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UNITY AND DISUNITY IN JAPANESE MODERN TIMES:

THE SONGS AND THEORIES OF YAMADA KŌSAKU

DPhil Music

‘Under the most diverse conditions and disparate circumstances,

we watch the development of the same phenomena—

homelessness on an unprecedented scale,

rootlessness to an unprecedented depth.’

Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*.

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Abstract

This thesis examines the work of Yamada Kōsaku 山田耕筰 (1886-1965), a Japanese composer in the Western classical tradition. Scholarship to date has tended to ascribe to Yamada a substantial change in his identity, whereby his recognition of his Japanese nationality sometime before 1920 brought his music to its laudable maturity. I argue that this is a misinterpretation. Instead, any such shift was superficial, only rhetorical in nature, and overlaid a stable philosophical core. This philosophy can be defined as a modernist faith in totalizing unity.

A reassessment of Yamada's biography demonstrates that there is no evidence of a substantial 'Japanese turn'. Similarly, an examination of Yamada's musical style, focusing on his influential 'accent theory' of song declamation, shows it to belong within an Austro-German discourse of song composition. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied there was some form of rhetorical shift. I describe this as a transition from a perspective of outward-looking cosmopolitanism to one of inward-looking nativism, and date it to a critical period around the early 1920s, on which this thesis focuses.

An analysis of *Nursemaids' Songs* (*AIYAN no uta* AIYAN *の*歌), a song cycle from 1922, reveals the 'crisis of modernity' that Yamada was facing. This was brought on by the failure of Yamada's attempts to forge 'unity through purity', the method for engendering artistic and social harmony that was mandated by his theory of the 'unified work of art'. However, Yamada's close collaborator from 1922 onwards, the poet Kitahara Hakushū 北原白秋 (1885-1942), provided a solution to this 'crisis of unity' with his anti-intellectual ideology of the pure 'heart of a child' (*dōshin* 童*心*). The alignment that steadily developed between this ideology and the totalitarianism of the later Japanese Empire drove the transition in Yamada's rhetoric towards an inward-looking nativism.

Introduction

'The king of poetry and the champion of music, brought together, create the closest, most harmonious union between poetry and music. It is truly a great sight for our musical world!'[1] Thus was twentieth-century Japan introduced to one of its most important artistic collaborations: that between the poet Kitahara Hakushū 北原白秋 (1885-1942) and the composer Yamada Kōsaku 山田耕筰 (1886-1965).[2] In further, no less breathless advertising copy, found later in the same magazine, Yamada explained how his meeting with Kitahara in 1922 had fundamentally changed the way in which he practised his art.[3] He was not then to know, but his legacy was, indeed, to be defined by the songs he composed to Kitahara's lyrics, songs like 'Bitter-Orange Blossoms' ('Karatachi no hana' からたちの花, 1925) that are still sung today 'by people who have no idea who composed them'.[4] Of all his works, it was for these that he would become best known among both popular and scholarly audiences alike. Yamada's collaboration with Kitahara is, therefore, vital for understanding the composer's work – but not only in the ways that have been hitherto suggested.

In this thesis, I reassess Yamada's life and work, showing exactly how his music, his theories, his rhetoric, and his philosophy all pivot around the critical years of 1922-23, in which his collaboration with Kitahara began. I argue that a careful analysis of this period reveals it to be one of rhetorical transition, in which Yamada adopted the ideas that would lead him from publicly proclaiming an outward-looking, cosmopolitan internationalism, to fervently proposing an inward-looking, nativist nationalism. At the

[1] ARS Shuppan, *'AIYAN no uta'*, *Shi to ongaku*, 1 (1922), p. ix (p. ix).

[2] I give Japanese names in this thesis in the conventional Japanese order, i.e. family name followed by personal name, except for authors with Japanese names writing in English. In citations, too, I follow the standardized convention, giving family name second.

[3] Kōsaku Yamada, 'Kore kara no watashi no seikatsu', *Arusu shuppan geppō*, September 1922, p. 1.

[4] Donald Keene, 'Foreword', in Margaret Benton Fukasawa, *Kitahara Hakushū: His Life and Poetry*, Cornell East Asian Series, 65 (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University East Asia Program, 1993), pp. vii-viii (p. viii).

same time, I suggest that this rhetorical shift overlaid a stable philosophical core: that Yamada underwent no definite conversion between two poles, but remained, in all his responses to the world around him, committed to a modernist ideal that sought the total unity of all phenomena. Thus I explore one man's encounter with the 'crisis of modernity', as manifested in Japan in the first half of the twentieth century. In this introduction, I lay the groundwork for my argument by reviewing the literature on Yamada to date, critiquing it primarily from the perspective of Orientalist thought and for its under-critical reliance on the composer's own writings. I also define the nature of the modernism which, I argue, forms the backbone of Yamada's stable philosophy.

Ask any Japanese passer-by whether they know Yamada's name, and it is no longer certain that they will. Whistle the tune to 'Bitter-Orange Blossoms', however, or 'The Red Dragonfly' ('Akatonbo' 赤とんぼ, 1927), and they will be instantly recognized: probably as a song sung in school, the familiarity of which has been reinforced by reuse as, say, the jingle of a bulky waste collection truck. To some extent, the invisibility of the musician behind music such as this, which pervades modern Japanese society, only confirms Yamada's reputation, in some circles, as the quintessential Japanese composer. Yamada himself would have been disappointed by this state of affairs, for he was an extremely ambitious man and wanted to be known, ideally across the world, as a composer on the level of his personal hero, Richard Strauss. He would have been far more satisfied with that fact that, in his heyday, he was a household name, especially at the climax of his career in 1930 when concerts in celebration of his twenty-five years of musical activity toured the country.

This jubilee was dated to his entry into the Tokyo School of Music (Tōkyō Ongaku Gakkō 東京音楽学校) in 1905, following which, in 1910, his career took him to Berlin to study at the Royal Academy of Music (Königliche Hochschule für Musik). Having returned from Europe in 1914, he began to forge his reputation in Japan during the years of the First World War, although such achievements as his establishment of the first Japanese

symphony orchestra were qualified by a lack of lasting success. The Tokyo Philharmonic Society (Tōkyō Firuhāmonī Kai 東京フィルハーモニー会), for example, fell apart within a year due to lacklustre ticket sales, the unattainability of Yamada's desired performance standards, and disagreements between the orchestra's leading members.

It was not until after a visit to the United States in 1917-19, on which he had embarked with high hopes for international recognition and from which he had returned disappointed, that Yamada began to find true success and popular acclaim, albeit only, for the most part, in his homeland. It was during this period that he became known as a composer of popular song, as a skilled orchestral conductor, and as a figure of the establishment who could be entrusted with cultural missions to close allies, such as Nazi Germany, as well as with commissions for grand state occasions. After the surrender of the Empire of Japan in 1945, however, Yamada's involvement with the wartime regime was swiftly forgotten; likewise, as the performance of Western classical music in Japan developed in the post-war period towards its current, renowned heights, Yamada's contributions to the tradition's less illustrious early history were reduced to a footnote. Today, his popular reputation rests on his songs alone. Nevertheless, amongst scholars of music of the Western classical tradition in Japan, Yamada has come to be regarded as the father of Japanese composition.

In truth, Yamada was not the first composer in the Western classical music tradition to be born or to practise in the Japanese archipelago. He was, however, the first to compose in the prestigious forms of the symphony and the opera, the first to receive recognition for his art overseas, and, arguably, the first to have a lasting influence on Japanese culture. There do exist well-known works by earlier Japanese composers, a particularly famous example being a song entitled 'Moon Over a Ruined Castle' ('Kōjō no tsuki' 荒城の月, 1901) by Taki Rentarō 滝廉太郎 (1879-1903). This composer had published music in Tokyo, studied abroad in Leipzig, and died before Yamada ever began to study music formally. However, Taki's classic soon became known only in an

arrangement by Yamada. This is confirmation of the latter's far greater significance.[5] By virtue of this primacy and his resultant authority, Yamada defined a nascent national musical tradition, in which shadow all subsequent Japanese composers have dwelt, willingly or otherwise.

The socialist composer Yoshida Takako 吉田隆子 (1910-56), for instance, had little in common with her illustrious predecessor. She spent much of the 1930s and 40s in prison, unable to publish her music because of her political opposition to the totalitarian Imperial regime; during the same period, Yamada conducted three official concert tours of the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere (Dai Tōa Kyōeiken 大東亜共栄圏) and was appointed chair of the Musical Culture Association of Japan (Nihon Ongaku Bunka Kyōkai 日本音楽文化協会), which controlled all musical expression across the Empire.[6] Nevertheless, when Yoshida declared that the melody of a song must form a harmonious union with the words of its source poetry in order to accurately express that poem's meaning, she was echoing a doctrine of that earliest of authorities.[7] It is this primacy that most immediately establishes Yamada's importance in music history.

When scholars describe Yamada as a 'pioneer', however, it is for being 'the first composer [from Japan] to move beyond a simple, rote imitation' that they primarily laud him, for Yamada did not merely found a Japanese tradition of Western classical music, but also formed it with novel creativity.[8] In other words, it is the aesthetic qualities of Yamada's work on which critics have focused. (Note that, in this thesis, I use the term 'music of the Western classical tradition by Japanese musicians' to describe the tradition

[5] Rentarō Taki, 'Kōjō no tsuki', arr. by Kōsaku Yamada, in *Taki Rentarō kakyoku shū* (Tokyo: Ongaku no Tomosha, 2002).

[6] Nobuko Gotō, *Yamada Kōsaku: tsukuru no de wa naku umu* (Kyoto: Minerva Shobō, 2014), pp. 393-94.

[7] Takako Yoshida, *Ongaku no tankyū* (Tokyo: Shinzenbisha, 1948).

[8] Kathryn Etheridge, 'Japanese Musical *Modanizumu*: Interwar *Yōgaku* Composers and Modernism' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Florida State University College of Music, 2014), p. 26; Judith Ann Herd, 'Western-Influenced "Classical" Music in Japan', in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Japanese Music*, ed. by Alison McQueen Tokita and David W. Hughes (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 363-81 (p. 365).

in which Yamada practised, in preference to the term *yōgaku* 洋楽, for all that the latter is increasingly common in English-language scholarship. I do so on the grounds that the word *yōgaku*, in Japanese, refers to all styles of Western music; indeed, contemporary usage would more commonly associate it with Western popular music.)

In all but a few of the most recent academic publications on Yamada's work, however, many critics have shared a common position, the fundamental assumptions of which have yet to be sufficiently interrogated. This received interpretation rests upon the idea that the aesthetic value of Yamada's music is found in his development of an 'independent native voice', that is, a unique musical idiom, the personal expression of a Japanese artist and therefore, of necessity, essentially Japanese. Yamada is thereby contrasted with other pre-war Japanese composers, who are said to have written instead 'in a pedantic style with obvious references to popular European composers'.[9] Such an interpretation can only conceive of Yamada as a 'Japanese composer', an entity which is somehow distinct from the concept of a composer per se, and so judges him not only by the Enlightenment criterion of originality, but by the assumption that, in the hands of a non-European, such creativity can only be rooted in the culture of the land of one's birth.

Yamada has usually been deemed to have met with success when measured by this standard. His entries in the major musical encyclopaedias announce that 'Yamada's music displays a distinctly Japanese idiom' and assure the reader that 'he never lost his identity as a Japanese composer'.[10] Luciana Galliano's monograph about the history of classical music in Japan reinforces this idea that 'the music of […] early [Japanese] composers faithfully followed the precepts, styles, and ideas of their respective models'.

[9] Judith Ann Herd, 'The Neonationalist Movement: Origins of Japanese Contemporary Music', *Perspectives of New Music*, 27 (1989), 118-63 (pp. 118, 120).

[10] Nobuko Gotō, 'Yamada, Kōsaku', in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Algemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik (Personenteil)*, ed. by Friedrich Blumer and Ludwig Finscher, 2nd edn, 18 vols (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2007), XVIII, 1230-31 (p. 1231); Masakata Kanazawa and Akioka Yo, 'Yamada Kōsaku', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by Stanley Sadie and John Tyrell, 2nd edn, 29 vols (London: Macmillan, 2001), XXVII, 633-35 (p. 634).

According to Galliano, however, Yamada broke free of this trap, achieving a ‘change of musical direction’ after he ‘began to define a sense of national identity’. By ‘avoiding the formal structural relationships of Western harmony in order to create a music that was closer to Japanese melodic ideas’, he thus ensured that ‘the goal of a truly original, “national” style was closer to being reached [in the pre-war period] than is generally realized’.[11] Meanwhile, the recent biography of Yamada by Gotō Nobuko 後藤信子 narrates the life of a man who was ‘tormented by his sense of dissatisfaction with Western music’ and so struggled to ‘orient’ (*teiisuru* 定位する) himself as a ‘composer of Japan’.[12]

To translate ‘teiisuru’ in this context as ‘to orient’ is to introduce a pun that is not present in the original Japanese. A poor translation it may thus be, but it penetrates right to the heart of the problem with this interpretation of Yamada’s work: namely, that the above interpretations rely on the idea that Yamada had an ‘innate Japanese musical sensibility’, and that it is on the success (or otherwise) of his realization of this innate Japanese quality that his music must be judged.[13] In other words, this perspective is extremely vulnerable to an Orientalist critique.

Edward Said, the humanist scholar whose analysis remains the foundation of contemporary post-colonial thought, describes Orientalism as ‘a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between “the Orient” and […] “the Occident”’. Using Michel Foucault’s concept of discourse, he argues that the creation and reinforcement of this dichotomy between European self and Oriental other gave the former power over the latter: it became a ‘systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage – and even produce – the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively during the post-Enlightenment period’. Orientalism can therefore be thought of as ‘a Western style for dominating, restructuring,

[11] Luciana Galliano, *Yōgaku: Japanese Music in the Twentieth Century*, trans. by Martin Mayes (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2002), pp. 20, 33, 36, 50.

[12] Gotō, *Yamada Kōsaku*, pp. 182-83.

[13] Galliano, p. 46.

and having authority over the Orient'.[14] In the years since Said's ground-laying work, post-colonial scholarship has broadened its outlook beyond Said's more literary focus in order to critique colonial and imperialist activities in diverse periods, places, and disciplines, and many hands have contributed to the development and refining of Orientalist and post-colonial analysis.[15]

In recent years, these ideas have also begun to make their mark upon musicology. For instance, scholars such as Derek Scott have examined expressions of the exotic in works of the Western musical canon. Scott's research suggests that composers of classical music have not, in general, attempted to deploy even fragments of non-Western musical traditions in their representations of geographical difference. Instead, the musical language they have used to portray places beyond the West has not itself been external to the Western classical tradition. As a result, 'One might ask if it is necessary to know *anything* about Eastern musical practices; for the most part, it seems that only a knowledge of Oriental signifiers is required'.[16] Another totemic contribution to this debate is Georgina Born and David Hesmondhalgh's edited volume, *Western Music and its Others,* which is often considered to have set the tone for the discussion of 'the kind of difference invoked when music, that quintessentially nonrepresentational medium, is employed (paradoxically) so as to represent, through musical figures, another music,

[14] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 2003), pp. 2-3.

[15] A list of the most influential contributions to post-colonial scholarship would include, amongst others: Homi K. Bhabha, *Nation and Narration* (London: Routledge, 1990); Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Post-colonial Thought and Historical Difference*, new edn (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008); Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Post-colonial Histories* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993); Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. by Constance Farrington (London: Penguin, 2001); Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, 'Can the Subaltern Speak?', in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, ed. by Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg (Basingstoke: Macmillan Education, 1988), pp. 271-313.

[16] Derek Scott, *From the Erotic to the Demonic: On Critical Musicology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 155. Similar analysis of the portrayal of the exotic in the Western classical tradition is found in: *The Exotic in Western Music*, ed. by Jonathan D. Bellman (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1998); Ralph P. Locke, *Musical Exoticism: Images and Reflections* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

another culture, an other'.[17] Other scholars have critiqued Orientalist tendencies in the musicological discipline itself. Ronald Radano and Philip Bohlman's edited volume *Music and the Racial Imagination*, for example, aims to address the 'traditional and remarkably intractable insistence by musicology that cultivated sound consumption consists precisely in a tasteful, raceless listening'.[18] The editors argue that:

> Race lives on in the house of music because music is so saturated with racial stuff. […] As a matter of course, so too has musicology, in its various guises, 'grown up' in this racial house. It is part of the fabric of the social; and its approaches, concerns, and orientations reflect the force of that experience.[19]

As an example of this, they describe how 'historical musicology has […] remained remarkably committed to the affirmation of what is and is not racial, most typically by adhering to an easy binary of what is and is not European'.[20] This statement is startlingly apposite to the ways in which many scholars have received Yamada's music, an essential part of their appreciation of him being their emphasis upon his Asian origin.

However, despite the dramatic growth in similar research since the beginning of the twenty-first century, post-colonial studies of the Western classical music tradition have tended to focus only upon representations of the Orient in the music of Western composers. The discipline of ethnomusicology forms a distinct contrast to this in its concentration on non-Western, or at least non-hegemonic, musical traditions, and often seems, therefore, to be considered the obvious situation for all research into non-Western music. Nevertheless, it would be inappropriate to consider Yamada through an

[17] Georgina Born and David Hesmondhalgh, 'Introduction', in *Western Music and its Others*, ed. by Georgina Born and David Hesmondhalgh (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), pp. 1-58 (p. 1).

[18] Houston A. Baker Jr, 'Foreword', in *Music and the Racial Imagination*, ed. by Ronald Radano and Philip V. Bohlman (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), pp. xi-xii (p. xi).

[19] Ronald Radano and Philip V. Bohlman, 'Introduction: Music and Race, Their Past, Their Presence', in *Music and the Racial Imagination*, ed. by Radano and Bohlman, pp. 1-53 (p. 1).

[20] Ibid., p. 2. One further source that has shaped my understanding of Orientalism in musicology is: Timothy D. Taylor, *Beyond Exoticism: Western Music and the World* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007).

ethnomusicological lens. To do so would inevitably be to focus upon his distinction from a tradition with which he strove for many years to align himself, at least until ethnomusicological studies of music in the Western classical tradition are commonplace (for all that I must admit this to be likelier than for the study of non-Western composers from the perspective of historical musicology to become unremarkable). This fact is ably expressed in *Music and the Racial Imagination*, alongside a cautionary note that I hope I have taken to heart in this study: 'The disciplinary dilemma faced by historical musicology when it confronts race and music is its preoccupation with sameness; that of ethnomusicology is its dependence on difference'.[21]

In historical musicology, meanwhile, it is both inevitable and commendable that, as a reflection of how musicological expertise in Western universities has traditionally been concentrated, scholars have committed themselves to undermining once monolithic assumptions about the significance of music composed in Europe, and, to some extent, elsewhere in the West. But it is unfortunate that such research has little to say about music composed outside the West: not only because it fails to broaden academic discussion so as to include the work of the subaltern, but also because it continues to preserve certain fundamental assumptions that post-colonial scholars intend to challenge. As Yayoi Uno Everett and Frederick Lau write:

> Without acknowledging the histories of Western music in the East, the majority of these post-structuralist analyses continue to implicate non-Western components as the Other situated in the margins of the Western/European cultural core. In the process, they inscribe and perpetuate the conceptual binary of self and other. Most importantly, this polarity continues to mystify the 'East' and colour the critical reception of Asian composers' music today.[22]

This phenomenon can be seen in the scholarly accounts of Yamada described above. It seems as if, in their attempts to establish Yamada as an artist of worth, many scholars

[21] Radano and Bohlman, p. 9.

[22] Yayoi Uno Everett and Frederick Lau, 'Introduction', in *Locating East Asia in Western Art Music*, ed. by Yayoi Uno Everett and Frederick Lau (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2004), pp. xv-xx (p. xvii).

have felt the need to set him apart by his nationality, the very criterion which would once have disqualified him from serious musicological study. In so doing, however, they simply reinscribe the ontology of difference by which Yamada is essentially separated from other composers in the Western classical tradition.

I must admit, and I discuss below, that such a reading of Yamada's work is encouraged by the composer's own writings. It was in these that, from the mid-1920s onwards, he began to develop a nationalist apologia for his music. Yamada has not been alone in this habit, however. Writing about a later generation of East Asian musicians, Harrison Ryker describes how:

> A striking tendency among composers in Asia today is a sensed need to explain one's work in relation to the society one lives in. […] Some of this soul-searching can be seen as a type of nationalist striving, in a region with backgrounds of both colonialism and cultural domination. Out of these arises a secondary need for self-definition: how to rationalize one's relationship to 'outside' influences.[23]

Ryker's argument is that the power dynamics of colonialism fuel a perpetuation of the dichotomy between Orient and Occident even by the subaltern. In other words, Everett and Lau's description of a mystical East that colours the reception of Asian composers applies not only to Western observers, but even to non-Western practitioners. They, too, are affected by a 'language of nationalism', developed in and imported from the West, in which 'music that grows organically from the soil of a particular nation is *ipso facto* more natural, more authentic, because it is nourished by sources to which no other nation has access'.[24] I would consider this an example of the 'post-colonial misery' that Partha Chatterjee describes as 'autonomous forms of imagination of the community being, and continuing to be, overwhelmed and swamped by the history of the post-colonial state'.[25]

[23] Harrison Ryker, 'Introduction', in *New Music in the Orient: Essays on Composition in Asia Since World War II*, ed. by Harrison Ryker, Source Materials in Ethnomusicology, 2 (Buren: Fritz Knuf, 1991), pp. 11-30 (pp. 11-12).

[24] Radano and Bohlman, p. 29.

[25] Chatterjee, p. 11.

Once seen from a post-colonial perspective, therefore, the work of both Yamada and his later critics begs to be reinterpreted.

The use of post-colonial theory in the study of Japan is, admittedly, fraught with caveats, given Japan's evasion of immediate subjection to European powers, and indeed its history as a colonial nation in its own right. Nevertheless, I would argue that the perniciousness of the colonial and imperial enterprise is quite such as to be able to also affect those places which evaded immediate subjection. The misery of imperialism that Chatterjee describes is precisely this inescapability, even in reaction. In any event, the general thrust of post-colonial and, perhaps most relevantly, Orientalist critique opens up significant new perspectives on Yamada and his work, and is therefore justified in his context at the very least.

In recent years, some scholars have begun to interrogate the study of Western classical music in Japan from perspectives more informed by post-colonial thought. The musicologist David Pacun has led the way in this, pointing out that, by falling into 'the trap, laid by Western essentialism, that Japanese music must sound or be audibly Japanese', many scholars have uncritically accepted the 'self-Orientalizing discourses of cultural nationalism' which are endemic in discussions of Japanese culture.[26] He has stated bluntly that:

> English-language scholarship on *yōgaku* has […] not only treated the East/West dualism as the primary starting point for analysis and appreciation, but actually reified its poles as eternally fixed opposites. From this perspective, 'good' *yōgaku* is that which unites or synthesizes the two poles, while 'bad' *yōgaku* is that which contains overt Western influence or only pays lip service to traditional practices.[27]

[26] David Pacun, 'Style and Politics in Kosaku Yamada's Folksong Arrangements, 1917-1950', in *Music of Japan Today*, ed. by E. Michael Richards and Kazuko Tanosaki (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2008), pp. 39-54 (p. 51 [n.9]).

[27] David Pacun, 'Nationalism and Musical Style in Interwar *Yōgaku*: A Reappraisal', *Asian Music*, 43 (2012), 3-46 (p. 5).

Pacun does not hesitate to point out how similar the terms of these critiques are to those used by adherents of the nationalist beliefs of the later Empire of Japan: not so much as to implicate contemporary musicologists in Japanese imperialism, but rather so as to highlight how a focus on Japanese essentialism cannot but echo the epistemologies and preconceptions of the early twentieth century.

Other preconceptions that have remained unquestioned 'blind us to how quickly imported traditions became indigenous ones in early twentieth-century Japan'.[28] Kathryn Etheridge addresses this issue at length in her thesis about musical modernism in Japan before the Second World War, in which she argues that Japanese artists 'consciously positioned themselves within an internationalist modernist culture'. She suggests that composers such as Yamada 'adopted an international outlook while at the same time using their music to form a modern Japanese identity': an identity which was, therefore, neither founded in, nor necessarily represented by, any sense of being essentially Japanese.[29] Etheridge here draws upon attempts by Japanologists like Miriam Silverberg to reconsider the idea that there was an emic assumption of a monolithic East/West divide in pre-war Japan. Silverberg, for example, writes that 'devices and interpretations made by Japanese […] could be coded as Western but were decoded and re-encoded as modern'.[30] Therefore, for all that the modern and the Western were closely bound together, they were not inextricable; the modern and the authentic were not always held to be incompatible. Pacun summarizes the practical consequences of this position for musicology by arguing that scholars must 'take all interwar Japanese composition seriously as music, as a direct and valid expression of daily life in interwar Japan (rather

[28] Ibid.

[29] Etheridge, pp. 1, 18.

[30] Miriam Silverberg, *Erotic Grotesque Nonsense: The Mass Culture of Japanese Modern Times* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), p. 32.

than as a missed opportunity to express “authentic Japan” and the “true, Japanese spirit”)’.[31]

The application of Pacun’s advice to the study of Yamada is stymied, however, by support from the composer’s own writings, the most compelling of primary sources for the narrative that Yamada’s genius stemmed from his musical revelation of an essential Japanese identity. Yamada was a prolific author for much of his life. His *Collected Writings* (*Yamada Kōsaku chosaku zenshū* 山田耕筰著作全集), the compilation of which is a time-honoured mark of the canonization of a Japanese literary figure, was published in 2001. It includes books, essays, radio scripts, editorials, concert notes, and many other miscellaneous writings, and its three volumes equal, in both number and heft, the *Collected Works* of the composer’s first poetic muse, Miki Rofū 三木露風 (1889-1964). This is despite the fact that, unlike Miki, Yamada did not primarily earn his living by writing.

Moreover, although Yamada’s prose style does not compare with that of his professional writing contemporaries, his accounts of his life and work are undeniably captivating. He had a gift for rhetoric and, especially, for storytelling that made him nearly as skilled a composer of prose as he was a composer of music. For this reason, and because he wrote at length about his influences and his theories of composition, scholars have tended to rely heavily on Yamada’s own account of himself in order to form their conclusions about him. In so doing, they have found confirmation of their essentialist interpretation of his work in such places as his declaration in a publicity piece from around 1918 that, ‘If there is anything Japanese in our art, it has its place, not as a result of any attempt or effort, but as a natural consequence of the growth of our soul’.[32] However, Yamada was so sure of his words, so confident of saying what he wanted to say, that the evidence from his writings should not be accepted at face value. It must instead be

[31] Pacun, ‘Nationalism and Musical Style’, p. 8.

[32] Koscak [Kōsaku] Yamada, ‘Idealization of Art’, *The Critic* [date unknown]: AMJM, S01 089.

considered in full awareness of the rhetorical artifice with which Yamada constructed his public pronouncements.

Yamada sculpted his writing in order to more persuasively convey his intended message in three main ways: through narrative, drama, and rhetorical technique. With regards to the first of these, Yamada clearly felt that stories were important, and that anything grounded in a strong narrative arc made for persuasive reading. Even his most theoretical essays were sometimes written in such a way as to present his theories through the story of their origins. For example, the essay 'Accent in Poetry from the Perspective of Song Composition' ('Kayōkyoku sakkyoku jō yori mitaru shi no akusento' 歌謡曲作曲上より見たる詩のアクセント, 1923), in which Yamada laid out his guidelines for composing realistic declamation of the Japanese language, is primarily didactic. However, the criticism of other declamatory techniques with which the essay starts is not expressed in dry, theoretical terms, but instead in an account of Yamada's personal failures and disappointments in setting texts to music. Yamada wrote of how the homesickness he had felt during the years he studied in Berlin (1910-14) drove him to try setting Japanese-language poems to music, only to find that the melodies he had composed, whilst undoubtedly musical, failed, in his view, to reflect the character of the Japanese language. In despair, he gave up and started going to the theatre to take his mind off things; there, in the declamatory patterns of the *'Bühnen Sprache'* (*Bühnendeutsch*, or stage German), he discovered the solution to his problems.[33] Such storytelling subtly but forcefully enhanced the effectiveness of Yamada's writing. It made it more entertaining, but it also lent it something of the imperative of a good yarn. In this example, for instance, Yamada's declamatory theory is lent a narrative weight beyond its merely theoretical persuasiveness through the manner of its presentation, which elicits in the reader the hope that the protagonist, frustrated by gloomy failure, will eventually achieve revelatory success.

[33] Kōsaku Yamada, 'Accent in Poetry from the Perspective of Song Composition', trans. by Frances K. Watson, *Japan Forum*, 30 (2018), 337-51 (p. 340).

Key to the creation of a good narrative, however, is the careful selection and editing of a story's material; in this, too, Yamada seems to have been highly skilled. Gotō draws particular attention to this in her account of Yamada's early life. Her two major sources for this period are the autobiographies of Yamada and his elder sister, Gauntlett Tsune ガントレット恒 (1873-1953), and she points with some astonishment to events portrayed in Tsune's memoirs that are nowhere to be found in those of her brother, no matter how important one can only imagine them to have been. An example is Tsune's tale of the fire of 1890 that destroyed the Yamada family's home and business in Yokosuka. The Yamadas barely escaped this tragedy with their lives, the four-year-old Kōsaku reputedly being carried to safety on the back of his elder sister, Ai 愛 (d. 1921). This must have been an unforgettable and traumatic memory for a young child, which would have been compounded by the devastating impact that it had on the Yamada family's fortunes. With the destruction of the last of many attempts by Yamada's father, Kenzō 謙造 (1846-96), to run a successful business, the family was thrown into a poverty from which he never recovered. Already quite sick with leprosy, he sank into a deep depression and dire ill health, and became quite unable to support his family. They survived on Christian charity from the missionaries who had supported the conversion of Yamada's mother, Hisa 久 (1845-1904), but even with their help Yamada had to be put to work for two years in a Christian workhouse for poor youths before he was adopted, aged twelve, by Tsune and her Welsh missionary husband, Edward Gauntlett (1868-1956).

Yamada had much to say in his autobiography about Gauntlett, who had first encouraged his musical interests, and about the factory where he worked, memories of which he had immortalized in 'Bitter-Orange Blossoms', but he chose to say nothing of the fire which had prompted these developments. Gotō concludes that Yamada's autobiography was a careful, literary construction, in which he selected and presented only the material that related to the narrative he wanted to tell: that of how he became a

composer.[34] Most of Yamada's writings were similarly goal-focused, driving the reader towards the point he was trying to make through a skilfully constructed narrative arc, his intentions disguised behind the façade of a memoir or theoretical essay.

Yamada further strengthened the persuasiveness of his stories by imbuing them with drama. He was an adept storyteller, and knew that a good tale relies not just on its narrative arc, but also on the way in which an audience is compelled to engage with it. A particularly fine example of this can be found in *Great Contemporary Composers I Have Known* (*Watakushi no mita gendai no dai sakkyokuka* 私の見た現代の大作曲家, 1934). In that volume, Yamada related a meeting with the composer Max Bruch (1838-1920) in novelistic detail. Bruch was then the head of the composition department at the school in Germany at which Yamada wished to study, the Royal Academy of Music, and, with an introduction from his teacher in Tokyo in hand, he visited the 'great composer' shortly after his arrival in Europe in 1910 to ask for his advice and blessing. Describing the encounter, Yamada wrote with emotion, recounting how he arrived in 'Berlin, the city I had yearned for endlessly'. He wrote with a keen eye for detail and character, describing Bruch's dishevelled appearance and his 'long hair, like [Franz] Liszt'. He wrote with humour, admitting that he had arrived with the address of his boarding house written on a luggage label and tucked by his anxious landlady into his waistcoat, 'just as if I were a small parcel'. And he wrote with dramatic tension, as Bruch, having glanced through Yamada's compositions and tested his musical ability, turned to write something at his desk without another word. It is at this point that Yamada decided to describe the contents of Bruch's office, the timing thus such that the reader looks around the room in sympathy with Yamada's nervous glance: a shared anxiety which is heightened by Yamada's tentative description of Bruch's behaviour as contemptuous. In this way, the moment of revelation, when Bruch will turn to Yamada with a letter of recommendation to the

[34] Gotō, *Yamada Kōsaku*, pp. 14-15.

examiners of the Academy in hand, is delayed.[35] The use of these dramatic techniques demonstrates that Yamada knew just how to encourage his readers' emotional involvement with, and thereby their acceptance of, his narrative.

Yamada did not rely solely on the power of story, however, and was also skilled in the use of classic rhetorical devices. His writing was convincing, and a significant part of its power to persuade came from his ability to make a good argument, not so much logically, but stylistically. For instance, an essay about the nature of art and musical performance, 'The Realm of Musical Ecstasy' ('Ongaku no hōetsukyō' 音楽の法悦境, 1922), opened with a dedication to those who had enabled Yamada to become a musician. Among them were several Westerners, including Gauntlett, as well as two of Yamada's teachers, Heinrich Werkmeister (1883-1936) and Leopold Carl Wolf (1859-1932). Along with his mother and his patron, Baron Iwasaki Koyata 岩崎小弥太 (1879-1945), all the dedicatees were warmly credited with leading Yamada to his maturity as a composer. But such seemingly heartfelt gratitude jars with a comment at the end of the very same essay, where Yamada declared that 'I dislike the culture of the Occident and am disappointed in the people of the West and their arts'.[36] These statements may seem to be entirely incompatible until the latter is recognized as hyperbole: a deliberate exaggeration used to heighten a discursive point, which is not to be understood literally. In the context of the essay, therefore, this statement can be readily interpreted if it is considered a rhetorical device. The key to this interpretation is the positioning of Yamada's renunciation of the Occident at the climax of his call for the future of art to be realized in Japan – the emotional heights of which declaration are immediately followed by a request for funding. Accordingly, Yamada's rejection of the 'people of the West', such as those whom he thanked in his dedication, functioned as a way to inspire his potential patrons into feats of local excellence against a rival competitor. Such hyperbole need not

[35] Kōsaku Yamada, *Watakushi no mita gendai no dai sakkyokuka*, in CZ, II, 3-80 (pp. 10-18).

[36] Kōsaku Yamada, 'Ongaku no hōetsukyō', in CZ, I, 117-21 (p. 120).

necessarily represent a fundamental rejection of the competitor who happens to be dismissed in reductive terms. The simplicity and strength of Yamada's renunciation, however, certainly tempts the reader to take it at face value.

Such narrative and rhetorical skill can be found in all of Yamada's writings; accordingly, they must be read with care. However, to judge from the frequency with which Yamada's accounts of himself in his own words are cited unequivocally in scholarly works, the danger of taking his statements at face value is not often avoided. The examples given above are, admittedly, somewhat simplistic, in order that they might serve as clear examples. The writing techniques described are also by no means unique to Yamada: to some extent they are common to most good literature. Nevertheless, it is necessary to highlight these characteristics in Yamada's writing, in part because he deployed rhetorical and narrative techniques quite skilfully, in part because his texts have not always been read with the attention that they require, and in part because, unlike some comparable individuals, little secondary evidence exists that could be used to corroborate Yamada's self-presentation.

A comparison may be drawn with Yamada's near contemporary, Benjamin Britten (1913-76). Both have been credited with (re)vitalizing a national tradition of classical music in the twentieth century, yet their beloved reputations have both been threatened by the possibility of unsavoury revelations: for Yamada, of his collaboration with the Imperial Japanese regime, and for Britten, of his sexual relationships. But Britten's legacy has become a source of lively debate, through the examination of the many private sources made available to academics, with secondary sources now including multiple critical biographies and even a monograph about Britten's relationships with adolescent boys.[37] In contrast, the secondary literature on Yamada is, as I have described above, limited; its range of opinion, narrow. In part, this can be put down to a dearth of extant primary

[37] John Bridcutt, *Britten's Children* (London: Faber and Faber, 2006); Humphrey Carpenter, *Benjamin Britten: A Biography* (London: Faber and Faber, 1992); Paul Francis Kildea, *Benjamin Britten: A Life in the Twentieth Century* (London: Allen Lane, 2013).

sources. Although all those documents which were ever public have been edited, republished, and made more readily accessible, a significant amount of private material does not seem to have survived: it is likely that it was lost in the Allied firestorms which engulfed Tokyo in spring 1945.[38] Of what remains, not all is freely available. This includes, it seems, every letter held in Yamada's archive at the Archives of Modern Japanese Music in Tokyo. This forms a stark contrast with the six published volumes of Britten's letters.[39] Thus, for all that Yamada's writings must be read with caution, the tools with which they might be checked are few. The scholar must, to some extent, interpret blind. Nevertheless, such inference is essential.

That said, although many earlier scholars of Yamada have felt an imperative to critique the composer's work according to the nativist criteria that Pacun dismisses, this work is complicated by the fact that Yamada was, indubitably, a scion of the Western classical tradition. He was taught in Berlin, acclaimed the likes of Alexander Scriabin and Richard Strauss as his heroes, and at times practised a stereotypical subservience to Romantic musical values, such as the precedence of the symphony and opera amongst musical forms. Indeed, he argued in the late 1920s that opera was the best medium through which to introduce Japanese culture to foreign audiences.[40] In order to account for this undeniably influential European hinterland, many scholars have relied on an interpretation that I refer to as the 'Japanese turn' narrative. This describes the 'change of musical direction' at which point Yamada began to make 'more conscious use of Japanese elements' and so became laudable according to the criteria of a Japanese composer.[41]

[38] Gotō, *Yamada Kōsaku*, p. 2.

[39] *Letters from a Life: The Selected Letters and Diaries of Benjamin Britten, 1913-1976*, ed. by Donald Mitchell, Philip Reed, and Mervyn Cooke, 6 vols (London: Faber and Faber; Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1991-2012).

[40] Kaori Ōta, 'Yamada Kōsaku sakkyoku opera-barē *Ayame* to sono kumikyoku henkyoku: nihon ongaku no sesshu o chūshin ni', *Ongaku bunkagaku ronshū*, 6 (2017), 13-23 (p. 14).

[41] Galliano, p. 36.

In the first half of this thesis, I demonstrate that the 'Japanese turn' narrative is limited as a hermeneutic by which to understand Yamada's life and practice. I show this by an examination of his biography, in chapter 1, and by an interrogation of his musical style, in chapter 2. However, I cannot deny that there is plentiful evidence on which one might reasonably found a narrative of a 'Japanese turn'. Particularly persuasive, as I have said, are those writings of Yamada in which he spoke of himself as a 'composer of Japan' (*nihon no sakkyokusha* 日本の作曲者) and repudiated his European influences; but there is other evidence, too, such as his easy relationship with the totalitarian Japanese regime of the 1930s and 40s, which I address throughout the course of this thesis.[42] The existence of such evidence begs the question: if such rhetoric does not demonstrate that Yamada became a nativist convert, how else can it be interpreted? It is to this problem that I turn in the second half of my thesis.

Explicit declarations of a previously unthinkable belief in Japanese nationalism are not unknown in modern Japanese history, particularly in terms of the pre-war phenomenon of *tenkō* 転向 ('conversion'). This refers to the public repudiation of communist affiliations by erstwhile Japanese socialists, sometimes under duress but, by the end of the 1930s, as often as not by voluntarily following the example of their leaders. Yamada cannot, however, be described in such terms: he was never a socialist, nor was he pressured to change his opinions. Most importantly, however, it seems that any transition on his part was not sudden, or conscious, or, indeed, in any fashion that could be publicly proclaimed. Yamada never felt the need to renounce his earlier work, and gave the impression that there was a seamless continuity across his career whenever he reflected upon it. Even as a comparison, therefore, *tenkō* is not a useful model to which to compare Yamada's case.[43]

[42] Kōsaku Yamada, 'Firuhāmonī kaisō', in CZ, III, 458-89 (p. 469).

[43] Patricia G. Steinhoff, *Tenkō: Ideology and Societal Integration in Prewar Japan* (New York: Garland, 1991).

My argument in this thesis, then, is that there was no fundamental shift in Yamada's philosophy over the course of his life, just as the composer's own insistence on the continuity of his artistic practice suggests. Instead, I posit that the 'Japanese turn' narrative is a misinterpretation of a purely rhetorical shift in Yamada's superficial explanations for his actions, beneath which the substance of his philosophy remained unchanged. I would describe this philosophy as 'modernist', for at the heart of my thesis lies that which some scholars have called the 'crisis of modernity'.[44] By 'modernity' I mean the state or condition of the 'modern'; 'modernism', meanwhile, I take to describe 'the aesthetic dimension of any given modernity'.[45]

I cannot but be aware, however, that there is little consensus about the use of this terminology in contemporary scholarship. Susan Stanford Friedman remarks, in her ambitiously syncretic volume *Planetary Modernisms*, that:

> As terms in an evolving scholarly discourse, *modernity* and *modernism* constitute a critical Tower of Babel, a cacophony of categories that become increasingly useless the more inconsistently they are used. […] When terms mean radically different or contradictory things to people, then their use appears to threaten the project of scholarship/teaching altogether.[46]

I recognize Friedman's description of the semantic variety of the 'modern', but not her somewhat apocalyptic assessment of its consequences. From its inception, semiotic theory has demonstrated that the meanings of signs in human language are not essential, but only arbitrary and provisional; words, therefore, mean many things, some of them contradictory, even in a context of extreme significatory precision such as that which characterizes Western academia.[47] Accordingly, the meaning of the 'modern' is an

[44] Alan Tansman, 'Introduction: The Culture of Japanese Fascism', in *The Culture of Japanese Fascism*, ed. by Alan Tansman (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2009), pp. 1-28 (p. 1).

[45] Susan Stanford Friedman, *Planetary Modernisms: Provocations on Modernity across Time* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015), p. x.

[46] Ibid., p. 25.

[47] Terry Eagleton, *Literary Theory: An Introduction*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), p. 84.

epistemological question, rather than an ontological certainty, and must mean different things in different contexts.

For the purposes of this thesis, I find the definition of 'modernity' given by Friedman herself to be most appropriate. She posits that:

> Modernity is a planetary phenomenon across the millennia and is understood as multiple, polycentric, and recurrent instances of transformational rupture and rapid change across the full spectrum of political, economic, cultural, technological, demographic, and military arenas of interlocking societies and civilizations.[48]

By means of this definition, Friedman detaches the modern from the specific spatial and temporal context of the West in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, with which it is usually associated; conceived thus, it describes instead a type of moment that has recurred throughout human history. The most familiar modernity of the recent West may be the exemplar for Friedman's definition, the site at which the condition of the modern was first recognized as such and from which its qualities have initially been derived. However, as Friedman draws out these qualities, they can be tested against and redefined by other moments in human history that become apparently comparable: Friedman raises as examples the Chinese empires of the Tang (618-907) and Song (960-1279), and the Mongol empire (1206-*c*. 1400).[49] Thus 'modernity' ceases to be limited to a specific time and place, and so associated with specific people and movements within that particular context. It becomes, instead, a descriptive term.

This is a particularly important development when considering the meaning and character of modernity beyond the recent West: in, for example, the Japanese archipelago, even during a period coeval with the Western modern era. If modernity were thought to be a specifically Western phenomenon, then any comparable moment in a non-Western context would either have to be considered in Western terms, or else would have to be separated off so as to form a distinct category of its own. To adopt the former

[48] Friedman, p. ix.

[49] Ibid., pp. 101-16.

of these possibilities is to deny the agency and independence of non-Western actors, in the manner which post-colonial academics have long deplored. For this reason, many scholars have adopted the latter position. An example of this is Etheridge's discussion of pre-war Japanese musical 'modanizumu' モダニズム, in which her use of the transliterated Japanese term emphasizes the Japanese site of the phenomenon she discusses.[50] However, this emphasis on the distinctiveness of, for example, modernity in Japan to some extent maintains the dichotomous boundary between the West and the Western Other: between 'modanizumu' in Japan and 'modernism' in the West. It is only when modernism is understood in purely qualitative terms that an effort can be made to relativize the Western experience of modernity, and so grant other experiences of modernity an equal ontology.

In this thesis, I address the period of modernity which Silverberg calls 'Japanese modern times'. She 'positions the Japanese modern culture of [the 1920s and 30s] within a Japanese modernity stretching from the state-sponsored modernization policies of the Meiji era [1868-1912] into the late twentieth century'.[51] Japanologists generally agree that, during the heart of this period, between the world wars, 'Japan was in the midst of a cultural crisis that was widely perceived as a loss'.[52] Like other modernities, therefore, this period is characterized by what I believe to be the most fundamental quality of the modern: 'the spirit of epistemological rupture' on which Friedman places such great emphasis. In this interpretation, modern times can be defined by the general perception of a widespread, novel, and unsettling disconnection. This apparent disjuncture may be temporal in nature, between past, present, and future; spatial, between, for example, the urban and the rural, or between one's homeland and the land in which one lives; interpersonal, between generations, classes, or races; or it may take a number of other

[50] Etheridge.

[51] Silverberg, p. 13.

[52] Nina Cornyetz, 'Fascist Aesthetics and the Politics of Representation in Kawabata Yasunari', in *Japanese Fascism*, ed. by Tansman, pp. 321-54 (p. 337).

forms. As Friedman says, 'modernity is itself rupture: a paradigm shift'.[53] Drawing on the language that Yamada himself used to talk about his perception of the times in which he lived, I speak in this thesis of an idealized 'unity' (*yūgō* 融合) of time, space, and people, in opposition to which I talk of the 'disunity' (my own term, extrapolated from Yamada's usage in order to describe its negative) that marks the reality of Japanese modern times as Yamada seems to have seen them. Thus the 'crisis of modernity', to which I referred above, may be considered in the specific context of Yamada's work to be a 'crisis of unity'. I discuss the nature of this 'crisis of unity' as it manifested in early twentieth-century Japan, and as it was experienced and expressed by Yamada in his music, in chapter 3.

Marshall Bergman has described this crisis in terms of the 'contradictory forces and needs that inspire and torment us: our desire to be rooted in a stable and coherent personal and social past, and our insatiable desire for growth […] that destroys both the physical and social landscapes of our past, and our emotional links with these lost worlds'. In the midst of this tension, Bergman suggests, most people 'have probably experienced modernity as a radical threat to all their history and traditions' and have felt the modern world to be 'capable of everything except solidity and stability'. It is no surprise, therefore, that many have felt that, 'If only the modernist snake could be expelled from the modern garden, space, time, and the cosmos would straighten themselves out'.[54]

The question of how to effect this expulsion preoccupied many Japanese intellectuals, people such as Yamada, who 'felt a special responsibility to confront and discover solutions to the major problems facing Japan'.[55] Intellectual activity in modern Japan was, by its very nature, public, as modern Japanese intellectual endeavour had

[53] Friedman, pp. 2, 4.

[54] Marshall Bergman, *All That is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity*, new edn (London: Verso, 2010), pp. 16, 19, 31, 35.

[55] William Miles Fletcher III, *The Search for a New Order: Intellectuals and Fascism in Prewar Japan* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), p. 7.

been to a great extent driven by the state as part of the desperate attempt to avoid colonization by Western powers during the second half of the nineteenth century. Thus, just as Japanese engineers were sent abroad to study the construction of iron bridges and telegraph systems, so too were Japanese writers (such as Natsume Sōseki 夏目漱石, 1867-1916, to the UK), artists (Fujita Tsuguharu Léonard 藤田嗣治, 1886-1968, to France), and musicians (Taki) sent abroad in order to acquire the cultural knowledge which was also thought to be essential infrastructure for a modern nation. Yamada himself benefited from this principle, if not from state support, when he went to study music in Berlin, an experience I describe in chapter 1. As a result of this idea, inculcated as an inherent part of their education, that intellectual enquiry and artistic practice also had their parts to play in the modernization of the Japanese nation, most Japanese intellectuals maintained what ethnomusicologist Bonnie Wade calls a 'relational sort of role in their society', remaining 'grounded in the social' and 'connected to the people'.[56]

The national modernization project of which this activity was a constituent part was grounded in the principle of social Darwinism, the impact of which, Joseph Sottile remarks, 'cannot be underestimated' in the study of Japanese modernism.[57] Jim Reichert explains in greater detail about this ideology, in which 'all orders of phenomena adhered to the principles of evolution':

> That is to say, evolution was conceived not only as a biological process involving the modification of species over successive generations, but it also served as a theoretical model for interpreting and evaluating social and cultural phenomena. Within this framework […] one could distinguish between more evolved and less evolved societies and social practices.[58]

[56] Bonnie Wade, *Composing Japanese Musical Modernity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014), p. 2.

[57] Joseph P. Sottile, 'The Fascist Era: Imperial Japan and the Axis Alliance in Historical Perspective', in *Japan in the Fascist Era*, ed. by E. Bruce Reynolds (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp. 1-48 (p. 28).

[58] Jim Reichert, 'Disciplining the Erotic-Grotesque in Edogawa Ranpō's *Demons of the Lonely Isle'*, in *Japanese Fascism*, ed. by Tansman, pp. 355-80 (p. 356).

The *Weltanschauung* of many Japanese intellectuals was formed by this rationalistic, quasi-empirical system of thought. When he speaks of banishing the modernist snake from the modern garden, therefore, Bergman implicitly lays his finger upon the irony with which these thinkers' attempts to respond to the 'crisis of modernity' were so frequently shot through: namely, that they were more often than not couched in terms of the exact same modernist epistemology that had caused the disunity that so exercised them in the first place. This, in the context of Japanese modern times, is what I believe to be the modernism, the 'aesthetic dimension', of this modernity: a resolution to harmonize the perceived disunity of the period through a totalizing epistemology of rationality and empiricism.

It is important to note that this definition of modernism is quite distinct from some other understandings of the term, as Astradur Eysteinsson and Vivian Liska explain:

> While critics who focus on literature often see modernism as a cultural formation that moves counter to the analytico-referential models of dominant Western rationality, other scholars, especially those within the social sciences, but also many historians and philosophers, in fact use the concept of 'modernism' to label precisely those master narratives and social models. Critical attempts to dismantle such narratives and models – which in literary studies and some other branches of the humanities used to be called *poststructuralist* – are termed 'postmodernist' in these camps and seen as disruptive in much the same way as aesthetic modernism tackling social modernity.[59]

The definition of 'postmodernism' that Eysteinsson and Liska give here also aligns with the terminology that I use in my argument. In other words, the model of 'modernism' and 'postmodernism' that I use in this thesis is more historical than it is literary, viewing 'modernism' as allied with, rather than as opposed to, 'modernity', and 'postmodernism' as a critical response thereto.

[59] Astradur Eysteinsson and Vivian Liska, 'Introduction: Approaching Modernism', in *Modernism*, ed. by Astradur Eysteinsson and Vivian Liska, A Comparative History of Literature in European Languages, 21, 2 vols (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2007), I, 1-8 (p. 3).

The philosophy which underlaid Yamada's practice was, therefore, what I shall describe as modernist: a theory of 'master narratives and social models'. I discuss it in detail in the first half of chapter 4, but it can be summarized as a principle that, in order to restore unity to a disunited universe, all elements must be reduced to their purest form, in which state they will be of a sufficiently similar quality that they may be joined with one another. For example, the immediate manifestation of this that I discuss in chapter 2, Yamada's 'accent theory' ('akusento ron' アクセント論), attempts to achieve unity between the disparate arts of poetry and music by reducing both to the element of rhythm. Thus purified, their union in the form of song can, ostensibly, be effected without difficulty. I call this philosophy the ideal of 'unity through purity', and I argue that it remained largely unchanged as the backbone of Yamada's world-view throughout his life.

The rhetorical shift that overlaid this stable, modernist philosophy dates, I believe, to the early 1920s. The biography in chapter 1 covers the years up to this date, demonstrating that, until Yamada returned from a trip to the USA in 1919, he publicly proclaimed an outward-looking, cosmopolitan, internationalist identity. Something must have happened, therefore, sometime shortly after Yamada came back from his foreign tour: something that altered the way in which he talked about his work. This, I posit, was his meeting with his closest collaborator, the poet Kitahara, in 1922. During this year and the next, as their working relationship was forged over their joint editing of the short-lived but influential journal, *Poetry and Music* (*Shi to ongaku* 詩と音楽, 1922-23), Yamada was introduced to and embraced several of Kitahara's ideas, most importantly the notion of *dōshin* 童心 (meaning something like 'the heart of a child' or 'childlike spirit'). A discussion of this ideology in detail, and an analysis of how it affected Yamada's composition, philosophy, and the course of his career into the 1930s and 40s, forms the conclusion of chapter 4. Thus I demonstrate that Yamada's encounter with Kitahara did more than simply to make the composer famous, for it also changed the genres in which he worked and the means by which he expressed himself. In other words, it prompted the rhetorical

shift that many scholars have misinterpreted as an essential transformation into a 'Japanese composer'. The years 1922-23 may therefore be considered the key transitional moment in Yamada's life and practice, and it is for this reason that I focus my attention in this thesis on the compositions and musical theories that Yamada wrote during this pivotal period.

In chapter 1, then, I work through Yamada's biography in order to demonstrate the limitations of the 'Japanese turn' narrative. I explore his early life, which was lived in a cosmopolitan environment that limited his experience of the Japanese traditions that adherents of the 'Japanese turn' narrative believe to be the groundwork for his conversion. I look next at his early career, considering his studies in Tokyo and Berlin, his sojourn in Tokyo during the First World War, and his trip to the United States in 1918-19, highlighting at each stage how Yamada worked to identify himself as a scion of the Austro-German tradition of Western classical music. Thus I prove that the only evidence for the 'Japanese turn' narrative is the rhetorical shift that took place from the early 1920s onwards, under the influence of Kitahara, whom I introduce at the end of the chapter.

In the chapters that follow, I examine the pivotal theories and compositions from this transitional moment of 1922-23. I look first, in chapter 2, at the 'accent theory', Yamada's methodology for combining the arts of poetry and music, which he outlined in the essay 'Accent in Poetry'. I discuss its origins in the debate about declamation in the Austro-German lieder tradition, pointing out how its aims, its acknowledged history, and its ostensible universality all belie Yamada's denial of any influence from the likes of Hugo Wolf. I explain how Yamada's psychology in this regard may well be explained by literary critic Harold Bloom's concept of the 'anxiety of influence', and thus argue that Yamada's accent theory demonstrates how he attempted, at the beginning of his career, to position himself as a scion and inheritor of the Western classical music tradition; as an outward-looking cosmopolitan, rather than as an inward-looking nativist.

I then turn, in chapter 3, to a particularly important composition of 1922, *Nursemaids' Songs* (*AIYAN no uta* AIYAN の歌). This was the first piece that Yamada

wrote in which he set lyrics by Kitahara, and the only piece he set before he came to know the poet personally. It thus represents a transitional stage between his earlier career and his later works, which were so influenced by Kitahara's ideology. I base my interpretation of this piece on an 'accent theory analysis', by which I determined how closely each part of the *Nursemaids' Songs* cycle adheres to Yamada's declamatory methodology. Through this analysis I discover that the cycle can be divided into two groups of songs, which I call the 'folklike' and the 'modern'. I argue that this division echoes the spatial and temporal ruptures that were characteristic of Japanese modern times, and suggest that, despite Yamada's best efforts, his compositional process could not help but expose the disjuncture that was latent in Kitahara's text.

The disconnectedness in *Nursemaids' Songs* is representative of a 'crisis of unity' in Yamada's practice, which is how I describe the failure of his musical theories and compositions to achieve the unity which he sought through them. This crisis is the subject of my final chapter. I look at the second major musical theory that Yamada advanced during the period of transition in the early 1920s, that of the 'unified work of art' ('yūgō geijutsu' 融合芸術). By interpreting the two essays in which this theory was presented, I argue that the 'unified work of art' represents Yamada's total theory of art, of which the 'accent theory' represents a single, practical illustration. I then explain how Yamada's ideal of unity was logically flawed and impossible to execute, as demonstrated by *Nursemaids' Songs* and also by the plans for a concert hall designed by Yamada to be the perfect venue for a performance of the 'unified work of art'. At last, I argue that the composer found the resolution to this crisis in Kitahara's *dōshin* ideology, which had a powerful influence over his later composition. It is this anti-intellectual ideology, the way in which the unity towards which it strived appealed to Yamada, and the consequences of his adoption of it – the co-option of Yamada's erstwhile modernism into the fascist ideology of the 1930s and 40s – that provides the key to understanding Yamada's

philosophy as a continuity, as well as the rhetorical shift from an outward-looking perspective to an inward-looking one that overlaid it.

Chapter 1: Revisiting the Narrative of the 'Japanese Turn' in Yamada's Biography

In this chapter, I challenge the narrative of the 'Japanese turn', arguing that there is no convincing biographical evidence that Yamada ever embraced Japanese nativism except belatedly, ambiguously, and rhetorically. I demonstrate that in each of the periods during which Yamada's recognition of an essential Japanese identity is said to have taken place – his studies in Berlin (1910-14), his sojourn in Tokyo (1914-17), and his tour of the USA (1917-19) – Yamada identified himself 'as a composer of his time, as an equal rather than merely a "Japanese" composer', i.e. a composer of his place.[1] Moreover, I establish that Yamada had, in fact, no Japan to which to 'turn' back, in so far as all the historical evidence suggests that Yamada lived a childhood that was extremely modern and unusually disconnected from indigenous Japanese traditions, in spite of arguments from both Yamada himself and his later critics that his childhood encounters with traditional Japanese culture left some lingering trace from which an 'innate Japanese musical sensibility' developed.[2]

Nevertheless, Yamada went to great lengths to present this latter notion in his autobiography, *Rhapsody for my Youth* (*Wakaki hi no kyōshikyoku* 若き日の狂詩曲, 1961), utilizing all of the narrative skill that I have described in my introduction. Yamada's characterization of his father is a good example of this. Kenzō had been a low-ranking samurai under the Tokugawa government of the Edo period (1603-1868). When the shogunate fell in 1868, Kenzō, like most of his class, found himself in dire straits: with the passing of the feudal Tokugawa system, his social position and stability quickly disappeared. In the story that Yamada told, this so affected his father that he withdrew himself entirely from the new society. Returning his swords to his liege lord and cutting off his topknot, thus renouncing the symbols of his dying class and his position in the feudal

[1] David Pacun, '"Thus We Cultivate Our Own World, and Thus We Share It With Others": Kósçak Yamada's Visit to the United States in 1918-1919', *American Music*, 24 (2006), 67-94 (pp. 85-86).

[2] Galliano, p. 46.

hierarchy, Kenzō abandoned his wife and eldest child, then four, to wander his changing country.[3] This was an evocative story. It tapped into the strong cultural appeal of the rogue, wandering samurai, the ronin, which was immortalized in the classic film *Yojimbo* 用心棒, directed by Kurosawa Akira 黒澤明 and released in the same year as Yamada's book. It also established a direct link between Yamada and the Edo era, the period that was most keenly associated with the nostalgia for an idealized, traditional Japan: 'the inverted other in relation to which modernity positioned itself', in Carol Gluck's words.[4] It is thus something of a shame that the account of Yamada's elder sister, the child who had been abandoned, was more prosaic. She wrote that, like many disenfranchised and impoverished samurai in the early Meiji period, Kenzō had travelled to the capital to seek work, sending for his wife and young family to come and join him only when he had found some sure means of supporting them.[5] The discrepancy between these two accounts is, admittedly, a case of Yamada's word against Tsune's – but that is the word of a raconteur against an upright, socially responsible missionary's wife, telling a variant of a history common to many families at the time. One can only really conclude that Yamada's version of events was a romanticized reimagination of his father's early life.

Even if Kenzō had spent some time in the early 1870s as a Romantic anti-hero, however, his third son was not to be born for another decade and a half. By then, the year 1886, Yamada's father was established with his family in the capital city, Tokyo, the beating heart of Japanese modernity. Having been born in that metropolis, the composer went on to live in Yokosuka, the home of the Imperial Navy, on the tip of Tokyo Bay. Then, sometime after the fire of 1890, he returned with his family to Tokyo, this time at the initiative of Yamada's mother, Hisa. She had converted to Christianity some years before, finding in faith the respect and sense of worth that her often abusive husband denied her;

[3] Kōsaku Yamada, *Wakaki hi no kyōshikyoku*, in CZ, III, 3-207 (p. 29).

[4] Carol Gluck, 'The Invention of Edo', in *Mirror of Modernity: Invented Traditions of Modern Japan*, ed. by Stephen Vlastos (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), pp. 262-84 (p. 262).

[5] Gotō, *Yamada Kōsaku*, p. 9.

it was, therefore, to her Christian friends that Hisa turned for support when her family fell on hard times. An American missionary, Kate Youngman, found room for the Yamadas on her plot in the foreign settlement on the banks of Tokyo's Sumida river, a district of foreign hotels and the houses of diplomatic residents.

Yamada credited life here, on the banks of this river, with arousing in him the desire to become a musician. In a compelling passage from his autobiography, Yamada wondered if it had been the hymns and organ music of his religious upbringing that had set him on an irrevocable path to musicianship; or else, perhaps, the military band music which had entranced him as a child in naval Yokosuka; before concluding that it had, in fact, been the piano music which had drifted out of one of the foreign settlement's mansions: 'The indescribably beautiful performances from the hall on plot number three. It was that! It was that which made me a composer. And yet…' And yet, indeed, having laid out the main musical influences of his early childhood, in a perfect example of the rhetorical device of the 'rule of three', Yamada immediately undermined them with a fourth memory. If the literary structure of the previous paragraph was a crescendo building through three levels in order to present the last as of greatest influence, the sudden change of texture in this next paragraph characterizes its unexpected addition as being of paramount importance, something quite apart from and incomparable to that which had gone before. This most affective of influences was the cries of the Sumida river boatmen, returning from the city and hailing their vessels from the shore with the same calls that they had ostensibly used for hundreds of years. 'Was it not those strange voices, gentle, terrifying, lingering in the darkness as if they had pierced one's body – "Ship ahoy!" – was it not in fact those that enticed me down the path of a composer?' Yamada asked.[6]

Gotō dwells on this passage, teasing out its implications. Beyond the simple, narrative force of the story's development, she points out how Yamada also set up a clever dichotomy between the two musical influences to which he paid most attention, the

[6] Yamada, *Kyōshikyoku*, pp. 14-15.

piano and the boatmen. He described the piano from plot three as sounding like 'thousands of stars rolling over a silver plate', a metaphor that Gotō links to the idea of the music of the spheres: a Western vision of a rationally ordered universe. In contrast, the boatmen's voices were earthbound and far from sublime. Yamada recalled that, 'Every time I heard those voices, which seemed to come drifting from a distant country, I was dreadfully afraid and ran [home], out of my mind with fear'.[7] In this story, Yamada even fled home from outside the house on plot three, where he often used to listen in delight to that heavenly piano music. Thus he again gave clear precedence to the affect of those terrifying voices. In the balance between rational, Western enlightenment and moving, Eastern affect, the latter thus tipped the scales for Yamada. Accordingly, Gotō insists, these voices (unchanged from old Edo, surely the 'distant country' of Yamada's account, but distant in time, rather than in space) are a tangible representation of the 'simultaneous' and 'multi-layered' musical sensibility to which Yamada laid innate claim.[8]

In this passage, Yamada made a concerted effort to establish the idea that he had lived his childhood in a tonal world that was not far divorced from that which his father would have known. The problem is that all other evidence militates against the picture that Yamada painted here. Everything, from what else is known of Yamada's childhood, to the ambitions of his youth, to the character of his music, suggests that Yamada had no reason, and, it seems, no desire to find musicality in the sounds of old Japan. It is simply far easier to connect the musical environments of Yamada's childhood, many of which he himself described in the passage above, his musical education in Tokyo and Berlin, his theories of music, the choices of his career, and his compositional style, without recourse to some notion of an innate Japanese sensibility, evidence for which can only be found in the literary recollections of Yamada's old age. When, therefore, Yamada began to claim an innate Japanese musical identity for himself from the mid-1920s onwards, this can only

[7] Ibid., p. 14.

[8] Gotō, *Yamada Kōsaku*, p. 27.

be understood as a rhetorical manoeuvre, to which even he did not subscribe wholeheartedly.

From the beginning, two of the main musical influences on which Yamada remarked were the church hymn music of his Christian upbringing and the military music, the brass bands and army songs (*gunka* 軍歌), of his time in Yokosuka. To these one may confidently add a third musical element to Yamada's childhood: the school songs (*shōka* 唱歌) which, like all Meiji-era schoolchildren, Yamada would have sung as part of his education. These three styles of song were quite similar, in that all were of European origin, intended for communal singing by amateurs and so of comparably simple construction. As Ury Eppstein has demonstrated, this was because Western music was at first 'adopted as part of a package deal', for music was 'regarded as a utility and not as an art, a practical means to a desirable end and not as end in itself' during the early Meiji period.[9] When music for military and educational purposes was imported as part of the Meiji state's project of modernization, it was taken to be just another practical element of the military and educational practices of Western states. For some time, therefore, the music was not adapted to local conditions beyond translation into the Japanese language; this meant that the music sung by soldiers and school children was little different from the equivalent music in Germany, France, or the UK. For example, many of the school songs were composed of new, Japanese lyrics written to older European melodies. A particularly famous example is the still well-known 'Light of the Firefly' ('Hotaru no hikari' 蛍の光, 1881), the setting of which to the tune of 'Auld Lang Syne' has resulted in the common misconception in Japan that the tune originated there, rather than in Scotland. Many of these songs consisted of melody lines only; where harmonic singing was practised, it was in the four-part harmony that characterizes English Victorian hymnody.

[9] Ury Eppstein, 'Musical Instruction in Meiji Education: A Study of Adaptation and Assimilation', *Monumenta Nipponica*, 40 (1985), 1-37 (p. 2).

One might thus describe the institutional music of Meiji-era Japan as epitomizing the common practice of Western musical tradition, whether popular or classical. What was unusual about Yamada's childhood was that he was not only immersed in such music at school, but also at home. There, whether he was living on the missionaries' plot by the Sumida river, in a Christian workhouse for poor children (1896-98), or with his Welsh, Christian brother-in-law (1898-1904), Yamada's domestic environment, the space where most other children his age would have continued to encounter popular music which had its roots in the tonal world of Edo-era Japan, remained Western in character.

Indeed, while its musical range was to widen after Yamada was taken in by his elder sister, it was to remain within this same sonic world. Tsune's husband, Gauntlett, was an enthusiastic organist, and it was through him that Yamada was introduced to the likes of Ludwig van Beethoven, Robert Schumann, and Felix Mendelssohn. It was, no doubt, for this initiation that Gauntlett was included by Yamada among his benefactors in the preface to the essay, 'The Realm of Musical Ecstasy'. But it seems that Gauntlett did not simply perform to the boy: he encouraged Yamada when he showed interest, presenting him with a piccolo, which Yamada claims to have treasured, and supporting his musical education.

As a result of this, by the early 1900s, Yamada's interest in music had developed to the point where he began to try his hand at composition. In a record of his works that he compiled in 1917, the piece enumerated as opus 1, 'My true heart' (*sic*), is a four-part chorale bearing all the hymn-like characteristics of those demonstrable childhood influences. It can be dated to around 1901, and so shows how Yamada's desire to practise music grew in the years before he began his formal musical education in 1905.[10] The English title of the piece, meanwhile, points to Yamada's fascination with the world beyond Japan; he had learned to speak the language quite fluently from Gauntlett, and, under his influence, had fallen in love with poets such as Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.

[10] Gotō, *Yamada Kōsaku*, p. 39.

As what may be understood as a natural consequence of these interests, it seems that Yamada had also become determined to go abroad to study. This was a common practice amongst the Japanese intelligentsia of the time, a development from the fact-finding missions to Europe of the first modernizers of the late nineteenth century: the composer Taki's journey to Leipzig is a representative example of this. Yamada therefore had a clear model through which to realize his childhood interests, and it looked far beyond the borders of the nation and the culture in which he had been born.

In Yamada's telling, however, both his desire to become a musician and his desire to go abroad were thwarted until the death of his mother in 1904. It was only on her deathbed that she gave her blessing for Yamada to study music, on condition that he studied first in his native land.[11] Whether this particular story is true or not, it is certainly expressive of Yamada's enthusiasm and the nature of his ambitions. In any event, he passed the entrance exam for the Tokyo School of Music, then Japan's only conservatoire, within a year of his mother's death; and, whether his attendance at that Japanese institution had been mandated by his mother or not, he was soon trying to raise the money to leave. He even hoped, rather impractically, to scrape together the finances for his travel from the meagre profits of performances with the string quartet of his friend Ōno Hisaharu 多久寅, in which Yamada played cello. In other words, after the young Yamada had made up his mind to become a musician, the route by which he felt driven to achieve that goal involved the study of music in the Western classical tradition, ideally in the lands of its origin. There is little to suggest, here, that he had a strong sense of belonging to Japan.

The Tokyo School of Music was a distinctly conservative institution in a number of ways. It was the successor of the Music Investigation Committee (Ongaku Torishirabe Gakari 音楽取調掛), which had been set up shortly after the Meiji Restoration of 1868 with the mission of establishing a Western musical culture in Japanese society, predominantly

[11] Yamada, *Kyōshikyoku*, p. 48.

through the education of children. This was part of the cultural programme of the Meiji state that I have outlined in my introduction: its attempt to modernize as rapidly as possible in order to join the colonizing nations of the West, rather than be subjected by them, according to the then strong ideology of social Darwinism. Although it was first thought that such progress could be achieved by purely technological changes, people quickly began to feel that the material could not be divorced from the mental, and that Japan's culture would also need to be an object of progress. Amongst other things, this necessitated finding ways of legitimating the adoption of Western cultural practices in place of Japanese ones. In music, for example, scholars worked to identify traditional Japanese music with that of classical Greece, which was considered to be the foundation of Western music. Once this connexion had been established, it could be argued that music of the Western classical tradition was not essentially different from that of Japan, but simply further along the path of evolutionary progress. Moreover, with the path mapped out by the European nations, Japan would be able to take a shortcut, leapfrogging several centuries of development in order to directly introduce the most advanced music.[12]

Seeking to put this philosophy into practice, the School's first job was to train music teachers. They would not be artists, but educators, who could deliver a new curriculum across the newly established state school system of the nation and so, with the school songs described above as their tools, raise a new generation to be the inheritors of a modern musical culture. By the turn of the century, however, the School's priorities had developed, such that the education of performers also became one of its goals. This new direction recognized the importance of training skilled musicians, who would be able to command the artistic heights of this new musical culture, alongside the educators who could teach the rest of the nation how to appreciate them. The reception in London and

[12] Ury Eppstein, *The Beginnings of Western Music in Meiji Era Japan* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen, 1994), p. 56.

the USA of alumna Miura Tamaki 三浦環 (1884-1946), the first Japanese opera singer, demonstrated the soft power such cultural ambassadors could wield on the world stage. But whilst the School's range had thus broadened, its sense of purpose had not. It was, therefore, not an experimental environment, in the sense that artistic endeavours beyond the School's mission were frowned upon, if not actively discouraged.[13]

One of these activities was composition. Accordingly, although Yamada continued to write whilst attending the School, he seems to have carefully disguised it. The songs he composed were hidden in his school notebooks amidst other lieder by the likes of Schumann and Franz Schubert, and they were attributed to composers including Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Johannes Brahms, and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart.[14] This practice represents Yamada's willingness to break the rules when determined to do something, a habit which would become more pronounced later, in Berlin. The fact is that Yamada was a wilful person, and seems always to have found ways to do what he wanted, even in situations where he was not supposed to. Thus, even though he was discouraged from composing at the Tokyo School of Music, he did so regardless. One might reasonably assume that, in such behaviour, Yamada revealed his innermost desires, for it is hard to understand why he would run the risk of being disciplined or criticized otherwise. It is, therefore, extremely important to note that these acts of rebellion always drove him deeper into the Western classical tradition. I discuss below how, later, in Berlin, his reaction against the classicism of Brahms that his school there enforced led him to the tonal extravagance of R. Strauss. Here, in Tokyo, he ignored the diktats that forbade the writing of music, but none of the songs that he wrote broke fundamentally with the classical tradition in which, during his lessons, he was being trained.

Indeed, since Yamada's disguising of his songs seems to have been effective, one can only assume that his compositions were of such a style that they could indeed be

[13] Gotō, *Yamada Kōsaku*, p. 42.

[14] Ibid., pp. 42-43; Yamada, *Kyōshikyoku*, p. 80.

passed off as works by the German greats. Indeed, Yamada himself later denounced these early attempts as 'Japanese-manufactured German music'.[15] That Yamada should have been so influenced by this particular musical tradition, or been moved to hide behind such a limited range of composers, a representative sample of the Austro-German tradition from Mozart to Brahms, is the unsurprising result of another aspect of the Tokyo School of Music's conservatism. During the early 1900s, teaching at the School was strongly influenced by several members of staff who had been recruited from Germany: August Juncker, Rudolf Leuter, and Werkmeister, all of whom taught and supported Yamada in one way or another. These men shared more than just their nationality, for both Werkmeister and Leuter were also alumni of one particular establishment, the Royal Academy of Music in Berlin. Set up by Joseph Joachim, the Academy had a reputation as a 'rigid and reactionary' bastion of that composer's rejection of the New German School.[16] The Tokyo School's curriculum was accordingly narrow, as the presence of Brahms and the absence of R. Strauss, Wolf, or Richard Wagner among the composers named above suggests. This was the musical tradition in which Yamada was first educated, and from which, despite his wilful nature, he did not seek at first to escape. Final proof of this may be seen in the fact that, although, as part of a slow rehabilitation, indigenous Japanese music was introduced to the School's curriculum whilst Yamada was a pupil there, he seems never to have availed himself of the opportunity to study it.[17] One can only conclude that, if such music were, in fact, an innate part of his sonic sensibility, he never let it get in the way of his education.

Meanwhile, Yamada's desire to study abroad had not abated, although, as his German teachers replaced Gauntlett as his most immediate mentors, his destination of choice also shifted from the USA, where the English he had learnt from Gauntlett would

[15] Yamada, *Kyōshikyoku*, p. 81.

[16] Beatrix Borchard, 'Joachim, Joseph', in *Grove Music Online* <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.14322>.

[17] Gotō, *Yamada Kōsaku*, p. 41.

have served him well, to Germany. The primary influence behind this change of course was probably Werkmeister, the professor who first recognized and strongly encouraged Yamada's interest in composition. One of the Berlin alumni, and another benefactor named in 'Musical Ecstasy', Werkmeister took Yamada under his wing after getting to know him as his cello teacher. He not only taught Yamada composition, and found him a patron (Iwasaki) to sponsor his studies, but explicitly began to prepare him to take the exams for entry to his own alma mater. Werkmeister's fellow Academy alumnus, Leuter, even gave Yamada a letter of introduction to Bruch, then head of composition at the Academy. Leuter insisted that, of all the composers in Berlin, he was the one to see first, not least because he could give Yamada the best advice on passing the entrance exam.[18] Yamada's careful adherence to this advice, with the results described in my introduction, shows that he was quite receptive to his teachers' recommendations.

Thus it can be seen that, from the curriculum of Yamada's formal education, even to the character of his rebellion against it and the nature of his progression from it, Yamada's musical life at the Tokyo School of Music was decidedly and willingly lived within a classicist, Austro-German atmosphere. He cannot be said to have made a 'Japanese turn' at any point before his departure for Germany in 1910. And, indeed, most scholars seem to accept that the earliest years of Yamada's education were spent within such an environment: after all, without something from which to turn away, it would not be necessary to identify the moment at which that turn took place. It is after this point, therefore, that they typically begin to argue for such a pivot. Nevertheless, it is still important to stress quite how conservative and restrained this first stage of Yamada's musical education was, in order to counter the idea that Yamada had developed even a latent affection for Japanese musical traditions early on in his career.

The common interpretation is that it was in leaving Japan that Yamada developed a sense of belonging there, either finding in himself an innate sense of national identity, or

[18] Yamada, *Dai sakkyokuka*, p. 12.

creating one in the face of overseas rejection. Most scholars focus their attention on Yamada's tour of the USA in 1917-19 as the moment of this turn, but Gotō suggests that Yamada's experiences in Berlin were also essential to his nativist revelation. There was, however, no hint of this when Yamada arrived in Germany in 1910. As instructed, within days of disembarking from the train he immediately arranged a visit to Bruch; as I have recounted, Bruch was impressed and supportive. The teachers of the Academy agreed with Bruch's assessment of Yamada's skill and potential, admitting him as one of only three successful applicants from a field of forty-seven in that year. Yamada remembered the interviewers displaying an unpleasant curiosity in the colour of his skin, which suggests that they may well have made this decision in spite of a then sadly common but indubitably racist uncertainty about a Japanese man's suitability for such an education. If so, this is only further proof that Yamada was, as I have argued, exceptionally fluent in the Brahmsian classicism that was the Academy's *raisons d'êtres*.

His education there proceeded for the next three years in the same tradition: Gotō's list of the most borrowed scores from the Academy's library at that time adds only the names of Johann Sebastian Bach and the unavoidable Wagner to those familiar from Yamada's Tokyo notebooks, which demonstrates the continuity between the two institutions. The curriculum of Yamada's composition teacher in Berlin, the Wolf of the 'Musical Ecstasy' dedication, is further justification for the Academy's conservative reputation. Wolf's education, 'founded in tradition', led the student on a course of study that started with the rules of harmony and the form of the chaconne, before introducing variations, rondeaux, chorales, four-part settings of the geniuses of classical German poetry, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and Heinrich Heine, and, finally, the problems of fugue and canon. In other words, the student followed a progression from harmony to counterpoint, which must have introduced the common practice of the Western classical

tradition as if it were an organic, immutable, and unchallengeable evolution of musical forms.[19]

Those who reached the end of this course of study (and apparently neither of Yamada's companions did) were allowed to try their hand first at a piano sonata, and then at what was considered the definitive musical form: the symphony. Accordingly, in 1913, Yamada turned in his First Symphony – the first symphony, indeed, written by a Japanese composer. In its conservative structure and tonality, in which Gotō hears the strains of that paragon of symphonies, Beethoven's Fifth, it is clear that Yamada had taken the Academy's lessons to heart. Indeed, he quite literally brought them home with him, in later years insisting that his students crib from his own old exercise books. It is clear, therefore, that Wolf's concern for a thorough grounding in the basics of the Western classical music tradition, as well as his idea of what those basics exactly were, was firmly engrained upon the Japanese composer. This is confirmed by Yamada's criticism of the generation of Japanese composers that succeeded him in the 1930s, amongst whom he felt his influence rapidly waning, for running before they could walk. From all this evidence, the nature and lasting influence upon Yamada of his conservative, classicist, Austro-German education in Berlin can clearly be seen. Wolf's appearance in the dedicatees of the 'Realm of Musical Ecstasy' is, accordingly, unsurprising.[20]

Gotō acknowledges the diligence with which Yamada studied in Berlin, but she stresses that he persevered in spite of the 'severe and formal' classes and Yamada's 'being tormented by a sense of dissatisfaction'. This qualification of Yamada's experiences at the Royal Academy of Music is entirely justified, for, as I have hinted above, the composer was not best pleased by the limitations of Wolf's system of education. Problems arose when, in the year of his arrival in Berlin, Yamada went to see R. Strauss conducting his opera *Salome* (1905). Gotō accurately describes this

[19] Gotō, *Yamada Kōsaku*, pp. 65-67.

[20] Ibid., pp. 67, 92, 373.

introduction to contemporary composition as a ‘shocking’ event in the composer’s life.[21] He immediately became a devoted follower of the foremost of living German composers, attending other Berlin premieres (such as those of *Rosenkavalier* [1911] and *Ariadne auf Naxos* [1912]) and even, apparently, stalking his hero at stage doors. This respect endured, such that Strauss was regularly portrayed as the best of composers in essays from the 1920s onwards; in ‘Memories of Strauss’ (‘Shitorausu no omoide’ シトラウスの思ひ出, 1934), for example, Yamada wrote, ‘My compositions abundantly display his influence. […] He is a saint of music, reigning upon the throne of Parnassus; I am an underling that is not worthy to untie the thong of his sandals’.[22] A picture of Strauss, which graced the first issue of the journal *Poetry and Music*, Yamada declared to be a treasure that he had brought back from Berlin.[23] It was therefore unthinkable that Yamada should not attempt to learn Strauss’s musical language, so enamoured was he of it. Before he left Germany in 1914, he had composed two Straussian tone poems, and the facility he developed in this tonal style was remarked upon by later commentators: ‘Kósçak Yamada can […] cry out with the many voices of Strauss’, wrote one American in 1918.[24]

Thus Berlin opened up other musical vistas to Yamada, which expanded beyond the Academy’s lessons in advanced counterpoint. A problem, however, arose when Yamada allowed these two worlds to collide. Strauss’s tonal extravagance was unwelcome at the Academy, and Wolf chided Yamada more than once for writing what he deemed to be inappropriate compositions. It is entirely understandable, therefore, that Yamada felt some frustration with his school’s conservative understanding of music and its attempts to restrict him to it. However, Gotō finds, in his dissatisfaction with this conservatism, evidence of her belief in Yamada’s ‘Japanese turn’, because she

[21] Ibid., pp. 84, 183.

[22] Kōsaku Yamada, ‘Shitorausu no omoide’, in CZ, III, 284-87 (p. 287).

[23] Kōsaku Yamada, ‘Pen to baton: VARIATION’, in CZ, II, 667-69 (p. 669).

[24] [Anon. (?)], ‘Music and Drama’, *New-York Evening Post*, 17 October 1918: Tokyo, AMJM, S01 043.

understands that conservatism to be, in essence, Western. Thus, to complete a quotation given above, Gotō writes that Yamada was 'tormented by a sense of dissatisfaction with the tradition of Western music that had been passed down through the generations'.[25] Accordingly, she sees in Yamada's straining against Wolf's diktats the beginning of his rejection of Western musical practice as a whole.

But the East/West dichotomy that Gotō attempts once again to construct here is difficult to justify with the available evidence. The fact is that, in a similar way to his rebellion against the ban on composition in Tokyo, Yamada's resistance to the Academy's conservatism actually drew him further into the Austro-German musical tradition. Dissatisfied, undoubtedly, with the tonal and formal limitations of the music which Wolf condoned, Yamada found in Strauss a model for breaking free of those limitations. However, he did not seek (or, perhaps, find) an outlet in contemporary French or Italian styles, nor did he show much interest in the contemporary avant-garde experiments of Arnold Schoenberg or Igor Stravinsky, let alone in the musical traditions of the place of his birth, despite the fact that all of these represented vital alternatives to Brahmsian classicism. Instead, the music that captured his attention was that which was perhaps least distant from the tradition in which he was being taught. Strauss's tonality may have been extravagant, but it was grounded in common foundations to that which was permitted in Wolf's classroom: there was no atonality, no *Sprechstimme*. Moreover, Strauss's favoured forms (the symphonic tone poem, the lied, and opera) had common ancestors in Beethoven, Schubert, and Wagner. For this reason, Yamada's dissatisfaction with Wolf's conservatism simply cannot be characterized as the reflection of an East/West dichotomy, and therefore cannot be elided with a dissatisfaction on Yamada's part towards the West as a whole. It is certainly true that, in Berlin, Yamada pushed beyond the limits set by his education, but he never discarded that education for a different paradigm. Only an unyielding belief in Yamada's innate Japanese identity can support the

[25] Gotō, *Yamada Kōsaku*, p. 183.

idea that the composer began to realize his place on the Eastern side of a monolithic divide during his time in Germany.

Nevertheless, such a dichotomy is central to Gotō's narrative, to the extent that, in her recent biography, she makes a startling and unprecedented suggestion about Yamada's return home from Germany in January 1914. At first tentatively, and then, when the narrative resurfaces in her account, more convincedly, she argues that Yamada chose to remain in Tokyo, rather than return to Berlin as he had initially intended.[26] This suggestion directly contradicts Yamada's version of events, for, to the end of his life, the composer maintained that it was always his intention to go swiftly back. He had good reason to: the opera director Leopold Sachse (1880-1961) had offered to première his first opera, *The Maiden Who Fell From Heaven* (*Ochitaru tennyo* 落ちたる天女, 1912), in Berlin in July. However, Sachse had also asked if Yamada could procure authentic Japanese costumes for the production. This seems to have been the immediate stimulus for his return to Tokyo, the train ticket for which was paid for in part by this contract with Sachse, in part by the sale of his beloved Bechstein, but in part also by the advance for his first publishing contract, for a volume of lieder with one Schlesinger. There were, therefore, at least two major milestones in Yamada's career signed and sealed should he return promptly to Berlin.

Unfortunately, he was prevented from doing so by the outbreak of the First World War in August. This event was more than a severe career setback. It also brought heartbreak, for it meant an abrupt end to his engagement to Dorothea Schmidt, the daughter of his German landlady, for whose hand he had asked the previous Christmas. Writing in his autobiography, Yamada described how:

> Thea, too, was delighted that I would be swiftly returning to Germany on the important business of my [opera] production, and her mother and her younger

[26] Ibid., pp. 178-81, 184.

> sister were making it known that, at the same time as that première, we would also be able to première our family life together.[27]

A photograph, kept in Yamada's archive until his death, shows he and Schmidt arm-in-arm, with the engagement ring on Schmidt's finger in the centre of the frame (see figure 1.1). Yamada certainly remembered their relationship fondly at the end of his life, as his use of her pet name in his autobiography may suggest. He also recalled with some tenderness how, as she saw him off at Friedrichstraße Station, 'Thea stood, biting her lip, her face strained. Her whole body was shaking'.[28] Because of this, as well as the musical opportunities awaiting him back in Berlin, few have doubted Yamada's tragic version of events – or so it was until Gotō voiced her doubts. She suggests that Yamada did not, in fact, desire to return to Berlin immediately, but instead chose to remain in Japan, forgoing



Figure 1.1: [Anon.], *Hokuō no seishun 1913 nen (27 sai) Tea Shumitto (konyakusha)*, 1913, photocopy, from *Yamada Kōsaku shashin shiryō*, A17, AMJM, Tokyo.

[27] Yamada, *Kyōshikyoku*, p. 169.

[28] Ibid., p. 172.

the possibilities of Berlin in order to establish a comparably sophisticated musical culture in his native land. Her arguments are sufficiently well-founded as to warrant proper consideration.

Firstly, she asks, if Yamada were so desperate to go back to Germany, why didn't he leave Tokyo long before war broke out? After all, she points out, to reach Berlin before even the very end of the city's theatres' summer season, in August, he would have had to have departed on the fortnight-long train journey sometime in July: some weeks before the outbreak of hostilities between 28 July and 4 August. That said, the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand on 28 June and the subsequent tensions of the July Crisis may have given prospective travellers to Europe pause for thought. But one would have expected Yamada to have departed some time earlier still, for if he were to arrive in Berlin as late as August, how would he have prepared an opera that was supposedly scheduled for July? In Yamada's defence, Gotō puts forward the possibility that he didn't have the funds to travel. He had certainly struggled to put together the money for a one-way ticket from Berlin to Tokyo, as the sale of his Bechstein for only a third class berth demonstrates. Another reason for his return home at the beginning of the year had probably been an obligation to report to his patron, Baron Iwasaki, whose financial backing extended only to the end of Yamada's education, and it is plausible that the Baron, assuming that the artistic return on his investment ought to be made in Japan, not Europe, refused to prolong his benefaction. Given that Yamada spent his first few months back in Tokyo lodging with his brother, a seemingly stressful but undoubtedly cheap decision, it certainly seems as though his income had dried up. It is also possible that, even if he had managed to raise the money necessary to fund his return, Yamada was, come July, further prevented, by his own caution or that of his friends and benefactors, from travelling in the direction of the emerging threat of war: by that point, it seems that

many who were able to flee had begun to do so.[29] As Gotō herself admits, such uncertainty renders her first argument for Yamada's desire to remain in Tokyo unconvincing on its own.[30]

She compounds her case, however, with other evidence, pointing first to a letter from the soprano Miura. She had taught Yamada at the Tokyo School of Music before going abroad to make her international debut, and, since she was travelling through Germany during the summer of 1914, she took the opportunity of visiting her former student's fiancée while stopping in Berlin. Schmidt was concerned, Miura wrote, because she had not heard from Yamada in some time. This was unusual, since, after Yamada had left, the pair had regularly exchanged letters, discussing the details of their marriage and their future life together. It is unclear why these circumstances changed. Gotō posits that Yamada was no longer sure of his intentions towards his fiancée, and was glad to let the war resolve this uncertainty for him. Supporting her case, although Gotō does not make the point herself, is the fact that Yamada was something of a womanizer. Despite the apparent tragedy of the end of his engagement to Schmidt, he was to wed for the first time in 1916 – and, a few months later, for the second time, to a woman with whom he had become involved almost immediately after (and quite possibly before) the immediate and scandalous breakdown of that first marriage. The existence of various other romances during and around his following three marriages is recognized by scholars, if undiscussed. One could well believe, therefore, that distance did not make Yamada's heart grow fonder.[31]

Gotō less controversially suggests that Yamada's loyalties were simply divided between a marriage in Germany and a career in Japan. Her intention, seemingly, is to cast doubt on Yamada's narrative in order to suggest that a desire to remain in Japan was

[29] Kendrah Morgan and Lesley Harding, *Modern Love: The Lives of John and Sunday Reed*, Miegunyah Volumes Second Series, 165 (Melbourne: Miegunyah Press, 2015), p. 20.

[30] Gotō, *Yamada Kōsaku*, pp. 48, 179.

[31] Ibid., p. 254.

the result of a 'Japanese turn'. But the choice was not an exclusive one: there was nothing to stop Schmidt coming to join Yamada in Tokyo. Yamada's sister, it may be recalled, had married a foreigner who chose to live in Japan with his spouse. But Gotō provides her own evidence against Yamada's abandonment of Schmidt. She cites a Japanese newspaper report explaining how, in preparation for war, mail from potentially enemy nations had been disrupted in Germany from around the beginning of July 1914. Japan, then allied with the UK, would have been affected by this. Indeed, it is known that Yamada's correspondence with other contacts in Germany was cut off at about the same time: a discussion with a Berlin art gallery owner, with whose prints Yamada and a colleague had arranged an exhibition in Tokyo, came to an end with a postcard dated 14 April.[32] It is therefore entirely possible that, by the time of Miura's postcard (20 July), Yamada's post to Schmidt had been stopped for several weeks.[33]

Once again, however, Gotō has further evidence to compound the first two arguments that she makes (which may be interesting, but are by themselves unconvincing), and it is this third point on which she relies to convince. At the heart of her argument are the events of March 1914, when, after two months of inactivity, Yamada wrote the first of the piano pieces which would form the backbone of his compositional work during his next three years in Tokyo. These *Petits poèmes* (*Puchi poemu* プチ・ポエム, 1914-17), as they became known, were inspired by the piano compositions of Scriabin, which Yamada had encountered and been astounded by when he heard them on passing through Moscow in the course of his return from Berlin. He claimed that he had been unable to write music for some time after this encounter as he was agonizing about how to respond to Scriabin's influence. Herd dismisses Yamada's eventual attempts as uninspired, 'so closely related to Scriabin's piano compositions that they are little more

[32] Toshiharu Omuka, 'Yamada Kōsaku no doitsu hyōgen shugi hanga no shōkai', *Yamada Kōsaku chosaku zenshū geppō*, 1 (2001), 8-12 (p. 9).

[33] Gotō, pp. 179-80.

than a musical homage in form, style, and even melody'.[34] It is therefore somewhat ironic that Gotō presents the composition of the *Poèmes* as the initial moment of Yamada's 'Japanese turn', citing Yamada's later description of them as 'the very first [compositions] that I accomplished as a Japanese composer' in order to suggest that they 'pacified' his desire to return to Berlin.[35] This account of Gotō's represents the epitome of the 'Japanese turn' narrative, in which Yamada, on finding his 'independent, native voice', turned his back on his Western influences and connexions, which he considered of no remaining consequence.

Gotō's interrogation of Yamada's account of and motivations in 1914 thus casts some reasonable doubt on an established narrative. She demonstrates that Yamada's version of events is unlikely to relate the whole truth, as well as that a more sceptical investigation of his reasons for not returning to Germany earlier may deepen our understanding of the composer's character and intentions. However, the conclusion to which she is led by the narrative that she wishes to tell is unconvincing. Given the uncertainty around the reasons for Yamada's late departure and postal silence, which Gotō herself recounts, as well as the plausible explanations for those actions which do not support a 'Japanese turn' narrative, her argument rests in the main on Yamada's later lauding of the *Petits poèmes*. This argument only holds water because Gotō is unwilling to admit the strength upon them of the influence of Scriabin, on which other commentators have placed so much importance. In the context of a biographical narrative that is grounded in the idea of an innate Japanese identity, which Gotō believes to have inspire Yamada to find his native musical voice, Yamada's words here allow her to infer the 'Japanese turn' in which she believes.

However, multiple counter-inferences weaken her argument. Why, most importantly, did Yamada maintain to the end that it was the war which prevented him from

[34] Herd, 'The Neonationalist Movement', p. 119.

[35] Yamada, 'Firuhāmonī kaisō', p. 469; Gotō, *Yamada Kōsaku*, pp. 182-84.

returning to Berlin? Gotō's own scepticism confirms that this is unlikely to have been entirely true, but all of her alternative explanations are more convincing than that to which she eventually aligns herself. If, for example, Yamada could not go back for lack of funds, the reason why he never admitted as such is entirely comprehensible, for to suggest that he was out of money and had no financial patronage would have put the lie to the pride that he elsewhere expressed in his successful career. Equally, the idea that Yamada changed his mind about his affections for Schmidt is, as I have expressed above, almost entirely unconvincing; but if it were true, it is even more unbelievable that he would not have mentioned it. Unlike later defenders of his reputation, Yamada was not overly embarrassed by the complexities of his love life: in one memoir, he recounted his arrest by a police officer as he tried to break into the house to which his estranged first wife had fled at the end of their marriage.[36] As for the possibility that it was a sense of nationalism that persuaded him to remain in Tokyo, why did he not say so? In a way, to question Yamada's stated desire to return to Germany on the evidence of his own nativist description of a piece of music is a case of setting Yamada's word against Yamada's. Given that, although the composer was elsewhere happy to remember his life in a nationalistic way, but was unwilling to do so in this context, it seems suspect to identify in him a here unspoken motivation which elsewhere he was quite willing to express. For all these reasons, I find it difficult to conclude that Yamada did not want to leave Tokyo in 1914.

Gotō nevertheless argues that Yamada was captivated by the opportunity to shape a completely new musical culture in Japan, and that this persuaded him to remain in Tokyo by choice. One may doubt, however, whether Yamada had the necessary self-confidence, or lacked the necessary ambition, to give up on what Berlin had to offer him: his first opera première and his first publication, both in Europe, where the means for their production, as well as an audience that would acknowledge them, were well established.

[36] Kōsaku Yamada, 'Mikansei no interumettsi (shūi): N no shissō', CZ, III, 358-59.

Neither of these milestones came to him so readily in Japan as they would have come in Germany, as his first volume of lieder was published in 1919, and *The Maiden Who Fell From Heaven* received a much less prestigious premiere in Tokyo a further decade later, in 1929. It is, of course, plausible that Yamada had simply underestimated the difficulties of building a new musical culture in Japan, such as would meet with the expectations that he had developed whilst in Berlin. Crucially, the fact that there were no symphony orchestras in Japan meant that there were no experienced orchestral players, and also no educated audience which could have fully appreciated the music such players would have performed. Indeed, Yamada gave his first symphony its title, *Triumph and Peace* (*Kachidoki to heiwa* 勝どきと平和), not when it was first composed in 1913 but at its première in Japan a year later, ostensibly so that its Japanese audience, entirely unused to the idea of absolute music, might have some clue as to how to understand it.[37] Thus, if one were determined to believe that Yamada had chosen to remain in Tokyo in 1914 in order to create a Japanese classical music tradition from scratch, one would still be forced to conclude that his activities there over the next three years were overly ambitious.

However, they could equally well be considered as desperate attempts by Yamada to recreate the opportunities that he had been denied overseas. Thus when, in 1915, he established the Tokyo Philharmonic Society, the first symphony orchestra in Japan, he was able to arrange only a year's worth of concerts before the project collapsed because of a lack of subscriptions and the inability of the musicians to learn repertoire fast enough to perform monthly concerts with a varied programme. It was during this period, too, that Yamada experimented with what he called the 'dance poem' (*buyōshi* 舞踊詩), analogous to the 'tone poem' (*kōkyokushi* 交響詩) from which it took its name and enthusiastically promoted by the composer as a new genre that developed the programme of the *Tondichtung* into new realms of physical space and movement. But

[37] Gotō, *Yamada Kōsaku*, p. 94.

such avant-garde developments did not interest a society that had, as yet, no established tradition before which to advance, and so it seems that Yamada's dance poems were only ever performed as programmatic piano reductions.

The sole advantage of this was that it required only one performer, a role which Yamada could fulfil for himself. Indeed, Yamada regularly performed during this period, especially in his eponymous 'Yamada Abende' recital series. The German name of these concerts again hints at Yamada's desire to be in, or at least to evoke, another place. Unfortunately, popular reception of these evenings was limited: less in enthusiasm, for the Japanese press was quick and content to embrace their only national composer as a 'genius', but rather by a lack of understanding as regards the significance of Yamada's artistry. (I recount a particularly amusing example of this, concerning confusion about an experimental stage setup, in chapter 4.) In short, Yamada's sojourn in Tokyo during the First World War seems to have been a frustrating effort to establish himself as the avant-garde innovator of a tradition that had not yet been established.

If he did, in fact, choose to remain, he very soon came to regret it. As early as 1914, Yamada was expressing a desperate need to leave Tokyo. In the introduction to a translation of some poems by Kandinsky, which was published in June of that year, he lamented: 'For these past two or three days, my desire to return [to Berlin] has been unendurable'.[38] The German poetry in this article forms a satisfying parallel to the Japanese poetry of Miki, which he had read on the train to Berlin in 1910: on both occasions, Yamada nostalgically lost himself in the language of the places he had just left, which may be further evidence of the strength of his longing for Germany in 1914.

But when his chance to leave Japan came at last at the end of 1917, he announced to the press that he was going not to Germany, but to the USA: an inevitable consequence of the ongoing war in Europe. His explanation of this decision, which was apparently quite sudden, was that he was going in search of a 'new world' (新天地) for

[38] Kōsaku Yamada, 'Kandinsukī no shi', in CZ, III, 438-40 (p. 438).

himself.[39] This language may well have represented a reluctant acceptance of how his ability to realize his ambitions would be limited, were he to remain in Tokyo after the collapse or lacklustre reception of his grand projects in that city. There are, however, so many echoes of the opportunities that he had lost in Berlin in the enthusiastic hopes that he expressed upon his departure. Speaking of his intention to introduce his music to American audiences, he pointed out that the war had brought many European refugees to the USA: it was thus there that he would be able to mingle again with the milieu that he missed from Berlin.[40] He also announced his plans to stage his new opera there, in pursuit of the operatic debut denied him three years earlier.[41] And, in a parting toast, his friend Osanai Kaoru 小山内薫 (1881-1928) endorsed Yamada's ambition to be internationally successful, declaring: 'May you bring back American riches!'[42] It therefore seems that, even if Yamada had been briefly tempted by the prospect of local success in Japan, he soon hankered once again after the greater benefits of an international career.

And so Yamada again left Japan, this time for just over a year, departing in late 1917 and returning in early 1919. It is to this period that most scholars attribute Yamada's 'Japanese turn'; Gotō, too, sees it as an important moment, although it is, for her, not the only one. Two reasons are given for a shift in Yamada's thinking whilst he was abroad in the United States. The first is based upon the idea that he had to go overseas to be introduced to traditional Japanese musical elements, or at least to the possibility of using them as musical material in his own compositions. Gotō, for example, writes that Yamada's 'eyes were opened' to traditional Japanese culture by the then fashionable,

[39] Yamada, *Dai sakkyokuka*, p. 8.

[40] [Anon.], 'Yamada shi Beikoku de sakkyoku happyō – owakare no ensō', *Tōkyō asahi shinbun*, 14 December 1917: Tokyo, AMJM, S01 028.

[41] [Anon.], 'Japanese Composer's Aims', *Japan Times*, 16 December 1917: Tokyo, AMJM, S01 028.

[42] [Anon.], 'Yamada Kōsaku shi no sōbetsu ongaku kai – sakuya Saiyōken de', *Tōkyō asahi shinbun*, 16 December 1917: Tokyo, AMJM, S01 028.

intellectual interest in the Orientalized East.[43] (So much for the tonal world of old Edo that had ostensibly shaped his childhood by the Sumida River.) In contrast to this idea, or else in addition to it, is the idea that Yamada's nativist turn was provoked by American critics' and audiences' dismissal of him as 'nothing more than a composer from Japan': this rejection, and the dashing of his dreams of international fame, are said to have elicited in Yamada a defensive reaction against the West.[44] There are grains of truth in both of these analyses, but in their reliance on an essential East/West dichotomy, they oversimplify the matter.

These years have been given unusually thorough attention by scholars, perhaps because such importance has been placed upon them in the development of Yamada's music. Two papers dedicated to Yamada's US trip alone have been published, one by Takeishi Midori 武石みどり and the other, building on her work, by Pacun.[45] These scholars describe how Yamada arrived in New York penniless and was forced to join an old friend from his Berlin days, the avant-garde dancer Itō Michio 伊藤道郎 (1893-1961), in his Bohemian lifestyle, which involved lodging above a Japanese restaurant and playing piano for dance concerts. Soon, however, the composer began to make headway in the more respected echelons of New York's music scene. He signed contracts with the publishers G. Schirmer, in March, and Carl Fischer, in May, for a couple of books of songs; he performed, from April onwards, several recitals of his own compositions with the singer Charles T. Griffes; he had acquired an agent, Jules Daiber, by July, who arranged for him to compose an encore for Amelita Galli-Curci; and, in October, he conducted a concert of his own orchestral music at the Carnegie Hall.

[43] Nobuko Gotō, 'Yamada Kōsaku', in *Nyū gurōvu sekai ongaku daijiten*, ed. by Stanley Sadie et al., 23 vols (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1993-95), XVIII (1995), 528-31 (p. 529).

[44] Galliano, p. 36.

[45] Pacun, 'Kósçak Yamada's Visit to the United States'; Midori Takeishi, 'Yamada Kōsaku no Amerika ryokō (1918/1919 nen): nichibei genzai shiryō ni motozuku saikentō', *Ongakugaku*, 46 (2000), 14-25.

The positive reception of this last event, and his agent's accordingly more active efforts on his behalf, made Yamada briefly and moderately famous, as is demonstrated by the multiple interviews with him that can be found in contemporary American music magazines. However, Daiber's efforts to acquire guest conductorships and other opportunities for his client to build on this success came to nought. A second Carnegie Hall concert in January 1919 was a financial failure, perhaps because it was scheduled against performances by both the New York Philharmonic and the Metropolitan Opera; following this disappointment, Yamada returned to Japan. In a rather pathetic repetition of his last homecoming, he left the USA on a mission to hire performers for an all-Japanese production of Giacomo Puccini's *Madama Butterfly*, to be toured across the States by the Dippel Opera Company. This caused a stir of excitement in Japan, with one newspaper reporting sensationally that, 'More than the required number of Japanese have applied […] there was among [the applications] a letter written in blood'.[46] Unfortunately, this production too fell through, just as in 1914, and Yamada's last real possibility to forge a career for himself overseas had come to nought.

Takeishi's conclusion that Yamada's American trip was not the success that he had hoped for seems to be an eminently fair assessment. Indeed, what success Yamada did achieve seems to have disappointed him, for it was founded only upon the contemporary American trend for *japonisme*: a desire for an 'authentic' but suitably 'civilized' Japanese experience, which Pacun suggests was driven by a similar fascination with the exotic-as-primitive as that which fuelled contemporaneous interest in African-American music.[47] Thus Yamada's publishers asked him only for simple, exoticized compositions, such as *Three Old Japanese Art Dances for Piano* (1918). The fact that the harmonies of such pieces were 'markedly more transparent', as Galliano describes them,

[46] [Anon. (?)], 'Japan to Send Singers', [n. pub.], [n.d.]: Tokyo, AMJM, S01 089.

[47] Pacun, 'Kósçak Yamada's Visit to the United States', p. 73.

is a ‘change of musical direction’ towards the market, then, rather than towards an essential Japanese identity.[48]

Pacun hypothesises that Yamada hoped that these popular publications would serve to direct audiences towards the grander works of which he was most proud, but audiences seem to have behaved quite contrarily and taken them instead as a bridge that led the other way, that is to say, from music of the Western classical tradition to indigenous Japanese music.[49] That such pieces were what many expected from a Japanese composer is reflected in ambivalent reviews of his concerts in the American press, such as that which declared, ‘No matter how fluent and affable Mr Yamada’s purely occidental music may be, it is bound to be an imitative muse and therefore to a great extent worthless’.[50] Even those who expressed unmitigated appreciation for Yamada’s work, as did the journalist Clare Harrington in a piece entitled ‘Yamata [*sic*], Tone Poet, Shows Promise of Being Chopin of the Orient’, were convinced only by his perceived identity, and consequently damned him with faint, Orientalist praise. Thus Harrington wrote that ‘the beauty of Mr Yamata’s work is that it is thoroughly expressive of himself and so of all the spirit of Nippon’, and concluded that ‘in Yamata the imagination and faith of a child unite with great intelligence’.[51]

In certain interviews, Yamada seems to have affirmed this Orientalist view of his work. ‘The Japanese has not as yet recovered sufficiently from his European inoculation to appreciate the native product,’ he lamented to one reporter; ‘I am always Japanese; I am never Occidental, no matter how I speak,’ he said to another.[52] Elsewhere, however,

[48] Galliano, p. 36.

[49] Pacun, ‘Kósçak Yamada’s Visit to the United States’, p. 72.

[50] [Anon. (?)], ‘Music’, *Globe and Commercial Advertiser*, 17 October 1918: Tokyo, AMJM, S01 043.

[51] Clare H. Harrington, ‘Yamata, Tone Poet, Shows Promise of Being Chopin of the Orient’, *San Francisco Examiner*, 27 January 1918: Tokyo, AMJM, S01 032.

[52] Dermot Derby, ‘Musical Culture in Present-Day Japan’, *Musical America*, 14 December 1918: Tokyo, AMJM, S01 065; Clare Peeler, ‘Develop Japanese Music by Occidental Methods, Says Yamada’, *Musical American*, 26 October 1918: Tokyo, AMJM, S01 085.

Yamada's comments betray his frustration with the idea of being understood only through his nationality. Before this last comment, which can perhaps, therefore, be read as a caveat designed to guard the grounds on which his fragile reputation seemed to have been earned, Yamada had said, 'I speak perhaps in the Western idiom because I can speak freer there'.[53] Elsewhere he was utterly damning of nativist expectations of his work:

> I myself, as a composer, must write in the international idiom. I should not dare to write with the premeditated purpose of having my music called Japanese, for in that case my pieces would mean nothing. Unless I use the methods which all musicians use, making those methods help me to express my thoughts and feelings, I am not a composer at all, but only a manufacturer.[54]

Yamada's angry pushback against his Orientalist reception in America became most pointed in a programme note for his second Carnegie Hall concert. It was here that he demanded to be treated as a 'man of his time', as opposed to a man of his place, a demand that he emphasized with a barbed description of a conversation he had had with the composer Ernest Bloch (1880-1959):

> One day I was asked by a famous composer […] why I do not write Japanese music. Before venturing a reply, I asked him his nationality. He replied, 'A Swiss.' I then asked him if he wrote Swiss music. To that there was no reply. But this question has often been asked me during my sojourn in this country.[55]

Yamada may also have supported his demands through his organization of the concert's programme, for, alongside his own compositions, he included the prelude of Wagner's *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg* (*The Master-Singers of Nuremberg*, 1868) and an excerpt from *Die Walküre* (*The Valkyrie*, 1870) in the evening's entertainment. He may have overplayed his hand by this move, for to perform the music of America's erstwhile enemy

[53] Peeler.

[54] [Anon. (?)], 'A Japanese Writer of Music', *Christian Science Monitor*, 23 November 1918: Tokyo, AMJM, S01 062.

[55] Kōsaku Yamada, 'Foreword', in CZ, III, 755 (p. 755).

so soon after the end of the First World War was guaranteed to provoke criticism. Joseph Horowitz quotes Ludwig Lewisohn's observation that 'American war fever possessed a "peculiarly unmotivated ferocity"', and describes how, 'during the closing months of the war and for some time afterward, Americans lost enthusiasm for German conductors and composers'.[56] Yamada was compelled to offer a defence of his actions to the American press, in which he claimed his actions were justified by the Japanese Empress's approval of Wagner's music.[57] Yamada's ploy may have been to create a media stir in order to work up just such publicity as this, or else he may have wished to advertise his skills as a conductor with a performance of some of the grandest examples of orchestral music. Nevertheless, sharing a bill with the most influential figure in the Western classical music tradition certainly made it clear in whose company Yamada wished to be included.

It is therefore difficult to uphold the idea that Yamada's experiences in the USA drove him to reject the West in order to take refuge in an independent, nativist tradition. Certainly, he came to realize the popularity of non-Western musical elements among Western audiences as a result of his trip, and, to a degree, Yamada seems to have embraced this Orientalism: but only, as Pacun argues, for the practical and immediate benefit it lent to his attempt to make a name and a career for himself in the USA, rather than because he saw any aesthetic value in it. More consequentially, Yamada seems to have been disappointed by the refusal of American audiences to see him as a composer who was wholly part of the Western classical tradition. If anything, however, his immediate response to this was to insist all the more upon his right to a place in the tradition to which he thought he belonged, just as, in Tokyo and Berlin, his response to the limitations imposed upon him by his education had been to dig deeper into the Austro-

[56] Joseph Horowitz, *Wagner Nights: An American History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), p. 296. The reception of Wagner in the USA during this period is also discussed in: Jessica Gienow-Hecht, *Sound Diplomacy: Music and Emotions in Transatlantic Relations, 1850-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), pp. 177-209.

[57] [Anon. (?)], 'Japanese Plays Wagner; Declares Empress Approves', *New York Herald*, 25 January 1919: Tokyo, AMJM, S01 054.

German musical tradition that he valued so very highly. Yamada's reaction to his reception in America cannot, therefore, be easily understood within the narrative of the 'Japanese turn'.

Although this analysis casts doubt on the reasoning used to support the narrative of Yamada's 'Japanese turn', it does not address the perceived change of musical direction that also provides some of the evidence for this 'turn' to its proponents. In my next chapter, accordingly, I examine Yamada's theory and practice of declamation, in order to demonstrate that any developments in the composer's style after his experiences in the USA did not represent revolutions in musical direction: merely evolutions. My analysis in this chapter, however, proves that there are few biographical grounds by which to attribute a 'Japanese turn' to Yamada before his return from the USA in 1919. The only contemporary statements which could be used to support such an interpretation are limited to a handful of the comments that Yamada gave to the American media during his time there. Their tone can be explained by the composer's ill-fated decision to try and play the market, embracing the trend for *japonisme* in the vain hope that its popularity would lead audiences to the works that he actually wanted them to appreciate. Moreover, the nativism of these comments is balanced by vociferous, contrary demands in the same media to be treated as a contemporary composer, rather than as a Japanese one.

Upon what historical evidence, then, can a narrative of the 'Japanese turn' be based? Although its proponents claim for its foundations events in Yamada's childhood, his studies in Berlin, or his tour of the USA, the evidence does not support this interpretation. Nevertheless, the narrative cannot be entirely groundless, to have become such a widely accepted explanation of Yamada's life and work. And, indeed, evidence for it can be found after the period of my biography above, i.e. from the beginning of the 1920s onwards. Although this is after the point at which most scholars claim the 'Japanese turn' took place, it is, nevertheless, the period in which Yamada's public pronouncements and actions most clearly support a narrative of the composer's nativist identity. I have chosen to focus in this thesis on Yamada's work during the pivotal years of

1922-23, and will not closely examine the consequences that followed the developments of this time; however, a quick sketch of the rest of the composer's career is more than sufficient to demonstrate what solid evidence does exist for the 'Japanese turn' narrative.

In the articles that Yamada wrote during the 1920s, for example, he began to denounce the composers in whose company he had fought to be counted only a few years before. It is in this decade, for example, that he wrote the essay 'Musical Ecstasy', in which one finds the hyperbolic rejection of the 'West and its people' that I have described above. Over the course of the next ten years, he became a cultural ambassador for Japan, touring the USSR and Europe with the explicit intention of representing his nation on the world stage. In this regard, his most important mission was probably his visit in 1937 to Nazi Germany, where he played his part in the rapprochement between Japan and the Third Reich that would eventually lead to the alliance of the Axis powers. There he displayed traditional Japanese instruments, such as the *taiko* 太鼓, and gave lectures about the 'unique worldview and musical sense of the Japanese people'.[58] He also scored the film *The Samurai's Daughter/The New Earth* (*Die Tochter des Samurai/Atarashiki tsuchi* 新しき土, 1937), a German-Japanese co-production which advanced a moral of race loyalty and racial purity. The 'new earth' of the Japanese title was the recently established puppet state of Manchukuo, in which the Japanese protagonists settle as colonists at the film's end.[59]

In this way, like many artists of the time, Yamada became increasingly implicated in the Imperial Japanese state's militaristic authoritarianism, the grip of which tightened as Japan's occupation of Manchuria since 1931 developed into full-blown war with China in 1937. Yamada contributed as only he could to the war effort, composing numerous patriotic songs for both adults and children. He also continued to tour, most notably

[58] Gotō, *Yamada Kōsaku*, pp. 387-89.

[59] *Die Tochter des Samurai/Atarashiku tsuchi*, dir. by Arnold Fanck and Mansaku Itami (T & K Telefilm, 1937).

across the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere, newly declared after the rapid expansion of Japanese control in East Asia that followed the opening of hostilities with Great Britain and the USA in late 1941. Furthermore, Yamada was appointed in that same year to be vice-chair, and subsequently, in 1944, chairman of the Musical Culture Association of Japan. This organization controlled all musical activity across the Empire, and was responsible for ensuring that compositions, recordings, and performances all supported the national war aims.

It is accordingly hard to dismiss the criticism levelled at Yamada in 1945 by music critic Yamane Ginji 山根銀二 (1906-82), who commented pointedly on the swiftness with which the composer accepted an invitation to work with an Occupation initiative to reform the Japanese school system's music curriculum. Such quick co-operation was no doubt helpful in disguising the extent of his wartime collaboration, Yamane implied.[60] Yamada never repudiated or apologized for his wartime activities, however. He responded to Yamane's criticism by suggesting that all Japanese had, to some extent, collaborated with the war effort, and in what may be a radio script from sometime after the war he wrote:

> In Japan, too, since the war came to an end, things have come to improve in a number of ways. […] However, although we adults, through long custom, may have praised democracy and admired freedom, have we not maintained some of our ways of thought unchanged since before the war?[61]

This rhetorical question may seem to be setting up a critical discussion of wartime beliefs, or, at the very least, a commentary on changes since the war, of which Yamada approved. However, the rest of the piece is, in fact, nothing but an exhortation to the pre-war generation about road safety and considerate road usage. This underwhelming nature of what Yamada thought to be 'unchanged since the war' is an indication of just how unwilling he was to consider his activities during the wartime years. Indeed, in

[60] Gotō, *Yamada Kōsaku*, p. 2.

[61] Kōsaku Yamada, '[Nihon mo, sensō ga owatte…]', in CZ, III, 696-97 (p. 696).

Yamada's suggestion that the praise of democracy and the admiration of freedom was of 'long custom', the piece provokes questions about how positively he may well have viewed the state of that time.

There seem to have been only a few attacks from the likes of Yamane, however, most likely because the beginning of the Cold War mandated a rapid rehabilitation of the Japanese elite and so allowed Yamada's less explicitly political music to retain its popularity. Only a few voices, most often from the political left, have continued to question his administrative and artistic support for the war.[62] Meanwhile, I have shown above how the recollections of his early life that Yamada wrote during the 1950s, such as his autobiography, present the whole of his career as one of an essentially Japanese composer. Thus, although there is little evidence of a 'Japanese turn' from the moments prior to 1922, to which it is generally dated, there is plenty to suggest that Yamada made such a manoeuvre in the years immediately following.

My argument in this thesis is that this manoeuvre was a purely rhetorical one: that is to say, that whilst Yamada undoubtedly began to lay claim to an essential Japanese identity from the early 1920s onwards, and even, it seems, came to believe it himself, the fact is that the substance beneath his rhetoric never changed. His music remained rooted in the Western classical tradition, just as he had wished since the beginning of his career. I discuss the manner in which this rhetorical shift occurred, and the way in which it overlaid a stable, philosophical core, in chapter 4. Suffice it to say here that, if there is a moment of transition in Yamada's artistic practice, if there is any way in which he can be said to have undergone any kind of 'Japanese turn', it is in these pivotal years of 1922-23 that it began. The stimulus for this rhetorical shift, the event that directed the course of Yamada's career from this point on, was his collaboration with the poet Kitahara.

[62] See, for example: Sakiko Moriwaki, *Yamada Kōsaku-san, anatatachi ni sensō sekinin wa nai no desu ka? Daigakusei ga sensō o otta* (Tokyo: Nashi no kisha, 1994).

Although Kitahara was an almost exact contemporary of Yamada's, the nature of his early life was quite different. Whilst the composer grew up in Tokyo, in the heart of Japanese modernity, in a distinctly cosmopolitan cultural landscape, the poet spent his childhood in the town of Yanagawa 柳河, on Japan's southern island of Kyushu, upon the periphery of Japan both geographically and culturally. Kitahara seems to have dreamed of Tokyo since early in his life, however, and kept on top of the revolutions in the capital's modern literature by reading books and journals. In the autobiographical essay with which he prefaced his second volume of poetry, *Memories* (*Omoide* 思ひ出, 1911), Kitahara described watching his father's sake brewery burn down, whilst a treasure rescued from the burning building, a volume of poetry by the ground-breaking Japanese author Shimazaki Tōson 島崎藤村 (1872-1943), settled in the mud at his feet.[63]

Rejecting his father's plans for him to continue in his practical line of business, Kitahara moved to Tokyo as soon as he was able. There, he quickly fell in with the foremost modernist poets of the early twentieth century: figures such as Yosano Tekkan 与謝野鉄幹 (1873-1935), whose New Poetry Society (Shinshisha 新詩社) was a gathering place and catalyst for many who would reshape the boundaries of the Japanese poetic tradition; Ueda Bin 上田敏 (1874-1916), whose collection of translations from Western poets, *The Sound of the Tide* (*Kaichōon* 海潮音, 1905), introduced the French symbolist poetry of Baudelaire, Verlaine, and the like to Japanese readers; and Kanbara Ariake 蒲原有明 (1876-1952), who first naturalized into Japanese-language poetics the ideas that Ueda had introduced.

Kitahara, however, was soon to eclipse the achievements of this earlier generation. After publishing in various poetry journals throughout the first decade of the century, Kitahara finally released his first solo collection, *Heretical Faith* (*Jashūmon*

[63] Hakushū Kitahara, *Omoide*, in *Hakushū zenshū*, ed. by Osamu Kimata, 40 vols (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1984), II: *Shishū 2*, pp. 1-259 (p. 33).

邪宗門), in 1909. His early poems, found in this volume and in the two volumes that were written at the same time, *Memories* and *Scenes of Tokyo* (*Tōkyō keibutsu shi* 東京景物詩, 1913), encapsulate many of the themes that would motivate Kitahara for the rest of his career, particularly his fascination for the exotic and his yearning nostalgia for premodern Japan. In *Heretical Faith*, for example, he used 'Christian imagery – foreign priests, mysterious ceremonies, and unusual religious articles – to express the fearful and mysterious', whilst *Scenes of Tokyo* explored 'the incongruity between the modernity of new Tokyo and the remains of Edo culture'. These collections secured Kitahara's reputation as one of the leading young talents in modern Japanese poetry.[64]

However, his promising future became somewhat less bright when, shortly after the release of *Memories*, he was prosecuted for adultery with the wife of his next-door neighbour. 'Given the strict moral standards of the time,' his biographer Margaret Benton Fukasawa writes, 'the publicity surrounding these events gravely damaged [Kitahara's] reputation. The dreams and aspirations of his youth seemed to have lost their validity, and he sensed a need to change his life'. In the poetry that he wrote in subsequent years, Kitahara lost none of his skill with language, nor any of his fascination with the exotic and the nostalgic; however, he was never again to be as provocative as he had been in the decadent and disturbing lyrics of *Heretical Faith* and *Memories*.[65]

Indeed, although Kitahara continued to write in many different genres, it was during this period of reflection that he developed his interest in the genre with which he was to become forever linked: that of the children's song (*dōyō* 童謡). Once he had begun to compose such poems in the late 1910s, a collection of them 'appeared almost annually up until his death'.[66] Satō Michimasa 佐藤通雅 has called Kitahara's contribution to the

[64] Margaret Benton Fukasawa, *Kitahara Hakushū: His Life and Poetry*, Cornell East Asian Series, 65 (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University East Asia Program, 1993), pp. 22, 35, 50.

[65] Ibid., pp. 53, 85.

[66] Ibid., p. 82.

genre ‘the origin of the modern Japanese children’s song’ and labelled Kitahara its ‘foremost poet’.[67] The youthful nature of these poems was prefigured in *Memories*, in which Kitahara had described his childhood in Yanagawa. Fukasawa describes these earlier poems as ‘altogether original’, particularly because Kitahara ‘did not shirk from portraying the less appealing aspects of the child’s psychology. Fear, the awakening of sexual instincts, sadism, and sibling rivalry were all recreated vividly’. Such themes were not to be found in the poems that Kitahara began to publish in the magazine he helped found in 1918, *Red Bird* (*Akai tori* 赤い鳥, 1918-36), which became the touchstone for children’s literature in pre-war Japan.

His adoption of a child’s point of view, though, which was so instrumental to the effect of the poems in *Memories*, did have a strong influence on the character of the philosophy of children’s literature that he later championed. Called by him *dōshin*, which means something like the ‘heart of a child’ or a ‘childlike spirit’, this literary movement called for children’s literature to capture ‘the purity of heart, unstudied reactions, and self-oblivion of the child’.[68] I discuss the nature, development, and consequences of this ideology’s anti-intellectual celebration of childlike innocence in chapter 4.

Kitahara’s social rehabilitation was complete by the early 1920s, with the publication of *Sparrow’s Eggs* (*Suzume no tamago* 雀の卵, 1921) welcomed with all the fervour of his first two collections. In the same year, his marriage to one Satō Kikuko 佐藤菊子 ‘at last brought stability to his life’. From then on, the poet was to become an increasingly well-established figure, not only in literary circles, but also among mass audiences. Although he never ceased to push the boundaries of his tradition, he also had no qualms about writing unashamedly popular pieces in the genres of the children’s song and ‘new folk song’ (*shinmin’yō* 新民謡). It is interesting to note that his last two

[67] Michimasa Satō, *Hakushū no dōyō*, Hakushū kenkyū shiryō shūsei, 8 (Tokyo: Kuresu Shuppan, 2014), p. 12.

[68] Fukasawa, *Kitahara Hakushū*, pp. 47, 80.

publications, both posthumous, were a volume of tanka (a traditional Japanese poetic form, slightly longer than the haiku) in which Kitahara contemplated his childhood home, and a volume of poems for children on the subject of the war that Japan had been fighting in China since 1937. This last work, which was entitled *The Greater East Asian War: Verses for Young Citizens* (*Daitōa sensō shōkokumin shū* 大東亜戦争 少国民集, 1942), reflects the uncomfortable reality of Kitahara's popular work. As Fukasawa writes, Kitahara 'saw no need to question the direction in which his country was going. Like most contemporary poets, he wrote his share of jingoist verse; poems on patriotic themes for children in particular enjoyed widespread popularity'.[69] Fortunately, in some respects, the poet died in 1942, before he could become so implicated in the latter days of the Imperial regime that his reputation became irreversibly tarnished.[70]

It was in the earliest stages of the formation of the *dōshin* ideology that Yamada and Kitahara first met in 1922. As I have suggested above, the early years of the 1920s were pivotal in the lives of both men. For both, it marks the point at which they began to become popular, established figures in contemporary Japanese culture. It was also during this period that much of the work for which both remain well known was published, for Kitahara's popular reputation rests upon the songs he wrote that were 'set to music and sung by people who had no idea who had composed them', and it was, more often than not, Yamada who did the musical setting.[71] Indeed, it was in collaboration with this poet that the majority of Yamada's songs to have received popular and scholarly attention were created. It should therefore come as no surprise that Kitahara's involvement in

[69] Ibid., pp. 83, 85, 162.

[70] A particularly useful resource for the study of Kitahara is the Hakushū kenkyū shiryō shūsei in ten volumes, a collection of many of the key, recent scholarly publications on Kitahara in Japanese, published by Kuresu Shuppan in 2014. Amongst these, the first volume is a good critical biography: Yoshio Yabuta, *Hyōden Kitahara Hakushū*, Hakushū kenkyū shiryō shūsei, 1 (Tokyo: Kuresu Shuppan, 2014).

[71] Keene, 'Foreword', p. viii.

Yamada's work is widely regarded as critical to the latter's lasting success: a position to which I would align myself also.[72]

As one of the greatest poets of his generation, Kitahara had cultural weight to throw behind the still little-known composer; in return, Yamada's musical settings brought Kitahara's poetry to mass audiences far beyond the readership of his poetry journals.[73] But their relationship went beyond this mutual popularization. They became firm friends, collaborating more closely than mere colleagues ever would. At the height of their partnership, the pair would work on songs in the same room, swapping lyrics and melodies back and forth, altering each to match the other until they were both satisfied with their work. Given that Kitahara did not always get along with the many composers who petitioned to set his poems to music, writing an open letter 'To Certain Composers' ('Aru sakkyokuka ni' ある作曲家に) in 1922 explaining that 'the effect of [some of his poems] would be diluted if made into a song', his easy relationship with Yamada is all the more striking.[74]

This letter was published in the inaugural issue of the journal *Poetry and Music*, which Yamada and Kitahara created and co-edited at the suggestion of Kitahara's brother, the publisher Kitahara Tetsuo 北原鉄雄 (1887-1957). It lasted for only thirteen issues, having the misfortune to begin publication a year before the Great Kantō Earthquake of 1 September 1923, in the aftermath of which Tetsuo's publishing company had to cut its losses and concentrate on its most profitable ventures in order to survive the devastation that came to Tokyo. Nevertheless, Kitahara and Yamada's collaboration on the journal laid the foundation for their work together until the poet's death, two decades later. It was in the pages of this journal that Yamada's theoretical contributions to musical composition and the arts more broadly were first published. The journal's influence,

[72] Gotō, *Yamada Kōsaku*, p. 347.

[73] Satō, p. 13.

[74] Fukasawa, *Kitahara Hakushū*, p. 105.

therefore, was greater than its limited longevity may suggest, for the effect of Yamada's ideas about, for example, the combination of music and poetry was widespread, as I discuss above in the case of Yoshida. These theoretical articles reveal, too, how Kitahara also shaped Yamada's thinking conceptually, for many of Yamada's ideas in *Poetry and Music* are couched in terms that Kitahara had developed. The article entitled 'Concerning the Composition of Children's Songs' ('Dōyō no sakkyoku ni tsuite' 童謡の作曲に就いて, 1922), for example, actually preceded and prompted the article on song composition that established the importance of perfectly uniting speech with melody, that I discuss in chapter 2. In other words, the stimulus to establish that theory came out of Yamada's burgeoning involvement with Kitahara's children's literature.[75] It is vital to recognize, therefore, that what Kitahara catalysed in Yamada was not just his career, but also his philosophy.

It is for these reasons that I argue that it was Yamada's partnership with Kitahara that prompted the rhetorical shift in the way in which he spoke about his art: no transition of any kind occurred during his childhood, during his education, or at the beginning of his career. This means that any interpretation of Yamada's work until at least the early 1920s must start out with a very different perspective to that which has been the norm until recently. In the following chapters, I explore Yamada's most influential musical theories and analyse some of the most important compositions from this period. I do so in the assumption that they represent not an attempt to express Yamada's 'independent, native voice', but rather, the voice of one still struggling to be a composer of his time, not his place.

[75] Kōsaku Yamada, 'Dōyō no sakkyoku ni tsuite', in CZ, I, 133-36.

Chapter 2: Situating Yamada's 'Accent Theory' in the Western Classical Music Tradition

In chapter 1, I have shown how, during the first decades of his career, Yamada clearly considered himself to be a scion of the Western classical music tradition. However, although my argument there cast doubt upon the historical evidence used to support the narrative of Yamada's 'Japanese turn', it did not address the change of musical direction that provides some of the most convincing proof of the 'turn' to its proponents. Now, therefore, I look at Yamada's musical practice, in order to show how my supposition about the composer's life is supported by the characteristics of his work. Recent scholarship has begun to reconsider the received understanding of this matter. A particularly interesting example of this is the different interpretations of the song cycle *Dark Sounds* (*Yūin* 幽韻, 1922), which was composed at the request of the American philanthropist Emily Crane Chadbourne in return for covering the financial shortfall of Yamada's second Carnegie Hall concert. These songs are described by Gotō as the first fruits of Yamada's awakened interest in traditional Japanese music.[1] By contrast, Pacun argues that the cycle 'remarkably anticipates the textures and sounds of post-war music', being a dissonant work in an experimental style that was subsequently 'much attenuated' in Yamada's practice.[2]

In this chapter, I extend Pacun's revisionism by concentrating upon Yamada's most influential theory of musical composition: the 'accent theory', a method for combining poetry with music in song. I argue that this theory is clearly shaped by both the history and the style of the practice of lieder composition in the West, particularly in the Austro-German Romantic tradition. Although Yamada had been working on the problems that this theory addressed since the time of his studies in Berlin, the article in which he introduced it to the general public dates from the 1922-23 period of transition on which I concentrate in this thesis. Given the timing of its publication, therefore, as well as the

[1] Gotō, 'Yamada Kōsaku', p. 529.

[2] Pacun, 'Kósçak Yamada's Visit to the United States', p. 85.

influence it would wield over the work both of Yamada and also of later composers (such as Yoshida), this theory is vital to understanding Yamada's musical practice. Furthermore, the rhetoric of the accent theory's presentation, in which Yamada attempted to distance himself from the very tradition with which the nature of his theory connected him, also renders this a particularly good point on which to focus. The character of this rhetorical disjuncture suggests, I argue, that Bloom's concept of the 'anxiety of influence' is a productive way to interpret and understand Yamada's life and practice, particularly when considering the ostensible nationalism of Yamada's worldview. Through this theory, one can clearly identify Yamada's early career to be one of outward-looking cosmopolitanism, rather than one of inward-looking nativism.

Yamada published his first and most complete exposition of the accent theory in 1923, in the journal *Poetry and Music*. My analysis of the theory in this chapter is based on that central article, which was entitled 'Accent in Poetry from the Perspective of Song Composition'.[3] Yamada's intention in developing the theory was, he wrote, to 'perfectly portray the true essence [*honshitsu* 本質] of poetry'. The problem, he explained, was that:

> In the case of works of music alone (by which I mean music without words), we composers may of course write as the muse takes us. But the less we limit this behaviour when composing songs, which have as their foundation a work of poetry, the more the essence of the poem, when sung, will be lost under the shadow of the music and afforded no opportunity to rise to the surface.[4]

Yamada identified this 'essence' as the 'external form of the poem […] the rising and falling of the [poem's] melodic line'.[5] From this, one can understand that his theory describes a compositional method in which the language of a poem dictates the melody to which that poem is set. The focus of this theory on the union of poetry and music, effected

[3] I cite my published translation throughout this chapter. The original article is found in the *Collected Writings*: Kōsaku Yamada, 'Kayōkyoku sakkyoku jō yori mitaru shi no akusento', in CZ, I, 136-52.

[4] Yamada, 'Accent in Poetry', p. 338.

[5] Ibid.

through a translation of linguistic intonation into musical melody, renders Yamada's theory immediately recognizable as a response to the issue of declamation in song.

Declamation in music refers to 'the relation between verbal stress and melodic accent in the setting and delivery of a text'.[6] There is a simple yet irresolvable compositional problem in how to align the enunciation of the written word (the patterns of rhythm, stress, and accent that heighten natural speech from a monotone) with the demands of musical form when setting a text to a melody. This is that the rhythmic patterns of speech are not entirely compatible with those of music. One example of this, presented in Yonatan Malin's monograph on rhythm and metre in song, is the fact that 'the layers of poetic metre do not typically involve perceptual isochrony'.[7] In other words, whilst music in the Western classical tradition is typically set within a framework of steady beats, each of which is perceived to last the same length of time, spoken language lacks such temporally regular rhythms. As a result, one would be surprised to hear every syllable of a line of poetry given precisely equal emphasis in recitation. The composer is therefore faced with a choice. Do they fit their chosen poem into the isochronous rhythms of traditional musical form, and so set some or all of it in a manner that would sound strange if spoken? Or do they aim to capture the natural flow of speech as realistically as possible in their setting, finding some means to write music with the spoken word's rhythmically irregular character, at the risk of denying an audience the steady musical beat that they anticipate?

The only possible solution is compromise. Nevertheless, dichotomies make for exciting history, better polemic, and, once ritualized into a tradition, a foundation upon which later practitioners may ground their identity. The history of the Austro-German lied may, therefore, be cast quite readily in terms of a conflict between what might be called

[6] Owen Jander and Tim Carter, 'Declamation', in *Grove Music Online* <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.07369>.

[7] Yonatan Malin, *Songs in Motion: Rhythm and Metre in the German Lied* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 38.

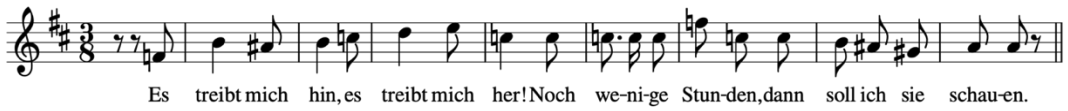
'naturalistic' or 'realistic' declamation and musical compromise. For example, some scholars have divided the history of the lied into two periods. In their view, the aesthetics of lieder seem to have changed around 1850, in what Rufus Hallmark describes as a stylistic shift towards 'more realistic and dramatic declamation of texts'.[8] Before that point, lieder settings had tended to focus attention on the strophic or rhythmic elements that marked a poem's belonging to a broader poetic tradition, which was defined in large part by formulaic literary frameworks. Many later settings, however, began to follow the sense of a poem rather than its structure. They aimed to capture the unique language of each individual poem, no longer focusing on the poem's identity as part of a larger whole.

This shift is readily perceivable in the work of Schumann, for his practice encompassed this period of transition, and he seems to have actively responded to its changing aesthetic. Schumann's songs from the *Liederjahr* of 1840 have, admittedly, been thought by some to be an evolution of earlier convention: his greater integration of the piano into his settings, such that the 'piano also sings', certainly allowed for new kinds of poetic interpretation.[9] However, these songs by no means represent a revolution. The rhythms of his first *Song Cycle* (*Liederkreis*, op. 24, 1840), in which he set the poems of Heine, are simple, singable, and playable, and thus did not depart overly far from the strictures of Goethe, whose thoughts about classical song had been firmly established as the genre's fundamental rules.[10] For instance, the iambs and anapaests of the second song in the cycle, 'It Drives Me Here' ('Es treibt mich hin'), are neatly fitted into the music's metrical framework (see example 2.1). The composition thereby values the formal pattern of the poem's rhythm above the ways in which its language inevitably stresses

[8] Rufus Hallmark, 'Robert Schumann: The Poet Sings', in *German Lieder in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. by Rufus Hallmark (New York: Schirmer Books, 1996), pp. 75-118 (p. 100).

[9] Ibid., p. 87.

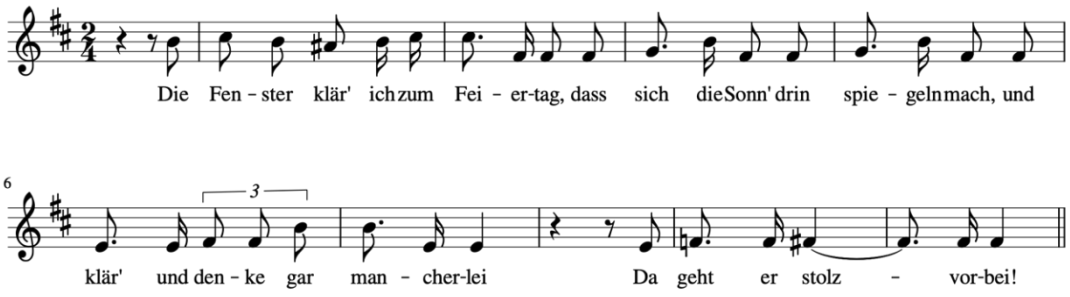
[10] Jürgen Thym, 'Crosscurrents in Song: Five Distinctive Voices', in *German Lieder*, ed. by Hallmark, pp. 153-85 (p. 153).



Example 2.1: Vocal melody of Robert Schumann, 'Es treibt mich hin',
from *Liederkreis* (op. 24, 1840), bars 4-12.

and flexes against such rigidity. On the other hand, Hallmark remarks that the songs Schumann wrote towards the end of his life 'have an economy of emotion that distinguishes them from their older cousins'. He provides as an example 'The Window Pane' ('Der Fernsterscheibe'), the second of the *Six Songs* (*Sechs Gesänge*, op. 107, 1851-52), which he describes as particularly 'proto-Wolfian in its economy and austerity': the writing of Wolf being widely considered the epitome of declamatory composition.[11] Comparing 'The Window Pane' to 'It Drives Me Here', it is striking to see the regular crochet-quaver rhythms of the former replaced by the less regular semiquavers and triplets of the latter, despite the fact that the poems share similar metrical formulae (see example 2.2).

Malin argues that this progression 'from relatively simple settings to more complex and rhythmically varied ones' is a key characteristic of the history of the lied.[12] The reason for this may lie in a historicization of the genre by later composers. Jane Brown points out that, of the writers collected in Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau's *Texts of German Songs* (*Texte*



Example 2.2: Vocal melody of Robert Schumann, 'Der Fernsterscheibe',
from *Sechs Gesänge* (op. 107, 1851-52), bars 2-11.

[11] Hallmark, p. 108; Malin, p. 177.

[12] Malin, p. 93.

deutscher Lieder, 1968), 60% of the composers were born after 1840, compared to only 19% of the poets.[13] By the second half of the nineteenth century, in other words, composers were increasingly less likely to be contemporaries of their poetic collaborators. Notable exceptions to this include, interestingly, Yamada's hero R. Strauss. Schoenberg, too, set the poems of his contemporary Stefan George in *The Book of the Hanging Gardens* (*Das Buch der hängenden Gärten*, op. 15, 1908-09), and all of Yamada's most fruitful collaborations were also with living poets, such as Kitahara and Miki. Nevertheless, according to Brown's analysis, her point holds true for most composers up to the beginning of the twentieth century. It may be that, once the reification of poetry had become established through this process of temporal displacement, its effect on how composers treated their source texts remained even after they had begun once again to work with their contemporaries.

As a result of this, according to Malin, composers began to reify poetry, to see poems as historical objects, 'something that is given in and of itself'.[14] Earlier composers had imagined poems to be incomplete, awaiting transformation into a final, musical form through a culturally recognized compositional process. By contrast, Brahms claimed that he would not set to music poems that he considered already self-sufficient.[15] He once told the singer George Henschel that 'he could not set Goethe's verses because they were too complete for music to add anything'. Although, as Natasha Loges points out, 'he still published numerous settings of Goethe's poetry', it is nevertheless important to recognize that a narrative of poetry's autarky was current by the late nineteenth century.[16]

The practice of realistic declamation may, therefore, have arisen from this reification of the poem as a discrete, complete object in its own right, the defining

[13] Jane K. Brown, 'In the Beginning Was Poetry', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Lied*, ed. by James Parsons (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 12-32 (p. 13).

[14] Malin, p. 152.

[15] Virginia Hancock, 'Johannes Brahms: *Volkslied/Kunstlied'*, in *German Lieder*, ed. by Hallmark, pp. 119-52 (p. 120).

[16] Natasha Loges, *Brahms and His Poets: A Handbook* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2017), p. 8.

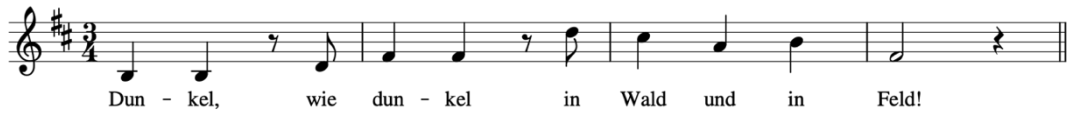
characteristics of which must be retained in any musical setting. If so, the narrative that there was a dichotomy between declamation and musicality would have developed as a result of poems coming to be regarded in this way as historical objects that the composer interpreted, rather than as contemporary objects that the composer completed. In Schumann, one may observe a navigation between these two poles. By the late nineteenth century, however, the division between them had become polemical. The nature of the aesthetic disputes that arose can clearly be seen in the fraught exchanges between Brahms and Wolf, champions of musical and realistic declamation respectively. The latter once denounced Brahms's lieder for their 'mundane, insensitive repeated rhythms'; Brahms responded sardonically, to the effect that 'if one does not care about the music, the declaiming of a poem is very simple'.[17]

Recent scholarship has, inevitably, challenged the totality of this dichotomy. It is hard to believe that Brahms did not care about poetry: Loges describes how he had 'a conception of poetry which was intimate and living, full of relish for the sounds and rhythms of language, carried through, via a musical score, into performance'.[18] Indeed, Brahms's only formal composition student, Gustav Jenner, recalled his teacher's insistence that he get to know a poem well, through recitation, before he ever set pen to stave.[19] This demonstrates that Brahms was, in fact, very aware of the linguistic qualities of the poems with which he worked, but made aesthetic decisions when it came to their setting that weighted the necessary compromise between music and text towards a different end than that of realistic declamation. It has even been suggested that Brahms simply focused on different aspects of a poem's rhythmic arrangement to those that Wolf valued: he seems to have paid attention to stress at the level of the clause, and took care to capture the punctuation of a sentence. Heather Platt points to the opening of 'Of

[17] Heather Platt, 'The Lieder of Brahms', in *Companion to the Lied*, ed. by Parsons, pp. 185-203 (p. 94); Malin, p. 153.

[18] Loges, p. 8.

[19] Hancock, p. 121.



Example 2.3: Vocal melody of Johannes Brahms, 'Von ewiger Liebe', from *Vier Gesänge* (op. 43, 1860-66), bars 5-8.

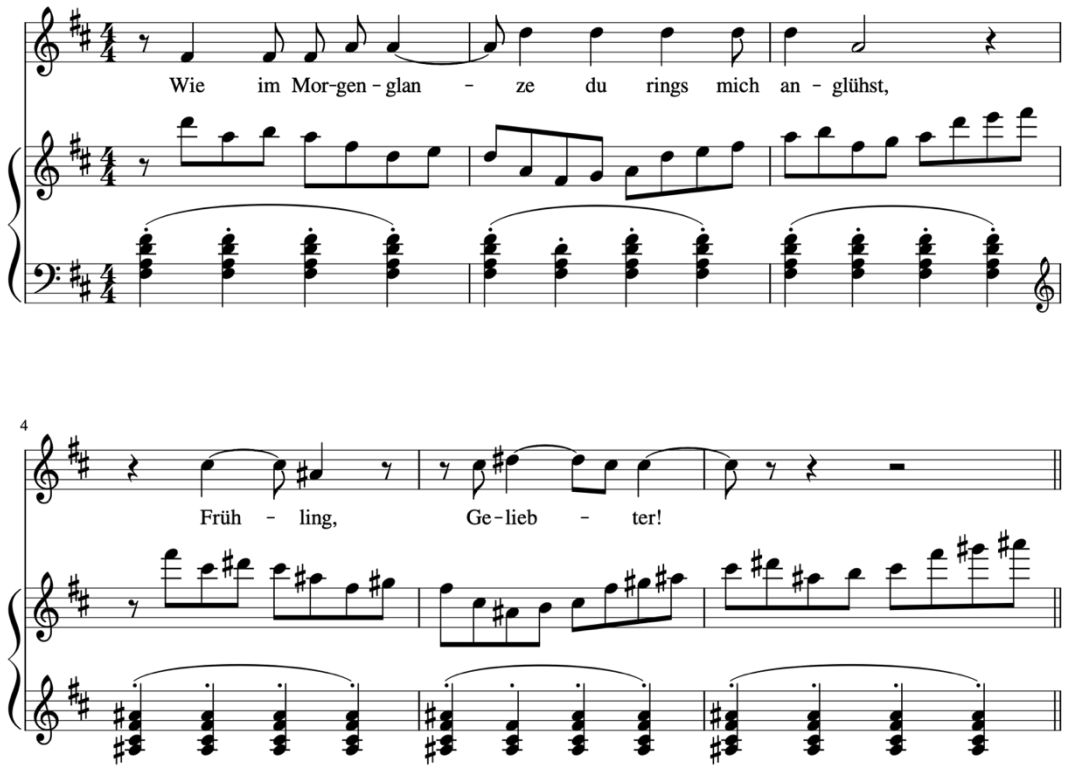
Eternal Love' ('Von ewiger Liebe'), from *Four Songs* (*Vier Gesänge*, op. 43, 1860-66), as a good example. Here, the semiquaver rests in bars 5 and 6 clearly represent the exclamation of 'wie dunkel' ('how dark') (see example 2.3).[20] Thus one may argue that, far from ignoring the language of the poems which he set, Brahms was actually very concerned with enunciation, but of phrase and clause, in contrast to Wolf's fixation on the declamation of individual words. Malin remarks that, 'Broadly speaking, we may say that rhythm for Wolf is about performative speech, whereas for Brahms it is embodied motion'.[21]

Concerning Wolf, meanwhile, Malin argues that the composer did not adhere to the principle of realistic declamation with a mechanical indifference to other poetic elements: his songs also demonstrate 'a logic of rhythmic flow, of tension and release, that heightens the expressive effect beyond what could be achieved in a poetic recitation'. Malin describes, for example, how the syncopated rhythm of the opening bars of 'Ganymed' from *Poems by Goethe* (*Gedichte von Goethe*, 1890) is both 'responsive to minute details of declamatory rhythm', but also lyrical, creating a 'symbolic representation' as 'the piano surrounds the vocal line – which maintains its independent rhythmic profile so that it can be surrounded – just as the glow of spring and morning brilliance surrounds Ganymed' (see example 2.4).[22] For all their polemic, therefore, one must recognize that both Wolf and Brahms sought a careful balance between the demands of both poetry and

[20] Platt, p. 189.

[21] Malin, p. 178.

[22] Ibid., pp. 180, 182-83.



Example 2.4: Hugo Wolf, 'Ganymed', from *Gedichte von Goethe* (1890), bars 2-7.

music. Such compromise seems to be inevitable in a compound art form such as song, if one is to truly attempt to bring the component arts of poetry and music together in order to compose something pleasing to the human mind. Yamada, too, frequently bowed to the inevitable and broke the strict injunctions of his accent theory in order to write a more artistically pleasing or interpretively complex melody, as I demonstrate in chapter 3.

However, for all that scholars like Malin may now perceive 'affinities across the divide of later nineteenth-century polemics', it certainly did not seem at the time as if there was any space between the dogma of rhetoric and the compromise of practice.[23] As Edward Kravitt remarks, 'Disputes on musical prosody were intense,' and dominated discussion of lied composition in the late nineteenth century.[24] That such polemic could develop around a question concerning the appropriate degree of compromise in an

[23] Ibid., p. 176.

[24] Edward F. Kravitt, *The Lied: Mirror of Late Romanticism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), p. 4.

irresolvable problem in part may be because that problem was only a reflection of a far larger nineteenth-century debate. Realistic declamation had come into fashion around the same time that Wagner and his other progressive contemporaries in the New German School, such as Liszt, had conceived of their 'grand evolutionary scheme in which music and literature were […] eventually to shed their separate identities and merge in a historically necessary synthesis'.[25] If realistic declamation is considered to be the accurate translation of text into song, then to adopt this paradigm was to follow Wagner in pursuit of the perfect union of music and text: a shibboleth of musical modernity. The debates about declamation were, therefore, not merely stylistic spats amidst the composers of song. They were ripples caused by the 'crisis of modernity' in art.

Indeed, if Brown's theory of the historicization of poetry, described above, is accepted as a major reason for the change in declamatory style in lied composition, then the modernity of the issue becomes quite apparent. Modernity, as I have suggested in my introduction, may be understood to be characterized by a sense of uprootedness and loss in the face of rapid socio-cultural change. This has often been perceived most immediately in the dissolution of received ways of thinking, an example of which is the idea that poems are expressions from within a broader poetical tradition, and are incomplete without a musical setting. Such uprooting was at least partially aided by the aforementioned process of reification, which, in Marxist philosophy, is defined as a form of alienation, in which the transformation of human activities (poetry as practice) into things (poetry as artefact) effects an estrangement of the human being from their life and destiny, creating a sense of social and cultural anxiety.[26] Once poetry had been thus reified and detached from a commonly accepted framework of traditional practice, anxious debate could erupt about how best to replace this foundation of song composition. Some would attempt to reforge it, looking back to that traditional method, whilst others would

[25] Thym, p. 166.

[26] Timothy Bewes, *Reification; or, The Anxiety of Late Capitalism* (London: Verso, 2002), pp. 3-4.

insist upon innovation, looking ahead to a teleology of artistic unity. Thus the declamation debate might be considered to be one facet of a far larger discussion about how best to bear the uncertainty and anxiety of modern times. In this respect, it is significant that Yamada, a man whose practice clearly reflected the anxieties of modernity (as I discuss in chapter 4), should have become so invested in this particular musical discourse.

Whatever the reason for such declamatory polemic, this was the situation of lieder composition when Yamada came to the genre in the early twentieth century. Given Yamada's outspokenness, and his desire to make a name for himself, it was inevitable that, sooner or later, he would feel the need to weigh in with an opinion on this divisive topic. His contribution was at once intelligent and dogmatic. The foundation of his theory rested on the certainty that 'between accent in speech and accent in music there is a fundamental distinction'. The difference that he perceived is exactly that identified by Malin, although, characteristically, Yamada expressed the idea in more poetic language. The rhythm of speech, he claimed, is a 'single, subtle flow', as opposed to that of melody, which is 'borne on the waves of rhythm, which are stipulated by the musical material'. It is the 'convex sections of those waves' that are musically accented. This is a metaphorical rendering of Malin's 'perceptual isochrony'. The waves may be understood as beats, occurring in the regular pattern demanded by Western musical metre and arranged in a definite framework of bars; in opposition to these, Yamada placed the rhythm of speech, which he described as a flow, something that is not cyclically defined by its regular recurrences (as is a wave) but has instead a continuous, albeit fluctuating, movement.[27]

These are intelligent metaphors: they are united by the image of water, and thus admit of a fundamental similarity between melody and speech. Both feature some form of rhythm, a higher-order unity on which, in other contexts, Yamada placed great emphasis, as I explain in chapter 4. But Yamada was clear that, on a practical level, musical accent was quite distinct from poetic accent. He therefore criticized those who merely 'fit the

[27] Yamada, 'Accent in Music', p. 342.

accent of words to the accented points of their composition' by, for example, setting accented syllables at points of musical emphasis, such as the first beat of a bar.[28] Some might praise such a simple and cunning solution: it may well underlie the technique of regularly changing time signatures within a single song, a favoured method for expressing speech amongst Wolf and his followers.[29] But such a strategy could only work if accent in music and accent in poetry were thought to be interchangeable. Since Yamada was convinced that they were not, he felt forced to discount this method and turn to a different solution.

For all the simplicity of the method that Yamada thus dismissed, his own was simpler still. Indeed, he was able to define it in a single clause: 'The clearest way to portray accent in music is to pitch accented sections higher than unaccented sections'.[30] He felt no need to apply caveats or exceptions to this rule, so straightforward and yet all-encompassing did he believe it, and he devoted the rest of 'Accent in Poetry' to proving it through practical application, using examples of songs by contemporary Japanese musicians, which he presented alongside his own commentary and criticism concerning their declamatory accuracy in terms of his pitch-based solution.

I shall use one of these examples, Yamada's analysis of a setting of the poem 'Before the Great Flood' ('Daikōzui no mae' 大洪水の前, 1916) by Arishima Takeo 有島武郎 (1878-1923), to demonstrate the principle of Yamada's accent theory. In the text below, the syllables that Yamada identified as accented have been underlined.

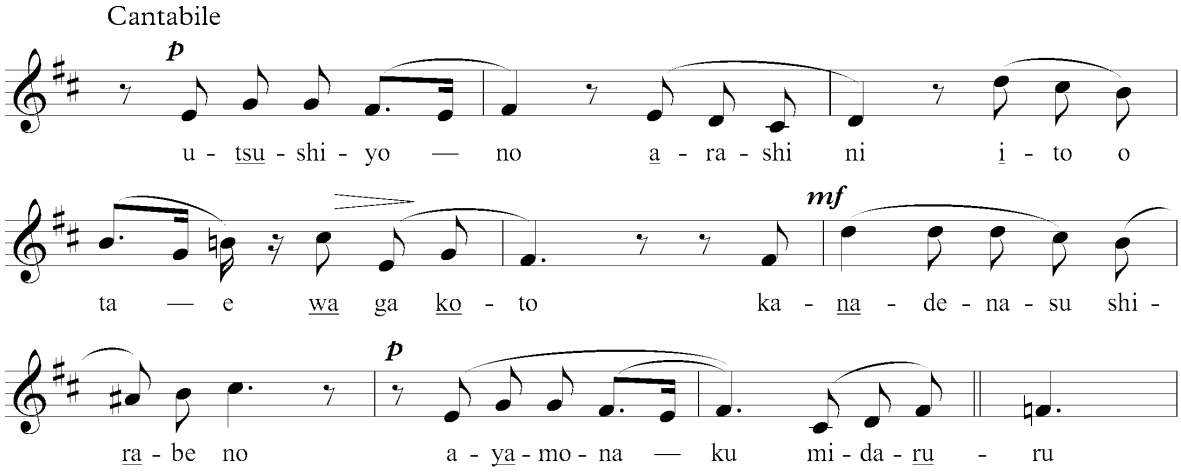
[28] Ibid., p. 343.

[29] Kravitt, p. 71.

[30] Yamada, 'Accent in Poetry', p. 343.

Utsushiyo no / arashi ni	In the storm of this transient world
ito o tae / wa ga koto	I break a string, and my zither,
kanadenasu / shirabe no	without the pattern of the melody
aya mo naku / midaruru.	I would play, falls into chaos.
ito wa taenu / wa ga shirabe / midarenu.	The string has broken. My melody has fallen into chaos.
ito wa taenu / taeshi / kono hitosuji.	The string has broken. It is broken, this single thread.[31]

Example 2.5 is a setting of this poem by Konoe Hidemaro 近衛秀麿 (1898-1973), a composer and conductor with whom Yamada had a close but tumultuous relationship. In 'Accent in Poetry', Yamada expressed broad approval of Konoe's composition. The first four lines are 'more or less perfect', he wrote, singling out the phrase 'wa ga koto' ('my zither') in particular for its 'clarity of expression'. However, he criticized Konoe's treatment of the word *shirabe* ('melody') in the third line as an example of the kind of mistake that could arise from the confusion of musical and poetic accent. Although the syllable that Yamada believed to be accented, 'ra', is in the metrically accented position at the beginning of the bar, it is written at a lower pitch than the preceding syllable, 'shi', which is therefore registrally accented. In Yamada's conception, correct metrical accent could not

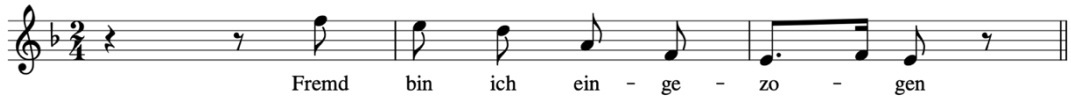


Example 2.5: Hidemaro Konoe, Melody of 'Daikōzui no mae',
from Yamada, 'Accent in Poetry', p. 342.

[31] Ibid., p. 341.

make up for incorrect registral accent, and so he categorized Konoe's setting of that word as a mistake.[32]

This singular focus on registral accent is a particularly interesting feature of Yamada's method, for it is extremely restrictive in light of the variety of ways in which musical accent may be expressed. For comparison, in addition to registral accent, Malin describes dynamic, metrical, and agogic (durational) accents, accentuation through changes in harmony or texture, and the accent that is found at 'the beginning of any melodic or text unit', as well as the persistent linguistic accent of any text that is set to music.[33] These musical forms of accentuation echo the variety of ways in which accent may be expressed in human language. The first song of Schubert's *Winter Journey* (*Winterreise*, D. 911, 1828), 'Good Night' ('Gute Nacht'), is often presented as an example of the way in which a skilled composer can combine several musical techniques in order to capture the varied rhythms of a text. The opening phrase, 'Fremd bín ich éingezògen' ('A stranger, I arrived'), is iambic (acute accents mark primary stress; grave accents mark secondary stress). However, the noun 'Fremd' ('stranger'), which describes the subject 'ich' ('I'), would also be stressed in a natural enunciation of the line, for its role as an appositive gives it the function of a hyperbaton, a disruption in the flow of the sentence. In order to capture this line, Schubert chose to align the technical, metrical accent of the poetry with the metre of the music, placing stressed syllables such as 'bin' (tense-marking auxiliary verb) on the beat. However, he captured the additional accent of 'Fremd' registrally by setting it a semitone higher than the rest of the phrase (see example 2.6).



Example 2.6: Vocal melody of Franz Schubert, 'Gute Nacht',
from *Winterreise* (1828, D. 911), bars 7-9.

[32] Ibid., pp. 341-42.

[33] Malin, p. 41.

Thus Schubert elegantly rendered the different types of accent in the poetic line into a musical form.[34]

Yamada's method does not allow for such subtlety. His insistence on the use of registral accent, to the explicit exclusion of all other forms of accentual expression, may seem counter-intuitive for a composer who demanded that accent be 'perfectly represented' in music.[35] However, an explanation may be found in a characteristic difference between the German and Japanese languages: namely, that German is a 'stress accent' language, whilst Japanese is a 'pitch accent' language. The linguist Mary Beckman, who initially formulated this distinction, suggests that a stress accent language 'differs phonetically from accent in other languages such as Japanese […] in that it uses to a greater extent material other than pitch'.[36] In other words, the accent of a German word may be expressed in any of a number of ways, including through pitch, elongation, and volume. In Japanese, by contrast, accent is marked by pitch alone. The accented syllable is the highest-pitched syllable of a word, Yamada's 'accented point' or, in modern linguistics, the 'accent kernel' (*akusento kaku* アクセント核). This is always followed by a precipitous drop in pitch, which means that the pitch of Japanese words always follows a regular, arcing motion: a rise in pitch to the accent kernel, the highest-pitched syllable of a word, and subsequently, a fall. This motion is lexically determined, in as much as the accented syllable of a word is fixed, 'a property of the word itself, regardless of the context in which it is uttered'. Accordingly, 'When a Japanese sentence contains no lexically accented words, the intonation contour of an utterance of that sentence does not contain

[34] Ibid., p. 10; Hans Gál, *Schubert and the Essence of Melody* (London: Gollancz, 1974), p. 94; Susan Youens, 'Poetic Rhythm and Musical Metre in Schubert's Winterreise', *Music and Letters*, 65 (1984), 28-40 (pp. 33-34).

[35] Yamada, 'Accent in Poetry', p. 343.

[36] Mary E. Beckman, *Stress and Non-Stress Accent* (Dordrecht: Foris, 1986), p. ix.

any accents'.[37] This differs considerably from the utterance of, for example, a German sentence, which would be entirely unnatural were it to be unaccented.

Moreover, Beckman and her colleagues state that 'Japanese has no analogue to the notion "accent" when it is used as a synonym for "nuclear stress"', nuclear stress being 'a configuration of tones that marks [a] word (or some larger constituent) as the focus of the utterance'. In other words, in a stress accent language, the same properties that mark stress in individual words can also be used to alter accent at the level of an entire sentence, and so the meaning of a German sentence may itself be changed by 'any of a number of prominence-lending morphemes that can be associated with the metrically strongest syllables in the most prominent content words of an utterance'.[38] For instance, to return to my earlier example, in the sentence 'Fremd bin ich eingezogen', the word 'Fremd' may be stressed (through, perhaps, elongation or volume) in order to focus attention on the fact that the speaker came *as a stranger*. Alternatively, the syllable 'ein' of the verb 'eingezogen' ('arrived') may be subjected to a similar combination of prominence markers in order to emphasize the fact of the stranger's *arrival*. Certain rules define the syllables on which stress can fall (it would be incorrect, for example, to stress the 'ge' of *eingezogen*), but exactly how the stress falls on those syllables is open to manipulation by the speaker, depending on their intended message.[39]

However, as Beckman says, there is no equivalent to this in Japanese. Thus, in the phrase 'tanin toshite kita' ('I came as a stranger'), it is impossible to emphasize the fact of the speaker's arrival or their identity as a foreigner by forcefully emphasizing either of the appropriate words, as one could in the German equivalent of that sentence, for the only way in which accent can be marked in Japanese is by pitch. Furthermore, since the

[37] Jennifer J. Venditti, Kikuo Maekawa, and Mary E. Beckman, 'Prominence Marking in the Japanese Intonation System', in *The Oxford Handbook of Japanese Linguistics*, ed. by Shigeru Miyagawa and Mamoru Saito (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 456-512 (p. 466).

[38] Ibid., pp. 464, 477.

[39] Carlos Gussenhoven, 'Sentence Accents and Argument Structure', in *Thematic Structure: Its Role in Grammar*, ed. by Iggy M. Roca, Linguistic Models, 16 (Berlin: Foris, 1992), pp. 79-106.

position of the accented syllables is lexically determined, the position of the pitch changes cannot be altered and the ascending and descending pattern of the sentence will always be the same. Therefore, although Japanese may use 'local pitch range expansion to mark focal prominence', in general, the ability to alter sentence stress in Japanese as dramatically as is possible in stress accent languages is very limited.[40] Of course there are other means for inflecting the meaning of an utterance in Japanese. One possibility would be to change the construction of the sentence: for example, the phrase 'kita toki, tanin datta' ('when I came, I was a stranger') emphasizes the character of the speaker's arrival as a stranger by delaying it until the end of the sentence, the most prominent point of the sentence in Japanese, whilst de-emphasizing the fact of the speaker's arrival itself by embedding the verb in a subclause. But this is quite different from the way that nuclear stress in languages like German can allow for alternative interpretations of the exact same sentence through the use of a variety of emphatic techniques.

The Japanese language is thus characterized by a lexically defined accent expressed through pitch alone, which results in sentences having a relatively fixed, arcing pitch pattern. This is a potential explanation for the unique and restrictive character of Yamada's accent theory. Whereas many different compositional techniques must be used to realistically express the accentual subtlety of, for example, German, in Japanese, one need only deal with registral accent. Yamada's theory may, therefore, be thought of as translation of Japanese pitch accent into music. Since Yamada never described his accent theory in linguistic terms, such a connexion cannot be demonstrated by reference to his writings; however, evidence for it can be found in the correlation one finds between the pitch patterns of Japanese pitch accent and the corresponding pitch patterns derived from Yamada's declamatory system. This can be seen in the example below, where the accent that Yamada assigned to the words in 'Before the Great Flood' has been checked against the accent of the words given in a Japanese accent dictionary. I used the oldest

[40] Vendetti et al., p. 481.

accent dictionary available to me for my accent analysis throughout this thesis, to try to allow for any shift in accentuation in the century since the songs under consideration were written. However, due to unclear printing and the limited scope of that publication, I have also referred to two contemporary dictionaries in order to resolve ambiguities.[41] As above, the accented syllables identified by Yamada are underlined, whilst those of the accent dictionary are followed by an apostrophe (words without an apostrophe are unaccented). This analysis can be found in tabular form in appendix 1.

utsu'shiyo-no / a'rashi-ni
i'to-o ta'e / wa'-ga ko'to
kana'denasu / shirabe'-no
aya'-mo na'ku / mida'ruru.
i'to-wa tae'nu / wa'-ga shirabe / midare'nu.
i'to-wa tae'nu / ta'eshi / kono hito'suji.

In this example, after repeated words treated identically and the two words for which Yamada did not provide an analysis are discounted, the accent of eleven out of fourteen words is common in both Yamada's accent theory analysis and that of the accent dictionary. Bearing in mind that Yamada was working unsystematically in the language of a hundred years ago, such a high degree of correspondence may reasonably be taken to demonstrate a connexion between Yamada's theory of declamation and the characteristics of Japanese pitch accent. (Reasons for any deviation from the accent theory, which do not invalidate this conclusion, are outlined in chapter 3.) One may characterize Yamada's accent theory, therefore, as a translation into musical pitch space of linguistic pitch accent.

If Yamada's accent theory were such a careful mapping of the Japanese language onto melody, however, this would seem to counter my suggestion that the theory represents a contribution to the declamation debate in the Austro-German lieder tradition.

[41] *Nihongo akusento jiten*, ed. by Giichirō Matsuda (Tokyo: Nippon Hōsō Shuppan Kyōkai, 1943); *Nihongo akusento jiten*, ed. by Nippon Hōsō Kyōkai, new rev. edn (Tokyo: Nippon Hōsō Shuppan Kyōkai, 1985); *Shin meikai nihongo akusento jiten*, ed. by Haruhiko Kindaichi and Kazue Akinaga (Tokyo: Sanseidō, 2001).

After all, a method for setting to music the Japanese language, and the Japanese language alone, would not be of interest to composers setting poetry in any other language. This would include most composers in the Western classical tradition, and certainly all who were practising beyond the bounds of the Japanese cultural sphere. Such a theory could still have been developed under the influence of composers like Wolf, but it would have been an exclusively Japanese methodology, and its creation by Yamada would therefore contradict my argument that he desired to be a composer of his time, rather than of his place. Indeed, it suggests that he had either resigned himself to or enthusiastically embraced his role as a Japanese composer, and was interested only in developing music and musical theories within that nationally limited sphere.

I cannot deny that Yamada's theory most readily lends itself to composition in the Japanese language alone, and, if used without emendation, would be of limited relevance in the setting or analysis of songs in other languages. However, it is not at all clear that Yamada believed his theory to be so partial. One must remember, for one thing, that Yamada was not a linguist. He became reasonably fluent in both English and German, but evidence suggests that his knowledge of these languages was intuitive, rather than analytical. For example, he claimed to have learnt German in 1910 by reading aloud the signs that he passed in the street, relying on the kindness of passers-by to correct his pronunciation; and, once he had built up his confidence, by arranging sometimes extravagant scenarios in which to talk to strangers. Perhaps his most amusing tale is of an occasion when he deliberately let his stick fall in between a pair of strolling lovers, in order that he might insert himself into their conversation.[42] The fluent but idiosyncratic style that he thus developed in his second languages may be imagined from an English diary entry describing some light entertainment that he saw in Seattle in 1919: 'There is no music, no dance, no singing, only leg show, and very unappetitely leg show,' he wrote.[43]

[42] Yamada, *Kyōshikyoku*, pp. 96-97.

[43] Kōsaku Yamada, My Ocean Trip, Tokyo, AMJM, 86-Y20-Dr.-2, p. 5v.

If, therefore, Yamada failed to fully grasp the intricacies of accent in languages other than Japanese, he could hardly be criticized.

Moreover, it seems that Yamada did not approach the matter of declamation from a linguistic perspective. He was almost certainly not aware of linguistic scholarship concerning the Japanese language. Indeed, it is possible that there was not much for him to know as far as the matter of Japanese accent was concerned, for, whilst research into the topic had been ongoing since the late Meiji period, it did not start in earnest until the beginning of the Showa period (1926-89), when the advent of national radio broadcasting resulted in a shift in focus from the unity of the written language to that of the spoken language.[44] In any event, Yamada made no mention of academic linguistic discussion in 'Accent in Poetry', one of the most reasoned of all his theoretical essays; and, as I have mentioned, he did not talk about his theory in specialist terms. I describe below, too, how he seemed to know nothing of the debate concerning the standardization of a national, Standard Japanese, which had raged in both the popular and the specialist presses but was more or less over by the time he announced, seemingly independently, his own conclusions on the matter. It is therefore difficult to suggest that Yamada was a linguistic pioneer, or that he was otherwise engaged with the research into Japanese linguistics then shaping the contemporary understanding of the Japanese language. His observations in 'Accent in Poetry' seem to be intelligent, but not informed, and one can only conclude that Yamada did not himself realize their implications.

All the more reason, then, to accept the evidence from 'Accent in Poetry' of Yamada's firm belief in his theory's universal applicability. One should also note that his confidence was not entirely misplaced. This can be seen from the very beginning of the article, which opens with a criticism of two examples from Schubert. Of 'The Erlking' ('Erlkönig', D. 328, 1821), Yamada wrote:

[44] Izuru Shinmura, 'Jo', in *Akusento jiten*, ed. by Matsuda, pp. 1-2 (p. 1).

> I found that the ‘hat’ of the third bar of the first phrase, ‘Er hat den Knaben’ [‘He has the boy’], should absolutely not have the weight of emphasis with which Schubert sets it. Instead, the three words ‘er hat den’ [‘he has the’] are unemphasized in the flow of Goethe’s poem, and heavy emphasis occurs first on the word ‘Knaben’ [‘boy’]. In this instance, I think that Schubert, carried away by his musical sensibilities, must have subordinated the flow of the poetry to the flow of the melody.[45]

Example 2.7 demonstrates that Yamada was criticizing Schubert for the same mistake that he perceived Konoe to have made in ‘Before the Great Flood’: namely, the assumption that the placement of a stressed syllable in a metrically accented position in the music would satisfactorily translate the linguistic stress of the poem into melody. For Yamada, however, the registral accent given in the previous bar to the relatively unimportant verb ‘to have’, a decision that he believed to have been taken for melodic reasons alone, overwhelmed the metrical accentuation of the noun, and so resulted in an unnatural enunciation of the line. Scholars may differ as to how fair or accurate this criticism of Schubert may be, but according to the principles on which Yamada was working, his analysis cannot be faulted. One may therefore be sure of Yamada’s conviction, at least, that his theory could be as well applied to German songs as to Japanese.

Indeed, there was no reason why Yamada should believe otherwise, for, by his own acknowledgement, his accent theory was founded upon German declamatory practice – although it was that of the theatre stage, rather than that of the concert hall. In the narrative upon which the essay ‘Accent in Poetry’ is constructed, Yamada recounted the problems he had had when he first wrestled with the difficulties of setting words to music, which occurred during his period of study in Berlin. He set several of Miki’s poems,



Example 2.7: Vocal melody of Franz Schubert, ‘Erlkönig’ (1821, D. 328), bars 24-26.

[45] Yamada, ‘Accent in Poetry’, p. 339.

which he had been reading in order to stave off homesickness (just as he was to do reciprocally with Kandinsky when longing for Berlin in Tokyo in 1914), but found that 'the phrases I had laboured over did not in any way match the form of the poetry'. Despairing, he abandoned song composition entirely, and, 'to distract myself from my misery', frequented the theatre. There, at the Deutsches Theater:

> There was an actor called [Alexander] Moissi [1879-1935], who possessed a voice with the most beautiful tone. His elocution was such as I had never heard before, skilfully unveiling on the stage a music-like melody, a melody which gave voice to each and every word. In Moissi's elocution, I was first able to discover a method for portraying verse in musical works.[46]

The declamation of this Moissi, an actor of Albanian descent who was a popular fixture on the German stage in the early twentieth century, would have been a dramatically heightened version of the *Bühnendeutsch* that, later in his essay, Yamada cited as a model for the national language standardization he thought necessary as part of his theory (see below). Of more immediate interest, however, is Moissi's familiarity with the declamatory practice of lieder singers, as well as the reciprocal interest of the most famous proponents of realistic declamation in lieder with the theatrical declamation of Moissi.

Kravitt has proven the closeness of the connexion between these two performance traditions. He states that, 'Some actors (Moissi, for instance) studied voice placement (tone production) with singing teachers'. But he has also demonstrated how:

> A comparison of Wolf's setting of Goethe's 'Prometheus' with readings of the poem recorded by [Josef] Kainz [1858-1910] and Moissi […] affords a rare opportunity to observe how closely the contours of Wolf's voice part resemble the speech inflections of actors of the period. One may assert that Wolf's vocal style is closely interlinked with the late-Romantic style of recitation.[47]

[46] Ibid., pp. 338, 340.

[47] Kravitt, pp. 63-64.

It is, perhaps, unlikely that Yamada himself was aware of the precise nature of the link between his own declamatory practice and that of Wolf. After all, Kravitt seems to have uncovered this connexion forensically, as he provides no contemporary written evidence for it. Nevertheless, it is of great interest that Yamada should have acclaimed, as the single greatest influence on his accent theory, an actor at the Deutsches Theater, whose enunciation happened to have been formed in dialogue with one of the most skilled composers of realistic declamation in the Austro-German lied tradition. Yamada may not have been consciously aware of this connexion, but it seems reasonable to conclude that, because he found in Moissi an example of the declamation he was in search of, his ideal of declamatory practice in song must have been shaped by the expectations he had developed during his education. Furthermore, his explicit acknowledgement of a Western source for his declamatory aesthetic suggests that, far from seeking to present his theory as unique, he was eager to highlight its belonging within the discourse of the Western classical music tradition.

Yamada's active involvement with this discourse is readily apparent from other passages, the most explicit being the names that Yamada lists as possible models for his methodology: Schubert, Schumann, Brahms, Wagner, Wolf, and Strauss.[48] This list of names is further proof of Yamada's enculturation in the Austro-German lied tradition: in fact, it includes no fewer than five of Hallmark's six 'time-honoured masters' of the lied.[49] It is interesting to note, however, that Yamada substituted Wagner for Hallmark's Gustav Mahler. From a historical perspective, this is not overwhelmingly surprising, for Mahler's music was neglected for half a century or so after his death in 1911, and even since the revival of interest in his music in the 1960s, he remains less well known for his songs.[50]

[48] Yamada, 'Accent in Poetry', p. 339.

[49] Rufus Hallmark, 'Preface', in *German Lieder*, ed. by Hallmark, pp. ix-xiv (p. xii).

[50] Kravitt, p. 7.

The inclusion of Wagner in Mahler's stead, however, is a strong indication of Yamada's stance in the musical debates of late Romanticism.[51]

Wagner's influence over Yamada cannot be overstated. The clearest evidence of this is the fact that the ideal of the union of the arts was of overwhelming importance in the Japanese composer's philosophy. In the inaugural issue of *Poetry and Music*, the composer stated that the journal's mission was to advance the cause of this artistic union, declaring poetically that, 'Poetry is something that should melt into music. Music should stitch a beautiful cloth for poetry'.[52] Tōyama Kazuyuki 遠山一行, a music critic, makes the link between this idea of artistic union and the European modernism that arose with Wagner. Particularly influential in Japan, Tōyama suggests, was the idea that, as of the late nineteenth century, each discrete art form had reached the pinnacle of its development. This meant that the union of different arts was the only remaining path to artistic originality.[53] The importance of Wagner to artistic thought in Japan sometimes feels like an inevitability, for, as Brooke McCorkle writes, 'the contradictory qualities that characterize Wagner's works and ideas, like the pursuit of syntheses of ancient and modern, native and foreign, suffering and redemption, all with suffused nationalist overtones, resonated with Japan's historical experiences'. That he should have held great appeal for scholars, poets, novelists, and other assorted members of the intelligentsia is, therefore, unsurprising.[54] But it is still less surprising that a young composer like Yamada should have been strongly influenced by Wagner's ideas, for few musicians in the

[51] Amongst other places, this 'War of the Romantics' is discussed in: Jan Swafford, *Johannes Brahms: A Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1997); Alan Walker, *Franz Liszt*, 3 vols (London: Faber, 1983-97), II: *The Weimar Years* (1989), pp. 339, 350-62.

[52] Yamada, 'Pen to baton', p. 667.

[53] Kazuyuki Tōyama, *'Shi to ongaku* no fukkoku ni atatte', in *Taishō no hikari to kage:* Shi to ongaku *bekkan*, ed. by Nihon Kindai Ongakukan (Tokyo: Kyūzansha, 1993), pp. 3-4 (p. 3).

[54] Brooke McCorkle, 'Searching for Wagner in Japan' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 2015), pp. xi, xiv.

Western classical tradition were able to escape his hegemony at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Yamada himself was introduced to Wagner's work in Berlin, when Frau Schmidt, his landlady and the mother of his one-time fiancée Dorothea, gave him her deceased husband's copy of the score of *Parsifal* (1882).[55] The rapidity with which Yamada then embraced Wagner's ideas can be seen from several of the jottings in a notebook that he used during 1910-14. One passage, a short essay concerning the translation of Wagner's *Tannhäuser* (1845) into Japanese, seems to be the earliest use of the word 'accent' (*akusento* アクセント) in writings connected with Yamada. The text discusses the necessity of translating words so that they retain the same number of syllables as the German original, and, as an example, gives several translations of the verb 'to see' in three, four, and five syllable variations. The page itself was written in another person's hand, likely that of the dramatist Osanai Kaoru, or else the artist Saitō Kazō 斎藤佳三 (1887-1955). Both of these men, however, were close friends of Yamada and worked with him on various projects during his sojourn in Berlin, and so the composer's involvement with the *Tannhäuser* project is undoubtable. Elsewhere in the same notebook can be found the outline and several scenes from the libretto for a project labelled 'Musikdrama', a word heavily associated with the operas of Wagner.[56] Yamada's first finished opera, *The Maiden Who Fell From Heaven*, also dates from this time, and is based on a popular Japanese legend. Gotō suggests that this mythical theme also betrays Wagnerian influence.[57] From all this, one can see how quickly Yamada took Wagner's theories and ideals to heart. Their centrality to his practice is, however, most obvious in Yamada's theory of artistic union, published, like the accent theory, in 1923, which is explicitly

[55] Gotō, *Yamada Kōsaku*, p. 68.

[56] Kōsaku Yamada et al., Notebook, Tokyo, AMJM, 86-Y20-Dr.-1, pp. 17v, 144r; Barry Millington, 'Music Drama', in *Grove Music Online* <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.19436>.

[57] Gotō, *Yamada Kōsaku*, p. 143.

presented as an improvement upon Wagner's concept of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* ('total work of art'). I discuss this theory at length in chapter 4.

Yamada's accent theory is, therefore, hard to understand except within the context of a modernist school of musical thought that, springing from Liszt and Wagner's aesthetic revolution of the mid-nineteenth century, sought to effect a union of music and poetry and believed that realistic declamation was the best method by which to do so.[58] His solution to the problem of representing the spoken word in music, a solution that places the intervallic shape of the melody entirely at the command of the words of the poem, would produce compositions that were very different to the 'mundane, insensitive repeated rhythms' that Wolf so despised. In this way, Yamada can be clearly identified with an established stance in the discourse of the Western classical music tradition concerning declamatory techniques in lieder composition. Although he never explicitly positioned himself within that debate in his texts, he spoke in its language, used its ideas, and set his own theories up against its other practitioners. Yamada's accent theory must accordingly be thought of as the composer's intended contribution to this wider discourse, and so part of a conversation that was not limited by the borders of an insular Japan. Through this, one may see how Yamada positioned himself in the early stages of his career as an outward-looking cosmopolitan, rather than as an inward-looking nativist.

Even elements of Yamada's theory that could superficially suggest an uncomplicated nationalism may actually, from a more nuanced standpoint, demonstrate that he held a more outward-looking perspective. The most obvious example of this is Yamada's decision to measure the accuracy of his theory's application against a standardized Japanese accent. This is not a necessary prescription, because the theory's mapping of pitch accent onto pitch space is quite applicable as a general model. It is certainly capable of expressing most forms of the Japanese language, for pitch accent is common to almost all Japanese dialects. However, Yamada seems not to have

[58] Kravitt, p. 3.

considered his theory's adaptability to regional difference: it is not so much a case of his rejecting the possibility, but rather, that he instead assumed a 'standard model for accent in speech' to be a necessity. He did not hesitate to select the accent of Tokyo for this purpose, acting on the principle that it was 'common practice for the centre of power in each nation to be adopted as the pattern for the whole country'.[59]

This embrace of a national language, a medium through which the identity of a nation may be defined, expressed, and reinforced, may seem to be a clear alignment with nationalist ideals. Certainly, the idea was an important one in contemporary Japanese thought, and the debate about how to implement it had been raging for some time, even before the Meiji Restoration brought an uncompromisingly modernizing government to power. Many believed that the events of the mid-nineteenth century, when Japan was forced to come to terms very quickly with the imperialist threat of the Western powers to its received ways of life, had 'necessitated the establishment of a national language'.[60] There were many pragmatic reasons for standardizing language use nationwide in this way. It was felt that a 'simplified [linguistic] style would facilitate spreading [modern] theories to the masses', theories that would include understandings of the stock market and other newly-imported economic mechanisms, as well as the workings of the latest technology.[61] The general education that could thus be achieved would 'involve [the people] in the political and social life of the nation'.[62]

But this policy was not solely intended to spread the practical discoveries of modern science. The linguist Patrick Heinrich explains that, 'As in every other part of the modern world, internal differences were suppressed whilst difference from the outside

[59] Yamada, 'Accent in Poetry', p. 343.

[60] Patrick Heinrich, *The Making of Monolingual Japan: Language Ideology and Japanese Modernity* (Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 2012), p. 2.

[61] Nanette Twine, 'The Genbunitchi Movement: Its Origin, Development, and Conclusion', *Monumenta Nipponica*, 33 (1978), 333-56 (p. 338).

[62] Maximiliano Tomasi, 'Quest for a New Written Language: Western Rhetoric and the *Genbun Itchi* Movement', *Monumenta Nipponica*, 54 (1999), 333-60 (p. 348).

world was highlighted in order to define, and thereby create, the idea of a Japanese nation'. Following a then common belief in linguistic determinism, prominent Japanese figures also held that 'the spirit, thought, and emotions of the Japanese nation found their expression in the national language', and they argued that it was only through speaking this national language that the average Japanese person would come to a metaphysical understanding of their national identity.[63] This was an urgent necessity as the country sought to establish itself as a nation according to the Western model, for, under the Tokugawa regime of the Edo period, the government policy of regional isolation had sought to discourage identification with any polity greater that of the local.[64] As a means by which to inculcate the idea of a greater 'imagined community' amidst a people whose loyalties had previously been extremely localized, therefore, a national language was held to be of great importance.[65] It was these more abstract and ideological considerations that fuelled much of the debate about its introduction and form.

It was for this reason that some of the earliest proposals on the matter, such as the idea of adopting English as the national language, were rejected. Indeed, in the 1890s, a reactionary movement, predicated upon the importance of Japanese tradition, successfully advocated a return to classical literary styles: this derailed the development of a colloquial written style for a decade or so.[66] However, the establishment in 1902 of the National Language Research Council (Kokugo Chōsa I'inkai 国語調査委員会) marked the beginning of an inexorable progress that made 'the place of both the national language and Standard Japanese in everyday life secure'.[67] This affected both literary and vernacular usage. Indeed, the reformed writing style that the Council developed involved

[63] Heinrich, pp. 3, 63.

[64] Twine, p. 338.

[65] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. edn (London: Verso, 2006).

[66] Tomasi, p. 342.

[67] Heinrich, p. 71.

a simplification of Japanese orthography and grammar, with the intention of aligning the written language more closely with the spoken colloquial, or, ideally, of unifying the two. This is the meaning of the name that was given to the movement proposing this reform: *genbun'itchi* 言文一致, the unity of speech and writing.[68] Yamada's accent theory, which interprets written texts through the characteristics of their spoken enunciation, clearly shares a similar philosophy of language, of the desire for unity between written and spoken forms, as that of the *genbun'itchi* proponents.

The fact that, as with Yamada's accent theory, the Standard Japanese thus developed was not just a set of guidelines for accurately representing any and all colloquial speech in writing, but a fixed, universal standard for written communication, shows that this scheme was intended to do something more than simply to raise literacy rates within the population's local idioms. It was also a means to change and standardize the language that people spoke in their everyday lives, unifying the vernacular across the country and in every household. The advocates of this scheme, such as the leader of the National Language Research Council, Ueda Kazutoshi 上田万年 (1867-1937), hoped that this would overcome the significant practical and ideological problems of the Tokugawa government's policies, which, as part of the policy of regional fragmentation that I described above, had promoted the development of numerous regional dialects that could, at times, be mutually incomprehensible.[69] A language common to the whole nation would facilitate communication between a newly centralized government and its provinces, and at the same time create a unity of identity among the new nation's inhabitants.

The choice of which dialect to use as the basis for this common language seems to have been a foregone conclusion, as it was for most nations in comparable situations.

[68] Twine, p. 333.

[69] Hiraku Shimoda, 'Tongues-Tied: The Making of a "National Language" and the Discovery of Dialects in Meiji Japan', *American Historical Review*, 115 (2010), 714-31 (p. 714).

The linguist Thomas Bonfiglio confirms Yamada's observation in 'Accent in Poetry', writing that, 'In general, the standard language of a nation will derive from the speech area that is also the centre of economic and cultural power in that nation'.[70] Heinrich reports that, at the National Language Research Council, there was little to no discussion about which dialect should become the standard form of the Japanese vernacular. Early surveys from the Council, sent to schoolteachers across the country in order to assess citizens' language use, were structured such that their respondents recorded local equivalents for the Tokyo vocabulary with which they were provided. This demonstrates how the Council assumed from the beginning that their Tokyo dialect was the standard against which to measure. When the results of this study were synthesized in *A Grammar of the Spoken Language* (*Kōgohō* 口語法, 1916), the introduction 'stated clearly that it was to take the language of Tokyo's educated elite as its model'.[71] One can get an idea of how naturalized the concept of a national, standard language based upon the Tokyo dialect had become as quickly as the 1930s by a passage in *Demon of the Lonely Isle* (*Kotō no oni* 孤島の鬼, 1929-30), a novel by the most famous of Japanese mystery fiction writers, Edogawa Ranpo 江戸川乱歩 (1894-1965). The protagonist Minoura, who is to be married to the erstwhile 'freak' Hide-chan after she has undergone corrective surgery, 'proclaims that nothing could be more satisfying than the thought of Hide-chan becoming a "normal" woman, who "styles her hair, puts on makeup, wears a beautiful kimono, and speaks in the standard Tokyo dialect"'.[72]

When developing his accent theory Yamada came to the same conclusion as the Council, that the Tokyo dialect should form the foundation of any standardized Japanese language. It is, however, important to note that Yamada seems to have been completely

[70] Thomas Paul Bonfiglio, *Race and the Rise of Standard American*, Language, Power and Social Progress, 7 (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2002), p. 2.

[71] Heinrich, pp. 72, 76.

[72] Reichert, p. 370.

unaware of the debate about language standardization in Japan, despite the fact that it had effectively reached its conclusion a few years before he wrote his article. The Council's work throughout the 1910s, including the publication of the aforementioned grammar, had had a profound impact on already shifting patterns of language use. As early as 1908, every novel published in Japan was written in the vernacular, and although many newspaper editorials held out, they, too, had all abandoned the older orthography by 1926.[73] Despite this, Yamada complained that the 'current situation in our country' was one in which 'the issues of pronunciation have been ignored and research into the pronunciation of our national language has been neglected'.[74] Clearly, he believed himself to have developed his own linguistic conclusions independently.

His reasons for selecting the speech of Tokyo as the standard for his accent theory, however, show that there was a certain ideological gulf between him and the Council, no matter that they may have ended up in the same place. Yamada stated quite explicitly that he was 'following the example of Germany', referring to his beloved *Bühnendeutsch*, 'the language spoken in Berlin', as a dialect that had played a similar role in the development of a German national standard.[75] What is most interesting about Yamada's presentation of his ideas here is that it avoids the ideological rhetoric used by other *genbun'itchi* proponents to support the establishment of a Japanese national language. Heinrich describes how the National Language Research Council had sought to hide 'the history of [the national language's] creation and dissemination […] behind ideologically mediated common sense'. For example, it presented the Tokyo dialect not as a pragmatic choice around which to unify, but as the only correct choice to which the Japanese could adhere: hence 'local varieties were perceived as deviations from written Japanese modelled on the Tokyo variety, or Japanese *tout court'*.[76] By contrast,

[73] Twine, pp. 354-55.

[74] Yamada, 'Accent in Theory', pp. 343-44.

[75] Ibid., p. 343.

[76] Heinrich, pp. 71, 75.

Yamada's argument was simply one of pragmatism. He did not decide upon his standard by identifying what was ostensibly the purest form of Japanese, but instead, in settling upon that which was used in the centre of power, he chose the language that was already the lingua franca of politics, economics, and high culture.

This is undoubtedly an ideology of sorts, but it is not an exclusive ideology of identity. The comparison with Germany makes it clear that Yamada was not interested in the unique character of the Japanese nation, but in the common features of all nations. He seems to have accepted that a standard language is one such characteristic, and that therefore, for Japan to develop as a nation, its language must be standardized. There is no hint of Japanese uniqueness in this way of thinking. Indeed, Yamada here treats Japan as a nation like any other. There is a subtle but important distinction between this position and that of the National Language Research Council. Both were, undoubtedly, nationalist in their approach to language; however, the nationalism to which Yamada seems, at least in 1923, to have subscribed, was an outward-looking, cosmopolitan one. It can be recognized in Anthony Smith's description of the idea of the 'world of nations', a 'stable and taken-for-granted structure of "international" relations' in which nations are thought of as 'analogous' to one another. Within this framework, Yamada was able to look openly to Germany for models of language standardization, and, indeed, of declamatory methodology, that could be used to inform his own practice; and so, within a relationship of analogous equals, to assert his claim to be a composer of his time, rather than of his place. This can be contrasted with the more inward-looking nationalism of the Council, with its belief in the essential link between the Japanese language and the Japanese people. This is a very different conception of the nation as 'a distinct historical culture, a singular way of thinking, acting, and communicating, which all the members share (at least potentially) and which non-members do not and, as non-members, cannot share'.[77]

[77] Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Polity, 2010), pp. 2, 26, 30. This dichotomy echoes Hans Kohn's classic distinction between 'voluntarist' and

Yamada was keen to share in the transnational culture of the Western classical tradition, and his practice, and his nationalism, must be understood in that context.

There is, however, one major stumbling block to the relationship between Yamada's accent theory and the Western classical music tradition that I have been trying to argue for in this chapter. I wrote above about the six composers that Yamada mentioned as possible models for his declamatory methodology. In the full context of their citation, it becomes clear that Yamada named them in order to denounce them:

> I sought first for a model in Schubert, then interrogated Schumann; tried to find an example in Brahms, and finally looked to Wagner, Wolf and Strauss in turn – but whilst I examined the works of all these composers in quick succession, I could not locate amongst them a model that would satisfy me and from which I could learn.[78]

I have argued that Yamada's rhetorical skill means that his words cannot be taken at face value, but rhetorical artifice does not permit the reader to think a writer's words to be empty of any meaning. One can only conclude, from Yamada's own admission elsewhere and from other historical evidence, that these composers had had a great influence over his musical thinking; if, despite this, Yamada declared his rejection of them, he must have had some reason to do so. If one cannot accept the superficial meaning of his statement, then one must find some other explanation for the gap here exposed between Yamada's words and their significance.

It seems to me that this gap can be most readily explained by reference to Bloom's concept of the 'anxiety of influence'. Introducing this controversial theory of poetics, the literary critic writes:

'organicist' forms of nationalism (respectively), as expressed in: Hans Kohn, *The Idea of Nationalism: A Study in Its Origins and Background* (New York: Macmillan, 1944).

[78] Yamada, 'Accent in Poetry', p. 339.

> Poetic history […] is held to be indistinguishable from poetic influence, since strong poets make that history by misreading one another, so as to clear imaginative space for themselves.[79]

In other words, Bloom argues for an intertextual and agonistic interpretation of poetry. Intertextual, in as much as he 'does not believe that meaning is produced *in* and *by* poems, but only *between* poems': that is, all poems draw their meaning from their interaction with other poems and have no intrinsic meaning of their own.[80] Bloom posits, furthermore, that these interrelationships are agonistic, or adversarial. He describes a paradox in the fact that poems can only signify through other poems, but if a poet 'knows too well what causes his poem, then he cannot write it, or at least will write it badly'.[81] This is to be a 'weak' poet; to be otherwise is, for Bloom, to be 'strong'. He makes it clear that this is a matter of great importance, for 'weaker talents idealize; figures of capable imagination appropriate for themselves'.[82] Describing this appropriation, Bloom writes, paraphrasing the Enlightenment philosopher Giambattista Vico, that 'the great masterpieces of anterior art must be destroyed, if any great works are still to be performed'. However, 'Even the strongest poet must take up his stance *within* literary language. If he stands *outside* it, then he cannot begin to write poetry'.[83] To put it differently, if, as Bloom believes, poems signify only through other poems, then they signify nothing at all if they are not in dialogue with any other poetry. One may think of a poem as a form of communication, and one cannot communicate with another if one does not share a language with them. For this reason, the poet must simultaneously embrace and reject their influences, in order to achieve what Bloom considers 'the only victory worth winning, the divinating triumph over oblivion': that is, over death, chance, and

[79] Harold Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 5.

[80] Harold Bloom, *Kabbalah and Criticism* (New York: Seabury Press, 1975), p. 46.

[81] Harold Bloom, *Poetry and Repression: Revisionism from Blake to Stevens* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976), p. 5.

[82] Bloom, *Anxiety of Influence*, p. 5.

[83] Bloom, *Poetry and Repression*, p. 4.

time.[84] This is the metaphorical and psychological process that Bloom has described in great detail under the appellation of the 'anxiety of influence', and from which he has developed a form of practical criticism that focuses on the patterns of allusion and denial that link poem to poem.

Several scholars have attempted to adapt Bloom's theories to musicology. Most notable among them, perhaps, is Kevin Korsyn, whose analysis of Brahms's 'Romanze' (from *Six Pieces for Piano* [*Sechs Stücke für Klavier*], op. 118, 1893) has been described by Richard Taruskin as 'a responsible exposition of Bloom and a painstaking attempt to apply Bloom's ratios' to music.[85] Korsyn embraces the spirit of Bloom's theory, as well as the techniques for practical criticism that can be derived from Bloom's texts.[86] Other musicologists have been less comfortable with the original theory, and, by comparison with Korsyn, have altered it substantially, or else tried less hard to translate Bloom's literary criticism directly into musicological terms. Joseph Straus, for instance, redefines much of Bloom's theoretical language in order to apply it to music in his monograph *Remaking the Past*, prompting Taruskin to contend that he merely 'co-opts the new theory of influence to retell very old tales'.[87]

Raymond Knapp, meanwhile, strips Bloom of the universality to which the literary critic makes claim. Remarking that 'a truly Bloomian theorist must above all be resolutely elitist, and somewhat idiosyncratic', Knapp declares that analysis should instead be 'knowingly eclectic' and proceeds to explore what he calls the 'anxiety of allusion', in which allusion is not considered a 'token of influence' but an 'aesthetic signifier'.[88] Jeremy

[84] Ibid., p. 2.

[85] Richard Taruskin, 'Revising Revisionism', review of Kevin Korsyn, Towards a New Poetics of Musical Influence, and Joseph N. Straus, Remaking the Past: Musical Modernism and the Influence of the Tonal Tradition, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 46 (1993), 114-138 (p. 124).

[86] Kevin Korsyn, 'Towards a New Poetics of Musical Influence', *Music Analysis*, 10 (1991), 3-72.

[87] Joseph Straus, *Remaking the Past: Musical Modernism and the Influence of the Tonal Tradition* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990); Taruskin, p. 126.

[88] Raymond Knapp, 'Brahms and the Anxiety of Allusion', *Journal of Musicological Research*, 18 (1998), 1-30 (pp. 7, 16, 26).

Yudkin chooses, quite contrarily, to explore how Beethoven was 'not troubled' by the anxiety of influence, positioning him at 'a critical moment of divide between the era of rationalism [in which imitation was standard practice] and the century of anxious originality'.[89] In fact, Bloom also thought of the 'anxiety of influence' as a modern phenomenon, and thus that there were some poets, such as John Milton and William Shakespeare, for whom influence was not so anxious.[90] However, to interpret art through a theory which is held not to apply to it, as Yudkin does in examining a composer he thought untroubled by influence through the lens of the anxiety of influence, seems somewhat unproductive. In recent years, several more scholars have come to the conclusion that there is something to be gained by considering music through the lens of the 'anxiety of influence'; their attempts to do so have shown various levels of adherence to Bloom's original theory, and convinced to different degrees.[91]

Nevertheless, the fact that no musicologist has applied Bloom's theories to music in a manner that has won general appreciation, and that so many scholars have seemed uncomfortable about embracing Bloom's theory without significant dilution, modification, or contextualization, testifies to the uncertainty with which it has been generally received. Of the critics above, only Knapp explicitly acknowledges that the 'anxiety of influence' has been rather polarizing within the sphere of literary studies, and that many doubt that it can be meaningfully applied to the study of music. It is left to Taruskin to speak for detractors across all fields of a study in a review article, in which he dismisses the 'anxiety of

[89] Jeremy Yudkin, 'Beethoven's "Mozart" Quartet', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 45 (1992), 30-74.

[90] Bloom, *Kabbalah*, p. 46.

[91] An incomplete list of recent papers would include: Katherine Clausius, 'Historical Mirroring, Mirroring History: an Aesthetics of Collaboration in *Pulcinella'*, *Journal of Musicology*, 30 (2013), 215-51; Daniel Elphick, 'Weinberg, Shostakovich and the Influence of "Anxiety"', *Musical Times*, 155 (2014), 49-62; David Heetderks, 'Reading and Misreading in Sonic Youth, 1987-88', *Music Analysis*, 32 (2013), 363-403; Richard Sherr, 'Thoughts on Ockeghem's *Missa De plus en plus*: Anxiety and Proportion in the Late 15th Century', *Early Music*, 38 (2010), 335-46; Griffin Woodworth, 'Prince, Miles, and Maceo: Horns, Masculinity, and the Anxiety of Influence', *Black Music Research Journal*, 33 (2013), 117-50.

influence' as a useful tool for musical interpretation. There, he writes that Bloom's 'agonistic theory of poetic influence […] is not a pretty thing'.[92] If that were the foundation of his opposition, one might argue that John Keats's maxim ('Beauty is truth, truth beauty') is no longer academically tenable, but Taruskin's evident distaste for the ugliness of the 'anxiety of influence' evolves into a more incontestable, technical criticism:

> If similarity is evidence of influence, but dissimilarity can be evidence of stronger influence; if a poet's direct allusion, not to mention his open assent or avowal, can be evidence of his susceptibility, but the absence of an allusion and his denial can be evidence of a stronger susceptibility – then just what can disprove the theory? Nothing can: as a theory it is breezily 'verificationist', and if it pretended to scientific status it would of course be laughed right out of court.[93]

In short, Taruskin condemns the 'anxiety of influence' as an adversarial, universalist, elitist, and – most damningly – an unfalsifiable way of thinking about art. No wonder that even those who are drawn to some of its conclusions can hardly bring themselves to accept the theory's implications in their entirety, and instead choose to adapt it, in a more or less bowdlerized form.

Taruskin does, however, acknowledge Bloom's defence against criticism such as his own. Bloom argues that the practice of literary criticism is itself poetic, a creative misreading of the poem in the same way as a poem is a creative misreading of other poems.[94] 'Everything depends [therefore] on the quality of the performance, on its persuasiveness and its heuristic benefit,' as Taruskin remarks.[95] In confirmation of this, Bloom has also made it clear that he does not consider his theory to be a tool, an instruction booklet according to which one can analyse by numbers, for all that he insists upon, and frequently demonstrates, its practical, critical application.[96] For these reasons, if

[92] Taruskin, p. 115.

[93] Ibid., p. 119.

[94] Bloom, *Kabbalah*, p. 31.

[95] Taruskin, p. 119.

[96] Cited in ibid.

one were to accept Knapp's implicit maxim that a good analysis, being 'knowingly eclectic', may draw on any heuristic tool that seems to 'explicate and contextualize' its object, one may well find that there are occasions when to view something from the perspective of the 'anxiety of influence' is to see it more clearly.[97]

This, I believe, is the case for Yamada's accent theory, and for his practice more generally. Given that I use the 'anxiety of influence' here to explain a theory, not a poem (or piece of music), I knowingly misuse it. However, the psychology of artistic creation that Bloom describes seems to explain, with great persuasiveness, Yamada's explicit but unconvincing denial of clearly identifiable influences. Bloom describes how poets must misread their predecessors, thus displacing them in order to make a space for themselves in which they can create new things. In unsympathetically denouncing and summarily misrepresenting the declamatory practice of every major Austro-German lieder composer from Schubert to Wolf, only to present his own theory as a saving grace, Yamada was behaving in just this way. In particular, the manner in which Yamada cast his theory as universal, and so capable of criticizing even Schubert, sought to belittle Schubert's work by removing it from its pedestal. It was thus reinterpreted as merely an early stage on a progressive path, at the end of which Yamada placed himself. Moreover, one might say that this manoeuvre reversed the relationship of Schubert and Yamada, repositioning the former as the latter's underling in a manner similar to that described by Bloom's concept of *apophrades*, the 'return of the dead', the 'uncanny effect' which 'makes it seem to us […] as though the later poet himself had written the precursor's characteristic work'.[98] Yamada's criticism of Schubert opened an essay which ended in his criticism of Yamada's students' work; thus Schubert may be reimagined as a student of Yamada, being 'made', in just the same way as Konoe, by his new, Japanese master.

[97] Knapp, p. 26.

[98] Bloom, *Anxiety of Influence*, p. 16.

If one were unsympathetic to Bloom, one could argue that there is no need for a theory of anxiety to explain this psychology. One could argue, with Taruskin, that the use of such theories merely 'reconfirms conventional judgements', and so that one need not associate oneself with Bloom's polarizing arguments in order to understand that Yamada's denunciation of his influences was a rhetorical ploy to heighten the impact of his new theory.[99] Other explanations of influence and of artists' relationships to tradition, such as that of T. S. Eliot (who is often cited in opposition to Bloom, perhaps because Bloom has little respect for the poet), may provide alternative interpretations of Yamada's rhetoric. The advantage of using Bloom's 'anxiety of influence' here, however, is twofold.

Firstly, it seems to capture Yamada's psychology most accurately. To indulge a counter example, Eliot, in his essay on 'Tradition and the Individual Talent', talks of poets who have a 'historical sense', through which they understand that all literature 'has a simultaneous existence and a simultaneous order', and are thus aware that they 'must inevitably be judged by the standards of the past'.[100] He describes here poets like himself, whose allusions are overt, or at least not denied. They may even give references to them.[101] Yamada, too, certainly had 'a perception, not only of the pastness of the past, but of its presence': his response, however, was not that 'the existing order must be, if ever so slightly, altered', but that its 'monuments' should be razed, or else completely refurbished in his own, contemporary fashion.[102]

This was his intention when dismissing the work of every composer with whom his own ideas might be compared. It was also his intention when he demanded that his American audiences treat him as a composer of his time. Previously, I have interpreted this to mean that he desired not to be seen as a composer of his place, but one may also understand him to have been speaking from a temporal perspective, wishing to be seen

[99] Taruskin, p. 123.

[100] T. S. Eliot, 'Tradition and the Individual Talent', *Perspecta*, 19 (1982), 36-42 (pp. 37-38).

[101] T. S. Eliot, *Collected Poems 1909-1962* (London: Faber and Faber, 1963), pp. 80-86.

[102] Eliot, 'Tradition', p. 37.

as contemporaneous, present and modern, and not bound up in another time. Indeed, he began his remonstrance in the second Carnegie Hall concert programme by writing:

> [Kitagawa] Utamaro [喜多川歌麿, *c*. 1753-1806], a famous painter, did such a great service to those of his time that he will always be remembered. But he was distinctly a man of his own time; he did not live continually in the past. Even a small and comparatively insignificant antiquity in a museum was once 'of the present' – in its own time.[103]

Yamada certainly did not consider himself to be 'small and comparatively insignificant'; all the more reason, therefore, to protest against those who bound him up with a spatially and temporally defined elsewhere. Moreover, as I discuss in chapter 4, Yamada' reaction to realizing the flaws of the accent theory was by no means measured; he doubled down, insisting to the end upon the correctness and accuracy of his methodology even as he abrogated its instructions himself. In other words, there is no more accurate word than *anxious* to describe Yamada's relationship to the tradition with which he aligned himself. Bloom describes the root of all anxious revisionism as springing from a sense of 'belatedness', the 'unendurable presence, the idea of the precursor', to whom there is a 'double priority and authority of both text and interpretation'.[104] This could accurately describe both Yamada's relationship with the Western classical music tradition, and also that of the land of his birth to the modern world as a whole. It certainly drove Yamada to act in ways that Bloom accurately describes.

The second advantage of considering Yamada through the lens of Bloom's theory is that it renders the composer's relationship to the Western classical music tradition more clearly. In the past, scholars have tended to rely either on Yamada's explicit renunciations of that tradition, in order to proclaim his detachment from it, or else on his obvious musical emulations of that tradition, in order to assert his over-reliance upon it. From the 'anxiety of influence', one may derive a synthesized interpretation that overemphasizes neither of

[103] Yamada, 'Foreword', p. 755.

[104] Bloom, *Kabbalah*, pp. 14, 25, 41.

these two tendencies. Accordingly, Yamada's criticism of figures such as Schubert and Wolf should not be understood as an attempt to distance himself from their tradition, but as precisely the opposite: an attempt to shoulder them aside in order to take their place within that tradition. In other words, he did not desire to be seen as the creator of a separate Japanese musical tradition, but he was equally unwilling to be thought of as a mere follower in the Austro-German tradition. Not content either to be a distributary or to float in the mainstream, Yamada's aim was to divert that mainstream such that it flowed through him. Even the more nationalist tendencies of his earlier career were, therefore, cosmopolitan and outward-looking, as opposed to the inward-looking nativism that he would, at least rhetorically, adopt later. He was, in short, anxious to be the composer of his time, the composer of the hour. I contend that it would be incorrect to understand Yamada's ambition in any other way.

Chapter 3: The Accent Theory in Practice: An Interpretation of *Nursemaids' Songs*

Having considered Yamada's accent theory in principle, it remains only to consider it in practice. After all, a theory of any kind, let alone one that concerns a performing art, can be of only esoteric interest without some bearing on the world of experience. Accordingly, in this chapter, I test Yamada's accent theory against its application in the composer's own music. Yamada declared it to be the only way to effect a true union between poetry and music, which was, he insisted, the proper goal of any true song: but did he practise what he preached? The expectation that he did not anticipates the questions that I address here. If Yamada did not adhere to his own theory, which he thought to be universal, why not? Is there any pattern to his deviation from it? If so, does the quality of Yamada's adherence to the theory offer insight into the interpretation of his music? To demonstrate the possibilities of this latter question, I analyse one song cycle that was composed at the very pivot point of the period of transition in the years 1922-23. Thus I maintain my focus on these years, which are so important for understanding Yamada and his work. My interpretation leads me to suggest that Yamada's method for unifying poetry and music in this instance actually highlighted and amplified thematic disunities that were disguised in the original texts, causing what I have called a 'crisis of unity' that I then address in my final chapter.

At the outset, it is necessary to dismiss the contention that any deviation from the accent theory in Yamada's work might merely represent mistaken accent on Yamada's part, or else an inability to successfully work a word in its correctly accented form into a melody. The former possibility is dismissed by the linguist Haruo Kubozono, who observed that 'psycholinguistic work on phonological development [in Japanese native speakers] reports few accent errors, if any'.[1] Just as a French native speaker is unlikely to mispronounce the guttural rhotic 'r', so too is a Japanese native speaker unlikely to get

[1] Haruo Kubozono, 'Japanese Accent', in *Handbook of Japanese Linguistics*, ed. by Miyagawa, pp. 165-191 (p. 166).

this fundamental element of Japanese pronunciation wrong. The latter of these potential criticisms is more serious, and evidence that such difficulties caused Yamada grief may be found in the composer's own writings. Most notably, his comment that 'Bitter-Orange Blossoms' was 'one of the few of my songs in which the Japanese language is fully realized' is indicative of a sense of repeated failure in his application of the accent theory.[2] But the theory's practical method, setting accented syllables at higher pitches than unaccented syllables, is so straightforward that to fail to follow it is not akin to abandoning an unsolved equation. It could only be the result of a deliberate, subjective decision to reject the melody dictated by a word's accent. Any deviation from the accent theory may, therefore, be considered the result of a compositional choice, and accordingly offers an insight into the process of composition.

This is the position adopted by Suzuki Ayako 鈴木亜矢子, whose doctoral thesis represents the only detailed research on Yamada's accent theory to date.[3] Her analysis of over one hundred of Yamada's songs finds, in the changing degree of his adherence to the theory, evidence of its development, dominance, and, towards the end of his career, apparent decline in the composer's practice. In addition to this account of the theory's history, however, she also suggests that Yamada's deviations from it may be interpreted in terms of their aesthetic effect. In sympathy with Yamada's belief that a song should express the 'essence' of a poem, Suzuki explores, for example, how theoretically deviant melismata in 'Princess Shikishi' ('Shikishi Naishinnō' 式子内親王), fourth song in the cycle *Dark Sounds*, work in concert with roving harmonies, chromatic melodies, and performance instructions (e.g. *inquieto*) to evoke the wavering of the poet's heart. Thus, Suzuki argues, Yamada's composition captures the poem's thoughts (*omoi* 思い) rather than its words (*kotoba* 言葉). Elsewhere, she goes so far as to suggest that the mistaken

[2] Kōsaku Yamada, 'Yoku utawareru watashi no kyoku: karatachi no hana', in CZ, II, 580-85 (p. 582).

[3] Ayako Suzuki, 'Yamada Kōsaku/Bekku Sadao/Dan Ikuma no nihon kakyoku: akusento riron o kiten to shita bunsekiteki kenkyū' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Tokyo College of Music, 2017).

accent in ‘A Song of Love Approaching Sleet’ (‘Mizore ni yosuru ai no uta’ みぞれに寄する愛の歌, 1947) contributes to that song’s sense of unease precisely because it is incorrect and unexpected.[4] Suzuki’s hypothesis that deviations from the accent theory must represent the fulfilment of Yamada’s desire for the union of poetry and music by other means may be challenged. The composer’s claim that the theory represented the only method for perfectly combining the two arts tells against the idea that he might have actively considered other techniques to be productive of artistic unity in the same way. Nevertheless, Suzuki’s research demonstrates the potential of accent theory analysis to guide an interpretation of Yamada’s music. It is, therefore, a model for the following study.

In contrast to Suzuki’s wide-ranging analysis, however, I consider in this chapter five compositions alone: those that make up the song cycle *Nursemaids’ Songs*.[5] This approach represents a counterpoint to Suzuki’s research, and I adopt it on the grounds that, whilst a narrowly focused examination of only a few of Yamada’s compositions may not produce conclusions that are necessarily applicable to the composer’s work in general, careful and detailed attention to the accent theory’s application in one instance may reveal its significance more precisely. Of course, its usage in this one instance may yet resonate in other contexts.

Nursemaids’ Songs is, moreover, a particularly significant composition on which to focus. This is not because it has been especially popular or influential: amongst audiences and scholars both, the later songs of the 1920s have attracted the most attention. For example, it is ‘Bitter-Orange Blossoms’ and ‘The Red Dragonfly’ to which Pacun refers when he writes of the ‘songs that have achieved the status of folk music in Japan’, whilst in Gotō’s biography, ‘On Nutmeg-Yew Mountain’ (‘Kaya no kiyama no’ かやの木山の, 1922) receives four pages of analysis in contrast to a single page for the

[4] Ayako Suzuki, ‘Yamada Kōsaku no nihon kakyoku to akusento riron: ensō no shiten kara mita bunseki’, *Tōkyō Ongaku Daigaku daigakuin ronbun shū*, 1 (2015), 90-106 (pp. 99, 102).

[5] Kōsaku Yamada, *AIYAN no uta*, in SZ, VII: *Dokushōkyoku 3: Kitahara Hakushū no shi ni yoru sakuhin I* (1991), pp. 2-13.

Songs.[6] Nevertheless, Gotō declares the *Songs* to be the peak of Yamada's song-writing, as well as a 'concrete example of his unique idea of the unified work of art [*yūgō geijutsu*]'.[7] They are certainly more sophisticated compositions than the later works, incorporating far more unusual harmonic progressions and technically difficult passages. The style of the *Songs*, their immanent qualities, are thus recognized by scholars, even if they have never been popularly acclaimed. This is not just cause to study *Nursemaids' Songs* in preference to any other composition, for all that one may argue that art with more moving parts does provide more material from which the critic may weave an interpretation. The complexity of the *Songs* may, however, be a symptom of the particular circumstances of their composition that do render them of especial interest to the course of this discussion.

What makes *Nursemaids' Songs* so important is that fact that they were composed partly within, yet also partly without the influence of Yamada's most important artistic partner, the poet Kitahara. In other words, they were composed just before Yamada's first meeting with Kitahara and his subsequent engagement with the poet's ideas, but nevertheless represent the first time that Yamada set Kitahara's words to music. Yamada's treatment of Kitahara's lyrics in the *Songs* is atypically intricate; as a subject of analysis, therefore, the songs allow the accent theory to be considered as an aesthetic tool, instead of as the ideological tool that it would become. Even so, they share, through a common author, many of the poetic qualities of the children's songs and new folk songs by which both Yamada and Kitahara would attain their greatest popular influence. Thus the *Songs* sit right on the cusp of a sea-change: this is a transitional composition, and as such points both towards Yamada's earlier aesthetics and towards his later priorities. Meanwhile, the arrangement of the songs as a cycle is an aid to their interpretation, as the explicit connexion between them is an assurance that any patterns

[6] Pacun, 'Kósçak Yamada's Visit to the United States', p. 68; Gotō, *Yamada Kōsaku*, pp. 306, 309-12.

[7] Gotō, *Yamada Kōsaku*, p. 304.

observed between songs are of potential significance. For these reasons, in combination with their aesthetic complexity and in spite of their lack of popular valediction, I have chosen the *Songs* as my focus for this in-depth exploration of the accent theory.

The interest of *Nursemaids' Songs* in this regard is compounded by the mythology that surrounds its composition in May 1922. This story is hinted at in a text that was used as an introduction to the *Songs'* first publication and, under the revealing title of 'My Life from Now On' ('Kore kara no watashi no seikatsu' これからの私の生活), as advertising copy in Yamada's publisher's magazine.[8] It is elaborated on in Gotō's biography, although the additional details that she gives there actually make the sequence of events less clear.[9] She relates that, in 1921, Yamada returned to Europe to gauge the post-war situation of European musical culture, or so he said. However, he seems to have sent his scores ahead of him, perhaps on a separate ship. This suggests that he was hoping, once again, to arrange performances and to garner recognition overseas. Unfortunately, upon his arrival in Europe, Yamada apparently discovered that his music had been lost at sea. Why his scores did not travel with him is puzzling; what is certain, however, is that he returned home ahead of schedule, at once fell gravely ill, and was bedridden throughout the winter of 1921-22. No details of this illness are given, but if one were to speculate that he were acutely depressed, it would forge the details that Gotō gives into a compelling narrative. Fortunately, Yamada had made a full recovery by spring 1922, and soon began composing again with a renewed vigour. In his account of this period, he wrote:

> The serious illness which has recently afflicted me for two months or more has allowed me time for peaceful contemplation. […] Since my childhood, I have fought against my circumstances, and have had to clear a way for myself, by

[8] Kōsaku Yamada, 'AIYAN no uta ni jo shite', in CZ, I, 91-92; Yamada, 'Kore kara'.

[9] Gotō, *Yamada Kōsaku*, pp. 304-05.

> myself; because of this, my ability as a businessman has tended to repress my inherent character as an artist.[10]

Acting on this realization, Yamada claimed that he had turned a new page in his life, and would from then on live for his art alone, turning his back on the extra-musical demands which had thus far frustrated him. He concluded that, '*Nursemaids' Songs* was the first bunch of flowers that I have been able to pick on this new road of mine'.[11] I have issued warnings before about taking Yamada at his word, and the lack of clarity concerning the practical details of this story should put the reader on their guard with regards to the strict truth of it. Nevertheless, this account of artistic renewal and aesthetic focus, with which the *Songs* were presented to the world, heightens their interest as an object of study, particularly in light of the ideological and rhetorical transition to follow.

Structurally, the cycle consists of five songs, all selected from Kitahara's second poetry collection, *Memories*. This volume, the last that Kitahara published before he became embroiled in scandal, is a depiction of the poet's childhood in the town of Yanagawa, in which 'he recalled his birthplace with undisguised nostalgia'.[12] Many of the poems were written from the perspective of a child, such as 'Water Hyacinths' ('Mizu hiashinsu' 水ヒアシンス), in which the protagonist, asleep on someone's back, suddenly finds themselves tumbling into the water, drowning, looking up from a new perspective at the flowers growing in Yanagawa's canals. The identification of this child with Kitahara himself is made by the introductory essay, 'My Early Life' ('Wa ga oitachi' わが生ひたち), in which the events of this poem and many others are repeated in prose.[13] In his volume on the poet, Konno Shinji 今野真二 explores how the nature of this prose passage, being written in a form of language that readers are more inclined to believe is the medium of

[10] Yamada, 'AIYAN no uta', pp. 91.

[11] Ibid., p. 92.

[12] Fukasawa, *Kitahara Hakushū*, p. 2.

[13] Kitahara, *Omoide*, pp. 7-35.

narrative, gives an air of truth to the poetry which follows and seems to echo it.[14] *Memories* is, therefore, often read as a fairly honest narrative of Kitahara's childhood, although both Konno and Fukasawa remark on the heightened character of these recollections, the latter commenting that the poet 'created an image that reflected his own nostalgia, painting his scenes in colours stronger than those actually found in Yanagawa'.[15]

While this yearning of Kitahara's for his childhood thus characterizes the entire volume, the section of the book from which Yamada selected the songs for his cycle in fact contains poems that are less personal than those in the rest of the collection. 'Everyday Life in Yanagawa' ('Yanagawa fūzoku shi' 柳河風俗詩) does not relate episodes from the poet's own life, but instead describes the lives of the wider community of Kitahara's regional, late nineteenth-century childhood. The characters of *Nursemaids' Songs* include the eponymous nursemaid as well as a prostitute and several young gentlewomen, whose tales of love and woe are somewhat removed from the childlike concerns of Kitahara's main protagonist (as representative of the 'less appealing aspects of the child's psychology' as these poems may be).[16] In the song cycle Yamada therefore avoided the generally individualistic nature of its source collection and instead chose to evoke the broader landscape of Kitahara's nostalgic memories. The composer set an almost unbroken sequence of these poems, skipping only one, possibly because he did not want to use the same flower imagery in any two songs and felt that the atmosphere of 'Peonies' ('Botan' 牡丹) was less of match with the general gloom of the cycle than that of the other poem, 'Caprice' ('Kimagure' 気まぐれ), in which those flowers appear.[17]

[14] Shinji Konno, *Kitahara Hakushū: kotoba no majutsushi*, Iwanami shinsho shin akaban, 1649 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2017).

[15] Fukasawa, *Kitahara Hakushū*, p. 5.

[16] Ibid., p. 47.

[17] Gotō, *Yamada Kōsaku*, p. 305.

Translations of the poems are given in appendix 2; the complete results of the accent analysis are given in tabular form in appendix 3; and scores are found in appendix 6.

To analyse Yamada's songs according to his accent theory is, in a manner of speaking, to reverse-engineer the process of their composition. In other words, the analyst has access to the composer's finished article (the songs), his raw material (the poems), and the instructions by which he ostensibly constructed the one from the other (the accent theory). The analyst's task is to apply the instructions in reverse to the finished article, and so find out if this leads directly back to the original text. The theory is simple. In practice, of course, complications arise before one can even begin.

In chapter 2, the implications of Yamada's instructions to 'set accented syllables higher than unaccented syllables' were discussed: namely, that this represented a mapping of the pitch accent of the Japanese language onto the pitch space of music. But in truth, this process represents only a partial translation of Japanese pitch accent into melody. Linguistically, pitch accent is significantly more complicated than the pronunciation of accented syllables at a higher pitch than all other syllables, considering their relative pitches, unmentioned in Yamada's account, to be meaningless. In fact, in spoken Japanese, the accent of a word describes an arc, rising to the accented point before falling sharply away. Correct pitch accent is, therefore, an inflection of every syllable in a word, not just the accented ones. Additionally, the accent of individual words is not independent of other factors. For example, a broader arcing pitch can be perceived over whole clauses, which affects the relative pitch of each word within that clause. Furthermore, other semantic elements can also affect that clause-level pitch arc, such as final particles like the confirmatory *ne* or the interrogative *ka*, which may change the direction of a sentence's pitch. These two examples typically cause it to rise towards the end, a similar effect to that which may occur in English interrogative sentences.

The challenge this poses for analysis is whether to treat Yamada's songs by the spirit or by the letter of his theory: should his melodies be compared to a naturalistic pattern of Japanese accent, or should they be judged only by the sole criterion that

Yamada explicitly established? In her analysis, Suzuki tends towards the former option. She develops a system for assessing a word's accent across three levels: low, middle, and high; and views accent at the clause level, rather than word by word, so as to incorporate the relative pitch across a clause into her analysis. By contrast, I have adopted the opposite approach here, that is, to measure the setting of individual words in accordance with Yamada's explicit instructions alone. There are both pragmatic and theoretical reasons for this. Practically speaking, Suzuki's method is almost unreproducible, and is certainly so for most non-native speakers of Japanese. The problem is that, whilst the accent of individual words can be determined with sufficient objectivity that it may be recorded in a dictionary, a reliable resource thus equally available to all researchers, the rules of clause-level accent are still a matter of academic discussion and have not been so definitively determined. Suzuki's method, therefore, relies on a series of informed but nevertheless unfalsifiable judgements, the accuracy of which I dare not assess, and therefore hesitate to rely on. In comparison, to measure only whether the accented syllable of a word is pitched higher in the melody than the other syllables of that word is a relatively straightforward and repeatable process.

Such a process avoids the theoretical pitfalls of trying to fill in the gaps in Yamada's writing. With what certainty, for example, can it be said that Yamada understood the details of Japanese pitch accent as well as an informed, twenty first-century scholar? I have already expressed my doubts about Yamada's linguistic knowledge in chapter 2; his treatment of particles, discussed below, serves only to confirm my suspicion in this matter. A further problem resolved by my analytical method is the issue of accounting for changes in the speech patterns of the Japanese language in the century since Yamada composed his songs. This issue may be mitigated, to some extent and at the level of individual words only, by using the oldest available dictionaries that mark accent for the accent analysis, so as to account for the possibility of historic accent shifts. The equivalent re-creation of clause-level accent, however, is a linguistic challenge far too advanced for a non-specialist to attempt. For these reasons, Yamada's

instructions are followed as closely as possible here. That said, it is interesting to note that, with some exceptions, the following analysis and that of Suzuki do not produce overly dissimilar results: a fact that may justify both our approaches.

I conducted my analysis, therefore, in the following fashion. I established the accent of each word of each song by reference to a dictionary.[18] I then subjected the melody to which each word is set to a contour analysis, i.e. I represented the lowest pitch of the melody of each word with the integer '0', and each subsequently higher pitch in the melody by a sequentially higher integer; I then exchanged each note in the melody for the appropriate integer according to its pitch, with the result that the melody as a whole could be expressed as a string of integers describing its relative intervallic pitch alone.[19] I then compared the accent analysis of the word and the contour analysis of the melody to which it is set, and if the highest integer of the contour analysis aligned with the accented syllable of the word according to the accent analysis, and no other syllables, then I considered the word to adhere to the accent theory: the accented syllable of the word being demonstrably set higher than the unaccented syllables.

Some examples will clarify this method. The final words of the third song, 'The Nursemaid's Song' ('AIYAN no uta' AIYAN *の*歌), can be analysed as 'hito'suji-ni' ('single-mindedly'). The apostrophe follows the accented syllable, 'to', whilst the adverbial particle 'ni' (which, like all particles, has no independent accent) is suffixed to the word that it governs. The melody (bars 17-19) can be analysed as '0 3 2-3 1 2' (note the two pitches, '2-3', to which the syllable 'su' is set; as Yamada's theory says nothing of single syllables set to multiple pitches, I consider any accented syllable to be in accordance with the accent theory if its pitch rises at any point above other syllables in the word). Here, the

[18] Kindaichi and Akinaga; Matsuda; Nippon Hōsō Kyōkai.

[19] Joseph N. Straus, *Introduction to Post-Tonal Theory*, 4th edn (New York: W.W. Norton, 2016), pp. 126-27.

accented syllable ‘to’, at ‘3’, is set no higher than the subsequent, unaccented syllable ‘su’, at ‘2-3’. This word, therefore, does not adhere to the accent theory.

By contrast, I consider the second line of the first song, ‘The Working Girl’ (‘NOSKAI’, *sic*), to adhere in its entirety. The words may be analysed thus: ‘Na’ni-o omo’u-zo. Hanaa’yame’ (‘What *are* you thinking? Wild iris’). ‘Hanaa’yame’ (‘wild iris’; *iris sanguinea*), with its contours of ’0 0 0-1 0 0’, is clearly accurate. ‘Omo’u-zo’ (‘to think’ + exclamatory particle), with contours of ‘1 2 0 1’, also adheres, although it demonstrates in doing so how this analytical method ignores subtleties of Japanese pitch accent. It is arguable that the rising intonation of the particle ‘zo’ is incorrect, since the pitch of words is not expected to rise after once falling, as a result of the arcing characteristic of Japanese pitch discussed above. Nevertheless, as the accented syllable ‘mo’ is still undeniably highest, the melody is here considered accurate according to the strictures of Yamada’s theory.

‘Na’ni-o’ (‘what’ + object particle) presents a more serious complication. According to a strict interpretation of the contour analysis, ‘1 0 1’, the accent must be considered incorrect. However, such inaccurately high setting of particles, as seen also in ‘omo’u-zo’, is a common pattern across *Nursemaids’ Songs*. Rather than marking all such words as incorrect, I have instead assumed that Yamada did not consider the high pitching of particles to be an error, on the basis of the frequent repetition of this deviation. A logical reason can be given to defend this exception, for, if Yamada had considered particles to be separate words, their accent would therefore be unrelated to, and thus their pitch independent of, the words that they govern. Given this pattern and this explanation, I have not considered particles to affect the adherence of a word to the accent theory in this analysis. Accordingly, ‘na’ni-o’ is here considered correct. This is a concrete example of how Yamada’s understanding of Japanese accent may have differed from contemporary linguistic scholarship.

It is evident from this that Yamada’s accent theory is not as straightforwardly applicable as the concise explanation in ‘Accent in Poetry’ may have made it appear.

Nevertheless, most of its ambiguities and inconsistencies can, as above, be negotiated with relative ease. But one particular characteristic of *Nursemaids' Songs* presents an insurmountable obstacle to any attempt to analyse the songs in this fashion. A key element of the style of the poems on which the *Songs* are based is the use of words in the regional dialect of Kitahara's childhood home. Many of these words leap straight out of the page at the reader, for they are written in capital, roman letters. This grants them a striking orthographical prominence amongst the combination of Chinese characters and Japanese syllabaries, the typical script of the Japanese language, in which the poems are otherwise written (see figure 3.1). The vocabulary is equally distinctive from a linguistic perspective. The regional dialects of Japanese are quite diverse: to this day, speakers from the country's extreme ends may find each other nearly mutually incomprehensible, a phenomenon that, as I have discussed in chapter 2, was much more common at the

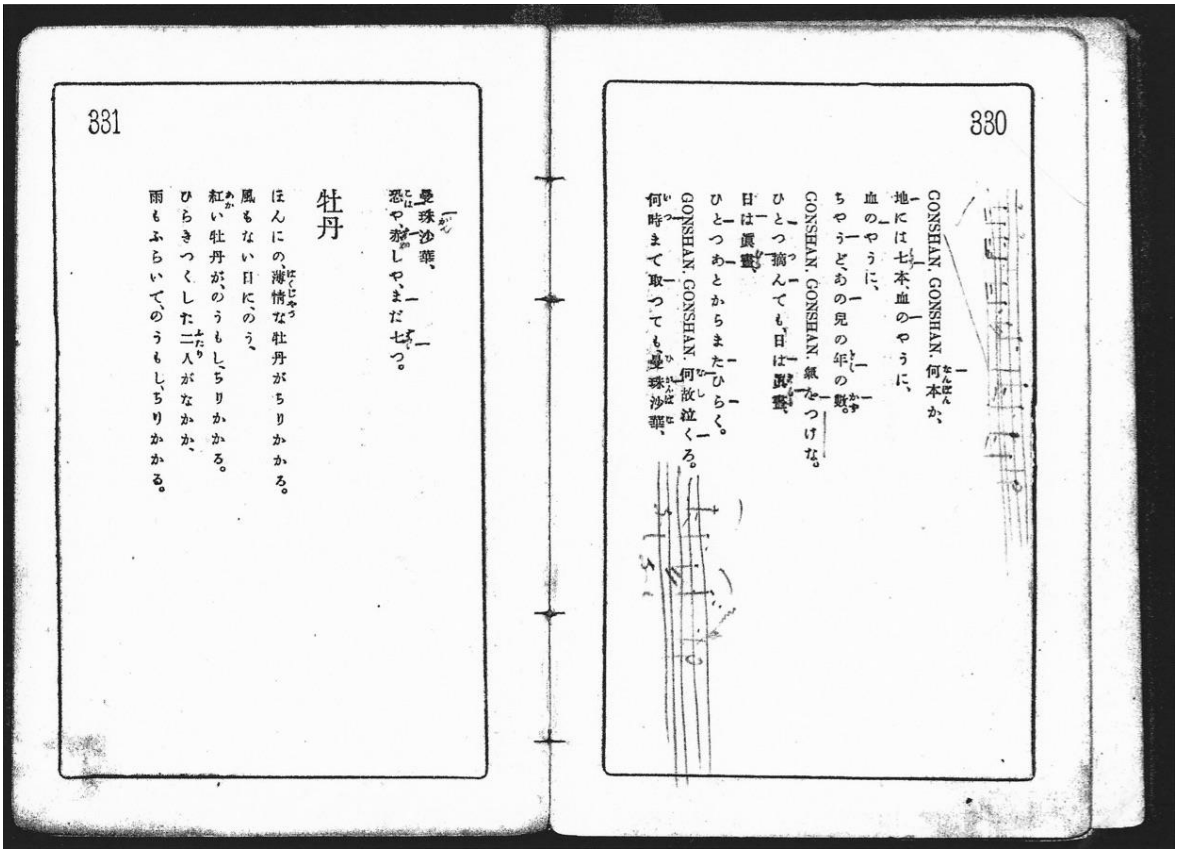


Figure 3.1: Kitahara Hakushū, *Omoide* (Tokyo: Tōundō, 1911), pp. 330-31: Tokyo, AMJM, Bk. 99.

This was Yamada's personal copy of *Memories*. On this page one can see sketches for the melody of song IV. 'Resurrection Lilies', as well as marks that seem to represent Yamada's preparatory accent analysis.

beginning of the twentieth century, before Standard Japanese became firmly established. Accordingly, these dialects are strong indicators of regional identity, and so the vocabulary in the poetry of the *Songs* immediately and powerfully evokes an image of the particular space, Yanagawa, in which the poems are set. For this reason, Yamada's explicit instruction that accent in his declamatory method be determined according to a standard, Tokyo dialect can only exist in tension with this poetic language. How, then, ought the Yanagawa dialect to be treated in an accent theory analysis? Or rather, how does an accent theory analysis suggest that Yamada, with Kitahara's poems before him, dealt with one of the poems' most fundamental devices in light of its conflict with his theory?

Three possibilities present themselves, but all are unsatisfactory. The first would be to follow the accent theory to the letter, setting the words in the accent of the standard dialect of Tokyo. This would, however, be impossible, for the simple reason that words such as 'banko' ('bench') and 'unteregan' (a pejorative) do not exist in any Tokyo dialect, being unique to that of Yanagawa. They therefore have no standard accent pattern by which they could be set, and since the accent patterns of Japanese words are irregular, it would be impossible to assign an appropriate accent in the pretence that they were words used in Tokyo. Moreover, it could be argued that to standardize words in this way would erase their evocative power, the strong sense of place created by such non-standard vocabulary.

A second possibility, then, would be to set these words according to the accent of the Yanagawa dialect. It would be problematic for the analyst to adopt this solution, as it would be an addition to the accent theory which Yamada nowhere authorized. A more pressing problem, however, is the fact that the Yanagawa dialect, in the most unfortunate of coincidences, is one of the few Japanese dialects to be unaccented.[20] This would not necessarily render the words impossible to set by the accent theory: many words in the

[20] Kindaichi and Akinaga, p. (7).

standard dialect of Tokyo are also unaccented, which simply means that there is no accented point and thus that the pitch rises uniformly throughout the word. (Such words are another ambiguity for accent theory analysis, but have been treated here as if the final syllable should be set at the highest pitch.) Nevertheless, such tight restrictions on the melodic shape of words would severely limit the composer's creative possibilities. One could also argue that setting the dialect words in a different accent to the surrounding words might cause them to stand out too greatly. Whilst they are orthographically striking on the page, this difference is to some extent disguised by their written medium. In print, unspoken, the surrounding literary language, in its capacity as a standard form of communication shared nationally in spite of differences of spoken dialect, has a certain geographic neutrality. Influenced by the strength of the dialect words, it can lose any residual connexion to its place of origin and so smooth over the disjuncture between the two vocabularies. Declaimed in song, however, that disjuncture would become only too clear.

A third and final possibility would be to highlight this very disjuncture by returning to the letter of the accent theory and setting the words in a Tokyo standard dialect, but solving the problem of their being foreign to the language of Tokyo by setting them as foreign loanwords. These have a specific pitch pattern in the Tokyo dialect, with the accent tending to fall on the antepenultimate syllable.[21] This othering of the Yanagawa vocabulary would not be as alien to the sense of place in the original poetry as it might at first appear. The printing of many of these dialect words in roman letters in the original text in part reflects a belief, largely incorrect but nevertheless widely held, that the particular vocabulary of the Yanagawa dialect had its roots in the Dutch language. The Dutch were the only Europeans who were allowed to trade with Japan during the rule of the Tokugawa shogunate, and their permitted port of entry, Nagasaki, was just up the

[21] Ibid., p. (18).

coast from Yanagawa.[22] To set these words in a way that implied them to be loanwords from a foreign language would not, therefore, be a gross misinterpretation. However, it would still be an incomplete rendering of the poetic imagery. By setting the words in this way, Yamada would have detached them from their connexion to Yanagawa, within the boundaries of Japan; they would have become truly other, no longer evocative of a peripheral space that was, nevertheless, Japanese. That said, an unequivocal statement of the poems' location in the text, such as is found at the beginning of the second poem in the cycle, could make up for some of the loss of this sense of place. This third solution might therefore be regarded as the most effective compromise between the accent theory and a surprisingly uncooperative feature of Kitahara's writing.

But not one of these solutions is wholly satisfying. For this reason, it is perhaps unsurprising to discover that Yamada settled for none of them, as my accent analysis of the settings reveals. Japanese accent can be divided into four patterns: prototonic, in which the accent falls on the first syllable of the word; oxytonic, in which the final syllable is accented; mesotonic, in which any other syllable is accented; and atonic, i.e. unaccented.[23] One would expect to find some pattern or trend of these types in the melodic settings of the dialect words if any of the solutions that I outline above were followed. Loanwords in the standard dialect of Tokyo, for example, are mesotonic (and, moreover, follow a particular mesotonic pattern, as I have described above), whilst all words in the Yanagawa dialect are atonic. Words native to the Tokyo standard dialect, meanwhile, can have a range of accent patterns, and thus a range of musical settings. That said, roughly half of words in the dialect are atonic, and mesotonic or oxytonic accents are the most common pattern among accented words, so one would expect to

[22] Fukasawa, *Kitahara Hakushū*, pp. 4-5.

[23] Samuel E. Martin, *A Reference Grammar of Japanese*, rev. edn (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004), pp. 18-19.

see such a distribution of accent types in the *Songs* if that dialect were used as a model.[24] However, the results conform to none of the patterns that the above models predict: of the fourteen dialect words, 3 are mesotonically accented, 4.25, prototonically accented, and 3.75, atonic or unaccented. There are also 3 words that align with no accent pattern known in the Japanese language, whilst no words are accented oxytonically (see appendix 4 for a full explanation of these figures).

From these data, the analyst cannot draw any conclusion as to how Yamada treated the poems' dialect vocabulary in terms of the accent theory. In consequence, one can only assume that Yamada chose to ignore the difficulties of setting these words according to their accent and allowed himself to compose their melodies with other factors in mind. It is important to note that this marks a clear distinction with Yamada's later practice, as demonstrated by Suzuki's analysis. Although the precise figures that Suzuki gives cannot be directly compared to those in this chapter, because of the differences in our methodologies, she nevertheless identifies a clearly recognizable and sharp rise in the adherence of Yamada's song compositions to his accent theory in the period following 1923. As her analysis shows, songs such as 'Bitter-Orange Blossoms' conform to the theory almost entirely.[25] The accent theory is not, therefore, utterly unusable, although its use demands certain restrictions that I discuss in chapter 4. This proves that any deviation from the accent theory is, as I have argued, significant, and therefore a guide to interpretation.

That such deviation reveals gaps between theory and practice in Yamada's art is, in itself, of no consequence: as a general rule, little of what is ever realized matches perfectly the ideal of its creator. Of far greater interest here is the nature of these gaps. For one thing, the fact that the accent theory does not seem to have played any role in the setting of dialect vocabulary in *Nursemaids' Songs* is evidence that Yamada did not

[24] Shosuke Haraguchi, 'Accent', in *The Handbook of Japanese Linguistics*, ed. by Natsuko Tsujimura (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), pp. 1-30 (p. 5).

[25] Suzuki, 'Nihon kakyoku', pp. 12, 41.

always try to adhere to it. If in at least one situation he allowed other factors to shape his melodies, similarly regular deviation from the theory in other situations may also be considered deliberate, rather than mistaken. However, it would take much to better Suzuki's work concerning what these other possible factors may be, by which deviant words could be set, and I shall not attempt to do so here.

But these gaps may also be used as guides to an interpretation of the *Songs*, for they reveal meaning latent within the compromises of the combination of poetry and music. The significance of these compromises would be familiar to any translator of languages, for they would recognize what the linguist Lawrence Venuti calls the 'violence that resides in the very purpose and activity of translation: the reconstitution of the foreign text in accordance with the values, beliefs, and representations that pre-exist it'.[26] To put it more neutrally, one may say that to translate anything into another medium, whether it be from one language to another or from a written poem to a sounded song, it is necessary for the translator to interpret their source text. In so doing, they fix their understanding of it, and in the gap between the interpretation which is fixed in their translation and other, potential translations, what is of significance to the translator, their pre-existing 'values, beliefs, and representations', may be discerned. In this instance, a gap found in the disjuncture between Kitahara's poetic evocation of Yanagawa and Yamada's systematic process of composition, which is rooted in the rational modernity of Tokyo, affords insight into the artists' conceptions of place. It also affords a sense of the perceived rupture between the urban and the rural in early twentieth-century Japan more generally. But this is not the only significant gap in the *Songs*, nor is it independent of that which a complete accent analysis reveals, and so I shall withhold my interpretation of it until I have presented the rest of my evidence.

[26] Lawrence Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility: a History of Translation*, 2nd edn (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008), p. 14. Two interesting discussions of translations that have been shaped by their translators' ideologies are found in: Anne Enright, 'The Genesis of Blame', *London Review of Books*, 8 March 2018, pp. 6-8; Sheila Fitzpatrick, 'Commotion in Moscow', *London Review of Books*, 1 August 2019, pp. 17-18.

A mere glance at the full results of an accent analysis of *Nursemaids' Songs* reveals a striking division in the cycle at the level of accent theory adherence. Two songs, I. 'The Working Girl' and IV. 'Resurrection Lilies' ('Higanbana' 曼珠沙華), have high levels of adherence at 75% and 71% respectively. By contrast, the remaining three songs cluster together with between 50% and 63% adherence. By this metric, then, the five songs can be divided into two, clearly distinguishable groups. But this rupture is not invisible to all but the analyst: it is immediately audible to a casual listener. Songs I and IV share a certain simplicity of melody, harmony, technique, and structure, as opposed to the complexity of these elements in songs II. 'Rabbit-Ear Irises' ('Kakitsubata' かきつばた), III. 'The Nursemaid's Song', and V. 'Caprice'. For example, the lilting versification of song IV is a far cry from the machine-gun battery of notes in bar 15 of song II. This perceptual distinction is borne out objectively, for when the *Songs* are subjected to any form of analysis, if it does not describe a unity between all five pieces, it reinforces the pattern of this very division. This is significant because most forms of analysis focus on one or other of the constituent parts of the songs, i.e. on either poetry or music, rather than on the union of the two, as accent analysis does. Nevertheless, even discrete elements of the whole, composed by different artists, show this self-same rupture.

For example, this division is replicated in both the metre of the poetry and the rhythm of the music. These elements are related, in as much as they represent patterns of temporal arrangement in the context of each art form, and yet are distinct, in as much as the one need not necessarily map directly onto the other. This is especially true of a language like Japanese, the poetry of which is measured by syllable count alone, as opposed to the more musically sympathetic stress of, say, the English iamb. An examination of the poetic metre in the *Songs* reveals that of songs I and IV to be extremely simple. Song I consists of four lines of twelve syllables, each grammatically subdivided into a first part of seven syllables and a second part of five. For example, the verb 'katayosete' ('putting back') occupies the second part of line 1, whilst its object, 'hori

no banko o' ('bench by the canal'), occupies the first part (note that the syllable-final nasal 'n', as in 'banko', is counted as one syllable in Japanese prosody: thus 'ba-n-ko' accounts for three syllables in the line). Similarly, each of the four verses of song IV consists of three lines in the same seven-five pattern. The first line of each verse, where repetition of the word 'gonshan' ('young lady') produces one extra syllable, is the sole exception to this.

This pattern is no accident. It is well known that the haiku consists of lines of five and seven syllables; this is because, for over a millennium, lines of this quantity have been the standard metre of Japanese poetry. Thus, poems I and IV not only share a simple, common metre, but also a metre that is immediately familiar to a Japanese reader. By contrast, whilst songs II, III, and V may be founded in the same metrical tradition, they veer far further from it than the single eight-syllable line of song IV (a variation of the standard pattern that was a perfectly conventional stylistic device in classical Japanese poetry). Seven- and five-syllable lines alternate in the body of song II, for instance, but the final couplet sees a mixture of four- and five-syllable lines, whilst the refrain of song V consists of six and three syllables, after stanzas of a seven-four-eight pattern and two lines of eight-five. Thus the songs may be divided according to their poetic metre into two groups: one of simple, familiar metric patterns, and one of complex, non-traditional metric patterns. These two groups align perfectly with the division identified by my accent theory analysis.

The same division can be found in the musical rhythms of the *Songs*. Both song I and song IV are governed by rhythmic motifs. In song I, a pattern of crotchet-length chords, offset by a quaver from the fundamental pulse of the music, is heard in every bar save those of the piano solo (bars 1-2, repeated in bars 14-15). The vocal part often aligns with this offset rhythm, such that the motif belongs not just to one voice in the texture but forms a fundamental part of its whole design. The bass voice in the piano, meanwhile, has a presence, of varied length but great steadiness, in line with the fundamental pulse throughout. In song IV, a single rhythmic motif is dispersed still more deeply throughout

the structure of the song. This is the lilting semiquaver-dotted quaver rhythm that seems to have been made for the word that begins each verse, ‘gonshan’. The deceleration in one’s speech when pronouncing the nasal ‘n’ seems to demand an elongated note after the brighter, faster vowel sounds of the preceding syllables, ‘go’ and ‘sha’. At any rate, as that word, with its rhythm, is the first word heard, albeit after a prefiguring of the rhythm in the piano introduction, an association between the motif and the word seems to be created and then reinforced by repetition. It is then echoed throughout the rest of the song in both piano and vocal parts. Against such a background, occasional deviations, such as the more steady rhythm of bar 34 (in which the speaker solemnly introduces ‘that child’ [‘ano ko’], whose death has prompted the protagonist’s sadness), act as punctuation or emphasis. These exceptions prove the rhythmic rule. In this way, both song I and song IV are shaped by simple rhythmic motifs which characterize the compositions in their entirety.

The observation that the rhythms of the remaining three songs are less steady should come as no surprise. Of course they have certain rhythmic repetitions, such as in the refrain ‘Oh, why should I care!’ (‘Odan mo iya, Tinco sa!’) of song V or the quaver rhythm, inflected towards the end by semiquavers, in several of the lines of song II (bars 5-6, 7-8, and 12-14). But these motifs do not govern the structure of the song as a whole, as in songs I and IV. In song II, for example, the missing line in the passage above, despite sharing exactly the same poetic metre and forming part of a semantic sequence which includes the lines to either side, does not share their common rhythm. Instead, a broken quaver/semiquaver pattern introduces an unprecedented melisma (bars 9-11). Meanwhile, semiquavers and a return to the triplet motif of the piano introduction interrupt the established steadiness of the accompaniment. In song V, meanwhile, beyond the direct repetition of the refrain, it is almost impossible to find any rhythmic element that is common throughout. Thus, as with the *Songs’* poetic metres, the musical rhythms of the cycle divide the five songs into the same two familiar groups. The fact that this rupture appears even in disconnected elements, such as poetic metre and musical rhythm, hints

at how fundamental it is to the cycle. Any variety of analyses will reveal the division to be replicated at many other levels, both poetic and musical.

I would characterize the two parts of the cycle which this division engenders, according to their qualities and their opposition to one another, as the 'folklike' (songs I and IV) and the 'modern' (songs II, III, and V). These categories, and the division they describe, are not absolute: as I have said, even the most folklike of the *Songs* are more complex than later songs, which truly merit the name 'new folk songs'. Nevertheless, in the context of this song cycle, such a dichotomy is a meaningful hermeneutic by which to understand this composition. The modern songs, with their irregular metres and musical rhythms, through-composed form, and technical demands on both performer and, accordingly, on audience, are among those of Yamada's works which Pacun has described as 'composed for modern connoisseurs and professional singers' and 'seeming less afraid of themselves'.[27] The folklike songs, by contrast, are or seem versified and have strophic or quasi-strophic constructions, have regular musical rhythms and a traditional five-seven syllable poetic metre, and have few or no virtuosic passages, favouring instead slower and simpler melodies. These folklike qualities accord with those prescribed by Yamada for children's songs or new folk songs, and were intended to be accessible, both to appreciate and to perform, for a popular audience largely uneducated in music of the Western classical tradition.[28]

Such folklike qualities also characterize Yamada's most popular songs, those composed from the 1920s onwards. Both 'Bitter-Orange Blossoms' and its companion piece 'This Road' ('Kono michi' この道, 1927), for example, feature strophic construction and uncomplicated melodies and harmonies. Their vocal lines also avoid advanced techniques, with few large intervals and each syllable carefully set to one note only. (I analyse 'Bitter-Orange Blossoms' in greater detail in chapter 4). Interestingly, songs I and

[27] Pacun, 'Style and Politics', p. 41.

[28] Yamada, 'Accent in Poetry', p. 350.

IV may be compared with not only the style of these later songs, but also with their popularity. A reception history of *Nursemaids' Songs*, derived from the concert programmes that Yamada collected over the course of his career, shows that the cycle as a whole was performed for a brief time after the *Songs'* publication in 1922, and then later as part of the celebration of the twenty-fifth year of Yamada's career in 1930. In between, only song IV. 'Resurrection Lilies', the most folklike of the two folklike songs, was performed regularly, often alongside repertoire, such as 'Bitter-Orange Blossoms' and 'This Road', which epitomizes Yamada's more popular writing of this period (see appendix 5). Song IV was also the first of the *Songs* to be recorded, and the only one to be recorded before the end of the Second World War. Its character was therefore so distinct from the rest of the *Songs* that it attained a popularity quite apart from its original context as one song of a cycle, a popularity which sprang from its similarity to Yamada's folk-inspired work for popular audiences. This justifies my characterization of the division between the two parts of the *Songs* cycle as of one between the folklike and the modern.

If this disjuncture were the only characteristic of the cycle, its centrifugal force would tear *Nursemaids' Songs* apart. However, for all this division's ubiquity throughout the *Songs*, certain other elements work against it to try to bring the cycle together. The mere fact of its identity as a single work is a powerful unifying factor, and this analysis has already implied that the significance of this rupture in the cycle is due in part to its opposition to this unity of presentation. But other unities, predominantly thematic, also exist. Such unities are significant, for, as I explain in chapter 4, Yamada's concept of unity was far-reaching: he did not consider it to be merely a stylistic phenomenon, but a fundamental, total ontology that was to be pursued in all possible aspects. It is in relation to these unities, therefore, that the division of the *Songs* truly reveals its importance.

I have already discussed one key element of this thematic unity, the shared space of Yanagawa that is primarily evoked by the use of dialect vocabulary. A second element is the character of the poems' protagonists: all are women. In songs II and IV, these 'young ladies' are named directly (as 'ongo' and 'gonshan', both dialect terms for the

daughter of a well-to-do family). In songs I and III, the protagonists are presumably named in the poems' titles, again in dialect, as a 'working girl' ('noskai', for which see the note in appendix 2) and a nursemaid ('aiyan'). Not only are the protagonists of these poems all women, then, but it seems from their names that they are all natives of Yanagawa. Many of the thematic unities of the *Songs* reinforce each other in this way. The protagonist of song V admittedly complicates this observation, as she is identified neither in the poem's title nor in its text. Nevertheless, her despair or world-weariness, as evoked by the line 'Didn't the rain fall in the sunshine?' ('Hi no teri ame ga furu wai na'), echoes that of the demonstrably female protagonists of the other poems. This suggests that her identity may be established by analogy with her companions.

A further shared element is the flower imagery found in every song. The flowers are different in each case; all, however, are richly symbolic. Song IV is a particularly good example of this, albeit an exceptional one. The *higanbana* 彼岸花 or red spider lily (*lycoris radiata*) of the song's title often grows in graveyards and blossoms around the autumn equinox, at which time Japanese Buddhists hold a festival to commemorate the dead (Higan 彼岸). For these reasons, the *higanbana* is often symbolically linked with another flower, the *manjushage* 曼珠沙華, which is believed to grow in one of the Buddhist paradises and to bring remittance from sin to those who look upon it.[29] In his text, Kitahara reinforces the identification of these two flowers with one another by writing the word with the characters typically associated with *manjushage*, but instructing, by the use of *furigana* supertext, that they be pronounced 'higanbana', thus: 曼珠沙華(ひがんばな). This is an orthographical poetic technique that is sadly unreproducible in a textless musical performance. The association of these flowers with death and forgiveness compounds the poem's account of a young woman overcome by grief at the death of her young child.

[29] *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, ed. by Nihon Daijiten Kankōkai, 20 vols (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1972-76), XVIII (1975), 476.

In ‘Resurrection Lilies’, the flower imagery plays a merely thematic role; elsewhere, however, just as the female protagonists are linked with the locality of Yanagawa, so too is the flower imagery woven into their characterization. In song III, for example, the glitter of thorns on a thistle resembles the nursemaid’s anger with her cheating lover, expressed in the exclamation, ‘That brute, that two-faced bastard!’ (‘UNTEREGAN no an chikushō wa futagokoro’). Meanwhile, the once fragrant irises in song II, now wilting, may echo the emotions of the young woman in whose hands they had been held. The most straightforward overlapping of woman and flower, however, takes place in song I. Kitahara’s poem consist of only two sentences, the second of which runs, ‘On an evening fragrant with wild irises, one wild iris tries lithely to blossom’ (‘Hanaayame / kaoru yūbe ni, shinnari to / hitori dete miru, hanaayame’). In the Japanese, this is not technically a sentence but a single noun phrase, in which every element modifies the final ‘wild iris’. The passage may therefore be rendered more directly as ‘the wild iris which tried to blossom by herself on an evening fragrant with wild irises’. The word here translated as ‘one’ or ‘by herself’, ‘hitori’, is key to the poetic image, since it means ‘one person’ and cannot correctly be used of flowers. Its use as such in this phrase serves to anthropomorphize the wild iris, explicitly associating the flower with a human subject: an effect I have tried to reproduce in my translation by the use of the word ‘lithely’ to translate ‘shinnari to’. (The Japanese word more precisely means ‘flexibly, pliably’, but has the effect of the word ‘lithely’ when used of humans. My hope is that its unidiomatic application to a flower in the English may have a similar effect as the use of the word ‘hitori’ in the original Japanese.) The human subject whom this word evokes must be the poem’s ‘working girl’, whose apparent loneliness or sense of being overshadowed by her companions draws comment from an onlooker, the poem’s speaker.

Unusually, Yamada’s setting of this line does not follow the straightforward sense of it, but instead breaks the poet’s single sentence into two. The effect of this is to further emphasize the identification of the protagonist with the flower. Between the third and

fourth lines of the poem, Yamada interposes a repeat of the piano introduction (bars 15-16). This pause alone would break any sense of a semantic link between the preceding and subsequent text, but the division is reinforced by the harmony. Here, a complicated stepwise progression from the ♭II region at the end of line 2 (bar 9) moves back to an (admittedly ambiguous) space around the tonic at the end of line 3 (bar 14). This is as much of a resolution as any other to be found in the unclear harmonies of this song, and therefore has the effect of introducing a full stop at the end of the third line of the text. Along with the equally re-interpretive lack of a pause after the question, 'What *are* you thinking?' (bars 8-9), Yamada's music here wrangles the Japanese into a decidedly unidiomatic sentence, which might be translated: 'What *are* you thinking, wild iris, on this fragrant evening, lithely?' For all its awkwardness, this rephrasing nevertheless clearly marks the wild iris as the one to whom the speaker's questioning is addressed. The anthropomorphizing of the flower is thus made explicit, when before it was disguised in the word 'hitori'. In an oddly forceful way, then, Yamada's music here strongly reinforces the link between the flower imagery and the female protagonists, which are, both together and separately, so integral to the thematic unity of the song cycle.

These shared thematic elements of place, person, and image, the connexions between which are occasionally heightened by Yamada's music, serve to unite the cycle internally. However, Kitahara's imagery also forges unities without the cycle, linking the poems to the broader tradition of Japanese poetry: for, despite his reputation as the foremost modern poet of his era, Kitahara had a deep interest in classical Japanese poetry, which he consciously allowed to influence his modern compositions. In his editorial in the inaugural edition of *Poetry and Music*, for example, after describing the magazine as a repository for 'pure art of the highest quality' that would pursue 'revolution' in poetry and music, he announced his interest in haiku and asked for donations of magazines through which to pursue his research.[30] Indeed, besides his children's songs

[30] Hakushū Kitahara, 'Pen to Baton: gapen', *Shi to ongaku*, 1 (1922), pp. 117-18 (p. 118).

and the ‘free verse’ (*jiyūshi* 自由詩) by which he first made his name, Kitahara is also well known for his tanka, and one of his most famous long poems, ‘Chinese Pines’ (‘Karamatsu’ 落葉松, 1923), has been considered a revival of the even older classical form of the *chōka* 長歌, a genre of Japanese poetry that had died out before the compilation of the first Imperial poetry anthology, the *Man’yōshū* (万葉集, *Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves*) in AD 759.[31] Kitahara’s knowledge of classical Japanese poetic tropes was, therefore, indubitably profound.

Unlike some earlier poets, however, Kitahara followed his sometime mentor Yosano’s belief that the classical forms of Japanese poetry should not be considered separate, incomparable traditions, but should all be considered ‘poetry’ (*shi* 詩).[32] Accordingly, he allowed his knowledge and practice of older Japanese poetic traditions to inform his practice in more contemporary idioms. Fukasawa describes, for instance, how he employed the ‘soft, fluid language of classical tanka’ in the poems of *Memories*, such as those which provided the lyrics for *Nursemaids’ Songs*.[33] There can be little doubt, therefore, that the intent of, for example, Kitahara’s use of the traditional seven-five syllable metre in songs I and IV was to evoke these classical poetic traditions. In his use of flowers, too, he was relying upon a major symbolic feature of Japanese literature from throughout its history. Some of the flowers in *Nursemaids’ Songs* are especially famous, notably the rabbit-ear iris (‘kakitsubata’ かきつばた, *iris laevigata*) of song II. This became a perennially popular poetic image after the poet Ariwara no Narihira 在原業平 (825-880) structured an acrostic poem around it, which later appeared in a famous poem-tale, *The Tales of Ise* (*Ise monogatari* 伊勢物語, *c*. AD 900).

[31] Fukasawa, *Kitahara Hakushū*, pp. 98-99.

[32] Ibid., p. 15.

[33] Margaret Benton Fukasawa, ‘Suzume and Suiboku: Kitahara Hakushū’s Turn to Monochrome’, *Journal of the Association of Teachers of Japanese*, 22 (1989), 7-67 (p. 11); see also Konno’s discussion on this topic.

Other images in the poems, besides those of flowers, are also found in the classical Japanese tradition, such as that of the dabchick (*kaitsuburi/kettsuguri* 鳰) of song II. Importantly, such images are not merely superficial echoes of the atmosphere of classical Japanese poetry: their traditional connotations seem to retain their significance in Kitahara's modern compositions. For example, birds in classical Japanese poetry are usually masculine images, since they 'often seek out flowers', which are almost invariably characterized as feminine. The dabchick, remarks the Japanologist Haruo Shirane, 'appears prominently in love poems, functioning as a metaphor for irrepressible desire, longing, and loneliness'.[34] Read in this light, the initially unexpected dabchick in the coda of song II becomes less incongruous: it may represent a young man, who, after capturing a young lady's heart, 'takes fright' and 'vanishes'. No wonder that she, yearning for her erstwhile, absent lover, weeps all night after only one day of happiness.

By these means, Kitahara projected his poems into both a place and a time apart. The place was rural Yanagawa, remembered from the poet's youth; the time, one of timeless tradition, in which the same poetic images recur again and again across a thousand years of culture. The situation of the poems thus suggests that they may be understood as evocations of the *furusato* 故郷. This concept has been of great significance in Japanese thought since the nineteenth century. It signifies something along the lines of the homeland, the native place, the *Heimat*. Japanologist Stephen Dodd describes it as 'an idyllic past associated with the childhood home', which encapsulates how the concept exists as both a place and a time, as Kitahara's Yanagawa does. It was imagined in opposition to the modern city, offering a 'reminder of other modes of existence' to the constant movement of modernity and promising 'recovery of a lost unity and coherence out of time'.[35] Such unity was commonly held to be missing from urban

[34] Haruo Shirane, *Japan and the Culture of the Four Seasons: Nature, Literature, and the Arts* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), pp. 47, 52, 117.

[35] Stephen Dodd, *Writing Home: Representations of the Native Place in Modern Japanese Literature*, Harvard East Asian Monographs, 240 (Harvard: Harvard University Asia Center, 2004), pp. 1, 10.

life, particularly the life of the Japanese capital, Tokyo. Many shared the views of literary critic Kobayashi Hideo 小林秀雄 (1902-83), who 'identified the fundamental feature of contemporary Japanese culture as a pervasive sense of homelessness and loss. For Kobayashi, the sense of dislocation was embodied in the city of Tokyo, which, in its continual transformations, did not provide any material link to his childhood'.[36]

One should be clear that the *furusato* did not exist in fact. It was a response of the imagination to the disconnected state of the modern, akin to similar defences developed across the world, which imagined alternative times and spaces (the past and the periphery) that were other to those in which modern dislocation was thought to have taken root. 'New traditions attempted to contain these social divisions by imagining a society made whole' writes Stephen Vlastos of this psychological defence mechanism.[37] But Dodd suggests that contemporary ideologues of the *furusato* themselves knew, at some level, that they had never actually experienced the place they so longed for. The idea 'came to stand for an object of desire that is always already lost', and it was 'as lack [that it] initiated the impulse to articulate or reproduce it in literary form'. In turn, this meant that the *furusato* was never imagined from the actual places to which it most closely approximated and with which it was identified, that is, the rural countryside, to which the dislocations (but also promises) of modern life had yet to penetrate as disruptively. 'As with most major intellectual figures, it was the very fact that Yanagita lived in a city,' Dodd writes, speaking of the pioneering folklore scholar Yanagita Kunio 柳田國男 (1875-1962), 'that drove him to seek sites of supposedly more "authentic" Japanese experience'. The fact of the matter is that 'the city and the *furusato* exist in conjunction'.[38] The native place

[36] Seiji M. Lippit, *Topographies of Japanese Modernism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), p. 3.

[37] Stephen Vlastos, 'Tradition: Past/Present Culture and Modern Japanese History', in *Mirror of Modernity: Invented Traditions of Modern Japan*, ed. by Stephen Vlastos (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), pp. 1-16 (p. 9).

[38] Dodd, pp. 14, 26, 28. My understanding of the ideology of place in modern Japan has also been shaped by: Harry Harootunian, *Overcome by Modernity: History, Culture, and Community in*

was imagined as other to the city, but such otherness could only be conceived of from within the city limits.

Indeed, the urbanity of Kitahara's poetry is, in part, revealed by the specific imagery that he used. In his discussion of classical Japanese poetry, Shirane defines a distinction between courtly and commoner imagery: the latter was used in popular songs, whereas the former was essential to the literate culture of the noble and warrior elites. Images such as the dabchick and the iris belonged to the courtly category, and their usage, the emotions they represented, were very different to those of popular verse. For example, the birds of commoner poetry, like the sparrow, were symbols of 'parental love, familial order, or marital fidelity'; this is a far cry from the 'yearning to be with someone of the opposite sex who is absent or beyond reach' encapsulated in the aforementioned 'irrepressible desire, longing, and loneliness' of the dabchick.[39] Thus, in both image and narrative, the relationships to which *Nursemaids' Songs* looks back would always have been more familiar to a literate, urban audience than to the people who actually populate its stories.

Furthermore, Kitahara's use of classical imagery in poems that purport to represent, if not actually be of, the folk, including the 'Everyday Poems of Yanagawa' as well as his later new folk songs, not only unites his poetry with Japanese literary tradition in general, but also with a specific literary tradition of imagining the rural from the urban. From as far back as the earliest Japanese poetry anthologies, Japanese metropolitan elites had been imagining themselves into pastoral environments in this way, as courtly poets often wrote from the perspective of rural characters. For instance, the final editor of the *Man'yōshū*, Ōtomo no Yakamochi 大伴家持 (*c*. 718-785), wrote several poems that mimicked the border guards on the then northern frontier of Japan. Their lamentations

Interwar Japan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000); Marilyn Ivy, *Discourses of the Vanishing: Modernity, Phantasm, Japan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

[39] Shirane, pp. 118, 230 (n.26), 27.

about being posted to cold and distant parts, along with the frisson of the common in their voices (for he, too, made use of dialect to evoke a sense of place), brought an exotic aura to Book XIV of the collection.[40] Many of Kitahara's poems, especially those found in *Memories* that are written in the voices of the inhabitants of Yanagawa themselves, seem to echo this ancient trope: it is entirely plausible that they did so deliberately, given Kitahara's familiarity with and influence by classical poetry, in an age when the *Man'yōshū*, in particular, was undergoing a revival of critical and poetic interest.[41] Accordingly, whilst Kitahara's imagery serves to unite his poetry with a timeless poetic tradition, the tradition to which it is thus tied is an urban one, and not the rural folk song with which Kitahara rhetorically aligned himself.

In the same way, most of the disjuncture that Yamada's musical settings reveal in Kitahara's poetry, first brought to light by the results of the accent theory analysis, highlights this unintentional dependence of Kitahara's imagined rural upon the modern urban. But it is possible to go further: to argue that, far from existing 'in conjunction' with the city, as Dodd would have it, Kitahara's *furusato* does not, in fact, exist at all, but is only a figment of the urban imagination. Of the source poetry in *Memories*, Marianne Tarcov argues that, 'The constructed, fictitious quality of the past, the supposedly authentic sight of the speaker's memories, is the open secret that animates [Kitahara's] collection'.[42] In the *Songs*, however, one might say that this open secret becomes instead an open statement. The unities within and without that Kitahara tried to forge in his poems, in order to project them into the space of the *furusato*, are undermined by

[40] Mack Horton, *'Man'yōshū'*, in *The Cambridge History of Japanese Literature*, ed. by Haruo Shirane, Tomi Suzuki, and David Lurie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 50-86 (p. 82).

[41] Shinada Yoshikazu, *'Man'yōshū*: The Invention of a National Poetry Anthology', in *Inventing the Classics: Modernity, National Identity, and Japanese Literature*, ed. by Haruo Shirane and Tomi Suzuki (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), pp. 31-50.

[42] Marianne Tarcov, 'Unveiling Open Secrets of Urban Modernity in Kitahara Hakushū's "Memories"', *Japanese Language and Literature*, 50 (2016), 155-194 (p. 156).

ruptures, latent in the poetry, which Yamada's musical setting could not help but bring to the fore.

For instance, with regard to the idea of place with which this analysis began and where the first ruptures were perceived, I have shown that Yamada's accent theory could not and did not come to terms with Kitahara's use of Yanagawa dialect, despite its intrinsic importance to the affect of the source poetry. Accordingly, Yamada had to leave those words orphaned in the midst of a web of literary Japanese, set according to the axioms of his theory and its instructions for an accent that was modelled on that of the capital. He thereby inextricably linked the otherwise neutral linguistic framework of the poems, the literary language between the dialect vocabulary, to the city of Tokyo: the centre from which modernity radiated outwards in the form of a national, standardized Japanese. By so setting the literary language, once neutral, in a place and a time, Yamada could not but undermine in his music the poems' evocation of somewhere apart from and resistant to that place and that time.

In so doing, he not so much reversed as revealed the function of the dialect vocabulary. In the original poems, Kitahara relied on these words' being other to the language around them to conjure up the image of another place at which his poems grasped. This technique depended upon the words being unfamiliar within, or not belonging to, an urban context. One can argue, therefore, that the words were used in such a way that they had no essential existence of their own. And indeed, as Yamada did not set them by any means that could be said to conform with the strictures of his accent theory, it was as if he had in fact not treated them as words at all, for the universality which he claimed for his theory demanded of it the ability to treat anything which shared the linguistic quality of a 'word'. If the theory were not able to do this, it would not have been applicable to all languages, as Yamada seems to have believed. In truth, however, the dialect words' function as carriers of meaning is also undermined in Kitahara's original text, as he needed to include footnotes in order to translate them for the larger part of his sophisticated, well-educated, and urban readership, which would not have been familiar

with the vocabulary of Yanagawa. The words' otherness is thus a characteristic that is merely exaggerated in the *Songs*. There, in music, without explanatory footnotes, the words signify only in terms of their being other to the surrounding urban framework. They would lack meaning without that framework. This is the mechanism by which Yamada's music unveils the fact that Kitahara's Yanagawa is, in reality, a district of Tokyo, or, at least, of the Tokyo imagination.

However, this fact of the cycle's Yanagawa being an urban invention is most immediately revealed in the voicing of these poems in song: the utterances of their interlocutors and their protagonists, sounded out in music. The characters of the poems' speakers divide the five songs once again into the two, familiar groups. Songs I and IV are in the second person, as demonstrated by the lines, 'What *are* you thinking?' (song I) and, 'Where are you going?' ('Doko e yuku?', song IV). Here, the poems' interlocutors addresses the poems' protagonists. Songs III and V, meanwhile, are written in the first person, the protagonists themselves speaking in the lines, 'I was for him alone!' ('Washa hitosuji ni!', song III) and, 'Oh, why should I care!' (song V). Song II may also fit into this latter category, as one would expect from the established pattern. Although the body of the poem is certainly not in the first person, and there is no pronoun in the final couplet to explicitly announce a new speaker, the last two lines could still be read from a first-person perspective: 'I thought he'd settled' as opposed to 'one thought he'd settled' ('Sunda to omōtara'). Personal pronouns are often dropped in Japanese and the parenthetical separation of this couplet from the rest of the poem may permit an interpretation that reads it in a different voice to that of the preceding lines. But even if this is not the case, the interlocutor of song II is still distinct from those of songs I and IV in one important respect, in as much as it is a neutral third person. This means that no one speaks on behalf of the protagonist in any one of songs II, III, or V.

These interlocutors can, by and large, be gendered. The protagonists, as I have shown, are obviously women, and therefore the first-person songs where they themselves sing feature female interlocutors. In comparison, the interlocutors of the second-person

songs seem to be male. This is clear in the case of song I, shown by the use in the question, 'What *are* you thinking?' of the particle 'zo', which is 'associated with male speech'.[43] The interlocutor is not so straightforwardly gendered in song IV, but in the context of the pattern of division between the songs of the cycle, the tone of 'Resurrection Lilies' readily lends itself to the idea of a male speaker. The blunt question asked of a clearly distraught young woman in verse 3, 'Why are you weeping?' ('Nashi nakuro?'), is a good example of the interlocutor's rather abrupt, even cruel demeanour, which certainly does not resist being coded as male. In this way, therefore, the disjuncture between songs I and IV, and songs II, III, and V, is once again repeated in the division between interlocutors: second-person men in the first case, and first-person women (as well as, potentially, a neutral third person) in the second.

The gendering of these interlocutors interacts most interestingly with my characterization of the division of the *Songs* into the modern and the folklike, for the interlocutors who clearly belong to the culture of Yanagawa do not speak in the folklike idiom of that place, whereas those interlocutors who are less closely identified with Yanagawa do. I have shown above that the names of the women in the poems suggest that they are all natives of Yanagawa, and therefore inhabitants of Kitahara's folklike imagination. However, the songs in which they speak in the first person, songs II, III, and V, are not of the folklike mode, and so they cannot be said to sing in what are purportedly their own voices, but instead in a modern idiom. Meanwhile, those who do sing in the folklike idiom are unidentified, nothing being known of them other than their masculinity. All that can be said of them for sure is that they are onlookers, seemingly disconnected from the narratives of the poems: they ask questions to which they do not know the answers of women that they do not know. This places them to some degree outside the world of the *furusato*.

[43] Heinrich, p. 78.

These gendered voices in the *Songs* invite comparison to the nature of gender roles in early twentieth-century Japanese society. Indeed, questions of gender in the age of modernity were of great importance during this period, especially at the heart of the Japanese modern world in Tokyo. There, state expectations concerning the role of women in society were forever being undermined by many women's actual behaviour. Margit Nagy has described how even the 'phenomenon of middle-class working women', a development in the workforce which was not entirely incompatible with pre-modern gender roles nor entirely discouraged in the modern age, nevertheless 'created profound anxieties about the future of family life and national unity'.[44] One can only imagine how much more anxiety must have been caused by the group of young women discussed by Silverberg, who were beginning to make a real bid for freedom, 'defining their own options and their own sexuality'. Such women, known as 'modern girls' (*modan gāru* モダンガール), dressed in Western fashions, wore their hair in perms, and dreamt of stardom and wealth while they carved out often precarious but indubitably independent lives for themselves in the decadent café culture of Tokyo's Ginza district. In time, they became a key symbol of Japanese modern times: 'To talk about the Modern Girl,' remarks Silverberg, 'was also to talk about modernity'.[45]

Such independence was, however, a cause for concern among some people. In the realist literature of the time, which gives a good sense of the pulse of contemporary Japanese society, a few novels, such as *Diary of a Vagabond* (*Hōrōki* 放浪記, 1927) by Hayashi Fumiko 林芙美子 (1903-51), celebrated women's new-found freedom; others, however, such as *Naomi* (*Chijin no ai* 痴人の愛, 1925) by Tanizaki Jun'ichirō 谷崎潤一郎 (1886-1965), gave voice to an anxiety about the power women were thus acquiring. And, gradually, the modern girl developed a notoriety beyond the merely cultural sphere. This

[44] Margit Nagy, 'Middle-Class Working Women During the Interwar Years', in *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600-1945*, ed. by Gail Lee Bernstein (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), pp. 199-216 (p. 200).

[45] Silverberg, pp. 64, 71.

coincided with a hardening of state policy towards women, taken on the grounds that the modern girl 'stood for change at a time when state authority was attempting to re-establish authority and stability'.[46] Accordingly, the behaviour of the modern girl was increasingly harshly discouraged over the course of the 1920s and 30s: a photograph of a uniformed military inspector 'admonishing women with permanents to conform to policy and adopt "Japanese" hairstyles' hints at the fervour with which this policy was pursued towards the end of this era.[47]

In its place, the nineteenth-century ideal of the 'good wife, wise mother' (*ryōsai kenbo* 良妻賢母) 'became the guiding aphorism for government policy on women'.[48] Such a woman would match the idealized, traditional model of womanhood that promoted subordination to the demands of the family, particularly the husband. This would, by extension, involve submission to the wider family of the state, for nation and family were ever more closely linked, the one being the microcosm of the other and the Emperor presiding as father over all. It was for this reason that the modern girls were thought to be as politically subversive as they were morally insidious.[49] Although, as Silverberg suggests, persistent and widespread fascination with the modern girl 'indicates the extent to which family reality belied state policy', it is clear that, in early twentieth-century Japan, the state (whose officers were, without exception, male) continued to project and attempt to enforce an ostensibly traditional way of being upon an idealized woman.[50]

[46] Ibid., p. 70.

[47] Andrew Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan: From Tokugawa Times to the Present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 221.

[48] Sharon H. Nolte and Sally Ann Hastings, 'The Meiji State's Policy Toward Women, 1890-1910', in *Recreating Japanese Women*, ed. by Bernstein, pp. 151-74 (p. 158).

[49] Kumiko Fujimura-Fanselow, 'The Japanese Ideology of "Good Wives and Wise Mothers": Trends in Contemporary Research', *Gender and History*, 3 (1991), 345-49.

[50] Silverberg, p. 67. Other influential contributions to the scholarship about the role of women in interwar Japan include: Katrina Gulliver, *Modern Women in China and Japan: Gender, Feminism, and Global Modernity Between the Wars* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2012); Dina Lowy, *The Japanese 'New Woman': Images of Gender and Modernity* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press,

This tension between the different ideals and realities of modernity in interwar Japan can be seen in *Nursemaids' Songs*. The women that Kitahara wrote about did not acquiesce to his attempts to frame them as women of the *furusato*, despite their depiction as such in both the general framework of the poems and in the addresses to them of the male characters from within the poetic world. It seems, instead, that Kitahara could not prevent the modern world, in which he himself wrote, from asserting itself even within the anti-modern world that he was trying to imagine. Ultimately, then, both types of voice in this cycle are defiantly modern, although they respond to modernity in very different ways. The men who sing in a folklike fashion in songs I and IV are projecting an idealized traditional state upon the female protagonists of their imagined *furusato*. The women of whom they sing, however, when they find their own voices in the other songs of the cycle, seem to reject that role. There, they speak in a modern musical idiom, and thus project themselves back out of the imagined realm in which they find themselves. Neither of the voices affirm the reality of the Yanagawa which lies at the heart of their various narratives: this *furusato* exists only through their mediation and is created only in their modern imagination. Once again, therefore, Kitahara's poetry and Yamada's music combine in *Nursemaids' Songs* to unveil the sense of disjuncture which pervaded the modern world in which both artists lived. Far from depicting a unified world where past and present were drawn together in a rural idyll of timeless tradition, the two media of the *Songs* work against each other to emphasize the impassable distance between the mythical *furusato* that Kitahara and Yamada intended to evoke, and the reality of the urban modernity in which they could not but speak.

I have demonstrated in this chapter how an accent theory analysis can guide the interpretation of Yamada's songs. In *Nursemaids' Songs*, an irresolvable conflict between Yamada's accent theory and certain aspects of the original texts could not be mitigated.

2007); Barbara Hamill Sato, *The New Japanese Woman: Modernity, Media, and Women in Interwar Japan* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003).

Reading between the lines of adherence and deviation that Yamada's forcedly piecemeal application of the theory thus created, one can see how the *Songs* echo modern anxieties about place and time that were ubiquitous at the moment of their composition. The patterns of theory adherence are meaningful, at least in *Nursemaids' Songs*, and potentially, therefore, in Yamada's other songs, although further work, perhaps building from the foundation laid by Suzuki's survey of Yamada's entire song oeuvre, is needed to prove this.

However, what I find most significant about this analysis is how it shows Yamada's music in the *Songs* to have reflected, and in reflecting revealed, the latent disjuncture within Kitahara's poetry so very precisely. The overwhelming irony of this is the idea that a compositional methodology that was founded on the pursuit of unity should so perfectly capture its source texts as to expose the disunity inherent within them. One might say that Yamada's method of capturing the essence of poetry in music turned out to be so effective that it could not but expose a rupture that was present but disguised in the original text. In my final chapter, I discuss why this manifestation of disunity was such a threat to Yamada's artistic philosophy.

Chapter 4: Yamada's Ideals of Unity through Purity and Their Consequences

The rift running through *Nursemaids' Songs*, as unveiled by my accent analysis in chapter 3, is symptomatic of the sense of disunity that characterized Japanese modern times. The disjuncture that I identify between the two groups of songs, the folklike and the modern, echoes the disjuncture between the modern world's breathless progress in technological, cultural, and social realms, and the stability that many in Japan (and elsewhere) felt that they had lost, left somewhere behind them in a hinterland of tradition. In the preceding chapter, I discussed the irony of this disjuncture in the context of an artistic theory that was designed to engender unity. However, the problem of this rupture was more deep-seated for Yamada than it would have been, were it merely the aesthetic failure of a rift between poetry and music, for his ideals of unity were never limited to the artistic sphere alone: he also sought for unity in a social or cultural sense. In common with many Japanese theories of art, traditional and modern, that have never felt it necessary to detach the operations of art from the context of the wider world, Yamada felt that unity within art was productive of unity without art.[1]

A clear example of this may be found in the postscript to the essay that outlined Yamada's declamatory method, 'Accent in Poetry'. There, Yamada begged poets to ensure that the accent patterns in their poems were common across all verses, so that the composer need not compromise between repeating the melody of a strophic setting and setting the accent of each word correctly.[2] His concern, clearly, was to avoid having to make a choice between a song's accessibility, that is, the ease with which it might be learnt and sung by a popular audience, and its role in teaching children 'correct', i.e. Standard Japanese, accent. As I argued in chapter 2, this was an all but explicit declaration that the accent theory, whilst undoubtedly aiming in part at a unity in song between different art forms, was also intended to play a role in the reinforcement of the

[1] Etheridge, p. 3; Wade, p. 2.

[2] Yamada, 'Accent in Poetry', pp. 349-50.

idea of a Japanese nation, and the means, here linguistic, by which that nation might be unified. But a more thoroughly theorized connexion between unities internal and external to music may be found in Yamada's concept of the 'unified work of art'. In this chapter, I explore the nature of this theory. Through tracing its implications and flaws, I outline an explanation for the transition in Yamada's work that was described in chapter 1, and ultimately discover a continuity underlying Yamada's seemingly antagonistic responses to his modern world: a link between Yamada the outward-looking cosmopolitan, and Yamada the inward-looking nativist.

The idea of the 'unified work of art', as well as a second, linked concept, which Yamada called the 'realm of musical ecstasy', was introduced in two essays published in *Poetry and Music*: 'The Realm of Musical Ecstasy', published in 1922, and 'From the Total Work of Art to the Unified Work of Art' ('Sōgō geijutsu yori yūgō geijutsu e' 総合芸術より融合芸術へ, 1923).[3] It is upon these two essays that I focus in this chapter in order to explore Yamada's ideals of unity. As was his wont, Yamada described these theories in a biographical and dialectical manner, the history of their development and their opposition to the failings that Yamada perceived in their historical influences providing the framework in which he presented his ideas. Unlike the accent theory, which was described in a similar way but is, in essence, a straightforward methodological prescription, these more abstract ideas are most easily introduced in the manner that Yamada himself chose (although, as ever, the biographical details that Yamada provided must be considered more rhetorical than factual).

In 'Musical Ecstasy', Yamada suggested that his theories had their roots in the sense that something was lacking in the music of those composers to whom his brother-in-law Gauntlett first introduced him. Predictably, given his background in the Austro-German musical tradition and his tendency, from the 1920s onwards, to dismiss it, Yamada named Mendelssohn, Schubert, Schumann, Mozart, and Beethoven as the

[3] Yamada, 'Hōetsukyō'; Kōsaku Yamada, 'Sōgō geijutsu yori yūgō geijutsu e', in CZ, I, 121-29.

composers who caused him to ask ‘are there not some things that cannot be expressed completely by music alone?’.[4] Equally predictably, Yamada wrote that it was Wagner who first seemed to him to hold out the possibility of a musical art, the music drama, which might fulfil this perceived lack. One may therefore assume that Yamada’s discontent was primarily with the idea of music as an autonomous existence. And indeed, it seems that he quickly became interested in how music might partner with other art forms, such as dance or drama. One may note in this regard that his first appearance in the Japanese press was in connexion with a performance of *The Star of Promise*, ‘an action play of a religious nature, styled by its promoters, a dramatic oratorio’, the ‘soft strains from the stringed instruments’ of which were ‘strangely like and yet unlike those of a motif in *Lohengrin’*.[5] As the score of this oratorio does not survive, and the newspapers do not describe Yamada’s precise role in its production, it is unclear to what extent the music was Yamada’s own work. However, the presence of the relevant newspaper cuttings in the composer’s scrapbooks suggests that he took pride in it.

However, it seems that Wagner, too, quickly disappointed. Yamada criticized his ‘total work of art’ (‘sōgō geijutsu’ 総合芸術, the established Japanese translation of the German *Gesamtkunstwerk*) for being merely a combination of art forms, or a placing of them in parallel to one another, which thereby failed to achieve ‘true’ (‘shinjitsu no’ 真実の) or ‘organic’ (‘yūkitekina’ 有機的な) union: and, he explained, ‘I could not help but hesitate to call any work which lacked true union a work of art’.[6] Yamada treated his beloved R. Strauss more magnanimously, commending his ‘extraordinarily skilful orchestral perfection’. Ultimately, however, he concluded that no composer had yet managed to surpass mere ‘totality’ (‘sōgō’ 総合) in order to realize true ‘unity’ (‘yūgō’

[4] Yamada, ‘Hōetsukyō’, p. 117.

[5] [Anon.(?)], ‘Christmas Oratorio’, *Japan Advertiser*, 28 December 1909; [Anon.(?)], ‘The Star of Promise’, *Japan Advertiser*, 28 December 1909: Tokyo, AMJM, S01 019.

[6] Yamada, ‘Hōetsukyō’, p. 117.

融合).[7] Incidentally, the similarity of these two terms, the latter of which was coined by Yamada himself, is clearly of consequence. In the Japanese, they differ by only one character, one grapheme, something which I have tried to bring across in my English translation. Accordingly, one may safely assume that Yamada's 'unified work of art' was formulated in an explicit opposition to Wagner's 'total work of art'. The 'anxiety of influence', posited in chapter 2 as an apposite explanation of Yamada's psychology, is once again obvious here, and Yamada's *agon* with Wagner is fundamental to the ideas discussed below.

What, then, did Yamada mean by 'unity' in this context? He stated that the potential for unity could be found in the common or shared elements that existed between the two things that were to be unified. In 'To the Unified Work of Art', Yamada outlined two such elements through which unity might be achieved between art forms. The first was 'rhythm' ('rijimu' リジム). This was held to be shared amongst all of the 'moving arts', and so probably indicates the element of temporal instability, of movement through time, which is common to, for example, music or dance.[8] In fact, Yamada's first experiments towards the creation of a 'unified work of art' were the 'dance poems' that he composed in Tokyo during the 1910s. The name that he coined for this genre, 'buyōshi' 舞踊詩, was another term derived from Yamada's Austro-German influences, this time Liszt's 'symphonic poem' ('kōkyōshi' 交響詩). These compositions, such as *Maria Magdalena* (*Magudara no Maria* マグダラのマリア, 1916), were intended to be something more than a ballet, presumably in the same way that a symphonic poem is something more than a symphony because of the essential, programmatic connexion presumed between its music and the scenes, images, or moods that it is written to inspire. Yamada dreamt that the dance poem would revolutionize the Western classical music tradition, much as the

[7] Yamada, 'Yūgō geijutsu e', p. 123.

[8] Ibid., p. 125.

comparable innovations of the New German School had some decades before. The most immediate reason why this did not occur was the impossibility of staging such works in contemporary Japan, where, amongst other things, a professional symphony orchestra had yet to be established. (As I have mentioned before, the orchestra that Yamada himself founded in order to resolve this issue quickly dissolved, in part because of the lack of performers of sufficient skill to achieve what he desired of them.) Nevertheless, in his conception of the genre, Yamada relied on the easy compatibility that he had theorized between the rhythms of music and of dance.

However, it was not enough for Yamada for the common element of rhythm to unite only some art forms; and it is clear that, as with his accent theory, he was intent on developing a universal theory of art. To this end, he argued that modern artists were developing 'the power to move arts once considered still'. As an example, he presented the 'colourful arts', for which the old, two-dimensional plane no longer satisfied. New experiments with solidity and three-dimensionality were also giving rhythm to paintings, Yamada suggested, and thus making them more akin to music.[9] Yamada did not elaborate on the precise nature of this three-dimensional, rhythmic art, nor did he mention any particular works, but one may confidently suppose that the expressionist art displayed in Galerie Der Sturm, curated by Herwarth Walden (1879-1941), which Yamada encountered during his time in Berlin, was the type of thing that he meant. Yamada became very familiar with Walden, to the extent that he undertook to deliver several crates of prints from the gallery for an exhibition and sale in Tokyo when he returned in 1914, an event which some have credited with starting a modernist revolution in the Japanese art world.[10] He also claimed later that the impact of this artwork had driven him to atheism, due to the 'Nietzschean anti-religion' he perceived in it, which is indicative of

[9] Ibid., pp. 125, 127.

[10] Omuka, p. 8.



Figure 4.1: Jean Metzinger, *En canot*, 1913, oil on canvas, 146 × 114 cm, lost, presumed destroyed.

the influence he was willing to credit the style with having had on him.[11] It is therefore clear that Yamada was familiar with some of the abstract, geometrically inspired developments in modern European graphic art at the beginning of the twentieth century, and to glance at an example of the work published under Walden's auspices (such as figure 4.1) may be to see what Yamada meant when he said that he saw rhythm in the 'colourful arts'.

However, Yamada wrote, the rhythms of these different artforms had 'separated from their fundamental rhythm', thus complicating their union on the basis of this common element. The implications of his choice of vocabulary here are important. Yamada was not admitting that the rhythms that he perceived in different art forms were qualitatively different; instead, he was arguing that they had diverged from a common source, which he called the 'mother rhythm' ('rijimu to iu haha' リジムといふ母). It would undoubtedly be difficult to unify, say, oil painting and music, because the rhythms which governed them were not obviously comparable, but Yamada seemed to be suggesting that it would be theoretically possible, if their mutual relationship to this 'mother rhythm' could be established.[12] This idea of a common root to all artistic practice bears comparison with the theories of Isawa Shūji 伊澤修二 (1851-1917),

[11] Gotō, *Yamada Kōsaku*, pp. 150, 179; Kōsaku Yamada, 'Shūkyō to watashi', in CZ, III, 698-709 (p. 699).

[12] Yamada, 'Yūgō geijutsu e', p. 125.

one of the founders of modern music education in Japan and pivotal in the establishment of the Music Investigation Committee in the early Meiji period. Eppstein notes that:

> To add persuasive power to his argument in favour of European music, Isawa [makes a] comparison of Japanese and European music, reaching the somewhat surprising conclusion that both consist of similar elements. […] This allegedly basic similarity of musical elements in both cultures, once conclusively proved, would then set at rest any reticence that might possible arise concerning European music, as being foreign.[13]

Yamada's philosophy therefore built upon a principle that was well established in Japanese musical thought, in which common foundations were sought for seemingly quite disparate phenomena.

One might perceive this principle at work in the accent theory, in Yamada's insistence on what might be described as a shared rhythm between poetry and music. Strictly speaking, the common element there is one of pitch, i.e. tone, and not rhythm, but Yamada talked about it in the temporal language of accent and stress, which suggests that he may have intuited the connexion in a more rhythmical way. Importantly, however, in both Yamada's theoretical description of shared rhythms and his practical methodology of pitch matching between poetry and music, one can see a principle emerging: that unity can be forged through the purification of what is to be unified to the point at which a common element that manifests the potential for unity can be perceived. For example, unity through rhythm in relatively dissimilar art forms would require the establishment of a link between each art to a shared 'mother rhythm', purified of the 'separation' that had occurred between those arts since their divergence from it. This principle, that I term 'unity through purity', is central to understanding Yamada's philosophy, as well as the consequences of that philosophy and its effect on the trajectory of his artistic practice.

The second element identified by Yamada as a commonality between art forms is less concretely identifiable. He argued in 'To the Unified Work of Art' that 'art must be a

[13] Eppstein, *Western Music*, p. 56.

symbolic expression of the poeticism that is within the human'. For example, he suggested that 'the truly artistic song must be that which reveals in sound the core of that poeticism, which is expressed when it takes the form of the written word and so becomes a poem'. 'Poeticism', then, was the second point of union that Yamada suggested. (This word might be translated more literally as 'poetic thought' [*shisō* 詩想]), but in this contexct expresses the idea of the potential or tendency of the human being towards poetic forms of experience and expression.) In connexion with this idea, the composer wrote about the music of Scriabin, which had greatly affected him when he first heard it in Moscow in 1914. He described with evident delight how the Russian composer's *Mysterium*, left unfinished at his death in 1915, would have united colour, scent, and movement, and one can take from Yamada's enthusiasm for this synaesthetic masterpiece valuable clues as to what the composer meant by the term 'poeticism'.[14] It is described as something internal to the human being, and in terms of sight, sound, scent, and touch (movement). I would suggest, therefore, that when Yamada spoke of poeticism as an element of artistic unity, one may understood him to have meant that the common foundation of all forms of art is their expression of human sensation or experience.[15]

Importantly, the common element of experience would be more fundamental than that of rhythm, without being incompatible with it. Rhythm is internal to that which is to be unified, in as much as it is a structural component of a work of art. But it is also one example of an experience, or perhaps more precisely, in Yamada's conception, one example of a quality that is experienced. Both of these facts render it a second-order commonality. Experience, by contrast, represents something more all-encompassing. It encapsulates every one of the qualities that Yamada praised in his account of the 'poeticism' of *Mysterium*. More than this, though, the idea that experience might be the

[14] Yamada, 'Yūgō geijutsu e', p. 126.

[15] For an overview of how new modes of experience during the interwar period affected Japanese composition, particularly of art song, see: Luciana Galliano, 'Art Song and Musical/Cultural Identities in Interwar Japan' (forthcoming).

common element through which the arts could be unified provides a theoretical basis upon which to unify not only different art forms, but also art, in general, with the human being. I have already described how Yamada saw unity in art as a cultural and social project, as much as, if not more than, a simply artistic one. Thus it could be that the fundamental element of Yamada's 'unified work of art', the common element across all art forms and also their human creators and consumers, was experience; and that the unity of arts might be found in the translation of human experience.

In keeping with the common preoccupation of Japanese modernity that I described in my introduction, Yamada looked to scientific epistemologies to support his theories.[16] Discussing the objects of experience, for example, and particularly those that would have been created by Scriabin's *magnum opus*, he noted that modern science had established both light and sound to be formed of waves. Perhaps, then, the old metaphor of the 'colour' of sound could be demonstrated and determined scientifically, he mused. Contrarily, meanwhile, he claimed that 'the world of scent is yet to be established as an art'.[17] In this he demonstrated his apparent ignorance of the traditional Japanese art of fragrance, *kōdō* 香道, which, along with the arts of the tea ceremony, *chadō* 茶道, and flower arranging, *kadō* 花道 (also known as *ikebana* 生け花), was one of the three artistic accomplishments expected of upper-class women in the early modern period.[18] This further confirms Yamada's general lack of interest in long-established Japanese art forms, which I have discussed in chapter 1.

However, when Yamada wrote that, to unify different arts through the discovery of their common elements, the artist should be looking to forge unity in exactly the same way as one would 'in science or love', the composer was hinting by this second means that there was also a certain mysticism in the idea of unity that he had outlined. This may be

[16] Reichert, p. 356.

[17] Yamada, 'Yūgō geijutsu e', p. 128.

[18] Lafcadio Hearn, *In Ghostly Japan* (Boston: Little, Brown; 1898), pp. 30-31.

confirmed by Yamada's description of the union that he claimed Wagner had failed to achieve as not only a true one, but also an 'organic' one. This latter adjective can perhaps best be understood in connexion with a second theoretical term that Yamada introduced, which is linked to the idea of the 'unified work of art': that of the 'realm of musical ecstasy' ('hōetsukyō' 法悦境). This 'sacred ground' is described as the 'seed' of the 'unified work of art', and seems to represent the emotional state that a true instance of the latter would elicit. An example that Yamada gave was the 'blissful drunkenness' evoked in him on hearing the work of Scriabin. Apparently this emotional state could not be brought about purely scientifically. Instead, Yamada believed that it was only attainable when the 'pain of artistic creation' was hidden, in the same way, he wrote, as the beauty of a flower is heightened by the fact that its roots and all the other organs that work to produce that beauty are hidden under the ground.[19]

However, Yamada admitted, it was difficult to hide the work of artistic creation in the case of music. The problem is that music must be reproduced on every occasion of its performance by a musician, who is customarily sat upon a stage in full view of their audience. In the essay 'Musical Ecstasy', Yamada described his attempts in Tokyo during the 1910s to hide this visual aspect of musical performance, noting in particular an experiment in which he had had only a single candle burning on stage to allow the performer to read the sheet music.[20] In light of Yamada's intentions, a contemporary review of this concert in the *Japan Times* is rather amusing:

> An odd feature of the concert was the complete darkening of the auditorium, the only illumination being a tall stand light on the front of the stage, shaded towards the audience and acting rather like a spot-light on the pianist. Mr Yamada played almost wholly from notes. It was regrettable that a sufficiently powerful light was not provided to make it less difficult for him to see the music.[21]

[19] Yamada, 'Hōetsukyō', pp. 117-18; Yamada, 'Yūgō geijutsu e', pp. 121, 125.

[20] Yamada, 'Hōetsukyō', p. 119.

[21] [Anon.], 'Koscak Yamada's Recital', *Japan Times*, 12 November 1916: Tokyo, AMJM, S01 024.

Apparently the air of mystery necessary to create a true, organic union between performance and audience was not so easily generated, and Yamada's experiments accordingly provoked only misunderstanding. Yamada's inclusion of this review in his carefully curated volumes of newspaper cuttings suggests, at least, that he appreciated the irony.

Such complications eventually led Yamada to dream. Abandoning his minor tinkering with the layout of existing concert venues, he began to imagine a place dedicated to the evocation of the union that he sought. A description of that place, the Hall of Spiritual Music (Reigakudō 霊楽堂; hereafter 'the Hall'), forms the climax of Yamada's description of the 'Realm of Musical Ecstasy'. This Hall was never built, although Yamada ended his essay with a fairly explicit request for funds, writing that, 'Were I able to procure the sizable amount of money [necessary], I would immediately […] establish this palace'.[22] Despite the fact that the Hall was never made real, however, as a hypothetical manifestation in space of Yamada's theoretical ideals, it represents a means by which to model the composer's thoughts, enabling one to picture the realization of these ideals in the physical world of experience and thus making it easier to understand those ideals more precisely. Thus the Hall demonstrates in the concrete the implications and flaws of Yamada's thinking, which can then be translated out of their immediate, spatial realization in the Hall back to the heart of Yamada's theoretical design, and thence used to illustrate or interpret the composer' actual artistic practice.

The visualization of this hypothetical but concrete space is aided by the work of a Japanese architect, Kawakita Renshichirō 川喜田煉七郎 (1902-75). As a young man, he had quit a teaching post in order to study composition under Yamada, believing that 'the study of music was a requirement for architecture, a reference to Friedrich Schelling's

[22] Yamada, 'Hōetsukyō', p. 120.

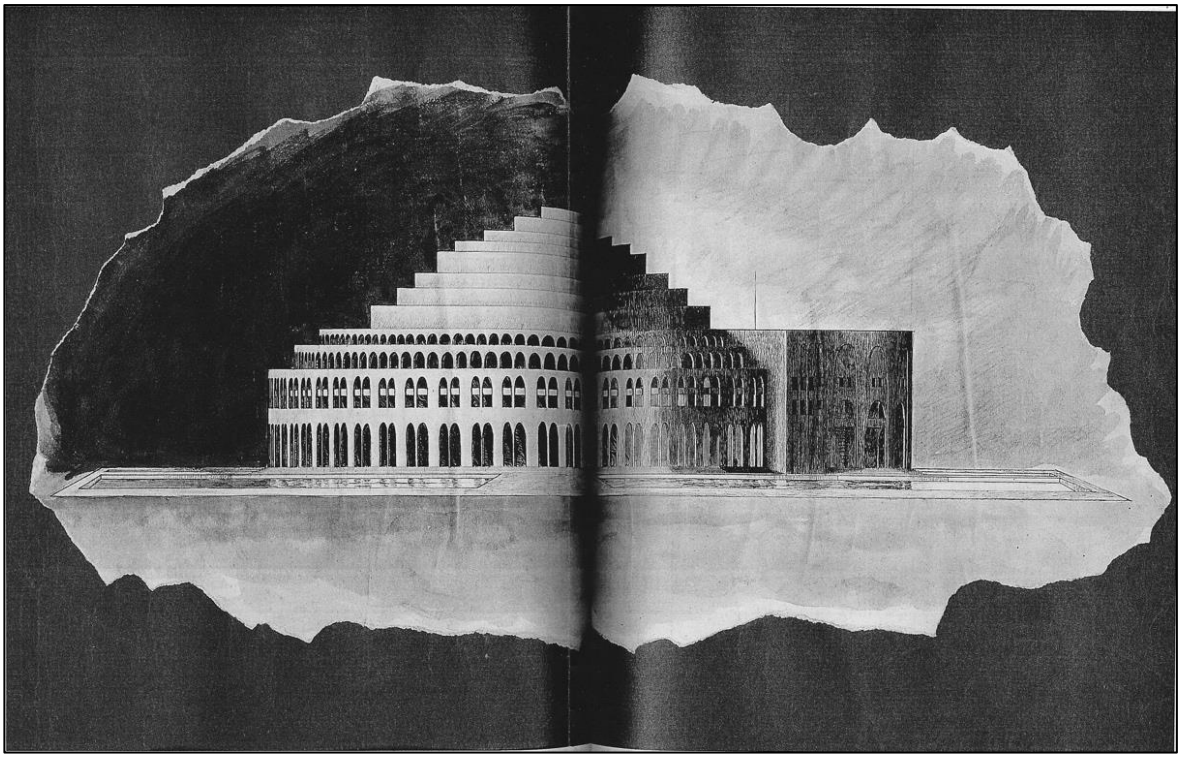


Figure 4.2: Renshichirō Kawakita, *Reigakudō no sōan: ritsumen zu*, 1924, AMJM, Tokyo, from Hiromitsu Umemiya, 'Hōetsukyō kara reigakudō e', *Yamada Kōsaku chosaku zenshū geppō*, 1 (2001), 4-7 (p. 6).

dictum that "architecture is frozen music"'.[23] This call by Schelling (1775-1854) for an understanding of architecture as 'permeated with rhythm' is nicely compatible with Yamada's theories.[24] Accordingly, Kawakita's interest in the relationships between arts drew him to Yamada, and he was inspired by the composer's descriptions of his perfect Hall to produce two sets of concept sketches and designs for it. His second proposal was lauded after its exhibition in 1927, resulting in its publication to great acclaim in the journal *New Currents in Architecture* (*Kenchiku shinchō* 建築新潮) later that year; some of these designs, including the large drawing or painting reproduced in figure 4.2, were later

[23] Hiromitsu Umemiya, 'Naked Functionalism and the Anti-Aesthetic: The Activities of Renshichirō Kawakita in the 1930s', *bauhaus imaginista*, 3 [2018(?)] <http://www.bauhaus-imaginista.org/articles/2331/naked-functionalism-and-the-anti-aesthetic> [accessed 4 September 2019].

[24] E. Toby Morris, 'Musical Analogies in Architecture', *The Structurist*, 0.35 (January, 1995), 66-74 (p. 67).

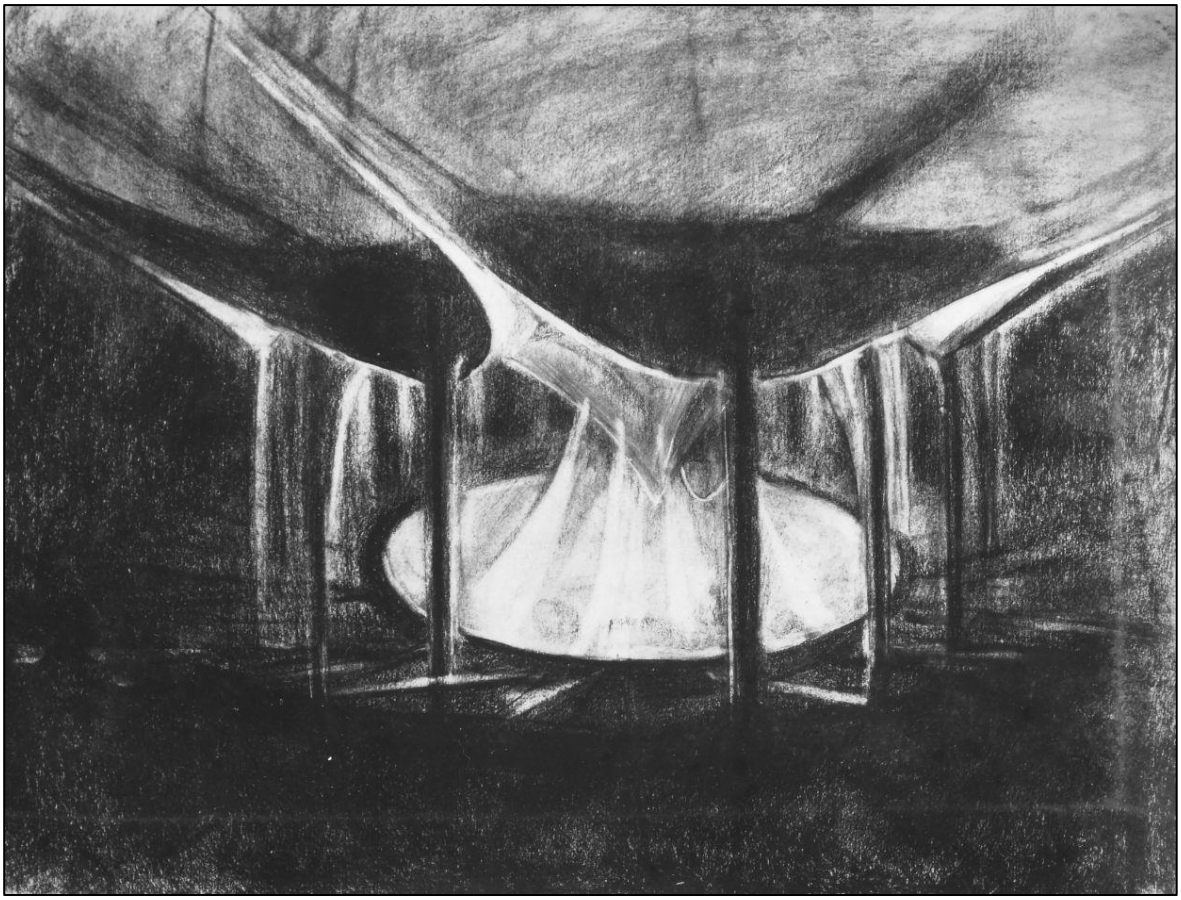
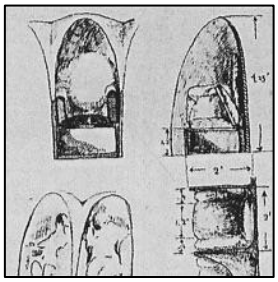


Figure 4.3: Renshichirō Kawakita, *Ōditoriumu (‘Reigakudō [aru ongaku reihaidō]’ yori)*, 1926, from Umemiya, ‘Naked Functionalism’.

presented to Yamada by his protégé.[25] These images are of great assistance in visualizing the Hall, and so I reference them here in connexion with Yamada’s description of the space:



This hall must be built in the very middle of a quiet forest, removed from human habitation. […] This temple will be formed from one, large circle. Half of it will be underground, and half of it will rise up between the old trees in a gentle curve, like a Byzantine dome [figure 4.2]. Thick, opaque walls will ascend in the shape of a cone to the centre of this round ceiling from the concave perimeter of the basement [figure 4.3]. The musicians will conceal themselves

Figure 4.4: Kawakita Renshichirō, *Reigakudō: chōshū seki (ichubu)*, *c*. 1926, AMJM, Tokyo, from Umemiya Hiromitsu, ‘Hōetsu kyō kara reigaku dō e’, in *Yakudō suru tamashii no kirameki: Nihon no hyōgen shugi*, ed. by Rieko Kimura, Jō Takeba, Akiko Nemoto, Yutaka Hayami and Ishihara Kōta (Tokyo: Tokyo Bijutsu, 2009), p. 275.

[25] Umemiya, ‘Naked Functionalism’.

> in the bottom of this semi-permeable cone, and from there shall cause only the essence of the pure beauty of music to blossom towards the height of the ceiling. And the audience will tuck themselves away in deep, comfortable, individual seats, installed on the outside of that wall, where, their eyes closed in something like prayer, they will allow the music sounding forth from the bottom of the temple to soak into the very bottom of their souls [figure 4.4]. […] The people, in the same moment that they set eyes on this temple, will part company with each other, parents from children, brothers from sisters, lovers from those they love, and, from different paths […] will walk up to the temple. There, each individual will return to their true, lone selves, and quietly, solemnly, they will listen to the sounds and become one with the sounds […] And they, with their hearts purified, heightened, and beautified, will again silently and peacefully leave this temple, one by one, and walk out peacefully to the entrance of the forest. There, they will happen across one another again, with purified emotions, as if born anew: parents with children, brothers with sisters, lovers with those that they love, and, […] all with sanctified hearts and faces shining with joy, they shall return again to everyday life.[26]

This passage, like much of Yamada's writing, richly rewards a close analysis. The detail with which it is packed, the figurative language that Yamada used, and the underlying themes that, consciously or unconsciously, work their way into the text, give the careful reader much to tease apart. In doing so, the influences and intentions of Yamada's ideals of union are laid bare.

If one were to summarize the essential elements of the Hall as it is depicted here, two aspects in particular come into focus. The first of these is the function of the space. It is far from the everyday world, both physically and spiritually. In making the somewhat difficult physical journey into the Hall's secluded forest serenity, Yamada intended for his audience to leave their spiritual ties to the everyday, outside world behind. On their return to that world, those ties would be reformed, but in a reordered, purified, and truer fashion. The individual audience members, having been reduced to their 'true, lone selves' in order that they might be united with the 'core essence of the pure beauty of music', would be affected in such a way that the harmony thus created between them and the music would be transferred to their interpersonal relationships after they left the Hall. The second essential element of the Hall is the design of its performance space, particularly

[26] Yamada, 'Hōetsukyō', pp. 119-20.

the way in which the site of musical performance is hidden from the audience. They sit around the perimeter of a concealed orchestra pit, each individual perfectly placed to receive the full musical and spiritual experience that the Hall has to offer by virtue of their equal access to the musical sound and their equal inability to perceive the process of that sound's creation.

Both of these characteristics bear comparison to perhaps the most famous concert hall of the modern age: Wagner's Festival Hall (*Festspielhaus*) in Bayreuth. There, as is well known, the orchestra, and thus the source of most of the musical generation, the 'pain of artistic creation' that Yamada so feared, is hidden from view in a sunken pit. Wagner wrote of this: 'We called this the "mystic chasm", because its task was to separate the real from the ideal'. In so doing, this device would ensure that 'the spectator has the feeling of being at a far distance from the events on stage, yet perceives them with the clarity of near proximity'; it would also ensure that the sound of the orchestra, thrown thereby onto the stage, would blend with the music of the singers before being projected out into the auditorium. One may also note that Wagner chose Bayreuth for the location of his Festival Hall quite deliberately. He explained in his preface to the full text of *The Ring of the Nibelungs* (*Der Ring des Nibelungen*, 1876; text published in 1863) that he would build it in 'one of the less large towns in Germany, […] in particular a town in which there would be no danger of clashing with a large existing theatre and thus having to compete with large-city audiences and their established customs'.[27] This meant that the Festival Hall was positioned somewhat apart from established culture, a separation which was further strengthened by its being built on a hill above the town in the middle of a stand of trees. In this way, Wagner's Festival Hall comes very close to the image that Yamada painted of a concert hall divorced from everyday life.

[27] Cited in: Geoffrey Skelton, 'Bayreuth (opera)', in *Grove Music Online* <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.O900480>. Gundula Kreuzer presents a deep theorization of Wagner's dramaturgy and the *Festspielhaus* in: Gundula Kreuzer, *Curtain, Gong, Steam: Wagnerian Technologies of Nineteenth-Century Opera* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2019).

The parallels between the Halls of Wagner and of Yamada are clear. Like the Hall of Spiritual Music, the Festival Hall disguises the source of musical production within it, and does so in order to perfect a form of union between arts: in Wagner's case, a blending of the music of the orchestra with that of the singers. The Festival Hall also aims to bring the audience closer to the performance, through Wagner's insistence that the spectator 'perceive [the performance] with the clarity of near proximity'. This is, admittedly, balanced in Wagner's case by his simultaneous distancing of the spectator from the events on stage. One could argue, however, that this more psychological alienation is designed to enhance the mythic qualities of Wagner's narratives, and so is intended to mystify the workings of the operas: to remove them from the everydayness of a mere theatrical production and thereby heighten their claims to sublimity. In this respect, Wagner's intentions still compare with those of Yamada's in creating a 'sacred ground' of musical performance, and, indeed, of encouraging a spiritual union between human and music. In many respects, therefore, there are clear points of comparison between the purposes of the Hall of Spiritual Music and those of the Festival Hall, such that the former may well be described as a derivation of the latter.

However, Yamada's Hall is not just a pale imitation of Wagner's. It may instead be thought of as a logical extension, or even as an attempted perfection, of Wagner's model, in both the material and the theoretical senses. Materially speaking, the location of the orchestra in the Hall of Spiritual Music is not only concealed from the audience, but removed entirely from all but their aural senses. In addition, placed as they are on the circumference of a round auditorium, each audience member has a position of entirely equal quality, thus perfecting Wagner's desire for no seat in the house to have an interrupted perception of the performance.[28] (I discuss below the fact that Yamada's design necessitated the removal of all visual stimuli in order to achieve this perfection.)

[28] Michael Barron, *Auditorium Acoustics and Architectural Design* (London: E & FN Spon, 1993), pp. 314-16.

Speaking theoretically, meanwhile, Yamada's arrangement is designed to completely divorce the real, the 'pain of artistic production', from the ideal, the 'core essence of the pure beauty of music' ('junbi na ongaku no seizui' 準備な音楽の精髄). In so doing, the audience would not merely perceive the performance from a greater proximity, but achieve complete unity with it: a spiritual or psychological identification with the music that would not just be close, but total. The Hall should not, therefore, be considered a mere derivation from Wagner's model, but a development of certain key aspects of that model to their logical extremes.

To understand Yamada's Hall in this way is to understand more clearly several elements of the composer's philosophy. Firstly, it highlights his desire to challenge the achievements of his predecessors, and to perfect their theories and ideals. This is further confirmation, if more were needed, of my arguments about the 'anxiety of influence' in chapter 2. It also demonstrates Yamada's rationalistic approach to this end, in accordance with the aforementioned scientific tendency in Japanese modernity, which serves as a reminder of Bloom's dating of the contemporary form of the 'anxiety of influence' to after the Enlightenment, i.e. to within modern times.[29] In considering Yamada, therefore, there can be no doubt that one is considering an artist who struggled with the nature of modernity. This fact is essential to the arguments that follow. Secondly, the way in which the Hall is designed to bring about unity between musical sound and the human spirit proves Yamada's expansive understanding of the perfection of unity: the idea, hinted at above, that he desired not just a union between the arts, but also a union between the arts and humanity. Indeed, Yamada's definition of unity seems to have relied on a common element in both the arts and the human being, that is, the sensation that is felt by the latter and must, in his philosophy, be translated in the former. And the third thing that the nature of Yamada's Hall as a perfection of Wagner's reveals is the way in

[29] Harold Bloom, *A Map of Misreading*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 77.

which the creation of unity demands, as a prerequisite of that unity, a condition of purity in that which is to be unified.

The importance of purity is explicit in Yamada's text. He wrote that the audience would experience 'pure ('seijō' 清浄) emotions, as if born anew' and 'purified ('kiyomerareru' 清められる) hearts' in the wake of the 'core essence of the pure beauty of music' which they would hear.[30] While the above transcriptions may give the impression that these words are quite distinct, they are in fact closely related to one another: one will see that the second syllable of 'seijō', for example, is written with the same character as the verb 'kiyomeru' in Yamada's text. The purity they speak of, then, is repeatedly affirmed in the essay. It is also implicit in, for example, the repeated use of the word 'essence' ('seizui' 精髄 or 'honshitsu', the latter found both in the essays under discussion here and also in 'Accent in Poetry'), or in Yamada's intended division of the audience into their 'true, lone selves' ('shinjitsu no kodoku na jibun').

The significance of this concept of purity, and its relation to unity, seems to rest in the belief, outlined above, that unity can only be achieved through the combination of common elements. Yamada believed that, in order to discover and align these common elements, such as rhythm or poeticism, that which is to be unified must be stripped back to the essence in which it has both its autonomous being and, also, its points of connexion with other forms of art via human sensation (though it is unclear whether Yamada considered these two things, the essence of art and human sensation, to be one and the same). To return to the idea of the 'mother rhythm', for example: Yamada presented this as something fundamental to artistic expression in any form of art that moves. To unify such arts, then, the movements of each would have to be purified until they approached this 'mother rhythm' from which they had each separated, at which point their increasing similarity would, logically, render them compatible with one another. The

[30] Yamada, 'Hōetsukyō', pp. 119-20.

accent theory works on a similar principle, finding a shared element between music and poetry in the pitching of each, the complexities of which can then be essentialized to enable the simple stipulation that accented syllables be pitched higher than unaccented syllables. And the people who visited Yamada's Hall, having been stripped back to the purity of their 'true, lone selves', were thus to be brought to a condition in which they could be reunited with one another, with the social bonds between each individual renewed. In short, therefore, Yamada's system boils down to the principle that the grounds for unity can only be achieved through purification. It is for this reason that I term it an ideology of 'unity through purity'.

Such an ideal of purity is very much a modern one. As Nina Cornyetz points out, 'it is an epistemological structure of purification of domains, including aesthetics as aesthetics, that [Walter] Benjamin identifies as the base of […] modernism'.[31] Such purification might be found in the art of the De Stijl movement, the artistic philosophy of which, neo-plasticism, 'was in fact an ideal art in which the basic elements of painting – colour, line, form – were used only in their purest, most fundamental state: only primary colours and non-colours, only squares and rectangles, only straight and horizontal or vertical lines'.[32] Modern design by the likes of the Bauhaus also sought to reduce the fundamentals of industrial design to the most essential elements. An example of this would be the Frankfurt Kitchen (1926) of Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky (1897-2000), which was laid out according to careful time-motion studies. The efficiency of Schütte-Lihotzky's use of space rendered the kitchen easy both to use and to mass-produce.[33] Paul Renner's typeface Futura (1926), produced for the same public housing programme as the Frankfurt Kitchen, was similarly shaped by a desire to purify and rationalize design. In

[31] Cornyetz, p. 335.

[32] [Anon.], 'Neo-Plasticism', in *Tate Art Terms* <https://www.tate.org.uk/art/art-terms/n/neo-plasticism> [accessed 4 September 2019].

[33] Elisabeth Jacob, 'Die Frankfurter Küche von Margarete Schütte-Lihotzsky', *Wohnen*, 72 (1997), pp. 15-16.

Renner's case, he designed the letters geometrically, rejecting the organic development of older, classical typeface designs in order to construct his characters 'with compass and straightedge'.[34] In the world of acoustics, too, Emily Thompson has demonstrated how twentieth-century architecture strove for what she calls the 'modern sound', which was an atmosphere purified of 'unnecessary' noise and reverberation.[35] Benjamin's characterization of modernism therefore seems to be an accurate one, and so Yamada's ideal of purity cannot but be understood as modern.

But purity in Yamada's texts is superficially presented in a more traditional context: that of religion. Religious imagery suffuses his essay on the 'Realm of Musical Ecstasy'. In the passage above, for example, he referred to the Hall multiple times as a 'temple' ('seiden' 聖殿), a word used predominantly of Confucian places of worship. The expression of the idea of purity with the term 'kiyomeru', meanwhile, has resonances with ideas of ritual cleanliness in Shinto, the ethnic religion of Japan. And, of course, the Hall itself is described as a 'spiritual' ('rei' 霊) space. But it is, in fact, Christian images that overwhelmingly predominate in Yamada's account. For example, the dome of the Hall is described as 'Byzantine', a word which calls to mind the basilicas of the Eastern Orthodox Church. Elsewhere, the Hall is described as a 'chapel' ('reihaidō' 礼拝堂) and even as the 'Holy of Holies' ('shiseijo' 至聖所), a word which refers only to the inner sanctuary of the Temple in Jerusalem, where the Ark of the Covenant was kept. This would have been an obscure piece of terminology in early twentieth-century Tokyo, but the indubitable grandness of it certainly emphasizes Yamada's point.

For all that Yamada relied heavily on the evocative power of Christian imagery, however, it is clear that he was not announcing his membership of that faith by it. It was religiosity, rather than any specific religious belief, that interested him. This can be seen in

[34] Alexander Lawson, *Anatomy of a Typeface* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1990), p. 440.

[35] Emily Ann Thompson, *The Soundscape of Modernity: Architectural Acoustics and the Culture of Listening in America, 1900-1933* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002).

the variety of faiths from which Yamada drew his vocabulary, as well as his stated intention that 'art, particularly music, must be heightened to the utmost, to the point of religion'.[36] If anything, Yamada was using religious language in order to capture religion and bring it into the service of art, the modern religion which he would establish in place of the old faiths. The multitude of Christian references in this essay and throughout his work (for example the dance-poem *Maria Magdalena*) bear witness primarily to the Christian character of his upbringing.

That said, Christianity did occupy a particular place in the symbology of Japanese modern times. Albert Park and David Yoo state that: 'People in East Asia […] studied and, in some cases, embraced principles of Christianity as a way to frame and make meaningful the changes they experienced because of modernity'.[37] In Japan in particular, Mark Williams notes, Christianity had an 'apparently disproportionate influence […] in a nation which at no stage [in the twentieth] century has boasted more than 1.5 per cent of its total population as adherents'. Even amongst those who did not believe, it became a framework for many who were 'struggling against the contradictions and irrationalities of the age'.[38] Thus it was that Christian imagery came to suffuse the work of non-Christian novelists like Dazai Osamu 太宰治 (1909-48), who considered texts like the Bible with as great a care as if he had held the faith himself.[39] In much the same way that music in the Western classical tradition was embraced as the artistic sound of modernity, then,

[36] Yamada, 'Hōetsukyō', pp. 120.

[37] Albert L. Park and David K. Yoo, 'Introduction: Modernity and the Materiality of Religion', in *Encountering Modernity: Christianity in East Asia and Asian America*, ed. by Albert L. Park and David K. Yoo (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2014), pp. 1-15 (p. 4).

[38] Mark Williams, 'From Out of the Depths: the Japanese Literary Response to Christianity', in *Japan and Christianity: Impacts and Responses*, ed. by John Breen and Mark Williams (London: Macmillan press, 1996), pp. 156-74 (p. 156).

[39] Yukihito Hijiya, 'A Religion of Humanity: A Study of Osamu Dazai's *No Longer Human'*, *Critique*, 15 (1974), 34-42 (p. 37). On the subject of Christianity in Japanese modern times and literature, I have also consulted: Kiri Paramore, *Ideology and Christianity in Japan* (London: Routledge, 2009); Rebecca Suter, *Holy Ghosts: The Christian Century in Modern Japanese Fiction* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2015).

Christianity seems to have been imported as the spiritual philosophy of Japanese modern times. Accordingly, the Christian-inflected imagery that Yamada relied upon in his description of the 'unified work of art' does not represent a particularly religious stance on the composer's part, with all the trappings of traditionalism or, indeed, of anti-modernism that such a stance might well indicate. Instead, in context, it seems that Yamada was expressing himself in an entirely modern idiom.

In this light, Yamada's desire to make a religion out of art may enlighten the fundamental philosophy behind his ideal of 'unity through purity'. Religious thinking aims to bring clarity to an incomprehensible universe by purifying ever-changing and seemingly arbitrary happenstance, discerning the essential, ontological meaning of the world, and so uniting everything in a meaningful totality. As Keith Yandell writes:

> A religion offers a diagnosis of what it tells us is our deep and paralyzing problem. It also offers a solution. This combination of diagnostic-and-cure itself makes assumptions about what there is, what can be known, and what has positive worth. It inherently contains the seeds of a full-grown worldview.[40]

The composer may have substituted rhythm for God, but his sociological goal and methodology in doing so was the same as any priest's, in as much as it aimed at a more total understanding and, consequently, a harmonious reforming of the whole world. It is hardly surprising, then, that Yamada's 'unified work of art' extended beyond the mere union of artistic forms to encompass union with the human soul as well. In this way too it is an extension of the 'total work of art', in so far as it aimed beyond the 'idea of a new aesthetic wholeness compensating for the perceived fragmentation of society' at a spiritual wholeness that could actually heal that perceived brokenness.[41]

[40] Keith E. Yandell, *Philosophy of Religion: A Contemporary Introduction* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1999), p. 4.

[41] Carsten Ruhl, 'From Total Design to Total Theory', in *The Death and Life of the Total Work of Art: Henry van der Veldt and the Legacy of a Modern Concept*, ed. by Carsten Ruhl, Chris Dähne, and Rixt Hoekstra (Berlin: Jovis, 2015), pp. 12-23 (p. 14).

Such a yearning search for some system of thought that would bring unity in the face of the perceived disunities of the modern age is not an uncommon phenomenon, but it has perhaps been particularly explicit in Japanese responses to modern times. Gluck, for example, writes of the ideology of the Imperial Japanese state, during the formative years of the late nineteenth century, that: 'It was not enough that the polity be centralized, the economy developed, social classes rearranged, international recognition striven for – the people must be "influenced", their minds and hearts *made one*'.[42] Yamada's philosophy seems to align completely with this Meiji-era need for a unity that extended beyond the merely physical into the realm of the psychological or spiritual. It therefore seems clear that Yamada's 'unified work of art' was a total ideology: not merely aesthetic, but instead striving to address the evils of modern disjuncture in their entirety by healing modern alienation through the broader socio-cultural unification that Yamada believed could be effected by uniting human souls with each other via artistic expression.

For all that, however, it is impossible to contend that Yamada's ideals were realized, or, indeed, that it was even possible for them to be realized. The Hall of Spiritual Music, in its imaginary spatialization of Yamada's philosophy, embodies the one, fundamental flaw with that philosophy. This is, quite simply, that unity cannot be achieved through purity; or, rather, that the unity that can be achieved through purity is one of total reduction. Cornyetz summarizes how the pursuit of purity that she identified as characterizing modernism can result in a contraction in one's understanding of the world:

> Because the act of bracketing, or the purification of domains, depends on the isolation of certain attributes for appreciation or investigation, the object that emerges from that bracketing is of necessity partial. As [literary critic] Karatani [Kōjin] points out, while this bracketing is essential for the advancement of many fields (such as science or mathematics), it is also essential that the bracketing be flexible, and that such bracketing must be conscious and perhaps deliberate.

[42] Carol Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myths: Ideology in the Late Meiji Period* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), p. 3 (my emphasis).

> Otherwise, the partial object of purification may be confused with the object in its totality and context.[43]

To turn to the reality of Yamada's practice: it cannot have escaped the reader's mind that the configuration of the composer's Hall, the Hall that had been dreamt up in order to permit the performance of the truly unified work of art, in the end allowed for the performance of one form of art only. Yamada had purified the performance of music and created an environment in which music's sonic essence alone could be perceived by its audience, removed from all the ideal-shattering, visual realities of the generation of sound. But the reversed theatre-in-the-round of the Hall, in which each audience member's gaze was to be directed away from any shared central point, and, indeed, actively discouraged in its entirety by the winged blinkers that Kawakita incorporated into his designs for the Hall's seats (figure 4.4), would render the performance of, say, a music drama or a dance poem self-evidently impossible.

Confirmation of the failure of this philosophy in Yamada's actual practice is found in the accent theory. My analysis in chapter 3 demonstrated that, even when Yamada's essentializing compositional method could be utilized in the writing of *Nursemaids' Songs* (which was by no means always, on account of the difficulties presented by Kitahara's dialect vocabulary), it served only to bring out the disunities latent in the original material. Furthermore, Yamada's plea at the end of 'Accent in Poetry' that poets construct their poems with more careful regard for maintaining the same accent pattern across each strophe, in order to assist composers, indicates how the purification necessary for Yamada's ideal of unity could only be achieved by restricting the freedom of artistic expression. Reducing the expressive range available to the artist seems to have been, to Yamada's mind, the only way to ensure that their work did not devolve too far from the purity of the common elements that permit of unity, the equivalents of the 'mother rhythm'.

[43] Cornyetz, p. 335.

One might generalize this observation into the maxim that unity cannot be achieved through purity because the logic of purity is, in fact, a logic of difference. Contrary to Yamada's belief, the more one seeks the essence of a thing, the more one must strip it of any characteristic that it might share with anything else. In other words, one might say that to essentialize is to define negatively. For example, if, as Yamada seems to have thought, the essence of music is sonic, then to purify music is to reduce it to sound alone, as the Hall in fact strives to do. But by stripping out the physical or visual elements of musical performance, it becomes impossible for music to coexist with the physicality of dance or the visuality of spectacle. Even by Yamada's professed logic of unity through common elements, this methodology, by necessity, eradicates all common elements, and with them therefore all possibility of unity. In short, Yamada's attempts to forge unity, both between different arts and, more hypothetically, between the arts and humanity, failed because they could never have succeeded. His philosophy was founded upon a false premise, and its practice therefore logically flawed.

This was the nature of Yamada's encounter with the 'crisis of modernity': that question of how, once one has perceived the disunity that characterizes modern times, one is to cope with that disunity. This crisis comes to a head after it has become apparent that reunification cannot be easily achieved, as seems to have become gradually clearer to Yamada as he described and practised his ideas in the early 1920s. Yamada has not been alone in facing this dilemma, however: many different people in various times and places have come up against it, and, accordingly, several different solutions have been sought. One apparent possibility has been to reject modern rationalism as the means of unity, whilst maintaining a belief in the possibility of unity by some other means, usually an adherence to ostensibly traditional ways of organizing the world. This, however, is nearly impossible. I have described above how traditionalisms such as the Japanese longing for the *furusato*, which seem to respond to modernity in this fashion, are themselves, in fact, inevitably modern phenomena and imaginable only from the midst of modern times. Seamus Deane, although writing of Ireland, clearly describes this:

> Ireland would become a nation by recovering its traditions and refusing both modernization and modernity. The irony is that such a refusal […] was itself one of the critical features of modernity. Tradition, once conceptualized in this fashion, was already lost; modernity, once refused and dismissed, was already in place.[44]

Most anti-modern rejections of modernity, in other words, have been unsuccessful in their attempt to evade the crisis that faced Yamada: as with the *furusato*, they cannot but entrench the sense of uprootedness that pervades modern times. It would seem that only traditions that do not need to be 'recovered', that are, in other words, not conceptualized in opposition to an already present modernity, can successfully respond to the crisis of modernity in this fashion. I am not confident that such a tradition has ever existed; in any event, Yamada, who had been brought up in the heart of Japanese modern times, would almost certainly not have had any chance of encountering such a thing.

An alternative approach has been to reject the modernist ideal of unity in a similar fashion, but, rather than substituting another theory of unity in its place, to recognize instead the impossibility of unifying all reality under the absolute truth of rationality, and so to embrace the world's messy contingency. This response can be deemed postmodernist (although see my commentary on this terminology in my introduction), and has been considered by the likes of Theodor Adorno to be 'a renunciation of totalizing projects along with the historical myths that legitimize them'.[45] Compared to the anti-modern stance, this postmodern approach is not ineffectual; it does, however, require a bold leap from the confidence of unity into the uncertainty of contingency. It seems that Yamada was unable to make this leap. One could not say, however, that he never encountered the circumstances through which he might have been able to see the possibility of it. At the end of 'To the Unified Work of Art', he admitted that the 'dance music drama' which he had just extolled as the precursor to the 'completed, true music drama' could not be

[44] Seamus Deane, 'Imperialism/Nationalism', in *Critical Terms for Literary Study*, ed. by Frank Lentricchia and Thomas McLaughlin, 2nd edn (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1995), pp. 354-68 (p. 364).

[45] Sanford Schwartz, 'The Postmodernity of Modernism', in *The Future of Modernism*, ed. by Hugh Witemeyer (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997), pp. 9-31 (p. 12).

performed in the Hall that he had described in his first essay.[46] He expressed regret, a sense of being torn between the purity of music in his Hall and his dreams of a music drama, which suggests that he was to some degree conscious of the inconsistencies of his philosophical position. Ultimately, however, he left this tension unresolved and seems never to have explored its consequences.

Without being able to conceive of an alternative, then, it seems that Yamada could not but hold to his faith in the possibility of unity as a solution to modernity, in spite of the inconsistencies and ruptures that this philosophy perpetuated. So driven, there could only be one logical response to the failure of unity in his practice of the accent theory and the 'unified work of art'. If unity were his goal, and if purity were the prerequisite of unity, then a failure of unity was, by definition, symptomatic of a failure to derive the true essence of the objects to be united. Only further purification could be the solution to this problem. With this imperative, the logic of purity could not but devolve from the pursuit of a hypothetical common factor to the reduction of all elements until unity between them was possible. This, as Cornyetz has summarized, is 'the *inflexible* purification (or bracketing off) of aesthetics as a domain […] that helps distinguish modernism proper from fascism'.[47] In short, Yamada did not address the crisis of modernity by a traditionalist rejection of modern times, nor by a postmodern acceptance of them. As a result, he obliged himself to intensify his commitment to his arch-modernist ideal of 'unity through purity', which remained the only solution to the 'crisis of modernity' of which he could conceive. And this, as Cornyetz suggests, put him in a position from which sympathy with the late Japanese Empire's totalitarian policies of nativist purity was all but inevitable. Herein lies the key to the idea of Yamada undergoing a rhetorical shift over a stable philosophical core that I hypothesize in place of the 'Japanese turn' narrative.

[46] Yamada, 'Yūgō gejutsu e', p. 129.

[47] Cornyetz, p. 335.

Such a trajectory from modernism to fascism is not unknown to scholars of modernity, for all that, as Sottile remarks, 'The idea of a Mussolini or a Hitler emerging out of the same tradition as the great nineteenth-century ideologies – liberalism and communism/socialism – makes many uncomfortable'.[48] Nevertheless, Jobst Welge has pointed out that 'in recent years not only experts of the fascist period, but also scholars of modernism became increasingly aware that the period of high modernism during the 1920s-30s cannot adequately be understood without the complex relationship between fascism and modernism'.[49] These scholars have argued that fascist ideology provided a seemingly valid and certainly persuasive 'way of healing the crisis of interwar modernity':

> The 'fascist aesthetic' […] reduced messy variety to timeless uniformity. If modernity meant social abstraction resulting from increased urbanization and industrialization, threats of civil strife and economic uncertainty, and the dreadful consequences of mass consumption and commodification, then a discourse of harmony appealed to a timeless culture as an anchor of community and offered a restoration of cultural wholeness by poeticizing fractured daily life into a harmonious, timeless, artistic space untouched by modernity.[50]

Jean-François Lyotard has gone further, associating 'modernity with the process of Enlightenment rationality, which in his view achieved its ultimate and grotesque realization in the death camps at Auschwitz'.[51] By no means do all scholars accept the total equation of modernity with fascism that Lyotard and, to a lesser extent, Cornyetz seem to espouse. Nevertheless, a strong argument can be made that fascist or totalitarian ideologies are not essentially different, not aberrations, compared to other responses to the 'crisis of modernity'. Accordingly, there readily exists the potential for slippage from the rational to the fascist in modernist philosophy.

[48] Sottile, p. 8.

[49] Jobst Welge, 'Fascist Modernism', in *Modernism*, ed. by Eysteinsson and Liska, II, 547-49 (p. 547).

[50] Tansman, pp. 1, 4.

[51] Schwartz, p. 12; Jean-François Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*, trans. by Geoff Bennington and Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984).

To consider Japanese history in fascist terms is somewhat controversial, at least in Western scholarship. Sottile has described how, 'Faced with a complex Cold War paradigm and the difficult problems of war guilt, [some] Western scholars have embraced Japan as different in order to avoid attaching to it the ugly word "fascism"'.[52] Nevertheless, for those scholars who do believe the term to be applicable to Japan, a particularly interesting feature of its manifestation in the country is the ease with which many politicians and intellectuals came to embrace it: the ease, in other words, of just such a slippage as I have outlined above.[53] William Miles Fletcher III has argued that there is 'much continuity in [intellectuals'] ideas from 1920 to 1940 and the absence of much sudden change or apostasy', which is most interesting in the case of those, like Yamada, who were not explicitly fascist during the earlier part of this period.[54] Noriko Aso points to 'discursive ambiguities [that] suggest points of articulation between mid-twentieth century humanist and fascist discourses that made slipping from the one to the other all too easy'.[55] It is precisely such ambiguities as these that I have identified in Yamada's philosophy. Indeed, the importance of purity, most often expressed in racial terms, in the harmonious 'fascist aesthetic' renders the elision between Yamada's modernist belief in total unity and the totalitarian regime of the later Japanese Empire particularly simple.

In this respect, Yamada may superficially appear to have followed a similar path to that of several other composers who have been identified with fascist ideologies, most notably Yamada's personal hero, R. Strauss. In a number of ways, these two composers' careers are startlingly comparable to one another. Both were hailed as representative of

[52] Sottile, p. 12.

[53] Cornyetz, p. 338.

[54] Fletcher, p. 4.

[55] Noriko Aso, 'Mediating the Masses: Yanagi Sōetsu and Fascism', in *Japanese Fascism*, ed. by Tansman, pp. 138-54 (p. 139). My thoughts on this topic have also been shaped by: Wolfram Bergande, 'The Creative Destruction of the Total Work of Art: From Hegel to Wagner and Beyond', in *Total Work of Art*, ed. by Ruhl et al., pp. 128-45; Charles Ferrall, *Modernist Writing and Reactionary Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

their nations, to the extent that both were asked to contribute to the celebrations in 1940 that marked the 2600th year since the mythical founding of the Empire of Japan, Strauss with *Japanese Festival Music* (*Japanische Festmusik*, 1940) and Yamada with his opera *Black Ships* (*Kurofune* 黒船, premièred as *Dawn* [*Yoake* 夜明け], 1940). Both were also at one point given responsibility for much of the musical culture of their respective nations: Yamada becoming chairman of the Japanese Musical Culture Committee in 1944, and Strauss heading the composers' section of the Reich Chamber of Culture (Reichskulturkammer) between 1933 and 1935. The latter, writes Pamela Potter, was 'in 1943, at the height of World War II […] the most celebrated living composer in Nazi Germany', as a result of which there was serious consideration by the post-war occupying powers of subjecting his works to censorship.[56]

However, it is apparent that Strauss was never particularly enamoured of the Nazi regime, nor did he ever come to wholly understand it; indeed, he seems to have quickly become afraid of it. Tim Ashley notes that:

> His actions suggest that he may have confused Nazism with imperial autocracy and behaved initially as he had done during the Kaiserreich, alternately serving the regime and flouting its dicta. No assessment of his life and achievements during this period, however, can fail to take into account a number of factors, the chief of which was his inability to understand the Nazis' attempted obliteration of the dividing line between art and politics.[57]

Michael Kennedy has suggested that Strauss 'simply did not recognize the conflict, a symptom of a blinkered mentality as a court composer. He kept his nose in his score and ignored the raised voices in the next room'.[58] He did not ignore the threat to his family, however, as the Nazi government began to step up its oppression of Jews such as his daughter-in-law and her sons, telling 'both the Nazis and the Japanese officials that he

[56] Pamela Potter, *Art of Suppression: Confronting the Nazi Past in Histories of the Visual and Performing* Arts (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2016), pp. 66, 112.

[57] Tim Ashley, *Richard Strauss* (London: Phaidon, 1999), p. 160.

[58] Michael Kennedy, *Richard Strauss*, new edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 88.

was accepting the commission [for the 2600th anniversary celebrations] to ensure his family were left alone'. In this, he was successful; and so, whilst it cannot be said of Strauss that he resisted fascism at any other point than where it personally affected him, it also cannot be said of him that he aligned himself with it particularly willingly. Moreover, he quite clearly distanced himself from it as soon as it was safe to do so, for all that Ashley comments that 'his remarks to the effect that he saw Nazism as an affront to himself and a deliberate attempt to block his work were inappropriate after Auschwitz'.[59] This marks a stark contrast with Yamada, who seems to have cooperated more or less willingly with the Japanese government right up to the end of the war, and who never explicitly repudiated the regime afterwards, as I have described in chapter 1. Whereas Strauss was at first frightened and silent, and then unjustly but vociferously aggrieved, then, Yamada seems to have adopted quite the opposite posture: his silence after the war may suggest that he was never convinced that his support for the Japanese government during the war was entirely unjustified.[60]

It is important to note that I do not mean by this to suggest that Yamada was a devoted adherent of totalitarian ideas, either from the beginning of his career or even during the period of his closest alignment with them. My argument is not that Yamada was, simply, a fascist, just as much as I argue against the idea that Yamada became a nationalist. The evolution of Yamada's ideals, practice, and rhetoric is much more complex than this. What I argue instead is that the philosophy that he held from more or less the very beginning of his career led him to the point where he came to consciously and willingly align himself with the totalitarian ideals that rose to prominence in Japan in the 1930s and 40s. What is so interesting about this trajectory is that Yamada's

[59] Ashley, pp. 182, 203.

[60] On the hopelessness of making definitive moral verdicts about R. Strauss (an argument which holds just as true for Yamada), see: Pamela Potter, 'Strauss and the National Socialists: The Debate and Its Relevance', in *Richard Strauss: New Perspectives on the Composer and His Work*, ed. by Bryan Gilliam, paperback edn (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997), pp. 93-113 (particularly pp. 110-11).

philosophy was at no point uniquely fascist, but that the totalitarianism of the later Japanese Empire presented a solution to the inconsistencies in his thought with which Yamada had been struggling, and, moreover, that this solution required no dramatic conversion on his part.

This process of alignment can be seen most clearly in the way that Yamada's theory of 'unity through purity' and Kitahara's *dōshin* ideology came together during the 1920s and 30s. I have described above how the logic of purity can be seen at work in the coda to 'Accent in Poetry', with its proscription of the free use of poetic language, in order that an equivalent proscription of the free use of melody might be more easily effected. But it is reflected also in the simplified forms and harmonies of the songs that Yamada began to compose after *Nursemaids' Songs*, as a result of his direct collaboration with Kitahara Hakushū and concurrent more total embrace of the strictures of the accent theory.

This musical reductionism is epitomized in 'Bitter-Orange Blossoms' (see score in appendix 6). The melodic and harmonic fabric of the song is quite distinct from that of, for example, *Nursemaids' Songs*, with the exception of 'Resurrection Lilies'. In terms of rhythm, the sung melody consists largely of semiquavers, each syllable in the Japanese being set to a single note, none of which are syncopated. Where there are longer notes, they occur at the most obvious points of articulation, mainly the ends of phrases in the text. The only two exceptions to this pattern in the entire piece are one or two dotted quavers at moments of particular emotional height (bars 32 and 40). The harmonies, meanwhile, are of a very different order to the ambiguity of, say, 'The Working Girl'. They consist in essence of a series of alternations between the tonic, dominant, and subdominant regions, occasionally embellished by raised passing notes. The key does not modulate, and the phrase endings are all carefully marked by perfect or imperfect

cadences. Such transparency, such simplicity, is emblematic of the new priorities in Yamada's musical style, under the influence of the *dōshin* ideology.[61]

It is interesting to note that this is not, in fact, the simplest of Yamada's later songs. Unlike 'This Road', for example, the setting is not strictly speaking strophic, although it is clearly versified; and the level of detail in the score, in terms of performance instructions and dynamic markings, seems to be aimed at a professional singer. However, if Yamada had turned to such transparent harmonies and simple melodies even in songs, like 'Bitter-Orange Blossoms', which he marked up for concert performers, this only compounds my argument by showing how deeply rooted Kitahara's ideals of simplicity had become in Yamada's practice. Moreover, in the song's popular reception, which was shaped by mass-media recordings and performance in a non-professional setting, such as schools, many of these more detailed elements of the composition would have been lost. What remained was the folklike harmonic and melodic core of the song, by virtue of which the song achieved, as Pacun has written, 'the status of folk music in Japan'.[62]

'Bitter-Orange Blossoms' and similar songs, which include the vast majority of those that Yamada composed after 1922, are classic examples of the genres of the 'new folk song' and children's song that Kitahara developed from the late 1910s onwards. These genres were intended for a popular audience, often with a didactic function, as can be seen from Yamada's insistence that children's songs contribute to the formation of a Japanese national identity through the teaching of correct, standardized accent. Aesthetic simplicity was, accordingly, regarded as an essential component of these compositions; this can, again, be seen in Yamada's emphasis on the role of strophic structure in these genres.[63] But the importance of this simplicity was more fundamental to Yamada's work than as a corollary of mere functionality. It was also an ideological determination, which

[61] Kōsaku Yamada, 'Karatachi no hana', in SZ, VII, pp. 60-62.

[62] Pacun, 'Kósçak Yamada's Visit to the United States', p. 68.

[63] Yamada, 'Accent in Poetry', p. 350.

linked the formal process of reductionist simplification to the theoretical imperative of purification in service of unity.

The ideology that seems best to have dictated and legitimized this connexion in Yamada's work was that which Kitahara had called *dōshin*, the 'heart of a child' or 'childlike spirit', which I introduced in chapter 1. In essence, *dōshin* describes the utopia of a child's undeveloped mind, which, Kitahara wrote, was special because 'it is children that grasp the true essence of a thing ['mono no shin no honshitsu' 物の真の本質]'.[64] This belief in a childlike naivety that is most closely in touch with the essential reality of the world must have been extremely appealing Yamada, with his epistemology that demanded purification until the 'true essence of a thing' could be perceived. One can therefore understand why Yamada might have embraced the support of Kitahara's *dōshin* for his own philosophy, troubled by its inconsistencies as it seems to have been by the early 1920s.

However, whilst the *dōshin* ideology was sufficiently similar to Yamada's own prior thoughts for his adoption of it to be uncomplicated, as he began to rely upon it in practice, that practice began inexorably to be shaped by the consequences of Kitahara's theory. Most important amongst these is the fact that the *dōshin* ideology was, by its very nature, anti-intellectual. It was founded upon the idea that a child could perceive the truth of reality only because their mind was free of intellectual speculation, which complicated and corrupted the clarity of human perception. 'I am ashamed of my adult's intellect,' Kitahara lamented in one of the anecdotes that form his account of the meaning of *dōshin*. He had been asking a child to identify various plants, and had received the same reply each time, whether pointing at a cypress or a turnip: 'The boy's answers were simplicity itself. "A leaf." There's no doubt that it is absolutely a leaf'. This narrative reveals all of the elements that Yamada must have found appealing in Kitahara's ideology. The boy's answers to Kitahara's questions were the epitome of reduction, finding in the cypress and

[64] Hakushū Kitahara, 'Dōshin', in *Hakushū zenshū*, ed. by Kimata, XVI: *Shibun hyōrun 2*, pp. 6-10 (p. 7).

the turnip and all the fruits of the field a single, common element: the leaf. Thus purified, the unnecessarily particular divisions between species of plant that the intellectual pursuit of truth demands were dismissed and unity between phenomena was assured.[65]

By contrast, the harm caused by this unnecessarily particular, intellectual mind was not spared from withering criticism. ‘There is nothing so base as an adult. I am always unwittingly wounding gods,’ Kitahara wrote in another anecdote. His ‘gods’ were the children whom he had come to know whilst living in Katsushika 葛飾, on the periphery of Tokyo; in particular, he was referring to one girl who had brought him a bunch of wild chamomile that she had found on the plain. Kitahara, looking for something with which to show his appreciation for ‘this heart, that, thinking nothing of itself, would give flowers to another; this love, that would gift everything to another without asking for any reward’, promised the girl ‘something nice’ if she brought him flowers each morning. He was then horrified when she, along with her friends, began to bring him flowers every day in expectation of that reward. Much of what Kitahara and Yamada wrote and thought about the idea of *dōshin* reworked this essential dichotomy between childlike innocence and intellectual corruption.

It is interesting to note that Kitahara, too, relied on Christian imagery to express this. The gift that he gave to the girl in the anecdote above was a ‘single red apple’, and so it was ‘once the girl had eaten of the fruit of knowledge’ that she lost her innocence.[66] This reference to the early chapters of the biblical book of Genesis is particularly Christian in its emphasis on the Fall of Man and the resultant corruption of human nature. I have described above how the use of Christian imagery as a trope in the Japanese arts is particularly redolent of modernity; as such, its use here situates Kitahara’s ideology firmly within Japan’s modern times.

[65] Ibid.

[66] Ibid., p. 8.

Kitahara's call for the destruction of unsullied, unintellectual innocence to be mitigated has received praise from many critics, both at the time and more recently. It is for this reason that his popular reputation now rests, to a large degree, on his authorship of these children's poems.[67] This appraisal of Kitahara derives in part from the contrast that his approach to writing for children made with that which was common in Japan at the turn of the century, as represented by the school songs that pervaded the education system of the day. As I have discussed above, these songs were among the very first derivations of the Western classical musical tradition to be introduced to Japan in the second half of the nineteenth century. They were written as part of the Meiji state's drive to rapidly modernize the nation, an important element of which was the education of the first Japanese citizens to grow up in this new world. As such, the school songs were designed to sculpt the minds of a modern generation. This was to be achieved through the songs' musical qualities, such as the Western melodies that were held to be more progressive, more evolutionarily advanced, than those of traditional Japanese music because of the ostensibly scientific derivation of their harmonies from the overtone series. It was also to be achieved through their didactic lyrics, which were explicit in their intent to inculcate a sense of national identity in those young children who sang them so often that they learned the words by heart.[68] A typical example of the genre would be 'Light of the Firefly', which I have mentioned above as the epitome of this style of song. The third verse of it reads:

Tsukushi no kiwami, michi no oku,	The edge of the South and the depths of the North
umi yama tōku, hedatsu tomo,	may be far separated by seas and mountains,
sono magokoro wa, hedate naku,	but our devotion, without separation,
hitotsu ni tsukuse, kuni no tame.	is forever one, for the sake of the country.

[67] Keene, 'Foreword', p. viii.

[68] Eppstein, *Western Music*; Richard C. Miller, 'Music and Musicology in the Engineering of National Identity in Meiji Japan: Modernization Strategies of the Music Investigation Committee, 1870-1900' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2004).

In contrast to this, Kitahara insisted that children's songs should not be written from the perspective of adults, who would enforce upon children their image of what a child should be and how they should think. They should instead be written from the perspective of a child, from the point of view of the 'child's heart', with all the purity of intention and of wonder which Kitahara perceived in it. In practice, this amounted to a naivety of lyric and a simplicity of musical setting, ably exemplified, as I have shown, in Kitahara's collaboration with Yamada.

Neither of these two seem to have minded one of the major consequences of this childlike aesthetic: namely, that the songs on which they collaborated achieved great popularity. The reception history of the likes of 'Bitter-Orange Blossoms' demonstrates this: examining the programmes of concerts in which his music was performed, which Yamada collected during the 1920s, one can see how this and similar songs almost immediately became staples, to the detriment of cycles like *Nursemaids' Songs* (see appendix 5). Such popularity was not only a result of the songs' comprehensibility, which made them more accessible to a wider audience, both to listen to and to sing, than the more complex songs that Yamada had tended to write before. It also seems that the songs struck a particular chord with contemporary Japanese society. They provided a moving evocation of home, of childhood, and of stability, which counteracted the anxieties of modernity. It is doubtless from this perspective that the critic Satō lauds Kitahara's children's songs for 'unexpectedly exposing the spiritual problems of Japan, and scrutinizing them'.[69] Small wonder, then, that these compositions appealed to a wide audience that was increasingly unsure of its roots.[70]

[69] Satō, p. 12.

[70] The *dōshin* ideology has been considered more sympathetically than I do here in: Kentarō Miyazawa, *Kitahara Hakushū: warabegokoro no kanata e; tsuika ronbun*, Hakushū kenkyū shiryō shūsei, 10 (Tokyo: Kuresu Shuppan, 2014).

Not all scholars, however, have been as comfortable with the *dōshin* ideology and the songs that Yamada, with Kitahara, wrote under its influence. As Cornyetz writes of the Nobel Prize-winning novelist Kawabata Yasunari 川端康成 (1899-1970):

> The aesthetics and politics of the representation that I am describing, although they may well share much structurally and even thematically with those of fascist systems, might not seem particularly sinister in the absence of a fascist movement. But these aesthetics become potentially monstrous when they are used to justify brutality.[71]

A similar criticism can be levelled against Kitahara's incitement to preserve an anti-intellectual innocence in the minds of twentieth-century Japanese children, and this is where scholarly criticism of the *dōshin* ideology provides an explanation for Yamada's rhetorical shift. In short, it is possible to argue that the nature of these songs' reaction against the disjuncture of modernity, which they were written to elide, tended inexorably towards the totalitarianism which they would increasingly support; and, when placed in a totalitarian context, the advocators of the *dōshin* ideal could not but see its realization in the world around them. The contemporary Marxist philosopher, Tosaka Jun 戸坂潤 (1900-45), described this process in action when he argued that literary ideas 'easily became "ideologies of literature" ['bungakushugi', 文学主義] that rejected positivism and logic and then served as aesthetic models for the social world'. Thus fascism, 'first laughed away in the realm of social thought, had worked its way back to society through the realm of literature, which could easily accommodate its mythmaking capacity'.[72]

To explore this process in terms of the *dōshin* ideology, it is necessary to turn to the dissenting voice of the critic Yokogi Tokuhisa 横木徳久. He has argued that, very much to the contrary of received opinion, 'all children's songs [*dōyō*] were, intrinsically, a learned temptation to death'. By this statement, which is an undoubtedly provocative

[71] Cornyetz, p. 343.

[72] Tansman, p. 3.

assessment of some of Japan's most beloved music, Yokogi means that the nature of the escapism offered by these songs inculcated a passivity towards the real world in those whose hearts were moved by them. He suggests that 'children's songs represented an unsullied utopia', but that, 'For the young, the unsullied utopia of the "childlike heart" [*dōshin*] was a utopia that was attainable only through death'.[73] Yokogi argues that, in the early years of the Showa period, peaking in 1932, this death took the form of suicide. He points to the fact that a copy of the leading literary journal that promoted the *dōshin* ideology, the very same *Red Bird* that Kitahara had been deeply involved with since 1918, was found at the site of the notorious Sakatayama 坂田山 love suicide. This was an incident in which two university students, whose parents had forbidden their relationship, leapt together into a volcano crater to their deaths; a wave of sensationalist media interest provoked hundreds of copycat incidents. It is perhaps interesting to note, in light of the vocabulary at the centre of this chapter, that the students' suicide note declared that they had died 'pure in body in spirit'.[74]

But Yokogi stresses a different form of death that he argues this ideology to have promoted: 'a hollowing-out of the self-consciousness that prompts a cessation of thought'.[75] This intellectual death was entirely premeditated by the idea of the 'childlike heart' as Kitahara described it. Indeed, it was an essential corollary of the ideology: children ought to 'know nothing', to be 'simplicity itself […] in all innocence'.[76] It would, therefore, be hard to argue that Kitahara and Yamada did not embrace, from the first, an anti-intellectual position such as Yokogi describes, for it was inherent to their account of prelapsarian innocence. Whether the pair were immediately aware or supportive of the implications of their ideology is less clear. Yokogi concludes, however, that the

[73] Tokuhisa Yokogi, *Kitahara Hakushū: kindai shi e no toporojī* (Tokyo: Shichōsha, 1989), pp. 12-14.

[74] Peter B. High, *The Imperial Screen: Japanese Film Culture in the Fifteen Years' War, 1931-1945* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2003), p. 28.

[75] Yokogi, p. 14.

[76] Kitahara, 'Dōshin', p. 7.

consequences were all but inevitable. The anti-intellectualism of *dōshin* promoted a reduction or contraction in the possible significance of a children's song:

> The world that [Kitahara] believed in, of supremacy rather than self-consciousness, was intoxicated only by the self-sufficiency of the 'childlike heart'. Children's songs came to be reduced [lit.: contracted] to that. This was nothing other than the *disease known as children's song* that infested the modern age.[77]

Satō supports this identification of the *dōshin* ideology as an abstracting, beautifying phenomenon.[78] Such a contraction of significance could not but have a similar effect on the intellect, and this imperative that the intellect be diminished was a key element in the fact that 'in later years, [Kitahara's] intoxication transitioned, without resistance, from children's songs to patriotic songs ['aikōka' 愛好歌]'.[79] Pacun supports Yokogi's observation of this slippage between song genres. He writes that, since songs from 1901 to 1940 shared 'similar compositional language built from pentatonic scales, triadic outlining, dotted rhythms, and emphatic and direct phrasing […] it is not hard to imagine how someone educated in [school songs] might fall in love with [popular songs ('kayōkyoku' 歌謡曲)] and ultimately find themselves singing along with [military songs]'.[80]

That the *dōshin* ideology, despite being lauded by some scholars as a liberation from the corrupting nationalism of the older school songs, should in fact serve equally well as an ideological force that could shape the socio-political landscape, is apparent in the article by Kitahara that I cited above. It can particularly clearly be seen in the anecdote of the girl with the flowers. In the loving heart of this girl, Kitahara portrayed the perfect community that would be engendered by pure minds that are uncalculatingly good and that give everything for others. This he contrasted with the intellectual calculation by which such purity could be despoiled, and by which the simple, organic community, to

[77] Yokogi, p. 16.

[78] Satō, p. 22.

[79] Yokogi, p. 16.

[80] Pacun, 'Nationalism and Musical Style', p. 21.

which a ‘childlike heart’ naturally tends, could be undermined. It is not more than a step from this explicit account of childlike innocence, as described in the article, to the implicit outline of an ostensibly ethical society, in which community can only cohere if its members act thoughtlessly, like children.[81]

The fact of the matter is that such an abdication of intellectual responsibility is the dream of any totalitarian regime for its population. As Margaret Canovan writes:

> The price of total power is the eradication of human plurality. The characteristics that make us more than members of an animal species – our unique individuality and our capacity for spontaneous thought and action – make us unpredictable and therefore get in the way of attempts to harness us for collective motion. Only *one* can be omnipotent.[82]

This ‘one’ need not necessarily be a single human being, such as the dictator; it may instead be the people ‘made one’, as Gluck has it. In order to achieve this oneness, this unity, the totalitarian state may ‘employ unlimited powers of […] indoctrination to prevent any deviation from orthodoxy’.[83] Marcello Sorce Keller has described how the art of music, because it is a social activity which, by its very nature, seeks to include people and can therefore also exclude others, is ‘especially apt to offer a comfortable home to symbolic and ideological imports’ for this purpose.[84] Thus the songs of Yamada and Kitahara were ideal engines for totalitarian ideology, serving to ‘eliminate the capacity for individual thought and experience’ among the people, shaping their unconscious and the possibilities of their conscious thought, thus to ‘bind them into [a] unified movement’.[85]

[81] Kitahara, ‘Dōshin’, pp. 7-8.

[82] Margaret Canovan, ‘Arendt’s Theory of Totalitarianism: A Reassessment’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Hannah Arendt*, ed. by Dana Villa (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 25-43 (p. 27).

[83] Ibid., p. 26.

[84] Marcello Sorce Keller, ‘Why is Music So Ideological, and Why Do Totalitarian States Take It So Seriously? A Personal View from History and the Social Sciences’, *Journal of Musicological Research*, 26 (2007), 91-122 (p. 96).

[85] Canovan, p. 27.

The potential for such slippage from the *dōshin* ideology to the totalitarianism of the Japanese Imperial state was realized as conflict with China escalated towards the end of the 1930s, during which time both Yamada and Kitahara began to support the Imperial Japanese regime increasingly directly. I have described in chapter 1 both Yamada's support for the Empire's cultural policies, building to his appointment as chairman of the Japanese Musical Culture Committee, and the war songs for children that Kitahara continued to write even from his death bed. In the context of Yamada's embrace of Kitahara and his philosophy, these last are particularly notable, for Yamada's settings of them and similar works by other poets undoubtedly brought them to a wider audience, just as his settings of the earlier children's songs had done. Thus it was that songs that addressed explicitly militarist themes, songs about bombs and planes and tanks that made these weapons and their use a normal part of childhood and so a normal part of the world that every child would inherit, became more commonplace. A particularly unpleasant example, albeit one for which Kitahara did not write the lyrics, might be a song of 1932, 'The Song of the Three Human Bomb Heroes' ('Nikudan san'yūshi no uta' 爆弾三勇士の歌), which celebrated the actions of three soldiers who cleared a path through barbed wire by detonating a suicide bomb during the Shanghai Incident of that year.[86]

However, Yokogi's critique of the *dōshin* ideology reveals how Yamada's songs came to be implicitly aligned with the totalitarian philosophy of Imperial Japanese society some time before the 1930s, when both that philosophy and his own practice began to reach their explicitly militarist apex. Unlike pieces such as *Nursemaids' Songs*, in which, quite possibly unintentionally but nevertheless potently, the uprootedness and anxiety of modern times were not disguised, later works in the 'new folk song' and children's song genres aimed to banish the spectre of modernist disjuncture behind a façade of unity, achieved through simplicity, or purity: of form, of lyric, and of mind. Within the confines of

[86] Kōsaku Yamada, 'Nikudan san'yūshi no uta', *Nagasaki hibi shinbun*, 15 March 1932; Pacun, 'Style and Politics', p. 46.

Yamada's works and theories, this desperate but logical extension of the only solution to the disunity of modern times that was conceivable to the composer was more or less effective. To take the accent theory, for example, the reduction of linguistic complexity, which was an inherent part of the process of simplifying song texts towards a state of innocence, rendered void many of the problems that had plagued previous applications of Yamada's declamatory methodology. Again, the popular reception of these new songs by the Japanese people, epitomized by their recording as part of the new age of mass-media consumption, meant that they could play their part in the social and cultural unification of the Japanese nation in a way that Yamada's more artistically challenging songs could not.

However, the unity that Yamada thus achieved came at the cost of reality. On the one hand, whilst searching after unity, compositions like *Nursemaids' Songs* had revealed that search's ultimate futility in the modern disunities that they could not but unveil. On the other hand, despite achieving unity, of word and music and among the people of the Japanese nation, compositions such as 'Bitter-Orange Blossoms' abrogated the reality of modern times, in which such unity was an impossibility, through reductionist simplification. In the place of existent disjuncture, they established a utopia that negated the need to intellectually interrogate the world about, thus engendering Yokogi's 'cessation of thought', which could in turn be instrumentalized by a totalitarian regime with the willing participation of its creators. In this way, even before the composition of songs such as 'The Three Human Bomb Heroes', the implicit style and content of songs such as 'Bitter-Orange Blossoms', in countering the anxiety of modernity through the *dōshin* ideology's call for anti-intellectual innocence, prepared in their mass audiences a state of mind that was but a step from the elimination of the individual required by Imperial Japan's final, totalitarian state.

The question, first posed in chapter 1, remains: how did Yamada move from a rhetorical position of outward-looking cosmopolitanism to one of inward-looking nativism? I have argued, in chapter 2, that he did not, in doing so, truly withdraw his claim to be a scion, if not the scion, of the Austro-German musical tradition. Thus I undermined the

narrative of the ‘Japanese turn’ that has been used to explain this shift by previous scholars. Importantly, Yamada himself does not seem to have recognized that any transition occurred at all, in that he at no point criticized or renounced his older philosophy. In his mind, then, his actions followed a continuum. From an external perspective, where the seeming inconsistencies of his career are more apparent, one can still only describe an evolution.

In short, then, I can only conclude that Yamada’s modernist faith in a unity that was to be achieved through purity, as a solution to the sense of broken continuity and loss that characterized modern times, is the foundation of both of the extremes of Yamada’s practice. This interpretation accounts for the passion with which he preached internationalism to his dismissive audience in Carnegie Hall in 1919, but it also accounts for the dedication with which, a mere decade later, Yamada pursued an anti-intellectual agenda and did not balk when it led him towards a closed nativism that he had once, apparently, doubted. Any philosophical or ideological ‘turn’ that seems to direct this shift is superficial. Instead, one and the same philosophy underlies both activities. Moreover, as I have argued in this chapter, that single ideology dictated the transition between them. The failure of Yamada’s first attempts to implement ‘unity through purity’ logically demanded, for want of realizing other possible solutions, a doubling-down on the process of unification: that is, purification. This explains the shift in Yamada’s music that is evident in the movement from the complexity of *Nursemaids’ Songs* to the simplicity of ‘Bitter-Orange Blossoms’. *Nursemaids’ Songs* sought to reproduce the superficial unity of Kitahara’s ‘Everyday Life in Yanagawa’ poems, but succeeded only in highlighting their more fundamental disunities. ‘Bitter-Orange Blossoms’ succeeded in presenting a form of unity, for all that it was illusory, but only by an intensification of the purification that also underlay the compositional methodology of *Nursemaids’ Songs*. Between the two moments that these songs represent, therefore, there is only an evolution, and not a revolution.

Thus one can understand the arcing trajectory of Yamada's life and work as something that, whilst presenting superficially different faces, stemmed throughout from the same ideal of 'unity through purity'. One can make out the evolution that rendered both the demanding esoterica of the dance poem and the numbing simplicity of the child's war song equivalent responses to modernity. And one can see that the inward-looking militarist totalitarian was also the outward-looking, avant-garde internationalist: the classical composer, Yamada Kōsaku.

Conclusion

Yamada Kōsaku presents something of a conundrum to his interpreters. How can one make sense of a composer who seems to demand, in some ways, that his audiences disregard the place of his birth, but whose reputation, in other ways, seems to rest upon an essentialist conception of his own ethnicity? I have argued in this thesis that the manner in which many scholars have explained this discrepancy is a misinterpretation of the available evidence.

The received narrative of the 'Japanese turn' relies upon the idea that, at the pivotal moment of his career, Yamada came to recognize his Japanese identity, as a result of which reconnection he developed a unique and laudable musical style. My scepticism towards this idea is derived, firstly, from an Orientalist critique of the characterization of non-Western individuals by their inherent Otherness. The imperative to assess non-Western artists by evaluating the authenticity with which they express their ostensibly essential identity is suspect, to say the least. It necessitates the dismissal as '"bad" *yōgaku*' of 'that which contains overt Western influence or only pays lip service to traditional practices', and so complicates any attempt to consider such music 'as a direct and valid expression […] rather than as a missed opportunity to express "authentic Japan"'.[1]

Secondly, a 'Japanese turn' is not clearly identifiable in Yamada's biography. I have shown in chapter 1 that, in all the periods to which it has been connected, the historical and biographical evidence tells against any sudden, nativist shift in Yamada's outlook. Particularly compelling is the fact that the most cogent evidence for Yamada's self-identification as a scion of the Western classical music tradition, who wished only to be counted amongst the number of that tradition's great artists, dates from precisely that period to which the 'Japanese turn' is most confidently ascribed: his visit to the United States in 1917-19. In other words, any attempt to define Yamada as a composer of his

[1] Pacun, 'Nationalism and Musical Style', pp. 5, 8.

place, rather than as a composer of his time, at any point before the 1920s, has to contend both with a dearth of evidence and with Yamada's own protestations to the contrary.

Thirdly, there is little evidence for the 'Japanese turn' in Yamada's musical practice. Far from incorporating identifiably Japanese elements or ideas, the music that he wrote after the assumed date of the 'turn' was characterized by a clarification of rhythm and harmony that hove closer to the common practice orthodoxy of the Western classical tradition than anything he had written before. A clear example of this is found in 'Bitter-Orange Blossoms'. More consequentially, I have shown in chapter 2 that the compositional theories upon which Yamada's music was structured, particularly that of his 'accent theory', were fundamentally of the Western classical music tradition in origin. Yamada made little attempt to hide this fact. For all that, in the essay 'Accent in Poetry', he denounced a series of Western composers, he also all but explicitly acknowledged their influence in his account of the accent theory's development. Moreover, Yamada's claims for the theory's universality strongly suggest that he did not conceive of it as a contribution to a tradition of Japanese composition, but rather, as a supranational musical style.

For these reasons, I find it hard to agree with the narrative of an essential 'Japanese turn'. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that there was some form of transition in Yamada's work and practice. The style of his music did change, even if the nature of that change was other to the manner in which it has commonly been described. Yamada's public presentation of himself, too, underwent a clear shift, albeit a slower and less dramatic one than is usually claimed. Thus, from the outward-looking cosmopolitan of 1918, who demanded that his American audience recognize him as a composer of his time, he became the inward-looking nativist, who reminisced in 1961 about being a composer of his place. According to the 'Japanese turn' narrative, this shift is substantial: a genuine recognition by Yamada of his essential Japanese identity, which transformed his life and work. As I have shown, I have found no evidence to support such a transition.

I have argued, therefore, that this shift is superficial, and that underlying it is a stable, philosophical core, in which both the cosmopolitan and the nativist are united.

This core I have described as 'modernist', although I am aware that some would disagree with my use of the term. What I mean is that, throughout his life, Yamada believed in the idea of a unifying totality that could repair the sense of disjuncture, of rootlessness and loss, that can be said to characterize modern times. At the beginning of Yamada's career, this unity was to be found in the supranational racelessness thought characteristic of music in the Western classical tradition, which was believed, in a Japan then in hock to social Darwinist ideas, to be the most scientifically advanced form of musical expression. Yamada also believed that unity could be found in the perfect union of the arts, and of the arts with the human soul: this is the expansion of Wagner's concept of the 'total work of art' that Yamada called the 'unified work of art'.

However, such unity proved impossible to achieve. Even in the relatively limited, practical instance of the union of poetry and music in song, Yamada confronted difficulties in the execution of his theories. My analysis of *Nursemaids' Songs* in chapter 3 has demonstrated that Yamada's theory was not only less total than he believed, proving incapable of setting even all Japanese words, but its application in this instance actually brought out latent disunities in the original poetry that can be interpreted to express the self-same modern disjuncture that he was trying to resist. Furthermore, I have shown in chapter 4, using the model of the Hall of Spiritual Music, that Yamada's theory of 'unity through purity' was logically flawed from the outset. The logic of purity on which it relied was a logic of difference, for it represented a process in which the objects to be unified were reduced to such a fundamental level that any union between them was rendered impossible. In the Hall, this is demonstrated by the purification of music to its sonic quality alone, a quality which is coincidental to, say, dance. As a consequence, the unity of dance and of music would not have been possible in the very space that Yamada had imagined for the perfect union of the arts.

Thus Yamada faced the ‘crisis of modernity’: the question of what to do when the ruptures of the modern world demonstrate that they cannot be overcome. His response was to double down on his beliefs. In the second half of chapter 4, I have described how he was aided in this by his meeting with Kitahara. The timely influence of that poet’s ideas of childlike innocence and the purity of a child’s perception of the world seemed to reaffirm Yamada’s faith that unity could be achieved through such purity. Inspired by this, he committed himself to the children’s songs and ‘new folk songs’ that formed the core of his artistic and philosophical collaboration with Kitahara. No doubt he was further encouraged by the mass popularity such work brought him.

Inexorably, however, this music, these ideas, and this success began to bring him into alignment with the nativist ideology that was to find its ultimate realization in the totalitarianism of the later Japanese Empire. Yamada’s ideals of ‘unity through purity’, as well as the anti-intellectual *dōshin* ideology with which they had become bound up, found easy resonances with the Empire’s doctrines of a united national community into which the individual would be subsumed. The composer’s nativist rhetoric evolved alongside the development of this state, until, by the time of the Second World War, his transition from outward-looking cosmopolitan to inward-looking nativist was complete. This transition remained, however, a superficial one, rhetorical in nature, beneath which the derivation of his music from the Austro-German branch of the Western classical music tradition and his totalizing epistemology of unity remained stable.

The trajectory that I portray Yamada to have followed seems to represent a clear example of the elision between modernism and fascism that I have described in chapter 4. The idea that the one might easily, even inevitably, become the other is controversial and uncomfortable. Nevertheless, I have shown how the stable core of Yamada’s philosophy was a belief in a totalizing theory of the world, which might be called ‘modernist’, through which everything would be brought to a unifying state of order. I have shown how this ideal cannot be recognized in the world of reality: in Yamada’s case, the unity which he tried to forge between different arts, most notably between poetry and

music, could not but be subject to compromise, no matter how total the theories behind his activities seemed. I have shown that, whilst the 'crisis of modernity' of which this is one example can be responded to in several different ways, all of them require an abandonment of the belief in totalizing unity that prompted the crisis in the first place. And I have shown that, when Yamada found himself unable to abandon this belief, the only possibility remaining to him was an intensification of the process of purification by which unity was originally sought.

In the example of the accent theory, Yamada's instruction to both poets and composers that they should write in a reduced manner, in order that union between their arts according to his theory could be possible, demonstrates how such intensification is indicative of a modernist project that does not forge a unity that is lost, but enforces a unity that was never present. Enhanced by desperation, this enforcement of unity readily becomes an oppressive, destructive force. In the case of the accent theory, it restricted the possibility for artistic expression on the part of its adherents. This is reflected in the simplicity of Yamada's later songs. In less limited contexts, the effects may be similarly reductive, but with far more repressive consequences: in this thesis, I have described Yokogi's analysis of the relationship between children's songs and the valorization of death amongst those who grew up in the decade before the Second World War. Thus one could argue, from my investigation of Yamada's life and work, that the pursuit of modernist totality cannot but become totalitarian, as Lyotard suspected.[2]

This is one example of the results that might be produced by the different way of seeing Japanese composers in the Western classical music tradition that I have attempted in this thesis. As I have argued above, great effort has been made by many of those who have researched Yamada to identify and describe how, as a composer, he is 'Japanese'. Other Japanese composers have been treated in a similar way. Accordingly, studies of this genre of music in Japan often seem to share the assumption that, as the

[2] Schwartz, p. 12.

most definable feature of the composers under discussion is the land of their birth, this is the characteristic that must be concentrated upon in order to identify the particular characteristics of their compositional voice. Such a perspective is understandable: in a field which is still wrestling with the issues of canonicity, the Japanese nationality of composers like Yamada is the one thing on which more canonical composers cannot compete. Thus a niche is established, in which Japanese composers can command attention. However, as I have demonstrated, to set such composers apart from the tradition in which they worked does them a distinct discredit.

To be sure, there is contextual information that must be taken into account, that renders the experiences of a musician working in early twentieth-century Tokyo different from that of one working in, say, Berlin of the same period. These are not, however, substantially different to the contextual details that would distinguish a German composer from a French one. Nevertheless, in contemporary English-language musicology, plenty of scholars feel able to negotiate the differences between this latter pairing, but comparatively few, those between the former. I would argue that one reason for the lack of attention given to Japanese composition in English-language musicology is because Japanese musicians have, for so long, been defined by their difference. The fact is that musicologists working in the English language are, as a result of the historical circumstances discussed in my introduction, far more likely to be familiar with music from European or North American composers than they are with that of composers from elsewhere. The more the connexion of these composers with the elsewhere from which they come is emphasized as an essential element of their being, the more difficult it is for most scholars to find points of comparison with that with which they are familiar, and so to find a way into the consideration of Japanese music.

I must admit that there is also an issue with language. Consideration of the texts that contextualize a composer and their compositions is important, and a complete discussion of the reception of such music is difficult without consulting the relevant documents. Furthermore, what research there is to date on composers like Yamada has,

for the most part, been done by those who have no difficulty accessing the source material, for the simple reason that they work in that very tongue. Many scholars of musicology by necessity become familiar with the likes of French, German, or Italian; an expansion of the range of such language acquisition would be no bad thing. Nevertheless, the lack of this information is not quite so total a barrier in the case of musicology as it would be for almost any other field of study. Pacun, who has done some of the most perceptive work in the English-speaking world on Japanese composition to date, does not cite any Japanese-language scholarship in his articles. These same articles, however, address the music of composers like Yamada with an attention to detail and an awareness of its relationship to the broader tradition of Western classical music that has brought out novel insights of great interest. Of course an ability to read the source texts around the music is important, but if even the ability to read the music by those who would otherwise be able to do so is attenuated, Japanese music in the Western classical tradition will inevitably fall through the cracks.

In this thesis, I have treated Yamada as I would any other composer in his tradition. I have paid attention to his historical context, and tried to read him both as one figure in a broader field, and also as an individual in his own right. I have also treated his music as a product of the tradition in which he was trained, and to which he never ceased to align himself. The results present Yamada and his music in a very different light to that in which he is usually perceived, overturning the assumption that he spoke with a 'native voice' in order to depict a more nuanced image of a man who wrestled with the complexities of living and working in his modern times.[3] If this approach were replicated across the whole of the 150 year-long history of Japanese music in the Western classical tradition, it is certain that much more might profitably be said.

[3] Herd, 'The Neonationalist Movement', p. 120.

Appendix 1: Comparison of Accent Analyses in ‘Before the Great Flood’

utsu’shiyo-no	M	Total words:	14 [21]
a’rashi-ni	M	of which (M)atching:	11 (79%)
i’to-o	M	of which (N)ot matching:	3 (21%)
[ta’e]	U	[of which (D)uplicates:	5]
wa’-ga	M	[of which (U)nknown:	2]
ko’to	M		
kana’denasu	M		
shirabe’-no	N		
aya’-mo	M		
[na’ku]	U		
mida’ruru	N		
[i’to-wa]	D		
tae’nu	M		
[wa’-ga]	D		
[shirabe]	D		
midare’nu	N		
[i’to-wa]	D		
[tae’nu]	D		
ta’eshi	M		
kono	M		
hito’suji	M		

Appendix 2: Texts and Translations of *Nursemaids' Song*

I. NOSKAI

Hori no BANKO o katayosete
nani o omou zo. Hanaayame
kaoru yūbe ni shinnari to
hitori dete miru, hanaayame.

II. Kakitsubata

Yanagawa no
furuki nagare no kakitsubata
hiru wa ONGO no te ni kaori
yoru wa shiorete
shamisen no
hosoi toiki ni nakiakasu.
(KETTSUGURI no atama ni hin chiita,
sunda to omōtara chii kieta.)

III. AIYAN no uta

Ijirashii ya.
Chūmaenda no yūgure ni
kobu ga tsukarete mi o kakusu.
Hon ni azami no murasaki ni
toge ga hikaru ja nai kai na.
UNTEREGAN no an chikushō wa futagokoro.
Washa hitosuji ni.

IV. Higanbana

GONSHAN, GONSHAN, doko e yuku.
Akai o-haka no higanbana,
kyō mo taori ni kita wai na.

GONSHAN, GONSHAN, nan bon ka.
Chi ni wa shichihon, chi no yō ni,
chōdo ano ko no toshi no kazu.

GONSHAN, GONSHAN, ki o tsuke na.
Hitotsu tsunde mo hi wa mahiru.
Hitotsu ato kara mata hiraku.

I. The Working Girl*

Putting a bench back by the canal,
what *are* you thinking? On an evening
fragrant with wild irises, one iris
tries lithely to blossom.†

II. Rabbit-Ear Irises‡

In Yanagawa,
irises from an old stream
smell sweet in a young lass's hands by day;
by night, wilted,
they weep 'til dawn to the thin sigh
of a shamisen.
(A dabchick took fright:
I thought he'd settled – then he vanished.)

III. The Nursemaid's Song

How pitiful!
At dusk in Chūmaenda§
a spider, exhausted, hides itself away.
Don't the thorns just glitter
on the purple of the thistle?
That brute, that two-faced bastard:
I was for him alone.

IV. Resurrection Lilies‖

Young lass, young lass, where are you going?
The red grave's spider lilies:
have you come to pick them today too?

Young lass, young lass, how many are there?
On the ground there are seven, like blood:
just as many as your child had years.

Young lass, young lass, take care now!
Even if you pick one, the sun is high:
one down, they will open again.

GONSHAN, GONSHAN, nashi nakuro.
Itsu made totte mo, higanbana,
kowa ya, akashi ya, mada nanatsu.

Young lass, young lass, why do you weep?
No matter how long you pick them, the lilies
will be red, frightening, and still seven.

V. Kimagure

Aige kitachi no.
Hi no teri ame ga furu wai na.
Odan mo iya, Tinco sa!

So you came to meet me?
Is rain falling in the sunshine?
Oh, why should I care!

Sharimuri wakarete sono ato de
miren na botan ga mata hiraku.
Odan mo iya, Tinco sa!

Having parted needlessly, afterwards
the peonies on my mind open again.
Oh, why should I care!

V. Caprice

[*] *NOSKAI*: a word in the Yanagawa dialect, similar to *yūjo* 遊女 in standard Japanese. This term for a female sex worker is considerably more neutral in moral implication than any equivalent word in English.

[†] As explained in chapter 3, these lines are understood differently in Yamada's setting, such that they might read:

> *Putting a bench back by the canal,*
> *what are you thinking, sweet flag,*
> *on this fragrant evening, lithely?*
> *One sweet flag tries to blossom.*

[‡] Two species of iris appear in these poems. That in song I. 'The Working Girl', the *hanaayame*, is *iris sanguinea*, which typically grows wild. That in song II. 'Rabbit-Ear Irises', the *kakitsubata*, is *iris laevigata*. Whilst both would most readily be called 'irises' in English, they are poetically distinct in Japanese (as their dissimilar names would suggest) and so are quite different symbolically. It is *iris laevigata* which was immortalized in the *Tales of Ise*.

[§] Chūmaenda: the name of the garden of the house in which the poet Kitahara grew up.

[‖] *Higanbana*: flowers of the species *lycoris radiata*, popularly called 'cluster amaryllis' or 'red spider lilies'. In the poem, they are written with characters that are more usually pronounced *manjushage*, a word which denotes the flowers that grow in a Buddhist paradise, the scent of which brings remission of sin. The word *manjushage* can also be transferred to the terrestrial *higanbana*, since the latter is commonly found in graveyards and flowers around the time of the autumn equinox, at which a Buddhist festival of the dead *(Higan)* is celebrated. From this connection, it seems, derives another English name, 'resurrection lilies'.

Japanese Texts

I. NOSKAI

堀の BANKO をかたよせて
なにをおもふぞ。花あやめ
かをるゆふべに、しんなりと
ひとり出て見る、花あやめ。

II. かきつばた

柳河の
古きながれのかきつばた、
昼は ONGO の手にかをり、
夜は萎れて
三味線の
細い吐息に泣きあかす。
（ 鳰（ケエツグリ） のあたまに火ん付（ち）いた、
潜んだと思ふたらちい消えた。

III. AIYAN の歌

いぢらしや、
ちゆまえんだのゆふぐれに
蜘蛛（コブ）が疲れて身をかくす、
ほんに薊の紫に
刺が光るぢやないかいな。
（UNTEREGAN のあん畜生はふたごころ。
わしやひとすぢに。）

IV. 曼珠沙華

GONSHAN. GONSHAN. 何処へゆく、
赤い、御墓の曼珠沙華（ひがんばな）
曼珠沙華、
けふも手折りに来たわいな。
GONSHAN. GONSHAN. 何本か、
地には七本、血のように、
血のように、
ちやうど、あの児の年の数。
GONSHAN. GONSHAN. 気をつけな。
ひとつ摘んでも、日は真昼、
日は真昼、
ひとつあとからまたひらく。
GONSHAN. GONSHAN. 何故泣くろ。
何時まで取つても、曼珠沙華、
曼珠沙華、
恐や、赤しや、まだ七つ。

V. 気まぐれ

逢ひげ来たちの
日の照り雨がふるわいな。
Odan mo iya, Tinco sa!

しやりむり別れたそのあとで、
未練な牡丹がまたひらく。
Odan mo iya, Tinco sa!

Appendix 3: Accent Theory Analysis Results

I. NOSKAI

hori-no	0 0 1	A[1]	Total Syllables:	12
BANKO-o	[1 0 0 0]	U[2]	of which (A)ccurate:	9
katayo'sete	2 3 3 1 0	I	of which (I)naccurate:	1
na'ni-o	1 0 1	A[3]	of which (U)nknown:	2
omo'u-zo	1 2 0 1	A		
hanaa'yame	0 0 0-1 0 0	A[4]	Theory Adherence:	75%
kaoru	0 0 1	A		
yūbe-ni	1-2 3 0	A		
?shinnari-to	[0 1-2 3 2-1 2]	U		
hito'ri	0 1 0	A		
de'te	1 0	A		
mi'ru	1 0	A[5]		

[1] Atonic (unaccented) words are here treated as if the last syllable were accented. n.b. The underlined pitch in the contour analysis is the pitch which must be set higher than all others for the setting of the word to adhere to the accent theory.

[2] 'Unknown' words include words marked in the text as belonging to the Yanagawa dialect (e.g. *banko*) and words not found in any accent dictionary (e.g. *shinnari*).

[3] Where the accent of particles is inaccurate, but the accent of the word would otherwise be considered accurate, the word has been considered accurate: see chapter 3. However, where the accent of particles is accurate, but the accent of the word would otherwise be considered inaccurate, the word has been considered accurate: see *hori-no*, this song.

[4] Hyphens link multiple pitches to which a single syllable is set.

[5] Words repeated with exactly the same melody (e.g. *hanaayame* in this song) are counted only once in the analysis. This is to avoid skewing the results in such small sample sizes with repetitions of the same (in)accuracies.

II. Kakitsubata

Yanagawa-no	0 1-2-3 4 4-5 4	A	Total Syllables:	22
fu'ruki	1 0 2	I	of which (A)ccurate:	11
nagare-no	0 1 2 1	A	of which (I)naccurate:	7
kakitsu'bata	4 5 4-3 1-0 2-3	I	of which (U)nknown:	4
hiru'-wa	1 0 2	I		
ONGO-no	[0 1 1 2]	U	Theory Adherence:	50%
te'-ni	1 0	A		
kaori	0-1 2-1 0	I		
yo'ru-wa	1 0 1	A		
shiorete	0 0-1 1 2	A		
shamisen-no	0 0-1-2 3 2-1 2-1-0	I		
hoso'i	1 2 0	A		
toiki-ni	0 1 1 2	A		
nakiaka'su	0 1 1-2 3 1	A		
KETTSUGURI-no	[0 0 0 0 0]	U		
atama-ni	0 0 0 0	I		
hi'n	(0-0)	A[6]		
?chiita	[0 0]	U		
su'nda-to	(1-1) 0 0	I		
omo'utara	0 1 0 0 0	A		
?chii	[1 0]	U		
kieta	0 0 1	A		

[6] Brackets surround single pitches to which multiple syllables are set; the number of syllables is indicated by repetition of the pitch.

III. AIYAN no uta

ijira'shi-ya	0 1 2-3 2-1 1	A	Total Syllables:	19
CHŪMAENDA-no	[(0-0) 1 2 1 0 0]	U	of which (A)ccurate:	11
yūgure-ni	0-1 1-2 3 0	A	of which (I)naccurate:	5
?kobu-ga	[1 0 1]	U	of which (U)nknown:	3
tsuka'rete	1 1-2 1 0	A		
mi-o	0 0-1	A	Theory Adherence:	58%
kaku'su	0 1 0	A		
ho'n-ni	1 0 1	A		
azami-no	0 1 1 1	I		
mura'saki-ni	2 3 2 1 0-1-0	A		
toge-ga	0 1 0	A		
hika'ru-ja	3 3-4 2 1-0	A		
na'i-kai-na	3 1-0 2 1-0 4-1	A		
UNTEREGAN-no	[(2-2) 1 1 (0-0) 0]	U		
an'	(0-0)	I		
chikusho'o-wa	1 2 (1-1) 0	I		
futago'koro	0 0 0 1-2 0	I		
wash-ya	0 1	A		
hito'suji-ni	0 3 2-3 1 2	I		

IV. Higanbana

GONSHAN	[0 1 1 1]	U	Total Syllables:	55
GONSHAN	[0 1 2 3]	U	of which (A)ccurate:	39
do'ko-e	2 1 0	A	of which (I)naccurate:	11
yuku	0 1	A	of which (U)nknown:	5
akai	0 1 1	I		
ohaka-no	0 1 2 3	A	Theory Adherence:	71%
higa'nbana	2 3 2 1 1-0-1	A		
higa'nbana	2 3 2 1 1-0	A		
kyo'o-mo	1 0 2	A		
taori-ni	1 3 2 0	I		
ki'ta-wai-na	2 3 2 1 2	I		
ki'ta-wai-na	1 2 1 0 3	I		
GONSHAN	[1-0 0 0 0]	U		
GONSHAN	[1-0 0 1 2]	U		
na'nbon-ka	3 2 1 0 1	A		
chi'-ni-wa	1 0 2	A		
shichi	0 1	A		
ho'n	1 0	A		
chi-no	0 1	A		
yo'o-ni	1 0 2-3-0	A		
yo'o-ni	2 1 0	A		
choudo	0 0 0	I		
ano'	0 1	A		
ko'-no	1 0	A		
toshi'-no	0 1 2	A		
ka'zu	1 0	A		
choudo	0 1 1	I		
ano'	0 1	A		
ko'-no	0 1	A		
toshi'-no	0 1-2 2	A		
ka'zu	1 0	A		
ki-o	0 1	A		
tsuke'-na	0 0 0	I		
hito'tsu	0 1 0	A		
tsunde-mo	0 1 2 1	A		
hi-wa	0 1	A		
mahiru	0 1 0	I		
hito'tsu	0 1 0	A		
a'to-kara	3 2 1 0	A		
mata	0 0	I		
hira'ku	0 1 0	A		
?nashi	[0 1]	U		
naku-ro	0 1 0	A		
i'tsu-made	1 0 2 3	A		

to’tte-mo	(2-2) 1 0	A[7]
higa’nbana	0 2 1 2 3	I
higa’nbana	1 2 1 1 1-0-1	A
ko’wa-ya	1 0 2	A
aka’shi-ya	1 3 2 0	A
mata	0 1	A
nana’tsu	1 2 0	A
ko’wa-ya	1 0 2	A
aka’shi-ya	1 2 1 0	A
mata	1 0	I
nana’tsu	0 1 0	A

[7] Due to the impossibility of setting a silent sound, such as the glottal stop of *to*t*te-mo*, the joining of syllables here (‘tot’ would usually be considered as two syllables in Japanese prosody) has not been considered inaccurate.

V. Kimagure

a'i-ge	0 0 1	I	Total Syllables:	16
ki'tachi-no	1 3 1-0 2	I	of which (A)ccurate:	10
hi-no	0 1	A	of which (I)naccurate:	3
te'ri	0 1	I	of which (U)nknown:	3
a'me-ga	2 1 0	A		
fu'ru-wai-na	1 0 1 0 2-0	A	Theory Adherence:	63%
ODAN-MO-IYA	[1 3 0 2-1 2 1]	U		
TINCO-SA	[(0-0) 1 2-1-2-3-2]	U		
?sharimuri	[1 0 1 0]	U[8]		
waka'rete	0 1-2 1 0	A		
sono'	0 0-1	A		
a'to-de	2 1-0 3-4	A		
mi'ren-na	1 0 0 1	A		
bo'tan-ga	2 1 0 1	A		
mata	0 1	A		
hira'ku	1 2 0	A		

[8] Although note that this must be inaccurate, as the accent pattern is unknown in Japanese.

Appendix 4: Accent Types of Yanagawa Dialect Vocabulary in *Nursemaids' Songs*

BANKO	1 0 0	prototonic[1]
shinnari	0 1-2 3 2-1	mesotonic[2]
ONGO-no	0 1 1 2	atonic
KETTSUGURI-no	0 0 0 0 0	?
chiita	0 0	?
chii	1 0	prototonic
CHŪMAENDA	(0-0) 1 2 1 0	mesotonic
kobu	1 0	prototonic
UNTEREGAN-no	(2-2) 1 1 (0-0) 0	prototonic
GONSHAN	0 1 1 1	atonic[3]
GONSHAN	0 1 2 3	atonic
GONSHAN	1-0 0 0 0	prototonic
GONSHAN	1-0 0 1 2	atonic
nashi	0 1	atonic
ODAN	1 2 0	mesotonic
TINCO	(0-0) 1	atonic
sharimuri	1 0 1 0	?

Total words:	14
of which prototonic:	4.25 (30%)
of which mesotonic:	3 (21%)
of which oxytonic:	0 (0%)
of which atonic:	3.75 (27%)
of which (?) other:	3 (21%)

[1] Particles have not been considered except where they establish the difference between an oxytonic and an atonic accent.

[2] Capitalised words are those which are indicated as dialect vocabulary in the text; lower-case words are those which are not found in an accent dictionary and are assumed, therefore, also to be dialect.

[3] Each one of the four settings of the word *gonshan* is counted for a quarter of a word. For this reason, fractions appear in the final analysis.

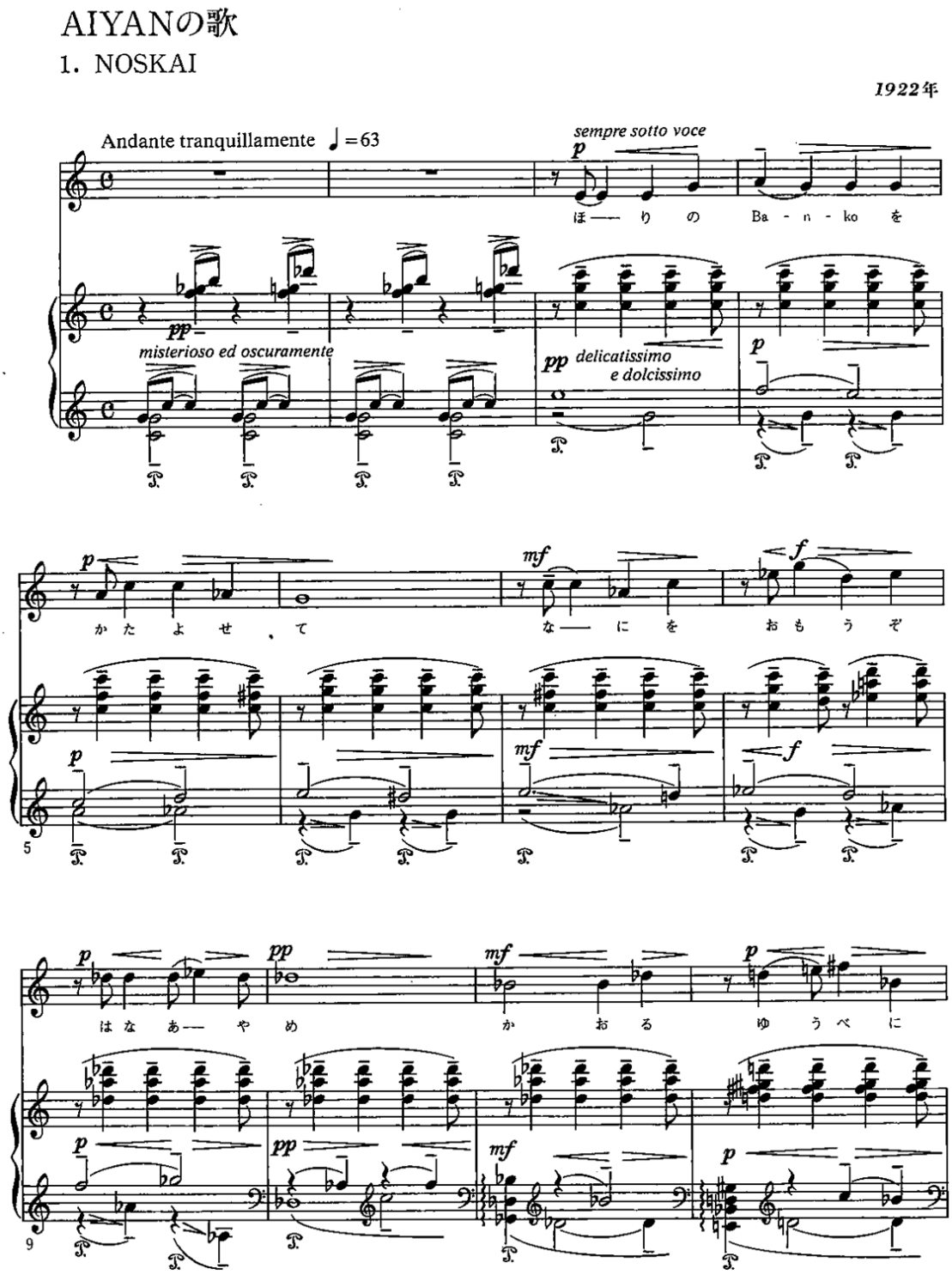
Appendix 5: Reception History of *Nursemaids' Songs* and Popular Children's Songs

Key: NS *Nursemaids' Songs* (*AIYAN no uta* AIYAN の歌, 1922)
YM 'On Nutmeg-Yew Mountain' ('Kaya no kiyama no' かやの木山の, 1922)
BB 'Bitter-Orange Blossoms' ('Karatachi no hana' からたちの花, 1925)
TR 'This Road' ('Kono michi' この道, 1927)

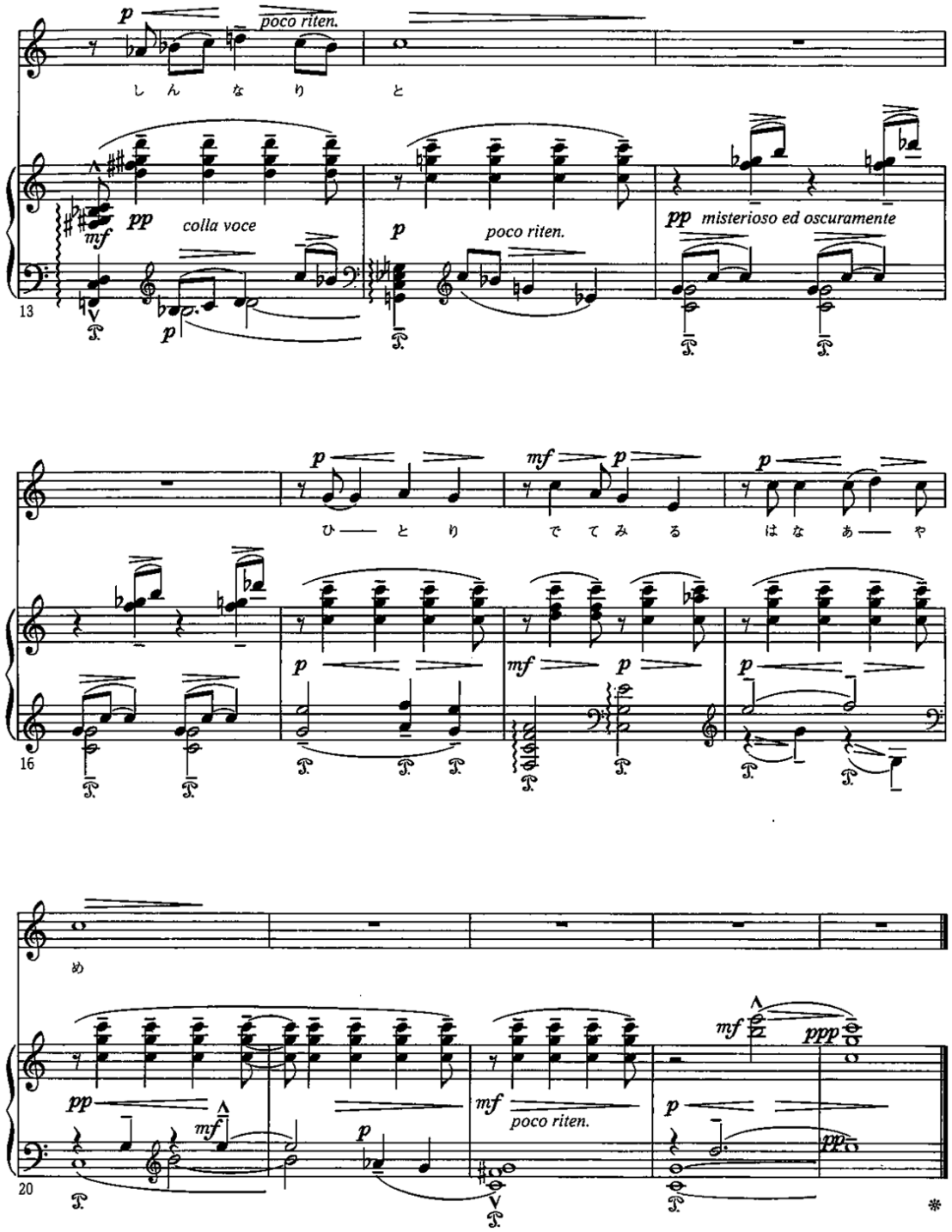
Cat. No.[1]	Date of Concert	Location	Songs Performed
Pg. 70	15 Jun 1922	[?]	Ad. for NS.
Pg. 72	25 Feb 1923	Kyoto	NS (I, III, IV) in matinee, all but II in evening; YM.
Pg. 75	1923	[?]	NS, YM.
Pg. 99	23 Dec 1924	Tokyo	NS (II, IV).
Pg. 106	6 Dec 1924	Tokyo	YM.
Pg. 179	3 Oct [1927?]	Tokyo	NS (IV); TR.
Pg. 605cp	6 Oct 1927	Tokyo	YM; ad. for BB.
Pg. 177-007	21 Oct [1927?]	Tokyo	NS (IV); YM, TR.
Pg. 177-014	5 Nov [1927?]	Tokyo	TR.
Pg. 177-011	7 Nov 1927	Chiba	BB, TR.
Pg. 177-013	26 Nov 1927	Yokohama	BB, TR.
Pg. 177-012	27 Nov 1927	Tokyo	Ad. for BB.
Pg. 177-008	15 Feb 1928	Tokyo	BB, TR.
Pg. 177-015	20 Apr 1929	Wakamatsu	TR.
Pg. 177-016	22 Apr [1929?]	Kagoshima	TR.
Pg. 194	6 Oct 1930	Tokyo	NS (III, IV, V); YM, BB, TR.
Pg. 197	11 Oct 1930	Osaka	BB, TR.
Pg. 198	28 Oct 1930	Nagaoka	NS.
Pg. 199	6 Nov 1930	Sanuki	YM, BB.
Pg. 202	21 Nov 1930	Yokohama	NS.
Pg. 203	22 Nov 1930	Tokyo	NS.

[1] All programmes held in AMJM, Tokyo.

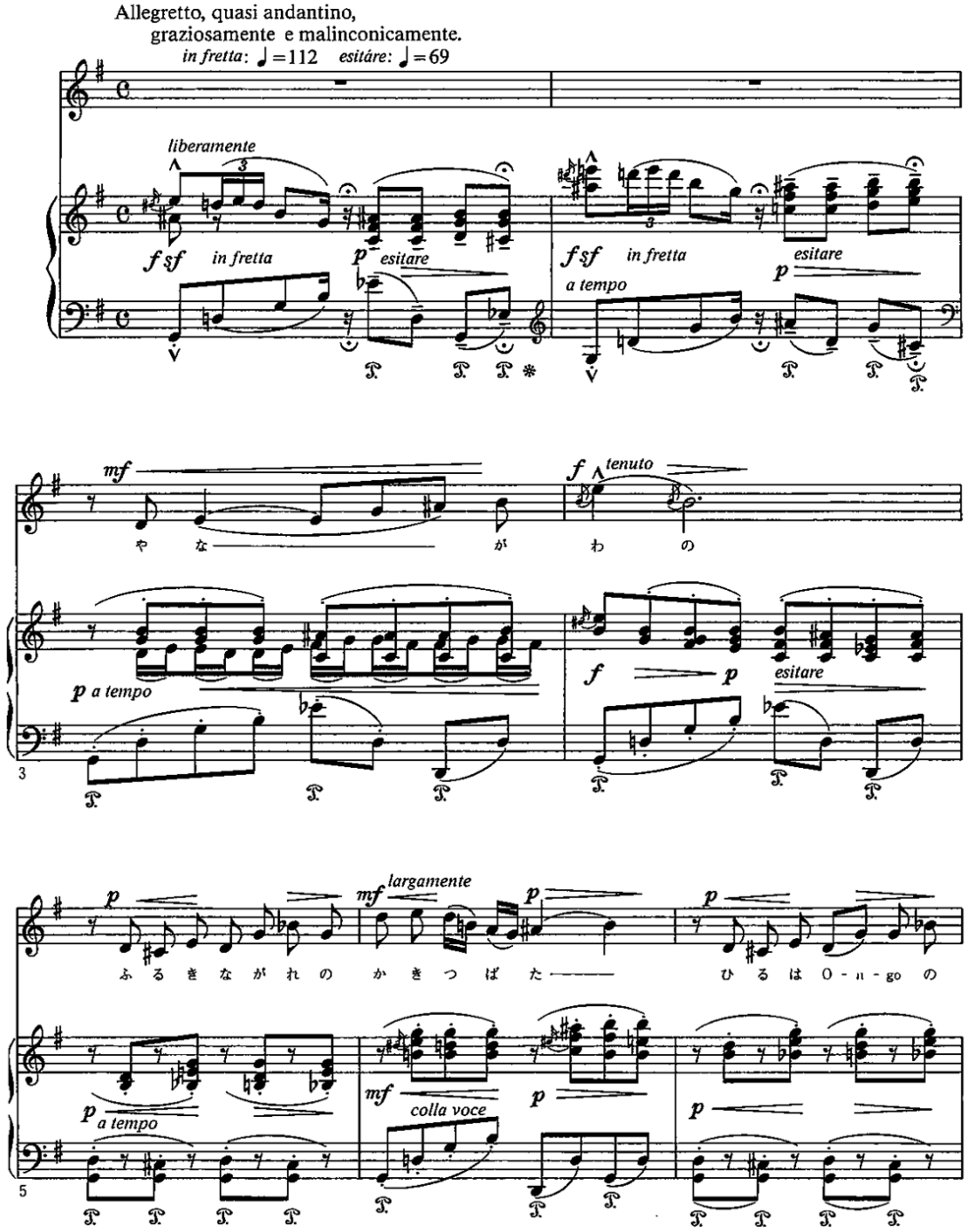
Appendix 6: Scores of *Nursemaids' Songs* and 'Bitter-Orange Blossoms'[1]

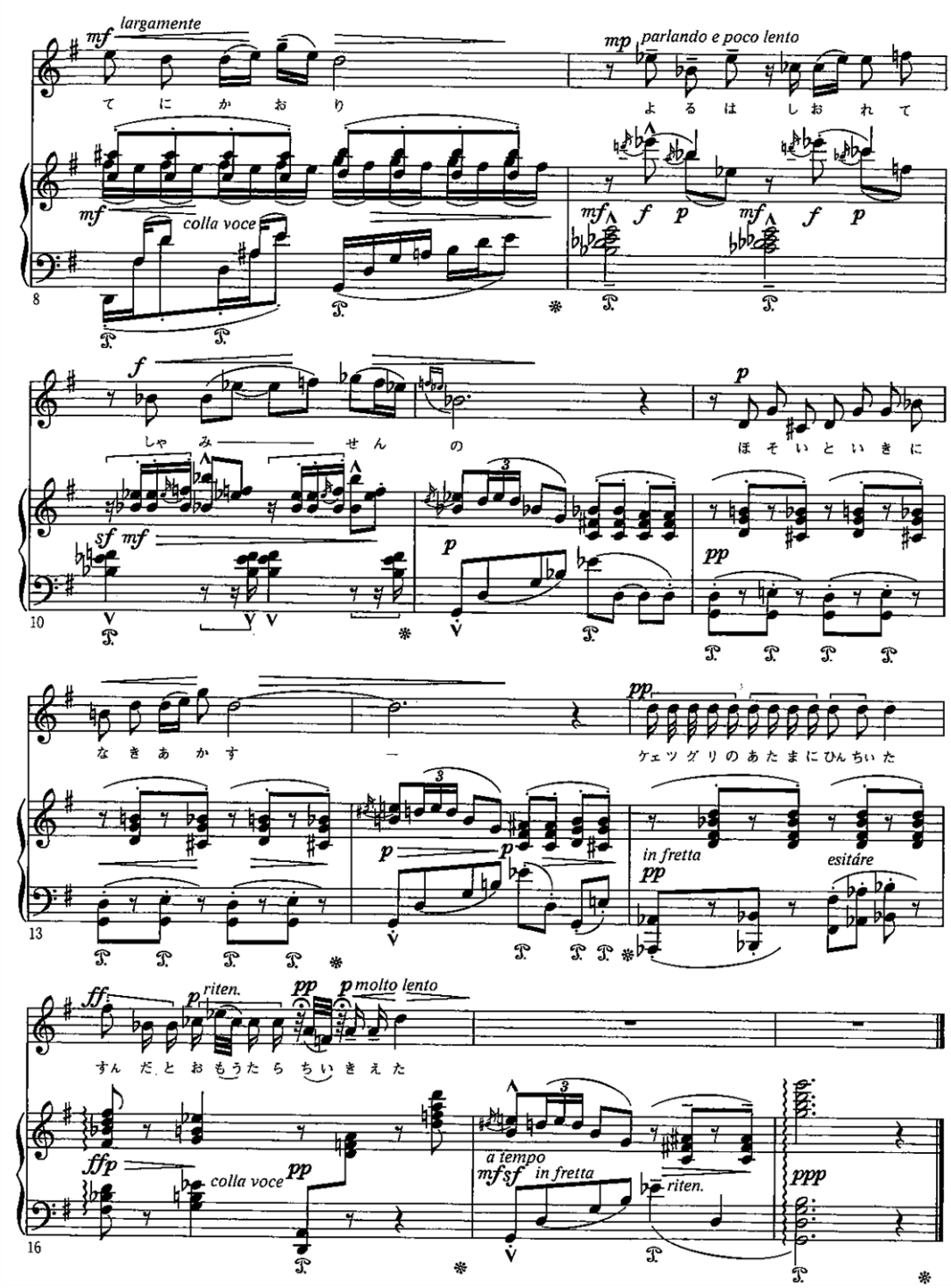


[1] Reproduced from SZ, VII, pp. 2-13, 60-62. The copyright holder of these scores was contacted for permission to include them in this thesis, but I received no reply from them.

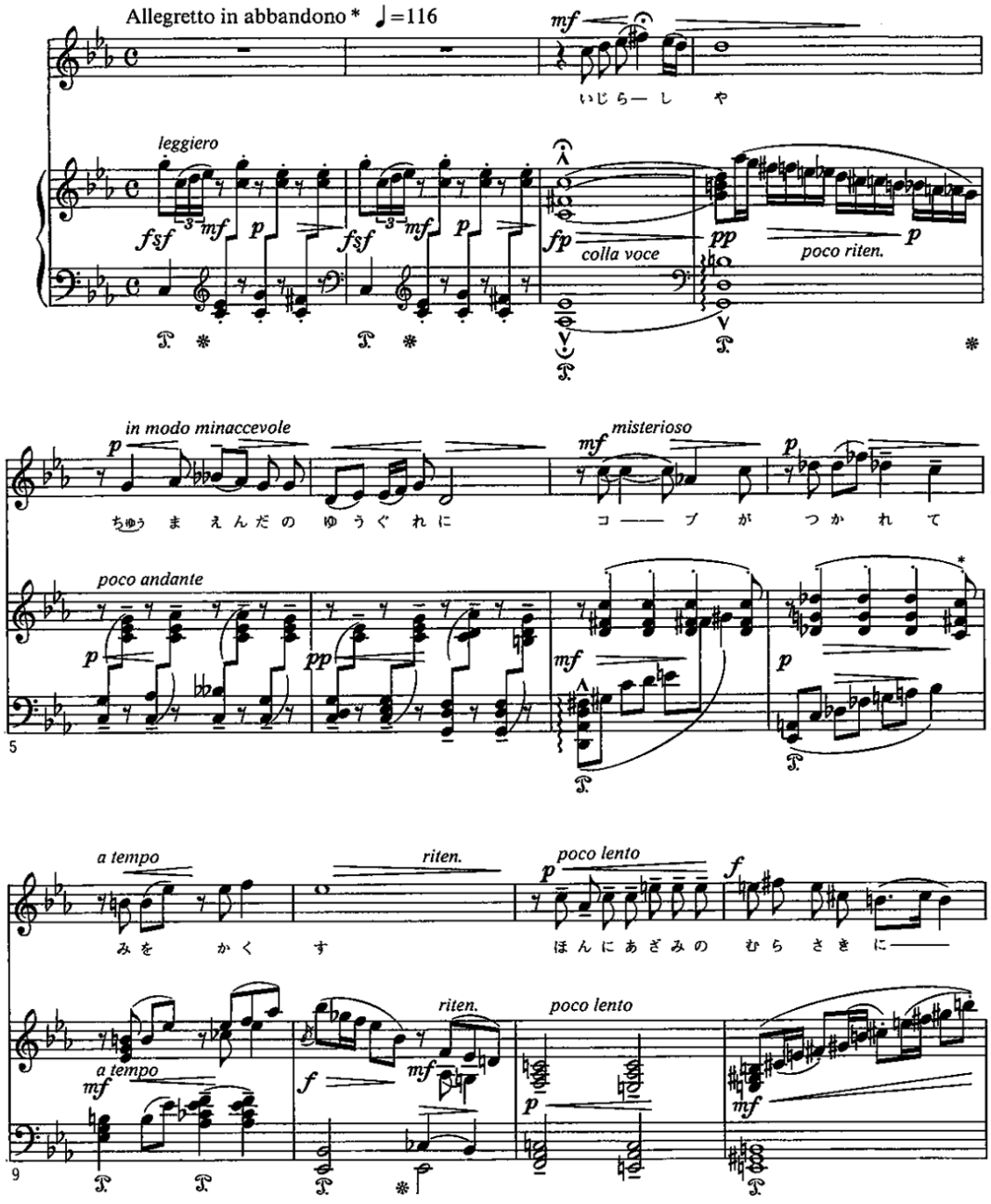

poco riten.
し ん な り と
colla voce
poco riten.
misterioso ed oscuramente
13
ひ と り で て み る は な あ や
16
め
poco riten.
20

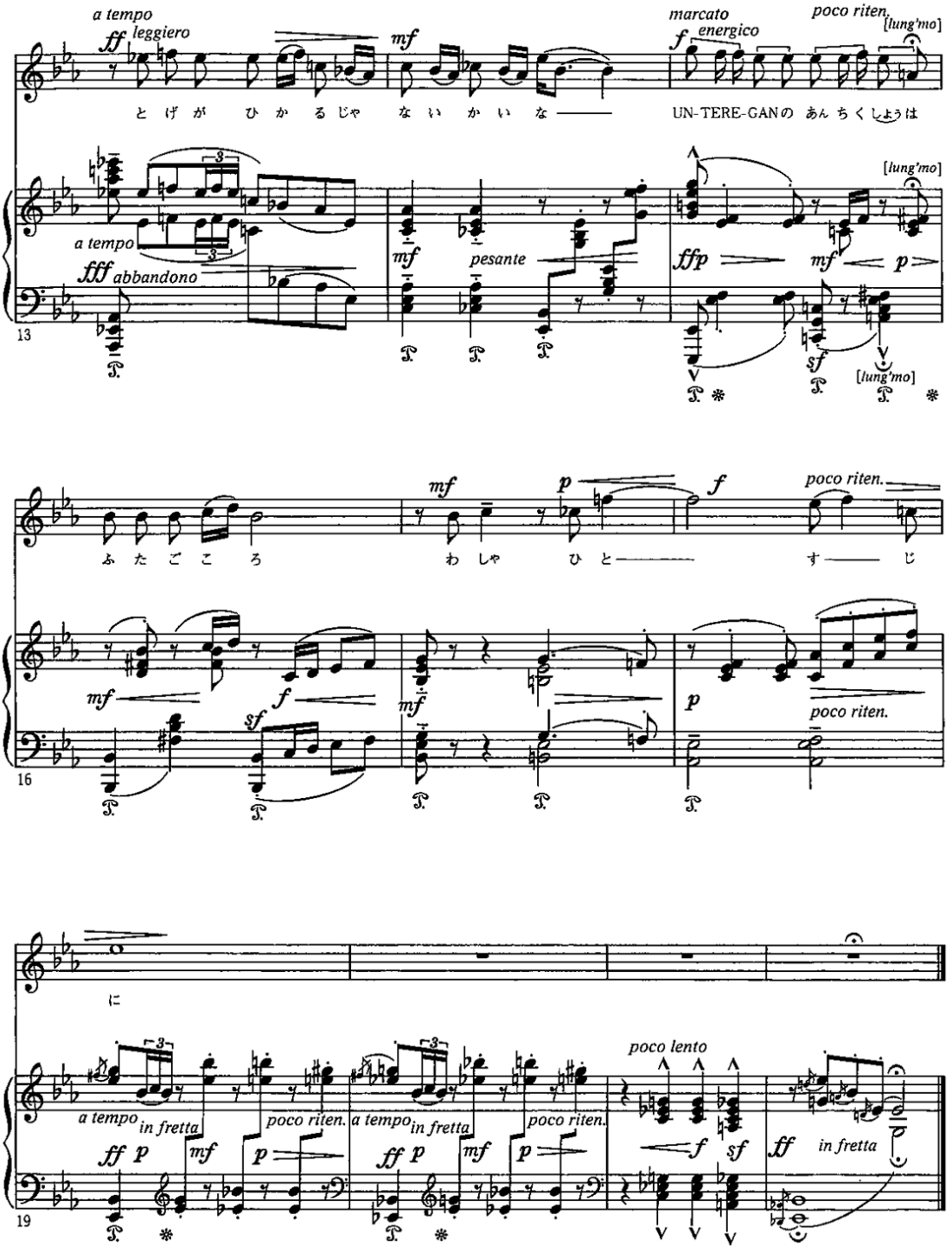
2．かきつばた


Allegretto, quasi andantino,
graziosamente e malinconicamente.
in fretta: ♩=112 esitáre: ♩=69
liberamente
in fretta
esitare
a tempo
tenuto
や な が わ の
a tempo
esitare
largamente
ふ る き な が れ の か き つ ば た
ひ る は O - n - go の
a tempo
colla voce

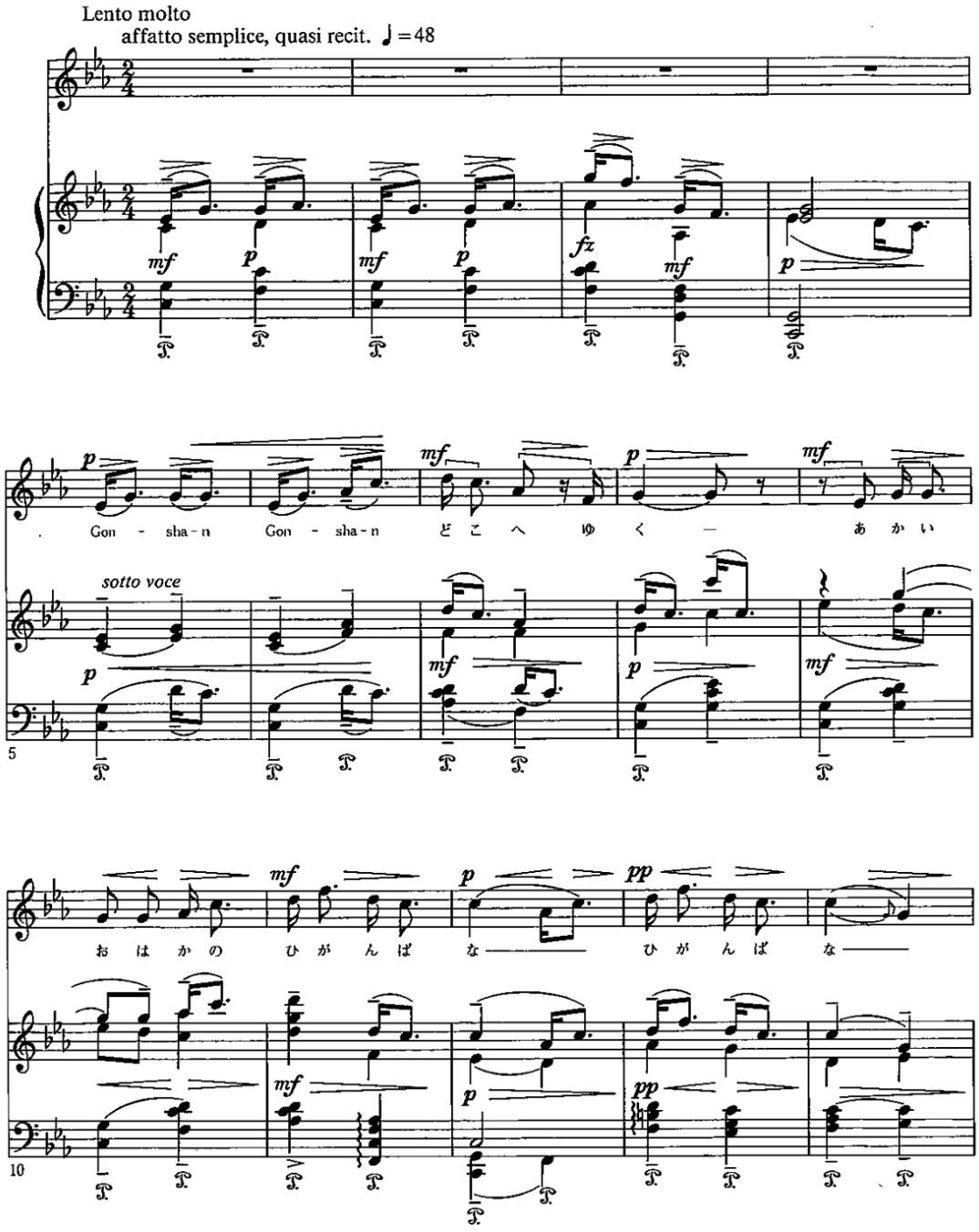

mf largamente
てにかおり
mp parlando e poco lento
よるはしおれて
colla voce
f p mf f p
8
f
しゃみせんの
p
ほそいといきに
sf mf
p
pp
10
pp
なきあかす
一
ケェツグリのあたまにひんちいた
in fretta
esitáre
13
ff p riten. pp p molto lento
すんだとおもうたらちいきえた
ffp
colla voce
pp
a tempo
mf sf in fretta
riten.
ppp
16

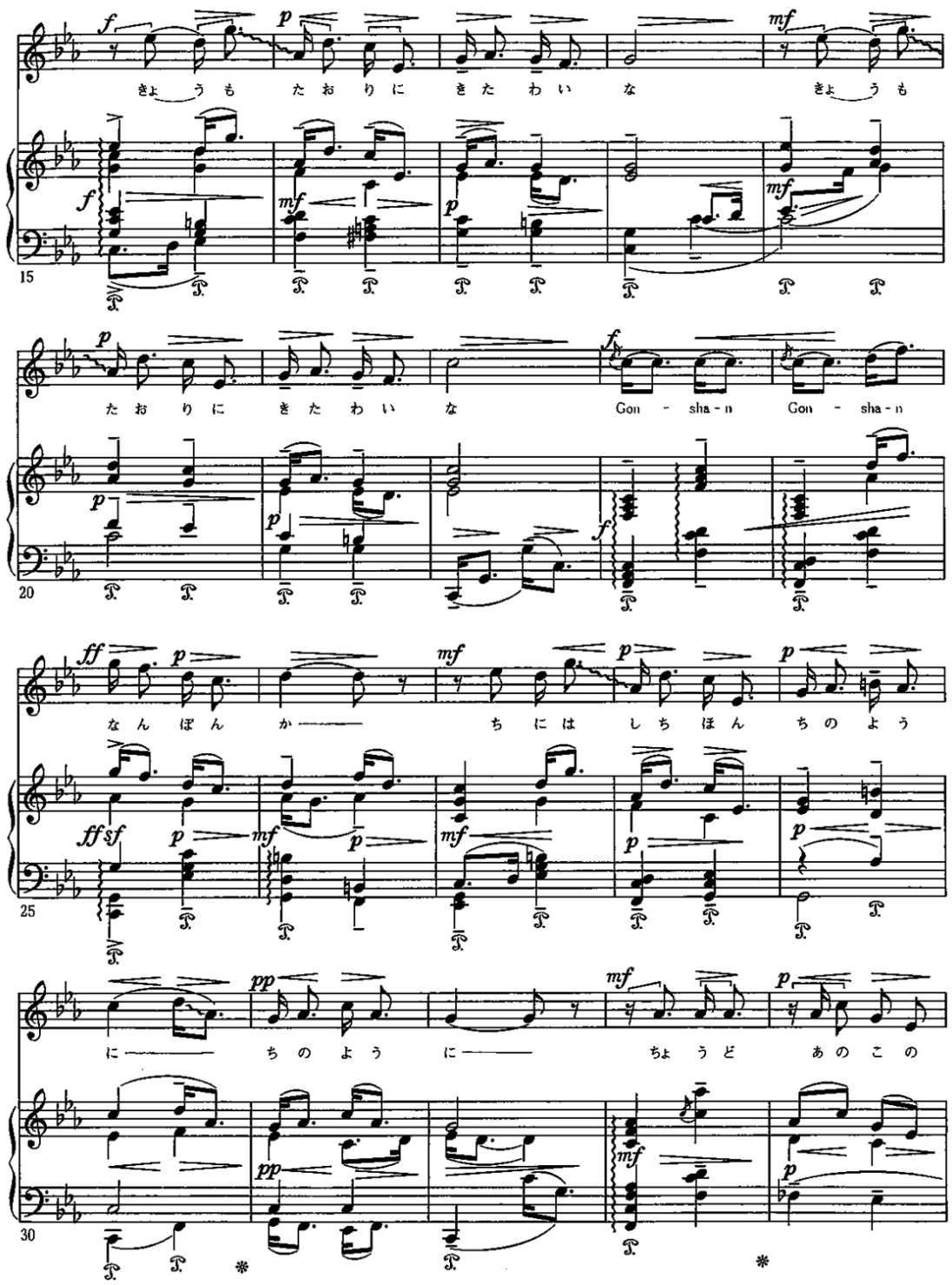
3．AIYANの歌

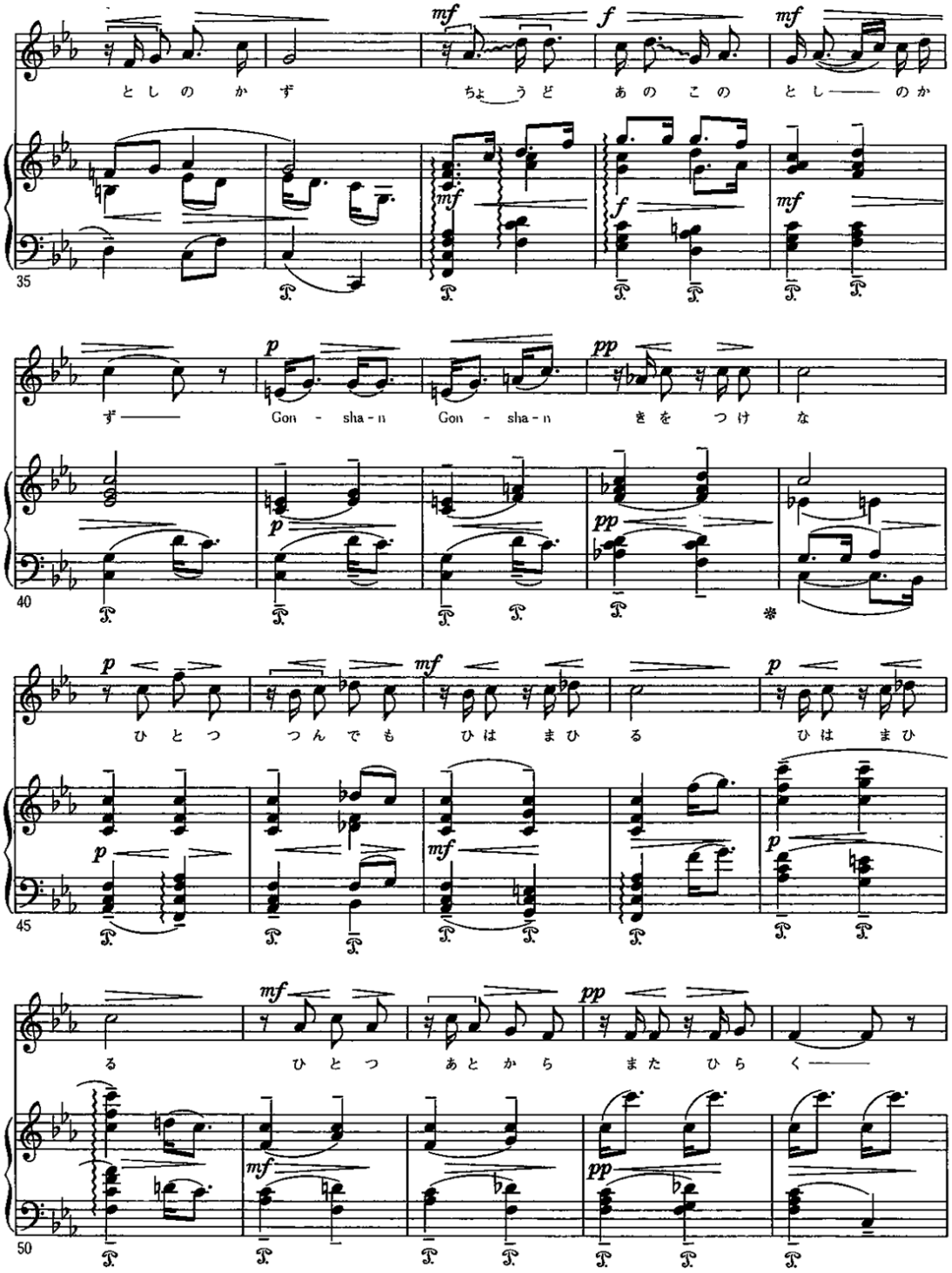

Allegretto in abbandono * ♩=116
mf
いじらー し や
leggiero
fsf
mf
p
fsf
mf
p
fp
colla voce
pp
poco riten.
p
in modo minaccevole
p
ちゆう ま えんだ の ゆうぐ れに
misterioso
mf
コ—— ブ が つか れ て
poco andante
p
pp
mf
p
5
a tempo
みを かく す
riten.
poco lento
p
ほんにあざみの むら さき に——
f
a tempo
mf
riten.
f
mf
poco lento
p
mf
9

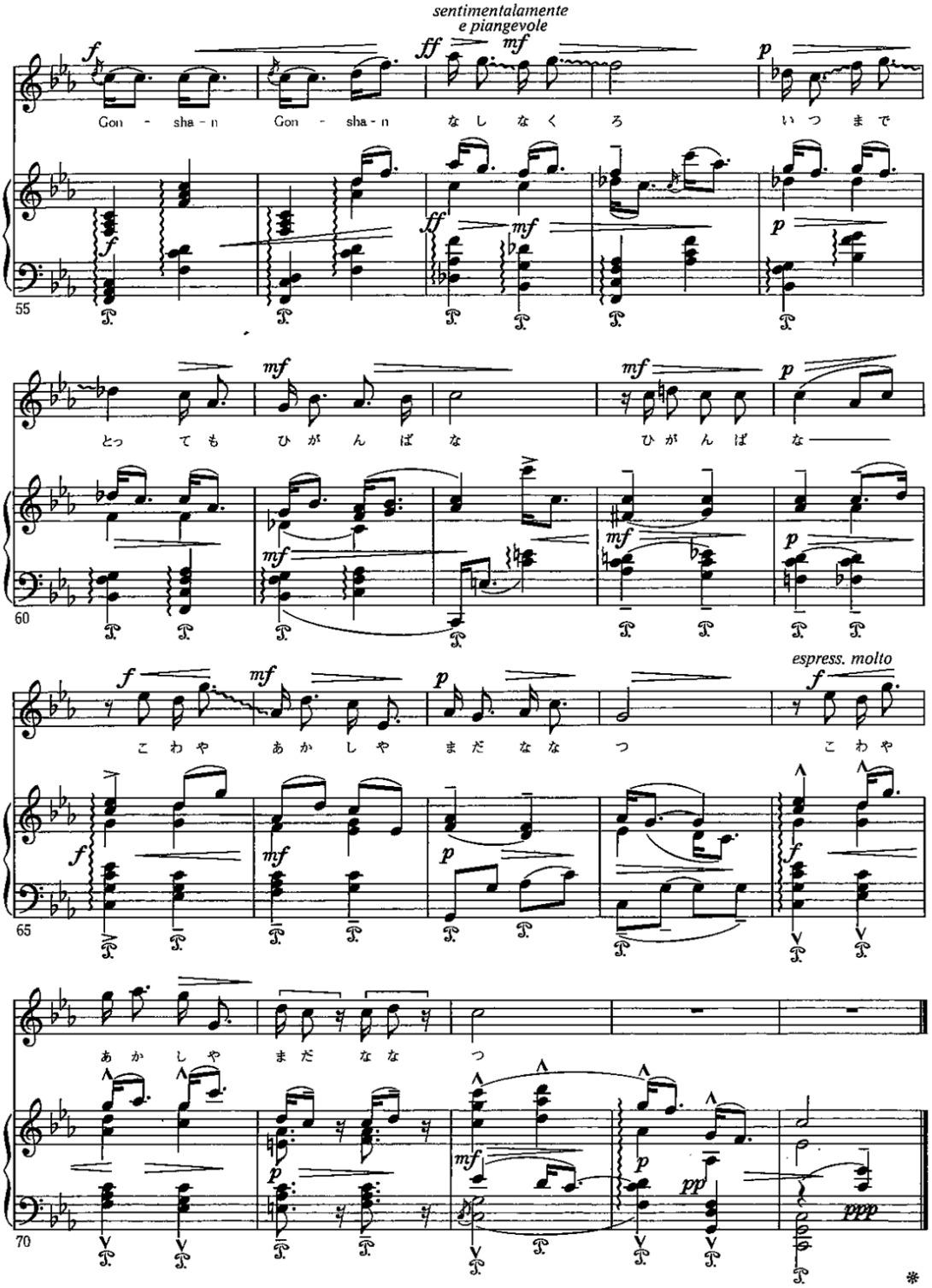

a tempo
ff leggiero
mf
marcato
f energico
poco riten.
[lung'mo]
と げ が ひ か る じゃ な い か い な ——
UN-TERE-GANの あん ちく しょうは
a tempo
fff abbandono
mf pesante
ffp
mf
p
sf
13
ふ た ご こ ろ
わ しゃ ひ と ——
す —— じ
mf
f
sf
p
poco riten.
16
に
a tempo in fretta
poco riten.
ff p
mf
p
poco lento
sf
ff
in fretta
19

4．曼珠沙華

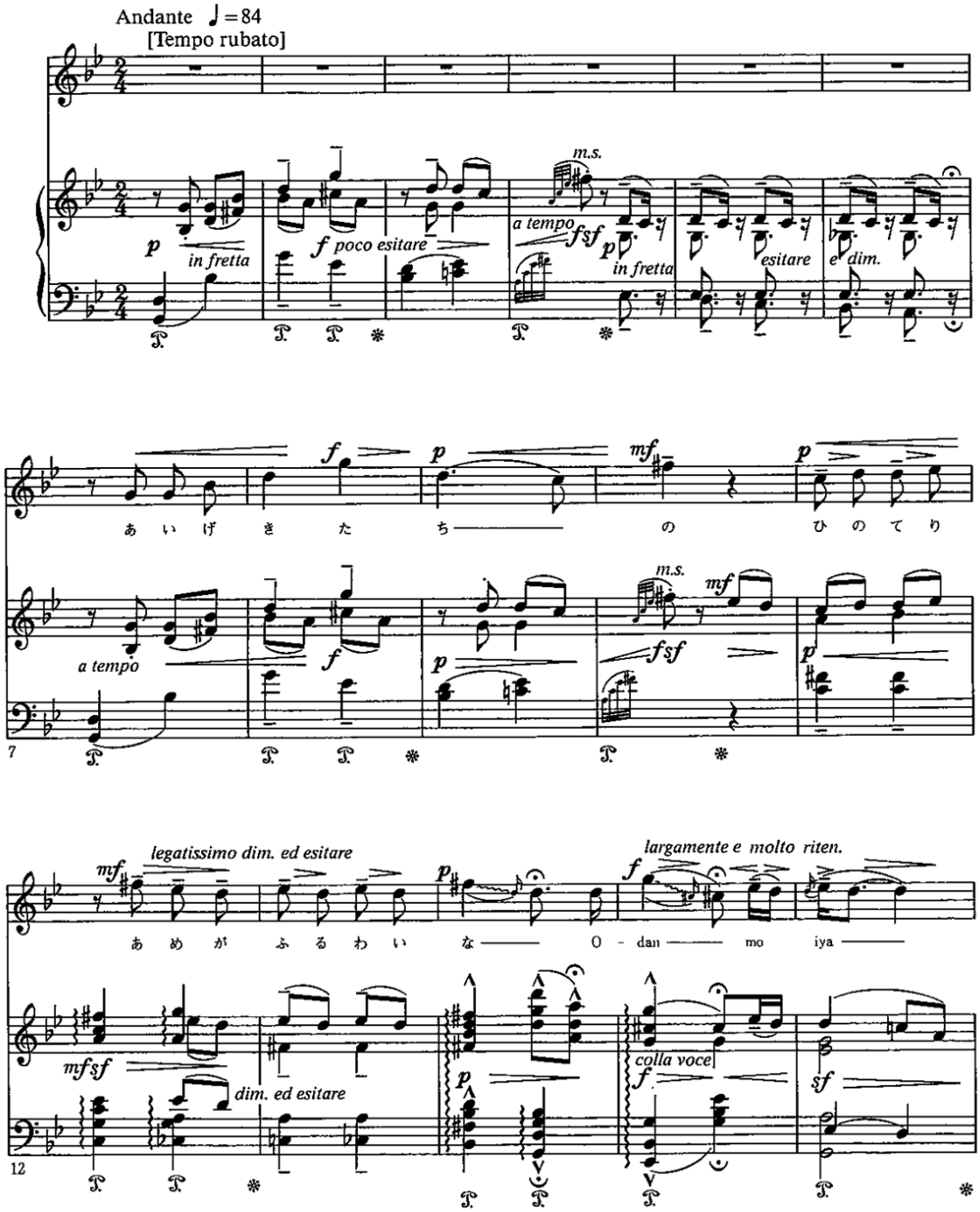

Lento molto
affatto semplice, quasi recit. ♩=48
Gon - sha - n Gon - sha - n どこへゆく — あかい
sotto voce
おはかの ひがんば な ひがんば な
5
10

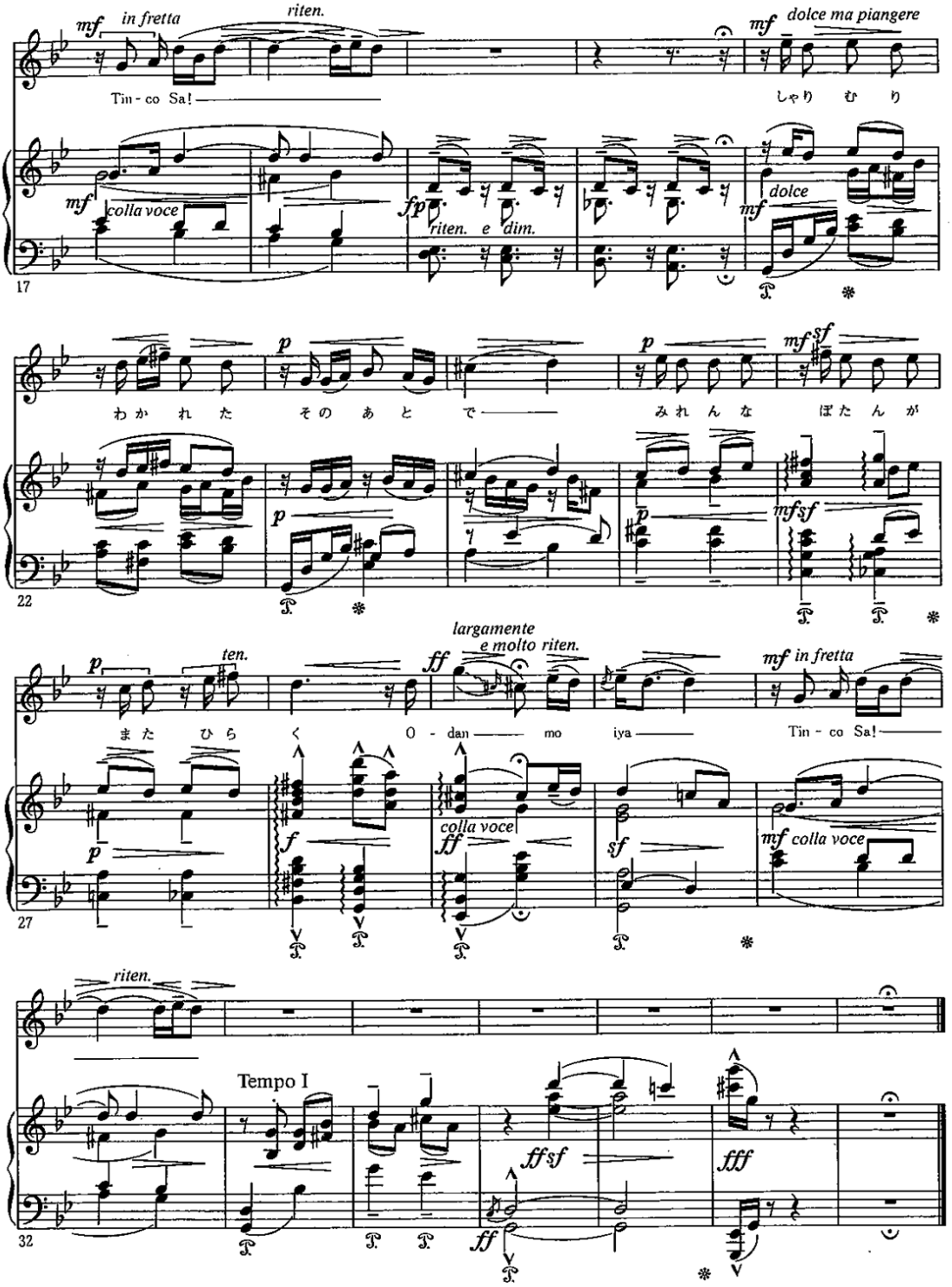

きょうも たおりに きたわいな きょうも
たおりに きたわいな Gon - sha - n Gon - sha - n
なんぼんか ちには しちほんちのよう
にちのように ちょうど あのこの


35
としのかず
ちょうど
あのこの
としーーのか
ずーーー
Gon - sha - n
Gon - sha - n
きをつけな
40
ひとつ
つんでも
ひはまひる
ひはまひ
45
る
ひとつ
あとから
またひらくーーー
50


sentimentalamente
e piangevole
Gon - sha - n
Gon - sha - n
な し な く ろ
い つ ま で
とっ て も ひ が ん ば な
ひ が ん ば な
espress. molto
こ わ や
あ か し や
ま だ な な つ
こ わ や
あ か し や
ま だ な な つ
55
60
65
70

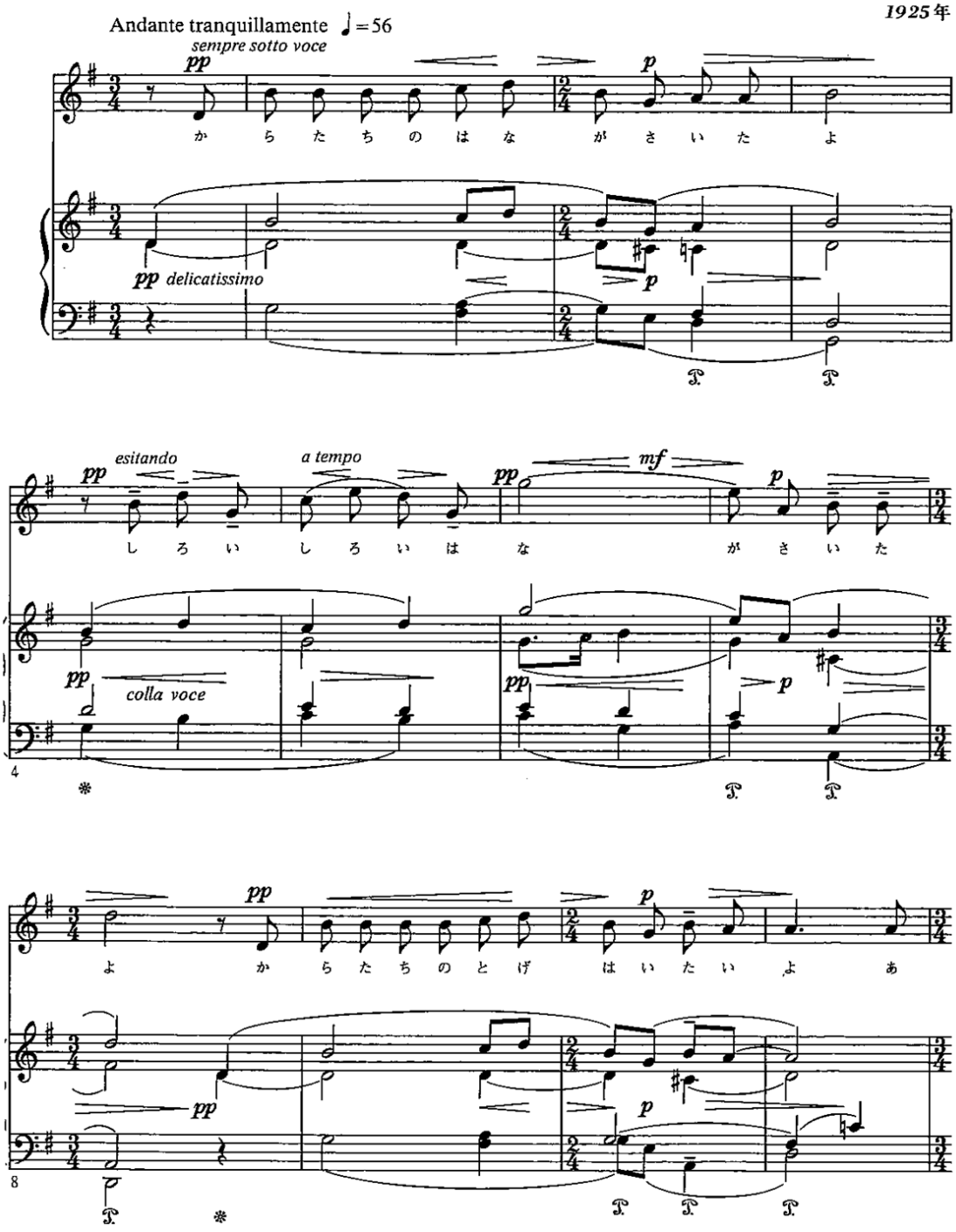
5．気まぐれ

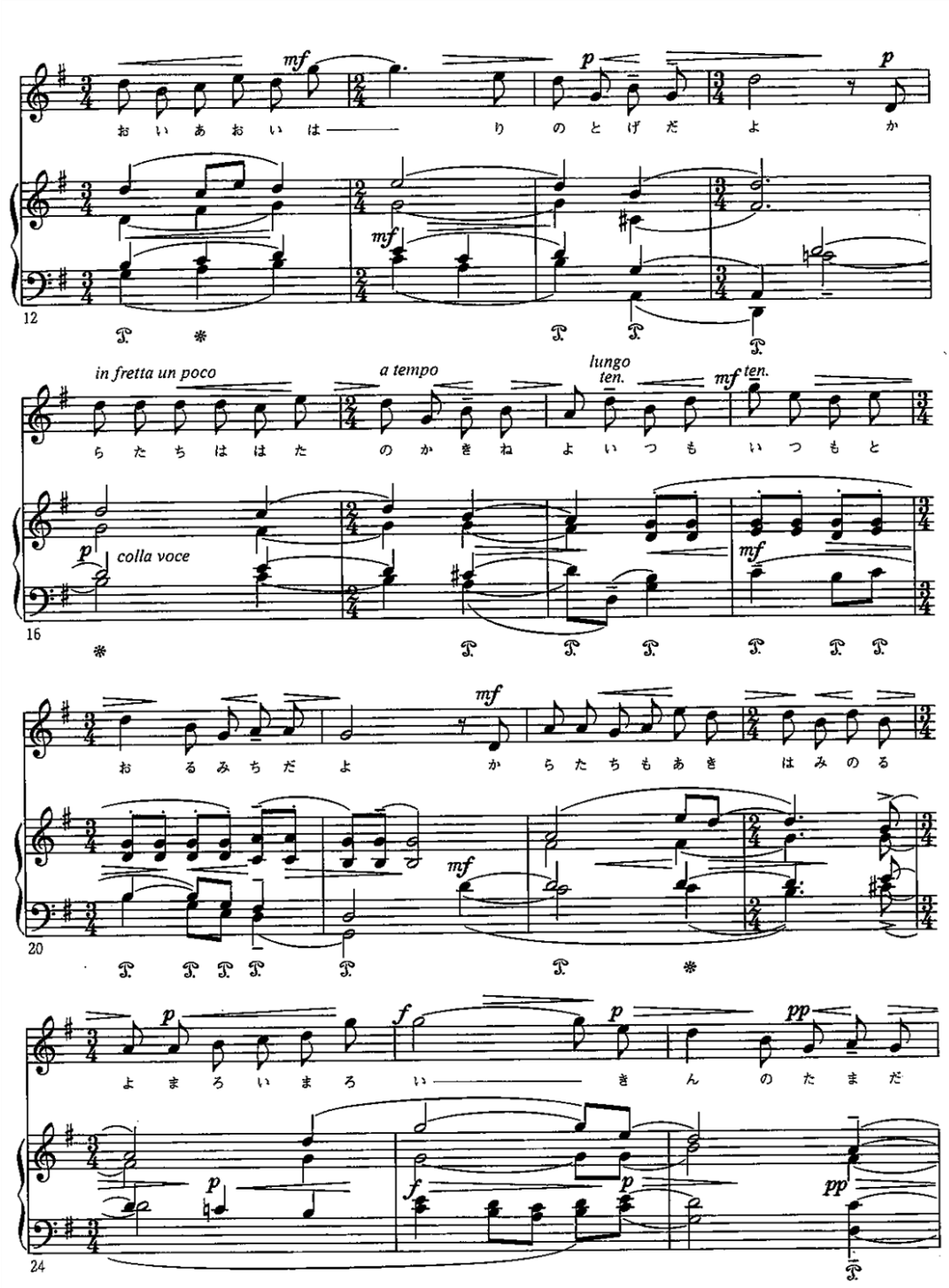

Andante ♩=84
[Tempo rubato]
p
in fretta
f poco esitare
m.s.
a tempo
fsf
p
in fretta
esitare
e dim.
f
p
mf
p
あ い げ き た ち の ひ の て り
a tempo
f
p
m.s.
mf
fsf
p
7
mf
legatissimo dim. ed esitare
あ め が ふ る わ い な
p
largamente e molto riten.
f
0 - dan mo iya
mfsf
dim. ed esitare
p
colla voce
f
sf
12

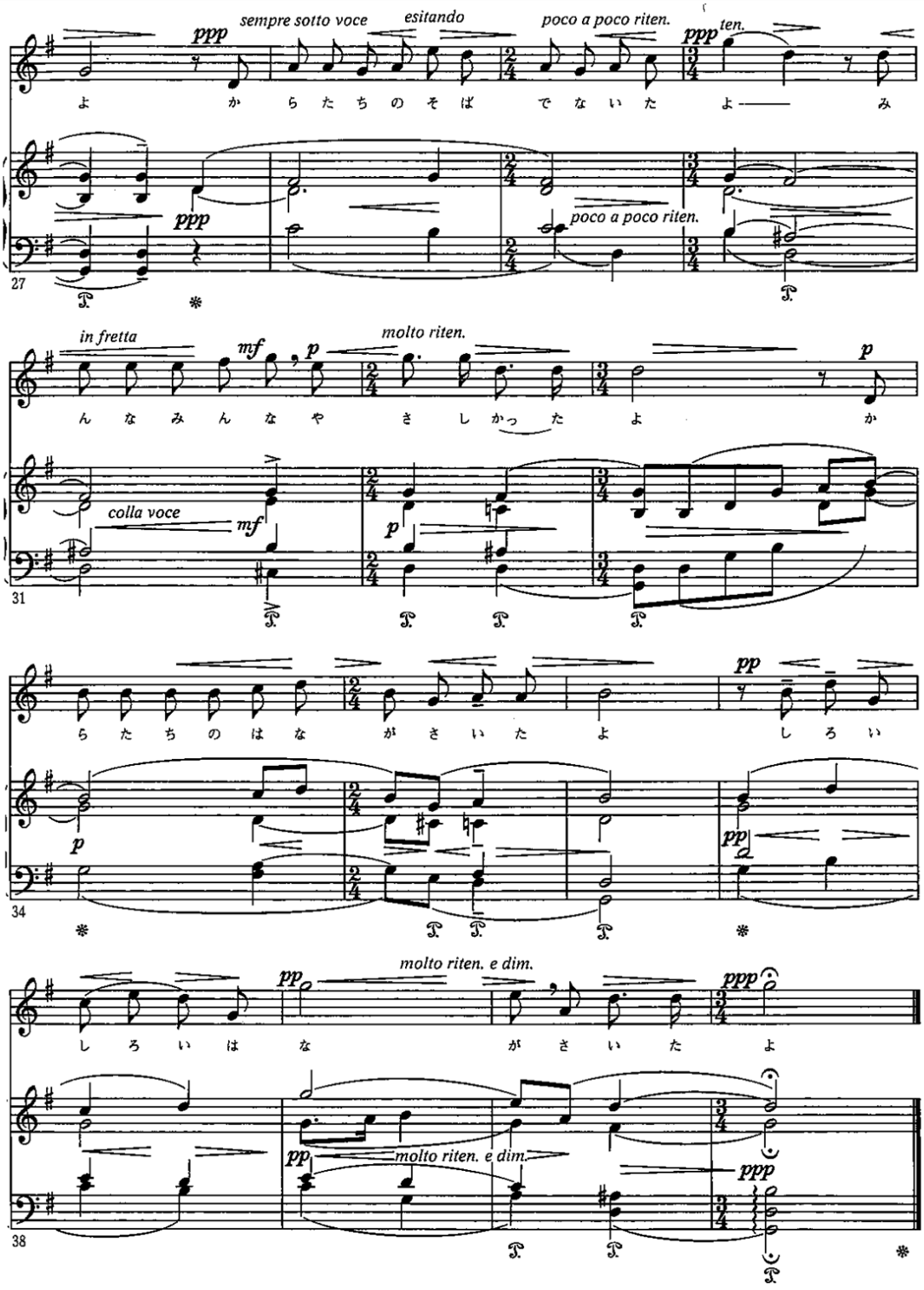

mf in fretta
riten.
Tin - co Sa!
mf dolce ma piangere
しゃり む り
mf colla voce
fp
riten. e dim.
mf dolce
17
p
わ か れ た
その あ と で
p
み れ ん な
mf sf
ぼ た ん が
p
p
mf sf
22
p ten.
また ひ ら く
largamente
e molto riten.
ff
O - dan mo iya
mf in fretta
Tin - co Sa!
p
f
colla voce
ff
sf
mf colla voce
27
riten.
Tempo I
ff sf
fff
ff
32

からたちの花

1925年




mf
p
お い あ お い は り の と げ だ よ か
12
in fretta un poco
a tempo
lungo
ten.
mf ten.
ら た ち は は た の か き ね よ い つ も い つ も と
colla voce
16
mf
お る み ち だ よ か ら た ち も あ き は み の る
20
f
pp
よ ま ろ い ま ろ い き ん の た ま だ
24


ppp
sempre sotto voce
esitando
poco a poco riten.
ppp
ten.
よ か ら た ち の そ ば で な い た よ み
ppp
poco a poco riten.
27
in fretta
mf
p
molto riten.
ん な み ん な や さ し かっ た よ か
colla voce
mf
p
31
p
pp
ら た ち の は な が さ い た よ し ろ い
p
pp
34
molto riten. e dim.
pp
ppp
し ろ い は な が さ い た よ
pp
molto riten. e dim.
ppp
38

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Abbreviations

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