

POPULAR SONG OF THE MEIJI ERA

A STUDY OF *HAYARIUTA* AND THE NATURE OF THEIR POPULARITY
BASED ON SONG COLLECTIONS IN THE KINDAI DIGITAL LIBRARY

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I certify that the substance of this thesis has not already been submitted for any degree and is not currently being submitted for any other degree or qualification.

I certify that any help received in preparing this thesis, and all sources used, have been acknowledged in this thesis.

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1 INTRODUCTION

During the last years (*bakumatsu*) of the Tokugawa Shogunate (1603-1867) and the first years of the Meiji Period (1868-1912), Edo (which became Tokyo) was brimming over with songs. People enjoyed singing, listening to, learning, practicing, dancing to, applauding, as well as making or modifying *hayariuta*, popular songs. We can appreciate the flourishing situation of *hayariuta* in the town life of the time from the pages of *kawaraban*¹ that carry numberless variations of lyrics, *kaeuta*, for songs called *dodoitsu*, *oosue*, *naninani-bushi*,² short songs called *hauta*, and long narratives called *kudoki*.³

The alternate attendance system of feudal lords under the Tokugawa Shogunate regime,⁴ and the consequent regular mass movement of people between Edo and rural regions, caused the nationwide oral dissemination of *hayariuta*. Regional folk songs that flowed into the metropolis changed, under the influence of *shamisen* music, into *hayariuta* that were sung amongst the towns-people, and which were then disseminated back to the regions. In the city, music of the *chaya*,⁵ which included almost every genre of traditional music from elegant classics to vulgar songs, was mostly supported by wealthy townspeople who enjoyed not only listening to, but also singing, and sometimes creating new *hayariuta* and variants of existing ones. By the end of the Edo period (1603-1868), *chaya* music developed to the heights of its technique and artistry in interaction with songs of the *yose*,⁶ which were the best-loved *hayariuta* of the urban populace.

After the Meiji Restoration (1868), the new central government executed in quick succession, the disempowerment of the feudal clans, the introduction of a conscription system, increases in land tax, and a ban on swords. Hundreds of feudal lords and tens of thousands of *samurai*, who had been residing in Edo, left the city, resulting in a sharp drop in the population of Edo. Most of the *samurai*, who were officials and vassals of the feudal lords and the Tokugawa Government, lost their posts. The town centre, which had been the residential area for the feudal lords, was changed into fields of tea and mulberry. The song '*Choito-choito-bushi*' depicts this change as follows:

Tea and mulberry are planted where Edo had flourished, (花のお江戸へ桑茶を植えて)
They make fun of us saying, 'Stay without eating!' (くわでいろとは人を茶に)⁷

¹ Tile-block prints

² Something-or-other songs

³ Mitamura Engyo (1870-1952), *Kawaraban no hayariuta*, [*Popular song in tile-block prints*], 1926. All sources are published in Tokyo unless otherwise stated.

⁴ The Tokugawa Shogunate regime forced every feudal lord to stay in Edo town one year in every two, and their families always to live as hostages in Edo town at the expense of the feudal lord.

⁵ A tea house or restaurant with entertainer girls

⁶ Vaudeville theaters

⁷ Komota et al, *Shin-pan Nihon Ryuukouka-shi – joo* [*A History of Japanese Popular Songs, Volume 1*],

The newly arisen *kan'in* class⁸ took the place of the *choonin* and *samurai*, who were formerly the most influential customers of the *chaya*. Horiuchi Keizoo writes: 'A period of dullness has come in traditional music in general'.⁹ However, despite a period lacking in significant stylistic development, the world of *hayariuta* did not stagnate.¹⁰ What did change were the principal themes of *kaeuta*, which now depicted everything novel to the people of the 'civilization and enlightenment period'.

Two song genres particular to the new era were born soon thereafter, *shooka* (educational songs) and *gunka* (military songs). In 1881 (Meiji 14) the government, which aimed towards the modernization of the Japanese social system for the purposes of national wealth and military strength, adopted *shooka kyooiku* (education through singing) as part of the core curriculum of the new elementary school system.¹¹ The *shooka kyooiku* programme made only mediocre progress due to insufficient numbers of teachers and instruments, as well as a lack of singable *shooka* for children.¹² What drove the popularization of the new song-genres was *gunka*. As early as 1886 (Meiji 19), the first anthology of *gunka* lyrics was published. The flood of similar *gunka* publications continued until the eve of the Sino-Japanese War (1894).¹³ However, the above '*gunka*' lacked melody. What spread among the soldiers were long narrative poems, literary in style, in *7-5-choo*.¹⁴ Soldiers sang these poems spontaneously to endless repetitions of various short tunes, such as rural folk ballads, that would later be called *heitai-bushi* (soldiers' tunes).¹⁵ While soldiers continued to sing *heitai-bushi*, schoolchildren began to learn new Western style *gunka*: Young teachers seem to have preferred lively *gunka* to *gagaku*-style melodies and the moralistic lyrics of official education songs.¹⁶

At the same time as the beginnings of new song genres, *hayariuta* was also undergoing innovative changes, mostly due to the popularization of different kinds of musical instruments. The format and content of popular song anthologies began to change. By the end of the Sino-Japanese War, they had mostly transformed from collections of numerous *kaeuta* for the few most popular *hayariuta*, to manuals for practicing, with musical notation and diverse genres of songs, including the new *gunka* and *shooka*. Military Bands began to perform arrangements of various melodies of *hayariuta* in public, and they were followed by numerous private brass bands across the nation.

1994, p. 17. Here, '*kuwade*' sounds in two ways: 'with mulberry' (桑で) and 'not eating' (食わで).

⁸ Government officials

⁹ Horiuchi Keizoo, *Ongaku gojuunen-shi jou [50 years history of the music]*, 1942a, p. 68.

¹⁰ See Chapter 2.

¹¹ The government began elementary school education in Meiji 5 (1872). The school attendance ratio was 26% in Meiji 6 (1873), 46% in Meiji 19 (1886), when it became compulsory of 4 years, and 97 % in Meiji 33 (1900), when it became free of expense.

¹² See section 3-4 of this thesis.

¹³ See Table 2-5 in section 2-4 of this thesis.

¹⁴ A lyric form of 7 plus 5 syllables per line

¹⁵ The earliest use of the term '*heitai-bushi*' that I found is in the first edition of *Nihon no gunka*, by Horiuchi, 1944, in which Horiuchi uses the term on pages 23, 31, 41, 42, 65, and 81 always with quotation marks. It can be understood that the term was not yet widely used in the time. Horiuchi, *Nihon no gunka, [Military Songs in Japan]*, 1944.

¹⁶ See Section 4-2-c) of this thesis.

The numbers of *zokuyoo* in the songbooks also changed dramatically. By the end of the Meiji 10s (1877-1886), most of the *hayariuta* of preceding periods, except *Dodoitsu* and *Ootsue*, disappeared from anthologies. On the other hand, much *hayariuta*, not only the Meiji-born '*Kappore*', '*Umegae*', '*Enkaina*' but also the Edo period songs, '*Harusame*', '*Echigojishi*', occurred almost for the first time in anthologies after the Meiji 20s (1887-1896). Old Edo *hayariuta* did not relinquish their primary position to the other genres, such as *gunka* or *shooka*, until the very end of the Meiji era, about 100 years ago. The latter half of the Meiji era was the final heyday of the Japanese traditional popular song.

Today, by using the data from the National Diet Library's Kindai Digital Library, we can establish the popularity of the songs of the Meiji period as reflected in the quantity of their appearances in popular song anthologies in the time. Moreover, we can examine the lyrics and melodies of the songs through the Meiji era notations in the above KDL, as well as through the 1903 recordings of Frederic Gaisberg. It is now possible to gain a broader view of popular song throughout the Meiji era, and to identify overall tendencies during the 45 years of the Meiji, by utilizing the above facilities fully.

I agree with Hugh de Ferranti's assertion that traditional and modern Japanese music 'can be thought of as elements within a body of musical practices that comprise Japanese music culture'.¹⁷ In this thesis, I will identify popular songs of the Meiji period, and analyze their textual and musical characteristics on the basis of contemporary sources. In particular, *zokuyoo*, old-style *hayariuta* which came into being during the Edo period and continued to be widely enjoyed during Meiji, constitute a precious legacy of popular music culture that today is almost forgotten among Japanese people but has a great influence over the modern popular songs of today as Koizumi Fumio writes throughout his *The Structure of Popular Songs of Today*.¹⁸ I hope that this thesis may to some small extent serve to consolidate or to further the recognition of these songs as 'elements within a body of musical practices that comprise Japanese music culture'.¹⁹

¹⁷ Hugh de Ferranti, 'Japanese Music can be popular', *Popular Music*, 21/2, 2009, p. 195.

¹⁸ Koizumi, *Kayookyoku no koozoo [The structure of kayookyoku - popular song]*, 1996.

¹⁹ de Ferranti, 2009, p.195

1-1 Objectives of This Study

My objective in this study is to answer the following questions to the extent possible:

(1) What songs were actually popular in Meiji era?

- to identify the most popular songs throughout the Meiji era, both of the old and new genres.

(2) How did these songs spread?

- to grasp the context of their popularity, especially how people enjoyed them.

(3) What are the prominent characteristics of old and new types of popular songs?

- to find what we lost and acquired instead in the course of Meiji 45 years, that is, to find what Meiji meant for Japanese popular music.

1-2 Methodology

Firstly, I adopt Charles Hamm's definition of popular song as a song 'performed by and listened to by persons of limited musical training and ability' during the period.²⁰ Popular song anthologies published in the Meiji provide access to those songs. In the anthologies, I count the occurrence frequency of the songs and identify the most frequent songs among them. I then specify the lyrics and melodies of those songs, analyze and describe their characteristics and contexts to the greatest extent possible. By contexts I mean every condition that relates to the existence of a song in society, especially the routes and means of dissemination, the ways in which people enjoyed them, the relations between songs and the social class of their specific audience, and also the relationships between the subject matter of the lyrics and the society. Finally, I clarify the differences between the characteristics of old-style and new-style popular songs. This methodology requires a consideration of the sources and the use of them to locate and specify Meiji popular songs, and the establishment of a framework for the analysis and description of the characteristics of the songs. In turn, these discussions require a preliminary consideration of genres and terms.

1-2-1 Preliminary considerations

a) Understanding relations between *kaeuta*, *motouta* and forms of *hayariuta*

How do we identify a popular song in Japanese music history during the era of early modernization? As Gerald Groemer appropriately proposed, 'in plain words, the definition of

²⁰ Charles Hamm, *Yesterdays – Popular Song in America*, New York, 1979, Introduction.

hayariuta of the Edo period is the lyrics that by chance became hits among numerous *kaeuta* for a given extant melody'.²¹ The situation with *hayariuta* of the Meiji is not much different: Popular song anthologies until the Meiji 10s (1877-1886) were almost all *kaeuta* collections of extant *hayariuta*. Numerous anonymous singers and writers, both amateur and professional, sang or wrote new lyrics for a pre-existing popular melody. When a given *kaeuta* becomes a new *hayariuta*, itself then generating many other *kaeuta*, it effectively changes to become understood as the representative lyrics of the song at the time, called the *motouta*. The objective here is to locate and specify the most popular *hayariuta* and their representative lyrics and melodies in the Meiji era, not to pursue all the *kaeuta* of a given time or to seek the presumed original or oldest *motouta*. Therefore, in this thesis the number of contemporary *kaeuta* collections, or records of *kaeuta* in sources, will be more important than the *kaeuta* lyrics themselves as an index to the popularity of a given song. Following Groemer, I define the relation between songs and their numerous *kaeuta* thus: 'Songs that have the most numerous *kaeuta* are the most popular *hayariuta*.'

b) Delimitation of the concept of popular song in this thesis

I delimit the popular songs included within the scope of this study as follows:

- Songs that spread mostly among the common people in cities such as Tokyo and their associated suburbs.
- Songs that people hummed in public places, such as streets, workshops, public baths.
- Songs that were heard in *yose* or *kashi-seki*,²² as well as outdoor places such as the grounds of temples and shrines.
- Songs that were sung and/or danced to in the *chaya*, *kuruwa*,²³ *shukuba*,²⁴ and similar places, by guests and/or entertainers mostly accompanied by *shamisen*.
- *Gunka* that were sung not only by the soldiers in the army but also by the common people including children.
- *Shooka* that were sung not only in the classrooms but which also spread outside of the schools among adults as well as children.
- I exclude the ceremonial songs for national holidays such as '*Kimigayo*' and '*Kigensetsu*'.²⁵

²¹ Gerald Groemer, *Bakumatsu no hayariuta: Kudoki-bushi to Dodoits no Shin-kenkyuu, [Popular Song of Bakumatsu]*, Meicho Shuppan, 1995, p. 13.

²² Halls for rent smaller than *yose*.

²³ Red-light districts

²⁴ Inns of posting stations

²⁵ Although I have excluded them from the scope of my thesis because they are not appropriate to be called *hayariuta*, the important role of the ceremonial songs on the popularization of *shooka* cannot be neglected. I found that *shooka* for national holidays occur frequently in the anthologies of the Meiji 30s and 40s. The total occurrence frequency of '*Kimigayo*' in the anthologies that I collected from the KDL (below in Chapter 2), 43 times, places the song third among all genres of the songs. If you seek the widest spread of preferred *shooka* melodies amongst school children of the late Meiji to early Showa, '*Ichigatsu ichijitsu*', '*Tenchoosetsu*', '*Kigensetu*' might be the best three, and are probably

- I exclude theater music for *ningyoo-jooruri*, *kabuki*, and long narratives such as *naniwa-bushi*.
- I exclude songs of *minshingaku*,²⁶ and songs of *koto* music.

c) How to group popular songs — Definition of song genres

I do not propose a new approach to classification, but I record the ways of classification of individual songs in popular song anthologies in the KDL collection, and I adopt the most frequent ways among them as my means of classification. Firstly, I divide Meiji popular songs into two overarching groups; The first group comprises the two major genres that emerged for the first time in the Meiji period, *gunka* and *shooka*. The second group comprises all other popular songs. The genre of *gunka* includes a sub-group, tunes sung spontaneously by soldiers according to their tastes, which were later called *heitai-bushi*. The second group of popular songs, those other than *gunka* and *shooka* consists of both old songs sung since the Edo period, and some new but nevertheless old-style songs created during the Meiji. In the popular song anthologies of the Meiji in the KDL, such songs are referred to by a variety of terms such as *hauta* (short song), *zokkyoku* (common music), *ryuukoo zokkyoku* (popular common music), *zakkyoku* (miscellaneous music), and *zokuyoo* (common song). From these many terms, I have selected the last, *zokuyoo*, as a word appropriate for collectively denoting popular songs other than *gunka* and *shooka*.²⁷ As such, in the terminology of this thesis, Meiji era *hayariuta*, popular song, consists of two large groups, *zokuyoo* and *gunka-shooka*.

1-2-2 Consideration of sources and their use for identifying most popular songs in the time

a) Collecting and utilizing popular song anthologies of the time

The Kindai Digital Library (KDL) is an internet collection of old books free from copyright restrictions, created by the National Diet Library of Japan. As most of the books are from the Meiji period, the KDL has provided a great wealth of materials for this study. I have therefore

more popularized than *Kasumika kumoka* or *Miwataseba*. Most of my schoolmates remember the melodies and lyrics of the first stanza of the above three songs along with the gift of sweets to everybody, as well as some *kaeuta*.

²⁶ Chinese music popularized in Japan since the Edo period. I excluded songbooks of *minshingaku* because I found no lyrics in Japanese in them. However, later I recognized that there are not a few books appropriate for my survey that contain *zokuyoo* and *shooka* with Chinese notations.

²⁷ *Hoogaku Hyakka Jiten*, [*Japanese Music Encyclopedia*] defines the term *zokuyoo* as, 'common songs for people opposite to artistic song (芸術歌曲), also generic name for *zokkyoku*, *min-yoo* (民謡), *hayariuta*, or *ryuukooka* (流行歌) that are sung among the public in general'. Yoshikawa Eishi, *Hoogaku Hyakka-jiten*, 1984.

limited this popular song survey to the stock contained within the KDL.

In order to decide what song collections were appropriate for inclusion, I first made a general set of rules, as follows:

- Anthologies that were commercial, that is, marketed with the goal of financial gain.
- Anthologies sold at a moderate or rather cheap price.
- Anthologies in a handy size appropriate to be carried in pockets or *kimono* sleeves.
- Songbooks titled with individual song names, thus providing proof of a song's popularity.

Because of the impracticality of listing and analyzing all of the numerous songs in the KDL anthologies, even after application of the above set of rules, I have had to make a second set of rules for eliminating certain kinds of anthologies and songs. These rules are as follows:

- Anthologies or their parts that contain too many (beyond around 30) songs of one specific genre, because such a collection has higher probability of including non-popular songs than others. My intention was to identify less than ten of the most popular songs in each genre and period, that is, the early Meiji, mid-Meiji, and late Meiji periods.
- Purely didactic *shooka* and/or *gunka* anthologies that include no songs that appear in any other sort of anthology.
- Anthologies of *gunka* and/or *shooka* that only include newly composed songs that have not appeared in earlier collections, because I need only songs that have gained popularity.
- After collecting nearly a thousand song-titles, I stopped listing new titles. Thereafter, I picked up only those songs of which titles were already listed in my working table for counting occurrence frequency of the individual songs.

b) Principles for counting occurrence frequency of songs in the anthologies

The principles I have adopted for counting the occurrence frequency of songs in the anthologies are as follows:

- If a song and its *kaeuta* appear in one anthology, this is counted as one occurrence of the *motouta*.
- *kaeuta* that occur without *motouta* are counted as one occurrence of the *motouta*.
- Each separate volume in a series or anthology is treated as one independent 'book'.
- Anthologies that were published more than once are counted only on the basis of the number of existent publications, editions or versions in the KDL. I cannot ascertain the actual numbers of publications, editions or versions that circulated in the marketplace because there is no adequate data for doing so.

c) How to identify the lyrics and melodies of the songs

For representative lyrics of a given *hayariuta*, I will give priority to the forms given in the extant published studies, as in most cases they are the *motouta* rather than *kaeuta*. As mentioned above, anthologies from around the middle of the Meiji 20s (the early 1890s) began to carry musical notations in numeral forms, *kanji* (Sino-Japanese characters), *kana* (Japanese syllabary), and/or Western staff notations. Although some notations are defective, and some difficult or impossible to decode, others can be read without any problems of interpretation. Figure 1-2-1 shows two transcriptions of a *zokuyoo*, 'Harusame', both of which were noted by Kobatake in Meiji 25 (1892).²⁸ The melody of Figure 1-2-1-a, expressed by means of Western staff notation, accords closely with the performances of *yose* musicians in the recordings of Meiji 36 (1903) made by Frederik Gaisberg.

Figure 1-2-1-a A transcription of 'Harusame' by means of Western staff notation by Kobatake

On the other hand, Figure 1-2-1-b, the numeral notation, written for 20-reed-accordion and utilising solely the 20 tones of the instrument as shown in the Figure 1-2-2, cannot express such tunes in certain keys. In this example of 'Harusame', the author lowered the key a fourth below that of the above staff notation. As a result, the notes of the melody can be presented accurately, with only the one exception of the B-natural in the case of the above staff, the equivalent of F-sharp in the numeral notation but which is actually expressed as F.²⁹

²⁸ Nagai and Kobatake, *Nihon Zokkyoku-shuu Seiyoo gakufu; A Collection of Japanese Popular Musics* [sic], Osaka, 1892, p. 10-11. This song will be presented in 3-3-2.

²⁹ In the 'notation for accordion' (手風琴曲譜), numerals in Chinese characters in the middle line,

Figure 1-2-1-b A transcription of 'Harusame' in the cipher notation form by Kobatake

Figure 1-2-2 Numeral signs of the scale of 20-reed-accordion 30

A common defect that I found in both forms of notation is that two syllables are sometimes allotted to one note. Although this raises no great problem in this song because each syllable in question would be sung to a semi-quaver, in many other cases two syllables are allotted to one crotchet, leaving some doubt as to the actual rhythmic division in the melody.³¹ Having

shown as 'Key-push/pull-note' (鍵押引符), can be read accurately as c-B-B'-B-e-c-B-B'-B (prelude by *shamisen*) and A-B-c-B-A-F-E (vocal part) as well as the digits in the upper lines shown as 'numeral notation' (数字音譜) which express absolute pitch. Rhythm is represented through underlining, which expresses the duration of notes shorter than a crotchet, the symbol '0 (zero)', which expresses rests, and dashes, which express prolonged notes.

³⁰ Nagai and Kobatake, 1892b, no page number, adjacent to p. 123, before the publisher's imprint.

³¹ Another slight defect of Meiji notations is that all I have ever seen are written in 2/4 or 4/4 throughout. This simplistic notation might not be able to represent the delicate varieties of *zokuyoo* rhythm.

compared a range of Meiji notations with the recordings of Meiji 36 (1903) by Frederik Gaisberg, I conclude that most of the Meiji *hayariuta* are adequately represented by contemporary notations from the KDL collection, which provide melodies, rhythm and allot syllables of lyrics accurately enough for analysis and description in the following chapters. For some other songs, which lack any reliable Meiji notation, I seek transcriptions given in extant studies. In addition, I will transcribe small numbers of important songs from the above-mentioned recordings by Gaisberg.

d) Musical realizations of the sources as sound examples

I transcribe the notations provided in the sources, which are written in various notational forms including digits, *kanji* and *kana*, and also some recordings, into Western staff notation of appropriate keys, for easy understanding. In addition, I attach sound examples of each song in the form of a Wave file after all the staff notation examples, also in the form of MIDI files as an Appendix.

1-2-3 Principles of song description and analysis

In this section, I clarify the framework of analysis, and define the use of some key terms that describe the characteristics of late Edo and Meiji period *hayariuta*. This is especially important to highlight the specific characteristics of old-style popular songs that very few people of today know and to clarify their differences from the new-style songs, many of which continue to be known today.

a) Framework for analysis of characteristics of lyric structure and contents

(1) The use of colloquial or literary language.

Unlike most *zokuyoo*, which are sung in colloquial Japanese, *gunka* and *shooka* are mostly written in a literary style.³²

(2) The regularity or irregularity of numbers of syllables (a minimal unit of spoken Japanese expressed by a single *kana*) in each phrase of the lyrics. I divide the syllabic structures of popular song lyrics into five groups, as follows:

- Repetition of a 7-5-syllable phrase: *7-5-choo* type, a typical lyric structure of *gunka*

³² During the years of Meiji, and until the mid-twentieth century, the Japanese language was divided into the colloquial style, used for everyday conversation, and the literary style, used for writing.

and *shooka*.³³

- 7-7-7-5-syllable phrase: *dodoitsu* type.
- Free combinations of 7-syllable and 5-syllable phrases: 7-5-free-combination type.
- Free combinations of 7-, 5-syllable phrases and *jiamari* phrases: *jiamari* type.
- Free combinations of predominantly phrases other than 7-, 5-syllables: prose type.

In all the above types, a phrase of 8-syllables is normally treated as a slightly extended 7-syllable phrase.

(3) The use of *hayashi kotoba* (utterance in a song with or without melody)

These are words or non-lexical syllables (sometimes onomatopoeic) sung or spoken mostly by the singer, which function as important elements in both lyrics and melody.

(4) Contents

I will analyze lyric contents from diverse viewpoints, as follows:

- I will note lyric themes rather roughly into only a few groups such as, love, life, beauty of nature, moral, war, and pleasure.
- Contrary to most *shooka* and *gunka*, in *zokuyoo* lyrics there often occur the expressions, '*Watasha*' (私や I'm a) or '*Nushi*' (主 you). I will note whether an assumed singer shows one's face in a lyric and appeals toward an assumed listener through inviting, questioning, complaining, resentment, irony, criticism and so on, or by contrast, a song may simply depict some scene, tell some story, or give voice to people's feelings in general, such as admiration of nature's beauty, grief of departure, joy of love, resolution toward war, encouragement for virtue, or the like. For example, a lyric may directly address an assumed listener, or by contrast, may simply depict a particular scene or emotion.
- I will note how an assumed singer in the lyrics (if any) expresses her/his feelings – forthright, timid, serious, witty, ironical, humorous, ludicrous, and so on.

b) Framework for analysis of characteristics of rhythmic structure

(1) Regularity or irregularity of the numbers and lengths of musical phrases.

Contrary to the even numbers of repetitions of 4 or 8 measure phrases typical of *gunka* and *shooka*, the numbers and length of musical phrases of *zokuyoo* are mostly irregular.³⁴

(2) Reversal of the basic beat that may occur in *zokuyoo*.

Figure 1-3-2 shows the *shamisen* postlude of the song '*Harusame*', extracted from a transcription

³³ *Shichi-go-choo* has been used in Japanese written poetry and prose since at least the ninth century. The narration in *kabuki* mostly consists of 7-5-choo or 7-7-choo. The famous *Sekai kuni-dzukushi* [*Textbook of the world geography*], Meiji 2 / 1869) by Fukuzawa Yukichi (1834-1901) is written in 7-5-choo without any intention of writing a poem: 7-5-choo was not necessarily a poetic form but rather a rhythmical, fluent style of narration or writing.

³⁴ See Chapter 3.

by Kobatake.³⁵ I have added stress marks Δ over the notes and rests that are clearly stressed in the melody. Here occurs an interruption of the regular 2/4 metre by an inserted single crotchet rest, marked (A).³⁶ This phenomenon is completely different to the syncopation created by stressing the 'offbeat' such as occurs in jazz, because there the metre and basic beat-structure never changes. Thus, when an odd crotchet note or rest occurs in the course of a song, interrupting the rhythmic regularity of the basic beat structure, I describe this as a 'reversal of the basic beat'.³⁷

Figure 1-2-3 *Shamisen* postlude from '*Harusame*', an example of specific characteristics of *zokuyoo* rhythm, original transcription by Kobatake



1-2-3 *Harusame* Postlude

(3) Skipping-rhythm, or *pyonko* beat

Horiuchi writes: 'Since the repetition of dotted eighth and sixteenth notes, which sound like *pyonko pyonko*, became a specific feature of *gunka*, the vernacular expression *pyonko-bushi* was born'.³⁸ However, Hosokawa Shuuhei writes: 'Though we considered the rhythm of repeating dotted notes as *pyonko-bushi*, recently Mitsui and Takahira argue that it is in fact a head-stressed triplet, and probably an indigenous rhythm practice rather than a Western one'.³⁹ I use the expression '*pyonko*-beat' instead of '*pyonko-bushi*' because in Japanese the latter sounds as if it refers to a genre or type of tune. An example of *pyonko*-beat is shown in Figure 1-3-3, a *warabeuta* '*Anta-gata doikosa*'.⁴⁰

³⁵ Nagai & Kobatake, 1892b, p. 76.

³⁶ In the Gaisberg recordings of Meiji 36 (1903), Tokunaga Richoo or his accompanist plays this part to exactly the same rhythm as that of the above transcription by Kobatake.

³⁷ See some more examples in 3-1-2 b) '*Ameno yoni*' and 3-5-2 a) '*Umegae*' of this thesis. Ways of understanding of this phenomenon deeply relate to a question regarding the method of transcription: of how the bars should be placed, and also to a more important question, regarding which plays the leading role in the rhythm of *zokuyoo*, the accompanying *shamisen* or vocal tune.

Tanabe Hisao (1883-1984), who has transcribed many *zokuyoo* obviously on the basis of *shamisen* players' performances and without any irregular measure inserted, refers this phenomenon by the terms *omote-byooshi* (表拍子) and *ura-byooshi* (裏拍子) in, Tanabe Hisao, *Hoogakuka no tameno hoogakuriron* [*Japanese music theory for Japanese music specialists*], Hoogaku-sha, 1977, p. 48. Koizumi calls them *omotema* (表間/ front-side duration) and *urama* (裏間/ back-side duration) and writes 'Rather *zen-paku* (前拍/ front beat) and *koo-haku* (後拍/ back beat) would be better for expressing the first beat and the second beat.' In, Koizumi Fumio, *Nihon dentoo-ongaku no kenkyuu 2: rhythm* [*Study of Japanese Traditional Music 2: Rhythm*], 1984, p. 49-50.

³⁸ Horiuchi, 1942a, p. 197.

³⁹ Hosokawa, *Kindai Nihon ni okeru seiyoo-onkgaku-bunka no shoogeki to taishuu-ongaku no keisei - Kurofune kara Shuusen made*, 2003, p. 21.

⁴⁰ Though many ball-bouncing-songs (*temari-uta*/ 手毬唄) have this rhythm as well as many *gunka*, the notations in the Meiji era often neglect this rhythm. One possible reason for such ignorance is that the rhythm was an assumed one for many *warabeuta* and *gunka*, and the other is obviously because of the frequent method of notation of the time, using one crotchet for two sung syllables.

Figure 1-2-4 *Warabeuta 'Antagata dokosa'*, transcription by Kodama

An taga tado kosa Higo sa Higodo kosa Ku maMotosa Kumamo todo kosa
 Sem basa sem ba yamani wa Ta nuki ga ot tesa Sore o ryo shi ga Tep po de
 ut tesa Ni tesa Yaitesa Kuttessa Sore o KonoHade Choitook kab se

 1-2-4 *Antagata dokosa*
(4) 'Reverse-*pyonko* beat'

This is a reversal of the rhythm of *pyonko* beat, often represented as semiquavers followed by dotted quavers.⁴¹

(5) Late starting

Phrases of *zokuyoo* often begin just after a beat, in which 'just after' means a quaver or less.

Kojima Tomiko described this as 'to start singing just after hitting one's knee'.⁴² Figure 1-3-3 shows examples of late starting: The phrases, '— *Semba yama niwa*' and '— *Sore o ryooshi ga*' both begin just after a stressed rest.⁴³

(6) Early starting

Phrases may also begin just before the first beat of a measure, in which 'just before' means a quaver or less. This occurs often in *zokuyoo*.

(7) Offbeat starting

This term describes both 'Early starting' and 'Late starting'.

(8) Syncopation

This phenomenon, which appears often in sections of old-style songs, is a lively and complex rhythm not often found in the earlier *gunka* or *shooka*. I adopt Cooper and Meyer's definition of syncopation:⁴⁴

The term 'syncopation' refers to a tone which enters where there is no pulse on the primary metric level (the level on which beats are counted and felt) and where the following beat on the primary metric level is either absent (a rest) or suppressed (tied).⁴⁵

⁴¹ Horiuchi writes that such a way has been used for a long time in *shigin* (narrative singing of Chinese poem in Japanese pronunciation), and *biwauta*. Horiuchi, 1944, p. 57-61. Hosokawa Shuuhei also points out this rhythm in the *gunka* '*Mugi to heitai*'. Hosokawa, 2001-2003, p.118-120.

⁴² Kojima, Commentary, in *Ryuukooka Meiji Taishou shi* [*Popular song History of Meiji-Taishoo*], p. 393. Also, Kojima, *Nihon no ongaku o kangaeru*, Ongakuno tomo-sha 1976, p 92.

⁴³ Horiuchi writes that the strong start of '*Miyasan miyasan*' (1868) was unconventional among the *zokuyoo*, which normally began with a weak start, and the very specific feature of an energetic start made this song 'the first military song'. Horiuchi, 1977, p. 18.

⁴⁴ Grosvenor Cooper and Leonard Meyer, *The Rhythmic Structure of Music*, Chicago, 1960, p.99-100.

⁴⁵ A question occurs here: whether or not one can count and feel basic beats on the metric levels from transcriptions of only the vocal part. I consider that we can feel clearly the basic beats on the metric levels in almost all the popular songs, with or without *shamisen* accompaniment. In connection with this, the above-mentioned phenomenon of 'reverse of basic beat' in *zokuyoo* occurs because of the

c) Framework for analysis of relations between lyrics and music

(1) Relations between syllable-structure and musical phrase-structure.

In most *gunka* and *shooka*, of which syllabic structure is typical 7-5-choo type, the 7-5 unit is often sung in a fixed form of 4 measures in 2/4 metre.

(2) Short rests that often occur halfway through a phrase, a word, or a single syllable in *zokuyoo*.

(3) Prolonged vowels that are sung across bar lines with or without variety of pitch, making the subsequent syllables start on an offbeat. This is also a phenomenon that occurs often in old-style Edo period songs.

(4) Relations between Japanese spoken intonation of lyric text and melodic setting.

d) Framework for analysis of characteristics of melodic structure

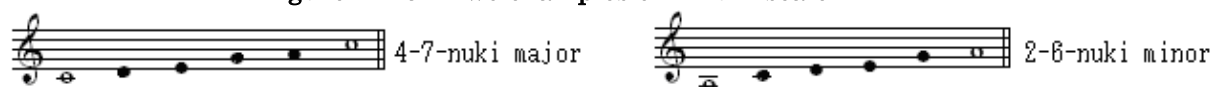
I will describe songs mostly in terms of pitch-structure types. The particular melodic pitch-structure types, including their basic elements and specific features, are as follows:

(1) One of the Western diatonic major or minor scales.

(2) One of the pentatonic major, minor and similar scales.

In Meiji song, the most common pentatonic major scale is usually called 4-7-*nuki* (*yo-na-nuki*) major because it is a major scale with fourth and seventh deleted. The most common pentatonic minor scale is called 2-6-*nuki* (*ni-roku-nuki*) minor, that is, a minor scale with second and sixth deleted.⁴⁶ In this thesis, similar scales that occur often in *gunka* and *shooka* will be called *X-nuki* scale. Note that the two most common *X-nuki* scales mostly contain some of the basic tetrachordal units of Japanese traditional melodies, as explained below.

Figure 1-2-5 Two examples of *X-nuki* scale



(3) Four fundamental pitch configurations, which Koizumi Fumio termed 'tetrachords'.⁴⁷

According to Koizumi, Japanese traditional melody consists of two kinds of notes, stable and unstable. He names the former the 'nuclear tone' (*kakuon* 核音). Two *kakuon* a fourth apart, with one 'filler tone' (中間音 middle tone) between them, form a basic 'tetrachordal' unit of Japanese melody. There are four kinds of tetrachords, named *miyako-bushi* tetrachord, *ritsu* tetrachord, *minyoo* tetrachord, and *Okinawa* tetrachord. (Hereafter tetrachords will be denoted by TC.)

Figure 1-2-6 Four fundamental tetrachords (*kakuon* are shown as open notes)



existence of the basic beat.

⁴⁶ Horiuchi presents the term 4-7-*nuki-bushi* as a vernacular name that appeared around the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895), in the article 'Music around Sino Japanese War' in, Horiuchi, 1942a, p. 197.

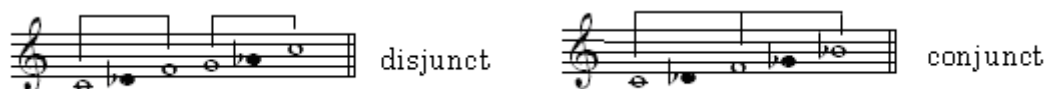
⁴⁷ Koizumi, [*Study of Japanese Traditional Music*], 1958, p. 247.

Koizumi names the two possible forms of relation between two adjoining tetrachords as follows:

- Separation by a major second: 'disjunct' relation
- Sharing a common *kakuon*: 'conjunct' relation

Each tetrachord is usually represented by a clamp-shaped line as follows:

**Figure 1-2-7 Two kinds of relation between tetrachords
(In this case *miyako-bushi*-TC are shown.)**



Koizumi also writes that the above four tetrachords appear often in mixed combinations in the melodies of Japanese music since the Edo period.

(4) Four basic octave species scales of Japanese traditional music.

Koizumi asserted that two identical tetrachords in 'disjunct' relation form a basic octave-species scale of Japanese traditional music. The four octave-species scales created by the four tetrachords are presented in Figure 1-2-6. Here, Koizumi advocates that a fundamental rule of Japanese melody applies to these octave-species scales. This is that all melodic phrases that consist of three adjacent tones, each a minor or major second apart, will finish at their middle tone. According to this rule, in all melodies or melodic phrases that include three adjacent tones, of which two could be *kakuon* in adjacent tetrachords, only the middle of the three tones retains a nuclear tone function in the melody.⁴⁸

**Figure 1-2-6 Four basic scales of Japanese traditional music
(*kakuon* are shown as open notes)**



An example of this is the case of *miyako-bushi*-scale, in which the middle note G of the three adjacent notes F-G-A \flat remains as a *kakuon* in the scale and the upper *kakuon* of the lower tetra-chord, F, loses its nuclear tone function. This results in three *kakuon*, C-G-c, within the scale.

Kojima Tomiko describes this phenomenon as exemplified in the case of *miyako-bushi*-scale as follows: C-D \flat -F-G makes a 'pentachord'. Therefore, this scale consists of a lower pentachord with *kakuon* C-G and an upper tetrachord with *kakuon* G-c.⁴⁹

(5) A composite form of *miyako-bushi*-TC and *minyoo*-TC.

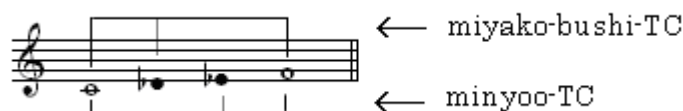
Alison Tokita presents an alternative tetrachord that is a composite of the *miyako-bushi*-TC and the *minyoo*-TC.⁵⁰ When necessary, I will call this type of tetrachord the *miyako*-2-TC, meaning a tetrachord with two filler notes between the two *kakuon*, as distinct from the normal *miyako*-1-TC.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 248-249.

⁴⁹ Tomiko Kojima, '*Kindai no Onkai-ron*', in '*Nihon no onkai*', *Nihon Ongaku Daijiten*, Heibon-sha, 1989, p. 373.

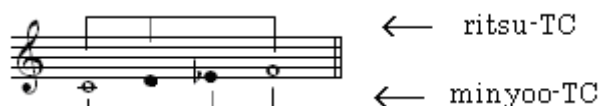
⁵⁰ Tokita, 'Mode and Scale, Modulation and Tuning in Japanese Shamisen Music. The Case of Kiyomoto Narrative', *Enthnomusicology*, 40/1, 1996.

Figure 1-2-9 *Miyako-bushi* tetra-chord with two filler notes – *miyako-2-TC*



(6) A composite form of *ritsu-TC* and *minyoo-TC*.

Figure 1-2-10 A composite form of *ritsu-TC* and *min-yoo-TC* – *ritsu-minyoo-TC*



Among the songs that I have collected, I found this form of tetrachord with two filler notes, each of which acts independently, never occurring in stepwise relation to one another. I will call it *ritsu-minyoo-TC*.⁵¹

The melodic structures of *hayariuta* that I will present in this thesis are full of variety. Therefore, in addition to the above-mentioned principal melodic pitch-structure types, I will also use the following elements as frameworks for analysis and description of melodic characteristics:

(7) Pitch range of a song.

Contrary to *gunka-shooka*, of which pitch ranges are mostly limited to an octave, those of *zokuyoo* are often very wide. Figure 1-2-11 shows all the tones, over a range of two octaves, that occur in the vocal part of the *hauta 'Asakutomo'*, with an indication of the four possible scales that these tones may form.⁵²

Figure 1-2-11 pitch-range of vocal part of '*Asakutomo*'



(8) Leap of pitch in a melodic phrase.

Unlike those of most *gunka-shooka*, the melody of a *zokuyoo* may often leap over intervals of a seventh or more.⁵³

(9) Classification of the tetrachordal melodies into two groups.

Among the *zokuyoo* that I will present in this thesis, there are few melodies that consist solely of one of the 'four fundamental scales' advocated by Koizumi. Moreover, there occur no melodies that contain *okinawa*-tetrachord. As a key framework for describing melodic structural characteristics, I will classify melodies that consist of tetrachords into two groups as follows:⁵⁴

⁵¹ Kojima explains this as a modulation between the *ritsu-TC* and the *min-yoo-TC*. In Kojima, 1989

⁵² The song will be presented in 3-2-3.

⁵³ Many examples will be presented in chapter 3.

⁵⁴ As a result, this way of grouping is the same as '*in-sen* (pitch-structure of *miyako-bushi*) and *yoo-sen* (pitch-structure of *inaka-bushi*)'. In, Uehara Rokushirou, *Zokogaku Senritsu-koo [Study of the melodic structure of the popular music]*, Meiji 28 (1895).

- a) Melodies that contain half steps, the pitch structures of which therefore include *miyako-bushi* tetrachords: I will classify such songs as having a *miyako-bushi*-type melody.
- b) Melodies that do not contain half steps, the pitch structures of which do not include *miyako-bushi* tetrachords: I will classify such songs as having a *ritsu-minyoo*-type melody. This group includes both *ritsu*-type melodies, which consist mostly of the *ritsu*-TC, and *minyoo*-type melodies, which consist mostly of the *minyoo*-TC.

1-3 Extant Studies and Sources

a) Retrospective studies and sources on Meiji music history

- * Horiuchi, Keizoo (1897-1983), *Ongaku Gojuunen-shi [50 years history of the music]*, Koodansha, 1942.
 - This work of Horiuchi is a classic of Japanese modern music history. I have referred to this text the most, especially regarding the history of *shooka* and *gunka*.
- * Horiuchi, Keizoo, *Teihon Nihon no gunka [Authentic Text of Military Songs in Japan]*, Jitsugyoo no Nihon-sha, 1977.
 - This may be also a classic regarding the history of Japanese *gunka*. Regarding *gunka*, I have mostly consulted this book, and its original, *Nihon no gunka*.
- * Groemer, Gerald, *Bakumatsu no hayariuta –Kudoki-bushi to Dodoitsu-bushi no Shinkenkyuu*, Meicho Shuppan, 1995.
 - Groemer published his Japanese popular song studies in Japanese. He focused on the people who made and disseminated popular songs from the Bakumatsu to the Meiji, discussing commercialism as background context. This is the most important extant study of *zokuyoo* that I have discovered.
- * Miller, Richard C., *Music and Musicology in the Engineering of National Identity in Meiji Japan: Modernization strategies of the Music Investigation Committee, 1870-1900*, University of Wisconsin- Madison, 2004.
 - In this dissertation, Miller examines the strategies of the Music Investigation Committee for 'establishing national identity in Meiji Japan' through *shooka kyoiku* (education through singing). His opinion that the Music Investigation Committee created the *shooka* textbooks as a strategy for establishing a National Identity of Japan is significant. Its extensive bibliography has proved very helpful.
- * Tanabe, Hisao, *Meiji Monogatari [Tales of Meiji Music]*, Seiaboo, 1965.
 - The testimony by Tanabe (1883-1984), who declared his liking for the old style popular songs more than other musicologists in the mid-twentieth-century, making this a unique and valuable source.
- * Nishizawa, Soo, *Nihon Kindai Kayoo-shi*, Shakai-shisoo-sha, 1994
 - In this great work that contains around 1200 songs mostly from his own *utabon* collection, Nishizawa tries 'to make the original sources tell' and 'to verify errors of commonly accepted theories' giving numerous examples of the 'errors' from extant studies especially in the field of *dodoitsu* and so-called *enka*.

- * Mitamura, Engyo (1870-1952), *Kawaraban no hayariuta [Popular Songs in Tile-block prints]*, Shun-yoodoo, 1926.
 - Mitamura presents *hayari-uta* of the last years of the Edo in his collection of *kawaraban* song texts, with arguments about popular song and its relation to *kawaraban*, the newspaper/magazine of the time. It must be one of the most important extant studies on the popular songs, society, and Edo townspeople.

- * Hosokawa, Shuuhei, *Kindai Nihon ni okeru seiyoo-onkgaku-bunka no shoogeki to taishuu-ongaku no keisei - Kurofune kara Shuusen made*, 2003.
 - Hosokawa discusses how the Japanese music culture has modernized and how the Western music culture has conformed over one century in relation to education, language, voice, instruments, politics, and especially industry.

- * Kurata, Yoshihiro, Bungei shunjuu, 2001.
 - In this book, Kurata argues strongly against Nisizawa Soo, the author of the largest work on popular song history, about the origin of the song '*Miyasan miyasan*'.

- * Hiraoka, Masaaki, *Dai Kayooron*, Chikuma-shoboo, 1989:
 - This is a review of Japanese popular song history that includes Hiraoka's notable hypothesis that 'Jazz originates in Yokosuka theory earlier than in New Orleans'.

- * Tsukahara, Yasuko, Taga-shuppan, 1993
 - Tsukahara's opinion, that 'since Western music was introduced by clear social demands for modernization, it had fundamentally no relation to the traditional music', is noticeable.

- * Yamano, Seishi and Nagasaki University, *Nagasaki no gairaitteki ongaku kenkyuu - Minshingaku no juyoo to denshoo ni kansuru soogooteki kenkyuu*, 1989-1990.
 - Yamano points out that almost all the songbooks of Chinese notation, *shingaku-fu*, since the Meiji 20s contain *zokuyoo*, *hauta*, *kouta*, *nagauta*, *sookyoku*, and also *shooka* and *gunka*.

- * Sasaki, Ryuuji, *Bakumatsu, Meijiki ni okeru min'yoo, Ootsue-bushi no kenkyuu*, 2003

- * Sasaki, Ryuuji, *Meijiki Nagasaki de riyooosareta koosyakufu-kyokushuu no bunseki [Analysis of the Chinese notations used in Nagasaki Meiji]*, 2005.
 - This is just a small part of bigger project named '*Bakumatsu, Meijiki ni okeru shinshuteki ongaku kansei no keisei ni kansuru rekishiteki kenkyuu*'. Here, Sasaki points out that amateur musicians of the Meiji mostly relied on Chinese notation.

- * Ootake, Shiyoo, '*Furoku, Meiji Nenkan Hayariuta*' [*Appendix, Popular Songs in Meiji*] in, Takano, Fuzan, & Ootake, Shiyoo. *Riyooshuu-Shuui*, San-ichi shoboo, 1915. This appendix of the famous *zokuyoo* lyric collection '*Riyooshuu-Shuui*' may have been the basis of many later *zokuyoo* histories, for example the famous '*Nihon Kayoo-shi*' by Takano Tatsuyuki.1926.

- * Komota, Nobuo et al, [*A History of Japanese Popular Songs Volume 1*]. Shakai shisoo-sha, 1994:
 - With a chronological table, lyrics of representative songs in every year, and an index, this book was the most helpful guide regarding popular song history.

b) Meiji era studies on popular song

- * Uehara, Rokushirou, *Zokugaku Sernritsu Koo [Study of the Melodic Structure of Popular Music]*, Kinkoodoo, Meiji 28 (1895).
 - This is a supreme achievement of melodic structural research into the traditional popular music of Japan, which is reflected in the later studies of today, for example that of Koizumi

Fumio.

- * Iijima, Kagetsu, *Dodoitsu oyobi Zokuyoo-shuu, Naigai Shuppan Kyookai*, Meiji 43 (1910)
 - Iijima examines *doditsu*, and its relation with *zokuyoo* in general, and asserts that it is a song with its peculiar melody.

- * Aida, Kaishin, '*Ootsu-e Hitori Keiko no Jo*' [*Preface of Ootsue Self-practice*], Meiji 27 (1894)
 - Aida examines the secrets of singing *Ootsue-bushi* successfully, for both amateur singers and professional entertainers, and argues that it is similar to the key to playing the *shamisen*.

- * Ooba, Keiyoo, *Shinsen Gunka-shoo* [*New Selection of Gunka Extracts*], Osaka, Nishikado Jirobei, Meiji 19 (1886).
 - The editor of this collection of so-called '*gunka*', which were as yet without melodies, Ooba proposed the singing of them to tunes of childrens ballbouncing songs that fitted the lyrics, and soldiers' marching rhythms. As a result, he predicted the emergence of the later '*heitai-bushi* – soldiers tunes', the third genre of Meiji popular song melodies following *zokuyoo* and *gunka/shooka*.

- * Motoori, Nagayo, '*Gendai no hayariuta, Fu Rappa-bushi, Sanosa-bushi no enkaku*', in *Ongaku (Dai Ichiji)* vol.1 no 9, 1910.
 - In this article, the musicologist Motoori gives outlines of transitions of *gunka* from '*Battoo-tai*' to '*Rappa-bushi*', and from *minshingaku* '*Kyuurenkan*' to '*Hookai-bushi*' and '*Sanosa*', which may have provided the origins of many popular song histories.

I have divided the extant studies and sources listed above into retrospective studies of Meiji music and studies of contemporary popular song written during the years of Meiji. Both categories have provided instructive suggestions and information. However, I have not yet discovered any extant study of popular song that addresses characteristics of lyrics and music covering both Western-style and Japanese-style songs in the course of the Meiji's 45 years.

The most valuable sources for my thesis were the collections of the web-pages of the 'Kindai Digital Library',⁵⁵ especially a *zokuyoo* collection with perfect notations, *Nihon Zokkyoku-shuu*, and a rare original publication of the famous '*Zokugaku Senritsu Koo*'.

⁵⁵ Out of the five sources of the above b) Meiji era studies on popular songs, I have obtained four, the one exception being Motoori's article in the magazine '*Ongaku*'.

2 WHAT SONGS WERE POPULAR IN THE MEIJI ERA? RESULTS FROM A SURVEY OF ANTHOLOGIES

In this chapter, I will present, in section 2-1, an overview of popular song anthologies during the Meiji period grasped through my survey of the stock of the KDL. Secondly, in section 2-2, I will present the results of the survey, the twelve most frequently occurring songs throughout the Meiji era, and twelve more songs representative of specific genres and periods. Thirdly, in section 2-3, I will discuss a specific characteristic of the Meiji popular songs that I discovered through the above work: that of their very gradual dissemination and longevity. After conducting the above survey through individual anthologies, I noticed the possibility of assessing the changing aspect of the Meiji popular song in general from the gross yearly number of publications. I will present the process and results of the assessment, the changing aspect of Meiji popular song, in section 2-4.

2-1 An Overview of Popular Song Anthologies During the Meiji period

By the time when I stopped my anthology survey at the end of March 2006, I collected 203 songbooks and 966 song-titles from the Kindai Digital Library.¹ I recorded the data of the songbooks, title, author/editor, publisher, year and place of publication, volume number, song genre/s, song number, kind of notation, illustrated or not, size, page number, price and some notes, which are given in Appendix 1. I divided the sources into four periods: 64 songbooks in Meiji 1-19 (1868-1886), 95 in Meiji 20s (1887-1896), 20 in both Meiji 30s (1897-1906) and Meiji 40s (1907-1912), and counted the occurrence frequency of the songs in each period.²

All the popular song anthologies of Meiji 1-19 (1868-1886) are collections of *kaeuta* for the most popular *hayariuta* from the Edo period, which were mostly woodblock printed with fine illustrations. Titles of the anthologies mostly include the name of songs or genres and various

¹ On April 3 2006, KDL expressed that it had added 67,000 books, and as a result, the total collection amounted to 127,000, and also that its system has been renovated. The renovation resulted in some technical difficulties of handling the data through my old versioned computer and I judged that by then I had collected enough number of materials for grasping the rough trend of popularity in both new and old genres of songs in the Meiji era.

² Contrary to my collection from the KDL, Nishizawa's *utabon* collection presented in his *Nihon Kindai Kayooshi* consists of seven books before Meiji 20, 57 books in Meiji 20s, 78 in 30s and 42 in 40s. A possible reason of the difference of the trend may be that I may have tended to collect precious old sources for my interest contrary to the considerable difficulty of collecting old *utabon* in the case of Nishizawa. One more prominent difference of characteristics between the two collections is that Nishizawa's collection contains fairly number of songbooks titled with songs' name such as '*Rappa-bushi*', '*Shinonome/Sutoraiki*', '*Yukai-bushi*', and '*Hookai-bushi*', while my collection especially in later years of Meiji contains fewer books titled with songs' name.

terms that signify the new historical period, such as *New Era Dodoitsu*, *Enlightenment Ootsue-bushi*, *Enlightenment New Hauta*, or *Kaeuta of 'Yuugure'*. The songs that occur four times or more in the anthologies of Meiji 1-19 are shown in Table 2-1.

Table 2-1 Eight most frequent songs in the anthologies of Meiji 1-19 (1868-1886)

Song Title	genre in anthologies	occurrence frequency
Dodoitsu	dodoitsu	48
Ootsue	ootsu-e	9
Kiinokuni	hauta	5
HaoriKakushite	hauta	5
Yuugure	hauta	4
Asakutomo	hauta	4
Shinobu mi/-no	hauta	4
Wagamono/-to	hauta	4

While the majority of the Meiji 1-19 anthologies simply seem to pursue new lyrics for old songs known since the Edo period, two major events occur in Meiji 20s (1887-1896). The first event was the emergence of an anthology titled *Gunka* in Meiji 19 (1886), followed by 43 reprints by bookstores nationwide by the end of the same year.³ I have not encountered such a flood of reprints or similar books as that of the above *Gunka* in any other genre of books in the stock of the KDL. The second event began in the early 1890s, when the history of the popular song anthologies faced a significant turning point. The 1892 songbook titled *Nihon Zokkyoku-shuu* authored by leaders of the Army Band lead this change, for it presented Western notation and *zokuyoo* items of a strikingly different kind.⁴ Popular song anthologies of the Meiji 20s (1887-1896) begin to carry musical notations in numeral forms, *kanji* and *kana*, as well as Western staff notation. From the Meiji 30s (1897-1906), most songbooks take the style of manuals for instrumental practice and carry all three genres of songs, *zokuyoo*, *gunka* and *shooka* in one book with titles that include names of instruments: *gekkin* (月琴/Chinese guitar), *kokyuu* (胡弓/Chinese violin), *minteki* (明笛/Chinese flute), *tefuukin* (手風琴/accordion), violin (バイオリン), foot pump organ (風琴, or オルガン), *shikookin* (紙腔琴/pianola), *tesshinkin* (鉄心琴 or glockenspiel), *shakuhachi* (尺八/vertical bamboo flute), *suifuukin* (吹風琴/blow-organ or melodica)⁵, an especially small and low-priced, harmonica(横笛, 西洋横笛, ハーモニカ, or マウスハーモニカ). The chart of the most popular *zokuyoo* also changes dramatically: six out of the eight hits of Meiji 1-19, shown in Table 2-1, disappear off the chart after this time. On the contrary, out of the twelve most popular *zokuyoo* throughout the 45 years of the Meiji (shown below in Table 2-2), ten songs appear less than three times in the anthologies of Meiji 1-19.

The above events and their ongoing influence over the anthologies illustrate the tendency

³ The places of publication of the total 44 songbooks scatter widely: Tokyo (18), Kansai (13), and others (13) including Sendai, Hokuriku, Chuugoku, Shikoku, and Kyuushuu.

⁴ Nagai & Kobatake, *Nihon zokkyoku-shuu [A Collection of Japanese Popular Musics]* [sic], Osaka, Sasuke Miki, Meiji 25 (Jan. 1. 1892): size 21cm, 108 pages with 36 pages appendix, ¥0.60.

⁵ A similar instrument is used for music classes in elementary schools in Japan today and is called *kenban harmonica* (鍵盤ハーモニカ).

of the publishers of the time: nimbly to catch a newly established fashion rather than to make their own. The proprietors of the bookstores reacted to the trend of the people to follow anything new that others have set out, and meekly to obey what the authorities present.

2-2 Hit Songs of Meiji, as Shown by Occurrence Frequency in the Popular Song Anthologies Collected from the KDL

a) Overwhelming majority of *zokuyoo* over *gunka* and *shooka* – the twelve 'best-hits' of the Meiji era

Table 2-2 shows the twelve most frequently occurring songs throughout the Meiji era in the survey.⁶ They consist of eleven *zokuyoo* and only one *gunka*, a result that shows the overwhelming majority of *zokuyoo* in comparison to the new genres, *gunka* and *shooka*.

Table 2-2 Twelve most frequently occurring songs throughout Meiji and their occurrence frequency in every decade

1st mention in sources	Song Title	Genre in anthologies	Genre simplified	M-10s	M-20s	M-30s	M-40s	Total
(Edo)	Dodoitsu	dodoitsu	zokuyoo	48	54	0	6	108
(Edo)	Ootsu-e-bushi	ootsue	zokuyoo	9	24	8	5	46
M11/1878	Umegae	ha / zk	zokuyoo	2	17	15	8	42
(Edo)	Harusame	ha / zk	zokuyoo	3	20	9	6	38
M1/1868	Miyasan miyasan	zk/sh/hy	zokuyoo /sh		16	11	6	32
M27/1894 *	Kompirafunefune	zk / hy	zokuyoo		12	14	6	32
M2/1869	Tooka-ebisu	zk / hy	zokuyoo		17	8	6	31
(Edo)	Echigo-Jishi	ha / zk	zokuyoo		14	9	7	30
M18/1885	Battoo-tai	gn / sh	gunka	2	23	2	2	29
(Edo)	Hitotsutoya	zk / sh	zokuyoo /sh		11	11	5	27
M7/1874	Kappore	zk	zokuyoo	2	6	13	6	27
M24-5 */ 1897-8	Hookaibushi	ha / hy / sh	zokuyoo		11	10	5	26

Note: 1. The occurrence frequency in bold figures shows the decade with the highest frequency.

2. The years written under '1st mention in sources' mean the first mention of popularization, performance, or publication in sources that come from the chronological table in:

Komota et al, 1994, except those marked with (*), which come from Ootake, 1915

3. Abbreviations are gn: gunka, ha: hauta, hy: hayari-uta, sh: shooka, zk: zokuyoo

b) Twelve representative songs in specific genres and periods

I have examined the occurrence of several other songs from the viewpoint of their popularity within specific genres and periods, to give a broader and deeper picture of the phenomenon of song

⁶ The ninety-four most frequently occurring songs throughout Meiji in my survey are given in Appendix 2. As shown in it, some songs appear under diverse titles. Moreover, anthologies of earlier years of Meiji often lack a table of contents and sometimes song titles. Many songs are called by the first or last word/s or phrase/s of the lyrics in various ways. Because of this complexity, a possibility cannot be denied that occasionally I may have listed and counted a single song as diverse songs or vice versa.

hits during the 45 years of Meiji. These songs were examined to identify the following:

- (1) The three most frequently occurring songs among the songs of new genres (all of them *gunka*)
- (2) The three most frequently occurring *shooka*
- (3) 'Best-hits' among the songs that occurred for the first time during the Meiji 30s (1897-1906)
(All of them are *gunka* and *shooka*)
- (4) *Zokuyoo* that occurred for the first time in the Meiji era
- (5) *Zokuyoo* that spread in the earliest years of Meiji according to the sources
- (6) Finally, I added a well-known Meiji *gunka*, which I call the last *heitai-bushi*

Table 2-3 Representative songs of certain genres and periods

1st mention in sources	Song Title	Genre	M1-19 1868-1886	M20-29 1887-1896	M30-39 1897-1906	M40-45 1907-1912	Total
'Best three' among the songs of new genres (all of them are <i>gunka</i>)							
M21/1888	Kitareyakitare	gn/sh	—	19	3	3	25
M25/1892	Genkoo	gn	—	6	13	6	25
M24/1891	Tekiwaikuman	gn	—	4	9	7	20
'Shooka best three'							
M16/1883*	Kasumika Kumoka	sh	—	5	7	5	17
M14/1881*	Miwataseba	sh/gn	—	10	4	2	16
M14/1881*	Hotaru	sh	—	4	8	3	15
<i>Gunka</i> that occurred for the first time in the Meiji 30s (1897-1906)							
M28/1895*	Yukino shingun	gn	—	—	9	5	14
M28/1895*	(Yuukannarusuihei)	(gn)	—	—	7	6	13
M30/1897	(Gunkan march)	(gn)	—	—	—	6	6
<i>Shooka</i> that occurred for the first time in the Meiji 30s (1897-1906)							
M33/1900*	Tetsdoo shooka	sh	—	—	6	5	11
M34/1901*	(Usagi to kame)	(sh)	—	—	2	6	8
<i>Zokuyoo</i> that occurred for the first time in the Meiji era							
M6/1878	Enkaina	zk	—	9	6	4	19
<i>Zokuyoo</i> that spread in the earliest years of Meiji according to the sources							
Edo (1862 **)	Nooe-bushi	zk	—	8	7	2	17
Edo ***	Asakutomo	zk	4	9	1	1	15
M2/1867	(Nekoja nekoja)	(zk)	1	2	1	1	5
The last <i>heitai-bushi</i>							
M38/1905	Sen-yuu	sh/gn	—	—	—	3	3

- Note: 1. Frequency in bold figures shows the decade with the highest frequency of the song.
 2. The songs in parentheses are the second most frequent songs in each category.
 3. The years written under '1st mention in sources' mean the first mention of popularization, performance, or publication in sources that come from the chronological table in, Komota et al, 1994, except those marked with (*) and (**).
 4. The years marked with (*) show those of the first publication.
 5. The years marked with (**) come from the chronology in, Fujisawa, 1960.
 6. The years marked with (***) come from Kurata in Nihon Ongaku daijiten, Heibonsha, 1989.
 7. Abbreviations are zk: *zokuyoo*, gn: *gunka*, sh: *shooka*

In total, I have collected 24 songs as the representative popular songs of the Meiji for analysis and description in the following chapters.

c) Relative dominance of *zokuyoo* throughout Meiji - most frequently occurring songs of the Meiji 30s (1897-1906) and 40s (1907-1912)

I also examined the most frequently occurring songs of the Meiji 30s and 40s in the KDL, to search for the popularity of the songs in the last years of Meiji. As shown in Figure 2-4-a, 11 songs out of the 15 most frequently occurring songs of the Meiji 30s (1897-1906) are *zokuyoo*, including two songs that are adopted in schoolbooks, 3 songs are *gunka* and only one is *shooka*. Also, as shown in Figure 2-4-b, ten songs out of the 14 of Meiji 40s (1907-1912) are *zokuyoo*, including one song adopted in school books, 3 songs are *gunka*, and only one is *shooka*. That the relative dominance of *zokuyoo* over *gunka* continued until the end of the Meiji is obvious, as well as *gunka*'s relative significance to *shooka*.

Table 2-4 Most frequently occurring songs of the Meiji 30s (1897-1906) and 40s (1907-1912)

a) Fifteen most frequently occurring songs of the Meiji 30s

1st mention in sources	genre	Title	occurrence
M11/1878	zk	Umegae/-no	15
M27/1894	zk	Kompira funefune	14
M25/1892	gn	Genkoo	13
M7/1874	zk	Kappore	13
M20/1887	zk/sk	Hitotsutoya	11
M27/1894	zk	Hookaibushi	10
(Edo)	zk	Echigo-Jishi	9
M7/1874	zk	Gombega-tanemaku	9
(Edo)	zk	Harusame	9
M24/1891	gn	Tekiwaikuman	9
M28/1895	gn	Yuki no shingun	9
M14/1881	sh	Hotaru/ -no hikari	8
M1/1868	zk/sh	MiyasanMiyasan	8
(Edo)	zk	Ootsue	8
M2/1869	zk	Tooka-ebisu	8

b) Fourteen most frequently occurring songs of the Meiji 40s

1st mention in sources	genre	Title	occurrence
M11/1878	zk	Umegae/-no	8
(Edo)	zk	Echigo-Jishi	7
M24/1891	gn	Tekiwaikuman	7
(Edo)	zk	Dodoitsu	6
M25/1892	gn	Genkoo	6
M30/1897	gn	Gunkan	6
(Edo)	zk	Harusame	6
M7/1874	zk	Kappore	6
M24/1891	zk	Kompira funefune	6
M1/1868	zk/sh	MiyasanMiyasan	6
M38/1905	zk	Rappabushi	6
M2/1869	zk	Tooka-ebisu	6
M34/1901	sk	Usagito kame	6
M28/1895	gn	Yuukannaru suihei	6

Note: Bold letters show that less than a decade passed since the first mention of popularization, performance, or publication in sources.

2-3 The Gradual Dissemination and Longevity of Meiji Popular Song

A prominent phenomenon that can be seen in the above tables is the slow spread and the long life of the songs. Most of the above 24 songs, except '*Hookai-bushi*' and '*Tetsudoo Shooka*', do not

arrive at their peak of popularity in the decade of, or the decade following, their first appearance in sources, their first publication or the first year of their dissemination. The peak years of popularity for *'Teki wa ikuman'* and *'Genkoo'*, published in 1888 and 1892 respectively (the first half of Meiji 20s prior to the Sino-Japanese War), are the Meiji 30s (1897-1906), the decade of the Russo-Japanese War. Moreover, according to the data shown in Table 2-4, 10 songs out of the 15 most popular of the Meiji 30s (1897-1906) must have kept their popularity for two decades or more since their first occurrence in the sources, as well as 11 songs out of 14 best hits of the Meiji 40s (1907-1912). This raises the question of whether the occurrence frequency of songs in the anthologies actually reflects the changing preference of the people in the time.

In sum, I recognize the above results of the anthology survey as being reliable enough to grasp at least the main stream of Meiji popular song. The above-mentioned events, the flood of reprints of the collection titled *Gunka* and similar anthologies in Meiji 19, the metamorphosis of the style and contents of songbooks in the middle years of Meiji, and the publication boom of *shooka* similar to the *'Tetsudoo shooka'*, as well as the war-themed *kaeuta* boom during the Sino-Japanese War,⁷ provide evidence that the publishers of the time were nimble enough to catch new tendencies. That the earliest and the most frequent *gunka*, *'Battoo-tai'* and *'Kitareya kitare'*, suddenly decrease in occurrence in the anthologies of the Meiji 30s, and the *shooka* *'Miwataseba, hauta 'Asakutomo'*, the best hit of Meiji *'Dodoitsu'*, also decrease in occurrence, shows the reaction of the editors in pursuing the newer trend of the people. Naturally, the metamorphosis of songbooks from *kaeuta* collections to the style of manuals shows the changing characteristics of popularity. This reflects a shift in the preferences of the main readers of the songbooks, and their ways of enjoying the songs. I will pursue the question of the characteristics of most popular songs and their contexts in the following chapters.

The rate of dissemination was quite slow, but once a song became popular, it had a very long life. This must be a prominent feature of the popular song in the period of oral dissemination, without the phonograph, radio, television, or any sufficient means of mass transportation. I found that the popularity of the songs that I have collected through the anthology survey was not of a kind that spread quickly in a specific or limited period. Nor do the songs remind us of a particular event. On the contrary, they must have the kind of popularity that gives an idea of the mainstream of *hayariuta*, which represent the characteristics and overall tendencies of Meiji popular music, as described by the popular saying, 'songs change with the world, and the world changes with the songs'.⁸

⁷ Discussed in section 2-4.

⁸ 歌は世につれ、世は歌につれ.

2-4 Changing Aspects of Meiji Popular Song Evident in Gross Publication Data in the KDL

In addition to the above survey, I noticed the possibility of assessing some tendencies of Meiji popular song in light of the yearly number of publications of each genre of music defined by the 'Nippon Decimal Classification' (hereafter NDC) in the KDL collection. From numerous lists of publications of certain genres, which include not only songbooks but also poem collections and a few essays on the genre, I tried to ascertain some movements in the world of Meiji popular song. Firstly, from the 607 books in the KDL stock that are classified into NDC-767 '*shooka-shuu*', I counted the yearly numbers of songbooks that are also listed under the keywords '*gunka*' and '*shooka*' (See columns *1 and *2 in Table 2-5). I then counted the yearly numbers of the 175 books that are listed as NDC-768.5 '*nagauta, hauta, dodoitsu*'. (See column *3) In addition, I picked out 82 anthologies for instrumental practice from the 275 books of NDC-760 '*ongaku, buyoo*' and counted the yearly numbers of their occurrence. (See column *4) The data of the above works are shown in Table 2-5.⁹

Table 2 - 5 The yearly numbers of books of four classifications in the stock of KDL

Meiji year	*1 gunka collections in the KDL	*2 shooka collections in the KDL	*3 nagauta, hauta, dodoitsu collections in the KDL	*4 anthologies of instrumental practice in the KDL
until 18	0	3	51	0
19	46	2	20	0
20 (1887)	24	6	8	1
21	12	11	24	0
22	7	11	6	1
23	3	9	3	3
24	3	11	1	1
25	15	15	4	5
26	29	12	3	4
27	50	10	9	5
28	1	4	7	1
29	0	2	1	1
30 (1897)	0	0	2	1
31	0	3	0	8
32	1	0	1	4
33	4	33	0	2
34	2	33	0	5
35	2	20	0	2
36	1	11	1	6
37	6	10	1	1
38	2	7	1	5
39	0	4	1	7
40 (1907)	0	1	3	6
41	1	25	0	3
42	0	13	3	4
43	2	13	10	6
44	2	24	8	5
45	1	8	2	2
total	204/among 607	296/among 607	175/among 1709	82/among 275

Notes:

*1. The yearly number of the 204 anthologies which occur under the keyword '*gunka*' (軍歌) among the 607 books classified into NDC-767 '*Shooka-shuu*' (唱歌集) in the KDL stock.

⁹ Note that the above numbers in Table 2-5 were recorded 2008/11/10.

- *2. The yearly number of the 296 anthologies which occur under the keyword 'shooka' (唱歌) among the 607 books classified as NDC-767 'Shooka-shuu' (唱歌集) in the KDL stock. In spite of the name of classification, most songbooks since the Meiji 30s carry all three genres of songs, *zokuyoo*, *gunka* and *shooka* in one book.
- *3. The yearly number of the 175 anthologies classified into NDC-768.5 'Nagauta, Hauta, Dodoitsu' (長唄・端唄・どどいつ) among the 1709 books of NDC-76 'Ongaku, Buyoo' (音楽, 舞踊) in the KDL stock.
- *4. The yearly number of the 82 anthologies for instrumental practice which I picked from the 275 books classified into NDC-760 'Ongaku, Buyoo' (音楽, 舞踊) in the KDL stock. For some reason, NDC-760 has the same name as NDC-76 'Ongaku, Buyoo' (音楽, 舞踊). It mostly consists of music theory, textbooks, and song collections for instrumental practice. I selected and counted the 82 popular song anthologies for instrumental practice according to their titles. As a result, most of them contain the three genres, *zokuyoo*, *gunka*, and *shooka*.
- *5. The grey zone represents the years during which Japan was at war: Meiji 27-28 (1894-1895): the Sino-Japanese War, and Meiji 37-38 (1904-1905): the Russo-Japanese War.
- *6. The numbers in bold figures represents the peak of the occurrence frequency in each column.

In the column of publications of *gunka* collections, two peaks appear. The first peak, between Meiji 19-21 (1886-1888), clearly corresponds with the above-mentioned emergence of *gunka* and subsequent boom that continued for three years. The second peak, of Meiji 25-27 (1892-1894), obviously reflects the build-up to war against China. In the column of *shooka* collections, a low peak occurs from Meiji 21 (1888) and continues till the beginning year of the Sino-Japanese War (1894). The first and greatest boom of *shooka* occurs suddenly in Meiji 33 (1900). After only nine books in the four years between Meiji 29-32 (1896-1899), 33 books appeared in Meiji 33 (1900), a number repeated in Meiji 34, followed by 20 books in Meiji 35, making 86 songbooks in total over the three years. The majority of the 86 songbooks have diverse titles that include the terms '*tetsudoo*' (railway), '*chiri*' (geography), and/or the names of towns, cities, or provinces. In the first year of the boom, almost all the 33 books occurred between September and December, with none occurring earlier than May, the month in which the famous '*Chiri Kyooiku Tetsudoo Shooka*' was published. Therefore, it is obvious that the trigger of this first and greatest boom of *shooka* publication was solely the amazing popularity of the '*Tetsudoo-shooka*'. The second boom of *shooka*, during Meiji 41-44 (1908-1911), probably stemmed from the inclusion of *shooka-kyooiku* as a compulsory subject in schools in Meiji 40 (1907).

In the column of the 175 books in NDC-768.5 '*nagauta, hauta, dodoitsu*', there occurs a peak too. Among the 103 *utabon* that occur prior to Meiji 21 (1888), two occur before Meiji 10 (1877), 49 occur in the 8 years between Meiji 11-18 (1878-1885), then 52 occur in Meiji 19-21 (1886-1888), the same three years as the above *gunka* boom, representing the biggest boom of *zokuyoo* publication. This is a phenomenon for which I cannot find any explanatory context. In the later years of Meiji, there are two slight peaks of *zokuyoo*: the anthologies during the peak of Meiji 27-28 (1894-1895) are mostly *kaeuta* collections of *zokuyoo* with a Sino-Japanese War theme, and those during Meiji 43-44 (1910-1911) are likely systematic series of *nagauta* and *hauta* collection rather than anthologies of *hayariuta*. After the Sino Japanese War, the number of books of NDC-768.5 '*nagauta, hauta, dodoitsu*' declines drastically, as well as the number of *zokuyoo* anthologies. Thereafter *zokuyoo* that had been popular throughout Meiji mostly occur in other

columns namely column*2, '*shooka* collections', and column *4, 'anthologies for instrumental practice', with notation.

In the column of anthologies for instrumental practice, no prominent peak occurs, with only a vague peak appearing during Meiji 25-27(1892-1894). Although very ambiguous, it may be worthwhile to examine the cause of this peak in relation to the other columns, since most of the songbooks of this column contain tunes of all genres of popular song, presented in various forms of notation for instruments.

Summary

The above numerical data on the total stock of each genre of anthologies in the KDL provide the following set of prominent features in the overall tendency of popular song during the Meiji era:

- (1) Prior to the Meiji 20 (—1886), *kaeuta* of the *zokuyoo* that had been sung since the Edo period dominated the world of popular song anthologies.
- (2) In Meiji 19 (1886), the first '*gunka*' publication caused a big boom in anthology sales.
- (3) *Gunka* experienced a second boom during the three years just before the Sino-Japanese War.
- (4) During the two years of the Sino-Japanese War, *kaeuta* collections of *zokuyoo*, with the war as a theme, flourished. This was the last publication boom of *kaeuta* collections of *zokuyoo*.
- (5) During and after the Meiji 30s (1897-), most of the songbooks contain all three genres of popular song with various kinds of music notation.
- (6) In Meiji 33, the famous '*Tetsudoo-shooka*' gave rise to the first and greatest boom in the field of *shooka* publication.
- (7) There were no peaks in songbook publication during the years of the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) — not in *gunka* collections, *shooka* collections nor in *zokuyoo* collections.

3 A COMPENDIUM OF *ZOKUYOO* AND THEIR CHARACTERISTICS

I have divided the 24 songs and song groups that appeared with greatest frequency in the KDL anthologies into two broad genres. The first is that of *gunka* and *shooka*, which is comprised of 10 items in total. The second I call *zokuyoo*, which contains 14 items. This Chapter will talk about the latter, a major part of the Meiji popular song corpus, while Chapter 4 will talk about the former, *gunka* and *shooka*.

3.1 The Two Representative *Zokuyoo* of Meiji Era, *Dodoitsu* and *Ootsue*

Dodoitsu is a song group that is most numerous among all of the songs and song groups that occur in the anthologies in the KDL. The total occurrence frequency of *dodoitsu*, 108 times is twice that of the second most frequent type of song, *Ootsue*. *Dodoitsu* and *Ootsue* feature sharp contrasts such as short and long lyrics, witty and ludicrous expressions, and free and strict tempo. It can be said that *dodoitsu* and *Ootsue* were loved by a broad range and that the creation of their new *kaeuta* was a common leisure of the populace. In this section, I will describe and analyze these two most important *zokuyoo* of the Meiji era.

3.1.1 *Dodoitsu*

People not only enjoy *dodoitsu* as songs sung and listened to, but they also enjoy them as poetry to be read and created. For instance, NHK offers a monthly radio program which encourages participants to create *dodoitsu*, as well as *haiku*, *waka*, and *senryuu*. In some *dodoitsu-bon*, the authors' names of individual pieces are shown as their stage names as *geisha* or *oiran* together with their home district names, such as Yanagibashi Chiyo and Yoshiwara Shizuka.¹ In other *dodoitsu-bon*, writers incorporate their names into the 7-7-7-5 syllable lyrics.² These examples show that *dodoitsu* was one of the most important repertoires of the entertainers of the red-right districts of the time.

¹ Ejima Kintaroo, *Hanakurabe iki no yosooi*, Bankyuukaku, Meiji 17 (1884).

² Itou Shoonosuke, *Utsunomiya geigi narabini shougi nairi dodoitsu-shuu*, Meiji 22 (1889).

a) Gerald Groemer's work

Quoting a phrase from the *Kanesugi*-diary of 1838, 'the *fushi-hakase* (音節 melody) of the so-called *dodoitsu*,'³ Groemer writes as follows in Japanese (with Kodama's translation):⁴

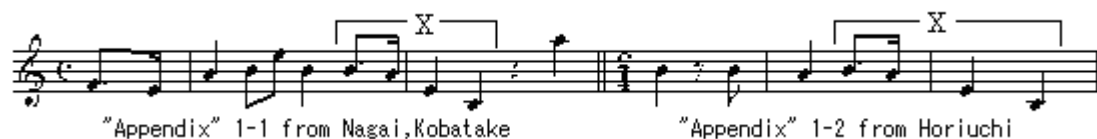
The author's viewpoint of *Kanesugi-nikki* clarifies the fact that the word *dodoitsu* meant a tune or a form of tune rather than a lyrical style.

It seems reasonable to judge that *dodoitsu* already had a specific identity as a melody at the time, because the description of Morisada clarifies that the tune of *dodoitsu* had only gone through 'minor' changes until then.⁵ However, it must have been sung not to one fixed melody but to some loose framework of tunes.

Though the earliest *dodoitsu* was most likely recognized as one melody, it seems that the song became well known as a song with a transforming melody from earlier on. It is recorded in *Ehon Dodoitsu Soumakuri* that *dodoitsu* was sung to different tunes such as *niagari*, *sansagari*, *jiamari*, etc, and it also came to be sung to new tunes from day to day. Both the typical form consisting of twenty-six syllables, and the longer form called *jiamari* were adaptable to many kinds of tunes.

Groemer also appends a transcription of *monku iri dodoitsu* as 'an example of the efforts to polish the *dodoitsu* tune by inserting parts of melodies and lyrics from other songs in the hope of making some compromises to bring *dodoitsu* into high popularity'.⁶ He describes how *dodoitsu* were full of variety with rapid changes and infers the reason for this as being that it was an urban song style which was affected by the vivid activity of Edo show business. Finally, Groemer concludes that *dodoitsu* eventually came to mean a song genre rather than a specific melody, though it is not clear by when he thinks this happened. On the other hand, he also writes that *dodoitsu* seems not to have become a completely free melody even in the Meiji (1868-1912) or Taishoo (1912-1925) eras, pointing out a common motif in 'a transcription of *Dodoitsu* for *shamisen* solo' in *Nihon Zokkyoku-shuu* and one containing both vocal and *shamisen* by Horiuchi (1931). He marks the 'common motif' with an 'X', and also points out that the same tune is heard in a *dodoitsu* of *honchooshi* 'Mizu no debana to' recorded 'before the War'.

Figure 3-1-1 The common motif 'X' in two examples of 'Dodoitsu' pointed by Groemer



In Figure 3-1-2 below, I have marked the common motif of the *shamisen* part of *dodoitsu* which consists of motif 'X' with the addition of two more notes, with a 'Y', in the following staff presented by Groemer. *Dodoitsu* lovers who used to enjoy it in *yose* also hum it in person would sing the tune just before the beginning of the song. We shall see the same motif used as the prelude and/or postlude by the *shamisen* in all other examples of *dodoitsu* that I am to present.

³ Yamazaki Yoshishige (1796-1856 or 1797-1863), *Kanesugi Nikki*, 1838: Kokusho kankookai, 'Zoku enseki jusshu dai 2, dai 3 shuu', Kokusho kankookai, 1908-1909.

⁴ Gerald Groemer, *Bakumatsu no Hayariuta*, 1995, p. 26-28.

⁵ Kitagawa Morisada (1810-?), *Morisada Mankou* [Essay by Morisada], written between 1837-1853 and published in 1908, after the author's death, titled *Ruiju Kinsei Fuuzoku-shi*.

⁶ For some reason, this *monku-iri dodoitsu* ends halfway through the inserted *tokiwazu*, lacking the essential final 7-5-phrase.

'Mizu no debana to' (Our relationship)

- Note:** 1. The source of the lyrics of each song that I will present is the same as that of the following transcription if there is no special mention.
 2. The digits in parenthesis represent the number of syllables in each lyric phrase.
 3. Melodic pitch-structures are shown after each staff in the Figures, not always in the text.
 4. Pitch-structures of *dodoitsu* are shown again in Figure 3-1-5.

水の出端と 二人が仲は / *Mizu no debana to, Futari ga naka wa*, (7-7)
 — Our relationship is like the crest of a waterfall.
 せかれて会われぬ 身の因果 / *Sekarete awarenu, Mi no inga*. (8-5)
 — It may be our destiny that we shall be separated.
 (アコリヤコリヤ / *A koryakorya!* — *Hayashikotoba*)

Figure 3-1-2 'Mizuno debana to' transcription by Groemer⁷ (♩ = 112)

The figure shows a musical score for 'Mizu no debana to'. It includes a vocal line and a shamisen line. The lyrics are written in Japanese under the vocal line. There are melodic pitch-structure diagrams for both the vocal and shamisen parts. The vocal part is labeled 'Vocal' and the shamisen part is labeled 'Shamisen'. The melodic pitch-structure diagrams are labeled 'Miyako-2-TC' and 'Miyako-1 TC'. The text 'Miyako-bushi-type' is also present. The score includes a '最終回' (Final) marking. The tempo is marked as ♩ = 112. The score includes various musical notations such as triplets, slurs, and dynamic markings.

Melodic pitch-structure :

Vocal

Shamisen

four notes of motif Y

miyako-2-TC

miyako-1 TC

miyako-bushi-type

3-1-2 Mizuno debana to

The lyrics grieve over a fatal obstacle between the lovers, however it is also possible that the singer is bidding goodbye to his/her lover.

⁷ Groemer, 1995, p.152.

Occurrence of *Dodoitsu* in anthologies

Dodoitsu appears 48 times by the end of the Meiji 10s (1868-1886), 54 times in the Meiji 20s (1887-1896), 0 times in the 30s (1897-1906), and 6 times in the 40s (1907-1912), with a total occurrence of 108 times placing it at the top among all the popular songs in the KDL.

b) *Dodoitsu* in the Gaisberg recordings

The recordings of Frederik Gaisberg give us an opportunity to listen to performances by the *yose* singers in Meiji 36 (1903).⁸ These talented artists sing in various ways, inserting comical talks, different songs from other genres, or vocal imitation of various sounds between the sections of the *Dodoitsu*, along with accompaniment provided by *shamisen* and/or other instruments.

'*Atashiga shoobai*' (My job) — by Fujimatsu Ginchoo

私が商売 玩具屋で御座る, (8-8) — My job is selling toys,
 (Sounds of several toys are imitated, followed by
 the negotiation about the price with a passer-by.
 Toy seller: 'Two and a half cents'
 Passer-by: 'Can't you discount it to two cents?')
 どうしてその日が, 渡られぬ. (8-5) — How can I go on in life?

Figure 3 -1-3 '*Atashiga shoobai*' from Gaisberg 1903, transcription by Kodama

The musical score for 'Atashiga shoobai' is presented in a standard staff format. It begins with a tempo marking of 120. The melody is characterized by a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes, often grouped in triplets. The lyrics are written below the notes, with some words like 'ru' and 'Doo shj te' indicating specific vocal effects or imitations. The shamisen accompaniment provides a rhythmic foundation with a similar melodic structure.

Melodic pitch-structure :

The diagram shows the melodic pitch-structure for both the vocal and shamisen parts. The vocal part is labeled 'Vocal' and the shamisen part is labeled 'Shamisen'. Both parts show a sequence of notes with a '4 notes of motif Y' indicated. The vocal part is labeled 'minyoo-TC' and 'miyako-1 TC', and the shamisen part is labeled 'miyako-bushi-type'.

⁸ *Zenshuu Nihon fukikomi kotohajime* - 1903, Gaisberg Recordings, Toshiba-EMI, CD, 2001.


3-1-3 Atashiga shoobai

A *yose* musician, Ginchoo, plays the role of a toy seller and sings it in *pyonko*-beat by triplet, in a very fast tempo ($\text{♩} = 120$), as well as singing other comical *dodoitsu* melodies in the same track.

'Wakarega tsuraito' (Parting with you) — by Tachibanaya Entaroo

'別れが辛い'と 小声で起こす — 'Parting with you is hard for me', I whisper as I wake him up.
 締める博多の 帯が泣く — The *Obi* of Hakata weeps as I fasten it for him.

(Note. The beginning phrase '*Wakare ga tsurai to*' is quite vague.)

Figure 3-1-4 '*Wakarega tsuraito*' from Gaisberg 1903, transcription by Kodama



Figure 3-1-4 shows the musical score for 'Wakarega tsuraito'. The score is in 3/4 time with a tempo of 110. It features triplet rhythms and lyrics in both Japanese and English. The lyrics are: 'Wa ka - re ga - tsura i to - Ko go e de - o ko su - Shi me ru - ha ka ta - no - obi ga - naku'.

Melodic pitch-structure :

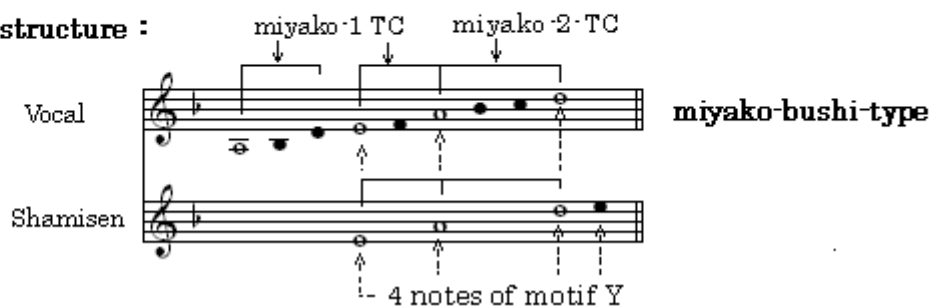


Diagram illustrating the melodic pitch-structure for 'Wakarega tsuraito'. It shows the vocal line and shamisen accompaniment. The vocal line is labeled 'Vocal' and the shamisen line is labeled 'Shamisen'. The diagram highlights the 'miyako-bushi-type' structure, showing two 'miyako-1 TC' and 'miyako-2 TC' motifs. The shamisen accompaniment is noted as '4 notes of motif Y'.


3-1-4 Wakarega tsuraito

An assumed singer in the lyrics, a woman is weeping as she bids her lover farewell at dawn. A male *yose* storyteller (*hanashika*), Entaroo, sings this sad song to the tempo of $\text{♩} = 110$, in a *pyonko*-beat by triplet, as well as another song, a *monku-iri dodoitsu* into which part of the *nagauta* '*Kanjinchoo*' is inserted.

'Shamisen ya' – by Tachibanaya Kakitsu

三味線や 琴の音色じゃ 白状せぬが(5-7-7)

– Although the tones of the *shamisen* or *koto* don't tell the truth,
 ここには浮世が, あるわいな (8-5) – Here exists the customs of this world.

Figure 3-1-5 'Shamisen ya' from Gaisberg 1903 transcription by Kodama

The musical score consists of five systems. Each system has a vocal line and a shamisen line. The lyrics are written below the vocal line. The shamisen line includes various musical notations such as triplets and slurs. The lyrics are: Shami se n ya - -, Kdo no - ro - - ja - - Ha ku - jo, o - - - se nu - ga - ko ko ni - wa uki - yo ga A ru wa i - - na a.

Melodic pitch-structure :

The diagram shows the melodic pitch-structure for the vocal and shamisen parts. The vocal part is labeled 'Vocal' and the shamisen part is labeled 'Shamisen'. The vocal part has notes with circled numbers 1, 2, and 3. The shamisen part has notes with circled numbers 1 and 2. The diagram includes labels for 'ritsu-minyoo-TC', 'ritsu-TC', 'minyoo-TC', and '(extra note)'. A bracket under the shamisen part is labeled '4 notes of motif Y'. The text 'Mostly ritsu-minyoo-type' is written to the right of the diagram.

 **3-1-5 Shamisen ya**

An assumed singer in the lyrics, an entertainer girl, wants to imply a certain dislike towards her *chaya* guest/s. As Kagetsu writes, this 5-7-7-7-5 style *dodoitsu* is the most melodious among the above four songs.⁹ A young female *yose* singer, Kakitsu sings this ironic, rather sombre song to the tempo of ♩ = 134, the same speed as the following, quite comical, song in the same track.

Marked differences of tempo between Meiji and Shoowa singers' performances

Each of the above three singers sings *dodoitsu* songs to his/her own fixed tempo, respectively

⁹ See below, paragraph c).

♩ = 120, ♩ = 110 and ♩ = 134. They may have improvised the lyrics or selected their specialty that fit their own specific tempo. Their lively performances are quite different to the extremely quiet performances by the later singers of the 1930s. For example, Fumikichi (1897-1976) sang a few *dodoitsu* in the tempo of ♩ = 99.¹⁰ Much later, Yanagiya Mikimatsu (1901- 1968) reproduced the fancy talks between a chic male singer and a flirtatious female listener to the slow and diverse tempo of between ♩ = 78 and ♩ = 94, depending on the lyrics, and Miyakoya Katsue reproduced the lively and noisy atmosphere of the Meiji *yose* singers to the tempo of ♩ = 110, to their own *shamisen* accompaniment.¹¹

c) Origins and lyric contents of *Dodoitsu*

Although the origin of the term *dodoitsu* is uncertain, one fact is that a famous entertainer Dodoitsuboo Senka (- 1852) was responsible for making this term popular among the Edo people. Iijima Kagetsu (1863-1931) wrote a 125-page essay about *dodoitsu* in Meiji 43 (1910). His noticeable lecture about the history and characteristics of *dodoitsu* is as follows:¹²

Dodoitsu is the name of the melody of a genre of *zokuyoo*. The name of the melody shifted into the name of the lyrics then, after years, into a thing to read and to create. Today, someone takes pride in singing with beautiful voice and skill, while others elaborate on rhetoric and ideas, similarly to *waka* and *haiku*. Today's *dodoitsu* consist of 4 phrases and 26 syllables in usual language, and mostly appeals the feelings of the singer subjectively and intuitively. As such, it might not always be unreasonable that some of the lyrics are despised as the most vulgar among the vulgar songs. The lyrics of *Dodoitsu* consist of either four phrases forming syllabic phrases 7-7-7-5, or five phrases with an extra 5-syllable phrase added at the beginning (5-7-7-7-5). These two kinds are the true forms of *Dodoitsu*. On the other hand, those with a total of more than 31-syllables and ending in a 5-syllable phrase have been called *jiamari*. Since these *Dodoitsu* with long lyrics are often sung very rapidly, they are also called *Hayakuchi-Dodoitsu* (tongue twister *Dodoitsu*). In the case of *Monku iri*, the *Dodoitsu* is divided into a first half, consisting of 2 phrases of 7 syllables (7-7), and a second half, consisting of two more phrases with a 7-5 syllable pattern, with some other song or narration inserted between them.

The language in *dodoitsu* is colloquial, like the other kinds of *zokuyoo*. As Kagetsu writes, besides its basic forms, the 7-7-7-5 and 5-7-7-7-5-syllable structure, there are two other variant forms: *jiamari* or *hayakuchi dodoitsu* and *monku iri dodoitsu*. Here is a good example of a *jiamari* appropriate for singing in *hayakuchi*.¹³

凡そ世界に (7)	- Generally in the world,
長いようで 短いようで (6-7)	- Neither long nor short,
広いようで 狭いようで (6-6)	- Neither wide nor narrow,
ちょっと見て 判らぬものは (6-8)	- What cannot be determined by taking a quick glance,
人の寿命と 胸の内 (7-5)	- Is the human life span, and the inside of one's heart.

¹⁰ Fujimoto Fumikichi, '*Dodoitsu*', in Shin Hauta Dodoitsu Zenshuu, COCJ-30763, Columbia Co Ltd., 1999. The directed tempo ♩ = 112 by Groemer in the transcription of the above '*Mizu no debana to*' is noticeable: It is almost the same as the above '*Wakarega tsuraito*', ♩ = 110 of Entaroo.

¹¹ *Dodoitsu Tokusen*, Victor Bunka Shinkoukai, VZCG-518, P& C, 2005.

¹² Iijima Kagetsu, *Dodoitsu Oyobi Zokuyoo-shuu*, 1910, p. 46.

¹³ *Seikyoku Bungei Kenkyuukai, Kachoo Dodoitsu-shuu*, 1910, p.116-117.

I underlined the parts that form the basic structure, the 7-7-7-5-syllable phrases, of the *dodoitsu*. Other phrases in prose make this song *jiamari*. The above lyrics imply the singer's distrust, which is obviously geared towards the listener. As Kagetsu adequately points out, the lyrics of *dodoitsu* often take the form of a brief message directed towards someone.

d) Characteristics of rhythmic structures

Although some *dodoitsu* give us the impression of lacking a metrical framework because of the prolonging of vowels in the lyric phrases, the rhythm can be expressed mostly by 2/4 meter, with a few exceptions. Groemer adequately represents the above *'Mizu no debana to'* by inserting a measure of 3/4 meter (Figure 3-1-2). This is an interruption of the regular beat that I call a 'reversal of the basic beat'. The existence of the basic 2/4 metre also makes the listeners recognize a significant structure of *dodoitsu*, the offbeat starting of most phrases. The other significant aspect is that many triplets appear in most of the above examples. Especially in the case of *'Atashi ga shoobai'*, the triplet continues like the *pyonko*-beat of some *warabeuta*.

e) Characteristics of melodic pitch-structures

Figure 3-1-6 Melodic pitch-structures of *dodoitsu*

'Mizu no debana to'

Vocal

Shamisen

miyako-2-TC

miyako-1 TC

miyako-bushi-type

four notes of motif Y

'Atashi ga shoobai'

Vocal

Shamisen

minyoo-TC

miyako-1 TC

miyako-bushi-type

4 notes of Y-marked motif

4 notes of motif Y

'Wakare ga tsurai to'

Vocal

Shamisen

miyako-1 TC

miyako-2-TC

miyako-bushi-type

4 notes of motif Y

'Shamisen ya'

Vocal

Shamisen

Mostly ritsu-minyoo-type

4 notes of motif Y

The characteristics of *dodoitsu* melody are full of variety: all kinds of tetrachords, except the *okinawa-TC* occur, in the above four songs. An important element of *dodoitsu* melody may be that almost all the *kakuon* of each vocal part of the above four songs are common with the four notes of the above-mentioned motif Y and their octaves, with only a few exceptions. In addition, the four notes of motif Y, E-A-d-e (in the case of *'Wakarega tsuraito'*), include the three tones of *hon-chooshi*, E-A-e, and of *san-sagari*, E-A-d, two among the three standard kinds of *shamisen* tuning. These are the only common characteristics of melodic pitch-structure that I recognize in the above four examples. One way to interpret these characteristics is in light of the fact that *dodoitsu* performances were often improvised. The open string tones of the *shamisen* therefore may have functioned as 'anchor points' for the singer's ear.

f) The conspicuous relation between lyric and music of *Dodoitsu*

The above examples show that some syllables in *dodoitsu* are prolonged across a few measures with or without melisma, except for the first syllable of a phrase. Most of the first syllables of lyric phrases are sung short, often on an offbeat. This does not necessarily mean that the first note of the offbeat opening is sung weakly. On the contrary, Ginchoo stresses *Do*' of *'Doo shite'* in *'Atashi ga shoobai'*, Entaroo stresses *'O'* of *'O bi ga'*, and Kakitsu stresses *'A'* of *'A ru waina'*.¹⁴ The last syllable of the songs are sometimes cut short.

The melodic forms at the beginning of each 7/5-syllable phrase obviously correspond to the intonation of the local dialect of Tokyo, except for when it is sung to a level pitch, as shown in the following.

Mi zu no, Fu ta ri, Se ka re te, Mi no inga,
A tashi ga, O mochaya, Do o shite, Wa tararenu,
Wa kare ga, Ko go e de, Shi meru, O bi ga,
Sha misen, Ko to no, Ha kujoo, Ko ko niwa, A ru waina.

In the above lyrics, the double-underlined syllables in normal font are sung to a lower pitch, those in italics are sung to a higher pitch than the following syllables, and the single-underlined

¹⁴ This stressed offbeat beginning may accord with the opinion of Koizumi: 'There are only a few cases where the beginning is placed before the first beat, and the note-value (音価 duration of sound) in question is so short that it can be understood as part of the first beat of the first meter.' in, Koizumi, *Nihon dentoo-ongaku no kenkyuu* 2, 1984, p. 58-59.

phrases are sung to a level-pitch. All of them correspond completely with the high-low intonation of the local Tokyo dialect. For example, 'Mi' of 'Mizu no' in Groemer's transcription, which has a lower pitch compared to the following syllables, is normally pronounced with a lower intonation compared to the following 'zu no', while 'Do' of 'Do o shi te', which Ginchoo sings to a higher pitch than the following 'o shi te', is also normally spoken to a higher intonation than 'o shi te' in the Tokyo dialect. 'Fu ta ri', 'Se ka re te', and 'Ko go e de' are examples of melodies opening with level pitch, in which the first syllables, 'Fu', 'Se', and 'Ko', are normally pronounced lower than the next, 'ta ri', 'ka re te', and 'go e de', respectively.

Moreover, the above-mentioned examples of phrases starting with stressed off-beats ('Do o shite', 'Obi ga', 'A ru waina') sung to a higher pitch than the following syllables by the *yose* singers, are normally pronounced in higher intonation in the local Tokyo dialect. Other first syllables representing a higher-intonation opening, such as 'Ko to' and 'Hakujoo', are also sung in a similar way, with a stress and to a higher pitch, unlike those beginning with lower-intonation words, such as '*Futari*' and '*Kogoe*', that are sung to a lower-pitched opening without stress.

In sum, the most conspicuous characteristic of the *dodoitsu* is that every 7-syllable phrase or 5-syllable phrase begins in accordance with the high-low intonation of the local Tokyo dialect, as far as the above materials show.¹⁵ In other words, the music of *dodoitsu* probably has the closest relation to the spoken pronunciation of colloquial lyrics among all the popular songs of the Meiji.

¹⁵ At this stage, I checked the places of publication of 88 *dodoitsu*-bon: The result is 73 publishers in Tokyo, 7 in Osaka, and 8 in other towns. This suggests the possibility that the popularization of *dodoitsu* in the Meiji era was mostly around Tokyo, as far as can be seen in the KDL stock survey results.

3-1-2 'Ootsue' or 'Ootsue-bushi'

'Ootsue' or 'Ootsue-bushi' is a structurally complex song group in which the lyrics are generally comical and the musical style is vivid and lively.¹⁶ The term 'Ootsue' meant originally primitive pictures sold in Ootsu, a terminal town on the main road from Edo to Kyoto. According to *Hoogaku kyokumei jiten*, it first appeared in 1703 as 'Ootsu oiwake e-odori' and spread in the form of many *kaeuta*, with themes based on local products and sights. The melody known today was transmitted from *bakumatsu* to the Meiji via *chaya* and *yose*. *Kawaraban no hayariuta* carries tens of *kaeuta* of 'Ootsue-bushi' that depict events of *bakumatsu* teasingly.¹⁷ Mori Senzou presents 'Ootsue' of Meiji 6 (1873), which depicts the 'things in fashion': stagecoaches, rickshaws, wired-letters (telegrams), and land- steamers (trains).¹⁸ The earliest staff notations of *Ootsue-bushi* that I found in the KDL are 'Ooi Oyajidono' and 'Ameno yoni' presented by Umeda Isokichi in Meiji 21 (1888).¹⁹ Nagai and Kobatake include 'Ooi Oyaji dono' in their *Nihon Zokkyoku-shuu* of Meiji 25 (1892) in Osaka,²⁰ and had the Army Band perform it in public. The occurrence frequency of this song in anthologies increases explosively from that time, so that it comprises more than half of the *Ootsue* songs in the KDL collections. The second most numerous *Ootsue* song is titled 'Ameno yo ni' (in a rainy night).²¹

a) 'Ooi Oyaji dono' (Hey, Boss!)

'おーいおーい 親父殿	(6-5)	- 'Hey! Hey! Boss!
その金こちらへ 貸してお呉れ'	(8-6)	- Give me that money!'
親父めは びっくり仰天し	(5-4-5)	- The astonished Boss then said,
'イエイエ金では ござんせぬ	(8-5)	- 'No, no, this is not money,
娘が して呉れた 用意の 握り飯	(4-5-4-5)	- It's a rice ball that my daughter made for me,
どれどれ お先へ 参りましょう'	(8-6)	- Well then, I am going ahead.'
'やれやれ しぶとい 親父め' と	(8-5)	- 'What a stubborn man!'
抜き放し	(5)	- Drawing a sword,
何の苦もなく 一抉り	(7-5)	- Scooped out with no trouble!
お金と命の	(8)	- The separation of life and money!
御相別れの, 二つ玉.	(8-5)	- Both of them are vitally precious!

¹⁶ In spite of much divergence of melodies, the term 'bushi' (節 tune) shows that it is a song name and it is used obviously as a song name in anthologies of Meiji.

¹⁷ Mitamura, 1926.

¹⁸ Mori Senzoo, *Meiji Tokyo Itsubunn-shi 1 [Anecdotes History in Meiji Tokyo 1]*, 1969a, p. 28.

¹⁹ Umeda and Okuyama, *Ongaku haya-manabi, [Fast learning of music]* 1888.

²⁰ Nagai & Kobatake, 1892b.

²¹ Other than the above two, the KDL includes 'Ooi Sadakuroo', 'Horikawa', 'Oshun Dembee', 'Gehoo no hashigozuri', 'Hyootan no tegarabanashi', and 'Oosaka o tachinoite'.

Nihon Ongaku Daijiten writes, 'Although the *motouta* of *Ootsue-bushi* is *Gehoo hashigozuri*, the representative *Ootsue* popularized during the Meiji is *Oosaka o tachinoite*'. It neglects 'Oyaji dono' or 'Ame no yo ni', probably because these two songs are newer versions than the '*motouta*'.

Nakane Kiyoshi (Shuku) writes that the origin of 'Ootsue' is 'Gehoo Hashigo-zuri'. In, Nakane, *Kayoo Jisuu koo [Study of Syllabic Structure in Popular Songs]*, Dainihon Insatsu, 1908.

Figure 3-1-7 'Ooi Oyaji dono', transcription by Kobatake, Meiji 24 (1891) ²²

Moderata vocal

shamisen O - i - o - i Oya - jido - no Sono ka ne -ko chi
ra e Ka site o ku - re - Oya ji me - wa Bik kuri gyoo - ten shi Ie i e ka ne -
dewa Go zan se nu Musu me ga shite - kure ta - Yo o - i no ni - gi - ri ma ma
Dore dore - o sa - kie San jimasho Yare yare shi bu to i - O ya ji me to
Nuki ha - na shi Na - n no - ku mo - na ku Hito - e gu - ri O ka ne - to -
i no - chi - no - O n a i wa - ka -- re no Fu ta tsu ta ma

Melodic pitch-structure : Mostly miyako-bushi-type

miyako-2·TC

Most Part miyako-bushi-type

Part ② miyako-bushi-type

Part ③ ritsu-TC
minyoo-TC

**3-1-7 Ooi Oyaji dono****Occurrence in the anthologies**

Ootsue songs occur 9 times in the Meiji 10s (1878-1886), 24 times in the 20s, 8 times in the 30s, and 5 times in the 40s, with a total occurrence of 46 times, placing it second in the KDL.

Characteristics of lyric structure and content

²² Nagai & Kobatake, 1892b.

'*Ooi oyaji dono*' is sung in colloquial Japanese, as are all other songs of the *Ootsue* genre. Although the lyrics mostly consist of 5- or 7-syllable phrases, the overall impression of the lyrics is that of prose, due to the combination of conversation and narration, *jimari* phrases, and rude expressions such as '*Kashite okure!*', '*Yare yare*', and '*Shibutoi oyaji me!*'. Although the theme *Sadakuroo* tale of the *kabuki* repertoire, *Chuusingura*, is extremely cruel and bloody, the comical conversation between the robber and victim gives the audience a rather absurd and ludicrous impression.

Interplay between vocal and *shamisen* in alternation and rhythmic characteristics

An impressive characteristic of '*Ooi oyaji dono*' is its thrilling interplay between the vocal and *shamisen* parts in alternation, in which the *shamisen* part shares the melody with vocal part with nearly equivalent importance, rather than as an accompaniment of rhythm and chords. It has a pleasant, complicated, clearly articulated rhythm with diverse note lengths, offbeat/weak-beat beginnings, frequent short rests and syncopation.

Relation between lyric and music

It is quite hard to sing accurately each syllable of the lyrics. Some lyric phrases are allotted to unexpected, rather strange tunes compared to the natural rhythm and intonation of everyday spoken Japanese. Many short rests are inserted halfway through words or even single syllables, as follows.

So no | ka - ne -, e ko ʔ chi | ra - e -, - Ka shi te | ʔ o ku -, - re e |
 | ʔ ʔ Na n, - - no - | o ku mo o, na ʔ ku ʔ | u Hi to o, e ʔ gu u | ri - ʔ ʔ,
 | O ʔ n ʔ, a ʔ i ʔ | wa - ka a, re ʔ no o | Fu - ʔ ta, tsu - da - | ma - - ʔ,

Note: 1. Vertical lines represent bar lines and commas represents the middle of a measure.

2. Each syllable is represented by a *romaji* with or without the following dash or an underlined *romaji* group.

3. Each dash represents a prolonged part of a preceding syllable (in a constant pitch).

4. Each underlined *romaji* group represents a single syllable that has more than one note.

5. Each *romaji*, rest and dash is equivalent to the length of a 1/8 note.

In the above examples, syncopation occurs because of an inserted rest halfway through a syllable, or a prolonged vowel allotted to a variety of notes, '*ka - ne e, e ko - chi, ra - e*', '*ka shi te, - o ku u, u u re e*', '*Na n, - - no, o ku mo o*', '*na - ku -, u hi to o*', also '*Fu u - ta, tsu u*'. On the other hand, '*Gyooten shi*' is sung to a tongue twister, with four syllables, '*gyo, o, te, n*', allotted to a single crotchet. Overall, the strange and comical relation between the lyric syllable and the music makes the music vivid.

Characteristics of melodic structure

At numeral (1), four notes of the *miyako*-2-TC appear as a brief melody A-G-A-F-E. There occurs an impressive modulation by changing B into B-flat at numeral (2): First the *miyako*-2-TC B-c-d-e changes into *miyako*-1-TC A-Bb-d, which changes the key of the melody from the basic *kakuon* E-B-e to A-e-a. Then at '*Nuki hanashi*', the Bb goes back suddenly to the original B and there is no half step at numeral (3). The same modulation occurs again followed by the *ritsu-minyoo*-like melody of '*On aiwakare no*', after which the music returns to the same melody of the prelude. The ending note of the song, E, and that of prelude/postlude, B, are the lower *kakuon* of the two

basic *miyako-bushi* TC, E-F-(G)-A and B-c-(d)-e. On the other hand, most of the other phrases finish at A, another common *kakuon* of the diverse tetrachords throughout the song.

b) *'Ameno yoni'* (In a rainy night) - as transcribed by Tanabe.²³

雨の夜に 日本近く	(5-7)	- In a rainy night, drawing closer to Nippon,
寝ぼけて流れ込む 唐模様	(4-5-5)	- Strangers come half-awake.
黒船に 乗り込み八百人	(5-4-6)	- Eight hundred seamen ride on a black ship,
大筒小筒を 打ち並べ	(8-5)	- Placing guns and canons side by side,
羅紗猩猩緋の 筒つぼ襦袢	(8-7)	- In a scarlet, wool, tight sleeved under-shirt.
黒ん坊が 水底仕事する	(5-4-5)	- Black men wash and cook in the bottom,
大將軍は 部屋に構えて	(7-7)	- Grand general stays in his room,
済まして真面目顔	(4-5)	- posing to be serious.
中にも髭だらけのジャガタラ唐人が	(4-6-4-5)	- A fully bearded foreign stranger,
海を眺め、銅鑼 鐃鈸を 叩いて	(6-7-4)	- looking at the sea, rings gongs and cymbals,
キクライキクライ キンモールと	(8-6)	- Shouting "Kick-rai, kick-rai! Kim-mohru!"
亜米利加さして	(7)	- Toward America,
貰いし 大根 土産に	(4-4-4)	- With white radish given as a present,
いそぎ行く	(5)	- They hurry back!

Figure 3-1-8 *'Ameno yoni'*, vocal part from the transcription by Tanabe, 1932

Fast
(Shamisen)

A me no yo ni - - -

Nippon -chi ka ku - Ne bo ke te - na ga re komu - Kara mo yo o

Kuro fu ne ni No ri komi hap pya ku ni n - O odzutsu

- kodzu tsu o Uchi nara be Ra sya sho jo hi no Tsu tsup po ju ba n

Ku ro m boga Mizusoko shigo to su ru Ta i sho gunwa - Heyani kama ete

Sumashite ma ji me ga o Naka ni mo hi ge da ra ke no Ja ga ta ra

to - jin ga U mi o na ga me - Dora nyo bachi o - tata

i te ki kura i ki kura i Kim mo ru to Ame ri ka - sa shi te Mora

i shi dai kon mi ya ge ni - I so gi yu ku (Shamisen)

²³ Tanabe Hisao, *Sekai ongaku zenshuu 25 [Complete Works of the World's Music 25 - Collection of Recent Times Japanese Music]*, 1931. p. 14.

Melodic pitch-structure :
**3-1-8 Ameno yoni****The lyric structure and content**

The lyric structure of *'Ame no yo ni'* is *jiamari* similar to that of *'Ooi oyaji dono'*. In *'Ame no yo ni'*, a foreign steam ship is described nonchalantly by onlookers, who are probably guests and attending-girls in a *chaya* beside the shore.

Characteristics of rhythmic structure

Similar to *'Ooi oyaji dono'*, *'Ame no yo ni'* has a pleasant, clearly articulated rhythm with an offbeat or *auftact* opening. Its rhythm is more fluid and calmer than that of *'Oyaji-dono'*. Syncopation occurs at the phrases *'Tsu tsu-p-po ju ban'* and *'Dora nyo-ba chi o tataite'*.

Relation between lyric and music rhythm

Some syllables are prolonged, which makes the subsequent syllables start just after the bar lines, with the effect that the song's rhythm becomes animated and 'chic'.²⁴

| O - o - | dzu - tsu - | - ko dzu - | tsu - o - |
| Ta i sho - | gu n wa - | - He ya ni | ka ma e te |

The 'reversal of the basic beat' occurs at,

| - Ne bo - | ke - te - | e na ga re | ko - mu - | u ka ra - | mo - yo - | - - - |

The stressed beats obviously exist on the underlined syllables shown above, which is at the second beat of each measure.

Characteristics of melodic structure

Similar to *'Oyajidono'*, *'Ame no yo ni'* has a complex *miyako-bushi*-type melody. At numeral (2), it goes on without any semitones, like some *minyoo* melodies. Four notes of the *miyako-2-TC* occur as a brief melodic phrase, F-E-(D-E)-G-A, at numeral (3). A modulation occurs at numeral (4), the basic tetrachords with *kakuon* E-B-e change to those with A-e-(a), and finally return to the original key at the postlude.

c) Other resources for understanding *'Ootsue-bushi'***How *'Ootsue-bushi'* is sung in Gaisberg recordings**

In Gaisberg recordings, five tracks have titles which include the term *'Ootsue-bushi'*. Two female singers, Kitsunosuke and her young student Kakitsu, play it while mixing it complexly with other songs and the imitation of sounds, such as *'Totchiriton'*, *'goze-bushi'*, a *dodoitsu*-like tune, a *naniwa-bushi*-like tune, *'Suiryoo-bushi'*, and a 'list of every sounding thing' including the

²⁴ I use the term 'chic' as a translation of *ikina* or *suina* (粋な), each of which often occurs in *hayariuta* anthologies in the time, meaning 'familiar with light accomplishment'.

sounds of a festival. Among them, I could not identify any similar melody to the above two songs. The vivid, speedy, and rather noisy songs of the two *yose* singers sound as if they include some tunes other than those of the transcriptions of Meiji 25 (1892) by Kobatake or those of the 1930s by Tanabe.

A later recording of 'Ootsue' by Kokontei Shinshoo²⁵

A celebrated *yose* storyteller, Shinshoo (古今亭志ん生/ 1890-1973), left a recording of the *Ootsue*, 'Fuyu no yo' (winter night). The first phrase, 'Fuyu no yo - - ni - - ; Kaze - ga - - hu-ku - - -' (in winter night, the wind blows), sounds very similar to 'Ame no yo ni Nippon chikaku', although Shinshoo prolongs every vowel very slowly. Its continuous *shamisen* ostinato accompaniment, '- Bb | A - G - | A - - Bb | A - G - | A - - - |' is completely the same as the postlude of 'Ame no yo ni'. Although Shinshoo's tune is not the same as the transcription by Tanabe, it is highly possible that it is a variation of 'Ame no yo ni'.

Hints given by Aida Kaishin on singing 'Ootsue-bushi'

In the 'Preface' of *Ootsue Hitori Keiko* (teach yourself *Ootsue*), published in Meiji 27 (1894), Aida Kaishin lectures on how to sing 'Ooi oyaji dono' as follows:²⁶

Recently, 'Ootse-bushi' has become one of the trends with great popularity. However pleasantly *geisha* and others²⁷ make slight changes in the melody from that of old times to increase the fun at a party, the true melody of the old times must be the only appropriate way of performance. Diversity can especially be seen in the length of the lyrics. You can sing such lyrics of diverse length to any tunes depending on your preference. You should wholly consider the fact that at the end of the song 'Ooi ooi', the way in which Nuki hanashi, *Nan no ku mo naku*, *Hitoeguri* is performed connects the song with the happy ending of the *shamisen*, 'Chacha chan ~ ~'. The key point of singing the other type of song is being rhythmical in a faster tempo. Here are some tips in making the tunes sound beyond description and closer to the *shamisen* performance.

However, if you try to sing it as you would play the *shamisen*, you will find that it is not too difficult to sing this type of song. Since the most important factor is to learn the lyrics well by heart before singing, you should carefully read this book, which collects old and new masterpieces as far as possible.

Aida's lecture gives important hints about the music as follows:

- The melody of 'Ooi oyaji dono' is a piece which represents 'Ootsue-bushi' at the time.
- 'Ootsue-bushi' became one of the trends with great popularity just before Meiji 27 (1894).
- 'Geisha and others' tended to slightly change 'the true melody of the old times which must be the only way of true performance'.
- The most important point in singing the melody is at 'Nuki hanashi'.
- He lectures not only towards the song's fans but also to the *shamisen* players who are not

²⁵ Kokontei Shinshoo, *Hanashika ichidai Godaime Kokontei Shinshoo*, TBS Radio & Communications, CD, year unidentified.

²⁶ Aida Kaishin, 'Preface', *Ootsue Hitori Keiko*, Katoo Fukujiroo, 1894.

²⁷ *koosho hai* (校書輩 *geisha* and others)

familiar enough with 'the true melody of the old times'.

As such, we understand that the song 'Ooi Oyaji dono' was difficult to sing accurately, not only for amateurs, but also for young entertainer girls.

d) Relation between 'Ooi Oyaji dono' and 'Ameno yoni'

As I have mentioned above, Aida lectures that the most important point in singing 'Ooi oyaji dono' is at 'Nuki hanashi'. That part corresponds to 'Umi o nagame' in 'Ame no yo ni'. I therefore tried to combine the last 25 measures of the two songs, from 'Nuki hanashi' and 'Umi o nagame', in Figure 3-1-10.

Figure 3-1-9 The last part of 'Amenoyo' and 'Oyaji dono'

U mi o na ga me Doranyo ba chio
 Nu ki ha - na shi Na n - no
 - tata i te Kikura i kikura i Kim mo ru to Ame ri ka - sa
 - kumo - na ku - Hito - e gu - ri O ka - ne - to - - i no -
 shi te Mora i shi da ikon Miyageni - Iso gi yu ku
 chi - no - O n a i wa - ka -- re no Fu ta tu ta ma



3-1-9 Ameno yoni - Oyajidono

Now it is obvious that these two songs originate from a common melody. In addition, I tried to play the whole of the two songs at the same time. Listen to the sound of 'Oyaji dono', played by the *shamisen* with 'Ame no yo', played by the clarinet.

In sum, 'Ootsue' songs, which began with the entertainer girls of the Ootsu region, gradually spread into the towns, and were developed by *shamisen* players. In this song group, the composers are unknown, and we see an example of sophisticated Japanese popular music which reached both a high technical and artistic level. Some outstanding musicians must have repeatedly ameliorated, arranged, and completed the music. It must have first been developed by the *chaya* entertainers and customers, then been spread among a wider circle of people, and finally sung by the *yose* entertainers, with some variantions.²⁸

²⁸ Having finished my draft, I found two essays concerned with *Ootsue-bushi* by Sasaki Ryuujii:

Although, according to my survey, '*Ootsue-bushi*' was the second most popular of all the Meiji era songs and song groups, none of the aged people of my acquaintance even know of the song's previous existence. It was once revived in mid-Meiji, and then vanished from the ears of the people.

Sasaki translates the *kon-chie* (gongche) notation of '*Oosaka o Tachinoite*' into staff notation from, Akiba Nuiji, *Gekkin Kokin Minteki Hitori-keiko*, 1901, in, Sasaki, Ryuuji (佐々木隆爾), [*Study of min-yo, ootsue-bushi in bakumatsu to Meiji*], 2003. He also presents the staff notations of '*Ooi Oyajidono*' and '*Ameno yoni*' from *Ongaku Hayamanabi* and writes:

Among the *Ootsue-bushi* melodies which were sung from Bakumatsu to the Meiji, the term *Ootsue-bushi* pointed towards *Ooi oyaji-dono*, which overwhelmed the orthodox, '*Choozu-oo no Hashigo-zuri*' (長頭翁の梯子ずり). There were two schools besides the orthodox one (正調) that sang ten themes of the Ootsu-picture. The two schools were the *Ooi oyaji-dono* type and *Ame noyo* type. The melody of the *Ooi oyaji-dono* type developed to '*Ame no yo*'.

Sasaki, *Meijiki Nagasaki de riyosareta koosyakufu-kyokushuu no bunseki* (明治期長崎で利用された工尺譜曲集の分析), in Sasaki Ryuuji & Nihon University, *Bakumatsu, Meijiki ni okeru shiunshuteki ongaku kansei no keisei ni kansuru rekishiteki kenkyuu: Nagasaki ni okeru yoogaku, shingaku and min'yoo no soogo kooryuushi* [*History of Mutual Interchange between Western Music, Shingaku, and Min-yoo in Nagasaki*], 2005.

3-2 Two *Zokuyoo* from Early Meiji

During the KDL survey period, I could find in the KDL collection only one popular song anthology published before Meiji 10 (1877).¹ Moreover, in the anthologies of the Meiji 10s (1877-1886), I could not find any of the famous songs which extant sources report to have spread during the earliest years of Meiji. As such, in this section, I present two *zokuyoo*, '*Nooe-bushi*', which, according to the sources, spread in the earliest years of the Meiji, and '*Asaku tomo*', one of the most frequent songs in the anthologies of the Meiji 10s. Both of these songs occur often in the anthologies of after Meiji 20 (1887).

a) '*Nooe-bushi*' or '*Noge no yama kara*'

Note: Lyrics from Komota.²

野毛の山から ノーエ (7-3)	— From the <i>Noge</i> mountain, <i>nooe</i> ,
野毛の山から ノーエ (7-3)	— From the <i>Noge</i> mountain, <i>nooe</i> ,
野毛のサイサイ 山から (7-4)	— From the <i>Noge</i> , <i>saisai</i> , when you look over,
異人館を見れば (6-3)	— At the foreigners' mansions, (you see them)
お鉄砲かついで ノーエ (8-3)	— With guns on their shoulders, <i>nooe</i> ,
お鉄砲かついで ノーエ (8-3)	— With guns on their shoulders, <i>nooe</i> ,
お鉄砲サイサイ かついで (8-4)	— Guns, <i>saisai</i> , on their shoulders,
小隊進め (7)	— 'Platoon! Forward!'

Short history

From the lyric content that depicts foreign soldiers training in Yokohama, we see that it originates from just before the Meiji Restoration. Although Fujisawa lists the popularization of this song in 1862,³ and Komota lists it in Meiji 1 (1868), we see that the actual spread of '*Nooe-bushi*' was far later, given the evidence of its frequency in anthologies (discussed below). The tune of '*Nooe-bushi*' is well known still today, though rather through its indecent *kaeuta*, '*Fujino shirayuki*', than the *motouta*.

Occurrence in anthologies

'*Nooe-bushi*' is not found in the anthologies in the KDL until the Meiji 10s (1877-1886). It occurs 8 times in the Meiji 20s (1887-1896), 7 times in the 30s (1897-1906) including its *kaeuta* '*Fuji no shirayuki*', and twice in the 40s (1907-1912). It therefore occurs 17 times in total placing it equal 26th in the KDL.

Characteristics of lyric structure and content

The lyrics are of the 7-5-free-combination type in colloquial language. '*Nooe*' and '*saisai*' are *hayashi kotoba*.

¹ Afterwards I found a few more.

² Komota et al, 1994, p. 139.

Komota calls this song '*Saisai-bushi*'. Therefore, in most cases, the name of *zokuyoo* in the time was one taken from the lyric phrase and by which the song was commonly known.

³ Fujisawa Morihiko, *Zusetsu Nihon Minzokugaku Senshuu 5, [Illustrated Complete Works of Japanese Folklore]*, 1960, p. 297.

In the lyrics, nonchalant onlookers on a low hill, *Noge-yama*, in Yokohama, describe the training of foreign soldiers.

I found two diverse transcriptions of this song. The first is written in numeral form, the numerals representing pitch, in a *kaeuta* collection of *zokuyoo* based on a Sino-Japanese-War (1893-1894) theme as follows.⁴

Figure 3-2-1. 'Nooe-bushi' from the transcription by Machida Ouen, Meiji 27 (1894).

Ryo jun ko o kara no e Ryo jun ko o kara no e No ryojun sai sai
 ko o ka ra Shi na hei o mi re - ba

Melodic pitch-structure : **miyako-bushi-type**

3-2-1 Nooe-bushi Machida Ouen

The above melody is completely different to what the author used to hear in the 1940s. Machida Ouen's transcriptions of other well-known songs are mostly accurate.⁵ Nakamura Kousuke writes that the 'English-style music for drums and fifes' of the so-called '*Ishin March*' may have transformed into '*Noge no yama kara*'.⁶ Actually, the above '*Nooe-bushi*' is similar to the '*Ishin March*' that is often used in movies and TV programs still today. Miura Shunzaburoo presents 'the *Ishin March* that was offered by a member of the Navy Band' as follows.⁷

Figure 3-2-2. '*Ishin-March*' (first part), transcription by Miura

Melodic pitch-structure : **miyako-bushi-type**

3-2-2 Ishin Marchi

The melody as known today is also found in another transcription of '*Nooe-bushi*', written in Chinese characters that represent the pitch.

⁴ Machida Ouen, *Nissin-sensou hayariuta - kyokufu tsuki*, [Popular songs of Sino-Japanese War - with Music Notations], Tooun-dou, 1894.

⁵ In this book, Machida Ouen presents both '*Ameno Yoni*' and '*Harusame*' in numeral notation, accurately using Arabic figures for pitch, and using # for temporary modulation.

⁶ Nakamura Kousuke, *Kindai Nihon Yoogaku-shi Josetsu* [Introduction to Western Music History of Modern Japan.], 2003, p. 154-155.

Horiuchi also writes a similar thing as Nakamura in, Horiuchi, 1942, p. 13.

⁷ Miura Shunzaburoo, *Hompoo yoogaku hensen-shi* [Transition History of Western Music in our Country], p. 77-78.

Figure 3-2-3 'Nooe-bushi' transcription by Yamamoto, Meiji 32 (1899).⁸

Op pe kohyara ri ko Noo e Op pe ko hya ra ri ko No - - e -

Chi chiga tai tai To chi to no Op pe ko hya ra ri ko No - - e

Melodic pitch-structure : ritsu-TC minyoo-TC



3-2-3 Nooe-bushi Yamamoto

Most parts of the lyrics consist of imitations of the sound of the drum, fife and bugle.⁹ 'Chiichi ga taitai' sounds like baby-language and 'To chi to no' sounds like *kuchi-jamisen*. Although Yamamoto presents the numeral notation as only quavers and crotchets, all 'Nooe-bushi' that I have heard are always sung in *pyonko*-beat.

Tetrachordal structure of the melody by Yamamoto

The melody of the above Figure 3-2-3, which may have been the most widespread version during the time, as well as being well-known today, consists of the *ritsu*-TC and the *minyoo*-TC entangled with each other, and it is impossible to answer the question of which tetrachord dominates. In other words, the basic pitch-structure is a pentachord G-A-c-d and D-E-G-A rather than a tetrachord.

b) 'Asaku tomo' (Although it is shallow)

浅くとも (5)	- Although it is shallow,
清き流れの かきつばた (7-5)	- We are iris flowers in a clean stream.
飛んで行き来の 濡れ燕 (7-5)	- A swift-footed guy goes to and fro like a wet swallow.
覗いて見たか 編笠を (7-5)	- Did you peep into his sedge hat?
顔は見とうは ないかいな (7-5)	- Don't you want to see his face?

Figure 3-2-4 'Asaku tomo' transcription by Kobatake, Meiji 25 (1892).¹⁰

A saku - to - - - mo - - - - Kiyoki

Kiyoki

⁸ Yamamoto Toosui, *Suifuu-kin hitori annai [Melodica Self-guide]*, 1899. This is written in numerals in Chinese characters for pitch.

⁹ Komota presents the above lyrics as a part of motouta in. Komota et al, *[New Edition Japan Popular Song History]*, 1994, p. 139.

¹⁰ Nagai and Kobatake, 1892a, p. 76. This is the earliest notation of the song that I found in the KDL and the next one is: Arai et al, *Tefuukin Dokusou Jizai*, Osaka, 1893.

-nagare no Kaki-tsu-ba-ta To n--de-yuki-ki no -
 Nuretsuba me Nozo i te-mita ka-Ami-ga sa o - Ka o wa mi
 to--wa Na i ka---i---na

Melodic pitch-structure : Mostly ritsu-type

Shamisen ritsu-TC (extra note)
 Vocal ritsu-TC (extra notes)
 Part (A) miyako-bushi-TC (extra notes) miyako-bushi-melody
 (B) ritsu-TC ritsu-minyoo-TC (extra note) fifth apart
 (C) ritsu-minyoo-TC (extra note)



3-2-4 Asaku tomo

Occurrence in anthologies

'Asakutomo' occurs 4 times in the Meiji 10s (1877-1886), 9 times in the Meiji 20s (1887-1896), once in the 30s (1897-1906) also 40s (1907-1912). It occurs 15 times in total, placing it equal 38th in the KDL.

Characteristics of lyric structure and content

The lyrics are written in colloquial language except for one stylish expression: '*kiyoki*' instead of '*kiyoi*'. It adheres to 7-5-choo (七五調), except at the beginning of the 5-syllable phrase '*Asakutomo*'.

In the lyrics, assumed singers, young women are looking at and talking about a swift-footed nice guy beyond a river. They adore him, but do not dare to say a word to him. The first phrase, '*Asakutomo*' (though it is shallow), implies that the chance to meet him would hardly come. The 'iris' suggests the young women themselves. Although '*Tonde yuki*' makes the audience imagine that the lyrics may go on toward '*Tonde yukitaya*' (I want to fly across the river!), they actually continue to '*Tonde yukiki no nure-tsubame*' (A wet swallow that flies back and forth).

Interplay of vocal and *shamisen* in alternation

A noticeable characteristic of the musical structure of '*Asakutomo*' is the pleasant interplay of the vocal and *shamisen* parts in alternation, both of which have nearly equivalent importance in this

music, similar to the above '*Ooi Oyaji-dono*'. The means of alternation is however much simpler than '*Ooi Oyaji-dono*'. Each of the preceding *shamisen* parts guide the following vocal part so that the singer does not need to pay any attention to the timing or the pitch.

Characteristics of rhythmic structure

This music has a quite free and vivid rhythmic structure, with frequent use of 1/16 notes, offbeat openings, syncopation, and short rests inserted in the middle of a phrase.

Relation between lyric and music

Some syllables are divided into several notes, cut by 1/8 rests, and sometimes prolonged crossing over bar lines, for example, | a - - -, sa ku - u | to o 7 o, o - 7 mo | - - - o, o o 7 7 |. To become familiar with such phenomena, which occur often in *hauta*, may have been the most important requisite for a singer.

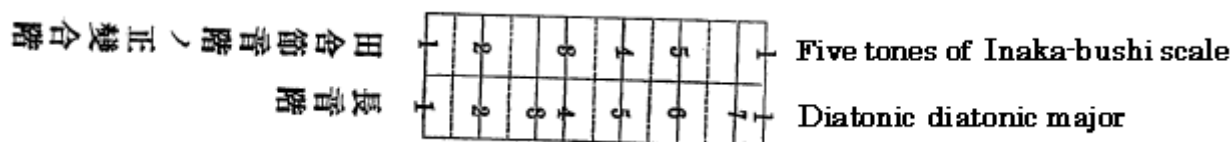
Characteristics of melodic structure

The basic pitch structure of this complex melody clearly appears in its *shamisen* part, the *ritsu*-scale C-D-F-G-A-c, with only one extra note e. In the vocal part, fourteen notes extend across a range of two octaves. The pitch structure is basically the same as that of the *shamisen* part, but with four extra notes, and a final note that alters from the c of the *shamisen* to G, both of which have equivalent importance. Among the four extra notes, B' and E appear at (A) and form the *miyako-bushi*-type melody f-c-B'-A-F-E-D with ninth and half steps. The melodic structure at (B) is conspicuous: it sings g-c-e-d-G-c-d-e-c-A with fifth steps like *4-7-nuki* major, C-D-E-G-A. At (C), the *ritsu-miyoo*-TC makes a brief melody, d-c-A-d-B-d-A-G-F.

Pitch-structure of *inaka-bushi* presented by Uehara based on '*Asakutomo*'

In his *Zukugaku Senritsu Koo*, Uehara Rokushiroo compares the pitch-structure of '*Asakutomo*' as an example of *inaka-bushi* (rural-tune) with diatonic major scale as shown in the Figure 3-2-6 and states that although the melody of '*Asakutomo*' likely consists of major scale, it goes up and down always on the 5-tone-scale so that it uses the seven notes not continuously but without half steps, therefore it should be understood as a kind of the Japanese scale.¹¹

Figure 3-2-6 Comparison of diatonic major and '*Asakutomo*' by Uehara



¹¹ Uehara Rokushiroo, *Zokugaku Senritsu Koo*, Iwanami Shoten, 1927, p.78-88.

3-3 Nationwide Popularization of *Zokuyoo* – *Nihon Zokkyoku-shuu*

As mentioned above, the influence of *Nihon zokkyoku-shuu* (日本俗曲集) on Meiji popular song is immeasurable.¹ This songbook liberated old style Japanese popular music from salons of *chaya* to a nationwide populace, especially amateur musicians.² Nagai and Kobatake had great success with the revival and popularization of *zokuyoo* through their own selections, and with the use of Western notation for both voice and accordion. The publisher, the Miki bookstore, was also eager to sell musical instruments, which began to become popular during this time, and this was also successful.

Tanabe Hisao (1883-1984) wrote about *Nihon zokkyoku-shuu* as follows:³

These staff notations of *zokkyoku* meant an important guiding principle for the people who wanted to learn *zokkyoku* of our country by means of Western music knowledge. As such, that *zokkyoku* much interested us in those days was absolutely because of the help of this book.

Richard Miller writes in his *Music and Musicology in the Engineering of National Identity in Meiji Japan: Modernization Strategies of the Music Investigation Committee, 1870-1900*, 'The repertoire in the *Nihon zokkyoku-shuu* is a mix of urban and rural songs from various parts of Japan'.⁴ Actually, the approach taken by Nagai and Kobatake in selecting *zokkyoku* was different to the earlier anthology editors. Out of the 50 songs that occurred twice or more in anthologies before Meiji 24, Nagai and Kobatake selected only six songs for their two volumes of songbook. As Horiuchi writes, 'the reason that *Nihon zokkyoku-shu* carries not only *hauta*, *min-yoo*, and *zokuyoo*, but also *jiuta* (songs of Kamigata) may be because it was edited in Osaka'.⁵ Nagai and Kobatake must have had the opportunity to find more appropriate songs for their

¹ Nagai & Kobatake, *Nihon zokkyoku-shuu*, [A Collection of Japanese Popular Musics] [sic], Osaka, Sasuke Miki, 1892, (Jan 1 Meiji 25).

Nihon zokkyoku-shuu has 108 pages plus a 36 page appendix, and the price is ¥ 0.60. The English title is 'A Collection of Japanese Popular Musics'. [sic.] According to 'NDL-OPAC', the oldest stock is a Dec. Meiji 24 version (1891). After some revision and enlargement, some difference in detail occurs depending on the version, e.g. song selection, prefaces in English, and instruction of theory and instruments.

The second volume is: Nagai & Kobatake, *Nihon kakyoku-shuu*, Osaka: Sasuke Miki, 1893.

² There were some other pioneers of *zokuyoo* before and after Nagai and Kobatake, for example:

Umeda Isokichi & Okuyama Tomoyasu, *Ongaku haya-manabi*, 1888.

Shikama Totsuji, *Senkyoku shooka-shuu 1, 2*, 1889.

Shikama Totsuji, *Tefuukin Dokushuu no Tomo*, 1891.

Mitani Tanekichi, *Tefuukin Kyokufu-shuu*, Kyoto, 1891.

Mitani Tanekichi, *Tefuukin Souhou Shinan*. Osaka, 1893.

Hayashi Daiji, *Tefuukin Hitori Keiko*, Osaka, 1892.

Hashio Chikken, *Tefuukin Hitori Annai*, Osaka, 1893.

Hashio Chikken, *Tefuukin Hitori Annai Seishin Kakyoku-shuu*, 1895.

³ Tanabe, *Meiji Ongaku Monogatari [Tales of Meiji Music]*, 1965, p.169.

⁴ Miller, *Music and Musicology in the Engineering of National Identity in Meiji Japan: Modernization Strategies of the Music Investigation Committee, 1870-1900*, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2004, p. 254.

⁵ Horiuchi, *Ongaku gojuunen-shi jou*, 1942a, p. 173.

objectives than the earlier *hayariuta* that were published mostly around Tokyo.⁶ Nagai writes in the preface as follows:

In our nation, there has never been any perfect means of notating music and we have not heard of people learning music through notation. Accordingly, not only does the melody differ depending on teachers of diverse schools but also some teachers tend to hand down their own bad mannerisms. Such oral Japanese music practice, through hands and ears, causes learners to waste too much time. This seems to be the reason why there are many musicians who play some specific sophisticated music but cannot play other easier tunes. In this book, we have explained plainly Western music theory and the methods of using Western instruments for beginners, and have selected fine pieces with exquisite flavor from new and old Japanese music. We have endeavored not to spoil the essential features of Japanese *zokkyoku* so that beginners will understand that the Western notation fits the Japanese music and will easily acquire the techniques of this new method.

It will give happiness not only to the editor but also to many people if this book also becomes somewhat helpful for *zokkyoku* learners who play with Japanese instruments.

Nagai and Kobatake endeavored to popularize not only the Western method of music notation but also 'the essential features of Japanese *zokkyoku*'. The Army Band under their direction performed these *zokkyoku* in public. Tanabe Hisao (1883-1984) writes that he used to listen to the Army Band of the Fourth Division in Osaka, while living there between Meiji 28 and Meiji 33 (1895-1900).⁷

Since *zokkyoku* was excluded from the school in the time, our opportunity to listen to *zokkyoku* was mostly the performance of this army band on the outdoor stage in Nakanoshima-Park. We used to listen to '*Echigo-jishi*', '*Harusame*', '*Kappore*', '*Oedo Nihonbashi*', etc. Besides the publication of *Nihon Zokkyoku-shuu*, Nagai and Kobatake also published several songs separately in the form of beautifully illustrated pieces of Western staff with commentary in German. They may have published them for introducing Japanese *zokkyoku* to foreigners.

The Army Band's activity was followed by other bands of the Army and Navy across the nation, as well as by numerous private sector bands called *shichuu-ongakutai*.⁸

⁶ Besides numerous collections of *dodoitsu*, the anthologies earlier than *Nihon Zokkyoku-shuu* that I listed were published in Tokyo (27 = 79 %), then Osaka (4), Kyoto, Sendai, and Kumamoto (each 1).

⁷ Tanabe, 1965, p. 167-169.

⁸ Mori presents some records of the performances by the Army and Navy bands as follows:

'The Guards Division Bands used to play '*Echigo-jishi*', '*Harusame*', '*Ootsu-e*', '*Kappore*!' 1969a, p. 354.

'Navy Bands played '*Hinatsuru Sambasoo*' and '*Echigo-jishi*', in the Hibiya Park Concert', 1969b, p. 181.

'In the recordings published by Tenshoo-doo Meiji 41 (1908), Navy Band played '*Echigo-jishi*', '*Kappore*', and the Army '*Harusame*!' 1969b, p. 288.

Horiuchi lists some *zokuyoo* in the repertoire of nationwide private brass bands during around 1895-1905: '*Echigo-jishi*', '*Kappore*', '*Harusame*' in, Horiuchi, 1942b, p. 51.

3-3-1 'Harusame' (Spring rain)

春雨に (5)	– In the spring rain,
しっぽり濡る うぐいすの (7-5)	– A bird <i>uguisu</i> soaked dewy,
羽風に匂う 梅が香や (7-5)	– Its fluttering sends fragrance of <i>ume</i> blossom.
花に戯れ しおらしく (7-5)	– Amusing alone with the blossoms humbly,
小鳥でさへも 一筋に (7-5)	– Even the little bird wholeheartedly,
寝ぐら定める 気は一つ (7-5)	– Decides its roost at one place.
わたしゃ鶯 主は梅 (7-5)	– I'm the bird <i>uguisu</i> and you're the <i>ume</i> tree,
やがて身儘気ままに なるならば (3-7-5)	– Finally if I'll get free and careless,
サア 鶯宿梅じゃ ないかいな (2-7-5)	– That'll be the same as <i>Oo shuku bai</i> ,
サアサ何でも よいわいな (7-5)	– Come on, it does not matter now then!

Figure 3-3-1 'Harusame' transcription by Kobatake, Meiji 26 (1893).⁹

Ha ru sa - me - ni
 Shippo ri nuru ru - U gu i su no Ha ka ze - - ni - -
 ni o o U me - - ga ka - - ya
 Ha na - - - ni - ta wa mu - - - re - - Shi o rashi - ku
 Ko to ri de - sa e mo Hi to - su - - - ji - ni Ne gu ra sa da - me
 ru ki wa hi - - to - tsu
 Watasha - u gu i su Nushiwa - u - me Yaga - - te - - -
 Mimamakimamani naruna raba Sa - - - o o - shuku - bai ja - Nai
 - - ka - - - i - - na - - - Sa - - sanandemo Yoiwai - na - -

miyako-1-TC miyako-2-TC miyako-1-TC
 Melodic pitch-structure miyako-bushi-type



3-3-1 Harusame

Short history

'Harusame' first spread around 1850 according to *Daijirin*. It does not appear in the lists of

⁹ Nagai and Kobatake, 1893, p. 76.

Komota or Ootake. Fujisawa lists a '*Harusame kaeuta*' in 1868.¹⁰ From the viewpoint of the popular song historians, this celebrated *hauta* may have been too 'classical' to list the original as a *hayariuta* of that time. On the other hand, Nagai writes in the last line of the above preface, 'Of course, we do not edit this book for well-cultivated specialists but for the purpose to allow people to master the Western notation without knowing it by using *zokkyoku* familiar to them'.

Occurrence in anthologies

It occurs 3 times in the Meiji 10s (1878-1886), 20 times in the 20s (1887-1896), 9 times in the 30s (1897-1906), and 6 times in the 40s (1907-1912), making 38 times in total and placing it 4th in the KDL. It occurs only four times before *Nihon Kakyoku-shuu* and 34 times after that.

Characteristics of lyric structure and content

The language is colloquial, except for a few stylish expressions, '*nururu*' and '*Ume ga ka ya*'. The syllabic structure stays within 7-5-*choo* with only a few exceptions. '*Shippori*' (soaked dewy) also means lovers' tender affection. In the lyrics, an assumed singer, an entertainer woman, is talking to her lover: 'Like the bird in *Oo-shuku-bai* (bush warbler that roosts at its own *ume* tree), I'll be always with you if I get free'. But in the last phrase, the elegant atmosphere suddenly changes: 'It does not matter, now then!'¹¹

Interplay of vocal and *shamisen*

The prominent musical structure of '*Harusame*' is the interplay of the vocal and the *shamisen* in alternation, similar to the above '*Ooi Oyaji-dono*' and '*Asakutomo*'. Here, the lively *shamisen* is more prominent than the vocal, especially in the latter half of the song.

Characteristics of rhythmic structure

This music uses varied rhythms with syncopation, *auf-tact*, offbeat opening, short rests, and different lengths of musical phrases. The music starts calmly and becomes vivid, animated by the *shamisen* part in conjunction with the lyric content. In the phrases from numeral ① to ② and from ③ to the end, the stressed beats in each measure shift obviously from the first and third notes to second and fourth notes.

Relation between lyric syllables and music rhythm

The most specific feature of the relationship between the lyric syllables and the musical rhythm must be the strange gap between them. Some syllables occur at unexpected points, sometimes prolonged by notes or interrupted by rests. For example:

| 7 7 Ha ka, ze - e - | 7 7 e -, ni - i i | i - o -, o - - - |,
| Ha na - -, - - ni - | - - ta -, 7 7 wa - | 7 7 mu -, u - u u | re e e -,

Characteristics of melodic structure

This song consists of the *miyako*-1-TC and the *miyako*-2-TC, with one extra note for temporal stressing. The component notes of the *miyako*-2-TC occur as brief melodic phrases, which I have

¹⁰ Fujisawa, *Zusetsu Nihon Minzokugaku Senshuu 5*, Akane-shoboo, 1960, chronological table, p. 296.

¹¹ The tale of '*Oo-shuku-bai*' (bush warbler's roosts, plum tree) is as follows:

Murakami-Tennoo (946-967) had a plum tree of reddish pink blossom transplanted from a courtyard of the daughter of *Kino Tsurayuki* to the palace, when he found an attached poem on its branch:

'Although it is a gracious order of His Majesty, How shall I answer if my bird asks me where its roost has gone?' Therefore, *Mikado* returned her the tree that had been the roost of a bird.

marked with double horizontal lines.

How *'Harusame'* is sung in Gaisberg's recordings

A celebrated singer, Tokunaga Richoo, sings the *motouta* to the same melody as that of Kobatake, using a free tempo from the slow beginning to the fast, rhythmical ending. Entaroo and a young singer, Kakitsu, sing the *kaeuta* of the song gaily and playfully, the first half with some variations, and the second half to the same melody as Kobatake. Kachiguri sings the *motouta* with some variation, playing a bamboo xylophone from the slow beginning to the fast ending. They also sing the *shamisen* part with some improvised lyrics, mostly in a real *pyonko*-beat as shown in Figure 3-3-2. At numeral ③, the above-mentioned change of beat occurs in the same way as it does in Kobatake's transcription.

Figure 3-3-2 Part of *'Harusame'* in Gaisberg recording, 1903

Mi ma maki ma ma ni na ru na ra ba Sa -
Sa a - sa na ndemo yo i wa i - na -

The average tempo of Richoo is ♩ = 134. Entaroo sings to ♩ = 124, Kakitsu to ♩ = 136, and Kachiguri to ♩ = 126. All the singers sing much faster than the more recent Fujimoto Fumikichi, whose tempo in recordings of early Shoowa is ♩ = 84.¹²

3-3-2 *'Tooka Ebisu'* (Ebisu-God-Fest)

a) *'Tooka Ebisu'* from *Nihon Zokkyoku-shuu*

- | | |
|----------------------|---|
| 十日恵美須の 売物は (7-5) | — The articles for sale at the <i>Tooka-ebisu</i> fair are, |
| はぜ袋に 取鉢 錢がます (6-4-5) | — Pop-rice bag, serving bowl, auspicious for money making, |
| 小判に金箱 立烏帽子 (7-5) | — Miniature of oval gold coin, money-box, formal high hat, |
| 茹で蓮さい槌 たばねのし (7-5) | — Boiled lotus root, wooden hammer, paper decoration, |
| 御笹を肩げて 千鳥あし (7-5) | — They reel along with a bamboo twig on their shoulders. |

Figure 3-3-3. *'Tooka Ebisu'*, transcription by Kobatake, Meiji 26 (1893)

Too ka e bi su no U ri mo no wa Ha ze fuku ro ni To ri bachi Ze ni ga ma
su Ko ba n ni ka ne ba ko late ebo shi Yu de ha su Sai tsuchi
Taba neno shi O sa sa o Ka ta ge te Chido ri a shi

¹² Fumikichi, *Harusame*, 1999, (original: around 1930).

Melodic pitch-structure: 



3-3-3 Tooka Ebisu Kobatake

Short history

This is a song representing a hawker's cry at a festival of *Ebisu*, one of the Seven Gods of good fortune, a festival that has continued since the 12th century. The original *Ebisu* shrine is in Nishinomiya near Osaka, where the festival called *Tooka-Ebisu* for honoring the god of business and wealth is held on the tenth of January every year. Fujisawa lists this song in Keio 4 (1868) and Komota lists it in Meiji 2 (1869). *Tooka-Ebisu* is likely not often sung around Tokyo, because only a few *Ebisu* shrines exist there even today. As Tanizaki Jun'ichiroo depicts in a scene of his *Sasame-yuki*, where a middle-aged woman hums a few phrases of the song, we see that it was still popular in Kansai in the 1940s.¹³

Occurrence in anthologies

Tooka-Ebisu is not found in anthologies in the Meiji 10s (1877-1886), but it is found 17 times in the Meiji 20s (1887-1896), 8 times in the 30s (1897-1906), and 6 times in the 40s (1907-1912), making 31 times in total and placing it equal 7th in the KDL.

Characteristics of lyric structure and content

It is sung in colloquial language and in *7-5-choo* with a few *jiamari*. The lyrics display auspicious things for earning money tied to a bamboo twig '*osasa*'. The term '*osasa*' is also a stylish expression of '*osake*' which resonates with '*katagete chidoriashi*' (reel along tilting the twig).

Characteristics of music structure and relation with lyrics

The musical phrase structure is the repetition of four measures of clearly articulated and cheerful rhythm. The combination of inserted 1/8 rests and tongue twisters produces a comical and energetic effect in the phrases, | *ta te ebo* | *shi - - -* | and | *taba neno* | *shi - - -* |.

It is sung to a *miyako-bushi*-type melody with a sophisticated modulation at numeral ②. It then returns to the original key at numeral ③ through the non-lyric melody of an instrument.

b) Another transcription of *'Tooka Ebisu'*

Next to the above-mentioned '*Asakutomo*', I realized that Uehara Rokushiroo uses '*Tooka-Ebisu*' as the second example of *inaka-bushi* (rural-tune) in his *Zokugaku Senritsu Koo [Study of the melodic structure of the popular music]*.¹⁴ I looked for diverse transcription/s other than Kobatake's one in the KDL collection, and found a few, so I present another melody of '*Tooka-Ebisu*' as follows:

¹³ Tanizaki, *Sasame-yuki ge*, 1955, p. 125.

¹⁴ Uehara, 1927, p.78-88.

Figure 3-3-4. 'Tooka Ebisu', transcription by Hayashi, Meiji 25 (1892) ¹⁵

To ka e bi su no u ri mo no wa Ha ze bu ku ro ni to ri ba chi Ze ni ga ma
 su Ko ba n ni ze ni ba ko Tate ebo shi Yu de ha su sa i dsu chi
 Ta ba nenoshi O sa sa o ka ta ge te Chido ri a shi

Melodic pitch-structure : **ritsu-minyoo-type**



3-3-4 Tooka Ebisu Hayashi

The above transcription is written in numeral notation for accordion keys and was published one year earlier than *Nihon Zokkyoku-shuu*, also in Osaka. Here, I realize that there were two kinds of 'Tooka-Ebisu', similar to the case of 'Nooe-bushi'.

c) Two kinds of *zokkyoku* pitch-structure advocated by Uehara — *Yoo-sen* of *inaka-bushi* and *In-sen* of *miyako-bushi*

Uehara presents the following figure as an example from 'Tooka Ebisu' and states:¹⁶

It sometimes occurs to sing the melody of *inaka-bushi* altering into *miyako-bushi* and vice versa. The means of the modulation is to sharpen the number-2-tone and the number-5-tone of the downward melody in the *miyako-bushi*, or on the contrary, to restore the sharpened tone of *inaka-bushi* to the original position.

Figure 3-3-5 Modulation between *miyako-bushi* and *inaka-bushi* presented by Uehara

Miyako-bushi basic scale	⇓ (Modulation)		法都 旋田 法都 旋田 法都 旋田
Inaka-bushi basic scale			
Miyako-bushi Variation	⇕ (Modulation)		2 旋田 2 旋田
Inaka-bushi-Variation			

As Uehara states, you get the pitch-structures of the above two melodies, the former 'Tooka Ebisu' by only lowering each of the notes E, A, e of the latter by a minor second and vice versa.

Finally, Uehara writes the 'Conclusion 1' of his *Zokugaku Senritsu Koo* as follows:

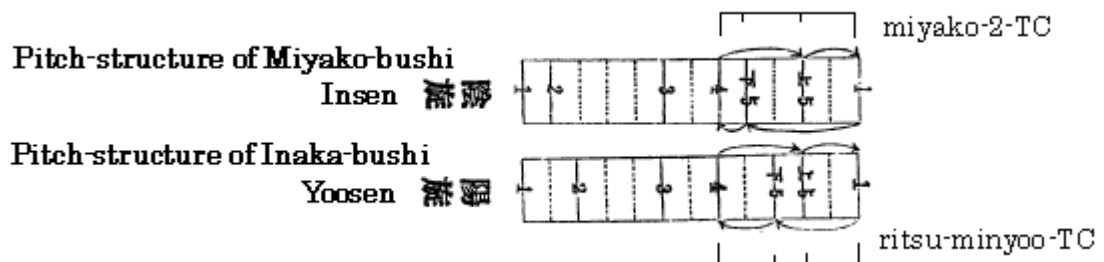
¹⁵ Hayashi Daiji, *Tefuukin Hitori Keiko*, Osaka, Meiji 25 (1892)

¹⁶ Uehara, 1927, p.80-81.

The scale which is mostly used in the so-called *miyako-bushi* (都節 urban-tune), the melodies of *shamisen*, *koto*, etc, that are generally praised in the urban area today comprises of only one kind. On the other hand, there is a specific scale in the so-called *inaka-bushi* (田舎節 rural-tune), of which the characteristics are much livelier, compared with *miyako-bushi*. Therefore, I have named the scale of *inaka-bushi yoo-sen* (lively/bright/sun - mode/scale) and that of *miyako-bushi in-sen* (dismal/dark/ moon - mode/scale).¹⁷

As his 'Conclusion 4', Uehara presents the following figure that clarifies the relation between *in-sen* and *yoo-sen*, as follows:

Figure 3-3-6 Five tones of *in-sen* and *yoo-sen* by Uehara



3-3-3 'Echigo-jishi' (Echigo lion-head dancer)

- | | |
|-----------------------|--|
| 己が姿を 花と見て (7-5) | — She looks upon her own figure as a flower, |
| 庭に咲いたり 咲かせたり (7-5) | — In the garden she makes herself in bloom. |
| そこなおけさに 異なこと言われ (7-7) | — An 'Okesa' singer whispers something into her ear and, |
| 寝まり寝まらず 待ち明かす (7-5) | — She keeps waiting for him without sleeping overnight. |
| 御座れ 話しましょう (3-6) | 'Come and talk, |
| 松の葉のように こんこまやかに (8-7) | — Talk to me tenderly in detail like pine needles! |
| 弾いて歌うや 獅子の曲 (7-5) | — She plays and sings the lion-mask-dance song. |

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 104

In the 1927 version of *Zokugaku Senritsu Koo*, Kanetsune Kiyosuke writes: 'the most conspicuous part is: First, Japanese music consists of only two scales, *miyako-bushi* and *inaka-bushi*'. In, Kanetsune, *'Zokugaku Senritsu Koo nituite'* [Concerning the Study of the melodic structure of the popular music], 1927.

Gamou Satoaki criticizes the above introduction by Kanetsune:

Uehara never advocates that the *insen* and *yoosen* comprise all of the Japanese scales. Also, he used the terms *miyako-bushi* and *inaka-bushi* as the names of species for the classification of *zokugaku*, not as names of scales. I have to mention this because the possibility cannot be denied that Kanetsune's misunderstanding has become widespread.

Gamou, *Nihon Koten Ongaku Kenkyuu* [Study of Japanese Classic Music], 2000.

I do not share Gamou's criticism. Even if Uehara had used the terms *miyako-bushi* (都節) and *inaka-bushi* (田舎節) simply as the names of species for classification of *zokugaku* not as names of melodies, these terms mean urban-tune and rural-tune as Japanese also as Sino-Japanese characters. After any strict definition, the sound of 'tune' still remains in these terms.

As far as Japanese popular music of the time (*zokugaku*) concerns, I do not think that Kanetsune made a misunderstanding.

Figure 3-3-7 'Echigo-jishi', transcription by Kobatake Meiji 26

Ono ga su gata o Ha na to mi te - - Ni - wa - ni - sai -
 ta - ri - Saka - se - ta - ri So ko na o ke sa - ni I na ko to
 i - wa - re Ne ma ri ne ma ra zu Machi a ka su Go za re ha na shi ma
 sho - Kon koma tsu no - Koka - gede Ma tsuno ha no yoni Kon koma ya ka ni Hi i
 te - - u to - - ya - - Shi shi - no - - - kyo - - ku -

minyoo·TC miyako·bushi·TC
 Melodic pitch-structure: **miyako-bushi-type**

3-3-7 Echigo-jishi

Short history

'Echigo-jishi' (Lion mask dancing of Echigo region) is part of a famous *nagauta*. The first numeral notation of 'Echigo-jishi' I found was written by Shikama Totsuji, the second was by Mitani Tanekichi and published in Meiji 24 (1891).¹⁸

Occurrence in anthologies

'Echigo-jishi' is not found in anthologies of the Meiji 10s (1877-1886), but it occurs 14 times in the Meiji 20s (1887-1896), 9 times in the 30s (1897-1906), and 7 times in the 40s (1907-1912), making 30 times in total and placing it equal 8th in the KDL.

Characteristics of lyric structure and content

It is sung in colloquial language except a few stylish expressions, '*ono ga*' and '*soko na*', and in 7-5-free-combination structure with a few *jiama*. The lyrics describe the night of a young acrobatic dancer of Echigo with a lion-mask on her head, who travels and dances accompanied by drums or other instruments of her 'father'. '*Okesa*' is a traveling singer of the famous folk-song '*Sado Okesa*' of Sado Island off Echigo.

Characteristics of rhythmic structure and its relation with lyrics

Offbeat openings of phrases, double 1/16 notes, and syncopation make the rather sad lyrics and melody vivid and dramatic. At | - *O no ga* | *su ga ta o* |, the notes direct syncopation for the instruments but the lyrics proceed simply on 1/8 notes and cancel out the effect. On the other hand, at | - *Ni-i* | *wa-ni-i* | - *Sa-i-i* | *ta-ri-i* |, the allotting of syllables to the continuing f-sharp creates syncopation.

¹⁸ Shikama, *Tefuikin Dokushuu no Tomo*, 1891, p. 24.
 Mitani, 1891, p. 26.

Characteristics of melodic pitch-structure

It consists of the *minyoo*-TC and the *miyako*-1-TC with one extra note. The most familiar aspect of the tune to the author (born in 1933) is the *shamisen* prelude rather than the song itself.

How '*Echigo-jishi*' is sung in Gaisberg recordings

In Gaisberg recordings, Richoo sings '*Echigo-jishi*' to the same lyrics and music transcribed by Kobatake. He starts in the slow tempo of ♩ = 110 and gets faster and faster until he arrives at ♩ = 150. He sings in a lively and busy way that may reflect the atmosphere of the *yose* of the time, with noisy accompaniment provided by the *shamisen* and *kokyuu*. He sings 'Hat!' with a vivid utterance, which may have been his specialty: this is similar to 'Hakkita!' in '*Enkaina*' (below). Kachiguri plays the music on the bamboo xylophone, in a constant tempo of ♩ = 140. Besides the above, two 'brass bands' of Shin-yoshiwara *geisha* also play in the recordings.

3-3-4 '*Kompira Funefune*'

- | | |
|---------------------|---|
| 金比羅船々 追風に帆かけて(8-8) | — The ship for <i>Kompira</i> Shrine runs on the fair wind, |
| シュラシュシュシュ (5) | — Sounding <i>shu ra shu shu shu</i> . |
| まわれば四国は (8) | — We go around <i>Shikoku</i> Island, |
| 讃州 那珂の郡 (4-6) | — Toward Naka County of Sanuki country, |
| 象頭山 金比羅 大権現 (4-4-6) | — Finally to the <i>Kompira</i> -Great-Shrine in <i>Zozu</i> -Mountain. |
| 一度まわりて... (7) | — Once go around and. . . |

Figure 3-3-8 '*Kompira Funefune*' transcription by Kobatake, Meiji 26 (1983)

Melodic pitch-structure as tetrachordal type

3-3-8 *Kompira Funefune*

Short history

The first transcription of the song that I found was by Mitani and published Meiji 24 (1891) in Kyoto.¹⁹ *Nihon Zokkyoku-shuu* carries it in its fourth edition, of Meiji 26 (1893). Komota writes, 'many local songs flowed into cities around the time of the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) and the boom continued for several years'. He lists 19 local songs including '*Kompira funefune*' in Meiji

¹⁹ Mitani, 1891.

28 (1895).²⁰ The large-scale movement of soldiers and common people due to the War, and the consequent cultural exchange, may have brought about this circulation. However, out of the 19 songs that Komota listed, only three songs occur among the 50 most popular songs of the anthologies in the KDL. All three songs, '*Kompira funefune*', '*Riukiu-bushi*', and '*Tango no Miyadzu*' are presented in *Nihon Zokkyoku-shuu*. '*Kompira fune fune*' still remains today as a game song in Gion, the celebrated *chaya* town in Kyoto.

Occurrence in anthologies

'*Kompira funefune*' is not found in the anthologies before Meiji 20 (1887-1886). It is found 12 times in the Meiji 20s (1887-1896), 14 times in the 30s (1897-1906), and 6 times in the 40s (1907-1912), making 32 times in total and placing it equal 5th in the KDL.

Characteristics of lyric structure and content

It is sung in colloquial language except for a single stylish expression '*Ichido mawarite*' which is sung as the colloquial '*Ichido mawareba*' today. The structure is of the *jiamari* type. From '*Ichido mawarite*', the song goes back to the top and continues endlessly. '*Shura shu shu shu*' is an onomatopoeia that expresses sailing on a fair wind. In the light of the lyric content, it is possible that the song began as a commercial song of the voyage from Oosaka to the *Kompira* (God of navigation) Shrine in Shikoku.

Characteristics of rhythmic structure

Although the musical phrases consist of the repeating of two measures of 2/4 meter, the last three measures break this regularity. The song goes on to constant quavers suggesting sailing on a fair wind.

Characteristics of melodic pitch-structure

'*Kompira funefune*' begins with a two-tone melodic structure, C-D, E-G then G-A distinct from tetrachordal structure. The central note is ambiguous in this endless melody: the ending note G of '*Ichido mawarite*' functions only as connection to the beginning note C of the two-tone-melody. The most stable note is the ending note A of '*Shura shushu shu*' and the next is the final D of '*Daigongen*'. Therefore, it can be understood as a *minyoo*-scale A'-C-D-E-G-A plus an extra F, which also forms *2-nuki* minor. Another interpretation of the melody, as a Western melody with a hidden central note C, suggests that it is also possible to understand the melodic structure as *7-nuki* major.

3-3-5 '*Kappore*'

Note: lyrics from Umeboozu in Gaisberg recordings

甘茶で カッポレ (8)

– Let's dance *Kappore* drinking sweet tea!

塩茶で カッポレ (8)

– Let's dance *Kappore* with salty tea!

ヨーイトナ ヨイヨイ (5-4)

– Yooi to na yoi yoi! (*hayashi-kotoba*)

²⁰ Komota et al, 1997, p.50

沖の暗いのに (8)	— Though offshore looks dark,
白帆がサ 見ゆる (-5-3)	— we see white sail,
ヤレコノセ (5)	— Yarekono se (<i>hayashi-kotoba</i>)
あれは紀の国 (7)	— That is coming from the country of <i>Ki</i> (紀伊/Wakayama).
ヤレコノコレハノ ササササ (8-4)	— Yarekono korewano sasa sa sa, (<i>hayashi-kotoba</i>)
みかんぶねがサ (7)	— That one is the orange ship.

Figure 3-3-9 'Kappore' transcription by Kobatake, Meiji 24 (1981)

Melodic pitch-structure : ritsu-minyoo-type and also 6-nuki-minor

Vocal & Shamisen

ritsu·minyoo·TC minyoo·TC ritsu·minyoo·TC

Vocal Part

minyoo·scale (extra notes)



3-3-9 Kappore

Short history

'Kappore' is a song that was spread by a street dancer/singer Heiboozu (-1871), who was succeeded by his brother Umeboozo (1854-1927).²¹ Mitamura writes a history from 'Sumiyoshi odori' of Osaka to 'Kappore' via 'Yaatokose', with 'Toba-bushi'.²² Komota lists 'Kappore' in Meiji 7 (1874). Fujisawa lists it in Keioo 4 (1868) and writes that the popularity continued until the middle years of the Meiji. In his *Tokyo Fuuzoku-shi*, Hiraide Koojiroo (1869-1911) deplors it as follows:²³

The first number that gentlemen make apprentice *geisha* dance to is *Kappore*.

The first repertoire that artisans dance to under the cherry blossoms is *Kappore*.

Kappore is a disgusting trick of beggar monks.

Occurrence in anthologies

'Kappore' occurs twice in the Meiji 10s (1877-1886), 6 times in the 20s (1887-1896), 13 times in the 30s (1897-1907), and 6 times in the 40s (1907-1912), making 27 times in total and placing it 11th among all the popular songs in the KDL.

Characteristics of lyric structure and content

It is sung in colloquial language except for a few stylish expressions: 'miyuru' instead of 'mieru'.

²¹ Kurata, *Hayariuta no Kookogaku [Archaeology of Hayariuta]*, 2001, p. 87-92.

²² Mitamura, *Hayariuta Adzuma Nishiki-E*, p.30-44, 1999

²³ Hiraide, *Tokyo Fuuzoku-shi ge [Manners and Customs History of Tokyo]*, 1902, p. 56-57.

Although the original lyrics consist of the *dodoitsu* style as underlined in the above, the structure as a whole becomes *jiamari*-type with utterances. In the lyrics, an onlooker at the beach gaily sings that an orange ship of '*Ki no kuni*' is coming. The owner of the ship, Kinokuni-ya Bunzaemon is a legendary millionaire who had great success through the transportation of oranges from Kii Peninsula to Edo by sea. The lyrics by Kobatake lack the beginning *hayashi-kotoba* of this dancing song, to be said without melody: '*Amacha de kappore*', '*Shiocha de Kappore*' and '*Yoi tona Yoi yoi*'.

Characteristics of rhythmic structure and its relation with lyrics

The rhythm is vigorous with effective use of syncopation, offbeat phrase openings, and also the *hayashi kotoba* that activates this cheerful song. The length of musical phrases is varied. Some syllables are sung in tong-twister style and some others are prolonged with notes or ties across bars.

Characteristics of melodic structure

The vocal part can be understood as using the *minyoo*-scale E-G-A-B-d-e with *kakuon* E, A, e, plus the extra notes F and f. It also forms the *6-nuki*-minor with the tonic E.

Quoting Tanabe Hisao and Shikama Jinji, Miura Shunzaburoo writes as follows:²⁴

- The history of the use of the Western scale is fairly long. A fair number of *hauta* were born under the influence of Western music. For example, '*Kappore*' originated from Italian dance music that was brought to Japan by a European and was played on the *shamisen* as it was. (quoting Tanabe)
- '*Kappore*', an old Greek piece of music, was played by the navy band of the British fleet and was imitated by onlookers who were in Shinagawa. (quoting Shikama)
- In sum, one cannot believe that this song was created by a Japanese person. In light of its bright motif, and the way it follows Western formality, I have no alternative but to conclude it to be an imitation of Western music'.

'*Kappore*' is an example of the similarity between the tetrachodal structure of the *minyoo*-like melody and the Western minor scale.

How '*Kappore*' are sung in the Gaisberg recordings

The famous dancer/singer Ume-boozu sings this song in a much more complex way than the transcription by Kobatake, very cheerfully and full of utterance. His voice is full of life. He sings it in the tempo of ♩ = 118. The continuous rhythm provided by the *shamisen* sounds somewhat like the famous dancing song '*Awa odori*'. In another track, Kachiguri noisily sings '*Kappore*' with the bamboo xylophone, and continues into '*Kappore Hoonen*' (*Kappore* good harvest year) in the constant tempo of ♩ = 140. We see that the latter is the sequel that follows '*Kappore*', in the same way that Nagai treats these two songs in *Nihon Zokkyoku-shuu*.²⁵ Moreover, the lyric of '*Kappore hoonen*', which begins with '*Hoonenja mansakuja*', finishes with

²⁴ Miura, *Hompoo yoogaku hensen-shi [Transition History of Western Music in Our Country]*, 1931, p. 72.

²⁵ Miller writes that '*Katsu hoonen*' and '*Kappore*' are actually the same song. In, Miller, p. 254. I am afraid that the *Nihon zokkyoku-shuu* that Millar quotes might have had some missing pages: There occurs '*Kappore hoonen*', (not '*Katsu honen*'), which begins with '*Hoonen ja mansaku ja, Asu wa tambo no ine-kari de*', in both of the two editions of *Nihon Zokkyoku-shuu* that I have met.

'*Nandemo see*' (Do anything you like!) and naturally goes onto the lyrics of the most popular lullaby, '*Nenneko see! Booya no omori wa doko itta? Ano yama koete sato e itta.*' (Sleep now! Where did your nurse go? She went home beyond the mountain.)

We see the popularity of the song at the time by the fact that besides the above two singers, two 'brass bands' of *geisha* sing throughout '*Kappore*' and '*Kappore Hoonen*' in two tracks.

As Richard Miller writes, *Nihon zokkyoku-shuu* was 'one of the Japanese music reform movements among the responses and repercussions for the modernization strategies of the Music Investigation Committee'. Also, 'Unlike Izawa or Yamase, Nagai and Kobatake did not aim their efforts at schoolchildren, but at adults'.²⁶ Nagai and Kobatake pursued not the reform of Japanese popular music, but the reform of the music teaching and learning system in Japan. In addition, they aimed their music notations at the popularization of *zokkyoku* just as they were.²⁷ As for the music notation, Izawa and the Music Investigation Committee aimed their notations not at children, but at schoolteachers. Until 1941, the curriculum of *shoo-ka* in public schools consisted solely of singing in unison, as I will discuss below in Chapter 3-4. Miller concludes his discussion of *Nihon Zokkyoku-shuu* with the following:²⁸

Finally, consider the setting of Japanese popular songs for button accordion, producing a self-study book as did Nagai and Kobatake in 1891. That hybridization is the very thrust of the project is unmistakable; so, too is the acknowledgement of Japanese heterogeneity. In fact, by including popular songs from various parts of Japan (albeit probably as performed in Osaka), as far away as Okinawa ('*Ryuukyuu-bushi*'), Nagai and Kobatake introduced a recognition of Japanese regional heterogeneity. This was a new element, an awareness that even a given social class contained heterogeneities. At the same time, these regional heterogeneities were, in a sense, mobilized for a greatest social unity — the audience of the book was, after all, the growing middle class, and including regional variety within that class could not but underscore a message of shared class interest across Japan.

Although I do not share Miller's opinion regarding 'Japanese regional heterogeneity', I quite agree that the nationwide popularization of the *zokkyoku* may have caused a greater social unity and helped in bringing about 'national identity in Japan'.

Most of the aged people of today recognize '*Harusame*', '*Echigo-jishi*' and '*Kappore*' as the representative *zokuyoo* of Japan, however, most of them do not know the lyrics and/or melodies. Only a few people remember hearing the melodies of the dramatic postlude of '*Harusame*', the most popular prelude of '*Echigo-jishi*', or the famous *hayashi-kotoba* '*Amacha de Kappore*' that has no melody. Although the above songs were once popular nationwide, their newer fans may not have sung them. Most of them may have enjoyed solely listening to the performance of the brass bands or *yose* musicians.

²⁶ Miller, 2004, p. 252.

²⁷ Nagai also writes in his preface that they made only a few corrections of some vulgar lyrics.

²⁸ Miller, 2004, p. 266.

3-4 *Zokuyoo* Adopted in Schoolbooks

The children's song '*Hitotsu to ya*' and the presumed first war-song, '*Miyasan miyasan*',¹ neither of which appear in anthologies in the KDL before Meiji 20, began to occur frequently after their adoption in schoolbooks. The enormous influence of the schoolbook on the world of *hayari-uta* is obvious through the sudden increase in the occurrence of these songs since then. Editors and publishers may have paid homage to the significant educationalist, Izawa. Nagai and Kobatake also added the songs to the fourth revised edition of *Nihon Zokkyoku-shuu*, published in 1893. They placed '*Miyasan miyasan*' first, and '*Kazoe-uta*' fifth, in their collection. They may have expected the songs to become appropriate materials for their project, the popularization of the Western method of music notation, a goal which could not be achieved in the *shooka kyooiku* (education through singing). We can see the situation of *shooka* education in public schools from the texts of regulations, official notices, and publications of the Ministry of Education:²

- '*Shooka* can be added into curriculums of elementary schools depending on the regional situation'. — Meiji 23 (1890).
- Publication of *Reed Organ & Piano Staffs for Shooka in Elementary School* by the Tokyo Institute of Music. — Meiji 32 (1899): we see that some of teachers of elementary schools or normal schools are becoming able to play instruments.
- '*Shooka* is a subject to be added into elementary school curriculums depending on the regional situation'. — Meiji 33 (1900).
- '*Shooka* can be omitted for the time being'. — Meiji 40 (1907)
- In the era of Shoowa, the above proviso, '*Shooka* can be omitted for the time being' is deleted. — 1926.
- Long afterwards, in 1942, the curriculum of *shooka* is replaced by 'music to train the ability of singing correctly and appreciating music for cultivating national aesthetic sentiments, including canon, choir, appreciation, instrumental music, musical theory', for the first time in the elementary school curriculum.

Thus, the 'education through singing' program in public schools needed a long time for actual implementation because of an absolute lack of teachers and instruments. The author and his brother never learned to read music notation, to sing in *do-re-mi* or *hi-fu-mi* (1-2-3) or to play any instrument at our elementary school in the early 1940s.

I will present the two songs from popular song anthologies of the time, as well as from schoolbooks by Izawa.

¹ Horiuchi, *Teihon Nihon no gunka [Authentic Text of Military Songs in Japan]*, 1977, p. 17-18. Also, Kindaichi and Anzai, *Nihon no Shooka ge*, 1982b, p. 114.

² According to Takasu Hajime, '*Chronology of Music Education History in Modern Japan*', 2003.

3-4-1 *Kazoeuta, 'Hitotsu toya' and 'Hitotsu tose'*

Among numerous *kazoeuta*, the two representative and sharply contrasted types are '*Hitotsu toya*' and '*Hitotsu tose*': The former is soft, elegant, and polite, while the latter is vivid, rather rude, and sometimes obscene. *Kawaraban no hayariuta* includes several lyrics of '*Hitotsu to se*' around the last years of the Tokugawa Shogunate.³ It occurs 11 times in anthologies during the Meiji 10s and 20s (1887-1896), and after Meiji 30 (1897) it disappears from the KDL. On the other hand, '*Hitotsu toya*', which does not appear in anthologies before Meiji 20 (1887), occurs frequently after its adoption in the *Songbook for Kindergarten* by the Ministry of Education in Meiji 20 (1887), and in the *Shoogaku Shooka* collection by Izawa in Meiji 25(1892).

a) '*Hitotsu toya*'

'*Hitotsu toya, Hito yo akereba*' in *Nihon Zokkyoku-shuu*

Note: Underlined parts are refrains of 5-syllables.

ひとつとや (5)

— Let's begin with one!

ひと夜明ければ 賑やかで 賑やかで (7-5-5) — One night ends, It gets so lively, So lively,

お飾りたてたり 松飾り 松飾り (8-5-5) — Ornamental tree is built up, Pine tree ornament, Pine tree ornament.

Figure 3-4-1 '*Hitotsu to ya*' transcription by Kobatake, Meiji 26 (1893)

Melodic pitch-structure :  miyako-bushi-scale



3-4-1 *Hitotsu toya* Kobatake

'*Hitotsu toya, Hito to umarete*' in *Shoogaku-shooka*

ひとつとや (5)

— Firstly!

人と生まれて忠孝を (7-5)

— Firstly, Be loyal to your Monarch and parents!

忠孝を (5)

— Monarch and parents!

欠きては皇国の人でなし (8-5)

— One who lacks faith is not a person of the holy nation,

人でなし (5)

— Is not a person!

³ Mitamura, 1926. The lyrics sing of events in Bakumatsu such as the opening of Yokohama Port, and the Chooshuu Conquering War (1864, 1866) undertaken by the Tokugawa Shogunate.

Figure 3-4-2 'Hitotsu toya' – in *Shoogaku Shooka-1*, Meiji 25 (1892)

Melodic pitch-structure: miyako-bushi-scale

3-4-2 Hitotsu toya Shoogaku shooka

Occurrence in anthologies

'Hitotsu toya' is not found in anthologies before Meiji 20 (1887), but it is found 11 times during the Meiji 20s (1887-1896), 11 times in the 30s (1897-1906), and 5 times in the 40s (1907-1912), making 27 times in total and placing it equal 11th in the KDL.

Characteristics of lyric structure and content

This type of counting song begins with 'Hitotsu toya' ('Firstly', or 'Begin with one!') and continues usually until 'Too to ya' (tenthly). The syllabic structure is 5, 7-5-5, 7-5-5 (the underlined parts are refrains). The lyrics are normally sung in colloquial language, with only a few stylish expressions. The above lyrics of *Nihon zokkyoku-shuu* are the first stanza of the most popular version, the *motouta* of the children's song 'Hitotsu toya', which sings of the delight of New Year's Day. On the other hand, the lyrics in *Shoogaku shooka* are written in literary language and are full of morals, like a textbook of ethics.

The refrain of the last phrase, '*Kakite wa mikuni no Hito de nashi, Hito de nashi*' (One who lacks faith, cannot be a man of the holy nation.) sounds like a cry of single word '*Hitodenashi!*' (brute!).

Characteristics of music and its relation with lyric syllables

The musical phrases consist of the simple repetition of two measures with a succession of crotchets, each of which corresponds to one syllable. Kobatake presents the same simple melody of the *miyako-bushi*-scale as that of Izawa, lowering the key for 20-reed-accordion, which has no keys for sharps or flats.

b) 'Hitotsu tose'

'Yokosuka kazoeta'

ひとつとせ (5)

広い世界に 名も高き (7-5)

相模の横須賀 造船所 (8-5)

この 場所のよさ (7 / 2-5)

- Let's begin with one!

- A wonderful worldwide reputation,

- Shipyard Yokosuka in Sagami Province,

- This place is best!

Figure 3-4-3 'Yokosuka Kazoeta' from Chinese notation Meiji 22 (1889) ⁴

Hito tsu to se Hi ro i se ka i ni Na mo ta ka ki
Sa ga mi no Yo ko su ka Zo o se n jo Ko no basho no yo sa

Melodic pitch-structure : ritsu-minyoo-type

3-4-3 Yokosuka Kazoeta

Occurrence in anthologies

'Hitotsu tose' occurs three times in the Meiji 10s (1887-1896), 8 times in the 20s (1897-1906), and after that it disappears from the KDL.

Characteristics of lyric structure and content

'Hitotsu tose' takes the form of a 5, 7-5, 7-5, 7 syllabic structure, in colloquial language. The last 7-syllable phrase that consists of 2 and 5 syllables, as represented by the above 'Kono' and 'Basho no yosa', can be shortened to simply 'Basho no yosa'.

Characteristics of melodic structure

The pitch-structure is the same as that of the above 'Nooe-bushi' by Yamamoto, entangling the *ritsu*-TC and *minyoo*-TC with each other. It can be understood as a *ritsu*-TC in disjunct relation with a *minyoo*-TC. From another point of view, the basic pitch-structure can be interpreted as a set of two pentachords G-A-c-d and D-E-G-A, rather than in terms of tetrachords. Each pentachord appears as a melodic phrase of both the first and second halves. Moreover, with the ending note A, it also forms a 2-6-*nuki* minor A-c-d-e-g-a.

'Tokyo han'ei no mari-uta'

Quoting from a newspaper of Meiji 7 (1874), Nakamura Kousuke presents a ball-bouncing song titled 'Tokyo han'ei no mari-uta' that begins with 'Hitotsu to se'.⁵ The lyrics depict vividly the 'things in fashion' of the 'Civilization and enlightening' period as follows:

<i>Hitotsu tose</i> ひとつとせ (5)	— Let's begin with one!
<i>Hikeri kagayaku Gasutoo no</i> 光輝くガス灯の (7-5)	— Wonderfully bright light of the Street-gaslight!
<i>Sono Akari</i> その明かり (5)	— <u>That gaslight!</u>
<i>Tookyoo Ichimen</i> 東京一面 (8)	— All over the Tokyo area,
<i>Terashimasu</i> 照らします (5)	— Shines so brightly!
<i>Terashimasu</i> 照らします (5)	— <u>Shines so brightly!</u>

The following themes include 'brick buildings', the 'bat-umbrella', the 'man-power-taxi' (rickshaw), the 'easy job of prostitute-*geisha*', 'goggles-bridge' (arched bridge), '*teregarafu*' (telegraph), the 'land-steamer' (train), the 'postal service', and 'high-profit trading with European countries'.

⁴ Nakajima Ryootatsu, *Zokkyoku Yokosuka Kazoeta*, Uruga-Town Kanagawa, 1889.

⁵ Nakamura Kousuke, p. 754.

c) Relation between *'Hitotsu toya'* and *'Hitotsu tose'*

Although the lyric structure of *'Hitotsu to se'* (5, 7-5, 7-5, 7) is generally different to that of *'Hitotsu to ya'* (5, 7-5-5, 7-5-5), the above-mentioned *Hitotsu-tose 'Tokyo han'ei no mari-uta'* consists of a 5, 7-5-5, 8-5-5 syllabic structure, in effect the same as that of *'Hitotsu to ya'*. It accurately fits the melody of *'Hitotsu-to ya'* and does not fit directly to the music of *'Hitotsu to se'*. However, it is highly possible that girls of the time, when playing ball bouncing games, sang *'Hikari kagayaku gasu-too no'* naturally to the tune of the lively *'Hitotsu to se'* rather than to the calm tune of *'Hitotsu to ya'*. The last 5-syllable phrases, *'Matsu-kazari'* and *'Terashi masu'*, easily change into the 2-5-syllable phrases *'Kono matsu-kazari'* and *'Hora terashi masu'*. Everybody can sing these two kinds of *kazoe-uta* to the other tune with some arrangement of the refrain. In short, the basic lyric structure of the two kinds of *kazoe-uta* is the same (5, 7-5, 7-5), and it can be changed into the form of *'Hitotsu to ya'* (5, 7-5-5, 7-5-5) or that of *'Hitotsu to se'* (5, 7-5, 7-5, 5/2-5) by arranging refrains in any way. Therefore, these two songs are in such close relation to each other that one may be a variant of the other. I present an example of *kazoe-uta*, which proves the variant relation between *'Hitotsu toya'* and *'Hitotsu to se'*, from *kaeuta* anthologies of *zokuyoo*, with themes based on the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895).⁶ The last 5-syllable phrases of the third and fifth lines are presented between hook-shaped brackets, as follows:

<i>Futatsu to ya</i> , 二つとや (5)	— Secondly!
<i>Fudan gooman no</i> 普段傲慢の (8)	— Always insolent,
<i>Bureinaru</i> 「 <i>Shina no kuni</i> 」 無礼なる「支那の国」 (5・「5」)	— And rude, [China country],
<i>Koofuku sasuru wa</i> 降伏さするは (8)	— Go surrendered
<i>Ma no Atari</i> , 「 <i>Akumade mo</i> 」 目のあたり「あくまでも」 (5・「5」)	— Actually! [persistently!]

We see that the above lyrics can be sung in an alternative way. It can be sung to the 5, 7-5-5, 7-5-5 form of *'Hitotsu to ya'*, or to the 5, 7-5, 7-5, 5/7 form of *'Hitotsu to se'*, with or without the two 5-syllable phrases in hook-shaped brackets, and including, or not, *'Kono'*, within the phrase *'Akumade mo'*, as is preferred.

I present, as I recall it, the above *'Tokyo han'ei no mariuta'* with my transcription of the *pyonko*-beat melody that was well known among young men of the 1970s. (Note: I eliminated *'Sono akari'* and added *'Kono'* and *'Hora'* before *'Terashimasu'*.)

Figure 3-4-4 *'Tokyo han'ei no mariuta'* with melody of 1970's *'Hitotsu tose'* transcription by Kodama

Hitotsuto se Hi -ka ri kagaya ku Gasuto o ga To o kyo o i chime n
Te rashima su Kono Terashi masu Ko note rashima su Ho ra te rashi masu

⁶ Kansui-doo Henshuu-kyoku, *Nisshinsenoo Zokkashuu* 2, 1895.

Melodic pitch-structure :  minyoo-type and also 6-nuki-minor
minyoo·TC disjunct

3-4-4 *Hitotsu tose 1970s*

The polite '*Hitotsu to ya*' and vulgar '*Hitotsu to se*' represented a pair of popular counting songs among children and young people. At a glance, it looks as if Izawa's enthusiastic effort for education through singing succeeded in providing an incentive for the former, and caused the eradication of the latter. That the two songs were real alternatives is demonstrated by the fact that the latter survived as an underground song among young people. Moreover, it is hard to believe that children might have sung the overtly educational lyrics by Izawa outside of their classrooms.

3-4-2 '*Miyasan miyasan*' or '*Ton'yare-bushi*'

宮さん宮さん お馬の前に (8-7) - 'Mr. Prince! Mr. Prince! In front of your horse,
ちらちらするのは なんじゃいな (8-5) - What's the thing flapping *chira chira*?
トコトヤレ トンヤレナ (6-5) - *Toko ton-yare ton-yarena!* (utterance)

Figure 3-4-5 '*Miyasan miyasan*' in *Shoogaku Shooka*, Meiji 25 (1892) ⁷



Mi ya sa n Mi ya sa n Om ma no ma e de Chi ra chi ra su ru no wa
Na n ja i na To ko ton ya re To n ya re na

Melodic pitch-structure :  ritsu-minyoo-type also 6-nuki-minor
ritsu·minyoo·TC minyoo·TC

Note. (1) The above melody by Izawa is the same as that in *Ongaku haya-manabi* by Umeda Isokichi, published in Meiji 21 (1888).

(2) The notation by Kobatake is almost the same as the above, except that the note marked with 'A' is not G but A and there is no key sign of F major.

3-4-5 *Miyasan Shoogaku shooka*

The history of '*Miyasan miyasan*' is full of mystery. Horiuchi writes that this song is to be regarded as the first *gunka* of the Meiji that was sung by the soldiers on the way to Edo to do battle with the Shogunate's forces in 1868.⁸ Conversely, Kurata Yoshihiro suggests that the melody may have been imported from the operetta '*Mikado*', the first performance of which was in

⁷ Nagai & Kobatake, 1893

⁸ Horiuchi, 1977, p. 17

1885,⁹ and that the illustrated leaflet *'Tokotonyare-bushi'* may have been published by the author Shinagawa Yajiroo himself around Meiji 20 (1887), not in the year of the Meiji Restoration (1868).¹⁰ In a third theory, Nishizawa advocates the existence of this melody in a music box made in Europe, brought back to Japan as a souvenir by a traveler in the earliest years of the Meiji.¹¹ Kurata presents some articles from newspapers about *'Tokotonyare-bushi'*, as it was sung by the soldiers in the field of the Seinan War (*Yuubin Hoochi*, 15 Mai 1877). The article reads that Torii (the author of *kaeuta gunka*, below in 4-1) would make a new military song based on the song before long (*Yomiuri*, 19 Aug 1888). Finally, Kurata writes,

Then, *Tokotonyare-bushi* was sung in Shintomi-za Meiji 23 (1890). A song in the theater soon spreads also in the red-right-district and it spread among the people. Two years later, Izawa took it into *Shoogaku Shooka*.

Occurrence in anthologies

This song is not found in the anthologies before Meiji 20 (1887), but is found 16 times in the Meiji 20s (1887-1896), 11 times in the 30s (1897-1906), and 6 times in the 40s (1907-1912), making 33 times in total and placing it 5th in the anthologies of the KDL. Although it was adopted in schoolbooks, the classification of this song in the 33 popular song anthologies was as follows: 18 as *zokuyoo*, 3 as *hayariuta*, 2 as *gunka*, zero as *shooka*, and 10 with no classification.

Characteristics of lyric structure and content

Written in colloquial language, the lyrics represent the *dodoitsu* style, not 7-7-7-5, but 8-8-8-5 in most stanzas, with the additional utterance of *jiamari*.

The lyrical expression is quite audacious and bad mannered toward His Highness the prince of the nation (miya-san). A prince would never answer directly questions from common people, who would kneel down beside the road, even in front the procession of any feudal lord. At any rate, the question is answered in the latter half:

'That expresses the order to conquer the enemy of His Majesty,
The banner made of *nishiki* (brocade). Don't you know?'

The united army of Satsuma and Chooshuu, which had won a victory over the Tokugawa Shogunate's army in the Battle of Toba-Fushimi in January 1868, received the 'Banner of brocade' from the recently enthroned 15-year-old Meiji Emperor.

Characteristics of rhythmic structure and relation with lyric syllables

The musical phrases consist of the repetition of two measures plus the final three measures of utterance, *'Toko tonyare tonyare na'*. Horiuchi writes that before this song there existed no '*gunka*' that fitted a marching rhythm in Japan, and *'Miyasan'* played the role for the first time because it was an unconventional kind of *zokuyoo*, its marching rhythm starting on strong beats

⁹ Kurata, 2001, p. 42-56.

¹⁰ *Miyako fuuryuu Toko tonyare-bushi*, a sheet that is said to have been published in Keioo 4 (1868), can be seen in Inoue Kazuo, '*Meiji Gannen no Shuppanbutsu*', *Shinkyuujidai dai 1 nen dai 1 satsu*, Feb 1925, p. 3-4. The sheet presented by Inoue is another version to that which Kurata presents.

¹¹ Nishizawa Soo, *Kindai Nihon Kayoo-shi*, 1994, p. 303 -.

through the use of 8-syllable phrases instead of 7-syllable phrases.¹²

Characteristics of melodic pitch-structure

The note F in the first half suddenly falls by a minor second to E in the latter half. As a result, the pitch-structure consists of the *ritsu-minyoo*-TC D-E-F-G, and the disjunct *min-yoo*-TC A-c-d with a *kakuon* of D as the central note and G as the beginning note of most measures.

I now present some other songs from the KDL collection that have intricate and diverse notations.

Figure 3-4-6 *Miyasan miyasan*'transcription by Yamada Meiji 33 (1900)¹³

Mi ya sa n mi ya sa n O m ma no ma - e de Hi ra hi ra su ru no wa
Na n ja i na To ko to n ya re to n ya re na

Melodic pitch-structure :

ritsu-TC
minyoo-TC
ritsu-minyoo-type

3-4-6 *Miyasan Yamada*

In the above melody, the question of the F falling to E in the latter half has dissolved. With the *kakuon* D as the ending note, it can be understood as the *ritsu*-TC and disjunct *minyoo*-TC, the same as the above '*Yokosuka kazoeta*'. The melodic phrases consist of the pentachord G-A-c-d plus E in the first half, and the pentachord D-E-G-A in the latter half. The up-and-down form of the melody, G-A-c-d-c-A is different to that of *Shoogaku shooka*, also appears in some other transcriptions.¹⁴

Figure 3-4-7 *Miyasan miyasan*'transcription by Noda Meiji 43 (1910)¹⁵

Mi ya sa n mi ya sa n O m ma no ma - i de Chi ra chi ra su ru no wa
Na n ja i na To ko to n ya re To n ya re na

Melodic pitch-structure:

minyoo-TC
2-6-nuki-minor
minyoo-scale
and also
2-6-nuki-minor

3-4-7 *Miyasan Noda*

¹² Horiuchi, *Nihon no Gunka*, 1944, p. 14.

¹³ Yamada Yoozoo, *Minteki Koteki Gekkin*, Osaka, 1900. Similar pitch-structure occurs in Nakagawa Aihyoo, *Keiben Zakkyoku Hitori Annai*, 1902.

¹⁴ Such melodic style can be found in Tsuda, *Suifuukin-dokushuu*, 1909, and in Mitani, 1893.

¹⁵ Noda Keika, *Haamonika hitori annai*, Osaka, 1910. Similar pitch-structure occurs in Tsuda, 1909.

This version has the simple pitch-structure of the *minyoo*-scale. This melody is the one that is still well known today as '*Miyasan miyasan*'.

The above phenomenon implies the possibility of a close relationship between the *ritsu*-TC and the *minyoo*-TC in *zokuyoo*, as Kojima Tomiko writes:¹⁶

The melody of the *ritsu*-scale likely tends not to fit nicely to the scale-sense of the people in the main islands of Japan, so that it sometimes borrows the way of the *minyoo*-tetrachordal melody, and on the other hand it often tends to transform into *miyako-bushi*. Thus, there sometimes occur such cases where the characteristic of a filler tone cannot be decided as *ritsu* or *miyako-bushi* because of its midway position, or filler tones of *ritsu* and *miyako-bushi* frequently occur alternately and so forth.

¹⁶ Kojima Tomiko, '*Kindai no Onkai-ron*', '*Nihon no onkai*', Hirano Kenji et al, *Nihon Ongaku Daijiten*, 1989, p. 143.

3-5 Zokuyoo Born in the Meiji Era

In this chapter, I examine *zokuyoo* that emerged in the Meiji for the first time. Firstly, I present a purely Japanese-style song: '*En kaina*'. Secondly, I analyze two variants descended from Chinese music, '*Umegae*' and '*Hookai-bushi*', with their original melodies.

3-5-1 '*En kaina*', the last pure *zokuyoo* born in Meiji

a) '*En kaina*', a later transcription by Machida

夏の涼みは 両国で (7-5) – Cooling off in summer evening, in Ryoogoku,
 出船入り船 屋形船 (7-5) – Boats going up and down, also roofed ones,
 上がる流星 星くんだり (7-5) – Firework 'Meteors' streams up, 'Stars' goes down,
 玉屋が取り持つ 縁かいな (8-5) – Applause for '*Tama-ya*!' acts as go-between for us!¹

Figure 3-5-1 '*En kaina*' transcription with *shamisen* by Machida, 1931²

♩ = 108

(A)

Na-tsu-no-suzu-mi-wa-Ryo-goku-de-Defu-ne-iri-fu-ne-Ya-ga-ta-bu-ne-A-garu-ryu-sei-hoshi-ku-da-ri

(B)

Tama-ya-ga-tori-motu-En-kaina

Melodic pitch-structure : Vocal and Shamisen

(A) miyako-bushi-type
 miyako-1-TC miyako-2-TC

(B) miyako-bushi => finishing riitsu minyoo-type
 riitsu-TC miyako-2-TC

Mostly miyako-bushi-type



3-5-1 *Enkaina* Machida Kashoo

¹ *Tama-ya* was one of the two famous firework manufacturers of the time.

² Horiuchi & Machida, *Sekai ongaku zenshuu Vol. 19*, 1931, p. 29.

Short history

Komota lists '*En kaina*' in Meiji 6, and Ootake lists it in Meiji 21-22 (1888-1889).³ Fujisawa writes that '*En kaina*', also called '*Shiki no en*', circulated from around Meiji 6.⁴ Quoting the magazine *Odoke zooshi* of Meiji 25, Mori Senzoo depicts a candy seller singing '*En-kaina*' with *hayashi kotoba* '*Hakkita!*' The singer boasts that his skill is better than that of the celebrated singer Richoo, for whom this song was forte as well as the '*Hakkita!*' (below). Mori also presents a new *kaeuta* of the song from the time.⁵ Tanabe (1883-1984) writes as follows⁶:

The celebrated blind musician Tokunaga *Kengyoo*, who lost his official post *kengyoo*,⁷ had to sing in front of the populace to make a livelihood, gave his name as Richoo and sang on the *yose* stages in Tokyo. Richoo, who was a master of *jiuta*, was also quite a man about town. So in *yose*, he made '*Enkaina-bushi*' his forte. It caused a sensation throughout Tokyo and became so famous that there was no one who did not know the '*Enkaina-bushi*' of Richoo. In my childhood as a 6-7-year-old, I was fascinated with this song, learned it by heart immediately and used to sing it with *kuchi-jamisen* in front of visitors to my family.

'*Enkaina*' in *Hoogaku Kyokumei Jiten* reads as follows:⁸

Richoo came from Osaka to Tokyo and began to sing '*En-kaina*' in *yose* in Meiji 23 (1890) and it became a big hit next year. Richoo made many *kaeuta* themed on social situations and events in the time from an original *hauta* '*Haru no yuube*' and closed every lyrics by '*en kaina*' (karma), '*mon kaina*' (person), '*ron kaina*' (opinion), etc, as a result the most spread phrase '*En kaina*' became the song title.

The above original '*Haru no yuube*' occurs in a few anthologies in the KDL published in Tokyo and Osaka between Meiji 16-21.⁹ As Kurata writes, the original lyrics are the same as the first stanza of '*Enkaina*', describing a scene of a man and a woman in spring rain:

春のゆうべの 手枕に (7-5)	— Evening in spring, when my head rests on your arm,
しっぼりと降る 軒の雨 (7-5)	— It rains calmly, making the eaves wet.
ぬれてほころぶ 山ざくら (7-5)	— It makes the mountain-cherry swell in its fat bud.
花がとりもつ 縁かいな (7-5)	— Flowers have acted as go-between for us!

It is possible that Richoo initiated the melody and/or the lyrics of the *hauta* '*Haru no yuube no*' when he lived in Osaka, and the most popular lyrics, '*Natsu no suzumi wa Ryoogoku de*', after his transfer to Tokyo. At least, it is certain that Richoo established '*En kaina*' as the most popular *hayariuta* in the middle years of the Meiji.

Occurrence in anthologies

³ Ootake, '*Furoku, Meiji Nenkan Hayariuta*', in Takano Fuzan, & Ootake Shiyoo, *Riyooshuu-Shuui*, 1915, p 22-24.

⁴ Fujisawa, p 301.

⁵ Mori, 1969a, p 237.

⁶ Tanabe, *Meiji ongaku monogatari*, 1965, p.51-52.

⁷ *Kengyoo* was the highest rank as a government official that was given for blind musicians by the authority in the Edo period, when the Tokugawa government took care of blind musicians.

⁸ Hirano Kenji et al, 1994.

⁹ Yoshida Shootaroo, *Ongyoku hitori-geiko*, Chitsuzan-doo, 1883. Inoue Katsugoroo, *Iroha biki hauta taizen*, Osaka, Shinshin-doo, 1886. Ishikawa Shoushichi, *Kokon hauta taizen*, Osaka, Kyoosoo-ya, 1887. Seyama Sakichi, *Shinsen hauta taizen*, Seyama Sakichi, 1889.

Not found in anthologies before Meiji 20 (1887), '*En kaina*' occurs 9 times in the Meiji 20s (1887-1896), 6 times in the 30s (1897-1906), and 4 times in the 40s (1907-1912), making 19 times in total and placing it equal 21st in the KDL.

Characteristics of lyric structure and content

The well-known lyrics of '*En kaina*' consist of four stanzas of 7-5-*choo* in colloquial language. Each stanza depicts opportunities of love in four seasons. The above lyrics '*Natsu no suzumi wa*', the most popular lyrics, depict summer evenings: sightseers on boats enjoy the cool breeze and fireworks. Applause for a favorite fireworks manufacturer '*Tamaya!*' offers a chance for love to sightseers on nearby boats. The other two stanzas close with the following phrases:

In fall: 月がとりもつ 縁かいな — The moon has acted as go-between for us!
 In winter: 雪がとりもつ 縁かいな — Snow has acted as go-between for us!

Rhythmic structure and its relation with lyrics

The song has a complex rhythm, with irregular musical phrase lengths, syncopation, offbeat opening, and complicated gaps between the vocal and *shamisen* parts. The last three syllables of the closing phrase, '*kaina*', are sung rapidly after a prolonged '*En - - -*', and the impression of a calm and stylish song becomes a little comical.

Melodic characteristics

The song begins and continues with the *miyako-bushi* melody with the *miyako*-1-TC and disjunct *miyako*-2-TC. From '*Agaru ryuusei*', the note f moves up to f-sharp, preceding or rather guiding the later modulation of F to F-sharp. As a result, the finishing phrase '*torimotsu Enkaina*' has the only *ritsu-minyoo*-type melody, with no half steps, throughout the song, including *shamisen* part.

b) '*Nyan kaina*' sung by Tokunaga Richoo

高い帽子に 低い鼻 ハッキタ (7-5-4) — His high hat and low nose contrast sharply. *Hakkita!*
 丸い顔や 角袖に (7-5) — At his round face and the square sleeves of *kimono*,
 じゃれつく猫は髭の下ハッキタ (7-5-4) — The cat fools around beneath his mustache. *Hakkita!*
 お札を目当ての ニャンかいな (7-5) — That's *Nyan* (cat) aiming at his bank notes!

(Note: *Hayashi kotoba 'Hakkita!'* is Richoo's forte. It sounds like 'Hap! 'Ts come!')

Figure 3-5-2 '*Nyan kaina*' sung by Richoo 1903, transcription by Kodama ¹⁰

The musical score consists of two systems. The first system shows the vocal line and shamisen accompaniment for the phrase '(A) ta ka - i - - - bo - shi'. The second system shows the vocal line and shamisen accompaniment for the phrase '- - - ni-Hi ku - i - ha na Hakkita! Ma ru - - i -'. The tempo is marked as 127 and the key signature has one sharp (F#).

¹⁰ From Frederik Gaisberg, *Zenshuu Nihon Fukikomi Koto-hajime*, 2001, CD 5, track 6.

(B)

- - o ka - o - ya - - -ka ku- so - - - -de - Ja re

-tsu - ku - -neko- wa Hi ge no shi ta Hak kita! O sa -

(C)

tsu - mea -teno- nyan - - -kai na

Melodic pitch-structure : Combination of minyoo-type & miyako-bushi-type

(A) minyoo-TC (C) ritsu-minyoo-TC

Prelude & Postlude (C) minyoo-scale miyako-bushi-type ritsu-minyoo-type



3-5-2 *Nyankaina Richoo*

Characteristics of lyric structure and content

In the Gaisberg recordings, Richoo sings a *kaeuta* that depicts the fashions of the earlier Meiji: Western food, a postal love-letter, and '*Takai booshi ni*' (At his high silk-hat) sings of a cat (*geisha*) clinging to the mustache of a catfish (bureaucrat). In the lyrics, we see the popularity of the words '*hige*' (mustache/bureaucrat) and '*neko*' (cat/*geisha*) at the time. The last four syllables are the same as the *motouta* '*-n kaina*'.

Rhythmic characteristics of '*En kaina*' from Meiji to Shoowa

Richoo's swift tempo with a full-blooded *hayashi kotoba* '*Hakkita!*' sounds so vigorous as to suggest that it is a different song to that of later singers. Richoo's tempo of a crotchet at 127 is much faster than Machida's direction of ♩ = 108, and far from ♩ = 72, used by Fumikichi in a recording of early Shoowa.¹¹

Melodic characteristics of '*En kaina*' from Meiji to Shoowa

Richoo begins the song to the melody of the *minyoo*-scale with no half steps. At (B), it changes into a *miyako-bushi* melody with the pitch-structure of two disjunct *miyako*-2-TCs. It is noticeable that at (C), Richoo goes back to the non-half-step melody that includes all eight notes of one octave.

The transcription by Machida shows that the *minyoo*-like opening melody, without half steps, sung by Richoo has been transformed into *miyako-bushi* and barely remains in the final phrase.

¹¹ *Shin Hauta Dodoistu Zennkyoku-shuu*, Nippon COLUMBIA CO. LTD, COCJ-30763, 1999.

From the above two kinds of melody, as well as the decisive differences in tempo of Richoo, Machida, and Fumikichi, we see some aspects of the changing features of this song from the Meiji to Shoowa periods, from a *yose* musician to a disc-singer.

3-5-2 'Umegae' and its original 'Kankan noo'

a) 'Kankan noo', a hybrid of Chinese and Japanese music

Figure 3-5-3 'Kankan noo', transcription by Kobatake, Meiji 25 (1892).¹²

Melodic pitch-structure: minyoo-TC miyako-1-TC miyako-bushi-type



3-5-3 Kankan noo Kobatake

Short history

According to Tanabe, the title '*Kankan-noo*' originates from the first phrase, '*Kankan e*', of a Chinese song, '*Kyuurenkan*', which was first popularized in red-light districts in Nagasaki in the early 19th century.¹³ Mitamura Engyo writes that '*Kankan dance*' drew big crowds in the yard of Eitai-ji Temple in Edo town in 1822, and then was played on the *kabuki* stages.¹⁴ We can hear a comical tale called '*rakuda*', based on '*Kankan noo*', as well as a part of the song itself, on the stages of *yose* still today.

There were two kinds of melody for the so-called '*Kyuurenkan*' in the Meiji. One, which spread from Nagasaki, became popular as '*Kankan noo*' or '*Kankan dance*' and finally became '*Umegae*'. The other spread among amateur musicians as *minshingaku*. There was some confusion between these diverse melodies and their titles during the time.¹⁵

Occurrence in anthologies

'*Kankan-noo*' occurs 11 times in the Meiji 20s (1887-1896), 4 times in the 30s (1897-1906), and once in the 40s (1907-1912), making 16 times in total in the KDL.

Characteristics of music structure

The song has a cheerful and peaceful marching rhythm that repeats dotted crotchets and quavers

¹² Nagai & Kobatake, 1892. This is the main part of the instrumental ensemble '*Kankan noo*' that Kobatake transcribed and arranged. He omitted the lyrics, which were a mixture of meaningless and obscene Chinese and Japanese.

¹³ Tanabe, *Ongaku sui-shi*, 1953.

¹⁴ Mitamura, *Hayariuta, Azuma-nishiki-e*, 1913-1935, p. 60-73.

¹⁵ For example, Mitani Tanekichi presented the music of '*Kankan noo*' for the practice of accordion as '*Kyuurenkan*', Meiji 24 (1891).

in succession. The musical phrase structure employs the repetition of four measures, each of which forms call/question and an answer/solution, not common in Japanese popular songs of the time. At the answering two measures (A) of the third phrase, a sequence of crotchets makes the audience imagine that a festival parade pauses and dancers pose, then it goes back to the marching rhythm again. The pitch structure consists of the combination of the *min-yoo*-TC and the *miyako-bushi*-TC with *kakuon* of B and E. The 4-7-nuki major of the original '*Kyurenkan*' (below 3-5-3) has already changed to that of *shamisen* music.

b) '*Umegae*' (Plum branch)

- | | |
|----------------------|--|
| 梅が枝の 手水鉢 (5-5) | — The washbasin under the plum branch, |
| 叩いてお金が出るならば (8-5) | — If money would emerge by beating on the basin, |
| もしもお金が出たときにゃ (7-5) | — If only you could get some money that way! |
| そのときゃ身請けを ソレ頼む (8-5) | — Buy my freedom for me! Hey, I ask this of you! |

Figure 3-5-4 '*Umegae*', transcription by Kobatake, Meiji 26 (1893).¹⁶

Melodic pitch-structure :

<i>Kankan noo'</i> miyako-1-TC	→	<i>Umegae'</i> ritsu-TC ritsu-minyoo-TC
minyoo-TC		ritsu-minyoo-TC minyoo-TC
miyako-bushi-type		ritsu-minyoo-type ≅ 6-nuki-minor

 3-5-4 *Umegae*

Short history

Horiuchi writes that '*Uegae*' is said to have been written by the famous comic writer Kanagaki Robun (1829-1894), and it began to be sung to a melody similar to '*Kankan-noo*' in Meiji 11 (1878).¹⁷ Ootake and Tanabe both list it in Meiji 12 (1879),¹⁸ with the title '*Soore-tanomu-bushi*,' taken from the last phrase of the lyrics.¹⁹

Occurrence in anthologies

'*Umegae*' occurs twice in the Meiji 10s (1877-1886), 17 times in the 20s (1887-1896), 15 times in the 30s (1897-1906), and 8 times in the 40s (1907-1912), making 42 times in total and placing it third in the KDL.

Total occurrence of both '*Umegae*' and '*Kankan-noo*,' 58 times, place it second in all the popular songs in the KDL.

¹⁶ Nagai & Kobatake, 1893.

¹⁷ Horiuchi, 1942, p.69.

¹⁸ Tanabe, *Sekai Ongaku Zenshuu Vol. 34*, 1932, in the notes at the back of the songbook.

¹⁹ Ootake, 1915, p.14.

Characteristics of lyric structure and content

Written in colloquial language, the lyrics consist of the free combination of 5 and 7/8 syllable phrases.

It is based on a story of *Jooruri, Hiragana seisuiki*: 'God gave a prostitute named *Umegae* the necessary sum of money for her true lover to carry out his duty when she beat a stone washbasin and prayed'. In the lyrics, an assumed singer, an entertainer girl, talks to her guest. No one believes the tale of the washbasin, but she asks him to buy her freedom if money emerges from the basin.

Rhythmic structure and its relation with lyrics

Although it is similar to '*Kankan-noo*', the symmetry of the musical phrase structure has changed into an irregular one, 2, 2, 2 and 3 measures from the top respectively. Moreover, the basic beat shifts its position halfway through, as shown by the mark ^, attached to the stressed notes. From the beginning to | De - - ru, na - ra - | ba -, every first and third beat in each measure is stressed, but from | - - 7 Mo, shi mo o ka | ne ga De ta, to ki nya - | to the end, the stress moves to every second and fourth beat in measures of 4/4 meter. Therefore, if you sing the song repeatedly, the last 1/4 rest in the above staff will be eliminated. This is the specific phenomenon in *zokuyoo* that I call 'reversal of the basic beat', similar to the above '*Ame no yo ni*', and '*Harusame*'.

Melodic characteristics

The motif of '*Kankan noo*', | B - B A, B - - A | B c A F, E - - - | of the *miyako-bushi*^{TC}, transforms into the *ritsu*^{TC}, | B - - A, B - - - | c# B A F#, E - - - | in '*Umegae*'. The *kakuon* of this melody is not F-sharp but E and B, the same as the original.

Here, we see that '*Umegae*' has transformed from its original, China-Japan hybrid, into a Japanese style *zokuyoo*.

3-5-3 '*Hookai-bushi*' and its original '*Kyuurenkan*'

a) '*Kyuurenkan*', the popularization of *minshingaku* and Chinese notation

Figure 3-5-5 '*Kyuurenkan*' transcription by Tanabe from his memory around 1890 ²⁰

Melodic pitch-structure :



3-5-5 *Kyuurenkan* Tanabe ≐ 1890

²⁰ Tanabe, *Meiji ongaku Monogatari*, 1965, p. 64.

Figure 3-5-6 'Kyuurenkan' transcription by Tanabe 1932 ²¹

Melodic pitch-structure : 4-7-nuki-major



3-5-6 Kyuurenkan Tanabe 1932

Short history of *minshin-gaku*

Tanabe (1883–1984) writes that when he was a little child (probably some years before 1890/M23), he used to sing 'Kyuurenkan' in Chinese by heart without understanding the meaning. He also states that his mother used to play it, as well as some other pieces of *minshin-gaku*. He presents a popular *senryuu* of his childhood as follows:²²

月琴ひいて 借金ためるな 上工尺
 — Always playing with *gekkin*, don't increase your debt, 'Jan, kon, chie'.

The above 'Jan Kon Chie' (上工尺) means do-mi-re, the opening pitches of the above 'Kyuurenkan'. Tanabe also presents the signs of the eight notes of an octave in Chinese characters, called *kon-chie* (gongche)-notation (工尺譜) as follows:

上	尺	工	凡	合	四	乙	仕
jan	chie	kon	han	hau	suu	otsu	jan
do	re	mi	fa	sol	la	ti	do

We see that Tanabe's mother used to play some pieces of Chinese music which consisted of the seven notes of the diatonic scale. Mori Senzoo writes that *gekkin* spread around the nation during the middle years of the Meiji 10s (1877-1886), quoting an advertisement page for *shingaku* songbooks in a newspaper, *Marumaru Chimbun* (団々珍聞), of Meiji 16 (1883).²³ In Meiji 43 (1910), Motoori Nagayo (1885-1945) explains the reasons for the popularization of *minshin-gaku* as follows (summarized):²⁴

The peak year of *minshin-gaku* may have been from around Meiji 10 (1877) to 24-25(1877-1882). Probably the reasons for such popularization of *minshin-gaku* among middle class society was, firstly, that the out-of-ordinary music with Chinese lyrics beyond people's comprehension sounded decent to the ears of the people of the time who simply believed the usual *zokuyoo* vulgar and effeminate, and secondly, that Chinese instruments, especially the easy-to-learn *gekkin*, spread greatly among the students, both boys and girls.

²¹ Tanabe, *Sekai Ongaku Zenshuu 34 - Nihon zokkyoku-shu*, 1932, p. 70.

²² Tanabe, 1965, p.62-64.

²³ Mori Senzoo, 1969a, p.109.

²⁴ Motoori Nagayo, 'Gendai no hayariuta, Fu Rappa-bushi, Sanosa-bushi no enkaku', *Ongaku (Dai ichiji)* 1-kan 6-goo, 1910, p. 8-14.

Occurrence in anthologies

By the keyword '*Kyuurenkan*', this song occurs 5 times in the Meiji 10s (1877-1886), 13 times in the 20s (1887-1896) and the 30s (1897-1906), and 8 times in the 40s (1907-1912), making 39 times in total and placing it the fourth if compared with popular songs that I collected from the KDL collection.

Characteristics of melodic structure

The song is in the obvious *4-7-nuki* major, and phrases of the *ritsu*-TC occur often (marked in the staff: –r– and –m–, meaning the *ritsu*-TC and the *minyoo*-TC. The song must have helped amateur musicians of the time in becoming familiar with the new Chinese-Western diatonic scale.

Relation between Chinese notation and *hayariuta*

Horiuchi writes about the relation between *minshin-gaku* and *shooka* as follows:

Some amateurs learned *minshin-gaku* since the Edo period and it spread so wide around Meiji 15 (1882) that *minshin-gaku* masters could be found everywhere. Among the tunes of *minshin-gaku*, those spread in the world have something in common with *shooka* in their simple melody and rhythm. Their scale is easy to become familiar with for Japanese people. Therefore, it is reasonable that children from good families tended towards it when Edo-style Japanese music lost its charm and the rude *shosei-bushi* or vulgar *yose*-songs were not welcome in their homes.²⁵

Therefore, Horiuchi, who presented the term '*4-7-nuki bushi*' as a 'vernacular name that appeared around the Sino-Japanese War', also recognized the similarity of *shooka* and *minshin-gaku*. However, he may not have paid much more attention to the possibility of influence between *shooka*, *minshin-gaku*, and *hayari-uta*, each of which are diverse genres of music.

Recently, Sasaki Ryuuji wrote that a *minshin-gaku* musician, Nagahara Baien, presented some *shooka* of the *4-7-nuki* scale, including '*Hotaru*' (Auld Lang Sign), in *kon-chie*-notation, in her *Modern Zokkyoku Guidance through Gekkin*, published in Meiji 22 (1889).²⁶ He points out that amateur musicians of the time relied on the *kon-chie* (gongche)-notation rather than the five-lined staff, and that they liked utilizing Chinese notations for playing *zokuyoo* and *shooka* as well as Chinese music.²⁷ Moreover, Yamano Seishi writes in his research report of *minshin-gaku* that almost all the songbooks of *kon-chie* (gongche)-notation since the Meiji 20s (1887-1896) contain *zokuyoo*, *hauta*, *kouta*, *nagauta*, *sookyoku*, as well as *shooka* and *gunka*.²⁸

Provoked by the above reports by Sasaki and Yamano, I looked for *kon-chie*-notations in the KDL collection. The earliest one that I found was a *minshin-gaku* collection including '*Kyuurenkan*' published in Meiji 10 (1877),²⁹ and another, including '*Asakutomo*' and '*Ooi oyaji-dono*' in the *kon-chie*-notation, was published in Meiji 18 (1885).³⁰ We see that the *4-7-nuki* major scale was already familiar to some classes of townspeople through '*Kyuurenkan*' and other songs since the earliest years of the Meiji 10s (1877-1886), that is, preceding the *shooka* '*Hotaru*' of Meiji 14

²⁵ Horiuchi, 1942, p 125-126.

²⁶ Sasaki Ryuuji, 2005.

²⁷ This is plausible enough because five lined staves of the time were often inaccurate due to the undeveloped drawing and printing technique.

²⁸ Yamano Seishi and Nagasaki University, 1989-1990.

²⁹ Sasaki Sen, *Minshin Gakufu Tekiyoo*, Kyoto, 1877.

³⁰ Nomura Shookichi, *Sodechin Gekkinn Mekuratsue*, 1885.

(1881),³¹ and the *gunka* 'Teki wa ikuman' of Meiji 24 (1891).³² It is obvious that the *minshin-gaku* played a significant role in the process of learning music through notation and the popularization of the pentatonic major melodies.

b) 'Hookai-bushi', a variant of 'Kyuurenkan'

一日も早く年明け 主のそば (5-7-5) – I wish to get free early, and to stay with you!
 縞の着物に 縷子の帯 ホーカイ (7-5-4) – With striped *Kimono* and wide sash of satin, *Hookai!*
 似合いましたか 見てお呉れ (7-5) – Please, look at me! Don't I look nice with it?
 上等舶来 (8) – Superior like foreign-made!

Figure 3-5-7 'Hookai-bushi' transcriptions by Ikeda, Meiji 26 (1893)³³

I chini chi mo - Hayakunen ake Nushi no so ba - Shimano kimononi Shusu no o
 bi - Ho o kai Ni a i ma shitaka Mi te o ku re Joo too ha ku rai

Melodic pitch-structure : ritsu·TC
 4-7-nuki-major
 minyoo·TC

3-5-7 Hookai-bushi Ikeda

Figure 3-5-8 'Hookai-bushi' transcription by Motoori Nagayo, Meiji 43 (1910).³⁴

Ichi ni chi - mo so re - hayakunen ake nushi - no so ba
 Shi - ma no - kimo no ni - shusu noo bi sasaHo - - kai

Melodic pitch-structure : ritsu·TC
 ritsu-scale

3-5-8 Hookai-bushi Motoori

Short History

'Hookai-bushi' is a famous name in the Meiji popular song history. However, it is uncertain whether the song was actually sung among the ordinary people, or whether it was only a well-known title because of the infamous vulgar groups who played from door to door for money,

³¹ *Ongaku Torishirabe Gakari, Shoogaku Shooka-shuu Shohen*, Ministry of Education, M14 (1881).

³² Koyama Sakunosuke (1863-1927), *Kokumin Shooka-shuu Vol. 1*, 1891, p. 32.

³³ Ikeda Takejiro, *Seiyoo Gakufu Ryuukoo Hauta Zokkyouku-shuu*, Koobe, 1893.

³⁴ Motoori, 1910, p. 12.

as Komota writes.³⁵ Motoori presents the above transcription and the history of variations from '*Kyuurenkan*' to '*Kankan noo*' and '*Hookai-bushi*' until '*Sanosa*'.³⁶ He writes that '*Hookai-bushi*' spread through so-called *hookai-ya* groups around Sino Japanese War then transformed into '*Sanosa*' through entertainer girls of red-right-districts around Meiji 34-35 (1901-1902).³⁷ On the other hand, Takano Tatsuyuki (1878-1947) writes that '*Hookai-bushi*' dominated the *hayariuta* world between Meiji 27-28 to 32 (1894-1899), and that some of the songs called '*Hookai-bushi*' at the time were derivations of *enka* with the refrain '*Chuuyuu Rinrin!*' (Loyalty and high-spirit)³⁸ Later, Soeda Tomomichi, the son of the famous *enka*-singer Azenboo (1872-1944), introduced an *enka* titled '*Rinrinka Hookai-bushi*', which has a strange melody of *miyako-bushi*, completely different to the above two '*Hookai-bushi*', and somewhat similar to the later well-known *hayariuta* '*Sanosa*'.³⁹

Occurrence in anthologies

'*Houkai-bushi*' occurs 11 times in the Meiji 20s (1887-1886), 10 times in the 30s (1887-1896), and 5 times in the 40s (1897-1912), making 26 times in total and placing it 13th in the anthologies in the KDL.⁴⁰

Characteristics of lyric and music

The lyric structure is a free combination of 7- and 5-syllable phrases with some *jiamari* in colloquial language.

Ikeda also presents in the same anthology a notation for '*Kyuurenkan*' in which the melody is almost the same as the above '*Hookai-bushi*'. The lyrics of '*Hookai-bushi*' are obviously a result of the 'clipping and pasting' of phrases onto the melodic phrases of '*Kyuurenkan*' as it was at the time.

A group called *Hookairen* in the Gaisberg's recordings

A noisy group called '*Hookairen*' occupies five tracks of the Gaisberg's recordings of 1903 (Meiji 36).⁴¹ Every track has a sub-title, '*Hookai-bushi*', which precedes the title of each performance, but none of them include any melody from the above '*Hookai-bushi*'. Four tracks out of seven are incomprehensible cries, and one is not a song but is narrated. In the remaining two tracks, they sing '*Harusame*' and '*Shinonome-bushi*' noisily and with poor intonation.

Question about the *hayariuta* called '*Hookai-buhi*'

A question that remains for me about '*Hookai-bushi*' is why it is that I have not met anyone who

³⁵ Komota et al, 1994, p. 30. Komota writes that the group called *Hookaiya* (法界屋 singers of *Hookai-bushi*) derived from a group of *enka* singers.

³⁶ Motoori, 1910.

³⁷ '*Sanosa*' occurs in the anthologies in the KDL 3 times in the Meiji 30s, 5 times in 40s, making 8 times in total placing it first among the *zokuyoo* that occurred in the Meiji 30s for the first time. Komota lists it in Meiji 32 (1899).

³⁸ '*Chuuyuu rinrin*' (忠勇凛々) Takano, *Shintei Zooho Nihon Kayoushi*, 1938.

³⁹ The last phrase of the lyrics of '*Rinrinka Hookaibushi*' (凛凛歌・法界武士) is '*Chuuyuu rinrin*' as Takano writes. Soeda, *Enka no Meiji-Taishoo-shi*, 1963, p. 45

⁴⁰ Most of them carry music notations by numeral, *kanji* and also *kana* for *shakuhachi*. Some of them present various versions of strange melodies or incomprehensible rows of notes which cannot be understood as a piece of music.

⁴¹ Gaisberg, *Zenshuu Nihon Fukikomi Koto-hajime*, 2001.

has ever heard the melody of this *'hayariuta'*, the twelfth best in my Meiji popular song survey? From what the above-mentioned sources suggest, it is highly possible that the popularity of so-called *'Hookai-bushi'* mostly consisted of two kinds of different songs, on the one hand those which were a result of the clipping and pasting of lyrics to the music of *'Kyūrenkan'*, and on the other hand those which Takano mentioned, Soeda presented, and Motoori concluded as the original of *'Sanosa'*.

3-6 Final Observations on *Zokuyoo*

a) Reliability of the contemporary sources — to what extent we can grasp the music of *zokuyoo* of that time

Horiuchi writes as follows: (summarized)

Strictly speaking, the transcriptions of *zokuyoo* by military bandleaders do not keep the form of the original music due to their purpose of practical use. Most of the *zokuyoo* transcriptions by private sectors are also inaccurate and trifle.¹

Unlike *gunka* and *shooka*, whose creation and popularization was mostly led by the authorities and followed by music specialists, it is inevitable that the *hayari-uta* of the Meiji, which always began and circulated from voice to ear, naturally lack original notations. Accordingly, the study of Meiji popular song relies upon later transcriptions or recordings as source materials. I recognized the transcriptions in *Nihon Zokkyoku-shuu* as by far the most reliable among the contemporary sources of the Meiji, because of the consistency of the musical notes and lyrics, the low number of errors and ambiguities, and the high quality of printing. I used them for 9 *zokuyoo* out of the 14. For other *hayari-uta*, I searched and selected other contemporary songbooks by people who were likely the second most reliable writers by the same criteria as the above. In this case, the limitation of reliability to some extent is inevitable: I agree with Horiuchi. As for another *zokuyoo*, for which I did not find any contemporary transcriptions, I had to use later ones from the early Showa period (late 1920s and 1930s), such as those by Tanabe Hisao, Machida Kashoo, and Horiuchi Keizoo.

Even if not all the above transcriptions are accurate, I believe I have collected sufficient materials for the study. In particular, most of the *zokuyoo* melodies that spread among the populace since the mid-Meiji were what the Army Bands performed based on the above transcriptions by Kobatake, not 'the form of the original music' kept for some academic purpose. Moreover, having compared them with the melodies that *yose* musicians performed in the Gaisberg recordings, I recognize the transcriptions by Kobatake as being accurate enough for the study.

In addition, from the recordings of Gaisberg and those of the early Showa years, I found enormous differences between the performances of the *yose* musicians of the Meiji and those of the 1930s popular singers, such as Fumikichi or Ichimaru.

¹ Horiuchi, 1942b, p. 102.

b) How people enjoyed the newly popularized *zokuyoo* since mid-Meiji.

From the above-mentioned sources, we see that '*Ootsu-e*', '*Harusame*', '*Echigo-jishi*', and '*Kappore*' constituted the most popular repertoires of numerous brass bands since the mid-Meiji. The Gaisberg recordings of Meiji 36 (1906) clarify that all these songs were principal features of *yose* at the time. In numerous *yose* around Tokyo, the common people applauded the above most popular *hayariuta* that *yose*-entertainers sang vividly, even noisily, to the pleasant rhythm of various instruments.² The Meiji-born *zokuyoo*, '*En kaina*', became so familiar even to children, that candy sellers sang it with Richoo's forte '*Hakkita!*' The author of *Tokyo Fuuzoku-shi* tells us with resentment: '*Kappore*, the forte of a street singer, became the first song that artisans sing and dance to under the cherry blossoms'.³ On the other hand, the customers of *chaya* enjoyed not only listening to the music or watching the dance but also singing these *hayari-uta* calmly or cheerfully, if good or not, with *shamisen* accompaniment.

Nihon Zokkyoku-shuu, and the subsequent performances of brass bands, actually gave rise to the revival, or rather the fresh popularization, of old *zokuyoo* among the non-chic populace across the nation. The dramatic increase of the occurrence frequency of these songs in the KDL collection since the mid-Meiji provides evidence for this. However, the second popularity boom of *zokuyoo* had rather a short life. The years of *zokuyoo* will certainly terminate soon.

Still today, the names '*Harusame*', '*Echigo-jishi*', and '*Kappore*' are so popular that most of the people of the older generation recognize them as the representative *zokuyoo* of the country. However, they hardly know the lyrics or the melody, contrary to *gunka* and *shooka* such as '*Genkoo*', '*Senyuu*', and '*Tetsudoo Shooka*'. It is highly possible that most of the people at the time enjoyed listening solely to the revival of songs as the highlight of *yose* or brass bands, or just their pleasant atmosphere, that they hardly sang them for themselves. Since the mid-Meiji, people may have enjoyed a wider range of genres, but shallower depth, of the *hayariuta* of the time than the earlier *zokuyoo* fans.

In the few years after the Meiji, *zokuyoo* relinquished its reign as the most influential genre of popular song to the newly spread Western style songs, such as the so-called *dooyoo*, *kakyoku*, *Asakusa opera*, and '*nani nani ondo*'. Among the 118 songs in the Komata's list of *hayariuta* during the Taishoo era (1912 - 1926), only 15 songs had titles such as '*Naninani-bushi*' that verify the old-style *zokuyoo*, and all others are new type of songs.

² The number of *yose* in Tokyo was 153 in Meiji 30, according to Hiraide Koojiroo, *Tokyo fuuzoku-shi*, p. 86.

³ See 3-3-5.

The new types of *hayari-uta* of the next generation spread, along with the names of their celebrated writers, composers, and star-singers. In some cases the spread of a song depended on the name of the artist, people such as Kitahara Hakushuu, Noguchi Ujoo, Nakayama Shimpei, Yamada Koosaku, Nassho Fumiko, Matsui Sumako.

4 A COMPENDIUM OF *GUNKA* AND *SHOOKA* AND THEIR CHARACTERISTICS

The Westernization policy of the Meiji government, for 'national wealth and military strength', had a great influence over the lives of common people. The Meiji government enforced the military draft system in Meiji 7(1873), which damaged most peasant families that would necessarily lose their important young workers. On the other hand, for the younger sons of poor peasant families, the military service meant relief from unemployment, or at least the securing of food, clothing, and shelter.

The first Western melody that the young soldiers were to remember may have been the following sound of the bugle that my late father, a 1901-born former recruit, used to talk about and sing: 'Poor recruits! They will weep in bed again!'

Figure 4-1-1 Song of Taps 'Poor Recruits!' Around 1921



4-1-1 *Poor Recruits!*

The *shooka kyooiku* (education through singing) needed a long time for actual implementation, because of lack of teachers and instruments. In addition, the Army needed military songs for training soldiers. Thus, the history of the new Western style popular song began with *gunka* rather than *shooka*.

4-1 The Earliest *Gunka* in Meiji From before the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895)

The newspaper *Marumaru chimbun* of Meiji 18 (1885), introducing a poem titled '*Battoo-tai*', states: 'Reportedly, they have decided to utilize the following poem that Mr. Toyama Masakazu authored as a *gunka*'. Mori Senzoo (1895-1985) writes as follows:¹

A thing called *gunka* came into existence in our nation. '*Battoo-tai*' occurs in the first edition of *Shintaishi-shoo* (extracts of new-style-poem). The song that begins with 'We are the government army! The foes are...,' is the song in question.

¹ Mori, *Meiji Tokyo Itsubunn-shi 1*, 1969a, p. 125.

4-1-1 So-called *gunka* without music

The Ministry of the Army proclaimed nine poems as *Rappa Suisooka* (songs for bugle) in December of Meiji 18 (1885).² This strange title meant, virtual lyrics that soldiers should imagine when they listen to the bugle performance in ceremony.³ Five months later, the first *gunka* anthology, titled *Gunka* and including the above nine 'Songs for Bugle' and thirteen 'gunka', appeared.⁴ This was followed by 43 reprints from publishers around the nation within half a year.⁵ The preface of the thirteen 'gunka' states, 'Although the following are not included in the *Suisooka*, they are also helpful for encouraging braveness'. Lyrics from the above *Rappa Suisooka* and 'gunka' occur in many anthologies without a break: the so-called *mame-bon* (beans book) titled *Shinsen gunka* (新撰軍歌 new selection of *gunka*), *Shinsen gunka-shoo* (新撰軍歌抄 -extracts), *Shinsen gunka-shuu* (新撰軍歌集 -collection), and *Shintai shiika* (新体詩歌 new-style-poem)⁶. This amounts to 34 in total from Meiji 19 to 22 (1886-1889).

However, readers of the anthologies did not yet know the songs' melodies.⁷ Concerning how to sing these 'gunka', an editor of one of the *mame-bon*, Ooba Keiyoo writes in his preface:⁸

We wait the authority to decide how to sing the melodies eventually. At this stage, I propose this way to sing *gunka* in accordance with steps of marching, as follows:

- Use the melodies of popular ball-bouncing songs, because it goes well with marching steps.
- First, sing after a leader phrase by phrase. After having remembered, divide the platoon into two groups and sing phrase by phrase alternatively.
- Begin to sing with the step of left leg and finish each phrase at seventh or eleventh step.

We see that the Japanese Army, which had just started to make recruits march in step for their elementary training, absolutely lacked appropriate melody for marching. Soldiers began to sing the above 'gunka' spontaneously to some *min-yoo*-like tunes that fitted their marching rhythm. That was the start of *gunka* as a song genre in Japan.

² The lyrics of nine '*Rappa suisooka*' are attached to the Notification of the Ministry of the Army (陸軍達), as well as Bugle Staffs of the Army & Navy (陸海軍喇叭譜) in, *Rikugun-shoo, Tatsu Otsu dai 154gou*, 1885.

³ According to, Tsukahara Yasuko, *Meiji Zenki no Atarashii Ongaku Hyougen*, Meiji University Kenkyuu Kiyoo, No 19, 1989, p. 35.

⁴ Kawai Genzoo, *Gunka*, May 1886.

⁵ The places of publication of the 44 reprints were Tokyo (18), Kansai (13), and others (13) including Sendai, Hokuriku, Chuugoku, Shikoku, and Kyuushuu.

⁶ Notice that this title means solely 'New-Style Poem', not *gunka* at all.

⁷ Among those 13 'gunka', the first one, titled also '*Gunka*', will be called '*Kitareya kitare*', of which the melody by Izawa does not appear until Meiji 21 (1888). Although the first performance of the second one '*Battoo-tai*' by Leroux is July Meiji 18 (1885), his melody did not spread among the people until later.

⁸ Ooba Keiyoo, *Shinsen Gunka-shoo*, Osaka, Dec 1886.

4-1-2 The two earliest *gunka* with documented melodies

a) '*Battoo-tai*' (Platoon with naked sword)

Note: It is written in strict 7-5-*choo*.

- | | |
|-----------------|--|
| (A) 吾は官軍 わが敵は | — We are the government army! The foes are, |
| 天地容れざる 朝敵ぞ | — Unacceptable under this sky or on the earth! |
| 敵の大將 たるものは | — The general who leads the enemy is, |
| 古今無双の 英雄で | — An incomparable hero in history! |
| (B) これに従う つわものは | — All the warriors who follow him are, |
| 共に剽悍 決死の士 | — Fierce, nimble and ready to die! |
| 鬼神に恥じぬ 勇あるも | — No matter how brave are they as fierce god, |
| 天の許さぬ 反逆を | — Heaven will never forgive their treason! |
| (C) 起こせし者は 昔より | — One who rebels against the government, |
| 栄えし例 あらざるぞ | — Has not ever prospered! |
| (D) 敵の亡ぶる それ迄は | — Until the enemy will be overthrown, |
| 進めや進め 諸共に | — Forward! Make our way altogether! |
| 玉ちる剣 抜き連れて | — Let us draw our sparkling swords together! |
| 死する覚悟で進むべし | — Be ready to die! Forward, to the battle! |

Figure 4-1-2 '*Battoo-tai*' transcription by Horiuchi ⁹

(A) ①
 Wa re wa kan gun wa ga te ki wa Te n chi i re za ru choo te ki zo
 Te ki no tai shoo ta ru mo no wa Ko ko n muso so no ei yu u de

(B) ②
 Ko re ni shi ta goo tsu wa mo no wa To mo ni hyo o ka n kes shi no no shi
 Ki shin ni ha ji nu Yu u a ru mo Te n no yu ru sa nu ha n gyaku o

(C) ③
 O ko seshi mo nowa mu ka shi yo ri Sa ka e shi ta meshi a ra za ru zo

(D) ④
 Te ki no ho ro bu ru so re ma de wa Su sume ya su sume mo rto mo ni

⑤
 Ta machi ru tsuru gi nu ki tsu re te Shi su ru ka ku go de su su mu be shi

Melodic pitch-structure : Combination of diatonic minor and major

① ③ ② ④ ⑤
 A-minor + F# C-major F#-minor A-major

4-1-2 *Battoo-tai* Leroux

Short history

Toyama Masakazu authored the above lyrics and published them in *Shintaishi-shoo* in Meiji 15

⁹ Horiuchi, *Teihon Nihon no gunka*, 1977, p.33 The music is same as that of '*Tooshin gunka*' written by *Army Band Music School* Meiji 27 (1894). See Figure 4-1-7.

(1882).¹⁰ Charles Leroux, a French teacher of the Army Band, composed the music and first performed it in Meiji 18 (1885).¹¹ Afterwards, Leroux combined it with his other work '*Fusoo-ka*' (扶桑歌 Song of the Rising Sun Country), and arranged them into 'March for Passing in Review', the formal Army march.¹² Although the lyrics of '*Fusooka*' are included in the above-mentioned *Rappa Suisooka* as used for 'Passing in Review', there is no evidence confirming that it was ever sung as *gunka*.

Occurrence in anthologies

In spite of the above-mentioned flood of reprinted anthologies, I assess the occurrence of '*Battoo-tai*' as twice in the Meiji 10s (1877-1886) according to two kinds of anthologies, both of which lack music notation. It occurs 23 times in anthologies of the Meiji 20s (1887-1896), and twice in the 30s (1897- 1906) and 40s (1907-1912), making 29 times in total and placing it first among the *gunka* and *shooka* in the KDL.

Characteristics of lyric structure and content

Contrary to the title of the anthology, *New-style Poem Extract*, it is written in old style literary language and in strict *7-5-choo*. All of the six stanzas have the same refrain 'Let us draw our sparkling swords together! Be ready to die! Forward, to the battle!' '*Battoo-tai*' sings of the fierce battle between a troop of the government army, named the 'Platoon with naked swords', and the Satsuma army in the *Seinan-Sensoo* (civil war) of Meiji 10 (1877).

Rhythmic structure and relation to lyrics

The *7-5-choo* phrase corresponds with four measures of 2/4 meter. Each syllable corresponds to one note. It has a structure of A+B+C+D over 14 lines, as I marked at the beginning of each phrase. It has a vivid marching rhythm with a variety of note lengths and syncopation.

Characteristics of melodic structure

The melody consists of both diatonic minor and major scales, with modulations, and finally it returns to the beginning note. This first authentic military march must have been difficult to sing, even for the students of the composer. Kurata presents an article from a newspaper of Meiji 19 (1886) that states: "Abandon for the time being because it is uncomfortable to hear".¹³ That the Army Band does not play the original accurately is obvious from a recording of '*Bunretsu Kooshinkyoku*' prior to 1945, and from the transcription by Horiuchi in his first edition of *Nihon no Gunka* (1944) as follows.¹⁴

¹⁰ Toyama et al, *Shintaishi-shoo [Extracts of New-Style Poems]*. Maruya Zenshichi, Jul 1882. Toyama wrote a preface for '*Battoo-tai*': 'We would like to have such songs as La Marseillaise or Watchmen on the Rhine that encouraged people during revolution or war.' The poem '*Battoo-tai*' was first published in *Tooyoo gakugei zasshi* Vol.8, May Meiji 15, earlier than *Shintaishiu-shoo* according to, Kurata Yoshihiro, *Hayariuta no Kookogaku - Kaikoku kara Sengo Fukkoo Made*, 2001, p. 103.

¹¹ According to, Nakamura Koosuke, *Kindai Nihon Yoogaku-shi Josetsu*, 2003, p. 764.

¹² The music for brass band began in Meiji 19, according to, Endoo Hiroshi, *Meiji Ongak Shi Koo*, 1967, p. 364.

¹³ Kurata, 2001, p. 106.

¹⁴ Horiuchi infers that Leroux himself may have corrected it for easiness. Horiuchi, *Nihon no gunka*, 1944, p. 25.

Figure 4-1-3 *'Battoo-tai'*, from 'March for Passing in Review', transcription by Horiuchi4-1-3 *Battoo-tai* Army bandHow *'Battoo-tai'* spread among young men before Leroux's melody

The poet and essayist Kunikida Doppo (1871-1908) writes about *'Shintaishi-shoo'* and *'Battoo-tai'* as follows:

For all that, this likely unpromising booklet actually came into wide use, even into schools of hamlets in the mountains, like a stream through grass roots and made students everywhere march and sing aloud even such a tasteless *gunka* as *'Ware wa kangun waga teki wa'*. Thus, this booklet had such a great influence on boys across the nation that the superiors of the literary world must have never expected it.¹⁵

When Toyama published *Shintaishi-sho*, Doppo was 11 years old. He wrote his own memories as a young poet, and probably the most influenced by the poem. Another poet, Kawai Suimei (1874-1965) writes that he heard soldiers singing *'Ware wakangun Wagateki wa'* and some other *gunka* when he was an elementary schoolchild.¹⁶ Leroux had not yet published the music of *'Battoo-tai'* when Suimei was 6-10 years old, Meiji 13 to 17 (1880- 1884). Moreover, Miura Shunzaburoo (? -1937) writes, as follows:¹⁷

Many young men sang *Battoo-tai* at the time of the publication of *Shintaishi-shoo* by Dr Toyama. Among the several melodies composed for this poem, the following one spread across the nation, probably because it was easy to sing.

Figure 4-1-4 *'Battoo-tai no uta'*, transcription by Miura, around Meiji 15

Melodic pitch-structure : ritsu-TC
minyoo-TC

The diagram shows a melodic line with notes and rests. A bracket under the first four notes is labeled 'minyoo-TC'. A bracket under the last four notes is labeled 'ritsu-TC'. The text 'ritsu-minyoo-type' is written to the right of the diagram.

4-1-4 *Battoo-tai* Miura

The witness by Doppo, Suimei, and Miura show that some other melodies spread during the years between the publication of *Shintaishi-shoo* and Leroux's *'Battoo-tai'*. Moreover, in the midst of the Sino-Japanese War too, soldiers would sing *kaeuta* of *'Battoo-tai'* to diverse tunes (below in 4-1-3 a). The popularization of Leroux's melody probably came about mostly through the Army Band's performance of *'Bunretsu Kooshin-kyoku'*, which could still be heard in news films of the early 1940s when I was a child.

¹⁵ Kunikida Doppo, *Doppo Gin*, 1897.

¹⁶ Kawai Suimei, *Osaka Chihoo o Chuushin to shite mitaru Meiji Bunka no Shokkoo-ki*, 1925.

¹⁷ Miura Shunzaburoo, *Hompoo Yoogaku Hensen-shi*, 1931. Horiuchi quotes the above staff by Miura in, Horiuchi, 1944, p. 31.

b) '*Kitareya kitare*' (Come! Come on!)

来れや来れや いざ来れ (8-5)	— Come, Come! Come on now!
御国を守れや 諸共に (8-5)	— Defend the holy nation all together!
寄せ来る敵は 多くとも (7-5)	— No matter how many the enemies close in!
恐るるなかれ おそるるな (7-5)	— Do not fear! Never fear them!
死すとも退く ことなかれ (8-5)	— Even if you die, never retreat!
御国の為なり 君のため (8-5)	— It's for the sake of the nation and His Majesty!

Figure 4-1-5 '*Mikuni no mamori*' (*Kitareya kitare*) from *Meiji Shooka*, Meiji 21 (1888)

Ki tareya ki tareya I za ki ta re Mi kuni o ma mo re ya Moro to mo ni
 Yo seku ru te ki wa O o kuto mo O so ru ru na ka re O so ru ru na
 Shi su to mo shi ri zoku Koto na ka re Miku ni no ta me na ri Ki mi no ta me

Melodic pitch-structure :  diatonic major

4-1-5 *Kitareya Kitare Izawa*

Short history

The first *gunka* that occurs as '*Gunka*' in the above-mentioned anthology, also titled *Gunka*, in Meiji 19 (1896), is the song later called '*Kitareya kitare*'. The second one is '*Battoo-tai*'. Toyama is the author of both lyrics. The song, composed by Izawa, was first published as '*Mikuni no Mamori*' (Defence of the holy nation) in Meiji 21 (1888).¹⁸ However, Horiuchi writes that Nashoo Benjiroo told him that students of the Music Investigation Committee (later Tokyo Music School) and members of the military band, sang this song around Meiji 18-19.¹⁹ Afterwards, the Army Band adopted this melody for the trio part of '*Kimigayo March*', combining it with the national anthem, '*Kimigayo*', and performed it frequently until 1945.

Occurrence in anthologies

I assess the occurrence in the Meiji 10s at '0 times' because its first publication with melody was in Meiji 21. It then occurs 19 times in anthologies of the Meiji 20s, 3 times in the 30s and 40s, making 25 times in total and placing it second among the *gunka* and *shooka* in the KDL. It is classified as *shooka* 6 times, as *gunka* 16 times, and it occurs 4 times with no classification.

Characteristics of lyric structure and content

It is written in literary language and in 8(7)-5-syllable phrases. Each of the four stanzas begins with the same form, repetitions of the same word or its root element, in *8-5-choo*, as follows:

- (1) *Kitareya kitareya, iza kitare*, — Come, Come! Come on now!
- (2) *Isameya isameya, iza isame*, — High spirits! High spirits! Be in high spirits now!
- (3) *Mamoreya mamoreya, iza mamore*, — Defend! Defend! Defend now!
- (4) *Susumeya susumeya, iza susume*, — Forward! Forward! Go forward now!

¹⁸ Oowada & Oku, *Meiji Shooka Vol. I: Chuuoo-doo*, Meiji 21, (May 1888).

¹⁹ Horiuchi, 1944, p. 36.

Moreover, all the stanzas finish with 'Even if you die, never retreat! It's for the sake of the nation and His Majesty!' We see that Toyama tried to make the lyrics appropriate for *gunka*, by the use of comparatively easy language, the 8-5-syllable phrases, and a repetitive form of beginning in all four stanzas. Although Izawa presented it as a *shooka* and adopted it in his *Shoogaku Shooka*, its content is that of a real war song. The lyric encourages soldiers to risk death and to fight for His Majesty and His Nation.

Music structure

Unlike most later *gunka*, the alternating use of dotted and undotted crotchets in 4/4 metre makes the rhythm solemn and oppressive. Although the melody consists of the diatonic major scale as a whole, the first and last phrases have the same 4-7 *nuki* major structure, which mostly consists of the tetrachordal elements, c-A-G, A-G-E and G-E-D.

Another melody of '*Kitareya kitare*'

There is another melody for '*Kitareya kitare*' in an anthology of Meiji 27:²⁰

Figure 4-1-6 '*Kitareya kitare*' transcription by Momotari, Meiji 27 (1894) ²¹



Kitareya kitareya I zakita re Mikuni o mamoreya Morotomo ni
Mikuni o mamoreya Morotomo ni Yosekuru tekiwa - O o kuto mo

Melodic pitch-structure :  **ritsu-minyoo-type**



4-1-6 *Kitareya Kitare Momotari*

The above transcription shows that the method of singing *gunka* suggested by Ooniwa Keiyoo, repeating phrase by phrase alternately in two groups, had likely become habitual among the soldiers.

Although the above two famous melodies stuck in the ears of the 1930s-born author of this thesis through the soundtracks of news-films during World War 2, none of my acquaintances has a memory of hearing the lyrics sung by older people. Although the poems caused the greatest boom of *mamebon*, it is highly possible that the melodies did not become familiar to the soldiers. Actually, the above two *gunka* rapidly disappeared from anthologies in the KDL after the Meiji 30s. Soldiers needed other melodies that were easy and appropriate for singing in a march, as I will describe in the following sections.

²⁰ Moreover, one more melody of the diatonic major scale occurs in Meiji 23 (1890) in the KDL: Fujii Jun'ichi, *Shinsen gunka*, 1890.

²¹ Momotari, *Yoogaku no Shiori*, 1894.

4-1-3 *Heitai-bushi gunka* in the earliest years of Meiji

a) '*Tooshin gunka*' (Bash China War song)

The *gunka* anthology, *Tooshin Gunka (Bash China War Song)*, was published by the 'Army Band Music School' on August 9, Meiji 27 (1894),²² just seven days after the declaration of the Sino-Japanese War. It was followed within two weeks by at least nine similar songbooks (mostly reprints) by publishers across the nation.²³ It consists of five *kaeta* lyrics 'written by Chinzei Sanjin' (鎮西山人作歌) and accurate staff notation for Leroux' '*Battoo-tai*', 'made by Army Band Music School' (陸軍軍楽舎製曲) with the note '*Battootai-bushi*' written at the shoulder of the staff as follows:²⁴

Figure 4-1-7 '*Tooshin Gunka*' Meiji 27 (1894)

討清軍歌第一 うてやこらせや 抜刀隊節

The image shows a musical score for the song 'Tooshin Gunka'. It consists of five staves of Western musical notation in 2/4 time. The lyrics are written in Japanese characters below the notes. The title at the top is '討清軍歌第一 うてやこらせや 抜刀隊節'. The lyrics are: (ウテヤ コラセヤ セイコクヲ セイハ ミクニノ アダナルゾ) (トウヤク ハイワ アダナルゾ ウチテ タダシキ クニトセヨ) (ミクニ) ケンリヤ ヤマダケル カクマン フロイ テエラツテ (トウヤク ハイワ) ヤラヌ マウマイ カンコ テエラツテ (ウテヤー コラセヤ セイコクヲ ウテヤー コラセヤ セイコクヲ) (ウテヤ コラセヤ シンハイヲ ミクニノハカウ シンハイハ) (ミクニノ) カウキヤ ベツスル セイフタ タスクレ シヤクヘイア

The note '*Battoo-tai-bushi*' tells readers who cannot make out Western notation that the song should be sung to Leroux' melody. Naturally, a question occurs: 'what kind of melody was meant for the readers who did not know Leroux' at all?' The above note may not have been effective for all of the populace, however, because one of the above nine songbooks carries a melody different to Leroux' '*Battoo-tai*', as follows:

Figure 4-1-8 '*Tooshin Gunka*' presented by Fukushima, Meiji 27 (1894)²⁵

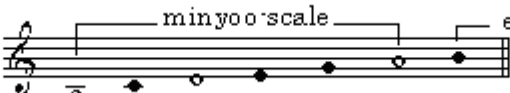
The image shows a musical score for the song 'Tooshin Gunka' presented by Fukushima. It consists of a single staff of Western musical notation in 2/4 time. The lyrics are written in Romanized Japanese below the notes. The title is 'U te ya - Ko ra seya shin koku o Shi n - - wamiku nino A da na ru zo'.

²² Chinzei Sanjin, *Tooshin Gunka*, Rikugun Gungaku-gakusha, 1894.

²³ The nine publishers were scattered around: Tokyo (3), Osaka (3), Shiga (2), Sapporo, and Gifu.

²⁴ One of the songbooks states that Chinzei Sanjin was actually 'the Army Officer in Charge of Edition in the Staff Office Headquarters. Yokoi Tadanao (参謀本部 編集官 横井忠直)' wrote the lyrics 'by the Order of the President Staff Officer' (参謀総長陸軍大将 有栖川親王殿下命令): Yokoi Tadanao, *Toosei Gunka*, Oosaka, Sakae-shoten, 1894.

²⁵ Fukushima Koo, *Tooshin-Gunka*, Sep 1894.

Melodic pitch-structure :  ritsu-minyoo-type



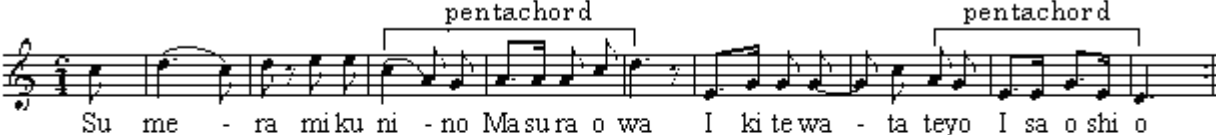
4-1-8 *Tooshin Gunka Fukushima*

Unlike Leroux' *'Battoo-tai'*, the above cheerful melody may have been very familiar to the soldiers of the time. The publisher, Fukushima, a proprietor of a printing workshop, may have presented a soldier-tune that spread at the time: I also found the same melody with another title and lyrics in a later songbook of Meiji 33 (1900):²⁶ The lyric style of strict 7-5-*choo* was convenient for any *heitai-bushi* of four measures of 4/4 meter or eight measures of 2/4.²⁷


Presenting the following transcription, Horiuchi writes about *'Tooshin Gunka'* as follows:²⁸

There were many kinds of *mame-bon* of the same title, *Tooshin-Gunka*, with the same lyrics but with no melody. The first songbook that carried the staff of the song was *Meiji-gunka* published in Dec Meiji 27 and the composer was the *gagaku* musician Ue (上真行). However, the music was so long that it was mostly sung to the melody of *'Kyoodoodan-ka'* (教導団歌 Army School Song).

Figure 4-1-9 '*Kyoodoodan-ka*' transcription by Horiuchi



Su me - ra miku ni - no Masura o wa I ki tewa - ta teyo I sa o shi o

Melodic pitch-structure :  ritsu-TC
minyoo-TC



4-1-9 *Kyoodoodan-ka Horiuchi*

Now we see that *'Tooshin Gunka'*, which was authored and published 'by the Order of the Army Staff Office Headquarters', in the expectation that it would be sung to the *'Battoo-tai* tune', was actually sung mostly to other tunes that originated spontaneously among the soldiers.

b) Four other examples of *heitai-bushi* melody

Kawai Suimei (1874-1965) writes:²⁹

Although we had no curriculum called *shooka* in my schoolchild-hood, some time or other our teacher taught us, *'Aa Masashige yo'* (Alas, Masashige!), *'Ken-mu no mukashi Masashige wa'* (In the years of old Ken-mu era), etc. We called such poems neither 'poem' (詩) nor 'new style poem' (新体詩): it was understood as a kind of *gunka* in a sense.

²⁶ A *gunka* titled *'Ketsubetsu'* in, Nakamura Rinshoo, *Nitto Gunka*, 1900.

²⁷ Moreover, the third stanza, *'Masurao'*, of the *'Tooshin-Gunka* written by Yokoi Tadanori', occurs in a later *gunka* collection, *Daitoo Gunka - Yuki no Maki*, to another melody written by a member of the Army Band and *gagaku* musician, Oomura Josaburou.

²⁸ Horiuchi, 1977, p. 86 and p. 28-29.

²⁹ Kawai Suimei, 1925.

There were some other *gunka*, such as 'Ware wa kangun waga teki wa' (*Battoo-tai*), 'Ichiri han nari' (The distance is 6 kilometers), as well as the above songs of Nankoo (General Kusunoki). We heard such songs as a novelty that soldiers sang while marching in step.

The above four *gunka* lyrics that Suimei presents are included in the above-mentioned *Gunka* of Meiji 19 (1886). Moreover, the original of 'Ichiri han nari' is presented as 'Tenison-shi Keikihei-tai shingeki no uta' (Mr. Tennyson's attack of cavalry) in *Shintaishi Shoo* 1882.³⁰

Among the above four, 'Aa, Masashige yo' may be the most widespread *heitai-bushi gunka* with 'Ken-mu no mukashi'. The two songs sing of Kusunoki Masatsura and his father Masashige, a general of almost legendary status who fought to the death against the enemies of Godaigo Tennoo (1288-1339). Horiuchi presented the song under the title 'Kusunoki Masatsura', transcribed by Shikama who named it 'Masashige' in Meiji 23 (1890).³¹

'Aa Masashige yo'

ああ正成よ 正成よ (7-5) — Alas! Masashige, Masashige!
公の逝去の このかたは... (7-5) — Since the death of His Majesty. . .³²

Figure 4-1-10 'Aa Masashige yo' transcription by Shikama Meiji 23 (1890) ³³



Melodic pitch-structure :  minyoo-scale



4-1-10 Aa Masashige yo Shikama

'Ichirihan nari Ichirihan'

'Ichirihan nari Ichiri han' (The distance is 6 kilometers) and 'Kumagai Naozane' occur next most frequently to the above epics of Kusunoki in the KDL:

一里半なり 一里半 (7-5) — The distance is 6 kilo-meters, 6 kilo-meters,
並びて進む 一里半 (7-5) — In a line we advance, the 6 kilo-meters,
死地に乗り入る 六百騎 (7-5) — The 600 horsemen go into the jaws of death,
将は掛かれの 令下す (7-5) — The captain commands 'attack!'

³⁰ テニソン氏 軽騎兵隊進撃の歌, in *Shintaishi-shoo*, 1882, p. 6.

³¹ Moreover, this is presented under the title 'Shoo-Nankoo o eizuru no uta' in *Gunka* 1886. Such diverse titles depending on the publications show the solely oral dissemination of this song. Nakayama Eiko writes a detailed essay on Nankoo and the earliest *gunka* in, Nakayama, 'Shoki no Gunka to Nankoo ni tsuite', in *Nihon-gaku Kenkyuu dai10-goo*, 2007.

³² In the lyrics, Masatsura is talking to his dead father and grieving for his Majesty, the late Godaigo.

³³ Shikama, *Senkyoku shooka-shuu 1, 2*, 1890, p. 4 of the second volume.

The same or similar tunes occur from Meiji 22 to 26 in the KDL, for example, Hashio Chikken presents a similar melody in, Hashio, *Tefuukin hitori an-nai*, Osaka, 1893. Hayashi Daiji presents another melody in, Hayashi, *Tefuukin Hitori Keiko*, Osaka, 1892.

Figure 4-1-11 *'Ichirihan nari Ichirihan'* transcription by Nakamura Rinshoo, Meiji 33 (1900)³⁴

I chi ri ha - n nari i chi ri ha n Narabite - susumu ichiri ha n
Shi chi ni no - ri i ru ro - p pya - k ki Shoo waka - kareno re i ku da su

Melodic pitch-structure : 2-6-nuki-minor

4-1-11 *Ichirihan nari* Nakamura

'Kumagai Naozane'

Horiuchi presents *'Kumagai Naozane'* and writes that it is presented in *Shintai-shiika* of Meiji 15, and that the transcription is based on his memory of *kembu* (performance of the sword dance) in the years of the Russo-Japanese War (Meiji 37-38).³⁵

そもそも 熊谷直実は(8-5) — In the first place, Kumagai Naozane originates,
征夷将軍 源の... (7-5) — From ancient general against the barbarians, Minamoto...

Figure 4-1-12 *'Kumagai Naozane'* transcription by Horiuchi

Somo somo - kuma ga i - nao za ne wa Sei i shoo gu n - mina moto no

Melodic pitch-structure : ritsu-scale
and also
minyoo-scale

4-1-12 *Kumagai Naozane* Horiuchi

'Saegi Saegi' or *'Tozan Bayashi'*

Horiuchi also quotes the koto player Suzuki Koson (鈴木鼓村, 1860?-1931) as follows³⁶:

Meiji 13 (1880), when the Fifth Infantry Regiment lost its way marching in the Aomori region, soldiers encouraged themselves by singing a religious mountaineering song *'Saigi Saigi Rokkon Shoojoo'* (懺悔々々六根清浄).

A school teacher, Murabayashi Heiji (1919 -), writes that the *'Saegi Saegi'* survived as a children's song, *'Tozan Bayashi'* (mountaineering song), of which the praying lyrics come from Buddhism. He presents it as follows.³⁷

³⁴ Nakamura Rinshoo editor/author, *Nittoo Gunka dai 2-shuu & 3-shuu*, 1900, p. 9. The author Nakamura, a teacher of the Army Music School and first class music player (一等楽手), notes 'put down what he heard' (中村林松聞作).

³⁵ Horiuchi, 1977, p. 22.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 19-20.,

³⁷ Murabayashi Heiji, *Aomori no Warabe-uta*, 1994, p. 200.

Figure 4-1-13 'Saegi Saegi' or 'Tozan Bayashi' transcribed by Murabayashi

Sa e gi sa e gi Dok ko e sa egi Oya masaha ji dae ko ngo odoo sa I ji ni -

na no hai Na no ma nmyo - cho- rai

ritsu-TC

minyoo-TC

ritsu-minyoo-type
(pentachord melody)



4-1-13 Saegi Saegi Murabayashi

c) Music characteristics of the earliest *heitai-bushi*

Heitai-bushi is an important genre of Meiji popular song peculiar to the transitional period from the old Edo-style *zokuyoo* to the new-Western style *shooka-gunka*. In the musical characteristics of the earliest soldier-tunes that began spontaneously and spread solely orally among the soldiers, we can catch a glimpse of the taste of the people of the time.

Characteristics of rhythmic structure

The rhythmic structures of the above eight *heitai-bushi* songs are full of variety, like *zokuyoo* and unlike most of the new Western style songs. Soldiers sang with endless repetition fixed eight measure phrases of literary-style *7-5-choo* lyrics, making use of diverse rhythms including offbeat openings, combinations of dotted and non-dotted quavers, syncopation, ties crossing over bar lines, and rests inserted halfway through a phrase, that recalls the tune of whistle in the movie 'The Bridge on the River Kwai'. They did not need the *pyonko*-beat of children's ball-bouncing songs. They preferred *zokuyoo*-like complexity to the regularity of *gunka-shooka*, which would be given to them soon. It is noticeable that such complex rhythms apparently did not disturb their marching step; they had good sense of rhythm different to the composers of the earliest *gunka-shooka*.

Characteristics of melodic structure

The melodic structures of the above *heitai-bushi* are also various and similar to *zokuyoo* rather than to *gunka* in general. Out of the eight songs of the *minyoo*-like melodies with no half step, five songs, '*Battoo-tai*', '*Kitareya kitare*', '*Kyoodoodan-ka*', '*Kumagai Naozane*', and '*Saegi Saegi*' have tetrachordal elements of both the *ritsu*-TC and the *minyoo*-TC that are combined and entangled with each other so that it is impossible to distinguish which one of the two kinds of tetrachord dominates. The typical patterns are the pentachords D-E-G-A and G-A-c-d, each of which actually makes up some brief melodic phrase/s. A notable pitch-structure among them occurs in '*Kumagai Naozane*' (Figure 4-1-13): With only one prominent *kakuon*, G, it can be understood in two ways, as the *ritsu*-scale C-D-F-G-A-c (+d) and also as the *minyoo*-scale D-F-G-A-c-d (+C), because it is impossible to distinguish which one of C-c or D-d retains the function of second *kakuon*. Therefore, in the above five *heitai-bushi* melodies out of eight, the

distinction between the *ritsu*-TC and the *minyoo*-TC does not make sense.

Among the other three, '*Aa Masashigeyo*' (Figure 4-1-10) has the *minyoo*-scale and '*Tooshin Gunka*' can be understood to have almost the same pitch structure as *minyoo*-scale, A'-C-D-E-G-A with one extra note B.

Although the pitch structure E-G-A-B-d-e(+D) of '*Tchirihan nari*' (Figure 4-1-11) looks like *minyoo*-scale, it should be understood as 2-6-*nuki* minor because of the central note E and the middle note A of the three adjacent notes which has no function of *kakuon*. As mentioned above, only one out of the eight *heitai-bushi gunka* has the new type of melodic structure.

4-1-4 War songs that were *kaeuta* of *shooka*

The first *shooka* melody that I found in popular song anthologies in the KDL is a *kaeuta* for a war song. It is unbelievable that soldiers actually sang this song while marching. However, the fact of the presentation of such a *kaeuta* of children's *shooka* by a teacher of the Higher Normal School tells us of the earnest need for appropriate marching songs for training soldiers and students.

'*Shingeki oyobi tsuigeki*' (Attack and chase)

見渡せば 崩れかかる (5-6)	— Look around the large enemy force!
敵の大軍 心地よや (7-5)	— They are giving away! How pleasant it is!
もはや合戦 勝なるぞ (7-5)	— Already we've won the battle.
いでや人々 追い崩せ (7-5)	— Come on, chase and knock them down!
銃剣つけて 突き倒せ (7-5)	— Fix the bayonet and stab them down!
敵の大軍 突き崩せ (7-5)	— Put the large enemy force to rout!

Figure 4-1-14 '*Shingeki oyobi Tsuigeki*', Meiji 22 (1889) ³⁸

Melodic pitch-structure : 7-nuki-major

4-1-14 *Shingeki oyobi Tsuigeki*

³⁸ Horinaka Tetsuzoo, *Katei Shooka no Tomo*, 1889.

'Miwataseba'- the original lyrics of *shooka* ³⁹

- 見渡せば 青柳 - *Miwataseba aoyanagi* (7-5) — Look around the green willows!
 花桜 こきまぜて - *Hanazakura kokimazete* (5-5) — Mixed with cherry blossoms,
 都には みちも狭に - *Miyakoniwa Michimoseni* (5-5) — Full in every road of the capital,
 春の錦をぞ - *Haru no nishiki o zo* (8) — Let us view the splendor of spring scenery.

Short history

Endou Hiroshi (遠藤宏) attributes the tune to Jean-Jacques Rousseau.⁴⁰ *Shooka 'Miwataseba'* was published in Meiji 14 (1881) in *Shoogaku Shooka-shuu* and its first occurrence in a popular song anthology was as a *gunka*, '*Shingeki oyobi Tsuigeki*', in Meiji 22 (1889). In Meiji 28 (1895) it appeared in *Daitou Gunka* with the author's name, Torii Makoto, a professor of the Music School attached to the Higher Normal School and the editor of this *gunka* anthology.⁴¹

After World War II, it became the most popular play song, *Musunde hiraite* '(Close, then open your hands!)', and it is sung in kindergarten still today.

Occurrence in anthologies

The *gunka* version occurs 7 times in the Meiji 20s (1887-1896), twice in the 30s (1897-1906), and once in the 40s (1907-1912), making a total of 10 times in the KLD. On the other hand, *'Miwataseba'* as *shooka* occurs twice in the Meiji 20s (1887-1896), 3 times in the 30s (1897-1906), and once in the 40s (1907-1912), making a total of six times in the KDL, fewer than the *gunka* version.

Characteristics of lyric structure and content

The *kaeuta* consists of mostly *7-5-choo* in literary language, but is much easier than the difficult *motouta*, which includes '*Michi mo se ni*', which is an ancient expression that one barely finds even in poetry collections of the eighth or ninth centuries. The two lyrics start with the same phrase '*Miwataseba*' (look around). This *kaeuta* depicts the victory of a battle in a carefree way, with antiquated expressions, and sounds somewhat like a narrative on a *kabuki* stage.

³⁹ *Ongaku Torishirabe Kakari, Shoogaku Shooka-shuu Shohen*, Ministry of Education, 1881.

⁴⁰ Endou Hiroshi, *Meiji ongakushi-koo [Study on the History of Music in the Meiji]*. Yuuhoo-doo, 1948, p. 208.

⁴¹ *Daitou Gunka* was the largest *gunka* anthology throughout the Meiji. The title means 'Great Asia Military Song'. Its prefatory note shows that it was completed by the cooperation of officials/officers of the Army and Navy, the Music School of Ministry of Education and the *Gagaku* section of the Palace Office, and moreover through a public prize contest run by a newspaper company.

4-2 *Gunka* and *Shooka* in the Middle Years of Meiji, Around the Time of the Sino-Japanese War

Before the description and analysis of the most frequent *gunka* and *shooka* in the songbooks of the middle of the Meiji, I will present some more examples of the *heitai-bushi* of the time that people continued to sing until the end of World War II.

4-2-1 *Heitai-bushi* in the middle years of Meiji

Horiuchi writes about *gunka* of the years just before the Sino-Japanese War as follows:¹

The specific features of the *gunka* of the time are: that the lyric style changed from endless 7-5-*choo* epics to *shooka* style songs, which are divided into some stanzas, and that two diverse melodies for a single lyric stood side by side, an extremely short *heitai-bushi*-type and a comparatively long *shooka*-type. The melodic structure of the former is almost limited to the *zokugaku yoo-onkai* and that of the latter to the major scale. That the *in-onkai* or minor scales are hardly used is also an interesting feature.²

Michi wa roppyaku hachijuu-ri' (Our journey of 680-*ri*) and 'Poorando Kaiko' (Retrospection of Poland), are typical examples of *heitai-bushi gunka* in the middle years of the Meiji era.

Contrary to the earliest *heitai-bushi*, the popularity of which was led by *mamebon* that carried the ancient war epics, this type of *heitai-bushi gunka* hardly appears in the mid-Meiji anthologies in the KDL.

a) *Michi wa roppyaku hachijuu-ri*' (Our journey of 680-*ri*)

道は六百 八十里 (7-5)	— We have made an expenditure 2,700 miles!
長門の浦を 船出して (8-5)	— Since departure from the shore of Nagato,
はや二歳を 故里の (7-5)	— Already two years have passed, away from our home!
山を遥かに 眺むれば (7-5)	— When we imagine home mountains a long way off. . .

Figure 4-2-1 *Michi wa 680-ri*', transcription by Horiuchi, 1932

Michi wa ro ppyaku Ha chiju u ri Nagato no ura o fu nadeshite
 Haya futa tose o - Fu ru sato no Yama o - harukani na gamu re ba

Melodic pitch-structure :  **ritsu-scale**

¹ Horiuchi, 1944, p. 65.

² Horiuchi may have used the terms '*zokugaku yoo-onkai*' and '*in-onkai*' which Tanabe advocated based on '*yoosen*' and '*in-sen*' by Uehara Rokushiroo in *Zokugaku Senritsu Koo*, Meiji 28 (1895): According to Kojima Tomiko, '*Kindai no Onkairon*', *Nihon Ongaku Dajiten*, 1989, in which Kojima quotes, Tanabe, *Nihon Ongaku Kooza*, 1919, and, Tanabe, *Nihon no Ongaku*, 1947.



4-2-1 Michiwa 680-ri

Short history

Presenting both of the two melodies, Horiuchi writes as follows:

Nagai Kenshi told me in his letter that he had borrowed the lyrics from '*Michi wa 680-ri*' by an unknown author for his '*Gaisen-ka*' in Meiji 24, and also that it had spread in wrong ways and finally became unbearable to hear.³

Kindaichi and Anzai also write: 'this song (directing Nagai's melody) was probably too difficult for the people, and was not sung in general. The following (the *heitai-bushi*) was sung'. They present a *kaeuta* '*Nagato no ura de hirune shite*' (taking a nap on the shore of Nagato) and a beanbag play song '*Ichiretsu rampan*' (below).⁴ The popularity of '*Michi wa 680 ri*' continued until the end of World War II, meaning most people born in the 1930s remember the first two phrases of the *motouta*.

Occurrence in anthologies

Five songs with the above lyrics of '*Michi wa 680-ri*' are found in anthologies of the KDL, three times in the Meiji 30s (1897-1906), and twice in the 40s (1907-1912). Three of these appear with Nagai's melody (below), one with another melody and one without any music notation. I have not found the above well-known *heitai-bushi* in the KDL.⁵

Characteristics of lyric structure and contents

The *7-5-choo* lyrics are in colloquial language, including the stylish but easy expression '*nagamureba*'. In the lyrics, an assumed singer, a recruit, pours out his nostalgia after a two-year expedition away from his hometown.

Characteristics of rhythmic structure

This song has always been sung to *pyonko*-beat. Kindaichi and Anzai point out, 'Each pair of notes tends to have the same pitch. This is a preferred style of *gunka* and *ryooka* (dormitory song of students) in Japan at the time'.⁶ In other words, it is a preferred style for the songs of *pyonko*-beat.

Characteristics of melodic pitch-structure

This song uses a typical *ritsu* scale with *kakuon* of G, the middle of three adjacent notes, and C-c.

Kaeuta 'Ichiretsu Rampan', beanbag play song ⁷

一列らんぱん破裂して (8-5)	— (indistinct)
日露戦争はじまった (7-5)	— Russo-Japanese War has begun,
さっさと逃げるは ロシヤの兵 (8-5)	— Ones run away promptly are Russ soldiers,
死んでも尽くすは 日本の兵 (8-5)	— Ones do the best are Japanese soldiers.

³ Horiuchi, 1944, p. 40-45.

⁴ Kindaichi and Anzai, *Nihon no Shooka. ge, Chuu, Ge*, 1982, p. 122.

⁵ The same melody is found in the collection of the National Diet Library, titled '*Shusseï*', with diverse lyrics and 'Composed by Miyoshi Wake' (三善和気作曲). Mashimo writes, 'Mr. Miyoshi wrote the melody having amended what had spread in the army.' Mashimo Hisen, '*Shusseï*', Kyoto, 1905.

⁶ Kindaichi and Anzai, 1982, p. 122.

⁷ Murabayashi Heiji transcribes the melody of the ball-bouncing song the same as the above '*Michi wa 680-ri*'. Murabayashi, 1994, p. 55.

The indistinct phrase '*Ichretsu Ranmpan haretsu site*' obviously originates from the lyrics of '*Kimbu-bushi*', '*Nissin dampan Haretsu shite*' (Japan/China negotiations have broken down), a *sooshi-enka* which Komota listed five years before Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895).⁸ The author can still recall the first two phrases that girls sang playing beanbags in the early 1940s.

Another melody of '*Michi wa 680-ri*' titled '*Gaisen-ka*'

Figure 4-2-2 '*Gaisen-ka*' by Nagai, Meiji 24 (1891) ⁹

Mi chi wa rop pyaku hachiju u ri Naga tono ura o funa de shi te
 Haya ya futa tose o furu sa to no Yama o haru kani naga mu re ba
 Kumo ri -gachi naru tabi no so ra Iza ya hara san hino mo to no
 Miku ni nikaka reru iki do o ri Tsuyu yori moro ki hito no mi wa
 Ko ko zo- i no chino sutedoko ro-- Mi ni wa tamakizu tsuru gi ki zu

Melodic pitch-structure :  **diatonic major**

4-2-2 *Gaisen-ka* Nagai

Nagai Kenshi presented the above '*Gaisen-ka*' (Triumph Return Song) in Meiji 24 (1891), which has the same lyrics as the above *heitai-bushi* song, with notes as follows:

It is possible to sing each paragraph of eight-measure phrases in this music as an independent musical phrase for any 7-5-*choo* lyrics. Therefore, there will be no problem in finishing the song at any place. A group of ten soldiers should divide into two groups, two leading singers and eight followers. The followers should imitate every paragraph that leaders sing first.

In the same magazine, Nagai writes a noticeable column, as follows:

The purpose of presenting this song is the same as of the other day, a simple *gunka* titled '*Hootaikoo*'. It is a pity that brave soldiers lack elegance. They sing to monstrous tunes and never get shamed about it. I try to lure them to the charm of music and cure them of their vulgarity by the simple melody that may be easy to learn.

In the issue of the same magazine published three months earlier, he presented '*Hootaikoo*' with these notes:

It consists of only four notes of the bugle, *to-ta-te-chi* (G-c-e-g). I made it as easy as possible, taking account of my unsuccessful experiments of these several years, to give another *gunka* to soldiers and students who are too primitive in music.¹⁰

⁸ *Kimbu-bushi* (欣舞節) '*Nisshin dampan haretsu site*' in 1889 (Meiji 22), according to, Komota et al, *Shin-pan Nihon Ryuuokouka-shi joo*, 1994.

⁹ Nagai Kenshi, '*Gaisen-ka*' (凱旋歌), *Ongaku zasshi dai 6-goo*, Feb. 1891.

¹⁰ Nagai Kenshi, '*Hoo-Taikoo*' (豊太閤), *Ongaku zasshi dai 9-goo*, 1891.

Afterwards, Nagai published this '*Gaisen-ka*' twice more, with title '*Shoo-Nankoo*' in Meiji 27 (1894),¹¹ and as '*Gaisen*' in Meiji 32 (1899). However, this was rather in vain.¹² Still today, only the above *heitai-bushi* melody is well known among the elderly in Japan.

b) '*Poorando Kaiko*' (Retrospection of Poland)

I present three versions of '*Poorando Kaiko*' (波蘭懷古) as follows:

- (1) A *heitai-bushi* version transcribed by Kodama from a 1901-born former soldier.
- (2) A version transcribed by Horiuchi from a former army officer, published in 1944.
- (3) A numeral notation composed or transcribed by a music teacher of middle school, Kagawa, published in Meiji 34 (1901).

The following lyrics are of version (1) that the 1901-born former soldier used to sing, at the earliest around the 1920s:

<u>いちにち</u> ふつかは 晴れたれど (7-5)	– Though the 1st and 2nd days were fine
三日四日五日は 雨に風 (8-5)	– The 3rd, 4th and 5th days were rainy and windy,
道の悪しさに のる駒も(7-5)	– Since the road condition was so bad, my horse
踏みわずらいし 野路山路 (7-5)	– Staggered along the fields and mountains.

Note: Underlines show two variant points from the original poem by Ochiai Naobumi: '*Hitohi futahi wa*' and '*Fumi wazurai nu*', as shown in Figure 4-2-4 and 4-2-5.

Figure 4-2-3 '*Poorando Kaiko*' of a 1901-born former soldier transcription by Kodama

I chnichifutsuka wa Ha retare do - Mikayoka itsukawa Ame ni ka ze Mi
chi no a shisani Noruko ma mo Fumiwa zu ra i shi Nojiya ma ji -

Melodic pitch-structure : **Mostly miyako-bushi-type with last part 4-7-nuki-minor**

4-2-3 *Poorando Kaiko* Kodama

Figure 4-2-4 '*Poorando Kaiko*' transcription by Horiuchi, (1944)¹³

Hi tohifutahi wa Hareta re do Mikayo ka i tsuka wa Ame ni ka Mi
chi no ashisani No ru ko ma mo Fu mi wa zu ra i nu No jiya maji

¹¹ Uji Haruchiyo & Nagai Kenshi, *Shoo-nankoo*. 1894.

¹² Nagai Kenshi, *Koteki Rappa Gunka Jitsuyoo Shinpu*, 1899, p. 39-40.

¹³ Horiuchi, 1977, p. 75.

Melodic pitch-structure :  4-7-nuki-major

4-2-4 *Poorando Kaiko Horiuchi*

Finally, a numeral notation that may possibly be the original is found in the collection of the KDL. This is version (3), the Kagawa version, 'lyrics written by Ochiai Naobumi' and 'music made (作歌) by Kagawa'.

Figure 4-2-5 '*Poorando Kaiko*' by Kagawa, Meiji 34 (1901) ¹⁴



Melodic pitch-structure : 4-7-nuki-major

4-2-5 *Poorando Kaiko Kagawa*

Short history

Lieutenant colonel Fukushima succeeded in traversing alone, and on horseback, the Eurasian continent from Berlin to Vladivostok via Siberia in Meiji 26 (1893). Inspired by this heroic journey, Ochiai Naobumi published a long 7-5-*choo* epic of 79 pages titled *Kiba-ryokou* (horse riding travel), of which part three became the song '*Poorando Kaiko*'.¹⁵ Horiuchi presents the above transcription and writes:

This song occurred in many *mamehon* with the title '*Poorando Kaiko*' and it was often sung among the soldiers of the time. I took the above lyrics not from the *mamehon*, because of many errors, but from *Hagi no ya ikoo* of Ochiai. It is a pity that I find no names of the composer or the first publication. The above staff is my transcription from my former collaborator in the NHK.¹⁶

By the keyword '*Fukushima Chuusa*', twenty songbooks published in Meiji 26-27 (1893-1894) occur among the books of the NDC classification 767 (*shooka-shuu*) of the KDL. Although most of those songbooks carry a song that sings of the great journey of Fukushima, none of them sing of Poland. Moreover, among 208 books classified into NDC 911.5 '*shintaiishi* and *jiyuu-shi*', the book *Kiba Ryokou* occurs by the keyword 'ochiai', but nothing occurs by the keyword 'poorando' (波蘭). It is possible that Horiuchi confused *mamehon Fukushima Chuusa* with '*Poorando Kaiko*'.

¹⁴ Hanyuu Yoshitaroo and Kagawa Minoru, *Shin-kyoku Kyouiku Shooka*, 1901.

This is a textbook for the training of school teachers. The editors/authors were middle school teachers of music. Kagawa's notation is accurate in some other well-known *shooka*, such as '*Tenchoo setsu*', '*Ichigatsu Ichijitsu*' and '*Kigensetsu*'.

¹⁵ Ochiai Naobumi (Haginoya Shujin), *Kiba Ryokoo*, 1893, p. 19-23.

¹⁶ Horiuchi, 1977, p.73-76. NHK (Nihon Hoosoo Kyookai) is the Japanese national broad caster.

or Ochiai's original, *Kibaryokou*.

Characteristics of lyric structure and content

The poem is written in literary language in *7-5-choo*. The extraordinary expressions '*Hitohi Futahi wa*' and '*Fumi wazurai-nu Noji yamaji*', by the literary scholar Ochiai, transform into unaffected and regularly used '*Ichi-nichi Futsuka wa*' and '*Fumi wazurai-shi Noji yamaji*' in the *heitai-bushi*. Ochiai describes the hard weather and wilderness on the journey from Germany to Poland, and finishes with the pitiful last phrase, '*Horobosaretaru Poorando*' (Demolished Poland!), which I can recall still today.

Characteristics of rhythmic structure

The only but important difference among the three melodies is that Kagawa's notation lacks the early opening of the third phrase, | - - Mi | chi - - no | a shi sa ni |, the key point of the rhythmic structure of this song.

Characteristics of melodic structure

The above version (1) has a somewhat strange pitch structure, a hybrid of tetrachordal structure and Western minor. From the viewpoint of tetrachordal structure, it consists of two *miyako-bushi*-TCs, D-Eb-G and A-Bb-d, of which each of the four *kakuon* D, G, A, d functions as the ending note of each of the four phrases respectively. However, the ending note of the last phrase, the central note G of the melody, is not situated in the middle of three adjacent notes: G-A-B. The basic frame of this melodic pitch-structure is not the *kakuon* D-A-d of the *miyako-bushi*-scale, but D-G-Bb-d, a Western minor chord. It takes the form, G-A-Bb-d-eb-(g), with the central note G, making *4-7-nuki*-minor.

The pitch-structure of the other two versions is common, and both have completely the same form as the former: by simply removing the flat signs from the former, it changes into *4-7-nuki*-major, G-A-B-d-e, with central note G, and vice versa.

As such, it is certain that the above three variants are closely related to one another in the history of their circulation. There are two possibilities: Kagawa may have intended to ameliorate *heitai-bushi*, or soldiers may have transformed the original, probably by Kagawa. At any rate, in the above-mentioned rhythmic and melodic structures, we see the prominent difference between *heitai-bushi* and the schoolteacher's melody: that is, the difference between *zokuyoo* and *shooka*.¹⁷

How it is sung in recordings of Shooka

A similar melody to the one the 1901-born soldier used to sing in the army around 1921-1924, is

¹⁷ In the above-mentioned *Shin-kyoku Kyouiku Shooka*, we see the opinion of a music teacher regarding *zokuyoo* and *shooka*. Kagawa lectures on scales of music as follows:

'Contrary to the music of the minor scale, which is effeminate and plaintive, music of the major scale is brave, stirring and graceful. Those which we use in education almost always belong to the latter.'

Next, he expresses his opinion about *shooka* and *zokuyoo* as follows:

'Because music essentially belongs to human nature, humans are originally musical beings. Therefore, if we do not perform appropriate education on them, obscene music that flows (continue to next page) out naturally from fleshy emotion may come into fashion. That is the reason why all *zokuyoo* that are sung among the nations without music education are unendurable to hear.'

found in a recording sung by an old-boys group of two Army schools for officers.¹⁸ It can be said to be true *heitai-bushi*. On the other hand, a popular vocal group, Dark Ducks, sings the song without any half step, obviously after the transcription by Horiuchi. This is possibly another *heitai-bushi*. The celebrated actor, Morishige Hisaya (1913-2009), also sang it with some ambiguity of pitch. In recordings he begins pianissimo the *miyako-bushi*-like tune, then sharpens some notes with crescendo until reaching forte at '*Horobosaretaru Poorando*' (Demolished Poland!) where it changes into a clear major tune.¹⁹ This may be another *heitai-bushi* version.

c) '*Shoo-Nankoo*', a melody composed for use with any *7-5-choo* lyrics

In the strict sense of the word, this is not a *heitai-bushi*. Nagai Kenshi, who had tried 'to lure the soldiers to the charm of music and cure them of their vulgarity', though not very successfully, composed a 'common melody that could be applied to any *7-5-choo* lyrics' in Meiji 32 (1899).

Figure 4-2-6 '*Shoo-Nankoo*' by Nagai Kenji, Meiji 32 (1899) ²⁰

Melodic pitch-structure : 4-nuki-major

4-2-6 *Shoo-Nankoo* Nagai

Short history

Nagai wrote a note for this song as follows:

This music is composed to match any kind of *7-5-choo* text of *gunka* that does not yet have a melody. I have utilized the lyrics of '*Shoo Nankoo*'. Sing any *gunka* with long *7-5-choo* lyrics and which is without melody, to this tune.

This time, Nagai succeeded in his project of inspiring students and soldiers. This melody was first utilized by students for their dormitory songs '*Amur River bloodshed*' (Meiji 34/1901), '*Conquer Russia Song*' (Meiji 34/1901), '*Beyond Ural*' (Meiji 37/1904), then by the Army for the *gunka* '*Night attack of Hohenlinden*' (lyrics occur in *mamebon* Meiji 20/1887), the 'Russo-Japanese War Song' (Meiji 37/1904),²¹ and '*Hohei no Honryoo*' (characteristic of infantry), which

¹⁸ *Rikugun Shikan-gakkoo & Yoonen-gakkoo shusshin-sha* (陸軍士官学校及び幼年学校出身者) in, *20 seiki no ongaku-isai* (二十世紀の音楽遺産), CD, King Record Co. Ltd, 2000, CD.

¹⁹ Morishige Hisaya, *Ketteiban Morishige Hisaya 3 gunka o utau*, Columbia Music Entertainment, CD: COCF10663, 1993.

²⁰ Nagai Kenshi, 1899, p. 44 - 47.

²¹ Horiuchi, 1977, p.180-188.

was also called '*Hohei no uta*' (Meiji 44/1911).²² A '*May Day Song*' (1922), to the above melody, was sung every May Day from 1922 until at least the 1960s. The question of identifying the composers of the above songs has been discussed for a long time. Some of them are still presented in print as 'composer unknown' or under a different name.

Characteristics of rhythmic structure

In spite of the strict distinction between the dotted and non-dotted notes by Nagai, this song was actually sung to *pyonko*-beat with or without some parts of reverse *pyonko*-beat.

Characteristics of melodic pitch-structure

Although it is written in the *4-nuki* major scale, it has always been sung to *4-7-nuki* with no half step. Today too, the 'May Day Song' that can be heard on many web sites is sung to *4-7-nuki* major.

4-2-2 The most popular *gunka* of the middle years of Meiji

Horiuchi writes about *shooka* and *gunka*, around the time of the Sino-Japanese War, as follows:²³

Gagaku style melodies, which were called '*katchin-bushi*' according to the *gagaku* musician's name Shiba Katchin, ruled *shooka* music until the Sino-Japanese War. However, such a style was gradually replaced by Koyama Sakunosuke, Suzuki Yonejiro, Nassho Benjiro, etc. The new hybrid style of Western and Japanese appeared mostly during the Sino-Japanese War: that was made by casting the major scale into the Oriental style mould of the pentatonic – eliminating the fourth and seventh notes from the diatonic major – so it was commonly called *4-7-nuki-bushi*.

When the repeating rhythmic style that repeats as '*pyonko-pyonko*' became the specific characteristic of *gunka*, the vernacular name of '*pyonko-bushi*' was also born. The popularization of *gunka* overwhelmed most of the above-mentioned styles of *shooka*. The overly polite *katchin-bushi* or the exotic *shooka* melodies of foreign countries lost their charm before the East Asian styled vibrant *pyonko-bushi* of *4-7-nuki* tunes. Both teachers and children shouted at the top of their voice '*Shihyaku yoshuu o kozoru*', '*Teki wa ikuman*', '*Kemuri mo miezu kumo mo naku*', etc. Therefore, the *shooka* classroom became extremely enjoyable from that time.

a) '*Teki wa ikuman*' (No matter how countless the enemies are!)

A 敵は幾万 ありとても
すべて烏合の 勢なるぞ
烏合の勢に あらずとも
味方に正しき 道理あり
B 邪はそれ正に 勝ち難く
直は曲にぞ 勝栗の

(Note: The lyrics are written in *7-5-choo*.)

– No matter how countless the enemies are,
– They are all disorderly crows!
– If they are not disorderly crows,
– Right and justice are on our side!
– The wicked cannot beat the just,
– Right defeats evil!

²² Ibid, p. 251.

²³ Horiuchi, 1942a, p. 197.

- A 堅き心の一徹は — The iron will of tenacity makes
 石に矢の立つ 験あり — An arrow pierce a rock!
 石に矢の立つ 験あり — An arrow pierces a rock!
 などて恐るる 事やある — We have no reason to be afraid,
 C などてたゆとふ 事やある — We have no reason to hesitate!

Figure 4-2-7 *'Teki wa ikuman'* by Koyama Sakunosuke, Meiji 24 (1891)

Te ki wa i kuma n A rito te mo Su - be te u go - no se i na ru zo
 Ka ta kiko koro no I tte tsu wa I - shiniya nota tsu ta me shi a ri

U go o nose - i ni A ra zu to mo Mi ka ta nita dashi ki Do ori ari
 I -shiniyanota tsu Ta meshi a ri Na - do te o so ru ru

Ja wa sore se i ni - kachi ga - ta - ku Cho - ku wa kyoku nizo ka chi gu - ri - no *D.S.*

Coda
 Koto ya aru Na do te ta - yu - to - ko to ya ar ru

Melodic pitch-structure : 4-nuki-major
 (Almost 4-7-nuki-major)

4-2-7 Tekiwa Ikuman

Short history

'Teki wa ikuman' was composed and published as a *shooka* by Koyama Sakunosuke in Meiji 24 (1891).²⁴ It was taught in schools but has been known as *gunka*. The literary scholar Toki Zem-marō (1885-1980) and the musicologist Machida Kashō (1888-1981) testify that they remember the best *'Teki wa ikuman'* among the songs that they sang in the school.²⁵

Occurrence in anthologies

'Teki wa ikuman' occurs 4 times in anthologies of the Meiji 20s (1887-1896), 9 times in the 30s (1897-1906), 7 times in the 40s (1907-1912), and also once in each decade under the title of *'Susume Yadama'*. The total occurrence of 23 times places it 17th among all the popular songs and 4th in the *gunka* and *shooka* of the KDL. It is classified 13 times as *gunka*, twice as *shooka*, and it occurs 8 times with no classification.

Characteristics of lyric structure and content

It is written in literary language and strict *7-5-choo*. The lyrics encourage soldiers who have not yet experienced real war against a foreign country.

Characteristics of rhythmic structure and relation with lyrics

The song consists of a ternary form of A + B + A, plus coda, C, as I indicated in both the above lyrics and staff. Most phrases are sung to *pyonko*-beat, except in parts B and C, where the tempo

²⁴ Koyama Sakunosuke (1863-1927), *Kokumin Shooka-shuu Vol.1*, 1891, p. 32.

²⁵ Kindaichi & Anzai, 1982b, p. 125.

solemnly calms down and it takes twice as long as part A.

Characteristics of melodic structure

Most parts of this melody have a 4-7-*nuki* major structure, with only one exception: the leading note B to the final note c in the last phrase, which results in 4-*nuki*-major as a whole.

b) 'Genkoo' (Khubilai's Attack)

- | | |
|----------------|--|
| 四百余州をこぞる (7-3) | — Gathered from more than 400 regions, |
| 十万余騎の敵, (7-2) | — Cavalries more than hundred thousands! |
| 国難ここに見る (4-5) | — Here, we had the national crisis, |
| 弘安4年夏の頃. (7-5) | — Summer of the fourth year in the Kooan era (1281). |

Figure 4-2-8 'Genkoo', by Nagai Kenshi, Meiji 25 (1892).

maestoso

Shihya ku yoshu - o ko zo ru Ju u ma n yokinote ki
 - Ko ku nan koko nimi ru Ko annyonen na tsu no ko ro

Melodic pitch-structure : diatonic major

4-2-8 Genkoo

Short history

Nagai Kenshi published this song in *Ongaku Zasshi* in Meiji 25 (1892). The following reports show that the song spread in the earliest years of the Meiji 30s (1897-1906):

Machida Kashoo (1888-1981) testifies that this dear old song reminds him of his childhood.²⁶ Quoting *Fuuzoku Gahoo* of Meiji 35 (1902), Mori Senzou writes, 'At the Inauguration Ceremony of Waseda University, students sang an impromptu school song to the melody of 'Genkoo' in Meiji 35 (1902)'.²⁷ An anonymous authors' group reports that it occurred as a commercial song for dental cream in Meiji 31 (1898).²⁸

I recall that after half a century, 7 and 8-year-old boys still used to sing a *kaeuta* of this song as follows:

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---|
| <i>Shihyaku yonin no lumpen,</i> | — More than 400 loafers |
| <i>Zaru motte kado ni tachi,</i> | — Stand in the street taking baskets with them, |
| <i>'Ossan, zeni okure,</i> | — 'Hey Mister, give us money! |
| <i>Kurenaito panchi yaruzo!</i> | — Or, we'll give you a punch!" |

Occurrence in anthologies

²⁶ Kindaichi and Anzai, 1982b, p. 127.

²⁷ Mori, 1969b, p 78.

²⁸ *Ruutsu Ooshirabetai, Sekai hajimete monogatari*, 1990, p. 93.

'*Genkoo*' occurs 6 times in anthologies of the Meiji 20s (1887-1896), 13 times in the 30s (1897-1906), and 6 times in the 40s (1907-1912), making 25 times in total and placing it 13th among all the songs, and equal 2nd among the *gunka* and *shooka*, of the KDL. It is classified 15 times as *gunka*, once as *shooka*, and it occurs 9 times with no classification.

Characteristics of lyric structure and content

It is written in easy literary language to a completely free syllabic structure, like some *zokuyoo*. As Horiuchi writes, 'it is probably the first case of an author writing both the lyrics and music of a *gunka* or *shooka*, and also the first time that the lyric style becomes free from the restriction of *7-5-choo*'.²⁹

The content is a historical epic depiction of the Khubilai Attack in 1281. The lyrics continue until the eighth stanza where the typhoon *Kamikaze* (god's wind) destroyed all the enemy ships leaving only three soldiers alive.

Rhythmic structure and relation to lyric syllable

Among the many *gunka* of the Meiji, this song has a conspicuously vivid, stirring rhythm with the use of a *uftact* phrase opening, and a variety of note lengths, from 1/2 to 1/16. It is apparent that the composer refuses conventional *pyonko*-beat. The fourth phrase begins with tongue-twister lyrics.

Characteristics of melodic structure

The melodic structure consists of diatonic major with one extra F-sharp, however, Meiji people may have neglected that note, as the children of the 1940s certainly did.

Nagai Kenshi, who used to deplore the 'monstrous tunes' and 'lack of elegance' of soldiers, had great success in luring them to the 'charm of music' this time. We can conclude that '*Genkoo*' is probably the first Western style song that became a *hayariuta* among the people.

c) '*Yuukan naru suihei*', the typical *gunka* of *pyonko*-beat and *4-7-nuki* melody

Among the above 'East Asian styled vibrant *pyonko-bushi* of *4-7-nuki*' that Horiuchi presents, a typical *gunka* of *4-7-nuki* and *pyonko*-beat is the last one, '*Yuukan naru suihei*' (a brave seaman). It occurs in *Taishou Gunka*, probably the most popular *gunka* series during the Sino-Japanese War, which told brave tales of war heroes written by leading poets and musicians, based on the news from the battlefield.³⁰ The song occurs second-most often among the *gunka-shooka* that occur for the first time in the anthologies after Meiji 30.

²⁹ Horiuchi, 1977, p. 61.

³⁰ For the series *Taishou Gunka*, lyrics are written by Oowada Tateki, Ban Masaomi, Sasaki Nobutsuna, Hatano Juushiroo, and music composed by Yamada Gen'ichirou, Oku Yoshiisa, Nassho Benjirou, Suzuki Yonejirou.

Figure 4-2-9 'Yuukan naru suihei' from *Taishoo Gunka* ³¹

Kemurimomi ezu - Kumomo na ku Ka - ze mo o kora zu Nami ta ta zu

Kagami no go toki - Koo ka i wa Ku - mo ni some ta ri To kino ma ni

Melodic pitch-structure : 4-7-nuki-major

 4-2-9 *Yuukan naru Suihei*
4-2-3 *Shooka* in the middle years of Meiji

Both of the two most frequent *shooka* in the KDL, '*Kasumika kumoka*' and '*Hotaru*' originate from folk songs of Western countries. Both of them are adopted in *Shoogaku Shooka-shuu* by the Music Investigation Committee (Meiji 14-16/1881-1883).

a) '*Kasumika Kumoka*' (A haze or a cloud)

- かすみか雲か はたゆきか (7-5) — Is that haze or cloud, otherwise snow?
 とばかりにはほふ その花ざかり (7-7) — Causing us such an illusion, it is in full blossom,
 ももとりさへも うたふなり (7-5) — Moreover, a hundred birds are singing a song.

Figure 4-2-10 '*Kasumika Kumoka*' from *Shoogaku shooka-shuu*, Meiji 16 (1883) ³²

Note: The mark (TC) in the staff means tetrachordal elements.

Ka su mi ka ku mo - ka Ha ta yu - ki ka To ba ka ri ni o - -

So no ha na za ka - ri Mo mo to ri sa e - mo U - to - na ri

Melodic pitch-structure : 7-nuki-major

 4-2-10 *Kasumika Kumoka*

³¹ Lyrics by Sasaki Nobutsuna, music by Oku Yoshiisa. In Yamada Gen-ichiroo ed, *Toushin guntai taishoo gunka* (討清軍隊大捷軍歌) 1-6, 1894-1896.

³² Endou Hiroshi writes that it originates from the German folk song '*Fruhlings Ankunft*'. In Endou, *Meiji Ongaku Shi Koo*, 1967.

Occurrence in anthologies

'*Kasumika Kumoka*' occurs 5 times in anthologies of the Meiji 20s (1887-1896), 7 times in the 30s (1897-1906), and 5 times in the 40s (1907-1912), making 17 times in total and placing it equal 25th among all songs, and 1st among the *shooka* in the Meiji period.

Characteristics of lyric structure and content

The lyrics that have been allotted to a pre-existent foreign melody are in difficult literary language, using *7-5-choo* and *7-7-choo*. '*Hata*' (or), '*Momo-tori*' (many kind of birds) are not easy to understand for people of today, and '*To bakari*' functions only when it follows another word such as '*Yuki ka to bakari*' (as if it were snow). Moreover, the syllables are allotted unnaturally and forced to fit the notes. For example, |Ha- - ta, yu- u- |ki- - -, ka- 7 7| (or otherwise, is it snow?) sounds as if it were '*Hata Yuuki ka*' (flag, courage). It would have been much easier to sing and understand if it were |Ha- - ta, ma- ta- |yu- ki-, ka- 7 7|.

Characteristics of melodic structure

The first and last phrases have the same melody, which begins with the basic frame of the major triad C-E-G-c, followed by a *ritsu*-TC A-c-A-G. The second phrase is a repetition of G-F-E-G-E-D that also finishes with the *ritsu*-TC.

b) '*Hotaru*' or '*Hotaru no hikari*' (Light of fireflies)

(Note that the lyric is written in *7-5-choo*.)

- | | | |
|---------------|---|---|
| ほたるのひかり まどのゆき | — | By the light of fireflies and snow from the window, ³³ |
| ふみよむつき日 かさねつつ | — | Spending days and months reading texts, |
| いつしか年も すぎの戸を | — | Years have passed along with the cedar door for leave, |
| あけてぞけさは わかれゆく | — | That we open and say good-bye this morning. |

Figure 4-2-11 '*Hotaru*' from *Shoogaku shooka-shuu*, Meiji 14 (1881).

Melodic pitch-structure : **4-7-nuki-major**

4-2-11 *Hotaru no hikari*

Short history

'*Hotaru*', or '*Hotarun no hikari*', originates from the Scottish folk song 'Auld Lang Sign'. 'Students sang and today continue to sing it at graduation ceremonies of elementary schools,

³³ Murasaki Shikibu quotes this ancient story of China in her master piece *Genji monogatari*, 1001-1005.

middle schools, and all kinds of schools in Japan', as Kindaichi and Anzai write.³⁴

Occurrence in anthologies

It occurs 4 times in anthologies of the Meiji 20s (1887-1896), 8 times in the 30s (1897-1906), and 3 times in the 40s (1907-1912), making 15 times in total and placing it equal 32nd among all songs, and 2nd among *shooka*, of the KDL.

Characteristics of lyric structure and content

The lyrics are written in literary language and *7-5-choo*. The word '*sugi*', in '*Itsushika toshi mo sugi no to o*', can be understood in diverse ways: to mean 'years have passed' as well as 'a cedar door'. Children used to sing not understanding the meaning accurately, but feeling clearly the mood of the assumed singers. Such difficult lyrics, which nevertheless are much easier than those of the above '*Kasumi ka kumo ka*', sometimes function as good learning material for children's study of literary language.

Characteristics of music structure

Every phrase starts with an *aftact*, which occurs rarely in *shooka* and *gunka* of the time.

Kindaichi and Anzai write as follows:

'Not only this song, but also many Scottish folksongs became familiar to the people because of their pentatonic scale, which is similar to the *minyoo* scale of Japan. In particular, they must have been happy to sing the ending note 'la' of the first and third phrases of the song'.³⁵

There are many tetrachordal elements, each of which creates a brief melodic phrase.

³⁴ Kindaichi and Anzai, 1982b, p. 36.

³⁵ *Ibid*, p. 37.

4-3 *Gunka* and *Shooka* in the Meiji 30s-40s (1897-1912)

Among all the songs that occur for the first time in anthologies of the Meiji 30s (1897-), the most frequent is '*Yuki no Shingun*' and the second most frequent is '*Tetsudoo-shooka*'. In this section, I will first present the above two, then the last *heitai-bushi*, '*Sen-yuu*', which is the *gunka* most well remembered among older people today.

4-3-1 '*Yuki no shingun*' (Marching in the snow)

I present all the four stanza of this important lyrics.

(The lyric is written in *7-7-choo*.)

雪の進軍 氷を踏んで
どれが河やら 路さえ知れず
馬はたおれる 捨ててもおけず
ここはいづくぞ 皆敵の国
ままよ大胆 一服やれば
たのみ少なや 煙草が二本

- Marching in the snow! Treading the ice,
- We can't distinguish river or road!
- The horse collapses but we can't leave it,
- Everywhere we go, it's enemy country!
- Hey, let's be bold! Let's smoke!
- Alas! There are only two cigarettes!

焼かぬ干物と 半煮え飯に
なまじ命の あるそのうちは
こらえきれない 寒さの焚火
けむい筈だよ 生木がいぶる
しぶい顔して 功名ばなし
すいというのは 梅干ひとつ

- Non-grilled dry-fish and half-boiled rice,
- Simply because of being still alive,
- We can't bear the cold and make a fire,
- Smoky of course, green wood is smoldering!
- Boasting a pick-up with frowned face,
- Sucking a salty sour plum, like a love gone sour!

着のみきのまま 気楽なふしど
はいのう枕に 外套かぶり
せなのぬくみで 雪とけかかる
夜具の黍殻 シッポリ濡れて
むすびかねたる 露営の夢を
月はつめたく 顔のぞきこむ

- Carefree, with no clothes for changing,
- Knapsack for pillow, overcoat for blanket,
- Snow melts by warmth of my back,
- Bed of millet straw soaks perfectly,
- Half dreaming with worry in bivouac,
- The moon looks down at my face coldly!

いのち捧げて 出て来た身ゆえ
死ぬる覚悟で 呐喊すれど
武運つたなく 討死せねば
義理にからめた 恤兵真綿
そろりそろりと 首しめかかる
どうせ生かして 還さぬつもり

- Now that I have offered my life or death,
- I dash forward always ready to die.
- If unfortunately I fail to die in the battle,
- A gifted floss scarf that demands gratitude
- Begins to strangle my neck slowly.
- Anyway, they won't let us go home alive.

Figure 4-3-1 '*Yuki no shingun*' from *Daitoo gunka*, Meiji 28 (1895)

Yuki noshingun ko ori o funde Do koga kawayara michisaeshire zu -

U ma wata o-reru sutetemo o ke zu Ko kowa i zuko zo minateki nokuni
Mama yoda i-tan i p puku ya re ba Na gori sukunaya tabakoga niho n

Melodic pitch-structure :

7-nuki-major
(Almost 4-7-nuki-major)

minyoo-TC ritsu-TC
-4-7 nuki-major- (extra note)

4-3-1 *Yuki no Shingun*

Short history

Nagai Kenshi authored both the lyrics and music while staying on the front of the Sino-Japanese War, and after returning home presented it in the *gunka* collection *Daitoo-Gunka Hana no Maki*.¹ Under the song title he noted '*zokuyoo gunka*' and *Tenrai-ryo shujin* (天籟慮主人 Inhabitant of the Heavenly Voice Hut) instead of his title 'Chief, Army Band'.² He noted:

In the extreme coldness of January Meiji 28, our battalion was forced to stay in a deserted village for two weeks in vain. As it happened in the battlefield, a song that was usually sung spontaneously without thinking is this song: I have merely sketched the real situation of the time in it.

As Horiuchi writes, 'Because of the quite exceptional lyric style of *genbun itchi* (using colloquial language for written sentences), with its frank description and melody that also fits the *shamisen*, it spread in an instant among the soldiers in the front'.³ The route of dissemination of this song is completely different to the above '*Teki wa ikuman*' or '*Genkoo*', not from schoolchildren but first from soldiers on the war front.⁴

Occurrence in anthologies

'*Yuki no shingun*' occurs 9 times in the Meiji 30s (1897-1906), and 5 times in the 40s (1907-1912), making 14 times in total, and placing it first among all the popular songs in the KDL that occurred for the first time after Meiji 30 (1897).

Characteristics of lyric structure and content

The lyrics consist of four stanzas of six 7-7-syllable phrases in colloquial language. In the lyrics, actual soldiers depict their hard life in enemy country. '*Sui*' has two diverse meanings, 'chic' and 'sour', and '*Shippori*' is mostly used as 'soaked dewy in the spring rain' implying lovers' tender affection,⁵ here it is used out of place in wretchedness with paradoxical humor.

The most noticeable points in the lyrics are in the last stanza:

* 'If I fail to die in the battle unfortunately' (武運つたなく 討死せねば). We would easily understand the lyrics if it were 'If I fail to die, by good fortune!' However, here, the meaning of fortune in the battle is contrary to this. Rather, it may express desperation: 'Who gives a damn about my death!' Thus, it continues to the next phrase.

¹ Torii, *Daitoo Gunka- Hana no maki*, 1895

² Nagai's pen-name in '*Genkoo*' was '*Jinrai Koji*' (人籟居士 man of human voice).

³ Horiuchi, 1942a, p. 157.

⁴ Moreover, the possibility cannot be denied that the song first began among the soldiers of the Army Band and Nagai jointly, who amended it and sang with them in the battlefield, because of the *zokuyoo*-like *genbun-itchi* style and daring content of lyrics, the *zokuyoo*-like tetrachordal melodic elements that Nagai must have hated, the pen name 'Inhabitant of Heavenly Voice Hut', and also his above note.

⁵ See the term '*Shippori*' that occurs in the lyrics of 'Harusame' (3-3-1) also in the spring version the lyrics of 'Enkaina' (3-5-1).

- * 'The floss scarf in a comfort bag begins to strangle my neck slowly, to force me toward an honorable death!'. This line derives from the saying in Japan, 'Like wringing a neck very slowly using floss silk' (真綿で首を締める様に figurative expression of mental torture).
- * 'Anyway, they won't let us go home alive' (どうせ生かして 還さぬつもり). Although this phrase lacks a grammatical subject, it is obvious of whom the soldiers think: no one but the authorities.

Rhythmic structure and relation to lyric syllables

Contrary to the simple *pyonko*-beat of many other *gunka*, this song has a varied rhythm, with diverse note lengths, from 1/4 to 1/16, starting with syncopation at every two phrases, as well as a tongue twister at |Mi chi sa e, shi - re - | zu - - -, u - - 7|.

Characteristics of melodic pitch-structure

The pitches form the 7-*nuki* major scale C-D-E-F-G-A with tonic C, of which F occurs only once as part of a temporary stylish expression, so the structure is very close to 4-7-*nuki* major. As marked in the staff, many tetrachordal elements occur, each of which makes a brief melodic phrase. We see that this time Nagai offered the soldiers the easiest type of melody.

However, the populace produced another version of this '*zokuyoo-gunka*'. As Kindaichi and Anzai write, 'This song tended to be sung solely as a repetition of the latter half in the minor, which fit still better with its lyrics'.⁶ Actually, I can recall '*Yuki no shingun*' that 1910-born mother of the author sometimes sang in the early 1940s. The melody of this true *heitai-bushi*, a variant into 4-7-*nuki* minor, is as follows:

Figure 4-3-2 '*Yuki no Shingun*' variant in minor, transcription by Kodama (1940s)

Uma wa ta o-reru Sute temo o kezu Ko kowa i zu kuzu Mina teki no kuni

Melodic pitch-structure : 4-7-*nuki*-minor

4-3-2 *Yuki no Shingun Variant*

How the phrase in question occurs in the later essays and songbooks

One striking feature of this song is the straight expression of the soldier's distrust of the authorities, despite the fact that this song was created by an Army officer, and was carried in the *Daitoo-Gunka*, an official collection made by cooperation of officers and officials of the Army, Navy and other government branches. Miura Shunzaburoo eliminates the fourth stanza in question in his 1931 work. Horiuchi also eliminates it in his 1944 work, then presents an altered phrase, 'Anyway, I'm ready not to return home alive' (どうせ生きては 還らぬつもり), in his 1977 work.⁷

⁶ Kindaichi & Anzai, 1982c, p. 139.

⁷ Horiuchi, 1977, p. 135.

On the other hand, Osada writes as follows.

The Army ordered the correction of the last phrase into 'Anyway, I'm ready not to return home alive' just after the beginning of the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937), and moreover, it prohibited to sing this song since the beginning of the World War II 'because the despairing lyrics would demoralize soldiers'.⁸

On the contrary, four songbooks of Meiji 39-45 (1902-1912) that occur in the KDL contain all four stanzas with the original lyrics, 'Anyway, they won't let us go home alive'.

We see that there was significant freedom of speech, at least in Meiji Japan, unlike in the Shoowa.

4-3-2 'Tetsudoo Shooka' (Railway Song)

(Note: The lyrics are written in 7-5-*choo*.)

汽笛一声 新橋を	- With a shriek of the steam-whistle, from Shimbashi,
はや我汽車は 離れたり	- So early, our train has started already.
愛宕の山に 入りのこる	- It (the moon) has not set behind the Atago Mountain yet,
月を旅路の 友として	- The moon will be our travel friend

Figure 4-3-3 'Tetsudoo Shooka' by Oono Umewaka ⁹

Melodic pitch-structure : 4-7-nuki-major



4-3-3 Tetsudoo Shooka

Short history

'Tetsudoo Shooka' was first published May, Meiji 33 (1900) as a *Chiri kyooiku Tetsudoo Shooka* (Railway Song for Study of Geography). It contained long lyrics, in 66 stanzas, by Oowada Tateki and diverse melodies by Ue Sanemichi and Oono Umewaka,¹⁰ of which only Oono's melody has survived. (Nobody today remembers the tune by Ue.) As mentioned above in 2-4, the publication of 'Tetsudoo Shooka' in Meiji 33 (1900) gave rise to the first and greatest boom of *shooka* among adults. That 'Tetsudoo Shooka' was by far the most popular among all *gunka* and *shooka* is obvious from the following flood of songbooks, the titles of which were based on specific regions and traffic, imitating the approach of the original.

'Tetsudoo Shooka' must have been sold mostly as an original single songbook, because its volume of 66 stanzas in 38 pages was not appropriate for an anthology. Kindaichi and Anzai write:

⁸ Osada, *Nihon Gunka Daizenshuu*, 1970, p. 73.

⁹ The staff is taken from the 1911 version, just after the death of Oowada, the title of which is *Teisei Tetsudoo shooka*'.

¹⁰ Oowada, Oono & Ue, *Chiri Kyooiku Tetsudoo Shooka no.1*, Osaka: Miki Sasuke, Meiji 33 (1900).

'Reportedly, its first volume sold more than 100,000 volumes', and that 'there has appeared no *shooka* other than '*Kiteki issei*' that dominated the world as if it were a most widespread *hayariuta*'.¹¹

As Richard Miller writes, it must have been the second big hit by the Miki bookstore, also known as Miki musical-instrument-store following the success of the publication of *Nihon zokkyoku-shuu*.¹² Concerning the Miki-bookstore, Hosokawa Shuuhei writes that what this song clarified was that the publication of *shooka* also belonged to the industry which utilized hits of *shooka* for business objectives and neglected its fundamental purpose, education. He also states that the real facts should be researched more.¹³

Occurrence in anthologies

'*Tetsudoo Shooka*' occurs 6 times in the Meiji 30s (1897-1906), and 5 times in 40s (1907-1912), making 11 times in total, which places it first among the *shooka* and second among all the popular songs in the KDL that occurred for the first time after Meiji 30 (1897).

Lyric structure and content

Each of the 66 stanzas consists of four lines of strict *7-5-choo* phrases written in literary but easy language. In the lyrics, an assumed singer pleasantly depicts her/his railway journey along the Tookaidoo-Line from Shimbashi to Koobe. Still today, '*Kiteki issei Shimbashi o*' (With a shriek of the steam-whistle, from Shimbashi) is the most popular phrase among all the Meiji songs: as well as the following '*Haya waga kasha wa hanaretari*' (So early, our train has started already).¹⁴ Such familiar and attractive expressions had not appeared in *shooka* until then.

Rhythmic structure and relation to lyric syllables

The song has the typical *pyonko*-beat rhythm. Four lines of *7-5-choo* phrases fit four measures in 2/4 metre and one syllable fits one note.

Characteristics of melodic pitch-structure

It is conspicuous that pentachordal elements form melodic phrases in this typical *4-7-nuki* major song. The first and second phrases consist of the pentachord D-E-G-A plus B, and the third and fourth phrases comprise A-B-d-e plus G.

'*Tetsudoo shooka*', by far the most popular *shooka* in Meiji era, must also be the only *shooka* that became a *hayariuta* among adults. Mori Senzou presents a *senryuu*, 'Pestered for *Kiteki Issei*, a nanny sings it' and writes, 'It is funny that nannies of the time, who had no chance yet to learn *shooka* at their school, sing it out of tune.'¹⁵ As such, it must have first spread among

¹¹ Kindaichi & Anzai, 1982a, p. 121.

¹² Richard Miller, *Music and Musicology in the Engineering of National Identity in Meiji Japan: Modernization Strategies of the Music Investigation Committee, 1870-1900*, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2004, p.208-211 & p. 252-258.

¹³ Hosokawa Shuuhei, *Kindai Nihon ni okeru seiyoo-onkgaku-bunka no shoogeki to taishuu-ongaku no keisei - Kurofune kara Shuusen made*, 2003, p. 30.

¹⁴ Miura Shunzaburoo writes that Nishino Torakichi purchased the original lyrics from an anonymous writer for the publisher Miki and amended it in, Miura 1931, p. 316.

Horiuchi also writes that the lyric of '*Tetsudoo Shooka*', especially its beginning phrase '*Kiteki issei Shimbashi o*', is not an original work of Owada. In Horiuchi, 1942b, p. 13-14.

¹⁵ 'せがまれて汽笛一声乳母うたい' In Mori, 1969b, p.184.

the young people who had learned *gunka* during their childhood, then to the adults and it 'spread so much that there was not a man who does not sing the song', as Mori writes.¹⁶

It can be said that the typical new style song, with *7-5-choo*, *4-7-nuki*, and *pyonko*-beat, had finally become popular among the populace at this stage. From another point of view, the great success of an instrument store in business of producing and marketing *shooka* symbolizes the liberation of *shooka* from the classrooms of elementary schools into society.

Another noticeable movement in the field of *shooka* is the emergence of a *shooka* written in colloquial language for children. '*Usagi to kame*' (the Hare and Tortoise from Aesop's Fables) is the first children-song-like *shooka* among the anthologies in the time with easy lyrics of conversation style and simple melody of *4-7-nuki* and *pyonko*-beat.¹⁷ The description of the song's popularity among children around Taishoo era by Kindaichi and Anzai is suggestive of the coming of actual popularity of *shooka* among the schoolchildren.

4-3-3 '*Sen-yuu*' (War mate), the last *heitai-bushi*

(Note that the lyric is written in *7-5-choo*.)


ここはお国を 何百里	- Here, we are hundreds of miles from our home country,
離れて遠き 満州の	- Far away in Manchuria,
赤い夕日に 照らされて	- Lit up by the red setting sun,
友は野末の 石の下	- My friend lies under a stone in the deserted field.

Figure 4-3-4 '*Sen-yuu*' by Miyoshi Wake, Meiji 38 (1905)

Ko ko wa - o ku ni o na m bya ku ri Ha na rete to o ki Ma n shu u no

A - ka i yu u hi ni te ra sa re te To - mo wa no zue no i shino shi ta

Melodic pitch-structure : **miyako-bushi-type**

 **4-3-4 *Sen-yuu***

Short history

'*Sen-yuu*' was written not for soldiers, but for schoolchildren by the schoolteacher Mashimo Hisen in Kyoto, then, published in Meiji 38 (1905). Mashimo had also presented the above-mentioned melody of '*Michi wa 680 ri*' as a *kaeuta* '*Shusse*' just two months before '*Sen-yuu*'. Both are

¹⁶ *Ibid.* p. 21.

¹⁷ Author unknown, *Tesshinkin no moto*, year unidentified

The original song was published in Meiji 34, lyrics by Ishihara Wasaburoo, music by Nassho benjiroo, following some similar songs written in colloquial language for children, '*Kintaroo*', '*Momotaroo*', and '*Urashimataroo*'.

described as 'compositions (作曲) Miyoshi Wake'.¹⁸

Mori Senzoo (1895-1985) writes in his *Anecdotes History in Meiji Tokyo* :

The *gunka* with the longest life of the time must be '*Sen-yuu*'. However, it is outside the concept of so-called *gunka* because of its plaintiveness.¹⁹

'*Sen-yuu*' became a publication in September this year (Meiji 38 /1905). During the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905), *gunka* was not sung as much as during the Sino-Japanese War. Only '*Sen-yuu*' was still sung for a long time after the War. It had a common feature with the un-changed *heitai-bushi* : it struck candidly the soldier's heartstrings, and that was the soul of this song.²⁰

On the other hand, Horiuchi (1897-1983) writes:²¹

The *gunka* that must not be overlooked as one which was made at the time of the Russo-Japanese War (Meiji 37-38/1904-1905) is '*Senyuu*'. This 'war-*shooka*' for children was first taught and spread among school children in the Kansai region, was then disseminated by street-singers across the nation since about Meiji 43 (1910), and became a *ryuukooka* that the adults also sang. It consists of simple colloquial lyrics and mournful melody which is easy to become familiar with: a type of song that had never appeared among *gunka*, *zokuyoo*, *ryuukooka* or *dooyoo* until then.

Osada Gyooji writes: 'Ultra-right leaders proposed to forbid this song because of the demoralization of soldiers and violation of military discipline, and actually enforced the prohibition during World War II'.²²

Occurrence in anthologies

'*Sen-yuu*' occurs 3 times in the KDL, twice as *gunka* and once as *shooka*.

Characteristics of lyric structure and content

It is written in colloquial language with a few archaically styled expressions, such as '*hanarete tooki*'. It consists of 14 stanzas, each of which has four lines of 7-5-syllable phrases.

In the lyrics, an assumed singer, a lone recruit grieves over his mate's death.

Characteristic of rhythmic structure

Though the staff by Miyoshi is written to *pyonko*-beat, the song that remains in my ear is sung to a combination of *pyonko* and reverse-*pyonko*-beat, which is a specific feature of the tragic types of *gunka* and *ryooka*, as well as of *shigin* (chanting/reciting Chinese poems in Japanese).²³

Characteristics of melodic pitch-structure

It consists of the *miyako-bushi* scale with an additional D as a leading note to the ending note E: 'a type of song that had never appeared' among *gunka* until then, as Horiuchi writes.

¹⁸ Mashimo Hisen (1878-1926), '*Shusse*', [*Epic Shooka by Lyrics in the Same Language for Speaking and Writing for School and Home*]. Kyoto, 1905. According to the advertisement page of the July Meiji 40 version of '*Sen-yuu*', it was printed 67 times during less than two years.

Next to the staff of '*Senyuu*', Mashimo also presents another melody in numeral notation and writes: 'The following notation is one of the army-tunes (軍隊ぶし) as well as '*Shusse*'. It would be good to sing the song to this tune too.'

¹⁹ Mori, 1969b, p.136. — the page of Meiji 37 (1904).

²⁰ *Ibid*, p177. — the page of Meiji 38 (1905).

²¹ Horiuchi, 1977, p. 237-239.

²² Osada, 1970, p.84.

²³ Morishige Hisaya (1913-2009) also sings to the combination of *pyonko* and reverse-*pyonko*, in a recording titled '*Ketteiban Morishige Hisaya 3 gunka o Utau*', publication data uncertified.

Because of the common features it shares with the *heitai-bushi*-type *gunka* in the middle years of Meiji, such as the above-mentioned '*Michi wa 680-ri*' and '*Poland kaiko*', its oral dissemination, *pyonko*-beat and *zokuyoo*-like tune, '*Sen-yuu*' can be said to be the last *heitai-bushi* of the Meiji period. The tendency of '*Sen-yuu*' to sing solely of grief with sentimentalism was handed down to some later *gunka* during World War II, and also to the genre of the popular song after the War, the so-called '*kayookyoku*', '*ryuukooka*' or '*enka*'.

The first stage of popularization of the new Western style melody, the dominance of *gunka*, came to an end by the last decade of Meiji. Most of the master pieces of educational song (*gakkoo shooka*), which would later be remembered as 'good old songs' by many aged people of the postwar era, had hardly emerged yet in the anthologies of the time.²⁴ Horiuchi writes that the activity of the private wind and brass bands, which had played an important role in the popularization of Western style melody, rapidly fell into a lull at the end of Meiji.²⁵

In the following period, people enjoyed new style songs, more diverse in character than *gunka* or *shooka* of Meiji. These included *hayariuta* of 4-7-*nuki* major such as '*Kachuusha no uta*' (1915), '*Gondora no uta*' (1915), '*Pai no pai no pai*' (1919), 4-7-*nuki* minor melodies such as '*Konjiki yasha*' (1917) and '*Sendoo kouta*' (1923), and the new genre of children's song called *dooyoo*, which also utilised 4-7-*nuki* scale forms.

²⁴ *Nihon no Shooka* by Kindaichi and Anzai contains nineteen *gunka* that were born in the Meiji (1868-1912), fifty *gunka* that were born in the Shoowa (1926-1945), and only one that was born in the Taishoo period (1912-1926).

²⁵ Horiuchi, 1942b, p.49-53.

5 CONCLUSIONS

My objectives in this thesis were:

- (1) To identify the songs that were most popular during the Meiji period;
- (2) to grasp the context of their popularity — how people enjoyed them; and,
- (3) to clarify the prominent characteristics of the songs.

I will begin the conclusions with a section concerning the 'Relative Significance of *Zokuyoo*, *Gunka*, and *Shooka*', where I will consider the above objective (1). Next, I will examine objective (2) with a section titled 'Noticeable Movements in Meiji Popular Song History'. I will consider objective (3) with the section 'Characteristics of Each Genre of Popular Song'. Finally, I will present my remaining questions in 'Suggestions for Future Research'.

5-1 Relative Significance of *Zokuyoo*, *Gunka*, and *Shooka*

The clear dominance of *zokuyoo* in the world of popular song throughout the Meiji is obvious given the results of the anthology survey of the KDL collection in Chapter 2. Ten songs among the twelve that occur most frequently in the KDL are old-style *zokuyoo* from the Edo period. The dominance of *zokuyoo* did not change until the end of Meiji: Eleven songs out of the fifteen best hits of the Meiji 30s, and also nine songs out of the fourteen best hits of the Meiji 40s, are *zokuyoo*. What changed are the songs. Besides '*Dodoitsu*' and '*Ootsure*', the two most frequent song groups throughout the Meiji, five songs that were new *hayariuta* after the Meiji Restoration (1868) and three songs that were revivals of old *zokuyoo* of the Edo period completely replaced the best hits of the Meiji 10s. However, the peak of popularity of these *zokuyoo* had already passed by the Meiji 30s. Most of the above popular *zokuyoo* would be forgotten among the people of the next generation, and no more old style *hayariuta* would occur after the Meiji period.

Gunka led by far the field of the new Western-style popular song: The best three hit songs among the songs categorized as *gunka* and *shooka* are all *gunka*. The situation does not change until the last years of Meiji: the fifteen most frequently occurring songs of the Meiji 30s contain three *gunka* and only one *shooka*, and the fourteen most frequently occurring songs of the Meiji 40s contain four *gunka* and only one *shooka*. However, the years of *gunka* popularization would initially finish at the end of the Meiji, until the second boom of the Shoowa era. On the other hand, two *shooka* that occurred for the first time in the Meiji 30s are noticeable. My anthology survey could not catch the explosive hit of the single songbook *Tetsudoo shooka* in the Meiji 30s. The other, '*Usagi to kame*', the first *shooka* in colloquial language in the survey, foreshadows the coming *shooka*'s popularity among the children.

Therefore, the question of significance of the song genres in the history relates deeply to the question of context: how the songs spread among the people and how people enjoyed them. Next I will present several important movements that have influenced deeply the stream of Meiji popular song history.

5-2 Noticeable Movements in Meiji Popular Song History

a) Popularisation of *minshingaku* and the introduction of *4-7-nuki* major and *kon-chie* (gongche) notation in the early years of Meiji

One of the most important movements must be the popularization of *minshingaku* and Chinese instruments such as the *gekkin*, *kokyuu*, and *minteki* (also called *shinteki*) from the years of the Meiji 10s (1877-1886). The occurrence frequency of the representative song '*Kyuurenkan*' clarifies the popularity: five times in the Meiji 10s (1877-1886), 13 times in the 20s (1887-1896) and the 30s (1897-1906), and 8 times in the 40s (1907-1912), and thus 39 times in total placing it the fourth compared with other songs in the KDL. The *4-7-nuki* major scale and the method of notation called *kon-chie* (gongche) notation (工尺譜) was already familiar to some classes of townspeople since the earliest years of the Meiji 10s, that is, earlier than the popularization of *shooka-gunka* and the Western staff notation. Besides the popularization of Chinese music, the *kon-chie* (gongche) notation played a great role in the dissemination of *gunka*, *shooka* and *zokuyoo* throughout the Meiji era.

b) 'New Style Poem', the forerunner of songs that came to be called '*gunka*'

The forerunner of *gunka* was an anthology titled *Shintaishi-shoo* published in Meiji 15. Young people became so enthusiastic with the long poems/epics of literary *7-5-choo*, especially in the war-themed poem titled '*Battoo-tai*', that they began to chant the poem to spontaneous tunes. The term *shintai-shi* may have meant almost the same as the term *gunka* to the fans at that time. The first '*gunka*' anthology titled *Gunka* was a collection of long war-themed poems/epics, with no music, that begins with '*Gunka*' (later '*Kitareya kitare*') and the above '*Battoo-tai*' by Toyama Masakazu, the advocate of the necessity of military song and the 'new style poem'. It emerged in Meiji 19, followed by a flood of reprints and similar poem/epic collections. This was probably the first and biggest boom in the field of song publication in the Meiji era. However, the readers did not yet know the melody. That was the beginning of the lyric style of the Meiji *gunka-shooka*: literary language, which had never previously been used, and strict *7-5-choo*, which had occurred

rarely, in *hayariuta* until then.

c) *Heitai-bushi*, the third genre of Meiji popular song

While marching, soldiers sang the above '*gunka*' to endless repetition of brief *minyoo*-like tunes, phrase by phrase after a leader, or alternately in two groups. The second big boom, around the eve of the Sino-Japanese War (1892-1894), of similar *gunka* anthologies as the above suggests the most flourishing years of the *heitai-bushi*. *Heitai-bushi* has the phrase structure of *gunka-shooka*, and the rhythmic and melodic structure of *zokuyoo*. Soldiers needed this familiar style of song during the first stage of introducing *gunka* for marching in step.

In the Meiji popular song history, *heitai-bushi* is a new, important genre peculiar to the transitional period from the *zokuyoo* of the Edo period to the new Western style *shooka-gunka*. In the music characteristics of the soldier-tunes that spread among the populace throughout the Meiji, we can catch a glimpse of the musical taste of the people of the time.

d) Popularization of *gunka* through children's singing

While the soldiers in regiments sang *gunka* to soldier-tunes, the newly developed *shooka*-style *gunka* began to be taught to schoolchildren. The *shooka*-style *gunka* first spread among the children then gradually among the older people from the years of the Sino-Japanese War. As many sources testify, what teachers and children sang with pleasure in the *shooka* class were always *gunka*. As Horiuchi adequately points out, the popularization of *gunka* certainly owes much to the education through singing in schools. From another point of view, one of the reasons for the absolute dominance of *gunka* in the field of new Western style song must have been the lack of appropriate *shooka* that was simple, lively, and rhythmical enough for singing loudly together.

e) Publication of *Nihon Zokkyoku-shuu* and subsequent public performances of *zokuyoo* by the Army band

The slow, steady, and significant movement in the *zokuyoo* world is also identifiable around the eve of Sino-Japanese War. The most influential movement was the publication of *Nihon Zokkyoku-shuu* and the performances of *zokuyoo* by Army bands in public, then in turn numerous private brass bands. The style of most songbooks had transformed by the Meiji 30s, from collections of numerous *kaeuta* of one or a few of the most popular *zokuyoo*, to the style of manuals for practicing songs of every genre including *gunka* and *shooka*. This suggests a shift in the most influential consumers of songbooks from *chaya* customers and professional entertainers among the old townspeople to amateur musicians among the new modern class of urban people. The individual number of *zokuyoo* in the songbooks also changed on a large scale. Besides the two best hits, *Dodoitsu* and *Ootsue*, popular songs of the Meiji 10s were completely replaced by the newer *zokuyoo* and some revived Edo period classics that would occupy most of the best-hit

popular songs in the anthologies in the KDL throughout the Meiji. The middle years of Meiji was the period of *zokuyoo* renaissance. The essence of the highly developed *shamisen* music, which could have been heard only in the *chaya* or *yose* of the metropolis until then, was liberated among the nationwide populace for the first time.

f) The first *hayariuta* among *shooka*

The publication of '*Tetsudoo Shooka*' in Meiji 33 (1900) triggered the first and greatest boom of *shooka* among adults. That this was by far the most popular song among all *gunka* and *shooka* is obvious from the subsequent flood of similar *shooka* publications based on themes of specific regions and traffic, imitating the original. As Mori Senzoo writes, 'It spread so much that there was not a man who did not sing the song'. *Tetsudoo shooka* is the first *shooka* that became a *hayariuta*. The great success of the business of producing and marketing *shooka* by a music instrument store purchasing the key phrase '*Kiteki issei*' and utilizing a private brass band for advertisement symbolizes the liberation of *shooka* from classrooms into wider society.

The 7-5-*choo* lyric form, 4-7-*nuki* scale form as a melodic resource, and *pyonko*-beat rhythm of this song are the typical characteristics common to both *gunka* and *shooka* of the Meiji.

g) Appearance of *shooka* written in colloquial language for children

Another noticeable movement is the emergence of children's *shooka* written in colloquial language. The publication in Meiji 34 of '*Usagi to kame*' (the Hare and Tortoise from Aesop's Fables), following some similar songs, '*Kintaroo*', '*Momotaroo*', and '*Urashimataroo*', is the first *shooka* that occurs in the popular song anthologies. This emergence of the first children-song-like *shooka* suggests the coming years of the popularization of *shooka* among children.

5-3 Characteristics of Each Genre of Popular Song

Through my analysis, I think I have succeeded in clarifying the most important characteristics of old and new types of popular songs, particularly the conspicuous characteristics of *zokuyoo* in contrast with those of *gunka-shooka*. This means what the Japanese people lost, and acquired instead, in the course of the 45 years of the Meiji, that is, what the Meiji era meant for the popular song of this country.

5-3-1 Characteristics of *Gunka-Shooka*

a) Lyric structure and contents of *gunka-shooka*

By contrast with *zokuyoo*, *gunka-shooka* are mostly rudimentary in lyric structure and difficult in contents. The principal characteristics can be summarized as follows.

- * Use of literary language: Use of literary language began with *shooka* and *gunka* for the first time in the field of popular song. The extremely difficult language in *shooka* produced by the Ministry of Education must especially have been an obstacle to popularization of this song genre.
- * Strict 7-5-*choo*: The typical lyric style of *gunka-shooka* is the repetition of strict 7-5-*choo*.
- * Serious contents: Most of the lyrics of *gunka-shooka* sing solely of serious subjects, such as didactic, patriotic, tragic tales, or the beauty of nature.

Some noticeable exceptions of lyric structure and contents among *gunka-shooka* are:

- * Colloquial *shooka*: *Shooka* written in colloquial language for children, such as '*Kintaroo*', '*Momotaroo*', '*Usagi to kame*', finally occur in Meiji 33 (1900), and thereafter increase in number.
- * Humour: In the lyrics of '*Yuki no shingun*', there appear some instances of playing with words.
- * Expression of the singer's own feeling:
 - In the lyrics of some *heitai-bushi gunka* of later years, a soldier sings with nostalgia in '*Michi wa 680-ri*', and with regret in '*Senyuu*'.
 - In the lyrics of '*Yuki no shingun*', a soldier expresses evident distrust of the authorities.
 - In the lyrics of '*Tetsudoo shooka*', a traveler sings of her/his expectation of a pleasant journey by train.

b) Rhythmic structure and music phrase structure of *gunka-shooka*

By contrast with *zokuyoo*, *gunka-shooka* are mostly quite rudimentary in rhythmic structure and musical phrase structure. Here, exceptions are rather noticeable.

- * The above-mentioned *gunka-shooka* consist of four measures of musical phrases that correspond to the 7-5-*choo* lyrics without exception.
- * The typical rhythmic style of *gunka-shooka*, *pyonko*-beat, does not occur in the earliest *heitai-bushi*. The spontaneous marching rhythm of the soldiers is highly diverse in rhythmic structure, with diverse note lengths, initiation on offbeats, and syncopation.
- * Such variety of rhythm as the above *heitai-bushi* initially disappears, but comes back in a few later *gunka*, such as '*Genkoo*' and '*Yuki no shingun*'.

c) Melodic structure of *gunka-shooka*

By contrast with *zokuyoo*, *gunka-shooka* are mostly quite rudimentary in melodic structure. Here, exceptions are rather noticeable.

- * There occur a few exceptions to 4-7-*nuki* major:
 - The earliest two *gunka*, '*Battoo-tai*' with full-scale of minor and major, and '*Kitareya kitare*' with diatonic major, did not achieve much popularity among the soldiers.
 - The *gunka* '*Genkoo*' must be the first Western style *hayariuta* using the diatonic major scale.

*Tetrachordal elements: Most *gunka-shooka* of *4-7-nuki major* include some phrases that consist of tetrachordal elements.

–The representatives are '*Yuki no shingun*', which is full of tetrachordal phrases, and '*Tetsudoo shooka*', of which each four phrases consist of a pentachord plus one extra tone.

–A few noticeable exceptions that do not contain tetrachordal element are '*Genkoo*', the first Western style *hayariuta*, and '*Shoo-Nankoo*', a melody 'composed for any *7-5-choo* lyrics'.

d) Melodic structure of *heitai-bushi*

By contrast with ordinary *gunka-shooka*, the melodic structure of *heitai-bushi* is closer to that of *zokuyoo*. Their characteristics can be summarized as follows:

*Pentachord as components: The prominent structure of the earliest *heitai-bushi* melody is the pentachord, a combination of the *ritsu*-TC and the *minyoo*-TC entangled with each other, that actually makes some brief melodic phrases. This is the same phenomenon as in some *zokuyoo* of *ritsu-minyoo*-type melodies (below).

*A noticeable pitch-structure occurs in the '*Kumagai Naozane*' transcription by Horiuchi that consists of C-D-F-G-A-c-d, in which only G functions as a *kakuon*. This can be interpreted as the *ritsu*-scale, C-D-F disjunct G-A-c, and also as the *minyoo*-scale, D-F-G disjunct A-c-d, because it is meaningless to specify one of C-c or D-d as another *kakuon*. It may be understood better as two pentachords, C-D-F-G conjunct G-A-c-d, each of which makes an actual melody in the first and second half of the song.

*As mentioned above, in most of *heitai-bushi* melodies, the difference between the *ritsu*-TC and the *minyoo*-TC does not make sense.

*The conspicuous melodic structures of the later *heitai-bushi* are *miyako-bushi*-like melodies that fit the sad feelings of their lyrics, such as '*Poorando kaiko*', a variation of '*Yuki no shingun*', and '*Senyuu*'. Their popularity gives a presentiment of the later flood of tragic *gunka* during World War II.

5-3-2 Characteristics of *Zokuyoo*

a) Lyric structure and contents of *zokuyoo*

By contrast with *gunka-shooka*, *zokuyoo* are mostly diverse and complex in lyric structure and contents. The principal characteristics can be summarized as follows.

*Use of colloquial language: There occurs no use of literary language in *zokuyoo*.

*Diverse syllabic structures: the lyric structures of *zokuyoo* are mostly a free combination of 7-syllable and/or 5-syllable phrases with or without *jiamari*. Most notably, '*Ooi oyaji-dono*' is sung in conversational style prose.

**Hayashi kotoba*: Most *zokuyoo* have *hayashi kotoba* with or without meaning and with or

without melody that animate the song rhythm.

* Comical contents and humoristic or ironical expressions:

– The lyric contents of '*Ooi oyaji-dono*' and '*Umegae*' are comic.

– The lyrics of '*Ame no yo*' and '*Nooe-bushi*' are nonchalant, despite depicting the appearance of a foreign warship or troops.

– Lyrics of '*Harusame*' sing seriously 'Only you!', then finish with 'It doesn't matter, now!', like some 'throwaway' ending phrases of *dodoitsu*.

* Lyrics of *dodoitsu* often take the form of a brief message addressed to someone.

b) Rhythmic structure, musical phrase structure, and their relation to the lyrics of *zokuyoo*

***Zokuyoo* are highly diverse and often highly complex in rhythmic structure and musical phrase structure. The principal characteristics can be summarized as follows.**

* Asymmetry of musical phrases: Most *zokuyoo* consist of quite irregular musical phrase lengths, which sometimes cause the 'reversal' of the basic beat.

* Interplay between vocal and *shamisen* in alternation: The *shamisen* plays an equally important role to the vocal line in alternate interplay, in major *zokuyoo* such as '*Ootsue*', '*Asakutomo*' and '*Harusame*'.

* Initiation of phrases on an offbeat or weak beat: Most *zokuyoo* include some phrases that initiate on an offbeat or weak beat.

* Syncopation: Syncopation occurs often in *zokuyoo*.

* Triplets: Although there are no triplets found in the transcriptions of the Meiji era, the rhythm of *dodoitsu* and '*Harusame*' is full of triplets in the Gaisberg recordings.

* *Pyonko*-beat: In many tracks of the Gaisberg recordings, *yose* musicians happily play the *shamisen* to the rhythm of *pyonko*-beat, clearly in triplets.

***Zokuyoo* are often highly complex in the relation between lyrics and music. The prominent characteristics are as follows:**

* Lyrics of *zokuyoo* are sometimes sung to quite different rhythms than those of daily speech.

* One syllable often corresponds to several notes or to one prolonged note with ties. On the other hand, several syllables correspond to only one short note and create a 'tongue twister'.

* Short rests inserted halfway through a phrase sometimes break up a word or a syllable into a few separate notes. This phenomenon gives liveliness and variety to the music.

c) Melodic structures of *zokuyoo*

***Zokuyoo* are highly diverse and highly complex in melodic pitch-structure. The tetrachordal structure of *zokuyoo* can be summarized as follows.**

* Among all the above *zokuyoo*, simple pitch-structure, one of the 'four basic scales of Japanese traditional music' advocated by Koizumi, occur only in a few songs.

- * A simple form of the *miyako-bushi*-scale occurred only in a counting song, '*Hitotsu toya*'. All the other *miyako-bushi*-type melodies with a semi-tone have complex pitch-structures that include the *miyako-2-TC*, *ritsu-TC*, *minyoo-TC*, *ritsu-minyoo-TC*, or some extra note/s. Most of them have the *miyako-2-TC*, which sometimes forms a brief melodic phrase with its four tones.
- * Although the *minyoo*-scale occurs only in '*Miyasan miyasan*', other transcriptions of the song occur with the *ritsu-TC* or *ritsu-minyoo-TC*. In sum, the pitch-structures of all the above *zokuyoo* melodies without a semi-tone include the *ritsu-minyoo-TC*, both of the *ritsu-TC* and *minyoo-TC*, or some extra note/s. The *ritsu-minyoo-TC*, D-E-F-G which is a combination of the *ritsu-TC* D-E-G and the *minyoo-TC* D-F-G deeply entangled with each other, sometimes create a brief melodic phrase with no semi-tone. In this case, the difference between the *ritsu-TC* and the *minyoo-TC* does not make sense.
- * Most of the *zokuyoo* melodies without semi-tones have some melodic phrases that consist of a pentachord such as D-E-G-A (or G-A-c-d), a combination of the *ritsu-TC* D-E-G (or G-A-c) and the *minyoo-TC* and E-G-A (or A-c-d), entangled with each other to a lesser degree than in the *ritsu-minyoo-TC*. In this case too, to differentiate between the *ritsu-TC* and the *minyoo-TC* does not make sense.
- * Melodic pitch-structures of some *ritsu-minyoo*-type *zokuyoo* can also be understood as variants of the Western scales, such as *2-6-nuki* minor or *6-nuki* minor.
- * Some songs have a pair of variations of *miyako-bushi*-type and *ritsu-minyoo*-type melody: for example, there are such paired variations of '*Nooe-bushi*' and '*Tooka-Ebisu*', and '*Kankan noo*' and '*Umegae*'. Richoo sings '*Enkaina*' to a *ritsu-minyoo*-type melody in most parts, and later in Shoowa Machida transcribed the song as a *miyako-bushi*-type.
- * In sum, the melodic pitch-structure of *zokuyoo* can be divided into two groups, the *miyako-bushi*-type and the *ritsu-minyoo*-type. In Meiji 28 (1895), Uehara Rokushiroo re-named the former *in-sen* (dismal/dark/ moon-mode/scale) and the latter *yoo-sen* (lively/bright/sun-mode/scale).¹

***Zokuyoo* melodies are highly complex from viewpoints other than tetrachordal structure.
Some prominent phenomena that occur in *zokuyoo* melodies are as follows.**

- * Sophisticated modulations occur that change the type of melody and/or the key in some *zokuyoo*.
- * The temporary stylish use of a sharpened or flattened tone occurs in some *zokuyoo*.
- * The various melodies of *dodoitsu* have two conspicuous common features as follows:
 - The prelude/postlude played by the *shamisen*, '- - e | d - - e - d | A - - E - - |', which includes four tones of the *shamisen* tuning, E-A-e of *hon-chooshi* and E-A-d of *san-sagari*, and must be the basic frame of the pitch-structure of *dodoitsu*.
 - Every 7-syllable/5-syllable phrase begins in accordance with the high-low intonation of the local dialect around Tokyo. Among all genres of Meiji popular song, the melodic structure of *dodoitsu* has the closest relation to the high-low intonation of spoken Tokyo region language.

¹ Uehara, 1895, p. 102 - 104.

5-4 Suggestions for Future Research

In this study I first tried to grasp, even if only roughly, the popularity of Meiji popular songs and the changing tendency of the people's taste through surveying the KDL collection. In overall terms, it is likely my survey has not been systematic or scrupulous enough, especially in collecting anthologies from the KDL. I was not able to examine all of the popular song anthologies in the KDL or even grasp the total amount of them. I recognise that while most of the songbooks with Chinese notation have been excluded from the survey, they can be precious sources for gauging the popularity of not only *minshingaku* but also *zokuyoo* and *shooka*, especially for the earlier years of Meiji. In addition to songbooks, song leaflets, recordings, performance records of entertainments, articles on songs' popularity in newspapers and other publications, and a range of other sources also can be important supporting evidence for the popularity of each song. Accordingly, my survey in this thesis may be only a first step toward accurate quantitative research on Meiji songs' popularity.

Having concluded the study, for me the biggest remaining question is that of how and why Meiji people began to forget *zokuyoo*, such an elaborate genre of traditional Japanese popular music. The recordings of *zokuyoo* from the early Shoowa era give an impression that the music of the old days had already metamorphosed into something different. I wonder where the new *zokuyoo* fans went, who must have once noticed the charm of the traditional Japanese popular music through the performance by military bands as well as through playing different kinds of instruments. Had their interests moved to the new Western style music? Where did the chic *chaya* customers go who had created some of the sophisticated lyrics and melodies of *hayariuta*? How did the *chaya* culture change? How did the *zokuyoo* fans of the time recognise or feel about the situation where *zokuyoo* was hardly included in the concept of the new term '*ongaku*', which meant solely Western style music? What did the *zokuyoo* musicians think about their status in Meiji Japan? Such questions remain as a difficult but worthwhile research subject, 'the position or status given to the world of traditional popular music in Meiji and early twentieth-century Japanese society'.

On the other hand, with my increasing interest in the world of *zokuyoo*, I want to study more items in *Nihon Zokkyoku-shuu*, which must be a treasure trove of Meiji popular song. In addition, with regard to the works of Nagai and Kobatake, it must be worthwhile to study the preceding and/or simultaneous works by people such as Umeda Isokichi, Sikama Totsuji, Mitani Tanekichi, Hyashi Daiji, and Hashio Chikken.

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GLOSSARY OF TERMS

I define the terms that I use in this thesis as follows.

- 7-5-choo** (七五調): a lyric style that consists of repetitive 7-(8)-5-syllable phrases.
- adjacent notes**: notes a minor or a major second apart.
- ritsu-minyoo-TC**: a composite form of the *ritsu*-tetrachord and the *min-yoo*-tetrachord, in which two filler notes never have a direct relation of a minor second.
- Asakusa opera** (浅草オペラ): popularized opera in Asakusa, Tokyo.
- auftact starting**: starting on the last beat of a measure.
- chaya** (茶屋 tea-house): restaurant with attending entertainer.
- conjunct**: the relationship between two tetra-chords, in which they have one common *kankuon*.
- choonin** (町人): the towns-people of Edo.
- disjunct**: the relationship between two tetra-chords, in which they are apart by a major second.
- dodoitsu** (都々逸/どどいつ): I use this term for a specific group of popular songs of which the lyric style is based on a 7-7-7-5-syllable structure, as *Koojien* writes. This term seems to be used mostly as above, but also for both the poem and lyric of such a style, not distinguishing them in the Meiji period, and it is used in such a way still today.
- dodoitsu-bon**: a book of a collection of *dodoitsu* lyrics.
- dooyoo** (童謡): a genre of children's song, written as an artistic movement since the latest years of the Meiji.
- enka** (演歌): street musicians' song in Meiji-Taishoo. This is completely different to the same term enka (演歌 or 艶歌) of today. See also *sooshi-enka* (壮士演歌).
- gekkin** (月琴): Chinese string instrument.
- Go-isshin** (御一新): the way Meiji people described *Meiji Ishin* (明治維新 the Meiji Restoration); meaning innovation decided and executed by the authority. Natsume Sooseki uses the term in his *IAMA CAT* (吾輩は猫である) in Meiji 39 (1906).
- gongche notation (kon-chie notation)**: Chinese way of notation.
- goze-uta** (瞽女唄): long narrative song/s sung by mostly blind female singers.
- gunka** (軍 military/war 歌 song/poem): military song/s or war song/s. Note that Meiji people often used this term as military song/s even if it actually meant a war themed poem or lyric without any melodies. See '*uta* (歌)' in this Glossary.
- gunka-shooka**: one of the two groups of Meiji popular song, a group that consists of *shooka* and *gunka*. The other group is *hayari-uta*.
- hauta** (端唄): a genre of old popular song used for most of the popular songs other than '*dodoitsu*', '*ootsu-e*', and '*naninani-bushi*' in the anthologies of the Meiji 10s; meaning a short song.
- hayariuta** (はやり唄/流行歌): popular songs. An older expression of *ryuukooka* (流行歌); meaning, songs which people enjoyed in some period for pleasure.

hayashi kotoba (囃子言葉): utterance in a song with or without melody.

heitai-bushi (兵隊節 soldiers-tune): tunes sung spontaneously among soldiers and/or common people.

hirachooshi (平調子): typical way of *koto* (琴) tuning

honchooshi (本調子): one of the three kinds of *shamisen* tuning, see the following figure.



jan kon chie (上工尺): do-re-mi expressed in Chinese notation.

hoogaku (邦楽): Japanese classic music.

inakabushi (田舎節): rural-tune.

jiamari (字余り): a lyric phrase other than 5-, 7-/8-syllable. Also, the lyric style of such phrases.

jiuta (地唄): a genre of traditional popular song in the Kansai region (including Osaka, Kyoto).

Jooruri (浄瑠璃): *shamisen* music with narrative for *ningyoo-jooruri* (Japanese puppet show).

kabuki (歌舞伎): traditional Japanese popular drama.

kaeuta (替唄): different lyrics to *motouta* (元唄).

kakuon (核音): nuclear tone.

kakyoku (歌曲 song in the classical style): songs composed as an artistic movement or with artistic purpose.

Kamigata (上方): Kansai region including Osaka and Kyoto.

kana: Japanese syllable. A minimal unit of spoken Japanese expressed by a single *kana*.

kanji (漢字): Sino-Japanese character.

kashi-seki (貸席): halls for rent, mostly smaller than *yose*.

kawaraban (瓦版): tile-block print.

kayookyoku (歌謡曲): a genre of popular song.

kon-chie-fu (工 kon 尺 chie 譜 notation): Chinese way of notation by *kanji* for *minshingaku*.

kon-chie-notation: the same as above. Also, gongche notation.

koto (琴): large Japanese instrument with thirteen strings.

kouta (小唄 petit song): a genre of *zokuyoo*.

kuchi-jamisen (口三味線): Sound produced by the voice instead of the *shamisen*.

kudoki (口説き): long narrative song.

kuruwa (廓): red-light districts.

melisma: a group of tones sung on one syllable in a song, especially as melodic embellishment.

mamebon (豆本 beans book): small, cheap song books mostly with no music notation.

Mikado: Tennoo (天皇).

minshin-gaku (明清楽): Chinese music popularized in Japan since the Edo period.

min-yoo (民謡): local folk songs of Japan.

miyako-bushi (都節): towns-tune.

mora: a minimal unit of particularly pronounced sound in the song lyrics.

motouta (元唄): lyrics of so-called original song. I use this term only in contrast to *kaeuta*.

nagauta (長唄): a genre of *shamisen* music.

naninani-bushi (何々節): something-or-other-song.

naninani-ondo (何々音頭 **something-or-other-song**): song title, mostly of some town, sight, or event.

naniwa-bushi (浪花節): a style of story-telling with inserted song and its tune.

niagari (二上がり): one of the three kinds of *shamisen* tuning, see Figure 1-4-1 at *honchooshi*.

ningyoo-jooruri (人形浄瑠璃): Japanese puppet show with *shamisen* accompaniment.

Offbeat starting: A term that includes both of 'Early starting' and 'Late starting'.

pyonko beat: skipping rhythm of repeated dotted eighth and sixteenth notes or triplets of fourth and eighth notes.

ryooka (寮歌): students' dormitory song.

ryuukooka (流行歌): popular song. A newer expression of *hayariuta*; meaning, songs which people enjoyed in some period for pleasure.

san-sagari (三下り): one of the three kinds of *shamisen* tuning. See Figure 1-4-1 at *honchooshi*.

senryuu (川柳): a witty or satirical poem genre which has the same form as *haiku*.

shamisen (三味線): Japanese instrument with three strings.

shamisen tuning: see the figure at *hoinchooshi*.

shigin (詩吟): to sing Chinese poems (漢詩) in literary Japanese. Also, the tune of such singing.

shikookin (紙孔琴): hand organ or music machine played by turning.

shingaku (清樂): a school of Chinese music popularized in Japan since the Edo period.

shingaku-fu (清樂譜): notation of *shingaku*.

shooka (唱歌): new Western style songs that began for school education. I use this term as it is used in songbooks and in extant studies. *Shooka* in the broad sense includes *gunka*.

shooka-kyoiku (唱歌教育): the system of education through *shooka*.

shosei (書生): young men who had live-in-positions in a house of an influential person.

shosei-bushi (書生節): tunes that young men called *shosei* used to sing.

shukuba (宿場): inns of posting stations along main roads.

sookyoku (箏曲): *koto* music.

sooshi-enka (壮士演歌): songs that some street singers sang and sold leaflets of the lyrics. The term means songs (歌) including or instead of speech (演説), sung by vigorous men (壮士).

suifuukin (吹風琴 **blow-organ / melodica**): The melodica, also known as the 'blow-organ', is a free-reed instrument, similar to the accordion and harmonica.

syllable: a minimal unit of spoken Japanese expressed by *katakana* or *hiragana*.

Tennoo (天皇): so-called 'Emperor' generally in English.

tetrachord (テトラコード): one of the four types of combination of notes that are widely considered

as the basic units of pitch structure in Japanese traditional music, advocated by Koizumi. It consists of two *kakuon* (nuclear notes) apart by fourth degree and a filler note or two filler notes.

uta (歌): song/s or poem/s. This character is used in diverse ways such as *gunka* (軍歌 see 'gunka' in this Glossary), *shooka* (唱歌 education-song), *waka* (和歌 5-7-5-7-7-syllable poem), and *kasyuu* (歌集 collection of short poems also collection of songs).

uta (唄 song/s): song/s, usually, popular songs.

uta-bon (唄本): books that are collections of popular songs.

warabe-uta (わらべ唄/ 童歌): traditional children's songs.

yose (寄席): vaudeville.

zokuyoo (俗謡): songs of the old style since the Edo period.

zokkyoku (俗曲): the same meaning as *zokuyoo*.

zokugaku (俗楽): popular music, used by Uehara Rokushirou, in his *Zokugaku Senritsu Koo*.

APPENDIX 1 List of Meiji Popular Song Anthologies Collected from the KDL

(20060403, edited 20100530)

No.	Lib.	editor / author	著者/編者	title/s	タイトル	place	publisher	year AD / Meiji	number of volumes	classification of genre/s	number of songs	kind of notation	illustration	size	number of pages	price in Yen	notes
1001	近代	—	黒糖酒人,竹堂梅兄,---	(dodoitsubon)	新令都度逸: 悟一真. 初編 その他	東京	伊勢屋庄之助	1870/M03	1 +42	都都逸	total 43	無し		18cm	20T	0. 03	その他: KDL に計42編
1002	近代	Nagashima Tatsugorou	永島辰五郎編 歌川芳虎	Kaika Ootsue	開化大津絵節 1、2	東京	堤吉兵衛	1879/M12	2	大津絵	2	無し	有り	18cm	10Tx2	0. 03	
1003	近代	Nakamura Chuushichi	中村忠七	Asakutomo, Yoshikono	あさくとも・よしこのかえうた	大阪	中村忠七	1880/M13	1	— かえうた	2	無し	無し	17cm	4T	?	
1004	近代	Nakamura Chuushichi	中村忠七	Goshoguruma, Kiinokuni	御所車・紀伊の国かえうた	大阪	中村忠吉	1880/M13	1	— かえうた	3	無し	無し	17cm	3T	0.015	
1005	近代	Nakamura Chuushichi	中村忠七	Hitotsutose bushi	かぞえ鞠歌一ツとせぶしまるまるそのま	大阪	中村忠吉	1880/M13	1	かぞえ歌	1	無し	無し	18cm	7T	0. 01	一ツとせ、、、テモ にくらしい
1006	近代	Okura Magobei	大倉孫兵衛	Kaika shinchoo hauta 1	開化新調葉歌 初	東京	大倉孫兵衛	1880/M13	1	葉歌元唄 換歌	31	無し	有り	18cm	10T	0. 05	
1007	近代	Okura Magobei	大倉孫兵衛	Kaika shinchoo hauta 2	開化新調葉歌 2	東京	大倉孫兵衛	1880/M13	1	葉歌元唄 換歌	31	無し	有り	18cm	10T	0. 05	
1008	近代	Hasegawa Chuubei	長谷川忠兵衛	Kaika ootsue. . .	開化大津急・かっぽれ・葉唄・都々ー	東京	長谷川忠兵衛	1880/M13	2	かっぽれ 都々ー他	7	無し	有り	18cm	10T	不明	
1009	近代	Nagashima Tatsugorou	永島辰五郎	Hauta 1, 2	葉うた 1号 2号	東京	堤吉兵衛	1880/M13	2	葉うたの 替歌		無し	有り	18cm	10T	0. 03	
1010	近代	komai Tomosaburo	駒井友三郎編	shinsenn Ootsuebushi	新撰大津えぶし	東京	駒井友三郎	1880/M13	1	—	1	無し	有り	18cm	10Tx2	0. 02	
1011	近代	Kobayashi Tetsutarou	小林鉄次郎	Yuugure no kaeuta	夕ぐれのかえ唄	東京	小林鉄次郎	1882/M15	1	—	1x26	無し	有り	18cm	14T	0.04	木版(16以降29まで混在)
1012	近代	Hasegawa Chuubei	長谷川忠兵衛	Toouse hayari yoseno -	当世はやり諸げいの大よせ	東京	長谷川忠兵衛	1882/M15	1	—	多数	無し	有り	18cm	14T	0.035	木版
1013	近代	Komura	木村某著	Ryuukou Ootsuebushi	流行大都急ぶし	東京	木村某	1883/m16	1	—	1	無し	有り	13cm	36T	0.15	木版
1014	近代	Hasegawa Chuubei	長谷川忠兵衛編		新選登々以津大津絵ぶし	東京	長谷川忠兵衛	1884/M17	1	—	2	無し	有り	12cm	20T	0.035	木版(18年まですべて)
1015	近代	Hirai Yoshinao	平井義直	Shuushin Irohauta	修身いろは歌	京都	二西堂	1883/m16	1	—	1x47	無し	無し	22cm	26T	0.085	短歌集 47首 不採用
1016	近代	Yoshida Shoutarou	吉田正太郎	Ongyoku hitorikeiko	音曲独稽古	東京	秩山堂	1883/m16	1	端唄都々逸他	73	無し	無し	13cm	185p	0.25	長唄 清元 清楽 除く 活版
1017	近代	Sugaya Yokichi	菅谷与吉	Shinsen hauta dodoitsushuu	新撰端唄都々一集	東京	日吉堂	1885/M18	1	葉歌・都 都逸	43	無し	無し	13cm	24T	00. 20	活版
1018	近代	Sada kaiseki	佐田介石	Yonaoshirohauta Hitotsutose	世直しいろは歌、一ツとせぶし 1、2	東京	大橋亘	1886/M19	2	—	2	無し	無し	25cm	13p		いろは歌一ツとせぶし 5、7-5×3 木版
1019	近代	Kawai Genzou	河井源蔵	Gunka	軍歌	東京	有則軒	1886/M19.04	1	喇叭吹奏 歌 軍歌	22	無し	無し	12cm	44p	0. 03	活版
1020	近代		河井源蔵の“翻刻”	(reprints of Gunka)	軍歌(同一内容の軍歌集)	東京	土田吉五郎 他	M19.05-M20	44	喇叭吹奏 歌 軍歌	22	無し	無し	13cm	44p, 30p	0. 02 0. 05	活版
1021	近代	Asano Sanzou	浅野三蔵	Gunkashuu	軍歌集	仙台	原版・斎藤善友	1886/M19.06	1	喇叭吹奏 歌 軍歌	15	無し	無し	12cm	25p	0. 35	河合版からの抜粋
1022	近代	Hiyoshidou	日吉堂	Oongyoku hitorikeiko(?)	新撰音曲独稽古(?)	東京	日吉堂	1886/M19	1	端唄・都 都逸	45	無し	無し	13cm	63p	0. 30	「艶曲集」

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2001	近代	Hasegawa Sonokichi	長谷川園吉編	Kaika dodoitsu	開化都々いつ他	東京	長谷川園吉	1887/M20	1 +33	都都逸	total 34	無し		18cm	9T	0.02	その他: KDL に計33編
2002	近代	Yoshizawa Tomitarou	吉沢富太郎著	Kaika ootsuebushi	開花天津ゑぶし他	東京	開文堂	1888/M21	1+ 9		total 10	無し		19T	13cm	0.06	その他: KDL に計9編
2003	近代	Hiyoshidou Sugaya	日吉堂菅谷与吉	Shinsen ongyoku hitorikeiko	新選音曲独稽古	東京	日吉堂	1887/M20	1	端唄・都都逸	36 +1	無し	無し	13cm	63p	0.30	
2004	近代	Kataoka Jinzaburo	片岡甚三郎	Marumaru kaeuta	団々換歌	大阪	片岡甚三郎	1887/M20	1	(俗謡)	18	無し	有り	18cm	8T	不詳	木版
2005	近代	Murayama Keijuurou	村山桂十郎	Shinpen kaika mondou	新編開化問答 世なおしほほうた	東京	村山桂十郎	1888/M21	1	いろは歌	1x47	無し	無し	18cm	5T	0.02	替歌47 木版
2006	近代	?	?	Shinsen gunkashuu	新撰軍歌集	熊本	楽善堂	1888/M21	1	軍歌	20	無し	無し	12cm	44p	?	軍歌: 来たれや
2007	近代	?	?	Shin gunka	新軍歌	東京	寿盛堂	1889/M22	1	軍歌	4	1,2,3 stave	無し	9x13 cm	29p	?	御国を守れ(来たれや) 見渡せば 活版
2008	近代	?	?	Gunkashuu zoutei	軍歌集 増訂	四日市	岩田与七	1891/M24	1	軍歌	8/24	無し	無し	13cm	51p	?	
2009	近代	Okamoto Keimnosuke	岡本敬之助	Gekkin zakkyoku shingaku no shiori	月琴雑曲清楽の葉・同統編	東京	井之口松之助	1888/M21	2	端唄・唱歌・雑曲	30	Chn	無し	13cm	140p	0.30 0.30	清楽を除く
2010	近代	Ryuugai	xx柳外	Shouka no tomo	唱歌之友	東京	寿盛堂	1888/M21	1	唱歌・軍歌	9	1,2,3 c,d,e	無し	13cm	32p	?	抜刀隊、鳥井氏(宮さん)
2011	近代	Shikama Totsuji	四竈訥治	Kaityuu orugan danpou	懐中オルガン弾法	東京	榊原友吉	1888/M21	1	(唱歌x2)	2	stave	無し	9x15 cm	25p	?	むすんでひらいて 霞か雲か
2012	近代	Shikama Totsuji	四竈訥治	Senkyoku shookashuu 1	撰曲唱歌集 第1集	東京	四竈訥治	1889/M22	1	唱歌	9	stave	無し	14x20	37p	0.10	木版
2013	近代	Shikama Totsuji	四竈訥治	Senkyoku shookashuu 2	撰曲唱歌集 第2集	東京	四竈訥治	1890/M23	1	唱歌	12	stave	無し	14x20	34p	0.10	木版
2014	近代	Shikama Totsuji	四竈訥治	Tefuukinn dokushuuno tomo 2	手風琴独習之友 第2集	東京	四竈訥治	1891/M24	1	軍・唱・俗	17	1,2,3 楽器	無し	13x20	27p	0.20	来たれや(do-dodolaso-sosomi) 活版
2015	近代	Shikama Totsuji	四竈訥治	Tefuukinn dokushuuno tomo 3	手風琴独習之友 第3集	東京	四竈訥治	1892/M25.9	1	軍・唱・俗	11	1,2,3 楽器	無し	13x20	50p	0.20	活版
2016	近代	Horinaka Tetsuzou	堀中徹蔵	Katei shoukanotomo	家庭唱歌之友	東京	文盛堂	1889/M22	1	唱歌	7	123		13x19cm	28p	0.05	軍歌(見渡せば) 活版
2017	近代	?	?	Kiharashi nakayoshi	きはらし・なかよし	東京	東雲堂	1890/M23	2	(俗曲)		?			?	0.20	おもしろし広告欄
2018	近代	Mitani Tanekichi	三谷種吉	Tefuukin kyokufushuu 2	手風琴曲譜集 第2集	京都	村上書房	1891/M24.12	1	俗・清・唱	42	stave		15x21	41p	0.25	
2019	近代	Mitani Tanekichi	三谷種吉	Tefuukin souhou shinan	手風琴奏法指南並二和洋流行楽譜集	大阪	上田貞治郎	1893/M26	1	俗謡・唱歌	16	1,2,3 楽器		19x26	19p	0.15	楽譜判読可能 活版

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2020	国会	Nagai & Kobatake	永井・小島	Nihon zokkyokushuu	日本俗曲集 第1集	大阪	三木佐助	1891/M25.1.	1	俗曲	26	stave 1,2,3		23cm	108p	0.60	counted as exception 活版
2021	近代	Nagai & Kobatake	永井・小島	Nihon Kakyokushuu	日本歌曲集	大阪	三木佐助	1892 M25.10	1	俗曲	40	stave 1,2,3		21cm	123p	0.60	活版
2022	近代	Nagai & Kobatake	永井・小島	Nihon zokkyokushuu 4	日本俗曲集 訂4版	大阪	三木佐助	1893 M26.10	1	俗曲	34	stave 1,2,3		23cm	108p	0.60	活版
2023	近代	Nassho Benjirou	納所弁次郎 上真行校閲	Nihon Gunka	日本軍歌	東京	博文館	1892/M25	1	軍歌	9/21	stave				0.12	西欧から輸入 木版
2024	近代	Hayashi Daiji	林乃爾編	Tefuukin hitorikeiko	手風琴独稽古 第1編	大阪	林乃爾	1892/M25	1	唱歌・軍歌・雑曲	21	1,2,3 楽器					
2025	近代	Kaiushin shorou	魁真書楼	Shinpan eiriryukouka	新版絵入 流行歌選 第1号	東京	魁真書楼	1892/M25	1	俗謡	2	—	無し	18cm	14T		木版
2026	近代	?	?	Shinsen dodoitsu	新撰都々逸	大阪	伊丹由松	1892/M25	1	都々逸	1	—	有り	12cm	24p		替歌 多数
2027	近代	Hashio Chikken	箸尾竹軒	Tefuukin hitoriannai	手風琴独案内 第1集	大阪	青木嵩山堂	1893/M26	1	唱・軍・洋・清・俗・琴 (俗曲)	種類別多数	1,2,3 楽器	楽器 図	15x 23cm	63p、77p	0.30x 2	M28までに、第1集 4版 第2集 2版 (別 26ao-2 の広告欄)
2028		Ousei Sanshichi	鶯声散七	Shakuhachi dokushuu no tomo	尺八独習之友	大阪	青木嵩山堂	1893/M26	1	(唱歌・俗曲)	種類別多数	?				0.15	26ao-2 の広告欄
2029		?	?	Shinobue dokushuu no	篠笛独習之友	大阪	青木嵩山堂	1893/M26	1	(唱歌・俗曲)	種類別多数	?				0.15	26ao-2 の広告欄
2030		Hashio Chikken	箸尾竹軒	Shibngaku sannkyoku	清楽三曲独稽古	大阪	青木嵩山堂	1893/M26	1	(清楽・俗曲)	種類別多数	?				0.15	26ao-2 の広告欄 (清楽を除く)
2031		?	?	Shingaku dokushuu	清楽独習 日本俗曲集	大阪	青木嵩山堂	1893/M26	1	俗曲	種類別多数	?				0.15	26ao-2 の広告欄
2032	近代	Ikeda Takejirou	池田武次郎 著	Seiyougakufu ryuukou hauta	西洋楽譜流行端歌俗曲集	神戸	熊谷久栄堂	1893/M26	1	(流行端歌俗曲)	23	stave					活版
2033	近代	Mitamura Fuuin	三田村楓陰 著	Tefuukin sokusei dukushuu	手風琴速成独習 自在	大阪	和田安治郎	1893/M26	1	唱歌、俗曲	18	123 cde, 楽器					来れや (do-dodolaso-sosomi) ひとつとせ 活版
2034	近代	Arai Sejjirou	新井清次郎、 柏原由二編	Tefuukin dikusoujizai	手風琴独奏自在	大阪	藜光堂	1893/M26	1	祝祭日唱歌、俗曲	39	1,2,3 楽器					
2035	近代	Nagai keishi	永井建子	Seishin kyooiku taigaigunka	精神教育対外軍歌	東京	護国堂	1893/M26	1	軍歌	1	stave					元こう 一曲のみ
2036	近代	unknown	作者不詳	Ongyoku zensyo ikina ukiyo	音曲全書粋な浮世	東京	東雲堂	1893/M26	1	俗謡・清楽	26	—	無し	13	302p	0.12	
2037	近代	Machida hisashi (Ouen)	町田久 (桜園)	Teikokuongaku gunkashuu	帝国音楽軍歌集	東京	東雲堂	1893/M26	1	軍歌	10	123 & Chn			53p		活版
2038	近代	Kurata Shigetarou	倉田繁太郎 編	Shikoukin no shiori	紙腔琴の葉/表紙: 無師独奏紙腔	東京	十字屋 音楽部	1893/M26	5	流行歌、軍歌、他	40	—	絵、図	19cm	90p	?	紙腔琴/Organetteの普及、新聞記事紹介、

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2039	近代		岡村庄兵衛編		吾妻都々逸集他	東京	盛花堂	1894/M27	1 +10	都都逸	8003	—		12cm	31p	0.05	dd: KDL に計7編 oo:KDL に計3編	
2040	近代		菟道春千代 永井建子		小楠公	東京	雅学協会	1894/M27.3	1	—	1	stave		22cm	12p	?	「凱旋」→「道は680里」の旋律	
2041	近代	gungaku gakusha	鎮西山人 陸軍軍楽学会	Toushin gunka	討清軍歌	東京	奥村金次郎	1894/M27	10	軍歌	1x10	stave	裏表紙	9x13	14p	0.02 0.01	すべての譜に「抜刀隊節」と記入	
2042	近代	Sanbouhonbu (selected by)	陸軍参謀本部 ご選定	Shina seibasu no gunka	支那征伐の軍歌	水海道	木田庄次郎	1894/M27.9	1	軍歌	1	—		13×18cm	5p	0.02	同上	
2043	近代	?	?	Shingunkashuu yuusokappatsu	新軍歌集 勇壮活発	東京	国華堂	1894/M27.4	1	軍歌	3冊 まとめて集計 計48	—		12cm	59p			
2044	近代	?	?	Gakusei hikkei gunkashuu	学生必携 軍歌集	東京	国華堂	1894/M27	1	軍歌		—						新作もの詩集の中に軍歌あり
2045	近代	?	?	Gunkashuu zoutei	軍歌集 増訂	四日市	岩田与七	1894/M27	1	軍歌		—						
2046	近代	Honekawa Doujin	骨皮道人	Shinpei tajini no uta	清兵退治の歌	東京	弘文館	1894/M27.4	1	軍歌・雑曲	10	—	裏表紙	15cm	78p			
2047	近代	Honekawa Doujin	骨皮道人	ShinataijiNihonhayaribushi	支那退治日本流行節	東京	扶桑堂	1894/M27	1	軍歌・雑曲	10	—	裏表紙	23cm	61p			
2048	近代	Honekawa Doujin	骨皮道人	ChanchanseibatsuHayariuta	ちゃんちゃん征伐流行歌	東京	弘文館	1894/M27	1	軍歌・雑曲	12	—	裏表紙	15cm	89p			
2049	近代	Honekawa Doujin	骨皮道人	Chanchan seibatsu	ちゃんちゃん征伐	東京	尚古堂 弘文館	1894/M27	2	軍歌・雑曲	12	—	裏表紙	15cm	89p			
2050	近代	Hyakusoku Noboru	百足登	Yougaku no shiori	洋楽之葉	東京	博文館	1894/M27	1	唱・俗・清	3冊 まとめて集計 計19	stave	楽器図	20cm	99p	0.10		
2051	近代	Hyakusoku Noboru	百足登	Kokyuu no shiori	胡弓之葉	東京	博文館	1894/M27	1	俗・清		Chn	楽器図	20xm	98p	0.10		
2052	近代	Machida Ouen	町田桜園	Nisshinsensou ryuukouka	日清戦争流行歌	東京	東雲堂	1894/M27	1	(俗謡)		1,2,3 c,d,e	無し	16cm	68p	0.08	活版	
2053	近代	Karasawa Tsunejirou	柄澤常次郎	NisshinsensouYamatodamashii	日清戦争大和魂3号	鶴岡	静弘堂	1895/M28	1	端唄、その他	9	—	無し	17cm	10T	0.06	活版	
2054	近代	Nishimura Torajirou	西村寅次郎編	Yukaibushi	愉快ぶし	東京	東雲堂	1895/M28	1	愉快節	1	—	裏表紙	15cm	67p	0.08	「愉快ぶし」歌詞多数 活版	
2055	近代	Kanei	寒英編	Chanchanseibatsu Ongyoku	ちゃんちゃん征伐音曲集	東京	盛花堂	1895/M28	1	端唄、その他	11	—				?	端唄を除く 活版	
2056	近代	Kansuidou	環翠堂	Nisshinsensou zokkashuu 2	日清戦争俗歌集2編	岡崎	環翠堂	1895/M28	1	俗歌 端唄	38 24	—	無し	12	177p	0.1	李コウショウという人は、(大黒舞) 活版	
2057	近代	Kamimura Setsuou	上村雪翁	Shakuhachi hitoriannai	尺八独案内	大阪	矢島誠進堂	1895/M28	1	(俗曲)	46	カナ楽器	無し	15x22	85p	0.25	活版	
2058	近代	Hashio Chikken	箸尾竹軒	Tefuukin hitoriannai	手風琴独案内 征清歌曲集	大阪	青木嵩山堂	1895/M28	1	軍歌・俗曲	73	1,2,3 楽器	無し	15x22	69p	0.30		
2059	近代	Oowada Tateki	大和田建樹 奥好義	MeijishoukaBassuiShougaku	明治唱歌抜粋小学唱歌 初版、訂正版	東京	中央堂	1895/M28	2	唱歌	8/28	stave	-	19cm	63p	0.12	明治唱歌 1-6 より抜粋 初版+訂正版	
2060	近代	Oowada Tateki	大和田建樹 奥好義	MeijishoukaBassuiChuugaku	明治唱歌抜粋中学唱歌 初版、訂正版	東京	中央堂	1895/M28	2	唱歌	6/30	stave	-	19cm	63p	0.12	明治唱歌 1-6 より抜粋 初版+訂正版	
2061	近代	Machida Ouen	町田桜園	Tefuukin hitoriannai	手風琴独案内	東京	東雲堂	1896/M29	1	唱・軍・行進・俗・清	43	1,2,3 楽器		16x22	104p	0.25	活版	
2062	近代	Oohashi Matasaburo	大橋又二郎	Seikyokujizai 16	「声曲自在」/日用百科全書 16	東京	博文館	1896/M29	1	流行俗曲/他分野	26	—		23	250p	0.20	端唄のタイトルと歌詞照合可 活版木版併	

No.	Lib.	editor / author	著者/編者	title/s	タイトル	place	publisher	year AD / Meiji	number of volumes	classification of genre/s	number of songs	kind of notation	illustration	size	number of pages	price in Yen	notes
3001	近代	Ougakukai ongakubu	桜楽会音楽部	Gekkin dokushuu	月琴独習	東京	東雲堂	1898/M31	1	俗謡・清楽	16	Chn		18cm	15p		清楽はぶく
3002	近代	Gotou Rokei	後藤露溪(新吉)著	Shakuhachi hitorikeiko	尺八独稽古	大阪	岡本偉業館	1898/M31	1	俗曲・唱歌軍歌	40	カナ楽器					箏曲・清楽を除く活版
3003	近代	Gotou Rokei	後藤露溪	Ongyoku zensho 1	音曲全書 第1編	大阪	伊沢駒吉	1898/M31	1	(俗謡)	25	ヒ7ミ		14x21	96p		活版
3004	近代	Yoshitake Tsunekichi	吉武常吉	Suifuukin sh gn z k shingaku	吹風琴唱歌軍歌俗曲清楽独案内	久留米	吉武常吉	1898/M31	1	唱・俗・清	32	1,2,3 cde		13x20 cm	10T	0.10	
3005	近代	Kurata Hatsushirou	倉田初四郎	Yokobue hitorimanabi	横笛独まなび (harmonica) 上巻	東京	十字屋	1898/M31	1	(雑多)	43	1,2,3 楽器		15cm	62p	0.20	初版M31. 8
3006	近代	Nagai Kenshi	永井建子	Koteki rappa gunka jituyou shinpu	鼓笛喇叭軍歌 実用新譜	東京	共益商社	1899/M32	1	軍歌	15	stave		14cm	66+68	0.30	「小楠公」:すべての七五調長編軍歌に
3007	近代	Yamamoto Tousui	山本桃水(栄次郎)	Suifuukin hitoriannai	吹風琴独案内	大阪	矢島誠進堂	1899/M32	1	俗・唱・軍	74	1,2,3 楽器		14x23	85p	0.35	
3008	近代	Momoi Seiken	桃井静軒	Tefuukin dokusou	手風琴独奏	大阪	又間精華堂	1899/M32	1	俗・唱・軍・清	65	1,2,3 楽器		14x22	73p		
3009	近代	Yamada Youzou	山田要三	Minteki kokin gekkin	明笛胡琴月琴		又間精華堂	1900/M33	1	俗・唱・軍・清	31	Chn		15x21	58p		
3010	近代	oowada Tateki	大和田建樹・多梅若	Chirikyoku tetsudoushouka	地理教育鉄道唱歌 第2集	大阪	三木佐助	1900/M33	1	唱歌	1	stave		18	33p		M43、44訂正 再版あり
3011	近代	?	?	Tesshinkin no minamoto	鉄心琴之原 (Glockenspiel)	東京	森田吾郎	1901/M34	1	(雑多)	16	1,2,3 楽器		15x23	26p		
3012	近代	Gotou Rokei	後藤露溪	Minteki ryuukou zokkyoku	明笛流行俗曲	大阪	又間精華堂	1901/M34	1	俗・唱・軍・清	55	Chn		15x22	102p		活版
3013	近代	Seisai Gakujin	成斎楽人	Sninsen zakkyoku hitoriannai	新撰吹風琴独案内	東京	盛林堂	1901/M34	1	俗・唱・軍・清	79	1,2,3 cde		15x23	68p		
3014	近代	Nakagawa Aisui	中川愛水	Keiben zakkyoku hitori manabi	軽便雑曲独案内 (ハーモニカ)	東京	塚本勇次郎	1902/M35	1	唱・軍・俗	32	1,2,3 楽器		15x22	26p		
3015	近代	Iwasaki kamejirou	岩崎亀次郎	Tesshinkin hitori manabi	鉄心琴独まなび: 最新流行	京都	十字屋楽器部	1903/M36	1	(唱歌・軍歌・俗謡)	60	stave					
3016	近代	Machida Ouen	町田桜園	Seiro kakyoku tefuukin hitori annai	征露歌曲 手風琴独案内	東京	林盛林堂	1904/M37	1	(雑)・俗曲	2冊 まとめ 集計 計19	1,2,3 楽器		15x22	62p	0.25	「征露替歌(俗謡)」のみ採用 活版
3017	近代	Machida Ouen	町田桜園	Seiyou yokobue hitoriannai - haamonika	西洋横笛独案内 / 一名ハーモニカ	東京	盛林堂	1905/M38	1	(雑多)		1,2,3 楽器			63T	0.25	活版
3018	近代	Jidouyuugi kenkyuukai	児童遊戯研究会編	Nichirosensou o ouyoushita jidouyuugi	日露戦争を応用したる児童遊戯 附録	東京	博報堂	1905/M38	1	軍歌	2/6	—		22cm	132p	0.20	征露軍歌(膺てや懲らせ) 征露の歌(ウラルの彼方風荒れて)一高
3019	近代	Ongyoku kurabu	音曲倶楽部	Ginteki dokushuu	銀笛独習	東京	共盟館他	1906/M39		唱・軍・俗		bellow		15x22	63p		
3020	近代	Ongyoku kurabu	音曲倶楽部	Suifuukin dokushuu	吹風琴独習	東京	共盟館	1906/M39		唱・軍・清・雑	計85	1,2,3 楽器		15x22	63p		清楽はぶく

No.	Lib.	editor / author	著者/編者	title/s	タイトル	place	publisher	year AD / Meiji	number of volumes	classification of genre/s	number of songs	kind of notation	illustration	size	number of pages	price in Yen	notes
4001	近代	Torii Makoto Nagai Kanshi	鳥居忱作歌、 永井建子作	Shouka Nagaoka shou	唱歌長岡少尉		弘成館	1907/ M40			1	stave					
4002	近代	Oowada T.Tamura	大和田建樹 田村寅蔵	Wagakuni heishi	我国兵士 唱歌教材	東京	市田元 蔵	1909/ M42	1	軍歌	1	stave		31cm	3p		我国兵士の勇気のみよ や
4003	近代	Setoguchi Toukichi	瀬戸口藤吉	Gunka koushinkyoku	軍艦行進曲	東京	音楽之 友社	1910/ M43	1	行進曲 歌詞つき	2/1	stave		21cm			軍艦、海ゆかば
4004	近代	Seikyokubungei kenkyuukai	声曲文芸研究 会	Kachou dodoitsushuu	佳調都々逸集 他4編	東京	磯部甲 陽堂	1910/ M43	1+4	都々逸	都々逸 5	—		15cm	180p		他に 4編
4005	近代	Ooshima Housui	大島宝水(三 蝶)	Gendai dodoitsushuu	現代都々逸集	東京	三芳屋	1910/ M43	1	都々逸	1	—		11x16 cm	259p		
4006	近代	OowadaTateki OonoUmewaka	大和田建樹, 多梅稚	Tetsudou shouka	訂正 鉄道唱歌	大阪	三木佐 助	1911/ M44		唱歌・俗 謡	1	stave					
4007	近代	Yamada Genichirou	山田源一郎	Chuuoutoukyouiku shoukashuu	中等教育唱歌集	東京	共益商 社	1908/ M41	1	唱歌	3/31	stave	-	27 cm	79p	?	欧米の歌 知られた曲を拾った
4008	近代	Iwasaki Kamejirou	岩崎亀次郎	Tefuukin tebikigusa	手風琴手引草:新式 楽譜	京都	十字屋 楽器部	1908/ M41				123 楽器		14x19 cm	48 p		
4009	近代	Hougaku kenkyuukai	邦楽研究会	Seiyougakufu zk zenshuu	西洋楽譜 古今俗曲 全集 第1、2集合本	東京	開成館	1908/ M41	2	俗曲	87	stave	-	31 cm	86p	0.75 each	五線譜あり、参照可
4010	近代	Tsuda Mineko	津田峰子	Suifuukin dokushuu	吹風琴独習(たて 笛)	東京	修学堂	1909/ M42	1	唱・軍・ 俗・清	55	1,2,3 cde	無し	15x23	58p	?	M44.5 久保田書店他、 再版
4013	近代	Machida Ouen	町田桜園	Shinteki min- dokushuuJizai	清笛明笛 独習自在	東京	林盛林 堂	1910/ M43	1	楽曲・俗・ 童	75	1,2,3 cde			74p	0.25	権兵衛他: 子供の唄
4014	近代	Noda Keika	野田桂華	Haamonika hitoriannai	ハーモニカ独案内: 音譜正確	大阪	沢田栄 寿堂			流行唄・ 俗曲・唱	16/20	123 楽器	図	15x 22cm	43T	?	
4015	近代	Noda Sanjin	野田山人	Tefuukin dokushuu	手風琴独習	大阪	立川文 明堂	1910/ M43	1			123 楽器		15x23	118p	0.25	
4016	近代	Yamaha Kakkiten	ハヤマ楽器店	Haamonika Gakkyokushuu	ハーモニカ楽曲集	大阪	ハヤマ 楽器店	1911/ M44	1	唱歌・俗 謡	32	1,2,3 cde		15cm	17p	0・30	
4017	近代	Ezawa Kanegorou	江澤金五郎	Bion no shiori	写声機平円盤 美音 の菜り	東京	天賞堂	1911/ M44	1	(雑多)	24	—		17cm	284p		唱歌の部、俗歌雑曲の 部
4018	近代	Shkkenkoji	叱剣居士編	Gunka kessakushuu	軍歌傑作集	大阪	牧野新 盛館	1911/ M44	1	軍歌	15/55	—		11cm	185p	?	「喇叭吹奏歌」を除く
4019	近代	Nihon shoukakai	日本唱歌会	Shinsen gakkou shoukashuu	新選学校唱歌集	東京	国華堂	1911/ M44	1	(軍歌・唱 歌)	28/55	—	裏表 紙	19cm	142p	?	むしろ軍歌のコレクシ ョン
4020	近代	Iwasaki kamejirou	岩崎亀次郎	ShinanHarmonica Hitioriannai	新案ハーモニカ独案 内	京都	十字屋 楽器部	1911/ M44	1	(雑多)	46	123 楽器	図	16x23	64p	0・20	1906/M39版の増訂再 版 外国語曲除く
4021	近代	Iwasaki kamejirou	岩崎亀次郎	ShinanMausuHaa monikaHitori-	新案マウスハーモ ニカ独案内 第2	京都	十字屋 楽器部	1912 M45	1	(雑多)	64	123 楽器	図	16x23	70p	0・20	
4022	近代	Kenkou Gaishi	剣光外史編	Shinpen gunkashuu	新編軍歌集	東京	湯浅条 策	1912 M45		軍歌	31/98	—		11cm	190p	?	
4023	近代	Kyouekisha	共益社書店	Poketto shouka	ポケット唱歌	東京	共益社 書店	1912 M45	1	外国唱歌	11/25	stave		33+49 p	13cm	0.25	後半49Pは歌詞編
4024	近代	Kawamoto Itsudou	川本逸童著	Shakuhachi hitoriannai	尺八独案内 下	東京	尺八講 習会	1912 M45	1	(雑多)		カナ 楽器		21p	22cm	0.25	

APPENDIX 2

Ninety-Four Most Frequently Occurring Songs in the Survey of Meiji Popular Song Anthologies Collected from the KDL

no.	song title or alternative title (some key lyrics or genre names given for identification)	genre (zokuyoo unless otherwise specified)	occurrence frequency
1	Dodoitsu		108
2	Ootsue/ Ootuebushi-bushi		46
3	Umegae/Umegae-no		42
4	Harusame		38
5	Kompira funefune		32
6	MiyasanMiyasan/Tonyare-bushi	zokuyoo/shooka	32
7	Tooka-ebisu		31
8	Echigojishi		30
9	Battootai	gunka	29
10	Kappore/Okino kurainoni/sumiyoshi		27
11	Kazoeuta Hitotsutoya	zokuyoo/shooka	27
12	Hookaibushi/Hokai/sasa hookai		26
13	Genkoo/ Shihyakuyoshuu	gunka	25
14	Kitareya kitare/Gunka/Mikunino mamori	gunka	25
15	Tangobushi/tangonoMiyadzu		24
16	Matsudzukushi		22
17	Oedonihonbashi/Kochae/Gojuusantsugi		21
18	Tekiwaikuman/Susume yadama	gunka	20
19	Chonkina (chochonga yoiyasa)		20
20	Suiryoobushi		20
21	Kyoonoshiki/ Shikinouta /Ryuukoosiki (haruwa ureshiya)		19
22	Enkaina/Enkaina-bushi		19
23	Ryuukyuu-bushi		19
24	Kiinokuni/-wa (-otonashigawano)		19
25	Gombega-tanemaku/Tanemaki		18
26	Kasumika Kumoka	shooka	17
27	Umenimoharu/Umenomoharuno-no		17
28	Dondonbushi		17
29	Wagakoi/Wagakoi-wa		17
30	Noebushi/Nogeno ymakara		17
31	Kankannoo/Kankan-odori		16
32	Yuugure/Yuugureni nagame miakanu sumidagawa		16
33	Shingeki oyobi Tsuigeki/Miwataseba	shooka/gunka	16
34	Hotaru (Auld lang syne)	shooka	15
35	Shoonankoo (aa masashigeyo)	gunka	15
36	Asakutomo (asakutomo kiyokinagareno)		15
37	Yukino shingun	gunka	14
38	Takai yamakara/dondokose/arewadondondon	zokuyoo/shooka	14
39	Sumeramikuni (sumera mikunino nomononofuwa)	gunka	14
40	Yuukannaru suihei/Yuukannaru suifu	gunka	13
41	HarunoYayoi (shooka)	shooka	13
42	Kurokami		13
43	Sendaibushi/Nandaibushi		13
44	Kongooseki	shooka	12
45	UjiwaChadokoro/Ujicha		12
46	Yadama/Yadama arareto/Tamawa arareto	gunka	12
47	Sedono danbatake/Urano danbatake		12
48	Wagamono/Wagamonoto		12

no.	song title or alternative title, (key lyrics for identification)	genre (zokuyoo unless otherwise specified)	occurrence frequency
49	Tsuruno koe		12
50	Tetsudoo shooka	shooka	11
51	Mechakuchabushi/Metchabushi		11
52	Yukaibushi		11
53	Koyoi shinobu / Koyoi shinobu nara		11
54	Kinraibushi/Kinrairai-bushi		11
55	Kaianji		11
56	Horete kayou / Horete kayouni		11
57	Maware koma	shooka	10
58	Choochoo tombo		10
59	Yosakoi/ Yosakoi-bushi/ Boosan kanzashi		10
60	Gaisen (anauresi)	gunka	10
61	Yamadera/Yamadera no (bikkuri shakkuri)		10
62	Umewa saitaka(ga)/Shongaina		10
63	Otakedon/ Otakesan		10
64	Yoneyama/Yoneyama-Jinku		10
65	Yukiwa tomoe/-ni		10
66	Umi yukaba	gunka	9
67	Yokachoro/-bushi		9
68	Sambasoo/Nagauta-sambasoo		9
69	Kyuurenkwan	minshingaku	9
70	Kintoki/Kintoki ga		9
71	Inochio Sutete(-masuraoga)	gunka	9
72	Inshuu Inaba		9
73	Isobushi		8
74	Sanosa/Sanosa-bushi		8
75	Usagito kame (moshimoshi kameyo)	shooka	8
76	Choochoo/ the boat song	shooka	8
77	Susume susume/Suzume suzume oyadowa dckoda	shooka	8
78	Okino taisen		8
79	Kunino shizume	gunka	8
80	Ukiyobushi/Ukiyo hanarete		8
81	Goshono oniwa		8
82	Shongaina/Shongaina-bushi		8
83	Shingeki oyobi tsuigeki (miwataseba)	shooka/gunka	8
84	Sakura miyotote		8
85	Kappore Hoonen		8
86	Takai yamakara/Takai yama/Gitchon/Guitchonchon		8
87	Oppekepee		8
88	Kin nyomunyoo		8
89	Iyobushi		8
90	Shinobu koji		8
91	Umega nushinara		8
92	Kusunoki masashige-/Kenmuno mukashi	gunka	8
93	Irohauta		8
94	Oni		8

List of Midi Files Attached as APPENDIX 3

1-2-3 Harusame Postlude	3-4-1 Hitotsutoya Kobatake	4-1-8 Tooshin Gunka Fukushima
1-2-4 Antagata dokosa	3-4-2 Hitotsutoya Shoogaku shooka	4-1-9 Kyoodoodanka Horiuchi
	3-4-3 Yokosuka Kazoeuta	4-1-10 Aa Masashigeyo Shikama
3-1-2 Mizuno debana to	3-4-4 Hitotsutose 1970s	4-1-11 Ichirihan nari Nakamura
3-1-3 Atashiga shoobai	3-4-5 Miyasan Shoogaku Shooka	4-1-12 Kumagai Naozane Horiuchi
3-1-4 Wakarega tsuraito	3-4-6 Miyasan Yamada	4-1-13 Saegi Saegi Murabayashi
3-1-5 Shamisen ya	3-4-7 Miyasan Noda	4-1-14 Shingeki oyobi Tsuigeki
3-1-7 Ooi Oyajidono		
3-1-8 Ameno yoni	3-5-1 Enkaina Machida Kashoo	4-2-1 Mich wa 680-ri Horiuchi
3-1-9 Ameno yoni - Oyajidono	3-5-2 Nyankaina Richjoo	4-2-2 Gaisen-ka Nagai
	3-5-3 Kankan noo Kobatake	4-2-3 Poorando kaiko Kodama
3-2-1 Nooe-busi Machida Ouen	3-5-4 Umegae Kobatake	4-2-4 Poorando kaiko Horiuchi
3-2-2 Ishin March	3-5-5 KyuurenkuanTanabe Child	4-2-5 Poorando kaiko Kagawa
3-2-3 Nooe-bushi Yamamoto	3-5-6 KyuurenkanTanabe1932	4-2-6 Shoo-Nankoo Nagai
3-2-4 Asaku tomo	3-5-7 Hookai-bushi Ikeda	4-2-7 Tekiwai kuman
	3-5-8 Hookai-bushi Motoori	4-2-8 Genkoh
3-3-1 Harusame		4-2-9 Yuukan naru Suihei
3-3-3 Tooka Ebisu Kobatake	4-1-1 Poor Recruits!	4-2-10 Kasumika Kumoka
3-3-4 Tooka Ebisu Hayashi	4-1-2 Battoo-tai .Leroux	4-2-11 Hotaru no Hikari
3-3-7 Echigo-jishi	4-1-3 Battoo-tai Army band	
3-3-8 Kompira Funefune	4-1-4 Battoo-tai Miura	4-3-1 Yuki no Shingun
3-3-9 Kappore	4-1-5 Kitareya kitare Izawa	4-3-2 Yuki no Shingun Variant
	4-1-6 Kitareya kitare Momotari	4-3-3 Tetsudoh shohka
		4-3-4 Sen-yuu