IEMOTO SYSTEM: A PSYCHO-CULTURAL PHENOMENON IN PRACTICE AND ITS EFFECT ON MUSICAL TRANSMISSION IN JAPAN

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My first exposure to koto and shamisen began with Mrs. Araki Kazuko in Kurume, Japan. It was through her tutorial that I was introduced to this vast world of Japanese music in 1988. It was, in-fact, the day after I arrived in Japan that I met her. After studying for two years, it was through her introduction to iemoto Takemura Aiyako that I was able to immerse further into that world than I had ever intended or thought possible. After her death, Mrs. Masuda Yoko, an *odeshi* of Takemura *sensei*, helped me to continue and motivated me to consider doing a graduate degree in this area. At the University of Hawai'i, I would like to thank Professors Dr. Frederick Lau, Dr. Byong Won Lee, Dr. Bernice Hirai, Dr. Ricardo Trimillos and Dr. Christine Yano for all the direction and training I received. I would like to thank the Music Department for the opportunity to work as a graduate assistant during the course work phase of my graduate studies. Fieldwork for this thesis took place from September 2002 to November 2002 in Tokyo Japan. I am indebted to all the informants who participated and thank them for not only sharing their information, experiences and perspectives but also supporting my research during that time. Being of Canadian citizenship in an American University, the burden of funding this research project came from private sources and myself alone. Financial assistance was provided by my parents, Mr. and Mrs. C.B. Olafsson, and by Mr. Shinji Nakagawa. I would also like to thank Sarah McClimon for her support, inspiration, and friendship.

ABSTRACT

A wave of modernity affecting the populace of Japan is causing a turn towards Western and popular musical arts. Yet, underneath the trends towards "other" artistic pursuits is a "psycho-cultural" (Hsu 1975:xi) approach that permeates the artistic activities of Japan commonly referred to as the iemoto system. In contrast to the West, where its members of society act far more individualistically and are far less pliant to authority, in Japan, duties and obligation to others takes precedence over personal enjoyment and comfort. The *iemoto* system is a direct product of this all-important virtue in Japan. It touches every level of Japanese society with the title of "sensei" being given special reverence in any medium. The system itself even stands as a validation of the arts in its partial or full implementation. The objective of this paper is to present and compare the historical and the contemporary elements of the iemoto system as it is employed in the sankyoku (chamber music) tradition. The paper will show how the traditional model as a standard measures against present day practice. The paper is a result of the culmination of participation and first hand observation in the sankyoku iemoto infrastructure, direct interviews conducted in the fall of 2002 specifically soliciting insider perspectives, and the presentation of original source material collected from questionnaires disseminated at that time. Ultimately, such observation of the trends in the organization and transmission of the practice of music enriches the field of study of Japan and its cultural activities as well as a more nuanced view of modern and traditional identities.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOW	/LEDGEMENTSiv	V
	1	
ABSTRAC	CT	7
LIST OF	ΓABLESvi	i
СНАРТЕІ		
INTRODU	CTION	
Intr	oduction of Research Problem1	
Def	Tining the <i>Iemoto</i> System5	
	sus on Sankyoku7	
	torical Origins9	
	erature Review1	
	dwork and Methodology1	
CHAPTEI	R TWO.	
	POLOGICAL MODEL	
Ant	hropological And Historical Model18	Q
	Pyramid And Solidarity	
	reditation	
	nder2	
	nomics2	
	perhuman Qualities	
	retive Society and Transmission2	
	nimaru Legend as a Case Study	
	nclusion	
CHAPTEI	R THREE:	
PRESENT	DAY APPLICATIONS	
Intr	oduction to Chapter Material35	5
	ormant Material38	
	Pyramid And Solidarity44	
	reditation47	
	ıder50	

Economics	52
Superhuman Qualities	56
Secretive Society and Transmission	59
A Case Study	61
Conclusion	63
CHAPTER FOUR:	
MUSICAL ANALYSIS	
Introduction	
Background Notes For <i>Rokudan No Shirabe</i> Transcriptions	
Analysis of Transcription For Transmission Variations	
CHAPTER FIVE:	
CONCLUSION	77
APPENDIX A: Questionnaire Pages 1 to 5	80
APPENDIX B: English Translation of Questionnaire page 2	85
APPENDIX C: Japanese Translation of Committee on Human Studies Proposal as a Research Explanation	86
APPENDIX D: English Version of Committee on Human Studies Proposal as a Research Explanation	88
APPENDIX E: Rokudan No Shirabe Transcription	90
GLOSSSARY OF JAPANESE TERMS.	124
REFERENCES.	129

LIST OF TABLES

<u>TABLE</u>	<u>TITLE</u> <u>P</u>	<u>AGE</u>
Table No. 1:	Table of Obligation	20
Table No. 2:	Informant Background Material	38
Table No. 3:	Informant Questions With Translation	40
Table No. 4:	Okeiko Envelope	52
Table No. 5:	Financial Material.	54
Table No. 6:	Western Notation of The Hirachôshi Tuning	66
Table No. 7:	Performer's Background Material	67
Table No. 8:	Koto Techniques in The Order They Occur in Rokudan no Shirabe	68
Table No. 9:	Legend of Transcription Symbols Used in Transcription	70
Table No. 10:	Number of Performance Differences Between Master Transcription and Miyagi-kai Transnotation	-
Table No. 11:	Number of Performance Differences Between Master Players Transcription and Disciple Transcription	
Table No. 12:	Sample of Tempo Variations	75

Chapter One: Introduction

Introduction of Research Problem

There is a fear that the traditional arts of Japan are ebbing into extinction. It is certain that the art of traditional instrument making is falling victim to the depleted numbers of participants active in traditional music. There is a wave of modernity affecting the Japanese populace causing the youth to turn more towards Western and popular musical arts. Yet, underneath the trends towards these newer and "other" artistic pursuits is a "psycho-cultural" phenomenon that permeates the artistic activities of Japan regardless of geographic or temporal factors. It is a strict code of loyalty and devotion to the hierarchy of superiors and membership to the group and is known as the *iemoto* system. "Psycho-cultural" is a term I first encountered reading the main text of *Iemoto*, The Heart of Japan (Hsu 1975:xi). According to Francis L.K. Hsu, the author, rather than being a product of tradition and socio-cultural behavior, the term psycho-cultural refers to actions and thought processes, which result in socio-cultural products. This publication by Hsu investigates the social importance of "secondary groupings" in society, the "primary groupings" being the elementary kinship organization of parent and children. Hsu then,

asserts that Japan responded so well and so rapidly to the challenge of the West because her most important secondary grouping..., more often in the form of *iemoto*, and the *iemoto* pattern of interpersonal relations, enabled her to adapt herself to the requirements of modern industrialization and nationalism. (Hsu 1975:xi)

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This importance of grouping and distinctly secondary grouping is the key to the phenomenon mentioned above. In contrast to the West, where its members of society act far more individualistically and are far less pliant to authority, to the Japanese, duty and obligation to others takes precedence over personal enjoyment and comfort. Participation in the group being more important than individual acclamation is a manifestation of the Japanese pattern of human relations. Another important manifestation is that family responsibility and hierarchy is not limited to genetic lineage or marriage but to also that of the incorporation of individuals living in the same household. "The simplicity of the Japanese situation is that, for the individual, the household (ie) consisting of those who actually live under the same roof is the most important group" (Hsu 1975:33). The household members do not have to be directly related by blood. Other examples of the importance of belonging to the non family unit can be seen in everyday life in Japan from the intensity of junior high school club activities to businessmen constantly working overtime to the trend of committing suicide as a result of not fulfilling responsibilities to the company or group. The contrasting bullying, known as "ijime", of junior high

¹ forms of *ijime* include the following:

^{1.} Stealing, robbery and extortion.

^{2.} Concealment and destruction of property.

^{3.} Bodily violence.

^{4.} Slavery.

^{5.} Social abuse from humiliation to isolation. This can be verbal or written forms of abuse, can include some forms of sexual harassment, and can also result in social isolation, something which would be even more important in Japan with its emphasis on the group. (Lebra 2004) (http://www.bookmice.net/darkchilde/japan/ijime/html) (Accessed on May 27, 2002)

school outcasts often resulting in death, and the regular incidents of "salary men" jumping in front of trains when they are unemployed are the darker facets of this trait. The *iemoto* system is a direct product of this all-pervasive virtue in Japan. It touches all levels of Japanese society with the title of "sensei" being given special reverence in any medium. The system itself even stands as a validation of the arts that employ it. The implementation of the system can be seen on many new arts entering Japan. For example, the rise in the popularity of Hawaiian Hula in Japan and its predisposed "halau" grouping system reflects common elements of the *iemoto seido*.

An interesting comment on the validation of performing arts is by applying the hierarchy of a quasi-*iemoto* structure--along with its stage-name system and monetary "honorarium" to the teacher--Japanese seek to make hula a successful business and an art form acceptable according to their cultural criteria. (Kurokawa 2000)(http://research.umbc.edu/eol/2/kurokawa/)(Accessed on April 18, 2001).

One of the strongest images projected by Japan is the almost fanatical master-disciple perception of the *samurai*. History, stories, movies, and documentaries depict images of total allegiance to the master in the *samurai* ethic of Japan known as *bushido*. The imperial history of the country, the military, the family, the martial arts, the corporate structure, the academic world, and even the club activities of the local high school all have embedded within them a strict code of loyalty and devotion to the hierarchy of superiors and membership to the group. This devotion to family, group, or clan type

² Hawaiian language term for a school of Hawaiian dance comparable to the Japanese term "ryûha".

³ Embedded within this moral and ethical code of the *samurai* are confucian connections emphasizing duty, obligation, and filial piety. (McClain 2002:85)

behavior may have evolved from Confucius ideals and ancestral worship imported from China as far back as the 10th century.⁴

The basis of these ideals are present even at the basic level of social interactions and the practice of ranking relationships in the "sempai/kohai" (senior/junior) system which is embedded in almost all social interaction in Japan. It is an extension of the "on" and "giri" ethics (obligation and duty) and is based on traits of both age, station or title, and most importantly order of membership. The senior-junior association is common in Japanese society and creates a hierarchy defining individuals by the characteristics of all of its members. The class system or hierarchy is perpetuated by the value placed on maintaining ones station within it. This value has an effect on how language is used and how people conduct themselves in public situations. Sempai is the senior and kohai is the junior. The status is usually determined in order of importance by entrance into the group (whether it is a family, school, or company), sometimes by age, and even by talent. Just as the station of kohai (junior) implies respect and loyalty to the sempai (senior), the station of sempai is accompanied by obligation to and protection of the subordinate kohai. This sempai/kohai factor is a socio-cultural device that permeates almost all relationships in Japan and is apparent even in the type of language used between the two parties.

⁴ All dates contained in this thesis are AD for musicians and periods. Historically, in Japan, these characteristics have not only included family and household model relationships characterized by vertical relations but also non-blood relationships like clan, and adopted successors. Nishiyama Matsunosuke's *Iemoto no Kenkyû* translated as A Study of Iemoto tracks the basis of the system back to Heian period (Kitano 1970:14)

The highly stylized, minutely structured nature of Japanese culture that developed over the centuries molded the language to fit and sustain the social and political system that evolved. The psychology of the system became imbued in and expressed by the language to a degree seldom seen in other cultures. (De Mente 1994:xv)

It can become impossible to utter a sentence in the Japane'se language without positioning oneself. The choice of words, especially personal pronouns, and varying the conjugation and inflection of a given verb has implications of social positioning.

In essence, Nakane's term "the vertical society" or "tate shakai" (Nakane 1970:23)⁵ is an observation by many investigators, both outside and inside the culture. The *iemoto* system is yet another example of this stratification. The research problem of this paper is to investigate the historical and the contemporary elements of the *iemoto* system as it is employed in the *sankyoku* tradition of Japan. The paper will show how the traditional model as an ideal measures against present day practice.

Defining the Iemoto System

The phenomenon of the master disciple relationship, historically, is the main organizational system of the traditional arts in Japan and almost all Japanese arts still have some form of this framework in its social organization including music. It is called *iemoto seido* (*iemoto* system). In the Japanese language the Chinese characters for

⁵ Nakane outlines formation and internal structure of groupings and society in Japan. Her terms begin with the definition of "attribute" as an acquisitional element through birth or achievement, and "frame" as a circumstantial element. She discusses the vertical and horizontal stratification in both Japanese language and behavior arriving at the conclusion that Japanese society is not a horizontally stratified system but a vertical stratification of groups or institutions.

"house" and "origin" come to together to form the word "iemoto." The meaning being that the position of iemoto is the president, chief executive officer, or grand master of an organization. As a system, it is akin to that of an apprenticeship with a master artist. In fact, the stipulation is almost always a given when applied to the organizations involved

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In Japanese traditional music, the influence of the *iemoto* encompasses the performance technique, performance practice and even the details concerning artists' lives, their training, monetary remuneration, and promotion of their careers within the school or *ryûha*⁷ headed by that particular grand master. The individuals in these organizations often engage in interpersonal relationships similar to that of a family thus making the organizations mirror the pyramid structure of a family even to the point of sharing a common name known as a *natori*. A *natori* is a stage name and is usually awarded to top students who have been granted the authority to teach. In most cases, the family name of the *iemoto* is conferred unchanged and the given name is derived from the direct teacher of the disciple. The given name of the *natori* will be connected to the teacher's name by a shared character, by number of strokes in the chosen characters, by sharing a radical (common element) of the character, by sharing a common sound, or by sharing the same meaning.

⁶ Characters are contained in glossary.

in the traditional arts of Japan.

⁷ Ryûha is like a school or guild. Its classification can be very broad referring to the style of instrumental playing or as specific as the group in which one plays.

Focus on Sankyoku

The *iemoto* system is employed in almost all the Japanese traditional arts in some form. For this study, the focus is the traditional chamber music of Japan known as sankyoku (trio music). Sankyoku is commonly known as music for the koto, shamisen, and shakuhachi instrumental trio. Less commonly known is that the inclusion of the shakuhachi is a twentieth century addition. Before the use of the shakuhachi, Japan's only bowed instrument, the kokyû, was employed. The use of the word "trio" is actually inaccurate. Although known as a "trio" there is almost always a vocal melodic line as well increasing the number of parts. Even with a distinction made between the domain of vocal and instrumental music with the addition of *kaede* parts *sankyoku* is not really a trio. The music is heterophonic in nature, although the use of kaede is employed more and more in the recent history of the genre. Kaede are second melodies, contrapuntal in nature, played together with the original melody. They are more commonly found in koto parts but also employed in shamisen parts as well. The use of kaede parts developed in the genre known as sôkyoku, or music for koto. The repertoire includes pieces known as jiuta, danmono, and tegotomono. ⁸ Jiuta refers to pieces based on a specific song form and shamisen accompaniment. Danmono are pieces structured as a set verses and closely related to a theme and variations. *Tegotomono* are pieces containing solely instrumental Especially in repertoire known as danmono, kaede parts are very popular. As they are used in sankyoku, the number of parts is increased making the usage of the word

⁸ For a detailed discussion of *jiuta*, *danmono*, and *tegotomono* please reference Sarah McClimon's recent thesis submitted to the University of Hawai'i in 2006.

"trio" again inaccurate. Also, especially with stage performances of sankyoku, the number of performers can range from three to as many as the stage can hold.

It is important to address some of the advances in performance of sôkyoku/sankyoku as the instrument, members, and methods have evolved. Ryûha (guilds or schools) are broken down into many categories and subcategories. The two major ryûha; the Ikuta and Yamada schools, and most easily identifiable by the use of different tsume (finger picks). The other identifying characteristic of these schools is their difference in approach to the music.

The Yamada School developed a style in which the voice line was more important. The main distinction between the Ikuta and Yamada schools is still explained in terms of their respective instrumental and vocal orientations. At present, there is a basic repertoire of standard pieces, which are considered their common heritage. The new compositions in both schools tend to be more instrumental. It is primarily in the products of the nineteenth century that this vocal-instrumental distinction is most noticeable. (Malm 1959:169-70)

The Yamada School of *koto* performance stems from the vocal tradition known as *kumiuta*. ¹⁰ It is a vocal tradition accompanied by *koto*. The instrument is also known to be generally thicker in dimensions and shorter in length. The Ikuta School stems from the legacy of master player and composer Yatsuhashi Kengyô (1614-1685) with more emphasis on the instrumental playing technique. Coming into the twentieth century, advances in technology have changed the instrument and its use. Previous to the nineteenth century born but master teacher, performer and composer of the twentieth

¹⁰ This statement is contestable. Some say that Yamada Kengyo (1757-1817) more likely based this tradition more on Tokyo theatrical and story forms (*katarimono*) such as the *jyouri* while imitating earlier styles of *kumiuta*.

century, Miyagi Michio (1894-1956), the use of Koto was restricted to the *ozashiki*¹¹ (a formal parlor room) used for entertaining with *tatami* (woven straw mat) flooring and was primarily a chamber instrument. Miyagi brought the instrument to the stage. As a concert instrument changes in materials and the construction of the instrument for better acoustics were made. Another significant change that Miyagi implemented was the publication of his repertoire.¹² This has had far reaching implications on a tradition that was previously entirely transmitted aurally. It may have changed the transmission process but in the case of Miyagi, it added solidarity to his extremely popular school.

Historical Origins

In tracing the roots of the iemoto system,

The question may be asked, is the *iemoto* as an organization a relative recent phenomenon in Japanese history? According to Japanese authorities, most of the *iemoto* in their present form began in the Tokugawa period. If the *iemoto* did not exist earlier than 300 years ago, how can we think of it as the most important form of secondary groupings in Japanese society? (Hsu 1975:70)

¹¹ As this room is often the largest open area in the house it is commonly used as a studio by instructors. In my own teachers situation the *ozashiki* was used as her teaching studio and was filled with instruments and materials to maintain her teaching and performing career losing some of it "austere" qualities.

¹² The publication of score will come up again in this document and is key to understanding some of the changes or irregularities discussed in Chapter Three. This is not just an ethnographic or musicological detail. The use of memory in the transmission process evoked the use of "kuchi-jamisen" a spoken system of syllables to translate music. It is a sign of professionalism to perform from memory even in ensemble situations. Twentieth century or modern *koto* music doesn't always demand this as this author has witnessed in performances both in Japan and Hawai'i.

The rising middle class of the Tokugawa period pursued social status through the arts and in the process of trying to break the barriers of the ruling warrior class, "created vigorous powerful cultural communities. This was the secret of the popularity of the iemoto system during the Edo (Tokugawa 1615-1868 AD) period" (Nishiyama 1950:594). For the purposes of this document, limitations are restricted to the iemoto system specifically concerning music and even more concerning sankyoku. In actuality, the system is a reflection or even branch of the social structure of ancient Japan starting as far back as the clannish nature of the culture itself. There are diverse forms of the iemoto system that do not bear its name but are very similar to its structure and social grouping. The samurai system and bushido ethic of Japanese society were well established by the Heian period (794-1185 AD). The Heian period has references to the system in the arts, although it is "in the Tokugawa period (that) there was a strong headmaster system... remnants of which can be still found in university professorships and teacher-pupil relationships in Japan (today)" (Havens, 1982:22). As a reference point to the history of this headmaster type system known as the *iemoto* system, the legend of Semimaru presents an interesting example. Semimaru is a legendary master musician. Whether or not the Semimaru legend is a reality or not, the characteristics embodied in him show that even as far back as the Heian period of Japanese history, there were characteristics of the iemoto system present in the musical tradition. Through the writings of academics exploring Japanese culture, a model encompassing the "standard" practices of the iemoto system can be created.

Literature Review

Literature pertaining to the *iemoto* system can be found in the bibliography accompanying this research project along with works dealing specifically with the details and behaviors discussed above. Starting with anthropological works like Ruth Benedict's *Chrysanthemum and the Sword* (1946), Takie Lebra's *Japanese Patterns of Behavior* (1976), and Chie Nakane's *Japanese Society* (1970), a theoretical approach to the Japanese cultural criteria can be extracted. These works attempt to portray patterns of Japanese culture as shaped by a strong sense of hierarchy, loyalty to the group, personal obligation, submissiveness to predetermined positions in life. Whether successful or not in doing so, they impart "a configuration of the important elements to be found in contemporary social life" (Nakane, 1970:vii).

Literature on educational issues in Japan is vast, although more should be done in the area of music specifically. Thomas Rohlen's Japan's High Schools (1983) offers a primary point of entry to literature on Japan's approach to education and teaching. Rohlen started with the systematic collection of data. He took representative systems each with different characteristics of the education system and spent time observing, interviewing, studying records and giving out questionnaires. He then sorted the information into an organizational study involving history and definition as I have done in the following chapters. This thesis' purpose is to answer questions such as how is the art of sankyoku music pursued and shaped by the iemoto system? How do its historical developments and present day practice influence the transmission, and institutionalization of artistic pursuits today?

Glenda Roberts, author of Staying on the Line: Blue Collar Women in

Contemporary Japan (1994) takes a very different approach. Her approach is not only observation but also participation, or researcher as active informant. She went to Japan, and enrolled in an example of the object of her research itself. Her efforts focused on deconstructing the institution itself and social relations. Her theoretical orientation seems to center on ethnographic construction. Her focus on the social structure of the institution and how it is organized is not just on historical influences. It also focuses on how the system is influenced by the members of the institution itself at present. Although not unique, this is a similar method of research employed in this thesis.

A recent publication by Rohlen, *Teaching and Learning In Japan* (1996), contains a collection of essays and articles (including bibliographies) analyzing these approaches, including an article by Lois Peak entitled, *The Suzuki Method of Music Instruction*. The "Suzuki Method" although outside the world of traditional music, reflects many of the characteristics of the *iemoto* system pertaining to the strict aural musical transmission, hierarchy, accreditation, and even economics in the world of classical music. At this point I have found no study, comprehensive or otherwise, focusing on the musical effects the *iemoto* system has on transmission, specifically in this day and age. Through my own experience of attending a major school in Japan dedicated to Western music (Tôhô Gakuen), I can report that this system, although not specifically acknowledged as the *iemoto* system, does exist there.

¹³ Dr Shinichi Suzuki is the creator of the violin method he called "Talent Education", but is generally identified as "Suzuki Method".

Anthropological discussions include Chie Nakane's 1970 publication *Japanese*Society. She discusses at length the vertical and horizontal linkage system in both

Japanese language usage and social situations. She arrives at the conclusion that

Japanese society is not a horizontally stratified system but that of a vertical stratification of groups or institutions. Although Nakane rejects relativistic orientation¹⁴, she does synthesize theory based on elements she extrapolated in her previous research on Japan as a rural society and that are now being validated in a modern society.

Befu, in his publication *The Group Model of Japanese Society and an Alternative* (1980), defines his group model in a similar vertical stratification based on specific Japanese elements of behavior including *on* and *giri*¹⁵ (Befu 1980:171) and *tatte mae* and *honne*¹⁶ (Befu 1980:172-7). Befu also explored the differences of individual thinking, such as *amae* (using the group for one's personal gains or advantage). With the concept of *amae*¹⁷, in which individuals tend to rely and depend upon the group for their existence, if an individual has *amae* tendencies, he or she will not be able to function as an individual because he or she always has to take advantage of knowledge or another individuals thought process. More specific discussions of *iemoto seido* and musicological applications are touched on in many sources, again listed in the attached

¹⁴ Relativism is the use of the comparative or specifically comparing one culture to another. The use of comparing is avoided in this research paper but consideration due to the researcher's background both culturally and musically is requested.

¹⁵ On and giri, although more extensively defined by anthropologists studying Japan, are directly translated as obligation and duty respectively.

¹⁶ "Honne means ones's natural, real, or inner wishes and proclivities, whereas tatemae refers to the standard, principle or rule by which one is bound at least outwardly. (Lebra 1976:136)

¹⁷ Amae is the noun form of amaeru, an intransitive verb meaning to depend on.

bibliography. They were useful in extracting agreed characteristics of the system but limited in scope. The major sources touched upon in this research paper are Koichi Kitano's 1970 thesis, *The Hierarchical Structure of the Iemoto System, its effect on Social Stability*, and Hsu's publication *Iemoto, Heart of Japan*. All of these studies benefited my own writing in that they familiarized me with concepts, provided definition of characteristics encountered in research, offered models and counsel in the direction of my own research, and provided support of the conclusions this thesis offers.

Fieldwork and Methodology

In this ethnomusicological research project, my goal is to present the characteristics and an outline of the social hierarchy embedded in the anthropology of Japan, especially pertaining to the *sankyoku* musical tradition, in order to create a model of the *iemoto* system. I will show how this anthropological model compares to the present day practice by taking specific examples of *koto/shamisen* music schools and their members as to present the importance of this psycho-cultural phenomenon. It effects dimensions like the validation and present practice of *sankyoku* music, and very importantly shows how its modern day social practices effect the transmission of the musical practices.

My experience in Japan started in August of 1988. With an intense interest in music and its performance, I began *koto* and *shamisen* lessons in Fukuoka, Japan under the tutelage of Araki Kazuko *sensei*, a member of the Chikusou Kai, a school under the direction of Takemura Aiyako *sensei*. In the winter of 1990, I moved to Tokyo

to study orchestral conducting at Tôhô Gakuen School of Music (Tôhô Gakuen Ongaku Daigakuin) and had the opportunity to study with Takemura sensei directly for about four years until her death in 1995. My studies continued with her student, Masuda Yoko sensei, until my departure from Tokyo in 2000 to begin graduate studies in ethnomusicology at the University of Hawai'i. In total, I participated in the sankyoku world for about twelve years. Due to the personal involvement in this research, I employ a very intimate and personal voice at times in this thesis. Romanization of Japanese terms follows the modified Hepburn system. Japanese terms, names of instruments and musical genres are italicized.

As the body of this paper encompasses both the anthropological and musicological aspects of the subject, I engaged in three months of additional intensive fieldwork from September to November of 2002 in Japan. Although this was a limited amount of time, I felt it sufficient to gather data as I have already had twelve years of experience in Japan studying *koto* and *shamisen* performance. Having already established contacts in the traditional music world of *sankyoku*, albeit as a "gaijin" (gaikokujin or foreigner) and not a native participant, I continued an active role as a participant in the *iemoto* system in taking lessons and performing. The collection of informant material through interviews, observations, recordings, and examination of archival documentation in Japan provided specific data to create a modest ethnographic picture of the practice of the *koto/shamisen* playing tradition in the twenty-first century.

A summary and discussion of the questionnaire provided to informants is presented in Chapter Three. A complete example of the questionnaire is included in

Appendix A. One could argue that the scope of this research is limited in that I was only able to collect thirty questionnaires in the three months that I conducted this research. The number of potential informants that I approached was a great deal more. Many of the musicians I approached were either uninterested in participating or were hesitant due to the nature of the questions. The information I was trying to gather was considered private to many. Some expressed that they didn't see the point of my questions or that they were unwilling to share specific information. Even within my own ryûha, the promise of anonymity was very important. This especially seemed to be connected to economic inquiry. Some informants were willing to fill out the questionnaire but not discuss the issues with me face to face. Some informants left certain questions blank. My most successful interviews were with participants I had been introduced to and vouched for by an intermediary person. The person acted as a nakodo or guarantor. If this research were to be continued and expanded it would take a great deal of time and political savvy to access willing participants. Anonymity of all questionnaires, interviews and recordings were absolutely guaranteed.

In an attempt to ascertain differences in the generational hierarchy of the *iemoto* system, I will employ a musicological study of recordings and transcriptions to determine similarities and differences in the actual performance of this genre. The aim is to map variations that are affected by the *iemoto* system and its form of transmission. The transcriptions involve the presentation of teacher and student performances within the same *iemoto* grouping. The musicological data will help to prove or disprove changes happening in the *iemoto* system in this specific genre. These changes, on a broader

cultural approach, help measure the *iemoto* system's effect on the sociological infrastructure of Japan. Recordings are for transcription purposes only. The transcriptions are used to visually represent differences and similarities in the transmission and performance of the music as it pertains to the generational hierarchy of the *iemoto* system. Use of aural training skills versus written score, musical skills emphasized, group and solo performance are all musical aspects that may effect the transmission of the musical tradition. The musicological data will help to prove or disprove changes happening in the *iemoto* system of which on a broader cultural approach effects the sociological infrastructure of Japan.

The final goal of this methodical research is to put together a realistic look at the present day practice of the *iemoto* system in the world of *koto* and *jiuta shamisen* players of Japan. Through researching the works of previous scholars, interviews, observation, recordings, and collecting documentation the effects of this specific cultural criteria and social structure can be observed on the music being performed and transmitted. As the body of this paper encompasses both the anthropological and musicological aspects of the system it was important to introduce the definition, historical origins, previously available literature, and my methodology. The next step is to establish an anthropological model of accepted historical characteristics of the *iemoto* system.

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Chapter Two: Anthropological Model

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Anthropological And Historical Model

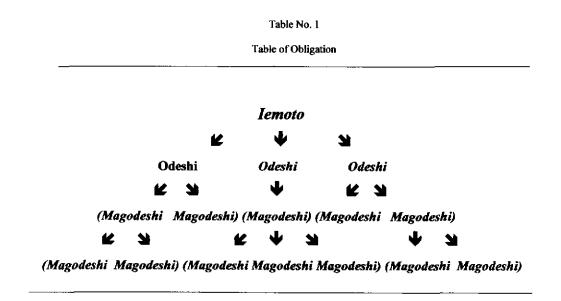
In this chapter, my goal is to present common characteristics present in what has come to be known as the *iemoto* system. In dealing with the hierarchal model of the iemoto system, Kitano's thesis, The Hierarchical Structure of the Iemoto System, its effect on Social Stability (1970), puts forth a detailed doctrine of ethics and rules that lay a basis for this anthropological model. He also submits a more complete history of the iemoto seido offering origins of these characteristics from the Heian period (794-1185). The following characteristics are more applicable to its more rigid establishment in the Tokugawa or Edo period (1615-1868).¹⁸ I call this an anthropological model as it is legitimized by the intent of sociological organization and cohesiveness of human relations. In any society the primary social grouping starts with the parent and family relationship. In Japan, the *iemoto* is the most important form of secondary grouping (Hsu 1975). The base of my proposed model covers characteristics including solidarity, accreditation, gender, superhuman qualities, secretive qualities and aural transmission. I then submit a case study from Japanese literature known as the Semimaru Legend as an example of the presented model's characteristics.

¹⁸ Through the relatively peaceful Heian period (794-1185) and through the war torn Kamakura and Muromachi period (1185-1615) the ruling class *samurai* were the bearers of culture.

The Pyramid and Solidarity

Many scholars, when referring to the *iemoto* system, commonly employ the metaphor of a pyramid. Joyce Rutherford Malm's 2002 article "The Meaning of *Iemoto*" Seido in the World of Nihon Buyô" (Japanese Dance) states the "Iemoto seido is basically a system of inherited or appointed relationships in a hierarchy within a particular group... Reverence for one's sensei, along with one's place in the pyramidal structure of the iemoto seido, may be passed on to succeeding generations" (Malm 2002:160). The iemoto system is an echelon of teachers and disciples under a head master. The head master known as the iemoto is responsible and in complete control of interpretation and maintenance of the authenticity of the art, as well as the solidarity of the group through the acceptance of apprentice disciples and the accreditation of disciples. *Iemoto* "can further be defined as that title given to the headmaster who by virtue of positioning, training, age, and experience controls the sole means by which the skills of a particular art or light cultural accomplishment are transmitted to others" (Kitano 1975:5). The iemoto disciple relationship is a vertical model forming a pyramid from the top moving down. "He/she is the final arbiter in all matters concerning the student, the art form, and the organization" (Yano 1992:73). The levels start with a single position for the *iemoto* and then a second level of top ranked teachers or deshi (often using the honorific "O" and therefore called odeshi) who are direct disciples of the present or previous iemoto. The most devoted of these, known as uchideshi (house disciples), would actually live with the master in a barter type relationship participating, in the household and business activities of the master in exchange for intense lessons and performing opportunities. The next

level would be made up of *magodeshi* or disciples of these teachers and then ranks flowing and expanding downwards. The positions are based on two factors, the most important being the time the apprentice enters the organization and with whom they study. Obviously the position of one's mentor also influences the student. The map of the pyramid becomes a map of obligation by and large leading up from the members to the *iemoto*. Dorinne Kondo coins the phrase "circles of attachment" (Kondo 1990:123) and discusses the filial relationships within the family or *ie* system (house hold system) in Japan.



Referring to Table no. 1, "The Table of Obligation", it is of note that there is always a position above the *deshi*. The pyramid can be irregularly shaped depending on the number of students any one disciple takes on even if that number is zero. The tiers below that of *iemoto* may have any number of participants. The lineage of obligation

always leads up to the single spot on the top occupied by the *iemoto*. A "sub" *ryûha* maybe contained within the pyramid and even bear a different name. For example, in the Mitsunone-Kai headed by grand master Fukuda *sensei*, the Chikusou Kai (my own *kai*) headed by Takemura Aiyako *sensei*, was a distinct group but recognized Fukuda *sensei* as their *iemoto*. This came about as disciples with different specialties can be contained in the pyramid. Takemura *sensei* was recognized as a *jiuta shamisen* specialist within the Mitsunone-Kai, observed the ties of obligation to the *iemoto*, and enjoyed the resources and career benefits. If the disciple breaks the ties of obligation then the pyramid is splintered. The former disciple would form an independent pyramid and take the position of *iemoto*. This splintering of the hierarchy is not unknown. Although this threatens the solidarity of the basic infrastructure, it is a characteristic part of the system. When a higher rank member chooses to break away and creates a new school, this in itself is a breach of the system but not uncommon in the history of the *iemoto* system just as it is not uncommon in the *ie* system.

Your household of birth, however, may not be the household you join as a permanent member. The size of the *ie* in any generation is limited to two and only two successors. No matter how many children there may be, only *one* can be a successor along with his/her spouse. Those who are not designated successors to these permanent positions are not, therefore permanent members of the *ie* and must set up their own house-holds, usually at the time of marriage. This is strikingly different from more truly patrilineal systems, such as the Chinese, where the ideal is an extended family of parents, several brothers, and their wives and children, living in a family compound. In contrast, in Japan the non-permanent members of an *ie* must leave at the time of marriage... (Kondo 1990:123)

When a disciple leaves, usually taking his/her own students with him/her, for personal, artistic, or economic reasons a permanent break in obligation occurs and a

separate organization is formed. A documented example occurred in the formation of the *Chikuho-ryu*, a *shakuhachi* school.

In the same year, misunderstandings developed between Sakai and his teacher, Matsuchô. According to Chikuho's biography in the Chikuho Ryû Shakuhachi Tebiki, the initial factor for the misunderstanding was Chikuho having transcribed a newly composed sôkyoku piece, Mizuho no Sakae after hearing it on the radio, Without, his teacher's permission. Matsuchô apparently did not react favorably when presented with Chikuho's handiwork. "After which, a deep chasm developed between them, as a result of a variety of miscrossed paths" (Chikuho Ryû:1971:5). A prominent figure in the sôkyoku world, Nakahira Fuku no To Daikengyô, acted as mediator between teacher and student, but to no avail. Chikuho finally left Matsuchô Ryû, and became independent with the help of his younger brother, Seiho. On February 20, in the year Taishô 6, (1917) he took the name Chikuho and founded Chikuho Ryû. (Lee 1986)(http://www.rileylee. (net/shaku_history_chikuho.html)(Accessed on May 30, 2007)

As discussed previously, this senior-junior association is common in Japanese society and is called the *sempai/kohai* relationship. This *sempai-kohai* factor is a socio-cultural device that permeates almost all relationships in Japan and is apparent even in the type of language used between the two parties. The use of "tatemae" or "keigo" (forms of courteous language) is determined by this "who was there first" factor. All educated speakers of the Japanese language must be fluent in the use of "keigo" in order to maintain standards of Japanese etiquette and ethics. Vis-à-vis the *iemoto* system, age has very little impact; it is the entrance into the group that makes all the difference. Part of the issue of solidarity, which should be included in this discussion, is that within the *iemoto* system there is no room for moving from one pyramid (school or guild) to another. There is a life long association inferred with membership. This is a very separate issue from the splintering of the pyramid. Obviously, moving from one pyramid to another means one will never move up in the hierarchy with the *sempai/kohai* mechanism in

place. It is also a sign of disrespect to the system and, therefore, untrustworthy behavior within the *sempai/kohai* parameters. Even moving from one teacher to another within a *ryûha* is very limited although not unheard of.¹⁹ Death of a disciple's *sensei* and specialization in voice or specific instrument²⁰ are the only acceptable reasons and, even then, specialization is usually temporary.

Another factor of some importance to position in the pyramid is the accreditation of the student discussed in the next section. Besides issues of solidarity and identifying the *ryûha*, this accreditation factor also has an economic implication. Within the pyramid all allegiance and money flows upwards.

Accreditation

Accreditation is awarded on the basis of the acquisition of repertoire, performing ability and devotion to the particular sect and its *iemoto*. Each individual school has an autonomous system for such accreditation. The levels start with a "shoden" or beginning license which entitles the apprentice to initial membership to the group after mastering basic techniques. An intermediate license or "chuden" level, "okuden", and the order of "shihan", which usually entitles the bearer to teach, follow. Sometimes they are based on tests or, at times just recommendations. There may be any number of dan or levels in between and even a "daishihan" level, which is an upper level teaching position. It is

¹⁹ There are reported examples of this in my own contemporary survey reported in Chapter Three.

²⁰ It is possible to temporarily study with a teacher who is a specialist in *shamisen*, *kokyû*, *koto* or in some *ryûha* maybe even *jyûnanagen* (seventeen string *koto*).

usually reserved for professional players and full time teachers. The installment of a "natori" can also be part of the accreditation system.

A "natori" is a professional name used for teaching and performing. It is chosen by the iemoto or sometimes the student's direct teacher and usually identifies the bearer to the group. The top disciples who have been installed with natori will all share the same name or a kanji character used to identify the group's name. This system of accreditation also has economic impact to the group. The licenses are out right bought by the student. Imprinted on the license is the inkan (family or natori name stamp) of the immediate teacher and the *iemoto*. There may even be other teacher's names depicting the lineage of teachers between the student and the master. The fee for this or any of the licenses is then distributed amongst all the names on the license leading to the *iemoto*. As previously mentioned, playing ability is not the only factor in accreditation. Devotion to the group or ardor also plays a role. The longer a student maintains membership (and lesson fee payment) is taken into consideration. In some cases, students of less than perfect abilities are even awarded shihan or natori. This means that the award in some cases does not even necessarily indicate that the person is an excellent player, but only that he or she has paid into the system.

Gender

The model yields many points of interest of which are all inter-linked. Gender is one of them. Historically men have dominated the Japanese performing arts. In the case of *kabuki*, presently men perform even the female roles. The professional kabuki

orchestras consist of *shamisen* (both the *nagauta* and *tokiwazu*), singers, and drummers, known as the *hayashi*, are completely male. Females study the *nagauta* tradition as well. For example the most famous *nagauta* name (a *natori*), Kineya, a famous *nagauta* shamisen group, has many female participants and teachers but none are ever drawn on to perform in the main kabuki venues, for example, the Kabukiza or the Shinkokuritsu-Gekijo in Tokyo. These female teachers teach at local cultural centers or private studios. They perform in local recitals and in some cases dance (*nihon buyo*) recitals (more often than not in amateur stages).

Assumption of achievement and ascription in the *iemoto* organization can also be found in the area of gender. Although there are some female *Iemoto* in different arts, most are male. Furthermore, males fill the majority of positions in the upper echelons of many organizations. By contrast, the majority of students, especially at the beginning levels, are female. (Yano 1992:78)

There are many supporting socio-cultural factors to this, not the least of which is that Japan is a male dominant society²¹. Marriage is another. In order to make it to the top a woman would have to forego marriage for both reasons of time restriction and economics. Even today, where the majority of *koto* players are women, outside the *iemoto* positions, women almost always perform the *koto* and *jiuta shamisen*. Literature attests to the appointment of *koto* as a women's instrument.

Women played the koto, especially high-class, highly educated, beautiful women. Even the word saien describes a cultured, high-class woman today. This is seen in works from 1,000 years ago, such as the Akashi lady, Murasaki and Fujitsubo in *The Tale of Genji*, and through the eras, until the twentieth century, with characters such as the lovely koto player, Shunkin. Male musicians also occur, but in quite different contexts, either as a lover and patron of some of the great,

²¹ Japanese family names are carried on by men through marriage and birth registration

talented beauties, or as a serious scholar who plays by himself, emulating Chinese scholars of old. (Sarah McClimon unpublished manuscript:26)

Women have been considered the bearers of tradition in Japan for many years. Koto, tea ceremony, and flower arrangement are very common on women's college syllabi. Women dominate college clubs in these areas. Men are pushed towards the martial arts and sports in these situations, where as women are herded towards the more refined arts mentioned above. There are many reasons for this. One is the popularity of the acquisition of accreditation to form a kind of marriage resume in preparation to participate in the arranged marriage system. It accompanies a professional photograph album with the candidate often wearing both Western fashion and kimono. Another is that even after marriage, before bearing children and after offspring have matured, women are not necessarily expected to work and, therefore, have traditionally had a lot of spare time to pursue hobbies. The high-class housewife is an image pervasive in Japan as housewives often spend a lot of time and money in hobbies and lessons. There are plenty of women, especially in family businesses, working every bit as hard as their husbands. Even amongst the women who work, there is less expectation to put in the long hours of over time demanded of their male counterparts.

Economics

The pursuit of music, let alone any of the other traditional arts in historic and modern day Japan, incurs at times, enormous expenditures of money. Monetary obligations include regular lesson fees, instruments, cash gifts to the teachers, license fees,

in some cases the purchase of matching *kimono* and *obi*, and the required costs for staging recitals.

This stage performance system costs the students tremendously because there is no revenue from selling tickets, and the students have to share all the expenses, including those for concert hall, recording, matching costumes, and souvenirs for the audience. (Waseda 1995:70)

With these kinds of expenses, the venture of studying music seriously for a prolonged period of time is and was reserved for the wealthy or those with very serious career aspirations. Often a contract, sometimes signed in blood is required. This is known as "keppan". In place of the usual red ink pad, blood is used to ink the inkan. This may be why the use of red colored ink is very prevalent in Japan.

One of the reasons that fewer and fewer people study Japanese traditional arts is the rigid and expensive *iemoto* system. The *Iemoto* is the hierarchical head, whose skill is passed down at a high price. Students pay not only for lessons but are expected to hand out "gift money" generously, pay for all stage performances (ranging from JY30,000 to over a JY1 million). (Pocorobba 2001)

A male student who shows promise of making a career would probably be measured by a stricter scale but at the same time be promoted faster. A form of grooming takes place. This is both an economic condition as well as a condition of gender. Gender can be an allowance for exceptions to the rules of position as stated above, in that the male student who pursues music as a profession must be of above average abilities in order to guarantee a professional career. Unlike women, men rarely are awarded *shihan* unless they are truly masters of their instruments. The intent of a professional career can also have political implications. Jumping senior members has to be approached cautiously but

²² "Keppan" is a blood oath often associated with samerai and the martial arts.

can be skirted by the higher expectations in accreditation tests and responsibilities. The student who chooses the road to being a professional player is akin to that of the martial artist and $d\hat{o}$ (a path, with spiritual overtones.) This seems to be especially true in the case of male offspring of the reigning *iemoto* and, interestingly enough, the blind.

Superhuman Qualities

Although not as popular in the present, the blind have traditionally been funneled into music as a career in Japan. A career in music to the blind is conducive to the aural transmission method. This discussion not only has anthropological interpretations, but also musicological realizations that are discussed in a later chapter. The blind and disabled are also attributed with higher karmic power and sensitivity according to Buddhist belief. Blindness thus has a socio-religious importance. The Buddhist belief that "karma" has made a person blind as a result of evil acts in a past life can be interpreted that he or she is being absolved of his sins in his present life. In the Shinto or shamanistic context, "in pre-Buddhist Japan the blind were apparently understood to be particularly capable of communication with the gods" (Matisoff 1978:20). Both of these situations lent status to their position in society. A practical component also lends itself to the theory that without the benefit of score the blind element reinforces the process of learning music by allowing for no independent study. This means special attention is given to training the blind supporting the already innate ability of the blind to depend on their sense of hearing (an important musical ability). The player has to be especially

talented to ever have a chance of promotion within the system. Being blind or visually impaired automatically gives the player some special status.

In literature, the *koto* is almost used as a device to accentuate social standing. It is closely associated with the upper class lady of the house. In both classical and modern literature it is connected to the upper classes and is frequently used to portray sadness and loneliness. The song verses making up most of the *sankyoku* repertoire reflect this as well. The stoic gentle woman waiting for her lover to return (regardless of whether he is alive or not) is a very common theme. This empowers the instrument to create a connection with such characteristics upon its mention. Perhaps to even empower the player with such assumed characteristics. Regardless, like other cultures, the Japanese often empower music with the ability to express feelings beyond words. This is evident in stage productions, dance, and chamber music.

Secretive Society and Transmission

The lack of use of score and the dependence on the master for transmission of music has an enormous effect on the practice and appreciation of music and an enormous effect on the maintenance of the *iemoto* system itself. In the case of the *koto*, the master teaches facing the student, acting as an aural and visual guide. Often, only a small portion of the piece is taught at a time and repeated over and over again. Very often, "the order in which one learns the repertoire of a particular school is set" (Malm 1959:171). When the student is able to play back the piece as the teacher plays it, demonstrating that the technique has been mastered, the teacher may change to the *shamisen* part (or the

kaede part) and realize the piece as a duet. When the ensemble skills are mastered to the teacher's satisfaction, a slightly more difficult piece is then taught, and in this way the student gradually works through the uta (voice), koto and jiuta shamisen parts of the sankyoku repertoire, learning how the pieces are to be performed by members of their sect.²³ Learning by rote was the most common form of musical education up until the introduction of score and is still used in the more traditional of koto "ryūha" or schools.

Traditionally, Japanese musicians learn their art through exact imitation of their masters. There has been no systematic pedagogy. Teachers do not explain their art comprehensively, and the students are supposed to "nusumu" or "take" the art from the teacher by earnestly listening to and watching him/her. (Waseda 1995:70)

With the shift to printed score, the absolute dependence on the master for transmission of the music is lost. The whole transmission method is changed as students become capable of independent study. With the use of written scores, a product of the twentieth century, the process allows for home study, reduces the amount of time the student actually hears the teacher's performance practices, and along with recording methods takes the meaning away from the protection of secret repertoire and practices. Chapter Three is a close look at how these issues fit into a working example of an active *iemoto* system paying very close attention to the transmission practice and the product of its employment.

Malm referencing Piggott, has a detailed description of koto lessons in his book Japanese Music and Musical Instruments. He emphatically states "the lesson itself consists of a twenty minute playing period." (Malm 1959:171). This researcher does not agree with that time period. Reviewing materials for performance and learning both jiuta shamisen and koto parts requires more time. He also did not remark on the frequency of the lesson. In the case of a grooming a professional the lesson may be set for everyday. In the case of a young well to do entrepreneur's daughter, the lessons may be fewer.

Semimaru Legend as Case Study

As a reference point to the history of this head master system, the Semimaru legend is worthy of note. Semimaru is a character in Japanese literature and a popular source of subject matter for the *Noh* Drama. As he was a blind musician, probably and most commonly known as a *biwa* master of the tenth century, or middle Heian period (794-1185), he presents some very interesting characteristics as a role model of an *iemoto*. Semimaru's existence as real human being is questionable, but with his legendary status he could still be considered the father of the modern *iemoto* system as he exhibits many of the characteristics shared with the common conception of present day *iemoto*.

The legend of Semimaru of course refers to one character, but in actuality there may have been more than one. The character himself was a hermit-like figure living beside the grounds of Ausaka Shrine located about five miles east of present day Kyoto on the slopes of a mountain pass leading to Lake Biwa. Usually the character is an older man, biwa player, and blind. He was considered the ultimate master of his art. He is even credited with the knowledge of the three secret musical pieces of Chinese origin. These pieces would have never been written down and only passed aurally from master to student. Literary inventions change drastically from era to era and interpretation to interpretation creating differences from source to source.

At this time in history the *biwahoshi* tradition of Japan was well established outside the court and included many different schools. Semimaru may have been connected to the *môsô* schools or blind priest guilds. The Chikuzan (northern Kyushu) and Satsuma (southern Kyushu) schools being the most famous of these guilds, it is the

Satsuma sect, which appeared at the end of the Muromachi period (1333-1615) that claims ancestry to Semimaru. Possibly, Semimaru was one of a group of eight musicians from the Satsuma district in Kyushu who came to the Enryaku Temple in Kyoto for a purification ceremony (Malm 1990:134). Four of these members remained behind. Inside the Heian court, the gaku biwa had been an ensemble instrument, as it had been in China. But especially from the mid-Heian period, with the introduction of the "Ryusen", "Takuboku", and "Yoshino" melodies, solo recitals gained importance in the court. Minamoto no Hakuga (918-80), (Eta Harich-Schneider 1973) went to a biwa master living in Okayama, between Kyoto and Otsu, the relative position of Semimaru according to legend, with the intent of learning the secret lute pieces. These could have been the three previously mentioned pieces brought to Japan from China by Sadatoshi (807-67), a prominent figure in the Heian Court. These pieces were only passed on to a top few figures in Japanese musical history. A master only trusted a few students to maintain the secret melodies. It supposedly took one Hakuga, one of Semimaru's disciples, three years of servitude to gain the master's confidence, according to legend, even though he was a renowned virtuoso of many gagaku (court music) instruments. Hakuga's story clearly shows Semimaru's influence on court musicians of the Heian period and reflects the master-disciple situation still in practice today. Even though Hakuga was grandson of the emperor Daigo, he still venerated his musical master. The master-disciple relationship took precedence over his primary social grouping.

Another interesting facet to the legend of Semimaru was that he himself was of royal blood. For example, in the *Noh* drama titled "Semimaru" by Kwanze Motokiyo,

the key characters are the blind son of Emperor Engi (Prince Semimaru) and his estranged sister, Princess Sakagami. This rise in station perhaps reflects his importance in social status. The fact that he is blind leads us to an interesting connection to the *môsô biwa* blind priest musician guilds and a fact that, up to this day, the blind are often lead to religious and musical careers in Japan. These wondering blind musicians had a great impact on the development of music, bridging the gap from the artistically rich Heian period, through the culturally dormant and bloody war torn years of the Kamakura and Muromachi periods to the artistically rich Tokugawa period.

Blindness also has socio-religious importance. The Buddhist belief that "karma" has made Semimaru blind as a result of evil acts in a past life can be interpreted that he is in the process of being absolved of his sins in his present life. Both of which lends status to their position in society. Perhaps the most important effect of the "blind musician" is on transmission methods of music in Japan. Oral transmission is necessary because of blindness, but as mentioned in the characteristics portion of this paper, also a reinforcement, because the *iemoto* system supports the process by allowing for no independent study. Whether or not the Semimaru legend is a reality, the characteristics embodied in him show that even as far back as the Heian period of Japanese history there were characteristics of the *iemoto* system present in the musical tradition.

Conclusion

This chapter's purpose was to set up the basic characteristics of the *iemoto* system to be referenced as a set of commonalities. The historical construct and the

characteristics reviewed present a paradigm to be referenced in the next chapter covering the contemporary system in practice. Solidarity, accreditation, and economics are practical issues with rules and parameters. The superhuman qualities, secretive society and transmission, are less practical but still commonly agreed upon issues pervasive in the system. The Semimaru legend helps to solidify the characteristics as an example of the presented model. The model is a product of historical situations and behavior which solicit the question, are these characteristics presented and summarized in this chapter actual rules of behavior or an "invented tradition?" Eric Hobsbawn, in his publication *The Invention of Tradition*, states,

...invented tradition is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past... Inventing traditions, it is assumed here, is essentially a process of formalization and ritualization, characterized by reference to the past, if only by imposing repetition. (Hobsbawm 1983:1)

Validation of the *iemoto* system lies in its implementation, "invented" or not. Its partial or complete implementation in almost all the performing and fine arts of Japan, the arts entering Japan, the martial arts, *et al*, aids in achieving legitimization. In Japan, this legitimization is not just a product of linking the arts to history but of relating their practice to a social system in which the participants can identify with a "community". The next chapter explores how participants are navigating this tradition in the contemporary *sankyoku* domain.

Chapter 3: Present Day Applications

Introduction

The objective of this chapter is to present the elements of contemporary practice in the *iemoto* system as they are employed in the *sankyoku* tradition of Japan. After extracting specific characteristics and parameters of the infrastructure of the iemoto system in the previous chapter, the next step is to apply these points to the contemporary situation. The purpose is not only to examine the cultural context but to also examine how contemporary Japanese participants are constructing their own perspective of the environment in which they participate in the tradition. This thesis examines how the art of sankyoku music is pursued and shaped by the iemoto system, and how historical developments and present day common practices influence the transmission and institutionalization of artistic pursuits today. This research is not intended to fall into the relative-"ist" Boasian model but I do judiciously compare the psycho-cultural aspects of this system to something familiar in the West. There are comparisons to some mechanisms of the transmission of the musical arts in the West, for example, piano lessons. These are applicable as they exist within Japan in its embracing of the Western music tradition. The intention is to demystify the tradition and try to use it to address the question of Japanese aesthetics or the sameness prevalent in Japanese artists and performers.

This chapter is the result of participation and first hand observation in the sankyoku iemoto infrastructure, the collection of questionnaires and conducting direct

interviews with a cross section of participants in the present day sankyoku community. The premise is the existence of a psycho-cultural system vs. its realization in contemporary practice. My goal is to present the characteristics offered in the previous chapter in relation to the information collected during research in the Fall of 2002 in Tokyo, Japan. The characteristics represent embedded expectations and abstract concepts as found in the previous chapter's constructs in history. The informant material represents the identification of the scope of present day traits specifically in the modern koto/shamisen community. The very processes of observation and data collection are conspicuous. The danger is self-reflexivity. The subjective element of collecting data from living informants presents the opportunity for research anomalies ranging from essentializing to the feared act of self-fulfilling one's own conclusions. Mantle Hood discusses this in his publication The Ethnomusicologist (Hood 1982). The following description and analysis are presented in an effort to offer an accurate picture of pursuing the traditional art of music in a modern context. I also present the discourse between the historical and modern processes in society effecting who, what, where, why, and when people perform sankyoku music. Investigation of these questions may redefine its existence and thereby redefine an ideology that permeates Japan's artistic world.

As the primary source material starts with my own observations, data collection, and opinion, I offer my own history of *koto* and *shamisen* playing here. As a child I studied piano and oboe. I was most influenced by the Toronto Royal Conservatory and performed in the Vancouver Youth Orchestra. Upon graduating from High School, I decided to enter a University Bachelors of Music program and then did a teaching license

for public school in the province of British Columbia, Canada. I consider myself a student of the structured conservatory method in classical Western European art music. I taught in a string orchestra training program in the Vancouver School Board for grades four through twelve. In 1988 I left Vancouver for Fukuoka, Japan. There I played oboe with the University of Kyushu Orchestra and taught English conversation. I immediately decided to study the music of Japan, specifically koto. This was not my first departure from classical Western art music. In my final year of my Bachelors of Music degree (1985-1986) I took a Chinese ensemble class with Dr. Allan Thrasher. In Fukuoka, I was motivated to study koto mostly to improve my Japanese language abilities and acquire more insight into the culture of Japan. It was one of the best decisions I made in Japan. This study opened a world that most foreigners living in Japan only get glimpses of. Under the influence of my teacher I started to study *shamisen* as well as *koto*. In the ryûha where I was involved, this was a requisite as our grand master was a specialist in the jiuta shamisen tradition. Although most students of koto, especially performers of the classical repertoire, eventually learn shamisen, I was exposed to shamisen very early in my studies.

In the winter of 2000, I moved to Tokyo to enter *Tôhô Gakuen* (one of the top music conservatories in Japan) to begin studies in conducting. Upon moving to Tokyo, I was recommended to our school's grand master to study directly. I studied with her until her death in 1995. I was afforded the opportunity to perform with her and her senior *odeshi* in many famous venues in Tokyo. I continued to study with one of her students after her death until I left Japan in 2000. With a twelve-year exposure to this art form, I

consider myself an active participant not just an observer acting as a one-way window.

Until my thesis proposal in 2002, I consider myself a participant-as-observer but with my activities during my research period of September to November of 2002, I consider myself observer-as-participant.

Informant Material

It is important to introduce the design and collection of the informant material.

My informant material is a result of the gathering of thirty general questionnaires involving forty questions and interviews with a range of players aging from seventeen to seventy-five years of age. Participation in this musical tradition ranges from three years to fifty. In terms of gender, five males and twenty-five females participated in the study.

Table No. 2

Informant Background Material

Informant	Age	Koto Experience (years)	Shamisen Experiency (years)	ce Gender M/F	Accreditation
Informant l	20	13	2	М	Shihan
Informant 2	55	3	17	F	Natori
Informant 3	62	50	40	F	Dai Shihan
Informant 4	60	52	0	F	Dai Shihan
Informant 5	50	30	0	F	Shihan
Informant 6	55	45	45	F	Shihan
Informant 7	54	20	5	F	Jun Shihan
Informant 8	56	36	30	F	Shihan
Informant 9	60	30	28	F	Shihan
Informant 10	54	35	32	M	Shihan

Table No. 2 (continued)
Informant Background Material

Informant	Age	Koto Experience (years)	Shamisen Experience (years)	ce Gender M/F	Accreditation
Informant 11	67	43	38	F	Dai Shihan
Informant 12	37	27	7	F	Chuden
Informant 13	39	28	7	F	Chuden
Informant 14	57	37	32	F	Dai Shihan
Informant 15	53	29	25	F	Shihan
Informant 16	51	_	O	F	
Informant 17	55	50	40	. F	
Informant 18	67	28	27	F	Dai Shihan
Informant 19	52	17	27	F	None
Informant 20	57	30	18	F	Shiban
Informant 21	58	50	25	F	
Informant 22	52	26	15	F	Shihan
Informant 23	32	27	5	F	Okuden
Informant 24	44	10	14	F	Shihan
Informant 25	42	27	25	F	
Informant 26	71'	60	40	F	Shihan
Informant 27	73	66	58	M	Iemoto
Informant 28	54 -	36	30	F	Shihan
Informant 29	32 ^f	0	12	F	None
Informant 30	37	14	13	F	None
* Indicates no respo	nse in the question	naire			

The questionnaire was presented to them with both the English and Japanese translations provided. In the process of translation, I purposely chose to keep the essence of the question in an "English" mind set as this research paper is written in English. Thus the

syntax or grammar of the question could be debated and explanation of the English meaning was at times necessary.

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Table No. 3

Informant Questions With Translation

Question #English		Japanese		
1.	How old are you?	あなたは何才ですか?		
Ž.	How long have you played koto?	あなたはどの位筝を弾いていますか?		
3.	How long have you played shamisen?	あなたはどの位三昧線を弾いていますか?		
٠.	When did you enter the school?	あなたはいつ今の流派に属しましたか?		
S ₋	Do you believe that you are active in the musical iemoto system?	あなたは家元制度の中で活動している あなたは家元制度の中で活動している と思いますか?		
ī.	What ryûha do you belong to?	あなたはどの流派に属していますか?		
-	Who is your direct teacher?	あなたの直接の先生はだれですか?		
	Who is your teacher's teacher?	あなたの先生の上の先生はだれですか?		
	Do you have direct contact with the "iemoto" or master of your school?	あなたは家元と直接会うことがありますか?		
0.	What is your rank? What credentials (license) have you received?	あなたの段は何 段ですか? 資格はありますか?		
1.	Are you male or female? Do you feel this affects your rank in the school?	あなたは男性ですか? 女性ですか? 性別が流派の中で影響していると感じますか?		
2.	Do you believe that as an active participant in this school your rank will increase?	この流派で活動している自分の地位が上がる と思いますか?		
3.	Were you awarded your teaching credential? When?	あなたは教える資格を与えられましたか? い ですか?		
4.	Did you start to teach before this?	あなたはその前から教え始めましたか?		
5.	Did you ever study koto or shamisen with any other teachers? How many?	あなたは他の先生に習ったことがあります か?何人位の先生ですか?		
6.	How often do you take lessons yourself?	あなたはどの位おけいこに行きますか?		
7.	How many students do you have if any?	あなたは弟子が何人いますか?(いる人は)		

Table No. 3 (continued)

Informant Questions With Translation

Question # English		Japanese		
18.	Do your students follow the same protocol	あなたの弟子はあなたが先生から受けている		
	you were expected to maintain in your lessons?	レッスンのやり方についてきますか?		
19.	Are any of your students accredited? How many?	あなたの弟子の中に有資格者はいますか? 何人位ですか?		
20.	Do you teach in the same method you were taught?	あなたはあなたが受けているおけいこのや! 方で教えていますか?		
21.	What specific musical practices do you feel	どういう音楽的な違いが他の流派との間に		
	Differentiate this school from others?	ありますか?		
22.	Do you use a "natori" in your musical life?	あなたは名取名を音楽活動の内		
	Outside of your musical life?	外で使っていますか?		
23.	Since entering the school have you ever	今の流派に属してから他の流派と		
	studied or participated in musical events	演奏したりしますか?		
	outside your school?	それは一人であるいはあなたの会の人と		
	Alone or with others from your school?	一緒にですか?		
24.	How often do you participate in recitals?	どの位演奏会に出ますか?		
5.	Do you wear a uniform when you play with	あなたの会で演奏する時おそろいの		
	your school? Do you always wear this when	衣裳を着ますか?		
	you perform?	あなたが演奏する時いつもそれを着ますか?		
26.	Does your teacher teach you aurally	あなたの先生は口頭でおしえますか?		
	or with score?	楽讃を使いますか?		
.7.	Do you perform from memory or use a score?	あなたは略記して演奏しますか?		
	.,,	楽譜を見て演奏しますか?		
28.	Do you use the mnemonic system?	あなたは口三味線を使いますか?		
	When studying?	それは練習する時ですか?		
	When teaching your students?	あるいは教えるときですか?		
29	How does your participation effect your life outside the school?	流派以外であなたの活動はあなたの人生に 影響を与えていますか?		
30.	Do you pursue other traditional arts?	他に伝統芸術をたしなみますか?		
31.	Do you consider this a hobby or a career?	これをあなたは 趣味と思いますか? 仕事と思いますか?		
32	Will you continue your studies? Until when?	あなたはおけいこを続けますか? いつまで?		
3.	How much of a personal relationship do you feel towards your teacher?	あなたの先生に対してどの位個人的な関係 を持っていますか?		

Table No. 3 (continued)

Informant Questions With Translation

Question #English		Japanese		
34.	How much of a personal relationship do you towards the other members of your school?	あなたの他の弟子仲間に対してどの位個人的fe な関係を持っていますか?		
35.	Do you use keigo in your lessons? With your teacher? With other students?	あなたのおけいこで敬語を使いますか? 他の弟子に対してはどうですか?		
36.	When do you not use keigo?	いつ敬語を使いませんか?		
37 .	How much do you pay for your lessons?	お月謝はいくらですか?		
38.	How much are you paid for teaching lessons?	あなたのおけいこは月謝を いくらもらっていますか?		
39	What percentage of your income teaching is passed on to the disciples or the <i>iemoto</i> ranked above you if any?	あなたのもらう月謝の何パーセントを 家元に渡していますか?		
40.	How much do you pay your teacher and on what occasions? Special occasions? Concerts?	あなたの先生にどういう時にどの位 お礼しますか?		

The research situation here is complicated. Some of the questions included in my survey and interviews seemed to confuse the informants. For example question number 5, "Do you believe that you are an active member in the musical *iemoto* system?" Often responses to this question were "of course", as if there were no other answer. The informants as active participants in both the *iemoto* system and Japanese culture often demonstrated that they lacked specific thought to their participation, but interestingly enough some of the responses were very direct negatives. In investigating these responses, the personal perspective of the informant was very important. Some players participate in the playing community at its outskirts with the specific and direct response that it is their desire not to participate in the *iemoto* system that pushes them out.

Reasons include time demands and expense, but often include personality disagreements with other players and teachers. This does not fit with the model presented in Chapter Two. It does show that the *iemoto* system exercises consequences to those who participate in *sankyoku* music regardless of whether they participate in the system or not.

Ouestion number 36, "do you use keigo in your lessons? With your teacher? With other students?" and specifically question number 37, "When do you not use keigo?" were considered strange questions to some of the participants. The answer was, without thinking that the informants always use keigo. There is no deliberately thought about when keigo is used or not. The content, not the "way" to speak is given more thought. Because the sempai/kohai exists, the rule is that there is no situation that they do not use keigo. Yet again in specific interviewing situations I found that the Japanese inclination to follow the rule of the group was very strong, but that there were indeed situations where keigo was not used. An example of this is social interaction during and after lessons when the students are having tea and relaxing. Informant 19 stated she used keigo at all times during the lesson. She did not use keigo during personal time or joking with her collegues. The gathering for lessons as a social situation is very important. Many of the participants include the other *odeshi* as personal friends. The use of *keigo* is part of the lesson in most cases. The use of keigo outside the lesson seemed much less important to many of the respondents. My question is, does this affect the stratification of the participants?

My intention in presenting this information is not to create argument or negate the point of view of my informants but to integrate information and provide an alternative

structural group and its practice in the present day. The filtering and examination of these discrepancies creates a new model representing the practice of *sankyoku* in the year 2002. In the process of showing how the system is justified in the twenty-first century, the maintenance, the conflicts, the system in flux with modern Japan, I hope to also to show the state of the musical art and how it is practiced, validated, and transmitted within these parameters known as "culture".

The Pyramid And Solidarity 1

There are many similarities in the model of the *iemoto* system, as defined previously (Chapter Two), and its modern application. The basic Japanese sociological traits persist. One of these is the vertical positioning of the *iemoto* and the links to top students (*deshi*) and their students (*magodeshi*). There is no denying the *sempai* system is still intact. It is observable in everyday interactions especially when using Japanese language. According to responses in questioning the lineage of the informant most students were aware of the names of the teacher's teacher. In the cases where the informant was not the *iemoto* himself or herself or did not study directly with the *iemoto*, contact with the *iemoto* was limited to recitals and licensure. Interestingly, direct contact with the *iemoto* was unanimous amongst all informants in this study who recognized personal activity in the *iemoto* system. Some studied directly with the *iemoto* but most direct contact with the *iemoto* was limited to brief and formal interactions. Often these

people were longstanding players or had regular contact with the *iemoto* at concerts and master classes.

The age range of the participants is from twenty years old to seventy-three years old. The average years of participation is thirty-three years for *koto* and twenty-two for *shamisen*. Although, within this average of thirty-three year period, only six participants answered question 14 negatively (Did you ever study koto or *shamisen* with any other teachers? How many?). This means that twenty-four of the thirty informants studied with other teachers. Of these twenty-four positive responses, informants had studied with one to six other teachers. This means that the average was 2.8 teachers per informant in this research pool. Unfortunately, the question is not specific enough to answer whether the other teachers where members of the same *ryûha* or not. Regardless, moving to other teachers except perhaps in the case of death contradicts the previous model presented in Chapter Two (pg. 23).

Another telling question is number 24. (Since entering the school have you ever studied or participated in musical events outside your school? Alone or with others from your school?) The affirmative answer to this question was common. In the case of professional players or *iemoto* this is justified as a part of maintaining income. Players are invited to perform with other groups as previously explained, as in the case of *shakuhachi*-centered recitals or other recitals. Except for the players who did not identify themselves as professional, to play with outside groups does not fit the model once again. Question number 15 (Did you ever study *koto* or *shamisen* with any other teachers?) and question number 24 (Since entering the school have ever studied or participated in

musical events outside your school?) were very telling questions. Adhering to the very stratified closed system implied by the iemoto seido the answer should be no. Malm emphatically states, "it is difficult to learn a piece out of order and impossible (openly) to learn a composition belonging to another school" (Malm 1959:171). The assumption being that performing music from outside ones school or changing teachers is frowned upon within the infrastructure established by the anthropological discourse itself. Yet twenty-four of the informants admitted from anywhere between one to six other teachers. One interview revealed that a common practice is to study koto with one teacher and shamisen with another as some teachers specialize in a particular instrument. The ryûha in question here are separate but the iemoto themselves have some kind of bond, either economically through business ties or socially. Playing outside the group also happens in formal education. The Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music known as Tokyo Geijutsu Daigaku or Geidai for short, the young players entering the school's hôgaku faculty are from all different schools. One informant discloses the tension between these students as a result. The shock of being thrust upon a new teacher and the competition to excel must create tension. The historical solidarity reinforces the bonds between students in the koto and shamisen ryûha.

The stratified pyramid system is in place and identifiable although to many informants the system is embedded in basic thought patterns and there is no conscientious analysis or comparison. It is just the way it is done. Informants and observation point to this traditional cultural system as more of a business aspect rather than a cultural one.

Accreditation

The monetary aspects are dealt with more conscientiously than the sociological aspects. Today the selling of licenses and *natori* reinforce the awareness of the *iemoto* system more than the obvious ranking of participants created within the system.

Nineteen of the thirty informants who were polled received, a *shihan*. Among the informants of this study, there is no consensus on the requirements for awarding a *natori* or *shihan*. The different *ryûha* polled all have different criteria and level demarcation. A *shihan* from one *ryûha*, although having the same literal connotations, does not always indicate the same performance level or grade in all *ryûha*.

In one of Japan's most famous *koto* schools, the Miyagi Kai, based in Tokyo, there are now pedagogical classes that are required in addition to playing examinations. The *shihan* is not a terminal degree. The next level up is *kyôshi* (lecturer, teacher, or instructor). Although I have reservations about cultural relativism, I present a sample Western accreditation structure, the Toronto Royal Conservatory of Music associate degrees, as an example of a system that may have influenced Miyagi. The intent here is to show an influence, not to make a comparison. In the Royal Conservatory, a student completes the grade level performance requirements by performing repertoire from List A (Baroque), List B (Classic), List C (Romantic), and List D (20th century). There are basic rudiments, theory, and history required exams as well. Once the student has completed grade 10, there is an ARCT. This is the associate degree of the Royal Conservatory of Music. It is divided into two levels. One is performance. The other is a teaching certification. The student is required to take and pass pedagogy classes and

exams testing competency. There is no age limit for a performance certificate. The age limit for the teacher's certificate is fifteen. I make this comparison to the Miyagi Kai for two reasons. One is that Miyagi was not only a master teacher but also a composer. He was very interested in Western composition and influenced by it in his own compositions and performance. In fact so much so that he is one of the founding members of the Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music, otherwise known as Geidai, which contains both a Western music curriculum and hôgaku (traditional music of Japan) curriculum. The second is that in this writer's experience of studying with a Miyagi-kai instructor during the last months of my stay in Japan, I was very impressed with the pedagogical instruction. The use of the tsume (finger picks), right hand position, and in fact the right arm, to produce particular sounds inherent in the Miyagi-kai repertoire was very specific and well articulated. As my experience had been limited to a single ryûha specializing in kotenmono (classic repertoire), pedagogical instruction reflected the classic method of copying the teacher. There was very little spoken explanation. The more modern pieces and more intense technical requirements of Miyagi-kai require more specific pedagogical instruction. Thus, a new level of kyôshi exists.

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After interviewing members of other *kai* such as members of the Seha-*kai*, and Sawaii-*kai*, the levels of accreditation can include:

- 1. Shoden (Entrance Level)
- 2. Chuden (Intermediate Level)
- 3. Okuden (Advanced)
- 4. Shihan (Graduate level)

- 5. Jun-Shihan (Graduate Preparatory level)
- 6. Dai-Shihan (Master Level)
- 7. Jun-Kvôshi (Instructor Preparatory level)
- 8. Kyôshi (Instructor)
- 9. Dai-Kyôshi (Advanced Instructor)

It is important to note that *kyôshi* and *shihan* are not always related to each other in the same way. The prefix "*jun*" indicates a prepatory level and the prefix "*dai*" indicates an advanced level. Sometimes, *kyôshi* licenses are awarded before *shihan* or vice versa. It is understood that in the traditional sense of the *iemoto seido*, it is at the teacher's discretion to award licenses and therefore allows for variation between the requirements for each separate school. It is after the acquisition and performance of repertoire the teacher tells you that you are ready for *shoden*, or *shihan* for that matter. The compulsory ability requirements, and the conditions for each license are judged and imposed by the direct teacher and the *iemoto*. As there are fees for all these levels of accreditation, the licensing system is a very important part of the income of a teacher and *iemoto*. The fees vary with each level. A *shoden* (first level or first grade license) is usually around one to two hundred dollars at the time of this writing. The top levels can be many thousands of dollars.²⁴ In the Chikusô-kai, the *shamisen* licenses are awarded and purchased

²⁴ Pecore, in her article *Bridging Contexts, Transforming Music: The Case of Elementary School Teacher Chihara Yoshio* (2000:123) lists a *shoden* at two hundred dollars and a *shihan* at three thousand dollars. I find it interesting that she refers to the data as "fees of a contemporary koto school" and omits the name from the article. Henry Johnson in his publication, *The Koto, A traditional instrument in contemporary Japan*, lists a shoden at ten thousand yen and a Shihan at one hundred and fifty thousand yen in 1990 (2004:107)

separately, but are also required for advancement. It should also be noted that a student couldn't skip levels. If a student is to receive a *shihan*, it is a requirement to have paid for and been awarded all the previous level licenses. The *inkan* stamp on the license usually includes the direct teacher as well as the *iemoto*. In more detailed interviews, informants reported that some *ryûha* that have incorporated more modern repertoire, more modern innovations of student assessment have been implemented. In the more progressive schools there are jury examinations where the student is tested by a panel of other teachers. Often these are blind jury examinations meaning that the panel isn't allowed to see or know the identity of the examinee. This definitely contradicts the model previously presented in that the *iemoto* is not the sole entity in the accreditation process.

Gender

Twenty-seven out of thirty participants in this study answered that being female had no effect on membership within the *ryûha*. This could be explained by the fact that most had either attained *shihan* or *dai-shihan* status or that there was no desire to go any further in the accreditation system. In my experience, most of these women are housewives, most of them more mature or past the child rearing stage of life (as indicated by the average age in my survey data), and identify the pursuit as a hobby. As a casual observation, it is easy to believe that women are subordinate to men in Japan. Even in modern times the society at large, the media (especially television dramas), and the employment practices of many large companies support this idea. In the speech patterns

used in the Japanese language, there are very definite gender differences. Not only is a Japanese women's speech more polite, but also she is expected to lower her eyes, cover her mouth, and speak at the volume of barely a whisper in a high pitch. Japanese men on the other hand can use shortened forms of grammar, a rather guttural tone, use eye contact, and only rarely cover their mouth when they speak. Japanese women are expected to move with small movements and stay compact, Japanese men can strut around and sit with their legs wide open. Both in the hôgaku and the koto/shamisen sankyoku world, male names are very common as iemoto, although many female deshi have risen to take the title of iemoto, for example in the Yonekawa, Miyagi, and Seha kai. All of these groups have many women as the top *odeshi* or even *iemoto*. The number of men who participate in the sankyoku world has diminished. My informant pool only has a total of four males including myself. Men, on the other hand dominate the shakuhachi world, although in the last few years of my stay in Japan, I increasingly met female players. In recital situations, male *koto* and *shamisen* players would be sent to the shakuhachi dressing room to change into kimono. I was very often the only man playing koto or shamisen in the recitals I participated in. The male iemoto were provided a private dressing room but more often arrived at the concert already wearing kimono and hakama.

The koto community has, historically, been dominated by men (and in fact mostly blind men) but in the past century it has been known as a female instrument. It is connected popularly to the young women (ojôsama). This may be partially due to the literature surrounding it. It is very common to find koto ensembles at women's high

school, finishing schools, and business schools. To acquire a first level license (shoden) is very popular and is often listed on business resumes as well as wedding resumes.²⁵

Economics

The *okeiko* envelope is the most common monetary organization tool of the more traditionally minded teachers. It is an envelope with a graph representing twelve months on it.

Table No. 4 *Okeiko* Envelope

January	February	March	April
May	June	July	August
September _s	October	November	December

In the larger squares below the indicated month is space for the teacher's *inkan* to be stamped upon payment of that months lesson or practice (*okeiko*) fee. Sometimes the

²⁵ Discussed in Chapter Two.

amounts vary according to the agreement the student has with the teacher. Questionnaire results show different lesson fees for students studying with the same *ryûha*. As cash is not to be handed directly and personal checks almost do not exist in Japan the money is placed in the envelope by the student. An *inkan* stamp from the teacher indicates when it has been received. Fees for the lesson are sometimes indicated on the envelope but usually they are agreed upon verbally and not shared with the other *odeshi*. In the case of my own *ryûha* the envelopes were emptied and stamped in private by my teacher or her sister. Her sister, a widow, helped with the business aspect of my teacher's teaching studio and with the running of her house as she had a full time teaching schedule.

The ogesha (lesson fees) amounts can vary. This is backed up by responses to question number 37 (How much do you pay for your lessons?). Informants who shared the same teacher had discrepancies from 7,000 yen per lesson to 20,000 yen per month to 22,000 yen per month. There is also the yearly oseibo gift offered at New Years and the yearly ochûgen gift offered at mid-year or obon season. The general consensus is that these gifts are anywhere from an extra month's okeiko fee to the equivalent of three to six months. ²⁶

²⁶ Oseibo and ochûgen as seasonal gifts are as important as Christmas shopping in the West. Department stores set up special catalogue sales and departments just for the massive consumer rush. One must also note the recycling of these gifts. Often they are box sets of household staples. (Soap, rice, dried seaweed, shôyu). It is very common to receive and then pass on the gift.

Table No. 5
Financial Material

nformant	Lesson Cost (J¥)	Lesson Fee Earned (J¥)	% of income past on to lemoto		Performance Fees (J¥)
nformant 1	6,000	5,000	0	Paid	None
nformant 2	2,000	1,200	0	_	10,000
nformant 3	5,000	0	_		10,000 - 100,000
nformant 4	6,000	6,000	0	-	_
nformant 6	5,000	10,000	0	_	3,000
nformant 7	10,000	_		Paid	Paid
nformant 8	20,000			Paid	
nformant 9	22,000	_	_	1-3 mos	
informant 10		varies	0	Paid	***
nformant 11	15,000/mo	o 8000/mo	0	10,000	10,000
nformant 12	13,000		_	_	10,000
nformant 13					Paid
nformant 14	12,000	15,000	0	Paid	
nformant 15		5000		•	3,000
nformant 16	3,000				
nformant 17	Master Cla	ass —	0	Paid	Paid
nformant 18	10,000	5,000	0		
nformant 19	25,000 - 30,000	0		Paid	
nformant 20	_	_	_		
nformant 21	10,000	0	0	Paid	
nformant 22	15,000	7,000	0		Paid
nformant 23	23,000	_		_	Paid
nformant 24	15,000	_	_	Paid	
nformant 25	7,000	1,500	0	Paid '	_
nformant 26	no longer	7,000	30%	0	0
nformant 27	no longer	15,000	0	M	Iemoto
nformant 28	_	_			
nformant 29	13,000			10,000	

Table No. 5 (continued)

Financial Material

Informant		Lesson Fee Earned (J¥)	% of income past on to lemoto	Seasonal Gift (J¥)	Performance Fees (J¥)
Informant 30	10,000			10,000	10,000
* Indicates no response	on the questionnai	ire			

Other more substantial charges included are stage fees for performances. High profile performers' concerts at prestigious concert halls are produced in the Western style with ticket sales. In the case of most *koto* performances involving amateurs or student recitals, the fees are charges to the performers per stage (in other words per piece). Some teachers charge a flat rate per person per piece performed at a recital. Others charge a flat rate per piece staged and the amount is divided up among the performers of that piece. Another system often employed involves the purpose of the performance. If specific repertoire is performed for the benefit of a particular player, (for example, towards acquiring performance experience in order to get a license) then the entire fee is absorbed by that particular person and the other players do not pay. This occurs frequently at *shakuhachi* recitals when accompaniment is required.

In the case of *shakuhachi* repertoire, there are both *honkyôku* and *gaikyôku* pieces. Honkyôku refers to pieces from the original classic repertoire and *gaikyôku* refers to pieces outside that. This includes pieces from the *sankyoku* repertoire. A group of singers, *koto* players, and *shamisen* players are invited to accompany the *sankyoku* pieces the *shakuhachi* player is performing. The fee is entirely compensated to the *sensei* of the group providing the accompaniment. In the case of my own teacher, the other *odeshi* participating in that recital and would receive extra instruction on that specific piece at no charge as the performance payment would cover the lesson costs.

Payment also goes the other direction. When performing pieces requiring a shakuhachi player, the teacher arranges for a teacher or higher-level odeshi to perform. The shakuhachi player pays nothing for that staging. The expenses of putting on a recital (often twice a year) included not only a venue, but also a kotoyasan²⁷ (a koto technician, supplier) to supply instruments and act as stage manager, sometimes a uniform, (a whole kimono set or just a matching obi), flowers, calligraphy (for the onstage sign indicating the name of the pieces), bento (box lunches) often supplied to guests as well as all the performers, small gifts to the participants and maybe even guests, the printing of programs (not always), and the printing of licenses being presented.

Superhuman Qualities

The in-group formation is so important that participation in the sankyoku world and the iemoto system associates the student with "old fashion" perhaps even nostalgic values, not just a musical interest. In an almost stereotypical perception, the study of koto and shamisen is synonymous with nostalgia or quaintness even within the general Japanese society itself. With the trend towards modernity and all the changes in the

²⁷ It is very common for a teacher to have their own contracted okotoyasan. My teacher actually owned about 40 *kotos* and 15 *shamisens* personally. They were stored and maintained by the *okotoyasan*. This number of instruments is necessary for recitals. For each staging, the *kotos* were tuned by my sensei and put aside in prescribed sets. The only personal instruments used were for small ensemble or solo works. This is not done for *shamisen*. The players usually used their own instruments for this.

iemoto seido, "As a social unit the hôgaku teacher and his students form a strong link with the customs of the feudal past" (Malm 1959:172). This concept is still intact and very powerful. In both my personal experience and research experience in Japan, this connection to the traditional and historical inflates the stature of the participants. What some may consider just a charming novelty is more often revered. This reverence is ascribed solely on participation and has no connection to individuality or ability. It is superhuman in quality.

More than in any other musical society that I have participated in, social contact with your peers and knowing the history of your group is important and built into the transmission system of the sankyoku iemoto seido. Appreciation of this extra-musical quality was very important in the community of players I belonged to. Professor Christine Yano makes this connection in her publication, Tears of Longing, Nostalgia and the Nation in Japanese Song; it is "the practice of the iemoto (headmaster) system in the traditional Japanese arts, which identifies the singer as one who understands the old fashion Confucian values of hierarchy, loyalty, duty, and obligation." (Yano 2002:65). This may explain why, especially as a foreigner, I was extended with a special respect for taking an interest in, not only the instruments, but the values associated with it. I was extended a special respect for maintaining my participation for such a prolonged period of time. I was endowed a sense of trustworthiness and sensitivity just for maintaining my participation and membership throughout my twelve years.

The demands of the *sankyoku* ensemble can also seem superhuman in nature. My own teacher's technical abilities were not as amazing as her consummate knowledge of

the genre's repertoire, including all the individual parts of the ensemble. This was exhibited by her playing shamisen and singing the verse of any given piece from the koten (classic) repertoire, and suddenly, while still playing, break into kuchijamisen (a mnemonic device to express the music) of another player's part to correct them. In the classical transmission method, she had been trained without the use of score and been teaching and performing this repertoire since her youth. Therefore her mind could run the instrumental parts (all of them including koto, kaede, shamisen) in this kuchijamisen, the text of the song simultaneously, and still employ very musical nuances. One of the biggest challenges for me as a Western instrumentalist was to master sankyoku ensemble technique. Western players are rarely expected to play without a score in ensemble situations let alone memorize all separate parts of an ensemble score. The tempo and phrasing changes in various combinations of instruments as in pieces for two koto, pieces for koto and shamisen, and pieces including the shakuhachi player. Especially in the latter, the rhythm is determined by breath and ornamental variations of the shakuhachi player. String decay, variations in the combination of voices, and even the acoustics of the venue can also affect the tempo and phrasing of the performance. In my own experience as a performer, sankyoku ensemble performances require not only musical expertise but also an intimate awareness of fellow performers to a very high degree. There is no conductor and the performers follow more of a breath rhythm, than a standard tempo. As with many masters I had the privilege to meet, my iemoto's ensemble skills and musical leadership was unquestioned by the members of our school and were superhuman in nature.

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Secretive Society and Aural Transmission

The secretive issues of the *iemoto* system are different in the contemporary situation. The issues that remain private within the system are no longer artistic with the advent of recordings and published score. The secretive issues tend to lean towards economic and personal issues. As reported in the section on methodology, personal information was extremely difficult to extract from the informants in this study. This information is not even shared openly with the members of one's own *ryûha*. The social ties to one's fellow students are reinforced every time one attends a lesson. Often, exact lesson times are not scheduled per say. The days are set, and any number of students can attend within a prescribed period. The students sit and listen to other student's lessons. On days my own lesson is scheduled, I could sit and listen to everyone else's lessons on that particular day. The conversation and snacks made for a more social exposure to other students than I had experienced before. It also reinforced my own study to have pieces constantly reviewed.

As a teaching method, hôgaku instruction seems unnecessarily tedious. The rote method, as used in Japan, is constantly in danger of producing musical automatons. It is only the most inspired teacher who can surmount the endemic difficulties presented by traditional teaching techniques. This system originated in a period when notation was almost unknown and many of the students were apprentices who had committed their lives to the learning of the repertoire. Today, such pupils are rare. Young would-be professionals attend the hôgaku department of the University of Tokyo of Fine Arts. The modern teachers must depend on amateur students who have only a limited time to spend on committing long traditional pieces to memory. Notation was developed to meet this new situation... It remains to be seen if creativity can be injected into Japanese music teaching without destroying some phase of the music or the social structure, which is such an important ancillary to the system. (Malm 1959:172)

The secretiveness is not the main issue. The reinforcement of a predetermined interpretation of the music is. The student's identity as a player through membership to a particular group is more at stake.

In koto performance, this manner of self-identification is similarly made regarding the tradition to which one belongs. While oral and visual symbols can often identify a player according to performance practice (e.g., type of instrument and component parts, shape of plectra and style of ornamentation), further levels of identity are sometimes necessary in order to place oneself within a social web of belonging and difference. Koto players primarily belong to performance groups rather than learn as soloists, and these groups more often than not act as the main means by which the instrument and its music are transmitted through teaching and performance. A player might learn in a one-on-one context and even give solo performances, but underlying this is usually an affiliation or association of one type or another to a performance tradition that is essential to knowing one's place in the world of koto performance. (Johnson 2004:95-6)

As with rote methods, developing a sense of interpretation is not the point here. Perfecting the *iemoto*'s interpretation is. This is very often done without the help of a standardized pedagogy or clear methodology. In the Japanese martial arts the debate between the historic or *koryū*²⁸ martial arts and the modern or *gendai budō* ²⁹ mirror the circumstance in *koto* music's *koten mono* (classic pieces) versus *shin* or *gendai kyoku* (new or modern music).

Traditional koryū teaching methods emphasized a sharp and observant mind in the student. Sometimes the teacher would merely demonstrate a technique once and then withdraw to let the students piece it together themselves. The detailed, repeated, and "scientific" explanations of many gendai budō are a marked contrast to this style. This fuels many debates about martial arts pedagogy, and much inquiry into how teachers of

²⁸ Certain $ry\bar{u}ha$ of the martial arts are classified as kory \bar{u} , having been established before the Meiji Restoration.

²⁹ This term is used to describe the Japanese martial arts that were established after the Meiji Restoration (1866-1869). They would include aikido, judo, karate, kendo, kyūdō, and shorinji kempo.

either koryū and budō can make their particular type of instruction effective. (Caile 2003) (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gendai_Budō)(Accessed on Feb. 15, 2007).

This is very often the debate in modern *koto* and *shamisen* playing today. Although the rote method is not limited to one performance of the piece and its imitation, detailed analytical explanation of technique is not figured into the methodology. It is by constant repetition that the repertoire is mastered and maintained. Some teachers and performers are afforded a deep seated respect for the loyal and faithful will it takes to master this authentic style, where as others are criticized for being inflexible, costly, prejudiced, and dictatorial. In some cases in my interviews, the same is said of the *iemoto* system itself.

A Case Study

I chose to include a case study to illustrate some of the contemporary issues discussed in this chapter. Informant 10 offers an interesting case study as he demonstrates both characteristics of participation and separation from the system. On October 16, 2002 he participated in an extended interview and recording session. He is performer number one on the transcription analysis in the following chapter. Informant 10 learned in the traditional aural manner and without score. He studied *koto* and *shamisen* with separate teachers. He received his *shihan* for *koto* at nineteen years old and a *shihan* for *shamisen* at twenty-two. At fifty-four years old, he has taught about three hundred students in his career. Usually about twenty to thirty students are taking lessons with him at any given time. He is a consummate *koto* master with all repertoire and their respective parts taught and performed from memory. One of the interesting

points of this master teacher is that he is an instructor of the hôgaku (traditional music) club at a major university in the Tokyo area. University clubs are intense on training sessions and a big part of university life. This intensifies the allegiance to such groups and the efforts put into them. I have observed the attributes of hierarchy, allegiance, and group identity present in these clubs that immediately brought to mind the iemoto system. This particular teacher also maintains a private music studio at home. He informed me he does not consider himself an iemoto even with his extensive experience and student base. He does not issue accreditation himself although he can arrange it through the iemoto of the ryûha he belonged to in his youth.

This informant is also a salary man. His company job may be his primary source of income but is not his primary career. He is very much a master musician and maintains his skills through regular performances and teaching privately and through the university. This is not uncommon among men who pursue the performing arts in Japan. Many *shakuhachi* players and even teachers that I met in my twelve years of participation in the sankyoku world are employed in company jobs or family businesses. I believe this reflects part of the gender issue in the contemporary setting of the *sankyoku* world.

This teacher, when discussing transmission protocol, has a great interest in Western music and stated to me that he would use any means necessary to heighten his teaching method including using gosenfû or Western staff notation. This is especially interesting to him in his teaching at the university where many young students come to him with no hôgaku experience. This expedites the process of learning to play, but does not fit the parameters of our "traditional" paradigm. This is not the first attempt to fuse

institutional based music instruction and traditional music. It is interesting that other "...
experiments in teaching Japanese music in the schools reveal the need for making
adjustments to the *iemoto* system" (Pecore 2004:124). This informant/instructor is
attempting to bridge the gap between the historical ideal and the contemporary situation.

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Conclusions

The organization of material in Chapter Three mirrors that of Chapter Two on purpose. Through the examination of discrepancies between the historical characteristics presented in Chapter Two and the contemporary issues presented in this chapter it is possible to draw a much more representative model of the contemporary sankyoku world. Blind males no longer monopolize the power in the pyramid. Accreditation is not a standardized system. Although'the initial costs of studying koto and shamisen are obvious, the financial obligation is quite extensive and ongoing. The protected secrets of membership to the group may not be as significant in the contemporary model but membership is as relevant as ever in the context of identity. The essentials of the *iemoto* system outlined in Chapter Two as they are employed in the sankyoku tradition have contemporary applications. The specific characteristics and parameters of the infrastructure of the iemoto system do in fact exist in the contemporary discourse. There are many parameters of the *iemoto* system that affect the practice of sankyoku in the contemporary context. The next question to ask is, how does it affect the actual performance?

Chapter Four: Musical Analysis

Introduction

As established in the definition of *iemoto* in this thesis, the influence of the *iemoto* encompasses the performance technique, performance practice and all artistic details of the school headed by that particular grand master. The establishment of a particular style and repertoire and the strict attention to transmission are vital to the basic principles of the system. This chapter investigates the musical details of transmission in the *iemoto* system by examining transcriptions of examples of master and disciples performing the same piece. The piece selected is "Rokudan No Shirabe". A transnotation of Miyagi Michio's edited score published by Hôgakusho in the year 1989 is provided as a standard example of the piece. Informants involved in this research project made the four live recordings representing a master and student of two separate *ryûha* in October 2002.³⁰ The purpose of analyzing these recordings is to document similarities and differences in basic pitch, rhythm, ornamentation particulars and tempo. The analysis of this documentation will provide insight into the transmission of artistic details in contemporary koto performance.

³⁰ The recordings were made by the researcher using a Sony professional walkman (cassette player/recorder) and a single Sony flat mike.

Rokudan No Shirabe as a Medium For Analysis

Composed by Yatsuhashi Kengyô (1614-1684) in the 17th century, "Rokudan No Shirabe", often referred to as just "Rokudan", is a standard work in the *sôkyoku* and *sankyoku* repertoire. This piece is studied by almost all *koto* players, even by those who do not specialize in classic *koto* repertoire. It contains many of the performance techniques prevalent in the *kotenmono* (classic repertoire) and is therefore used as a training piece and an examination piece for accreditation.

As a piece of music seen to be representative of the koto repertoire, "Rokudan" is frequently a favorite in performances. "Rokudan" is played habitually in *koto* performance and it is a work that all everyday *koto* players would be expected to learn regardless of tradition (see Falconer 1995). Many performance traditions require it for a license, and it is often included in competitions – sometimes with several *dan* removed – or heard at times of celebration. In effect, this traditional piece has become symbolic of both the koto and its repertoire (Johnson 2004:148).

"Rokudan" is a good composition to use in this transmission analysis for these reasons. Not only are all the informants interviewed in this study familiar with the piece, they use it as a measurement of skill. "Rokudan" is revisited in a student player's career many times. The main melody is in a tuning known as *hirachôshi*. Because of the widespread use of *hirachôshi*, it is the first tuning a *koto* student is exposed to. Mastering the techniques of the principle melody is often the requirements for a *shoden* (first level) certificate. The *kaede*, an additional contrapuntal melody, was added to the composition many years after its composition and utilizes a tuning known as *kumoichôshi*. It uses basically the same performance techniques but is rhythmically much more challenging. A *shamisen* part is also employed making the piece available to the *sankvoku* ensemble.

Throughout their studies students are constantly reviewing this piece as they master all its components.

The piece is organized into six sections of fifty-two beats, except for the first section, which has fifty-six beats. "Rokudan" literally means six sections. Although there is no evidence of the composer's intention, with the repetition of the equal structure, the definitive opening and closing of each section or *dan*, and the gradual increase in speed, the degree of variation increases so that "Rokudan" may be seen as a variation on a theme. As mentioned above, it employs the *hirachôshi* tuning, which is notated below.

Table No. 6
Western Notation of The *Hirachôsh* Tuning.



This table puts the first note of the tuning on the pitch D (above middle C). This positioning of the tuning is convenient for Western notation in the treble clef as well as ease of playing. The performer does not have to reach as far down the length of instrument in order to manipulate the lower strings. In the realm of the *sankyoku* ensemble, the first note of the tuning is set to the pitch G (one fifth below) in order to fit with the *kaede* part, the *shamisen* tuning, and the *shakuhachi* part. As a result players

who perform this piece in ensemble consider this the standard pitch positioning for this piece. This tuning is not only commonly used in many other compositions it also acts as the base of many other tunings. The player will set the movable bridges in the *hirachôsh* tuning first and then employ alterations (raising or lowering pitches) to create another scale. Once again, all students of the instrument must master this tuning because of its pervasive use. In selecting a piece to reflect transmission of the art of playing the *koto*, this piece was the most suited for these reasons.

Background Notes For Rokudan No Shirabe Transcriptions

In order for the analysis of transmission to be complete we must look at the performers involved in this portion of the study. Although the performers were promised anonymity, Table No. 7 below gives some background information.

Table No. 7

Performer's Background Material

Performer	Age	Koto Experience (years)	No. of Teachers	Status	Gender M/F	Accreditation
Performer 1	54	35	2	Instructor*	M M	Shihan
Performer 2	54	20	6	Student	F	Jun Shihan
Performer 3	55	45	1	Performer	F	Shihan
Performer 4	37	14	3	Student	F	Chuden

Performer One is Performer Two's present teacher. Performer Three is the senior *odeshi* in Performer Four's *ryûha* and both studied with the same teacher. According to the

paradigm constructed in this thesis, Performer One and Two's performances should be very similar if not exactly the same. The analysis for Performer Three and Four should also be similar if not exact as well. The pitch and rhythm of *Rokudan* is reasonably standard but there are some variations. The employment of fundamental techniques and ornamental devices are the more conspicuous musical elements to make a comparison between performances. These and the fundamental techniques of *koto* playing included in *Rokudan no Shirabe* are listed in Table No. 8 in the order they appear in the piece.

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Table No. 8

Koto Techniques in The Order They Occur in Rokudan no Shirabe

Technique	Symbol or Mnemonic Indicator	Explanation
hikiiro	.	To pull a string with the left hand from behind the bridge (towards the player) in order to release tension and create a drop in pitch.
kakite/waren	シャン	To play 2 strings at the same time with the third finger (on occasion the first). The technique involves brushing both strings in one quick motion towards the player.
oshide	<i>য</i>	Using the left hand to push the string down from behind the bridge in order to increase the tension of the string and create a raise in pitch usually by one diatonic step. There are variations of this technique such as atooshi where the tension is applied after plucking the string creating a bending up in the pitch. A situation where this is strictly measured out is called oshihibiki.
oshihanashi	^	The release of the tension created by <i>oshide</i> resulting in the string returning to its open pitch. This results in a slide to the upper pitch.
warizume	シャンシャン	A double <i>kakite</i> played by brushing the second and then the third finger plectra in succession across two consecutive strings.
tsukiiro	ッ	utilizing an oshide quickly after the note has been sounded and quickly releasing it.
han oshide	ヲ	a half oshide raising the pitch one semitone.
chirashi	← (シュ)	swiping the strings with the outside of the second and third finger plectra to create a very scratchy sound.
sukuizume	ス	plucking the string with an upward motion of the thumb.

Table No. 8 (continued)

Koto Techniques in The Order They Occur in Rokudan No Shirabe

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Technique	Symbol or Mnemonic Indicator	Explanation
uraren	+++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++	Often referred to as <i>sararin</i> , this is a tremolo technique produced by plucking the string with the outside corner of the second finger plectrum in a back and forth motion very quickly. The second and third finger plectra are then dragged across the strings away from the player creating a glissando effect down the scale ending with a pronounced final note (or two notes depending on the indication in the score) played with the thumb.
kakeoshi	オ	An oshide performed on two strings in succession. The technique requires the player to use the left hand thumb on the first oshide and then pivot the hand to use the first and second fingers for the second.
yuriiro	ユ/ユリ	a very quick form of <i>oshihanashi</i> where the player releases the string from the <i>oshide</i> position lowering the pitch for just a moment and then pushes the string down returning it to its previous pitch. Often this is done very quickly and only changes the pitch by one half step.
tanhan .	トンカラ	A four note pattern performed by plucking the indicated strings in a 2-3-3-1 fingering pattern. This is a variation of the more well known kakezume pattern, sometimes called a han kakezume or "half" kakezume. Kakezume is a five note pattern performed by plucking the indicated strings in a 2-2-3-3-1 fingering pattern. It is not listed here as it does not appear in the transciption.
kaihan	ツトテ	A three note pattern performed by plucking the indicated strings in a 2-3-1 fingering pattern.
oshiawasezu m e	オ+2 notes	Two neighboring strings are sounded at the same time while the <i>oshide</i> technique is applied to the lower string making it match the higher string's in pitch. In essence the two strings are manipulated into sounding the same pitch
awasezume	2 notes	Two strings one octave apart are sounded at the same time usually by the thumb and third or second finger.

The transcriptions of the informant recordings contained in Appendix E contain five staves of Western notation. The first stave represents a transnotation of the Miyagi-kai *Rokudan No Shirabe* score edited by Miyagi Michio and published by Hôgakusha in Tokyo, copyright 1989 as a standard version of the piece. The second and third staves represent recordings of a master and a disciple's performances respectively. The fourth and fifth staves represent two disciples of the same *iemoto*. Both these performers

studied directly with the *iemoto* although Performer Three's experience is much more extensive than Performer Four's. Another very important factor is that Performers One, Two, and Three all performed the piece from memory. Only Performer Four used a score during performance. Only Performer Three tunes the first string as D (see Table No. 6) in these recordings. For ease of comparison all the transcriptions notate G as the first string. Three flats are utilized in the key signature in order to limit the use of accidentals; not to infer the key of c minor. Please note that they are notated on the treble clef in a range one octave above the actual sounding pitch for ease of interpretation except in the case of Performer Three (which is raised one fourth). Other considerations include a bracket around the first scale degree indicating it is played on the first string. This is necessary to discriminate between the use of the first and fifth string as they sound the same pitch. A legend of symbols and transcripted equivalents used to represent fundamental koto techniques in the transcription is contained in Table No. 9 below.

Table No. 9

Legend of Transcription Symbols Used in Transcription

Technique	Symbol or Transcripted Equivalents
hikliro	□ over the pitch indicates a half step raise in the pitch
kakite/waren	Indicated by a fingering marking (3) over two notes.
oshide	才 indicates a note raised one diatonic tone.
oshihanashi	indicates the release of the tension created by oshide resulting in the string returning to its open pitch.
warizume	Indicated by a fingering marking (2 and 3) over consecutive double notes.
tsukiiro	Indicated by a single trill marking
han oshide	7 over the pitch

Table No. 9 (continued)

Legend of Transcription Symbols Used in Transcription

Technique	Symbol or Transcripted Equivalents
chirashi	•— over the two notes indicating the first and second string.
sukuizume	V over the indicated pitch.
uraren	Slashes through the note stem indicate the tremolo followed by a glissando marking.
kakeoshi	オ and ヲ in succession.
yuriiro	a trill mark with a slash through it indicating one quick pitch alteration one semi tone down.
tanhan	indicated by the fingering $2-3-3-1$ over the note pattern. Note the 1 is understood unless otherwise indicated.
kaihan	2-3-1 fingering over the note pattern.
oshiawasezume	オ over two notes of the same pitch.
awasezume	Two notes written above each other with a 3 indicating the fingering for the bottom note. In the case of the first and fifth string th are played as a awasezume but sound as a unison.

All notes are played by the right hand thumb only on occasion marked as "1". All situations where the thumb is not used are indicated. The right hand index finger is marked as "2" and the middle finger is marked as "3". These are the only fingers using plectra. Where the second or third fingers are repeated as in han kakezume (2-3-3-1) the repeated finger always plays a consecutive string one-scale degree up in the hirachôsh scale. The hikiiro is indicated where there is even a hint of the manipulation of the strings although at times it is almost inaudible. This is because in the lower tuning with the bridges at the lower part of the koto and closer to the bottom ryûkaku (fixed bridge) there is a great deal of tension making it more difficult to manipulate the sound. All

oshide and han oshide are indicated in the score. These notes do not always appear as accidentals in the Western diatonic scale. To this author and performer they are accidentals from the point of view of the hirachôsh scale and because they are unstable in exact pitch it is necessary to mark them.

Analysis of Transcription For Transmission Variations

For the purpose of analyzing these transcriptions for variations in transmission the fundamental *koto* techniques and ornamental devices will be the focus of comparison. In this researcher's experience the basic rhythm and melodic structure are more or less constant even between different schools. Application of fundamental techniques and ornaments are distinctive to the performance practices of the different *iemoto*. Therefore the supposition is that the performers who share a common *ryûha* will share distinctive traits and have limited disparity within the established parameters for this analysis.

Performer One and Two's performances should be very similar if not exactly the same and distinctive from Performer's Three and Four's. The objective is to notate the fundamentals as listed in Table No. 8, and then compare the individual master's performances to the Miyagi transnotation.

In counting the actual number of differences, Performer one had a total of 30 differences. Performer three had 32 differences. Particularly frequent discrepancies were noted in the area of utilizing hikitro (E) and the passing tone pattern from the fifth scale degree to the third (usually in a dotted rhythm). These particular discrepancies are serious deviations and indicate performance error or misinterpretation of the music to

experienced players. This dotted rhythm pattern is prevalent in cadences at the end of sections and some phrases (see bar 3, 5, 9, 27, 29, 31, 53, 55,57,79,105). Performer Three and Four tend to employ this device more than Performer One and Two. The *hikiiro* are much more random and there seem to be a lot of discrepancies. It is hard to distinguish whether there is an intent to play *hikiiro* or not sometimes. It is more difficult to perform in the lower tuning and the recordings are not always clear. It is much easier to decipher in performer three's performance as she chose to use the higher tuning. The results of the count are broken down by *dan* in Table No. 10 below.

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<u>Table No. 10</u>

Number of Performance Differences Between Master's Transcription And Miyagi-kai Transnotation

	1st Dan	2nd Dan	3rd Dan	4th Dan	5th Dan	6th Dan	TOTAL
Performer 1 vs. Transnotation	5	4	6	3	6	6	30
Performer 3 vs. transnotation.	9	5	5	6	4	3	32

When comparing the players of the same *ryuha* the results of the number of differences are hard to draw a concrete conclusion. Performer One and Two had only eleven differences. This would match our supposition that the fundamentals and ornaments are clearly defined for members of the same school. Performer Three and Four had thirty-six differences. This is greater than the discrepancies between the transnotation and the members of different schools. In examining the transcription we can see that the use of *oshide* and *kakezume* are consistently different between these two players. One could offer the fact that Performer Four was using a score as opposed to

Performer Three who relies on memory. It may also be of interest that Performer Four has studied with three teachers as opposed to Performer Three with forty-five years experience and only one teacher. The results of the count are broken down by dan in Table No. 11.

Table No. 11

Number of Performance Differences Between Master Players Transcription and Disciple Transcription

	1st Dan	2nd Dan	3rd Dan	4th Dan	5th Dan	6th Dan	TOTAL
Performer 2 vs. 1	5	2	1	1	1	1	11
Performer 4 vs. 3	7	6	11	9	4	9	36

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Tempo is also a variable of performance. "Rokudan" was originally a solo piece. It has evolved to include *shamisen*, and *shackuhachi* parts, as well as a *kaede* part. The performers of these parts all have influence on the tempo. In my own experience, *shackuhachi* players tend to slow the tempo down, while *koto kaede* players tend to increase the tempo. Performing this piece in an ensemble is very common. At these times, the teacher (or most senior player) will control the tempo and the students will follow. To play such a definitive selection of the koto repertoire solo is very rare. Not having the experience of performing this piece solo perhaps put some of the performers in a difficult position. The acoustics of the room, the intimidation of the microphone, the quality of the instrument, the decay of the sound of the string, are all temporal factors that effect the tempo of a performance. A sample of results extracted from the recordings is organized in Table No. 12. In many cases this data is estimated, as the tempos of these

performances in many cases were erratic not only from bar to bar but also even within the same measure.

<u>Table No. 12</u> Sample of Tempo Variations

	Performer 1	Performer 2	Performer 3	Performer 4
Bar 1 (Dan 1)	J =60	} = 60	↓ = 56	J= 52
Bar 15	J=92	112) = 96	1 96
Bar 28 (Dan 2)	J= 120	J= 120	√ = 108	№ 104
Bar 36	120	120	J = 108	I = 104
Bar 54 (Dan 3)	126	J = 144	= 112	1 ≥ 120
Bar 71	J = 152	J = 184	J= 152	→ = 132
Bar 80 (Dan 4)	J= 84	= 116	- 100	100
Bar 99	≥ 92	= 120	= 130	= 132
Bar 106 (Dan 5)	= 120	= 152	J= 138	J= 132
Bar 132 (Dan 6)	132	- 152	= 144	J= 132
Bar 154	≠ 60	J - 76	J = 72	- 50

Again, as in the previous analysis, we see differences in the tempos between Performer One and Performer Two. Performer Two tends to play the piece faster than Performer 1 (the respective teacher) in most of the selected measures, but interestingly, all of the increases and decreases in speed match up (ten out of ten instances). The average duration for these players is eight minutes and thirty-six seconds. In the case of Performer Three and Four this is a different the case although the average duration for this group is very similar at eight minutes and forty-seven seconds. Performer Three (the senior *odeshi*) tends to play the piece faster. Out of a possible ten, increases or decreases in speed, these players match up seven times. Overall, the results reflect that Performer

One and Two play the piece slower than Performer Three and Four but the tempo changes occur relatively in the same places.

In terms of transmission it is difficult to extract absolute conclusions from this data. Yet it does demonstrate that in at least one case the transmission of performance practices and interpretation from master to disciple is fairly strict. That is only eleven discrepancies out of a possible three hundred and fourteen equaling about 3.5 percent and 100 percent in tempo changes. As for the more disappointing results in the case of Performer Three and Four, this may be evidence that the performance elements do not take precedence over the social and organizational elements of the *iemoto* system. Especially in the area of group membership as identity, in the contemporary setting, understanding the *iemoto* system may be just as important as understanding all the performance elements. Without both these understandings, the art of sankyoku becomes very difficult to comprehend and appreciate.

Chapter Five: Conclusion

An interesting caricature of *iemoto seido* can be found in Atami Juzo's movie "Tampopo". The plot is about a woman learning to cook the perfect bowl of *ramen* (Chinese style noodles). The movie opens with an absurd scene of an *iemoto* type character, a master of eating *ramen* teaching an *odeshi* type character acting as an apprentice. The humor of the scene, as seen from the a Japanese psycho-cultural stand point probably lies in the bungling satire of the man who wants to learn how to eat a bowl of ramen perfectly, but from a Westerner's point of view it would be in the absurdness of the master being venerated for a skill of no importance. The validation of the skill is in the presentation of the master and disciple's relationship and the hierarchical rapport that exists between them. The aim of this study is not essentializing or over generalization that would perpetuate a caricature of the *iemoto seido* or any other social phenomena in Japanese society. The objective is to offer accurate data relevant to the particular musical institution of the *sankyoku* tradition.

In this thesis, the goal was to present the characteristics and an outline of the social hierarchy embedded in the anthropology of Japan, especially pertaining to the sankyoku musical tradition, in order to create a model of the iemoto system. This model was extracted from anthropological and historical models researched in literature and from my own experience. In Chapter Three, I put forward extensive data representing modern day practices in the iemoto system. The core of this information is based on participant responses and my own twelve year experience as a participant. Specific

examples of *koto/shamisen* music schools and their members do indeed attest to the importance of this institutionalized and observable phenomenon. I have used my own commentary as participant/observer to compensate for a lack of answers in the survey. Its effect on dimensions like the validation and present practice of *sankyoku* music, and the transmission of the musical practices are demonstrated in these examples. Although the musical analysis is somewhat ambiguous there is evidence that the psycho-cultural phenomenon shapes performance practice if only by expectation.

In conclusion, it is important to remember the hierarchy of the *iemoto* system is based mostly on the solidarity of the group and the master disciple relationship. In examining this relationship, the student is obligated to the *sensei* for life, to the point that "a lifetime of service and loyalty cannot remove the student's debt of obligation" (Trimillos 1989:39). Although this presents a sense of comfort to the traditional Japanese psyche, times are changing. Perhaps for young Japanese this is a daunting concept. This, of course, is the dilemma of the Japanese *iemoto* guild system, which permeates all the traditional arts.

The iemoto system is triangular. The sensei occupies the top post and the various disciples fan out below, according to rank. This system has both its good and bad sides; it can smother artistic creativity and be fiercely consanguineous--like Japanese political parties--or it can be a positive force keeping alive rich traditions in a largely apathetic cultural climate... Yet anyone--Japanese or foreigner--who begins a Japanese instrument faces a daunting situation where a considerable amount of money and time must be invested in order to rise up through the ranks. Anyone who thinks to become professional must learn (unless desiring to be an outsider to the system) to skillfully balance: the institution to the music, the form to the content. (Blasdel 1999)

The psycho-cultural concepts are changing. It is significant to observe these changes. It remains to be seen how the validation and transmission of traditional performing arts in Japan through the *iemoto* system will evolve or become extinct. Observation of trends in evolution, revival, or even how the system is archived in both musical and cultural activity enriches the field of study of Japan specifically, cultural studies, education, and musicology.

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APPENDIX A:

Questionnaire Page 1

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Address (作所)	<u> </u>

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Questionnaire Page 2

white taken.	オラフソンによる日本音楽研究プロジェクトへ参加する同意書
連絡住所:	ハワイ大学マノア人文科音楽科 (University of Hawaii at Manoa College of Arts and Humanities,
	Music Department) 2411 Dole Street, Honolulu, Hawaii. USA, 96822-2318
電話番号:	(808)-956-7756
	ロジェクトの目的はインタビュー、観察、演奏の舞音、現存している資料研究な
	、情報を収集することである。 これはマノアのハワイ大学在層のケビン・オラ 上齢文のための研究プロジェクトである。 インクビューされる人は自分の音楽
	エースシにいい前元ノロンエファである。 インフにユーされる八は17月の日末 っていることに対する質問に答え、ケビン・オラフソンが後で五縁者に告きかえ
	奏をしていただく。 この演奏の録音は書きかえのためだけに行うものである。
	全ての情報は個人名を伏せ、外部にもらさない。参加協力者に何ら危険をおよば
	いと理解している。「参加協力者には何ら利益はないかもしれないが、集められ 日本には充力の原理は第20七十十二十二十二十二十二十二十二十二十二十二十二十二十二十二十二十二十二十二十
	日本伝統音楽の研究に役立つだろう。 データおよび録音された演奏は、ハワイ 楽資料室に収められ、日本音楽の研究に使われるだろう。
私はこの研究	常参加に際して起こりうるリスクついて理解し、この研究プロジェクトの方法と意味を理
	F都台を感じたらいつでも参加協力を辞退できるとの助言を研究者本人からもらいまし
た。	
掛って、私の	D法的権利が全く損なわれないという理解のもと、このプロジェクトに参加協力すること
	「。 又この参加協力が自分の所属するいかなる団体からも責任を問われないと理解しま
J.,	
(もしあなた	この疑問が十分答えてもらえない時、あるいはなにかインタビューの際、コメント、不満
などが生じた	:時はハワイ大学までお電話お願いします。(el: (808) 956-5507.)
6.	
凡名	H付
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自著	
	k .
For on the	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
研究者	
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Questionnaire Page 3

Interview Questions:

- I. How old are you? あなたは何才ですか?
- 2. How long have you played koto? あなたはどの位箋を嫌いていますか?
- 3. How long have you played shamisen? あなたはどの位三味線を弾いていますか?
- 4. When did you enter the school? あなたはいつ今の流派に属しましたか?
- 5. Do you believe that you are active in the musical iemoto system? あなたは家元制度の中で活動していると思いますか?
- 6. What ryuha do you belong to? あなたはどの流派に属していますか? - 🌡
- 7. Who is your direct teacher? あなたの直接の先生はだれですか?
- 8. Who is your teacher's teacher? あなたの先生の上の先生はだれですか?
- 9. Do you have direct contact with the "iemoto" or master of your school? あなたは家元と征接会うことがありますか?
- 10. What is your rank? What credentials (dan/license) have you received? あなたの段は何段ですか? 資格はありますか?
- 11. Are you male or female? Do you feel this effects your rank in the school? あなたは男性ですか? 女性ですか? 性別が逸派の中で影響していると感じますか?
- 12. Do you believe that as an active participant in this school your rank will increase? この流域で活動している自分の地位が上がると思いますか?
- 13. Were you awarded your teaching credential? When? あなたは教える資格を与えられましたか? いつですか?
- 14. Did you start to teach before this? あなたはその前から教え始めましたか?

ı 15. Did you ever study koto or shamisen with any other teachers? How many? あなたは他の先生に置ったことがありますか? 阿人位の先生ですか? 16. How often do you take lessons yourself? あなたはどの位おけいこに行きますか? 17. How many students do you have if any? あなたは弟子が何人いますか? (いる人は) 18. Do your students follow the same protocol you were expected to maintain in your あなたの弟子はあなだが先生から受けているレッズンのやり方についてきますか? 19. Are any of your students accredited? How many? あなたの弟子の中に有資格者はいますか? 何人位ですか? 20. Do you teach in the same method you were taught? あなたはあなたが受けているおけいこのやり方で教えていますか? 21. What specific musical practices do you feel differentiate this school from others? どういう音楽的な違いが他の流派との間にありますか? 22. Do you use a "natori" (a name given to you by your teacher) in your musical life? Outside of your musical life? あなだは名取名を音楽活動の内、外で使っていますか? 24. Since entering the school have you ever studied or participated in musical events outside your school? Alone or with others from your school? 今の流派に属してから他の流派と海灰したりしますか? それは一人であるいはあなたの会の人と一 緒にですか? 25. How often do you participate in recitals? どの位演奏会に出ますか? 26. Do you wear a uniform when you play with your school? Do you always wear this when you perform? あなたの会で演奏する時おそろいの衣裳を着ますか? あなたが演奏する時いつもそれを着ますか? 27. Does your teacher teach you aurally or with score? あなたの先生は口頭でおしえますか? 楽譜を使いますか? 28. Do you perform from memory or use a score? あなたは暗記して演奏しますか? 楽譜を見て演奏しますか?

Questionnaire Page 5

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29. Do you use the nemonic system? When studying? When teaching your students?
あなたはい」味線を使いますか? それは練習する時ですか? あるいは教えるときですか?
30. How does your participation effect your life outside the school?
流派以外であなたの活動はあなたの人生に影響を与えていますか?
31. Do you pursue other traditional arts?
他に伝統芸術をたしなみますか?
32. Do you consider this a hobby or a career?
これをあなたは趣味と思いますか?。仕事と思いますか?
33. Will you continue your studies? Until when?
あなたはおけいこを続けますか? いつまで?
34. How much of a personal relationship do your feel towards your teacher?
あなたの先生に対してどの位個人的な関係を持っていますか?
35. How much of a personal relationship do your feel towards the other members of your
school?
あなたの他の弟子仲間に対してどの位個人的な関係を持っていますか?
36. Do you use keigo in your lessons? With your teacher? With other students?
あなたのおけいこで敬語を使いますか? 他の弟子に対してはどうですか?
37. When do you not use keigo?
いつ敬語を使いませんか?
38. How much do you pay for your lessons?
お月謝はいくらですか?
39. How much are you paid for teaching lessons?
あなたのおけいこは月謝をいくらもらっていますか?
40. What percentage of your income teaching is passed on to the disciples or the lemoto
ranked above you if any?
あなたのもらう月階の何パーセントを家元に渡していますか?
41. How much do you pay your teacher and on what occasions? Special occasions?
あなたの先生にどういう時にどの位お礼しますか?
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APPENDÍX B

English Translation of Questionnaire Page 2:

Agreement to Par	ticipate in:	
Japanese Music F	Project conducted by Kevin Olafsson	
Mailing address:	University of Hawai'i at Manoa Col Humanities, Music Department 2411 Dole Street Honolulu Hawai'i	
Phone Number:	(808)-956-7756	
recording of mu is a research pro at Manoa. Infor play musical exc purpose of trans in confidentiality the participant t music. Copies o	sical performances or portions ther pject for the required master's thesi- mants will be asked questions perta- erpts for transnotation purposes. I motation. All information collected y. I see no foreseeable risk to the pa he data collected will help with the	ormation through interview, observation, eof, and examination of existing materials. This is of Kevin Olafsson at the University of Hawai'i nining to their musical participation and asked to These musical excerpts maybe recorded for the will be held without personal identification and articipant. Although there is no direct benefit to greater cause of research in traditional Japanese ordings used will be stored at the University of arch related to Japanese Music.
satisfactory answ	ers to my inquires concerning project	lved in this project, that I have been given procedure and other matters and that I have been iscontinue participation in the project or activity at
any of my legal r		he understanding that such consent does not waive investigator or the institution or any employee or
treatment in this s		tions or have comments or complaints about your Studies, University of Hawai'i, 2540 Maile Way,
Name	Date	
Signature		
Researcher	1 5	

APPENDIX C

Japanese Translation of Committee on Human Studies Proposal as a Research Explanation

CHS 論文構想

2002年8月18日

名前:ケビン オラフソン (ハワイ大学の音楽部大学院生)

題名:家元制度:日本の音楽継承の現状とその影響に見られる精神文化的現象について

論文骨子:

師匠と弟子の関係は、日本の伝統芸術においては主要な制度であり、音楽も含むほとんど全ての日本の芸術は、この枠組みに近い形で存在している。歴史的には、家元制度の影響は演奏技術、曲想の解釈、あるいは演奏者の日常生活、お稽古、月謝、そして演奏者としての地位の向上などにも及ぶ。この民俗音楽学の研究において、私の目標はひとつの典型を示すために、伝統芸術の特色や、伝統音楽の持つ歴史的位置付け(特に三曲について)を提示することである。この歴史的な典型と、現在の伝統音楽の実情を比較し、(特に筝、三味線の流派を取り上げ)それが、この精神文化的現象の重要性、およびその価値、また音楽の現状に、どのように影響を与えているかを示したい。また、この現代のお稽古のやり方が、音楽の継承や、社会的到達目標にどんな影響があるかを示したい。ここの主な目標は、理論(つまり歴史的継承の型)と、現実(今日の例)を対比させることである。私のゴールは筝曲、地唄三味線演奏家の世界における、家元制度の実態を現実的に直視し、歴史的変化、今日の社会の構造や重要性、音楽の演奏や継承に与える影響を調べる。その手段は、今までの先人たちの研究の勉強、インタビュー、観察、レコーディング、そして文献調査である。

方法論:

このエッセイは、文化人類学と、音楽学の両見地に立っているもので、私は2002年の9月から12月まで現地調査に当たる。データを集める段階で(インタビュー、観察、公文書などから情報を得ながら)自分も家元制度の中で活動する一演奏家として臨みたい。公文書や文化人類学的データを集めることにより、民俗誌学的な現在の家元制度の図を描きたい。同時に人々がどのように家元制度に参加し、利用し、正当化し、あるいは非難すらもしているか、のデータも集める。これらの情報は、後記につけてある質問表によって得るものである。それはインタビューに答えてくれた人の経験、意見などがプライベートに録音されたものである。

日本の三曲の伝統で、一般的になされているレッスンは個人レッスンである。集められた情報に未成年者は含まれていない。また、この調査に協力する人は、それによって責任、経済的負担、雇用の可能性、あるいは名声などの不利にたたされることはない。音楽の録音は、あとで五線譜に直すためだけのものである。それによって、何世代にもわたって受け継がれてきた、家元制度の持っている流派の共通点、相違点などを実証するものである。口頭による稽古か、譜面を使う稽古か、技術が強調されているか、グループで演奏するか、一人で演奏するか、などはこの音楽の伝統の継承に、影響を与えるかもしれない音楽的側面である。音楽学的データは、それぞれの

家元制度に起きている変化、そしてもっと広い文化的見方をすると、日本の社会的下部構造における、家元制度の影響の有無を実証する根拠となるだろう。

重要性:

日本の伝統的芸術が、消えていくのではないかという危惧がもたれている。伝統芸術の楽器作り は、伝統音楽演奏者が減っていることによって、少なくなっているのは確かである。日本では近 代化の波に乗り若い人が、西欧やポップな音楽に惹かれる傾向がある。しかし、この日本の伝統 音楽以外の音楽の流行の裏には、日本の芸術活動にいきわたっている、精神文化的な面が存在す る。西欧では、社会の一員としてもっと個人的に活動し、権力に対してはるかに不適応なものだ が、日本人は他人に対する義務や義理が、個人的な喜びや快適さより優先される。家元制度は、 まさにこの重要な日本の美徳の直産物である。日本では、いかなる場合でも「先生」と言う称号 は、尊敬されるものである。この制度そのものが、芸術の証である。日本に入ってくる新しい芸 術にも、この制度が使われる。たとえば日本におけるフラダンスの人気と、それに先立って作ら れたグループ結成である。この家元制度を作ることは、伝統的な日本人の心情にはほっとするも のであるが、時代は移り変わっている。多分、若者にとっては、これはやる気をなくさせる考え 方かもしれない。その精神文化的考え方も変化しつつある。これらの変化を観察するのは重要で ある。そして、この家元制度を通しての古典芸能の存在意義と継承が、どのように変化し、また は消えてゆくのか、これはまだわからない。この制度が変化し、また復活し、また音楽活動、文 化活動の中で、いかにこの制度が実を結んでいるかを観察するのは、日本研究をいろいろなジャ ンルで、特に文化的研究、教育音楽ではより豊かにする。

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APPENDIX D

English Translation of Committee on Human Studies Proposal as a Research Explanation

CHS PROJECT PROPOSAL

August 18, 2002

Name: Kevin Olafsson (University of Hawai'i Graduate Student)

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Title: IEMOTO SYSTEM: a psycho-cultural phenomenon in practice and its effects on musical

transmission in Japan.

Project Description:

The master disciple relationship is the main organizational system of the traditional arts in Japan and almost all Japanese arts still have some form of this framework in its social organization including music. Historically, the influence of the *iemoto* encompasses the performance technique, performance practice and even the details concerning musicians lives, their training, monetary remuneration, and promotion of their careers. In this ethnomusicological research project my goal is to present the characteristics and perhaps some history of the social hierarchy of the traditional arts (specifically sankyoku music) in Japan in order to create a model. I will show how that model measures against the present day practice by taking examples of a koto/shamisen music school as to present the importance of this psycho-cultural phenomenon and how it effects dimensions like the validation and present practice of music, and very importantly to show how its modern day practices effect the transmission of musical and social pursuits. The main idea here is to contrast theory (the model) and practice (a present day example). My goal is to put together a realistic look at the present day practice of the *iemoto* system in the world of koto and jiuta samisen players of Japan through examining changes over history, its present day social structure and importance, and its effects on the music being performed and transmitted through researching the works of previous scholars, interviews, observation, musical recordings, and documentation.

Methodology:

As the body of this paper encompasses both the anthropological and musicological aspects of the subject I will be engaged in fieldwork from September to December 2002 in Japan. In the process of data collection I hope to continue an active role as a participant in the iemoto system, simultaneously collecting informant material through interviews, observation, and archival documentation. I hope to have specific archival and anthropological data to create a small ethnographic picture of an active iemoto organization, as well as data from participants pertaining to how people participate, use/invoke, justify, and even perhaps abuse the system. Informant material revolves around questions included in the attached appendix and are based on informants experience and opinions collected with confidentiality of records identifying the subject being maintained and collected in a private setting. The commonly accepted setting for musical training in the sankyoku tradition in Japan is private lessons. The information collected will not involve minors and will not place participants at risk regarding liability, financial standing, employability or reputation. Recordings of musical performance are for transcription purposes only in order to prove or disprove differences and similarities in the transmission and performance of the music as it pertains to the generational hierarchy of the iemoto system. Use of aural training skills versus written score, musical skills emphasized, group and solo performance are all musical aspects that may effect the transmission of the musical tradition. The musicological data will help to prove or disprove changes happening in the iemoto system of the genre and on a broader cultural approach the iemoto system's effect on the sociological infrastructure of Japan

Significance:

There is a fear that the traditional arts of Japan are ebbing into extinction. It is certain that the traditional art of instrument making is relenting to the depleted numbers of participants active in the traditional music of Japan. There is a wave of modernity effecting the populace of Japan causing the youth of Japan to turn more towards Western and popular musical arts. Yet, underneath the trends towards "other" artistic pursuits is a "Psycho-cultural" approach that permeates the artistic activities of Japan. In contrast to the West, where its members of society act far more individualistically and far less pliant to authority, to the Japanese, duties and obligation to others takes precedence over personal enjoyment and comfort. The iemoto system is a direct product of this all-important virtue in Japan. It touches all levels of Japanese society with the title of "sensei" being given special reverence in any medium. The system itself even stands as a validation of the arts. The implementation of the system can be seen on many new arts entering Japan. For example, the rise in the popularity of Hawaiian Hula in Japan and its predisposed halau grouping system. Although this presents a sense of comfort to the traditional Japanese psyche, times are changing. Perhaps for young Japanese this is a daunting concept. The psycho-cultural concepts are changing. It is significant to observe these changes and remains to be seen how the validation and transmission of traditional performing arts in Japan through the iemoto system will evolve or become extinct. Observation of trends in evolution, revival, or even how the system is archived in both musical and cultural activity enriches the field of study of Japan specifically, cultural studies, education, and music.

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APPENDIX E

Rokudan No Shirabe Transcription

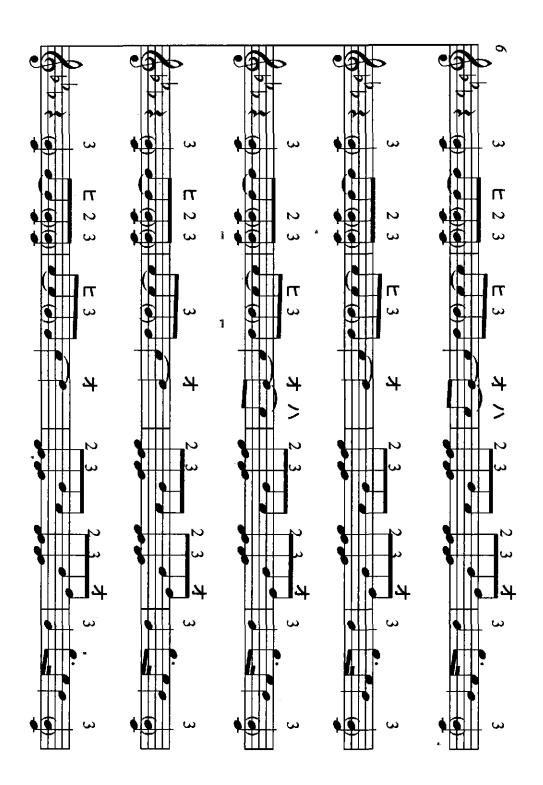
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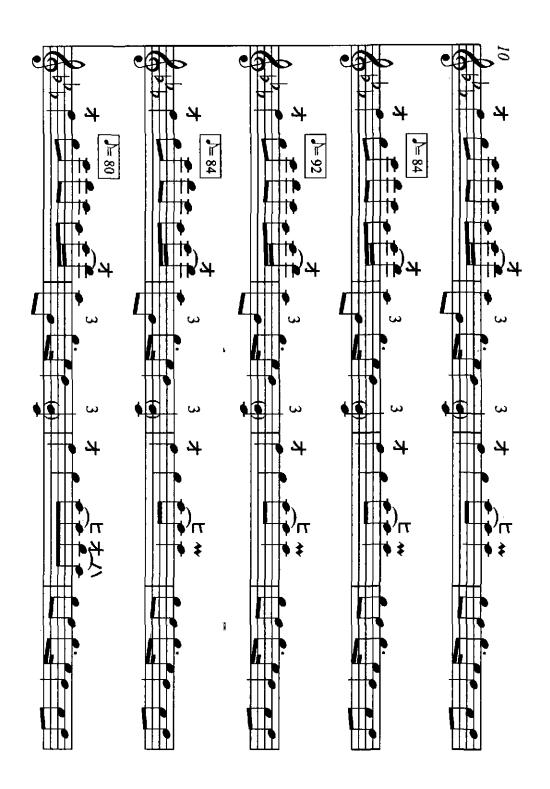
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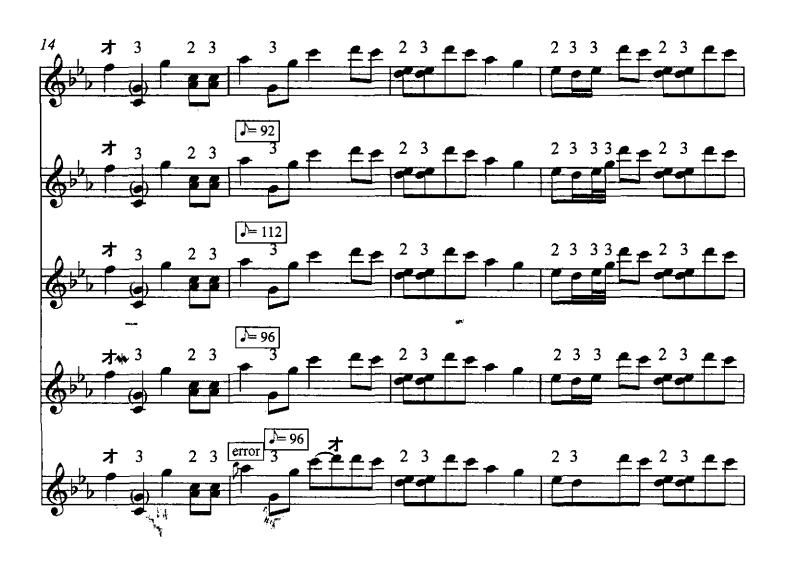
Rokudan No Shirabe





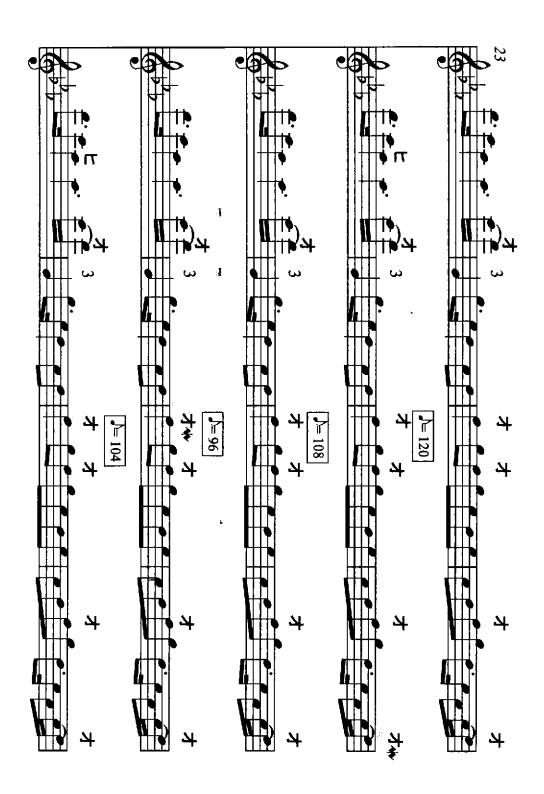


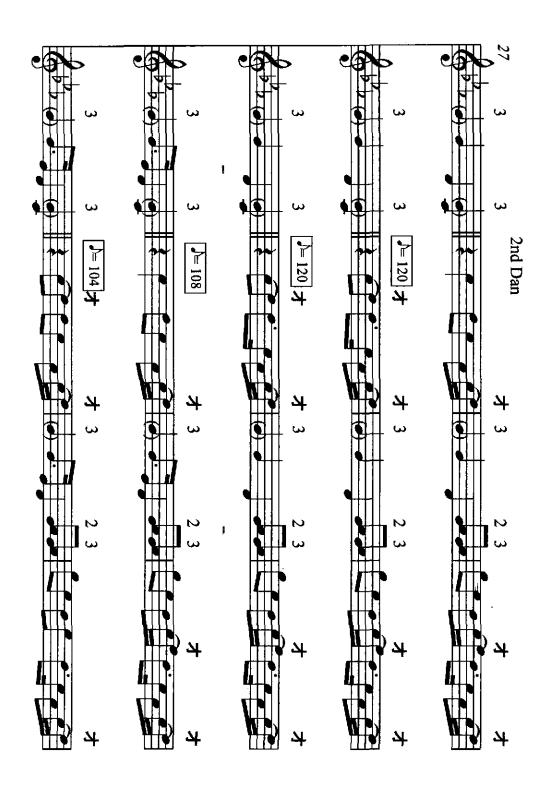












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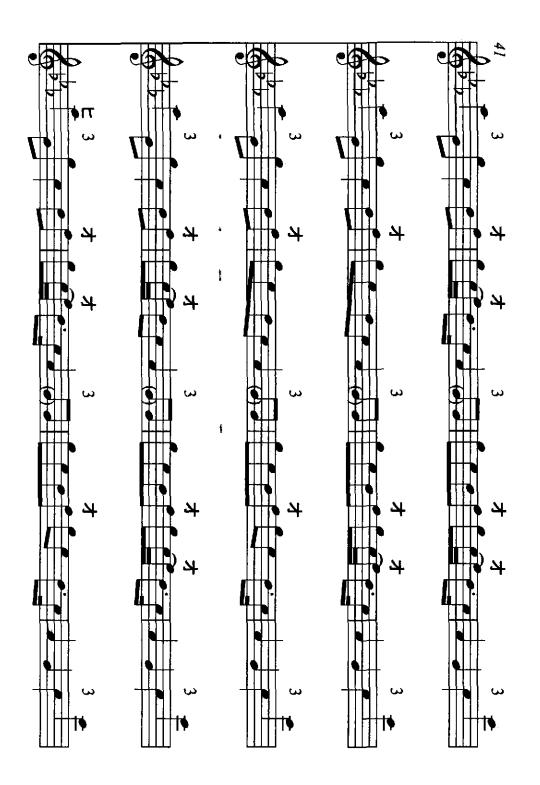
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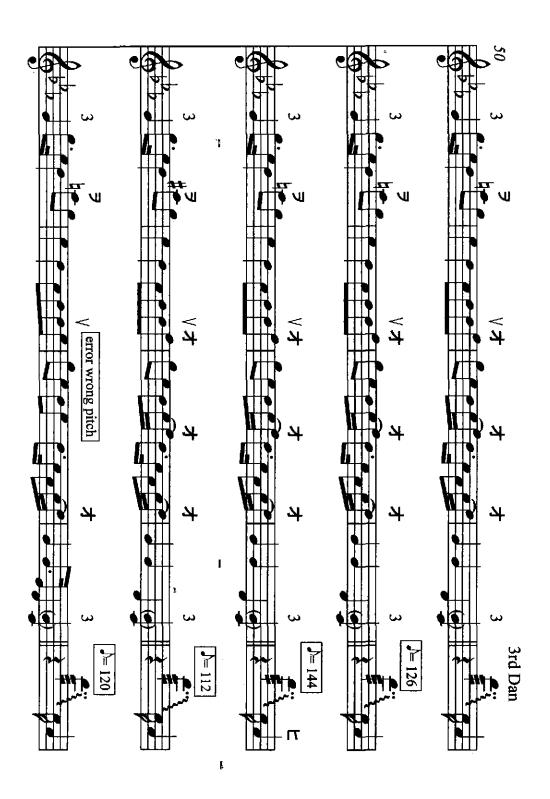




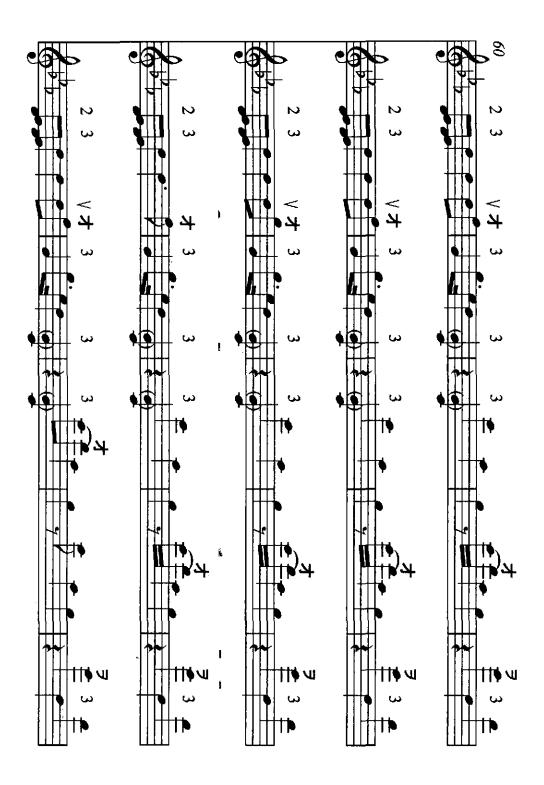


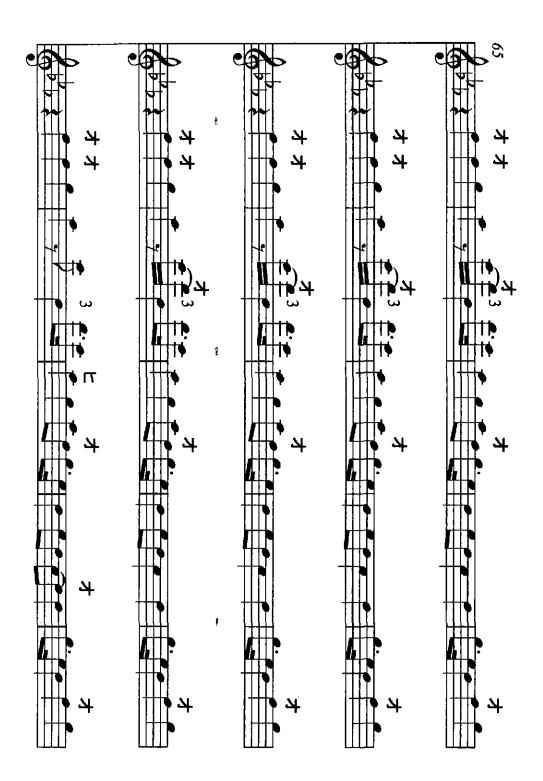






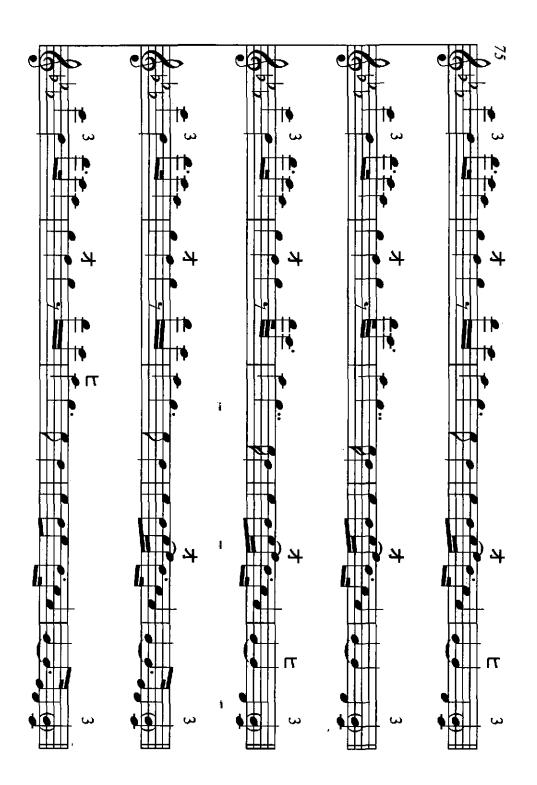




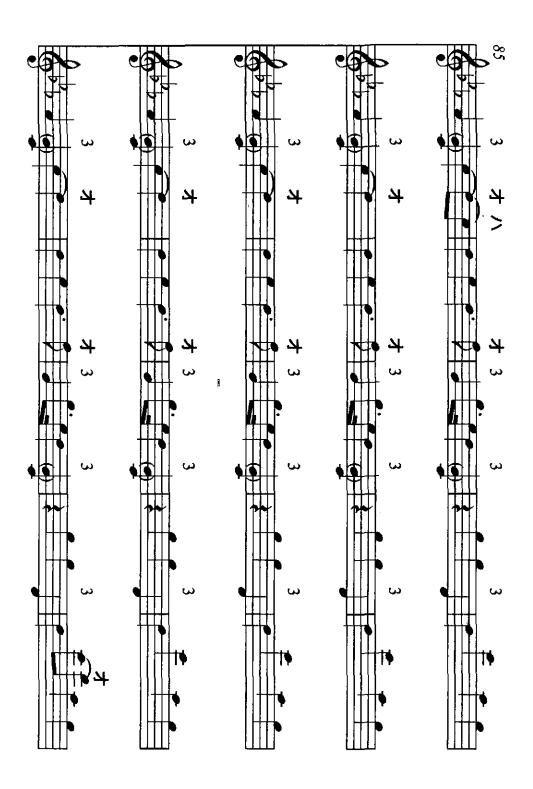


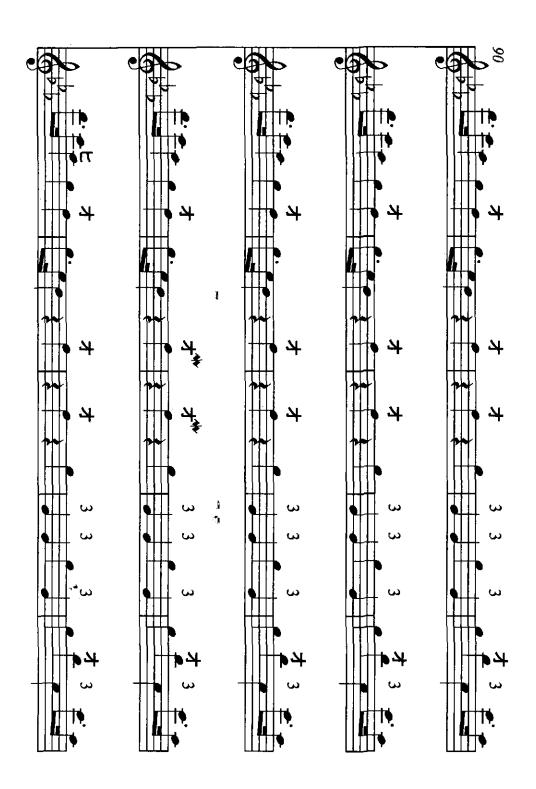


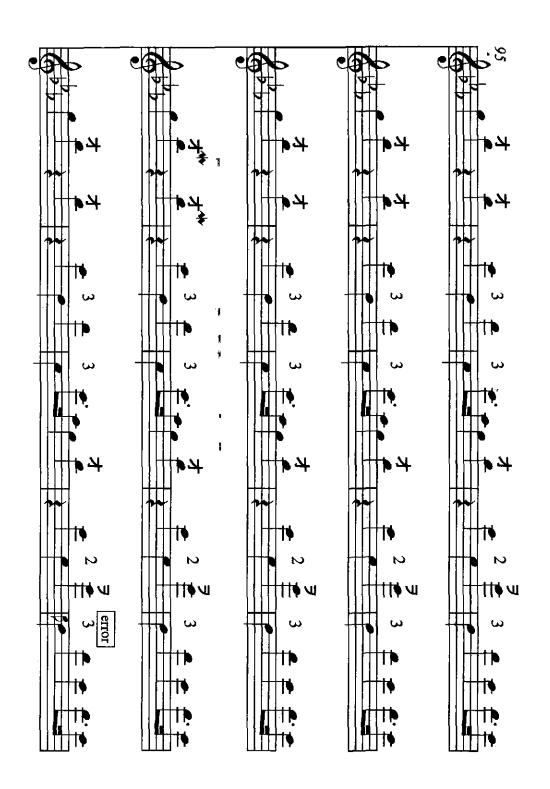


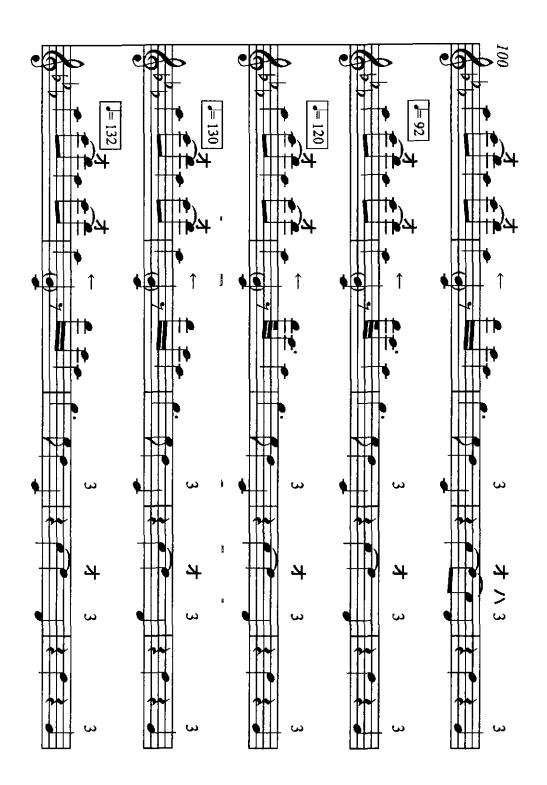


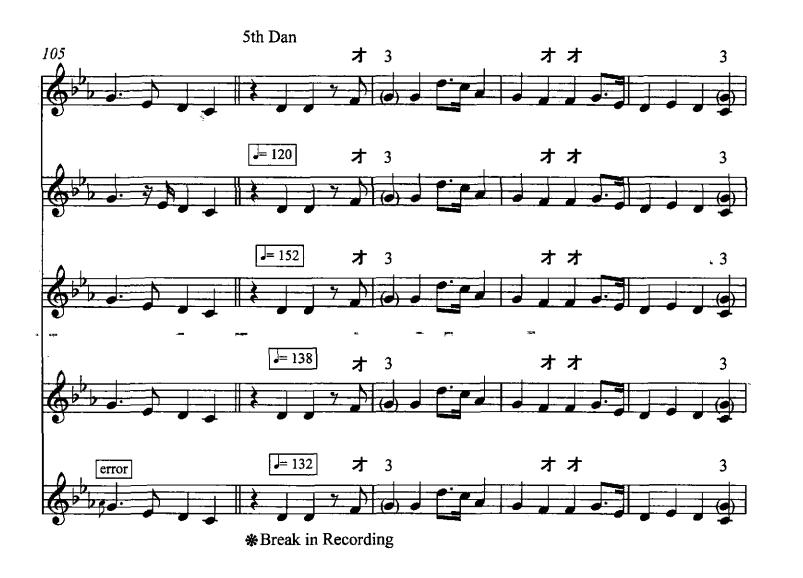






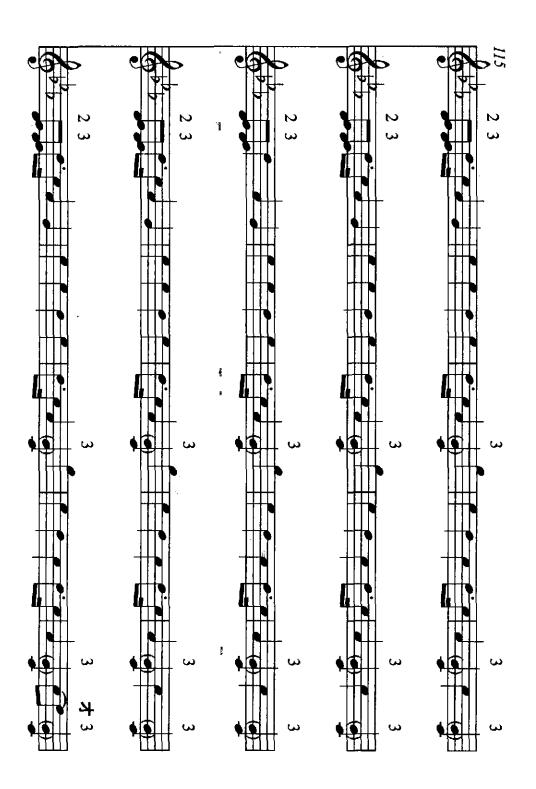




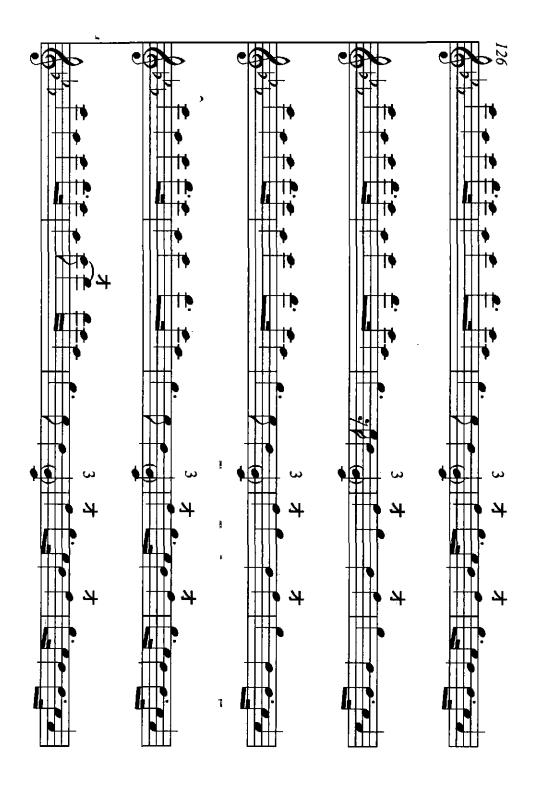




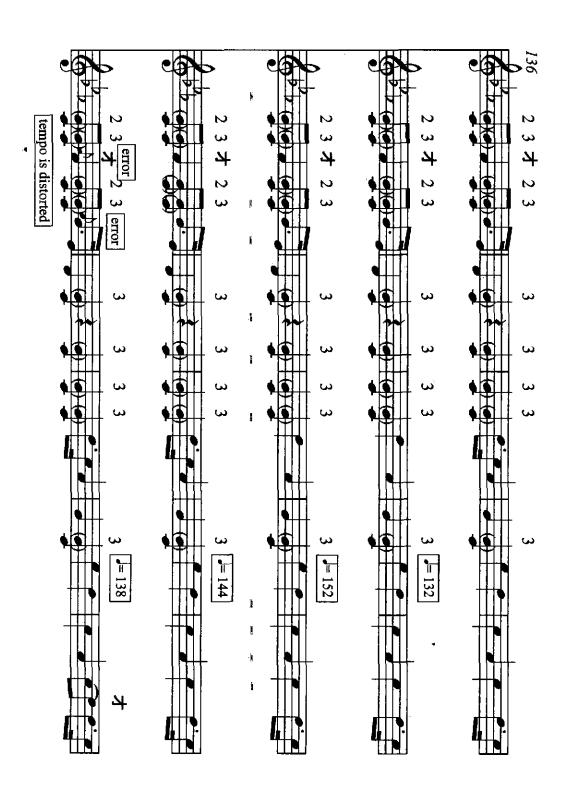


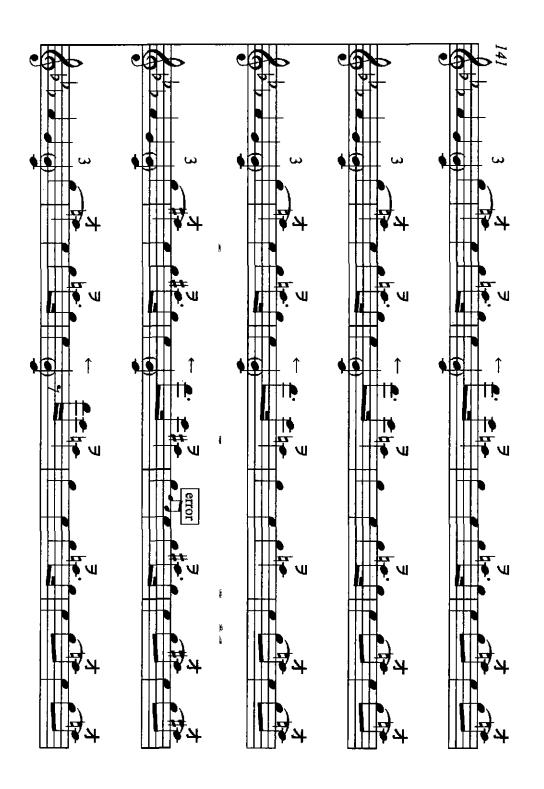


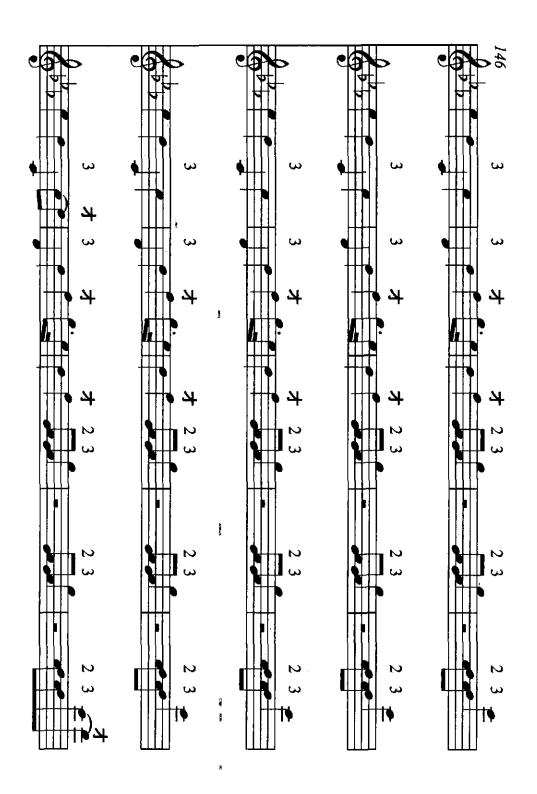


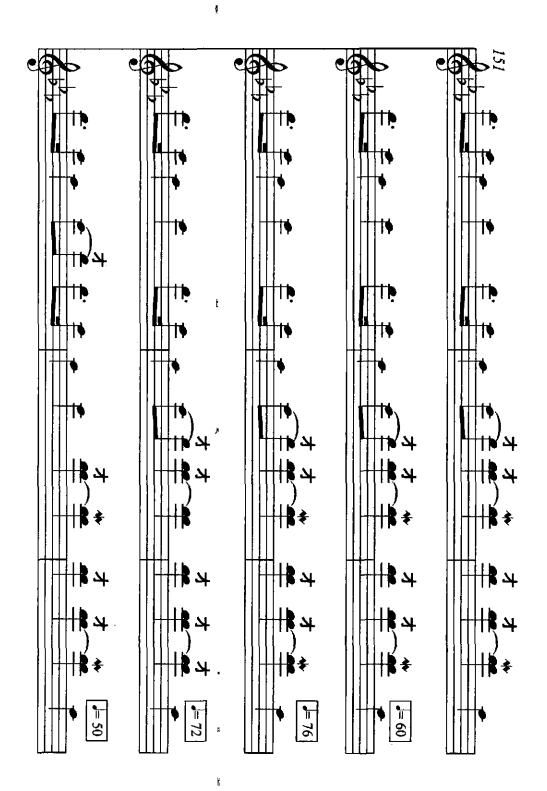


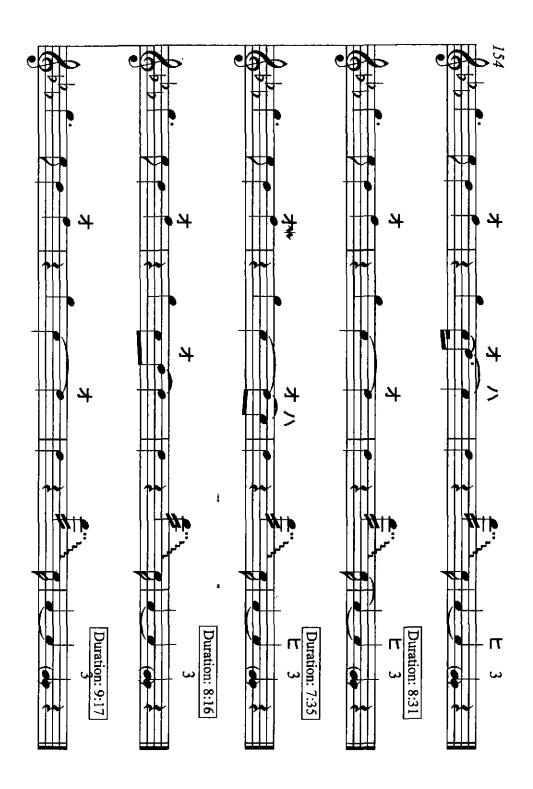












GLOSSARY OF JAPANESE TERMS

amae 甘え dependency

biwa 琵琶 a pear-shaped plucked lute

biwa hôshi 琵琶法師 an itinerate, blind biwa-player

chuden 蛛典 intermediate license

chûgen 中元 mid year gift

dai 大 prefix used with elevated licensure. Eg. Dai shihan

danmono 段物 a type of piece made up of sections

deshi 弟子 disciple (also odeshi in the honorific system)

dô 道 the Way

gagaku 雅楽 elegant music... an ancient form of court music thought to

have been imported from china.

gaikokujin 外国人 person of foreign origin

gaikyoku 外曲 music outside the set repertoire of a particular ryûha.

gakuen 学園 used in the proper name of a school

gendai budô 現代武道 contemporary form of karate

gendai kyoku 現代曲 new or more contemporary music. Sometimes called

shinkyoku.

giri **義理** duty

gosenfû 五線譜 'the five lines score used in Western music

hakama 袴 the skirt wrapping around the bottom half of a kimono

hayashi 囃子 the orchestra accompanying the kabuki

Heian jidai 平安時代 (794-1185)

hirajôshi 平調子 the most common koto tuning, see Table No. 6 for

details

hôgaku 邦楽 the traditional music of Japan

honkyoku 本曲 repertoire original to your artistic school

honne 本音 one's real intentions

ijime 苛め bullying, teasing, hazing

ie 家 house

iemoto seido 家元制度 the master disciple system used in almost all arts of

Japan

inkan 印鑑 a name stamp used as a signature in Japan.

jiuta 地歌 a genre of voice and shamisen music in Japan and most

commonly played by the sankyoku trio

Jun- 順 prefix used with preparatory licensure. Eg. Jun shihan

Kabuki 歌舞伎 popular musical theater done on a grand scale

Kabukiza 歌舞伎座 the main theater for Kabuki performance located near

the Ginza in central Tokyo

kaede 替手 a contrapuntal secondary melody played by both koto or

shamisen in the sankyoku repertoire

kai 会 a group or organization, i.e. Miyagi Kai.

Kamakura 鎌倉時代 (1185-1392) era.

keigo 敬語 polite form of Japanese comparable to high German or the

Queen's English

kengyô 検校 highest rank in an organization of blind musicians

keppan 血判 an agreement signed in blood

kimono 着物 traditional Japanese garment

kôhai 後輩 junior, subordinate

kokyû 胡弓 bowed lute

koryu 古流 the traditional or ancient practice of arts or martial arts

kotenmono 古典もの classical repertoire

koto 琴 13 stringed zither

kotoyasan 琴屋さん an instrument shop specializing in sankyoku stringed

instruments

kuchijamisen 口三味線 a mnemonic device to transmit music often

onomatopoetic

kyôshi 孝子 instructor or lecturer

magodeshi 孫弟子 second generation disciple

môsô biwa 妄想琵琶 a style of music played by blind musicians of biwa

players

Muromachi 室町時代 (1333-1615) era

nagauta 長唄 vocal genre used in the Kabuki theater

nakôdo 仲人 intermediary or guarantor

natori 名取り a stage name used for both performing and teaching by

an accredited master

nihon buyo 日本舞踊 Japanese traditional dance

obi 带 a large decorative used to fasten a kimono

obon お盆 a midsummer festival honoring ancestors

ochûgen 御中元 a mid-year gift

odeshi お弟子 disciple, honorific form

ogessha 御月謝 monthly lesson fees

ojôsama お嬢様 literal meaning is, common usage refers to a young

woman

okeiko 御稽古 rehearsal, practice, and sometimes lessons

okuden 奥典 the top level license before accreditation

on 恩 obligation or duty

oseibo お歳暮 a year-end gift

ozashiki お座敷 a Japanese-style room with tatami mats

ryûha 流派 an artistic school, a guild

sempai 先輩 one's senior

sankyoku $\equiv \boxplus$ an ensemble using koto, shamisen, and shakuhachi or

kokyû

shakuhachi 尺八 a vertical bamboo flute

shamisen 三味線 a three-stringed plucked lute

shihan 師範 a master

shoden 初典 usually the first license in koto music

sôkyoku 筝曲 music for the koto

tatami 置 woven reed mat used as flooring in a Japanese room

建前 one's public face, to adhere to the rules of public conduct

tegotomono 手事物 an instrumental section of a piece in the sankyoku

repertoire

tsume M literally fingernail, talon or claw, in music plectra attached

directly to the fingernail.

uchideshi 内弟子 a disciple who lives in the household of the master

uta 歌 song

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