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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
SANTA CRUZ

**THE JOURNEY OF THE TONKORI: A MULTICULTURAL
TRANSMISSION**

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

MUSIC

by

Kumiko Uyeda

June 2015

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Table of Contents

List of Figures	vii
Abstract	x
Acknowledgments	xii
Chapter One. Introduction	1
1.1 In search of the Ainu	2
1.2 <i>Tonkori</i> in the Ainu social movement.....	5
1.3 Demography and geography	7
1.4 A “savage people”	9
1.5 Language use	12
1.6 Methodology	13
1.7 Theoretical considerations	15
1.8 Existing literature	20
1.8.1 Ainu	20
1.8.2 Animism.....	23
1.8.3 Minoritization	26
1.9 Chapter summaries	27
Chapter Two. Historical background	34
2.1 Introduction	34
2.2 Ainu’s origins	35
2.3 Cultural practices	38

2.4 <i>Tonkori's</i> origins	45
2.5 Early Ainu and Wajin engagement	54
2.6 Colonization of the Ainu during the Meiji period	59
2.7 Cultural devastation and the 1899 Protection Act	65
2.8 Japanese homogeneity and nationalism	68
2.9 Racialization of the Ainu	73
2.10 Conclusions	76
Chapter Three. <i>Tonkori</i> of the Karafuto Ainu	79
3.1 Introduction	79
3.2 Early Karafuto <i>tonkori</i>	80
3.3 History and politics of Sakhalin.....	82
3.4 Early field recordings of the <i>tonkori</i>	84
3.5 <i>Tonkori</i> and shamanism	89
3.6 Mythology and <i>tonkori</i> folklore	96
3.7 <i>Tonkori</i> construction, and body	100
3.8 <i>Tonkori</i> performers from Karafuto	108
3.9 Conclusions	111
Chapter Four. The <i>tonkori</i> in Hokkaido.....	113
4.1 Introduction	113
4.2 Nishihira and Fujiyama in Hokkaido	114
4.3 Researchers	119
4.4 Teachers	123

4.5 <i>Tonkori</i> makers	125
4.6 Early performance practice	128
4.7 Tuning, pitch, and rhythm	133
4.8 Musical construction	136
4.9 Repertoire	139
4.10 <i>Ikeresotte</i>	140
4.11 Conclusions	151
Chapter Five. The Ainu rights recovery movement and musicians	153
5.1 Introduction	153
5.2 Tradition and identity in Ainu performing arts	156
5.3 Revivalism	163
5.4 Early twentieth-century social movement	166
5.5 Rights recovery movement of the 1970s and 1980s	171
5.6 Political activists of the 1970s and 1980s	175
5.7 Chiba Nobuhiko	180
5.8 Yūki Kōji	185
5.9 Fukumoto Shouji	191
5.10 Kano Oki	193
5.11 Ogawa Motoi	200
5.12 Conclusions	205
Chapter Six. Museums and institutions	207
6.1 Introduction	207

6.2 Ainu museums	209
6.3 Ainu Cultural Promotion Act of 1997	219
6.4 Institutional and community groups	226
6.5 Institution and the canonic repertoire	233
6.6 Conclusions	235
Chapter Seven. Conclusion	237
Glossary of terms	250
Appendices	254
Appendix A. <i>Tonkori</i> songs	254
Appendix B. Symposium Ainu Political Policy	257
Appendix C. Symposium on Ainu Leipzig Collection, Sapporo, Hokkaido	260
Appendix D. Symposium Hokutō Asian Ainu Minzoku	262
Appendix E. Third Annual Ureshpa Festa	264
References	266
Interviews, symposiums, & workshops	282
Audio and video references	284

List of figures

Figure 1: Map of Japan	3
Figure 2: Parts of the tonkori	6
Figure 3: Historical map of Ainu regions	8
Figure 4: Timeline of cultural eras in Hokkaido.....	36
Figure 5: Map of Amur River Basin, Sakhalin, Hokkaido, and Kuril Islands, and Kamchatka	41
Figure 6: <i>Marewrew</i> group vocalist.....	45
Figure 7: <i>Tonkori</i> from 1923.....	46
Figure 8: <i>Tonkori</i> from 1923—view of the <i>sapa</i> (head) and <i>kisar</i> (ears)	47
Figure 9: Bow-shaped artifacts from Tokoro-cho dig-site	48
Figure 10: Utagawa’s full-size replica of “tonkori head”	49
Figure 11: Full-size tonkori based on bow-shaped artifacts	49
Figure 12: Clay artifact from Epi-Jomon era, possibly an ocharina.....	50
Figure 13: Ulchi basket.....	51
Figure 14: Nanai basket	51
Figure 15: <i>Tonkori</i> with Ainu patterns.....	51
Figure 16: Ainu paper-cutting.....	51
Figure 17: Ainu embroidery on clothing	51
Figure 18: Narsyuk instrument of the Khanty (Hanti) people of Siberia	52
Figure 19: Map of the Southern half of Sakhalin Island.....	83
Figure 20: <i>Kako</i> with an <i>inaw</i>	90

Figure 21: A <i>tonkori</i> head with a <i>rekutnpe</i>	92
Figure 22: 1895 photograph of a <i>tonkori</i> player in Karafuto.....	95
Figure 23: Top construction of a <i>tonkori</i>	103
Figure 24: <i>Tonkori</i> with a rounded head <i>sikari</i> and <i>kisar</i>	104
Figure 25: <i>Tonkori</i> with a pointed head <i>enrum</i> and <i>kisar</i>	104
Figure 26: <i>Tonkori</i> with rounded shoulders.....	105
Figure 27: <i>Tonkori</i> with square shoulders	106
Figure 28: The star-shaped bellybutton <i>hankapuy</i> , <i>enkipi</i> , and <i>kuy</i>	106
Figure 29: List of individual participants in <i>tonkori</i> 's resurgence.....	114
Figure 30: Fujiyama Haru's <i>tonkori</i>	128
Figure 31: Nishihira Umé's <i>tonkori</i>	128
Figure 32: The most common string pitches.....	131
Figure 33: List of the eight versions of "Ikeresotte"	142
Figure 34: Pitches of the strings.....	144-145
Figure 35: Intervallic relationships of the strings	145
Figure 36: Opening section of the eight transcriptions.....	147-149
Figure 37: Main motives of the Ikeresotte transcriptions	150
Figure 38: Advertisement from the <i>iomante</i> fire ceremony.....	158
Figure 39: Ainu flag.....	180
Figure 40: Chiba performing at the Kurashiki Performing Arts Festival	181
Figure 41: Billboard of Ainu and Japanese musicians.....	181
Figure 42: Yūki Kōji at a local Sapporo performance venue Mintaru	187

Figure 43: Ainu Art Project at Pirika Kotan Museum	191
Figure 44: Fukumoto Shouji at Pirika Kotan Museum	192
Figure 45: Kano Oki at an anti-nuclear concert, Hibiya-koen, Tokyo	199
Figure 46: Ogawa Motoi performing at the Royton Hotel lobby, Sapporo	201
Figure 47: Ogawa Motoi running an Ainu paper-cutting workshop in Sapporo	204
Figure 48: Map of cities with museums in Hokkaido.....	209
Figure 49: Team Nikaop performing the <i>Futari Chui</i> hair dance at the Obihiro City Ainu Livelihood and Cultural Event.....	227
Figure 50: Team Nikaop performing the <i>hechiri</i> dance at the Kurashiki Music Festival.....	228
Figure 51: Marewrew performing at the Kurashiki Performing Arts Festival	231
Figure 52: The third annual Ureshpa Festival, Nov. 2012.....	232
Figure 53: Kano Oki's CD cover of album <i>Oki: Kamuy Kor Nupurpe</i>	246

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

The Journey of the Tonkori: Ainu Multicultural Transmission

by

Kumiko Uyeda

This dissertation addresses the ways in which the Ainu *tonkori*, a fretless zither, has come to represent the resurgence of Ainu performing arts in Japan as an important identity marker for the Ainu as a minority culture that is commonly perceived to be extinct by most people in Japanese society. The dissertation traces Ainu historical engagement with the Japanese, starting with the Jomon Neolithic period through successive stages of trade, colonization, and assimilation. By tracing these periods of engagement, we can observe how cross-cultural influences have affected the *tonkori* and its tradition, and how subjugation practices from colonization led to the rise of Ainu social movements and the reconstruction of a new performing arts genre with the *tonkori* as its main instrument.

The dissertation presents Ainu performing arts as a contemporary phenomenon, one that is being newly created and currently in a transformative process, initiated by key musicians who are also cultural and political leaders. The *tonkori* is emblematic as a musical instrument that allows its practitioners to convey a distinct Ainu indigeneity within Japanese society, a notion that challenges accepted beliefs in Japan of a homogeneous ethnic identity. This work addresses the roles of

individual musicians within the Ainu social movement as mediators engaging with Japanese and international institutions and also as bearers of a newly emerging musical tradition.

Acknowledgments

I am deeply indebted to a large number of people who have helped me in the process of writing this dissertation. I must thank my dissertation committee, Professors Amy Beal, Dard Neuman, Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney, and Robert Garfias for their mentorship during the various stages of my research and who were most gracious with their time. I cannot begin to express my gratitude to my advisor, Professor Tanya Merchant, who has provided encouragement, advice, feedback, and suggestions from the beginning to the completion of this dissertation. Her numerous readings of my dissertation helped refine my arguments and shape the final work. I have been honored to work with each of you and thank you for your patience and support. I would also like to acknowledge the support of the UC Santa Cruz Music Department graduate advisor Laura McShane for her guidance and help over the years and to Meredith Stricker for her insights and feedback during the writing of this dissertation.

My research in Japan would not have been possible without the generous support of the University of California Pacific Rim Research Grant. I am also very grateful for support from the University of California Cota-Robles Fellowship. I wish to acknowledge, as well, the numerous individuals in the Japanese and Ainu communities who gave me time, insights, car rides, and other forms of generosity. I am hugely indebted to Kitahara Jirota, Jeff Gayman, and Richard Siddle, professors at Hokkaido University, and Kochi Rié, researcher at the Hokkaido Ainu Cultural Research Center, for their guidance and many hours of thought-provoking

conversations. I also owe a great debt to musicians Ogawa Motoi, Kano Oki, Fukumoto Shouji, and Chiba Nobuhiko for their instruction and friendship. Finally, I must give a huge thanks to Hiroshi Utagawa for his unconditional support and kindness.

I would like to thank my parents, Muneo and Kazue, for their encouragement, and my children Michele and Marc for their understanding over many months of fieldwork and dissertation writing. I am blessed with supportive family members, and especially would like to thank Moé and Kaori for their confidence during difficult times. For the gift of true friendship, I must thank my friends Barbara, Cynthia, Judy, Lucas, Maayan, Maryam, Meredith, Peter, and Thom for their love and support. Finally, I must thank my best friend and companion Kallan for his unending patience and compassion.

Chapter One. Introduction

In this dissertation, I follow the journey of the *tonkori*, a plucked fretless zither and a unique instrument of the indigenous Ainu of Japan. The journey is both physical and metaphoric—tracing the *tonkori* from its place as an obscure instrument in Sakhalin Island to being an iconic element of the Ainu performing arts in Japan. I begin with a query into the prehistoric past to analyze the commonality of Ainu and Japanese origins, and follow their historical engagement into the Ainu’s internal colonization¹ by the Japanese in mid-nineteenth century. Through fieldwork and ethnographic research, this dissertation investigates Ainu *tonkori* musicians and ensembles who are active in Japan, and addresses notions of animism, minoritization, tradition, identity, and revival in the face of cultural change and renewal. This work also examines specific considerations for the *tonkori*’s connection to shamanism, the canonization of its repertoire, and changes in performance practice. I argue that the present *tonkori* performance practice is a profoundly new reconstruction—coming out of a hunter-gatherer and oral language tradition, then shaped by sociopolitical activism and professionalism, which has created a modern tradition of concertized music-making, and also initiates grounds for a newly-recognized indigeneity of the Ainu in Japanese society.²

¹ Historian Richard Siddle regards an internal colony as “in the most general sense of a previously foreign region and its indigenous inhabitants incorporated within state borders by annexation, and then administered and exploited through colonial structures” (1996: 51).

² Jessica Bissett Perea describes the indigenous condition in the Inuit Native peoples in Alaska: “Put simply, the phrase ‘indigenous modernity’ is useful in that it juxtaposes two

1.1. In search of the Ainu

Not many people in Japan or the international community are familiar with the Ainu culture, an indigenous people with an 800-year history in Hokkaido, the northernmost island of Japan (Figure 1). Now, current Japanese activities exhibit very little evidence of Ainu culture, the result of colonization and forced assimilation that fully integrated the Ainu people into mainstream Japanese society and lifestyle. Recently, a Dutch journalist came to Hokkaido to write a special article on the Ainu, but could not find any Ainu to talk to. She asked anthropologist Jeff Gayman at Hokkaido University if Ainu people were still alive—why couldn't she meet them? (Gayman, personal interview, April 3, 2013, Sapporo). The twenty-first century landscape has little trace of the Ainu's former hunter-gatherer lifeways, even though over 90% of city and place names in Hokkaido derive from the Ainu language, including the capital city of Sapporo, which means “large, dry, river.”³ Japan's indigenous population is now displayed in institutions and public exhibitions as an exotic practice of a bygone native people.

It was in museums and public exhibits where I mostly encountered Ainu culture during the beginning period of my field research in the summer of 2010. I attended museum performances aimed at educating the public about “traditional” Ainu culture, the kind of shows where the same program is performed five times a day to a handful of curious tourists. I asked Japanese scholars about meeting Ainu

otherwise incongruous concepts in order to draw attention to the notion of what it can mean to be an indigenous person in modern times” (2011: 92).

³ “Sapporo” is originally taken from the Ainu word “Sapporope.”

people, but initially, no direct introductions were made, and they explained that past exploitations are a main cause of Ainu mistrust for researchers. The Ainu are very reluctant to expose their cultural background toward “outsiders,” for the history of discrimination runs very deep in their memory.



Figure 1: Map of Japan, looking from the Asian Continent toward the Pacific Ocean—a perspective that illustrates how the Japanese archipelago is a physical extension of Asia.

Much of Ainu culture is invisible and underground—especially invisible in Honshu, the main island of Japan, where the majority of the population assumes that the Ainu is a race that is long extinct and somewhat related to the Jomon Neolithic

culture of the Japanese archipelago. It is underground in Hokkaido, where due to subjugation practices by the Japanese government, it has become a taboo subject within a Japanese cultural practice of avoiding uncomfortable topics at all cost. After inquiring about the Ainu, various people in Hokkaido explained that “Ainu” was a “bad word,” and that I shouldn’t say it in public—although they assured me that it was totally fine within academic circles.⁴ I wondered then, “How can I possibly get to know the Ainu?” The Ainu was an elusive entity.

However, on the other side of the spectrum, sensitivity to discrimination at the Center of Ainu and Indigenous Studies at Hokkaido University dictated that I, as a non-Ainu (and also due to my position of privilege as a researcher), could not receive *tonkori* lessons, because it would be unfair for those Ainu who could not afford the instrument. This reflexive circle of discrimination dissolved when I began working with Ainu musicians, who were active proponents of their heritage and who were determined to follow their own course. Ethnomusicologist Victoria Levine writes about native agency in the Choctaw tribe: “The perspective I am proposing incorporates a sense of Indians as actors, as shapers of their own histories and societies, rather than simply as passive reactors to Euramerican influence” (1993: 392). The Ainu musicians I worked with were such actors (Yūki Kōji, Kano Oki, Ogawa Motoi, Fukumoto Shouji) and also promoters of the Ainu cultural resurgence.

⁴ Professor Shiraishi Hidetoshi, who teaches linguistics at Sapporo Gakuin University, also agreed that “Ainu” is indeed still considered an epithet in public, because it makes both Japanese and Ainu people feel uncomfortable.

1.2. *Tonkori* in the Ainu social movement

An object can embody the history, spirit, and belief system of a culture, which is keenly illustrated by the Ainu *tonkori*. An instrument's body can recount a cultural narrative. The *tonkori*'s story includes unexplainable origins, fantastical powers, a close call with extinction, and a resurrection through social activism. It is considered a living entity, for the Ainu worldview considers all organic bodies, material objects, land parts, and phenomena as possessing spirits, and this study examines the *tonkori*'s animistic expression through various tales and folklore. Moreover, the *tonkori*'s parts are named after a woman's body—a practice not uncommon for musical instruments, although the *tonkori* is very gender specific (see Figure 2). Ogawa Motoi, one of four Ainu *tonkori* musicians who contributed significantly to my research, thoughtfully stated, “in order to play the *tonkori* well, you have to encourage her so that she will feel comfortable and speak” (Ogawa 2013).

In the early 1970s, young inspired Ainu activists ignited a social movement for rights recovery. Music is an indispensable part of social movements as a psychological aid and communication tool and the Ainu rights recovery movement was no exception. Sociologists Ron Eyerman and Andrew Jamison write that, “Art and music are part of the cognitive praxis of social movements. Cognitive is used to mean both truth-bearing and knowledge-producing” (1998: 22). With considerable public exposure from a spirited quest for social justice, the resurgence of Ainu performing arts grew alongside with the social movement of this period. The musical resurgence and the rights recovery movement are two elements within one cultural

phenomenon that flourished together in unison, and this study considers this dyad as the force that created the revival and creation of today's Ainu performing arts.

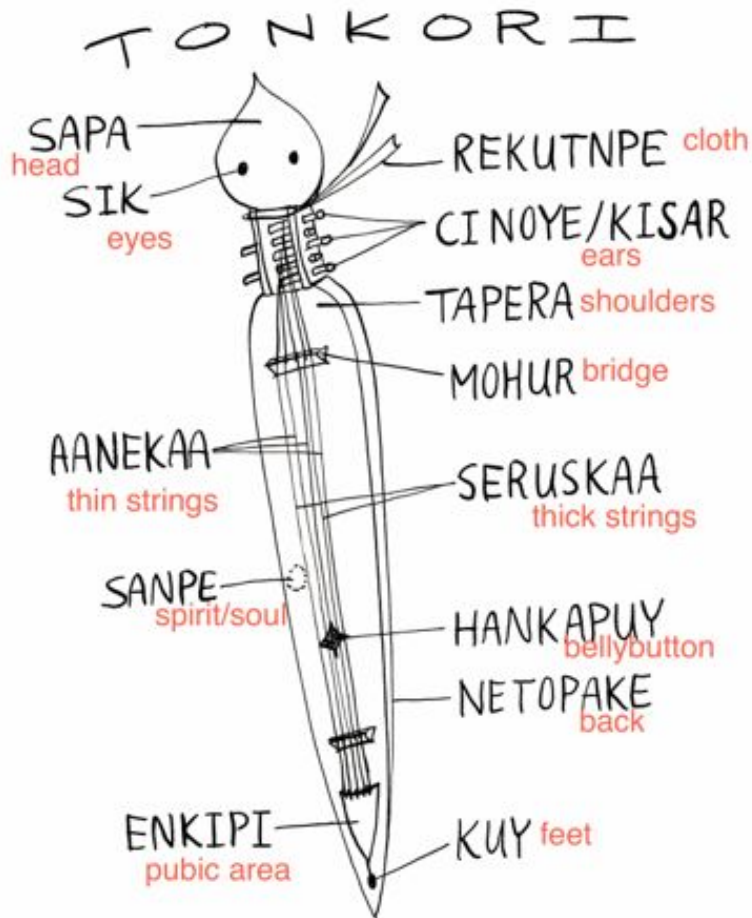


Figure 2: Parts of the tonkori.

Within the social movement, the *tonkori* came to have special significance as an emblem of Ainu cultural arts, as it gained public visibility along with emerging Ainu musicians. The following dissertation studies the revival narrative of the *tonkori* and the Ainu musicians that embody a musical resurgence of a minority culture. The

tonkori is an important tool of Ainu musicians in asserting Ainu identity and conveys meaning that informs Ainu and Japanese understandings of their shared history and multiculturalism present in their society.

1.3. Demography and geography

According to the latest government surveys from 1993 and 2006 (Ainu Association of Hokkaido 2008), about 23,000 Ainu are reported to be living in Hokkaido. Many Ainu and academic researchers believe the actual number to be much higher—around 200,000 throughout Japan, due to the fact that 90-95% of the Ainu engage in “passing” as Japanese, hiding their ancestry from their neighbors, co-workers, friends, and sometimes, distant in-laws (Gayman, personal interview, April 3, 2013). The phenomenon of passing as a Japanese will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Five.

During various periods in the past 800 years, the Ainu have occupied all of Hokkaido, the southern half of Sakhalin, the Kurile Islands, the southern tip of Kamchatka, and the northern part of Honshu (see Figure 3). Hunting and gathering generally provided ample supply of materials and food for the Ainu, especially in Hokkaido where salmon and deer were plentiful. Although the Ainu lived across a diverse landscape, the different regional groups shared a basic way of life and language, with some variations, such as in dialects, song types, and emblems (Kochi 2012 and Gayman 2013).

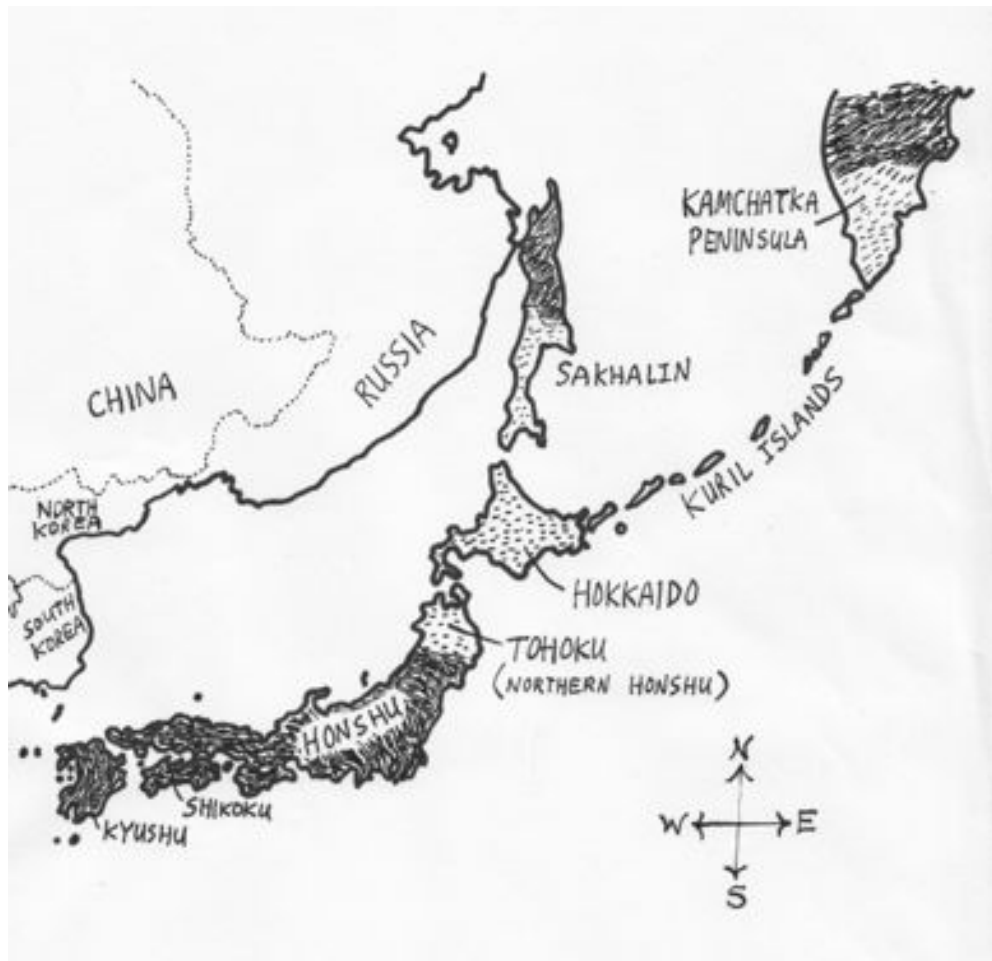


Figure 3: Historical map of Ainu regions.

The Ainu's binary-based cosmology defines the northern territories and reflects short summers and long cold winters: two seasons of warm and cold, and two worlds of human (Ainu) and spirits (Super Ainu). In the northwestern Sakhalin Ainu, two areas of seashore and mountains determined their territory, where they alternated living on the seashore in the summer and in the mountains during the winter months (see Ohnuki-Tierney 1969, 1972). In Hokkaido, Ainu settlements usually consisted of five to seven houses and were located on the seashore or by rivers where food sources were plentiful, and the Ainu relocated their residence often as they followed animal

habitation. Sometimes, objects would get left behind during frequent relocations and Ainu customs dictated that these objects be broken or demolished so that its spirits could be sent back to the spirit world. One such tale involving two *tonkori* that were left behind and turned into demons will be further discussed in Chapter Four.

Abundant resources meant that the Ainu were able to engage in trading their surplus and they were key middlemen in the chain of trade between Japan and China that went through Siberia (see Takakura 1960). The encroachment of the Japanese upon the Ainu occurred incrementally over time through Japanese-controlled trade practices, which often erupted in violent clashes between the Ainu and the Japanese. At the beginning of Meiji era (1868-1912), Japan pronounced the land area of Hokkaido as Japanese territory and incorporated Hokkaido as part of its colonial project. After the Second World War, the Sakhalin and Kurile Ainu, who were Japanese citizens, were relocated to Hokkaido due to the change of political rule from Japan to Russia in those regions (see Siddle 1996). From the post-war years, Ainu descendants have settled throughout the four main islands of Japan (Hokkaido, Honshū, Shikoku, and Kyūshū), although the majority still resides in Hokkaido.

1.4. A “savage” people

Creating a historical account of the Ainu is challenging, since they did not possess a written language system until the Meiji era, so documentation from the pre-Meiji era is almost solely Japanese in origin. Therefore, we see Ainu history through the “outsider’s” view of Japanese traders and government officials. The Japanese

labeled the Ainu as barbarians throughout their early trade relations, and the view of an aboriginal, primitive people continued well into the twentieth century under colonization. Quoting Matsumiya Kanzan in *Ezo Dan Hikki* (J: Narratives of Ezo), published in 1710, Siddle writes,

They know not the moral way, so fathers and children marry indiscriminately. They do not have the five kinds of grain and eat the flesh of birds, beasts and fish. They gallop around the hills and dive into the sea and are just like some kind of beast (1996: 42).⁵

Westerners also stereotyped the Ainu into “savages” and other exotic misnomers, even describing the Ainu as the “lost tribe of Israel” (Ohnuki-Tierney 1974:1). Since their first contact in nineteenth century, Western researchers have puzzled over the Ainu’s origins. This dissertation has delved into ancient history partly to unravel the mystery that surrounded Ainu culture from their inception into modern anthropology.

The origin of Ainu’s language has been a source of mystery and speculation for linguists, who have theorized a relationship with Japanese, Korean, Altaic, and Austronesian languages, but no conclusive findings have been produced (Tamura 1999). Possessing an oral language tradition, the Ainu chronicled their history through *yukar*, or epic poetry. These expansive stories of gods and heroes sometimes lasted continuously for days. Their culture was rich in rituals and ceremonies to honor animals that permeated their physical and spiritual life, such as salmon, herring, crane, owl, and most importantly, the bear. Out of all the rituals, perhaps the bear

⁵ Matsumiya Kanzan, “Ezo Dan Hikki” (Narratives of Ezo) [1710]. In *Nihon Shomin Seikatsu Shiryō Shūsei Vol. 4: Hoppō Hen* (Collection of Historical Materials on the Life of the Common People in Japan, Vol. 4: The Northern Regions). Tokyo: Sanichi Shobō, 1969, p. 394.

sending-back ceremony is the most significant. In this practice, the village collectively raises a bear cub for approximately a year and then sacrifices the bear in an elaborate ritual (see Utagawa 1992). The bear sending-back ritual, or *iomante*, will be further examined in Chapter Two.

Ainu political history is chronicled by a trade relationship and many wars with the Japanese. Even though the Ainu fought among themselves (mainly over hunting territory), their biggest foe was the Japanese who dictated trading terms and who finally gained hegemonic control over their economic and political life. During the latter half of the nineteenth century, Japan encountered and adopted many Western political and social influences that we now describe as nationalism, Westernization, and technology. At this time, the Ainu became cognitively entangled in the creation of the modern Japanese identity by becoming the aboriginal “other,” which in turn contributed to social discrimination within Japanese society.

After the annexation of Hokkaido in 1868, the Ainu became “former aboriginal” subjects of Japan, and the Japanese government implemented assimilation policies that more or less went unchallenged until the civil rights movements began to emerge in the 1960s. Assimilation occurred over time and Ainu consciously restrained themselves from speaking the Ainu language, as well as the practice of rituals and ceremonies. The Ainu were forcibly absorbed into Japanese society, and the severe discrimination that the Ainu faced drove the majority of the Ainu to hide their ancestral identity—the effects of which can still be felt today. Subjugation and

discrimination topics will be discussed more in detail in Chapter Five (see Siddle 1996 and Gayman 2013).

1.5. Language use

The use of two field languages means that some terminology requires clarification in this study. Ainu words will be followed by their English translation marked with (*A.*) and Japanese words that require translation will be designated with (*J.*). In addition, because the Japanese referred to Sakhalin Island as “Karafuto” from historical times until the end of the Second World War, the term “Karafuto” will be used interchangeably with “Sakhalin,” depending on the point of reference and context. “Karafuto Ainu” is a self-designation used by the Ainu people who lived on Sakhalin until their relocation to Hokkaido right after the Second World War. Furthermore, most scholars conducting Ainu research in Japan use the term *Wajin* to refer to the Japanese, used historically both by the Ainu and as a self-designation by the Japanese, and literally means a “person of Wa (Japan/Yamato)” (Siddle 1996: 5). Therefore, the term *Wajin* will be used whenever applicable in context of the Japanese people’s engagement with the Ainu. Finally for Japanese names, I follow the Japanese convention of placing the surname first.

1.6. Methodology

It was not until a few months after my fieldwork began that I connected with Ainu musicians through introductions made by Utagawa Hiroshi, an archeologist who ran an *izakaya* (J: pub or tavern) Yukari⁶ in Sapporo, and anthropologist Jeff Gayman, an American anthropologist teaching at Hokkaido University. Interviews and collaborations with four Ainu musicians—Yūki Kōji, Fukumoto Shouji, Kano Oki, and Ogawa Motoi—form the ethnographic foundation of this dissertation. For the Ainu musicians, playing the *tonkori* is a way for them to connect with their history and lineage, and it also helps to establish their Ainu identity. The musicians can be considered core members, who are building a new Ainu musical tradition, yet each musician takes a very different approach to the *tonkori* and relates to it in their own distinct way.

I arrived in Hokkaido for fieldwork equipped with a Sony HDR-CX580 video camera for the purpose of documenting interviews, symposiums, performances, rehearsals, and any other relevant cultural events. Although my original intention was to eventually create a documentary of *tonkori* musicians, the camera proved to be a useful tool for connecting with the informants, as it created an opening for dialogue and an immediate sense of purpose.

⁶ Yukari is a Japanese term that means “being related, having an affinity or a connection,” and also can be read as en (J: 縁), which means “destiny or a mysterious force that binds two people.”

As my fieldwork progressed, my background as a musician ultimately helped to open up a meaningful dialog with key Ainu musicians, built on my performing career in western art music and jazz genres that included collaborations with traditional Vietnamese, Korean, and West African instrumental musicians. I took *tonkori* lessons (three times a month for five months) and played the *tonkori* in Ainu musical gatherings, and the Ainu musicians offered a musical fellowship that was an extension of an informant/researcher relationship. We became trusted friends—we traded CDs: their recordings of *tonkori* music for my piano music. I jammed with the *tonkori* players and one *tonkori* player insisted that I participate in an amateur *tonkori* competition. Thus, ethnomusicologist Mantle Hood's notion of bi-musicality has been a key method during my research in Japan and which most accurately illustrates my process during fieldwork (Hood 1960). I came to realize the particular challenges of this delicate instrument by learning to play the *tonkori*. For example, the tuning is highly unstable and requires such objects as Q-tips to moisten the tuning pegs to stabilize the pitches before playing songs. Aesthetic challenges of improvisation in the style heard in recordings required repeated listening to phrase development and variation. Perhaps the most insightful challenge was the notion of personhood that Ogawa described during my introductory *tonkori* lesson, which will be discussed further in this chapter.

Being immersed in musical performances through participant-observation frames the distance and intimacy of fieldwork. Ethnomusicologist Timothy Rice

writes: “Ethnomusicologists, as a matter of method, hang out with musicians as they live their daily lives and as they travel to gigs, rehearse, and perform” (2014:34). Ainu community events invariably close with singing and circle dancing, and this applied to even historical symposiums and political meetings. During the many community events that I attended, I joined in the circle dancing and the Ainu community slowly began to acknowledge me. Furthermore, attending numerous rehearsals and performances for amateur and professional musical groups helped me to develop an inner perspective through an outsider’s eye (detailed descriptions of Ainu dances will be further discussed in Chapter Five).

1.7. Theoretical considerations

This dissertation addresses the *tonkori* instrument, whose history connects with the practitioners who contributed to its revival. Many aspects—including marginalization, social activism, and institutionalization—are studied in scholarly inquiry in discussions of tradition, animism, identity, and revival. This section introduces the main premises and concerns that will run through the dissertation and will be discussed further in Chapters Five and Six.

I address the term “tradition” in two separate contexts in this dissertation. The first usage refers to historical times when the Ainu practiced a hunter-gatherer economic structure in their villages before being assimilated into Wajin society. The alternate use of tradition describes the contemporary practice of what is perceived as “traditional,” and which identifies with the indigenous past (e.g. “traditional music

performed on the concert stage”). This second usage reflects historian Eric Hobsbawm’s notion of an “invented tradition,” which is discussed further in Chapter Five, and also demonstrates the transfiguration in Ainu culture that now views aligning oneself with tradition as being a positive indicator of identity.

The term “animism” is encumbered with historical labeling and scientific prejudice, but it can be used to describe a theory, discourse, or a practice; it is especially a useful label in understanding notions within various indigenous peoples in the world. However, a discussion of animism as considered in this paper is necessary to clarify the perspective that this research has taken. It is worth noting the difference between the former meanings of animism used in anthropological study beginning in the late nineteenth century, and how a recent movement in ethnology, anthropology, and spiritual studies has begun to re-address this topic.

The term “animism” was first coined by Edward Tylor, an early pioneer of anthropology in 1871, and was originally used as a pejorative way to describe indigenous people’s worldviews (Harvey 2005:5 and Willerslev 2007:2). Author Graham Harvey writes, “It was, and sometimes remains, a colonialist slur” (2005: xiii). Taken from a Cartesian belief in the dual separation of body/mind and human/nature, the concept of animism was originally used to explain beliefs of “primitive” forms of religion. It was and still is commonly thought of as a metaphor, something that only exists in the minds of indigenous peoples (Willerslev 2007:3). However, for the purposes of this study, I employ a more recent understanding of the term “animism” to describe the contemporary Ainu musician’s engagement with the

tonkori, illustrated by ethnologist Rane Willerslev, who describes animism as a practice that occurs during particular activities and experiences, such as during hunting among the indigenous Siberian Yukaghirs (Ibid.:9). This contextual expression of animism resonates with Ainu musicians and their instruments, where an instrument reveals itself as a person during certain activities, such as during a ritual or a musical performance.

From ethnographic data dating back to the late nineteenth century, the Ainu have held that all humans, animals, material objects, plants, minerals, and phenomena were operated by spirits, and much of their life activities surrounded the recognition of spirit life. Anthropologist Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney writes,

Yet the term “religious” does not accurately describe the Ainu life-style, since what we call “religion” is not a separate entity in Ainu life. Most of Ainu behavior, including even such an activity as disposing of trash, must be understood in terms of Ainu relations with their deities, demons, and other beings of the Ainu universe (1974: 86).

While it is not uncommon for many cultures to hold such views, including the Japanese, it is worthwhile to note that Ainu culture was steeped in an animist tradition well into the late nineteenth century and animist notions remain intact in the recent memory of Ainu descendants. Especially during interviews with Ogawa, the *tonkori* was addressed as a living person. He referred to his instrument as “her” and remarked, “I still don’t fully understand that person,” as he pointed to the *tonkori*.

Although traditional worldviews continue to exist in the minds of Ainu descendants, the Ainu people are fully integrated into the social fabric of the Japanese culture due to the forced assimilation practices from the Japanese government and

also from the natural course of globalization. The rejection of their hunter-gatherer culture mostly occurred in the latter part of the nineteenth century and the process of recreating tradition after decades of non-practice makes the present Ainu performing arts a reconstruction and a re-formation of their traditional customs.

The ritualizing of events through music (e.g. collective singing and dancing during Ainu meetings and symposiums) makes the musical process a way to connect the Ainu with their perceived tradition and creates bonding within their community. Ainu revivalists engage in activities that foster collective identity, knowledge, and practice, that are described by Eyerman and Jamison as “cognitive praxis”—a threefold process that includes recreation of identity and memory as a “thing” for others to connect with (1998: 34). Cognitive praxis also participates in an exchange between tradition and social movements, and between politics and cultural transformation.

Social movements supported the formation of Ainu collective identity in the 1970s and 80s, which reinvigorated tradition and created a separate identity from the dominant Japanese. Sidle describes Ainu “ethnic revival” as stemming from minoritization that,

the recent Ainu ‘ethnic revival’ is not the latest manifestation of a timeless and essential ‘Ainuness’ but a historical phenomenon located within a specific context of colonial relations. The Ainu political and cultural resurgence of the past twenty years is the latest phase in a pattern of colonization and response that has shaped interactions between Ainu and Wajin for centuries” (1996: 190).

This dissertation resonates with Siddle's assertion that minoritization is at the root of the Ainu revival, including the revival of Ainu music, for the performing arts evolved in conjunction with the rights recovery movement. While the Ainu and the Wajin cultures have had cultural contact throughout their histories, engagement from colonization and assimilation have been the most profound, and which is still being negotiated within political agendas and social issues, such as the phenomenon of passing, land rights, Ainu alcoholism, Japanese homogeneity, general discrimination, and ignorance of Ainu colonial history. The social movement that was in response to political and social issues asserts an indigenous identity through the reawakening and reforming of their cultural traditions.

The notion of a recreated and reformed culture as an ongoing process of tradition is developed through a comparative study of the four professional Ainu musicians active in Hokkaido: Yūki Kōji, leader of Ainu Art Project; Fukumoto Shouji, *tonkori* player in the Ainu Art Project; Kano Oki, *tonkori* player and leader of Oki Ainu Dub Band; and Motoi Ogawa, an independent and prolific Ainu musician/artist. I also worked with Chiba Nobuhiko, an ethnically Japanese ethnomusicologist and performer of Ainu music. Chiba is currently based in Tokyo and considered the foremost expert in the research of Ainu music. Although the musicians all participate together in many events and have many personal exchanges, each musician cultivates a distinctive style and repertoire. A close examination of their political backgrounds, as well as the social and creative elements that constitute the stylistic differences, reveal how music contributes in divergent ways to cultural

revival. However, it is probably not an accident that Kano, Yūki, and Ogawa are children of important political leaders in the Ainu social movement from the 1960s and 1970s, a connection that points to the consolidating factor of social solidarity movements and also to the effects of minoritization.

1.8.1. Existing literature: Ainu

Ohnuki-Tierney conducted fieldwork with the Karafuto Ainu in Hokkaido from 1965-1966, and also in 1969 and 1973 (1972, 1973b, 1974, 1980). Her publications include *The Ainu of the Northwest Coast of Sakhalin*, which explains the lifeways and cultural practices of the Ainu, and describes their hunting and gathering economic activities, home life, social structure, and worldviews (1974). Through her intimate research with her chief informant, Husko, an elderly Sakhalin Ainu woman who was a shaman, Ohnuki-Tierney gives a detailed account of the core values and knowledge of the customs and rituals that are now preserved only in memories and documents.

English publications on the Ainu are limited in scope and number, but one of the primary sources for Ainu sociopolitical history is *The Ainu of Northern Japan: A Study in Conquest and Acculturation* by historian Takakura Shinichiro, translated by John A. Harrison (1960). This seminal work, which was originally published in Japanese in 1948, follows the Ainu's contact and trade with the Wajin beginning in the sixteenth century until the colonial institution of the *Kaitakushi* (J: Colonial

Bureau) came to be implemented by the Japanese government in the mid-nineteenth century.

While scholarship in English is growing, a rich scholarly literature in Japanese focused on Ainu music that specifically addresses the *tonkori* and its bearers already exists. Ethnomusicologist Tanimoto Kazuyuki (1932-2009) authored *Ainu-e: Music Ethnography of a Cultural Transformation*, which examines the *tonkori*'s connections to Ainu's Siberian neighbors, such as the Nivkh (Gilyak) and Uilta (Orok) peoples (2000: 272). Tanimoto affirms the possibility of *tonkori*'s Siberian origins by examining the *tonkori*'s etymology and construction, and also by making connections with instruments of similar structures. He also makes a strong case for the *tonkori* to be part of shamanism rites by investigating Karafuto Ainu's practices (Ibid.: 289). This monograph can be considered an extension of his earlier article "Ainu's five-stringed instrument" written in 1958, which lays out all of the key points expanded in his later research.

In a book dedicated to the Karafuto Ainu *tonkori* player Nishihira Umé (1901-1977), Ainu scholar Kitahara Jirota chronicles her life and describes the historical events surrounding the *tonkori* during the relocation of the Karafuto Ainu to Hokkaido (2005: 26-31). Kitahara also documents the *tonkori* makers during this period of relocation, as the craftsmen were critical in insuring the continuation of the *tonkori* in Japan. Nishihira Umé was one of very few Ainu *tonkori* players who transmitted *tonkori* playing and its performance practice; there are various books written based on her accounts, including books by researchers Tomita Kaho, Chiba

Nobuhiko, and Shinohara Chika. In particular, Tomita's 1966 article was one of the earlier publications that describes in detail *tonkori* performance practice as detailed by Nishihira, who passed on a wealth of knowledge personally to Tomita. Chiba, who continued Tomita's research by transcribing all of the recorded material by Nishihira, as well as all of recorded material by another key *tonkori* player Fujiyama Haru (1900-1974), has greatly expanded the available material in *tonkori* traditional literature.

Archeologist Utagawa Hiroshi collaborated with *tonkori* maker Kanaya Eijiro in writing *Karafuto Ainu no Tonkori* (J: *The Tonkori of the Karafuto Ainu* 1986), which discusses the cultural practice that surrounds the instrument, with an in-depth look at shamanism. The book also describes detailed construction and variations in *tonkori* making, including various sizes and proportions used for making the instrument, and the *tonkori*'s connection to instruments in neighboring indigenous cultures. Utagawa proposes a connection between the *tonkori* and an archeological artifact, which was found at a dig-site in Eastern Hokkaido. The artifact is made of bone material and is cone-shaped with holes similar to the neck of a stringed instrument, believed to be from ca. 500-1000 C.E. (1986: 51). He develops his argument further in his 1989 essay *Hoppō Chiiki no Kodai Gengakki Shiron* (J: *Ancient Stringed-Instruments of the Northern Region*), where he asserts that the bone artifacts were miniature representations of a stringed instrument and possibly a precursor to the *tonkori*. This theory raises more questions than answers, as similar artifacts are found throughout the Japanese archipelago, and the presence of a

stringed instrument from this time period has not been determined. These works have strongly informed my understanding of the *tonkori* in Karafuto, its possible role in Ainu shamanism, and the key practitioners who were instrumental in furthering the survival of the *tonkori* in the twentieth century. Combining the main narratives of these *tonkori*-centered works, it seems clear that the present-day practice of *tonkori* performance practice is a reconstruction from a cultural resurgence.

1.8.2. Existing literature: animism

In *Soul Hunters: Hunting, Animism, and Personhood among the Siberian Yukaghirs*, Rane Willerslev examines how westernization and economic transfiguration has affected old beliefs of animism in the Siberian indigenous Yukaghir people. He explains how animistic beliefs are restricted to particular activities and describes it as a contextual practice (2007:9). Positing that perception is a plural phenomenon, Willerslev concludes that the animist framework is one of several ways of perceiving our environment that is brought into actual experiences through specific activities. (Ibid.:116). He thereby challenges anthropologist Emile Durkheim's supposition of animism as a metaphor or something that exists as "indigenous metaphysics." While not wanting to exoticize indigenous beliefs as being more wise, Willerslev's writing is an attempt to put animistic practices in a critical dialogue with accepted theories and epistemologies (Ibid.:3).

From her field research with a Sakhalin shaman informant, Ohnuki-Tierney describes the Ainu belief of souls in plants, animals, and objects—the "nonhuman

residents of the Ainu universe and the relations of the Ainu with them” (1974: 86). In another study, Ohnuki-Tierney details the process of a shamanic rite and explains how animals play a crucial role in spirit possession. During a rite, animals such as grasshoppers, crows, raven, and cranes act as spirit helpers, and other animals such as bears, seals, and sometimes foxes manifest themselves as deities (1973:16). Moreover, Ohnuki-Tierney illustrates animism of objects through a transcription of a *yukar*, which is a tale of a *tonkori* that comes to life as a demon because it was left behind during relocation. This tale delineates an Ainu belief that the souls of material objects will become demons if they are not broken into pieces and given proper treatment when the owners move to another place, a view that is also shared by the Oroch and Kirene indigenous peoples of Siberia (1969:53).

Other ethnological studies of cultures steeped in animism include ethnomusicologist Marina Roseman’s research of the indigenous Malaysian Temiars, who include all animals, plants, and earth forms as having homologous bounded souls that can be freed as unbounded spirits (1993:24). Roseman’s study describes how the social world of the Temiars includes bounded and unbounded spirits of all entities, not only humans, but all forms of lives that “stress an essential similarity” (ibid.:24). In addition, anthropologist and ethnomusicologist Anthony Seeger’s work with the Amazonian Suyá cites the importance of the spirit realm in their cultural activities. Seeger writes, “The supernatural features of the spirit and animal realms were as real, for example, as Europe or China to Americans who have never been there” (1987:57).

Seeger's earlier work published in 1981 describes more distinctly how the Suyá cosmology is built upon the relation between humans and animals, society and nature.

In *Animism: Respecting the Living World*, religious studies scholar Graham Harvey engages in a discourse between past conceptions and a recent alternative understanding of animism. From an established usage that is based on an empirical assumption of what is alive or not alive, Harvey challenges this notion with a recent study of panpsychism, which recognizes mind, experience, sentience, or consciousness in matter, along with a different notion of the term "persons" (2005:17, xv). Harvey proposes that animism used in this way is useful to describe many indigenous worldviews, and that this new animist approach is manifested in many cultural expressions, such as speeches, narratives, and performances (ibid.:29). Harvey describes animism's perspective on personhood as, "...theories, discourses, and practices of relationships, of living well, of realizing more fully what it means to be a person, and a human person, in the company of other persons, not all of whom are human but all of whom are worthy of respect" (ibid.: xvii). Experiences from my fieldwork illustrate how understandings of animism operate in the *tonkori* as having personhood, and why the subject of animism remains relevant for the present Ainu culture. All of the *tonkori* players firmly understood the *tonkori* as having personhood and a spirit. In addition, during lessons with Ogawa, Fukumoto, and Kano, they uniformly pointed out that I needed to view the *tonkori* as a person in order to play the instrument well. Ainu's engagement with spirit life still continues in private ceremonies and rites that are conducted among families and close friends (Kano,

personal interview, September 30, 2012, Tōma). In public situations, animism as a contextual practice occurs during musical performances through the recognition of personhood in the *tonkori*, which the Ainu musicians relayed to me as a necessary condition for a genuine performance.

1.8.3. Existing literature: minoritization

My focus on the twentieth-century sociopolitical condition of the Ainu has been informed to a large extent by the work of historian Richard Siddle. In his *Race, Resistance, and the Ainu of Japan* (1996), Siddle follows how the concepts of ethnic identity and race were formed during the Tokugawa feudal period (1603-1868) and became an underlying precipitant for discrimination towards the Ainu throughout the Meiji Restoration and well into the post-war period.

Siddle and Asian Studies scholar Michael Weiner both address the problematic concepts of “race” and *minzoku* (J: ethnic people) in relation to the Ainu. In his book *Japan’s Minorities*, Weiner frames the paradigm of *minzoku* in the same ideological space as the concepts of race and nation that were constructed during the nationalistic fervor in the early Meiji era, which occurred in conjunction with Ainu colonization (2009). The specificity of the minority condition in Japan is discussed (such as the construction of “otherness” and the Japanese “self”) within the problematic notion of homogeneity in the Japanese population.

Anthropologist Mark Hudson takes up similar discourses on minoritization and nationalism in his book *Ruins of Identity* (1999). Taking examples from his work

with ethnogenesis in Japan, Hudson looks at the origins of peoples in the Japanese archipelago and the formation of ethnic groups, arguing that the cultural aspects of ethnicity is something “seen as cumulative negotiation rather than as something ‘born’ in a pristine, fully formed state” (1999:2) and how ethnogenesis in Japan has been profoundly affected by nationalistic ideologies. Hudson sees the Ainu not as a pristine hunter-gatherer society, but a culture formed from uneven economic and political interaction between the core (Japanese) and periphery (Ainu) (ibid.:5). Ainu musical scholarship produced within Japan generally avoids questions of minoritization and instead focuses on concrete aspects of musicology (for example, transcriptions, musical structure, repertoire, and performing techniques). By investigating the *tonkori* not simply as an Ainu cultural artifact but as an important identity marker arising out of social activism and in an ongoing cultural resurgence, I hope to contribute an essential conversation to the social relevance of music and instruments.

1.9. Chapter summaries

Chapter Two chronicles the history of the Ainu/Wajin engagement, by first investigating their possible common ancestry by looking at the prehistoric Jomon people, who occupied the Japanese archipelago from ca. 30,000 B.C.E. The relevance of the origins of the Ainu people that intersects with Wajin ancestry frames the minoritization issues addressed in Chapters Five and Six. The contemporary Wajin population is believed to be a fusion of mainland Asian immigrants who mixed with

the descendants of the Jomon population (see Hudson 1999). Their common background posits a particularly fascinating bond between the Ainu and the contemporary Wajin, and questions the loss of indigenous memory and identity that frames both cultures in completely different ways.

Chapter Two also traces the Jomon-Ainu transformation by looking at Okhotsk and Satsumon cultures that came between the post-Jomon population and the Ainu culture. The Siberian culture of the Northern peoples can be said to lay the foundation for the pre-Ainu population before the intensified trade relations began with the Wajin (see Fitzhugh and Dubreuil 1999). One cultural practice of primary importance is the bear sending-back ritual complex, which links the Ainu to Siberian indigenous populations, and is believed to have existed as far back as the Jomon period (Utagawa 2013). What we now define as Ainu culture can be seen as arising from an intensified trade and influence from the Wajin that began around the thirteenth century (see Takakura 1960 and Siddle 1996) (as mentioned previously, musical artifacts from the pre-Ainu period are few in number). Here, I investigate the theory proposed by ethno-archeologist Utagawa Hiroshi pertaining to the fascinating archeological remains of what appears to be miniature “*tonkori* head” ornaments that were discovered at the dig-site in Tokoro-cho town in Eastern Hokkaido.

Examination of the historical background also addresses the Ainu/Wajin engagement in the Edo period (1603-1868) and the colonization that began at the onset of the Meiji Restoration (1868). This chapter also looks at notions of race and

nationalism and how it formulated views of discrimination and subjugation practices, which eventually led to the rights recovery movements in the twentieth century.

Chapters Three and Four address the transfer of the *tonkori* from Sakhalin Island to Hokkaido after WWII. At the turn of the twentieth century, only the Karafuto Ainu practiced the *tonkori*, and Chapter Three *Tonkori of the Karafuto Ainu* examines its historical transmission by first looking at the life of Bronislaw Pilsudski (1866-1914), the Polish ethnographer who was exiled to Sakhalin as a political prisoner. The cylinder field recordings by Pilsudski, which are the earliest known recordings of Ainu music, are unfortunately sonically cloudy and it is extremely difficult to decipher the tones of the *tonkori* from the white noise. Fortunately, better audio recordings exist in the more significant collection of recorded Ainu music, which rests in the NHK (Nippon Hōsō Kyōkai J: Japan Broadcasting Corporation) archives of field recordings from the 1940s to 1960s, which also includes interviews with *tonkori* players. Ethnomusicologist Chiba Nobuhiko has transcribed most of the music and interviews of the NHK recordings (2007, 2008, 2011).

After the displaced Karafuto Ainu relocated to Hokkaido, the *tonkori* might have fallen into obscurity if it were not for the efforts of a few key Karafuto Ainu practitioners and *tonkori* makers. Ainu *tonkori* practitioners Nishihira Umé and Fujiyama Haru were at the forefront of *tonkori* transmission. They established a lineage of *tonkori* style and repertoire for the continuing generation of *tonkori* players. Nishihira and Fujiyama both participated in countless hours of recordings

and interviews for scholarly research after WWII, the products of which are the root of all *tonkori* music revivals.

This transmission narrative continues in Chapter Four, *The tonkori in Hokkaido*, and follows the work of researcher Tomita Tomoko (Kaho), who extensively documented the *tonkori* playing of Nishihira. Tomita published the results of her documentation (1967, 2012) and was instrumental in teaching the *tonkori* to many Ainu and Wajin students. *Tonkori* music has also recently coalesced into a canonic repertoire, a set of definitive pieces that have come to informally represent “Ainu *tonkori* music.” New students regularly learn these standardized works as part of an emerging *tonkori* repertoire and can be heard at nearly all *tonkori* performances. One often-played work—“Ikeresotte”—is included in this study for analysis in Chapter Four.

Ainu minoritization, the social significance of Ainu music, and key figures in Ainu music are discussed in Chapters Five. The Ainu performing arts are framed by the history of subjugation and the rights recovery movement, and this chapter examines how the *tonkori* is woven into the fabric of the rights recovery movement and how that social movement manifests itself in the performing arts. I investigate how the nuances of Ainu identity in Japanese society are expressed through the performing arts. Because Ainu history carries a dark history of disenfranchisement, the performing arts area is one of few safe spaces for the expression of Ainu identity within Japanese society.

Chapter Five, *The Ainu rights recovery movement and musicians*, traces the intricacies of colonization and the social movements. It also addresses the ways Japanese nationalism and the Western ideology of social Darwinism frames discrimination towards the Ainu. This chapter looks at how Ainu musicians, including key *tonkori* players, helped support political initiatives and the legal ratification process, and how the musicians were consequently affected by them. It describes how in the decades following the 1960s Ainu resistance to racism increased and many outspoken Ainu established an indigenous identity, first in the political sphere followed by explicit expression in the performing arts.

Notions of “tradition,” “identity,” and “revival” as it pertains to Ainu music and musicians are investigated in Chapter Five. The idea of recreating a “tradition” opens up a debate with regard to the meaning of “tradition” not as a fixed practice, but as an ongoing process of cultural activities that is reformed and revitalized, and resonates with the Ainu condition (see Eyerman and Jamison 1998 and Hobsbawm 1992). The process of revitalization in the Ainu occurred after a period of cultural denial when the transmission of Ainu traditional practice was cut off for two to three generations. With the deaths of elderly Ainu and loss of first-hand cultural memory, traditional practices can now only be experienced through documents, audio recordings, and videos collected by Japanese and Western scholars, which are preserved in universities, museums, libraries, and government archives. The dynamic construction of Ainu identity through efforts to preserve and promote traditional

expressions through a modern medium illustrates a developing transformation of Ainu performing arts still in its nascent stage.

In addition, Chapter Five focuses on the lives and activities of key Ainu musicians mentioned earlier: Chiba Nobuhiko, Yūki Kōji, Fukumoto Shouji, Kano Oki, and Ogawa Motoi. Each musician articulates a unique perspective about their personal connection with Ainu music and the *tonkori* instrument; they speak about the spiritual nature of their bond and how it forms a strong attachment with their ancestors. Through personal interviews, I document their worldviews and chronicle their experiences, how they have come to dedicate their life to playing the *tonkori* and how identity is negotiated and altered by playing Ainu music. Although the technical term “informant” places an academic significance to the interviews that were conducted, the friendships spawned from the research overshadow the clinical term. As Ogawa Motoi spoke during one of the interviews, the *tonkori* player does not really “play” the instrument but rather helps her (the *tonkori*) to speak and makes her feel comfortable to sing “effortlessly.” I hope to have followed in this spirit by offering a congenial space for the *tonkori* musicians to express themselves freely and for the musicians to have communicated whatever thoughts they wished for this research.

Chapter Six investigates museum sites that are spaces for articulating Ainu identity—in myriad ways that reflects the museum’s political and social position. Institutions play a major role in the dissemination of Ainu music and culture, and the creation of the organization The Foundation for Research and Promotion of Ainu

Culture (FRPAC) will be addressed in this chapter. The FRPAC was a result of the 1997 Cultural Promotion Act, a critical legislation that effectively deflated the social movement and profoundly changed the landscape of Ainu performing arts.

This chapter also addresses the specific ways Ainu musicians convey notions of reconstruction and revitalization by examining Ainu ensembles and revival groups that have formed within the past fifteen years. There are many revival ensembles that are focused on preserving traditional Ainu music who study the archived material, and these groups range from amateur community *hōzonkai* (J: preservation society) groups to ensembles such as Marewrew (a four-women vocal group) and Team Nikaop⁷ that perform professionally. Other groups create contemporary versions of Ainu music, either by adding instruments from Japan or abroad, or by overtly fusing musical elements from other traditional practices, such as dub or rock. In all cases, what is considered Ainu music, either traditional or modern, features visual and sonic elements that are unmistakably Ainu: singing in Ainu language or playing the Ainu instruments of the *mukkuri* and/or *tonkori*. As a uniquely Ainu instrument, the *tonkori* is an emblem of Ainu cultural identity.

⁷ A twelve-member mixed-gender group made up of mostly younger Ainu generation who perform *rimse* (A: dance) while singing traditional songs.

Chapter Two. Historical background

2.1. Introduction

Music is an important marker of difference for Ainu people today and the *tonkori* is central in representing Ainu music. In order to understand the stakes of musical identity and how the Ainu became identifiable as a separate group from the mainstream Wajin, this chapter will explore the historical background of Ainu culture and the *tonkori*, followed by an overview of the Ainu/Wajin encounter: first as neighboring cultures engaged in trade, followed by the colonization of the Ainu by the Wajin. The response to discrimination has been at the root of the recent Ainu arts revival that has been framed by a problematic trope of homogeneity in Wajin society—the narrative of one nation and one people with a singular origin. To begin unraveling some of the ambivalence surrounding the shared origin of the Ainu and Wajin, this chapter will begin by briefly examining the Paleolithic era of the Japanese archipelago and look at the formation of the Ainu culture from the Satsumon and Okhotsk groups in Hokkaido (2.2.). Following the study of origins, this chapter will describe Ainu’s traditional cultural practices, including the vocal music genre of *upopo*, the bear sending-back ceremony *iomante*, and the female mark of beauty—the blue lip tattoo⁸ (2.3.)

⁸ According to Ainu Studies scholar Mari Kodama, it was customary for Ainu women to wear tattoos on the lips, forearms, and hands, and an important component of an Ainu woman’s beauty (1999: 325).

In addition, cultural practices and theories of the *tonkori*'s derivations will be examined, especially its remarkable similarities with the *narsyuk* instrument of the Siberian indigenous Khanty group (2.4.). The remaining sections in this chapter will focus on the eight centuries of Ainu/Wajin engagement, beginning with the early period from thirteenth century (when the cultural praxes became identifiable as Ainu) until the Meiji period (2.5.). This chapter will further examine the colonization of the Ainu in section 2.6., with a study of the cultural devastation and the 1899 Protection Act. Finally, this chapter will conclude by investigating notions of Japanese homogeneity and nationalism (2.8.) and the racialization of the Ainu (2.9.).

2.2. Ainu's origins

The Siberian and Northern peoples living beyond the 45th parallel north (the halfway point between the Equator and the North Pole) have lifestyles defined by their adaptation to snow and cold climates, characterized by an environment with short summers and freezing temperatures during long winters. The geographical area in this discussion includes contemporary Eastern Russia, Northern China, Kamchatka Peninsula, Kurile Islands, Sakhalin Island, and Hokkaido. Indigenous peoples within this area share a cultural palette that is not only defined by the stringent climate of the northern territories, but also spiritual traditions that includes animism, shamanism, and specific cultural rituals and ceremonies.

It has been determined through archeological findings that the Ainu people are direct descendants of the Satsumon and Okhotsk peoples, who lived in the first

millennium C.E. in Hokkaido. The Satsumon culture descended from the Jomon, a Neolithic culture that existed throughout the Japanese archipelago, and the Jomon culture is commonly believed to also be the forebearers of the present Japanese population (Figure 4).

Cultural Eras in Hokkaido	
Jomon:	11,000 B.C.E. - 300 B.C.E.
Epi-Jomon:	300 B.C.E. - 700 C.E.
Okhotsk:	500 C.E. - 1000 C.E.
Satsumon:	700 C.E. - 1200 C.E.
Ainu:	1200 C.E. - 1868 C.E.

Figure 4: Timeline of cultural eras in Hokkaido.

Although human populations first began inhabiting the Japanese archipelago in the Paleolithic period 40,000 years ago, the Jomon are considered the first defined culture in the region, exemplified by their pottery, thought to be the oldest known earthenware in the world (Tokyo National Museum 2013). The term “Jomon” refers to the wavy rim and cord markings on pottery that is made by rolling twisted clay ropes along the vessel’s surface.

Japanese scholars, such as anthropologist Hanihara Kazuro, perceive the Jomon as the common link between the Ainu and the contemporary Wajin (Hanihara 1990). In addition, Hanihara proposed the current origin theory of the Wajin (popularized in 1991⁹) that the Jomon population mixed with settler populations from

⁹ Utagawa surmises that the Yayoi immigration theory has been around for quite some time before 1991, but was popularized in the mainstream after Hanihara’s publications became generally accepted in academic circles (personal interview, February 18, 2013, Sapporo).

mainland Asia (mostly from China and the Korean peninsula). This large immigrant influx occurred between ca. 500 B.C.E. - 300 C.E. They most probably assimilated with the indigenous peoples (the Jomon) through warfare and intermarriage, although small pockets of core indigenous groups remained in remote areas.¹⁰ The immigrants had a profound effect on indigenous cultural economy and lifestyle, bringing metallurgy knowledge and rice-growing techniques. Rice-growing culture in Japan defined what transfigured in the Wajin population in the Yayoi period (400 B.C.E. – 300 C.E.) (see Ohnuki-Tierney1993). Broadly speaking, subsequent immigration influx from the Asian continent that brought the influences of an imperial court political society and Buddhism during the first millennium C.E. further affected early Wajin culture. External influences would again create an enormous impact after the Meiji era (1868-1912) with its nationalist discourse and technology derived from Western Europe and the U.S.

Around the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the emerging Ainu people in Hokkaido began replacing their pottery with iron cookware and lacquer-ware through trading with their neighbors, most notably the Wajin. In fact, the cessation of pottery craft is one of the important markers that distinguish the Ainu culture from the preceding Satsumon and Okhotsk cultures. The two cultures of the Satsumon and Okhotsk existed roughly around the same time in Hokkaido, with the Okhotsk in the eastern coastal region and Satsumon in the remaining areas. The Okhotsk people are believed to have emigrated from Siberia via Sakhalin, most probably stemming from

¹⁰ Some of the remote areas where indigenous groups retained their culture include the Kumaso and Hayato groups in Kyushu.

Nivkh or Ulchi indigenous cultures based on research of facial bone structures (Utagawa and Kumaki 2013). Some Okhotsk/Satsumon descendants immigrated back to Sakhalin Island around the twelfth century, creating a distinctive Karafuto Ainu regional group that deviated from the Hokkaido Ainu culture in many cultural practices, such as the use of the *kako* drum during shamanistic rituals (discussed further in Chapter Three).

The predecessors of the Ainu and other indigenous Siberian groups share many cultural traits, including shamanistic practice, the concept of the soul, and notions of deities (Yamada 2001), as well as the bear-sending ritual, and the musical practices of the *mukkuri* (mouth-harp) and the *tonkori*. However, at the turn of the twentieth century, the *tonkori* existed only with the Ainu on Sakhalin Island, and it is one of the many cultural elements that uniquely tie Karafuto Ainu to Siberian indigenous groups. Specific connections between the Karafuto Ainu and Siberian groups will be discussed further in detail subsequently in this chapter.

2.3. Cultural practices

The Ainu had no written language and every custom, tradition, and common law was handed down from generation to generation by word of mouth. Their literature consisted of narrative epic poems called *yukar*, commonly sung by tribal elders. Although the Ainu language has no word for the general term “music,”¹¹

¹¹ This is common in many cultures. In Japan, the word “music” was formulated in the Meiji era to identify the general study of music in schools (Kochi 2013).

singing prevailed in myriad aspects of their everyday living, as well as in rituals and ceremonies, and different words were used to describe the various types of singing in their lives.

Traditional Ainu songs can be classified into four genres: *upopo* (everyday songs); *rimse* (circle dance songs); *kamui no mi* (men's songs); and *yukar* (epic poetry) (Kochi 2013). In addition, the Karafuto Ainu had a vocal tradition with a competitive game element called *rekukhara*, which is almost identical to the *katajjaq* throat singing of the Inuit indigenous people (who inhabit the Arctic regions of North America) (Nattiez 1990: 56). Such specific cultural resemblances are another indication of the close connections between the Northern indigenous peoples. According to ethnomusicologist Kochi Rié, the Ainu in historical times did not have a performative genre (that consists of a performer and an audience), but music was an integrated life activity that gave spirit to all aspects of life (2013). Traditional musical practices included some improvisation, incorporation of animal sounds, onomatopoeia, and songs or dances involving games with competitive elements. The timbres that describe Ainu traditional music are a yodeling timbre, groaning timbre, breathing timbre (very prominent in Sakhalin), tongue roll (used often in lullabies and bird songs), and a glottal stop called *rekte*. The aural sounds that describe Ainu traditional music have changed considerably in terms of timbre, pitch, and rhythm due to assimilation and the compelling nature of modernization. The specificity of these musical changes will be discussed further in Chapter Four.

The world-view of the Ainu posits a dual structure, where the Ainu coexist with *kamui* (A: deities, gods, or spirits) in two spatial universes that exist alongside each other—the land of the Ainu (humans) and the land of the *kamui* (Ohnuki-Tierney 1969: 1972). *Kamui* represent spiritual beings who appear in the Ainu world in the form of animals, fish, plants, diseases, objects, and natural phenomena (Utagawa 1992: 255). In the spirit universe, all of the *kamui* resemble humans and lead a life similar to that of humans. In the Ainu universe, the *kamui*'s manifestations as animals are seen as gifts, and when Ainu kill animals, their souls are returned to the land of the *kamui* through the ritual of the sending-back ceremonies (Utagawa 1992: 257, Ohnuki-Tierney 1969; 1972).

Archeologist Hiroshi Utagawa regards the sending-back ritual as the most central religious ceremony for Ainu spirituality, where the spirits of not just animals, but also plants and household objects are returned to the spirit universe of the *kamui*. The ritual is an expression of gratitude toward the spirits for their gifts upon humans, and therefore the activity is a “return gift” back to the spirit world (Utagawa 1992: 256). Furthermore, Utagawa considers the sending-back ritual of the bear, called the *iomante*, as the most important cultural complex of Ainu culture. The *iomante* involves a ceremony where a specially raised bear cub is put to death and its spirit is sent back to the *kamui* world. The bear cub, called *heper*, is often raised for many months up to a year as a member of the village family, sometimes even nursed by a lactating woman in the village (Utagawa 2013). The Ainu were not alone in having a bear ceremony, as this cultural rite in various forms was practiced among many

Siberian indigenous peoples, including the Nivkh and the Uilta people of Sakhalin, and the peoples of the Amur River basin (Figure 5).¹²



Figure 5: Map of Amur River Basin, Sakhalin, Hokkaido, Kuril Islands, and Kamchatka.

From analysis of bear and animal bone remains excavated from dwelling sites, Utagawa links the *iomante* ritual to the Okhotsk, Satsumon, and Jomon cultures. The bear remains in Jomon culture accounted for 50% of the various animal remains,

¹² Tanimoto Kazuyuki sees the ritual widely spread in various groups from Eurasia to North America, and divides the *iomante* ceremony into two types: one that ritualizes the process of nurturing a bear cub then sacrifice it; the other is a type in which people perform the ritual when they catch a bear (2000: 13).

compared to 57% in the Epi-Jomon culture, and 38% in the Okhotsk culture (Utagawa 1992: 264). Even today in its contemporary form, which excludes the bear sacrificing practice, the *iomante* ceremony continues to be a central part of the Ainu culture.¹³ Moreover, a canonic song “Iso Kaari Irekte” in the *tonkori* repertoire is linked to the *iomante* ceremony (see Appendix A). Ethnomusicologist Tanimoto Kazuyuki also draws a correlation of *iomante* rituals between Ainu and Siberian indigenous groups by extending the connection to music and dance that are incorporated into rituals (Tanimoto 2000: 13). Practitioners embody music and dance within rituals as a lived experience, and in the *iomante* ceremony, the songs and dances explain and give order to the symbolic meaning of each scene of the ritual.¹⁴ In this sense, the *iomante* ceremony articulates various facets of the Ainu culture; shamanistic faith, hunting customs, and spirit beliefs all affirm that the underlying layer of Ainu culture has a definite correlation with the peoples of the Siberian continent.

The *iomante* ceremony underwent many changes in its form and its present structure became solidified in the latter half of the eighteenth century. After colonization in 1868, the Wajin government outlawed the practice and the Ainu consequently performed the *iomante* less and less frequently after the turn of the twentieth century. However, the Karafuto Ainu continued the practice much later than

¹³ Utagawa refers to the *iomante* as the “most significant cultural complex” of the Ainu (see 1992)

¹⁴ e.g., when a cub is taken from the cage, when a ceremonial arrow is shot at the cub, when the cub is killed, and when the bear deity is sent off to the land of the deity) (Tanimoto 1999: 284)

their Hokkaido counterparts, most likely due to their geographical distance from mainland Japan.¹⁵ Anthropologist Baba Osamu recounts that during his ethnological expedition to Karafuto between 1935-1941, he saw an *inaw* (A: ceremonial prayer stick) with many bear penis skins that was used in a bear festival, as well as wooden images of the bear *kamui* wrapped with bear penis skins. However, even the elderly Karafuto Ainu could not explain the reasons why the bear penis skins were used and Baba has concluded that phallicism had played a part in the bear ceremony (Baba 1979: 223).

Memories of Ainu descendants recount the *iomante* ritual that took place in remote areas in the post-war period in Hokkaido. During an interview with an Ainu woman who grew up near Kussharo Lake in the mountainous Akan region in Hokkaido, she described how she witnessed an *iomante* ritual in her Ainu village in the 1950s that took place in the clearing of the village *jinja* (J: Shinto shrine). The elders with long white beards drank bear blood in the ritual and the image of her grandfather's white beard soaked with the bright red bear blood that he drank has remained ingrained in her memory (Goto 2013).

Tanimoto has surmised that the *iomante* ritual became less esoteric as it became a spectacle to non-Ainu populations and that it has diverged from its authenticity in intention and purpose (2000: 13). As with many other rituals and ceremonies, the *iomante* has transformed from a cultural complex that was deeply embedded with spiritual meaning to become a tourist event and one of the main

¹⁵ Ohnuki-Tierney notes that the Ainu who resided in the Northwestern area of Karafuto did not experience Wajin acculturation until the beginning of WWII (1969: 1).

attractions for outsiders wanting to experience an unusual historical practice. In the present time, *iomante* festivals are performed as “traditional” cultural events in museums, such as the public event at the Poroto Kotan Ainu Museum in Shiraoi, Hokkaido. The “rituals” are conducted in front of audiences and consist of songs, dances and prayers accompanied with dinner as part of a fundraiser, and do not incorporate a live or dead bear in any form.

Perhaps the most striking physical marker of Ainu identity is the blue lip tattoo that women have worn. The tattoo is marked on a young woman during puberty and generally takes about four to five years to complete, using a mixture of an herb and soot from a pot that is tattooed with a needle. Like many other indigenous cultural practices, lip tattoos were outlawed in the Meiji era, but recently, Ainu women singers have begun to wear painted versions of lip tattoos during performances as a statement of cultural identity (see Figure 6). The lip tattoos are powerful symbols that assert indigeneity in Japanese society, but are only presented during performances. Once the music performances are finished, the painted tattoos are taken off and the Ainu women assimilate themselves back into mainstream society.



Figure 6: Marewrew group vocalist with a painted blue-lip tattoo. (Photo by author).

2.4. Tonkori's origins

Ainu culture, with its curious blend of native Jomon, Siberian indigeneity, and Japanization, brings a colorful perspective to the present Wajin multicultural landscape. This can be particularly demonstrated by the *tonkori*, a stringed instrument of mostly northern characteristics with imaginable ties to the Wajin. There are no *tonkori* (fretless plucked zithers) before the twentieth century that have survived, and historical information about the *tonkori* are based on depictions and descriptions of the *tonkori* that stem from late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These drawings depict Ainu men playing unaccompanied *tonkori* or it is shown with the shaman's *kako* drum and *mukkuri* (mouth-harp). These drawings, which were made by Japanese government officials and travelers, serve as the only tangible connections to a musical practice of the recent past. It is interesting to note that the *hankapuy*, or the “belly-button” hole of the *tonkori* did not appear in the drawings until the latter half of the

nineteenth century, and one can speculate that the *hankapuy* might have been added to the *tonkori* during this time. The organology of the *tonkori* is discussed in detail in Chapter Three.

One of the oldest surviving *tonkori* is housed in the instrument archive at The Center for Traditional Japanese Music Library at Kyoto City University of Performing Arts, and was given by the musicologist Tanabe Hisao, a Japanese researcher, who donated his instrument collection to the Center (see Figures 7 and 8). The *tonkori* was acquired in 1923 from Karafuto—made of dark brown wood that was very dusty, with cracks and had no spirit ball inside. In comparing this instrument to contemporary *tonkori*, the body of this instrument is much more slender, and the carving on the *sapa* (A: head) is unusual in its simplicity (see Figure 2, parts of the *tonkori*, in Chapter One).



Figure 7: Tonkori from 1923. (Photo by author).

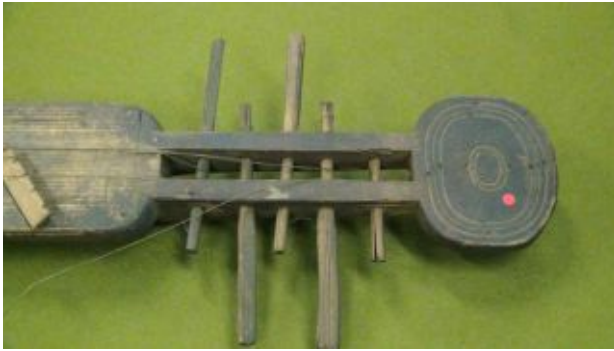


Figure 8: *Tonkori* from 1923—view of the *sapa* (head) and *kisar* (ears). (Photo by author).

Artifacts made from animal horns with possible ties to a stringed instrument have been discovered throughout Japan, dating from the Yayoi (300 B.C.E. - 300 C.E.), Epi-Jomon (300 B.C.E. - 700 C.E.) and Okhotsk periods (500 C.E. - 1000 C.E.). The artifacts—identified as “bow-shaped caps,” are slightly curved with multiple holes that suggest tuning pegs for stringed instruments. In his study of over fifty such artifacts, archeologist Ishimori Akira hypothesizes that these artifacts, which range from one to nine centimeters, might have been decorative charms for bows (1994). Moreover, Ishimori writes that archeologist Takei Norimichi was the first to mention how these artifacts might possibly have been miniature tuning-heads for stringed instruments (ibid: 2). He also describes Utagawa Hiroshi’s research on similar artifacts that were discovered at the Tokoro-cho archeological dig site in eastern Hokkaido and how Utagawa links the artifacts as tuning-heads for the *tonkori* (see Figure 9). Until more information becomes available, it is difficult to make any conjectures as to the purpose of the bow-shaped caps. However, because the presumable pegs (that might have been inserted into the holes) suggest being a device

for fastening strings, it is not unreasonable to see the caps as miniature heads for stringed instruments.



Figure 9: Bow-shaped artifacts from Tokoro-cho dig-site. (Photo by author).

Discovered in 1972 by Utagawa's immediate predecessor, the Tokoro-cho artifacts were made out of deer horn from the Okhotsk era sometime around the tenth century. Utagawa believes that the bow-shaped artifacts are different than those discovered on Honshu, due to differences in their physical characteristics (personal interview, February 11, 2013, Sapporo). Utagawa referenced these artifacts when building a wooden full-size replica of the "tuning-head" (see Figure 10) and also constructing a *tonkori*'s body to connect to the tuning-head (see Figure 11) (Utagawa 1989). Using measurements from the miniatures, Utagawa confirmed his hypothesis that the proportions are indeed workable for a musical instrument.¹⁶ However, there is no further evidence that tie the miniature bow-shaped artifacts to the *tonkori*.

¹⁶ The replica is currently housed at the Iseki no Yakata Museum in Tokoro-cho, Hokkaido.



Figure 10: Utagawa's full-size replica of "tonkori head." (Photo by author).



Figure 11: Utagawa's full-size tonkori based on bow-shaped artifacts. (Photo by author).

Remains of musical instruments in indigenous cultures before the twentieth century are rare, as they were most probably made from wood. Besides the miniature bow-shaped bone objects, a possible musical artifact was discovered at an archeological dig-site in Tokoro-cho that is considered by archeologist Takeda Osamu at the *Iseki no Yakata* Museum¹⁷ to be an ocarina (clay flute), dating from the Epi-Jomon era, making it around 2000 years old (Figure 12) (Takeda 2013). Although

¹⁷ The Iseki no Yakata Museum is part of an archeological dig site and research center located in Tokoro-cho on the Eastern coast of Hokkaido. Hiroshi Utagawa, from a personal interview on 8 December 2012, stated that the town of Tokoro-cho is the residence for many Karafuto Ainu who immigrated to Hokkaido after WWII. About 30% of the population in Tokoro-cho is Ainu.

there are no specific connections between the probable ocarina and *tonkori*, the possibility of a wind instrument in the Jomon era piques the imagination toward a musically rich ancient culture.



Figure 12: Clay artifact from Epi-Jomon era, possibly an ocharina. (Photo by author).

As mentioned above, the *tonkori*'s influences from Siberian indigenous groups are particularly noteworthy. The Amur Basin region in Eastern Siberia was an important trading ground for the Karafuto Ainu (see the map in Figure 5)—the territory included indigenous groups, such as Ulchi, Uilta, Udehe, Nanai, and Negidal (Hokkaido Museum of Northern Peoples 2013). Figures 13 and 14 show ornamental patterns drawn on Ulchi and Nanai baskets, which can be similarly compared with Ainu patterns on the *tonkori* on Figure 15. Embroidery by Krygyz crafts people, depicted in ethnomusicologist Theodore Levin's book *Where Rivers and Mountains Sing*, demonstrates almost identical curved patterns as the Ulchi, Nanai, and Ainu (2006: 150). The curved patterns are also used throughout Ainu embroidery on clothing and paper-cutting. These curving patterns are believed to ward off evil spirits by confusing them and keeping them from entering the body (Figures 16 and 17). The existence of such similar patterns that extend as far as the Altai Mountain range in

Central Asia further points to cross-cultural sharing and exchange that spans across borders.



Figure 13: Ulchi basket. (Photo by author).



Figure 14: Nanai basket. (Photo by author).



Figure 15: Tonkori with Ainu patterns. (Photo by author).



Figure 16: Ainu paper-cutting. (Photo by author).



Figure 17: Ainu embroidery on clothing. (Photo by author).

The Khanty (Hanti) indigenous people are traditionally nomadic reindeer herders and reside around the Ob River Basin in north central Siberia. They play a zither called the *narsyuk* that is strikingly similar to the *tonkori* in every aspect except for the neck, ears, and the head, which the *narsyuk* lacks. Tanimoto theorizes that the *tonkori* and the *narsyuk* are very closely related (2000: 293) (Figure 18).



Figure 18: Narsyuk instrument of the Khanty (Hanti) people of Siberia. (Photo by author).

“Narsyuk” literally means “musical wood” in the Khanty language and both the *tonkori* and the *narsyuk* are made from a piece of hollowed out wood with a thin wooden plate that is glued on the top. Both instruments have five to seven gut strings and the parts of the instruments are named after a human body. Interestingly, they both have a small opening in the instrument, called *hankapuy* (A: bellybutton) in the *tonkori* and *toru* or “throat-hole” in the *narsyuk*. In addition, the *tonkori* and *narsyuk*

both contain a small glass ball inside the body, which is known as the spirit or soul of the instrument.¹⁸

Tanimoto proposes that the Ainu adopted the body of the *narsyuk* and added the tuning head section of the *tonkori*, which was an influence from the *shamisen* instrument of Japan. It is unclear as to why Tanimoto links the top portion (head) of the *tonkori* to the *shamisen*, for there are other instruments from China and Siberia with similar tuning pegs as the *shamisen*. Perhaps Tanimoto came to this conclusion due to the significant Wajin influence that dominated Ainu musical culture, especially in the centuries leading up to the Meiji era. Some of these influences include an expanded vocal range with Wajin lyrics that were adopted for some *upopo* songs. It should be noted that the Wajin influence is far less in the Karafuto Ainu than the Hokkaido Ainu.

A possible commonality contemplated by ethnomusicologist Robert Garfias in *Music of a Thousand Autumns* between the *tonkori* and the *wagôn*, an indigenous Japanese zither, sparks curiosity about a connection between two neighboring ancient cultures very distinct from each other—the court culture of Yamato (J: early Japanese political body) and native people of the Northern region (1975: 5). The similarity exists not in the physical characteristics of the instruments, but in the playing technique (described below) that is uniquely different from those used in zithers in East Asian cultures, and even differs from the *koto*, the representative zither in Japanese culture. Garfias explains how all the strings on the *wagôn* are strummed and

¹⁸ The animist aspect of non-human entities and objects are prevalent in most indigenous cultures in Siberia.

dampened except for one string that is left sounding—a practice very similar to the *tonkori*, where the player strums all the strings with one hand and plucks one string with the other hand (1975: 5). Moreover, the strings on the *wagôn* and the *tonkori* are arranged in a melodic order varying in low and high pitches, and not sequentially from low to high pitch, as in most other stringed instruments—a very specific and unique characteristic that is not common among zithers in the region.

2.5. Early Ainu & Wajin engagement

The earliest written account of indigenous people in the northern territories dates from the fourth century, when Wajin historical records mention the Emishi (or Yemishi) and also Ezo (or Yezo) as peoples who inhabited the frontier lands of northeast Japan (Hanihara 1990: 35). Emishi was mostly used to describe the native peoples of northern Honshu and Ezo referred to the people of the Hokkaido Island. However, these terms seem to have been flexible, as Emishi was also used to refer to Wajin who opposed the central Yamato regime or lived in the periphery from mainstream Japan, and Ezo was sometimes used to refer to the land territory of Hokkaido.

The term Ainu did not come into use until the eighteenth century, as a self-designation for the native people of Hokkaido who were offended by being called Ezo (Kikuchi 1999: 74). However, in the twentieth century, the Wajin began to associate the term Ainu with pejorative connotations, and this prompted the principal Ainu organization to change its name in 1961 from Hokkaido Ainu Association to

Hokkaido Utari Association, where Utari is an Ainu word that means fellows or comrades.¹⁹ The organization changed its name back to Hokkaido Ainu Association in 2009, after the official recognition by the Japanese government of Ainu as an indigenous people of Japan in 2008. Especially in Hokkaido, the term Ainu is still considered a disparaging word to describe the native peoples (as mentioned in Chapter One).

Historically, both Emishi and Ezo had political implications, meaning the “other,” a barbarian, and an aboriginal outsider (Kikuchi 1999: 74). The Chinese characters for Emishi translate as “Eastern barbarians.” The notion of the Ainu as barbarians was influenced by Chinese thought that the Japanese imported between the sixth and eighth centuries, when classical Chinese described barbarians as “hairy, non-human, flesh-eating savages who dressed in skins and lived in holes” (Siddle 1996: 27) (The Chinese used the term in reference to the tribes who lived on the periphery of the Chinese “Middle Kingdom.”)

The *Nihonshoki* (earliest official chronicle of Japanese history compiled around 720 C.E.) contains one of the first recorded depictions of the people who lived to the East or Northeast of Yamato:

Amongst these Eastern savages the Yemishi are the most powerful, their men and women live together promiscuously, there is no distinction of father or child. In winter they dwell in holes, in summer they live in nests. Their clothing consists of furs, and they drink blood... In ascending mountains they are like flying birds; in going through the grass they are like fleet quadrupeds... Sometimes they draw together their fellows and make inroads on the frontier. At other times they take the

¹⁹ The Ainu Association of Hokkaido, 2008. *Brochure on the Ainu People*. Sapporo. p. 6.

opportunity of the harvest to plunder the people... ever since antiquity they have not been steeped in the kingly civilizing influences. (Aston 1972: 203)

During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Wajin culture underwent a shift from imperial court rule to a military one. Meanwhile the Ainu economy in Karafuto and Hokkaido were thriving as they served as trade brokers between the Wajin to the south and the Eastern Siberian peoples and the Chinese to the north. Hawk and eagle feathers imported from the northern territories were highly prized within the emerging military culture in Japan. Chinese records indicate that Ainu acted as middlemen, trading Wajin products for local Amur River basin wares and Chinese products (such as silk), but the records also describe an interesting event when the Karafuto Ainu fought several times in the fourteenth century with the forces of the Yuan (Mongol) dynasty (1271-1368) in the lower Amur region and Sakhalin (Yamaura and Ushiro 1999: 46). The Ainu continued to engage in trade in the Yuan-Mongol tributary system, which lasted until the mid-nineteenth century.

Warfare and tribal conflict were common among the Ainu, who fought among themselves over territory disputes regularly. Utagawa examined 230 out of the 550 or so Ainu *chasi* (A: fort mounds) in Hokkaido and concluded that their defensive functions were against the Wajin, the Uilta indigenous group from Karafuto, evil *kamui* spirits, and other Ainu groups (lecture on Ainu *chasi*, February 6, 2013, Sapporo). The large quantity of *chasi* known to have existed in Hokkaido alone indicates the extensive number of regional Ainu groups, and also to the significance of inter-tribal conflict that prevailed. Ainu factionalism still exists today, perhaps

stemming from historical regional divisions, where agreement on political strategizing is difficult due to the regional lack of centralized authority and partisanship.

Wajin accounts of the Ainu are sparse during the medieval period in Japan (1185-1573), but the popular consensus was that Ezo was a place “haunted by demons” and the elite-ruling sector of Japan thought of the Ainu as “strange inhabitants” (Takakura 1960: 49, 14). Wajin populations had begun to arrive in Ezo in the Kamakura Bakufu reign (1192-1333). Most were fishermen and traders, but some were murderers who were deported and others were defeated warriors. The small number of castaways who settled in Ezo were most likely assimilated into the indigenous population; the northern island from ancient times was a refuge for those escaping the Yamato regime (Takakura 1960: 11).²⁰

A century of periodic warfare between the Ainu and Wajin began in 1456, and a Wajin who eventually took the family name of Matsumae enacted a peace treaty in 1550 (Siddle 1999: 69). Trade relations with Japan were regulated through the Matsumae clan until well into the Edo period (1603-1868) and the Matsumae steadily moved the trading center inland and north in Hokkaido, increasing their power by controlling the trading activities over larger areas and dominating the terms of the trade (Takakura 1960: 25). The Matsumae clan’s history of power domination and unfair practices in trade has left bitter memories for the Ainu, and the clan’s name

²⁰ A fanciful legend reports that the celebrated general Minamoto Yoshitsune, fleeing for his life from his vengeful half-brother Yoritomo, arrived in *Ezo* and lived with the Ainu and taught them how to grow crops (Bird 1975: 273).

evokes contempt and disdain for those Ainu who are aware of the political history surrounding the Matsumae clan. While performing *tonkori* at a small jazz bar in Funabashi, Chiba, Ainu musician Kano Oki spoke on the Ainu/Matsumae historical engagement that, “the Matsumae deceived the Ainu and they sometimes used the Ainu’s illiteracy to trick and cheat the Ainu of their land and resources.”²¹

The image of the Ainu people has slowly changed over time, altered by historical events and transforming sociopolitical ideologies. However, those who were in the position of creating legacies by leaving records and writing historical documents, such as the Wajin government officials, Wajin travelers, and Western missionaries, significantly influenced the viewpoints of the Ainu. Some of the earliest portraits surviving from early seventeenth century (some which are remarkably well-preserved) often depict the Ainu as the savage “other.” These source materials were the only remaining historical records until scientists and anthropologists began observing the Ainu in late nineteenth century, which were often framed by Darwinian notions of the Ainu as a “dying race” (a topic that will be discussed further in Chapters Five and Six).²²

The celebrated Japanese playwright Chikamatsu Monzaemon (1653-1725) described Ezo in the *joryuri* (J: dramatic recitation) drama *Kenjo no Tenarai* (A Wise Woman’s Learning):

²¹ Solo *tonkori* performance at Salbuo music venue in Funabashi, Chiba, June 20, 2010.

²² Richard Siddle has observed that anthropological studies in Japan were founded on Ainu and Okinawan research in late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, for Ainu research presented a wealth of resources for ethnological investigation right in the backyard for Japanese scholars exploring European knowledge and scholarship during the emergence of Westernization (2012).

This so-called Ezo island is located more than one thousand *ri*²³ away. Whoever is born on this island possesses a great natural power. The hair grows upward and the light of the eyes is like the golden morning sun. Their angry shouting frightens the animals. They hunt and eat animals of the mountains and fields as well as fish. They indulge in fine wines and beautiful women and live lavishly. It is a strange country of no law and dissolute habits. (Takakura 1960: 49-50)

Not all writings about the Ainu depict savagery and crudeness. Takakura quotes a passage from the *Watarishima Hikki* describing the Ainu:

There was no borrowing and lending... It has been said that there are no Ezo who die of starvation but if any do the wealthy and poor perish together after the rich have exhausted their resources in supporting the poor. In daily life not even a glass of wine is enjoyed alone. They dined together and shared what they had to eat with everyone at the table. When there was very little food it was given to the old or to the children. (Ibid.: 15)

Ohnuki-Tierney describes a strong emphasis on sharing in Ainu communities, where the Ainu shares resources without expectation of reciprocity, but as a function to foster respect for the giver by the community (1976). This type of communal sharing appears to be common practice among kin-based rural communities not just among the Ainu, but also in many traditional societies, including the Wajin culture.

2.6. Colonization of the Ainu during the Meiji period

Japanese history books most commonly refer to the history of Hokkaido in the Meiji era as *kaitaku* in Japan, which translates as “development” and implies a culturally advanced Japan bringing progress to an uninhabited area. The term

²³ *Ri* is a traditional Japanese unit of measurement, roughly equaling 3927 meters.

“colonization” or *takushoku* is not generally used, due to its overtones of exploitation and subjugation. The term *kaitaku* also disregards and minimizes the brutality and the discrimination toward the Ainu that occurred during the occupation (see Siddle 1996; Weiner 2009). The disregard of Ainu colonization by the use of *kaitaku* is used throughout government handouts and also in education, and has created an undertone to set the public’s lack of awareness towards Ainu history. For this study, Hokkaido is understood as an internal colony (Siddle 1996: 51), which is defined as when a foreign government forcibly enters a region, colonizes the inhabitants, and then exploits them for the benefit of the appropriating government.²⁴

Paul Gilroy, in his seminal work *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (1993), states that “racial slavery was integral to western civilization” and one of the central themes in his book describes the “master/mistress/slave relationship which is foundational to both black critiques and affirmations of modernity” (1993: x). I apply this notion similarly to Japanese modernity, of how Japanese colonization, specifically as it pertains to the Ainu (and generally to the Pacific colonization by the Japanese imperial regime), is also integral and vital to the formation of the present Japanese culture.

The brutality of the subjugation practices from colonization cannot be overestimated, but the Ainu-Wajin colonial encounter is more nuanced than a straight oppressor/oppressed binary. As Native American scholar and ethnomusicologist Jessica Bissett Perea writes in her dissertation on Inuit Alaskan Natives:

²⁴ See Siddle’s description of an internal colony in Footnote 1.

A leveling the playing field through a false “discourse of opposites” reminds us that the narrative of a unidirectional impact of the colonizer on the colonized is ideologically weighted, and that it neglects the multidirectional web of influences in colonial cultural encounters. Likewise, in an Alaskan context very little is gained by adhering to false oppositions that are a legacy of the colonial experience. This appears between narratives that disavow colonialism’s impact on Alaskan ethnoscaples, landscapes, and soundscapes, and those that perpetuate an image of Native individuals and collectives as exclusively victims of colonization. (2011: 9)

The engagement between the minority and the dominant cultures are not one-directional, as Perea describes in her study of Inuit colonization. Wajin modern history is framed and described by the colonization encounter that lasted almost a century, and a lack of acknowledgment of the encounter is a denial of historical identity. In addition, the Ainu also have an agency in determining their colonial narrative; by recognizing the colonial engagement (that still pervades through effects of minoritization, such as passing), the Ainu can dictate their path and identity in Wajin society.

The power dynamic that defines the oppressed/oppressor and margin/center is explained by activist and feminist scholar bell hooks, who define the marginalized as having an “absence of choices” (hooks 2005: 5) and describes the power dynamic between the margin and center as being that of domination, where the margin is “part of the whole but outside the main body” (hooks 2005: 5 and 2000: xvi). The margin can exist in the duplicity of outside/inside, but the dominant group, i.e. the Wajin, only exists in the center, unavailable toward and uninformed about the margin. In

present-day Japan, this can be illustrated by the lack of knowledge about the Ainu in mainstream society.

The minority culture as the margin can exhibit agency and redefine the center majority culture, a notion that was deliberated at the most recent International Council of Traditional Music's "Music and Minorities" symposium held in Osaka, Japan. The Ainu's contribution to the Japanese performing arts brings multiculturalism to the otherwise homogeneous Japanese discourse and allows for inquiry into not only the self-perceived "pure race" concept of the Japanese, but also into the colonial history of Hokkaido and discriminatory misconceptions toward the Ainu.

The Ainu in Hokkaido were enduring a slowly encroaching colonial expansion from the Wajin beginning around the fourteenth century onward, but the official assimilation into the Wajin society began in the Meiji era (1868-1912) with the annexation of Hokkaido by Japan. Perhaps today this assimilation can be seen as nearly complete, since the last native speakers of the Ainu language have died in the last decade (Gayman 2013; Kitahara 2013). Japan colonized other lands besides Hokkaido around the same time—most textbooks describe the annexation of Hokkaido, Okinawa, Formosa, Southern Sakhalin, and Korea as the beginning period in the expansion of the Japanese empire.²⁵

²⁵ The Japanese islands can be seen as participating in colonization activities since the formation of the Yayoi culture (300B.C.E - 300 C.E.). Indigenous populations in Kyushu, known as *Kumaso* and *Hayato* were colonized and assimilated along with the predecessors of the Ainu in northern Tohoku region by the ninth century (Takakura 1960: 7).

Ezo became known as Hokkaido in 1869, one year after it was acquired (Ainu Affairs Group 2007). After the annexation, the land in Hokkaido was deemed as unclaimed and became national property, which was then sold or given to the Wajin settlers (FRPAC 2000: 8). Ainu musician and leader Yūki Kōji estimates that around 30% of Hokkaido land is still national property.²⁶ Some outspoken members of the Hokkaido Ainu Association, including musician Kano Oki, have called for some of the public property to be allocated to the Ainu as their autonomous territory.²⁷ The Ainu are not alone in contesting their claim to their historical dwelling place. Ethnomusicologists Beverley Diamond, M. Sam Cronk, and Franziska von Rosen writes about similar movements in Canada:

The critical need for a new relationship between the First Nations and Canadian governments, both federal and provincial, was evident. Preoccupying our emotions and our thoughts as we worked on this book were conflicts over injustices in the legal system, over the continuation of third-world poverty levels within this affluent country, over Constitution and land claims—at Kanehsatake and Kahnawake, Temagami, Good Bay, Old Man River, and Meetch Lake. (1994: 12)

Russia's threat to control the region influenced Japan's political impetus to annex Ezo, as Siberia's eastern borders were slowly and surely coming under the jurisdiction of Russia. The political tension between Japan and Russia has a long and

²⁶ Yūki, personal interview, December 21, 2012, Sapporo. Other figures of public lands in Hokkaido are 50-55% (Ainu History Symposium, January 25, 2013). The discrepancy might be due to what type of land is considered "public," i.e. national, provincial, and municipal land.

²⁷ This point was debated at the Ainu History and Culture Symposium, during the panel discussion, on February 7, 2013.

closely-knit history; the Ainu were middlemen as traders, but were culturally affected by the tug-of-war of the two contesting regimes. In the 1730s, Russia colonized the northernmost island in the Kurile chain and by 1749, most of the mixed indigenous population in the Kuriles, including the Ainu, was baptized as Orthodox Christians. According to scholar Kono Hiromichi,²⁸ there was a three-stringed instrument called “balalaika” in the Kurile Islands that was an imitation of the Russian balalaika, although not much else is known about the musical life in the Kuriles (Utagawa and Kanaya 1986: 6). In the late eighteenth century, there was much debate within the Bakufu (J: Wajin government in the Edo period) for a response to the perceived Russian threat and they considered taking Ezo at that time. However, the formal annexation did not occur until the change of government in the Meiji era, for the northern island was highly unmanageable due to its size and wild nature (Siddle 1996: 39).

The Wajin’s veiling of the Ainu’s colonized history in education and the media clouds the process of transformation that requires a clear narrative of the colonial encounter. Investigating the laws that were created to deal with the colonization of the Ainu is one concrete way to evaluate the engagement. In order to address the Dōchō’s (J: Hokkaido government) designation of the “Ainu problem” that arose from colonization in the Meiji period, the Dōchō passed the Ainu Protection Act in 1899, which contained both beneficial and adverse consequences

²⁸ According to Utagawa (1986) Kono Hiromichi discussed the balalaika in his book *Ainu Life*, which was written in 1956.

for the Ainu. In the following section, I address this law and its long-lasting effects on Ainu culture.

2.7. Cultural devastation and the 1899 Protection Act

Colonization severely impacted the Ainu's traditional lifestyle through forced assimilation and laws that prohibited their traditional means of acquiring food and other necessities. The Wajin banned the speaking of their language in 1869 that was followed by the banning of poisoned arrows for hunting in 1876, salmon fishing in 1883, and deer hunting in 1889 (Ainu Affairs Group 2007: 8, 17). Because many Ainu lived in remote areas far from town centers, these laws were not effectively enforced for some decades and the rural Ainu continued to perform music in rituals and ceremonies. However, by early twentieth century, the Wajin routinely arrested Ainu men for fishing salmon and hunting deer (Kayano 2005).

Memories of discriminatory practices upon the Ainu have been passed down through generations. After my *tonkori* lesson with Ainu musician Fukumoto Shouji, Fukumoto Hiromi ²⁹ related the experience of her grandmother, who was an Ainu from Karafuto. Hiromi's grandmother was born into a wealthy family, so she did not directly experience sexual exploitation by Japanese men, but saw many of the other Ainu girls undergo sexual abuse and felt deep regret for their situation. Her great-grandmother used to pray to the fire *kamui* (A: deity), but the family did not speak much about their past hardships endured from Japanese subjugation (personal

²⁹ Fukumoto Hiromi is married to the Ainu musician Fukumoto Shouji.

communication, January 18, 2013, Sapporo). Another Ainu woman who grew up near Kussharo Lake in Hokkaido remembers that her village had about thirty families. Her father was Ainu and her mother was Japanese (coming from the only non-Ainu family in the village), but when the parents married, they had made a decision to raise their children as Japanese and did not tell the children about their Ainu heritage until they were much older. My informant knew that something was amiss, because everyone in her village was Ainu. Her village was known in the area as an Ainu village, and the Wajin who lived in the area marked the children from the village accordingly. She saw that the girls who “looked” more Ainu would get bullied and as a child she did not want to be identified with being Ainu.

Ainu experiences under colonization have similarities with other indigenous peoples. A parallel can be drawn between the Ainu and the Native American experience during colonization. Ethnomusicologist Victoria Levine writes about the colonial experience of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Native Peoples:

Constraints on Native American music and dance imposed by European colonists beginning in the early seventeenth century posed a serious threat to the survival of indigenous cultures. The U.S. government intensified this threat during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries with oppressive policies including forced relocation, ban on ceremonial performance, termination of tribal governments, placement of Native children in boarding schools, and suppression of Native languages. (2011: 300)

The Ainu experienced similar restrictions on their customs. Siddle writes,

Many observers recorded the resistance and distress shown by the Ainu after many of their customs, including tattooing, the wearing of beards, and the bear ceremony, were banned by the

authorities in an attempt to promote assimilation after 1799; most feared the resulting wrath of the gods that would come if they abandoned their religion. (1999: 70)

The Wajin exploited Northern Japan's ecosystem, by hunting for deer hides and meat with hunting rifles, which brought the deer population in Hokkaido close to extinction after 1879 (Siddle 1996: 62). As a result, the Ainu began to die of starvation since the Wajin's over hunting and over fishing greatly reduced food sources. In addition, the Ainu were forcibly relocated to make room for incoming settlers from Honshu, which added further hardship to the Ainu who were already impoverished.

In order to mitigate the “Ainu problem”³⁰ of poverty, decreasing population, and inequality, the government passed the Hokkaido Former Aborigine Protection Act in 1899 that guaranteed farming land for the Ainu (Ainu Affairs Group 2007: 17). However, the land allocated to the Ainu often had poor soil and was divided into much smaller lots than the land given to the Wajin settlers. The Protection Act stipulated that farming land for Ainu should be 15,000 *tsubo* (J: unit of land measurement that equals roughly 12.2 acres) per household—ethnic discrimination when compared to the 100,000 *tsubo* (roughly 81.6 acres) per Wajin household, and the Dōchō often gave Wajin settlers more favorable farming lands (FRPAC 2000: 8). In addition, because the Dōchō could repossess the land if not farmed profitably, they repossessed roughly a fifth of the land given to the Ainu (Siddle 1996: 71).

³⁰ Siddle refers to the “Ainu problem” as a term used by the Dōchō.

Ainu social movements in the twentieth century solidified around the effort to repeal the 1899 Protection Act, mainly due to the discriminatory land laws described above. It became the impetus for the formation of the Hokkaido Ainu Association in the 1930s—a unifying front that brought together Ainu from various regions to form a collective organization. Moreover, repealing the 1899 Protection Act was an important component of the Cultural Promotion Act of 1997, when the Japanese government finally amended and replaced it. In summary, the eradication of the 1899 Act was an important symbol of the termination of a particular post-colonial dynamic between the Wajin and the Ainu. It was a law that not only privileged the Wajin, but also continued a distinction between the primitive (Ainu) and civilized (Wajin). The following section investigates the Wajin socio-political agenda that contributed to their colonizing efforts, which began with the Meiji oligarchy and intellectual leaders, and was thoroughly integrated into the general population by mid-twentieth century.

2.8. Japanese homogeneity and nationalism

To speak about the Ainu as a minority in Japan is political, since it highlights the problematic concept of homogeneity within mainstream Japanese society. The notion of homogeneity in Japan is inextricably tied to the development of nationalism in the late nineteenth century, where a historically diverse culture in Japan came to be regarded as “unique” and monocultural through a nationalist agenda (see McCormack 2001 and Weiner 2009).

Prior to the creation of Japan as a nation state in 1868, many small fiefdoms with regional variations occupied the Japanese archipelago that was ruled under a military government, where the core population of the Wajin did not see itself as a single ethnos until the twentieth century.³¹ The creation of a new nation state in the face of European colonialism was intended to thwart outside powers and to compete with Western nations as a colonizing power. Through propaganda, the Meiji oligarchy popularized notions suggesting that all people in Japan were subjects of the “family” nation state headed by the emperor, who was of divine origin from the Goddess Amaterasu. This assumption that the Japanese were a unique race was widely accepted and inscribed in the *kokutai* (J: national polity), and ultimately became the groundwork for the legitimation of the imperialist regime and militarism in the twentieth century (See Hudson 1999 and Amino 2012).

The notion of “Japaneseness” or *Nihonjinron* (J: theories Japanese cultural or racial uniqueness) remains a complicated concept that spawned volumes of writing on the subject. Political historian Benedict Anderson describes Japan as a case of “official nationalism,” where a nation state was created with retention of dynastic power (1991: 86). Anderson further explains the idea of “Japaneseness” as being promoted by the Japanese nation-state, which resulted from Japan’s adopting European ideas of nationhood (Anderson 1991: 97-8). Nationalist songs were composed during this time to instill feelings of unity among the general public. An

³¹ The regional variations in languages were so excessive that a standardized Japanese language needed to be formulated so that people from different regions could communicate with each other after the Meiji era.

example of this is the creation of the national anthem of Japan, *Kimigayo*, which has lyrics from a poem from the Heian period (794-1185). Euroamerican culture effectively impacted the musical soundscape of Japan, most notably by the importation of Western tonality. Composers trained in Europe and the U.S., most notably Yamada Kosaku (1886-1965), created hundreds of folksongs with Euroamerican melodic and harmonic elements, which were taught to elementary school children that have become the canonic repertoire with sentimental value for a few generations (see Ohnuki-Tierney 2002: 130-142). As ethnomusicologist Chiba Nobuhiko notes, music encompasses culture much more readily than language, as it is more difficult to track its influences. The effects of Western tonality are enormous in Japanese music and in turn, to the Ainu soundscape. The specificity of Western musical influences on Ainu music, including timbre, rhythm, and tuning, will be investigated in Chapters Three and Four.

As a modernizing nation state, Meiji Japan adopted scientific notions of “race” to legitimize its assertions of a homogenous and superior “Yamato race.” Cultural values and aesthetic judgment became markers of Japaneseness and became attributes of being “civilized” in Japan, in the same way “whiteness” came to hold sway in the modernizing world. In addition to racial inferiority, the Ainu as the hunter-gatherer “primitive other” became the foil to measure the Japanese “advanced self,” at a time when Japan was positioning itself as part of a “civilized” nation and developing into becoming a self-perceived member of the Westernized world (Weiner 2009: 4, 16 and Ohnuki-Tierney 2002: 252). Another example of a dominant culture

that regarded indigenous soundscapes as “primitive” is explained by ethnomusicologist Tara Browner, in the attribution of a “primitive” notion to Native American music during a period of early ethnological research:

At a time when human musical expression was classified according to whether it was “primitive” or “civilized,” most ethnologists assumed that Native American music—because it was performed predominantly by human voices with percussion accompaniment—must be primitive. Following that logic, Indian music would sound similar to that of early Europeans, making Indians a living laboratory for learning about European prehistory. (2002: 6)

Due to the Wajin government’s assimilation policies, the practice of traditional songs and dances began to decrease in the twentieth century. Ainu began to disassociate themselves with traditional songs due to the stigma of being “primitive.” They stopped passing on the practice to the younger generation. As an example, Tanimoto relays how he recorded Ainu singing in the *ukuok* (A: canonic singing) singing style in the 1950s. As the decades progressed, he found fewer and fewer Ainu who could sing in this style. In the 1960s, people needed to practice before recording *ukuok* songs, and in the 1970s, it was impossible for him to find enough singers in one area who could sing in the *ukuok* style (1999: 285).

Minoritization and its accompanying notions of Ainu “primitiveness” contributed to the repression of Ainu cultural arts through feelings of shame and also added to a serious identity crisis for the Ainu, who were not able to openly maintain their distinctive language or spiritual practices, ceremonies, and other cultural markers that distinguished them from the dominant Wajin culture. Ethnomusicologist

Annemarie Gallagher addresses similar circumstances for the Nicaraguan Garifuna peoples. She writes:

With the force of Afrocreolization, Garifuna cultural loss was also felt in such domains as vernacular health and ethnomedicinal practices, foodways, ways of dress, social values, and community, family, and political arrangements.... Musically, the Nicaraguan Garifuna also experienced a decline.... Whether out of shame or for sheer strategic survival purposes, Garifunas put away the instruments.... (2011: 356-357)

Although the *tonkori* came very close to extinction, a handful of people fortunately continued the practice. These practitioners, instrument makers, and researchers will be further investigated in Chapter Four.

Cultural repression would eventually give rise to social movements and a resurgence in the twentieth century, but the Ainu culture experienced a period of about fifty years when traditional customs and language were actively suppressed or absent within their community. The resurgence of culture after such a gap makes the revival process a veritable reconstruction. The revivalism and the social movements resulting from the repression of culture will be addressed in Chapters Five and Six in the investigation of the rights recovery movements in the Ainu performing arts. In the following section, I address a notion that is closely tied to the rhetoric of homogeneity and nationalism—the idea that the Japanese is a unique and more “advanced” race than the Ainu.

2.9. Racialization of the Ainu

While the term “race” is common in everyday speech, critically defining its meaning is sometimes troublesome. The term was first defined, as we know it today, in Europe during the Age of Enlightenment when “race” was used as a biological concept to describe scientifically a person’s category. It was used to refer to a person’s physical characteristics, such as skin color, eye color, hair color, and bone/jaw structure (Siddle 1996: 82).

However, as race studies indicate, categorizing a person by their physical appearance is problematic; heterogeneity within a racial category is quite broad, as mixed ancestry is quite common—and there is more mixed ancestry in people than one might normally imagine. Moreover, subjective identity is critical in understanding race in society and the notion of “race” has historically been imbued with cultural and social pre-conceptions. Current Japanese society uses cultural determinants such as social and economic organization, religious values, and language, rather than genetic or physiological markers, to signify a homogeneous Japanese race (Weiner 2009: xiii).

The notion of self and other was historically present from the earliest Ainu contact, even before the Edo period (1603-1868), but became constructed with scientific racism in the nineteenth century. Around the beginning of the Meiji period, the intellectuals and the oligarchy took a serious stance at adopting Western philosophy, sciences, technology—including a social-Darwinist view of human societies and the notion of race. They regarded the Ainu as a “dying race,” viewing

the Ainu, with their hunter-gatherer livelihood, as existing on a lower level stage in the teleological view of human progression that placed technology and Western practices as the apex of human development (Hudson 1999: 35-36). The Meiji government also promoted a nationalist rhetoric of a “pure Japanese race,” and images of Ainu as barbarians with racial inferiority were commonplace as the Ainu became assimilated into Wajin society (see Hudson 1999 and Siddle 1996). Efforts to legitimize the colonizer’s position often depicted the colonized as an “inferior and savage race,” a phenomenon shared by the colonization of the Native Americans.

Ethnomusicologist Beverley Diamond states:

All of us in this dialogue are aware of the Euro-American heritage which attempted to legitimize the presumed cultural supremacy of the European in part by drawing a stereotypic picture of a simultaneously savage and naively noble North American Indian. (1994: 1)

The notion of the Ainu as a “dying race” was made popular by Wajin academics in early twentieth century and taken up by Ainu social activists, especially in the 1970s and 1980s, as a discriminatory label to confront and overcome during rallies and speeches.³²

The colonization of the Ainu is an integral part of modern Japanese history, and W.E.B Du Bois’s theory of “double consciousness” describes the Ainu’s psycho-social struggle with a multi-faceted conception of self; the Ainu is assimilated as culturally Japanese and also a target of minority discrimination—negotiating an unequal and often disparaging relations with the culture of power (see Du Bois

³²The “dying race” notion was also addressed as being current in Japanese society by Ainu activist Kitahara Kiyoko during my fieldwork (personal interview, July 10, 2010, Tokyo).

1994[1903]; Gilroy 1993). In addition, the Dōchō classified Ainu as having separate status in the government's family registry (J: *koseki*) in 1871, when Ainu were given citizenship under the same laws as the Wajin, but were attributed the designation of *kyūdojin* (J: former natives or aborigines) (Siddle 1996: 62 and 2009:28). Their designation in the family registry is one example of an identity marker that distinguished them as the “primitive other,” among other markers, such as their place or origin (i.e. village names) or last names (many Ainu were given specific Japanized names in the Meiji period). In the twentieth-first century, these signifiers are still sometimes used to discriminate against the Ainu when seeking employment, in marriages, or in general attitudes toward them.

An increased interest in eugenics in Japan in the 1920s and 1930s prompted research in a search for unique Japanese origins. The Ainu were studied for blood types, hairiness, and as an attempt to link the Ainu with the “white race” (Ibid: 86). There were many instances where the scientific community conducted Ainu research unethically, e.g. the taking of blood, hair, and tooth samples under coercion, and the taking of human bones from graves without permission. The repercussions of these actions in the rights recovery movement will be further discussed in Chapter Five.

The racialization of the Ainu has continued well into the twentieth century. Due to the lack of education about Ainu history, the Japanese public is largely unaware of the presence of Ainu in their society and most believe that the Ainu are extinct as a group. During an interview, Ainu activist Kitahara Kiyoko stated:

When I ask, “What is pure Japanese?” people do not know what to say, but then, they will say without pause that there are no

such things as pure Ainu. When I tell them that I am Ainu, they say that it cannot be true.” (personal interview, July 10, 2010, Tokyo)

Kitahara’s experiences reflect the Wajin’s acceptance of their “pure race” concept and also of the Ainu as an extinct race. The Japanese government has been very slow to come to terms with minority issues politically and socially, continuing a homogeneous rhetoric well into the 1980s (see Weiner 2009). Ainu performers continue to address these issues of racism and historical subjugation, especially Ainu musician Kano Oki, who often speaks at length during his *tonkori* concerts about Ainu colonization history and background. The severity of the subjugation and the repression and denial of its history by the government was an impetus for a spirited rights recovery movement in the twentieth century (and addressed further in Chapter Five).

2.10. Conclusions

While it is clear that Wajin customs significantly influenced Ainu culture, this study also considers how the periphery culture of the indigenous Ainu defines the dominant Wajin society. Colonization helps to describe the colonizer as well as the colonized; the ethnic minority brings multiculturalism in contributing to the larger culture’s expressions, and the meaning of multiculturalism is made more nuanced and compelling in the Ainu and Wajin with a shared ancient Neolithic past. With archeological evidence that points to a common origin in the Jomon culture, the Ainu and Wajin relationship may have more intersections than previously imagined.

The view of the Ainu as the “barbarian other” began from the earliest contact between the people of the Yamato culture in Japan and the indigenous pre-Ainu groups, the Satsumon and Okhotsk. This view continued throughout the Westernization process in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, through the lens of the scientific notions of race. One of the major arguments in this study is the role of disenfranchisement as the very root of the recent resurgence of the Ainu arts in conjunction with social movements. Japanese colonial ideas depicted the Ainu as an inferior race well into the twentieth century, and the resulting discrimination has brought plight upon the Ainu, which became the impetus for political activism and assertions of identity that led to a dynamic revival and the creation of a new and revived Ainu performing arts. The *tonkori* specifically is an important identity marker that represents this Ainu resurgence and revival.

Due to the scarcity of direct evidence of the *tonkori*, we can only speculate as to its specific origins before the Edo period and earlier. This chapter has discussed many distinct elements that may be precursors to the *tonkori*, some of which include: the bow-shaped artifact and the speculation of its link to the *tonkori* by archeologist Utagawa Hiroshi; the similarities between the *tonkori* and the *wagôn* based on an uneven string order; and the striking resemblance of the *tonkori* to the *narsyuk* instrument. In continuing this narrative, Chapter Three discusses the *tonkori*'s historical place in Karafuto (J: Sakhalin) through cultural accounts of the *tonkori* in folktales, *yukar* and songs. Major Karafuto *tonkori* players will be discussed in the next two chapters, added by their reminiscences that describe the *tonkori* in Karafuto

during early twentieth century, as well as the *tonkori*'s repertoire and early performance practice.

Chapter 3 - *Tonkori* of the Karafuto Ainu

3.1. Introduction

The ongoing journey of the *tonkori* continues in Karafuto (Sakhalin) at the turn of the twentieth century. The *tonkori* only existed in Karafuto at this time, but by the second half of the twentieth century, it would travel to Hokkaido and hold a key place in the reconstruction of Ainu performing arts, becoming its principal musical instrument. This chapter will investigate early research surrounding the *tonkori*, beginning with the disappearance of the *tonkori* from Hokkaido sometime in the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries. Section 3.2. studies the background of early Karafuto *tonkori*, continuing with a discussion of the political history of Sakhalin (3.3.) and the first audio cylinder recordings in 1903 (3.4.). In addition, this chapter explores the connection between *tonkori* and shamanism (3.5.), followed by Ainu tales and mythology of the *tonkori* (3.6.). Finally, this chapter studies the performance practice and construction of the *tonkori* (3.7.), and concludes with the early biographies of *tonkori* performers Nishihira Umé (1901-1977) and Fujiyama Haru (1900-1974) in Karafuto (3.8.).

In speaking about the origin of the *tonkori*, Kano Oki quotes,

The *tonkori* was handed down by the Sakhalin Ainu... the population of the Sakhalin Ainu at most was about 4,000 people, a very small group of people. Sakhalin Ainu created the *tonkori*, maybe they [borrowed] the *tonkori* from other Siberian groups, or maybe Russians or the Mongols... (personal interview, February 3, 2013, Sapporo)

Looking ahead from Karafuto, the *tonkori* eventually transitions to Hokkaido after the Second World War, where it becomes a project for instrument makers and researchers concerned about preserving and documenting a practice that was quickly becoming inactive. Nishihira and Fujiyama were the two most prominent practitioners who created the bridge in the dissemination process and these activities will be investigated in Chapter Four.

3.2. Early Karafuto *tonkori*

As mentioned in Chapter Two, the Karafuto Ainu originated from the Okhotsk and Satsumon Ainu (from Hokkaido) who settled in Karafuto most likely around the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This assertion is based on Satsumon Ainu type dwellings and pottery found at dig sites in Sakhalin (Utagawa 2013). It is unclear what time period the *tonkori* arrived in Karafuto, as no one has yet found remnants of the instrument before the Meiji era. One can hypothesize that the *tonkori* developed in Karafuto first before Hokkaido, due to its close proximity to Siberia and its unmistakable resemblance to the *narsyuk* instrument of the Khanty Siberian people (see Figure 18 and the discussion of the *narsyuk* in Chapter Two).

Pictures and descriptions of the *tonkori* exist in the drawings of Karafuto Ainu and also in the Ainu of the Soya region of northern Hokkaido from the seventeenth to early nineteenth centuries (Tanimoto 2000). The Hokkaido Ainu refer to the *tonkori* in these documents by other names, such as *kaa* (A: strings), or *niwapkar* (object to make sounds), and *tonkororin* (an onomatopoeia from the Japanese language) (Ibid.

1958: 244). Wajin traveler Murakami Shimanajo wrote one of the earliest known writings on the *tonkori* in 1799 that refer to it as “*kaa*.” He drew a picture of a male *tonkori* player and described the instrument as an “Ezo *shamisen*” with five strings (Utagawa and Kanaya 1986: 22-24). Although Murakami cited six *tonkori* songs with their titles, none correspond with the titles of songs that originated from Karafuto in mid-twentieth century. One can conclude that different regions had their own distinct songs. Other writings from early nineteenth century describe the *tonkori* as accompanying Ainu *yukar* (epic poetry).³³

By the Meiji era, however, the *tonkori* disappeared from northern Hokkaido and the mystery of its disappearance from Hokkaido is still unresolved today. In the early twentieth century, the Hokkaido Ainu were totally unaware of its existence; Ainu scholar Kitahara Jirota interviewed Hokkaido Ainu who conveyed that they had never heard of such an instrument at that time (Kitahara 2005, 2013). Regardless, the *tonkori* survived in Karafuto as a valued part of their culture and one reason it survived in Karafuto could be due to the belief that the deity of the *tonkori* also defended the Ainu against illness or misfortunes. When a gifted *tonkori* player died, the player was laid to rest with their favorite *tonkori* on his or her breast and the community played the *tonkori* for many days during the vigil afterwards (Kondo and Tomita 1963:13). In addition, the close connection between the *tonkori* and shamanism may have contributed to its survival of in Karafuto, which was not evident in Hokkaido even during its period of existence there.

³³ Writings on the *tonkori* with drawings of male *tonkori* players are documented by Tone Genshin in 1806.

Tonkori players in Karafuto have been and continue to be highly esteemed members of society. Photos from early twentieth century show the *tonkori* arranged next to lacquered containers (obtained from the Wajin) and hunting bows—items that were considered treasures by the Ainu. In addition, tales of the *tonkori* in the *yukar* from the Karafuto Ainu point to a strong animistic view and demonstrates some of the ways the *tonkori* was and is still regarded as having personhood. Tanimoto writes, “It was such an important part of Ainu culture that it was considered a god in itself. The maker of a *tonkori* gave it life by placing a small pebble inside the body of the instrument” (1999: 284). Veronica Doubleday points to how musical instruments have powerful meanings within traditional societies and how instruments transcend object-status into a position comparable with humans in creating a power-dynamic relationship (2008: 3-4). She writes: “Furthermore, as objects whose sounds have transformative power, musical instruments are frequently endowed with personhood. It is common to find them treated almost as magical ‘beings’ to be coveted, contested, protected, vaunted or demonized” (Ibid.: 16). Testimony from Karafuto *tonkori* players creates an image of the *tonkori* as a significant symbol of power within society (e.g., depicted in *yukar*), and also performed by a few elite members who are considered to have transformative capabilities.

3.3. The History and politics of Sakhalin

Sakhalin Island has had a complicated political history that impacted the native peoples in the region. Due to its location between the two nation states,

Sakhalin leveled as a political seesaw between Russian and Japan. Siddle considers Japan's annexation of Hokkaido in 1868 as being prompted by the threat of Russian encroachment in the dawn of nationalist fervor that gripped the region in the nineteenth century (1996: 53-54). The Karafuto Ainu have had a long history on the island along with the Nivkh and the Uilta indigenous groups, where the Karafuto Ainu mainly resided in the southern portion of Sakhalin Island on the coastal regions.³⁴ During the nineteenth-century, the Ainu language was a lingua franca on Karafuto, not only among the local indigenous populations, but also between the Russians, the Wajin fishermen and Wajin administrative officials (Yamada 2009: 65). Figure 19 shows the *kotan*, or Ainu villages, dotting the coastline of southern Sakhalin at the end of the Meiji era.



Figure 19: Map of the Southern half of Sakhalin Island, depicting the Ainu kotan, or villages, and railway lines from the end of the Meiji era to the end of WWII. (Reprinted with permission from Utagawa Hiroshi).

³⁴ The Ainu and the Nivkhs (Gilyak) were already settled on Sakhalin when the Uilta (Oroks) arrived from the Amur region in the seventeenth century (Yamada 2009:62)

As previously mentioned in Chapter Two, the Ainu were middlemen in trade between the Wajin and Chinese merchants. Around the time Japan and Russia began to compete for control over Sakhalin Island in the mid-nineteenth century, Chinese political power over the region's indigenous groups began to wane after hundreds of years of a trade and tributary system. In 1855, Russia and Japan signed the Treaty of Shimoda, which declared that both countries share the island: Russia in the north and Japan in the south, but without a clear boundary. This continued until 1875 when Japan ceded all of Sakhalin to Russia in exchange for the Kurile Islands (Siddle 1996: 52-54). After the defeat of the Russians in the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-1905, the southern part of the island again came under Japanese jurisdiction, where it remained until 1945 when the Soviet Union took control of the entire island (Ibid.: 73). During the first half of the twentieth century, the Japanese presence amongst the Karafuto Ainu expanded considerably and the Ainu in Southern Karafuto were given Japanese citizenship, which resulted in the relocation of the Karafuto Ainu to Japan after the re-annexation of Karafuto by the Soviet Union at the end of the Second World War in 1945.

3.4. Early field recordings of the *tonkori*

The political exchange between Japan and Russia had a direct effect on Ainu music. Bronislaw Pilsudski (1866-1918), who came to Karafuto as a political prisoner, made the earliest recordings of Ainu music on phonographic cylinders. Russia had built a penal colony from 1869 to 1906 on Karafuto, which was then

considered the far end of the civilized world, and Polish cultural anthropologist Pilsudski spent fifteen years of hard labor in Karafuto for political activism.

Pilsudski became fascinated with the Ainu and Wajin culture. Even after he was released, Pilsudski stayed in Sakhalin, where in 1902 he married an Ainu woman named Chuhsamma, the niece of the Ainu chief Kimur Bafunke, with whom he bore two children. From 1903 to 1905, Pilsudski recorded Ainu music on more than 90 phonographic cylinders of 70 songs, instrumental pieces, narratives, and shamanistic performances (Tanimoto 2000: 11). He also traveled to Hokkaido and Honshu to conduct ethnographic research on the Ainu and collaborated with Japanese activists and anthropologists (Redakcyjny 2001 and Siddle 1996:78). In a publication on the Ainu in 1912, Pilsudski notes that the Ainu had an abundance of folklore and songs, much more than the Gilyak (Nivkh) (Siddle 1996: 126). The cylinder recordings by Pilsudski include mostly vocal songs, with only two solo recordings of the *tonkori*. The sonic quality is understandably rough—the pitches are very difficult to hear well. The recording is dominated by the cyclical wispy white noise typical of wax cylinders, with a faint vocalization or a plucked instrument seemingly in the distance.

After Pilsudski, musicologist Tanabe Hisao (see Chapter Two) and linguist Kitasato Takeshi made minor recordings of Ainu music in 1931 and 1932. However, it was not until 1934-1936, when linguist Kubodera Itsuhiko made 581 SP (short-play) recordings,³⁵ including 260 examples of Ainu music and narration, that we see a significant contribution to Ainu music documentation (Tanimoto 2000: 12).

³⁵ The early records were made on 78 rpm discs.

Kubodera's recordings cover all genres: songs, dances, and instrumental pieces, and are considered one of the definitive sources for Ainu music. The oeuvre of Ainu musical recordings were added by the NHK, or *Nippon Hōsō Kyōkai* (J: Japan Broadcasting Corporation) with field recordings that were made after the Second World War. The NHK conducted recordings four times between 1947 and 1961. The first two recordings in 1947 and 1948 documented the music of the Hokkaido Ainu and the third recording in 1951 focused on the Karafuto Ainu who had relocated to Hokkaido. From these recordings, 2000 different pieces were collected and 62 SP records were released; the most significant compilation was the 10 LP (long-play) records that were published in 1965, accompanied by a research report titled *Ainu Dentō Ongaku* (J: Ainu traditional music) that contained a prescriptive notation of 440 pieces (Ibid.).

As ethnomusicologist Nazir Jairazbhoy notes, the invention of the phonograph and its development have greatly influenced ethnomusicological scholarship and helped define the research methods in the field (1977: 263). For the Ainu, the continuation of their traditional musical practices has been dependent and ultimately sustained by the audio and video recordings from this time period. In the twentieth century, traditional musical practices were retained by a few Ainu elders, who experienced rituals, ceremonies, and daily customs of the Ainu's historic lifestyle first-hand, but this generation passed away in recent decades, leaving a legacy via recordings and the documentation, with which to reconstruct Ainu traditions.

Because the bulk of traditional Ainu musical expression was vocal, about 95% of the recordings consist of *upopo* songs, songs for *kamui*, *yukar*, and *rimse* dance songs.³⁶ However, it is important to keep in mind that the recordings provide only a limited representation of the musical experience. Many technical factors involved in the recording process modify the outcome, such as microphone placement, acoustics, or the position of the musician in regards to the microphone, not to mention the type or quality of the microphone (Ibid.:264). Some older *tonkori* video recordings separated the audio and visual component on different machines, then compiled them together—the resulting mix having some lapse time between the sound and the visual (Chiba 2013). As noted by Jairazbhoy, although recordings are indispensable for the reconstruction of Ainu music, they can be misleading due to the subjective nature of the recording process (see 1977). Moreover, the transcription process of recordings brings many other questions of interpretation and authenticity into the conversation, which will be further explored in Chapters Four and Six.

Particularly in vocal music, the timbre or tone color in the early recordings shows a link to the utterance of speech sounds, or phonation, where the basic concept of singing requires a sensory stimulation in the throat. The timbre is similar to other Northern indigenous peoples' vocal style and has been described as a “groaning” timbre by ethnomusicologist Kochi Rié. In addition, the vocal technique *rekte*, which was mentioned in Chapter One, can be described as undulating throat ornamentation. Incorporating groaning sounds, timbre is often more significant than melody. The

³⁶ Instrumental music consists of the *mukkuri* and the *tonkori*.

physical movement of *rekte* is attained via glottal stops to create sudden rhythmic breaks or a momentary “yodel.” Theodore Levin describes how timbre was the overriding aspect of musical sound—more than the pitch—that determined what Tuvan *igil*³⁷ musicians listened to in their playing (2006:47). Levin quotes Tuvan ethnomusicologist Valentina Süzükei, “[The *igil* musician’s] way of listening represented an entirely different approach to the perception of sound than what you have in cultures where the focus is on melody. You could call this other kind of listening ‘timbral listening’” (Ibid.: 47).

Music of the recent revival differs considerably in timbre from early recordings, because oral-imitative transmission was replaced by musical notation and also due to the globalization of musical awareness. With the exception of ethnomusicologist-performer Chiba Nobuhiko, all of today’s AINU musicians sing in a contemporary style that uses a head-voice³⁸ that is more resonant, and lacks a “groaning” timbre or *rekte*. Contemporary playing contrasts with *tonkori* playing from early recordings that delineate a practice formed before a significant influence of Western musical styles. A detailed discussion and a musical analysis of *tonkori* recordings will be further discussed in Chapter Four through an in-depth study of the *tonkori* song “Ikeresotte.”

3.5. *Tonkori* and shamanism

³⁷ *Igil* is a Tuvan lute, with two strings that are bowed.

³⁸ The New Grove Dictionary of Opera defines “head-voice” as a “quiet (‘soft’) singing in the upper range, or register, of the voice. The singer aims the sound high in the face (or ‘mask’) and may experience it as in the head itself, the opposite of the chest voice” (Steane 2007).

The essential aspect of music in spirituality necessitates a careful study of how *tonkori* might have participated in shamanistic and traditional spirit practices. Shamanism is a common cultural thread that ties many of the Siberian indigenous groups together. Similar to many Siberian groups, shamanistic rites in Ainu society were carried out to find the cause of illness and treatment; the shaman functioned as a medical practitioner. Such rituals almost always linked the cause of the malady to spirit possession by dead persons in Karafuto Ainu shamanism (Ohnuki-Tierney 1973: 26). The rites began with a rhythmic sound of the *kako* drum, for the beating of the *kako* was a critical part in Karafuto shamanism, as it was a means for summoning spirit helpers and deities,³⁹ and its hypnotic beat helped to put the shaman into a trance as the ritual progressed (Ohnuki-Tierney 1973a: 22, Tomita 1967). Ainu spirit helpers manifest as animals, such as grasshoppers (*pahtaki*), crows (*etuhka*), and cranes (*nuhka*) (mentioned previously in Chapter One) (Ohnuki-Tierney 1973a: 16). Other Siberian groups also engage with animal spirits in shamanistic practices, including the Tuvan shamans who appeal to animal spirits that are called *eerens*—spirit, which are helpers that participate in treating illnesses (Levin 2006:126).

One of the significant differences between the Karafuto Ainu and the Hokkaido Ainu is the presence of the *kako* drum⁴⁰ in Karafuto shamanism, which was curiously absent in Hokkaido. The *kako* is almost identical in shape to those used by the Uilta and Nivkh shamans on Karafuto, and the presence of the *kako* in the

³⁹ The spirit helpers were mostly animals and the deities helped the shaman by giving instructions and answers. The Goddess of the Hearth was an intermediary between the deities and the shaman (Ohnuki-Tierney 1973a: 16).

⁴⁰ Ohnuki notes that the *kako*, or *kačo*, were more politely called “*senisteh*” (1973a: 22).

Karafuto Ainu further links them closer to the Siberian indigenous groups than their Hokkaido counterparts. The *kako* were made out of musk deer hide and fastened by strips of colored cloth or *inaw* (A: shaved prayer bark) that were often tied to the backside (see Figure 20). Moreover, the use of musical instruments in shamanism presents the possibility of the *tonkori* as a shaman's tool—a point that many researchers feel divided about and consequently has become a much-debated topic within scholars in the field (e.g. Kitahara, Chiba, Taniimoto, and Utagawa).



Figure 20: Kako with an inaw, special wood shavings used for rituals and prayer. (Photo by author).

The question of whether and to what extent the *tonkori* was used as a shaman's tool in traditional Ainu society has differing responses from various researchers in Japan. Because no recordings were made of a *tonkori* performance during a shamanistic ritual, researchers have tried to piece together many parts of the puzzle with speculative reasoning. The proponents cite interviews with *tonkori* players from Karafuto, accounts from early ethnographers, and *tonkori* songs that have links to shamanistic practices. The link between the *tonkori* and shamanism continues to be considered doubtful by contemporary Ainu scholars, such as Chiba

Nobuhiko and Kitahara Jirota. Kitahara whose mother is from Karafuto and one of very few Ainu scholars conducting research in an academic institution, feels particularly strong in his view that the *tonkori* was not used for shamanistic rites. However, Kitahara maintains that it is difficult to ascertain this viewpoint one way or another due to a lack of direct evidence (2005: 38). He acknowledges that Kubodera Itsuhiko, an early ethnographer, described the *tonkori* as a tool of shamans in his 1939 thesis *Music and Song of the Ainu* (Ibid.). Utagawa also writes how Kubodera believed that the *tonkori* originated from continental shamanistic practices as a tool used to help inspire shamans into a trance consciousness (2002).

Scholars who see a link between *tonkori* and shamanism include Tanimoto, who points to the *rekutnpe* (the colored strips of cloth tied around the *tonkori*'s neck) that has the same colors of red, green, blue, yellow, and/or purple as those used with shaman's drums in Karafuto (Figure 21) (1958:248-249).⁴¹ Tanimoto and two other scholars—Utagawa, and Chiri Mashihō (1901–1961)—all share the opinion that the *tonkori* was at one time a tool of shamans in Karafuto, but that it had evolved into an instrument for everyday enjoyment and entertainment for special events and regarded purely as a musical instrument in contemporary society (Tanimoto 1985, Utagawa 2002, Chiri 1948). Chiri maintained that shamanism and spiritual music were at the root of Ainu musical practice, and that music in general was tied to spiritual practices in traditional culture, as the expression of spirit life prevailed in all aspects of their

⁴¹ *Rekutnpe* literally means “thing to hang around the neck,” and was also used to hang the instrument on a wall.

livelihood. He views that music has come to have a more secular role within social practices due to assimilation and globalization (Chiba 2013).



Figure 21: A tonkori head with a rekutnpe (photo by author).

Researcher Tomita Tomoko also writes that shamans used the *tonkori* as a tool, although not as frequently as the *kako*, which was always present in rituals. She recounted a Karafuto shamanistic rite that she attended while conducting ethnographic research in the Abashiri area in eastern Hokkaido, where a Karafuto shaman performed a rite in order to cure his own sickness from an epidemic that was attributed to an evil spirit.⁴² She describes the shaman entering a trance state around sunset after hours of prayer—where as his body began to shake, he beat the *kako* rhythmically and intensely as he continued his prayers with much fervor. According to Tomita, the Ainu people sitting in the room watched attentively as they held their breath and the shaman ultimately recovered his health as the disease left him. Moreover, Tomita conducted extensive fieldwork with the Karafuto *tonkori* player Nishihira Umé, and describes how shamans brought the *tonkori* with them as a talisman for protection against evil spirits when they traveled to the Asian continent

⁴² Ohnuki-Tierney also relates that her informant, a shaman, also performed a rite to cure herself from an illness (1973:25).

(1967: 3). From a researcher who worked closely with Karafuto *tonkori* players and shaman's rites, Tomita's conclusion about the *tonkori*'s role in shamanism is significant.

Other connections include *tonkori* song titles that link it to shamanism, for example, the title “Kacho Taataa Irekte” (to replicate the sound of the shaman's drum) (Utagawa 2002 and Tomita 1967: 3). Another *tonkori* song, “Hosu Yasu Ya Iko'as Irekte” (to shake the hips back and forth), originated from a dance that was specifically for shamans and which the Ainu considered sacred. Anyone can now dance to this song during festivals; the hips of the dancers shake and swing around, possibly as an imitation of the shaman in a trance state. Kimura Chikamaha, an early *tonkori* player from Karafuto believes that this song shows a deep link between the *tonkori* and shamans (Tomita 1967: 3). In addition, affirmation from Karafuto Ainu *tonkori* players gives a strong argument in favor of the connection. One of the *tonkori* players, Fujiyama Haru, was a shaman herself, who was known to have made many prophecies.⁴³ The differing perspectives all make valid points, although considering the historical Ainu lifeways that placed spiritual practice within all activities, and given the assertions made by *tonkori* players from Karafuto, the connection to shamanism is within a reasonable reach.

In writing on shamanism on the northwest coast of southern Sakhalin, Ohnuki-Tierney notes that shamans are called *tusu aynu* (A: shamanistic rite human) or *nupuru kuru* (A: holy person), and could be either male or female (1973: 18, 20).

⁴³ Information gathered from the *Tokoro-cho Iseki no Yakata* Archeological Museum, 13 Feb. 2013.

Figure 22 shows a photograph from an article published in 1895 titled “Nihon no Ainu” (J: The Ainu of Japan), which depicts a woman holding a *tonkori*—she is believed to be a shaman because of the metal belt that was only worn by shamans (Utagawa, personal collection). Shamans in other indigenous groups, including the Nivkh, also wore metal belts (Friedrich and Diamond 1994:283). Commonalities with other Siberian shamans include Tuva, where women are also included as shamans and can be hereditary—many shamans come from the same family, although it is not a requirement (Levin 2006: 128). The Karafuto Ainu recognized a shaman only after being overcome by a “very strong feeling over which s/he has no control,” which is followed by a life-altering event that brings on a shamanistic rite (Ohnuki-Tierney 1973: 18). Due to a full assimilation into the present Japanese society, Kitahara Jirota believes that the Ainu endowed with shamanistic abilities do not have an outlet for their aptitude. When an Ainu person displays sudden physical outbursts, which Kitahara believes are due to spirit-possession or a release of their shamanic aptitude, these people in some cases are diagnosed as having mental illness (Kitahara 2012).



Figure 22: 1895 photograph of a *tonkori* player (possibly a shaman) in Karafuto (reprinted with permission from Utagawa Hiroshi).

As shamans are healers by nature, they held positions of power and agency in the community. Ohnuki-Tierney writes that at the time of her fieldwork in the 1960s in Hokkaido, women were regarded as better shamans because they were considered more sensitive (1973: 21). However, men and women shamans were not regarded equally, as Karafuto Ainu considered male shamans superior and expected women shamans to act more modestly. They refrained from beating the *kako* in a wild manner (Ibid.: 21). Ohnuki-Tierney further relays that there were more women shamans than men, possibly due to faster assimilation of Ainu men into Japanese society (Ibid.: 20). The gendering of shamans reflects the gendering that was present in the *tonkori* players at this time, which will be discussed further in Chapter Four. Narratives in Ainu culture further demonstrate links between the *tonkori* and spiritual practices. The following section looks at the exceptional powers attributed to the *tonkori* in traditional society through folktales and *yukar*.

3.6. Mythology and *tonkori* folklore

Mythology and folklore contain a people's worldview and provide chronicles and narratives that define a culture's history and identity. Through the tales, concepts of the soul, spirits and nature describe their society and can also either differentiate or link one culture to another. Author Yamada Takako writes that the ancient Japanese have a dualistic view of the soul as *tama*, the free psyche soul that can exist even when detached from the physical body and immortal after death, and the *inochi*, the body-soul that wears out as the body becomes older (2001: 158). In contrast, the Ainu have a monistic view of the soul, with one word to signify the free psyche soul called *ramat*, which also represents the body-soul, and exist in all things animate or inanimate (Ibid.: 43, 169). The differences in early origin myths between the Wajin and the Ainu is attributed to Wajin's cultural elements as rice cultivators and fishermen that is mixed with aspects of a ruling class culture that is similar to some Altaic nomadic cultures (Ibid.: 157). Another worldview that both link and differentiate the Ainu and the Wajin pertains to the concept of gods or deities. The two words are very similar—*kamui* in Ainu and *kami* in Japanese—and both recognize the divinity and spiritual power in many entities, including natural phenomena, plants, animals, and objects. However, the Ainu *kamui* places more significance on nature gods, plants, and animals, and the Ainu believe that humans become *kamui* after death—where the ancient Japanese considered ancestral deity *kami* as having more importance than nature deities, and humans were differentiated from *kami* even after death. However, *kami* could be manifested in humans regarded

as highly virtuous, such as the emperor, a status division among humans with and without *kami*, which did not exist in the Ainu (see Ohnuki-Tierney 2002: 74, 86). Another difference is the way human beings in the Ainu world went to the *kamui* world (A: *kamui-moshir*) after death, which was thought as a paradise, in contrast to the ancient Japanese belief in a hideous and impure afterworld (Yamada 2001: 158-159). Ainu musician Ogawa Motoi related the Ainu view that humans after death went into a mirror-world:

In Ainu thought, the afterlife is the opposite from this life—everything is in a mirror image of this life, but the person remains the same, there is no death. In the Ainu worldview, a life is all there is, one should not live for another next life. (personal interview, April 3, 2013, Sapporo)

Historically, Ainu oral language transmission practices and stories took the form of *yukar* and *wepeker* (A: folktales) that carried the people's history from generation to generation. As mentioned above, the Ainu soul *ramat*, exist not only in human beings but also in other living beings and inanimate objects. Through folklore and mythology, tales reveal the nature of *ramat* in objects that needed to be broken or burnt to send their *ramat* back to the spirit world after its use had finished.

Women from the west coast of Karafuto relate the origin of the *tonkori* in the following narrative that describes the *tonkori*'s significance as a child:

Once upon a time, a child was born to a couple who were extremely in love. Although the couple adored the child, the child died one day, and the mother was so distraught that she could not recover from the loss. In order to console the mother, the father went to the mountain and found a wooden log, carved it into a child's shape and made a musical instrument - thus the *tonkori* was created. (Kitahara 2005: 38)

Many Ainu tales speak of the *tonkori*'s mysterious powers that protect the Ainu from diseases, natural forces, and enemies, especially when played well. The famed *tonkori* player Nishihira had a saying: "paatuma yuhke paa tonkori irehte yan (Play the *tonkori* in times when diseases becomes widespread)" (Kitahara 2005: 38). When Nishihira heard rumors that a pandemic disease was spreading, she played the *tonkori* all through the night, and she related how the *kamui* that spread the disease did not come near her village upon hearing the sound of the *tonkori* (Ibid.). Other tales give an account of Ainu men going out into the ocean on a boat and running into a storm—whereupon a *tonkori* was played with great passion and caused the wind to die down in the sea (Ibid., Utagawa 2013). Various informants recounted the above stories to me during my fieldwork, including Fukumoto, Kano, Ogawa, and Utagawa, not only in interviews, but also through casual conversations.

Another story on the strange powers of the *tonkori* describes how a beautiful woman playing the *tonkori* made attacking foes fall asleep. In this narrative, an Ainu village chief's house become surrounded by its enemy and the chief prepared for his end by putting on his formal clothing, and instructed his wife and children to do the same. However, his wife, who was a well-known *tonkori* player, told her husband and children to hide, then sat alone in the middle of the room and began to play the *tonkori*. The enemy, bearing bows and arrows, came upon the house through the windows and roof, and aimed the arrows right into the house. However, upon hearing the sound of the *tonkori*, the enemy lost energy in their arms and could not draw their weapons and all fell sound asleep (Kondo and Tomita 1963:13, Kitahara 2005: 38).

As mentioned above, an important Ainu belief claims that when objects are no longer used, they need to be given proper treatment by being broken into pieces and sent back to the spirit world. Ohnuki-Tierney relates a *yukar* titled “Tonkori Oyasi” (Tonkori Demons) recited by a Karafuto Ainu informant named Husko about a *tonkori* that turned itself into a terrifying demon when it was left behind and forgotten.⁴⁴ The Ainu considered this *yukar* as an *oyna* (A: second category of tales), which contained *sa:kehe* (A: melody) and *sa:korope* (A: things to sing) (Ohnuki-Tierney 1977: 2). The informant Husko had learned the *oyna* from her father, who was a story-teller in the Ainu community, and she relayed the *oyna* to Ohnuki-Tierney twice, in 1965 and 1966 (Ibid.: 53). Because Husko was female, she was not permitted to sing the *oyna* in public, as only male elders were allowed to do so, and out of respect for the tradition, Husko narrated the tale to Ohnuki-Tierney instead of singing (Ibid.: 3). In this tale, two *tonkori* were left intact by the owner and turned into two male demons that were ultimately prevented from inflicting destruction on the Ainu by a cultural hero Yayresu:po and his guardian deity, Cirikiyankuh (Ibid.: 53-66).

Through various *yukar* and *wepekers*, the *tonkori*'s significance within Ainu society is illuminated, as well as specific notions regarding the *tonkori*, such as animism in objects. These tales lay a foundation for studying *tonkori*'s performance practice in traditional Ainu society, and they also support a nuanced understanding of

⁴⁴ An elder may take up to three days to sing a substantial tale and begins by sitting on the floor, but at the climax he may sing while lying on his back with his arms waving. In an *oyna*, the story always involves deities of their cultural hero *Yayresu:po* (a semi-deity) (Ohnuki-Tierney 1977: 2).

the *tonkori*'s body and form that resonates with notions of personhood and power of sound.

3.7. *Tonkori* construction, and body

Although researchers have differing views regarding the relationship between the *tonkori* and shamanism, most other aspects of *tonkori* performance practice in traditional Karafuto society have consensus among those involved in research. Most sources concur that the Ainu played the *tonkori* during everyday moments when inspiration arose and also for personal enjoyment. In addition, the Ainu also played it to put babies and children to sleep, and performed it during large gatherings to accompany songs and dances during festivals (Kitahara 2005:38 and Utagawa 2002).

In 1856, a Japanese explorer named Takeshiro visited Karafuto and met an expert *tonkori* player named Onowank, who, at age eighty, played a wonderful performance for Takeshiro and his party. Onowank complained that due to the start of a delivery business in the area, the younger men of the village were too busy to learn and enjoy the *tonkori* (Kitahara 2005: 38). This points to a gender shift in *tonkori* players around the Meiji era. All *tonkori* players depicted in hand-drawn pictures from the nineteenth century and earlier were men, although both men and women probably played the instrument. Due to colonial efforts in recruiting Ainu men for the Japanese labor force, researchers (e.g. Kitahara and Chiba) speculate that women, who stayed at home to take care of the family, became the principal *tonkori* players.

This might be one of the main reasons that women were the prominent *tonkori* players who disseminated the *tonkori* to Hokkaido.

There are two types of pine trees in the northern territories relevant to the making of the *tonkori*: *ezomatsu* (J: Ezo pine), which is native to Northeast Asia and grows in central Japan as well as throughout Hokkaido and Sakhalin, and *todomatsu* (J: todo pine), a pine tree that is found in Sakhalin, Southern Kuril islands and Northern Hokkaido.⁴⁵ *Ezomatsu* was thought of as a man's tree and used during shamanistic rites, where its leaves were burned to make the entire room fill up with smoke. Good deities favor the *ezomatsu* and its scent and smoke was believed to cure diseases and keep the epidemics from coming into the home (Tomita 1967: 2, Ohnuki-Tierney 1973). In contrast, *todomatsu* was believed to be a woman's tree and favored by the evil deities. Because the Ainu considered *tonkori* to have female gender, the *todomatsu* wood was commonly used to make the body⁴⁶ (Utagawa and Kanaya 1986: 26). Similarly, Doubleday explains how instrument makers introduce gendered characteristics through the use of certain materials, for example the female-associated mulberry tree in Eastern Iran and Central Asia to make the *dutar* (long-necked lute) (2008:10). The use of materials associated with femininity further emphasizes the gendered attributes of the *tonkori*, as discussed below.

Although contemporary *tonkori* instructional manuals have standardized some aspects of *tonkori* construction, such as size dimensions and material type, *tonkori*

⁴⁵ The scientific name for *ezomatsu* is *Pinus jezoensis*, and the scientific name for *todomatsu* is *Abies sachalinensis*.

⁴⁶ An 1846 drawing of a Karafuto man sitting with a *tonkori* is accompanied by an explanation that *tonkori* is made from *todomatsu*.

makers traditionally learned the details of the instrument-making process through individual transmission and therefore many historical *tonkori* show a great range in its form. The Ainu traditionally made the *tonkori* by hollowing out a piece of wood and affixing a thin wooden plate (about 3 mm in thickness) on top with glue called *nikawa*, which was made from animal (deer or seal) or fish skin (Tanimoto 1958:250). Occasionally, the top piece was nailed to the body (see Figure 23), but this was mostly likely a more recent construction method. There are two types of strings: thin and thick, which are respectively called *seruskaa*, and *aanekaa* (literally translates as “thick strings” and “thin strings”) (Tomita 1967:7). Traditionally, these strings were made from gut or the fibers of the *irakusa* (J: nettle) grass. Since *irakusa* strings were not very resonant and whale tendons were difficult to obtain, silk strings from the Japanese *shamisen* came into use during the Taisho Era (1912-1926). Ethnomusicologist and *tonkori* performer Chiba relates that he acquired some whale tendons from the whale fishing industry in Japan⁴⁷ and tried to use them as *tonkori* strings, but the whale strings were fragile and tended to break easily. In terms of the quality of sound, he felt that the *shamisen* silk strings were more resonant (Chiba 2013). Musicians and instrument makers continue to add to the evolution of this instrument—Ainu musicians, such as Ogawa, presently experiment with many other types of strings (e.g. guitar strings) for resonance and durability of pitch.

⁴⁷ The whale industry continues in Japan under “scientific research” provisions, but the whale meat is sold to the fish markets. Chiba bought whale tendons to use as gut strings. The tendons are not sold as meat and usually thrown away.



Figure 23: Top construction of a tonkori. (Photo by author).

There are two shapes of *tonkori sapa* (head): *sikari* (rounded head) and *enrum* (pointed head). The shapes are made according to the maker's aesthetics.

Traditionally the head also had a small hole called *sik* that was referred to as the *tonkori's* eyes. The tuning pegs are called *ci noye*, commonly with three on the right side and two on the left side. *Ci noye* literally means "something for one to turn." The pegs are also called *kisar* (ear) and are considered the ears of the instrument (Figures 24 and 25). Ethnomusicologist Tanimoto considers the tuning pegs as being a possible influence from the Japanese *biwa* instrument (1958: 249), although as mentioned previously, he also theorizes that the influence could also be from the *shamisen* (2000: 297). Although a strong Wajin presence in the northern islands cannot be denied, one cannot rule out Manchurian and Siberian cultural ties, especially in the Karafuto Ainu. Because tuning pegs are a common part for many stringed instruments from various cultures (not just in Japan), the case for the unique influence of the *shamisen* on the *tonkori kisar* is clearly conjecture.



Figure 24: Tonkori with a rounded head sikari and kisar. (Photo by author).



Figure 25: Tonkori with a pointed head enrum and kisar. (Photo by author).

The bellybutton of the *tonkori* (*hankapuy* or *hankuhu*) is the source of its life. It is a small hole in the middle of the soundboard, traditionally cut in a diamond shape (Figure 28). When Nishihira was asked about the reason for having the *hankapuy*, she replied that it was created for a better resonance of sound (Tomita 1967: 7), and although the size of the hole varies with different instruments, the size is not known to affect the instrument's tone.

The *tapera* (shoulders) are considered one of the very expressive areas of the instrument's construction—the shapes can be square or sloped, and convey such nuances as masculinity and dignity or femininity and softness. They also express the personal tastes of the *tonkori* maker (Figure 26 and 27) (Tomita 1967: 6). Another gendered nuance in the *tonkori* is the *enkipi*, the triangle-shaped seal's fur that symbolizes the *tonkori*'s genital region (Figure 28). Here, the female gender is more

explicit in the shape and choice of material for the *enkipi*, which functions to tie the strings down and where its lower edge is pulled through a small hole called *kuy* (Figure 28). The association of parts of instruments with genitalia also exists in Yemen: the area where the strings of the *quanbus* lute are attached to the base of the instrument is called the “little penis” (*zubbayaba*).⁴⁸ Doubleday points to how such gendering of instruments brings particular meanings to the relationship between humans and musical instruments. Because male players commonly play female-gendered instruments, but not vice versa, it conveys male dominance over instrumental musicianship, as it is uncommon for a woman to play an instrument that has a set masculine identity (Doubleday 2008:14).⁴⁹ The relationship between musicians and the *tonkori* conveyed the sensitivity shown between two individuals. Ainu *tonkori* musicians (Kano and Ogawa) specifically referred to the *tonkori* as *kanojo* (J: she or her), a term that implies familiarity and is sometimes used to address one’s girlfriend in Japanese.



Figure 26: *Tonkori* with rounded shoulders tapering that conveys femininity. (Photo by author).

⁴⁸ Doubleday 2008:12 citing Lambert 2001 (Lambert, Jean. 2001. *Yémen: Le chant de Sanaa: H. alAjami & A. Ushaysh/Sanaan singing*. CD booklet. Institut du monde arabe.)

⁴⁹ Doubleday further notes that male dominance in instrumental musicianship mirrors heterosexual and marriage relationships, where there are different expectations for women and men—the men are conditioned into patterns of ownership and control over the women, and the women’s role is charged with notions of submission and subordination (2008:14–15).



Figure 27: *Tonkori with square shoulders tapera that conveys masculinity. (Photo by author).*



Figure 28: *The star-shaped bellybutton hankapuy, the genital region enkipi, and the holding hole kuy (Photo by author).*

Inside the hollowed-out body of the *tonkori*, a small glass ball is inserted, which is considered the soul or the heart of the instrument (*sanpe*). The Ainu kept glass balls as treasures to hang around women's necks as ornaments, which further adds to the female gendering of the *tonkori*. The glass balls were acquired from neighboring indigenous groups, China, or Russia, and were often exchanged for bearskin (Utagawa 2013; Chiba 2013; Kitahara 2005). They were passed down from mother to daughter as cherished treasures. When placed into a *tonkori*, the glass ball transformed the instrument from a regular object to a living entity with special

powers. The personhood of the *tonkori* in an animistic culture further argues for the connection to shamans. As an object with a physical representation of a soul inside its body, the *tonkori* is empowered with transformative powers and an ability to alter consciousness, as seen in the Ainu folklore.

Sometimes, two glass balls are inserted inside—Nishihira explained that “the first ball gives life to the *tonkori* and another ball is to better the voice of the instrument” (Tomita 1967: 8). Scholars, such as Kitahara, relate that instrument makers sometimes placed pebbles inside to give life to the *tonkori* (2012). The *tonkori* previously owned by Fujiyama Haru that is kept at the Hokkaido Historical Museum has an unmistakable sound of a small pebble inside the body. Perhaps pebbles were used when glass balls were unavailable, either due to post-war poverty or immigration, or both. The balls or pebbles inside the instrument were not normally used for rhythmic purposes, except in up-beat dances, such as “Horipi Iko’as” (A: sound of dancing and jumping), when the *tonkori* is beat against the ground to keep rhythm along with the ball sounding inside (Tomita 1967: 8).

The *hawe* (A: to speak) is not physically embodied, but is considered the voice of the *tonkori* and the Ainu sometimes called the *tonkori* as *hawe*. The Ainu also used the term to refer to the vocal sound of people or birds. The sounds of the instrument will sometimes imitate birds, or wild animals, and is categorized into two types of thick (low) and thin (high) sounds. Researcher and *tonkori* teacher Tomita Tomoko sees similar types of sound categorization in the throat-game songs of *rekuhkara*, which are very similar in practice to Inuit *katajjaq*, and uses alternating

low sounds of exhaling and high sounds of inhaling (Ibid.). A recording of the *rekuhkara* by Nishihira exists from the 1960s, but she performs the *rekuhkara* by herself on the recording, so it is difficult to obtain the information needed to understand the practice, which normally involves two women facing each other and inhaling/exhaling into each other's mouths. The following section focuses on Nishihira and Fujiyama, two important Ainu *tonkori* musicians from Karafuto, and through a discussion of their background contextualizes the social condition of the Karafuto Ainu in early twentieth century.

3.8. *Tonkori* performers from Karafuto

Nishihira Umé is the name that is synonymous with the *tonkori*. Along with Nishihira, Fujiyama Haru is another highly recognized *tonkori* player, and both made invaluable contributions to the dissemination of the *tonkori* practice. This section begins the study of their lives in unfolding the journey of the *tonkori*'s resurgence. The two Karafuto Ainu women learned the *tonkori* from master players and continued the practice in Hokkaido after the Second World War. Without the efforts of these individuals, who left a significant amount of documentation and recordings, it is highly unlikely that the *tonkori* would have become such a meaningful part of Ainu cultural arts. The early biographies of the women and their background information while in Karafuto is presented here and their activities in Hokkaido will be studied further in Chapter Four. Their biographies are divided over two chapters due to their

relocation from Karafuto to Hokkaido—the two separate geographies present very different situations for the *tonkori* practitioners.

Nishihira was born in Otasan, a village in Eastern Karafuto with the Ainu name of “Ska.” She first learned *tonkori* from her grandmother, Palu Kimaha, and later from players Mashinai Ken, Kimura Chikamaha, and Shirakawa Kuruparumaha (Kitahara 2005). Mashinai Ken (aka Ashinai Ken) was a famous *tonkori* maker in addition to being a master player, and taught both Nishihira and Nishihira’s other teacher, Kimura Chikamaha (Shinohara 2012). Both Chiba Nobuhiko and Kano Oki, two leading *tonkori* players in Japan, regard Kuruparumaha⁵⁰ as their most favorite Ainu *tonkori* player from early twentieth century. The Ainu community regarded her as a *tonkori* virtuoso and, according to Chiba, her playing reminds him of “the feeling from a really good rock & roll player.” Kano called her playing “extraordinary” (J: *chō-sugoi*).⁵¹ Chiba, also a scholar of Ainu music, transcribed four songs recorded by Kuruparuhama.

One can reasonably assume that Nishihira was known as an accomplished *tonkori* player in the Karafuto Ainu community during her childhood. At the age of twelve in 1913, Nishihira traveled with her teacher Kuruparuhama from Karafuto to Osaka to perform *tonkori* at a national event, the Meiji Kinen Takushoku Hakurankai (J: Meiji Memorial Development Exhibition) (Kitahara 2005:26). Her early travels

⁵⁰ Many Ainu women’s names end in “ma-ha.”

⁵¹ Chiba, personal interview, March 7, 2013, Tokyo, and Kano, personal interview, February 3, 2013, Sapporo.

“abroad” to a major metropolitan center such as Osaka influenced her perception of the world in an extraordinary way.

Nishihira Umé’s first marriage in 1919 was to a Japanese man from Niigata-ken, a prefecture on the Japan Sea in Honshu. As mentioned above, the Wajin government regarded southern Karafuto as their colony and many Japanese had immigrated there, outnumbering the Ainu population at that time. Umé and her husband lived in the Karafuto town Utsufuji Kawakakō, fishing and making *yōkan* (J: sweets made from beans) for a living. After her husband’s death in 1930, She moved to Shirahama on the eastern coast of Karafuto. There were many Ainu from Umé’s home village Otasan in Shirahama, due to housing constructed by the Japanese for Ainu who had become displaced from the Russo-Japanese war between 1904-05. At Shirahama, Umé met and married Nishihira Kitarō, but due to a big fire in 1933, they moved to another Karafuto town of Tomihama until the end of WWII (Kitahara 2005).

With Soviet Russia’s occupation of Sakhalin at the end of the war, most Karafuto Ainu were forcibly relocated to Hokkaido—Nishihira and her family left in 1948 and landed in Hakodate city in southern Hokkaido. In a crucial decision, Nishihira carried her beloved *tonkori* during the evacuation, even though policy limited her luggage to only what she could carry by hand (Kitahara 2005).

In contrast to Nishihira, Fujiyama’s home territory was in Western Karafuto. While Southern and Eastern Karafuto were subject to Wajin influences and interventions, the western coast (especially the northwestern area) was relatively

isolated until the end of WWII and cultural practices were maintained more or less intact until the beginning of the Second World War (see Ohnuki-Tierney 1973). Fujiyama Haru, just a year older than Nishihira, was born with the Ainu name Esohorankemaha in the Esutoru area on the western coast of Karafuto, but also had a nickname of “Fushiko” (Tokoro-cho Museum 2013). As mentioned previously, Fujuyama Haru was a shaman and made many prophesies. However, details and the extent of shamanistic rites that she may have conducted were not recorded (Tamura 2013). These two women brought the *tonkori* from Karafuto to Hokkaido during this transitional period—a very critical time, as the *tonkori* could have easily disappeared, as it did in Hokkaido a century earlier. Both Fujiyama and Nishihira continued their contribution to the dissemination of the *tonkori* after their relocation by contributing to academic documentation, which will be further discussed in Chapter Four.

3.9. Conclusion

The location of Karafuto represented a political bridge between Japan and Russia, but also a cultural link to Siberia, as seen by the transfer of important customs and practices. The Karafuto Ainu’s close affiliation with Siberian indigenous cultures is a major consideration when studying the *tonkori* in regards to animism and shamanism. The significance of the *tonkori* in Karafuto Ainu’s society can be understood as an object with agency through the attribution of personhood, its likely ties to shamanism, the various tales of its prowess, and by the *sanpe*, the glass ball that represents its heart and personhood.

Very early in the twentieth century, the Wajin forced many of the Ainu to relocate while in Karafuto, including Nishihira; the political conflict between Japan and Russia necessitated moving from place to place within Karafuto. In the years following the end of the Second World War, the Wajin government relocated nearly all of the Karafuto Ainu to Hokkaido and most never set foot on their homeland ever again. Many Karafuto Ainu chose to live on the north and eastern coast of Hokkaido because the landscape was most similar to that of Karafuto (Utagawa personal interview, January 11, 2013, Sapporo).

In Hokkaido, both Nishihira and Fujiyama passed on their legacy to Japanese researchers who documented *tonkori* playing style and repertoire, as well as the women's recollections and legacies. The following chapter will focus on the first two decades following the Karafuto Ainu relocation to Hokkaido, when the two practitioners made many recordings and compiled much documentation, leaving a wealth of information that helped to generate a performing arts tradition.

Chapter Four. The *tonkori* in Hokkaido

4.1. Introduction

After the Second World War, Japan was in the throes of economic chaos and all sectors of society experienced deep poverty during the reconstruction and the U.S. occupation period (1945-1952). Maintaining sustenance for everyday living took priority over anything else and in this context, the Karafuto Ainu who arrived in Hokkaido as newcomers found themselves at the bottom tier of the economic and social ladder. Concern for the care of endangered instruments was not given priority by the general public, and there is no evidence that preservation societies were active during this time. Two or three decades would pass before the construction of principal museums would begin—the Hokkaido Historical Museum did not get built until 1968, and the Poroto Kotan museum, one of the major Ainu museums, was not built until 1976.

Despite these difficulties, a number of individuals including instrument makers, players, teachers, and researchers enabled *tonkori*'s relocation to Hokkaido and its subsequent revival. Their combined efforts greatly contributed to the establishment of the *tonkori*'s dynamic presence in contemporary society (see the list of individuals in Figure 29). Continuing the discussion from Chapter Three, this chapter begins with Nishihira's and Fujiyama's activities in Hokkaido, two of the most important players who disseminated the *tonkori* (4.2.), and follow with a query into the activities of significant researchers, teachers, and *tonkori* makers (4.3., 4.4., and 4.5.). The *tonkori*'s early performance practice is also investigated (4.6.),

followed by the tuning, pitch, and rhythmic aspects of *tonkori* music (4.7.). *Tonkori*'s repertoire and musical components are also examined (4.8.) and this chapter concludes with an in-depth analysis of the *tonkori* piece “Ikeresotte” (4.9.).

Makers	Players	Teachers	Researchers
Kanaya Eijiro	Nishihira Umé	Nishihira Umé	Yonemura Kiyoe
Haiba Takeo	Fujiyama Haru	Tomita Kaho	Hattori Shiro
Sugimura Mitsu	Kuruparumaha		Tomita Kaho
	Kimura Chikamaha		Koizumi Fumio
			Tanimoto Kazuyuki
			Chiba Nobuhiko
			Utagawa Hiroshi

Figure 29: List of individual participants in *tonkori*'s resurgence.

4.2. Nishihira and Fujiyama in Hokkaido

Nishihira Umé's name is synonymous with the Karafuto Ainu *tonkori* (see Chapter Three), who left her native island in September of 1948 with a group of other Ainu and landed in Hakodate, a port town at the southern end of Hokkaido. As mentioned previously, Nishihira brought her beloved *tonkori* with her from Karafuto to Hokkaido, even though the Wajin government limited luggage to only what could be carried by hand. As immigrants, she and her family found whatever work they could find—Nishihira's husband worked as a carpenter, her eldest daughter worked in a potato starch factory, and Nishihira herself worked in various jobs along the seashore. They eventually settled on the eastern coast of Hokkaido in an area around the city of Abashiri that is on the Okhotsk seaboard—an area that was also settled by many other Karafuto Ainu (Kitahara 2005: 25). Abashiri would eventually become

the site for the Hokkaido Museum of Northern Peoples, which is also dedicated (in addition to the Ainu) to the many indigenous groups in Karafuto and Siberia, such as the Nivkh and Uilta groups, some of whom settled in the Abashiri area after the Second World War.⁵²

Fujiyama Haru moved to Hokkaido from Karafuto in 1954 with her first-born daughter Fusa to Tokoro-cho, a small town near Abashiri, a place that was reasonably close to where Nishihira lived. Fujiyama chose to settle in Tokoro-cho because she felt connected to Karafuto by the Okhotsk Sea on the eastern Hokkaido coast, and also because Saroma Lake in Tokoro-cho reminded her of Raichishika Lake in her home area in the western coast of Karafuto (Utagawa, personal interview, January 21, 2013, Sapporo). She was highly acclaimed as a *tonkori* player, as well as a talented embroiderer. As mentioned in Chapter Three, Fujiyama was also known as a shaman and owned a shaman's drum *kako* (aka *kacho* or *kaco*), as only shamans were allowed to touch drums (Tamura, personal communication, February 7, 2013, Sapporo). Fujiyama willed one of her drums to the Hokkaido Historical Museum after her death in 1974. According to their children, both Nishihira and Fujiyama knew of each other as they lived about 80 kilometers apart, but it is not known how often they interacted. The children also remembered their mothers playing the *tonkori* at Ainu festivals, which occurred infrequently at the time. The *tonkori* was heard more within the home, playing lullabies and music for personal expression. However, the children

⁵² The Museum is also a focal point and a center for ongoing research in the history of the Okhotsk people, a predecessor to the Ainu, and many archival materials are held there, such as Tanimoto Kazuyuki's work with the music of the indigenous Chukchi group.

never learned the *tonkori* from their mothers (Tamura, personal communication, February 7, 2013).

The *tonkori*'s transmission exclusively by women players is noteworthy, since there were male *tonkori* players in Karafuto. All of the significant *tonkori* performers who recorded for research purposes in post-war Hokkaido were women, and one can only speculate as to the reasons that only women served as tradition bearers in this case. The main reason might be social-economic: as mentioned previously in Chapter Three, due to the Wajin labor recruitment of Ainu men, fewer Ainu men had opportunities to play the *tonkori* and the economic pressures of relocation might have kept men from spending time playing the *tonkori*. In addition, the instrument might have also been viewed as a relic from an antiquated past. Moreover, alcoholism was known to be widespread among Ainu men and it is still a serious issue in the present day. However, the default gender of *tonkori* performers would eventually flip again in the 1980s resulting in the phenomenon that currently all of the professional Ainu *tonkori* players are men.

There were reasons other than economic for why Nishihira and Fujiyama disseminated their knowledge and musical skills in academic research. Kitahara Jirota writes that connecting and working with the *tonkori* brought consolation for their feelings of loss and nostalgia of their homeland (2005: 27). Treatment of Ainu by the Wajin was much more harsh in Hokkaido, and according to Karafuto immigrants, prejudice was so severe and complicated that the newcomers had to hide their Ainu heritage after their arrival, which was not necessary in Karafuto.

In Hokkaido, there is a dark side to cultural research in Ainu studies. Stemming from the Wajin scientific community is exploitation of Ainu materials, for example, the gathering of human bones from Ainu graves, and the extraction of teeth and the blood and/or hair samples from Ainu people during the decades before the Second World War. Appendix D contains a transcription from a symposium on August 7, 2011 at the Hokkaido Historical Museum, where an Ainu man talked about having his tooth pulled for research analysis. Such acts in the name of “scientific research” have created ill will and mistrust toward academic researchers by some Ainu and consequently, interviews in the field requires much sensitivity.⁵³ In the recent past, steps have been taken to rectify some of the grievances with public apologies from the Wajin. Apologies continue to be made at symposiums and lectures on Ainu culture and history, usually prompted by protests from Ainu audiences during Q&A sessions (see Appendix D and E).⁵⁴

In addition to research, tourism was an important arena for the expression of Ainu culture in the decades following the Second World War, and Nishihira, in particular, engaged with both areas. Many Ainu have conflicting feelings about tourism, even identifying other Ainu engaging in the trade disparagingly as “tourist-Ainu” (J: *kankō* Ainu). The tourist industry was initially owned and produced by

⁵³ The difficulty in obtaining interviews and introductions to Ainu informants was due to this mistrust of researchers. The Staff at Ainu Studies Center at Hokkaido University were also reluctant to introduce me to Ainu informants or connect me with Ainu language classes. Shinohara Chika also refused me instruction in *tonkori*, because if I received *tonkori* lessons from her, my privileged position as a researcher of being able to afford lessons and a *tonkori* instrument would make other Ainu feel underprivileged.

⁵⁴ During the symposium in July 2011 on Ainu artifacts at the Hokkaido Historical Museum, Ainu elders of the community gathered and protested the Museum’s handling of Ainu artifacts and making them unavailable or not returning them to the Ainu community.

Wajin businessmen who took advantage of Ainu performers and artisans, and highlighted Ainu “primitivism” as entertainment (see Kitahara 2005). The commercialization of traditional objects for curious Japanese tourists has contributed to cultural misunderstanding and the objectification of the Ainu, which may partly have been unavoidable within the current process of globalization and the proliferation of material culture. Economic dependency on tourism has been a double-edged sword; while it has financially supported many Ainu communities, it also has damaged the community’s self-respect and contributed to the Ainu’s critical attitude toward themselves and the tourist industry.

The study of tourism is a broad field and extensive discussion on the tourism culture of the Ainu is beyond the scope of this study; the remaining focus herein will be on the research aspect pertaining to the *tonkori* players. Ultimately, the copious documentation and recordings left by Ainu musicians became the core foundation for the next generation of Ainu musicians trying to reconstruct their heritage. Participation in research for Nishihira proved particularly constructive—she made recordings on five or six occasions, and the earliest ones were documented by Koizumi Fumio and produced by NHK (J: Japanese Broadcasting Corporation) at an Ainu ceremony and festival in 1958. Chiba notes that Nishihira plays very rhythmically on this recording, perhaps due to the celebratory atmosphere surrounding the recording (Chiba, personal communication, February 16, 2013). Chiba has transcribed other recordings by Kimura Chikamaha, which adds to the breath of available notated *tonkori* music. In addition, an earlier recording in 1951 by

Nishihira's teacher Shirakawa Kuruparumaha exists in the archives of NHK (Ibid.), but the most significant recordings are those created by Nishihira, which comprises a wealth of material for the reconstruction of *tonkori* music.

4.3. Researchers

The *tonkori*'s dissemination process would look quite different without the contribution of Wajin researchers who recorded, transcribed, and otherwise preserved Ainu music, which provided an avenue to pass on *tonkori* practices to a new generation. Yonemura Kiyōé (1892-1981) and Hattori Shiro (1908-1995) were part of a group of individuals who documented the *tonkori* in the post-war period. Their attention to detail and exacting academic standards have helped to create an extensive archive for study and research. In contrast with other kinds scientific research that damaged relations, the Ainu community fondly remembers Yonemura and Hattori's work. Judging from various reports by subsequent researchers, such as Tomita Tomoko, it appears that feelings of respect were mutual.

Nishihira collaborated with Yonemura, as he collected Ainu household items, documented stories from the elderly Ainu, and eventually founded a regional museum in Abashiri: The Abashiri Shiritsu Kyōdō Hakubutsukan (J: Abashiri Municipal Hometown Museum). Yonemura became an intermediary between the many Karafuto Ainu, Uilta, and Nivkh indigenous immigrants, and the other researchers who came to Abashiri to study Ainu culture, including Tomita, Sarashina Genzo, and Koizumi Fumio. Yonemura helped support the Karafuto immigrants economically by

providing a space for the sale of cultural craft items at the Abashiri museum. His support and contribution to the Ainu community was reciprocated in part, when the Karafuto Ainu immigrants commemorated his *kanreki* (J: 60-year birthday celebration) with an *iomante* bear ceremony (Kitahara 2005: 27). In addition, Nishihira participated by playing *tonkori* in the Moyoro Matsuri (J: Moyoro Festival), an event that was part of Yonemura's project to preserve the Moyoro shell mound in Abashiri (Ibid.). The Moyoro shell mound has existed since the Jomon Neolithic era and is now a community restoration project and a tourist attraction.

Karafuto *tonkori* player Fujiyama recalls her meeting with linguist and scholar Hattori as “destiny.”⁵⁵ Hattori is best known in the field of Ainu studies as the editor of an Ainu dictionary, the “Ainugo Hogen Jiten” (J: Ainu Dialect Dictionary) (1964). Hattori conducted significant research on Fujiyama's *tonkori* playing, and passed the collected materials to Hattori's son, who is currently in the process of organizing the information into a publication on Fujiyama (Tamura, personal communication, February 7, 2013). In addition to Yonemura and Hattori, the researcher most credited with the dissemination of the *tonkori* is Tomita, who is also widely known in the Ainu community as a teacher of *tonkori*. She has been influential as a researcher, not only by archiving Nishihira's *tonkori* performances, but also by documenting the shamanic rituals of the Karafuto Ainu. Tomita worked closely with Nishihira and has extensive recordings of Nishihira's interviews and playing. These taped recordings of Nishihira greatly contributed to the performance practice of Kano Oki and Chiba Nobuhiko

⁵⁵ From Fujiyama's biographical notes at the Iseki-no-yakata Museum Tokoro-cho, accessed by the author on February 13, 2013.

(Kitahara, personal communication, October 1, 2012; Tangiku, personal communication, October 16, 2012). Kano based his 2001 and 2005 solo *tonkori* CD albums on songs from the Nishihira recordings, and continues to use traditional songs from the recordings as a foundation for creating repertoire for his Oki Ainu Dub Band.

Tanimoto Kazuyuki can be considered the first significant ethnomusicologist to specialize in Ainu music. Together with poet and researcher Sarashina Genzō, and Masuda Yuki (a schoolteacher), he took part in large-scale recordings and documentation of Ainu music by NHK (Japan Broadcasting Corporation) in 1961-62; he subsequently published a report accompanying the collection of 10-LP recordings (1965) (Chiba 2008; Tokita and Hughes 2008). More recently, Chiba Nobuhiko (a one-time student of Tanimoto) is perhaps the most knowledgeable researcher of *tonkori* performance practice in Japan today. As mentioned above, he has transcribed all of Nishihira, Kuruparuhama, Chikama, and Fujiyama's performances from Koizumi Fumio's recordings and the NHK recordings from the 1960s. In addition, he has transcribed all of the *tonkori* music from Kubodera Itsuhiko's recordings (1934-36). His background as a professional guitarist gives him an important perspective in analyzing archival music. In addition, he studied traditional singing from elderly Ainu singers in the guttural timbral style and recently has been recording many elderly Ainu singers as part of his Master's thesis and project. His activities as a *tonkori* performer will be discussed further in Chapter Six.

Chiba's extensive transcriptions and their importance to the project of documentation of Ainu music cannot be overestimated. However, because most Ainu musicians are not highly skilled or trained in reading western notation beyond the high school level, the transcriptions have questionable levels of utility for Ainu musicians themselves. Although Chiba has meticulously notated nuances, such as fingerings, slight variations in tempo, and small variations in pitch, the skill needed to read and comprehend the notation requires a high level of proficiency in Western art music, which is not common for most Ainu musicians. It poses a problematic situation for those wanting to replicate the music as it was traditionally performed, and to make the situation more complicated, the Ainu musician is temporally removed from the historical practice by a few generations.

In terms of the issues surrounding transcription, perhaps the melograph that Charles Seeger developed in the late 1950s brought about a similar conclusion (Nettl 1983: 87). The melograph presents a visual graph of the sound's pitch and intensity, but could not be utilized well in the field of music analysis due to its complexity (see Jairazbhoy 1977: 264; Gjerdingen 1988). Interpreters of Chiba's transcriptions have found themselves in a similar situation as the ethnomusicologists who found the melograph difficult to comprehend, due to the extensive training in graphic notation that the system required.

In his seminal work from 1958, Charles Seeger categorizes transcriptions into two types: prescriptive and descriptive. The prescriptive notation is analytical and consists of symbols, but it is mostly instructive and beneficial for the cultural insider

who is already familiar with the style of music (i.e. Western art music is a prescriptive notation for classical musicians). Descriptive notation is something beneficial for the outsider, who can write down and describe everything that they hear. Nettl further describes the two approaches: “Seeger might have named his two kinds of notation ‘emic’ and ‘etic’ or ‘cultural’ and ‘analytical’ but the parallels aren’t really precise” (1983: 79). For this study, the transcriptions of the *tonkori* piece “Ikeresotte” that is analyzed later in this chapter can all be considered prescriptive.

4.4. Teachers

The transmission process in most performing arts traditions, from Western art music to all of the traditional Japanese performing arts, is done through a teacher-student, master-disciple relationship. In the *tonkori*’s transmission, Tomita learned from Nishihira via oral-imitation instruction methods, although the extent or length in time of her training is unclear. So far, records indicate that Nishihira only taught *tonkori* to Tomita—the sole receiver of the tradition. According to Shinohara Chika, who studied *tonkori* from Tomita, Nishihira only directly taught three *tonkori* songs to Tomita—the rest were disseminated through recordings (Tangiku and Shinohara, personal communications, October 16, 2012).

Tomita was a teacher of the Japanese traditional zither *koto*, an instrument historically associated with Wajin court culture beginning around the eighth century (Terauchi 2001: 622). Because *koto* instruction is embedded in the traditional *iemoto* (J: family foundation) lineage system, in which a family name establishes a specific

style and philosophy, one could assume that some of the teaching practices of the *iemoto* lineage system affected Tomita's teaching as she passed the repertoire on to her *tonkori* students.

According to Shinohara, about 50% of the *tonkori* players today in Japan are self-taught, while Tomita is responsible for disseminating the practice to the remaining 50% (Shinohara, personal communication, October 16, 2012). Fukumoto Shouji, the Ainu *tonkori* player for the contemporary revival group Ainu Art Project is among those taught by Tomita. *Tonkori* players Kano Oki and Chiba Nobuhiko both studied with Tomita, and she also taught the *tonkori* to the group Kanto Utari Kai, a preservation-focused musical society in the Tokyo area, as well many individuals and musical societies in the Kushiro area in Hokkaido (Ibid.). Researchers Shinohara and Chiba both consider Tomita's teaching as a newly reconstructed practice of Nishihira's playing due to Tomita's background as a *koto* teacher and performer. Having 50% of the dissemination process channel through one individual may account for the reason that the current active *tonkori* repertoire focuses on specific pieces. As will be discussed later in this chapter, most *tonkori* students play the same repertoire, and most can trace their instruction lineage back to Tomita.⁵⁶

Each actor involved in musical transmission—the performer, *tonkori*-maker, researcher, and teacher—contributes to the transmission process in unique ways.

⁵⁶ In a genre of music that relies on historical material, it is common for certain works to be popular for certain time periods. An example in the Western art music genre is how Vladimir Horowitz helped popularize Domenico Scarlatti piano sonatas by performing them frequently in his concerts.

There is also considerable amount of overlap, since many individuals engaged in more than one area of the dissemination process. For example, Nishihira was both a performer and a teacher, and Tomita was both a researcher and a teacher. The following section will discuss the two roles that Kanaya Eijiro played— as a researcher and an important *tonkori* maker.

4.5. *Tonkori* makers

The *tonkori* instrument is a vehicle for transmission, not only for songs, but also as a physical embodiment of Ainu history. Embedded in the instrument are gendered notions of a female body, folklore, ceremonies, and travels to distant lands. The creators of instruments often work closely with performers, constituting a partnership that is critical for the development and continuation of any musical tradition. However, instrument makers are often overlooked in musical study, the scholar's attention and writings being on composers and/or performers. Fortunately, recent scholars recognize and support the importance of the *tonkori* makers in the transmission process. Presently, both the Poroto Kotan (A: lakeside village) Ainu Museum (Shiraoi, Hokkaido) and the Pirika Kotan (A: beautiful village) Ainu Museum (Sapporo) give classes in *tonkori* making, and the government sponsored FRPAC (Foundation for Research and Promotion of Ainu Culture) has published a handbook detailing the construction of the *tonkori*.⁵⁷ Attention to *tonkori* construction

⁵⁷ Foundation for Research and Promotion of Ainu Culture (FRPAC). 2012. *Manual for making the Tonkori (Five-stringed Instrument)*. Sapporo, Japan: Zaidan hōjin Ainu bunka shinkō kenkyū suishin kikō.

began in the period after the Second World War, and *tonkori* instrument makers were closely aligned with performers from Karafuto—both Nishihira and Fujiyama worked closely with their favorite *tonkori* makers.

Fujiyama's son-in-law Kanaya Eijiro was a carpenter and learned how to make *tonkori* from Fujiyama, later becoming a sought-after *tonkori* maker in the Ainu community, and he is arguably the most important *tonkori* maker who contributed to the revival process following the war. As there was virtually no *tonkori* in Hokkaido at this time, Kanaya's craft was crucial in the dissemination of this instrument. He in turn taught the knowledge to many others (Iseki no Yakata Museum, biographical notes on Fujiyama, February 13, 2013; Kitahara, personal communication, October 1, 2012). Kanaya also collaborated with Utagawa to produce a monograph on the Karafuto *tonkori* (1986), which is an important source for this and other studies.

According to Chiba, Kanaya was very concerned about preventing the disappearance of the *tonkori* (Chiba, personal communication, February 16, 2013) and he wrote down the *tonkori* songs that Fujiyama played. Kanaya was prolific in making *tonkori*, and Fujiyama's *tonkori* is now part of the Sarashina Genzo's collection housed at the Hokkaido Historical Museum. This *tonkori* was acquired in 1983 and has very few decorations, is not strung, and includes a very small pebble inside as the *sanpe* (A: spirit ball) (Figure 30).

After the Karafuto Ainu settled in Hokkaido, other knowledgeable immigrants eventually began making the *tonkori*, including Sugimura Mitsu, an elderly man of

Karafuto lineage who made *tonkori* in the Asahikawa area. Another *tonkori* maker in Hokkaido was Haiba Takeo, who made one of Nishihira's most favorite *tonkori* (Kitahara 2005: 27). Unfortunately, not much else is known about Haiba, and it is possible that he was the maker of the *tonkori* left by Nishihira that is housed at the Hokkaido Historical Museum in Sapporo. Tanaka Miho from Mombetsu (town on the northeastern coast of Hokkaido) donated this instrument in 1972. It had originally belonged to her late husband's collection and most likely was made in the 1950s or 1960s. Similar to Fujiyama's *tonkori*, this *tonkori*'s construction is very simple, as there are no decorations or carvings (see Figure 31) (Tamura, personal communication, February 7, 2013).

Instrument makers, as creators, imbue meaning and identity into their creations, and because there are no standard sizes or shapes for the *tonkori*, the maker has greater freedom to instill his or her individual creativity into the instrument. Carvings of Ainu cultural motifs and the painting of the *tonkori*'s "face" are all created by the makers, who are agents in the construction of symbolic meaning, not just of the physical property, and also the construction of the instruments' gendered identity—forming each instrument with feminine or masculine shoulders, feminine or masculine body sizes, or the types of faces. The traditional method involves carving the entire instrument by hand without the use of power tools, and this is still practiced by some makers, such as Fukumoto Shouji, who will be studied further in Chapter Six.



Figure 30: Fujiyama Haru's tonkori. (Photo by author).



Figure 31: Nishihira Umé's tonkori. (Photo by author).

4.6. Early performance practice

The different ways of holding the *tonkori* before the twentieth century are shown in the drawings by travelers and government officials. Although a systemized holding method did not exist, holding styles historically followed gender lines. For men, the most common position was to sit cross-legged, placing the instrument on their left shoulder and very slightly angling it to their right. The *tonkori* that men played were generally much larger than those played by women, and the plucking/strumming area was on the lower section of the *tonkori*. The position for

women is to sit in a *seiza* position, a Japanese word for kneeling with tops of the feet flat on the floor, and sitting on the soles. The women normally played on the upper section of the *tonkori* sitting in *seiza* with the *tonkori* coming across from the left shoulder to the right knee.⁵⁸ The left hand held the *tonkori* in place while the second and third fingers of the left hand and the second, third, and fourth fingers of the right hand were used to pluck and strum the strings. In contemporary practice, there is more freedom in the various holding positions of the performers. Kano Oki holds the *tonkori* more horizontally like a guitar and Chiba tends to hold the *tonkori* more vertically, either sitting on the floor or on a chair.

In Tomita's article on *tonkori* performance practice (1967), she writes that the Ainu did not have a definitive set of rules in place as to the "correct" ways of holding the *tonkori* and that the *tonkori* was not restricted to playing while sitting. One could lie down and play the *tonkori* while resting the body—often during lulling a child to sleep or due to fatigue from playing continuously for a long period. In addition, the player held the *tonkori* to the chest while standing to accompany dancing and singing during ceremonies or rituals (Ibid.: 10). Aside from the basic holding positions dictated by gender, the player held it in ways to meet the needs of the situation.

One song that requires an unusual holding position is the song "Hekaci Heciri" (to invite others to play/perform together) that was used to teach children circle dances. In this instructional song, the teacher sits in a *seiza* position with the *tonkori* straight up and rests it on the knees with the *tonkori* played on the lower

⁵⁸ This position most likely became popular after colonization and assimilation by Japan.

section of the instrument. The teacher would play the song while turning the *tonkori* left and right, forward and back, down and up, while the dancing children were encouraged to imitate the *tonkori* by turning their heads, turning their bodies, or bending their hips. (Ibid.: 11). In this song, the *tonkori* becomes personified as instructor for the children in a process of double mimicry, emphasizing its position of personhood within culture as an agent for learning.

Tonkori strings are numbered from one to five, from right to left as one face the *tonkori*. Tomita (1967) writes how the *tonkori* originally had two or three strings, such that the main musical focus was on rhythm. Over time, the number of strings increased to five, where the Ainu created new songs with the increase in number of strings. Along with this, the intervals between the strings grew in distance to perfect fourths and perfect fifths (Ibid.: 11).

The strings on the *tonkori* are not tuned in order of succession from lowest to highest, or visa versa. When looking at the string order from right to left, the third string is the highest pitch and the fifth string is the lowest pitch. The figure below shows the order of strings from highest to lowest (Figure 32). The tuning that is now considered standard tuning was the tuning used most often by Nishihira, and is often referred to as the “Western Karafuto tuning.” It follows from right to left: C G D A E in Western pitch notation (Ainu music workshop, February 15-16, 2013). The whole range of the pitches does not generally go beyond an octave, with two thick strings on two and five and three thin strings on one, three, and four. This particular tuning most likely became a “standard” tuning in contemporary *tonkori* practice due to the many

recordings by Nishihira, Kuruparuhama and Chikama, who primarily used the above tuning.

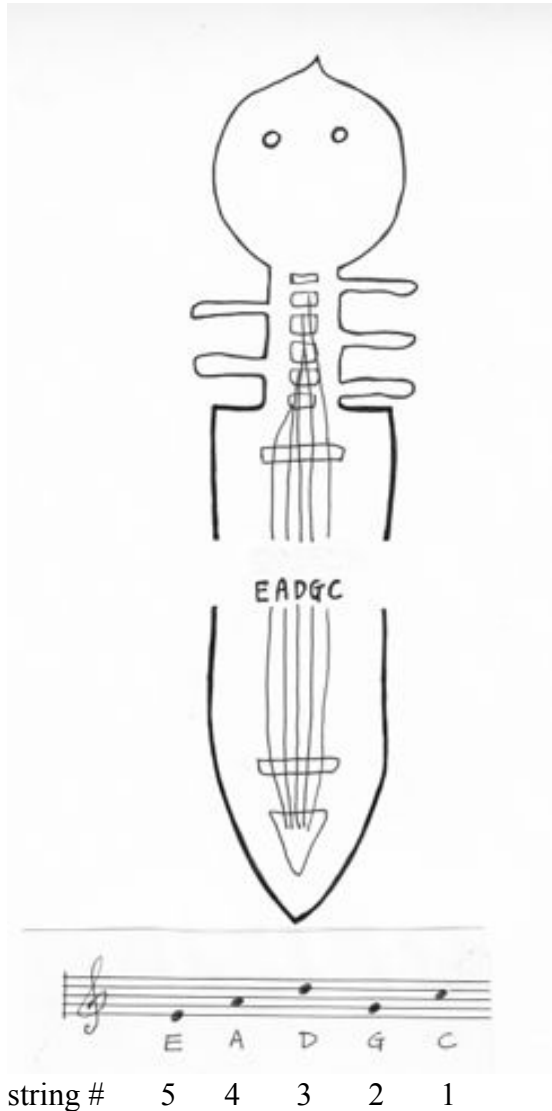


Figure 32: The most common string pitches.

Although various songs utilize completely different tunings, some of which give a brighter and more “major” sounding color to the songs, notably they maintain the same order of high/low succession (Chiba, personal communication, March 7, 2013). Moreover, different tunings are sometimes used for the same songs in older

recordings, an aspect of traditional performance that has not continued in contemporary practice. The various renditions of “Ikeresotte” that are studied later in this chapter exemplify this phenomenon. In addition, the different tunings point to the significance that rests on other musical aspects than specific pitch, namely timbre and rhythm.

Because the number of pitches available on the *tonkori* corresponds to the number of its strings, the player can augment the music significantly and noticeably by creating different timbres on the strings. The player can produce multiple timbres from the same string, and this was most likely a critical part of *tonkori* playing in historical times, especially in earlier times when the *tonkori* had only two strings.

There are different specific finger plucking techniques that give unique timbral qualities to the *tonkori* sound. The first technique involves using the fingernails to pluck the strings, which provides focused and tight sound quality. At times, two strings are plucked simultaneously with two fingernails, either with the right or left hand. This can be done with two strings next to each other, most commonly on strings 2 & 3 and 4 & 5, or on strings that are further apart, such as on strings 1 & 4. Another use of the fingernails is a quick flick outward with the 2nd and 3rd fingers on the right hand during a fast strumming motion (Chiba, personal communication, February 16, 2013; Tomita 1967). As timbre is considered on equal or more importance than pitch in traditional Ainu music, the study of reproducing timbral qualities is of prime importance in the study of the instrument.

Dampening the strings with the soft part of the fingers immediately before or after plucking the strings creates another important sound characteristic of *tonkori* playing. It creates a “stop” effect and a rhythmic back-beat with a momentary silence right after a sound is produced (Ainu music workshop, February 16, 2013). A similar technique exists with the *rekte* glottal stop in Ainu vocal music, although the timbre of the *rekte* is more pronounced. The “stop” effect is widely used in *tonkori* playing, and comprises a unique rhythmic nuance that characterizes certain songs.

4.7. Tuning, pitch, and rhythm

Defining the tuning, pitch and rhythm of *tonkori* music necessitates a discussion on the ways perspectives on musical production differ between Western Art music and historical Ainu musical culture. Western art music (within the common practice period) conceives of tonal harmony in a vertical fashion to melody and rhythm, and there is a clear distinction between the elements of harmony, melody, and rhythm. Ainu music did not make such clear distinctions among musical elements. As mentioned previously, pitch and timbre were heard simultaneously and melody and rhythm were presumably conceived as one entity.

For the purposes of analysis and discussion, melodic and rhythmic elements will be discussed in terms of musical motives using Western European notation, despite the limitations of such descriptors. Native American scholar Jessica Bissett Perea writes on the practicality of using Western notation in ethnographic research:

The solution to the Western notation “problem” is not necessarily

to abandon it. Rather, I have chosen to incorporate my specialized musical training within this tribalography of contemporary Alaska native musical life, in the hopes that Western or modern notation can provide a useful starting point as a “lingua franca” for musicians and historians interested in discussing form, style, and aesthetics. (2011: 72)

My study also employs Western staff notation for similar reasons, with an added cipher notation for two of the examples.

Verbal descriptions of tuning, pitch and rhythm can also be subjective, as listeners tend to describe sonic phenomena of sound based on personal experiences and varying aesthetics, sometimes reacting emotionally to the sound. Even using technology—such as metronomes or chromatic pitch tuners—to document sound only scratches the surface of musical description, as tempo and pitch are mechanical representations of emotion. As an example, the same melody can carry a very different feeling when performed in a different tempo or pitch (e.g. a familiar tune, such as “Happy Birthday,” can be heard very cheerfully at a faster tempo in the key of A, or more stately at a slower tempo in the key of D-flat). As discussed above, timbre is a vital aspect of Ainu music, which is an integral part of pitch itself, since either component cannot be heard without the other (see Levin 2006: 47).

Moreover, the notion of having “correct” pitch is a concept based on Western tonal structures. The Ainu, along with many other indigenous cultures, have tuning systems that are influenced by their environmental surroundings. Therefore, the concepts of beautiful music or pleasurable sounds are based on sonic phenomena in nature. Many *tonkori* songs are imitations of birds and animal voices—especially

voices of birds such as crows and swans, and voices of animals such as bears and foxes.

The pitches of *tonkori* strings were historically tuned relative to each other and not based on an absolute pitch system (Tomita 1967: 3, 12). Although not having a mechanism for measuring absolute pitch does not mean that absolute pitch did not exist in the ears and minds of the *tonkori* players. However, most contemporary *tonkori* performers use an electronic tuning device to tune each string of the *tonkori*, a practice that in some ways denies individual musician's sense of pitch and aesthetic in performance.

Historically, the song determined the tuning of the strings and therefore the process of tuning the *tonkori* varied from song to song. According to Tomita, Nishihira first selects a song and sings it, then matches the pitches of the song to the strings while singing the song. Since the third string plays the highest note, it is tuned first to the highest note of the song, then the first string, fourth string, second string, and finally to the fifth string, in successive order from highest to lowest pitch (Tomita 1967: 12). The tuning process indicates the subjective nature of tuning, as individual musicians no doubt had differing perceptions of pitch, even for the same songs. With the added element of the guttural vocal timbre in Ainu music, the tuning of strings must have had wide personal variations in traditional practice.

Because pitches were not traditionally based on the Western harmonic overtone series, pitches in the archival recordings sound “out of tune” for ears accustomed to Western tonality. Chiba found that the pitches in Fujiyama's

recordings varied widely from song to song and wondered if the tuning was haphazardly done. However, Chiba noticed that in one particular recording, the player quoted, “the *tonkori*’s tuning is off, so I can’t play it” (Chiba, personal communication, March 7, 2013). He concluded that there was a very specific tuning that the performer desired, but that it did not correspond to a Western pitch system.

There are many regional differences in *tonkori* performance practice, although some basic similarities remain: strings are all played as open and there are no bending of the strings to create an altered pitches as in the *shamisen* instrument (Tomita 1967:12). Another performance practice pertaining to *tonkori* accompaniment of *yukar* (epic poetry), involves the *tonkori* mirroring the tone and rhythm of the poetry, increasing or decreasing in rhythm along with the words in the *yukar* (Ibid.:13). In addition, Tomita notes that rhythm was the main focus in songs that accompany dancing and singing. As the singing becomes more rhythmic and the dancing becomes more playful and energetic, the *tonkori* takes on a different character—evolving from a more simple back and forth rhythm to rhythms that increase or decrease in complexity (Ibid.:12, 13).

4.8. Musical construction

One main characteristic of Ainu *tonkori* music is the repetition of motivic phrases. Within this repetition, the principal melody is often varied through improvisation. The term improvisation can encompass many different forms, such as the European tradition of improvising cadenzas to concertos, *taqasim* in Arab *takht*

ensembles, figured bass in seventeenth-century keyboard practice, jazz improvisation, Hindustani and Carnatic *alapana* (to speak), and others (see Nettl 1998; Nettl 2013). I follow the broad description of improvisation by Bruno Nettl, who writes,

How to define improvisation is complicated, because historically, improvisation in Western art music is a performance practice of extemporization, a craft in a sense that contrasts to the art of composition.... But in the non-western and folk cultures, improvisation is seen as equated to oral transmission and composition.... [it is] just non-composed. (2013)

I also look at how the process of creation in improvisation is simultaneously conceived through performance in Ainu music. The “improvisation” in *tonkori* music first begins with a “model” line or phrase that becomes the point of departure. The phrase or motive is then repeated many times, sometimes altered and sometimes not altered, and sometimes altered again in another different way. Because the *tonkori* was used to accompany dances in ceremonies that sometimes lasted throughout the night, repetition was inevitable and improvisation in the form of phrase alterations was most likely a standard practice.

Improvisation worked with alteration of melodies. The word “irette” or “irekte” means “to sound” and the principal melody or motive in a song is called “e ikai sa irette,” and the section that is varied from the principal melody is called “ikai koro irette.” In traditional *tonkori* playing, putting variation (*ikai*) in *tonkori* playing showed the skills of the *tonkori* player and the players were very proud of including complicated hand techniques and variations into the playing, which also portrayed their individual spirit or soul into the performance. (Tomita 1967:13). In the transcription of “Ikeresotte” by Tomita/Tangiku (performed by Nishihira) the

repetition of the principal melody is altered by extraction or addition of melodic notes, or by a variation in the rhythm of the motive, or by repeating small sections of the melody. The recognition of the melody was never lost, where the modification never strayed too far from the “model.” This is shown in the following examples of “Ikeresotte,” where different versions have varying rhythms, pitches, and melodic lines (see Figure 38).

Two *tonkori* players sometimes play the same song simultaneously. Sometimes, one person might play the heavy strings (strings two and five) while another plays the thin strings (strings one, three, and four) and the two players create an imitative form. Although *tonkori* playing incorporates this imitative practice, it is mostly a vocal style and a very distinctive feature of vocal *upopo* (A: sitting songs) music, in which case the imitative practice is called *ukuok*. In *ukuok*, two to four singers sing the same melody, but start at different times, usually a few beats apart, in a kind of “round.” The same melody is repeated many times, with two to four different entrances, which creates a cacophony of sound. Tanimoto describes that, “it simply serves to create musical ‘chaos,’ which increases passion in the ceremony” (1999: 284). The Ainu considered *ukuok* to confuse evil spirits and believed it to be very useful in warding off demons and epidemics. The interlocking melodic lines create an imitative structure, described by ethnomusicologist Kochi Rie as “polyphony,”⁵⁹ although this term also needs clarity to distinguish it from the polyphony of seventeenth-century European musical tradition. *Ukuok* should be

⁵⁹ Kochi Rie, in her article, “The Polyphonic Element in the Monophonic Singing Styles of Ainu Traditional Music,” writes that “canonic polyphony” describes the *ukuok* musical form.

thought distinctly as an imitative canonic form that uses the same melodic phrase as opposed to a polyphonic form with individual melodies that participate to create a harmonic structure.

4.9. Repertoire

The Ainu historically expressed their close affinity to natural sounds through their poetry and songs. One such song is “Sumari Puu Kosan,” (A: fox in storehouse) a *tonkori* piece about a fox that takes food from an Ainu village. There are also songs for *tonkori* that mirror their everyday lifeways that describe fetching water, as well as those that express sentimentality. An example of a sentimental song is “Yakatekara Irekte” (A: yakatekata sound), a love song expressing ethereal feelings (many titles of Ainu songs are onomapoetic and therefore have no translation). Songs, such as “Kaco Taata Irekte” (A: drums taata sound), reference shamanism and spirituality by imitating the sounds of the shaman’s drum. Other songs expressed one’s personal pleasure, such as “Cipoo irekte” (A: cipoo sound), a very tranquil song imitating the sound of one’s paddle in the water while rowing in a dug-out Ainu canoe (see Appendix A).

Tomita was instrumental in developing a standardized repertoire by consistently teaching “Ikeresotte” (A: sound of demon’s footsteps) and “Tokito Ran Ran” (A: small birds come down) and “Sumari Puu Kosan” (A: fox in a storehouse) to her students. These three songs are now taught to all who study the *tonkori*. “Ikeresotte” and “Tokito Ran Ran” were taught to me in my first lessons with

Fukumoto Shouji and also during the *tonkori* workshop with Chiba Nobuhiko. Chiba notes that “Tokito Ran Ran” has always been a very popular song from traditional times, even among various regions, but that Tomita used “Ikeresotte” consistently in teaching the *tonkori*, which contributed to its popularity. In addition to “Ikeresotte,” Tomita learned to play “Sumari puu kosan” and “Kento hahka tuhse” (A: Kento losing his hat) directly from Nishihira (Tangiku and Shinohara 2012). *Tonkori* canon formation can arguably be credited to Tomita, first as a researcher who documented the *tonkori* repertoire, and then secondly as a teacher who taught certain songs that became popular. The following section takes an in-depth look at one of the most popular *tonkori* songs, “Ikeresotte.”

4.10. “Ikeresotte”

The following is an analysis of “Ikeresotte,” which is standard to teach beginning students. It is part of the genre of spiritual pieces that include songs, dances and shamanic prayers, which were played to ward off evil spirits that were thought to bring bad weather, earthquakes, and epidemics. During epidemics, the Karafuto Ainu would hang swords, and burn bunched thorny plants at the entrance for smoking the house, and a *tonkori* player would perform “Ikeresotte” for an extended time with much energy and fervor (Tomita 1967: 2). Its musical sounds copy a monster’s footsteps, although the exact meaning of the word *ikeresotte* cannot be determined (Ainu music workshop, February 15-16, 2013).

Shown below are eight renditions of “Ikeresotte,” which serve to illustrate the many range of varied *tonkori* practice. While the rhythmic, motivic, and melodic elements in all of the transcriptions are not exactly alike, the short and accented rhythmic motif is the most identifiable element that gives the song its identity. One version uses a very different configuration for the pitch tuning, but even so, it can still be identified as “Ikeresotte.” In his 1966 article “Versions and Variants of ‘Barbara Allen,’” Charles Seeger queries the parameters that define the essence of a single folksong by looking at various recorded performances:

The lack of any printed or written anchor not only encourages but enforces variance of performance. Thus, it is in the relationships of the resemblances and differences in the singing that the identity attributed to what is sung must be sought. In a nutshell, the question is: how much can two singings differ and still be singings of the same tune? Or conversely, how little can they vary and still be singings of different tunes? (1966a: 122)

The eight transcriptions of “Ikeresotte” all vary from one another in some way (such as in rhythm or melody), but there is a commonality that ties them together as the same song, discussed in detail below.

As mentioned above, the variance in melody is due to the structured improvisational nature of Ainu music, where a repetition of the main phrase can be slightly altered. As with other *tonkori* music, the consensus is that there is no one “correct” way to play a song. However, in the last few decades, the version performed by Fukumoto Shouji has become the standard performed in Ainu music festivals and *tonkori* competitions (see example #8 in Figure 36).

Five Japanese researchers notated the following eight different transcriptions of “Ikeresotte” between 1967 and 2012, and are listed below in a chronological order by transcription (see the list on Figure 33). The first two notations by Tomita are from the same article published in 1967 (1967a and 1967b).⁶⁰ The two transcriptions of 2012, edited by Tangiku and Shinohara, are both taken from a single publication.

Score published	Transcribed by	Performed by	Recording
1) 1967 (a)	Tomita Tomoko	Nishihira Umé	by Tomita Tomoko
2) 1967 (b)	Tomita Tomoko	Nishihira Umé	by Tomita Tomoko
3) 2007	Chiba Nobuhiko	Nishihira Umé (1958)	
4) 2012 (a)	Tomita Tomoko/ Tangiku/Shinohara	Nishihira Umé	by Tomita Tomoko (1959-1963)
5) 2012 (b)	Tomita Tomoko/ Tangiku/Shinohara	Nishihira Umé	by Tomita Tomoko (1959-1963)
6) N/A	Chiba Nobuhiko	Nishihira Umé	by Koizumi Fumio 1967
7) N/A	Chiba Nobuhiko (Shiraoi Workshop)	N/A	N/A
8) N/A	Fukumoto Shouji (Sapporo Lessons)	N/A	N/A

Figure 33: List of the eight versions of “Ikeresotte”

Chiba has published two versions of “Ikeresotte,” the first one using five sharps (2007). The other uses two sharps and was transcribed from a recording by Koizumi

⁶⁰ Tomita’s original notation from 1967, most likely the first of its kind for *tonkori* music, utilized a numerical notation system, something that might owe an influence from her *koto* background.

(date unknown). When leading an Ainu music workshop on February 15-16, 2013, Chiba used a cipher notation system, but mainly taught the song orally in keeping with the traditional method of teaching, and also because most students were not skilled in the Western European notation system. The last version of “Ikeresotte” by Fukumoto is based on cipher notation that I used during my *tonkori* lessons.⁶¹

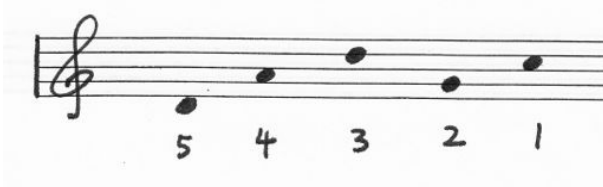
As mentioned above, all eight transcriptions can be categorized as “prescriptive” transcriptions, and can only be accurately performed if the interpreter is already acquainted with the style of music. In other words, if the performer, the transcriber, and the recipient must all be bearers of the same tradition (see Seeger 1958; Nettl 1983: 78; Rees 1999: 99). The transcribers are Wajin Outsiders, who are employing Western staff notation for Ainu music. In this context, due to the difficulty of transmission, the first six transcriptions of “Ikeresotte” are mostly used for the purposes of academic research and documentation. The last two numerical transcriptions are the most efficient method of transmission for contemporary *tonkori* players.

The following examples show the five string pitches in the tunings used in the above transcriptions of “Ikeresotte” (marked with the string order) (Figure 34).

Examples 7 & 8 represent the tuning now most commonly used in *tonkori* playing in Hokkaido. A list of the intervallic relationships between the five pitches follows the

⁶¹ The last two transcriptions were not direct transcriptions from recordings. They were instructional pieces. However, it can be reasonably believed that they were taken from Nishihira’s performances, due to Chiba’s work with Nishihira’s recordings and Fukumoto’s tutelage under Tomita (student of Nishihira).

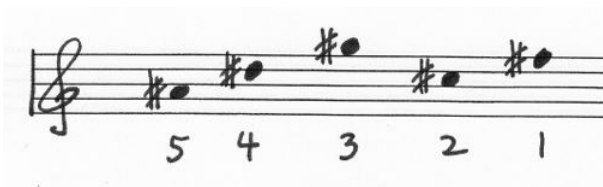
figure of the string pitches (Figure 35). All of the tunings begin with P4 and P5 intervals and the P4, P5, P4, P4 intervallic relationships are the most prevalent.



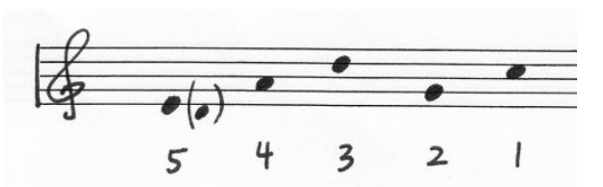
1) 1967 (a) Tomita transcription



2) 1967 (b) Tomita transcription



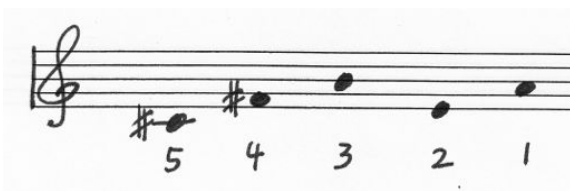
3) 2007 Chiba transcription



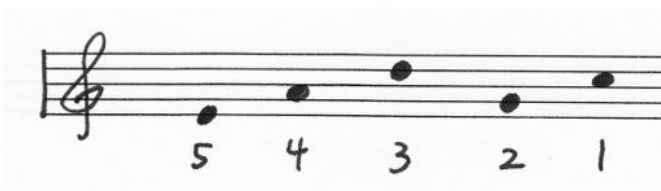
4) 2012 (a) Tomita/Tangiku/Shinohara transcription



5) 2012 (b) Tomita/Tangiku/Shinohara transcription



6) Chiba transcription (Koizumi recording)



7) Chiba's tuning conveyed orally (Shiraoui Workshop)



8) Fukumoto's tuning conveyed orally (Lessons)

Figure 34: Pitches of the strings.

- 1) **P4, P5, P4, P5**
- 2) **P4, P5, M3, P4**
- 3) **P4, P5, P4, P4**
- 4) **P4, P5, P4, P4(P5)**
- 5) **P4, P5, P4, P5**
- 6) **P4, P5, P4, P4**
- 7) **P4, P5, P4, P4**
- 8) **P4, P5, P4, P4**

Figure 35: The intervallic relationships of the strings.

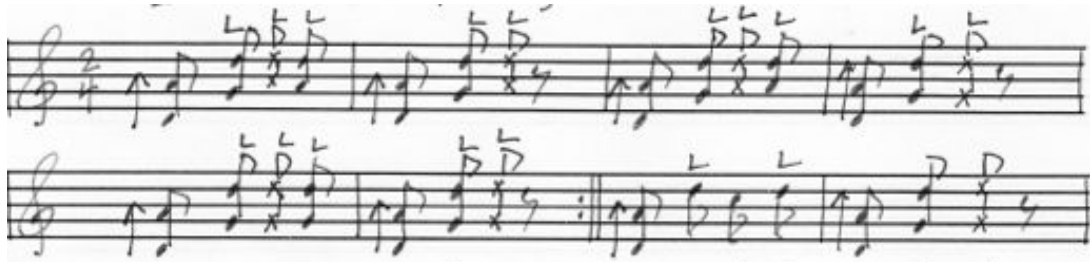
Most Ainu music is in duple time, and “Ikeresotte” is no exception. There are differences in the rhythmic structure among the various transcriptions, perhaps due to the notation of a previously oral tradition that contain rhythmic ambiguities. There is

also the difficulty of conceptualizing non-western music in the rhythmic parameters of Western art music. Most transcriptions begin with the strummed chord on the downbeat of the measure, while Chiba's transcriptions begin with the strummed chord on the upbeat of the measure (example #6 & #7 in Figure 36). The difference in starting on the upbeat or on the downbeat is more than theoretical; the feeling of the pulse starting on the upbeat creates a forward-moving rhythmic pulse, while starting on the downbeat tends to create a more static motion. While traditional Ainu performers did not view rhythmic pulse in this way (downbeat/upbeat), a recording by Nishihira singing while playing "Ikeresotte" simultaneously (a rare combination) illustrates an obvious upbeat rhythmic structure to the song that can be heard in her vocalization.

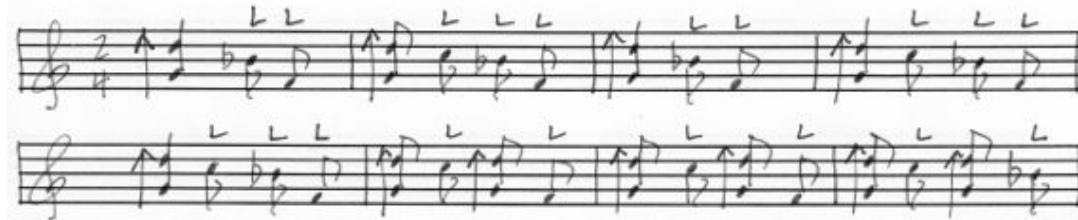
Structurally, the piece begins with an introduction involving a rhythmic pattern that can be repeated any number of times. There are two basic patterns that comprise the piece, and they can be expanded by motivic variation. Most transcriptions are relatively short, between 20–78 measures, except for the 2012 (b) transcription by Tomita/Tangiku/Shinohara, which is 156 measures long.

The following examples show the opening sections of "Ikeresotte," where an upward arrow indicates the strummed chord, and an "x" indicates the "stop." The "L" indicates the left hand finger pluck and the right hand plays where there are no indications for left hand. The strums on all the transcription (except for the 1967 (b) transcription) occur on strings 4 & 5, a practical application since strings 4 & 5 are

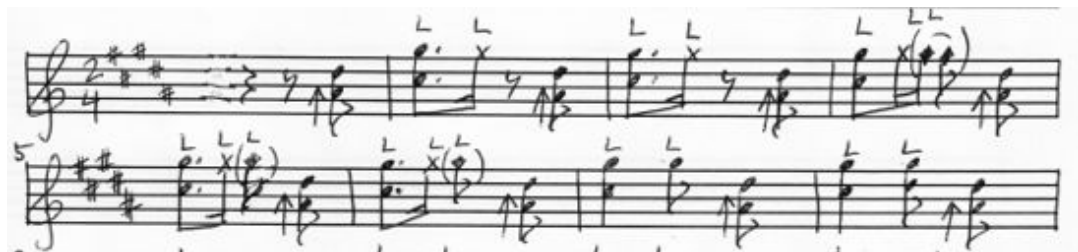
closest to the right hand, which strums the strings. The “stop” by the left hand is always on string 2 or 3, or both (Figure 36).



1) 1967a Tomita Transcription. The strum is on strings 4 & 5. The stop is on strings 3 & 4.



2) 1967b Tomita Transcription. The strum is on strings 2 & 3.



3) 2007 Chiba Transcription. The strum is on strings 4 & 5. The stop is on string 3.



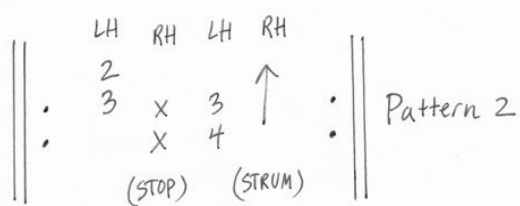
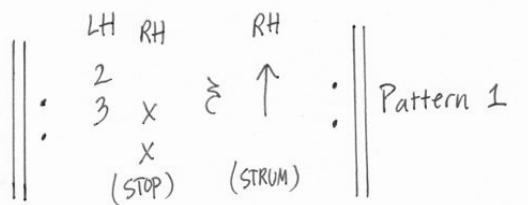
4) 2012a Tomita/Tangiku/Shinohara Transcription. The strum is on strings 4 & 5. The stop is on string 2.



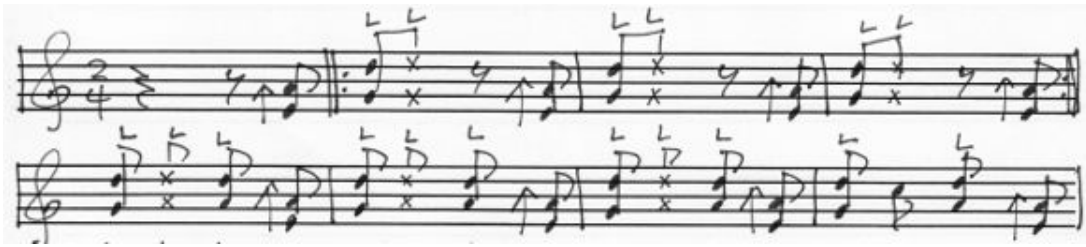
5) 2012b Tomita/Tangiku/Shinohara Transcription. The strum is on strings 4 & 5.



6) Chiba Transcription (Koizumi recording). The strum is on strings 4 & 5. The stop is on string 3.



7) Chiba's cipher notation (Shiraoui Workshop).



Chiba's cipher notation written in staff notation for comparison. The strum is on strings 4 & 5. The stop is on strings 2 & 3.

イケレスotte
(魔よけの曲)

5	4	2	②	5	4	2	②	5	4	2	②	5	4	2	②	
5	4	2	2	5	4	2	②									
5	4	2	2	5	4	2	②									
5	4	2	1	2	5	4	2	②								
5	4	2	1	2	5	4	2	②								
5	4	2	1	3	5	4	3	③								
5	4	3	1	3	5	4	3	③								
5	4	3	1	3	5	4	3	③								
5	4	3	1	2	5	4	2	②								

5 4 3 2 1
E A D G C

最初に戻る
○に囲まれた数字は押さえる。

8) Fukumoto's numerical notation (distributed during lessons).



8) Fukumoto's cipher notation written in staff notation. The strum is on strings 4 & 5. The stop is on string 2.

Figure 36: Opening section of the eight transcriptions.

While the main motives of "Ikeresotte" can be categorized into two types: either perfect fourth interval up or a major second interval down, the 1967b

transcription by Tomita provide an exception, in which the motive goes down by a major third interval—shown below as main motive no. 6. The following figure shows the six main motives of “Ikeresotte” (written out with similar pitches for comparison) (Figure 37).

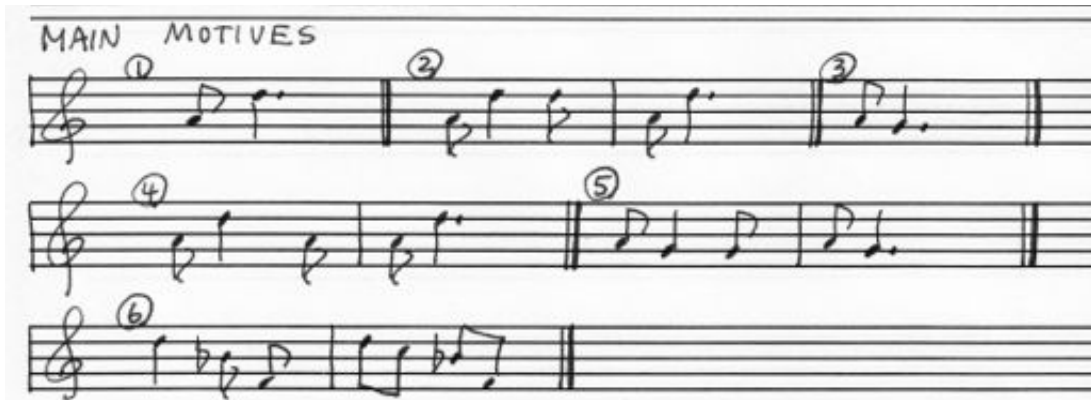


Figure 37: Main motives taken from Ikeresotte's transcriptions.

The amount of difference in the various renditions of “Ikeresotte” demonstrates the improvisatory nature of *tonkori* playing and the ambiguity created by the relation between pitch, timbre and rhythm in Ainu music. However, taking apart the layers and analyzing the musical elements in “Ikeresotte” shows that the core identifying essence of this song lies in the motives (intervals of a fourth up and a second down), the rhythm (the rhythmic motive created by the strumming, which is played by an eighth-note followed by a dotted quarter-note), and the “stop” rhythm created by dampening the strings. Understanding a musical work through analysis is a critical step for conducting research and also paves the way for comparative investigation not only within the *tonkori* genre, but also with other cultural performance practices.

4.10 Conclusions

This chapter examined the *tonkori* performance practice delineated by key Karafuto Ainu practitioners in order to understand the context from which the present practice evolved. In comparing historical repertoire to its modern form, it is sometimes difficult to pinpoint exactly what the changes are, so a critical analysis is useful to identify the specific elements that changed in the process of recreating a musical practice. An obvious change that can be heard is in the style of singing from a guttural production to a head-voice. Other changes are more subtle, such as rhythmic uniformity or adherence to a twelve-tone pitch system.

The main purpose of playing a song—and music in general—lays in its function or within a particular custom in traditional Ainu society, such as the warding of evil spirits, as ceremonial music for rituals, or as a means of putting babies to sleep. Taking this notion to its contemporary context, the present performance practice of “Ikeresotte” has changed the piece’s social and spiritual significance as it is now performed in concert situations. In another words, a critical part of the traditional music-making’s essence has been replaced with a professional music culture. This understanding puts the contemporary expression of *tonkori* music-making not as a direct restoration, but the creation of a new genre—that of contemporary Ainu music. Utagawa views the contemporary *tonkori* performance practice as a separate genre from traditional music—and delineates them as two completely different praxes (personal communication, February 4, 2013). Throughout my fieldwork, I heard similar notions expressed by *tonkori* performers and by other

Ainu researchers working in Japan. The next chapter studies the musicians who are active in creating a new Ainu arts culture, preceded by an investigation into the rights recovery movement that prompted the resurgence of Ainu performing arts.

Chapter Five. Ainu rights recovery movement and musicians

5.1. Introduction

Ainu identity is a wide concept that is filled by Ainu performing artists both as their personal identity and articulating the larger Ainu group identity as indigenous peoples of Japan. Japanese society and the Ainu community is slowly coming to terms with the subjugation practices of colonial history, and within this process are different aspects of identity: of the identity of being colonizers and the identity of being the “primitive” Ainu. Ainu musicians are striving to go beyond the past primitive notions associated with their identity by asserting a new meaning of indigeneity through the reconstruction of their tradition.

This chapter begins by discussing historian Eric Hobsbawm’s notion of “invented tradition” as a process in which ideas of the ancient past are constructed without direct historical ties. This concept is explored in dialogue with sociologists Ron Eyerman and Andrew Jamison’s writings about how tradition evolves through recreation (5.2.). This section also examines the scholarly discourse on music and identity—ethnomusicologist Martin Stokes writes about the ways music informs our sense of place and how “music plays a vital role in a way we ‘relocate’ ourselves with an intensity, power and simplicity unmatched by any other social activity” (1994: 4), and furthermore, how Ainu musicians negotiate the notion of a “dying race” and their status of the racialized “other” through musical performance and cultural revival (5.2.).

The Ainu rights recovery movement and performing arts arose in conjunction in response to marginalization during the 1970s and 1980s. After the passage of the Cultural Promotion Act in 1997, the rights recovery movement lost its momentum (discussed further in Chapter Six), just as the performing arts began flourishing to create a moment engaged in cultural activism. In examining the roles of revivals in music, the following section articulates how ethnomusicologists Tamara Livingston, Victoria Levine, Juniper Hill, and Caroline Bithell describe how music revivals are expressions of social movements, and also addresses how Ainu musicians grapple with notions of authenticity and legitimacy in recreating tradition through music (5.3.).

The Ainu rights recovery movement is a phrase used by several foreign scholars who research Ainu and Japanese history (Gayman, personal interview, April 3, 2013, Sapporo). In Japanese, one may refer to the Ainu rights recovery movement as “Ainu no kenri kaifuku undō” (rights recovery movement of the Ainu). However, this Japanese terminology is not used often, and the many individuals and groups who engage in social-political activities (both Ainu and non-Ainu) still lack a common discourse in the discussion of the rights recovery movement.

The social movement can be divided into two stages: first, the beginning of the twentieth century during the Taisho era (1912-1926) (5.4.), and second, the activity that existed in the 1970s and the 1980s (5.5.). In the latter period, the synergistic development between the Ainu rights recovery movement and the performing arts were critical in the formation of the present reconstructed Ainu

tradition. Feelings of disenfranchisement resulted from the extreme discrimination that precipitated social movements in the 1970s and 1980s. The U.S. civil rights movement greatly influenced the community leaders who forged these movements, which engaged in concerted efforts to transform Ainu identity. Leaders, such as Yūki Shōji, Ogawa Ryūichi, and Sunazawa Bikky, contributed to the creation of a key legislation that came to fruition some twenty years later, and directly affected the performing arts. Most important to this study, these three social activists are the parents of leading Ainu musicians in contemporary Japan who will be discussed in section 5.6.

Musicians occupy important roles in the Ainu rights recovery movement as public figures, who assert and publicize Ainu identity. In the final five sections of this chapter, I bring my ethnographic research into the discussion by portraying the activities of key Ainu musicians. Ethnomusicologist and musician Chiba Nobuhiko is an expert on Ainu traditional songs and the *tonkori*, who devotes his time to both research work and performing (5.7.). Activist and musician Yūki Kōji is an important political leader in the Ainu community who also leads his band the Ainu Art Project (5.8.). Fukumoto Shouji is the *tonkori* player in the Ainu Art Project and also a very prolific *tonkori* maker (5.9.). In the early 1990s, Kano Oki was one of the first pioneers to explore the Ainu performing arts and the Ainu community considers him as one of the earliest professional Ainu musicians known by the general public (5.10.). The last section is devoted to Ogawa Motoi, who engages in the politics of non-participation by not involving himself in government-backed programs, but who is an

emerging professional Ainu musician forging his own independent path in the Ainu performing arts (5.11.).

In the last fifteen years, many other Ainu ensembles have been formed, which consist mostly of community-based preservation groups. Some groups and individuals even perform in public as professionals. Many of these ensembles are affiliated with institutions, such as museums, which is discussed in Chapter Six.

The Ainu musical community is quite small and performers constantly influence and collaborate with one another. Regardless of their intent or their level of musicianship and training, all Ainu musicians and ensembles contribute to the formation of an emerging Ainu performing arts tradition, a body of practice that contain historical underpinnings, but which is primarily a reconstructed and a contemporary cultural praxis. Key musicians, who are all leaders in the Ainu community, continue to build a foundation for activism through Ainu performing arts.

5.2. Tradition and identity in Ainu performing arts

Hobsbawm's seminal work, *The Invention of Tradition*, discusses how cultures in the twentieth century have invented traditions by "a process of formalization and ritualization," which implies continuity with the past but is "largely factitious" (1983: 2, 4). What the Ainu are pursuing as their "tradition" can be considered an invention in Hobsbawm's terms, partly due to the breach settler

colonialism wrought on their historical customs and life ways.⁶² Contemporary Ainu traditional arts, presented as historical, are often very recent in origin, and Ainu activists, artists, and musicians have constructed an invented tradition with ancient materials for new purposes. Historian Richard Siddle writes:

The Ainu are as far removed from the ‘traditional’ way of life as their Japanese neighbors from the idealized Edo. “Ainu culture” is a modern abstraction. A few Ainu elders in the early days criticized some of the recreated rituals and ceremonies of the Ainu movement as inauthentic. But other Ainu accepted them, and the cultural markers of Ainu identity today include language, dance, ritual and oral literature alongside aspects of material culture such as clothing and handicrafts. Ainu cultural identity can thus be symbolically “performed” at both formal occasions such as political rallies or festivals and at informal parties or family gatherings. It can be presented in commodified form to tourists. (2006: 115)

Events such as the Salmon Ceremony (discussed in Chapter Six) are a reconstructed ceremony after decades of non-activity and mainly enacted for the participation of Ainu descendants. The rights recovery movement revived this ceremony and its promoters encourage the attendance of non-Ainu and the media in order to spread awareness of Ainu disenfranchisement. Some ceremonies are understood as clearly non-authentic in the Ainu community, but are presented as “traditional” to the general public. An example is the *iomante* (A: bear ritual) ceremony performance at the Akan Village in Hokkaido that commodifies Ainu

⁶² I employ two distinct usages for the term “tradition” (As mentioned previously in Chapter One). The first denotes Ainu’s former traditional lifeways before assimilation and the other resonates with Hobsbawm’s “invented tradition,” which describes the contemporary practice by revivalists that is perceived as traditional.

tradition in an advertisement similar to any other tourist-oriented production (see Figure 38).



Figure 38: Advertisement from the iomante fire ceremony at Akan Village, Hokkaido. The poster posts the dates and time (Sept 1 through November 30 at 9 PM), place (Ainu Theater Ikoro), and the price of admission (adults: 1080 yen, advanced sale: 980 yen, children: free).⁶³

Even though we can view the modern tradition of the Ainu having been constructed as “modern abstractions” (as Ainu elders question the authenticity of the ceremonies), it does not imply that they are “false” traditions. Collective representations have power and agency to influence behavior, people internalize them as meaningful constructs, and they have very real social effects. In this sense,

⁶³ The current conversion rate (April 2015) for 1080 yen is about \$9 and 980 yen is about \$8.

“traditions,” invented or not, are representative of a targeted culture, and constantly in movement and in formation.

Eyerman and Jamison define “tradition” as not occupying the opposing pole from modernity, but as a continually evolving group activity as it engages in reformation and redefinition. They write:

It is on the collective remembrance, in short the conscious *process of diffusion*, that we see as being central to the notion of tradition, rather than the freezing of one tradition into a reified system of belief. This process of passing on of traditions can take many forms – from collection to invention—and traditions can be transmitted through ritualized practices, as well as through written texts. (1998: 27)

Eyerman and Jamison further describes the process of recreating tradition as a cohesive source of collective identity through musical performance as being critical to social movements: “Music particularly embodies tradition through the ritual of performance. It can empower to help create collective identity. This force is central to the idea and practice of social movements” (1998: 35). An example of this in Ainu music is the four-women *tonkori* performance by the Kantō Utari Kai (Greater Tokyo Ainu Fellowship Association) at the symposium on “Ainu Traditional Life: the Leipzig Museum Collections” on August 7, 2011, in Sapporo. The *tonkori* concert, which occurred at the end of the symposium, lasted about forty minutes, during which the leader of the group (Kitahara Kiyoko) describes an *upopo* (sitting) song “as being born out of discrimination and the fight to preserve humanity within prejudice” (see Appendix C for the full transcription of the symposium). The Nineteenth Annual Ainu Music Concert, titled in both Ainu and Japanese as *an kor oruspe: watashitachi*

no monogatari (J: our story) provides another example. The event was held at the Pirika Kotan Museum in Sapporo on February 4, 2013, which featured various Ainu musicians and groups from different sectors of the Ainu community (amateur, professional, younger, and elder). The groups included the teen group Pirika Shimuka (A: beautiful Shimuka), the Sapporo *tonkori hozonkai* (J: *tonkori* community preservation society) of elderly Ainu, the Biratori Ainu *hozonkai*, the student-led Ureshpa Club from Sapporo University, and the professional fusion group Ainu Art Project. The audience in this event consisted mostly of people with Ainu backgrounds and included most all of the politically active Ainu in the Sapporo area, as well as a few Wajin supporters and curious Westerners. During the last few songs performed by the Ainu Art Project, the audience formed a circle to dance a traditional Ainu dance, and welcomed everyone to participate. Circle dances create community bonding and are a powerful expression of group identity (a detailed description of a circle dance follows in section 5.5). In this sense, musical events, such as the Nineteenth Annual Ainu Music Concert, bring the Ainu community together to play out their Ainu identity and continue community bonding that used to be articulated in ritualized ceremonies in historical Ainu society.

Music informs our identity and in this case I draw on Stokes' premise that music is a social activity that plays a vital role by creating social boundaries and identifying our sense of place (1997). The music we listen to is informed by our distinct regional, cultural, or historical background and mediates our presentation of self-identity as we formulate and express our tastes and aesthetics.

However, performing Ainu tradition and identity in Japan is a complicated act. It requires one to publicly align oneself with a culture that has been a contested site in Japanese society. As mentioned previously in Chapter One, most Ainu (90-95%) prefer to hide or deny their Ainu identity outside of Ainu contexts and engage in passing as a Japanese. Although the phenomenon of passing is self-prescribed, it is a reaction to real pressures of discrimination and minoritization in Japanese society. Furthermore, the percentage of passing in Japanese society has not significantly declined, even after the rights recovery movement of the 1970s and 1980s. Native American scholar and ethnomusicologist Jessica Bissett Perea writes on identity in indigenous peoples, that

the absence that reinforces the conviction that Native peoples are indeed vanishing and that the conquest of Native lands is justified. Also, “present absence” raises questions surrounding contemporary erasures of Native peoples by a “post-racial” discourse that claims racism and discrimination were eradicated by the civil rights movement. (2011: 106)

Invisibility can justify erasures of cultures and peoples,⁶⁴ and the lack of Ainu history discourse and education in Japan points to the objective of the Wajin government to bury the colonial past. The resurgence of culture has countered this tendency through an assertion of an indigenous Ainu identity in the performing arts.

Both personally and as a movement, Ainu musicians performing in public make powerful statements about their Ainu identity in Japanese society. Musicians

⁶⁴ This is also seen by the “present-absentees” status of internally displaced Palestinians who live in the State of Israel (Davis 1997: 47).

make significant contributions to a unique Ainu identity in present day Japan and key Ainu musicians are the tradition bearers and leaders in the resurgence of culture. Musical performances—acts of listening, dancing, thinking, and realizing music—provide the means by which identities are constructed by creating boundaries and becoming markers to represent social differences (Stokes 1997). Ainu ensembles and musicians—in particular Kano Oki, the Ainu Art Project, and Ogawa Motoi—have a following that is made up of both Ainu and Wajin, who come regularly to their performances and buy their CDs. Ainu supporters are proud of their own and come out to show solidarity to support the emerging arts tradition, while the Wajin following are fans who display admiration for the musicians they consider courageous for advocating struggles against disenfranchisement and the creation of a unique indigenous tradition. Indigenous boundaries are created, which both define and delineate Ainu culture within Japanese society.

The Ainu are wholly assimilated into the Japanese culture from an economic and linguistic standpoint, especially since there are no living Ainu who speak the Ainu language in their daily lives. When asked if he considered himself Japanese, Ainu musician Ogawa Motoi replied that it was complicated to be an ethnically Ainu person who carries a Japanese passport and feels a dependence on the Japanese government. Ogawa also said that one of the things he most wants to experience is being Japanese, and that it is:

something very close and very far from me, but something that should have been a given. Being Japanese is something I have not experienced, but it is right outside my door, and even though I live amongst the Japanese, I have never

experienced being Japanese and it's a strange feeling.
(personal interview, January 12, 2013, Sapporo)

The duplicity of being a foreigner yet politically Japanese was also expressed by Kano Oki, who explained that as an Ainu musician from Hokkaido, he is a foreigner, "Because I'm from overseas, right, a musician from a foreign country singing in Ainu language. People don't care about [me singing in Ainu]. Yeah, Hokkaido is overseas, [I am an] international musician, coming from overseas" (Kano 2013).

5.3. Revivalism

In her article "Music Revivals: Towards a General Theory," ethnomusicologist Tamara Livingston outlines various aspects of music revivals, two of which are relevant to Ainu music. First, music revivals are inextricably tied to social movements and second, the debates about authenticity are important to musicians involved in revivals. Livingston defines music revivals as:

...any social movement with the goal of restoring and preserving a musical tradition which is believed to be disappearing or completely relegated to the past. The purpose of the movement is twofold: (1) to serve as cultural opposition and as an alternative to mainstream culture, and (2) to improve existing culture through the values based on historical value and authenticity expressed by revivalists. (1999: 68)

Livingston's views on revivals resonate with Stokes, Eyerman and Jamison, who all describe a strong connection between tradition, identity, social movements, and music.

Furthermore, Ethnomusicologist Victoria Levine writes about musical revivals among the Choctaw as a response to deprivation: “I would propose that musical revitalization constitutes a special kind of musical change. It is a strategy used by oppressed people to perpetuate their musical cultures in situations where an imbalance of social power exists” (1993: 392). Similarly, ethnomusicologists Juniper Hill and Caroline Bithell writes:

First, revivals are almost always motivated by dissatisfaction with some aspect of the present and a desire to effect some sort of cultural change. Revival agents usually have agendas specific to their socio-cultural or political contexts and in this sense may also be regarded as activists. (2014: 3-4)

The Ainu music revival was founded with the social dissatisfaction within their community. Anthropologist Jeff Gayman notes that, “It’s been the case that the cultural revitalization movement and the Ainu rights recovery movement have been the two wings of an airplane that have been boosting one another since the opening of Hokkaido in 1867 and 1868” (personal interview, April 3, 2013, Sapporo).

Ainu music performances are social statements of cultural change that assert an indigenous presence. Many Wajin react to Ainu performances with curiosity, surprise, and, at times, admiration for the Ainu’s stand against the dominant status quo. Matsuda Yasumasa, a Wajin apartment manager in Sapporo who has lived in Hokkaido all his life, commented that he had never met an Ainu person, never heard of Ainu colonization, and thought that there might have been racism long ago, but not at the present time. He was fascinated to hear about a concert by “real” Ainu musicians (personal communication, January 20, 2013, Sapporo). Most Wajin whom

I talked with in Hokkaido similarly expressed his viewpoints. However, after hearing Ainu music, Wajin audiences are left with questions about Ainu minority rights. As a vehicle for public exposure, music performances are critical to the Ainu rights recovery process.

The question of authenticity is a significant issue in music revivals, as many revivals, including the Ainu's, draw upon practices that are temporally far removed and depend on recorded data (audio and visual archives) rather than personal connection to reconstruct musical tradition. Ainu musicians invoke various aspects of legitimacy, either in their own performances or those of other Ainu. For example, Chiba Nobuhiko, who is ethnically Japanese, grapples with credibility as a performer of Ainu music. As a researcher, he also feels inauthentic when performing *Karafuto tonkori* pieces with Hokkaido vocal songs in a duet, a contemporary practice of recent origin.

Furthermore, legitimacy is often accessed through formal musical “training” or technical skill, in which case a lack of such skills renders one inauthentic as a performer. Yūki Kōji repeatedly mentioned his lack of musical training in this vein: “the Ainu Art Project is not on a high musical or technical level, but we are focused more on the message of the Ainu presence, an awareness of a new Ainu identity (personal interview, December 21, 2012, Sapporo). Kano Oki emphasized this point, who said in an interview, “I tried telling him [Yūki] that he needs to be careful, because he is representing Ainu art culture and he should be more professional”

(personal interview, September 28, 2012, Toma, Hokkaido). Hill and Bithell address similar aspects of music revivals:

... the new generation of performers (whether technically “outsiders” or not) are left vulnerable to having their right to be bearers and innovators of a tradition questioned. There are numerous examples of scholars, government policy-makers, and even revival artists themselves doubting or denying the legitimacy of revivalists and their music. (2014: 19)

In any performing arts genre that is in a process of development, self-evaluation, as well as criticism from outside agents, is a necessary part of the evolving activity.

Moreover, as Ainu music becomes established as a genre in the Japanese performing arts through revivals, issues around professionalism become more pressing, and along with them, the need to demonstrate authenticity. In order to understand how revivals and the social movement materialized in Ainu society, the next two sections discuss their historical background in the twentieth century: first in the Taishō era (1912-1926) and second, in the 1970s and 1980s.

5.4. Early twentieth-century social movement

The Taishō era in Japan is often seen as a period of democracy, when social movements gained a brief dominance over oligarchic politics. A loose movement of educated young Ainu, such as Chiri Yukié, and a collective Ainu organization called the Hokkaido Ainu Kyōkai (J: Hokkaido Ainu Association) emerged during this time, which refused to accept the “dying race” designation provided by the Wajin colonists. Few factors influenced the Ainu, one of which was the Burakumin’s (J: historical

underclass) campaign against discrimination. The Burakumin were former social outcasts of the feudal era and they were sometimes seen in the same light as the Ainu—as only partially human—and some Wajin even believed the two groups to be related (see Siddle 1996). The Ainu coalition would again be heavily influenced by the Burakumin's social movement in the 1970s, especially in the forceful tactics adopted by activist Yūki Shōji, in a much more assertive fashion that reflected the democratic politics of late twentieth century.

During the Taishō era, young Ainu leaders advocated not for radical change, but for better education for the Ainu community and better socio-economic conditions. The wave of new settlers and colonial development in Hokkaido overwhelmed most Ainu in the Meiji era. Only a few had become acculturated into Wajin society and politics, and Ainu activists proposed more assimilation of the Ainu into the Wajin culture, while still trying to maintain their heritage and traditions. John Batchelor, a missionary who profoundly influenced and supported Ainu cultural and intellectual leadership, helped teachers, such as Takekuma Tokusaburo, and poets, such as Chiri Yukié (Siddle 1996: 123-6). Two important Ainu publications from this period include Takekuma's *Ainu Monogatari* (J: Ainu tales/stories) and Chiri's collection of *yukar* (A: epic poetry) translations, the *Ainu Shinyoshu* (J: collected songs/poems of the Ainu gods), which was published posthumously in 1923 (ibid.: 126-7).

Many Ainu consciously made an effort to assimilate by speaking the Wajin language, and Ainu who were born in early twentieth century recount that the Ainu

language was never heard in their home (Gayman, personal communications, Dec. 3, 2012). If a child came into their presence, adults would switch from Ainu to Japanese and, when a child asked what language they were speaking, sometimes the child would be told that it was English. Similarly, the Ainu refrained from speaking their native tongue in front of guests or Wajin (Ibid.). As language and music are important markers of culture and identity, such self-censorship enabled the phenomenon of passing in Wajin society, as it compromised the longevity of the language.

Three figures in the early twentieth century contribute to the rise of Ainu social movements: John Batchelor, Chiri, and the Hokkaido Ainu Association (mentioned above). John Batchelor (1854-1944) was an English missionary who had a major influence on virtually all the young Ainu activists in the turn of the century. He dedicated his life's work to Ainu social welfare and education by creating schools for Ainu children and health clinics in major urban areas in Hokkaido between 1891 and 1893. He lived permanently in Sapporo after 1898 and during his lifetime, other researchers saw Batchelor as a leading Ainu scholar in linguistics and ethnology. He published forty articles, dictionaries, and monographs on Ainu language, folklore, and customs, although he also saw the Ainu as a "dying race" and believed that such fate was part of God's plans (Siddle 1996: 124). Batchelor's dedication to the work of converting the Ainu Christianity cannot be concretely determined, although he writes in his book *The Ainu and Their Folklore*:

In conclusion (to quote from the preface of my old work), my "object will be attained if it [the present book] leads my readers to appreciate the good points of this strange race; and above all, if it leads them to feel renewed interest in the efforts that are being

made to bring them under the civilizing influence and saving grace of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.” (2010 [1892]: xi)

Aside from his dedications, his writing on this subject is sparse, with little or no attention given to Ainu Christians, let alone the music making of indigenous Christian musicians.⁶⁵

Many contemporary Ainu view Chiri Yukié (1903-1922) as a modern day heroine of Ainu culture. Chiri was a young Ainu woman from Noboribetsu, Hokkaido, and, although she died at a tender age of nineteen, her most notable accomplishment is a translated collection of *yukar* (discussed below). Chiri and her younger brother, Chiri Mashiho (1909-1961), were both part of a group of young educated Ainu activists who spoke out against colonialism and discrimination. Chiri Mashiho became an important ethnologist, linguist, and was a role model for many Ainu, publishing many books on Ainu language and oral literature. During her youth, Chiri Yukié learned to write the Ainu language in the Roman alphabet from her aunt, a Christian convert of John Batchelor. Due to her language abilities, Kindaichi Kyōsuke, a leading Wajin scholar on Ainu language and oral tradition, invited Chiri to assist him in Tokyo by transcribing Ainu oral literature (see Strong 2011).

Ainu Shinyōshu (J: Collected Songs of Ainu Gods) is Chiri’s collection of thirteen Ainu *yukar* that depict the natural environment of Hokkaido as told through the world-view of the Ainu. These *yukar* are animistic in approach, and animals

⁶⁵ Bissett-Perea also discusses the scant writings on this subject in Native American music. She writes that this is “perhaps due to the fact that Christianity seems incongruous with notions of ‘pure’ Nativeness. Or perhaps this stems from a scholarly disavowal of Christianity in Alaska Native life, due to misguided assumptions that colonial religious encounters are always violent” (2011: 134).

provide first-person narration of eleven out of the thirteen *yukar*. The *yukar* present the animals as spiritual beings who communicate directly with the humans. Chiri's grandmother Monashnouk (1848-1931) was a shaman and a bard and knew many *yukar*, and who relayed many of the *yukar* to Chiri (Strong 2011: 2). The most famous *yukar* in Chiri's collection is called the Owl God, where a boy "who was once rich but is now poor," and whose noble bearing is recognized by the Owl God. Modern Ainu see this story as a metaphor for the dispossession and the social resistance of the Ainu. Another *yukar* in the *Ainu Shinyōshu* recounts the story of the Hokkaido wolf, *nupuripakor kamui* (A: spiritual being who governs the East of the Peaks), an animal considered second in importance to the bear (Ibid.: 140). Yūki Kōji narrated this story of the wolf during Ainu Art Project's performances on several occasions (e.g. Sapporo Snow Festival, "Warm Night Concert" in Sapporo, and also at the performance at the restaurant "Mintara" in Sapporo). As Yūki begins the story in the Ainu language, Fukumoto Shouji quietly plays the tonkori in the background. During the story-telling, Yūki "howls" a number of times in the manner of a wolf—a musical practice that is common in Ainu traditional songs. Yūki then repeats the story in Japanese, which recounts how the wolf once helped bring food (deer meat) to the humans (Ainu) and saved them from starvation. As a strong advocate of indigenous environmentalism, Yūki adds that the wolves in Hokkaido are now extinct due to being exterminated in the Meiji era.

As mentioned previously in Chapter Two, problems with the 1899 Protection Act were a motivation for the creation of the Hokkaido Ainu Association in 1930.

The Hokkaido Ainu Association was the first organization to provide a means for various Ainu communities to come together and discuss their common problems, such as social welfare (see Siddle 1996). In the Meiji era, most Ainu villages remained in their historical clan formations, and there were many regional Ainu groups in Hokkaido.⁶⁶ Regional factionalism made Ainu politics problematic, as wars were commonplace between the different Ainu groups in historical times. The Ainu needed a unified coalition to voice their common problems. This led to the creation of the Hokkaido Ainu Association, which became the vehicle for negotiating Ainu rights, welfare, and political demands with the Dōchō (J: Wajin government in Hokkaido). The Hokkaido Ainu Association eventually represented Ainu interests in political campaigns, including the creation and passage of the Ainu Cultural Promotion Act of 1997.

5.5. Rights recovery movement of 1970s and 1980s

Wajin scholars refer to the post-WWII period until the late 1960s as the harshest time for the Ainu, since they experienced the same poverty as the Wajin population, but also suffered from severe racial discrimination (Gayman 2013). Ainu activists began a grassroots social movement in the 1970s that is now referred to as the Ainu rights recovery movement (mentioned in the introduction). This was created by a younger generation of new Ainu political activists, such as Yūki Shōji, Ogawa Ryūkichi, and Sunazawa Bikky. Ainu political consciousness was powerfully

⁶⁶ Most Ainu villages had three to five, and up to thirty families.

influenced by the U.S. civil rights movement and also by the student protests that expressed social discontent in Japan in the 1960s. Kitahara Kiyoko, an activist who took part in the Ainu grassroots movement quoted, “we wanted to create the slogan ‘Ainu is beautiful’ after the ‘Black is beautiful’ motto in the U.S., but the older members in the Ainu Association did not support it” (Kitahara 2010).

Eventually, the Ainu practice of “passing” as Wajin (mentioned previously) became commonplace as the urge to transcend discrimination and hardship became very strong.⁶⁷ In 2010, an Ainu woman whom I interviewed (who shall remain anonymous) disclosed her heritage only after my intention and research were made clear—her co-workers at the English school where she worked were unaware of her background. During an interview, Gayman also recounted the case of an Ainu social worker, who worked for the Hokkaido Ainu Association in 2008 and reported that only 8% of Ainu living in Tomakomai city (pop. 172,000) were proactively informing their children that they were of Ainu descent (personal interview, April 3, 2013, Sapporo). With around 92% of Ainu families obscuring their Ainu descent for economic or other reasons, this large-scale obfuscation becomes a disavowal of Ainu culture as a whole. There are countless stories of discrimination, especially among children of Ainu heritage, in which bullying is commonplace. Because many Ainu parents hid their background from their own children, there are even cases of children with Ainu backgrounds bullying other Ainu children, since they are unaware of their own heritage (Ibid.)

⁶⁷ Scholars, such as Jeff Gayman, Kitahara Jirota and Kochi Rié confirm the high percentage of passing (mentioned previously as 90-95%).

Another possible reason for the high percentage of passing for Wajin is the high degree of intermarriage between the two groups, which Ainu communities encouraged as a way to escape discrimination. Ainu musicians Kano Oki and Yūki Kōji both have Ainu fathers and Wajin mothers. It is sometimes impossible to tell physically that an Ainu person is of a different ethnic background due to the ethnic mixing, as well as the dubious and tenuous link between physical characteristics and racial ethnic identity. In addition, urbanization in Hokkaido and flight from historically Ainu rural areas, gives the Ainu the “desirable” anonymity that usually comes with living in larger cities.

Even though emerging Ainu politics in the 1970s prompted the Japanese government to establish a welfare policy for Ainu communities, the social movement engaged in much more than welfare demands, it further engaged in a struggle over identity and public visibility. For most Ainu, oppression and resistance are the common aspects of Ainu identity. In this light, Ainu musical revival activities are a consequence of marginalization and an expression of the subaltern identity, as well as a powerful contribution to the project of Ainu visibility. Moreover, the movement brought a reversal of denial of Ainu heritage and sought out Ainu roots by interviewing elders, and reviving crafts, rituals, and musical practices (see Siddle 1996 and Gayman 2012).

The resurgence of Ainu performing arts has developed in a synergistic manner with the rise of its social movements. Musical activity supports and intensifies the political cause during community gatherings and demonstrations by endorsing and

contributing to participants' Ainu identity, enabling them to become more visible and popular in the public eye. Moreover, all of the Ainu meetings, symposiums, and workshops that I attended invariably closed with Ainu music and a circle dance—in a manner of a ritual—that unfailingly provided a sense of solidarity and reinforced the emotional and spiritual bond that connects the Ainu members. An Ainu circle dance is a modern manifestation of a traditional *rimse* (A: dance) that was historically danced at ceremonies, rituals, or festivals. The movements in circle dances were the same on different occasions and, over time, I was able to learn the hand and feet movements by imitating the Ainu dancers. The movements can be broken down into two gestures that repeat over and over again. The first gesture has two beats, where both hands go down and clap to the left on beat one, and then go up to the left on beat two in a fist. The second gesture is the same as the first, but on the right side. The two gestures are alternated while hopping in a clockwise motion and facing the middle of the circle. Hand-clapping in traditional Ainu dance is done with the left hand remaining stationary and the right hand moving to clap the left hand. Such circle dances in Ainu events create an emotional bond among all participants. The dance beat is infectious and everyone participates enthusiastically, from little children to the elderly.

Scholar and historian Paul Gilroy points to a phenomenon in musical arts where musicians emerge who are also political and intellectual leaders in their community. Gilroy calls these individuals a “priestly caste of organic intellectuals,” a phenomenon that tends to occur more frequently within the marginalized and

disenfranchised groups that arise out of slavery or colonialism (1993: 76).

Contemporary Ainu society spawned a generation of community leaders, who are also musicians, most notably Yūki Kōji, Oki Kano, and Motoi Ogawa.

Interestingly, the parents of all three musicians were well-known political activists from the 1970s rights recovery movement and were also respected community leaders. Marginalization has deeply shaped the lives of these musicians, because of the deep involvement of their parents in the political struggle. For Yūki Kōji, his father's activism had a major impact on his childhood, since it caused his parents' separation (Birmingham 2010). Kano Oki only came to terms with his Ainu identity in his adulthood after returning back to Japan from the U.S. After time abroad, he began to celebrate his Ainu roots through the legacy of his father. Ogawa's parents' heavy involvement in the rights recovery movement discouraged him from participating in social movements—his art and music became a personal endeavor to help resolve the traumatic discrimination he experienced during childhood. To contextualize the rights recovery movement and the Ainu musicians, the following section outlines the lives of the parents/activists from the 1970s and 1980s.

5.6. Political activists of the 1970s and 1980s

The Buraku Kaihō Dōmei (Buraku Liberation League) was a major influence on Yūki Shōji (the elder Yūki), who was considered one of the Ainu's most extreme political activists. He adopted their forceful tactics of confrontation, initiating the Ainu Kaihō Dōmei (J: Ainu Liberation League) in 1972 (Siddle 1996: 172). His most

effective campaign was against Professor Hayashi Yoshishige of Hokkaido University in 1978, when Hayashi was eventually forced to offer a public apology after making alleged “racist” remarks about the Ainu in his lectures (Siddle 1996: 167). Such strong actions that challenged discrimination have waned over the years, where Ainu political “confrontation” has been replaced with an increase in cultural exposure in recent times.

The Wajin government severely curtailed Ainu rituals and ceremonies in the early twentieth century (mentioned earlier in Chapter Two), and some rites were not held at all until the late 1960s, such as the salmon-welcoming ceremony. A newly constructed ceremony based on a traditional salmon-welcoming ceremony was the brain-child of the elder Yūki. In 1982, he approached many Ainu elders throughout Hokkaido who had actually experienced the spawning salmon ceremony and asked them to teach the rite to other Ainu community members. Yūki purposely chose to conduct the ceremony on the Toyohiro River, a river that meanders through the concrete jungle of Sapporo, in order to make people realize that Ainu fishing rights had been prohibited for one hundred years. Concurrently the ceremony is celebrated not only in Sapporo, but also other Ainu communities throughout Hokkaido (Gayman 2013). The Salmon Ceremony includes dances and songs that were also reconstructed during the elder Yūki’s reconstruction project, and it has become a highly publicized event in the Ainu and Wajin communities.

Yūki Shōji popularized the term “*Ainu Moshiri*” (A: the earth-home where the Ainu live), which became a common term for the Ainu rights recovery struggle in the

late 1970s. The term came to represent the desire for a national territory and also a nostalgic representation of a harmonious Ainu era before colonization. His son, Yūki Kōji, has continued to promote the concept of “*Ainu Moshiri*” as “Mother Earth,” a notion that can be seen as a reimagined look back in time, but also one that looks forward to the possibility of a Hokkaido that is environmentally sound.⁶⁸ Kōji carefully negotiates the legacy of his politically active father. He draws upon the political leverage, yet keeps a distance from the confrontational tactics that were used by his father. Kōji lived with his mother after his parents’ separation and entered Ainu politics through the grassroots via the Ainu Art Project, which was markedly separate from the Hokkaido Ainu Association, of which his father was a leading member.

Ainu musician Ogawa Motoi’s father, Ogawa Ryūkichi, was a leading figure in the Ainu political scene in the 1970s and was also a member of a communist-influenced group known as the Hoppō Gun (J: Northern Troops/Army). In 1972, the elder Ogawa forced the cancellation of a Hokkaido Broadcasting Company TV program and, in the following year, he helped advocate for the removal of an offensive promotional poster from a Tokyo department store (Siddle 1996: 167). Ogawa the elder also became increasingly concerned with education, and advocated for the “correct” pedagogy of Ainu history, which differed from the official history textbook in schools that presented the creation of Hokkaido as “development” rather than “colonization.” He continues his involvement in community efforts to educate

⁶⁸ Chapter Six unravels the term “*Ainu Moshiri*” as being an imaginary home of an idyllic past.

the public; in 2012, he volunteered as an Ainu historical-walk tour guide at Hokkaido University. His spouse, Ogawa Sanae, is also a leading figure in Ainu politics and a tradition bearer. During my visit, I noticed that her garage was filled with baskets of various berries and herbs gathered from natural surroundings, an indication that she continues the legacy of herbal knowledge within the Ainu culture. She published a book on Ainu paper-cuttings and is widely known in the Ainu community as an expert in Ainu embroidery.

Motoi's father is one of the guardians that oversee a large, recently built vault, in Hokkaido University's campus. It houses thousands of human bones that were taken from Ainu graves in early twentieth century. The human bones were originally used for eugenics and research in the sciences (Gayman 2012) and were often taken under coercion or in secret. As part of the dark history during the pre-war period, eugenics in Japan was imported through studies of European sciences in the early twentieth century, and was made popular along with the notion of a "pure" Japanese race (see Robertson 2002). The scientific study of the "aboriginal" Ainu in eugenics was used to validate the racial "superiority" of the Japanese.

The elder Ogawa is one of the plaintiffs in a lawsuit against Hokkaido University that is still ongoing today. One of the obstacles to resolving the case is the question of where to bury the bones, since it is impossible to identify which regions in Hokkaido the bones were taken from. As mentioned earlier, regional factionalism amongst the Ainu stems from historical in-fighting among various groups and reaching consensus among the Ainu as to an appointed burial place has been a

stumbling block, although the restitution of the bones has a huge psychological and spiritual weight for the community. During the symposium Hokutō Asian Ainu Minzoku (J: Northern Asian Ainu Ethnic Peoples) on January 25, 2013, in Sapporo, a panel discussion focused on the “where and to whom should [the Ainu bones] be returned?” However, the discussion question led to no real conclusion or resolution (see Appendix D for a full transcription of the symposium).

It is largely unknown that musician Kano Oki’s father was the famed Ainu artist and sculptor Sunazawa Bikky (1931-1989), who was very politically active in the 1970s and 80s. People in the arts and the Ainu community remember Sunazawa for his exquisite sculptures, but during his lifetime he was equally known in Hokkaido for his political stances. In 1973, Sunazawa organized the Zenkoku Ainu no Kataru Kai (J: Dialog Forum for Ainu Nationwide), a forum for young Ainu to participate and discuss the divisive issues of the “Ainu problem” (Siddle 1996: 172). Sunazawa also handed out leaflets to protest the symbol of Ainu subordination during the regional celebration of the 80th year anniversary of Asahikawa city in 1970 of an unveiling of a statue depicting four young Wajin colonizers surrounding an elderly Ainu (Siddle 1996: 176). He designed the new Ainu flag (Figure 39), which represented the Ainu’s demand for sovereignty in Hokkaido and functions as a symbol for Ainu pride and struggle. The outspoken “extreme” members of the Ainu rights recovery movement lobbied for an autonomous region in which the Ainu could hunt, fish, and practice traditional lifeways. The flag became the visual symbol for Yūki Shōji’s idea of the “*Ainu Moshiri*,” or the Ainu Homeland. The Ainu flag is now

displayed at the Hokkaido Ainu Association’s public history room next to their office; its colors of cerulean blue represents the sea, sky, and earth, and the arrowhead in white and red symbolizes snow and the Ainu god of fire Abe Kamui.



Figure 39: Ainu Flag.

5.7. Chiba Nobuhiko

Musical Interlude: Sanpe (Chiba Nobuhiko) performing with Kapiw (Toko Emi) at the Twentieth Annual Kurashiki Music Festival, March 16 and 17, 2013, Kurashiki.

Sanpe and Kapiw are performing on the “Ai” stage, which is a small theater with dark curtains all around. There are about 200 people in the audience and the total time for this show is 45 minutes. There are three *tonkori* on stage, and the vocals and the *tonkori* are amplified (the *tonkori* is directly plugged to the amplifier). The show begins with Sanpe playing the *tonkori* while Kapiw tells the Ainu story of a beautiful bird (in Japanese). The *tonkori* music is an original composition and improvisatory. Kapiw begins to sing after a short introduction, which is the archery dance song, “Iya Koro Nekarokun Chikap,” normally danced by male dancers carrying a bow and arrow.

The second song is a love song from Karafuto and Sanpe begins with a *tonkori* introduction, then sets up a beat, and begins to scat/sing along with the *tonkori*. Kapiw then begins to sing while Sanpe interjects with some vocables. The rhythmic pattern played on the *tonkori* becomes more complex: the melodic line is long, melodious and melismatic. The song has a bridge that is a recitation.

The next song is “*Atui*,” (the sea), in which a male bird makes a lonely call above the waves and a female bird is crying on the shore. This is a very old Ainu song. Sanpe created the *tonkori* part to this song, which originally had no accompaniment. The *tonkori* part has distinct Western rhythmic figures and harmony (synchopation and tonal harmonic progressions).

Sanpe plays a *tonkori* solo after explaining about the *tonkori*’s folklore—that it puts people to sleep, helps to ward off diseases, and combats enemies by putting

them to sleep. Sanpe plays a song about a *kamome* (J: seagull), which is fast and rhythmic, and incorporates improvisation with a lot of percussive motion in the right hand. The fingerwork is fast and impressive.

The last song is a duet, a song from Obihiro, Hokkaido. Sanpe begins by singing a very melismatic and improvisatory line while accompanying himself in a free manner. The song mixes Ainu language with an improvisatory melismatic vocalise, while the *tonkori* plays arpeggiated chords.



Figure 40: Chiba performing at the Kurashiki Performing Arts Festival. (Photo by author).



Figure 41: Billboard of Ainu and Japanese musicians performing at the Kurashiki Music Festival, including Sanpe (Chiba) on the bottom middle, Kapiw on the top left, and a Japanese traditional singer on the right. (Photo by author).

The above is an account of Sanpe performing at the Twentieth Annual Kurashiki Music Festival, in Kurashiki city, Okayama Prefecture, which is about two hours south of Osaka on the main island of Honshu (see Figures 40 and 41). This was a ten-day event and featured various traditional music genres from Hokkaido, including three days devoted to Ainu music on March 16, 17, and 19, 2013.

Ethnomusicologist and performer Chiba Nobuhiko (who is of Wajin descent) wants to document Ainu songs as precisely and authentically as possible on paper, but he is also realistic about the impossibility of replicating exactly how the Ainu performed. In reconstructing performances, he fills in the gaps of knowledge through attempts to find fingering techniques that create sounds resembling those on the archival tapes (personal interview, March 7, 2013, Tokyo). As mentioned earlier in this chapter, authenticity is a major concern for Chiba, who is ethnically Japanese and has the challenging position as a leading authority on Ainu music in Japan. Chiba reconstructs and restores forgotten traditional Ainu music, such as the *rekuhkara* (Ainu throat singing/breathing game).⁶⁹ The *rekuhkara* involve the physical gestures of breathing in and out in conjunction with a partner and consequently are difficult to replicate from a sound recording. According to Chiba, the Ainu has not accurately practiced this genre for almost thirty years.

Born and raised in the Greater Tokyo area, Chiba works as a professional guitarist and plays for big bands, social dances, and musicals, including Takarazuka (J: a famous musical revue show), and Gekidan Shiki (J: Shiki Theatrical Company),

⁶⁹ The *rekuhkara* throat-singing game is almost identical to the *katajjaq* of the Inuit Native Peoples.

one of Japan's best-known and largest theater companies. He recalls "meeting" the *tonkori* as a fateful event, which occurred while on a music tour in Hokkaido in 1990.

Chiba remarks,

[I] wanted to buy Ainu music CDs, because I had an interest in ethnic music, but was told that none were available, and [I] saw a *tonkori* hanging in a shop next to the Asahikawa Ainu museum, and the woman shopkeeper told me that it was an old Ainu instrument, but that no one plays it anymore. I started to sweat and was very affected by the realization that this instrument was about to become extinct. (Ibid)

This account layers the concerns over the Ainu as a disappearing culture with a tale of serendipity at finding one's instrument. All the *tonkori* players with whom I worked with in Japan recounted similar stories of a fateful union between the *tonkori* and the player.⁷⁰ Eventually, Chiba met ethnomusicologist Tanimoto Kazuhiko and Ainu studies scholar Nakagawa Hiroshi, two leading scholars on Ainu culture at Chiba University⁷¹ who encouraged him to research Ainu music, as there were very few such individuals in the field, especially those with a background in music.

In March of 2013, Chiba was finishing his master's thesis in ethnomusicology with a thesis on Ainu traditional vocal music. As many elders had already passed away, the idea of direct cultural transmission was more difficult to achieve. Moreover, the change in musical environment, due to Western-influenced music education significantly affected timbral, pitched and rhythmic aspects of musical production and contributed to the decline of traditional singing. Chiba feels that

⁷⁰ e.g. Kano Oki, Fukumoto Shouji, and Ogawa Motoi.

⁷¹ Chiba University is a national university in the city of Chiba, outside of Tokyo, and has no relation to Chiba Nobuhiko.

UNESCO's ranking of the Ainu language as a "most endangered language" also applies to Ainu music. He sees music as more endangered than language because it can be transformed unknowingly through outside influences, such as through Western tonality, and the transformation seems natural and is difficult to quantify.

As discussed in Chapter Four, the transcription of non-Western music into Western art music notation is problematic in showing innate musical attributes, such as metric irregularities and the timbral qualities of pitch. Moreover, since most Ainu musicians are neither proficient at reading Western staff notation nor familiar with traditional Ainu music, government institutions question the utility of Chiba's meticulous transcriptions (personal interview, April 3, 2013, Tokyo).⁷² Still, Chiba's documentation and analysis of *tonkori* playing style is invaluable since, as an accomplished musician, he can delineate the finger techniques used on the *tonkori* precisely. Chiba wants to compartmentalize and preserve this tradition as succinctly and accurately as possible by analyzing and theoretically describing it so that it can be understood by future musicians, something that he feels is critically important not only for the Ainu, but for the global society (personal interview, March 7, 2013, Tokyo). Whether the Ainu community will ultimately utilize Chiba's efforts in practical terms remains to be seen. At the present, however, it adds to the repertoire canon of *tonkori* music for research purposes.

As a researcher-performer, Chiba wanted to play exactly what he heard on archival recordings and initially refrained from performing *tonkori* in public. When

⁷² Government institutions include the Foundation for Research and Promotion of Ainu Culture (FRPAC), which is further discussed in Chapter Six.

Toko Emi, Ainu singer and former Marewrew member, asked Chiba to accompany her on the *tonkori*, he agreed, but he was very troubled by the inauthentic practice of playing a Karafuto instrument to accompany Hokkaido vocal songs. As they continued to play together, Chiba was asked to play longer intervals and to be more creative. To perform the *tonkori* in a creative way was “agonizing” for him, since it forced him away from his role as a researcher. As a result, he decided to develop a persona for his creative *tonkori* playing, Sanpe (A: heart and the spirit ball inside the *tonkori*). However, Chiba is careful to announce his non-Ainu heritage in performances, as he always dresses in traditional Ainu attire (See Figures 42 and 43). As a member of the growing number of Wajin participating in the Ainu cultural resurgence, Chiba is extremely aware of authenticity issues and consequently is highly respected by other Ainu musicians, who consider him a vital researcher and a gifted colleague.

5.8. Yūki Kōji

Musical Interlude: Yūki Kōji and Fukumoto Shouji at Mintaru⁷³

Yūki begins by speaking about the importance of nature in mankind: “Man between man causes conflict, but to have Nature above to mediate between men is important. *Irancarapte* is an Ainu word for greeting one another and means, ‘let me touch your heart.’ This was often spoken by my grandmother.” Yūki feels that there is something lacking in contemporary culture, which is the Nature of *kamui* (A: deity, spirit).

⁷³ Mintaru Fair Trade & Restaurant sells fair-trade objects from places such as India, Nepal, and Tibet, and serves organic foods. They hold many musical events of world-music and jazz. It is one of Yūki Kōji’s favorite places. The décor has Ainu, Native American, Balinese, Thailand art and tapestries.

The music begins with a solo performance of “Ikeresotte” by Fukumoto. Yūki explains the *tonkori* as a *mayoke* (J: a talisman against evil spirits), with a power to put people to sleep and also to settle or quiet the mind and heart, for the Ainu were engaged in many wars with each other.

Fukumoto plays “Tokito Ran Ran” on the *tonkori*. Yūki explains that twenty years ago, there were only four people who played the *tonkori*. Then, seventeen years ago, Kano Oki began learning the *tonkori*. Then twelve years ago, Fukumoto began learning the *tonkori*. Yūki continues that now, there are three or four professional *tonkori* players, with about 100 people playing it as amateurs. Yūki relates how people say that there are no more Ainu, but he feels that the Ainu exist on a very narrow road.

Yūki recites a folktale about the wolf, first reciting it in Ainu. It is a story he learned from an elderly Ainu woman who was 103 years old.

He continues with a story of the *heper* (A: bear cub), which he learned from an elderly Ainu. The story is told from the perspective of the bear cub: “One day, his mother said, ‘let’s go see the world, it is beautiful and there are lots of good things to eat.’ Then while walking, he loses his mother. He cries, but then sees a white light. The cub sees his mother in the light and follows it until he sees a tree with a small hole at the root of the tree. He finds his mother and enters a world with snow and green trees, but again loses sight of his mother. He hears his mother, who tells him that she must go away from the human world. He becomes lonely, but meets many Ainu in the village who were praying to the figure of his mother. The villagers take in the bear cub and he enjoys living in the village. The *heper* plays with the village children and drinks the milk of mothers, and eventually lives at the edge of the village. Then one day, many other Ainu from neighboring village come and he is called a *kamui*. The villagers tell the bear that they must “send” the *kamui* back to the spirit world.

The above musical interlude describes Yūki Kōji and *tonkori* player Fukumoto Shouji performing at the Mintaru Fair Trade & Restaurant in Sapporo (see Figure 42).



Figure 42: Yūki Kōji (foreground) and Fukumoto Shouji at a local Sapporo performance venue Mintara. (Photo by author).

One of the most politically and culturally influential members of the Ainu community is Yūki Kōji, the son of activist Yūki Shōji. He participates in events supported by the government and is well known by the administration of the FRPAC (Foundation for Research and Promotion of Ainu Culture). Despite his connections, he also initiates projects disassociated with the government. In May 2012, Yūki became Board President (*Daihyō*) of WIN Ainu (World Indigenous People's Network), a non-profit organization that is not funded by the Japanese government, and which promotes cultural exchange among indigenous peoples worldwide, such as the Maori people of New Zealand, the Hawaiian native people, and Native American peoples residing in New Mexico. Yūki performs music at many of the above events, where a collaborative concert almost always takes place incorporating the various global indigenous groups.

As a very visible figure in Ainu politics, Yūki heavily involves himself in political organizing of major Ainu events. He was the chairperson for the steering

committee of the 2008 Summit of Indigenous Peoples in Hokkaido—a highly publicized conference that is believed to have prompted the 2008 Japanese government’s acknowledgement of Ainu as indigenous peoples of Japan. Like his father before him, he has been very active in the rights recovery movement, but he is currently promoting collaboration instead of confrontation with the Japanese government. As part of FRPAC projects, Yūki traveled as a cultural ambassador by performing at the Louvre in Paris four years ago and also went to Norway to connect with the Sami indigenous people two years ago. Breaking away from his father’s methodology, he feels that the Ainu should embrace the Wajin instead of forcing minority issues that are divisive, remarking that the Ainu should “move forward from the difficult times in the past” (Yūki, personal communication, December 23, 2012). During a WIN Ainu meeting in December 2012, Yūki advocated being part of the Japanese political system and a willing partner with the Japanese government, but he focused primarily on the agenda to connect with world indigenous groups to develop a pan-indigenous collective organization. Forming alliances with international indigenous groups helps groups to strategize more effective assertions of indigenous identity within a dominant culture. It gives the Ainu political leverage through UNESCO-backed initiatives, such as the recognition of Ainu traditional dance as an Intangible Cultural Heritage or the designation of Shiretoko Peninsula in Hokkaido as a World Heritage Site.⁷⁴

⁷⁴ From UNESCO websites: http://www.unesco.org/archives/multimedia/?s=films_details&pg=33&id=305 and <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1193>, respectively. The designation of Shiretoko Peninsula gives

Although Yūki is one of the most recognized political figures in the Ainu community today, he is also highly regarded as a performing artist as leader of Ainu Art Project (AAP), a musical group that performs regularly in public. He considers the AAP as a *kotan*, an Ainu village, where the members create tapestry, woodblock, weaving, embroidery, and woodcarving in addition to performing as a musical group (Yūki, personal interview, December 21, 2012, Sapporo). AAP performed after a symposium, Ainu Political Policy and Sixteenth Memorial for the International Day of Indigenous People, sponsored by the Hokkaido Ainu Association on August 6, 2011 in Sapporo. Yūki was one of the panelists in the symposium, which touched upon many politically sensitive topics, such as land allocation for the Ainu, the meaning of Japan's apology, reparations, recognition in international society, and Ainu poverty. The deliberations from the symposium (panel discussions, lecture, and description of the musical event) are contained in Appendix B. When the music was performed by AAP at the end of the program, everyone in the audience formed a circle and danced with traditional dance movements. Cultural anthropologist Jeff Gayman (who teaches at Hokkaido University) notes,

In a sense, [the Ainu Art Project] is a community of several families who are positively striving to pass on their heritage to their own children and grandchildren, and it is a break from the strictly commercial activities that has been going on in Ainu tourism centers in Akan, Shiraoi, and Asahikawa. It is a movement from commercial tourism to actual embodiment of Ainu values in the members, particularly reflected in condensed form in the artistry they are involved in. (personal interview, April 3, 2013, Sapporo)

Ainu an opportunity to revive traditional ceremonies, such as the *ashiri chepu nomi* as part of eco-tourism in Shiretoko (Erni and Stidsen 2005:281).

Yūki formed AAP in 2000 in order to create a space to bring Ainu culture to the general public. This was accomplished by taking up Ainu arts and crafts, making and wearing traditional clothing, and performing concerts (Fukumoto 2013). A few years after the formation of AAP, members began a project to build a traditional dug-out canoe, inspired from participating in a “travel journey,” an annual pilgrimage held in the Puget Sound region of Washington and Canada by the people of the First Nations.

More than any other group, AAP performs regularly during Ainu political gatherings and meetings, since Yūki is often part of the organizing committee for such events. In addition, the AAP is regularly featured at public events around Sapporo, performing in the Sapporo Snow Festival, the Sapporo Christmas Festival, and the Sapporo Summertime Beer Festival, to name a few. The band plays fusion, using various instruments: electric bass, electric guitar, electric keyboard, *tonkori*, *mukkuri*, and the *cajón* (Peruvian box drum). Yūki sings lead vocals, harmonizing with fellow female vocalist Hayasaka Yuka in a rhythmic rock style that incorporates Western tonal harmony. Yūki also incorporates traditional Ainu story-telling (A: *uepeker* or *wepeker*) on the performance stage, where he first narrates a tale in the Ainu language, then follows with a translation in Japanese. As mentioned previously in this chapter, his *uepeker* focuses on subjects that surround environmental issues and the disappearance of animals made extinct in Hokkaido due to over-hunting and modernization (see Figure 43).



Figure 43: AINU Art Project at Pirika Kotan Museum. (Photo by author).

5.9. Fukumoto Shouji

Fukumoto Shouji is a central member of AAP as a composer, *tonkori* maker, and a *tonkori* musician. His versatility includes playing the *cajón* during AAP's performances. He has been influential in revitalizing the use and construction of the *tonkori*, giving workshops on *tonkori* carving and performance practice.

Fukumoto is reserved but straightforward about his Ainu identity, and has participated in the rights recovery movement by attending marches in the activities that led to the 2008 Recognition of Ainu as Indigenous Peoples of Japan. He only discovered his Ainu heritage at the age of 29, when he began working for a company ran by Sawaye Aku, an Ainu activist involved in the rights recovery movement. Fukumoto quotes, “when I found out about my Ainu background, it was not a big deal. There is this stigma that Ainu people have lots of hair, so it explained the reason why I had lots of hair” (personal interview, December 25, 2012). Having Ainu

heritage did not cause distress for Fukumoto, as he came upon the realization later in life, and was already in an environment supportive of Ainu culture. He learned to play the *tonkori* while working for Sawaye’s company, where he was introduced to Tomita Tomoko, who traveled to teach in Kushiro, a city few hours away from Sapporo. He also learned carving and *tonkori* construction while working for Sawaye’s company from a *tonkori* maker who also worked there. He recalls his discovery of the *tonkori* as “*meguriai*” (J: a fortunate encounter) and was overcome with a feeling that he had to create *tonkori* by carving them by hand. During an interview, Fukumoto relayed that his happiest moments are when he is making a *tonkori* and he has made a “few hundred” *tonkori* so far in his career (Ibid.) (see Figure 44).



Figure 44: Fukumoto Shouji at Pirika Kotan Museum. (Photo by author).

5.10. Kano Oki

The Ainu community refers to Kano Oki as the most accomplished and probably the most well known Ainu musician in Japan and abroad. He performs extensively throughout the Japanese islands with his band Oki Dub Ainu Band and he also travels worldwide to perform extensively as a *tonkori* player and singer. Experimenting with the modern musical forms of reggae and dub together with traditional Ainu lyrics and musical elements of tonal harmony and popular rhythms, Kano is recognized as the principal Ainu musician who first brought the *tonkori* from a museum and tourist tradition into the performing arts in early 1990s.

Perhaps due to the influence of his father, the artist/sculpture Sunazawa Bikky, Kano initially entered the university to study sculpture, but came to embrace his Ainu roots after returning from his six-year stay in New York City working on special effects for films (Kano, personal communications, July 16, 2010). Kano professes to be self-taught on the *tonkori* and relies on archival recordings for musical material and approach. Early in his music career in 2005, Kano produced a solo *tonkori* album comprised of traditional *tonkori* pieces taken from archival recordings by Nishihira Umé and Kuruparuhama, (discussed in Chapters Three and Four, they were both Ainu *tonkori* players from Sakhalin). Gayman quotes,

We can find the freedom of expression and explorative spirit of his father in the works of Kano Oki in his combining traditional and modern mediums in his works... [one] sees the strength of his father's spirit in standing up for the rights of an ethnic people, and what one believes is right, through [his] activism and art. (personal interview, April 3, 2013, Sapporo)

Kano's musical style developed to include dub's rhythmic foundation in his Oki Dub Ainu Band, created in 2004. It incorporates electric bass, two electric *tonkori*, drums, electric guitar and a mixer/engineer—a six-person band. In his band, Kano composes the songs, but according to Kano, the music also evolves organically as the band works on the music. Dub rhythm, commonly regarded as a musical signifier for the fight against injustice, represents a grassroots phenomenon and connects him to other minoritized people. Ethnomusicologist Michael Veal explains how the low and insistent rhythms of dub and reggae helped people forget the oppression from the government. Veal quotes an informant speaking on Dub:

“When you hear dub you fly on the music. You put your heart, your body and your spirit into the music, you gonna fly. Because if it wasn't for the music, oppression and taxes would kill you. They send taxes and oppression to hold you, a government to tell you what to do and use you like a robot.”
(2007: 46)

When asked during an interview why he chose to incorporate dub rhythm in his music, Kano replied that he considers the dub to be that of the “fundamental rhythm of Mother Earth” (personal interview, July 15, 2010, Asahikawa). Portraying himself as an “international musician,” Kano often collaborates with other musicians from other cultures, such as the Irish band Kíla and the Okinawan folk singer Oshiro Misako (Kano, personal interview, February 13, 2013, Sapporo).

However, perhaps even more than Yūki Kōji, Kano has been publicly critical of the political situation surrounding the Ainu—towards both Wajin and Ainu factions. Many of his early songs have incorporated social activism into the music (Okuda 2013). The following lyrics from the song “Topattumi” (A: night raid for the

purpose of murder and looting) from Kano's album *Oki Dub Ainu Band*, which he sings in the Ainu language, recount the Wajin's dispossession of Ainu's lands:

It is incomprehensible to me
That thieves attacked and Topattumi (taking over)
The soil and mountains which Hokkaido Ainu lived on...
Ekashi says
Grandfather, great grandfather
Great great grandfather says:
People who forget their ancestors are trees without roots
Huchi says
Grandmother, great grandmother
Great great grandmother says:
Ainu ramat (the spirit of Ainu) will never
Disappear like running water. (Kano 2006)

“Topattumi” is one of Kano's more politically oriented songs, and incorporates a strongly rhythmic reggae beat with an emphasis on drumming. It is a clear statement of protest, both in lyrics and music, of the subjugation practices of the Wajin government during colonization.

As an advocate of the 1984 Ainu Shinpō (J: the Ainu new law), Kano was stridently critical of the shortcomings of the CPA (the Ainu Cultural Promotion Act, which was the resultant legislation of the Ainu Shinpō and is discussed further in Chapter Six) and was disappointed in the settlement reached by the Ainu Association of Hokkaido. Kano quotes in an interview:

Autonomy was the first priority before the Ainu Promotion Law [CPA] passed in 1997. Before that, I was involved heavily [in the political movement] by going to Geneva to talk to the UN. The Japanese government wanted to quiet the Ainu from demanding autonomy: hunting rights, fishing rights, land autonomy rights, etc. So the Japanese government made kind of a “deal” with the Ainu people and asked, “how about putting in place the Ainu Promotional Law?” The Ainu group turned their position and accepted this. I kept

complaining about land rights, but the Ainu did not like it, and for five years after this, I gained a bad reputation within the Ainu community. (personal interview, September 30, 2012, Toma, Hokkaido)

Along with Yūki Kōji, Kano is a political leader who has directly engaged with governments on local, national, and international levels. Kano participated in the United Nations' Working Group on Indigenous Populations (WGIP), strongly criticizing the passage of the 1997 Cultural Promotions Act for not providing, “an opportunity for us to decide, for ourselves, in what manner we will promote our own culture. It is a law for the Japanese government to co-opt, limit and control Ainu culture” (Vinding 2003: 220). The CPA in particular became a divisive topic in the Ainu community, polarizing the activists between those that accepted the compromise and those that were critical of its passage. Kano quotes:

The Ainu people rely on the Japanese for their help [in cultural dissemination], but I didn't want to rely on the Japanese, so I established Chikar Studio in 1995. “Chikar” means “we create.” I wanted to develop and produce Ainu music independently from the Japanese, and not rely on them economically. (personal interview, September 28, 2012, Toma, Hokkaido)

Kano has been prolific in creating CDs of his band and also producing other Ainu musicians. His first CD titled *Kamuy Kor* was originally released in 1997 and, to this date, he has produced fifteen CD albums either of his music or of his group Ainu Dub Band. He began to make recordings because, for him, Ainu music was previously used for musicological study, “like a study of insects or something like that,” and he wanted to “update music for life, for the present and the future, not just a study of the past” (Ibid.). The creation of a new Ainu performing tradition negotiates

a balance between academic rigor and the creative process. Kano delves into archival material to keep a connection to his heritage and maintain authenticity for his music, but he also incorporates his many musical influences outside of Ainu culture.

Ethnomusicologist Tamara Livingston writes: “The ideology of authenticity, which combines historical research with reactionary ideas against the cultural mainstream, must be carefully constructed and maintained; this often gives rise to the prominent educational component of many revivals” (1999: 74). The legitimacy of the new Ainu performing arts rests mainly in the preservation-oriented groups (which will be further discussed in Chapter Six), and while Kano’s main focus is to create an individual style, he nonetheless recognizes the necessity of preserving the music of his ancestors.

Gayman notes that: “Kano Oki has been reinvestigating what the soul of the Ainu people is as an artist and musician,”⁷⁵ emphasizing that Kano has been very active in delving into traditional Ainu music. For Kano, singing Ainu lyrics and playing the *tonkori* supports his ancestor’s knowledge and heritage. Although his musical fusion incorporates many contemporary sounds, he feels that Ainu people should look at traditional past ideas, because Ainu words and lyrics have strong meaning, some of which has been lost. Kano comments that,

When we look at the past and see how the ancestors played the *tonkori* or sang a song, I think it kind of gives strength to survive in this world’s societies... if we’re confused in this world, who are we going to believe? Do you believe politicians? They can cheat elections, powerful people can do anything they

⁷⁵ Personal interview, April 3, 2013, Sapporo.

want, so maybe it's useless, but we need to think about the past.
(Ibid.)

As a musician engaged in a creative process, Kano's political stance is changing as well. Although Kano Oki explicitly describes how funding from the CPA contributes to the Ainu being at their mercy and financially dependent, he recently began collaborating with groups sponsored by the FRPAC, as he did to create a shadow puppet play of an Ainu folklore that was produced in the winter of 2012.

In an interview conducted in 2010, Kano stressed that he was now focusing on being less political in his music in relation to Ainu politics. Recently, his political activism has become more focused on issues outside the Ainu cause, spending his time with coalitions against nuclear power, triggered by the 2011 nuclear disaster in Fukushima (see Figure 45). He performed solo *tonkori* at an anti-nuclear concert in Hibiya-koen, Tokyo, on March 11, 2013, on the second anniversary of the Fukushima disaster. His other activities include the underground hit of summer 2012 with Rankin Taxi's video remix of "You Can't See It and You Can't Smell it Either,"⁷⁶ which is an animation that depicts the invisible harmful effects from nuclear disasters.

⁷⁶<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mF12h19h5uo>



Figure 45: Kano Oki performing at an anti-nuclear concert, Hibiya-koen, Tokyo. (Photo by author).

The article “The 2012 No-Nukes Concert and the Role of Musicians in the Anti-Nuclear Movement,” by ethnomusicologist Noriko Abe discusses the stigma of being anti-nuclear in the Japanese performing arts. Many performers prefer not to be associated with anti-nuclear movements due to fear of being ostracized by the media. Her article describes how the *No Nukes 2012* concert highlighted many bands that were not connected to the anti-nuclear movement to send a message to the public that anti-nuclear does not mean extreme radicalism (2012). Oki said in an interview:

After the March 2011 nuclear disaster, the whole world changed... it changed the way I look at things, I'm not so careless anymore and I really understand how the government are big liars, how the big companies are allied with the government and that what they are doing creates such a mess in this country. We just didn't know and they are worse than I thought... now, I'm involved in my own anti-nuclear movement. But [the people] are so controlled, even the media are afraid of people talking about no nukes, they are always trying to hide the words 'no nukes,' they are afraid of the movement getting big. (personal interview, September 30, 2012)

As an advocate both for his indigenous heritage and for preserving the ecology of the planet, Kano fully engages into social activism through his music and continues to create a distinctive legacy in Japanese culture.

5.11. Ogawa Motoi

Musical Interlude: Ogawa Motoi at the Oasa Community Center, Sapporo, for elderly Ainu in nursing homes, December 16, 2012.

Ogawa played for a Christmas party for Ainu aged 80s and 90s and their families at the Oasa Community Center in Sapporo. The event began with a luncheon, followed by a game where two Ainu elders had to guess what someone was drawing on a board. Ogawa then began a series of songs, involving everyone to clap and sing. He asked, “what do you need to open in order to sing?” The answers were, “your throat, your mind, and your stomach. You need to open your body, open up your chest and sing from your heart.” He began with the vocal song about a fox that was followed by a dance, and involved everyone in the room. The second song was the *iomante* (A: bear ritual) dance, and the third was the grasshopper dance that was very fast and spirited and only involved the younger members in the room. This was followed by a game of “hopping mice” to “steal” a tangerine through a hoop, made from a rope. The object is to hop up to the hoop and ask for the tangerine, and then try to grab the tangerine without getting one’s arm caught in the hoop, while everyone sang a song to accompany the game.

Ogawa has a very resonant voice and a large body. He is also a vigorous dancer, wears an Ainu motif T-shirt (that he designed) and an Ainu-embroidered headband (made by his mother). Many other members were wearing the same T-shirt, or Ainu necklaces and Ainu headbands.

Ainu musician Ogawa Motoi chooses to keep distance from government programs and does not collaborate with any projects sponsored through the FRPAC. During an interview, he commented: “I’d like to erase my dependence [on Japan], not through [social movements], but from my spirit/heart” (personal interview, January 12, 2013, Sapporo). Nevertheless, Ogawa’s commitment to advocating the visibility of Ainu heritage in Japanese society is truly noteworthy in execution and effort. With

a grassroots approach, he connects to the community by going directly to elementary schools, local retirement homes, and public spaces. He has a mailing list of enthusiastic supporters comprised equally of Ainu and Wajin who regularly come to his performances around town, whether in the lobby of a big hotel in downtown Sapporo, in small café “live houses,” or at holiday gatherings for the elderly and their families (see Figure 46).

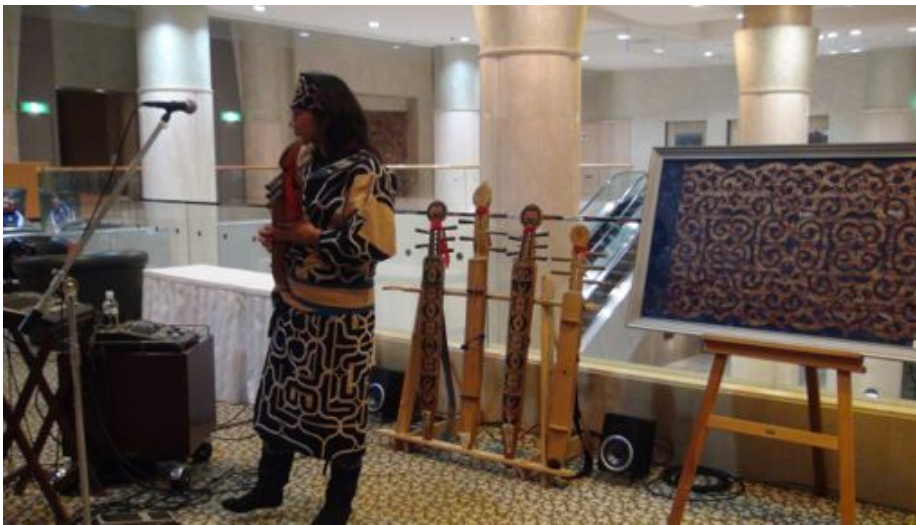


Figure 46: Ogawa Motoi performing at the Royton Hotel lobby, Sapporo. (Photo by author).

Ogawa Motoi wants to be part of Japanese society, yet also desires to be liberated from it. Both his parents were very active in Ainu politics and human rights, which has added complexity to his upbringing that was filled with very racist and discriminatory experiences (Ogawa, personal interview, December 3, 2012, Sapporo). His house was a meeting point for many Ainu community leaders since his parents were political leaders in the community. His mother, Ogawa Sanae, is a very accomplished and well-known embroideress, and has published a book on the craft of

Ainu paper-cutting. Anthropologist Jeff Gayman has described Ogawa Motoi as “expressing the fighting spirit of his father in combination with the soft artistry of his mother, and developing a kind of heartfelt, new Ainu music” (personal interview, April 3, 2013, Sapporo). Recently, he began teaching Ainu paper-cutting workshops, a skill he learned from his grandparents. He works on a personal level in the Ainu and Wajin community and has become highly visible within his network of expanding supporters and followers.

Although Ogawa Motoi clearly delineates his methods and activities apart from his father’s, the objective of his work—the spread of Ainu cultural awareness—extends the work began by the earlier generation of Ainu activists. His childhood was laden with discrimination: “of being treated like a dog, not as a human” (personal interview, January 12, 2013, Sapporo). He has older siblings who also experienced extreme prejudice and his parents and grandparents before him, who, according to Ogawa, most likely experienced the worst. He heard a lot of Ainu history and folklore growing up, but felt that he had to deny his Ainu heritage once he physically entered Wajin society. He experienced extreme bullying in school with physical abuse from other children, something that he is still trying to come to terms with by finding ways to negotiate and mollify his distress through the performing arts.

Perhaps due to the profusely political environment in which he grew up, Ogawa Motoi has opted to distance himself from Ainu political organizations as well as Wajin politics. Ogawa dislikes social movements because in his youth: “all I heard was complaints and negative things about the Japanese government. I was young and

I wanted to hear good things about Japan, too” (personal interview, December 3, 2012, Sapporo). In his words: “it’s easy to complain about any country, but it’s difficult to come up with solutions” (Ibid.). His music is focused on nature, incorporating forest sounds, river sounds, insect sounds, and features his vocals along with his *tonkori*. His songs are in the Ainu language, and the sensibility of his music can be described as being soulful. The music focuses on simplicity and directness and incorporates tonal melodies and rhythmic structures with repetitions of straight or dotted rhythms. Ogawa has the clear intention to bring Ainu awareness to society, to plant the seeds of Ainu consciousness and nurture those seeds, a problem and purpose that he views as not just for the Ainu, but for all cultures.

Kano Oki influenced and inspired Ogawa to seriously play the *tonkori*, when Kano came to the Sapporo area performing around 1996. Although the *tonkori* was always in his house as a decorative object, Ogawa did not regard the *tonkori* as a real instrument until then. After seeing Kano perform on the *tonkori*, Ogawa began to realize the instrumental possibilities and began thinking about his role in the *tonkori*. In addition to performing the *tonkori*, Ogawa supports himself by creating Ainu jewelry and wood crafts, as well as running workshops once a month teaching Ainu paper-cutting (see Figure 47).



Figure 47: Ogawa Motoi running an Ainu paper-cutting workshop in Sapporo. (Photo by author).

Perhaps more than other Ainu musicians, Ogawa is clear about his animistic view of the *tonkori*. He describes the *tonkori* as a person rather than an instrument, with its parts named after a woman's body. He quotes: "It is really like a person, it has a warmth when its heart is next to mine and I can feel the vibration.... So when I tune it, I ask, 'please make this sound'" (personal interview, December 3, 2012, Sapporo). As mentioned in Chapter One, ethnomusicologist Veronica Doubleday describes how musical instruments are frequently "endowed with personhood," and have agency in its relationship with the player (2008: 16-17). Ogawa feels that the *tonkori* understands him, tests him, and he constantly thinks about how to make the *tonkori* sound better by "making her feel more comfortable to sing out," so he waits for her "patiently and quietly so that I can hear what her needs are." He also feels that the *tonkori* was given from the Ainu ancestors with a purpose to bring the wisdom of former times—through the *tonkori*, the ancestors "teaches him how to live" (personal interview, February 17, 2013).

5.12. Conclusion

The role of musicians as keepers of the culture, who breathe life into the culture by singing in Ainu, continues to fulfill the role of the historical *yukar* singers, even as their language faces extinction. They are Gilroy's "priestly caste of organic intellectuals," who have helped to buttress their performing arts in conjunction with the rights recovery movement. These musicians are not only bearers of their culture, but also leaders in the community who establish a unique Ainu identity within Japanese society and negotiate the complexities of an emerging revived tradition. Ainu performing artists belong to a very limited group, since the population of Ainu who explicitly refuse to pass as a Japanese range between 5-10% of the Ainu population. Within this small group, musicians both collaborate and compete with each other to create a revitalized and reconstructed Ainu performing arts tradition.

It is apparent that musicians are very conscious of this creation of a new tradition in uncharted territory. In this process, Ainu musicians aspire to be on par with professional performing artists in Japan and abroad, and consequently hone their performance practice to meet such expectations. Examples of this dynamic include some of the criticism Ainu musicians offer of their colleagues who sing off key or perform sloppily, which Ainu musicians find embarrassing. In writing about the genre of arranged folk music in Uzbekistan, ethnomusicologist Tanya Merchant describes how performing according to a Western standard is sought by emerging folk musicians. She writes how "...many musicians now discuss the priorities of the genre in terms of striving to appeal to international audiences and reach a universal

standard of beauty (which is assumed to be one aligned with Western art music)” (2014: 268). Some Ainu musicians adhere to standards more than others, and it appears to be proportional to their level of international collaboration. However, the establishment of Ainu performing arts is in its fledgling stages and there is a sense of a collective creation that all Ainu who perform in public contribute to.

The degree of involvement by the Japanese government is something constantly negotiated by Ainu performing artists individually on a personal basis. Due to colonialism and disenfranchisement, the perceived economic alliance with the Japanese government affects their identity as they continue to work through the discrimination and unfair policies of a not-too-distant past. The trend, led by key Ainu musicians Yūki Kōji and increasingly, Kano Oki, is to promote collaboration with the Japanese government instead of confrontation, while establishing independence as much as possible. Other maverick-types such as Ogawa Motoi, who are unwavering in their non-alliance with the government, are few and far in-between.

Much of tradition making is done in museums and with the involvement of government programs and institutions. In the following chapter, this study introduces a discussion on museums and institutional areas, which are vital for the sustainability and dissemination of the Ainu performing arts.

Chapter Six. Museums and institutions

6.1. Introduction

Museums and institutions have a significant place in the landscape of Ainu cultural arts today. For most Wajin, the first place of contact (and for many, the only place of contact) with the Ainu culture is in museums or through projects funded by government programs. These are locations for cultural exchange where Ainu identity is articulated and negotiated, as well as an area for convergence—for people, ideas, and objects. Moreover, museums offer research legitimacy and help establish a material historical past, but the people or organizations that support them (socially and economically) also significantly influence its social politics. The six different museums that are examined all portray varying political positions, as well as notions of the “*Ainu Moshiri*” (A: Ainu homeland, sometimes referred to as *mosir*), which is imbued with modern nostalgia and longing for a pristine Ainu native land.

Most museums that engage with Ainu culture were built between the 1960s and 1990s, and have varying ties to the Ainu community. Section 6.2. investigates six Ainu museum centers in Hokkaido and discusses their specific relevance to the resurgence of culture. Cultural anthropologist James Clifford’s analysis of museums as “contact zones” and scholar-artist Svetlana Boym’s notion of nostalgia as a cultural phenomenon are two theories that this section discusses. In addition to the museums, a major government-sponsored program that supports the Ainu performing arts is the Foundation for Research and Promotion of Ainu Culture (FRPAC), which had (and

continues to have) an exceptional impact on the Ainu performing arts. Section 6.3. takes a critical look at the major legislation that transformed the course of the Ainu performing arts: the 1997 Ainu Cultural Promotion Act (CPA), the law that is administered by the office of the FRPAC. The CPA is widely seen by Ainu community leaders (e.g. Yūki Kōji and Kitahara Jirota) and Japanese researchers (e.g. Kochi Rié and Chiba Nobuhiko) as being largely responsible for the Ainu cultural renewal and which marks the end of political activism from the 1970s and 1980s. However, the CPA is not without its critics who point out that the law was a weak compromise for the struggles of the Ainu rights recovery movement (e.g. Kano Oki in Chapter Five). In this section, I lay out the history and the various debates relating to the CPA legislation and its repercussions. Section 6.4. examines the music groups affiliated with institutions, such as Team Nikaop (A: a fruit of trees), at Poroto Kotan Ainu Museum, Ureshpa Club, at Sapporo University, and the Kantō Utari Kai (J: Greater Tokyo Comrades Association). Many of the performers in these groups are in their twenties and represent the younger generation who continue the forward momentum of this cultural resurgence. Section 6.5. describes the canonic repertoire that the above groups create through repeated performances of certain songs in and around museums and institutions. Canonic repertoire both legitimizes and establishes the *tonkori* as an instrument suitable for concert performance by the creation of tangible scores used for reference by the musicians. How the canon shapes and develops *tonkori* performance depends greatly on emerging musicians who are active in the various groups investigated in this study. In beginning a discussion on the

theories pertaining to museums and institutions, the following section begins with an inquiry into the perimeter areas of a culture.

6.2. Ainu museums



Figure 48: Map of cities with museums in Hokkaido.⁷⁷

The six museum sites examined in this section include two institutions that are closely affiliated with the Hokkaido government: The Hokkaido Kaitaku Kinenkan Hakubutsukan (Hokkaido Development Memorial Museum) in Sapporo and the Hokkaido Museum of Northern Peoples in Abashiri, which is on the eastern coast of

⁷⁷ www.freeworldmaps.net/asia/japan/hokkaido.html accessed April 6, 2015.

Hokkaido, and four others that are run by local Ainu organizations: the Akan Village Museum, the Nibutani Ainu Culture Museum in Biratori, Pirika Kotan (A: beautiful village) Ainu Museum in Sapporo, and the Poroto Kotan (A: large lakeside village) Ainu Museum in Shiraoui (see the map of Hokkaido with cities of the museums in Figure 48).

In his book *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*, Clifford describes the cultural interaction that takes place across border areas as “contact zones” and further defines these zones as locations that reside on the periphery of a culture—border areas that are traversed by people, objects, and ideas (1997: 5-7). Museums are principal contact zones that allow objects and people to traverse geographical limitations, as well as a “place where cultural visions and community interests are negotiated,” and also “an itinerary rather than a bounded site—a series of encounters and translations” (Ibid: 8, 9). For the Ainu, museums are also central hubs of community activity where Ainu identity can be articulated without fear of prejudice, and safe spaces where they express visions for the future. They are also sites where the general Wajin public intersects with “traditional” Ainu culture (see Chapter One and Five for a discussion on “tradition”). In this sense, contact zones are meeting places for Ainu and Wajin, as well as for the international population. They are not monoliths: Ainu museums exist in various forms, have different agendas, and exert different levels of influence. Because the elite sector of society usually creates museums and receive funding by the government, there are varying degrees of hegemonic power on display within museums. The differences

depend on the museum's place ranging from local community center to national institutions. The exhibits also vary greatly according to who curates the projects and the strategy of the narratives. The curator's historical approach and political slant define the perspective and position of the exhibits and the kinds of stories they tell (see Appadurai 2000 and Clifford 1997).

Ainu longing for a more tranquil past era is characterized by the experience of displacement and loss now articulated by museum exhibits and performances, which Boym describes as sites of nostalgia, where loss and displacement is "institutionalized in national provincial museums and urban memorials" (2001: 15). They also act as community centers for the Ainu and serve as political gathering spaces (especially Poroto Kotan and Pirika Kotan). They house a mix of historic artifacts, future agendas, traditional dance and music revivals, community education, and tourist entertainment—they are crossroads of political resistance, longing, and memory.

Boym further describes nostalgia as a "rebellion against the modern idea of time, the time of history and progress," a modern reaction to expanding globalization, which encourages a nostalgic attachment to memory and creates a bonding and a "cultural intimacy" to an imagined identity (Ibid.: xv, 43). Boym concludes that the core of the modern condition includes nostalgia as a paradox that can create a phantom homeland where "it can make one more empathetic with fellow humans, but at the same time separates one from the rest because the return home is inevitably different and divides us. It can confuse one as to the actual home and the imaginary one" (Ibid. xvi).

The Ainu's nostalgic longing for the "*Ainu Moshiri*" is central to this nostalgic narration—often engaged by Ainu activists (discussed in Chapter Five), and in reaction to the invasion and occupation of their homeland by an aggressive Wajin state. The imaginary land of "*Ainu Moshiri*" is recounted as a communal, egalitarian hunter-gatherer indigenous life within the "terrain of Mother Earth" (Siddle 2006: 117). Both Yūki Kōji and Kano Oki refer to the Ainu's notion of "*Ainu Moshiri*" to signify a conceptual land. As discussed in Chapter Five, it is a term that was adopted from the 1970s and 1980s rights recovery movement. The following six Ainu cultural museums engage with the concept of "*Ainu Moshiri*" through varying narratives about Ainu's historical lifeways, and express nostalgic indigeneity for the Ainu community and the general public.

The Hokkaido Kaitaku Kinenkan Hakubutsukan (Hokkaido Development Memorial Museum) in Sapporo has an English title of the "Hokkaido Historical Museum" and is the largest museum in this study and the one most closely associated with the national government. As of February 2013, the museum held 5,620 Ainu items, 220 of which were on display (4% of total).⁷⁸ As mentioned previously, the government uses the term *kaitaku* (J: development) to describe the appropriation of Ezo (J: a former term for Hokkaido) in textbooks, which the Hokkaido Ainu

⁷⁸ Other museums around the world hold comparable numbers of Ainu items (e.g. Western European museums in 58 places have 6,773 items; U.S. and Canadian institutions have at least 3,000 objects—the listing is ongoing; and Russia, including Siberia and Sakhalin, have 4,546 objects) (lecture, February 5, 2013, Sapporo). Ainu activists question the validity and the ethics of non-Ainu institutions possessing so many of their historical artifacts (see Appendix C: Panel Discussions in Symposiums).

This museum also holds the *tonkori* that used to belong to Nishihira Umé and Fujiyama Haru.

Association and the Wajin academics often criticize as a euphemism for “colonization.” Some Ainu argue for the Hokkaido Kaitaku Kinenkan Hakubutsukan (Hokkaido Development Memorial Museum) to be renamed as the Hokkaido Takushoku Kinenkan Hakubutsukan (Hokkaido Colonization Memorial Museum). The exhibit at the museum begins with Jomon Neolithic peoples, then jumps suddenly to the Ainu culture—leaving a gap of 1500 years without any specific link bridging the two cultures. In contrast, the Hokkaido Museum of Northern Peoples focuses on the Satsumon and Okhotsk indigenous cultures that predate the Ainu and Siberian indigenous peoples in Sakhalin and the Amur River Basin. The exhibits at the Hokkaido Museum of Northern Peoples convey the Ainu as one of many Siberian indigenous groups that have very similar household objects and share common rituals and hunting practices. The Hokkaido Museum of Northern Peoples is situated in Abashiri on the Okhotsk Sea, a region with many Karafuto Ainu immigrants. These two museums are supported by the national government and engage with academic research more fully than the others. The exhibits show a historical narrative that is informative, but does not display Ainu culture’s political agendas, social conditions, or future visions.

The majority of scholars researching Ainu culture have historically been Wajin, as curators and museum personnel, who also increasingly participate in the revival of Ainu culture and the redefinition of Ainu traditional arts. All curators of key Ainu museums in Hokkaido, except for the Pirika Kotan Museum in Sapporo and the Nibutani Ainu Museum, are of Wajin descent (e.g. Tamura Masato, Hokkaido

Historical Museum; Yamada Yoshiko, Hokkaido Museum of Northern Peoples; Nomoto Masahiro, Poroto Kotan Museum). The Wajin curators have dedicated their academic careers studying historic Ainu culture, and while they recognize that Ainu representation in academia is lacking, they realize that they fill a much-needed space in Ainu cultural research. In contrast to national museums, the Akan Village Museum has an overt commercial purpose that reflect the significant tourist activity of the Akan area.

The Akan Village Museum and Performance Hall in the eastern mountain range is one of Hokkaido's central Ainu communities, where approximately two hundred Ainu entertain 1,600,000 tourists every year. Lake Akan was a historically important Ainu dwelling site and the lake has unique spherical algae, called *marimo* (A: name for the algae), for which the Ainu have a festival every fall that is very popular with tourists. The Marimo Festival includes a lecture on the *marimo*, dance parade, and ceremonies for receiving, conserving, blessing, and returning the *marimo* to Lake Akan. The Akan area has depended on tourism as its main economy for approximately the past fifty years. It is filled with tourist shops and Ainu art galleries, as well as a famous hot-spring resort (operated by Wajin proprietors). Akan village epitomizes the commodification of culture, more so than other Ainu tourist destinations. As mentioned earlier, many Ainu associate tourism with humiliation, although the economic aspects are deemed necessary for many. The performance hall next to the small Ainu museum has shows every half hour throughout the day. The 11 AM show lasted exactly twenty-five minutes with eight different musical numbers.

The performers I observed consisted of six female dancers/singers and one male dancer/singer. The performers labor around the clock, singing and dancing the same songs over and over again, and display obvious weariness from repetition. The small museum next to the performance hall is in a small building, which supports the commercial activity of Akan village. The museum conveys an underlying social condition of economic dependency on the Wajin that is veiled by the profusion of Ainu crafts surrounding the museum site.

The largest concentration of Ainu in Hokkaido occurs in the town of Nibutani, with a population that is 80% Ainu. Nibutani is situated on the Saru River and the Nibutani Dam, which was a site of contention, since the dam and resulting rise in water level destroyed Ainu sacred sites. A landmark decision by the Sapporo District Court in March of 1997 ruled with the Ainu and recognized Ainu as a distinct ethnic group, establishing a momentum for the Cultural Promotion Act that became law later in that year. However, by the time of the ruling, the builders had already constructed the dam and the court allowed it to remain. Nibutani is a tourist destination for spectators to view and consume Ainu culture, but differs from Akan in that the dissemination of Ainu culture is owned and operated by the Ainu. It is also a hot-spot for activists and political leaders of Ainu heritage, including Kayano Shigeru, the first Ainu politician to be elected to the Japanese National Diet (Parliament), who was a key figure in advocating for the passage of the 1997 CPA, among many other issues. Kayano was a major figure in promoting and conserving Ainu culture. He was not only an important political force in the passage of the CPA, but also one of the last

Ainu to fully recite a *yukar* (A: epic poem), and created the Kayano Shigeru Nibutani Ainu Museum, which sits next to the Nibutani Ainu Culture Museum. Nibutani was chosen as one of the places (along with Sapporo) to host the International Indigenous People's Summit in July of 2008, and its key role in political activism can be seen in the exhibits and the grounds of the museum. The Nibutani museum is a site of resistance and future visions, while the dam, which sits next to the museum, is a constant reminder of the Ainu ancestral burial ground that lies under the reservoir.

Another Ainu museum that incorporates substantial input from Ainu cultural insiders is the Pirika Kotan Museum outside of Sapporo, which is funded by the municipal city of Sapporo. Most of the staff is of Ainu descent. The objects on display at the museum present the historical culture of Ainu before complete assimilation and the museum provides many workshops on Ainu crafts, such as embroidery, wood-carving, *mukkuri* (A: mouth harp) making, and is a primary venue for Ainu music and dance performances in Sapporo. I attended a *mukkuri*-making workshop at the Pirika Kotan, where the instructor, a member of the Ainu youth performing group Team Nikaop, spent about 30 minutes demonstrating and helping me to carve a *mukkuri* out of a piece of bamboo. The musician and political leader Yūki Kōji and his group Ainu Art Project (AAP) perform concerts regularly at Pirika Kotan, and members of the AAP have worked as staff at the museum. With a staff that mostly consists of younger Ainu, Pirika Kotan projects a clear sense of renewal that contains little of the discriminatory aura of Ainu history.

Musical Interlude: Poroto Kotan Museum Performance.

Musical performances are given every hour at the Poroto Kotan Museum and last for 25 minutes. A solo *mukkuri*, solo *tonkori*, *rimse* dance “Iomante,” the crane dance, the archery dance, and an *ifunke* (an Ainu lullaby) are included in the performance. The “Iomante” dance consisted of seven dancers in a circle who clap and move in clockwise direction, while singing and facing the center of the circle. The singing includes interjections of hooting calls and a type of yodeling that is characteristic of Ainu dances; the dancers and singers give a very spirited performance. The audience consists of a group of Korean tourists, so the performances are explained in both Japanese and Korean. The venue is a reconstructed traditional Ainu home, with a grass roof and a hearth in the middle. There are salmon hanging from the ceiling, in a process of being smoked.

The Poroto Kotan museum in Shiraoui (a small town about a two-hour train ride from Sapporo) is a for-profit organization that is partly funded by the government. Poroto Kotan is on a larger plot of land than Pirika Kotan that includes a small lake and a reconstructed Ainu village. Regular tourist performances of traditional music and dance occur every hour and the grounds include a caged bear and Hokkaido dogs.

Ainu musical performances project clear social boundaries and are delineated as Japanese indigeneity through the sounds of the *tonkori*, *mukkuri*, vocal timbre and vocal ululation. The museum is a reconstructed Ainu village, presented as a historical tourist site in a manner similar to other such sites in Japan, although the content is remarkably different from traditional Japanese culture. As one enters the grounds of the Poroto Kotan Museum, speakers placed above the parking lot play sounds of the *mukkuri*—a very distinctive indigenous sound that is unlike any other sound in Japanese music—and aurally marks a non-Japanese sense of place. Visual markers are represented through traditional clothing, the women’s blue lip tattoo and Ainu

instruments, which can also be seen on flags and posters around the Poroto Kotan Museum.

In looking at the differing perspectives of Ainu culture that museums represent, Clifford notes:

Different museums are caught up in shifting power relations and competing articulations of local and global meanings. Tribal identity and power are fashioned through alliances, debates, and exchanges – between local communities, and with intrusive dominant culture. The centers also function as cultural centers, sites for community education, mobilization, and the continuity of tradition. (Ibid.: 144)

As Clifford observes, these spaces are not only “contact zones,” but also community centers for the local population. Ainu’s culture rests in museums that serve as community centers, which are also active political hubs. It is a mix of historic artifacts, future agendas, dance and music revivals, community education, and political resistance.

The expression of Ainu’s nostalgia for their traditional homeland varies in the museums discussed above, but one that is also imbued with political underpinnings. It is not an Ainu’s desire back to a hunter-gatherer lifestyle, but a call for “*Ainu Moshiri*,” where a contemporary Ainu can engage with a recognition of Ainu’s traditional worldviews, and in short, a space where Ainu can determine their own future. The variety of expressions in the museums also show that the meaning of “*Ainu Moshiri*” have considerably changed since the political activities in the 1970s and 1980s. Boym describes museums as, “contexts for remembrances and debates about the future” and a “defense mechanism in a time of accelerated rhythms of life

and historical upheavals” (2001: 1). In the following section, the discussion on the institutional impact on Ainu culture is continued by an examination of the Foundation of Research and Promotion of Ainu Culture (FRPAC), a government program that supports many musical performances and projects.

6.3. Ainu Cultural Promotion Act of 1997

The Ainu Cultural Promotion Act or CPA (in full, the Act for the Promotion of Ainu Culture, the Dissemination of Knowledge of Ainu Traditions, and an Education Campaign)⁷⁹ marks a juncture in time, both an end and a beginning: the end of almost thirty years of political activism and the beginning of a process of cultural renewal made meaningful by musicians and artists. The CPA was the culmination of Ainu rights recovery struggle, which never regained momentum after its passage.

In contextualizing the CPA within the larger arc of Ainu social movements, Ainu political activism evolved into cultural activism through the resurgence of the Ainu performing arts. When the Japanese Diet passed the CPA in May of 1997, many Ainu viewed it as a watershed moment after decades of social and political struggle. However, many key Ainu members (e.g. Kano Oki and Yūki Kōji) saw the law as a weak compromise for indigenous rights. It prompted much criticism, falling short of

⁷⁹ *Ainu bunka no shinkō narabi ni Ainu no dentō nado ni kansuru chishiki no fukyū oyobi keihatsu ni kansuru hōritsu*, Law No. 52, 1997

fulfilling the hopes of the Ainu coalition. Still, the CPA had a profound effect on the landscape of Ainu performing arts.

The Ainu cultural arts were evolving in the 1990s, transforming beyond tourist shows and breaking away from political movements. New prominent Ainu musicians were just beginning to make headway in their musical careers: Yūki Kōji had just begun the group Ainu Art Project around 1995, while Kano Oki had begun performing the *tonkori* and producing CD albums, and Ogawa Motoi was in an experimental stage with the *tonkori* instrument. The three musicians would eventually interact with the CPA in different ways, but all three had a similar goal: to educate the Japanese public on Ainu culture and to participate in the creation of a publically recognized Ainu musical practice in Japan. The musicians' intent fit well with the CPA—Article 1 of the CPA states that its objective is to promote multiculturalism; the law “aims to realize a society in which the ethnic pride of the Ainu people is respected and to contribute to the development of diverse cultures in our country.”⁸⁰

The CPA culminated a thirteen-year process that began in 1984 with an Ainu campaign called the Ainu Shinpō (J: Ainu New Law) by the Hokkaido Ainu

⁸⁰FRPAC. 2000. *Together with the Ainu - History and Culture*. Sapporo: Zaidan hōjin Ainu bunka shinkō kenkyū suishin kikō. 30. This was to be accomplished by promoting language and traditional culture, administered by the Minister of Land, Infrastructure and Transport and the Minister of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, who were responsible to appoint a corporation to carry out the various programs. An important addendum to the law was the abolishing of the 1899 Hokkaido Former Aborigine Protection Act and the Asahikawa Former Aborigines Protected Land Disposal Act - seen by the Ainu as being long overdue for their restrictive and discriminatory policies.

Association (aka Utari Kyōkai or “Association of Comrades”).⁸¹ At that time, the rights recovery movement had existed for little more than a decade, but the sentiments addressed in the *Ainu Shinpō* were grievances developed from a century of colonization and assimilation policies of the Wajin government.

The *Ainu Shinpō* had called for the eradication of racial discrimination, guaranteed seats for Ainu representatives in the National Diet and local assemblies, a measure to promote the transmission of Ainu culture and language, granting increased farm land to Ainu, fishing and hunting rights, and to establish an “Ainu Independence Fund” to promote economic autonomy. In the end, the CPA only took up one part of the original Ainu proposal, the part concerned with culture and language (Morris-Suzuki 1999). When the draft of the CPA was presented to the Ainu Association, the reaction was mixed and many Ainu activists reacted negatively, including Kano Oki (see Chapter Five). They felt that it was a poor compromise. However, after considering the difficulty of the political process, the Hokkaido Ainu Association felt that such an opportunity would not come again and approved the report submitted by the government for legislation (Siddle 2002).

Two months after the passage of the CPA, the government created the *Zaidan Hōjin Ainu Bunka Shinkō/Kenkyū Suishin Kikō* (J: Foundation for Research and Promotion of Ainu Culture or FRPAC) administrative body (aka *Zaidan*) as a corporation and appointed it six months later as the sole managerial arm of the CPA

⁸¹ The Hokkaido Ainu Kyōkai (Hokkaido Ainu Association) was renamed Utari Kyōkai (Comrades Association) in 1961 because of the pejorative connotations for the word “Ainu.” The name was changed back to Hokkaido Ainu Association again in 2009.

(Siddle 2002).⁸² There are two FRPAC offices in Japan: the main office is in downtown Sapporo with a second office close to Yaesu station in Tokyo. While both appear to be typical Japanese offices on the outside, Ainu concert posters are displayed on the walls and there's a small sitting area with books and resources on Ainu history. The CPA outlines cultural projects funded through the FRPAC to address the following three concerns: 1) research and revival of Ainu culture, 2) revival of the Ainu language, and 3) education of Ainu tradition. Projects can range from small to medium scale and anyone, whether Ainu or not, can apply for funding from the FRPAC, at which point a committee with both Ainu and Wajin members vets the applications (Siddle 2002). In 2012, the Sapporo FRPAC office employed twelve people, of which only two to three were of Ainu descent. However, half of the board members are Ainu and half are Wajin (Ueda 2012).⁸³ Many Ainu activists, such as Kitahara Kiyoko, have criticized the majority Wajin influence in the FRPAC, calling for more Ainu input in choosing and administering Ainu cultural events.

Vignette: Itakanrō Ainu speech contest

February 4, 2013, Hokkaido University, Sapporo

The Sixteenth annual Ainu speech contest was a free event and sponsored by the FRPAC (the first *Itakanrō* was in 1998, a year after FRPAC was founded). It took place at Clark Memorial Hall, a large performing hall that seats around 500 people. There were four judges: Kumagai Tame, Tangiku Itsuji, Takagi Itsue, and Otani Izuru.

There were two divisions, children and adults. Many recited traditional *yukar* that were transcribed from recordings. In the children's division, participants ranged

⁸² The FRPAC was appointed by the Ministry of Education and the Hokkaido Development Agency

⁸³ Ueda Shinobu, personal interview. Sapporo. 12 Dec. 2012. Ueda is a former employee of FRPAC. According to Siddle's 2002 article, the FRPAC budget was 722 million yen (\$7,128,000). The FRPAC's current website posts their endowment to be 100 million yen from the Hokkaido government with undisclosed subsidies from the national government.

from age five to age sixteen. Some read from a manuscript, but most recited from memory. Some poetry were rather long, about four-five pages, and some were songs with repetitive short melodies. The adults recited *yukar* that were longer and were mostly memorized, and more singing occurred in the adult division.

Most of the participants wore traditional Ainu clothing. However, there were few children who wore Western-style gowns of white and pick lace. The audience mostly included people of Ainu descent, as well as many Ainu community leaders. The event lasted from 1 PM to 3 PM. However, whether intentionally done or not, the Ainu Music Festival at Pirika Kotan Museum in Sapporo was held in the same day, from 2 PM to 5 PM, which was also attended by many community leaders, including Yūki Kōji.

Many scholars in Japan, including Kitahara Jirota and Jeff Gayman, see CPA as responsible for a cultural renaissance, and that FRPAC works in conjunction with preservation societies and those in the Ainu rights recovery struggle. There are currently nineteen cultural preservation societies throughout Hokkaido supporting projects that incorporate Ainu traditional *rimse* (A: ceremonial dance), which is now recognized as part of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Japan by UNESCO.⁸⁴ FRPAC initiated many projects to support revival of the Ainu language, considered “critically endangered” by UNESCO.⁸⁵ At its peak between 2001 and 2009, the FRPAC supported Ainu language instruction in classrooms and museums in twelve cities in Hokkaido, as well as funding the annual Ainu speech contest Itakanrō (A: let’s speak) described above.

Oral recitation is highly valued in Ainu society and the study of the *yukar* is a difficult undertaking. Gotō Yōko, an Ainu woman, remembers that her father was

⁸⁴ The rimse was inscribed in 2009 as an Intangible Cultural Heritage.
<http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/RL/00278>

⁸⁵ www.unesco.org/culture/languages-atlas/index.php?hl=en&page=atlasmap accessed 23 November 2014.

very good at public speaking and had a very sharp memory (personal interview, January 29, 2013, Sapporo). Many *yukar* are extremely long, can take hours to recite, and are often recited along to a recurring melody. The speech contest is one way the FRPAC helps to promote the preservation of the Ainu's linguistic and musical tradition.

The FRPAC also funds a number of international cultural exchanges with Ainu ambassadors, such as Yūki Kōji's travels to Europe, New Zealand, Australia, and the U.S. For example, Yūki and Kitahara Jirota (Associate Professor at the Hokkaido University Center for Ainu and Indigenous Studies and one of very few researchers of Ainu descent) attended the WIPCE (World Indigenous Peoples Conference and Education) from December 7-11, 2008, in Australia, giving a presentation on Ainu culture at the conference (Gayman, personal interview, April 3, 2013, Sapporo). The Poroto Kotan Museum in Shiraoi houses the Ninaidejigyō (J: project of bearers), a tradition-bearer school for Ainu youth to learn Ainu language, *yukar* oral tradition, religion, art, and plant-lore in a live-in residential situation during weekdays for three years. (Gayman 2013). Many of the students involved in the Ninaidejigyō's program are also part of Team Nikaop (the Ainu youth performing group, discussed later in this chapter).

Despite support for cultural projects, critics of the CPA point out that it does not guarantee economic compensation for the Ainu, which was one of the key demands of the 1984 Ainu Shinpō. Because the application process to FRPAC's programs is complicated, funds are often given to those with resources, knowledge,

and connections. Since non-Ainu can also apply, the FRPAC allocates part of the research budget to well-connected Japanese academics, which emphasizes the criticism about compensation. In addition, many Ainu are economically unstable and they focus on everyday issues and lack the skills and time to take advantage of CPA programs (Siddle 2012). Shinohara Chika, who teaches *tonkori* in Sapporo, explained to me that many Ainu who want to learn the *tonkori* couldn't afford to buy an instrument (personal interview, October 16, 2012, Sapporo). Critics state that the Ainu culture is “locked” into a structure of institutionalism because of its dependence on the CPA, and more importantly, many Ainu recount how the social movement for self-determination and land rights was derailed because the Ainu political movement lost critical momentum and a sense of direction after the passage of the CPA (Gayman, personal interview, April 3, 2013, Sapporo).

The CPA gives some political legitimacy to the Ainu culture through its position within the dominant culture. As an extension of the center with its position of privilege, the CPA allows choices for the Ainu—a choice to participate in the Japanese government or to forgo state funding and maintain a grassroots endeavor. Raising awareness and redefining cultural identity—both for the margin and the center—depends on artists and musicians. In the spirit of Ainu traditional *yukar* epics and storytelling, musicians not only transfer the knowledge and spirit of a culture, but also recreate and imagine it with a vision. Ainu political activism converted into cultural activism with the CPA—and Ainu artists and musicians continue the work of

their forebearers by redefining not only the minority Ainu landscape but also the landscape of a multicultural Japan.

6.4. Institutional and community groups

Musical Interlude: Team Nikaop at Tokachi Plaza, Obihiro, Hokkaido

This Ainu cultural event is part of Ainu awareness performance campaign sponsored by FRPAC that takes place in many public spaces such as shopping malls (e.g. Sapporo) and this particular event that took place at the Tokachi Plaza, in front of the Obihiro train station on September 30, 2012.

The event included the fire *kamui* (A: deity or spirit) ritual outside under a tent by an Ainu group from Akan, free lunch with traditional Ainu food, a quiz show on Ainu culture, and a performance by Team Nikaop. Tokachi Plaza is a large glass structure four floors high and the musical performance was held in the atrium. There was a portable stage with a sound system and chairs were placed in front of the stage. The musical program was performed in the morning and afternoon. An exhibit of Ainu clothing and crafts, including the *tonkori*, was on display in the adjacent room, including an audience-participation of Ainu embroidery.

Team Nikaop is made up of six women and six men all in their twenties or thirties. All wore traditional clothing and the performances consisted of *upopo* (sitting songs), prayers, and *rimse*. Team Nikaop's program began with an oral recitation by a woman member, followed by an *upopo* sung by six women. Next, five men danced while two women sang the archery *rimse* dance. This was followed by "Hantori Hancheka," a dance with four women and four men and sung by one woman. The last performance was the *hechiri* dance described below, where the dancers created a figure-eight movement in a puzzle-like fashion. The afternoon program had different numbers, including the dance "Futari Chui," a women's hair dance, where they fling their hair up and down (see Figure 49). Hand-clapping accompanied all *upopo* and *rimse*, and the sonic quality of the singing was stringent and produced by a chest voice (as opposed to a head voice), but it did not include the guttural timbre that is characteristic of traditional singing.



Figure 49: Team Nikaop performing the “Futari Chui” hair dance at the Obihiro City Ainu Livelihood and Cultural Event. (Photo by author).

Team Nikaop is a professional revival group who perform throughout Japan. It is a ten-member music and dance ensemble, who focus on the preservation of traditional Ainu repertoire. They glean their music and dance material through studying and transcribing recordings from the early and mid-twentieth century. Kitahara Jirota (Mokottunas) founded the group around five years ago, and also leads a group of younger Ainu members, who are mostly college students. He pays mind to historical accuracy when reproducing traditional dances and also incorporates *mukkuri*, *tonkori*, and also *uepekera* (A: story-telling) during performances. Some dances, such as the *hechiri* (A: to play) circle dance from Karafuto are quite complicated. *Hechiri* involves simultaneously singing four melodies, dividing into two circles, making a figure-eight, then forming two circles going in the opposite direction. Team Nikaop performed this *hechiri* dance at the Tokachi Plaza performance in Obihiro city, and at the Kurashiki Japanese Music Festival on March

16, 2013 (see Figure 50). Prof. Kitahara formulated this dance by watching archival videos of traditional Ainu dances (personal interview, August 8, 2011, Sapporo). This group performs about five to six times a year.



Figure 50: Team Nikaop performing a hechiri dance at the Kurashiki Music Festival. (Photo by author).

While Team Nikaop is arguably one of the most visible preservation-based Ainu musical groups in Japan, there are many other community-based music groups in Hokkaido and in the Tokyo area that were formed to preserve Ainu culture. Kantō Utari Kai (Greater Tokyo Comrades Group) is one such community preservation group, led by Kitahara Kiyoko, a long-time Ainu activist. According to Kitahara, the Kantō Utari Kai has an agenda “to pull through amidst discrimination that still persists. There is a lack of education, and one can only learn about Ainu history through museums and self research” (Kitahara Kiyoko, personal interview, July 10, 2010, Tokyo). The group of five women is a main project of the Kantō Utari Kai, who perform *tonkori* and sing traditional songs. They give performances a few times

a year and created a CD in 2001. Some of the members, including Kitahara, were taught *tonkori* by researcher and *tonkori* teacher Tomita Tomoko (see Chapter Four for her background and activities).

The Kantō Utari Kai performed in Sapporo at the Hokkaido Historical Museum during a lecture and symposium on Ainu Traditional Life and the Leipzig Museum Collections in August 2011. The group sang *upopo*, (A: everyday songs) with a less guttural singing timbre than traditionally heard on archival recordings. They sang in a more of a head voice and without *rekte* (A: glottal stop), which is characteristic of traditional Ainu singing. *Tonkori* songs were played in heterophony. Interestingly, Kanto Utari Kai sang song lyrics while they played the *tonkori*, an aspect of *tonkori* playing that is a contemporary practice, since the *tonkori* is traditionally played most always without singing. Kitahara also incorporated political activism into the performance, speaking about the near-extinction of the *tonkori* fifty years ago (see Appendix C for a complete transcription of the event). Kantō Utari Kai enthusiastically brings politics into their performances and promotes their grassroots socio-political goals. In contrast to Kantō Utari Kai, Marewrew is a preservation-oriented group who does not mix political agenda into their performances, and whose main agenda is to disseminate Ainu culture through a wide variety of venues and audiences.

Focused on historical preservation, Marewrew also derive their material from recordings and video from archival material. They are a vocal group made up of four-women with members Reppo, Hisae, Rim Rim, and Mayunkiki, who mostly sing the

genre of *upopo*, which incorporate the distinctive musical element of canonic imitation called *ukuok* (Marewrew's *ukuok* is a canon of four layers). The term *upopo* is onomatopoeic, "from the sound of boiling food, which creates a unique cacophony" (Tanimoto 1999: 284). As mentioned earlier, *ukuok* creates a musical commotion that was historically believed to ward off evil spirits.

Marewrew is closely affiliated with Ainu musician Kano Oki, who is married to a member of Marewrew and who produces their CDs (2010, 2012). Kano often collaborates with Marewrew, which included international appearances at folk festivals in Czechoslovakia, Austria, and the United Kingdom during the summer of 2012. Marewrew continues to perform regularly (about twice a month) in small venues (e.g. coffee houses, jazz/fusion clubs) throughout Japan, especially in Tokyo. One of their signature attributes is the traditional blue-lip tattoo painted onto one or two of the members, during performances, as discussed in Chapter One (See Figure 51). Even though Marewrew does not explicitly assert political issues, wearing a blue-lip tattoo is a bold statement of indigeneity and cultural pride that speaks for itself. Such affirmation of identity is taking hold in the upcoming younger Ainu generation. One of the members of Marewrew is also a university student in residence at Sapporo University's scholarship program for Ainu students.



Figure 51: Marewrew performing at the Kurashiki Performing Arts Festival. (Photo by author).

Honda Yūko, the vice-chancellor at Sapporo University, a private local university, created a scholarship program in 2009 that waives tuition and fees for five to six Ainu students every year, so that they can study Ainu history, culture, and language in collaboration with the Poroto Kotan museum in Shiraoi and the Center for Research for Ainu and Indigenous Studies (Gayman, personal interview, April 3, 2013, Sapporo). Students attend Sapporo University for four years and have formed a cultural club called *Ureshpa* Club (A: to grow with each other) focused on Ainu student unity and visibility. At their annual event, the *Ureshpa* Festival, they presented a program that included traditional dances, music, and oral recitation on October 27, 2012 (see Figure 52). The event included the archery dance, crane dance, a *mukkuri* performance, and the recitation three Ainu folktales (in Japanese), as well as a speech on the spotted owl, an important animal in Ainu folklore that is now an endangered species (see Appendix E for a complete transcription of the Festival).

More recently, they collaborated with composer Sakamoto Ryūichi⁸⁶ in a panel discussion titled “Ainu Bunka to Watashi” (J: Ainu Culture and Myself) on November 3, 2013 that deliberated such topics as discrimination and the importance of a new Ainu identity. Having such a celebrity as Sakamoto participate in an Ainu youth event furthers the Ainu political cause in ways unimaginable thirty years ago.



Figure 52: The third annual Ureshpa Festival, October 27, 2012. (Photo by author).

Other programs have emerged in the past five or so years for the younger Ainu generation that contribute to the cultural renaissance, such as the Ninaidejigyō at the Poroto Kotan Museum, which was mentioned previously in this chapter. As a result of the combined activities and programs for Ainu youth, there is a fairly strong contingency of about thirty to forty Ainu youth who have rejected the norm of passing in the general population, and who are involved in cultural activism in establishing a newly created Ainu identity in the arts. Nurturing a young group of

⁸⁶ Sakamoto Ryūichi is a Japanese composer, pianist, and actor, who has won a Golden Globe, Grammy, and Academy Award for his work in film. He works with anti-nuclear campaigns and strongly supports the Japanese Ainu indigenous cause.

Ainu youth in the cultural resurgence movement is an important step in the formation of Ainu identity in Japanese society. Furthermore, the Ainu younger generation is studying and learning a canonic repertoire, which is helping to form a structure for the emerging tradition.

6.5. Institution and the canonic repertoire

The recent resurgence of Ainu music has created a performing canon of standard repertoire in both *tonkori* and vocal song literature—created by music and songs that are repeated consistently in performances throughout Japan. In all the thirty or so Ainu concerts and events that I attended from 2010 to 2013 that contained *tonkori* music, most played either the popular *tonkori* songs “Tokito Ran Ran” or “Ikeresotte,” or both. The number of different *tonkori* songs that I heard performed did not exceed four or five, including “Tokito Ran Ran,” “Ikeresotte,” “Sumari Puu Kosan,” and “Keh Keh Hetani Payan” (see Appendix A: List of *tonkori* songs). Considering that the entire documented traditional *tonkori* repertoire is made up of around twenty-three songs, the performances point to a very small body of canonic repertoire within a limited repertoire as a whole.

Marcia Citron, in *Gender and the Musical Canon*, explains that musical canon formation “involves a lengthy historical process that engages many cultural variables” (1993: 19), where some of the factors in canon formation include dominant structures like academia, institutions, or the recording industry. She writes:

Canons embody the value systems of a dominant cultural

group that is creating or perpetuating the repertoire, although it may be encoding values from some larger, more powerful group. Thus canons arise in a multi-cultural society of disparate power structures, where canons themselves provide “a means by which culture validates social power.”⁸⁷ (Ibid.: 20)

The popularity of “Tokito Ran Ran” and “Ikeresotte” can be largely attributed to Tomita Tomoko, who consistently taught these two songs to all her students. In addition, institutions such as the Poroto Kotan Ainu Museum and the Pirika Kotan Ainu Museum, include these songs in their *tonkori* instruction classes. In regards to the general *tonkori* repertoire, Tomita and researcher/performer Chiba significantly contributed to the canonization process by putting the pieces into a written score in Western notation (see Chapter Four for a discussion of *tonkori* works and notation).

Ethnomusicologist Tanya Merchant discuss how scholar-performer Yunus Rajabi (1897-1976) collected and transcribed into Western notation two famous collections that “are now considered standard versions of Uzbek traditional music and are often consulted by faculty and other performers at the conservatory” (2011: 258-9). Merchant describes Rajabi’s collections that:

This process of preservation and standardization is of key importance to the revival of traditional music, especially considering the fetishization of musical literacy and of written music in music educational institutions. (Ibid.: 260)

Institutions and concertization encourages canonization and both Tomita and Chiba have important positions in academic organizations that research Ainu culture. Their promotion of specific pieces has contributed immensely to the formation of the present canonic repertoire.

⁸⁷ Paul Lauter 1991: 435.

The Ainu canon derived from traditional songs and dances from various regions throughout Hokkaido and Karafuto. Although these regions were comprised of independent groups with varying dialects and customs, the songs now represent a unified Ainu identity and are performed by Ainu musicians regardless of the songs' regional attachment (e.g. the *Tokachi* (Obihiro) song or the *Akan* song).

6.6. Conclusions

Museums and institutions play a critical role in the formation of Ainu traditional arts, which is a complicated position with many nuanced aspects of political objectives in the recreation of a tradition. Along with physical embodiments of institutions, agents of the center in the form of governmental corporations have exerted considerable power in the formation of the Ainu cultural arts that is currently seen in the FRPAC.

Many Ainu see the CPA as a marker that dissolved the efforts of the rights recovery movement from the 1970s and 1980s. The rights recovery movement built up momentum towards the CPA's passage but never pulled itself together afterwards. In addition, many consider it a milestone in the recent development of Ainu culture, its effects having an enormous impact on the landscape of the performing arts. However, the CPA was not without criticism, investigated in this chapter through accounts from Ainu activists and musicians. FRPAC projects, sponsored by the CPA, have funded the transcription of *tonkori* repertoire and thereby contributed to the

canonization process. Community groups also participate in the standardization of repertoire and performance practice.

So far, the younger generation is mostly involved in reconstruction of “traditional” arts, adhering to what is considered “authentic” through audio and visual recordings in an academic setting. The more innovative directions are taken by seasoned Ainu musicians, such as Yūki Kōji, Kano Oki, and Ogawa Motoi, who are independently creating a sound that is a fusion of Ainu historical repertoire with world music elements (e.g., by incorporating instruments or timbres, or rhythms). The young generation of Ainu performers together with professional musicians participate in a newly created tradition with a sense of agency and exploration, and with an awareness of authenticity engage with the public through and beyond institutions.

Chapter Seven. Conclusion

Throughout this dissertation, I have examined how the Ainu performing arts and the Ainu social movement are two cultural elements that have reinforced each other and evolved into cultural activism. Fieldwork data from key Ainu musicians provides ethnographic material in supporting notions that the musician-leaders and cultural activists are bearers of a new reformed tradition. Situated within the musical revival is the iconic instrument, the *tonkori*, which evolved from traditional practices portrayed in orally transmitted *yukar* narratives and through a close call with extinction to become an important identity marker representing the resurgence of Ainu culture. By examining its historical progression, we have seen how changes in its social function and through a transmission process mirrors the cultural transformation in the Ainu arts in the last six decades following the Second World War. In addition, the *tonkori* illustrates how an instrument can effectively convey meaning as an explicit expression of indigeneity within the minoritization framework in Japanese society.

My research has focused on a musical instrument seldom investigated in English-language ethnomusicological research, and addresses the study of the *tonkori* in a manner that is rarely seen in Japanese scholarship. Although many publications produced in Japan examine the *tonkori* in historical and musicological terms, such as in repertoire, practitioners, instrument construction, and technique (Kanaya and Utagawa 1986, Kitahara 2005, Chiba 1996a, 1996b, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2011), they do

not address social and political aspects that are so critical to the Ainu condition. Moreover, even though numerous publications in Japan and abroad have examined Ainu minoritization and the rights recovery movement from historical and political perspectives, especially in reporting the many legal proceedings in the last two decades, its relation to the performing arts is a neglected area of scholarship. In considering the above reasons, my dissertation makes a unique contribution to Ainu music studies, and more generally for the music of Japan.

Five propositions are relevant to the Ainu performing arts revival and the *tonkori*'s role in it. First, a shared historical past and marginalization issues frame the relationship between the Ainu and the Wajin. Ainu origins are important, not only to construct the historical roots of Ainu indigenous culture, but also to understand the historical intersections between the Ainu and the Wajin. When delving into the *tonkori*'s past, archeologist Utagawa introduced to me a small artifact, ca. 800 C.E., made from a deer's horn that was presumed to be a *tonkori* head (discussed in Chapter Two), which led my query further back into the Jomon era. The common ancestry between the Ainu and the Wajin in the Jomon Neolithic peoples, overlapping territories, travelers between cultures, and trading objects and ideas have contributed to a long-lasting relationship between the two cultures.

However, Ainu responses to Wajin minoritization and colonization shown in the rights recovery movement and the resurgence of the cultural arts have not been completely resolved in Ainu and Wajin societies today. As mentioned previously in this study, this can be seen in the high degree of passing (90-95%) of Ainu as Wajin.

Ui Makiko, a Japanese photographer based in Tokyo, has published a compilation of photographs in 2001 of Ainu people, titled, *Ainu, Tokidoki Nihonjin* (Ainu, sometimes/and yet Japanese) (Watson 2014:20). Cultural anthropologist Jeff Gayman sees that perhaps the reverse is more fitting for the situation: “Nihonjin, Tokidoki Ainu” (Japanese, sometimes/and yet Ainu) (Gayman, personal communication, 2013). Ethnomusicologist Annemarie Gallagher writes about similar situations in the minority Nicaraguan Garifuna:

As an adaptive response, Nicaraguan Garifuna began deliberately to sublimate their Garifunanness. They inserted themselves and were inserted, in turn, into the coast’s Afro-Creole culture. The subsumption process carried on to such an extent that, although there were exceptions, by the 1970s, most were passing themselves off or being passed off by others as Creoles. (2011: 356)

The Japanese government is still hesitant in acknowledging Ainu colonialism. This is a major impetus for the contemporary remaking and reconstruction of cultural arts that is a reaction to discrimination and subjugation. In addition, activities within the rights recovery movement include varying degrees of alliances negotiated between professional musicians with the Japanese government. The cultural arts in Japan (and in most other parts of the world) rely on government funding for projects. For the Ainu, as with many minority groups, government participation is framed by colonialism and disenfranchisement that complicates their “ownership” and the independence of their culture.

Although the Japanese government has been reticent in the past to address minority rights issues, they have made visible steps in recent years. An example is the recognition of Ainu as indigenous peoples of Japan by a resolution from the Japanese

Diet (Parliament) in 2008. In looking at Japan's sizable neighbor, Ethnomusicologist Helen Rees explains that China's engagement with cultural rights issues are deeply embedded within its ethnic minorities (2009: 43). In describing copyright infringement and court cases involving cultural rights, she writes:

There is, however, a fourth factor at work in most of the controversies that have arisen: the majority involve traditional musics of ethnic minorities. When I first started looking into this subject, I was surprised that almost every instance—other than the rather exceptional case of the “Midu folksong”—involved minority music, often being exploited (or perceived exploited) by members of China's majority ethnic Han population. (Ibid.: 71)

With the growing presence of Ainu music in Japanese society, cultural rights issues in minority music may perhaps gain more recognition, as it has in China in the past two decades. In contemporary Japanese society, the assimilation of the Ainu lays the grounds for a shared identity, as the Ainu as the minority culture contributes and helps to define the majority Japanese culture. The notion of what it means to have indigenous identity as contributing to “Japaneseness” can perhaps be further defined as a new Japanese indigeneity in the twenty-first century.

Second, I approach the *tonkori*'s personhood through animism from different sources: interviews with *tonkori* musicians, *yukar* epic poetry, recorded songs, and live performances. Re-evaluating the notion of animism (in Chapter One) was a direct result from experiences, in particular, with Ainu *tonkori* musician Ogawa Motoi, who related that the *tonkori*:

is a person rather than an instrument. The sound is very close to what a person makes, and I join in the sound-making. It's different than most other instruments. It may

not have a fabulous quality for listening, like other instruments, but it has the warmth of a person. I place it on my heart when I play and I think this type of instrument is rare, where we can connect our hearts and become one. (personal interview February 17, 2013, Sapporo)

Other cultures also consider instruments to possess personhood, such as the drum in Tuva, which is believed to be a “living organism,” where ethnomusicologist Theodore Levin quotes his informant Lazo, who is a shaman, referring to his drum: “You have to feed it and take care of it” (2006: 175-6).

The *tonkori*'s animistic embodiment points to its place within Ainu shamanism, which has been a topic of debate among researchers in Japan, the viewpoints of which were presented in Chapter Three. The researchers appear to be divided along generational lines—the older generation (Kubodera, Utagawa, Tomita, Tanimoto writing from 1930s to 1970s) in favor of the shamanic connection and the current generation of researchers (Kitahara and Chiba writing from 2000s to the present) opposed to the hypothesis. The debate is mainly due to the lack of concrete evidence (e.g. audio or video recording), but there are various materials that point to at least an ancillary connection depicted in songs (“Kaco Taata Irekte”⁸⁸ and “Ikeresotte”⁸⁹), dances (“Hosuyesuye Iko’as Irekte”⁹⁰), folk tales (“Tonkori Oyasi”⁹¹), and reminiscences of *tonkori* players from Karafuto, such as Nishihira Umé and Fujiyama Haru. I conclude that the *tonkori* was a shaman’s tool, but not all the time

⁸⁸ Kaco Taata Irekte translates as “drum” (*kako*), “sound” (*irekte*), and *taata* (onomatopoeia for the sound of a drum).

⁸⁹ Ikeresotte is the sound of a demon’s footsteps.

⁹⁰ Hosuyesuye Iko’as Irekte translates as “swing the hips back and forth” (*hosuyesuye*), “dance” (*iko’as*), and “sound” (*irekte*).

⁹¹ Tonkori Oyasi translates as *tonkori* “demons” (*oyasi*).

and for every shaman. There are enough correlations that it is probable the *tonkori* was part of shamanic rituals to some degree.

Animism and shamanism are notions of the Ainu worldview that contradicts dominant Western epistemologies. The assertion of indigenous beliefs through animistic beliefs on the *tonkori* is a declaration of indigenous agency not only for individual musicians, but lays groundwork for an indigenous epistemology.

Third, key players insured the transmission of the *tonkori* from Karafuto to Hokkaido and in addition, researchers, *tonkori* makers, and performers conducted its revival after the transmission, who all have a claim on the resurgence of the *tonkori*. Moreover, the practitioners and researchers address notions of gendering and authenticity in the revival process. The performers from Karafuto were all women (Kuruparumaha, Chikamaha, Nishihira, and Fujiyama) and the gendered aspect of the transmission and their particular lives and activities were investigated in Chapter Three and Chapter Four. The all-female performers in the transmission process were due to social-political circumstances (the need for male labor and the stigma of performing “traditional” music in a modernizing Japan), creating a contrast to what ethnomusicologist Beverly Diamond terms as “male exclusivity” in relationships between humans and musical instruments (2008: 3). Ethnomusicologist Doubleday also argues that: “Specifically focusing on instrumental performance, male dominance is still a powerful phenomenon, even if women are currently ‘breaking taboos’ and playing” (2008: 16).

In addition, researchers who documented and transcribed *tonkori* music were very critical in the transmission process. Authenticity and reconstruction issues in transmission were critically examined (in Chapter Four) in investigating Wajin researchers, such as Kubodera, Tomita, and Chiba. In order to illustrate the differences in transcriptions of various researchers, a thorough analysis of eight different transcriptions of the *tonkori* song “Ikeresotte” were studied in its rhythmic, pitch, and timbral aspects. From its analysis, the varying perspectives of music-making between the Ainu and Western music were discussed, particularly the differences in conception and approach of sound, and the notion of music creation.

Issues of authenticity apply not only to researchers, but also to performers who are disseminating the Ainu revival. The revivalists must present a valid representation of a historical past in order for the practitioners or the listeners to consider the content authentic in some form. Out of the four *tonkori* players, the performer most concerned with authenticity is Chiba, perhaps more so than others, because he is a non-ethnically Ainu. Chiba is meticulous in reconstructing historical *tonkori* performance practice, although he adds improvised material when he performs as Sanpe (Chiba’s professional stage name). In describing music revivals, ethnomusicologist Tamara Livingston writes:

In all music revivals, the most important components for the formation for the aesthetic and ethical code are the ideas of historical continuity and organic purity of the revived practice. (1999: 74)

Hill and Bithell further explain how revivals need to have authenticity in order to legitimize the social cause that they represent:

...the elements of activism and recontextualization inherent in revivals necessitate the establishing of legitimacy, in order to persuade others to accept the musical and cultural changes being promoted and to allow the appropriating group to be perceived as legitimate culture-bearers. The act of legitimization frequently relies upon invocations of authenticity. (2014: 4)

Kano was the first to establish himself as a professional Ainu musician, and he established his ability to play *tonkori* “authentically” with a solo *tonkori* CD album in 2005, *Oki Tonkori*, which is comprised of traditional *tonkori* repertoire that carefully emulated the historical recordings of Karafuto *tonkori* player Nishihira Umé.

Although Kano went on to record many world-music fusion CD albums with his band Oki Dub Ainu Band, he had demonstrated his historical knowledge and practice through his solo *tonkori* album to the Ainu community, as well as to researchers in Ainu studies. Ethnomusicologist Kochi Rié, who studies Ainu *upopo* (A: sitting songs), was particularly impressed with Kano’s dedication for the preservation and transmission of historical practice (personal interview, July 10, 2010, Sapporo).

In addition to being public performers, *tonkori* players (Chiba, Fukumoto, Ogawa, and Kano) also teach and disseminate the practice through lessons and workshops. They all began playing the instrument after they reached adult life, coming into contact with the *tonkori* through some kind of self-described “fateful” meeting (see Chapter Five). Ethnomusicologists Juniper Hill and Caroline Bithell notes that:

Revivalists who have consciously learnt a tradition after being introduced to it later in life, as opposed to having been born into it, may be well positioned to undertake the role of transmitter, which, in addition to musicianship, demands a capability for

pedagogical communication and the ability to explain the tradition to outsiders or newcomers. (2014: 25)

For these musicians, playing the *tonkori* was a conscious choice, either as a means to further the social movement cause (Fukumoto) or to assert an individual indigeneity within a dominant society (Kano, Ogawa), or to preserve an instrumental tradition that was being overlooked (Chiba).

Sometimes, an instrument can represent a social movement—for example, how the folk guitar epitomized the American folk music revival and the civil rights movement in the 1960s (see Cohen 2008). A parallel can be made here with the *tonkori* and the Ainu rights recovery movement. My fourth conclusion is that the *tonkori* is a vehicle for social change—it has become an iconic symbol that represents the resurgence of Ainu cultural arts.

Because the Ainu language is difficult to learn, most Ainu descendants prefer to express themselves through the act of singing or playing a musical instrument—one of the most identifiable markers of being Ainu. Chiba remarks: “the revival happened not from a collaborative effort, but because so many Ainu started to play the *tonkori* as a ‘real’ instrument and gained cultural pride from that. It’s an easy instrument to play and has become an identifiable image of the Ainu” (Chiba, April 3, 2013). The album cover for *tonkori* musician Kano Oki’s CD, *Oki: Kamuy Kor Nupurpe* (A: the god of the small mountain), produced in 2001, shows Kano holding the *tonkori* that he carved, which epitomizes the image of the *tonkori* as an iconic symbol of Ainu culture during the early stages of the *tonkori* revival (see Figure 53).

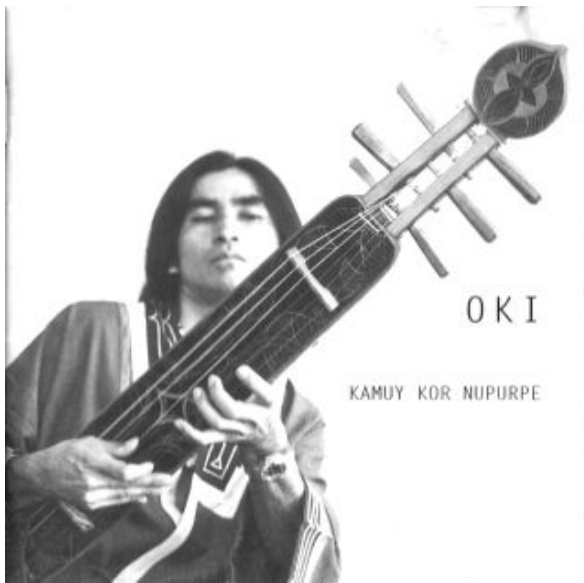


Figure 53: Kano Oki's CD cover of album *Oki: Kamuy Kor Nupurpe* (2001).

Fifth, the *tonkori*'s sonic condition, method of production, and social function have undergone profound changes in the recent decades. Contemporary Ainu music is increasingly becoming a combination of traditional and other musical genres. The Ainu musicians are incorporating Western popular instruments, such as electric guitars, electric bass, and drums, which has necessitated amplification of the *tonkori*. With the exception of Chiba, the professional Ainu musicians discussed in this study incorporate *tonkori* amplification (directly attaching an electric contact pick-up to the instrument).

All of this, combined with the fusion of outside instruments and the all-encompassing influence of tonality and Western musical aesthetics, has changed the sound quality of Ainu music. The resulting sound, heard in the bands Ainu Art Project, Oki Ainu Dub Band, and in the solo *tonkori* music of Ogawa Motoi, is most closely identified as world music. Ethnomusicologist Bruno Nettl's defines this genre

as: “a genre of popular music, called ‘world music,’ which is actually a fusion of Western and various non-Western styles, sounds and instruments” (2015: 23).

Combining traditional elements with those of Western popular music is a recurring theme in other cultures. Ethnomusicologist Tanya Merchant describes the genre of *estrada* in Uzbekistan as, “Uzbek *estrada*, especially that which is identified as ‘national’ *estrada* (*milliy estrada*), makes marked use of traditional musical elements within the framework of Western popular song forms” (2006: 206).

Perhaps the most critical change from historical Ainu music production to the present is purpose of creating music itself. Historically, music functioned as a mode for healing, giving thanks to the many *kamui*, and as an integral part of rituals and ceremonies, among others—inseparable from other life activities. The contemporary setting of a performer/audience exchange has transformed the act of making music from Ainu’s historical ways into a concert dynamic, where the performer on the stage essentially gives a commodity (music) to the audience in exchange for currency of some kind. The *tonkori* and her practitioners are developing a new genre for the Ainu in a recently developed contemporary context, which is structured by commodification, concertization, and professionalization. In discussing the changes from historical indigenous lifestyles to that of a modernized consumer-oriented society, Doubleday writes: “In general, the commodification of any musical instrument is likely to affect its meaning, especially on an international scale, when an instrument enters totally new contexts” (2008: 9). As the Ainu musicians participate as professionals in a new context of concertization, it is through their

connection with the historical past, either by archived music, folklore, *yukar*, or narratives left by their ancestors, that they strive to maintain the integrity of the Ainu cultural essence.

Moreover, the *tonkori* is in company with other world music instruments that travel worldwide and participate in international music festivals and symposiums (especially by Yūki and Kano). As the *tonkori* travels around the globe, it represents not only the indigenous Ainu, but also the nation of Japan—thus expanding its identity to include its majority culture.

Changes in the traditions of Ainu musical expression are occurring rapidly as Ainu musicians engage modernity in the making of a performance art revival. The effects of this revivalism are not limited to Ainu culture. When Ainu performing arts incrementally participate with Japanese arts, the effect is also felt in mainstream culture (e.g. the Kurashiki Japanese “traditional” Music Festival that included both Ainu music and Japanese traditional *sōranbushi* dance). Through these attempts in cultural assimilation, Ainu musicians develop music in creative and dynamic ways to bring multiculturalism to the Japanese cultural landscape. The dynamic and creative process that is being established by the many musicians studied in this dissertation, as well as many others who also contribute to an emerging Ainu performance tradition, is a means of creating sustainability for this new genre.

The simplicity of the *tonkori* (being fretless and only having five separate tones) allows musicians and non-musicians alike to explore and become technically proficient without years of practice. However, a critical detail lies in the spirit

recognition that requires efforts not connected to the notion of formal study. As conveyed by the Ainu *tonkori* players, one of the important aspects of *tonkori* playing is establishing a connection between the player and the instrument as a relationship between two people. The beauty of the *tonkori* lies in this quality. In addition, it also derives strength from its historical significance and role in the Ainu rights recovery movement, where all its various aspects (technical, spiritual, historical) contribute to its unique sound. People who hear the *tonkori* for the first time are struck by its simple and straightforward tone that is also graceful and enchanting. A first-time listener remarked, “its sound is not like any Japanese music I’ve ever heard before.”⁹² Even though the *tonkori* is not currently well-known outside of the Ainu community, it may eventually become emblematic of indigeneity, not only for the Ainu, but also for the people of Japan and beyond.

⁹² Personal communication, Ainu lecture, May 3, 2015, Cabrillo College, Santa Cruz, CA.

Glossary of terms

- Bakufu:* Japanese political body consisting of a military regime in the medieval period and the Edo (feudal) period.
- Burakumin:* Former social and political outcasts of the feudal era and victims of severe discrimination.
- Chasi:* Ainu fort mounds, used for rituals, warfare, and storage of treasures. There are around 550 *chasi* known to have existed in Hokkaido.
- Dōchō:* Japanese government in Hokkaido established in 1886.
- Edo:* The Pre-Meiji era name for the present-day city of Tokyo.
- Edo Period:* Feudal period in Japan (1603-1868), also known as the Tokugawa period.
- Emishi:* Japanese term for indigenous people in the northern region of Honshu, Hokkaido, and Sakhalin before the Meiji era.
- Enkipi:* A piece of seal fur shaped in a triangle used to hold the strings at the bottom of the *tonkori*. It is referred to as the genital area of a body.
- Ezo:* Japanese term for indigenous people of Hokkaido or for the island of Hokkaido before the Meiji era.
- Ezomatsu:* Pine tree native to Northeast Asia and grows abundantly in Hokkaido. The wood is considered masculine and used during shamanistic rites.
- Hankapuy:* Ainu word for “bellybutton” used to describe the small diamond-shaped hole in the lower center of the *tonkori*.
- Hawe:* Ainu word for vocal sounds of people or birds, and also used to refer to the voice of the *tonkori*. Sometimes, the *tonkori* itself was called “hawe.”
- Hechiri:* Karafuto Ainu word for dance and literally means, “to play.”
- Heper:* A baby bear cub that is raised by the Ainu village and sacrificed as part of the *iomante* bear ceremony.
- Hozonkai:* A Japanese word for a community preservation society.

<i>Inaw:</i>	A ceremonial prayer stick made by shaving strips of wood to create a circling pattern on the stick and used only by men.
<i>Iomante:</i>	Bear sending-back ritual in Ainu culture, where the soul of the bear is returned to the universe of the deities with gifts through a sacrifice of the <i>heper</i> , a bear cub raised by the Ainu village.
<i>Irekte:</i>	Ainu word that means “to sound” an instrument or voice.
<i>Kaa:</i>	The literal meaning is “string” and refers to the strings of the <i>tonkori</i> . It was also used as a name for the <i>tonkori</i> by the Hokkaido Ainu.
<i>Kaitaku:</i>	Japanese term for “development,” a euphemism used often for the internal colonization of Hokkaido.
<i>Kako:</i>	A drum used for shamanistic rituals in the Karafuto Ainu culture.
<i>Kamui:</i>	Deities, gods or spirits in Ainu culture that pertains to animals, plants, objects, and natural phenomena.
<i>Kisar:</i>	Ainu word for “ears,” used to refer to the tuning pegs on the <i>tonkori</i> .
<i>Kokutai:</i>	The Japanese national polity.
<i>Karafuto:</i>	Historical Japanese name for Sakhalin Island.
<i>Kotan:</i>	An Ainu village, normally consisting of around five to six families and up to around twenty families.
<i>Meiji Period:</i>	A period of Westernization and colonization that followed the feudal era. Also referred to as the “Meiji Restoration Period” in Japan (1868-1912).
<i>Minzoku:</i>	Japanese term for “ethnic peoples.”
<i>Mohur:</i>	Ainu word for the bridge of the <i>tonkori</i> .
<i>Moshiri:</i>	Ainu term for “homeland.”
<i>Mukkuri:</i>	An Ainu mouth-harp made from bamboo, traditionally played by women and children.
<i>Narsyuk:</i>	A zither of the Khanty or Hanti people of Siberia, with many similarities to the <i>tonkori</i> .

- Netopake*: The Ainu word for “body” and refers to the main body of the *tonkori*.
- Nihonjinron*: The theories of Japanese cultural or racial uniqueness.
- Nihonshoki*: The earliest official chronicle of Japanese history compiled around 720 C.E.
- Nivkh*: An indigenous people residing in the northern half of Sakhalin Island and the Amur River basin, also known as the Gilyak peoples.
- Okhotsk*: Pre-Ainu culture that existed in the eastern coast area of Hokkaido, ca. 500 C.E. - 1000 C.E., which became absorbed or pushed back northward by the Satsumon culture,.
- Ramat*: Ainu word for souls in humans, animals, and inanimate objects.
- Rekte*: Ainu singing style characterized by a glottal stop.
- Rekuhkara*: Throat-singing game of Karafuto Ainu, very similar in purpose and practice to the *katajjaq* throat-singing game of the Inuits.
- Rekutnpe*: Colored strips of cloth, usually red, yellow, blue, green and or purple that were tied to kako drums and tonkori.
- Rimse*: Ainu circle dance, often accompanied by singing and clapping.
- Sanpe*: Ainu word for “heart,” used to refer to a small glass ball or a pebble inserted in the *tonkori*.
- Sapa*: Ainu word for “head,” used to refer to the top round portion of the *tonkori*, often with carvings or drawings of Ainu motifs.
- Satsumon*: Pre-Ainu culture in the Hokkaido region, ca. 700 C.E. - 1200 C.E.
- Shamisen*: Japanese three-stringed lute, commonly plucked with a plectrum, with origins from the *sanshin* lute of Okinawa, which was influenced by the sanxian lute of China.
- Taisho Era*: Period from 1912 - 1926 in Japan, commonly understood as a socially and politically liberal time.

- Todomatsu:* Pine tree that is native to Northeast Asia and grows abundantly in Sakhalin and Northern Hokkaido. The Ainu consider the *todomatsu* as a feminine tree and historically used it to make *tonkori*.
- Uilta:* Indigenous people of Sakhalin, primarily reindeer herders and also known as the Orok people.
- Ukuok:* The imitative practice of singing *upopo* in a canonic style, believed to confuse evil spirits and keep them away.
- Upopo:* Everyday songs in Ainu culture, mostly sung by women.
- Utari:* Ainu word for “fellows” or “comrades.”
- Wagôn:* An indigenous Japanese zither that predates the *koto*.
- Wajin:* Historical name for Japanese, used both by the Ainu and as a self-designation by the Japanese, and literally means a “person of Wa” (Wa is a historical name for Japan).
- Wepeker:* Ainu folktales sometimes also referred to as *uepeker*.
- Yamato:* Historical name of the Wajin political state.
- Yukar:* Ainu Epic poetry, often sung in recitation and narrates Ainu cultural myths and stories that retain cultural memory.

Appendices

Appendix A. *Tonkori* repertoire list transcribed by Tomita Tomoko and Chiba Nobuhiko

Appendix A is a list of *tonkori* songs that were recorded and transcribed by Tomita Tomoko and Chiba Nobuhiko. Because a standard Romanized spelling of titles do not exist, some songs have varied spellings. The song titles are indicated by (T) for songs transcribed by Tomita Tomoko, and (C) for songs transcribed by Chiba Nobuhiko. The descriptions are translations from Tomita's interviews with Nishihira (Tomita 1967: 14-17; Kanaya and Utagawa 1986).

- 1) Sumari Puu Ko-san (T), Sumari Puu Kosan (C). A song about a fox that comes down from the mountain and goes into the storage house, putting its nose in the food. The higher pitches imitate the fox's crying voice. The lower pitches imitate the sound of the fox eating the food. It is a light and upbeat song. The song can be divided between two players.
- 2) Suma Kape Ka Tuhse Irekte (T), Suma Kaa Peka Tuhse Irehte (C). A song about hopping on top of rocks in the ocean water during low tide and trying not to get the feet wet. A very melodic and beautiful song.
- 3) Kaco Taata Irekte (T), Kaco Tata iIrehte (C). *Kaco* (*kacho*) is the Karafuto drum and *taata* is the onomatopoeia word for the sound of hitting the drum. When a shaman becomes inspired, he plays the *kaco* during rites to cure illness, but the *kaco* is mostly used in festivals and ceremonies.
- 4) Ucawre (T), Ucaoora Irehte (C). A song about two people who are having a discussion that turns into an argument. The two thick strings are played to imitate the person who is winning the argument and the three thin strings imitate the person who is losing the argument.
- 5) Cipoo Irekte (T). A very tranquil song imitating the sound of one's paddle in the water while rowing in a dug-out Ainu canoe.
- 6) Tokito Ran Ran (T). This song has a light rhythm and depicts the hopping of small birds that come down to eat alpine leek, also called Ainu garlic that is native to Hokkaido. Ainu garlic grows around lakes and rivers.
- 7) Ikeri sotte (T), Ikeresotte (C). A song that imitates the footsteps or the dragging of the shoes of demons. This song can be played by itself or as part of a dance, where the player plays the *tonkori* while moving the hips around. This song is considered very old and has been played to ward off demons and epidemics. It is also used as a lullaby (*ihumke*) and is a very popular song.
- 8) Retaticika Retaticiri (T), Tetahcikah (C). A song that imitates the voice of many cranes. It was sometimes played with several *tonkori* players. When two players played it, others would keep time by clapping or beating the time with a stick. When the song became energetic, encouraging words, such as "kish," would be called out.

- 9) Iso Kaari Irekte (T), Iso Kaari Irehte (C). A song that imitates the sound of a bear walking in circles in a cage. Inside the cage, there are logs placed on the floor and the sound of the bear's claws on the logs is depicted in this song.
- 10) Kent Tahka Tuhse (T), Kento Hahka Tuhse (C). This song is about a man named Kento who lost his hat due to the wind and looks for it by using a stick that goes back and forth from right to left. The singers sing the story of looking for the hat while the dancers pretend to be blind by covering their eyes with a cloth and move a stick right and left, or go down on the floor looking for the hat. It is a playful song and dance.
- 11) Horipi Iko'as Irekte (T), Horipi Ikeresotte (C). "Horipi" means "to dance and jump around," "ikos" means "to dance," and "irekte" means "to sound." This is a festival song with a lot of skipping. It is a simple song and can become very energetic and enjoyable.
- 12) Hosuyesuye Iko'as Irekte (T), Hosuyasuya Ikos (C). This song means to swing the hips back and forth. It is sung and danced in festivals. Sometimes, a golden rope called *hose kaani* is tied around the hips, and jewelry and bells are placed around the arms during this dance. In particular, young women who are of marrying age are featured in this dance wearing lots of jewelry to announce her eligibility.
- 13) Hekaci Heciri (T). *Hekachi* means "children" and *heciri* means to form a circle in a playful dance, so this is a children's dance song. The *tonkori* player moves the *tonkori* right and left, up and down, and the children learn the movements of the dance and rhythm by watching the *tonkori*. The *tonkori* player needs to have very flexible arms for this song. The words in the song are:
- Eh-sapa kaala kala* (turn your head around and around)
Shi-mon u ton ne (two people face each other and turn right)
Hariki u ton ne (two people face each other and turn left and face each other)
Uko uko uko uko (nonsense words for encouragement) repeated over and over
- 14) Keeh Keeh Hetaani Payean (T), Kehkeh He Tani Paye An (C). This is a song about courting, where a man takes the hand of woman and invites her to go to a private place beyond the cliffs. The words are:
- Keh keh hetani payean*
Te kete toh te kete
Tohta toh toh
- 15) Yakatekara Irekte (T). This is a love song, when one's feelings become very ethereal. There are no words to the song.
- 16) Etuhka Ma Irekte (T), Etuhka Ma Irehte (C). This is a song about a crow by the lake shore, bathing and playing in the water. There are many other songs that imitate crows, such as *etuhka chisi* and *kamp'oro chisi*, which is about a crow that is trapped in a net and crying out loud.

- 17) Opas Kari Ahks (T). This song imitates the sound of a person walking in the snow that is frozen in the winter and makes a crunchy sound.)
- 18) Yayan Irekte (T). This song describes elders getting together and exchanging old stories.
- 19) Tusu Irehte (C)
- 20) Yatarachiri Chishi (T)
(a song imitating a swan's cry)
- 21) Tonkori Heciri (T). This is a dance of the tonkori and is danced by adults. Sometimes, the song *horipi ikos irekte* is played as accompaniment to this dance.
- 22) Sumari Chishi (T). This song imitates the crying and voice of a fox.

Appendix B. Symposium on Ainu Political Policy Sixteenth Memorial Event for the International Day of Indigenous People 2011

Sponsored by the Hokkaido Ainu Association
Christian Center Hall, Sapporo, Japan
August 6, 2011, 10 AM - 3 PM

10:20 AM - 12 PM: Panel Discussion on “Vision For Realizing Rights”
1 PM - 2:30 PM: Lecture “Considering the visions, policies, and actions for realizing
the rights of indigenous peoples” by Professor Kamimura Hideaki
2:30 - 3 PM: Ainu concert featuring Ainu Art Project and Ankorachi Menoko Utara

Panel Discussion: A four-person panel and one moderator, all male gender. The audience is about 45 people of mixed gender of all ages, mostly middle-age, including eight women who will be performing later.

I. Panel Discussion

- Third panelist Yūki Kōji speaks on the image of the Ainu man: from the 1960s and 1970s, it is not a positive image as many Ainu men became alcoholics. He asks what the image was before then.
- Fourth panelist Mr. Uemura speaks on property in Hokkaido: half of the land in Hokkaido is owned by the government, so it should not be difficult for the Japanese government to allocate land to the Ainu.
- The moderator gives a historical background on how the Meiji government subjugated Hokkaido.
- First panelist speaks (forty-something, male, with a bandana and shoulder-length hair, and wears a black t-shirt with a picture of a fire burning on the front). He speaks on how the people who once discriminated the Ainu (the Japanese) is now trying to help the Ainu. Can the media in Japan do a big historical movie or TV series on the history and culture of Ainu to expose the issues to the Japanese population?
- Second panelist speaks on the government’s apology to the Ainu. He questions the meaning of the apology. He wrote an article to the Asahi Shimbun newspaper expressing his feelings.
- Yūki also questions the apology by the Japanese government—for whom is the apology directed and about what does it address? He compares the apology to Australian and U.S. situations. He wants other indigenous cultures to know more about the Ainu culture.
- The fourth panelist refers to the Japanese as “Yamato Minzoku” (J: Ethnic Japanese). He questions the validity of the “foreigners” (Japanese) to come to Ainu land and use the Ainu people for their benefit.

- An audience member asks, “I understand the situation, but what is our agenda and vision, and what can we do?”
 - The first panelist speaks on unifying all the Ainu in various geographical locations.
 - The second panelist (son of Kayano Shigeru) speaks on the political activities of his father.
 - Yūki speaks that he would like for the Ainu to be recognized by the international society and he would like for some rivers to be returned to the Ainu.
 - The moderator speaks on the 2008 Summit when indigenous issues were discussed. He opens up the floor and speaks about poverty in the Ainu community.
 - From the floor, a man (in his 70s or late 60s) gives an impassioned speech conveying his frustrations and anger over the lack of response from the Prime Minister of Japan. He receives a small applause.
 - The moderator addresses Japan’s position toward the indigenous issues in context to the world.
 - From the floor, a woman (in her late 50s) addresses the issues of how Ainu people need to make a living, work in Ainu tourism, and also take care of one’s children. She addresses very practical issues and asks how people can make a living working and raising a family at the same time.
2. Lecture by the leader of the Hokkaido Ainu Association (panelist four).
- He outlines the indigenous status and the political development over the years. The Ainu *minzoku* (J: ethnic group) progressed politically around 1984, which was a very instrumental time, but the 1990s was a very problematic time, since the Japanese government did not understand the problem. 2007 and 2008 was the point of recognition for Ainu indigeneity. 2009 was a time of newness. He talks about a *minzoku seisaku* (J: ethnic governmental policy), and asks, “what is this?” and “why does it exist only in Hokkaido?”
 - He asks if the Japanese government can make an Ainu Minzoku Daigaku (J: Ainu Ethnic University). There are criticisms from the international community in regards to how to go about making Ainu policies.
 - Question from the floor: a man makes a statement that the classroom is extremely weak: education lacks in teaching the true history of the Ainu, Japan, Okinawa, etc. He feels that not enough history of the Ainu is available and there needs to be more research. The Ainu needs to think more freely.
 - The panelist responds that there have been considerable advances in history books.

3. Music Performances
 - The eight-women group Ankorate Menoko Utara and the Ainu Art Project perform. The audience forms a big circle for the last two songs by the AAP and dances, going in a clock-wise direction.
 - The Symposium concluded at 2:30.

Appendix C. Symposium on “Ainu Traditional Life: the Leipzig Museum Collections”

Lecture by Kotani Yoshinobu and concert by Kantō Utari Kai (Greater Tokyo Ainu Fellowship Association)
Hokkaido Historical Museum
Sponsored by the Hokkaido Historical Museum
August 7, 2011, 1-5 PM

1. Lecture by Professor Kotani Yoshinobu: “Ainu Collections at the Leipzig Museum”
 - Kotani begins by listing academic researchers in Japan in the 1990s who began a collaborative effort to put together a list of Ainu artifacts in the world.
 - The lecture addresses who acquired the Ainu artifacts and when. Much of the information is gathered from Kleiner’s 1993 publication of “Ainu Collections in European Museums.”
 - Question from the floor: “Why were there such interest from European collectors toward the Ainu culture?” Answer: “The Europeans have a preservationist view of maintaining indigenous cultures.”
 - Question from the floor: “Why collect our important items for display in museums when Ainu people want to only live in peace with Nature and would like to have the items in our midst?” Answer: Kotani talks about the historical background of research and how Japan had no such research area in the 1910s. The European’s attitude to collect the “other” and to study the culture of the Oriental had begun earlier in the nineteenth century. Kotani replies further, “The collections are here for cultural study and there is now new research to find out how these collections came to be procured.”
 - Question from the floor: An Ainu man talks about being part of a DNA study, where he sent his hair sample to Europe and U.S. research centers. They determined that his DNA is indeed different from the Japanese. He has memories from his younger years when his tooth was pulled and taken for research analysis. He asks whether these types of experiments are still being conducted. Answer: “These experiments no longer exist.” [profuse apologies from Kotani].
2. *Tonkori* performance by the Tokyo-based Kantō Utari Kai, performed by four women in traditional Ainu clothing.
 - Kitahara Kiyoko of the group speaks on the background of the Kantō Utari Kai. They began in 1980 and have been giving performances annually since then.
 - Kitahara continues: “fifty or sixty years ago, the Ainu culture was seen as becoming “extinct.” She talks about her parents, who were born in

Karafuto. Her speech is very emotional and speaks about the many hardships and discrimination she and her family endured.

- The four women (Kitahara Kiyoko, Yahata Tomiko, Mihono Chihiro, and Mihono Maruko) first sing an *upopo*. Kitahara describes this song as being born out of discrimination and the fight to preserve humanity within prejudice. Two out of the four women read from a score while singing. The timbre is less guttural with a more head-voice and Western-influenced vocal style without *rekte* (A: glottal stops).
- They play a *tonkori* song in heterophony that is about a fox. Kitahara explains first that there are two hearts in playing the *tonkori*—represented by the two glass balls inside the *tonkori*. One is the *tonkori*'s heart and the other is for the player.
- They play four more *tonkori* songs, including “Tokito Ran Ran” a song about courtship, and a children’s playful song. All songs are played in heterophony and all are in duple meter.
- Question from the floor: “Who made your Ainu clothes?” Answer: The clothes were first made by the player’s mother, which was embroidered further by the player (Mihono Maruko). She also made her daughter Chihiro’s clothes. Yahata Tomiko is wearing her sister’s clothes who had passed away. Kitahara made her clothes, using the patterns of the Karafuto Ainu, which are different from the Hokkaido Ainu.
- Question from the floor: “What is the agenda of the Kantō Utari Kai?” Answer: They have an agenda to pull through amidst discrimination that still persists. There seems to be a lack of education, for one can only really learn about Ainu history through museums and self-research, and not in school.
- The event concluded at 5 PM.

Appendix D. Symposium Hokutō Asian Ainu Minzoku (Northern Asian Ainu Ethnic Peoples)

Lecture by Professor Emori and Panel Discussion

Sponsored by the Hokkaido Ainu Association

Kyōiku Bunk Kaikan, Sapporo

January 25, 2013, 6-8:30 PM

1. Lecture “Ainu People in Northern Asia” by Professor Emori.
 - Prof. Emori sees a connection between present situation and Ainu history. Ainu issues are also connected to other worldwide indigenous peoples. There are two delineations about the history of the Ainu: before Meiji period and after Meiji period, and there is a big difference between the two.
 - The first period before the Meiji era in Northern Asia includes Kamchatka, Northern China, Sakhalin, Hokkaido and Northern Honshu. The use of the word “minzoku” is problematic for the Ainu, the word “senjū minzoku” (former peoples/race/nation) would be more appropriate.
 - In the 12th century, the Okhotsk people came to Hokkaido, then mixed with the Hokkaido Ainu and then moved up to Sakhalin.
 - The Ainu fought with with Mongols for 44 years in 12th century. These records remain in China, but not in Japan. The Ainu had tried to conquer the Gillyak, who were under the protection of the Mongols and appealed to them for help. In near Amur River, there is a big lake called Lake Kiji. The Ainu went from Sakhalin to mainland around Lake Kiji and fought with the Mongols, and these records are in China.
 - During the Heian to the Kamakura era, it was a time of change in Japan from an imperial to a military rule. Eagle feathers, hawk feathers and otter hide were very important items, which were abundant in Sakhalin. In China, Amur region and Sakhalin, hawks were prized. The indigenous people who lived in the Amur Basin were good at capturing and raising hawks.
2. Panel Discussion: Ainu minzoku no shūkyōteki dentō to kanshū kenri ni tsuite kangaeru (thinking about the rights of Ainu peoples traditional religion and customs). There are nine people on the panel: one moderator, four women and four men. Members on the panel make opening statements.
 - Member 1: There are differences in culture between Karafuto and Hokkaido Ainu. He asks, “When did the Nivkh become the Okhotsk culture?” and “How does Russian historians look at Japanese history?”
 - Member 2: Hokkaido is 65-75% government property. He would like to see Japan return lands in Hokkaido to the Ainu.
 - Member 3: Her family realized that Japanese scientists had stolen treasures buried in her family’s graves when they had to unearth the graves of her ancestors to move them to another location. The case is presently in court hearings.

- Member 4: She grew up without any Ainu cultural awareness or language. Now she thinks that Ainu traditional culture relates to her whole life, and that includes all aspects of an ordinary life, including waking and sleeping hours. She is now considering the problem of being buried as an Ainu.
 - Member 6: She wants to learn about the Ainu culture from artifacts and historical objects, but they are all in museums and one cannot get access to them. She speaks as part of a younger Ainu generation.
 - Moderator: He speaks on the subject of *gishiki no mondai* (J: problem of rituals/ceremonies) and land rights. Similar to the Native Americans in the 1820s, the Ainu is experiencing problems in land rights. Japan sees Hokkaido as being “discovered” and acquired the land as their property to be sold from one to another within Japanese. The basic problem is that the Ainu never “sold” land in Hokkaido to the Japanese. There are territorial disputes within Ainu regional groups, and these factionalisms need to be clarified so that Japan can “buy” the land from the Ainu. A culture needs to have land.
 - The problem in addressing the human bones that were taken from Ainu graves include, “where and to whom should they be returned?” The discussion is leaning to returning the bones to Poroto Kotan Ainu Museum in Shiraoi, but because some of the land at Poroto Kotan belongs to the Japanese government, this poses some problems for some Ainu.
3. Closing music performance by members of the Sapporo Upopo Hozonkai (Sapporo Ainu Song Preservation Group). The audience joined in by making one big circle and danced in the lecture hall.

Appendix E. Third Annual Ureshpa Festa

October 27, 2012, 1 PM - 5 PM

Pulaya Hall, Sapporo University, Sapporo

1. The Festival began with a Video and a PowerPoint presentation of the Ureshpa Club's activities this year. There are eighteen students in the Ureshpa Club. Their major trip was to Europe and various places in Hokkaido. The Ureshpa Club has been learning traditional Ainu songs and dances. Ethnomusicologist Kochi Rié has been teaching them traditional songs.
2. Music and Dance Performances: A) an *upopo* performed by nine women, who are all dressed in traditional clothing. B) nine women dance "Hanchika Hantori Hao." C) four men dance and nine women sing the sword dance. D) the dance of the cranes by four women and two men, and the song is sung by five women.
3. A speech by Yokouchi Ryūzō on the spotted owl (J: *shimafukurō*), which is an animal that is revered by the Ainu. The speech explains the cultural significance of the spotted owl: the spotted owl is considered a *kamui* (A: god or spirit) and the protector of the night. Chiri Yukié has written a *yukar* on the spotted owl. The significance of the owl in other cultures is described, e.g. in Greek mythology. The spotted owl mostly lives in Hokkaido, particularly to the Sapporo area. It is very territorial and also endangered. The owl mostly feeds on river fish and smaller birds. They are very difficult to breed in captivity; if the birds do not like each other, they will not mate.
4. Panel Discussion on the spotted owl in captivity by an owl specialist Hayashi Yūko, Yokouchi Ryūzō, and Honda Yūko.
5. Slideshow of three Ainu folktales.
 - A) The *charanke* (A: story) of the Fox. An Ainu village exist near a tall mountain, where many deer and bears lived, and food was plentiful. Also there were rivers with many salmon, and there were plenty of salmon for the bears and the foxes, and the Ainu. One night, an Ainu elder woman heard human voices. She goes out towards the voices, but the sound is coming from a fox. The fox complained to the old woman that the Ainu were not sharing the salmon with the fox. On the next day, the old woman gathered the village people and berated those who did not share the salmon with the fox. This brought peace between the animal world and the Ainu.
 - B) A nice Ainu couple lived together, but they were childless. One day, a rumor spread that a woman who was completely bald and who ate strange things had taken the treasure of the village. This woman comes into the village. The couple had protected their

house with prayers to the *kamui*. The bald woman came to the couple's house and the couple refers to her as "*kamui*" and offers her respect, even though she had scabs all over her body. The woman asked for a pot and put water in it along with her head scabs. She put the "food" into a bowl and gave it to the Ainu couple. The woman began to eat the "food" and the couple also ate it, but to their surprise, it was very tasty. The couple and the woman went to sleep. In the Ainu man's dream, the woman appeared with hair on her head. Since the Ainu couple ate her "meat," she is able to return to the spirit world. She tells the Ainu man to eat *ubayu*, a plant that is good for the body. She thanks the Ainu and gave the couple a spirit of a child. The Ainu have found that the *ubayu* is a good source of food and will not go hungry in the future.

C) Panante and Penante. Two Ainu men Panante and Penante hunted deer and bears and lived comfortably. They decided to cross the ocean and when they saw a tall mountain, they got off their boat and climbed the mountain. In the meadow, they found a house of gold and found plants with gold and silver flowers. A voice called to them from inside the house, asking them to come in. In the house, an old man said that he was the god of the sea and that he had called the two men because they had thrown away the deer and the bear's head. The god taught them not to throw away the heads of the animals after a hunt. The god gave them a gold bird and a silver bird, and when the two men brought the birds home, the birds turned into very pretty women. Panante and Penante became very wealthy because they treated the deers' and the bears' heads properly. They married the two women and had many Ainu children.

6. Performance by the Ureshpa club students.

- A) *mukkuri* performance by two women and one man.
- B) a game of throwing and catching a round object, called *Hikuri Sarali*.
- C) *rimse* archery dance, called *ku*, with three men dancing and women singing.
- D) a crane dance *chikap upopo*, a song from Asahikawa region.
- E) a dance from the Hidaka region *Yaysama*, which involved audience members to come on stage and dance together.

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