with 3000 seats to be built in 1924 (Kawasaki 1999, 73-74).

[42] Ironically, Großes Schauspielhaus was taken over by the Nazis in 1933 and renamed the Theater des Volkes, and after World War II reborn as a variety theatre and again renamed Friedrichstadt-Palast (in the new address on Friedrichstrasse), which is still billed as 'Europe's largest revue theatre'. The Japanese revue company, the all-girl Takarazuka performed on their first tour to Europe in 1938 at Theater des Volkes, and in 2000 at Friedrichstadt-Palast. For a critical view of the history

To return to *Before the Deluge: A Portrait of Berlin in the 1920s*, *Wozzeck* (1922) is the opera by Alban Berg, and *The Threepenny Opera* (1928) is by Brecht. Both were avant-garde yet standing up for the underdog, portraying the depressed and downtrodden, deprived by the War and capitalism. The big names, Marlene Dietrich, Greta Garbo and Josephine Baker were popular international stars on cinema screen and the revue stage who brightened people's lives.[43] In addition to variety shows and revues in Wintergarten (1887) and Scala (1920), there were also many revue shows produced by Herman Haller in Admiral Palast (1910), James Klein in Comischen Opera (1892) and Rudolf Nelson at his own Nelson-Theater (1920) where Josephine Baker appeared. Alongside, there were satirical political revues advocated by Erwin Piscator and 'Red Revue' for working class people, a form of protest propaganda in the revue style designed to criticise the bourgeois and elite with their lavish lifestyles (Nakano 2005, 26-27; Hagiwara 2015, 311-312).

Moreover, there was a significantly increasing number of smaller entertainment establishments known as 'Kabarett' where revue-style was adapted on stage. 'Cabaret' in English was often housed in trendy bars and restaurants with a stage, such as Kakadu Bar & Barbarina (1920-1936) which was open every night until 3:00 am.[44] Their musical stage show was often provocative and satirical, lampooning politics and sex in a decadent, artistically experimental way about the subject of sex and politics with decadent flair, or artistic experiment (Jelavich 1996; Nakano 2005, 26-27). The atmosphere of the Berlin Cabaret is captured in films such as *Der Blaue Engel* (dir. Josef von Sternberg: 1930) starring Marlene Dietrich as Lola – a revue girl in a travelling show-troupe in Berlin, or *Cabaret* (dir. Bob Fossie: 1972) based on Christopher Isherwood's novel, *Goodbye to Berlin* (1939). In the later film, Liza Minnelli cast as a show girl, sings the famous song in a cabaret named Kit Kat Club, 'Life is a Cabaret' with a mixture of melancholy and vitality, in which a sense of liberty and optimistic gaiety seems to thinly conceal the fear sensing the rise of dictatorship. What these films prove is that, even in posterity, it is not possible to ignore the importance of

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of these theatres and their relationship to Takarazuka productions, see Hagiwara Ken's article in Nakano (2015, 305-332). There is a record on November 23, 1938 at 20:15 prior to a Takarazuka Girls' performance, that Hiroshi Oshima and Dr. Joseph Goebbels gave a propaganda speech. Goebbels is known as the Reich Minister of Propaganda who planned the Berlin Olympics as a spectacle of Nazi superiority (Takarazuka Revue catalogue, 1938). About three weeks before the Takarazuka show, following the political incident on November 7 when a Jewish youth assassinated a member of the German Embassy in Paris, anti-Semitic riots occurred all over Germany on the evening of November 9. This is called 'Kristallnacht (Crystal Night)' and it was witnessed by the Takarazuka girls (Iwabuchi, 2004).

[43] The Babelsberg Film Studios has been a leading film production company in Europe since the era of the silent movie, when in 1912, it was set up in Potsdam, a suburb of Berlin. Directors such as Frantz Lang and Josef von Sternberg worked here, and stars such as Asta Nielsen and Marlene Dietrich, become international icons in the film industry. Many of the glamorous film theatres from the days of the Weimar Republic still exist in Berlin such as the Delphi, the Apollo, the Paris and the Zoo Palast (the author's research at the Potsdam Film Museum).

[44] As written in the advertisement of that time, archived by Cabaret Berlin. Accessed on September 15, 2018. http://www.cabaret-berlin.com.

cabaret and revue, especially in Berlin, in Weimar Germany. Berlin in the 1920s can be seen as a vanguard of a revue boom.

However, there are important differences between Berlin revue and Paris or London revue, when examining the showgirl male impersonator, also popular in Germany, as portrayed in *Der Blaue Engel*. For example, there was a famous cabaret singer in the Weimar period called Clara Waldoff, who would often appear in Scala and Wintergarten where she sang with young Marlene Dietrich (Waldoff 1997). As many of her songs contained antimilitarist offensive messages, she was put under surveillance by the Nazis, forcing her to retire in 1933, and live a quiet life until her death in 1957 (ibid.). In Germany, cabaret revue was often politically active, as in the Red Revue mentioned earlier. When Clara Waldoff was on stage, she was not selling her femininity or sexuality for erotic appeal, but rather, she would provoke righteous indignation about current political issues and feminist appeal among the audience. The fact that she was a lesbian, having her life-long partner Olga von Roeder, was also an affirmation of her non-conformist attitude and identity. This kind of politically motivated revue continues in German revue tradition.[45]

Despite the context of each country being different, revue was undoubtedly a popular genre sweeping across modern cities. Not only in Paris, but now also in Berlin, there was what Walter Benjamin described as the dizzy feeling of everything in the city passing fast in a whirl as 'everything passed in review' (as Edmund Fuchs described the urban phenomenon in 1921: 'the colossal parade of bourgeois life which . . . began in France . . . Everything passed in review . . .

Days of celebration and days of mourning, work and play, conjugal customs and bachelors' practices, the family, the home, children, school, society, the theatre, types, professions.')[46] In this fashion, the hugely ambitious German documentary film *Berlin. Sinfonie der Großstadt* (1927) renders the upbeat, urban vibe of Berlin onto celluloid in this multi-dimensional way. This silent film, which is more than one-hour in length, by Walther Ruttmann, with music by Edmund Meisel captured a day in the life of the metropolis in all its facets – depicting the sheer mass of people, new buildings, transport, shops, conveyor-belt mass production, intense working days, accidents and incidents, bright neon lights, night life, and inevitably revue girls on stage. The visual literacy is like an orchestration, built around the

[45] This analysis of German revue was drawn from the author's first-hand observation of a revue entitled Clara Waldoff, based on her life story and the contemporary German interpretation of the persona and the epoch (Kasino Kornmarkt Trier

[46] Eduard Fuchs, *Die Karikatur der europiiischen Volker,* Munich, 1921, vol. I, p. 362, quoted in Benjamin, p.36

kaleidoscopic complexity of buzzy urban life. Here, modernity emerges, convincingly represented by science, speed and spectacle. What really captures the attention in this film is perhaps how Berlin in the 1920s is depicted to be a high-speed, non-stop spectacle, similar in pace and effect to a revue show. This is a convincing example of a city itself becoming a spectacle, like a dazzling revue stage.
As described above, London, Paris and Berlin were the cities of upbeat modernisation and provided the environment for revue to emerge as a prominent theatre genre. This worldwide urban trend of such a particular theatrical style was nurtured between the last part of the nineteenth century and the outbreak of World War II. If we think of the linear-historical phase of modernity as being from the second half of the nineteenth century, it can be seen that London was the birthplace of industrial modernity, Paris was the heart of artistic modernity, and Berlin was the new capital of ideological modernity.

Each city had a discrete part to play in the rise and popularity of revue.[47] These three examples of London, Berlin and Paris do support my theory that modern cities were the cradle of revue. Over time, during the control and censorship coming up to and during the War years (from the mid-1930s) in Britain, France and Germany, a more politically astute form of revue developed: sometimes as a voice against the major authority, and sometimes in alliance with the national policies, intimate rather than spectacular, topical rather than dramatic. Satirical revue was a social commentary, based on wit and humour; military revue, on the other hand, was conceived from political propaganda.

Through a complex evolution, revue, nurtured in industrialised, commercial and socio-politically challenging, cosmopolitan cities, generated a traffic of differences. These contrasting elements impose the dynamics and the thrill of liminality on the active heterogeneous-traffic – *Ikōtsu* advocated by Shinohara, in which diverse components emerge to produce further diversity both in terms of time and space.

A Japanese musicology scholar, Hosokawa Shūhei, defines the term ‘cosmopolitan’ as ‘the sense of global simultaneity generated by the unprecedented emerging condensed world-crossing network of people, capital, products and information’, represented by those adjectives ‘leading age, avant-garde, emerging and modern’ (Hosokawa 2005, 717). Hosokawa goes on to affirm that the beauty of the machinery was a definite representation of ‘the modern’ disconnected from the things in the nineteenth century, and the revue was its manifestation on stage as an aesthetic cosmopolitanism (ibid., 718).

[47] It should also be noted though that urban modernity has been predominantly a Western perspective in light of the idea of civilisation and progress, for which careful consideration is necessary to access the image built around the idea of modernity anywhere else. The case in Japan will be examined in Chapters 5 and 6, but it should be borne in mind that revue became a popular genre also in cities in other countries such as China, Portugal and Russia (Nakano 2015, 27), which are excluded from this thesis but will be an important subject for the author’s future research.

2.2 City as a Performative Site: Expositions, Theme Parks and Revues

Whether in London, Paris or Berlin, one of the elements which makes revue a metaphor for urban modernity is the flow of people, the crowd, the collective mass in constant motion. The crowd is a pool of anonymous individuals, consisting of people from different classes and professions, including women and children. Leisure culture in cities was empowered by the people's mobility facilitated by new transport media. Men and women, the rich and the poor, the elderly and the young, would mingle out in public places – museums and parks, stores and cafés, cinemas and theatres. They could embark into the outdoors easily thanks to safer, faster and more affordable transportation networks of trains, trams, buses and cars. However, travel by ferry, boat and aeroplane for long haul travel was still only available to a select few, and so many people could only dream of visiting far off lands. The city, however, was for everyone, a public venue which enabled anyone to get a taste of travel around the world in one place, where the world trends were presented side by side, and these venues were the world expos, the department stores, the theme parks or theatres.

This section will adopt the sociological perspective of Yoshimi Shunya's usage of 'performance' to analyse a city as a performative site. Employing the concept of revue can expand the discursive horizon of modernity to a more tactile/sensuous experience of a city. Yoshimi in his influential book, *Toshi-no Doramatsurugi (The Dramaturgy of City*), reads events in amusement quarters in the city as *jōen* (performance) and captures them in the relationship between *enshutsu* (production) and *enja* (performer as well as audience) who engage with them (Yoshimi 2008,115-119). Describing what is going on in the city as 'performance' gives us self-awareness of participating in that urban spectacle as an individual in the crowd. In effect, one can look at the world either from the perspective of production or that of performer standing in the milieu between them.

In Yoshimi's reading of 'the modern' from the 1910s to 1930s, the city can be interpreted as a performative site created by the masses for the masses, where modernity is an essential component of what constitutes urbanity ; it is not restricted to Japanese cities, but is equally valid for contemporary European cities. What can be expressed in Japanese as *kindai-sei* (modernity) or *kindaiteki-narumono* (something modern), can only ambiguously define the term 'modern' in English, connoting a certain kind of commonality in the novelty, beauty or fragrance of the epoch in which something foreign meant something indicative of a not-yet-known future (ibid., 255). Ambiguity about the term 'modern' itself shows how flexible and compatible the image it evokes is, and in how many ways it

could be reinterpreted. In my view, the concept of modernity and revue are inseparable for they are closely tied to the performativity of a city.

Yoshimi examines three urban performances, i.e. events in amusement quarters: *hakurankai* (exposition), and happenings in Asakusa and Ginza. They are all significant subjects in relation to revue in Japan. Leaving the latter two to be examined in a Japanese context in Chapter 5, this section will apply the first one to a global measure in order to look at the theme park as an extension of the exposition. As discussed in the case of London and Paris, world expositions have played an important role in generating spectacles like revue. The visual experience at an exposition and a revue stage is similar in the way that both display various novelties, surprises and exotic elements. This section sets out a premise that revue, as a potential subject of discourse in dramaturgy of the city, became popular towards the end of the nineteenth century in Europe when public gardens increased, expositions took place and theme parks were built. They were common in *mutate* (events happening in Japanese, associational and referential) showing the around-the-world fantasy first hand, characterised by anachronism and compact mobility in the artificial space. They are fabricated on the specific site, playfully amplifying temporal and spatial liminality.

While in exile in Paris between 1933 and 1938, Walter Benjamin wrote his recollections about growing up in Berlin as a boy in an affluent middle-class Jewish family, *Berliner Kindheit um Neunzehnhundert* (*Berlin Childhood around 1900,* 1950). This gives Berlin its urban topography in Benjamin's memory. As already quoted in Chapter 1, he described the chaotic riches of the modern city as a labyrinth and regarded its centre as the Tiergarten (Weigel 1998). Although Berlin did not host a World Exposition until the mid-twentieth century,[48] *the Zoologischer Garten* (zoo), which was named the Tiergarden, was built in 1844. It occupies 35 hectares in the middle of the city and has not only housed animals from all over the world, but is a large green oasis for people to stroll and rest in as they escape from the urban hustle. In 1913, an aquarium was added to the garden in the exotic, oriental style, reminding us of the popularity of Chinoiserie of that time. Furthermore in 1919, the nation's largest film theatre, Palast-Theatre am Zoo, opened next to it. All of these contributed to Berlin's cosmopolitan modernity. Like the world's first zoo in London and the Parc zoologique de Paris, Berlin's zoo symbolises a site of modern spectacle, but on a larger scale.

[48] Interbau (1957) was the first exposition held in West Berlin as an International Building Exhibition to display housing development. Source from Bureau International des Expositions. Accessed on September 15, 2018. https://www.bie-paris.org/site/en/

The Japanese poet and scholar, Matsuura Hisaki, examines the zoo as an ideological apparatus in his essay 'Animals Spectacles' (Matsuura 1998, 2-17). He states that the zoo serves a modern domain of 'pleasurable science' where 'knowledge' and 'entertainment' are in mutual blend (ibid., 15-16). This relates to my discussion about circus and revue in the sense that the audience is attracted by curiosity and something out of the ordinary. In Matsuura's view, the circus stands somewhere between zoo and man's theatrical performance. This does not negate the history and evolution of revue as a theatre genre, and thus this consideration is not totally irrelevant in thinking about the root of revue as seen in the history of the Folies Bergère in Paris or the Großes Schauspielhaus in Berlin, as a number of variety theatres had their roots in the circus. Revue shares some characteristics with this kind of stage show not only in the use of acrobats and music with singing and dancing, but also in the way that there is no coherent narrative, rather a series of fragmented, short scenes. Most traditional circuses use animals but artistic ones consist only of human acrobats.[49]Thus it was not sheer coincidence that the Japanese avant-garde dancer, Iwamura Kazuo (1902-1932), who studied in Paris and *rythmique* at Dalcroze school in Dresden in the 1920s, created a revue for Takarazuka called *Circus* (1929) which was received well (Suzki 2018, 47).

As in the example of Palast-Theatre am Zoo, revue-friendly theatre was often incorporated into the public gardens. Tivoli Garden in Denmark is another good contemporary example. Built in front of Copenhagen Central Station in 1843, it is a thoroughly planned theme park. Reminiscent of English pleasure gardens, it houses bandstands, both indoor and outdoor performance stages, a concert hall and a theatre, restaurants and cafés, shops and rides. Tivoli evolved through the modern phase of the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century to become a model of what we call a 'theme park' by creating themed, atmospheric areas such as a Japanese garden and a Chinese pagoda and market quarters, as well as an Indian pavilion that serves as a restaurant (Tivoli A/S 2018, URL). In a sense, it recreated the atmosphere of world exposition, so popular at the turn of the century, creating stereotypical images of foreign countries and their cultures where people encounter objects sourced from different corners of the globe, unfamiliar and thus exotic. This characteristic is also very apparent in the performative spectacle of revue, by way of the popular themes such as travelling around the world, or taking the audience to a fantasy world.

Tivoli inspired other theme parks abroad including today's giant international institution of Disneyland, and the Japanese pioneer amusement park adjoined with the zoo and biological garden, Takarazuka Luna Park

[49] The Japanese female magician star, Tenkatsu, who combined elements of circus and revue will be examined in Chapter 5

(later renamed, Family Land), which was Tivoli's partner until its closure in 2003, and where Takarazuka revue was indeed an integral part. Principally, these amusement parks and their incorporated revue shows served the whole family. Kawasaki Kenko's view of revue as a spectacle of an expo-like showcase in an increasingly consumer society convincingly emphasises the broadening target of the commodity culture including women and children (Kawasaki 1999, 24). In Japan too, revue was a theatre genre which responded to a modern society where new types of leisure became available to a wider number of consumers. In the light of this social context, therefore, revue can be considered to be closely related to the performativity of urban space manifested in the world expositions, zoo gardens and amusement parks.

The Japanese architect, Isozaki Arata, in his discussion of theme parks, examines Disneyland in Paris and Tokyo as a simulacrum of its home ground magic kingdom in Anaheim, Texas, as an economic activity as well as cultural transplantation (Isozaki 2013 vol.2, 115). Similar but different from the concept of amusement parks, theme parks, with the pioneering Disneyland, are a post-War product but it is still relevant to include Walt Disney (1901-1966) in this discussion. Disney's ancestors were from France and Britain, and he was hugely influence by European culture, especially theatre and cinema post 1920, which were his formative years (Allan 1999). Circus and vaudeville were the young Disney's favourite amongst the theatre genres (ibid., 11-12). They are both an American mix of English music hall and European cabaret which were at the height of popularity in Disney's youth, and which overlap with the lively, entertaining singing and dancing characteristics of revue shows (ibid.). The section of *The Dance of the Hours* (1940) in his musical animation, *Fantasia*, parodies a spectacular ballet sequence from the revue film, *The Goldwyn Follies* (1938), and the sensational use of a pool of water on stage was adapted from the Folies Bergère in Paris (ibid., 153).

The cultural traffic was active both ways between Europe and America at the height of revue, as can be seen in jazz music. As is obvious in jazz music, the cultural traffic was active both ways between Europe and America at the prime time of revue. While Josephine Baker represented the black culture from America, Micky Mouse could be seen as the symbolic icon of American popular culture created by Disney in his animation in 1928. The popularity of the non-human fictional character is obvious in that the little mouse hero was made into a revue show in Berlin in 1931 as documented in a photograph by Georg Pahl entitled *Der Micki-Maus! Micki-Maus-Revue-Girls während eines Berliner Gastspiels*.[50] Walter Benjamin was in Berlin that year, and made a critical reading of mass production and wrote his view on Micky

[50] The Digital Picture Archives of the Federal Archives of Germany; Sachklassifikation/ Weimarer Republik 1919-1933, Gesellschaft, Kulturelles Leben, Kunst, Varietee, Akrobaten, Zirkus. Accessed on September 15, 2018. http://www.bild.bundesarchiv.de/archives/barchpic/search/_1532534558/?search%5Bview%5D=detail&search%5Bfocus%5D=1

Mouse in its animation films. The following quotation is from a conversation with Gustav Gluck and Kurt Weill in 1931:

> Property relations in Mickey Mouse cartoons: here we see for the first time that it is possible to have one's own arm, even one's own body, stolen. The route taken by Mickey Mouse is more like that of a file in an office than it is like that of a marathon runner. In these films, mankind makes preparations to survive civilisation. Mickey Mouse proves that a creature can still survive even when it has thrown off all resemblance to a human being. He disrupts the entire hierarchy of creatures that is supposed to culminate in mankind. These films disavow experience more radically than ever before. In such a world, it is not worthwhile to have experience. Similarity to fairy tales. Not since fairy tales have the most vital events been evoked more unsymbolically and more unatmospherically. All Mickey Mouse films are founded on the motif of leaving home in order to learn what fear is. So the explanation of the huge popularity of these films is not mechanisation, their form; nor is it a misunderstanding. It is simply the fact that the public recognises its own life in them. (Benjamin 1931, 144-145)[51]

According to Benjamin's critique above, Mickey Mouse was a reflection of the mental state of people at a time when many were on the move for political and economic reasons to discover a world filled with surprises and fear. The house in this context may imply that one's familiar environment is as large as one's country. Mickey Mouse is a powerful emblem of the capital that easily spread across countries. Besides this, the mass consumption of the image affects the economy of every country where the popular icon is imported and 'reproduced' in prints or even on stage. However, Mickey Mouse is certainly not only a representation of the world conquered by economic activity, it is also importantly about a transplantation of culture. In a similar way to the exaggerated design of the revue stage, the compressed hours of 'hyper-reality' lived through the fantasy experience reflect Jean Baudrillard's words, 'Disneyland is presented as imaginary in order to make us believe that the rest is real' (Baudrillard 1983, 25).

In Japan, in 1929, the image of Mickey Mouse was copied by the newly-opened Hanwa railway company in Osaka to advertise the Sunagawa Amusement Park, managed by the railway company and intended as the second Takarazuka.[52] This swift adaptation of the American icon as a strong commercial

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[51] Fragment written in 1931; unpublished in Benjamin's lifetime. *Gesammelte Schriften, IV*, 144-145. Translation by Rodney Livingstone in *Selected Writings, Volume 2: 1927-1934* (1999).

[52] Based on the author's own conversation with Mr. Kawata Yasuyuki (April 5 and 7, 2015), the curator of the exhibition "Tenkei no Rakuen Sunagawa Yūen" ["Blessed Paradise Sunagawa Amusement Park"] held at the Sennan City Cultural Resource Centre, Osaka, from November 18, 2014 to March 31, 2015.

tool may well reveal the nature of popular culture which spreads beyond national borders and appeals to the masses simply by being well-known. This indicated the start of ‘Disneyfication’ by commercialisation, commodification and consumerism behind the fantasy and magic (Bryman 1995,136). The global popularity of revue in the 1920s is comparable to this fantasy business in the way that it was a totally fabricated fantasy world in which the different facets of the world were displayed for the audience's gaze.

Such fabrication may be doomed to appear kitsch. Principally constructed on *mitate*, theme parks and revue constitute a utopia into which people could disappear with imitative feelings, in whatever mood they wished to indulge. This is a kind of utopia, which gives time to the audience for passive sensations because there is no time for reflection or contemplation in a show made up of tumbling sequences and quickly passing impressions. This passivity may be a key to understanding one attribute of theme parks and revues where the world is on show. Walter Benjamin cynically wrote: ‘What we used to call art begins at a distance of two meters from the body. But now, in kitsch, the world of things advances on the human being; it yields to his uncertain grasp and ultimately fashions its figures in his interior’ (Benjamin 2008, 238). In the kitsch artefacts, the life-scale mock-ups in parks or on stage are artificial and plastic, but deceptive. These fakes could be real to the recipient’s mind and sentiment, if one is willing to have faith in fake display.[53] To a considerable extent, it can be said that the world of theme park and revue stands on this liminal milieu between fantasy and reality, bridging both temporal and spatial liminality.

It can be concluded at this point that the exposition, the theme park and revue are inter-related modern phenomena within any city seen as a performative site. In Yoshimi’s view, as introduced earlier, they can be all regarded as social events performed by audiences, namely consumers, who are willing to watch and pay for the experience. That is to say, these performances were made possible by commodity traffic facilitated by people’s sensitivity and imagination at a social level (Yoshimi 2008, 119).[54] The kitsch fake fabricated by these urban performances must have been somehow responding to people’s curiosity and demand otherwise they would not have proved to be so popular. The optical make-believe of those visually deceiving events could be metaphorically referred to as phantasmagoria – the magic lantern spectacle

[53] “Faith in Fakes” is also the title which the Italian semiotician, Umberto Eco, employed to write about America's obsession with simulacra and counterfeit reality (*Faith In Fakes: Travels In Hyperreality*, Picador 1987). Simulacra conventionally means things alike – consequently, it can refer to the representation and the imitation of reality, where that reality comes to acquire another level of reality in its own right in the sense theorised by Jean Baudrillard as hyperreality (*Simulacra and Simulation*, 1981).

[54] This is close to how Kamiyama Akira described it with *shinsei*, emphasising its importance as discussed as *chūkan-engeki* in Chapter 1.

before the arrival of cinematography (Mervyn 2006, 247). For instance, Karl Marx used the term to refer to the fetishistic character of commodity as observed in this popular trend (Marx 1984, 86). Walter Benjamin expanded Marx's usage of phantasmagoria further to mean commodity culture in general and its experience of products, particularly the experience of the *flâneur* in *passage* (Kogawa 2006, 97-98 and 101-104). Benjamin, towards the end of his *Arcade Project*, manifests the purpose of his project as follows:

> Notre enquête se propose de montrer comment par suite de cette représentation chosiste de la civilisation, les formes de vie nouvelle et les nouvelles créations à base économique et technique que nous devons au siècle dernier entrent dans l'univers d'une *fantasmagorie*. Ces créations subissent cette « illumination » non pas seulement de manière théorique, par une transposition idéologique, mais bien dans l'immédiateté de la présence sensible. Elles se manifestent en tant que *fantasmagories*. Ainsi se présentent les *« passages »*, première mise en œuvre de la construction en fer; ainsi se présentent *les expositions universelles*, dont l'accouplement avec les industries de plaisance est significatif; dans le même ordre de phénomènes, *l'expérience du flâneur*, qui s'abandonne aux *fantasmagories du marché*. A ces *fantasmagories* du marché, où les hommes n'apparaissent que sous des aspects typiques, correspondent *celles de l'intérieur*, qui se trouvent constituées par le penchant impérieux de l'homme à laisser dans les pièces qu'il habite l'empreinte de son existence individuelle privée. Quant à la *fantasmagorie de la civilisation* elle- même, elle a trouvé son champion dans Haussmann, et son expression manifeste dans ses transformations de Paris. – Cet éclat cependant et cette splendeur dont s'entoure ainsi la société productrice de marchandises, et le sentiment illusoire de sa sécurité ne sont pas à l'abri des menaces (Benjamin 1939, 5)[55]

According to Benjamin, phantasmagoria is an effective metaphor for the modern society in multiple ways and scales, encompassing from world expositions to the *passage*, from Haussmann's Paris to a residential interior. As long as they are captured as the representation of material commodity form, the immediacy of the present sensibility (l'immédiateté de la présence sensible) is to realise the universe of phantasmagoria in all its relational dimensions. Benjamin thus talks about phantasmagoria in relation to the commodity market places, and connects the sense of reality to that of illusory and vice versa, and the passage in between them seems to be what matters as a scientific methodological apparatus to connect fragmental imageries and thoughts under one gigantic arcade project (Cohen 1989). Though not specifically mentioned in Benjamin's reading of the market place in the arcade, the theme park and

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[55] Author's italics

revue are connected to world expositions in that they are also typical performative events, commodity-driven, nurtured through the industrial epoch of capitalist mass production.

2.3 Reconfirming the Scope of Modernity

Modernity and modern are the terms this thesis uses repeatedly and they have been discussed to some extent in the previous chapter and here above. At this stage, it is necessary to clarify the meaning of the terms and the nuance of my frequent usage because modernity is a highly contentious concept which may well give rise to a number of differing periodic images and contextual interpretations. Modernity is a kind of sense and sensibility associated with the period straddling the nineteenth century to the pre-War twentieth century and within the urban sphere in the cities already mentioned. In the mid-nineteenth century, when Paris was growing as Haussemann's metropolis, Baudelaire already gave modernity a literary definition as 'the transitory, the fugitive, the contingent' (Baudelaire 1964, 13). In other words, modernity was concerned with a moment of change and a state of transition and incidental phase. This unstable shifting sense of modernity is central in my use of the term in relation to the idea of liminality and thus by inference, the nature of revue.

In Chapter 1, we saw Thomas Thormassen posing the question about whether modernity might be a 'permanent liminality' (Thomassen 2009, 17, 22-23). My usage shares his view that modernity could be permanently liminal in the sense that the subject manifests a transition between more than two different agents, from one place to another or from one time to another. In talking about culture, 'modernity' is often used as the opposite of 'tradition'. However, Thormassen warns of the over-simplified dichotomy between symbolic systems such as the 'traditional' vs. the 'modern' type as put by the anthropologist Victor Turner. He argued that, 'we must distinguish between symbolic systems and genres which developed before and after the Industrial Revolution (1982, 30)' (ibid., 15). The same can be said of the dichotomy between West and East, or high culture and low culture. What is important is to look at the performative process, the transitional phase, in between the two agents when applying the concept of liminality to art, theatre, literature, and leisure in modern consumerist society. With this in mind, my usage of modernity means the traffic in between, during 'modern times' roughly encompassing the mid-nineteenth century to the 1930s.

Oppositional elements interact and influence each other, which enables the idea of modernity to thrive on the critical threshold of different dialectics and phenomena. In this definition of modernity, encounters of the unfamiliar other in the liminal traffic generate a new balance through negation, conflict, compromise, reception or adaptation of seemingly contrasting components. These transitional

interactive dynamics are inter-cultural as much as international, and generate the powerful image of modernity. Modernity is an image, and thus an innately elusive and complex term to be explained in a single sentence as it denotes the image of a crucible containing all kinds of overwhelming impressions of the urban phenomena examined above. Though London, Berlin, Paris and Tokyo were geographically separate, commonalities beyond differences are found in these metropolises which can be denoted as modern. Those commonalities in a social context include the process of industrialisation and the rise of consumer culture, urban development and increasing democracy for women and children. In terms of public institutions, the expositions, gardens and parks, stores and market places, theatre and cinema are also commonalities. Similar trends in music and fashion swept these metropolises. In Yoshimi's reading, all these popular cultural events/ incidents together constitute a city as a performative site that envisages a topology of the modern (Yoshimi 2008, 253-254).

From this perspective, the city itself appears like a non-stop spectacle – vibrant, shimmering, shifting, fresh, adventurous and fragmental. The modern city acquired an apparatus of spectacle through a metropolitan experience of rapid mobility and variety. Revue is a theatre genre, nurtured in such a city environment, and thus functions as a significant metaphor for urban modernity. The urban experience can be described as revue-like sensations, resonating with the upbeat vibe of revue, and vice versa.

Kamiyama Akira (2009, 298) prescribes *kindai* (modern) in Japanese theatre history in four dimensions as follows:

1. 'Modern' is not merely a 'new era' but implies criticism of the previous era.
2. The word 'modern' is not a division of posterity, but is used consciously by the contemporary self.
3. Although it had existed since the Edo era, 'modern' owes much to the impact of science and technology.
4. 'Modern' also owes much to the widely popularised consumption of leisure activities, such as theatre viewing, which had conventionally been available only to the select few.

The first statement concerns temporal liminality which involves a critical view of the past and is imbued with the spirit of something new and experimental. The second points to the contemporary living consciousness to be modern. The third emphasises the important impact of scientific technology for something to represent the modern. Then, the fourth suggests widening spectatorship, namely the breaking down of the conventional borders of the audience range. These ideas about modern or modernity are all important for they provide sociological plausibilities by which to examine revue as a modern theatre genre. The characteristics of revue are all modern, and urban, constructed within liminal traffic.

In addition to these four spheres, I will concentrate on the sphere of spatial liminality by re-examining the global simultaneous revue boom. This chapter has carried out a socio-historical examination of cities in order to focus on the relation between the city and revue in England, France and Germany during the transition period to industrialisation and the subsequent rise of a consumer society. Their inseparable relationship has been examined within the context of the changing urban landscape and public events as a site of performance – the exposition, theme parks and theatres in particular. The aim was to search for socio-historical clues to better understand the common background in growing cosmopolitan cities represented by London, Paris and Berlin where revue as a distinctively urban and modern theatre genre was conceived and flourished. To see how modernity engages with the city, it is important to see how a city comes to give birth to revue. Despite the time-space differences between these cities, revue was found as a common trend, as a symbolic metaphor of urban modernity. Both in terms of time and space, the kaleidoscopic city view affirms the modern characteristics of revue: spectacular, dazzling, rapid, flashy or illuminated, all to be analysed in next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

La revue est un art libre et joyeux.
Elle doit être visuelle et sensorielle,
mêlant érotisme et sophistication
(La revue réinventée, *Les Mugler Follies*, Théâtre Comédia, 2013-2015)[56]

Characteristics of Revue: Categorical Liminality

It is significant that in the 2010s the French designer entrepreneur, Manfred Thierry Mugler, created his own revue *Mugler Follies* at La Théâtre Comédia in Paris. This theatre is housed within a belle époque building, has been in existence since 1862, and was the home of the renowned café-concert hall 'Eldorado' up until the 1930s.[57] The Eldorado is well known to posterity through a poster of the chanson star Aristide Bruant by Toulouse-Lautrec, *Eldorado: Aristide Bruant dans Son Cabaret* (1892). Following Bruant at the turn of the century, the celebrated revue persona Mistinguett and Maurice Chevalier also performed there (Caradec and Weill, 2007). Mugler was well aware of the Parisian revue heritage when he chose to present *Les Mugler Follies* at this venue.[58] He also contributed to German revue history by producing another grand revue, *THE WYLD – Out of this World* (2015-2016) at Europe's largest revue theatre today, Friedrichstadt-Palast Berlin. Both Mugler revues used a high degree of contemporary techno-effects, but did not forget to incorporate the stylistic features from the genre's heyday, the early decades of the twentieth century: girls with bob haircuts, feathered costumes, high-kick dancers, circus elements with acrobats. His motto of making it visual and sensory, blended with an erotic charge and a sophisticated edge is testament to the century-long history of revue, and the argument for and against its being a modern theatre genre.

In order to untangle the nature of revue, this chapter will analyse revue's characteristics from its categorical dimensions. What is distinctive about revue as a theatre genre is its combination of all sorts of pre-existing popular theatrical genres, and the fact that it does not hesitate to mix, stir and mash them together to serve up a surprisingly new and entertaining menu. To give an example, highly prestigious

[56] *Mugler Follies* official site. Accessed September 15, 2018: http://www.muglerfollies.paris/en/show.php

[57] In 2000 the theatre was rechristened Le Comédia, and in 2017, le Théâtre Libre.

[58] *Mugler Follies* official site. Accessed September 15, 2018: http://www.muglerfollies.paris/en/show.php

opera numbers can be amusingly mixed with cabaret features to great effect. Very often, foreign elements are eagerly adopted to create an alluring exoticism. Revue is 'a free art', a highly creative and hybrid entertainment spectacle in which elements are juxtaposed in surprising fusion, freely and flexibly ignoring authoritative definitions or conservative expectation. The central premise of the following examination is that revue per se is a spectacle of combination.

Revue is commonly understood to be a modern visual spectacle consisting of vibrant dancing and singing, lavish costumes and technically advanced stage sets. Depending on the local socio-cultural background of different nations and their cities, its stylistic as well as contextual definition is by no means homogeneous. As seen in Chapter 2, 'revue as a theatre genre' grew very popular across modernising European cities. I have argued that one of the keys to understanding why revue was simultaneously and prevailingly in vogue in these cities can be found in the modern urban environment which is metaphorically represented by the liminal experience in a time-space transitional phase. Revue, as a visible metaphor of urban modernity, represents multiplicity and diversity, which is, in fact, almost synonymous with the complexity of the city itself.

Ironically, it is assumed that this complex socio-cultural context has made academic study of revue so challenging, as it is difficult to reach any straightforward consensus through the evaluation and critique of revue as a proper, theatre genre. Even within the musical theatre studies described in the introduction, revue as a genre is still a minor focus. I believe that there are three possible reasons for this:

1. There has been such a countless number of revues created one after another, almost like fashion trends, that it is next to impossible to identify them all and then to make an organised examination in a comprehensive order.
2. Revue is often considered to be mere light entertainment, similar to circus, in which the audience can indulge with nothing much to seriously contemplate or critically examine.
3. Due to the difficulty of defining revue as a theatre genre in the established academic discipline, revue does not yet have the prerequisite base for discussion, and thus so far, has remained a relatively untouched subject in theatre studies.

Given all of this, it is a serious challenge to try examining revue for the potentials of its genre definition. To approach it from a thematic perspective, I will divide the chapter into four sections. The first section will consider the diverse genres which have influenced and been conjured up revue productions. Revue is a meeting point for pre-existing, differing genres. This melting pot breaks down the hierarchy of

traditional theatre practices and creates a synthetic blend, a spectacular site of heterotopia. In the second section, Nakamura Akiichi's methodological structural analysis of revue in the 1930s will provide a useful tool by which to examine the origin of compositional as well as the performative elements of staging revue. The third section will look at the epoch's inevitable relationship between speed, sport, science and spectacle. Finally, the fourth section will focus on the significant influence of cinema on revue. All in all, this chapter will reveal the importance of a sense of liminality in the category of revue, and will eventually affirm that revue is a liminal theatre genre, defined by the fact that it is on the threshold of a number of different genres, hitherto considered to be unconnected. In its nature, revue is bound to be a hybrid heterogeneous genre that stands between the demarcation of many others. Only as a result of this has revue established its own style and a new genre identity.

3.1 Heterotopia: Melting Pot of Other Genres and Worlds

As seen in the previous chapter, the festivities surrounding a city's world fair or 'exposition' were a significant catalyst for the revue phenomenon. Kawasaki Kenko's view regarding revue as a 'world-expo-like spectacle in the growing consumer society' (Kawasaki 1999, 38-54), provides a way to understand revue's characteristics in more sociological terms and to verify revue as a showcase of heterotopia. In an etymological context, heterotopia follows a template established by the notions in between utopia and dystopia. The prefix 'hetero' is from Ancient Greek ἕτερος (héteros: other, another, different) and is combined with the Greek morphemes οὐ (not) and τόπος (place), meaning 'no-place'.

The theoretical term 'heterotopia (*hétérotopie or* heterochronie in French)' was used by Michel Foucault in his lecture titled '*Des Espaces Autres*' ('Of Other Spaces': 1967), which began with his thoughts on history and space:

> The great obsession of the nineteenth century was, as we know, history: with its themes of development and of suspension, of crisis, and cycle, themes of the ever-accumulating past, with its great preponderance of dead men and the menacing glaciation of the world. The nineteenth century found its essential mythological resources in the second principle of thermal dynamics. The present epoch will perhaps be above all the epoch of space. We are in the epoch of simultaneity: we are in the epoch of juxtaposition, the epoch of the near and far, of the side-by-side, of the dispersed. We are at a moment, I believe, when our experience of the world is less that of a long life developing through time than that of a network that connects points and intersects with its own skein (Foucault 1984, 1).

Foucault argues that the nineteenth century was obsessed with the idea of history, linear development in civilisation, which Foucault attributed to modernity (ibid., 7), whereas the twentieth century is more dominated by space consciousness where things are exposed simultaneously and juxtaposed in a momental experience. My presupposition is that revue was a genre developed in between the centuries, by combining both time-space conceptions. Foucault uses the term, heterotopia, to describe spaces that have multiple layers of meaning or relationships to other places including those in the viewer's imagination.

The Mirror is the metaphorical object used by Foucault to explain the dual-liminal space between reality and the imaginary utopia which can also be applied to our perception of theatre stage or film. In his words, 'The mirror functions as a heterotopia in this respect: it makes this place that I occupy at the moment when I look at myself in the glass at once absolutely real, connected with all the space that surrounds it, and absolutely unreal, since in order to be perceived it has to pass through this virtual point which is over there'(ibid., 3).Using this mirror reflection image, Foucault talks about heterotopia by way of contrast to utopia, stating that the former is real while the latter is unreal (ibid.). Utopia is an idea or an image that is not real but represents a perfected version of society. This vision can be applied to a fictional stage, similar to what the Japanese dramatist Chikamatsu Monzaemon called *kyojitsuhiniku*, in which the greatest appeal of theatre exists within the liminality between fictional fantasy and real world (Mizuho 1738, prologue).[59] Revue is not the exception, but the epitome of this theatrical trick. The fictional reality on stage is not real in the sense that it doesn't interfere with the audience's everyday life, but it does exist in reality as an actual other place, though only temporarily. Thus, the reality in heterotopia is not hegemonic and its dynamic lies in the fact that it engages with both real and unreal, mediating them in the liminal space.

Foucault articulates five principles of heterotopian spaces that exhibit dual meanings. He categorises gardens, theatre, cinema as the heterotopia in the third principle: 'The heterotopia is capable of juxtaposing in a single real place several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible' (ibid., 6). From antiquity, gardens have been seen as the 'smallest parcel of the world and then it is the totality of the world' and have been 'a sort of happy, universalizing heterotopia, to which modern zoological gardens sprang from' (ibid.), since heterotopia is a place that juxtaposes a number of different spaces, ranging from a real space to microcosm of different elements from around the world. This is also true

[59] This is the often quoted Chikamatsu's famous performance theory as set down in *Naniwa Miyage* (1738) by Mizuho Ikan. For a broader common use, the term was adjusted to mean that the difference between truth and fiction in art is subtle.

for the world expositions and theme parks. Theatre can also be interpreted as heterotopia because 'the theater brings onto the rectangle of the stage, one after the other, a whole series of places that are foreign to one another' (ibid.). Moreover, Foucault refers to the more modern cinema as 'a very odd rectangular room, at the end of which, on a two-dimensional screen, one sees the projection of a three-dimensional space' (ibid.).

Since revue has been considerably influenced by cinema, it is even more inviting to describe it as heterotopian. The heterotopial world of revue, just like the world exposition and the pleasure garden or the theme park, could take the viewer on a compact tour covering every corner of the globe, e.g. from the Pyramids to the Taj Mahal, from the Eiffel Tower to the Palace of Versailles, from London Bridge to Manhattan. The creators of revue can safely assume that the majority of the audience know about these sights, but will never have visited them *in situ*. Their portrayals resonate with the stereotypical, imprinted visions in the shared cognitive data banks of our brains, and function as universal symbols and stereotypes of the global culture. This transparent experience may well not only cultivate our imagination but also broaden our theatrical experience and further expand theatrical possibilities.

As this chapter examines revue as heterotopia, the categorical understanding of liminality becomes important. How different genres are taken in and fused on the revue stage is not easy to summarise in simple words because of the diverse sources of inspiration and 'anything goes' attitude of its innate entertainment spirit. Given conventional performing arts: opera, operetta, classic and modern music, chanson, jazz, classic, ballet, tap dance, revue is bound to be complex. Heterotopia in revue is a highly condenced liminal space. In the case of Japanese revue, it requires an even higher degree of heterotopia since the native performing traditions have also been reflected and blended with imported Western practices. The following sections will analyse the constituents of revue's heterotopia by examining the details of its characteristics, to show why revue could be defined as a liminal theatre genre.

3.2 Stage Composition – Based on the Analysis of Nakamura Akiichi

Having looked at the different, yet somehow similar, conditions and styles during the emergence of revue as a popular international trend in Chapter 2, I will now examine the specific characteristics of revue in as much detail as possible. The British revue entrepreneur, Charles B. Cochran (1872-1951) pointed out four essences of the revue show: lightness, colours, variety and speed (Harding 1988, 56), while the English comedian playwright Noël Coward (1899-1973) described a good revue as 'speedy, sharp and funny'

(Akai 2015, 302). Both regard speed as an indispensable element of revue. The stage can be sheer entertainment but also an experimental extravaganza – a visually loaded 'spectacular' show emblazoned by gorgeous costumes and elaborate stage sets and lighting systems and a team of well-trained dancing girls. Whereas the word 'show' is more American and in frequent use today as almost equivalent to 'revue', the original French word *revue* evokes a certain nostalgia for begone days.[60] The root of the latter is the major concern of this thesis, in order to demonstrate the essential nature of the genre. It was simultaneously adopted in the Far East of Japan via the heterotopian cultural traffic of the 1920s.

At the epitome of the revue boom in Japan, the already-mentioned dance critic Nakamura Akiichi (life record unknown) made a meticulous observation as well as a comprehensive analysis about revue in a book called *Revyū-hyakka* (*The Encyclopaedia of Revue*: 1935). Not much is known about Nakamura Akiichi himself, except his prolific essays on revue and dance. *The Encyclopaedia of Revue* is a serious study dedicated to discussing revue as a new emerging genre, and thus of vital importance in analysing the stage composition of revue along with its practice in relation to Japan. In the forward of the book, the choreographer of Takarazuka Revue, Shirai Tetsuzō describes Nakamura as a rare professional revue critic in Japan, while the Shōchiku Revue choreographer, Aoyama Sugisaku welcomes the book as a brilliant instruction on the concept of revue (Nakamura 1935, prologue). While highlighting the Japanese characteristics of all-girl revues in the latter half of the book, Nakamura's analysis of revue in general is not confined to Japanese revues but is equally valid for international revue productions. At a glance, his knowledge about these genres abroad is comprehensive even though he had not studied abroad (Hosakawa 2005, 716).

Nakamyra's other publications demonstrate his interest in the European trends in dance and revue, entertainment shows and the culture unfolding within them, i.e. *Rebyū to Buyō* (*Revue and Dance*:1933), *Misemono Dangi* (*Show Stories – A Biography of Charles B. Cochran the King of Revue*: 1933), which was his translation of Charles B. Cochran's autobiography, *Buyō to Bunka* (*Dance and Culture*:1941), which consisted of an introduction to the history of dance in the West and a collection of his critiques of Japanese contemporary dancers, *Doitsu Buyō Bunka* (*German Dance Culture*: 1941) which introduced Neue Tanz and German athletic exercise, Nihon Koten *Buyō no Kenyū* (*A Study of Japanese Classical Dance*: 1941) which discussed the possibility of the future of Japanese transitional dance in the light of

[60] At least in Japan, it was not until the Markus Show (1934) at Nihon Theatre that an American show was presented or that any Takarazuka choreographers such as Utsu Hideo began adopting American show styles. This was also the case in America up to the 1920s, since Ziegfeld productions were modelled on the elegance and refinement of European revues.

Taubouchi Shōyō's modern theory of music and theatre.[61] Sadly, Nakamura did not complete his translation of the autobiography of Noël Coward (Hosaokawa 2005, 716).[62] This list of his publications shows how enthusiastic Nakamura was to introduce European theatre practice to Japan as well as to revisit Japanese transitional practice. Nevertheless, revue in particular was a serious interest for Nakamura. He sees revue as more than 'an accumulation of different arts' but a kind of heterotopia out of which 'a totally new art form of the twentieth century' was created as a manifestation of modern mass culture (ibid.).

Nakamura starts his *Encyclopaedia of Revue* by asking what revue is, proposing possible explanations. He accedes a worldwide diversity in definitions ranging from American revue as a lavish and erotic spectacle adorned with bathing girls (as in Florenz Ziegfeld, C.B. Domu and Busby Berkeley) to British-style revue as conceived by Cochran which was more of a multifaceted synthesis of different art forms, or French revue like that of Georges-Gabriel Thenon, also known as Rip, which was more satirical (Nakamura 1935, 6-9). But all in all, Nakamura asserts that revue is to 'show' and 'explore' (ibid.). Under this common umbrella, Nakamura includes the following genres: entertainment, attraction, show, variety, circus, burlesque, vaudeville (sometimes pageant and cabaret too), operetta (as a branch of opera and involving*shōjo-kageki* (ibid., 9-10). [63] Furthermore, Nakamura dedicates forty pages to a section entitled *The Attractiveness of Revue* which analyses the characteristics of revue, questioning what makes revue so appealing internationally (Nakamura 1935, 55-95).[64] At the beginning of his explanation, revue is divided into three main characteristics: *kindaisei* (modernity), *taishūsei* (popularity) and *tayōsei* (diversity). Then, Nakamura dissects each characteristic (see Appendix I).

Firstly, those elements that compose *kindaisei* (modernity) are speed, harmony and variety. 'Speed', accelerated by scientific inventions and experienced by the populous in the form of cars, railways, aeroplanes and, in terms of music, in radio, cinema and jazz, affirms the modernity of the twentieth century and was reflected on the technically ambitious, and vibrant revue stage. Harmony, in the sense of balancing both the visual (including theatre building, stage set and costumes) and the phonetic (speech

[61] The author's translation:『レヴュウと舞踊』（1933）、『見世物物談議　レヴュウ王コクラン自伝』（1934）『舞踊と文化』（1941）『ドイツ舞踊文化』（1941）『日本古典舞踊の研究』（1942）

[62] Revue of Noël Coward was described by *Time Magazine* (2011) as 'a sense of personal style, a combination of cheek and chic, pose and poise'. Namely, Coward is acknowledged as having a distinctive balanced sense of liminal composition of different styles, that might well have piqued the interest of Nakamura in attempting the translation of his autobiography.

[63] S*hōjo-kageki* is translated as girls' opera, but basically refers to all-female revue. This is a distinctive institutional form of revue particularly developed in Japan since the 1910s and the most important area of Japanese revue history. The detailed account will be examined from Chapter 4 onwards.

[64] The author made his explanation into a diagram. This diagram summarises Nakamura's analysis at a glance. In belief, revue is seen as a new genre created out of a combination of play, music and dance, and sumptuousness and entertainment are seen as the drives for popularity.

and singing), is treated as important where Nakamura thinks rhythm and nuances are necessary to create beauty and to communicate well with the audience. Variety is a fundamental element of revue in which different spectacular visual impressions are created in one scene after another without a stop (think of the nomenclature 'variety show'). Variety in revue thus comes to mean artistic coordination of differences.

Secondly, Nakamura attributes *taishūsei* (popularity) to lavishing and entertaining features. The English word 'gaudiness' is introduced in his text meaning excessive showiness to describe revue as *gōkakenran*. Nakamura points out the fashion-show-like presentation of revue, which became popular around 1920 in Parisian revues, where highly ornamental, oriental exoticism was employed, through the influence of the Ballet Russe as designed by Leon Samoilovitch Bakst. The hyped fashion trend was to be adopted and exaggerated on the revue show stage not only to delight, but also to surprise, the audience. Nakamura stresses the importance of the revue costumes and stage sets being 'sensational' by effectively fabricating faux riches. He gives a good example of Takarazuka Revue using glass and celluloid to make the stage look like platinum. This opulence is certainly a part of revue's allure, but Nakamura argues that revue is entertaining, and thus popular, because there is no plot. For revue, variation is more important than a coherent narrative. In other words, revue must be enjoyed even by looking at the selected parts of the whole. Nakamura talks about the amusement of revue in contrast to Ibsen's works (where the theatre is a place to learn and a play can be a social project). If not enjoyed, it is not a revue and by this principle one cannot expect anything more from revue than amusement. According to Nakamura, what amuses the audience must be in constant response to the trends of the place and the time.

Thirdly, *tayōsei* (diversity) denotes the variety and complexity of revue. Nakamura examines theatre plays, music and dance as the three main influences that formulated revue as a new genre. Then, Nakamura compares and contrasts revue with these three long-established categories: while a play should be dramatic, revue is more spectacular than dramatic and needs 'stars' more than good actors, and more complex stage-sets and lighting systems, which function not only as a tool to direct the drama but also as an integral part of the revue show. Above all, revue is the ultimate form of *ongakugeki* (music theatre). To differentiate from opera, Nakamura suggests six musical features of revue as follow (ibid., 84):

1. No plot
2. If there is a plot, more emphasis on variation than the plot
3. A relatively high number of 'theme' songs

4. Thematic popular tunes familiar to the ears of the audience so that they can hum
5. Many singers: a combination of solo singers and chorus
6. The inclusion of comic performers who can sing jazz

Nakamura praises German theatre and film director, Erich Karl Löwenberg, aka. Erich Charell (1894-1974), for creating revues and operettas by adopting the classical grand-operatic tradition, i.e. singing out the plotted dramas along with leitmotif as practiced in Wagner's modern opera (ibid., 86).

As for dance, Nakamura proposes four types (though they may overlap and therefore not provide definite divisions). The first is artistic dance, by which he means creative dance as represented by classical ballet and the recent innovation of the Ballet Russe (ibid., 89). The second is local dance which has its roots in traditional festival dances, and the third is social dance like those which were so popular in dance halls (ibid., 91). The fourth is the international combination of these in balance, which he calls 'entreatment dance'. In Nakamura's view, this is what constitutes revue and includes rumba, bolero, cancan, Charleston and tap dance to name a few. Above all, the uniqueness of revue is that there is often a dancing team, or troupe, of chorus dancers who can also exhibit 'leg-show dancing' (ibid., 92-95). Nakamura points out these dancing girls developed from 'the model girls' in French and American revues, who would pose in swimming suits or even nude, which was not so easily imitated in Japan (ibid., 93).[65] In a way, a combination of French cancan of the Moulin Rouge style and American Ziegfeld's so-called 'footlight girls' dance, high-kicking artistry became a trademark of revue worldwide. The most internationally renowned feature in revue shows is the so-called 'rocket dance' – where the girls dance in straight lines and kick up their feet as high as possible.[66] The display of identical girls moving in a circular motion looked astonishingly orderly and mechanical. Just as people at the time were fascinated by science and the machine, and hence the possibility of mechanical mass production, the discipline of these highly-trained girls, who could dance en masse by diminishing their individuality but combining in a collective coherency was captivating.[67]

As clearly seen in the diagram (Appendix I), Nakamura's analysis of revue enables us to presume revue to be a distinctive form of metropolitan experience in its manifestation of novelty, urbanity, speed

[65] In Japan, the nude show known as *tableaux vivant* popular in Parisian revue scenes was enthusiastically introduced to the Japanese stage by Hata Toyokichi, but only after the Second World War in 1947 (Kyōtani 2015, 220-227). Such nude shows in japan were called *gakubuchi-shō* (picture-frame show).

[66] The Rockettes is a precision dance company founded in 1925 in St. Louis and it has performed at Radio City Music Hall since 1932, inspired by the Tiller Girls and the Ziegfeld Follies (Accessed July 8, 2019: www.rockettes.com/history).

[67] The popularity of dancing girls en masse seen as attractively modern will be examined further in relation to the physicality of female dancers in Chapter 5.

backed up by science and mechanisation. In this way, Nakamura regards revue not simply as 'a culmination of all kinds of arts', but as 'a totally new art form of the twentieth century' (Nakamura 1935, 289). He writes that revue is 'like the house for Le Corbusier, a machine to live in' and 'a show of contemporary Neue Sachlichkeit (New Objectivity)' (Hosokawa 2005, 717).[68] This reference to Le Corbusier's famous slogan and to the German art movement term is intriguing. It seems that he wanted to emphasise the 'esprit nouveau' (here he writes in French) that combines different components mechanically exposed on a three-dimensional stage structure (Nakamura 1935, 289). For Nakamura, revue was to be as modern as the architectural modernism of that time, synonymous in terms of its purity of function and newness, free from historical styles, eagerly applying innovative technology, engineering and materials. Thus, for Nakamura, revue was a technical composition totally in tune with the modern age.

That is to say that revue is an audio-visual language of complex modernity: geometrical stage designs and dance routines, and lighting systems; gorgeous fashion costumes worn by stars and chorus girls; the shameless juxtaposition of the classic and the modern in music and choreography, and the blending of the occidental and the oriental for maximum exotic effect. This blend can be described as *wayō-settchū* (blend of Western and Japanese). It appears that revue is a corporal representation of what one experiences in the modern city – flashy glamour infused with vigour and the stimulation of ever-changing experiences and environments. Constant noise and shimmering sights make the city a visual as well as an auditory stimulant. As described in Chapter 2, revue can be reconsidered as a representation of these metropolitan, modern experiences. Based on Nakamura's analysis, revue can be seen as a medium which highlights the essence of the urban spectacle, and the characteristics of revue articulated above can be further examined in an urban context.

In this regard, modernist architectural perceptions may well be transferred to, and reflected by, the architectural features in revue's compositions and choreography as an expression of modernity. Revue incorporates functionality and reproductivity, and sometimes realises unrealistic visions which are not easily achieved in real life but are possible on the fictional stage. Revue shows numerous performers geometrically positioned, in glittering outfits with spangles or huge fluffy feathers, lined along carefully designed, architectural structures such as a grand staircase of more than twenty narrow steps. These compositions were made highly symmetrical in both their both vertical and horizontal dimensions, or

[68] 'A house is a machine for living in' is the famous slogan of Corbusier, stated in *Toward an Architecture* (*Le Corbusier, Vers une architecture,*1923), Flammarion edition (1995, XVIII-XIX).

sometimes created a spiral, circular effect. Revue girls were usually praised for mechanical movement in orderly compositions (Nakamura 1935, 93-95).

Notwithstanding the discussion about the architectural feature of revue, the Japanese idea of *mitate* introduced in relation to gardens and theme parks in the previous chapter is worth remembering. In Japanese culture, *mitate* is an aesthetic denoting imaginative imitations or references to other historical or literary objects. The Japanese architect theorist Isozaki Arata employs the idea of *mitate* both for architectural city construction and for architectural characteristics in theatre construction (Isozaki 1990, Chapter 4). In the light of Japanese gardens, Isoazaki's definition of *mitate* is associational and a referential reminder of, or formal analogy to, something or somewhere (Isozaki 2013 vol.3, 40-42). Set design in reference to something recognisable is made for the purpose of making the audience feel 'as if' they were there. More generally, Isozaki defines *mitate* as a method of articulating the subject by making associations via analogies (ibid., 44). Those analogies can be especially emphasised in the world of theatre where they are concentrated on the formalistic and stylised manner in order to evoke a certain mood or to help in the telling of a story.

The stage composition of revue is bound to consist of these elements of *mitate* to project the 'as if' setting in order to project a certain atmosphere or to convey the drama. Each sequence of revue can be seen to be constructed by *mitate* because of the visually loaded, architectural scenography to obtain maximum visual impact. The artificial world is created by quotations, associations and references to different outlooks, event and peoples around the world. Whether occidental or oriental, classic or modern, imitated superficial styles formulate multi-national, vastly cross-cultural references to amuse the audience and to make associations with what they already know (even in the early twentieth century, where few people could travel widely, and when people's world-knowledge was reliant on the imagined rather than the experienced). Diverse architectural visions and various city landscapes have been transferred onto the revue stage, from London, Paris, Berlin and New York to Tokyo. Presumably, what makes a revue show stand out from previous theatre practice are these elaborate, lavish compositions inspired by modern architecture built on *mitate* imageries to entertain the audience. The revue composes a kaleidoscopic view of the world, crafting every scene in meticulous architectural design and in constant motion.

3.3 The Age of S

'A kaleidoscopic view in constant motion' may well describe the impression of revue stage. Revue must be presented in fast continuous sequences, and is never still. Given the technical advances of the stage

set and lighting systems, revue is first and foremost a visual marvel, a speedy stage show with a number of scenes quickly passing one after another. In the epoch when speed became a value, speed constituted one of the definitive elements of revue. Speed is thus a keyword when investigating the age of revue, and revue itself. This section will further examine how this fast momental sense of time characterised the modern culture of which revue became a significant representation. Nakamura Akiichi proposes that in the 1930s, the busy metropolitan life of modern people is a spectacle in its own right, and that revue had to adopt that tempo and rhythm (Hosokawa 2005, 717). Thus, speed is an essential attribute of modernity as he defined it in the analysis about the composition of revue articulated above.

The Japanese theatre scholar Kamiyama Akira, in his chapter titled '*Supiido no Jidai* (The Age of Speed)', talks about the importance of the idea of speed in modern theatres (Kamiyama 2009, 210-220). According to Kamiyama, the introduction of the railway impacted on the real public sense of modernity in which precise, clock-defined speed became a new shared value of civilisation. It was natural for the theatres which would then still be one of the social media to play a role in conveying this new value (ibid., 210). Speed became an effective element of strategy in the new theatre reformation process to break down the slowness of classic theatres and to appeal to the masses (ibid., 211). Expressionist theatre would also attempt the speedy rotation of scenes (ibid., 215). Kageyama also agrees that revue was the genre that most succeeded in the age of speed (ibid., 217) and further argues that cinema provided the greatest entertainment for the largest number of people to experience the epoch-defining value of speed (ibid., 216). As if to confirm this view about speed representing the value of the epoch, the Japanese magazine which specialised in cinema and theatre named *Esu Esu* (S.S.) was first published in 1936 dedicated to the 'Age of S'. The witty title of double S stood not only for "stage and screen", but also for speed and other subjects manifested in their motto when launching the magazine:

The Reason for naming the magazine *Esu Esu* (S. S.):

- S.S. is about Screen and Stage and about Sport and Speed
- Sweet Song is also S.S.
- Bright light of Sun Shine,
- Sky Sign in the Summer Sky
- This is a bewitching Short Story
- S.S. is the Spirit of Sparkling youth

(*Esu Esu*, prologue, 1936)[69]

[69] The author's translation: 「エスエスの由来：エスエスとはスクリーン・エンド・ステーヂ それからスポーツ・エンド・スピード　スヰート・ソングだってやはりエスエスです 輝く陽の光りサン・シャイン 夏の夜空のスカイ・サイン これは気の利いたショート・ストオリイ エスエスこそは若きみなさまの感覚です」

Manifesting all of these symbolic motifs of the era, *Esu Esu* was a magazine that tried to capture the spirit of the modern epoch. ‘Screen’ (cinema) was the archetypal modern spectacle of the time and influenced ‘stage’ (theatre) and revue in particular. This will be discussed further in the last section of this chapter. In the context of the feverish enthusiasm for the Olympics as an international sports festival, alongside the increasing interest in the physicality of mankind and the national promotion of physical education for people’s health, ‘sport’ also became a fashionable leisure time activity for many people: swimming and bicycling were amongst those modernising sports particularly taken up by women (Ishizaki 2008, 7). Though not necessarily competitive, dancing can also be seen as a kind of popular sport. ‘Sweet song’ implies those popular tunes people would hum – chansons or operetta songs, and ballads with romantic lyrics and joyful melodies. The line, ‘Bright light of Sun Shine, Sky Sign in the Summer Sky’, evokes both jolly urban daylight as well as the night-time illuminations of a skyline lit by neon lighting. ‘This is a bewitching Short Story’ can be interpreted as a city full of sketchy stories of the mass of individual inhabitants, echoing the impression of a revue stage constituted by sketches and short stories narrated at high speed but condensed into one performance. Lastly, ‘the Spirit of Sparkling youth’ seems to idolise the young with the potential to grow, and to denote a forward-looking attitude towards an optimistic future.

To add to this wordplay, ‘science and spectacle’ are amongst the other words that could also represent the age of S. These symbols, projected onto the theatre stage and the cinema screen, were not confined to Japan. On an international level, it may be to stretch the word play too far to recall the German Schuzstaffle, the Nazi SS organisation formed in 1925. Even if the double S is a sheer coincidence, this time coincided with the rise of Fascism both in Germany and in Japan, and was a critical aspect of modernity at that time, especially in terms of censorship. The first issued of *Esu Esu* came out in June 1936 and it continued monthly until December 1940 when definitive control over the nation's culture was in place.[70] Fun-loving entertainment, no matter if it was magazine or musical theatre, can easily be seen as an escape from the hardship of real life, and thus be considered to be irrelevant and trivial when the nation is on war footing.

Nevertheless, throughout the politically critical four years shortly before the outbreak of the war, *Esu Esu* was an apolitical magazine solely dedicated to the theatre and the film industry. It was especially unique in featuring articles on the revue genre that would connect the two industries of stage and screen. The front pages of its 55 issues (in total) depicted the portraits of foreign stars, e.g. Anita Louise and Marlene Dietrich,

[70] In 1940, almost all Japanese theatres and cinemas, as well as magazines about them, were pressured to close and some big theatre buildings including revue theatres were taken over as military bases. National Archives of Japan, Japan Center for Asian Historical Records. Accessed September 15, 2018: https://www.jacar.go.jp/english/glossary_en/term1/0090-0010-0030-0020-0020.html

and features did not exclude the foreign, but maintained a serious editorial objective of comparing the wider world's film and theatre industries with their Japanese equivalents. Even under authoritarian control over freedom of expression, the upbeat feel of novelty and of inter-cultural cosmopolitan identity created hybrid, inter-cultural trends represented on screen and stage. In every issue, articles about revue shows were given significant coverage. This shows not only the readers' increasing interest in this new genre, but also indicates that revue was the categorically liminal genre which stood between stage and screen. When the theatre stage and cinema screen were the most propitious form of entertainment, accessible in a big auditorium to a large audience, revue was also hugely successful in relaying optimistic visions of the epoch and the city vibes. Cinematic techniques were eagerly adopted by revue productions to increase the visual effects, and revue stages were often filmed to make 'revue films'. The relationship between cinema and theatre is thus closely tied to revue, which deserves further examination in the next section.

3.4 In Between Theatre and Cinema:
Filmic Features – Speed, Electric Lighting and Montage

- **Speed**

In 1925, Japanese revue producer Hata Toyokichi saw in Berlin a revue named *Achtung! Welle 505*, consisting of 57 non-stop scenes of an average length of three and a half minutes each. Hata noted, 'this is the speed of cinema, the speed of today' (Hagiwara, 2015, 310).[71] Nakamura Akiichi also agrees that cinema was the most powerful medium through which to visualise speed and revue is a theatre genre which combined preceding theatrical forms and appropriated the speedy cinematic tempo (Nakamura 1935, 61). Revue thus stands in between, on the liminal, of theatre and cinema. By examining the revolutionary period in film development from the 1920s to the 1930s, the shift from silent films to talkies, Nakamura perceives the development of revue alongside the international success of revue films.

Revue films are probably best known thanks to Busby Berkeley's Hollywood extravaganzas in collaboration with the Ziegfeld revue girls, called 'follies,' or those in which stars such as Josephine Baker in *Zouzou* (1934) from France, or Renata Müller in *Viktor und Viktoria* (1933) were cast. Similarly, around the same time, revue films were made in Japan too. As Takarazuka revue acquired its own theatre in central Tokyo, the company established the Photo Chemical Laboratory (PCL) in 1933

[71] The author's translation:「この速さこそ映画の速さであり、現代の速力である」

as Japan's first movie studio entirely dedicated to making sound films, especially focusing on revue films.[72]

When looking at the relationship between revue and cinema, the importance of song and musicality for early sound cinema cannot be underestimated. Ever since the success of the first talkie film from America, Al Jolson's *The Jazz Singer* made in 1927, sound films quickly established a solid position in the world cinema industry. Hollywood, by that time, would project the American Dream. New York became a hub of international culture with European immigrants during the inter-War period. The Jazz boom of the 1920s that so contributed to the libertarian image of the new epoch, swept away conservative class-based culture and swept across the music and revue scenes all over the world. Despite the underlying economic depression along with social anxiety, the impact of American culture was prominent also in Europe and Japan as an integral part of global modernity (Currell, 2009).

In the Hollywood and European film studios, as well as in the Japanese film market, a substantial number of early sound films were made within the genre of revue, exposing a vibrant mixture of music and dance. In this genre, Nakamura likens revue films to opera films, e.g. *Don Quijote* (1933, directed by Georg Wilhelm Pabst and starring Feodor Chaliapin), operetta films, e.g. *Melodie des Herzens* (1929, directed by Hanns Schwarz), *Die Dreigroschenoper* (1931, directed by George Willhelm Pabst) or *Der Kongress Tanzt* (1931, directed by Eric Charell starring Lilian Harvey), and musical comedies, e.g. *Sous Les Toits de Paris* (1930, directed by René Clair).

As part of the international wave of the talkie, the first Japanese sound film, *Madam to Nyōbo* (*The Madame and My Wife*), was made in 1931. It was a musical comedy directed by Gosho Heinosuke and produced by Shōchiku Kamata Film Studio prior to the PCL The two theme songs are titled *Spiido Jidai* (*Speed Age)* and *Supiido Hoi* (*Speed Hoy)* using hyped up jazz tunes, and both show how 'speed' was the modern sensation of that time. To be sung along with jazz melody, the comical lyric of *Speed Age* written by Satō Hachirō goes as follows:

> I am a cheater
> My heart changes, Mind changes too
> Different place, Different owner
> Oh dear, this is the Age of Speed

[72] This all-talkie film studio was later merged with other corporate entities to form the new studio conglomerated Tōhō in 1938. Tōhō is the abbreviation of Tokyo Takarazuka Gekijō Ltd. that became one of the two major Japanese theatre-film enterprises rivalling Shōchiku. The fact that Tōhō developed from a revue company symbolises the modern era.

My *wink* was the trigger,

Immediately settled, and to *honeymoon*

Going on the Train, the Swallow Express

Oh dear, this is the Age of Speed

I work in Marunouchi

Even with the trendy *elevator*

Up and down on the path of romance

Oh dear, this is the Age of Speed

I am sleeping late every morning

Even no time to wash my face

Wash it at night then

Oh dear, this is the Age of Speed [73]

The rapid pace of urban life is hilariously caricatured here, evoking frequent encounters and restless movements one after another. New foreign words such as 'wink', 'honeymoon' and 'elevator' further denote modernity in respect of Western culture and new technologies. The Swallow Express was Japan's fastest train from 1930 running between Tokyo and Kobe until its War-time abolition in 1943. Marunouchi was the growing business district around the red brick Tokyo Station which was modelled on the City of London's Lombard Street.[74]

During the year 1933, when America was experiencing the golden age of musical films with stars like Fred Astaire and Bing Crosby in Busby Berkeley's *42nd Street* and *Footlight Parade*, the PCL made their first musical comedy film *Horoyoi Jinsei* (*Tipsy Life*). Advertised as Japan's first operetta film, it borrowed considerably from the casts and features of the contemporary revue stage (Nordström 2014). As these early sound films reveal, revue is inter-medial in the way that it absorbed the features of cinema and theatrical drama. Revue shows composed non-stop movie-like sequences on stage, whilst being unique when experienced as a live act in a venue. Nakamura, writing in 1935 when revue film was at its epitome, points out four advantages that film had over live theatre: detailed depictions, angles, movement and speed

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[73] Translation and italics by the author: 「スピード時代 : わたしゃとっても浮気者 こころも変わる気も変わる 場所も変われば主変わる イヤハヤそこがスピード時代 / 私のウインクきっかけで すーぐにまとまりハネムーン 汽車も特急つばめ号 いやはやそこがスピード時代 / 私のつとめは丸の内 しかも小粋なエレベーター のぼりくだりの恋の道 イヤハヤそこがスピード時代 / わたしゃー毎朝お寝坊で お顔も洗うひまもない それで寝るとき洗っとく いやはやそれがスピード時代」

[74] This information is from the exhibition, *Itcho London to Marunouchi Stairu* (106m London and Marunouchi Style) held at the Mitsubishi Ichigōkan Museum from September 3, 2009 to January 11, 2010.

(Nakamura 1935, 111). However, Nakamura concedes that cinema is after all a picture that moves, and the tactile experience of the three-dimensional revue stage is next to none (ibid., 132). This is to say that the real physicality of the presence on stage cannot be reproduced in the watching of a film that can be screened repeatedly, anytime anywhere.

In the same year as Nakamura wrote the comparison above, Walter Benjamin also referred to the impact of the new visual media of cinema in his critical essay, *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction* (Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner technischen Reproduzierbarkeit, 1935). Benjamin wrote:

> Our taverns and our metropolitan streets, our offices and furnished rooms, our railroad stations and our factories appeared to have us locked up hopelessly. Then came the film and burst this prison-world asunder by the dynamite of the tenth of a second, so that now, in the midst of its far-flung ruins and debris, we calmly and adventurously go traveling (Benjamin 1935, XIII).

Cinema was a powerful new medium in the sense that the image is reproducible. On the other hand, this means that a film can be reprojected many times but may lack physical reality. In Benjamin's words, the 'aura' of the authenticity is less in the reproduced product such as film (ibid., II). For Benjamin, film is almost a threat, a medium of which he is critical in so far as he doubts the value of a mechanically, mass-produced product:

> The film is the art form that is in keeping with the increased threat to his life which modern man has to face. Man's need to expose himself to shock effects is his adjustment to the dangers threatening him. The film corresponds to profound changes in the apperceptive apparatus– changes that are experienced on an individual scale by the man in the street in big-city traffic, on a historical scale by every present-day citizen. (Benjamin 1935, note 19)

What Benjamin warns of is the contemporary circumstance which inevitably brings to each individual the threat of being unable to distinguish between reproduction and authenticity. In other words, the blurring between perceiving reality as pure experience at first hand, or as reproduced experience as one of multiple copies available in digital mechanical format or elsewhere in virtual storage. This issue is especially important when dealing with theatre as the medium in which we interact with the world in which we live, because the city of multiplicity is doomed to reveal increasing relativism, making it hard to define the authentic original. The world on stage consists of a chain of moments which will never be repeated in exactly the same way again because of its reliance on live performers, but the world on screen can re-run infinitely because of technology.

Benjamin in *the Arcade Project* describes film as a prototype of modern mass production phenomena:

> Film: unfolding of all forms of perception, tempos and rhythms, which lie preformed in today's machines, such that all problems of contemporary art find their definitive formulation only in connection with film.' (Benjamin 2002, K3, 3)

Presumably coming out of the same epoch sensibility, it is not a sheer coincidence that Nakamura Akiichi also uses the terms 'tempos and rhythms' as the requisite for revue for sustaining speedy and

balanced spectacle (Nakamura 1935, 61-63). In the light of Benjamin's reading, tempos and rhythms are of machines, and it can be argued that revue is one of the representatives of mechanical movement and reproduction. When commenting on the shooting process for film, Benjamin also critiques metaphorically that the immediate reality of the film screen is 'an orchid in the land of technology' in an age of mechanical reproductivity (Benjamin 1969, 233). Since many revue films were shot in a studio, whereby the actual theatre stage was transferred to the film screen, the following quotation is worthy of our consideration:

> The shooting of a film, especially of a sound film, affords a spectacle unimaginable anywhere at any time before this. It presents a process in which it is impossible to assign to a spectator a viewpoint which would exclude from the actual scene such extraneous accessories as camera equipment, lighting machinery, staff assistants, etc.—unless his eye were on a line parallel with the lens. This circumstance, more than any other, renders superficial and insignificant any possible similarity between a scene in the studio and one on the stage. In the theatre one is well aware of the place from which the play cannot immediately be detected as illusionary. There is no such place for the movie scene that is being shot. Its illusionary nature is that of the second degree, the result of cutting. That is to say, in the studio the mechanical equipment has penetrated so deeply into reality that its pure aspect freed from the foreign substance of equipment is the result of a special procedure, namely, the shooting by the specially adjusted camera and the mounting of the shot together with other similar ones. The equipment-free aspect of reality here has become the height of artifice; the sight of immediate reality has become an orchid in the land of technology. (Benjamin 1935, XI; Benjamin 1969, 232-233) [75]

[75] An interesting experiment was recently conducted by Takarazuka Revue's Berurin, Wagaai (Berlin, My Love, 2018) set in the German cinema production UFA during the transition from silent films to talkies. It staged a double illusion of film

As discussed in Chapter 2 in relation to the magic lantern of phantasmagoria, the new scientific inventions used in the optical marvel of film represented technological modernity and led to the most powerful entertainment industry medium in the twentieth century. The invention of cinematography is attributed to the Lumière brothers, Auguste and Luis Lumière, from Lyon in France. They made the first chargeable public screening in 1895 in a basement salon room of the Grand Cafe in Paris (today's Hotel Screpe Paris) (Mervyn 2006, 247). Their early film footage was a kind of home-movie, taken from their everyday lives, shooting their family members or factory employees (Delmas 2015, 29). Even so, their footage was astonishing for an audience who had never seen moving pictures. From the beginning, it was no coincidence that the Lumière brothers filmed vehicles especially trains, starting with the famous footage *of L'arrivée d'un train en gare de La Ciotat* (1895). The theatre scholar Kamiyama Akira regards the train station as the ideal modern icon for the theatrical sensitivity of that time by means of the speed of the trains on the tracks, and the busy traffic of the passengers going about their journeys. Indeed, the train station was an iconic venue for the anonymous mass of people to make chance encounters and experience little dramas, incidents and coincidences (Kamiyama 2009, 211-213).

Even if not physically apparent on screen, the speed must have felt impressive to the audience, to underline Benjamin's interpretation of 'shock effect' above, because one is not immediately able to detect the drama as illusionary. The whole image, shot and edited by machine and projected through machine, was bound to be a representation of the modern. The Lumière's cinematograph about the train was introduced to Japan in 1897, and made a huge impact. Moreover, their export projection team (Gabriel Veyre and Constant Girel together with Lumière's Japanese friends Shibata Tsunekichi and Inabata Katsutaro) shot film in Japan, capturing different scenes of people's everyday life in Kyoto, Osaka, Tokyo and Hokkaido (Nornes 2005, 3). On the occasion of the Paris 1900 Exposition, the Lumière Brothers presented these films together with new ones shot at the exposition venue in 16 x 21 m wide format screen and attracted visitors from all over the world (Delmas 2015, 30). Theatrical performance, dance in particular, seems to have been one of the favourite subjects for the Lumières

partly because of the dancers' rapid movements. Their dance footage included film from Spain, Russia, and Japan, and also the topical Loie Fuller 's Serpentine Dance.[76]

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and stage blended into the narrative and choreographed in the way to present to the audience a third layer of artifice. It brings a scene in the studio back on stage again. The playful sense of triple reality provided a more complex illusory rhetoric in a convincing revue style which consisted of dancing, singing and acting out this specific epoch when cinema emerged almost to threaten people's theatrical experience.

[76] Though the dancer was not Loie Fuller herself, the dance style was shot in Rome in 1899 (Odicino 2015, 55).

- **Electric Lighting**

The use of electricity, as abundantly as in Loie Fuller's dance and revue shows, was a novel appeal for the audience. It was the electric light in the bulb, which made film and its projection possible, which must have been the most visually magical innovation for people whose daily lives had only been lit by candles and then gas light. So it was for the theatre. Electric lighting was a prerequisite for the modern spectacle, especially cinema and revue. Earlier in the history of urban development, at the turn of the nineteenth century, gas light was replaced by electric light which represented the bright power of modern technology and its fast adoption in public places. Those electric spot lights and the cinematograph projected on the white screen were powerful novel devices for entertainment allowing it to achieve its maximum effect.

The history of lighting for theatre harks back to mid-nineteenth century France. Its first introduction was for a scenic effect at Paris Opera in 1846 when 'the rays of an electric arc were thrown upon the scenery at the rear of the stage to represent the rising sun' (Edison Ltd. 1929, 27). Since then, the stage lighting system gradually developed to enhance the illuminated atmosphere on stage, leading to the flashy spot lights and extensive use of colour bulbs in revue productions. To put it another way, revue could not have attained its glittering style if electric lighting had not been available. Art and technology, creation and invention, were interacting and advancing rapidly, momentum in each sphere accelerated by another. For example, the Futurist art movement stimulated new ideas in stage lighting: 'Scenic artists needed something to accentuate their grotesque creations, and found that with the help of electricity, they could gain the desired effect' (ibid., 37). This is clearly manifest in *Il Teatro di Varietà* (1913) by the Italian futurist Filippo Tommaso Marinetti in which Futurism praises the stage of variety show:

> Variety show was fortunately conceived with us, from electricity,
> negating all kinds of tradition, masters, and dogma,
> but thriving on speedy actuality.[77]

Given the sense of actuality brought by the rapid sense of moving ahead, the only theatrical form that the Futurist would appraise is the variety theatre which:

[77] The author's translation from the Japanese text by Ota Takehito: 「ヴァラエティ・ショーは幸運にも、電気から我々とともに生まれたものであり、いかなる伝統も、いかなる師匠も、いかなるドグマも有することなく、迅速なアクチュアリティを糧にするからである。」(Marinetti, 1913).

1. Advocates no intellectual preaching;
2. Constantly innovates new surprises;
3. Does not allow the audience to be a quiet observer.

Variety theatre is the creative distractor that breaks down the preexisting idea of theatre and the act of viewing by the use of astonishment and excitement (Nakano 2015, 28). Revue is close to Variety in terms of its unconventional arrangement of breaking down traditions, anti-academic in terms of challenging the intellectual orientation of theatre going, whereby comical and sensual stimulation provide unexpected surprises and flights of imagination. It was based on a 'star' system, where hundreds of performers are chosen for their popularity, and which ideologically connected the idea of heroism, possibly leading to fascism if used as a political propaganda tool.

In this era of new-technology-theatre interrelationship, revue was a genre of spectacle close to the variety show, that would employ the most advanced lighting technology to enhance optical excitement. *The History of Stage and Theatre Lighting* (Edison Ltd. 1929) emphasised in the last chapter that the most recent expert usage of stage lighting was in revue. For example, *A Night in Paris* produced at Casino de Paris, is described as follows:

> Stage lighting for the modern musical revue requires the skill of expert illuminating engineers. The success of a beautiful scene that holds an audience spellbound for a few moments is largely attributed to perfect harmony in lighting … which has taken, perhaps, many months of study to design. (Edison Ltd. 1929, 45)

In Japan, the Takarazuka Revue Theatre pioneered the way in terms of installing an advanced lighting system for the opening of their own Tokyo theatre in 1934. Since the founder of the Takarazuka enterprise, Kobayashi Ichizō, was a board member of the Tokyo Electric Power Corporation, he was interested in using electric lighting more lavishly on stage than was customary in any other theatre (Kawasaki 1999, 96-101). Electricity also enabled microphone and "kino-drama" which referred to the integration of a cinema screen as the backdrop of the stage so that they could convey the narrative in more realistic ways as Benjamin had suggested. Both theatre and cinema were special worlds kept dark even in daytime, but illuminated by the power of artificial light. Connected by electric power, revue and film appear to have been on good terms with each other. At the time of the economic recession between 1927 and 1930 when there was a shortage of films, revue was used as an extra attraction often presented in between *yōga* (Western film) screenings at cinema theatres such as Denkikan (which literally means, Electric Theatre) in Asakusa (Sugiyama 2015, 125).

These theatres also used neon signs outside too, illuminating the night by advertising and uplifting the hearts of the passers-by. Not only the stage inside the theatre building but also its exterior became brightly illuminated. Famous as a symbol of the Moulin Rouge, the lit-up red windmill in Montmartre was an early example. In 1929, the palace for American revue, the Ziegfeld Theatre in New York Broadway was described as a typical example of the new exterior light installation in which the 'harsh, garish brilliance has given way to softly modulated and blended lights, which harmonize with the beauty of the structure, and bring out its architectural grace. Illuminating engineers are responsible for the increasing number of such modem lighting installations' (Edison Ltd. 1929, 43). We can imagine how the interior and the exterior were both architectural in the way that they were multi-dimensionally constructed with the aid of light and shadow to sharpen the outline of the structure. In this way, shadowing becomes as effective as lighting. This aesthetically effective method of using light to create shadow was applied to the stage, and also at the same time to enhance the sculptural effects in filming, which was very distinctive in early black and white, silent films.

- **Montage**

By the time Georges Méliès made the science fiction film, *Le Voyage dans la Lune* (1902) making an effective use of optical tricks, the cinematograph had firmly established itself to become the major entertainment for distribution worldwide. The early French creations set a course for the golden age of revue/musical films which flourished in America reaching a pinnacle in the Busby Berkeley revue films already discussed in the Nakamura analysis. In co-working with the revue king, Florenz Ziegfeld, employing his famous Follies girls, Berkeley made the most impactful use of advanced filming media available at MGM Studio at that time, using multiple cameras and mirror reflection effects. Given the devices available, he succeeded in producing amazingly kaleidoscopic optical effects for the 'silver screen'. The revue girls were aligned in highly calculated geometrical patterns, so that the final composition would give an impressive, architectural impact.

Berkeley made revue films in the most visually impressive manner, by taking full advantage of filmic angles in all dimensions. For example, the girls were laid out in the shape of a fountain or a wedding cake. Likewise, the actual revue stage was a kind of film montage made out of editing a number of cuts in rapid sequence. 'Montage', adopted from the French word *le montage* meaning séquence, is the English word used as the technical term for film making. It means editing a film work in which short shots are tied and constructed to create a sequence to convey a sense of time and space, and to inform the audience about what is going on. This montage technique of editing films is similar to composing

revues, which consists of sequences coordinated within an overarching theme, and orchestrated by varied notations and references. What can be concluded here is that both film and revue are sequential, constructive, and also architectural.
At the risk of repetition, revue can be talked about in relation to the growing film industry of that time, or more interestingly as a genre on the liminal between cinema and theatre. In response to the growing film culture, the screen was sometimes incorporated into stage art to project the scenery or narrative sequences that could give a more fluid dimension of motion, enhancing theatrical illusions at the same time to enhance the feeling of reality. In Japan, for instance, a technical mix of cinema and stage-performance was made by employing the cinematographic screen as a backdrop to add the filmic dimension to the drama being performed on stage. The style was called 'kino-drama' or *rensageki* (a chain play of cinema and drama) which gained a certain popularity, on the revue stage in particular, though it was regarded with some inferiority amongst serious theatre people (Kamiyama 2009, 10). Filmed images could have added a certain degree of artificial physicality to the actual fiction performed on stage, but this medial experiment was treated only as an addition to the fancy entertainment, described by Kamiyama as c*hūkan-engeki* in Chapter 1.

With an aim of articulating the categorical liminality of revue, this chapter has looked at revue as a theatre genre by examining its characteristics in reference to other genres on stage and on screen. It can be said that revue was conceived on the boundaries of opera, ballet, operetta, burlesque, circus, vaudeville, variety or, more recently, cinema. Revue can be seen as a modern stage show that combines these varying performance practices. Modernity, in this context, is treated as an inseparable element for revue which distinguishes it from the pre-existing performing arts. Modernity on stage can be represented by the extensive use of steel and glass or electric lighting that all together construct the visual appeal of a modern production. In stark contrast to Benjamin's warning that film might be a threat, the positive attitude towards science and mechanical mass production has formulated a core element of revue to give it an optimistic sense of modernity. The result is fundamentally an entertainment show as well as an experimental extravaganza composed and performed at high speed. Written at the height of the revue boom in 1935, the *Encyclopaedia of Revue* by the Japanese dance critic Nakamura Akiichi provided the basic first-hand material for a possible comprehensive analysis of revue, within an international scope though limited to Europe and America.

Revue was as hybrid and fast-moving a spectacle as ever. This novel theatre genre was a way of breaking the conventions, and of expressing modernity, gaining popularity by accommodating variety. This is the heterotopia of revue, constituting shimmering brief sketches presented one after another, constantly shifting between the past and the present, while dazzling the audience with an overload of juxtaposing

impressions. Ever accumulating, but condensed, revue constantly renews historical memories and familiarities and builds on creative stylisations. This characteristic enables revue as a genre to create geographical intersections and historical anachronisms in terms of narratives, stage sets and costumes. This, in turn, facilitates a dynamic traffic in which the theatrical elements cross both spatial and temporal liminality. These characteristics of revue appear to be common to the very nature of revue, wherever it is produced, in Europe or in Japan.

CHAPTER FOUR

「レヴュウ時代到来！」
The Age of Revue Arrives!
(Iba Takashi, *Revyū Jidai*, 1931)

The Rise of Revue in Japan − Medial Liminality and Tokyo Spatial Liminality

Having given an overview of the global phenomenon of revue, we can start looking closely at the context and the characteristics of the boom of revue in Japan. Around the time when Baudelaire was writing about the 'Haussmanisation' of Paris in the Second Empire, Japan, under the Edo shogunate, opened its doors to foreign influence in 1854. The second half of the nineteenth century of Japan went through urbanisation along with industrialisation ushered in by strong Western influences under the Meiji government (1868-1912). As short as the Weimar era in Germany (1919-1933), the Taishō era in Japan (1912-1926) can be seen as a culturally liberal and fertile period, and especially as the cradle of Japanese revue. The so-called Taishō Democracy promoted a Western-inspired, social liberalism in an emerging consumer culture made feasible through the growing capitalist system in which revue became a popular modern genre. A remarkable number of books and magazines about revue were published by the 1930s, and both major and minor revue troupes appeared and disappeared during the pre-War epoch.

Until the Great Tokyo Earthquake in 1923, Asakusa revues had a dominant position in Japanese music theatre history, while the all-girls *shōjo kageki* grew into the mega-revue companies which still remain the leading revue enterprises. A century later, the all-female Takarazuka Revue still maintains the spectacular grandiose style of the 1920s revue on a panoramic scale. This chapter will examine the dawn of Japanese revue in two sections. The first section looks at how popular revue became in magazines and books. The mushrooming of publications about revue in the 1930s not only proves its popularity, but also suggests a new turn in the history of Japanese theatre towards more commercial entertainment. The second, larger section of this chapter will provide a critical view of the different kinds of revue theatres and troupes within Tokyo, by taking account of differences between local areas. The area demarcation in Tokyo is important in considering how revue was perceived in the urban formation context, and promoted to different target audiences. In particular, the districts to be discussed in detail are Yokohama, Ueno, Asakusa, Hibiya, Ginza and Marunouchi. These districts reveal variations in context and modernity which resulted in different kinds of theatres and audiences.

4.1 The Revue Boom Seen through Publications – Medial Liminality

In the 1930s when Japan saw an unprecedented boom in revue, its popularity was reflected in the Japanese publishing market. In addition to those publications by Nakamura Akiichi (introduced in Chapter 3), there were a remarkable number of publications focusing on the subject of revue. To name a few monographs with revue in their titles, here are some significant examples: Kawauchi Matsutarō, *Sentan wo iku Revyū* (*Revue that Goes ahead of Time*, 1930), Sakata Hidekazu, *Revyū Oriori* (*Now and Then*, 1935), Mitsubayashi Ryōtarō, *Revyū kara Sh*ō e (*From Revue to Show*, 1938).[78] It seems that these monographs on revue were written by those with close ties to both revue theatre and the cinema industry. Kawaguchi Matsutarō (1899-1985) was a novelist and playwright who became a managing director of Daiei Film Co. Ltd.[79] Sakata Hidekazu was a member of PCL who had a contact with variety comedian Furukawa Roppa (Furukawa, 1937, March 12). Mitsubayashi Ryōtarō (1908-1987) was a stage art designer who began his career at the avant-garde Tsukiji Theatre and made grand revue stages for girls' revues in the 1930s and worked for Toho cinema after the War (Koishi, 1989, 37-56).

Apart from these monographs, there were increasing numbers of magazines and journals focusing on this new genre of revue. The most dedicated one is *Revyū Jidai* (*The Age of Revue*) whose first issue came out in May 1931.[80] Not only did the title of this magazine alone acknowledge the zeal for the revue boom, but its publisher was also named The Age of Revue Co. founded simply in order to publish this monthly magazine. The front cover was illustrated by Yamana Ayao, famous for his art deco style designs for Shiseidō cosmetic products. It was in their first issue that the parody of Karl Marx's communist manifesto quoted at the beginning of my introduction, was inscribed: 'A spectre is haunting the imperial city – the spectre of revue' (Hosokawa 2005, 709).[81] In the prologue, the magazine states that 'revue which is almost a social phenomenon' is sweeping across the world at full speed: '1931! The revue finally leads the world. It becomes common sense of modern people to understand revue. The publication of this magazine might even be a bit too late' (ibid.).[82]

[78] The author's translation: 中村秋一『レヴュウ百科　REVIEW of REVUE』（音楽世界社、1935）, 川口松太郎『尖端をゆくレヴュー』（誠文堂、1930）, 阪田英一『レビューをりをり』（沙羅書店、1935）, 三林亮太郎『レヴュウからショーへ』（岡倉書房、1938）

[79] Official website. Accessed February 10, 2019: http://matsutaro.com

[80] Although it was meant to be a monthly magazine, it is not known until when the magazine was published. Both the National Diet Library of Japan and Theatre Library at Waseda University own a copy of the first issue without notification of its publishing period.

[81] The author's translation: 「一つの怪物が帝都を徘徊している－レヴュウの怪物が」

[82] The author's translation: 「1931 年！遂にレヴューは世界をリードした。レヴューを解することは近代人の常識だ。本誌の発刊は少しおそすぎたかも知れない」

For a grasp of the people and topics involved, the following is a select list of the authors and their article titles for the first issue:[83]

Iba Takashi, 'Revy*ū* Jidai Tōrai (The Age of Revue Arrives!)'

Asahara Rokurō, 'Inchikishi Jidai (The Swindler's Age)'

Oka Asao, 'Kawai Sumiko Eroe-anashi (Kawai Sumiko Erotic Stories)'

Yonemura Kōji, 'Shanhai ni okeru Revy*ū manki* (Notes about Revues in Shanghai)'

Hanazono Utako, '*Yojōhan kara Gaitō e* (From Four-and-a-half-tatamimat Room to the City Street)'

Uchiyama Sōjūrō, '*Asakusa Revyū Hatsseiki* (The Birth of Asakusa Revue)*'*

Nakayama Shipei, '*Kachūsha no Omoide* (The Memory of Katyusha)'

Takada Seiko, '*Revyū Gāru* (Revue Girl)'

Dan Michiko, 'Takarazuka wo tatau (In Praising Takarazuka Revue)'

Shigure Otoha, 'Uta to sono Romansu (Songs and their Romance)'

At a glance, this lineup of the contributors shows the people active in the performing art fields ranging from opera, music to dance at that time. Again, this shows the interdisciplinary nature of revue which is discussed by covering the inter-active genres and topics. The article titles convey both the serious and passionate interest in revue. A brief profile of the authors is listed below:[84]

Iba Takashi (1887-1937) was an actor playwright as well as music critic, and one of the key figures who generated Asakusa Opera and Revue (to be examined in the next section).

Asahara Rokurō (1895-1977) was a Waseda graduate and a well-known author of modernist literature. Not much is known about **Oka Asao**, but **Kawai Sumiko** was a popular dancer with enormous sex appeal who will be examined as an example of rising female performers in Chapter 5.

Yonemura Kōji (dates unknown), was a musician visiting Shanghai, where revue was also booming.

[83] The author's translation: 伊庭孝「レヴュー時代来！」、浅原六朗「インチキ師時代」、丘阿佐夫「河合澄子エロエ話」、米村耿二「上海に於けるレヴュー漫記」、花園歌子「四畳半から街頭へ」、内山惣十郎「浅草レヴュー発生記」、中山晋平「カチューシャの思ひ出」、高田せい子「レヴュー・ガール」、ダン道子「宝塚を讃ふ」、時雨音羽「歌とそのロマンス」

[84] The information about these writers has been gathered from the online archives and resources of the National Diet Library, Waseda and Literature, Contemporary Dance Association of Japan and Sumire Kindergarten.

Hanazono Utako (1905-1982) was a geiko who became a modern dancer and wrote a controversial book *Onna kara Ningen e* (*From Women to Humans*) in the same year, 1931.

Uchiyama Sōjūrō (1897-1983) was a choreographer dramatist as well as an actor who was also one of the founding figures of Asakusa Opera and Asakusa Revue.

Nakayama Shipei (1887-1952) was a nationally popular songwriter who made a sensational debut with Katyusha's song sung by the actress Matsui Sumako in the Japanese adaptation of the Russian drama, Tolstoy's *Resurrection* in 1914. This song is thought to be one of the first Western popular melodies to be sung in Japanese.

Takada Seiko (1895-1977) was a modern dancer who was active in Asakusa and together with her dancer husband Takada Masao founded Takada Dance Research Center in 1924 after studying in America and Europe.

Dan Michiko (1904-1990), married to a half American pianist James Dan – the son of Edwin Dan – was a singer who became a music teacher for children by opening a piano school and a kindergarten.

Shigure Otoha (1899-1980) was a songwriter and playwright.

(Also, this fist issue of Revyū Jidai included a revue script and a letter correspondence between the popular singer vaudevillian Futamura Teiichi and the male-impersonator of Shōchiku girls' revue. to a wide range of readers from semi-theatre professionals to the enthusiastic fans.)

The magazines which may also have targeted an overlapping readership are, in addition to *Esu Esu* introduced in Chapter 3, the graphic monthly magazines of *Eiga to Engei* (*Cinema and Theatre*, 1924-1938), *Dansu to Ongaku* (*Dance and Music*,1932-1995), the quarterly cinema magazines of *Kinema Junpō* (*The Movie Times, 1919-*), *Gakugeki* (*Music Theatre*, 1931-), the Takarazuka Revue's monthly magazine *Kageki* (*Opera*, 1921-), and the Shōchiku revue monthly magazine *Shōjokageki* (*Girls' Opera*, 1933-1939) (Hosakawa, 2005, 756).[85] This demonstrates the increasing number of features on revue in the medium of print in the second half of the 1930s.

It can be said that the variety of magazines shows the medial liminality of revue as a genre, encompassing the varying subjects of cinema, dance, music, opera and other genres. In other words, revue provided inter-medial subject matter to write about because of its synthetic nature, and by crossing the media borders. Revue would function as a word to evoke a certain *dōjidaisei* – the identity of a shared epoch,

[85] The author's translation:『ダンスと音楽』『キネマ旬報』『映画と演芸』『歌劇』『楽劇』『少女歌劇』

or to put it another way, a feeling of the shared modern period. This sentiment, which sprang from the revue boom, is not easy to describe retrospectively, without actually having experienced it, but, it is possible to imagine what it must have felt like, by carefully tracing the origins of Japanese revue, and how it developed and diffused through diverse Western influences.

As it spread through the expanding publication market, in books, journals and newspapers, the French word 'revue' became increasingly accessible to the masses to the extent that it came to mean something synonymous with modern life. Kawaguchi Matsutarō talked about revue as a parallel phenomenon to modern life. He wrote in the prologue of *Sentan wo iku Revyū* (*Revue that Goes ahead of Time*, 1930):[86]

> Let's avoid snobbish words. You will not be able to talk about the performing arts without knowing the progressive art of 'revue'. More than that, without knowing 'revue' and without being able to talk about 'revue', you cannot taste the modern life. The 1930s as the period of development, perhaps will bring the Age of Revue to life. Without knowing that revue, there should be no lilting tempo of life tomorrow, and probably today either. (Kawaguchi 1930, prologue)

Here, revue is seen as a prerequisite for the contemporary performing arts and the real flavour of modern life. The link between theatre and the everyday is unique in the way that fiction and reality are pulled together by the idea of modernity. The spectacle of revue enhanced the lilting tempo of life sprung from the metropolitan and captured the positive drive for the new and the future. To understand the performing arts and the taste for modern life in a Japanese context, the next section will look at the variety of revue which all together generated the revue boom, by focusing on how the differences between areas affected the theatre industry, and how performance sites for revue were allocated, dispersed and transcended within Tokyo.

4.2 Area Demarcation in Tokyo and Revue in Transition – Metropolitan Liminality

There are several different analogies about the origin of revue in Japan. It is true that the heyday of revue along with the popular use of the word 'revue' in publishing media was in the 1930s, but the actual stage

[86] The author's translation: 「きざな言葉はよそう。尖端芸術「レヴュー」を知らずに、舞台芸術を語り得ないであらう。いや、それよりも「レヴュー」を知らず、「レヴュー」を語り得ずに、モダンライフを味覚することは出来ないであらう。1930 年を、その成長期として、恐らく「レヴュー」時代を出現するであらう、その「レヴュー」を知らずして明日を－いや多分今日も－軽快な生活がない筈である。」

practice dates back to much earlier days. Although Takarazuka's *Mon Paris* in 1927 is usually claimed to be Japan's first revue,[87] it is possible to find the seeds of revue in more ambiguous productions, even before *Mon Paris.*

The contemporary critic Nakamura Akiichi, while admitting that *Mon Paris* is the most decisive revue production in determining an image of revue for Japanese people, starts writing about the history of Japanese revue from *Variety* (1916), a dance-based variety show presented by Takagi Tokuko in Asakusa (Nakamura 1935, 128). On the other hand, Iba Takashi, in his article 'Revy*ū* Jidai Tōrai (The Age of Revue Arrives!)' in the first issue of *Revyū Jidai* (1931), regards *Oshi-kikō* (*A Journey of the Deaf*, 1914) by Masuda Tarōkaja as a breakthrough of revue and *Futari no Mokusuke* (*Two Mokusukes*, c.1919) by Shinsei-kabu-gekidan as the start of proper revue. Moreover, in the same magazine, Uchiyama Sōjūrō in his 'Asakusa Revyū Hasseiki (The Birth of Asakusa Revue)' points to *Modan Tokyo Hakkei* (*Modern Tokyo Eight Scenes,* 1929) as the start of Asakusa Revue,[88] which was an attraction performed between film screenings at Asakusa Denkikan, Japan's first and foremost cinema theatre which stood as a symbol of electric motion pictures (Hosokawa 2005, 712).

In order to have an overview of the heyday of Japanese revue, the socio-cultural background within a local context will help to explain the reason why, and how and where revue came to establish its dominance in popular entertainment in the Japanese theatre industry. We will start by looking at the period when Western theatre came to influence the Japanese performing arts tradition during the process of Westernisation ≒ modernisation ≒ urbanisation. The following paragraphs will focus on selected areas in and around Tokyo (Yokoyama, Ueno, Ginza, Hibiya and Marunouchi districts) which are important in considering the shift in theatre institutions and practice.

Yokohama

The harbour town of Yokohama in the West of Tokyo inevitably became a foreign-influenced cultural hub after the opening up of the country to the world in the mid-nineteenth century. Already at the end of the Edo regime, Western-style performance of the music hall kind were being shown in the foreign settlements of the bay area of Yokohama, including minstrel shows, melodramas, operettas, dance and

[87] As referred to in the introduction, the view to regard *Mon Paris* as the first revue is a common understanding in general dictionaries even the most updated ones as well as in theatre encyclopaedias (Theatre Museum, Waseda University, 1962, 12-13).

[88] The author's translation in the order of appearance: 『レヴュー時代』（1931),「唖紀行」（1914),「二人のもく助」（1919）,「モダン東京八景」(1929)

magic shows (Nakano 2015, 28). These genres would eventually merge into the nascent genre of revue. The Gaiety Theatre (alternatively called, Yokohama Public Hall) opened in 1870 with the burlesque performance of an English amateur troupe, who presented *Aladdin, or, the Wonderful Scamp* (by Henry James Byron) and a farce *Little Toddlekins* (by Charles Mathews) (Masumoto 1986, 210). Performed in English by traveling troupes, the Gaiety Theatre mainly served foreign residents. In the 1890s, those world travelling theatre troupes such as the New Willard Opera Company, the Pollard's Lilliputian Opera Company and The Bandmann Opera Company came to perform in Yokohama.[89] In particular, the Bandmann's comical operas gained a considerable popularity and influence in the early days of music theatre in Japan, and marked the beginning of a global theatre trade (Balme 2016, 34-45). The Gaiety Theatre did not exclude Japanese native audiences, and played a role in enabling Japanese theatre enthusiasts and reformers such as Tsubouchi Shōyō, Osanai Kaoru and Tanizaki Junichirō to experience the live stage with Western actors at first hand for the first time (Nakano 2015, 29). Their observations and reflections of the Western productions affected the way Japanese theatre was modernised in practice, as well as in theory, including the role of female-performers, which will be further discussed in the next chapter.

Ueno

Just as Yokohama enabled the encounter with foreign influences as a port, Ueno on the opposite north-east side of Tokyo was a gateway for entering the metropolis from other provinces. Located on the border of the capital, Ueno was transformed from simply being a peripheral leisure area into the centre for industrial expositions throughout the Meiji and Taishō periods, becoming a showcase for the capital of the modern state (Yoshimi 2008, 132-138). A plethora of new establishments, such as the Museum (1882), Ueno Railway Station (1883), Music Hall (1885) and Tokyo College of Arts and Music (1889), were all built to represent the modernising of Japan (ibid., 137). Moreover, public leisure facilities were made available even earlier: the Ueno Park (1873) became a popular venue for family outings to stroll around the Shinobazu pond, especially after Japan's first zoo opened in 1882. When the Ueno station opened in 1883 as a junction for national railway lines arriving from all regional destinations to Tokyo, people from the provinces would arrive in Ueno to embark into the new urban world. Borrowing Yoshimi Shunya's interpretation of Chapter 2, Ueno was becoming an extensive, performative site – a place for recreation, increasingly accommodating a wide range of citizens, including students and women and children, into the twentieth century.

[89] The chronological record of performances at the Gaiety Theatre is published on the occasion of the lecture, *Tokugawa Yorisada and Opera in the Meiji Period* (April 7, 2018) held at The Nanki Music Library affiliated to Wakayama Prefectural Library. Accessed August 15, 2018: https://www.lib.wakayama-c.ed.jp/nanki/information/pdf/2018_04_07minilecNo17.pdf

The original Tokyo College of Arts and Music was also founded in Ueno, where Japan's first official education in Western music and theatre training took place. As further described in Chapter 5, this is where a scene from Charles François Gounod's *Faust* was first performed in 1894 by the Austria-Hungary Embassy staff – the first opera performance in Japan. However, it was not until 1903 that Japanese students from the music college could present Gluck's *Orfeo ed Euridice* (Claude 2014, 2). As another consequence of the national modernisation policy, Edo's traditional entertainment quarters with small houses for magic shows, narrative performances or circus were withdrawn from this area (Yoshimi 2008, 136). A few theatres like Suzumoto (1857) which specialised in oral storytelling remained outside the park, and some still exist today as a vestige of Edo's Ueno.

Asakusa

In 1927, Japan's first metro opened to connect 2.2 km between Ueno and Asakusa, which is one of the most important districts in terms of the history of Japanese revue. Since the Edo period, Asakusa in the north-east quarter of the capital was situated in *kimon* (demon's gate) seen from the Imperial Palace. Asakusa accommodated the famous entertainment district including the Yoshiwara red-light area famous for geisha culture.[90] When one gets off at the Asakusa metro station, walking past the Kaminari Gate, and through the long shopping street in the precinct of the Sensōji temple to Hanayashiki – Japan's oldest amusement park built in 1872, there lies a specific quarter called *Asakusa-rokku*. The whole area was commonly referred to as Asakusa Kōen [Asakusa Park] (Urano 2002, 9). The local town planning in 1884 divided Asakusa into six areas where *rokku* means the 6th division for show business. From the Meiji to Taishō, theatres and cinema houses were built in rows and this area developed into the nation's liveliest centre of entertainment and show business until the 1923 Great Kantō Earthquake.

Since the late 1880s, *misemonogoya* (places like freak show houses and circus huts) dominated the area, and more modernised theatres and cinemas replaced them in the 1910s (Yoshimi 2008, 205, 214). The highest building of the spectacular twelve-story observatory Ryōunkaku was built in 1889. Underneath lay the *rokku* area with a row of playhouses and cinemas: the Negishi enterprise's Tokiwa-za Theatre (1887), Kinryū-kan (1911), Denkikan (1903) and Teikokukan (1910) affiliated to the Luna Park, and Tokyo Club Cinema (1913) where foreign films and revue shows were shown (Sugiyama 2015, 125). In this way, Asakusa became a hub for theatre and cinema lovers. In Yoshimi's words, Asakusa became a modern performative site with these new architectural constructions where the old and the new coexisted as did people of different classes and professions. Yoshimi characterises Asakusa in four

[90] The similarities and differences between *geisha*/*geiko* and revue girls will be discussed in Chapter 5.

ways: 1) *shōuka-nōryoku* (highly digestive of foreign elements); 2) *sakidori-seishin* (avant-garde spirit); 3) *hengenjizaisei* (transient flexibility like phantasmagoria); 4) ky*ōdosei-no-kōkan* (communal sympathy) (Yoshimi 2008, 216-220).

It can be seen that this flexibly dynamic environment provided the potential soil for Japanese revue and popular music theatre in general to grow. Asakusa became the cradle for so-called 'Asakusa Opera' between 1917 to 1923. Despite the self-conscious label of 'opera', the repertoire of Asakusa Opera was hybrid and would range from opera, operetta, dance, to straightforward plays (Nakano 2015, 33). The programmes of Asakusa Opera were usually like a film montage in the sense that they were made up of short sketches and highlights comprising popular scenes and melodies from famous opera productions in order to avoid the audience becoming bored with the unfamiliar Western dramas (Claude 2014, 3). In other words, the difference between opera and revue was ambiguous both in terms of composition and choreography.

The Japanese scholar of early music theatre, Onishi Yuki, points out three reasons for the Asakusa Opera boom: the first reason is because a number of professionally trained singers and musicians went to Asakusa after the failure of the opera department (later renamed the Western drama department) at the Imperial Theatre and the subsequent failure of Akasaka Royal Theatre – both managed and instructed by Giovanni Vittorio Rossi.[91] The second reason is the ticket price was affordable even for university students.[92] The third reason is that Asakusa Opera was a youthful and passionate movement of stage arts, a sort of 'adolescent period' of Japan's adoption of Western music theatre (Onishi 2017, 2-3).

As an advent of revue, Nakamura Akiichi emphasises the importance of Asakusa Opera and especially judged Takagi Tokuko's Variety theatre to be the first of its kind in Japan (Nakamura 1935, 128). Takagi's American-style variety show was popular and she spearheaded the Asakusa Opera boom by a successful collaboration with *shingeki*-based Iba Takashi in his satirical musical show about World War I, *Jogun Shussei* (*A Female Army Goes to War*: 1917) (Soda 1989). The most representative of Asakusa Opera, Negishi Dai-kagekidan (Negishi Grand Opera Troupe) was active from 1920 to 1924 based at

[91] Rossi was an appointed director for the opera department at the Imperial Theatre, which will be further discussed in the forthcoming paragraphs about Hibiya-Ginza district. See Nakamura (1935, 143) for the attempt of Rossi's Royal Theatre.
[92] While a ticket at Royal Theatre would cost more than 1-en, whereas the standard price for Asakusa theatre viewing was only ranging from 10-sen to 20-sen. For a comparison, a popular bowl of Japanese noodle at that time would cost 5-sen, which is equivalent to 500 yen (Nomura 2005, 23).

Kinryūkan. It can be said that revue was nurtured in this kind of musical theatre, which targeted mass audiences rather than the elite.

The number of entrepreneurs, theatre managers, financial patrons, creative artists, playwrights, song writers, music composers, singers and dancers, who were involved in and contributed to the golden age of Asakusa Opera are countless. It is difficult to give a truly comprehensive list, but there follow names and short profiles of prominent contributors who should not be ignored. The variety of their specialist fields may well show the collaborative nature of Asakusa Opera and Asakusa Revue:[93]

Sassa Kōka (1886-1961), composer, lyricist and graphic designer.

Iba Takashi (1887-1937), actor, theatre director, lyricist and music critic.

Taya Rikizō (1899-1988), tenor singer and a star of Asakusa Opera who made his debut at the Royal Theatre of Rossi at the age of eighteen in 1917.

Fujiwara Yoshie (1898-1976), tenor singer inspired by Taya Rikizō, with a Scottish father and Japanese mother, became a nation's star and an important figure in Japanese opera history by establishing his own Fijiwara kageki-san (Fujiwara Opera Theatre) in 1934.

Hara Nobuko (1893-1979), soprano singer apprenticed to Miura Tamaki, established her own Hara Nobuko Kageki-dan (Hara Nobuko Opera Theatre) in 1918. Studied in Italy and appointed as an in-house singer of Scala Theatre in Milan from 1928-1933.

Takada Masao (1895-1929) and Setsuko (1895-1977), a couple of dancers who established their own dance institute Takada Buyo kenkyujo in 1924. After her husband's death, Setsuko continued choreographing modern dance.

Takagi Tokuko (1891-1919), one of the early female vaudevillian dancers studied show-style performance in America, and back in Japan, she made herself famous especially for her toe-ballet dancing (see more in Chapter 5).

Yanagida Teiichi (1895-1947), actor and singer, a master to Enomoto Keniichi with whom he worked throughout his career.

Ishii Baku (1886-1962), Japanese traditional dancer as well as Western modern dancer, established his own institute in 1928, Ishii Baku Buyō kenkyūjo (today's Ishii Baku Memorial Ballet Studio).

[93] The information has been gathered from Engeki-hyakka Daijiten (Waseda, 1962) and Sugiyama and Nakano ed. (2017).

Shimizu Kintarō (1889-1932), baritone singer, knows as a translator of some opera songs, aimed at transplanting authentic opera to Japan.

Sawa Morino (1890-1933), a popular dancer who worked with Ishii Baku and also formulated her own troupe, Sawa Morino-ichiza.

These people gained their popularity by talent or outlook and so elicited devoted fans. These Asakusa Opera fans who hung around the *rokku* quarter were called *peragoro* (male fans) and *peragorina* (female fans), meaning opera loafers (Kyōtani 2017). Young students, as well as writers and critics were amongst them and would frequent Asakusa during their leisure time. Asakusa Opera was not authentic opera in Western terms, but the rhythm of Western music and the looks of Western costumes gave Japanese audiences an alternative way to be introduced to foreign culture and international modernity, but in a familiar, domestic setting. Modernity in Asakusa was not so much sophisticated as down to earth and thus comfortable. Yoshimi Shunya talks about 'Asakusa Modern' to stand for *kakyō* (homeliness) (Yoshimi, 2008, 261). The ambivalent atmosphere of Asakusa before the Great Kantō Earthquake is eloquently described in a contemporary novel, *Kōjin* (1920) by Tanizaki Junichirō as below:

> Once we go to Askusa, you will find there all the leisure facilities available in this metropolis. However, in that very ugliest state! – while it is impossible to find 'beauty' in Tokyo – it may be possible to say that Asakusa 'where the ugliest does not hide its ugliness' could be the most comfortable place to live. There is not the pretentious vanity of Yamanote area, nor the imbalance of central downtown, and that ugliness almost seems to radiate something closer to 'beauty'. (Tanizaki 1981, 77)[94]

In this paradoxical description, the ugliness can be replaced by another word, chaos or incoherent planning, which can be seen as a form of beauty to the Tokyo urbanist mentality without the superiority-inferiority complex observed in other Westernised or non-Westernised areas. Tanizaki's attachment to Asakusa sounds as if it is rooted in his attitude to find beauty in the downtown 'vibe', its unpretentious bustle created by the mass in the mess. Temples and shrines, amusement parks, red-light districts, theatres and cinemas were packed cheek by jowl in Asakusa. Tanizaki would describe the characteristic

[94] The author's translation: 「まことに浅草へ行きさへすれば、この都会にあるすべての享楽機関は大概其処に備はってゐるのである。但し、その最も醜悪な形において！——だが、どうせこの東京では何処にも「美」を求めることはできないのだから、醜悪が醜悪そのままの姿で現れている浅草が、一番住み心地のいい場所だとは云へないことはないであらう。其処には下町の中心地や山の手にあるやうな虚偽や不調和がなく、醜悪がややもすると「美」に近い光を放って輝いて居る。」

of the Asakusa Park as a state of 'fermentation' where hundreds of elements were constantly on the move and mixed (Tanizaki 1981, 120).[95] A melting pot of people from different social backgrounds and various sorts of happenings and performances seems to have made the atmosphere of Asakusa dense, parodic and frolicsome. Furthermore, Tanizaki wrote about Asakusa Opera:

> It is not worth getting surprised to hear that operas such as *Faust*, *La Traviata* or *Carmen* are performed in Asakusa. Because they are not of Gounod, but Verdi's nor Bizet, but only of Asakusa. …Even without a coherent plot, if men and women in Western costumes are jumping gayly on stage, act funny clown around, and sometimes sing and dance, they are welcomed. After all, there is no harm in saying that these 'operas in the park' remind one of an elementary school's open-air theatre, with an added pinch of decadent elements and exoticism. (Tanizaki 1981, 124-125) [96]

The devastating earthquake in 1923 marked the end of Asakusa Opera. According to the Tokyo disaster report, a total of 28 theatres and 43 cinemas went up in flames and burnt to ashes with the devastation concentrated in Asakusa (Shinengei, 1924).

The 1923 Great Kantō Earthquake forced the urban landscape to change, and rising from the ashes came the ambitious modern developments inspired by Western models. While the governmental input and big companies' investment concentrated around the business quarter and fashion district in the centre of Tokyo around the Imperial Palace, the redevelopment of Asakusa was more reminiscent of a native down-town atmosphere. Leaving the former modern development to be examined later in our discussion of the Ginza and Hibiya areas, this section will continue by looking a little further at Asaskusa in the aftermath of the earthquake. In 1924, Asakua Opera's central force, Negishi Grand Opera disbanded. Despite the immediate attempt by remaining members to restart performances at a shabby back-street theatre, even their most popular *Carmen* failed to retain audiences (Yano 2002, 36).

During the second half of the 1920s when the Asakusa *rokku* vicinity was reconstructed, the popularity of opera came to be replaced by light comedy and cinema, and also revue (Sugiyama 2015, 125). There

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[95] The author's translation: 「何百種類の要素が絶えず激しく流動し醗酵しつつある」

[96] The author's translation: 「浅草で歌劇「ファウスト」が演ぜられ、「椿姫」が演ぜられ「カルメン」が演ぜられたと聞いても、別に驚くにはあたらない。な ぜなら其れはグノーの「ファウスト」でなく浅草の「ファウスト」であり、同時にヴェル ディやビゼエの「椿姫」「カルメン」でなく浅草の其等であるから〔中略〕。此れと云ふ纏まった筋はなくても西洋風俗の男や女が舞台をきやツきやツと遊び廻つて、気楽に面白さうにふざけて、時々歌つたり踊つたりすれば歓迎された。… 結局のところ此等の公園の歌劇は多少の廃 頽的要素と異国情調との加味した小学校運動場的気分だつたと云つても差支へないのである。」

might have been at least two social reasons for the shift. Firstly, the earthquake shock followed by the world's economic crisis in 1929 inevitably increased social concerns about unemployment and therefore despondency amongst the people, and with these issues, disenfranchised youngsters hanging around in downtown Asakusa looking for uplifting escapist pleasures which could be more easily obtained and at a cheaper price. Secondly, the impact of the all-girl Takarazuka and Shōchiku revues was huge, after the epoch-making success of Takarazuka's *Mon Paris* (1927) so that no other popular entertainment at the time could ignore big-scale revue as a new powerful genre. Even the Asakusa Opera which already had some revue-like characteristics would have to yield popularity to grand revue.

The post-earthquake history of Asakusa can be understood only in reference to 'Asakusa Revue', and Asakusa Revue cannot be talked about without referring to the formulation of the Casino Follies in 1929. By combining the names of two famous revue houses in Paris, Casino de Paris and Folies Bergère, the Casino Follies could market the troupe as 'Japan's first independent revue company' with more than ten in-house performers and twenty brass band musicians (Yano 2002, 39). Managed by business amateurs[97] and some talented popular performers represented by Enomoto Kenichi, the Casino Follies was a unique institution in the way that it was experimental and entertaining at the same time (Nakano 2015, 34). For instance, the collaboration with anarchists and dadaists from Nantendō book cafe[98] created some avant-garde productions. This does not mean that they were commercially successful. Poor financial management meant that good performers would leave because of the low pay. This subsequently led to the company's demise in 1933 (Nakano 2015, 34).

Despite only about four years of activity, what made Casino Follies so famous and alive was Kawabata Yasunari's novel, *Asakusa Kurenaidan* (*The Scarlet Gang of Asakusa*) written in reportage-style and serialised in Asahi Newspaper from December 1929 to February 1930. It was the description of Asakusa in the aftermath of the earthquake, about the homeless, beggars, prostitutes, pickpockets, show houses and revue dancers, that was so striking. The Casino Follies is depicted as one of the most representative enterprises of decadent, uneasy yet alluring atmosphere of the post-earthquake Asakusa entertainment district. Since the newspaper was a most influential medium at that time, Kawabata's writing motivated readers to visit these sorts of venues and ignited a boom of sightseeing in Asakusasa including a trip to the Casino Follies (Yano 2002, 40).

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[97] Painter Utsumi Masanari who had studied in France and his music enthusiast brother Utsumi Yukitaka invested their parents' fortune with the aid of their brother-in-law, the owner of an aquarium (Nakano 2015, 34).

[98] Managed by Matsuoka Toraōmaro, Nantendō was a bookstore with a cafe in Hongō in Tokyo, serving as a meeting place for anarchists, dadaists, writers and artists (Terashima, 1999).

According to Kawabata, the Asakusa Revue at the turn of the decade was observed as follows:

> If the turbulent tone of the show, which can be described as ‘Japanese Western jazz ensemble revue’ represents Asakusa’s 1929 style, Casino Follies that launched as the only specialist ‘modern’ Western-style revue company in Tokyo, along the steeple of metro restaurant, might well represent Asakusa in 1930s style … eroticism and nonsense and speed and satirical humour and jazz song and legs of women (Kawabata 1981, 75-76).[99]

What Kawabata describes as ‘Japanese-Western jazz-ensemble revue’ may imply a desperate strategy formulated under the pressure of the declining fortunes of the Asakusa Opera to maintain ostentatious modernity. On the other hand, the Casino Follies was introduced as the most up-to-date institution in Asakusa, dedicated solely to establishing a Western-style revue theatre. Kawabata talks about the bewildering shift in Asakusa even within one year from 1929 to 1930 as if there existed a *kata* (style) of the year in the fast shifting trend. In the preface of the English translation of *The Scarlet Gang of Asakusa*, Donald Richie compares how in the 1920s, ‘Asakusa was to Tokyo Alexandraplatz and was to 1920s Berlin in the late Weimar period at the rise of the Nazis, and Times Square was to be to 1940s New York’ (Kawabata 2005, ix). Asakusa was a special place in Tokyo, renowned for being a lively, exotic quarter, reflecting critical changes in society and the rise of modernity abroad, and undergoing rapid urbanisation from the 1920s to 1930s. New landmarks and attractions changed the townscape rapidly, such as the metro restaurant directly run by and connected to Asakusa, Tokyo's first metro station, while there also remained the pre-earthquake glory of the area.[100]

In another essay about Asakusa, Kawabaya wrote that no other words represented the area but the two words of ‘revue and jazz’ which were abused and overused for commercial billboards in Asakusa between 1929 and 1930 (Kawabata 1982, 382).[101] Perhaps in no other country but Japan was the word revue a fancy buzzword, overused beyond the theatre industry, including for cafe businesses and literature because the word revue functioned as a term to spice up and complement popular modernity in various cultural fields such as Eiga Revue (Revue Film), Kengeki Revue (Sward Revue), Ongaku

[99] The author’s translation: 「和洋ジャズ合奏レヴイウ」という乱調子な見世物が、1929 年型の浅草だとすると、東京にただひとつ舶来「モダアン」のレヴュウ専門に旗揚げしたカジノ・フォウリイは、地下鉄食堂の尖塔と共に、1930 年型の浅草かもしれない。エロチズムと、ナンセンスと、スピイドと、時事漫画風なユウモアと、ジャズ・ソングと、女の足一。」

[100] Shōwa karano Okurimono (web magazine). Accessed September 24, 2018. http://ohoshisama.info/syowakarano/03syouwaA/syouwaA36ginzaline.htm

[101] The author’s translation：「レヴュウとジャズと一この言葉程、１９２９年から３０年の浅草で、興行物の看板に乱用されたものはない。」

Revue (Music Revue) and Bundan Revue (Literary Revue) synonymously used for Bundan Jazz (Literary Jazz) (Hosokawa 2005, 711).

The characteristics of Asakusa Revue are often referred as '*ero guro nansensu'* which is a combination of abbreviations of English words, erotic, grotesque and nonsense. The reason why this became a trend may reflect the social condition where many men had lost their jobs, or had been conscripted into military service and were seeking a distraction. Sugiyama Chizuru analyses that it was a part of the epoch's sentiment, at the time when the masses sought a way to escape from reality, to decadence and pleasure, in order to forget their anxieties about stability and the threat of Nazism (Sugiyama 1990, 19). According to Sugiyama, the revue dancers as examples of modern physicality were the inevitable stimulus for a craze for the erotic, grotesque and nonsense (ibid.). As proof of this tendency, there was a notorious rumour, known as *dorōzu-jiken* (the Drawer Incident) which contributed to the box-office success of the Casino Follies (Yano 2002, 41). 'The Drawer Incident' was most probably an intentional commercial tool of the revue company in order to stimulate the voyeuristic male audiences by spreading the news that Casino revue girls took off their 'drawers' (underwear) on Fridays. Regardless of the authenticity of the rumour, it shows that humorous vulgarity rather than intellectual sophistication was a part of the popularity of Asakusa.

Being in the audience of a revue show at the Casino Follies must have been the ultimate, cutting-edge experience for the people at that time: getting caught up in both a visual and auditory wave of erotic, fast-moving, jazzy, absurd yet satirical and humorous mélange of elements on stage. As a result of the Casino Follies as an icon of both Asakusa and the epoch, a number of small revue troupes and dancing teams were also formed in this district (Nakano 2015, 35). This kind of Asakusa revue was sometimes called *inchiki revyū* (fake revue) or *henkakuteki revyū* (transformational revue) in contrast to the all-girl grand revues of Takarazuka and Shōchiku. Those all-girl revues would eclipse the erotic, grotesque and nonsensical, and generate a more exclusive, mainstream of revue culture in Japan (Nakano 2015, 34). Shōchiku Kageki-dan (SKD) was the all-female revue troupe sponsored by the Kabuki owner of Shōchiku Ltd. Shōchiku established their base in Asakusa in 1928. Shōchiku girls' revue was mainly based at the former-cinema Shōchiku-za until the troupe acquired its own Asakusa Kokusai Gekijō (Asakusa International Theatre) in 1937 to compete with the Takarazuka Revue based in Hibiya.[102]

[102] Partly inspired by the success of Takarazuka Girls Revue (Shōchiku Ltd. 1996, 462-464), Shōchiku established its own Girls Revue first in Osaka in 1922 (Yamanashi 2012, 64, note 1). Also, related information about Shōchiku -za in Asakusa is available online at the Kawakita Memorial Film Institute. Accessed September 24, 2018. http://www.kawakita-film.or.jp/shiryou_2_02.html

Soon after the establishment of the Casino Follies, Enomoto Kenichi also took the leading role at a new troupe, Pupe Sandanto, based at Asakusa's Tamaki-za Theatre between 1930 and 1933. The name of the troupe was derived from the French, Poupée Dansante and they presented comical plays and old Asakusa Opera repertories (Yano 2002, 60-61). Moreover, Enomoto formed another company, Pierre Brillant whose debut was at Opera-kan, which reopened in 1931, presenting both films and the old Asakusa Opera numbers as well as new comical plays. In order to counter the popularity of Enomoto, his lifelong rival with whom he had had a lifelong, friendly rivalry, Furukawa Roppa (1904-1961), formed a comedy company called Waraino Okoku (The Laughing Kingdom) in 1933 based at the reopened Tokiwa-za – the birthplace of Asakusa Opera – which continued until 1943.Thus, post-earthquake Asakusa gave birth to two popular stars, Enomoto and Furukawa (commonly known as 'Enoken-Roppa'), whose productions can be seen as categorically liminal between revue, light comedy and films.

Last but not least, it is worth referring to the fact that the Asakusa revue fever spread even as far as the Shinjuku area, which developed the biggest red-light district in Tokyo replacing Asakusa's after the 1923 earthquake (Shinjuku 1998, 379-81). In 1931, Sasaki Senri (1891-1961), who had once been a cello player during the Asakusa Opera years, became a manager of Tamaki-za Theatre and also opened a revue theatre, Moulin Rouge Shinjuku-za, implanting the Asakusa opera-revue heritage in the new cultural soil of Shinjuku. In the midst of downtown Shinjuku emerged a new wave of small-scale theatres, clubs and cabarets, and the theatre named after the Parisian Moulin Rouge, even had the red windmill wheel on the roof as in Montmartre. In contrast to the original Moulin Rouge in Paris, however, it was a modest theatre developed in a cinema building, accommodating a 430-person audience (Nakano 2011, 44). Friendly, uncommercial and amateurish as a small theatre, Shinjuku Moulin Rouge aimed at producing relatively sober revues with a more refined spirit and humour, gaining popularity amongst students and educated people (Nakano 2011, 11).

By 1934, the entertainment centre represented by speed and novelty was moving from Asakusa to Shinjuku, and to another modernising quarter around the Foreign Settlement and the Imperial Palace, i.e. encompassing Tsukiji, Ginza, Hibiya, Marunouchi and Yūrakuchō. Asakusa revues of comical sketches with erotic nuances were replaced by grandiose, refined shows targeted at the new audience ranging from university students to more official, business and fashion-oriented individuals, and thus inclined to be more ostentatiously Western and bourgeois.

- **Tsukiji ・ Ginza**

In order to compare and contrast with Asakusa in terms of the cradle of revue, we must look at the historical context of the central district of Tokyo: Tsukiji, Ginza. Unlike Ueno and Asakusa on the periphery, and thus a more autonomous, free zone for leisure-time activities, these central areas were officially controlled, given the locations within walking distance of the Imperial Palace, government offices and banking centres. This more authoritative environment gave rise to a different kind of theatre culture which resulted in another kind of modern entertainment centre. While only three Kabuki theatres were officially permitted in Asakusa Saruwaka ward when Asakusa was considered to be on a less salubrious path during the late Edo era from 1842 to 1872 (Okamoto 1965), Kabuki Theatres were made into national theatres under the Meiji Government's strategy of Westernisation, and ironically moved to the prestigious centre of Tokyo.

At the beginning of the Meiji period in 1868, the Tsukiji area in the east part of Ginza was partitioned to allow for foreign settlement and also a trading market place, being about a quarter of the area of Yokohama up until the end of the nineteenth century (Murata, 1990, 89-101). It was in this vicinity, under the direct influence of government and where foreign residents were also a significant part of the audiences, where from about 1878, Shintomi-za since 1878 (formally Morita-za) became committed to modernising the traditional performing arts of all-male Kabuki as well as the theatre building by installing gas lights, and changing the layout of seating blocks to give the whole audience sound effects and better views of the stage panorama (Kamiyama 2009, 298-301; Waseda 1962, 272). The manager actor, Morita Kanya, did not even hesitate to employ foreigners on stage in his ambitious production of *Hyōryūkidan Seiyō-Kabuki* (*Drifting Mystery Western Kabuki*:1879). It was a strange musical play about a Japanese fisherman drifting from America to Europe. The stage showed foreign landscapes such as the American frontier, the River Themes in London or the Parisian theatre district where operettas, dance and music were incorporated (Azuma, 2017, 346-347). It seems that the narrative composition and stage set resembled that of revue where different parts of the world are portrayed in combination with music, dance and drama.

One decade later in 1889, the new Kabuki-za (Kabuki Theatre) was built in the east part of Ginza near Tsukiji under the governmental policy of theatre reformation. It was to function as an icon of modern

national theatre to equal the national opera houses in Europe.[103] Initially intended to be called Kairyō-za (Reformation Theatre), the Kabuki Theatre was built in *wayō-settchū* (a blend of Western and Japanese) style. Namely, it followed a Western Renaissance style in terms of its exterior and the chandelier lights on the ceiling while audience seats were kept in the traditional Japanese layout (Kamiyama 2006, 317, 347-348). Kabuki-za in the pre-War period was not yet considered to be 'traditional-classical-Japanese' theatre, but it was modern theatre in transition (ibid. 318), combining traditional repertoires and modern productions. The new theatre was keen on presenting not only new Kabuki scripts written by contemporary popular writers such as Okamoto Kidō and Hasegawa Shin, but also hosting other popular new theatre genres including *shinpageki* (new school drama).[104] Kawakami Otojirō (1864-1911) was a popular actor-impresario of *shinpa* who created 'action-oriented spectacles based on current events and featuring a frenetic mix of movement, dance, music and comedic, satirical scenes' (Gillespie 2016, 292). Judging from this description, Kawakami's *shinpa* had a political revue element. Given this background, it was not surprising that Kabuki Theatre until the Taishō and early Shōwa periods, was like variety theatre in having vast programmes, hosting magic shows such as those by Shōkyokusai Tenkatsu in 1915 and revues such as those by Takarazuaka in 1928.[105]

In the context of modernism, Kamiyama Akira points out that traditional Kabuki was also referred to as 'revue style' by a contemporary artist, Mushakōji Saneatsu, who wrote 'Revyū ni stuite (On Revue)' in *Engei-gahō* (*Pictorial Journal of Theatre*, July, 1929) that revue has 'the tendency to satisfy the audience's mind by the change of sound tones, colours and performers' state of mind dramatically highlighted by the constantly shifting scenes one after another' (Kamiyama 2014, 261).[106] In this way, with the support of officials and elite theatre reformers, Ginza with its epoch-changing Kabuki Theatre constituted a platform for urban modernism which was not indifferent to the trend of revue.[107]

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[103] Iwakura Tomoni was inspired after seeing the Grand Opera theatres in Europe functioning as social as well as political sites, and realised that Japan should also have a national theatre for diplomatic purposes, his mission being to create a high-class theatre culture with actors recognised as artists (Gillespie, 2016, 291).

[104] S*hinpageki*, popularly known as *shinpa*, was a new school of drama which aimed to be more realistic and satirical than the traditional Kabuki, and which also adapted Western plays.

[105] For the record of the pre-War programmes at Kabuki-za, the *Shōchiku Engeki Jōen Kiroku* (*Shōchiku Performance Record*) kept at the Shōchiku Otani Library is comprehensive. For Tenkatsu's magic show and Takarazuka revue, see Chapter 5.

[106] The author's translation: 「場面をどんどん変化さして、音の感じや色彩や心の動きの変化で、人々の心を満足させる傾向」

[107] To add to the list of important theatres started around this time, Meiji-za in Nihonbashi, the merchant centre of Edo not far from Ginza, Meiji-za (Meiji Theatre) opened in 1893. As the era's name of the theatre shows, it adorned the identity of Japan opening up its door to places abroad; Meiji-za hosted foreigners' programmes such as magic shows. Not far from Kabuki Theatre, another popular theatre, Shinibashi Enbujō Theatre was inaugurated in 1925 as an institution to present geisha dance and came under the management of Shōchiku in 1940 for both traditional and modern productions.

A year after the Kantō Great earthquake in 1924, not far from the Kabuki Theatre, the reformist experimental theatre, Tsukiji Shō-gekijō (Tsukigi Small Theatre) was founded by the theatre reformists Osanai Kaoru (1881-1928) and Hijikata Yoshi (1898-1959). Osanai previously worked with Kabuki revolutionist Sadanji II in forming Jiyū-gekijō (1909) to realise a new theatre by eschewing traditional Japanese forms and importing Western plays (Gillespie 2016, 295). Hijikata could bring in updated Western theatre trends such as the expressionist productions by Reinhardt discovered during his stay in Germany (from 1922 for about a year), and the Russian Meyerhold's works which he saw in Moscow on the way back to Japan (Powell 1975, 70). They advocated *shingeki* (new theatre) based on translated Western plays to produce more naturalistic and psychological theatre for modern Japan (Gillespie 2016, 295). Amongst the first in-house actors, including female performers, there was Senda Koreya (1904-1994) who lived in Berlin from 1927 to 1931 where he studied under Reinhardt and participated in political revues as a theatre activist, also helping to produce a communist agitation production, *Revue Imperialism*, to criticise the emerging dictatorship (Hagiwara 2015, 311). After returning to Japan in 1932, Senda introduced Brecht to a Japanese audience for the first time. He translated Three Penny Opera as *Kojiki Shibai* (*Begger's Play*) and Hijikata directed it.[108] This proletarian influence increased until the theatre was forced to close in 1940 when the government arrested the people involved. However, Tsukiji Shō-gekijō had contributed considerably to the progressive avant-garde feel of the cultural formation of the Tsukiji Ginza district.

- **Hibiya**

Looking at the Meiji era again, Hibiya, which was close to Tsukiji and Ginza, deserves closer examination as it became a new 'Westernised' pivot of modernisation in conceiving a totally new entertainment centre, which later became especially important for revue. The process took about half a century if we consider its inception to be with the opening of Rokumeikan in 1883. Under the official policy of Westernisation enacted by the Meiji government, Rokumeikan was opened as a guest house. The idea was planned by the diplomatic minister Inoue Kaoru, and the elaborate building was designed by the British architect Josia Conder (1852-1920). The architecture is thought to be European (a renaissance style adjusted to British Victorian sensibilities), but including Islamic influences in order to find a balance between the European and Japanese styles because Conder did not wish to ignore Japanese elements. This established a new harmony of *wayō-settchū*, meaning blend of Western and Japanese

[108] Ever since the success, they constantly worked with Brecht's works and this had a significant influence during the underground movement in the 1960s and 1970s. In particular, they impacted Japanese musical theatre productions such as Inoue Hisashi (Marumoto 2017, 374).

(Kamiyama 2006, 316). Conder was also an active member of *Tokyo Engeki Ongaku Kyōkai* (Tokyo Association of Theatre and Music) with a mission to promote overseas performances (Kamiyama 2006, 314); he was aware that one of the roles for architecture was to create a performative site. Rokumeikan was intended to host foreign diplomats, but also parties, dance balls and bazaars took place with Western music for socialisation amongst the Japanese elite. Most of these people were set apart by having been abroad and were proud to emulate Western civilisation, though their life style was teased as monkeys' tasteless imitation of the west' (Keene 2002, 391-395). Nevertheless, Rokumeikan provided a social sphere for the higher classes to 'practise' Western manners and the Western music made a significant contribution in popularising Western music more widely within Japanese society (Kawasaki 1999, 36).

By the time the Imperial Hotel opened next to Rokumeikan in 1890 in order to accommodate foreign guests, the guesthouse itself had ceased to exist and transferred to the Kazoku (Nobility Class Family) Club House, which remained a symbol of notoriety representing superficial Westernism and the exclusive licence of the privileged class until 1940 (Sugiyama 1993, 189). The Imperial Hotel was Japan's first Western-style luxury hotel designed by the American architect Frank Lloyd Wright equipped with Japan's first underground arcade introduced in Chapter 1. The Imperial Hotel followed in the steps of Rokumeikan and was an allegory of Japan's imperial effort to catch up with the West by superficially imitating Western styles at an official elitist level. Common people would not have an opportunity to enter these establishments. It can be assumed that the Western, more modern atmosphere they enjoyed was still quite unfamiliar to the majority of Japanese people at that time.

This changed with the opening of Hibiya Park in 1903 in front of the Imperial Hotel that allowed rich and poor, women and children to experience Westernisation in a public and democratic environment (Nagai 2014, 9-10). Hibiya Park was Japan's first Western-style public park planned by the forester-landscaper Honda Seiroku (1862-1952) who studied in Germany and designed Japan's first public park acres stretching as far as the Imperial Palace and to the official government district (Brosseau 2012, 13).[109] From the outset, Hibiya Park incorporated a Western-style cafe-restaurant, Japanese style tea house, wedding hall and a botanical shop.

The scale was impressive and innovative, incorporating other in-park establishments. In 1905, a small open-air music bandstand was constructed followed by a bigger one in 1924 to present Western music with brass bands and outdoor performances. In 1908, the first official large-scale public library designed

[109] Standing in the centre of the governmental district, the House of Parliament planed since 1881 and completed only in 1936, in a way, symbolised the whole duration of Hibiya modernisation.

in Art Nouveau style was opened. Next to it in 1929, the Hibiya Public Hall was built to accommodate an audience of more than two thousand, becoming the most prestigious place in central Tokyo for concert, ballet, opera and operettas, and also revues. Built in reinforced-concrete covered with bricks, Hibiya Public Hall was the only dedicated music hall in central Tokyo at that time, and it also functioned as a symbol of the renaissance from the 1923 earthquake.

On the stage of this hall, in 1934 the heroic tenor singer, Fujiwara Yoshie, who had spent his formative years in Asakusa opera, presented *La Boheme* and began his Fujiwara Opera Company which is today acknowledged to be Japan's longest-running, professional opera company.

Notwithstanding the history of Japanese music theatre, the most significant institution on the west side of Hibiya Park is the Imperial Theatre built in 1911 in front of the Imperial Palace. This was the nation's first Western-style theatre in the classical Greco-Roman style designed by the architect entrepreneur Yokogawa Tamisuke (1864-1945). Since most of the entertainment business had been despised and relegated to Asakusa except the new businesses in Tsukiji-Ginza quarters, it was remarkable to have a theatre facing the royal residence. The inauguration of the Imperial Theatre was also integral to the Maiji state's theatre reformation policy to renew Japanese theatre with three aims: reforming the convention of male-impersonators such as in Kabuki, improving the playwrights and scripts, building a Western-style theatre (Nakano 2017, 351). Despite the name 'Imperial', however, the commercial management was the responsibility of a public-private joint-stock company headed by Shibusawa Eiichi (1840-1931), known as the 'father of Japanese capitalism', together with several strong business leaders of that time. In other words, they were amateurs in theatre management. This fact eventually led to difficulties in programming and the theatre was passed on to Shōchiku in 1930, and then to Toho in 1939.

There are at least two significant achievements during the early years of the Imperial Theatre. One is the 1908 establishment of the nation's first official training school for women to train actresses, affiliated to the Imperial Theatre in 1911, which will be looked at in Chapter 5. The second is the installation of an opera department in 1912 (later renamed the Western drama department) in collaboration with the British amateur dramatic club and Bel Canto instructor Adolfo Sarcoli (1872- 1936) and Rossi (1867-unknown), in collaboration with graduates from Tokyo Music College. Until its dissolution in 1916, the department produced some eminent alumni who would lead Japanese opera and revue, e.g. the female opera star Miura Tamaki (1884 1946), baritone Shimizu Kintarō (1889- 1932), dancer Ishii Baku (1886- 1962) and Sawa Morino (1890- 1933) (Claude, 2014, 3). As already described, Rossi went to

Akasaka to open his own opera theatre, Royal-kan, and the performers followed him or continued their career in Asakusa.

It was also historically a significant incident that Takarazuka Revue's first performance in Tokyo took place at the Imperial Theatre in 1918 from May 26 for five days. The programme, at a glance, is as varied as a world fair's, presenting all times and places: *Sannin Ryōshi* [*The Three Hunters*], *Hinamatsuri* [*Girls' Festival*], *Sakura Daimyō* [*The Lord of Sakura*], *Gozamu no Shimin* [*Citizens of Gotham*], *Gossakku no Shutsujin* [*Cossack Departure for the Front Line*], *Gekai* [*Nether World*], *Rafusen* [*The Taoistic Immortal at Mt. Lofu*].[110] The incoherent mixture of the foreign and the domestic, traditional repertoires coordinated with dance and revue shows, indicates the ambivalence in programme management not only of Takarazuka company but also of the Imperial Theatre. They seem to struggle with exploring various ways to establish the Imperial Theatre not only as a modern theatre, but as a Japanese national theatre which could appeal to the masses in terms of the new theatre audiences and also to be worthy to tour abroad.

As for the Takarazka Revue, there is an intriguing anecdote that Kobayashi Ichizō, the founder of Takarazuka revue, proposed that the Hibiya Park, with a number of Western-style facilities of culture and leisure should be connected via an underground tunnel to his new Tokyo Takarazuka Theatre (Berlin 1988, 96; Yamanashi 2012, 13). Though his bold ambition was never realised, Kobayashi's Takarazuka company obtained its own theatre in 1934 just in front of this innovative Hibiya Park, and next to the Imperial Hotel. Kobayashi initially thought about siting his revue theatre in Asakusa (Kamiyama 2014, 11 and note 33), but instead saw the potential of turning the Hibiya area into a modern entertainment centre (Yano 2002, 92). On the 20th anniversary of Takarazuka revue in 1934, Kobayashi's rejoicing at opening his own theatre in Hibiya is inscribed as his dream come true and it was called *Hatsuyume Yūrakuchō*, or the Hatsuyume Amusement Centre (Kobayashi 1934, January 1).[111] *Hatsuyume* means the first dream to have on New Year's Day, and Yūrakuchō refers to the name of an area between Hibiya and Marunouchi, literally meaning the town (*chō*) of pleasure and entertainment (*yūraku*). As a historical aside, it was in this area that Japan's first fully Western-style Yūraku-za Theatre existed and functioned as a *shingeki* base from 1908 until destroyed by the earthquake in 1923 (Kamiyama 2009, 308-310). Modelled on the British Music Hall, it was intended to be an exclusive theatre with the installation of

[110] The author's translation from the programme: 『三人猟師』『雛祭』『櫻大名』『ゴザムの市民』『ゴサックの出陣』『下界』『羅浮仙』
[111] The author's translation: 「初夢有楽町（ハツユメアミューヅメントセンター）」

advanced bright lighting and a ventilation system; no drinking and eating was permitted, so as to allow the audience to concentrate on the performance on stage (Marumoto 2017, 351).

Annexed to the Toho Ltd. enterprise film production of PCL begun a few years earlier, the opening of Tokyo Takarazuka Theatre in that prestigious location created a new centre of entertainment and signified a new age of 'commercial theatre'. *Shōgyōengeki* (Commercial theatre) is the theatre category which, according to Kamiyama, is at the core of 'modern theatre' reinforced by adapting foreign culture (Kamiyama 2014, 11). The launch of Tokyo Takarazuka Theatre would contribute to the modern atmosphere of the area, not only by its functional modernist square architecture, but also by the European-oriented revues by young-female performers who attracted a new audience ranging from white-collar workers from Marunouchi, to middle-class housewives and school girls (Yamanashi 2014, 2-3).

As a side line to Revue theatre, Toho opened the Hibiya Film Theatre also in 1934 and Yūraku-za Cinema in 1935 dedicated to showing imported foreign films. The establishment of these two film theatres near to the Tokyo Takarazuka Theatre meant the initial completion of Kobayashi's ambition of turning the business and diplomatic area of Hibiya into what he called 'Marunouchi Amusement Centre' (Yano 2002, 94). Unlike the Shōchiku brothers, Kobayashi as a railway entrepreneur had a grand vision of urban planning inclusive of theatres and cinemas.[112] Another Marunouchi landmark, the circular architecture of Nichigeki (Japan Theatre: 1933) came under Toho management in 1935 when the revue troupe, Nichigeki Dancing Team (NDL), consisting of both male and female members, was formulated; it continued until 1981.[113] In this way, Toho's base in Marunouchi-Hibiya quarter grew into one of Japan's biggest theatre-cinema empires rivalling that of Shōchiku Ltd., owned by the owner of Kabuki, who also owned the previously mentioned Kamata Film Studio. It can be concluded that these neighbouring rivals, i.e. the edifice of the all-female revue Takarazuka Theatre in Hibiya and the all-male Kabuki Theatre in Ginza, formed the two most powerful theatre-cinema industries in Japan. Notably, their success was predicated on a shared merchandise – 'revue' – and a perceptive awareness of modern trends. To prefigure this period both for Shōchiku and Toho, the different background of these two theatre-cinema tycoons are of great interest both in terms of urban culture-formation and the history of the theatre industry in Japan (Yano 2002, 95).

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[112] In my argument, Marunouchi and Yūrakuchō, are taken in the scope of Hibiya district. Kobayashi's intention of creating a cultural leisure centre in this quarter will be discussed in Chapter 6.

[113] The most comprehensive record of NDT is preserved by its related people at their web archive, Shōwa Revyū-kyō jidai. Accessed on September 15, 2018. http://www.geocities.jp/yfcwn373/nens0857.html

During the decade after the Great Kantō Earthquake, the periphery of Hibiya area became progressively more modern through reconstruction and showed a sustainable steep development from public parks to theatres. But the development was not always viewed positively. As if to preview the ultra-modern atmosphere, a dadaist poet, Hagiwara (Kanai) Kyōjirō (1899-1938) observed the changing Hibiya as hysterical and anarchical, a view ironically expressed in his poem *Hibiya* (1925). The first half of the constructivist poem appears to critique the harsh, competitive dark side of the development empowered by capitalist ambitions almost comparing it to the conflict of war, and it did not ignore the victims who suffered at the hands of this victorious modern outlook, especially in the aftermath of the disastrous earthquake of two years prior:

> Hibiya,
>
> intense squares,
>
> chains, fire and strategies,
>
> army and gold and medals and honours,
>
> high high high high high high, rising high
>
> Hibiya – the central point of the capital
>
> refracted spare, endless injury and burying
>
> a new graveyard for wise men,
>
> high high high high high high, higher and higher
>
> in the dark between high buildings
>
> fights and abuse and conflict
>
> high high high high high high
>
> move move move move move move
>
> Hibiya
>
> (Hagiwara 1925, 93-95)[114]

The eccentric repetition of the words high and move seems to indicate the development was growing not only higher but also subversively lower. To build a high building requires digging low and deep in

[114] The author’s translation: 「日比谷、強烈な四角、鎖と鎧火と術策、軍隊と貴金と勲章と名誉、高く　高く 高く聳える、首都中央地点ー日比谷、屈折した空間、無限の陥弊と埋没、新しい智識使役人夫の墓地、高く高く より高く　より高く、高い建築と建築の暗間、殺戦と虐使と噛争、高く高く高く、動く動く動く、 比谷・・・」

the ground. In Hagiwara's poem, the 'burying' can be interpreted as the ongoing metro construction in a cynical reference to the regress, or to somewhere deep as in graveyard. This may remind us of Walter Benjamin's reading of history as regression as discussed in Chapter 1 with reference to Klee's painting *Angelus Novus*. As symbolised in the case of Tokyo Takarazuka Theatre in Hibiya, revue can be seen as the genre conceived and developed in this dramatic process of urbanisation in both progressive and degressive ways, on the liminal traffic generated by geographical variations, entertainment enterprises, their capital investment and commercial competition. This is one of the visions of Tokyo metropolitan liminality I proposed as the metropolitan liminality of this chapter's title.

4.3 Overview of Modern Tokyo

My discussion so far has encompassed Asakusa, Tsukiji, Ginza and Hibiya districts. These areas proved that the modern theatre development in Tokyo was spatially expansive and different at the same time. For a number of theatres built in these areas, revue was a transitional genre in the way that it was staged in most of the theatres in varying combinations of programme. To envisage the atmosphere of the epoch as well as to imagine the sentiment which nurtured revue as a ubiquitous theatre genre, two popular songs about Tokyo before and after the Great Kantō Earthquake of 1923 give a useful measure of comparison.

The first one is *Tokyo-bushi* (*Tokyo Rhythm*) released in 1919 and much sung before the earthquake. The lyrics were written by the *enka* (Japanese popular performance song) singer Soeda Satsuki, while the melody was based on the American song *Marching Through Georgia*. The lyrics incorporate the symbolic monuments and places of the Marunouchi-Hibiya area and Asakusa where a hybrid blend of Japanese and Western culture are depicted in food. The police are a metaphor of safety and official control is highlighted, and petty crimes and poverty masked by the glamorous 'development' are not dismissed. The lyrics are as follows:

> The centre of Tokyo is Marunouchi,
> Hibiya-park and the Cabinet,
> The cool facade of the Imperial Theatre,
> The sterling building is the Metropolitan Police Department,
>
> …
>
> Tokyo's Downtown Asakusa,
> Kaminari-Gate, Nakamise-shopping street, Snnsou-Temple,
> An old lady selling beans to Pigeons,

Cinema, Twelve-story Tower, Hanayashiki Amusement Park,
Sushi, Okoshi cookies, Beef and Tempura,
Hustling Policemen, pickpockets, beggars, pilferers[115]

On the other hand, a post-earthquake popular song, *Tokyo Koshin-kyoku* (*Tokyo Marching Melody*) by Saijō Yaso was composed for the silent film of the same name by Mizoguchi Kenji in 1929 based on the novel by Kikuchi Kan. The film starts with the text as follows:

> 'Tokyo – the most modern city in the Orient which is the pivot of Japanese culture, education, arts, and of crime and depravity'.[116]

Moreover, to prove its popularity, it was even made into a play staged at the Imperial Theatre within the same year (Nishii 2013, 64-78). The lyric of the theme song depicts the city as follows:

The willows of Ginza of the past times,
Who knows the old fellow of revenge,
Dancing with Jazz and Drinking Liquor until the dusk,
Revue Dancer's tears at the Dawn,
Marunouchi building of lovers,
Around that window,
A man writing a letter with tears in his eyes,
Keeping a rose I picked up at the rush hour,
innocently to remember that girl.
Vast Tokyo, narrowed by the love,
Secret meeting in cool Asakusa,
You take metro, I take bus.
Not knowing where the love stops.
Shall we go to see a film or have a cup of tea,
or else escape on the Odakyū line,

[115] The author's translation from: 「東京の中枢は丸の内 日比谷公園両議院 いきなかまえの帝劇に いかめし館は警視庁 .... 東京で繁華な浅草は雷門、仲見世、浅草寺 鳩ポッポ、豆売るお婆さん 活動、十二階、花屋敷 すし、おこし、牛、てんぷら なんだとこん畜生でお巡りさん スリに乞食にカッパライ」

[116] The author's translation from: 「東京ー日本の文化と教育と芸術とそれから罪悪と堕落との集中している東洋第一の近代都市」

Changing Shinjuku,
Musashino's moon rising above the roof of the department store.[117]

All the famous trends of that time made into Tokyo modern icons are taken from Ginza-Asakusa and Shinjuku, e.g. jazz, liquor, dancers, the highest Marunouchi building built in 1923 and damaged little by the earthquake, metro, bus, film, cup of tea, department store, Asakusa and Shinjuku. The lyrics sound satirical in their portrayal of the hustle and vibe of the city with a pinch of romanticism to recall bygone Tokyo. The start of 'Mukashi natsukashi Ginza no yanagi (The willows of Ginza of the past times)' speaks of such romanticism and emphasises the rapid change in Ginza during the earthquake reconstruction.

There is an amusing but important anecdote that a line was censored and altered in order to avoid political implications. 'Escape on the Odakyū line' which was originally 'Long-haired Marx boy, holding *Red Love* in his chest'. This episode reminds us of the current of Marxism penetrating Japan at that time, along with the spreading wish for equality and freedom in love advocated in *Red Love* written by a Russian socialist feminist Alexandra Mikhailovna Kollontai (Nishii 2013, 69). While Marxism and socialist ideas were influencing the Japanese proletariats and students, political interference was slowly but steadily increasing with the rise of the right-wing military dictatorship in Japan. This situation is similar to the Weimar period in Germany where both grand and political revues were produced.

The obvious differences between the two songs, bridging a decade from 1919 to 1929, is that neither Ginza nor 'girls' were yet mentioned in *Tokio-bushi.* This is because the fast modernisation along with the commercialisation of Ginza took place after the 1923 earthquake, and so-called '*gin-bura*' (Ginza flâneuring) became a trendy pastime, attracting not only the elitists but also students and fashionable commoners including women, girls and children. Isoda Mitsukazu in his critical essay on "Tokyo as a Thought" (1991) compares these two popular songs and pays attention to the adjective *iki* (cool, in the sense of stylish and chic in spirit) to describe Ginza before the earthquake and the word was later used to describe Asakusa, pointing out that popular willow trees in Ginza had become nostalgic reminders of the 'good, old days' (Isoda 1991, 49-50).

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[117] The author's translation : 「昔恋しい 銀座の柳　仇な年増を誰が知ろ ジャヅで踊つて　リキュルで更けて 明けりやダンサーの涙雨　恋の丸ビル　あの窓あたり 泣いて文書く人もある。ラッシュアワーに拾った薔薇を、せめてあの子の思い出に。ひろい東京　恋ゆゑ狭い 粋な浅草　忍び逢ひ あなた地下鉄 わたしはバスよ　恋のストップままならぬ。シネマ見ませうか。お茶のみませうか。いっそ小田急で逃げませうか　(←「長い髪してマルクス・ボーイ／今日も抱へる赤い恋」)。変る新宿　あの武蔵野の 月もデパートの屋根に出る。」

It can be argued that Ginza became the predominant image of the district encompassing Tsukiji, Tsukiji, Shinbashi, Yūrakuchō, Marunouchi and Hibiya. Though ambiguous in drawing borders between these neighbouring areas, they could be talked about in the context of *yamanote* (i.e. upper-class district in contrast to Shitamachi, downtown district). Ginza became an impactful district brand name as a pivot of modern culture inclusive of all the major Westernised theatres located within walking distance. In 1931, Andō Kōsei made an impressionistic observation of modern Ginza, listing representative images he would find with amusement:

> Ginza, Ginza Ginza,
>
> Night in Ginza, Day in Ginza,
>
> Men in Ginza, Women in Ginza,
>
> Ginza is Japan!
>
> Sun-lit concrete, Women in blue dress,
>
> Perfume, bright tie, shoes,
>
> company's employees,
>
> smell of rotting fruit, fat madame,
>
> foot and feet, cafes, azuma-geta (Japanese sandals) cracking on the street peddles,
>
> newspaper venders…[118]

We can imagine the observer's eyes shifting from top to down, right to left, busily capturing the passing people and stimulating objects. Feet, especially, represent the fast movements of the passer-by, the city strollers like those in Baudelaire's Paris, in suits, nylon stockings, mini-skirts, kimono, high heels or sandals; and occasionally perhaps, the feet of cats and dogs amongst the busy crowd of people.

This image of feet symbolically reminds us of those revue girls. As they are called 'foot light girls' in America, their bare feet on stage was an impactful part of the choreography and the line of their high kicks must have been symbolic of the force of the women who were now liberated enough from the modesty of the long-dress code to show their naked feet, but also contributing a great deal to the vibe and the grandeur of city life. Andō continues:

[118] The author's translation:「銀座・銀座・銀座、夜の銀座、昼の銀座、男も銀座、女も銀座、銀座は日本だ。陽の当ったコンクリート、青い服の女、香水、派手なネクタイ、靴、会社員、果物の饐(す)える匂い、肥ったマダム、足、また足、カフェ、甃石(しきいし)に当る吾妻下駄、新聞屋。」

> Ginza – this is the limelight stage of Japanese urban life.
>
> You find everything there:
>
> Beautiful girls and handsome boys,
>
> cafes, sushi-restaurant,
>
> Marx boys, neon signs, flowers and the tie which arrived from Paris this morning,
>
> stockings which have just arrived from New York,
>
> Taxi that takes you to the end of Tokyo at 50-sen!
>
> There is nothing you cannot get in Ginza.
>
> Strolling in Ginza, shopping in Ginza, enjoying Ginza is what all the Japanese admire.
>
> Ginza is the symbol of today's culture.[119]

'Ginza – this is the limelight stage of Japanese urban life' is well said. There is an impression that the city became like a stage – especially a revue stage. The display of these things and people in constant motion, new establishments and transport media creates an endless spectacle either in harmony or in contrast and conflict. Shopping at department stores and having fun at cafes, cinemas and theatres in the Ginza area was the most fashionable leisure-time activity for everyone, including students, women and children. An increasing number of Japanese people were consciously embarking into these public arenas to consume not only merchandise products (including theatre tickets!), but also to plug themselves into the energy of a consumer society in a shifting metropolis. It was no coincidence that these urban conditions would cradle the revue boom as a new transitioning genre of modern spectacle. Things seemed to be constantly on the move, one scene after another one, seemingly repetitive yet every moment different, resplendent with speed and colour, with sound and texture, that stimulated the senses both visually and aurally.

This created a nationwide fantasy with Ginza representing the utmost urban area-brand to the extent that hundreds of shopping streets in provincial towns and villages were named after 'Ginza' (Ando 1931, 23-24). A cynical interpretation of this trend may suggest that the implantation of Western fashion introduced in Rokumeikan was finally reaching the masses, represented by the introduction of chain-store marketing of women's make-up by the Ginza-based pharmacy cosmetic company Shiseido (Isoda

[119] The author's translation: 「銀座―これが日本の都会生活の檜舞台なのだ。そこには何でもある。美女も、美男も、カフェも、寿司屋も、マルクスボーイも、ネオンサインも、花も、巴里から今朝着いたネクタイも、紐育からいま着いた靴下も、そして、東京の果てまで五十銭でゆくというタクシーも！　銀座にないものはない。銀座を歩くこと、銀座で買物すること、銀座を享楽することは、今や日本中の人間の渇仰の的だ。銀座であることは現代文化の象徴だ。」

1991, 229). In this way, Ginza was turning into a territorial brand which was increasingly more bourgeois, commercial, and thus fashionable, in accordance with Western ideals of consumption. In contrast to Asakusa, therefore, Ginza's image was one of exoticism and fashionable Western culture, in the sense of the modern keeping pace with European trends. Quite appropriate to this local context, Takarazuka Revue came to acquire its own theatre in 1934 to further popularise European-influenced revue shows, both reflecting the trendy flair of the vicinity whilst contributing to its reputation with its up-to-date Western style.

Both Asakusa and Ginza areas were modern in different ways, typically reflecting the complex multi-faceted nature of the changing Tokyo, the first with a more Japanese traditional flair, and the latter with a more Western one. As already discussed, sociologist Yoshimi Shunya viewed 'Asakusa Modern' as representing more of *kakyō* (homeliness) connoting *shouka-nōryoku* (digesting ability), *sakidori-sekaku* (innovative spirit) and *hengenjizaisei* (flexibility) (Yoshimi 2008, 255). This tendency in Asakusa was created mainly by the working-class people of diverse occupations who were characterised by gathering together and sharing homely cosiness (ibid. 227). As a result, Asakusa formulated a local community based on more traditional Japanese values with a sense of nostalgia for the past.

In contrast to these Asakusa characteristics, Yoshimi views Ginza as another distinctive performative site from1923 onwards, and examines 'Ginza Modern' to stand for 'foreign and future' connoting three elements: *utsukushisa* (beauty), *atarashisa* (newness) and *kaoridakasa* (fragrant) (ibid. 255). This tendency in Ginza was created mainly by the upper-middle class people and young students who were characterised by the act of viewing and acting the imported foreign influences (ibid., 246-248). As a result, Ginza formulated a community based on Western inspirations with a sense of expectation towards the future. In other words, Ginza was 'performing' as more foreign, and was thus superficial yet classy and expensive, whereas Asakusa was 'performing' more domestic Japanese, offering nostalgic leisure activities at a more affordable price for the common people.

One of the most convincing examples of the differing persona of these two places can be found in the theme songs of the two representative revue companies. Both theme songs date back to 1930, Asakusa-based SKD's *Sakura-sakukuni* (*The Country of Cherry Blossoms*) introduced in the seasonal *Haruno-odori, Sakura* (*Spring Dance show, Cherry Blossoms*) conveys more domestic Japanese flavours in the rhythm and the motif of sakura flowers, whereas the Hibiya-based Takarazuka theme song, *Sumire-no-hana sakukoro* (*When the Violets Bloom*), derived from the German number *Wenn der weiße Flieder*

wieder blüht, had more imported Western flavours in the melody and the motif of violet flowers.[120]

The relationship between Asakusa versus Hibiya-Ginza district would thus constitute the two oppositional entertainment quarters, but both represent Tokyo's metropolitan modernity in the liminal transitional period. Both areas are essential in considering the development of Japanese revue. The urban landscape and the culture withheld in both Asakusa and Ginza districts inevitably changed by surviving the predicament after the earthquake catastrophe, and in the process of reconstruction. We have also seen that gradual reception of Western theatre practices, especially popular music theatre genres, was made through the influence of the Foreign Settlement in Yokohama and Tsukiji, for example the Gaiety Theatre and Shintomi-za Theatre. Moreover, the peripheral development of Ueno and its leisure centre formation, through exhibitions and in parks, contributed to constructing a performative site. By the time Asakusa and Ginza came to represent the centre of modern entertainment in the 1920s, the experience of urban spectacularity seems to have become imbued into people's everyday lives. By looking at the different historical contexts in each area, this chapter has tried to show that revue was the transitioning genre across geographical borders and built itself up to be the most popular theatre genre as a metaphor of Tokyo modernity, and inevitably mirroring complex urban spectacularity in terms of differences between areas.

Additionally, this chapter has shown how an increasing number of publications in the 1930s resulted in spreading the word about revue across Japan. Nakamura Akiichi wrote that he was made to realise how widespread the French word revue had become by his encounter with an elderly woman in Izu countryside saying, 'I'm gonna village to see revue' (Nakamura 1935, 3). This indicates, there must have been a number of smaller travelling revue troupes in provincial towns across the nation. Unique to Japan, they were mostly all-girls' troupes (Kurahashi and Tsuji 2005, 191-193). By the mid-1930s, revue became acknowledged as the most modern theatre genre at a national level, but mostly as a female-oriented genre both in terms of performers and audiences. This is a very important aspect of Japanese revue which opens up a further discussion about the emancipation of Japanese woman in the field of theatre, and in society in general. The next chapter will investigate the reason why Japan conceived popular all-female revues by focusing on women on stage from a socio-historical perspective. This will deepen our understanding of the characteristics of revue particularly in relation to Japanese revue, and allow us to consider any societal implications this may reveal.

[120] Nevertheless, the flower 'lilacs' was altered into 'violets' because lilacs were not yet familiar in Japan (Yamanashi, 2016, Conference paper, Grenoble).

CHAPTER FIVE

'A bob-hair revue girl in western dress and the old tatami waiting room made a really strange combination.'

(Edogawa Rampō, *Ningenhyō,* 1935)[121]

Japanese Women on Stage between Tradition and Modernity:
Physical and Gender Liminality

As has been shown so far, Japan, between the Meiji and the early Shōwa periods, underwent a swift transition between tradition and modernity, between the domestic and the Western, where social norms and senses of value amongst Japanese people were shuffled, confused, challenged and re-evaluated. In the changing cultural stream, the trend in theatre was to hold up revue as an alarmingly modern, but promising new genre. It was alarming and sometimes controversial because of the prominent presence of women on the revue stage as well as in the audience. To understand Japanese revue, gender issues, as well as the identity and social status of women are inevitable areas of consideration.

The rise of the Japanese *joyū* (actress) as a profession at the turn of the century and its establishment by the 1930s coincides with a crucial transition period in terms of young Japanese women becoming educated and acquiring socio-political rights. New women, modern girls and female performers were all inter-related in the feminist context of Japanese womanhood emerging to insist on their presence in the hitherto patriarchal society. It was a challenging period for women who were beginning to take part in activities which had not been deemed appropriate or respectable before. This chapter will try to spotlight the emergence of Japanese women performing on stage, and examine their role in society both from historical and social perspectives. The ways in which women on stage became a sign of modernity and why the genres, including all-girl revues, were particular to Japan will be considered. My discussion will also draw attention to how those women made significant contributions to breaking down the conventions of a male-dominated Japanese theatre world, and to their public reception.
Nakamura Akiichi in his *Encyclopaedia of Revue* affirms that Japanese revue cannot be talked about without acknowledging the *shōjo-kageki*, literally girls' opera referring to the all-girl revues unique to Japan (Nakamura 1935, 46). Teams of dancing girls and chorus girls were prevalent in other countries such as the British Tiller Girls,[122] the Jackson Girls and the American Ziegfeld Follies, but they naturally

[121] The Author's Translation:「断髪洋装のレヴュー・ガールと待合いの古座敷とは、いかにも変てこな取り合わせであった。」
[122] Jhon Thiller in Manchester founded the girls dancing team in 1889, and eventually formulated Thilller Schools of Dancing in 1925. Accessed August 3, 2019. https://tillergirls.com

performed with men to compliment revue shows. The reason why the single gender revue gained considerable popularity in Japan is likely to be found not only in the long history of Japanese theatre, but also in the long-established conventions about Japanese womanhood.

In general, what can be discussed in the context of womanhood is that the power of young girls is assumed to be built on their 'physical liminality' and 'gender liminality'. I employ these terms to mean two things:

1. Physical liminality means the transitional monotriam period for girls, in which they live the period between childhood and mature womanhood which is especially affirmed between school years and grown-up time in the society to follow.
2. Male impersonators who perform as the other gender on stage

Upon these hypotheses, this chapter begins by looking at Japanese performing women, *shōjo* and *joyū*, as liminal persona – so-called 'flâneuse' of the theatre world.

5.1 Girls as Liminal Persona: 'Flâneuses' of the City and of the Theatre World

Chapter 1 defined the flâneur as a resident in the passage, in betweenness, i.e. on the liminal. flâneuse is the female version of the word flâneur, and the term can be used as a concept referring to girls and women, emerging in the city and in the theatre world. They can be seen as the female subjects, liminally-speaking, in search for their modern identity in society. They may consciously perceive changing social phenomena, and be disrespectful to the imposing authority and the feudalistic system, freely drifting across binary norms between masculinity and femininity, between private and public, social and sexual, and between other contesting conditions.

As seen in the previous chapter about Hibiya and Ginza, in the inscription of the lyric of Tokio Koshin-kyoku (1929) or in the description about Ginza by Andō Kōsei (1931), the presence of women became prominent in the portrayal of urban public scenes. Many women, who hitherto had been kept within the household, gradually became visible in public spheres such as streets, cafes and restaurants, department stores, sports facilities, and theatres. Not only did women become more visible, but children and young jogakusei female students also came out to parks, cafes, department stores, cinemas and theatres (Nagai 2014, 8-10). Through these modern recreations, they generated a significant power of consumption.

Ginza was then a melting pot in which they subjected themselves to these new institutions and activities by flâneuring, or strolling. So-called 'Gin-bura (Ginza stroll)' became a trendy term to describe the pastime in Ginza quarters.

A popular song written by Sassa Kōka, *New Ginza Kōshin-kyoku* (New Ginza March: 1928) depicts two typical types of Japanese women enjoying *Gin-bura*:

> There go those maidens painted by Kunisada There also go the girls prefer by Kashō
> The Music Box of evening Ginza[123]

Whereas Utagawa Kunisada (1786-1865) was a reputed *ukiyoe* woodblock painter, renowned for the portrayal of beautiful Japanese women in the classical *kimono* attire, Takabatake Kashō (1888-1966) was a poplar painter of fashionable girls and revue dancers in more Western attire. This means that both conventional types and modern types of women were observed strolling in Ginza from the late 1920s to the 1930s. At the same time, this may signify Japanese women on the border of transition, not only in terms of their outlook but also in their ways of thinking about their womanhood: some maintaining the pre-Meiji mode and some adopting the Taishō modern mode. Focusing more on the later type, this section looks at the modern girls as liminal persona or 'flâneuses' in light of the theorised image of the flâneur examined in Chapter 1.

The academic discourse which attempted to differentiate the female stroller from the male stroller – the flâneur – was by Janet Wolff in *The Invisible Flâneuse: Women and the Literature of Modernity* (1985). Wolf points out the fact literature about flâneurs prior to this had all been written by men including Baudelaire and Benjamin, and warns that women's experiences of modernity are in danger of being ignored. This is partly because there is no sex separation in the use of Japanese nouns such as he and she, and both flâneur and flâneuse are translated as *yūhosha* – a neutral word to mean a city stroller. It is thus not at all sensible to think that the idea of the flâneur has historically excluded women in Japan.

[123] The author's translation:「国貞描く乙女も往けば 華宵好みの君も行く 宵の銀座のオルゴール」

Regardless of gender, the important thing is the self-awakened subjectivity of the modern individual being who stands on the threshold (*schwelle* in Benjamin's terminology) i.e. on the liminal, by possessing a consciousness of transgressing and passaging in terms of ongoing heterogeneous traffic. Nevertheless, this chapter takes advantage of Wolf's feminist approach to focus on Japanese flâneurses in order to demonstrate their importance in the city and in the theatre industry. It can be presupposed that it was flâneurses more than flâneurs who impacted the urban scenery and consumer society lending grandeur and a liberal sense of modernity to the shift from tradition. We shall consider their physical liminality from three dimensions: between girlhood and womanhood, between man and women, between amateur and professional. The first relates to the subject of age and schooling, the second to sex and gender, and the third to occupation. To be more precise, the age and education perspective will regard *atarashii-onna* (new women) and school girls in the sense of young women becoming educated and enlightened, while the critical issue concerning sex and gender extends the argument to the point about so-called *moga* (modern girls) who often stand on the flexible border between new women and school girls. Given this liminal identity, my analysis will continue to demonstrate that revue girls fall mainly into this category of modern girls, and further inevitably involves an understanding of the occupational identity of *joyū* (actress).

5.2 *Atarashii-onna,* School Girls and Modern Girls

Restricted by the national ideology of *ryōsai kenbo* (good wives and wise mothers) advocated by the patriarchal Japanese society of the imperial regime, women in Japan only gradually gained public recognition. They slowly rejected the earlier feudal system and began fighting cultural prejudices against women, endeavouring to achieve a new independent womanhood. At that time, women became a powerful symbol of modernity and of the shake-up of conventions and taboos; they emerged to liberate society from the pre-existing norms regarding human rights, family, love, marriage and maternal morality which were challenged by women undertaking a professional career. Female performers on stage constituted a critical part of the movement, and the role of *joyū* (actress) was one of those challenging professions.

To examine the increase in the number of *joyū in* Japan, it is necessary to present a brief historical overview of girls' education in Japan. From the Meiji period, girls began to receive more advanced educational opportunities at *jogakkō* (women's schools). When the existence of *jogakusei* (female students) appeared as a sign of enlightenment, the term *seito* (student) became a status for girls to aspire to and be proud of, and was gradually acknowledged in the new social norms (Honda 1990, 8-24).

However, only young ladies from wealthy families with progressive attitudes had access to these schools (Ibid.). They were 'modern' enough to think that their girls deserved an education, at a time when most people still thought females should only aspire to becoming a *ryōsai kenbo* (good wife and wise mother). As a result, education was not considered necessary for the ideal future bride unless the schools aimed to educate girls to become good wives and wise mothers.

These schools were generally called *hanayome-gakkō* (brides' school). Training to acquire good behaviour and etiquette is commonly called *hanayome-shugō* (brides' training). In addition to domestic work such as cooking, cleaning and sewing, girls raise their cultural level by learning tea ceremony, flower arranging as well as music, dance and performing on stage (Takahashi 1980, 34). Despite the ambivalence between modern and conventional criteria of womanhood, *jogakusei* (female student) became a symbol of modern society, representing new potential opportunities for women, and many girls aspired to secondary education.[124] Schools functioned as a moratorium for girls before they reached expected womanhood, even though often this was as wives and mothers. The temporal liberty during school years created the new concept of young women categorised as *shōjo* – those who conduct their own will more than ever before (Kawasaki 1999, 25-26).

Elementary schooling for girls started in 1872, while higher education for women began later at private colleges such as Atomi-gakuen (1875), Jittsusen-jogakkō (1899), Tokyo-Joshi-kōtō-shihan-gakkō (1900; today's Ochanomizu Women's College) and Nihon-joshi-daigaku (1901). It was at the music classes and cultural festivals held at these schools that women first learnt to perform on stage (Takahashi 1980, 34). Singing and playing music was regarded as a part of their musical education, whereas gymnastics and dancing were often considered a part of their physical-intellectual training. They would not only learn team work through choral singing and choreography, but were also introduced to new kinds of personal relationships and ideas about romantic love through performing in Western dramas. In these all-girl schools, female students had to act a great variety of dramatic roles: they would play the full range of characters – young boys, men, old and young women, vagabonds, pierrots – and do so in both Japanese and Western costumes (Takahashi 1985, 25-39). Despite the inevitably amateurish quality of these performances, the school environment was, nevertheless, important both for providing young Japanese women with a safe space to become familiar with Western theatrical repertoires and also for reducing the public prejudice against women performing on stage.

[124] The exhibition of National Diet Library, *Jogakusei- raifu* [*The Life of Female Students*: June 21- August 14, 2007] tells a comprehensive account of the girls' education and their aspiration. Accessed September 24, 2018. https://rnavi.ndl.go.jp/kaleido/tmp/148.pdf

When theorising the awakening and liberation of Japanese women in this current of more women getting educated, it is generally understood that the publication of the magazine, *Myōjō* in 1899 by the poet, Yosano Akiko (1878–1942), marked the rise of *atarashii onna* (new women). Hiratsuka Raichō (1886–1971), an educated woman from a bourgeois family, pushed the movement for women's rights further and published the first issue of a new magazine *Seitō* (Blue Stocking) in 1911, making herself into an icon for *atarashii onna*. She chose the magazine title out of respect for the women of the Blue-Stocking movement in late-nineteenth century England. Hiratsuka asked Yosano Akiko to write the foreword to call for the twentieth-century emancipation of Japanese women (Tomida 2004). What characterized the new women in Japan, like many of their counterparts in other countries, was that they were mostly from the bourgeois classes (Tamaru 2004, 9). There were many girls who could not go to school or college, and could not afford to participate in emancipation as articulated by the bourgeois feminists. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the early feminists' commitment contributed to the recognition that a woman was not a doll like Ibsen's Nora, but a human being, and they aspired to raise the status of Japanese women. They prompted serious consideration of liberty and rights for women, and questioned existing ideals of womanhood such as *ryōsai kenbo* and dominant paternal surveillance.

Given the increasing opportunities in education, Japanese women in the 1910s and the 1920s moved in increasingly liberated directions. The image of women was shifting then from what was called, during the Meiji years, *atarashii onna* (new women) to *modan gâru* (modern girls) abbreviated to *moga*. Unlike new women and school girls who were gaining education and a status as socially respectable promising young women, *moga* were not necessarily from bourgeois backgrounds nor were they necessarily educated. *Moga* were those modern girls who had few traditional ideas and often flaunted conventions. Kitazawa Hidekazu in '*Modan Gâru* (Modern Girls)', in a magazine featuring women's life *Josei* (August 1924) wrote that Nora, as a kind of new woman of the preceding generation, had tried to be an independent human being, but modern girls were already human, and this is where their life and characteristics lay (Takahashi 1999, 92). As also depicted in the popular song of *Tokio Kōshin-kyoku* introduced in Chapter 4, *moga* were depicted as protagonists who realise their own self-identity as independent women and hold new ideas about love and virtue different from the conventional Japanese ideas about the status of women at home and in society (Nishii 2013, 74).[125]

Modern girls were thus defined as more independent and individualistic, as those who chose their life out of their own will. Modern girls were also understood as a 'special type of women belonging to this

[125] Concerning the new idea about love and virtue in this period, a historical analysis is found in Yamanashi (2012, 134-139).

day, what today's life values have given a birth
to' (Kataoka 1927, 11). The reason behind this special type is various types of jobs increasingly available for young women in town, giving them more mobility and aspiration than ever before. Those professions, which required certain educational backgrounds were, for example, teaching and typing, but most of the fashionable jobs as, for example, café ladies, telephone operators, bus and train conductors or shop clerks were open to all women (Kawasaki 2005, 24). There were opportunities for girls to work especially in the growing leisure and service industries which often used English to indicate 'modern occupations' including shop girls, office girls, service girls, bus girls and revue girls, to name a few (Yamamuro 2018, 110). Naturally, *moga* was not a single kind.

Richmod Bollinger, writing about modern girls during the 1920s and 1930s, analyses the twofold character of *moga* as follows (Bollinger 1994, 168):

1. The ideal of modern working women, independent both economically and emotionally, who discard the traditional female role in favour of a more conscious and individual way of life
2. A purely materialist and fashion-oriented, egoistic and narcissistic young consumerist, symptomatic of a declining and decadent society

Both types reflected a certain modernity and their imagination and style provide insight into the changing positions and values of women. Although it is not reasonable to generalise into these two stereotypes, there were refined educated *moga* with self- awareness in society, as in Bollinger's first description, who might have gained respect and adoration, and frivolous flapper types, as in the second description, who often met with severe criticism. Importantly, *moga* was not only a Japanese phenomenon, but overlapped with *garçonnes* in France, *neue Frauen* in Germany or *flappers* in America (Ibid., 2018, 107-108). In each country, however, modern girls were viewed in different ways, both positively and negatively.[126]

In Japan, *moga* was meant to be paired with the *mobo* of *modan bōi* (modern boys). The impact of *moga* was greater than that of *mobo* though, largely because they were striving more visibly to overcome the conventional norms persistent in a number of social restrictions and prejudices against women. *Moga*

[126] In Germany, *die Neue Frau* after the First World War might overlap with modern girls. The idea and interpretation of new women and modern girls differed from one country to another. In Britain, for example, new women principally referred to women suffragettes in the nineteenth century, who were the model for Seitō; in America after the Civil War, new women mainly stood for single women who acquired a university education and professional job. Nevertheless, what they had in common was that they were likely to be educated, well-off ladies, and for this reason their ideals were called Bourgeois Feminism. The idea and image of modern girls is more of a fashion than of ideology without reformist doctrine about how women should live (Mori 2018, 132)

was a phenomenon characterised by its iconic fashion of bob-hair or short permanent-hair, often with a tulip hat and parasol. *Moga*, unlike *atarashii onna*, was thus a collective style that every girl could achieve, if she aspired to the new female gender mode, for example, by wearing a piece of fashionable clothing or adopting a particular hairstyle.

Written by Masuda Tarōkaja, after moving to Asakusa from the Imperial Theatre, the second part *Moga Mobo Song* (1928) poked fun at the modern girls in Ginza:

> I am moga, moga, moga, strolling in Ginza, with my bob hair up to my ears, wearing a dress exposing knees and arms, popping out a parasol in a stylish way, (…)
> My love, *mobo*, is waiting for me in a cafe,
> Jolly stroll in Ginza makes me moga, moga, moga, moga, modern bar[127]

Ginza generates a map of the freer gender topography of Tokyo's modernity. Those signifiers attributed to *moga* in this song were all new habits adapted from the Western cultural trends i.e. strolling in the city, cafe and bar, love, parasols and immodest clothes and bob hair. Amongst these modern icons, bob hair was a particularly interesting international trend amongst modern girls. Also, thanks to the practicality of the style for war time for nurses and women on the home front, the hairstyle came to represent an active modern woman as a common image worldwide followed by the distribution of related filmic and graphic imagery (Yamamuro 2018, 107).

Famous as in photographic images of the Weimar film star Louise Brooks, bob hair is the most distinguished and international feature of modern girls. In Germany, the bob was called *Bubikopf*, and it represented a unisex image which blurred the borders between masculinity and femininity (Tamaru 2004, 34). In Japan, the bob was called *danpatsu* and was a totally new challenge, because long black hair had hitherto meant, for Japanese women, female virtue, chastity and beauty. Hiratsuka Raichō had her hair bobbed in 1920, as if to demonstrate her determination to fight for women's suffrage (Takahashi 1999, 78). *Moga* were often seen in the light of their radical demeanour, made fun of and had difficulties in finding a job because of their short hair.[128] Despite the social offence, however, the bob functioned as an impactful sign of modernity, which swept across the world as a symbol of liberated

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[127] The author's translation:「私ゃ銀ブラのモガモガモガモガ、髪はボブ刈り両耳を隠し , 服は膝まで腕や足を出して伊達にチョイトさすパラソール ,…カフェーじゃ待っている愛人のモボが、楽し銀ブラのモガモガモガモガ モダンバー」

[128] A contemporary article describes how *modan-gâru* in Chinese letters meant 'hair-cut poison' or 'hair-cut frog' and was applied to modern girls (Nemoto, 1927). For example, the contemporary writer, Murō Saisei, wrote a column in the magazine, *Modan Japan* (Modern Japan); 'Bob girls sometimes have difficulty in getting proper jobs only because they have their hair bobbed. Respectable cafes seem to guard against them and hesitate over their looks when employing them' (Mizusawa,1998, 235).

women, and became popular among girls with a new attitude.
Revue girls often wore the bob-hair style, representing the modern international girl. Moreover, they were not merely *moga* because they could dance, sing and act. They were the girls who would perform on stage. This was also the case in Germany when Berlin was growing into Europe's biggest city during the rolling 1920s of the Weimar Republic. Modern urban life was also represented by those modern girls, challenging gender norms in society (Tamaru 1994). Modern girls in Berlin also began to formulate a new category of girls with their 'Girlskultur'. The book by Giese Karl Fritz is simply titled *Girlskultur* (1925) and it introduces the formation of girl's culture and its international interaction built around the image of modern girls, especially revue girls. Drifting between schoolgirls, modern girls and actresses, young revue girls were in flux, representing physical liminality in terms of growing up, as well as gender liminality in terms of social norms. The next section will spotlight the ambivalent identity of actresses in Japan by demonstrating how these female performers contributed to breaking down the Japanese convention of male- dominated theatre practice, and to paving the way for Japanese actresses to become the symbol of modernity.

5.3 The Rise of *Joyū*: Dancers, Singers, Magicians and Revue Girls

If self-determination and the social right to work were to be reckoned as women's significant drives for independence, the history of the Japanese women on stage will also be re-evaluated in those terms. There are several different words to describe a performer in Japanese. *Yakusha* is a common term for stage performers, including traditional Nō and Kabuki actors. In the Meiji and Taishō periods, there were also female performers in this tradition, such as Nakamura Kasen who formed the Onna Kabuki troupe discussed above, who were specifically called *Onna-yakusha* (female *yakusha*). In contrast, the word *haiyū* was created in the Meiji period mainly to refer to performers in the new theatres and it came to be applied further in the twentieth century to actors in film and TV dramas. Since y*akusha* and *haiyū* are not in themselves gender-specific terms, it was not until the word *joyū* was used that an exclusively female performer was signified.

The fact that *joyū* was thus distinguished from *yakusha* and *haiyū* shows how rare it was and how distinct a female performer was considered within the male-dominated actors' world. *Joyū* was not a discriminatory term, but the need to highlight the role of 'women in the performing profession' created a subtle ambivalence implying a need for differentiation from male performers, but also a female performer's pride in her status and a self-consciousness brought about by the public attention she

received. The following section will look at the rise of *joyū* by focusing on educational institutions and female actress performers whose status and identity are related to those of revue performers. Moreover, it will demonstrate that, in the Japanese theatre tradition in which men would play female roles, it was inevitable that male impersonation should become an artistry of female performers, especially in all-female revue productions.

First of all, we should briefly recap on the historical background. In medieval Japan, women played an active part on both sacred and secular stages. It is commonly believed that today's all-male Kabuki tradition grew out of a sacred dance performance by a woman, the shrine priestess Okuni, in 1603 (Kokuritsu 2009, 198-205). However, during the following 250 years of the Edo shogunate regime (1600–1868) solidified by its isolationist policy (1639-1854), censorship was gradually implemented to control theatres by the application of strict moral codes and this included prohibiting women from performing in public (Wakita 2001, 221). It is largely due to the legacy of this period that Japanese traditional performances such as Kabuki, Nō and the puppet theatre, Bunraku, are still dominantly performed by men.

Given this condition until about a century ago, it must have required a great deal of courage and hard work for Japanese women to perform in public, and they needed determination to pursue stage careers and achieve status and respect as actresses. The role of the Japanese actress, namely *joyū* - literally meaning 'woman who acts the other' - was not created in a single day. The acknowledgement of the very existence of actresses would take several decades of serious effort by groups and individuals who tried to open up the hitherto male-dominated realm of Japanese theatre. It was thus not until sometime after the ancient Edo regime opened the nation's doors to the outside world in the mid-nineteenth century that female performers other than the *geisha* emerged. The term g*eisha* literally means 'a woman who entertains a guest using her performance skills (Tanaka 2007, 194), but these skills or arts (which included dancing, playing music and intellectual conversation) were practised in the context of serving customers in tea houses, where food and drink were also supplied, not on stage. Only gradually during the Meiji, the Taishō and the early Shōwa period in the 1930s, did Japanese society begin to accept women on stage. Performing in public for women was, therefore, one of the break-throughs, affecting people's preconceptions in terms of moving away from geisha to more respectful and independent female performers called joyū.

From a sociological perspective, the history of *jogakusei* and *joyū* was parallel and intertwined in their development and public recognition. In 1903, Tokyo Music School (today's Tokyo University of the

Arts, then the only co- educational state institution) staged Gluck's *Orfeo*. However, when they attempted to re-stage the production in 1908, it was banned by the Ministry of Education for moral reasons, namely that male and female students should not be allowed to perform together on the same stage (Harumi, 2017, 350). In such social circumstance, all-girl revue companies such as Takarazuka Revue and Sh ōchiku Revue were founded in connection with their own music schools in order to protect their respectable social identity.

Before looking closely at these revue troupes in order to envisage their relationship with the emerging genre of revue, six key early Japanese female performers will be introduced for they cultivated the different yet solid ways for women to perform on stage and also inspired future revue girls to emerge: Kawakami Sadayakko(1871-1946), Mori Mitsuko (1890-1961), Matsui Sumako (1886-1919), Miura Tamaki (1884-1946), Takagi Tokuko (1891-1919) and Shōkyokusai Tenkatsu (1886-1944). Looking at their activities and lives will illustrate the challenges they faced as *joyū* pioneers, and further relocate revue girls in their liminal relationship with their identity as dancers, singers or actresses.

When Western dramas were adapted in Japan, female parts could not be acted by men impersonating women as in Kabuki, and naturally required the physical presence of real women. In that circumstance, a real need for actresses emerged. In 1908, Kawakami Sadayakko founded the Teikoku Joyū Yōseijo (the Imperial Actress Training Institute) as Japan's first official institution for training actresses. This school enabled ordinary women other than apprentice *geisha* to begin careers in professional performance. However, this new undertaking met with harsh criticism and warnings that it could create women who might be socially harmful (Toita 1973). The negative public reaction shows how difficult it still was for a woman to become an actress. Nevertheless, Sadayakko, who herself had been a *geisha* and became Japan's first actress, stood at the forefront of resistance to such criticism. As introduced in Chapter 2, she married a star of folk theatre, Kawakami Otojiro, and her experience of touring abroad together with her husband's all-male troupe caused her to see herself as a respectable female performer and led to her commitment to raise the status of Japanese female performers. Despite some unfavourable opinions, the school was eventually annexed as an adjunct to the Imperial Theatre which opened in 1911 to produce *joyū-geki,* repertoires by proper actresses. They incorporated Western dance that had elements of variety theatre that shared some characteristics of revue (Nakano 2014, 30). Further, in 1924, Sadayakko started Kawakami Jidōgekidan (the Kawakami Children's Theatre) in order to train children; this operated until 1932.

One of the first apprentices at Sadayakko's school was Mori Ritsuko. Mori graduated with high marks

from Atomi Girls' High School, yet chose to become a *joyū*. However, because of this career choice, her name was deleted from the school's register of alumni, and her younger brother committed suicide as a consequence of his sister's scandal of becoming an actress (Ikeuchi 2008, 24-25). Her father, a renowned lawyer and politician, organised a grand party to celebrate his daughter's stage debut and she remained successful despite the severe prejudices against actresses (Mori 1930, 17-19, 277-280). Becoming an actress almost meant becoming a 'new woman', and was thus a scandalous event. The leading feminist campaigner for women's liberation, Yosano Akiko, sympathised with actresses as a new category of working women emerging within society and advocated the view that they should be regarded as brave, passionate, innocent women with the courage to endure becoming targets of criticism in their attempts to contribute to a new art form, at a time when the majority of Japanese women were still content to lead conventional lives, desiring nothing more than to marry men of high status (Yosano 1915).

Masui Sumako was another key figure with regard to the emergence of Japanese women on stage. She was a leading actress at the Bungei-za Theatre, which was led by Shimamura Hōgetsu (1871-1918). Shinamura was one of the lead promoters of *engeki kairyō undō* (the theatrical reformation movement) and also a dramatist, novelist and poet. In 1906, together with Tsubouchi Shōyō of Waseda University, Shimamura formed Bungei Kyōkai (the Literary Arts Society)– the association to reform Japanese literature, fine art and theatre by adopting European standards of realistic acting (Gillespie 2016, 295). *Shingeki*, literally meaning new drama, would mainly stage foreign plays in Japanese translation. In these translated Western plays, female characters were naturally expected to be acted by female performers.

The two key roles which made Matsui Sumako famous were Ophelia in Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Nora in Ibsen's *Doll's House*, both staged in 1911. Ironically, Matsui who played Nora - the iconic woman who rejects being doll-like and develops into a strong, independent human being - led a scandalous life by having a love affair with the married-man Shimamura. Both Matsui and Shimamura were expelled from Tsubouchi's art circle and in 1913, they established another independent organisation, the Geijtustuza. In 1914, Matsui played Kachusha in Tolstoy's *Resurrection* for this new company. The theme song, *The Song of Kachusha*, became a national hit (Shimizu 1998, 14). Shortly after the success, Shimamura died unexpectedly of Spanish flu, in 1918, and Matsui committed suicide two years later.

Miura Tamaki is another example of a prominent woman who achieved success on stage but abroad. Despite her talent and her own wishes, Miura's parents only allowed her to enter the Tokyo Music School

on condition that she married the man of her father's choice. Miura accepted this arranged marriage at the age of seventeen and went on to study singing. At the school's festival of 1903 mentioned above, Miura performed in Gluck's *Orfeo* where her singing of Eurydice established her reputation as a soprano (Marukawa 1985, 155). She graduated with distinction and was immediately appointed as a junior professor of the Tokyo Music School. However, her promising future was destroyed by the scandal of her divorce when she would not accompany her husband to the north of Japan for his work. No matter how hard her life could be, Miura chose music and wanted to remain in Tokyo. Miura caused further scandal by remarrying an assistant professor of medicine at Tokyo University. Miura was made to resign from her teaching position in 1909 so as not to damage the school's reputation. Yet another scandal arose when she became a leading singer affiliated to the brand-new Imperial Theatre in 1912. The exceptionally high salary she was awarded was jealously criticised by her female colleagues and became a sensational topic in the press (Marukawa 1985, 156).

Defeated by one scandal after another, Miura decided to leave Japan in search of greater freedom to live as a singer. In 1914, she and her husband headed for Germany to seek tuition from the renowned singer, Lilli Lehmann (1848-1929). Fatefully, the outbreak of World War I made them change their destination to London. This turned out to be a fortunate accident for Miura because she passed an audition for a charity concert at the prestigious Royal Albert Hall and made her European debut there with great success. She was then invited to sing the role of Butterfly or Cio-Cio-san in Puccini's *Madame Butterfly*. Miura put everything she could into the part, earning the ultimate accolade from Puccini himself who called her 'my favourite Butterfly', able to bring to life an authentic representation of a Japanese woman (Yoshimoto 1947, 19-23).

Despite the early staging of *Madame Butterfly* at the Imperial Theatre in 1914 (coincidentally just after Miura's departure), followed by an adaptation in the Asakusa Opera style, the reception of Puccini's opera in Japan was initially unfavourable due to the humiliating orientalist depiction of Japanese culture and the pathetic storyline given to the Japanese geisha compared to the portrayal of Western culture and characters as assertive, dominant and successful (Mori 2017, 130-135). It has been suggested that this reception might well have been a response to an increasingly militant political regime (ibid., 135). Nevertheless, when Miura returned to Japan as the country's first *prima donna*, to sing the role of Butterfly, having performed the role for a record two thousand performances before deciding to retire from the international stage in 1936, she was celebrated as an icon of Japanese cultural triumph. In the same year, Miura presented her *Madame Butterfly* at the Kabuki Theatre and a recording was broadcast on radio that reached people across the country, familiarising them with the opera's melodies

(Satō 2015, 26). In Miura's interpretation, the lyrics indicating Butterfly's deep humiliation were deleted or softened and the pride and dignity of the heroine at the finale, culminating in her suicide, were interpreted by the contemporary Japanese media as highlighting devoted Japanese womanhood as victim to Western arrogance and domination (Mori 2017,135) or criticised outright as a national disgrace (Marukawa 1985, 160). In any case, Puccini's opera, along with all other foreign theatrical works, was shortly banned due to the military hostilities which led to the Pacific War. Soon after the end of the war in 1946, Miura was the first to hold a solo recital at Hibiya Music Hall where she sang Franz Schubert's Winterreise (Winter Journey). Miura was a woman of undoubted courage and fortitude which she displayed throughout her long, eventful life. She shone on the international stage, bridging the cultural divide between West Japan and the West and surviving the period of cultural isolation during World War II through her passion for music.

As has already been introduced in Chapter 4, Takagi Tokuko is regarded as Japan's first dancer to have performed in the pointe shoes of Western ballet. She had worked in Vaudeville in America, and went on to found the Global Variety Theatre in Asakusa, presenting American-style musical comedy (Soda 1989, 158-165). Together with Iba Takashi, Takagi is credited with having ignited the Asakusa Opera boom (ibid., 23). Tokuko had an arranged-marriage in her mid-teens to the son of a merchant family, Takagi Chinpei, with whom she travelled to America in 1906. Failing in the shop business and living as a housekeeper for a while, their poverty led them to try magic performance at a downtown variety show house in Boston (ibid., 52-58). After unexpected popularity, largely owing not to their skill but to Tokuko's charm, they were hired by a traveling troupe for a six-week provincial tour in Canada (ibid., 58-64).

Back in New York, Tokuko could not stand her status as a mere magician and went to a dance school to acquire dancing techniques including toe dance (ibid., 65-75). Until the outbreak of World War I in 1914, Tokuko and Chinpei travelled to perform in London and Moscow, before coming back to Japan to make a debut at the newly opened Imperial Theatre in the production Mugenteki Barei [Fantastic Ballet:1915], directed by Rossi. As seen in Chapter 4, Rossi's reassignment from the Imperial Theatre in 1916 led potential opera performers to Asakusa. Tokuko was not an exception. By this time, her dance was received favourably to the extent that she received patronage to establish her own Imperial Dancing School (Ibid., 390-141), and her own Variety Troupe (Ibid., 152). As Nakamura Akiichi posited (Nakamura 1935, 128), her variety stage is seen as one of the first Japanese revues and it initiated the local revue trend as a part of Asakusa Opera.

To give a specific example, the variety programme from 1916 was as follows (Soda 1989, 160-161):

1. *Salome Dansu* [‘Salomé Dance’]
2. *Spanisshu Dansu* [‘Spanish Dance’]
3. *Dokushō oyobi Gasshō Dansu* [‘Solo Singing and Chorus Dance’]
4. *Ongaku no Chikara* [‘The Power of Music’]
5. *Shirokuro Dansu* [‘Dance in Black and White’]
6. *Tou Dansu* [‘Toe Dance’]
7. *Osoroshiki Ichiya* [‘Fearful Night’]
8. 8: *Itazura Musume* [‘Naughty Girl’].[129]

It is obvious that the substantial programmes consisted of eight repertories which would not betray the name of her troupe, Variety. To add a little explanation from the last repertoire, *Itazura Musume* was a cheerful comedy, *Osoroshiki Ichiya* was a sub-titled American popular farce, *Tou Dansu* was Tokuko’s best seller, *Shirokuro Dansu* is described as an eccentric dance by young dancers, *Ongaku no Chikara* was a fantasy spectacle similar to early Takarazuka Revue, *Dokushō oyobi Gasshō Dansu* had Tokuko singing solo in front of chorus girls, *Spanisshu Dansu* was danced by young dancers, and Salomé was Tokuko’s solo dance which was the biggest attraction in the programme (ibid., 160-161). Salomé was a gateway to success for all aspiring female performers at that time. Tokuko’s Salomé was often compared with the Salomé performances of Matsui Sumako, Sadayakko and Shōkyokusai Tenkatsu, as will be shown in the following section. Despite her ambition to be a respectable female dancing performer rather than remaining as a magician, her life ended in the shadow of many scandals involving her husband and patrons (ibid., 401-406), leaving posterity with a large legacy from Asakusa Opera and with plausible evidence for assessing women’s perspectives of popular theatre.

Last, but not least among these ground-breaking figures was Shōkyokusai Tenkatsu – a charismaticmagician. When the family’s business went bankrupt, her parents sold her as a young girl to work for a magic troupe, Tenichi-ichiza, led by Japan’s pioneering magician Shōkuokusai Tenichi. Shōkyokusai Tenkatsu (who took her master’s name) made her stage debut at the age of twelve, in 1897, and gradually developed her talents until she became known as the queen of magic – appropriately

[129] The author’s translation:『サロメ・ダンス』『スパニッシュ・ダンス』『独唱および合唱ダンス』『音楽の力』『白黒ダンス』『トウ・ダンス』『恐ろしき一夜』『いたずら娘』

enough, given her stage name Tenkatsu, meaning ‘heavenly victory’. Tenkatsu was a cultural idol as a modern female performer and every bit as well-known at that time as Sadayakko and Matsui Sumako. Similarly to Kawakami Sadayakko and Miura Tamaki, Tenkatsu’s most significant formative period took place outside Japan. From 1901 to 1905, the eight members of Teinichi’s troupe toured abroad, starting in America and travelling to England, Germany and France, before finally returning to America again. A highpoint of the tour for Tenkatsu was her appearance at the popular revue theatre, Casino de Paris. The fact that the first performance on their return was staged in the Kabuki Theatre testifies to her stardom. Soon after her master Tenichi’s retirement in 1911, Tenkatsu became the leader of her own troupe, Tenkatsu-ichiza. Her troupe achieved phenomenal success, since it included a hundred girls dancing and singing to enhance the magic show. The fast-moving production was presented like a colourful revue. Based on her own experience abroad in variety theatre, Tenkatsu was skilled in adopting Western trends and styles. Tenkatsu also danced in glamorous and revealing costumes, displaying her body to full advantage. Her butterfly dance in a transparent floating robe that reflected the brilliant light projected onto it might well have reminded her audience of the famous ‘serpentine dance’ of Loie Fuller. Even though she was not an actress per se but a magician, and hence regarded as coming from an inferior cultural category, Tenkatsu did not hesitate to try to perform plays such as Shakespeare’s *Tempest* and Oscar Wilde’s *Salomé*. In 1915, the same year when both Sadayakko and Matsui Sumako performed Salomé to critical acclaim, Tenkatsu attempted the same role under the supervision of Osanai Kaoru, one of the leaders of the modern theatre movement at that time. Osanai was not satisfied with Sadayakko and Matsui due to their modest approach to the role of Salomé, and expected Tenkatsu to expose more of her body (Minami 1985, 200-201). Judging from the photographs of the production, Tenkatsu was certainly a most visually attractive Salomé, but her vocal and acting skills could not compete with the two fully trained actresses.

Her reputation as a magician might not have easily competed with that of an actress, but working in her own specialist field had advantages for her, since magic gave her greater freedom to create her own productions and attract a wider audience. Moreover, the physical advantage of possessing very light-coloured skin gave her what was commonly seen as more Westernised glamour relatively speaking. This was not only attractive to the male gaze, but she would also perform magic in male attire, wearing pantaloons like male impersonators in girls’ revue. Tenkatsu’s impact as a strong-willed and beautiful female performer was sufficiently powerful that her picture was frequently used on the commercial labels of cosmetic products, sweets and alcoholic drinks (Kawazoe 2014, 170-171). These three types of product clearly reveal the target audience for sales, and prove that her fans were drawn from a broad range of social background and included women, children and men – yet, differently from the female

performers discussed above, there are revue stars who are worth acknowledging from the most successful all-female revue companies, the Takarazuka Revue and the Shōchiku Revue. These all-girl productions, with spectacular staging, dancing and singing, triggered a revue boom. They consisted exclusively of women who performed the roles across not only different classes and ethnicities, but also different ages and genders. What made the most attractive feature in the all-female revue was undoubtedly male impersonation. The male impersonator was called okotkoyaku – literally meaning 'man's role' – similar to the so-called breeches roles in the turn of the century European operas (Sekine 2005, 71-78). In effect, the all-female revue attracted many female audience members who particularly idolised otokoyaku or male impersonators, seeing them not only as representing a new type of disciplined, chivalrous male, unlike the traditional Japanese man, but also as providing an optimistic portrayal of Japanese womanhood fighting for equality with men both on stage and in society.
For example, one early Takarazuka *okotkoyaku* star, Amatsu Otome (1905-1980) was much admired for her dancing of *Shishimai*, traditionally performed by male Kabuki actors (Yamanashi 2012, 86). In 1930, a Shōchiku star, Mizunoe Takiko (1915-2009), had a male-style haircut for the first-time ever in a Japanese all-girls revue and established her fame as a *dansō no reijin* – a beautiful woman in male attire. Before that time, women used to hold up their hair in a hat to play a male role and thus the short cut that remained off stage became a subject of heated debate in the media (Yamanashi 2012, 128). For better or worse, *otokoyaku* attracted social attention and often inspired sympathy in women; as such, these roles, quite naturally, became star elements which were deemed indispensable in Japanese revue productions.

In 1933, when Mizunoe was still only eighteen years old but already at the height of her stardom, she led a workers' strike to fight for women's rightsto a proper salary and better working conditions (Nakayama 1993, 179-180). This strike, called *Momoiro Sōgi* (Pink Action), made Mizunoe even more popular as a social idol amongst young Japanese women. The local newspaper reports on her Kyoto tour stating that there had been more than eight thousand fans queuing since seven o'clock in the morning to have a glance at her, and by nine o'clock, the crowd had become a black mountain in which it was not possible move around (The National Theatre Publishing Committee 1995, 492). Her unprecedented popularity seems to have been supported by the desire of Japanese women aspiring to be a star as a woman. After retiring from Shōchiku revue, Mizunoe became Japan's first female film-producer and built her career by paving her independent way into hitherto male-dominated areas of work (Mizunoe and Abe 1992, 13-14).

In contrast, another *otokoyaku* star of Takarazuka revue, Kasugano Yachiyo (1915-2012), born in the same year as Mizunoe, remained within the institution as a Takarazuka icon until her death, maintaining

her legendary status as a symbol of Japanese revue and dedicating the whole of her life to instructing her junior female colleagues.[130] When she passed away in 2012 at the age of ninety-six, a theatre scholar Suzuki Kunio (January 2013, 39-50) described her as a manifestation of the Platonic Idea who mastered stylised gestures and forms derived from European visual aesthetics as successfully as in her physical form of Japanese dance. The artificially crafted 'his' performative quality made *otokoyaku* into a fictive mastery necessarily integrated into the all-female revues, which would utilise gender liminality as an effective tool to increase the stage fantasy.[131]

While *otokoyaku* almost always stands out because of the visual fantasy of impersonating the other gender, those who support the collective power of revue stage are those female dancers who are made almost identical. The excessive display of young women could have symbolised the modern epoch in powerful ways: they could stand for a mass production, mechanical fertility, youthful feminine energy, eroticism or, subversively, the liberation of women. Their female body can be seen as commercial 'objects', but also as a projection of their stronger social presence as a powerful part of modern womanhood. These revue girls dancing in line may appear to constitute a collective idol not only as a manifestation of attractive modern girls, but also as the mechanical beauty of mass production. Nevertheless, dancing girls are not only collective idols. Here lies one of revue's social meanings to have given women a springboard from which to become active in Japanese society.

In examining the careers of these pioneering female performers, it is noteworthy that those who toured in America and Europe achieved domestic success on their return to Japan. This is because the Western assessment of an actress had a positive impact in Japan where actresses were still subjected to social prejudice and neglect. Westernisation and modernisation within Japan were two sides of one coin. Thus, those who established their reputation abroad could use it to their advantage in promoting their careers when they came back to Japan. Kichōkōen (gala productions to commemorate an actress's return home)

[130] In 1969, Kasugano became a model for a play, *Shōjo Kamen* (*The Virgin's Mask*), written by Karajurō to perform at Suzuki Tadashi's Waseda Shōjekijō (Kishida 2012, 63-65). In my view, this is a significant piece of work built on the concept of liminality between young and old, women and men, fantasy and reality. When looking at the relationship between revue and the so-called angura theatre movement in the 1960s, so-called Ankoku Takarazuka of Getshoku Kagekidan (1985-present) led by Takatori Ei can be seen as a self- consciously subversive production, which will constitute another subject of post-War consideration in terms of 'categorically liminal' theatre. Kamiyama Akira, in reference to Kujō Eiko (1935-2014), a Shōchiku revue girl who married Terayama Shūji, points out the importance of discussing revue and avant-garde (angra) as one of the common values in terms of spectacular show aspects and emphasis on unreality, unless otherwise seen through the bias of the commercial vs. the anti-commercial and experimental (Kamiyama 2015, 246, 256).

[131] Male impersonation was not particular to Japanese revue. For instance, Vista Tilley, the German revue star, and the actress Marline Dietrich impersonated in tuxedo and silk hat in the film, *Morocco* (1930). Vesta Tilley in London, Mistinguett and Josephine Baker in Paris entertained their audiences in smart gentlemanly disguise (Yamanashi 2012, 94-95). In modern entertainment, especially revue, male impersonation was a popular style to blur gender to counter-perform with social conventions and norms. There were revue girls like German Claire Waldorff who revealed her lesbian identity, but in general, the impersonation was a superficial treatment on stage, different from actresses' private lives and sexual identities.

stirred the national pride; recognition abroad gave extra weight to their respectable status as female performers. In one way or another, all of these women were regarded as new models of the professional woman, breaking down the conventions of Japanese womanhood and transforming the status of the Japanese female performer from that of geisha to actress, dancer, singer, magician or revue girls. This served to broaden the number of spheres in which women could work.

These female performers led very different lives and survived many hardships in their passionate desire to find a way to perform on stage. They were sometimes brought down by gossip and political ideology, but they proved themselves unyielding and determined to establish their status as women performers. They were inspired by Western predecessors, willing to learn from Western culture and adopt foreign performing techniques in order to establish a position for women in the realm of Japanese theatre. The public accreditation of women performing on stage as *joyū* was closely related to their liberation from the long-established feudal system and to the rise in their social status.

At a time when success for women was seen as achieving a good marriage, those women who chose to become actresses seem to have had a different dream – they wanted to be more independent and true to themselves, their talent and their ambition. It required strenuous effort and extraordinary drive for a woman to remain strong enough not to lose her way or sense of identity despite persistent scandals and personal attacks. Indeed, scandal and gossip were unavoidable for actresses, often bringing them greater fame and celebrity than the critical acclaim garnered by their performance skills. This was particularly the case at this time before the advent of visual broadcast media, when only a limited number of people could go to the theatre and actually see performances and so most only got to know the women by reputation, whether good or bad, through newspapers and magazines. Many female performers dropped out of public life due to constant criticism by the media and ended up seeking security in conventional lives as housewives, but there were a few fortunate, strong-willed women who resisted and built up successful careers for themselves as actresses and performers. All in all, they contributed to creating wider horizons and greater possibilities for the female performers coming after them as attitudes slowly changed towards Japanese women in society. *Joyū* has thus become an icon of Japanese modern womanhood, standing between criticism and adoration.

5.4 New Theatrical Genres for Girls and Women

At the transition period from the Meiji to the Taishō, the image of progressive women slowly shifted from so-called *atarashii onna* (new women) who were mainly well- educated ladies from bourgeois

families to *modan gâru* (modern girls), aka as *moga* who might not be able to afford to enter higher education but flouted conventions. I argue that early Japanese female performers can be seen in this transitional framework of new women and or modern girls, carving out their careers in the hitherto male-dominant Japanese theatre industry. Moving away from the focus on individual performers, this section will cast light on mainly five representative genres in which female performers came to play central roles: *Onna Kabuki*, *Musume-gidayu* (with a brief mention of *Josei nō* and *Otome bunraku*, *Onna Kengeki*), Asakusa Opera and Revue.

Throughout the Edo period, Kabuki was the most popular form of theatre in Japan. As seen in Chapter 4, as a part of their 'cultural reformation' programme, the Meiji government wished to make the Grand Kabuki into a national theatrical tradition, equivalent to European Grand Opera as the representation of the imperial nation. In this process, Kabuki as theatre for the people was increasingly taken over by the official elite which permitted female Kabuki performers to appear in small down- town Kabuki theatres. Ichikawa Kumehachi (1846-1913) and Nakamura Kasen (1889-1942) were female Kabuki performers who gained considerable popularity in Kanda: Kasen even became the chief of the Kanda Theatre. Kasen can be seen not only as one of the first female theatre managers, but an up-and-coming entrepreneur with a genius for innovation. For instance, she combined cinema footage with her modern *shinpa* dramas (a technique now known as *rensageki*, meaning chain play) as well as producing popular repertories from Kabuki (Toda 2012, 70-71). The female Kabuki performer was called *onna-yakusha*, rather than *joyū* (actress), and would have learnt Kabuki *kata* (set of forms) in order to act both male and female characters. The all-male Kabuki tradition was opening its door to female performers at a time when men and women performing together was still considered immoral, and Kasen started promoting joint Kabuki with established male Kabuki actors at her Kanda Theatre in 1919. Naturally, and ironically enough, in her own performances with the Kabuki actors, she came to play more female characters than before but in the traditional all-male Kabuki way (Toda 2012, 72).

On the other hand, *Gidayū* has long been the musical form associated with Kabuki, originally played and sung almost exclusively by professional male performers. The term *Musume-gidayu*, incorporating *musume* meaning girls, refers to the execution of the traditional narrative performance by young women instead. This new genre became a popular sensation after 1877 when the new legal control of *yose* (traditional entertainment houses) permitted female performers (Mizuno 1998, 76-99). In 1886, when there were only nine theatres in Tokyo, there were 230 *yose* houses (Mizuno 1998, 3) where Japanese women gradually got the chance to appear on stage. By the 1890s, individual *Musume-gidayū* were supported and celebrated by rival groups of fans amongst university students, novelists and poets in

cities like Tokyo and Osaka. This became a frequent target for criticism and moral censorship and created prejudice, resulting in the term 'taregeta', used for female performers of *gidayū*, a term which acquired perjorative overtones (Mizuno 1998, 195-209).

The narrative art of *gidayū* had a long tradition of solo performance accompanied by a musical instrument. These classic narratives, previously written and performed by male *gidayū*, were now performed by beautiful young girls. When famous lines expressing romantic feelings were performed by girls impersonating men, it excited the emotions of not only female audiences but also many male members of the audience: few of these had previously had the opportunity to see women on stage, since only the rich could afford to see geisha singing and dancing in *ozashiki* (houses of entertainment). The new development gave birth to female stars. Takemoto Ayanosuke became a leading *Musume-gidayū* star at the age of thirteen. Her personal name Ayanosuke is masculine, and her male impersonations seem to have been an important factor in her success; her costumes were cunningly crafted in such a way as to project a youthful androgynous aura. She retired after about ten years as a star with rivals appearing to take her place, such as Takemoto Kotosa, Takemoto Kyoko, Toyotake Roshō, and the sisters Toyotake Shōgiku and Shōnosuke. These young girls seem to have been both high-profile and powerful but they were rare in the competitive entertainment industry.

There were other genres that had traditionally been practiced by men in which women, though limited in number, began to perform and become prominent during the 1920s and the 1930s. Shirasu Masako, married to the diplomat Shirasu Jirō, was the first women to dance Nō on stage in 1924 and wrote a number of books about Nō: female Nō performers were officially acknowledged in 1948. In the Japanese puppet theatre tradition, Bunraku, the puppeteers and musicians were also all originally male, but in 1925, a small troupe consisting of female puppeteers appeared – Otome Bunraku (the Maidens' Puppet Theatre). In 1931, a progressive troupe Zenshin-za (meaning moving forward) was formulated by kabuki actors to broaden the scope of the traditional theatre by eagerly taking in actresses.[132]

Within the traditional performing arts, *Onna Kengeki*, must also not be forgotten. Literally translated, *Onna Kengeki* means women's sword-play; mature women impersonating men in masculine attire were the attractions in samurai dramas. The pioneer in this field is generally considered to be Kajiwara Kajō who performed as a handsome samurai in her popular 1920s repertoires (Kamiyama 2014, 267). Yet, it became more fashionable in the 1930s when two stars, Ōe Michiko (1910-1939) and Fuji Yōko (1912-

[132] History of Zenshin-za Theatre:. Accessed on September 15, 2018
http://www.zenshinza.com/infomration/rekishi/history.html

1980), increased the genre's popularity. Ōe had trained with the Takarazuka Revue and included Western techniques such as tap dancing in her samurai drama, alongside another Kengeki actress, Nakano Hiroko, who gained a reputation as a handsome male impersonator (Kamiyama 2014, 269). In 1938, the contemporary theatre critic Oka Kitarō commented on Ōe as follows: 'This Kengeki is quite different from usual Kengeki, she is first and foremost a fully developed actress – a true actress' (quoted in Kamiyama 2014, 129). Talking about Fuji Yōko, Mori (1992, 45-46) argues that she appeared to take advantage of her sex- appeal in subverting her femininity to achieve masculinity in Japanese conventional male attire in a way that was more enjoyable for the audience. However, the art of good Kengeki was to craft male characters as convincingly and stylishly as the skillful actress could manage. This was essentially more challenging than just impersonating Western male characters because it meant confronting national Japanese conventions, physically creating an alternative to the hitherto mainstream all-male stage dramas. They would do their best to perform handsome Japanese samurai in a stylised manner, and attracted not only female members of the audience but many male audiences as well. In this way, Onna Kengeki was, like Onna Kabuki and Josei Nō or Museme Gidayū and Otome Bunraku, a metaphor for modernity, evolving from traditional Japanese performance practice: it suggested an antithesis to, rather than a reinforcing of stereotypical Japanese manhood, by combining its image with an alluring aura of femininity. In parallel with this shifting approach to Japanese conventional theatrical genres, a more significant number of female performers can be observed in the newly imported Western genres. The first of these was Asakusa Opera, named after the area of downtown Tokyo in which it flourished. Not strictly Grand Opera in the Western sense, Asakusa Opera embraced all sorts of musical theatre, including translated adaptations of Western opera, operetta and dance (Nakano 2017, 356-359). It is commonly held that the success of this genre was initiated by Takagi Tokuko introduced above, who was famous as Japan's first dancer to perform in the pointe shoes of Western ballet. She had worked in Vaudeville in America, and went on to found The Global Variety Theatre in 1916, presenting American-style musical comedy (Soda 1989, 158-165). Asakusa Opera was then popularised by similar female performers who could dance and sing in the Western style (Sugiyama 2015, 114).[133] As already seen in Chapter 4, the golden age of Asakusa Opera was short because the entire area was destroyed by the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923. However, it enjoyed an intensive, fertile seven years in which these Western-style productions (musical theatre modelled on Western ideas) gave Japanese women a greater opportunity to perform on stage to a wider public.

[133] These stars included Sawa Morino (1890-1933) who was a sexually alluring dancer; Kawai Sumiko (1893-?) a chorus girl; Hara Nobuko (1893-1979) an instructor at the Imperial Theatre's Opera Department; Hara Seiko (1895-1977) the founder of modern dance in Japan; and Kimura Tokiko (1897-1962) a well-known opera singer (Sugiyama 2015, 118).

Concerning the rising recognition of the female performed in the genres presented so far, the irony was that, despite their rising reputation as actresses proper both in artistic and technical terms, the gossip and scandal surrounding their private lives not only made them famous, but infamous in terms of challengingIn order to 'protect' young female performers from this risk of losing public favour, the all-female revue companies operated along the lines of the school system. This was particularly the case with the all-girl Takarazuka and Shōchiku companies whose school system functioned to protect the girls and project a more acceptable image of female performers, an image which was more amateur than professional. Accordingly, their stage performance, inevitably, may well conjure up the atmosphere of something between school festivals and a professional showcase.

In Japan, revue was the genre thus developed somewhat strategically: it became phenomenally popular and continues to thrive right up to today. The all-female revue was established by Takarazuka in 1913 followed by the Shōchiku Revue in 1922. As we have already seen, these all-girl productions were spectacular and generated an unprecedented revue boom in Japan. They were especially successful because they operated in the context of a music school that educated female students not only as stage performers but also as skilful, well-trained women; the organisations became respected institutions for girls to aspire to and for the society to acknowledge. The schoolgirl identity also enabled aspiring actresses to transition from student amateurs to professional performers. This situation was a key factor in revue's success in Japan because the female students were able to protect themselves from the usual clichés about woman performing in public as depraved, dangerous and responsible for moral corruption. In effect, the all-female revue attracted many female audience members who would feel 'safe' to go to theatres. They particularly idolised *otokoyaku* (male-impersonators), seeing them not only as the representative of a new type of disciplined, chivalrous male unlike the traditional Japanese man, but also as providing an optimistic portrayal of Japanese womanhood fighting for equality with men both on stage and in society.

While Takarazuka and Shōchiku (until its dissolution in 1996) were the authorities on revue, the genre's guiding lights and a cradle of female performers, numerous lesser revue troupes and productions were inspired by their grand revues and mushroomed across the country. Even if one considers the recorded instances alone, there were more than twenty-five all-girl revue troupes established across the country by the 1930s (Kurahashi and Tsuji 2005, 191-193). Characteristically, many of these revue girls performed in amusement parks, spa houses, travel inns and department stores – the venues for popular entertainment other than theatres (Appendix II). This proves the trend for girls' revues spread nationwide, from the north of

Hokkaido to the south of Kyūshū.

On the other hand, Japanese revue had another important domestic root. There is some evidence of interaction between *maiko* (traditional dancing maidens in the geisha world of Kyoto) and the revue girls' spectacular *Miyako Odori* – a Japanese-style revue emphasising synchronised dance routines (Hamaguchi 2015, 73-78). The grand revues of Takarazuka and Shōchiku were also inspired by the group dance of maiko girls (Nakano 2014, 243). The most prominent persona to play an important role to 'Westernise' maiko dance for revue is Umemoto Rikuhei (1897-1985), the Japanese dancer as well as a ballet dancer, who was appointed by Takarazuka Revue as an in-house choreographer but also worked for Shōchiku revue (Kuwahara 2008, 20-23). He choreographed a lavish revue of *maiko* style dance with a Western orchestra, and created a seasonal series of *Haruno Odori* (Spring Dance) and *Akino Odori* (Autumn Dance) in a similar vein as *maiko* which would showcase in spring and autumn in Kyoto and Tokyo.

Furthermore, in relation to *maiko*, Kawai Dance deserves special mention. Kawai Dance was a unique example of a modern Western-style dance troupe related to both revue and *maiko* which was formed only from the *maiko* girls of a single tea house. Founded by Kawai Kōichirō in 1921, the all-girl dance company enthusiastically introduced classical ballet, Spanish dance, polka and sometimes even acrobatics into their work. The girls were also trained to play Western musical instruments such as the xylophone and trumpet (Shibata 2014, 180-184). Though they would have been cynically called a 'Geiko [or Geisha] Dance Company', what Kawai Dance aimed at was a serious exercise in popularising Western dance in the hope of modernising and reinvigorating Japanese dance conventions. The girls were positively acknowledged as 'Modern Geisha' (Watanabe 2003, 100) and 'Swing Girls of Modern Times' (Hashizume 2005, 246), and represented a modern trend in Great Osaka – the second biggest city of Japan. Though they employed a Russian ballet instructor, their dance was developed by imitating Western models. Their claim to originality is thus in some doubt, but the important fact is that the traditional *maiko* girls adopted Western dance forms and became part of the nationwide trend for all-girl revues.

Along with the glorious success of the all-girl revue, it should be remembered that revues featuring male and female performers on stage together were also gaining increasing popularity and acceptance. As seen in Chapter 4, revue was often staged between film screenings at cinema theatres as part of the Asakusa Opera (Sugiyama 2015, 125). Asakusa Casino Follies (1929-1933) was a cabaret-style theatre dedicated to revues of erotically nuanced comical sketches, while Shinjuku Moulin Rouge (1931-1951) was another organisation trying to produce revues with theatrical aspirations but gradually inclining towards variety (Nakano 2011, 76-99). In Hibiya, N.D.T. aka Nichigeki Theatre Dancing Team (1936-

1981) became famous for their high-kicking dance revues while the Music Hall located in the same building would present nude shows. These different revues catered for a wide variety of audiences and combined to create an unprecedented boom in the modern genre, in which women had a much greater opportunity to express themselves in displays which ranged from innocent charm to erotic allure. Revue girls can be criticised as frivolous or flashy, pitied as objects of the male gaze or patriarchal exploitation: both perspectives deserve academic examination. However, perhaps more interestingly, the revue performer can be seen also as a representation of the active emancipation of Japanese women and revue itself as a metaphor for modernity invigorated by the increasingly significant presence of women.

This chapter has given an extensive, though by no means completely comprehensive, overview of the Japanese women who performed on stage at a period of transition between tradition and modernity. My focus has been on the female performers from the Meiji period of the late nineteenth century to the early Shōwa period of the 1930s. It was a crucial transition period for Japanese women performing in public, as they moved from the conventional role of a geisha to the modern profession of *joyū* – an actress in the Western sense. The emergence of Japanese women on stage corresponded closely to the emergence of women in Japanese society generally. The first section of my chapter looked at the importance of increasing school education for girls in the early period. It was no coincidence that school festivals provided female students with an initial opportunity to appear on stage and develop an interest in theatre which stayed with them, whether as potential audience members or performers. In fact, female performers in Japan have largely been supported by female audiences who became powerful consumers; when Japanese women no longer remained secluded at home but came into town to enjoy leisure activities, theatre-going became a popular option. In a changing society in which Japanese women gradually began to study and work in the public sphere, theatre was one of the realms which accommodated women and gave them an attractive opportunity to display their talents and personal presence in public.

In this way, the relationship between performing women and modernity in Japan can be observed in Japanese women at the threshold of performing the conventional and the progressive. Needless to repeat, ‘modernisation’ did not simply mean the belief in Western ‘progress’ or ‘civilisation’, nor merely imitating Western standards. As far as these female performers and their audiences were concerned, they seem to have been seriously and consciously searching for their own identity in the world of modern theatre. Their identity as actresses meant a new identity for Japanese womanhood, fighting feudal

institutions. In order to achieve this, adopting an alternative Western style was a positive means to attract people with something different, new and surprising.

It can be said that women were better fitted for this role than men because their presence on stage was itself a stimulating new spectacle. The Japanese actress became a symbol of modernity which had considerable impact not only on the theatrical world, but also on Japanese society in general. There were intellectual women who fought theoretical and ideological battles for women's independence and human rights but we should not forget these women on stage, including a number of anonymous, now forgotten performers, who fought in practice. If the former stand for the intellectual liberation of women, the latter stand for the physical liberation of women. Therefore, the theatre industry resoundingly reflects the rising force of Japanese women in attaining public recognition. To exemplify the significance of revue in that industry in the view of various liminal features we have seen so far, the next chapter focuses on the Takarazuka Revue as a case study of a prototype of such a liminal theatre genre.

CHAPTER SIX

‘Established in 1914, the all-female Takarazuka Revue Company
has been offering delightful combinations of song, dance and drama
while performing both male and female roles in contemporary and traditional productions.’

(Takarazuka Revue’s official English PR statement)[134]

Takarazuka Revue as a Prototype of Liminal Theatre

The premise of this thesis that revue is a liminal theatre genre must be proved by the specific example of the all-female Takarazuaka Revue. Taking into account of all the different kinds of liminality we have seen in the previous chapters,Takarazuaka Revue as a prototype of the liminal theatre genre. Initially called Takarazuka Shōjo Kageki (Takarazuka Girls’ Opera) from the school’s foundation in 1913 to the War-time restriction in 1940,[135] it was set up in the suburban spa town between Kobe and Osaka by the Hankyū railway industrialist Kobayashi Ichizō; it successfully moved to central Tokyo when its own theatre was built in 1934.

Taking Takarazuka as a model, this chapter aims to articulate the dynamic interplay between the various liminal conditions of revue. This will eventually demonstrate that breaking down the conventional norms and making harmony out of these seemingly binary oppositions in fragmented ways is an aesthetic of the modernity attributed to revue. The representation of complex modernity depicted on the revue stage will be assessed through two case studies about *Mon Paris* (1927) and *Ryūsenbi* (1936) as representations of the modern epoch.

6.1 The Liminal Traffic in Flux and Ambiguous Identity: Theoretical Liminality

The liminal world of Takarazuka appears multilayered with a number of contradictions and compromises, which creates a complex fantasy adventure.[136] There is a premise that Takarazuka Revue can be interpreted as a representation of the dilemma which arose due to its effort to harmonise the

[134] Printed in the company’s souvenir merchandise such as postcards.

[135] The term, *shōjo* was prohibited because the monotorium period of girls was not necessary for the militant nation (Yamanashi 2012, 24)

[136] The word, fantasy adventure was used from 1974. When Kobayashi Kōhei became the chairman of Takarazuka Revue Company, he set the company’s slogan to be ‘Fantasy Adventure’ (Yamanashi 2012, 112).

supposedly contrasting elements as listed in the following balance sheet:[137]

少女（乙女）	girls/maiden	新しい女	new women
聖女	sacred women	悪女	wicked women
良妻賢母	good wife, wise mother	モダンガール	modern girls
花柳界・ 芸子学校風	heritage of the geisha world	女優	actress
男性	men	女性	women
男性性	masculinity	女性性	femininity
男役	otokoyaku	娘役＞女役	musumeyaku > onnayaku
学校	school	劇団	company
教育	education	商売	commercial
アマ（学生）	amateur (student)	プロ（社員）	professional (employee)
個性	individual	集団（没個性）	collective
舞台化粧	on stage	素顔	off stage
保守的	conservative, conventional	革新的	innovative
伝統	traditional	モダン	modern
古	old	新	new/young
洋	western	和	Japanese
西洋	occidental	東洋	oriental
外国	foreign	自国	domestic
実	reality	虚	fake, fantasy
独自	original	模倣	immitative
雅	elegant	俗	vulgar
優	superior	劣	inferior
特権的	high, elitist	大衆的	low, mass
洗練	sophisticated	奇怪	grotesque
本物	authentic	紛物	kitsch

[137] These contrasting points were discussed in the Butaigeijyutsukōza (Theatre Art Takarazuka Seminar) in which the author participated at Waseda University between 2011 and 2013. The extended list is derived from a discussion with Professor Watanabe Yoshitaka and students.

特異	particular	普遍	universal
地方	rural, regional, provincial local	都会	urban, metropolitan
国家的	national	世界的	global

This is an extensive list but some terms cannot be analysed in a straightforward way, and some are overlapping with slight differences in terms of their nuances. The point about my methodology is to employ the idea of liminality to weigh revue between these binary features and to prove that revue possesses both features to some degree. The important factor is that the degree is not fixed, but fluid in the liminal traffic. If the three liminal concepts and the idea of passage introduced in Chapter 1 were to be applied to Takarazuka Revue, theatrical liminality is obvious in the way Takarazuka juxtaposes various genres – both traditional and avant-garde – which generates Ikōtsū of philosophical liminality in Shinohara's words, i.e. heterogeneous-traffic where different components emerge to produce further diversity. Moreover, an anthropological concept of liminality can also be useful in understanding both historical and social aspects of the Takarazuka Revue Company and its music school system, and in assessing its identity as national theatre vs. global theatre, nurtured over more than a hundred years. Last but not least, Takarazuka provides a raison d'être for passages by revealing its geographical context in terms of fostering a cradle for revue and liminal urban experiences, between local Takarazuka town and Tokyo, as well as between Japan and Europe. The ambiguïté (ambiguity) or ambivalence that determines the liminal nature is the very identity of revue unparalleled in other genres. Liminal traffic is condensed in Takarazuka Revue which embraces all of the types of liminality listed above, and continues to be of influence even up to now Takarazuka is thus not only reminiscent of modern times, but also an ongoing evolving revue theatre to reckon with. We shall now look at some of the heterogeneous traffic inside liminality and will eventually conclude that revue is a composition of betweenness, namely a liminal theatre genre.

6.2 Physical and Gender Liminality

As seen in Chapter 5, *joyū* represented a new profession allowing women to work in public with a certain pride. Revue girls were not the exception to represent women's emancipation because they were modern girls standing between convention and liberation. When it comes to the all-female revue particular to Japan, those revue girls have sometimes been considered as school girls at the transition from childhood to maturity, belonging to music and dance schools. Being students, these young revue girls are still today regarded as performers between amateur and professional. Besides this, given the all-female nature of revue, they had to

impersonate male characters out of which they grew performative identities skillfully and flexibly crafted between men and women, as if to slip from one gender to another as easily as if they were costumes. Thus, drawing on the liminality between girls and women, amateur and professional is important for it was only due to the school system that young women were supported to pursue socially respectable careers as actresses. In contrast to the mature professional *gesiha*, girls needed school protection under which they safely and admirably remained students. In this context, the all-female Takarazuka Revue Company, which is still annexed to its Music School today, is the convincing legacy of the modern educational strategy to train Japanese female performers.

Therefore, Takarazuka revue girls are never called *joyū* until they 'graduate' from the school company. They are regulated by strict rules that students must remain unmarried and blameless in order to ensure that no student is the subject of scandal or disreputable gossip. This is why their identity stands on the liminal between students and professionals and thus between amateur and professional. In addition to the way people call the Takarazuka performers 'Takarazuka no *seito-san* (Takarazuka's student)', the Takarazuka girls are also called 'Takarasiennes' in a playful mimicry of 'Parisiennes'. This habit began when they achieved remarkable success with *Mon Paris* (1927), Japan's first French-style revue, tracing their idealised image of Europe, especially through Parisienne revues in France. The Takarazuka director who studied in Paris and established many of the representative Takarazuka Revue styles, Shirai Tetsuzō, produced a revue called *Takarasienne* (1937), whose lyrics in the theme song *Hanazono Takarazuka* present an immaculate image of the students represented (Yamanashi 2012, 41):

> Is the flower a violet, so grateful,
> or is that a lilac, so pretty Takarasiennes,
> listen to the songbirds gaily singing
> You sing like they do of the joy of spring
> Takarasiennes, may you bloom purely, honestly, gracefully,
> Our Takarasiennes.[138]

The famous doctrine, *kiyoku, tadashiku, utskushiku* (purely, honestly, gracefully), is included in the lyric. This doctrine was introduced on the occasion of the opening of Tokyo Takarazuka Theatre in Hibiya in order to distinguish their revue as different from other kinds of revue popular in Asakusa. The Takarazuka Music School Chief, Hikita Ichirō, stated:

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[138] The author's translation:「花は すみれか 姿やさし リラの花か 愛らし たからじぇんぬ 君よ 聴けよ歌は楽し 小鳥か 春の喜び歌うたからじぇんぬ 清く正しく美しく咲け 我がたからじぇんぬ」

> Takarazuka must be pure, bright, and healthy throughout. Takarazuka consisting only of girls at the average age of eighteen must be a group of innocent female students …The more we get into Tokyo, there is no other way for us than setting our position with the innocent image of the Takarazuka as a school (Hikita 1933, 20). [139]

Takarazuka is a music school as much as a company. This dual identity of the institution as well as of the performers makes Takarazuka a fundamentally liminal theatre genre. Under the famous doctrine of Takarazuka Music School, the image of Takarazuka girls has remained idealised. The revue girls have been in the ambivalent position of being progressive modern girls but with the ideological potentiality of becoming good wives and wise mothers after 'graduating' from the quasi-school revue company.[140] Notwithstanding this system, these teenage girls exist in a state of physical development at the critical threshold between *musume* (girls) and *onna* (women). They are not yet fully matured women in appearance, which could create an attractive nuance in terms of asexual neutrality for gender representation in portraying various characters, adding extra allure to the stage fantasy. In Takarazuka, therefore, both occupational and gender liminality nuances are particular to those young revue girls. This medial position is comparable with *miko* (shrine maiden) and *kannon* (Goddess of Mercy) whom Takarazuka girls also impersonate at the local festivals.

The first seven elements in the balance sheet above are concerned with the liminality of sexual and gender differences. In our common understanding, sexuality is biologically defined while gender is socially and culturally constructed. The American feminist scholar Judith Butler challenges the prevalent simple readings of sex and gender. She argues that, 'gender is a kind of imitation for which there is no original' (1990, 21) for there is the 'fact that 'being' a sex or gender is fundamentally impossible' (ibid., 19). According to Butler, therefore, both sex and gender are the ideal constructs which one can approach but never become.

Karen Nakamura and Hisako Matsuo point out the unfortunate situation in America where 'most of the scholarship on female masculinity has tied it intimately to lesbianism with a strong emphasis on the physical body and physical sex acts of those involved' (Nakamura and Matsuo 2005, 131), and further

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[139] The author's translation: 「宝塚は、どこまでも、清く、明るく、健康でなければならないのです。平均年齢十八歳の宝塚、そこにあるものは清純な女学生の集団であらねばなりません。（中略）東京に進出すればするほど、益々学校宝塚の旗幟を鮮明にして、進むの外ありません。」

[140] It is true that the image of well-behaved Takarazuka girls has been considered an ideal in terms of marriageable women amongst Japanese men, while a number of Takarazuka graduates have forged their own career in society (Yamanashi 2012, 47).

seek the reason in 'the fact that the original work on sex/gender in the West came from the psychopathologisation of sex/sexual 'inversions' since the discourse by Krafft-Ebing and Michel Foucault (ibid.).

The American anthropologist Jennifer Robertson is also not an exception in her scholarly examination of Takarazuka Revue as shown, very obviously, in her monograph title, *Takarazuka: Sexual Politics* (1994). Nakamura and Matsuo assert that it is seriously tragic of post-Freudian society to sexualise all human relationships and they blame this situation for disallowing consideration of the possibility of asexualised relationships and the transcendence of gender in non-Freudian societies (ibid. 2005, 132). Such society includes Japan. Also, as they emphasise, Takarazuka Revue and the gender construction around it is the product of such society where the discourse about the identity of the self and the other, or about the feminine and masculine, has not been structured through the lens of gendered Western biomedicine nor through Freudian psychoanalysis (ibid. 2005, 159, note 2). Another scholar, who specialises in the history of Japanese women and children, Honda Kazuko, asserts that in the conventional cannon, there is no habit of psychological endeavour to purely transmit sexuality ー the most subjective attribute for every one of us ー in the love we offer to others (Honda 1990, 153-154).[141]

Though the asexualised canon, Takarazuka, with its female performers, can be examined fairly as an artefact. Since its foundation to this day, all Takarazuka revue girls have been trained at and graduated from the Takarazuka Music School, meaning their student identity continues throughout their career in the Takarazuka Revue Company (Yamanashi 2012, 40-48). To repeat, Takarazuka performers are never called *joyū* (actresses) but *seito* (students). In this way, their identity as a performer functions in between the professional and the amateur, conveying the legacy from the Meiji-Toishō period when performance at school was not only a part of modern education for Japanese women, but also a platform of aspiration from to realise their dreams. Yoshiya Nobuko, a popular female writer for girls in the Taishō period, published a report 'Yome-no-kōjou (Dream Factory)' about her visit to the Takarazuka Music School in 1930 (Yamanashi 2012, 143):

> 'What I expect of you is that you are always conscious about why you are training so hard in the arts every day. You must deepen your understanding of art, so that you can console and vitalise the hearts of many people. If possible, I wish all of you to become stars. Nothing in the real

[141] The author's translation: 「性というもっとも主我的なものをも、他者への愛というものに純化させようとする心的努力の習慣がない」

> world comes easy. It's only by your hope and continuous effort you can achieve your aim.' (Yoshiya 1930, 72) [142]

In this statement of encouragement, Yoshiya states an important value about every girl's individual endeavour and their self-development as if to assert that women should achieve their dreams by developing themselves. Never-giving- up and obtain your dream is a strong positive message Takarazuka revue radiates. The performing girls, called Takarasiennes after Parisiennes, are described as 'yume wo uru yōsei (fairies who sell dreams)'.[143]

The Takarazuka Music School recruits students every year – and competition for places is extremely high – by inviting applicants through advertisement slogans such as 'Come and Spend the Flourishing Years of Dream' or 'You becomes a dream'. With this dream-selling strategy, while maintaining the high aim for artistic expression, Takarazuka Revue has been a commercial theatre strongly tied to the market system and consumer society. This shows its liminal position questioning the discursive borders between educational and commercial, artistic and saleable, high culture and low culture.

The all-girl Takarazuka has another distinctive feature in terms of physical liminality: stylisation of the male-impersonator called *otokoyaku*. Literally, *otokoyaku* means the man's role. It is indeed the role expected to be artificially acted by young women. It is crafted by the female body, exaggerating the men's typical behaviour and fashions in terms of an idealised image. This gives a comparative contrast with kabuki's female impersonator, *onnagata*, the man who plays women's roles. While the former refines the essence ofmasculinity, the later focuses on the essence of femininity. Both of them are highly crafted with artistic stylisation of femininity and masculinity. Enacted by the ultimate other in sex, gender on stage is highly constructed and performed in a trained style.

Japanese single-sex theatre of Kabuki and Takarazuka have been the focus of much attention from foreign scholars, building up academic discourses about 'gender performativity' in theatre. In the past two decades, they have constantly attempted to analyse Takarazuka in relation to gender studies; some of these studies are: Kabuki scholar Helen S.E. Parker's article titled 'The Men of Our Dreams: The Role of the Otokoyaku in the Takarazuka Revue Company's "Fantasy Adventure"' (2001); Stefanie

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[142] The author's translation:「 Yoshiya Nobuko saw the 'Dream Factory');「私が皆さんに希望しますことは、貴女方が毎日藝術にいそしんでいらっしゃる目的が何処にあるか、それは藝術の深奥を究め、それによって、多くの人々の心を慰め潤すことである、ということをハッキリと自覚して勉強して頂きたい、そして願わくば、皆さんの総てがスターとなって貰い度いのであります。世の中のことは、何事によらず、富籤式に偶然にやって来るものではありません。希望を持って絶えずその方への努力をすることに依って、初めて実を結ぶものなのです。」(「夢の工場」を観る吉屋信子」『歌劇』*240* 号 (1930 年 3 月, 72 頁)

[143] Written by Utsumi Shigenri, the theme song of Takarasienne ni eikou are in 1962 defined the dream-selling image.

Thomas in 'The Takarazuka Revue's Kabuki Connection: Gender Performativity as Escape and Indoctrination' (Ohio State University) and Jessica Marie Perreira in 'Masculinity on Women in Japan: Gender Fluidity Explored Through Literature and Performance' (Scrippes College, 2017). As for monographs, American based Ayako Kano, the author of *Acting Like a Woman in Modern Japan: Theater, Gender, and Nationalism* (2001), Jennifer Robertson of *Takarazuka sexual Politics* (1994), and Australian Leoine R. Stickland of *Gender Gymnastics: Performing and Consuming Japan's Takarazuka Revue* (2008) all tend to talk about gender bending in theatre practice as queer or relating to the performer's sexual identity.

Nevertheless, I suggest that it is also necessary to find a way look at gender other than politically. This approach can be called gender neutrality or fluidity, made possible when constructed on stage, in a particular performance narrative. Kabuki's *onnnagata* as a costumed gender advocated by Kabuki scholar Katherine Mezur offers a convincing view of gender other than that the performer her/himself should be regarded in terms of the cosmetic makeup worn on the surface, and that gender is also 'costumed' on stage (Mezur 2005, 193–211). In this regard, Takie Sugiyama Lebra provides an interesting viewpoint that the act of 'wrapping', i.e. concealing the object within a beautiful but enigmatic exterior, constitutes an essential Japanese identity, as observed in stores, layers of kimono or in the aesthetic of food presentation. Japanese culture is excessive in terms of its wrapping practice, no matter what the material is: paper, cloth or bamboo leaf. Sugiyama argues that social behaviour in Japan is 'characterized by linguistic, spatial, and bodily 'wrapping' of self – that is, presentation of an acceptable and appropriate 'package' to the outside world' (Sugiyama 2005, 65-66). Quite adequately in an asexualised context, this theory can be applied to the performance of gender on stage. In a way, the body of impersonators are wrapped thickly and decoratively to the extent that they discretely diminish their original sexuality rendering them like puppet dolls.

The real body underneath is only 'hinted' at as an aura, if Benjamin's term is applied here, of the non-reproducible phenomenon to be experience with the audience within the space and time limit of the stage production. The imagination and interpretation of the audience are bound to be varied – which is a matter going beyond the production itself. As a matter of fact, Robert Greene, in the chapter about the Dandy in The Art of Seduction (2003), states: 'Most of us feel trapped within the limited roles that the world expects us to play. We are instantly attracted to those who are more fluid than we are….[Androgynous individuals] excite us because they cannot be categorised, and hint at a freedom we want for ourselves. They play with masculinity and femininity; they fashion their own physical image, which is always

startling' (Greene 2003, 41). The word androgynous is tricky because it is taken for granted that it refers to combining both sexes. Rather, I would suggest that neutral and asexualised are more appropriate words to talk about the artificially crafted persona on stage – as when we look at a doll. Otherwise, Greene's statement has a point in assuming why the gender-trick fantasy on stage is alluring, and why otokoyaku became the essential attraction in the Japanese revue tradition.

In Takarazuka, *otokoyaku* is usually paired with the female role *musumeyaku.* The reason why the female role is called *musume* (girl) and not *onna* (woman) is due to their young female-student identity, which also infers women in transition from childhood not only to physical maturity but also to the yet unknown grown-up world. Therefore, they are fluid. In the 1920s context, they were naturally a part of 'modern girls' more than 'new women'. In that respect, Takarazuka's student performers can remain as amicable amateurs while displaying their skills to become professional. Like the popular high-school baseball matches, Takrazuka audiences enjoy their liminal status where the student performers have much potential to develop, to which they can contribute by cheering and supporting. Its amateurish nature is thus a necessary attribute for Takarazuka Revue to continue thriving. If they are all self-sufficient established professionals, with the artful mastery of stylised impersonation, they attract less fans who are willing to take a part in developing the stars of their own.[144] The amateur-professional liminality is thus very important for sustaining the fans' delight in participating in their development, i.e. in creating the stage to meet their satisfaction. This liminal position in between student amateur and professional actress confirms Takarazuka's unique institutional position described above, between school and company, enabling the strategic management between educational schooling and commercial business.

6.3 From Takarazuka Spa Town to Hibiya, Then to the World: Spatial Liminality

In Japan, it is significant that private railway companies have played a major role in the leisure industry and popular culture encompassing sport and shopping to museum and theatre. Most baseball teams and department stores in Japan are still run by railway companies, as well as a number of hotels, zoos and theme parks, art museums and theatres.[145] In particular, family-unit excursions and consumer

[144] See Yamanashi (2012, 149) for more discussion about fandom in comparison to the sports culture of high school's all-boy baseball

[145] How the Japanese railway business evolved into Japan's leading entertainment industry can be observed in Hankyū, Tokyū, Seibu, Tōbu, Keikyū. A Japanese scholar of railway studies, Hara Takashi (1998), distinguishes the culture in Kansai and Kanto according to the methods for railway development. While Tokyo-based Kantō area was developed mainly by government-oriented national railways (today's Japan Rail), the Osaka-based area was developed by private companies represented by Hankyū Railway which financed Takarazuka Revue

activities have been formulated as an integral part of railway development for which Hankyū was the forerunner, becoming a successful mécénat establishment. Takarazuaka Revue was a typical outcome of such railway industry which financed and realised a cultural venture serving the masses (in the sense that it was not meant to be exclusive and selected few elitists). This is because urban development was enforced by connecting rural areas and countryside via railway network across the nation. Hankyū Railway Ltd. was certainly one of the pioneers of patronising culture and of providing cultural experiences to the wider public, especially serving women and children. Therefore, Takarazuka Revue, emerging in the context of the development of a small provincial spa town which grew into a leading modern leisure city, will be looked at through the scope of the railway venture.

The birth of Takarazuka Revue in the provincial town of Takarazuka was initiated by the grand local venture of the innovative entrepreneur Kobayashi Ichizō who founded Hankyū Railway in 1911, and Takarazuka Revue in 1914. Situated along the rustic Muko River, Takarazuka was initially a small provincial town with a hot spring (Yamanashi 2012, 6). Kobayashi's housing development scheme of suburban areas culminated in Takarazuka at the very end of his Hankyū railway line that enabled access from Osaka and Kobe within about forty minutes. From Osaka Umeda station where Japan's first terminal department store was built, Hankyū connected the Takarazuka Line to bring its passengers, especially women and children, to spend family time in Takarazuka. Since Kobayashi was a businessman with an enthusiastic interest in nurturing modern forms of culture, his serious vision was to make Takarazuka into a mega amusement centre. Takarazuka would offer modern facilities with much Western flair: a public bath with a powder room, a hotel with flush toilets, restaurants, cafes and bars, a zoo, a botanical garden, mechanical rides for children, an Art Deco style dance hall, a film studio, a cinema and the big revue theatre (Hashizume 2000, 73). As a result, Takarazuka became a city of fully artificial modern flavours at its extreme. In Kobayashi's words, Takarazuka was a 'fabricated new city' made in feverish favour of modern life (Kobayashi 1980, 5).

This artificial development was, not withstanding, linked to the expansion of the railway network and the trendy expositions we have seen. Comparable to those European expositions described in Chapter 2, small-scale expositions begun to take place in Japan in the 1870s, first at temples in Kyoto and Nara, followed by governmentally initiated ones in Ueno Tokyo as seen in Chapter 4. They were performative sites with purposes for entertaining as well as enlightening people with the latest discoveries, both industrial and artistic, introduced from abroad and designed to broaden people's knowledge through a range of novel objects on display. It was actually in this context that Takarazuka Revue started as one

of the attractions at Konrei Hakurankai (Wedding Exposition) in 1914 sponsored by Osaka Mainichi Newspaper (Tsuganezawa 1991, 16). Tied up with the newspaper media and the railway company, the Wedding Exposition in Takarazuka was an exposition aiming at female visitors to allow them see the history of Japanese marriage conventions in comparison with the newly introduced Western- style wedding cerebrations. It was an appropriate occasion to promote Takarazuka as a modern city to inspire Japanese women and children through the Western partnership and marriage manners, in which the all-female revue made a debut, staging one of the first Japanese operas and European music and dance. The first performance programme was titled Otogi Kageki (A Fairy Tale Operetta), apparently aiming at an audience of women and children. The programme constituted four short performances: Donburako (based on the famous folk story of Momotarō: Peach Boy), Ukare Daruma (The High-spirited Dharma: a comic opera about a tumbling doll), and a dance show Kochō (Butterfly) (Yamanashi 2012, 7). Ever since, Takarazuka revue has been producing women-friendly themes and has gained popularity amongst female audiences, emphasising mutual romantic love as opposed to Japanese conventions of feudalistic men-women partnerships where women are usually depicted passive and obedient. This is the local background to Takarazuka that started in a provincial town. Not many people could have predicted that Takarazuka would become famous nationwide in a few decades, and worldwide in several decades, due to the success of the local revue theatre.

To talk about Takarazuka revue at the height of its in Tokyo cannot be neglected. As seen in the section of Asakusa revue, Tokyo as the nation's centre of politics, finance and culture was severely damaged and affected by the earthquake. The aftermath of the earthquake made cultured people move to the South, and develop the culture referred to as 'Hanshin-kan modernism' in the area between Osaka and Kobe. While Kobe was a harbour city at the forefront of importing foreign culture, Osaka was developing as the second biggest city competing with Tokyo. Unlike Tokyo, Osaka was a merchant city invigorated by private enterprises. Away from official authorities in the governing capital of Tokyo, Osaka offered private companies and entrepreneurs more freedom to compete and create innovative modern ventures (Hara, 1998). It was in this Hanshin-kan modernism context that the railway enterprise, garden city residence, leisure institutions and public park along with the family recreation centre in Takarazuka which cooperated with the revue theatre were outstandingly developed (Hanshinkan Modernism Exhibition Committee, 1998).

By the time its exclusive Daigekijō (Grand Theatre) was built in 1924 with capacity for three thousand audience members (Yamanashi 2012, 13), Takarazuka had become the foremost modern leisure area of the time. Here is an impressive description written in1929 to show how modern the local Takarazuka was perceived as being at that time:

> '…everything is modern. Thoroughly modern indeed. Nothing is more modern than today's Takarazuka. First, hot spring, girls' opera, Turkish bath in the new spa building, hair salon, photo studio, dreamscope, Chinese cuisine, *Kokuminza* (People's Theatre), and cinema and music nights. Moreover, luna-park is incorporated with a zoo, swimming pool, safe flying pole, merry-go-round, grand playground slide, movie theatre. Then, the old spa area is totally renovated to rent out rooms in hotel style, the golf ground for public use is expanded, Takarazuka Hotel where concert and dance parties take place. What is more, there are Takarazuka sports grounds, Takarazuka baseball team, botanical garden with grand greed house with tropical flowers. Furthermore, there is a huge dance hall which is said to accommodate a thousand people at once, and the advanced talkie film studio of Hayakawa Sesshū, that is planned to export Japanese films….to name a few. There must be nowhere but Takarazuka where such endeavour is being made to gather a variety of leisure activities to serve different people's taste, and to attack people from different classes. A little bit of Americanism, but Takarazuka has certainly become like a flowerbed of amusement nurtured by the great city of Osaka.' (Kitao 1929, 202-203)[146]

Takarazuka, by 1936, had become a thoroughly recreated leisure amusement centre, built around the huge amusement park called 'Family Land' (Appendix II), serving all family members. Moreover, Hankyū train ran right across the amusement park, which made the real world coexist with the artificially made fantasy world side by side. It can be said that both were mixed on the liminal and made to coexist in Takarazuka under the common theme of urbanisation and modernisation.

Recalling the discussion on theme parks in Chapter 2, Takarazuka Family Land was, in a way, comparable to Disneyland, consisting of bits and pieces of mock Paris, Berlin, Tokyo or other imagined fantasy places. Nevertheless, built on the historical spa resort, it was fundamentally different from Disneyland which fabricates a totally artificial illusory landscape that shuts down the natural surroundings. Rather, Takarazuka's amusement park has incorporated the pre-existing local environment

[146] The author's translation: 「・・・モダーンだ。徹頭徹尾モダーンだ。その他には何もないと云ったのが、今日の宝塚だというのである。まづ温泉＝少女歌劇＝新温泉のトルコ風呂＝美容院＝写真場＝ドリムスコープ＝支那料理＝国民座＝映画と音楽の夕。更にこんどは、ルナパークを取入れて、動物園＝水泳プール＝安全飛行塔＝メリーゴーラウンド＝大滑台＝活動写真館。/それから旧温泉場をすっかり改築して、ホテル式の室貸し＝大衆的なゴルフリンクの拡張＝宝塚ホテル＝そこに開かれる音楽とダンスの夕＝引きつづいて宝塚運動場＝宝塚野球団＝植物園＝大温室と熱帯植物園。/更に一時に千人を入れるといふ大ダンスホール。輸出を目的として計画された近代的な早川雪洲のトーキー映画スタジオ。・・・あげてみると、なるほどこれ位あらゆる人間の享楽をあつめて、あらゆる階級の人間を引くべく努力しているところは、一寸他にはあるまい。いささか、アメリカニズムではあるが、宝塚はなんと云っても、大阪といふ大都会が、培った遊楽の花畑と云ったやうな形を備えて来た。」

and natural landscape such as street slopes, rivers, mountains and the hot spring. The result was not fully fake nor real but a fairyland in-between them. The Japanese architect theoretician, Isozaki Arata, interprets that modernity emerged between city and country, when the city was expanding while, by contrast, country was becoming idealised. Thus, as in the case of Takarazuka, it can be said that modernity was a methodological theme (Isozaki 2013, 155). Thus, Takarazuka Revue was a strategic project of the Hankyū railway company to increase the number of train passengers (Kawasaki 1999, 92). This created a certain dynamism out of intentionally incorporating liminal conditions e.g. maintaining old spa conventions within modern renovations, adopting foreign trends in the provincial domestic conditions, in order to conceive a historical as well as modern, commercially yet culturally performative site perfect for the mecca of the all-female revue. Inspired by Yoshimi Shunya's hypotheses about Ginza Modern and Asakusa Modern introduced in Chapter 4, it is possible to argue that the 'Takarazuka Modern',Was established first in Takarazuka spa town and then transplanted to Hibiya, the most modern centre of Tokyo in the 1930s. Takarazuka Modern started in its local Kansai suburb, and moving to Hibiya next to the Imperial Palace and in front of the Hibiya Park meant combining the aura of the most Westernised fashionable Ginza and the down-to-earth traditional Asakusa. Bridging the liminal environment between the rural and the urban, Takarazuka Revue uniquely managed to conjure both the domestic Japanese and the foreign Western aura at the same time. The provincial Takarazuka Revue, then called Takarazuka Shōjo Kageki (Girls' Opera), had made its Tokyo debut already in 1918 at the ultra-modern Imperial Theatre and appeared regularly there and also at Kabuki Theatre until 1933 (Yamamoto, Nishimura and Sudō. 2014). Takarazuka's acquiring its own theatre in 1934, in the heart of Tokyo, in the most Westernised modern quarter of high society in Hibiya, within walking distance of the financial pivot of Marunouchi and fashionable Ginza districts, was a remarkable event. In this privileged location, Kobayashi Ichizō established the metropolitan base for his local enterprise and realised his ambitious cultural venture.

In fact, Kobayashi was planning to place Takarazuka Revue's Tokyo base in Asakusa, but his rival Otani Takejirō of Shōchiku prevented it by building the International Theatre there as Shōchiku Revue's Tokyo home-ground (Nakayama 2011, 132). Kobayashi took advantage of this obstruction and changed the destination to the prestigious centre of Tokyo, which eventually added a classy aura to Takarazuka Revue. Kobayashi wrote, in 1933, prior to the opening of his Tokyo Takarazuka Theatre next to the Imperial Hotel, 'After all, Asakusa is a leisure centre for lower class people. Hibiya close to Ginza will

deserve a new centre of entertainment by fulfilment of cultural institutions serving for salary men and family oriented audiences' (Ohara 1987, 3-4).[147]

Kobayashi seriously tried to take in new types of audiences by setting performance times in the evening for those who worked in the vicinity and by offering a broader range of seats with different prices according to the demand of people's standards of living and income (Kobayashi 2000, 162-164).

With such reformative enthusiasm on the occasion of opening the Tokyo Takarazuka Theatre, his joy is expressed in his own words as follows:

> On the first of January in 1934! In the centre of great Tokyo, facing the Hibiya Park, the new landmark to be born that is Hibiya Amusement Centre – my first dream of this year. Our first stage, purely, righteously and gracefully, our Takarazuka is the camp of popular arts, the palace of family recreation. Oh, our Tokyo Takarazuka Theatre! Japan's grandest theatre in suturing beauty to be the cradle for formulating people's theatre opens its door to the refined entertainment paradise on this gracious new year day. I am truly happy! Simply happy indeed. (Kobayashi 1934, prologue).[148]

This statement concludes his main objectives to be as follows:

1. Kobayashi had a vision of turning Hibiya into a new type of amusement centre
2. The attitude motto of *kiyoku, tadashiku, utsukushiku* (purely, righteously and gracefully) was put forward as the Takarazuka company's strategy to protect it from the frivolous image of show business.
3. The objective was to create culture for the masses and for family recreation
4. Kobayashi consciously advocated a *shin-kokumin-geki* (People's New Theatre) [149] seeking a certain nobility in entertainment

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[147] The author's translation 「結局、浅草は下層級の娯楽場であり、日比谷をして銀座に関連してサラリーマンや華族本位の文化的娯楽施設の充実によって新しき遊楽地帯たらしめたいと思うてい る。」

[148] The author's translation: 「昭和九年一月一日！大東京市の中央 日比谷公園に相対して 新しく生れるべき名所——それは日比谷アミューヅメント、センター、これが、私の初夢である。（中略）我等の初舞台清く 正しく 美しく 我等の宝塚こそ大衆芸術の陣営 家庭共楽の殿堂 おゝ、我東京宝塚劇場！日本一 宏壮美麗なるこの劇場こそ 国民劇創成の揺籃地（ようらんち・・・出生地、物事が発生した始まりの地）として 高尚なるアミューヅメントの楽園の序幕が 一月一日このよき日を以て、開かれるのである。私は実に嬉しい！只だ嬉しいのである。」

[149] Berlin (1988) translates the term as 'New National Drama', Robertson (1998) as 'New Citizens' Theatre'. Roland Domenig (1988) calls it 'new national theatre'. Considering the fact that Kobayashi chose its Japanese name to distinguish it from the Kokugeki of Tsubouchi Shōyō or the Shin-Kokugeki of Sawada Shōjirō, for which National Drama must be an appropriate translation, my view is that the term 'people' could better convey Kobayashi's belief that the theatre should principally belong to the people.

The shin-kokumin-geki for Kobayashi meant that the all-female revue theatre, modelled on the all-male Kabuki but principally with Western music, balanced a blend of the Japanese style and Western style (Yamanashi 2012, 11).

The programme for their first performance in Hibiya consisted of four works: the great hit Western-style revue Hanashishū (Anthology of Flower Poems), the Japanese dance Takara Sanbasō (Treasure Sanbaō Dance), the Western musical play Parisian Apache, and Japanese musical play Kōbaiden (The Palace of Red Ume Flower).[150] The programme shows the balanced mix of Western and Japanese, traditional and novel repertoires. Since their first performance in 1914, Takarazuka Revue has searched for a midway between the occidental and oriental, and also between the old and new, in their repertoires. To a wider audience in Tokyo since 1934, the combination has been the standard of the Takarazuka Revue, consisting of at least two productions; one is a more narrative-based musical type and the other is a dance-based show. Its establishment in Hibiya meant it inclined more towards the Western and the modern, which eventually gained its reputation to the extent that people would say,'Takarazuka is yōmono (Western)'.

Takarazuka Revue is thus a good example of a small local venture of Takarazuka town developed into a major urban venture, opening up its door even to the world outside Japan. Provincial locality, urbanity and global internationality have created dynamic heterotopian liminal traffic to ensure its unique position in the history of modern Japanese theatre.

6.4 *WayŌ-settchŪ*: Temporal and Categorical Liminality

The term *wayō-settchū* (blend of Western and Japanese) was used in Chapter 3 to describe Nakamura Akiichi's analysis of revue, and in Chapter 4 in reference to modern architectural features. Now, this term can be used to examine the range of Takarazuka Revue productions, that is, to look into the temporal and categorical liminality in the choice of genre inspiration, choreography and music. Swaying between the traditional and the modern, between the hitherto Japanese and the foreign, the ambivalence is an essential component of modernity in its hybrid nature. In the realm of theatre, and revue in particular, this new stage style can be talked about within the style of so-called *wayousettuchū*, i.e. blending the Japanese style with the Western style, or domestication of the foreign. In Takarazuka, Kobayashi aimed at *wayō-settuchū* at Takarazuka Grand Theatre and Tokyo Takarazuka Theatre. Much bigger in scale

[150] The author's translation: 『花詩集』『寶三番曳』『巴里のアパッシュ』『紅梅殿』

than the Asakusa Opera houses, Imperial Theatre and Kabuki Theatre, Takarazuka Theatre was made to respond to the contemporary people's interest and to serve a range of audience tastes (Yamanashi 2012, 12-14).

Until today, all productions of the Takarzuku Revue, regardless of adaptations or originals, have crowned the categorical titles such as kageki (opera), operetta, revue, musical, show, ballet, buyōgeki (dance drama). These varying titles demonstrate its undefinable identity. These cross referential titles prove how the definition of revue is a crossover of pre-existing theatre genres, and this flexibility and flux embody the very character of revue – a representation of the new epoch when many hitherto definitive borders became blurred and criteria were shaken. In some productions, Takarazuka has also incorporated circus, burlesque, vaudeville, cinema, or even traditional performances of Nō and Kabuki.

Revue is thus a melting pot of varying genres which breaks down the hierarchy of conventional theatre practices, and creates a synthetic blend, a spectacular performative site of heterotopia. Revue represents a meeting point of pre-existing differing genres, and makes the heterotopian liminal traffic ever more interactive. In other words, the fluidity that cannot be defined within the scope of any specific genre is the very characteristic, and already a tradition of Takarazuka. Nevertheless, revue as the representative genre of the modern epoch functions best as the pronominal as used in its English official name, Takarazuka Revue, while in Japanese, the original naming of *kageki* (opera) is maintained as Takarazuka Kageki.

For Takarazuka, the unstable identity between opera and revue has been a serious subject of discussion, both inside the institution and amongst theatre- related people. On the preconception or proud assumption that opera is superior to revue in singing and stage art, some criticised Takarazuka as a sheer stage of school girls not capable of aiming at opera, while others supported revue as a potential form of modern theatre. In its early days, the theatre reformation leaders, Tsubouchi Shōyō commented on Takarazuka, not only complimenting its charm, but also indicating its social role: 'I think it is a wonderfully appropriate way to improve the new tastes in the society by gradually instructing boys and girls in operatic endeavours through Takarazuka troupe's performance of fairy stories...Such charming Girls' Opera must be supported' (Kawaguchi and Saitō 1994, 74).The discussion continued well into the prime of the revue boom in the 1930s when Iba Takashi, a leader of Asakusa Opera introduced in Chapter 4, asserts that Takarazuka should stop aria (Iba 1930, 5), while the star of Asakusa Casino Follies, Enomoto Kenichi, praised Takarzuka (Enomoto 1935, 10). Nakamura Akiichi also emphasised

that the all-girl revue characterises revue in Japan and is an important part of Japanese culture (Nakamura 1935, 126).

This shows that Takarazua Revue has had an ambivalent self-consciousness and stylistic dilemma to live up to in terms of taking on the name revue for its identity. Historically, this ambivalent identity reflects Kobayashi's struggle to establish shin kokumingeki as mentioned earlier by which he tried to balance the Japanese popular theatre traditions with the new Western features. He advocated Takarazuka as the People's New Theatre, and even alternatively regarded it as an equivalent to shin Kabuki (New Kabuki) calling it Takarazuka Kabuki, as if to challenge the all-male Kabuki with the all-female Takarazuka (Yamanashi 2012, 82).[151] Moreover, Kobayashi thought that Kabuki, which was originally for the people and supported by the masses, had become remote from the common people both financially and stylistically after the Meiji's governmental input for theatre reformation to make it more traditional and classical as a symbol of Japanese national theatre whose patronage was mainly by state men and wealthy elites (Kobayashi 1955, 113-117).
Kobayashi examined seven positive features of traditional Kabuki and intended to adapt them to Takarazuka (Yoshida 2012, 128):

1. Accompanying music
2. Accompanying songs
3. Dance must be incorporated
4. Lines must narrate a story
5. Make-up and body movement and scenes must be picturesque
6. The world should be depicted as wide, taking sources from a 2500-year history
7. The entertainment atmosphere should be shared between the performers and the audiences[152]

In Kobayashi's attitude, therefore, Takarazuka should inherit these Kabuki characters responding to the audience's preference, but in the modern context: with women and Western music. Since he negated traditional Japanese music with *nagauta* and *shamisen* as too specialist and eventually losing young

[151] The term Shin Kabuki (New Kabuki) applies to Western theatre-influenced modern Kabuki. New Kabuki plays were initiated by the playwright Tsubouchi Shōyō and were produced mainly from 1903 to the 1940s. His son-in-law, Tsubouchi Shikō (1887–1986), worked for Takarazuka, which made the connection of New Kabuki and Takarazuka stronger.
[152] The author's translation: (一)音楽を伴ふこと (二)唄ひものを伴うこと (三)踊のあること (四) セリフが一種の語物的なること (五)粉粧、動作及場面が絵画的なること (六)二千五百年の長い歴を材料とすること即ち世界が広きこと (七)役者と観客と共通して娯楽的雰囲気にあること

people's interest (ibid.,132), the Western genre name 'opera' was employed to emphasise the Westernness in terms of music, but he admits the vocal singing skill was not compatible with Western operas, and believed that it was equivalent to Kabuki which Japan could be proud to present to the world (ibid. 2012, 126).[153] To realise this aim, revue was a useful genre for by its nature, it was varied and consisted of montage. Needless to say, it is inevitable that this way of creating an artificial stage work falls into anachronism because it combines and sews up different sources from various times and places. As seen in Chapter 3, revue is like a patchwork or montage made of a number of cuts, edited and modified to visualise the hybrid entertainment. In revue, the past is always a coalition with the present.

Thus, creating 'Takarazuka Kabuki', accompanied with singing, dancing and acting, but principally accompanied by Western orchestral music to be performed in a theatre as big as the European opera houses was his ambition (Kobayashi 2000, 170). This intention to produce all-female revue in the style of Kabuki has been regularly presented in the annual programme, and eagerly on the company's tours abroad since 1938 (Yamanashi 2012, 21). This shows not only Kobayashi's fundamental competing spirit with Shōchiku company monopolising Kabuki, but also his serious determination to make his Toho's Takarazuka Girl's Opera into a new promising Japanese theatre genre. Nakamura Akiichi, in 1933, commented on the reason why the male impersonation of *otokoyaku* in all-female Takarazuka, accepted among the pros and cons, was because it had already became a tradition in the system of *shōjo- kageki* in the same way female impersonation of Kabuki's *onnagata* had become an inseparable attribute of the tradition regardless of plenty of fuss about it during the course of its history (Nakamura 1933, 58).

Given the success of *Mon Paris* in 1927, Western (especially, Parisian) revue style became Takarazuka's signature, along with the *otokoyaku* whose 'Western-male' impersonation drew much admiration. The next section will carry out a case study about *Mon Paris* to examine how Takarazuka took the advantage of revue as a categorically liminal genre, especially in translating the Western to Japan and vice versa.

6.5 Case Study 1: Translating the West: *Mon Paris* (1927) as an incentive of revue boom in Japan

The first Western-style grand revue of Takarazuka, which was a nationwide hit and thus acclaimed as Japan's first revue, was *Mon Paris* produced in 1927. It had a Japanese title, *Waga Pari yo*, but the

[153] The author's translation: 「宝塚歌劇は女ばかりの団体で、オペラに比較できないレベルの低いもの。しかし、 世界に誇れる歌舞伎劇には並ぶ」

French word for *My Paris* penetrated throughout the country with its theme songs adopted from French chansons. *Mon Paris* was directed by Kishda Tatsuya (1892-1944) and choreographed by Shirai Tetsuzō (1900-1983) of Takarazuka Company in homage to Kishida's study in Paris and inspired by the contemporary Parisian revues they saw at first hand. *Mon Paris* was a non-stop revue consisting of sixteen scenes, full of lively music and dance. *Mon Paris* resulted in an epoch-making success that is said to have established the 'Takarazuka revue style' for future generations. For example, it was as a result of this revue that the high-kick dance became a permanent fixture for Takarazuka, known as the 'line dance' in Japan. Twenty-four girls dancing in line wearing chimney hats and tailored trousers with train wheels painted on them was a high-speed spectacle. Exuberant dancing girls positioned *en masse*, making complex geometrical patterns on stage was popular in that era in European revue too. The young body in swift motion created a shimmering spectacle, suggesting speed and mass production. New science and technology increased the pace of human life and stimulated people's interest in speed and efficiency. The speedy mobility facilitated by new mean of transportation was a distinctive sign of modernity in the metropolitan experience, i.e. the urban sensation reflected in a revue show where mobility and speed became vital factors.

In fact, *Mon Paris* was a bold adaptation of French revue called *Les Voyeaurs* (1925) staged two years earlier in Paris. but, it was not at all an easy matter because of the unfamiliar music, choreography and costume. It was Kobayashi Ichizō's bold decision to let Kishida go ahead with the idea. It is said that the costume budget for this single production was the equivalent of four years of costume expenses for the company.[154] By taking this landmark Takarazuka production as a good example of Japanese-Western revue, I shall look at the nature of the translation-adaptation process as a 'passage' – in Shinohara Motoaki's term as introduced in Chapter 1, a liminal *ikōtsū*, i.e.heterotopian traffic, between the original and the Japanese version. What is 'translatability'? It may be purely linguistic, lyrical, visual or phonetical, or, it could be manipulated by market systems and market networks through our commodity system for a particular time and space.

Walter Benjamin, talking about 'the task of translator' in the introduction for his translation of Charles Baudelaire's *Tableaux Parisiens*, states that 'translatability is an essential quality of certain works, which is not to say that it is essential that they be translated; it means rather that a specific significance is inherent in the original manifest itself in its 'translatability' (Benjamin 2000, 76). Therefore, at a metaphysical level, translatability can be seen as a quality embedded in the original work that potentially

[154]For example, feather fans, which were exquisite for a lavish grand revue, and would cost 500 yen per feather. At that time, the entrance charge was 30 *sen* and the annual budget for the whole theatre production was 3500 yen (Wada 1965, 59).

facilitates the translation. Benjamin continues, ‘it is plausible that no translation, however good it may be, can have any significance as regards the original. Yet, by virtue of its translatability the original is closely connected with the translation; in fact, this connection is all the closer since it is no longer of importance to the original. We may call this connection a natural one, or, more specifically, a vital connection’ (ibid., 76). Such connection can also be called a ‘passage’ that links one place to another.

In this context, the passage interpreted as a place of translation is also a place of interpretation.[155] Performed by the Takarazuka girls in their teens, although the theme song was taken from the French revue *Paris Voyeur*, the lyric was completely changed. Originally composed by Lucien Boyer and Vincent Scott, the theme song *Mon Paris* was sung by Emma Liebel. The song was translated into Japanese by Kishida Tatsuya, for the production of the same name, *Mon Paris* in 1927. Available as a phonograph record in 1929, it became the first hit French chanson during the electric gramophone age in Japan (Segawa 1995). The Japanese version is about a young Japanese couple on their honeymoon trip around the world, stopping in Shanghai, via India and Egypt, finally arriving in Paris. When they rerun home to Japan, the Japanese man recalled Paris with adorable nostalgia:

> *I had a long journey, for about a year,*
> *Now back home safely, very content with,*
> *Sweet memories of remarkable foreign countries,*
> *Especially what I cannot forget is the city of Paris*
> *Sweet memories, Mon Paris, My Paris*
> *Strolling in the twilight, blissful passersby, whispering sweet love,*
> *In recalling myself then, my heart dances,*
> *Sweet memories, Mon Paris, My Paris*[156]

‘Strolling in the twilight, blissful passersby’ reminds us of the flâneur introduced in Chapter 1. Strolling in the Japanese lyric is *sozoro aruki* connoting a sense of undistinguishable joy without serious reason. ‘Twilight’ suggests the time when the street light turns on, and ‘blissful passersby’ tells of the joyful evening-out of urban life. Such a city stroll is deeply imbedded in Kishida’s sweet memory of Paris.

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[155] This analysis is based on the author’s presentation at the conference, *Violets in a Crucible - La Traduction comme Lieu de Passage*, Translating the Orient, June 23, 2016, Grenoble. The author’s paper was titled ‘Comparaison entre «Quand Refleuriront Les Lilas Blancs» et «Quand Refleuriront les Violettes: Un discours interculturel sur la traduction de la chanson française au Japon’.

[156] The author’s translation「ひととせあまりの/ 永き旅路にも/ つつがなく 帰る/ この身ぞ いと嬉しき/ めずらしき 外国の/ うるわしき 思い出や/ わけても忘らぬは 巴里の都/ うるわしの 思い出 / モン巴里 我が巴里 / たそがれ時の そぞろ歩きや ゆき交う人も いと楽しげに / 恋のささやき / あの日の頃の 我を思えば心は 躍るよ / うるわしの 思い出 / モン巴里 我が巴里」

Contrary to Kishida's translation praising Paris, the original French lyric was lamenting over a lost Paris. In the story of *Paris Voyeur*, this song was sung to depict the lost feeling of an elderly man missing old Paris.[157] He laments that Paris was once a homogeneous village without metro or bus, no cinema for lovers, whist simple kissing on a bench under the tree was blessing enough. For him, that was the beautiful Paris where true happiness was felt. The first four parts of this chanson speak of his loss and melancholic nostalgia:

Sur le parvis de Notre-Dame
Un vieillard disait, tout attendri:
Paris, vous l'appelez Paname,
Mais de mon temps, Paris c'était Paris!
Traverser l'eau c'était un long voyage
Nous n'avions pas de métro ni d'autocars
Paris semblait un grand village
Qu'on était bien sur les boulevards.
Ah! Qu'il était beau mon village, Mon Paris, notre Paris
On n'y parlait qu'un seul langage, Ça suffisait pour être compris!
Les amoureux n'allaient pas Se cacher dans les cinémas,
Ayant certes beaucoup mieux que ça:
Y s'bécotaient sur un banc Et les moineaux gentiment
Sur les branches en faisaient autant!
Ah! Qu'il était beau mon village,
Mon Paris, notre Paris!

In the original, the lyric is about a man missing the bygone homogeneous Paris where there were still no modern inventions like cars, the metro and cinema. In contrast, the Japanese version is praising Paris as a heterogeneous modern cosmopolis of 'uruwashino omoide – beautiful memory'. This nostalgic and romantic sentiment formulated by young women could have stirred the adoration towards France amongst the Japanese public, especially amongst women who became a large part of the audience. This is a good example of revue culture translated into Japanese culture with its root in Paris evoking a certain nostalgia for the bygone past. Kamiyama Akira points out the importance of sharing a sense of nostalgia

[157] Asakura Nonī "Mon Paris" *Asakura Nonī no utamonogatari.* July 12, 2015. Accessed on September 15, 2018. http://chantefable2.blog.fc2.com/blog-entry-348.html

in commercial theatre of that time. He argues that the epoch of rapid change foregrounds homeland imagery and the Western style revues such as those of Takarazuka fabricated a foreign realm as a fictional homeland and stimulated the people's desire for homeland in the unknown world (Kamiyama 2014, 22). Here, 'Western' or 'Western style revue' stands for European which connotes a long history via which one can use imagination to feel somehow nostalgic. Unlike 'revue' on the other hand, the English word 'show' sounds more American without much history but a new liveliness, and barely connotes nostalgic lingering affection.

Moreover, while the original signifies a certain collective memory amongst Parisians by calling the city 'my Paris' and also 'notre (our) Paris', the Japanese adaptation cleaves to 'my Paris' - a personal manifestation, addressing the Japanese audience who do not know much about the Paris of the past nor of the present. For most Japanese, Paris was simply an idealised image that would represent modern life – joyous and fashionable, artistic and poetic, liberal and romantic. Therefore, this Japanese version with its simplified lyrics, which nevertheless retained the swinging rhythm of the original, was a remarkable hit which made many people hum as if fantasising about the French capital.

In accordance with a positive urban vibe, revue can expand the imagination in a gaiety way as in the Japanese version or in a melancholic way as in the French version. In either case, the song harks back to bygone days with a sense of nostalgia. Kawasaki Kenko wrote an apposite article on Takarazuka entitled 'Natsukashii Utopia (Nostalgic Utopia)' in which she points out that revue has something in common with international exhibitions in displaying 'the world', 'civilization', 'the savage', 'primitivity' and 'different cultures' (Nishiguch 1998, 78). In her argument, revue can also be examined as a nostalgic utopia, embracing vanity, nostalgia and reverie-like fantasy. Exotic allure filtered through different cultures into a crucible, manipulated and expanded through imagination, a modern epitome of civilisation, youthful spirit and positive hope for the future, seems to have been preserved under the honourable name of modernity embodying nostalgia.

Repertoires of Takarazuka Revue in the 1920s and the 1930s found their adorable model in the urban style, especially in that of Paris and Berlin. For instance, *Mon Paris* (1927) followed by another hit Western revue called *Parissette* (1930) and the subsequent *Rose Paris* (1931) took their trends and fashions from the city of Paris, evoking the audience adoration for France, while *Berurin Musume* (The Berlin Maiden: 1933), inspired by Weimar revue shows, would impact the Japanese audience with another fancy image about Germany. Altogether, Takarazuka was presenting an exotic stimulant by creating the sense of travelling the world and of romance in foreign settings.

At the same time, Orientalisme was pervading the West, and at the same time, Occidentalism was pervading the East. Revue was a product of the liminal traffic between the Occidental and the Oriental, especially in the case of Japanese revues. Moreover, the revue stage reflected the city's spectacular glamour and inter-cultural vitality for change for which nostalgic romanticism towards the bygone past was idealised through the foreigner's sensitivity without the actuality of the socio-political context of the place and time. As a matter of course, the grandeur of *Mon Paris* rendered in non-stop sixteen scenes full of lively Western music and dance adapted mainly from French trends and marvelled at by the Japanese audience to make the word *revyū* (revue) well-known nationwide aided by the audio media of radio and LP record sales. In this way, *Mon Paris* played a role as an incentive for the revue boom in Japan. Following *Mon Paris*, the Takarazuka in-house choreographer, Shirai Tetszō, who continued producing Parisian-inspired Japanese revues, expressed his own nostalgia for Paris:

> Oh, Paris, a charming city of wonders. What makes you attract the hearts of people from all over the world? A poet says that Paris is everyone's second home. I can never forget lovely Paris. As I walked along the scenic boulevard of the Champs-Elysées and the Grand Boulevard, and when I saw the operas and revues, I felt so happy to be in Paris! (Shirai 1967, 82)

For the theme song of another successful revue, *Parizetto* (*Parisette*:1930), Shirai translated the popular chanson, *Quand Refleuriront Les Lilas Blancs*, into *sumireno hana sakukoro* (*When the Violets Bloom)* which became a symbolic song of Takarazuka until the present day. Ironically, this song was originally composed by Austrian Franz Doelle and titled '*Wenn der Weisse Flieder Wieder Bluht*' and translated into a number of languages since it was first presented on the German revue stage as '*Donnerwetter – 1000 nackte Frauen'* ('Gosh – 1000 naked women') performed at the Berlin Komische Oper in 1928 (Siedhoff 2018, 64).[158] This song provides a good example of dynamism in translation and trans-culturality.

The Japanese version was born out of highly romantic as well as nostalgic adoration towards Paris, and the fancy Frenchness has, ever since, become imbedded in Takarazuka Revue. This is an example of translating the West in Takarazuka by idealising Western culture, which shows an uncritical receptive aspect of cultural translatability. However, frilly French intoxication was not what Takarazuka was all about. Takarazuka Revue continued experimenting with *wayōsettchū* juxtapositions of different themes

[158] This song is a good example to prove the fast inter-cultural adaptation of popular revue music at that time. It was translated into English as *When the Lilac Blooms Again* and into Danish as *Når de gamle bøge springer ud* (when the old trees spring out). Furthermore, in Sweden, Zarah Leander popularised the melody with a totally diff erent translation entitled *Vill ni se en stjärna: Nä du vil se en stjärna, tit a på mig* (Do you want to see a star: When you want to see a star, look at me). Then in 1930, Takarazuka Revue translated the lyric from French into Japanese as *Sumire no Hana Sakukoro* (When the Violets Bloom). It became the Takarazuka's signature song which all Japanese people still recognise today (Yamanashi 2012,113 note 14).

and techniques. For instance, *Jabu Jabu Konto* (1934) choreographed by Japanese folk dance master Umemoto Rikuhei, would combine Japanese traditional dances with American jazz music and was received as innovative and ultra modern, and appealed also to male audiences (Takagi 1983, 200). The following final section will present a case study of the later kind, depicting neither a foreign land nor Paris, but contemporary Japan and Tokyo. The next section will present one of these exemplary productions after Takarazuka acquired its own space in Hibiya.

6.6 Case Study 2: Performing the Tokyo Modern: *Haruno-odori Ryūsenbi* (1935)

As discussed in Chapter 2, when we regard revue as a metaphor of urban modernity, one of its characteristics is cosmopolitanism. Cosmopolitanism, the word used in Chapters 1 and 2, is a discursive concept but here it refers to the sense of international as well as inter-cultural simultaneity shared in the modern cities of the twentieth century. Revue was the utmost medium to embody, both visually and phonetically, this epoch's sensitivity. To repeat, Hosokawa Shūhei defines the term as 'the sense of global simultaneity generated by the unprecedented emerging condensed world-crossing network of people, capital, products and information' in which the beauty of the machinery was a definite representation of 'the modern' disconnected from the things of the nineteenth century, and revue was its manifestation on stage as an aesthetic form of cosmopolitanism (Hosokawa 2005, 717-718). Also, Hosokawa asserts that what dominated Nakamura Akiichi's analysis of revue in Chapter 3 was dependent on the beautified image of modern cosmopolitanism (ibid.). This last section attempts to witness to revue as such a manifestation of urban modernity by examining the Japanese dance revue *Haruno-odori Ryūsenbi* (1936). *Haruno-odori Ryūsenbi*, literally meaning 'Spring Dance – Streamline Beauty', and was choreographed by Umemoto Rikuhei. As already introduced in Chapter 5, Umemoto was a Takarazuka in-house choreographer, who embodied a third-generation style of the traditional Japanese dance family, Umemoto-style. However, he was a unique dancer in the sense that he was also trained in Western ballet. What is more, he spent time studying and teaching in Berlin during the last years of the Weimarer Republik period between 1931 and 1934 (Kuwahara 2014, conference). When he came back to Japan, the first revue he composed was an original revue named *Jabu Jabu Konto* (1934). '*Jabu jabu*' is imitative of sounds of water splashes, and this musical sketch of *jabu jabu* meant a story about *onsen* (Japanese hot spring) tours presented through 30 non-stop scenes within one hour (Yamanashi 2012, 80). What was remarkable about this revue was that it combined Japanese and Western motives and dances accompanied by jazz music. Umemoto's second revue, after the success of this *wayōsettchū* revue, was *Haruno-odori Ryūsenbi*, again jazz revue but this time set in Tokyo.

So-called *Haruno-odori* was a seasonal production repeatedly staged by girls' revues inspired by the *geiko* (young geisha girls), as in the famous Miyako Odori in Kyoto. In Takarazuka, it was often choreographed by Umemoto in both Japanese and Western dance styles accompanied by a Western orchestra, especially incorporating a jazz band (Kuwahara 2014, 79). Streamline was a hot trend in 1935 Tokyo, for which Umemoto confesses to have incorporated the trendy streamline motives throughout the 12 non-stop scenes (Ibid. 2014, 82). Here are several selected scenes to look at the content in brief: in Scene 2 titled *Streamline Traffic*, there appears the latest traffic media-Union, the Pacific Train from America, Fliegender Hamburger from Germany, the locomotive train from the South Manchuria Railway, the British car Blue Bird, and the Japanese train of Tsubame Express; Scene 4, titled *Jazz and Sport*, and Scene 6, *Streamline Mode*, are scenes in which a huge fashion Exposition takes place inside the Graf Zeppelin airship; Scenes 9 and 10 portray streamlined battleships and tanks which signified the approach of war-time; Scene 11 leading to the finale is titled *Streamline Grotesque* where a criminal is chased by *hitodama* (haunting souls of the dead in Japanese anecdote).

Hara Katsumi, in his book Ryūsenbi Shindorōmu – Sokudo to Shintai no Taishū- bunkashi (Streamline Syndrome: the Popular Culture seen through Speed and Body, 2008) examines the popular trend of streamlines at that particular time from the early twentieth century to the 1930s. He argues that the style started with industrial designs such as cars and aeroplanes, and came to represent the spirit of age with the nuance of 'futuristic and urban' and 'speedy and functional' (Hara 2008, 1-2). Umemoto's Haruno-odori Ryūsenbi thus celebrates the prime developments of this era. As in the case of Mon Paris, the theme song provides a key by which to examine the sentiment embodied in the revue production. The lyrics are as follow:

Spring for dance, Dance for spring
This year's streamline, spring for streamline beauty
Flowers are blooming, in the city of streamline beauty
streamline in the sky, streamline in the sea
streamline in the town, streamline in mountains
driving cars are also in streamline
Sun rises with streamline, sun sets with streamline
For it's a spring of streamline

Spring for dance, Dance for spring
This year's streamline, spring for streamline beauty
People get out, into the city of streamline beauty
He is in streamline, she is also in streamline
His suit is streamline, her dress is in streamline
Their chatting in streamline too
Even Girls' Festival dolls transform into streamline beauty
For it's a spring of streamline

Spring for dance, Dance for spring
This year's streamline, spring for streamline beauty
Twilight sparkles, in the city of streamline beauty
Tea Rooms in streamline, cafes in streamline
Cocktails in streamline, liqueurs in streamline street
neons in streamline too
Even steps in streamline beauty in dance halls
For it's a spring of streamline

Spring for dance, Dance for spring
This year's streamline, spring for streamline beauty
Dance like a butterfly, in the city of streamline revue
Stage is in streamline, audience seats in streamline
Lighting in streamline, costumes are also in streamline
Singing melodies are in streamline, too
The Grand Theatre is completed with the streamline speed
For it's a spring of streamline[159]

This seems almost a comprehensive list of streamlined things – objects and phenomena – incorporating all kinds of iconic subjects of modern Tokyo. Sung in the rhythm of speedy jazz tunes, the song reflected the urbanity in a certain upbeat mood, evoking the buzzing atmosphere of a trendy metropolis. Hara points out

[159] Underlined by Kuwahara Kazumi and translated by the author:「春だ踊りだ 踊りだ春だ、今年や流線流線美の春だ、花は咲いた咲いた 流線美の都、空にや流線 海にも流線、町にや流線 山にも流線、走る車が これ又流線、流線に明けて 流線に暮れる、だって流線の春だもの/ 春だ踊りだ 踊りだ春だ、今年や流線 流線美の春だ、人は出た出た 流線美の都、彼も流線 彼女も流線、背広は流線 ドレスも流線、喋る言葉が コレ又流線、お雛様さへ 流線美に変る、だって流線の春だもの/ 春だ踊りだ 踊りだ春だ/ 今年や流線 流線美の春だ、暮れりゃキラキラ 流線美の都、テイルーム流線 カフエーが流線、カクテル流線 リキユルが流線、軒のネオンがコレ又流線、ホールのステツプさへ 流線美で踊、だって流線の春だもの/ 春だ踊りだ 踊りだ春だ、今年や流線 流線美の春だ、踊りやヒラヒラ 流線歌劇の都、舞台は流線 客席や流線、ライトは流線 衣裳も流線、唄ふメロデイー コレ又流線、大劇場でさへも流線スピードで出来る、だって流線の春なんですもの」

that the popularity of streamline design swept across America in 1934 onwards because of the first mass-production of the streamlined car, Chrysler's Airflow, which took full advantage of aerodynamics (Hara 2008, 96). The streamline boom in Japan was synchronised with that in America when the streamlined locomotive train that could run at a record-breaking speed of 130km/h was inaugurated in Manchuria (ibid., 326). Almost as part of the nation's propaganda, this train, named the Asian Express, was a proof of the Japanese technology and agitated national pride amongst the people.

Kuwahara Kazumi asserts that the people's anxiety and tension towards the War were tactfully intervened with in this seemingly lavish revue, in its high blend of the Western and Japanese elements reflecting both bright and dark aspects of Japan between 1935 and 1936 (Kuwahara 2014, 82-83). In this context, Kuwahara especially points out the following three scenes: Scene 7 depicting a number of parachutes falling down in front of a Zeppelin followed by the most advanced machines in steamline represented by airplanes and rockets; Scene 8 showing people's tears as the smallest element of streamline beauty, presenting a group of crying women separated from their husbands and sweethearts; Scene 10 depicting the mood of the battle field armed with tanks, rifle corps and machine gun corps (ibid.). In terms of consciousness, directed both internally and explicitly, this revue was created on the liminal between the national and the global, by utilising streamline as a metaphor as well as a strong image of the epoch, projecting the streamline beauty both nationally and internationally as the influential sign of cosmopolitan versus national modernity.
Last but not least, there is an additional recent outcome of this revue. In 2011, three home movies were discovered. The author took the initiative to organise a research group to investigate and restore the film.[160]Two of them were the filming record of actual Takarazuka stage productions from 1936, *Pagliacci* based on the popular Italian verismo opera of the same name, and a Parisian style revue *La Romance*. The third reel was named *Ryūsenbi*, shot in 1935, lasting about 11 minutes, and certainly 'inspired by' Umemoto's *Haruno-odori Ryūsenbi.* However, it is not a filming record of the actual revue stage, but starts with a title page composed of a photo collage of the stage pictures, leading to a documentary movie of everyday life scenes in Tokyo and its outskirts. The autograph H.F.K., presumably stands for Hiroshi Fujioka Kinema because the film was shot and edited by Fujioka Hiroshi, then a nineteen-year-old male student. The Tokyo townscape is filmed in high tempo, like the theme song of Takarazuka's *Ryūsenbi, with* modernising places including Ueno, Asakusa, Ginza and Hibiya captured, directing the viewer's attention to the streamline

[160] An inter-disciplinary collaborative research team was formed based at Waseda University and Kyoritsu Women College with specialist support from IMAGICA West. The concluding symposium and screening took place in Hibiya Public Library on the occasion of Hibiya Takarazuka's 80th anniversary with a documentary film, *Hibiyani saita Takarazuka no Hana*, made by Miyuki Hideto. The report is available in the archive of Chiyoda ward. Accessed on September 15, 2018. http:// www.city.chiyoda.lg.jp/koho/kurashi/volunteer/renke/documents/kyoritsu-26.pdf and The Theatre Museum of Waseda University repository. Accessed on September 15, 2018. http://kyodo.enpaku.waseda.ac.jp/activity/20140114.html

designs of buildings and the nature in the gardens, roof-top amusement park, grand wheel, mini locomotive, cars on the street, aeroplanes in the sky, fashion modes of passers-by, *wayōsettuchū* style of living, gramophone and smoke of cigarettes – drawing all the attention to whatever is streamline. The footage also shows a political event – Manchuria's first official visit to Japan.

Fujioka Hiroshi was not only an amateur photographer with a high-quality German Contax camera who was also interested in film, he was an ardent fan of Takarazuka

Revue (Yamanashi 2014, 3).[161] Though privately taken, Fujioka's film convincingly justifies at least two important matters about Takarazuka and revue. Firstly, Fujioka's existence itself was an example of the young male audience's enthusiasm for Takarazuka Revue, proving the fact that the audience was not limited to women, in fact, but a widening audience-ship in the 1930s. Secondly, revue had commonality with filmic media, as discussed in Chapter 3, suitable for capturing the shifting sensitivity of city life and connecting fragmented parts into one piece of work. Fujioka's film sketch of the Tokyo cityscape confirms that the cinematic effect of camera had compositional commonality with the sketchy montage technique of revue making.

This chapter has focused on Takarazuka Revue as a prototype of the liminal theatre genre. Takrazuka is a Japanese revue which speaks to its audience in a domestic context, but also corresponds to the global revue trend abroad. By showing that Takarazuka is a prototype of revue made between various binaries, theoretical, spatial, temporal, physical and categorical, it is hoped that the analysis will serve as a beacon to compare and contrast revue productions in Japan with those abroad and to rediscover a number of socio-cultural perspectives for looking at revue in theatre studies. Though Takarazuka is an outstandingly specific example from Japan in terms of scale and complexity, it represents revue as a genre of modern theatre, balancing various kinds of liminality seen throughout this thesis. The dynamics

[161] The information about Fujioka Hiroshi (1917-2009) provided by his granddaughter, Fujioka Noriko to the author is as follows: born in Kyushu, his hobby was photography since his days at Takanawa Junior High School in Tokyo. His father worked for the Railway Industry in Ginza. In 1933, at the age of sixteen, he bought the most advanced German Contax camera from at Kinjō Shōkai in Ginza, owned by Miki Kizo (1882-1964: businessman and photographer). The opening of Hibiya Takarazuka Theatre in 1934 caught him as a fan and he frequently watched revues during his student years at Chūō University. Since he liked modern and Western things, he naturally became a fan of Takarazyuka revues, especially of the male impersonator Ashiwara Kuniko. He meticulously made photo albums. In addition to stage, photos from his albums show Takarazuka students photographed in Hibiya, Ginza, districts and autographed by them. Moreover, Fujioka was a regular contributor of photos and articles for the newsletters published by Kinjō Shōkai (Yamanashi 2014, 2-4).

of the liminal traffic in revue seeks a harmonious blend in its combination rather than a conflict in the binary oppositions. This extensively active heterogeneous condition illuminates the century-long history of revue in Japan, that also echoes the international trend of revue.

Conclusion

Gorgeous grand scenes are going around the wide world,
brilliant revue, dreamy revue[162]

(from the theme song of *That's Revue*, Takarazuka,1997)

Willkommen! Bienvenue! Welcome!
Kommen Sie herein und erleben Sie graue Theorie im schillernden Showgewand!
Karl Marx als Showstar? Das Industrieproletariat als Chorus-Line?
Das „Kapital“ als Gassenhauer zum Mitschnipsen?

(*Ich aus Trier – Karl Marx Revue*, TUFA, 2018)

Theatres at Crossroads: Inter-cultural Review of Revue

In our contemporary lives where cyber technology and the global digital-media network are all-pervading, concepts of culture cannot avoid acknowledgement of the muddling of borders. The world of theatre is no exception and, indeed, this liminality and its in-between traffic appears to be a highly significant element of it. In Japan, this is often represented by the term 'media-mix' referring to the strategy of dispersing content across multiple media and representations in the popular entertainment industry. So-called '2.5D musical' is an up-to-date example, bringing the two-dimensional media of animation, manga and games to real life on stage; today this represents the latest subject of musical studies unique to Japanese culture and society (Fujiwara 2018, 32). Media-mix is very common and highly popular today even within the 'traditional' genre of Kabuki which recently staged the manga-based *One Piece* (2016) and *Naruto* (2018). Given more than a century-long history, Takarazuka Revue is also already a well-established 'traditional' institution in Japan which has taken the advantage of mix-media in its stride from the outset. Long before it staged *Berusaiyu no Bara* (The Rose of Versaille, 1974), Takarazuka adopted other popular media sources from around the world, ranging from film, music, fashion and literary as well as visual sources. Takarazuka is just one lasting prototype in a grand scale, but this tendency to absorb different media and mix them into a scrambled entertainment is the principal nature of revue in general worldwide.

[162] The author's translation:「豪華絢爛 舞台は回り 広い世界を駆け巡る 花のレビュー 夢のレビュー」

A recent example from Germany is *Theater-Varietè-Revue: Sayonara Tokyo - Geishas! Tamagotchis! Edelweiß!* (2016-2017) which premiered in the Berlin Wintergarden, one of the oldest revue theatres for popular entertainment. By using stage technology, it presented a hyper mix of everything the German production team could imagine as the Japanese blended with German cultural twists; there was dancing in Kabuki make-up, *Picachū* costume, traditional magic and *yōyō* acrobat, taiko drum and Pizzicato Five's music.[163] We live at an ever more frantic pace invoking spontaneity through cyber media, and the juxtaposition of these elements on stage appeared even more chaotic in utilising virtually real characters on stage; however, this production lived up to the principals of revue to connect these binary elements. The ambiguous trans-cultural milieu created a high degree of categorical liminality. It showed that revue can, even today, generate a dynamic matrix which fosters new and unexpectedly entertaining theatrical creation.

Throughout the six chapters, I have employed the concept of liminality as a tool (dialectical method) by which to examine the characteristics of revue and to seek its meanings within society and culture in a modern urban context. To examine the sociological background of revue i when comparing Japan and Western Europe, the idea of liminality has been used from eight different perspectives (theatrical, spacial, temporal, categorical, media, metropolitan and physical and gender). This confirms that liminality enables a plausible rethinking of the histories of revue and provides a platform from which to regard it as an independent theatre genre.

Whereas Kabuki and No are genres attributed exclusively to Japanese theatre, revue is definitely an international genre as well as being one which expands beyond national borders and unites pre-existing genres of every socio-cultural condition. When the world became increasingly interactive through travel and world expositions, whether in London, Paris, Berlin or Tokyo, revue grew into a prominently popular genre which these countries had in common. With this proposition of a global perspective demonstrated, I shall return to the primary questions posed in the introduction: What is revue as a theatre genre? What was the context in which revue arose? How did the revue trend reach Japan and manifest itself in the Japanese context?

It was not a straightforward or easy matter to answer these questions, because there have been few previous studies solely on this genre of revue. Actually, as overviewed in the introduction, it is only

[163] The announcement said: "Seit der Öffnung Japans gegen Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts, nach 250 Jahren der Isolation, hält eine Begeisterung für dieses Land in ganz Europa bis zum heutigen Tage an. Noch immer inspiriert dieses in den Schleier der Mystik gehüllte Land, seine Kunst, Kultur und seine Musik, Künstlerinnen und Künstler aller Richtungen….Bei ihren Abenteuern in der Welt der Mangas tanzen sie durch Jahrzehnte japanisch-deutscher Popgeschichte und lassen sich verzaubern von der traditionellen und der modernen Kultur Nippons." Accessed on September 15, 2018. www.reservix.de/tickets-sayonara-tokyo/t10696

relatively recently that revue has been taken as a serious subject worth attention among some scholars of musical theatre. In Japan, Kamiyama Akira is one of the significant theatre scholars to have filled the gap in terms of neglected types of theatrical genres including revue, which he called '*chūkan- engeki*' (middle/in-between theatre) referring to the theatre genres falling in between arts and commercial entertainment; he urges us to consider them as important in revising the history of theatre in modern times (Kamiyama 2009, 8). My approach responds to Kamiyama's claim by carrying out an inspection of revue not only from a theatrical but also a sociological perspective in a global scope.

Accordingly, three kinds of liminal concept were introduced in Chapter 1 to start with: anthropological, philosophical and theatrical, which gave a theatrical foundation to my use of concepts of liminality and in-betweeness throughout the different topics of discussion to contexualise revue. In addition to the term 'liminality', the synonym 'passage' was introduced to emphasise spacial liminality where the heterogenous traffic took place, as in Shinohara's sense of transmit motion, and to give more physical entity to the inhabitants of the passage in the traffic represented by 'flâneur' – a person who strolls in the passage, namely the liminal sphere. For theoretical backing of the historical background in modern times, ideas of passage and flâneur discussed by Baudelaire, Benjamin, Bachelard and Mochizuki helped to visualise the urban condition out of which revue boomed. This opened up the next chapter to look at revue as a metaphor for urban modernity.

Chapter 2 aimed to provide a chronological view of the relationship between city and revue. The different forms of industrialisation and urbanisation were focused on and a comparison was made between London, Paris and Berlin with a little reference to Tokyo, in order to present a common image of these modernising cities which shared certain kinds of spectacularity allowing the conditions to conceive revue as a popular trend common in theatre industry of the modern times to be nurtured. City and its metropolitan experience and revue are inter-related. In other words, revue is a kind of mirror-image of the urban sensation, both phonetically and visually. Revue can facilitate an interactive reading of urban phenomena, enabling cross-disciplinary negotiation, and also cross-national communication.

While paying attention to the current trends in architecture and visual arts, theatres and revue troupes baring legendary stars and hit music numbers, indicated that revue was an interactive synthetic form of art sensitively corresponding to other cultural norms and the various interests of the people. Furthermore, the discussion about the city as aperformative site suggests revue exists in a space which is in line with world expositions and amusement/theme parks. This is an effective perspective in order to investigate particular features of revue in the context of modern times. The historical canon of 'modern times' refers

to a period from roughly the mid-nineteenth century to the 1930s, though the dates are slightly different depending on the context in each specific nation. In my study, the complex scope of modern times and discursive concepts of modernity were confirmed in terms of being 'permanently liminal', representing constant transitional traffic in multiple directions. When we look at the emergence of revue in the light of urban developments and facilities such as zoos, metros, department stores and theatres, certain characteristics of revue cannot but be considered in relation to them and attributed to the dynamics of urban modernity. The characteristics of revue as analysed in Chapter 3 show categorical liminality.

Upon the premise that revue is an assemblage of different genres and elements, which conflict and harmonise within the bounds of space and time, the realm of revue is interpreted as a heterotopia – melting pot of other genres. The nature of depicting a foreign and imagined world composed by mixing numerous ingredients, creates a stage entity which is both anachronistic and hybrid. Based on Nakamura Akiichi's pioneering analysis of revue in Encyclopaedia of Revue (1935), stage composition has been examined to evidence the multiple facets that constitute revue. Revue is talked about not as a foreign genre, but taken for granted as a modern Japanese genre with the common features represented by the key words novelty, urbanity and speed. Nakamura's contemporary consciousness towards modernity and modern theatre indicates that the revue boom was a synchronised phenomenon worldwide. Speed was especially considered a requisite element to define revue, and this was made possible by scientific and mechanical devices such as lighting systems and filmic projection. Thus, revue deviated from a coherent narrative plot but contained interrelating fragments of patches with a fantastical theme,making it eminently spectacular and entertaining, exotic as well as nostalgic in the surreal sense of being 'out of this world'.

Revue is often described as a dream world. This is because its extraordinarily flamboyant realm is a complete artifice made artificially visible on stage at its extreme, as if to mirror the excess of products and people in the city, and the affluence of consumer society. Like the world behind the cinema screen or phantasmagoria, we can see it but cannot live within it. This obvious rule of theatre on the revue stage realises fantasy in overabundant expressions through singing and dancing. Its cruel side is that the luxury may be bought by money, making the world that the richer people can afford one which the poor may only aspire to. Here arises the hypocritical paradox; revue gained its popularity owing to its stimulating simulation of excess – it was a dream for the flash and pursuers of gaiety. It may be taken as a form of insane vanity that earns much money out of selling cheap dreams.
No matter how criticised it may have been, however, this is the very reason that revue is seen as a spectacle of the consumer society as Kawasaki Kenko (1999) repeatedly emphasised. The audience may

seem exploited by the capitalist intention but, as Kamiyama stresses, if this is where theatre goers' shinsei (mentality, mindset) is found, such a theatre genre where the majority's dreams and aspirations are reflected should not be despised by intellectuals as a sheer commercial theatre unworthy of serious attention. According to Nakano Masaaki, such revue is an aesthetic form for rendering the democratic ideal which represents a desire for affirmative pleasure and entertainment brought about by the abundance of mass production and mass consumption (Nakano 2014, 13). Furthermore, Nakano (ibid.) commented that revue is not about the binary confrontation of art vs. entertainment, but rather art and entertainment at the same time. This confirms my view of revue as a liminal theatre genre built upon the search for binomial harmony rather than discord.

On the other side of grand-spectacular revue radiating vanity, it must not be forgotten that there were non-spectacular revues such as the political agitation revues in Weimar Berlin mentioned in Chapters 2 and 4. Whether these were critical or sheer entertainment might depend on the producer's intention or the audience's mindset, but even the fact that the subversive production took the popular form of revue is a very fact worthy of our attention. A recent example from Germany is *Ich aus Trier – Karl Marx Revue* (2018). It was a revue about the life and work of Karl Marx made in collaboration on the occasion of his 250-year birthday anniversary in his birthplace of Trier. In our age of advanced capitalism and globalisation, this revue presented a syndical interpretation of money and workforce in a fast-paced entertaining collage of music, dance and drama sketches. It did not represent political agitation, but it did ridicule in an exaggerated way present society and the economic system, reminding the audience of the heritage of German political revue.

In this way, although political revues as well as show-oriented grand revues survive today, it has been nearly a century since 'revue as a genre' was part of a major international trend. French revues barely remain with little of the grandeur of the past, merely serving tourists with the flattering shows at Moulin Rouge or the Lido, or at the post-War establishment of the Crazy Horse for more sexy revue. In America, Radio City Roquette and the popular American skating revue-show by Holiday on Ice are rare examples which are still going on since the 1930s. In Japan, Takarazuka is the oldest and the biggest ongoing commercial revue theatre, is still successful in managing two of its own theatres with in-house playwrights, directors, an orchestra and the all-female performers. Apart from this, OSK is barely still operating and other smaller revue groups are limited to temporary small-size productions. Nevertheless, revue continues, though the genre is decreasing in popularity, both in Japan and worldwide. Also, equivalent revue shows are still popular attractions at most amusement parks, not to mention Disney Land. The contemporary mutations and our retrospective interpretation require relative measures.

Furthermore, to investigate the relativity in the range of revue, Chapter 4 focused on the case of Japan. A number of publications have shown the integration of revue in Japan to have been as fast and phenomenal as that of its European predecessors. Given the particular history of Japan opening up its nation to influences from abroad, Westernisation and modernisation were taken as being almost synonymous with Tokyo when it became the imperial capital. As Tokyo grew after the Meiji Restoration in 1851, following in the steps of London, Paris and Berlin, urban modernity rapidly evolved with new urban facilities such as public transport, market places, department stores, theatres and cinema. This prepared the backdrop for revue to become the modern genre for modern people's entertainment.

For the dispersal of revue and the development of the genre, metropolitan spacial liminality, i.e. area demarcation, played an important role in the conception of diversity in Japanese revue. Seven quarters in Tokyo are of importance in tracing the history of revue in its local context: Yokohama, Ueno, Asakusa, Tsukiji, Ginza and Hibiya. The creation of and reception received by revue were closely related to the drive to be modern, *shinsei* (mindset or sentiment) generated throughout the urbanisation of all these areas in Tokyo before and after the Great Kantō Earthquake of 1923. From the early Meiji period to the early Shōwa period, these areas received Western influences in terms of architecture and the idea of a public sphere, as well as leisure facilities represented by parks, theatres and cinemas. By looking at theatres and their cross-cultural repertoires in these areas, the background for the reason why revue grew into a poplar genre is revealed. In particular, the Asakusa and Hibiya-Ginza areas have been examined as rivals for consideration as the cradle of revue. The legacy continues to the present day when we see Takarazuka Revue in Hibiya as the dominant location for the Japanese revue industry, whereas Asakusa, as a tourist attraction, promotes the classical rockette dancers from smaller revue companies such as Torahime-ichiza (since 2010) reviving repertories of the golden age of Asakusa Revue.

It can be said that these Japanese revues have been projecting a 'domesticated Western' *yōfū* (mock-Western style) or *wayō-settchinū* as their own interpretation of modernity. This is not a criticism because the fact that modernisation in Japan was pseudo-Western formulated the core of popular culture resulting in permanent identity fluctuation between pre-modern Japanese ethics and aesthetics and newly incoming Western ones. Just as Kamiyama alerts us to the importance of recognising this perspective about identity fluctuation in studies on modern theatre, this can be interpreted as a positive condition to allow a liminal margin between differences and to adjust our understanding of the biased evaluation about popular, especially commercial, theatre (Kamiyama, 2009).

To have the European trends presented in Chapter 2 in mind for comparison is important when

reconstructing the image of Japanese revue according to global measures, and then when focusing it on the Japanese socio-historical context which could redefine the genre in the light of globalised urban phenomena. In comparison with London, Paris and Berlin, we observed that Tokyo, on the other side of the planet, was also experiencing a similar modern breeze, adopting the trends in fashion, music, theatre and film almost spontaneously, while Japanese art was influencing Western culture at the same time. The interaction was not one-way traffic but, mutual and plural. It is within the context of this liminal *Ikōtsū*, heterotopian traffic, that the force of trans-cultural dynamism is found to reveal possibilities for interactive communicability.

The integration of revue in Japan abides by a tension between old and new media, confronting transitional performing styles or conventional ideas. This is especially so when involving female performers, who were the main members of revue troupes. Therefore, Chapter 5 was entirely dedicated to carrying out a historical examination of the status and the role of Japanese women on stage. This background is vital in understanding why revue in Japan, unlike in European countries, is thriving up to the present day. The rise of revue regarded through women's experiences from the Meiji to the early Shōwa period, in the transitional period between tradition and modernity, also raises other transitional liminal conditions such as performers being between women and girls during school years, between women and men in society and on stage. Since this analysis involves consideration of the male-oriented Japanese feudal system, theatre for women cannot be talked about without considering the liberation of womanhood, from developments in the educational system to expanding career opportunities, whereby *Joyū* stood for a controversial modern profession to aspire to.

I have argued that revue girls were a kind of *moga* (modern girls) in transition from young girls to mature women. They were given more freedom in their physical liminality and their student status, and their performances on stage were more socially acceptable and supported by the public. This is why girls were seen as liminal persona as *flâneurses* emerging in the city and in the theatre world. A handful of pioneer female performers and genres which hosted girls and women were introduced in order to locate revue girls and the revue genre in a wider context. Initiated by Sadayakko who gained a reputation in France at the 1900 Paris Exposition, Japanese female performers who toured abroad and returned home contributed not only to introducing foreign performing techniques but also to raising the status and opportunities for women to become professional actresses. Revue was one of the few genres receptive of women and girls, who would perform by combining the aspects of dancer and singer. Also, revue as a modern theatre genre was not the exception to have eagerly adopted and embodied progressive styles and ideas inspired from the West.

With this in mind, Chapter 6 looked at Takarazuka Revue as reminiscent of modern times and thus a prototype of revue to exemplify it as a liminal theatre genre. The ambiguous identity of the Takarazuka Revue is both strategically and stylistically constructed along liminal borders and passages, namely, the world in-between. Features of Takarazuka Revue have referred back to liminality we have seen in theoretical, physical, spacial and categorical dimensions. Modelled on these liminal articulations, two case studies about revue productions from the pre-War heyday were examined. *Mon Paris* (1927) acknowledged as Japan's first Western-style revue can be seen as an example of cultural translation from France, while *Haruno-odori Ryūsenbi* (1935) is an original *wayō-settchū* performance reflecting the real time modern Tokyo. Takarazuka Revue brought various Western urban trends and elements onto its panoramic, architecturally fabricated grand stage.From the beginning of the Taishō period in 1914, in the small suburban spa town, and its subsequent base in Hibiya from 1934, Takarazuka Revue is a witness to revue's history. Moreover, this history is not confined to Japan, but acquires its real entity when compared with that in Western Europe because Takarazuka maintains classical exotic features, and at the same time continues to update its inter-medial and trans-cultural stage art. In other words, Takarazuka Revue preserves the principal of revue, as a liminal theatre genre in our ever-expanding age of globalisation. IN the same way that Kamiyama Akira keeps it as a guiding principle of sociological theatre studies, I share awareness that 'the epoch is always multifaceted and to be evolved concurrently' (Kamiyama 2016, 12). In sympathising with this view, I employed the practical measure of 'liminality' as a dialectical method by which to examine the theatrical form called revue.

Accordingly, my approach offered an inter-disciplinary as well as an inter-cultural reconstruction of this international theatre genre of revue. Using both European and indigenous sources, my study has drawn upon a number of insights that stem from revue in an attempt to cast light on this little discussed genre. Reviewing revue means reimagining modernity. I have brought the concept of liminality into the conversation about theatre history and urban development to argue that revue is a 'genre' whose nature can only be understood when discussed in a comparative global context. Like another independent genre called musical, revue is a recognisable genre with numerous variations worldwide. What makes a stage revue is the inter-medial hybridity built upon a lavish combination of vibrant dancing, singing and acting fragments constructed without a story but a theme – the entertaining fantasy spectacle that grew from

the city life and reflects the topical trend. My methodology in using the conceptual tool of liminality is thus, in a way, to highlight the outstanding heterogeneity of this genre called revue.

Bringing sociological insight to the examination of revue broadens the international scope in theatre studies and also contributes to International Japanese Studies[164] Revue is urban, modern and liminal. The transcultural viewpoint is important for looking beyond the dichotomy of the Eurocentric view of Orientalism, or so-called *nihonjinron* which articulates particularities of Japanese national identity. In this way, the schema of clichéd binaries and equalisation such as tradition vs. modern, the West vs. Japan, or modernisation equalling Westernisation, should be doubted and reconstructed. Instead, my approach sought for an alternative middle way – on the liminal – searching for the common materiality of urban culture and porous network of influences between different entities in a view espousing the idea that boundaries do not block but connect each other and in order to deconstruct inventions and hierarchical configurations.

It is this liminality that can redefine revue as a theatre genre. For this reason, revue will surely continue to be an exciting part of global theatre history.

[164] Hosei University's Centre for International Japanese Studies is a pioneer institution which promoted the concept of "Japan Studies as a cross-cultural study" and has encouraged international research since 2002. The director, Prof. Oguchi Masashi, declares the intention as follows: "'Japanese Studies' has existed as a field of research for a long time. Although research is conducted overseas focusing on various Japanese cultural phenomena, 'Japanese Studies' is an academic opportunity that allows diverse viewpoints to co-exist on literature, philosophy, social sciences, politics and anthropology. By connecting 'Japanese Studies' from all regions of the world, and understanding the international features of each example, we aim to give 'Japanese Studies' a new and dynamic opening that we at Hosei University have coined 'International Japanese Studies'. Our Research Center has strived to establish this new research field of 'International Japanese Studies' as a meta-science. In the future, however, we anticipate gradual change from the establishment of methodology to observing actual practice in each field. 'Japanese Studies' around the world is said to have lost its past fervour, yet through research in 'International Japanese Studies' we hope to encourage a reconsideration and rediscovery of the specialty and universality of Japanese culture that will further our aim towards 'true international collaboration'" (Accessed August 12, 2019: https://hijas.hosei.ac.jp/ en/page_about_hijas/greetings-from-the-director). Myself as an affiliated researcher of the institute since 2013, it has been my intention to capture revue as an intriguing example to respond to the intentions of International Japanese Studies.

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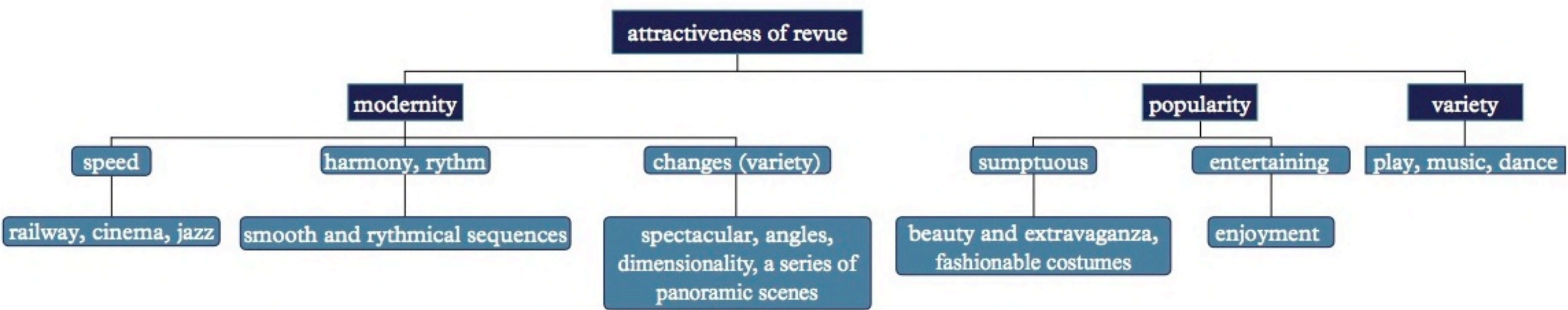
APPENDIX I

Analysis of Revue by Nakamura Akiichi, 1935

レビュウの魅力

- 近代性
  - スピード
    - 鉄道 シネマ ジャズ
  - 調和 ハアモニイ・リズム
    - テンポの良い場面展開・流れ
  - 変化 (variety)
    - Spectacular (見世物的/多様性) 角度・立体感・パノラマ式場面展開
- 大衆性
  - 豪華性
    - 美と奇抜性 舞台美術 流行の衣裳
  - 娯楽性
    - 楽しむこと
- 多様性
  - 演劇 音楽 舞踊



Appendix II
List of Shōjō Kageki (all-girl revue) from the 1910s to the 1930s

Ashiya Shōjō Kageki (Nishinomiya, Kōrōenhama Beach Amusement Park) 1920s / 芦屋少女歌劇（西宮・香枦園浜）

Awagasaki Shōjō Kageki (Ishikawa Prefecture, Awagasaki Beach Amusement Park) 1928-1941 / 粟ヶ崎少女歌劇団（石川県内灘町・粟ヶ崎海岸遊園地）

Ikuyo Buyō-bu (Sapporo, Ikuyo Inn) 1927- 1947 / いく代舞踊部（札幌市・いく代亭）

Ichioka Paradise Shōjō Kageki (Osaka, Ichioka Paradise) 1920s / 市岡パラダイス少女歌劇（大阪市・市岡パラダイス）

Iroha Shōjō Kageki (Osaka, Shinsekai Amusement Park, Iroha Theatre) years unknown / 色葉少女歌劇（大阪市・新世界・いろは座）

Shirokiya Shōjō Ongakutai (Tokyo, Shirokiya DEpartment Store) 1911-1917 / 白木屋少女音楽隊（東京・白木屋百貨店）

Oichi Otome Dance (Osaka, Ikomasanjō Amusement Park Spa) 1930s / 大市乙女ダンス (大阪・生駒山上遊園地大市温泉閣）

Ohama Shōjō Kageki (Sakai-shi, Ohama Spa) 1924-1934 / 大浜少女歌劇（堺市・大浜潮湯）

Tamagawaen Shōjō Kageki (Tokyo, Tamagawa Amusement Park) c. 1925 / 多摩川園少女歌劇団（東京・多摩川遊園地）

Kagetsuen Shōjō Kageki (Yokohama, Tsurumi Kagetsu Amusement Park) 1922-1940 / 花月園少女歌劇（横浜市・鶴見花月園）

Kagetsu Otome Buyō-dan (Osaka, Shinsekai Amusement Park) c. 1926 / 花月乙女舞踊団（大阪・新世界・芦辺館）

Kawai Dance (Osaka, Dōtonbori) 1922- 1937 / 河合ダンス（大阪市・道頓堀)

Kōyō Shōjō Kageki (Nishonomiya, Kōyō Amusement Park) 1920s / 甲陽少女歌劇（西宮・甲陽園）

Kunihana Shōjō Kageki (travelling troupe) c. 1920 / 国華少女歌劇（各地巡業）

Sunakawa Yūen Shōjō Kageki (Osaka, Sunakawa Amusement Park) 1935-1942 / 砂川遊園少女歌劇（大阪市・砂川遊園）

Akadama Shōjō Kageki (Osaka, Cabaret Akadama) 1927-1936 / 赤玉少女歌劇団（大阪・キャバレー赤玉）

Shioe Onsen Shōjō Kageki (Kagawa Prefecture Shioe Spa, hanaya Inn) 1929-1940/ 塩江温泉少女歌劇（香川県塩江温泉・花屋旅館）

Seitai-za (Fukuoka) 1923-1927 / 青黛座（せいたいざ）（福岡市）

Darumaya Shōjō Kageki (DSK) (Fukui City, Darumaya Department Store)だるま屋少女歌劇部（DSK）1931-1936（福井市・だるまや百貨店）

Tsurumien Joyū Kageki (Oita Prefectire Beppu, Tsurumi Amusement Park) 1925-1943 / 鶴見園女優歌劇（大分県別府市・鶴見園）

Tsurumi kagetsuen Shōjō Kageki (Yokohama, kagetsu Amusement Park) 1922 - 1930s / 鶴見花月園少女歌劇団（横浜市・花月園遊園地）

Tokyo Shōjō Kageki (Tokyo, Nagoya) 1917-1920s / 東京少女歌劇団（東京-名古屋）

Naniwa Shōjō Kageki (Osaka, Rakutenchi Amusement Centre) 1921-1922 / 浪華少女歌劇団（大阪市・楽天地）

Haneda Bessō Shōjō Kageki (Hiroshima, Haneda Inn) 1918- 1941 / 羽田別荘少女歌劇団（広島市・羽田別荘）

Biwa Shōjō Kageki (Osaka, Shintenchi Amusement Centre) 1919-1923 / 琵琶少女歌劇（大阪市・楽天地）

Pontochō Shōjo Revue (Kyoto) early 1930s / 先斗町少女レヴュー団（京都市）

Appendix III

This panorama map was made for the Exposition of Women and Children held at the occasion of the 25th year anniversary of Hankyū Railway, and reprinted in 2014 for the centenary of Takarazuka Revue.