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How Does the Billy-Goat Produce Milk? Sergei Eisenstein's Reconstitution of Kabuki Theatre

Through a close examination of Eisenstein's writings on the Kabuki theatre, Min Tian demonstrates in this article that Eisenstein's interpretation of Kabuki from the perspective of his theory displaced the techniques and principles of Kabuki theatre from its historical and aesthetic contexts. Predicated upon his 'montage thinking', Eisenstein reconstituted the techniques and principles integral to Kabuki as an organic whole in the context of his evolving and synthesizing theory. Min Tian has a PhD in theatre history from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign and a doctorate at the Central Academy of Drama in Beijing. Currently teaching at the University of Iowa, he is the author of *Mei Lanfang and the Twentieth-Century International Stage* (2012) and *The Poetics of Difference and Displacement: Twentieth-Century Chinese–Western Intercultural Theatre* (2008), and editor of *China's Greatest Operatic Male Actor of Female Roles: Documenting the Life and Art of Mei Lanfang, 1894–1961* (2010).

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IN AUGUST 1928 Sergei Eisenstein saw the performances offered by the visiting Japanese Kabuki troupe headed by Ichikawa Sadanji II (1880–1940). At the very beginning of his famous essay, 'An Unexpected Juncture', Eisenstein compared the Soviet practical appropriation of Kabuki theatre to the milking of the billy-goat: 'Milk a billy-goat? Agricultural practice is unaware of the operation. It is said that a billy-goat provides neither wool nor milk.'[1]

He deplored the reception of Kabuki by Soviet critics who, praising it profusely for its 'really magnificent craftsmanship', offered absolutely 'no examination of what constitutes its remarkable quality'.[2] In his view, it was not enough to study what he called 'the museum elements' of Kabuki theatre, although he considered them 'essential to an understanding of this remarkable phenomenon'; only those things 'that promote cultural progress, that feed and stimulate the intellectual problems of the day are remarkable'.[3] Rejecting the Soviet critical perception that Kabuki theatre, like the billy-goat, provides 'neither wool nor milk', Eisenstein offered his own examination and exclaimed at the end of his essay: 'Broadly speaking, the goat has given us milk! *The Kabuki can only celebrate its juncture with the sound film.*'[4]

Eisenstein has been hailed for his imagination and genius in finding the juncture of Kabuki with his theory of montage, and his interpretation of Kabuki theatre has gone fundamentally unquestioned and unchallenged for several decades, as shown in a number of critical studies.[5]

But what, exactly, was in Kabuki theatre – essentially the product of an alien and distant feudal society – that fed and stimulated the intellectual questions of Eisenstein, a twentieth-century Soviet avant-garde theatre and film director? How did Eisenstein find in this centuries-old art form 'an unexpected juncture' with the modernity of the sound film or, more precisely, with his theory of montage?

In this article I aim to demonstrate that Eisenstein displaced and disintegrated the principles and techniques of Kabuki theatre

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from its historical and aesthetic contexts, appropriating and reconstituting them into his theoretical discourse. Thus, the 'milk' Eisenstein extracted and reformulated from Kabuki theatre was no longer organically Japanese; it was artificially Eisensteinian, as the 'goat' had been 'transgendered', 'genetically' altered, and historically and aesthetically displaced.

Early Perceptions of Kabuki

According to Eisenstein, 'the clearest distinction' between the Kabuki theatre and the European theatre is what he called 'a *monism of ensemble*': 'Sound, movement, space, and voice *do not accompany* (or even parallel) one another but are treated as *equivalent elements*.'[6] Thereby, in Eisenstein's view, 'It is impossible to speak of "accompaniments" in the Kabuki' in which 'a single monistic sensation of theatrical "stimulation" takes place'.[7]

For Eisenstein, this '*monism of ensemble*', among other things, constitutes the 'unexpected juncture' he found in Kabuki with his theory of montage. But his 'finding', like his other perceptions of Kabuki, was not unexpected at all. In fact, as Eisenstein himself noted in the same essay, he had written as early as 1923 in his essay, 'The Montage of Attractions', about the equality between 'elements in various categories' with the aim of establishing theoretically 'the basic *unit of theatre*' that he then termed 'attraction'.[8] Thus, Eisenstein's 'finding' in Kabuki constitutes a 'confirmation' – or, more precisely, a projection – of the ideas that had long been fermenting in his mind, as he asserted: 'The Japanese, in what is of course his instinctive practice, makes 100 per cent use of his theatre in precisely the way that we had in mind then'.[9]

Eisenstein used the example of Sadanji's performance of Yuranosuke leaving the castle in *Chūshingura* to illustrate his idea of 'the method of *transference*' rather than 'accompaniment' in Kabuki – 'the transference of the basic affective intention from one material to another, from one category of "stimulant" to another':

> Yuranosuke leaves the besieged castle and moves from the back of the stage to the very front. Suddenly the backdrop with its life-size gate (close-up) is folded away. A second backdrop is visible: a tiny gate (long shot). This means that he has moved even further away. Yuranosuke continues his journey. A curtain of brown, green, and black is drawn across the backdrop indicating that the castle is now hidden from Yuranosuke's sight. Further steps. Yuranosuke moves out on to the 'flowery way'. This further distancing is emphasized by the *samisen*, i.e. by sound![10]

According to Eisenstein, Yuranosuke's journey involves four successive distancing devices: a spatial distancing by the actor; a flat painting that indicates the change of backdrops; a curtain effacing the viewer's vision; and the distancing indicated by the sound of the *samisen*.

Contrary to his intention, however, Eisenstein's example serves as an excellent illustration of Kabuki's scenic method of foregrounding the dominant presence of the actor. Furthermore, because of the accompaniment of the (*samisen*) music to the actor's movement, and through the organic fusion of the movement and sound, the transference from the movement to the sound is an integration of both, but not a disintegration into mechanical cuts, conflicting shots, or opposing juxtapositions. Here the scenic method of Kabuki is closer to a transposition of the method of perspective setting than to the Eisensteinian method of montage.

In addition, Eisenstein cited as an example of 'pure cinematographic method' the performance of the last section of *Chūshingura* that, in his view, exemplified the equivalence of aural image, created by the sound of a flute, and visual image: 'an empty snow-covered nocturnal landscape (an empty stage)'.[11] But, again, contrary to Eisenstein's intention, instead of functioning as an equivalent to the visual image, the sound serves as an accompaniment that helps to build the mood for the entrance of the actor(s): the night, the coldness, and the emptiness primarily signified visually by 'an empty snow-covered nocturnal landscape'. Eisenstein saw the same perfection of montage in Ichikawa Enshō's performance of suicide in *Chūshingura*:

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With the perfect equivalent of visual and sound mirages [images] at their disposal, they suddenly produce *both*, 'squaring' them and aiming a brilliantly calculated blow of the billiard cue at the audience's cerebral hemisphere. I do not know how else to describe the unique combination of the hand movement of Itsikawa Ensio [Ichikawa Enshō] as he slits his throat in the act of hara-kiri with the *sobbing soun*d offstage that *graphically* corresponds to the movement of the knife.[12]

In contrast to his idea of collision montage, Eisenstein's description attests to the fact that the aural elements ('sobbing') function, even if 'graphically', as an accompaniment to the actor's performance, and that the aural images are not in conflict, but rhythmically synchronize with the visual images produced by the actor's movement.

In Kabuki, the central and dominant force is the actor. Elements such as music, setting, costume, and make-up are all accompaniments in this ensemble performance. Contrary to Eisenstein's assertion, it is impossible not to speak of 'accompaniments' in Kabuki. Eisenstein spoke of the 'unique archaic pantheism' of Kabuki as part of Japanese cultural traditions. But in the pantheon (or the 'pantheism') of Kabuki there is one omnipresent god – the actor – who reigns supreme, all other elements serving to ensure his absolute dominance. In spite of the introduction of naturalistic scenery, which tended to threaten the dominance of the actor during the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth, Kabuki has maintained its hierarchical and differentiated structure.

In 1929, in 'The Filmic Fourth Dimension', Eisenstein mentioned his 1928 essay on Kabuki theatre, claiming that his characterization of its method proved 'prophetic', as this method became the basis for the montage of his film *Old and New*.[13] 'In distinction from orthodox montage according to *particular dominants*, *Old and New* was edited differently', he continued. Further: 'In place of an "aristocracy" of individualistic dominants we brought a method of "democratic" equality of rights for all provocations, or stimuli, regarding them as summary, as a complex'.[14]

But Kabuki is 'aristocratic' or 'totalitarian' rather than 'democratic' because of the absolute dominance of the actor over the other elements. Even if the combination of different elements can be treated as montage, it is much closer to what Eisenstein called the 'orthodox montage', which does not treat the individual elements as equivalents but differentiates them as dominants and accompaniments.

Kabuki: 'Democratic' or 'Aristocratic'?

Extensive and detailed studies of Kabuki music by William P. Malm reveal that components of both onstage and offstage music function primarily as accompaniments to the performance of the actor. The lyrical style (*nagauta* – long song) and the narrative style (such as *tokiwazu* and *kiyomoto*) of *samisen* music are main components of the onstage music, and they serve to accompany the actor's dance. The offstage music, the *geza*, is used to accompany situational moments in a play, when the character expresses some sad or romantic thoughts facially or with gestures, or to accompany specific actions such as posturing dances (in particular, the *mie*), fight and battle scenes, as well as entrances and exits through the *hanamichi*.[15]

Even the *geza* music components for describing, or accentuating, dramatic milieu or atmosphere (natural, psychological, and geographic) are rigidly integrated with – or, at least, are parallel with – the text and the actor's performance, but not in conflict with them.[16] In combination with the choral narrative and commentary parts, *geza* music components (instrumental and melodic) help to make *nagauta* 'the most orchestrally oriented of all Japanese musics';[17] their function is not so drastically different from 'the ensemble "parallelism"' used in Western opera (the orchestra, the chorus, and the soloist), which Eisenstein mentioned in contrast to 'the *monistic ensemble*' in Kabuki.[18] The difference lies in that they are more integrated with the actor's performance.

Even the tendency for the *nagauta* voice to sing 'out of time' with the *samisen* is not considered a 'syncopation', as Malm notes, but rather 'a form of "neutrality"' (*fusoku-furi* – neither too close to each other nor too far away). Malm adds: 'Perhaps the Japanese

use this term to indicate that the vocal line is sung without strong rhythmic accents', suggesting that it is not intended as an unexpected interruption of, or a collision with, the *samisen* rhythm.[19] This further proves that, even if all the components of Kabuki are supposedly treated as 'equivalent elements', they are not in conflict with one another. Malm concludes that there is, indeed, a 'harmonic progression' from tension to release in Kabuki music:

> These laws of progression have been presented here as possible substitutions for the concepts of harmony and chord progression often noted as absent from *samisen* music. Here is a system of definite starting points and goals with the deliberate choice of various means of traversing the distance between them. This is identical in spirit with the laws of harmonic progression used in the West. The critical difference is that the Western laws refer to vertical pitch complexes while the Japanese rules deal with conjunct horizontal rhythmic units.[20]

These 'horizontal rhythmic units' may resemble the Eisensteinian musical montages, but the critical difference is that there is a 'harmonic progression' integrating the units into an organic whole, not a dissonant juxtaposition that divides them into conflicting equivalents.

Emphasizing the central importance of the Kabuki actor as 'the genesis of the performance', Earle Ernst points out that the music surrounding the Kabuki performance derives from the actor's movement, and 'it does not impose itself upon the actor, but instead gives musical and rhythmic expression to his movement', underlining it and sharpening its effect.[21] As a matter of fact, the *samisen* remains today 'the indispensable accompaniment of narrative singing and dancing'.[22] The *geza* music is generally employed to create a mood and to accompany scenes performed in pantomime, and 'never takes on the character of an independent composition in its own right, but on the contrary is subordinate . . . to the dramatic intent of the scene'.[23]

For Eisenstein, however, these elements do not accompany one another, but are equivalents in conflict with one another. Again, the 'juncture' Eisenstein perceived between his theory of montage and Kabuki theatre was not unexpected. In fact, as Eisenstein reminded us, in his 1928 statement on the sound film, which he formulated before he saw Sadanji's troupe, he had written of 'the contrapuntal method of combining visual and sound images'.[24]

> *Only the contrapuntal use* of sound *vis-à-vis* the visual fragment of montage will open up new possibilities for the development and perfection of montage. *The first experiments in sound must aim at a sharp discord with the visual images*. Only such a 'hammer and tongs' approach will produce the necessary sensation that will result consequently in the creation of a new *orchestral counterpoint* of visual and sound images.[25]

The Japanese Sense of Perspective

Eisenstein's perception of the Kabuki theatre was conditioned by his deeply ingrained Orientalist preconception. In his view, the Russians had to learn not only from the Japanese theatre, but from the whole Japanese world view. It was 'a new sense': '*the ability to reduce visual and sound perceptions to a "common denominator"*'.[26] He traced 'this unique archaic "pantheism"' – 'a most interesting "*fusion*" of images that appeal to the most varied senses' – back to Japan's feudal cultural tradition, which was based on what he characterized as 'a *non-differentiation of perceptions, the well-known absence of a sense of "perspective"*'.[27]

Eisenstein asserted that this 'non-differentiation' was brought to 'brilliantly unexpected heights' in the Kabuki theatre.[28] To illustrate this, he referred to the use of what he called 'such primitive painted perspective' that creates a spacious set and to the use of simultaneity in Kabuki scenic design.[29] I will not deal with the use of simultaneity in the history of Western theatre, as Eisenstein later in 1940 pointed out that modern simultaneous settings 'have absolutely exact prototypes in the technique of stage design of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries'.[30]

Suffice it to say that the use of simultaneity is not uniquely Japanese. As for the use of perspective, earlier in his essay Eisen-

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stein spoke of examples in the same Kabuki of 'the identical perception of naturalistic three-dimensional form and flat painting'.[31] In fact, most likely as early as the 1740s in the Edo period (1603–1868), and definitely during the Meiji period (1868–1912), Western perspective, first introduced into Japan via its Chinese transpositions and later directly from the Dutch, was applied selectively and creatively in Kabuki scenic design.[32] This is demonstrated both in 'floating image' (*uki-e*) prints and in particular the 'hollow image' ('hollowed out' or 'sunken' image – *kubomi-e*) prints.

Appropriation of perspective in *kubomi-e* resulted in 'a largely emptied central background that permitted the creation of an unusually wide and dominant foreground scene', which can be seen in the performance of *The Night Raid* from the Chūshingura story, as shown in one of the prints by Katsushika Hokusai (1760–1849).[33] As indicated previously, Eisenstein used this scene in his essay as an example of 'pure cinematographic method': 'an empty snow-covered nocturnal landscape (an empty stage)'.[34]

In 1806, Katsushika Hokusai created an act-by-act *Kanadehon Chūshingura* series that was unmatched in the rich detail of its landscape settings. His use of deep perspective views in this series represents 'the culmination of previous attempts to evoke a naturalistic setting for Chūshingura performances' in which 'background scenery helps to express the mood of each act'.[35]

Earle Ernst notes that the use of Western perspective in Japanese woodblock prints in about the middle of the eighteenth century is 'undoubtedly related to the use of perspective painting in the theatre'.[36] According to Ernst, the exterior or interior scene painted in perspective is 'a theatrical indication of depth, not an illusionistic representation of it'; the effect created aesthetically is that 'space is not illusionistically extended behind the actor' but that 'the theatrical indication of space is drawn toward, and into, the playing area'. In such scenes, Ernst continues, 'actual space is contracted, and concurrently theatrical space is expanded, *as it was in the Western perspective setting*'.[37]

The careful examinations by Ernst and others of the use of perspective in Kabuki scenic design suggest convincingly that it is a highly sophisticated transposition of Western perspective, not at all a primitive, intuitive or undifferentiated practice, as Eisenstein held. The ingenious modernity of the Japanese transposition of Western perspective resides in the fact that it creates a theatrical sign of scenic depth, which was otherwise not an option for the Japanese theatre; and that, at the same time, it foregrounds, by the expansion of theatrical space into the playing area, the dominant presence of the actor, with all the other elements (including perspective scenery) playing as accompanying and supporting parts. Eisenstein's assumption of the primitivism of the Japanese method served to underscore the modernity of his theory.

Human Actor versus Mechanical Puppet

At the end of his essay, Eisenstein underlined 'the unexpected juncture' he found at the polar extremes of Kabuki and his 'montage thinking':

> The archaic non-differentiated sense of the Kabuki's 'stimulants' on the one hand and, on the other, the acme of the development of *montage thinking*. Montage thinking, the peak of the differentiatedly sensed and expounded [*razlozhennogo* – disintegrated] 'organic' world, is realized anew in a mathematically faultless instrument, the machine. We recall Kleist's words that are so close to the Kabuki theatre that derives 'from puppets': 'The perfection of the actor lies either in the body that has no consciousness at all or has the maximum consciousness, that is, in the puppet or the 'demi-god'.[38]

Eisenstein's Orientalist differentiation of the archaic non-differentiatedness of Kabuki from his montage thinking is again an assertion of the modernity of his theory, and his perception of 'the unexpected juncture' between the two extremes is perfectly in line with his idea of the performance of mechanical puppets. For Eisenstein, the human actor should emulate the mathematical and mechanical precision and subtlety of the puppet, and such artistic perfection is exemplified in the performance of the Kabuki actor. Eisenstein

erroneously asserted that Kabuki theatre was born from puppetry; Kleist's words may best describe Eisenstein's ideal of acting, but they are not valid for Kabuki acting. Although Kabuki theatre began to adapt plays and methods of staging and acting from the puppet theatre during the first half of the eighteenth century, *Narukami*, one of the most popular Kabuki plays of the period and the one Eisenstein favoured as more classical and authentic in Sadanji's repertoire, 'owed nothing to the puppet theatre'.[39]

Two of the other Kabuki plays offered by Sadanji's troupe were *Shuzenji Monogatari* (*Tale of the Shuzen Temple*, or *The Mask Maker*) and *Kanadehon Chūshingura*. The former is a new Kabuki (*shin kabuki*) play by Okamoto Kidō (1872–1939), premiered by Sadanji in 1911. *Kanadehon Chūshingura* was first staged in 1748 as a jōruri or puppet play, but after it was appropriated for the Kabuki stage, it became 'the most "kabuki-ized"' of the major jōruri masterpieces.[40] This was a result of its characters becoming humanized and of the human actors being conscious of their expression of emotions.

James Brandon uses as an example the gate scene in Act Four to demonstrate the humanization of the characters in the play. The scene was redesigned to enable the actor playing Yuranosuke 'to give physical rather than verbal expression to the character's surging emotions'. Yuranosuke leaves the castle, slowly crossing from the main stage to the *hanamichi* with pauses and poses expressing 'a different combination of emotions'. When he reaches and goes off the *hanamichi*, his physical expression of emotion reaches a climax with the accompaniment of resumed *samisen* music. Brandon concludes:

> This marvellously effective closing sequence relies wholly on the actor's powers of physical expression and projection [of the character's emotion]. We should note that this long, mimed sequence accurately expresses Yuranosuke's psychological state.

According to Brandon: 'The basic acting *kata* for Yuranosuke in this scene was set by Nakamura Utaemon III in 1809 and was carried down into this century by [Ichikawa] Danjūr IX'.[41] Ichikawa Danjūr IX used as his speciality the *kata* of *haragei* (inner art) to express Yuranosuke's 'psychological and emotional transitions', and, following his example, Yuranosuke in this scene was usually acted in the *haragei* style.[42] Ichikawa Sadanji, who played Yuranosuke, must have acted in a similar fashion.

The primary function of the scene is to portray, through the actor's *haragei*, the character's 'emotional transitions', which Eisenstein deplored as Stanislavskian. He believed it was commensurate with his method of montage, in which there were no emotional transitions. One critic wrote for the *Krasnaya Gazeta* of Sadanji's *haragei* acting style in the scene:

> The actors of Japan are endowed with an absolutely unique talent for stage expression. They convey the emotions of the characters in the drama with extremely light gestures and movements that are almost invisible to the naked eye. During the third act of *Chūshingura*, Sadanji elicited applause from each and every member of the audience. He continued to act [in Act Four, outside the gate] in pantomime alone for a full ten minutes. This is a scene full of extremely complex gestures that no film star would ever be able to equal.

No technique of the Eisensteinian montage would ever be capable of capturing the subtle expression of emotion in Sadanji's acting because, by nature, the former excludes the latter, and because the latter defies the visual representation necessitated by the former.

Elsewhere, Eisenstein asserted that 'if you take the subtlety of movement in the Eastern theatre, in the Japanese or Chinese theatre, these movements are copied from marionette movements'.[44] Given Eisenstein's overstatement of the influence of puppetry on Chinese or Japanese acting, the subtlety of the Kabuki actor's movements as demonstrated above is psychological, not mechanical, as a result of the actor's humanization of the mechanical elements of puppets.

The Principle of 'Disintegrated Acting'

In another important essay written in 1929 on the cinematographic principle and Japanese culture, Eisenstein again demonstrated

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his keen interest in 'the question of methods of montage in the Japanese theatre, particularly in acting'.[45] His view was again in conformity with his 'montage thinking' that dehumanized, in the style of mechanical puppets, the acting of the Kabuki actors. According to him, the 'first and most striking example' is 'the purely cinematographic method of "acting without transitions"', as shown in Sadanji's performance in *Narukami*, in which the actor's 'transition from drunkenness to madness' is solved by 'a mechanical cut'.[46]

Here Eisenstein is referring to the final moments in the play. A powerful Buddhist saint, waking from his drunkenness, realizes that he has been seduced, corrupted, and made to drink by a beautiful woman. The woman was sent by the Emperor to seduce the saint so that the imprisoned dragon gods could be released, and rain restored. Enraged by her treachery, the saint runs amuck, transforming himself into the thunder god (Narukami) and tossing the monks and rocks about the stage; he vows to pursue the woman in revenge.

The saint's transformation (*henge*) is realized by a quick change of make-up, wig, and costume (*hayagawari*), a typical Kabuki technique that enables the leading actor to play multiple roles in the same scene. Since the quick change in Sadanji's performance was concealed, as indicated by Eisenstein, by the *kurogo*, it was designed and enacted to signify the change from one role (of drunken Buddhist saint) to another (of furious thunder god). In Eisenstein's film *Old and New*, however, the change of facial expressions indicates a breaking up and contrast between the two extreme emotional states of the individual characters. As Eisenstein put it:

> In our new film [*Old and New*] I have eliminated the intervals between the sharply contrasting polar stages of a face's expression. . . . Here the psychological process of mingled faith and doubt is broken up [disintegrated] into its two extreme states of joy (confidence) and gloom (disillusionment).[47]

Most importantly, in the sudden change, seemingly without transition, even if the change of make-up and costume characterizes 'another stage (degree)' of the character's 'emotional state' as Eisenstein noted, it is not an artificial and mechanical cut or a montage of juxtaposition and collision. Rather, it is an inner and organic transformation (from drunkenness to fury) imbued with what Eisenstein would deplore as 'pieces of "emotional transitions"' in European acting traditions.[48] When Benito Ortolani speaks of the character undergoing 'a deep interior transformation' with the quick onstage costume change, he uses precisely the example of the main character in *Narukami*.[49]

Eisenstein, however, was, in effect, advocating a method of acting with emotional transitions solved by mechanical cuts, or what he called simply 'the method of "cut" acting', in contrast to the European method of acting with 'pieces of "emotional transitions"'. It is, in other words, a method of acting without *emotional* transitions.

In addition, Eisenstein found in Kabuki theatre 'the principle of "disintegrated" acting' that involves 'a disintegration of the transitions between movements'. Shōchō, for example, 'in depicting the dying daughter in *Yashaō* (*The Mask-Maker*), performed his role in pieces of acting completely detached from each other: acting with only the right arm; acting with one leg; acting with the neck and head only. . . . A breaking-up into shots'.[50]

Furthermore, Eisenstein saw a 'disintegration of the process of movement, viz., slow-motion', as shown in the famous scene of *hara-kiri* in *Chūshingura*.[51] Indeed, as Eisenstein suggested, the Japanese actor, freed from 'primitive naturalism', wins over the audience completely with the rhythm of his acting, making a scene based on 'the most consistent and detailed naturalism' of blood not only acceptable but aesthetically extremely attractive.[52]

That, however, does not make the Japanese method of acting conform to Eisenstein's theory of montage. As demonstrated previously, Sadanji's performance of Yuranosuke is a perfect example of 'emotional transitions' in the *haragei* style. In Shōchō's physical portrayal of the whole process of the death agony, or in the slow-motion of Enshō's enacting of *hara-kiri*, there was an

inner drive of emotional transitions that integrated those pieces of acting seemingly detached from one another outwardly and that sustained the process of the actor's movement as an organic whole.

At the end of his 1928 essay, before celebrating 'the unexpected juncture' of Kabuki and sound film, Eisenstein argued: 'There is no point in grumbling about the soullessness of the Kabuki or, even worse, in finding in Sadanji's acting a "*confirmation* of Stanislavsky's theory"!'[53] And at the conclusion of his 1929 essay, Eisenstein deplored the 'error' of what he called 'leftward-drifting' Kabuki:

> Instead of learning how to extract the principles and technique of their remarkable acting from the traditional feudal forms of their materials, the most progressive leaders of the Japanese theatre throw their energies into an adaptation of the spongy shapelessness of our own 'inner' naturalism. The results are tearful and saddening.[54]

Later, Eisenstein would call Sadanji the 'Stanislavsky of Toky'.[55] Having never seen any authentic (or canonical) performance of the Kabuki other than Sadanji's, Eisenstein, however, found that 'the classical canon' of Sadanji's acting 'gradually became disturbingly innovative' with an 'unexpected, unforeseeable and inappropriate psychologism', although he added that, in plays written in 'a more orthodox way', Sadanji was 'more strict' as shown in his performance of *Narukami*.[56] Here it should be noted briefly, stress on internalization was integral to the classical canon of Japanese acting as taught by the founding masters of traditional Japanese theatre from Zeami to Yoshizawa Ayame and developed by Ichikawa Danjūrō IX (1839–1903) and later by Ichikawa Sadanji II. Therefore, it was not something Eisenstein considered 'disturbingly innovative' as a result of the actor's imitation of European psychologism.

In fact, Japanese theatre historians such as Komiya Toyotaka and Toita Kōji have forcefully argued that Ichikawa Danjūrō's *haragei* was actually a return to the authentic tradition of Kabuki acting established by Sakata Tōjūrō (1647–1709) and Yoshizawa Ayame (1673–1729).[57] Perhaps it was not incidental that, in his conversation with Stanislavsky, Sadanji explained at great length to the Russian master the art of *haragei* in Kabuki acting.[58] Although I am convinced that the method of Kabuki acting has much more in common with Stanislavsky's theory than with Meyerhold's or Eisenstein's, I sympathize strongly with Eisenstein in his forceful argument that there is no point in finding in Kabuki acting a 'confirmation' of Stanislavsky's theory. By the same token, it is important to argue that, for understanding Kabuki theatre, it is even less helpful to find in it a 'confirmation' of Eisenstein's theory of montage.

Yet, like Meyerhold, Eisenstein must have had a similar epiphany, finding in Kabuki theatre a 'confirmation' of the ideas that had been fermenting in his mind.[59] The 'unexpected' was, after all, not at all unexpected; it was expected and desired by the observer of the observed, in the first place. Ultimately, however, Kabuki theatre with all its Japanese historical, cultural as well as theatrical peculiarities does not conform to Eisenstein's theory of montage. It is not Kabuki theatre that exemplifies 'the principle of "disintegrated" acting', but rather it is Eisenstein's preconditioned gaze through the prism of his ideas that disintegrated the organic whole of Kabuki acting into such pieces of mechanically cut shots and close-ups that could be positioned to exemplify and illustrate his theory of montage.

Eisenstein interpreted montage as an unexpected juxtaposition of conflicting shots, without transition between them. In his interpretation, the keywords are conflict, collision, juxtaposition, and disintegration or the breaking down of component elements. In his interpretation of Kabuki theatre and Japanese culture in general, Eisenstein saw only conflicts, collisions, juxtapositions, and disintegrations in total conformity with his theory of montage. Earle Ernst's analysis of the art of Kabuki performance, however, reveals not the 'juncture' but a deep divide that exists between Eisenstein's thinking of montage as a juxtaposition of conflicting mechanical cuts and the aesthetic of Kabuki that stresses the natural and organic tran-

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sition and movement between different elements. According to Ernst:

> There is the greatest freedom of movement between the actor's voice, the narrator's voice, and the music of the *samisen*. The narrator, like the *samisen*, can take over the weeping or the laughing of the actor without pause, and the actor similarly begins with no break between his speech and that of the narrator.

He adds that 'the fluid movement between speech, vocal music, and instrumental music has no parallel in the Western theatre'.[60]

Japanese or Chinese?

Having seen Mei Lanfang's performance in 1935, Eisenstein spoke thus of the Chinese theatre at a forum on the art of the Chinese actor:

> The Chinese theatre has opened our eyes, clarified our demarcation of the image in the domain of the Eastern theatre in general. I cannot speak for the others, but I had the notion at first that there was no difference between the Chinese and Japanese theatres. Now the difference is clear. It reminds me of the deep fundamental distinction between Greece and Rome in the history of art. The Chinese theatre I would compare to the golden age of Greek art, and the Japanese to the development of Roman art. I think we all sense in Roman art that there was a layer of mechanized stratification, a mathematical oversimplification that distinguished it from the Greek nature and singularity. . . . The remarkable vitality and organicity of Chinese theatre entirely distinguishes it from the mechanical and mathematical elements typical of other theatres. This was extremely valuable for me to observe and to sense.[61]

Here, seven years after experiencing Sadanji's Japanese theatre and celebrating 'the unexpected juncture' of Kabuki with his theory of montage or with his 'montage thinking', realized anew in 'a mathematically faultless instrument, the machine', Eisenstein praised the remarkable organic character of Chinese theatre and was speaking negatively of 'the mechanical and mathematical elements typical of other theatres', including Japanese.

Eisenstein's changed perception had much to do with the change of the overall orientation of his theory – a shift from his idea of Kabuki as a disintegrated 'monistic ensemble' to the internal unity and synthesis of Richard Wagner's *Gesamtkunstwerk*.[62]

This shift became even more apparent in the 1940s, when Eisenstein disavowed (albeit not completely) his work of 'collision montage' in the 1920s as extreme and excessive – exemplified in his conception of montage as conflict and collision between opposing elements. Thus, as Herbert Eagle notes, 'what Eisenstein in the 1920s termed collisions of opposed elements to form attractions, he now calls a "systematic unity of diverse components"'.[63] David Bordwell provides a convincing account of Eisenstein's shift in his aesthetic theory from his constructivist and formalist ideas of the 1920s to his later theory of synthesis, organic conception, and harmonic unity.[64] This shift had a significant effect on his reinterpretation of Chinese and Japanese theatre and arts.

In a lecture of 1933/1934 'On Recoil Movement', Eisenstein cited Sadanji's brilliant performance of what he called 'recoil movement' on the *hanamichi*:

> His matchless, increasingly effective run along the *hanamichi* ('the flower path'), along the bridge into the auditorium: three steps forward, a large step back; and again three forward, and a step – twice as large – back. All at a growing tempo. All at a growing intensity. And the comparatively short *hanamichi* . . . grew in length, and the short stage transition became a powerful event of enormous importance.[65]

In his incomplete manuscript, 'The Way of "Regress"', written in 1943, Eisenstein spoke again of the principle of 'recoil' (*otkaz*). According to him, as 'a solid rule of stage technology' known for a very long time, this principle 'is preserved in its purity primarily in the culture of Eastern theatre', and he had the opportunity to 'verify' it as 'an indestructible element in the expressive techniques of the two greatest representatives of the Eastern theatre' – Sadanji and Mei Lanfang – in his personal conversations with them during their performances in Moscow:

> Those who have seen these wonderful examples of the best theatrical culture of the East can hardly forget Sadanji's transitions in 'Chūshingura'

along 'the path for gifts' (*hanamichi* – the platform through the auditorium) and the unique elegance with which Mei Lanfang cuts himself in the throat with a curved sabre in one of his numerous female roles.

Sadanji's movement seemed endless due to the fact that he, making four steps forward, then took a step back, and then once again jumped forward – with renewed vigour, with a new focus, with a new upsurge of inspiration, including a new stage of performance of despair (four more steps), and so on and so forth.

Absolutely the same was done by Dr Mei, working on what we call 'countermovement', moving his head in one direction, his hand with a sword in another. Each one of such movements serves to inter-react to another.[66]

Here, in contrast to his previous views on Kabuki acting (in particular, Sadanji's performance) in the 1920s, which inevitably emphasize the opposition or collision in such techniques as 'recoil' or 'countermovement', Eisenstein now spoke of the importance of (emotional) transition – the 'inter' or 'in-between' of recoil or reaction movements, instead of 'the principle of "disintegrated" acting' or 'the method of "cut" acting' without emotional transitions. Again, this turning point was more a reflection of the new direction of Eisenstein's theory than a representation of his new and 'correct' interpretation of Japanese or Chinese theatre. In other words, it was still conditioned by the need to recontextualize and reconstitute these Asian elements in his own reformulated theory.

Also revealing is the case of the Japanese Kabuki actor Kawarazaki Chōjūrō IV (1902–1981) in Eisenstein's changing perception of Japanese theatre. After watching the performances offered by the Japanese Kabuki troupe between 18 and 22 September 1928, Eisenstein made six rough notes with texts and illustrations based on his close observation of Kawarazaki's performance, especially his demonstration of the Kabuki acting technique of the 'eye-crossing glare' (*nirami*), when the actor portrays the anger of the character.

Eisenstein wrote: 'Crossing the eye in the centre by the Japanese – organically absolutely correct formula'; 'Visual demonstration of the organic correctness of the Japanese technique of crossing the pupils inward in anger.'[67] He asked Kawarazaki if his execution of the eye-crossing was 'deliberate', but did not get a response from the young Japanese actor.[68]

In a conversation that took place in November 1928, Eisenstein mentioned that in October of the same year, two months after the Japanese Kabuki tour, at the opening of Eisenstein's Teaching-Research Workshop at GTK, Kawarazaki demonstrated to the students 'the training and acting methods that the Kabuki actors work with'.[69] According to Eisenstein: 'The extreme precision and measured treatment of every movement that characterize the classical work of Japanese theatre have enormous educational significance for our actors and this is even more true of the film actor than the stage actor.'[70]

In his writings and notes in 1928 and 1929 on Kabuki theatre as demonstrated by Sadanji, Shōchō, Enshō, and Kawarazaki, Eisenstein showed a clear understanding, albeit from the perspectives of his theory and practice, of the methods and principles of Kabuki. He spoke of 'the method of transference';[71] 'the purely cinematographic method of "acting without transitions"';[72] 'the principle of "disintegrated" acting';[73] and most of all, the fundamental principle – 'the reduction of visual and aural sensations to a common physiological denominator'.[74]

He urged the Japanese to learn 'how to extract the principles and technique of their remarkable acting from the traditional feudal forms of their materials'.[75] In 'The Filmic Fourth Dimension', written in 1929, he asserted that his 'characterization of the Kabuki theatre proved prophetic', underlining the 'Kabuki method' as 'the basis for the montage of *Old and New*'.[76]

Yet, in 1947, in the notes to his book, *Method* ('Grundproblem'), Eisenstein took a different approach to the 'method' of Kabuki, arguing that in the Japanese schools of Kabuki the method of transferring the actor's art was still preserved in the transfer of the actor's experience from generation to generation. He continued:

They do not have methods and the formulated 'principles' of the actor's techniques. They do not

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even understand the 'divisibility of the principles of what they do. Instead, they go through the system of performance from childhood. Imitation of animals, 'playing bunnies, frogs, etc.' – one of the first steps and up to the canonized (!) performed roles. This was told me in 1928 during a tour of the Kabuki (Sadanji) in Moscow, by the young actor Kawarazaki – from [the stories] about the *principles* of techniques of the (highly accomplished) acting and movement of the Japanese actor, it was impossible to learn *anything* formulated: their method does not know this![77]

It is true that, in Kabuki theatre, acting techniques were passed from generation to generation on the basis of the actor's experience. However, that does not mean that the Kabuki actors do not have their own methods and formulated principles. It is not that they do not understand the so-called 'divisibility' or 'separability' of the principles of their art; it is simply that the principles underlying their art as an organic whole cannot be disintegrated, divided, isolated, and detached from their organic experience, artistic and cultural, in the same way as Eisenstein constructed his method or theory of montage by disintegrating the organic whole into divisions and juxtapositions in collision with one another.

In contrast to the Japanese method, or rather their alleged lack of method, Eisenstein spoke highly of the Chinese method as demonstrated by Mei Lanfang: 'Here everything was done with a stroke of genius and everything known precisely'.[78] Eisenstein's appraisal of Mei Lanfang's art notwithstanding, the Chinese actor, like the Japanese actor, began to learn his craftsmanship in his childhood from his masters, and this craftsmanship was accordingly passed from generation to generation. The Japanese actor knew about the Japanese method no less precisely than his Chinese counterpart did about the Chinese method. Like his Japanese counterpart, the Chinese actor could not articulate his methods and principles logically and precisely in accordance with the language of Eisenstein's theory. Eisenstein noted this about Mei Lanfang in 1943:

Dr Mei, usually infinitely quiet, smooth, and polite, pleasantly got excited, trying to determine as accurately as possible this case [what Eisenstein calls 'countermovement' as demonstrated in one of Mei's acting episodes], and countless others in the area of application of the technique that interested me. But just the opposite – a polysemantic picturesque approximateness – is precisely what is habitual and peculiar to a Chinese speech, unlike the precision of logical expression – a goal that a European speech sets for itself. Sensual thinking reflected in the diffusiveness of the speech has its difficulties in everyday life and communication![79]

Precisely due to the 'sensual thinking' of the Chinese language and the language of Chinese performance, as exemplified in Mei Lanfang's speech and acting, it had to be translated and displaced into the logical and intellectual precision of a European language or, more precisely, the language of Eisenstein's theory. Mei Lanfang was unable to do so precisely because his performance resisted the language of Eisenstein's theory. As a result, Eisenstein was unable to understand Mei Lanfang's language – or rather, just as he did with Japanese performance, he understood (translated and displaced) it in terms of the logic of his own theory.[80]

In his late career, Eisenstein turned increasingly to Chinese thought and art, especially the Chinese philosophical idea of *yin* and *yang*. But he was more interested in the aspect of unity or harmonization – not opposition and conflict – in the dialectical relation between *yin* and *yang*. In 1940, he wrote about Lafcadio Hearn's perception of what Eisenstein called the Japanese 'capacity to detect audiovisual correspondences':

Lafcadio Hearn has taken us to the Orient, where, in Chinese teaching, audiovisual correspondences are not only present but are indeed laid down in a specific canon. Here, too, they are subject to the principles of Yin and Yang, which pervade the entire system of Chinese philosophy.[81]

In 1947, in his notes on the figurative significance of 'circle', Eisenstein refers to *yang* and *yin* as the form and substance of the circle. For him, this circle is not only necessary for the 'completion' of a male–female artist, but also for the actor to implement protean ability – 'omnifigurativeness', the ability to become anything and anyone.[82] He refers to

the phenomenon of *Tao* (*Dao*) that gives rise to and encompasses everything, capable of taking any disguise. For Eisenstein, the circle that miraculously completes the unity of *yang* and *yin* is best illustrated in the art of female impersonation by actors not only from Asia such as Mei Lanfang and Shōchō, but also from the European tradition, from the Greeks to Shakespeare.[83] Here his emphasis was on the unity, not the collision, of *yang* and *yin*, and on the complete identification of the female impersonator with the character in the art of female impersonation. Eisenstein no longer spoke of Shōchō's 'disintegrated' acting; he spoke, instead, of the unity of *yang* and *yin* in his female impersonation.

In his last work, 'The Music of Landscape and the Fate of Montage Counterpoint at a New Stage' (1945), Eisenstein spoke again of what he called the 'compositional canon' of the Chinese and the Japanese, which 'proceeds totally from those same ancient principles of Taoism – from the principles of *yin* and *yang* and the idea of montage collision and disintegration'.[84] Instead of stressing the opposition between *yin* and *yang*, he now underlined the principle of 'the *mutual penetration of those two opposite principles*' and '*the laws of montage combinations*';[85] instead of a montage of juxtapositions without transition between opposed elements, he now spoke of 'the transition of opposites into each other';[86] instead of admiring the method of mechanical cuts in Kabuki and attacking the method of 'emotional transitions', he marvelled at the wonder of the Chinese 'emotional' landscape.[87]

For Eisenstein, the main problem for his fellow Soviet film directors was clarifying 'the specific nature of the essence' of this young art of cinema. At this point, the culture of the East, 'especially the most ancient culture and cultural traditions coming from China', was 'particularly valuable'. In this respect, his personal research provided a valuable lesson:

> What is also characteristic in this respect is that in my personal research during the course of all these years I moved from the more *superficial* and *mechanical* conceptions, characteristic of the *Japanese* treatment of a heritage received from China, to the *organic essence of the conceptions of the Chinese themselves*. This is a very natural process in the investigation of an object, inevitably going from *appearance* to *essence*, from *sign* to *principle*, from *device* to *method*. This method passed from the more popular and simplified sphere of Eastern culture – from the Japanese – to the profound feeling for principles of China. From the '*Romans*' *of the East—the Japanese—to the Eastern 'Hellenism' of Ancient China*.[88]

In his final years, Eisenstein developed an intense interest in ancient Chinese landscape painting. According to him, he became interested in the nature of the composition of Chinese landscape much later in his career, when he studied his own pictures, and it had no influence on his cinematic work.[89] In the new stage of his theory on 'audiovisual cinematography' as 'the cinematography of the organic fusion of sound and representation', Eisenstein drew heavily on the methods of Chinese landscape.[90] Once again, an Asian billy-goat had produced milk for Eisenstein, but this time the composition and taste of the milk had changed, though the method of 'genetic re-engineering' remained the same.

Eisenstein's last words on Asian culture – '*our theme* of the methods of Chinese landscape' (in the 'Postscript' of his last work, 'The Music of Landscape') succinctly summarize his practical, self-interested approach to Asian culture.[91] This approach was exemplified in his study of his old film, *Potemkin*. He claimed the following:

> Let us now look at the past and we will be convinced that the 'mist' in *Potemkin* continues the tradition of the most ancient examples of Chinese landscape painting, as China cultivated it, and whose traditions were later adopted by Japan.[92]

In my view, however, it is not the 'mist' in *Potemkin* that continues the tradition of ancient Chinese landscape painting. It was Eisenstein who projected on to the Chinese painting the 'mist' in *Potemkin*; or, more precisely, the subjective insight he gained from his study of his old film from the new perspective of his evolving theory. Thus, in his mind's eye, as his gaze unwound a piece

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of ancient Chinese landscape painting (scroll painting), Eisenstein heard the familiar visual music he had composed in his mind for modern sound cinema.

Conclusion

In his study of Eisenstein's cinema, David Bordwell seeks to fit Eisenstein's theory and practice into traditions within Soviet and European culture, saying that his Eisenstein is 'an aesthetic opportunist, inspired by all the arts, bending inherited formulas and propagandist demands to the purpose of creating a galvanizing cinematic experience'.[93] Likewise, without considering Eisenstein's appropriation of Eastern sources, Mikhail Iampolski sees Eisenstein's theory developed from his early constructivist stage to his later stage of all-embracing synthesis as a massive appropriation of fragmented elements and quotations, decontextualized from their original sources.[94] According to Iampolski: 'A synthesizing theory should always pre-exist, because this new synthesis is possible only as an anamnesis – as a recollection [of the pre-existing synthesizing theory]. And this recollection is connected to a social utopia.'[95]

Eisenstein himself saw clearly the importance of his method of appropriation and contextualization in the construction of his theory: 'To bring all this together, to put all this in a needed "context", one in relation to another – I consider this task to be no less ambitious [than the creation of a new theory]'.[96] Prior to his experience of the Kabuki theatre, Eisenstein had essentially formulated his theory of montage. His interpretation of it from the perspective of his own theory displaced its techniques and principles from its historical and aesthetic contexts. Predicated upon his 'montage thinking', his interpretation disintegrated those techniques and principles that are integral to the Kabuki theatre as an organic whole and reconstituted them in the context of his own evolving and synthesizing theory.

Furthermore, Japanese culture as a whole was under the synthesizing gaze of Eisenstein's 'montage thinking', as he declared that 'the most varied branches of Japanese culture are permeated by a purely cinematic element and by its basic nerve – montage'.[97] In the final analysis, Eisenstein's interpretation of Kabuki theatre as of Japanese culture as a whole was essentially a projection of his own theory. 'The extremes meet' in an 'unexpected' juncture,[98] but only in Eisenstein's imagination by way of displacement.

Notes and References

1. S. M. Eisenstein, 'An Unexpected Juncture', in S. M. Eisenstein, *Writings, 1922–34*, Vol. 1 of *Selected Works*, ed. and trans. Richard Taylor (London: BFI Publishing, 1988), p. 115. Eisenstein's essay, 'Nezhdannyy styk', was first published in *Zhizn' iskusstva* (*The Life of Art*), XXXIV (19 August 1928), p. 6–9. In Jay Leyda's translation of the same essay, the billy-goat analogy is left out altogether: 'The Unexpected', in Sergei Eisenstein, *Film Form: Essays in Film Theory*, ed. and trans. Jay Leyda (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1949), p. 18–27.
2. Eisenstein, 'An Unexpected Juncture', p. 115.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p. 122. Emphases in original.
5. See Norma Levine, 'The Influence of the Kabuki Theater on the Films of Eisenstein', *Modern Drama*, XII, No. 1 (Spring 1969), p. 18–29; Georges Banu, 'Eisenstein, le Japon et quelques techniques du montage', in Denis Bablet, ed., *Collage et montage au théâtre et dans les autres arts durant les années vingt* (Lausanne: La Cité, 1978), p. 135–44; William F. Van Wert, 'Eisenstein and Kabuki', *Criticism*, XX, No. 4 (Fall 1978), p. 403–20; Steve Odin, 'The Influence of Traditional Japanese Aesthetics on the Film Theory of Sergei Eisenstein', *Journal of Aesthetic Education*, XXIII, No. 2 (Summer 1989), p. 69–81.
6. Eisenstein, 'An Unexpected Juncture', p. 117.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid., p. 118.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid., p. 119. Emphases in original. Here Eisenstein refers to the third act of *Chūshingura*, in which Ichikawa Enshō III (1894–1947) performed Enya Hangan's *hara-kiri* as Eisenstein described in his essay, 'An Unexpected Juncture'. On Ichikawa Enshō's own account of his performance in Russia, especially his performance of Hangan's *hara-kiri*, see Ōkuma Toshio, ed., *Ichikawa Sadanji kabuki kikō* (Records of the Tour of Ichikawa Sadanji's Kabuki Troupe, Tokyo: Heibonsha Ōkuma, 1929), p. 3. In Jay Leyda's translation, the actor is incorrectly identified as Ichikawa Ennosuke (or Ichikawa Ennosuke II, 1888–1963). 'The Unexpected', p. 23. Ichikawa Ennosuke II, who also had the name Ichikawa Danko I for the first eighteen years (1892–1910) of his acting career, was not a member of the visiting Japanese troupe. His son, Ichikawa Danko II (1908–1963), who later became Ichikawa Danshirō III, was one of the young actors of the troupe. A sketch by the Russian painter Emil Wiesel (1866–1943) of the visiting actor in the role of one of the retainers in *Chūshingura* was noted with the actor's name both in Japanese and in Russian.

13. Eisenstein, 'The Filmic Fourth Dimension', in *Film Form: Essays in Film Theory*, p. 64.
14. Ibid., p. 66. Emphases in original.
15. William P. Malm, 'Music in the Kabuki Theater', in James R. Brandon, William P. Malm, and Donald H. Shively, *Studies in Kabuki: Its Acting, Music, and Historical Context* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1978), p. 136–59; *Nagauta: the Heart of Kabuki Music* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1973), p. 108–11.
16. Malm, 'Music in the Kabuki Theater', p. 144–53.
17. Malm, *Nagauta: the Heart of Kabuki Music*, p. 112.
18. Eisenstein, 'An Unexpected Juncture', p. 117. Emphases in original.
19. Malm, Nagauta, *The Heart of Kabuki Music*, p. 50.
20. Ibid., p. 216.
21. Earle Ernst, *The Kabuki Theatre* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1974), p. 113.
22. Ibid., p. 115.
23. Ibid., p. 120.
24. Eisenstein, 'An Unexpected Juncture', p. 119.
25. S. M. Eisenstein, 'Statement on Sound', in Eisenstein, *Writings, 1922–34*, p. 114. Emphases in original. This statement first appeared in a German translation on 28 July 1928. The Russian original was first published in *Zhizn' Iskusstva*, 5 August 1928. Thus, it was written before Eisenstein saw Sadanji perform in Russia between 1 and 26 August 1928.
26. Eisenstein, 'An Unexpected Juncture', p. 119. Emphases in original.
27. Ibid., p. 121. Emphases in original.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid., p. 120.
30. Eisenstein, 'Vertical Montage', in *Towards a Theory of Montage*, Vol. 2 of *Selected Works*, ed. Michael Glenny and Richard Taylor, trans. Michael Glenny (London: BFI Publishing, 1991), p. 345.
31. Eisenstein, 'An Unexpected Juncture', p. 119.
32. Kishi Fumikazu, *Edo no enkinhō: ukie no shikaku* (Tokyo: Keisō Shobō, 1994), p. 41–132; Yoriko Kobayashi-Sato and Mia M. Mochizuki, 'Perspective and Its Discontents, or St Lucy's Eyes', in Dana Leibsohn and Jeanette Favrot Peterson, ed., *Seeing across Cultures in the Early Modern World* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), p. 32–9; Yoriko Kobayashi-Sato, 'An Assimilation between Two Different Cultures: Japan and the West during the Edo Period', in Michael North, ed., *Artistic and Cultural Exchanges between Europe and Asia, 1400–1900: Rethinking Markets, Workshops, and Collections* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), p. 170–7; Timon Screech, 'The Meaning of Western Perspective in Edo Popular Culture', *Archives of Asian Art*, XLVII (1994), p. 59–60.
33. Kobayashi-Sato and Mochizuki, p. 38.
34. Eisenstein, 'An Unexpected Juncture', p. 118.
35. Chelsea Foxwell, 'The Double Identity of Chūshingura: Theater and History in Nineteenth-Century Prints', *Impressions*, XXVI (2004), p. 36–8.
36. Ernst, *The Kabuki Theatre*, p. 55.
37. Ibid., p. 134. Emphases added.
38. Eisenstein, 'An Unexpected Juncture', p. 122. See also Jay Leyda's translation: 'Montage thinking – the height of differentiatedly sensing and resolving the "organic" world – is realized anew in a mathematic faultlessly performing instrument-machine. Recalling the words of Kleist, so close to the Kabuki theater, which was born from marionettes . . . ' ('The Unexpected', p. 27).
39. Francis Toshiyuki Motofuji, 'A Study of Narukami: an Eighteenth-Century Kabuki Play', unpublished PhD thesis, Stanford University, 1964, p. 35.
40. James R. Brandon, 'The Theft of *Chūshingura*: or the Great Kabuki Caper', in James R. Brandon, ed., *Chūshingura: Studies in Kabuki and the Puppet Theater* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1982), p. 119.
41. Ibid., p. 129–30.
42 Samuel L. Leiter, *New Kabuki Encyclopedia: a Revised Adaptation of Kabuki Jiten* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1997), p. 153.
43. K. N., 'The Strict Laws of Rhythm', *Krasnaya Gazeta* (25 August 1928) in Matsushima Shisho *et al*., ed., *Grand Kabuki: Overseas Tours 1928–1993* (Tokyo: Shochiku, 1994), p. 9.
44. Eisenstein, 'Lecture on Biomechanics, March 28, 1935', in Alma Law and Mel Gordon, *Meyerhold, Eisenstein, and Biomechanics: Actor Training in Revolutionary Russia* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland, 1996), p. 214.
45. Eisenstein, 'The Cinematographic Principle and the Ideogram' in *Film Form: Essays in Film Theory*, p. 41–2.
46. Ibid., p. 42; 'Za kadrom' (Beyond the Shot), in *Izbrannye proizvedenia* (*Selected Work*s), Vol. 2 (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1964), p. 294; 'Beyond the Shot', in Eisenstein, *Writings, 1922–34*, p. 148.
47. Eisenstein, 'The Cinematographic Principle and the Ideogram', p. 42; 'Za kadrom', p. 294–5; 'Beyond the Shot', p. 148.
48. Eisenstein, 'The Cinematographic Principle and the Ideogram', p. 42.
49. Benito Ortolani, *The Japanese Theatre from Shamanistic Ritual to Contemporary Pluralism* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1990), p. 183.
50. Eisenstein, 'The Cinematographic Principle and the Ideogram', p. 43. Here Eisenstein referred to the performance by Ichikawa Shōchō II (1886–1940) in *Shuzenji Monogatari*, a new Kabuki (*shin kabuki*) play by Okamoto Kidō. Shōchō played Katsura, one of the two daughters of Yashaō, the mask-maker played by Sadanji.
51. Ibid. See also note 12, above.
52. Eisenstein, 'Beyond the Shot', p. 149.
53. Eisenstein, 'An Unexpected Juncture', p. 122. Emphasis in original.
54. Eisenstein, 'The Cinematographic Principle and the Ideogram', p. 44.
55. Eisenstein, *Beyond the Stars: the Memoirs of Sergei Eisenstein*, Vol. 4 of *Selected Works*, ed. Richard Taylor, trans. William Powell (London: BFI Publishing, 1995), p. 669.
56. Ibid.
57. Komiya Toyotaka, ed., *Japanese Music and Drama in the Meiji Era*, trans. and adapt. Edward G. Seidensticker and Donald Keene (Tokyo: Ōbunsha, 1956), p. 34, 37, 39, 201.
58. Ōkuma, ed., *Ichikawa Sadanji kabuki kikō*, p. 437–47; Ichikawa Sadanji, *Sadanji geidan* (*Sadanji on His Art*, Tokyo: Nankōsha, 1936), p. 203–8.
59. In 1935, Meyerhold reflected on his direct experience of seeing a Japanese troupe perform in Paris in 1930: 'What was decisive for me was that, when I saw the Kabuki theatre in Paris, everything presented itself to me in a new light, and I saw there certain elements that were very dear to me. And I received a confirmation of the ideas that were fermenting in my mind.' See V. E. Meyerhold, *Tvorcheskoe nasledie V. E. Meierhol'da* (*The Creative Legacy of V. E. Meyerhold*), ed. L. D. Vendrovskaia and A. V. Fevral'skii (Moskva: Vserossiiskoe teatral'noe obshchestvo, 1978), p. 87; *Écrits sur le Théâtre*, Vol. 4, trans. and ed. Béatrice Picon-Vallin (Lausanne: L'Age d'Homme, 1992), p. 26).

60. Ernst, *The Kabuki Theatre*, p. 119.

61. 'Zhivye impulsy iskusstva' (Live Impulses of Art), ed. Lars Kleberg, *Iskusstvo kino* (*Cinema Art*), No. 1 (1992), p. 136; 'An Evening for the Final Conclusion of the Visit of Mei Lan-fang's Theatre in the USSR, April 14, 1935', in Min Tian, ed., *China's Greatest Operatic Male Actor of Female Roles: Documenting the Life and Art of Mei Lanfang, 1894–1961* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2010), p. 173.

62. In an article (written in the 1940s) on Wagner's operas, especially on his production of *The Valkyrie*, Eisenstein spoke of the task of creating 'internal unity of sound and sight' in the production and of the vital importance of the problem of 'the synthesis' of the arts to cinematography. He thus defined 'the aim of modern cinematography': 'Men, music, light, landscape, colour, and motion brought into one integral whole by a single piercing emotion, by a single theme and idea.' See: Eisenstein, 'The Embodiment of a Myth', in *Film Essays, with a Lecture*, ed. Jay Leyda (London: Dennis Dobson, 1968), p. 85.

63. Herbert Eagle, 'Introduction', in Sergei Eisenstein, *Nonindifferent Nature*, trans. Herbert Marshall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. xviii.

64. David Bordwell, 'Eisenstein's Epistemological Shift', *Screen*, XV, No. 4 (Winter 1974), p. 32–46; *The Cinema of Eisenstein* (New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 163–98, especially, p. 195–8.

65. Eisenstein, 'On Recoil Movement', in Alma Law and Mel Gordon, *Meyerhold, Eisenstein, and Biomechanics: Actor Training in Revolutionary Russia,* p. 196; 'Ob otkaznom dvizhenii' ('On the Recoil Movement'), in Sergei Eisenstein, *Izbrannye proizvedenia* (*Selected Works*), Vol. 4 (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1966), p. 84. A more precise translation of the last sentence: 'The short transition became in power an event of enormous importance.'

66. Sergei Eisenstein, *Metod*, in two volumes, Vol. 1, *Grundproblem*, ed. N. I. Kleiman (Moscow: Muzei Kino/Eizenshtein-Tsentr, 2002), p. 201–02; *Metod*, in four volumes, ed. Oksana Bulgakowa, Vol. 2 (Berlin: Potemkin Press, 2008), p. 439. Eisenstein referred to Mei Lanfang's performance in *The Death of the Tiger General*.

67. Naum Kleiman, 'Giaza Kawarazaki' ('The Eyes of Kawarazaki'), *Kinovedcheskie zapiski*, LXXV (2005), p. 67.

68. Ibid., p. 69. In 1972, an exhibition of Eisenstein's work took place in Tokyo to celebrate his 75th anniversary. Shortly before the close of the exhibition, Kawarazaki appeared, and one of the organizers of the exhibition, Naum Kleiman, notes: 'We meet the famous actor by the entrance. We are ready to tell him about every detail and all that he wants to know. And I have prepared a few questions, among them – about the angry (crossed) look. . . . Alas, Kawarazaki refuses our services. Politely but firmly, he says that he wants to see the exhibition in solitude' (Kleiman, 'Giaza Kawarazaki', p. 76). Kawarazaki stopped and looked closely at Eisenstein's photos of Kabuki actors; among these are the images of Kawarazaki in costume and make-up, and in the window below it is the narrow strips of paper with drawings of eyes. Kawarazaki then bowed before Eisenstein's image shown on a monitor as if in a Buddhist prayer. Kleiman notes: 'Slowly turns to us, standing at some distance. His eyes are not visible behind thick glasses. Tilts a slender figure, ceremoniously saying goodbye. Easily down the stairs and dissolves in the crowd at the Gindzu [Ginza]' ('Giaza Kawarazaki', p. 77).

69. 'The GTK Teaching and Research Workshop: a Conversation with the Leader of the Workshop, S. M. Eisenstein', in Eisenstein, *Writings, 1922–34*, p. 129; originally published in *Sovetskii zkran* (*Soviet Screen*), No. 48 (27 November 1928), p. 4.

70. Ibid.

71. Eisenstein, 'An Unexpected Juncture', p. 118.

72. Eisenstein, 'The Cinematographic Principle and the Ideogram', p. 42.

73. Ibid., p. 43.

74. Ibid., p. 44.

75. Ibid., p. 44; 'Beyond the Shot', p. 150; 'Za kadrom', p. 296.

76. Eisenstein, 'The Filmic Fourth Dimension', p. 64, 67.

77. Eisenstein, *Metod*, Vol. 2, *Tainy masterov*, ed. N. I. Kleiman (Moscow: Muzei Kino/Eizenshtein-Tsentr, 2002), p. 394–5; *Metod*, Vol. 3, ed. Oksana Bulgakowa (Berlin: Potemkin Press, 2008), p. 944. Emphases in original.

78. Eisenstein, *Metod*, Vol. 2, *Tainy masterov*, p. 395; *Metod*, Vol. 3, p. 944.

79. Eisenstein, *Metod*, Vol. 1, *Grundproblem*, p. 202; *Metod*, Vol. 2, ed. Oksana Bulgakowa (Berlin: Potemkin Press, 2008), p. 439.

80. For a critique of Eisenstein's interpretation of Mei Lanfang's art, see Min Tian, *Mei Lanfang and the Twentieth-Century International Stage: Chinese Theatre Placed and Displaced* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), p. 146–7, 166–9.

81. Eisenstein, 'Vertical Montage', p. 340.

82. Eisenstein, *Metod*, Vol. 3, p. 983.

83. Ibid., p. 984.

84. Eisenstein, *Nonindifferent Nature*, p. 238.

85. Ibid., p. 238–9. Emphases in original.

86. Ibid., p. 243.

87. Ibid., p. 252.

88. Ibid.

89. Ibid.

90. Ibid., p. 226.

91. Ibid., p. 395. Emphases added.

92. Ibid., p. 229.

93. Bordwell, 'Preface 2005', in *The Cinema of Eisenstein*, p. xvi.

94. Mikhail, Iampolski, 'Theory as Quotation', *October*, XLVIII (1999), p. 51–68.

95. Ibid., p. 60.

96. Sergei Eisenstein, 'My Art in Life' (1927), *Kinovedcheskie zapiski*, Vol. 36–37 (1997–98), p. 14, quoted by Iampolski, 'Theory as Quotation', p. 53.

97. Eisenstein, 'Beyond the Shot', p. 149–50.

98. Eisenstein, 'An Unexpected Juncture', p. 122.