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## Yone Noguchi's Introduction of Noh and Kyogen to the West and East

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Keywords: Yone Noguchi, Noh, Kyogen, Gordon Craig, W. B. Yeats, Ezra Pound, *The Mask*, Japonisme, Modernism

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### Explanatory Note

This paper explores the international impact of Yone Noguchi's commentaries on Noh during the transition into the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Yone Noguchi was internationally renowned for his poems written in English during this period. The paper introduces the contents and timings of Noguchi's communications abroad and studies his interactions with Yeats, Pound and Gordon Craig, delving into the relationships and commonalities found between their works and Noguchi's interests.

This translated paper is based on the article, "Yone Noguchi's Introduction of Noh and Gordon Craig's journal *The Mask* [Noguchi Yonejiro no Noh no shōkai to, Gōdon Kureigu no zasshi *Masuku*]" (Feb. 2013). At the same time, the paper also introduces an outline of a segment from "An Introduction to Kyogen and Noh," included in Chapter 6 Section 4 (pp. 162-177) of the book, *Yone Noguchi: A Writer of "Dual Nationality"* ["*Nijūkokuseki shijin*" *Noguchi Yonejiro*] (Feb. 2012).

I have been working on this reevaluation of Yone Noguchi for many years. My work has involved a reinvestigation of Yone Noguchi's activities and entire lifetime – including the wartime – from an international perspective. This work prompts an extremely important reinvestigation of conventional historical studies on modern Japanese literature and 20<sup>th</sup> century cultural interaction and intellectual exchange, and suggests the possible emergence of new theories.

When my book, *Yone Noguchi: A Writer of "Dual Nationality"* (2012), was awarded the 34<sup>th</sup> Suntory Prize, the theater critic Yoshio Ōzasa (1941- ) wrote the following:

"One of the keywords (of west book) is Symbolism as a type of Modernism, and it is this trend that guides or supports Noguchi's activities in the West as well as in Japan. The author depicts the spread of these activities and their influence using research that includes new documents; what is surprising for me is the widespread variety of Japanese culture that Noguchi introduced to the world after he earned his fame as a poet, covering diverse fields from Edo era literature, centered on Bashō, to the arts including Ukiyoe and Noh/Kyogen. What I was most intrigued by was the author's elucidation of the "fact" that, unlike the common view that Noh was introduced to the West through Fenollosa → Yeats → Pound, Noguchi and Yeats' friendship predated this flow. The same kind of surprise came with the controversy surrounding India's great poet Tagore and the Sino-Japanese War as well as the interpretation of Noguchi's war poetry. In other words, new perspectives are scattered throughout this book. Not only does it present a certain goal, but it includes many hints for future research on the topic. These two ends are a large feature of this book as well as one of its greatest outputs."<sup>1</sup>

This article concerning "Noh" has attracted widespread attention since its publishing in 2013. New discussions and research on Yone Noguchi and Craig have actually been advanced thereafter, including papers such as Yoko Yamaguchi's "Edward Gordon Craig and Bunraku" and "Edward Gordon Craig and Yone Noguchi" in 2015. In the latter, Yamaguchi presents the entire text of Noguchi's two letters to Craig (dated April 26, 1921 and September 17, 1922) found in the collections of the Bibliothèque nationale de France and ascertains that a cutout of Noguchi's review published in the journal *The Graphic* was present within Craig's collection. This, in other words, proved that Craig had referenced Noguchi's article. There is thus a gradual but undeniable analysis being developed on Yone Noguchi's connections and cultural exchange. Interdisciplinary research that explores Noguchi's cultural interactions will surely continue to flourish in the future.

In short, this paper, which suggests the relationship between the 20<sup>th</sup> century Modernist arts and Yone Noguchi's

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introduction of Noh, has drawn attention from researchers not only in the field of literature, but in a wide variety of specialties throughout Japan. I anticipate that this English translation will lay the grounds for further discussions that will contribute to the development of future comparative cultural studies.

## Introduction

It is a well-known fact that Noh, or No, drew a great deal of attention from Western intellectuals at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and largely impacted the future development of the Modernist arts. Most notably, the reception of Noh by W. B. Yeats (1865-1939) and Ezra Pound (1885-1972) has been well researched both within and outside of Japan. However, it has heretofore been an unacknowledged fact that the Japanese poet Yone Noguchi (野口米次郎 1875-1947) introduced the fundamentals of Noh and Kyogen to the world and wrote about its international reception both within and outside of Japan. Furthermore, almost nothing is known about how his introduction of Noh contributed to the cultural modernism of the 1910's to the 1930's.

Noguchi has conventionally been seen only as a second-rate spokesman for Japan; rather, it has customarily been believed that Noguchi began mentioning Noh to the world only after his interest was sparked by Pound's and Yeats' interests in Noh.<sup>2</sup> In reality, however, Noguchi's communications abroad began *before* Pound started sorting E.F.Fenollosa's (1853-1908) posthumous manuscripts and *before* Yeats wrote "At the Hawk's Well" (1916).

Noguchi is known as a poet who wrote in both English and Japanese. However, Noguchi should be recognized not only as a bilingual poet, but also as a trans-creator who acted as a go-between between the worlds of the West and East.

In this paper, I would like to reexamine Noguchi's introduction of Noh to the Western world through an investigation of his interactions with Western intellectuals and the theater community – including Yeats and Gordon Craig (1872-1966) – as well as how their mutual interests changed over the years. I have previously proven the timing and content of Noguchi's introductions and how they relate to the time periods when Pound's and Yeats' works were written.<sup>3</sup> This paper will give a general overview of the aforementioned works and touch upon their conclusions, but will not repeat them. Here, the focus will be the journal *The Mask*, founded by Craig. Based on this work, this paper will investigate how Noguchi's descriptions of the artistic fundamentals of the Japanese performing arts possibly inspired the Western theater community and how this could have spread to the future of Asian theater and the Modernist theater movement.

### 1. The Introduction of Noh Abroad Around 1903

First, let us confirm the history and content of Noguchi's introductions of Noh and Kyogen abroad.

Following the publication of his first collection of poems in San Francisco, *Seen and Unseen* (1896), Yone Noguchi published *From the Eastern Sea* (1903) in London. The work was received highly by intellectuals at this time. This time period was also the height of the literary movement of Symbolism. It was at this time that Noguchi first met Yeats. Yeats had founded the Irish National Theatre Society in 1902 and was already a famous playwright at the time. This encounter with Yeats would largely affect Noguchi's actions thereafter.

Later in New York in November 1903, Noguchi was reunited with Yeats, who had come to lecture in the United States. Noguchi and Yeats talked over dinner about a movement to improve modern theater. Yeats discussed the problems with theater at the time and talked about his idea of making the theater a place of learning and inspiration for intellectuals. Noguchi describes his emotions in mixed English and Japanese (translated into English below):

Yeats is trying to poetically reform the theater. Performed in his theater would be myths and old legends, in other words things from the age of "dreams are truth and truth is a dream." This would spark people's imaginations and bring them closer to the Muse. The actors that would perform these pieces would aim towards pure beauty, and the language that would be used on the stage would have to be simple, elegant and symbolic. Yeats has composed many poems in line

with this argument, such as “The Land of Heart’s Desire,” “The Shadowy Waters,” and “The Hour-Glass.” Reading these works, you will understand the sorrowful and sublime mystery that lies within them as well as the enigmatic beauty of the elegantly intertwining imagination that shall arise.<sup>4</sup>

During this meeting in New York, Yeats and Noguchi also talked about the state of modern Japanese theater and the traditional arts. Since his arrival in the United States in 1893, Noguchi himself had harbored strong discontent about the theater of Japonisme that was popular in the United States at the time. This was because Japonisme emphasized the erotic element, and this had further amplified the misconstrued representation of Japan in the United States. Noguchi was thus highly aware of the need to explain the legitimacy and fundamentals of Japanese theater to Western society.<sup>5</sup>

The talk with Yeats in 1903 left a strong impression on Noguchi and greatly influenced his later career. Soon afterwards, Noguchi began to translate classical Japanese dramas. He contributed the piece “Melon Thief. Kiogen, Japanese Comedy of the Middle Ages” to the March 1904 issue of the Boston journal *The Poet Lore*. Even after he returned to Japan in the fall of 1904, he continued to translate and publish Kyogen and Noh works. In September 1906, he sent in “Demon’s Shell [蝸牛]” to *The Poet Lore* and continued to contribute Noh translations in 1917, 1918 and 1922.

Noh had begun to decline in Japan with the downfall of the samurai class, as the Edo era transitioned into the Meiji. However, in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, international influences helped lead a movement to revive Noh theater in Japan. Kunitake Kume (久米邦武 1839-1931), who had visited the West as part of the Iwakura Mission (= Iwakura-Tomomi Shisestudan), discovered Noh as an equivalent of Western opera, and this provided the opportunity for a Noh revival. The fall of 1904, when Noguchi returned to Japan, was thus a period when the movement to re-introduce Noh theater was also beginning in Japan. From 1905 to 1907, an English column was provided in the journal *Nohgaku*, founded by Nobuyoshi Ikenouchi (池内信嘉 1858-1934). Noguchi’s writings for journals abroad both stimulated and worked hand in hand with this domestic movement.

Noguchi’s translation of ten Kyogen works, *Ten Kiogen in English*, published on May 7, 1907 was the first book of Kyogen translations published by a Japanese author. In the introduction to this book, Noguchi explains that Noh is based on tragedy while Kyogen is comedy. He writes that both were plays indispensable to the development of Japanese literature in the Middle Ages.<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, he also describes that many Kyogen works were written by anonymous authors, were based on folklores or old legends and were formed around anonymous characters. He also states that the purpose of Kyogen is comedy and interprets it as “a comical outburst of the national temperament.”

Why did Noguchi first begin to translate Kyogen as opposed to Noh? Noguchi, who had begun his literary career amongst Bohemian artists on the western coast of the United States in the 1890’s, found value in humor and comedy in terms of modern art at the time. Other important factors that contributed to Noguchi’s choice were that the themes of Kyogen works were folklore and old legends and its main characters were ordinary, indigenous peoples. He likely began to translate works of Kyogen, which had not yet received attention in the West at the time, with his own aims and sense of necessity in mind.

What about Noh? Noh was just beginning to attract attention in the Western world at the time. In terms of English translations of Noh plays, Basil Hall Chamberlain (1850-1935) had acknowledged Noh as a form of Japanese poetry in his book *The Classical Poetry of the Japanese* in 1880, and William George Aston (1841-1911) had provided a highly knowledgeable, translated introduction to Noh in 1899.<sup>7</sup> Apart from English translations, Noël Peri (1865-1922) had conducted in-depth Noh research in France. The Japanese were also well aware of Noh being introduced abroad by foreigners. For instance, in 1908, Waken Umezawa (梅澤和軒 1871-1931) noted that Aston had introduced Noh abroad as “poetry and lyrical drama.” He also explained that Aston was well versed in Noh and was especially fond of “Takasago [高砂],” a famous Noh play based on the themes of longevity and love, in which pine spirits appear.<sup>8</sup>

Perhaps because Noguchi began to see Noh, with its enigmatic element, as better suited to capture the gist of Japanese art and attract the interest of Westerners, he gradually began to write more about Noh as opposed to Kyogen.

Articles published by Noguchi at the time include “Yeats and the Irish Revival” (*Japan Times*, April 28, 1907), “With Foreign Critic at a No Performance” (*Japan Times*, October 27, 1907), “Mr. Yeats and the No” (*Japan Times*, November 3, 1907) and “A Japanese Note on Yeats” (*The Taiyo*, December 1911). These articles provide a clear depiction of how Noguchi introduced the Japanese art of Noh as well as his perception of Yeats and his comparison of Yeats’ and others’ logic.

Now, let us confirm the actual contents of these works. For instance in “Yeats and the Irish Revival,” Noguchi mentions how Yeats represents the Irish Celtic peoples and his works resemble those of the Symbolist writer Maurice Maeterlinck (1862-1949).<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, as part of Noguchi’s personal opinion, he notes the similarity between Yeats’ “The Lake Isle of Innisfree” (1888) and the work of the Chinese writer Tao Yuanming (陶淵明 365-427), and provides an English translation of Yuanming’s “Kikyorai no Fu” [歸去来譜= Homeward Return] in addition to his critique.

Noguchi’s opinion that Yeats’ modern poetry is reminiscent of China’s Tao Yuanming’s work is also written in detail in “A Japanese Note on Yeats” (December 1911). In this article, Noguchi compares the Irish Celtic spirit with that of olden day China – in other words, poetry from the traditional oriental world – and provides a detailed discussion of the commonalities he found in their poetic sensibilities and views of nature.<sup>10</sup>

In “Mr. Yeats and the No” (November 3, 1907), Noguchi analyzes the modern value of Noh by comparing it to Yeats’ theater practice and theory. For instance, Yeats argues that, while modern theater now uses electric lamps, candlelight is the most beautiful form of lighting. After mentioning Yeats’ argument, Noguchi writes in *Mosada: A Dramatic Poem* (1886),<sup>11</sup> “I firmly believe that the small candlelight of art at the Hosho or Kanze’s stage is no weaker than the electric lamp of the Kabuki theatre; on the contrary, it is far stronger.”<sup>12</sup> At the same time, Noguchi explains Yeats’ belief that modern theater is on the decline and writes about how Yeats is trying to reform the theater based on Ireland’s legends and history and has achieved some success. Noguchi then illustrates how Noh embodies all of Yeats’ ideal elements of theater – localism, rhythm, musicality, pride, lifestyle, etc – and writes the following:

I feel happy to think that he would find his own ideal in our no performance, if he should see and study it. Our no is sacred and it is poetry itself.<sup>13</sup>

Noguchi further adds, “the no house is an oasis where your poetical ideal will be perfectly refreshed and encouraged” and that “there are [*sic*] no better example of epical poetry than the no plays; they fulfill every requisite of epic beauty. They [*sic*] is not a phrase, an image, an incident, too much or too little in either.” He then declares that Japan’s Noh is “the most prosperous fashion” and writes that its style suits the logic of modern theater most favorably.<sup>14</sup>

As can be seen, Noguchi is highly conscious of Yeats and his theories in his writings on Noh, and this in turn, may have further heightened Yeats’ interest and curiosity towards oriental poetry. Noguchi’s writings reached not only Yeats, but also Gordon Craig, who was just beginning to develop a strong interest in Japanese and oriental theater. Craig, a friend of Yeats who had influenced Yeats and his interest in oriental theater, must have also been highly aware of Noguchi’s articles in English published from Japan.<sup>15</sup>

## **2. Yone Noguchi’s Description of “The Japanese Mask Play” and Craig’s Journal, *The Mask***

Next, let us look at Noguchi’s description of Noh as a “mask play,” through a study of the interactions between his contemporaries during this time period. In July of 1910, Noguchi published an article titled “The Japanese Mask Play” in the English column of the journal *The Taiyo* (July 1910). The same article was also published in the August issue of the London-based journal *The Graphic* (August 13, 1910). Then, after an article titled “The No Plays” was published in the January 1912 issue of *The Taiyo*, “The Japanese Mask Play” was once again published in the New York-based paper *The Nation* (September 12, 1912).

What, then, was “The Japanese Mask Play” – published so many times between 1910 and 1912 – about? The article provided an overview of a dialogue held between Noguchi and a Western critic living in Japan at a Noh play,

coupled with an art-based explanation of Noh and its history. In the following excerpt, Noguchi discusses Noh in relation to Western theater:

Our ordinary Western plays, doubtless, have a certain beauty of confusion; but we are tired of it. Here we have the No whose monotone makes us perfectly wearied at first, but will be the source of no small delight for many cultured minds.<sup>16</sup>

Noguchi's explanations went as follows: in Noh, the stage is small and the performance is extremely simple and brief, but this "brevity" is precisely why Noh is such a grand art, as limitations in expression are the key to all art. Noh is furthermore a stage play that is based on the themes of life and death. Noguchi especially emphasized how most Noh plays deal with specters and Buddhist concepts and how Noh is extremely simple, revolving around three or so characters in creating its poetic world.<sup>17</sup> Noguchi's knowledge of Yeats' plays and theories is evident here as well:

The No is the perfection of brevity of dramatic art; it might be compared with the Greek play or the modern Irish plays of Yeats and others.<sup>18</sup>

This introduction to Noh ties in with Craig's description of Noh plays as "supreme examples of brevity and fine tradition in dramatic art," written in the 1911 issue of *The Mask*.<sup>19</sup>

Furthermore, after explaining the artistic sensibility of Noh plays and the union formed between the play and its viewers, Noguchi writes, "I thought how Yeats would be delighted here."<sup>20</sup> This union or interplay between Noh and its audience, in which the performers communicate with the audience and the audience communicates back, is also a unique feature of Noh that Craig writes about in the January 1914 issue of *The Mask*.<sup>21</sup>

Gordon Craig, an English dramatist, was a Modernist with a Symbolist influence, who developed an interest in Ukiyoe and Japanese culture around the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. At the time, in the 1900's, he was fascinated by the masks used in puppet theater from around the globe, including Japan.

*The Mask: A Quarterly Journal of the Art of the Theatre*, founded by Craig, was published in Florence from 1908 to 1929. This journal is considered the most successful of Craig's works.<sup>22</sup> The purpose of the journal was to study innovations in artistic expression and connect with people from around the globe. After the publication of each issue, the journal was sent to people throughout the world. Noguchi likely obtained copies of this journal either from its founding or at least very early on.

Craig himself wrote many of the articles in this journal, but other writers included those who were close to Noguchi, such as Arthur Symons (1865-1945), Yeats and Laurence Binyon (1869-1943), as well as Ananda Coomaraswamy (1877-1947) from India. Coomaraswamy wrote about puppet theater in India and the play "Ramayana."<sup>23</sup> Craig began to write about puppet plays in India from around April 1908.

What was Japan's Yone Noguchi's relationship to this journal? The July 1911 issue of *The Mask* included a book review by John Semar regarding Noguchi's English book *Lafcadio Hearn in Japan* (1911).<sup>24</sup> Semar, who was one of the journal's editors at the time, received this book from Noguchi himself. Through his review of Noguchi's book, Semar focused on Masanobu Ōtani – who Noguchi had written about in his book – and noted in the review that he would like to republish Ōtani's article in *The Mask*. Ōtani's article "A Japanese Pupil: Recollections"<sup>25</sup> and an excerpt from the late Hearn's "Japanese Drama: An Extract"<sup>26</sup> were subsequently published in the January 1912 issue of *The Mask*, following the publication of Semar's book review. (Many of Hearn's other writings, which illustrated Japanese culture in English can also be found in *The Mask*<sup>27</sup>)

This paper will omit the details as to how important the "mask" and "puppet theater" were to Craig's theories and theatrical reform methodologies. However, in Craig's "A Note on Japanese Marionettes," written in 1915, he writes that it was Porter Garnett (1871-1951) who sent him tracings of parts of a Japanese (*bunraku*) marionette 5 or 6 years back.<sup>28</sup> Garnett was a close friend of Noguchi's from back in his San Francisco days when Noguchi first debuted as a poet in 1896. Craig wrote that this information he received on *bunraku* puppets was highly beneficial

to his research.<sup>29</sup> It is thus highly probable that Noguchi's articles on Noh published after 1907 influenced Craig's writings such as "Japanese Dance" and "Japan Tokio," published in *The Mask* in 1910.

### 3. Lecture Trip to England in 1914

Noguchi's "The Japanese Mask Play" attracted a high level of attention from certain Western intellectuals. Noguchi was invited to lecture at Oxford University, and stayed in England from December 1913 to March 1914. When Noguchi visited John Masefield's (1878-1967) home together with Alvin Langdon Coburn (1891-1950) on January 1, 1914, Mrs. Masefield discussed Noguchi's "The Japanese Mask Play" published in *The Nation* with great interest.<sup>30</sup> This is proof that interest in Japan's Noh plays was heightening among intellectuals in London at the time.

During this lecture tour, Noguchi was also reunited with Yeats in London and it was there that he heard that Yeats and Pound had obtained Fenollosa's posthumous manuscripts and that they were engrossed in the Noh of Japan. When they met, Noguchi and Yeats also talked about the problems with education in Japan and Ireland, the evils of Americanization and Anglicization, and politics and literature. Their discussions became further heated and the topics spread to the immortality of the soul, veneration of the dead, and religious mysticism in the West.<sup>31</sup>

Noguchi's series of lectures in early 1914 focused on the interpretation of Japanese haiku. And, in addition to haiku, he also offered a detailed description of Noh as the quintessence of Japanese culture. Noguchi also lectured on Noh at The Loyal Asiatic Society of London as well as the Quest Society organized by the theosophy scholar George Robert Stowe Mead (1863-1933).<sup>32</sup> The details of these lectures in London have been covered in my previous texts<sup>33</sup> and shall be omitted here, but below is a simple overview of these lectures on Noh.

Noguchi's lectures included a detailed description of the solemnity of Noh, the relationship between the audience and the actors, the organization of the actors, the simplicity of the stage setting and direction, devices that represent "life," "death" and "eternity," the meaning of the mask, and the theatrical style of Noh. Noguchi discusses the methodologies of Symbolist theater found in Noh by stating that the mask "reserves its feelings" and helps heighten "human sensibilities"; it is an expression of silence that can also be comical. At the same time, he also states that the aesthetic values of poetry and prayer help the actors regulate themselves so that they do not fall into the forced "bathos" of realism. Noguchi then states that Western theater will come to focus on the "simplicity" of Noh and that the pseudoclassical style of Noh will provide a divine hint to Western theater.<sup>34</sup> Noguchi also writes the following:

The No is the creation of the age when, by virtue of sutra or the Buddha's holy name, any straying ghosts or spirits in Hadas were enabled to enter Nirvana; it is no wonder that most of the plays have to deal with those ghosts or Buddhism. That ghostliness appeals to the poetical thought and fancy even of the modern age, because it has no age. It is the essence of the Buddhistic belief, however fantastic, to stay poetical for ever.<sup>35</sup>

There is no doubt that Noguchi's explanations influenced and interested his acquaintances in the English literary circle, who were absorbed in mysticism and Oriental philosophy at the time. From a Western standpoint, Noh represented an exotic culture of "possession by the spirits [憑依]," and this also aroused interest from a folk religion standpoint. The fact that the Noh stage is a spiritual space for interaction with ghosts and that masked human bodies conduct a performance on this stage eliciting a poetic metaphor piqued the Modernists' interests.

On October 14, 1914, Yeats wrote "Swedenborg, Mediums and the Desolate Places," a piece about the theories and interests of Western mysticism. In this, he also touched upon the Noh of Japan.<sup>36</sup> This kind of interest in Noh is strongly linked to the adoration of mysticism and spiritualism by London's intellectual circle as well as their interests in oriental tastes.

As a side note, what is notable about Noguchi's descriptions is the fact that he explained the fundamental meaning of Japanese art and culture through Noh, using concrete examples of Noh plays such as "Takasago [高砂]," "Hagoromo [羽衣]" and "Yamauba [山姥]," as opposed to simply talking about the style or abstract concept of Noh. "Hagoromo" is a Noh play that Yeats and Pound were interested in at the time. An additional point to note

is that, from this early on, Noguchi not only translated classical Noh plays but also wrote his own works of Noh – in other words, he created plays in English with a Noh taste.<sup>37</sup>

Noguchi, like Yeats, wrote plays and believed that social reform was possible by improving the arts, including theater. In Noguchi's article "The Artistic Interchange of East and West," published in *The Graphic* in London in 1911, he wrote about the current state of modern theater in Japan and criticized the Japanese government's censorship and regulation of the theatrical arts. The same is true of his article "The Japanese Government and the New Literature" published in *The Living Age* in Boston.<sup>38</sup> (While this paper will not delve into the details, Noguchi's preservation of classical theater and his interest in theatrical reform from an international perspective should be reviewed in connection with Yeats and others.)

Now, the fact that Noguchi had talked about the appeal and artistic quality of Noh in front of English intellectuals in January 1914 is an extremely important event in regards to the international acceptance of not only Japanese theater, but also Japanese culture. Ezra Pound's English translation of the Noh play "Nishikigi [錦木]" was first published in the Chicago journal *The Poetry* in May of 1914.<sup>39</sup>

Pound's works regarding Noh include a 350 copy limited edition publication entitled *Certain Noble Plays of Japan: From the Manuscripts of Ernest Fenollosa, Chosen and Finished by Ezra Pound, with Introduction by William Butler Yeats* published in July 1916<sup>40</sup> and *Noh; or Accomplishment, a study of the classical stage of Japan by Ernest Fenollosa and Ezra Pound* published the same year. In the introduction of the latter in 1916, Pound wrote the following evaluation of Noh: "The Noh is unquestionably one of the great arts of the world, and it is quite possibly one of the most recondite"<sup>41</sup> and "It is a symbolic stage, a drama of masks----at least they have masks for spirits and gods and young women. It is a theatre of which both Mr. Yeats and Mr. Craig may approve."<sup>42</sup> It is well known that Yeats later wrote his play "At the Hawk's Well," inspired by Japanese Noh. The play, which premiered on April 2, 1916, was acted out by Michio Ito (伊藤道郎 1893-1961) and received high acclaim at the time. This performance is known to have greatly influenced the Modernist arts from thereon out. Yeats' experiment created a trend that diverged from that of modern Western theater, which focused on realism. As a Symbolist, Yeats' interest in Noh was a comprehensive experiment that stretched across the fields of art, philosophy and culture in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. It was an experiment to revive what the modern theater of realism in the West had lost – in other words, the strong vitality of the human existence, stripped of everyday life and the beautiful expressions of human voices and bodily movement. This orientation towards the expression of human voices and the body translated into the various Modernist arts in literature, music, dance and the performing arts.

#### **4. After Noguchi's Lectures in England: The English Column of the Journal *The Youkyokukai***

What kinds of expressive activities regarding Noh were Yone Noguchi involved in after his lectures in England in 1914? For one year and a month from the July 1916 issue to the August 1917 issue, an English column was established in the periodical of Noh plays entitled *The Youkyokukai* [謡曲界], founded by Katsura Maruoka (丸岡桂 1878-1919). Noguchi wrote for every issue of this column. Let us take a look at this history and an overview of the written contents. When Noguchi first began writing for this English column, the following explanation, entitled "A Leap into the World: A New English Column" (in Japanese) was given in the journal.

This journal is establishing an English column with the cooperation of Yone Noguchi. At the same time, the journal will now be sent throughout the world and will be browsed and read by foreigners of all classes. Some of our readers may think this surprising. However, when you think about it, while it may be surprising, it is not outlandish. In the past, many opinions have been voiced that "Noh should be introduced to the world" and "this taste should be spread to foreign countries." However, it has almost never been implemented. Why are the Japanese so indifferent towards their own country's art? ... While the Japanese have been taking their leisurely time, Noh has been ardently researched by many foreigners and is starting to be introduced abroad, for instance, by B.H.Chamberlain and Claude-Eugène Maître as well as Noël Péri. Among them Péri has conducted an extremely detailed study and has published his results. At

present, Noh is introduced more by foreigners than by the Japanese. This is an extremely unfortunate matter.<sup>43</sup>

In other words, because Noh research had been advanced more by foreigners at the time, the purpose of the column was to communicate Noh research abroad from a Japanese perspective as a Japanese journal of Noh plays. The purpose of the journal's newly established English column was thus to introduce Japanese art abroad and have Noh be received by foreign countries and a wider audience, rather than the Japanese readers simply receiving the works of Ibsen, Maeterlinck, and Shakespeare. It was also noted that because Noguchi was well known as a poet by the Western literary circle and was a connoisseur of theater and Noh, he was the most fitting person to lead the English column.<sup>44</sup>

The Peri mentioned here was a French Catholic priest who arrived in Japan in 1889 and became Umewaka Minoru II's disciple, thus developing extensive knowledge of the world of Noh.<sup>45</sup> Peri explains that he values Noh as the highest of all Japanese literature.<sup>46</sup> Peri wrote for the journal *The Nohgaku* [能楽] four times between 1904 and 1913, and provided translations for *The Nohgakukai* [能楽界] and "Sotobakomachi no Noh" in September 1916. In *The Nohgaku*, he introduces Noh through a discussion of "symbols" and "the essence of the universe," based on explanations of the Buddhist doctrine and the themes of *Kokin Wakashū*. Peri's research on Noh at the time had attracted the attention of specialized journals in Japan. Such Japanese journals at the time focused more on Peri than Chamberlain in terms of foreigners conducting specialized research on Noh.

*The Yokyokukai* was actively sent abroad based on Noguchi's personal network between 1916, when the English column was established, and 1917 the following year. During this period, Japanese translations of Peri's "Sotobakomachi no Noh" (September 1916), Ezra Pound's "Aoinoue wo hyōsu [= An Evaluation of Aoinoue]" (November 1916), and Gaston Migeon's "Nougeki no inshō [= Impressions of Noh Theater]" (November 1916) were also published in the journal. (Here, Ezra Pound is introduced as Noguchi's friend). The fact that there was a move to publish Noh research by foreigners in a Japanese specialized journal, even if for a short period of time, is proof of Noguchi's intervention.

What were Noguchi's translations like? Noguchi himself describes his translation methods and devices in the following overview:

The original texts of Noh plays progress in a unique way. Not only are the words unaccustomed to our ears, but they are full of complexity and spontaneity. Subjective accounts are intertwined with objective accounts and the borderline between the two are oftentimes blurry. It is highly difficult to translate such writings into the English language, which prizes logical consistency above all else. This was impossible for Noh advocates like Aston and Chamberlain as well. My attempts may also not be very wise, but I would like to note here that I take pride in the fact that they are infused with the most care and passion as feasible with my skills at this time.<sup>47</sup>

From this, it is clear that Noguchi was aware of Aston and Chamberlain's translations of Noh as he wrote his revised translations. Noguchi's English translations are not literal translations of the original text but are broader translations that include his own interpretations. According to Noguchi, Noh is a play in which lines are spoken not only by the *waki* (supporting role) and *shite* (protagonist), but the *jiutai* (chorus) also explain the *waki* and *shite*'s emotions in addition to narrating the situation. Thus, subjective accounts are intertwined with objective accounts, and the borders are oftentimes blurry. Noguchi believes that this problem of ambiguous subjective and objective accounts exists within most classical literature in Japan. Noguchi thus tries to present his own, original methodology of translation in his English translations of Noh works.<sup>48</sup>

How does Noguchi deal with the issue of commingled subjective and objective accounts? I have detailed the methods Noguchi uses in his translation of "Sesshō-seki" (which he titled "The Perfect Jewel Maiden") in a separate paper and will thus omit the details here, but simply put, Noguchi's translations provide a poetic image to the artistic expressions of the spirit and spiritual possession.<sup>49</sup>

Noguchi calls his translations "hon-an [翻案/adaptations]" and in reality, they are more trans-creations than simply translations. Noguchi states that, although a strange quality that surpasses the clarity of the intellect is certainly lost in English translations of Noh scripts, in order to translate them, there is a need to logically organize



the story's timeline and characters. While modestly noting his inabilities, Noguchi also writes that as far as English translations of Noh plays go, he is proud that he has been able to more or less communicate the strange quality found in the original Noh texts while putting them in a language that foreigners can understand.<sup>50</sup>

Even while acknowledging the fact that his trans-creations may be deemed inadequate both by Japanese readers as well as those outside the country, Noguchi challenged a feat that was considered impossible by Aston and Chamberlain. Noguchi writes the following about the purpose of Noh.

The purpose of Noh (clearly put) is not a simple expression of beauty. Rather, it is an expression of the hopes and yearnings that we envision in beauty. Thus, its value does not lie in the truths and human emotions dealt with in the text but rather in its beauty, or the effect of the poem as a whole. When I look at Noh through my special involvement with it, free from any obligatory ties to logic and facts, I come to the realization that Edgar Allan Poe's poems were not so out of the ordinary. In one word, the story itself in Noh is but a secondary effect.<sup>51</sup>

The first purpose of Noh, as Noguchi states, is thus to express the hopes and yearnings that we envision in beauty and to stimulate and excite the human soul by expressing the infinite natural order with clarity and beauty.<sup>52</sup> In other words, what is important is the "poetic effect" in Noh, and the story and plot are but a secondary effect. Noguchi's Noh trans-creations in English were thus made to this effect.

Noguchi explains the poetic element in Noh's theatrical expressions using Poe's (Edgar Allan Poe 1809-1849) *Theory of Poetry*. He cites Poe's theory on poetry that we are able to truly understand the harmony that has remained so vague to us only after we reach the truth – and to understand the truth is to experience the true poetic effect. Noguchi then argues that these words are a perfect fit for Noh theater.<sup>53</sup> This kind of explanation helped further the understanding of Noh's theatrical style, its values and its meanings abroad. At the same time, it must have also helped with the reevaluation and re-acknowledgment of this art form within the country as well.

How did people at the time see Noguchi's contributions to the Noh community in 1916? According to Gakudō Yamazaki (山崎楽堂 1885-1944), the Noh community thrived from around 1912 and 1913 and further prospered in 1916. Yamazaki says that one of the reasons for its successfulness in 1916 was that the vandalization of art and break with old technologies that came with the Meiji Restoration was gradually beginning to subside, and the art form was slowly beginning to gain more successors. At the same time, another reason he states is that the artistic status and value of former Japanese tastes were starting to be re-recognized in response to foreign thought and Western-style dramas, which were starting to be developed in modern Japan. He then touches upon the fact that Noh viewings and research were being advanced among the men of letters and as a concrete example he states, "Hōmei Iwano (岩野泡鳴 1873-1920) and his crew have started Noh chants. Yone Noguchi is writing monthly articles for a journal specialized in Noh plays."<sup>54</sup> Hōmei Iwano was Yone Noguchi's closest friend from 1904 to Iwano's death.

## 5. Writings on Noh Other Than *The Youkyokukai*

I do not know the details as to why the English column in *The Youkyokukai* lasted for only a year. The following temporary adjournment notice is found in the "From the Editorial Board" section of the September 1917 issue of *The Youkyokukai*.

Looking back, a year and a half has already passed since we founded the English column in our journal and asked Mr. Yone Noguchi, a well-known poet in the literary circles of the West and a connoisseur of various fields with an especially deep understanding of Noh, to cooperate with us in promoting a more widespread introduction of Noh. In terms of "introducing Noh to the world" and "spreading this taste abroad," we believe that with the publication of each issue, we have been able to tread where none have walked before. At the same time, we have received great response from both the East and West, and we believe that we have been able to achieve the journal's overall purpose. Thus, we would first like to settle down the wings of our global achievements and wait for the next move in anticipation of the future that awaits us.<sup>55</sup>

It was likely a large burden on Noguchi to write and edit each monthly issue by himself. At the same time, Noguchi was also responsible for weekly articles in *The Japan Times*. As more of his works for *The Youkyokukai* began to be republished in *The Japan Times*, Noguchi's English articles in *The Youkyokukai* likely began to lose their meaning.

Some of Noguchi's Noh reviews for *The Japan Times* included "Awoi no Uye, a 'No' Play" (November 19, 1916), "Fenollosa on the Noh" (March 18, 1917), and "Yeats and the Noh Play of Japan" (December 2, 1917). A large number of Noh plays (English translations of Noh) were also published in *The Japan Times*, such as "The Tears of the Birds" (April 1, 1917.), "The Mountain She-Devil" (May 20, 1917), "The Everlasting Sorrow" (June 10, 1917), "Love's Heavy Burden" (August 12, 1917), "The Moon Night Bell" (October 28, 1917), and "The Death Stone" (December 9, 1917).

Noguchi also contributed "Perfect Jewel Maiden, Sorrow of Yuya" (March 1917), "Three Translated Selections from the Noh Drama" (September 1918), and "Delusion of a Human Cup!" (March 1922) among others to the journal *The Poet Lore*.

Additionally, for the London-based journal *The Poetry Review*,<sup>56</sup> Noguchi translated Saigyō's (西行 1118-1190) play titled "The Shower: the moon. A Japanese Noh Play" as the opening article for the July to August 1917 issue and contributed the article "The Tears of the Birds. A Japanese Noh Play" to the March to April 1918 issue.<sup>57</sup> The play "The Everlasting Sorrow" (October 1917) was also published in *The Egoist*, a journal well-known for having led the Modernist movement.<sup>58</sup> Furthermore, there are also records of Noguchi's writings on Noh being published not only in Western journals but also in a journal in China.<sup>59</sup>

In terms of Noh research by foreigners, Noguchi wrote that it is difficult for a foreigner to understand the poetic world of Noh and displayed confidence in his interpretations as a Japanese writer.<sup>60</sup> In his *Nohgaku no Kanshō* [= *Appreciation of Noh Plays*] in 1925, Noguchi mentions the English translation of Noh plays by Marie Stopes (1880-1958) in 1913, and then goes on to write that the dogmatic young poet Pound – who was sorting Fenollosa's posthumous manuscripts at the time – was largely proclaiming the artistic value of Noh plays.<sup>61</sup> Noguchi criticizes Pound's Noh theory. Pound explains that, although Noh does not contain a situation or problem like *Hamlet* and is incomplete as an independent play, it has some purpose if seen as sections that can be assembled together. Noguchi then adds that Westerners are only interested in the ghosts and ghost psychology of Noh plays and do not have an understanding of the embodiment of the spirit.<sup>62</sup> This was also written as a critique of Pound, because Pound had written the following in his introduction to Noh:

(...)the lover of the stage and the lover of drama and of poetry will find his chief interest in the psychological pieces, or the Plays of Spirits; the plays that are, I think, more Shinto than Buddhist. These plays are full of ghosts, and the ghost psychology is amazing. The parallels with Western spirits doctrines are very curious. This is, however, an irrelevant or extraneous interest, and one might set it aside if it were not bound up with a dramatic and poetic interest of the very highest order.<sup>63</sup>

The literary relationship between Pound and Noguchi at the time, however, was second to their poetry interpretations; in other words what was important in the relationship was the opposition between Noguchi's introduction of haikus during his lecture trip in England and Pound's Imagism theory.<sup>64</sup> Noguchi was introduced to the young Pound when he visited Yeats' home in 1914, when Pound was working as a secretary for Yeats. Noguchi wrote that, at the time, Pound was a young lad with unkempt hair like a bird's nest. Perhaps neither of them had a very favorable impression of the other. Pound had no knowledge of the Japanese language and had never seen an actual Noh stage, so it was only a matter of course that Noguchi could not praise Pound's interpretations of Noh, which were formed only through his work editing Fenollosa's posthumous manuscripts.

The 1919 issue of the journal *The Nohgaku* contained a Japanese translation of one of Noguchi's English plays, given the Japanese title "Kaigan no koi no yūrei [= The Ghost of Love on the Coast]." Noguchi's English work was geared towards Western readers who had no knowledge of the original Noh play "Matsukaze [松風]"; the Japanese translation allowed for a re-reception of Noguchi's writing by a Japanese readership. The translator (an anonymous

translator named “xyz”) recommends that the writing be read as a piece by Noguchi without prior knowledge of the Noh play “Matsukaze.”<sup>65</sup> Some Japanese readers at the time were thus interested in Noguchi’s translation methodology and technique as well as the unique taste of Noguchi’s English works.

## 6. Spin-off Effects on Later Theater Movements

By around 1920, Noguchi was acknowledged and appraised abroad as a Noh connoisseur. In the August 1921 issue of the London journal *The Bookman*, R. Ellis Roberts wrote the following about Noguchi:

Mr. Noguchi remarks, by the way, in his essay that in the “Noh” plays Japan had anticipated the polyphonic prose of Miss Amy Lowell and her companions. It is not a thought that would occur to anyone familiar with the Noh plays in the English versions of Mrs. Stopes or Mr. Ezra Pound.<sup>66</sup>

Noguchi’s introduction of Noh is appraised for the fact that it contains elements and ideas that were not present in the works of foreign writers such as Stopes and Pound. Furthermore, Noguchi’s emphasis that the theories of modern poets are put into practice in Noh gains the spotlight. The following is another passage from Roberts:

[Arthur Waley’s] style in definition is not so clear as in translation, and I am afraid that most readers will find it impossible to get properly acquainted with the mysteries of Zen or of the different “Gate [sic] of Yugen.”<sup>67</sup>

What this means is that, through Arthur Waley’s (1889-1966) method of introducing Noh, it is difficult to understand that Noh is the gate to understanding Zen and “Yūgen [幽玄].” Waley wrote the following about Zeami’s theories (Waley spelled it “Seami”) in his introduction to *The No Plays of Japan* in 1921:

The symbol of yūgen is “a white bird with a flower in its beak.” “To watch the sun sink behind a flower-clad hill, to wander on and on in a huge forest with no thought of return, to stand upon the shore and gaze after a boat that goes hid by far-off islands, to ponder on the journey of wildgeese seen and lost among the clouds” ---such are the gates to yūgen.<sup>68</sup>

From this, we can see that Noguchi’s interpretations were highly appraised at the time for their ability to communicate the essence of Japanese culture as compared to explanations by foreign Noh connoisseurs. Noguchi’s interpretations of Noh largely influenced the international perspective on Noh as a “symbolic” art, and its ripple effect further spread to the Japanese cultural community at the time.

In Japan, *Nohgaku no Kanshō* [= *Appreciation of Noh Plays*] was published in 1925 and a section of it was republished in *Nihon Kokumin Tokuhon* [= *The Japanese Citizen Reader*] under the title “Nohgaku no Kanshō” in December 1932. *Nohgaku no Kanshō* was further republished in March 1947, after Japan was defeated in the war. These publications made Noguchi’s writings available to a more widespread Japanese readership. *Nihon Kokumin Tokuhon* contained the following words by Raymond Radcliffe on its title page:

If people would like to know more about the true Japanese, they must take a look at Yone Noguchi. Noguchi has the full set of artistic impulses, a refined thought, and dynamic expression. When I hold this great writer’s new book in my hands, I am always taken to completely new heights.<sup>69</sup>

In April 1912, Noguchi, who had connections to the editor of the journal *The Mask*, gave a copy of *The Mask* to Yoshikuni Ozawa (小沢愛圀 1887-1978), who would later become a researcher on the history of Japanese theater. The year after Ozawa graduated from Keio University, he visited Noguchi’s home and received a copy of the journal *The Mask* (April 1912 issue) from Noguchi. This provided the opportunity for Ozawa to start a correspondence with Craig as well as *The Mask*’s editor John Semar and further led to his research on the origins and development

of puppet theater.<sup>70</sup> Ozawa's book *Daitōkyōeiken no Ningyōgeki* [= *Puppet Theater in the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperty Sphere*] (March 1944) is a full-blown study of puppet theater throughout the countries of Asia, and in it we see the large influence of *The Mask*.

Jiro Nan'e (南江治郎 1902-1982) was another one of Noguchi's juniors and a poet close to Noguchi. He founded *The Marionette* [1930-1931] and *Ningyō-shibai* [*Puppet theater; 1932-33*], two journals specialized in puppet theater. Nan'e was highly influenced by Noguchi and Yeats as well as Craig's *The Mask* and was involved in the new puppet theater movement and the preservation of traditional puppet theater. In 1954, he published *Noh no Tenkai* [= *Development of Noh*]. (As a side note, the Noh researcher Patrick Geoffrey O'Neill (1924-2012) stayed at Nan'e's home during his stay in Japan, and wrote *A Guide to No* in 1954.)

It can thus be said that Noguchi was involved in the promotion, renewal and cultivation of theater research in Japan and that his writings abroad led to the opportunity to further revive and research the classical and folk arts of the East.

## Conclusion

This paper has investigated how Yone Noguchi, who began to translate Kyogen and Noh through his interactions with Yeats and others, disseminated information on the Japanese arts in ways that coincided, or were highly familiar, with Yeats' and Craig's theatrical reform activities. This paper would further like to emphasize Noguchi's innovativeness in positioning Noh as a leader of Modernist theater and philosophy; in other words, Noguchi's critiques and introductions of Noh abroad in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, when Noh was just beginning to interest Western intellectuals, came from a very unique perspective.

Noguchi's explanations of Noh and Kyogen are linked to his mental philosophy of a simple "aesthetic of silence [沈黙の美学]," which he discussed based on examples of Japanese culture such as "Haiku/Hokku" and Japanese literature. An understanding of Noh helps in understanding "Hokku," and the reverse is true as well. Noguchi's claims regarding the Japanese sentiment and aesthetic, made across various genres, worked hand-in-hand with the interests of Western intellectuals and cultural modernism.

We should be aware that Noguchi's efforts should not be the only ones appraised in the introduction of Noh abroad. However, we must confirm the mutual effects of his works on the art theories of the time. This paper attempts to describe how Noguchi connected with his contemporaries, by focusing on Craig's journal *The Mask*. The discussions on Noh and Nigyō-jyōruri (Japanese traditional puppet theater) published therein reached young readers in Japan through Noguchi and influenced the spread of interests in the Asian classical arts thereon out. This point could not be discussed in detail within the scope of this paper, and I would like to discuss this elsewhere. Further study is also necessary regarding the details of how the reception of Noh tied in to Modernist theatrical expressions and how this led to the revival of oriental theater. (Although it is not mentioned in this paper, Noguchi also interacted with the internationally renowned Indian dancer Uday Shanker (1900-1977) in 1936.<sup>71</sup>) That is, Noguchi's contributions should be clarified from a wide range of traditional and contemporary performing arts and also re-evaluated in terms of the production of interculturalism and Orientalism.

Shinjiro Kurahara (蔵原伸二郎 1899-1965), a poet who came on the scene after Noguchi, wrote the following about "Hashigakari [橋掛]," Noguchi's poem about Noh: "it is a metaphysical concept that takes hints from a Noh play/ it is his world view and the poetic methodology that he believes in/ and it lays the principles of his tentative studies."<sup>72</sup> As Noguchi's friend Paul Claudel (1868-1955) points out, the concepts that appeared in Noguchi's poetic methodology had their foundations in namely Buddhist theories and, like R. M. Rilke (1875-1926) and other first-class Western poets who pursued the "Le Royaume du Vide" of oriental expression (this was translated as "Kuu no Megata [空の雌型]" by Kurahara, meaning a kind of archetype of the void or emptiness characteristic of the orient) beyond repletion, they held critical meaning to the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>73</sup> I would like to end this paper by stating that the world of Noh for the poet Noguchi held the key to his artistic theories, including his study of poetry, and that it was a crucial 20<sup>th</sup> century explanation of Modernism for both Western and Eastern artists.

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## Endnotes

1. From the Suntory Prize for Social Sciences and Humanities (Arts and Literature) selector's commentary, Dec. 2012, [http://www.suntory.co.jp/sfnd/prize\\_ssah/detail/2012005.html](http://www.suntory.co.jp/sfnd/prize_ssah/detail/2012005.html).
2. For instance, Hae-Kyung Sung writes that Noguchi's introductions of Noh were sparked by Pound and Yeats' interests in Noh and were developed only after he had been influenced by this Western interest in Noh, which began with Pound. (Hae-Kyung Sung, *Western Fantasy Noh: Yeats and Pound [= Seiyō no mugen-noh: Yeats to Pound]*, Tokyo: Kawade-shobo-shinsha, Sept. 24, 1999., p. 198.).
3. Madoka Hori, *Yone Noguchi: A Writer of "Dual Nationality" [= "Nijūkokuseki" shijin Noguchi Yonejirō]*, The University of Nagoya Press, Feb. 29, 2012., Chp. 6 Sect. 4, pp. 62-177. (In Japanese)
4. Yonejirō Noguchi, *13 Years in the West [= Eibei no jyūsannen]*, Shunyōdō, May 1905, pp. 175-176. (In Japanese)
5. Noguchi's autobiographical diary-style novel, *American Diary of Japanese Girl* (1899), also depicts the popularity and state of Japonisme-inspired theater in the West at the time as well as the dissatisfaction towards it as experienced by a Japanese.
6. "Our literature (how little it is known to the world!) would be a grey waste as far as comedy is concerned, if the 'Kiogen,' (farce, the word meaning crazy language) did not rescue us. It developed fully in the Middle Ages simultaneously with the growth of 'No' (operatic performance) which was based invariably on Tragedy." (Yone Noguchi, "Preface," *Ten Kiogen in English*, Tokyo: Tozaisha, May 7, 1907.)
7. Chamberlain dedicates the third section of *The Classical Poetry of the Japanese* (1880) to Noh and translates four Noh plays ("Hagoromo [羽衣]," "Sesshō-seki [殺生石]," "Kantan [邯鄲]" and "Nakamitsu [仲光]") into English. Aston introduces Noh in *A History of Japanese Literature* (1899) and provides an abridged translation of "Takasago."
8. Waken Umezawa, "Aston's View of Japanese Literature" [= Aston-shi no Nihon bungakukan], *The Taiyo*, Mar. 1, 1908, p. 116.
9. Noguchi explains the Scottish playwright William Archer's theory that Yeats' "Countess Cathleen" is similar to Maeterlinck's "La Princess Maleive," "L'Intruse," and "Les Avengles," as well as Archer's characterization of Maeterlinck as a Fleming of the Teutonic race and Yeats as a "Kelt of the Kelts." (Yone Noguchi, "Yeats and the Irish Revival," *The Japan Times*, Apr. 28 1907.)
10. For details, see: Yone Noguchi, "A Japanese Note on Yeats," *The Taiyo*, Dec. 1, 1911, pp. 17-20. This study is also compiled in *Through the Torii* (pp. 110-117). The fact that Noguchi was already comparing the traditions and literary worlds of poetry in the East and in Ireland at the time in 1907 is important also from the standpoint of later influences, both domestic and international.
11. Noguchi's original title was "Mosada: Dramatical Poems."
12. Yone Noguchi, "Mr. Yeats and the No," *The Japan Times*, Nov. 3, 1907.
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*
15. Regarding Craig's interest in the Japanese arts at the time, see: Sang-Kyong Lee (trans. by Tokuichi Tanaka), Chp. 2. "The Influence of Japanese Theater on England," in *The Meeting of Eastern and Western Theater – The Influence of Noh and Kabuki on Western Theater [= Tōzai engeki no deai – Nō, kabuki no seiyō engeki ni ataeta eikyō]*, Shindokushōsha, Oct. 20, 1993, pp. 90-136.
16. Yone Noguchi, "The Japanese Mask Play," *The Taiyo*, Jul. 1910, p. 5.; "The Japanese Mask Play," *The Nation*, Sept. 12, 1912, p. 231.
17. Yone Noguchi, "The Japanese Mask Play," *The Taiyo*, Jul. 1910, pp. 8-9.
18. Yone Noguchi, "The Japanese Mask Play," *The Taiyo*, Jul. 1910, p. 5.; "The Japanese Mask Play," *The Nation*, Sept. 12, 1912, p. 231.
19. Craig, "The Japanese Dance," *The Mask*, Vol.3, Apr. 1911, p. 90. This statement was found in Craig's review of "The Japanese Dance" (1910) by Marcelle Azra Hinckes, a brochure published in 1910.
20. Yone Noguchi, "The Japanese Mask Play," *The Taiyo*, Jul.1910, p. 5.; "The Japanese Mask Play," *The Nation*, Sept. 12, 1912, p. 231.
21. Craig, "Book Reviews on 'Plays of Old Japan: The 'No,' by Marie C. Stopes,'" *The Mask*, Vol. 6, Jan. 1914, pp. 263-265. Craig's statement here can be found in his review of Stope's (1880-1958) book of Noh translations, *Plays of Old Japan: The 'No'*

- (1913), written together with a Japanese writer.
22. Edward Craig (trans. by Masanori Sato), *Gordon Craig— An Adventurer of 20<sup>th</sup> Century Theater* [= *Gordon Craig – 20 seiki engeki no boukensha*], Nov. 18, 1996, Heibonsha, p. 304. (In Japanese)
  23. Ananda Coomaraswamy, “Notes on Indian Dramatic Technique,” *The Mask*, Oct.1913, pp. 109-128.
  24. John Semar, “Book Reviews,” *The Mask*, Jul.1911, Vol. 4, No. 1.
  25. Masanobu Otani, “A Japanese Pupil: Recollections,” *The Mask*, Jan. 1912, pp. 203-213.
  26. Lafcadio Hearn, “Japanese Drama:An Extract,” *The Mask*, Jan. 1912, p. 213.
  27. Some examples include the articles “A Historical Pageant in Kyoto Described by Lafcadio Hearn” (*The Mask*, Jul. 1911, p. 37) and “Apprenticeship in Japan Described by Lafcadio Hearn with a Note on Discipline by John Semar” (pp. 107-109). At the same time, “The Drama in Japan” (Sheko Tsubouchi, *The Mask*, Apr.1912) should also be noted as an article written by a Japanese author.
  28. “Mr.Porter Garnett several years ago very kindly sent me these tracings of parts of a Japanese marionette from designs in an 18<sup>th</sup> century book on Marionettes and Stage craft, owned by Dr. Arnold Genthe of San Francisco.” (G. Craig, “A Note on Japanese Marionettes,” *The Mask*, May 1915, p. 104.)
  29. *Ibid.*, p. 106.
  30. Yonejirō Noguchi, “Recent Literary Trends – British Poetry Today” [= Saikin bungei shichou – Kyou no eishichou], *Mita Bungaku*, Jan. 1916, p. 270. (In Japanese)
  31. Yonejirō Noguchi, “Introduction” (In Japanese), *Ideas of Good and Evil* [= *Zenaku no Kannen*]; W.B. Yeats (trans. by Makoto Sangū), p. x.
  32. Noguchi’s lectures on Noh at The Loyal Asiatic Society in London is compiled in Chapter 3 of *The Spirit of Japanese Poetry* (1914) as “No: The Japanese Play of Silence.”
  33. Madoka Hori, “The Lectures on Japanese Poetry by Yone Noguchi: A Discussion on Haiku, Bashō and Symbolism,” *Nihon-Kenkyū*; International Research Center for Japanese Studies, no. 32 (Mar. 2006); Madoka Hori, *Yone Noguchi: A Writer of “Dual Nationality*, The University of Nagoya Press, Feb. 2012. (In Japanese)
  34. Yone Noguchi, *The Spirit of Japanese Poetry*, 1914, pp. 59-60.
  35. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
  36. As a side note, Yeats also writes about Thomas Lake Harris (1823-1906), a mystic and founder of the Brotherhood of New Life, a religious organization that Noguchi had also made contact with during his years in the United States. (W. B. Yeats, “Swedenborg, Mediums and the Desolate Plates” Oct. 14, 1914.)
  37. *The Spirit of Japanese Poetry* (1914), a compilation of Noguchi’s lectures in England, also contains an original Noh play entitled “The Morning-Glory: A Dramatic Fragment.” At the same time, the Japanese version of this book, *Nihon Shiika-ron* [ 日本詩歌論 ](1915), contains another original Noh play entitled “The Willow Tree: A Dramatic Fragment,” based on the Noh play “Sumidagawa [ 隅田川 ]” in addition to the aforementioned play.
  38. Madoka Hori, *Yone Noguchi: A Writer of “Dual Nationality*,” The University of Nagoya Press, Feb. 2012, pp. 142-146. (In Japanese)
  39. Ezra Pound, “Nishikigi, A Play: Translated from the Japanese of Motokiyo,” *The Poetry*, May 1914, pp. 35-48.
  40. Ezra Pound, *Certain Noble Plays of Japan: From the Manuscripts of Ernest Fenollosa, Chosen and Finished by Ezra Pound, with Introduction by William Butler Yeats*, Dublin: Cuala Press, 1916.
  41. Ezra Pound, “Introduction” *Noh; or Accomplishment, a Study of the Classical Stage of Japan by Ernest Fenollosa and Ezra Pound*, London; Macmillan, 1916, p. 4.
  42. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
  43. “A Leap into the World: A New English Column” [= Sekaiteki hiyaku: Eibun-ran shinsetsu], *The Youkyokukai* , Jul. 1916, pp. 82-83.
  44. *Ibid.*, p. 83.
  45. A commission to translate “Funabenkei [ 船弁慶 ]” into French for the 1897 issue of Michel Revon’s French journal *Revue Francaise du Japon* (Tokyo) marked the start of Peri’s Noh research. The following issue contained a French translation of the Kyōgen work “Obakazake [ 伯母酒 ].” *Foreigners’ Research on Noh (21<sup>st</sup> Century COE International Japanese Studies Series 1*, Hosei University Research Center for International Japanese Studies, Mar. 31, 2005, p. 184. (In Japanese)
  46. N. Peri, “Noh is the Greatest Japanese Literature” [= Noh-gaku wa nihonbungaku no saidai narumono nari], *The Nohgaku*,

- 1904, pp. 25-27; “Impressions on Noh” [= Noh-gaku ni tsuite no shokan], *The Nohgaku*, Vol. 3-1, 1905, pp. 11-17; and others. (In Japanese)
47. Yonejirō Noguchi, “Overview of the English Column – Sesshō-seki” [= Eibunran no gairyaku – Sesshou-seki], *The Youkyokukai*, Sept. 1916, pp. 103-104. (In Japanese)
48. The translation methodology of writing the *jiutai*’s (chorus’) narrative lines in conversation format (as the *shite* and *waki*’s lines) and transferring the conversations of the *shite* and *waki* into the *jiutai*’s narrative (in other words, freely changing the actors that speak the lines, instead of simply translating the text) can also be seen in Arthur Waley’s English translation of *The Tale of Genji* in the 1920’s.
49. Yone Noguchi, “The Perfect Jewel maiden,” *The Youkyokukai*, Sept. 1916, p. 5.; Yonejirō Noguchi, “Overview of the English Column – Sesshō-seki” [= Eibunran no gairyaku – Sesshō-seki], *The Youkyokukai*, Sept. 1916, pp. 103-105.
50. Yonejirō Noguchi, “Overview of the English Column – Sesshō-seki” [= Eibunran no gairyaku – Sesshō-seki], *The Youkyokukai*, Sept. 1916, p. 105.
51. Yonejirō Noguchi, “Overview of the English Column – Umewaka Manzaburo” [= Eibunran no gairyaku – Umewaka Manzaburo], *The Youkyokukai*, Nov. 1916, p. 95.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 95.
53. *Ibid.*, pp. 95-96.
54. Gakudō Yamazaki, “Nougakukai,” *Shumi no tomo*, 1916, p. 41.
55. “From the Editorial Board” [= Henshūkyoku yori], *The Youkyokukai*, Sept. 1917, p. 78.
56. This article written by Noguchi for *The Poetry Review* is a new document discovered by the author.
57. Noguchi was also commissioned by *The Poetry Review* to translate 2, 3 volumes of Noh plays into English around 1925 (Taishō 14). (His writings in 1925 are mentioned on page 127 of *Nohgaku no Kanshō*.)
58. A study should be made comparing Noguchi’s “The Everlasting Sorrow” to “The Everlasting Mercy” (1911), a narrative poem written by Masfield, a writer who Noguchi held in high esteem. At the time in 1916, Noguchi believed that this work by Masfield could not break free of the simple, moral sincerity of Puritanism and could not be commended from a Modernist art perspective. (Yonejirō Noguchi, “Recent Literary Trends – British Poetry Today” [= Saikin bungei shichou – kyō no eishichō ], *The Mita Bungaku*, Jan. 1916, p. 297.)
59. Yone Noguchi, “The No or Mask Play of Japan,” A Pamphlet Reprinted from *The China Journal*, Mar. 1929, and others.
60. Yone Noguchi, *Nohgaku no kanshō*, Dec. 1925, Dai’ichi shobō, p. 129.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 130.
62. *Ibid.*, pp. 132-137.
63. Ezra Pound, “Introduction” *Noh; or Accomplishment, a Study of the Classical Stage of Japan by Ernest Fenollosa and Ezra Pound*, London: Macmillan, 1916, pp. 18-19.  
It is interesting to note that Noh is tied more closely to Shinto here as opposed to Buddhism. (This is pointed out by Sukehiro Hirakawa in his research on Arthur Waley.)
64. Madoka Hori, *Yone Noguchi: A Writer of “Dual Nationality,”* *Ibid.*, pp. 212-232.
65. “Even those who constantly read or chant *Matsukaze* [ 松 風 ] so much so that they can almost recite it will likely discover something new in this piece. That is how interesting Mr. Noguchi’s English writing is. Of course, at the same time, it also suggests the overwhelming distance between the Japanese language and foreign languages, and you will also understand how difficult it is to change the Japanese language into a foreign language.”  
(Preface by translator to “Ghost of Love on the seashore” [= *Kaigan no koi no yūrei*] (written by Yone Noguchi, translated by XYZ) in *The Nohgaku*, Vol. 17, No. 1, Jan. 1919, p. 71.) (In Japanese)
66. R. Ellis Roberts, “Things Japanese,” *The Bookman*, London, Aug. 1921, p. 219.
67. *Ibid.*
68. Arthur Waley, “Introduction,” *The No Plays of Japan*, London: George Allen & Unwin LTD, 1921, pp. 21-22.
69. These words by Raymond Radcliffe, originally written in the London-based paper *New Witness*, were printed in Japanese. (Yone Noguchi, *The Japanese Citizen Reader* [= *Nihon Kokumin Tokuhon*] title page (before the introduction), Kinseido, Dec. 1932, p. 0.)
70. Yoshikuni Ozawa, “Recollections on the Study of Puppet Theater History” [= Ningyōgeki-shi kenkyū no kaisō], *Mita Hyōron*, Feb. 1965, p. 77.
71. Madoka Hori, *Yone Noguchi: A Writer of “Dual Nationality,”* *Ibid.*, pp. 372-373.

72. Shinjiro Kurahara, *Shinjiro Kurahara Collection Vol. 1* [= *Kurahara Shinjiro senshū ikkan*], Daiwa Shobō, May 20 1968, p. 362. (In Japanese)
73. *Ibid.*

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