

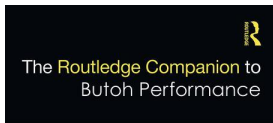
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“OPEN BUTOH”: DAIRAKUDAKAN AND MARO AKAJI

Tomoe Aihara (translated by Robert Ono)

Introduction

Dairakudakan (大駱駝艦, lit. “The Great Camel Battleship”) was founded in 1972 by actor and dancer Maro Akaji (born 1943) and is now widely recognized as one of the most representative butoh companies in the world. Men and women, half naked and covered in white paint, swarm around a throne on which sits Maro, whose appearance in many of the Dairakudakan’s works, as a formidable man in a long dress with a white face is, according to Maro, an image of a midwife.¹ And that exactly is his role.

Following in the footsteps of *ankoku butoh* that blossomed in the 1960s, Dairakudakan’s works are often described as spectacular, grotesque, nonsensical, sordid, and humorous. Critics have also called their drama full of imagery, being picturesque and ceremonial at the same time (Kisselgoff 1987). While most butoh companies feature solo dance or small groups, Dairakudakan is arguably the only company in the world today that produces large-scale performance with more than 20 members on stage. It is also one of the most enduring companies; they have produced a performance every year, except for 1992 and 1994.

This chapter provides an overview of Dairakudakan and Maro Akaji’s activity that spans more than five decades, and aims to point out several of its characteristics.

The formative years of Dairakudakan and *tenputenshiki*

Maro Akaji was born in 1943 and started acting while he was a middle school student. A few years later, as a high school student, he discovered the dancer Hijikata Tatsumi (1928–1986) in a magazine article and was shocked by his appearance and talent. Although he was accepted to Waseda University in 1962, he withdrew right away to enroll in a drama school. Besides acting, he also enjoyed the stimulating new art and political movements that could be witnessed every day in the streets of Tokyo. In 1964, he joined the drama company Budou no Kai (ぶどうの会), where he met Noguchi Michizō (1914–1998). Then, in the following year, Maro became one of the founding members and actors of Jōkyō Gekijō, a project led by Kara Jūrō (born 1940), who would later become an important figure in Japanese underground theater scene.²

The underground theater scene in Japan was at its height during the 1960s and the 1970s and is contemporaneous with the Western movement of experimental theater led by figures such as Jerzy Grotowski, who stressed the “physical” quality of theater. The actors’ body was now becoming a focal point of theater, instead of leaning heavily on the script.³ Maro’s body was known for its ferocity at Jōkyō Gekijō, as one critic described it as “a body of rampaging actor, as if he chops his way through the jungle with a hatchet” (Tomioka 1970, 40). Kara cherished such quality in actors, the quality he named “the privileged body,” which could hold the stage just by its own existence. Maro was definitely one of the “monsters” with such quality. Maro, however, left Jōkyō Gekijō after six years. On his departure, critic Senda Akihiko remarked “Maro Akaji was neither just a unique actor, nor was he merely a great specimen of ‘body.’ Rather, he was a *zeitgeist*” (Senda 2007:49). By then Maro was already a symbolic figure of underground theater and its time.

Incidentally, it was also in 1966 that Maro met Hijikata Tatsumi. The encounter took place while Maro was practicing for a show at a cabaret to fund his project, with dancers such as Kasai Akira, Ishii Mitsutaka, and Nakajima Natsu, who were already working with Hijikata (Maro 2011).⁴ Maro moved into Asbestos Hall and started to practice with him while performing at cabarets. However, he never participated in Hijikata’s performance; his career still centered around Kara’s company. It was in 1971 that Maro finally left the company due to growing differences of their style. Kara, now an awarded playwright, started to focus heavily on words (Maro 2011).

In 1972, the year after leaving Jōkyō Gekijō, Maro founded Dairakudakan. Members included Amagatsu Ushio, Tamura Tetsurō, Ōsuga Isamu, Murobushi Kō, Bishop Yamada, and a few others. While Amagatsu, Tamura, and Ōsuga were experienced actors, Murobushi and Yamada frequented Asbestos Hall and were familiar with Hijikata’s butoh (Harada 2004). Like Maro himself, Dairakudakan is a unity of theater and butoh. Maro, who does not consider himself a disciple of Hijikata, keeps some space from Hijikata’s butoh by describing the style of his company with a motto *tenputenshiki* (天賦典式), which, in Maro’s own words, means “being born in this world is a great talent in itself.” According to Maro, Dairakudakan is neither a theater nor a dance company:

I called it *tenputenshiki*, partly because I owed a lot to Hijikata. He called his style butoh, so I could not use the same term. Yes they are similar, with white paints and all. Yes I am influenced by him. But my style is less strict, you know.⁵

Maro does not hesitate to admit Hijikata’s influence. Maro often recalls practice sessions he had with Hijikata. For example, in one such occasion, they were practicing how to “walk” right. Watching Maro strive, Hijikata yelled: “Why do you push your left leg forward? Why are you walking on your right leg?” Obviously, Maro could not walk anymore. Hijikata had jerked Maro with words, who had no sense of doubt about his motion. And this is when Maro became aware of the concept “stray body.” What happens when the body is deprived of objective and relativity? What kinds of movement are possible then?

We usually move with an objective, like going forward and such. But what happens when we lose all the relation, and have no exit? That is the ‘stray body.’

Maro 2016

As apparent from the above, Maro states that he had learned “diverse viewpoint” towards the body from the words of Hijikata.⁶

The newly formed Dairakudakan was very male-oriented. Most of the founding members were male, and according to Bishop Yamada, it was a “phallic company” where both the creative process and daily conversations were full of sexual associations (Yamada 1992).⁷ Many of the earlier pieces featured scenes alluding to sexual intercourse and birth, and the props often resembled male and female genitalia. It was, in short, a carnival or orgy of eroticism. A representative piece from the period of overt masculinity would be *Yōbutsu shintan* 陽物神譚 (The Chronicle of the Phallic God, 1973). In this story of Heliogabalus, the guest star Hijikata played the emperor, while Maro played Satan with his skin painted blue. Critic Ichikawa Miyabi comments that although this piece is “a grotesque and nonsensical example of butoh” that features white men and women, it succeeds in “demonstrating, in the form of nothing but the body, the possibility of nonsensical actions of an ugly crowd turning into something holy, through the act of sacrifice” (Ichikawa 2000, 87). According to Yamada, who performed a homosexual duo with Hijikata in this piece, they were able to create a space that celebrates the “energy of primary colors,” which became “one of the highlights of Dairakudakan, and one of the unforgettable moments of *Ankoku butoh*” (Yamada 1992). The audience was covered with straw, gold dust, and chicken feathers pouring down from the ceiling of the tent.

Coincidentally or not, this became the last official performance of Hijikata. After the stage, Hijikata started to evaluate and organize his methods through choreographing his students, especially Hakutōbō.⁸ Meanwhile, as Murobushi remarked, the members of the newly found Dairakudakan were ready to expand their horizons further, since they were “motivated to disperse themselves, rather than limit themselves within a certain style” (Aihara 2002, 240). The performance, where Hijikata shared the stage with the second generation of butoh artists, such as Maro, Amagatsu, and Murobushi, was a symbolic piece for Dairakudakan, and at the same time, it seems to have signified the coming of the next butoh phase.

One person, one school: Maro Akaji as an incubator

Dairakudakan started out as a small company of less than 10 members, but thanks to a growing audience and popularity, members doubled and tripled within a couple of years. This is when Maro suggested each of the founding members to start their own company. This idea of Maro, the one he calls “one person, one school,” promptly encouraged the members to form their own butoh groups.

<i>Founded</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Founder(s)</i>
1974	Ariadne no Kai	Carlotta Ikeda (1941–2014)
1975	Sankai Juku	Amagatsu Ushio (1949–)
1975	Dance Love Machine	Tamura Tetsurō (1950–1991) Furukawa Anzu (1952–2001)
1975	Hoppo Butoh-ha	Bishop Yamada (1948–)
1976	Butoh-ha “Sebi”	Murobushi Kō (1947–2015)
1977	Toho Yaso Kai (Byakkosha since 1980)	Osuga Isamu (1946–)

Figure 20.1 Butoh groups derived from Dairakudakan during the 1970s.

Representative butoh companies were thus quickly formed over the course of five years. When a new company was to be launched far from Tokyo, such as “Sebi” and Hoppo Butoh-ha, Maro and the members of Dairakudakan, and sometimes even Hijikata, would pay a visit to put on a performance, and to celebrate with drinks. Maro would occasionally direct, choreograph, or make a guest appearance in the works of these new groups, one such case being Sankai Juku’s very first performance in 1977, *Amagatsu shō* あまがつ嶺 (Ode to Amagatsu).

It did not take long for these groups to perform outside of Japan. Ariadne no Kai and Murobushi Kō were the first to do so in 1977, for a proposed performance at a cabaret in Paris. Murobushi, who also served as Dairakudakan’s producer, says his performances abroad were part of his scouting to prepare for future Dairakudakan tours and assess the feasibility of the much larger company traveling to Europe (Aihara 2002). The cabaret show itself was rejected but they managed to remain in Paris through January 1978, and were able to present a butoh show that lasted for a month. It is widely believed that this was the first butoh performance to be recognized in Europe. In 1980, Sankai Juku participated in the Nancy International Theatre Festival and Festival d’Avignon. Ohno Kazuo was also at Nancy, where his performance shocked the European audience. During the 1980s, Carlotta Ikeda, Murobushi Kō, and Amagatsu Ushio would spend most of their time in Europe and lead the butoh scene there.⁹ Since all these groups derive from Dairakudakan, it could be said that, at least retrospectively, Maro was the major “incubator” of butoh performers who would follow in the footsteps of Hijikata.

The departure of its founding members definitely had a significant impact on Dairakudakan. The process of creation itself had to be altered. In its formative years, the central members, such as Maro, Amagatsu, and Murobushi would collaborate to come up with new ideas, sharing their diverse backgrounds. But now, Maro had to take full control over the process. One of the outcomes of this new venture is *Kaiin no uma* 海印の馬 (The Sea-Dappled Horses), a representative piece of the company that was first performed in 1980. Maro calls this “a monumental work that defined our style of butoh” (*Sankei Shimbun* 2004). Indeed, one can see in this piece many of the characteristics that are still evident in performances of Dairakudakan today.

The piece features Maro encountering numerous monsters while searching for a phantom horse.¹⁰ When the piece was performed in 2004, the dance critic Ishii Taturō, remarked as follows:

Old wooden shutters hung from the ceiling encompass the stage. Some twenty male and female dancers, painted white, led by Maro Akaji, perform spectacularly following the sound of Japanese drums. Fallen warriors and their women flirt around, while women in scarlet dresses with large ribbons appear and dance (yes, Maro also appears in this costume, and gives the audience a good laugh). . . . The last scene was especially overwhelming, in which Maro, hunchbacked like a blind man, moves incessantly surrounded by crowd of dancers clad in black, holding a lantern.

Ishii 2004

The performance consists of nine scenes. In the first scene, all the dancers, except for Maro, appear almost completely naked with white paint covering their body, and perform a grotesque group dance, twitching their bodies with eyes wide open. This is followed by much more serene

dances by women in kimono and white, long dresses. Subsequently, in the middle of the performance, we can see Maro and female dancers wearing mini dresses hopping and jumping. This scene is rather facetious, although the atmosphere is somewhat gory. In the end, Maro appears white and naked, merely covering his genitals, on the far end of the stage covered in scarlet carpet, almost like a sacred, monstrous figure. This last scene, which overwhelmed Ishii, is full of sublime-ness.



Figure 20.2 *Dairakudakan Temputenshiki, Paradise* (2016), photograph by Kawashima Hiroyuki.

Maro explains that this piece is a “dance-prayer,” originated from the idea that “dancers could only pray when they face reality, which is full of wars and criminal acts” (*Asahi Shimbun* 2004). Compared to the earlier works of Dairakudakan, *Kaiin no uma* features less carnivalesque and erotic factors, but the piece itself has a clearer framework and narrative structure, while it is still full of humorous, grotesque, and sordid aspects. Similar points are made by Anna Kisselgoff regarding the performance of *Kaiin no uma* in American Dance Festival of that year:

Yet *The Sea-Dappled Horses* is also visionary theater-powerful, theatrical, largely grotesque, as much a nightmare as a dream. It twists the epic and brings it down, frequently with street-wise humor . . . The Sea-Dappled Horses is all imagery. It begins with the creation of the world and ends with hell and the spirit figures dear to Japanese ghost stories.

Kisselgoff 1982

Kaiin no uma can be labeled, at least partially, as the piece that established the style of Dairakudakan to this day, the style that can be characterized by its mythical atmosphere and sordidness. Moreover, the piece came to define the structure in which the dance plays out. In *Kaiin no uma*, five out of nine scenes are performed by groups of dancers. Maro, who is the centerpiece of the stage, does not become part of these groups, but rather associates himself with these groups, as an independent dancer. This kind of structure was impossible to achieve during the earlier years, since dancers were intertwined deeply with each other to form the piece. But since *Kaiin no uma*, the company structures its stages through contacts between Maro and ensemble of dancers with certain anonymity. For the past 25 years, *Kaiin no uma* has been performed in the same manner, with minor changes among the members.

It was with this piece that Dairakudakan first performed abroad in 1982, at the American Dance Festival and *Festival d'Avignon*. This was arguably the first occasion for Americans to see *butoh* (Kisselgoff 1987). Although several *butoh* artists had made appearances in the United States prior to this festival, it was in fact Dairakudakan that introduced *butoh* to the Americans.¹¹ Ever since, Dairakudakan has performed vigorously abroad, so far in thirty-four cities in thirteen different countries.

The methodology of Dairakudakan

Although Maro has never published an official document on his methodology, Maro's practice often revolves around three concepts during workshops and similar occasions. They are: (1) “gathering gestures” *Nichijō no naka kara no miburi no saishū* 日常の中からの身振りの採集, (2) “the molded phase” *Chūtai* 鑄態, and (3) “the space body” *Uchūtai* 宇宙体 (Maro 1997).¹² These are all practical and concrete concepts that are utilized to build up the style of Dairakudakan's *butoh*.

Gathering gestures

This concept points to the incorporation of “gestures” into *butoh*. These gestures must be different from practical actions we take in our daily lives. Maro explains the difference between actions and gestures using coffee cup as an example:

You pick up a coffee cup. That is a procedure. That action is both natural and empirical. I call such actions pseudo-actions. They are realistic. They are the principle.

We always look for usefulness in things. That is the reality. That is the principle. But when you are creating dance that is not enough. Perhaps we should look for something on the other end of usefulness.

Maro 2016

To Maro, actions are daily movements, often performed with tools, and are nothing more than realistic, pseudo-actions that serve as a principle. Rather, he pays more attention to “gestures, which are indefinable, purposeless movements that are parallel to actions” (Maro 2016). If so, when can one observe gestures? Maro explains:

For example, life is full of small accidents. You find that a page in a book is torn. You stumble on a stone while walking. In those moments you are baffled for a second. Sure, those moments would usually pass, and you would never remember them. But in butoh, that blank, broken moment is the door to the ‘gestures.’

Maro 1997

There are words, and we explain everything with words. That is usually enough, but we also have ‘gestures.’ And once we lose words and start moving, all of a sudden the movements seem so important. This now becomes dance. I start moving my hands, start exploring, and now it is like I’m signing. When movements lose their meaning and go astray, we try to use our words cover for the loss. But that is when I feel sorry for ‘gestures.’ We need to take good care of them. I mean, we are moving a lot. We should cherish the movement.

Maro 2016

Moments of surprise, involuntary movements, and irrational gestures we incorporate in our conversations, are all sources of “gestures” Maro tries to gather. These “movements that lost their meaning and went astray” will further be deformed and arranged into new movements of butoh. This is what is meant by “gathering gestures.”

The molded phase

The “molded phase,” the term coined by Maro, naturally signifies the combination of “mold” and “phase.” Maro explains, “We keep on doing things [movements], we give a sign, and then we stop. Simply put, it’s a stop-motion.” Physically, it is a moment of complete stop that is without any movement. However, “molded phase” is not the same as a simple pause. Maro adds:

It can happen to anybody. You are walking, and then you stop suddenly. There, you can feel your density is increasing. But really there is no way to explain what kind of density it is. That is the fun part. The moment you start moving again, the density is gone. So, the question is, what happens if you try not to break off the density, and capture it alive once you stop moving.

As the word “mold” suggests, the energy that flows during the movement quickly coagulates once one pauses. This is the moment in which Maro feels the increase of “density.” Also, for Maro, it is crucial to maintain this density after the movement has been resumed.

Maro believes that his idea of “mold” could be applied widely. According to Maro, all factors of environment, such as illness, impairment, climate, emotion, and time, could be considered as a “mold.” Our body, which is an outcome of this “mold,” is already a form of *butoh* (Maro 1997).

The space body

The “space body,” another coinage by Maro, is the basic posture of *butoh* in *Dairakudakan*. It means to “empty” oneself, thus allowing forces from the outside to move the body. Maro explains the emptiness of the body as follows:

Although you are ‘empty,’ you are still full of senses, emotions, and all that sort of things.
I aim to remove those things as well . . . You have to get rid of them. You just have to be vacant. And that is the basic state.

One should turn his/her body into an “empty bag” in order to transform the everyday body into the body of *butoh*, free of all usual habits.¹³ This idea of “empty bag” is based on the concept designed by Noguchi Michizō, the founder of *Noguchi Taisō*. Noguchi is another important figure in Japanese theater during the 1960s and the 1970s, with his unique concepts and mannerisms influencing a wide range of performers. Maro was a student of Noguchi for a year before he met Kara and Hijikata. Maro admits that he was largely influenced by this mentor, who has changed his “views toward the body 180 degrees.”

Noguchi states that the body of a living human being is a “bag of skin, full of some sort of liquid, where bones and organs float around” (Noguchi 1972, 19). Here, the human body is not a structure of muscles and bones, but a bag (skin) full of liquid. The basics of *Noguchi Taisō* is to be lax, let the weight take control, and “shake and shuffle” the “water” within. Noguchi also stresses the importance of bodily senses: “What is inside *is* you. Movement is the change within. What is observed on the outside is merely the result of it” (Noguchi 1972, 34).

One example of *Dairakudakan*’s mannerism based on Noguchi’s view of the human body would be that of the “wave (undulation),” seen during the group dance in the piece *Paradise* [パラダイス], first performed in 2016. In a workshop hosted by Agatsuma Emiko, a member of *Dairakudakan*, in preparation for this piece, the participants practiced the “wave” movement in the following manner.¹⁴

First, each person stands in an upright, silent position. Then, undulation would begin at the soles of the feet, climbing its way up to the lower and upper body. This vibration will then force the dancers to move forward, one step at a time. The aim is to form a large, integrated wave that would sweep across the stage, with numerous dancers undulating simultaneously. Agatsuma stresses that the key here is to feel the water within and “let the wave pass through your center,” so the feet will be *pushed* forward, instead of *moved* forward (Agatsuma 2016). The objective of this group dance is not to achieve a unified, selfless movement, but to construct an integrated movement on top of individual bodies.

Maro transcends and diversifies Noguchi’s concept of “water” to achieve a higher state of *butoh*. “Things enter our empty body, and start moving. That is how we experience the as-yet-unknown gestures,” explains Maro (1997). He would transform a set of movements, led by things inside our body, or our empty bags, into *butoh*. The work *Virus* ウィルス, first performed in 2012, for example, is about movements led by a virus that dominates the human body.

For example, you would imagine something is living inside of you. Then it will start to move you. At the end of the day, that’s the easiest way. You just need to relax.

Maro substitutes his “body” with “space,” and lets something that inhabits the space lead his movements. “We think of our body as mass. But what if it is a space, a completely empty void? And what if this space had density?” questions Maro (1997). Furthermore, Maro uses the word “passive” to explain the state of being made to move:

In a way, it’s very oriental; very Japanese. It’s like you don’t have the subject *I*. The Western way is always more active, you know, *I do such and such*, and so on. In a way we are the opposites. We are passive. We let in. It isn’t *I*, but what makes *I* possible . . . There is someone else out there, someone that would make us become aware of our *self*.

One way of putting it, is that butoh is passive. It is negative rather than active. I believe there is a lot of receiving involved. Being active can make things smaller. When you are being active, you can only think from within your vessel. When you are passive, on the other hand, there is less order. You would accept anything. And that means both good and evil things. But we are, in fact, both good and evil. There is no need to change that.

I am moved by someone when *I* become passive and “empty.”¹⁵ This is the method to secure one’s potential to transform into anything.

Conclusion: open butoh

With the new studio Kochūten established in Tokyo in 1997, the company has been engaging in a new activity since 2001, which shares the name with the studio. In each performance, a different member of Dairakudakan will serve as the choreographer under Maro’s supervision. The studio offers sixty seats, and usually all the seats are sold out for each performance that would last for a week. On average three performances are scheduled for each year; so far, twenty-two members have choreographed fifty-four works. Nine of them were performed abroad, the first of them in New York, in 2002.

Usually the choreographer has more than five years of experience at Dairakudakan, and the choreographer would also incorporate his/her solo into the performance. But besides these basic rules, choreographers are given *carte blanche*. A week before the performance, the work will be previewed by Maro and the members. This process is called *Maro sōken* [磨総見] where Maro gives some last-minute advice. Some works of the members include *Swan Lake* [白鳥湖 2010] by Muku Naomi, a former ballet dancer, and a comical repertoire *Flesh Song* [肉のうた 2014], an all-female performance, by Agatsuma Emiko. Maro recounts:

For example, how is the world different when it is viewed from the eyes of a girl, rather than a man like me? I just want to see how that person sees the world.

This method is helping Dairakudakan to produce numerous experimental performances, which are very much different from the works produced by Maro himself. And since Kochūten provides the members an opportunity to work as a choreographer/director, they are able to experience rich creative dialogues with fellow dancers, where they communicate through physical language.

Another aspect of Kochūten is that it may act as a catalyst for the “mother ship,” or Dairakudakan. Through the creation of its members, who are familiar with the company’s style, Maro will be able to observe the results of his own methodology in a more objective manner. This, of course, could urge Maro to re-evaluate his style, while the experience and responsibility that

comes with it could be very much educational for its members. No other butoh group uses this kind of method to coach its members, or to maintain a healthy environment within the organization.

Moreover, Dairakudakan has been hosting a retreat every summer since 2002 in Hakuba village. Experience in dance is not mandatory to participate in this event, which consists of lectures and workshops. At the end of a retreat, everyone performs together with the company members. This, again, is a truly open space of butoh.

During the 1960s, while butoh was still in the cradle, Maro took the stage as an actor while he was also influenced by Hijikata. As a result, Dairakudakan was formed as a crossing point of butoh and theater. At the beginning, Maro decided to call his style *tenputenshiki*, rather than butoh, to keep some space between himself and Hijikata. Nevertheless, Dairakudakan is widely considered today as a representative butoh company, and Maro did in fact expand the horizons of butoh. The following words of Maro should, in part, explain the qualities of Dairakudakan, a company that “opened” butoh:

I have to stand there with a body that can fight with the time we live in. If not, then the body is not erotic enough.

You have fun, and you play. You don't stop. This is the same with religion, or anything really. If you stop, you are stuck.

I think there are more possibilities in human body. I think I can discover something more.

The midwife we see on stage is indeed a midwife of butoh. This midwife gave birth to the next generation of butoh dancers and will probably keep doing so.

Notes

- 1 To be precise, it is the midwife who appears in *A Thousand Years of Pleasure* [千年の愉楽], a collection of stories by Nakagami Kenji (1946–1992). “I like this scary old woman who would tell young delinquents how she had delivered them into this world” (Maro Akaji, interview by author, July 9, 2016).
- 2 Kara Jūrō is a playwright, director, actor, novelist, and one of the representative figures in Japanese underground theater scene. His experimental stage performances during the 1960s drastically changed the course of Japanese modern theater, which, until then, was mostly comprised of translated Western plays.
- 3 Antonin Artaud's *The Theatre and its Double* was published in Japan in 1965 and has influenced many people of the theater scene.
- 4 Cabarets existed throughout Japan at that time. Actors and dancers performed at these venues to sustain themselves economically. Maro, along with Kara, and dancers who worked with Hijikata, often performed *kinpun* (gold dust) shows, which gained some popularity.
- 5 Maro Akaji, interview by author, July 9, 2016. Unless otherwise noted, all of Maro's words are taken from the same interview.
- 6 Maro, on the other hand, states that he has learned practical bodywork from Noguchi (more details about Noguchi later in the chapter).
- 7 The company's obsession with phallic symbols can be seen in the titles of their pieces from the period. Two pieces from 1974, for example, are *Sumera dai kōgan* 皇大糞丸 (The Great Imperial Scrotum), and *Danniku monogatari* 男肉物語 (The Tale of Male-Meat).
- 8 This marks the starting point the third phase in Hijikata's career, according to Ichikawa Miyabi. Maro believes that during this period Hijikata was “trying to clarify his methods, and organize them into a system” (Maro Akaji, interview by author, July 9, 2016).
- 9 It must be noted, of course, that performers such as Ohno Kazuo and Iwana Masaki also played an important role in disseminating butoh in Europe.
- 10 Although *kaiin* is a Buddhist term that signifies the wisdom of Buddha, the piece does not relate itself to a certain religion.

- 11 For example, Eiko & Koma had made their debut in the United States in 1976. Although they do not define their performance as butoh, Eiko recalls that the term *butoh* was nonexistent in the United States back in 1976 (Otake 2015).
- 12 Although the English translations for these concepts are not yet established, the author has contacted the company, and reached an agreement on November 18, 2016, that henceforth these English terms will be used officially.
- 13 Agatsuma Emiko, a member of Dairakudakan (joined 1999), looks back on her own experience: “When I attended a workshop at Dairakudakan for the first time, we were asked to become empty. Your experience did not matter. Everyone had to be empty, like an empty leather bag on the street. There’s no good or bad at pretending to be a bag, you know. That is where we start” (Agatsuma Emiko, interview by author, May 26, 2016).
- 14 The workshop was carried out on May 26, 2016, in Tokyo. Three young dancers of the company also led the practice.
- 15 On being moved, dancer Muku Naomi (joined 2005) explains that “it is crucial for the butoh of Dairakudakan to ‘let yourself be moved’ and not fight it” (Muku Naomi, interview by author, June 3, 2016).

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