



明治の音楽的美意識と『君が代』 フェントン作曲、林作曲、2つの『君が代』の比較

メタデータ	言語: English 出版者: 女子美術大学 公開日: 2023-09-09 キーワード (Ja): キーワード (En): 作成者: COSGROVE, Simon メールアドレス: 所属:
URL	https://joshibi.repo.nii.ac.jp/records/87.4

This work is licensed under a Creative Commons
Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 3.0
International License.



Kimigayo and the Meiji Musical Aesthetic:

A Comparative Study of Fenton and Hayashi's Anthems

► Simon COSGROVE

ABSTRACT

Japan's official national anthem *Kimigayo* was composed by Imperial Court musician Hiromori Hayashi in 1880 and arranged by Franz Eckert in 1883. An earlier version of *Kimigayo* had been written by British bandmaster John William Fenton in 1869, but Fenton's anthem was deemed unsuitable and replaced with Hayashi's composition.

Both Fenton and Hayashi's anthems were written in the years following the Meiji Restoration, a period of great social and cultural reform in Japan. Western influences permeated post-Meiji Japan, and the ruling classes faced the challenge of how to balance Japanese traditions with western models. Music was no exception, and Ministry of Education official Shūji Isawa was a key figure in establishing new concepts of musical pedagogy, with the aim of balancing elements of western music with Japanese musical traditions and aesthetics.

This study will analyze Fenton and Hayashi's anthems in the context of the post-Meiji musical aesthetic, identifying parallels with contemporary song forms such as *shōka* and *dōyō*, and examining specific compositional elements including mode, harmony and structure. In addition, the music of almost 200 national anthems will be surveyed and data will be presented. Both versions of *Kimigayo* will be reassessed as candidates for the Japanese national anthem, and the reasons for replacing Fenton's anthem with Hayashi's composition will be considered.

Kimigayo has a controversial history, but this study focuses exclusively on the musical composition of the Japanese national anthem and carries no political affiliations or implications.

INTRODUCTION

The composition of Japan's national anthem *Kimigayo* is officially accredited to *gagaku* court musician Hiromori Hayashi, although sources claim it was cowritten by his eldest son Akimori Hayashi and fellow court musician Yoshiisa Oku.¹ The melody was composed in 1880 and arranged with western harmony and instrumentation by German educator Franz Eckert in 1883. The melody is set to a poem from the 10th-century *Kokin wakashū* anthology, making its lyrics the oldest of the world's national anthems. It was first performed at the Imperial Palace for the Meiji Emperor's birthday on November 3rd, 1880, and it continues to be used as the Japanese national anthem to the present day, although it was only officially recognized by government legislation in 1999.

There is, however, a version of *Kimigayo* that predates the official national anthem, written by British bandmaster John William Fenton in 1869. Fenton was stationed in Yokohama shortly after the Meiji Restoration of 1868, and he was invited to direct Japan's first group of naval musicians. He pointed out the absence of a Japanese national anthem and introduced his band members to the British national anthem *God Save the King*, a model that inspired Iwao Ōyama, a high-ranking artillery captain well-versed in Japanese and Chinese literature, to select the poem *Kimigayo*, meaning 'The Reign of Our Lord'.

Fenton set the text to music, and his anthem was first performed in 1870, but the composition was deemed unsuitable, and a committee was formed to revise the anthem. Fenton's *Kimigayo* was replaced by Hayashi's version in 1880.

This study will analyze both versions of *Kimigayo* and

consider—in the context of the role of music in Meiji era Japan—why Fenton’s anthem was replaced by Hayashi’s composition. Previous academic studies of *Kimigayo* have analyzed the musical composition and identified commonalities between Fenton and Hayashi’s versions (Naitō, 1997; Gottschewski, 2003), but the aim of this research is to identify how specific compositional elements of each anthem correlate to the musical aesthetic of the early Meiji period, and why Hayashi’s composition was chosen to replace Fenton’s *Kimigayo* in the broader role as national anthem to represent Japan on the global stage.

Part 1 is an overview of music in Japan after the Meiji Restoration, focusing on the reforms in musical education implemented by pedagogist Shūji Isawa and how elements of western music and traditional Japanese music were balanced through the development of musical scales, harmony and compositional structure. The connection between the musical characteristics of the early Meiji period and the composition of *Kimigayo* will be assessed later in the study. Part 2 surveys almost 200 national anthems from around the world and identifies common traits in tonality, melody, harmony and formal structure, against which both versions of *Kimigayo* will be assessed. Part 3 is a comparative analysis of Fenton and Hayashi’s *Kimigayo* anthems, examining both compositions in the context of the musical ideals of the Meiji era, and considering their validity as candidates for the Japanese national anthem.

A third version of *Kimigayo*, sung to the melody of an American national song *Glorious Apollo* by Samuel Webbe, was published in a collection of Japanese children’s songs in 1881, but as this version is set to a pre-existing melody it will not be included in this study, and the focus instead will be on Fenton and Hayashi’s original compositions.² This study is primarily musicoanalytical, and the text of *Kimigayo* will only be examined with regard to melodic and rhythmic calibration of text and music.

Kimigayo is a topic of social and political controversy in Japan, but this study will deal exclusively with elements of musical composition and carries no political affiliations or implications.

PART 1: Background

—Music in Meiji Era Japan

The Meiji Restoration of 1868 marked the start of a period of rapid change in Japanese society and culture. After 250 years of *sakoku* (lit. “closed country”), Japan opened its doors to the rest of the world, and western ideas and methods were adopted wholesale, leading to drastic reforms in government, education, social structure, economy and the military. Leaders adopted slogans such as “Japanese spirit, Western learning” (*wakon yōsai*) and “Eastern ethics, Western science” (*tōyō no dōtoku, seiyō no gakugei*) in a bid to establish Japan as a strong player on the global stage without compromising its core identity and values.

Music was heavily affected by the Meiji reforms, and traditional Japanese styles, including schools of *shakuhachi*, *koto* and *heikebiwa*, were endangered by the popularity of western musical imports. The exception was *gagaku*, whose thousand year-long performance traditions were buttressed by the establishment of the Imperial Household Music Department in 1870. The court musicians were also trained in western music, giving them what Yasuko Tsukahara terms a “bi-musicality”³ for the new era.

Even before 1868, the power of western martial music in strengthening morale and fighting spirit had been observed by the Japanese military during a British naval bombardment at Kagoshima in 1863, and by 1866 domestic fife and drum corps were in place.⁴ In this regard, western music played more of a pragmatic than an artistic role at the dawn of the Meiji era. Aside from Dutch trading ports in Nagasaki and pockets of Portuguese Catholic missionary activity in the 16th century, western music was

largely unknown in Japan before the Meiji Restoration, and contemporary accounts suggest that it was not appreciated for its aesthetic value. Leopold Müller, a German doctor active in early Meiji Japan wrote in 1874 “the Japanese find our music even more abhorrent than we find theirs...a cultured Japanese cannot stand it”.⁵

Nevertheless, the power of music as a tool for social cohesion and modernization was recognized by the new government, and music took on an important role in education. Music was not a curricular subject in schools until 1872, when the law mandating compulsory schooling introduced *shōka* (singing) classes to elementary schools and *sōgaku* (instrumental music) classes to middle schools. Ministry of Education official Shūji Isawa was a key figure in establishing the guidelines for musical education and composition in post-Meiji Japan. Isawa focused on balancing elements of western music with traditional Japanese music and, under the direction of American musician and pedagogist Luther Whiting Mason, he published the *Shōgaku Shōkashū* series of songbooks for schoolchildren in the 1880s which laid the foundation for the new musical style.

The most distinguishing melodic feature of the *Shōgaku Shōkashū* songs is the frequent use of the anhemitonic pentatonic scale (C-D-E-G-A). Its Japanese moniker “*yonanuki*” indicates that the fourth (*yo*) and seventh (*na*) degrees of the western major scale are omitted (*nuki*).



Fig. 1.1 Yonanuki scale

This pentatonic scale can be found in pre-Meiji folk songs across Japan, such as *Hietsukibushi* and *Tabaruzaka* from Kyushu, *Kisobushi* from Nagano prefecture and *Dojokkofunakko* from the Tōhoku region, but it is also used in western folk music such as *Auld Lang Syne*, a Scottish melody which found its way into the first volume of the *Shōgaku Shōkashū* as a song with Japanese lyrics

entitled *Hotaru no Hikari*. In this context, the *yonanuki* scale can be considered as a hybrid scale that encapsulates Isawa’s ideal of balancing elements of western and Japanese music. The scale is used in 18 of 60 songs chosen for analysis from the *Shōgaku Shōkashū*⁶ and a further six songs make partial use of the scale. By contrast, the hexatonic *ritsu* mode (D-E-G-A-B-C), an ancient *gagaku* mode that does not easily correlate with the western major-minor tonal system, is used in only six songs. All six songs in the *ritsu* mode appear in the earliest volumes, including Hayashi’s melody for *Kimigayo*.



Fig. 1.2 Ritsu mode

22 of the songs are based on the major scale, including western melodies such as *Chōchō*, which derives from a Spanish folk song. Many of the songs in a major key written by Japanese composers use the fourth and seventh degrees sparingly, creating a sonic effect closer to that of the *yonanuki* scale. In Senemichi Ue’s song *Ichigatsu Tsuitachi* (1893), the fourth degree of the scale (G) appears only as a passing eighth note, as highlighted in Fig. 1.3, and the main contour of the melody outlines the *yonanuki* scale.



Fig. 1.3 *Ichigatsu Tsuitachi* (first four bars)

Other tonalities used infrequently in the *Shōgaku Shōkashū* are the minor scale and the Japanese *in* and *yō* modes, but the *yonanuki* scale is the most distinctive melodic feature of the early Meiji era children’s songs. Most of the songs have a hymn-like structure with four-bar phrases and piano accompaniments written in four-part harmony, but unharmonized monophonic singing—often interpreted as reflecting the objective of national cohesion in the new regime⁷, but in fact continuing the Japanese tradition of singing in unison without harmonic

accompaniment—is also a distinctive feature of the music. Isawa’s 1893 composition *Kigensetsu*, which uses the *yonanuki* scale, alternates four-bar unison phrases with four-bar phrases in four-part classical harmony, a simple prototype of his ideology to balance Japanese and western musical traditions.



Fig. 1.4 *Kigensetsu* Shūji Isawa

Although elements of Japanese traditional music can be found in the *Shōgaku Shōkashū*, the western influences are predominant, partly because the collection was overseen by Mason who had a Eurocentric bias for methods of music education, and partly because the leaders of post-Restoration Japan were eager to absorb western culture and establish Japan as a modern nation. However, at a fundamental level the songs of the *Shōgaku Shōkashū*, together with early examples of military music, were utilized as tools for promoting solidarity and cultivating nationalist sentiment. In this way, music in the early Meiji period had more of a pragmatic than an artistic purpose.

How Fenton and Hayashi’s versions of *Kimigayo* were shaped by the new Meiji musical aesthetic will be discussed later in this study.

PART 2: The Music of National Anthems

When Fenton pointed out in 1869 that Japan did not have a national anthem, only 39 countries in the world, most of them in Europe and the Americas, had existing anthems. National anthems were first adopted by European monarchies in the late 18th century as patriotic compositions in praise of the ruler, and the tradition spread to other European countries with republican governments,

for example France and *La Marseillaise*. Widespread colonization in the 19th century brought national anthem practices—initially based on European models—to the rest of the world, and there are currently over 200 national anthems worldwide, in a variety of musical styles.

For the purposes of this study, the 198 national anthems contained in *National Anthems of the World* (Eleventh Edition)⁸ were analyzed and musical traits were identified. The most frequently observed characteristics were (i) major key (183 anthems (92.4%)), and (ii) final dominant-tonic cadence (181 anthems (91.4%)). Anthems based on non-western scales or modes that were arranged with major harmony were classed as being in a major key. Of the non-major key anthems, seven (3.5%) were minor, six (3.0%) were recognized as modal/other, and two (1.0%) were identified as modulating from minor to major or vice versa. Of the anthems without a final dominant-tonic cadence, nine (4.5%) had no identifiable cadence,⁹ and eight anthems (4.0%) ended with either a plagal cadence, an interrupted cadence, or open fifths.

17 of the 198 anthems (8.6%) were identified as using non-western scales or indigenous musical elements. Continental and regional traits were also observed, including Latin American epic anthems, which are characterized by their length and decorative style, and the stately odes of the European monarchies and their colonies, comparatively simple and hymn-like in style.

National anthems generally contain repeated melodic and rhythmic motifs, and they are usually performed at a slow tempo, although the anthems of Bangladesh and India, marked *Allegretto e espressivo* and *Allegro moderato* respectively, are notable exceptions.

Jordan’s national anthem is the shortest in the world, with only eight bars of music (excluding repeats), while Uruguay’s anthem—typical of the Latin American epic style—is the longest with 105 bars of music.¹⁰

How does *Kimigayo* compare stylistically and compositionally with the world's national anthems? This question is addressed in Part 3, a cross-examination of Fenton and Hayashi's anthems that analyzes both pieces in the context of the musical reforms of the early Meiji era, and evaluates their viability as candidates for the Japanese national anthem.

PART 3: Two versions of *Kimigayo*

3.1 Fenton's *Kimigayo*

John William Fenton arrived in Yokohama in 1868 in the role of bandmaster for Britain's 10th Foot Regiment, First Battalion. In 1869, the first Japanese band was formed at Yokosuka Naval Base, and Fenton was hired to direct the band, a group of around 30 young soldiers who had no experience in western music. An article dated July 16th, 1870, in the Yokohama-based fortnightly newspaper *The Far East* reported that the band was using crude instruments made in Japan by "mere tuners and copper workers", but that Fenton had ordered instruments from London and that "within 3 months of their arrival, Fenton expects his pupils will be fit for public performances of easy music."¹¹

A copy of the *Kimigayo* poem in romanized text was given to Fenton in early August 1870, and he was commissioned to write the music for Japan's first national anthem. Fenton asked for several months to deepen his understanding of Japanese language and culture before completing the composition, but in late August it was announced that the anthem was to be performed at a military review in Etchūjima, Tokyo, on September 8th, 1870, and the project was duly hastened. Fenton reluctantly agreed and wrote a simple melody to the words of *Kimigayo*, allegedly inspired by a song entitled *Bushi no uta*, a favorite of his interpreter Sōsuke Harada.¹² Fenton's *Kimigayo* was performed in front of the Meiji Emperor at the military review on September 8th and it remained in use as the de facto national anthem for six years, after which a committee was formed to revise the anthem.



Fig. 3.1.1 Fenton's *Kimigayo*

Fenton's *Kimigayo* is a 16-bar composition in a major key with clearly defined four-bar phrases and a strong final dominant-tonic cadence. The melody, which spans the vocal range of a major ninth, is accompanied by four-part harmony in the style of a chorale or hymn, and the anthem is performed at a slow tempo. Aside from the whole-note fermatas in bars 8 and 16 and the passing quarter note in bar 14, the rhythm of the anthem is made up entirely of half notes. Fenton's *Kimigayo* is composed in the key of C major, but except for the F on the fourth beat of bar 14 the melody corresponds exactly to the *yonanuki* scale. The anthem is harmonized in the western classical style, and there are no unison passages. The melody contains no accidentals or chromatic activity, but the interrupted cadence to the mediant in bar 8, and the use of the secondary dominant chord in bar 10 creates harmonic interest in the accompaniment. The melody in bars 9 and 10 is repeated a fourth higher in bars 11 and 12, an example of sequential motivic development, underpinned by the rising chromatic figure in the bass.

Fenton's use of the *yonanuki* scale in *Kimigayo* predates the *Shōgaku Shōkashū* and Isawa's pedagogical reforms, but his melody shows a fundamental understanding of the

use of pentatonic modes in traditional Japanese music and the panoptic capacity of the *yonanuki* scale as a hybrid tonality.

From an analytical perspective, Fenton's *Kimigayo* correlates with the musical characteristics of national anthems identified in Part 2 of this study, namely major key, strong dominant-tonic cadence, repeated melodic motifs and slow tempo. The *yonanuki* scale can be interpreted as an indigenous Japanese element, but stylistically Fenton's composition is closer to the stately European ode-like anthems. The text of *Kimigayo* both honors ancient Japanese traditions and exalts the ruler, but its selection was ultimately based on the model of the British national anthem.

The fundamental flaw with Fenton's *Kimigayo* is the mismatch of text and melody, resulting in an anthem that has been described as 'completely unsingable if you were Japanese'.¹³ Rhyme is not an integral element of Japanese poetry, and the asymmetric 31-syllable *waka* poem assigned to Fenton offered no clues to the syntax and rhythm of *Kimigayo*. Fenton's shortcomings are especially evident in the phrasal divide between "*chiyo ni*" and "*yachiyo ni*" in bars three to six, and the fermata on "*re*" in bar 8 that breaks up the continuity of "*sazare-ishino*". Fenton uses single notes for the bimoraic "*iwa*" and "*koke*" in bars 10 and 13 respectively, an unsuccessful attempt to calibrate the poem with a 16-bar European melodic paradigm.

Anecdotal commentaries remark that Fenton's *Kimigayo* was 'displeasing to the ears of the military band members'¹⁴ or 'lacking in solemnity',¹⁵ but ultimately it was the mismatch between text and melody that led to the downfall of his composition. The monotonous rhythm of Fenton's anthem has also been pointed out,¹⁶ but it should be remembered that he was composing under limited time constraints for a group of inexperienced instrumentalists who were unfamiliar with the style. Fenton's practical approach, a simple melody in a generic style with a

functional purpose, foreshadows the pragmatic role that music and music education would hold in Meiji era Japan.

3.2 Hayashi's *Kimigayo*

Fenton's *Kimigayo* continued to be performed for six years after its inception, but in 1876 the first Japanese naval band commander Hikoji Nakamura proposed revisions to the anthem, and official discussions began at the Ministry of the Imperial Household. Fenton returned to England in 1877, and in 1879, the Japanese military, having recently adopted a wholesale German military model, employed German composer and educator Franz Eckert as their musical advisor.

In January 1880, the Department of the Navy officially requested the Imperial Household to provide a new version of *Kimigayo*, and in June a number of melodies composed by Imperial Household *gagaku* musicians were submitted. In July, Hayashi's *Kimigayo* melody was chosen by committee—including Eckert and Hayashi himself—as the successful candidate.

Hayashi's *Kimigayo* was conceived as a thorough revision of Fenton's anthem rather than as a new composition, but there are fundamental differences in tonality, harmony, structure, and rhythm between the two pieces.



Fig. 3.2.1 Hayashi's *Kimigayo*

Hayashi's anthem is an 11-bar composition in the *ritsu* mode (see Fig. 1.2), and the melody spans the

range of a major ninth. Remnants of Fenton's *Kimigayo* can be identified in the melodic contour of bars 4 and 5, demonstrating that Hayashi's anthem—despite the fundamental differences—is essentially a mimetic hybrid and not a traditional *gagaku* composition.



Fig. 3.2.2 Melodic similarities between Fenton (R) and Hayashi's (L) *Kimigayo*

The melody of Hayashi's anthem contains more rhythmic variation than Fenton's composition,¹⁷ and its irregular 11-bar structure follows the asymmetric form of the *Kimigayo* poem.

In 1883, Eckert harmonized the melody with classical European four-part harmony, but the unison passages in bars 1-2 and bars 10-11 and the lack of dominant-tonic leading tones in the melody render the composition tonally ambiguous when approached from the perspective of western harmony. The anthem begins and ends on a unison D, but D is never cadentially tonicized, and the *ritsu* mode cannot be identified as minor or major as it does not contain F or F#. Eckert's harmonization starts on a C major chord in bar three and moves to G major and E minor via secondary dominant chords in bar four, the only instances of chromatic activity in the arrangement. The harmony in bars five to ten hovers loosely around a C major tonality before the final unison phrase, which concludes on the root of the D *ritsu* mode.

Eckert's decision to employ unison in the first two bars has been the source of much discussion, with commentators as early as Sueisa Abe, Imperial Household Chief of *gagaku* in the Meiji period, stating that the unison passages reflect Japan's *kokutai*, meaning national polity or fundamental character of the state.¹⁸ I propose that the primary reason for the unison passages in Eckert's arrangement is the incompatibility between the *ritsu* mode and classical western harmony. Modal jazz or

contemporary classical harmony can be easily adapted to Hayashi's melody, but Eckert's harmonic palette was alas limited to classical European traditions.



Fig. 3.2.3 An example of modal jazz harmony applied to *Kimigayo*¹⁹

Japanese pop artist MISIA, famed for her R&B and jazz-influenced songs, performed *Kimigayo* at the opening ceremony of the Tokyo 2020 Olympics. The orchestral arrangement contained contemporary jazz and gospel harmony, as well as advanced chromaticism, but the opening and closing phrases were unharmonized, demonstrating that even in a situation where the entirety of Hayashi's melody can be contextually harmonized, there is still a predilection to keep the unison passages of Eckert's 1883 arrangement.

It should be noted that in Hayashi's original version of *Kimigayo* for *gagaku* ensemble, the first phrase is unison (voice only), but the last phrase is scored for full ensemble. It could be argued that Eckert scored both the opening and closing phrases in unison in order to add a kind of palindromic symmetry to an otherwise asymmetric composition, but it is more likely that his decision stemmed from the incongruity between the *ritsu* mode and classical western harmony.

One of the reasons for the success of Hayashi's anthem over Fenton's composition is the flawless calibration of text and melody. The Japanese naval musicians had also acquired a decade of experience and were better equipped to perform the new arrangement under Eckert's tutelage.

3.3 *Kimigayo* as National Anthem

Paul Nettl writes in *National Anthems*: "One people will not adopt the melodies of another without letting

them undergo certain alterations commensurate with its own character”.²⁰ Fenton’s melody, based on the hybrid *yonanuki* scale, is “commensurate” with the musical ideals of the early Meiji period, whereas Hayashi’s melody, steeped in centuries of *gagaku* tradition, captures the “own character” of Japan. Karen Cerulo defines national anthems as “musical symbols by which nations declare themselves internally as cohesive and externally as distinctive”.²¹ Hayashi’s anthem fits Cerulo’s definition in that its unison passages can be conceived as expressing internal cohesion through a musical vehicle, and its ambiguous tonality is externally distinctive against the backdrop of western harmony.

But how do the pieces fare in comparison with other national anthems? With regard to the musical characteristics of national anthems that were identified in part 2 of this study, Fenton’s composition is an exemplary candidate, a stately anthem in a major key with a strong dominant-tonic cadence and use of the *yonanuki* scale, a quasi-indigenous musical element. Hayashi’s piece, by contrast, was the only national anthem of its time not to contain a perfect cadence or a clearly defined tonality. Although the incorporation of folk melodies, modes and rhythms in western classical music began in 19th century with the works of Chopin, Smetana and Dvorak, the use of indigenous musical elements in national anthems was unknown before Hayashi’s *Kimigayo*. In the 20th century, however, the use of vernacular modes and tonalities in national anthems became more common, notably in the anthems of Bhutan, Cambodia, Mauritania, Sudan, and Vietnam. The national anthem of Kenya, based on a traditional folk song and adopted in 1963, opens with a unison phrase in a D pentatonic mode, a discernable parallel to Hayashi’s *Kimigayo*.



Fig. 3.3.1 National anthem of Kenya, unison opening phrase

In this regard, Hayashi’s approach was innovative, even revolutionary, and it marked the beginning of a new style of national anthem which celebrated indigenous musical elements on the global stage.

While at ground level the Meiji musical aesthetic focused on finding a practical blend between the newly adopted western music and traditional Japanese music, as epitomized by Fenton’s *Kimigayo*, it was *gagaku*, the sacrosanct music of ancient imperial rites, that would underpin Hayashi’s melody and represent Japan in the role of national anthem.

CONCLUSION

The story of *Kimigayo* is essentially one of mimesis. The text was chosen based on its proximity to the British national anthem; Fenton’s melody written in the *yonanuki* scale—itsself a hybrid of Japanese and western tonalities—was inspired by the *Bushi no uta* song; and Hayashi conceived his anthem as a new arrangement of Fenton’s melody, which was in turn harmonized and orchestrated by Eckert in the European classical style.

Fenton’s *Kimigayo*, compatible as it was with the principles of the early Meiji musical aesthetic and the general characteristics of national anthems, was flawed by the misalignment of text and melody, as well as the inexperience of his fledgling naval band. Hayashi’s choice of the *ritsu* mode, less malleable than the *yonanuki* scale from the perspective of European tonality, resulted in an anthem that was difficult to harmonize using western classical models, but a composition with a distinctive

and instantly recognizable soundscape that grew out of ancient and hereditary Japanese musical traditions. Using indigenous scales and modes in national anthems was a novel idea in the late 19th century, but it became more common in the 20th century. In this regard, Hayashi's version of *Kimigayo* harmonized by Eckert can be considered as an innovative musical landmark, paving the way for a new style of national anthem.

Just as post-Meiji Japan readily absorbed western ideas and methods but went on to forge and maintain a unique identity, so too *Kimigayo* underwent a process of discovery that resulted in a national anthem with an inimitable musical flavor to represent Japan after the Meiji Restoration.

NOTES

- 1 Yamada, 2019, p. 147.
- 2 For a study of all three versions of *Kimigayo*, see Naito, 1997.
- 3 Tsukahara, 2013, p. 228.
- 4 Atkins, 2017, p. 87.
- 5 Markham et al., 2017, p. 80.
- 6 Arimichi and Tsugami, 2007, p. 185.
- 7 Atkins, 2017, p. 89.
- 8 Bristow (ed.), 2006.
- 9 Including unison endings.
- 10 Greece's anthem is the longest in terms of lyrics, with 158 verses.
- 11 Miller, 1870.
- 12 Yamada, 2019, p. 125.
- 13 Marshall, 2015, p. 104.
- 14 Adal, 2019, p. 106.
- 15 <https://blog.gaijinpot.com/kimigayo-guide-japans-controversial-national-anthem/>
- 16 Gottschewski, 2003, p. 7.
- 17 Ibid.
- 18 Naitō, 1997, p. 80.
- 19 Author's arrangement.
- 20 Nettl, 1967, p. 55.
- 21 Cerulo, 1989, p. 77.

REFERENCES

Books and Articles

- Adal, R., *Beauty in the Age of Empire—Japan, Egypt, and the Global History of Aesthetic Education*, Columbia University Press, 2019.
- Arimichi, M. and Tsugami, T., 'A Study of the Variety of Children Songs in Japan—Change of Music Style Since Meiji Period (1)', *Journal of Chugokugakuen* 6, pp. 183-193, 2007.
- Atkins, E.T., *A History of Popular Culture in Japan—From the Seventeenth Century to the Present*, Bloomsbury Academic, 2017.
- Bristow, M.J. (ed.), *National Anthems of the World* (Eleventh Edition), Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2006.
- Cerulo, K.A., 'Sociopolitical Control and the Structure of National Symbols: An Empirical Analysis of National Anthems', *Social Forces*, Vol. 68, No.1, pp. 76-99 Oxford University Press, 1989.
- Erden, Y., 'National Anthems as Unifying Tools: A Comparative Analysis of Selected Western National Anthems', *Eurasian Journal of English Language and Literature*, Vol.1 No.2, pp. 44-50, 2019.
- Geisler, M.E. (ed.), *National Symbols, Fractured Identities—Contesting the National Narrative*, Middlebury College Press, 2005.
- Gottschewski, H., 'Hoiku shōka and the melody of the Japanese national anthem *Kimi ga yo*', *Tōyō Ongaku Kenkyū*, 68, 2003.
- Hebert, D.G., *Wind Bands and Cultural Identity in Japanese Schools*, Springer, 2012.
- Huffman, J.L., *A Yankee in Meiji Japan—The Crusading Journalist Edward H. House*, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2003.
- Kindaichi, H. and Yasunishi, A., *Nihon no Shōka*, Kōdansha, 1997.
- McQueen Tokita, A., Hughes, D.W. (eds.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Japanese Music*, Routledge, 2016.
- Markham, E., Terauchi, N., Wolpert, R. (eds.), *What the Doctor Overheard—Dr. Leopold Müller's Account of Music in Early Meiji Japan*, Cornell East Asia Series, 2017.
- Marshall, A., *Republic or Death!—Travels in Search of National Anthems*, Random House Books, 2015.
- May, E., 'The Influence of the Meiji Period on Japanese Children's Music', *Journal of Research in Music Education*, Vol. 13, No.2 (Summer 1965), pp. 110-120.
- Miller, A., *The Far East: an illustrated fortnightly newspaper*, Japan Gazette, Yokohama, July 16th, 1870.
- Naitō, T., *Mitsu no Kimigayo—Nihonjin no Oto to Kokoro no Shinsō*, Chūōkoronsha, 1997.

Nettl. P., *National Anthems*, Frederick Ungar Publishing Company, 1967.

Ōhata, K., 'Shōgaku shōka to yonanuki chō-onkai no kōsatsu', *Fuji Women's College Bulletin*, No. 28, Ser. II: pp. 61-71, 1990.

Sheppard, W.A., *Extreme Exoticism—Japan in the American Musical Imagination*, Oxford University Press, 2019.

Tsukahara, Y., 'State Ceremony and Music in Meiji-era Japan', *Nineteenth-Century Music Review*, 10 (2013), pp. 223-228, Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Yamada, Y., *Kimigayo no Rekishi*, Kōdansha, 2019.

Internet Resources

<https://blog.gaijinpot.com/kimigayo-guide-japans-controversial-national-anthem/>

<https://nationalanthems.info/>

明治の音楽的美意識と『君が代』

フェントン作曲、林作曲、2つの『君が代』の比較

サイモン・コスグローブ

日本の国歌『君が代』は雅楽演奏者林廣守によって作曲され、1883年にドイツの音楽教師フランツ・エッケルトによってハーモニーが加えられた。それ以前に英国軍楽隊員ジョン・ウィリアム・フェントンが1869年に『君が代』の詩に別の旋律をつけ日本の最初の国歌を作曲した。しかし、フェントンの『君が代』は不適切と判断され林の曲に取り替えられた。

フェントンと林が作曲したのは日本の社会や文化が急速に西洋化された明治維新の直後の時期である。当時、文部官僚伊沢修二が、日本の新音楽教育の課程を提唱し、邦楽と洋楽のバランスをとろうとした。

この研究では、伊沢の方針を背景にフェントンの『君が代』と林の『君が代』をとりあげ、明治時代の唱歌や童謡の音階や形式等の音楽要素との関連を考察する。なお、他国の国歌（約200曲）を調査し、共通点と特徴を見出してから『君が代』の国歌としての音楽的適切さを明らかにしたい。

なお、『君が代』は20世紀より論争的となってきたが、この研究は『君が代』の音楽的構成のみを扱うものであり、政治的な関心や含意は一切持っていない。