

From voice of the people to nationalism of the state

Musical meanings of Japan in the work of Kunihiko Hashimoto

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It is not an exaggeration to state that Kunihiko Hashimoto (1904–1949) was one of the most contradictory composers of Western art music in Japan in the 20th century. While being celebrated as a forerunning modernist, he also wrote popular songs throughout his career. He was employed as a professor in the state university Tokyo School of Music, but also participated in the foundation of a highly anti-academic composer group. While he sought to express the voice of the people in his early work based on folk songs, he also composed nationalistic war songs supportive of the politics of the government under the war period.

A significant, yet contradictory characteristic in Hashimoto's work are the influences from traditional Japanese music, which Hashimoto adopted throughout his compositional career. In his early work, Hashimoto adopted elements from Japanese folk songs and even suggested that following the spirit of these songs and composing music for the people were his goal. During the war, however, Hashimoto also took influences from traditional music in works striving to enhance nationalistic war policies. Two such contradictory approaches naturally raise the question of whether the influences from traditional music adopted in different contexts are treated in similar ways, or if there is a distinction between them. Or, to put it differently: what kinds of meanings do musical allusions to Japan carry in Hashimoto's work?

In this paper I will provide an outlook over Hashimoto's composing career by analysing Japanese qualities in his work. This stands mostly for influences that the composer adopted from traditional music of Japan, that is, musical traditions that were established prior to the adoption of Western culture beginning from the year 1868. I seek to find out what kinds of influences Hashimoto adopted and in which ways. While the Japanese influences are only one aspect of Hashimoto's music, I believe that this approach does reveal some key motives in the composer's work, and provides a frame for further research into his compositions. Scholarly research on Hashimoto has been rather scarce even in Japan and nearly absent in the West, though there has been some notable interest towards the composer and his work in recent years. With this paper, I seek to open a new view to the study of Japanese art music by examining the work of a once-celebrated composer, as well as to propose an approach to analysing Japanese influences in Japanese art music.

Kunihiko (or Qunihico) Hashimoto (橋本国彦)¹ lived through a turbulent period of time both in terms of historical events taking place in Japan as well as the history of Japanese art music. When he began composing in the 1920s, Western music was still a rather new form of art in Japan, studied since the adoption of Western culture beginning from the Meiji restoration of 1868. The first composer acknowledged of writing music in the Western idiom was Nobu Kōda (1870–1946) with her violin sonata in 1895, and she was soon followed by celebrated figures such as Kōsaku Yamada (1886–1965) and Kiyoshi Nobutoki (1887–1965). (Galliano 2002.) These composers established German romanticism as the prevailing compositional style in Japan, but this began to change in the 1920s with the emergence of the younger generation of composers seeking new musical influences and the acquisition of modern compositional techniques; Hashimoto belonged to this generation. He studied violin at the renowned state university Tokyo School of Music (Tōkyō ongaku gakkō; today, the Faculty of Music of the Tokyo University of the Arts) and composed his first works in 1923. Although Hashimoto had an opportunity to show his work to both Yamada and Nobutoki, he was virtually self-taught as a composer. (Dohi 1986.)

Hashimoto's work of the late 1920s and early 1930s is marked by an interest towards a vast diversity of compositional styles. While his very first works are written in the German romantic style, he caught the attention of the musical world of Japan in 1928 with his performance of the impressionist songs *Kabi* (Mold), *Hanmyō* (Tiger Beetle) and *Fuefuki me* (Woman Playing the Flute), composed to the modernist poetry of Sumako Fukao (1888–1974). As the first impressionist works by a Japanese composer, these three songs caused a shock in the musical world of Japan (e.g. Dohi 1988, 62), even to the degree that Yamada later agreed these works had served as a point of change for the whole art music of Japan (see Kojima 1976, 65). As the musical world had adopted the idea that the compositional tradition primarily worth studying was that of German romanticism (Galliano 2002, 34), the impressionist works earned Hashimoto the reputation of a modernist. This was further enhanced by works containing atonality, such as the songs *Mai* (Dance, 1929) and *Boroborona dachō* (Ragged Ostrich, 1933), as well as the microtonal *Shūsaku* (Study, 1930) for violin and cello.

Along with the modernist works, however, Hashimoto also continued to write music in the German romantic style and was employed as a composer and arranger of popular songs from 1930 onwards at the record company Victor

¹ “Qunihico” was the spelling that Hashimoto adopted for his name in the West. This was a typical practice among Japanese composers in the pre-war period. For instance, Kōsaku Yamada romanized his forename as “Kōsçak”, and Meirō Sugawara adopted the spelling “Meireau Sœgaharat”. Until 1947, Hashimoto used an older way of writing his forename Kunihiko in Japanese: 國彦 instead of 国彦.

(Saegusa 2012, 12). Additionally, he grew a keen interest towards the traditional music of Japan and enthusiastically took part in the *shin minyō* (new folk song) movement, which sought to capture the spirit of traditional folk songs in poems and music (Komota et al. 1994, 95). Overall, the pre-war years were the most prolific and versatile ones for Hashimoto, whose actions also defied the divisions of the musical world of Japan at the time. With the emergence of the younger generation of composers, the compositional world was divided into academic and non-academic composers and into the compositional schools of German romanticism, impressionism, and national-style composition. The last adopted influences from Japanese traditions, and was a domain almost solely that of the non-academic composers. (Komiya 1976.) Hashimoto, however, composed music in styles represented by all three of the schools. In spite of his academic background, he was also one of the 16 founding members of the anti-academic composer group *Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei* (Federation of Composers Interested in the New) in 1930 with leading composers of the national school such as Shūkichi Mitsukuri (1895–1971), Yasuji Kiyose (1900–1981), and Yoritsune Matsudaira (1907–2001).² Actions such as these made him a unique character in the musical world of Japan.

In 1934, Hashimoto was appointed associate professor at the Tokyo School of Music. In the end of the same year, he left Japan to study composition in Europe, where he met many composers of modern music, including those deemed “decadent” in Nazi Germany (Omura 2014, 169). He also met Arnold Schönberg in Los Angeles on his way back to Japan in 1937. According to composer Toshirō Mayuzumi, Hashimoto was the first Japanese composer to write dodecaphonic music, although no proof of such work remains (see Katayama 1999, 201). Upon Hashimoto’s return to Japan, however, the experimental and modernist quality so characteristic of his previous work became nearly absent. This was most likely due to the political development in Japan. The military invasion of Manchuria in 1931 had already marked the beginning of growing nationalistic and totalitarian tendencies in the society, and this was further fuelled by the various events of political terror taking place in the 1930s (e.g. Ienaga 1978). Control over music publishers and record companies had already been enforced beginning in 1934 (Yamazumi 1976, 143), and when Japan went to war with China in 1937, the suppression by the government was enforced to the degree that civil rights virtually ceased to exist (Ienaga 1978, 97).

Composers were required to cooperate in nationalistic policies by writing music supportive of the state and the war (Katayama 2007, 59). Hashimoto was

² Herd (2004, 44–45) has claimed that the aim of the group was to compose Japanese-style music due to a certain principle. In reality, however, no such principle ever existed. While many of the founding composers of *Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei* were indeed among the pioneers of the national school, originally the only goal shared by all of the founding composers was to promote new styles of composition and oppose the established academic composers as well as the prevailing German romantic style. For detailed information on the society and its actions, see the records of the society in Miyake et al. 1999.

no exception, in particular after being appointed professor of the Tokyo School of Music in 1940. The outburst of the Pacific War in 1941 further enforced the rules. While Hashimoto mostly focused on conducting rather than composing during the war, he still wrote numerous songs of war as well as some other nationalistic works. While marching songs like *Daitōa sensō kaigun no uta* (Song of the Navy of the Great East Asian War) and *Gakuto shingun uta* (Marching Song of Students) sought to encourage a war spirit among the people, the cantata *Eirei sankā* (Hymn for the Soul of a Ceased Soldier, 1943) was composed to commemorate the Navy Marshal Isoroku Yamamoto (1884–1943). Not all of Hashimoto's work during the war was nationalistic, however, as works such as *Koenbukyoku* (*La petite valse*, 1944) for piano and the song cycle *Haru no kumikyoku* (*Spring Suite*, 1945) bear no nationalistic context.

The war ended with Japan's surrender in August 1945. This marked huge changes for Japanese society, as the occupational forces of the United States began to renew the country towards a democratic state. This also led to removing those who had been cooperative of the war policies from their posts (Fukunaka 2008, 59). Although not a part of the most heated discussions over war guilt of Japanese composers – the most heated one being that between Yamada and the critic Ginji Yamane in the newspaper *Tōkyō shinbun* in December 1945 (e.g. Omura 2011, 254) – Hashimoto was apparently made to resign his post as a professor at the Tokyo School of Music in 1946 (Omura 2014, 169). On the official level, though, the resignation was implied to be from Hashimoto himself with no suggestion to his actions during the war (Katayama 2007, 54). After this, Hashimoto worked as a free composer and wrote many works expressing the bliss of peace and the new democratic period, such as the Second Symphony F major (1947) and the popular hit song *Asa wa doko kara* (Where Does the Morning Come From?, 1946), as well as some works possibly expressing regret towards the war years, including *Mittsu no wasan* (Three *wasans*, 1946) and *Jojō kumikyoku* (*Lyrical Suite*, 1946) (Katayama 1999, 201). Hashimoto was short-lived after the war, however, as he died of cancer in the spring of 1949.

Most scholars agree that Hashimoto's career was met with the tragedy of war since he was unable to escape his duties as a professor of a state university and had to take responsibility for this after the war (e.g. Shibaike 1996, 243; Fukuda 2012, 16). Even so, as Omura (2014, 173) has stated, Hashimoto was a unique character whose highly versatile actions, in particular those of the pre-war years, were unparalleled in the musical world of Japan. He defied the various divisions of the musical world by composing in a vast spectrum of styles, and in spite of being an academic figure, he was one of the founders of the originally anti-academic group *Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei*. As a professor, he was also the teacher to many of the acclaimed next-generation composers, including Yasushi Akutagawa (1925–1989), Ikuma Dan (1924–2001), Toshirō Mayuzumi (1929–1997), and Yoshinao Nakada (1923–2000).

Approaches to analysing Japanese qualities in Hashimoto's work

The 1930s saw many debates discussing Japanese qualities in art music composition (see Akiyama 2003, 516–544; Komiya 1976; Galliano 2002, 97–99). While some composers advocated creating a distinctive Japanese compositional style, others opposed the concept and were in favour of composing solely in a Western idiom (Akiyama 1979, 21). The debates never arrived at a conclusion, but they still serve as an interesting starting point for the analysis on what kind of musical qualities were thought of being Japanese in style at the time. The traditional culture of Japan obviously represents the most original Japanese quality, and consequently, almost all of the approaches of writing music in a Japanese style in the 1930s involved the adoption of elements from the traditional music of Japan. This was particularly typical of the national school of composition (Takase 1974, 216). In this paper as well, the term “Japanese qualities” stands for influences taken from the traditional music of Japan as well as other forms of traditional culture, that is, musical genres and forms of culture that were established before the adoption of Western culture was launched from 1868 onwards.

Approaches to adopting elements from the traditional music of Japan varied greatly even among the national school in the 1930s (Lehtonen 2015a). For instance, Shūkichi Mitsukuri developed his own music theory of a Japanese-style harmony based on traditional music (compiled in Mitsukuri 1948), while Yasuji Kiyose stressed the rather ambiguous concept of a “Japanese spirit” in his writings on music (e.g. Kiyose 1981a, 11). Kiyose still sought to express Japanese qualities in his music by taking influences from traditional music, above all by the adoption of pentatonic scales as well as composing in a “monotonic” style (Kiyose 1981a, 12; 1981b, 52). Saburō Moroi (1903–1977), on the other hand, was among the very few composers advocating a distinctive Japanese idiom of composition while criticizing the methods of the national school. As it was acknowledged already in the 1930s that most traditional music had to do with a narrative context (e.g. Sunaga 1934, 112), Moroi suggested that Japanese composers should reflect the Japanese society in their work as a means of composing in a narrative and consequently “Japanese” style even if writing in a wholly Western idiom – making his approach rather peculiar and unique (Lehtonen 2015a, 10–11).

While Mitsukuri, Kiyose, and Moroi represent only three possible approaches, it can be easily understood that the discussion on Japanese qualities in art music composition in the 1930s involved both the thought of expressing “Japanese spirit” and more methodological approaches of adopting influences as musical material. As defining the “Japanese spirit” was impossible even for Kiyose who asserted the concept (see Hirata 1936, 55) and the impression of what is “Japanese” in music varied from one composer to another greatly, rather than taking on the futile task of seeking to locate any unconscious or universal “Japanese spirit”, I would like to propose a more pragmatic approach to analysing the influences in the works of Japanese composers in this paper.

In the following analysis, I will not only seek to locate the various allusions to traditional music but also to find out if particular influences are adopted for specific purposes. As a starting point for an analysis like this, I find two approaches necessary. First, to be able to locate the influences from traditional music and the possible further meanings they bear, one must be familiar with the foundations of Japanese traditional music. Traditional music of Japan consists of numerous genres with their distinctive social contexts, and locating a particular context might therefore reveal specific purposes behind the allusions, exceeding the purpose of being a mere “Japanese-sounding element”. For instance, there is a notable difference between influences from the high-class court music *gagaku* as opposed to elements adopted from the popular *hauta* songs, considered to be even “unrefined” (see Eppstein 1994, 73). Second, as the idea of what is “Japanese” varies from one composer to another, it is also important to examine how each composer viewed these concepts in their writings. By doing so, it is possible to avoid misconceptions in the analysis – in particular that of locating unconscious “Japaneseness” thought of resulting automatically from the nationality of the composer – as well as to draw hints on whether the Japanese qualities in their work have, for instance, ideological or aesthetic purposes. As a tool for classifying Japanese influences in Japanese art music, I’ve created the following list of traits based on my previous research on the topic (e.g. Lehtonen 2010).

1. Allusions to traditional music by quoting it as such.
2. Adoption of scales, harmony or rhythmic elements reminiscent of Japanese traditional music, possibly also resulting in a timbre typical of the traditional music.
3. Adoption of Japanese instruments or imitation of Japanese instruments with Western instruments for instance in terms of playing techniques, possibly also resulting in a timbre typical of traditional music.
4. Allusions to traditional Japanese art forms other than music, (for example festivals or religious rituals), by adopting a structure or some other element that can clearly be identified with the particular art form or ritual.
5. The program or the composing context of the work is related to Japan or Japanese culture. While this does not make the music itself Japanese in style, it gives a reason to suppose that there may be allusions to Japanese culture in the musical content as well.
6. Adopting Japanese aesthetical or philosophical concepts, for instance temporal dimensions of the traditional music. Analysis of these kinds of elements in particular requires careful examination of the composers’ views of their work.
7. Some other kind of reference to Japan. In individual works of music there are numerous possible allusions to Japanese culture. Although most of these allusions have not been adopted widely enough to include them in the previous six categories, they might bear an important role in individual works. One such example is Hashimoto’s First Symphony containing a musical cryptogram based on Japanese language, discussed in more detail below.

The previous list of traits is naturally a mere outline for analysis, as applying the seven sections requires knowledge of traditional music, Japanese culture, and in some cases also Japanese language. Therefore, the list ultimately serves as a tool to categorize influences of different kinds. There are no established methods of applying most of the sections in the list, but one requiring some further explanation in the context of this paper is the second. As most composition of the time of Hashimoto's work was tonal, adopting Japanese-sounding scales in the melodic line was a very typical way of expressing Japanese qualities in a work of music. Today, most scholars of traditional Japanese music approve of the scalar theory of traditional music proposed by Koizumi (1958). According to Koizumi, traditional music is not based on fixed scales but on four melodic patterns, or tetrachords, that can be combined to form scales. The tetrachords consist of two nuclear tones a fourth apart, and an intermediate tone that ultimately defines the type of the tetrachord.

Koizumi's theory was, however, unknown in the 1930s, and the methods of adopting Japanese-sounding scales varied greatly among composers. While the composers familiar with traditional music wrote many works that would correspond to Koizumi's theory, Japanese-style composition often involved the adoption of the pentatonic *yonanuki* scale created by Shūji Isawa (1856–1917), the founder of the Tokyo School of Music (then: Ongaku torishirabe gakari or Music Investigation Committee). (E.g. Kojima 1962.) Isawa introduced the *yonanuki* scale, literally meaning "omission of the fourth and the seventh degree", as a principle of juxtaposing fundamental elements of both Japanese and European music (e.g. Akiyama 1976, 18–19). While the "major" *yonanuki* (for example, C–D–E–G–A) and the "minor" *yonanuki* (for example, A–B–C–E–F) could be created by the tetrachords that form the fundamentals of Japanese music as defined by Koizumi, "omission of fourth and seventh degree" makes *yonanuki* explicitly based on the Western diatonic scale and the concept of harmony with a tonic and a dominant. Accordingly, the melodic patterns in music adopting the *yonanuki* scale tend to concentrate on the functionality of the harmony as opposed to melodies adopting the tetrachords, occurring in the frame of fourths (Kojima 1962).

The adoption of pentatonic scales as an Asian element is, of course, an approach not unheard of in the West, and it was also a common method in Japanese art music long before the emergence of the national school of composition. The *yonanuki* scale was often combined with Western harmony in particular in the early art songs, for instance in Rentarō Taki's (1879–1903) well-known *Kōjō no tsuki* (Moon Over a Desolate Castle, 1901). Therefore, simply adopting the *yonanuki* scale is a rather superficial way of making an allusion to the traditional music of Japan, while proving knowledge of the melodic patterns typical of traditional music or combining the *yonanuki* scale with other elements of traditional music might bear further connections to specific genres. In the following analysis as well, works merely adopting the *yonanuki* scale but not containing any other elements associated with traditional music are

acknowledged as perhaps evoking a Japanese mood but not representing a serious Japanese compositional style.

What makes it particularly interesting in defining Japanese qualities in music of Japanese composers is that the music reflects the composers' views towards their own culture during a certain period of time. This is also why it is relevant to acknowledge what kinds of characteristics have been regarded as being typically Japanese by the composers themselves. This is further emphasized by the fact that views collide even among composers that are musically or ideologically close to each other. For instance, Yasuji Kiyose (1981b, 51) regarded the ancient court music *gagaku* only as Chinese music adopted to Japan, while Shūkichi Mitsukuri based the fundamentals of his theory of a Japanese harmony (1948) on the very same idea that the scales in *gagaku* (Garfias 1975, 57) are based on. Yoritsune Matsudaira, on the other hand, adopted influences from *gagaku* as a purely aesthetic element (Galliano 2002, 84). All three composers were among the founding members of the group *Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei* with Hashimoto.

As the views of even close composers are this contradictory with each other, Japanese influences in music have to be analysed separately at each period of time, each composer, and even each work. This is also why the composers' views as well as the general discussion of the time need to be taken into consideration when analysing meanings behind the influences. Above all, I would like to assert the idea of carefully examining what kind of influences the Japanese composers themselves have consciously adopted when seeking to compose music in a Japanese style rather than analysing any kind of "deep-level Japaneseness", that is, characteristics surfacing in the music as an automatic result of the nationality of the composer. This will provide an understanding on what kind of characteristics were thought of being Japanese in nature as well as give knowledge on how Japanese composers have adopted influences from traditional music to broaden expression in Western art music.

A characteristic that remarkably eases the task of locating and analysing Japanese elements in Hashimoto's music is the programmatic nature of a lot of the composer's work. Hashimoto wrote numerous songs as well as some cantatas and works for the stage. Most of Hashimoto's works of absolute music, such as *Cavotte* (1924) and *Impromptu* (1924), are concentrated in the very beginning of his compositional career, that is, the period when Hashimoto was still "practicing composition", as put by Omura (2014, 169). Furthermore, even works of absolute music often bear a compositional context that makes it fairly easy to locate possible connections to a Japanese theme. One example of such work is the First Symphony D major, composed to celebrate the Japanese empire. Other works of absolute music have an easily recognized musical context proposed both musically as well as in the title, such as *Mozaatofuu no rondiino* (Mozart-style rondino, 1927). Hashimoto did not write any concertos or sonatas, for instance, and there are very few works of absolute music that do not hint some context in their title among his work. Considering the study at hand, works with a program or a context explicitly suggesting a connection to

a Japanese theme are naturally of particular interest, while works with no such program or context will also not be overlooked.

Saegusa (see Omura 2014, 169) has divided Hashimoto's compositional career into five creative periods: 1) the period of practicing composition and learning music (4/1923–6/1928), 2) the years of active composing, becoming associate professor, and writing popular songs for Victor (7/1928–12/1934), 3) the years spent in Europe (1/1935–3/1937), 4) the war period (4/1937–8/1945), and 5) the post-war period (9/1945–5/1949). The division is made based on both the style that Hashimoto wrote music in as well as the events that affected both Hashimoto's life and work. For instance, the first impressionist works by Hashimoto launch the second period, while the end of the Second World War marks the beginning of the fifth period. This serves as a practical division also when discussing the Japanese influences in Hashimoto's work, as it is likely that the factors affecting Hashimoto's life and work also had an effect on the ways that Hashimoto adopted Japanese elements in his music.

In the following analysis, I will examine the Japanese influences in Hashimoto's work in the creative periods as defined by Saegusa. The first two periods will be discussed together, and the third period is not discussed at all, since Hashimoto composed (or is at least known to have composed) close to nothing during his stay in Europe. This reduces the number of periods discussed to three: the pre-war period (4/1923–12/1934), the war period (4/1937–8/1945) and the post-war period (9/1945–5/1949). I will summarize the key characteristics of the Japanese influences of each period at the end of each section. In the conclusion, I will discuss the changes that the Japanese influences underwent in Hashimoto's work. The individual works taken for examination are those that I have found to be particularly representative of certain aspects of Japanese influences in Hashimoto's work. While there are also many other works including Japanese influences and this study is not nearly sufficient to cover the whole spectrum of influences in Hashimoto's music, I believe that the works chosen still offer a very good general view on Hashimoto's work.

Musical Japan in Hashimoto's pre-war work

Influences from traditional Japanese music are a notable element in Hashimoto's music until the year 1935. For instance, Shibaïke (1996, 259–260) has located Japanese qualities in 18 of the 46 art songs that Hashimoto wrote prior to 1935.³ I would like to raise the number to 19 with *Mai* (Dance, 1929), a work

³ While being discussed as art songs also in this paper, it should be noted that many of the song compositions by Hashimoto, particularly those consisting of repeated verses, were published both as popular song records and as sheet music as art song compositions with piano accompaniment. For the list of all 159 songs published as popular songs (including those written under pseudonyms), see Saegusa (2012).

which will be discussed in detail below. This would raise the total percentage of Hashimoto's songs including Japanese elements to approximately 45%, making the ratio rather high.

Hashimoto himself (1930a, 105) stated that in his early composition, he was interested in the rural folk song traditions and sought to capture the spirit of these songs in his music. This approach is largely manifested in Hashimoto's pre-war work in particular, as he took part in the *shin minyō* (new folk song) movement since the end of the 1920s (Shibaïke 1996, 243). The movement, which initially involved poets and at the later stages also composers, sought to capture the spirit of folk songs of the rural areas with poems and music in a society that was becoming urbanized and industrialized at a fast pace (Hughes 1991). While the poems and music were written mostly by trained poets and composers from urban areas, *shin minyō* songs typically imitate the style of traditional folk songs, and many of them aimed at becoming actual folk songs representing a particular locality (ibid., 3). Hashimoto's approach somewhat differs from this in the sense that he (2009a, 192–193) stated that composing "timeless and artistic music" – apparently regardless of whether the song was composed as art music or popular music – was his primary goal also in the case of *shin minyō* instead of limiting himself to the sole imitation of folk songs in a conservative manner. This is manifested in his various approaches to *shin minyō*.

As Shibaïke (1996, 255) has noted, Hashimoto's *shin minyō* songs typically adopt the pentatonic *yonanuki* scale. While this is true, Hashimoto's approach is not limited to the adoption of the *yonanuki* scale, as many of the songs also contain more specific allusions to traditional Japanese music. One example of such work is *Oroku musume* (1929), in which Hashimoto adopts vocal techniques of traditional songs and evokes the sound of the *jiuta* ensemble very typical in Edo period Japan (1603–1868). While *jiuta* originally stood for music combining singing with accompaniment of the plucked instrument *shamisen*, the genre later grew into consisting of a larger ensemble, typically including also the zither-type *koto*, the bamboo flute *shakuhachi* or the bowed instrument *kokyū* (e.g. Nogawa 2008, 246). In *Oroku musume*, Hashimoto imitates the *jiuta* ensemble with a singer and the piano – an influence that he also commented on himself (see Dohi 1986, 33). Influences from *jiuta* are underlined in the whole structure of the work, as the vocal line alternates between long instrumental passages, which is a practice commonly met in *jiuta* (Wade 1976, xviii).

Oroku musume makes constant allusions to the playing techniques of the *koto* and the *shamisen*. Both are instruments towards which Hashimoto (1931, 44) explicitly stated his interest. Note for example the cadence-like pattern in measures 17 and 24 in the left hand of the piano (beginning and ending of the lower staff in fig. 1), very reminiscent of the patterns met in *jiuta* music. Also the melody of the singer resembles that of the traditional singing with its decorations and glissandi (fig. 1). The right hand of the piano, written in small notes with the instruction *ad lib.* and therefore hinting towards free rhythmical treatment in measure 18, resembles the way that the vocal line is usually doubled by the instruments in traditional music for ensembles. It is common in

The image shows a musical score for 'Oroku musume' (mm. 9-24). It is written in 3/4 time and consists of two systems. The first system features a vocal line in the treble clef and a piano accompaniment in the grand staff. The vocal line begins with a 'poco lento' tempo and 'mp' dynamic. The piano accompaniment starts with a 'rit.' (ritardando) and 'sf' (sforzando) dynamic. The second system continues the vocal line with dynamics 'mf', 'mf', 'p a tempo', and 'mp'. The piano accompaniment starts with 'a tempo' and dynamics 'mf' and 'p'.

Figure 1. *Oroku musume*, mm. 9–24, lyrics omitted (Hashimoto 2009b).

jiuta for the doubled melodic line not to be played in congruent rhythm but that the performers interpret the rhythm freely, resulting in heterophony. While the doubling of the vocal line in piano is a convention frequently met in Hashimoto's song compositions, none of them advise the player to interpret the rhythm freely in contrast with *Oroku musume*. These characteristics further underline the influences from traditional music in *Oroku musume*.

While songs like *Oroku musume* imitate particular elements of traditional music with Western instruments and in the context of Western art music, Hashimoto's other *shin minyō* songs such as *Oyaimo koimo* (Parent Potato, Child Potato, 1929) and *Taueuta* (Rice Planting Song, 1930) seek to capture the rhythm of working songs that they are based on while not imitating the original songs as such. *Fujisan mitara* (When Viewing Mount Fuji, 1929), on the other hand, evokes feelings of nostalgia towards one's faraway home in the countryside. (Katayama 1999, 200.) These kinds of nostalgic songs were in favour with the people who had to migrate from the countryside to urban areas in search for work in the 1920s in particular (Ogawa 1999, 220). On the other hand, *jiuta*, or the genre that *Oroku musume* imitates, is not a genre of rural folk songs. Even under the category of *shin minyō*, then, Hashimoto's songs represent various approaches.

Folk songs are the most apparent Japanese influence in Hashimoto's early work and fairly easy to locate due to Hashimoto's participation in the *shin minyō* movement. There are, however, also songs taking influences from traditional music but adopting them in somewhat more complex ways. One example of such work would be *Mai* (Dance, 1929). The song is set to the poem *Mai*

– *Rokudaime Kikugorō no Musume dōjōji ni yosete* (Dance – On *Musume dōjōji* of Kikugorō the 6th) by Sumako Fukao, to whose poems Hashimoto also wrote his first impressionist songs. After being very impressed by a performance of the *kabuki*⁴ play *Musume dōjōji* by Kikugorō the 6th, Fukao wrote the poem, seeking to capture her impressions of the performance rather than writing about the contents of the play itself (see Shibaïke 1999, 241). The poem is nevertheless written from the viewpoint of the main female character, who in the play performs a dance and turns into a snake to have her revenge on Buddhist monks.

Being based on a poem depicting *kabuki*, *Mai* is a fitting example of a musical work that may be assumed to contain a musical Japanese element of some kind. The poem is free in form, that is, it doesn't follow fixed syllabic structures as opposed to traditional Japanese poetry. Consequently, also the song is free in form. The only repeated element in the work is the short motive played by the piano in the beginning of the piece (mm. 1–2, fig. 2), which is however sung by the singer only once (mm. 44–45). *Mai* includes many atonal passages as well as Sprechstimme (fig. 3), both of which were unusual in Japanese art music of the time and earned Hashimoto the reputation of a modernist (Hatanaka 2012, 77).

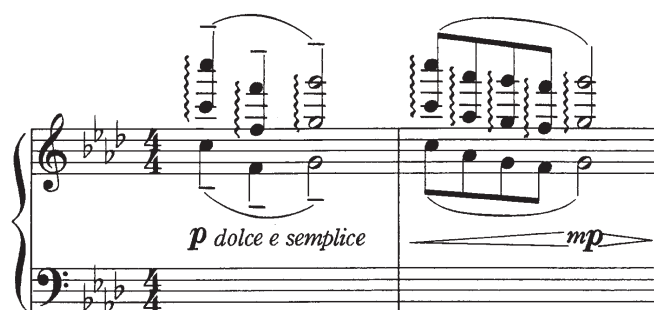


Figure 2. *Mai*, mm. 1–2 (Hashimoto 2009c).

It is unlikely that Hashimoto would have encountered Sprechstimme as an element of contemporary art music composition as early as 1929. Rather, the influence might have to do with the Japanese qualities in the work, as Sprechstimme is reminiscent of the recitative constantly applied in *kabuki*. As a work based on a poem based on *kabuki*, one might assume that *Mai* might also have been influenced by the music of the *kabuki* theatre in other ways; however, this is not the case. Even though the opening of the song (fig. 2) does bear resemblance to the patterns played by the *shamisens* when accompanying the dance in the play *Musume dōjōji*, and the arpeggios might imitate the sound of more than one *shamisens* playing in unison, Hashimoto soon proves that the music for the *koto* is the main influence in the piano part. This is particularly evident

⁴ *Kabuki* is a type of popular Japanese theatre established in the 17th century, containing also a strong musical element. For more on *kabuki* and its music, see e.g. McQueen Tokita 2008.

Figure 3 shows a musical score for the piece 'Mai'. It consists of a piano accompaniment and a vocal line. The piano part is written in 4/4 time and features complex rhythmic patterns with rests of 7, 9, 3, and 5 measures. The vocal line is marked with 'sf' (sforzando) and 'cresc.' (crescendo). The score is in a key with one flat and a common time signature.

Figure 3. *Mai*, mm. 31–32, lyrics omitted (Hashimoto 2009c).

Figure 4 shows a musical score for the piece 'Mai'. It consists of a piano accompaniment and a vocal line. The piano part features a tremolo and a cadenza. The vocal line is marked with 'f' (forte) and 'poco rit.' (poco ritardando). The score is in a key with two flats and a common time signature.

Figure 4. *Mai*, mm. 5–8 (Hashimoto 2009c).

in the tremolo (m. 6) and cadence (m. 8) resembling typical playing techniques of the *koto* (mm. 5–8, fig. 4).

The *koto*, however, is not used in the instrumental ensemble of *kabuki*. By choosing to imitate performing techniques of the *koto*, Hashimoto has most likely sought to distance the listener from the music of *kabuki*, where the *shamisen* is the only plucked instrument. As Hanaoka (2007, 16) has pointed out, the sung part does not seem to resemble typical *kabuki* singing, except for the sections including Sprechstimme. However, the work does not resemble the vocal music accompanied by the *koto* either. This raises the question of why Hashimoto would imitate techniques and scales of the *koto* in a work that is very clearly based on *kabuki* theatre – particularly as he proves knowledge of genres of traditional music in his works based on folk songs. Moreover, with its treatment of harmony and atonal passages, *Mai* is much closer to Western

art music composition than Japanese traditional music, in contrast with the *shin minyō* songs clearly rooted in the Japanese tradition.

Although Hashimoto's approach might initially seem contradictory, the work actually succeeds in its goal very well – that of capturing the spirit of Fukao's poem. The poem is written in Japanese language but in a free rhythm and structure influenced by French modernists (Shibaike 1996, 243), and rather than the play itself, the poem depicts Fukao's impressions after seeing a performance of the play. While being a poem about a performance of a *kabuki* play rather than about the play itself, the poem does not include any quotations of *kabuki* texts. In the same way, by imitating the *koto*, Hashimoto seeks to distance the listener from the world of *kabuki* while at the same time maintaining a Japanese quality in the work. As Fukao's poem was considered avant-garde in its time (Hatanaka 2014, 76), it is natural that the music is composed in a modern, partly atonal style. While containing Sprechstimme, a device that can be identified both as a modern element and as an influence from *kabuki*, Hashimoto's primary intention does not seem to be the imitation of the soundscape of *kabuki*. Rather, it would seem that he adopted the influences from traditional music as a means of broadening expression in Western art music as well as staying true to the poem by imitating a genre not associated with *kabuki*. In this sense, the influences from traditional music are both aesthetic and technical, yet they are adopted in a manner that also manages to capture the spirit of the original poem well.

A similar work that seeks to broaden the possibilities of expression in Western art music by adopting elements from traditional music is *Shūsaku* (Study, 1930) for violin and cello. As microtonal music, the work was very unusual at its time of composition and required Hashimoto (1930b, 84) to explain the idea behind the work which otherwise might not have been understood. Compared to *Mai*, *Shūsaku* is still more unquestionably a work of Western art music and does not include any explicit Japanese quality on the surface. However, according to Hashimoto himself (see Saegusa 2012, 26), he initially came to adopt Alois Hába's microtonality as an influence from traditional Japanese music, as he found the Western system of notation inadequate to evoke the subtle nuances and timbres of Japanese folk songs. Similar elements are found in some of his *shin minyō* songs – note, for instance, the use of glissandi in *Oroku musume* (fig.1). One can therefore conclude that *Shūsaku* is indeed influenced by traditional Japanese music, but rather than being explicitly "Japanese" in style, the work seeks to broaden expression in Western art music by adopting elements from traditional Japanese music. Therefore, influences from traditional music are used as a compositional technique in the work, while not resembling the music of the national school of the 1930s.

While the *shin minyō* songs are inspired by folk songs and *Mai* makes an allusion to a Japanese instrument to distance the listener from the music of *kabuki*, Hashimoto also composed works that create a Japanese atmosphere with no influences from any distinctive genre of traditional music. One such work is *Ame no michi* (*Pluie dans la rue*, 1934) for solo piano, composed only shortly before Hashimoto left for Europe. It was originally performed with Japa-

Figure 5. *Ame no michi*, mm. 5–20 (Hashimoto 1969).

nese *buyō* dance accompaniment (Wada 1968, 7). The work is the first in the collection of three piano pieces, depicting Japanese-style *nihonga* paintings by Kiyokata Kaburaki (1878–1972) (*ibid.*). As the alternative title in French hints, the music is composed in impressionist style. Kaburaki's original painting *Shintomiza* portrays a traditionally-dressed Japanese woman covering herself with a Japanese umbrella, and the *kabuki* stage *Shintomiza* is being portrayed in the background. In this sense, the painting evokes a Japanese atmosphere. In the beginning of *Ame no michi*, the patterns in the left hand of the piano possibly depict the rain, while the right hand is playing a melody in the minor *yonanuki* scale (fig. 5).

The melody of the right hand as well as the timbre resemble the music for the *koto*, in particular as the minor *yonanuki* scale is equivalent of the typical tunings of the *koto* in terms of interval structure (see e.g. Harich-Schneider 1973, 520 for *koto* tunings). However, Hashimoto does not imitate any playing techniques of the instrument as explicitly as he does in *Mai*. Moreover, although

the parallel fourths (beginning from m. 16) evoke a certain Japanese or at least Asian mood, they are also an element constantly encountered in the piano music of Debussy and Ravel. Rather than imitating any specific genre of traditional music, Hashimoto seems to be searching for common ground between Japanese influences and impressionist music and, above all, adopts the influences to evoke a certain atmosphere, that of the painting by Kaburaki. This makes his approach different from the works containing distinctive allusions in terms of compositional technique, but is still closely connected to the original work that the music is based on.

To summarize, based on the works discussed above, Hashimoto adopted influences from traditional Japanese music in his pre-war work in the following manners.

1) Works of *shin minyō* seeking to capture the spirit of folk songs via the imitation of rhythmic and melodic patterns encountered in folk songs, while retaining a quality to recognize the works in the context of Western art music.

2) Works such as *Mai* and *Ame no michi*, seeking to capture the spirit of the original program and adopting musical Japanese elements to underline an aspect of the work that the music is based on.

3) Works such as *Shūsaku*, seeking to broaden the possibilities of expression by adopting influences from traditional music in a work of absolute music.

In Hashimoto's pre-war work, influences from traditional music are adopted as aesthetic material and as a tool of expression, applied to capture the spirit of the original program. In the case of some of his *shin minyō*, Hashimoto's approach is close to the one of Michio Mamiya (b. 1929), a composer of the following generation. In his work *Nihon minyōshū* (Collection of Japanese Folk Songs, 1958–1999) for singer and piano, Mamiya set as his goal to capture the original feeling of the folk songs he used as his material rather than simply imitating the original songs with Western instruments (Mamiya 2009, 140). Mamiya must also have noticed the similarity with his approach and Hashimoto's, as he arranged *Oroku musume* for an ensemble of Japanese instruments in 1984. Hashimoto himself did not compose anything for traditional Japanese instruments in spite of expressing his interest towards doing so (Hashimoto 1931, 47). In works such as *Mai* and *Shūsaku*, on the other hand, Hashimoto adopts some techniques of traditional music to broaden the possibilities of expression in Western art music. These approaches connect him strongly with the following generation of composers emerging in the 1950s, celebrated for their ways of adopting elements from the Japanese tradition to extend the expression in Western art music (see e.g. Galliano 2002).

Another characteristic that is also particularly notable is the nature of the genres of traditional music that Hashimoto makes allusions to. All of the genres have to do with music enjoyed by the common people, so to say, as opposed to the nobility and those who held power. This is obvious in the case of rural folk songs, and also the *jiuta* music (which *Oroku musume* imitates) traditionally enjoyed by the middle class. According to Hashimoto himself, even the micro-intervals in *Shūsaku* are based on techniques found in folk songs (see Saegusa

2012, 26). While the musical allusions to *kabuki* in *Mai* are very few and have also to do with the original poem, *kabuki* was a form of popular theatre (Harich-Schneider, 526). No allusions, on the other hand, are made to upper-class musical traditions, such as the court music *gagaku* or the musical traditions favoured by the ruling warrior class during the Edo period, such as the *nō* theatre or the musical narration in the warrior epic *Heike monogatari* (Tale of Heike, dating originally from the 13th century), for instance.⁵ In his pre-war work, it seems that the Japanese influences underline Hashimoto's determination to write music "for the people", as he also suggested in his writings (e.g. Hashimoto 1930a, 106).⁶

Musical Japan and nationalism in Hashimoto's work during the war

Hashimoto's compositional style changed notably upon his return to Japan after studying in Europe from 1935 to the spring of 1937. The experimental qualities in his work became nearly absent, and instead he composed a great number of musically rather simple nationalistic songs. By the term *nationalistic*, I refer to music with the aim of expressing Japanese supremacy or supporting the expansionist policies of the government. Most of Hashimoto's works of this kind are defined by their program or compositional context. Works of art music are in minority, while marching songs and popular songs of war (*gunkoku kayō*) dominate the list of Hashimoto's nationalistic work. It is likely that someone chose the lyrics for Hashimoto to compose to songs (Saegusa 2012, 27–28). The few works of nationalistic art music include *Kōkamon* (Kōkamon Gate, 1939), a cantata about the battle of Nanking in 1937, the First Symphony D major (1940) and the cantata *Eirei sankā* (Hymn for the Soul of a Ceased Soldier, 1943) for the commemoration of the Navy Marshal Isoroku Yamamoto (1884–1943). Most of

⁵ Some few exceptions include the ballet *Tennyō to gyōfu* (Heavenly Maiden and Fisherman, 1932), containing some harmonic allusions to the court music *gagaku* probably related to the theme of the noble "heavenly maiden", and the cantata *Kōtaishi denka goseitai hōshukuka* (Song in Celebration of the Birth of His Highness the Crown Prince, 1934), quoting the Japanese national anthem *Kimi ga yo* as a type of cantus firmus towards the end of the work, which seems a rather natural device for music composed to celebrate the birth of the crown prince (i.e. Emperor Akihito, b. 1933).

⁶ Hashimoto uses the term *minyō* (民謡). The term translates as "folk song" into English, but is a literal translation of the German word *Volkslied*, meaning literally "songs of the people" (Hughes 1991, 1). Hashimoto (1930a, 105) explained that while his initial image of "folk song" is the tradition of the rural areas, his aim in composing songs is to write "folk songs for urban people" – that is, music that the people in cities could find their own and relate to in the same sense that traditional folk songs reflected the life in the countryside. In this sense, Hashimoto explicitly suggests that composing for "the people" was his aim. This was, of course, particularly evident in his popular songs.

Hashimoto's songs during the war would probably fall in the category of "rather simple works" in the classification by Shibaike (1996, 259–260).

During the war, works containing Japanese elements and not being nationalistic by program are an exception rather than a rule. One of the few works like this is *Tabibito no uta* (Song of a Traveller, 1939), which evokes a Japanese mood and imitates traditional vocal techniques but does not contain any hints towards nationalism in the program. The song is also given as an example of a typical Japanese art song by Hoffman (1967, 172). However, even if works including Japanese qualities in the war period are by rule nationalistic, not nearly all works with a nationalistic program contain Japanese elements. On the contrary, Japanese influences become almost totally absent in Hashimoto's nationalistic work. For instance, although strongly dealing with the Japanese state, there are no influences from traditional music in the cantata *Eirei sanku*. The work is German romantic in style, and the only distinctive influences that the program of the work has clearly affected are war calls played by the brass section.

Potential Japanese influences in Hashimoto's work of the war period are mostly met in the form of adoption of the *yonanuki* scale in song compositions with no further allusions to any specific genre of traditional music. Works like this include, for example, the lullaby *Haha no uta* (Mother's Song, 1937) and the children's song *Kachinuku bokura shōkokumin* (We Triumphant Children⁷, 1945). The first one is still sung as a lullaby with the third verse removed as the contents can be regarded nationalistic (Saegusa 2012, 27), as in the lyrics the mother encourages her child to view the national flag of Japan and sing the national anthem. The latter one is clearly a nationalistic song encouraging children to die for the emperor in the war. However, these are rare exceptions among all the nationalistic work and contain no serious allusion to any particular genre of Japanese music. This is also backed up by the comments of the composer himself, as Hashimoto (1930a, 105) stated that composing pentatonic melodies does not suffice to make a song "Japanese" in style. This tendency in Hashimoto's work is particularly notable in the sense that the rise of nationalism also marked the rise in musical national influences in the works of many Japanese composers (Akiyama 1979, 39).

Hashimoto's work containing the most Japanese influences in the war period is the First Symphony D major (1940). The work was composed to celebrate the 2600th anniversary of the Japanese Empire, a festivity which many Japanese as well as seven European composers, including Richard Strauss and Jacques Ibert, were commissioned works for (Akiyama 1979, 39). The symphony is German romantic in style. As music with the purpose of celebrating the state, it is natural to assume that the work might bear at least some allusions to Japanese traditional music. This becomes apparent already in the opening section. The first movement in sonata form begins with a canon by the first and second violin (fig. 6).

⁷ *Shōkokumin* (young citizen) was the term used for children in Japan during the Second World War.



Figure 6. Opening of the First Symphony by Kunihiko Hashimoto (1940).



Figure 7. Melody of Etenraku in hyōjō mode.



Figure 8. A passage in the First Symphony by Kunihiko Hashimoto (1940).

Although played at a much faster tempo and at a different pitch, the melody line clearly quotes the classical *gagaku* piece *Etenraku* (Heavenly music) in *hyōjō* mode⁸ (fig. 7). *Etenraku* in *hyōjō* mode is possibly the most well-known *gagaku* piece (Garfias 1975, 136) and also the one most performed in the 1930s and 1940s as an arrangement for orchestra by Hidemaro Konoe (1898–1973) (Kumazawa 2012). Also, the following motive played by the flute and the oboe (fig. 8), although not resembling *gagaku* in style, is equivalent of the scales in *gagaku* (Harich-Schneider 1973, 137).

After this, the symphony introduces the motive D–E–A, presented all over the first movement (fig. 9). The motive is also apparent in the beginning of the development section in minor key (fig. 10). Considering the simplicity of the motive, Hashimoto uses it to an astonishing degree. In fact, there are only a few moments in the whole movement when the motive is not present in any form, and it is performed even by percussions such as the timpani. Moreover, apart from the beginning of the development section, the motive is not really varied,

⁸ *Gagaku* is the court music of Japan, originally adopted from Korea and China in the 6th century. When *gagaku* melodies are played in different modes, the musical contents of the piece also change. (Garfias 1975.) The melody which Hashimoto quotes is that of *Etenraku* in *hyōjō* mode, albeit performed at a different pitch from the original. My transcription using Western notation (fig. 7) aims only at presenting the original melody; it does not really give any idea on the temporal or timbral qualities of *gagaku*. Unlike many other genres of traditional Japanese music, *gagaku* consists of units that can be described as measures with a regular number of beats (Garfias 1975, 82), hence the time signature 4/4 in the transcription.



Figure 9. A motive in the First Symphony by Kuni-hiko Hashimoto (1940).



Figure 10. The beginning of the development section by Kuni-hiko Hashimoto (1940).

nor is it played at any other pitch, furthermore hinting towards a particular meaning behind it. As the motive also appears in the end of the whole work, however, it will be discussed in more detail with the third movement. Before the development section, Hashimoto combines the motive with a harmony highly reminiscent of *gagaku*. The chords played by the strings are based on the intervals of the second, fourth and fifth, therefore resembling the typical *aitake* chords of the wind instrument *shō* in *gagaku* (see Garfias 1975, 65). This kind of harmony is also met in other passages in the movement, further confirming that *gagaku* is the most notable influence in the first movement of the symphony. When adopting these influences, however, Hashimoto does not seem to adopt any fundamental key characteristics of *gagaku*, for instance in terms of the structure of the composition or the roles of different instrument groups. Rather, they appear only occasionally and in a decorative manner in the movement that is otherwise composed wholly in Western idiom.

The second movement is in ABA' form. The repetitive melody of the A section is composed in a mode reminiscent of the traditional music of the Ryūkyū Islands (or Okinawa, to the south from the main islands of Japan) with a culture distinctive from Japan. Hashimoto confirms this by giving the melody as a typical example of Okinawan-style mode in one of his composing manuals (Hashimoto 1948, 103). The melody of the B section is based on the repetition of the same melodic and rhythmic line in turns between instrument groups (strings and winds). This is clearly an allusion to the antiphonal *utakake* form met in Okinawan folk music, or more accurately in the *mōashibi* tradition, where women and men split into two groups and sing in antiphonal style (Uchida 1989, 5). This emphasizes the folk song nature of the second movement, especially as *utakake* songs are often seen as “vulgar” in contrast with the Okinawan art music tradition (Takenaka 1975, 103). Hashimoto further underlines a Japanese quality in the movement by adopting the *taiko* drum playing a marching rhythm in the orchestra in the A' section. Otherwise, all the allusions in the second movement are based on Okinawan music, and more specifically folk music traditions. According to Katayama (2007, 141), the second movement of the symphony represents the *nanshinron* (doctrine of southern expansion) policy of the state. The *nanshinron* was a doctrine based on the idea that South-East Asia was a sphere of interest for Japan in terms of territorial expansion. This makes the allusion to Okinawan music in a symphony celebrating the Japanese empire also a political message.

The third movement of the symphony consists of a theme, variations, and a fugue. The theme is the song *Kigensetsu no uta* (Song of the Founding of the Empire, 1888) composed by Shūji Isawa, the founder of the Tokyo School of Music (fig. 11). It was basically known by everyone in Japan and sung in the celebrations of the Founding of the Empire Day (February 11th) until the end of the war, when it was deemed nationalistic and banned (Akiyama 1976, 10). The variations are composed in a vast diversity of styles ranging from a lullaby (variation 7), Wagnerian brasses reminiscent of the overture of *Tannhäuser* (variation 8) to a Baroque-style fugue in the end. Fugue was considered the highest form of Western art music at the time in Japan (Akiyama 1979, 11), and the third movement overall seems to be a manifestation of various established compositional methods of Western art music. The motive D–E–A (fig. 9) from the first movement takes again an important role in the fugue, as it is first presented as a countersubject for the theme of the fugue, and in the very end of the work played in a very bombastic manner alongside the original theme *Kigensetsu no uta*. The whole work even ends with two fanfare-like presentations of the motive, further stressing its significance.



Figure 11. The beginning of *Kigensetsu no uta*, composed by Shūji Isawa.

As the motive D–E–A itself is musically rather simple but bears such a significant role in the work, it is natural to assume that it might carry a particular meaning, very likely linked to the compositional context of the symphony. What further emphasizes this is that in the first movement the motive is not played at any other pitch or mostly varied at all with the exception of the beginning of the development section (fig. 10). Closer examination proves the motive to be a musical cryptogram. If the pitch names D, E and A are translated into Japanese, they become *ni*, *ho* and *i*. As *i* is the only monophonemic pitch name in Japanese, and, parallel to that, *n* is the only syllable of the Japanese syllabic writing system consisting of one consonant phoneme, it is natural to come to the conclusion that the three notes may stand for the word *Nihon*, or “Japan” in Japanese. Therefore, the simple motive that bears such a significant role in the symphony is the fundamental core message of the work, very fitting for the festive composition context of the work celebrating the empire of Japan.

Overall, the influences from Japanese music adopted in the first movement of the symphony are those from *gagaku*, court music of the nobility and the imperial family, therefore very fitting for a work celebrating the Japanese empire. The influences from traditional music are a symbol that represents the nation and therefore differ starkly from the elements Hashimoto adopted in his pre-war work. The influences in the second movement, on the other hand, are adopted from Okinawan folk music (considered vulgar by some), and are therefore in stark contrast with the first movement. Moreover, these influences

are in line with the expansionist *nanshinron* policy of the state. The third movement takes a song that clearly celebrates the state as its theme, and the three-note motive D–E–A, introduced in the first movement and standing for Japan, takes once again a significant role in the movement. With these influences, Hashimoto brings a “Japanese” as well as nationalistic quality to each of the movements. While being in stark contrast with his pre-war work combining elements from folk songs to modernist techniques and impressionism, Hashimoto still proves his knowledge of genres of traditional music and adopts the various musical allusions in a manner that makes them bear specific meanings and enhance the message of the work. Also, by composing music in established and admired forms and techniques of Western art music, Hashimoto has still more underlined the upper-class nature of the work.

When discussing Hashimoto’s work of the war period, it is necessary to point out that some of Hashimoto’s works were destroyed during the war (Takaku 2007, 152). Therefore, it is possible that Hashimoto did also compose other works adopting Japanese influences. Based on the material that has survived, though, the following summary can be concluded on the adoption of Japanese influences in Hashimoto’s work during the war. As is understood, there is a very stark difference in the Japanese qualities between the work of the war period and the pre-war period.

1) Most of the nationalistic music does not include a Japanese element of any kind.

2) When a Japanese element is brought into a work, it is usually in the form of the *yonanuki* scale. *Tabibito no uta* is one of the few exceptions also imitating traditional vocal techniques.

3) The First Symphony is most likely the only work containing specific musical meanings related to the theme of the work. The genres that the allusions are made to are used to enhance the message of the work.

Absence of Japanese qualities in Hashimoto’s post-war work

As discussed above, Hashimoto resigned his post as a professor of the Tokyo School of Music in 1946 and worked as a free composer until his death in 1949. Katayama (2007, 54) has noted that Hashimoto’s nationalistic songs during the war and the political songs praising democracy after the war have no musical difference in spite of the differing programs. In spite of this, there is one notable change in Hashimoto’s compositional style in the post-war period. After the war, Hashimoto composed very few works containing any kinds of Japanese elements. For instance, among his 33 solo vocal works⁹, none contain any influences from traditional music. While the melody in *Asa wa doko kara* (Where

⁹ The number is based on the songs published in Hashimoto 1996a, containing only songs of the post-war period with the exception of *Fuefuki me*. Among the 33 songs, three songs are of unclear date of composition.

Figure 12. *Asa wa doko kara*, mm. 8–19, lyrics omitted (Hashimoto 1996b).

Does the Morning Come From?, 1946), reflecting the positive spirit of the new democratic era and is composed using a pentatonic scale, the song doesn't include any allusions to traditional music, nor does it really evoke a Japanese atmosphere (fig. 12). Furthermore, it should be noted that *Asa wa doko kara* was not originally composed as an art song but as a popular song, and it was a typical device in the popular song of the time to adopt the *yonanuki* scale.

Based on Hashimoto's previous work, the most natural approach to searching for Japanese qualities in music would be to study works that suggest a Japanese context in their program. As the censorship conducted by the occupational forces did not approve of music hinting towards a nationalistic theme (Galliano 2002, 132) and composers were advised to treat Japanese influences with caution (Akiyama 1979, 41), examples of such music are few in Hashimoto's post-war work. One work with a high possibility of including influences from traditional music, however, would be *Mittsu no wasan* (Three *wasans*, 1946) for baritone and orchestra, a work commissioned by the Nihon shūkyō ongaku kyōkai (Japanese Society of Religious Music). *Wasan* is a type of Buddhist recitative in the genre of *shōmyō*, originally introduced to Japan in the 6th century (Harich-Schneider 1973, 96). *Wasans* are always sung in the Japanese language as opposed to the *shōmyō* in Sanskrit or Chinese, and were therefore fairly understandable to common people in the time of their writing (Sawada 2008, 120). Hashimoto's *Mittsu no wasan* consists of three poems from a collection of 48 *wasans* written by the Buddhist monk Shinran (1176–1263). As *wasans* are performed as the Buddhist *shōmyō* recitative, one might assume Hashimoto to adopt at least some kind of influences from *shōmyō* in this work.

Katayama (2007, 91) has noted that the orchestral texture of *Mittsu no wasan* resembles that of Mahler. The work consists of three poems, but the only one containing any musical allusions to Japan is the third. Moreover, while one might expect these influences to have something to do with *shōmyō*, this is not the case. Rather, the Japanese elements, mostly adopted in the introduction and interludes, are elements recalling the rhythms of Japanese folk songs, somewhat reminiscent of the style of Akira Ifukube's (1914–2006) *Nihon kyōshikyoku* (Japanese Rhapsody, 1935). There are no allusions to traditional music even in the second song, although Shinran's poem refers to the pitch names of the Chinese pentatonic scale adopted to Japan: *kyū*, *shō*, *kaku*, *chi* and *u*, approximately D, E, F#, A and B (Garfias 1975, 58–63). Hashimoto himself apparently acknowledged that *kyū* is the name of the ground pitch of a scale at any pitch (Hashimoto and Shimofusa 2000, 79), but even as this meaning, the music itself does not hint the adoption of these notes. While Hashimoto's pupil, Toshirō Mayuzumi adopted musical material from *shōmyō* as such in his famous work *Nehan kōkyōkyoku* (Nirvana Symphony, 1958), this is not the case in *Mittsu no wasan*.

The work, however, resembles Hashimoto's previous work in two ways. First, it seeks to capture the essence of the original poems by Shinran. Second, it is clearly music aimed for the people. This can be concluded based on the composer's comments on the work (as quoted in Saegusa 2011, 13; translation mine):

Although there is also opposition towards composing new music to the *wasans*, Shinran's motive for writing was that he sought to make the sutras, written in complicated classical Chinese, comprehensible to the common people. From this point of view, I believe that there is also profound meaning in covering the poems with a robe of new music and singing them in their true nature.

Based on this, Hashimoto sought to express the original motive behind the texts and also compose music aimed for the people, that is, music comprehensible to contemporary listeners. This makes his approach very similar to the one in the pre-war period. What further emphasizes Hashimoto's interest towards composing music for the people is that in 1947 he was one of the founding members of *Shinfūsha*¹⁰, an association formed by poets and composers taking as their goal to write high-quality music aimed for the people (Saegusa 2012, 25).

Alongside the disappearance of influences from traditional music, there is also a possible anti-war tone to Hashimoto's music in the post-war period. Katayama (1999, 201) has noted that some works seem to express regret and despondency of the people after the war. These works include *Mittsu no wasan*, as well as the song cycles *Fuyu no kumikyoku* (Winter Suite, 1945) and *Jōjō kumikyoku* (Lyrical Suite, 1946). Some other works, in particular popular songs

¹⁰ The name of the society is rather difficult to translate into English. *Shinfū* (新風) means "new style" or "fresh", and in this case, *sha* (社) most likely stands for "association". Therefore, the name of the society refers to the new period after the war and their fresh approach into writing poems and music.

such as *Asa wa doko kara* reflect the positive spirit of the new democratic period. In 1947, Hashimoto was commissioned to write a symphony to celebrate the new constitution of Japan. According to the composer himself, the Second Symphony F major (1947) depicts the bliss of peace (see Saegusa 2011, 8), and even contains “bells of peace” towards the end of the work. Considering how important the musical cryptogram in the main motive is in the First Symphony, it is likely that the major key F (*he* in Japanese) stands for peace (*heiwa* in Japanese).

The absence of Japanese influences in Hashimoto’s work in the post-war period raises the question of whether Hashimoto abandoned Japanese influences in his work as a way of expressing regret for his nationalistic war-time works. This is hard to believe, however, as in the immediate post-war period, composers were generally advised to treat any kinds of materials leaning towards nationalism with caution (Akiyama 1979, 41). Even many artists of traditional music were banned from performing professionally, should the genre they represented have been used as a nationalistic propaganda tool during the war (Kikuchi 2008, 106). This being the situation, it is likely that Hashimoto, in particular after apparently being made to resign his post, would naturally have been cautious of not stating any kind of nationalism in his work. Moreover, as was seen in the case of his work during the war, nationalism and Japanese influences do not have any connection in Hashimoto’s music, making the idea of the absence of Japanese qualities in his work being a sign of regret unlikely.

Conclusion: Hashimoto’s work reflecting changes in the Japanese society

As a summary of the overall development of Japanese qualities in Hashimoto’s work, the following can be concluded.

1) In the pre-war period, Hashimoto manifests knowledge of various genres of traditional music. While putting this knowledge to different kinds of uses, including those that can be considered modernist, the genres that he makes allusions to are by rule those of the common people.

2) During the war, Hashimoto manifests knowledge of the traditional music mostly in his First Symphony D major. In contrast with the pre-war work, however, the influences are those from the upper-class genre *gagaku*, while influences from Okinawan folk music are adopted as a political message. Other possible Japanese qualities include the adoption of the *yonanuki* scale.

3) In the post-war period, influences from traditional music have become absent. The very few possible influences do not stand out as being allusions to any specific genres of traditional music, nor do they evoke a Japanese atmosphere in the work.

As is understood, the Japanese influences in Hashimoto’s work are abundant in his pre-war work, but gradually become almost totally absent. In works adopting Japanese influences, Hashimoto proves an understanding of various

genres of traditional music and also adopts these influences for different goals. The national school of composition was under suspicion of ultranationalist ideologies as early as in the beginning of the 1930s (see Akiyama 2003, 525), while composers of the national school denied these accusations (Kiyose 1963, 14–15). At least Hashimoto's work seems to prove the accusations wrong. The works of the pre-war period adopting Japanese qualities are not composed to nationalistic programs and during the war influences from traditional music become nearly absent at the same time with the emergence of nationalistic programs.

As Hashimoto's work demonstrates, close examination of allusions to traditional Japanese music in a Japanese composer's work may offer new perspectives to the work of the composer. While Japanese composers of the pre-war period have sometimes been criticized for a superficial and unsuccessful approach to writing music with Japanese qualities, most of the influences analysed in this paper bear particular meanings exceeding those of mere "Japanese-sounding elements", making the criticism unjustified. Moreover, the analysis of Hashimoto's work proves that rather than seeking to locate any unconscious "Japanese nature" in a Japanese composer's work in the sense that the so-called *Nihonjinron* discourse stresses the unique and inevitable "Japaneseness" of everything Japanese, examining particular musical elements as conscious influences from traditional Japanese culture does reveal meanings that offer us new viewpoints to the works themselves. While the research on post-war music dominates studies of Japanese art music particularly in the West, there are undoubtedly countless intriguing attributes to the pre-war musical world of Japan still unknown to us. Careful examination of these attributes and the complex dialogue between Western and Japanese art forms would undoubtedly further open up and provide views to a musical world at an interesting stage of development.

Japanese qualities in Hashimoto's work serve mostly as a tool of expression often adopted for emphasizing an aspect of the original program. Finscher (1984, 55) and Bartók (1976, 343–344), for example, have discussed that the most profound level of national-style composition is a style that does not necessarily contain any concrete allusions to traditional music but rather succeeds in capturing the spirit of traditional music. As opposed to this, it seems that Hashimoto's mostly did not even aim for an overall Japanese compositional idiom, perhaps with the exception of some of his works of *shin minyō*. This further underlines the fact that while the ways of adopting influences from traditional music offer an interesting view to Hashimoto's work, one must also keep in mind that Hashimoto composed in a vast diversity of styles, the works containing Japanese influences representing only one style among the others. Hashimoto's numerous compositions not discussed in this paper – including also those adopting influences from traditional music – would undoubtedly reveal still more valuable perspectives to the work of the composer.

There is, however, one aspect in Hashimoto's work that makes all of his music "Japanese-style" in a sense. Omura (2014, 178) has suggested that Hashimoto "gave himself away" when writing nationalistic works demanded by the

government as the professor of the Tokyo School of Music, thus becoming the “face of the school”. This is underlined particularly in some of Hashimoto’s nationalistic works written under the pseudonym “Tokyo School of Music”. If we assume that Hashimoto indeed “gave himself away” during the war, we are left pondering which characteristics are common in his pre-war and post-war work. A notable difference is, of course, that the influences from traditional Japanese music, so largely adopted in the pre-war years, became absent in the post-war period. Stylistically, Hashimoto also gave up the modernist nature of some of his early work.

Still, one approach remains similar in both periods. In the pre-war period, Hashimoto (1930a, 106) explicitly stated that his compositional ideal was to write music for the people while retaining high artistic quality. In the post-war period the fact that Hashimoto belonged to the group *Shinfūsha*, setting its goal to composing high-quality music aimed for the people, as well as works like *Mittsu no wasan*, prove that his initial attitude towards composing did not undergo a change even after the war. Hashimoto’s primary goal was, it seems, to write high-quality music for the people. According to Omura (2014, 168), one of Hashimoto’s strongest points was his ability to compose in a style that each period of time demanded from him. This partially explains the stark political differences between the creative periods, and results in Hashimoto’s work reflecting changes in the Japanese society as well. This is of course evident when comparing the nationalistic work with the work pronouncing democracy, but there are also notable subtler differences. One of these has to do with the type of songs that Hashimoto composed.

While this paper deals with Hashimoto’s work containing Japanese influences, one cannot overlook the composer’s seemingly contradictory compositional style in the pre-war years. As discussed, the *shin minyō* songs such as *Fujisan mitara* (When Viewing Mount Fuji) with a sense of nostalgia towards one’s home in the countryside were in favour with the people who had had to leave their homes in the rural areas to work in urban cities (Ogawa 1999, 220). At the same time, however, Hashimoto wrote songs such as *Okashi to musume* (Sweets and a Girl, 1928), taking the highly urban and exotic Paris as its theme. As discussed above, Hashimoto composed music in a style that suited the original lyrics, making it no surprise that *Okashi to musume* is composed in a wholly Western idiom. While these two compositional styles might seem to initially contradict each other, they are actually manifestations of the very same compositional motive. Hashimoto (1930a, 105) stated that he took as his aim to write “folk songs for urban people”, that is, music reflecting the life of those living in urban environments in the same way that traditional folk music of the rural districts reflects the life of the people living there. As there was great interest towards everything Parisian in Tokyo in the end of the 1920s (Ogawa 1999, 221), even songs such as *Okashi to musume* become understandable as “folk songs for urban people”. Hashimoto’s principle of composing “folk songs” for both those from the urban and from the rural areas, led into two somewhat differing voices

in Hashimoto's work. While one of them holds a particularly Japanese quality, the other one does not.

As Hashimoto, when composing music for "the people", wrote works adopting Japanese influences in the pre-war period but abandoned these influences after the war, one cannot but conclude that not only Hashimoto's work, but the voice of the Japanese people underwent a change during this period. In a society showing strong tendencies towards Americanization (e.g. Galliano 2002, 128), these qualities from traditional music and traditional culture that were already becoming the past were perhaps inclined to disappear. The resistance towards Americanization began to emerge in the 1950s and is also reflected in Japanese music of the time. Many works of art music with new approaches to Japanese elements were composed in the 1950s (Galliano 2002, 133), and new types of songs underlining a nostalgic Japanese quality emerged in popular music as well, later becoming the "Japanese-style" popular song *enka* (Kikuchi 2008, 160–161).

Based on Hashimoto's actions as well as Omura's remark on him being a composer able to write music in styles that each period of time demanded from him, it is very likely that Hashimoto would have also taken on these tendencies and, in this sense, returned to his initial composing style. Of course, this idea remains purely speculative, as Hashimoto passed away in 1949 and did not live to see the recurring interest towards Japanese-style composition. What is certain, however, is that many of Hashimoto's pupils did take on Hashimoto's approach to composing, most notably Ikuma Dan and Yoshinao Nakada in their well-known song compositions (Lehtonen 2015b, 24). While Hashimoto's death was premature and his compositional career was met with the tragedy of war, it might be concluded that his work was indeed succeeded by his pupils. In their work, also his voice was to be heard for many decades to come.

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Kansan äänestä valtion nationalismiin: Japanin musiikillisia merkityksiä Kunihiko Hashimoton tuotannossa

Kunihiko Hashimoto (1904–1949) oli 1900-luvun länsimaalaistyyllisen japanilaisen taidemusiikin ristiriitaisimpia säveltäjähahmoja. Toisaalta hän sai tunnustusta modernistina ja työskenteli valtion musiikkiyliopiston professorina, toisaalta hän sävelsi populaarimusiikkia ja oli perustamassa antiakateemista säveltäjäryhmää. Vaikka hän korosti varhaisissa teoksissaan kansan ääntä, hän myös kirjoitti sodan aikana nationalistisia marsseja. Ristiriitaisuus heijastuu myös Hashimoton tuotannon japanilaisvaikutteissa (esimerkiksi viittauksissa perinteiseen japanilaiseen musiikkiin), joita säveltäjä käytti niin kansan äänen kuin valtion nationalismin ilmaisijana.

Tämä artikkeli tarkastelee Hashimoton tuotannon japanilaisvaikutteita ja niiden lähtökohtia liittämällä eri vaikutteet tarkemmin perinteisen japanilaisen musiikin lajityyppeihin. Hashimoton alkupään tuotannossa japanilaisvaikutteet viittaavat ennen kaikkea Japanin kansanmusiikkiin, mutta siitä omaksutut vaikutteet ovat laajentuneet myös joihinkin sinänsä absoluuttista musiikkia edustaviin teoksiin. Nationalismi ja japanilaisvaikutteinen sävellystyylit sodan aikana sen sijaan eivät säännönmukaisesti kytkeydy yhteen. Huomattavin

esimerkki japanilaisvaikutteita sisältävästä nationalistisesta teoksesta on Japanin keisarikuntaa juhlistava ensimmäinen sinfonia, jonka vaikutteet kytkeytyvät alkupään tuotannosta poiketen yläluokkaiseen musiikkiin. Sodan jälkeen japanilaisvaikutteet puolestaan häviävät säveltäjän teoksista lähes täysin.

Hashimoto osoittaa tuotannossaan perinteisen musiikin eri lajityyppien tuntemusta ja käyttää japanilaisvaikutteita vahvistamaan teosten ilmaisua. Samalla vaikutteet mukailevat Japanin yhteiskunnallisen ilmapiiirin kehityskulkua 1920-luvun lopun demokraattisesta ajasta sodanajan nationalismiin ja tämän jälkeen kaiken nationalistisen sisällön kieltämiseen. Vaikka Hashimoton perimmäinen sävellysmotiivi vaikuttaisi olevan kansan äänen esille tuominen, artikkeli yhtyy niihin japanilaisiin tutkijoihin, jotka näkevät säveltäjän "aikansa uhrina".

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