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A Lost Opportunity for Tradition: The Violin in Early Twentieth-Century Japanese Traditional Music

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Less than a century after the introduction of the violin to Japan, in the late nineteenth century, Japan offers the highest level of training on the instrument and has produced many internationally successful violinists. Although one can hardly imagine it from the current role of the violin in modern Japan, in the early twentieth century the instrument played a significant role, not in the development there of Western classical music, but in the survival of the indigenous Japanese music that we call today 'traditional Japanese music'.

With the flood of Western culture into Japan after the Meiji Restoration, of 1868, the Japanese government reconsidered whether their native music was worthy of Japan as a civilized country. In fact, except for court music, native Japanese music was held in low esteem by society and the government alike. The music of the shamisen *was particularly problematic, due to the vulgar texts of* shamisen *songs and the low class status of* shamisen *consumers.* Shakuhachi *had until recently been restricted to Fuke monks, and was still establishing a new role in the musical culture. Thus, the whole world of 'traditional Japanese music' was entering a new age.*

It was during this period that many Japanese became acquainted with the violin, by playing it in ensemble with koto, shamisen *and* shakuhachi. *Young Japanese professional musicians began to learn the violin. The principles of Western music they learned in this way gradually made their way into Japanese music. At one time, the 'traditional Japanese music' ensemble of violin with Japanese instruments seemed to have become firmly rooted in Japan as 'home music'; but this has not turned out to be the case. As Japanese violinists have become increasingly dedicated to Western classical music, traditional Japanese music has once again become the exclusive use of native instruments.*

Introduction

This article investigates the dissemination of the violin in Japan as a medium for the transmission of Japanese musical culture from the late Edo period, before Japan opened its doors to the West in 1854, to the early decades of Westernisation (up to c. 1920).

For the last few decades, the introduction of Western music has been one of the most popular subjects among musicologists in Japan, and the introduction of Western musical instruments has been treated in this context since the 1990s. Without doubt, significant achievements have been made in this field. I would argue, however, that scholars have attached too much importance to the reception of Western music, without clarifying the way the musical culture of the late Edo period was reflected in the reception of Western musical instruments or the way the introduction of Western musical instruments influenced Japanese native music. Above all, a lack of understanding of Japanese indigenous culture may make it difficult to explain the history of the acceptance of the violin

in Japan. During the period that Japanese scholars call the 'reception period',[1] many Japanese preferred to play *koto* and *shamisen* music on the violin rather than Western music. They often did this in an ensemble of Japanese and Western instruments, a practice known as *wayō gassō* [和洋合奏],[2] which later came to be associated with the idea of 'music in the home' [*katei ongaku*, 家庭音楽].[3] There is currently very little written, even in Japanese, on this subject.

It is often claimed that the way the Japanese learned to play Western instruments was grounded in their own musical traditions. In particular, there is a suggestion that they learned through imitation rather than through interpretation or creation. To be sure, native Japanese music was transmitted almost exclusively by oral instruction. Some written notation was used, but it served as an aid to memory rather than as a way of learning new pieces. It was only after the Meiji Restoration that artists of traditional Japanese music started to make an effort to develop notation systems, and these tended to be specific to their various instruments and schools. According to Eta Harich-Schneider, writing in 1973, 'the Japanese attempted to grasp the most pronounced manifestation of Western mental independence and originality – the classical music of the nineteenth century – by using the most pronounced Eastern method of learning: imitation.'[4] Although this stereotype has not been verified, it signifies how strong traditional culture appears to be. It is important, therefore, to investigate the attitude of the people who were compelled to accept Western culture or accepted it unconsciously, in order to shed light on the phenomenon of Japanese people playing Western instruments.

In this article I use the interaction between the dissemination of the violin and Japanese native musical culture as an means of studying this phenomenon. I analyse the events within a social, political, cultural and musical context. I also analyse the position of the violin as perceived by the pre-existing native Japanese musical culture of the time.

One difficulty is the dearth of documentation of the actual musical lives of the people of the Meiji (1868–1912) and Taisho (1912–1926) eras, especially those of non-professionals. Although little material is available, I have focused on the various types of music notation for the violin published domestically in Japan. Domestically printed sheet music became widely available in Japan from the

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[1] *Yōgaku juyōki* [洋楽受容期, reception period of Western music] or *Yōgaku juyō* [洋楽受容, reception of Western music] are very common expressions among musicologists in Japan. See Ozawa Yūko, '*Ongaku Zasshi* ni miru Meiji, Taishōki no Nagoya no Yōgaku Juyō' [On the reception of Western music in Nagoya in the Meiji and the Taisho eras, through the articles of musical magazines], *Bulletin of Nagoya College of Music* 30 (2011): 17–31 and Iguchi Junko, 'Shanhai Sokai: nippon no yōgaku juyōshi no saikentō ni mukete' [Shanghai settlement: towards a re-appraisal of the history of Japanese reception of Western music], *Bulletin of Osaka College of Music* 48 (2010): 47–60.

[2] The word '*wayō gassō*' was used to mean playing Japanese music as well as playing Western music. *Wayō gassō* had widely varied instrumentation, from an ensemble of only a few musicians to a huge orchestra. A related musical term including the prefix '*wayō*' [和洋] is *wayō-chōwagaku* [和洋調和楽]. This term usually seems to indicate a certain type of music. However, my survey shows no apparent rigid definition of those terms, which causes confusion about their application.

[3] 'Music in the home', *Hausmusik* in German, signifies music-making in the home with family or friends for their pleasure, and should not be confused with self-study.

[4] Eta Harich-Schneider, *A History of Japanese Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973): 547.

end of the nineteenth century, as a result of the print boom, and it can still be found today.[5]

The Dissemination of the Violin in Japan

The violin was disseminated through several routes, including by missionaries, some of whom played and taught the violin in churches and missionary schools after Japan opened its doors to the West in 1854. Music education in schools was probably the most influential route. The Japanese government set up the Institute of Music [Ongaku Torishirabe-gakari, 音楽取調掛] in 1879, and this institute recommended the violin as an instrument to supplement singing classes. But the instrument's actual use in schools was quite low, since the reed organ was much more accepted.[6] The violin was used if the teachers preferred it, or if the school could not afford a reed organ. In addition to its use in singing classes, the violin gradually began to be taught at the normal schools and the missionary girls' schools. The number of girls' schools increased in the early twentieth century, and it is believed that the number of girls who learned the violin increased as a result, hastening the spread of the instrument.[7]

After the Russo–Japanese War, in 1905, the violin became extremely popular, and this phenomenon was expressed as *ryūkō* [boom]. Margaret Mehl points out that the most remarkable feature of the violin boom was that many took up the violin in order to play traditional Japanese melodies.[8] But what kind of music exactly were these 'traditional Japanese melodies'? To answer this question, I begin with domestically produced tutors for the violin.

Playing Zokkyoku on the Violin

Among the imported violin tutors, the *Practical Violin School*,[9] by Christian Heinrich Hohmann (1811–1861), was the most respected, at least before World War II, because they considered that it allowed one to acquire an orthodox Western playing method. However, it was not easy for Japanese to learn the violin using this material, and it seems that many people gave up soon gave up.[10] Domestic material for the violin started to appear from around 1888.[11]

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[5] In addition to sources I own myself, I have drawn on sources owned by the National Diet Library of Japan and the Music Cultural History Research Institute of the Osaka College of Music.

[6] Ichikawa Rie, 'Meijiki ni okeru kyōiku no ba e no piano dōnyū' [Application of piano playing to the school education in the Meiji Era], *Journal of Human Studies* 31 (1995): 25–31, here 26–7.

[7] For an excellent study about the dissemination of the violin see Margaret Mehl, 'Japan's Early Twentieth-century Violin Boom', in *Nineteenth Century Music Review*, 7/1 (2010): 23–43.

[8] Mehl, 'Japan's Early Twentieth-century Violin Boom', 24.

[9] Christian Heinrich Hohmann, *Praktische Violin-Schule*. The work was first published in the early part of the century and went through many reprints.

[10] According to the Japanese tutor, *Vaiorin to mandorin no hikikata* [Directions for playing the violin and the mandolin] (Osaka: Miki Sasuke, 1925): 6 (of the Japanese edition), almost two-thirds of the people using Hohmann's tutor gave up after the first several pages.

[11] The first of these is Shikama Totsuji, *Gakki shiyō hō* [Directions for playing musical instruments] (Tokyo: Fukyūsha, 1888). I regard *Gakki shiyō hō* as a self-tutor, even though it includes instruction only, and no music. The idea of tutor in this context seems to be different from what we might think of today.

The 35 domestically produced tutors published between 1892 and 1926 that I have been able to consult can be classified into two periods – before and after the Russo–Japanese War – according to the choice of musical types. The first type is Western music, which is found in most tutors. The second type is newly composed Japanese songs, for example the national anthem 'Kimigayo' [君が代] and *Shukujitsu Daisaijitsu Shōka* [祝日大祭日唱歌, Songs for National Holidays and Grand Festivals].[12] The third type is native music of Japan, in other words the 'traditional Japanese melodies', which started appearing in violin tutors in 1905. At the time, these native melodies were usually called *zokkyoku* [俗曲] or *zokugaku* [俗楽]. *Zokkyoku* indicates the music of common Japanese people: for example, *sōkyoku* [箏曲], music for *koto*, voice and *shamisen* (*koto* [琴 or 箏] is a thirteen-string zither; *shamisen* [三味線], is a three-string plucked lute), *shamisen-gaku* [三味線楽], musical genres performed on the *shamisen*, and so forth. We will limit our discussion to *shamisen-gaku* and *sōkyoku*; it is appropriate to exclude other kind of *zokkyoku* and *Nō* [能] as the latter seldom appeared in either performance records of violin or music notations for the instrument, and we may assume that these genres had little impact on the dissemination of the violin. Most important here is that it was *zokkyoku* that became the target of restrictions by the Meiji government, since its sometimes-obscene texts were considered as corrupting of public morals.

In 1884, the Institute of Music presented to the government a document called *Ongaku torishirabe seiseki shinpōsho* [音楽取調成績申報書] summarizing the results of their survey of music. This document includes a chapter about the improvements of *zokkyoku* which states that the members of the institute would try to improve first *sōkyoku* and second *nagauta* [長唄], long songs accompanied by *shamisen*, flutes and percussion.[13] Although neither a definition nor concrete names of music genres of *zokkyoku* are given there, it is obvious that this proposal is based on the assumption of *zokkyoku* as described above. *Koto* was the second most popular instrument of the Edo period while *shamisen* was the most widespread. The Institute of Music's reform of the texts of some *sōkyoku* proceeded quickly, and the Ministry of Education published *Sōkyoku shū* [箏曲集; English title: *Collection of Japanese Koto Music*] in 1888. In fact, *koto* was recommended as an instrument to supplement singing classes along with the reed organ and the violin, while *shamisen*, the most widely used instrument for song accompaniment during the Edo period, was not. *Shamisen* music became the main target of the reform, because it tended to be regarded with contempt as the instrument of geisha. It is reported widely that *shamisen* makers suffered poverty after the Meiji Restoration.[14]

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[12] These songs were composed in order to fulfil the intention of the Japanese government to create national music. They were meant for elementary school students to sing at holiday ceremonies.

[13] *Ongaku torishirabe seiseki shinpōsho* [音楽取調成績申報書, Report on the survey of music] (Tokyo: *Ongaku-Torishirabe-gakari*, 1884): 317–30. The document also recommended the improvement of Japanese compositions.

[14] Some *shamisen* makers turned to violin making, and became the first-generation of Japanese violin makers. Suzuki Masakichi (1859–1944), the founder of Suzuki Violin Co., Ltd., is a good example. He later said that he decided to change his job because of poverty. See his history in the website of Suzuki Violin Co., Ltd. (in Japanese). http://www.suzukiviolin.co.jp/about/story1.html

In contrast to *zokkyoku*, *gagaku* [雅楽] – usually translated 'court music', though it was also played in Buddhist temples, Shinto shrines and, since the Meiji era, also by secular amateur and professional groups – was highly regarded, as were new compositions by Japanese. Since there are no specific terms for newly composed Japanese songs, we will use the provisional name 'Japanese compositions'. Japanese compositions first showed up in YAMADA Gen'ichirō's (1869–1927) *Vwaiorin shinan*, published in 1892, and they appeared regularly in later violin tutors as well.[15] A change happened in 1905, with the end of the Russo–Japanese War. ŌTSUKA Torazō's *Tsūzoku vaiorin hitorimanabi*, issued in 1905, was the first violin book to contain *zokkyoku*, and more than half of the succeeding violin tutors include them.[16]

Out of 36 domestic violin tutors published between 1888 and 1926, 21 books were for self study, 11 to be used under an instructor, and four just 'books for the beginner'. Two best-selling books, Ōtsuka's *Tsūzoku vaiorin hitorimanabi* (first published in 1905) and *Tsūshin kyōju vaiorin kōgiroku* [Correspondence course violin lecture notes] by the Great Japan Home Music Society [Dainihon Katei Ongakukai, 大日本家庭音楽会] were among those for self-study.[17] Obviously, there was a significant demand for tutors intended for self-study. Some authors of the early 1920s claimed that this was caused by the dearth of violin teachers, especially in local areas, and warned readers of the danger of self-study.[18] According to a statistical survey of the number of music instructors in the city of Tokyo in 1908, there were only seven instructors of Western music, while there were over 300 instructors each for *sōkyoku* and *nagauta*.[19] This shows that the main route to learning the violin was self-study, and few had a chance to receive a teacher's guidance.

Chronological division of the dissemination period

After the acquisition of basic technique – or even without it – many violin enthusiasts seem to have relied on published sheet music, often well-known pieces published individually (in their entirety or as long extracts, unlike the shorter extracts included in violin tutors). Most of these were self-published by an editor or a group of editors who often published several pieces, so that it seems appropriate to speak of a series. There was a great variety of publications

[15] YAMADA Gen'ichirō, *Vwaiorin shinan* [ヴヮイヲリン指南, Violin instruction] (Osaka: Miki Sasuke, 1892). Margaret Mehl transcribes ヴヮイヲリン as 'vwaiorin' to distinguish it from ヴァイオリン, transcribed as 'vaiorin'. The distinction is significant when searching databases.

[16] ŌTSUKA Torazō, *Tsūzoku vaiorin hitorimanabi, shiyōhō no bu, jisshū no bu* [A popular violin self-study book: method section, practical section], 7th ed. (Kyoto: Jūjiya Gakkibu, 1909).

[17] Both were enormously successful. I have been able to find a 31st reprint edition (1926) of the former and a 151st reprint (1933) of the latter.

[18] SUZUKI Kōtarō, *Vaiorin no tadashii hikikata* [The proper way to play the violin] (Tokyo: Seikasha, 1920 (first printing 1919)), 4; ITŌ Gen, *Vaiorin shotei no kokoroe* [Knowledge for the violin beginner] (Nagoya: Gennokai kankōbu, 1924), 18.

[19] TSUKAHARA Yasuko, 'Senzen no Tōkyō ni okeru ''Hōgaku''' ['Japanese music' in pre-war Tokyo], in *Nihon bunka no renzokusei to hi-renzokusei: 1920–1970* [The continuities and the discontinuities of Japanese culture: 1920–1970), ed., Eduard Klopfenstein and SUZUKI Sadami (Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan, 2005): 435–72.

and, in some cases, the same piece was published by different editors. Some editions had striking cover illustrations.

I have been able to identify 22 series, 13 of which were continuously issued. The earliest editions for violin appear to have been published by NAKAO Tozan (1876–1956) of Osaka, the founder of the Tozan school of *shakuhachi* [尺八, end-blown flute],[20] starting in 1906. A year later, MACHIDA Ōen (?–1928) of Tokyo followed Nakao's example. He continued to edit music for all kinds of popular instruments; there is no evidence that his series for violin was reprinted.

Initially, the most favoured type of violin piece was *zokkyoku* for an ensemble of *koto*, *shamisen* and/or violin(s). Among the most popular were Nakao's series and that of KŌGA Musen (1867–?. His real given name was Ryōtarō; Musen was his professional name), a famous violin instructor of the Osaka area.[21] It was not until 1910 that a series of Western classical pieces appeared; *Senō violin gakufu* [Violin music collected by Senō] (SENŌ Kōyō (1891–1961)). However, *zokkyoku* remained more popular than Western classical music, judging from the number of pieces published. The balance between Western music and Japanese music started gradually to change around 1918, when the First World War ended. The clear tendency towards the selection of Western music can be observed in the publication of Senō's violin pieces: his series included only Western music and was the only series that was sold consistently with a part for piano accompaniment. According to the publication information included in Senō's violin pieces, the publication of new titles increased around 1920, but not earlier. This suggests that musical life and preferences had started to change around 1920.

I argue that the changes occurring during the 'reception period' can be divided into three phases. In the first phase, approximately to 1903, *zokkyoku* had not yet appeared in the violin tutors, and the music was not available. During the second phase, from around 1904 to 1917, the violin rose rapidly in popularity, and *zokkyoku* were preferred to Western music. The third phase began approximately 1920 and ended more or less with the beginning of the Second World War. Western art music rapidly spread during the 1920s,[22] when concerts by foreign musicians increased. Radio broadcasting began in 1925.[23] The change may well have been accelerated by the influence of the Russo–Japanese War and World War I, and the period between these two wars can be regarded as the transition period from a pluralistic style to a fully Westernized style.[24]

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[20] See the article by Kiku Day in this issue.

[21] Nakao issued a 34-volume series of 38 *zokkyoku* pieces and KŌGA issued a 52-volume series of 59 *zokkyoku* pieces. See NAKAO Tozan, ed., *Vaiorin onpu dai nijūhachi gō, sōkyoku Tsumikusa* [Violin 'piece' volume 28, *sōkyoku*, 'Picking Young Grass'] (Osaka: Maekawa Gōmei Gaisha, 1921). KŌGA Musen, ed., *Chidori no kyoku* ['Plover's melody'] (Osaka: KŌGA Musen, 1921).

[22] D. Foljanty, 'Konzertleben', in *Japan-Handbuch*, ed. Horst Hammitzsch (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1981): 1234–40, here 1235–6.

[23] March 1925 in Tokyo, June in Osaka and July in Nagoya.

[24] KAJINO Ena, 'Katoki no vaiorinisuto, sono oto to sugata' [The violinist of the transition period, his sound and stature], in *KISHI Kōichi to ongaku no kindai* [KISHI Kōichi and music of modern times], ed. KAJINO Ena, CHŌKI Seiji and Hermann Gottschewski (Tokyo: Seikyūsha, 2011): 16–55.

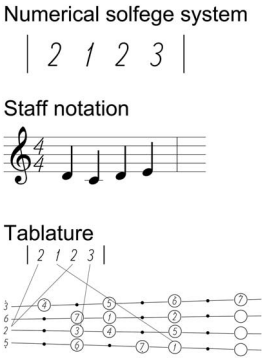

Fig. 1 Numerical *solfège* system, staff notation and violin tablature indicated with numerical *solfège* system

Notation systems: pedagogy and reception

One special characteristic of the published violin pieces is that all of them used staff notation, in contrast to the violin tutors, which used various kinds of notation. To understand the significance of this, we must consider the general level of musical literacy at this time. Numerical *solfège* systems were common, since they were taught in the elementary education. Most tutors for accordion, which was the most popular Western instrument before the violin, were written in numerical *solfège* and accordion tablature.[25] In the case of the violin, tablature means the numbers placed on four lines representing the four strings of the violin (See Figure 1). The *taishōgoto* [大正琴], a keyed zither invented in 1912 by a Japanese inventor, was one of the most popular instruments in Japan from 1912 through the 1920s. Printed music for *taishōgoto* used only the numerical *solfège* system, in order to reach a wide audience.[26] Thus, the numerical *solfège* system was the most widely accepted notation in Japan during the early twentieth century, and staff notation was not yet common. This suggests that the users of violin pieces had a better than average musical knowledge.

The following is the result of my survey of tutors.[27] Although the proportion of tutors using staff notation diminished over this period, this does not necessary mean that violin learners, or Japanese people in general, became accustomed to a numerical *solfège* system rather than to staff notation. As imported music gradually became affordable, the ability to read staff notation presumably increased. I have

[25] Takada Tomoko, 'Meijiki no Kansai ni okeru tefūkin no ryūkō' [Popularity of the tefūkin (accordion) in the Kansai area during the Meiji Period], *Ongaku kenkyū* (*ōsaka ongaku daigaku hakubutsukan nempō*) 11 (1993): 53–78, here 70.

[26] Kaneko Atsuko, *Taishōgoto no sekai* [The world of *taishōgoto*] (Tokyo: Ongaku no tomo sha, 1995): 34.

[27] In the first phase of the 'reception period' four tutors were published with staff notation, one with numerical *solfège* system and tablature, and one with tablature only. In the second phase there were 13 with staff notation, four with numerical *solfège* system, and one with staff notation and numerical *solfège* system. In the third phase there were five with staff notation, five with staff notation and numerical *solfège* system, one with numerical *solfège* system and tablature, and one with all kinds of notations.

also found a slight change in the numerical *solfège* system. Initially only moveable *do* was used, but fixed *do* became more prevalent after it appeared in *Tsūshin kyōju vaiorin kōgiroku*, of 1913. It was about this time that tutors with only numerical *solfège* systems were ceasing to appear. *Tsūshin kyōju vaiorin kōgiroku* may have been the forerunner of the tutor for violin that used numerical *solfège* system alongside staff notation, and this in turn may well explain why it adopted fixed *do*. In any event, we may assume that the diversification of tutors' notation systems was intended to increase the opportunities for a wider range of people to start playing the violin – a sign of popularization of the violin. A contrasting reason is that the consumers of individually published violin pieces required more knowledge about music than average Japanese people had. Why is there inconsistency between the negative image of the content, *zokkyoku*, and the high expectations of users' musical knowledge? To understand the intentions behind the publication of the violin pieces, we can compare with the cases of other instruments.

While domestically published sheet music for violinists was plentiful in the Meiji era, music for other Western instruments, such as reed organ or wind instruments, was rarely published domestically. Why is this so? It is probably an indication of the violin's route to acceptance in Japan, which differed from that of other instruments. Wind and percussion instruments were first adopted as a military tool, and they were the first Western instruments that were officially accepted to Japan. They were first taken up by band-musicians in the streets, who used wind and percussion instruments for advertising purposes; later, many neighbourhood music bands were established.[28] However, pieces were generally published for use by solo players or small ensembles. For the learner of the accordion – the first Western instrument to gain popularity among the populace – quite a few tutors and self-tutors were available, but no separately published pieces are known to exist. This may be because the accordion's popularity seems to have reached a peak between 1891 and 1894, before the domestic publication of sheet music began.[29] In the 1900s, although many girls owned reed organs or violins, very few pieces for the reed organ were issued. Two converted Western instruments, the reed-pipe [*suifūkin*, 吸風琴] and pennywhistle [*ginteki*, 銀笛], were popular from around 1898 into the early 1910s. Both instruments were very cheap and easy to play, and they appealed to both children and adults who might have modest or no musical background.[30] The cheapest *suifūkin* was 40 *sen*, and the price of three self-tutors of *suifūkin* issued between 1908 and 1914 was from 8 to 20 *sen*.[31] By contrast, the price of five violin self-tutors issued between 1908 and 1913 ranged from 25 *sen* to 1 *yen* 50 *sen*

[28] David G. Hebert, *Wind Bands and cultural Identity in Japanese Schools* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2011); Shiotsu Yōko, 'Meijiki Kansai no minkan ongakutai' [Civil music bands in the Kansai area during the Meiji period], *Ongaku kenkyū* (*Ōsaka ongaku daigaku hakubutsukan nempō*) 11 (1993): 25–51. I follow the author's use of 'civil music band' in her English abstract.

[29] Takada, 'Meijiki no Kansai ni okeru tefūkin no ryūkō', 74.

[30] Ewald Henseler, Murao Satoshi and Tokimitsu Yoshie, '*Suifūkin* – Meiji kōki no rīdo paipu' [Some notes on the *suifūkin* – a reed-pipe in the late Meiji Era Japan], *Elisabeth University of Music Research Bulletin* 21 (2001): 63–71; Ewald Henseler, Murao Satoshi and Tokimitsu Yoshie 'The *ginteki* – a flute in the late Meiji Era', *Elisabeth University of Music Research Bulletin* 20 (2000): 61–5.

[31] Henseler, 'Suifūkin – Meiji kōki no rīdo paipu', 71.

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Fig. 2 Violin sheet music

and the most popular of Nakao's pieces for violin 'Chidori no kyoku' ['Plover's melody'], issued in 1906, cost 15 *sen*.,[32] This may explain why the music for *suifūkin* and *ginteki* has not been studied. Even if sheet music for *suifūkin* had been issued, it might have been too much a luxury item for the users of this instrument. We can conclude that there was a higher demand for sheet music for the violin, because the violin was popular with middle or upper classes.

Reception of the violin started to change around 1904, the beginning of the second phase. Violin pieces became available, and most of the pieces published during the second phase were *zokkyoku* for small chamber ensemble. The front covers of these publications were decorated with artwork, often colour printed on superior paper (See Figure 2). This indicates that the violin began to function in earnest as more than an educational tool in everyday life.[33]

The popularity of the violin was made possible by the availability of domestically produced violins at an affordable price. I accessed six statistical

[32] Nakao Tozan, *Vaiorin onpu daiichigō sōkyoku Chidori no kyoku* [ヴァイオリン音譜、第一号、千鳥の曲, Music for violin No.1, 'Plover's melody'] (Osaka: Chikurinken, second edition 1906). To put these prices into some perspective: in 1906, a monthly subscription to the *Asahi Shimbun* newspaper was 45 *sen*, and *soba* (buckwheat noodles, a common cheap meal) for one person was 2.5 *sen*. See Shūkan Asahi ed., *Nedanshi nenpyō* [Chronology of the history of prices] (Tokyo: Asahi Shimbun, 1988): 101 and 114.

[33] The most-known and best-sold series, in general, is *Senō-gakufu* [Music of Senō] for singers. They produced many 'pieces' of opera arias. Many of the cover illustrations were drawn by Takehisa Yumeji (1884–1934), the most popular artist of the Taisho era.

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reports on the production of violins and two statistical reports on the money involved. Although the numbers shown in those reports seem to be inconsistent, it is still possible to discern general trends.[34] The violin boom seems to have peaked in around 1909, since the report of the output of the Suzuki Violin Co., Ltd. shows the highest number in this year.[35] Another significant tendency is the fluctuations in the numbers of all data, which occur very rapidly, with popularity fluctuating within single years And while there were temporary declines, over the long term the violin became increasingly popular with a widespread range of people. According to the *Chōki juyō dōkō chōsa kekka* [Result of the survey of long-term demand], from 1897 to 1926 there was an overall increase domestic demand.[36] Although the waning of the violin boom is reflected in the data, the declining popularity of the violin was only temporary. Not only the statistic reports, but also the results of all the surveys suggest that the violin continued to gain popularity, and that it was disseminated among a wide range of people. This distinguishes the violin from other instruments popular during the period under discussion.

Musical Tradition and the Social System of Early Modern Japan

The following discussion looks at four aspects of violin reception in Japan: (1) changes in attitudes towards and criticism of *zokkyoku*, (2) regional differences, (3) changes in musical sensibilities and (4) the role of gender. To better contextualize those points, I begin with a discussion of music culture of the Edo era.

It is thought that during the Edo era, one's preference for an instrument depended on one's status in a feudal society (a hereditary four-status system consisting of warrior-rulers, peasants, artisans and merchants). Daughters of samurai and wealthy merchants played the *koto*, while the *shamisen* is generally thought to have been the instrument for the people of the artisan and merchant class, or even of lower classes. If warriors appreciated the performing arts, they were expected to prefer *yōkyoku* [謡曲], the singing of *nō*, because *nō* was acted as ceremonial music by the Tokugawa Shogunate.[37]

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[34] Aichi prefecture, *Aichiken tōkeisho* [Statistical table of Aichi prefecture]; Nagoya local government, *Nagoyashi dai 24 kai tōkeisho* [24th statistical table of Nagoya city]; Japan Export Trade Promotion Agency, *Chōki juyō dōkō chōsa kekka hōkokusho* [the result of the survey of a long-term demand]; All of the above are found in *Dēta Ongaku Nippon* [Data Music Japan], ed. Masui Keiji (Tokyo: Min'on ongaku kyōkai, 1980): 24–6; Ōnoki Kichibē, 'Gakki sangyō ni okeru seshū keiei no ichi genkei (I)' [A model of hereditary management in musical instrument industry (I)], *Hamamatsu tanki daigaku kenkyū ronshū* 24 (1981): 1–38, here 17; Engineering works section, Department of Agriculture and Commerce, *Shuyō kōgyō gairan dai 4 bu zatsukōgyō* [Summary of principal industry, Part 4: miscellaneous industry] ([Tokyo]: Engineering works section of Department of Agriculture and Commerce, 1921): 157–8; Matsuyama Iwane, 'Nihon ni okeru vaiorin 2'[The violin in Japan, 2], *Ongakukai* 3/3 (1910): 44.

[35] Ōnoki, 'Gakki sangyō ni okeru seshū keiei no ichi genkei (I)', 17. Ōnoki gives the source of the data as Suzuki Masakichi's *Suzuki vaiorin no sōsei enkaku* [History of Suzuki Violin Co., Ltd.], but this work could not be found.

[36] The original data of the Japan Export Trade Promotion Agency's *Chōki juyō dōkō chōsa kekka* are the data of the Suzuki Violin Co., Ltd.

[37] Information on this era can be found in W. Adriaansz, 'Koto', in *Grove Music Online*, www.oxfordmusiconline.com:80/subscriber/article/grove/music/15420 and Richard

Although *shamisen* performance of *zokkyoku* invited severe criticism and was despised by many members of the upper classes, *shamisen* remained the most popular instrument during the Edo era and an integral part of the flourishing culture of the townspeople.

Increasing criticism of the shamisen

Research on the changing role of the *shamisen* and *koto* from the Edo to Taisho periods has begun to appear only recently, and useful information is emerging. According to YAJIMA Fumika, despite the great popularity of the *shamisen* and its music during the Edo period, unfavourable opinions of both were already expressed before the Meiji Restoration in 1868. There was discrimination against not only workers in the red-light districts, but also theatrical and street performers; and the *shamisen*'s association with these areas caused its reputation to suffer. The instrument was even subject to legislation, for example the prohibition of performances of theatre pieces involving the *shamisen*, and *jōruri* [浄瑠璃, dramatic recitation accompanied by a *shamisen*]. Nevertheless, there were those who held the instrument in high regard. Sources of the period present a variety of opinions on the value and merits of the *koto* and *shamisen*. Nevertheless, Yajima asserts that there is no evidence suggesting that the *shamisen* was ever esteemed more highly than *gagaku* or *nō*, and she concludes that *gagaku* and *nō* were commonly ranked in first place, *koto* next and finally the *shamisen*.[38] Among those who valued the *shamisen* were the parents of the townsman class who made their daughters learn the instrument. TANIMURA Reiko argues that, with the ability to play the *shamisen*, 'girls of the townsman class would be able to serve with a samurai family', and 'they could then acquire the tastes and culture of the *samurai*' through this service. Further, it helped them 'to make a good marriage in their own class, or to advance in a career as a lady-in-waiting, or to become the concubine of a *samurai*'.[39] Tanimura's evidence suggests that the *shamisen* was actually popular with enough samurai to make it an aspirational instrument for the townsman class. Thus the reception of *shamisen* varied depending on both social class and region, and generalizations are difficult to make.

A renewed disdain of the *shamisen* began with the Meiji Restoration, and criticism – appearing in the print media – was especially strong in the late nineteenth century. The cause of this renewed vilification is related to the instruments background and social circumstances. As the *shamisen* was played by geisha when they entertained guests with singing and dancing, their songs' texts often had sexual content. This association of the instrument with sexual

Emmert, 'Nō', *ibid.*, www.oxfordmusiconline.com:80/subscriber/article/grove/music/43335pg6. See also NISHIYAMA Matsunosuke, *Edo Culture: Daily Life and Diversions in Urban Japan, 1600–1868*, transl. Gerald Groemer (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997), Gerald Groemer, 'Noh at the Crossroads: Commoners Performance during the Edo Period', *Asian Theatre Journal* 15/1 (1998): 117–41 and Gerald Groemer, 'Elite Culture for Common Audiences: Machiiri Nō and Kanjin Nō in the City of Edo', *Asian Theatre Journal* 15/2 (1998): 230–52.

[38] YAJIMA Fumika, *Sō-shamisen ongaku to kindaika* [Music for *koto* and *shamisen* and modernization] (PhD diss, Japan Women's University, 2007): 58.

[39] TANIMURA Reiko, 'Practical Frivolities: The Study of *Shamisen* Among Girls of the Late Edo Townsman Class', *Japan Review* 23 (2011): 73–96, here 73 and 89–90.

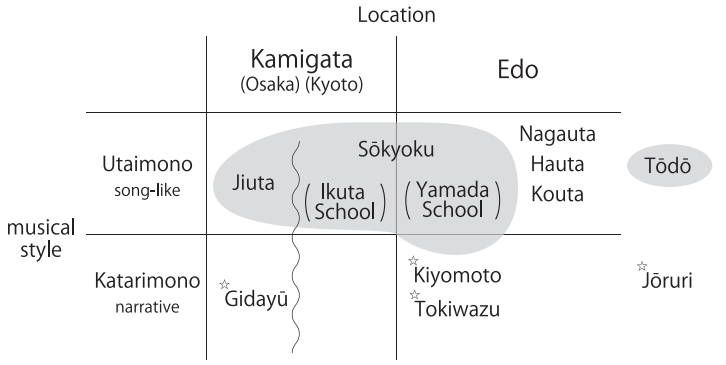

Fig. 3 Classifications of *koto* and *shamisen* music (a rough sketch, simplified for the purposes of this article)

themes and situations, and the growth of the movement to abolishment prostitution during this period, resulted in a shift in popularity from the *shamisen* to the *koto*. Nevertheless, despite this critical view of the *shamisen* and its relationship to geisha, the instrument was never actually outlawed.

Influence on the violin repertoire of regional differences within koto *and* shamisen *music*

Having clarified the connection between musical instruments and social class, we may turn to consideration regional differences. As mentioned above, Osaka was the centre of publication of *zokkyoku* violin pieces. I have placed the series of Nakao Tozan and Kōga Musen of Osaka and Machida Ōen of Tokyo into categories and concluded that the repertoire was distinct for each region. Before elaborating on that conclusion, I outline below some of the ways of classifying the music for *koto* and *shamisen* (see Figure 3).

One means of classification is by the geographical areas in which the genres developed, in particular the representative regions of Edo [江戸, modern-day Tokyo] and Kamigata [上方, the Osaka–Kyoto region]. *Jiuta* [地歌 or 地唄] (*shamisen* songs, later also with *koto* accompaniment) and *gidayū* [義太夫] (a type of dramatic recitation associated with the Japanese puppet theatre), for example, developed in Kamigata, while other genres of *shamisen-gaku* developed in Edo.

The second classification is based on musical style, namely *utaimono* [唄物 or 歌物] (song-like works; *uta*: song, *mono*: thing) and *katarimono* [語り物] (narrative works; *katari*: talking). The examples representative of *utaimono* are *jiuta*, *nagauta*, *kouta* [小唄] (short ballad songs with *shamisen* accompaniment) and *hauta* [端唄] (short love songs with *shamisen* accompaniment). Examples representing *katarimono* are *jōruri* (which embraces *gidayū*, *kiyomoto* [清元], *tokiwazu* [常磐津] and other sub-types). *Kouta*, *hauta* and a special kind of *nagauta*, which derived from *nagauta* in kabuki theatre music in the late Edo, were preferred among geisha.

Another distinction in the music for both *koto* and *shamisen* can be made between the music of *tōdō* [当道], the association of the blind, *jiuta-sōkyoku*, and other genres of *shamisen-gaku*. *Jiuta* is conventionally categorized as *shamisen-gaku*, but the *koto* occasionally is included in the *jiuta* ensemble, and *shamisen* is sometimes played in

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sōkyoku ensembles. As *jiuta* and *sōkyoku* continued to evolve, they became nearly inseparable, and they are known collectively as *jiuta-sōkyoku*. Throughout the Edo era, the government restricted the playing of *shamisen* for *jiuta*, as well as *koto* as a profession, to the members of *tōdō*, in order to secure a livelihood for the blind.[40] All blind musicians were expected to be capable of playing three instruments, *shamisen* (only for *jiuta*) *koto* and *kokyū* [胡弓], the only stringed instrument played with a bow before the Meiji era in Japan, though the *kokyū* was much less important than the others. They made their livings by performing and teaching those instruments. After the abolition of the *tōdō* system in 1871, however, both the continuation of the music and the living of *tōdō* musicians, especially those in Osaka, were endangered, while those of Tokyo and Kyoto suffered less. The *koto* and *jiuta-shamisen* player NAKASHIO Kōsuke (1911–2006), gave two reasons for the difference between Osaka and the other cities. First, the *tōdō* musicians of the Osaka district had made much of the *shamisen* during the Edo era, so that many *jiuta-sōkyoku* masters of *tōdō* would have been embarrassed to play the *koto* in public. Second, the cities had different characters. Nakashio describes Tokyo and Kyoto as conservative castle towns and Osaka as more rationalist or existentialist.[41] Osaka's *tōdō* musicians felt compelled to fit into the new epoch, and they developed elaborate strategies for doing so.[42] I will refer to their two successful attempts below.

There were many different schools for each instrument. In the case of *sōkyoku*, the Yamada school of Tokyo and the Ikuta school of Kyoto were the two biggest. The former includes works that incorporated elements of *katarimono*, and *koto* took the central place in the ensemble rather than *shamisen*. The latter centred on instrumental works, and *shamisen* took the central place. *Koto* players of the Ikuta school had opportunities to play with *jiuta shamisen* players, which acquainted them with the *jiuta* repertoire; in this way the Ikuta school added many *jiuta* to its repertoire, and both the genres of *sōkyoku* and *jiuta* continued to develop.

I referred above to the Kamigata region; but in fact there is quite a big difference between Osaka and Kyoto. In Kyoto, the *koto* was heavily favoured, while in Osaka the *shamisen* prevailed. In his *Morisada mankō*, KITAGAWA Morisada (1810–?) says that parents in Kyoto and Osaka were not as keen to have their daughters take lessons on the *shamisen* as were those in Edo. Tanimura agrees: Kyoto was the city of court nobles, who had their own culture different from those of the samurai. Parents in Edo, or in the east of Japan, were more enthusiastic than those in Kyoto about *buke hōkō* [武家奉公], the tradition of serving at the residence of a feudal lord or high ranked samurai.[43] This indicates the peculiarity of Kyoto and also demonstrates that the support of *shamisen-gaku* in Tokyo was different from that of Osaka.

I believe that this geographical difference in the development of *shamisen-gaku* and *sōkyoku* played a role in the characteristics of the violin boom after the

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[40] *Kokyū* and *biwa* [琵琶] were also restricted to *tōdō*'s musicians, but they are not of direct relevance to the present discussion. See Gerald Groemer, 'The Guild of the Blind in Tokugawa Japan', *Monumenta Nipponica* 56/3 (2001): 349–80.

[41] NAKASHIO Kōsuke, 'Meiji shinkyoku ni tsuite' [On Meiji new pieces], in *Nihon ongaku to sono shūhen* [Japanese music and its related fields] (Tokyo: Ongaku no tomo sha, 1973): 189–206, here 191–3.

[42] Philip Flavin has desribed their situation, citing the oral history of Nakashio, in his article, '*Meiji shinkyoku*: The Beginnings of Modern Music for the Koto', *Japan Review* 22 (2010): 103–23.

[43] Tanimura, 'Practical Frivolities', 78–9. *Morisada mankō*, a collection of writings on Japanese customs, was begun in 1837 and completed in 1853.

Russo–Japanese War in 1905. It is clear that *jiuta-sōkyoku* was much more popular than *nagauta* in the Osaka district, while in Tokyo it was the other way around.[44] Although all violin *zokkyoku* series include a few pieces of Yamada-school *sōkyoku*, considering the rate of publication, and comparing to the numbers of *jiuta-sōkyoku* issued by Machida Ōen in his violin publications to those of Yamada *sōkyoku*, it is clear that in Tokyo Yamada *sōkyoku* was preferred to fusions with violin.

The activities of KŌGA Musen are without doubt the key to explaining the violin boom. Kōga was a musician in the military band of the fourth army division in Osaka. His major instrument seems to have been saxophone, and he was capable of playing the violin. He established a violin ensemble of his pupils around 1897.[45] Besides teaching, he played on the stage with NAKAO Tozan. In 1906, Nakao issued his first violin piece, in cooperation with Kōga. However, soon Nakao gathered other violinists to work together, and Kōga began his own series of violin piece in 1910.[46] There are many other pieces of evidence that prove to us how the musicians of this area, whether a Western music specialist or *zokkyoku* musician, collaborated in musical ventures. Although many older records of *zokkyoku* performance with violin in other locations exist, we can maintain that Osaka's ethos ignited a boom of violin *zokkyoku* performances.

The Revival of *Zokkyoku* and the Rising Popularity of the Violin

Clearly, the violin played a significant role in the music of *koto* and *shamisen*. And we have seen that *zokkyoku* made a great contribution to the dissemination of the violin. But how did this affect the world of *koto* and *shamisen* in general? The answer to this question is to be found in an examination of the *zokkyoku* musicians' efforts to revive their own music. Facing poverty, these musicians realized that reforms were necessary to attract students. Changes were made in their traditional teaching methods (which had usually been entirely oral instruction); public concerts were introduced, and new compositions, known as *Meiji shinkyoku* [明治新曲, new compositions of Meiji era] were created; all of these developments can be seen as by-products of the reception of Western music.[47] Playing in a *sankyoku* [三曲] ensemble, which had been popular in the Edo period, enjoyed a revival as part of the new interest in home music; the fact that the three instrumental parts could each be shared by any numbers of instrumentalists was an advantage for music-making in the home.

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[44] Here I present only the numbers of *jiuta-sōkyoku*, *nagauta* and *yamada-ryū sōkyoku*, since pieces from other genres were scarce. Nakao included 34 *jiuta-sōkyoku* and 3 Yamada-school *sōkyoku*, he issued no *nagauta*; Kōga, issued 31 *jiuta-sōkyoku*, 4 *nagauta* and 2 Yamada-school *sōkyoku*; Machida issued only 4 *jiuta-sōkyoku*, 9 *nagauta* and 3 Yamada-school *sōkyoku*.

[45] NAGAI Kōji, 'Ōsaka no ongakushi, seiyō ongaku sono 2' [The music history of Osaka, Western music no.2], *Ongaku bunka* 22 (1957): 20–21.

[46] MORITA Shūzan, 'Tozan-ryū no keifu wo saguru, Nakao Tozan ga shugyō jidai ni naratta shishō' [Investigating the origins of the Tozan school: Who was Nakao Tozan's teacher?], *Nihon Dentō Ongaku Kenkyū Sentā-shohō* 4 (2007): 55–77. The earliest known record of Nakao and Kōga performing together in concert, identified by Morita, is in 1904.

[47] For a discussion of the change to public concerts, see NOGAWA Mihoko, 'Meijiki no sankyoku no ensōkai ni tsuite' [On the *sankyoku* concerts of the Meiji era], *Bulletin, Faculty of Music, Tokyo Geijutsu Daigaku* 17 (1992): 45–84, especially 47–9.

The utility value of the violin

The fact that native Japanese music, transmitted almost exclusively by oral instruction, had no musical score for learning new pieces without a teacher, was probably one of the most serious barriers to the popularity of *koto* and *shamisen* music. Not having a musical score was actually the issue that most concerned musicians and instructors of *koto* and *shamisen*, because it left them at a disadvantage compared to practitioners of Western music, who had gradually advanced into Japanese society.[48]

Several *iemoto* [家元, school heads] of *shamisen*, *koto* and *shakuhachi* were competent violinists who successfully invented systems of notation. Examples include Suzuki Koson (1875–1931),[49] Chikushi Katsuko (1904–1985),[50] Kineie Yashichi IV (1890–1942), founder of the Kineie school of *nagauta*, and Nakao Tozan.,[51] Whether they learned the violin and studied Western music in order to use Western musical ideas in the establishment of their own schools, or out of simple curiosity, I argue that prospective *iemoto*'s study of the violin is integrally tied to their development of musical notation suitable to their major instruments.

All kinds of Japanese arts, whether *ikebana*, tea ceremony or music, adopt the *iemoto* system: a pyramidal style of organization in which the head of the school (*iemoto*) is responsible for transmitting the inheritance and developing the style of the school. Though a product of the feudally organized society of the Edo era, the pyramidal *iemoto* system survived the Meiji Restoration. In this way, the traditional values of Japanese performing arts were transmitted from one generation to the next.

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[48] William Malm, *Traditional Japanese Music and Musical Instruments*, new edition (New York: Kodansha USA, 2000 (originally published 1964)): 200–204.

[49] Wada Katsuhisa, ed., *Kyōgoku-ryū sandai nenpu* [The big three chronological records of Kyōgoku-school] (Fukui: Kyōgoku-ryū sōkyoku kamikita no gakudō, 2001): 10. Suzuki Koson was the founder of the Kyōgoku school of *koto*. He is not related to Suzuki Shin'ichi of the Suzuki Method. Suzuki studied with Rudolf Dittrich (1861–1919) a significant violin teacher at this time of Japan, and it could be said that Suzuki received the best possible training.

[50] Mochida Katsuho, *Maboroshi no koto* [*Koto* from the dream world] (Fukuoka: Nishinippon Shinbun, 1974): 65–8. Chikushi Katsuko, founder of the Chikushi-kai of Ikuta school of koto, was adopted into the Sakamoto family, as a sister of Sakamoto Gorō, the director of Dainihon Katei Ongakukai, when she was about 14 years old. Sakamoto Gorō had expected Katsuko's musical talent to enhance his business. Her first instrument was the *shamisen*. She learned the *koto* and the violin, after she moved to Fukuoka, where Sakamoto lived. The name of her violin teacher, who was a foreigner, is not known. Chikushi's dream had been to become a violinist, but she gave it up, because she believed that her hands were too small.

[51] Kineie [杵屋] is a very common surname among *nagauta* players, and it is usually pronounced Kineya, but in the case of Kineie Yashichi IV [四世杵家弥七], it is definitely Kineie (the character 家 may be pronounced *ya*, *ie*, or *uchi* in personal names). She first belonged in the Kineya [杵屋] school, but she formally changed her name from Kineya [杵屋] to Kineya [杵家] in 1927 and from Kineya [杵家] to Kineie [杵家] in 1930. Her explanation for this change was that she wanted to expand her teaching activity using *shamisen-bunkafu* notation, and that remaining a member of the Kineya school would limit her freedom to innovate, since Kineya-school *nagauta* players insisted on continuing with their classical teaching method and did not approve her use of notation. (Kineie kai Kineie shi Hensan Iinkai, ed., *Kineie-shi, Bunkafu Sōshi Hachijusshūnen Kinen Hakkō* [The History of Kineie, the 80th anniversary of the establishment of *bunkafu*]) (Tokyo: Kineiekai, 2003): 12–13).

During the Edo era, the *shakuhachi* was considered a religious instrument, and was to be played only by the *komusō* [虚無僧], monks of the Buddhist Fuke sect [*Fukeshū*, 普化宗].[52] The abolition of the *Fukeshū* and the prohibition of *komusō* became effective in 1871, and this might have resulted in the extinction of the *shakuhachi* tradition. Thanks to the efforts of YOSHIDA Itchō (1812–1881) and ARAKI Kodō (1823–1908) of the Kinko school of *shakuhachi*, the instrument's use was opened to all, and the dissemination began.[53] It is not certain when the *shakuhachi* began to replace the *kokyū* in the *sankyoku* ensemble,[54] but *shakuhachi* was primarily a solo instrument and was very much associated with religious music. The *shakuhachi iemoto* NAKAO Tozan established his own school, in Osaka in 1896, with few more than ten pupils. Nakao directed his attention to expanding the instrument's ensemble potential, and, after learning of *jiuta* and the Ikuta school's *sōkyoku*, he aimed to compose a *shakuhachi* part to be played in ensemble with *koto* or *shamisen*. He first wrote the part for *jiuta*, but he did not yet have access to most of the repertoire. He visited some of the highest ranked *tōdō* of the Ikuta school, imploring them to play *sōkyoku* for him, so that he could take the melodies down in musical notation. Not surprisingly, they refused, since they earned their money by charging not only for each lesson but for each piece taught. Nakao finally discovered a young *koto* instructor who was willing to help him.[55] He then devoted himself to his next task, the invention of a musical notation, and the arrangement of the part for various instruments, but first for the violin, not for his major instrument. Two years after the publication of his violin pieces, the publication of the Tozan school scores was completed, and publication of his editions for *shakuhachi* began in 1908. This story suggests that Nakao's ability on the violin proved very useful in the invention of musical notation for his major instrument, *shakuhachi*, though the precise process through which he invented the notation cannot be proven. It is emphasized in the Tozan school that the publication of the series of violin pieces was extremely helpful to the expansion of the Tozan school.[56] Because the Tozan school scores were easy to understand and were the first printed music for *shakuhachi*, the school gained more pupils and ultimately became one of the two biggest schools of *shakuhachi*.

The case of KINEIE Yashichi IV is unique. Kineie married her violin teacher, AKABOSHI Kunikiyo, a violinist who had graduated from the Tokyo Music School, and they worked together for many years to create their own notation system for *shamisen*. The system was established in 1922, and is known as *shamisen-bunkafu*.[57] Today *shamisen-bunkafu* is one of the most-used notation systems for *shamisen* (see Figure 4).

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[52] This rule was not perfectly observed. Some Edo-era paintings depict laypeople playing *shakuhachi*. On the history of the *shakuhachi* see the article by Kiku Day in this issue.

[53] The founder of the Kinko school was KUROSAWA Kinko I (1710–1771). He was originally a lower-grade samurai and later became a *komusō*.

[54] A concert of *sankyoku* with *shakuhachi* is reported in *Ongaku Zasshi* [Music Magazine] 5 (Jan. 1891): 18–19.

[55] Tozan-ryū henshū-bu, ed., *Tozan-ryū shi* [The history of the Tozan school] (Tokyo: Tozanryū sōke, 1932): 1–10.

[56] Tozan-ryu henshū-bu, ed., *Tozan-ryu shi*, 40.

[57] Kineie kai Kineie shi Hensan Iinkai, ed., *Kineieshi, Bunkafu Sōshi Hachijusshūnen Kinen Hakkō*, 9–11.

Fig. 4 Front cover of *Shamisen Bunkafu*, designed by KINEIE Yashichi IV and AKABOSHI Kunikiyo. The lines of the books design hold symbolic meaning. Five horizontal lines represent Western staff notation; three horizontal lines are for *shamisen* notation. Four vertical lines stand for the four strings of the violin, while three vertical lines are for the strings of the *shamisen*

The details of how the violin influenced the creation of new notation systems have yet to be determined, and the subject deserves further research. In this article I can only speculate about the process. Today's *shamisen-bunkafu*

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notation is a kind of tablature. However, the sheet music for 'Nagauta Gojō-bashi' [五条橋, 'Gojō bridge'] for *shamisen*, issued in 1925 by KINEIE Yashichi IV, uses staff notation, with marks identical to the bowing marks used for the violin, but here indicating the direction of movement for the plectrum. Roman numerals indicate the choice of string for a given pitch – again, just as it is marked for violinists (See Figures 5a and 5b). I conjecture that the process was as follows: Kineie played a tune on the *shamisen,* and Akaboshi imitated it with the violin to see how the tune would sound in the Western manner. From this violin version, they transcribed the tune on Western staff paper, adding the violin-notation-based movement and string indications and the names of various *shamisen* techniques – *koki*, *kokiagari*, *ke* – and the *kakegoe*: *iya*, *yoi* and so forth. They were then ready to allow somebody to play the tune using this music.[58]

The *iemoto* who succeeded in creating their own notation systems that let them establish their own independent schools all had a thorough knowledge of Western musical theory. But simply knowing the theoretical foundations was not enough to reconcile these two very different musical traditions – European and Japanese – in practice. Thus I emphasize that the violin was the medium through which the the *iemoto* were able to inscribe the music of the Japanese tradition with the help of the notational practices of the European. The importance of printed music for preserving these traditions is confirmed by the fate of the Tsukushi school of *sōkyoku*, which was determined to stick with oral instruction and is today almost extinct.

Meiji shinkyoku *and the* sankyoku *ensemble as a strategy to popularize the music of* koto *and* shamisen

From my survey, it is clear that both Nakao and Kōga's series include many *Meiji shinkyoku*. As Nakao and Kōga were both from Osaka, it is unsurprising that most of the composers of these were from that city or the immediate Kansai region. Eight out of Nakao's 34 titles and seven of Kōga's 31 titles are *Meiji shinkyoku*, but Machida, in Tokyo, issued none.[59]

The first *Meiji shinkyoku* was 'Mikuni no homare' [御國の誉, 'The Glory of My Country'] written in 1884 by KIKUTAKA Kengyō (?1838–1888). According to Nakashio's oral history from his master, after the abolishment of the *tōdō* system in 1871, *jiuta-sōkyoku* players often came together. The primary purpose of this was as a leisure activity; however, they soon started exploring how they could create *sōkyoku* catering to the interest of contemporary Japanese and how they could attract their students' attention with something that had a broader appeal than *shamisen* alone. Nakashio regarded these activities as part of a movement to popularize *sōkyoku*. Their strategy was successful: approximately 1,000 *Meiji shinkyoku* or *Meiji sōkyoku* were composed throughout Japan from the late Meiji

[58] See SUZUKI Koson, 'Hōgaku to kifu' [Japanese music and notation] *Ongakukai* (Jan. 1910): 61. Here Suzuki introduced his thoughts on developing a notation system. He first wrote down *sōkyoku* to staff notation, then add Japanese peculiar signs to it.

[59] The pieces that appear in both series are 'Tsumikusa' [摘草, 'Picking Young Grass'] by KIKUHARA Kotoji (1878–1944), 'Kongōseki' [金剛石, 'Diamond'] by TATEYAMA Noboru (1876–1926) and 'Chigozakura' [稚児桜, 'Mountain Cherry'] by KIKUTAKE Shōtei (1884–1954), a fellow pupil of KIKUTA Utao (1879–1949), a *jiuta-sōkyoku* player who published a violin tutor.

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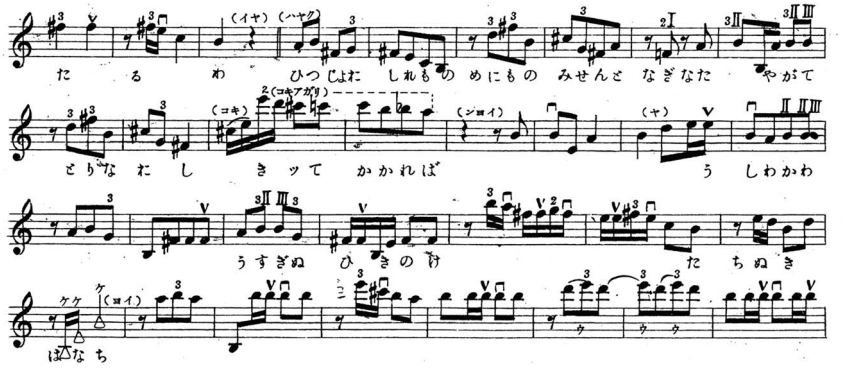

Fig. 5a **'Gojōbashi', issued in April 1925 by KINEIE Yashichi IV**

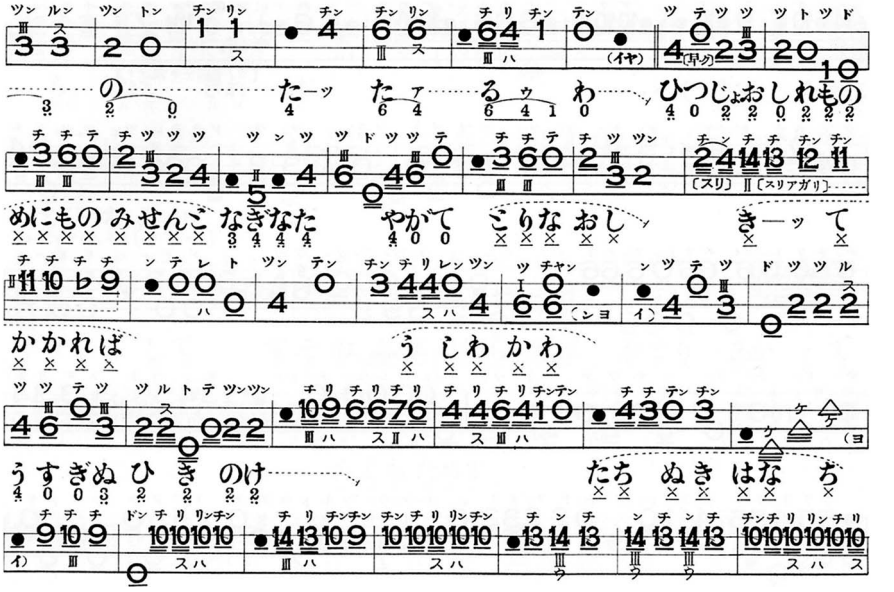

Fig. 5b **'Gojōbashi', issued in 1984. This is the *shamisen bunkafu* version now in use**

era and the Taisho.[60] The new repertoire proved attractive to violinists as well. Fundamental to the new compositional technique found in these works were a restructuring of the scale and/or the adoption of a sense of Western rhythm, among other changes.[61]

[60] Nakashio, 'Meiji shinkyoku ni tsuite'.

[61] Flavin, 'The beginnings of modern music for the *koto*', 111, says: 'Tateyama borrowed melodic and rhythmic material from Western military music to his "*Gaisen rappa no shirabe*" 凱旋喇叭の調 (Melody of Triumphant Trumpet)'. According to Shiotsu, 'Meijiki

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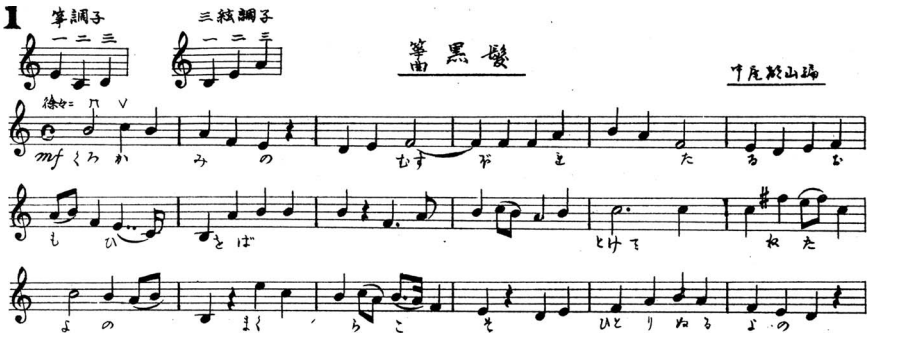

Fig. 6 Nakao's violin sheet music, including tuning instructions for *koto* (top left) and *shamisen* (top right)

Thanks to the creation of *Meiji shinkyoku* and the inclusion of the *shakuhachi* into the *sankyoku* ensemble, *sankyoku* ensemble flourished once more in the late Meiji era. The *sankyoku* ensemble had already been popular in the Edo era, when the *shakuhachi* was restricted to the *komusō*, and the orthodox instrumentation of ensemble had been *koto*, *shamisen* and *kokyū*. In the Edo period, in order to play *jiuta-sōkyoku* as *sankyoku* ensemble or an ensemble of any instrumentation, the musical parts for the added instruments had first to be composed by a *todō* musician of higher rank. But times had changed, and Nakao himself – though no *todō* member – created the new *shakuhachi* parts that were needed for instrument's participation in the *sankyoku* ensemble. The changes helped increase the popularity of the *shakuhachi*. Violin pieces were likewise published for playing in *sankyoku* or other forms of chamber music. These mixed ensemble of Japanese and Western instruments are what is called *wayō gassō*.

The instrumentation and the tuning are written at the top of each piece in the published violin parts (Figure 6). Among the 36 pieces of Nakao's series for violin that I examined, 14 are ensemble pieces with *koto*, and 22 are pieces with *koto* and *shamisen*. The latter are thus for *sankyoku* ensemble. Another feature is that about half of them are *tegotomono* [手事もの], named for its *tegoto* section, a cadenza-like long instrumental passage between the sections of the composition. Kōga's series shows same tendency; however Machida's does not. Ishihara Mutsuko, who compiled the statistics of concerts in which the violin was performed in Osaka during the Meiji era, states that often-included *tegotomono* successfully combined with the violin because it includes significant instrumental elements.[62]

Kansai no minkan ongakutai', neighbourhood music bands started to increase in 1892 in the Kansai area and the peak was between 1894 and 1907. Neighbourhood bands pleased people so much that they were asked to perform at various kinds of celebrations and military events. Considering that 'Gaisen rappa no shirabe' was composed in 1896, Tateyama's intention to popularize *sōkyoku* is obvious, as Flavin points out.

[62] Ishihara Mutsuko, 'Meijiki Kansai ni okeru vaiorin juyō no yōsō: wayō setchū genshō ni tsuite' [Aspects of the violin in the Kansai region during the Meiji period: On the East–West bridge phenomenon], *Ongaku kenkyū* (*ōsaka ongaku daigaku ongaku kenkyūsho nempō*) 11 (1993): 101–10, here 105.

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A recording of 'Yachiyo-jishi' [八千代獅子, 'Lion Dance at Yachiyo'] with *shakuhachi*, *koto*, *shamisen* and violin (played by the *shamisen* player in alternation with his own instrument) is probably the only extant recording of *sankyoku* ensemble with violin from the period discussed here.[63] In this recording, the *shamisen* player plays the violin so briefly that one could easily miss it.

The most successful publisher of *zokkyoku* violin pieces, Nakao, stopped publishing new pieces around 1918.[64] All of this suggests that *Meiji shinkyoku* and *sankyoku* ensembles were ways to bring more people to the violin; in addition, *zokkyoku* was made accessible for violin players. The exchange worked both ways.

The Transition from *Yūgei* to Socially Accepted Skill

Yūgei [遊芸] is the general collective term embracing the tea ceremony, *ikebana* [生け花, flower arrangement], calligraphy, poetry composition, *kōdō* [香道, the incense ceremony], *koto*, the singing of *nō* and others. The ambiguous value of *yūgei* depends on the kind of *yūgei*, the time, the region or the social class. In fact, not only highly regarded *yūgei* but some that were held in low esteem by the Meiji government have been accorded the respected status of 'traditional performing arts' in Japan today.[65] Most of the research literature about the transition of *yūgei*, focuses on the non-musical kinds; only recently have a few studies about music been published.[66]

Wayō gassō as '*home music*'

In 1899, the government decided to establish more public girls' schools and propagated the 'good wife and wise mother' idea in girls' education.[67] In order to enrich their cultural education, a major revision of the curriculum was undertaken. Reed organ and piano lesson were first included in 1903.[68] In 1911, violin lessons were included for the girls in the third and fourth years, but only as one of three choices, the others being reed organ and piano.[69] *Koto* lessons, on the other hand,

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[63] Nitto Record 252- A/B. *Shakuhachi*: Ueda Hōdō (1892–1974); violin and *shamisen*: Kikutera Daikōdō; *koto*: Kikusue Daikōdō. Ueda Hōdō was a pupil of Nakao Tozan and was given the name Ueda Kazan by Nakao. In 1917 Nakao expelled Ueda from his school, and Ueda established his own *shakuhachi* school. Ueda then stopped using the name Kazan and gave his name as Ueda Hōdō. The date of this recording is unknown, but Ueda's biography makes it probable that it was recorded after 1917, when he was expelled from Nakao's school and took his own name.

[64] 'Kongōseki', the penultimate 'piece' published by Nakao, appeared in 1918. The date of publication for the final piece is unknown. But the lists of upcoming releases on existing 'pieces' around 1920 include some that were never published.

[65] Kabuki is a good example. The Meiji government considered this form of theatre lowbrow. In 1872 the government told kabuki impresarios that they expected it to become a theatre art commensurate with a cultivated nation, and requested changes. The theatrical play reformation movement was led by a group of politicians, entrepreneurs and scholars established in 1886.

[66] Utagawa Kōichi refers to the transition of *yūgei* during the Meiji era in his three essays that focus on *shamisen* and *koto*.

[67] The Meiji government changed the direction of its policies several times.

[68] *Kōtōjogakkō kyōju-yōmoku* [高等女学校教授要目, Syllabus for girls' schools] of 1903.

[69] *Kōtōjogakkō kyōju-yōmoku* [高等女学校教授要目, Syllabus for girls' schools] of 1911.

had been available since 1895.[70] Obviously, *koto* was given priority compared to the Western instruments. Even though *koto* had been a rather highly evaluated *yūgei*, its incorporation into public education suggests a fundamental change in the value of *yūgei*.

In 1910, about ten years after the regulations for higher education for girls were laid down, the discourse of 'home music' emerged in print media.[71] Many magazine articles referred to the middle- and upper-class Western customs of each family owning a piano at home and spending time together enjoying playing music. The aim of introducing this ideal style was to encourage readers to adopt music into their homes. The idea of 'home music' was taken from the West, and in Japan it was explained as the proper way for a wife and children to help father recover from the fatigue of his working day. With the introduction of this idealized home life, the magazines tried to persuade readers, stressing how important it was for women to have the necessary skills for the performance of 'home music'. This raised the question of what kind of music and instruments were proper to Japanese, and there were various suggested answers. Between 1910 and 1919, six writers for the magazine *Ongakukai* recommended piano, five recommended violin, four *shamisen*, and three each organ and *koto*.[72] In this magazine, many claimed *koto* or *shamisen* were ideal for playing Japanese music, and the piano was ideal for Western music. Although the violin was often recommended, these articles are unclear about the precise place of the violin in the changing instrumental hierarchy. This is particularly interesting considering both the difficulty of learning the violin and the continued criticism of the *shamisen*.

After the fall of the Tokugawa Shogunate, the trend away from girls playing *shamisen* was marked. On the other hand, the custom of girls learning music remained. The *koto* had become popular, but the *shamisen* – so popular in the Edo era – also continued to be played, despite continuing criticism. The many statements in the print media criticizing the *shamisen* are a kind of negative proof of how deeply this instrument had taken root in Japan. Utagawa Kōichi has

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[70] *Kōtōjogakkō-kitei* [高等女学校規定, Regulations for girls' schools], *Monbushō –rei* [文部省令, Ordinance of the Ministry of Education] in 1895. However, the Regulations for girls' schools allowed schools to avoid music lessons with permission from the appropriate authorities (see *Kōtōjogakkō kyōju-yōmoku*, 1903 and 1911). Many missionary girls' schools offered extracurricular music lesson with the choices of instruments, but there were also schools that excluded violin from the available choices.

[71] Shūtō Yoshiki, 'Narihibiku katei kūkan, 1910–20 nendai Nippon ni okeru katei ongaku no gensetsu' [The home as a music space: discourses on home music in Japan in the 1910s–20's], *The Annual Review of Sociology* 21 (2008): 95–106.

[72] Kitamura Hatsuko, 'Katei ni tekisuru Ongaku' [Proper music for home], *Ongakukai* 3/7 (1910): 50–51. Tōgi Tetteki, 'Shōrai no kokumin gakki' [National instrument for the future] *Ongakukai* 3/9 (1910): 45–7. 天谷丹桂 (Amaya [unknown pronunciation]), 'Kateigaku no Sentaku' [Selection of home music] *Ongakukai* 5/12 (1912): 27–8. 'Koto no Gakkō' [*Koto* school] *Ongakukai* 8/8 (1915): 42–3. 'Shakai no koe' [Voices of society] *Ongakukai* 8/9 (1915): 39–41. 'Shakai no koe' [Voices of society], *Ongakukai* 8/10 (1915): 65–7. 'Nipponjin no Ongaku' [Music for the Japanese], *Ongakukai* 8/10 (1915): 61–5. Suzuki Toshio, 'Shōka shumi no zōshin to Katei ongaku' [Promotion of Shōka and home music] *Ongakukai* 10/1 (1917): 63–6. 'Katei to ongaku' [Home and music], *Ongakukai* 11/6 (1918): 48. 'Gakki no shinasadame' [A serious examination of instruments], *Ongakukai* 11/6 (1918): 49. Nishiyama Ginpei, 'Shamisen gaku no atarashii kokoromi' [New attempts for *shamisen-gaku*], *Ongakukai* 12/1 (1919): 37–8.

considered the changing representation of the *shamisen* in women's magazines between 1886 and 1918. He proposes three phases of change. During the first phase, from 1886 to 1902, the '*shamisen* represented a relic of the early modern (i.e. the Edo era)'; the second phase, from 1903 to 1911, could be labelled 'the changes of images of *shamisen*', and the third phase, from 1912 to 1920, 'making the *shamisen* harmless'. According to Utagawa, the *shamisen* was declared an inappropriate instrument for the home in the first phase, for two reasons. First, girls learning it merely represented a convention and contributed neither to the 'happy family circle' nor to the 'aspiration of children's education'. Second, the *shamisen* evoked the world of the geisha. He points to a change that occurred sometime after 1903, when playing the *shamisen* ceased to be regarded as something which conflicted with the 'happy family circle', the 'aspiration of children's education' or the 'division of duties based on gender'. Finally, in the third phase, the instrument had earned societal approval as an instrument for developing the musical tastes of the girls' of the rapidly expanding middle class. He concludes that *yūgei* found a social function that contributes to family relations.[73] This function differed from the main purpose for girls learning *shamisen* in the early modern era, which Tanimura called 'cultural investment'.[74]

The period between Utagawa's phases two and three coincides closely with my second phase, described above. Thus *wayō gassō* of *zokkyoku* with the violin spread at the same time as the *shamisen*'s image began to improve. *Wayō gassō* of *zokkyoku* with the violin became popular when musical and social conditions of *zokkyoku* were established.

Wayō gassō developed spontaneously between 1905 and 1910. According to Shūtō Yoshiki, the emergence of the 'home music' discourse was no earlier than the beginning of the 1910s, reached its peak between 1912 and 1913 and disappeared after 1920.[75] This discourse promoted an idealistic world in which music was a part of everyday home life, though it seemed that the advocates did not expect that 'home music' would immediately take root. Even though *wayō gassō* is derived from the *sankyoku* ensemble, which has a history as home music at least since the Edo era, some music specialists viewed *wayō gassō* with contempt.[76] On the other hand, many musicians did play *zokkyoku* on the violin or other Western instruments. Even the Japanese Army band included *zokkyoku* in the program, when they started giving concerts in 1905 on the stage of Hibiya Park, next to the Imperial Palace in Tokyo. The advocates of 'home music'

[73] This summary, and all quoted material, is from Utagawa Kōichi, 'Meiji kōki , Taishō zenki fujin zasshi ni miru shamisen imēji no hen'yō – katei no seisei to *yūgei* no kindai' [Changes in the image of '*shamisen*' in women's magazines during the transition from the Meiji to Taisho periods: How '*Yūgei*' survived in Modern Japan against the background of emergence of 'Home'], *Yokagaku kenkyū* 14 (2011): 3–14, especially 6–10.

[74] Tanimura, 'Practical Frivolities', 90. Tanimura insists that this cultural investment made by daughters of the townsman class, by acquiring a specific competence such as *shamisen*, was aimed at moving out of their own class.

[75] Shūtō, 'Narihibiku katei kūkan, 1910–20 nendai Nippon ni okeru katei ongaku no gensetsu', 98.

[76] Yamanoi Motokiyo (1885–1970), court musician and violinist, is a good example. He studied the violin with the instructor of court orchestra Wilhelm (Guglielmo) Dubravcic (1869–1925) and graduated from the Tokyo Music School; in other words, he received the highest level of violin training available in Japan at the time. In his series on studying the violin, published in the magazine *Ongakukai*, he opposed the boom in Osaka of playing *zokkyoku* on the violin and criticized it (article in the May 1912 issue).

claimed its effectiveness without expressing their thoughts about *wayō gassō*. Probably the latter did not quite match their description of 'home music', but many kinds of material indicate that in fact *wayō gassō* as home music functioned as a device for sharing fun with family or friends (Figures 7a–c).

Further development of the violin playing as a hobby and the decline of wayō gassō

Although most of the advocates for 'home music' had in mind Western music played on the piano, the discourse on 'home music' did not really reflect upon the

Fig. 7a **Home music as represented in the media. This illustration shows how new ideas, based on the old *sankyoku* ensemble customs, were proposed: printed music enabling quick learning, *shakuhachi* as the choice instrument for men, and the integration of the newcomer instruments, including violin, with daily living. From a Dainippon Katei Ongakukai catalog printed in 1935**

Fig. 7b **Another portrayal of home music, possibly more realistic. This is a satirical picture-postcard (details unknown)**

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Fig. 7c ***Wayō gassō*** **postcard (details unknown)**

choice of appropriate music or appropriate instrument. Indeed, they seemed to avoid coming to any conclusions about musical styles and instruments. Similarly, violin pieces continued to appear even after the peak of the arguments about 'home music' in the media. It was probably between the early 1920s and early 1930s that the publication of most of the major *zokkyoku* pieces for violin as well as Western music declined.

In the early 1920s the publication of *zokkyoku* piece for violin decreased. After 1918 a few series of pieces, mostly Western music, for violin(s) and/or mandolin(s) were issued and became popular.[77] This may well indicate that the function of *wayō gassō* as 'home music' was losing ground.

Conclusion

As the twentieth century progressed, the violin gradually took on the role it currently holds in Japanese Western musical culture, leaving its brief flirtation with *zokkyoku* behind. In 1920, MIYAGI Michio (1894–1956), the most famous *koto* musician and composer in the twentieth century, gave the first concert of 'New Japanese Music' with his colleagues.[78] New Japanese Music was a style that merged elements of European composition with Japanese instruments.[79] In 1932

[77] Around 1918 SAITŌ Masaru started publishing *Saitō Gakufu* [Sheet music for ensemble of string duet], violin or mandolin duets, and Dainihon Katei Ongakukai started publishing pieces for violin and *koto* and/or *shamisen*. In the early 1920s *Senō Gakufu* accelerated publication. The series of pieces for violin(s) and/or mandolin(s) was issued by Kōyō Gakufu Publishers in Osaka and Sinfonie Gakufu Publishers in Tokyo. The latest music of the series of Nakao that I have been able to confirm was printed in 1923 and that of Kōga in 1921.

[78] Both musicians of Japanese native music and musicians of Western music prepared the pieces for this concert.

[79] Philip Flavin, '*Sōkyoku-jiuta*: Edo-period chamber music', in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Japanese Music*, ed. Alison McQueen Tokita and David W. Hughes (Aldershot:

the French violinist Renée Chemet and Miyagi performed Miyagi's 'Haru no Umi' [春の海, Sea in Springtime] together at Chemet's recital, a performance which was well received.[80] They made a recording that met with a favourable reception in Japan.[81] Although not necessarily perceived as such by contemporaries, Chemet's and Miyagi's performance might be described as a form of *wayō gassō*. But the performance does not seem to have inspired further exploration of *wayō gassō*. I believe that Chemet's performance of 'Haru no Umi' made a strong impression on Japanese audiences because her 'Westernness' – the way she looked and the way she played – was so different. She performed while avoiding 'mimicry instead of interpreting or creating', in reference to the traditional criticism of Japanese adoption of Western elements. Her technique was completely Western – employing vibrato and portamento – as were her sense of intonation rhythm. Were I to ask her, she might disagree with my opinion, but the difference is obvious if one compares it to a recording made in 1930 of 'Haru no Umi' played by *koto* and *shakuhachi*, the original instrumentation of this piece.[82] This is the sound Japanese people were accustomed to hearing. Chemet's performance must have seemed very different from the kind of *wayō gassō* fashionable earlier in the century. Her technique and artistic expression were unattainable for Japanese violinists of that time, because the level of technique of Japanese violinists was still quite low in the 1920s. But technique aside, the difference between the musical background of a Japanese amateur and a French professional would have led the two to feel the music very differently. As an artistic performance presented on the stage by a foreign violinist, it may not have suggested itself to its Japanese audience as a suitable form for adoption as home music.

How did it sound when a *koto* or *shamisen* player of that time played Western music on the violin? Chikushi Katsuko, the founder of Chikushi-kai of the Ikuta *koto* school, left some recordings of her violin performance of Western music under her former name, Sakamoto Katsuko. One that is still available is an unaccompanied recording of Gounod's 'Serenade'.[83] This piece is written in $\frac{6}{8}$ with the tempo *moderato*. Sakamoto takes a very slow tempo, and the $\frac{6}{8}$ meter is not recognizable. On my listening, I misunderstood it as an Andante in three.[84]

Ashgate, 2007): 169–95, esp. 182 and 194; Tsukitani Tsuneko, 'The *shakuhachi* and its music', in *ibid*.: 143–68, esp. 160–63; Masakata Kanazawa, 'Miyagi Michio' in *Grove Music Online*, www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/18809 (accessed 2 June, 2012).

[80] Miyagi had originally composed this piece for *koto* and *shakuhachi* in 1929.

[81] 78 rpm records of 'Haru no Umi' were also produced in the US by Victor and in France by Gramophone, but I have found no information about its reception outside Japan. Audio source available at: (first half) http://neptune.kcua.ac.jp/l_gazo/0159730013.mp3; (second half) http://neptune.kcua.ac.jp/l_gazo/0378760003.mp3

[82] Victor 13106, recorded in December 1930. *Koto*, Miyagi Michio; *shakuhachi*, Yoshida Seifū. The difference between this recording and that of Miyagi and Chemet is striking. The recording can be heard at: (first half) http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/1319027; (second half) http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/1333951. An interesting feature of those recordings is the intonation of Chemet and Yoshida: the two take very different approaches to harmonizing with the *koto*.

[83] Nipponophone 3556. According to Christopher N. Nozawa, it was recorded in August 1919. Audio source: www.ena-violin.com/katsuko_sakamotoviolin/.

[84] Sakamoto must have known that the piece was written in $\frac{6}{8}$, because the notation was printed. She was a family member of the publisher, and was very involved in the

Compared to recordings of trained Japanese violinists of this time (as opposed to a *koto* or *shamisen* player, playing the violin), the difference is obvious. Trained Japanese violinists almost forced themselves to keep tempo when they played the solo repertoire of Western music. They let themselves play glissando or portamento just as frequently as foreign violinists of this time did, but they were very strict with tempo. Andō Kō (1878–1963), who studied with Joseph Joachim in Berlin, and who made significant contributions to the education of Japanese violinists, once pointed out that Japanese students of the violin have a tendency to be lax with tempo and intonation, which is why they forced themselves to keep such a strict tempo. And Andō described their performance as 'unsettling' [*kimi no warui*].[85] Her reaction shows as well how strongly rooted Chikushi was in the traditions of Japanese music as she had learned them on *shamisen* and *koto*.

To conclude, we must ask why *wayō gassō* with the violin did not continue. Particularly negative characteristics of the violin, expressed in sources from the time it was practiced, will help us to find the answer. First, the violin was simply too loud.[86] The instrument sounds louder than either the *koto* or *shamisen*. This is caused by the different construction of the instruments and different playing technique. The violin's wooden body and soundpost produce a lot more resonance than the cat's skin and empty inner chamber of a *shamisen*. Playing with a bow results in a continuous tone, always much louder than the sound of a plucked instrument.

Second, the register of the violin did not really fit with other instruments. While professionals, such as there were in Japan at the time, could adjust to a limited extent, there were some common solutions employed by amateurs. One was to make all open strings of the violin higher. In this case, they put a *capotasto* on the fingerboard or tightened the fingerboard with a thread (see Figures 8a–b). Another way was tuning other stringed instruments much lower than usual. This inconvenience may have been disturbing especially when with singing, since the singer would choose the key. The register of the violin was also a problem for the *shakuhachi*.[87]

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business. Dainihon Katei Ongakukai, *Tsūshin kyōju vaiorin kōgiroku daijūippen, Taisei Meikyokushū* [Correspondence course violin lecture notes, vol. 11, Collection of Western masterpieces] (Fukuoka: Dainihon Katei Ongakukai, 1919): 54.

[85] Andō Kō(ko), 'Vaiorin gakushū ni tsuite no chūi' [Cautions when learning the violin], *Ongaku* 2/3 (1909): 66–8, here 67.

[86] Dainihon Katei Ongakukai, *Tsūshin kyōju vaiorin kōgiroku dainihen* [Correspondence course violin lecture notes volume 2] (Fukuoka: Dainihon Katei Ongakukai, 55th reprint of revised edition 1919 (first edition 1913)): 109; Dainihon Katei Ongakukai, *Tsūshin kyōju vaiorin kōgiroku daisanpen* [Correspondence course violin lecture notes volume 3] (Fukuoka: Dainihon Katei Ongakukai, 55th reprint of revised edition 1919 (first edition 1913)): 131 and 133–4.

[87] Sugiura Michihito, 'Shakuhachi to vaiorin no gatchōhō' [How to tune *shakuhachi* and violin correctly], *Sankyoku* 96 (Mar. 1930): 28–32. Sugiura was a violinist active in the performance of New Japanese Music. He suggested the following solutions: to permit violinists to play without adjusting tuning, *shakuhachi* players might use a 2.1-size *shakuhachi*, which is not often played. If a 1.8-size *shakuhachi* was used, there were two ways for violinists to play while remaining faithful to the intention of the score: either play a minor third higher, or tune the instrument a minor third higher. According to Sugiura, the former solution was most commonly adopted for New Japanese music in ensembles with a 1.8-size *shakuhachi* or a 1.6-size *shakuhachi* for 'New Japanese Music.

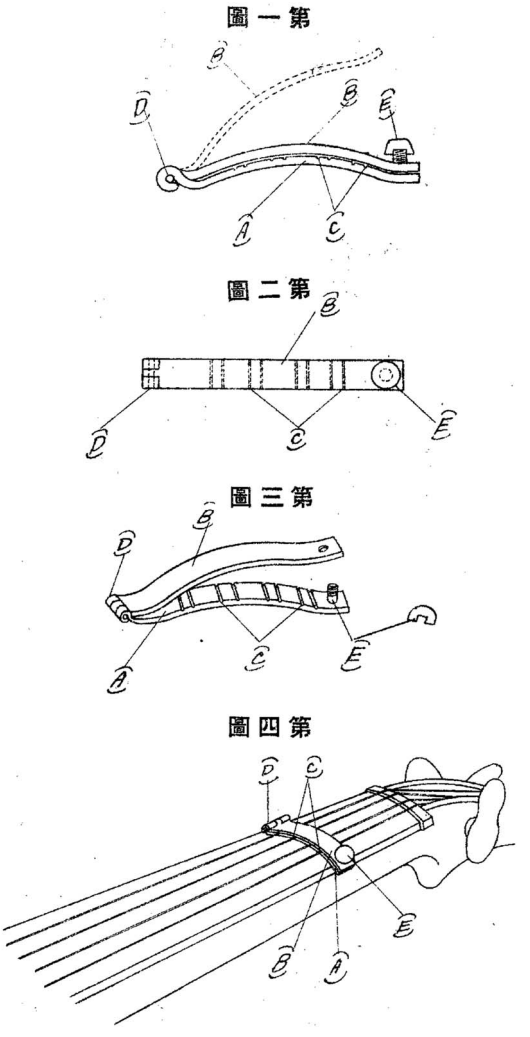

Fig. 8a **Application for utility model No. 65004. KIJIMA Kōnosuke, *Vaiorin kōchōki* [「ヴァイオリン」高調器, violin capotasto], application date 24 November 1921, registration date 1 June 1922**

Fig. 8b **A violin tied with a thread for playing *wayō gassō***

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These are practical reasons; but in my opinion, the biggest reason for the young genre's failure was that violin never had an *iemoto* to advocate on its behalf. The *iemoto* system is the key to passing on the legacies of a school and developing its music. Today the *iemoto* system is also necessary for social recognition as a Japanese traditional performing art. Of course, in time the Japanese became more enthusiastic about Western music. However, even small schools of traditional instruments that are only regionally active often exist, so there is no reason that a violin *iemoto* could not have existed even with a few students. If there had been a *zokkyoku* violinist with charisma, it might have been possible for him to establish a *zokkyoku* violin school. Turning our eyes to the past, we see that an individual sometimes achieved great things, even if at the time those things seemed not to be essential or did not fit with current trends. The violin had no equal to NAKAO Tozan, SUZUKI Koson or KINEIE Yashichi IV on their instruments.[88] Or, equally probable, no one was ambitious enough to dream of establishing his or her own violin school. As a result, *wayō gassō* with violin did not develop into as high an art as it could have as one of the traditional performing arts of Japan.

[88] FUJITA Reirō, '*Teikin to sangen*' [Violin and *shamisen*], *Sankyoku* 156 (Mar. 1935): 73–4. This is a review of the first concert of New Japanese Music that involved the performance of a Japanese violinist. Fujita (1883–1974; real given name Shun'ichi [俊一]; Reirō was his professional name as *shakuhachi* player) explained 'the intonation of the violin was not as fine as that of shamisen', and criticized it with the word 'unsatisfactory'. He was a *shakuhachi* instructor before he started publishing *Sankyoku*. This magazine specialized in *sankyoku*.