

IV. The development of *koto kumiuta*

1. Origins

The 13 original *koto kumiuta* – the *koto kumiuta* discussed in this study – are compositions by Yatsushashi Kengyō (1614–1685). The texts betray influence mainly from two directions: temple songs (*jiin kayō* 寺院歌謡), and the tradition called *Tsukushi-goto*, *koto* [music] of Tsukushi (Hirano 1985:72). Unlike the tradition of *shamisen kumiuta*, whose major characteristics developed simultaneously with the introduction of the *shamisen* into Japan, the *koto kumiuta* thus have roots in forms of art that had already existed in Japan for many centuries. It is highly probable, however, that at least one root of the *koto kumiuta* is to be found on the Asian mainland, as the *Tsukushi-goto* tradition not only developed at a time of flourishing trade with Ming China (mid 16th century), but allegedly did so under the direct guidance of a Chinese, Cheng Chia-ting 鄭家定.

As will become evident from the texts translated in chapter VI., *shamisen kumiuta* and *koto kumiuta* represent two very different "worlds". One may certainly question whether it is altogether meaningful to discuss the two traditions side by side in the same study. In my opinion, however, presenting the *shamisen* and *koto kumiuta* together is a good way to show up the scope of the musical arts of the Tokugawa (Edo) period. In addition, both the common function of the two types of *kumiuta*, i.e. systematic instruction, as well as the common background of the masters who taught and played them, namely the *tōdō* 当道 (Guild of Blind Persons), undoubtedly justify discussion of *shamisen* and *koto kumiuta* together.

The common background of *koto* and *shamisen* masters is particularly striking if we focus on Yatsushashi Kengyō, the composer of the 13 original *koto kumiuta*. Apparently Yatsushashi Kengyō was also one of the two most accomplished *shamisen* players of mid 17th century Japan. Thus the *Shikidō ōkagami* and the *Ōnusa* refer to "the two gifted blind *shamisen* musicians of the early Kan'ei era (1624–1643) in Osaka, [who later became] Yanagawa Kengyō and Yatsushashi Kengyō; today the *Yanagawa-ryū* and the *Yatsushashi-ryū* [are the two schools founded

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by these masters]". (All traces of a Yatsunashi-ryû of *shamisen* playing have, however, since been lost).

It is also known from diaries that Yatsunashi Kengyô was a *shamisen* musician: The *Kakumei-ki* 隔莫記, a diary of a zen priest (Kikuchi 1985), contains an entry stating that Yatsunashi Kengyô had played to him on the snowy morning of the third day of the 2nd month in 1673 in his lodgings on a trip to Edo; here Yatsunashi Kengyô is mentioned as "one of the two great masters of the time".

The other entries concerning Yatsunashi Kengyô as a master of the *shamisen* are found in the diary of the daimyô [feudal lord] Matsudaira Yamato no kami (born 1642) (Yamane 1984/Shomin bunka 1977):

Kanbun 2 (1662), 10th month, 1st day:

"Yatsunashi Kengyô was called, 4 *koto kumiuta*, [2 instrumental pieces on the *koto*, and] the *shamisen honte Ryûkyû[-gumi]* and *Yurikan*." (The full entry is given in chapter V.2.)

12th month, 3rd day:

"Yatsunashi Kengyô was called, [besides 10] *koto kumiuta* the *shamisen kumiuta Ryûkyû-gumi*, *Shimosa Hosori*, *Kowata* (Hirano 1985: *Yawata?*), *no ha* (Hirano 1985: *Kuzu no ha?*), *Yurikan*, *Kyô-ganoko*, *Goya* (Hirano 1985: *Rangoya?*), *Kuzu* (*Kuzu no ha?*), [1 other piece.]" (The full entry is given in chapter V.2.)

In the face of these activities of Yatsunashi Kengyô the birth of the *koto kumiuta* can be described as the adoption of ancient *koto* song of (in a broad sense) religious character, and quite likely possessing Chinese elements, by a *shamisen* master.

In creating a new repertoire of *koto* music Yatsunashi Kengyô is said to have let *shamisen* music influence his largely classical *koto* style principally in the realm of instrumental tuning. Thus the *Kinkyoku-shô* remarks that he "took the *Tsukushi-goto* [music], whose sounds were elegant (*ga* 雅) and far removed from

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common ears, and added *insei* 淫声 [literally: "an excessive/lewd voice"], producing [thus] 13 new pieces called the 13 *kumiuta*" (Hirano 1985: 71); according to Hirano, *insei* refers to the *in* 陰-scale containing half-tone steps (44). Does, however the art of Yatsunashi Kengyō not differ from elder *koto* music traditions on a more fundamental level than just that of instrumental tuning?

A comparison between the 13 *koto kumiuta* by Yatsunashi Kengyō and the songs of *Tsukushi-goto* (Miyazaki 1971/72) shows that considerable segments of text in the former are also found in the latter (45).

As noted, this *Tsukushi-goto* probably possessed some relationship to the music for the cithern of Ming China (46) and considered itself to be "elegant" (*ga* 雅) and not "popular/vulgar" (*zoku* 俗); accordingly it did not make use of half-tone steps, as these were felt to be lewd (47). Yatsunashi Kengyō, however, was hardly a member of the elegant (*ga*) world, no matter how elegant his *koto kumiuta* may appear. In view of the "elegance" (and absence of lewdness) of *Tsukushi-goto*, as well as of the fact that *Tsukushi-goto* seems to have been confined to persons using music for cultivation of the spiritual self (possibly Confucian literati – see Miyazaki 1971/72: (372) 14/Miyazaki 1976: 19–21), it may therefore be concluded that Yatsunashi Kengyō was first and above all a master of transplantation of *koto* music from one "world" into another. It is interesting to note in this context that the carriers of the *Tsukushi-goto* tradition had been particularly anxious to prevent just such a transplantation by taking care that their art did not get into the hands of professional music teachers and, above all, not into the hands of the blind (48).

Nevertheless, *Tsukushi-goto* was passed on to Yatsunashi Kengyō. The *Shikidō ōkagami* states that this happened in Edo. According to the *Shichiku shoshin-shū*, it was a certain Hōsui 法水 (pupil of Kenjun 賢順, priest at the Jōdo-shū [Pure Land Buddhism] temple Zendōji 善導寺 in Kurume, Fukuoka prefecture, and founder of the *Tsukushi-goto* art) whom Yatsunashi Kengyō met and whose *koto* playing he decided to study. The *Kinkyoku-shō*, moreover, holds that Yatsunashi Kengyō went to the Kyōganji 慶岩寺 temple in Isahaya, Nagasaki prefecture, where he was instructed

in the secret pieces by another of Kenjun's pupils, Genjo 玄恕 . (It is interesting to note that Genjo, who died in 1662, passed his tradition on to the son of the Lord of Saga in Hizen, from whose estate in Edo it spread for a time throughout the city. The tradition is said to have reflected Confucian ideals and have had the principal function of spiritual training (Nihon geinô seminar 1984: 23)).

The other important root of Yatsushashi Kengyô's new tradition (as well as already of Tsukushi-goto) is "temple song" (*jiin kayô* 寺院歌謡). As shown by Hirano (1985: 72), the majority of the texts of the 13 *koto kumiuta* by Yatsushashi Kengyô have parts in common with temple songs of the Kanbun era (1661-72), while parts of the two first *koto kumiuta* can be found in the *Kôfukuji ennen-mai-shiki* (Longevity Dances at Kôfukuji temple) (49). If we take the sequence especially of the first songs of the *kumiuta* group to be not just a chronological but also an "ideological" one in the sense of consciously creating a specific entrance into the Way, then the importance of the relationship to the topic "longevity" cannot be underestimated.

No more than only a very rough outline can be given here as to what may be meant by the term "temple songs". In the centuries preceding the Tokugawa (Edo) period, temples were not only powerful establishments spread throughout the country, but they were also the main centres of public entertainment. Temples for instance possessed fixed stages for stage plays, something that was not developed in the cities until the growth of the theatre establishments in the 17th century. Furthermore, temples had financial power and could grant various forms of help if needed; also a large number of "artists" would find employment at a temple in exchange for the means to maintain a livelihood. On the other hand, the temples were also dependent on a regular intake of money, be it for aid, running expenses, or construction work; one common way of money collecting was *kanjin* 勧進, producing some "show" to gather people and obtain contributions.

Apart from *kanjin* it was also common to stage shows as entertainment following the religious ceremonies, or to play some orchestral piece to round off the whole or one part of the ceremony itself. This orchestral music was what we today would classify as *gagaku*, i.e. the tradition of music, musicians and

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instruments (among them the *koto*) originally associated with the Heian court. (*gagaku* with dance would be classified as *bugaku*, while *gagaku* with chanting often falls into the categories of *saibara* - with Japanese texts - or *rôei* - with Chinese-style texts).

Temple *gagaku* is mainly concerned with presenting the idea of paradise (*gokuraku* 極楽). As indicated in Miyazaki 1980: 55, documents show that some of the songs sung to temple *gagaku* belong to the category that can be termed "Etenraku songs" (*Etenraku utaimono*), *Etenraku* [which translates as: "music for crossing into (?) heaven", or "crossing into the palace"] being a widely performed instrumental piece (50).

Particularly in records of *ennen* ["Longevity [performances]"] we find the melody of the instrumental piece *Etenraku* being used as "conveyer" for songs; one of the best known examples is the document *Kôfukuji ennen-mai-shiki* already mentioned. *ennen* may be described as a performance of instrumental music, song, dance and recitation, in principle produced after the *hôte* (religious service) by a wide variety of entertainers, artists and singing girls to praise the temple, recount stories of the search for the elixir of immortality, and to bring "a thousand autumns and ten thousand ages" to the people. The Tabumine 多武峯 tradition (Takano 1928 (1960): V, 1-15) for instance, written down in 1544, rises to a climax describing in sensual words marked "*shirabyôshi*" (= sung or spoken by *shirabyôshi* entertainment girls) a paradisaical scene likened to Mount Potalaka and populated by supernatural beings (Mount Potalaka is Japanese *Fudaraku*, said to be a site on the southern coast of India where the merciful Bodhisattva Kannon appears).

Not only do *Tsukushi-goto* pieces and, in turn, *koto kumiuta* by Yatsushashi Kengyô contain texts that echo temple songs such as those of the Tabumine tradition, but the melodic line of their instrumental part can clearly be traced to *Etenraku*. As Adriaansz has shown (1973), if we discount embellishments and passing notes, the first phrase of the first *kumiuta* by Yatsushashi Kengyô corresponds exactly to the basic structure of the beginning of *Etenraku*, the following phrases being variations of the first phrase; the following *kumiuta* in turn echo the structure of the first *kumiuta*.

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To sum up, the major roots of the *koto kumiuta* appear to be the tradition of the Chinese cithern, *Tsukushi-goto*, and temple songs always or sometimes accompanied by the cithern (either solo or together with other instruments) and associated with *Etenraku*, "crossing into heaven". In certain instrumental aspects (technique, tuning), and in particular as regards the complex factor of social background of those who created the new tradition, we must also speak of influence from the world of the *shamisen*. The relationship between the *koto kumiuta* and these roots should become somewhat clearer in the course of discussion of the song texts, though an in-depth evaluation of relevant documents of the Heian, Kamakura and Muromachi periods – most of them still nearly untouched by research in Japan itself – is not possible within the limits of this study.

2. Yatsuhashi Kengyô (1614–1685)

(Note: Though here only "Yatsuhashi Kengyô" is spoken of, this master is known to have had at least 4 different names: Jôhide 城秀, Yamazumi Kôtô 山住勾当, Uenaga Kengyô (or Uenaga Kengyô Jôdan 上永檢校城談) and finally Yatsuhashi Kengyô).

Yatsuhashi Kengyô was the master who turned to the 13 stringed cithern *sô* 箏 (or *sô-no-koto*, or simply *koto*) in order to produce a body of 13 songs for instruction in a Way of art founded by himself. As mentioned, this *koto* was not a new instrument like the *shamisen*, but had long been used to accompany temple songs (at least partly in ensemble with other instruments), and the songs of *Tsukushi-goto*. It also appeared in conjunction with contemporary popular songs and dance music performed, as the *Shichiku shoshin-shû* seems to suggest, together with the *shamisen* and the small vertical flute *hitoyogiri*. However, a comparison of the texts of this latter, more popular type of music with those of *koto kumiuta* shows almost no parallels.

For an understanding of the *koto kumiuta*, a vital point to dwell upon in the life of Yatsuhashi Kengyô is: In what circles did he mix and for whom did he produce his compositions?

Leaving aside the question of where Yatsushashi Kengyō was born (Iwaki in north-eastern Japan or Kokura in northern Kyūshū) (51), we find him at first mentioned as a *shamisen* master in the Kyoto/Osaka region in the early Kan'ei (1624–1643) era (*Shikidō ōkagami*), in Edo playing to a *zen* priest in 1637 (*Kakumei-ki*; Kikuchi 1985), and in the residence of Matsudaira Yamato no kami Naotsune, Lord of Murakami in Echigo, in 1662. The diary of this feudal lord shows – apart from numerous entries concerning all kinds of musical and theatrical performances including *jōruri*, *gagaku* and *nō* – that particularly Yatsushashi Kengyō's pupil Kitajima Kengyō Jōshun 城春 was a regular performer of *koto* music in his residence between 1659 and 1667. This presumably also means that Yatsushashi Kengyō's art, i.e. his *kumiuta*, had been composed prior to 1659; accordingly, the *Sōkyoku tai'i-shō* mentions the *koto kumiuta* as having been composed in the Kei'an era (1648–51) (Hirano 1985: 73).

A young man of twenty in 1662, Matsudaira Yamato no kami Naotsune himself certainly took a great interest in artistic trends of the time, but he also informs us in his diary that Yatsushashi Kengyō was called to entertain his mother Reidai-in 霊台院. The 8 entries in the Matsudaira diary (Yamane 1984/Shomin bunka 1977: 24, 29, 87, 90–91, 98, 339, 357, 360) reveal the following facts:

- 1.) 1659, 12th month, 2nd day: Kitajima Kengyō came with his pupil Jōyū 城夕. 2 *koto kumiuta* played: [1 uncertain title] and *Ume-ga-e*; afterwards *Heike monogatari* with *biwa* accompaniment – *Ujigawa gassen* and *Ohara gokō* – , [then] various *kouta* [short songs].
- 2.) 1660, 2nd month, 3rd day: Kitajima came last night. This morning 3 *kumiuta*: *Usugoromo*, *Ume-ga-e*, *Suma*, [as well as the piece] *Kumoi Rōsai*.
- 3.) 1662, 8th month, 7th day: Kitajima Kengyō came with his pupil Jōyū, heard *koto*, asked for *Kumoi no kyoku*, 3 other *kumiuta* played.

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- 4.) 1662, 10th month, 1st day: Yatsushashi Kengyō was called, 4 *koto kumiuta*: *Edenraku* (sic.) [i.e. *Fuki*], *Ume-ga-e*, *Usuyuki*, *Sumiyoshi* [i.e. *Tenga Taihei*], [1 other piece], *shamisen honte*: *Ryūkyū*, *Yurikan*. Brought [...] 2 [pupils] *Daijō* 第 十 城 and *Hōjō* 包 十 城, came [around] 3 in the afternoon, returned [around] 7.
- 5.) 1662, 12th month, 3rd day: For entertainment of Reidai-in Yatsushashi Kengyō was called, midday, came into the inner chambers, while absent 6 *koto kumiuta*, after my return 4 *koto kumiuta*, *Yuki no ashita*, *Shiki*, *Ōgi*, *Kumoi no kyoku* played as wished for, also various *shamisen* pieces - *Ryūkyū*, *Shimosa Hosori*, *Kowata* (*Yawata?*), *noha* (*Kuzu no ha?*), *Yurikan*, *Kyō-ganoko*, *Goya* (*Rangoya?*), *Kuzu* (*Kuzu no ha?*), *Kōya odori*.
- 6.) 1666, 11th month, 22nd day: evening. Kitajima Kengyō came to supervise, he brought a pupil named *Jōchiyo* 城 千 世 along, played 4 *koto kumiuta*, [1 other piece], sung various short songs.
- 7.) 1667, 2nd month, 8th day: Kitajima Kengyō came to supervise, the pupils [...] *Jōjō* 城 常 and *Keichiyo* 慶 千 世 came, there was *koto* and *shamisen*; *koto*: Kitajima and Keichiyo, afterwards *shamisen* by the 2 [pupils?]; [*koto kumiuta*:] *Etenraku*, *Ume-ga-e*; *shamisen* [pieces]: *honte*, *hade*, various short songs.
- 8.) 1667, 2nd month, 23rd day: evening. Asari Kengyō came secretly (? *nainai*) with Kitajima Kengyō as made up, brought with him his pupil Tsuchida Kōtō, played *shamisen* together, Kitajima also brought his pupil Keichiyo, *honte*, *hade* [= *shamisen kumiuta*] were played etc., *Yuriken* (sic.), *Rangoya* asked for.

These are but 8 instances within a period of 9 years that Yatsushashi Kengyō or his pupil Kitajima Kengyō are known to have performed before such distinguished society as a feudal lord in his Edo residence.

There is still other evidence for a connection between Yatsushashi Kengyô and the world of feudal lords: Hirano (1985: 71) informs us (without indicating the source) that Yatsushashi Kengyô was a frequent visitor to the Edo mansion of the lord of the Iwaki Taira domain, this lord having become his patron. As all ranks within the Guild of Blind Persons had to be purchased it is probable that, as Hirano points out, without the financial help from the Lord of Taira, Yatsushashi Kengyô could never have afforded to buy the rank of *kengyô*. Moreover, this same Lord of Taira, who died with 67 in 1685, is presumably identical with Naitô Fûko 内藤風虎, the widely known haiku poet and scholar (52) who cooperated with Yatsushashi Kengyô in the creation of his *koto kumiuta* (Hirano 1985/*Haikai daijiten*, Meiji Shoin 1957: 669). It may well have been in cooperation that these two personalities also established the *koto kumiuta* tradition during the eras Shôhō (1644–1647) and Kei'an (1648–51) (Hirano 1985: 73).

Quite likely the tradition of *koto kumiuta* owes its existence precisely to the combination of interests of the blind musicians on the one hand and of high-ranking samurai and feudal lords on the other. Hirano (1985: 69–70) argues that it was probably in order to win recognition and seek patronage from this newly established ruling class that Yatsushashi Kengyô went from Kyoto to Edo sometime in the Kan'ei era (1624–1643).

To understand Yatsushashi Kengyô's decision to go to Edo it seems important to note that in the first half of the 17th century the *shôgun* Iemitsu actively sought the presence of artists and scholars in Edo, the newly established center of power. One of the arts strongly favoured by Iemitsu was the recitation of the *Heike monogatari* ["The account of the [rise and fall of the] Heike clan"] to the accompaniment of the lute *biwa*. This art had developed gradually in the course of the 13th and 14th centuries, the performers being blind musicians who had enjoyed the protection of the *samurai* class ever since the early Muromachi period (1392–1573). As a result, blind musicians were probably always welcomed in *samurai* circles, since no matter what other instrument they played, in principle they were considered performers of the *Heike monogatari* (Nakayama 1965: 403–413).

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The ultimate reason for the development of the *koto kumiuta* could, according to Hirano, also have to do with the status of the blind musician as master of the *Heike biwa* (reciting the *Heike monogatari* to the accompaniment of the *biwa*). In the mid 17th century the *Heike biwa* tradition was divided into the 2 branches *Ichikata* (these musicians being given a name containing the word *ichi* 一) and *Jōkata* (being given a name containing *jō* 城); at the same time there is ample evidence for the fact that the *Ichikata* were more active and influential than the *Jōkata*. In order to regain lost ground, therefore, Hirano thinks it possible that the *Jōkata* (to which also *Yatsushashi Kengyō* belonged) aimed at the development of an art form that was distinct from that of the *Ichikata*. However, in the Osaka/Kyoto region the new tradition of *shamisen* music was already in the hands of an *Ichikata* master, namely *Kagaichi*, who was to become *Yanagawa Kengyō* (full name: *Yanagawa Kengyō Oichi* 庵一) in 1639.

In the light of these circumstances it seems plausible that *Yatsushashi Kengyō* left Kyoto for Edo, sought the protection of the *samurai* class, started to establish the *shamisen* tradition in Edo, and eventually, after study under a *Tsukushi-goto* master, developed a new tradition of *koto* playing that would secure his and his successors influence and financial standing. Hirano stresses the fact that in order to gain the favour and patronage of the feudal lords in Edo it was necessary for the young *Jōhide* (= *Yatsushashi Kengyō*) to be a *kengyō*, a rank he could not obtain as *shamisen* player since the *shamisen* tradition was in the hands of an *Ichikata*. Thus he may have been forced to create a new tradition of his own.

One last aspect concerning the origins of the tradition of *koto* music may be added. Although no extant documents touch upon the subject the question can nevertheless be asked whether the feudal lords and high-ranking *samurai* families did not have more than just a sentimental interest in the activity of blind masters teaching a dignified instrument already treasured by the Confucian "gentlemen" and poets of ancient China. We know, for instance, in the case of another musical instrument (the vertical flute *shakuhachi*) that the ruling class probably decided to protect and promote its tradition in exchange for

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service the *shakuhachi* players had to offer in return: they were granted free travel throughout the country, and it is likely that in exchange they served by collecting "information".

Turning to the blind musicians, there is some reason to suspect that they may have been important servants too, namely as teachers of virtue. Thus both the interest shown by the feudal lords throughout the Tokugawa period in *koto* music as opposed to *shamisen* music, and the classical structure and content of *koto* songs themselves, seem to indicate that *koto* music was conceived of as a form of art conducive to "proper behaviour". In this context it must not be forgotten that the *koto* had already in China been a means for unification, as it were, with the spirit of nature, and the vital forces inherent in nature, in order to banish lewd passions, restrain licentiousness, preserve mental and physical strength and thereby prolong life (Van Gulik 1968).

If the *koto* masters were teachers of this kind of virtue to the female members of a samurai household (and the song texts give us reason to believe that they were), then it was necessary for them to enter the inner chambers. Extending the remark of Nakayama (1965: 237), which states that "[in the late 16th century] there was little danger in inviting blind artists into castles and war camps", we may assume that a similar attitude prevailed as regards the summoning of blind musicians into the inner chambers of a feudal lord's mansion - something that probably would not have been risked had the musicians not been blind. It may be added that the spheres of massage and medicine, where it was likewise necessary for a master from outside to enter the inner chambers, were also strictly limited to the blind (Nakayama 1965: 307 ff).

When speaking of a specific interest of the ruling class in the blind musicians it is important to note that only those masters who belonged to the officially recognized Guild of Blind Persons (*tôdô* 当道) enjoyed support, whereas the position of the *môsô* - blind priests under the protection of the Tendai sect of Buddhism who recited sūtras to the accompaniment of the lute *biwa* - was systematically weakened (Nakayama 1965: 360 ff). This clear-cut favouring of one group of blind artists over another seems to imply that the officially recognized group performed a function considered vital by the ruling class,

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namely the spreading of the Tokugawa-period, Neo-Confucian ideals (in contrast to the Buddhist teachings of the *mōsō*). Against this background Yatsushashi Kengyō may have been urged to produce a type of art that neither possessed the outgoing, somewhat crude character of the *shamisen kumiuta*, nor the highly classical, "elegant" (*ga* 雅) character of *Tsukushi-goto*, nor a pronounced Buddhist character, but combined the charm of the "vulgar", popular (*zoku* 俗) world with that of musical and textual harmony and elegance.

Yatsushashi Kengyō did not stay in Edo to the end of his life but returned, presumably in 1663, to Kyoto. Back at the center of the Guild of Blind Persons he rose almost but not quite to the highest position within this organization; possibly his return to Kyoto had been connected with ambitions for promotion. The first *koto* musician eventually to rise to the very top of the Guild of Blind Persons in 1689 was Kitajima Kengyō, the pupil of Yatsushashi Kengyō who had also enjoyed many years of patronage by Matsudaira Yamato no kami Naotsune.

3. The development of the *koto* music tradition

Yatsushashi Kengyō laid the foundation for the development of a tradition, this tradition being the means for - ideally - an ever increasing number of (blind) persons to earn their livelihood as well as the money needed to climb the ladder of the ranking system of their guild. Moreover, by way of the *koto kumiuta* (as well as a small number of other pieces which cannot be discussed here) (53) the tradition itself was to be passed on through the generations. Although in the course of the following century and a half the *koto* music tradition spread throughout Japan and branched out in numerous lines and subtraditions, the *koto kumiuta* always remained the basic means of learning this form of art. *koto kumiuta* in fact enjoyed such high esteem that even in recent times - where they are as a rule no longer taught - masters have been known to issue their certificates in the form of lists of *kumiuta* (personal communication).

In contrast to the *shamisen kumiuta*, a genre that with the publication of the *Matsu no ha* may be regarded as complete,

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koto kumiuta continued to be composed by masters of various schools and lines still several generations after Yatsushashi Kengyō. The 13 *koto kumiuta* of Yatsushashi Kengyō, however, formed – and theoretically still form – the core of the Way as taught by all schools and lines of *koto* music in Japan.

One of the branches of the tradition goes back to Kitajima Kengyō (died 1690), who is mentioned in the diary of Matsudaira Yamato no kami. Kitajima Kengyō added three new *koto kumiuta* to the repertoire (contained in the *Kinkyoku-shō*), and possibly also 3 further pieces contained in the *Sōkyoku tai'i-shō* as "by Kitajima or Makino" (in the case of 2 pieces) and "by Kitajima or Ikuta" (in the case of 1 piece).

Ikuta Kengyō (1656–1715), a pupil of Kitajima Kengyō, is said to have been the master who had the two instruments *koto* and *shamisen* join in the performance of "by-the-way" pieces (i.e. pieces not forming the core of tradition), thus laying the groundwork for the type of *koto* music that spread throughout the entertainment world. There is, however, no proof that ensemble music for *koto* and *shamisen* originated with Ikuta Kengyō. As mentioned earlier, popular forms of ensemble music are probably much older.

After Ikuta Kengyō the tradition began to branch out in several directions:

- 1.) Ikuta Kengyō – Yoneyama Kengyō ... Kikunaga Kengyō (1742–1824), a line that spread in Osaka (54).
- 2.) Ikuta Kengyō – Kurahashi Kengyō (died 1724) – Mitsunashi Kengyō (1693?–1760). Mitsunashi Kengyō spread the art of *koto* music in Edo (55), where he is also known to have been called to the mansion of the Lord of Toyama (Hirano 1985: 71). As a composer Mitsunashi Kengyō produced the comparatively large number of 9 *koto kumiuta*; not all of these, however, were taken into the repertoire of the other branches of the *koto* tradition. In other words, the 13 *kumiuta* of Yatsushashi Kengyō are the common heritage of all *koto* musicians, whereas *kumiuta* composed later tend to be regarded as the heritage only just of one particular branch of the tradition.

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- 3.) Ikuta Kengyô – Kurahashi Kengyô – Yasumura Kengyô (died 1779). This line flourished in Kyoto and is known for the personality of Yasumura Kengyô, who composed one *koto kumiuta* himself and compiled one of the most authoritative and frequently revised *koto kumiuta* textbooks, the *Kinkyoku yôga busô gafu-shû*. This was published the same year that Yasumura Kengyô achieved the position of highest-ranking master within the Guild of Blind Persons (1755).

Of all *koto* masters, Yasumura Kengyô had the greatest number of pupils who established sub-branches, and these in turn spread to all parts of the country. The most important ones are:

- a.) Ishizuka Kengyô (flourished 1755), composer of 2 *koto kumiuta*. From Ishizuka Kengyô one line of tradition goes to Osaka (56), the other to Kyûshû (57).
- b.) Urazaki Kengyô – Yaezaki Kengyô (58):
Yaezaki Kengyô (?1766–1848), grand-pupil of Yasumura Kengyô, was probably the composer of 1 new *koto kumiuta*. A pupil of Yaezaki Kengyô, Mitsuzaki Kengyô (died 1853), in turn made use of the *kumiuta* form in a conscious effort to revive classical musical ideals.
- c.) Hisamura Kengyô (flourished 1756), composer of 2 *koto kumiuta*; this line, that spread in Nagoya (59), is known for its particular esteem of the classical ideal in music. Thus Yoshizawa Kengyô (1808–1872), who had contact with Mitsuzaki Kengyô of line b, composed his well-known cycles of *kumiuta* with texts taken from the *Kokin waka-shû* and *Shin kokin waka-shû*. To this line also belongs Satô Shôwa (1890–1946), author of the *Kumiuta zenshû* (1941), in which all *koto kumiuta* appear in musical notation.
- d.) Hasetomi Kengyô (died 1793); this master was sent to Edo to propagate the *koto* tradition there. One of his pupils was Yamada Shôkoku who, in spite of being a physician and therefore an amateur, produced the important *koto kumiuta* tablature *Sôkyoku tai'i-shô*. Yamada Shôkoku in turn appears

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to have trained Yamada Kengyō (1757–1817), founder of the school of *koto* music of Edo (60) and composer of one *koto kumiuta*.

Kitajima Kengyō was not the only important pupil of Yatsushashi Kengyō. It is impossible here to trace all the lines running out from Yatsushashi Kengyō, but apart from the line Kitajima – Ikuta Kengyō just introduced at least a further 4 "riverbeds for *koto kumiuta*" should be mentioned.

One of these is the tradition that flows Yatsushashi Kengyō – Sumiyama Kengyō (flourished 1664) – Tsuguyama Kengyō (died 1697) (61). The oldest extant *koto kumiuta* publication, *Koto no shōga* (formerly in possession of Mori Ōgai) is a record of the tradition represented by Sumiyama Kengyō who, although his pupil Tsuguyama Kengyō spent his life in Osaka, himself lived in the province of Kaga. As to the repertoire taught by Sumiyama Kengyō, the *Koto no shōga* shows 9 of the *kumiuta* by Yatsushashi Kengyō (62), then 4 "new *kumiuta*" (possibly compositions by Sumiyama Kengyō, three of these being unknown today), and finally 7 secret *kumiuta* including the remaining 4 of the 13 *kumiuta* by Yatsushashi Kengyō (the other 3 pieces again being unknown today).

A further line goes back to a pupil of Yatsushashi Kengyō named Jōtsui 城追 Zatō (63). We know that in the An'ei era (1772–80) – when the *Sōkyoku tai'i-shō* was published – the repertoire of *kumiuta* in this line consisted of the 13 pieces by Yatsushashi Kengyō as well as one *kumiuta* by Kitajima Kengyō, 7 *kumiuta* not known today, and 2 *kumiuta* classed as holy pieces (神曲).

What is today presumed to be a style of music particularly close to that of Yatsushashi Kengyō himself is the *Yatsushashi-ryū* discovered in Matsushiro, Nagano prefecture, in 1946. Apparently this tradition of *koto* music had been passed on there by the Sanada family, lords of Matsushiro. *Nihon geinō seminar* (1984) notes – giving us a further glimpse into how and by whom "real" *koto* music was played – that the tradition was kept alive in the hands of the ladies of the *samurai* families and was represented until recently by the lady musician Sanada Shin (1884–1975). Naturally for a line calling itself *Yatsushashi-ryū*, the 13 *koto kumiuta* by Yatsushashi Kengyō form its backbone. Playing

technique as well as a large number of rhythmic and melodic details of this school, however, differ from those otherwise known (see Kikkawa 1970 and Yamazaki 1977).

Another recent discovery is a line up in the Tsugaru region in the north-western corner of the main Japanese island of Honshû (64). It is interesting to learn that this tradition was evidently established by a pupil of Ikuta Kengyô, Soroichi 曾呂一, who had suffered the humiliation of *hamon* 石皮門, i.e. being expelled from the school. In the *koto kumiuta* tablature *Mine no matsukaze* (recopied 1884 from a handwritten copy of 1824 and discovered in Hirosaki in the early 1970s) we find all 13 *koto kumiuta* of Yatsushashi Kengyô, 1 other composition by Yatsushashi Kengyô, and 3 *koto kumiuta* by Kitajima Kengyô. Unfortunately the few remaining players of this Tsugaru tradition have some knowledge of only 4 of the *koto kumiuta*, and of only one in its full length.

Finally there is also a line of tradition that went down to the province of Satsuma and from there to Okinawa, where only the purely instrumental pieces going back to the time of Yatsushashi Kengyô, however, are known.

4. List of *koto kumiuta* compositions

(Note: Excluded from the following list are the *kumiuta* mentioned in the *Koto no shôga* that are no longer known.

Also excluded are pieces belonging to the category *tsukemono* ["added pieces"], i.e. pieces included in the repertoire for systematic training in the Way of the *koto* and also indicated in the certificates, but not having *kumiuta* form. The three main types of *tsukemono* are:
1. *rôsai* 弄齋 songs (a category of short songs, each with a similar text); 2. *kinutamono*, purely instrumental pieces consisting of a number of "step"-like sections and deriving their name from the sound of *kinuta* ["fulling of cloth"]; 3. *danmono*, also purely instrumental pieces possessing "step"-like sections that in principle all have the same number of 104 beats; the best known *danmono*

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is *Rokudan*, a composition by Yatsushashi or Kitajima Kengyô having 6 sections, that is, the same number of sections as the majority of *koto kumiuta*.)

1. Yatsushashi Kengyô (1614–1685): *Fuki*
 - Ume-ga-e*
 - Kokoro-zukushi*
 - Tenga Taihei*
 - Usuyuki*
 - Yuki no ashita*
 - Kumo no ue*
 - Usugoromo*
 - Kiritsubo*
 - Suma*

 - Shiki no kyoku*
 - Ôgi no kyoku*
 - Kumoi no kyoku*
2. Possibly Yastushashi Kengyô: *Tôryû Shiki Genji**
*Otsu no kumi**
3. Yatsushashi or
Ikuta Kengyô (1656–1715): *Koryû Shiki Genji**
4. Kitajima Kengyô (died 1690): *Akashi*
Sue no matsu
Utsusemi
5. Kitajima Kengyô
or Makino Kengyô: *Hagoromo*
Wakaba
6. Kitajima Kengyô
or Ikuta Kengyô: *Omoigawa*

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7. Mitsuhashi Kengyō
(1693?-1760):
 Ukifune
 Setsugekka
 Jichō
 Shiki no Fuji
 Mutamagawa
 Tamakazura
 Shiki no koi
 Miya no uguisu
8. Revived by Mitsuhashi Kengyō
(orig. Kurahashi Kengyō?): *Hashi-hime*
9. Yasumura Kengyō (died 1779) *Hien no kyoku*
10. Ishizuka Kengyō
(became *kengyō* in 1755): *Hana no en*
11. Ishizuka Kengyō
or Mitsuhashi Kengyō:
 Haru no miya
 (*Mitsu no shirabe*)
12. Hisamura Kengyō
(became *kengyō* in 1756):
 Tomo-chidori
 Shiki no tomo
13. Yamada Kengyō (1757-1817): *Hatsune no kyoku*
14. Yaezaki Kengyō (1776?-1848): *Shiki no kumi*

Various other composers/other pieces/later *kumiuta*:

- Tsugawa Kengyō?: *Chiyo no tomo* (first
documented in 1824)
- Tsuguyama Kengyō (died 1697)?:
 *Kan no kyoku**
 *Otsu no kyoku**
 *Kasumi no kyoku**
 *Kō Genji**
- Ikuta Kengyō: *Kagami no kyoku**

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Anonymous:	<i>Kanbun Otsu no kyoku*</i>
Kanezaki Kôtô?:	<i>Shin Yatsuhashi-ryû</i> <i>shinkyoku: Yaegaki</i> (first documented in 1777)
Anonymous:	<i>Shin Yastuhashi-ryû</i> <i>shinkyoku: Tobiume</i> (first documented in 1777)

kumiuta composed as a deliberate return to ancient ideals:

Mitsuzaki Kengyô (died 1853): *Akikaze no kyoku*
(*kumiuta* and *danmono*
combined)

Yoshizawa Kengyô (1808-1872): a) *Kokin-gumi* (4 pieces)
b) *Shin kokin-gumi*
(4 pieces)

*classed as secret pieces and in principle possessing *kumiuta*
form