The Impact of Tourism on Japanese *Kyōgen*: Two Case Studies

LAURENCE R. KOMINZ
Portland State University, Portland, OR 97201

KYŌGEN AND THE TOURIST'S SEARCH FOR AUTHENTICITY

Japan's rapid social and economic modernization since the Meiji Period (1867–1914) and the introduction of advanced communication technologies since the war have sounded the death knell for numerous traditional performing arts. The once ubiquitous itinerant puppeteers, story tellers, and *kami shibai* 紙芝居 (paper silhouette) performers have disappeared, and the last *goze* 瞽女 (blind women reciters of ballads) are in their 80's and 90's with no one to succeed them. The government had to step in to save the classical puppet theater (Bunraku 文楽) when it was threatened with extinction. Common sense tells us that as Japan's modernization continues, more and more traditional arts will be endangered, but in fact, in the last ten to fifteen years, several traditional performing arts have gone in the opposite direction, and are enjoying as much or more popularity and financial stability than they ever have in the past.

The *kyōgen* 狂言, or traditional farce, has never been healthier than it is today. More actors are performing more often before larger audiences than they have in the last 150 years. Actors make more money than ever before and the outlook for the future is bright. This paper examines the reasons for this unexpected state of affairs, focusing on a new context for *kyōgen* plays, performance for tourists; one manifestation of *kyōgen*'s emergence as a post-industrial art form.

The study of tourism as a sociological and anthropological phenomenon is a new field, and its pioneering work is Dean McCannell's *The Tourist. A New Theory of the Leisure Class.* McCannell demonstrates that in post-industrial societies leisure and tourism have come to rival

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religion and occupation as expressive of essential social values. Tourism and leisure fulfill important human needs and help answer basic questions about personal and cultural identity. McCannell explains tourism in a developmental, historical context, positing three kinds of 'societies': TRADITIONAL, INDUSTRIAL, and MODERN or POST-INDUSTRIAL (McCannell 1976, 7, 31–36). In traditional societies the family is the center of life. Work often takes place in the family, or in an extended family unit, such as a clan or village. Value outside the family is found in religion. Travel is often difficult, certainly not undertaken lightly. There is no tourism. In industrial or early modern societies more work is done outside the family. The importance of work, or for the poor, the burden of work, subverts the values and stability of family and religion. Various traditional activities are threatened. Post-industrial society calls into question the value of work, the family, and religion. McCannell is careful to point out that the three levels of development can coexist in different regions, and in different households, in any country at any given time. An individual can live at different levels at different times of his life. Clearly the three levels are as much states of consciousness as stages of economic development.

At the post-industrial level individuals value "experiences" which enhance their "quality of life." Examining industrial society, Karl Marx determined the value of an object by the amount of labor required to create it. In post-industrial societies we determine the value of many forms of labor and many products by the quality of the "experience" they produce. Ours is the age of adult education, mass spectator sports, do-it-yourself projects, hobbies of all kinds, and, a world wide proliferation of touristic activity.

Every "experience" must have some value for the participant. McCannell sees tourism as analogous to religion because its values are centered outside the home and because it helps the individual understand *who he is* by allowing him to come into contact with other cultures and other periods in history. For the latter, "preserved" or "restored" elements of dead traditions are essential to modern societies (McCannell 1976, 83). McCannell calls tourism "a ritual performed to the differentiations of society" (McCannell 1976, 13). We derive satisfaction from seeing how very different elements have combined to make our modern society. This explains our endless fascination in seeing at once "the old and the new"; the *shinkansen* 新幹線 super express train passing in front of the Tōji 東寺 pagoda in Kyoto, or a Moscow high rise towering above a tiny, beautifully restored, but non-functioning Orthodox church.

The parallels between tourism and religion are too numerous to be

coincidental. The appeal of tourism, like religion, cuts accross all class lines. The church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem was equally sacred to European kings and peasants, and the tyrant ruler Taira no Kiyomori 平清盛 went on pilgrimage to Kumano 熊野 for the same reasons thousands of farmers trudged there. In our day Kissinger and the Reagans visited The Great Wall of China for the same reasons that any tourist wants to see it, and Khrushchev and Emperor Hirohito felt the lure of Disneyland. We speak of tourist " Meccas," places that swarm with tourists as Mecca swarms with Islamic pilgrims. They are places we want to visit at least once in our lifetimes. We feel that somehow the quality of our lives will be improved by the experience, or lessened if we never make the trip.

The most striking and important parallel is the need, in both tourism and religion, for " authenticity." Seeing a " real " bone of the Buddha, or a piece of the " true " cross was a fulfilling experience for the believer. He would have felt cheated and upset were the relic proven to be a fake. Tourists similarly demand authentic sites and authentic experiences. The care with which the Japanese recreated Disneyland in Tokyo is a case in point. Snow White and Cinderella, the two unmasked characters, have to be played by white foreigners. Part of the appeal of Disneyland is seeing if the three dimensional Mickey Mouse is true to the two dimensional original, or if Tokyo's fantasy castle is true to the spirit of the " real " one in Anaheim. On the issue of authenticity McCannell disagrees with another scholar of tourism, Daniel Boorstin, who states that the American tourist in Paris would rather listen to " a French-sounding song in English than to a real *chanson* which he could not understand " (Boorstin 1982, 106). But McCannell proves how seriously tourists pursue authenticity, even peering into restaurant kitchens and private court-yards, society's " back areas " (McCannell 1976: chapter five, passim), to see what is *really* going on. Even tourists who reject foreign experiences and cling to the familiar when away from home, the American in Tokyo who chooses to eat at McDonalds, or the Britisher drinking brown ale in the Riviera, have made conscious choices to reject the foreign, choices that are not necessary at home. Rejection is also part of the process of self understanding.

McCannell respects tourists in a way that many intellectuals do not. Tourists and ethnographers, he says, are essentially the same, both searching for meaningful experiences and information outside their own social environments (McCannell 1976, 178). The difference is that the tourist hasn't the time to do research prior to his trip, and has to believe (or not believe) what he reads in travel brochures, or what he hears from

friends. The tourist has limited resources so is willing to sacrifice some authenticity if lack of time or money forces him to. Finally, he faces the "money's worth" problem. When he returns home he will have to be able to respond positively to the question, "Did you get your money's worth?" It is difficult for him to leave an itinerary or tour which, despite inevitable signs of inauthenticity, "guarantees" meaningful experiences, and risk not having any meaningful experiences at all due to inadequate preparation, the language barrier, and so on.

Now let us return to the *kyōgen*. The art came close to extinction during the war and in the immediate post-war period, the height of Japan's industrial age. In the 1950's television threatened, and in fact killed, numerous local performing arts. The Kyoto Shigeyama 茂山 family, the performers of the *kyōgen* plays I will examine in this paper, were reduced to four "full time" actors who had very little to do on stage.[1]

The Shigeyamas' recovery began in the late 1940's. In 1948 they began giving performances and demonstrations at high schools and junior high schools, going as far afield as rural Shikoku (Shigeyama 1983, 40–41). Many of the children who saw them would become "post-industrial adults," people feeling the need for experiences outside the family and work place, potential students and spectators of the *kyōgen*. The Shigeyamas gave their first post-war all *kyōgen* show in Maruyama Park in 1957. It was a new way to see a traditional art, and 1500 people came. The show was novel in several respects: 1) it was held out of doors on a stage with no prior tradition of hosting *nō* 能 or *kyōgen* plays, 2) it was an all *kyōgen* show for a large audience of first-time spectators—they would not be obliged to sit through the slower, more somber *nō* plays, 3) the Shigeyama's produced the show and took the profits from it; in standard *nō*/*kyōgen* performances *nō* actors hire *kyōgen* actors for a relatively small fee, 4) the city lent its support to the show, considering it the right sort of public event for Japan's "cultural capital" (Shigeyama 1983: 122).

In the last fifteen years torchlight *nō* performances, including *kyōgen* plays, have proliferated around the country. They are usually staged at attractive, traditional tourist sites, such as temples, shrines, and castles. The novelty and exotic appeal of torchlight *nō* has attracted thousands of new spectators who would be much less likely to attend regularly scheduled *nō* or *kyōgen* performances. All *kyōgen* shows, some supported by the city, have become routine; there are over twenty a year in the Kansai, and more in the Kanto. Finally, as a part of the "continuing education" phenomenon, hundreds of adults are studying *kyōgen* acting (many thousands study *nō* dancing and singing, which are con-

sidered good pre-marriage training for women) as individual *deshi* 弟子 (disciples) or in culture center classes in the major cities. Today the Shigeyamas employ eight full time actors, and numerous part-time professionals, and all are hard pressed to meet teaching and performance demands.

The current head of the Shigeyama family, Shigeyama Sengorō 茂山千五郎, 67, is the thirteenth in a family line of *kyōgen* actors going back to the early 1600's. He learned his art from his grandfather who in turn studied under his grandfather. Performers of traditional Japanese arts would have us believe that their discipline, coupled with their training by rote imitation, has enabled them to preserve their art faithfully over the centuries. Scholars tell us that when performance conditions and contexts change, audience attitudes and reactions change, and so does the content and quality of the performance itself.[2] Richard Schechner believes that:

> All performance behavior is restored behavior, which, like strips of film, can be rearranged independent of the causal systems (social, psychological, technological) that brought them into existence. Performance behavior has a life of its own—the ' source ' or ' truth ' of a performance can be lost, ignored, or contradicted even while apparently being observed (Schechner 1985, 35).

No matter how faithfully *kyōgen* actors' grandfathers teach their grandchildren, every time a play is performed actors are presented with choices. Those with high stature, be they " theater directors, master actors, or councils of bishops, are free to change performance scores " (Schechner 1985, 37).

McCannell's ideas on tourism, and the concept of performance as restored behavior lead to the following questions concerning the *kyōgen* theater: a) are *kyōgen* plays restored differently (consciously or unconsciously) for tourist performances, and if so what reasons do the actors give?, and, b) if the answer to the above question is ' yes,' then what about the problem of " authenticity," from the points of view of both performers and audience? To answer these questions let us turn our attention to the stage, and examine two very different touristic *kyōgen* performances by the Shigeyama troupe.

Gion Corner *Kyōgen*

The Shigeyamas are responsible for performing an eight minute-long, abbreviated version of the *kyōgen* play " Bō-Shibari " 棒縛 (" Tied to a Pole ") for the Gion Corner tourist show, two shows a night, 273 nights

a year (December through February is the off season, and there is no show August 16th). Gion Corner was established in 1962 through the efforts of the mayor and the civic leaders of the Gion district of Kyoto.[3] Foreign tourists were coming to Kyoto in considerable numbers at the time, and were served by a number of daytime tours, but there was less for them to do at night. The Gion Corner show was set up to put several traditional arts together on the same stage in a nightly show for foreign tourists. Since 1962 Gion Corner has played to over 900,000 spectators. It is currently sponsored by the Kyoto Visitor's Club (a private, profit making corporation) and the Kyoto City Tourist Office.

Initially the Gion Corner show was an hour long, and included demonstrations of tea ceremony and flower arranging, and performances of *koto* 琴, geisha dance (*buyō kyōmai* 舞踊京舞), *gagaku* 雅楽, and Bunraku. *Nō* dance (*shimai* 仕舞) was added later. It is impossible to see these arts performed together on the same stage anywhere but at Gion Corner. The Gion Corner show takes place on a standard proscenium stage, with a mechanically controlled drop curtain and bright lighting. The auditorium seats up to 400 people and audiences vary from sparse, towards the off season, to standing room only at peak tourist season. Tickets cost ¥720 ($2) in 1962, and cost ¥2,000 (about $15.00) today.

In 1965 the Gion Corner management decided to replace the slow and austere *nō* dance with *kyōgen*. They turned to *kyōgen* because there was nothing else humorous on the program, and there were no performances with spoken lines. After some experimentation with a short show mixing dance and pantomime, the Shigeyamas decided to do an abbreviated version of a *kyōgen* play. They hoped that the story of the play would be made apparent through mimetic action, and they hoped that the audience would understand the feelings of the actors' lines even though they couldn't understand Japanese. Shigeyama Sennojō 茂山千之丞 (Sengorō's younger brother) wrote an eight minute version of "Bō-Shibari" and the Shigeyamas have performed it at Gion Corner for the last twenty years.

The plot of the play is as follows:

Tarō Kaja 太郎冠者 and Jirō Kaja 次郎冠者 are great *sake* lovers and their master knows that they steal his *sake* and get drunk when he is away from home. He has a plan to prevent his servants from stealing *sake* this time he is away. He calls Tarō and asks him to think of a way to tie up Jirō. Tarō suggests they tie him up when he is demonstrating stick fighting techniques. Jirō is proud of his ability in this martial art, and while he is absorbed in the demonstration, Tarō and the master tie his outstretched arms to the pole. While Tarō is laughing at

Fig. 1. Gion Corner *Kyōgen Bō-Shibari*. The master ties up Tarō. Jirō is already tied to a pole.

Jirō, the master ties him up as well.

Tarō and Jirō figure out why they are tied up, but their plight makes them even thirstier than usual. After considerable spilling of *sake*, they manage to drink by holding a large cup for each other. Even though they are tied up, they dance and sing, and have a fine *sake* party. The master comes home when the large cup is placed between the two drunken servants. They see the master's reflection in the cup, but think it's a hallucination, and make fun of their master in a humorous song. The master angrily announces his presence, and Tarō runs away. Jirō hits the master several times with the pole, then makes his escape, with the master in hot pursuit.

The Gion Corner version keeps the original plot, but abbreviates every scene. A subplot, which features Tarō and Jirō alternating between antagonism and cooperation, is left out of the Gion Corner play. The short version is meant to be performed with the same vocalization and movement patterns (*kata* 形) as in the longer play. To pursue Schechner's ' strips of film ' analogy, most of the play's footage is cut, the remnants are spliced together, but only a few seconds of action are refilmed. Although the Gion Corner version of the play is considerably changed, neither the program nor the two-minute broadcast ex-

Fig. 2. Gion Corner *Kyōgen Bō-Shibari*. Tarō helps Jirō drink.

planations of the history and aesthetics of *kyōgen* (in English and Japanese) preceeding the performance tell the audience they are about to see an abbreviated version of a *kyōgen* play.

Originally Sengorō and Sennojō performed at Gion Corner, but now they leave the duty to their disciples. The highest ranking current performer is Masayoshi, 正義 44, Sengorō's eldest son, and next in line to be family head. He performs about three times a month. Sengorō's youngest son, Senzaburō 千三郎, 22, performs about thirteen times a month (the maximum). *Kyōgen* actors' schedules are very busy so other *deshi*, both professional and amateur, perform for Gion Corner. Professional *deshi* are paid from ¥3,000 to ¥10,000 ($22 to $74) per performance, but amateurs receive no fee, performing out of a sense of obligation to their teachers. The amateurs who perform at Gion Corner have at least eight years of training, but Gion Corner is the only occa-

Fig. 3. Gion Corner *Kyōgen Bō-Shibari*. Tarō applauds Jirō's dance by clapping his feet.

Fig. 4. Gion Corner *Kyōgen Bō-Shibari*. Jirō sees his master's reflection in the *sake* cup.

sion when the Shigeyamas allow amateurs to perform before a paying audience. Clearly Gion Corner is last on the list of priorities when Sengorō allocates performance tasks to his disciples.

Actors' attitudes toward performing at Gion Corner differ considerably from more formal *kyōgen* performances. When all actors present are professionals, they decide who will play what role by means of *jan ken* (" scissors, paper, rock "). In non-Gion Corner *kyōgen* Sengorō, or another senior actor, assigns roles. The Shigeyamas try to have at least one professional actor present at Gion Corner, and the most experienced actor plays Jirō Kaja, the main role. If an actor has a cold, or minor ailments of any sort, he takes the role of the master, which requires him to be on stage for only about two minutes.

It seems to me that the energy and concentration of the performers is somewhat less for Gion Corner than it is for other *kyōgen* plays. Vocal and physical *kata* tend to change slightly. In addition, actors occasionally substitute modern for archaic vocabulary, and actors sometimes " ham it up," going for the " easy laugh." Actors playing Tarō often applaud Jirō's dance by clapping their feet. This *kata* is used in the *kabuki shosagoto* 歌舞伎所作事 (dance drama) version of " Bō-Shibari " but Shigeyama actors claim to have made the change in *kata* without reference to *kabuki*. It is allowed at Gion Corner, and has been done in shows for high school students, but not in other performances of " Bō-Shibari." The crowd responded to foot clapping with laughter; it *is* an ingenious way to applaud when one's hands are tied up.

The Shigeyama actors vary in their attitudes towards the Gion Corner *kyōgen*. Senzaburō considers it a " form of *arubaito* (part time work)," neither particularly difficult nor particularly lucrative. He does not consider Gion Corner a growth experience in terms of his art or his career, but he does enjoy the foreign audience there because foreigners are easily moved to laughter and do not hide their feelings the way some Japanese audiences do. Shigeyama Akira 明, Sennojō's 35 year old son, feels that the audience is not getting the quality performance it deserves for its ¥2,000 admission fee. He thinks amateurs should not be performing, but realizes that using amateurs is the only way to meet Gion Corner's obligations at the present time. Sengorō says that it is " too bad that Gion Corner audiences think what they are seeing is real *kyōgen*." In the late 60's Gion Corner was an important source of income and employment for the Shigeyama family. Today it provides a steady, but low level, profit to the family, and important supplementary income for low ranking members of the troupe. The Shigeyamas continue to perform at Gion Corner out of a sense of obligation to the city and to the individuals involved in arranging the Gion Corner show.

Now let us look at the Gion Corner show from the point of view of the audience. Originally it was composed entirely of non-Japanese, but Japanese began attending in 1970. Until that time Japanese guests had been discouraged, in the sense that there was no publicity in Japanese. The organizers were afraid that Japanese manners would offend foreign guests; specifically, wearing sandals and bath-robe like kimono (*yukata* 浴衣), and loud, drunken behavior. For several years in the early '70s junior high school field trips brought Japanese youngsters to the early show. Today Japanese guests comprise about one fifth of the audience.

The foreign audience seems to enjoy the Gion Corner show, responding most favorably to *kyōgen* and Bunraku, but the obvious quality of the performances is somewhat offset by the numerous signs of inauthenticity. It is clearly a tourist oriented show, with advertising in English at all the major hotels, the Kyoto Handicraft Center, and so on. It is included on night time bus tours of the city. There are relatively few Japanese in the audience. Although they have read that they are seeing genuine traditional arts, the foreign spectators suspect that they are not seeing them performed in a traditional context.

Jonah Salz believes, however, that the foreign audience sees the show as, on balance, authentic. He believes that " atmosphere " is essential to authenticity, and that Gion Corner's location, in the heart of the old Gion entertainment district, helps lend an air of authenticity (Salz 1987, 8). The short presentation is " well rehearsed, gorgeously attired, and carefully orchestrated. These are not third rate artists prostituting themselves to ignorant tourists, but masters, or performers sanctioned by masters " (Salz 1987, 8). And Salz believes that the presence of Japanese guests, though in the minority, helps authenticate the show for foreign tourists (Salz 1987, 9). Japanese would not be there at all, foreign tourists reason, if the show were not worthwhile.

At ¥2,000 the show is inexpensive compared to other theater prices, and members of the audience know that they are seeing a greater variety of arts than they could otherwise manage in a two to three day stay in Kyoto. As Salz puts it, the Gion Corner is like a *bentō* 弁当 box meal of the Japanese arts. The *bentō* is quick and easy to eat, but it is a combination of authentic Japanese foods (Salz 1987, 6–9). Spectators are free to take pictures whenever they like, and the show is well lit. Photos help legitimize spectators' experiences when their trips are over. Gion Corner audiences feel they are " getting their money's worth," and this is why the show has continued twenty-five years.

The increase in Japanese spectators at the Gion Corner show is of greater interest than the continuing patronage of foreign tourists. It

is an indicator of the continuing development of Japan as a post-industrial society. Many Japanese have come to regard all the arts on the Gion Corner program as outside normal life, " relics of a dead tradition." Kyoto itself contains more traditional tourist sites than any other city in Japan, and it is natural to include a show of traditional arts in an intinerary of trips to temples and shrines. A tourist from Tokyo, who ignores the flourishing traditional arts in his home city, might go to Gion Corner to see the same arts in abbreviated form in Kyoto, just because he is in Japan's " traditional city."[4]

There are other ways for Japanese to be introduced to arts like those performed at Gion Corner. Traditionally the most common way was to be taken by parents or friends to visit teachers of traditional arts, or to see longer performances of arts that the introducing parties already knew and loved. In the case of *kyōgen*, a longer performance would be on a traditional *nō* stage, as part of a performance of several *nō* and *kyōgen* plays, or perhaps as part of an all *kyōgen* show. The audience would include some who take lessons in acting, many who have been to several plays, and a sprinkling of first-timers.

In 1987 Gion Corner began an experimental program, running from January 19 to February 26 (the off season), to host Japanese spectators on night bus tours. The program is called " Naito in Gion," and costs ¥1,500. The show is essentially the same as the usual one,[5] but explanations are in Japanese only. The reason for the experiment was a falling off in domestic tourism to Kyoto following a conflict between Kyoto temples and the city government over taxes which resulted in the closure of several major temples to tourists. The city tourist office arranged new attractions in a campaign to bring Japanese back to Kyoto on winter tours. The program was a financial success and was continued in January and February of 1988.

The fact that more and more Japanese are going to Gion Corner, as individuals and on tours, means that fewer Japanese are being introduced to the traditional arts by family and friends. If authenticity for tourists can be found in doing things the way that natives do them, then Gion Corner is growing more authentic without changing its format at all. Japanese attitudes towards traditional performing arts are beginning to resemble those of foreigners. Traditional arts are unfamiliar and beautiful forms unconnected with daily life, but seeing them *can* enhance one's self awareness, showing Japanese " where they come from," and showing foreigners cultural and historical " otherness." McCannell believes that the ultimate " integration " of tourism and daily life occurs when locals find convenience and value in using facilities originally designed specifically for tourists (McCannell 1976, 168–

170). Tourists feel almost as much satisfaction in "integrated" environments as they do when they are successful in an environment that clearly makes no allowances at all for tourists. McCannell cites Switzerland and San Francisco's Chinatown as communities that integrate tourism and daily life activities (McCannell 1976: 170). In Japan, festivals are often "integrated" entertainment. Kyoto's Gion Festival 祇園祭, for example, is just as much of an attraction for Kyoto natives as it is for tourists. Gion Corner will be an "integrated" attraction when natives go to see it for an evening's entertainment. That day seems closer now than it was ten years ago.

Kyōgen for the *Shiba Nō* in Setagaya Ward, Tokyo

Boorstin writes that only the extravagant can exert appeal in the contemporary United States. He cites the news media, television shows, movies, election campaigns, and numerous other activities as evidence (Boorstin 1982, 3–6). There is much truth in what he says, and it is clear that the same situation pertains in Japan. In September, 1986, slick publicity posters and leaflets appeared in Tokyo, advertising an outdoor *nō* and *kyōgen* performance linked to the oldest traditions of the stage, and at the same time, a "first ever in Tokyo" show. The extravagant and contradictory claims ("oldest" and "first time ever") were designed to arouse the interest of those who saw the poster. The event was *shiba nō* 芝能, *nō* and *kyōgen* performed on the grass, jointly sponsored by Setagaya Ward and the Nara City Tourist Bureau.

The four oldest schools of *nō* have performed plays on a lawn at Kasuga Shrine 春日神社 in Nara for 600 years. The Kasuga Shrine was one of the earliest major patrons of the *nō*, and although the four schools have moved their headquarters to Kyoto and Tokyo, they have performed *shiba nō* yearly at the Kasuga Shrine out of a sense of tradition and gratitude.

Setagaya Ward, once a sparsely populated collection of villages west of Tokyo, is now a prosperous and thickly settled suburban district within the city limits. The ward recently acquired a small golf course, converted it into a public park, and erected a small but high quality modern art museum on one corner of the grounds. The ward wanted to hold an event to celebrate opening the museum, and wanted to do something more special than the usual torchlight *nō*. The *shiba nō* was held on the grass in Kinuta Park on October 5, 1986, and admission was free.

In many ways the *shiba nō* experience embodied a trip to Nara without leaving Tokyo. *Nō* on the grass is a Nara tradition. The pillars for the acting area were made of bundles of pampas grass brought up

from Nara. The Nara Tourist Bureau distributed Nara souvenirs (*omiyage* お土産) to the first 1,000 spectators.[6] All the Nara atmosphere lacked was tame deer on the lawn, and the roof of the Tōdaiji looming above the scene. Setagaya Ward invited the two Shimogakari *nō* troupes, the Kongō and Komparu, to perform. Shimogakari troupes embody Nara acting traditions, emphasizing mimesis more strongly than do the Kamigakari schools which stress singing and dance. The Komparu and Kongō *iemoto*s live in Tokyo and Kyoto respectively, but the Shimogakari distinction continues to be used. Setagaya Ward invited the Shigeyamas to do the *kyōgen*. Their earthy, accessible style stands in contrast to the formal control of the Nomuras, the leading *kyōgen* family in Tokyo.

Setagaya Ward paid the leading actors generous fees. Both *nō iemoto*s performed, as did Sengorō, the Shigeyama *iemoto*, and his eldest son, Masayoshi. The show consisted of three full length plays: two *nō*, with a *kyōgen* in between. The Shigeyamas chose to present "Shimizu" ("Pure Water," or "A Demon for Better Working Conditions"). Sengorō chose "Shimizu" because he thought first-timers would enjoy the hilarious antics of Tarō Kaja:

The plot of "Shimizu" is as follows:

Tarō Kaja's master sends Tarō with the master's favorite pail to get water for tea. Tarō considers water carrying beneath his dignity, so he returns home without the pail, telling his master that a demon attacked him and he had to throw the pail at it to get away. The master goes out after the pail, only to encounter the demon, in fact Tarō in disguise. Tarō, as the demon, scares the master out of his wits, and agrees to spare his life only if he promises to make life easy for his servant, namely, Tarō Kaja.

When Tarō returns, out of his disguise, the master gets him to describe the voice and actions of the demon. Tarō falls into the master's trap, and his description is so like the demon, that the master figures out he has been tricked. The next time Tarō appears disguised as a demon, the master grabs the demon mask off his face. Tarō runs away, with his master in hot pursuit.

The audience began arriving an hour before the performance began. Plastic sheets were provided, and people began staking out seating around the performance area. When the show got under way, some 5,000 spectators were on hand. Those sitting far away had a pretty poor view of the performance. It was a non-typical audience for *nō* and *kyōgen*. The percentage of young people was greater than usual,

and next to me on two sides were young couples with infants in diapers that had to be changed during the evening. Half of the audience left after the first play, the relatively boring " Katsuragi " 城葛. The 2,500 or so who stayed for the *kyōgen* enjoyed it thoroughly, laughing uproariously on several occasions. Few left during the *kyōgen*, and about 800 stayed to the end of the last *nō* play.

Sengorō and Masayoshi were still on a post show " high " two hours after their performance. They loved the big audience—felt a rapport with it, responded to it, and let it carry them through the play. They said that the only conscious change they made in *kata* was to modify the sliding walk (*suriashi* 擦り足) so that they could move on the lawn without tripping or tearing costumes (all actors had to make this adjustment).

I pointed out other changes in physical and vocal *kata* that I had noticed. For example, when Tarō Kaja was doing his demon imitation and the master was still inclined to be truculent, Sengorō (Tarō) struck Masayoshi with his stick (there is usually no physical contact at all). Masayoshi changed a simple " ha " (obedient and/or archaic " yes "), to a very disgruntled " hai " (modern, standard " yes "). Both *kata* changes drew gales of laughter. Sengorō and Masayoshi had not noticed these points. This kind of spontaneous change is part of the complex relationship between actors and their audience. When masters break the *kata* it can be a tour-de-force, when amateurs do, it is usually just sloppy acting. Not everyone felt that the *shiba nō kyōgen* was a tour-de-force. One foreigner, with years of experience in watching *kyōgen*, called " Shimizu " a mere " parody of *kyōgen*, a rumpus, a pseudo-*kyōgen*." To be sure, " Shimizu " was less controlled and precisely performed than a Nomura *kyōgen* performed on a *nō* stage. In the eyes of the actors, however, " Shimizu " had been an authentic *kyōgen* in a way that Gion Corner is not, and it seemed to me that the audience had thoroughly enjoyed it.

The organizers of *shiba nō* were very pleased with the event in general, and with the *kyōgen* in particular. They staged *shiba nō* again on October 3, 1987. They chose two spectacular demon plays, for the *nō* part of the performance. Two demon plays would never be performed before a regular audience on an indoor stage. The Kamigakari Kanze troupe performed the second *nō* play, and the Shigeyamas were invited again to do the *kyōgen*. They chose another crowd pleasing play, " Busshi," in which a trickster dresses his friend up like a Buddhist statue to fool a country bumpkin out of money intended to buy a statue for a local temple. The crowd was about the same size as in 1986, and the reaction to the *kyōgen* play was as enthusiastic. *Shiba nō* may

become a new " traditional event " on the Tokyo calendar of yearly festival events.

Conclusions

The Gion Corner and *shiba nō* experiences show that it is not just tourists (and tour operators and planners) who are concerned with authenticity. Mature performers in the traditional arts feel a commitment to performing authentic plays in an authentic way for tourists, but will make changes if they feel they are necessary for a successful performance.

It is clear that the audience exerts a strong influence on the decisions involved in the " restorations of behavior " that become a *kyōgen* performance. When Sengorō, and other Shigeyama actors, know they will be performing for tourists, foreigners, or other first-timers, they choose lively, mimetic plays. Actors do not intentionally change *kata* for full length plays, no matter the audience. But the Shigeyamas are sensitive to what audiences like, and play to audience responses, and this leads to exaggeration of *kata* in plays performed for first-timers.

Victor Turner's concept of liminality is helpful in analyzing the processes at work at Gion Corner and at outdoor *kyōgen* plays. Liminality refers to marginal people, times, or events. " Liminal entities are neither here nor there—betwixt and between positions assigned by society's laws, customs, or conventions " (Turner 1969, 95). Turner sees liminal times and events as essential to the health of all societies for two reasons: 1) liminality establishes " communitas," a sharing of human values that underlies all of society's inherently unequal power relationships, and 2) liminal events and liminal people are the catalysts for the changes necessary for a society to progress and survive (Turner 1974, 15).

Kyōgen plays for tourists are liminal performances. They are performed in non-traditional spaces for non-traditional audiences, and the Gion Corner show, in the very non-traditional time frame of eight minutes. Turner writes that " liminal occasions force people to scrutinize the central values and axioms of their society " (Turner 1969, 166). Shigeyama Sennojō, too, had to discover the very essence of the *kyōgen* if he was to cut " Bō-Shibari " by two-thirds and still have an exciting and humorous play. The changes in *kata* in these liminal performances are likely the first steps in a process that culminates in their acceptance in more traditional *kyōgen* shows.

The readiness of the Shigeyama troupe to perform in, and adapt to liminal situations reflects the nature of *kyōgen* itself. From the medieval period on, Japanese *communitas* has been embodied more clearly in *kyōgen* than in any other cultural product. " Folk literature abounds in sym-

bolic figures, ' holy beggars,' ' third sons,' ' little tailors,' ' simpletons,' who strip off the pretensions of those in authority and reduce them to the level of common humanity and mortality. These lowly figures represent universal human values " (Turner 1969, 110). *Kyōgen*'s Tarō Kaja plays just this role in traditional Japanese culture. The empathy that Shigeyama Sengorō feels for basically ignorant audiences of tourists is partly due to the fact that, as Tarō Kaja, Sengorō is one of them.

The *nō* is less consistent in making allowances for different performance contexts and different audiences. This is partly because *nō* actors' training does not provide them with the range of acting styles that Shigeyama actors can manage. At the *shiba nō*, the Komparu School could have chosen a shorter, more lively *nō* play than " Kazuraki." Half the audience left during or after " Kazuraki," despite the fact that it was clearly an " authentic " *nō* play. As an elite form, *nō* embodies the social " structure " that liminal events symbolically break down. A *nō* actor's sense of himself as an elite *artiste* makes it possible for him to confirm his stature when bored tourists walk out of the *nō* drama.

In traditional performance, then, authenticity is just the beginning of what makes a successful tourist show. If an authentic performance is poorly acted, hard to see, boring, or incomprehensible, it will provide only a low quality experience. For organizers of torchlight *nō* and *kyōgen*, the challenge is to provide both authenticity and entertainment at their shows.

At *shiba nō* the authenticity of " Shimizu " was confirmed by the dullness of " Kazuraki." Japanese who have no experience in the *nō* invariably believe the form to be a boring, and virtually impossible to understand, " relic of a dead tradition." They have fewer preconceptions about *kyōgen* because they know even less about *kyōgen* than the *nō*. At the *shiba nō*, members of the audience who stayed for the *kyōgen* might have thought, " that was boring, a *real nō* play. This must be a real *kyōgen* play—what a surprise, it's fun! "

The question of authenticity, in the end, becomes a question of definition of the circumstances required for an " authentic " production. We know that performance contexts strongly influence performance contents, but if we consider pre-Meiji Period social and financial contexts as requisite to authenticity, then no contemporary performance can be authentic.[7] Ironically, outdoor shows sponsored by temples and shrines, and aimed at a wide audience, are very nearly authentically medieval in their organization and goals.[8] Yet for these performances, actors are aware that they must make special decisions about how and what to perform.

Kyōgen is performed in high school auditoriums, for festivals, for

weddings, in all-*kyōgen* shows, and between *nō* plays. On each occasion the actors strive to perform their art skillfully, to please, and even sometimes to teach their audience. In the fifteenth century Zeami 世阿弥, the greatest dramatist of the *nō*, wrote of the challenges inherent in performing for different kinds of audiences. *Kyōgen*'s multiplicity of performance contexts is evidence of how healthy the art is today. To privilege one context as authentic and to deny the authenticity of others is to deny the validity of *kyōgen* as a living art.

Both the tourist, and the scholar of Japanese culture, have reason to be glad that most of Japan, and most Japanese, have passed from the industrial to the post-industrial age. Traditional arts capable of providing interesting experiences are likely to survive. Their very distance from daily life proclaims them authentic relics from the past, or, for Westerners, relics of a cultural " other." These arts have value because they help tell the tourist about who he is today, and where his society " came from," and show him how far he has come.

NOTES

1. The famous novelist Tanizaki Jun'ichirō 谷崎潤一郎 wrote a sensitive and lyric portrait of the Shigeyama family at this time in his short story, " Tsuki to Kyōgenshi " 月と狂言師 [The Moon and the Kyōgen Actors].

2. Jacob Raz (1983) has made the definitive study in English of the interrelationship between actor and audience in Japanese traditional performing arts.

3. Shigeyama Sengorō describes in some detail the origins of Gion Corner and the circumstances that led to his troupe's participation (Shigeyama 1983: 127–129).

4. The Japan Travel Bureau and other organizations arrange short variety shows of traditional performing arts for Japanese and foreigners in major cities such as Tokyo and Osaka, and also in provincial areas famous for folk arts, such as Yamaguchi Prefecture and Sado Ialand. The Samurai Nippon Show is a competitor to Gion Corner in Kyoto, and it includes demonstration of wedding kimono, the *ninja* arts, and even ritual suicide in addition to the more usual performing arts.

5. The program added *imayō* 今様 song and *ichigenkin* 一弦琴 (one-stringed zither) music to the program and presented Bunraku only on the last week. (" Naito in Gion " in *Kyō no fuyu no tabi*).

6. See Graburn 1983, 47–50, for the importance of *omiyage* in creating authentic experiences for Japanese tourists.

7. Even *nō* plays now regarded as the most " traditional " and " authentic " are inauthentic in this sense. The majority of the audience at regular performances of *nō* are students of those who appear on stage. The audience sees itself as culturally inferior, and socially inferior (sometimes equal) to *nō* actors. The critical role of the audience, therefore, has ended. The mediocrity of most *nō* performances can be attributed in part to this situation.

8. In the medieval period *kanjin nō* 観進能 (subscription *nō*) performances were organized by temples and shrines to raise funds for large scale projects. Audiences sometimes numbered in the thousands, and *nō* and *kyōgen* plays were presented for

as many as twenty-one consecutive days. The usual period was two to four days. The sponsoring institution contracted the actors and kept the gate receipts as profits. Today's two day torchlight *nō* at Heian Shrine is organized in much the same way. It attracts over a thousand spectators per performance.

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