

Geino and Patrons

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1. INTRODUCTION

Geinō—"the arts" or "the art of public entertainment"—is a very important concept when looking at Japanese culture. The word *geinō* was coined in Japan and has never existed in Chinese, although nowadays the term is a beleaguered one, seen as a word of somewhat lesser stature than others such as *geijutsu* (art), *gakugei* (scholarly attainments) or *bungei* (literary arts). While "artist" (*geijutsuka*) denotes greatness, some people see "artiste" (*geinōjin*) as a rather derogatory term. The reasons for this are linked to the fact that the essence of *geinō* is amusement, as it centers on entertainment.

Geinō's distinctive characteristics lie in the fact that it takes place in a performer-audience context, and also in its ephemeral nature—it is about the enjoyment of the very moment of performance. In this sense much of Japan's art (*geijutsu*) and literary art (*bungei*) used to be like *geinō*. The literary arts of *renga* linked verse and *haikai*, for example, were about the enjoyment of the moment created as verses were written and read out by members of groups that gathered for the purpose. When the gathering was over the pieces of paper with the verses written on them were cleared up off the writing desk and they were now, as Bashō might have said, nothing more than wastepaper, of no value. Entertainment was derived from the constant repetition around the group in turn of the verse-writer-audience relationship, and this form of entertainment is extremely like what we find in *geinō*.

Academic learning would appear to be extremely unlike *geinō*, yet when one actually considers what was involved with learning—with the scholar often being at once distinguished writer, poet and calligrapher—it too had similarities. *Geinō*'s distinctive characteristics should at any rate be clearly evident, since, from the tea ceremony, flower arrangement and fragrance-smelling pursuits to art, literature and cooking, Japanese culture is grouped together under the term "*geinō*."

Geinō requires a performer and an audience. There was also a further impor-

tant contributor—a patron to shoulder the financial responsibilities. Patrons were also meant to control the character of *geinō*. Let us look back at history to see how the relationship between these three developed.

2. MEN OF POWER AND *GEINŌ*

When one looks at *sarugaku* (an early entertainment form) and *gagaku* (court music) in ancient and medieval times, one sees that they were first enabled to exist through affiliations with shrines or temples and the Court. The Yamato *sarugaku* troupe, for instance, which produced the great Kan'ami and Zeami, earned recognition for its services in the Shinto ceremonies and Buddhist services at the Kasuga Shrine and Kōfukuji temple. The three Ōmi *sarugaku* schools, meanwhile—Yamashina, Shimosaka and Hiei—performed religious rites at Hie Shrine. Similarly other companies, Tanba *sarugaku* and Settsu *sarugaku* for instance, offered performances at the religious observations of the new year, the rice transplantation, and the like. When there were no religious rites to be involved in, they took part in rural festivals or put on the fund-raising performances of *nō* that accompanied public works and so on. Since their license to entertain was granted them because of the authority of the religious institutions, they depended on shrines and temples for their very existence.

What gave *sarugaku* the opportunity to emerge from this dependency on the religious institutions was, of course, the infatuation the third *shōgun* Ashikaga Yoshimitsu had for Zeami. If we look at the diary of Sanjō Kintada, in which the court noble bitterly records their relationship, we read: "It is the end of the world for the *shōgun* to sit beside men who are no better than beggars—*sarugaku* actors and the like—and to drink toasts in their honor. What is more, the *shōgun* is glad when this boy [Zeami] is given money and gifts, so the *daimyō* lords vie amongst each other to give him things, spending vast amounts of money for the purpose. It is a truly deplorable situation."

What is interesting is that, while Yoshimitsu presumably gave money himself, it was the other *daimyō* lords who tried even harder to become Zeami's patrons so as to get closer to authority themselves. As well as being financial supporters, the men of power gave protection and official sanction, thus fulfilling the function of patronage.

For the *geinō* men, however, getting close to authority was a risky gamble. If they should ever fall out of favor, they might not simply lose this protection—there was also the danger of exile and even of death. It is a well-known fact that after Yoshimitsu's death Zeami failed to secure the fourth *shōgun* Ashikaga Yoshinori's favor, incurring instead his wrath and being sent off to the island of Sado.

Each successive Ashikaga *shōgun* gave protection to *nō* and in the Edo period, as this tradition was followed by Toyotomi Hideyoshi and Tokugawa Ieyasu, *nō* reached the status where it was the ceremonial entertainment for the shogunate. In the case of the Ashikaga shogunate's protection, however, after the Ōnin War

(1467-77) the shogunal economy went to ruins and funds for the support of entertainment ran out. As a result the *shōgun* often dictated that the powerful *shugo daimyō* in the provinces should provide assistance; when even this became impossible the *nō* performers left the capital to seek the protection of powerful provincial figures themselves.

In the Momoyama period (last third of the sixteenth century) *nō* obtained the protection of the great unifiers and *shōgun*, and their fortunes turned to great prosperity. Oda Nobunaga was something of a philistine, and the most he could manage was a rendition of a popular ballad form called *kōwakabushi*; hence he was not actively keen to patronise *nō*. The next great unifier, however, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, was passionately fond of *nō*. He had new *nō* written about his battles (*Akechiuchi*, for example) and even performed himself. Hideyoshi's successor Tokugawa Ieyasu also patronized *nō*, but the patronage of these two was very different from that of the Ashikaga *shōgun* as they gave the *nō* schools rice stipends just like *samurai*.

According to the records of 1593 Hideyoshi gave the Komparu-za troupe 400 *koku* (about 2000 bushels) and the Kanze-za troupe 200 *koku* (about 1000 bushels) at Kyoto and Nara. It is estimated that on top of this they received some one thousand *koku* each in rice stipends which the *daimyō* lords were responsible for. They were guaranteed a fixed annual income instead of the varying amounts of rice and money that they had been receiving from the government up to that point. This system was also followed under the Tokugawa shogunate with the Kanze school receiving a 20-man allowance of 256 *koku*, the Kongō school receiving a 13-man allowance of 300 *koku* and this also extending to *kyōgen* and *hayashi* troupes, while central figures also received mansions and stipends. The position of the four schools under shogunal support was thus fully established.

If we ask why *nō* was given this much patronage in warrior society, we conclude that it was because *nō* was the *geinō* entertainment given at the banquets which were part of warrior entertaining and also because *nō* originally had the function of invoking gods and praying for long life and happiness. As well as representing the gods' figures on stage at functions and praying for the warriors' safety, *nō* was also indispensable *geinō* entertainment. We must thus not forget that while often there were individuals amongst the men of power who, like Yoshimitsu and Yoshinori or Hideyoshi, had a personal liking for *nō*, at the same time its necessity as part of formal ceremony linked *nō* and power together.

It was mentioned earlier how for the *geinō* men approaching close to authority was a risky gamble. It is easy to find examples all around the world of men patronized by authority who subsequently suffered downfall, but let us take as our example here the well-known relationship between Hideyoshi and Rikyū.

The tea ceremony was originally a *geinō* entertainment that brought a party of people together and had no links with authority. *Wabicha* in particular, a form of tea ceremony which took place in a thatched hut, created a mountain retreat in the city where one enjoyed temporary withdrawal from ordinary life. There were no

rich and rare highly prized utensils involved in it. In Oda Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi's times, however, the tea ceremony suddenly took on a political coloration. As a new form of warrior etiquette it was adopted into the political sphere; at the time this was called the "Politics of Tea." This process saw the appearance from the Ashikaga shogunate onwards of utensils which were highly prized and highly renowned and which had the function of symbolising culture and wealth. Nobunaga, who had come to the capital from the provinces, was at pains to deck himself out with traditional authority and he devoted himself to collecting these highly prized utensils, known as *karamono* (Chinese goods).

Nobunaga's high-handed collection of these utensils—his "hunting of highly prized goods"—led to occasional utensil exhibitions in his castle and to tea party events where they were used. When presently Nobunaga was killed, his successor Hideyoshi collected valuable tea pieces on an even grander scale, while he gave appointments to famous tea masters and placed the tea ceremony at the center of shogunal events. Amongst these were the Kinri Tea Party (Kinri *chakai*) in 1585 and the Great Tea Ceremony at Kitano Shrine (Kitano *ōchanoyu*) in 1587. Both of these were presided over by Sen no Rikyū.

Rikyū came from a Sakai merchant family, but with his exceptional sensibilities and ideas he created a new paradigm in the tea ceremony. Hideyoshi engaged the world's greatest practitioner of tea, Sen no Rikyū, as tea master and reportedly gave him a 3000 *koku* rice stipend. Plans for the tea ceremony events just mentioned were thus drawn up with Hideyoshi having both the world's most exquisite utensils and the world's greatest tea master at his disposal.

One might perhaps think that from Rikyū's point of view Hideyoshi's tea ceremony appointment was nothing more than a nuisance. I do not agree with this. I think there can be no doubt that Rikyū felt tremendous interest at the prospect of becoming Hideyoshi's tea master and thus breaking out of the realm of the ordinary tea master to become able to control the tea ceremony world. When one thinks that the perfection of the tea hut, the creation of new utensils under his guidance of Raku Chōjirō and Yojirō and so on were all concentrated in the last ten years of his life, between 1582 when he became Hideyoshi's tea master and his suicide in 1591, there can be no doubt that Rikyū's securing of Hideyoshi's authority had a great effect on his cultural maturation.

During Hideyoshi's ardent admiration for the genius Rikyū's tea ceremony both men must have been at once rivals and cooperators. Historically, however, times changed and a deep gulf opened between them. The liquidation of Rikyū himself finally became a political issue. Tragedy was hard to avoid; Rikyū committed *seppuku*. A wooden image of Rikyū was then apparently crucified beside Modoribashi Bridge in Ichijō in Kyoto before people trampled it underfoot.

The Sen family was widely dispersed, but presently, after a few years, the adopted son Shōan was allowed to revive the family. What is interesting is what the descendants did. Hideyoshi soon died, and as Japan entered the Edo period under Tokugawa rule, the Sen family entered the period of the grandson Sen

Sōtan. Sōtan apparently consistently declined invitations from the shogunate, while also refusing to serve any of the *daimyō* lords, and he contented himself with a life of quietness and simplicity. While it is true that he incurred no particular expenses just keeping the tea ceremony tradition alive and that thus there was no need for a financial patron, another reason for this deliberate stance lay in wanting to prevent the extinction of the family by maintaining some distance from authority. The tragedy that befell Rikyū must never again be repeated—this was Sōtan's most pressing aim. Thus with great forcefulness Sōtan sought *samurai* service for his three sons one after the other. If the three worked for different *daimyō* and each received stipends, even if by any chance one of these families should cease to exist, the Sen family at least would survive. These were Sōtan's hard calculations and this, in other words, was the sort of preparedness that was needed if one was going to have men of power as one's patrons.

3. PATRONAGE BY THE MASSES

When one looks at the Japanese culture of patronage in comparison with that of the West, the biggest difference is found in the way that *geinō* was economically supported by the vast, anonymous masses from a very early point. This system, fully developed in the Edo period, was that of *yūgei* (polite accomplishments) and the *iemoto* system (of "families" or "schools" in the arts).

Its first shoots were, however, already visible in the activities of Muromachi period *renga* (linked-verse) poets. As one can see from the way *renga* poets became involved in the scene at "Artisan Poetry Contests," they were regarded as professional specialists from early on. One thus finds various accounts of them receiving remuneration for writing at *renga* parties. When, for example, the lay priest Hatano Motoyoshi served as "The Commoner *Renga* Poet" at the nobles' *renga* party, he received a 5000 *hiki* honorarium. The *renga* poets Iio Sōgi, Sōchō, Botanka Shōhaku and Satomura Jōha, all famous literary figures, earned their living by writing linked verse. We can perhaps say that *renga* was the first literary genre to see professional writers.

There is an anecdote in *Seisuishō* (*Wakening Laughter*) about Botanka Shōhaku. It was after Shōhaku had moved to Sakai from Kyoto. Requests flooded to his house from all around for *haiku* to celebrate New Year and the coming of Spring, but Shōhaku could not be bothered and spent his time resting, telling the man on the door to turn them all down because he was ill. New Year had come and gone and Shōhaku was still in bed when he was told that someone had come to his house hoping for a *haiku*. Shōhaku scolded the servant, saying he had said he did not want to be disturbed, but the servant told him this person had brought three *kanmon* (a unit of money) for his trouble. "Oh well," said Shōhaku as he got up, "maybe I'll write a *haiku* then." The *renga* poet was a truly mercenary creature.

In sixteenth-century Kyoto and Sakai there was a custom of hanging up poetry cards (*shikishi* and *tanzaku*) at the turning of the seasons—New Year, the First Day

of Spring and so on—which had celebratory verses by *renga* poets written on them and the *renga* poets' activities were thus sought after. It was not only what they wrote that was in demand; there was a significant number of people who wanted to study *renga*. There thus appeared people studying and enjoying *renga* under *renga* poets who could not be called *renga* poets themselves. They were what one might call amateurs—townspeople with some degree of financial power. It is only their names that remain in poem party gatherings and it is unclear where most of them were from. This relationship between amateur pupil and professional specialist providing instruction developed rapidly in the Edo period.

In the latter half of the seventeenth century, some fifty years after the establishment of the Tokugawa shogunate, urban life reached maturity in the three cities (Edo, Osaka and Kyoto) and the culture of the merchant class, the new cities' citizens, gradually began to grow. There was an increasing number of people with leisure, not only merchants but also the warriors centered around the castle towns, now no longer involved in battle. These people created a huge demand for *geinō* the like of which had never existed before.

These were not people studying *geinō* in order to become professional specialists but people who had merchant jobs or with warrior duties and whose interest in *geinō* was thus purely as a recreation. As a result this kind of *geinō* is referred to as *yūgei* (recreational arts). We must, however, be careful not to say that these were merely frivolous recreational pursuits. As a forum and a means for associating with one's fellow citizens, *yūgei* was also to some extent an essential form of cultural education.

Ihara Saikaku's novels about townspeople give a vivid description of urban life at the time and one of his characters relates the following about *yūgei* life.... "For *nō* one memorises 350 pieces; one studies *go* till one can give a two-stone advantage to a master; for *kemari* (football) one takes the purple grade; one does archery to the gold certificate; *kouta* ballads till one becomes a certified master; *jōruri* to Yamamoto Kakudayū's level; the tea ceremony until one can pass on Rikyū's style, and *fumizukuri* poetry till one could send Kagura and Gansai off on their way barefoot; one's skill juggling with wooden pillows should be able to earn Old Den-nai's respect; one's knowledge of *renga* should be up to the minute; one's mastery of *kōdō* (fragrance-smelling) so complete that no one in Kyoto can compare; while one should be able to give addresses in public and write official letters in one's own hand. . ." (*Nippon Eitaigura*).

Saikaku speaks again about the artistic accomplishments of merchants elsewhere in *Nippon Eitaigura* and in *Saikaku Oridome*, dealing with Itō Jinsai's Confucianism alongside *monomane* imitation, the *biwa*, the *hitoyogiri*, dance, *rikka* (flower arrangement) and *renga*. We can sense the breadth of the Edo period *yūgei* world as he lists as *yūgei* pursuits ranging from scholarship to brothels and sodomy and as he mentions for each the names of teachers and schools for the townspeople. These *yūgei* accomplishments, as we stated earlier, clearly embodied a means for association with one's fellows and for cultural education. Being able

to give a formal address in the presence of others ("one should be able to give addresses in public") was presumably a requirement for merchants. Similarly, being able to write *meyasu* (a general term for letters written to the magistrate's office) in one's own hand was presumably an ability deemed suitable for representatives of the town. Systems for one to learn each of these under a teacher were indeed already in place in towns.

In 1685, three years before the publication of Saikaku's *Nippon Eitaigura*, a six-volume topography entitled *Kyō Habutae*, a guide to the city of Kyoto, was published. *Habutae* was a close, fine-textured fabric made of silk and the title was intended to mean that the guide to the city was similarly minute in its detail (while *Kyō* referred to Kyoto). In Volume 6 there was a section on teachers and arts which gave a summary of *yūgei* teachers in Kyoto, with a list of their names together with their addresses. Nowadays it would probably be a culture-centers guide. It featured 241 teachers' names, spanning forty-seven different genres including doctors, scholars, poets, *go* (Japanese chequers), Japanese chess, *rikka* (flower arrangement), the tea ceremony, *nō* chanting and so on and so forth. In a similar record of some twenty years later the register of teachers' names ran to 440. There was certainly a considerable number of *yūgei* teachers specialising in teaching accomplishments while there was again a sizeable number of the sort of townspeople featured in *Nippon Eitaigura* studying under them.

From Itō Jinsai's Confucianism through to medicine, literature, music and the ways of tea, flowers and incense-smelling, these *geinō* were being financially supported by anonymous townspeople. This was a completely different situation to patronage by a specific minority.

A level above the amateur *geinō* population were the teachers. As proof of the legitimacy of their own *geinō*, these teachers would sometimes seek the authority of rank to demonstrate seniority. It was this mentality that gave birth to the *iemoto* system (of "families" or "schools").

The first appearance of the word *iemoto* in historical records was in the mid-eighteenth century, while it is thought that something corresponding to the basic *iemoto* pattern was to some extent in place in the seventeenth century. The successor of a tradition which has been inherited through blood relationship going back to the founder is an *iemoto*, while someone who has taken various secrets from an *iemoto* and whose ability as a teacher has then been recognised is a "middle teacher" (in dance and the like "*natori*," or a professional name received from one's teacher). There is a pyramid structure, sometimes with stratification of the middle teachers but ultimately with the general pupils as the bottom layer and the *iemoto* at the top. This structure is tightly consolidated through the authority of control and license revolving around certificates.

This *iemoto* system was not of course perfected from the outset—rather it has been the modern period that has seen the *iemoto* system become powerful and realise its authority most successfully—but the basic model had taken shape. There are two different *iemoto* system models: the first is the License-transmission

model, the second the Single-(male)heir-transmission model. With the License-transmission model, the very best of the senior pupils are initiated into all the *iemoto* secrets and powers including the right to give licenses, and since the initiate now becomes an *iemoto* himself, alternate schools of thought and tradition gradually separate off. Many Edo period *iemoto* belonged to this category. With the Single-heir-transmission model, on the other hand, the right to issue certificates is only transmitted to the *iemoto*'s succeeding eldest son and thus there is no separation off from the *iemoto*. All the *iemoto* systems of the present day belong to this category and should a pupil wish to be independent, his separation off means expulsion. There are plenty of examples of this in today's *iemoto* society.

The first condition for the birth of this sort of *iemoto* system is that the art form's practices and ideas are made to conform to a model and progress from one grade to the next comes to be recognised by a license from the *iemoto*. The *iemoto* system could not exist in a culture that prized individuality which did not conform to the model. Furthermore, since authority within the model rests not on the *iemoto*'s individual skills but on his inherited status as an *iemoto*, if the situation was one where variations in skill and sensibility were judged objectively and openly, the *iemoto*'s authority would be fragile and the system would not last long. This was why the *iemoto* that used to exist in Japanese chequers and chess disappeared.

The second condition is the existence of large numbers of amateur pupils who enjoy the art form purely as a hobby. This applies today as well. There are, for instance, many *kabuki* fans, yet there are no amateur pupils wanting to study *kabuki* under an actor. There are consequently no *kabuki iemoto*. Since, by contrast, there is a large number of people learning *nō* chanting, there are *iemoto* in *nō*. Circumstances are different among the various traditional *geinō*.

The widespread appearance of these amateur students of various art forms came in the latter half of the seventeenth century; *yūgei* teachers appeared in response and the *iemoto* were born as the fountain head of authority. The mass population of arts students thus supports *yūgei* financially whilst, if one looks at the way the highly refined *geinō* have grown, one can say that the *iemoto* system and the *yūgei* system are classic forms of patronage by the masses.

4. MODERN CONNOISSEURS (*SUKISHA*) AS PATRONS

By "modern connoisseurs" I mean wealthy people from perhaps the political and financial worlds who took pleasure in the various forms of *geinō* and followed them purely out of interest as a hobby. They acted as leaders in the *geinō* worlds for the roughly seventy years between the early Meiji period and the early part of the Shōwa period. One of the most popular pursuits in this period was the tea ceremony and thus when one speaks of connoisseurs, enjoyment of the tea ceremony is what is tacitly implied.

There are big generational changes between the groups of connoisseurs in the modern period. If one were to make a list of the principal connoisseurs, one could

divide them into the following four groups.

The first generation is the generation which completed its spiritual growth in the Edo period. Amongst them were people like Hirase Rokō, a powerful merchant's heir, and Matsuura Shingetsu, the son of a *daimyō* lord; there were many people such as these who were familiar with and fond of *objets d'art* and the tea ceremony world from an early age. By contrast with this first generation, who were involved with the *yūgei* world through their very birth, one can say that the second generation, which featured people who had found success amid the growing capitalism of the modern period, consciously chose their pursuit for themselves.

The world of the third generation was the most lively and colorful time for the connoisseurs. The price of art objects and accessories rose sharply in the boom period of World War I, and this generation was behind it. Among them was Nezu Seizan, whose collection was left as an art museum (Nezu Institute of Fine Arts) after he died. Following his lead, after the war many other connoisseurs' collections were turned into foundations and came to be preserved as art museums.

The fourth was the final connoisseur generation. The great reform of the tax system in the modern period was prohibitive for connoisseurs and they went into decline. In their stead came the era of the modern *iemoto* system, and connoisseurs were gradually forgotten. Even in this period of decline great connoisseurs who were concerned with the relationship between connoisseurship and society did appear—men like Matsunaga Jian and Kobayashi Itsuō—and they published a wide variety of theoretical writings.

We can thus sum up by saying that the system of *geinō* patronage by the masses, which went some way towards being in place in the Edo period, then collapsed temporarily during the Meiji, Taishō and early Shōwa periods, before the new *iemoto* system was established around the 1940s—a system which attracted unprecedented participation by women—and that during the intervening period, when there was no patronage by the masses, patronage was provided by connoisseurs.

Connoisseurs, however, did not just simply foot the financial bill for *geinō* entertainment. They were fierce individualists. Their interest in *geinō* was to satisfy their personal recreational urges and they are completely different in nature from the philanthropic patrons of today. They were unconcerned, surprisingly, with supporting *geinō* performers or teamasters. Perhaps they thought of the money they spent on *yūgei* and entertainment as expenses necessary for their own personal enjoyment. Their sort of *geinō* and entertainment patronage, unlike opera and orchestra performances today, did not involve vast expenditure and consisted of only fairly modest contributions. Even though the connoisseurs were no doubt extremely wealthy, their patronage basically took the form of personal expenditure.

Their importance as patrons was more in their capacity as *geinō* critics and occasionally as actual artists. During the period when there were no *iemoto* they had a genuine executive capacity—Osaka connoisseur Hirase Rokō, for example, was executive *iemoto* for the Mushanokōji-Senke tea ceremony school. Many con-

noisseurs meted out harsh criticism and there are countless examples of the terror they struck in *geinō* artists.

Let us examine the case of someone who transcended the role of critic to turn a hand to the creative process, Hiraoka Ginshū (1855-1934).

Ginshū Hiraoka Hiroshi was born the eldest son of Hiraoka Kiichi, a vassal of the Tokugawa *shōgun*. In 1871 he went to America, aged sixteen, and returned to Japan in 1877. After beginning work at the Ministry of Industry he made a fortune after setting up a steam train rolling stock manufacturing company. Ginshū was an Edoite through and through, so much so that later he even gave himself the sobriquet "Kōji-an" (Kōji means "son of Edo" in Sino-Japanese pronunciation; -an was a commonly used suffix in the professional names of literary and artistic personalities). He was also fond of Edo music. Like his distinguished musician descendants Hiraoka Yōichi (a xylophonist) and Hiraoka Seiji, Ginshū was talented musically, to the extent that he was even initiated into the secrets of the Katōbushi troupe. He was entirely responsible for directing members of the Katōbushi in a faithful recreation of the style used by Sakai Hōichi in the Bunka-Bunsei period (1804-1829) when Ichikawa Danjūrō put on a performance of the play *Sukeroku* in 1896. On the day of the performance Danjūrō's secretary came to see "Master Hiraoka," who had installed himself in the theater teahouse, with a written request. Ginshū's reply was that he would accept the request, whereupon he arranged for ten or so of the Katōbushi group of which he was head to come to the theater. Issuing them with crested *kimono* and gold and greyish—blue checked sashes and having them wear sandals twelve centimetres high as they entered the green-room, he thus reproduced the exact flavor Sakai Hōichi had created eighty years before. This apparently cost ¥10,000, at a time when a policeman's monthly salary was ¥10. It apparently earned him the name "Richman Hiraoka," while to the present day there has not been any similar undertaking made by an individual.

Hiraoka Ginshū was not only interested in spending money and amusing himself, however—he was also active creatively and left a large number of ballads and other works. Special mention should perhaps be made of his creation of a style of music called *tōmeikyoku*.

Around 1902 when he began the *tōmei* style (of *tōmeikyoku*) he wrote the following:

I am by nature fond of music and have both appreciated it and studied it for some years. My thoughts on it are these. Music in our country first began in Kyoto before it gradually spread east; more and more branches of schools split off and as this happened music itself diversified. Each type of music has its own distinctive features, but I find the "tasteful" poor and the "good" trivial; otherwise I find them too sharp or too sweet, and while each has its strengths and its shortcomings, they all fail to move my heart. Thus as an experiment I have created here my own new style of music, moving around every other style of music and taking only songs that I like, making new songs and giving them spice—I have called it *tōmei* style. My knowledge is shallow and I have little

talent, while I do this not out of any vain ambition to create a new style but simply to distinguish from other songs the sort of song I like and enjoy. It is simply for my own private pleasure on beautiful clear evenings, and I hope other people will not find fault in me for it. [TAKAHASHI 1934: 63-64]

With *kouta* as the main element and other balladic forms such as *kiyomoto*, *nagauta* and *tokiwazu* and even *nō* chanting incorporated in appropriate measures, the musical style is a complex one, but the most distinctive feature is in the words. *Kouta*, *kiyomoto* and so on were originally very popular in the pleasure quarters and the lyrics nearly always concern love between men and women. There were many which girls from upstanding middle class families would shrink from singing. Ginshū's idea was thus to look at stories from every period of history and all sorts of places and at classical texts for lyrics, to be literary and refined and to use traditional polite phraseology in his compositions. There are ideas here in common with the movement to reform the theater in the 1880s.

In numerical terms about fifty *tōmeikyoku* remain today, all passed down in great detail, and they seem to have been quite popular in the late Meiji, Taishō and early Shōwa periods. With the disappearance of patrons like Ginshū, however, what with the complexity of the songs they could only go into decline.

The name Hiraoka Hiroshi is in fact known better as the name of the man who introduced baseball to Japan than in this way as a music patron. While Hiroshi learnt train manufacturing techniques in America, he also had a liking for baseball and on his return to Japan he formed Japan's first baseball team, "Shinbashi Club," later dominating student baseball and becoming the leading figure in the baseball world. As a connoisseur of the modern period Hiraoka Ginshū's Japanese uniqueness of character lay here where baseball, a sport of the late Meiji, Taishō and early Shōwa periods, and *kouta* and *kiyomoto*, hobbies of the Edo period, existed side by side.

Looking at a table of connoisseurs by generation one sees that basically between 1930 and about 1940 the principal connoisseurs died off one after the other. Amongst them were the famous Ishiguro Kyōō, Masuda Don'ō, Murayama Gen'an, Dan Rizan, Nezu Seizan, Takahashi Sōan and so on. Following this the influence of connoisseurs rapidly declined. As the first reason for this we can cite the emergence of new mass patrons, in the place of a small number of connoisseurs as patrons, with the development of the modern female-based *iemoto* system.

Taking the tea ceremony as an example, 1940 marked the 350th anniversary of Sen Rikyū's death and the three Sen families held a memorial service and a giant tea party. Five thousand pupils came from all over the country, resulting in tremendous confusion, to take part in the three-day service and tea party. The ceremony reached further still since it was broadcast live around the country by NHK Kyoto Central Broadcasting Station. At much the same time a lecture on the tea ceremony by Sen Sōshu, the Mushanokōji-Senke *iemoto* (Kankyūan) was broadcast to the whole country on NHK, whereupon 175,000 copies of the text for the lecture

sold in the space of about one month. A similarly large number of people appeared who having bought the text then wanted to study the tea ceremony, and these people subsequently became attached to the *iemoto* as practitioners of his style of tea ceremony.

The second reason was that the tax system was reformed and income tax became heavier—the amount of money individuals had at their disposal became limited. The third reason we can give for the decline of the connoisseurs is the postwar situation, as the *zaibatsu* economic combines were dismantled, inheritance tax became heavier and so on, as social change became more pronounced and the role of the individual *vis-à-vis* organizations shrank.

In what we might call the history of patronage in Japan, as mass patronage suffered decline and then extinction, the system of patronage by connoisseurs which had up to then been secondary came to the fore, and we can thus think of this system as having played an important role in the modernization process.

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