

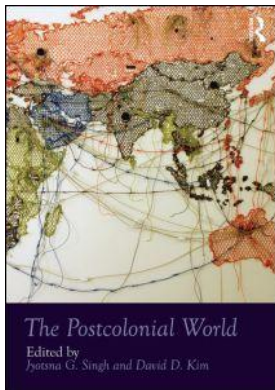
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### **Curio Fever**

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## CHAPTER FIFTEEN

### CURIO FEVER

# Tsubouchi Shōyō, Lafcadio Hearn, and the cultural politics of “collecting Japan” in the Age of Empire



*Jonathan Zwicker*

#### “THE WHOLE OF JAPAN IS A PURE INVENTION”

“Now, do you really imagine that the Japanese people, as they are presented to us in art, have any existence?” Vivian asks Cyril in Oscar Wilde’s *Decay of Lying* (1889).

If you do, you have never understood Japanese art at all. The Japanese people are the deliberate self-conscious creation of certain individual artists. . . . The actual people who live in Japan are not unlike the general run of English people; that is to say, they are extremely commonplace, and have nothing curious or extraordinary about them. In fact the whole of Japan is a pure invention. There is no such country, there are no such people. . . . And so, if you desire to see a Japanese effect, you will not behave like a tourist and go to Tokio. On the contrary, you will stay at home, and steep yourself in the work of certain Japanese artists, and then, when you have absorbed the spirit of their style, and caught their imaginative manner of vision, you will go some afternoon and sit in the Park or stroll down Piccadilly, and if you cannot see an absolutely Japanese effect there, you will not see it anywhere.<sup>1</sup>

The better part of a century before Edward Said would publish his landmark study of the role of “imagined geographies” in Western Orientalism,<sup>2</sup> Wilde identified – with remarkable precision – the role of the imagination and fantasy in the “Japan” of *fin de siècle* Europe: the “Japan” inspired by collectors and dealers like the Goncourt brothers and Siegfried Bing, by the vogue for Japonisme, and by the works of European painters from Manet and Degas to Monet and van Gogh.<sup>3</sup> From the beginning, European and American interest in Japan was intimately bound up with collecting: everything from Japanese prints and illustrated books to ceramics and seashells became objects of fascination for European collectors.<sup>4</sup> But if, to the late nineteenth-century European, Japan was essentially “a pure invention,” to his Japanese counterpart Europe was, in many ways, very real. For while Europe would itself be the subject of Occidental fantasies throughout Japan’s modern period, these fantasies were grounded both in material reality and in a set of hegemonic

power relations that would inform Japan's relationship with the world from the late nineteenth century forward (and in many ways for a century before that).

Indeed, in Japan, as elsewhere in the non-Western world, the late nineteenth century was a moment when both academic and popular knowledge came to be recast within the framework of European modes and models. Here, geography was central: the world was reimagined as populated by a series of continents embedded within a Cartesian grid.<sup>5</sup> History, too, was reimagined with the Japanese past recast in the mold of European progressivist historiography: Japan would get its own middle ages, for examples, as a way to make sense of this non-European past relationally with European historiographical practice.<sup>6</sup> At the same time, there emerged what were essentially entirely new categories of knowledge such as "Literature" and "Religion" which attempted to understand the particularity of Japanese culture within frameworks derived from European examples.<sup>7</sup>

So much is familiar from the work of the last several decades on the structures of colonial knowledge and the intellectual politics of colonial modernity. In Japan's case, however, there is a further dimension to the construction of modern forms of knowledge in "the Age of Empire." Japan, too, would emerge at the end of the nineteenth century and through the first half of the twentieth century as a colonial empire in its own right and both state and academy would play important roles in spreading modern academic disciplines throughout the Japanese empire. Colonial anthropology, for example, would rely on the tools of Western ethnography to classify and categorize Asian and Pacific subjects and the pasts of colonized peoples would be reinterpreted within the framework of European historiography but always also relationally with Japan: if Japan would get its own medieval period, so too would Korea.<sup>8</sup> Thus while Japan does not typically figure as an important area within postcolonial studies, this essay shows how both Japan's engagement with Western modernity and its own colonial practices provides us with new, illuminating perspectives on East–West relations within colonial and postcolonial contexts.

In Japan, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the theater played an especially important part in how cultural geographies were imagined. This is in part because of the role that the theater played in literally embodying "Others" – bringing before the eyes of an audience exotic figures ranging from the Qing Admiral Ding Ruchang to Shylock and Othello to Salome and Nora. For many Japanese in the early twentieth century, it was in the theater that they saw a "European" for the first time – even if Shylock was played by Kawakami Otojirō or Nora by Matsui Sumako.<sup>9</sup>

But the importance of the theater for thinking about cultural geography is also deeply linked to the history of the idea of the *Theatrum Mundi* in both European and East Asian discourse, a subject to which I will return below. It is within this context that Theater Studies emerged in Japan in the early twentieth century and the history of theatrical research in modern Japan is at once emblematic of the ways in which academic disciplines grappled with the place of Japan within a system of knowledge predicated on the normative Western example but also how Japanese intellectuals often saw the edges of this problem, how they grappled with its paradoxes, and how the intellectual career of one figure – Tsubouchi Shōyō (1859–1935) – can be seen as emblematic of this situatedness of Japan in the world during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.



Figure 15.1 Kawakami Otojirō as Shylock and Kawakami Sadayakko as Portia, *Merchant of Venice*, 1903.

Source and Permission: Tsubouchi Memorial Theater Museum, Waseda University.



Figure 15.2 Matsui Sumako as Nora, *A Doll's House*, 1911.  
Source and Permission: Tsubouchi Memorial Theater Museum, Waseda University.

## ALL THE WORLD'S A STAGE

*Totus Mundus Agit Histrionem*: all the world is a stage. These Latin words are inscribed in thick gothic lettering above the entrance to the Waseda University Tsubouchi Memorial Theater Museum, which opened in 1928 to celebrate the career of Tsubouchi Shōyō and to mark his seventieth birthday and also the publication of the final volumes of his translation of Shakespeare's complete works, a project on which he had worked for two decades. The Museum is housed in a faux Elizabethan reconstruction of the Fortune Theater that Shōyō had himself designed. He had chosen the inscription because it was believed to have been the motto of Shakespeare's Globe Theater – and, of course, one of Shakespeare's most famous lines – but it also represents something of Shōyō's conception of the meaning and import of theatrical research: that theater was itself a model in miniature of human history and that the comparative history of world theater was perhaps the most pressing task facing the academy.<sup>10</sup>

In 1890, the year after Wilde published *The Decay of Lying*, Shōyō began lecturing on the idea of comparative literature at the Tokyo Senmon Gakkō, the forerunner to Waseda University. Shōyō was in his early thirties but had already published his 1885 essay on “the essence of the novel” which was the first real attempt to understand the history of Japanese fiction as part of a global history of the novel based on Western conceptions of that genre – the work for which he is today best remembered. Shōyō's 1890 lectures were based on H.M. Posnett's work which he had begun translating and the lectures themselves amount to the beginnings of comparative literature as a field in Japan and the first attempt to think critically about the role that comparison could play in understanding the history of culture and Japan's place within “the world republic of letters.”<sup>11</sup>

Although Shōyō's early work was preoccupied with the history of the novel, most of his career was focused not on fiction but on drama – an interest that went back to his childhood – and his reputation during his lifetime would rest primarily on his work as a playwright, critic, translator, and historian of theater. And Shōyō's conception of drama is very much shaped by ideas of *geography* – both real and imagined – and how the comparative method can bring into dialogue objects of knowledge that seem disparate from one another – and in these cases offer an interplay of relationships between Japanese and Western cultural formations.

The Latin inscription above the entranceway to the Theater Museum – and the building itself – is suggestive of the work that Shōyō had envisioned for the Museum in several ways. The first is the role comparison was always meant to play in the intellectual mission of the Museum and also – one imagines perhaps unconsciously – the asymmetric nature of the reality of comparison: the building itself as replica stands in for the “missing” objects from the Western theatrical tradition that Shōyō envisioned eventually filling the museum. The second is the suggestion of homology between world and stage, a homology that gives to the study of the theater a particularly important place in the study of mankind with the theater serving as a kind of scale model for all of humanity and thus embodying human history in miniature.

But the motto is also suggestive of the work of the Museum in a less obvious way. At one level, through its association with the Globe, the inscription invokes an entire history of Western thought on the relationship between the theater and the world



that stretches from the Elizabethan era back through the notion of *theatrum mundi* to the Latin middle ages and the classical tradition and links up with discourses in geography and cartography in which this conceit played a central role in the early modern European imagination.<sup>12</sup> But if the motto seems but one more example of a classic “spectre of comparisons”<sup>13</sup> in which “the West” provides a lens through which non-Western histories come to be understood and refashioned, the rendering of the motto into Japanese in a 1928 account of the opening of the Theater Museum is suggestive of a different history of this metaphor, a history that provides an example of a kind of comparison that in its own ways deeply resonates with Shōyō’s project of a comparative theater history.

In an article on the opening of the Theater Museum in the *Yomiuri* newspaper, the motto is described as follows: “on the crossbeam above the main entranceway is, designed by Shōyō himself, the phrase written in gold lettering in Latin ‘Tenchi ichidai gijō’.”<sup>14</sup> Here, the Latin original of the English is rendered into an idiom intelligible to the Japanese reader, though not into Japanese as such. This six-character Chinese phrase – literally heaven and earth are one great theater – is, indeed, not so much a translation of the Latin as itself a phrase with its own rich semantic history. Just as the Globe motto points outwards towards continental Europe and back to a rich history extending into the classical period, so too does “tenchi ichidai gijō” point towards the Asian continent and to a connection between world and stage with a long history in Chinese thought.

The metaphor of life as a play extends back to the Song Dynasty (960–1279 CE) and plays an important role in Zen (Ch’an) Buddhist thought but the phrase becomes especially widespread during the late Ming and early Qing periods. Indeed, as Gōyama Kiwamu has argued, “it is the phrase that perhaps best symbolizes the thought of the late Ming and early Qing” and it is in this guise that the phrase enters Japanese discourse on the theater in the eighteenth century.<sup>15</sup> In Japan, the idea of heaven and earth as a stage came into wide currency in writing about theater in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and provided a guiding cognitive metaphor for comment on the stage appearing within a broad range of works on theatrical history for almost a century up through the Meiji Restoration of 1868.

Yet when Shōyō himself rendered this phrase into Japanese – which he did on more than one occasion – he chose a different tack. In his 1920 translation of *As You Like It*, volume 16 of his edition of Shakespeare’s complete works, for example – which was likely the first time he had been faced with rendering into Japanese Jacques’ line from Act 2 Scene 7, “All the world’s a stage, and all the men and women merely players” – rather than drawing on the framing device of world as stage that was so deftly deployed by late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century writers to draw out the staged nature of the world and the worldliness of the stage, Shōyō invents an entirely new idiom: “ningen sekai wa kotogotoku butai desu, sōshite subete no danjo ga haiyū desu.” Here, Shōyō translates Jacques’ line quite literally into modern Japanese, but in so doing completely cuts it off from the rich semantic history that this idea had within Japanese and East Asian thought. For a writer so erudite in Japanese theatrical tradition, so deeply immersed in the culture of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century *kabuki*, and so attuned to phrasing and language, the dry formality of Shōyō’s rendering seems oddly out of pitch and certainly flattens out one of Shakespeare’s greatest lines. How could he not, one wonders, hear the echo of that governing image

of the early nineteenth-century stage in Shakespeare's language? How could a writer and scholar so deeply invested in the idea of comparison have so completely cut off his translation from any reference to or acknowledgement of this uncanny resonance? It is as if the language of Shakespeare could provide a way for thinking about the history of Japanese drama but that the history of East Asian thought was somehow incapable of providing a framework adequate for comprehending Shakespeare.

The asymmetrical nature of this framework – in which the Western example can serve as a model or metaphor for understanding the non-Western but the non-Western can never serve as the normative example for understanding the history of Europe – broadly marks the encounter of the non-West with European modes of knowledge in the nineteenth century. What I would like to suggest in the case of Shōyō is how this very problematic inflected his work: how he was aware – and critical – of the casual Eurocentrism intrinsic to the very academic disciplines through which he attempted to understand the history of Japan but also how he was unable to break free of the promise that these models seemed to hold for a universalism even if the promise of that universalism would always be delayed and denied. In many ways, this is the Gordian Knot of the non-Western intellectual in the Age of Empire: the desire to seek a universal framework through which one's own history and culture can be understood in comparative terms but the recognition that this universalism is itself derived from – and predicated on – the Western model as structuring agent.

## CURIO FEVER

When the Theater Museum opened in 1928, Shōyō remarked, “Although it is called a museum, it is really a center for research on historical materials of the theater and is certainly not some place for the collecting of curios.” Shōyō then gives a specific example: “we are certainly not interested in boasting that we have a first edition of a woodblock print by so and so.”<sup>16</sup> At one level, Shōyō here is explicitly rejecting what he considered the aestheticization and museumification of Japanese woodblock prints, a point he made explicitly in his critique of Western collecting habits in his 1920 study of Utagawa Toyokuni and his school. For Shōyō, the theater prints of nineteenth-century Japan were first and foremost “historical material” (*shiryō*) and their transformation into art objects – housed in European and American collections – had robbed researchers of access to these important archives.<sup>17</sup>

But for Shōyō, the term “curio” (*kottō*) had a particular meaning and resonance, deeply embedded within the politics of collecting in the context of empire. In 1912, Shōyō had written a play with the suggestive title *Curio Fever* (*Kottōnetsu*). In one scene, a young man watching a German couple cart off their purchases in a rickshaw remarks to his uncle:

They say that there are no longer any of the ordinary run of the mill curios left and these days it seems that there are many searching for tea rooms complete with accompanying trees and garden rocks or Buddhist altar rooms complete with the family's mortuary tablets, altar fittings, and decorations.

It seems, the young man continues, that “Japan itself has become one faded sacred, great big and old art object. Or put differently, it is a unique antique, one giant curio.”<sup>18</sup>



But if Japan had itself been turned into one great curio for Western collectors, it was just at this moment that Japanese collectors and art dealers had begun to turn their attention to China and Korea in the wake of China's 1911 revolution and Japan's formal annexation of Korea in 1910. Indeed, as Kuchiki Yuriko has shown in her recent book on the "house of Yamanaka," it was Japanese art dealers like Yamanaka Teijirō who played a critical role in shaping the vogue for Orientalia in Japan and in the West during these early years of the second decade of the twentieth century.<sup>19</sup>

And so it is suggestive that this reflection on the "curio-ification" of Japan is followed immediately in Shōyō's play by a dialogue between a middle school principal and a Buddhist monk; as the principal notes, the bronze statue of Confucius on display stood as a testament to "the honor and power of the Japanese empire," a sentiment interrupted by the appearance of a so-called "madman" – a Chinese exile who cries:

My country, China, was once proud. But now there is a revolution. The country has collapsed – Today everything down to the bronze statue of Confucius, the great shining sun of rectitude for our country, has been bought up by the Japanese.<sup>20</sup>

Shōyō's play seems cannily to understand Japan's ambivalent place within the world during the Age of Empire: Japan as collected and collector, as object of the Western fetishism but as itself the subject of an Orientalist gaze fixed upon other nations of Asia.<sup>21</sup> The Buddhist monk and the school principle uncomfortably *ape* the rhetoric and practices of Western collectors, calling to mind the late nineteenth-century cartoons by Western artists like Georges Bigot that depict Japanese with distinctly simian features in Western dress.

For Shōyō, the term *kottō*, or curio, had another point of reference as well: the work of Lafcadio Hearn who had published his *Kottō: Being Japanese Curios with Sundry Cobwebs* in 1902. Shōyō and Hearn had briefly been colleagues after Hearn had joined the faculty at Waseda University in 1904 and the two men would carry on a correspondence – in English – until the latter's death in September of that year. In many ways, the arc of the relationship of these two men is both critical for understanding Shōyō's own intellectual development and the increasing ambivalence which he would show to the West – as in *Curio Fever* – but it is also emblematic of a larger trajectory of Japanese intellectuals as they grappled with the "spectre of comparisons" that has so much haunted the intellectual history of the non-West in the twentieth century. In Shōyō's own correspondence with Hearn as well as comments he confided in others, we see an initial excitement and enthusiasm followed by disappointment and a growing sense of ambivalence.<sup>22</sup> On the one hand, Shōyō expresses an admiration for Hearn's work and is eager to serve as a kind of "native informant" on the history of Japanese drama. On the other hand, Shōyō comes to see Hearn as essentially shallow, an aesthete more interested in his own interpretations of Japan and its past than in attempting to understand what Shōyō would consistently refer to as a scientific approach to history. In this sense, Japan was very much a curio for Hearn whose attitude was more that of the collector than the scholar.

Shōyō's own expressions of this unease were themselves almost emblematically ambivalent. In a short note on Hearn at the time of his death in 1904, for example,

Shōyō would write how when he read Hearn's work he would "feel as I do towards my dear mother," describing his work as "overly subjective" but moving nonetheless.<sup>23</sup> Hearn's work was shot through "with the tenor of a late nineteenth-century romanticist," and, for Shōyō, Hearn would always remain "a genius of the *fin de siècle*."<sup>24</sup>

In private, Shōyō would be more explicit about his frustrations. His friend Ichijima Kenkichi, then head of the Waseda University Library, would record Shōyō's impressions meeting with Hearn:

[Hearn] had said he was interested in hearing about Japanese drama so I did quite a bit of research and made various charts and had planned to thoroughly introduce Japanese theater but it seems that he had a different idea. . . . [Hearn] was in the end a poet. . . . He is not someone who would spend enough time to study about something systematically and scientifically and then write about it later. . . . He was the type who wanted to take pen in hand as soon as he felt something.<sup>25</sup>

But in addition to this ambivalence, Shōyō's relationship with Hearn was also marked by a deep sense of anxiety over language, over his ability to express himself, over whether or not he would be heard. In his letters to Hearn, he returns again and again to this theme noting his unease with written English but noting as well that he was more comfortable writing than speaking. Hearn's own relationship to the Japanese language was complicated: in the early twentieth century, he was one of the great interpreters of Japan to the Western world but much of his work was based on stories told to him by his Japanese wife Koizumi Setsuko as she would vividly recall after his death, a process emblematic of the ethnic and gender politics that often underwrote Western knowledge of the non-West at this time.<sup>26</sup>

For Shōyō, there was thus a structural asymmetry to his relationship with Hearn, the same asymmetry that would mark the Theater Museum a quarter of a century later, that would mark most of Shōyō's work from this point on, and that would become a hallmark of many of Japan's intellectuals' relationship to the West across the twentieth century: the Japanese subject *could* speak, but to be *heard* he would need to speak in the language of the West and even then he might not be listened to. Indeed, when Shōyō found himself speaking both in the language *and* the scientific idiom of the West he found himself ignored, unable to represent Japan in a way that could easily be digested by the poet Hearn. "Japan" would always, or so it seemed in the early twentieth century, need to be spoken for, an object of interpretation, the "native informant" elided in the process – just as Wilde had intuited.

If Shōyō wanted to create a "scientific" and "systematic" history, Hearn was more interested in the mythical and mystical, like so many others who came over from America in the Gilded Age. In Hearn's case, there was also another dimension owing, one imagines, to his own complex sense of identity as Anglo-Irish born of a Greek mother, himself very much a son of empire. As Hearn's biographer Elizabeth Stevenson has written, "he wished, under gray Irish skies, to be Greek, to be pagan, to be even 'Oriental.'"<sup>27</sup> For his part, in "mimicking" the language of scientific history, Shōyō would cease to play the role of the native informant and begin to mount a critique of what he saw as the Eurocentrism of Western historians of Japan like Hearn

or Friedrich Succo. Indeed, Shōyō's critique of Succo in 1920 can be read as an extension of the frustrations he felt towards Hearn's dilettantism which, more than any event in his life, seems to have inflected his relationship with the West.<sup>28</sup>

And here we can return to Shōyō's 1912 play *Curio Fever* for in it we see not just the Western collectors who have turned Japan in to "one giant curio" but also the Japanese who mimic them, who replicate their habits and rhetoric, who turn China and Korea into fantasies to be collected just as Japan had been.<sup>29</sup> But Shōyō is in no sense an anticolonial nationalist nor did his sympathies lie with the kind of Pan-Asianism that imagined Asian solidarity in the face of Western empire, such an important intellectual thread in Japan during his lifetime. Rather, despite his encounter with Hearn, he remained drawn toward and committed to the systematic and the scientific, an Occidentalism around which all of his ideas of scholarship revolved.

Shōyō would never abandon his Western models and his debt to Western methods, and if he could see this structural asymmetry for what it was, he could not see himself clear of it. If Japanese history were to be spoken, it would need to be spoken of in the language of the Western academy, understood in the idiom of the universal, through likeness and analogy to the Western example, even if one of Shōyō's insights was that such analogies were often unhelpful in making sense of historical reality.

But if, for Shōyō, Hearn seemed to belong to the romanticism of the *fin de siècle*, so far removed from the "scientific" historiography to which he was committed, Hearn would – in a most uncanny way – return to Shōyō's consciousness in 1920, in the very years when Shōyō would come to develop the intellectual underpinnings of a universal theatrical history that would inform the opening of the Theater Museum at the end of the decade. In 1920, Shōyō began reading Albert Mordell's 1919 *The Erotic Motive in Literature* – through which Shōyō discovered Freud – and Mordell's approach to the idea of universal themes in literature would have a profound impact on Shōyō's idea of a "sociological" or "anthropological" approach to the origins of theater in humanity's shared past, the idea on which the Theater Museum was founded. And Hearn plays an important role in Mordell's argument – indeed, Mordell would argue that "Hearn anticipated many of Freud's conclusions," especially with Hearn's emphasis on "unconscious memory" – what Mordell calls "one of the axioms of psychoanalysis, or rather one of its pillars" – and an idea that seems to inhabit Shōyō's own work in the 1920s.<sup>30</sup>

Here, a decade and a half after his brief correspondence with Hearn, the "poet" of the *fin de siècle* returns as a kind of structuring presence in Mordell's argument. Shōyō's reading of Mordell – and through him Freud – seems ultimately symptomatic of the politics of academic disciplines in Japan and elsewhere in the non-Western world for much of the twentieth century: a figure of deep learning and erudition who is unable to escape the structural Eurocentrism of the very disciplines to which he was committed to make sense of the Japanese past, a figure who turns repeatedly, almost compulsively, to Western models to understand Japan as a specific example but finds at the center of those models not the scientific rigor he imagines but rather yet another layer of mythos often indebted to the spirit of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Orientalism.

In this sense, the figure of Freud, to whose work Shōyō began to turn after 1920, provides an interesting point of reference. Freud (1856–1939) and Shōyō (1858–1935) were almost exact contemporaries and although their relationship to one another

is emblematically asymmetrical – Freud of course has no knowledge of Shōyō and barely mentions Japan in his published writing – we might here recall how, in one of his last works, Edward Said noted how Freud’s understanding of “besieged identities” could lead to an engagement with the world beyond Europe and that “the condition [Freud] takes such pains to elucidate is actually more general in the non-European world than he suspected.”<sup>31</sup>

It is worth pausing over Said’s late meditation on Freud in part because Said’s own productive use of the term “non-European” as opposed to colonial or postcolonial helps to make sense of Japan’s place within the *postcolonial world* despite the fact that during the Age of Empire Japan was obviously more colonizer than colonized. Shōyō is himself emblematic of this state of besieged identity: conscious, as *Curio Fever* suggests, both of the colonial world and of the ugly nature of Japanese colonial attitudes that mimicked the West, but also unable to break free of his intellectual commitment to Western historical thinking and to the image of “science” on which he believed such thinking was founded. In this sense, the Waseda Theater Museum – as both built structure and as collection – stands as a monument to this configuration of knowledge that emerged during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: an institution built on the notion of the universal and the comparative in which the Japanese past is, quite literally, encased within a Western-style shell. That structure in no way negates or compromises the extraordinary work done at the Museum or the immense value of its collections for thinking about Japanese, or world, theater. Rather it serves as a reminder that even in a country like Japan – a country that was never colonized, that was itself an imperial power, that has one of the largest economies in the world, and that itself became a “collector” of all manner of “curios” in the late twentieth century from Monet and van Gogh to Rockefeller Center and the Seattle Mariners – even in Japan the specters of academic disciplines rooted in the Age of Empire still often guide and structure our ways of making sense of the past. But as we approach the centennial of the Theater Museum, it is possible – and necessary – both to recognize how, as Jacques Derrida put it in his own late meditation on Freud, “archivable meaning is” and “in advance codetermined by the structure of the archive,”<sup>32</sup> and yet how that meaning can exceed the structures imposed by the archive when new questions are posed to the objects the archive contains, questions unimaginable to Shōyō himself because they take as a point of departure a critical stance towards the very disciplinary commitments from which Shōyō was never finally able to free himself.

## ENDNOTES

1. Oscar Wilde, “The Decay of Lying.” In *The Artist as Critic: Critical Writings of Oscar Wilde*, ed. Richard Ellmann (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 315–316.
2. See Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994).
3. See, for example, Gabriel P. Weisberg, ed., *The Origins of L’Art Nouveau: The Bing Empire* (Antwerp: Fonds Mercator, 2004) and Christine Guth, ed., *Japan and Paris: Impressionism, Postimpressionism, and the Modern Era* (Honolulu: Honolulu Academy of Arts, 2004).
4. See Christopher Benfey, *The Great Wave: Gilded Age Misfits, Japanese Eccentrics, and the Opening of Old Japan* (New York: Random House, 2003) and Christine Guth, *Longfellow’s Tattoos: Tourism, Collecting, and Japan* (University of Washington Press, 2004).

5. On the introduction of Western cartography to Japan from the sixteenth century onward, see Kazutaka Unno, “Cartography in Japan.” In *The History of Cartography*, ed. J.B. Harley and David Woodward, vol. 2, bk. 2, *Cartography in the Traditional East Asian Southeast Asian Societies* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 376ff; for a broader consideration of how the world was reimagined within the European scheme of continents, see Martin Lewis and Kären Wigen, *The Myth of Continents: A Critique of Metageography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).
6. Thomas Keirstead, “Inventing Medieval Japan: The History and Politics of National Identity.” *The Medieval History Journal* 1.1 (April 1998): 47–71.
7. On the category of literature in the late nineteenth century, see Michael Brownstein, “From Kokugaku to Kokubungaku: Canon Formation in Meiji Japan.” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 47.2 (1987), 435–460 and Suzuki Sadami, *The Concept of “Literature” in Japan* (Kyoto: International Research Center for Japanese Studies, 2006); on “religion,” see Tomoko Masuzawa, *The Invention of World Religions: Or, How European Universalism Was Preserved in the Language of Pluralism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005) and Isomae Jun’ichi, *Kindai nihon no shūkyō gensetsu to sono keifu: shūkyō, kokka,shintō* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2003); on “art,” see Satō Dōshin, *‘Nihon bijitsu’ tanjō* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1996).
8. On colonial anthropology, see Tomiyama Ichiro, “Colonialism and the Sciences of the Tropical Zone: The Academic Analysis of Difference in ‘the Island Peoples’.” In *Formations of Colonial Modernity in East Asia*, ed. Tani E. Barlow (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997), 199–222 and Nakao Katsumi, “Japanese Colonial Policy and Anthropology in Manchuria.” In *Anthropology and Colonialism in Asia and Oceania*, ed. Jan Bremen and Shimizu Akitoshi (Richmond Surrey, UK: Cruzon Press, 1999), 245–265. On the influence of modern Japanese historiography on colonial Korea, see Andre Schmidt, *Korea Between Empires, 1895–1919* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002).
9. On Kawakami Otojirō, see Mark L. Anderson’s two volume *Enter a Samurai: Kawakami Otojirō and Japanese Theater in the West* (Tucson, AZ: Wheatmark, 2011); on Matsui Sumako, see Ayako Kano, *Acting Like a Woman in Modern Japan: Theater, Gender, and Nationalism* (London: Palgrave, 2001).
10. See Morishige Noburō, “Waga kuni hatsu honkakuteki daigaku hakubutsukan no tanjō ni tsuite: Waseda Daigaku Engeki Hakubutsukan kaikan no rekishiteki igi.” *Nihon Daigaku Daigakuin Sōgō Shakai Jōhō Kenkyūka kiyō* 11 (2009): 133.
11. See Pascale Casanova, *The World Republic of Letters* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007).
12. See John Gillies, *Shakespeare and the Geography of Difference* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), esp. 76ff.
13. See Benedict Anderson, *The Spectre of Comparisons: Nationalism, Southeast Asia, and the World* (London: Verso, 1998), esp. 2ff.
14. “Kyō kaikanshiki no Engeki Hakubutsukan.” *Yomiuri shinbun*, October 27, 1928: 11.
15. Gōyama Kiwamu, “Minmatsu Shinsho ni okeru ‘jinsei ha dorama de aru’ no setsu.” In *Chūgoku tetsugakushi kenkyū ronshū* (Fukuoka: Ashi Shobō, 1982), 622.
16. “Kyō kaikanshiki no Engeki Hakubutsukan,” 11.
17. See Tsubouchi Shōyō, “Shibai-e to Toyokuni oyobi sono monka.” In *Shōyō senshū* vol. 7, ed. Shōyō Kyōkai (Tokyo: Dai’ichi shobō, 1977).
18. Tsubouchi Shōyō, “Kottōnetsu.” In *Shōyō senshū* vol. 2, ed. Shōyō Kyōkai (Tokyo: Dai’ichi shobō, 1977), 803.
19. Kuchiki Yuriko, *Hausu obu Yamanaka: Tōyō no shihō wo Ōbei ni utta bijutsushō* (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 2013).
20. Tsubouchi Shōyō, “Kottōnetsu,” 805.



21. See Stefan Tanaka, *Japan's Orient: Rendering Pasts Into History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).
22. On the relationship between mimicry and ambivalence, see Homi K. Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse." In Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, Routledge Classics (London: Routledge, 2003), 121–131.
23. Tsubouchi Shōyō, "Koizumi Yakumo." In *Shōyō senshū* vol. 12, ed. Shōyō Kyōkai (Tokyo: Dai'ichi shobō, 1977), 471.
24. *Ibid.*, 474, 475.
25. Ichijima Shunjo [Kenkichi] "Seikaroku" quoted in Sekita Kaoru, "Tsubouchi Shōyō to Koizumi Yakumo: shinshiryō kara mite." *Kokubungaku kaishaku to kyōzai no kenkyū* 43.8 (1998): 86.
26. Setsuko Koizumi, *Reminiscences of Lafcadio Hearn* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1918), 36.
27. Elizabeth Stevenson, *The Grass Lark: A Study of Lafcadio Hearn* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1999), 5.
28. See Tsubouchi Shōyō, "Shibai-e to Toyokuni oyobi sono monka."
29. On this point, see Kim Brandt, *Kingdom of Beauty: Mingei and the Politics of Folk Art in Imperial Japan* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), esp. Chapter 5.
30. Albert Mordell, *The Erotic Motive in Literature* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1919), 237 and 239. For the influence of Mordell on Shōyō, see Tsubouchi Shōyō, "Shōnen jidai ni mita kabuki no tsuiooku." *Shōyō senshū* vol. 12, ed. Shōyō Kyōkai (Tokyo: Dai'ichi shobō, 1977), esp. 256ff.
31. Edward W. Said, *Freud and the Non-European* (London: Verso, 2003), 55
32. Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 18.

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