

Chindonya : A Socio-Economic Minority in Modern Japanese Society

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Chindonya: A Socio-Economic Minority in Modern Japanese Society

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1. Introduction

Chindonya are groups of musicians who mainly advertise for stores, hotels, and theatres. Recently, they have been performing at local events very frequently. *Chindonya* sometimes play their music standing up, and at other times they play while walking along the street. Most commonly, *chindonya* wear heavy makeup and gaudy costumes. To advertise for their clients, they walk around town with small billboards on their backs and carry flags. Their advertising messages are announced on every corner, and flyers are handed out on the streets.

The word '*chindonya*' is derived from an onomatopoetic representation of the sound made by the *chindon taiko* (*chindon* drum). The suffix 'ya' means 'shop' or 'business', or a person who runs such a business. Thus, in the narrow sense of the word, '*chindonya*' refers to an advertising profession that involves the use of the *chindon taiko*. This profession arose during the 1920s in socio-economically depressed urban areas in Tokyo.

It is a fact that the word '*chindonya*' has often been used as an epithet in Japan; for example, it has been used as an adjective to describe something that is bizarre or that has an odd appearance, and it has also been used among children as a taunt.¹⁾ Furthermore, several written sources have reported that *chindon* performers feel that they are marginalised and undervalued in Japanese society; this is especially found among the older generation of *chindonya* (Ôyama 1995: 36; Yoshimi and Kitada 2007: 154; Ôba and Yada 2009: 38). Although there is little written evidence about how *chindonya* came to be marginalised in society, it can be imagined that their low socio-economic status in the past, coupled with their conspicuous appearance, resulted in their occupation being regarded as dishonourable, giving rise to discrimination against them in Japanese society.

This chapter focuses on *chindonya* as a socio-economic minority in modern Japanese history and examines the musical features of their profession, while taking their historical background into consideration. The basic questions are as follows. Under what social conditions did *chindonya* develop? Which musical elements did they employ? How did they apply these in their performances? Although currently there are roughly two different streams of *chindon* performances, one from the Kansai region and the other from the Kantô region, this chapter concentrates on performance practices in the Kantô

region, more precisely in Tokyo, where I conducted my field research in 2013 and 2014.²⁾ Up to the present, the issues of *chindonya* have been very rarely dealt with as the subject of scholarly studies. There are only a few sociological and ethnographical studies on *chindonya* (Hosokawa 1991; Fritsch 2001; Yoshimi and Kitada 2007; Abe 2010; Fujita 2011, 2013), and among those studies, the musical features of *chindonya* have been given little attention compared to the historical aspects. Thus, this study's source materials are based on audio recordings and interviews that I made in 2013 and 2014 as well as *chindonya* autobiographies, literature, newspapers, and magazines issued for the *chindon* festival.

2. The Historical Background of Chindonya

This section traces the history of *chindonya* and examines the rise of professional performers who linked music with advertising activities. Although *chindonya* mainly play music on the streets, the essential differences between *chindonya* and street performers are that the former are directly employed by clients and receive a daily wage, while the latter perform in public places and receive payment for their performance directly from the audience. From an advertising point of view, *chindonya*'s music is played mainly for the purpose of attracting public attention. However, because their activities consist almost solely of playing music, *chindonya* can be considered professional musicians.

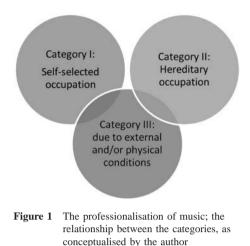
2.1 The Professionalisation of Music

Professionalisation is the process by which an occupation gradually becomes a profession (Hoyl 1982: 161). There have been many sociological theories on professionalisation; however, due to the complexities of individual professions and the diversity of scientific interpretations, it is hard to examine 'the validity of professionalization arguments in general' (Abbott 1988: 15). According to Abbott, professions should not be understood in isolation; rather, they should always be considered within 'an interacting system' that includes their social environment (1988: 33).

The term the 'professionalisation of music' is used in this chapter to refer to a social process in which individuals may come to engage in musical activity for payment or as a livelihood. In my opinion, this social process can be roughly divided into the following three groups (Figure 1):

- I. Individuals who perform music as a self-selected occupational activity because of their aptitudes, abilities, and interests.
- II. Individuals who perform music as an occupation that was handed down to them within a socio-cultural system that predetermines people's occupations by birth status.
- III. Individuals who are forced to perform music as their livelihood due to external and/or physical conditions.

Most contemporary professional musicians belong to Category I, because they engage in musical activities of their own volition-a desire to play music. Individuals



who belong to Category II are often found in Hindu caste society, Islamic cultures, and Africa (Fujii and Baba 1990); however, such individuals can also be found in a form of the transmission of traditional Japanese music, for example, Kabuki and No theatre musicians and *gagaku*, whose profession is passed down in families from one generation to the next (Nishiyama 1982). Category III musicians can mainly be found under circumstances of social deprivation,³⁾ for example, blind musicians and beggars who are socially excluded because of their socio-economic conditions and are thus forced to perform music as a means of earning a living (Morita 2004; Tanigawa 2009; Harrison 2013; Rice 2017: 233f.).

It seems to me that these three categories of the professionalisation of music can be found in almost every culture in the world, with Categories II and III sometimes overlapping. This combination of Categories II and III can very often be found in minority groups.

2.2 The Professionalisation of Chindonya's Music from a Historical Perspective

Several sources suggest that the predecessor of *chindonya* was candy saller called *amekatsu* in Osaka around 1845; *amekatsu* advertised candies for local storeowners (Horie 1986: 10; Hosokawa 1992: 11; Yoshimi and Kitada 2007: 116). This kind of profession— involving the use of high-sounding rhetorical and performance skills to advertise for clients—was very successful at that time. It soon spread to other regions in Japan and became known as *tôzaiya* in Osaka and *hiromeya* in Tokyo. '*Chindonya*' has been used as a common name for this profession from around the 1930s.⁴ The other kind of advertising profession in Japan that had an impact on the development of *chindonya* was the advertising parade, with a brass band, called *gakutai kôkoku*. In the late nineteenth century, after the Western style of military band (marching band) had been introduced in Japan, this exotic style of musical ensemble was used in advertising, and it gained enormous popularity. Up until the end of the nineteenth century, *gakutai kôkoku* was one of the most effective types of media, alongside newspaper advertisements and handbills.

It can therefore be said that Western musical instruments were adopted primarily for advertising purposes. In the twentieth century, however, the advertising parade's popularity gradually declined because of the introduction of new media such as neon signs and advertising balloons. The musicians who performed in advertising parades had to change their workplace to dancehalls, circuses, and silent film theatres, which began to grow in popularity at that time (Asakura 1986: 151f.; Horie 1986: 36f.; Ôba and Yada 2009: 296f.).

In the early twentieth century, the impact of World War I brought large profits, albeit temporary ones, to the Japanese economy. Some entrepreneurs amassed enormous wealth through trade and manufacturing. On the other hand, the instability of the post-war world economy caused significant price increases in Japan. In contrast to the prosperity of some Japanese, others who did not benefit from the booming economy were stuck in low-paying jobs, living below the poverty line. The disparity between the wealthy and the poor⁵ increased dramatically at that time. Furthermore, the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923 destroyed much of Tokyo and the surrounding areas and took more than 100,000 lives. These natural and economic disasters affected the residents of the severely damaged metropolis, particularly the working class.

Soon after the earthquake, as a part of rebuilding and urbanisation, a large number of office buildings, shops of all varieties, and big department stores were opened to attract wealthy patrons in Tokyo's central district. In contrast, the people who had lost their houses, jobs, and possessions were evicted and forced to live in poor urban areas in Tokyo; these people were willing to take any job that was available just to survive. According to social studies of the lower strata of urban society in Tokyo, Kyôjima, Mukôjima, and Ryôgoku were Tokyo's poorest districts in the 1920s (Nakagawa 1995: 68; Kida 2013: 127). Intriguingly, the pre-World War II chindonya were concentrated in these districts (Asakura 1986: 165; Ôba and Yada 2009: 363). A better daily wage was one of the reasons that many people in these districts worked as *chindonya* during this period. According to a social report in 1928, a chindonya's daily wage was between 5 and 10 yen (Minyûsha 1928: 148), whereas an average labourer earned between 1.5 and 2 yen per day (Kurashige 1930: 296; Kida 2013: 146). In fact, many *chindonya* had other occupations before entering this profession; some were out-of-work musicians. comedians, and actors, while others were craftsmen, peddlers, and other types of unemployed workers (Asakura 1986: 178; Horie 1986: 111; Ôba and Yada 2009: 308). In this context, *chindonya*'s music in pre-war Japan was primarily performed as a means of survival and as a way for the *chindonya* to lift themselves out of poverty. Since then, the public image of *chindonya* has been strongly associated with poverty, and the occupation has generally been viewed as dishonourable, rather than simply that of a musician or performer.

During World War II, the *chindonya* had to take temporary leave from their activities. They could only perform on a limited few occasions, such as in lantern processions or at events to see off soldiers who were leaving for the battlefront. *Chindonya* at that time were—if they were not conscripted—forced to eke out a living as peddlers or performing at *kamishibai* picture-story shows (Kata 1980: 138; Asakura 1986:

198).

After the war, rapid economic growth and increases in domestic consumption invigorated every city's stores, and the demand for advertisements skyrocketed. To capitalise on this demand, the number of *chindonya* also increased, and their businesses expanded from largely belonging to private individuals into a family-run sector.

In the 1960s, although radio and television commercials became popular as new media, for many stores *chindonya* still constituted a cost-effective and useful advertising medium within a small local area. Furthermore, because there were not many forms of entertainment available at that time, *chindonya*'s performances and music continued to be popular among city dwellers. However, the expansion of supermarkets and a flood of television commercials has led to a drastic decline in professional *chindonya* since 1975. The lack of successors in family-based *chindonya* businesses also contributed to the drastic decrease in the number of *chindonya* (Horie 1986: 131f.; Ôba and Yada 2009: 349f.).

The 1980s marked a turning point in the history of *chindonya* as young people from diverse socio-economic backgrounds became interested in *chindon* performance, and some even began to take up *chindon* as a profession. This phenomenon was triggered by well-known jazz and rock musician Shinoda Masami (1958–1992) who joined a *chindon* group (Yoshimi and Kitada 2007: 124; Ôba and Yada 2009: 359) and played repertoires that go beyond the boundaries of musical genres.⁶

3. The Musical Features of Chindon Performance

One of the interesting aspects of *chindonya* is that their music is a mixture of elements from traditional Japanese music and Western musical cultures, as well as elements from Japanese popular music. In other words, with the intention of creating successful businesses, *chindonya* have always adapted themselves to their environment, whatever the existing conditions, and have utilised any available musical elements in their performances. In this manner, *chindon* ensembles' music and instrumentation have changed accordingly. Hence, adaptability is one of the distinctive features of *chindonya*, as can be observed in any generation.

3.1 Instrumentation

The present-day *chindon* ensemble consists of three different kinds of instruments: the *chindon taiko* (*chindon* drum), the *gorosu*,⁷⁾ and a melody instrument (Figure 2). However, this standard instrumentation is flexible and may vary according to client requirements and depending on performance conditions and the environment in which performances take place.

The core instrument in the ensemble is the *chindon taiko*, which consists of three kinds of percussion instrument: two membranophones called the *shimedaiko* and the *ôdou*, and one idiophone, i.e. a small gong, called the *yosuke*. The three instruments are set up together in a wooden frame and used as a *chindon taiko*. The combination of these three instruments is primarily found in ensembles for the Shinto festivals (*matsuri bayashi*) or



Figure 2 *Chindon Adzumaya* with the typical instrumentation of a *chindon* ensemble: (from left) the *chindon taiko*, the *gorosu*, the clarinet as melody instrument, and a flag bearer (Photo by the author, 2013)

in the percussion ensembles of the *yose* vaudeville theatres (*yose bayashi*). The *chindon taiko* was invented and began to be used in the Taishô Era (1912–1926). It is thought that a *chindonya* who was related to the *yose* vaudeville theatre adopted the instruments and created a utility instrument to be used by a single player.⁸⁾ In current performance practice, a player uses different types of sticks in the right and left hands: a bamboo mallet with a deer antler head, the *shumoku*, is used to play the small gong called the *yosuke*, while the straight wooden stick, the *bachi*, is used for the membranophones called the *shimedaiko* and the *ôdou*.

The other percussion instrument in *chindon* ensembles is called the *gorosu*, which comes from the French '*la grosse caisse*' (bass drum). The instrument is similar to a marching band's bass drum, but in the case of the *gorosu*, the fastening tension is adjusted with a cord instead of tensioning bolts, and the instrument is struck on only one side of its drumheads. Two different types of sticks are used to play it: a wrapped mallet or *ôbachi* and a conventional drumstick called the *kobachi*. The *gorosu* was first used in *chindon* ensembles after World War II, but the instrument had been already used for the other kinds of street performances, including *kamishibai*, the picture-story show (Ôba and Yada 2009: 311).

A variety of musical instruments, like the clarinet, the saxophone, the *shamisen*, and the accordion, are used as melody instruments in *chindon* ensembles. While the *shamisen* (a three-string plucked lute) was a familiar musical instrument at that time, thus used very frequently in *chindon* ensembles until the 1970s (Asakura 1986: 199; Ôba and Yada 2009: 307), the clarinet and the saxophone are the most commonly used today. According to a *chindon* performer, this shift was based on pragmatic considerations; that is, because being a *chindonya* is an exhausting job that sometime lasts all day and has to be

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performed in all weather conditions, there is a practical need for a melody instrument that can be played without getting tired easily and will be sufficiently robust to withstand any external conditions.⁹⁾ The volume of the instrumental sounds is also an important criterion for selecting the melody instrument, which should not be drowned out by the loud, intense accompaniment of the *chindon taiko*. More importantly, today's *chindonya* perform music against the noisy soundscape of contemporary Japanese cities, an environment in which they are expected to efficiently and effectively advertise for their clients. Thus, because a certain volume is required of a melody instrument, the clarinet and the saxophone are considered more appropriate for contemporary environments.

3.2 Repertoires

Chindonya's performance repertoires consist exclusively of well-known music from all kinds of genres. Popularity is an important selection criterion because the music is played for the primary purpose of attracting public attention. Furthermore, *chindon* musicians are expected to be able to play any sort of music that their clients may request. Nevertheless, there are some repertoires that are performed much more frequently than others, for example, music from *yose* theatres called *hayashi mono*, military marches, old popular Japanese songs like *enka*, and Japanese pop songs known as *kayôkyoku*, which were highly favoured at the time when *chindonya* flourished (Hosakawa 1991: 58f.; Ôba and Yada 2009: 319). These repertoires have been handed down from one *chindonya* generation to the next. Moreover, *chindonya* often adopt elements from old Japanese tradition and incorporate them into their performances, for instance, *shishimai*, known as the 'lion dance', which is originally one of the *kadozukegei* traditions¹⁰ performed at the New Year. In this context, music from the folk performing arts also constitutes one of the *chindonya*'s essential repertoires.

3.3 Performance Form, Rhythm, and Melody

Although each *chindonya* primarily performs according to his/her personal style, over the course of time, they have come to share some common performance styles, at least to some degree. At the beginning of each performance, a short passage called a *uchikomi* is played on the *chindon taiko*, and subsequently, three strokes are made on the *gorosu*. This set of three strokes is called *mitsu uchi*. The combination of a short rhythmic passage and the *mitsu uchi* serves as a cue for the melody player to start performing, although the rhythmic structure of these passages varies across performers and musical pieces (Figures 3 and 4).

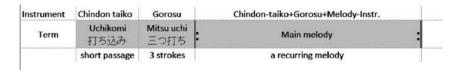


Figure 3 The performance form of a *chindon* ensemble

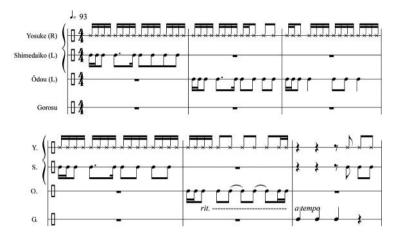


Figure 4 Uchikomi and Mitsu uchi (from the CD, TOKYO CHIN DON Vol. 1 "Ano Oka wo koete") Transcription by the author

When two or more melody instruments are played together in an ensemble, the melody is played almost exclusively in unison and repeated on demand until the player of the melody instrument ends the performance. According to a *chindon* performer, the older generation of *chindonya* used to repeat a melody for seven to ten minutes, but today, most *chindonya* play a melody for three to five minutes, with a maximum of two or three repetitions. In order to be effective at advertising for their clients, *chindonya* announce advertising messages and play with more melodic embellishment.¹¹

There are two basic rhythm types, namely *hanemono* (the dotted rhythm) and 'flat' rhythm, which is not dotted.¹²) Furthermore, over time, some new rhythmic patterns called rumba or samba have been created due to the influence of dance music (Figure 5).

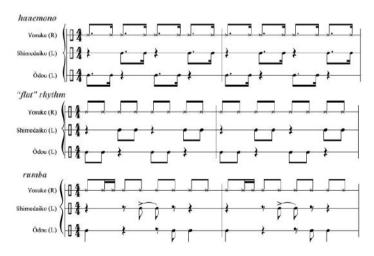


Figure 5 Three types of rhythmic patterns of *chindon taiko*: a) *hanemono*, b) 'flat' rhythm, c) rumba. Transcription by the author

4. The Social Structure of Chindonya and the Transmission of Music

Historically, the master–apprentice relationship constituted the characteristic structure of *chindonya*. After World War II until the end of the 1970s, most *chindonya* in Tokyo were family-run businesses, with five to ten apprentices per household. The apprentices learnt the skills of *chindonya* from their respective masters by observation and direct imitation. After several years of apprenticeship, an apprentice could set himself up in business independently; however, it was common for him to remain in contact with his former master and help him on occasion (Minyûsha 1928: 146; Ôyama 1995: 133f.; Yoshimi and Kitada 2007: 123f.).

As previously mentioned, the basic instrumentation of a *chindon* ensemble consists of a *chindon taiko*, a *gorosu*, and a melody instrument. As the group leader, the master (oyakata) is responsible for the *chindon taiko*, while his wife (okamisan) plays the gorosu; they are joined by a freelance musician (gakushi) who plays the clarinet or the saxophone with various chindon groups. Apprentices carry the flags, distribute handbills, and/or play an instrument, depending on what is needed. The freelance musician, who does not belong to any family group, usually holds a special position in any group he joins, precisely by virtue of his transience. Since he would have spent some time working as a 'proper' musician, he is likely to have learnt new musical elements that he can use to enhance any *chindon* group in which he finds a temporary place. A freelance musician can also adopt a new musical element from a *chindon* group with which he is temporarily affiliated and then utilise it in another chindonya's performance. The master of the recipient group adopts the new musical element from the freelance musician, and in this way, musical elements (e.g., musical style, rhythm, and melodic ornamentation) are transmitted from one group to another. However, as of the 1980s, many chindonya no longer operate according to such social structures due to the lack of successors for the family-run businesses. Today, about twenty chindonya still practise in Tokyo, although half are members of the younger generation who apprenticed under older masters and are now chindonya at independent advertising agencies (Asakura 1986: 142f.; Ôyama 1995: 53; Ôba and Yada 2009: 27, 48f.).

5. Conclusion

This chapter focused on *chindonya* as a socio-economic minority in modern Japanese society and explored their profession's music and musical practices. The historical background of *chindonya* shows that the emergence of this occupation was strongly linked to social marginalisation in pre-war Japan, whereby music was primarily performed as a means of survival and as a way for people to lift themselves out of poverty. This can be observed in the fact that *chindonya* have always adapted themselves to their environment by incorporating a wide range of musical elements into their

performances. Since the primary purpose of their activities has been to efficiently and effectively advertise for their clients, they use music mainly to attract people's attention. For this reason, their repertoires consist exclusively of well-known music from a variety of musical genres; nevertheless, over the course of time, *chindonya* have developed distinctive performance styles and sounds as well as playing techniques that are represented by the rhythmic patterns and melodic arrangements in their performances. These musical styles were handed down from masters to apprentices within the framework of family-run businesses until the end of the 1970s. However, this social structure has changed since the 1980s, when young people became interested in *chindon* performance and sounds and started participating in activities as *chindonya* regardless of their socio-economic backgrounds. In this context, *chindonya* can be considered to constitute a temporary minority group, i.e. the socio-economic minority group of the past.

Furthermore, until World War II, the people who worked as *chindonya* were forced to perform music to earn a living due to the ravages of social deprivation; thus, pre-war period *chindonya* can be placed in Category III with regard to the professionalisation of music, as mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, whereas the *chindonya* from the 1980s onwards can be placed in Category I because they perform music as a self-selected occupational activity based on their personal interests.

The *chindonya*'s previously negative public image, which was strongly connected with poverty and the characterisation of their occupation as dishonourable, gradually faded over time. However, my fieldwork interviews consistently revealed that chindonya sometimes come across situation where their music is less accepted in the realm of 'proper' music in Japanese society. Many people regard their music only as a means of advertising; hence, they undervalue it compared to other musical genres. On the other hand, in an interesting recent phenomenon, the chindonya are associated with the Shôwa period (1926-1989). It is generally said that the sounds of a chindon ensemble or chindon drum evoke feelings of nostalgia, especially for the post-war era of the Shôwa period (Fritsch 2001: 67; Kikunova 2002: 42). This emotional implication is constructed through the individual experiences of the people whose childhoods were in the 1950s and 1960s, when it was not unusual to see *chindonya* on the street. The association of chindonya with the past is therefore based primarily on their popularity in the Shôwa period. The cultural memory of the Shôwa period is thus symbolised by *chindonya*, and the sound of *chindon* ensembles evokes a nostalgia that is shared with the younger generations, although they had no direct experience of the auditory event at the time (Fujita 2016). Interestingly, *chindonya* performers very purposefully exploit this auditory effect as an advertising strategy (Ôba and Yada 2009: 360).

In my future study, I will focus more on the collective imagination evoked by the instrumental sounds of *chindonya* and attempt to conduct an in-depth examination of the process by which the emotional implications of instrumental sounds are constructed.

Acknowledgements

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Notes

- 1) The children's taunt 'Baka kaba chindonya, omae no kâchan debeso' (Stupid, stupid, chindonya, your mother has an outie!) is well known.
- 2) The research in the Kansai region is to be conducted in the future.
- 3) A valuable collection of articles on music and poverty was published in *Yearbook for Traditional Music* in which the relationships between music and poverty were examined from ethnomusicological perspectives in a global context. See *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 45, 2013.
- 4) According to Horie, the word 'chindonya' began to be used around 1930 in Tokyo (1986: 113). However, since there is a surviving 1927 newspaper that uses the word as a common term, it must have been in use earlier than 1930.
- 5) According to Harrison, this type of poverty can be classified as 'relative poverty'. See the table on the types of social deprivation (Harrison 2013: 4).
- 6) Shinoda's activities with *chindonya* during 1984 and 1988 were recorded and released on the CD TOKYO CHIN DON Vol. 1. Shinoda Masami ©1992 by Vivid Sound Corporation. puff-107-1 and puff-107-2. Compact Disc.
- 7) The gorosu is also called the doramuドラム.
- 8) A Japanese photo journal shows *chindonya* in 1925 in Tokyo playing *chindon taiko* and advertising a play for a theatre (Kataoka 1929: 172).
- 9) Interview with a chindon Adzumaya on 4 January 2013 in Tokyo.
- 10) 'Kadozukegei' is a general term for folk religious performances, for which two or more entertainers travel from door to door to perform music and dances in hopes of collecting gratuities. See 'Street Performers and Society in Urban Japan, 1600–1900: The Beggar's Gift' by Gerald Groemer; 2016 New York: Routledge.
- 11) Interview with a chindon Adzumaya on 24 December 2013 in Tokyo.
- 12) Some chindonya call this taira 平ら ('flat').

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List of terms

Amekatu 飴勝 *chindon taiko* チンドン太鼓 gakutai kôkoku 楽隊広告 gorosuゴロス enka 演歌 gakushi 楽士 hanemono ハネもの Hiromeya 広目屋 kamishibai 紙芝居 kobachi 小バチ kayôkyoku 歌謡曲 Kyoshima 京島 matsuri bayashi 祭囃子 *mitsu uchi* 三つ打ち Mukôjima 向島 ôbachi 大バチ ôdou 大胴 okamisan おかみさん Ryôgoku 両国 shamisen 三味線 shimedaiko 締太鼓 Shinoda Masami 篠田昌已 shishimai獅子舞 shumoku 撞木 Taishô era 大正時代 Tôzaiya 東西屋 uchikomi 打ち込み yosuke ヨスケ yose bayashi 寄席囃子

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