THE POWER OF IMAGE

HIJIKATA TATSUMI'S SCRAPBOOKS AND THE ART OF BUTÔ

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ABSTRACT

Hijikata Tatsumi (1928-1986) is the acclaimed founder of the performance art genre commonly known as butō. After an initial experimental period spanning the late 1950s to the mid 1960s he concentrated his artistic efforts on directing, choreographing and teaching butō using his own creative system, called butō-fu or "butō scrapbooks."

Like many visual artists Hijikata collected and arranged existing (found) images and composed sixteen scrapbooks. The scrapbooks served Hijikata as a medium to create, explore and reflect on his butō. While making up his scrapbooks Hijikata applied established fine art techniques such as collage, montage and pastiche to isolate, emphasize or synthesize visual and artistic qualities of the images. These techniques were also reflected in the structure of his performances, where Hijikata borrowed, adapted and adopted images from seemingly opposite worlds and genres to construct a genuinely new stage world.

This study is a visual analytical investigation of Hijikata’s scrapbooks and exposes Hijikata’s direct affinity with and assimilation of the visual arts.
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Chapter 1. Introduction

Purpose and Aims

In this dissertation I will present, examine and analyze the method followed by Hijikata Tatsumi (土方 紘) to create and sustain butō through his butō-fu (舞踏譜, dance notation(s)). Hijikata Tatsumi (1928 –1986) is the acclaimed originator of the performance art genre butō (舞踏, dance step), which emerged in the late 1950s in Tokyo, Japan. After 1974 Hijikata ceased to perform on stage and concentrated his creativity on directing, choreographing and teaching butō using his own creative system, called butō-fu or “butō scrapbooks.”

In a detailed layout of the butō-fu I will present the physical nature of Hijikata’s notebooks. Hijikata collected over 400 reproductions, mainly of works by modernist visual artists, which he placed in sixteen scrapbooks. The collected images provided a fundamental visual and artistic source of inspiration for Hijikata to create his stage art.

By examining the way Hijikata created his butō-fu I will show that he made use of the three major modern artistic concepts of collage, montage and pastiche. I will further show that these three
concepts also directly reflect Hijikata’s approach to creating stage performances.

I will establish that butō-fu were Hijikata’s private artist’s notebooks or scrapbooks rather than dance notations in the traditional sense. Hijikata used the butō-fu as the primary artistic tool to create and develop his performances, to experiment with new ideas, and to reflect on his artistic orientation.

A thorough analysis of the butō-fu will reveal the visual connection between Hijikata’s performances and the collected images and convey the artistic relationship between Hijikata’s stage imagery and the depiction of modern art. Furthermore, I will expose Hijikata’s affinities to Western and Japanese, modern and avant-garde visual artists and establish a broader art historical understanding of Hijikata’s stage work.

**Justification and Previous Research**

Butō originated in the late 1950’s in Japan as a contemporary dance/theatre/art movement. Hijikata Tatsumi and Ohno Kazuo, among other artists, “created” butō partially as a reaction against the established, Western-oriented modern dance scene in Japan. Both artists were trained in ballet and modern dance, the latter directly derived from the German expressionist dance of Mary Wigman and
Harald Kreutzberg. Hijikata and Ohno developed their own individual art forms, with a unique use of the body, based on their own personal artistic concepts.

Today, almost fifty years later, butô has produced four generations of artists and is a widespread, established theatre/dance form, and appreciated by audiences both in and outside of Japan. Already in 1995, the Japanese publication *Ekoda Bungaku* (江古田文学) listed the addresses of 135 different butô performers and their groups. Based on recently published playbills of butô performances, I would estimate the number of performers in the Tokyo area alone to be 200-250. There are also countless Western butô groups around the world, such as the Iona Pear Dance Company and Tangentz Performance Group in Hawaii, Su-En Butô Company in Almung, Sweden, Theatre Works in Singapore, L’Esquisse in France, Verwandlungsamt In Munich, Germany and Jocelyne Montpetit Danse in Montréal, Canada. Few dance/theatre festivals in the West today can afford not to print the word “butô” on their playbills. Examples include the Vancouver International Dance Festival 2000, which focused “on the origins of Japanese butoh dance and its contemporary transformations”, and purely butô festivals, such as the annual Butoh Festival in San Francisco.
Butô can even be seen as part of traditional Western theatre performances, such as the March 1998 performance of the opera *MacBeth* at the Blaisdell Concert Hall in Honolulu, in which the Iona Pear Dance Company portrayed the witches. Feature films such as *Flirt* (1998) shot scenes in a butô class and performance choreographed by Ohno Yoshito (son of Ohno Kazuo); in Peter Gabriel’s music video *Sleep*, he sings amidst a performing butô group; Katsura Kan’s 1994 performance *Biwa* fused butô with a traditional Javanese dance and gamelan performance; even in the 1998 independent docudrama *Dreams of a Puppeteer*, the professional puppeteer Okamoto Hoichi performs traditional ningyô jûruri naked, with shaved head and white full-body make up.

If we compare performances of butô artists from the first generation with performances of artists from the present fourth generation, we find some common elements, such as the white body makeup, and slow “strange” movements. However, from an artistic point of view, it seems more likely that what exists today under the umbrella term of “butô” are several very different individual art forms with some minor similarities. It is surprising, both from a cultural as well as artistic point of view that a dance/theatre form, developed in Japan could change so drastically in such a short time. The reason for this diversification of the art form lays partially in the fact that the
founder’s original artistic approach and systems, especially Hijikata’s butō-fu, were kept secret until the late 1990s and were not accessible until recently. As a result, to date, no extensive research focusing on and investigating Hijikata’s butō-fu as the primary artistic tool to create “butō” has been conducted. This dissertation represents the first detailed analysis of Hijikata Tatsumi’s private notebooks (the butō-fu), and will shed new light on the founder’s intimate artistic approach to his art. This dissertation will also establish a broader art historical lens which will help researchers and audiences alike to understand and appreciate the oeuvre of one of the greatest modern artists of the 20th Century, Hijikata Tatsumi.

Because butō is developing and expanding at such a rapid speed, it seems that nobody, even in Japan, knows what fundamental elements define the art form known today as butō. Mikami Kayo, a disciple of Hijikata, points out that for a long time butō was artistically and academically looked upon as “paganism or heresy” in Japan, thus no serious research by dance or art scholars was undertaken until recently.

The critic Gōda Nario was one of the first Japanese writers who regularly reviewed Hijikata’s and Ohno’s performances from the 1950’s on. His many articles and essays are today invaluable historical

1 Mikami Kayo, Utsuwa toshite no shintai, 22-23.
sources. Kuniyoshi Kazuko, a dance researcher wrote several early articles on the emergence of butô. In 1993 she presented the first detailed chronology of the entire butô movement. Her 2001 book Buyô to modanizumi (Dance and Modernism) is a thorough guide to the modern dance developments in Europe, America and Japan, including butô. Mikami Kayo introduced her 1993 book Utsuwa toshite no shintai (The Body as a Vessel/Receptacle, 器としての身体) with a comprehensive insider view of Hijikata’s artistic concepts and training methods. Motofuji Akiko, Hijikata’s wife, presented in 1997 the book Hijikata Tatsumi to tomo ni (Together with Hijikata Tatsumi, 土方巽とともに), which is a rich and colorful personal account of her life with Hijikata. The book is filled with valuable details on Hijikata’s life and work.

Since the establishment of the Hijikata Tatsumi Archives at Tokyo’s Keio University, its Research Center for the Arts and Arts Administration has published several insightful studies on Hijikata’s work such as the 1998 booklet Shiki no tame no nijûnanaban (Twenty-seven Nights for Four Seasons, 四季のための二十七晩). The 2004 exhibition catalogue Hijikata Tatsumi no butô: Nikutai no shururearismo, shintai no ontoroji (Tatsumi Hijikata’s Butoh: Surrealism of the Flesh, Ontology of the Body, 土方巽の舞踏:肉体のシュ
edited by Morishita Takashi, the Tarô Okamoto Museum of Art and the Keio University Research Center for the Arts and Arts Administration, is to date the richest published compilation of visual and informative data on Hijikata’s oeuvre.

Only after Hijikata’s death in 1986, did a series of vividly illustrated photo books on butô in general and Hijikata Tatsumi in specific appear in the West. One of the first of these books, *Butoh: Die Rebellion des Körpers. Ein Tanz aus Japan* was published in German by Alexander Verlag, Berlin in 1986 on the occasion of the Butoh-Gastspielreihe, which was held within the Berliner Theatre Treffen 1986. In the book’s introduction “Tradition, Moderne und Rebellion” the authors Michael Haerdter and Kawai Sumie carefully outline the coexisting different Japanese cultures that have affected the emergence of the Japanese modern. Furthermore they presented the possible historical influence of *Der Neue Tanz* on the development of the butô movement. Further contributing to the richness of this book are the translations of writings and interviews of Hijikata Tatsumi, Ohno Kazuo, Tanaka Min, Ishii Mitsutaka, Ozawa Akihiro, Gôda Nario, and many others.

Another important and still valuable book on Hijikata Tatsumi, namely *Body on the Edge of Crisis: Photographs of Butoh Dance Performed and Staged by Tatsumi Hijikata*, was published in 1987 by
Asbestos Kan and Parco, Tokyo. The plentiful, mostly documentary, well annotated, and chronologically arranged black and white photographs of Hijikata’s oeuvre are accompanied by bilingual excerpts of Hijikata’s lecture “Wind Dharma” given in the evening of the butô festival of 1985 in Tokyo. Next to essays and notes by Gôda Nario, Ooka Makoto, and Shibusawa Tatsuhiko we also find a first chronology of Hijikata Tatsumi’s butô works.

The same year, Aperture New York published Butoh: Dance of the Dark Soul with photographs by Ethan Hoffman and commentaries by Mark Holborn, Tatsumi Hijikata and Mishima Yukio. This over-sized publication uses large, spectacular color photographs to introduce the works of butô artists Ohno Kazuo, Ashikawa Yoko, Maro Akaji and his group Dai Rakuda Kan, Tanaka Min with Mai Juku, and the groups Byakko-sha and Sankai Juku. However, many of the magnificent images seem to be staged especially for this book. Rather than being documentary in character, using images taken from live performances with live audiences, some photos appear to be sensational and presentational rather than informational.

Jean Viala and Nourit Masson-Sekine’s 1988 work Butoh: Shades of Darkness, published by Shufunotomo, Tokyo, marks one of the most informative and conceptually mature early “picture-books” on butô. Viala divides the butô movement into the four main categories
of: 1. Ohno Kazuo, 2. Hijikata Tatsumi, 3. "Hijikata’s Legacy", which includes butô groups with a direct lineage to Hijikata, namely Dairakuda-kan, Sankai-juku and Byakko-sha among others, and 4. “Improvisational Butô”, which refers to early “co-creators” of the movement, such as Kasai Akira, Ishii Mitsutaka, Tanaka Min and Goi Teru, as well as the tendencies of “The New Generation of Butô”.

Furthermore Viala creates the interesting and today widely accepted concept of Ohno Kazuo being “The Soul of Butoh” and Hijikata Tatsumi being the “The Architect of Butoh”. The personal “Notes on Butoh” in the appendix, contributed by a variety of butô artists and butô collaborators including Hijikata, Ohno, Nakanishi Natsuyuki, Hosoe Eiko, Shiraishi Kazuko and many others, briefly sketch out different approaches to and understandings of the world of butô.

Recent publications that portray younger butô artists from Japan and the West include the 2003 Outcast Samurai Dancer by Hilary Raphael, with photographs by Mertal Hershkovitz and commentary by the well-known film and arts critic Donald Richie, as well as Butoh: Klärende Rebellion by Herbert Nichols-Schweiger and Tanzlabor Graz, Austria, published in German in 2003.

Though many photo books on butô lack an academic, analytical or critical approach and often live off the spectacular appearance of the art form, they are nevertheless of great importance. On the one
hand they helped to spread awareness in the West of the existence of this new genre and so contributed immensely to the popularity of butō. On the other hand, they are at least partially responsible for the often overemphasized and simplified common understanding of butō as a wild, erotic and exotic art form.

Another recent work of utmost importance is the 2002 French publication Butô(s), edited and presented by Odette Asian and Béatrice Picon-Vallin. Butô(s) is a compilation of twenty plus essays by fourteen authors from various backgrounds and with differing approaches to butô. Of great interest here are Sas’, De chair et de pensée: le butô et le surréalisme, Odette Asian’s, Du butô masculin au féminin, Kuniyoshi Kazuko’s, Repenser la danse des ténèbres, and Kurihara Nanako’s, Hôsôtan: sphere sonore et choréographie, among others. In addition, a detailed chronology from 1890 to 2001 provides a quick overview of political, historical, cultural, art, literature, modern dance and butô events in Japan and around the world.

The first scholarly work on butô in English was carried out by Susan Blakeley Klein in her 1987 MA thesis Ankoku Butô: The Premodern and Postmodern Influences on the Dance of Utter Darkness. She explores a possible aesthetic philosophy of butô, shows some general dance techniques and their use within a specific butô performance. She furthermore introduces beshimi (based on the
“grimace” mask in Noh, ぺしみ) and ganimata (bowlegs, a bow-legged crouch, 蟹股) as two possible specific elements of butô technique.

Another early work of great value is Elizabeth Fisher’s 1987 MA thesis Butô: The Secretly Perceived Made Visible. She brings us (Westerners) to a closer understanding of butô by using “A Jungian Lens on Butô.” Referring mainly to observations of the two performances of Jomon sho (Homage to Pre-History) and Kinkan shonen (The Kumquat Seed) by the group Sankai Juku she shows a possible parallelism between the ideas of Jung and butô artists, e.g. the creation of art from and through the subconscious, the “endless repeating cycle of life, decay and death”2, as well as the Jungian concept of “the reconciliation of opposites” as quoted from Storrs.3

In her 1993 PhD dissertation, Embodying the Spirit: The Significance of the Body in the Contemporary Japanese Dance Movement of Butô, Joan Elizabeth Laage claims that butô is “conceptually and aesthetically based on the traditional Japanese body, which for hundreds of years has been shaped by lifestyle and livelihood.” By outlaying the use of the body in butô as well as in everyday Japanese life she tries to connect the butô aesthetic to “the traditional Japanese aesthetic”. This Interpretation goes against a

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2 Elizabeth Fisher, Butô: The Secretly Perceived Made Visible, 45.
3 Ibid, 52.
common understanding of Hijikata’s work, especially the early performances.

Kurihara Nanako’s 1996 PhD dissertation *The Most Remote Thing in the Universe: Critical Analysis of Hijikata Tatsumi’s Butô Dance* is the first scholarly work to establish the magnitude of Hijikata Tatsumi’s work. She explores Hijikata’s aesthetics and philosophy, his use of the body with a focus on gender specific aspects such as sadomasochism, and masculinity versus femininity. Kurihara is also one of the first researchers to investigate Hijikata’s relation to the French modern literature of Genêt, Bataille and Artaud. Her subsequent writings, such as “Hijikata Tatsumi: The Words of Butoh”, published by *The Drama Revue, 44.1* (Spring 2000) are equally enlightening and of great importance for the study of Hijikata.

In her 1997 PhD dissertation *Die Entstehung des Butoh: Voraussetzungen und Techniken der Bewegungsgestaltung bei Hijikata Tatsumi and Ôno Kazuo*, Lucia Schwellinger explores the two founders’ methods and physical techniques for creating movement. Of interest here is the chapter *Hijikatas (Körper-) Bilder und Ihre Umsetzung in Bewegung* where she explores Hijikata’s use of imagery from western modernist painters (as collected in the *butô-fu*).

Also important to the Hijikata researcher is Elena Polzer’s 2004 MA thesis *Hijikata Tatsumi’s “From Being Jealous of a Dog’s Vein.”*
first part of her thesis is a short summary of Hijikata’s life and work. The second part, apparently the first annotated translation of the entire text compilation\(^4\) of *From Being Jealous of a Dog’s Vein*, is a very valuable work, exposing Hijikata’s literary talent.

In 2005, Bruce Baird painted one of the most colorful and comprehensive images of Hijikata Tatsumi’s life and oeuvre. His PhD dissertation *Butô and the Burden of History: Hijikata Tatsumi and Nihonjin* shines through the richness of detailed information on Hijikata as well as the elaborate investigations, explorations, explanation and epistemology of Hijikata the artist. Baird also brings us closer to the literati Hijikata Tatsumi and gives us an idea of the intricate relationship of Hijikata’s writing and stage work.

All of the above academic writings discuss important and valuable approaches to and aspects of butô and Hijikata. Together, they help to understand, through various means, the complex and multi-layered work of the founder of this new genre. However, none of the previous research elaborates, beyond a few generic examples, on Hijikata’s personal artistic notebooks, the butô-fu, which were one of his major sources for creating butô.

\(^4\) *From Being Jealous of a Dog’s Vein* was first published in Japanese in the May 1969 issue no. 312 of *Bijutsu Techô*. It was republished together with a compilation of 5 other Hijikata essays and citations in the July 1985, issue of *Daburu Noteshion* (W-Notation). Helena Polzer’s translation of *From Being Jealous of a Dog’s Vein* includes the complete 1985 anthology.
With this dissertation I will fill this gap of essential information and contribute to a wider, more comprehensive understanding of Hijikata’s artistic approach and orientation towards creating his stage performances.

Methodology

The source material for this dissertation was collected through the four major methodologies of research: 1. Archival and library research, 2. Participation in butô training and workshops, 3. Observation of butô rehearsals and performances, 4. Attendance of butô festivals, symposiums and lectures.

1. Archival and Library Research

I conducted archival and library research in English, French, German and Japanese for 18 months, between 2000 and 2005, mainly at Keio University in Tokyo. In 1998, the Research Center for the Arts and Art Administrations at Keio University established the Hijikata Tatsumi Archives, the world’s first research center on Hijikata Tatsumi and butô. The creation of the archives was made possible with the generous help of Hijikata’s widow Motofuji Akiko and the support of
the Hijikata Tatsumi Memorial Archives at Asbestos Kan. The Hijikata Tatsumi Archives as part of a project called Genetic Archives Engine started in 1996. Former Director Sumi Yoichi of the Research Center for the Art and Arts Administration explains in The Iconology of Rose-Colored Dance: Reconstructing Tatsumi Hijikata:

The project “Genetic Archives Engine” aims to construct a new archival system that is centered around concepts such as “genetics” or “creativity”, subjects originally unsuited for a database. It is divided into three general sections, “theory”, “application” and “technology”. In the Archival Theory Section, scholars who specialize in library and information science discuss various basic topics regarding the new process of art documentation in relation to “genetics”. Within the Application Section there are three groups corresponding to the three kinds of materials housed in the archive, Natural History, Tatsumi Hijikata and Shuzo Takeguchi. Researchers of these specific topics construct the archives individually. [...] The Tatsumi Hijikata Archives Group conducts research on the ‘genetics of the Butoh performance’ -based on broad research and

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5 Asbestos Kan (also called Asbestos Hall and Asbestos Studio, アスベスト館) was the home, studio and performance space of Motofuji Akiko and Hijikata Tatsumi starting from the early 1960’s.
analysis of various materials - with regard to works created by one butoh artist and his era and environment.\textsuperscript{6}

In the same publication, the present director of the Art Center, Maeda Fujio, elaborates on the nature of the archives:

The core of the material corpus of our archives is mainly composed of documents left at the Asbestos Hall where Tatsumi Hijikata based his activities. There are 5,250 publications (books, magazines and news clips), 250 performance related materials and 4,250 photographs and audio visual sources, amounting to approximately 10,000 documents.\textsuperscript{7}

During the 18 months I did research at the Hijikata Tatsumi Archives, in addition to consulting the publications, performance related materials and the photographs I focused special attention on Hijikata’s scrapbooks, the \textit{butô-fu}. Naturally, the Art Center has very strict copyright restrictions. None of the primary materials, such as photographs or the \textit{butô-fu}, may be electronically reproduced. However, I was generously allowed unlimited access to examine Hijikata’s notebooks and to take notes at will. In a painstaking endeavor I hand-copied with pencil each page and each collected

\textsuperscript{6} Sumi Yokoh, “Tatsumi Hijikata in the Genetic Archives Engine”, 4-5.
\textsuperscript{7} Maeda Fujio, “Reconstructing an Artistic Performance: Tatsumi Hijikata Archives and the Research Archives System”, 40.
picture of the *butō-fu*. As an exchange researcher in 2004/2005 I also had access to Keio’s elaborate library system, which houses most of the original source material for Hijikata’s *butō-fu*. At Keio libraries as well as at Tokyo public libraries I was able to find the exact same pictures Hijikata collected in his scrapbooks. Consequently, I was able to reconstruct the visual aspect of the *butō-fu* for a more intensive study and analysis.

2. Participation of *Butō* Training and Workshops.

Parallel to my archival research I spent 2 to 3 evenings per week at the Ohno Kazuo Butō-kai in Kamihoshikawa, Yokohama. I regularly observed and participated in the school’s training, which was mainly guided by Ohno Kazuo’s son Ohno Yoshito, an early disciple of Hijikata and a mature *butō* performer in his own right. Ohno Kazuo, who was then already in his 90’s still actively participated on a regular basis in the workshops or performed at the end of the sessions for the students. Over the years, a deep friendship evolved between Ohno Yoshito and myself. During the workshops, as well as in many late night discussions, Ohno Yoshito often expounded in detail on Hijikata, his teaching, his philosophy and his performances, which helped to fill in missing pieces of the Hijikata puzzle. Furthermore, I was able to attend many performances and lectures by guest artists and invited
scholars at the Ohno Kazuo Butô-kai. The studio also provided a
wealth of information on ongoing butô performances and events within
the greater Tokyo metropolitan area.


As a close affiliate to the Ohnos I was on several occasions given
the great opportunity to observe the entire process of putting together
a live performance, starting from ideas and concepts to initial
rehearsals and try-outs with stage, props, costume and music designs,
to dress rehearsals, to make up and dressing preparations in the green
room, to the final stage performance.

Besides the recitals by Ohno Kazuo, Ohno Yoshito and by Ohno’s
school, I was fascinated and inspired by the sheer volume and variety
of butô performances the wider Tokyo metropolitan area has to offer.
Since butô is a living performing art, I enjoyed and learned
tremendously by watching countless performances by artists from the
first, second, third and fourth generation, such as: Motofuji Akiko,
Kasai Akira, Tanaka Min, Kobayashi Saga, Kayo Mikami, Morobushi Ko,
Waguri Yukio, Tamano Koichi, Izumi Mai, Yamaguchi Kenji and many
others. All together I attended perhaps close to a hundred butô
performances.
4. Attendance of *Butô* Festivals, Symposia and Lectures.

Valuable first hand information on a diversity of *butô* subjects and perspectives was obtained through regular attendance of two huge *butô* festivals. First, the *Butoh Festival: Surrealism of the Body: Perspectives of Hijikata Tatsumi’s Butoh* took place from October 11, 2003 until January 12, 2004 at the Taro Okamoto Museum of Art in Kawazaki, and consisted of two major parts, the “Permanent Installation” and the “Event Calendar”. The “Permanent Installation”, which could be called the visual part of the festival, displayed materials related to Hijikata, his life, his performances, and his artistic world in the form of photographs, slide and video shows, posters, artifacts, notebooks, paintings, sculptures, utensils, written material, art works, costumes, stage devices and in many other shapes, as well as a reconstruction of the authentic dance floor of the Asbestos Kan.

The “Event Calendar” of the *Butoh Festival*, which I would call the experiential aspect, consisted of ongoing weekend programs of public workshops, lessons, lectures, rehearsals and performances given by *butô* masters and artists from the first generation, such as Ohno Kazuo, Ohno Yoshito, Kasai Akira and the second generation such as Waguri Yukio, Kobayashi Saga, Tamano Koichi and many others.
A great number of masters with widely varying butô styles showcased their art “shoulder to shoulder” in one compact program. This created an opportunity for spectators and presenters alike to broaden their perspective on and understanding of the genre. This is in itself already unique: each master was given the space and time to convey and explain his or her own approach through lessons and workshops thereby opening new insights into the way butô is transmitted from one generation to another.

The second major event, *The Asbestos-Kan Week: Butô of Fire, Butô of Flower* was held between October 19 and 24, 2004 at BankART, Yokohama, to commemorate the 50th anniversary of Hijikata’s home and studio, the Asbestos Kan, as well as the one-year anniversary of Motofuji Akiko’s death. Topics in four main areas were presented over the six days.

1. “Asbestos Studio Exhibition” presented photographs taken over 50 years at the Asbestos Studio, many of them previously unpublished. The photo exhibition was accompanied by a great variety of video presentations, showing performances directed by Hijikata, such as *Hitogata* (Human Shape) and *Geisen jo no okugata* (Lady on the Whale String). Furthermore videotapes of performances by Motofuji Akiko as well as documentary films such as *Tohoku kabuki keikaku* (Tohoku Kabuki Project) were screened on a regular basis. The
vast image presentation was supported by a parallel installation of artifacts, such as posters and tickets, paraphernalia from Hijikata’s life, stage art works of Akasegawa Genpei and Nakanishi Natsuyuki (both collaborating artists with Hijikata), and much more.

2. “Talk and Film” was a showing of a succession of films made between 1968 and 1985, which were either documentaries of Hijikata’s stage performance, such as Hijikata Tatsumi to nihonjin: nikutai no hanran (Hijikata Tatsumi and the Japanese: Rebellion of the Body) or feature films, in which Hijikata performed, e.g. Nihon no akuryo (Evil Spirit of Japan). The films were accompanied by presentations or talks by either the film maker himself, such as Kuroki Kazuo for Nihon no akuryo, or by invited guest speakers who had been close to Hijikata, such as Kara Jurô.

3. “Lecture and Discussion: Asbestos Studio History – Scene of Creation” consisted of a series of lectures with specific themes, given by collaborators and/or disciples of Hijikata, followed by open discussions. As an example, Lecture Number 3 with the title “Tatsumi Hijikata Butohfu” (Tatsumi Hijikata’s Scrapbook) was a video presentation of the stage piece Shōmen no ishô (Costume in the Front) directed by Hijikata in 1976 and now presented and explained by the performer Yamamoto Moe.
4. “For the One-Year Commemoration of Akiko Motofuji’s Passing away” consisted basically of two celebratory events. The first part, “Flower Party” was a memorial reception presenting videos of works by Motofuji, with live performance by Kasal Akira, live music by Saitoh Tetsu, live poetry reading by the actress Shiraishi Kazuko and the live participation of Ohno Kazuo. The second event “Fire Party” was a performance marathon to the live music of Shirazu Sibusa. Every member of the butō world that was able to attend presented a short piece (between 3 and 8 minutes) to the same live music, either as a solo or in collaboration with other performers, overlapping each other’s performance. The list of participating artists included Ishii Mitsutaka, Kobayashi Saga, Tamano Koichi, Yamamoto Moe, Sakaino Hiroshi, Meguro Daiji and many, many more – a real butō show case.

Limitations of this Study

The focus of this dissertation is on the nature and function of Hijikata Tatsumi’s personal notebooks or scrapbooks, the butō-fu, in Hijikata’s dance. He established and used these notebooks as an artistic and visual tool to create his stage performances. In addition to his performance art, Hijikata was a prolific writer and philosopher, a powerful lecturer and speaker, a film and TV actor, one of the most influential butō teachers and an important choreographer for many
other butō artists, such as Ohno Kazuo. He furthermore functioned as artistic director, with conceptual and creative overview of set, costume and music design.

Without ignoring Hijikata’s many talents, I will not investigate his literary or philosophical work, nor his lectures or speeches. The works of Baird (2005), Kurihara (1996 and 2000) and Sas (1999) provide valuable insights and interesting approaches to these subjects. Nor will I discuss Hijikata as a film and TV actor. However, I will link these important activities to the study of the butō-fu whenever it is useful or necessary.

Problems in Researching Hijikata Tatsumi

When Hijikata wrote or talked about Hijikata he made vigorous use of the artist’s freedom to bend, distort, contradict or deny chronology, facts, reality or circumstances. In other words, Hijikata painted a picture of himself in his own style. So did most avant-garde artists and poets from many other styles and cultures. We need think only of expressionism or surrealism in Europe. The works of Fautrier or Dali for example were often personal translations or interpretations of the so-called “real world”. Bruce Baird, who encountered the same problems while studying Hijikata, proposes the following solution:
I think it is important to take seriously everything he [Hijikata] said, and try to figure out why he said it, but I dispute the notion that his statements are an accurate reflection of his life.\(^8\)

I agree with Baird that everything that Hijikata said is important, however, I would like to add that more important than understanding the “why” is the question, “what does it add to the understanding of the art work Hijikata Tatsumi?”

Besides the problems we encounter when reading Hijikata, we are confronted with the phenomena of “late recollections” of his work. There are very few written and printed articles on Hijikata and reviews of his performances released during his lifetime. Only after his death was an avalanche of articles and reviews written and published. If we take a cursory look at the catalogue of The Hijikata Tatsumi Archive, which is considered the most comprehensive collection of published materials on Hijikata and Hijikata related subjects, we find under the heading “Newspaper” for 1959, the year of Hijikata’s performances *Kinjiki*, which marked the official beginning of the butô movement, only two published articles. The next two articles were published in 1961, followed by only one in 1966. In 1968 the newspapers printed three articles, of which two were about Ashikawa Yoko’s recital,

choreographed by Hijikata. The list of published newspaper information on or about Hijikata’s work slowly expands in the same manner until the year 1986, which marked Hijikata’s death. That year the newspapers reported forty plus contributions on or about Hijikata’s work and life or death. One year after the founder’s death, in 1987, we are already blessed with nearly sixty articles. We find the same pattern of available information, feeding our interests, under the catalogue heading “Magazines”.

This means that the vast majority of available articles on Hijikata’s work were published almost thirty years after Hijikata’s first breakthrough performance Kinjiki, almost twenty years after his most significant solo performance Hijikata Tatsumi to nihonjin: nikutai no hanran, and a dozen years after his last stage appearance in Natsu no arashi, and therefore might very well be colored by time. It also shows that Hijikata’s work, which apparently “sent a shock wave through the contemporary art world” at the time of its creation, barely rippled the giants of Japan’s media world until after his death.

Notes on the Illustrations

The purpose for presenting images in this study is to illustrate the nature of Hijikata’s butō-fu and the relationship to his stage

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performances. The illustrations are photocopies of published material and used as quotes representing the collected images in the scrapbooks and Hijikata's stage images. They are not intended to accurately present the artists' work. Therefore the quality, size and ratio of the pictures have been altered to the minimum necessary for a visual comparison.
"We must accept the existence of a new hybridity where nothing is ‘pure’ or ‘true’ any more. The idea of the cultural meeting in the sense of well-defined cultures with tradition and geographic anchorage facing each other is outdated."\(^{10}\)

Without contributing to or commenting on the still on-going discussion of whether butô is “Japanese”, a “purely Japanese”, the “only modern Japanese art form of the 20\(^{th}\) century” or a “Western derived”, “German influenced”, “universal art genre”, I will lay out in this chapter some historical occurrences, which in one way or the other might have been significant for Hijikata and the emerge of butô.

Hijikata Tatsumi performed *Kinjiki* (Forbidden Colors), his first stage piece under his own name, in 1959 at the Daiichi Seimei Hall, Tokyo, as part of the *Six Newcomers Dance Recital* of the All Japan Art Dance Association. He apparently shocked the audience, the members of the All Japan Art Dance Association and the critics alike. The main reason for this disturbance is usually credited to the content of *Kinjiki*,

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namely the thematic exposure of homosexuality, suggested enacting of homoerotic and sado-masochistic desires as well as the pretended sodomizing of the participating live chicken. What probably really shocked the viewers of Kinjiki most was the fact that Hijikata did not actually present a dance piece, or at least not a dance piece with a recognizable form. Hijikata's performance was a non-conforming event calculated to present the unexpected, to be purposely out of place in the venue of the All Japan Art Dance Association and to shock. On May 24th 1959 Hijikata echoed with Kinjiki willingly or unwillingly the works of early modern Japanese innovative forerunners in the fields of theatre, dance and art. In order to better understand Hijikata's work within the historical context of Japanese performing art, in this chapter I will briefly outline three major aspects of Japanese modernity, namely the emergence of a Japanese new theatre, the development of Japanese modern dance, and the rise of the Japanese avant-garde movement.

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11 I will elaborate on Kinjiki in the next chapter. For a detailed description and analysis of Kinjiki see Bruce Baird, Butō and the Burden of History, Chapter 2.
The Emergence of a Japanese New Theatre

After 200 years of cultural isolation (1616-1854) Japan was abruptly opened in the middle of the 19th century\(^\text{12}\) by Western armed forces. As a result Japan “rushed to civilization and enlightenment”\(^\text{13}\) and was exposed intensively to new Western ideas, Western culture and the Western way of life. However, at least at the beginning, the cultural interchange between Japan and the West stayed mainly one directional. Kuniyoshi states that:

Geisha danced for western audiences as early as 1860, [...]

However the Japanese dance of this period fell well within the purview of European Orientalism, mainly satisfying a western taste of things deemed exotic and primitive in the western cultures.\(^\text{14}\)

With the reign of the new Emperor Meiji (1868-1912), the urge to modernize and westernize Japanese society also swept over the theatre world. After unsuccessful attempts by Ichikawa Danjuro IX (1838-1903), Onoe Klkugoro V (1844-1903), and others to modernize


\(^{13}\) Kuniyoshi Kazuko, “Japan: Modern and Contemporary Dance”, 1.

\(^{14}\) Ibid.
the established professional *kabuki*, efforts by amateur groups to create a modern theatre were more fruitful.

Sadanori Sudô (1866-1909\(^{15}\)) is usually credited as the founder of the "new school drama" (*shinpagekeki*), commonly known as *shinpa* for "new school" as opposed to *kyûha* "old school", which refers to *kabuki*. Sadanori, a theatre amateur and a militant member of the Liberal Party (*Jiyûtô*) established *shinpa* as political instrument to oppose the established conservative government. After the abolishment of the Liberal Party was decreed in 1884, Sadanori and members of the *sôshi*\(^{16}\), whom Ortolani called "courageous young men, political bullies, henchmen", formed the Great Japan Society for the Reformation of the Theatre (*Dainippon Geigeki Kyôfûkai*). In December 1888, the Society gave its first performance in Osaka. Sadanori’s new drama, also referred to as *sôshi geki* (political drama), was poorly received. This and succeeding amateur performances were "considered as a kind of curiosity" that could not compete with sophisticated *kabuki* for the audience’s favor. However Sadanori was the first to originate a new theatre venture that survived outside of the established Japanese theatre monopoly.

\(^{15}\) Depending the source, Sadanori lived sometime between 1867 and 1909.
\(^{16}\) "A group mostly made up of young militants decided to continue the fight against the government with the means left at their disposal, such as lectures, newspaper articles, and eventually, theatre," (Benito Ortolani, *The Japanese Theatre*, 234).
Out of Sadanori’s sōshi geki arose the actor-producer Kawakami Otojirō (1864-1911). Even though Kawakami came from a curious background\(^{17}\) without any theatre training, he was able to achieve stardom and financial independence, which surpassed the condition of many established kabuki actors. Kawakami’s success was mainly based on exaggerated melodramatic realism and sensationalism.

In patriotic war plays he had actors perform combat scenes in authentic uniforms and made the audience bow when the name of the Emperor was mentioned during the play. In other instances, such as the play *Itagakikun sōnan jikki* (The True Story of Itagaki’s Misfortunes), actors in official police uniforms rushed onto the hanamichi, leading the audience to believe that an actual police intervention was taking place. Bowers notes that compared to kabuki, Kawakami’s performances were so realistic that the audiences “literally did not know whether the characters were actual or actors.”\(^{18}\) He further reports of stories that some of the performances created riots and that audience members leapt on stage to interfere with the outcome of the play.

From 1899 to 1901 Kawakami and his partner Kawakami Sadayakko (1871-1946), a trained geisha, successfully toured the


United States and Europe. They were among the first to introduce
"Japanese" theatre to the west. After their return in 1902, Kawakami
started to introduce western masterpieces to the Japanese stage, e.g.
*Othello* and *Hamlet* and works by Maeterlinck and Sardou. In staging
western works, Kawakami naturally followed his proven recipe of
success (melodrama and sensationalism) and freely utilized these
plays, setting them in Japan, without any real consideration of the
original. For example, Kawakami’s *Hamlet* entered the stage by riding
a bicycle down the *hanamichi*.

Besides having introduced to Japan western plays and western
theatre conventions such as the darkened auditorium, advanced stage
lighting, women’s return to the stage and children’s theatre, *shinpa*
also created the opportunity for independent Japanese playwrights to
have their newly written works staged. Furthermore *shinpa*
demonstrated that it was possible to create a new theatre outside of
the monopoly of traditional *kabuki* theatre. Kawakami proved with his
performance style that “capitalized on spectacular or emotional
elements which did not require real acting skills”\(^\text{19}\) that a performance
can be fresh and lively by breaking with traditional stereotypes.

A half a century later, Hijikata confirmed Kawakami’s approach to a successful new theatre in his presentation of *Kinjiki* at the Daiichi Seimei Hall. First, we can clearly state that “success” of *Kinjiki* was not based on any demonstration of real acting, or in this case dancing skills. For example, due to the sheer darkness, which dominated the main part of the short performance, Hijikata, who “played” a man, was hardly seen “dancing”. Rather he was heard running and crawling around in the dark, sometimes accompanied by the sound of “je t’aime, je t’aime”. Ohno Yoshito, who “played” a young man, stood for the greater part of the performance with locked knees and tight upper body in a small cone of descended light.

Second, *Kinjiki* capitalized on spectacular or emotional elements. For example, after an initial wild running chase across the stage the man eventually hands a live chicken to the younger man, which the later then appears to strangle between his thighs.

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21 We can argue that even though Hijikata had some dance education in ballet, modern dance and jazz dance, he was by no means a professional stage artist. According to Bruce Baird, Hijikata appeared in just a few other performances prior to *Kinjiki*. One occasion was as a background dancer for a television show, another was in an Ando Mitsuko performance. (21-22).
22 At workshops that I attended at the studio near Yokohama, Ohno Yoshito often recounted his experiences with Hijikata, among them also his participating in *Kinjiki*. Ohno Yoshito told us that there was barely any rehearsal prior to the performance and Hijikata just advised him to stand there with his knees locked, arms drawn up to his torso.
Similar to Kawakami, Hijikata’s performance of *Kinjiki* was clearly melodramatic and sensational. Through the exaggerated emphasis on violence on stage and the lack of recognizable and established skill in any known dance, *Kinjiki* might as well have been received as a real event experience for many of the audience members. Except maybe in a circus, a chicken is definitely not a trained dancer. The audience at *Kinjiki*, instead of watching a dance (in any possible form), as they would have naturally expected from the All Japan Art Dance Association, witnessed mainly two men chasing each other in the dark and the apparent asphyxiation of a chicken. It is surprising that besides the threat by some members of the All Japan Art Dance Association to quit their membership, *Kinjiki* did not trigger a greater riot. Without a doubt Hijikata’s performance was fresh and lively and definitely broke with traditional stereotypes of dance.

Of course Hijikata was born too late to witness a performance by Kawakami. According to Baird, Hijikata was given many opportunities in his childhood to attend performances of touring dance and theatre troupes. It is possible that he might have seen *shinpa* performed by actors other than Kawakami. Certainly Hijikata was acquainted with *shinpa*. In his 1963 performance *Anma* (Masseur) Hijikata entered the stage covered with traditional *tatami* mats on a bicycle, as did Kawakami’s Hamlet. The doubt of pure coincidence disappears in
Hijikata’s 1965 performance *Bara iro dansu* (Rose Colored Dance). An oversized portrait showing the movie star and *onnagata shinpa* actor Hanayagi Shôtarô (1894-1965) was placed downstage left of the proscenium stage as part of the set design.

**Development of the Japanese Modern Dance**

Ishii Baku (1886-1962) is widely regarded as the “father of Japanese modern dance”. Born in northern Akita Prefecture in Tôhoku, Ishii traveled to Tôkyô in 1909 to pursue a literary career. However, he subsequently changed his mind and began studies in the Opera Department of the Imperial Theatre (*Teikoku gekijô*, or *Teigeki*).

The Imperial Theatre, completed in 1911, was built in the western Renaissance style with the intention of becoming the cultural and commercial center for imported Western and Western-influenced stage arts. In 1912, the Italian ballet maestro Giovanni Vittorio Rossi of the Empire and Alhambra theatres in London followed an invitation of the Imperial Theatre and became the director, choreographer and dance teacher in its opera department. Even though there were performances of western style dances held earlier, e.g. at the opening ceremony of the Imperial Theatre, Kuniyoshi points out that because

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Rossi brought with him a "clearly-defined [dance] method", the year 1912 is to be regarded as the true beginning of the history of Western dance in Japan.

Ishii Baku was a member of the corps de ballet and among the first graduates of the Imperial Theatre. Because of artistic disputes with Rossi and Ishii's general dissatisfaction with ballet as a performing art, he left the Imperial Theatre in 1915 to become an independent artist and to open his own dance studio. In collaboration with the composer Yamada Kosaku, Ishii created a new dance form called "dance poems" (buyō shi). Yamada, who had earlier studied music in Germany, was acquainted with Isadora Duncan's idea of the "free and natural" dance as well as Dalcroze's method of "rhythmical gymnastics", or eurhythmics.

In 1916 Ishii performed his dance poem A Page from a Diary (Nikki no ichi-peji), which, according to Kuniyoshi, "may be considered Japan's first [modern] creative dance work". In opposition to established dance forms, Ishii focused on idea and emotion as a starting point to create dance, rather than technique. Michael Haerdter and Kawai Sumie quote Ishii's idea of the dance poem as follows:

We reject the common dance that sets great store on the idea that one first has to master technique and rules in order to express an idea or emotion. Our dance puts the
idea and emotion first and develops within the confrontation with idea and emotion the form and technique in a natural way. [...] We put the truth of expression over the perfection of form.24

The importance of Ishii’s work for the development of the Japanese modern dance cannot be overemphasized. He was the first dancer who separated himself artistically and thematically from pre-existing or established dance movements and performers, such as Takada Masao and Takada Seiko, who continued to rely on ballet as the basis to create a modern Japanese dance.25 He created a uniquely individual solo dance without following a pre-existing method or style. Ishii’s approach to dance focused on the body as a direct expressive tool to convey forceful human emotions, such as despair and hunger.26 This concept still resonates a half century later in the work of Hijikata Tatsumi. Jean Viala writes in Butoh: Shades of Darkness that Hijikata said:

In other forms of dance, such as flamenco or classical dance, the movements are derived from a fixed technique; they are imposed from the outside and are conventional in form. In my case, it’s the contrary; my dance is far

25 Lucia Schwellinger, Die Entstehung des Butoh, 32.
removed from conventions and techniques...it is the unveiling of my inner life.\textsuperscript{27}

Ishii's approach was for Western artists of the early 20th Century already common practice. However, in a collective-oriented Japan of the 1910's, where most arts were still functioning within the \textit{iemoto} (the head/family of a school) system, Ishii Baku was the first example of "uncompromising individualism".\textsuperscript{28} Kuniyoshi further states, "It [Ishii's work] was also important as the expression of a modern individual seeking self-liberation in a repressive society".\textsuperscript{29} Ishii forged the path for future generations of Japanese modern dancers to create their own individual art and dance.

Between 1922 and 1925 Ishii Baku, with his dance partner and younger sister-in-law Ishii Konami, toured Europe and the United States. Their performances were highly successful and critically acclaimed. Schwellinger points out the interesting occurrence that while Ishii's dance was considered a "Western" genre in Japan, the critics in Europe emphasized the "Japanese" and "Asian" qualities of his performances. Apparently, this discrepancy of approach to his dance only encouraged in Ishii the idea that he had created his own new Japanese dance style. During their long stay in Germany, Ishii

\textsuperscript{27} Jean Viala, \textit{Butoh: Shades of Darkness}, 185.
\textsuperscript{28} Kuniyoshi Kazuko, "Japan: Modern and Contemporary Dance", 1.
\textsuperscript{29} Ibid.
was extensively exposed to the German "Neuer Tanz" of Mary Wigman.

After his return to Tokyo, Ishii founded his own school for modern dance in which he integrated ideas of Mary Wigman. In 1933 Ohno Kazuo joined Ishii’s school as a student. Ishii who toured extensively, performed on several occasions in his hometown Akita. Among the audience was the young Hijikata Tatsumi. 30

Of course, Ishii Baku was not the only dancer in Japan who searched for a new Japanese dance to reflect the spirit and issues of modern Japan. Other graduates of the Imperial Theatre Included the dancers Takada Masao and his wife Takada Seiko. Although the Takadas were exposed to the Laban School in Germany they were more strongly influenced by American modern dance. During their stay in New York in the 1920’s they continued their education in ballet, revue and modern dance. The Takadas encountered and were influenced by Doris Humphrey and the Denishawn Company. Important for us here are Takada’s students, Eguchi Takaya, also born in Tōhoku, and his partner Miya Misako (also called Soko) who studied German expressionist dance between 1931 and 1933 with Mary Wigman in Berlin. After returning to Japan, Eguchi and Miya opened

30 For a description of Hijikata’s encounter with Ishii Baku see Lucila Schwellinger, Die Entstehung des Butoh, 37-42.
their own dance studio in Tokyo, which according to Schwellinger became an important centre for the spread and further development of German expressionist dance. In 1936 Ohno Kazuo joined Eguchi/Miya’s dance studio. After a short period as a student, Ohno advanced to the position of assistant teacher. The importance of Eguchi and Miya’s spreading German expressionist dance in Japan for the developing of butô goes even further. According to Baird, the eighteen-year old Hijikata Tatsumi joined Masumura Katsuko’s dance studio in Akita in 1946.\(^{31}\) Masumura was an early student of Eguchi Takaya and Miya Soko.

With the rise of the military and fascism in the late 1930’s and “patriotic” ideas of culture, many of the internationally oriented dancers were discredited and the innovative dance work came to a halt. However, according to Lucia Schwellinger, most modern dancers and choreographers in Japan did not raise social political issues with their art, as did their contemporaries in Europe e.g. Duncan and Laban.\(^{32}\) Rather, they integrated themes from everyday life, such as human emotions and modern life in the emerging metropolis. But when the government-mandated Great Japan Dance Association (Dai-Nihon Buyô Renmei) was founded in 1940, dancers were forced to self-

\(^{32}\) Lucia Schwellinger, *Die Entstehung des Butoh*, 32-33
criticize the use of foreign (European) music and reliance on foreign ideas.\textsuperscript{33} Many active performers ceased to pursue their art. Others gave in to the demands of the regime to create dances to glorify Japan and to serve as instruments of propaganda or to entertain troops in the occupied territories overseas. Schwellinger gives the examples of Eguchi and Miya, who performed in 1940 at the official 2600-year celebration of the Japanese imperial line. Ishii Baku apparently performed in 1941 for the Japanese army in Manchuria.\textsuperscript{34}

Immediately after WWII, the All Japan Dance and Ballet Association was founded, with the aim to bring together artists from "all sorts of Western style dancing"\textsuperscript{35}. However, only a handful of artists joined the association. In 1948, The Japan Dance Artists Association (\textit{Nihon Geijutsu Buyô-ka Kyôkai}) came into existence in Tokyo. This association was able to unite artists from a wider variety of genres, including ballet, modern dance, folk dance, flamenco, Indian dance, and many others.\textsuperscript{36} According to the CDAJ (Contemporary Dance Association Japan), Ishii Baku took office as the first chairman

\textsuperscript{33} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{34} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{35} CDAJ (Contemporary Dance Association Japan), \textit{www.alpha-net.ne.jp}. (Accessed June 2007).
\textsuperscript{36} Ibid.
of this Association. The Japan Dance Artists Association expanded its influence nationwide and shortly became a powerful institution, newly named the All Japan Art Dance Association (Zennihon Buyō Geijutsu Kyōkai), the same association Hijikata Tatsumi chose to perform Kinjiki.

Of great importance for the early development of the modern Japanese dance were naturally also the many guest appearances of Western dancers in Japan. For example, in 1922 the prima ballerina Anna Pavlova appeared for the first time on stage in Japan. According to Kuniyoshi, Pavlova’s performance had an “immense effect on audiences and dancers” alike. She notes, “The combination of Pavlova’s subtle movements and dramatic technique also came as a shock to kabuki, with its exaggerated sense of formal beauty”.

In 1934, the German expressionist dancer Harald Kreutzberg gave a guest recital in Tokyo. Ohno Kazuo, who witnessed the

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37 According to Lucia Schwellinger, the Japan Dance Artists Association was founded under the chairmanship of Itō Michio (1892-1961). Itō was one of the greatest and most famous Japanese modern dancers and choreographers.

38 A first taste of American modern dance in Japan was given in 1925 with the performance by the Denishaw Company. However, the influence of American modern dance in Japan only gained greater importance after World War II with Martha Graham’s first Tokyo performance in October of 1955.


40 Ibid.
performance of the "daemonic" dancer, refers to Kreutzberg as "his life long mentor". ⁴¹

We should also mention here the 1929 guest performance of the Buenos Aires-born Spanish dancer Antonia Mercé (1890–1936), using the stage name La Argentina, at the Imperial Theatre in Tokyo. Among audience members in the "peanut gallery" sat Ohno Kazuo and his friend Monden Yoshio. La Argentina left a life-changing impression on Ohno Kazuo. He writes in "The Encounter with La Argentina":

From the first moment on I was fascinated by the dance of La Argentina. Her magic struck me like lightning. I can never forget this encounter. ⁴²

Almost fifty years later, at the 1976 exhibition of the artist Nakanishi Natsuyuki, Ohno encountered La Argentina for the second time. He recalls:

It happened at the sight of a certain image near the exit. I came to a sudden stop. I was rooted to the spot and rejoiced inside: this is La Argentina! It was an oil painting with geometric elements, in which curves were painted on a zinc plate. [...] The re-union with La Argentina gave me

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⁴¹ Michael Haerdter and Sumie Kawai, BUTOH, 13-14.
⁴² Ohno Kazuo, "The Encounter with La Argentina", published and translated into German by Michael Haerdter and Kawai Sumie, BUTOH, 57-60.
the impetus to return to dance. I wanted to express my admiration for her on stage. 43

A year later, in 1977 Ohno performed his comeback solo *Admiring La Argentina* at the Dai-Ichi Selmel Hall in Tokyo. Ohno Kazuo was then 71 years old. His last stage appearance before *Admiring La Argentina* was a guest performance in 1967 in Ishii Mitsutaka’s *Butô Genêt*, meaning he did not perform on stage for ten tears. *Admiring La Argentina*, choreographed by Hijikata Tatsumi, became Ohno’s signature piece and gained him world fame and recognition for the first time in his long career.

To summarize, we can say that the achievement of the early pioneers of the modern Japanese dance, with its possible origins and influences from Western classical ballet, the eurhythmics of Emile Jacques Dalcroze, the “Neue Tanz” of Laban and the expressionist dance of Harald Kreutzberg and Mary Wigman, Flamenco or even the American modern dance of Denishawn, definitely cleared the ideological as well as the pragmatic path and created the nourishing ground for Hijikata to stage his debut *Kinjiki* on May 24th 1959. Before we shift our attention to the rise of the Japanese avant-garde movement, I would like to point out one more artist that played an important role in the development of modern dance in Japan. Tsuda

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43 Ibid.
Nobutoshi (1910-1984) is considered to be somehow a linking figure between the Japanese Modern dance and the avant-garde movement. He was an autonomous artist who did not evolve directly from either of the two genres. In 1937, Tsuda studied in Germany with the intention to become an architect. During his studies he got involved with the dance school directed by Max Terpis, who was a student of Mary Wigman and the director of the “Staats Oper” in Berlin from 1923 to 1930. After WWII he opened his own school in Tokyo, the Tsuda Nobutoshi Modern Dance School.44

Kuniyoshi explains Tsuda’s work:

His dance was characterized by simple movement and clearly defined modelling of the body, which was, in this respect, reminiscent of Murayama’s structuralism. However, his work typically had a strong performance flavor, including immense objects juxtaposed with the bodies of the dancers, who performed while manifestos were read from the stage. This ‘structuralist dadaism’ was also clearly a critique of conventional dance forms, and is all the more notable since one dancer who worked briefly with Tsuda was Hijikata Tatsumi [...].45

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45 Bruce Baird elaborates on the intriguing relationship between Tsuda and Hijikata as follows: “In 1950, she [Motofujii Akiko] received an invitation to study with Tsuda Nobutoshi [...] and in 1952 the two were married. For her wedding gift, she received 1.5 million yen [...] with which she purchased a leprosaria. She and Tsuda converted
The Rise of Japanese Modern Art and the Avant-Garde Movement

Western style painting (yōga) was already introduced to Japan during the late Tokugawa period. As part of Japan’s leap towards modernization, the Meiji government officially supported the spread of western art genres. In 1876 the Technological Art School (Kōbu Bijutsu Gakkō), the first official Japanese institution to teach western art, opened its doors in Tokyo. According to Michiaki Kawakita, as quoted in Welsenfeld, the mission of the school was:

To teach ‘theoretical and technical aspects of modern Western art in order to supplement what was lacking in Japanese art and to build up the school to the same level as the best art academies in the West by studying the trends of realism’.

It into a dance studio, where they ran the Tsuda Motofuji Dance Institute. In 1959, Motofuji left Tsuda and moved in with Hijikata. Eventually, they took over the dance studio, and renamed it Asbestos Hall in honor of her father, without realizing that the name would become singularly suitable for a strange performance art.” (Butoh and the Burden of History, 21).

46 If not otherwise noted, the information on the avant-garde movement comes from four main sources:

At the Technological Art School young Japanese modern painters learned the newly imported western style of oil painting in the same way generations before learned Japanese watercolor painting (nihonga) at establishments such as the Kano School or Tosa School, namely unconditionally and without questions. The master shows the art and the pupil follows his master until the student himself masters the art.

Even though oil painting had technically and materially little in common with traditional Japanese art the methods of transmitting stayed the same. Furthermore, Nakahara Yusuke, in an interview with Shirakawa Yoshio in Dada in Japan points out that the artists themselves did not change with regard to their group consciousness. In Japan, artists traditionally united themselves in groups. Unlike artist’s organizations in Europe, which were often founded to follow a specific artistic goal, traditional as well as modern Japanese art groups served the primary purpose to help their members be socially recognized as artists. In Nakahara Yusuke’s words:

If a painter belongs to a certain group, then this membership to the group serves as a status emblem that
he is actually a painter. Even today [1986] this is still the case.48

One of the most important achievements of the Japanese avant-garde was to put individualism and self-expression above social acceptance. These Japanese artists started as early as the turn of the century to isolate themselves from established artists’ groups.49 They explored their creativity individually or in small group activities with specific artistic goals.

The Japanese avant-garde rose to three pinnacles during the 20th Century. The first one was reached in the 1920s with the rise of Japanese futurism and Dadaism, the second one evolved in the 1930s with the establishment of Japanese fauvism and surrealism, and the third one in the 1960s which marked, similar to the western world, a renaissance of avant-garde art per se.

49 Gennifer Weisenfeld points out that one reason for artists and intellectuals to focus on their own inward directed Individualism and cultivate the “autonomous self” was the general disillusion in the disappointing outcome of the Russo-Japanese war (1904-1905) which ended in widespread economic hardship. Furthermore, she explains that as a result of the war Japan experienced what Rubin calls a “release from a total devotion to the national mission”. (MAVO: Japanese Artists and the Avant-Garde: 1905-1931, 14-15).
For the purpose of illustrating the significance of the Japanese avant-garde movement to Hijikata’s work, I will limit my focus in this chapter to the events of the 1920s, especially Japanese Dadaism.⁵⁰

Murayama Tomoyoshi (1901–1977), “the self-proclaimed interpreter of European modernism” was the most influential and prominent figure of the early Japanese avant-garde movement.⁵¹ After a jumble of artistic self-schooling during his childhood and early manhood he left for Berlin to study philosophy in 1921. During his two-year stay in the Weimar metropolis he encountered German expressionism and Dadaism. He became affiliated with Herwarth Walden’s gallery “Der Sturm”, where he met leading artists such as Marinetti and Schwitters. In May 1922, Murayama participated in the “Internationaler Kongress Progessiver Künstler” in Düsseldorf, where artists including El Lissitzky, Theo Van Doesburg and Raoul Hausman represented Dadaism and constructivism from different countries. According to Weisenfeld:

he [Murayama] witnessed an impromptu dadaist performance by the Dutch couple Theo and Nelly Van

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⁵⁰ Hijikata was an influential part of the Japanese avant-garde movement of the 1960s. An examination of the interrelationship of Hijikata and his avant-garde contemporaries demands its own study and would break the frame of this background chapter.

Doesberg, (sic) who sang and yelled while dancing half-naked on tables and chairs.  

Vital for Murayama’s later work was his encounter with German expressionist dance. He was first drawn in by a performance of Mary Wigman he witnessed in Dresden. In Berlin, Murayama was spellbound by numerous performances of the young Niddy Impekoven at Max Reinhardt’s Deutsches Theater. Weisenfeld concludes that, “in expressionist dance Murayama found an absolute affirmation of bodily, and by extension sexual, liberation.”  

Back in Japan in 1923, Murayama and four other artists from the Japanese Futurist Art Association, among them Ōura Shûzô and Ogata Kamenosuke, founded the Dadaist group MAVO. MAVO quickly attracted other artists and became:  

A self-proclaimed avant-garde constellation of artists and writers collaborating in a dynamic and rebellious movement that not only shook up the art establishment, but also made an indelible imprint on the critics of the period. [...] MAVO launched attacks, amply reported in the

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52 Ibid, 234.  
53 Ibid.  
54 The Futurist Art Association founded in 1920 the pre-runner of the Japanese avant-garde movement.  
55 The word “MAVO” has no specific meaning. For a description of how the name might have come into existence, see Gennifer Weisenfeld, MAVO: Japanese Artists and the Avant-Garde: 1905 -1931, 64-65.
press, on the art establishment (gadan), conventional
taste and social mores."56

In contrast to existing modern Japanese artist groups, MAVO did not
limit itself to a particular artistic style or medium. MAVO experimented
with new tendencies in many artistic genres, including painting,
sculpture, poetry, photography, theatre, dance, architecture and
criticism.

Important for this study are the theatre and dance performances
staged by Murayama and MAVO within a series of events called "Sanka
in the Theatre"57. There are no film documents and very few available
photographs of these stage events. However, we get a very clear
understanding of the nature of the Sanka performances from
Weisenfeld’s description of the first act of Yoshida Kenkichi’s Button:
Opening Play of Opposition Between White and Red, staged at the
Tsukiji Little Theatre (Tsukiji Shôgekijô) in May 1925:

When the curtain rose, a nearly bare stage was revealed,
with a large white sheet of paper hung across the middle,
a giant red button suspended beside it, and a caged
monkey staring out absentmindedly at the audience. […]

Next, Murayama Tomoyoshi emerged barefoot and writhed

57 The Sanka group was founded in 1924 by members of the Futurist Art Association
and MAVO in opposition to the Nika Art Association, who’s judges rejected all MAVO
submissions to their annual exhibition. 51
across the stage like a snake, dancing to Beethoven’s Minuet in G. [...] followed by an assortment of Sanka artists, who produced billowing smoke and deafening sounds as one member ran up and down the aisles with a charred fish and another drove a motorcycle through the hall [...].

From this excerpt we can see that the MAVO group created performances within the spirit of an “event” which actively involves the audience. Many of Hijikata’s performances, such as Anma and Rose Colored Dance are created within the spirit of an “event”. Furthermore, next to the incorporation of live animals on stage, we will find other elements of Sanka performances, such as the idea of a performance collage, in Hijikata’s later performances. Weisenfeld indicates “most of the Sanka performances did not require rehearsals, since the works were not about skill or mastery as much as about improvisation and spontaneous expression”, a performance concept Hijikata used partially in his performances from the beginning of his stage career Kinjiki up to his 1968 solo performance Hijikata Tatsumi to nihonjin: nikutai no hanran.

59 Ibid, 228.
Maybe an even more important “innovation” of MAVO-Sanka activities was to re-introduce openly and specifically sexuality, homo and auto erotic as well as carnal lust and sexual desire to the stage. For example in a 1924 photograph of MAVO staging Wedekind’s *Dance of Death* we can see Murayama with long hair, white powdered face and wearing lipstick. Naked from the torso up, he was dressed in a bright skirt over white stockings, the feet covered with white high heels woman’s shoes. Critics in the 1920’s explained Murayama’s performances:

“as unlike anything they had ever seen, with the artists moving their bodies freely across the floor, gyrating in response to the rhythm of the music without attention to form or dance conventions”.60

These pictures and words easily come back to one’s mind when watching Hijikata in *Hijikata Tatsumi to nihonjin*. The achievements of innovative modern Japanese forerunners such as Kawakami, Ishii and Murayama in the fields of theatre, dance and art clearly prepared the creative ground for Hijikata to develop his *butô*. However, the events around WWII prevented a linear, “natural” development of these emerging genres. In 1950s Japan, Hijikata may

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60 Ibid, 235.
have tuned artistically into the worlds of Kawakami, Ishii and Murayama, but invented a new stage art in his own way.
Chapter 3. Hijikata Tatsumi: The Man and the Artist

Hijikata often stressed the major impact of his childhood experiences on his later creative work. For that reason, I will begin this chapter with a short biographical overview, spanning Hijikata’s childhood in Tōhoku through his 1959 breakthrough as an independent artist in Tokyo. Afterward I will chart a general scheme of Hijikata’s artistic stage activity, starting from Kinjiki, his first own stage performance in 1959 and continuing up to and including his last stage appearance in 1973. This latter chronology will include a description of Hijikata’s most significant solo performance, Hijikata Tatsumi to nihonjin: Nikutai no hanran.

Hijikata Tatsumi’s “Tōhokyo”

Hijikata was born March 9, 1928 in Asahikawa, a village outside of Akita city in the northern region Tōhoku of Japan’s main island Honshū. His given name was Yoneyama Kunio and he was the ninth of eleven children. At this time, Tōhoku was one of the poorest and most underdeveloped regions of Japan, where people survived the

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"long hard winters and splendid short summers"\textsuperscript{62} mostly through rice farming. Contrary to Hijikata’s devastating description of his family’s hard work and burden\textsuperscript{63} and its emphasis by writers such as Vicki Sanders who states "Hijikata Tatsumi, a poor farm boy from Akita [...]"\textsuperscript{64} it appears that the family was rather well off, at least for Tōhoku circumstances. Baird suggests that Hijikata’s family might very well have owned and cultivated some rice fields, but they also ran a buckwheat noodle shop, which provided them with additional income.

Furthermore, around 1940, the family expanded their house and rented out rooms to students of the nearby Akita Mining College (Akita Kōzan Senmon Gakkō). Surely, life in Tōhoku during the early Shōwa period (1926-1989) was not easy, especially after the missed harvests of 1931 and 1934. Schwellinger explains that as a result of the poverty following these two tragic years, many farmers were forced to sell their daughters into prostitution.\textsuperscript{65} It is possible and frequently suggested that Hijikata’s oldest sister suffered this unfortunate fate. Hijikata often refers to his older sister when commenting on his art. In \textit{Kaze daruma} he states:

\begin{itemize}
\item[\textsuperscript{63}] Bruce Baird, \textit{Butoh and the Burden of History}, 17.
\item[\textsuperscript{64}] Vicki Sanders, "Dancing and the Dark Soul of Japan: An Aesthetic Analysis of Butoh", \textit{Asian Theatre Journal}, 5, 2, (Fall 1988), 148-163.
\item[\textsuperscript{65}] Lucia Schwellinger, \textit{Die Entstehung des Butoh}, 38.
\end{itemize}
I keep one of my sisters alive in my body. When I am absorbed in creating a butoh piece, she tears off the darkness in my body and eats more than is necessary of it. When she stands up in my body, I sit down impulsively. And she speaks to me like this: "You call it dance and expression and are mad about it, but don’t you think that what you can express only emerges by not being expressed?" Then she quietly fades away. That is why my dead are my butoh teachers.66

Hijikata, as he stated, was well acquainted with the dead. He lost three of his older brothers in the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937 to 1945). Hijikata recalls that one after another, his elder brothers went to war. In order to bolster their courage, his father apparently gave them sake to drink, which made their faces red. When they came back they were grey, in the form of ashes and contained in urns. He elaborated on this subject in Kaze daruma:

I was a young child then and I thought vaguely: form appears, because it disappears, and that through its disappearance the form manifests itself even clearer.67

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66 Asbestos Kan, ed., BODY ON THE EDGE OF CRISIS, 84.
67 Michael Haerdt and Kawai Sumie, BUTOH, 40.
The above-mentioned tragic incidents, among many others in Kunio's childhood in Tōhoku (and Hijikata's later recollection of these incidents), are often pointed out as playing a substantial role in the creation of butō.

Without doubt, his childhood experiences must have forged deep impressions in the young Yoneyama Kunio and resonated throughout his life. It is also only natural that Hijikata, while creating his own individual art form, which is not based on any pre-existing or established form or content, did incorporate his most inner feelings. However, there were countless children in Tōhoku that faced the same or even worse fate, as did Yoneyama Kunio. Since Tōhoku only produced one "Hijikata Tatsumi" and one "butō"68, growing up and suffering in Tōhoku, or almost anywhere in rural Japan during the early Shōwa era can hardly count as a magic formula or prerequisite to create a new art genre. Other aspects of Hijikata's life must certainly have contributed to the emergence of butō.

After graduating from public school he entered the Akita Technical High School (Akita Kōgyō Gakkō) from which he eventually

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68 Of course there is more than one butō. Generally there are considered to be three original butō strands, emanating from the "founders" Ohno Kazuo, Hijikata Tatsumi, and Maro Akaji. For the important role of Maro Akaji in creating butō, see Bruce Baird, Butō and the Burden of History, 23. Furthermore, many performers from the generations after Hijikata created their own butō, which can be interpreted as new and different genres under the umbrella term "butō".
graduated one year late in 1946. According to most sources Kunio was not a very typical student and had frequent troubles with classmates as well as school authorities. In one physical incident, he was severely injured and as a result one of his legs apparently stayed longer (or shorter) than the other. This physical condition would normally have disqualified any person from pursuing a career in ballet or even modern dance.

However, after his graduation Kunio, while working a daytime job in a nearby steel factory, started to take lessons in “German Dance” with Masumura Katsuko. Between 1947 and 1952 Kunio traveled frequently to Tokyo. During one of his stays in 1949 he witnessed a solo performance of Ohno Kazuo. According to Schweilinger, Kunio was deeply impressed by Ohno’s emotional way of expression and he referred to it as a “medicinal dance” which developed into an “electrifying drug dance”. Back in Akita, he apparently formed a theatre group and gave several performances in his hometown area.

In 1952, at the age of twenty-four, Kunio settled in Tokyo where he made ends meet by taking on a variety of casual jobs, such as construction or laundry work. Simultaneously he pursued his interests

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70 Lucia Schweilinger, *Die Entstehung des Butoh*, 42.
in the arts and dance and joined the Andô Mitsuko dance studio, where he studied a variety of dance forms, including ballet, modern dance and jazz dance. Between 1954 and 1958 Kunio, under his first stage name Hijikata Kunio, participated in several performances organized and choreographed by Andô Mitsuko and appeared as a background dancer in TV and film. During this time he came to know Ohno Kazuo, who appeared as a guest dancer in Andô's performances. He also made the acquaintance of leading artists of the avant-garde, such as Okamoto Taro and Shinohara Ushio.

In 1958 Hijikata Kunio left Andô Mitsuko's ensemble and joined the Contemporary Theatre Art Association. The same year he assumed the stage name Hijikata Tatsumi. On the occasion of the Theatre Human/Contemporary Theatre Arts Association Joint Concert, Hijikata created and performed a solo piece for a dance section called Shizukesa to ugoki (Stillness and Movement), which was part of a dance called Haniwa no mai (Dance of Burial Mound Figurine).

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72 Hijikata later also used the stage names "Hijikata Genet" and Hijikata Nue. Baird remarks that "Nue" means "chimera" in Japanese. Bruce Baird, Butô and the Burden of History, 22.
73 See Bruce Baird, Butô and the Burden of History, 24-25 for a detailed list of Andô's performances.
74 Okamoto Tarô was one of the leading painters of the Japanese Surrealist movement.
75 Shinohara Ushio was a founding member of the 1960s avant-garde group Neodadaism Organizer. For a comprehensive overview of the Japanese avant-garde art see Mary Ichiro, in DADA in Japan, 12-16, and in Natsu no arashi: 1960 -1964, 78-79.
76 See Lucia Schwellinger, Die Entstehung des Butoh, 46.
Baird notes, “This is the first dance of Hijikata’s for which we have any information at all”.77 He further makes the point that the information is “tantalizingly sparse” and that all we know is that Hijikata appeared with a chicken, played with it and killed it. Schwellinger’s account of Haniwa no mai is even more spartan “Hijikata appeared with a chicken in his arm...”78

We can see that Hijikata was already on his journey to create his unconventional art form. Throughout his subsequent career Hijikata continued to focus on the physicality of his body. Rather than mastering a particular style or method of dance he used his body as a direct medium for an art form that has yet had neither name nor recognizable form.

By purposely distancing himself and his art from existing forms and styles of dance and visual art, Hijikata evaded mainstream art and dance criticism, and directly or indirectly declared it as incompetent.

At the beginning of Hijikata’s career, in the late 1950’s, at least in Japan, there was no known contemporary dance or visual artwork that could be compared to a performance like Kinjiki. Neither did the concept of “butō” yet exist. Members of early avant-garde movements such as the group MAVO, did create performances in the 1920’s and 1930’s.

78 Lucia Schwellinger, Die Entstehung des Butoh, 46.
1930's that were similar to Hijikata's *Kinjiki*. They also focused on the physicality of the body as the main media for a performance. Like Hijikata, they denied existing forms, incorporated sexual themes and live animals into their stage work. However the war obliterated this artistic generation.

As a result, Hijikata was the sole artistic authority on his work. Who was to judge the quality of an artwork that had no precedent and that was based solely on personal subjectivity? For Japan in the mid-twentieth century this was unheard of and unthinkable because, as I mentioned in the previous chapter, even in 1986, as Nakahara stated, the legitimacy of an artist was based mainly on his affiliation with a recognized artistic group, association or family.

Naturally, Hijikata's total nihilism resulted in artistic isolation from mainstream movements and came with a price. First, Hijikata could not apply and rely on already existing methods (languages) of dance or visual arts to express or transmit content and meaning. Second, at least at the beginning of his individual art Hijikata could neither choose commonly known stories nor subject matter for performance, because he had not yet established a functional vocabulary, to transmit specific content. Third, in order to outlive the inherent limitations of the experiment and to expand, by integrating
other performers into his work, Hijikata had to establish a functional method to work with.

By rejecting existing artistic conventions, Hijikata became the sole focus point of his art and his body provided the primary medium to work from and with. This means that Hijikata had to face Hijikata. His artistic endeavors and career therefore stand synonymous for Hijikata’s continuous search for the “I”.

Well then, who was Hijikata Tatsumi? Was he Yoneyama Kunio from distant and mysterious rural Tōhoku? Was he Hijikata Kunio, the modern dancer? Was he Hijikata Genet who wandered the dark establishments of Tokyo’s underworld? Or was he Hijikata Nue who lived in his own fantasy? He was surely all of them during his entire career.

**Hijikata the Artist**

Hijikata’s career as a stage performer started on May 24, 1959 with his first original piece *Kinjiki* and ended on September 5, 1973 with his guest appearance in *Yōbutsu shintan* (*Story of Phallic God*), also translated as “The Phallus Myth” by Kurihara Nanako (2000).
Battleship), directed and choreographed by Maro Akaji.\(^8^0\) During these fourteen years Hijikata appeared in approximately three-dozen performances, of which he also choreographed at least twenty-four. "Performance" refers here to events, concerts or recitals, which often included the presentation of more than one part or piece staged on the same bill.

After 1973 Hijikata choreographed exclusively for a variety of different groups, such as \textit{Hangidaitõkan} (Mirror of Sacrificing Great Dance) and \textit{Hakutõbô} (White Peach Blossom) and solo performers including Ohno Kazuo and Kobayashi Saga among many others. His choreographic oeuvre from 1973 to 1985 encompasses approximately three dozen performance pieces.

In an overview, Hijikata’s stage work can be divided roughly into three periods according to the nature of the performances and Hijikata’s artistic approaches.

The first period loosely spanned the years 1959 to 1966 and included performances such as \textit{Kinjiki}, \textit{Anma}\(^8^1\), \textit{Barairo dansu}\(^8^2\) and

\(^{80}\) Information of Hijikata’s stage activities and choreographic work are taken from the Hijikata Tatsumi Archive’s database and Morishita Takashi, ed. \textit{Hijikata Tatsumi no butô – Hijikata Tatsumi nenpo}, 174-186.
I will use terminology, titles, and names in Japanese as well as in English, as they appear in the archive’s database.
Kurihara Nanako compiled a detailed Hijikata Tatsumi chronology in \textit{TDR} 44, 1 (T165), (Spring 2000), 29-33.
\(^{81}\) The full title on the playbill was: \textit{Anma: Aiyoku o sasaeru gekijô no hanashi} (Masseur: A Story that Supports Passion).
The nature of these performances was created mainly in the spirit of an "event" or "happening". Hijikata focused on improvised spontaneous action, often simultaneously executed by different performers, rather than on developing dances or movements with a linear structure. Themes that run throughout this period include eroticism and sexuality, with a specific focus on the male body displayed in transvestism and suggested acts of homosexuality. During this time Hijikata affiliated himself artistically and spiritually with the works of the Marquis de Sade as well as writings of the French literary avant-garde such as Genet and Bataille, which were introduced to him by his close friend Shibusawa Tatsuhlko. 83 This period also marks Hijikata’s intensive collaboration with artists of the contemporary Japanese avant-garde, such as Nakanishi Natsuyuki and Akasegawa Genpei of the groups Neo Dada and Hi-Red Center.

82 The full title on the playbill was: Barairo dansu: A LA MAISON DE M. CIVEÇAWA (Rose-Colored Dance: To Mr. Shibusawa’s House).
83 Shibusawa Tatsuhlko (1928-1987) was an art critic, writer and translator of French literature. Translated works include Jean Cocteau’s Le Grand Ecart and de Sade’s L’Histoire de Juliette; ou Les Prosperites du vice, among others. Shibusawa was instrumental in introducing French literature to the Japanese reader of the 1950s and 1960s.
The second period, 1967 -1968, which Kurihara Nanako terms “the period of transition”, produced the performances Keijijōgaku (Emotions in Metaphysics) and Mandara yashiki (Mandala Mansion/Maison) among others and pinnacled in Hijikata’s 1968 solo performance Hijikata Tatsumi to nihonjin: Nikutai no hanran. In this period, Hijikata started to create thematic movement sequences loosely knitted to each other in a linear manner, thereby lending his performances a kind of narrative flow. Furthermore, he began introducing Japanese elements and content into his “Western oriented” recitals. Kurihara notes on Hijikata Tatsumi to nihonjin: Nikutai no hanran:

Western and Japanese elements clashed. [...] The first part of the title Hijikata Tatsumi to nihonjin clearly indicates that Hijikata was making a conscious change from an apparently “Western” focus to work that intensely examined his own body, specifically, a male body that grew up in Tōhoku, probably to liberate himself from the body.

Interestingly, this transitional period, when Hijikata apparently drifted away from a Western focus and started to incorporate Japanese

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85 Ibid. Kurihara did not further elaborate what she means by “work that intensely examined his own body” and “probably to liberate himself from the body”.
elements into his performances, coincides with Hijikata beginning to create his scrapbooks. As I will show in Chapter 4, the scrapbooks, which served Hijikata as an artistic and inspirational tool to create stage performances, contain mostly images from Western modern artists.

In order to give a taste of the flavor of Hijikata's work of the transitional period I will insert at this point a detailed description of Hijikata's 1968 solo performance Hijikata Tatsumi to nihonjin: Nikutai no hanran (from now on simply referred to as Hijikata Tatsumi to nihonjin). I chose this performance for two reasons. First, Hijikata Tatsumi to nihonjin marks an important turning point in his career. Second, it is one of the few performances documented on film and is commercially available. My description is based on the eight-millimeter, soundless documentary film by Nakamura Hiroshi. The film is only about 20 minutes long and is therefore not a comprehensive representation of this evening-long performance. However we can get a clear sense of the overall nature of Hijikata Tatsumi to nihonjin. In my description I will indicate major film cuts with "(cut)".

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86 The catalogue of the 2003-2004 festival Hijikata Tatsumi no butō, edited by Morishita Takashi includes a CD-ROM with a copy of Nakamura's documentary.
Hijikata is carried into the auditorium from what seems to be the audience entrance in the back of the house. He is half supine in a rectangular chariot-like seat (in looks similar to a regular bicycle cart without the extension for the attachment to the bicycle), flanked by two tireless spiked metal bicycle wheels. The rickshaw-like platform is mounted on a wooden pole structure similar to those used for Festival Floats (*mikoshi*) and is maneuvered through the low opening by a group of four to six men.

As the palanquin reaches the open auditorium, a huge square baldachin made of bright translucent gauze and supported at the corners by four long wooden poles is erected over the palanquin by four additional male helpers. A stage lighting fixture (PAR can), mounted to the left wheel and focused upwards, illuminates the gauze and its reflection spreads over the entire scene. A second, smaller palanquin carried by a half a dozen men follows the parade. Instead of another person they carry an adult pig in a cradle (crèche) that is busily trying to keep its balance in the wobbly procession. An additional helper holds a long, thin wooden stick with a lampshade shaped canopy attached to its end, and "crowns" the animal, providing it with shade. Several men escort the procession. One has an illuminated spinning barbershop pole attached to his back; another supports a human size image, on which we can barely make out a
horse’s head. A third one ends the parade with a vertical wooden pole approximately 15 feet tall, supporting a white rabbit on a horizontally mounted round platter.

While the procession slowly moves toward the stage through the crowded auditorium, Hijikata leisurely rises to his feet. He is dressed in a white long sleeved woman’s kimono, which he is wearing front to back. Hijikata looks around the hall, as if to greet the spectators. His thick long hair is fastened in a bun behind his head. His nose is highlighted with white makeup. A short goatee frames his mouth. While balancing on the tiny platform as it waves back and forth, he performs a short movement sequence using mainly his head and left arm. Hijikata repeatedly moves his head back and forth by stretching and retracting his neck, similar to birds walking. He extends and pulls back his right arm with a hand gesture in form close to the Hawaiian “shaka” (the three middle fingers slightly curved towards the inside of the palm, thumb and little finger outstretched). At one point he grabs a canopy pole with his mouth and bites into it. The left arm stays mainly hidden inside the kimono except when Hijikata has to grab one or two poles in order to keep his balance. The rig of the palanquin, because it is carried on people’s shoulders, is rather unstable and shaky. During the entire procession Hijikata seems focused on the
struggle to remain upright in a more or less “elegant” stance, rather than on performing specific movements. (cut)

Through the magic of cinematographic editing, Hijikata appears standing erect downstage center. The stage is otherwise empty and pitch black. A single light source, most likely a follow spot, highlights the slim upright figure. Still dressed in his white kimono he softly bends forward, as in a shy bow. He raises his open hands with slightly curved fingers in front of his face while his left shoulder is tilting downwards and to the side. Using both hands, Hijikata opens the bun in the back of his head and his full long hair falls over his face.

He glides both hands simultaneously alongside his body behind his back and opens the kimono. The kimono drops to the ground and exposes Hijikata’s naked and emaciated body. “Dressed” only with a huge shiny metallic phallus attached to a g-string, Hijikata starts to move. He lifts his arms high over his head, the hands almost touching. He displays his torso and concave pelvis, emaciated through fasting, and a ribcage hollow as a willow basket. After this short tableau, Hijikata lets his arms hang to his sides and starts to move his hips back and forth convulsively with the “golden” phallus, simulating intercourse. Hijikata circles the stage once while continuing the same movement and returns to his starting point. Standing on the kimono, he begins to jump up and down on both legs, which are slightly bent.
The upper body bends slightly forward and the arms dangle loosely in front, so that the phallus rhythmically hits Hijikata’s pelvis. At a certain point, as if exhausted Hijikata walks almost naturally several steps into the stage and as if taking a short break, leans against an upright piano that appears in the spill of the follow spot.

He crosses the stage with a twirling, slightly forward bent, body posture and halts in front of a light neutral fabric backdrop. Hijikata poses standing straight up, the arms pulled to the side of his torso at a 45-degree angle. The hands display a similar gesture as in the procession (shaka). Hijikata is looking straight into the audience. His long hair is resting on his shoulders. After a couple of seconds he walks toward the audience in the same posture but more agitated. He becomes more convulsive and begins to hop from one leg to the other, simultaneously swinging his dangling arms and head from left to right. This wild and “primitive” movement somehow evokes images of excited chimpanzees in a zoo. While he repeats this movement continuously over fifty times, Hijikata turns once around his own axis. Additional lighting reveals several sheet-metal panels in the background. Their shiny surfaces reflect the lights and back-light the incessantly jumping performer. Through this back-lighting Hijikata’s figure is transformed into a two-dimensional black silhouette.
Hijikata eventually falls to the ground with his right cheek and upper right shoulder firmly pressed to the stage floor. His arms are retracted and his hands rest clenched on his upper chest. Hijikata’s legs are still trying to stand up and are continuously running. This creates an “A” shaped body posture, in which head and shoulder on the left side are “anchored” to the floor. The feet on the right side keep the balance. The buttock becomes the “head” of the “A”. Since the slightly bent legs are still running Hijikata spins around his own axis once or twice. He then stretches out on his abdomen with arms and legs wide spread. He turns to his side and eventually gets up and walks closer to the sheet-metal panels in the back of the stage.

By now we can see that the metal panels are hung from the grid and clear the stage floor by about 4 inches. They seem to be rigged by two strings/cables mounted closely to the center, which allows the panels to spin half way around their axis when animated.

Once close to the panels Hijikata raises both arms over his head. The camera pans to reveal a motionless chicken or rooster. The animal is strung up by its feet with its head hanging towards the floor. Hijikata briefly touches the chicken and then poses himself side ways in front of a panel, close enough, that we can see his mirror image reflected in the shiny surface. The two Hijikatas slowly start to move their crotches back and forward. The arms are hanging loose by their
sides, while the legs are slightly bent. The bodies seem to get more “excited”. The legs start walking in place, shifting the bodyweight enticingly from one side to the other. The two Hijikatas appear to admire each other. (cut)

Hijikata reappears on the screen with his hair tied into two ponytails on each side of his head. He is still wearing the white makeup on his nose. He is dressed in a shiny satin western style long sleeved dress far too large for his size. The overall cut of the robe as well as its long train and the fabric rose on the left shoulder suggest a wedding dress, but it could as well be a sexed-up old-fashioned ballroom gown. Hijikata is wearing the top part of the dress backwards, while he somehow manages to keep the voluminous lower portion facing front. Furthermore, he is wearing long black gloves, which are at least two sizes too big. The stiffness and the shine of the gloves make it almost certain that they are sturdy Industrial rubber gloves of the kind that resists acid products. On his feet Hijikata wears dainty women’s sandals.

At first, Hijikata stands motionless, bending slightly forward. His head is resting gently on the fabric flower with eyes closed and a serious expression on his face. He slowly spreads his arms and raises them deliberately to the height of his shoulders. The hands (or better the gloves) are wide open, with the fingers spread apart. His upper
body and head are tenderly waving side to side as Hijikata straightens his figure. The fully erect figure loses its stability and starts to shake and tremble back and forth. The right arm clings to the right leg, the left gesticulates in front of the chest. Hijikata stumbles several steps backwards and is stopped by the upright piano. He poses motionless for a few moments. His head is tilted upward towards the grid, exposing his long skinny neck. The outstretched arms cling to the piano, supporting the barely forward tilted body. He opens his eyes and glances warily upward.

He then abruptly bends forward to examine the stiff, horizontally outstretched right leg and upright tightened foot, which have appeared from beneath the huge dress. The right arm, still holding on to the piano, joins the inspection and fumbles with the toes.

As if struck by a thunderbolt, Hijikata leaps sideways and performs a short series of movements, which appear to be a mixture of flamenco and tango elements. The legs are spread and rigid and move in long steps. The left arm is high in the air, while the right arm stays firmly in front of the torso. The right hand turns in soft circles, opening and closing the fingers, a hand gesture that is commonly used in flamenco dance. The head is slightly angled off the body’s axis and addresses the audience decisively and with pride.
Hijikata turns his back to the audience and walks with gracious calm towards the sheet metal panels. The back of the gown is wide open and exposes the naked, bony spine. He halts in front of a panel and seems to quietly look at his mirror image. Again, we can clearly see two Hijikatas. The one in the mirror seems to playfully and absent-mindedly fondle the folds of the satin dress with his gloves, while the one on stage seems to joyfully observe the little spiel of his partner.

Hijikata turns around and away from the mirror and sends a rather grim and sarcastic smile to the audience. His arms are angled to the hip and the right hand is holding up part of the dress. He bends his head and torso far back and kicks his stiffened left leg out horizontally, again with an upright tightened foot.

With both hands grabbing and pulling up the dress and the arms angled to the sides, Hijikata exposes his bare legs and his white underwear. He dances a short, rhythmical foot and leg sequence. Even though these sequences are executed rather slowly and softly, they again resemble common movements of flamenco dance. Keeping this body posture, he starts walking in fluid medium sized steps, dragging the very long train of the dress along the stage floor. He draws a wide circle around the stage and eventually bumps into one or two of the panels, which begin to spin and swing, shooting flashes of light through the space. Hijikata accelerates the tempo of his crossing,
and as the circles get closer he eventually gets caught and wrapped in the gown’s long train. He frees himself from the fabric and resumes circling the stage in the same manner but seemingly getting angrier and wilder. He grabs the train of his dress and throws it vehemently to the ground.

The circles finally tighten to the point that Hijikata is spinning around his own axes. He is holding the train of the dress between his teeth, while the hands are still clinging to the front. Bending his upper body back and forth he keeps on spinning like a dervish. The centrifugal forces of the fast movement cause the heavy gown to twirl horizontally through the air.

Once stopped, Hijikata carefully walks backwards toward the panels with his torso tilted forward. He gathers the wedding dress with both hands in front of his chest and holds the bundle of fabric tightly in his arms. This rather fragile section feels on the one hand like Hijikata just had stolen the dress and is trying to sneak away with it. On the other hand one can get the impression that he is afraid someone will take the fabric away from him.

Hijikata stands between the metal panels. His arms are still glued to his chest, however the bundle of fabric is gone from his arms. He is dressed only in the top part of the wedding gown. His bare legs and underwear are exposed. The voluminous lower section of the dress...
lies on the ground beside him. He leans against one panel, pushing it sideways and bumps into another one. Flashes of light again disturb the darkness.

Then, standing almost still with slightly opened legs, Hijikata tilts his torso sideways and peeps downward over his left shoulder to the gown. He makes a quick clockwise turn, squats down and picks up the fabric with both hands. He rushes several steps to stage right and holds the fabric up to his neck, spreading it like a backdrop and pretends to hide behind it. He then swiftly turns once clockwise again, causing the dress to flutter through the air. He jumps back and forth from a squat to half stand. Holding the dress in his right hand he hits the floor frantically in front and back of his agitated body, as if desperately extinguishing a sudden brush fire. The robe is flying openly over his head, drawing a wide circle around his figure.

In the course of his excitement he loses the wedding gown. As if stung by a bee Hijikata continues jumping up and down, this time with his body almost completely stretched out. The arms are again tightened to the chest and he shakes his upper body nervously, as if to shake off some uncomfortable itch. He at last falls to the ground and lies on his belly with arms outstretched, his legs bent vertically from the knees up and feet wiggling playfully. Still lying on his belly, he shifts his body first to the left and then to the right side. Hijikata grabs
the gown, which is held closely in front of him with his elongated arms. While still flat on his stomach he begins again to gather the fabric in front of his chest. Slowly he gets on his knees and eventually stands up. (cut)

Hijikata appears briefly (for about six seconds) dressed in a short, pale skirt and a long sleeved t-shirt or undergarment-like top. He walks hesitantly six or seven steps from stage right to stage left. His right arm flanks his chest; the elbow is closed to 45 degrees and the right hand is hanging loosely downwards. His left arm swings naturally at his side. His head is turned to the back and his sinister face and eyes seem to fix on an unfortunate point from the past of the journey. Hijikata finally turns his face forward in the direction he is walking. He brings both hands close to his temples, makes two by now known hand gestures of “shaka” and walks into a metal panel. (cut)

Hijikata is squatting on the stage floor, his hands resting on his knees. The hair is still the same as in the last scene. He chews on a long straw sticking out of his mouth. He is dressed in a short bright kimono, which is again tied backward. The right arm is properly inserted into the wide sleeve of the kimono, while the left arm misses the sleeve at the armpit opening and is naked. There is no obi or himo tied around the waist. The overall appearance of the dress is rather shabby. In contrast to the upper body, Hijikata is wearing clean white
knee-high sport socks. Hijikata softly wiggles his head sideways and puts his wide open hands in front of his feet, with the finger tips barely touching the stage floor. (cut)

He then performs a short dance sequence, with his arms playfully gesticulating in front of his chest. The hands are jiggling loosely in and out of the shaka position. The legs are slightly bent and the feet are tight and arched upwards. He takes each step very vigilantly as if avoiding making any noise or damaging the floor. With each step the upper body bends forward in unison with the leg’s movement. He then hastily takes half a dozen of steps back and forth in the same manner, while his arms freely gesticulate over his head. (cut)

Like a little child, Hijikata is continuously jumping up and down in a double hopscotch. While he is executing the twenty plus jumps, his relaxed arms dangle back and forth rhythmically. His head swings from left to right in unison with his legs. (cut)

A series of various short movements follows the hopscotch. Hijikata stands downstage in a wide open split, staring at the audience, which sits just a couple of feet in front of him. His upper body is tilted forward and his long hair is covering his face. He gathers the kimono that hangs loosely between his outstretched legs with his hands and holds it to his crotch. He slowly rises and then bursts into a
rapid, rubbery walk. Arms and legs seem to be out of control and made out of silicon. Then he takes a couple of steps with stiff horizontally stretched out legs and his torso tilted forward. After a short sideways posture with arms raised at a 45-degree angle and the head in profile (a posture in appearance similar to the ancient Egyptian bas-reliefs of the pharaoh’s dancers), Hijikata jumps in the air once or twice. He then repeats the “rubbery” dance, but this time he is even more agitated, still holding the straw tightly between his teeth. (cut).

Hijikata appears out of the dark. He is floating high above the audience almost horizontally stretched out, with his body facing the ceiling. A hemp rope is tied to each of his arms, which are spread wide apart. Two ropes are attached to his closed feet. A white cloth is loosely wrapped around his waist. His long hair is loosely hanging straight down. Hijikata is being pulled from what seems to be the back of the house towards the stage, facing front. It is not a smooth flight. The brisk up and down movements resulting from unequal tension on both ends, as well as a sudden jerk caused by the breaking of one of the ropes attached to his feet, add to the already dramatic experience. Furthermore, a harsh light beam shoots out from a single spot mounted on the ceiling, backlighting Hijikata and blinding the audience. This creates a rather mystic or religious ambiance. Once
Hijikata’s body reaches the stage he is freed from his fetters by some half a dozen helpers.

Watching Hijikata being taken off the ropes one cannot escape the visual parallels to the countless representations of “The Descent from the Cross” created by hundreds of unknown as well as many very well known artists, such as Rembrandt van Rijn and Peter Paul Rubens.

Once freed, Hijikata is laid down on the palanquin in front of the stage, where it has been during the entire performance. Over a dozen helpers raise the palanquin high in the air, holding it with outstretched arms. Hijikata carefully rises on the waving chariot-like platform. His upper body is curved forward, his head covered by his mane, and his arms are wide open. He performs several extended bows. In one of them Hijikata holds a dead fish over a foot long between his teeth and performs a little skit with it, while addressing the audience. The procession starts its slow journey back through the crowd. Hijikata “receives” huge flower bouquets, which the audience wildly throws at him. He almost gets knocked off the shaking wagon. He finally disappears behind the avalanche of flowers he is holding in his arms, followed by “curtain and blackout.”
Without further analyzing or explaining the possible meaning of this performance I will continue with the overview of Hijikata’s stage work. However I will return to elements of Hijikata Tatsumi to nihonjin, while analyzing the butō-fu in Chapter 5.

The third period of Hijikata’s active stage work as a choreographer and performer is often called the “Tōhoku period” and lasted from 1969 to 1973. However his choreographic work continued in the “Tōhoku spirit” until 1985 and was ended only by his death in early 1986. After the “transitional” recital of Hijikata Tatsumi to nihonjin in 1969 he began to introduce themes from his Tōhoku homeland and elements drawn from his childhood experiences. From this point on, Hijikata choreographed increasingly for women and included more and more female performers in his stage works. He concentrated on teaching students and subsequently developed more complex stage works, which exhibited clearly defined and well rehearsed movements and eventually resulted in elaborate and sophisticated formulated dance pieces, such as Honegami tōge hotokekazura (Corpse Vine on Ossa Famine Ridge) and Nagasu kujira (Fin Whale). The third period culminated in Hijikata’s enormous 1972 serial project Shiki no tame no nijūnanaban, which also came to be

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87 With few exceptions, the great majority of Hijikata’s early work was choreographed for and presented by male performers.
known as “Tōhoku kabuki.” Kurihara notes “All [pieces of the series] included Tōhoku themes, characters, sounds, etc.” 88

Tōhoku was not only Hijikata’s place of origin but also a cornerstone of his inner world, where childhood memories formed a complex amalgam with his approach to creating his individual art. In his writings such as Inu no jōmyakun shitto suru koto kara 89 and public speeches such as Kaze daruma 90 Hijikata refers repeatedly and vividly to images of Northern Japan and experiences from his childhood. These recollections, often colored by time and artistically flavored by a certain nostalgia and romanticism, are therefore not necessarily an accurate representation of history. Furthermore, as Schweilinger points out, in his daily and social life Hijikata had the tendency to create a “mysterious aura” 91 around his personality. He apparently avoided expressing himself concretely when addressing his past or his personal opinions, preferring to respond by giving hints or

90 A “daruma” is a traditional legless Japanese doll. Hijikata gave this speech on February 9, 1985 at the eve of the Butoh Festival '85. Partially translated and published in Mark Holborn, ed., Butoh: Dance of the Dark Soul and in Michael Haerdter and Kawai Sumie, Butoh: Die Rebellion des Körpers, and Asbestos Kan, ed., BODY ON THE EDGE OF CRISIS.
91 Lucia Schweilinger, Die Entstehung des Butoh, 37.
metaphors, which could and did lead to different and often contradictory interpretations of Hijikata's personal and artistic identity.

At the 2005 ITI 2nd Asian Dance Conference in Kyoto, Moriyama Naoto, associate professor at Kyoto University of Art and Design, addressed the issue of the Japanese search for identity in his article “The Ambiguity in Japan’s Dance Art”. He makes the interesting statement that modern Japan is like a continuing pendulum with two signs at opposite ends that read “Be more modern” and “Be more traditional” and vice versa. He points out that since the Meiji Restoration this pendulum has never stopped but keeps on swinging repeatedly from one side to the other. Moriyama concludes:

> Japan’s urge to have some stabilized national identity has always been swinging between the two obsessions: “Be more modern” and “Be more traditional”. [...] For those who want to be artistically individual, both of the words ‘modern’ and ‘tradition’ cannot be self-evident. Instead of its self-evidence they can see a sight of ambiguity in front of them.  

When describing Hijikata’s work and career one can easily apply Moriyama’s parable of the pendulum.

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In his first period Hijikata definitely wanted to “be more modern” than his contemporaries. His urge to surpass the standard of existing modern Japanese dance motivated him to create performances like Kinjiki, which emphasized the experience of a real event or “happening”, as it would later be termed, rather than the presentation of a dance with established and recognizable elements.

In his second period of transition, which includes Hijikata Tatsumi to nihonjin, one could say that the pendulum touched bottom, and Hijikata started to integrate “more modern” and “more traditional” elements of content and form. For instance, as I mention above, Kurihara notes that the title of the performance alone could be taken as an Indication of Hijikata’s reorientation towards Japanese issues/values.

The third period of Hijikata’s oeuvre and the zenith of the Tôhoku kabuki performances of Shiki no tame no nijûnana ban that “all included Tôhoku themes, characters, sounds, etc.” would mark accurately the opposite end of the pendulum’s reach, namely “be more traditional.”

But, as Moriyama precisely concludes, “modern” and “tradition” are not self-evident to the individual modern artist. This is also true for

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Hijikata, who was after all an individual modern artist. One could easily argue that since Hijikata himself was the norm of all things in creating his art, the entire range of the pendulum was present at all times. While this is obvious in his period of transition, it is much more ambiguous in the other two periods. In Anma, a performance of the first period, which was marked by experimentation and “happenings”, Hijikata hired a group of elderly ladies from an old folks home who passed their time playing popular songs from the Meiji and Taishô periods on the shamisen. We can say that this is clearly a romantic approach to being “more traditional.”

The simultaneous existence of both “obsessions” (with the modern and the traditional) becomes much more intricate in Tôhoku kabuki. It is true that Hijikata included elements of his childhood homeland as well as content and stories from traditional Japanese heritage, such as Hôsôtan (Story of Smallpox) or Gibasan (Seaweed). Hôsôtan, as the title indicates, referred to the common affliction of smallpox. Gibasan relates to the traditional cultivation and harvesting of the seaweed of the same name. At the time of Shiki no tame no nijûnana ban Hijikata had already established a functional scheme of movements and a defined system of teaching, which allowed him to incorporate “traditional” into his performances. However, the system and method (the butô-fu), which made it possible for Hijikata to
illuminate complex traditional Japanese issues, was mostly based on the works of Western modern and avant-garde artists.

Even in Hijikata’s so-called Japanese period, the “modern” was just as present as the traditional. It is just not as easily recognizable. Many of Hijikata’s choreographies of the third, “Japanese” period were based on images created by modern visual Western artists. Hijikata transformed these art works and gave them a new modern, “Japanese” gestalt on stage. In order to grasp the full scope of Hijikata’s creativity, which is an amalgam of modern and tradition and the result of a lifelong search for the “I”, I propose to take a closer look into a major source of Hijikata’s creativity, his personal notebooks, the butô-fu.
Chapter 4. The *Butô-fu*

In the mid 1960s Hijikata started to collect reproductions of artist’s paintings and sculptures, as well as pictures from a variety of subjects, such as nature and architecture. He glued and pasted the images in ready-made notebooks that carried the imprinted title “Scrapbooks” on the outside front cover. Hijikata also wrote fragmented phrases and short poetry on some of the pages and worked many pictures over with pencil marks, lines, arrows and numeric and alphabetic notes. What we know to date is that Hijikata worked on at least sixteen scrapbooks, and that he used them to create stage performances and to teach.

The importance of these scrapbooks for Hijikata’s *butô* has been emphasized on several occasions. The English-language introduction “Hijikata Tatsumi’s Butoh: Experiment and Upheaval of Dancing” to the festival catalogue Tatsumi Hijikata’s Butoh: Surrealism of the Flesh, Ontology of the ‘Body’ explains:

After 1974, Hijikata did not appear on stage himself and concentrated on directing and choreographing. A few years later by his original dance notations system of ‘butoh-fu’ based mainly on visionary paintings and poetic diction and paintings of surrealism, new techniques of butoh were
devised, which resulted in prolific images.\textsuperscript{94}

Murai Takemi from the Hijikata Tatsumi Archives elaborates on Hijikata’s scrapbooks:

It is scrap book of many different photo images with his hand writings. Hijikata even told his wife to keep in close place so that no one can see, so it shows that the notations took important role in his dance creation.\textsuperscript{95}

The collected scrapbooks are now in the possession of Keio University and are labeled “butô-fu”. The word “butô-fu” (舞踏譜) is a compound of the two Chinese characters for butô (舞踏) and a third character fu (譜), commonly translated as “a musical note”. The character fu can also be found in the compound fumen (a score, 譜面).

Fu as a suffix usually relates to notes or notations and is most commonly used in relation to musical terms, like gakufu (music score, 楽譜). A widespread English translation for butô-fu is “dance-notations”. Some other interpretations are “choreography notations”\textsuperscript{96}, “choreographic scrapbooks”\textsuperscript{97}, “choreographic notations”\textsuperscript{98}, “butô-

\textsuperscript{94} Morishita Takashi, ed., \textit{Hijikata Tatsumi no butô}, back cover.
\textsuperscript{95} Murai Takemi, "Assistant Tool for Analyzing Butoh-fu (Choreography notations) in HIJIKATA Tatsumi Archives", presented October 2004 at the International Symposium on the Current Issues of Performing Art Archives at Waseda University, unpaginated.
\textsuperscript{96} Murai Takemi, "Assistant Tool for Analyzing Butoh-fu (Choreography notations) in HIJIKATA Tatsumi Archives" (2004).
\textsuperscript{97} Elena Polzer, \textit{Hijikata Tatsumi’s From Being Jealous of a Dog’s Vein} (2004).
notation”⁹⁹, and “the words of butô”¹⁰⁰ among other terms. The appellation “butô-fu” is also used to describe Hijikata’s method of teaching students through words, which is not included in this study. Therefore, if not otherwise noted, in this dissertation butô-fu always refers to and is synonymous with Hijikata’s physical scrapbooks.

In the following sections I will first present the physical nature of the butô-fu, from which we can grasp the magnitude and character of the scrapbooks. This will lead us to an investigation into Hijikata’s creation of the butô-fu, which reveals artistic methods Hijikata used while compiling the scrapbooks. An analysis of the source material will further show where the images originated from and how they appeared in the scrapbooks. I will end this chapter by establishing the butô-fu as being Hijikata’s artist’s “notebook” rather than “dance notations.”

The Physical Nature of the Butô-fu as Notebooks

The butô-fu consists of sixteen bound scrapbooks, in B4 format, commonly available in Tokyo’s stationery stores. Hijikata used two types of scrapbooks. Three scrapbooks (Nadare ame, Sukurappu bukku ao and Sukurappu bukku kliru) are spiral-bound with plastic

outside covers. The remaining twelve scrapbooks are rivet-bound with cardboard covers.

All sixteen volumes were given a title, some of them by Hijikata written in pencil or color pencil on the cover, others by the Hijikata Tatsumi Archives in order to identify them.

The titles are:

Scrapbook Volume 1: *Nadare ame* (Candy Avalanche, なだれ飴)

Scrapbook Volume 2: *Hana* (Flower, 花)

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101 The spiral-bound plastic volumes are definitely newer and a more modern form of scrapbooks. However, except for *Sukurappu buku kiiro* there is no indication that Hijikata used them in a later time period than the cardboard ones.

102 Within the cardboard bound scrapbooks there are three slightly different versions, which stylistically also indicate three different eras of production. The way Hijikata used the three different styles of cardboard scrapbooks does not show a temporal correspondence.
Scrapbook Volume 3: *Butai hinto, saakasu* (Stage Hints, Circus, 舞台ヒントサーカス)

Scrapbook Volume 4: *Zaishitsuhen ni Fôtorie* (On Material II Fautrier, 材質編2フォトリエ)

Scrapbook Volume 5: *Kojiki · hanakomatieru* (Beggar-Hanako Material, 乞食・花子マチエル)

Scrapbook Volume 6: *Jinbutsuhenn (zaishitsu no aru jinbutsu)* (On People/Character (People with Material), 人物編(材質のある人物)

Scrapbook Volume 7: *Tori-shigi* (Bird-Snipe, 鳥一鷄)

Scrapbook Volume 8: *Dôbutsuhen* (On Animals, 動物編)

Scrapbook Volume 9: *Dabinchi* (DaVinci, ダビンチ)

Scrapbook Volume 10: *Picasso no jinbutsu* (Picasso Character, ピカソの人物)

Scrapbook Volume 11: *Kabelshi* (Stone Wall, 壁石)

Scrapbook Volume 12: *Shinkel* (Nerve, 神経)

Scrapbook Volume 13: *Ryûsei* (Shooting Star, 流星)

Scrapbook Volume 14: *Hikari* (Light, 光)

Scrapbook Volume 15: *Sukurappu bukku ao* (Blue Scrapbook, スクラップブック青)

Scrapbook Volume 16: *Sukurappu bukku kiiro* (Yellow Scrapbook, スクラップブック黄色)

The numbering of the titles was created by the Archives for purely archival purposes and does not reflect any hierarchical or chronological order whatsoever. Since Hijikata did not date his work,
the exact time period and the chronological order of the books are uncertain. But judging from the source material, Hijikata probably started the butō-fu in the mid-1960’s and the last decipherable entry in Sukurappu bukku kiiro indicates the year to be 1985. Each volume contains between fourteen and fifty active pages. Some pages are unused, while others are missing, or missing the images, making all together a bit over 220 pages.

The contents of the pages can be divided into three major categories: A. Hijikata’s writing in the form of text, B. His marks, and C. The collected images.

A. The text, in the form of poetry, notes or short phrases, is always handwritten and stands sometimes independent from the images. The writing not connected to images fills a little more than ten pages out of more than 220. For example the page with the most writing (in form of poetry) can be found on page seven in Scrapbook Volume 4: Zaishtsuhen ni Fōtorie.

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103 I will elaborate more specifically on the date of creation in the section “The Source Material” and in Chapter 5.
Since this page is actually the only one in the *butô-fu* in which Hijikata used elaborate writings or poetry in connection with images it was naturally chosen as the only page from the *butô-fu* to be translated into English so far.\(^{104}\) Most of the written material is used in relation to images in the form of short phrases, marginal notes or comments in approximately half of the pages. Some of the most elaborated notes can be found on page 19 in Scrapbook Volume 1: *Nadare ame*.

\(^{104}\) See Kurihara Nanako, “On Material II Fautrier”, *The Drama Review*, 44.1 (T165), (Spring 2000).
The few elaborate writings in the notebooks are of abstract, surrealistic and poetic nature and are even for native speakers difficult to understand or make a rational (instructional) sense of. Furthermore, Hijikata’s handwriting is even for archivists a tremendous challenge to read. Therefore, I will focus my investigation mainly on the collected images and will use Hijikata’s writings and the marks for clarification purposes if necessary.

B. The marks, mostly in pencil, are lines, circles, and arrows etc., used to underline, emphasize, or visually isolate parts of an image. They are always used in relation to images and often connect them with writing. About three fourths of the images have such marks.
C. The images are reproductions of works of art, nature, architecture, and science in the form of photocopies, prints or hand drawings partially or entirely cut out and glued-in. In all, they make up a collection of over 490 individual items and form the main body of the butō-fu.

This already shows that the butō-fu are meant as a visual guide for inspiration to create performances, rather than written instructions on how to dance, or dance notations that record existing dances.\(^{105}\)

In a painstakingly effort over the last four years Mural Takemi and I have identified about 95 percent (460 plus and growing) of the images in the sixteen notebooks. That is, we know most of the artists, the titles and the year of the creation of the artworks Hijikata selected and placed in his scrapbooks. Since the images project not only pure visual information, such as form, color, shape and structure but also carry meaning within an art historical and personal content–context relationship it is of greatest importance to know the nature of each work. Only if we know the inherited potential of the collected images might we be able to conclude eventual and reliable insights of Hijikata’s use of the images to create stage works. As an example, in

\(^{105}\) I will elaborate on this subject in the section “Dance Notations versus Artist’s Notebooks.”
the footnotes of her translation of page seven of Scrapbook Volume 4.

Zaishitsuhen ni Fôtorie (see Fig. 3.) Kurihara states:

1. Jean Fautrier (1898-1964) was a French painter, illustrator, and printmaker. Hijikata made a number of scrapbooks filling them with words and images for the creation of his own works. He pasted this painting into Scrapbook for Butoh (circa 1970) and titled the page "Zaishitsu hen II Fôtorie." We have been unable to identify the painting.106

Here is the image Kurihara is referring to:

Fig. 5.
Study for 'Portrait of Van Gogh' III, 1957

106 Kurihara Nanako, "On Material II Fautrier", The Drama Review, 44.1, (T165), (Spring 2000), 61.
Two issues later in TDR 44.3 we can find the following clarifications:

An Addition and a Correction to the Hijikata Materials.
We thank Stephen Barber of the Sainsbury Centre for Visual Arts, England, for pointing out that in "On Material II Fautrier" by Hijikata Tatsumi (TDR 44, 1 [T165]: 60-61) the painting we were unable to identify is actually Study for a Portrait of van Gogh I, done in 1957 by Francis Bacon. Barber notes that Bacon was one of Hijikata's favorite artists [...]. --The Editors.

Now, if we go to the Sainsbury Center for Visual Arts' web page for more information on the painting in question we find the following entry:

Forthcoming Exhibitions:
Francis Bacon: Paintings from the 1950's.

Further investigations in art catalogues and books as well as the web leads us to the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Smithsonian Institution, Washington DC which is the owner of the following painting and introduces it as:


*Study for 'Portrait of Van Gogh' III, (1957).*

Oil and sand on linen. 78 1/8 x 56 1/8 in. [...] Gift of the Joseph H Hirshhorn Foundation, 1966 (66.186).\(^{108}\)

This is the painting of which Hijikata pasted a black and white print on page seven of his Scrapbook Volume 4. *Zaishitsuhen ni Fôtorie* (On Material II Fautrier, not "On Material Bacon")\(^{109}\). It is the same painting of the same artist that Hijikata mentions in his text on page seven and Kurihara provides us with a hint in the translator’s note "5. Francis Bacon (1909-1992), the English painter." It is probably also the same painting that led Stephen Barber to his conclusion that "Bacon was one of Hijikata's favorite artists."

Even though Study for a Portrait of Van Gogh I, 1956 and Study for a Portrait of Van Gogh III, 1957 are from the same series of

\(^{109}\) I will show in Chapter 5 possible reasons for Hijikata to place this image among the many paintings of Fautrier in Scrapbook Volume 4, rather than within other images of Bacon in Scrapbook Volume 1.
paintings by Bacon, one can clearly see that they carry different visual and content information for which Hijikata specifically chose the later one. This becomes clearer when we look into the art historic context of the paintings. Judith Zilczer notes:

British painter Francis Bacon attained preeminence among postwar figurative artists by making images that evoke the violence and anguish of modern life. In exquisitely composed canvases depicting crucifixions, screaming popes, or tortured bodies, Bacon transcribed the brutality and isolation of those pushed to the limits of their endurance. [...] Bacon often found inspiration in the work of other artists. "Study for Portrait of Van Gogh III" belongs to a group of eight paintings based on Vincent van Gogh's self-portrait "Painter on the Road to Tarascon" (1888; destroyed in World War II). Bacon became obsessed with a color reproduction, saying that the "haunted figure on the road seemed . . . like a phantom of the road."
I will elaborate on the relationship between Bacon and Hijikata in Chapter 5, Scrapbook Volume 1: Nadare ame. However, this short example of Study for ‘Portrait of Van Gogh’ III shows the importance of knowing the images Hijikata collected in his scrapbook. Only a comprehensive catalogue of all collected images might enable us to draw valuable conclusions from Hijikata’s scrapbooks.

Hijikata’s Creation of the Butō-fu

The Encarta World English Dictionary describes the core meaning of “to collect” as “to bring dispersed things together in a group or mass”. As a general term, collecting has “an additional sense that the things brought together have been selected or arranged in an orderly way [...]”. The collecting of images or of any other objects (e.g., stamps) also implies that the gathered material originated from more than one source. The amassed items may very well be of very different and even opposing or contrasting nature. Assembling

112 Ibid.
individually collected items, for example in a scrapbook, also carries the connotation of “to bring things together in an orderly way for a specific purpose”. Hence, taking a closer look at the way Hijikata created the butō-fu, an assembled collection of images, reveals insights into the purpose and nature of the butō-fu, namely Hijikata’s way to inspire and create stage performances. As one might expect, similar to the artistic nature of Hijikata’s stage work, the butō-fu were not created in a simple “orderly way.”

Collecting, Choosing and Treating the Images

Hijikata mounted a great variety of images from very different artists into the sixteen volumes of his butō-fu. The images were chosen for their subject matter and/or messages, according to Hijikata’s own criteria. It seems Hijikata did not gather the images in any known systematic or specific order. It appears more likely that he collected the material in a spontaneous and intuitive/improvised manner, in the search for specific “butō-hints” or even for material unknown to him, with a sensatory potential for stage performances.

In an orthodox way of collecting objects one would try to make use of as many sources as possible in order to gather the greatest amount of specimens of the subject of interest. Hijikata limited the

\[113\] Ibid.
sources of his images mainly to two art journals, *Bijutsu Techō* (*BT*) (Cahiers d’Art, Art Notebooks, 美術手帖) and *Mizue* (Watercolor, みづゑ).\(^{114}\) Although these two leading Japanese-language art magazines did cover a wide range of art movements and artists from all over the world, an orthodox collector would nevertheless certainly have taken into consideration other publications, such as the many available printed art books in Japan, in order to achieve the most complete collection possible, to widen the knowledge of the interested subject matter and deepen the understanding of specific contexts.

Once all the available sources are exploited, traditionally one would choose the specimens most suitable for the purposes of an intended collection. Even within the limitations of the source material Hijikata rarely collected images from a single artist or subject (with the possible exception of Picasso, da Vinci and the “Flower” theme).

Let us take for example publications on the work of the painter Francis Bacon, who is often mentioned as being a great influence on Hijikata and as one of his favorite artists. Starting in the 1960s *Mizue* (e.g., number 727, September, 1965) and *BT* printed several richly illustrated articles on the work of Francis Bacon. Hijikata did not make any use of earlier published reproductions of Bacon’s work, even though some of them represented the exact same works he collected

\(^{114}\) See the following section “The Source Material.”
later on. Hijikata almost certainly came across these works while scrolling through the magazines. In the entire image collection of the butō-fu we can find only four prints of Francis Bacon’s work. Three of these prints were cut out from a single 1970 issue of Bijutsu Techō (BT 331.8) and mounted into three different volumes. The way Hijikata collected his images might lead to the conclusion that he was actually not interested in the art pieces or artists per se, in an art historical sense. In other words, he did not collect images out of pure admiration or to explore technique, meaning or context of the artwork or artist. His unsystematic and untraditional method of choosing pictures seems largely driven by sensatory motivation. Rather he seems to have browsed art journals and books and chose whatever images triggered his artistic sensatory/intention and orientation. The art historical context of an Image (author, time, place, circumstances and motivation of creation) appears often to have been of secondary importance for selecting an Image. Hijikata sometimes collected the same image twice or even three times and mounted it in different scrapbooks with very diverse artistic contents. The fact that Hijikata repeatedly selected only small details from larger works further demonstrates that he was not even interested in these images as integral art works, but rather that portions of these images were of some use to Hijikata, the performer.
Hijikata’s intentional limitation of sources and the sporadic gathering of images for the butō-fu in no way diminish the seriousness, the quality or the importance of this collection, nor do they put into question his connoisseurship and comprehensive knowledge of art. On the contrary, it partially illustrates the purpose of the collected images and Hijikata’s relationship to them, reflecting his intentions to use them as inspirational and visual raw material for creating his art, as did many modern artists.

Ordering and Assigning the Images to the Different Scrapbooks

As I will show in the next section of this chapter The Source Material, the exact date of creation of the butō-fu cannot be concluded from the chronological order of publication. Images of diverse and same publication dates seem to be scattered randomly throughout the sixteen volumes of the butō-fu, and even throughout individual pages. Another inconsistency in the butō-fu is the sporadic appearance of “wild pages” throughout the different volumes. Hijikata pasted images and wrote notes on loose sheets of white paper, which he glued partially or entirely into the scrapbooks (see Fig. 16 below). These wild pages make it even more challenging to determine exactly when and
how Hijikata assigned a specific image to one or the other scrapbook.\textsuperscript{115}

Similar inconsistencies surface in regard to ordering and assigning images according to author and nature. The fact that some of the \textit{buto-fu} titles include artist's names (e.g. Scrapbook Volume 4: \textit{Zaishitsuhen ni Fotorie} and Scrapbook Volume 10: \textit{Picasso no jinbutsu}) is no indication that these volumes hold only and/or all the collected images of Fautrier and Picasso.\textsuperscript{116} The volume entitled \textit{Zaishitsuhen ni Fotorie} includes the works of other artists such as Francis Bacon and Robert Delauney. And vice versa, copies of paintings by Pablo Picasso and Jean Fautrier can be found in a variety of scrapbooks, such as Volume 11: \textit{Kabeishi}. One can observe similar treatment in the \textit{buto-fu} that were given "concrete" subject titles, such as Scrapbook Volume 11: \textit{Kabeishi}. \textit{Kabeishi} or Stone Walls does contain many images depicting or relating to stones and/or walls, however, this volume like many others is also scattered with pictures of seemingly contradictory

\textsuperscript{115} This leads us to suspect that Hijikata actually did not create the \textit{buto-fu} in the same time period as BT's and Mizue's publications, from 1962 to 1972. The assembling of the \textit{buto-fu} might have occurred at a later and in a much shorter time, with the exception of Scrapbook Volume 16: \textit{Sukurappu butoku kilro}, which contains material published in 1984 and 1985. The way the images are assembled (time wise) may imply that Hijikata had all the material on hand at once. Most probably he began creating the first fifteen volumes of the \textit{buto-fu} just before the performance cycle \textit{Shiki no tame no niijunanaban}, which was performed between October 25\textsuperscript{th} and November 20\textsuperscript{th} in 1972, and stopped working on them somewhere around 1975.

\textsuperscript{116} A departure from this rule is Scrapbook Volume 9: \textit{Dabinchi}, which contains only works by DaVinci with the exception of one small scrap showing an unidentifiable detail from a woven hat or basket.
nature and content, such as street scenes, abstract and surrealistic paintings, humans, sheep, horses, caterpillars, etc. A variety of other “stone-wall-like” images emerge in volumes of the butō-fu with more thematically chosen titles. For example, page 21 of Scrapbook Volume 8: Dōbutsuhen exhibits a photograph of an ancient Chinese brick stone from the Han Dynasty (c. 300 B.C to 300 A.C.). The masterly carved and elaborate bas-relief on its surface was originally part of a larger architectural unit. Among the ornaments on the bas-relief one discovers two fable-like animals (Phoenix and Bear-Beast), for which Hijikata most probably assigned the image to Dōbutsuhen (On Animals). However, the overall appearance of the brick compared to other stonewall images, would definitely qualify this image to be part of Scrapbook Volume 11: Kabelshi. For some reason this picture was not included in the volume Kabelshi, despite Hijikata’s practice of repeatedly assigning one and the same image to different scrapbooks. Page 53 of Scrapbook Volume 5: Kojiki-hanakomatieru, displays a large print of a black and white photograph depicting a detail of an early Persian stone inscription from Taq-e-Busutan. The stone’s visual appearance and original content do not reveal any logical reason to find this photograph in Kojiki-hanakomatieru. Moreover, the manuscript’s abstract and repetitive pattern easily seduce us to
misinterpret the image as stonewall, and in fact, Hijikata did use the exact same picture again in Scrapbook Volume 11: *Kabelshi*.

Hijikata approached the *butō-fu* material in an unorthodox and unexpected way. He did not regard or respect the images for what they officially were supposed to be (according to titles, notes and common opinions). Hijikata used his own lens and judgment to sort the images and assign them to individual volumes, assessing on the one hand the content of the images and their usefulness on the other, in the process often completely neglecting popular or traditional interpretations.

**Assembling the Images (Collage - Montage - Pastiche)**

The way Hijikata assembled the collected images reveals further insights into the nature of the scrapbooks and shows artistic concepts paralleling his stage performances.\(^{117}\) The *butō-fu* are sometimes also called “an assemblage of images”.\(^{118}\) In an art context, however, assemblage always refers to the collage or montage of three-dimensional objects.

\(^{117}\) I am using the word “assembling” here in its original meaning “to fit parts of something together to make a finished whole.” *The Encarta World English Dictionary* (1999), 100.

From an art historical viewpoint, there are three main methods to approach the assembled material: 1. collage, 2. montage, and 3. pastiche.

1. Collage

The technique of collage, derived from the French word *coller* to glue, generally refers to a picture created by gluing two-dimensional elements such as paper, printed material, photographs, etc. to a flat carrier. Collage as a craft came into existence simultaneously with the invention of paper and has lasted until today. Collage as an art form emerged with the cubist movement and Picasso's *Still Life with Chair Caning*, created in May 1912 is widely recognized to be the first art collage. However, Catherine Prudhoe corrects:

While Picasso's *Still Life with Chair Caning* (May 1912) is often considered the first modern collage, it is actually an assemblage of oil paint, oil cloth, pasted paper, and rope, making it a low-relief, three-dimensional construction. The first collages constructed solely of paper, on the other hand, were made by [Georges] Braque in the summer of
1912, when he incorporated wood-grained wallpaper into a series of charcoal drawings.\textsuperscript{119}

The significance here of these two early collages lies not so much in the quality of the art works per se, but in the impact they made on the public perception of painting as an art form. A painting including foreign materials taken from everyday life, no longer qualified as painting and the concept of collage art did not yet exist. On the other hand, once found materials, such as the label of a liquor bottle became part of a painting, they lost their original, assumed context and function. Susan Krieg in \textit{The Origin of Collage} explains the impact of the first collages by Picasso and Braque:

\begin{quote}
Instead of creating an illusion of reality, they invented a new kind of reality, [...]. Imagine the storm of controversy that followed these experiments. The use of foreign materials in paintings inflamed critics, adding more fuel to the creative fires of experimental artists.\textsuperscript{120}
\end{quote}

The same could be said of Hijikata’s first performance \textit{Kinjiki}. By introducing a live chicken as part of the performance, as well as performing mostly in sheer darkness Hijikata created a new stage

\textsuperscript{119} Catherine Prudhoe, \textit{Picture Books and the Art of Collage}, 2003, 1
reality and destroyed the established perception of dance. Kinjiki as an experiment in general was followed by a “storm of controversy” and the use of a live chicken as part of the dance in specific “inflamed critics, adding more fuel to the creative fires of experimental artists.”

After Picasso’s and Braque’s initial experiments from 1912, collage as fine art was widely embraced, applied and further developed by artists from essentially all emerging new art movements up to the 21st Century. Among the better-known artists who used collage as an additional means of expression and exploration next to their established art genres are Pablo Picasso, Max Ernst, Henri Matisse, and Willem de Kooning. Pictures by these artists are spread throughout Hijikata’s scrapbooks.

Susan Krieg explains the function of collage as follows:

Collage is used to explore ideas, advocate concepts, and develop possible directions in which to work. But just as often it is the consummate means of personal visual expression and distinct vocabulary [...].

Hijikata used his scrapbooks, which are by their very nature collages, as a tool and inspiration to explore stage performances. While mixing images from different worlds into individual volumes and pages, Hijikata was able to try out new visual concepts, which

\[\text{121 Ibid.}\]
eventually became the basis for a possible vocabulary to create
movement.

2. Montage

Montage as an artistic medium is commonly referred to as the
art of combining collected and processed images. However, the
*Britannica Online* gives us the following more elaborate definition:

Montage: Pictorial technique in which cutout illustrations,
or fragments of them, are arranged together and mounted
on a support, producing a composite picture made from
several different pictures. It differs from collage in using
only ready-made images chosen for their subject or
message.

On a few rare occasions Hijikata assembled the images of the
Scrapbooks in the spirit of montage. In these instances, Hijikata
combined collected and processed images, cutout illustrations or
fragments of them and arranged them together into a more or less
composite picture. We can find a couple of pages with a montage
feeling in Scrapbook Volume no. 8: *Dōbutsuhen*. On pages no. 26 and
27 Hijikata mounted all together eleven small cutout details from
sketches and paintings of Picasso and arranged them in a new order,
 spatially and visually unrelated to the original. Notwithstanding a few

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pencil marks added here and there, these two pages, solely created from cutout details, are by nature montages. Although Hiji kata scarcely used the concept of montage while assembling images, we know through his close collaboration with the artist Shimizu Akira that he was well acquainted with this artistic method. Shimizu, today an acclaimed modern Japanese artist most famous for his threedimensional assemblages and sculptures, worked in the 1960’s and early seventies intensively in the two-dimensional montage medium. His many collaborations with Hiji kata included the poster design for the 1968 performance *Mandara yashiki* (Mandala Mansion, まんだら屋敷), which also featured the dancers Takal Tomiko and Ohno Kazuo.

The catalogue of the 2000 Shimizu Akira retrospective exhibition\(^{122}\) dedicates a chapter to Hiji kata Tatsumi, and displays several works resulting from the Hiji kata-Shimizu collaboration. The two examples below from the exhibition catalogue show the above-mentioned poster and a photo-montage illustrating characteristics of Shimizu’s art.

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However, the important issue at stake is that Hijikata, composing a montage in the *butō-fu*, did not primarily have a pictorial two-dimensional art piece in mind, but a four-dimensional stage work. If we extend the two-dimensional concept of montage to multi-dimensional art forms, such as stage performances including time and space, montage becomes a significant technique in Hijikata’s productions. The *butō-fu* as workbooks however do not describe movement sequences in time and space and are therefore not meant to be read in linear fashion. Not even in Scrapbook Volume 1: *Nadare Ame*, which carries the same title as one of the five performances pieces of the cycle *Shiki no tame no nijūnanban* will we find a linear
flow of images in time and space to represent the basis for a movement sequence. It seems that the entire collection of images in the butō-fu served Hijikata as a font of ideas and inspirations from which he picked/referred to images at random while creating his “mosaique” stage montages.

3. Pastiche

Commonly pastiche refers to an artwork that uses parody and mimicry as its artistic concepts. Andy Warhol is sometimes referred to as a pastiche artist. The Britannica Online adds to the general meaning of pastiche the following understanding:

Pastiche - A work of art made in admitted imitation of several styles of other works. A composition of incongruous parts; a hodgepodge, pasticcio or farrago. Often a pastiche is made in order to ridicule or satirize the style of the artist it imitates.

The butō-fu as an overall composition is made up of incongruous parts, mainly reproductions of pre-existing works with newly superimposed meaning, as well as subjects created by individual artists from different art styles. Furthermore, on rare occasion Hijikata did ridicule or satirize styles of other artists on stage. For example, in Hijikata Tatsumi to nihonjin he performed sections satirizing Flamenco
dance and Western Ballet. In a broader art context, however, we cannot necessarily agree with the above definition, that Hijikata's work (butô-fu and performance) is an "admitted imitation of several styles of other works". For a more postmodern understanding of the concept of pastiche I would like to refer to Fredric Jameson's approach taken in his essay "Postmodernism and Consumer Society." Jameson notes:

One of the most significant features or practices in postmodernism today is pastiche [...], which people generally tend to confuse with or assimilate to that related verbal phenomenon called parody. Both pastiche and parody involve the imitation or, better still, the mimicry of other styles and particularly of the mannerisms and stylistic twitches of other styles. 123

Even though Jameson is referring to a variety of styles in modern literature, his point is as valid for modern art in general. He continues:

All of these styles, however different from each other, are comparable in this: each is quite unmistakable; once one is learned, it is not likely to be confused with something else.

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Now parody capitalizes on the uniqueness of these styles and seizes on their idiosyncrasies and eccentricities to produce an imitation, which mocks the original. [...] there remains somewhere behind all parody the feeling that there is a linguistic norm in contrast to which the styles of the great modernists can be mocked.\textsuperscript{124}

Jameson then proposes the scenario that there might be no longer a belief in the "existence of normal language, or ordinary speech" and that:

[... ] perhaps the immense fragmentation and privatization of modern literature [and modern art per se] foreshadows deeper and more general tendencies in social life as a whole. Supposing that modern art and modernism [...] actually anticipated social developments along these lines.\textsuperscript{125}

Jameson suggests that parallel with the surfacing of "the great modern styles society itself began to fragment in this way [...] and finally each individual coming to be a kind of linguistic island". He postulates that as a result we would have no "linguistic norm in terms of which one

\textsuperscript{124} Ibid, 113.
\textsuperscript{125} Ibid, 114.
could ridicule private language”, but only “stylistic diversity and heterogeneity”. Jameson argues further:

That this is the moment at which pastiche appears and parody has become impossible. Pastiche is, like parody, the imitation of a peculiar or unique style, [...] without that still latent feeling that there exists something normal compared to which what is being imitated is rather comic.¹²⁶

Pastiche, as a neutral (as opposed to an admitted) imitation of a specific artwork or style, can take shape in such a way, that we as spectators actually are not able to recognize the original artwork or even the style anymore. This is frequently the case in Hijikata’s butō-fu, where sections of images are often separated from the original and are mounted upside down or sideways together with other parts or with other entire Images. Hijikata’s scrapbooks are filled with Images of modern and not-so modern artists. The butō-fu, as workbooks, helped Hijikata to create his own new stage art. In his performances Hijikata used the method of pastiche while adapting, adopting and imitating some of the images. However, Hijikata’s imitations are rarely admitted (they are not comments on the originals per se) and do not

¹²⁶ Ibid, 114.
necessarily represent the visual appearance of a specific artwork or style. Rather, Hijikata refers to the artistic potential of an art piece.

In the context of pastiche and postmodernism, Jameson inserts the component of “the death subject”:

There is another sense in which the writers and artists of the present day will no longer be able to invent new styles and worlds – they’ve already been invented; only a limited number of combinations are possible; […]

Hence, once again, pastiche: in a world in which stylistic innovation is no longer possible, all that is left is to imitate dead styles, to speak through the mask and with the voices of styles in the imaginary museum. But this means that contemporary or postmodernist art is going to be about art itself in a new kind of way; even more, it means that one of its essential messages will involve the necessary failure of art and the aesthetic, the failure of the new, the imprisonment in the past.127

One might argue with Jameson, that there are still great artists, such as Hijikata Tatsumi, who are able to invent new worlds. (Jameson’s essay was originally a speech, given partially at the Whitney Museum in fall 1982. Hijikata was still alive and active as an artist).

127 Ibid, 115.
Furthermore I would disagree with Jameson’s pessimistic opinion that many styles of modernism are dead; some are very much alive and still not fully understood to date. The important points here are:

A. That pastiche is: “to speak through the mask and with the voices of styles in the imaginary museum.” As I mentioned above, Hijikata created his own “Imaginary museum”– in his body– where he stored images from his childhood, his daily life, his fantasies, his literature and the butô-fu. Applying the method of pastiche, Hijikata, exhibited stored images, or their essence, from that museum during stage performances in the gestalt of the human body.

B. Jameson’s conclusion: “that contemporary or postmodernist art is going to be about art itself in a new kind of way; even more, it means that one of its essential messages will involve the necessary failure of art and the aesthetic, [...].” As we will see in Chapter 5, Hijikata’s performances often concern art per se. As we can see from his first performance Kinjiki Hijikata’s butô served very well as vehicles to reference and even criticize established arts and traditional aesthetics.

Observing the way Hijikata created the butô-fu in general reveals his comprehensive knowledge of art. In specific we obtain detailed insights into Hijikata’s intended and unorthodox use of this
knowledge. As a direct result, the butô-fu stands as a “consummate means of personal visual expression and distinct vocabulary” and as such partially establishes the lens through which Hijikata viewed and made use of the many collected images. Furthermore, an art historical perspective on the nature of creating of the butô-fu unearth some of Hijikata’s “borrowed” artistic strategies, such as montage and pastiche, as well as his personal application of these methods. This provides us an applicable Hijikata-specific framework or code to approach and eventually understand this great master’s stage art.

In order to be able to read the butô-fu rather than to read into the butô-fu, I propose to apply Hijikata’s lens to one eye and to set aside personal interpretations or favoritism. While consulting the butô-fu, which after all were Hijikata’s personal workbooks to create, reflect and teach his art, we might keep the other eye focused on Hijikata’s performance.

The Source Material

There are two major publications from which Hijikata extracted over three quarters of the (so far identified) art works collected in the butô-fu, namely the monthly art magazines Mizue and Bijutsu Techô (BT). The watercolor artist Oshita Tojiro founded Mizue in 1905 and until WWII it was published by Shuncho-kai, Tokyo. As the title
indicates it focused initially on promoting the study of watercolor paintings. However, after 1945 Mizue also published many richly illustrated articles on Western as well as Japanese art. It introduced many modern Japanese artists of those days and therefore provided an overview of contemporary Japanese art development. The earlier issues of Mizue (1905 – 1946) are considered today to be an indispensable and basic material to study modern Japanese art history. Over the years Mizue “evolved into one of Japan’s leading journals of art criticism and art history”. After WWII Bijutsu Shuppan–Sha integrated Mizue in its art magazine publications. The same company created Bijutsu Techō in 1948. Both magazines followed the leading French art magazines of the time in visual appearance as well as editorial structure. The article “Design is Copied!” published in Tokyo’s University Museum’s catalogue Between Original and Reproduction: The Art of Making Copies - from D(uchamp) to D(NA) points out that after WWII many Japanese artists traveled to Paris. Back in Japan, they created their own magazines “borrowing” French designs. The article elaborates further:

The history of this magazine [Bijutsu Techō] over half a century has come together with development of the

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modern art. At first as the title indicated, it borrowed the cover design from *Cahiers d’Art* by Zervos [Cahiers d’Art, French art magazine created by Christian Zervos in 1926] and showed the appearance of sketches by modern masters such as Pablo Picasso (b. 1881-d. 1973) and Henri Matisse (b. 1869-d. 1954) whom the times demanded. However, its small size and poor paper quality represent the publishing circumstance at the time of poverty just after the defeat of World War II.  

Other minor sources Hijikata used for collecting images for his scrapbooks are the Japanese magazines *Taiyō* (The Sun, 太陽), *Uematsu Niyūsu* (Uematsu News, ウエマツニュース), *Trends* 1984, and a couple of gallery invitations. The non-Japanese and/or bilingual sources from which Hijikata selected only a handful of images include *The Guggenheim International Award Program, 1964, Constructivism and the Geometric Form, 1969 (?)*, and *Le Japon Illustré*, 8, 1 (1985).

There still exist perhaps ten percent unknown sources as well as unidentified pictures. This is partially due to the fact that Hijikata not only used art magazines for his collection, but also assimilated pictures from his privately owned art books. Hijikata’s daughter Motofuji Gara mentions: “Hijikata was very bad….he just ripped out images from

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129 Ibid.
books.” Motofuji Gara is now in the process of cataloguing Hijikata’s private readings. Once Hijikata’s book collection is available for consultation some of the unknown sources might certainly be unearthed. Furthermore Hijikata often did not paste the entire pictures into his butô-fu, but only selected a very small detail he was specifically interested in. This makes identifying some of the images almost impossible, especially if the cutout detail is a fraction of a plant or a section of an abstract pattern such as depicted on page 31 in Scrapbook Volume 1: Nadare Ame (see Fig. 58). But what we can clearly determine is that at least 90 percent (420) of the identified (465 plus) images originated from purely Japanese language sources or from Japanese-bilingual material. The non-Japanese languages sources are all used exclusively in Scrapbook Volume 16: Sukurappu bukku kliro and are published in the 1980s. Since the two renowned art journals Mizue and Bijutsu Techô (BT) contributed the bulk source material for Hijikata’s butô-fu I would like to have a deeper look at the issues and materials chosen, as well as not chosen. (See Appendix for a list of all issues used in the butô-fu).

Forty-three volumes of Mizue provided all together roughly 260 images, while fourteen volumes of BT are the chosen source for approximately 80 pictures glued into the butô-fu. The ratio, roughly 3:1, for Mizue and BT of the volumes as well as the chosen pictures,
seems to reflect Hijikata's preference for the image quality as well as for the image content. The elegant and in appearance more conservative Mizue is published in the larger A4 format. It uses a medium weight paper with a high print quality that represents the artworks closer to their original appearance. BT on the other hand is of lower print and paper quality. Its small A5 (half A4) format only allows detailed reproduction of artworks if using a full or double page print per picture (which was used frequently to introduce featured artists). Furthermore, Mizue especially in the earlier issues covers a wider range of genres, such as early Chinese art, Romanesque European architecture, ancient Middle Eastern civilizations as well as natural sciences and archeology. BT being a more modern and fast-paced journal keeps its focus tight on contemporary issues and avant-garde movements and trends.

If we look at the date of publications of both considered journals we can see that Mizue covers a time period from 1962 to 1972, while BT was only used from 1966 to 1971. After the March 1972 issue of Mizue, both art journals ceased to serve as the source for Hijikata's butô-fu. (This does not mean that Hijikata stopped creating the butô-fu; other (minor) sources published in later years were used). This might be partially due to the fact that from the early 1970's on the editorial character of the two magazines became more and more
similar. For example *Mizue* gradually limited the historical reportages on the ancient cultures and issues. Also the focus of both magazines shifted to the up-and-coming American modern art development, such as Fluxus and Pop Art. As I will show in Chapter 5, Hijikata rarely incorporated pictures of these art forms into his collection. Another reason for Hijikata to not consider *Mizue* and *BT* as possible source for the *buto-*fu might be that he and his fellow performers, such as Ashikawa Yôko, were now becoming part of the source material themselves. Meaning, beginning the late 1960s both magazines started to print articles on or about Hijikata and other *buto* artists such as Kasai Akira. For example, *BT* published in May 1969 Hijikata’s “*Watashî ni totte erotishizumu towa: Inu no jômyaku ni shitto suru koto kara*” (For Me, Eroticism Comes from Being Jealous of a Dog’s Vein, 私にとってエロシズムとは——犬の静脈に嫉妬することから) for the first time. Hijikata did not make use of any *BT* or *Mizue* issues from the entire 1969 publication. Beginning the 1970s *Mizue* also started to report frequently on Hijikata’s activities as a writer, dancer and choreographer. E.g. The 1971 *Mizue* issues starting from no. 792 launched a quarter-page sized advertisement of Takaoka Taeko’s book *Kôî to geljutsu jûsanjin no sakka* (Act and Art <Thirteen Writers>, 行為と芸術 <十三人の作家>). One of the thirteen writers introduced in the
book was Hijikata Tatsumi. A picture of Hijikata’s 1967 performance Keijijō gaku (Emotions in Metaphysics, 形而情學) served as an eye-catcher for the advertisement.

Furthermore, in the February 1976 edition (Mizue no. 851) Matsumoto Toshio presented an elaborate and richly illustrated review of Hakutôbô/Hangidaitôkan’s December 1975 performance Ankokuban Kaguyahime (The Utter Darkness Version of Princess Kaguya, 暗黒版かぐやひめ) given for “The One Year Anniversary of the Opening of the Asbestos Hall.”

By November 1976 Mizue published in its volume no. 860 on 12 pages the article “Hijikata to kataru” (Dialogue with Tatsumi Hijikata, 土方と語る) by Kubota Hanya, vividly illustrated with big full-page and colored photographs of some of his performances.
By this time we can say that the cycle of inspiration - creation – performances – publication is fulfilled. The images created in Hijikata’s performances and published in this *Mizue* issue joined earlier images of the same magazine that were inspirational, influential and nourishing for Hijikata.\(^{131}\)

To make my point of the closed circle as a reason for Hijikata to not consider *Mizue* after 1972 as a source for the *butō-fu* I would like to point out just one of many examples. With the issue no. 735 of May

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\(^{130}\) *Mizue* captioned the above photograph as taken from the "summer" performance *Hōsōtan* of the cycle *Shiki no tame no nijūnanaban*, and not from the "winter" performance *Gibasan*. Furthermore *Mizue* credited the photographer Hiroshi Yamazaki. The information of my captions are retrieved from Asbestos kan, ed., *The Body on the Edge of Crisis*, 94.

\(^{131}\) The theme of crucifixion (or of Jesus per se) appears in several of Hijikata’s performances, such as in *Hijikata Tatsumi to nihonjin* (see Chapter 3).
1966 *Mizue* started a serial entitled: "The Artists of Northern European Renaissance". In fifteen contributions up to issue no. 750 of July, 1967 Hijikata Teiichi, Director of the Modern Art Museum, Kamakura presented the 16th Century artists Albrecht Dürer, Mathias Grünewald, Hans Holbein, Albrecht Altdorfer, Lucas Cranach and Niklaus Manuel Deutsch. All of these artists, except maybe Niklaus Manuel Deutsch who is better known for his *Totentanz* (Dance of Death) paintings, created numerous variations of mainly Jesus' crucifixion. The two details below of the paintings by Grünewald and Altdorfer illustrate the nature of material Hijikata Tatsumi was encountering and was exposed to when collecting images for his scrapbooks.

![Fig. 12](https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk)  
*Crucifixion, c.1505*  
Matthias Grünewald  
[www.nationalgallery.org.uk](http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk)

![Fig. 13.](https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk)  
*Crucifixion, c. 1520*  
Albrecht Altdorfer  
unknown
Hijikata selected images from at least the *Mizue* issues No. 735.5, 736.6, 737.7, 738.8, 741.10 of 1966 and No. 40 and 50 (special editions), 745.2, 749.6, 750.7 of 1967, and therefore he had been exposed to the crucifixion paintings of the Northern European Renaissance masters, which he later “joined” with his own crucifixion images (figure 11).

At first glance it might seem rather narrow for an artist to get visual inspiration/orientation to create his own art from just two sources. But if we consider that these two journals were the most advanced and leading publications of fine art in Tokyo with a range from classical to avant-garde art (Western and Asian) it might not be so surprising anymore.

The time period 1962 to 1972 of the chosen issues of *Mizue* and *BT* unfortunately does not chronologically reflect the time period Hijikata created his *butō-fu*. In the Scrapbook Volume 4: *Zaishitsuhen ni Fōtorie* we can find images starting from the 1962 Mizue issue no. 683 until the 1970 *BT* issue no. 331. Even within a given volume such as *Zaishitsuhen ni Fōtorie* there is no chronological order. Images from earlier issues appear on later pages, while later published pictures are mounted on center pages. It is also not uncommon that within one page pictures published in very different years are mounted side by
side. Naturally, this makes an exact dating of Hijikata’s notebooks almost impossible.

**Dance Notations versus Artist’s Notebooks**

Dance notations in the traditional “Western” sense refer to the attempt to create a system of symbols to “describe the movements of a dance”.\(^{132}\) Ann Hutchinson explains that the endeavor to find a method to record and transmit movements and dances goes back at least five centuries and:

> Some scholars believe that the ancient Egyptians made use of hieroglyphs to record their dances and that the Romans employed a method of notation for salutatory gestures.\(^{133}\)

Among many different attempts to create a “written recording of dance movements”\(^{134}\) the two best-known systems are probably Beauchamps-Feuillet notation, and Labanotation. Ballet pedagogue Pierre Beauchamps created Beauchamps-Feuillet notation in the second half of the seventeenth century. Even though Beauchamps “was recognized in 1666 by a French Act of Parliament as

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\(^{132}\) Ann Hutchinson, *Labanotation*, xii.

\(^{133}\) Ibid.1

\(^{134}\) Britannica Concise Encyclopedia.
the inventor of a system of dance notation¹³⁵ it was not until 1700 that his work was published by his disciple Raoul-Augé Feuillet under the title *Chorégraphie; ou, l'art de décrire la danse* ("Choreography; or, The Art of Describing the Dance").

The principal system of *Chorégraphie* consists of two central graphic tracks, one for the female and one for the male dancer. These tracks visually illustrate the dance path and direction viewed from above. Abstract symbols for steps, leg movements, positions of the feet and arms etc. were added to the tracks, representing known movements of the Baroque Period. The symbols could be customized with diacritical marks to indicate variations of the dances. However, since the dances were well known, Beauchamps-Feuillet notation did not differentiate between movements on the ground and in the air. Nor did it record intricate movements of the head or arms and how they correlate with the rest of the body, but relied on the skilled dancer for the harmonious execution.

The system became immediately popular and "for a while, books of collected dances were published annually,"¹³⁶ or in Laban's words:

> Approximately two hundred years ago a writer on the manners and morals of the French court, J.P. Menetrier,

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¹³⁶ Britannica Concise Encyclopedia.
complained that on the night tables of the ladies one could find many more choreographies than Bibles. It has to be surmised that these ladies were able to read the choreographies of dances written in the famous Beauchamps-Feuillet dance notation. We assume that they could read them as fluently as music notation or ordinary writing, which were all subjects of their general education".\textsuperscript{137}

The second system of notation was created in the 1920s by Rudolf Laban. It was the first unified system that combined both rhythm and steps, and came to be called Labanotation.

This system is not limited to record a specific dance genre, but allows describing any known dance, or even to create new dances. It is made of abstract graphic illustrations, which are written and read linearly, by corresponding to the development of the movement. The illustrations consist fundamentally of the "Action Stroke" which symbolizes any kind of movement, the "Staff", which represents the dancer and the different body parts, and an elaborate vocabulary of symbols, which shows orientation, positions, movement, gestures, direction, dynamics and so forth.

\textsuperscript{137} Rudolf Laban, "Foreword", Ann Hutchinson, \textit{Labanotation}, xiii.
I have always stressed the point that the endeavors to describe the movements of a dance in special symbols has one main purpose. That is the creation of literature of movement and dance. It is obvious that notation or script facilitates the communication of movement ideas to other people. When, ages ago, mankind awoke to the idea of standardizing pictures and signs in order to communicate certain ideas to one another, bodily actions and gestures were of course included from the very beginning. Early forms of writing are full of signs or symbols for action and movement. No form of writing could possibly omit the enormous number of verbs which, to a great extent, are always bodily actions involving movement. In my search for primary action signs, I found fascinating examples of movement description in the mantic symbols invented by ancient Tibetan monks and in the cuneiform characters of the Assyrians and Babylonians. In Egyptian and Chinese scripts I found a rich variety of movement symbols which are, in a sense, the archetypes of dance notation signs.¹³⁸

¹³⁸ Rudolf Laban, "Foreword", Ann Hutchinson, Labanotation, xii-xiii.
It seems that since the beginning of mankind the urge to create some kind of dance notation comes simultaneously with the act of dancing. Therefore it is not surprising that Hijikata as a performer, who studied Western modern dance, also searched for a method to visually represent his artistic ideas to students and members of his performance groups or to create a “literature” for the soul of his dance, the butō-fu. Hijikata’s dance is generally viewed to be avant-garde and unique in nature. It is also considered to be a new art form with no relation, at least formally, to any other known dance genre. The nature of the butō-fu reflect Hijikata’s art in several aspects. First, I would argue that at the time Hijikata created his butō-fu, roughly between 1965 and 1970, butō was not a widely known genre with established or recognizable dances. No Tokyo ladies, with the possible exception of Motofuji Akiko, Hijikata’s wife, would have placed the butō-fu on their night table and they certainly would not have been able to read them. Second, Hijikata did not create the scrapbooks for the public to see and to be able to read his dance like others read music notations. Contrary to Labanotation for example, which is successfully being used to transcribe movements from very different dance genres, such as Western classical ballet, nihon buyō (Japanese traditional dance), or folkdances from Kenya, the butō-fu are not a system to transcribe movements of any specific dance (Hijikata’s own
stage work included). The visual examples below illustrate the fundamental difference between "traditional" dance notation and the butō-fu:

1) Lananotation:
   (A) Stand with the feet together. (B) Step forward on the right foot (count 1). (C) Spring into the air. (D) Land to the left, feet together, knees bent (count 2)

The quoted example of Labanotation uses graphic charts, abstract signs and numeric and/or alphabetic pointers. With the help of the description or once the system is learned and understood one can easily comprehend and reconstruct this simple movement. The
problem we might run into while executing this exercise in the void is in what mood, feeling or expression the movement should be presented. Traditionally dance notations are transcriptions of existing dances from known genres with established artistic conventions, which enables us to read and interpret dance notations like we do music notations.

2) Since 1998 the Art Center at Keio University published several articles featuring Hijikata’s work, some touching on the butō-fu. The 1998 publication *Shiki no tame no nijûnanban* introduced among others the following two pages from Hijikata’s butō-fu:

![Fig. 15. Scrapbook Volume 1: Nadareame](image1)

![Fig. 16. Scrapbook Volume 15: Sukurappu bukku ao](image2)
The illustration on the left side shows a view of page no.13 from Scrapbook Volume 1: *Nadare ame*. The right illustration marks page no. 5 from Scrapbook Volume 15: *Sukurappu bukku ao*. If we compare the two examples from Hijikata with the example from Laban we can find some similarities that might induce one to label the *butō-fu* “dance notations”. Hijikata also makes use of graphic charts (in form of square boxes, related to each other), abstract signs (arrows), and numeric and/or alphabetic pointers (1, 2, or A, B, etc). The fundamental differences between Hijikata and Laban however lie in three major aspects:

A. In addition to charts, signs and pointers Hijikata uses images of other artists and handwritten notes that expand the pure transcription of movements into symbols.

B. Hijikata’s *butō-fu*, even though they do qualify as a system in the original sense of the word: “a combination of related elements organized into a complex whole”, are created without the eminent consistency of regular dance or music notations. E.g. the left page is missing any charts or markers, while the right page lacks pointers, and so on. Furthermore, roughly 95

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139 The two above selected pages represent atypical examples of the general appearance of the *butō-fu*, but were chosen here to make my point visualized. The right page is a “wild page” created outside of the scrapbooks and mounted into the volume “as is”; it is also the more elaborate of only two cases in the entire *butō-fu* where Hijikata used elaborate graphics.
percent of all pages in the butô-fu contain images as part of the “notation” system. Again, roughly 95 percent of all these images are used only once and lose therefore their qualification and function as a symbol.\(^{140}\)

C. Nobody, with the possible exception of some of Hijikata’s students, knows today how to read the scrapbooks as a complex system, nor the individual symbols (images, charts, signs and pointers) and not even Hijikata’s handwritten notes, which are often also for Japanese linguists impossible to decipher and/or understand.

The visual examples above make it clear that the butô-fu appear to be Hijikata’s personal, intimate reflections on art and on butô and on Hijikata, rather than dance or choreographic notations in the traditional sense.

Artists from all genres commonly keep some kind of a visual workbook, notebook. Artist’s notebooks, such as Hijikata’s scrapbooks are usually fixed or loosely bound neutral pages on which one can experiment on new ideas privately, and without the critical judgment of the public eye. Furthermore, the artist is able to reflect on his art

\(^{140}\) Symbol: 2. Sign with specific meaning: a written or printed sign or character that represents something in a particular context, e.g., an operation or quantity in mathematics or music, Encarta World English Dictionary, 1999.
more objectively with the help of the workbook, as a third medium. Throughout art history painters, sculptors, musicians and dancers also used their notebooks to clarify and transmit their ideas to their students. For example, Bauhausbücher, Welmar published in 1925 Paul Klee’s *Pädagogisches Skizzenbuch* (Pedagogic Sketchbook).

Over time some notebooks of celebrated artists have earned the same appreciation and recognition, as did the artist’s more public work. E.g., the artistic value of Leonardo da Vinci’s worksheets and “Röteli” sketches are today considered by many art lovers to be equal to his better-known frescos. Since notebooks often reveal the artist’s private attitudes and quests for articulating their art they hold special significance for the deeper understanding of an artist’s work. These reasons may have influenced several artists in the 1960’s to use artist’s notebooks as their art medium. For example in the 1960s the German artist Gerhard Richter started his art piece “Atlas”. “Atlas” started out very much like a regular notebook. Richter pasted found images from magazines, newspaper and books etc. on empty pages. Then with crayon he hand wrote comments, notes and marks to the individual pictures. He then mounted four individual pages together as one panel. As of today “Atlas” consists of literally hundreds of panels. Even though Richter’s “Atlas” and Hijikata’s *butō-fu* are probably not directly related to each other and of very different artistic nature,
there are some striking similarities. Both started out in the same 1960’s time period. Both used artist’s notebooks consisting mainly of collected and pasted-in images, which sometimes were worked over with personal marks and notes in pencil. Both artists take images out of their original environment and set them in a new context and conferring them with new meaning.

The important difference between Richter’s and Hijikata’s creations lies in the function of the works. “Atlas” is considered to be a piece of art with no other specific purpose, such as serving as the inspiration for creating performances. “Atlas” is meant solely to be a piece of art and is treated as such by art historians.

One might also approach Hijikata’s butō-fu as a piece of art per se. The scrapbooks would probably easily withstand the challenge of such scrutiny. In particular, certain rather surprising visual similarities between the early “Atlas” and the butō-fu could lure one to this attempt.

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141 Hijikata might very well have encountered Richter’s work in BT and Mizue.
142 In no way do I want to disregard the high artistic value of “Atlas”. I recognize it’s documentary values with a strong potential for political and social criticism as well as its esthetic qualities, which serve as a catalyst for poetry.
The visual appearance of Hijikata’s scrapbooks support the fact that the butô-fu are his personal artistic notebooks and should therefore not be referred to as dance notations.

We know from Hijikata’s wife and from many of his students that Hijikata created and used his scrapbooks with stage performances in mind. Therefore the scrapbooks function as a window, offering insight into Hijikata’s personal process of creating butô. The analysis of the scrapbooks in the following Chapter will reveal some of Hijikata’s artistic processes to transfer images into stage performances.
Chapter 5. Analysis of the Butô-fu

The Sixteen Volumes

In the following chapter I will present a closer look at the individual volumes of Hijikata’s butô-fu, one by one. I will describe briefly the general nature of each scrapbook volume and provide a rough overview of the collected images according to their art historical context (author, time, place, circumstances, motivation, and importance of creation). A detailed analytical presentation of each volume, including 400 plus images would certainly surpass the scope of this dissertation. Therefore, in general, I will select specific pages and images within a volume and examine them to establish a possible seelenverwandtschaft (soul affinity) between the butô-fu and Hijikata’s performances. The one exception I will make is “Volume 1. Nadare Ame” (Candy Avalanche, なだれ飴), which I will discuss in greater detail in order to convey to the reader the taste and scope of the butô-fu and the artworks on which Hijikata based his oeuvre.

In presenting the individual volumes, I will comply as much as possible with the system of ordering, labelling and pagination established by the Hijikata Tatsumi Archives. In order to keep future references as clear and simple as possible, I will also retain English
translations of Japanese titles and terms whenever provided by the archives, unless otherwise indicated.\textsuperscript{143}

Before I open the first scrapbook, \textit{Nadare ame}, I would like to lay out some peripheral aspects particular to this volume. In discussions of Hijikata's \textit{butō-fu}, \textit{Nadare ame} is the one volume most often referred to by \textit{butō} scholars, directly or indirectly, and has frequently been addressed in publications by the Keio University Art Center. Color reproductions of several pages of this scrapbook can be studied in the 1998 booklet \textit{Hangingdōkan: Shiki no tame no nijūnanaban} (Example of Sacrificing Great Dance\textsuperscript{144}: Twenty-Seven Nights for Four Seasons) and in the 2003/2004 \textit{butō} festival catalogue, \textit{Tatsumi Hijikata's Butoh: Surrealism of the Flesh - Ontology of the "Body"}. The Art Center's 2000 \textit{BOOKLET} and its bilingual catalogue of the same year's exhibition, \textit{The Iconology of Rose-Colored Dance: Reconstructing Tatsumi Hijikata}, provide additional valuable insights into the nature of \textit{Nadare ame}.

At least two identifiable qualities of Scrapbook Volume 1: \textit{Nadare ame} seem to be the motivating reasons for this volume to attract greater attention from \textit{butō} scholars than any of other the scrapbooks.

\textsuperscript{143} For a more in-depth study of the \textit{butō-fu} I suggest directly consulting the Hijikata Tatsumi Archives at Keio University in Tokyo. After an appointment with the archivist Mural Takeml one will be able to view the \textit{butō-fu}, either by means of color prints from microfiche (paper format A4) or electronically on CD-Rom.

\textsuperscript{144} Also translated as: "Burnt Sacrifice Great Mirror of Dance", Baird, 2005, 179.
First, the title *Nadare ame*, usually translated as “Candy Avalanche” or “Melting Candy”, is also the title of one of the five stage works in Hijikata’s 1972 performance cycle *Shiki no tame no nijûnanaban*. This doubled use of the same title for two works in different genres underlines and generally supports the assumption that the *butô-fu* and Hijikata’s stage work exist in a close symbiosis. More specifically, it also seems to imply that the scrapbook *Nadare ame*, with its images and Hijikata’s notes, served as the basis for the performance piece *Nadare ame*. Furthermore, this parallelism of titles might have provided the motivation to label the scrapbook *Nadare ame* “volume 1”, at the same time conveniently providing a natural starting point for scholars to reflect on the *butô-fu*. The fact that *Nadare ame* is also the only one of the sixteen scrapbook volumes that directly addresses a stage performance in its title certainly supports this approach.

Second, *Nadare ame* contains for the most part reproductions of well-known images created by celebrated modern as well as contemporary artists such as Egon Schiele, Francis Bacon and Willem De Kooning, among many others. Therefore, it is much easier to approach the enigma of Hijikata’s stage work if we are familiar with

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145 Further on I will provide a comprehensive and detailed list of the artists and works represented in this volume.
the hints that Hijikata provides in his *butō-fu*, namely the collected images. Most of the reproductions in this volume are familiar to us, and we are often even able to appreciate the painting in the original. We know the name of the artist and the date of creation as well as the historical context and importance of the pictures. In short we avail ourselves of a culturally established code, which helps us to read and understand the collected images.

As I will show in detail, the obvious visual similarities between Hijikata's stage images and some of the images in *Nadare ame* certainly provoke the conclusion of a possible artistic affinity of styles and even intent between, for example, Bacon and Hijikata, and invite us to compare the works of these artists, applying of course our own culturally established codes.

Comparing and establishing an affinity between Hijikata’s oeuvre and the works of celebrated artists such as Bacon, De Kooning, et al, moves the artist Hijikata Tatsumi retrospectively from the “dark studios of Tokyo’s back streets” onto the international “center stage” and into the realm of the Great Masters of the Twentieth Century.

Of course it is always nice to be in good company, for artists and scholars alike. This displacement might help clarify Hijikata’s importance and provide justification for the study of his work within a greater art context. However, it might at the same time shift our focus
from Hijikata’s unique and intimate qualities, and place his work into a commercial/consumerist art world, which would limit our chances to understand his work.

Having established possible justifications/qualifications for choosing *Nadare ame* over other scrapbooks while researching Hijikata’s *butô-fu* and performances, it seems necessary to also point out some important difficulties we will inevitably come across.

First, Hijikata’s decision to title both the scrapbook and the performance *Nadare ame* does not inevitably mean that the two are of one and the same world, or interconnected in any way. Hijikata may not even have had the same literal meaning or artistic idea in mind each time he chose this title. As we can see above in section Hijikata’s Creation of the *Butô-fu*, the interpretation and use of the same subject (for example a specific image) in different contexts and for diverse purposes is often revealed to be a creative/artistic tool for Hijikata rather than Hijikata transmitting specific information or meaning. Maeda Fujio, the current director of the Hijikata Tatsumi Archives, points out encountering similar difficulties with Hijikata’s work in his 2000 English article “Reconstructing an Artistic Performance: Tatsumi HIJKATA Archives and the Research Archives System.”

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146 Kelo University Center for the Arts and Arts Administration in collaboration with Hijikata Tatsumi Memorial Archives and the Season Foundation, Sumi Yoichi, Maeda Fujio, Morishta Takeshi, Yanal Yasuhiro, ed. *The Iconology of Rose-Colored Dance: 148*
context of establishing a "catalogue raisonné" of Hijikata's work and referring to the function of key words "to investigate the mechanism of the emergence of creative activity" Maeda writes:

[Hijikata's] creativity arises from a repetition or series of images that eventually turns into reality. In order to elucidate such mechanisms, facets such as "key words" are useful, although it may sound rather arbitrary from the side of information technology. Hijikata's key words include "avant-garde", "Angura (underground)-movement", "Tohoku-esque", "eros", but we have also included such terms as "candy" as a means of interpreting his work. This does not mean that the actual motif "candy" (ame) exists in Nadare Ame (Melting Candy) within the production of 27 Nights for Four Seasons [Shiki no tame no nijûnanaban].

At this point I would like to insert the following thoughts on Maeda Fujio's observations. It can also mean that the actual motive "candy" does not exist in Nadare ame within the collection of the butô-fu. However, there are aesthetic parallels between an imaginary

Reconstructing Tatsumi Hijikata, Keio University Center for the Arts and Arts Administration, 2000.

Ibid, 41.
Ibid, 42.
Ibid, 41-43.
visualization of a possible real "candy avalanche" and some of Gustav Klimt's paintings, appearing in volume 1.

Maeda continues:

In this work, images of the natural climate of Tohoku Kabuki are woven in together with intricate pictorial expressions of the various worlds and times of Francis Bacon, Turner and de Kooning.¹⁵⁰

Maeda is referring here to Scrapbook Volume 1: *Nadare ame*, which is the only volume in which the works of the three artists are juxtaposed together. A black and white copy of Turner's 1843 painting *Light and Color*, ID N0108 (Figure 26), illustrates and visually supports his article. Maeda elaborates further:

And underneath such diverse images there is the images that "a candy that melts and runs, changes its shape and solidifies, and melts again". In Hijikata's work, key words such as "fix" and "solve" are associated with "leprosy, pus, evaporation, Turner (rain, mist and haze), Bacon (running pus), de Kooning (crumbled meat), Dali’s footsteps, ear sores, an inlet of meat, a canal, stagnation, an old woman,

¹⁵⁰ Ibid, 43.
¹⁵¹ The full title of this picture is: *Light and Color (Goethe's theory) — The Morning after the Deluge — Moses Writing the Book of Genesis.*
¹⁵² Ibid, 43.
a woman giving off steam, crumbled candy”. In this series of metaphorical images, it is as if candy is at the core. It may be difficult to discern a unifying thread among such disparate metaphors, which are the motifs (cause of movement) of a production [...].

If we take into consideration the probability that in creating the performance *Nadare ame*, in addition to the already complex layout illustrated by Maeda, Hijikata might have incorporated as well “Intricate pictorial expressions of the various worlds and times” of just some of the other dozen or so artists included in this scrapbook, it really might be difficult to come to all-inclusive conclusions. Furthermore, as I pointed out in Chapter 4, Hijikata often made use of images from several different scrapbooks to create a stage performance.

This leads us to the second problem we will encounter while investigating *Nadare ame*, namely, which performance to choose as a reference point. The performance *Nadare ame* was one of five stage works comprising the 1972 performance cycle *Shiki no tame no nijûnanaban*. According to the program information in Keio’s booklet *Hangidaitôkan: Shiki no tame no nijûnanaban* each of the five parts was staged consecutively over four to six nights. Bruce Baird gives us a detailed account of this cycle in *Butô and the Burden of History*: 151
Hijikata Tatsumi and Nihonjin and points out that during the entire performance cycle some borrowing and intermixing of elements between the different dances occurred. As a result a dance such as Nadare ame, might have been realized differently each night. So we might end up with Nadare ame standing for five somewhat different performances.

The fact that there are to date no film documents of any of the Nadare ame performances available for an inclusive cross-reference makes this choice impossible. Any visual analysis of Nadare ame will have to be based on the several static photographs taken at one or the other performance.

The complexities of Hijikata’s material as outlined above reflect on the one hand the magnitude and the multi-faceted quality of this great master’s oeuvre. On the other hand they remind us of the vast number of “unknowns” to consider when reflecting on Hijikata. Rather than being discouraged by the sheer volume of these “unknowns” we should be motivated to shed light on Hijikata’s hidden hints, one by one. Now I will present the sixteen scrapbooks the way they are listed

155 See Baird, Butô and the Burden of History, 179-180.
156 Due to the ongoing popularization of Hijikata’s work, there is always the possibility that unknown, hidden, stored away or forgotten documents may suddenly appear, seemingly out of nowhere. One example is the 8mm soundless color film-document by Aral Misao of the 1973 performance Natsu no arashi, one of Hijikata’s last stage-appearance. The film was screened for the first time in public in 2003.
In the Hijikata Tatsumi Archives. While introducing Volume 1, I will also layout the work method and system established to analyze the material and data from the scrapbooks.

**Scrapbook Volume 1:**

*Nadare ame* (Avalanche Candy, なだれ飴)

The scrapbook titled *Nadare ame* consists of 33 “active” pages that contain all together 41 images. An active page is defined by the visual proof that Hijikata in one way or the other worked on it. This visual proof can take the form of a glued-in picture, written notes, scribbled marks or even faint traces of such action by the artist’s hand. An active page can be the inside or outside of the front or back covers, “wild” pages, and even loose parts of material assigned to that volume. Active pages can occur anywhere within a volume.

In order to keep an overview and to handle the huge amount of diverse information from all volumes, Murai Takemi, archivist at the Hijikata Tatsumi Archives, created a tool in the form of an open-ended horizontally and vertically expandable spreadsheet. The beginning of her spreadsheet for *Nadare Ame* looks like this:
### Table 1

*Nadare Ame* Info Spread Sheet No 1

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<th>年代</th>
<th>ポーズ名</th>
<th>ページNo</th>
<th>舞踊家名</th>
<th>舞踊作者</th>
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<td>なだれ蛇</td>
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<td>なだれ蛇</td>
<td>なだれ蛇</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M031</td>
<td>1850</td>
<td>1の 銀</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>なだれ蛇</td>
<td>なだれ蛇</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M032</td>
<td>1850</td>
<td>1の は ねだれ蛇</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>なだれ蛇</td>
<td>なだれ蛇</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M033</td>
<td>1850</td>
<td>1の ね こ</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>なだれ蛇</td>
<td>なだれ蛇</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M034</td>
<td>1850</td>
<td>1の 銀</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>なだれ蛇</td>
<td>なだれ蛇</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M035</td>
<td>1850</td>
<td>1の は ねだれ蛇</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>なだれ蛇</td>
<td>なだれ蛇</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M036</td>
<td>1850</td>
<td>1の ね こ</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>なだれ蛇</td>
<td>なだれ蛇</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Keio University Center for the Arts and Arts Administration, Tokyo, "Hijikata Tatsumi Archive Data Base" (2003).

This expanded spreadsheet, which is still growing simultaneously with the unveiling of new information, produced a most useful and reliable tool for investigating and understanding the intricate structure of the *butô-fu* during my research at the archives. Murai's spreadsheet contains information related to each image of the scrapbook. The seven columns shown in the section above indicate from left to right: column 1: ID number of an active page, column 2: Year of creation of
a collected image, column 3: Month of creation of an image, column 4: Title of the image, column 5: Real page number of the scrapbook (Active page number), column 6: Title of the butō-fu and column 7: Author of the image. For the purpose of this paper I took the liberty of reformatting Mural’s spreadsheet as follows to fit my needs. I converted the expandable spreadsheet into a fixed data sheet, containing only information relevant to this dissertation. I eliminated column 3 and column 5. I used the ID numbers of column 1 to refer to the page numbers of a volume. The ID numbers reflect a continuous numbering of the active pages including wild pages within a volume, and including the covers. In Mural’s version column 5 reflects the real page number of an active page (without wild pages) within a volume, usually starting from the first page of the scrapbook. For example, in Scrapbook Volume 11: Kabeishi, Hijikata left a series of pages untouched. These pages were naturally not listed, and therefore neither given an ID-Number. As a result IDN1116 of Kabeishi will show page number 19, and the following IDN1117 will show page number 57. To eliminate eventual confusion as well as for future reference I used the ID number when referring to a specific page. “−1” added after an ID number indicates multiple pictures collected within one page; for example IDN0119 contains 4 images. I also eliminated
column 6: Name of *Butô-fu*, and indicated the name of the scrapbook in the top ID-box of column 1.

Then I reversed the original order of columns 4 and 7 and added one new column “Source-Note” to indicate the origin of the material and to add additional information.

Since most of the data (artist’s name and title of work) on Mural’s spreadsheet derived from Japanese source material, these were listed in Japanese (*katakana* for the non-Japanese artist’s name, and *kanji*, *hiragana* and *katakana* for titles). Instead of translating the titles of works, I rendered the commonly known titles in English and/or in the original language. Below is my revised work sheet for Scrapbook Volume 1: *Nadare ame*, which shows all the active pages and all collected images.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nadare Ame ID</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Artist</th>
<th>Work Title</th>
<th>Source - Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ND0133</td>
<td></td>
<td>HT</td>
<td>&quot;nudare ame&quot;</td>
<td>Front Cover &quot;nudare ame&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ND0133</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Back Cover</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ND0101</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hutter?</td>
<td></td>
<td>Missing Picture, Label only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ND0102</td>
<td>1912</td>
<td>Gustav Klimt</td>
<td>Nida Primavesi</td>
<td>Moma 723, Feb. 1966</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ND0103</td>
<td>1917</td>
<td>Hans Richter</td>
<td>Selbst Portrait</td>
<td>Moma 736, June 1966</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ND0104</td>
<td>1950/60?</td>
<td>Christoph Dori</td>
<td>Botze's Wife</td>
<td>Moma 745, Feb. 1967</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ND0105</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>Pablo Picasso</td>
<td>La mujer de azul/Disco sobre lazo/area</td>
<td>Moma 745, Feb. 1967</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ND0106</td>
<td>1830</td>
<td>William Turner</td>
<td>Woman Infront of Mirror</td>
<td>BT 334, Nov. 1970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ND0107</td>
<td>1843</td>
<td>William Turner</td>
<td>Light and Color (Goethe's theory) - The</td>
<td>BT 334, Nov. 1970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ND0108</td>
<td>1843</td>
<td>William Turner</td>
<td>Shade and Darkness - The Evening Before</td>
<td>BT 334, Nov. 1970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ND0109</td>
<td>1954</td>
<td>Willem de Kooning</td>
<td>Martin Mazoas</td>
<td>BT 301, Aug. 1968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ND0110</td>
<td>1984</td>
<td>Willem de Kooning</td>
<td>Work</td>
<td>BT 301, Aug. 1968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ND0111-1</td>
<td>1911</td>
<td>Egon Schiele</td>
<td>Zweil Maedchen</td>
<td>BT 347, Oct. 1971</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ND0111-2</td>
<td>1910</td>
<td>Egon Schiele</td>
<td>Frauen Akt</td>
<td>BT 347, Oct. 1971</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ND0113</td>
<td>1917-18</td>
<td>Gustav Klimt</td>
<td>The Bride</td>
<td>BT 337, Jan. 1971</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ND0114-1</td>
<td>1904-07</td>
<td>Gustav Klimt</td>
<td>Wasserschlangen</td>
<td>BT 337, Jan. 1971</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ND0114-2</td>
<td>1907-08</td>
<td>Gustav Klimt</td>
<td>Decae</td>
<td>BT 337, Jan. 1971</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ND0115-1</td>
<td>1907-08</td>
<td>Gustav Klimt</td>
<td>Russ</td>
<td>BT 337, Jan. 1971</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ND0115-2</td>
<td>1905-07</td>
<td>Gustav Klimt</td>
<td>Liegende Frau/Machica</td>
<td>BT 337, Jan. 1971</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ND0116-1</td>
<td>1914-16</td>
<td>Gustav Klimt</td>
<td>Liegende Frau/Machica</td>
<td>BT 337, Jan. 1971</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ND0117</td>
<td>1903-08</td>
<td>Gustav Klimt</td>
<td>Die Drei Altar der Frau</td>
<td>BT 337, Jan. 1971</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ND0118-1</td>
<td>1899-1907</td>
<td>Gustav Klimt</td>
<td>Philosophie</td>
<td>BT 337, Jan. 1971</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ND0118-2</td>
<td>1903</td>
<td>Gustav Klimt</td>
<td>Line of Dead / Toten-Saeule</td>
<td>BT 337, Jan. 1971</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ND0119-1</td>
<td>1933</td>
<td>Willem de Kooning</td>
<td>Woman</td>
<td>BT 301, Aug. 1968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ND0119-2</td>
<td>1933</td>
<td>Willem de Kooning</td>
<td>Woman II</td>
<td>BT 301, Aug. 1968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ND0119-3</td>
<td>1933</td>
<td>Willem de Kooning</td>
<td>Two Women Still - Life</td>
<td>BT 301, Aug. 1968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ND0119-4</td>
<td>1953</td>
<td>Willem de Kooning</td>
<td>Woman and Bicycle</td>
<td>BT 301, Aug. 1968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ND0120</td>
<td>1950-52</td>
<td>Willem de Kooning</td>
<td>Woman I</td>
<td>BT 301, Aug. 1968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ND0121</td>
<td>1928</td>
<td>Keiko Narashige</td>
<td>tatezue senbon (Still-Life on Table)</td>
<td>Moma 724, Jan. 1985</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ND0122</td>
<td>1946-47</td>
<td>Arshile Gorky</td>
<td>Kalender?</td>
<td>BT 297, May 1965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ND0123</td>
<td>1943</td>
<td>Salvador Dalí</td>
<td>Portrait of Picasso/Portrait de Picasso</td>
<td>Moma 716, Oct. 1964</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ND0124-1</td>
<td>1938</td>
<td>Salvador Dalí</td>
<td>L'Ageme sans le</td>
<td>Moma 716, Oct. 1964</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ND0124-2</td>
<td>1940</td>
<td>Salvador Dalí</td>
<td>Due pezzi di pane esprimono il sentimento</td>
<td>Moma 716, Oct. 1964</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ND0125</td>
<td>1936</td>
<td>Salvador Dalí</td>
<td>Chaqu de Pablo Shoenemontique</td>
<td>Moma 716, Oct. 1964</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ND0126</td>
<td>1963</td>
<td>Salvador Dalí</td>
<td>Hincle eschlie la peau de mer et deles</td>
<td>Moma 716, Oct. 1964</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ND0127</td>
<td></td>
<td>HT</td>
<td></td>
<td>Text only, 800 on Bacon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ND0128</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Text only, Note on Walls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ND0130</td>
<td>1913</td>
<td>Hans Richter</td>
<td>Ohne Titel</td>
<td>Moma 735, Jan. 1966</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ND0131-1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Francis Bacon?</td>
<td>Tube Painting?</td>
<td>BT 331, Aug. 1970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ND0131-2</td>
<td>1966</td>
<td>Francis Bacon</td>
<td>Portrait of George Typing a Bicycle</td>
<td>BT 331, Aug. 1970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ND0131-3</td>
<td></td>
<td>Francis Bacon</td>
<td>Detail-Japanese Screen, Wave</td>
<td>BT 331, Aug. 1970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ND0132</td>
<td>1889</td>
<td>Shinzou Ichiro</td>
<td>Picture of Beauty enjoying in the Garden</td>
<td>Moma 735, May 1966</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As we look at this list of the contents of Nadare ame, we are able to make some general observations on Hijikata’s preferences and considerations of individual artists and images. We are also able to assess some theoretical and art historical meaning from the collected works, in regard to time period, art movement and cultural significance. As a result of these observations we will eventually gain some appreciation of Hijikata’s artistic “flirtations” while creating Nadare ame.

The ID column 1 tells us that Nadare ame contains 33 active pages, including the front cover. Three of these pages are used solely for notes. In the remaining 30 pages Hijikata collected a total of 41 images, one of which got lost over the years; 22 pages carry only one image, while 8 pages exhibit multiple art works. Within these 8 pages, ID N0119 is the only one displaying 4 artworks at once; ID N0131 stands alone, grouping three images on one active page, and each of the remaining 6 sheets exhibits two pictures. At first glance, the data displayed in column 1 might seem rather dry and not very informative. Nevertheless, it reveals that on the majority of the pages Hijikata did not juxtapose images with different contents in order to create a collage, carrying a new integer visual message. I am aware that on two thirds of the pages Hijikata added marks and short notes to the images, which could alter their original message. However, by
examining the actual scrapbook, we find out that: A) The four images of ID N0119 were originally mounted and printed on a single page by the publisher. Therefore their grouping was not motivated by Hijikata’s aims. B) Most of the 6 sheets exhibiting two pictures show works of the same artist and from the same period. They appear to be chosen as two continuing references and not mounted next to each other to create additional visual stimulus. IDN0131, with two unknowns, remains the only page in *Nadare ame* in which Hijikata mounted three individual images of different natures which might therefore carry the potential of a collage containing additional information. In a nutshell, the ID column tell us that in Scrapbook Volume 1: *Nadare ame* Hijikata generally used the images as an index/visual point of reference, keeping the appearance – with the inherited information – rather than altering the messages of the works by means of collage or montage techniques.

Column 2 “Date” shows in an overview that the 40 collected images were originally created between 1830 and 1966. Taking Hijikata’s birth year 1928 as the revolving point, the images are divided into two rough categories: pre-Hijikata works and works contemporary to Hijikata. Since the images are evenly divided between the two categories, they do not reveal any eventual time preference relative to Hijikata’s own life. In an art historical context
however, the great majority of the images were created within the art period known as Modernism, roughly spanning the middle of the nineteenth century to the mid 20th century. From the data in column 2, we can conclude that in creating *Nadare ame*, Hijikata relied primarily on the use of works created by modernist artists, with a few exceptions.

Column 3, “Artists” not only tells us who these modernists are but also from which specific art movement within modernism the images emerged. *Nadare ame* embodies fourteen different (male) artists, represented here by works created within twelve different modern art movements.\(^{157}\)

- Gustav Klimt - Austrian Symbolism, Vienna Art Nouveau (Vienna Secession)
- Hans Richter - Dadaism
- Christoph Donin - Austrian Expressionism
- Pablo Picasso - Spanish Modernism (Blue Period)
- William Turner - Early Impressionism (Forerunner of Abstract Art)
- Willem de Kooning - Abstract Expressionism
- Egon Schiele - Expressionism
- Koide Narashige - *Yōga* (Western-style Japanese painting)

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\(^{157}\) Many modern artists were affiliated with several different art movements during their careers. The placement of the above thirteen represented artists is based on their works represented in this volume.
o Arshile Gorki - Surrealism (Cubism, Forerunner of Abstract Expressionism)
o Salvadore Dali - Surrealism
o Aristide Maillol - Art Brut
o Francis Bacon - Expressionism
o Unknown - Japanese Traditional Art
o Shimizu Ichiro - Yoga

From the above list, we can conclude, that in this volume Hijikata did not show special preferences for artists from a distinct art movement within the period of modernism. However he definitely favored Western artists (11) over Japanese artists (3).

If we categorize the numbers of art works actually collected according to art movements we get a slightly different picture. 158

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Art Movement</th>
<th>Number of Paintings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Expressionism</td>
<td>14 paintings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Symbolism</td>
<td>10 paintings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surrealism</td>
<td>6 paintings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early Impressionism</td>
<td>3 paintings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dadaism</td>
<td>2 paintings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yoga</td>
<td>2 paintings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish Modernism</td>
<td>1 painting</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

158 I am combining different offshoots of the same overall movement into one category. E.g., Donin, de Kooning, Schiele and Bacon are grouped together under expressionism. I am aware this is a bold simplification, but it helps to give a general overview of Hijikata's tendencies.
Art Brut 1 painting

Traditional Japanese Art 1 screen detail

This listing tells us that Hijikata clearly favored expressionist, symbolist and surrealist art work over the other movements represented in *Nadare ame*. However, before jumping to hasty conclusions we have to take into consideration the availability of material.

First, there have been very few works conserved from the early Dadaist movement. Due to the nature of Dadaist work, which was “purposely nonsensical – a protest against reason and logic, a negation of aesthetic beauty”\(^{159}\) many of the art pieces were made to not last or were not even recognized as art. The major sources of material for this volume, namely the leading Japanese art magazines *BT* and *Mizue*, published multiple articles on Dadaism during the 1960’s and 1970’s. However their focus was narrowed mainly to the works of the most popular and best-known Dadaist artist, Marcel Duchamps. As a result, Hijikata did not have a great number of artists and paintings to choose from. This might explain why there are only two Images from Hans Richter in *Nadare ame*.

Second, Art Brut “had been denied a place in art proper” until the late 1940’s, after the painter Jean Dubuffet started to collect

\(^{159}\) Klaus Richter, *Art From Impressionism to the Internet*, 67.
“outsider art”\textsuperscript{160}. Art Brut came to be widely appreciated only in the late 1970’s, which was after Hijikata created Scrapbook Volume 1: \textit{Nadare ame}. \textit{BT} and \textit{Mizue} did sporadically present Art Brut in their earlier issues, but restricted their reportage to a few well know artists of this genre, such as Jean Dubuffet. Again, there might have been reasons other than artistic preference for Hijikata to collect many or few images from one or the other art movement.

Column 4 of the worksheet, “Work Title”, reveals another criterion Hijikata may have applied in choosing specific images for this volume, namely his “love” for titles. Throughout his career, Hijikata demonstrated a specific interest in and emphasis on titles, headings, labels and designations. The chosen titles of his stage works often played an integral part in the performance. Choosing a specific heading, Hijikata was able to include or indicate different “worlds” and subject matter into a performance. For example, for his first performance, \textit{Kinjiki}, Hijikata borrowed the title from Mishima Yukio’s novel. By doing so, Hijikata associated himself and his art with the already famous author, whom he had apparently never met before.\textsuperscript{161} Furthermore, Hijikata transported at least potentially the theme, the content and the poetry from the novel onto his stage. Other examples

\textsuperscript{160} Ibid, 98.
\textsuperscript{161} Baird, \textit{Buto and the Burden of History}, 48.
of Hijikata’s “affiliation” with poets include the 1960 performance Sei kōshaku (Saint Marquis), the 1967 pieces Butō June (Butō Genet), and the more famous 1965 work Baralro dansu: A LA MAISON DE M. CIVEÇAWA (Rose-Colored Dance: To Mr. Shibusawa’s House).

Hijikata’s fascination with titles can be observed in performances such as the 1961 recital Han’in han’yōsha no hiru sagari no higi sanshō (Secret Ceremony of a Hermaphrodite in the Early Afternoon, Three Chapters) or Selai onchôgaku shinan zue: Tomato (Instructional Illustration for the Study of Divine Favor in Sexual Love: Tomato), 1966 among many others.

In Scrapbook Volume 1: Nadare ame, 19 of 40 works carry titles specifically indicating the involvement of a woman in the artwork. They are expressed either through a proper name, such as Marilyn Monroe or Danae, or as part of a title such as “Woman In Blue” or “Semi-Nude Girl, Reclining”. Eight paintings carry titles indicating the theme or a description of the artwork, such as “Light and Color”, “Kiss” or “Line of Death”. Four works are untitled or the title is not known, or are simply called “Work”. Another four carry more poetic indications, such as “Chair de Poule Rhinocerontique”. Three portraits specifically indicate a man, such as “Portrait of Picasso”. And two paintings carry general titles, such as “Still-life on Table”.

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Hijikata’s preference for images depicting women in *Nadare ame* becomes transparent in column 4. However, the fact that almost half of the image titles include female subject matter does not necessarily show any possible artistic or sexual orientation of Hijikata’s.\(^{162}\) It did however thematically and chronologically coexist with Hijikata’s “transitional” creative period. As I mentioned in Chapter 3, during this period Hijikata started intensively integrating female performers in his work. It seems therefore natural for Hijikata to choose images depicting women when searching for artworks as a basis to create movements specifically for women. As we will soon discover from column 5, Hijikata started volume 1 at the end of his first “experimental” period (ca. 1965) and finished it on the “eve” of *Twenty-Seven Nights for Four Seasons* (ca. 1972), with the female dancers Ashikawa Yoko, Kobayashi Saga and Nimura Momoko.

With the information reflected in column 5 “Source Notes”, we can track where Hijikata collected his images. As I showed in Chapter 4, the main image providers overall for the *butô-fu* were the leading Japanese art magazines *Bijutsu Techô* (*BT*) and *Mizue*. This is also the case for *Nadare Ame*. Except for two images, for which we have no confirmed source, the other 38 images of this volume were collected

\(^{162}\) Even today, the great majority of celebrated artists are still men. Women are by far the most favored subjects for male artists to depict in their art works.
from these two magazines - 13 from Mizue and 25 from BT. Six issues of Mizue and six issues of BT provided all 38 images. All the images were published between October 1964 and October 1971. The publication dates vaguely indicate the time period in which Hijikata may have worked on Scrapbook Volume 1: Nadare ame. He definitely did not start before October 1964, because the images were not yet available. The fact that the collected images are generally not mounted in chronological order, nor are they ordered within the specific issues from which they were extracted, suggests Hijikata could literally have created Nadare ame at any one or more periods of time between the two set dates. At the extreme it is conceivable that on a cold November day in 1971, Hijikata browsed through a pile of art magazines and subsequently created the entire volume 1 during one sleepless night. However, since he did not include Images published after October 1971, Hijikata most probably did not continue to work on Nadare Ame after the end of 1971.

By consulting the information provided in the work sheet above we gain a general idea of what Hijikata was looking for and which artists and movements he was attracted to while collecting images for Nadare ame. What we will not receive from this abstract list, unless we have all the 40 Images memorized, is the visual quality of the paintings, which were the driving force and motivation for Hijikata’s
selection process. In order to bridge this informational gap, for visual reference I will display below copies of the collected images, in the order they appear in the scrapbook, starting with N0102. The photocopies of the images were taken from Hijikata’s original source material (*BT and Mizue*), except for the two unknowns, N0131-1 and N0131-3, which were taken from Keio’s Booklet No.6, *Genetic Archives Engine: Hijikata Tatsumi Dancing in the Digital Forest*. Color or black and white images duplicate the appearance of the images in Hijikata’s notebook. For formatting purposes I deliberately changed the real and relative image size as well as the aspect ratio.

![Fig. 19. N0102 Madica Primavesi 1912 Gustave Klimt Mizue 723, May 1965](image1)

![Fig. 20. N0103 Selbst Porträt 1917 Hans Richter Mizue 736, June 1966](image2)

![Fig. 21. N0104 Botifa’s Wife 1950’/60’? Christoph Donin Mizue 745, Feb. 1967](image3)
Fig. 22.  
La Mujer de Azul 1901
Pablo Picasso
Mizue 745, Feb. 1967

Fig. 23.  
"Woman in Mirror" 1830
William Turner
BT 334, November 1970

Fig. 24.  
Shade & Darkness 1843
William Turner
BT 334, November 1970

Fig. 25.  
Light and Color 1843
William Turner
BT 334, November 1970

Fig. 26.  
Marilyn Monroe 1954
Willem de Kooning
BT 301, August 1968

Fig. 27.  
Work 1964
Willem de Kooning
BT 301, August 1968

Fig. 28.  
Zwei Mädchen 1911
Egon Schiele
BT 347, October 1971
Fig. 29. Frauen Akt 1910
Egon Schiele
BT 347, October 1971

Fig. 30. Semi-Nude Girl 1911
Egon Schiele
BT 347, October 1971

Fig. 31. The Bride 1917-1918
Gustav Klimt
BT 337 October 1971

Fig. 32. Wasserschlangen 1904-07
Gustav Klimt
BT 337 October 1971

Fig. 33. Danae 1907-08
Gustav Klimt
BT 337 October 1971

Fig. 34. Kuss 1907-08
Gustav Klimt
BT 337 October 1971
Fig. 35.  
*Liegende Frau* 1905-07  
Gustav Klimt  
*BT 337, January 1971*

Fig. 36.  
*Liegende Frau* 1914-16  
Gustav Klimt  
*BT 337, January 1971*

Fig. 37.  
*New Born Baby* 1910  
Egon Schiele  
*BT 347, October 1971*

Fig. 38.  
*Die 3 Alter der Frau* 1908  
Gustav Klimt  
*BT 337, January 1971*

Fig. 39.  
*Philosophie* 1899-1907  
Gustav Klimt  
*BT 337, January 1971*
Fig. 40. N0118-2
Totentötung 1903
Gustav Klimt
BT 337, January 1971

Fig. 41. N0119-1
Woman 1953
Willem de Kooning
BT 301, August 1968

Fig. 42. N0119-2
Woman II 1953
Willem de Kooning
BT 301, August 1968

Fig. 43. N0119-3
Two Women SL 1953
Willem de Kooning
BT 301, August 1968

Fig. 44. N0119-4
Woman on Bicycle 1953
Willem de Kooning
BT 301, August 1968

Fig. 45. N0120
Woman I 1950-52
Willem de Kooning
BT 301, August 1968
A cursory look at the actual images reveals that the great majority of all paintings (33) in *Nadare ame* depict human figures or parts in one or another artistic method. This is not very surprising, taking into consideration the human body is the medium of Hijikata's
art. Of interest here is how these images made their way onto Hijikata’s stage.

By comparing images from the butô-fu with photographs of Hijikata’s stage performances I was able to detect at least four major ways Hijikata used the images.

1. Borrowing\textsuperscript{163} and Replicating\textsuperscript{164} an Image
2. Borrowing and Adapting\textsuperscript{165} Parts of an Image
3. Adopting\textsuperscript{166} an Image
4. Adopting Parts of an Images

1. Borrowing and Replicating an Image

In order to do justice to Hijikata’s ingenious creativity and innovative skills, I should mention here that he did not simply take paintings or images and display them one to one with his body on stage. As Kobayashi Saga explained at her lecture at the 2003-2004 butô festival \textit{Surrealism of the Body}, Hijikata used the images in the butô-fu for artistic inspiration. Therefore the images went through a process of transformation from one medium to the other, necessarily

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\textsuperscript{163} To borrow: - To copy something from somebody else's work, especially a work of art of some kind.
\textsuperscript{164} To replicate: - To do something again or copy something.
\textsuperscript{165} To adapt: - To change, or change something, to suit different conditions or a different purpose.
\textsuperscript{166} To adopt: - To take over something such as an idea that originated elsewhere and use it as your own.
changing the viewer’s perception of the figure. The replications of figures from the butô-fu on stage were small elements of the overall performance. The overall structure of a performance during the time of Nadare ame according to Baird consisted of “movements or poses, phrases of movements and poses, characters, and narratives.” This means that photographs taken of a performance represent only a fleeting portion of a pose or a movement, while a painting in most cases is an entity in itself. Therefore the visual examples of the artistic interrelationship between the butô-fu and Hijikata’s stage work, which I will show in the following analysis, in no way represent a comprehensive study of Hijikata’s oeuvre. They are meant to insert a new piece into the puzzle Hijikata.

Since there exist only a handful of audio-visual documents of Hijikata’s performances we are forced to work with the material at hand. For this analysis we will use the numerous published images of the butô-fu and the few published images of Hijikata’s performances.

From the images in Nadare ame and the photographs of the performance cycle Shiki no tame no nijûnanaban, in which the performance Nadare ame was included, we can find examples that clearly illustrate Hijikata’s direct visual borrowing and replication of a figure’s entire posture:

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167 Baird, Butô and the Burden of History, 202
We already know the picture (Fig. 59) on the left. The photograph on the right (Fig. 60) depicts an instant from a movement sequence called *Lion and Christ* (ラインとキリスト) of the performance *Gibasan*.\(^{168}\) *Gibasan* was one of the five pieces in the 1972 performance cycle *Shiki no tame no nijûnanaban*. An additional photograph of the same movement sequence by Nakatani Tadao\(^{169}\) (not shown here) represents the identical pose from a slightly different

\(^{168}\) As I mentioned earlier, while choreographing a recital Hijikata often used images from across the *butô-fu*. Vice versa he did use images from a single volume when creating other performances.

\(^{169}\) Nakatani Tadao, *Hijikata Tatsumi no butô seikai*, 46.
angle at a slightly different moment. Both Yamasaki’s and Nakatani’s photographs clearly illustrate that Hijikata in *Lion and Christ* strikes the same pose as Schiele’s *New Born Baby*. Of course there are some minor differences, which occurred during the process of transformation from the page to the stage, e.g., the more elaborate loincloth, the hair as well as the hair ornament, the shoes, etc. An overall visual comparison of the body postures as well as a detailed assessment of head, hand, arm, leg, or foot positioning clearly indicates that Hijikata borrowed and replicated the *New Born Baby*. Of course there is no other proof for this replication than the visual similarity of the two poses. There is also only a limited vocabulary of different poses that the human body can strike and consecutively be depicted in a painting. Yet, I believe, given the fact that Hijikata knew Schiele’s image and included *The New Born Baby* in the volume of the *butô-fu* with the same title as one of the performances of the cycle (in which he performed *Lion and Christ* or the alias of *The New Born Baby*) eliminates the possibility of coincidence.
2. Borrowing and Adapting Parts of an Image

This is one of Hijikata’s most frequently applied methods to make use of the collected images in creating stage productions. As I mentioned in Chapter 4, Hijikata often worked over the images in the butô-fu with pencil marks. He highlighted or separated with lines, circles or arrows the parts of an image that especially interested him. In Nadare ame he marked all together 22 images. I will point out parts of images, highlighted by Hijikata’s referential marks and provide two examples of the reappearance of such images on the stage.

The first one is ID N0105. What seems to have caught Hijikata’s interest most in this painting was the La Mujer de Azul’s hat. He drew a wide circle in pencil around the right part of the hat and added a straight line, starting from the center of the flower to the outside of the painting.\textsuperscript{170} He did not add any words or alphabetic indicators outside the image. What underlines the impression that Hijikata was not really interested in the entire picture is the fact that of all the 40 reproductions of Nadare ame this representation is one of the most realistic depictions of the human figure. Picasso’s relatively “conservative” style of the blue period in general and La Mujer de Azul in specific does not correspond stylistically with the overall feel of this volume, which is dominated by more aggressive expressionist works.

\textsuperscript{170} See Fig. 61.
In a photograph of the 1973 stage performance *Shizukana ie* (Calm House, 静かな家) we rediscover the borrowed hat (hair ornament) with a slightly different appearance.

For *Shizukana ie* Hijikata did not actually borrow the hat per se, but the look and the feel of it. He tied his voluminous long hair into two bundles, one of each side of his head, recreating the overall shape of the hat. Instead of replicating the flower ornaments and decorating each bun of his hair with them (like *La Mujer de Azul*) he selected only one flower and erected it on a stick between the two hair coils. This is a small example of Hijikata’s great talent as a visual artist. Like many other painters or sculptors he created a new art work by taking a motif, in this case the hat, borrowing and adapting it in a unique style and manner.
It seems that in *Shizukana ie* Hijikata did not make any direct reference to the artwork *La Mujer de Azul* or ally himself with the artist or person Picasso; he merely took the look of the hat and created a new visual artistic element for the performance. In other cases of borrowing and adapting of images, which we will encounter in later volumes, Hijikata did make direct references to the artworks and artists.

A second example of Hijikata "borrowing and adapting" part of an image can be seen by visually comparing the following detail of Klimt’s *Toten Säule* (Line of Death) with the detail of a photograph taken from Hijikata’s *Hijikata Tatsumi to nihonjin*. 
Hijikata drew two straight lines in pencil. One stroke starts just below the neck, indicating the upper rib cage. The second line highlights the inside of the armpit. Both marks end outside of the image on the scrapbook page.\textsuperscript{171} No additional notes or indications whatsoever can be seen.\textsuperscript{172}

\textsuperscript{171} The figures are taken from Hijikata’s sources \textit{BT} and \textit{Mizue} and therefore do not show Hijikata’s lines and marks.
\textsuperscript{172} In Fig. 40, Klimt’s \textit{Philosophy}, Hijikata also pointed out the rib cage of the woman in the center. Other pencil marks on this picture highlight the back of the man on the very top and the back of the horizontal girl in the lower section of the painting.

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Images of the emaciated body and especially of the strikingly expressive pelvis and rib cage became early on a hallmark for Hijikata. We can already see on the only two existing photographs of Kinjiki, that Hijikata was actively using his bony upper body as an expressive performance element. The 1967 performance Keiji jōgaku (Emotion in Metaphysics, 形而情學)\(^\text{173}\) “lives” from Hijikata’s use of the skinny-to-bone-starved body.

Despite the chronological inconsistency of Figure 63 and Figure 64\(^\text{174}\) the two details shown above still qualify as potential examples of Hijikata’s borrowing and adapting, and in this case also referencing Klimt. We know that Hijikata encountered Klimt’s paintings at least as early as 1965 (four years before Hijikata Tatsumi to nihonjin). Hijikata collected Figure 47 from Mizue 724 (June 1965). The same issue featured the works of Gustav Klimt in a colorfully illustrated article. Furthermore, in the 1972 performance Gibasan (one of the five performances in the cycle Shiki no tame no nijūnanaban) Hijikata still displayed his emaciated torso, for example in the crucifixion scene.\(^\text{175}\)

It is unlikely that Hijikata consciously quoted Gustav Klimt in Hijikata Tatsumi to nihonjin and Gibasan. It seems he was merely

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\(^{173}\) See Fig. 10, Chapter 4, 128.

\(^{174}\) Figure 63 was published in 1971, while the photograph in Figure 64 was taken in 1968.

\(^{175}\) See Fig. 11, Chapter 4, 129.
attracted by the visual and expressive qualities of Klimt’s bodies. However the works of the two artists are closely related. Both Klimt’s paintings and Hijikata’s performances were the subject of great controversy during their time and often shocked audiences for the two same reasons.

First is the unconventional use of the chosen medium. In Hijikata’s career, as I showed in Chapter 2, Kinjiki was probably the most striking example of unconventional use of the dance medium. For Klimt it was the triptych ‘Philosophy-Medicine-Jurisprudence’, which he had been commissioned to paint in 1894 by Vienna University.\textsuperscript{177} The unfinished triptych was first shown to the public in 1903. Russell describes the reaction of the audience “There was in any case a terrible uproar – so much so that in the fall of 1903 the contract was annulled. The three paintings were never installed in the University.”\textsuperscript{179} The reason for the aforementioned uproar seems to have been the

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\textsuperscript{177} Philosophy is IDNO118-1 in the butô-fu and Fig. 40 in this thesis. Medicine and Jurisprudence were destroyed in one of the many fire bombings of Vienna near the end of WWII.  
\end{flushright}
same as that for the uproar which followed Hijikata's *Kinjiki*, namely that the audience did not face what they came for and expected.

The works shown at the Vienna University broke with established codes and conventions. Russell describes the character of Klimt's triptych as follows:

> What had philosophy to do with families twirling in limbo? Or medicine with an over-decorated temptress who was feeding her pet snake from a glass saucer? Or jurisprudence with the seductive young women, dressed only in their superabundant hair, who fixed the spectator with looks that were anything but judicial?  

Russell further notes, "It was all too much for the Ministerial committees, and too much for the outraged faculty members within the University, and too much for the general public."

According to the general perception of Hijikata's first event at the Daiichi Seimei Hall in 1958, *Kinjiki* as well was all too much for the critics, too much for the members of the All Japan Art Dance Association, and too much for the audience.

Hijikata and Klimt shared a second reason for shocking the audience, namely the ambiguous use of the naked body in their art.

Both artists displayed the body simultaneously as erotic attraction and

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nightmarish repulsion and therefore broke the barriers of the common perception of the body. For example, in *Hijikata Tatsumi to nihonjin* (Figure 64), we can easily become attracted by the beauty of Hijikata’s slim muscular torso. At the same time we cannot escape the lurid images of starvation and corpses that flood the media worldwide. Like Hijikata, in his painting Klimt was absolutely “direct about the nature of bodily attraction”. Russell explains that:

Klimt multiplied the intensity of his insight [of bodily attraction] by setting up, within the same image, a complex and luxurious flat patterning [...] which enabled Klimt to distance the human entanglements and to give them an air of redoubled fatality.\(^{181}\)

3. Adopting an Image \(^{182}\)

Hijikata also adopted the impression of a figure or an image, and thereby created a new posture or sequence for a performance. Due to the nature of the artistic rendering, some of the images collected in *Nadare ame* do not lend themselves well to direct borrowing or adapting. They are abstract or expressionistic to the point that we can

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\(^{181}\) Ibid, 30.

\(^{182}\) To adopt: -To take over something such as an idea that originated elsewhere and use it as your own. Microsoft Corporation. *Encarta World English Dictionary*, 1999.
hardly make out the figurative elements. For example, Hans Richter’s Figure 55 or de Kooning’s Figure 28 are hardly recognizable without a title hinting at the nature of the figure. Nevertheless, some of these images made their way to Hijikata’s stage by being “adopted” for their expressive quality or for their hinted content.

Morishita Takashi visually illustrates two cases in which images from the scrapbook Nadare ame reappeared on stage as adopted movement sequences in a performance.\(^\text{183}\) The first example involves Francis Bacon’s painting of George Dyer riding a bicycle and a scene from the performance Nadare ame.

In the second, Morishita explains that de Kooning’s painting Work (Figure 28) was Hijikata’s basis for creating the movement sequence Maiko no odorî (Dance of Apprentice Geisha, 舞子の踊り). I will elaborate here on the first example.\(^\text{184}\)

If we take a close look at Figure 57 we can see that Bacon portrayed Dyer riding a bicycle in a manner that a “normal” human being would not be able to duplicate. First of all, Dyer is looking in two different directions at once. He shows us his profile while simultaneously looking at us facing front. Second, the bicycle, which is

\(^\text{183}\) See Morishita, Genetic Archive Engine, 63-68, and Morishita, Hijikata Tatsumi no Butô, 145.

\(^\text{184}\) For visual comparisons of de Kooning’s “Work” and a stage photograph of Maiko no odorî, see Morishita, Genetic Archive Engine, 68.
artistically rendered with 5 wheels to emphasize its dynamic and velocity, seems to move in different directions and on different levels at the same time. Third, a closer examination of the lower part of the painting reveals that a balancing pole with a counterweight attached to its end is mounted in the center of the bicycle. The two soft curves painted on the lower background reveal that Dyer is actually balancing his multi-cycle on two ropes high above the ground. This floating circus act lends the picture a certain quality of instability and projects a feeling of vertigo. It seems almost impossible to linearly borrow or adapt this painting for a stage production with limited technical infrastructure. However, by adopting the major underlying themes and the general feel of the painting, Hijikata was ingeniously able to include “George Dyer” in the performance of Nadare ame.

Fig. 56. Portrait G. Dyer... 1966
 Francis Bacon
 BT 331, August 1970

Fig. 65. Detail of scene Bicycle Dance from Nadare ame 1972
 Photo: Onozuka Makoto
 Morishita, Hijikata no butô, 145.
We know from previous performances such as *Anma* and *Hijikata Tatsumi to nihonjin* or from pictures of his street performances that Hijikata certainly was fascinated by bicycles. This might be an obvious reason for choosing this picture over many others that were published in the same issue of *BT* or in other issues. But then again, if Hijikata just wanted to indulge his interest in bicycles he could have also chosen De Kooning’s painting, *Woman on Bicycle* (Figure 45), among other works in the *butô-fu*, that depict bicycles.

A close examination of Figure 65 reveals that Hijikata seems to have adopted this specific Bacon picture for the ambiguous nature of the figure and the multi-layering of the bicycle as well as for the acrobatic, vertiginous circus feel, rather than for the idea of “bicycle” per se or the expressive style.

To incorporate the simultaneous directions of George Dyer’s face and personality, Hijikata created a movement sequence in *Jitensha no odorî* (Bicycle Dance, 自転車の踊り185) not just for one, but a group of performers, including the three female performers of *Nadare ame*, Ashikawa Yoko, Kobayashi Saga and Nimura Momoko.186 To indicate Dyer’s multi-cycle the two women in the front incorporated bicycle

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185 Morishita labeled the photograph in Fig. 65 *Jitensha no odorî* (Bicycle Dance). I could not find a detailed scene breakdown of the performance *Nadare ame*.

186 An additional photograph of this scene in Morishita, *Hijikata Tatsumi no butô* suggests that Ashikawa also performed a solo in this scene (145).
handles into their movements. The women are physically connected through the bicycle handles, which makes them appear as a single unit. Furthermore, it appears that Kobayashi (left), is holding the stem of Ashikawa’s handlebar with her left foot while standing on her right foot. Ashikawa is also standing on her right foot with her left leg raised, which allows a third performer (Nimura?), who is also standing on the right leg with the left leg raised, to reach for the left grip of Ashikawa’s handlebar. This knot-like interweaving of the performers creates a feeling of confusion or eeriness similar to Dyer’s non-functional multi-cycle. It furthermore conveys the feeling of instability, which we can easily connect with Dyer’s vertigo. The overall attractiveness of this moment in the Bicycle Dance scene does not seem to result merely from the elegance or splendor of the postures but rather from their virtuosic acrobatic nature. This example of adopting an image illustrates the precision and innovative creativity Hijikata unearthed when adopting images from his scrapbooks to create stage performances.

In addition to the visual and artistic qualities of a painting, which Hijikata collected in his scrapbook, there is also an important subtext that underlies most of the artworks. It is very difficult to determine whether Hijikata referred simultaneously to the subtext of one or more paintings while creating his stage art. However, in many of his
performances and choreographies Hijikata did reference the underlying meaning of the title. His first performance *Kinjiki* addresses the subtext of homosexuality. As Kurihara points out, *Kinjiki* can also be read as “forbidden love” which in modern Japan, includes sodomy and homosexuality. Furthermore, borrowing the title from Mishima’s novel, Hijikata was playing on the novel’s reputation.

At this point it might be worthwhile to briefly outline the subtext of Bacon’s portrait of George Dyer.

George Dyer was the lover of Francis Bacon from 1964 to 1971. According to Michael Peppiatt, Bacon and Dyer met while the latter was burgling Bacon’s apartment. Dyer had crooked leanings from early childhood. Unfortunately, he was not a very good thief, and consequently it seems he spent more time in than out of jail. According to Bacon, Dyer was a very genteel and sensitive man when he was sober, which was not very often. He was sociable and easygoing but at the same time insecure about himself. Although Bacon provided enough money for his friend, Dyer could not let go of stealing. He needed it to maintain his self-esteem. Dyer always took meticulous care of his appearance, while totally letting go of himself.

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personally at the same time. He committed suicide in their hotel room in Paris, two days before the opening of Bacon’s major retrospective.

If we compare Dyer’s fast-forwarded biography with his portrait we can see that Bacon very precisely reproduced the qualities of his friend. We can recognize Dyer’s ambivalence in his face, his ambiguous character in the bicycle and his unstable and insecure life in the ride on the high wire.

We cannot see in Hijikata’s precise adoption of Bacon’s Portrait of George Dyer Riding a Bicycle if Hijikata knew and played with the subtext of the painting. We can say that Hijikata, who admired and was inspired by works of Genêt such as Diary of a Thief, would surely have welcomed the character Dyer in his stage work.

We can say, therefore, that Images in the butô-fu which do not offer a direct visual relationship with Hijikata’s stage Images, may have been chosen and adopted for their subtext.

4. Adopting Parts of an Image

To illustrate how Hijikata adopted parts of images for his stage work I will choose an example within Scrapbook Volume 1: Nadare ame that is rather rare in nature and speculative in approach. If we look at Gustav Klimt’s paintings, especially Figure 31 through 35 as well as Figure 39 to 41, we can easily detect Klimt’s elaborate use of
ornamental patterns, which was a signature feature of his style. I will isolate some of the pattern from Klimt's images as represented in *Nadare ame* and display them below as visual references. But before examining the ornaments, I suggest we imagine for a moment how a "real" candy avalanche would look. Candies are sweet and colorful little objects that come in many different shapes. An avalanche is usually associated with a large amount of snow, ice or rocks falling or flowing down a mountain. A more general definition of avalanche is also: "a sudden overwhelming quantity of something."¹⁸⁸

If we visualize a candy avalanche, we see an overwhelming amount of small, colorful objects in a variety of shapes flowing or falling downhill. The details¹⁸⁹ of Klimt's ornamental patterns displayed below probably match or at least closely resonate with our visualization of a candy avalanche.

¹⁸⁹ Most of Klimt's images in *BT* were printed on a full page, which gave the collected works an original size of roughly 5 inches by 8 inches, depending on the scale and ratio. The size of the details here is almost 1:1 to *BT.*
We know from art history that Klimt did not base his ornamental patterns on a candy avalanche. However, it would not be surprising if Hijikata based his title Nadare ame (*Candy Avalanche/Melting Candy*) on Klimt’s ornamental patterns. Besides the noticeable similarity of the
images and the words “candy avalanche” there are other circumstances that support this theory.

Several sources illustrate that besides the imagery of the scrapbooks, Hijikata also drew on spoken language to teach his students.\textsuperscript{191} Hijikata used verbal instructions, which could range from simple fragments to elaborate poetic flows, by themselves or in combination with images. When combining words with images, Hijikata utilized his words either as parallel stimuli to the pictures, or he translated the visual representations into words. Candy avalanche is easily recognizable as a verbal translation of Klimt's ornamental patterns as they appear in Scrapbook Volume 1: \textit{Nadare Ame}.

Furthermore in \textit{Nadare ame} Hijikata compiled all together 7 images of Klimt, which makes Klimt the best represented of all artists in terms of numbers.

Other \textit{butô-fu} such as Scrapbook Volume 9: \textit{Dabinchi} were titled according to the artist uniquely featured in that specific volume.

Besides the circumstance that the name “Klimt” does not sound very

attractive (in Japanese Kurimuto, クリムト), Klimt was not the solely featured artist in this volume, but shared it with 12 others. In other volumes that represent a variety of artists Hijikata did occasionally choose a title, reflecting in poetic diction the works of a single painter. For example, in Scrapbook Volume 5: Kojiki · hanako · matieru (Beggar-Hanako Material) Hijikata referred to Hieronymus Bosch’s drawings, Les Mendiants (The Beggars).

Similar to the title of Kojiki-hanako-matieru in Scrapbook Volume 5, Hijikata created a poetic name for Nadare ame, by translating one of the main visual themes or threads from Klimt’s painting into words, namely the “Candy Avalanche”-like patterns.

After having outlined my work system of approaching Hijikata’s butō-fu and demonstrated the methods Hijikata used to transfer images form the scrapbooks to the stage, I will now continue to present the remaining 15 volumes.
Scrapbook Volume 2:

*Hana* (Flower, 花)

The Scrapbook Volume 2: *Hana* consists of 24 active pages, including the front and back covers, as well as one wild page and comprises altogether 41 images. The dates of creation of the images range from the Persian Sassanid period, (226-651 AD) through the Chinese Song Dynasty (960-1279 AD), to 1968. However, the majority of the artworks were created in the 1950s and 60s. Except for three Western artists, namely Claude Monet, Martial Raysee and an unknown medieval artist, who authored 5 of the images, Asian artists contributed the great majority of works to this volume. The ethnicity of artists in this volume marks the pure opposite of Scrapbook Volume 1: *Nadare ame*. Besides another 5 images created by either Chinese or Persian artists, all of the remaining 30 plus images are of Japanese origin. The largest group of Japanese painters (13) represented in this volume was born during the last part of the Meiji period, between 1885 and 1905. Some of the artists represented in this volume include: Nakagawa Kazumas (1893/1896 – 1991), Ogura Yuki (1895-2000), Katayama Nampu (1887-1980), Okumura Dogyû (1889-1990), Maeda Selson (1885-1977) and Iwashl Eien (1903-1999). Most were initially trained in Japanese style painting (*nihonga*) and eventually...
incorporated Western painting styles in their later work. Since most of
the Japanese painters in this volume lived to be very old, they were
still active artists during the 1960s and therefore contemporaries of
Hijikata Tatsumi. The best-represented artist with 12 paintings in *Hana*
is clearly Kondo Komei (date of birth unknown). Kondo Komei is
considered a modern *nihonga* painter although his work is widely
associated with surrealism. The Yokohama Museum of Art draws the
following profile of the artist:

*Born in a Buddhist temple of the Tendai sect in Shitaya, Tokyo, KONDO Komei has been closely associated with Buddhism since he entered the priesthood in his boyhood. The profound spirituality of his work grounded in Buddhist philosophy is reflected in a mysterious quality of space [...]*. 192

It is very possible that the qualities of Buddhist spirituality and surrealism in Kondo’s work attracted Hijikata. However, the sheer diversity of images in *Scrapbook Volume 2: Hana* makes us think that again Hijikata did not choose an image merely for its belonging to the one or other artistic direction, but for its visual appearance. In *Hana* we find images depicting subjects other than flowers, such as human beings, and a variety of birds and mammals. Some of these non-floral

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192 Yokohama Museum of Art @ www.yaf.or.jp, (Accessed June 2007).
images do integrate parts that display a flower-like quality in structure or form.

![Image of a bird](Fig. 66. IDNO220-2)

*Crane (?) 1950*
*Kondo Kometu*
*Mizue 766, 1968*

In this painting Hijikata highlighted the heron’s head and wing feathers with several pencil marks, indicating his specific interest in the picture. If we visually isolate the marked sections we can easily comprehend the plant-like or floating seaweed character of the bird’s feathers.

Throughout his entire career Hijikata incorporated the concept or idea of flowers in his work. Most of his performances include flowers or flower-like objects, either as part of the head dress or hair ornaments (Fig. 62, 179), as part of costumes in form of printed patterns, such as in *Hősōtan*, as a fabric ornament on a dress, as in *Hijikata Tatsumi to nihonjin*, or as a hand-held prop as in *Gibasan*.
Scrapbook Volume 3:

Butai hinto, saakasu (Stage Hints, Circus, 舞台ヒントサーカス)

There are all together 7 active pages in this scrapbook, which hold altogether 11 images. Nine pictures, as the title indicates, are circus images. The other two are an invitation to the painter Ikeda Kazunori’s exhibition at the Aoki Gallery in Tokyo and the upper half of Gustave Moreau’s painting Saint George and the Dragon (1870-89). Except for the two non-circus images we do not know Hijikata’s original source. It seems, according to size and quality and headings that most of the circus images came from the same source. Eventual future access to Hijikata’s private library may reveal the original source the posters.

Six of the circus images are posters from the turn of the century advertising a diversity of spectacles for various enterprises, such as Alcazar D’Eté, Cirque Molier, Cirque D’Hiver or the Ringling Brothers among others. The subjects depicted in the posters range from a “freak show” exposing the Living Bird-Woman, to acrobats, buffoons, The Siberian Bears, and so forth. The remaining three pictures represent circus high wire artists. Within the circus posters Hijikata marked a series of details or parts of images and numbered them 1 through 7, indicating a string of images for an eventual movement.
sequence. He also added alphabetic markers to a couple of pictures. At this point we are unable to determine exactly how and where Hijikata integrated the highlighted chain of components in performance.

What we can determine is that Hijikata was definitely drawn to the theatrical concepts of spectacle, circus and even "freak show". Apart from the fact that he dedicated a scrapbook to the world of circus and titled it *Stage Hints*, we can also observe visual links between the collected circus images and Hijikata’s performances.

Let us go back for a moment to Hijikata’s work *Hijikata Tatsumi to nihonjin: nikutai no hanran* as described in Chapter 3. The first part of this performance, the processional, is by nature a spectacle. The parade through the witnessing audience was certainly impressive by virtue of its sheer size and unusual appearance, even for a modern "dance" performance. It may also have been disturbing either through the presence of live animals or through Hijikata’s appearance in a woman’s dress, worn backwards. Furthermore the regal presentation of the main performer in a palanquin is remarkable.

Kurihara Nanako among other scholars suggests that the Roman Emperor Hellogabulus inspired *Hijikata Tatsumi to nihonjin*. She

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explains that Hijikata knew through his friend Shibusawa of Artaud’s *From Heliogabulus, or the Anarchist Crowned*. Kurihara specifies that:

> The entrance on a palanquin, a golden phallus, and the spasmodic movements, among other elements, are reminiscent of the passage from Artaud’s *From Heliogabulus, or the Anarchist Crowned* that describe the emperor’s arrival in Rome in a wagon covered with awnings.\(^{195}\)

If we read the quoted passage of Artaud’s account of the emperor’s entrance we can definitely see the literary and content parallels of *Heliogabulus* and *Hijikata Tatsumi to nihonjin*. If we consult the Images of *Butai hinto* we get an idea of where Hijikata borrowed the visuals for his “quote” of the emperor’s arrival. On the last page of *Butai hinto* Hijikata pasted the following image:

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\(^{195}\) Ibid, 67.
There are several visual parallels between *Hijikata Tatsumi to nihonjin* and *Solomon and the Queen of Sheba* that indicate a direct visual (not content or literary) stage adoption of the latter one. As in the poster above, Hijikata used two palanquins in his procession, the leading one carrying himself, the following one carrying the pig. Hijikata's palanquin (a mounted bicycle wagon) had wheels attached on both sides lending it the looks and feel of a chariot, similar to the one Solomon is riding in. The pig's palanquin had no wheels, but was carried like a festival *mikoshi*, or float, on the shoulders of a group of men, as was the Queen of Sheba. Like the palanquins in the poster, both palanquins in the performance were covered by a baldachin or awning. Furthermore we see helpers in both processions carrying long
wooden poles (with fans and other props), which lend the procession a certain upright and regal feeling. Other visual parallels include the use of animals and portable lighting in the procession. For example, near the left border of the poster we can see a six-armed chandelier as a lighting instrument for Solomon’s parade. Hijikata had helpers “wear” illuminated barbershop poles on their backs, providing vertical accentuation as well as portable lighting for the procession.

As I demonstrated in *Nadare Ame*, Hijikata did not just borrow images or elements of pictures one to one according to their appearance. As we can see in the example of “procession” above, Hijikata did artistically process, transform and recycle the images of Solomon and Sheba for his own specific use.
Scrapbook Volume 4:

Zaishitsuhen ni Fôtorie, (On Material II Fautrier, 材質編２フォートリエ)

A total of 16 active pages, including the cover comprise the Scrapbook Volume 4: Zaishitsuhen ni Fôtorie. The title, hand written in Japanese is barely visible on the spine of the scrapbook. Eleven pages (from 2 to 12) compile altogether 20 images, while the last four pages contain solely notes by Hijikata. Except for page 12, which is an arrangement of six unidentified small cutout details from several larger images, the volume grasps only paintings created by the four modern artists Abe Nobuyo, Francis Bacon, Robert Delaunay and Jean Fautrier (in alphabetic order). Abe Nobuyo contributed the three lithographs titled Three O’clock in the Morning, Fall In!, and Four Gay Caballeros, created in 1961. Bacon is represented with the 1957 painting Study for a Portrait of Van Gogh III. Delaunay is represented with two 1913 paintings Sun and Moon. Fautrier’s work however embodies ten paintings created between 1927 and 1962, and makes up half of the volume’s total images.

196 All cutout details on page 12 depict human bodies in a variety of different situations and positions and most appear to originate from Hieronymus Bosch’s triptych, Garden of Earthly Delights.
What is striking in this volume is that all the modern paintings are abstract and expressive in nature. Even though the titles, such as Fautrier's *Nude* or the depicted forms, i.e., Bacon's *Study for a Portrait of Van Gogh III*, indicate figurative motifs, the dominating artistic quality/texture is abstract and expressive. The images live through their materials, textures, structures, and patterns rather than through the meaning of the objects.

This selection from the collected abstract works in order of their appearance in this scrapbook will demonstrate the overall nature of *Zaishitsuhen ni Fotorie*.

Fig. 68. Three O'clock in the Morning 1961
Abe Nobuya
*Mizue* 683, February 1962

Fig. 69. Fall In! 1961
Abe Nobuya
*Mizue* 683, February 1962
Fig. 70. *Nude* 1957
Jean Fautrier
*BT* 302, September 1968

Fig. 72. *Entanglement* 1959
Jean Fautrier
*BT* 302, September 1968

Fig. 74. *Study for Portrait*.. 1957
Francis Bacon
*BT* 331, August 1970

Fig. 75. *Otage* 1945
Jean Fautrier
*BT* 302, September 1968

Fig. 76. *Moon* 1913
Robert Delaunay
*Mizue* 749, June 1967
This is opposite to the volumes we encountered so far, which depicted primarily images with a focus on the objects, which were in the majority human figures.

So how did Hijikata eventually make use of the abstract images in this volume to create his stage performances? A direct borrowing of forms to produce possible body postures or stage settings seems rather unlikely. More probable is that Hijikata focused on the internal structure, the expressiveness and on the material of the art works. Consequently Hijikata decided to adapt these non-literal images to his performance medium.

Kurihara provides us with an English translation of the notes Hijikata added to one of the images, namely Bacon’s Study for a Portrait of Van Gogh III.\(^{198}\) This gives us an initial hint as to the conceptual relationship between the images in this volume and Hijikata’s stage art. From the overall text, which is divided into five sections, we can assert that Hijikata did not write only about or in connection to the specific painting embellishing this page, but also referenced other images in this and other volumes, other painters, and other “worlds” as well.

Hijikata began Section 1 with: “Establish a study of different movements and promote fusion, not contrast”.

The paintings above, especially Fautrier’s, are an intricate interplay or fusion of the four elements of painting: material-color-structure-form. Even by observing the original pieces, one can hardly make out which element contributed in what way to the overall impression. The common functions of the elements material-color-structure-form are blended into a new independent whole.

He continued: “The mixture of a [beast?] body of female [illegible] in Princess Kaguya is clear on this point.” Fautrier, in Nude (Figure 70) blended and fused the body of a beast (cow, goat, etc.), with the female body and created a new abstract mythical being. Princess Kaguya, as described in a legend of the 4th century, was herself a fabled or abstract being fusing different worlds, such as bamboo, human earthly world and the moon (people). From Hijikata’s notes it is not discernible how and where he fused Fautrier’s material and Princess Kaguya. We know that in December of 1975, Hijikata choreographed the butō recital, listed in Keio’s database as One-year Anniversary of the Opening of Asbestos Hall: Asbestos Hall Performance in December: Mirror of Sacrificing Great Dance, featuring the piece Ankokuban Kaguya hime (The Utter Darkness Version of Princess Kaguya, 暗黒版かぐやひめ) for the group Hakutōbō (White 208
Peach Blossom, 白桃花; also translated as White Peach Cluster). To date, there are no published stage photographs, which would make a visual examination of Hijikata’s fusion of Fautrier material and Princess Kaguya comprehensible.

However, Hijikata provided additional hints with his notes connected to specific images. In image IDN0409-1 (Fig. 72) he pointed with six straight lines to the center of the right part of the structure and writes horizontally フォトリエ 2 (Fautrier 2). If we take his hints literally it is clear that Hijikata was interested in the material and the structure of this section of the painting. A closer examination of this part reveals that the materials used here by Fautrier, and in almost all of his paintings collected in this volume are plaster of Paris, sand and gouache. Hijikata’s body make-up at the time of Kinjiki (1959) was originally close to black. Beginning with the 1961 performance of Han’in han’yôsha no hiru sagari no higi sanshô (Secret Ceremony of a Hermaphrodite in the Early Afternoon: Three Chapters), he began to use white make-up in the form of plaster. The plaster was usually applied wet before the show. It started to crack and fracture during the performance, leaving a crust of arid material on the skin, similar in

199 According to several accounts (e.g., Baird, 32) Hijikata applied a mixture of grease and oil and soot to darken the naked parts of his body.
200 See Kurihara Nanako, The most Remote Thing in the Universe, 111-113, for a detailed account of the subject of white make-up.
appearance to the highlighted crackled sections of Fautrier’s paintings. In later productions, such as the 1972 performance *Hōsôtan* (Story of the Small Pox) Hijikata still applied the plaster at least partially on his skin to emphasize a morbid or leprosy stricken body. Hijikata did not get the idea of using plaster as body make-up from Fautrier’s images, but the latter confirms Hijikata’s visual choices as well as the aesthetic affinity of the two artists.
Scrapbook Volume 5:

*Kojiki-Hanako Matieru* (Beggar-Hanako Material, 乞食・花子マチエル)

*Beggar-Hanako Material* encloses eleven active pages, including the front cover. The title is scribbled in pencil on the outside of the front cover, which also shows tape and glue traces of a once mounted, and now unknown image. Similar remnants can be found on page ten. Ten images and parts of images adorn the remaining nine pages. The featured artist in this volume, as the title hints, is Hieronymus Bosch (c.1450-1516), represented with all together three drawings of *Les Mendiants/Les Mendicants* (The Beggars/Cripples) and two sketches by Hijikata of details from the drawings.

Images of seven other (not shown here) artists accompany Bosch's work. Their names and their works are listed here in order of appearance: Aubrey Beardsley (1887-1895) with a *Christmas Card*, depicting Madonna with Christ child; Mario Prassinos with *L'Empératrice* (The Emperesse); an unidentified artist (most likely also Prassinos) with a detail of an unknown surrealist gravure (possibly from the 1955 series of *Les Astres* (Asters); François Heaulmé (1927-2005) with *La Charrette des Morts* (The Wagon of Death); an anonymous 12th-century artist with a fragment of a Byzantine mosaic.
from the Torcello cathedral depicting *The Last Judgment*; Fra (Beato) Angelico (c. 1387/95-1455) with a detail of the hell section of *The Last Judgment* from the frescos at San Marco in Firenze, and a second anonymous artist with the detail of an ornamented wooden manuscript from the ancient Sassanian Persian city Taq-i-Bustan (c. 226–651 AD).

What brings together these artworks so different in style and created in such a variety of time periods? Ninety percent of the images illustrate the human figure in different poses and situations. This could have been the driving reason to choose the images as the source of inspiration to create movements or poses for performance. In a deeper analysis, we discover that all the humans depicted are somehow suffering, either in the way they are portrayed or for what they are. This is obvious in *Les Mendiants*, and *La Charrette des Morts*, as well as in the illustrations of hell in *The Last Judgment*. Hijikata did emphasize this human suffering with his pencil marks in several images. The human suffering is not so noticeable in other images such as Beardsley’s *Christmas Card* portraying Madonna and the Christ Child. The content of this image itself however, carries the known potential of the future crisis and suffering in the lives of Maria and Jesus. Perhaps it is important to mention here that Beardsley is most famous for his dark and nihilistic style.
It seems that Hijikata's overall motivation for choosing the images in this volume was human suffering, pain and crisis rather than an artistic affiliation to one or another artist or preference for one or the other art style. This supports the common understanding of Hijikata's butô, that it emphasizes the dark side of human existence.\textsuperscript{201} Furthermore, Hijikata was drawn to themes and characters from social outcasts such as thieves, prostitutes, homosexuals, cripples and beggars, which he often included in his writings as well as in performance. The same phenomenon can be observed in the works of Hieronymus Bosch, the featured artist in this scrapbook. Paul Vandenbroeck notes in his article, *Humanity as its Own Worst Enemy-Bosch's View of Society:*

> The social group condemned by Bosch includes not only beggars, but also all those whose 'uselessness' rendered them suspect in the eyes of citizens and authorities. In addition to out-and-out loafers, this category also took in usurers, seducers of woman and children, the dissolute, adulterous and lecherous, and criminals of all types.\textsuperscript{202}

Unlike Hijikata, Bosch was a loyal middle class bourgeois and did not glorify the outcasts per se but rather included them as part of his


critical portrayal of medieval society. Throughout his oeuvre Bosch integrated outcasts as part of a larger image. Occasionally, as in *Les Mendicants*, Bosch dedicated entire works to the unfortunates of society. Hijikata chose precisely these images from Bosch’s work for this volume.

Hijikata glued two versions of Figure 77 from two different sources in his scrapbook, the first one on page IDN0503, the second

\[\text{Fig. 77. IDN0503 and IDN0505}
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*Les Mendients/Les Mendicants 1510?*
Hieronymus Bosch
*Mizue 861, 1976*

\[\text{Fig. 78. IDN0504}
\]

*Les Mendients/Les Mendicants 1510?*
Hieronymus Bosch (?)\(^{103}\)
*Mizue 861, 1976*

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\(^{103}\) According to Joe Koldeweij, hundreds of copies and imitations of Bosch’s drawings and paintings appeared after his death. Figure 78 cannot with certainty be attributed to Bosch. An anonymous follower might as well have painted it.

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one on page IDN0505, demonstrating his special interest in these images.

From *Les Mendiants* of page 503 he cut out the four central figures from the bottom, the second seated one-legged cripple from the bottom right, as well as the two beggars leaning on crutches in the very top right of the drawing. We don't know at this point what became of the extracted material. Hijikata may have glued them on a separate sheet in order to work with the figures separately, as he did on other occasions. Like many other scrapbook sheets, this sheet may have become lost over time.

From page 503 he hand copied the two following figures on page 502:

Fig. 79. Detail of *IDN0503/05 Les Mendiants 1510? Hieronymus Bosch Mizue 861, 1976*

Fig. 80. Detail of *IDN0503/05 Les Mendicants 1510? Hieronymus Bosch Mizue 861, 1976*

Hijikata wrote on top of his hand drawn sketch of Figure 79 the word マント (*manteau, cape*), indicating he was merely interested in the
clothing of this beggar rather than in his stance or pose. He also indicates the cape in Figure 77 and adds the alphabetic marker “C.” The manteau (and/or manteau of pus\textsuperscript{204}) is part of a series of pencil marks alphabetically labeled from A to F, highlighting different beggars. Figure 79 above for example carries the marker D. A closer look at Hijikata’s mark reveals that he does not call attention to the entire beggar, but to specific parts of the figures. The reading of the pencil indications on figure 77 would then be as follows:

- A = leg/foot/head\textsuperscript{205}
- B = neck
- C = cape (or manteau or manteau of pus)
- D = belly
- E = arm
- F = face

In addition to these alphabetically labeled body parts Hijikata pointed out four other body parts without any numerical or alphabetic indicator. The parts are: hand/wrist/amputated leg/ and foot.

This shows again, that Hijikata did not simply borrow a pose or posture of a figure or picture one to one, but synthesized the images to create “a new unified whole resulting from the combination of

\textsuperscript{204} Baird, \textit{Butō and the Burden of History}, 204.

\textsuperscript{205} There are three “A” in this figure.
different ideas, influences or objects".\textsuperscript{206} His intention was to "adapt" parts of the images onto the stage.

Baird comes to a similar conclusion regarding Hijikata's application of Les Mendicants: "[...] Hijikata seems to have had in mind more than just replication of a bodily position. Rather he seems to have picked between six and nine beggars for portrayal on stage."\textsuperscript{207} I would like to emphasize that according to his marks, Hijikata picked elements or parts, rather than the entire postures of a number of Bosch's beggars to create a synthesis, "beggar" on stage.

Baird further notes: "Kobayashi Saga identified the beggar marked with E as one of the ones used in Story of the Smallpox."\textsuperscript{208} Let us then have a look at beggar E.

Not surprisingly, Hijikata labeled two beggars with E in this volume. Both E are on Figure 77, however on different pages. The beggar on the left side (Fig. 81) was marked with an E on page IDN0503. Hijikata's pencil mark still stands on this page, while the beggar labeled with E was cut out. The detail on the right side (Fig. 82) is from page IDN0505 and part of the series marked A to F.

\textsuperscript{207} Baird, Butō and the Burden of History, 205.
\textsuperscript{208} Ibid.
If we search the publicly available stage photographs of *Story of the Smallpox* for a possible visual or postural match with the two beggars E depicted in figure 81 and 82 we might be disappointed. The best visual hint of Hijikata’s borrowing of the beggar E in Figure 81 can be found in Tanemura Suehiro, et al, eds., *Hijikata Tatsumi: Three Decades of Butoh Experiment*, 31. A detail of a larger photo of this performance shows Hijikata lying on his back on the ground in a pose somehow similar to that of the beggar in figure 81.

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If we go back to Bosch’s *Les Mendiants* we will find drawings that better match the above stage photograph, for example the beggar marked D on page N0505 (See Fig. 80). Furthermore, if we compare Bosch’s beggars with photographs taken from other performances of the same cycle as *Story of Small Pox*, we will find further evidence of the importance of this artist to Hijikata’s work. As we saw earlier, Hijikata proved to have special interest in the mantle of the several beggars. This cape reappeared in the performance *Nadare ame*. 

*Fig. 83. Detail from Story of Smallpox 1972
Photo: Unknown
Tanemura Suehiro, et al, eds., Hijikata Tatsumi: Three Decades of Butoh Experiment, 1993, 31*

*Fig. 84. Detail of IDN0505
Les Mendiants 1510?
Hieronymus Bosch
Mizue 861, 1976

*Fig. 85. Detail from Nadare ame 1972
Photo: Unknown
Morishita, Hijikata Tatsumi’s Butô, 2003, 142.*

*Fig. 86. Detail of IDN0505
Les Mendiants 1510?
Hieronymus Bosch
Mizue 861, 1976*
If we consult Ōuchida Keiya’s documentary film of *Story of Smallpox* we will find further important insights on Hijikata’s adaptation of Bosch’s beggars. Hijikata performed several solos sitting and lying on the ground. Many poses from these solos visually closely relate to some of the beggar poses shown above. Other beggars in Bosch’s drawing such as the one below come easily to one’s mind while watching the *Story of Smallpox*.

![Image of beggar drawing](https://example.com/image)

Fig. 87. Detail of *Les Mendiants* 1510? Hieronymus Bosch, *Mizue* 861, 1976

The body posture depicted in Figure 87 as well as several variations of it, still appear in Hijikata’s later solo piece *Shôjo* (Girl, 少女), which was

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210 Ōuchida Keiya’s 75 minute film is the only documentary of an entire performance of the cycle *27 Nights for four Seasons*. The film has been repeatedly shown on several occasions, such as the 2003 Butō Festival *Surrealism of the Body: Perspectives of Hijikata Tatsumi’s Butō*. The Hijikata Tatsumi Archives hold a video copy of this film. Furthermore, a 9 minute version of this film is part of a CD-ROM, which is included in the above-mentioned festival’s catalogue: Morishta, *Hijikata Tatsumi no butō*, 2003. Kurihara provides an in depth analysis of *Story of Smallpox* (Hōsōtan). Kurihara, *The Most Remote Thing in the Universe*, 226 -240.
part of the 1973 performance Natsu no arashi (Summer Storm, 夏の嵐) with the group Hangidaitôkan at Kyoto University.²¹¹

Furthermore, we can see in Figure 88 and Figures 83 and 84 that many of the beggars are using crutches on their knees and feet as well as their hands. These crutches, especially in Figure 88 look very similar to the Japanese geta used by three female performers in a section of scene three of Story of Smallpox (not shown here). Most probably Hijikata’s motivation for using geta on stage did not spring from Bosch’s painting, but rather from “nostalgia for Premodern Japan.”²¹²

Towards the end of scene three the women “take one geta off and then stamp across stage with one geta-clad foot and one bare foot—clap, thud, clap, thud.”²¹³ The audience at Story of Smallpox would have heard precisely the same sound if three of Bosch’s beggars with one barefoot leg and one wooden crutch would have crossed the stage. It may have been Hijikata’s intention to add an awkward or eerie character of cripples to the geta walk of the three women.

In another short section from the same scene, the three one geta-clad woman are seated on the ground. They are holding the other

²¹¹ A copy of Aral Mlsao’s 71 minute film documentary of this performance can be purchased at: www.imageforum.co.jp
²¹² Kurihara, The Most Remote Thing In the Universe, 227.
²¹³ Baird, Butô and the Burden of History, 189.
geta in one hand and tapping them on the ground, producing a clunking noise as if walking on their geta-clad hand. I don’t think this particular movement phrase originated from “nostalgia for Premodern Japan”, but rather that it is a direct visual and audio borrowing from Bosch’s many crippled and/or legless beggars, using crutches (See Figure 87).

This scrapbook clearly illustrates Hijikata’s intricate and sophisticated method of using the collected images as inspiration to create his stage characters. Furthermore, it demonstrates that in even so-called “Japanese oriented” performances, such as Hôsôtan Hijikata also adapted western images or ideas to portray Japanese themes and issues, hence “adapting parts of images”.

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Scrapbook Volume 6:

*Jinbutsuhen* [zaishitsu no aru jinbutsu] (On People/Character [People with Material], 人物編 [材質のある人物])

In broad summary, *Jinbutsuhen* feels like a fast-forwarded art history overview of works depicting human figures. Forty artworks are displayed on twenty-six active pages in this volume. The many and varied artistic styles include the decorative sculpture of the 7th Century German Langobard, an early medieval bible painting depicting the last judgment (again), the Flemish Golden Age, European Impressionism and Japanese *yōga*, DADA, tachisme, Art Brut and 1960’s and 70’s, Japanese and Western surrealism and expressionism. Most of the art works - 36 out of 40, are illustrations of one or several human beings or at least traces of them. From the few examples presented below we can make out the overall impression and emotional feel of this volume. It is a rather gloomy and dark portrayal of humankind, which we can easily rediscover in many of Hijikata’s performances.
Fig. 88. Cut-outs  IDN0604-2/3
Paysage au Negre 1954
Jean Dubuffet
Mizue 806, March 1972

Fig. 89. IDN0605
Two Bodies 1970
Bernard Schultze
Mizue 688, July 1962

Fig. 90. IDN0607-2
Shevening 1640's?
Jan van Goyen
Mizue 750, July 1967

Fig. 91. IDN0607-3
Slaughtered Ox 1959
Vittorio Bazaria
Mizue 677, Sept. 1961
Fig. 92. IDN0608
Detail of Portal, *San Giovanni* Church. Lucca, 7th Century
*Mizue* 745, Feb. 1967

Fig. 93. IDN0612
*Woman of Babylon?* Yokô Tetsuhiko
*Mizue* 806, March 1972

Fig. 94. IDN0614
*Head?* 1947
Unknown (Tapies/Dubuffet?)
*Mizue* 677, Sept. 1961

Fig. 95. IDN0615
*Weinendes Kind* 1894
Edward Munch
*Mizue* 675, July 1961
The broad diversity of the art works seems to indicate that Hijikata was not searching for a specific theme or inspirational style. Rather, as the title of this volume indicates, he used this volume to create a visual pool containing "human materials/characters" as a stimulus to epitomize the human figure. In several images Hijikata used pencil marks to isolate various body parts, such as heads, hands, elbows, backs etc., creating a sort of catalogue or a potential artistic vocabulary of human features for possible stage productions. Due to
the diversity of the images as well as the vast array of highlighted
details, a solid visual comparison between the Images of Jinbutsuhen
and Hijikata’s stage images will requires it’s own future extensive
examination.
Scrapbook Volume 7:

Tori-shigi (Bird-Snipe, 鳥一鶏)

Hijikata’s artistic attention to birds is evident throughout his performance career. From his very first short solo in Haniwa no mai (Dance of Burial Mound Figurine, 1958) to Hijikata Tatsumi to nihonjin he repeatedly integrated a chicken into his performances in one way or the other. He also choreographed a work titled Toritachi (Birds, 鳥たち) as part of the 1960 Hijikata Tatsumi Dance Experiences Recital.\textsuperscript{214} Unfortunately there are no visual documents of this performance available.\textsuperscript{215}

In Tori-shigi Hijikata takes the bird theme beyond chickens or roosters. On 33 active pages he collected altogether 43 artworks illustrating a variety of birds including snipes, cranes, roosters, pigeons, eagles, and peacocks, and several unspecific birdlike renderings of humans. Hijikata’s approach to birds in this scrapbook breaks the common visual concept of feathered animals. He also includes images of fish, snakes, mammals, human beings and purely

\textsuperscript{214} Depending on the source, the titles of performances often vary slightly. As mentioned at the beginning I try to follow the titles as they appear in the Hijikata Tatsumi Archive’s database at Kelo University. The mixed Japanese and English title for this event is listed as Hijikata Tatsumi 650 EXPERIENCE no kai (土方巽650EXPERIENCEの会). Related performance pieces included: Flowers, Seeds, Crisis, Forbidden Colors, Divine, Dark Body, Dance Experience 3 Chapters, and Disposal Place.

\textsuperscript{215} For a written account of Hijikata Tatsumi Dance Experiences Recital see Baird, Butô and the Burden of History, 75–85.
abstract patterns, which by their visual characteristics seem to fit Hijikata's artistic concept of birds.

As for the artistic styles of the works, we can see again that Hijikata did not favor any particular genre. As in other scrapbooks, the chronologies and stylistic origins of the masterpieces range from early Greco-Roman artifacts of the Begram Mountains in Afghanistan to European Renaissance painting, to 19th Century Western realism and Japanese Meiji-period *nihonga* to 20th Century *yōga* and Western avant-garde, such as Fauvism, and up to 1960's Japanese and European Surrealism. It is noticeable, that in this scrapbook Hijikata paid increased attention to works that originated in Japan. A partial outline of the artworks collected in *Tori-shigi* will illustrate Hijikata's broadened concept of birds.

Fig. 98. IDN0704
*Dolphin* c. 100BC/AC
Begram Mountains, Afghanistan
*Mizue* 705, Nov. 1963

Fig. 99. Detail of IDN0706-2
*Nocturne* 1947
Marc Chagall
*Mizue* 705, Nov. 1963
Fig. 100.  
*Magic Bird* c. 1960's  
Hasegawa Kiyoshi  
*Mizue* 737, July 1966

Fig. 101.  
*Bird* early 1960's  
M. Yata  
*Mizue* 684, March 1962

Fig. 102.  
*Women-birds* 1959  
Max Walter Svanberg  
*Mizue* 754, Nov. 1967

Fig. 103.  
"Rooster" 1809  
unknown  
*Mizue* 802, Nov. 1971
The one image at the beginning of this scrapbook (page 3) that draws our attention is the painting *Snipe*\(^{216}\) by Charles Wirgman.\(^{217}\)

Since this painting contributed to the name of this scrapbook it deserves closer examination.

Wirgman made a naturalistic illustration of three game birds clamped by their necks between two wooden sticks. Until the mid-20th

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\(^{216}\) The English title used here is a translation of the Japanese title *Shigi no zu* (Drawing/Illustration of Snipes, しょうの図) as it appeared in Hijikata’s original source, *Mizue* 737, July 1966. Wirgman’s birds are from the quail or partridge families, farmed or hunted for their eggs or as game. Snipes are birds, which are recognizable through their extreme long beaks, and long legs, which allow them to wade through shallow water and to search for crustaceans in the mud or sand. Snipes and their eggs are usually not considered to be food. However, to keep it simple, I will refer to Wirgman’s birds as “Snipes”.

\(^{217}\) Charles Wirgman (1832-1891) was a British cartoonist and illustrator who lived in Yokohama, Japan from 1861 until his death. He was the founder of the magazine *Japan Punch* and worked as an illustrator for the *Meiji Period Japan* section of the *Illustrated London News*. Wirgman worked intensively with the Japan documentary photographer Felice Beato. He also was an influential teacher of Western drawing and painting in Japan. Among his more famous students was the *ukiyo-e* artist Kobayashi Korochika. For an in-depth view of Wirgman’s life and work, see Jozef Rogala, *The Genius of Mr. Punch: Life in Yokohama’s Foreign Settlement, Charles Wirgman and the Japan Punch, 1862-1887*, Yokohama: Yurindo, 2004.
Century this was a common means of displaying all sorts of smaller fowl for sale at markets or butcher shops.

Judging from Hijikata's elaborate marks and pencil notes on this image, he took a special interest in this painting. He singled out the bird's heads, necks, feet, wings and so forth. He also paid careful attention to the rig holding the game for display. With several marks and short words he focused on the wooden sticks and the rope as well as the knots binding them together.

In several stage photographs of the 1972 performances Gibasan and the 1973 recitals Shizukana ie Wirgman's Snipes reappeared in new gestalt.

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218 A copy of Hijikata's original scrapbook page IDN0703 is available in Morishita, *Hijikata Tatsumi no butō*, 163.
Interesting in this stage adaptation^{219} of Wirgman's painting is that Hijikata did not try to reconstruct the physicality of the snipes or their dramatic naturalistic depiction. Hijikata transformed the practical, everyday method of displaying dead birds into an artistic system to put on show the living characters in his performances, which might or might not have executed birdlike movements.

It is unlikely that anybody in the audience would have referenced this scene to the snipes of Charles Wirgman. However, the image of this specific scene does evoke dark feelings of being bound or strapped, imprisoned or even crucified.

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^{219} More detailed images of the 1973 recitals Shizukana ie for which Hijikata used the same rig are available in Morishita, Hijikata Tatsumi no butō, 160-162.
More than seventy images representing a vast selection of animals populate the 31 active pages of *Dōbutsuhen*. Next to illustrations of real creatures or parts of them, such as horses, cows, deer, dogs, birds, monkeys, rabbits, insects and humans there is also a variety of images depicting fable and fantasy animals such as Pegasus, the phoenix, “a spider-man” or fish-humans. However, the dominating species in *Dōbutsuhen* belong to the hoof family.

Time and place of creation of the artworks span at least 8,000 years, and geographically cover Africa, Europe, China and Japan. Consequently, the artistic styles of the images range from cave paintings, to Chia-Ching period porcelain decorations, to the early European Renaissance, to 20th Century European and Japanese modern styles, such as surrealism, cubism, expressionism and yoga. See the representative selection below:
Fig. 108. Detail IDN0802-2
"Brindled Cows" c. 6000 BC
Caves at Tassili Sahara
Mizue 709, March 1964

Fig. 109. IDN0803-2
Mignonnette 1967
Hoshizake Kohnosuke
Mizue 756, January 1968

Fig. 110. IDN0806-1
Unknown
Salvador Dali
Mizue 717, Nov. 1964

Fig. 111. IDN0806-2
Melancholia I 1514
Albert Dürer
Mizue 717, Nov. 1964

Fig. 112. Detail IDN0807-2
Blue and White Flask c. 1550
Chia-Ching Dynasty
Mizue 745, February 1967

Fig. 113. Detail IDN0809
Temptation of St. Anthony 1501
Hieronymus Bosch
Mizue 778, Nov. 1969 (?)
Fig. 114. IDN0814-2
Dog 1954
Suda Kunitaro
Mizue 697, March 1963

Fig. 115. IDN0809
"Drawing" c. 1823
Eugene Delacroix
Mizue 735, May 1966

Fig. 116. IDN0815-2
Detail
Prayer Book of Kaiser Maximilian 1515
Lucas Cranach
Mizue 735, May 1966
If we consult photographs or films of Hijikata’s performances we will not find any “realistic” portrayals of animals on the stage. Nor will we find a posture or gesture that directly correlates with any one specific animal image in this scrapbook. I suggest there are two main reasons for this.

First, Hijikata seems to have used the images as a source for inspiration and not as a visual model for replication. Second, as we were able to see from other scrapbooks above, Hijikata when borrowing, adapting and adopting images, commonly translated them for his own use, according to his personal aesthetic and artistic ideas. Furthermore, we have observed that Hijikata often synthesized different images, wholly or in part, to create a single new and independent art piece in the form of a human posture or movement.
However, we might still be lucky and find examples of a synthesis of images from *Dōbutsuhen* produced on Hijikata’s stage. Lucia Schwellinger states that Hijikata chose from the three basic source categories “animal depiction”, “objects and plants” and “deities, ghosts and human figures” to create “Wahrnehmungsausschnitte” (awareness-section) to transfer images into movement. She points out the movement sequence “cow” as being one of Hijikata’s “comparatively ‘realistic’” animal depictions. She directs us to the 1972 performance of *Hōsōtan*, in which a group of male performers executed the “cow” movement sequence. No still pictures of this movement sequence are yet publicly available. By cross-referencing with Ōuchida’s documentary film of *Hōsōtan* we are able to find the movement sequence “cow”. Fortunately Hijikata repeatedly “recycled” elements from earlier performances in later ones. Towards the end of the 1973 recital *Shizukana ie* the male performers as shown in the photograph below enact the movement sequence “cow”. Although these movements are not directly borrowed and adapted from a single image, they seem to be a synthesis of adopted parts of several images and Hijikata’s poetic diction. Lucia Schwellinger provides on page 126

a German translation of Hijikata’s verbal instructions for the movement sequence “cow” as recollected by Mikami.\textsuperscript{221}

Fig. 118. Detail
*Shizukana ie* 1973
Photo: Makoto Onozuka

A future analysis paralleling the animal images in *Dôbutsuhen* and Mikami’s presentation of Hijikata’s related verbal instructions may very probably unearth further enlightening insights into Hijikata’s work.

\textsuperscript{221} For Insights on Hijikata’s teaching, consult Mikami Kayo, *Utsuwa to shite no shintai*. The instructions for the movement sequence “cow” can be found on page 110.
Scrapbook Volume 9:

Dabinchi (Da Vinci, ダBINCHI)

Dabinchi stands apart from the already encountered volumes through two specific characteristics.

First, it is the "purest" of all scrapbooks. Apart from one tiny unidentifiable snippet, we only find artworks created by Leonardo da Vinci. Hijikata mounted all the images into this scrapbook uncropped, using the full page of the source. He did not cut out a specific detail, nor did he juxtapose different reproductions on the same page.

Second, all the images were taken from a single source, namely the special issue number 48 of Mizue, published in April 1967. This issue, titled レオナルド ダ ビンチ (Leonardo da Vinci) was dedicated to the works of this great master. Hijikata chose 15 images from the 45 full-page plates shown in this issue.

We know from Sherwin Nuland that da Vinci "as were most of his fellow Italian citizens at the time, [...] was a Catholic" and "a deeply moral individual who strived to live ethically [...]".222

The 15 chosen plates can easily be divided by overall subject matter or themes into da Vinci's two main major genres of work, namely secular and religious.

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The secular group includes only three works. Two are portraits of 15th Century aristocrats, Lady Ginevra de' Benci and the Marquise of Mantua, Isabella d'Este. The remaining one, *Uragano su Villagio Alpestre*, is a drawing of a north Italian landscape.

Of the 12 images belonging to the religious group, almost half are studies for Leonardo's *Cenacolo* (The Last Supper) or details from the finished work. The major theme of the other pieces is the study or portrayal of Jesus as a young child.

From the overall nature of the images we are led to the conclusion that Hijikata was affected or attracted by the religious content of the paintings or by the deeply spiritual artistic qualities of da Vinci's renderings. However, we know from Hijlkata's own statements that he did not care much about religion per se. He postulates:

> I am very aware that my butoh originates somewhere totally different from the performing arts related to religion – Buddhism, Shintoism or whatever – I was born from the mud.\(^{223}\)

Therefore we must dig deeper into the pure formal and visual qualities of the chosen images to find Hijlkata's possible use of da Vinci's oeuvre as represented here in a brief overview.

Fig. 119. Detail N0904
Battesimo di Cristo 1474-1475
Leonardo da Vinci
Mizue 48, April 1967

Fig. 120. N0907
La Vergina della Rocce 1483
Leonardo da Vinci
Mizue 48, April 1967

Fig. 121. Study for N0908
Il Cenacolo 1495-1496
Leonardo da Vinci
Mizue 48, April 1967

Fig. 122. Detail N0911
Il Cenacolo Cristo 1495 - 1498
Leonardo da Vinci
Mizue 48, April 1967
From the overview of the collected images we see that most of the works are close-ups focusing on the head of a portrayed person or saint. Within this volume Hijikata pencil marks and notes sparingly. The main "themes" highlighted by his few hand drawn lines are the hair and the eyes of the depicted faces. This seems to indicate that Hijikata was searching for possible facial and hair characteristics for his stage work.

We saw in the description of Hijikata Tatsumi to nihonjin in Chapter 3, as well as in Figure 11 in Chapter 4 that in several performances, Hijikata made use of visual references to connect his (stage) persona to the persona of Jesus Christ. The second last image in this volume, da Vinci's Il Cenacolo, supports the "staged" artistic
affiliation of the two personas. Hijikata only points out the figure of Jesus with his pencil marks, especially the head. However, the very last image Hijikata mounted in this scrapbook is a detail or facial close-up from *Il Cenacolo*, depicting the heads of the three apostles seated to the left side of Jesus. The fact that Hijikata chose this image supports the allusion that Hijikata’s main intent was to hit upon visual, and not religious material from da Vinci and to go beyond Jesus’ persona. A visual comparison of Hijikata’s stage head and da Vinci’s painted head illustrates their graphic affiliation.

In addition, the fact that all images collected in this volume were available to Hijikata as early as April 1967 (almost two years before *Hijikata Tatsumi to nihonjin*) makes Hijikata’s borrowing of da Vinci’s
head for his stage work very likely. Therefore Hijikata seems to have been using the method of “borrowing and replicating” images and their substances to create stage images since his transitional artistic period.
Scrapbook Volume 10:

*Picasso no Jinbutsu* (Picasso Character, ピカソの人物)

If the sheer number of images representing any individual artist were the criterion to name Hijikata’s preferred artist among the many appearing in the 16 scrapbooks, Picasso would definitely be the favorite. In addition to more than a dozen Picasso works collected in the other scrapbooks, in Scrapbook Volume 10: *Picasso no Jinbutsu* nearly 50 reproductions of this famous artist’s work are shown on thirty-two active pages, including the front cover. As I established in Chapter 4, images in Hijikata’s scrapbooks reflect the material available from his two main sources, *BT* and *Mizue* in close proportion. The same applies here. The single issue of *Mizue* 694, December 1962, provided almost 30 reproductions of the roughly 50 Picasso pieces collected in *Picasso no Jinbutsu*. These 30 artworks are Picasso’s studies and sketches, which contributed eventually to his famous work *Guernica*.

*Mizue* 694 apparently featured Picasso’s anti-war painting *Guernica* to celebrate the occasion of the first public exhibition of this work in Japan. From a brief summary of the publisher’s note in English on the Introductory page titled “*Guernica: Picasso Furioso*”, we will catch a glimpse of how Picasso and *Guernica* were presented to and received by Tokyo’s art society.
On November 3, a Japanese holiday known as “Cultural Day” [Bunko no hi], the National Museum of Western Art (designed by Le Corbusier) opened a display of works having to do with Picasso’s renowned “Guernica”. Included in the exhibition were some sixty designs and sketches for the painting [...].

The many reproductions of the works exhibited in the National Museum of Western Art were presented by Mizue alongside an article by the critic Tatsuo Ōshima. The publisher comments in English:

The cry of “Guernica”, in Ōshima’s opinion is the cry of the Japanese poet writing of Hiroshima: “Give me back myself; give me back all those who are linked with me.” [...]

Ōshima’s conclusion: “Three great works, Michelangelo’s ‘Last Judgment’, Gericault’s ‘Raft of the Medusa’ and ‘Guernica’ are alike in that they express in the most dramatic fashin [sic] man’s position and his feeling in time of crisis. [...] ‘Guernica’s’ journey will not end and people will continue to acclaim ‘la victoire de “Guernica.”’ [Sic]

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225 Ōshima refers here to the French poet Paul Eluard (1895-1952, real name Eugene Grindel). Eluard was an Important Initiator of the surrealist movement. He wrote in 1938 the poem La Victoire de Guernica based on Picasso’s painting. The poem was used as the commentary (sound track) of Alain Resnais’ 1950 motion picture Guernica, which was also presented at the 1962 Picasso exhibition at Tokyo’s
With the same pathos and logos Japanese painters must reveal the tragedy of Hiroshima”. 226

Ôshima drew a direct analogy between Guernica and Hiroshima based on the tremendous human tragedy and crisis that resulted from similar events at very different locations and very different times.

Some, mainly Western, scholars suggest a comparable analogy between (Hijikata’s) butô and the bombing of Hiroshima. This parallel (butô-Hiroshima), however, seems to be based upon the similar visual quality of the images of bombed Hiroshima and images presented on the butô stage and not on any factual relationship between the events. Furthermore the temporal and geographical proximity from a Western viewpoint of butô and Hiroshima might have encouraged the linkage of butô to the destruction of Hiroshima.

Before establishing a possible analogy between Hijikata and Guernica it seems necessary to provide some background information on the masterpiece at hand. On April 26, 1937 Guernica, a historic city in the northern Spanish province of Basque was bombed and almost totally destroyed by the German Luftwaffe under the command of General Franco. 227 The “effectiveness” of this first carpet-bombing in

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history of a city and its civilians established this specific kind of air raid as a general and efficient tactic of warfare. Since Guernica, carpet-bombing whenever available and affordable was and is still used by warlords of all races and nationalities worldwide. The simple atomic bombing over Hiroshima accomplished the same mass destruction as carpet-bombing and marked the most sophisticated and calamitous use of this modern means of warfare.

On May second 1937, six days after the horrific human tragedies resulting from the bombing of Guernica, Picasso started the monochromatic painting of the same name. Picasso’s expressive mural exposes in a most dramatic manner the horror and suffering of the mostly civilian victims.

![Guernica](image)

Fig. 127. Guernica 1937
Pablo Picasso
Mizue 694, December 1962

*Guernica* was first presented in the Spanish Pavilion at the Paris International Exhibition in July 1937. Over the years, it has become a
symbol of human protest against war and the fight for freedom. Many individuals and organizations with differing artistic and political orientations identified themselves with this painting as demonstrating their idealistic goals. One of the more famous of these organizations is the United Nations, which keeps a tapestry copy of Guernica on permanent display in the entrance of the Security Council chambers at its headquarters in New York City.228

Interesting for this study is how Hijikata "borrowed and adopted" the heavily loaded and prominent anti-war painting Guernica for his own purposes. Two general characteristics of this scrapbook define Hijikata's method of bringing Picasso's images into play.

First, from the nature of the pencil marks which direct our eye to details and sometimes to very small, almost unidentifiable parts of images, it seems that Hijikata was searching for raw material for his performances rather than for a specific image with particular visual information. The pencil marks call attention to image fragments such as hands, eyes, nostrils, hooves, skirts, horns, armpits, breasts, tongues, hair, teeth and so on, creating a compelling catalogue of

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228 The Guernica tapestry, created in 1958, was also on display at the 1962 exhibition at the National Museum of Western Art in Tokyo. Nelson Rockefeller donated it later on to the UN. Since then it serves the organization as a reminder of the horrors of war. The Guernica tapestry received new attention on February 5, 2003, the eve of the American led invasion of Iraq, when apparently "the Bush Administration pressured UN officials to cover the tapestry, rather than have it in the background while Powell or other U.S. diplomats argued for war on Iraq." See David Cohen. Hidden Treasures: What's so controversial about Picasso's Guernica? Slate, 2003.
Picasso material. Second, more than half of the displays in Picasso no Jinbutsu are partial cutouts of larger pictures, emphasizing sections with possible special interest or potential for Hijikata.

Hijikata applied the same methods when extrapolating Guernica from Mizue and gluing it into Scrapbook Volume 10: Picasso no Jinbutsu. First of all, he did not use the entire reproduction of Guernica. He only cut out three details and remounted them on IDN1013 with a new order, orientation and interrelationship. Hijikata then added two more details from other Picasso sketches onto the same page. Within this new collage Hijikata pointed out with pencil and six illegible words pertinent parts of several details, such as tongue, eyes, palms, and necks. Below is an approximate reconstruction of Hijikata’s new Guernica.229

229 I hand copied and added Hijikata’s pencil marks to the reproduction of IDN1013, in order to illustrate Hijikata’s interest in the images.
The way Hijikata treated *Guernica* indicates that he chose this painting for its potential for raw material to create performances. He did not use the entire image to display its inherent symbolism of the "cry against war." In all the scrapbooks, *Guernica* is the only direct anti-war painting (or war painting for that matter) that could indicate an eventual analogy between Hijikata's art and the art of war. It follows, therefore, that the images in the *butō-fu*, which are very closely related to Hijikata's stage work do not support any suggested affiliation between *butō* and the bombing of Hiroshima.
Due to the overwhelming quantity of images and Hijikata’s intriguing use thereof, a comprehensive visual comparison between Picasso’s work as represented in this scrapbook and stage images from Hijikata’s work would exceed the scope of this study, and will be addressed in future investigations.

However, like most scrapbooks *Picasso no Jinbutsu* is not “pure” and we find a handful of art works created by artists other than the featured Picasso. On the bottom of IDN1009, Hijikata added a detail of Peter Bruegel the Elder’s 1564 painting *Road to Calvary*. What stands out from this small section is a wooden wheel mounted horizontally on a long vertical wooden pole. A crow is perched on the edge of the wheel; a piece of fabric hangs from a spike. It is the illustration of a medieval European torture wheel, which can be found in many of Bruegel’s paintings.230

In Hijikata’s 1972 performances *Gibasan* and *Susamedama* we find a horizontal wheel hung from the grid as part of the stage design. The wheel had all kinds of findings, such as a horseshoe, tools, pieces of fabric and feathers, attached to it.

230 The punishment by the wheel included the weaving of the convict into the spokes of the wheel, after a variety of other procedures, which I will not explain here. The body (corpse) was then displayed to the public atop the pole until the birds cleaned up the mess. During festivals this rig also served the purpose of entertaining the populace. Fruit and sweets and all manner of other delights were attached to the wheel to lure children to climb up the pole and snatch a treat. To make this task more entertaining to the spectators and difficult for the children, the pole was coated with grease.
Consultations with archivists at Keio University and elaborate investigations into Japanese art history books did not reveal any previous artistic or cultural use of a horizontally mounted wooden chariot wheel in Japan. The visual and methodological similarity of the two images above, as well as the fact that Hijikata used this detail of Bruegel’s image in this volume strongly suggest a direct “borrowing and replicating” of the torture wheel idea. Bruegel created the Road to Calgary 350 years before Picasso started Guernica. Naturally, it differs extremely in style and method from Picasso’s masterpiece. Bruegel’s torture wheel implying human suffering and crisis nevertheless melts thematically perfectly with Picasso’s 30 plus Guernica sketches collected in this volume.
Scrapbook Volume 11:

*Kabeishi* (Stone Wall, 磯石)

Some of the 33 images collected on the 20 active pages of *Kabeishi* meet our expectations of finding illustrations with a stone-like or stonewall related look or feeling in a volume titled Stone Wall. From earlier scrapbooks presented in this study, we know that Hijikata assigned images to one or another scrapbook following his individual artistic judgment rather than applying established art-historical methods or analytical schemes with visual markers. This is very much the case in *Kabeishi*.

In *Kabeishi*, early Iranian artifacts rub shoulders with 19th Century symbolist art. Asian influenced Romanesque bas-reliefs share pages with works of Japanese surrealism from the 1950’s and from 20th Century European fauvism. We discover paintings of famous artists introduced in earlier scrapbooks, such as Picasso, Fautrier, Dubuffet or Odilon Redon displayed side by side with the works of a handful of newly introduced 20th Century Japanese artists, such as Asô Saburo, Fukazawa Ichiro, and Yazaki Torao. The sketchy reconstruction of IDN1110 below hopefully conveys to the reader the overall feel of this volume. The lines shooting out of the images indicate Hijikata’s pencil marks added to the images. Hijikata also
included a series of short notes, each consisting of two to five characters. Since his handwriting is hard to decipher and even harder to translate, the notes have been omitted in this reconstruction.

![Image of reconstructed IDN1110](image)

**Fig. 131. Reconstruction of IDN1110**

The images depicted in Figure 130 starting clockwise from the top left are: *Male Head c. 1950 (?)*, by Asô Saburo (1913-2000), *Detail of a Bas Relief*, Sassanian Period, Iran c. 500 AC, and *unknown*, 1901, Georges Rouault (1871-1958).
The very different nature and visual appearance of the three art works does not give us a clue why they are mounted together on one page. Hijikata’s pencil marks do not enlighten us much either, because they seem not to follow a readable scheme. Hijikata’s marks on Rouault’s painting stress the face of one of the three people in the left corner as well as the tree and birds in the center. The only objective component the three images have in common is that they all depict human beings, which does not explain why Asô’s and Rouault’s paintings qualify as stonewall pictures. The stone bas-relief mounted in the right corner of Figure 130 definitely meets the visual and conceptual criteria of a stone wall. Hijikata did not add any pencil marks to this image in order to specify a particular preference for either the group of dancers in the lower half or the decorative panels in the upper part of the stone wall.

For several recitals, such as Shizukana ie Hijikata incorporated a wooden backdrop wall as part of the stage design. Three rows of 12 wooden panels (sliding door shutters of Japanese homes, fusuma) were mounted loosely together, creating a bas-relief similar in appearance to the Iranian one.
Shizukana ie was performed in 1973. The image of the Iranian stone bas-relief was published in 1964. It is possible that the latter image simmered in Hijikata's visual memory and contributed to the creation of the set design. This supports the suspicion that we cannot interpret Hijikata's approach to images literally but must be open to unexpected, unconventional meaning and readings which results from Hijikata's method of "borrowing and adapting" images.

Looking at other images in Kabeishi, what strikes us even more than the faceted artistic variety within this volume is that for the first time, Hijikata collected images unrelated to the art world of humans, that is photographs of nature. Kabeishi contains three documentary
photographs depicting the close-up view of a caterpillar and two images of fungus or mold cultures.

The top two photographs are microscopic views of the *Aspergillus* fungus on the left and what appears to be the *Penicillium* fungus on the right. The image on the bottom is the 1956 painting *Mademoiselle* by Jean Fautrier. Again on this page the nature and content of the images originated from two opposite worlds, however their visual similarity is striking. In both, the two fungi and
Mademoiselle, lines are the dominating illustrative element. The background of all images conveys an earthy, stony, plaster-like rough textured stucco surface.

Hijikata’s pencil marks indicate that he was interested in the linear as well as the structural elements of these images. However I was not able to find visual evidence indicating if and how Hijikata used these images in his choreography.
Scrapbook Volume 12:
Shinkei (Nerve, 神経)

The 25 images collected in this scrapbook are for the most part artworks produced within the spirit of Tachisme and L’Art Informel.

The featured artists, according to the number of paintings represented in this volume, are Wols (Otto Wolfgang Schulze, 1913-1951) with 15 works and Henri Michaux (1899-1984) with five paintings. The remaining 5 artists, each represented with a single work are, in order of appearance:

- An unknown artist from what seems to be the early Assyrian culture with a detail of a metallic bas-relief depicting a lion-hunting scene (Undated).
- Ikeda Masuo (1934-1997), Territory of Bride, 1962
- Paul Wunderlich (b. 1927), Ante Portas, 1963
- Alberto Giacometti (1901-1966), Tall Woman, 1962

A brief selection of the works by Wols and Michaux will give us a taste of the overall visual quality of Shinkei.
Fig. 135.  
*Work* 1947  
Wols  
*BT* 303, October 1968

Fig. 136.  
*Untitled* 1945  
Henri Michaux  
*BT* 341, April 1971

Fig. 137.  
*Untitled* 1948  
Henri Michaux  
*BT* 341, April 1971

Fig. 138.  
*Work* 1945 (?)  
Wols  
*BT* 303, October 1968

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From the images above we can clearly see the affiliation between the title of this volume and the images. The attempt to find any direct visual traces of these paintings in Hijikata’s stage images was not fruitful. However, we know from various sources that Hijikata created movement sequences related to this volume. Schwellinger explains that some of Hijikata’s “movement patterns” were inspired by paintings, and that the titles of these “movement patterns” frequently included the name of the artists.231 As example, on page 118 she provides a translation of Mikami Kayo’s recollection of Hijikata’s advice on the “movement pattern” called “Wols: Thousand Branches (Further development of Walking)”. However, within the movement “Wols: Thousand Branches” we cannot find any “concrete” association with Wolfs’ paintings and drawings besides the mention of the artist’s name in the title.

Baird informs us, “Kobayashi Saga identified one of the choreographic elements of this dance, [Hōsōtan(?)] the Michaux Walk [...]”.232 He concludes that from the content of the dance it is difficult to establish an affinity between the Michaux Walk and Michaux’s art.233

231 Schwellinger, Die Entstehung des Butoh, 108.
233 Ibid, 203.
The images in *Shinkei* and the accounts above underline once again the necessity for a future study investigating the complex relationship between the scrapbook images and Hijikata’s teaching.
Scrapbook Volume 13:

Ryûsei (Shooting Star, 流星)

In December 1970 the art magazine Bijutsu Techô (BT) dedicated the entire issue no. 336 to the art of Surrealism. It introduced over 50 art works produced by a couple of dozen exclusively Western surrealist artists such as Max Walter Svanberg (1912-1994), Wilfredo Lam (1923-1983), Victor Brauner (1903-1966), Roberto Matta Echaurren (1911-2002), Pierre Molinier (1900-1976), Felix Labisse (1927-1979) and others.

Most works presented in BT 336 were contemporary pieces, created between the mid 1950s and the late 1960s. From this catalogue Hijikata chose 17 images and mounted them in Ryûsei chronologically, in the order they appeared in BT.

Fig. 139. Word 1965
IDN1302-3

Fig. 140. At Dusk (?)
A comparison of the works chosen and not chosen did not suggest to me a specific scheme or method Hijikata may have applied as criteria for selection. Neither did it give us a clue as to how the title Ryūsei relates to the images. Despite the fact that the greater part of the selected images depicts human figures in various gestalts, thus far
I could not establish a convincing visual relationship with Hijikata’s performances. One reason might be that Hijikata retrieved these images comparatively late (end of 1970). Most publicly available stage photographs show moments taken from the performance cycle *Shiki no tame no nijûnanaban*, which was presented in October 1972. Hijikata created and performed some segments of *Shiki no tame no nijûnanaban* before this cycle. The performance *Gibasan* for example was first presented by Hangidaitôkan from August to December 1970, before *BT*’s issue 336 was published. *Susamedama*, another part of *Shiki no tame no nijûnanaban* was apparently choreographed and produced as early as January 1971.

To my knowledge there are no movement sequences or exercises created by Hijikata that include or reference an artist represented in *Ryûsei*.
Scrapbook Volume 14:  

_Hikari_ (Light, 光)

An initial pan over the images in the scrapbook _Hikari_ reminds us very much of previously encountered volumes such as _Kabelshi_. Once again we come across art works created around the globe over more than 8,000 years of history. Artist names such as Heaulmé, Chagall and Furuzawa which reappear in this volume are by now familiar. Even a couple of paintings such as _Chariot of Death_ make their appearance under a new “light”. The artists and image styles presented here mirror more or less the general feel of the earlier scrapbooks.

However, new in this volume are the comparatively large number of three dimensional art works and the increased use of more contemporary source material.

Out of 39 images collected on the 18 active pages in _Hikari_, 19 depict three-dimensional objects, such as vases, bas-reliefs, busts or pure sculptures. In previous scrapbooks we stumbled upon one or two isolated images of sculptures or three-dimensional art, but _Hikari_ indicates that Hijikata was after something different. Three-dimensional objects respond more sensitively and maybe more subjectively to light than their flat counterparts, in which light is but a part of the inherent overall composition. The title “Light” might refer in this case to the sensual interplay of illumination and sculpture within 268
the chosen artworks. From an evolutionary point of view it seems logical that Hijikata, after creating performances inspired by two-dimensional paintings, expanded his sphere of stimulation to the three dimensional realm of sculptures, which in this volume are often also representations of human bodies.

As mentioned previously in Chapter 4, I preserved the scrapbook’s numeric order as established by the Hijikata Tatsumi Archives. According to the archive’s librarian the numbering of the volumes does not necessarily reflect the chronology of their creation. However it seems at least in the previous and the present scrapbook that the later numbers indicate a later time of creation.

We have seen already in the preceding description of Scrapbook Volume 13: *Ryûsei* that Hijikata increasingly made use of images published close to the date of the 1972 performance cycle *Shiki no tame no nijûnanaban*, which produced the majority of images available for this visual evaluation. *Hikari*, as well, is interspersed with images published in 1971. This parallels in a timely manner Hijikata’s extended search for possible three-dimensional raw material for his production, as can be seen in the following selection of sculptures representing this scrapbook.
Fig. 143. IDN1405-3
Romanesque "Pute" c. 30 BC
Begram Mountains
Mizue 705, November 1963

Fig. 144. IDN1406-4
The Rape of Proserpina 1622
Gianlorenzo Bernini
Mizue 798, June 1971

Fig. 145. IDN1413
Female Idol 1946
Hans Aeschbacher
Mizue 693, November 1962

Fig. 146. IDN1417-5
Winged Nike of Samothrace
Pythokritos c. 190 BC
Source unknown
Fig. 147.  
Pan 1949  
Hans Aeschbacher  
*Mizue* 693, November 1962

Fig. 148.  
The Prophet 1950  
Hans Aeschbacher  
*Mizue* 693, November 1962

Fig. 149.  
"Head" c. 1100  
Romanesque Europe  
*Mizue* 749, June 1967

Fig. 150.  
"Head" c. 1100  
Romanesque Europe  
*Mizue* 749, June 1967
A significant and identifying aspect of butô is the elaborate use of facial expression as a main performance feature. Hijikata’s closest pupil Ashikawa Yôko is best known for her often grotesque, unearthly and expressive grimaces executed in performances such as the 1976 Hitogata (Human Shape).234 Among several butô scholars Susan Blakely Klein elaborates in depth on the significance of the beshimi kata as being the basis for the “extremes of human expressivity” in butô.235 She explains that this kata was named after the “grimace” mask in nô, which implements an artistic association between Hijikata’s butô and the art of nô.

For now, if we compare the thirteen expressive three-dimensional faces in Scrapbook Volume 14: Hikari with the 9 faces of the performing ensemble in Hijikata’s Susamedama (Fig. 151) below, we can demonstrate a strong visual connection between the collected images (e.g. Hans Aeschbacher’s heads) and Hijikata’s performance.

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234 See images in Morishita, Hijikata Tatsumi no butô, 124.
235 Susan Blakely Klein, Ankoku Butô: The Premodern and Postmodern Influences on the Dance of Utter Darkness, 75-76.
Fig. 151.  Detail
Susamedama 1972
Photo: Makoto Onozuka
Scrapbook Volume 15:

*Sukurappu bukku ao* (Blue Scrapbook, スクラップブック青)

From the brief introduction in Chapter 4 (see Figure 15), we know that *Sukurappu bukku ao* contains the most writing, graphs and drawings by Hijikata. Out of 19 active pages only 6 display collected images. The remaining pages contain Hijikata’s choreographic notes and illustrative stage sketches for what appears to be one or two specific performances. To date we do not know for which pieces this scrapbook was created, nor do we yet know how to read or interpret Hijikata’s elaborate notations in Scrapbook Volume 15: *Sukurappu bukku ao*. What we can determine from the source material is that Hijikata probably created *Sukurappu bukku ao* after the performance *Shiki no tame no nijûnanban* in 1972. The *BT* issues 355 and 356, from which he took one image each, were published in May and June 1972 respectively.\(^{236}\) The two images chosen from these issues also differ in style and technique from previously encountered art pieces. The first one, taken from *BT* 355 is a computer-generated image of a manga doll advertising a new book. The second picture, a photomontage of different insects, fruit and other paraphernalia was displayed on the title page of *BT* 356 to advertise the feature article “Photo and Art”.

\(^{236}\) Which supports the numeric order.
The few remaining images in *Sukurappu bukku ao* are “conventional” artworks, created mostly by well-known artists such as Picasso, Aimitsu or Watanabe. Works by Yves Trudeau and Sandro Botticelli are newly introduced in this volume.

Similar to his treatment of *Guernica*, Hijikata cut Figure 153 in little pieces and remounted eleven details to form a new collage. Even though we do not have a comprehensive study of *Sukurappu bukku ao* we can clearly see that over time Hijikata opened himself to “fresh” images created by contemporary methods. It can be expected that an examination of Hijikata’s notes and illustrations, which form the core of this volume, may show if and how these new and fresh images may have impacted his stage art.
Scrapbook Volume 16:

Sukurappu bukku kiiro (Yellow Scrapbook, スクラップブック黄色)

The source material (BT and Mizue) tells us that Hijikata compiled this volume or at least worked intensively on it until mid 1985\textsuperscript{237}, shortly before his too early death on January 12, 1986. This coincides chronologically with his last choreographic work, the four Tôhoku Kabuki Projects (Tôhoku kabuki keikaku, 東北歌舞伎計画) for Ashikawa Yôko and “a new troupe of young female dancers, which he formed shortly before he died [...].”\textsuperscript{238}

Tôhoku Kabuki Project I was performed March 30 and 31, Tôhoku Kabuki Project II June 29 to 31, Tôhoku Kabuki Project III September 28 to 30, and Tôhoku Kabuki Project IV December 19 to 22, 1985 at Studio 200 of the Seibu Department Store in Tokyo. The latest published source that provided images for Sukurappu bukku kiiro was the April 1985 issue of the Japanese culture magazine Taiyô (The Sun, 太陽), no. 276. The images collected from this source could not have contributed to Tôhoku Kabuki Project I, which took place earlier. Considering the amount of work it takes to prepare a full evening performance, it is unlikely that this scrapbook was used for

\textsuperscript{237} Justifying this album to be number 16 and the last of the 16 scrapbooks. \textsuperscript{238} Viela and Sekine, Butoh: Shades of Darkness, 94. The Hijikata Tatsumi database does not give us specific names for the troupe members either. It lists the name of the performers as: Ashikawa Yôko hoka (and others, ほか), or Ashikawa Yôko, Tôhoku Kabuki kenkyûkai (Tôhoku Kabuki Study Group, 東北歌舞伎研究会).
the remaining Tohoku Kabuki Projects either. Furthermore, there are to my knowledge only a handful of stage pictures of Tohoku Kabuki Project I to IV publicly available, which makes a comparison impossible.239

To collect images for Sukurappu bukku kiiro, Hijikata consulted many more sources than the two established ones (BT and Mizue). For the first time he also included non-Japanese Western publications in French or English. Besides “conventional” works created by a variety of artists like Enzo Gucci, August Rodin, Francis Bacon or Oskar Schlemmer, we find an increased number of color photographs depicting diverse subject matter. The themes of the photographs are taken from everyday and not so everyday situations. For example on page 2 we discover a series of abstract water reflections and the silhouette of an athletic swimmer wrapped in a thermal body suit (looking like a penguin), taken at the 1984 Los Angeles Olympic games. Further down in the volume we can admire a “school” of frozen tuna, taken at Tokyo’s Tsukiji fish market, next to the bust of a Caucasian actor in his undershirt, wearing kumadori make-up. Further into Yellow Scrapbook we are greeted by a naked lime striped dancer

239 An accessible audiovisual documentation of the Tohoku Kabuki Projects is a seven minute edited film clip in Kaze no yulgon: Butō-ka. Hijikata no mezashita mono (風の遺言：舞踏-課. 土方の目指した物, Will of the Wind: Butō Lesson. Hijikata’s Approach) aired on February 1, 1990 by NHK. There exists also a 60-minute documentary film of Tohoku kabuki keikaku 4, which has been frequently shown at festivals.
from a village in the African Basin forest. The caption of this photograph gives us following insights into this picture. She is wearing a dogtooth necklace, a furry bonnet, and a bamboo chest ornament, which she apparently borrowed from her head hunting husband to enhance her appearance on a festive occasion.\footnote{The original source of this photograph and the text is unknown.}

The extremely potent real life photographs are countered by at least ten images related to the established Japanese theatre form kabuki.\footnote{Of course, one is immediately tempted to make a direct association to Hijikata’s Tōhoku Kabuki Projects. As demonstrated above, the overlapping timing proves it to be very unlikely.} Among the kabuki images we encounter photo portraits of living actors, such as Danjūrō XII playing Sukeroku and Ennosuke III striking a fierce mie on the hanamichi. Ukiyoe prints illustrate Edo period actors like Danjūrō V portrayed by Utagawa Kunimasa or the lantern ghost Oiwa rendered by Shunkōsai Hokuei.

The least we can say is that the expanded source material in this volume demonstrates that Hijikata was open to new stimuli and embraced change and development in creating his unorthodox art.

From the rich and multi faceted world of the images in Sukurappu bukku kiiro we can only dream of the magnificent performances Hijikata was about to create. It should encourage and help us to continuously striving toward understanding and appreciating Hijikata’s astonishing performance achievements.
In this chapter I have shown how images in many of Hijikata’s butō-fu provided visual stimuli for his stage performances. We were also able to see that Hijikata directly borrowed and adapted some of the images collected in the scrapbooks to create his visually magnificent mise-en scene. On the other hand we realized that other butō-fu images, striking in themselves, seem not to have any visual analogy to Hijikata’s stage work. These images, mostly abstract in nature might have been chosen for their conceptual rather than visual qualities. Some of these images appear in Scrapbook Volume 11: Kabeishi (see Fig. 140.), Scrapbook Volume 12: Shinkei (see Fig. 142.), and Scrapbook Volume 13: Ryūsei (see Fig. 145).
Chapter 6. Conclusion

In the late 1950’s Hijikata Tatsumi initiated a new art form, which saw little precedent and did not fit the established concepts and perceptions of dance or visual art. At the time of Kinjiki there was no adequate vehicle for presenting this new art. Visual art establishments, such as museums and galleries, did not yet embrace happenings, performance art, or body art. These genres only gained recognition and intellectual branding in the 1960’s. Hijikata chose to exhibit his own first performance piece Kinjiki within the event of The 6th Performance for New Faces organized by the All Japan Art Dance Association in May 1959. Based on the reported uproar this performance created it was certainly no happy match. Consequently it was Hijikata’s first and last association with this institution or any other established dance alliance for that matter.

The circumstance that Hijikata was trained in a variety of dance genres and that he tried out his new art at an official dance event where there was no valid concept to accurately describe what he was presenting certainly contributed to the eventual branding of his art as “butô”. The word “butô” corresponds by nature and meaning to the world of dance. Except for isolated rumors and individual narratives we do not have an objective knowledge of why and when Hijikata himself
started to use the term butô when referring to his art. According to the database of the Hijikata Tatsumi Archives, the first official appearance of the word butô was in November 1965 with the recital *Performance Celebrating the Cooperation of School of Dance of Utter Darkness.* From this point on all of Hijikata’s recitals were referred to as butô (舞踏). As an overall result butô today is often approached by performers, critics, scholars and audiences alike primarily as a dance form.

The titles of earlier performances such as *September Fifth at Six O’clock: 650 Experiences Recital for Six Avantgarde Artists* (September, 1959) or *Great Wedding between Poetry and Show* (July, 1961) hint that Hijikata’s idea of butô went far beyond the genre of dance, but also encompassed a variety of other art forms. For example, the title *September Fifth at Six O’Clock* implies Hijikata was emphasizing the importance of the date and time of his performance, or just the intellectual significance of it, which became a major artistic thrust in 1960’s conceptual art. The phrase “650 Experiences” hints that Hijikata intended to actively involve all of the 650 audience members of a possible sold out house at Tokyo’s Daiichl Seimei Hall. This presages the spirit and idea of the 1960’s “happenings”. *Recital for Six Avantgarde Artists* stresses Hijikata’s affiliation with the contemporary avant-garde art movement rather than with modern

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242 Also translated as “Gathering”, see Baird, *Butô and the Burden of History*, 54.
dance. The title *Great Wedding between Poetry and Show* informs us straight away that Hijikata planned to fuse different genres within his stage art.

Tsuda Nobutoshi, a modern dancer and avant-garde artist who collaborated with Hijikata in the early 1950’s presaged already in 1956 a possible notion of butô:

> Considering dance truly as an artistic practice, if we explored the limits of all its possibilities, what would be the result?
> Something which would be neither dance, nor theater, nor painting, nor literature, but a three-dimensional art in a completely new genre, which we had simply never before imagined.\(^{243}\)

This study exposes Hijikata’s direct affinity with and assimilation of the visual arts. Like many visual artists Hijikata collected visual images and arranged them in sixteen scrapbooks, the *butô-fu*, as a medium to create, explore and reflect on his art. While making up his scrapbooks Hijikata applied established fine art techniques such as collage, montage and pastiche to isolate, emphasize or synthesize visual and artistic qualities of the images. These techniques also

reflected the structure of his performances such as Hijikata Tatsumi to nihonjin, in which Hijikata borrowed, adapted and adopted elements from seemingly opposite worlds and genres to construct a genuinely new stage world.

As we have seen, orthodox dance notations often utilize drafted plans, graphic symbols or illustrative markers to explore movement and dynamic as the basic elements to create a performance. Hijikata’s unorthodox art scrapbooks focus on imagery as the fundamental creative element to design stage events. Hundreds of pictures collected in sixteen scrapbooks provided important visual raw material for Hijikata’s inspiration to create his own art.

Hijikata’s process of transferring the collected images from his scrapbooks onto his stage cannot be totally known at this point. But from the three following sources we can describe at least outlines of Hijikata’s method.

First, butō scholars such as Bruce Baird and Luclia Schwellinger have told us that images of the scrapbooks depicting works of visual artists often were the starting point for Hijikata to create movements.

Second Hijikata’s wife Motofuji Akiko stressed the importance and privacy of Hijikata’s personal notebooks for the process of developing a new stage form. Consequently Hijikata’s scrapbooks were
kept in secrecy and away from the public eye until recently. Students of Hijikata, such as Kobayashi Saga and Mikami Kayo emphasize the value of the scrapbooks as the source of inspiration to conceive butô. They furthermore recollect particular movements and characters that derived directly from specific art works collected in the sixteen scrapbooks.

And third, in my analysis of more than 400 collected images from the sixteen butô-fu I have found so far close to a hundred examples of Hijikata’s transformation of imagery to the stage. In this study I have presented seventeen cases, which illustrate Hijikata’s methods to transform art works into stage images.

In my first case study, we could witness Hijikata borrowing and replicating an entire image created by the famous expressionist artist Egon Shiele. Two visual examples demonstrated Hijikata’s routine of borrowing and adapting parts of the collected images and transforming these details into new visual elements used in his theatrical work. Several examples documented the way Hijikata adapted images and artworks, which due to their nature do not lend themselves well to borrowing. Furthermore I showed that Hijikata developed new ideas for performances by adopting parts of the collected images, such as the subtext of a picture.
Hijikata borrowed, replicated, adapted and/or adopted collected pictures from the fine arts and their visual concepts to create new living images on his stage. These living images for the greater part marked the leading artistic features in his performances.

Furthermore, he combined reproductions of artworks with poetic strings of words to transmit his ideas and artistic concepts to his followers. The symbiosis of Hijikata’s work with the fine arts defines his butô as a visual art form as much as a modern dance genre.

I propose therefore to increasingly apply visual art criteria in addition to the existing dance and literary approaches, when investigating Hijikata Tatsumi’s butô.

Further Research

This study has been a first step towards understanding the magnitude and scope of Hijikata’s notebooks. I generated a nearly comprehensive catalogue of the collected images that permitted an initial visual comparison and analysis of Hijikata’s artwork in relation to the art works represented in the notebooks.

A next step based on the findings of this study would be to visually cross reference the hundreds of unpublished stage photographs of Hijikata’s performances, which to the date of this writing can only be viewed at the Hijikata Tatsumi Archives, with the
images in the scrapbooks. This extended comparison will surely
unearth new and different ways in which Hijikata utilized his
notebooks, and consequently provide additional insight into Hijikata’s
stage work as well as his affiliation with the visual arts.

Furthermore, in order to fully understand Hijikata’s complicated
mechanism of translating visual content and image subtext for the use
on the stage, future studies of Hijikata’s notebooks will need to
incorporate the marks and written comments he adjoined to the
pictures.

A comprehensive investigation and analysis of the scrapbooks
with regard to the intricate relationship between the collected images
and Hijikata’s verbal instructions for teaching his students will be
necessary to understand how Hijikata fused the worlds of poetry,
visual art and performance to create his unique butô.
APPENDIX
Sources for Scrapbooks

1. *Mizue* Publications

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2. *Bijutsu Techō* Publications

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<td>1971</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Bibliography

Note: Some of the Japanese publications also provide an English title, which is not always an exact translation of the original. Nevertheless, I have kept the provided English titles.


244 Also translated as “Burnt Sacrifice Great Mirror of Dance.” Bruce Baird, Butô and the Burden of History, 179.
1972.


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