

***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* 君が代, 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*¹ 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.²

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 thesis³ 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.⁴ Also in 1883, the *reijin* began to teach new songs in *hoiku shōka* style at the *Kōten Kōkyū Sho* 皇典講究所, a Shintō school in Tōkyō.⁵ 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*⁶, 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 navy⁷: 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"

Kimi ga yo arrives.⁸ It is thus most likely that it was incorporated into the collection only in 1882 or 1883, when the collection was revised.⁹

An additional argument against the opinion that *Kimi ga yo* was composed as a *hoiku shōka* is the style of the song. As I will show in the first of the following analyses, *Kimi ga yo* has some elements in common with other *hoiku shōka*, but it is not composed in the *hoiku shōka* style. In the second analysis I will argue that an influence from Western “hymn-style” songs may be responsible for this discrepancy of styles. In the third analysis I will investigate the role that Fenton’s *Kimi ga yo* played in the birth of the new composition. In the conclusion I will ask what the introduction of this alien piece into the *hoiku shōka* collection means.

1. The style of *hoiku shōka* and *Kimi ga yo*

The style of *hoiku shōka* is a controversially disputed question. TŌGI Sueharu 東儀季治 (Tettekiki 鐵笛), who was well acquainted with both *gagaku* and *hoiku shōka* in his youth (he studied at the *gagaku* department from 1884, when *hoiku shōka* were part of the curriculum¹⁰, while his father Sueyoshi 季芳 was one of the leading composers of *hoiku shōka*), wrote in his “Small Music History”¹¹ that in the early Meiji era “*gagaku* displayed an epoch of composition of new pieces”, namely *hoiku shōka*, that had, “of course, *gagaku* melodies as their musical body”. So he named these songs, including *Kimi ga yo*, “*gagaku*-style *shōka*” 雅樂式唱歌.

In contrast, SHIBA Sukehiro, no less an authority on *gagaku* but knowing *hoiku shōka* only from written sources and personal communication¹², observed a fundamental difference between both styles, namely that *gagaku* used different scales for instrumental and vocal melodies, while *hoiku shōka* did not. Even though they use *gagaku* scales, he concluded, *hoiku shōka* were more closely related to Western school songs than to *gagaku* songs.¹³

As a possible explanation for this disagreement one might suspect that there is a discrepancy between the oral and written traditions; evidence in support of this suspicion is provided by a transcription of a *hoiku shōka* by TANABE Hisao¹⁴, which deviates in terms of scale and many small details from a literal transnotation of the *hakase* notation of that piece and thus comes closer to the *gagaku* singing style. It may or may not be that Tanabe’s transcription reflects the actual singing of informants who had learned *hoiku shōka* in the early Meiji era. But independent of this question IBUKIYAMA Mahoko¹⁵ has demonstrated that the melodic progression of *hoiku shōka* is more similar to *gagaku* songs than to Western-style *shōka*.

Be that as it may, it is important to note that the *hoiku shōka* style developed not only in an area of tension between actual *gagaku* practice and newly introduced Western music, but also as an attempt to restore (and re-invent) an authentic ancient Japanese music, as I have pointed out elsewhere.¹⁶ In many cases it is impossible to decide which differences between *gagaku* singing and *hoiku shōka* style stem from the (actual or supposed) re-invention of old traditions, which from the reception of Western music or music theory, and which from real innovations. So here I will refrain from attempting to answer this question definitively, and will only consider

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 of one song can be compared with the rhythmic values in another.

According to contemporary sources¹⁷ 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 *shakubyōshi* 笏拍子, while the yin time is not. There are three categories of musical meter:

- *Step beat* 歩拍子 consists of a simple succession of small times and is used in play songs 遊戯 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:

● ● ● ● ● ...

- *Quick beat*¹⁸ 早拍子 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 早四拍子, for example, one bar comprises four time units, the third of which is the big time¹⁹:

● ● 百 ● ● ● 百 ● ...

- *Slow beat* 閑拍子 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 閑五拍子:

● ○ ● ○ ● ○ ● ○ 百 ○ ● ○ ● ○ ● ○ ● ○ 百 ○ ...

Songs in quick beat and slow beat are accompanied by the six-stringed *wagon* 和琴 and (*ad libitum*) the 13-stringed *sō* 箏. 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).

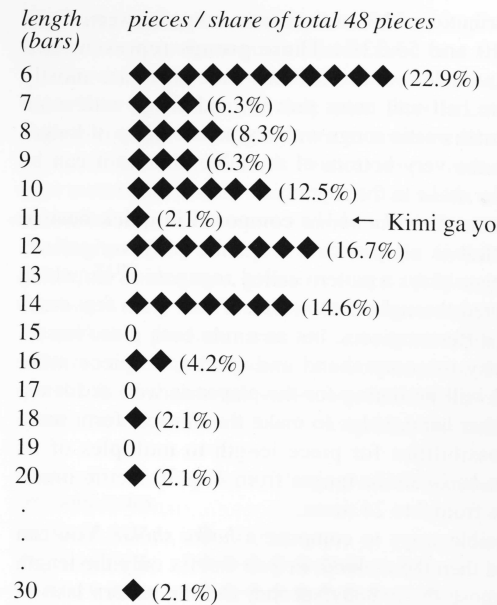


Table 2: The length of all *hoiku shōka* in quick four-beat meter (◆ = 1 piece)²³

Except for *Kimi ga yo*, the length of none of the pieces is divisible by a prime number greater than 7. On the other hand, in the play songs, which have no *wagon* accompaniment, irregular lengths such as 52, 54 or 76 steps (corresponding to 13, 13.5, and 19 bars in quick four-beat meter) occur. Significantly, in the earliest hakase manuscripts²⁴ of *Kimi ga yo*, written when the song was not yet incorporated into the *hoiku shōka* collection, the song is not notated in quick four-beat meter but only with small times, like a play song, which may be a further indication that a *wagon* accompaniment was not planned at that time.

It may be concluded that *Kimi ga yo*, although compatible with the fundamentals of the music theory of *hoiku shōka*, has an untypical rhythmic structure and was, unlike the other songs of the collection, presumably not composed with a *wagon* accompaniment in mind. The accompaniment may have been added afterwards, when the piece was incorporated into the *hoiku shōka* collection, i.e. probably in 1882 or 1883. Thus the *hoiku shōka* version of *Kimi ga yo* seems to be an arrangement rather than the original.

2. Sources for the style of *Kimi ga yo*

It is clear that, when *Kimi ga yo* (among other melodies) was presented to Franz Eckert, it was proposed as a melody to be harmonized and arranged for military band

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 *Kimi ga yo* themselves several times since 1876, and they had also played *The star-spangled banner* and *Hail Columbia* in July 1879.²⁵ 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 *Kimi ga yo* is derived from the theory of *gagaku*²⁶, 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 *Kimi ga yo*. In the following investigation I will try to clarify the extent to which this rhythmical 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.²⁷ 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:

<i>God save the Queen</i>	55%	first part:	61%
<i>Gott erhalte Franz, den Kaiser</i> ²⁸	44%	first part:	63%
<i>The star-spangled banner</i>	55%	first part:	46%
<i>Hail Columbia</i> ²⁹	58%	first part:	63%
<i>Land of Our Fathers</i> ³⁰	44%	first part:	50%
<i>Kimi ga yo</i> (Fenton)	84%	first part:	88%
<hr/>			
<i>Kimi ga yo</i>	64%	first part ³¹ :	81%

Table 3: Rhythmic uniformity in some national songs

Only Fenton's *Kimi 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 *Kimi ga yo*: Four of them³² are in duple meter, five³³ 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” (賛歌 in Japanese) and not in the nowadays more common sense of “church song” (讃美歌 in Japanese). In the 1890 hymnal *Shinsen Sanbika* (English title *Hymns and Songs of Praise*), edited by a joint committee of the United and Congregational Churches³⁴, 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:

<i>Easter Hymn</i>	71%	first part:	71%
<i>Vesper Hymn</i>	77%	first part:	88%
<i>Missionary Hymn</i>	67%	first part:	69%
<i>Italian Hymn</i>	60%	first part:	58%
<i>Portuguese Hymn</i>	51%	first part:	45%
<i>Spanish Hymn</i>	56%	first part:	63%
<i>Pleyel’s Hymn</i>	50%	first part:	50%
<hr/>			
<i>average</i>	61.8%	(standard deviation 10.3%)	

Table 4: Rhythmic uniformity in melodies called “hymn” from *Shinsen Sanbika*

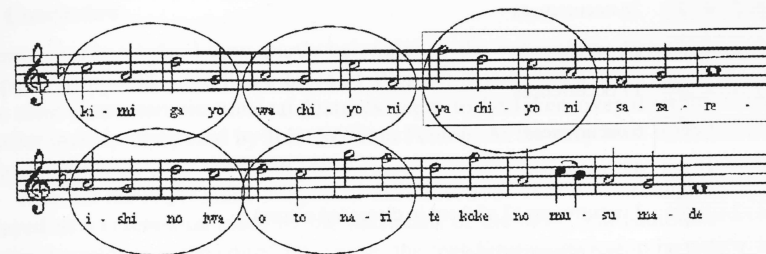
Only one of these songs (*Portuguese Hymn*) has an up-beat³⁵, and only one (*Italian Hymn*) is not in duple meter. The rhythmical uniformity of this group is significantly greater than that of the whole corpus of *Shinsen Sanbika*: The average for the 185 melodies is 52.6 % (standard deviation 15.6%).

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 1880.³⁶ 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.³⁷ According to Shiba, the new melody of *Kimi ga yo* was understood as a 改作 (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 usual³⁸, but the *hakase* manuscripts³⁹ 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.⁴⁰ 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*.

	26 occurrences
	21 occurrences
	17 occurrences
	6 occurrences
	5 occurrences
	3 occurrences (2 of them in discarded pieces)
	1 case (discarded piece)
	1 case (part of a longer phrase)
	1 case
	1 case (discarded piece, not composed by a reijin)
	1 case (<i>Kimi ga yo</i>)

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 11th 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 *Shōgaku shōka shū* that could serve the same end.⁴¹

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.⁴²

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.⁴³ 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.⁴⁴ And there are indications that it was taught even earlier.⁴⁵ 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 Yoshiisa 奥好義 in cooperation with HAYASHI Hirose 林廣季.
- 2 A rather dubious anecdote handed down by SHIBA Sukehiro 芝祐泰 dates 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 芝祐泰著「君ヶ代曲の誕生」『ロータリーの友』, January 1966, pp. 16-19; 中村理平著『洋楽導入者の軌跡』東京：刀水書房, 1993, pp. 255-259.
- 3 *Eine Musikkultur auf dem Scheidewege. Die Hoiku Shōka* ("Erziehungslieder", 1877-1883) als restaurativer Gegenentwurf zur Einführung der westlichen Musik in Japan, Habilitationsschrift Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, 1999, unpublished. A copy is available at the music library of the Tōkyō National University of Fine Arts and Music 東京藝術大学.
- 4 This attempt seems to have failed, because no official print is known.
- 5 See my habilitation thesis, p. 226.
- 6 Sources of *hoiku shōka* containing *Kimi ga yo* are as follows:
 - I Source containing text, melody and accompaniment: (1) 『唱歌』 (manuscript, written in 1890 by a member of the HIGASHI 東 family; at least the first part of the manuscript, which contains the texts and melodies of the *hoiku shōka*, is a copy of a manuscript of HAYASHI Hirotsugu 林廣繼, written in 1885; the second part contains *sō* parts, but no *wagon* parts; published on CD-ROM: 『南都伯姓楽家 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 Sukenatsu 芝祐夏, owned by SHIBA Sukeyasu 芝祐靖; no date, but presumably written progressively during the genesis of the *hoiku shōka*. *Kimi ga yo* is one of the last pieces in the *ichikotsu* section, so it may be one of the last entries in the manuscript); (2) no title (manuscript of *hoiku shōka*, 仮題『保育唱歌譜』豊氏本家所蔵楽譜 No. 36, written presumably by BUNNO Yoshiaki 豊喜秋, owned by BUNNO Michiaki 豊遙秋; 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 *Kimi 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 *Kimi ga yo* is without phrasing indication); (4) 『保育唱歌遊戯』 (manuscript of INABA Yohachi 稲葉興八, written in 1935, copy of a manuscript of TSUNEKAWA Shigemitsu 恒川重光, written in 1885, held by the Research Archives for Japanese Music of Ueno Gakuen University).
 - III Sources containing accompaniment: (1) 『芝祐夏筆 保育唱歌箏・和琴之譜』 (*sō* and *wagon* parts, written by SHIBA Sukenatsu, 1883, owned by SHIBA Sukeyasu); (2) 『保育唱歌和琴譜箏譜』 (manuscript of INABA Yohachi, written in 1935; *wagon* parts are copied from a manuscript of TSUNEKAWA Shigemitsu, written in 1885, *sō* parts are copied from an undated manuscript of MITA Komatsuko 三田小松子; 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 Shigetoshi 恒川重壽; held by the Research Archives for Japanese Music of Ueno Gakuen University); (4) 『保育唱歌』 (undated manuscript, perhaps

- written after 1890 by a member of the HIGASHI family; contains only the text and *shō* notation of *Kimi ga yo*; published on CD-ROM: 『南都伯姓楽家 東友弘家文書』, 2001, source no. 56; concerning this source see 亀井知枝著『『保育唱歌』撰譜の意義』東京学芸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 *sō* accompaniment respectively, owned by TŌGI Kanehiko 東儀兼彦. The structure of the manuscripts is similar to III (1), and so it may have been written at about the same time.
- IV Source containing only the text: (1) 『幼稚園唱歌』 (printed edition of the *hoiku shōka* texts, ed. by ICHIKAWA Yasokichi 市川八十吉, 東京：鴻盟社, 1886).
 - V Sources containing only the title: (1) 『保育唱歌教授手續』 (curriculum for the singing lessons at the Tōkyō Women's Normal School and teaching record for the winter season 1882/3, manuscript owned by TŌGI Kanehiko); (2) 『明治二十年十月ヨリ施行 学科細目雅楽部』 (Curriculum for the *Gagaku* School 雅楽稽古所, 1887, handwritten copy by SHIBA Sukehiro 芝祐泰, reproduced in: 江崎公子編『音楽基礎研究文献集』, vol. 15, 東京：大空社, 1991, pp. 109-118).
 - VI Sources known to the author only through other publications: (1) 『保育唱歌墨譜』 (manuscript by HAYASHI Hirose 林広季, cited in 佐藤仙一郎著『日本国歌正説』東京：全音楽譜出版社, 1974, pp. 148-150, *hakase* of *Kimi ga yo* reproduced in the front pages); (2) unspecified source (different from all other sources cited here), cited in 田邊尚雄『日本音楽講話』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:
- VII (1) Manuscript from the collection of the military band leader NAKAMURA Suketsune 中村祐庸 and (2) manuscript from the *gagaku* department of the court ministry, both cited and reproduced in 佐藤仙一郎著『日本国歌正説』東京：全音楽譜出版社, 1974, pp. 150-153. These manuscripts may be written near to the date of composition of *Kimi 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 *Kimi ga yo* was chosen in July 1880, and Eckert's arrangement was first performed in October of the same year. See for example 内藤孝敏著『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 *Sazareishi* サザレイシ, 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 *Kimi ga yo*, but *Sazareishi*, only those which give hints for the dating of *Kimi ga yo* are mentioned here:
 - (1) 「唱歌遊戯諸曲墨譜撰成伺上申ノ年月」, list of *hoiku shōka* with their official dates of registration, written by SHIBA Fujitsune 芝葛嶺 as appendix to his manuscript 『遊戯之部 保育唱歌 下』, owned by SHIBA Sukeyasu. (A copy of this list, handwritten by SHIBA Sukehiro, is reproduced in 江崎公子編『音楽基礎研究文献集』, vol. 15, 東京：大空社, 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 Tōkyō, registered in June 1880. So it appears certain that *Kimi 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 Tōkyō National University of Fine

Arts and Music, written at the Tōkyō Women's Normal School between May 25th and August 30th, 1880, for the Institute of Music 音楽取調掛. The manuscript contains all pieces mentioned in (1) dated 1879 or earlier.

- (3) 『唱歌譜』, six volume manuscript held by the British Library, London (call no. OR 4702) without any indication of writer or date. (There is a note from the library that it originates from a “Yamanoi Kiho” - possibly a misreading of 山井基万 - and was bought in 1893 from a “M. Nijhoff”.) Volumes 1-5 are almost identical with (2) and seem not only to be copied from the same source, but also by the same writer. Volume 6 contains the remaining songs mentioned in list (1) (except the three songs for schools in Tōkyō) and, as the last piece, the song cycle *Tama to iro* 球及色 (「六ノ球」「赤色」「黄色」「青色」「柑色」「緑色」「紫色」「元色」「間色」), which is not in the list. It may be concluded that the source was copied from the official manuscript at the Tōkyō Women's Normal School later than August 1880.
- (4) 『芝祐夏筆 琴譜』, *wagon* manuscript, written by SHIBA Sukenatsu, owned by SHIBA Sukeyasu. This source contains all songs of (2) except the play songs (*yūgi* 遊戯; play songs are without accompaniment and thus not found in *wagon* sources); the song cycle *Tama to iro*, but not the other songs from the sixth volume of (3); and additionally the three songs *Nadeshiko* 罌粟, *Wakamurasaki* 若紫, and *Kimi ga megumi* 君カ恵, which are not in (1), (2), and (3), but in all later sources. So this source may also have been written at least later than June 1880.
- (5) 『唱歌之部』 Undated manuscript owned by TŌGI Kanehiko, containing exactly the same pieces as (3), except the play songs. In both (3) and (5), the order of pieces follows mainly the date of composition according to (1), but in detail the pieces are arranged differently. Thus the two sources are not directly related to each other. *Tama to iro* is also the last piece in this manuscript.

Assuming that the list in (1) is correct, it seems that *Tama to iro*, *Nadeshiko*, *Wakamurasaki*, and *Kimi ga megumi* were incorporated after June 1880, but earlier than *Kimi ga yo*. Thus *Kimi ga yo* was not incorporated soon after June 1880. This confirms the observations mentioned in note 6, II (1) and (2). - It may be added that only II (1), II (2) and IV (1), mentioned in note 6, contain both *Sazareishi* and *Kimi ga yo*. The first and second of these sources were compiled during a long time period, and the third is probably based on more than a single source (and is, by the way, a messy compilation which contains some texts more than once, with others mutilated). So it is clear that *Sazareishi* was abandoned when *Kimi ga yo* was incorporated.

- 9 Up to this date I have not been able to find any source of *hoiku shōka* written demonstrably in 1881 or 1882, but earlier sources definitively do not contain *Kimi ga yo*. Further hints for the dating of the incorporation of *Kimi ga yo* into the *hoiku shōka* collection can be found in my habilitation thesis, pp. 227-231.
- 10 The *hoiku shōka* were part of the curriculum of the *gagaku* school from at least 1880, and a curriculum of 1887 is known which contains 34 *hoiku shōka*, including *Kimi ga yo*: see 芝祐泰編「保育並遊戯唱歌の撰譜」「保育並遊戯唱歌 資料」(江崎公子編『音楽基礎研究文献集 第十五卷』東京: 大空社, 1991, pp. 1-200), pp. 145-146 and 109-120.
- 11 東儀季治著「音楽小史」副島八十六編『開國五十年史 下』東京: 開國五十年史發行所, 1908, pp. 295-322, here p. 312.

- 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 「學びの道」, in: 田邊尚雄著『日本音楽講話』東京: 岩波書店, 1919, 樂譜第六.
- 15 伊吹山真帆子著「保育唱歌について」『東洋音楽研究』第44号 (1979), pp. 1-25.
- 16 My habilitation thesis, pp. 14-16.
- 17 For example, *Introduction to shōka* 唱歌入門 by BUNNO Yoshiaki 豊喜秋, written presumably about 1884. The handwritten source is in possession of the Bunno family. A copy is available in the Research Archives for Japanese Music, Ueno Gakuen College, Tōkyō. 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. Bunno, for example, writes about *slow beat*: 「此拍子ハ每節ノ間ニ陰節ヲ加フルヲ以テ其節度自カラ舒緩ナリ」 (“because in this beat there are yin times added between all times, the tempo is naturally leisurely”); about *quick beat*: 「此拍子ハ每節を拍チテ陰節ヲ用キザルヲ以テ其節度自カラ急促ナリ」 (“because in this beat each time is beaten and yin times are not used, the tempo is naturally fast”; loc. cit., see note 17). It is probable that *hoiku shōka* were performed quicker than *gagaku* is performed today, but certainly a *quick four-beat* meter in *hoiku shōka* is not as quick as an Allegro piece in Western music.
- 19 In theory, the counting begins with the first small time after the big time, and so Bunno writes that in *quick beat* the bar begins 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 (段) with independent melodies, the parts are counted separately. In the song *Usagi* 兔 all three verses use the same melody, but the different words bring about important rhythmical differences. So they are counted separately.
- 21 The length of the *wagon* 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 *Tama to iro* is counted as one because all nine songs, although composed by nine different composers, have the same length and use the same *wagon* 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 *wagon* pattern was fixed.

There are cases where the length of the *wagon* 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 yukaba* 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 7 bars
(The piece with a one bar pattern is the third and last part of *Sakura* and thus a special case.)
 - 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 VII (2), see note 6.
- 25 See 塚原康子著『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 Yoshiaki calls both songs 米国歌 (“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 *Shōgaku 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 讚美歌委員（植村正久、奥野昌綱、松山高吉、G. Allchin、他）編輯『新撰讚美歌』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 官報第三千三十七號附録 (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 *ryo* 呂 mode, and including cases of songs that were changed from *ryo* 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 madoi*, 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” (日本の俗曲, 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* 遊戯, *pentatonic songs* 五声唱歌, *heptatonic songs* 七声唱歌 and *higher grade songs* 高等唱歌 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 heptatonic section. (In the sources III (1), III (5), VI (2), and the *sō* part 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 heptatonic or even pentatonic *shōka* are taught.

(Lecturer, Humboldt-University, Berlin, Germany)

〔要旨〕

保育唱歌と「君が代」のメロディー

ヘルマン・ゴチェフスキ

現行の日本国国歌となっている「君が代」は1880年、海軍の儀式曲として選定され、フランツ・エッケルト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、また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」はエッケルト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、西洋の賛歌（儀式歌、国歌など）、特にフェントンが以前に作曲していた「君が代」が、現行の「君が代」の模範にな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出され、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、雅楽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、保育唱歌の様式の成立には復古的な考え方も働いていた。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、様式に関わる次の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、陰節）という時間的単位がある。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）、その頻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「菅搔」という和琴のパターンによって伴奏され、そのパターンの長さとし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いパターンを付けたりするのは例外で、曲は2、3、4などで割れる拍子数の長さを持つのが普通である（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、和琴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」は元々軍楽のための曲で、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」の様式の原点

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」(賛歌)と特記されるメロディーがあり、それらも一般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「賛歌様式」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」

芝祐泰によると、現行の「君が代」はフェントンのその改作である。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ジングが一致する所はただ一箇所、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)。

両メロディーに共通する特徴は、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現行の「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存在であった。ではなぜそこに編入されたのだろうか。

編入された年月日までは分からないが、その時期にはエッケルトが音楽取調掛でメーソン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ケルトに敬意を払うため、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ないか。別の「君が代」が載せられている『小学唱歌集』の印刷は取消出来なかったが、当時編纂の最終段階にあった保育唱歌へ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。