

Meiji shinkyoku:
The Beginnings of Modern Music for the Koto

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This paper argues for the success of early Meiji compositions for the koto, or *Meiji shinkyoku*, by suggesting that the composers' adherence to premodern compositional models allowed for their continued appreciation. At the same time, however, these same composers effected a fundamental change in the esthetics of *sōkyoku jiuta* as they attempted to popularise their music. This change led to a new understanding of music, and allowed Tateyama Noboru (1876–1926) to turn to popular culture and initiate the modernization of koto music. This he did by introducing themes taken from Western military music and keyboard music into his compositions for koto. Tateyama's innovations were a crucial step in the process of Japanese musical modernization as they led to the westernisation of music under Miyagi Michio (1894–1956) and the Movement for New Japanese Music. However, their reliance upon popular bourgeois culture weakened their esthetic value, despite their immense popularity. Tateyama's works thus serve to highlight the strengths of the earlier *Meiji shinkyoku* and what followed with Miyagi, who finally left behind Japanese compositional moulds for forms from Western music. This essay elucidates why most of the compositions in the present day repertoire of *Meiji shinkyoku* are either by earlier composers or those who continued to compose according to earlier models.

Keywords: ESTHETICS, MODERNIZATION, WESTERNISATION, POPULARISATION, *MEIJI SHINKYOKU*, *SŌKYOKU JIUTA*, KOTO, OSAKA, KIKUTAKA KENGYŌ, TATEYAMA NOBORU, MIYAGI MICHIO.

Introduction

In the history of Japanese music, *Meiji shinkyoku* 明治新曲 represent the transition from Edo period compositional practice to Miyagi Michio 宮城道雄 (1894–1956) and the advent of “modern” music for Japanese instruments. “Modern” here refers to the application of ideas taken from Western music for the “improvement” of Japanese music. Despite their historical importance, the performance of *Meiji shinkyoku* is now restricted to a small number of pieces.

The school of performance to which I belong, the Seiha Hōgakukai 正派邦楽会, has published no more than fifteen scores. Other publishing companies have released the scores for another twenty or more pieces; most of these, however, are seldom performed. Indeed, of the total number published, only a handful is performed with any regularity. Given Nakashio Kōsuke's 中塩幸祐 (1911–2006) estimation that approximately one thousand pieces were produced during this period the present day repertoire of thirty five pieces, of which only nine or ten are played with any regularity, is a very small selection of the total.¹ Kikuzuka Yoichi 菊塚与一 (1846–1909),² Tateyama Noboru 楯山登 (1876–1926)³ and Kikutake Shōtei 菊武祥庭 (1884–1954),⁴ for example, each composed over one hundred works. Equally surprising is the scarcity of academic inquiry into *Meiji shinkyoku* and their role in the modernization of Japanese music.

In conducting a preliminary search in the archives of the Seiha Hōgakukai in Tokyo, I came across a remarkable and disconcerting collection of pieces. The collection was remarkable in that it proves the musical creativity of the Meiji/Taishō and early Shōwa period composers to have been extraordinary; and disconcerting in that many of the pieces have openly militaristic themes, and thus reflect a very different form of engagement with contemporary culture than practiced today. Among the titles included in the archives are these: *Gaisen rappa no shirabe* 凱旋喇叭の調 (The Return of the Valiant Bugles), *Tairiku kōshinkyoku* 大陸行進曲 (The Continental March), and *Taiheiyō kōshinkyoku* 太平洋行進曲 (The Pacific March); *Bushi no kagami* 武士の鏡 (The Mirror of the Warrior), *Gunjin no kyoku* 軍人の曲 (The Soldier), *Bushi no tsuma* 武士の妻 (The Warrior's Wife), *Gaika no kyoku* 凱歌の曲 (The Song of Valiant Return) and, most strikingly, *Chintao kachidoki* 青島勝鬨 (The Shout of Victory at Qingdao) and *Shinmingusa nikkān gappei no kyoku* 新民草日韓合併の曲 (The Unification of Japan and Korea).⁵

Meiji Shinkyoku: A Brief Definition

The term, *Meiji shinkyoku* did not exist until the passing of the Meiji emperor in 1912 and the end of a distinct era. When these works first appeared and, indeed, throughout the Meiji period, they were simply known as *shinkyoku* “new works.” *Meiji shinkyoku* belong to a larger group of genres for koto and shamisen collectively known as *sōkyoku jiuta*. Most display distinct musical and/or textual characteristics, and *Meiji shinkyoku* are no exception. Thus far, however, the only extended discussion in English of *Meiji shinkyoku* is Bonnie Wade's *Tegotomono*, which despite the misleading title, is in fact an in-depth analytic study of five representative pieces from the repertoire.⁶ In Japanese, Hoshi Akira 星旭 published a series of articles on *Meiji shinkyoku* in the journal *Gakudō* 楽道, but again the method is primarily music analysis.⁷ A second work in Japanese, by Nakashio Kōsuke, is more difficult to summarise, but combines the oral history surrounding this music, which the author absorbed during his training in Osaka before World War II, with generalizations on *Meiji shinkyoku*. Other academic works in which *Meiji shinkyoku* are mentioned, such as Kikkawa 1968 and Hirano 1978, do not focus on this genre *per se*, and their observations are restricted to generalisations, which do little to further an understanding of the repertoire. They do, however, provide a convenient framework from which to begin the discussion, and I provide them below.

The first musical generalization regarding the genre is that the fundamental scale associated with *sōkyoku jiuta*, namely the *miyako bushi onkai* 都節音階, has been restructured. The minor seconds are replaced by major seconds to create a brighter clearer tonality, which was perceived

as more appropriate for the burgeoning Meiji state. The second generalization is that composers avoided composing for the shamisen as new Meiji morality held a dim view of the instrument due to its association with the licensed quarters. Most *Meiji shinkyoku* were therefore for two koto rather than shamisen and koto. A third generalization is that, later in Meiji, new techniques reflecting an increasing awareness of Western music are gradually incorporated. The vocal lines for *Meiji shinkyoku* are considered easier to sing as the rhythmic displacement typical of pre Meiji works is replaced with rhythmic regularity. The Meiji texts are distinguished by a marked shift away from irregular verse and the erotically charged imagery of Edo period culture yields to excerpts from classical literature, poetry (*waka*) from the classic anthologies, or poetry composed by the Meiji emperor and other members of the imperial family.⁸ The final generalization is that most of the composers of *Meiji shinkyoku* are located in Osaka and the immediate Kansai region.

These generalisations are certainly accurate, but it is misleading to take them as reflective of the entire *Meiji shinkyoku* repertoire and its production. After all, the Meiji period and the process of musical modernization were hardly a unified whole. Here I propose that the changes occurring during Meiji fall into two distinct phases, each with a slightly different dynamic, each requiring different analytic concepts for their discussion. Nonetheless, it is necessary to realise that there is considerable overlap between the phases as many of the traits or practices associated with one continue into the next.⁹ The first phase, approximately 1884 to 1896, begins with Kikutaka Kengyō's 菊高検校 (1838?–1888) *Mikuni no homare* 御国の誉, the seminal *Meiji shinkyoku*. During this period, the musicians initiated the fundamental changes in the esthetics of *sōkyoku jiuta* that later allowed for the modernization of koto music. The second period, exemplified by the works of Tateyama, begins in 1896 with his composition *Gaisen rappa no shirabe* and ends more or less with his death in 1926. During this period, Tateyama expanded the new esthetics, which allowed him to present the first serious challenge to *sōkyoku jiuta* esthetic norms, with his introduction of clear references to popular culture. Indeed, these references, which Nakashima later interprets as “realism,” made his works extremely popular. At the same time, however, they were censured as populist, and Tateyama was the first *sōkyoku jiuta* musician to be accused of esthetic compromise.¹⁰ Nonetheless, Tateyama's innovations were the catalyst leading to the following phase of modernization during the Taishō and Shōwa periods.¹¹ With only one or two exceptions, however, those works that have survived in the present day repertoire all belong to the first phase.

This paper offers a suggestion as to why, of the multitude of pieces produced during Meiji, it is the first phase *Meiji shinkyoku* that retain their esthetic value and are still performed. The focus here falls on Tateyama's manipulation and transformation of the first phase populist esthetic into a bourgeois esthetic, the better to highlight the inherent strength of the first period works. There is no doubting the historical significance of Tateyama's works for they led to modern Westernised music for the koto and thus historically invaluable. At the same time, however, Tateyama's reliance upon a bourgeois esthetic was double edged, and his strengths were his very weaknesses. The bourgeois esthetic demanded innovation within a restricted paradigm, which allowed Tateyama to incorporate Western music, but only as an object of popular consumption. It also forced him to create works with a similar popular appeal. Tateyama, however, could not have accomplished what he did without the fundamental change in esthetics characteristic of the first phase of *Meiji shinkyoku*.

Osaka and the New Esthetics

Why should this new music, or its esthetics, have started in Osaka rather than other metropolitan regions in Japan? To answer this is problematic as the only source is the oral history of the musicians.¹² The history suggests two reasons: 1) the impact of the dissolution of the Tōdōshiki yashiki 当道職屋敷, that self-governing organization for blind male musicians who played the lute as they recited tales from the warrior epic, *Heike monogatari* 平家物語; 2) the distinctive cultural ambiance of Osaka.

In their determination to establish a centralised government in 1871, the Meiji leadership abolished the largely autonomous domains and replaced them with prefectures headed by governors.¹³ Immediately following the abolishment of the domains, the government published an edict, known as the Mōkan haishirei 盲官廃止令, which dissolved the *tōdō*, the protectionist guild to which the blind musicians belonged.¹⁴ The Edo bakufu had provided the guild with financial support by way of taxes levied on ceremonial occasions. Dissolution impacted on the musicians immediately and profoundly, as it meant the termination of stipends. This loss of income was exacerbated by the social turmoil of the early Meiji period, which caused a precipitous decline in the number of students, an additional source of income for the musicians. Left to their own devices, musicians were faced with the immediate problem of how to generate revenue.

By all accounts, the blind musicians who lived in Osaka and the immediate region suffered greatly, with some apparently reduced to performing in vaudeville or even as street musicians. Those who lived in the more conservative castle towns of Edo (Tokyo), Nagoya, and Kyoto, as the center of the arts associated with the imperial court, suffered less as pre Meiji attitudes of deference towards the blind musicians of rank lingered. Those Osaka musicians, however, who succeeded in weathering the turmoil did so because they were Osakans, because they belonged to an urban culture that had long been characterised as distinct from Edo and Kyoto. The accepted explanation is that having been a centre of commerce, the people of Osaka had a practical approach to life, and focused upon the gratification of the senses, the immediate return, the new and the profitable. It is not difficult to see how Osaka pragmatism and financial straits combined with the lack of the conservatism associated with the 'castle towns' and with Kyoto to generate an environment in which the musicians could experiment with new compositional styles, as they attempted to attract students.

Oral history holds that the composers from Osaka active during this period—Kikutaka Kengyō, Kikusue Kengyō 菊末検校 (1852?–1892), Kikuoka Kengyō 菊岡検校 (?–?),¹⁵ Kiku'ue Meikin 菊植明琴 (1835–1913), Kikuta Yaenoichi 菊田八重一 (1848–1929), Kikuzuka Yoichi, Nakahira Fukunoichi 中平福之一 (1852–1938), Nishiyama Tokumoichi 西山徳茂一 (1857–1898), Tatesawa Kengyō 楯沢検校 (?–?) —were close, and met on a regular basis to discuss and perform music, but also to devise strategies to address the financial difficulties they faced. The obvious answer was to increase the number of students; the great questions, however, were how to attract students and how to interest the public in *sōkyoku*. Kikutaka, the apparent leader of this group, turned to a genre of popular music known as *minshingaku* 明清楽 (Ming Qing music), in devising a new scale (discussed below) for his 1884 composition *Mikuni no homare*, the first *Meiji shinkyoku*.¹⁶ It is said that soon thereafter, Kikusue composed *Saga no aki* 嵯峨の秋, one of the celebrated *Meiji shinkyoku*, another work that makes use of the new scale. Nothing has survived in oral history about how Kikutaka and Kikusue arrived at the decision to reference *minshingaku*; nevertheless, all accounts agree that their foremost

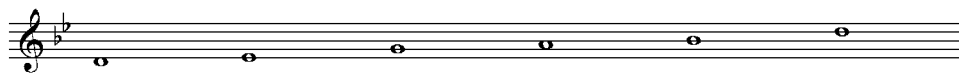
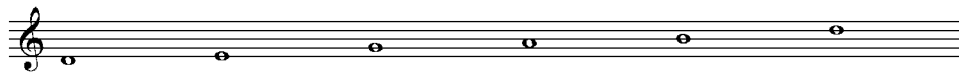
goal was popular appeal.¹⁷ The Osaka public found these two works novel, fantastic even and, judging from the number of compositions that subsequently made use of this scale, the Osaka composers succeeded admirably in popularising their music.

The one thing, however, that oral history does not account for is the disjuncture between the unmistakably important date of 1868, the year imperial rule was restored, and the mid 1880s when *Meiji shinkyoku* evidently emerged. Neither has there been any academic suggestion to explain this fifteen year delay. One possibility is that *Meiji shinkyoku* arose as part of the cultural anxiety that appeared in the 1880s caused by the headlong rush to modernize after Western models. This modernization was forced on the often unwilling populace by the Meiji oligarchy. Seen in this light, this music can be interpreted as an attempt by both producer and consumer to address the question of what the 'New Japan' and its music were to be. This in turn would support the suggestion that the esthetic changes seen in *Meiji shinkyoku* represented a shift in the musicians' understanding of the relationship between music and consumer, which then influenced their choices as they participated in the formation of a new culture.

In creating a music that would attract a larger audience, Kikutaka fashioned a genre that fused elements from a variety of different sources, some of which were based in Edo period practices, while others were taken from the popular music of the time, and still others, particularly texts, reflected the popular themes and images of the new age. The musical form Kikutaka used would have posed little in the way of esthetic challenge to the late Edo/early Meiji period audience as it was based on a classic *sōkyoku jiuta* genre, *tegotomono* 手事物. At the same time, the new scale with its reference to *minshingaku* and the use of two koto rather than koto and shamisen would have been exciting and different. These early texts addressed themes with which the Meiji audience was intimately familiar, such as civilisation and enlightenment (*bunmei kaika* 文明開化) and the emperor (*tennō* 天皇), or concrete symbols of modernity such as newspapers. Famous heroes of classical Japan known for their loyalty and sense of duty, scenic sights of renown, and poetic texts describing seasonal change were also taken up. By the time of the Sino-Japanese War, and the rise to prominence of Tateyama, these 'new works' had evolved. Some of the characteristics hinted at in the earlier works, nationalism and militarism in particular, now became extremely pronounced, rendering them even more popular and attracting students as well as audiences for their performances.¹⁸ *Mikuni no homare* is indeed the exemplary early *Meiji shinkyoku*, and while it may not contain all the characteristics of the genre, it nonetheless embodies much of what was to happen during this period.

The New Scale: Chinese Popular Music

The most immediate musical change in *Meiji shinkyoku* was without question the new scale. While the change was slight—a mere two notes—the impact of the alteration upon the early Meiji listener must have been profound. For Kikutaka modified the fundamental scale of *sōkyoku jiuta* and of nearly all Edo-period music, the namely *miyako bushi* scale. This premodern scale comprise two perfect fourths, a major second apart, commonly referred to as nuclear tones, which in the example given below (Figure 1 a.) are D–G and A–D, linked to create an octave.¹⁹ The distinct colour of this scale was created by the two notes, each a minor second above the root of each fourth, E flat and B flat. While the B flat was commonly raised a major second to C when functioning as a leading tone to the upper D, the lower E flat was nonetheless stable and never altered except when modulating temporarily or permanently to a related key.²⁰ Kikutaka, however, altered the minor seconds to major seconds, imparting a

Figure 1a: *miyako bushi* scaleFigure 1b: modified *miyako bushi* scale

completely different flavour to the scale.²¹ (Figure 1 b.)

Hirano has suggested that Kikutaka's experimentation with scale was the continuation of a trend that began during the final decades of the Edo period. Mitsuzaki Kengyō 光崎檢校 (?–1853?) and Yoshizawa Kengyō 吉沢檢校 (1808–1872) both explored the textural possibilities correct of the expansion or extension of tunings in which the notes of the *miyako bushi* scale were no longer in the closest possible configuration on the instrument; nor did they insist that all the notes be present.²² Hirano's suggestion may be true; however, the motivation behind the Mitsuzaki and Yoshizawa altered tunings was very different from Kikutaka's alteration of the scale. Mitsuzaki and Yoshizawa sought to reestablish the compositional ethos of the early Edo period and restore the koto's position as the primary instrument of composition.²³ Their purpose may reflect one of the prime tenets of the *kokugaku* 国学 (national learning) movement of the late Edo period: *fukko* 復古, the "return to antiquity," a romantically tinged nostalgia for a pure Japanese past. While they made no attempt to recreate ancient compositions, they nonetheless sought to evoke the past by turning to *gagaku*, the music of the imperial court, and by incorporating elements of the tunings used for the *gakusō* 楽箏, the koto used in the *gagaku* 雅樂 ensemble. The changes they made in the tuning are octave displacements that evoked the sound of the *gakusō*. In Yoshizawa's tuning, for example, the second string was a unison with the seventh rather than the octave below, which mimics the *banshikichō* 盤渉調 tuning for the *gakusō*. Their compositions were also based on *kumiuta* 組歌, the oldest *sōkyoku* genre, the structure of which derives from the *gagaku* work, *Etenraku* 越天樂. Nonetheless, as mentioned above, none of these tunings altered the fundamental pitches comprising the *miyako bushi* scale. Instead of the lofty ideals of *fukko*, Kikutaka took the first step in changing the fundamental relationship between the musicians, their music and the consumer of music for the koto. He sought to popularize the koto.

To this end, Kikutaka turned to *minshingaku*, a Chinese chamber music seen as an acceptable pastime for the educated urban classes and fashionable at different times during the Edo period, but notably so from the early Meiji period through the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895. As a term, *minshingaku* is a compound of *mingaku* 明樂 and *shingaku* 清樂, the former being Ming period (1368–1644) Chinese music that entered Japan in the late 17th century, and the latter, music of the Qing period (1644–1912) that reached Japan later during the Bunka Bunsei 文化文政 periods (1804–1830). In both instances, Chinese traders were instrumental in introducing this music to Japan through Nagasaki, one of only four ports open to international trade.²⁴ The Japanese fascination with, and admiration for, Chinese culture are well known, and the presence of Chinese traders and musicians in Nagasaki must have been an irresistible attraction to the local student and literati population.

The one *minshingaku* composition Hirano and Nakashima both cite as having played

an important role in the formation of the new scale is *Kyūrenkan* 九連環. This work was first heard in Osaka in 1823 with the performance of a dance entitled *Kankan odori* 看看踊 by a theatrical troupe from Nagasaki.²⁵ (The title word *kankan* is taken from a textual refrain in *Kyūrenkan*.) The dance and the music were extremely popular and soon spread to the major metropolitan areas where they engendered new forms of popular music throughout the Meiji period: *hōkai bushi* 法界節, *sanosa bushi* さのさ節, and *umegae bushi* 梅が枝節.²⁶ Street musicians performed these new genres to the accompaniment of the *gekkin* 月琴, a four-stringed lute that entered Japan with *minshingaku*. *Minshingaku* association with the street performers, always a suspect social group, however, damaged its reputation, as an acceptable pastime, and its popularity declined after the Sino-Japanese War.²⁷ At the time Kikutaka composed *Mikuni no homare*, however, *minshingaku* had yet to garner its questionable reputation, and the reference to *Kyūrenkan* and the *Kankan odori* with the new scale was assuredly novel and exciting for the Meiji audience. The new scale was a great “hit,” and many of the *Meiji shinkyoku* made use of it.²⁸

The alteration of the scale, however, while profound in its significance, was the only musical change Kikutaka made. In what may have been a remarkably astute move, or perhaps the only move he could have made, Kikutaka retained the *tegotomono* structure for *Mikuni no homare*. Originally a genre for *jiuta shamisen* with the option of koto accompaniment, *tegotomono* progress through a sequence of predetermined musical occurrences. The distinguishing feature is one or more extended instrumental interludes—which also consists of a sequence of fixed musical elements—that become the focus of greater musical interest than the vocal sections. The importance of *tegotomono* is that by the 1830s, particularly with the works of Kikuoka Kengyō (1792–1847), the koto has been liberated from its role as mere accompaniment for the shamisen and established as an independent voice. It now became impossible to perform most of the 19th century *tegotomono* without both koto and shamisen. Of the Edo period *sōkyoku jiuta* genres, *tegotomono* was the most sophisticated and musically complex, in that it relied upon musical form or structure rather than text. If the number of pieces produced is any indication, by the end of the Edo period, *tegotomono* compositions were the most widely consumed genre. The increasing sophistication of the instrumental interludes suggests that they were appreciated for esthetic innovation as well. Modern Meiji morality and the demise of the shamisen as an acceptable instrument combined with an appreciation of *tegotomono* as objects of esthetic consumption may have led Kikutaka to the creation of *Mikuni no homare*, a work for two koto that adheres to the *tegotomono* structure.²⁹ Combined with the new scale, he created what was by all accounts an extraordinarily popular genre in the history of *sōkyoku jiuta*.

The New Texts: Popular Ideology and the New Nation State

Further contributing to the success of *Mikuni no homare* was Kikutaka’s choice of a populist text. Edo period *sōkyoku jiuta* texts were without exception devoid of any reference to contemporary events or political movements, and were thus curiously limited. Most of the *jiuta* texts, for example, focused on the idealised romance of the floating world, which provided its listeners with an interesting if myopic view of Edo period culture. The *sōkyoku* texts were confined to *koto kumiuta* and the image and diction therefore invariably derived from classical Japanese literature and poetry.³⁰ Nakashio has suggested that many of the texts used in Edo period *sōkyoku jiuta* were remote both linguistically and culturally for the audiences of the new Meiji Japan.³¹ There is no question that the appreciation of the *sōkyoku* texts required a

high level of education, not only in terms of diction and lexicon, but in terms of cultural and historical knowledge as well. An appreciation of the poetry used in the *koto kumiuta Jichō* 二長, for example, required knowledge of Buddhist mythology, and Chinese history and mythology, while the *koto kumiuta Ukifune* 浮舟 assumed an intimate knowledge of *The Tale of Genji*. Given that most *jiuta* texts focused on Edo period culture, they would have been more accessible to the Meiji audience. With the new Meiji morality, however, those that dwell on the idealised romance of the floating world may have seemed inappropriate or simply old-fashioned. With its references to contemporary events and ideas, *Mikuni no homare* must have been a refreshing change for the Meiji consumer.³²

A paean to the emerging nation, *Mikuni no homare* celebrates the Meiji state, the return to imperial rule, the formation of a centralized government, and Japan's interaction with foreign powers.

「御国の誉」

神の代の光変はらで日の本のげにありがたき大君の昔に還る政事鄙も都も
明らかに治まる御代の秋津国水も魚との君と臣

手事

異国かけて交はりもなほ年ごとに開け行く民ゆたかなる豊年に神の恵みの
現はれて国の御稜威は尽きせじな国の光は絶えせじな

Mikuni no homare

*Kami no yo no / hikari kawarade hi no moto no / ge ni arigataki ōkimi³³ no / mukashi ni
kaeru matsurigoto³⁴ / hina mo miyako mo akiraka ni / osamaru miyo no Akitsukuni³⁵ / mizu
to uo to no kimi to tami*

tegoto

*kotokuni kakete majiwari mo / nao toshigoto ni hirakeyuku / tami yutaka naru toyotoshi
ni / kami no megumi no arawarete / kuni no mi'izu wa tsukiseji na / kuni no hikari wa
taeseji na*

In Praise of the Empire

The light of the Age of the Gods shines undimmed; returned to ancient rule with the emperor, our benevolent lord, beneath the sun, the administration of the realm governs with clarity both country and city in the land of Yamato in this imperial age. The lord and his people are as water and fish.

Interlude

Exchange with foreign countries develops with each passing year, the people are blessed each year with riches. As the blessings of the gods appear, the imperial authority shall never fail, and the light of the country never vanish.³⁶

Why Kikutaka composed this particular text is unknown. Nonetheless, for the purpose of popularisation, Kikutaka's selection was as astute as his choice of musical material. All of the images—the establishment of an imperial government, the retraction of the emperor, Japan's interaction with foreign powers, the benevolent and paternalistic image of the emperor as the sea nourishing his subjects, the emphasis upon an eternal imperial authority—were ideals promoted by the Meiji oligarchy, familiar to populace and of immediate interest and concern. Even more important is the new awareness of Japan as a nation state, as a unique entity interacting with

foreign entities. Like most nationalistic texts, it has not aged well and holds little interest for today's audience, and indeed, *Mikuni no homare* is now very seldom performed. For the Meiji audience, however, there seems no question that the appeal of these texts was immense. With the second phase composers, particularly Tateyama and Kikutake, the works that appeared through the Taishō and pre war Shōwa periods are increasingly nationalistic and reach an apex of popularity immediately before World War II.

***Meiji shinkyoku*: The Aesthetics of Modernization**

It is clear that the primary motive for the *Meiji shinkyoku* musicians was to popularise their music. It is, however, vitally important to recognise that in terms of musical changes, the first generation composers altered nothing but the scale. Unlike Tateyama, who borrowed melodic and rhythmic material from Western military music in his *Gaisen rappa no shirabe*, Kikutake and the other first period composers never quote *minshingaku* melodies, and their musical language remains unchanged from Edo period practice. I suggest this adherence to earlier norms is what allowed the first phase *Meiji shinkyoku* to survive esthetically intact. The change may have been small, but its significance was immense. Popularisation altered the fundamental aesthetics of the music. Rather than addressing themselves to an audience comprised of the cognoscenti, the musicians were establishing the foundations of a music that would have an immediate appeal to a broad consumer base; they were creating a market driven by popular tastes and a craving for novelty. In the process, they generated a populist esthetic that would allow the representative second phase composer, Tateyama, to capitalise on the changes taking place as Japan remodelled itself after the West and to initiate the move to modern westernised music for the koto.

By the 1890s, when Tateyama was composing, the populist esthetic had been firmly established, and maintaining the public's interest—particularly as the Osaka audiences were as fascinated with the novel—required continual innovation on the part of the composers. Novelty, however, could only be framed within what Dahlhaus refers to as “the ceaseless repetition and quarrying of ideas which have already proved successful...”³⁷ The suggestion here is that much of what is produced under a populist esthetic is an originality bound by convention. Indeed, Nakashio claims that the composers' need for the new led them to produce pieces of little merit, as much of their energy was spent on devising increasingly unusual tunings.³⁸ Born, raised and trained during the Meiji period, Tateyama belonged to the first generation of composers for whom this new populist esthetic was an accepted cultural outlook. In his search for novelty, Tateyama turned to more recent popular music genres, Western military music and keyboard music, and in doing so, introduced three new concepts of musical organisation that forced composers to reconsider their own musical language: metre, thematic regularity and multi-note sonorities that resemble harmony.³⁹ Like the earlier composers of *Meiji shinkyoku*, he never abandoned the *tegotomono* structure, a fact which perhaps reflected the success of this convention with consumers. In borrowing from Western music, however, Tateyama began the Westernization of *sōkyoku jiuta*.

To illustrate the process of Westernization/modernization generated by the populist esthetic, I provide three excerpts from representative composers of the first and second phases of modernization during the Meiji period. The first is from the *tegoto* of Matsuzaka Harue's 松阪春栄 *Kaede no hana* 楓の花 (Figure 2 a.), the second from the *tegoto* of Tateyama's *Gaisen rappa no shirabe* (Figure 2 b.), and the third from the *tegoto* of Tateyama's *Hototogisu no kyoku* 時鳥の曲 (Figure 2 c.). I also provide an excerpt from Miyagi's *Ochiba no odori* 落葉の踊り

to illustrate the significance and implications of Tateyama's innovations.

Kaede no hana is recognized as one of the great *Meiji shinkyoku* and represents what may be considered the musical norm for the first phase Meiji works. This composition is over twenty minutes long which makes reduction impossible. However, the process of Westernization can be readily understood through changes in the instrumental sections. The section given below consists of a *kakeai* 掛け合い, that is the exchange of melodic material between two instruments, and its climax, which is then followed by a shift to a more orthodox texture.⁴⁰ The contour of all *kakeai* resembles the example here with the exchange of two clear melodic phrases followed by increasingly shorter gestures that conclude on a unison or an octave. This *kakeai*, for example, ends on the A in the middle of the third system or line. *Kakeai* normally return to the stereotypical texture that follows. The length and rhythmic regularity of the antecedent consequent phrases suggest a metrical framework of 4/4; however, to assign this or any other time signature would be an error. The Edo/early Meiji composers' perception of metre was limited to *hyōshi* 拍子, a unit composed of a strong beat followed by a weak beat.⁴¹ The idea of grouping *hyōshi* into larger units, or of a relationship between melodic length and larger groupings, would have been foreign. (I have sought to represent this perception by removing

The image displays a musical score for two koto instruments, labeled 'koto I' and 'koto II'. The score is organized into five systems, each with two staves. The first system shows the initial exchange of melodic phrases. The second system, starting at measure 5, shows a more complex exchange. The third system, starting at measure 10, features a climax with increasingly shorter melodic gestures. The fourth system, starting at measure 15, continues the melodic development. The fifth system, starting at measure 19, shows the final part of the excerpt. The notation includes various rhythmic values and melodic contours characteristic of the *kakeai* technique.

Figure 2 a: *Kaede no hana*—*tegoto* (excerpt) comp. 1897, Matsuzaka

the bar lines in the example.) Another Edo/early Meiji period characteristic was the lack of thematic material. Despite the distinctiveness of the melodies in the first two systems, they never reappear; they never function as a theme that unifies the piece. *Kakeai* are rather moments of stasis in which melodic movement ceases, and the focus shifts to the rhythmic interaction of the two instruments. Pitch content is, of course, important, but the excitement lies in the increased tension created through successively shortened gestures exchanged between the two instruments. These *kakeai* are often the great moments of inventiveness in *tegotomono*. Their function in the piece, however, is to provide a textural contrast from the melodic movement shown at the end of the example.

The melodic and rhythmic structures in the example above are identical with Edo period *tegoto*, as is the overall structure of the piece. The only differences are the scale used and the instrumentation. As mentioned above, in pursuing the novelty demanded by populist esthetics, Tateyama turned to Western military music, and in imitating the rhythms and the melodies of this music, he effected profound changes in *sōkyoku jiuta*. The second koto opens with a sixteenth note eighth note motif that clearly imitates military rhythms, while the first koto mimics the pitch content and contour of bugle melodies. This use of melodies derived from Western military music imposes a thematic unity never seen in the earlier works into *sōkyoku jiuta*, and at the same time also imparts a hitherto unknown metrical organisation. The contrast between *Kaede no hana* and *Gaisen rappa no shirabe* is immediately evident. Instead of extended flowing melodies that are not readily measurable, Tateyama's "new melody" falls into phrases two "measures" in length. Whether or not Tateyama understood the *tegoto* in terms of 2/2 or

The image displays a musical score for two kotos, labeled 'koto I' and 'koto II'. The score is organized into three systems. Each system consists of two staves. The first system shows the initial melodic exchange. The second system, starting at measure 5, shows a more complex rhythmic interaction. The third system, starting at measure 10, shows a dense rhythmic texture with many sixteenth notes. Vertical dashed lines indicate the 'kakeai' points where melodic movement ceases and rhythmic interaction begins.

Figure 2 b: *Gaisen rappa no shirabe*—*tegoto* (excerpt) comp. 1896, Tateyama

Figure 2 c: *Hototogisu no kyoku—tegoto* (excerpt) comp. 1901, Tateyama

4/4 is unclear; nonetheless, the suggestion is there.

Tateyama's other significant change was the introduction of multi-note sonorities that suggest an awareness of Western harmony; again, this was something completely new to *sōkyoku jiuta*. In imitating harmony, Tateyama revolutionized the composers' approach to the koto as instrument by using both hands in the playing area. Ordinarily, the left hand manipulates the pitches by pushing on the strings to the left side of the bridges, while the right hand with plectra on the thumb, first and second fingers executes the melody in the playing area to the right side of the bridges. During the Edo period, in the two or three pieces in which the left hand is used in the playing area, it is restricted to the articulation of a single note, invariably the octave displacement of a repeated note. While the use of the left hand increased with *Meiji shinkyoku*, until Tateyama's *Hototogisu no kyoku* (Figure 2 c.), it never articulated anything more than the single note. For this work, however, Tateyama created what is known as the *tsurushan* ostinato, a new performance technique in which the left hand articulates an open fifth (the A and the E), while the right hand performs an ostinato to create a three note sonority.⁴² This work transformed the perception of the koto from a purely melodic instrument to one capable of producing rich chord-like sonorities. Tateyama's *tsurushan* works were immensely popular and their performance rapidly spread throughout the country. Nakashima notes, however, that despite this popularity most had been forgotten a mere five years after Tateyama's death.⁴³

Tateyama furthers Kikutaka's use of populist texts, and some of the images used in *Mikuni no homare*—particularly those of the emperor and Japan's interaction with foreign countries—acquire increasingly militaristic and nationalistic overtones in his works. Arguably, the most significant event establishing Japan's status as a great power was Japanese victory in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895. Japan now joined the rank of European colonial powers in East Asia. The Japanese were acutely aware of their position as the most “modern” nation in East Asia, and believed it their responsibility to “develop civilization” in Korea, despite China's

“interference.” The “righteous” war was immensely popular in Japan, and celebrated in art, poetry, the press, and indeed *Meiji shinkyoku*. Tateyama’s first two works, for example, the aforementioned *Gaisen rappa no shirabe* and *Gunjin no kyoku* (The Soldier) were both composed in celebration of the Japanese success against China. *Gaisen rappa no shirabe* was especially popular, and was performed with violin accompaniment.⁴⁴ Compositions in a similar vein continued, one of the more militaristic examples being Kikutake’s *Shinmingusa nikkān gappei no kyoku* [sic]. The ideology promoted in the militaristic works is, needless to say, simplistic: complete self-sacrifice in the name of the emperor for the continuing glory of the empire. Here follows the text and a translation of *Gaisen rappa no shirabe*.

「凱旋喇叭の調」

柳桜をこきませし都の春の朝風に吹きひるがへる日の丸の今日凱旋の我が
軍を喜び迎ふ国民の見渡すはるかかなたより歩兵騎兵のしゆくしゆく
と喇叭の声ぞ勇ましき

手事

勇む兵士も戦場にありし苦心はいくばくぞ霰降る日も雨の夜も氷の刃くろ
がねの火玉とびくるその中を何をかいとはん大君の為と思へばいとどな
お喇叭の声ぞ勇ましき

Gaisen rappa no shirabe

*Yanagi sakura kokimazeshi / miyako no haru no asakaze ni / fukihirugaeru hi no maru no /
kyō gaisen no / waga gun o / yorokobi mukau kunitami no / miwatasu haruka kanata yori /
hohei kihei no / shukushuku to / rappa no koe zo isamashiki*

tegoto

*Isamu heishi mo senjō ni / arishi kushin wa ikubaku zo / arare furu hi mo ame no yo mo /
kōri no yaiba kurogane no hidama tobikuru sono naka o / nani o ka itowan ōkimi no / tame
to omoeba itodo nao / rappa no koe zo isamashiki*

The Bugle’s Valiant Return

In the spring morning wind from the capital mingles the willow with the cherry blossoms, and flutters the flag of the Rising Sun. The people joyfully greet the triumphal return of our military forces. From as far as the eye can see, the artillery and the cavalry arrive to the solemnly heroic and stirring voice of the bugle.

Interlude

The valiant soldiers in the battlefield experienced many sufferings; days in the hail, nights in the rain, passing through the flying steel bullets, their frozen blades glittering. There is no thought of complaint for it is for the emperor, and with this thought, the voice of the bugle is even more stirring.

The Rise and Fall of Populist Aesthetics: First Period *Meiji Shinkyoku* and Tateyama

Before arguing for the success of the earlier compositions, I wish to illustrate the importance of Tateyama’s innovations, namely his new melodies and the suggestion of harmony with the *tsurushan* ostinato, and their centrality in the The Movement for New Japanese Music (*Shin Nippon ongaku undō* 新日本音楽運動). To do so, I provide an excerpt from Miyagi’s 1921 composition *Ochiba no odori* (Dance of the Fallen Leaves) (Figure 3.). This work illustrates

The musical score is presented in three systems. Each system consists of three staves: koto, sangen, and bass koto. The key signature is B-flat major (two flats) and the time signature is 3/8. The koto part (top staff) features a prominent melodic theme that repeats throughout the piece. The sangen part (middle staff) provides a vocal line, and the bass koto part (bottom staff) provides a harmonic accompaniment. The score is marked with measure numbers 5, 9, and 13 at the beginning of each system.

Figure 3: *Ochiba no odori* (excerpt) comp. 1921, Miyagi Michio

exquisitely the changes that occurred in the mere forty years since Kikutaka's *Mikuni no homare*.

Miyagi here brings to fruition much of what Tateyama hinted at in his compositions. When compared to *Kaede no hana* and *Gaisen rappa no shirabe*, the difference is again palpable, with much greater thematic coherence, as well as a stronger sense of underlying harmonic movement. Miyagi's ability to impart a Western sense of musical logic is most apparent in the melodic consistency of the koto theme. Consisting these melodic fragments, a^1 , a^2 and b , each composed of clear antecedent/consequence phrases two measures in length, a^1 begins in the third measure of the first system and continues through the first measure of the second system. The first two measures comprise the theme, which reappears throughout the piece. A^2 is the octave displacement of a^1 and begins in the second measure of the second system, which is then followed and concluded by b . The implications of Tateyama's *tsurushan* ostinato are fully realised here as "Japanese harmony", a practice promoted by the Movement for New Japanese

Music that was to support Japanese melodies without making them sound Western. Japanese music would then match and compete with Western music in its complexity and sophistication, but nevertheless remain unmistakably Japanese. This required the expansion of the ranges available on the koto, and in 1921, the year in which Miyagi composed this work, he developed the seventeen-stringed bass koto.⁴⁵ Triads similar to the D minor opening gesture exchanged between the bass koto and the shamisen appear throughout the piece, and over it the koto's melodic line is placed. This is interspersed with sections in which the three instruments interact in a contrapuntal fashion as the bass koto and the shamisen execute independent melodies. Despite having a clear melody, the function of the bass koto, however, remains to provide a sense of harmonic structure. A final observation is that *Ochiba no odori* represents a complete break from indigenous models of composition, and is a rondo, one of several compositional forms Miyagi borrowed from Western music.⁴⁶

Concluding Observations

Placed between the early *Meiji shinkyoku* and Miyagi, Tateyama's works and those of the other second phase composers are a doorway framed by a populist esthetic that opens from the past to the future. Like Janus, they stand transfixed, enthralled with visions of the future yet unable to tear their gaze from the beauties of the past; they engage with both, yet belong to neither, as a now largely forgotten conduit of inestimable value between the two. The second phase works highlight the inherent strength of the early *Meiji shinkyoku*. The two attributes that have ensured their survival are 1) the adherence to pre modern styles of composition and 2) the texts, all of which avoid the open nationalism of the mid Meiji period, and allow for reinterpretation. In keeping the premodern compositional esthetic intact, the first phase composers created works that still required the listener to engage with the musical object, to listen critically to the musical materials and the manner of their composition, and then pass judgement. They nonetheless laid the foundations for the second period composers and Tateyama with their oblique reference to *mishingaku* and their endeavour to popularise the koto. This fundamental shift in æsthetics allowed Tateyama to turn openly to popular culture—the clear references to military music in *Gaisen rappa no shirabe*, for example, or the suggestions of harmony in *Hototogisu no kyoku*—which led to the creation of works that are in many ways overly transparent in their appeal to popular sentiment. The consumer is not placed in the position of having to engage critically with the music for it is manifest, the esthetic intensity of the earlier works lost. Tateyama's works elicit an immediate emotional response, which in turn accounts for their mass appeal; they were indeed popular, and their temporal specificity renders later reinterpretation problematic. In terms of Japanese music history, however, their importance is unquestionable.

The texts for many of the *Meiji shinkyoku* that adhere to the esthetics of the first phase, even those that can be understood as originating in nationalist sentiment, can be construed as sufficiently vague, and the taint of nationalism faint enough to permit reinterpretation. *Saga no aki*, for example, takes its text from a chapter in the *Tale of the Heike*, Japan's great military epic. The chapter in question, however, is one of the great romantic moments in the book, and recounts Nakakuni's ability to locate Kogō no Tsubone 小督の局, who has secluded herself in the outskirts of Kyoto, by the sound of her koto. Takano Shigeru 高野茂 (1847–1929) composed *Ōchiyama* 大内山 in 1892 for the celebration of the Meiji emperor's silver wedding anniversary, unmistakably a work composed under the influence of nationalism., The

text, however, allows for diverse interpretations. Kikuzuka's *Meiji shōchikubai*, from 1902 or 1903, makes use of poems by the imperial family, again composed before the Russo-Japanese War, evades a simplistic reduction to nationalism as the poetic content is restricted to generic images associated with the New Year.

More than anything else, what is new about the early *Meiji shinkyoku* is the populist esthetic, not the music. This new esthetic, however, gradually brings an end to premodern modes of composition and allows for what may be the most profound change in the history of Japanese music since the introduction of Chinese music in the eighth century: the Westernisation of *sōkyoku jiuta*. This was to provide Miyagi with the ideological tools for the creation of the Movement for New Japanese Music, which in turn ensured the survival and further growth of this music under the onslaught of Westernization.

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NOTES

- 1 Nakashio 1973, p. 199.
- 2 Nakashio 1973, p. 192; Hoshi 1967 vol. 313, p. 4.
- 3 Nakashima 1930, vol. 33, p. 9.
- 4 Nakashio 1973, p. 200.
- 5 The reading of 新民草日韓合併の曲 is as given in *Kinkyoku zenshū* of 1927, but a more orthodox reading would be *Shintamigusa nikkangappei no kyoku*. I suspect this reading is an error for *Shintamigusa nikkangappei no kyoku*; this is, however, the reading provided in the *Kinkyoku zenshū* of 1927.
- 6 Wade 1976. *Tegoto* means two specific things: one, that the composition is for the shamisen; two, that there is an instrumental interlude, or *tegoto*. Although *Meiji shinkyoku* have *tegoto*, they are compositions for the koto and by definition cannot, therefore, be *tegotomono*.
- 7 Hoshi 1967–1968. Hoshi examines the underlying structure of the scales used in *Meiji shinkyoku*.
- 8 Hirano Kenji 平野健次 provides the quintessential discussion of *Meiji shinkyoku* and their characteristics in his *Sōkyoku jiuta taikai* 箏曲地歌体系, p. 200.
- 9 Kikuhira Kinsei's 菊平琴声 (?-?) *Haru* 春 (Spring) for example, despite having been composed in 1936, shows no discernable differences in musical style from works composed earlier in Meiji.
- 10 Nakashima 1930.
- 11 The modernization of koto music continued with the *Shin Nihon Ongaku Undō*, which began in 1920 with a concert entitled *Shin Nihon ongaku dai ensōkai* 新日本音楽大演奏会, The Grand Concert of New Japanese Music. This concert featured the works of Miyagi and Moto'ori Nagayo 本居長世 (1885–1945). (Chiba 2000, p. 121) The Movement for New Japanese Music ends with the modernism of the 1960s and *Gendai Hōgaku* 現代邦楽.
- 12 During the Edo and Meiji period, the musicians' knowledge of their own past was transmitted orally. In 1921, Fujita Shun'ichi 藤田俊一 (1883–1974) founded *Sankyoku* 三曲, a periodical devoted to *sōkyoku jiuta*. This journal preserves much of the oral history, many of the articles being contributions by the few musicians still alive who had trained during the Edo period. Many of the stories are still transmitted by the musicians. All of the "history" narrated in this article, for example, I heard during my own training.
- 13 Gordon 2003, pp. 63–64, Jansen 2000, pp. 348–349.
- 14 Katō 1974, p. 471.
- 15 This is not the same as the Kikuoka who is associated with the development of *kyōryū tegotomono* 京流手事物, in the mid nineteenth century.
- 16 The precise date of composition is unclear, but oral history and oral transmission claim that it was soon after 1884. All the musicians agree that *Mikuni no homare* is the first *Meiji shinkyoku* with Kikusue's *Saga no aki* appearing soon after. The great challenge of research on the early Meiji period musicians and their activities is the lack of tangible primary sources apart from the compositions themselves. Everything I have been able to discover thus far is based on oral history still transmitted by the musicians, much of which I heard during my musical training in Tokyo and Osaka.
- 17 Nakashio 1973, pp. 194–198.
- 18 Hirano 1997, p. 200; Nakashima 1941, p. 10; Nakashio 1973, pp. 198–202.
- 19 While the musicians were aware of absolute pitch, in practice, they adjusted the fundamental pitch to suit the voice. The pitches given, however, represent contemporary performance practice in which the fundamental is usually D.
- 20 When executing a temporary modulation, performers create the necessary pitches by pushing on

the string to the left side of the bridge to raise the pitch to the required note. A permanent modulation requires performers to change the pitch of the open string by adjusting the position of the strut as they play.

21 This scale is identical with the *ritsu* 律 scale, which is normally associated with *gagaku*. I have refrained from referring to it in these terms, as they imply a ‘return’, which contemporary reception argues against. It is clear that the early Meiji musicians saw this scale as deriving from *minshingaku* rather than *gagaku*, and as being new. The *yonanuki* 四七抜き scale is identical with the *ryo* 呂 scale, but to refer to it as such would be an error. Another possible approach is to adopt Hirano’s usage of the terms *insenpō* 陰旋法 and *yōsenpō* 陽旋法 (the “dark” and the “light” modes) to illustrate the differences between the classic *miyako bushi* and Kikutaka’s new scale (Hirano 1997, p. 204).

22 Hirano 1997, p. 201. It is important to realise that there is a difference between scale and tuning for the koto. The scale is the above mentioned *miyako bushi onkai*. Unlike many Western instruments, there is no fixed tuning for the koto. During the Edo period, there were five standard tunings, the names of which indicate the string from which the *miyako bushi* scale begins. The norm was for all of the notes of the scale to be present and in the closest possible arrangement. Mitsuzaki, however, devised a unique tuning for his work *Akikaze no kyoku* 秋風の曲 as did Yoshizawa for his *Kokingumi* 古今組 pieces. What made their tunings unique is that the configuration of the tuning on the instrument no longer had the notes of the scale in the closest possible arrangement, and the notes of the *miyako bushi* scale were not all present. Kikutaka’s change is of much greater significance in that he altered the scale. It is interesting to note that while the Edo period musicians had names for the different tunings, they did not have a name for the scale. Uehara Rokushirō 上原六四郎 coined the term *miyako bushi onkai* in his *Zokugaku senritsu kō* 族楽旋律考 of 1895. (Koizumi 1958, p. 205)

23 Most of the *sōkyoku jiuta* repertoire is for the shamisen rather than the koto; however, in practice most of the *jiuta* repertoire can be performed with koto accompaniment. The koto is nonetheless an option, not a requirement.

24 Hirano and Tanabe 1975, and Hirano’s entry in the *Nihon ongaku daijiten* provides excellent introductory discussions of *minshingaku*. In English, see William Malm 1975.

25 *Nippon ongaku daijiten*, 572. Nakashima 1941, p. 10.

26 *Nihon ongaku daijiten*, 572.

27 Hirano Kenji and Tanabe Hisao 1975, p. 21.

28 Kikutaka acknowledged the origin of the scale in *minshingaku* and *Kyūrenkan* by naming the tuning *kankan jōshi* カンカン調子. There are four other tunings in *Meiji shinkyoku* that make use of the same scale.

29 There is nothing to support this claim that compositions for the shamisen ceased. *Tegotomono* continued to be produced by representative *Meiji shinkyoku* composers. Miyagi composed *tegotomono*, and Yuize Shin’ichi 唯是震一 (1923–) still composes *tegotomono*, albeit in a different vein to that of Edo/Meiji period musicians.

30 As *koto kumiuta* derived from a musical genre associated with the aristocracy, the *sōkyoku jiuta* musicians imbued them with deep cultural significance and attached great importance to their transmission. *Koto kumiuta* subscribed to a formalist esthetic that determines both musical and textual form.

31 Musically, this is unquestionably true as the transmission of many of the Edo period works ceased during the Meiji period, the *Yanagawa ryū* 柳川流 *shamisen kumiuta* being one of the great losses.

32 Kikutaka also composed a piece entitled *Bunmei shōchikubai* 文明松竹梅. The word *bunmei* derives of course from the early Meiji slogan *bunmei kaika* or civilisation and enlightenment. I have been unable to locate either printed text for the work or a musician who still transmits it.

33 *Ōkimi* is a general honorific for “lord,” and here refers to the Meiji emperor. (Hirano 1997, p. 201)

34 The root meaning of *matsurigoto* is politics; however, here it indicates the restoration of imperial rule. (Hirano 1997, p. 201)

35 *Akitsukuni* is another name for *Yamato no kuni*, present day Nara Prefecture, the historic centre

of imperial rule before the move of the capital to Kyoto in 794.

36 All translations, unless indicated, are my own.

37 Dahlhaus 1980, p. 90.

38 Nakashio 1973, p. 202.

39 Komoda 1994, pp. 13–16. Perusing the first volume of Shiiba's *Nihon no uta: Meiji Taishō* (1998) provides an idea of how prevalent the military works and military derived works were.

40 In *sōkyoku jūta*, *kakeai* refers to the melodic interaction between two instruments, which in *tegotomono* is between the shamisen and the koto, and in *Meiji shinkyoku* between the two koto.

41 This perception still holds true with those musicians who trained orally and have no experience with contemporary music.

42 *Tsurushan* is the mnemonic, a meaningless syllable used to represent musical sounds in the process of memorisation, for this technique.

43 Nakashima 1930, vol. 31, p. 9. While Nakashima does not discuss in detail the reasons for the abrupt drop in popularity, the implication is that the *Shin Nippon ongaku undō* 新日本音楽運動 Movement for New Japanese Music had superseded the second period *Meiji shinkyoku*.

44 Miyagi Michio mentions the popularity of the koto and violin ensemble around the time of the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905 in an essay entitled “Haru no umi no koto nado.”

「春の海」のことなど. (Miyagi 1972, vol. 2, p. 58) Nakao Tozan 中尾都山 (1876–1956), the founder of the Tozan 都山 school of *shakuhachi* 尺八 performance, also published a large number of violin accompaniments for classic *tegotomono* and *Meiji shinkyoku*. Kikuta Utao 菊田歌雄 (1879–1949), who also performed the violin, published a similar two-volume collection of violin arrangements as well.

45 The seventeen stringed bass koto has been remarkably successful and accepted by most schools of performance. With the development of modernist music for Japanese instruments in the 1960s, the instrument was freed from its limited role as harmonic support in ensemble works, and there is now a large solo repertoire played by performers whose primary instrument is the seventeen-stringed koto.

46 Kikkawa and Kamisangō 1979, p.141.

要旨

明治新曲：琴のための近代音楽事始め

フィリップ・フラヴィン

本稿は、明治初期における箏曲地歌つまり明治新曲の成功を、作曲家たちによる前近代作曲法の踏襲が鑑賞の持続を可能にしたことを示唆しながら論じている。しかしながら大衆化という彼らの試みは箏曲地歌の美学に根本的な変更を加えた。その過程で新しい音楽理解が生まれ、楯山登 (1876–1926) は大衆文化に傾倒し、西洋の軍歌や鍵盤音楽などのテーマを箏曲の作曲に採用するなど、箏曲の近代化を促した。楯山による革新は日本音楽の近代化過程においてきわめて重要なもので、宮城道雄 (1894–1956) や新日本音楽運動による音楽の西洋化を導いたが、大衆化したブルジョア文化への依存は、その広範な人気とは裏腹に彼らの美学を衰退させる結果となった。こうして楯山の業績は、初期の明治新曲や宮城によって受け継がれた音楽の隆盛を助長したが、最終的には西洋音楽を採用し日本の伝統的な作曲法を置き去りにしてしまった。本稿では、なぜ現在演奏される明治新曲の多くが、初期の作曲家か初期モデルを踏襲した次

代の作曲家によるもので構成されているのかを明らかにする。