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Expressions of modernity and nationality in Matsudaira Yoritsune's prewar work

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Abstract

Matsudaira Yoritsune (1907–2001) is commonly recognized as one of the most influential twentieth-century Japanese composers, yet his work before the Pacific War has remained virtually unaddressed. To compensate for this gap, this article discusses Matsudaira's prewar work by focusing on his two primary musical influences, Japanese folk songs and *gagaku* court music. As Matsudaira's aspiration was to fuse contemporary Western compositional techniques with elements from premodern Japanese music, his prewar work contributes to our understanding not just about of the development of his own musical language but also of Japanese music in the 1930s in general.

Keywords

Japanese music, musical modernism, musical nationalism, prewar Japan, gagaku

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Much has been written about Matsudaira Yoritsune (1907–2001).[1] Figures from Pierre Boulez to Goffredo Petrassi have recognized him as one of the most influential twentieth-century composers and praised his musical language fusing Western compositional techniques with elements of premodern Japanese music.[2] Takemitsu Tōru (1930–1996) defined his own generation of composers in Japan as the "children or the grandchildren" of Matsudaira due to his "genuine, new musical language" inspired by "ancient Japanese musical forms."[3] *Contemporary Music Review* even dedicated a whole issue to Matsudaira in 1998 to celebrate his compositional career, with congratulatory messages from influential composers such as John Cage and Olivier Messiaen.[4] Messiaen indeed perhaps best crystallized Matsudaira's prominence by declaring him "one of the most important figures" in twentieth-century music.[5]

Yet, this recognition incorporates a conspicuous gap. While Matsudaira's postwar success is well documented, the work he finished before the Pacific War has remained virtually unaddressed.[6] To be more precise, so numerous are the writings that begin their discussion on Matsudaira only from the postwar years that his prewar work appears to be nonexistent.[7] In part, this may be due to the views of the composer himself—after all, Matsudaira often expressed dissatisfaction with his early work.[8] Possibly following his lead, his prewar music is typically described as "superficial" and indicative of exoticism.[9] But surely there must be *some* reason why Takemitsu so enthusiastically identified as a "grandchild" of Matsudaira. And, having been recognized as such an influential figure after the war, would Matsudaira's prewar work not, at least, merit a closer look?

To compensate for this omission in Matsudaira research, this article takes a closer look at his prewar music and focuses on his compositions of the latter half of the 1930s. It was

during this period that Matsudaira wrote most of his prewar work and began to receive notable domestic and international recognition. I will address his work from a viewpoint typically examined in his postwar compositions: the fusion of Western compositional techniques with elements from premodern Japanese music—that is, the diverse genres that constituted music in Japan before the adoption of Western culture began in 1868.[10] This approach may appear curious considering recent well-grounded criticism of the obsession with nationalism in Japanese music. David Pacun, for example, has incisively observed how the fixation on the "Japaneseness" of musical works—and especially the evaluation of artistic quality based on this attribute—ends up not only illustrating a biased view of modern Japanese music as a whole but also renders Japan a perpetual Other for the West.[11] I completely agree; for a comprehensive understanding of Matsudaira's musical language, other attributes in his work should be examined in more detail as well. However, in Matsudaira's case the focus on musical nationalism is not merely justified but even indispensable. As we will see, he was so deeply fascinated by the question of how to fuse elements from Japanese music with Western compositional techniques that it became a constituent attribute in almost all his work.

To be sure, there is a strong legacy of Orientalizing Japanese culture and sensibilities both inside and outside Japan, such as arguing that music by Japanese composers is inevitably characterized by an innate "Japaneseness" that penetrates all aspects of their work due to their nationality.[12] Therefore, I wish to state explicitly here that I am not claiming to discern what *is* Japanese in Matsudaira's work but rather what may be *regarded as* Japanese based on discourses of the prewar period. After all, nationalism does not exist "in music but in the discourse about music," as Benjamin Curtis argues.[13] Japan, like any other country (or "nation"), has its own discourses of nationality, and as always, these discourses claim perpetual attributes while in truth being highly fluctuating in nature. For example, many of

those cultural characteristics typically included in the category of "traditionally Japanese" are relatively modern inventions.[14] Analyzing how composers have participated in interrogating and perpetuating these paradigms during different times also contributes to our understanding of the communication of nationality in musical terms. From this viewpoint, Matsudaira's fascination with Japanese music traditions also links with a larger musical and social sphere. Thus, by exploring Matsudaira's work, this article seeks to contribute to an understanding of the complex issue of musical nationalism in prewar Japan in general.

Below, I shall first introduce the topic of "Japanese-style composition" in prewar Japan and contextualize Matsudaira within this framework. Building on this, I next examine Matsudaira's musical thought more closely and address the two primary influences in his work, folk songs and *gagaku* court music, focusing on two major compositions, *Pastorale* (1935) for orchestra and *Sonatine* (1936) for flute and piano. I conclude by elaborating on Matsudaira's prewar work as a stage of his compositional career.

Japanese-style composition in prewar Japan

The neglect of Matsudaira's prewar work is indicative of a much larger tendency—that of juxtaposing prewar and postwar Japanese composition and claiming that the former is "superficial" or "unsuccessful" compared to the latter.[15] Putting quality judgments aside, David Pacun has emphasized the need to conceive prewar music in Japan as its own entity rather than deeming it a failed pre-stage for postwar works.[16] On closer examination, music in prewar Japan appears to be a complex artistic sphere representing a versatile array of approaches and motivations that also link with wider sociocultural trajectories and transnational flows of influence. This observation concerns virtually all types of prewar music, but the present article focuses on Western art music composition in Japan—that is,

musical works by Japanese composers who identified themselves with and contextualized their work in the tradition of Western art music.

By the late 1920s when Matsudaira began composing, Western art music composition in Japan had arrived at an intriguing phase.[17] At that time, young composers became increasingly interested in pursuing artistic originality rather than one-sidedly following Western examples, especially the predominant German classical and romantic styles of composition.[18] One of the main tools to achieve this goal in the 1920s–30s was to turn to sources of inspiration in a national context—a trend I will, following contemporary Japanese terminology, call "Japanese-style composition."[19] By this term, I refer to idioms that adapted or imitated aspects of premodern Japanese musical genres to associate the music with Japan. These musical characteristics—such as melodies, scales, harmonies, performance techniques, forms, aesthetic principles, and so forth—I will call "Japanese elements."[20] It should be noted that although Japanese composers utilized these musical elements to introduce a Japanese quality to their work, premodern Japanese music itself was strongly influenced by other cultures. In fact, most Japanese instruments are of Chinese origin. Nevertheless, many of these cultural characteristics of foreign origin have undergone an indigenization process, allowing them to be recognized as elements of Japanese culture. For example, Fukushima Kazuo (b. 1930), a prominent scholar of Japanese music history (who is better known in the West as a composer), has noted that originally Chinese musical genres adopted within Japan intertwined with Japanese cultural history so inseparably that they should be, effectively, discussed as Japanese culture regardless of their origins.[21] Similarly, the terms "Japanese-style composition" and "Japanese elements" are meant to clarify the discourses of musical nationalism in prewar Japan rather than attest to their "Japaneseness" as an unchanging quality.

Japanese-style composers were not alone in their interest in premodern music, as musical movements combining aspects of Western music with premodern Japanese genres had emerged already in the early 1920s. A representative example is the Shin Nihon Ongaku (New Japanese Music) movement, whose followers sought to revive interest in premodern music by composing new music for Japanese instruments in an idiom that resembled premodern genres. The blind *koto* player Miyagi Michio (1894–1956), who became the movement's figurehead, even developed new instruments based on premodern ones to extend their expression and offer alternatives to Western instruments. He also composed works based on forms of Western art music (such as concerto and rondo) for ensembles of Japanese instruments.[22] The Shin Min'yō (New Folk Songs) movement is another prominent example. It emerged as a trend of poetry influenced by Japanese folk songs but became immensely popular as a musical movement in the 1920s, when composers, who were typically trained in Western music, began writing songs (ranging from popular songs to art songs) to Shin Min'yō poetry.[23] It is noteworthy that while being grounded in premodern Japanese music, both movements were strongly influenced by Western music. Therefore, it is not surprising that premodern music would similarly come to influence Western art music composition.

The rise of these movements and Japanese-style composition emerged in a sociocultural context in which interest in nationalism and Japanese traditions in general had arisen due to certain historical developments. In short, Japan had been enthusiastically adopting Western culture for decades. However, the process of modernization, Western attitudes toward Japan, the position of the army after World War I, and eventually a series of recessions that hit the Japanese economy from the 1920s resulted in doubts about Western supremacy that intensified throughout the 1930s.[24] What resulted was an intellectual and ideological shift to a period of national introspection. While this shift spurred creative syntheses of Japanese and Western principles of thought and artistic expression that have been

dubbed “traditionalist modernism” and “Japanese neoclassicism,” it also resulted in the rise of an aggressive form of expansionist militarism.[25] In other words, nationalism in Japan was a complex and contradictory ideology; although the interest of introducing Japanese aspects to Western artistic practices (and vice versa) had the same roots as the militarist ideology that guided Japan’s path to World War II, these two were fundamentally different from each other.

Considering musical nationalism, a useful tool to discern ideological motivations is Philip V. Bohlman’s distinction between *national* and *nationalist* music.[26] The former refers to works that allude to Japanese culture, whereas the latter is associated with imperialist and expansionist aims. Japanese-style composition, for example, emerged as a trend of national music, which is best demonstrated by examining the various approaches that composers followed at that time. Early composers such as Yamada Kōsaku (1886–1965) and Nobutoki Kiyoshi (1887–1965) had introduced occasional Japanese elements—such as folk song quotations, the adoption of pentatonic scales, and the imitation of Japanese instruments with Western ones—into some of their work since the 1910s but approaches to Japanese-style composition diversified considerably with the debuts of younger composers from the late 1920s. Even despite occasional calls for developing a national musical idiom together, however, most of these composers did not possess a shared view of what Japanese-style composition meant but rather followed their individual paths.[27] Consequently, concrete approaches varied notably, ranging from Kiyose Yasuji’s (1900–1981) consistent and ideologically motivated use of pentatonic scales as the basis of almost all musical creation to Mitsukuri Shūkichi’s (1895–1971) theory for a Japanese harmony system influenced by ancient Japanese and Chinese music theories and Riemannian dualism.[28] Composers like Itō Noboru (1903–1993) and Hashimoto Kunihiko (1904–1949) even applied novel compositional techniques such as microtonality and Sprechstimme to explore a common ground between modernist expression and premodern Japanese music, whereas Hayasaka

Fumio (1914–1955) sought to apply Japanese aesthetic and philosophical concepts to his work as structural elements.[29]

Whatever the concrete approach, however, Japanese-style composition was still a relatively minor trend in the late 1920s and early 1930s, and was criticized by those who followed more established Western compositional idioms.[30] Akiyama Kuniharu has suggested that the marginalization of Japanese-style composers was related both to their compositional style and to their status in the music world; after all, most of them were relatively young and had not yet managed to establish their positions.[31] Japanese music historiography typically conceptualizes this juxtaposition of established and non-established composers as a conflict between "academic" and "non-academic" figures.[32] As Japanese-style composition was a non-academic trend, it was also associated with a wider quest to renew expression in Western art music. Thus, its early advocates typically regarded it as *modernist* expression—as a musical language that contested predominant Western practices.[33] Sharing obvious parallels with foreign composers influenced by local music cultures, this aspect also positions Japanese-style composers in a transnational context of Western art music.

The position of Japanese-style composition changed in the late 1930s when it became a major trend.[34] This development was fostered especially by two factors. The first was the positive response that Japanese-style works received from foreign composers and musicians; almost all Japanese works that were performed, published, and received prizes in Europe and America represented Japanese-style composition.[35] Not surprisingly, this recognition made the style appealing for the many who wished to present their work internationally—a trend that Katayama Morihide has described as Japanese composers' search for their own voice in an international context.[36] The second factor was the overall strengthening of nationalism, which had developed increasingly ultranationalist and militarist undertones throughout the 1930s.[37] Composers devoted to Japanese-style idioms—including Matsudaira—were typically

critical of the sudden new interest in national-style composition, which they considered to be shallow and motivated mainly by an opportunist yearning for attention.[38] Ironically, however, both trends attracted attention to the originally marginalized Japanese-style composers, who were now commissioned works for state festivities and other events involving a national context. Some examples will be addressed below with my discussion on Matsudaira.

Older scholarship has tended to regard the rise of Japanese-style composition as a direct consequence of ultranationalist ideologies or even a style imposed by the state. It is thus imperative to note here that even with the general rise of ultranationalist thought and aggressive militarism—eventually resulting in the outbursts of the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1937 and the Pacific War in 1941—Japanese-style composition remained a versatile and diverse musical sphere even in the late 1930s.[39] While Japanese-style composition was also utilized for nationalistic purposes, it was not nationalist by definition. Furthermore, it was not necessarily the style that the state wished for in nationalist contexts; in fact, canonized orchestral works of Western art music were continuously used in state festivities.[40] Although criticism of prewar music is often expressed by seemingly addressing artistic quality, it is also the view of Japanese-style composition as a trend of nationalist music that has led to a certain ideological caution against it—especially inside Japan.[41] This phenomenon is by no means limited only to music; the radical change from prewar to postwar is often presented as an ideological filter that purified Japanese society from nationalist tendencies.[42] As a consequence, however, this filter also resulted in a process that ended up characterizing all prewar national trends nationalist and ignoring their other attributes. For example, with Japanese-style composition perceived primarily as a nationalistically motivated tool, the practice of consulting attributes of premodern music as *modernist* expression has attracted only limited attention in Japanese music historiography despite its obvious significance for composers even before the war. In this framework, inspecting Matsudaira as an individual

composer also contributes to the wider quest to conceive of composition—as well as the complex sphere of nationalism—in prewar Japan as a whole.

Matsudaira Yoritsune in the prewar period: a short introduction

Matsudaira was born in Tokyo in May 1907.[43] Although he took piano lessons from an early age, he did not originally intend to become a musician but entered the prestigious Keio University in 1923 to study French literature. His future plans changed, however, when he heard the French pianist Henri Gil-Marchex's (1884–1970) recital in 1925 in Tokyo.[44] Impressed by Gil Marchex's versatile repertoire, Matsudaira decided to embark on a musical career and began to study piano with Charles Lautrup (1884–1963) and harmony with Heinrich Werkmeister (1883–1936), both foreign musicians residing in Japan. Matsudaira indicated a particular interest in French Impressionism and modernism from the beginning of his musical career both in his recital programs and his writing for *Ongaku shinchō* (New Wave Music)—a music journal representing the most modernist views in Japan at that time. His compositional debut also took place in *Ongaku shinchō* in 1928 with the piano piece *Lullaby* (*Komoriuta*), a work fusing his interest in French Impressionism and Japanese-style composition.

Matsudaira became involved with other Japanese composers upon starting composition lessons with Komatsu Kōsuke (1884–1966). He befriended Komatsu's pupils Kiyose Yasuji, and Komatsu's younger brothers Heigorō (1897–1953) and Kiyoshi (1899–1975), all of whom were connected by their perception that French Impressionism shared many more similarities with Japanese aesthetics than the German romantic style prevalent in Japan at that time.[45] In 1930, the four composers participated in the founding of Shinkō Sakkyokuka Renmei (Federation of Emerging Composers)—a society inspired by the desire

to promote new compositional idioms and offer non-academic composers a place to discuss and present their work.[46] Several previous studies have identified Shinkō Sakkyokuka Renmei as a focal actor in renewing Western art music composition in Japan in the 1930s.[47] Indeed, it was originally intended to become what may be characterized as an avant-garde group; Matsudaira, for example, described it as a radical "antithesis" of academic compositional idioms.[48] The aspiration to end the one-sided influx of Western approaches by pursuing artistic originality was aptly crystallized in an early slogan of the society: "March from the age of imitation to the age of creation."[49] Not surprisingly, virtually all of the sixteen founding members engaged with Japanese-style composition.[50]

Instead of remaining a small avant-garde group, however, Shinkō Sakkyokuka Renmei followed a different course. Forming an indispensable arena for non-academic composers interested in novel musical idioms, it eventually grew to be the largest composer society in Japan as a local branch of the International Society for Contemporary Music.[51] Despite being a founding member, Matsudaira was discontented with this development: he soon withdrew from participating in gatherings of the society which had begun to represent "too many different styles."[52] Nevertheless, the society turned out to be instrumental in Matsudaira's career. First, his works were performed in concerts of the society and broadcast on the radio in programs devoted to the group, meaning that it offered him a platform to present his work to a wider audience.[53] Second, through Shinkō Sakkyokuka Renmei, Matsudaira became involved with foreign composers visiting Japan, of whom Alexandre Tansman (1897–1986) and Alexander Tcherepnin (1899–1977) were particularly influential for him.

Tansman visited Japan in 1933 and introduced Matsudaira to neoclassicism, polytonality, and the idea of fusing folk songs with modern compositional techniques—that is, aspects that came to play a significant role in his prewar work.[54] These were further encouraged by Tcherepnin, who resided in Japan for several periods between 1934 and 1937.

Matsudaira later reminisced that it was Tcherepnin who gave him the final push to turn to neoclassicism by informing him that French Impressionism—which Matsudaira had regarded as a modernist and radical compositional language—was no longer considered a novel trend in Europe.[55] Tcherepnin eventually became a highly influential figure for Japanese-style composers by encouraging them to find their own musical voice in a national framework rather than trying to follow the West.[56] In addition, he concretely contributed to the careers of many composers by publishing their work in Europe in the Tcherepnin Edition and by organizing the Tcherepnin Competition—a prominent opportunity to have their work performed internationally.[57]

At the time of Tansman's visit, Matsudaira still intended to work primarily as a pianist, but this changed in the mid-1930s, when he became increasingly successful as a composer. This was, at least partly, thanks to Tcherepnin. *Pastorale* (1935) for orchestra was published in the Tcherepnin Edition and awarded second prize in the Tcherepnin Competition—whose jury consisted of notable figures such as Arthur Honegger, Jacques Ibert, and Albert Roussel—after which Tcherepnin also published *Prelude in D* for piano (1934) and *Sonatine* for Flute and Piano (1936), both of which were performed and broadcast in several European cities.[58] In addition, *Nanbu Folk Song Collection 1* (*Nanbu min'yōshū 1*, 1928–1936) was awarded the Weingartner Prize in 1937—an award for Japanese composers, which also included performances of the work in Europe. Possibly resulting from this international acclaim, Matsudaira began to gain public recognition inside Japan. For example, the Japanese national broadcast organization commissioned an orchestral work from him in 1939.[59] Matsudaira thus became one of the relatively few prewar Japanese composers to enjoy notable recognition both nationally and internationally.

The Pacific War halted these developments. Whereas many composers participated in the war efforts by composing nationalist works, Matsudaira stopped presenting his music

altogether, later explaining that "there was no love or inspiration" to keep on working during a time when "composers weren't really musicians" but "soldiers."[60] Precisely this aspect made Matsudaira a source of inspiration to postwar composers disillusioned by wartime nationalism. His international success reached its full bloom in the postwar period, when he became an influential composer celebrated for his approaches that fused elements of premodern Japanese music with contemporary Western compositional techniques, such as serialism and aleatoricism.[61] He received notable international recognition especially with works based on *gagaku* court music, beginning with *Theme and Variations for Piano and Orchestra* (1951), which won the ISCM composition prize and was admired by Herbert von Karajan.[62] Matsudaira was thus a unique figure among other prewar composers, most of whom received close to no attention after the war.[63] Matsudaira actively composed until his death in October 2001.

On Matsudaira's musical thought

Based on the observations above, we can conclude that Matsudaira's approach to Japanese-style composition was non-academic rather than academic, and national rather than nationalist—a combination of attributes that indeed renders him a "traditional modernist." Considering the complexity and versatility of prewar musical nationalism in Japan, however, it is imperative to inspect Matsudaira's own views on Japanese-style composition. It is thus unfortunate that although a prolific writer in the postwar period, Matsudaira virtually never addressed his own work in his writings before the war. The little that he wrote in the first place focused on expressing his fascination with French music—Debussy, Ravel, and Les Six—and European modernism in general.[64] More helpful are his postwar writings in which he often reminisced about his early days as a composer. Although consistently critical of his

early work and looking at his early steps in hindsight, these later accounts—writings and interviews—provide interesting insights into Matsudaira's musical thought before the war.

In many of these accounts, Matsudaira explained that he associated both French music and Japanese-style composition with modernist, non-academic expression.[65] Both interests reflected two larger goals. First, Matsudaira emphasized the need to compose with the *most contemporary techniques available*: "I have always embraced the conviction that composers must express themselves based on their time of birth, their own generation."[66] Matsudaira later criticized his early work for failing to fulfill this criterion as it adopted a musical language that was "dated" from a European viewpoint.[67] Second, Matsudaira saw that the *surroundings of a composer* always influenced their creative work. In fact, this was so self-evident for Matsudaira that unlike many of his colleagues, he virtually never problematized the issue of national-style composition but saw the appearance of a "national flavor" in music as an inevitable phenomenon: "Our true natures … cannot go against our surroundings. Thus, it is perfectly natural that Bartók identified with Hungarian folk songs, Tansman with Polish folk songs."[68]

These ideas explain Matsudaira's sudden shift to neoclassicism after Tansman and Tcherepnin informed him that French Impressionism was no longer a novel musical language, but they also place the concept of Japanese-style composition in an intriguing context. That is, it appears that Matsudaira was not interested in Japanese-style composition *per se*, but as a Japanese composer, he believed that his musical expression should be inspired by his native country. Crystallized, Matsudaira's ideal was to compose music that *reflected its time and place of origin.* His comment in a later interview exemplifies this perfectly: "Tansman used to combine Polish tradition with contemporary trends. Because I am Japanese, I thought it would be a good idea to combine some Japanese ideas with a neo-classical style like Tansman's. At first, that was my purpose for composing."[69]

Matsudaira's principal sources of inspiration in Japanese music were folk songs from the historical Nanbu region and *gagaku* court music. These musical styles are both socially and musically remarkably different from each other. Different regions in Japan have a rich tradition of folk songs closely associated with their way of life, including such aspects as work, play, and communal festivities. These songs were transmitted orally and sung in unison, and were occasionally accompanied by instruments. They can be melodically rather reduced and repetitive, but many songs are also characterized by a complex, melismatic style of singing.[70] Whereas folk songs are associated with everyday life in rural areas, *gagaku* has always been the music of social elites. Based on a complex music theory reflecting aspects of Chinese cosmology, *gagaku* was originally imported from China as imperial court music and spans a literary history of more than a millennium in Japan. It is performed by an ensemble of wind, plucked string, and percussion instruments, and is sometimes called the oldest orchestral music tradition in the world. It is also virtually the only genre of Japanese music with a concept of harmony. As music of the imperial court, its performance is highly ritualized, and *gagaku* music itself is based on a tranquil, meditative mood.[71] In addition to significant contextual and musical differences, folk songs and *gagaku* were also subject to an entirely different ideological and political zeal in the 1920s and 30s. For example, folk songs were regarded as the manifestation of a Herderian *Volksgeist*, whereas Japan's claimed role in "preserving" *gagaku* was exploited to justify the country's imperialist aspirations in Asia as its "cultural leader."[72]

Matsudaira's search for inspiration in two styles so distinct from one another may appear curious, but there are two explanations why he turned to them. First, according to Matsudaira, both *gagaku* and folk songs had their roots in the Asian mainland.[73] As Western art music shares some of these roots, Matsudaira felt that these two genres would best enable combining Japanese and European traditions.[74] This focus on the compatibility of musical

idioms also relates to the second reason: Matsudaira regarded them as musical "materials" at his disposal rather than as traditions through which to communicate deeper cultural or social meaning. Matsudaira even lamented that his early compositions were unsuccessful due to him having no personal experience of the social context of folk songs and later critically dubbed his approach "materialism."[75] By this, he referred to an "exoticizing" approach which paid attention only to quotations without trying to grasp the music's innermost essence—something that he described as his primary goal in artistic work in the postwar period.[76]

A significant reason for this approach is that Matsudaira mostly engaged with both traditions through transcriptions on Western notation. These often differ radically with actual performance concerning both genres' inherent aspects, such as timbre, heterophony, relative sense of meter, and microtones.[77] Although Matsudaira was personally at least somewhat familiar with folk songs—having transcribed some melodies himself—he mostly based his work on well-known transcriptions by Takeda Chūichirō (1892–1970).[78] Concerning *gagaku*, Matsudaira made it clear that he did not even hear a performance of the music until after the war.[79] This makes his compositions based on these traditions, in a sense, reinterpretations of interpretations.

I shall next examine Matsudaira's use of folk song and *gagaku* elements in his prewar work, based on the discussion above. To contextualize his approaches to a larger sphere of national-style composition in Western art music, I shall also assess them using Bartók's famous classification of folk song elements within three levels. According to Bartók, the simplest level, which I shall here call level 1, quotes a song as such, whereas level 2 slightly modifies a folk song melody. While Bartók considered both approaches superficial, the highest level, level 3, is achieved when composers are so familiar with a folk song tradition that they are able to write music assimilating its "atmosphere."[80] Level 3 might also be conceptualized as a national *idiom* of composition—an approach that especially older

musicological studies regarded as the most desirable and "successful" attribute of a national-style composer.[81] Unlike Bartók or the countless studies that share his views, however, I am not interested in judging the quality of the approach but instead discern the different methods in which Matsudaira utilized his "materials."

Reinterpretations of folk songs and *gagaku* in Matsudaira's work

Matsudaira's interest in Japanese-style composition is underlined by the fact that virtually all his prewar work represents this style, beginning from his debut, *Memories from Childhood* (*Yōnen jidai no omoide*, 1928–1930), a collection of ten character pieces for the piano. On the surface, *Memories from Childhood* displays a stronger interest in impressionism than Japanese-style composition with quite apparent influences from French composers, making Matsudaira one of the first Japanese composers to write in a style clearly nodding to French Impressionism.[82] The most evident example is *Goldfish* (*Kingyo*, 1928) (fig. 1), in which the playful arpeggios and ornamentations bear such obvious similarity with Debussy's *Goldfish* (*Poissons d'or*, 1907) that it may even be considered a homage.[83] Although the presence of French Impressionism in *Memories from Childhood* is otherwise very dominant, however, the first piece, *Lullaby* (*Komoriuta*) (fig. 2) is clearly inspired by Japanese folk songs.[84] Despite the use of the whole-tone scale and additional chromaticism, the contour and mood still bear enough resemblance with the original melody—a lullaby from Northern Japan—which Matsudaira later quoted in its original form in *Simple Pieces for Children* (*Kodomo no tame no yasashii shōhin*, 1941) (fig. 3). Therefore, *Lullaby* falls somewhere between levels 1 and 2 in Bartók's classification: it is based on a folk song but in a manner that renders the quotation unrecognizable by blending it into impressionist musical language.

[Figures 1, 2, and 3 near here.]

For Matsudaira, however, the choice of composing in an impressionist style was also connected with his interest in Japanese-style composition. He later reminisced that he admired Debussy and Ravel and found that their work shared similarities with Japanese music, but when following their example, "the result was ultimately not Japanese-style" but "Western-style."[85] Furthermore, Matsudaira originally considered French Impressionism a radical, non-academic musical language, but later gave it up after Debussy "began to sound like Chopin and Mozart" to him.[86] In other words, French Impressionism originally seemed to satisfy his ideal of a musical idiom that expressed its time and place, but the encounters with Tansman and Tcherepnin eventually changed his view. More importantly, this demonstrates that *Memories from Childhood* already followed Matsudaira's primary compositional aspirations. Only the musical language was somewhat different and did not incorporate as evident Japanese elements as his later works.

Matsudaira's works after *Memories from Childhood* are much more explicitly and consistently based on the direct use of folk song and *gagaku* melodies. These works can be roughly classified into two types: those that present their influences from premodern Japanese music in their titles and those that do not. Several works mention folk songs from the Nanbu area in their titles, whereas works titled *Prelude*, *Pastorale*, or *Sonatine* require closer examination to discern whether such a context is involved or not. To better understand how Matsudaira used premodern music in his work, let us first examine the works that make their inspiration clear in the title. These include *Nanbu Folk Song Collection 1* (1928–36) and *2* (1938), and *Theme and Variations on Nanbu Lullaby for Piano and Orchestra* (1939). The work that I shall address in more detail here is *Nanbu Folk Song Collection 1* because, as we

will see, songs in the collection were a significant influence for Matsudaira's works of absolute music as well.

In *Nanbu Folk Song Collection 1*, Matsudaira composed a piano part to accompany melodies transcribed by Takeda Chūichirō. Even though he later criticized his early works for failing to capture the mood of these folk songs, he did pay considerable attention to keeping the melismatic nature and flow of the original songs while constructing the piano parts based on their rhythmic and melodic elements, such as individual gestures and ornamentation. A fitting example is *Cow Herder's Song No. 1* (*Ushioi uta dai-1*) (fig. 4), which uses one of the best-known folk tunes of the Nanbu area.[87] Note, for example, how the right hand of the piano first quotes the sung melody and then changes to imitating some of its details, such as the grace notes or the short phrase F-G♭-D♭ (m. 7 in sung part, mm. 5–6 in piano part).

[Figure 4 near here.]

To this extent, Matsudaira's technique of combining the song with a modernist harmony resembles Mamiya Michio's (b. 1929) postwar work *Japanese Folk Song Collection* (*Nihon min'yōshū*, 1955–2009).[88] The similarity appears curious, however, as the two composers have described their work in very different terms. Whereas Matsudaira later lamented his "materialist" approach, Mamiya explained that he aspired to capture the spirit of the songs in their social context and express it in the form of Western art music composition.[89] For example, Mamiya's version (1957) of *Cow Herder's Song* utilizes *kakegoe*—rhythmic shouts that are very typical of folk songs and are associated with their original singing contexts.[90] Furthermore, the experience of folk songs of these two composers was different: whereas Mamiya personally collected songs in different parts of Japan, Matsudaira mostly turned to notated transcriptions. Putting aside the question whether Mamiya's work is more

"authentic" than Matsudaira's, this difference emphasizes that Matsudaira looked at the songs he quoted through a lens distanced from their social context and instead turned to them for material to be reworked in a framework of modern music. In this, both *Nanbu Folk Song Collections* correspond with level 1 in Bartók's classification.

These observations are important in that they offer insight into Matsudaira's approach to his works of instrumental music. Unlike the two *Nanbu Folk Song Collections*, however, Matsudaira's instrumental works adapt melodies from premodern music than quote them as such. *Prelude in D* (1934) for piano is a fitting example of this approach and an important step in Matsudaira's prewar work in that it was both published and recorded by Tcherepnin and it reflects the stylistic changes that encounters with Tansman and Tcherepnin had on Matsudaira. Although the key signature suggests D major, D mostly serves as a tonal center for different modal variations, as can be witnessed in the first measures (fig. 5). At the same time, only a few passages suggest a stable tonality, and those that do are reminiscent of Debussy with their constant use of ninth and seventh chords (most obviously in measures 21–24).[91] Compared with the melismatic melody and the use of the folk song mode in *Cow Herder's Song No. 1*—an inevitable result of the melody being a quotation—*Prelude in D* does not particularly resemble folk songs but is instead associated with modernist European composition with occasional influences from French Impressionism.

[Figure 5 near here.]

Matsudaira's subsequent commentary, however, calls for closer comparison between *Prelude in D* and his folk song compositions. First, he mentioned that he originally intended to write a collection of preludes in different keys but gave up the idea after experiencing difficulties in "combining Japanese modes with Western concepts of major and minor."[92]

Indeed, Matsudaira's interest in adopting Japanese modes is apparent throughout the work, as can be observed in measures 9–12 (fig. 6). The passage exhibits certain similarities with pitch organization in premodern Japanese music in a manner theorized by ethnomusicologist Koizumi Fumio in 1958. According to Koizumi's theory—which is widely accepted among scholars of Japanese music with certain additions—melodies in Japanese music do not follow fixed scales, but rather adhere to smaller melodic units that Koizumi calls *tetrachords*.[93] Koizumi recognizes four different tetrachords, which consist of two *nuclear tones* a perfect fourth apart and an *intermediate tone* that decides the type of the tetrachord: *miyakobushi* (e.g., E-F-A), *ritsu* (e.g., E-F♯-A), *min'yō* (e.g., E-G-A), and *ryūkyū* (e.g., E-G♯-A).[94] Although in Koizumi's theory scales can be constructed by piling up tetrachords in either a conjunctive or disjunctive manner (that is, beginning the upper tetrachord on either the highest pitch of the lower tetrachord or above it), the passage in *Prelude in D* is best understood as individual appearances of different tetrachords. The ascending melody from B in measures 9–10 combines two *miyakobushi* tetrachords conjunctively (B-D-E and E-G-A). Beginning from D on the second half of measure 11, the melody presents two tetrachords combined in a conjunctive manner: *miyakobushi* (D-B♭-A) and *min'yō* (A-G-E). While E and F♯ in measure 11 remain somewhat ambiguous, the most important observation here is that Matsudaira has quite clearly written a melody influenced by Japanese modalities.[95]

[Figure 6 near here.]

Second, *Prelude in D* is accompanied by the performance direction "Andante cantabile (Rustique)." This suggests an association with folk songs; after all, in the piano piece collection *Six Rural Dances* (*Muttsu no den'en bukyoku*, 1945), which is based on folk song melodies, Matsudaira used the very same reference to the "rustic" in the French title *Six*

dances rustiques. When compared with the songs with which we know Matsudaira was familiar, *Prelude in D* closely resembles the melody of *Sondeko*, the sixth song in *Nanbu Folk Song Collection 1* (fig. 7). Although it is not directly quoted in *Prelude in D*, the melody still bears enough resemblance to be recognized, even though the use of the harmony conceals rather than emphasizes its presence. Here, however, the difference with the original song "Sondeko bushi" is so conspicuous that *Prelude in D* should be considered a reinterpretation rather than a quotation. In this, *Prelude in D* resembles Matsudaira's debut work *Lullaby* but takes a step further from the original melody. By rendering the original song virtually unrecognizable, *Prelude in D* corresponds with level 2 in Bartók's classification.

[Figure 7 near here.]

Prelude in D indeed served as a "prelude" to Matsudaira's instrumental work of the 1930s regarding how Matsudaira utilized materials from premodern music. Beginning from the mid-1930s, he began to indicate a growing interest in the integration of premodern musical elements into instrumental forms of Western art music, possibly guided by the ideal of absolute music and his new interest in neoclassicism. The approach clearly differentiates Matsudaira from most of his Japanese-style composer colleagues, many of whom wrote programmatic works or otherwise emphasized a national context.[96] To address the use of folk song and *gagaku* in Matsudaira's instrumental music, I have chosen two works for closer inspection: *Pastorale* (1935) for orchestra and *Sonatine* (1936) for flute and piano. Both are among Matsudaira's major prewar works and, as discussed above, gained international success that was extraordinary in Japan at that time. In addition, both marked the beginnings of something new: *Pastorale* was Matsudaira's first orchestral work, whereas *Sonatine* was

both his first clearly neoclassical composition and the first in which he utilized elements from *gagaku*.

Pastorale

We have already seen with *Prelude in D* that Matsudaira used the word "rustic" in contexts related to folk songs. *Pastorale* joins the group of these works where the title refers to a rural context. Before examining its relation to folk songs in more detail, let us first look at the overall structure of the work (Table 1). *Pastorale* consists of an introduction (four measures) and three sections (36, 31, and 36 measures respectively) that repeat the same musical material with only minor variation in pitch and length. Each section consists of five motifs, which are marked with either "solo" or "*en dehors*" upon their first appearance. Figures 8–12 introduce each of the motifs in the pitch in which they first occur.

[Table 1 near here.]

[Figures 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12 near here.]

Being rather brief and not particularly melodic, none of the motifs evokes a Japanese mood or resembles folk songs. Even so, the inspiration of *Pastorale* is relatively easy to identify in folk songs thanks to Matsudaira's other compositions. More precisely, the similarity of musical material in *Nanbu Folk Song Collection 1* is so conspicuous that it is not an exaggeration to say that *Pastorale* is not based on folk songs but is instead a reinterpretation of a work based on folk songs.[97] This is obvious from the very beginning. The introduction (which continues as an accompanying figure) with the bass clarinet and the viola (fig. 13) is identical to the beginning of *Cow Herder's Song No. 1* (fig. 4). Even the pitch is

the same. This similarity continues with M1 and M2, both of which appear in the right hand of the piano in *Cow Herder's Song No 1*; M1 in measures 5–6 (which is derived from the original melody in the sung part in measure 7) and M2 in measures 7–8. While M3 does not appear in *Cow Herder's Song No. 1* as such, it is still derived from the original song; compare, for example, both upper and lower parts with the melody in the right hand of the piano in measure 4 and the singer in measure 6. Furthermore, the violin part accompanying M3 (fig. 14) in *Pastorale* and the piano part in *Cow Herder's Song No. 1* in measure 9 (fig. 15) are identical; in *Pastorale*, it is simply developed a bit further. M4 does not relate to *Cow Herder's Song No. 1* in such a direct way, but it appears to be a variation of the sung melody transposed a fourth down. In other words, *Pastorale* shares most of its material with *Cow Herder's Song No. 1*—either as direct quotations or slightly varied adoptions that interweave fragments of the original melody with the structure of the whole work.

[Figures 13, 14, and 15 near here.]

But then we come to M5, which does not relate to *Cow Herder's Song No. 1* in any way. This distinction is further underlined by its abrupt change of tempo and mood: to *tempo tranquillo* and from material suggesting B♭ minor to D♭ major. The motive also incorporates considerable melodic independence compared with the other motifs that are presented only as brief appearances. Unlike the other motifs, M5 is also developed melodically. All these observations suggest that it may be based on another folk song. And indeed, it remarkably resembles *Lullaby* (Komoriuta), which Matsudaira later used as the third song in *Nanbu Folk Song Collection 1* (fig. 16). While M5 is not a quotation of *Lullaby*, it incorporates notable similarity—a technique we have already witnessed in the use of *Sondeko* in *Prelude in D*. This is further underlined by the tempo marking, which is obviously fitting for a lullaby. At

the same time, this adaptation offers a concrete example of Matsudaira's technique of adopting folk song melodies—an approach that he later described as focusing on the core elements of folk songs while not quoting them directly.[98]

[Figure 16 near here.]

The discussion above has pertained to Section 1, but as noted, Sections 2 and 3 do not introduce any new material to *Pastorale*. Section 2 is presented at a different pitch and contains some variation in length and in the order of appearance of the motifs as well as the use of instrumental groups, but otherwise, they are not developed further or, for example, synthesized in any way. Matsudaira's decision to quote a herder's song and a lullaby in the same work does not seem to bear any programmatic meaning—rather, this approach allows the use of contrasting moods. And while the title vaguely hints at the use of folk songs, the connection only remains suggestive. This becomes especially apparent in a comparison with *Cow Herder's Song No. 1*; even the influences are not from the original folk song but from Matsudaira's own composition based on the song. In other words, *Pastorale* is a reinterpretation of a reinterpretation (rather than an interpretation). This distances musical material of the work from its origins in folk songs.

Considering Bartók's classification, the observations above place *Pastorale* in an intriguing context as Japanese-style composition. After all, the work is based on both direct quoting and developing a quotation (levels 1 and 2), but apart from M5, these quotations take place in a fragmentary manner that does not seek to evoke the mood of folk music. Rather, the fragments are interwoven in a way that suggests Matsudaira's interest in constructing the overall structure of this instrumental work based on folk song elements. Consequently, the result cannot be level 3 in Bartók's classification as it does not aim at reproducing the

"atmosphere" of folk songs. *Pastorale* thus reflects the approach which Matsudaira later dubbed "materialism," but at the same time, it demonstrates notable versatility within this larger framework by using its "materials" as integral building blocks of the whole work instead of presenting them as plain quotations. By concealing rather than emphasizing its influences, *Pastorale* thus redefines the concept of Japanese-style composition in general.

Sonatine for flute and piano

Sonatine for flute and piano is the first work where Matsudaira used a *gagaku* melody, and his first work that clearly expresses an interest in neoclassicism.[99] This interest spanned into the postwar years, meaning that *Sonatine* instigated a new direction to Matsudaira's work. Although the title does not hint at *gagaku* influence, Matsudaira himself revealed that the second movement quotes a *gagaku* melody, which is why the discussion here will be based on the second movement only.[100] Even without the composer's remark, however, the second movement stands out conspicuously from movements 1 (Modére) and 3 (Vivace). Both represent Western-style composition in terms of melodic and rhythmic treatment and remain relatively transparent and unvaried in their tonality (B minor key) considering Matsudaira's obvious fascination with polytonality and French Impressionist harmonies. By contrast, the second movement (Andante) is more suggestive in its harmonies and follows a tranquil mood. A slower tempo in the second movement is, naturally, a typical practice in Western music, which means that utilizing *gagaku* here also acted as a method of integrating a Japanese element into a larger framework of Western principles of composition.

In the second movement, Matsudaira quotes a melody from the *gagaku* piece *Chōbōraku*. Now that we are already familiar with his approach in *Prelude* and *Pastorale*, it should come as no surprise that the composer later explained that he did not aim to evoke the

mood of *gagaku* performance but rather utilized certain elements of *gagaku* as his inspiration.[101] What makes comparing *Pastorale* (and other folk song works) with *Sonatine* intriguing is the obvious difference of musical material: *gagaku* is performed by an ensemble in which each instrument incorporates its own, distinctive function, whereas folk songs are based typically on a solo melody. *Chōbōraku* represents the *bugaku* repertoire which accompanies dance and thus excludes some instruments, such as the "mouth organ," *shō*, which produces the harmonic basis inherent to instrumental *gagaku*.[102] Nevertheless, *Chōbōraku* would still offer a wider range of "materials" to rework, including timbre, rhythms, form, and so forth—aspects that Matsudaira constantly used in his postwar work based on *gagaku*.

In *Sonatine*, however, Matsudaira approaches *gagaku* from a viewpoint that is identical with the handling of folk songs in *Pastorale*, namely quoting fragments of the melody in a manner that alienates it from its origins to a degree that it becomes virtually unrecognizable. For example, Matsudaira does not imitate the heterophony characteristic of *gagaku*, or the distinctive rhythmic patterns of the genre—nor does he seek to structure the work on temporal concepts that dictate performances of *gagaku*.[103] Naturally, what significantly affected this was that Matsudaira had only encountered *gagaku* in transcriptions of Western notation which, even at best, can offer only an approximate perception of heterophony, microtones, and temporal relativity in actual *gagaku* performance. But even these transcriptions do in principle present a general idea of the soundscape. *Sonatine*, by contrast, focuses strictly on the melody.

To demonstrate Matsudaira's approach, let us examine measures 5–12 (fig. 17). Beginning from measure 5, the right hand of the piano plays the original melody (fig. 18), but at the same time, Matsudaira divides the melody by piling up fragments of it between the flute and the piano, which makes it difficult to recognize the quotation. By further presenting

material that develops the motif rather than quoting it—an approach we also encountered in *Prelude in D—Chōbōraku* mostly acts as an inspiration for Matsudaira's creative work. The harmony that Matsudaira adopts is not based on *gagaku*, either, but nods at French modernism (and occasionally impressionism) throughout the work. Furthermore, a characteristic integral to *Chōbōraku*—percussion rhythms (fig. 19)—is absent in *Sonatine*, even despite the slight resemblance in the constant use of syncopation.

[Figures 17, 18, and 19 near here.]

Sonatine embodies an interesting position in Matsudaira's work as the first composition to use *gagaku* as its material. Based on the use of the melody quotation in the second movement, it is easy to agree with Matsudaira's remark on his early work following a "materialist" approach. At the same time, however, *Sonatine* integrates these materials into a larger framework of established forms of Western art music, in this case the sonata—an approach that Matsudaira became much better known for in his postwar work based on *gagaku*.[104] Matsudaira again looks at his materials from a distance and blends them into a musical language that cannot be considered a cultural "synthesis," yet does not remain at the level of a straightforward quotation either. As such, it is difficult to unequivocally situate *Sonatine* into Bartók's classification: *Sonatine* both quotes and modifies a quotation, but it also integrates fragments of a *gagaku* melody into a wider compositional framework. In this way, *Sonatine* acted as the beginning of several new attributes to the composer's work.

Conclusion: the prewar period in Matsudaira's work

A comprehensive understanding of Matsudaira's prewar style would naturally require a much more detailed analysis of his musical influences in Europe. In this conclusion, however, I would once more like to focus on the aspects that define Matsudaira's music as Japanese-style composition. After all, the works discussed above do not seek a synthesis of music cultures, although this is commonly considered an integral aspect of national-style composition. Instead, they assign new meaning to the original Japanese melodies in a framework of Western art music. The subsequent criticism of Matsudaira's prewar work addresses precisely this attribute and thus shares obvious parallels with Western discourses of "successful" and "authentic" national-style composition. Amongst other well-known examples, the critical assessment of Matsudaira's prewar work echoes Bartók's definition of level 1 and 2 of national-style composition as simplistic compared to level 3, as well as the older tendency to deem Stravinsky's use of Russian folk songs in his early work "mechanical" compared with composers who were considered as embodiments of their respective nations.[105] Hence, the remarks on Matsudaira's prewar work being "superficial" and indicative of exoticism—critical assessments that both Matsudaira and others have attributed to his early work.[106]

Yet, after the analyses presented above, I cannot help but find this criticism puzzling. Considering Matsudaira's way of adopting folk song and *gagaku* melodies into his instrumental works, should his music not be rather described as "counter-exotic?" Ralph P. Locke has, after all, defined musical exoticism as "a quality that links a work to some especially fascinating, attractive, or fearsome place" and incorporates colonialist undertones.[107] These attributes are absent in Matsudaira's instrumental work, which, on the contrary, represents Japanese-style composition that functions with the effect of precisely *denying* even the possibility of an exotic place by presenting its Japanese elements in a concealed manner. In other words, quintessential criticism of exoticism, national

superficiality, or orientalism addresses attributes that are not, as such, applicable to his musical language.

Rather than trying to force the viewpoints represented especially by older musicological paradigms onto Matsudaira's work, then, I would like to examine it in the contexts mentioned at the beginning of this article, namely as Japanese-style composition of the prewar period and as a stage in Matsudaira's career. Matsudaira's musical language from the prewar period is, after all, rather unique in that it blends quotations into a Western musical language in a manner that renders these quotations virtually unrecognizable. By contrast, most composers of this time engaged with Japanese-style composition precisely to provide an alternative to Western musical hegemony. Compared with them, Matsudaira's music represents the idea of Western musical hegemony itself. Yet, this is not what Matsudaira aimed at, for his work sought to oppose another hegemony—one that is somewhat different from that which most other Japanese-style composers addressed. To understand its nature, we should remind ourselves of Matsudaira's principal ideals for artistic work. He opposed any kinds of academic approaches to composition—not only German-style academism but French as well—and his adoption of Japanese elements was more artistic than ideological. Above all, the use of Japanese elements attested to Matsudaira's aspiration to express the time and place of composition. In fact, Matsudaira remained critical of his earlier works not only because of their "superficial exoticism" but also because they did not keep up with their time.[108]

We should remember that these critical assessments—whether by Matsudaira or others—were delivered in a social and artistic context that placed extensive emphasis on the value of postwar music and expressed caution at prewar thought in general. Unlike them, however, I would argue that Matsudaira's prewar works ultimately did fulfill his ideals as both a portrayal of their time and place—that is, a musical world and a composer at interesting stages of his development. Rather than anachronistically assessing these stages

based on the postwar standards and definitions of "Japanese-style composition," they should be approached in their own terms. As David Pacun has emphasized, prewar music was not merely transitional as it has been depicted; it also represented a space for continuous experimentation and the search for one's own voice, as much as it was a period of (largely forgotten) international collaboration and recognition. In this respect, Matsudaira's work exemplifies many of the issues concerning the larger sphere of Japanese-style composition but does so in a very original manner.

At the same time, examining Matsudaira's prewar work provides interesting insight into his whole compositional career. Instead of viewing it as a separate phase of little significance, the analyses in this paper speak for conceiving it as an indispensable stage of his development as a composer. Matsudaira's prewar music laid down the cornerstones of the very aspirations that he kept throughout his career. In this way, it suggests much more continuity between the prewar and postwar periods than has been acknowledged thus far. First, a very concrete example is the use of *gagaku*. Matsudaira's first experiment with *gagaku* material in *Sonatine* served as an important first step toward his postwar work in which *gagaku* became his primary source of inspiration. Second, the technique of disassembling themes of premodern music into smaller units and then reorganizing them in a new context—which Matsudaira adopted in *Pastorale* and *Sonatine*—is a practice that he perfected and utilized in his postwar compositions, most notably his representative work *Theme and Variations for Piano and Orchestra*, but also in later, aleatoric works. Third, and most importantly, Matsudaira's tireless enthusiasm for discovering novel musical idioms and new ways to combine them with whatever served as his musical inspiration guided his whole compositional career. This also explains the relatively abrupt changes in his compositional language.

In other words, despite obvious differences in musical style, we can note that impressionism, neoclassicism, polytonality, and melodic quotations in the prewar period were eventually transformed into versatile and creative combinations of serialism, aleatoricism, and the aesthetic aspects and philosophical concepts of premodern Japanese music in the postwar years.[109] Through this, Matsudaira's individual development reflected the trajectory of Japanese music in general: that of seeking and perhaps finding its own voice, and then redefining it in the postwar period. In this way, his prewar work ultimately represented the compositional ideals he held important, namely the expression of time and place.

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Figure 19. Percussions in *Chōbōraku*.

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[1] Japanese names are given in the Japanese order—that is, family name first—with the exception of Japanese authors publishing in English.

[2] For a summary of the reception of Matsudaira's work in mid-twentieth-century Europe, see Matsudaira Yoritsune, "Dentō to gendai ongaku," *Shisō* no. 470 (1963): 125–27.

[3] Tōru Takemitsu, "Contemporary Music in Japan," *Perspectives of New Music* 27, no. 2 (1989): 203.

[4] *Contemporary Music Review* 17, no. 4 (1998).

[5] Olivier Messiaen, "Message from Olivier Messiaen," *Contemporary Music Review* 17, no. 4 (1998): 15.

[6] I use the term "prewar" to refer to the time period before the Pacific War launched in December 1941; this corresponds with the use of the term *senzen* (prewar) in Japanese. To my knowledge, the only existing academic studies focusing on Matsudaira's prewar work are Hiramoto Keiko's articles on his piano music, and Takeuchi Nao's analysis of Matsudaira's use of a folk song in *Nanbu Folk Song Collection 1*: Hiramoto Keiko, "Matsudaira Yoritsune no pianokyoku no kenkyū: 1930nendai wo chūshin to shite," *Erisabeto ongaku daigaku kenkyū kiyō* 22 (2002): 27–42; and "1930nendai ni okeru Matsudaira Yoritsune no pianokyoku ni mirareru sōsaku rinen to sakkyokuka toshite no ichi," *Geijutsu kenkyū* 17 (2004): 1–15;

Takeuchi Nao, "Matsudaira Yoritsune no 'Nanbu min'yōshū' wo megutte: Saifu to sōsaku no hazama de," *Nihon dentō ongaku kenkyū* 15 (2018): 1–17. In addition, both Luciana Galliano and Akiyama Kuniharu have discussed Matsudaira's prewar work to some extent. Luciana Galliano, *Yōgaku: Japanese Music in the Twentieth Century* (Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 2002), 83–85; Akiyama Kuniharu, *Shōwa no sakkyokukatachi: Taiheiyō sensō to ongaku* (Tokyo: Misuzu shobō, 2003), 282–301.

[7] This had already started in the early postwar period. For examples, see: Terazaki Hiroshi, "Matsudaira Yoritsune," in *Zuisōteki ongakukaron* (Tokyo: Ongaku no tomo sha, 1959), 98–107; and Yashima Shigeyoshi, "Sakkyokuka hōmon: Matsudaira Yoritsune," *Ongaku geijutsu* 17, no. 2 (1959): 77–81. Matsudaira's son Yoriaki (b. 1931) also followed the same approach when introducing his father in "Matsudaira Yoritsune's Path from Neoclassical to Aleatory Music," *Contemporary Music Review* 17, no. 4 (1998): 5–13.

[8] See Matsudaira Yoritsune (interview by anonymous), "Matsudaira Yoritsune no ongaku to ningen no keisei," *Ongaku geijutsu* 12, no. 7 (1954): 13; and "Dentō," 124.

[9] For example, Yukiko Sawabe, "The Long Way to the Story of Prince Genji: The Composer Yoritsune Matsudaira," *World New Music Magazine* 11 (2001): 22. It should be noted that these assessments are virtually never backed up with substantial analysis or concrete examples.

[10] For a comprehensive introduction to these genres, see Alison Tokita & David W. Hughes, eds., *The Ashgate Research Companion to Japanese Music* (London: Routledge, 2008).

[11] David Pacun, "Nationalism and Musical Style in Interwar Yōgaku: A Reappraisal," *Asian Music* 43, no. 2 (2012): 3–46. See also Yayoi Uno Everett, "'Mirrors' of West and 'Mirrors' of East: Elements of *gagaku* in Post-War Art Music," in *Diasporas and Interculturalism in Asian Performing Arts: Translating Traditions*, ed. Hae-kyung Um (New York: Routledge, 2004), 176–77; and David Pacun, "'Thus We Cultivate Our Own World, and Thus We Share It with Others:' Kósçak Yamada's Visit to the United States in 1918–1919," *American Music* 24, no. 1 (2006): 86.

[12] The discourse of (self-)Orientalization in Japanese music has been addressed in more detail in Gregory Shepherd, "'Nihonjinron': Challenge to Academia," *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 22, no. 2 (1991): 187–192; and Alison Tokita & David W. Hughes, "Context and Change in Japanese Music," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Japanese Music*, 26–27.

[13] Benjamin Curtis, *Music Makes the Nation: Nationalist Composers and Nation Building in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Amherst, New York: Cambria, 2008), 31.

[14] For discussion on how basic concepts such as "the invention of tradition" and "imagined communities" are applicable to Japan, see Harumi Befu, ed., *Cultural Nationalism in East Asia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); and *Hegemony of Homogeneity: An Anthropological Analysis of Nihonjinron* (Melbourne: Trans Pacific Press, 2001). For a recent view that addresses these discourses as important subjects in constructing modern Japanese identities, see Chris Burgess, "The 'Illusion' of Homogeneous Japan and National Character: Discourse as a Tool to Transcend the 'Myth' vs. 'Reality' Binary," *The Asia-Pacific Journal* 8, no. 9 (2010): 1–24.

[15] Typically, this assertion is based on the claim that prewar composers were fixated on accompanying pentatonic melodies with Western functional harmony (which was, in fact, only one approach among others). See Robin J. Heifetz, "East-West Synthesis in Japanese Composition: 1950–1970," *The Journal of*

Musicology 3, no. 4 (1984): 445; and Peter Burt, *The Music of Tōru Takemitsu* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 15–17.

[16] Pacun, "Nationalism and Musical Style."

[17] Space is too limited here to provide a comprehensive overview to Western art music composition in prewar Japan, but it will suffice to say that the compositional scene diversified considerably in the 1920s and 1930s with the introduction of new musical idioms such as French Impressionism and neoclassicism. The history and styles of prewar music have been introduced in more detail in several previous studies. See, especially, Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 3–123; and Akiyama, *Shōwa*, in its entirety. See also Pacun, "Nationalism and Musical Style."

[18] By "German-style composition," Japanese composers and music historians referred to works adopting the principles of functional harmony, form, and other practices established in the Austro-German cultural sphere. This idiom was probably referred to as exclusively "German" (rather than, say, European) because Western art music was primarily introduced to Japan by German musicians and composers. Based on Japanese commentaries, the general image of German-style composition in Japan corresponds with Friedrich Blume's account: *Classic and Romantic Music: A Comprehensive Survey* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1970). See also Galliano, *Yōgaku,* 34.

[19] This trend was typically called *Nihonteki sakkyoku* (Japanese-style composition) or *minzokushugiteki sakkyoku* (national-style composition). Both terms related to a more general discourse of *Nihonteki naru mono*, "things that are Japanese."

[20] For a more comprehensive account of this definition of Japanese elements, see Lasse Lehtonen, "From Voice of the People to Nationalism of the State: Musical Meanings of Japan in the Work of Kunihiko Hashimoto," *Musiikki* 45, no. 2 (2015): 57–61.

[21] Fukushima Kazuo, *Nihon ongaku shisō* (Osaka: Izumi Shoin, 2007).

[22] See Henry Johnson, "A Modernist Traditionalist: Miyagi Michio, Transculturalism, and the Making of a Music Tradition," in *Rethinking Japanese Modernism*, ed. Roy Starrs (Boston and Leiden: Global Oriental, 2012).

[23] See David W. Hughes, "Japanese 'New Folk Songs,' Old and New," *Asian Music* 22, no. 1 (1991): 1–6.

[24] For discussion on this complex and debated development in recent historiography, see Tsutsui Kiyotada, ed., *Fifteen Lectures on Showa Japan: Road to the Pacific War in Recent Historiography* (Tokyo: Japan Publishing Industry Foundation for Culture, 2016); and Frederick R. Dickinson, *World War I and the Triumph of a New Japan, 1919–1930* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013). See also James William Morley, ed., *Dilemmas of Growth in Prewar Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971), and Bernard S. Silberman and H.D. Harootunian, eds., *Japan in Crisis: Essays on Taishō Democracy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974).

[25] Johnson, "A Modernist Traditionalist," 246–69; and Hayasaka Fumio, "Kiyose Yasuji ron (ge)," *Ongaku kōron* 2, no. 2 (1942): 47.

[26] Philip V. Bohlman. *The Music of European Nationalism* (Oxford: Abc-Clio, 2004).

[27] For calls for collaboration, see, for example, Mitsukuri Shūkichi, "Kokumin ongaku ni tsuite," *Firuhaamonii* 3, no. 12 (1929): 7; Kiyose Yasuji, "Nihon no onkai sono ta," *Ongaku shinchō* 7, no. 6 (1930): 17; and Moroi Saburō, "Watashi wa nani wo mananda ka," *Ongaku hyōron* 3, no. 3 (1935): 11.

[28] Kiyose emphasized the importance of nurturing Japanese culture instead of blindly imitating the West—especially Western functional harmony—whereas Mitsukuri saw that a Japanese harmony system would be the most desirable approach to synthesize radically different principles of Japanese and Western music. Kiyose Yasuji, "Warera no michi," *Ongaku shinchō* 13, no. 2 (1936): 13–15; Mitsukuri Shūkichi, "Über japanische Harmonie, L'harmonie japonaise, Nihon wasei ni tsuite," *Ongaku hyōron* 2, no. 4 (1934): 1–20.

[29] Both Hashimoto and Itō associated these modern techniques with premodern music in their writings, making them the first Japanese composers to recognize similarities between the two. It should be noted, however, that their approaches were largely met with bewilderment and were considered strange and radical in Japan at that time. See Hashimoto Kunihiko, "Shibun ongaku ni tsuite," *Gekkan gakufu* 19, no. 9 (1930): 7–10; and Itō Noboru, "Shin ongaku wo tenkan suru," *Gekkan gakufu* 22, no. 12 (1933): 29–35. For Hayasaka's views, see Hayasaka Fumio, "Tanaka hakase no 'Nihon wasei no kiso' ni tsuite no shiken," *Gekkan gakufu* 30, no. 4 (1941): 28–40.

[30] There are many examples of this, but an especially prominent critic was composer Fukai Shirō (1907–1959), who saw Japanese-style composition at best worthy of being presented in a "souvenir shop." See Akiyama Kuniharu, *Nihon no sakkyokukatachi: jō* (Tokyo: Ongaku no tomo sha, 1979), 24–25.

[31] Akiyama, *Shōwa*, 535.

[32] In Japanese, *kangakuha* and *zaiyaha*. See Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 72; and Komiya Tamie, "'Nihonteki sakkyoku' wo meguru ronsō," in *Kindai Nihon to ongaku* (Tokyo: Ayumi shuppan, 1976), 97.

[33] Despite receiving very limited attention in Japanese music scholarship, the idea of Japanese-style composition as an approach to develop Western art music from a Japanese viewpoint was discussed by countless composers in the prewar period. See, for example, Kiyose Yasuji, "Nihonka ni tsuite no seisatsu," *Ongaku shinchō* 12, no. 11 (1935): 50–53; "Warera no michi," 13–15; Hashimoto, "Shibun ongaku," 7–10; Mitsukuri, "Über japanische Harmonie," 1–20; and Hayasaka, "Kiyose Yasuji," 47.

[34] The various approaches and debates related to the topic in the 1930s have been addressed in more detail in Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 97–99; Akiyama, *Shōwa*, 516–44; and Komiya, "Nihonteki sakkyoku," 87–111.

[35] Performances of Japanese works in interwar Europe and America have been examined in Katayama Morihide, "Senzen, senchū, sengo—Sono renzoku to furenzoku (1945–1951)," in *Nihon sengo ongakushi: jō*, ed. Sano Kōji (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2007), 57–59.

[36] Katayama, "Senzen," 55.

[37] For the effects of this trend on Western art music composition, see Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 120–21.

[38] Matsudaira called this type of composition "Japonica" and noted that especially he and Kiyose Yasuji were critical of it; see his interview in Akiyama, *Shōwa*, 293. For further criticism by Hayasaka Fumio, see *Kōsei ongaku zenshū dai-ikkan: Nihonteki ongakuron* (Tokyo: Shinkō shuppansha, 1942), 156–58.

[39] This has been recently elaborated in more detail by Katayama Morihide, who questions the equation of Japanese-style composition with ultranationalism and instead emphasizes the need to discern the range of different aspirations among Japanese-style composers. Katayama, "Senzen," 56–60.

[40] Hiromu Nagahara, *Tokyo Boogie-Woogie: Japan's Pop Era and its Discontents* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2017), 118–19. For example, when Japan celebrated the 2600th anniversary of its (mythical) founding in 1940, orchestral works were commissioned from five European countries. These works were written by Richard Strauss (Germany), Jacques Ibert (France), Benjamin Britten (Britain),

Ildebrando Pizzetti (Italy), and Sándor Veress (Hungary). Japan also commissioned a work from the United States, but since the diplomatic relations between the two countries had become increasingly complicated, America declined to fulfill the request.

[41] See Akiyama, *Nihon*, 41.

[42] For more on the complex continuities and discontinuities between prewar and postwar Japan, see Carol S. Gluck, "The Past in the Present," in *Postwar Japan as History*, ed. Andrew Gordon (University of California Press, 1993), 64–95; and Eduarudo Kuroppenshutain [Eduard Klopfenstein] and Suzuki Sadami eds., *Nihon bunka no renzokusei to hirenzokusei: 1920nen–1970nen* (Tokyo: Bensei shuppan, 2005).

[43] For other introductions to Matsudaira in the prewar years, see Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 83–85; and Akiyama, *Shōwa*, 282–301.

[44] Matsudaira Yoritsune and Yuasa Jōji, "Sozai wo norikoeru," *Ongaku geijutsu* 27, no. 6 (1969): 30. Gil-Marchex's recital served as an inspiration to many other composers as well; see Akiyama, *Nihon*, 9.

[45] Matsudaira Yoritsune, in "Matsudaira," 11; "Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei tanjō e," in *Nihon gendai ongaku sakkyokuka 3: Kiyose Yasuji* (Tokyo: Ongaku no sekai sha, 1995), 52. See also interviews in Akiyama, *Shōwa,* 283; and Akiyama Kuniharu and Matsudaira Yoritsune, "Shōgen: Nihon no sakkyokuka to Furansu," *Porifoon* 10 (1992): 139.

[46] Today, *shinkō* translates as "emerging," but the word was associated with the avant-garde in the 1930s. The goals of the society are listed in its founding transcript; see Someya Kaneko, Sugioka Wakako, and Miyake Iwao, eds., *Dokyumentarii Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei: Senzen no sakkyokukatachi, 1930–1940* (Tokyo: Kunitachi ongaku daigaku fuzoku toshokan, 1999), 9.

[47] For examples, see Komiya, "Nihonteki sakkyoku," 96–99; Akiyama *Nihon*, 11–12, and *Shōwa*; Judith Ann Herd, *Change and Continuity in Contemporary Japanese Music: A Search for a National Identity* (PhD diss., Brown University, 1987), 19–30; and Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 82.

[48] Matsudaira and Yuasa, "Sozai," 30.

[49] In Japanese, *mohō jidai yori sōzō jidai e no kōshinkyoku.* Someya et al., *Dokyumentarii*, 20.

[50] Some secondary sources even suggest that Shinkō Sakkyokuka Renmei followed a consistent principle to fuse Western and Japanese expression, but primary sources—including the members' musical works—do not support the existence of such a guideline. For all records related to the society, including their goals, see Someya et al., *Dokyumentarii*, in its entirety.

[51] Shinkō Sakkyokuka Renmei became the Japanese branch of ISCM in 1935 and changed its name to Nippon Gendai Sakkyokuka Renmei (Japanese Federation for Contemporary Composers). At its largest, it had 116 members (at the end of 1939). See Someya et al., *Dokyumentarii*, 403.

[52] Matsudaira's interview in Akiyama, *Shōwa*, 284; 296–97.

[53] For a detailed list of their performances and radio broadcasts, see Someya et al., *Dokyumentarii*, 304–18.

[54] See Matsudaira's interview in Herd, *Change and Continuity*, 147.

[55] Matsudaira, "Matsudaira," 11; Matsudaira and Yuasa, "Sozai," 30.

[56] This view is best crystallized in Arikisandaa Cherepunin [Alexander Tcherepnin], "Nihon wakaki no sakkyokuka ni," *Ongaku shinchō* 13, no. 8 (1936): 2–4. For a contemporary view of Tcherepnin's significance, see Kiyose Yasuji, "Cherepunin wa kataru," *Ongaku shinchō* 11, no. 11 (1934): 42–47. See also Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 82, 83, 92; and Akiyama, *Nihon*, 18–20.

[57] Not surprisingly, most works published and awarded represented Japanese-style composition. For a detailed discussion about the Tcherepnin Edition, see Hattori Keiko, *"Cherepunin korekushon" shoshū hōjin piano sakuhin kenkyū to shiryō hihan* (PhD diss., Kunitachi College of Music, 2013).

[58] Hiramoto, "1930nendai," 4.

[59] By "national broadcast organization," I mean JOAK—the predecessor of the current national broadcast organization NHK in Tokyo. The work, *Theme and Variations on Nanbu Lullaby for Piano and Orchestra* (1939), was one of the seventeen works of *kokuminshikyoku* (literally, "national poem compositions"), a series of orchestral works adopting folk song melodies that JOAK commissioned from Japanese composers. For contemporary commentary on the works, see Yamane Ginji, *Ongaku to shisaku* (Tokyo: Shiba shoten, 1939), 65–71; and Hayasaka Fumio, *Kōsei ongaku zenshū*, 135–58.

[60] Quotations are from Matsudaira's interview in Herd, *Change and Continuity*, 148. See similar comments also in Matsudaira, "Matsudaira," 12; and Matsudaira and Yuasa, "Sozai," 32.

[61] Matsudaira's postwar work has been subject to extensive discussion. For examples, see Herd, *Change and Continuity*, 148–67; Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 137–44; and *Contemporary Music Review* 17, no. 4 in its entirety.

[62] The theme is the *gagaku* piece *Etenraku* in *banshiki* mode. Although Matsudaira was critical of the work, it became his representative composition. For analyses of the work, see Judith Ann Herd, "The Neonationalist Movement: Origins of Japanese Contemporary Music," *Perspectives of New Music* 27, no. 2 (1989): 141–48; Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 137–38; and Everett, "Mirrors," 184–88.

[63] The only other examples are Hayasaka Fumio and Ifukube Akira (1914–2006). While both are recognized primarily for their film scores, they also played a central role in Japanese-style composition in the 1930s.

[64] Shiina Ryōsuke has discussed these writings on two occasions: "Modanizumu no mujun: Sakkyokuka, Matsudaira Yoritsune no baai," in *Nihon kenkyū, Kyōto kaigi 1994 III* (Kokusai Nihon bunka kenkyū sentaa / Kokusai kōryū kikin, 1994), 228–29; and "Contradictions of Modernism: Reading Matsudaira Yoritsune's Articles," *Contemporary Music Review* 17, no. 4 (1998): 18–20.

[65] Matsudaira, "Matsudaira," 9; Akiyama and Matsudaira, "Shōgen," 139; Akiyama, *Shōwa*, 283.

[66] Matsudaira, "Dentō," 124. See also "Sakuhin wo chūshin to shite," *Ongaku geijutsu* 6, no. 7 (1948): 41. All translations from quotations in Japanese are mine.

[67] Matsudaira, "Dentō," 124

[68] Matsudaira, "Sakuhin," 41.

[69] Matsudaira's interview in Herd, *Change and Continuity*, 147.

[70] For more on folk songs, see David W. Hughes, *Traditional Folk Song in Modern Japan: Sources, Sentiment and Society* (Folkestone: Global Oriental, 2008).

[71] For more on *gagaku*, see Robert Garfias, *Music of a Thousand Autumns: The Tōgaku Style of Japanese Court Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975).

[72] A typical description of folk songs was given, for example, by Matsumura Mataichi: "It goes without saying that the basis of folk songs is in the earnest feelings of the people." Matsumura, "Shin min'yō ni tsuite," *Min'yō shijin* 2, no. 7 (1928): 56. See also Hughes, *Traditional Folk Song*. The use of *gagaku* for imperialist goals has been discussed by Shūhei Hosokawa, "In Search of the Sound of Empire: Tanabe Hisao and the Foundation of Japanese Ethnomusicology," *Japanese Studies* 18, no. 1 (1998): 5–19.

[73] Matsudaira's view that the roots of Japanese folk songs were in the Asian mainland is, however, debatable.

[74] Matsudaira, "Sakuhin," 41. Much later, however, Matsudaira stated his "hate" and "disgust" for other genres of premodern music and suggested that this was his reason for ending up using elements from *gagaku* and folk songs. See Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 89; and Sawabe, "The Long Way," 24.

[75] In Japanese, *sozaishugi*. Matsudaira Yoritsune, "Sakuhin," 41; "Matsudaira," 10; Matsudaira and Yuasa, "Sozai," 32.

[76] Matsudaira and Yuasa, "Sozai," 32.

[77] For example, compare Konoe Hidemaro's (1898–1973) transcription of *Etenraku* for Western orchestra (1931) with a performance of *Etenraku* in *hyōjō* mode by a *gagaku* ensemble.

[78] Matsudaira, "Fuki," in *Yoritsune Matsudaira Song Album* (Tokyo: Zen-On Music Company, 1987), 68. Takeuchi Nao suggests that the reason for Matsudaira to eventually use only Takeda's transcriptions was his lack of self-confidence in his own transcriptions due to his insufficient personal experience of the social context of folk songs. Takeuchi, "Matsudaira Yoritsune," 14.

[79] Matsudaira, "Matsudaira," 9–10.

[80] Béla Bartók, *Essays* (London: Faber & Faber, 1976), 343–44.

[81] Obviously, there are countless examples representing this view. Some of them, chosen from different decades, include Gerald Abraham, *A Hundred Years of Music* (London: Duckworth, 1949), esp. 247–70; Sidney Walter Finkelstein, *Composer and Nation: The Folk Heritage of Music* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1960); and Ludwig Finscher, "Die Entstehung nationaler Stile in der europäischen Musikgesichte," in *Forum Musicologicum* 4 (Winterthur: Amadeus, 1984): 33–56.

[82] Like many of Matsudaira's early compositions, the work also had an alternative French title: *Souvenirs d'enfance* (Memories from Childhood). Other examples that occurred at approximately the same time include Hashimoto Kunihiko's *Tiger Beetle* (*Hanmyō*, 1928), Mitsukuri Shūkichi's *Two Poems* (*Futatsu no shi*, 1928), and compositions by Sugawara Meirō (1897–1988). A school of French Impressionism later formed around Ikenouchi Tomojirō (1906–1991), but Matsudaira remained highly critical of his "overly academic" approach. For the development of impressionist composition in Japan, see Sano Hitomi, *Dobyusshii ni miserareta Nihonjin: Furansu inshōha ongaku to kindai Nihon* (Tokyo: Shōwadō, 2010).

[83] This similarity has been previously noted by Hiramoto, "1930nendai," 8–9. The decision not to use bar lines was extremely uncommon and considered an avant-gardist approach in Japan at that time. See Akiyama Kuniharu, "Nihon no miraiha ongaku sono 3: Itō Noboru no baai 1," *Ongaku geijutsu* 33, no. 3 (1975): 71.

[84] Compare, for example, with "Hakata komoriuta" (Hakata) or "Nenne komorisan" (Wakayama).

[85] Matsudaira, "Matsudaira," 9; Akiyama and Matsudaira, "Shōgen," 139. The similarity between French and Japanese music was noted by many Japanese-style composers. For examples, see Kiyose Yasuji, "Furaguman (danshō)," *Ongaku shinchō* 10, no. 11 (1933): 18; and Mitsukuri, "Kokumin ongaku," 7.

[86] Matsudaira and Yuasa, "Sozai," 30.

[87] Matsudaira wrote the first version of this song in the late 1920s, whereas the other songs in the collection were written in 1936. See Matsudaira, "Fuki," 68. See also Takeuchi, "Matsudaira Yoritsune."

[88] For discussion on Mamiya's work, see Herd, "Neonationalist," 120–23; and Michio Mamiya, *Japanese Folk Song Collection* (Tokyo: Zen-On Music Company, 2009), 124–43.

[89] Mamiya, *Japanese Folk Song Collection*, 125; 140.

[90] Ibid., 30–33.

[91] According to Hiramoto Keiko's analysis, the work exhibits influence from Tansman's polytonality. Hiramoto, "1930nendai," 10–11.

[92] Matsudaira Yoritsune, "Maegaki," in *Yoritsune Matsudaira: Oeuvres pour piano* (Tokyo: Zen-On Music Company, 1991), 2. The only other prelude that Matsudaira eventually wrote was *Prelude in G* (1940), which follows pentatonic scales more consistently than *Prelude in D* and also suggests Western tonality by ending on a G major chord.

[93] Kojima Tomiko provides a more detailed account of the various rules related to the tetrachords in premodern music in "Watashitachi no ongaku 'Nihon ongaku,'" in *Nihon no dentō geinō kōza: Ongaku* (Tokyo: Sōkōsha, 2008), 52. See also Alison McQueen Tokita, "Mode and Scale, Modulation and Tuning in Japanese Shamisen Music: The Case of Kiyomoto Narrative," *Ethnomusicology* 41, no. 1 (1996): 1.

[94] Koizumi Fumio, *Nihon dentō ongaku no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Ongaku no tomo sha, 1958), 187.

[95] Hiramoto goes even further by suggesting that the work follows scales of premodern music. However, as the analysis here demonstrates, the pitches change too constantly to form a "scale." See Hiramoto, "Matsudaira," 37; "1930nendai," 10.

[96] Compare, for example, with works and commentary by Kiyose Yasuji, Hayasaka Fumio, and Ifukube Akira.

[97] Matsudaira completed *Nanbu Folk Song Collection 1* only after writing *Pastorale*, but he began writing the work already at the late 1920s. See Takeuchi, "Matsudaira Yoritsune."

[98] Matsudaira "Maegaki," 2.

[99] This appears curious, as Matsudaira later called his postwar Japanese-style works an "antithesis" of neoclassicism. Matsudaira and Yuasa, "Sozai," 31. Compare with Stravinsky's neoclassical period.

[100] Matsudaira, "Sakuhin," 41.

[101] Matsudaira, "Matsudaira," 10.

[102] Imitating the *shō* is a typical device in music that seeks to reproduce *gagaku* mood. *Chōbōraku* belongs to the *komagaku* repertoire, which does not use plucked instruments (the *koto*, *biwa*, and *wagon*) or the *shō*.

[103] *Gagaku* is based on the *jo-ha-kyū* form, meaning a structure with a slow beginning (*jo*), accelerating middle (*ha*) and a very fast ending that abruptly returns to the original tempo (*kyū*). *Jo-ha-kyū* has been adapted to various Japanese arts which is why it is often referred to as a universally Japanese aesthetic form, but it originated in *gagaku*.

[104] See the analyses of Matsudaira's postwar *gagaku*-inspired works in Herd, *Change and Continuity*, 149–65.

[105] Bartók, *Essays*, 343–44; Finkelstein, *Composer and Nation*, 260–61.

[106] Sawabe, "The Long Way," 22; Matsudaira, "Dentō," 124.

[107] Ralph P. Locke, *Musical Exoticism: Images and Reflections* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 1; 34–42.

[108] Matsudaira, "Dentō," 124. He did not limit his criticism to his prewar works but remained similarly critical of what became one of his most celebrated postwar compositions, *Theme and Variations for Piano and Orchestra*.

[109] For discussion on Matsudaira's postwar work, see Herd, *Change and Continuity*, 148–67; Galliano, *Yōgaku*, 137–44; Rica Narimoto, "Heritage within the Avant-Garde? Traditional and Contemporary Musics in Post-War Japan," in *Music as Heritage: Historical and Ethnographic Perspectives*, ed. Barley Norton and

Naomi Matsumoto (Milton: Routledge, 2018), 258–77; and *Contemporary Music Review* 17, no. 4 in its entirety.