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Introduction

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This is a report of the inter-university research project *Rethinking South Asian Performing Arts (Minami Ajia Ongaku Geinō Kenkyū no Saikentō)* at the National Museum of Ethnology. In 2000, I invited twelve of my Japanese colleagues interested in the performing arts of South Asia to form a study group for this project. The group was in existence for two years (2000-02), during which time 11 meetings were held and 21 papers were presented by its members and guest speakers.

My intention of forming this group was twofold. First, I wanted to provide a continuous venue in which scholars from different academic backgrounds could share and discuss each other's methodologies and findings. Japanese scholars interested in South Asian performing arts were divided into two largely exclusive groups: ethnomusicologists and anthropologists. It is true that the methodology and perspectives of these two camps were vastly different and that these differences made interaction between them difficult, although sporadic efforts were made to bridge the gap and a few individuals were adept in both disciplines. However, the lack of interaction was not only due to these real differences but also to a mutual characterization, an image of incompatibility, which continues to haunt us. In terms of orientation, the former has been seen as music-centered whereas the latter has been viewed as context-oriented. For many anthropologists, ethnomusicologists analyzed the intrinsic and self-contained features of music per se by using highly specialized skills of transcription and formal analysis. When encountering ethnomusicologists, anthropologists make sheepish disclaimers such as "I don't know anything about music" or "I can't even read musical notation" more frequently than one might expect. At the same time, they also feel that ethnomusicological output is too specialized and esoteric to be useful for anthropological cultural analysis. Similarly, ethnomusicologists may lament the fact that anthropologists' thick description of the context of music making lacks any mention of the music "itself." They may also feel that anthropologists do not take music seriously enough even when they do talk about it. The differences mentioned above are schematic and exaggerated, but such unfortunate portrayals of each other have been so strong and pervasive that they have prevented practitioners of both disciplines from coming together in a meaningful fashion.

The music-centered approach in ethnomusicology was seriously questioned in North America in the 1960s, and the idea of music as a self-contained unit for analysis was soon no longer accepted. In the study of the South Asian musical tradition, in particular, the publication of Daniel Neuman's *The Life of Music in North India* in 1980 was a pivotal event marking this shift of direction and bringing together two streams of Indian music scholarship. Neuman's seminal work was continued and enriched, not necessarily in the

immediate topic of inquiry but in terms of general orientation, by a host of scholars such as, Lorraine Sakata (1983), Charles Capwell (1986), Joan Erdman (1987), Regula Qureshi (1987), and Carol Babiracki (1991) among many others. No such “anthropological turn” occurred in earnest in Japan, where the trend in North America did not have such a decisive impact and those not content with the music-centered approach were few and isolated, with some geared toward other disciplines. As a result, there were few productive exchanges between these two camps. The purpose of the present study group was to provide a continuous venue for discussion among scholars of various disciplines in the hope of discovering points of convergence and attaining novel perspectives that might emerge from such active and continual interaction. I strongly believed that both anthropologists and ethnomusicologists had much to learn from each other, and the members were selected in such a way as to represent both groups more or less equally.

My other aim was to make Japanese scholarship accessible outside Japan by publishing a collection of essays in English. Work on South Asian performing arts by Japanese scholars is produced and consumed primarily within Japan, and is virtually unknown outside its national boundary because of the language barrier. Japanese scholars form a tightly knit and relatively closed academic circle, and the vast majority of their work is written in Japanese and seldom translated into other languages. Criticism has been directed to outside scholars who use their research results primarily for their own academic consumption, therefore shortchanging the scholars and performers of South Asia. While this criticism was initially directed against European and American scholars, it also applies to all researchers, including Japanese scholars and students.

I am painfully aware, however, that translation of writings in Japanese into other languages (English in particular) alone will not solve the problem and that it has deeply complex ethical and political implications of its own. Many scholars in South Asia are conversant with English while the majority of the carriers and practitioners of the performing arts that have been studied by them are not. Making the outcome of research (knowledge) available only in English therefore empowers some while marginalizing others, unwittingly facilitating the perpetuation of existing unequal relationships. Even if we confine our discussion to academia, not every scholar uses English as the medium of communication, and an attempt to prioritize English in any given local context could be problematic. In the state of Tamil Nadu, for example, choice of language itself is politically charged and therefore highly sensitive, and says more than a mere preference for means of communication. Admittedly, no easy solution exists for this situation, but we must at least be aware of the implications and effects of our choices.

Yet such concern for potential problems should not dampen the spirit of endeavor toward more inclusive, socially conscientious and inter-culturally referenced scholarship. Given the current inaccessibility of Japanese academic output in general, I believe that a publication such as this should be considered a step toward such scholarship and a more interactional relationship with native scholars and practitioners of performing arts. We all know more than ever that studying a culture is never a given right, and that we should constantly reexamine the rights to which we are entitled and, more importantly, the responsibilities we should assume when studying South Asian performing arts. One cannot

even start imagining a solution without a commitment to open up channels of communication in not one but multiple sites. The scope of this report is admittedly limited but efforts should be made at all fronts.

Japanese Interest in South Asian Performing Arts

South Asia has been a subject of great interest in Japan owing to its connection with Buddhism. As the place of its origin, India in particular has attracted many monks, scholars and laypeople from various Buddhist sects. They made pilgrimages to such famous archaeological sites as Sarnath and Bodhgaya. Until 1969, traveling abroad was strictly controlled by the government, and restricted for diplomatic, business, and research purposes. A prohibitive restriction on the amount of foreign currency to be taken out of Japan (until 1978) and the low value of the Japanese currency made traveling abroad rather difficult for Japanese until around 1980. Encouraged by a stronger yen in the 1980s, many Japanese (including hippies and student backpackers) in search of an alternative destination and lifestyle started visiting India. Many popular travelogues written during this period by writers, artists and journalists (see, for example, Yokoo 1977; Kono and Yamashita 1983; Shiina 1988) also instilled an interest in India.

It was Fumio Koizumi (1927-1983) who sparked a great deal of interest in Indian music, both within and outside the academic circle. Koizumi, who later became a professor of music at the Tokyo University of Arts, had selected India as his first research site outside Japan. Based on his eighteen months of fieldwork in Madras (now Chennai) and Lucknow in 1957-58 and his subsequent visits to India (1971, 1974, and every year between 1977 and 1982), he wrote a series of inspiring articles on practice and theory of two main classical (Karnatak and Hindustani) music traditions (Koizumi 1979, 1985), which became standard readings for students in ethnomusicology and others interested in Indian music. He also wrote a series of short personable essays and travelogues about his experiences in India (1978). With his charisma, broad knowledge, and exceptional ability to communicate with laypeople, Koizumi became a media celebrity of sorts. His weekly FM radio program *Sekai no Minzoku Ongaku* ("Ethnic Music of the World") was immensely popular and influential, and he also appeared on TV frequently. His writings and other activities firmly established the category of "ethnic music" (*minzoku ongaku*) in Japan in the 1970s. Almost single-handedly, Koizumi opened the reluctant ears of the general public to non-Western music, and "ethnic music" became a genre of common consumption and a legitimate subject for serious study. This is one of his most striking and lasting achievements, given that Western classical music was the most widely accepted, and staunchly guarded, musical reference point against which all other forms of music were evaluated. His influence was so pervasive that virtually all those who became interested in the academic study of South Asian music and dance were influenced by his writings and other media presentations. Three contributors to this volume (Yuko Matoba, Takako Tanaka, and Takako Inoue) were his students, while the rest were inspired by his writings.

Partly due to Koizumi's commanding presence, a good number of Japanese youth were attracted to non-Western music and some became performers themselves of Indian

instruments such as *sitār*, *sarod*, *esrāj*, *bānsurī* and *vīṇā*. Cafes and bars featuring live ethnic music emerged in urban centers, especially Tokyo, providing performance venues for Japanese musicians. The restaurant Raoya (1978-98) was particularly popular. Its owner Tadahiro Wakabayashi was an aficionado and player of various non-Western music genres who also established the Ethnic Music Center, offering regular classes on Indian and other musical traditions. Jin Nakamura, who studied *sitār* and *esrāj* at Visva Bharati University in Bengal in 1973-83, has been teaching Hindustani music at his own school in Tokyo (J.I.N. Music Association) since his return to Japan in 1983. In western Japan, Hiroshi ('Hiros') Nakagawa, who studied Indian music theory at Benares Hindu University (1981-84) and trained in *bānsurī* playing under Hariprasad Chaurasia, has been actively involved in the performance and promotion of Indian music for many years. The relocation of musicians of South Asian origin to Japan, including Sushuma Omata (1970s, *sitār*, from Nepal), Premadasa Hegoda (*sitār*, from Sri Lanka), Amit Roy (*sitār* and *tablā*, from India), and Kul Bhushan Bhargava (*tablā* and Hindustani vocal music, from India) further facilitated the learning of Indian music in Japan.

The study of Indian dance started when Kiitsu Sakakibara went to India in 1953 to study at Tagore University. Sakakibara had established the Tokyo Dance School (Sakakibara Gakuen) in 1949, where dances from India, Indonesia, Thailand, China, Korea, and Japan including Okinawa were taught. After his stay in India, he choreographed the dance for the film *Shaka* (Buddha) in 1961. Indian dance attracted many young Japanese women and some became teachers themselves. Some early dancers include Vasanthamala, Yakshini Yazawa, Yumiko Tanaka and Kyoko Nobi. Vasanthamala established the first school of Indian dance (VasantaMala Dance Company) in 1968, and later veered into contemporary dance forms incorporating Indian dance techniques, together with her daughter Shakti who studied contemporary dance, jazz dance and Indian philosophy in the US. Tanaka learned *bharata nāṭyam* at Kalakshetra (a music and dance school established in Madras by Rukmini Devi), and upon her return to Japan she founded Anandanatanam, Institute of Bharatanathiyam in 1979. She has trained many dancers and currently gives classes in Tokyo and Osaka. Nobi also studied *bharata nāṭyam* in the style of Kalakshetra and in 1987 formed the Contemporary Natyam Company, where she teaches both *bharata nāṭyam* and filmic dance. There are scores of other Japanese dancers trained in India who teach Indian dance, including other forms of classical dance such *kathak*, *kūcipūḍi*, *mohiniāttam*, and *odissi*.

Despite the increasing interest among Japanese youth in performing Indian music and dance during this period, few students of ethnomusicology or anthropology entered the study of Indian music. One of the few exceptions was Yoko Uehara, who owing to her initial interest in Indian religious music (1972) followed in Koizumi's footsteps and went to India in the 1960s-70s for scholarly study. She was also one of the earliest players of *vīṇā* and *sitār*, and collaborated with musicians of other genres in live performances and recordings after returning to Japan. Unfortunately her career was cut short by her premature death in 1976. Kimiko Otani, a member of our study group, studied *bharata nāṭyam* at the Kalakshetra in the late 1960s. In addition to performing *bharata nāṭyam* for many years, she also has the distinction of being the first scholar of Indian dance in Japan.

After Koizumi's premature death in 1983, the first "ethnic music" boom lost its center of gravity. While many of those involved continued their activities as performers of various Indian instruments, those interested in academic study were considerably fewer in number. To instill interest in the serious study of Indian music and to provide a venue for exchanging ideas and networking, the Association for Indian Music Study (AIMS, *Indo Ongaku Kenkyūkai*) was formed in Tokyo in 1988 by three committed students of Indian music: Takako Inoue, Hidetoshi Kobinata, and Takako Tanaka, all members of the present study group. The AIMS's activities included study meetings, performances and workshops. They also began a journal (*Indo Ongaku Kenkyū*) in 1989, and seven issues were published with research articles and notes on various topics before the association was discontinued in 2001. At its peak period, the AIMS had nearly 80 members, but its activities were largely confined to the Tokyo area. The present group was formed partly to invigorate activities in the Osaka area, and most of its members had belonged to the AIMS.

Separately from Koizumi's activities, a group of scholars led by Tomoaki Fujii made several expeditions to Afghanistan, Nepal and Sri Lanka. This team research was the foundation and starting point for Fujii's long and distinguished career as a professor of ethnomusicology at the National Museum of Ethnology. He is an author of *Minzoku Ongaku no Tabi* (1980), which includes sections on Sri Lankan and Afghan music, and an editor of many books that include contributions by him and his colleagues on South Asian music and dance (see, for example, Fujii 1990; Suzuki 1990; Takahashi 1990; Baba 1991). His major, global contributions to the discipline include his monumental anthologies of audiovisual recordings of ethnic music produced by Japan Victor, which include video footage from South Asia. Apart from these large-scale projects, Fujii also produced a set of five LPs in 1978 that include rare and important samples of Afghan music from his 1973 field research.

In addition to those mentioned above, there were individuals who approached the topic from other disciplinary perspectives. Some prominent works include historical/philosophical studies of music treatises by Toshio Shimada (1982a, 1982b), dance anthropology by Jiryo Miyao (1987), and ethnological work on Indian folk theaters and plays by Masatoshi Konishi (1986, 2002).

Essays in this Report

The essays in this report are grouped into four sections: (1) Song Texts; (2) Religion and Music; (3) Classical Music Traditions; and (4) Theater, Cinema, and Dance Sculpture. The topics and methodologies of the essays vary greatly, reflecting the diversity of interest among Japanese scholars.

Part I includes two essays on textual analysis by anthropologists Shibuya Toshio and Yuko Yagi. Shibuya's essay analyzes the influence of nationalism, ethnic conflict and revolutionary movements on Sri Lankan popular music. The fundamental premise of his article is that the lyrics of hit songs not only reflect the minds of Sri Lankan people but also guide their "thoughts and actions." It follows, therefore, that a close analysis of such lyrics will reveal aspects of their psyche that are otherwise much more difficult to access and

provide material for a discussion of the interaction between performing arts and social action. Shibuya's interest in the topic was initially triggered by his Tamil colleague's humiliating (and frightening) experience of being surrounded by people who sang a song with overt and exclusive Sinhala nationalistic overtones. Taking the songs as markers of class and political beliefs, Shibuya first describes the two major genres of popular songs, *baila* and *saralagee*, as representing two separate social classes: lower class on the one hand, and middle class and elite on the other. The popularity of *saralagee* is then discussed in relation to three historical periods when Sinhala nationalism surged. Shibuya concludes that songs such as *This Sinhala is Our Native Land* by Nanda Malini were instrumental in spreading nationalistic sentiments among the masses and were partly instrumental in the insurrections and ethnic conflicts that have caused the loss of many lives. Shibuya finally observes that propaganda songs by the Tamil separatist group LTTE sound similar to *saralagee* or the heroic songs (*ranagee*) that are popular among low-ranking Sinhala soldiers.

In her essay on the role of women during the marriage ceremony, Yuko Yagi focuses on abuse songs sung in the Bhojipuri-speaking region of North India. Her commentary on eight songs sung at different points or stages of the marriage ceremony relates the literal and hidden meanings of their texts to the context of performance. Yet her primary focus is women's performance, or rather physical presence, inclusive of not only the singing of songs but also erotic dances. Such women's performance is not simply a form of entertainment for participants but an indispensable constituent that wards off evil spirits and symbolically ensures a successful marriage. The symbolism hinges on the concepts of auspiciousness and *śakti* (life force) that are therefore fundamental in understanding the significance of women's role in rituals. Yagi argues that the mandatory presence of auspicious women is predicated on their presumed auspiciousness, which is seen to bring happiness to the lineage. We also learn from Yagi that abuse songs provide a venue for women (from the bride's family) to criticize the bridegroom and his family, thus temporarily reversing the hierarchy between the bride's and bridegroom's families. Yet, this reversal is controlled by the context, and it never threatens the existing hierarchy. Yagi's case study appears to fit neatly into existing arguments on the concept of auspiciousness, such as that of Frederique Marglin.

In both Shibuya's and Yagi's studies the song lyrics are examined in relation to the context of singing, and an anticipated ethnomusicological question that follows from this concerns the role of music therein. Ethnomusicologists would argue that music affects emotion in the way few other forms can or do. When Shibuya asserts that popular songs affect people's actions, is it only or predominantly the lyrics (semantic content) that produce such effect? Does music play no role at all? By pointing out the musical similarities between nationalistic Sinhala songs and propaganda songs by separatist Tamils, Shibuya seems to imply that it is primarily the text that makes the difference. In Yagi's case, one may wonder if the lyrics alone engender or promote auspiciousness when some melodic modes (*rāgas*) are thought to be auspicious in India.

Part II consists of three essays that deal with the use of music in religious rituals and theater. Masataka Suzuki analyzes the ritual festivities for localized deities in the Tulu-

speaking areas of Karnataka. He first provides background information on ritual practices in this area, such as the types of medium between humans and gods (and their caste affiliations) and various beings that constitute the god/spirit-based cosmology. He asserts that the stratification among gods and spirits corresponds to the social hierarchy of caste and class, and that the correspondence is both manifested and ascertained in ritual celebrations. Suzuki then analyzes the origin myths of Ullālthi, the main deity of the ritual, and her brother Ajwar Daivangalu, as narrated in *pāḍḍana* (a traditional form of narrative invocations in the Tulu language) during the ritual. Ullālthi, considered the most powerful deity, linked the religious festivities and royal power. The semantic world created by the telling of such origin myths is analyzed in six areas: (1) creation of origin; (2) meanings of movement; (3) establishment of *dharma* (ethics); (4) change in religious faith; (5) conflict between foreign and native deities; and (6) snake worship. He then describes the content of the rituals in two categories: (1) rituals in which offerings are made; and (2) seasonal rituals accompanied by dancing (harvest ritual). In such festivals, opposing values (upper and lower castes, Sanskrit and Dravidian cultures) are integrated on emotive levels. Suzuki's references to music and dance are buried in his thick description of the entire ritual process, and this is to be understood as a reminder of the importance of the holistic approach for music in (or as) religion as many forms of music and dance in South Asia are embedded in religious contexts in such a way that singling them out for musicological analysis may lead to grave misunderstanding.

Takako Tanaka explores the religious musical tradition known as *samāj-gāyan* that has been practiced for the past 400 years in the Braj area of North India. The performing practice ("singing form") of *samāj-gāyan* is highly complicated, and Tanaka poses the question of how such a complex practice can be learned orally and without practice. Based on her analysis, she concludes that the structure of performance that has developed over the centuries serves as a built-in mechanism to safeguard the transmission of the tradition. According to her, the continuity in at least one of the constituents (melody, *rāga*, *tāla*, and texts) between various songs form the chain-like structure (*ṣṛṅkhilā*) of texts and music, which enable participants to sing at the *samāj-gāyan*. A close examination of one particular piece sung at the ritual clearly demonstrates the complexity of music-text combinations in actual performance. Tanaka goes on to suggest that religious thoughts are handed down through the medium of singing. Here the transmission of religious thoughts and sentiments and that of a performing art are so fused with one another that they can no longer be separated. It is a cliché to argue that a strong linkage exists between music and religion in South Asia in general, but Tanaka's study is important as it demonstrates that the performance practice of singing not only allows participants to learn musical complexity but also serves as a foundation for transmitting religious thoughts and devotional emotion. Toward the end of her essay, Tanaka touches on the issue of the body as a locus of memory and hints at the role of corporeal experience in transmitting music and religious emotions in *samāj-gāyan* tradition, an aspect that deserves further exploration in future.

Takako Inoue provides a detailed ethnographic account of *Bhāgavata Mēḷa*, a form of religious dance drama in central Tamil Nadu state. The article aims to explore the reason for the decline of this caste and gender-specific theater and the adaptive strategy of its

practitioners. After providing historical background on the Telugu theatrical tradition in the Tanjavur area and the stories enacted in *Bhāgavata Mēla*, Inoue allocates the bulk of her account to a description of the performance practice of *Bhāgavata Mēla* in all three villages (Melaṭṭūr, Sāliyamaṅalam and Tēpperumānallūr) where this drama is still performed. Inoue observes that although performing *Bhāgavata Mēla* continues to be a religious duty for the majority of its practitioners, the activities of Melaṭṭūr groups, such as performances outside the village ritual context or collaboration with an urban artist to obtain a wider recognition of the tradition, are often inconsistent and reflect their ambiguity concerning the definition of *Bhāgavata Mēla*. According to Inoue, this ambiguity was caused by the introduction of the Western notion of art as an autonomous entity by European scholars, which was eventually internalized by the native population. Many classical dance forms such as *bharata nāṭyam* and *kūcipūḍi* have deep ritual roots, and they owe their present popularity to the process of “revival” and “democratization” through which the prohibitive restrictions on practitioners and performance contexts were modified or abolished to enable them to become recognized forms of “art” in which anybody can become involved regardless of their caste or gender. Inoue challenges us to go beyond the reasons previously given for the decline of *Bhāgavata Mēla*, such as the loss of Maratha royal patronage and the social movements against Brahmanical culture, and situate the issue in even larger sociopolitical changes underway in India and in its relation to the outside world.

Part III includes three essays that aim to re-examine Indian classical music, which has been the topic most widely researched both in musicology in India and ethnomusicology. Yuko Matoba’s article presents a fine example of a musicological study from Japan. It tackles the thorny issue of flexibility and variation in South Indian classical (*Karṇāṭak*) music through an analysis of one particular composition. This essay also represents a recent manifestation of her long-term interest in the dialectic between theory and practice, informed by her own experience as a concert *vīṇā* player: her previous study dealt with the frequency of *rāgas* actually performed against the theoretically constructed classification of *rāgas* (Matoba 1986). It is widely acknowledged among scholars and musicians of Indian classical music that a composition can be rendered differently depending on the musician’s heritage (*guru*) and individuality. In order to determine the parameter of flexibility, Matoba selected *Mahā Gaṇapatim*, a well-known and frequently performed composition by the 19th-century composer Muttusvāmi Dīksitar, for analysis. Matoba engages in comparative analysis in three areas: (1) variations between different musicians; (2) variations found in renditions by a single performer; and (3) differences between the performance and notation written by the performer. Integrating her findings in these three areas, she attempts to approximate the musicians’ perception of music and to elucidate the role of notation in Indian music in which oral transmission is unequivocally valued. She concludes that the concept of change in India is different from that elsewhere (or else what Matoba perceives as change is not considered as such in India). The strength of her essay lies in the detailed analysis of variations, which can also be read as a highly useful manual for those interested in the performance practice of the classical tradition, particularly the intricacy of rendering music variations.

Masakazu Tamori's essay on the *gharānās* of *sarod* (plucked lute) players builds on previous studies of the subject, especially those by Joan Erdman (1978, 1987), Daniel Neuman (1980) and Naomi Owens (1983). Following Neuman, Tamori states that the social organization of musicians was vital for the continuation of the *gharānā* in which certain musical property was jealously guarded. He first describes the hierarchization of musical knowledge within North Indian classical music and states that "secret knowledge" serves as a coveted property that artistically identifies and socially legitimizes a *gharānā*. This knowledge is kept within the *gharānā* by maintaining the master-disciple relationship within close kin through strategic intermarriage. According to Tamori, this conflation of artistic transmission with kinship organization that was evident in the formation period of *gharānās* disappeared after the mid-20th century (which he calls the post-formation period). The change was deeply implicated in the broader socio-cultural current of events, particularly the shift of art patronage from princely court to urban middleclass and dissemination of mass media: the social organization of musicians that had previously supported the *gharānā* system no longer existed. Although not explicitly stated, Tamori seems to indicate that the secret property and its symbolic power are no longer highly valued. What may be further explored is the contemporary relevance of *gharānās*: what role they play in the era when the social environment that engendered the system no longer exists, and whether the "*gharānā*" will soon, if not already, be synonymous with the mere "style" of playing.

My own essay focuses on the movement against the mainstream South Indian classical music culture in the state of Tamil Nadu. Known as the *Tamiḷ Isai* (music) movement, it demanded a fair representation of Tamil songs in classical music, which had been dominated by songs in Telugu and Sanskrit. The article consists of two sections. First, I summarize the major arguments of the movement since its initial years (the 1930s-40s) and the assessment of their achievements over the years. Although the movement began with a seemingly innocuous call for an increased representation of Tamil songs ("why are not Tamil songs sung for the predominantly Tamil audience?"), it soon became a fierce battlefield in which important musical (the importance of song texts in music) and socio-political issues (caste rivalry among practitioners of music and language-based regional nationalism) in Tamil Nadu were negotiated. I first characterize the role of the Music Academy as a citadel of Brahmanical music culture with a description of its activities and major individuals and analyze their strategy of constructing a history around the saintly figures of Brahman composers in effect to marginalize non-Brahmans, both historically and in the present. Then I summarize the major arguments advanced by the *Tamiḷ Isai* movement and reactions from the Music Academy. The second section of the article deals with the two relatively unknown organizations which were formed in the 1990s out of frustration over the *Tamiḷ Isai* movement advanced mostly by high-caste non-Brahmans. Although these two organizations are rarely discussed under the rubric of the *Tamiḷ Isai* movement, they nonetheless represent an important part of the socially constructed sentiments toward the language and caste issues that initially served as the backdrop of the thrust for the movement. In this article, I hope to demonstrate that the emotion behind the *Tamiḷ Isai* movement runs much deeper and wider than it is normally acknowledged.

Part IV includes articles that cannot be subsumed under the three preceding themes. Yoshio Sugimoto traces the history of Boys' Companies, a type of all-male-youth theater group that was active in Tamil Nadu in the early decades of the 20th century and its historical role of producing influential politicians for later periods. While the intimate connection between films and politics in South India has been the topic of many studies (see, for example, Hardgrave 1973; Baskaran 1981; Das Gupta 1991; Pandian 1992; Dickey 1993), it is much less known that theatre companies were breeding grounds for politicians in South India. Sugimoto first provides a prehistory of the Boys' Companies that includes a discussion of the theoretical basis of classical theaters and the influence of Parsee theater. In particular, he describes the shift from classical to popular theater in Tamil Nadu and how political and social themes began to be articulated in these media. We learn from Sugimoto that Boys' Companies were an outcome of a reform movement of popular theater in the 1910s, which was largely despised due to immoral activities among its practitioners. The popularity of Boys' Companies spread to all Tamil-speaking regions in the 1920s, presumably because plays with overtly political content were received enthusiastically, and it was in this climate that young boys were politicized and came to realize the potential of using performing arts to attract the masses. Sugimoto characterizes the historical role of Boys' Companies as an 'alchemy' in which future politicians were molded out of boys who came from poor families and had often had abusive upbringings. Incidentally, the witty and playful title of the paper "Boys Be Ambitious" is a well-known didactic phrase in Japan. It was delivered by William S. Clark (1826-1886), an American educator who taught for eight months at Hokkaido University (then Sapporo Nōgakkō). While the context in which this famous phrase was delivered continues to be debated, it became a frequently cited slogan in Japanese education to encourage young people to strive for higher achievements. Although it seems to have lost much of its luster and relevance in recent years, the phrase remains well known. In Tamil Nadu, the ambitions of the "boys" were fulfilled at a level unseen elsewhere, and translated into a powerful political machinery that continues to affect people's lives.

Tamaki Matsuoka's essay provides a rare insider's view of film promotion in Japan. For many years, serious art films, particularly those by Satyajit Ray, represented the entire genre of Indian cinema, although they were patronized in India by a small elite audience and were by no means popular in the ordinary sense of the word. In this context, the enormous popularity and visibility of Tamil *masala* films in the late 1980s in Japan appeared to be an abrupt aberration, surprising film scholars and critics as well as general cinema goers. Matsuoka analyzes the seemingly improbable popularity of Indian *masala* films by relating the phenomenon to external and internal factors. She first informs us that the first Indian films introduced to Japan were entertainment films and then explains the process in which Satyajit Ray's films created a biased image of Indian films in Japan. The enormous success of a Tamil film, *Muthu*, in 1998 was a double-edged sword. It firmly placed Indian films in the viewing repertoire of the Japanese audience, while the image of *masala* film overwhelms the other types of film made in India: the pivotal example was the flop in Japan of *Bombay*, which was critically acclaimed in India. The pendulum swung this time to the other extreme, never attaining a balanced view of India cinema. Matsuoka

finally provides concrete action plans for the successful promotion of Indian films. Some are intended for Japanese promoters while others are directed to Indian cinema producers and distributors. According to her, the promotion of Indian films in Japan is still hindered by the fixed image of Indian films, which she relates to the Japanese inclination for things western and consequent ignorance of India. Indian business practices, which often conflict with those in Japan and other Asian countries, have also made it difficult for Japanese distributors to collaborate with their Indian counterparts. Matsuoka also believes that the Indian government could take a more assertive role in promoting films from its country. Matsuoka's comments on Indian business practices may come across as somewhat critical, but they are driven by her unfailing commitment and enthusiasm to introduce Asian films in Japan.

The present report concludes with an essay by art historian Yuko Fukuroi who advocates a holistic methodology for the study of dancing figures in South Indian temples. Historically, the temples were primary patrons of the arts, and also functioned as repositories of artistic heritages. In the case of dancing, temple sculptures served both as validation of its ancient origin and as an inspiration for contemporary creation. Fukuroi first identifies the two streams of studies on temple sculptures in South India: philosophical studies (most strongly identified with the renowned Ananda Coomaraswamy) that search for divine symbolism in dance sculptures, and studies on *karaṇas* (movements of arms and legs that constitute all dance postures) that attempt to identify and reproduce dance movements from the still images of sculpture. She then points out the lack of contextualization in such studies, asserting that dance images were studied in isolation and without consideration of the spatial symbolism of the temple in which they are placed. This argument echoes the fundamental ethnomusicological assumption that music cannot be understood when studied in isolation from its context. To illustrate her point, Fukuroi examines dance sculptures from three temples in Tamil Nadu that belonged to the later Cōḷa period when art and music are said to have been greatly patronized. She concludes that the images of dancers were not sculpted simply for decoration, nor to record a moment of dance expression to be frozen for posterity: they were an integral part of the cosmology that was represented in the arts. Accordingly, the holistic approach alone will engender a sufficient understanding of dance images in temples that should be studied in relation to each other and in the context of the spatial symbolism of the temple. Given the comprehensive and integrating nature of temple symbolism, it will be worthwhile to explore how her findings will intersect with the aural manifestation of the symbolism (hymns, instrumental music, and sound effects) that has also created dance sculptures.

Finally, the publication of this modest report took five long years to complete, much longer than I had originally planned and certainly than other members had hoped. My deepest apology is due to the contributors, especially those who submitted their manuscripts in the early stage of preparation. I wish to thank them not only for their expertly crafted articles but also for their enormous patience. Partly because the language of the publication is not the contributors' mother tongue, I decided to be more involved in editing than I normally would. In most cases, the contributors were given a chance to revise their manuscript after

my comments, but in some cases I requested a few rounds of revision to ensure that the translation faithfully reflects their argument.

Apart from the authors represented in this volume, there were many others who presented a paper in 2000-02. I would like to acknowledge with gratitude their participation and contribution to the study group by listing their names and the titles of their presentations.

Kyoko Dan (Channel Asia), “Distributing Asian films in Japan: How an Indian film is shown in Japanese theatres.”

Shota Fukuoka (National Museum of Ethnology), “Fumio Koizumi and the ethnic music of India.”

Marie Gillespie (University of Wales Swansea, UK), “Asian underground in the UK.”

Kyoji Hoshikawa (music critic, producer), “Indian music in Japanese and world market.”

Hidetoshi Kobinata (Kunitachi College of Music), “Toward the study of sonic symbolism of Indian percussions.”

Makito Minami (National Museum of Ethnology), “The Nepalese immigrants and music in Japan.”

Kazuyuki Murayama (Wako University), “The music culture of African minorities in Pakistan.”

Hiroshi Nakagawa (Tengaku Productions, *bānsurī* player), “The reception of Indian music in Japan.”

Kimiko Otani (Kochi University), “*Solkattu* as mnemonics: Its effects in learning *Bharata Natyam*.”

Sam-Ang Sam (Royal University of Fine Arts, Cambodia), “Indianization of Cambodia.”

On a more personal note, I studied ethnomusicology in North America and my general orientation and approaches to music scholarship were shaped largely according to its prevailing ethos. When I was preparing for my doctoral research in South India in the mid-1980s, I consulted several South Asianists for advice on my topic and methodology. After looking quickly over my research proposal, a well-known scholar suggested that I incorporate approaches based on my non-Western cultural background, unlike the common practice in North America. Perhaps my proposal was too broadly based (or not sufficiently focused) and she simply wanted me to explore novel ways. Regardless of her intention, this comment perplexed and unsettled me. As I had not studied music formally in Japan, I had no basis for identifying a Japanese (not to mention non-Western) approach, if such a thing has ever existed (or can be isolated from others as a separate entity). Thinking reflexively about my puzzlement over the ensuing years, however, I eventually took it as a challenge and kept some distance from what might be called North American ethnomusicology, instead of being completely absorbed in it. Since my return to Japan in 1996 after almost two decades of absence, I have struggled to find such a place. My motivation in forming this research group was partially to identify any unique features that may be common to those of us in Japan who are interested in South Asian performing arts.

Needless to say, readers alone will judge the overall merit of this volume, or determine how fairly this volume portrays the current status and characteristics of Japanese scholarship on South Asian performing arts. Reading the essays included in this volume as a set once again, however, I believe that they collectively represent at least a significant segment of Japanese scholarship on the subject, formulated and produced out of extensive fieldwork. It is my greatest wish that this report will help facilitate communications between scholars in Japan and those abroad, which remains to this day one of the most urgent agendas in Japanese academia.

Notes on spellings and transliterations

For many of the terms used in this report, multiple spellings exist (i.e. Carnatic, Karnatic, Karnatak and Karnataka for South Indian classical music; Thanjavur and Tanjavur for a city and district in central Tamil Nadu). I respect each author's choice and preference while a single system is applied within each article. Similarly, I have not adopted the uniform transliteration system for each language, and no attempt has been made for a unified system. In addition, while I have adopted for this report the system of writing author's names with the given name followed by family name (such as Yoshitaka Terada in my case), exceptions apply when individual authors prefer other ways. The author of the first essay, Professor Shibuya prefers to write his name as Shibuya Toshio where his family name comes first. With a belief that one's identity is deeply connected with how his/her name is presented, his name will appear in this manner in this report.

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