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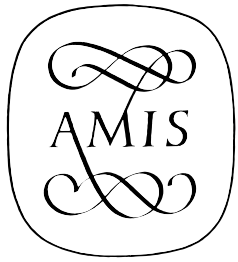

Traditions Old and New: Continuity, Change, and Innovation in Japanese *Koto*-Related Zithers

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Japan has several different types of zither, of which by far the best known is the thirteen-string *koto* (also known as *sō*, *sō no koto*, and occasionally *jūsangen*).[1] This long zither with movable bridges was introduced to Japan from China before the eighth century and was initially used in *gagaku* (court music), a repertoire established at the Japanese court in a.d. 701.[2] While slightly different types of *koto* have been used in different contexts and social spheres over the last twelve hundred years or more, the instrument remained essentially unchanged until the twentieth century, during the course of which a number of new zithers based on the *koto* were devised.[3] These instruments either increased the

1. On the *koto*'s names see Henry M. Johnson, "A *Koto* by Any Other Name: Exploring Japanese Systems of Musical Instrument Classification," *Asian Music* 28 (1997): 43–59. On the instrument itself see, for example, Henry M. Johnson, "*Koto* Manufacture: the Instrument, Construction Process, and Aesthetic Considerations," *Galpin Society Journal* 49 (1996): 38–64; and "The *Koto:* Musical Instrument, Material Culture, and Meaning," this Journal 23 (1997): 56–93.

2. The Chinese version of the *koto* is the *zheng* (or *guzheng:* old *zheng;* often sixteen or twenty-one strings today).

3. See, for example, Jinko Katsumura, "Some Innovations in Musical Instruments of Japan During the 1920's," *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 18 (1986): 157–72. (In the present article, Japanese names appear in the text with family name shown first but in references with given name shown first.) There were other developments in instrument design from the late nineteenth century that are similar to the *koto*'s changes, but not directly connected with it. The two-string zither called *taishōgoto* (also called *taishōkin: kin / koto* of the Taishō era, 1912–26) is an early twentieth-century invention that includes the term *goto* (*koto* or *kin*) in its name (the *kanji* for the term *koto* is usually read *goto* with euphonical change), although its form is somewhat different from that of the *koto.* As well as the development of the *azumaryū nigenkin* (a variety of two-string *nigenkin*) at the end of the nineteenth century, several types of instrument called *chikukin* (bamboo *kin*) were devised, including a two-string bamboo zither by Kuzuhara Kōtō in 1840, and a three-string instrument of the same name was devised by Tamura Chikukin (Tamura Yosaburō) in 1886. Also, a long zither labelled *gakin* (*gagaku kin / koto*) and modelled on the Korean *ajen* was devised for use in new *gagaku* music by the court musician Ōno Tadatomo and has been used since the 1940s in new compositions. However, these instruments never became popular. See further Satoaki Gamō, "Chikukin," in *Nihon Ongaku Dai Jiten* (Japanese Music Dictionary), ed. Kenji Hirano, Yūkō Kamisangō, and Satoaki Gamō (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1989), 271; "Gakin," ibid.

number of strings (which necessitated larger dimensions), changed the pitch, or were smaller versions of the thirteen-string instrument. Each is understood as a version of the *koto*—which itself has undergone a degree of change, albeit not always conceptualized—and is physically similar to it. Some have subsequently become popular in their own right (though many have not) and have attained their own unique place and identity in traditional, and new traditional, Japanese music.

Following the Meiji Restoration of 1868, Japan began a path of rapid change. For a period of around two hundred and fifty years prior to this Japan had an isolationist policy, and foreigners were closely controlled. The seclusion was broken in 1854, although unlike some other regions of the world, contact with the West did not involve colonization. With political reforms and the opening of the country to American and European influence, from 1868 onward Japan began to adopt ideas from Western culture at a rate that had a colossal impact on many areas of Japanese society and culture; indeed, the period has been described as "one of the most remarkable social transformations of modern history."[4] Numerous concepts and objects perceived to be Western, or connected with the idea of modernization, were adopted and often established as part of Japanese culture. The quest for world knowledge was fundamental to the reforms of the time, as is evident in the last of five articles issued by the emperor on 8 April 1868: "knowledge shall be sought throughout the world so as to strengthen the foundations of imperial rule."[5] At the time of increased Western presence the Japanese political slogan "Western technology, Japanese values" was widely supported,[6] although the Japanese had "a nagging fear of inferiority,"[7] which later led to Japanese nationalism and the ambition to become a great nation.[8] Western music, too, was considered superior, although no matter how much Japan adopted ideas from the West, Japanese music was never abandoned.

Culture change occurs in many ways. The ethnomusicologist Bruno Nettl, for example, suggests eleven possible "non-Western responses to

4. D. Eleanor Westney, *Imitation and Innovation: The Transfer of Western Organizational Patterns to Meiji Japan* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1987), 1.

5. John K. Fairbank, Edwin O. Reischauer, and Albert M. Craig, *East Asia: Tradition and Transformation* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1973), 503–4.

6. Janet Hunter, *The Emergence of Modern Japan: An Introductory History Since 1853* (London: Longman, 1989), 19.

7. Fairbank, Reischauer, and Craig, *East Asia*, 490.

8. William G. Beasley, *The Modern History of Japan*, 2nd ed. (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973), 155.

Western music, as exhibited in the musical artifacts produced in non-Western societies": abandonment, impoverishment, preservation, diversification, consolidation, reintroduction, exaggeration, satire, syncretism, Westernization, and modernization.[9] Several of these concepts apply to the development of new *koto*-type instruments, in particular Westernization and modernization, both of which were highly influential beginning with the Meiji era. At that time music education became predominantly based on Western music, especially influenced by the music educators Izawa Shūji (1851–1917) and the American Luther Whiting Mason (1828–96), who were pivotal in the adoption of Western music in Japanese education as part of a nation-building process.[10] The development of larger and smaller *koto* came about in response to the perceived need to extend or alter instrumental range beyond that found in traditional Japanese instruments, and indeed beyond the requirements of traditional Japanese music. Another factor was the proscription, in 1871, of the blind professional musicians' guild, which controlled the transmission of everyday *koto* performance throughout the Edo period (1600–1868), a change that significantly expanded the number of potential players of the instrument. Furthermore, in 1872 the government stipulated that music (i.e., Western music) was to be a principal school subject, resulting in an increased understanding of music structures and instrumentation that in turn influenced the design of some larger and smaller *koto*.

Such new *koto* have usually been many-string zithers (*tagensō*) so they could play either higher or lower than the thirteen-string *koto*, or be used in ensembles of various types of the same instrument (a Western-influenced idea). In connection with Japanese attitudes toward tradition and change, Eta Harich-Schneider notes three divergent trends in Japanese music: "The trend to complete internationalization; anti-foreign traditionalism with a strong nationalist tinge; and the compromisers."[11] The development of new zithers relates to the first and last of these in that their introduction was related to changing ideas about

9. Bruno Nettl, "Some Aspects of the History of World Music in the Twentieth Century: Questions, Problems, and Concepts," *Ethnomusicology* 22 (1978): 130.

10. See further, for example, Ury Eppstein, "Musical Instruction in Meiji Education: A Study of Adaption and Assimilation," *Monumenta Nipponica* 40 (1985): 1–37; *The Beginnings of Western Music in Meiji Era Japan* (Lewiston, New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1994).

11. Eta Harich-Schneider, *A History of Japanese Music* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), 595.

Japanese music, as a result of the opening up of the country after several hundred years of near-isolation. Some of the changes that occurred in Japan from the middle of the nineteenth century helped to provide a social framework that has allowed innovation in musical instrument construction. The process of devising new instruments *vis-à-vis* the so-called traditional ones is very much part of a process that on the one hand recognizes supposed continuity, and on the other hand supports ideas of modification and ingenuity.

Ethnomusicological studies of change and innovation have often focused on contact between cultures, and have sometimes been criticized because "cultural practices appear as static essences, seemingly timeless, independent of social relations between people."[12] John Blacking, however, has pointed out that "since there is no such thing as a truly static society, any model of society, let alone of change, must of needs be a processual model."[13] Of particular interest to the study of change and innovation in *koto* design, whether implicit or explicit, over the last one hundred years or so is that change is inextricably linked to the performance identity of the players and their place within the social structures of traditional Japanese music. Implicit change in *koto* design can be linked to the concept of an invented tradition,[14] where structural change is not acknowledged and emphasis is placed on the idea of a continuing tradition. Indeed, knowing one's lineage and place is an important dimension to Japanese society, and "ambiguity in belonging arouses suspicion or contempt."[15] Explicit change is connected with change that helps establish a new tradition or instrument (or at least attempts to), where innovation in instrument design has moved beyond a perceived norm. Change reflects society, and by emphasizing this social dimension the following discussion looks at the relationship between social processes and the establishment (or invention) of old and new traditions of *koto* performance due to change and innovation in instrument design.

12. Andrew N. Weintraub, "Instruments of Power: Sundanese 'Multi-Laras' Gamelan in New Order Indonesia," *Ethnomusicology* 45 (2001): 197.

13. John Blacking, "Some Problems of Theory and Method in the Study of Musical Change," *Yearbook of the International Folk Music Council* 9 (1977): 17.

14. See Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

15. Takie Sugiyama Lebra, *Japanese Patterns of Behavior* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1976), 24.

Table 1 provides a survey of some of the latest additions to the *koto* family that were on display at a recent special exhibition.[16] Of the eleven main new *koto* listed, several are given greater attention in the following discussion in terms of the impact they have had on *koto* music. This paper also uses insider perspectives gained through field research with *koto* players, makers, and retailers, and consequently provides an ethnography of significant innovations in *koto*-related zithers especially since the early twentieth century. To survey the differences between what is perceived as old and new, the discussion divides into three main parts and groups instruments accordingly. In seeking to place the instruments within logical categories, the first part of the paper outlines traditional and modified *koto,* thereby revealing a degree of change in instrument structure, as well as some variant forms of the standard, or traditional, instrument. This section also examines the concept of tradition in terms of instrument structure and the contradictory way that, while change in instrument manufacture has occurred within limited conceptual boundaries, the *koto* is still usually perceived as having changed very little in its twelve-century history in Japan. The second part of the discussion examines smaller *koto* and higher-pitched *koto.* These instruments are all variants of the standard *koto* and have been grouped in order to compare instrument form. The last part of the paper looks at wider-register *koto* and lower-pitched *koto* in connection with twentieth-century innovations that led to a number of attempts to expand the range of the *koto* in response to increasing influences and demands on new repertoire. It should be emphasized that these groupings are not a rigorous classification system but are made for convenience and reflect the ways the instruments are conceptualized in contemporary discourses on Japanese musical instruments. The principal criteria for comparison are the zithers' size and number of strings.

Traditional and Modified Koto

Discourses on Japanese music after 1868 typically refer to the *koto* as a traditional Japanese musical instrument: *hōgakki* or *wagakki*. The label is part of a dichotomy in which Japanese and Western musical instruments (*yōgakki*), which were rapidly absorbed during the Meiji era, are distinctly

16. See "Shin Wagakki Daishūgō!" (Large Gathering of New Traditional Japanese Musical Instruments), *Hōgaku Jānaru* 175 (2001): 52–54.

Table 1. New *koto* types (after "Shin Wagakki Daishūgō!" [Large Gathering of New Traditional Japanese Musical Instruments], *Hōgaku Jānaru* 175 [2001]: 52–54).

Instrument Name	Length and Special Characteristics
Kogatagoto (small-size *koto*)	90 cm
Pegugoto (peg *koto*)	180 cm or 120 cm or 90 cm; has tuning pegs
Yokopingoto (side-pin *koto*)	180 cm or 120 cm or 90 cm; has tuning pins
Bunkagoto (culture *koto*)	86 cm; small size
Imamuragata jūshichigen (Imamura-style 17 strings)	212 cm; bass *koto;* strings attached to sliding block at head
Neo-koto (neo-*koto*)	183 cm or 120 cm
Miyama erekutorikkugoto E-shirīzu (Miyama electric *koto* E series)	
Sopuranogoto (soprano *koto*)	Small size
Koto	*Koto*
Jūshichigensō (17-string *sō*)	Bass *koto*
Poppukōn (popcorn)	120 cm; 17 strings; brightly painted
Kābongoto jūsangen (13-string carbon-fiber *koto*)	180 cm
Kābongoto tangoto (carbon-fiber short *koto*)	132 cm; half-size
Shin fukuyama goto (new Fukuyama *koto*)	136 cm

categorized. But is there really a traditional form of *koto*? To answer this question it is necessary to show that there are indeed distinct parameters in *koto* design that provide a recognized—or authentic, or traditional—version of the instrument, although historically it has actually undergone a degree of change. The *koto* continues to be modified, or reinvented, either in a so-called standard form or in a new form (i.e., a new type of instrument). Although there are several distinct types of *koto*, the overall design of these instruments allows them to be viewed collectively as *koto*, as well as individually within their respective performance contexts or traditions (see table 2). Moreover, when change in design is made beyond recognized boundaries the resulting instrument is usually seen as a modified version of a *koto* (either standard size, smaller, or larger), with its own distinct name and identity (see tables 1 and 2). Rather than attempting to outline the entire history of the *koto* and the numerous differences in the intricacies of instrument design, construction, and decoration, the present article will show some of the social influences that

Table 2. Types of traditional *koto*.

Name*	Characteristics
Gakusō	Used in *gagaku* from the eighth century. Stylized sound holes; pointed tongue; shape of front legs; marquetry
Chikusō	Used in *Tsukushigoto* from Kenjun (d. 1636). Features as above
Zokusō	Used in *zokusō* (everyday *koto* performance) from Yatsuhashi Kengyō (1614–85). Features as above
Ikutagoto	A type of *zokusō*. Used in *Ikuta ryū* (tradition) from Ikuta Kengyō (1656–1715). Features as above
Yamadagoto	A type of *zokusō*. Used in *Yamada ryū* (tradition) from Yamada Kengyō (1757–1817). Larger sound chamber; front legs; minimal decoration; angled tongue; less-stylized sound holes; no marquetry

*These names are mainly scholarly classifications; performers would normally call all these instruments simply *koto*. *Tsukushigoto* is extremely rare today and found mainly in reconstructed performance.

have helped on the one hand to maintain a *koto* structure, and on the other hand to change it.

Both traditional and new *koto* types share some features: they are half-tube zithers, with a sound chamber formed by adding a backboard to a soundboard[17] and a fixed bridge toward each end of the soundboard as well as a movable bridge under each string; the instrument is slightly arched along both its length and width. A traditional *koto*, however, must have thirteen strings; be about six *shaku* (c. 182 cm) long,[18] about 25 cm wide at the head (the end closest to the player), and about 24 cm wide at the tail (the end away from the player). Other characteristics required for a traditional *koto* relate to materials and decoration, each of which must not vary too much from an accepted norm. Some *koto* such as the *gakusō* (the *koto* used in *gagaku*), *ikutagoto* (the *koto* used in the *Ikuta* tradition/school), and other more decorated types—which are all still found, albeit in considerably smaller numbers than the *yamadagoto* (the

17. An exception is the instrument called *kazune*, to be discussed later.

18. One *shaku* is 30.3 cm. The measurement called *honken* (main measurement), which is used for the *koto*, has not always been fixed, thus the instrument's length has ranged from 152 cm to 194 cm: see Hisao Tanabe and Kenji Hirano, "Nihon no Sō" (Japanese *Sō*), in *Nihon Ongaku Dai Jiten* (Japanese Music Dictionary), ed. Kenji Hirano, Yūkō Kamisangō, and Satoaki Gamō (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1989), 278.

koto used in the *Yamada* tradition/school)—differ slightly with respect to features such as dimensions, added parts, materials, and decoration. As shown in figure 1, the length of two standard, or traditional, varieties of *koto* can vary considerably, as can the amount of decoration and the shape of the tail extremity (see instruments to left and center of picture, *yamadagoto* and *ikutagoto* respectively).

Koto are classified in a number of ways. In addition to the broad classifications shown in table 2, several instrument types are labelled according to their specific design within the construction process. These instruments have the main basic features noted above, although each is made with its own particular characteristics that help give it its own identity. Slight changes in instrument design might be the result of the preferences of a maker from a particular region, or the requirements of a performer. They might also be the result of sudden change relating to the context of performance, as revealed by the remark, published some thirty years ago, that "The sound of the *Koto* has become louder and stronger to suit the requirements of the much bigger concert hall in the modern style."[19] The instrument referred to in this comment is the *yamadagoto,* which is now the most widely used (even by players of some historically contrasting traditions such as the *Ikuta* school). Before the near-standardization of *koto* design used in everyday performance (i.e., the *yamadagoto* as opposed to the *gakusō* used in *gagaku*) in the mid- to late twentieth century, most differences in design were based on differences between east and west Japan (Kantō and Kansai—historically, the *ikutagoto* was prevalent in the west, the *yamadagoto* in the east). The unit of measurement used in *koto* construction also differed between east and west.[20] Accordingly, geographic or regional variation was influential in establishing different types of *koto,* which is evident in historical versions of the *ikutagoto* and *yamadagoto.*

In addition to the combined effects of popular appeal and the value placed on creativity in ensuring the survival of traditional arts, especially

19. Shigeo Kishibe, "Means of Preservation and Diffusion of Traditional Music in Japan," *Asian Music* 2 (1971): 11.

20. "Whereas the official definition of the *ken* makes it 1.82 metres . . . , a common Kansai use of the same unit takes it to be 1.97 metres." Herschel Webb, "Weights and Measures," in *Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan,* ed. in chief Itasaka Gen (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1983), 8:239. Or, to put it another way, the *ken* of Kyōto (*kyōma*), to the west, is 6.5 *shaku* while the *ken* of Tokyo, to the east, and elsewhere (*inakama*) is 6 *shaku:* see Tetsuro Yoshida, *The Japanese House and Garden,* trans. Marcus G. Sims (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1955), 66.

Figure 1. Left: standard *koto;* center: old *ikutagoto;* right: small *koto,* all belonging to Tsuda Michiko. Kyoto, May 1991. This and all following photos were taken by the author.

since the Meiji era, the adherence to accepted forms of *koto* is reinforced by the social groups that are mainly responsible for transmitting *koto* music.[21] Under the *iemoto* system (*iemoto seido*) the *iemoto* is the leader of the group, a position that is usually inherited, and one to which other members of the group show utmost respect. The *iemoto*'s "most important responsibility is to maintain the specific musical style of her [historically, his] shachu [the group of students immediately connected with the teacher]."[22] Hence, traditional forms of *koto* might be maintained to transmit the group's music. This has occurred to a certain extent, but there are instances where a tradition has changed the type of instrument used. For example, the *Ikuta* tradition in the nineteenth century had a *koto* that was easily distinguishable from the other type of

21. P. G. O'Neill, "Organization and Authority in the Traditional Arts," *Modern Asian Studies* 18 (1984): 639. On Japanese society see especially Chie Nakane, *Japanese Society* (Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle, 1984).

22. Cathleen B. Read and David L. Locke, "An Analysis of the Yamada-Ryu Sokyoku Iemoto System," *Hogaku* 1 (1983): 21.

everyday instrument of the time, the *yamadagoto*. However, in the latter half of the twentieth century, most *Ikuta* players began to use the *Yamada* version of the *koto*, perhaps due to its mass production or because of the superior sound qualities it is supposed to have.[23] Adherence to traditional forms, at least within certain parameters, is further emphasized when considering the "repression of artistic and personal freedom" within the *iemoto* system.[24] In contemporary traditions of *koto* performance the group structure is maintained within this hierarchical system, although alternative terms are sometimes used since *iemoto* usually refers to men and most *koto* performers today are women. Nevertheless, the system remains integral in establishing performance groups and traditions that adhere to their own performance practice, and, historically, their own type of instrument. Consequently, historical change in instrument design might occur only with a new tradition or subtradition that wants to give the material object its own identity. Indeed, one of the only ways that *koto* players have been able to make radical changes is to form a new group. While the homogenous Japan model has been critiqued, and is sometimes seen as contributing to ideas of *nihonjinron* (Japanese uniqueness),[25] groupings of *koto* players show distinct social relationships. Different *koto* traditions exist in a society that constructs groupism on the one hand, and differentiates these groups on the other.

As already noted, the everyday *koto* used today is one that has undergone change, and yet is perceived as having been transmitted through centuries in its current form. It is here that one can compare the idea of invented traditions, whereby " 'traditions' which appear or claim to be old are often quite recent in origin and sometimes invented."[26] To this extent the contemporary version of the everyday *koto* (i.e., the *yamadagoto*) is a recently invented instrument. To draw ideas from Benedict Anderson, the players of the instrument exist within real and imagined communities: real in that the performance group is a fundamental unit concerning place and identity in traditions of *koto* perform-

23. Compare Kishibe, "Means of Preservation," 11.

24. Read and Locke, "Yamada-Ryu Sokyoku Iemoto System," 48.

25. See Peter N. Dale, *The Myth of Japanese Uniqueness* (London: Routledge, 1986); Harumi Befu, "A Critique of the Group Model of Japanese Society," *Social Analysis* 5–6 (1980): 29–43; Yoshio Sugimoto, *An Introduction to Japanese Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

26. Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1.

ance, and imagined in that "in the minds of each lives the image of their communion."[27] Within these communities the *koto* exists primarily as a traditional object of Japanese culture *vis-à-vis* the contemporary world (and new *koto*).

Change in *koto* design is sometimes influenced by fashion and trends, or by adoption of the technology of the day (e.g., in the twentieth century synthetic strings have usually replaced silk strings, and plastic has often replaced ivory). Some instruments have specific modifications that are particularly unusual, experimental, or additional to the standard *koto*. While some modified instruments might be perceived as new instruments in their own right, especially if they move outside recognized boundaries, others are often seen as only slightly rather than radically different. For example, the Musashino Music University Museum of Musical Instruments has an unusual *koto* that folds in half (fig. 2),[28] whose length is only 143 cm, considerably shorter than normal modern-day *koto* (though the *tangoto*—small *koto*, which is discussed later—is usually around 4 *shaku* [121.2 cm] long). Another *koto*, belonging to Nakagawa Shūsui,[29] has an added tuning device for only one string (fig. 3). The first string (at the bottom of the picture) has been extended by attaching it further away from the fixed bridge than the other strings, and its head does not go into the string hole, but instead is attached to a tuning device just behind it. This instrument is often used for modern music that may require the first string to be tuned lower than would normally be possible.[30] A further example of a slightly modified *koto* is one belonging to the *Ikuta*-tradition player Hayashi Kimiko, observed during fieldwork in 1991, that has a small protruding piece of wood along the side of the instrument facing the player, on which one of the legs of the thirteenth movable bridge rests (fig. 4).

One of the first major modifications in *koto* design in the twentieth century was the introduction of tuning pins or sometimes pegs (i.e.,

27. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (London: Verso, 1991), 6.

28. Musashino Ongaku Daigaku Gakki Hakubutsukan, ed., *Musashino Ongaku Daigaku Gakki Hakubutsukan Mokuroku 4* (Musashino Music University Museum of Musical Instruments Catalogue 4) (Tokyo: Musashino Ongaku Daigaku, 1985), 20–21 (reference no. A651).

29. Her given name is Nakagawa Kimi (b. 1919), and she is the head of the *Ikuta* sub-tradition called *Sōkyoku shūyū kai*—often abbreviated to *Shūyū kai*).

30. Shūsui Nakagawa, conversation with author (Fukuoka, 17 July 1990).

Figure 2. Folding *koto* (date and maker unknown). When assembled it is about 143 cm long and has the features of a *yamadagoto*. Museum of Musical Instruments, Musashino Academia Musicae, A 651. Tokyo, November 1991.

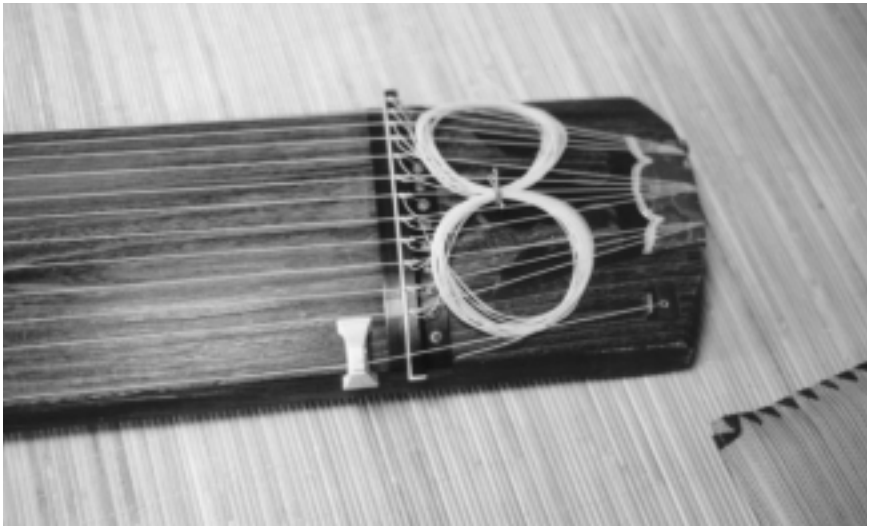

Figure 3. Tail end of a *koto* belonging to Nakagawa Shūsui. The first string (bottom of the picture) is longer than usual and is attached further away from the fixed bridge than the other strings. Fukuoka, July 1990.

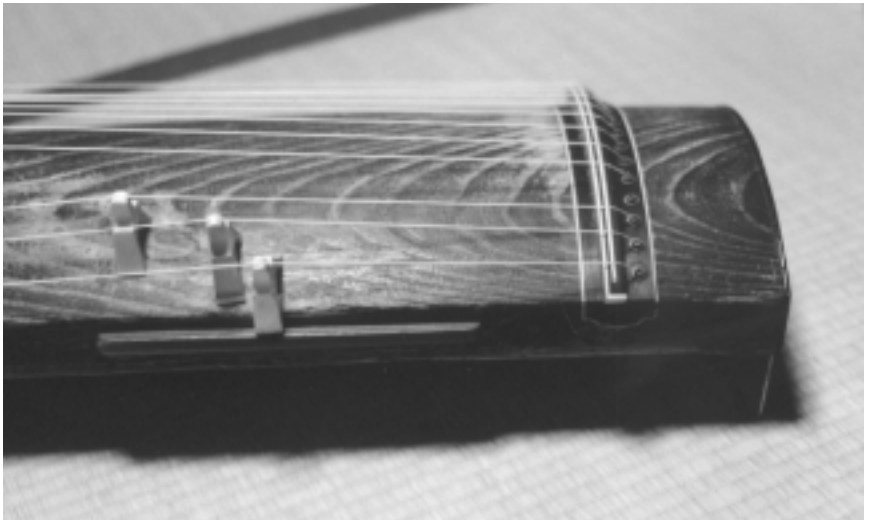

Figure 4. Side of an *ikutagoto* (date and maker unknown) belonging to Hayashi Kimiko, with an extra piece of wood on the player's side that supports the thirteenth movable bridge. Kyōto, October 1991.

machine heads), although they are still not widely used.[31] Two such instruments are featured in *Hōgaku Jānaru* (Hōgaku Journal), where they are labelled *pegugoto* (peg *koto*) and *yokopingoto* (side pin *koto*).[32] When an instrument has tuning pins they are positioned either on the top end of the head, in which case string holes are not used (though they are usually present), or inside the mouth, either instead of the tongue (decorative plaque) or behind it (in which case the tongue is removable).[33] This innovation was needed because *koto* strings are extremely difficult to attach; the use of pins allows beginners to quickly overcome problems associated with changing and fixing broken strings (a *koto* without a mechanical tuning device would usually be restrung by a professional *koto* technician). Tuning pins or pegs are usually used on electric *koto*.[34] Another recent modification to some instruments is the use of materials other than wood to make the body (it is traditionally made of *kiri* [paulownia], and the wood patterns formed on its surface and long sides are part of the instrument's aesthetic appeal), for example, *kābongoto jūsangen* (carbon fiber thirteen-string *koto*) and a *kābongoto tangoto* (car-

31. Tuning pins were first used on the seventeen-string *jūshichigen* in the early 1920s due to extremely high string tension. Thirteen-string *koto* without tuning pins or pegs, which are by far the most common, have their strings attached under (inside) the "head" of the instrument (the player's end) where they are secured around a piece of tightly-rolled paper, and at the opposite end (the "tail") they are tied in a knot on top of the fixed bridge after passing through the soundboard and around the far end of the instrument. The tension of the strings is equal and they are tuned by placing a movable bridge under each at an appropriate place on the soundboard.

32. "Shin Wagakki Daishūgō!," 52.

33. A *gakusō* in Ōsaka College of Music Musical Instrument Museum has tuning pins inside its mouth (behind the removable tongue). See Ōsaka Ongaku Daigaku Fuzoku Gakki Hakubutsukan, ed., *Ōsaka Ongaku Daigaku Fuzoku Gakki Hakubutsukan Mokuroku* (Osaka Music University Musical Instrument Museum Annexe Catalogue) (Osaka: Gakkō Hōjin Ōsaka Ongaku Daigaku, 1984). Their reference is B03-0906.

34. See Ogawa Gakki, advertisement for *Erekutorikku Goto Duo* (Electric *Koto* Duo), *Hōgaku Jānaru* 114 (1996): 54. (Ogawa Gakki is a *koto* manufacturer in Fukuyama City.) The instrument is available as either a *jūsangen* (thirteen strings—i.e., the size or at least pitch of the standard *koto*), *jūshichigen* (seventeen strings—discussed later), or *nijūgen* (twenty strings—discussed later). Also, the Tokyo-based company Miyama advertises a new series of their instruments called *erekutorikku goto* (electric *koto*). See Miyama, advertisement of *Erekutorikku Goto* (Electric *Koto*), *Hōgaku Jānaru* 48 (1991): 30; see also "Shin Wagakki Daishūgō!," 53, where the instruments are labelled *Miyama erekutorikku goto E-shirīzu* (Miyama electric *koto* E series). Three instruments are advertised: an E-70 (*jūshichigen*), a bass *koto* 223 cm long; an E-30 (*koto*) 182 cm long; and an E-30s (*sopuranogoto:* soprano *koto*—discussed later) 124 cm long. The first instrument has tuning pins on the upper surface of the head, while the latter two have tuning pins inside the mouth.

bon fiber short *koto*), which are both recent experiments in instrument construction.[35]

Each of the instruments noted above is a *koto* that has been modified in one way or another. None is as widespread as the standard instrument, and none is yet connected with its own performance tradition. Instruments such as these are usually seen as experimental, although any one of them might eventually become a standardized version of the *koto* in its own right. Radical change that extends beyond the real and imagined boundaries of a traditional *koto,* especially in terms of dimensions and number of strings, usually results in a new instrument design, one that attains its own identity within Japanese music.

Smaller Koto *and Higher-Pitched* Koto

A number of smaller *koto* have etablished their own unique identities. *Koto* in this category are generally considerably shorter than the standard *koto,* with a length of *goshaku* (5 *shaku:* 151.5 cm) or less; some have the same pitch, while others are pitched higher. The popularity of shorter *koto* increased steadily throughout the twentieth century, and continues to do so, with several now having earned an established place in Japanese music. The increased acceptance of shorter *koto* is perhaps due to the use of different-register *koto* in ensemble playing of Western-influenced music, or because of wider use of such instruments in education contexts, where they are both less expensive than standard *koto* and also easier to move around. Other variants have either been experimental, short-lived, or are only beginning to establish their own place and identity in an ever-increasing variety of *koto*-type instruments.

Koto with smaller dimensions were known before the Meiji era, especially toward the end of the Edo period (1600–1868), albeit much fewer in number compared to the standard instrument. Historical information about specific smaller *koto* is lacking, although the late eighteenth-century instruction book on the *koto, Sōkyoku taiishō,*[36] illustrates a smaller-size *koto* with a length of 4 *shaku* 1 *sun* 7 *bu* (126.35 cm).[37] The

35. "Shin Wagakki Daishūgō!," 54.

36. The *Sōkyoku taiishō,* which first appeared in 1779, was one of the first widespread publications that helped popularize the *koto.* See Shōkoku Yamada, *Sōkyoku Taiishō,* ed. Katano Suzu (Nagoya: Eitō Shoten, 1903).

37. 1 *sun* is 3.03 cm; 1 *bu* is 3.03 mm.

instrument is identified as a smaller *koto* in comparison to a larger (standard) *koto* and helps show the importance given to such instruments in traditional music at the time. Historically, most smaller varieties of *koto* were not usually used in public performance. They were either miniature, unplayable models, or, if playable, were essentially for private use, for practice, or for convenience when travelling.[38] Figure 1, for example, shows three *koto* belonging to the Kyoto-based *Ikuta*-tradition *koto* player Tsuda Michiko. On the left is a *yamadagoto* (the type of instrument she primarily uses today); in the center a slightly shorter *ikutagoto* (not used very often); and to the right, a few centimeters shorter still, is an instrument that her students sometimes use when they want to practice at her house.[39] The small instruments used as toys or ornaments, or used in theater performances such as *kabuki* and *bunraku*, should also be mentioned. Nevertheless, as will be shown further on, several types of smaller *koto* have actually found a place in *koto* music and have established their own identity beside the standard instrument.

There are several general terms for small *koto*. *Hansō* (half-size *sō*) describes instruments that are approximately half the size (3 *shaku;* 90.9 cm) of a standard *koto*, although the label is often used generally to include other smaller size instruments that might be slightly more or slightly less than half-size. The term *ayamegoto* (iris *koto*) is sometimes used for *koto* that are smaller than the *hansō*,[40] although here again the use of terms is quite flexible and sometimes includes smaller instruments with other dimensions. Osaka College of Music, for example, catalogs four *ayamegoto* ranging from 69 cm to 135 cm in length (fig. 5).[41] Other general names for smaller instruments include *kurumagoto* (carriage *koto*) and *himegoto* (small *koto*).[42] Other generic terms used to refer to *koto* shorter than the standard instrument include *minigoto* (mini *koto*) and *mijikaigoto* (short *koto*) (fig. 6), which are usually around 70 cm long.

38. Eishi Kikkawa, ed. supervisor, *Hōgaku Hyakka Jiten: Gagaku Kara Min'yō Made* (Encyclopedia of Traditional Japanese Music: From *Gagaku* to Folk Music), ed. Jun Asaka (Tokyo: Ongaku no Tomo Sha, 1984), 837.

39. Michiko Tsuda, conversation with author (Kyoto, 9 May 1991).

40. Kikkawa, *Hōgaku Hyakka Jiten,* 44, 837.

41. Ōsaka Ongaku Daigaku, *Mokuroku,* 92–93; one of these instruments is additionally labelled *ryōsō:* enjoyable *sō*.

42. See Keiko Nakajima and Satoko Kubota, *Nihon Geinō Seminā: Sō Shamisen Ongaku* (Japanese Entertainments Seminar: *Sō* and *Shamisen* Music), ed. Kenji Hirano, revised by Chigyō Suyama (Tokyo: Hakusui Sha, 1984), 61; Hatsuko Kikuhara, "Itoshiki Komono Tachi" (Cherished Small Articles), *Hōgaku Jānaru* 55 (1991): 10–11.

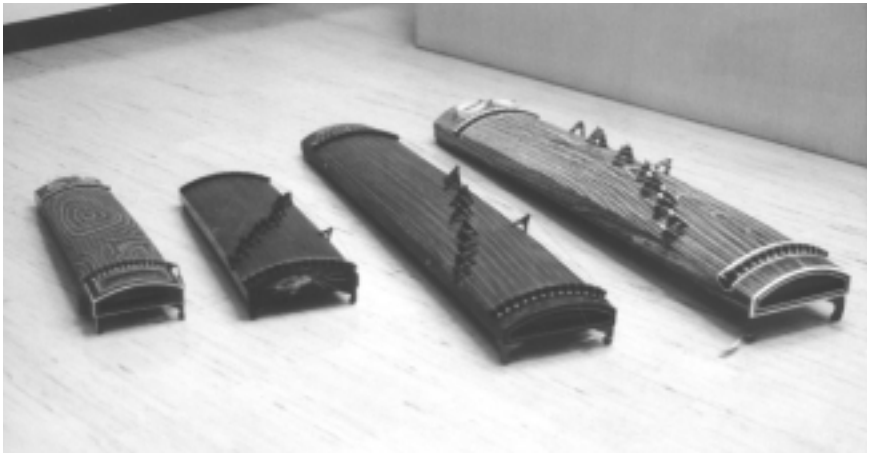

Figure 5. *Ayamegoto*. Left to right: mid-nineteenth-century instrument, maker unknown, about 75 cm long; instrument built by Hata Moritsugu around the end of the nineteenth century, about 69 cm long; mid-nineteenth-century *ayamegoto* (additionally labelled *ryōsō:* enjoyable *sō*), maker unknown, about 129 cm long; small *koto,* made by Torii Masahi, date unknown, about 135 cm long. Museum of Musical Instruments, Osaka College of Music, B03-0404, B03-0403, B03-0402, B03-0886. Osaka, June 1991.

The term *minigoto* is also often used as an alternative for *minichuagoto* (miniature *koto*), although the latter term usually refers to instruments that are not normally played and might simply be manufactured as toys or ornaments.

More specifically, makers use a number of names that reflect the actual size of such smaller *koto*. Fujita Fusahiko, for example, makes several sizes of smaller instruments,[43] which he refers to according to their length, using exact units of Japanese measurement: *sanshakugoto* (3 *shaku koto:* 90.9 cm), *yonshakugoto* (4 *shaku koto:* 121.2 cm), and *goshakugoto* (5 *shaku koto:* 151.5 cm) (fig. 7). Correspondingly, the standard *koto* is called *rokushakugoto* (6 *shaku koto:* 181.8 cm).[44] The largest manufacturer of *koto* in Japan, Fukuyama Hōgakki Seizōgyō Kyōdō Kumiai

43. Fusahiko Fujita, conversation with author (Fukuyama, 18 June 1997).

44. The instruments mentioned earlier labelled *pegugoto* and *yokopingoto,* which have tuning pins and pegs, respectively, are also made in several sizes: 6 *shaku,* 4 *shaku,* and 3 *shaku:* see "Shin Wagakki Daishūgō!," 52. The lengths of these instruments are here rounded off as 180 cm, 120 cm and 90 cm, respectively.

Figure 6. Two *minigoto* made by Makimoto Gakki, both approximately 70 cm. long. Fukuyama, July 1990.

(Fukuyama Traditional Japanese Musical Instrument Manufacturing Cooperative), has recently advertised a new type of *koto* that is 4 *shaku* 5 *sun* (about 136 cm) long and has the same width as the standard *koto.* They have labelled this instrument *shin fukuyama goto* (new Fukuyama *koto*), which clearly indicates its place in the contemporary world of *koto* music.

Several types of smaller *koto* have made an impact on *koto* performance and have attained their own place in Japanese music, often as a complement to the standard *koto,* but also separate from it. These will be described individually in the following sections.

Tangoto. The term *tangoto* (short *koto*) is used specifically for a short *koto* (figs. 8 and 9) devised by the virtuoso and composer Miyagi Michio (1894–1956),[45] a key figure in the development of new Japanese musical

45. Miyagi also called the instrument *tankin* (small *kin*—an alternative reading of one of the *kanji* for *koto*): see Junnosuke Chiba, "Tangoto," in *Nihon Ongaku Dai Jiten* (Japanese Music Dictionary), ed. Kenji Hirano, Yūkō Kamisangō, and Satoaki Gamō (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1989), 287.

Figure 7. Left to right: *sanshakugoto* (3 *shaku koto:* 90.9 cm), *yonshakugoto* (4 *shaku koto:* 121.2 cm), and *goshakugoto* (5 *shaku koto:* 151.5 cm), all made by Fujita Fusahiko, who referred to the instruments collectively as *mijikaigoto* (short *koto*). Fukuyama, June 1997.

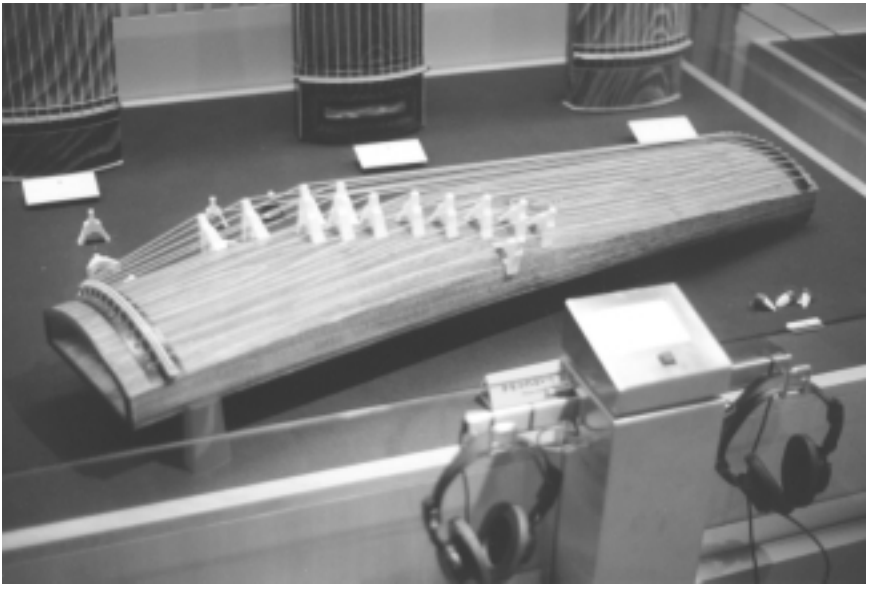

Figure 8. *Tangoto* held at Hamamatsu Musical Instrument Museum, C-0101, about 128.8 cm long. Hamamatsu, June 1997.

instruments, whose influences are examined in detail later in connection with his invention of a seventeen-string bass *koto* (*jūshichigen*). Produced by the instrument maker Tsurukawa, the *tangoto* was first sold commercially in 1932. It is approximately 4 *shaku* (121.2 cm) long and its pitch is the same as a standard *koto*. In order to retain the same pitch on a smaller instrument, the amount of wood between each fixed bridge and the nearest end of the soundboard is much less than on the standard *koto*. In fact, the tail end is so short that the oak leaf design (*kashiwaba*) traditionally found on the tail of *koto* is not used due to the lack of space (fig. 9). At first, tuning pins were placed on the upper surface of the head, but on later instruments they were placed inside the mouth (the head extremity), with the strings passing through the string holes as on other *koto*.[46] This was presumably to hide the pins—some *koto* (of this and other types) have a piece of wood that fits at the front and covers them—in order to make the visual image of the instrument more in line

46. Junnosuke Chiba and Yūko Chiba, ed., *Miyagi Michio no Sekai: Miyagi Michio Seitan Hyaku Nen Kinen* (The World of Miyagi Michio: Celebrating One Hundred Years Since His Birth) (Tokyo: Miyagi Michio Kinenkan, 1993), 57, 114.

Figure 9. Tail end of a *tangoto* held at Miyagi Michio Memorial Museum. Tokyo, July 1997.

with the standard *koto*. The first *tangoto* unusually had front legs that folded up under the head (a feature not found now), and smaller movable bridges on the lowest four strings. The instrument's sound is weaker than the standard *koto*, which is understandable due to its smaller sound chamber, a feature that perhaps contributed to its lack of popularity as an instrument for performance.[47]

The Japanese musicologist Tanabe Hisao notes four reasons for the invention of the *tangoto:*

1. The standard *koto* was too long, thus being inconvenient;
2. A smaller instrument would be cheaper to purchase;
3. Its strings would not be as difficult to tighten as those of the standard *koto;*
4. The player could sit in a chair.[48]

47. Anne Elizabeth Prescott, "Miyagi Michio—The Father of Modern Koto Music: His Life, Works and Innovations, and the Environment which Enabled his Reforms" (Ph.D. diss., Kent State University, 1997), 83–84.

48. Hisao Tanabe, *Nihon no Gakki: Nihon no Gakki Jiten* (Japanese Musical Instruments: Japanese Musical Instrument Dictionary) (Chiba: Kashiwa Shuppan, 1964), 235–36.

The first of these reasons points to increased mobility of performers and the difficulty they have moving the standard size instrument. The second comment might well be true, as the wood normally used for the *koto*'s soundboard and backboard, *kiri*, is extremely expensive. Indeed, the *tangoto* was devised "in an effort to create a cheaper and smaller koto which would be more attractive to the average amateur koto student."[49] The third comment is also true, although with the use of synthetic strings, especially starting in the 1950s, strings did not need to be changed as often as the silk ones that were formerly used. The fourth comment is not specific to the *tangoto*, as players sometimes sit in a chair while playing the standard *koto*, especially when playing contemporary music (i.e., Western-influenced compositions). Rather than kneeling (*seiza*) to play the instrument, Miyagi promoted the use of a chair for both the *tangoto* and the standard instrument.[50]

The *tangoto* is still found today, but it is an extremely unusual instrument in comparison to the standard *koto*. It would not normally be used in public performance, and the few players that do have one would use it only for practice, with the possible exception of beginners. During fieldwork in 1992 in Tenri, Nara, for example, I saw a *tangoto* for sale in the shop Tōkyō Dō Shingu Ten, which sold musical instruments as well as religious objects. The instrument measured 136.5 cm (about 4 *shaku* 5 *sun*) and was the cheapest and smallest of a hierarchy of *koto* categorized in various grades. A similar instrument, labelled *minigoto* and measuring 4 *shaku* 5 *sun*, was observed in 1998 in a nearby shop, Morishita Shingu Ten. As will be shown later, Miyagi's new instruments made a significant contribution to the expansion of traditional Japanese music, especially in terms of absorbing ideas from Western music. The invention of the *tangoto* occurred at a time of rapid change in Japanese music, and, while it is now viewed as having been devised as part of a movement of change, the instrument was similar to other shorter instruments that had been used historically. It was only the addition of tuning pins, its much shorter tail, and its use with the player sitting in a chair that moved beyond traditional boundaries of *koto* design and performance practice.

49. Prescott, "Miyagi Michio," 83.

50. For a photograph of the *tangoto* being played on a stand while the player sits in a chair see Chiba and Chiba, *Miyagi Michio no Sekai*, 57. In some contemporary performances *koto* players stand while playing the instrument, although this is extremely unusual.

Sopuranogoto. The *sopuranogoto* (soprano *koto*) is a small *koto* that retains the shape of the standard instrument, although its general dimensions and movable bridges are about half the size and its strings are thinner (fig. 10, left). Depending on the maker, its length varies from around 85 cm to 118 cm and it usually has tuning pins inside its mouth. Unlike some other smaller *koto,* however, it is tuned an octave higher than the standard instrument—hence its name—which clearly indicates Western influence.

The *sopuranogoto*'s primary function is to provide a higher instrumental part during ensemble playing of different types of *koto* (a Western-influenced concept). The instrument is a relatively recent innovation and came into existence during the 1960s and 1970s, with composers such as Kawamura Toshio helping in its development. Rather than being a solo instrument, it is usually used together with the standard thirteen-string *koto* and seventeen-string bass *koto* (*jūshichigen,* to be discussed later), thus producing an ensemble of instruments with distinct registers. Nevertheless, the maker Ogawa Gakki, for example, advertises a *jūsangen kōonyō sopuranogoto* (thirteen-string, high-register soprano *koto*) for its ease of portability and use for practice, indicating a possible solo role.[51] The instrument is 118 cm long, is shown on a high stand, and has tuning pins in its mouth. Unusually, on this instrument there are two fixed bridges (*nidan ryūkaku:* two layered dragon horn [the name of the fixed bridge]) at the head. A shorter fixed bridge closest to the head end has the string holes next to it (head side), while another fixed bridge at the same end a few centimeters away, which is of the usual height and in the usual place, retains the white nut (*makura zuno:* pillow horn; or *ito makura:* string pillow). This is presumably to allow the strings to pass into the sound chamber at the correct point for them to be attached to the tuning pins inside the mouth.[52]

The *sopuranogoto* was devised at a time that witnessed the continued growth of original compositions for *koto.* While it is still not widely used today, let alone as a solo instrument, it does appear in some contemporary compositions or arrangements (especially of Western music) that

51. Ogawa Gakki, *Ogawa no Wagakki/Sō Giri Tansu Sōgō Katarogu* (Ogawa Japanese Musical Instruments/*Kiri* Drawers General Catalogue) (Fukuyama: Ogawa Gakki Seizō, 1999), 6.

52. This feature is found on several other new *koto,* as well as on a standard *koto* with tuning pins, a seventeen-string bass *koto* (*jūshichigen*), and a twenty-string wider register *koto* (*nijūgen*), as shown ibid., 6–7.

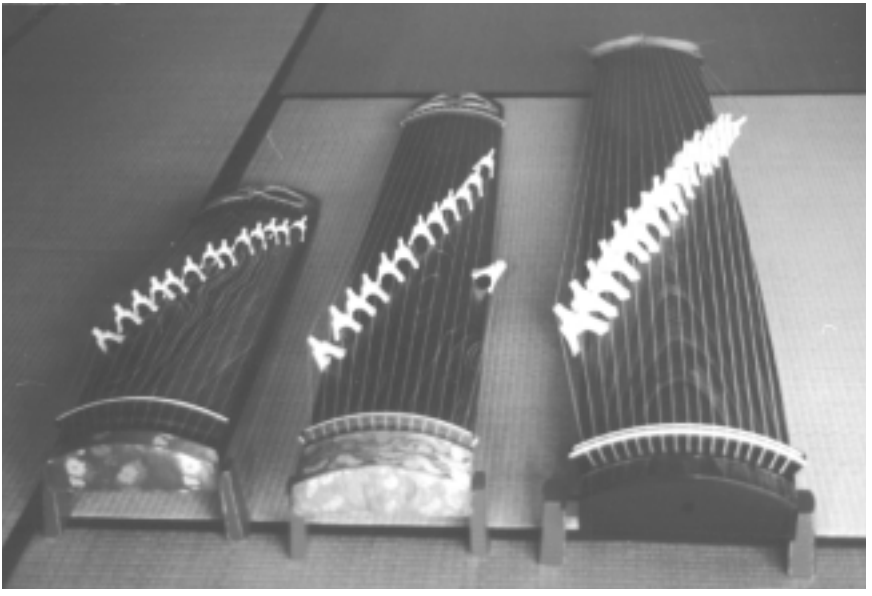

Figure 10. Left: *sopuranogoto;* center: a standard *koto;* right: *jūshichigen*, all belonging to Matsuzaki Shūsetsu. Ogōri, July 1990.

require several *koto* at different pitches, in the manner of a Western instrumental chamber ensemble. Its players are usually those who play contemporary music, or who belong to a performance tradition that plays both the traditional repertoire and a modern repertoire. An example is the performance group *Sōkyoku shūyū kai,* which is led by Nakagawa Shūsui (as noted earlier). This relatively new group, established about thirty-five years ago, plays both the traditional repertoire of the *Ikuta* tradition as well as the compositions found in *Chikushi ryū* (*Chikushi kai: Chikushi* tradition/group), with whom Nakagawa learned before establishing her own group.[53] The repertoire of *Shūyū kai* includes the music of Chikushi Katsuko (1904–84) and many other contemporary works, which are labelled *shinkyoku* (new music), and also *hōgaku*, in particular the traditional pieces of the *Ikuta ryū* (*Ikuta* tradition) that are now called *koten* (old pieces).[54] Thus, several concurrent traditions of

53. Nakagawa, conversation with author (Fukuoka, 17 July 1990).
54. Shūsetsu Matsuzaki, conversations with author (Ogōri, July 1990).

koto performance exist with one group, which juxtaposes and superimposes different types of *koto*.

One might expect that, because of the group system surrounding the transmission of *koto* music, change would not take place easily. However, the social framework of Japanese society was not weakened because of modernization, urbanization, and industrialization; rather, "the basic social structure continues in spite of great changes in social organization."[55] The Japanese looked "at modernization from the start as a process that has been (or should be) based on and effected by a combination of the Japanese spirit and western knowledge."[56] "In the eyes of government . . . political unity required a dash of cultural conservatism."[57] In connection with the invention of new *koto*-type zithers that have made a lasting and significant impact on Japanese music, one can see how the social structure of the performance group or tradition, or indeed the few players who work outside of this structure, can help to establish their place. While some players might react against a group structure by devising new instruments, they are often working within their own group system that allows the transmission and development of the new instruments. For example, after Miyagi Michio devised new *koto* in the 1920s, his impact was such that there is now a Miyagi tradition of performance (*Miyagi kai* / *Miyagi ha*).

Neo-koto.[58] An instrument marketed under the label *neo-koto* has recently been promoted by the company Neo Kikaku (Neo Plan). It was devised in 1994 by the *koto* player Asai Kuniko.[59] The *neo-koto* was observed being manufactured during fieldwork with the musical instrument manufacturer Makimoto Gakki, based in Fukuyama City,[60] who had been making it for about three years.

The *neo-koto* is made in two sizes: a short version 120 cm long (figs. 11 and 12), which is marketed as *neo-koto I;* and a long version measuring

55. Nakane, *Japanese Society,* 8.

56. Ibid., 119.

57. Beasley, *The Rise of Modern Japan,* 85.

58. The instrument's name is usually written in *rōmaji* (Roman letters) with the hyphen. Such use of *rōmaji* usually connotes an international object, and in this case possibly reflects the contemporary context in which the instrument is promoted, as well as identifying it as a modern instrument.

59. *Hōgaku Jānaru,* ed., "Neo-Koto Myūjikku-Akademī, Sōsetsu" (The Establishment of the *Neo-koto* Music Academy), *Hōgaku Jānaru* 140 (1998): 44.

60. Makimoto Gakki, conversation with author (Fukuyama, 17 June 1997).

Figure 11. *Neo-koto.* Tail end of instrument on display in the shop Mori Gakki. Kumamoto, June 1997.

183 cm, called *neo-koto II*. The former has a vibrating string length of 112 cm (a standard *koto*'s is about 150 cm) and smaller bridges than the longer instrument, although it does maintain the standard *koto*'s pitch. It is marketed with an optional colored set of strings, which are generally used as the fifth, seventh, and tenth strings to help guide beginners. The longer instrument is about the same length as the standard *koto*, but its vibrating string length is around 18 cm longer. Both instruments have tuning pegs at the mouth end to help with the tuning and changing of strings. They have a considerably shorter space than normal between each fixed bridge and each extremity (the pins to which the strings are attached are on the head). Hence, the *neo-koto* does not have the oak-leaf design traditionally found on the *koto*'s tail. Like some other small *koto*, the instrument is promoted by emphasizing the ease with which it can be tuned and its flexibility for performers. The instrument is also packaged with a number of optional designs that can be placed on the surface of the wood, which points to a marketing strategy that seems to be attempting to popularize the instrument.[61]

61. Neo Kikaku, *Neo-Koto* brochure (Kanazawa: Neo Kikaku, n.d.).

Figure 12. *Neo-koto.* Head end of instrument on display in the shop Mori Gakki. Kumamoto, June 1997.

Bunkagoto. A small *koto* called *bunkagoto* (culture *koto*) was devised by the musical instrument manufacturer Zen'on in the mid-1990s and has been promoted nationally since then.[62] It is 86 cm long and 20 cm wide (about half the length and slighter narrower than a standard *koto*). Players can either use a high stand (or a table) with the player sitting in a chair, or kneel in the *seiza* position with the instrument on a *torii* stand (fig. 13). This instrument is advertised as ideal for beginners, especially children. Compared to the standard *koto,* the strings are slightly thinner and the movable bridges are smaller; as a result, pushing the strings to change their pitch is made easier due to the lower string tension. String names are indicated under the strings to the left of the fixed bridge at the head. As with the zither called *taishōgoto* (board zither) and the *hāmonika* (harmonica), but unlike the standard *koto,* the notation system uses Arabic numbers, except for strings 11–13, which use the ideographs for *to, i, kin* (the latter three *kanji* are also used in *koto* notation). Unlike

62. Zen'on, *Bunkagoto* brochure (Tokyo: Zen'on Gakufu Shuppan Sha, 1996); *Gakki Sōgō Katarogu* (General Instrument Catalogue) (Tokyo: Zen'on Gakufu Shuppan Sha, 1998), 130.

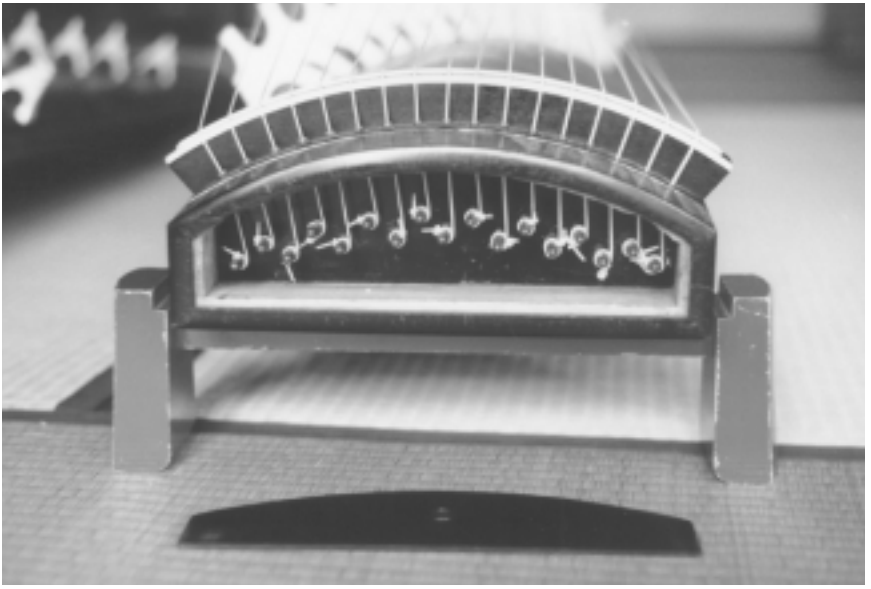

Figure 13. *Jūshichigen*. Head end of instrument belonging to Matsuzaki Shūsetsu. The removable tongue is shown in front of instrument. Ogōri, July 1990.

some other smaller *koto,* the *bunkagoto* retains the oak leaf design on the tail and is essentially a *koto* with smaller dimensions.

Although it is a recent innovation, the *bunkagoto* is not seen as a radical move away from the design of other small *koto.* A major difference, however, is the way it is marketed in Japan's highly commercial and consumer-oriented society, as appealing to beginners and children, and capable of being used used either sitting or kneeling. The instrument is extremely light and can be easily transported. The replacement and tuning of the strings is made easier by the lower tension compared to the standard *koto* (they maintain the same pitch) and the use of tuning pins inside the mouth. Also, special groups have been formed around the country to teach the instrument in ensemble. While not part of an *iemoto* system *per se*, they do show influences of the group system in general.

Other smaller *koto.* The number of types of smaller *koto* used in Japan, apart from ones made as toys and ornaments, is increasing. As well as the numerous instruments already noted, the Japanese music magazine *Hōgaku Jānaru*, for example, recently featured a small *koto* labelled

kazune (Japanese sound) and *kogatagoto* (small-size *koto*).[63] In collaboration with Iwate Ken Kōgyō Gijutsu Sentā (Iwate Prefecture Industrial Technological Center) it was designed specifically for use in education (especially at the primary level) and is about half the length of a standard *koto* at 90 cm (about 3 *shaku*), while maintaining the usual width. The strings do not have the tension of a standard *koto* and it has tuning pins on the top of the soundboard at the tail end (other instruments with pins or pegs place them at the head end). The instrument uses standard-size movable bridges, but is unusual in not having a backboard. Instruments such as the *kazune*, the *neo-koto*, and the *bunkagoto* are manufactured, distributed, and consumed within Japanese mass culture. The *koto*—once made by the individual craftsman, but today is more often than not mass-produced in a factory[64]—is part of Japanese culture that demands variety and innovation. The more recent smaller *koto* types exemplify this aspect of Japanese life.

Wider-Register Koto *and Lower-Pitch* Koto

In addition to the numerous smaller *koto* that have been popularized, especially throughout the twentieth century, several wider-register *koto* and lower-pitch *koto* have been devised. These instruments are also modelled on the standard thirteen-string *koto*, but unlike the smaller instruments they are either made with a lower pitch and/or have more than thirteen strings. Their invention was especially inspired by the influence of Western music, beginning during the Meiji era, helped by several music movements such as *shin nihon ongaku* (new Japanese music; or *shin nihon ongaku undō:* movement of new Japanese music), which became popular during the 1920s, and which blended ideas of Western music with Japanese music, while aiming at the development of significant Japanese styles. The term was first used in 1920 when Motoori Nagayo (1885–1945) and Miyagi Michio presented a concert of new music music entitled Shin Nihon Ongaku Dai Ensōkai (A Great Concert of New Japanese Music).[65] The modernizers "were driven to innovation by their quest for

63. Getsudō Mizuhara, "Gakkō Kyōzaiyō Kogatagoto" (Small-size *Koto* for Use in Primary Education), *Hōgaku Jānaru* 165 (2000): 60; "Shin Wagakki Daishūgō!," 52.

64. See Johnson, "*Koto* Manufacture."

65. Katsumura, "Some Innovations in Musical Instruments," 169. While Motoori combined Japanese and Western instruments, Miyagi usually used Japanese instruments inspired by Western music.

lower pitch register and larger sound density in order to create ensembles of larger size than traditional ensembles. In this respect we could also say that the decade of the 1920's, the incipient stage of *Shin nihon ongaku,* is characterized by endeavours to explore Western-oriented orchestrational styles with Japanese traditional instruments."[66] The composers had been trained in Western music and had heard Western music; in fact, "Miyagi directly employed Western idioms such as tremolo and triple metre with chordal accompaniment,"[67] features common to Western music but unheard of in pre-Meiji Japanese music. Later, the term *gendai hōgaku* (contemporary traditional Japanese music) was coined to denote progressive traditional music and is usually used in opposition to traditional *koto* music.[68]

Wider-register *koto*. The invention of wider-register or lower-pitch instruments was influenced by the increased popularity of Western instruments such as the piano, with its multi-octave range, and of ensembles comprising several members of the same family of instruments with different ranges. Several such instruments have become established in contemporary Japanese music in their own right, and some of these continue to be modified in a quest to develop a form compatible with contemporary compositional requirements. Various terms are used to group these instruments, including *tagensō* (many-string *sō*), *teionsō* (bass, or lower-register *sō*), *atarashii koto* (new *koto*), and *niigoto* (new *koto*).[69] The instruments themselves are often named according to their number of strings, and sometimes use either the suffix *koto* (*goto*) or *sō*.

Jūshichigen. The *jūshichigen* (seventeen strings) was invented by Miyagi Michio in the early 1920s and showed an abrupt change in *koto* design (figs. 10, 13, 14, and 15). It was conceived in consultation with the musicologist Tanabe Hisao, who suggested modeling a new instrument on the Chinese twenty-five string zither called *shitsu*.[70] The instrument was

66. Ibid., 165–6.
67. Ibid., 166–7.
68. See further Prescott, "Miyagi Michio," 47–50.
69. See Kazuko Tanigaito, "Teionsō" (Lower Register *Sō*), in *Nihon Ongaku Dai Jiten* (Japanese Music Dictionary), ed. supervision Kenji Hirano, Yūkō Kamisangō, and Satoaki Gamō (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1989), 287.
70. Hisao Tanabe, "Miyagi Michio ni yoru Gakki Kairyō" (Miyagi Michio's Improvements to Musical Instruments), *Kikan Hōgaku* 1 (1974): 55.

Figure 14. Instruments during manufacture at Mitsuya *koto* factory. Left to right*: koto*, *nijūgen*, *jūshichigen*, *sanjūgen*. Saitama, June 1998.

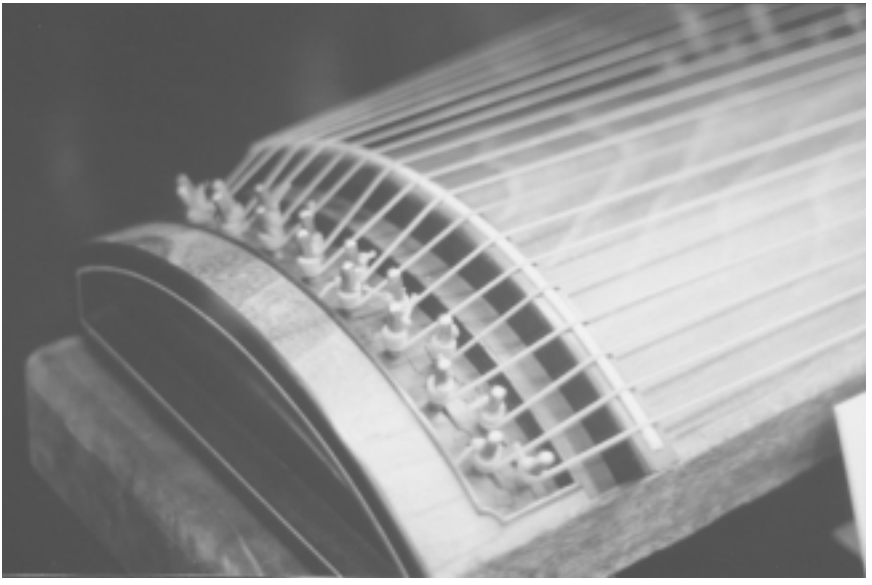

Figure 15. *Jūshichigen* on display in Miyagi Michio Memorial Museum. Tokyo, July 1997.

originally called *ōgoto* (big *koto*) and *daikoto* (big *koto*),[71] and is now also referred to as *jūnanagen* (seventeen strings), *jūshichigensō* (seventeen-string *sō*), and *jūshichigengoto* (seventeen-string *koto*). The *jūshichigen* was devised initially to provide a bass register in the *koto* ensemble, but later became a solo instrument in its own right. "Miyagi created the *jūshichigen* to fill what he perceived as a gap in traditional Japanese music, the lack of a bass voice."[72] Japanese innovation from the Meiji era and soon after was often based on copying objects and ideas from the West. In fact, "many innovations were not really necessary to modernization but were merely imitations of Western customs."[73] During the nationalist years of the first four decades of the twentieth century there were innovations in musical instrument design that were soon adopted by traditional music circles. Such innovations might be defined as reflecting a quest to find a national identity, even though in connection with changes in *koto* and

71. Prescott, "Miyagi Michio," 77.
72. Ibid., 81.
73. Fairbank, Reischauer, and Craig, *East Asia*, 523. Compare Westney, *Imitation and Innovation*.

the development of new *koto*-type instruments many of the changes were influenced by non-Japanese elements. Still, whatever the effects of culture contact, many pre-Meiji concepts essentially were not displaced.[74]

The first *jūshichigen,* made by the instrument maker Tsurukawa Shinbee,[75] was eight *shaku* (242.4 cm) long and had tuning pins on the end of the upper surface of its head. It was first used in public performance on 30 October 1921 in Miyagi's piece "Hanamifune" (Flower Viewing Boat), the score of which is lost, and in "Ochiba no Odori" (Dance of the Falling Leaves).[76] A slightly smaller version, made by Tsurukawa in 1923, was 7 *shaku* (212.1 cm) long. This instrument was called *shōjūshichigen* (small seventeen strings) in contrast to the larger version that was sometimes labelled *daijūshichigen* (large seventeen strings), although after further experimentation it soon became unnecessary to have two types.[77] The *shōjūshichigen* was first used in Miyagi's piece entitled "Sakura Hensōkyoku" (Sakura Variations) in 1924.[78]

Today, *koto* makers sometimes vary the design of the *jūshichigen* slightly according to their own techniques of construction, although it maintains a basic shape that looks very much like the *koto.* The *jūshichigen* can have a length anywhere between 210 cm and 230 cm; it uses tuning pins (like most large *koto*), which are fixed either on the surface of the head (*uene-jizuke*) or inside the mouth (*kuchimae nejizuke*); its strings are progressively thinner from low to high notes;[79] it is usually tuned diatonically (unlike the more usual pentatonic tuning of the *koto*); it has larger movable bridges than the *koto;* and some players use thicker plectra than the ones used for the *koto.*[80] An instrument featured in *Hōgaku Jānaru* and labelled *Imamuragata jūshichigen* (*Imamura*-style seventeen strings), or *shingata jūshichigen* (new-style seventeen strings), uses a holder for the

74. Ryusaku Tsunoda, Wm. Theodore de Bary, and Donald Keene, compilers, *Sources of Japanese Tradition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), 131–2.

75. Prescott, "Miyagi Michio," 76.

76. Ibid., 78.

77. Ibid., 78–79.

78. See further Junnosuke Chiba, "Shō Jūshichigen no Kōan to Sono Shūhen" (The Invention of the *shōjūshichigen* and its Surrounding), *Tōhō Ongaku Daigaku Kenkyū Kiyō* 10 (1995): 1–16.

79. Prescott, "Miyagi Michio," 76–77.

80. Using traditional Japanese forms of notation (Western staff notation is sometimes used as well), music for the *jūshichigen* is notated with strings one to ten using the same notation as the standard *koto,* and strings eleven to seventeen using arabic numerals 1 through 7.

strings that slides in and out of the head end.[81] This unusual feature allows the strings to be attached and adjusted more easily than on other *jūshichigen*. Most instruments have the tail decoration (oak leaf: *kashiwaba*) that retains a recognizable form of the visual appearance of a standard *koto,* although sometimes a shorter instrument does not have one. Also, like the *koto,* the *jūshichigen* is today made in various grades to provide a range of different quality instruments.[82]

The *jūshichigen* is also a solo instrument in its own right with many contemporary composers increasingly writing for it.[83] Most *jūshichigen* players play both the *koto* and the *jūshichigen,* although some do specialize in the latter. The contemporary *koto* player Sawai Kazue, for example, while commenting on the increasing solo role of the *jūshichigen* over the last fifteen years, notes that she likes "the force of sound you can get from the bass koto. There are so many kinds of sounds. . . . It is an instrument that fits contemporary society well."[84] The creation of the *jūshichigen* provided composers with an instrument that was on the one hand an extension of the thirteen-string *koto* with an expanded lower range, and on the other hand an instrument through which new musical ideas could be used. Miyagi's "*jūshichigen* offered greater possibilities for the development of various new playing techniques suggested by those of Western string instruments. These features eventually proved to be the means by which Miyagi was able to orient his musical style toward a new phase of traditional music under the strong influence of Western music."[85] The *jūshichigen* is now the most well known and widely used of several many-string *koto* and has been called "a permanent and indispensable fixture in the Japanese music world."[86] "Among the many at-

81. "Shin Wagakki Daishūgō!," 53; "Shingata Jūshichigen Tanjō" (Birth of the New Style *Jūshichigen*), *Hōgaku Jānaru* 173 (2001): 57.

82. Ogawa Gakki, *Ogawa no Wagakki,* 7.

83. See, for example, Teiko Kikuchi, *Kamunagi* (Diviner) (compact disc recording, Camerata 30CM-267, 1995).

84. Elizabeth Falconer, "Sawai Kazue, Avant-Garde Kotoist," *Japan Quarterly* 40 (1993): 89.

85. Katsumura, "Some Innovations in Musical Instruments," 168. Miyagi was influenced by Western music and by Japanization. He mixed ideas of Western harmony and form with that of pre-Meiji *koto* music to produce a unique style of his own. This was especially apparent after his appointment at Tokyo School of Music (now Tokyo University of Fine Arts and Music) in 1929 where the students were already knowledgeable in Western music.

86. Prescott, "Miyagi Michio," 81. See also Tanabe, "Miyagi Michio"; Masateru Andō, "Jūshichigen no Rekishi" (History of the *Jūshichigen*), *Hōgaku Jānaru* 95 (1994):

tempts at devising new instruments . . . , the *jūshichigen* proved to be the most successful and lasting. It also encouraged some later attempts at the production of types of *koto* with more than thirteen strings by people who followed in the path of the 'new traditional music of Japan'."[87]

Nijūgen. The large *koto* called *nijūgen* (twenty strings) was devised in 1968 and first used in a public performance in 1969 by the *Ikuta*-tradition *koto* player Nosaka Keiko.[88] As the instrument's name suggests, it has twenty strings, but later versions were made with twenty-one strings (figs. 14, 16, and 17), twenty-two strings, and more recently with twenty-five strings. Nevertheless, for each of these versions the name *nijūgen* (twenty strings) is maintained.

The first *nijūgen* was the result of collaboration between Nosaka; the composer Miki Minoru, who was director of the *gendai hōgaku* (new traditional Japanese music) group Nihon Ongaku Shūdan (Pro Musica Nipponia or Ensemble Nipponia, established in 1964 by Miki) that Nosaka joined in 1965; the industrial designer Komiya Kiyoshi; and the Japanese traditional musical instrument maker Ogawa Hideo, who had already made a thirty-string *koto* (*sanjūgen*) for the *Yamada*-tradition player Miyashita Shūretsu in 1955 (see below). The *nijūgen* was intended "to be a complete instrument in itself" and "it is entirely possible to play the repertoire of traditional koto compositions . . . by using only 13 of the higher-pitched strings," which was an important requirement for Nosaka.[89] "An instrument was needed that was appropriate for

18–22; "Koto to Jūshichigen ni Okeru Hatsugen Dōsa no Jikan Teki Kaiseki" (An Analysis of the Time Elements in the Plucking Movements of the *Koto* and *Jūshichigen*), *Tōkyō Geijutsu Daigaku Ongaku Gakubu Nenshi* 8 (1982): 45–87.

87. Katsumura, "Some Innovations in Musical Instruments," 165.

88. See further Minoru Miki, *Nihon Gakki Hō* (Techniques of Japanese Musical Instruments) (Tokyo: Ongaku no Tomo Sha, 1996); "Nijūgensō ga Sekai no Koto ni Naru Hi o" (*Nijūgensō* Becomes a World *Koto*), *Hōgaku Jānaru* 119 (1996): 20–22; Keiko Nosaka, "Ichion no Hibiki o Motomete" (Seeking One Sound), *Hōgaku Jānaru* 119 (1996): 18–19; Bonnie C. Wade, "Keiko Nosaka and the 20-Stringed Koto: Tradition and Modernization in Japanese Music," in *Themes and Variations: Writings on Music in Honor of Rulan Chao Pian,* ed. Bell Yung and Joseph S. C. Lam (Harvard: Department of Music, Harvard University; Hong Kong: The Institute of Chinese Studies, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1994), 231–59. Wade provides comprehensive biographical details of Nosaka as well as her involvement in the development of the *nijūgen*. Wade's work provides much of the information introduced here.

89. Wade, "Keiko Nosaka," 234.

Figure 16. Tail end of a *nijūgen* during manufacture at Ogawa Gakki. Fukuyama, June 1998.

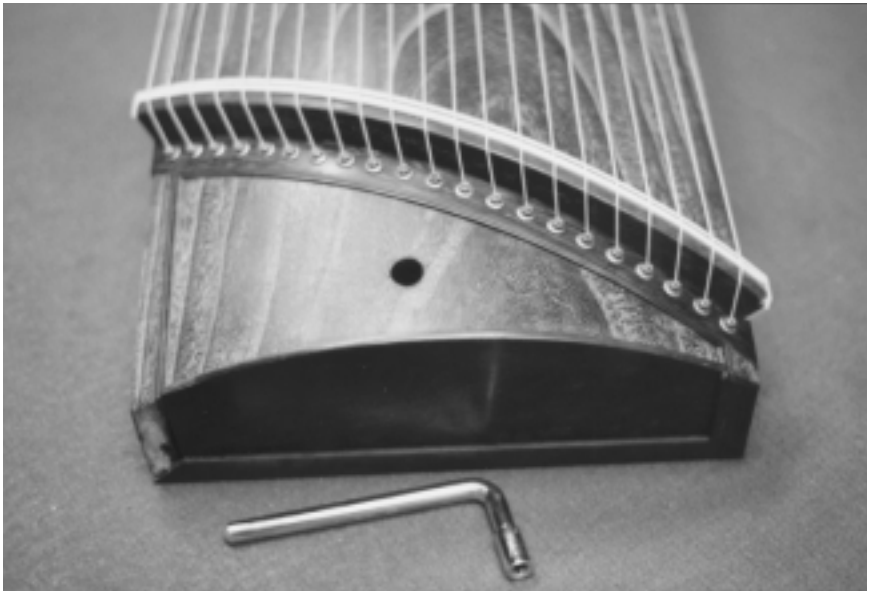

Figure 17. Head end of *nijūgen* during manufacture at Shinwa Kingaku. The tool used to turn the tuning pins is shown in front of the instrument. Fukuyama, June 1998.

the requirements for flexibility in contemporary compositional style."[90] As on the *jūshichigen*, a diatonic tuning is used.[91]

Like some of the other new *koto* already mentioned, the *nijūgen* is designed to be played while sitting on a stool, which is unpadded in order to facilitate movement by the performer when leaning to push down a string to raise its pitch. The instrument is placed on a special stand designed with a projection board angled toward the audience in order to help project the sound. Also, some earlier versions had an extra sound hole cut in the long side of the instrument facing the audience (in addition to the standard *koto*'s two sound holes, one toward each end of the backboard). However, with the change from silk to synthetic (*tetoron*)

90. Ibid., 240, which also gives an analysis of some of the early compositions for this instrument.

91. Miki, *Nihon Gakki Hō*, 153–4, 173; Wade, "Keiko Nosaka," 246.

strings by 1973, these holes were no longer required. Like some other many-string *koto*, the instrument has thicker strings in the lower range and thinner ones in the higher range, and usually has tuning pins or pegs to assist tuning. As with some versions of the *sopuranogoto*, some *nijūgen* are made with a two-part fixed bridge at the player's right, which was designed by the maker Nomura Gakkiten. An earlier version of the instrument had a string dampener, which was operated by the player's knee to stop the lingering sound of the strings; but this is no longer used. The instrument now has a three-part fixed bridge at the tail end: strings 1–5 are the longest; strings 6–12 are often slightly shorter; and strings 13–21 are the shortest. The instrument shown in figure 17 is an unusual version in that, instead of having a three-part fixed bridge at the tail end, it has a single fixed bridge at the head end, diagonally positioned in order to have the same effect of shortening the length of some of the strings. The tool used to tune the strings is shown in front of the instrument (on this *koto* the pins are reached by removing a head cover).

Nosaka first played a twenty-one string version of the *nijūgen* in concert in 1971. The lowest string was designated string "0" and was not played, but was used for the plectra to stop against. In 1989 she played a twenty-two string version, which was ordered from the maker Nakajima, and in 1991 she wanted a twenty-third string. In the same year Nosaka commissioned a twenty-five string instrument from the same maker, on which three strings were added to the lower register and two to the upper register.

Several other versions of the *nijūgen* were devised toward the end of the twentieth century. For example, the *teion nijūgen* (or *tei nijūgen:* bass twenty strings) of 1976 is slightly longer than the *nijūgen;* its design was overseen by Nosaka.[92] A twenty-five string *koto* called *teion nijūgogen* (bass twenty-five strings), which extends the range of the bass *jūshichigen*, is used in new compositions by Ifukube Akira, who has collaborated with Nosaka to produce such instruments.[93] Another instrument called *tan nijūgen* (short twenty-strings) is about two-thirds the size of a *nijūgen*.[94] The design of this higher-pitched *koto* of 1979 was also overseen by Nosaka.

92. Miki, *Nihon Gakki Hō*, 174; Wade, "Keiko Nosaka," 234.

93. Keiko Nosaka, *Ifukube Akira: Nijūgen Sōkyoku Shū* (Ifukube Akira: A Collection of *Koto* Music for the *Nijūgen*) (compact disc recording, Toshiba/EMI TYCY-5488, 1996).

94. Miki, *Nihon Gakki Hō*, 174–5.

Of the many-stringed *koto* outlined above, only the *jūshichigen* has an established place in Japanese music. However, like some other new zithers, it is often viewed as not being part of traditional music. Observation during fieldwork revealed that some players distinguish between such new instruments and the standard (traditional) *koto* and do not accept them in their group. This must be viewed as contributing to group identity in performance traditions, where some groups are structured around traditional music (usually pre-Meiji), some around dichotomies of old and new, and some now exclusively around the new. While the *jūshichigen* has been used for more than seventy years, the *nijūgen*, in its various versions, is today rapidly becoming more popular. The *nijūgen* (usually the twenty-one string version) is establishing its own identity, with players promoting its use, although with the recent appearance of new versions it will surely take time to establish its place in the same way as the *jūshichigen*. Nosaka estimates that there have been around 600 *nijūgen* made.[95] Its invention came at a time when Japanese traditional music demanded expansions and modernization of its repertoire. While some earlier instruments (e.g., the *jūshichigen*) were influenced by Westernization and the desire to imitate Western instrumental practice, "the development of the 20-stringed koto occurred as a result of modernization, [and] it is not an example of 'Westernization'."[96]

Other wider-register *koto*. The *koto* included in this part of the discussion are essentially experimental and do not have a popular place in Japanese music. Their use is limited primarily to a few players and their existence is due to compositional experimentation with instrument range and performance requirements.

The idea of devising a *koto* with more than thirteen strings dates from the early 1880s. An early attempt at making a twenty-one string *koto* (*nijūichigensō*) was undertaken in 1881 by Tōkyō Ongaku Gakkō (Tokyo Music School) at the request of the *Yamada*-tradition *koto* player Yamase Shōin (1845–1908).[97] The catalog of the Tokyo University of Arts Archive shows a picture of this instrument, which looks like a standard *koto;*[98] it

95. Wade, "Keiko Nosaka," 259.
96. Ibid., 232.
97. Chiba, "Shō Jūshichigen," 2.
98. Tōkyō Geijutsu Daigaku Geijutsu Shiryōkan, ed., *Tōkyō Geijutsu Daigaku Geijutsu Shiryōkan. Zōhin Mokuroku: Ongaku Shiryō* (Tokyo University of Arts Archive. Catalogue of Collection: Music Archives) (Tokyo: Daiichi Hōki Shuppan, 1994), 24.

was made by Shigemoto Iwajirō and, at 185.5 cm, is slightly longer than a standard *koto*. Another early experiment with a lower-pitch *koto* was carried out by Yonekawa Kin'ō (1883–1969) in 1919. The instrument, labelled *nagasō* (long *sō*), had thirteen strings and was produced in collaboration with the instrument manufacturer Nomura. Another experimental instrument identified as *jūgogen* (fifteen strings) was built by the instrument maker Tsurukawa and first used by the *Yamada* tradition performer Nakanoshima Kin'ichi (1904–84) in his compositions around 1936.[99] This *jūgogen* was a bass instrument devised for use in an ensemble. Its structure looked identical to that of a standard *koto,* except it was about 34 cm longer. Like most similar experimental *koto* it used tuning pins. Around the same time, another *Yamada*-tradition performer, Koshino Eishō (1887–1965), devised a similar type of fifteen-string *koto,*[100] although details of this instrument are lacking. A more recent version of a *jūgogen* was designed in the 1980s. The *Ikuta*-tradition player Satō Yūsō has experimented with the number of strings on *koto* by designing a fifteen-string *koto* in 1985, which has a range between that of a *koto* and a *jūshichigen,* and in 1991 she made an eighteen-string *koto* (*jūhachigen*).[101] Satō, who is both a composer and a performer, uses these instruments in an ongoing process of experimentation in her works. They extend the range of the *koto* toward that of the lower-register *jūshichigen,* but still maintain the characteristic range of the standard *koto.* Satō's composition "Zanshō" (Afterglow) of 1992, for instance, includes four types of *koto:* the standard thirteen-string model, *jūgogen, jūshichigen,* and *jūhachigen*. The extent to which the *jūgogen* and *jūhachigen* become standardized will depend mainly on their popularity in terms of whether other composers write for them, and other players perform on them. For example, another contemporary *koto* player, Mizuno Toshihiko, performs on a sixteen-string *koto* (*jūrokugen*) and often plays his own compositions on this instrument.[102]

The large type of *koto* called *sanjūgen* (thirty strings; fig. 14, right) was first used in 1955 by the *koto* performer and composer Miyashita

99. Katsumura, "Some Innovations in Musical Instruments," 171; Kikkawa, *Hōgaku Hyakka Jiten,* 503–4; Kazuko Tanigaito, "Jūgogen," in *Nihon Ongaku Dai Jiten* (Japanese Music Dictionary), ed. Kenji Hirano, Yūkō Kamisangō, and Satoaki Gamō (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1989), 287.

100. Kikkawa, *Hōgaku Hyakka Jiten,* 503–4; Tanigaito, "Jūgogen."

101. See Yūsō Satō, *Hana no Shō* (Movement of Brilliance) (compact disc recording, Sony Music Entertainment, Japan, TGCS-202, 1995).

102. Elizabeth Falconer, "Hogaku Update," *Hōgaku Jānaru* 45 (1990): 11.

Shūretsu,[103] whose children, Miyashita Shin and Miyashita Shūretsu II, also play it. Like the bass *jūshichigen*, the instrument was first used as an accompanying instrument, but starting in the mid-1960s has become established as a solo instrument in its own right. The strings are tuned with tuning pins, and strings one through to seventeen (lower to higher pitch) are thicker than the others. Its range is about four and a half octaves, and movable bridges of different size are used, some of which are larger than the ones used on the *jūshichigen*.

An experimental *koto* with eighty strings (*hachijūgen*) was devised by Miyagi Michio in the late 1920s and built by Tsurukawa Shinbee and Tsurukawa Kihee (fig. 18).[104] Miyagi wanted an instrument that would offer the range of the piano while still retaining the technique of the *koto;*[105] he also hoped the instrument would be able to incorporate the sounds of both the *koto* and the *jūshichigen* simultaneously.[106] The instrument has a grandiose appearance and is about 213 cm long, varying in width from 37 to 98 cm, and 9 cm high. Its strings and movable bridges were made in different sizes, and like various other many-string *koto* it has tuning pins, which in this case are fixed on top of head in three rows. Miyagi sat in a chair while playing it. However, the *hachijūgen* was used once only, in a concert on 26 November 1929, in which Miyagi presented his composition "Kyō no Yorokobi" (Today's Joy), originally composed for *koto* and *jūshichigen*,[107] and a transcription of a prelude by J. S. Bach. The instrument was destroyed in an air raid in 1945, but a reconstruction of it, made in 1978 by the maker Tsurukawa,[108] is held in Miyagi Michio Kinenkan (Miyagi Michio Memorial Museum) in Tokyo. After a decade of devising new instruments, Miyagi's importance as a mediator

103. Katsumura, "Some Innovations in Musical Instruments," 171; Kazuko Tanigaito, "Sanjūgen," in *Nihon Ongaku Dai Jiten* (Japanese Music Dictionary), ed. Kenji Hirano, Yūkō Kamisangō, and Satoaki Gamō (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1989), 288.

104. Junnosuke Chiba, "Hachijūgen," in ibid., 288; Prescott, "Miyagi Michio," 81–3; Yūkō Kamisangō, "Fukugen Sareta Maboroshi no Gakki Hachijūgen" (Reconstruction of the Visionary *Hachijūgen*), *Kikan Hōgaku* 19 (1979): 50–52; Kikkawa, *Hōgaku Hyakka Jiten*, 817. In connection with making larger Japanese instruments, as well as devising the *jūshichigen*, Miyagi also invented the *daikokyū* (large *kokyū*). See further Chiba and Chiba, *Miyagi Michio no Sekai*, 115; Prescott, "Miyagi Michio," 84–85; Tanabe, "Miyagi Michio."

105. Prescott, "Miyagi Michio," 82.

106. Kamisangō, "Fukugen Sareta."

107. See Junnosuke Chiba, "Miyagi Michio ga Hachijūgen de Hiita Kyoku" (Miyagi Michio's Pieces for the *Hachijūgen*), *Miyagikai Kaihō* 156 (1993): 35–38; 157 (1994): 32–35; 158 (1995): 37–42.

108. Prescott, "Miyagi Michio," 83.

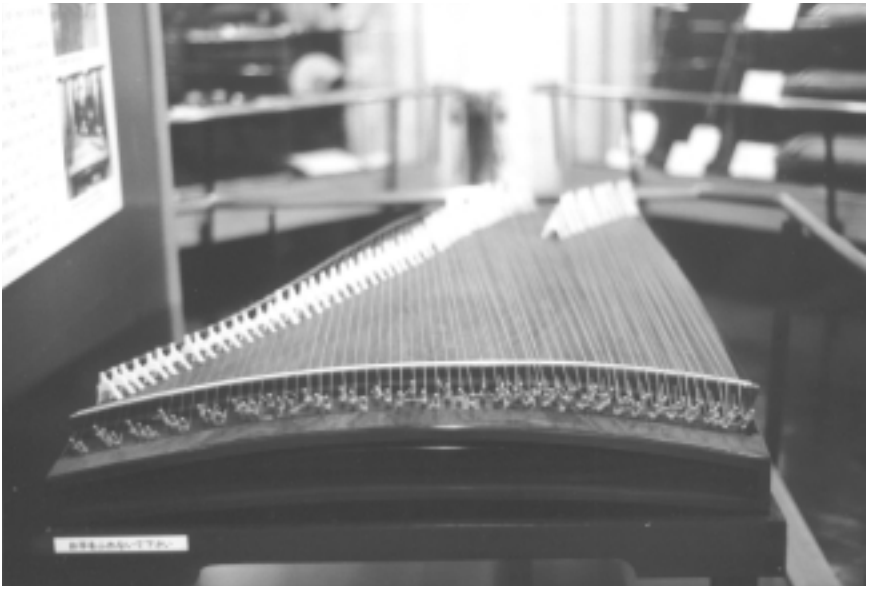

Figure 18. *Hachijūgen* on display in Miyagi Michio Memorial Museum. Tokyo, August 1990.

of change in the world of traditional Japanese music is reflected in his quest to produce an instrument of such grandeur. However, the life of this particular new instrument was short and nothing comparable has been devised since.

A more recent invention that can extend the range of the *koto* is the seventeen-string *poppukōn* (popcorn). Unlike the *jūshichigen*, the *poppukōn* is not a bass instrument. While only 120 cm long it has the same width as the standard *koto;* its range is around two and a half octaves, and the strings are attached to tuning pins. This new type of *koto* is very distinctive in terms of its outer finish, which is brightly painted in pink, blue, or yellow, very unlike the standard *koto* that emphasizes the natural wood grain of *kiri* across the upper side of the soundboard and on the two long sides. The visual appearance is presumably meant to appeal to younger players and might be compared to other brightly-colored instruments in popular or youth culture. The instrument is used on a high stand with the player either sitting on a chair or standing; it has black movable and fixed bridges; and it does not have an oak leaf design (*kashiwaba*) on its tail because of the reduced space. The instrument was

devised in 2000 by the *koto* player Naitō Masako, who belongs to the *Seiha* branch of the *Ikuta* tradition.[109]

Thirteen-string lower-pitch *koto*. Some new *koto* devised toward the end of the twentieth century kept the standard number of thirteen strings but tuned them to a lower pitch than the standard *koto*. The *arutogoto* (alto *koto*), for example, as advertised by Ogawa Gakki,[110] has the same length as a standard *koto*, but is pitched lower (its middle range is between the *koto* and the *jūshichigen*). It is not pitched as low as the seventeen-string bass *koto* (*jūshichigen*), but in comparison to the standard *koto* it has thicker strings, larger movable bridges, and a slightly longer string length that is attained by reducing the space between each fixed bridge and the nearest end of the soundboard. Hence, some of the decoration usually found on the top of the tail end of the soundboard (i.e., the *kashiwaba:* oak leaf) is not featured, as on some of the smaller *koto* discussed earlier. This *arutogoto* has tuning pins inside its mouth, and the illustration used to advertise it shows it placed on a high stand that includes a projection board underneath the instrument to help augment the sound, such as would normally be used in performances of contemporary music. This instrument is not widely used, but is a recent invention that contributes to the ever-increasing number of new *koto* types.

Another contemporary *koto* that has thirteen strings but a lower register than the standard *koto* is the electric *bēsugoto* (bass *koto*) (fig. 19). This late twentieth-century instrument uses metal strings (the only *koto* to do so—all others use a synthetic material called *tetoron*, or silk) and is used in ensemble contexts. The *bēsugoto* is an amplified instrument with tuning pegs in its mouth extremity. The amplifier lead plugs into a socket positioned toward the head end on the long side of the instrument (away from the player). It is played on a high metal stand and is just 106 cm long. Its thirteen strings are tuned at the same pitches as the first thirteen strings of the *jūshichigen*. The contemporary composer Kawamura Toshio designed this instrument about thirty years ago and includes it in a number of his compositions for new *koto*. In his composition called "Kōhīrunba" (Coffee Rumba), for instance, he uses a *sopuranogoto*, two *koto*, a *jūshichigen*, and a *bēsugoto*. Such instrumentation is typical in a plethora of contemporary pieces or arrangements for old and new *koto*. It should also be noted that on the back cover of this

109. See further *www.pop-corn.co.jp*.
110. Ogawa Gakki, *Ogawa no Wagakki*, 6.

Figure 19. *Bēsugoto* on display in the shop Mori Gakki. Kumamoto, June 1997.

particular score the *sopuranogoto* and *bēsugoto* are advertised and briefly described, thus indicating their recent inclusion in such ensembles and depicting them to players who might otherwise not know them.

Conclusions

Since the late nineteenth century, and especially throughout the twentieth century, a number of new *koto,* small and large, have been devised. In the past ten years or so the quantity of new *koto*-type instruments has markedly increased. While some smaller *koto* had existed prior to the Meiji era, it was the social conditions of the late nineteenth century that influenced later experimentation in *koto* design. The role of such instruments is varied. Some now have an established and distinct place in Japanese music, some will surely follow, and others have already ceased to be used.

In its perceived traditional form the *koto* has been pivotal in the development of new *koto*-type instruments throughout the twentieth century, which have undoubtedly been designed, small and large alike, in relation to its structure. The new *koto* were devised at various stages in Japanese recent history that initially saw an influence of Western music

and instrumentation, and later built on well-established systems in Japanese society and culture that could no longer be perceived as Japan being influenced by the West.

The preceding discussion has both provided an historical ethnography of *koto*-type instruments and shown relationships between social processes and cultural formation. It has illustrated how some inventions reflect changes in society, especially in terms of nationalism, cultural identity, Western influence, Japanese identity, modernization, and commercialization. In this respect, the instruments exist "at the intersection of material, social and cultural worlds."[111] Indeed, "musical innovations exemplify how tradition responds to and is transformed by social changes."[112] Change in instrument design is usually initiated by instrument makers, performers, or composers. There can be many reasons for such change, including the composition of new music and experimentation in instrument design. Recently, additional factors—including marketing, commercialization, and educational needs—have contributed to the dissemination of new *koto* instruments.

The contemporary traditional form of the *koto* is really a recent invention. However, while there is perhaps a recognizable structure that has changed within limited physical boundaries, the new *koto* designs extended those boundaries considerably. Even within the variety of *koto* traditions, each with their own distinct identity, the type of *koto* used today is usually a standardized version. The existence of new *koto* that extend or change the size of the *koto* challenges notions of tradition, and their continued place is contested in terms of their becoming established icons of Japanese music. New *koto* are very much connected with the place and identity of their players. "An instrument can become an icon of intense affect and performance contexts privileged sites for enacting and contesting cultural memories in the face of hegemonic resignification."[113] The *koto* in its various forms embodies ideas of tradition and change. Only future study will reveal if some innovations will survive. Early experimentation with larger *koto* might historically have been the result of copying or imitating ideas from the West, but inventing new *koto* today is essentially a product of contemporary Japanese culture, and very much part of maintaining old traditions and inventing new ones.

111. Kevin Dawe, "People, Objects, Meaning: Recent Work on the Study and Collection of Musical Instruments," *Galpin Society Journal* 54 (2001): 220.

112. Weintraub, "Instruments of Power," 220.

113. Regula Qureshi, "How Does Music Mean? Embodied Memories and the Politics of Affect in the Indian *Sarangi*," *American Anthropologist* 27 (2000): 805.

Character List

ajen 牙箏
arutogoto アルト箏
Asai Kuniko 麻井紅仁子
atarashii koto 新しい箏
ayamegoto 菖蒲箏・あやめ箏
azumaryū nigenkin 東流二弦琴
bēsugoto ベース箏
bu 分
bunkagoto 文化箏
bunraku 文楽
chikukin 竹琴
Chikushi kai 筑紫会
Chikushi Katsuko 筑紫歌都子
Chikushi ryū 筑紫流
chikusō 筑箏
daijūshichigen 大十七弦
daikokyū 大胡弓
daikoto 大箏
Edo 江戸
erekutorikku goto
エレクトリック箏
erekutorikku goto duo
エレクトリック箏デュオ
Fujita Fusahiko 藤田房彦
Fukuoka 福岡
Fukuyama 福山
Fukuyama Hōgakki Seizōgyō
Kyōdō Kumiai
福山邦楽器製造業協同組合
gagaku 雅楽
gakin 雅琴
gakusō 雅箏
gendai hōgaku 現代邦楽
goto 箏・琴
guzheng 古箏
hachijūgen 八十弦
Hamamatsu 浜松
hāmonika ハーモニカ
Hanamifune 花見船
hansō 半箏
Hata Moritsugu 畑盛次
Hayashi Kimiko 林きみこ
himegoto 姫箏
hōgakki 邦楽器
hōgaku 邦楽
Hōgaku Jānaru
邦楽ジャーナル
honken 本間
i 為
iemoto 家元
iemoto seido 家元制度
Ifukube Akira 伊福部昭
Ikuta 生田
ikutagoto 生田箏
Ikuta Kengyō 生田検校
Ikuta ryū 生田流
Imamuragata jūshichigen
今村型十七弦
inakama 田舎間

ito makura 糸枕
Iwate Ken Kōgyō Gijutsu Sentā 岩手県工業技術センター
Izawa Shūji 伊沢修二
jūgogen 十五弦
jūhachigen 十八弦
jūnanagen 十七弦
jūrokugen 十六弦
jūsangen 十三弦
jūsangen kōonyō sopuranogoto 十三弦高音用ソプラノ箏
jūshichigen 十七弦
jūshichigengoto 十七弦箏
jūshichigensō 十七弦箏
kābongoto jūsangen カーボン琴13弦
kābongoto tangoto カーボン琴短琴
kabuki 歌舞伎
kanji 漢字
Kansai 関西
Kantō 関東
kashiwaba 柏葉
Kawamura Toshio 河村利夫
kazune 和音
ken 間
kin 巾
kin 琴
kiri 桐
kogatagoto 小型箏
Kōhīrunba コーヒールンバ
kokyū 胡弓
Komiya Kiyoshi 小宮清
Koshino Eishō 越野栄松
koten 古典
koto 箏・琴
kuchimae nejizuke 口前ねじ付
Kumamoto 熊本
kurumagoto 車箏
Kuzuhara Kōtō 葛原勾当
kyōma 京間
Kyō no Yorokobi 今日の喜び
Kyōto 京都
Makimoto Gakki 牧本楽器
makura zuno 枕角
Matsuzaki Shūsetsu 松崎秀雪
Meiji 明治
Meiji shinkyoku 明治新曲
mijikaigoto 短い箏
Miki Minoru 三木稔
minichuagoto ミニチュア箏
minigoto ミニ箏
Mitsuya みつや
Miyagi ha 宮城派
Miyagi kai 宮城会
Miyagi Michio 宮城道雄
Miyagi Michio Kinenkan 宮城道雄記念館
Miyama erekutorikku goto E-shirīzu Miyamaエレクトリック箏E-シリーズ

Miyashita Shin 宮下伸
Miyashita Shūretsu 宮下秀冽
Mizuno Toshihiko 水野利彦
Mori Gakki 森楽器
Morishita Shingu Ten 森下神具店
Motoori Nagayo 本居長世
nagasō 長箏
Naitō Masako 内藤方干
Nakagawa Kimi 中川喜美
Nakagawa Shūsui 中川秀翠
Nakajima 中島
Nakanoshima Kin'ichi 中野島欣一
Neo Kikaku ネオ企画
nidan ryūkaku 二段竜角
nigenkin 二弦琴
nihonjinron 日本人論
Nihon Ongaku Shūdan 日本音楽集団
niigoto 新箏
nijūgen 二十弦
nijūichigensō 二十一弦箏
Nomura 野村
Nomura Gakkiten 野村楽器店
Nosaka Keiko 野坂恵子
Ochiba no Odori 落葉の踊
Ogawa Gakki 小川楽器
Ogawa Hideo 小川秀夫
Ogōri 小郡
ōgoto 大箏
Ōno Tadatomo 多忠朝
Ōsaka 大阪
pegugoto ペグ箏
poppukōn ポップコーン
rōmaji ローマ字
ryōsō 涼箏
Saitama 埼玉
Sakura Hensōkyoku 桜変奏曲
sanjūgen 三十弦
Satō Yūsō 佐藤友相
Sawai Kazue 沢井一恵
Seiha 正派
seiza 正座
shaku 尺
Shigemoto Iwajirō 重本岩次
shin fukuyama goto 新福山箏
shingata jūshichigen 新型十七弦
shinkyoku 新曲
shin nihon ongaku 新日本音楽
Shin Nihon Ongaku Dai Ensōkai 新日本音楽大演奏会
shin nihon ongaku undō 新日本音楽運動
Shinwa Kingaku 新和琴楽
shitsu 瑟
shōjūshichigen 小十七弦
Shūyū kai 秀友会
sō 箏
sōkyoku 箏曲

Sōkyoku shūyū kai 箏曲秀友会
Sōkyoku taiishō 箏曲大意抄
sō no koto 箏の琴
sopuranogoto ソプラノ箏
sun 寸
tagensō 多弦箏
Taishō 大正
taishōgoto 大正琴
taishōkin 大正琴
Tamura Chikukin 田村竹琴
Tamura Yosaburō 田村与三郎
Tanabe Hisao 田辺尚雄
tangoto 短箏
tankin 短琴
tan nijūgen 短二十弦
tei nijūgen 低二十弦
teion nijūgen 低音二十弦
teion nijūgogen 低音二十五弦
teionsō 低音箏
tetoron テトロン
to 斗
Tōkyō 東京
Tōkyō Dō Shingu Ten
東京堂神具店
Tōkyō Ongaku Gakkō
東京音楽学校
torii 鳥居
Torii Masahi 鳥居正志
Tsuda Michiko 津田道子
Tsukushigoto 筑紫箏
Tsurukawa 鶴川
Tsurukawa Kihee 鶴川喜兵衛
Tsurukawa Shinbee 鶴川新兵衛
uenejizuke 上ねじ付
wagakki 和楽器
wagon 和琴
Yamada 山田
yamadagoto 山田箏
Yamada Kengyō 山田検校
Yamada ryū 山田流
Yamase Shōin 山勢松韻
Yatsuhashi Kengyō 八橋検校
yōgakki 洋楽器
yokopingoto 横ピン箏
Yonekawa Kin'ō 米川琴翁
Zanshō 残照
Zen'on 全音
zheng 箏
zokusō 俗箏

NB. The character 琴 is sometimes used instead of 箏. The character 絃 is sometimes used instead of 弦.