

Art on Stage — Shift in Kabuki Costumes from Craft to Art

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要旨

19 世紀後半以降、洋画家も日本画家も歌舞伎の舞台の近代化に徐々に貢献してきた。本稿では、『助六』の花魁・揚巻の衣裳に描かれた絵柄が、メタ物語としてどのような役割を果たしたかに焦点を当てる。第二次世界大戦後の最初の 20 年間、日本画家たちが歌舞伎に与えた影響を探り、彼らが歌舞伎の視覚的美学に与えた変革の影響を紹介する。具体的には、これらの芸術家たちが、歌舞伎の華麗で浮世絵中心の視覚的特徴を、ファインアートの受容を彷彿とさせる美学へとどのようにシフトさせたかを説明する。

abstract

Since the late 19th century, both *nihonga* and western-style artists have gradually contributed to the modernization of the Kabuki stage. This article focuses on the role of painted designs on the costumes of the courtesan Agemaki in the play *Sukeroku*, serving as a metanarrative. It explores the influence of *nihonga* artists on Kabuki during the initial two decades following World War II, showcasing their impact on its visual aesthetic. Specifically, it illustrates how these artists shifted Kabuki's colorful and *ukiyo-e*-centric visual characteristics towards an aesthetic reminiscent of the reception of fine art.

1. Introduction

Taking Kabuki costumes as a metanarrative, this article examines the painted designs of the costume of the courtesan Agemaki 揚巻 in the play *Sukeroku* 助六 to illustrate the involvements of *nihonga* 日本画 artists on the aesthetics of Kabuki stage design, focusing on the first two decades after World War II when both genres were declared a doomed art. This is part of a research project on professional painters and Kabuki stage design since the Meiji period (1868-1912). These interventions by Japanese professional artists in the theater took place against the backdrop of the debate on tradition and modernity in the 1950s, in which artists such as Okamoto Tarō 岡本太郎 (1911-1996) advocated a more elaborated version of westernization in which tradition functioned as a key factor in the dynamism of the cultural order, while Kenmochi Isamu 剣持勇 (1912-1971), industrial designer who was then the head of the Design Department at the Industrial Arts Institute emphasized that modern designers should not practice and respect traditional styles and forms for their own sake, but as a method and principle to create something new.¹⁾ The position that the painted Kabuki costume designs express in this discussion about modernity is another concern of this article.

Before delving into the main topic, some notes on the characteristics of the Kabuki theater and its costumes.

2. Kabuki and Kabuki Costumes

Since its foundation at the turn to the 17th century, *kabuki* 歌舞伎 has been the commercial entertainment theater that primarily transformed legends and historical heroes in a rather romantic manner and used them to provide a framework for entertaining love stories, thrilling intrigues, or crucial crime stories. Its performance practice changed according to changes in times and fashion, and its performance conventions are based on the tastes of the audience.²⁾ Kabuki actors, particularly impersonators of female roles (*onnagata* 女方), set the fashion in the colors and patterns of kimonos and hair styles for urban merchants, artisans as well as the military elite. Unconventional and innovative as well as provocative in form and content, the performing art of Kabuki translated its aesthetic of the extraordinary also into its scenery and costumes. Kabuki costumes are unconventional, fancy, provocative, ahead of their time, full of originality and ingenuity. While *nō* 能 and *kyōgen* 狂言 costumes were oriented to the fashion practices and conventions of the military and court nobility, Kabuki costumes aimed at unconventionality and the highest possible visual showmanship. Kabuki is all about showing a character, rather than content. Bearing a special meaning for every role, costumes also function as visual language. However, instead of being a means for transforming an actor into a character, in the first place they deliberately provoke the spectator's

eyes in order to surprise and disturb common conventions.³⁾

Since the 17th century, the conventions known as *kata*, encompassing acting techniques, staging methodologies, scenery construction, make-up application, and costume design, have undergone evolution. Any elements that garnered audience approval were subsequently passed down and preserved over time.

In 1930, Kishida Ryūsei 岸田劉生 (1891–1929), a *yōga* painter and devoted Kabuki enthusiast, asserted that further reform of Kabuki's content was unnecessary. He argued that the populace had already recognized its detachment from contemporary life. Consequently, he emphasized the enduring value of Kabuki as a traditional art form, replete with its established stage conventions, within the modern era.⁵⁾

One example for the traditional convention of linking attire to certain characters on stage and handing them down is the costume of the hero of the play *Sukeroku* that premiered in the 3rd month 1713 in Edo at the Yamamuraza 山村座 theater.⁶⁾ This article refers to the most popular version, “Sukeroku, the flower of Edo” (*Sukeroku yukari no Edo zakura* 助六由縁江戸桜), that was first performed at the Ichimuraza 市村座 in the 4th lunar month 1782. It has been restaged under different names until today. The story is about the dandy hero Sukeroku and his high-ranking courtesan lover Agemaki who teamed up to track down the murderer of Sukeroku's father against the backdrop of the lavish and luxury Yoshiwara 吉原 pleasure quarter in Edo.

During the Edo period, members of the rich merchant class were the primary consumers of the arts not only in Kyoto but also in Edo and the most important patrons of the Kabuki theater came from the same class.⁷⁾ The involvement of the *ukiyo-e* 浮世絵 schools like the Torii 鳥居 in the advertisement paintings (*e-kanban* 絵看板) and members of the Katsukawa 勝川 School who eventually also served as scenery painters is a well-known fact. An Edo-period record reports of an outer robe (*uchikake* 打掛) for the young *onnagata*, Iwai Shijaku 岩井紫若 I (Iwai Hanshirō 岩井半四郎 VII (1804–1845) that was painted by Rinpa artist Sakai Hōitsu 坂井抱一 (1761–1829) in 1821.⁸⁾

The costume does no longer exist, but a wedding kimono (fig. 1) designed by Hōitsu could serve as a fine example of the unique adaptation of a two-dimensional limited space of a folding screen or hanging scroll to the three-dimensional format of a *kosode* 小袖 garment. Not only artists belonging to the *rinpa* 琳派 but also the *nanga* 南画 and *Maruyama* 丸山 Schools have been associated with textile design. Nevertheless,

there is currently no evidence of any Kabuki costumes being created by artists from these latter two schools. The development of *yūzen* 友禅 dying at the beginning of the 18th century abetted the fusion of painting and fashion as the paste-resist technique permitted the direct application of dyes with a brush. During the same period, in contrast to its modest stage sets, Kabuki costumes evolved to become increasingly elaborate and extravagant.⁹⁾



Fig. 1 Sakai Hōitsu, *kosode* with plum tree and flowering plants, early 19th century (Gluckman/Takeda, 1993, p. 185).

In fact, it was not until the end of the 19th century that professional painters from outside the firmly closed world of Kabuki got involved in its productions. To the considerable chagrin of theater-affiliated stage painters and designers, since the end of the 19th century, both *nihonga* 日本画 and *yōga* 洋画 painters had been engaged for consultations regarding stage design and scenery for newly written plays as these demanded a different design from the predominant *ukiyo-e* aesthetic in Edo-period performances. The earliest *nihonga* artists involved in Kabuki scenery and costume design were Kubota Beisen 久保田米僊 (1852–1906) and his sons Kubota Beisai 久保田米斎 (1874–1937) and Kubota Kinsen 久保田金僊 (1875–1954) as well as Matsuoka Eikyū 松岡映丘 (1881–1938)¹⁰⁾.

A print by Utagawa Kunisada III (1848–1929) (fig. 2) shows Nakamura Fukusuke 中村福助 IV the later Utaemon 歌右衛門 V (1866–1940) as Agemaki dressed in an *uchikake*, decorated with a dragon and clouds. In theater prints referring to earlier performances of the play Agemaki is shown in a different costume, so this might very well be the first proof of a painted *uchikake* for the enigmatic role of the courtesan.

In fact, when in 1896 Ichikawa Danjūrō 市川團十郎 IX (1838–1903) starred as Sukeroku he ordered a painted costume for Agemaki played by the above-mentioned Fukusuke IV.¹¹⁾ Kubota Beisen was not only to design the *uchikake* but also to paint his design directly onto the silk fabric. With this commission, the uncontested authority of the Meiji period Kabuki contributed to the opening up of the otherwise closed Kabuki world towards modern painters. Ordering a painted costume from an acclaimed painter was not just another example of the interchangeability of art and textile design. It elucidates an actor's high esteem of the painter and his art as well as his firm belief in causing a sensation with the audience by wearing such an artwork on stage.



Fig. 2 Utagawa Kunisada III (1848–1920), Nakamura Fukusuke VI as Agemaki. Left sheet of triptych. “*Sukeroku yukari no Edo zakura*,” woodblock print, *ōban*, 1896. © National Theatre (Japan Arts Council).

During the Meiji period, this involvement of artists from outside the Kabuki could also be interpreted as an attempt to elevate the art of Kabuki against the backdrop of the theater reform movement. However, only during the first decades after the war, particularly the 1950s and 1960s, Agemaki costumes were painted by several painters with a frequency previously unseen.

2-1. Kabuki and Stage Design After World War II

During the first years after the Second World War *nihonga* was labelled a second class or doomed art.¹²⁾ Kabuki was censored and any plays glorifying blind loyalty or other ideals from the feudal past were banned. Furthermore, both arts were challenged by international western standards in their respective field.¹³⁾ In the following decades, Kabuki managed to rise again as a classic traditional theater genre, trying hard to compete with other entertainment genres and at the same time to not lose contact to its audience as an innovative art good for visual surprises on stage. The theory of the destruction of *nihonga* painting (*nihonga metsubōron* 日本画滅亡論) that was voiced immediately after the World War II and the need of revising Japanese-style painting that had been voiced many times since then, yet did not destroy this painting style. Matthew Larking pointed out that the *metsubōron* was instrumental in bringing about westernized forms of pictorial consciousness and an increasingly westernized sense of individuality and identity within *nihonga*. The binary of *nihonga* and *yōga*, and discourses between the artists of both genres, generated new pictorial approaches within *nihonga*, thus also reflecting the discourses about tradition and modernity in contemporary art. By the 1960s contemporary painters had found a style that could compete with contemporary painting in other countries.¹⁴⁾

In the following, I will present examples of how *nihonga* painters expressed their art on textile through the format of the Agemaki Kabuki costumes.

The actor Nakamura Fukusuke 中村福助 IV (1881–1901) shown in the woodblock print above (fig. 2) received the name of Nakamura Utaemon 中村歌右衛門 V in 1911 and had been the first *onnagata* who became the senior leader of the Kabuki world until his death in 1940.¹⁵⁾ Likewise, his talented son, the *onnagata* Nakamura Utaemon VI (1917–2010), dominated the Kabuki stage after the Second World War, firmly promoted by the company that produces and preserves Kabuki until today, the film and

entertainment giant Shōchiku Co. Ltd. Before World War II, Kubota Beisai 久保田米斎 (1874–1934), his brother Kinsen 金僊 (1875–1954), Ikegami Shūho 池上秀畝 (1874–1944), and Komuro Suiun 小室翠雲 (1868–1912) had painted Agemaki costumes¹⁶⁾ but it was Utaemon VI, the *onnagata* star of Kabuki after the war, who possessed most of the Agemaki costumes designed by famous *nihonga* painters of his time. Yamaguchi Hōshun 山口蓬春 (1893–1971) was the first *nihonga* painter to design the Agemaki *uchikake* for Utaemon VI for a performance at the Kabukiza in 1955 (fig. 3).



Fig. 3 Yamaguchi Hōshun, *uchikake*, red-crowned cranes and plums, 1955 (Ishida, 2020, p. 82).

The painter Yamaguchi Hōshun entered the western painting department of the Tokyo Fine Arts School in 1915 but transferred to the Japanese painting department in 1918, graduating in 1923. He joined the New *Yamato-e* Movement (*Shinkō yamato-e kai* 新興大和絵会) led by Matsuoka Eikyū but dissatisfied with boundaries of the traditional painting styles he took part in the *Rikuchōkai* 六潮会,¹⁷⁾ a study group of *yōga* and *nihonga* painters that took a position unbiased by genre in 1930. In the end he disassociated himself from all restrictive associations before the war. After World War II he worked on the interaction between humans and nature in modern times and on new landscape painting that was not bound by tradition. He became a member of the Japan Art Academy in 1950 and received the Order of Cultural Merit in 1965. Throughout his life Hōshun continued his studies through close



Fig. 4 Yamaguchi Hōshun, “Lingering cold”, 1942, ink, colors, gold on paper, 66.5 x 73.0 cm (Kanagawa Kenritsu Bijutsukan, 2006, no. 45).

interaction across schools and sought to create a new style of Japanese painting sublimating his studies of the Rinpa school and Song and Yuan paintings also into the world of flower-and-bird painting.¹⁸⁾



Fig. 5 Yamaguchi Hōshun, “Auspicious Crane”, 1943, ink, colors on silk, 141.5 x 50.8 cm (Kanagawa Kenritsu Bijutsukan, 2006, no. 45).

After the war, the influence of western style painting became more and more visible in his oeuvre, however, the costumes he designed for Utaemon VI could be credited to his painting style before the Second World War as the Rinpa style-influenced paintings from the 1930s (fig. 4) and 1940s (fig. 5) suggest. The subject of cranes in the design of the *uchikake* also allude to the name of Utaemon’s wife Tsuruko 鶴子.¹⁹⁾



Fig. 6 Yamaguchi Hōshun, *uchikake*, rainbow and magpies, ink, color, and gold on silk fabric, 1962 (Ishida 2020, 83).

The fabric used as painting ground is called *shiraji seigō ori* 白地精好織. This satin-like fabric is woven in a special technique that adds density and volume to it and it has been in use for garments of court nobles and warrior families since the Middle Ages.

In 1862 Hōshun designed another Agemaki costume for Nakamura Utaemon VI (fig. 6). Commissioning Hōshun for Kabuki costumes was not only due to personal relationships between the actor and painter but could be also explained against the backdrop of the crisis Kabuki was facing due to the competition by other entertainment genres since the reconstruction and reopening of the Kabukiza theater in Tokyo in January 1951 which had been destroyed at the end of the war. Using the foyer and the second floor of the resurrected theater as a gallery, the Shōchiku company intended to brush up the image of Kabuki by creating an artistic environment to be enjoyed by the audience during intervals. The exhibited art works were painted by renowned *nihonga* artists almost exclusively for this theater.²⁰⁾ Thus, *nihonga* paintings were used as a marketing strategy by the production company Shōchiku and the enhanced commissioning of costumes from renowned painters could be interpreted as one offspring of this strategy.

However, *nihonga* painters and kabuki actors also enjoyed close contact, as Nakamura Baigyoku 中村梅玉 IV (b. 1946), adopted son of Utaemon VI, confirmed for his father, saying that painters frequently visited him at home. For example, Hashimoto Meiji 橋本明治 (1904–1991)

spent long hours with Utaemon VI to finish the portrait of the actor that he presented at the Nitten 日展 exhibition in 1955. Meiji was also commissioned to design an Agemaki costume for Utaemon VI for a performance in November 1958 at the Kabukiza.

Hashimoto Meiji graduated from the Department of Japanese Painting at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts in 1931 and, like Yamaguchi Hōshun, studied with Matsuoka Eikyū.²¹⁾ As mentioned above, the first two decades after World War II was also the time when in *nihonga* parity and contemporaneity with international modernism appeared possible, leading to more individuality in style. The 1948 established Creative Art Society (*Sōzō Bijutsu Kyōkai* 想像美術協会)²²⁾ was founded by artists who broke away from the conservative-government-led *Nitten* exhibitions and can be characterized as one of *nihonga*'s rapprochement with Western painting. Hashimoto Meiji was one of the representatives of these post-war *nihonga* artists. His art based itself on Japanese traditional painting and materials, into which he weaved techniques and subjects of oil painting. However, he did not confine himself to a certain style or influence of his teachers. His oeuvre is characterized by clear shapes, strong colors, thick outlines, decorative style, and incorporates the emotional restraint, both towards the subject and the viewer that is typical of this painting. According to art critic Uemura Takachiyo 植村鷹千代 (1911–1998), by unifying Japanese and Western painting, though on the side of *nihonga* at the limit of acceptability as such, Hashimoto created a brilliantly restrained avant-garde style in this genre.²³⁾



Fig. 7. Hashimoto Meiji, *uchikake*, peonies and rock, ink, color, and gold on white silk fabric, 1958 (Ishida, 2020, p. 86).

The *uchikake* designed by Hashimoto Meiji (fig. 7) is decorated with peonies and a rock in ink, red color and with golden flowers each framed by a thick outline in light grey. Such outlines are one of the characteristics of this painter. In 1974 Hashimoto Meiji commented on the difficulty of creating Kabuki costumes, because they “are usually characterized by gold and silver stitching, and gaudy colors, but hand-painted costumes are usually based on black ink, so it is a challenge to make them blend in with the other costumes on the stage.”²⁴⁾

The actor Utaemon VI had been in close contact with Hashimoto Meiji and other important figures in art circles, but that Maeda Seison 前田青邨 (1885–1877) painted a costume for the actor was more due to the fact that Seison had been close to the other top Kabuki star of the 1950s and 1960s, Ichikawa Danjūrō XI. The actor had died in 1963 but in November 1969 his son took over the name of Ichikawa Ebizō 市川海老蔵 X, in Kabuki promotion to a new name, and in this case the promotion to the next name on the way to the peak of the Kabuki world, the name of Ichikawa Danjūrō, is always celebrated with a special program. As the leading *onnagata* star, Utaemon VI played Agemaki opposite Ebizō X as Sukeroku in the performance on the occasion of the name taking ceremony. Maeda Seison painted the *uchikake* due to his close relationship to Ebizō's father, for whom he had designed costumes and stage sets before.



Fig. 8 Maeda Seison, *uchikake*, “Plum tree”, ink, and gold on white silk fabric, 1969 (Ishida, 2020, p. 86).

Maeda Seison was one of the most acclaimed *nihonga* artists during the time he painted the costume for Utaemon VI (fig. 8). He had studied

with Kajita Hanko 梶田半古 (1870–1917), participated in the *Kōjikai* 紅児会 (literally “Society of Babies”)²⁵⁾ that explored new directions in *nihonga*, and was a member of the Japanese Art Institute (*Nihon bijutsuin* 日本美術院), the non-governmental artistic organization which promoted the art of *nihonga* through a biennial Academy Exhibition (*Inten* 院展). Unlike other painters who matched western techniques with *nihonga*, Maeda remained faithful to the traditional *yamato-e* 大和絵 and *rinpa* styles of Japanese painting.²⁶⁾

He is known for his watercolor paintings on historical subjects and portraiture but also worked widely on other subjects including still life, landscapes, and Kabuki scenery. Despite his broad knowledge in painting traditions of Japan and Europe, throughout his career Maeda remained faithful to the traditional styles of Japanese painting. His historical paintings of skillful composition, flowing lines and bright colors established him as one of the most prestigious painters in post war Japan when he created costumes in 1969.



Fig. 9. Maeda Seison, *Maple Tree*, 1960. Gotō Art Museum (*Maeda Seison ten*, 2001, no. 60)

Compared to his painting of a maple tree (fig. 9), Maeda immortalized his typical rendering of single standing trees in Rinpa style, also seen in the plum tree depicted on the *uchikake*.

3. Conclusion

Between 1955 and 1969, five acclaimed *nihonga* painters created six Agemaki *uchikake* costumes. This number was not surpassed either before or after this time.

In conclusion, the prime aesthetic of visual beauty in Kabuki results in an acting technique that emphasizes beautiful visual composition. The above mentioned *uchikake* designed by *nihonga* painters fit into this concept. The subjects painted on the costumes remained

within the framework of traditional painting, albeit each painter adhered to his distinctive painting style. This had a recognition value for an initiated Kabuki audience and a surprise effect for those less familiar with painting. Furthermore, the colors of these costumes of mainly black ink on white silk contributed to a special aesthetic. This black and white contrast stands out against the colorful, red-dominated frame of the stage set of a tea house in the Yoshiwara pleasure quarters. The costumes created an aesthetic on stage that changed its gorgeous, colorful, and extraordinary visuality to that of the reception of an artwork, even though if only just for one scene, the one Agemaki appeared in it on stage. In this way, as Kenmochi had advocated, tradition in painting served to create something new by transforming traditional subjects onto another media, the kabuki costumes. Nevertheless, these manifestations of *nihonga* paintings remained in the realm of tradition and did not create a modern art object in its own.

List 1 Painters who created *uchikake* for actors performing the role of Agemaki after World War II

Painter	Design/sujet	Actor (<i>onnagata</i>)	Theater
Yamaguchi Hōshun (1893–1971)	Cranes and plum tree	Nakamura Utaemon VI (1917–2001)	Kabukiza, January 1955
Hashimoto Meiji (1904–1991)	Peonies and rock	Nakamura Utaemon VI	Kabukiza, November 1958
Torii Kotondo (1900–1976)	Peacock	Kawarazaki Kunitarō V (1909–1990)	Yomiuri Hall, 1958
Yamaguchi Hōshun	Rainbow and magpies	Nakamura Utaemon VI	Kabukiza, April 1962
Higashiyama Kaii (1908–1999)	Pine trees on rocks and waves	Nakamura Utaemon VI	Kabukiza, April 1966
Maeda Seison (1885–1977)	Plum tree	Nakamura Utaemon VI	Kabukiza, November 1969
Katayama Nanpū (1887–1980)	Bamboo and poem cards	Nakamura Utaemon VI	Kabukiza, November 1973
Kataoka Tamako (1905–2008)	Fuji and pine, bamboo and plum	Nakamura Jakuemon IV	Misonoza, October 1985
Muroi Toshio (1935–2021)	Dragon over Mount	Bandō Tamasaburō V (b. 1950)	Kabukiza, January 1988
Muroi Toshio	Falcon and waves	Bandō Tamasaburō V	Kabukiza, January 1988
Oyama Chūsaku (1922–2009)	Phoenix	Nakamura Ganjirō III (1931–2020)	Minamiza, February 2001
Muroi Toshio	Peonies	Bandō Tamasaburō V	Kabukiza, May 2004

However, these costumes could be regarded as an example of the fact Satō Dōshin pointed to in 2007 claiming that although “art” in the postwar period lost some of its authority in comparison to its prewar status, it gained immense social capital and marketability. In tandem with democratization, art shifted its basis from an official government system to a social one.²¹⁾ In

this context, these costumes represented another way for the artists to showcase their work in public and simultaneously social activities such as attending the theater.

The showing off of paintings by acclaimed artists on the Kabuki stage, intensified by the personality and popularity of the actor wearing the costume, Nakamura Utaemon VI, during the 1950s and 1960s echoed the efforts to achieve social acceptance for Kabuki firstly undertaken by Ichikawa Danjūrō IX and others during the Meiji period. During the time of crisis in Kabuki after World War II Utaemon VI and the producers of the play *Sukeroku* seemed to have aimed at linking the performing art to the fine arts. This interpretation also dovetails with Utaemon VI's achievements in gaining social capital for Kabuki as chairman of the Japan Actors' Association and the Japan Council of Performers' Right and Performing Arts Organization as well as a member of the Japanese Academy of Arts.

In the decades after the 1960s, other *nihonga* painters designed Agemaki costumes, always on the occasion of special performances like name taking ceremonies etc. (List 1). The last painter to do so was Muroi Toshio 室井東志生 (1935–2012). He designed two *uchikake* for the *onnagata* Bandō Tamasaburō 坂東玉三郎 V (b. 1950). During a gallery talk held on the occasion of an exhibition of Muroi's artworks at the Higashiyama Kaii Memorial Hall in 2023, the actor emphasized that commissioning and wearing a costume created by a famous contemporary painter not only instills pride in the actor but also enhances his authority. Yet, he also mentioned that this connection and collaboration of outstanding painters and actors had probably lost its importance. They had been a particular phenomenon in the world of art and theater in the first two decades after the Second World War, when both arts sought to redefine their role in society and for themselves.

[Notes]

- 1) Kajiya, 2015, pp. 6–9.
- 2) Today Kabuki productions are dominated by the commercial film and theater production giant Shōchiku that united all Kabuki theaters as well as almost all Kabuki actors under its management since the 1930s, except for the Zenshinza group.¹ Since the beginning of the 20th century Kabuki had lost its function as contemporary art and fascinates its audience solely as presentational art. By turning into a classic theater, Kabuki evaded any critical judgment and also muzzled all further discussions about its contents and aesthetics (Kamimura, 2003, pp. 168–69).
- 3) Maruyama, 2014, p. 4.

- 4) Nihon Haiyū Kyōkai, 2000, p. 264.
- 5) Kamimura, 2003, pp. 156–57.
- 6) Its earliest version was titled *Hana yakata aigo zakura* 花館愛護桜. The protagonist Sukeroku was played by Ichikawa Danjūrō 市川団十郎 II (1688–1758), and the female protagonist and Sukeroku's lover, the courtesan Agemaki, by Tamazawa Rin'ya 玉沢林弥 (active 1707–1728). The latter was a talented Edo actor, who achieved fame for himself during the first quarter of the 18th century.
- 7) Kuniga, 2020, p. 191.
- 8) The feudal lord Matsuura Seizan 松浦青山 (1760–1841) reports in his “Night stories begun in 1821” (*Kasshi yawa* 甲子夜話) that one of the five gorgeous *uchikake* worn by Iwai Shikaku II (1799–1836) when he played Shiratama 白玉, another high-ranking courtesan in the play, “was made of white satin decorated with clouds and a dragon, painted in *sumie* [black-ink painting] by the famed artist of the day Sakai Hōistu *inja* [honorific term for a retired man]” (Shaver, 1966, p. 81).
- 9) Gluckman/Takeda, 1992, p. 30.
- 10) Kodama, 2005, p. 7.
- 11) Ishida, 2020, p. 154.
- 12) Larking, 2019, p. 165.
- 13) The Supreme Commander for the Allied Power S.C.A.P. that implemented Japan's policies between 1945 and 1952 saw Kabuki and *nihonga* as outdated and to be attached to traditional values that needed to be overcome, and this opinion lasted also among the public even after the occupation ended in 1952.
- 14) Larking, 2019, p. 185.
- 15) Leiter, 1997, p. 452.
- 16) Ishida 2020, pp. 155–156.
- 17) Members working in *nihonga* style were Nakamura Gakuryō 中村岳陵 (1890–1969), Fukuda Heihachirō 福田平八郎 (1892–1974), and Yokogawa Kiichirō 横川毅一郎 (1895–1973). *Yōga* style painters were Kimura Shōhachi 木村莊八 (1893–1958), Makino Torao 牧野虎雄 (1890–1946) and Nakagawa Kigen 中川紀元 (1892–1972).
- 18) Hashi 2006, pp. 10–14.
- 19) Ishida, 2020, p. 82.
- 20) For a detailed discussion on the arts collections of both theaters refer to Ishida 2020 and 2023.
- 21) In 1937 Hashimoto Meiji was awarded a special prize at the New Bunten Exhibition, and he also became known for copying the mural paintings of the Golden Hall of the Hōryūji Temple in Nara between 1940 and 1950 (Uemura 1980: 86).
- 22) Members of this society were Uemura Shōkō 上村松篁 (1902–2001), Yamamoto Kyūjin 山本丘人 (1900–1986), Yoshioka Kenji 吉岡賢二 (1906–1990), Fukuda Toyoshirō 福田豊四郎 (1904–1970), Katō Eizō 加藤栄蔵 (1906–1972), Nishiyama Hideo 西山英雄 (1911–1989), Sugiyama Yasushi 杉山寧 (1909–1993), Mukai Kuma 向井久万 (1908–1987), and Hirota Tatsu 広田多津 (1904–1990).
- 23) Uemura, 1980, pp. 86–87.
- 24) Ishida, 2020, 157.
- 25) This study group was founded in 1898 by Yasuda Yukihiro 安田靫彦 (1864–1978) in order to look for new ways in neo-traditional painting. Beside Maeda its members consisted of Imamura Shikō 今村紫紅 (1880–1916), Hayami Gyoshū 速水御舟 (1894–1935), and Kobayashi Kokei 小林古径 (1883–1957).
- 26) Furuta, 2008, 312. In 1937 Maeda joined the Imperial Art Academy. In 1944, he was appointed official court painter to the Imperial Household Agency, and in 1946 he became an official juror of the annual Japan Arts Exhibitions (*Nitten* 日展). From 1950 he was appointed professor at the Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music until his retirement in 1959 and was awarded the Order of Culture in 1955.
- 27) Satō, 2014, p. 350.
- 28) Holt, 2014, p. 176.

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