Hoiku shōka and the melody of the Japanese national anthem Kimi ga yo

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It is well known that Kimi ga yo  경의代, although recognized as the Japanese national anthem by law only in 1999, was chosen in the summer of 1880 as a ceremonial piece for the navy. Its melody was composed by reijin 伶人, i.e. members of the gagaku department of the court ministry 宮内省式部寮雅楽課, and harmonized by Franz Eckert. It replaced an earlier piece by John William Fenton with the same text.  

Summer 1880 was precisely when the newly founded Institute of Music 音楽取調掛 began the compilation of song books for elementary school (Shōgaku shōka shū, 小学唱歌集) under the musical direction of Luther Whiting Mason, and many of the reijin took part in this new adventure. At about the same time, the reijin were engaged in the composition of hoiku shōka 保育唱歌, a collection of educational songs composed between 1877 and 1883 for the Tōkyō Women’s Normal School 東京女子師範学校 and its affiliated kindergarten. While the songs of the Shōgaku shōka shū mainly use Western melodies and are notated in Western staff system, the hoiku shōka are based on the music theory of gagaku and written in hakase 墨譜, the traditional notation for vocal pieces.

Up to the present, the hoiku shōka have mainly been seen as an experiment in music education, which was abandoned when Mason’s songs appeared. Indeed, historical sources show that the compilation of hoiku shōka stopped immediately after the reijin began to work with Mason. But in my habilitation thesis I showed that it resumed in 1882, when Mason returned to America and Franz Eckert was engaged as his successor. In 1882 and 1883, the hoiku shōka were supplemented, fundamentally revised and arranged in a pedagogical order, and the gagaku department applied for permission to publish a printed edition. Also in 1883, the reijin began to teach new songs in hoiku shōka style to the Köken Kōyō Sho 堂典講究所, a Shinbō school in Tōkyō. It can therefore be said that at least at that time the hoiku shōka do not seem to have been considered obsolete by the court musicians.

Some sources of hoiku shōka include Kimi ga yo, which is the first appearance of this song in the educational world. (The first volume of Shōgaku shōka shū, published in 1881, also contains a Kimi ga yo, but it is a different song with a Western melody. See note 30 below.) Since the majority of hoiku shōka were composed before 1880, some writers have concluded that the present melody of Kimi ga yo was originally composed for the hoiku shōka collection. But source evidence makes it very unlikely that it was part of the collection before Eckert arranged it for the navy: Of extant manuscripts, only those written in 1883 and later contain the song. Earlier sources, in contrast, include a different song with the same text, which disappears when “Eckert’s”
the style of *Kimi ga yo* as it appears in the *hoiku shōka* collection.

Firstly, concerning the scale, there is no obvious difference between *Kimi ga yo* and the majority of the other *hoiku shōka* written in the *ritsu* 律 mode: There are six notes in the scale (re mi so la si do re), with do always followed by an ascending interval and si always followed by a descending one.

Secondly, concerning the rhythm, there is a remarkable predominance of slow notes of equal duration in *Kimi ga yo*. The question of whether there are other *hoiku shōka* with a similar rhythmic structure can only be answered by deciding on a criterion by which the rhythmic values is one song can be compared with the rhythmic values in another.

According to contemporary sources, the rhythm of *hoiku shōka* is based on three kinds of time units, big time 大節 symbolized by 百, small time 小節 symbolized by ● and yin time 陰節 symbolized by ○. Big and small times are marked by beats of the *shakuchi* 笛拍子, while the yin time is not. There are three categories of musical meter:

- **Step beat** 步拍子 consists of a simple succession of small times and is used in play songs 鍵無 without the accompaniment of stringed instruments. Each small time represents one step, which is also the unit used to calculate the length of the play-songs:

  
  \[ \text{百百百百百…} \]

- **Quick beat** 快拍子 uses small and big times; in a song written in quick beat, a pattern (called “bar” in this paper) made up of one big time and a number of small times is repeated throughout the piece. The number of small times depends on the type of meter. In *quick four-beat meter* 快四拍子, for example, one bar comprises four time units, the third of which is the big time:

  
  \[ \text{百百百百…} \]

- **Slow beat** 拍子 uses all three kinds of time units. Between the small and big times there is one yin time each, as for example in a *slow five-beat meter* 拍子:

  
  \[ \text{百百百百百…} \]

  Songs in quick beat and slow beat are accompanied by the six-stringed wagon 琴 and (ad libitum) the 13-stringed *sō* 筝. At the beginning of each song, the length in bars is indicated (for example 「拍子十一」 for *Kimi ga yo*, which is 11 bars long).
On the basis of evidence provided by songs which were rennotated from step beat to quick beat or from quick beat to slow beat and vice versa, it can be assumed that in all meters the time interval between two successive times is almost the same, regardless of the kind of time unit. Thus in comparing the rhythmic movement of different songs, it is appropriate to consider all three kinds of time units to be equal in duration. I will call them “metric times” or simply “units”. One bar in quick four-beat meter consists, for example, of four units, and one bar in slow five-beat meter of ten units.

*Kimi ga yo*, as notated in *hakase* in the *hoiku shōka* sources, consists of 11 bars in quick four-beat meter, giving it a total of 44 metric times. Each of the slow notes at the beginning has the duration of one metric time (“one-unit notes”). The “remarkable predominance of slow notes of equal duration” in this song is thus reflected in a high frequency of one-unit notes: The piece contains 28 one-unit notes, or 63.6% of the metric times are filled with one-unit notes. The following table shows the values for all *hoiku shōka* from the collection in its last revision.\(^3\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>share of one-unit notes</th>
<th>pieces / share of total 97 pieces</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10.00-13.33%</td>
<td>◆ (1.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.34-16.66%</td>
<td>(7.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.67-19.99%</td>
<td>(8.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.00-23.33%</td>
<td>(6.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.34-26.66%</td>
<td>(10.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.67-29.99%</td>
<td>(3.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.00-33.33%</td>
<td>(5.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33.34-36.66%</td>
<td>(6.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36.67-39.99%</td>
<td>(5.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40.00-43.33%</td>
<td>(11.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43.34-46.66%</td>
<td>(10.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46.67-49.99%</td>
<td>(5.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50.00-53.33%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53.34-56.66%</td>
<td>(4.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56.67-59.99%</td>
<td>(1.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60.00-63.33%</td>
<td>(1.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63.34-66.66%</td>
<td>(1.0%) (<em>Kimi ga yo</em>)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Frequency of one-unit notes in *hoiku shōka* (*◆* = 1 piece)

The table displays a bimodal distribution: 32% of the pieces range between 13.34 and 26.66%, and 40% between 40 and 53.33%. These groups represent two rhythmical types of songs: songs with less than 30% one-unit notes are mostly syllabic songs in quick meter, where half-unit notes prevail, and songs with more than 40% one-unit notes are mostly melismatic songs with a greater variety of longer and shorter notes. *Kimi ga yo* is at the very bottom of the table, and so it can be concluded that it is not a typical *hoiku shōka* in the rhythmical sense.

Thirdly, concerning musical form, all *hoiku shōka* composed in quick beat or slow beat (72 out of 83 songs, that is all pieces except the play songs) are accompanied by the wagon. The wagon plays a pattern called sugugaki 留絃, which is at least one bar long and is repeated throughout the piece. There are a few cases where the same pattern is used for different pieces, but as a rule each piece has its own pattern. A short pattern is easy to comprehend and makes the piece more characteristic, but in a long piece it will be boring for the player as well as for the listener. A longer pattern, on the other hand, helps to make the musical form more distinct because it restricts the possibilities for piece length to multiples of its duration. The length of sugugaki in *hoiku shōka* ranges from 4 to 30 metric times, and the number of repetitions ranges from 2 to 24 times.\(^4\)

Evidently there are several possible ways to compose a *hoiku shōka*. You can compose the wagon pattern first and then the melody; or you can fix only the length of the pattern first, compose the melody second, and the pattern last; or you can calculate the length of the whole piece so that wagon patterns of different length are possible, next compose the melody, and finally decide on the length of the pattern and compose it; or you can begin by composing the melody, work out thereafter what kind of pattern fits, and compose it accordingly. Obviously the last method is not the best: If you compose a long piece and it happens that its length in bars is a prime number, you have to repeat the shortest pattern as many times as there are bars.

In most cases we do not know which method was used by the composers of *hoiku shōka*, but it seems that at least in quick four-beat meter, where the bar is very short, prime number totals of bars were avoided, except for very short pieces.\(^5\)
to serve as a ceremonial piece for the navy. It is probable that the melody was composed with this proposal in mind. At that time, the reijin already had some idea of the kind of pieces used in such ceremonies. They had played Fenton’s Ki mi ga yo themselves several times since 1876, and they had also played The star-spangled banner and Hail Columbia in July 1879. Perhaps they had also played other hymns in their daily practice. Thus it is likely that they would have tried to compose the piece “somewhat like” these other pieces.

Since the scale of Ki mi ga yo is derived from the theory of gasa ku, influences from Western music styles, if any, have to be looked for mainly in its rhythmic form. Indeed, the predominance of slow notes of equal duration, which is not to be found in other hoiku shōka, is also a characteristic of songs like Fenton’s Ki mi ga yo. In the following investigation I will try to clarify the extent to which this rhythmic uniformity is characteristic of a specific style of ceremonial pieces.

The approach of counting “one-unit notes” is not applicable here because it is not always clear which rhythmic value in a certain song should be taken as its “unit”. I have thus calculated the share of the most dominant rhythmic value for each song, relative to its metric time. For example, the first part of God save the Queen contains 2 quavers, 11 crotchets, 2 dotted crotchets and one dotted minim; the whole length of this part (metric time) is 18 crotchets. So the crotchet is the most dominant rhythmic value with a share of 11/18 or 61% of the metric time of the song. The resulting value is a measurement of the uniformity of the rhythmic structure, because a high value means that most of the metric time of a piece is filled out by one and the same rhythmic value.

I have calculated the values for the first parts of each piece and the whole pieces separately, because some songs have a different rhythmic structure in their second halves:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Song</th>
<th>Value</th>
<th>First Part</th>
<th>Second Part</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>God save the Queen</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gott erhalte Franz, den Kaiser</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The star-spangled banner</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hail Columbia</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land of Our Fathers</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ki mi ga yo (Fenton)</td>
<td>84%</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ki mi ga yo</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Rhythmic uniformity in some national songs

Only Fenton’s Ki mi ga yo is more uniform than the current melody, but a certain uniformity, especially in the first parts of the songs, is a characteristic of most national anthems. There are also other structural similarities between some of these songs and Ki mi ga yo: Four of them are in duple meter, five without an upbeat.

These characteristics are, in fact, common features of a style in Western music.
that may be called “hymn-style”. Here the word hymn is to be understood in the older sense of “song for glorifying gods or heroes” (誉歌 in Japanese) and not in the nowadays more common sense of “church song” (讃美歌 in Japanese). In the 1890 hymnal Shizens Sandika (English title Hymns and Songs of Praise), edited by a joint committee of the United and Congregational Churches, for example, there are seven melodies explicitly called hymn, namely “Easter Hymn”, “Vesper Hymn”, “Missionary Hymn”, “Italian Hymn”, “Portuguese Hymn”, “Spanish Hymn”, and “Pleyel’s Hymn”. The values for these songs are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Song</th>
<th>1st part</th>
<th>2nd part</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Easter Hymn</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vesper Hymn</td>
<td>77%</td>
<td>88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missionary Hymn</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>69%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian Hymn</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese Hymn</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish Hymn</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pleyel’s Hymn</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

average: 61.8% (standard deviation 10.3%)

Table 4: Rhythmic uniformity in melodies called “hymn” from Shizens Sandika

Only one of these songs (Portuguese Hymn) has an up-beat, and only one (Italian Hymn) is not in duplet meter. The rhythmic uniformity of this group is significantly greater than that of the whole corpus of Shizens Sandika: The average for the 185 melodies is 52.6% (standard deviation 15.6%).

Being men with an interest in music, the reijin may have had some knowledge of Japanese church songs, virtually the only Western vocal music known in Japan before 1880. But this knowledge would have hardly been enough to rely on for composing new pieces. Thus it seems more reasonable to assume that they derived their image of hymn-style songs from the few ceremonial pieces that they had learned to play at the court. Looking at the figures in table 3, it may be argued that it was especially Fenton’s Kimi ga yo that exerted an influence on the new composition.

3. Fenton’s Kimi ga yo and the “new arrangement”

There is additional evidence for the strong dependence of the new melody on that composed by Fenton in an anecdote passed down by SHIBA Sukehiro. According to Shiba, the new melody of Kimi ga yo was understood as a (new arrangement) of Fenton’s Kimi ga yo rather than a new composition; and it was written down in minims rather than crotchets in the first sketch, just like Fenton’s Kimi ga yo.

Apart from the tonality, the most striking difference between the two melodies is that the new one is more elaborated and fits much better to the words.

Ex. 1: Kimi ga yo, melody composed by John William Fenton

Ex. 2: Kimi ga yo (current version)

Fenton’s Kimi ga yo is phrased in groups of four notes as revealed in its motivic structure. It seems that the new melody was phrased the same way when it was composed. Later a division into two-bar phrases became usual, but the hakase manuscripts divide the piece into eleven phrases, each one bar long.

The only place in Fenton’s melody where the melodic phrasing fits the words is bars 5-8 (marked with a rectangle in ex. 1). It is really surprising that the new melody is almost the same at that place (rectangle in ex. 2). There was no need to change the melody, so it remained unchanged.

To discover other influences from Fenton’s melody on the current Kimi ga yo, it is useful to concentrate on melodic movements that cannot be found in other hoiku shōka. Since most of the rhythmically differentiated passages in ex. 2 are standard phrases in hoiku shōka, I will investigate only the phrases consisting of four notes of equal duration (circled phrases in ex. 1 and 2).

Table 5 shows a complete survey of all phrases containing four one-unit notes in succession which occur in hoiku shōka in the ritsu mode. Pieces and passages that were later changed or discarded are also listed. In a few cases the passages are part of a longer phrase. (Phrases longer than four units are rare in hoiku shōka.) All examples are transposed to d-ritsu.
Table 5: Phrases with four one-unit notes in succession in hoiku shōka

The table shows that only eleven different four-note patterns occur in hoiku shōka. Only three of them occur frequently and two others occasionally. The other six patterns are isolated cases and mostly questionable in some way. If this table proves anything, then it is the fact that composing hoiku shōka did not mean creating new melodies but rather putting old ones together. Pieces with unusual melodic progressions were in danger of being discarded.

Three of the four circled phrases in ex. 2 belong to the most frequent melody patterns in hoiku shōka and thus need no further explanation. But the first phrase falls totally out of the range of conventional patterns. It is not only an isolated case. The shape of the phrase is totally different: In all other four-unit phrases the first three notes form the shape of a mountain: ascending and descending in the 1st, 4th, 5th, and 9th phrases of table 5; descending in the 2nd, 6th and 8th phrases; ascending in the 3rd, 7th, and 10th phrases. Only the 1st case, the first phrase from Kimi ga yo, has the form of a valley.

In the context of the hoiku shōka, where every new invention was likely to be dismissed, this beginning must have sounded truly exotic and thus have exerted a very strong effect. I believe the piece was only able to survive because it was considered a “new arrangement” of Fenton’s Kimi ga yo. Four of the five four-note patterns occurring in Fenton’s Kimi ga yo have the valley-shaped form that was unknown in hoiku shōka. To the ears of the reijin of the early Meiji era, the new Kimi ga yo certainly retained an unmistakable characteristic of the old melody, while, at the same time, the unbearable offences against Japanese declamation were removed. Although it was only a new arrangement, it was a definite improvement.

4. Conclusion
Kimi ga yo is a hybrid song, partly belonging to the hoiku shōka style, but in certain aspects composed more like a piece of Western music than a hoiku shōka. Some of its most characteristic musical features seem to be taken over directly from the earlier melody composed by John William Fenton. At the very least it was an exotic piece in the context of the hoiku shōka.

Why did the reijin make it a part of the collection? Was it not enough that it was played as a ceremonial piece by the musicians of the navy, and additionally by the reijin themselves at the court? Of course, the text Kimi ga yo had to be taught in the schools, but there was already a song with this text in the hoiku shōka, and there was another song in the Shogaku shōka shū that could serve the same end.14

The easiest answer to this question is the fact that Franz Eckert succeeded Mason in his post at the Institute of Music. It was a matter of courtesy toward Eckert to use “his” song, the song that he had already published as “Die japanische Nationalhymne” in an international periodical.15

The fact that the hoiku shōka were not a project of the Institute of Music is not an argument against this consideration. The various institutions of music and music education were closely tied together in terms of the people who worked in them, and Eckert had already shown interest in hoiku shōka: One year earlier than Kimi ga yo, he had published one of the hoiku shōka in the same periodical.16 The Shōgaku shōka shū could not be “unprinted”, so to speak, but the hoiku shōka were the next pedagogical project of the reijin, and so “Eckert’s” Kimi ga yo was incorporated into that collection.

This incorporation meant no more and no less than that the current melody of Kimi ga yo was introduced to public school education — several years earlier than it appears in printed school books.

Whether this step was an anticipation of the official use of the song as “the Japanese national anthem” is a more difficult question. At a time when even many Western nations, including the U.S., did not possess “official” national anthems (that is, anthems recognized by law), there was no clear-cut dividing line between informal ceremonial pieces and formal hymns. At the very least, the song was given a preferred position within the hoiku shōka collection. While “Mason’s” Kimi ga yo was hidden in the middle part of the Shōgaku shōka shū, “Eckert’s” Kimi ga yo was placed at the top of the heptatonic shōka section.17 And there are indications that it was taught even earlier.18 There is no doubt that the introduction of Kimi ga yo to the hoiku shōka collection was an important step in the history of the Japanese national anthem.

For the transcription of Japanese words the modified Hepburn-method is used.

I thank Prof. Steven G. Nelson for revising my English.
Notes:

1. Apparently by OKU Yoshisa 奥秀義 in cooperation with HAYASHI Hirose 森政季.

2. A rather dubious anecdote handed down by SHIBA Sukeyasu 菊作成 states the composition of the melody back to 1878, but at any rate it replaced the Fenton melody only in 1880, when it was harmonized by Franz Eckert. See for example 菊作成著「君々代曲の誕生」、「ローチキーの風」, January 1966, pp. 16-19; 中川平三「洋楽導入者の軌跡」東京：万葉書房, 1993, pp. 255-259.


4. This attempt seems to have failed, because no official print is known.


6. Sources of hoiku shōka containing Kimi ga yo are as follows:

   I. Sources containing text, melody and accompaniment: (1) 「歌謡」 (manuscript, written in 1890 by a member of the HGASHI 東家族; at least the first part of the manuscript, which contains the texts and melodies of the hoiku shōka, is a copy of a manuscript by HAYASHI Hirose 松尾, written in 1885; the second part contains só parts, but no wagon parts; published on CD-ROM: 「京都府住家家 東友弘家文書」, 2001, source no. 57.

   II. Sources containing text and melody (hakase): (1) no title (manuscript of hoiku shōka, obviously written by SHIBA Sukeyasu 菊作成, owned by SHIBA Sukeyasu 菊作成; no date, but presumably written progressively during the genesis of the hoiku shōka. Kimi ga yo is one of the last pieces in the ichikotokusa section, so it may be one of the last entries in the manuscript; (2) no title (manuscript of hoiku shōka, probably 「保育唱歌本」著者富士家所蔵楽譜 No. 36, written presumably by BUNNO Yoshiaki 豊寿, owned by BUNNO Michiaki 豊光, the first 36 songs of the source were presumably written at the beginning of 1879, the remaining part progressively during the genesis of the collection. Kimi ga yo is the fifth last song, appearing after two songs that are known to have been composed in March 1882. So Kiri ga yo cannot have been written earlier than March 1882.; (3) "明治十六年 保育唱歌" (manuscript of the kindergarten teacher SHIMIZU Tazu 清水たづ, dated 1883, held by the library of Ochanomizu University, the hakase of Kiri ga yo is without phrasing indication; (4) 「保育唱歌表」 (manuscript of INABA Yohachi 稲葉與八, written in 1935, copy of a manuscript of TSUNEKAWA Shigemitsu 甚川重喜, written in 1885, held by the Research Archives for Japanese Music of Ueno Gakuen University).

   III. Sources containing accompaniment: (1) 「芝野夏華 保育唱歌・和琴の譜」 (só and wagon parts, written by SHIBA Sukeyasu, 1883, owned by SHIBA Sukeyasu); (2) 「保育唱歌・和琴之譜」 (manuscript of INABA Yohachi, written in 1935; wagon parts are copied from a manuscript of TSUNEKAWA Shigemitsu, written in 1885, só parts are copied from an undated manuscript of MITA Komatsuku 三田小松; held by the Research Archives for Japanese Music of Ueno Gakuen University); (3) 「唱歌譜」 (manuscript of INABA Yohachi, written in 1936; parts for several gagaku instruments, copied from an undated manuscript of TSUNEKAWA Shigemitsu 甚川重喜, held by the Research Archives for Japanese Music of Ueno Gakuen University); (4) 「保育唱歌」 (undated manuscript, perhaps written after 1880 by a member of the HGASHI 東家族; contains only the text and shō notation of Kiri ga yo; published on CD-ROM: 「京都府住家家 東校弘家文書」, 2001, source no. 56; concerning this source see 龍井知著「保育唱歌 伴奏の意義」東京音楽大学教育学研究科音楽教育専攻修士論文, 2002, pp. 14-17); (5) two manuscripts without title and date, containing wagon and só accompaniment respectively, owned by TÔGI Kanehiko 長巻兼彦. The structure of the manuscripts is similar to III (1), and so it may have been written at the same time.

   IV. Sources containing only the text: (1) 「幼稚園唱歌」 (printed edition of the hoiku shōka texts, ed. by ICHIKAWA Yasokichi 一色八十吉, 東京：新社, 1886).

   V. Sources containing only the title: (1) 「保育唱歌教授手順」 (circular for the singing lessons at the Tôkyô Women's Normal School and teaching record for the winter season 1882/3, manuscript owned by TÔGI Kanehiko); (2) 「明治二十年十月施行 学科観音雅楽」 (Cirriculum for the Gagaku School雅楽指掌所, 1887, handwritten copy by SHIBA Sukeyasu 菊作成, reproduced in: 江崎先生著楽曲家研究文集, vol. 15, 東京：大光出版, 1991, pp. 109-118).

   VI. Sources known to the author only through other publications: (1) 「保育唱歌表」 (manuscript by HAYASHI Hirose 松尾, cited in 佐藤誠一郎著「日本国国歌正歌」東京：全音楽出版社, 1974, pp. 148-150, hakase of Kiri ga yo reproduced in the front pages; (2) unspecified source (different from all other sources cited here), cited in 田優一著「日本音楽史話」東京：岩波書店, 1919, pp. 695-696. May have been written at about the same time as III (1) and III (5), or later.

Other early manuscripts not connected with hoiku shōka, but written in the traditional musical notation hakase are:

   (1) Manuscript from the collection of the military band leader NAKAMURA Suketsune 中村 守信 and (2) manuscript from the gagaku department of the court ministry, both cited and reproduced in 佐藤誠一郎著「日本国国歌正歌」東京：全音楽出版社, 1974, pp. 150-153. These manuscripts may be written near to the date of composition of Kiri ga yo, i.e. probably in 1880. So they are written earlier than all of the hoiku shōka manuscripts mentioned above.

7. The melody of Kiri ga yo was chosen in July 1880, and Eckert's arrangement was first performed in October of the same year. See for example 内藤孝著「三つの君が代」東京：中央公論社, 1997, pp. 75-76, 114-119.

8. The title of the earlier song is Sazureishi サズリアイ, but the text is the same. In fact, the melody of the earlier song does not disappear from the collection, but was thereafter used with another text. Of the sources which do not contain Kiri ga yo, but Sazureishi, only those which give hints for the dating of Kiri ga yo are mentioned here:

   (1) 「唱歌表」 (manuscript of the hoiku shōka with their official dates of registration, written by SHIBA Fujitsune 菊作成, appended to his manuscript, 「遊唱之部」保育唱歌, 「歌集」, owned by SHIBA Sukeyasu. (A copy of this list, handwritten by SHIBA Sukeyasu, is reproduced in: 江崎先生著楽曲家研究文集, vol. 15, 東京：大光出版, 1991, pp. 185-192.) The last date in the list is May 20th, 1880, and there is an extra list of three songs composed for schools in Tôkyô, registered in June 1880. So it appears certain that Kiri ga yo was not officially accepted as a hoiku shōka before June 1880.

   (2) 「唱歌譜」 (five volume manuscript held by the library of Tôkyô National University of Fine
12 He was also a son of a *hoiku shōka* composer and closely related to OKU Yoshiisa, the alleged composer of *Kimi ga yo*, but when he was born in 1898, the practice of *hoiku shōka* had already ceased.

13 See 山田孝雄著『君が代の歴史』東京：宝文館, 1956, pp. 186-190.

14 萩原幸作『日本音楽辞典』東京：岩波書店, 1919, 番楽第四。”

15 弁護山康観『保育唱歌について』『東洋音楽研究』第44号 (1979), pp. 1-25.


17 For example, Introduction to shōka 唱歌入門 by BUNNO Yoshiaki, written presumably about 1884. The handwritten source is in possession of the Bunnō family. A copy is available in the Research Archives for Japanese Music, Ueno Gakuen College, Tokyo. A German translation of this source is to be found in the appendix of my habilitation thesis.

18 The translations quick beat and slow beat may be somewhat misleading in terms of their relationship to “quick movement” and “slow movement” in Western music, but it is the only translation that fits the Japanese word itself as well as explanations in theoretical writings of that time. Bunnō, for example, writes about slow beat: “*Hoiku shōka* (五十二) 多きは歌の速度に応じて速度を自由に過ぎて行う。しかし古来の音楽伝統的におわれて行う速度を適当に過ぎて行う。*Hoiku shōka*の速度が主にそれぞれの伝統的、伝統的に適当に過ぎて行う。*Hoiku shōka*の速度が主にそれぞれの伝統的、伝統的に適当に過ぎて行う。”

19 In theory, the counting begins with the first small time after the big time, and so Bunnō writes that in *Hoiku* the beat occurs with the second and closes with the first time (loc. cit.).

20 Since many songs exist in more than one version and the same melodies were used for different texts and vice versa at different times, statistics cannot easily be made for all pieces that appear in any source of *Hoiku shōka*. So I have restricted the material to the 83 pieces listed in source VI (2) (see note 6), which represent supposedly the final stage of the collection, and to the versions contained in sources written in 1883 or later. The four melodies of *Shiki* 四季, which are only transpositions of each other, are counted as one melody, but in the case of songs which are divided into parts (I) II with independent melodies, the parts are counted separately. In the songs Usagi 兔 all three verses use the same melody, but the different words bring about important rhythmic differences. So they are counted separately.

21 The length of the *wagō* pattern is calculated in metric times and not in bars because the real complexity of the pattern depends on the former and not on the latter. A typical one-bar pattern in *quick four-beat* meter consists of three or four sounds, but in *slow five-beat* meter of seven or eight. For this reason one-bar patterns are common in slow beat even for the longest pieces, but used in quick beat only for short pieces.

22 In this table all different melodies in *quick four-beat* meter are counted, including pieces that are found in earlier sources only. The song cycle *Tai no 285 is counted as one because all nine songs, although composed by nine different composers, have the same length and use the same *wagō* pattern.

23 The author believes that the easiest way to explain the musical structure of the *hoiku shōka* is to suppose that in most cases the length of the piece was calculated first, then the melody was composed, and only in the last step the length and the structure of the *wagō* pattern was fixed.
There are cases where the length of the wagons pattern was changed afterwards. Thus the length of the pieces may be regulated by the possibility of wagon patterns rather than by the actual patterns. This is the reason why only the lengths of the pieces and not the real lengths of the wagon patterns are shown in the table. For reference the real lengths of the wagon patterns are listed below:

- 6-bar pieces: 4 pieces 1 bar; 6 pieces 2 bars; 1 piece 3 bars
- 7-bar pieces: 3 pieces 1 bar
- 8-bar pieces: 3 pieces 2 bars, 1 piece 4 bars
- 9-bar pieces: 2 pieces 1 bar, 1 piece 3 bars
- 10-bar pieces: 3 pieces 2 bars, 3 pieces 5 bars
- 11-bar piece: 1 piece 1 bar
- 12-bar pieces: 1 piece 1 bar; 1 piece 2 bars, 2 pieces 3 bars; 4 pieces 4 bars

(The piece with a one bar pattern is *Umi yakubaba* which was - like *Kimi ga yo* - not composed originally for the *hoiku shōka*.)

- 14-bar pieces: 1 piece 1 bar; 4 pieces 2 bars; 2 pieces 2 bars
- 16-bar pieces: 2 pieces 4 bars
- 18-bar piece: 1 piece 3 bars
- 20-bar piece: 1 piece 2 bars
- 30-bar piece: 1 piece 5 bars.

24 Sources VII (1) and VIII (2), see note 6.

25 See 塚垣康子著「十九世紀の日本における西洋音楽の受容」東京：多賀出版, 1993, pp. 396-402. America had no official national anthem at that time. According to Tsukahara, in his diary BUNNO Yoshikichi calls both songs "American national song".

26 That the song is not written in dorian mode, as some older authors suggest, is clear on the grounds of the presence of certain melodic progressions and the absence of others. By the way, it is unlikely that the *reijin* had any knowledge of church modes at that time.

27 Since the share of the metric time, and not the number of values, is measured, the most dominant value is not necessarily the most frequent one.

28 Austrian hymn, nowadays the melody of the German national anthem.

29 There are many versions of *The star-spangled banner* and *Hail Columbia*. I used an old American song book in which the melodies are given in a plain form: *The American National Song Book*. By Uncle Sam. Boston: Benjamin B. Mussey; Lewis & Sampson, 1842.

30 An American national song (from the same collection), using the melody of *Glorious Apollo* by Samuel Webbe. It is not known whether the *reijin* knew this song, but it was used (in a slightly altered form) in 1881 in the *Shōgakaku shōka shū* with the text of *Kimi ga yo*.

31 From "kimi ga ..." to "... yachiyo ni".

32 All except *God save the Queen* and *The star-spangled banner*.

33 The only exception is *The star-spangled banner*. *Gott erhalte*, begins, in the score, with a two-note upbeat, but metrically it is not an upbeat because the stress accent of the verse falls on the first syllable.

34 譲美歌委員（植村正四、鳥野昌嗣、松山高吉、G. Allchin、他）編輯 [新撰譜美歌] 東京／大阪：出版社名無し, 1890.

35 Missionary hymn begins with a "prolonged upbeat", which is essentially an upbeat but almost has the effect of a downbeat.

36 In the first stage of the composition of *hoiku shōka* in 1877, however, the *reijin* had studied some English kindergarten songs.

37 Shiba 1966, see note 2.

38 The official print 宮内第三十三号戒律 (August 12th, 1893) has breathing marks only after bars 2, 4, 6, 8, 9 and 11.

39 The sources I (1), II (1), II (2), II (4), VI (1), VII (1) and VII (2) mentioned in note 6.

40 There are only a few *hoiku shōka* in the *rvo* mode, and including cases of songs that were changed from *rvo* to *ritsu* would make the survey unnecessarily complicated.

41 This song (see note 30), however, is not much better than Fenton’s, because it is full of offences - not against Japanese declamation, but against musically acceptable phrasing and expression.

42 See Nakamura 1993 (note 2). p. 257.

43 See Nakamura. p. 255. The title of the song is *Fuyu no matsuri*, and it is one of the two first *hoiku shōka*, composed for the official opening ceremony of the kindergarten of the Tōkyō Women’s Normal School in 1877. However, Nakamura failed to recognize it as a *hoiku shōka*, and called it "a Japanese popular song" (日本の民歌, in note 25). This label fits only the other song published in the same number.

44 During the last revision of the collection, the *hoiku shōka* were divided into the four categories *play-songs*, *pentatonic songs*, *furintai* and *higher grade songs* according to musical and pedagogical criteria. The songs are not grouped according to these categories in all manuscripts, but if they are grouped this way, *Kimi ga yo* is definitely the first piece of the pentatonic section. (In the sources, I (1), II (5), II (2), and the so-pair of I (1), see note 6.)

45 Source II (3) (see note 6) reflects the process of learning at the Tōkyō Women’s Normal School and is written in 1883. In this manuscript *Kimi ga yo* is included in the first section of play songs, long before other pentatonic or even pentatonic *hoiku shōka* are taught.

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【要旨】
保育唱歌と「君が代」のメロディー

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現行の日本国歌となっている「君が代」は1880年、海軍の儀式曲として選定され、フランソワ・エッケルによって和声が付けられた。その成立時期が「保育唱歌」の編纂期にあたり、一部の保育唱歌写本に「君が代」が含まれていることから、「君が代はもともと保育唱歌であった」という説がある。それに対して、ここでは次の3つの点を論証したい。

・保育唱歌の史料を厳密に分析すると、「君が代」はエッケルによって和声付けられた後、保育唱歌に編入された可能性が高い。

・「君が代」の様式は、他の保育唱歌のそれとは多少異なる。

・この異なる点は、西洋の譜曲（儀式曲、国歌など）、特にウェントンが以前に作曲していた「君が代」が、現行の「君が代」の模様を取っていたから生じたのではないか。

結論では、「君が代」が「保育唱歌」に編入された意義について考察する。

第1章 保育唱歌の様式と「君が代」

保育唱歌の様式については従来様々な意見が見られた。今なお決定されていない。保育唱歌を「雅楽様式」の歌曲とする意見がある一方で、楽曲よりもむしろ西洋音楽に近いという意見もある。また筆者が別の論文で明らかにしたように、保育唱歌の様式の形成には復古的な考え方を兼ねていた。この様式の問題はここで解決しえないが、研究方法として、様式に関わる次3つの面で、「君が代」と保育唱歌を比較検討した。

・音階に関して、「君が代」と保育唱歌の相違は見られない。

・リズムに関して、「君が代」は非常に単調である。保育唱歌の理論では「節」（大節、小節、句節）という時間単位がある。その単調さの現象として、「君が代」には一節の長さを持つ音が非常に多く見られる。保育唱歌全曲の統計を取った結果（table 1 参照）、その傾度は他のいずれの曲よりも高い。

・楽曲形式に関して、保育唱歌は「音楽」という和音のパターンによって伴奏され、そのパターンの長さと繰り返しの数によって音楽形式が成立する。従って長い曲にあまり短かいパターン付けた例は例外で、曲は2、3、4などで割れる拍子数の長さを持つものが普通である（table 2 参照）。しかし「君が代」の場合、曲の拍子数は11（素数）で、1拍子のパターンが11回繰り返される。これは、そのメロディーが作られた時に、和音の伴奏が計画されていなかったことによるのではないか。
これらの点から、保育唱歌の「君が代」は元々軍歌のための曲で、保育唱歌の演奏のために編曲されたものと思われる。

第2章 「君が代」の様式の源点
西洋の国歌などにもリズムが単調なものが多くみられる（table 3参照）。また讃美歌には「hymn」（讃歌）と特記されるメロディーがあり、それらも一般的の讃美歌より単調な曲である（table 4参照）。従って、「 japanische Hymne」として発表された「君が代」もこの「讃歌様式」を参考にして作曲されたのではないか。

第3章 フェントンの「君が代」とその「改作」
芝拓泰によると、現行の「君が代」はフェントンのそれの改作である。改作の理由はメロディーと歌詞が合致しないことであった。フェントンの「君が代」で、言葉とメロディーのフレーミングが一致する所はただ一箇所で、そこは改作のメロディーでもほとんど変わっていない（ex.1 と ex.2 の四角内）。
両メロディーの共通する特徴は、同じ長さの4音からなるフレーズが多いことである（ex.1 と ex.2 の丸内）。現行の「君が代」に現われる4つのこういうフレーズを保育唱歌と照らし合わせて厳密に分析すると、その内3つは保育唱歌の通例の節回しであるが、一番最初に出てくるフレーズは保育唱歌に見られない「谷型」（最初の音から2番目の音に下がり、その後は上がるという節回し）を示している（table 5参照）。この谷型はフェントンの「君が代」に多くみられ、現行のメロディーはそこからヒントを得たのではないか。
フェントンのメロディーと现行の「君が代」を比較する時、決定的な改良はされているが、前者の特徴を部分的に保っていることは否定できない。

結論
「君が代」は和洋折衷の曲であり、保育唱歌中には異国情緒的である。ではそこそこに編入されたのだろうか。
編入された年月日には分からないが、その時期にはエックールが音楽取調掛でメソソの後任になっている。このことから「君が代」の編曲者であるエックールに敬意を払うため、音楽取調掛が現行の君が代を教育に使うことを決定したのではいかが。別の「君が代」が載せられている「小学唱歌集」の印刷は取消出未然かったが、当時編纂の最終段階にあった保育唱歌への編入することによって、その意を表わしたのではないか。
後の史料を見ると、「君が代」は「七声唱歌」の第1番目の曲という、特別の位置を占めている。もちろんこれは「君が代」が「国歌」になったという意味ではないが、その方向へ一歩前進したということであろう。