Geisha Films in Japan: Three Phases

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Geisha is one of the symbols of Japanese culture and is frequently mentioned along with Samurai and Mount Fuji. In reality, however, geisha is hardly seen today except in Kyoto, Hakone, and a few other cities. The Guinness Records listed, world-longest-run film series *Tora-san* directed by Yoji Yamada, from 1969 (the 1st film) to 1995 (the final, 48th film), testifies that ordinary people "have never seen geishas" (*Tora-San's Sunrise and Sunset*, 1976). The number of geishas in Japan has dwindled from 80,000 at the beginning of the twentieth century to 2,000 today.

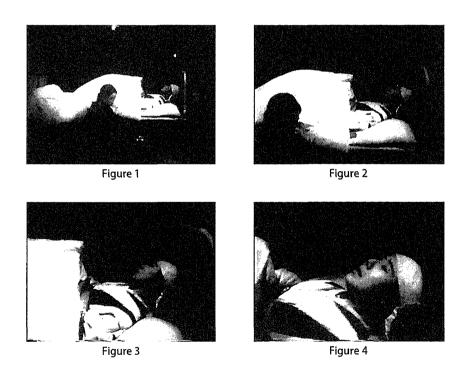
American filmmakers made silent short documentaries about Japanese geishas in the early 1900s, as we can see in examples such as *The National Geisha Dance of Japan* (1902) and *Geisha Girls* (1902). Geisha's impact was not limited to the overseas audience, who appreciated the exotic oriental beauty. In the homeland of geisha, filmmakers have established the close relationship between geisha and film. The first short documentary was made in Japan in 1899, and it was entitled *Geisha's Dance*, in which geishas were dancing in the famous geisha quarters in Tokyo.

The geisha has also appeared in the early Japanese narrative feature films, which were mostly copies of Kabuki plays. Cameras were brought into a Kabuki theater to shoot the ongoing plays on stage. In these films, geishas were played by men, for there were no women among Kabuki performers, as is true even today. The geishas in Japanese early narrative feature films up to 1919 were representative of the Kabuki world. They were played by female impersonators, and observed the Kabuki rules without paying much attention to illustrating reality. But in 1919, the first actress appeared in a Japanese film, and in the 1920s and 1930s actresses abounded. They brought reality into film and, when talkies overtook silent films, made it possible for filmmakers to give rich embodiment to the geisha characters as if they had been real.

For many years, Japan has been depicting geishas in film, and the way in which it fantasizes geishas in films is explored in this essay. I argue that the history of the geisha genre can be divided into three phases, clarifying the formula of the geisha figure in each phase.

Geisha in Poverty: The First Phase of Geisha Films

The first phase began in the 1930s and faded away by the mid 1950s. During this period in Japanese film, the geisha flourished and invariably functioned as a symbol of poverty, which, in reality, was supposed to be the sole reason for becoming a geisha. *Sisters of the Gion* (1936), a winner of the Kinema Junpo Best Film Award, is representative of Kenji Mizoguchi's geisha films of the 1930s, depicting two poor geisha sisters in such a way as to reveal society's injustice against them. The efforts of the two sisters to become happy are frustrated in every way. The elder sister is loyal to her newly poor patron and takes care of him without expecting any money from him, but he eventually abandons her. Her younger sister, Omocha, acts in contrast to her sister. Omocha deliberately changes patrons for better treatment, that is, for more money. But at the end of the film, she is confined to bed due to an injury caused by her ex-patron Kimura, who believes that he has been abused by her. The film ends with the zoom shot of Omocha, from a long shot to a close-up (Figures 1-4), and the following words spoken by her:



What are we to do? What do they want us to do? Why must we suffer so? Why are there such things as geisha in this world?

A geisha injured by her outraged client is commonly seen where a profit-first geisha

appears. A brief look at Kozaburo Yoshimura's 1951 film, *False Full Attire*, will show that geishas like Omocha are still valid in the 1950s. Kimicho in False Full Attire regards offering her body in exchange for money as proper business. As soon as she learns that her patron has been fired due to embezzlement of his company's money in order to meet her extortionate request, Kimicho decisively answers "yes" to his question: "Is the end of money, the end of our relationship?" She reasonably defines her relationship with him as entirely money-based, though he expects a romantic relationship. Kimicho is eventually knifed by him, and is hospitalized. The injury scene is dramatically depicted in the film (Figures 5-8), though such violence was not clearly shown in *Sisters of the Gion*. While in the hospital, she congratulates her younger sister's decision to go to Tokyo for a new life, saying "It is good for you to try as you wish. You are not like us and not for this town [referring to the geisha quarter]." There is a real distinction between geishas and ordinary people who are "not like us," and the former are doomed to be unhappy and poor. Geishas function as an emblem for poverty and misery.



Figure 5



Figure 6



Figure 7



Figure 8

The geisha's unhappiness is sometimes caused by the deprivation of basic human rights. Mizoguchi's *A Geisha* (1937) makes two protagonists, young Miyoe and middle-aged Miyoharu, question if they can refuse to have sex with clients whom they dislike. No filmmaker ever questioned the long-established custom that a geisha should have sexual relations with a patron.

Mizoguchi makes the seventeen-year-old apprentice geisha Miyoe explicitly question: "If I do not want to serve a man, I can reject him, can't I?" She actually refuses the client who is supposed to patronize, biting off his lips. Mizoguchi also makes mature geisha Miyoharu refuse to have a patron or to have sex with any client. Rejecting sex is her way of observing basic human rights. She is criticized by her boss or "okami" for not having a patron. The okami is sure that it is "a big mistake," and arranges a sexual encounter for her. But Miyoharu rejects this arrangement, asserting her right to choose: "But I don't like him." These words offend the boss: "That's the way rich people talk. You're poor, so don't talk like that."

A little later Miyoharu is boycotted by the okami, who is in charge of allotting geishas to teahouses. Short of food, she is compelled to accept the okami's arrangement. She feels she is a loser, but wishes to protect her young disciple, Miyoe, from any sexual encounter with a client. Wiping off her tears, she abruptly declares that she will become Miyoe's patron (Figures 9-10). It is an extraordinary idea for a geisha to have a "female" patron in a heterosexual world of geisha. It does not sound realistic, but Miyoharu's declaration indicates her protests against society's injustice, where only a person with money is treated as human.



Figure 9



Figure 10

The following year, 1954, Mizoguchi made *The Woman in the Rumor*, in which even an "okami" is miserable. This okami is deceived by a young man, who has been financially supported by her and expected to marry. He is only interested in her money, and seduces her daughter to elope with him. The daughter is too devoted to her mother to accept his offer, but her mother collapses and afterwards remains in bed. The lives of the okami and her daughter are as sorrowful as the geishas themselves, who say with a tone of resignation: "Living is agony." They are "the daughters of mizunomi [the poorest] farmers," and they utter criticism against society at the end of the film: "When will women like us disappear? More and more [geishas] appear without end." The gloomy tone is the same as in the 1936 film, *Sisters of the Gion*. No change had been made by Mizoguchi in the depiction of geisha for these twenty years, that is, between 1936 and 1954.

Mikio Naruse made films of geisha that are no less gloomy than Mizoguchi's. In a 1954

film, *Late Chrysanthemum*, three ex-geishas are depicted. Two are still poor and borrow money from the third ex-geisha, who has exceptionally become rich by usurious lending. The rich woman's experiences as a geisha made her regard men as "feeding on women's blood." Her motto of life is "kill or be killed," and she, friendless and trustless, does not believe in anyone or anything except money, saying that "If you have money, you will not starve to death." Ex-geishas are all unhappy, no matter how much or little they may have money.

Naruse made another geisha film in 1956. In *Flowing*, the aged ex-geisha, now "okami," manages a geisha house, but there are virtually no geisha available in this house, for young geishas are drafted by other geisha houses. Her daughter defines their house as a "declining house." The mother is deceitfully persuaded by a friend to sell her geisha house, her only estate, and the film implies that she and her daughter will soon be expelled from the house and possibly starve in the streets. Both employer and employee in the world of geisha are fated to be miserable.

Geisha Films in 1950s-60s America

The postwar Japan-U.S. relations brought change to the prototype of geisha. From the mid 1950s through the end of the 1970s, geisha showed a very different face. They were no longer miserable and, moreover, enjoyed being in romantic love. By the mid 1950s, the postwar evolution of Japanese cinema had already taken firm root under the auspices of the General Headquarters of the Allied Forces, the Civil Information and Education Section, the screen kiss had been introduced, and romantic love had been encouraged. The encounter with the American geisha films was timely for Japanese filmmakers, who were influenced by them to transform their own formula of geisha films from "geisha in poverty and misery" to "geisha in romantic love."

In the U.S., geisha films featuring Japanese actresses were eagerly made in the postwar east-meet-west atmosphere. Such films include *The House of Bamboo* (1955), *The Teahouse of the August Moon* (1956), *Sayonara* (1957), and *The Barbarian and the Geisha* (1958). The characteristics of American geisha films become clear when we compare "Okichi films" made in Japan (*Tojin Okichi*) and America (*The Barbarian and the Geisha*).

Okichi films are based on the real life of a geisha called Okichi, who was born in 1840 and was sent to attend Townsend Harris, the first American consul in Japan. The Okichi legend was made into film several times, from 1930 to 1954, under the title, *Tojin Okichi*, during the first phase of geisha films by Japanese filmmakers. The Okichi legend drew the attention of American filmmaker John Huston, and in 1958 he made an American film version of Okichi, *The Barbarian and the Geisha*. In the Japanese Okichi films, it is Okichi's relation with her fiancé Tsurumatsu that is focused upon. She is forced to separate from him for money, and is despised

by all villagers because of her suspected affair with Harris. She is miserable from the beginning to the end. In the American Okichi film, however, a sweet romance between Okichi and Harris is developed (Figure 11). She does not show the slightest sign of poverty. In fact, she is elegantly dressed in kimono and well conversant with English. She is represented as a woman of noble quality. Harris is deeply in love with her and proposes that they should live together in a quiet village in Japan after his



Figure 11

duty in Japan is over. Okichi's Japanese fiancé and her hardship are completely dropped.

Behind the geisha figure in American Okichi film, there is the "Butterfly" fantasy that Japanese women should be desirable because they are trained to repress their own wishes and to please men. Giacomo Puccini's opera *Madama Butterfly*, performed in 1904, based on Pierre Loti's *Madame Chrysanthème* (1887) as well as on John Luther Long's best-selling *Madame Butterfly* (1898) and its staging script by David Belasco (1900), certainly contributed to circulating such a fantasy throughout the world. As Butterfly fell in love with Pinkerton and enjoyed their romance, Japanese geishas in American films were women in love. In Puccini's opera, Butterfly is tortured because of her very strong love for Pinkerton and eventually commits suicide in response to his faithlessness. As such a tragedy is embraced in the Butterfly fantasy, geishas in love are not always and necessarily united with their American lovers happily. But in geisha films in America, there are always moments of romantic happiness between a Japanese geisha or ex-geisha and an American man who stays in Japan.

The onset of their romantic love is usually indicated by the American protagonist's wearing kimono. For an American man to wear a kimono means his acceptance of a Japanese woman as his girlfriend as well as of Japanese culture. Kimono even signifies a Japanese woman herself. In *The House of Bamboo* made by Samuel Fuller in 1955, for example, a Japanese widow Mariko, whose American husband was murdered by American gangs in Japan, is referred to as "kimono." Mariko falls in love with another American Eddie, who has been sent from California to Japan to investigate the murder, and she takes care of him in a Japanese house made of bamboo. Eddie is envied because he has "the kimono like that to nurse you." Eddie and Mariko are referred to as "you and the kimono," and Mariko is identified as "his kimono." It is not clear whether Mariko has ever been a geisha, but she takes good care of Eddie in the way a geisha would take care of her client. When he is impressed by her skill at massage, she explains to him: "In Japan, a woman is taught from childhood to please a man." Eddie is happy to hear that and comments: "It's the best custom yet." But it is based on a very misleading concept about Japanese women in the 1950s in reality as well as in film, for what Mariko says can be applied only to geisha or to women in the

sex industry and not ordinary women, who were sensitive to the equal rights of the sexes.

There is an American soldier in Japan, who refuses to wear a kimono, in *The Teahouse of the August Moon*, made in 1956 by Daniel Mann. This man, Fisby, is given a beautiful Japanese geisha called Lotus Blossom as a gift from Japanese villagers, but he stubbornly refuses to accept her. As soon as he falls in love with her, however, he not only wears a kimono but also admiringly speaks of the merits of it to his American friend. He even learns to perform the Japanese tea ceremony. The actress who plays this geisha is Machiko



Figure 12

Kyo, who frequently plays a geisha and a prostitute in Japanese films in the 1950s such as *False Full Attire* (1951) and *Street of Shame* (1956). She is always a poverty-smitten, money-mad geisha or prostitute in Japanese films, but she is an ever-smiling, doll-like geisha with no hint of poverty in *The Teahouse of the August Moon* (Figure 12). The only obligation she has is to attend an American soldier, with whom she soon falls in love. Their romance must flower.

Japanese geishas in American films are not poor. They are elegantly dressed and unrealistically fast in learning English. Hanaogi in *Sayonara* made by Joshua Logan in 1957 speaks fluent English and has no difficulty in communicating with her future husband Lloyd, who is stationed in Japan. He significantly begins to wear kimono when he becomes seriously involved with Hanaogi (Figure 13). She is the star of her allwoman singing company, which is modeled on the actual, well-known Takarazuka Revue Company founded



Figure 13

in 1913 during the time of Japanese modernization and westernization. Hanaogi's confession to Lloyd, however, reveals her past as a geisha or a prostitute, possibly a geisha because of her excellent acquired dancing and singing: "I have no right to marry anyone. My father was very poor. To save his other children, he was forced to sell one of his daughters. The man from the houses of Yoshiwara came to him. Because I was the oldest, he agreed I should go with them." Yoshiwara was a renowned quarter for geishas and prostitutes. Hanaogi frequently shows her traits of an ex-geisha. She surprises Lloyd, when they are still almost strangers to each other, with the following words: "I will love you, if that is your wish." She must have been trained to be pleasing. Later on when they become lovers, she is again pleasing, instead of being jealous, to hear that he will enjoy a company of other girls.

Geishas in American films have nothing to do with poverty and misery; they are women in love. *My Geisha*, made by Jack Cardiff in 1962, paradoxically reinforces this tendency by making an American woman, who follows her husband to Japan and approaches him in the guise of a Japanese geisha, rediscover her love for him and save their marriage from ruin. A marriage crisis is thus avoided by adopting the familiar pattern of a "Japanese" geisha falling in love with an American in Japan. The geisha in romantic love, as the prototype for American geisha films, provided a new model for Japanese geisha films in the second phase.

Geisha in Romantic Love: The Second Phase of Geisha Films

The remake of *Sisters of the Gion* appeared in 1956, exactly twenty years after Mizoguchi made his *Gion*. The director of the remake was renowned Japanese filmmaker, Masahiro Nomura, and he decided to relieve the geisha sisters from their poverty and misery. Instead of Mizoguchi's bed-ridden younger sister cursing society and her injury caused by her client Kimura, Nomura's younger geisha is moved by Kimura's true love for her, and begins to love him. The ending sequence of Nomura's *Gion* depicts Kimura's visit to her house with a hint of their happy marriage in the near future. In the sequence, the younger sister cries with joy when she learns of his visit, and discloses her wish to marry him to her elder sister (Figures 14-15). The elder sister acts as



Figure 14



Figure 15



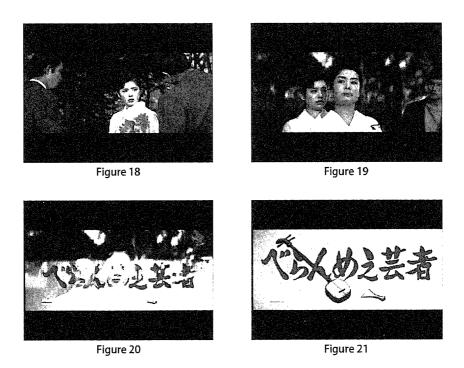
Figure 16



Figure 17

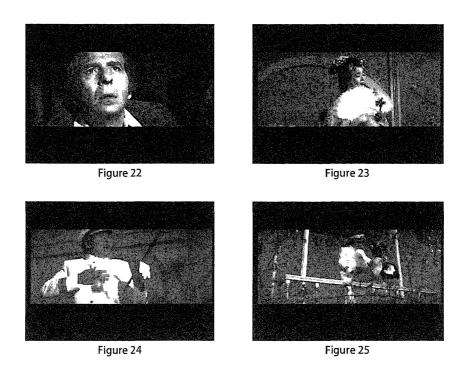
go-between, inviting Kimura to come in to the younger sister's room (Figures 16-17). The elder sister is not an unhappy woman either, because she has already raised her daughter, a fruit of her union with her beloved patron. Both sisters are women in love, and they no longer curse society.

Beranmee Geisha, made by Eiichi Koishi in 1959, is a very appropriate example to understand how the geisha films in the second phrase were different from those in the previous phase. The film featured Hibari Misora, a great singer and actress of twentieth century Japan, who successfully created an unparalleled image of geisha--vital, cheerful, reliable and happy. The opening sequence introduced her as a woman with a sense of justice and compassion. She delivered her fellow, younger geisha from possible rape by three rascals (Figures 18-19). The medium-closeup of this protecting, elder geisha is superimposed by the title shot (Figures 20-21), on which the main music is happily edited. A romantic love and even a marriage between her and a young, hopeful man is arranged to occur towards the end of the film. This cheerful and vigorous geisha was well received by the nation morphing into a major economic power. A total of seven of Misora's geisha films were released one after another until 1963. They contributed to eliminating the pessimistic legacy of the first phase geisha films.



Even Butterfly, who commits suicide due to her frustrated love with her faithless American husband in Puccini's opera, is transformed into a happy wife in an episode in *Tora-san's Sunrise*

and Sunset made by Yoji Yamada in 1976. An American in Tokyo falls in love with Tora's younger sister and, while seeing a play of Madam Butterfly, daydreams of a happy marriage between him as Pinkerton and her as Butterfly (Figures 22-25).



The geisha in the second phase is not only a happy and strong woman free from poverty but also a new type of woman who loves men and finds delight in sex. In the 1964 award-winning film by Keisuke Kinoshita, *The Scent of Innocence*, such a woman is introduced. She abandons an ordinary life and chooses to become a geisha and then a prostitute. At the age of sixty-five, she still gives an erotic gaze to men including Americans in Japan, whose "tall nose" and "brown eyes" appeal to her. She envies her daughter of forty-eight, saying "You are in the prime of womanhood. You are never short of men."

The introduction of such a lover of men and sex is not unrelated to the surge of pornographic films, which were called "pink films," in the 1970s. It is in 1971 that Nikkatsu was re-established as Nikkatsu Porno Roman, to avoid bankruptcy, and exclusively produced films in which sex should be depicted. It was inevitable that geishas and prostitutes were often focused upon. *A Man and a Woman Behind the Fusuma Screen*, made by Tatsumi Kumashiro in 1973, was one such film. There is no pessimism in it. A geisha is patronized by a rich man and becomes pregnant, but is soon abandoned by him. She does not mourn but indifferently says: "I

am a geisha. I am used to being played with." Soon after she says these words, the subtitles in Japanese are edited on her image (Figures 26-27): "This woman was born in a back parlor, and was destined to become either a geisha or a factory girl when she was sixteen or seventeen. As expected, she was sold to be a geisha, a woman slave." In spite of this verbal reference to her poor family background, her poverty or hardship is never depicted. The reference to poverty is nothing but a gesture of paying homage to the old tradition of Japanese geisha films, where poverty must be depicted as a major issue. Another geisha more clearly proves herself a free spirit. She is even proud of being a geisha when she tells her husband: "I do not care, as long as I get money from you. I am a geisha."





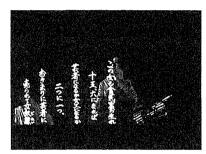


Figure 27

Along the line of pornographic films in the 1970s, a peculiar topic of geisha as being a sex machine was developed. A geisha and her client had sex to decide who was more sexually skillful in *Hot Spa Geisha: Konjac* (1970), *Hot Spa Geisha: Worm* (1971), and *Hot Spa Geisha: Turtle* (1972). The likewise sex contest was seen between a geisha and a man with his extraordinary genitals in *Secrecy: Great Spot for Hot Spa* (1973). Even students easily became geisha on screen, because only sex mattered. Three high school students temporarily became geisha to raise money for their trip to Okinawa in *Hot Spring Juvenile Geisha* (1973).

The second phase in Japanese geisha films thus saw an increase of such films but it contradicted the reality about the geisha, whose number was drastically diminished when the officially approved geisha quarters such as Yoshiwara were closed down and the 1958 ban on prostitution affected the geisha profession. The flowering of geisha films in Japan in the second phase can be explained partly by the erotic taste of the times and partly by emerging feminism, which make it possible to depict the once poor and exploited geishas as independent and self-confident women.

A Conclusion: Restoration of "Geisha" in the Third Phase

The third phase of the geisha films began in the 1980s and has been continuing to the present. The scarcity of geisha films in the first and the third phases in America is only natural, for geisha presents itself to America as cultural and racial otherness, which is difficult to illustrate. The second phase was rather exceptional, when Japan and America came in very close contact culturally, politically, and physically (American soldiers stationed in Japan). The American voyeuristic gaze upon Japanese women was peculiarly created in the postwar atmosphere of mutual understanding.

The most remarkable characteristic of this third phase is to present geisha in its original, proper meaning by focusing upon their performance. In other words, the geisha heritage has been revived in film, and what can be called "heritage film" of geisha has been flourishing. The training of geishas in dance, singing, and talking are all illustrated. The emphasis on eroticism and optimism in the second phase has given way to the well-studied demonstration of geisha's arts performance in the third phrase.

The Geisha House Yokiro, made by Hideo Gosha in 1983, repeatedly shows exuberant dancing and shamisen-playing. The film significantly defines the geisha who can dance and play most beautifully as "Number One" (Figures 28-29). Geishas are clearly distinguished from



Figure 28



Figure 29



Figure 30



Figure 31

prostitutes in that they can perform their arts. In *The Geisha House Yokiro*, a woman is cruelly informed that "she has no chance" to become a geisha because of her poor performance. What she chooses to become, instead, is a prostitute. A geisha's luxurious performance often impresses her lover. The protagonist geisha in *A Diary of Yumechiyo* made by Kirio Urayama in 1985, is remembered, even after her death, as an image of a beautifully dancing woman (Figures 30-31). Geishas in the third phase thus regain the original meaning of the word "geisha," which literally means "arts performers." They are highly skilled professionals.

Even in the tradition of student geisha, which used to show how easily students became geishas with no training, the emphasis is now put, in the 1980s, on arts performance and not on sex appeal. The protagonist of *Bu Su*, which was made by Jun Ichikawa in 1987, begins to receive hard training to become a maiko or apprentice geisha while attending a senior high school. It is hinted that much time is required for her to become a geisha.

Omocha or The Geisha House, made by Kinji Fukasaku in 1999, is a documentary-like depiction of a young woman's life until her achievement of mizuage. The ending sequence of the film gracefully presents the way she greets her first patron, takes off her kimono, lies naked in bed, and slowly and smilingly turns her face towards him. Her smile indicates her pride and contentment for becoming a geisha (Figures 32-33). The whole film can be taken as a solemn ritual of becoming a geisha, who is a professional performer of arts. A Tale of a Golden Geisha,



Figure 32



Figure 33



Figure 34



Figure 35

which was made by Juzo Itami in the same year (1999), likewise depicts such a professional woman who can perform arts (Figures 34-35).

Memoirs of a Geisha, an American geisha film made by Rob Marshall in 2005, can be interpreted along the same line. It presents the protagonist's unveiling ceremony as her dancing in front of her would-be customers. But her dance is not really the traditional geisha dance. It is an Americanized acrobatic performance, closer to Chinese martial art (Figures 36-37). Though it lacks the delicacy and subtlety of the geisha dance, the filmmaker's decision to include it at all can be appreciated as an indication of sharing the same approach of valuing the geisha heritage. Japanese geisha films in the third phase thus have been revaluating the original meaning of the geisha or "arts performers." The tendency to appreciate the value of geisha is not unrelated to the fact that geisha are diminishing in number and becoming a rare breed of people. The geisha films made during the third phase illustrate the skills of geisha painstakingly and admiringly. The geisha films of today can be said to be the homage to geisha's art.







Figure 37

The following chart lists the geisha films examined in this essay, starting from the first phase (geisha in poverty), through the second phase (geisha in romantic love), to the third phase (restoration of "geisha").

Three Phases of Geisha Films in Japan

Year	Title	Director
The First P	Phase: Geisha in Poverty	
1930	Tojin Okichi	Kenji Mizoguchi
1930	Tojin Okichi	Sho Murakoshi
1931	Tojin Okichi	Teinosuke Kinugasa
1935	Tojin Okichi	Taizo Fuyushima
1936	Sisters of the Gion	Kenji Mizoguchi
1937	Tojin Okichi or A Story of the Black Ship	Tomiyasu Ikeda
1937	A Geisha	Kenji Mizoguchi
1951	False Full Attire	Kozaburo Yoshimura
1954	Tojin Okichi	Mitsuo Wakasugi
1954	The Woman in the Rumor	Kenji Mizoguchi
1954	Late Chrysanthemum	Mikio Naruse
1956	Flowing	Mikio Naruse
The Secon	nd Phase: Geisha in Romantic Love	
1956	Sisters of the Gion	Masahiro Nomura
1959	Beranmee Geisha	Eiichi Koishi
1964	The Scent of Innocence	Keisuke Kinoshita
1970	Hot Spa Geisha: Konjac	Sadao Nakajima
1971	Hot Spa Geisha: Worm	Noribumi Suzuki
1972	Hot Spa Geisha: Turtle	Noribumi Suzuki
1973	Great Spot for Hot Spa	Isao Hayashi
1973	A Man and a Woman Behind the Fusuma Screen	Tatsumi Kumashiro
1973	Hot Spring Juvenile Geisha	Ryuichi Takamori
1976	Tora- san's Sunrise and Sunset	Yoji Yamada
The Third	Phase: Restoration of "Geisha"	
1983	The Geisha House Yokiro	Hideo Gosha
1985	A Diary of Yumechiyo	Kirio Urayama
1987	Bu Su	Jun Ichikawa
1999	Omocha (aka The Geisha House)	Kinji Fukasaku
1999	A Tale of a Golden Geisha	Juzo Itami