Introduction

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This issue is titled 'Hot Shakespeare, Cool Japan', something Atsuhiko Hirota explores in his foreword. I reached for this title partly to avoid confusion with around a dozen existing works partly or wholly named 'Shakespeare in Japan' or 'Shakespeare in Contemporary [or Modern] Japan'. I wanted to capture something of Shakespeare's continuing, if fraught, presence in Japan. 'Hot' can mean attractive and appealing ('Shakespeare looks hot in the Cobb portrait'), as well as something 'difficult or awkward to deal with' ('Shakespeare's absence from his young family is a hot potato for biographers') or 'controversial or contentious' ('Shakespeare's future in Japanese classrooms is hotly debated').[1] I also liked the promise of 'fresh' or 'exciting' takes that 'hot Shakespeare' captures.[2] It succinctly captures my own experience of teaching, researching, and watching Shakespeare as a Megumi visiting professor in the English Department at Kobe College during the academic year 2022–23, on loan from Bangor University. This involved lively conversations about both Shakespeare and Japan with students and colleagues as well as some literally hot sonnet readings and Shakespeare scavenger hunts, under the bright sun, in the campus' beautiful Shakespeare Garden. This opportunity rounded out a decade of shorter stays, involving a range of Japanese universities in Kantō and Kansai.

'Cool' Japan structurally suggests a contrast with 'hot Shakespeare', but it is not quite an antonym for 'hot'; indeed, it is often used as a synonym meaning 'hip', 'stylish' and attractive.[3] 'Cool Japan' invokes flows of influence between the two countries since products and experiences considered part of the 'Cool Japan' phenomenon are enjoyed by British Japanophiles, while Shakespeare has travelled back and forth between Japan and the UK in the form of texts, productions and academics. Additionally, the phrase 'Cool Japan' draws on 'Cool Britannia', as Hirota has explained above. 'Cool Britannia' and 'Cool Japan' both purportedly originated with cultural and economic commentators: in Britain during the late 1990s and in Japan in the mid-noughties. 'Cool Britannia' became synonymous with New Labour's campaigns to celebrate the resurgence of Britain's cultural industries (Britpop music, art and fashion) but, as that government declined and the 2008 financial crisis took hold, the phrase soured and was used increasingly ironically. 'Cool Japan' was likewise initially used to celebrate the economic and soft power of Japan's cultural products and services, such as video games, toys, manga and anime. The Japanese government sought to capitalize on this appeal during the 2010s through its Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry establishing a Creative Industries Promotion Office and the Cool Japan Fund Inc. However, its activities have underachieved.[4] The official 'Cool Japan' scheme is widely criticized but continues to exist in some formal capacity. 'Cool Britannia' was itself rooted in a play on 'Rule Britannia!', an eighteenth-century poem and song celebrating British sea-power, island nation identity, exceptionalism and imperialism. All these were qualities to which Japan's Meiji reformers aspired (c. 1868–89) that boosted the stocks of British culture in nineteenth-century Japan, including Shakespeare, but that are now variously regarded as popular or problematic patriotism in both countries.

In the 2020s, Japan and Britain continue to be united by interest, expertise in and activity around Shakespeare. Other grounds for affinity are that their coolness now is very much under question, they may even be deemed manifestly *un*cool. The BBC correspondent Rupert Wingfield-Hayes wrote an article on leaving Japan after a decade living and working

there rather pessimistically titled: 'Japan was the future but it's stuck in the past'.[5] As evidence he lists economic stagnation, comparatively low salaries, an ageing population, high levels of bureaucracy, 'maintaining the patriarchy', as well as generalised 'resistance to change and a stubborn attachment to the past'.[6] With considerable relevance for the future of Shakespeare in Japan, he described how young people in Japan today are 'less likely to speak a foreign language or to have studied overseas than their parents or grandparents'.[7] He does not mention other notable issues such as Japan's conservative LGBTQIA+ policies specifically or the absence of anti-discrimination laws generally (see my review of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*). As a British citizen, I was particularly struck by his statement that 'it's reasonable to ask why Japan continues to re-elect a party run by an entitled elite, which … has failed to improve living standards for 30 years'.[8] Britain's Conservative government has been in power for less than half that time, but similar questions are asked by political commentators about the re-election of a party with similarly elite leaders, pursuing similarly insular, island nation politics, also making international news for governmental, and some societal, hostility towards immigration.[9] Critiques of Japanese and British national governments might seem a peculiarly downbeat note on which to start an issue, but it points to a different, perhaps more difficult, context for Shakespeare in Japan, or Shakespeare and Japan, than previous books and collections on the topic.

The Shakespeares in Japan captured in this issue, however, fit a variety of the above definitions of hot (and cool): a dip into a historical literary adaptation that explores its curious currency today (Kohei Uchimaru), a fresh take on classic Kurosawa (Tomonari Kuwayama), as well as happy wranglings with translation and gender issues (Jessica Chiba, Daniel Gallimore). There are also grounds for hope for the future of Shakespeare in, and from, Japan: a project based at Meisei University's Kodama Shakespeare Library making rare books in its collection digitally available worldwide (Mariko Nagase and John Jowett), the renewal of a children's Shakespeare series (Rena Endo), and other recent performances (Thomas Dabbs, Gallimore, Sarah Temmar). Optimism about Japan's future, despite the warnings of commentators such as Wingfield-Hayes, might be glimpsed through the lens of Shakespeare. Not to posit him as a saviour, or overstate his importance in everyday life, the history of Shakespeare in Japan over the last 150 or so years might nonetheless serve as a reminder that change and reinvention can happen, that Japan can embrace 'the outside world'. I trace this in more detail below, in my theatre review, as do other contributors like Gallimore, but Shakespeare in Japan also prompts exploration of national hot topics such as discrimination on the grounds of gender, ethnicity or ability.[10] Shakespeare in Japan engages in trans- or inter-cultural exchanges including and beyond Asian and global Shakespeares (see Nagase and Jowett) and ameliorates gaps in young people's international, literary and dramatic education (see Endo). While my own writing in this editorial leans towards the political, this collection overall attends to both the aesthetic and political meanings of Shakespeare in Asia.[11] It also considers performance, translation and literary adaptation – aspects of Shakespeare in Japan that collections take turns to decry as neglected.[12] It does not, as some collections have, capture much of Japanese Shakespeare outside that country. This may reflect the constraints of the pandemic on theatre and travel, as well as insular turns in Japanese and British politics. Like other volumes, this one eschews (the desirability of) identifying unifying characteristic features of Shakespeare in Japan.[13]

Before reaching these latest contributions, it might be helpful to preface them with a brief chronology of other collections and books on the topic, their wider Japanese and Shakespearean contexts. It is plausible to say that publishing collections and books

internationally, in English, on Shakespeare in Japan got hot in 1990s Shakespeare studies, fed by the prosperous 1980s, economic and cultural diplomacy, increased international travel and electronic media, the internationalization of Japanese culture generally, and Shakespeare specifically.[14] Evidence of flourishing Shakespeare in, and from, Japan in the 1980s and 1990s include the international success of the 'samurai' or 'Edo' Shakespeare of Akira Kurosawa and Yukio Ninagawa;[15] the 1988 opening of the Panasonic Globe in Tokyo; and the 1991 World Shakespeare Congress (WSC) in Tokyo. Titled 'Shakespeare and Cultural Traditions', the latter was the WSC's first meeting in Asia. The catalyst for a description of 1991 as 'an *annus mirabilis* in the history of the study of Shakespeare', the conference seems to be credited with inaugurating the Asian, or even global, Shakespeare boom by several Japanese Shakespeareans of the era: '[it] significantly stressed the need for an inter-cultural viewpoint in Shakespeare studies, or, to put it more bluntly, a heightened awareness of Shakespeare's foreign consumability'.[16] One collection of papers from the WSC, *Shakespeare and Cultural Traditions*, was edited by Tetsuo Kishi, Roger Pringle and Stanley Wells (1994); another, titled *Shakespeare East and West*, was edited by Fujita Minoru and Leonard Pronko (1994).[17] Further evidence of a flurry of research and publishing activity around Shakespeare in Japan includes the publication of *Shakespeare and the Japanese Stage* (Sasayama, Mulryne and Shewring, 1998) and *Shakespeare in Japan* (Anzai, 1999).[18] This boom occurred despite a challenging wider context that included the bursting of Japan's bubble economy in 1991, the Great Hanshin Earthquake killing around 6000 people and displacing around 300,000 in January 1995, followed two months later by the domestic terrorist sarin attack on the Tokyo subway.

The noughties yielded further publications replete with synoptic promise for readers' understanding of this national Shakespeare, perhaps compelled by a generalised millennium trend for taking stock ('writer of the millennium', 'man of the millennium', 'British personality of the millennium' competitions were all epithets won by Shakespeare at the time). They included *Performing Shakespeare in Japan* (Minami, Carruthers and Gillies, 2001),[19] *Shakespeare in Japan* (Kishi and Bradshaw 2005), and 'Shakespeare in Contemporary Japan' (Gallimore 2009).[20] The latter, however, contended that 'Shakespeare in Japan has declined (and stabilized) since the boom period of the 1980s'. Testament to this might include the demise in 2002 of the Panasonic Globe as a theatre that 'internationalized Japanese Shakespeare while bringing global Shakespeare to Japan'.[21] The journal *Multicultural Shakespeare: Translations, Appropriation and Performance* had been published since the 1970s as *Shakespearean Translation* then *Shakespeare Worldwide: Translation and Adaptation*. In this decade, it moved its publication from Japan to Poland, while continuing to provide a ready channel for disseminating research on Shakespeare in Japan. This instance offers evidence of the power of reinvention over demise. Multiple, far-flung studies of national Shakespeares usefully decentered and pluralized Shakespeare beyond the Anglophone world and debunked any notion of a singular *Foreign Shakespeare*, that might have been suggested by the title of Dennis Kennedy's 1993 collection.[22] Some, such as Friederike von Schwerin-High's *Shakespeare, Reception and Translation: Germany and Japan*, had introduced a comparative element (2004).[23]

Shakespeare studies in the 2010s pushed beyond this focus on individual countries with an explosion in regional, Asian, inter- and transcultural, and global Shakespeares. For instance, three works published in 2010 bore titles with a clear regional focus: *Shakespeare in Asia* (Brooks and Yang), *Shakespeare and Asia* (Kennedy and Yong), and *Replaying Shakespeare in Asia* (Trivedi and Minami).[24] Such studies continued to decentre and

pluralise Shakespeare while adding a 'big picture' approach that articulated transnational or international clusters of, and patterns in, Shakespeare-related activities – publication, translation, performance, adaptation, and education. They recognised the impact on Shakespeare reception and production of shared experiences of widespread phenomena such as colonialism, imperialism, globalisation and cosmopolitanism. Despite the triple disaster of 2011 in Japan (earthquake, tsunami and nuclear emergency), killing close to 20,000 people and displacing 500,000, Japanese and British organisers continued with planned cultural exchange events in the aftermath. Those with a Shakespeare-focus included Chiten company's *Coriolanus* touring to the Globe to Globe / World Shakespeare Festival in London and rare books by Shakespeare and Conan Doyle travelling to Tokyo as part of the London 2012 Cultural Olympiad programme. Part of this event, the tour of a British Library Folio to Japan was marked by Dominic Shellard organising a conference and special issue of the journal *Shakespeare* on 'Shakespeare in Japan: A Great! Collaboration?'[25]

Various international Shakespeare celebrations added to the general buoyancy in Britain known as the London 2012 legacy: the 450th anniversary of his birth in 2014 and 400th anniversary of death in 2016. The 2016 anniversary saw the death of Ninagawa along with a special issue of *Multicultural Shakespeare* on Shakespeare in Modern Japan and the start of an international collaboration between Waseda University and the Shakespeare Institute, University of Birmingham. These years also saw a burgeoning interest in the teaching of Shakespeare, including in Japan, in the context of renewed tensions concerning English literature policy and practices in the Japanese education system.[26] Japanese Shakespeare had dominated East Asian Shakespeare. Alexa Alice Joubin first suggests this stems from its role as a gateway through which Shakespeare reached other countries in the region; later, she invokes its role as a colonial power.[27] However, books released at the end of this decade such as *Shakespeare's Asian Journeys* (2017) and *Shakespeare and Asia* (2018) offered greater national and regional diversity, encompassing China, Korea, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Taiwan, expanding Asian Shakespeare from South and East Asian to South-east Asian Shakespeare.[28]

The global coronavirus pandemic that blighted the early 2020s caused the 2020 Tokyo Olympics to be delayed until 2021 and impacted on Shakespeare in Japan in wide-ranging ways. These included postponement of theatre performances, such as the Sai-no-kuni *Henry VIII* that Sarah Temmar reviews in this issue, and prevention of international students and staff from returning to their places in Japanese universities due to the closing of borders.[29] Yet, in 2021 alone, Shakespeare in Japan was celebrated in a dedicated issue of *Critical Survey* (33.1), two chapters of the book *Shakespeare in East Asian Education* and, as part of a focus on cross-regional flows of influence, *Shakespeare in East Asia*.[30] 2023 sees this dedicated journal issue coinciding with the 400th anniversary of the publication of the First Folio, which is being celebrated multilaterally with events such as the international webinar 'Exploring Shakespeare's Folios' held in March 2023, supported by the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science, with speakers from Japan (also the home of its organisers), France and the UK.

I started this survey of books and collections on, and contexts for, Shakespeare in Japan thinking it would uncover patterns of boom and bust. This survey does not include the steady flow of individual articles on Shakespeare in Japan, nor events, publications, or societies operating in languages other than English – such as the Shakespeare Society of Japan.[31] Looking at Japanese sources might produce a different chronology and a different narrative. Focusing on the introductions to and editorials for previous Anglophone books

and themed issues above, however, shows certain key continuities and differences. Among continuities, what most leaps out at me is the sheer continuity of work in this area since the 1990s rather than peaks and troughs. This constant work has sometimes coincided with, perhaps been spurred on by, celebrations and proliferations of national, regional and global Shakespeares including and beyond Japan and East Asia. It has survived considerable challenges to Shakespeare in Japan from nature, the economy and broader educational policy. Mention of the arrival of Shakespeare in Japan just prior to, or during, the Meiji restoration is ubiquitous – though different accounts variously highlight individual texts and performances, in English or Japanese, aimed at different target audiences (Anglophone expats or Japanese citizens) as marking his advent.[32] Reference to Shōyō Tsubouchi is also pervasive – mention of other translators is variable and only a few volumes, including this one, explore the work of living translators like Kazuko Matsuoka and Shōichirō Kawai.

One contested aspect of Shakespeare in Japan in previous volumes concerns Shakespeare's reception as modern drama or a classic. The leading argument is that Shakespeare was co-opted into the Meiji reformation's programme of modernisation, meaning that he was constructed and received in Japan as a contemporary of modern European dramatists such as Ibsen and Chekov.[33]. Yet there are occasional hints that his work was esteemed as 'classic', 'prestigious drama with universal significance'.[34] That Shakespeare did not stay modern for long in Japan is something that an earlier survey of Shakespeare in Japan by Minoru Toyoda uniquely highlights. He invokes the way in which Shakespeare and other playwrights celebrated as 'modern' during the Meiji period came to be seen as old-fashioned and were thrown-over for a later generation of European dramatists in the aftermath of the 1923 Great Kantō earthquake.[35] Additionally, there are divergent perspectives on whether early performances of Shakespeare in Japan were characteristically kabuki (a traditional, Japanese form) or shingeki (modern, western-style theatre in Japanese language) and consequently whether his advent was characterised by localised or foreignised Shakespeare productions.[36] This debate impacts on discussion of Shakespeare in Japan across theatre, publishing and academia in an ongoing way, with the prevalent idea to be gleaned from existing volumes being that Shakespeare 'is always foreign' in Japan, in contrast with some continental European countries who found 'his work so obsessing to their souls as to urge them to claim that Shakespeare belonged to them'.[37] This circumspection does not, however, preclude somewhat contrary references to Shakespeare being 'absorbed', 'assimilated', or 'received' into Japanese culture and traditions, including a sense of belatedly 'incorporat[ing] traditional arts in international touring theatre' such as Ninagawa's Shakespeare.[38]

The popular notion of an affinity between Shakespeare's early modern theatre and Japan's traditional theatre arts, found in and beyond these volumes, perhaps helps commentators to negotiate the foreign versus local divide. Affinities identified in these works include stage structure, poetic drama, dramaturgy, audience effect, and the shared existence of 'long and sophisticated tradition[s] … almost totally different, both culturally and linguistically'.[39] These volumes additionally posit a broader, historical affinity between Japan and Britain as former feudal nations (something used today to teach Shakespeare in Japanese classrooms well), former colonial powers and repositories of traditional values[40]. This issue on 'Hot Shakespeare, Cool Japan' does not claim, or desire, to resolve the debates articulated in previous collections. Rather, it is intended that the articles within offer new ways and new examples with which to explore them.

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[1] 'hot, adj. and n.1', *OED Online* (March 2023), 11.i, 9, 9.c. https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/88782?rskey=qhPSfw&result=2&isAdvanced=false (accessed 30 April 2023).
[2] 'hot', *OED Online*, 10.b.
[3] 'cool, adj., adv., and int.', *OED Online*, 8. https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/40978?rskey=MNd9CH&result=3 (accessed 30 April 2023).
[4] Roland Kelts, 'Japanamerica: Why "Cool Japan" is over', *3:AM Magazine* (17 May 2010), https://www.3ammagazine.com/3am/japanamerica-why-cool-japan-is-over/ (accessed 30 April 2023). Benjamin Boas, '"Cool Japan" needs to listen to its target market', *The Japan Times* (24 April 2016), https://www.japantimes.co.jp/culture/2016/04/24/general/cool-japan-needs-listen-target-market (accessed 30 April 2023).
[5] Rupert Wingfield-Hayes, 'Japan was the future, now it's stuck in the past', *BBC News* (20 January 2023), https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-63830490 (accessed 30 April 2023).
[6] Wingfield-Hayes, 'Japan was the future'.
[7] Wingfield-Hayes, 'Japan was the future'.
[8] Wingfield-Hayes, 'Japan was the future'.
[9] John Harris, 'The Conservatives are now the party of England. Changing that will be hard', *Guardian* (14 March 2021), https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2021/mar/14/conservatives-party-england-tories-populists (accessed 30 April 2023).
[10] See also: Sarah Olive, '*Othello,* Shakespeare Company of Japan and Pirikap, dir. Kazumi Shimodate and Debo Akibe. Tara Arts, London. 7 August 2019', *Reviewing Shakespeare* (7 August 2019), https://bloggingshakespeare.com/reviewing-shakespeare/othello-shakespeare-company-japan-pirikap-dir-kazumi-shimodate-debo-akibe-tara-arts-london-2019/ (accessed 30 April 2023); Saeko Machi, 'The appeal of gender crossing in *Twelfth Night*', *Teaching Shakespeare*, 14, 2018, pp. 14–15; and Saeko Machi, 'Beyond the language barrier', *Teaching Shakespeare*, 7, 2015, pp. 12–13.
[11] Alexa Alice Joubin, *Shakespeare and East Asia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), pp. 8–10. Her suggestion that aesthetic elements of Asian Shakespeare have been neglected in favour of 'compulsory realpolitik' echoes Ryuta Minami, Ian Carruthers and John Gillies (eds), *Performing Shakespeare in Japan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 237, but is at odds with Tetsuo Kishi and Graham Bradshaw, *Shakespeare in Japan* (London: Continuum, 2005), pp. viii–ix, pp. 29–30, and Daniel Gallimore, 'Shakespeare in

Contemporary Japan', in A. Huang and Charles S. Ross (eds), *Shakespeare in Hollywood, Asia and Cyberspace* (Indiana: Purdue University Press, 2009), pp. 109–20, p. 109, at least as far as Japanese Shakespeare is concerned.

[12] The neglect of translation was decried by Gallimore, 'Shakespeare in Japan', *Asian Theatre Journal*, 24(1), 2007, pp. 293–4; performance by Takashi Sasayama, Ronnie Mulryne, and Margaret Shewring (eds), *Shakespeare and the Japanese Stage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), as well as Minami et al., *Performing Shakespeare*. The neglect of some performance modes or styles such as Shōgekijō Undo (Japan's Little Theatre movement) and Takarazuka is usefully highlighted and somewhat redressed by these volumes. Silent films are attended to by Minoru Toyoda, 'Shakespeare in Japan: a short historical sketch', *Studies in English Literature*, 16(4), 1936, pp. 487–99, p. 499 and Joubin, *East Asia*, p. 3.

[13] Gallimore, 'Shakespeare in Contemporary Japan', pp. 109, 119; Kishi and Bradshaw, *Shakespeare in Japan*, p. 242.

[14] Minami et al., *Performing Shakespeare,* give the example of Yukio Ninagawa's *Tempest* touring to the 1988 Edinburgh Festival, pp. 1, 5. They also invoke cultural diplomacy events such as UK90 held across Japan in 1990 and the Japan Festival held in London and regional centres of the UK in 1991, pp. 5–6. Minoru Fujita and Leonard Pronko (eds), *Shakespeare East and West* (Tokyo: Japan Library, 1996), meanwhile, mention big-name western productions playing in Japan by RSC directors and Kenneth Branagh (p. 4). Minami et al., *Performing Shakespeare,* add to this the work of non-British and/or non-Anglophone directors as well as pan-Asian productions, pp. 7–8.

[15] Gallimore, 'Shakespeare in Japan', pp. 293 and Joubin, *East Asia*, p. 16, identify these two directors as pioneers in 'the internationalization of Asian Shakespeares'.

[16] Fujita and Pronko, *East and West*, p. 1; Minami et al., *Performing Shakespeare*.

[17] Tetsuo Kishi, Roger Pringle and Stanley Wells (eds), *Shakespeare and Cultural Traditions: The Selected Proceedings of the International Shakespeare Association World Congress, Tokyo, 1991* (Newark, University of Delaware Press, 1991); Fujita and Pronko, *East and West*.

[18] Sasayama et al., *Japanese Stage*, Tetsuo Anzai, *Shakespeare in Japan* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen, 1999).

[19] This collection of essays and practitioner interviews belatedly came out of the seminar 'Japanese Shakespeare Productions: Problems of Stylization and Localization' held at the 6th WSC in Los Angeles in 1996, run by Takahashi Yasunari and Ian Carruthers.

[20] Minami et al., *Performing Shakespeare*, Kishi and Bradshaw, *Shakespeare in Japan*, and Gallimore, 'Contemporary Japan'.

[21] Joubin, *East Asia*, p. 32. The former Panasonic Globe remains in use as a venue for work starring popular celebrities.

[22] Dennis Kennedy (ed.), *Foreign Shakespeare: contemporary performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

[23] Friederike von Schwerin-High, *Shakespeare, Reception and Translation: Germany and Japan* (London: Continuum, 2004), had introduced a comparative element.

[24] Douglas Brooks and Lingui Yang (eds), *Shakespeare and Asia* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen, 2010); Dennis Kennedy and Li Lan Yong (eds), *Shakespeare in Asia: Contemporary Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Poonam Trivedi and Ryuta Minami (eds), *Replaying Shakespeare in Asia* (London: Routledge, 2010).

[25] Dominic Shellard and David Warren (eds.), 'Shakespeare in Japan: A Great! Collaboration', *Shakespeare* 9(4), 2013, pp.373–82.
[26] Sarah Olive, Kohei Uchimaru, Adele Lee and Rosalind Fielding, *Shakespeare in East Asian Education* (London: Palgrave, 2021). See also British Shakespeare Association, *Teaching Shakespeare*, 6, 2014; 13, 2017; and 16, 2018; Ryoko Tsuneyoshi (ed.), *Globalization and Japanese "exceptionalism" in Education: insiders' views into a changing system* (London: Routledge, 2018); Minami Ryuta, '"No Literature Please, We're Japanese": The Disappearance of Literary Texts from English Classrooms in Japan', in Masazumi Araki, Lim Chee Seng, Minami Ryuta and Yoshihara Yukari (eds), *English Studies in Asia* (Kuala Lumpur: Silverfish Books, 2007), pp. 145–65. Toyoda's early history of Shakespeare in Japan touches on his place in university education in several places, 'Shakespeare in Japan'.
[27] Joubin, *East Asia*, pp. 16, 23–4, 29.
[28] Bi-qi Beatrice Lei, Judy Celine Ick and Poonam Trivedi (eds), *Shakespeare's Asian Journeys: Critical Encounters, Cultural Geographies, and the Politics of Travel* (London: Routledge, 2017); Jonathan Locke Hart (ed.), *Shakespeare and Asia* (London: Routledge, 2018).
[29] Wingfield-Hayes, 'Japan was the future'.
[30] Olive et al, *East Asian Education*; Joubin, *East Asia*.
[31] See also Shellard and Warren, 'Shakespeare in Japan'.
[32] Toyoda, 'Shakespeare in Japan', and Joubin, *East Asia*, invoke pre-Meiji Shakespeares.
[33] Graham Holderness, 'Introduction', *Critical Survey* 33(1), 2021, p. 1; Yoshiko Kawachi, 'Introduction: Shakespeare in Modern Japan', *Multicultural Shakespeare*, 14(29), 2016, pp. 7-12; Joubin, *East Asia* (within larger regional modernising context, in similar decades); Shellard and Warren, 'Shakespeare in Japan'; Gallimore, 'Contemporary Japan', p. 110.
[34] Shellard and Warren, 'Shakespeare in Japan'; Minami et al., *Performing Shakespeare*.
[35] Toyoda, 'Shakespeare in Japan', p. 498.
[36] Regarding kabuki, Minami et al., *Performing Shakespeare*, p. 73; Kishi and Bradshaw, *Shakespeare in Japan*; Toyoda, 'Shakespeare in Japan', p. 496; Kawachi, 'Introduction'. Regarding shingeki, Sasayama et al., *Japanese Stage*, pp. 16-17.
[37] Kishi and Bradshaw, *Shakespeare in Japan*, p. 27; Fujita and Pronko, *East and West*, p. 3; Gallimore, 'Contemporary Japan', p. 110.
[38] Gallimore, 'Shakespeare in Japan'; Sasayama et al., *Japanese Stage*; Holderness, 'Introduction'.
[39] Fujita and Pronko, *East and West*, pp. 3–4, 11; Gallimore, 'Contemporary Japan', p. 111; Kishi and Bradshaw, *Shakespeare in Japan*, p. vii.
[40] Kishi and Bradshaw, *Shakespeare in Japan*; Shellard and Warren, 'Shakespeare in Japan'; Gallimore, 'Contemporary Japan', p. 109; Wingfield-Hayes, 'Japan was the future'; Olive et al., *East Asian Education*.

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